

ALMA MATER STUDIORUM – UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA  
DIPARTIMENTO DI STORIA CULTURE CIVILTÀ

ORIENTLAB  
SERIES MAIOR

VOL. 10

LINEAR ELAMITE INSCRIPTIONS  
AND RELATED CUNEIFORM TEXTS  
I  
LINEAR ELAMITE TEXTS FROM SUSAN

by  
FRANÇOIS DESSET, KAMBIZ TABIBZADEH,  
GIAN PIETRO BASELLO AND GIANNI MARCHESI

with the collaboration of Laurent Colonna d'Istria

Ante  
Quem





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OrientLab. Series Maior  
Series editor: Nicolò Marchetti  
[www.orientlab.net/pubs](http://www.orientlab.net/pubs)

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This publication benefited from the institutional and financial support  
of the CNRS, UMR 5133 Archéorient



Published by Ante Quem S.r.l. and the Department of History and Cultures – University of Bologna  
Via Senzanome 10, 40123 Bologna – tel. and fax +39 051 4211109  
[www.antequem.it](http://www.antequem.it)

Printed in July 2026

ISBN: 978-88-7849-225-7  
ISBN: 978-88-7849-226-4 (e-Pdf)  
doi: 10.12878/orientlabsm10

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                         |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Preface and Acknowledgments .....</b>                                | <b>vii</b> |
| <b>Conventions .....</b>                                                | <b>xi</b>  |
| <br><b>Chapter 1. Introduction</b>                                      |            |
| 1.1 Historical setting .....                                            | 1          |
| 1.2 Linguistic framework .....                                          | 9          |
| 1.3 Early history of writing in Iran .....                              | 13         |
| 1.4 The Linear Elamite corpus: text classification and chronology ..... | 16         |
| 1.5 The Linear Elamite writing system .....                             | 29         |
| <br><b>Chapter 2. Linear Elamite Texts Unrelated to Puzur-Sušinak</b>   |            |
| 2.1 Clay cones .....                                                    | 35         |
| 2.1.1 LEI 10/J (Sb 17829) .....                                         | 37         |
| 2.1.2 LEI 11/K (Sb 17830) .....                                         | 39         |
| 2.1.3 LEI 12/L (Sb 17831) .....                                         | 40         |
| 2.2 Clay tablets .....                                                  | 41         |
| 2.2.1 LEI 13/M (Sb 17832) .....                                         | 42         |
| 2.2.2 LEI 14/N (Sb 17833) .....                                         | 43         |
| 2.2.3 LEI 18/R (Sb 9383) .....                                          | 44         |
| 2.2.4 LEI 15/O (Sb 9382) .....                                          | 44         |
| 2.3 Stone objects .....                                                 | 47         |
| 2.3.1 LEI 20/T (Sb 18261) .....                                         | 47         |



## Chapter 3. Puzur-Sušinak Inscriptions

|                                                                                                                         |         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 3.1 Puzur-Sušinak's digraphia and bilingualism .....                                                                    | 49      |
| 3.2 Puzur-Sušinak as " <i>hatpak</i> (governor) of Susa" .....                                                          | 56      |
| 3.2.1 LEI 9/I (Sb 54 + Sb 6617) .....                                                                                   | 57      |
| 3.2.1 Supplement: Puzur-Sušinak 9 (Sb 54 + Sb 6617 cun.) .....                                                          | 60      |
| 3.2.2 LEI 1/A (Sb 17) .....                                                                                             | 61      |
| 3.2.2 Supplement: Puzur-Sušinak 3 (Sb 17 cun.) .....                                                                    | 66      |
| 3.3 Puzur-Sušinak as " <i>hatpak</i> (governor) of Susa" and " <i>šepk</i> (general)<br>of the people of Hatamti" ..... | 69      |
| 3.3.1 LEI 2/B (Sb 6 + Sb 177) and LEI 4/D (Sb 172/6733) .....                                                           | 71      |
| 3.3.1 Supplement: Puzur-Sušinak 12 (Sb 6 + Sb 177 cun.) .....                                                           | 79      |
| 3.3.2 LEI 3/C (Sb 87) .....                                                                                             | 80      |
| 3.3.2 Supplement: Puzur-Sušinak 11 (Sb 87 cun.) .....                                                                   | 81      |
| 3.3.3 LEI 5/E (Sb 140B) .....                                                                                           | 81      |
| 3.4 Puzur-Sušinak as "king of Awan" .....                                                                               | 82      |
| 3.4.1 LEI 8/H (Sb 140A) and (partial) duplicates LEI 6/F (Sb 155)<br>and LEI 7/G (Sb 139) .....                         | 85      |
| 3.4.1 Supplement a: Puzur-Sušinak 7 (Sb 156 and duplicates) .....                                                       | 93      |
| 3.4.1 Supplement b: Puzur-Sušinak 6 (Sb 151 and Sb 18455) .....                                                         | 95      |
| 3.4.1 Supplement c: Puzur-Sušinak 13 (Sb 157) .....                                                                     | 96      |
| 3.5 Undetermined Period .....                                                                                           | 97      |
| 3.5.1 LEI 21/U (Sb 18338) .....                                                                                         | 97      |
| 3.5.2 LEI 16/P (Sb 17822) .....                                                                                         | 98      |
| <br>Abbreviations .....                                                                                                 | <br>101 |
| <br>References .....                                                                                                    | <br>105 |
| <br>Image Credits .....                                                                                                 | <br>127 |
| <br>Plates .....                                                                                                        |         |

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present volume is the first of a three-volume series devoted to the publication of the Linear Elamite corpus and related cuneiform texts. It constitutes the natural continuation of our work on the decipherment of Linear Elamite, published in 2022. Having presented the details of the decipherment (Desset et al. 2022), we now take a further step by offering an edition of all the Linear Elamite texts from Susa. Two further volumes will follow, containing the remaining Linear Elamite texts (Vol. II) and the corpus of Old Elamite royal inscriptions in cuneiform (Vol. III).

This first volume is the result of a collaborative project involving François Desset (University of Liège), Kambiz Tabibzadeh (Eastern Kentucky University), Gian Pietro Basello (University of Naples “L’Orientale”), and Gianni Marchesi (University of Bologna). Laurent Colonna d’Istria (University of Liège) also contributed to the volume by providing some valuable insights, collating Sb 150, preparing the copy of the cuneiform inscription on the “Table au lion” reproduced in Pl. XXII, and composing Pl. XXXII. In addition to being one of the four co-authors, Gianni Marchesi served as editor of the volume and oversaw all stages of the publication process.

This project has a long history and has grown out of an earlier project undertaken by the same authors, together with Matthieu Kervran, on the decipherment of Linear Elamite. After gaining access to the materials of the Mahboubian Collection in 2015, Desset identified in those texts the sign sequences corresponding to the names of Šilhaha, Eparti, and Napireša. The collaboration began in 2018, when he and Tabibzadeh agreed to combine their respective efforts and preliminary results. The research team was subsequently joined by Kervran in late 2019. New texts became available, and significant progress toward the decipherment was made during this period: more than thirty additional signs were deciphered through the identification of parallels with Elamite cuneiform texts. Basello and Marchesi joined the project in early 2020 and early 2021, respectively.

A crucial stage was reached during the first half of 2021, when the decipherment was further developed, consolidated into a coherent system, and refined into its final form, yielding a publication-ready study. The resulting manuscript was submitted in July 2021 to the journal *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* and was later accepted following double-blind peer review.

From the very beginning, it was clear that the decipherment of the script — although supported by substantial evidence — could not be separated from the scholarly edition and interpretation of the texts. At this stage, however, one is confronted with the numerous difficulties inherent in the Elamite language and its texts, particularly in the earliest phases of the documentation. This goes some way toward explaining the long and complex gestation of the present work.

The volume, however, is not limited to the philological study of the texts. It offers a comprehensive reappraisal of one of the world's earliest written traditions through a detailed examination of the Linear Elamite corpus and its historical, linguistic, and archaeological contexts. Situated at the intersection of Iranian archaeology, epigraphy, and historical linguistics, the three chapters that follow seek to illuminate a crucial period in the history of the Iranian Plateau, when emerging political institutions, complex systems of communication, and evolving cultural identities found expression in one of the most original writing systems of the ancient Near East: Linear Elamite.

Chapter 1 establishes the broader framework within which the Linear Elamite inscriptions must be understood. Beginning with an overview of the long-term development of the Iranian Plateau from the Neolithic to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE, it highlights the environmental diversity, regional interconnectedness, and political fragmentation that characterized ancient Iran. Particular attention is devoted to the linguistic landscape of the Bronze Age, the position of Elamite among the languages of the Ancient Near East, and the complex history of writing in Iran, from Proto-Elamite administrative practices to the emergence of Linear Elamite and its relationship with neighboring Mesopotamian traditions. By integrating archaeological, textual, and linguistic evidence, the chapter provides the historical and conceptual foundations necessary for interpreting the inscriptions presented in the subsequent chapters and volumes.

Chapter 2 turns to a group of Linear Elamite texts from Susa that cannot be directly associated with the ruler Puzur-Sušinak. Through close epigraphic analysis, it highlights the distinctive features and diversity of this small sub-corpus. These inscriptions, most of which appear to predate not only the reign of Puzur-Sušinak (late 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) but also the period of the Akkadian occupation of Susa (beginning ca. 2300 BCE), provide valuable evidence for the developmental stages of

the Linear Elamite script and challenge traditional assumptions concerning its origins and chronology. The chapter further explores the possibility of a gradual transition from Proto-Elamite to Linear Elamite and offers important insights into early scribal practices, including what appears to be an early attempt to systematize the script through the use of an alpha-syllabic sign grid.

Chapter 3 focuses on the inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak, arguably the most influential ruler of Susa during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE. These texts occupy a pivotal position in the history of Elamite literacy, constituting one of the largest and most historically informative groups of Linear Elamite texts currently known. The chapter investigates the remarkable phenomenon of bilingualism and digraphia reflected in the coexistence of Elamite and Akkadian, and of Linear Elamite and cuneiform, within the ruler's monumental inscriptions. By examining titulary, royal ideology, linguistic usage, and the relationships among the inscriptions, the chapter sheds new light on the career and political program of Puzur-Sušinak and on the cultural dynamics of a society situated between local traditions and Mesopotamian influences.

Taken together, these chapters argue for a reassessment of Linear Elamite not as an isolated or short-lived experiment, but as a significant component of the intellectual and political history of ancient Iran. They further demonstrate that the study of this script and its inscriptions has far-reaching implications for our understanding of the history of writing in the broader ancient Near East. By combining philological analysis with archaeological and historical inquiry, this work contributes to the ongoing effort to place the Iranian Plateau at the center of discussions concerning the origins and evolution of complex societies and writing traditions in Western Asia.

As is often the case with projects of such complexity and scope, we are indebted to many colleagues and friends who helped and supported us in various ways, beginning with the editor of *OrientLab Series Maior*, Nicolò Marchetti, who, from the very outset, enthusiastically accepted the proposal to publish this work in the series he directs and generously offered his advice, expertise, and assistance throughout the preparation of the volume. We are also very grateful to Dennys Frenez for his editorial assistance.

Among those who made this study possible, our former “travel companion” Matthieu Kervran deserves special mention, as his significant contribution to the decipherment of Linear Elamite cannot be overstated.

Our thanks also go to Jebrael Nokandeh, Director General of the Iran National Museum, Youssef Hassanzadeh (Iran National Museum) and Hossein Hazizi (Iran National Museum) for allowing us to study LEI 17/Q and LEI 19/S in Tehran; to Ariane Thomas, Director of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Antiquities at the Louvre, for her support and for promoting our research within the Louvre; to François Bridey and Julien Cuny, curators in the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Antiquities at the Louvre, for making the Linear Elamite texts in the Louvre available for study and for providing their valuable curatorial insight; to Imane Achouche (University of Liège) for collating LEI 16/P; to Francesco Giannone (University of Naples “L’Orientale”) for collating LEI 6/F, 7/G, and 8/H on the squeezes (inv. E 40, 41, and 45) in Scheil’s collection of *estampages*, part of the Fonds René Labat housed at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, with the kind permission of its curator, Michaël Guichard; and to Jean-Pierre Rosenkranz (Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg) for providing photographs of LEI 8/H (Pl. XXXI, top and bottom) and granting permission to publish them.

Other colleagues contributed unpublished materials, information, and comments. Among them, we would particularly like to thank Marc Bavant, Annie Caubet, Katrien De Graef, Nahid Nezari, Holly Pittman, Ingo Schrakamp, Walter Sommerfeld, Mirko Surdi, and Massimo Vidale.

The interpretations proposed here are the result of many years of collaborative research and of a sustained effort to engage directly with the full body of available evidence, confronting its complexity, ambiguities, and difficulties. We believe that true advances in the study of ancient scripts and languages must ultimately rest on the patient examination of the sources in their entirety and, whenever possible, in their archaeological and historical contexts. We hope that future generations of scholars will continue to build upon this work, further expanding our knowledge of Linear Elamite, the Elamite language, and the earliest written traditions of the Iranian Plateau.

## CONVENTIONS

### *Designation of Linear Elamite Inscriptions*

Linear Elamite (henceforth LE) inscriptions have traditionally been identified by individual letters of the Latin alphabet assigned in order of publication. This labeling convention was introduced by Scheil (1905) and has remained in use ever since. However, given the number of LE inscriptions that have subsequently come to light, the system is no longer adequate. We therefore introduce a new, expandable — and thus more sustainable — labeling scheme, in which the alphabetical designations are replaced by the siglum LEI (= Linear Elamite Inscription) followed by a sequential number from 1 to *n* (currently 45): A = LEI 1, B = LEI 2, and so forth.

To facilitate comparison with earlier scholarship, this study adopts a hybrid system combining the new and traditional conventions. Accordingly, the texts are provisionally designated as LEI 1/A, LEI 2/B, and so forth.

### *Normalized copies*

Normalized copies are standardized representations of LE inscriptions employing standardized sign forms, intended as an aid to the reader. For convenience, the direction of writing is conventionally rendered from left to right, regardless of the orientation of the original inscription. Non-symmetrical signs are accordingly oriented in the direction of writing. Thus, when an inscription originally written from right to left is reversed for left-to-right presentation, non-symmetrical signs are likewise reversed horizontally.

Restored portions of damaged or completely eroded signs are shown in red. In the accompanying transliterations, these signs are likewise rendered in red. Signs whose identification is uncertain — whether because of unusual graphic forms, poor execution, or ambiguity between two similarly shaped signs — are also rendered in red in transliteration and followed by a question mark. Unidentified signs are represented in transliteration by a red question mark.

The dividing sign (a vertical stroke) is shown in orange.

Red zigzag lines indicate breaks. Signs restored within breaks are likewise shown in red.

Light blue indicates sign forms that may reflect mistakes made by scribes or engravers.

Signs shown in green are presumed to derive from modern restorations (only in LEI 25b/Y<sub>2</sub> in Vol. II).

In LEI 8/H and its duplicates, passages not attested in all exemplars are enclosed within dark blue brackets.

### *Transliteration*

We follow Steve (1992) in the transliteration of cuneiform Elamite, although preference is given to the voiceless plosives *k*, *p*, and *t* (see § 1.5 below). Thus, for example, we transliterate *ka*<sub>3</sub>, *pa*<sub>2</sub>, and *ta*<sub>2</sub> rather than *ga*, *ba*, and *da*.

h-signs are transliterated as *hV(C)* or *(C)Vh*, following standard practice in Elamite studies, but as *ḥV(C)* or *(C)Vḥ* when they occur in Akkadian or Sumerian texts.

As is customary in Assyriological scholarship, square brackets, [ ], indicate portions of text — restored or not — that are not preserved in the original text(s); half brackets, [ ], indicate signs that are only partially preserved; (mathematical) angle brackets, ⟨ ⟩, enclose signs that were omitted by mistake; braces, { }, enclose signs that were written in error; a question mark indicates that a reading or restoration is uncertain; an exclamation mark indicates that a scribal error (i.e., an erroneous sign) has been corrected with the intended reading.

Determinatives are, as usual, transliterated in superscript.

A single slash indicates that the text continues below without a horizontal ruled line.

### *Transcription*

Transcriptions of Elamite words and texts are generally morphemic, with hyphens marking morpheme boundaries. Phonemes and phonemic forms are written in *italics*.

The vowel symbol *ɪ* indicates uncertainty between the phonemes *e* and *i* (see § 1.5 below).

The vowel symbol *ʊ* indicates uncertainty between the phonemes *o* and *u* (see § 1.5 below).

The palatal approximant [j] of the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) is transcribed as *ɣ*, following standard Assyriological practice.

The consonant symbol *z* does not represent IPA [z] but rather either a sibilant affricate (IPA [tʃ] or, less likely, [dʒ]) or a dental fricative (IPA [θ] or, less likely, [ð]) (see Desset et al. 2022: 47–48).

Double-written consonants are transcribed as single consonants (see § 1.5 below).

Geminate affricates in Akkadian are transcribed as *tts*, rather than *tss*, in accordance with a recommendation by Walter Sommerfeld (cf. id. 2021: 591 *et passim*).

#### *Translation*

*Italics* in the translation of words or passages indicate uncertainty.

#### *Normalization of proper names*

In the transcription of Elamite proper names, double consonants are avoided. Thus, we transcribe Itatu (not Itattu), Pala-išan (not Pala-iššan), Nahunte (not Nahhunte), and so forth.

Defectively written names are normalized to their full forms, with omitted phonemes supplied in parentheses. Thus, for instance, Insuš(i)nak, Zemt-Akon(e), and Hata(m)ti (rather than Insušnak, Zemt-Akon, and Hatati).

The name of the goddess Narûte/Narunte, however, is given as Narûte rather than as Narû(n)te, since Narunte appears to represent a later variant resulting from the secondary nasalization of the dental phoneme *t*.

#### *Sign designations*

Different conventions are used for sign designations: LE signs are enclosed in (ASCII) angle brackets (< >); cuneiform signs are written in small capitals; and PE signs are designated according to Dahl's system, consisting of the siglum M (after Meriggi) followed by the progressive number assigned to each sign in Dahl's (2006) sign list.

#### *Dates*

Dates follow the so-called "Middle Chronology" (cf. Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015).

#### *Cuneiform texts of Puzur-Sušinak*

The cuneiform texts of Puzur-Sušinak are numbered as in Gelb and Kienast 1990 (pp. 321–338) but are quoted from photographs of the original sources (which can be found in the Collections database of the Louvre — <https://collections.louvre.fr/> — entering the relevant museum numbers in the "search" field).





## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 HISTORICAL SETTING

The history of the Iranian Plateau may be divided into two broad periods. The first began with the Neolithization of the region in the 10<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE and witnessed the emergence of cities and states during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> millennia BCE. A widespread urban collapse at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE affected eastern Iran, Central Asia, and the Greater Indus Valley, but not western Iran. The second period, from the early 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE onward, was marked by the presence and political predominance of Iranian-speaking peoples who migrated from the Caucasus and/or Central Asia to the plateau during the preceding centuries.<sup>1</sup>

The first of these two periods saw the development of what is commonly understood as “civilization”,<sup>2</sup> beginning with the appearance in Western Asia — for the first time in human history — of a sedentary lifestyle (the first villages), agriculture, and animal husbandry, that is, the defining features of the Neolithic period. These innovations were followed by population growth, increasing social stratification, early metallurgy,<sup>3</sup> and long-distance exchange. In the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> millennia BCE, settlements grew into cities, and writing systems emerged, attesting to the existence of complex political organizations.

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1 The archaeological information presented in this paragraph draws on Amiet 1986; D.T. Potts 2016; Álvarez-Mon 2020; and Matthews and Fazeli 2022. For a discussion of the physical environment, see Petrie et al. 2018.

2 For a critical reassessment of this term, see Wengrow 2010.

3 The earliest metallurgical activities involved the processing of native copper and arsenic-bearing copper ores — primarily through crucible smelting — and were followed, in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE, by the extraction and working of lead, silver, and gold (Helwing 2018).

Framed by the large and densely populated alluvial plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Indus, and the Amu Darya, the geographic setting of the Iranian Plateau stands in sharp contrast, appearing as an archipelago of intermontane plains and valleys, piedmont zones, and oases, irrigated by endorheic watercourses that typically flowed into seasonal lakes. Recent geomorphological studies indicate that the ancient Iranian landscape differed significantly from today's, featuring a much denser vegetation cover and numerous lakes of considerable size — now vanished or disappearing — around which settlements were located. Deserts, mountain ranges, and long distances separated inhabited areas. These natural barriers help explain the disparities in settlement patterns — initially characterized by isolated, small-scale farming, herding, and hunting communities living in villages — as well as the considerable variability in material assemblages and cultural traditions across the Iranian Plateau.

The subsistence economy of 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium BCE Iran relied primarily on agriculture and animal husbandry. Life depended on the availability of water, arable soils for the cultivation of barley, wheat, and pulses, as well as fruits (dates, grapes, watermelons), nuts (pistachios, almonds), vegetables (cucumbers, garlic), herbs and spices (coriander, cumin), and grazing land for the raising of livestock, primarily sheep and goats but also cattle, which could serve as draft animals. Dairy products such as milk, butter, and cheese likely also played a significant role in the diet. In addition, hunting (gazelles, wild boars) was practiced, while fishing occurred wherever possible — for example, at Shahr-i Sokhta, which lay near a sizable lake.

Although direct evidence is scarce, later ethnographic and historical data, together with the region's mountainous setting, suggest that nomadic pastoralism — seasonal movements between highland summer pastures and lowland winter quarters — constituted an important component of the regional economy, particularly in the Central Zagros, where the Luristan graveyards appear to be unconnected to any permanent settlements (Matthews and Fazeli 2022: 280–281). Without falling into anachronism, one may posit complex relationships between sedentary farming communities and pastoral seminomadic groups (cf. D.T. Potts 2014: 1–46). This situation should not be conceived as strictly dimorphic but rather as a continuum of mobility levels, with groups shifting and adjusting their modes of life according to circumstances.

Like Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau witnessed the emergence of urban settlements in the late 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE. It is important, however, to consider the immense scale of Uruk in southern Mesopotamia, which expanded from roughly 70

to perhaps 250 hectares by 3100 BCE (and to around 600 hectares by 2800 BCE), with a population that may have reached 20,000–40,000 inhabitants. The largest Iranian settlement at the time was probably Tal-e Malyan, which covered approximately 50–60 hectares by the late 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE. Around 2900 BCE, it was enclosed within a monumental fortification wall encompassing roughly 200 hectares. Susa, by contrast, covered only about 15 hectares, apparently limited to the Acropolis and Apadana sectors.<sup>4</sup> In southeastern Iran, the situation is less clear, but the urban florescence of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE may have its roots in the 4<sup>th</sup>-millennium BCE Aliabad culture.

The principal Iranian urban centers attested in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE include Susa, Tal-e Malyan (ancient Anšan/Anzan), Konar Sandal (Jiroft), Shahdad, Keshit, Shahr-i Sokhta, Tepe Hissar, Tureng Tepe, Gohar Tepe, and Godin Tepe. Owing to limited excavations and preservation problems, the genesis of cities remains one of the major unknowns of late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium BCE Iranian archaeology. While no *ville neuve* is attested, the clustering of formerly distinct settlements may explain the formation of some of these cities, as appears to have been the case at Tal-e Malyan and Shahdad.

Buildings — sometimes multilevel — generally had rectangular plans (except at sites belonging to the Early Transcaucasian Culture, or Kura-Araxes cultural tradition, in northwestern Iran, such as Yanik Tepe, where circular buildings are the norm). Walls were built of mudbrick or *chineh* (molded clay), and roofs were made of reed mats and wooden beams. Where necessary, hearths provided heating. Because most buildings were left clean and empty by their last occupants, their precise function is difficult to determine; they may have served as houses or storerooms, with functions likely shifting over time as circumstances changed.

Urban layouts can be described as “agglutinative”: buildings were seemingly packed together without coherent planning (as at Shahr-i Sokhta, Tepe Hissar, Arisman, Tal-e Malyan, Susa, and Godin Tepe), although stand-alone structures are also attested (e.g., at Shahdad and Konar Sandal South). A distinctive double-door, central-hearth room — probably used for reception — appears at several late 4<sup>th</sup>-millennium BCE sites in western Iran. By contrast, central-courtyard houses seem to be attested only from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE (Susa and Tal-e Malyan).

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4 Susa already had a history of nearly two millennia by that time, as Ahmadzadeh et al. (1399/2021) have recently demonstrated. The earliest identified layers date to around 4800 BCE, although the foundation of the settlement may go back even earlier.

Non-domestic structures requiring large labor forces are also attested, including monumental platforms (as at Chogha Do Sar and Susa in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE,<sup>5</sup> and at Tureng Tepe in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE), fortifications (at Tal-e Malyan), and possibly citadels (e.g., Konar Sandal South).

Burials were usually primary, single interments. Exceptions include some graveyards in Luristan and a few collective tombs at Deh Dumen and Shahr-i Sokhta, where family vaults may have been excavated.

In the earliest phases, burials were placed in abandoned settlement areas or beneath house floors, before specialized funerary zones (graveyards) were created. Such zones are particularly well documented in 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium BCE eastern Iran (Shahr-i Sokhta, Shahdad, the Jiroft valley, and Baluchistan — notably Spidej and Chegerdak), as well as in Luristan (Mir Khair, Bani Surmah, Kalleh Nisar, among others).

The deceased were typically placed in a chamber in a tightly flexed, fetal position, accompanied by grave goods such as ceramic, metal, and stone vessels (including stone cosmetic containers), metal tools and weapons, personal ornaments (stone beads, decorated pins), figurines, and, more rarely, seals or badges. Elements of chariots with wooden wheels and nailed copper rims — probably markers of high status — have been found in some graves at Susa and within the Ancient Greater Khorasan Civilization.<sup>6</sup> Animal bones in these contexts may represent the remains of food offerings or funerary banquets.

Ceramic, metal, and stone crafts are well documented archaeologically, while exceptional taphonomic conditions — such as those at Shahr-i Sokhta — also provide rare evidence of perishable materials, including wooden artifacts (combs, game boards), wool, and reed used for mats, bags, and containers.

Given the environmental diversity of Iran, material culture — which in many cases constitutes our sole evidence for the communities that produced it — shows great variability. Caution is nevertheless required before drawing conclusions about the elusive domains of cultural identity and political affiliation.

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5 The Susa platform appears to have been the largest construction of its time in the world. According to Hole (2010: 238), this massive monument, together with the iconography of contemporary sealings (*ibid.*, 237 and fig. 15.8.h-l), attests to the institutionalization of a communal cult with elaborate religious rites involving “participation by numerous individuals under the direction of priests”. For the dating of the platform, see Canal 1978a and 1978b; Steve et al. 2002: tab. 2.c.

6 Also known as the Oxus Civilization or the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC). For this Bronze Age civilization, see, most recently, Lyonnet and Dubova 2021.

Interaction between communities, notably attested through similar material assemblages, is well documented. While inland circulation was likely hindered by the physical characteristics of the Iranian landscape (see above), beasts of burden such as donkeys and, possibly, camels facilitated movement.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, the Persian Gulf can be regarded as part of a cosmopolitan “commercial highway”, where wooden boats — with hulls lined with reed mats, ox hides, or date-palm fronds, and externally coated with bitumen — connected southern Iran to Susiana, Mesopotamia, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Indus region, thereby facilitating the circulation of materials, people, and ideas (Heimpel 1987; Steinkeller 2013b; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017).

During the Bronze Age, Mesopotamia and Iran had a long history of contact, interaction, and trade (T. Potts 1994). Archaeological and textual evidence from Mesopotamia records the westward flow of raw materials such as timber, stones (alabaster, chlorite, *Waagenophyllum* limestone,<sup>8</sup> carnelian/agate, lapis lazuli, and turquoise), metals (copper, tin, silver, and gold);<sup>9</sup> as well as finished artifacts such as the decorated, dark soft-stone vessels of the so-called “intercultural style”.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the Iranian lands provided Mesopotamia with a particular variety of flax (“Susian flax”), spices, alkali, bitumen, animals, and slaves (Steinkeller 2018: 182–183).

The goods exchanged by the Mesopotamians remain poorly documented, despite a few written sources from Lagaš — the easternmost of the Mesopotamian city-states — that mention the export of perishable commodities such as barley, flour, lard, wool, and perfumed oils (ibid., 182). Textiles, although not explicitly attested in the surviving texts, may also have constituted an important component of Mesopotamian exports (ibid.).

In the scholarly literature on the Ancient Near East, owing to the history of research and the abundance of written sources, Mesopotamia is often perceived as the civilizing core, surrounded by peripheral regions shrouded in mist, where only *secondary* phenomena — such as *secondary* states or *secondary* writing systems — could arise. To provide a more balanced reconstruction, the history of the Ancient Near

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7 For possible epigraphic evidence on the Bactrian camel in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE, see Steinkeller 2009 and Lafont 2020.

8 For this type of fossiliferous limestone with a characteristic appearance, see Desset et al. 2016: 71–76 and figs. 1–6; and Marchesi 2016a.

9 For the role of Iran in the inter-regional trade of metals, see Steinkeller 2020.

10 For this class of objects and a criticism of the term “intercultural style”, see, most recently, Marchesi 2016b.

East should, in a sense, be de-Mesopotamianized. This observation is not intended to diminish the value of Mesopotamian data. Considerable evidence nevertheless indicates that the contributions and innovations originating in lowland Susiana and eastern highlands — particularly in the earlier periods — should not be overlooked. At the same time, Mesopotamian cuneiform documentation remains irreplaceable in providing invaluable insight into the more immaterial aspects of the communities living on the Iranian Plateau, including politics, languages, and belief systems.

The Proto-Elamite (PE) tablets from Susa appear to record, already in the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE, substantial quantities of grain and livestock,<sup>11</sup> as well as large numbers of possible low-status male and female workers (perhaps slaves),<sup>12</sup> suggesting a relatively complex social organization in what was then not even the paramount settlement in ancient Iran (see above). The PE writing system is also attested at several sites across the Iranian Plateau — particularly in its western part (Tal-e Ghazir, Tal-e Malyan, Tepe Sialk, Tepe Ozbaki, and Tepe Sofalin), but also farther east (Tepe Yahya and Shahr-e Sokhta) (Desset 2016: 69–70 and fig. 1; Dahl 2019: 60–61 and fig. 2). Whatever the reasons and implications behind the diffusion of this script across such a wide geographical area may have been (see Dahl 2019: 62), it is highly improbable that the various communities inhabiting these regions at the time perceived themselves as sharing a common identity — one that Mesopotamians in later periods typically ascribed to the peoples of the Iranian Plateau, whom they indiscriminately referred to as “Elamites”, meaning, in a figurative sense, “eastern highlanders”.<sup>13</sup>

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11 See, for instance, <https://cdli.earth/P008736> and <https://cdli.earth/P009371> (accessed October 25, 2025). The former text is an account of cereal (PE sign M288; cf. Dahl 2019: 79), totaling 17,100 N1 capacity units. Since N1 likely represents one monthly ration (Nissen et al. 1993: 71), applying the standard monthly ration of grain for a male worker known from later Mesopotamian texts — sixty liters (Gelb 1965: 232–233; Waetzoldt 1987: 121) — yields a total of 1,026,000 liters or about 646 metric tons (assuming that the cereal in question is barley and using a bulk density of 0.63 kg/L). The latter text records 23,600 animals represented by the PE sign M367c, possibly denoting “male kid” (Dahl 2005: 94–95; the alternative “gazelle”, as proposed by Dahl 2019: 89, is rather unlikely).

12 See <https://cdli.earth/P008893> (accessed October 25, 2025), possibly recording “1,774 ‘yoked’ men and women” (cf. Kelley 2018: 330–334 and figs. 7.29–7.31).

13 For the use of Sumerian *Elam* and Akkadian *Elamtu(m)* in the broad sense of “eastern highlands”, see, among others, Michalowski 2008; D.T. Potts 2016: 1–13; Zadok 2018: 146–149 and 2019: 71–98. Conversely, several scholars have argued that these terms were also employed, *stricto sensu*, to denote the territory of the city of Anšan (Tal-e Malyan), roughly corresponding to the modern Iranian province of Fars, or to the southern sector of the Zagros Mountains (see Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.2.1, for an overview of the various scholarly opinions on this issue). As Stolper has pointed out, “the intended reference of the geographical term *Elam* in ancient

From the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE onward, cuneiform texts offer a glimpse of a seemingly fragmented political landscape (unsurprising, given the geography of the Iranian Plateau), in which different polities — including Urua/Arawa, Susa, Adamsul (often misread as Adamdun or Adamšah), Awan, Anšan (later Anzan), Šerihum, Hurti, Kimaš, Šimaški, Zab/pšali, Lullub/pum, Gutium, Marḥaši (Akkadian Parahsum), and Zahara — are attested (Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.2). Written sources mention their officials (including rulers), ambassadors, messengers, merchants, and soldiers. These polities were likely subject to the usual historical dynamics — rivalry, conflict, violence, concord, cooperation, alliance, and so forth — that typically characterize the event-driven history of competing or collaborating courts, which may likewise be hypothesized among and within them.

In the last three centuries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE, southwestern Iran — or rather, parts of it — came under foreign domination by various Mesopotamian powers (Akkad, Gudea, Ur III; see, most recently, Steinkeller 2018: 183–196; Schrakamp forthc.: §§ 13.3.2.5–13.3.2.7), beginning with the annexation of Susa by Sargon in the second half of the 24<sup>th</sup> century BCE. After the collapse of the Akkadian Empire, a local (?) ruler of Susa — Puzur-Sušinak — succeeded in the late 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE in establishing a vast political formation encompassing Elam,<sup>14</sup> the central Zagros, and parts of Mesopotamia, including the Diyala region and northern Babylonia (Steinkeller 2013a).

Puzur-Sušinak was later defeated by Ur-Namma, founder of the so-called “Third dynasty of Ur”, who also conquered Susa and, presumably, the entire Khuzestan plain (Marchesi 2013; Steinkeller 2013a: 295 and 298). Toward the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> century BCE, Eparti (also known as Yap(a)rat) I — an “Iranian” ruler originally from Šimaški<sup>15</sup>

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sources varied with political conditions and with the ancient author’s perspective, whether Mesopotamian, Susian, or highland Iranian” (Carter and Stolper 1984: 4). See also the following note.

14 In the present study, the term *Elam* is used in its conventional scholarly sense to refer to a region in southwestern Iran encompassing Susiana (Khuzestan), the territory of Anšan (Fars), the rugged land between them, and certain parts of the Gulf coast, such as the port city of Liyan (modern Tol-e Peytul near Bushehr) (cf. Zadok 2019: 102). The vast majority of extant texts in the Elamite language originate from this geographical area. The region in question (Elam proper; cf. the previous note) was called *Hatamti* in the language (Elamite) of its native speakers. Since the time of Puzur-Sušinak, Elamite *Hatamti* was equated with Akkadian *Elamtu(m)* (see below, § 3.3), although the two terms do not always appear to have been fully overlapping or interchangeable (Dessert 2017: 7). Moreover, the territorial extent of the polity centered in this region fluctuated over time — at times encompassing Susa and the Khuzestan lowlands, and at others excluding them.

15 In Mesopotamian sources, the toponym *Šimaški* may refer, in a broad sense (*sensu lato*), to a vast territory stretching from the northern border of Fars to the Caspian Sea, along the inner valleys and the eastern



— brought an end to Mesopotamian domination and took possession of Susa, albeit perhaps only for a short period (Steinkeller 2007: 222–223 and 228; cf. De Graef 2015). Either Eparti I or his son and successor, Kintatu, went on to capture the city of Ur and deport Ibbī-Sîn, the last Ur III king, as a captive to Anšan (Steinkeller 2007: 224 n. 35).<sup>16</sup> Ur and other parts of southern Babylonia — notably the territory of Lagaš (see “The Lament for Sumer and Ur” 172; ETCSL 2.2.3) — remained under foreign domination for at least ten years before Kintatu was defeated and driven back by the ruler of Isin, Išbī-Erra (Steinkeller 2008a).<sup>17</sup>

The rulers of the Šimaškian dynasty established Anšan as their capital (Steinkeller 2007: 224). In the administration of the kingdom, the king — called *zemt* in Elamite — was assisted by a subordinate figure, the “grand vizier” or “chief minister” — Akkadian *šukkalmaḫḫum*, corresponding to Elamite *likawe reša*, “grand *likawe*” (see Steinkeller 2007: 221–222 with n. 29; Desset et al. 2022: 26). In time, the grand vizier apparently rose to preeminence and replaced the king as the highest-ranking political authority (De Graef 2012).

The so-called “Sukkalmah dynasty”,<sup>18</sup> which followed the Šimaškian dynasty and remained in power until ca. 1500 BCE (see, most recently, Peyronel 2018; and De Graef 2022: 444–483), probably represents an evolution within the same royal line

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piedmont of the Zagros range. This area was divided among several Šimaškian principalities (Steinkeller 2007: 216–218 and fig. 1; id. 2014b: 291–293; see also Renette 2023: 300 n. 11, 302–304, and fig. 9.2). According to Steinkeller, Eparti I’s kingdom — that is, perhaps, Šimaški *sensu stricto* — was the most important of these polities, possibly located in the region of Isfahan (Steinkeller 2014a: 698 with n. 21; id. 2014b: 293). On the other hand, later, during the reign of the Ur III king Šu-Sîn, it is Zab/pšali — near the Caspian Sea (?) — that appears to have been (or become) the largest and mightiest Šimaškian principality (Steinkeller 2007: 216–217 with nn. 8–9; Schrakamp 2016: 175). For Šimaški in general, see also Michalowski 2011; and Steinkeller 2014b: 287–290.

16 This achievement is usually attributed to Kintatu, but the “Lament for Sumer and Ur” (ETCSL 2.2.3), which deals with these events, does not mention the name of the conqueror of Ur (see also the following note).

17 The exact length of this period depends on the complex issue of synchronizing the regnal years of Išbī-Erra with those of the partially overlapping reign of Ibbī-Sîn (see Van de Mieroop 1987: 120–128; and Steinkeller 2008a). Kintatu appears as the enemy of Išbī-Erra, king of Isin, in the literary composition “Išbi-Erra and Kindattu” or “Išbi-Erra B” (ETCSL 2.5.1.2; see also Steinkeller 2007: 224 n. 34). Messengers of Kintatu and his son Itatu (I) from Anšan are attested in a document from Isin dating to the nineteenth year of Išbī-Erra (BIN 9 no. 382; cf. Steinkeller 2008b). Accordingly, the two were presumably king and crown prince of Anšan seven years before the liberation of Ur, which likely occurred during the 26<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Išbī-Erra (ca. 1990 BCE), although celebrated in the year name 27 of this ruler.

18 From *SUKKAL* (or, more precisely, *SUGAL*;<sup>1</sup> see Borger 2003: 137 *sub* 494; and Attinger 2021: 944–945 n. 2936) and *MAḪ*, the two Sumerian logograms used to write the Akkadian term *šukkalmaḫḫum*. For the reconstruction of the latter as *sukkalmaḫḫum*, rather than *sukkalmahḫum* (*contra* AHW 1055 and CAD S 360), note the loanword *sukkallum* (from Sumerian *sugal*./*suggal*.) in OB Akkadian (Lieberman 1977: no. 609).

rather than a genuine dynastic change.<sup>19</sup> These grand viziers acting as sovereigns were in turn replaced by the rulers of the so-called “Kidinuid dynasty” (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022: 872–877), but the circumstances surrounding this transition remain unknown.

## 1.2 LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK

Textual sources from Iran dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BCE are written in three languages: Elamite, Akkadian, and — to a much lesser extent — Sumerian. While Akkadian and Sumerian are imports from neighboring Mesopotamia, Elamite appears to have been indigenous to southwestern Iran.

Of uncertain linguistic affiliation (Bavant 2021: 1; Desset et al. 2022: 44 with nn. 90–93; Basello 2023: 9–10), Elamite was likely the dominant spoken language during the Bronze Age in the geographical area referred to as *Elam* — or *Hatamti* in the native terminology (see n. 14 above).<sup>20</sup> A possible Elamite sentence in an LE text from Konar Sandal (LEI 30/D'; see Vol. II, § 3.2.3) may attest to the use of this language in written form as far east as Kerman Province, generally considered — though not unanimously — as belonging to the territory of ancient Marḥaši or Parahsum (see, most recently, Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.2.2). However, the geographical extent of the use of Elamite as a vernacular cannot be determined with any precision (cf. Stolper 2004: 60–61). Personal names of Easterners recorded in Mesopotamian texts offer a

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19 The title “grand vizier” appears originally to have been a prerogative of junior members of the Šimaškan royal family. Šilhaha, who held this title under Eparti II, king of Anšan, was a son of the latter (at least according to tradition; see *EKI* 48a § 3 and 48b § 3). His successor, Zemt-Akon(e) I, is described as a nephew (“son of the sister”) of Šilhaha (see Vol. II, § 2.3.5, Cuneiform 6 A), while Zemt-Akon(e)’s successor, Pala-išan, was a brother of Zemt-Akon(e) (*ibid.*, § 2.3.6, Cuneiform 7). In this connection, note also that Kintatu’s son, Itatu (I), exercised as vizier (*likaue*) before succeeding his father as king (see Vol. II, § 2.4.1, LEI 25a/Y<sub>1</sub>).

20 Desset has proposed replacing the glottonym *Elamite* — traditionally used in scholarship (Basello 2004: 2–11) — with the “autogenous label” *Hatamtite*, since *Hatamti* “seems to correspond to the auto-designation of the territory occupied by this language’s speakers” (Desset 2017: 24; see also G.P. Basello and A.V. Rossi *apud* Desset 2012: XVI–XVII). It should be noted, however, that *Hatamti* is never attested as a qualifier of the language spoken by the Elamites (or Hatamtites, if one prefers). Glottonyms referring to the latter are, by contrast, attested in both Sumerian and Akkadian: the Sumerians called it *eme elam*, “Elamite language” (Basello 2023: 10–11), whereas in Akkadian it was referred to either as *lišān Elamti(m)*, “the language of Elam”, or *E/Ilamītu(m)*, “Elamite” (see MSL SS 1, Sag A iv 32 and Sag B 244). In keeping with scholarly convention, the term *Elamite* (both as a substantive and as an adjective) is retained here to designate the language, despite the potential confusion with the homonymous adjective *Elamite* meaning “of or pertaining to Elam”.

glimpse of a diverse linguistic landscape on the Iranian Plateau (Zadok 2018; 2019), characterized by several distinct languages — though only one of them, Gutian, is explicitly mentioned in the sources (MSL SS 1, Sag B 245; see also Hallo 1971: 719 § 11; and Steinkeller 2014a: 702 n. 38). The onomastica of Marḥaši,<sup>21</sup> presumably to the east of Elam (see above), and Šimaški,<sup>22</sup> to the north, seem to be mostly non-Elamite linguistically (Zadok 2018: 148–149). At the same time, the Akkadian language from Mesopotamia appears to have been predominant toward the west — not only in Susiana, where an Akkadian-Elamite bilingualism can be assumed to have existed at least from the Sargonic period onward (see below, § 3.1; Zadok 2018: 150–155), but also in the piedmont and riverine valleys of the western Central Zagros (Renette 2018: 58–60; Zadok 2019: 72; D.T. Potts 2020: 59–60). Finally, a limited number of Hurrian personal names further attest to the presence of a Hurrian linguistic component, particularly in relation to Marḥaši.<sup>23</sup>

The origins of the Elamite-speaking people on the Iranian Plateau, and whether they replaced or interacted with earlier groups, remain unknown. While population movements documented by paleogenetic studies may help clarify these issues in the future, some recent attempts to read sequences of PE signs (mostly in tablets from Susa) by applying the readings of LE signs to their assumed PE counterparts reveal a conspicuous absence of morphological elements characteristic of the Elamite language as known from much later texts (Kelley et al. 2022; see, especially, tab.

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21 For personal names of individuals from Marḥaši — or interpreted as such (since not all names listed in the works cited below can confidently be assigned to Marḥašeans; cf. n. 23 below) — see Owen 1981: 257–258; Zadok 1993: 222–224; and Glassner 2005. For additional analyses and often divergent evaluations of these names, see also Richter 2004: 306–308; Francfort and Tremblay 2010: 171–182; Steinkeller 2012: 271 n. 55; Desset 2017: 15; and Zadok 2018: 149.

22 Due to the vastness of the area occupied by the Šimaškian principalities and its complex geographical configuration (see n. 15 above), the population can hardly have been homogeneous in linguistic or ethnic terms (Zadok 1991: 228; Steinkeller 2014a: 698). Although no comprehensive corpus of Šimaškian personal names is currently available, a substantial number of names of individuals from Šimaški — written as LU.SU(.A)<sup>(ki)</sup> — are listed in Gelb 1944: 100–105; Edzard and Farber 1974: 172–173; and Owen 1981: 261. For a preliminary analysis of this onomastic material, see Zadok 1991: 228–229.

23 See, for instance, BIN 3 no. 12: 3–4, ... ḥa-ši-ba-dal lu<sub>2</sub> mar-ḥa-ši<sup>ki</sup>, “... Ḥaṣib-adal, the man of Marḥaši”. For the Hurrian PN Ḥaṣib-adal, “The mighty one has heard”, see Richter 2016: 128 s.v. Ḥaṣip-atal. The king of Marḥaši who, according to Mesopotamian tradition, took part in the great revolt against Nāram-Suyin (“Naram-Sin”) — ḥu-up-šum-ki-bi (Goodnick Westenholz 1997: 244, line 33) — also bore a Hurrian name (see Richter 2016: 438 s.v. kib I). Additional Hurrian personal names that have been presented as names of Marḥašeans by Richter (2004: 307–308) cannot, however, be attributed with certainty to individuals from Marḥaši. Nor can a-ri-du-bu-uk in Buccellati 1966: no. 22 i 24 (pl. XI) be interpreted as a son of pa<sub>2</sub>-na-na lu<sub>2</sub> mar-ḥa-ši<sup>ki</sup> (ibid., line 18), as proposed by Glassner (2005) and Francfort and Tremblay (2010: 59).

7).<sup>24</sup> Similarly, all personal names borne by individuals designated as “Elamite” in ED Mesopotamian sources (cf. note 13 above) are linguistically non-Elamite or not securely analyzable as Elamite (Selz 1991: 38–48; cf. Zadok 1994: 38; Foxvog 2011: 92; and Balke 2017: 41).<sup>25</sup> By contrast, the names of some high-ranking Elamite officials from the time of Sargon of Akkad provide the earliest certain evidence of Elamite linguistic elements.<sup>26</sup> Slightly later — dating to the period of Nāram-Suyin (conventionally “Nārām-Suen” or “Naram-Sin”) — are two Elamite texts written in cuneiform: the so-called “Treaty of Naram-Sin” (MDP 11 no. 88 = *EKI* 2; Hinz 1967; Koch 2005b: 283–287; cf. Steinkeller 2018: 189 with n. 22; Desset et al. 2021: 77–78; and Badamchi 2025) and a school exercise or incantation (Sb 11249 = M. Lambert 1974: 4–8;<sup>27</sup> cf. Grillo-Susini 1987: 49; Tavernier 2011: 338–340; Krebernik 2018: 19–20 and 27). Beginning in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE, cuneiform Elamite inscriptions of rulers of the Šimaškian and Sukkalmah dynasties are also attested (Desset et al. 2022: 44; see Vol. III, Chap. 2).

The LE inscriptions considerably enrich this picture, expanding the corpus of early Elamite texts. One of them — LEI 10/J, dating to a period preceding Akkadian rule at Susa — can be regarded as the earliest certain Elamite text, as it displays unmistakable Elamite elements, such as the PN Palar-hūh(-)pak and the term *zemt*, “king, lord” (see below, § 2.1.1). Moreover, the LE corpus provides evidence of internal synchronic variation within the Elamite language (see especially the texts of the so-called “Metal Vessel Group”; Vol. II, § 4.1), offering a glimpse of the coexistence of distinct, contemporaneous Elamite dialects.

24 It should be noted, however, that some of these assumed “sound sequences” recall Elamite lexemes, such as *aha*, “here/there”; *ata*, “father”; *hala*, “clay”; *hapū*, “to hear”; *ike*, “brother”; *lūha*, “to ...” (see *ELW* 840 s.v. lu-h-ha-an); *nap/napi*, “god”; *ūzū*, “to go, walk”; and others.

25 For additional examples, see CUSAS 33 no. 102 (from Umma) rev. i 1, *ur<sub>2</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub> elam*; and OIP 14 no. 75 (from Adab) rev. ii 3–4, *še<sub>3</sub>-bi-da-ni elam*. The former name is Sumerian (see Balke 2017: 453); the latter is of unknown linguistic affiliation. Possible, though not certain, Elamite personal names may occur in Nik 310 (Selz 1989: 537–540), a Pre-Sargonic text from Girsu dealing with trade in the east. Among the recipients of goods in Elam are one *bu-da-ši-ir<sub>2</sub>* (iii 3 and 10) and one *ka-ka-ri<sub>2</sub>-taḥ* (rev. ii 4), whose names may contain possible Elamite elements (cf. Bauer 1989–90: 82; Balke 2017: 42, 111 with n. 216, and 216 with n. 591).

26 Namely, *Hišep-rašim<sub>1</sub>* (hi-si-ip-ra-si-ni), *Lūh-Išan* (lu-uh-iš-an), and *Šapir-Šimot* (sa-pir<sub>6</sub>-si-mu-ut) (see Frayne 1993: 23 and 25). Cf. Zadok 1984 s.vv. *HIŠIP* (p. 11), *IŠ(Š)AN* (pp. 17–18), *ŠAPIR* (p. 38), and *ŠIMUT* (pp. 39–40).

27 Note that the other tablet published by M. Lambert (Sb 11250; *ibid.*, 8–12) — presented as another 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium BCE cuneiform Elamite text — is Old Babylonian in date.

Elamite texts continued to be written in Iran until the end of the Achaemenid period. Scholars usually divide the textual documentation into four periods: Old Elamite (OE), 3<sup>rd</sup> and first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE; Middle Elamite (ME), second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE; Neo-Elamite (NE), first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE; and Achaemenid Elamite (AchE) — also referred to as Royal Achaemenid Elamite (RAE) — from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE to the fall of the Achaemenid Empire in 330 BCE. As Basello (2023: 19) has noted, “this periodization is more historical than linguistical, in the sense that the four periods correspond to historical variation in the distribution of the extant documentation rather than evident linguistic changes”. However, Achaemenid Elamite differs considerably from the preceding varieties in both morphology and lexicon (Henkelman 2022: 412–416).

Elamite is no longer attested after the Achaemenid period. It may, however, have survived in some form in southwestern Iran until around 1000 CE, if the enigmatic *Khūzī* language — reportedly spoken in Khuzestan during the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries CE according to the Islamic geographers al-Istakhri and Ebn Ḥawqal — was indeed a later descendant of Elamite (see, most recently, van Bladel 2021). Yet the absence of an Elamite substratum in the Persian dialects of southwestern Iran (de Blois 1994) renders this hypothesis problematic (D.T. Potts 2016: 410; Basello 2023: 12; cf. van Bladel 2021: 7–16). In any case, Elamite disappeared without leaving any tangible trace in the Old, Middle, or Neo-Persian languages.

It has also been argued that Brahui — a Dravidian language spoken primarily in the modern Pakistani province of Balochistan — represents the modern descendant of an otherwise unattested eastern dialect of Elamite (McAlpin 2015; 2022). This proposal, however, has been met with skepticism (see Pedron 2023; and Annamalai 2024: 203–204).

Be that as it may, such hypotheses concerning the possible survival of Elamite in later forms have no bearing on our understanding of the language itself. Despite nearly two centuries of Elamite studies, the language remains far from well understood. Its linguistic isolation, the relatively small number of surviving texts, and the extreme scarcity of bilingual inscriptions prior to the Achaemenid period have thus far prevented scholars from attaining a satisfactory knowledge of its morphology and lexicon. In fact, no comprehensive descriptive grammar of Elamite is yet available. What we currently possess are several grammatical sketches (Reiner 1969; Grillot-Susini 1987; 2008; Khačikjan 1998; Stolper 2004; Quintana 2010; 2013; Tavernier

2011; 2018a; 2020; Bavant 2021; Krebern timer 2021; Basello 2023; Pedron 2023: 21–32 and 74–100) — some more detailed, some less so — that mix Achaemenid Elamite with earlier stages of the language, are not always consistent with one another, and are generally incomplete.

As for the lexicon, a comprehensive vocabulary of the material known up to 1987 is available in the *Elamisches Wörterbuch (ElW)*. This important reference work, however, must be used with great caution, as it often reflects the personal interpretations of its two authors — Walther Hinz and Heidemarie Koch — without providing justification for them (cf. de Blois 1992: 195–196; Zadok 1995: 242–243). More generally, the meanings of many Elamite lexemes remain obscure or disputed. Consequently, translations must in many cases be regarded as tentative, often amounting to little more than plausible conjectures or hypotheses grounded solely in contextual considerations.

### 1.3 EARLY HISTORY OF WRITING IN IRAN

The history of writing in Iran between 3500 and 1900 BCE may be reconstructed according to five distinct phases (cf. Desset 2022b).<sup>28</sup>

Phase 0 — mid 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE: a pre-writing period characterized by the use of early accounting devices such as clay tokens enclosed in hollow clay balls (so-called *bullae*), as well as the subsequently introduced numerical and numero-ideographic tablets — also made of clay — bearing numerical signs and single non-numerical signs (Desset 2012: 69–73 and figs. 21–22, 24, and 27).<sup>29</sup>

Phase I — late 4<sup>th</sup> (– early 3<sup>rd</sup>) millennium BCE: the period marked by the emergence and development of the PE writing system (Englund 2006; Desset 2012: 3–92; 2016; Dahl 2018; 2019: 56–93; Monroe et al. 2025).<sup>30</sup> Almost all texts in this script, written on

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28 This is a revised and updated version of Desset’s paper. For alternative treatments of the same topic, see Dahl 2009; Glassner 2018; Dahl 2023; Daneshmand 2024; Matthews et al. 2025.

29 Such devices remained in use even after the emergence of writing proper (Desset 2012: 72–73).

30 The exact duration of this period cannot be determined. Although <sup>14</sup>C dates are available for contexts that yielded PE tablets (Desset 2012: 6–9, 13, and figs. 1–2; Dahl et al. 2013: 360–365 and figs. 18.6–18.8; Desset 2016: 90 and fig. 26), the presence of a plateau in the radiocarbon calibration curve spanning the period between ca. 3400 and 2900 BCE prevents the establishment of more precise dates and of a sufficiently narrow chronological range within this interval (Dahl et al. 2013: 360–365 and fig. 18.10; Petrie 2014: 147–150 and fig. 9.6). Thus, for instance, the fact that the tablets from Tal-e Malyan come from stratigraphic contexts whose radiocarbon determinations span the period 3300–3050/3000 BCE (Dahl et al. 2013: 360–361 and fig.

clay tablets, consist of accounts concerning commodities, animals, or labor (Dahl 2019: 86–89). Logograms were employed to write numbers, accounted objects, and other textual elements (*ibid.*, 75–82), whereas the names of the individuals involved appear to have been written using a mixed system combining logograms and phonograms (Desset 2012: 48–56, fig. 18, and tabs. I–VI; *id.* 2016: 82–87 and figs. 18–22; cf. Dahl 2019: 82–84 and figs. 12–13). In this respect, Proto-Elamite differs markedly from the at least partly contemporary proto-cuneiform used in Mesopotamia, apparently exhibiting phonetic uses of signs considerably earlier (cf. Englund 2004: 127).

Phase II — early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE: a transitional phase between Proto-Elamite and Linear Elamite, uniquely represented by LEI 15/O (see below, § 2.2.4). This transition must have occurred before 2667 BCE, which represents the latest possible date for the earliest datable LE text (see below, Phase III). As regards the end of Proto-Elamite, this depends on the correlation of level 14B of the Acropole I sondage — the latest level at Susa in which PE tablets were discovered (Dahl et al. 2013: fig. 18.17) — with either the Jemdet Nasr period (Voigt and Dyson 1992a: 133; 1992b: fig. 2) or the Early Dynastic I period (Dittmann 1986: 458 and tab. 159e; Steve et al. 2002: tab. 2.c; Matthews and Fazeli 2022: tab. 10.1) in Mesopotamia. Accordingly, the end of Proto-Elamite may be dated either to ca. 3000 BCE, in the former case, or to ca. 2800/2750 BCE in the latter (cf. Wencel 2018).<sup>31</sup>

Phase III — early 3<sup>rd</sup> to early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium (20<sup>th</sup> century) BCE: the period of use of Linear Elamite. This script likely represents a development of the earlier PE writing system (*pace* Dahl 2023), as suggested by the fact that 59 out of 78 signs in Linear Elamite (ca. 76%) can be traced back to prototypes in the PE script (see Pls. III–V; cf. Mäder 2021b).<sup>32</sup> LE texts are mostly classifiable as display texts,<sup>33</sup> and no administrative records are known. The paucity of the preserved sources ( $n = 45$ ), compared with the broad chronological and geographical distribution of Linear Elamite (see below,

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18.8; Desset 2016: 90 and fig. 26) does not imply that Proto-Elamite was employed throughout the entire duration of this period; it merely indicates that the script was probably already in use in the last century of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE.

31 The latter dating fits better with Surdi's (2024: 4) inference, based on unpublished excavation reports by Roland de Mecquenem, that PE tablets were found in the upper layers of de Mecquenem's 3<sup>e</sup> étage, not far removed in depth — and consequently in time — from the earliest LE texts from Susa (see below, § 2.1 and Pl. IX).

32 The hapax signs in Pl. VI are excluded from this count.

33 That is, inscriptions conceived primarily for public display.

§ 1.4), suggests that some perishable material may have functioned as the primary writing support for this script (Eskandari et al. 2025: 133). The earliest datable LE text — LEI 19/S — has been radiocarbon-dated to 2923–2667 BCE (Eskandari et al. 2025: 125–127 and 129–131), whereas the latest — LEI 37/K' — belongs to the period when Pala-išan ruled with the title *likaue reša* (“grand vizier”), presumably toward the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE (see below, § 1.4 with n. 43). Paleographic variations through time and across regions can also be observed (see Pls. III–V).<sup>34</sup> Certain signs attested in earlier texts later became obsolete and were consequently eliminated from the sign repertoire (see Pl. VI, especially the signs occurring in LEI 11/K). Although a residual use of logograms cannot be entirely excluded in some of the earliest, still insufficiently understood texts,<sup>35</sup> Linear Elamite appears to have been an entirely phonographic system employing both alphabetic and syllabic (CV) signs. This feature is securely attested in the later texts from the time of Puzur-Sušinak onward; however, a scribal exercise predating the Akkadian domination at Susa already attests the existence of a systematized grid of alphabetic and syllabic signs (see below, § 2.2.1).<sup>36</sup>

Phase IV — 1900 BCE onward: the period of exclusive use of cuneiform. This logosyllabic script of Mesopotamian origin was introduced at Susa following the Akkadian conquest around 2300 BCE. Initially used almost exclusively for writing Akkadian and Sumerian texts,<sup>37</sup> cuneiform was later adopted by Elamite chancelleries for the composition of royal inscriptions in Elamite, beginning around 2000 BCE (see Vol. III, Chap. 2). Both Linear Elamite and cuneiform were employed for this textual genre during the 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE; in the following century, however, the latter completely replaced the former, possibly because cuneiform enjoyed greater prestige at the time,

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34 The texts of the Metal Vessel Group are particularly noteworthy in this respect. They exhibit a number of sign forms that depart from the southwestern tradition attested at Susa and in Fars from the time of Puzur-Sušinak to that of Pala-išan, while at the same time showing affinities, in certain signs, with the southeastern texts from Kerman Province. A tendency toward regional graphic variation between southwestern and southeastern Iran is already observable in Proto-Elamite when the texts from Susa and Tal-e Malyan are compared with those from Tepe Yahya.

35 For a possible, albeit uncertain, example, see Eskandari et al. 2025: 131. A continued use of a certain number of logograms inherited from Proto-Elamite to write numbers, measures, and objects may conceivably have occurred in administrative LE texts; none of these, however, has survived.

36 At any rate, regardless of whether it had already become completely phonographic at an earlier or later stage, Linear Elamite represents the earliest attested example of a purely phonographic writing system, predating the earliest abjads and alphabetic scripts by a considerable margin.

37 For two noteworthy exceptions, see above, § 1.2.



or as a consequence of the increasing involvement of Elamite rulers in Mesopotamian affairs and the approximately contemporaneous urban collapse of eastern Iran, which presumably brought about the end of Linear Elamite in that region as well.

#### 1.4 THE LINEAR ELAMITE CORPUS: TEXT CLASSIFICATION AND CHRONOLOGY

As of 2026, forty-five LE texts are known (see below, Tab. 1.1).<sup>38</sup> They originate from Susa, Fars (the Persepolis (?) and Kamfiruz areas), Kerman Province (Shahdad and Konar Sandal), or are of unknown provenance.

These texts can be divided into seven distinct groups, presented here in geo-chronological order. Groups 1–4 originate from southwestern Iran (Groups 1 and 2 from Susa; Groups 3 and 4 from Fars). Most texts of Group 1 probably predate the 23<sup>rd</sup> century BCE; Group 2 dates to the second half of the 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE; Group 3, perhaps, to the 21<sup>st</sup> century BCE; and Group 4 to the 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Group 5 comprises texts from Kerman Province (Shahdad and Konar Sandal) and includes the earliest datable LE text, LEI 19/S, which can be assigned to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE (see below). Texts of Groups 6 and 7 are of unknown provenance. The former — inscribed on metal vessels — constitute a homogeneous group, possibly from an unknown location in southeastern Iran, while the latter consist of artifacts — seals — that are related only by type. Two of these seals can be linked to well-known seal types from the Persian Gulf region (LEI 22/V) and Central Asia (LEI 33/G’).

##### **Group 1. Susian texts unrelated to Puzur-Sušinak**

(most texts predate Puzur-Sušinak)

- LEI 15/O (tablet; probably earlier than the rest of the group)
- LEI 10/J, 11/K, and 12/L (clay cones; earlier than 2300 BCE)
- LEI 13/M, 14/N, and 18/R (tablets; the first two earlier than 2300 BCE)
- LEI 20/T (stone inscription)

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<sup>38</sup> Two texts — LEI 15/O and LEI 31/E’ — cannot be classified with certainty as Linear Elamite. Images of all texts are available at the Hatamti-Linear Elamite Database (<https://hatamti-elam.uliege.be/docs>; accessed March 14, 2026).

**Group 2. Inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak from Susa**

(late 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE; tentatively ordered chronologically based on the royal titles employed)

- LEI 9/I (written beside an Akkadian inscription of Puzur-Sušinak)
- LEI 1/A (written beside an Akkadian inscription of Puzur-Sušinak)
- LEI 2/B (written beside an Akkadian inscription of Puzur-Sušinak) and 4/D
- LEI 3/C (written beside an Akkadian inscription of Puzur-Sušinak)
- LEI 5/E
- LEI 6/F, 7/G, and 8/H (partial duplicates of the same text)
- LEI 21/U
- LEI 16/P

**Group 3. Marvdasht silver vessel inscription**

(21<sup>st</sup> century BCE (?))

- LEI 17/Q

**Group 4. Inscriptions on the Kamfiruz silver beakers**

(Šimaški and early Sukkalmah periods, 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE; ordered chronologically)

- LEI 25/Y and 26/Z (Itatu I)
- LEI 43/R' (Eparti II)
- LEI 42/Q', 41/P', 24/X, 36/J', and 34/H' (Eparti II and Šilhaha)
- LEI 32/F' (Eparti II and Zemt-Akon(e)/"Temti-Agun" I)
- LEI 35/I' (Eparti II and an undetermined ruler [= Pala-išan?])
- LEI 37/K' (Pala-išan)

**Group 5. Inscriptions from Kerman Province**

(3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE)

- LEI 19/S (Shahdad; late 30<sup>th</sup> – early 27<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE)
- LEI 28/B', 29/C', 30/D', and 31/E' (Konar Sandal; second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE)

**Group 6. Inscriptions of the Metal Vessel Group**<sup>39</sup>(provenance unknown [southeastern Iran?];<sup>40</sup> before 2000 BCE)

- LEI 38/M' (Hūnpar-intata)
- LEI 27/A' (Lapu), 40/O' (id.), and 44/S'<sup>41</sup>
- LEI 39/N' (Ašhame)
- LEI 23/W (Pala-leha?)

**Group 7. Seal inscriptions**(provenance unknown; late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BCE)

- LEI 45/T' (provenance unknown; late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE)
- LEI 22/V (Gulf-type stamp seal; 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE)
- LEI 33/G' (Bactrian-type stamp seal; 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE)

Most texts are display inscriptions placed on monuments, metal vessels, or seals, indicating ownership (label inscriptions), offerings (dedicatory inscriptions), or royal undertakings (celebratory inscriptions). In addition, a small number of texts occur on clay tablets or cones. Among the tablets is a school text (LEI 13/M) treating sign values (see below, § 2.2.1). Of the cones, only one — LEI 10/J — has a completely preserved inscription, possibly interpretable as a request for divine protection for the king (§ 2.1.1). No administrative or legal documents are attested.

Whenever possible, inscriptions are dated on the basis of the name(s) of the ruler(s)

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39 These texts are grouped together based on shared elements of paleography, prosopography, terminology, and phraseology. In addition, it should be noted that four of these texts are written on sub-cylindrical spouted vessels of a peculiar type for which no excavated examples are known.

40 In our earlier study (Desset et al. 2022), this group was assumed to originate in southeastern Iran and to represent a southeastern tradition of LE writing. These hypotheses were based on the observation that the script of these texts appears to be paleographically distinct from that of the contemporary southwestern texts of Groups 2–4 (many signs have different graphic shapes), while sharing some sign forms with texts from southeastern sites (Group 5). On the other hand, besides divine and personal names of unknown linguistic affiliation, the Group 6 texts feature deities well known in western Iran, such as Hūmpan and the god of Susa, Insuš(i)nak, as well as personal names that can be interpreted as Elamite. For these reasons, we have decided to adopt a more cautious position here. It is worth noting that one of the texts of this group — LEI 27/A' — explicitly mentions a ruler (?) named Lapu and a possible polity called Hešaore(y)i, but neither is known from cuneiform sources, and the possible toponym in question cannot at present be located.

41 Note that the same individual, Kikn-pishūš, occurs in all three texts.

mentioned, synchronisms with Mesopotamian sovereigns, and the placement of the latter within the Middle Chronology framework.<sup>42</sup> About half of the texts belong to the reigns of known rulers.

Puzur-Sušinak, a contemporary of Ur-Namma of Ur, commissioned the LE texts of Group 2. Ur-Namma ruled over southern Mesopotamia for eighteen years between the end of the 22<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries BCE (ca. 2110–2093 BCE according to the Middle Chronology). Puzur-Sušinak's reign probably came to an end at the hands of Ur-Namma himself (see § 1.1 above). Accordingly, Puzur-Sušinak must have ruled during the second half of the 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. His texts can be classified into three subgroups (possibly corresponding to three successive chronological stages of his reign) based on the different titles employed by this ruler: (1) *hatpak* (governor) of Susa; (2) *hatpak* (governor) of Susa and *šepk* (general) of the people of Hatamti; and (3) *zemt* (king) of Awan.

The LE texts of Group 4 pertain to the reigns of Itatu I and Eparti II, two kings ruling in the 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE. These inscriptions also mention other high-ranking officials — Šilhaha, Zemt-Akon(e) I, and Pala-išan — who were contemporaries of Eparti II and succeeded one another in his service as grand viziers.<sup>43</sup> Itatu I is attested in a document dated to the nineteenth year of King Išbī-Erra of Isin (= 2001 BCE according to the Middle Chronology), when he was not yet king of Anšan. Eparti II was either the immediate successor of Itatu I (De Graef 2022: 448–452) or, if the “Susa King List” is to be trusted, his second successor. In either case, he must have enjoyed a long reign — suggested by the three successive high-ranking officials who held the office of grand vizier under him — during the 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

When historical information is lacking, other dating methods and criteria have been employed, including radiocarbon evidence, stratigraphic data, associated pottery, paleography, and linguistic development. While detailed discussions of such issues are provided in the appropriate places (see the sections on text groups and individual texts, where the dating of each group or individual text is addressed), a brief overview is offered here for the reader's benefit.

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42 Preference is conventionally accorded to the so-called “Middle Chronology”, although a Middle Chronology reduced by eight or twelve years may be more accurate (see Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015: 5–11).

43 With regard to Pala-išan, his subordination to Eparti II rests on the restoration of his name in LEI 35/I' (see Vol. II, § 2.5.8). It should be noted that Pala-išan appears alone in LEI 37/K' (ibid., § 2.6.1), possibly implying that he was then no longer under the superior authority of a king of Anšan.

The earliest securely datable LE text, LEI 19/S, is inscribed on the rim of a jar from Grave 30 in Cemetery A at Shahdad. This funerary context is dated to 2923–2667 BCE on the basis of a recent radiocarbon analysis of cosmetic material from a chlorite vial deposited in the same grave (Eskandari et al. 2025). Ceramic comparisons of other vessels from this grave with stratigraphically controlled material from Shahr-i Sokhta (Period II, Phase 5B) also support this dating (*ibid.*, 126–127 and fig. 3).

From Konar Sandal come three completely preserved tablets bearing LE inscriptions (LEI 28/B', 29/C', and 30/D'). They were discovered in a trench (Trench XV) in association with both the buff ware characteristic of Konar Sandal North and the red ware characteristic of Konar Sandal South (Madjidzadeh 2011: 241). This association may suggest a date in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE for these tablets (cf. Massimo Vidale *apud* Desset 2014: 91 n. 22).<sup>44</sup> A fragment of a fourth text, LEI 31/E', was recovered from the architectural complex at the summit of the Konar Sandal South mound, in a context radiocarbon-dated to 2490–2290 BCE (Holly Pittman *apud* Eskandari et al. 2025: 132).

At Susa, several Group 1 texts (LEI 10/J, 11/K, 12/L, 13/M, and 14/N) were uncovered in layers predating the Akkadian occupation of the site around 2300 BCE (Surdi 2024). The “archaic” nature of these texts is further supported by occasional occurrences, in LEI 11/K and LEI 14/N, of signs otherwise attested only in PE texts (see Pls. VI and V, respectively). A considerably greater number of PE-related signs also occurs in LEI 15/O (see below, Tab. 2.1), which may attest to a transitional phase between the PE and LE scripts in the first centuries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE, despite its presumed discovery in a much later context (see below, § 2.2.4).

In other circumstances, paleographic comparisons and the occurrence of certain key terms with apparent chronological significance can help determine the relative chronology of a given text or text group. Thus, for instance, the signs occurring in LEI 17/Q, which is the only text representing Group 3, share identical or very similar

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<sup>44</sup> Nahid Nezari (Universität Tübingen), whose doctoral dissertation, *Pottery Typology and Change: An Investigation on Pottery Development During the Early Bronze Age in the Jiroft Region*, is being supervised by Peter Pfälzner, offered the following assessment: “With regard to the dating of these two pottery types, a precise chronological attribution is not possible in the absence of detailed technological characteristics and clearly defined vessel forms. It can only be noted that plain buff-slipped wares are attested throughout the third millennium BC in the region, with specimens from the earlier phases typically exhibiting fine to medium-coarse fabrics, and those from the mid- to late third millennium becoming increasingly coarse and hard. Plain red-slipped wares, while increasing in frequency from the mid-third millennium BC onward, also occur in smaller quantities during the first half of the third millennium BC”.

forms with signs attested in Group 2 (Puzur-Sušinak, second half of the 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE), in Group 4 (Šimaški and early Sukkalmah periods, 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE), or in both groups (see Pls. III-V). This points to an intermediate date for LEI 17/Q and Group 3, that is, the 21<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Partial confirmation of this date comes from the occurrence, in LEI 17/Q, of the verb “to place” in the early form *tiya*, which was replaced by *ta* in 20<sup>th</sup>-century BCE texts (see below, Chap. 3, n. 84).

Another case in which paleography plays a role in dating is that of the seal inscriptions LEI 22/V and LEI 33/G': in both texts, the sign <za> occurs as . This graphic variant also occurs in LEI 32/F', from the time of Zemt-Akon(e) I (late 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE), whereas earlier texts, up to LEI 25b/Y<sub>2</sub>, which can almost certainly be attributed to Itatu I (early 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE), exhibit the form  (see Pl. V). Accordingly, the two seal inscriptions should be dated to a period later than the reign of Itatu I.

A third seal inscription, LEI 45/T', is presumably earlier. Some signs — including <h>, <mi>, and <s> — exhibit graphic characteristics of Group 6 (see Pls. III-IV), whereas the <ke> sign closely resembles that of LEI 17/Q (Group 3) in shape (see Pl. III).

Group 6 represents a special case. The texts of this group pose significant challenges, as they lack usable historical or archaeological information. Internal paleographic comparisons and our reconstruction — albeit tentative — of the chronological development of the LE signs (Desset forthc.) suggest the existence of four distinct redactional stages:

- I. LEI 38/M'
- II. LEI 27/A', 40/O', and 44/S'
- III. LEI 39/N'
- IV. LEI 23/W

In addition, five of these texts — LEI 23/W, 27/A', 38/M', 40/O', and 44/S' — have *tiya* instead of *ta*, suggesting a date before 2000 BCE (see above). While the use of the titles *šepk* (LEI 27/A', 40/O', and 44/S') and *hatpak* (LEI 23/W) — otherwise attested only in inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak — also supports this dating, the forms of the <s> and <š> signs, which are close to those found in the pre-2300 BCE cones from Susa (see Pls. IV and V, respectively), may point to an earlier date.

Finally, no evidence is available for dating the inscriptions LEI 18/R and LEI 20/T.

| Text<br>Text group<br>Vol. & § | Object<br>Dimensions<br>(in cm)<br>Material                                                                                                                 | Excavated<br>(yes/no)<br>Provenance<br>Date of<br>discovery                                                                                   | Current<br>location<br>Inventory<br>number      | Date<br>Ruler                                          | Text<br>length<br>Direction<br>of writing | Selected<br>publications                                                                                                                                       |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| LEI 1/A<br>2<br>I 3.2.2        | Sculpted slab<br><br>H 21; W 71; D 85 (cf. Lampre 1905: fig. 323; H 18; W 68; D 86)<br><br>Limestone or sandstone                                           | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis, beneath the temple of Insuš(i)nak<br><br>1903                                                                     | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 17                      | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br><br>Puzur-Sušinak | 50<br><br>R→L                             | Scheil 1905: pl. 2, left; Hinz 1969: fig. 5 and pl. 7; Meriggi 1971: pl. I.A                                                                                   |
| LEI 2/B<br>2<br>I 3.3.1        | Sculpted boulder (frag.)<br><br>Sb 6: H 57; W 41; D 65<br><br>Sb 177: H 25; W 35; D 63<br><br>Sb 18446: H 16.2; W 14.5; D 7.4<br><br>Limestone or sandstone | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis, near the temple of Insuš(i)nak<br><br>1898-1909 (?) (Sb 6: before 1905; Sb 177: 1898-1899; Sb 18446: 1908-1909 ?) | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 6 + Sb 177 (+) Sb 18446 | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br><br>Puzur-Sušinak | 33 (inc.)<br><br>L→R                      | Scheil 1905: pl. 2, bottom right; Hinz 1969: fig. 6 and pl. 8; Meriggi 1971: pl. I.B; André and Salvini 1989: fig. 2 and pl. IIIb; Harper et al. 1992: cat. 54 |
| LEI 3/C<br>2<br>I 3.3.2        | Statuette (frag.)<br><br>H 14; W 9.2; D 6.6<br><br>Alabaster                                                                                                | Yes<br><br>Susa<br><br>Before 1905                                                                                                            | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 87                      | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br><br>Puzur-Sušinak | 43 (inc.)<br><br>R→L                      | Scheil 1908: pl. 4, middle; Hinz 1969: fig. 7 (conflated copy of LEI 3/C and 5/E) and pls. 9-10; Meriggi 1971: pl. I.C                                         |
| LEI 4/D<br>2<br>I 3.3.1        | Sculpted boulder (frag.)<br><br>H 51.9; W 66; D 55<br><br>Limestone or sandstone                                                                            | Yes<br><br>Susa<br><br>Before 1908                                                                                                            | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 172/6733                | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br><br>Puzur-Sušinak | 52 (inc.)<br><br>R→L                      | Scheil 1908: pl. 4, left; Hinz 1969: fig. 8 and pl. 12; Meriggi 1971: pl. I.D; André and Salvini 1989: pl. IVa                                                 |

|                         |                                                            |                            |                          |                                                    |                  |                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| LEI 5/E<br>2<br>I 3.3.3 | Unclear<br>H 23.7; W 29.5; D 6.2<br>Limestone or sandstone | Yes<br>Susa<br>Before 1908 | Paris: Louvre<br>Sb 140B | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br>Puzur-Sušinak | 34 (inc.)<br>L→R | Scheil 1908: pl. 4, right; Hinz 1969: fig. 7 (conflated copy of LEI 3/C and 5/E) and pl. 11; Meriggi 1971: pl. I.E                                                                          |
| LEI 6/F<br>2<br>I 3.4.1 | Slab<br>H 21.5; W 63.5; D 22<br>Limestone or sandstone     | Yes<br>Susa<br>Before 1908 | Paris: Louvre<br>Sb 155  | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br>Puzur-Sušinak | 46 (inc.)<br>R→L | Scheil 1908: pl. 5, left; Hinz 1969: fig. 9 (conflated copy of LEI 6/F, 7/G, and 8/H) and pl. 13.F; Meriggi 1971: pl. II.F; André and Salvini 1989: fig. 5; Desset et al. 2022: fig. 12.F   |
| LEI 7/G<br>2<br>I 3.4.1 | Slab<br>H 13.7; W 57; D 21.3<br>Limestone or sandstone     | Yes<br>Susa<br>Before 1908 | Paris: Louvre<br>Sb 139  | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br>Puzur-Sušinak | 43 (inc.)<br>R→L | Scheil 1908: pl. 5, middle; Hinz 1969: fig. 9 (conflated copy of LEI 6/F, 7/G, and 8/H) and pl. 13.G; Meriggi 1971: pl. II.G; André and Salvini 1989: fig. 6; Desset et al. 2022: fig. 12.G |
| LEI 8/H<br>2<br>I 3.4.1 | Slab<br>H 15.8; W 49; D 12<br>Limestone or sandstone       | Yes<br>Susa<br>Before 1908 | Paris: Louvre<br>Sb 140A | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup> century BCE<br>Puzur-Sušinak | 64 (inc.)<br>R→L | Scheil 1908: pl. 5, right; Hinz 1969: fig. 9 (conflated copy of LEI 6/F, 7/G, and 8/H) and pl. 13.H; Meriggi 1971: pl. II.H; André and Salvini 1989: fig. 7; Desset et al. 2022: fig. 12.H  |



|                          |                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                         |                                                               |                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| LEI 9/I<br>2<br>I 3.2.1  | Divine statue<br>(goddess)<br><br>H 106; W 45;<br>D 46<br><br>Limestone or<br>sandstone | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis<br>(body: Trench<br>93, near the<br>Shrine [ <i>Édicule</i> ]<br>of Man-ʾistūsu;<br>head: southeast<br>of the temple<br>of Insuš(i)nak)<br><br>1904 (head) and<br>1907 (body) | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 54 + Sb<br>6617 | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Puzur-<br>Sušinak | 38 (inc.)<br><br>B→T<br><br>R→L | Scheil 1913: 18<br>and pls. III.3 and<br>IV (printed in<br>reverse order:<br>pl. IV faces p. 18<br>and pl. III faces<br>p. 24); Hinz<br>1969: fig. 10 and<br>pl. 14; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.“I”;<br>Harper et al.<br>1992: cat. 55 |
| LEI 10/J<br>1<br>I 2.1.1 | Cone<br><br>H 5.4; Base<br>Diam 5.6<br><br>Clay                                         | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis<br><br>1912                                                                                                                                                                   | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 17829           | Before 2300<br>BCE                                            | 17 (inc.)<br><br>R→L            | Scheil 1935:<br>XI; Hinz 1969:<br>fig. 11; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.J;<br>Harper et al.<br>1992: cat. 182                                                                                                                            |
| LEI 11/K<br>1<br>I 2.1.2 | Cone (frag.)<br><br>H 7.3; W 6;<br>D 3.8<br><br>Clay (fired)                            | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis<br><br>1912                                                                                                                                                                   | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 17830           | Before 2300<br>BCE                                            | 40 (inc.)<br><br>R→L            | Scheil 1935:<br>XI; Hinz 1969:<br>fig. 12; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.K;<br>Harper et al.<br>1992: cat. 183                                                                                                                            |
| LEI 12/L<br>1<br>I 2.1.3 | Cone (frag.)<br><br>H 6.1; W 5.9;<br>D 4.2<br><br>Clay                                  | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis<br><br>Before 1933 (?)                                                                                                                                                        | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 17831           | Before 2300<br>BCE                                            | 11 (inc.)<br><br>R→L            | Scheil 1935:<br>XII; Hinz 1969:<br>fig. 13; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.L                                                                                                                                                               |
| LEI 13/M<br>1<br>I 2.2.1 | Lenticular<br>tablet (frag.)<br><br>H 4.2; W 7.6<br><br>Clay (fired?)                   | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis<br><br>Before 1933 (?)                                                                                                                                                        | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 17832           | Before 2300<br>BCE                                            | 18 (inc.)<br><br>L→R            | Scheil 1935:<br>XII; Hinz 1969:<br>fig. 14; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.M;<br>Desset et al.<br>2022: fig. 8                                                                                                                             |
| LEI 14/N<br>1<br>I 2.2.2 | Tablet (frag.)<br><br>H 3.8; W 6.5<br><br>Clay (fired?)                                 | Yes<br><br>Susa: Acropolis<br><br>Before 1933 (?)                                                                                                                                                        | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 17833           | Before 2300<br>BCE                                            | 19 (inc.)<br><br>L→R            | Scheil 1935:<br>XIII; Hinz 1969:<br>fig. 15; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.N                                                                                                                                                              |
| LEI 15/O<br>1<br>I 2.2.4 | Tablet<br><br>H 11.5; W<br>7.5; Th 3.8<br><br>Clay (fired?)                             | Yes<br><br>Susa: Donjon<br><br>Before 1933 (?)                                                                                                                                                           | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 9382            | Early 3 <sup>rd</sup> mill.<br>BCE (?)                        | 43 (?)<br><br>L→R               | Scheil 1935:<br>XIII; Hinz 1969:<br>fig. 16 and pl.<br>15; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.O                                                                                                                                                |

|                           |                                                                                     |                                                                           |                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                  |                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| LEI 16/P<br>2<br>I 3.5.2  | Unclear<br>(frag.)<br>H 7.8; W 11.8<br>Gypsum                                       | Yes<br><br>Susa: Ville<br>Royale mound,<br>“Grand<br>sondage”<br><br>1930 | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 17822                                                            | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Puzur-<br>Sušinak                                                                    | 7 (inc.)<br><br>R→L     | de Mecquenem<br>1956: fig. 1;<br>Hinz 1969: fig.<br>17; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. III.P                                                                                                                               |
| LEI 17/Q<br>3<br>II 1.1.1 | Vessel<br><br>H 19; Base<br>Diam 11; Rim<br>Diam 9<br><br>Silver alloy              | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Marvdasht<br><br>1966                            | Tehran:<br>National<br>Museum of<br>Iran<br><br>Inv. no. 9038                            | 21 <sup>st</sup> century<br>BCE (?)                                                                                              | 44<br><br>R→L           | Hinz 1969: fig.<br>1 and pls. 1-2<br>and 4-6; Meriggi<br>1971: pl. IV                                                                                                                                            |
| LEI 18/R<br>1<br>I 2.2.3  | Tablet (frag.)<br><br>H 4.2; W 2.5<br><br>Clay (fired?)                             | Yes<br><br>Susa                                                           | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 9383                                                             | Indeter-<br>minable                                                                                                              | 12<br><br>L→R           | Hinz 1969: fig.<br>18 and pl. 16;<br>Meriggi 1971:<br>pl. III.R                                                                                                                                                  |
| LEI 19/S<br>5<br>II 3.1.1 | Vessel<br><br>H 32; Base<br>Diam 13; Rim<br>Diam 21.5<br><br>Clay (fired)           | Yes<br><br>Shahdad:<br>Cemetery A,<br>Grave 30<br><br>1968                | Tehran:<br>National<br>Museum of<br>Iran<br><br>Inv. no. 8527<br>(excavation<br>no. 193) | Late 30 <sup>th</sup> –<br>early 27 <sup>th</sup><br>centuries<br>BCE ( <sup>14</sup> C<br>date [2σ]:<br>2923–2667<br>BCE [90%]) | 5<br><br>R→L            | Hinz 1971:<br>pl. 1; Hiebert<br>and Lamberg-<br>Karlovsky 1992:<br>fig. 4 (mirror<br>image); Hakemi<br>1997: 183, Obj.<br>No. 0193, and<br>fig. 45; Desset<br>2022a: fig. 7;<br>Eskandari et al.<br>2025: fig. 7 |
| LEI 20/T<br>1<br>I 2.3.1  | Unclear<br>(frag.)<br><br>H 15.7; W<br>9.5; D 14.5<br><br>Limestone or<br>sandstone | Yes<br><br>Susa<br><br>Before 1906 (?)                                    | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 18261                                                            | Indeter-<br>minable                                                                                                              | 3 (inc.)<br><br>L→R (?) | André and<br>Salvini 1989: fig.<br>3 and pl. IVb                                                                                                                                                                 |
| LEI 21/U<br>2<br>I 3.5.1  | Slab<br><br>H 14.5; W 30;<br>D 28.5<br><br>Sandstone                                | Yes<br><br>Susa                                                           | Paris: Louvre<br><br>Sb 18338                                                            | Late 22 <sup>nd</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Puzur-<br>Sušinak                                                                    | 20 (inc.)<br><br>R→L    | André and<br>Salvini 1989: fig.<br>4 and pl. V                                                                                                                                                                   |

|                            |                                                                                                                   |                                                   |                                                                 |                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| LEI 22/V<br>7<br>II 4.2.2  | Gulf-type<br>stamp seal<br>(Persian Gulf<br>region?)<br><br>Diam 2.5; Th<br>1.4<br><br>Marble or<br>quartzite (?) | No<br><br>Unknown                                 | Unknown,<br>formerly in<br>the Ligabue<br>Collection,<br>Venice | 20 <sup>th</sup> century<br>BCE                                                                                | 3<br><br>R→L<br><br>(on the<br>imprint)                                                                                           | Winkelmann<br>1999: figs. 1-2;<br>ead. 2004: 129-<br>131, no. I.4-02                |
| LEI 23/W<br>6<br>II 4.1.6  | Vessel<br><br>H 13.4; Base<br>Diam 14; Rim<br>Diam 17<br><br>Silver alloy                                         | No<br><br>Unknown                                 | Los Angeles:<br>Los Angeles<br>County<br>Museum of<br>Art       | Before 2000<br>BCE                                                                                             | 127<br><br>R→L                                                                                                                    | Mäder et al.<br>2018: figs. 8-14                                                    |
| LEI 24/X<br>4<br>II 2.5.4  | Vessel<br><br>H 14; Base<br>Diam 6.5;<br>Carination<br>Diam 10.5;<br>Rim Diam 8<br><br>Silver alloy               | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz                 | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection                             | Mid-20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Eparti II and<br>Šilhaha                                            | 56<br><br>R→L                                                                                                                     | Mahboubian<br>2004: 51; Desset<br>2018b: fig. 7                                     |
| LEI 25/Y<br>4<br>II 2.4.1  | Vessel<br><br>H 16.5; Base<br>Diam 7;<br>Carination<br>Diam 12.5;<br>Rim Diam 8<br><br>Silver alloy               | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz                 | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection                             | Early 20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br>(25b/Y <sub>2</sub> later<br>than 25a/Y <sub>1</sub> )<br><br>Itatu I | 9 (25a/Y <sub>1</sub> )<br>and 102<br>(25b/Y <sub>2</sub> )<br><br>25a/Y <sub>1</sub> :<br>L→R<br><br>25b/Y <sub>2</sub> :<br>R→L | Mahboubian<br>2004: 53; Desset<br>2018b: fig. 8                                     |
| LEI 26/Z<br>4<br>II 2.4.2  | Vessel<br><br>H 20<br><br>Silver alloy                                                                            | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz                 | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection                             | Early 20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Itatu I                                                           | 158<br><br>R→L                                                                                                                    | Mahboubian<br>2004: 55; Desset<br>2018b: fig. 9                                     |
| LEI 27/A'<br>6<br>II 4.1.2 | Vessel<br><br>H 10.3<br><br>Silver alloy                                                                          | No<br><br>Unknown                                 | Unknown                                                         | Before 2000<br>BCE<br><br>Lapu                                                                                 | 123<br><br>R→L                                                                                                                    | Phoenix Ancient<br>Art Catalog<br>2007/1 no. 47;<br>Mäder et al.<br>2018: figs. 1-7 |
| LEI 28/B'<br>5<br>II 3.2.1 | Tablet<br><br>H 10; W 18;<br>Th 2.2<br><br>Clay (fired)                                                           | Yes<br><br>Konar Sandal:<br>Trench XV<br><br>2006 | Jiroft: Jiroft<br>Archeological<br>Museum                       | Second half<br>of the 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>mill. BCE                                                             | 6<br><br>R→L (?)                                                                                                                  | Madjidzadeh<br>2011: figs. 4b-<br>5b; Desset 2014:<br>pl. 1.B'                      |

|                            |                                                         |                                                                                    |                                                                 |                                                                                                                              |                  |                                                                                                                                                                               |
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| LEI 29/C'<br>5<br>II 3.2.2 | Tablet<br>H 8.5; W 13.5; Th 2.2<br>Clay (fired)         | Yes<br>Konar Sandal:<br>Trench XV<br>2006                                          | Jiroft: Jiroft<br>Archeological<br>Museum                       | Second half<br>of the 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>mill. BCE                                                                           | 7<br>R→L         | Madjidzadeh<br>2011: figs. 6b-<br>7b; Desset 2014:<br>pl. 1.C'                                                                                                                |
| LEI 30/D'<br>5<br>II 3.2.3 | Tablet<br>H 7; W 11.5;<br>Th 1.8<br>Clay (fired)        | No<br>Reportedly,<br>Konar Sandal:<br>area of Trench<br>XV<br>2001                 | Jiroft: Jiroft<br>Archeological<br>Museum                       | Second half<br>of the 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>mill. BCE                                                                           | 9<br>R→L         | Madjidzadeh<br>2011: figs. 3a-3b;<br>Desset 2014: pl.<br>1.D'                                                                                                                 |
| LEI 31/E'<br>5<br>II 3.2.4 | Tablet (?)<br>(frag.)<br>H 5; W 9<br>Clay (fired)       | Yes<br>Konar Sandal<br>South: near<br>the gate of the<br>Citadel Wall<br>2005-2006 | Kerman:<br>Bagh-e<br>Harandi<br>("Harandi<br>Garden")<br>Museum | Early 25 <sup>th</sup><br>– early 23 <sup>rd</sup><br>centuries<br>BCE ( <sup>14</sup> C<br>date [2σ]:<br>2490-2290<br>BCE ) | 6 (inc.)<br>?→?  | Madjidzadeh<br>2008: fig. 14; id.<br>2011: figs. 8a-<br>8b; Desset 2014:<br>pl. 1.E'                                                                                          |
| LEI 32/F'<br>4<br>II 2.5.7 | Vessel (frag.)<br>H 12.5; Rim<br>Diam 8<br>Silver alloy | No<br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz                                                      | London/Oslo:<br>Schøyen<br>Collection<br>MS 3205                | Late 20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Eparti II<br>and Zemt-<br>Akon(e) I                                              | 55 (inc.)<br>R→L | Vallat 2011: pls.<br>LXXIV-LXXV                                                                                                                                               |
| LEI 33/G'<br>7<br>II 4.2.3 | Bactrian-type<br>stamp seal<br>Diam 2.4<br>Gold         | No<br>Unknown<br>(Central Asia?)                                                   | Unknown                                                         | 20 <sup>th</sup> century<br>BCE                                                                                              | 6<br>?→?         | Christie's<br>London, 14<br>Apr 2011,<br>"Antiquities<br>including<br>property from<br>the collection of<br>Baron Edouard<br>Jean Empain",<br>lot 321; Mäder<br>2021a: fig. 1 |
| LEI 34/H'<br>4<br>II 2.5.6 | Vessel (frag.)<br>Silver alloy                          | No<br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz                                                      | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection                             | Mid-20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Eparti II and<br>Šilhaha                                                          | 55 (inc.)<br>R→L | Desset 2018b:<br>fig. 10                                                                                                                                                      |
| LEI 35/I'<br>4<br>II 2.5.8 | Vessel (frag.)<br>Silver alloy                          | No<br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz                                                      | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection                             | Late 20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Eparti II and<br>[Pala-išan (?)]                                                 | 75 (inc.)<br>R→L | Desset 2018b:<br>fig. 11                                                                                                                                                      |

|                            |                                                                                                     |                                   |                                     |                                                                     |                  |                                            |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| LEI 36/J'<br>4<br>II 2.5.5 | Vessel<br>H 16; Base<br>Diam 6;<br>Carination<br>Diam 12; Rim<br>Diam 8<br><br>Silver alloy         | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection | Mid-20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Eparti II and<br>Šilhaha | 81 (inc.)<br>L→R | Desset 2018b:<br>fig. 12                   |
| LEI 37/K'<br>4<br>II 2.6.1 | Vessel<br>H 13.5; Base<br>Diam 6.5;<br>Carination<br>Diam 10.5;<br>Rim Diam 7.5<br><br>Silver alloy | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection | Late 20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Pala-išan               | 111<br>R→L       | Desset 2018b:<br>fig. 13                   |
| LEI 38/M'<br>6<br>II 4.1.1 | Vessel<br>H 8.7; Base<br>Diam 8<br><br>Copper alloy                                                 | No<br><br>Unknown                 | London:<br>Private<br>collection    | Before 2000<br>BCE                                                  | 47<br>R→L        | Unpublished                                |
| LEI 39/N'<br>6<br>II 4.1.5 | Vessel<br>H 9.9; Base<br>Diam 8.7<br><br>Silver alloy                                               | No<br><br>Unknown                 | London:<br>Private<br>collection    | Before 2000<br>BCE                                                  | 144<br>R→L       | Unpublished                                |
| LEI 40/O'<br>6<br>II 4.1.3 | Vessel<br>H 8.5; Base<br>Diam 11.3<br><br>Silver alloy                                              | No<br><br>Unknown                 | London:<br>Private<br>collection    | Before 2000<br>BCE<br><br>Lapu                                      | 159<br>R→L       | Unpublished                                |
| LEI 41/P'<br>4<br>II 2.5.3 | Vessel (frag.)<br><br>Silver alloy                                                                  | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection | Mid-20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Eparti II and<br>Šilhaha | 22 (inc.)<br>L→R | Unpublished                                |
| LEI 42/Q'<br>4<br>II 2.5.2 | Vessel (frag.)<br><br>Silver alloy                                                                  | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection | Mid-20 <sup>th</sup><br>century BCE<br><br>Eparti II and<br>Šilhaha | 48 (inc.)<br>R→L | Mäder et al.<br>2018: 104 <sup>MAHJ'</sup> |
| LEI 43/R'<br>4<br>II 2.5.1 | Vessel (frag.)<br><br>Silver alloy                                                                  | No<br><br>Reportedly,<br>Kamfiruz | London:<br>Mahboubian<br>Collection | Mid-/Late<br>20 <sup>th</sup> century<br>BCE<br><br>Eparti II       | 19 (inc.)<br>L→R | Unpublished                                |

|           |              |         |         |                                |                      |                                                              |
|-----------|--------------|---------|---------|--------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| LEI 44/S' | Vessel       | No      | Unknown | Before 2000 BCE                | 159                  | Unpublished (to be published by F. Desset and K. Tabibzadeh) |
| 6         | H ca. 10–15  | Unknown |         | Period of Lapu (?)             | R→L                  |                                                              |
| II 4.1.4  | Silver alloy |         |         |                                |                      |                                                              |
| LEI 45/T' | Seal         | No      | Unknown | Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> mill. BCE | 12                   | Unpublished (to be published by F. Desset and K. Tabibzadeh) |
| 7         | H ca. 3      | Unknown |         |                                | L→R (on the imprint) |                                                              |
| II 4.2.1  | Unknown      |         |         |                                |                      |                                                              |

Table 1.1. Catalog of the LE inscriptions known in 2026. Legend: frag. = fragment(ary); inc. = incomplete; R→L = from right to left; L→R = from left to right; B→T = from bottom to top. Figures in the “text length” field indicate the number of preserved signs. Dimensions for objects in the Louvre collections were obtained from the Louvre Collections Database: <https://collections.louvre.fr/>.

## 1.5 THE LINEAR ELAMITE WRITING SYSTEM

The details of the decipherment of Linear Elamite are set out in Desset et al. 2022. The present section provides a concise outline of the LE writing system, treated more extensively in that publication (although LEI 41/P'–45/T' were not taken into account).

Linear Elamite is written predominantly from right to left, although the opposite direction is also attested (see above, Tab. 1.1).<sup>45</sup> Some regularities in the orientation of non-symmetrical signs can be observed within each text group (notably groups 2, 4, and 6). The non-symmetrical lozenge-shaped signs <l>, <m>, and <n> consistently share the same orientation within a given text. The convex side of the <pa> sign frequently faces the beginning of the text in groups 2 and 6, whereas the <su> sign may appear in different orientations even within the same text (e.g., LEI 6/F and LEI 9/I). Dividers — i.e., vertical strokes used to separate words, phrases, clauses, or sentences — are sometimes employed (Desset et al. 2022: 43).

The seventy-one deciphered signs<sup>46</sup> (Pls. II and VII) make it possible to read 1,968–

45 A similar situation occurs in the Indus script, which — apart from rare cases of *bustrophedon* — generally runs from right to left but is occasionally written from left to right as well (Fuls 2022: 16).

46 In 2022 we proposed the decipherment of 72 signs. However, the identification of 𐎧 as <lu> (phonemically *lo* or *lu*) was tentative and provisional (Desset et al. 2022: 31–32). Some evidence may instead point to a value <tu<sub>2</sub>> for the sign in question (likely phonemically *to*, since <tu<sub>(1)</sub>> represents *tu*). In view of this persistent uncertainty, we have chosen to retract our earlier proposal and to suspend any assignment of a phonetic value to this sign pending the emergence of new and more decisive evidence.

1,970 out of 2,034 sign occurrences (almost 97%).<sup>47</sup> The graphemes are alpha-syllabic, their values being vocalic, consonantal, or syllabic (restricted to consonant + vowel, CV). No logograms have been identified to date. Six rare signs (Pl. V) and twenty-one hapax legomena (Pl. VI), totaling 66–68 sign occurrences, remain undeciphered. Some of these hapax legomena, especially in earlier texts such as LEI 11/K, may be interpreted as survivals from the PE script, later eliminated when the system became more standardized. The possibility that some hapax legomena represent unrecognized graphic variants (allographs) of other graphemes — thus further reducing the number of undeciphered signs — should also be considered.

Plate II shows the seventy-one deciphered signs of Linear Elamite together with their most common graphic variants. The reconstruction of the signs' phonetic values is based on comparison with cuneiform (Dessert et al. 2022: 29–32 and fig. 5),<sup>48</sup> which does not distinguish *o* from *u* and, in some cases, *e* from *i*. Plate VII offers a more refined reconstruction of the Elamite phonological system, introducing such distinctions wherever possible, since the LE writing system differentiates *o*-graphemes from *u*-graphemes, and *e*-graphemes from *i*-graphemes (Dessert et al. 2022: 48–50). The former set of sign values (Pl. II) is employed for the transliteration of LE texts,<sup>49</sup> whereas the latter set (Pl. VII) is used for the phonemic transcription of Elamite words.

The LE writing system can be described as an alpha-syllabary (or semi-syllabary) consisting of five vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*), twelve consonants (*h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, š, t, w, z*), and sixty open syllables resulting from the combination of each consonant with each vowel — or perhaps only fifty-eight, since the phoneme sequences *wo* and *wu* do not appear to be attested in Elamite (see below, Tab. 1.2).<sup>50</sup>

47 LEI 15/O and LEI 31/E' were excluded from this count, as these texts are atypical and their inclusion in the corpus is uncertain. Modern restorations with invented signs in LEI 25b/Y<sub>2</sub> were also excluded, while the fragmentary partial duplicates LEI 6/F, 7/G, and 8/H were treated as a single text.

48 In this work, the term *phonetic value* is used in the conventional sense of a sign's reading, without implying a precise reconstruction of its phonetic realization. Distinctions at the phonemic level are introduced only at the level of linguistic analysis, where the available evidence permits.

49 A comparison between Pl. II and fig. 6 in Dessert et al. 2022 shows that the sign formerly transliterated as *ki*<sub>2</sub> is now rendered as *ke* in Linear Elamite. This change reflects the fact that, in corresponding contexts (i.e., in the writing of the same word), the cuneiform sign *gi* is consistently used with the value *ke*<sub>2</sub> (and not *ki*<sub>2</sub>) in OE cuneiform texts. This correspondence implies that the LE sign in question should accordingly be transliterated as *ke* rather than *ki*<sub>2</sub>.

50 A syllabogram *wu* is not attested in cuneiform Elamite. Consequently, neither the sequence *wo* nor the sequence *wu* occur in cuneiform Elamite texts, since both would be written with the cuneiform sign *pi* = *wu*.

|                                  |              |                            |                                     |                                                                        |                                                                        |
|----------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                  | /a/<br><a>   | /e/<br><e>                 | /i/<br><i>                          | /o/<br><u>                                                             | /u/<br><u <sub>2</sub> (/w)>                                           |
| /h/<br><h> and <h <sub>2</sub> > | /ha/<br><ha> | /he/<br><hi>               | /hi/<br><hi <sub>2</sub> >          | /ho/<br><hu> or <hu <sub>2</sub> >                                     | /hu/<br><hu> or <hu <sub>2</sub> >                                     |
| /k/<br><k> and <k <sub>2</sub> > | /ka/<br><ka> | /ke/<br><ke>               | /ki/<br><ki>                        | /ko/<br><ku <sub>2</sub> >                                             | /ku/<br><ku>                                                           |
| /l/<br><l>                       | /la/<br><la> | /le/<br><li <sub>2</sub> > | /li/<br><li> and <li <sub>3</sub> > | /lo/<br><?>                                                            | /lu/<br><?>                                                            |
| /m/<br><m>                       | /ma/<br><ma> | /me/<br><me>               | /mi/<br><mi>                        | /mo/<br><mu>                                                           | /mu/<br><mu <sub>2</sub> >                                             |
| /n/<br><n>                       | /na/<br><na> | /ne/<br><ne>               | /ni/<br><ni>                        | /no/<br><nu> or <?>                                                    | /nu/<br><nu> or <?>                                                    |
| /p/<br><p> and <p <sub>2</sub> > | /pa/<br><pa> | /pe/<br><pe>               | /pi/<br><pi> and <pi <sub>2</sub> > | /po/<br><pu <sub>2</sub> >                                             | /pu/<br><pu>                                                           |
| /r/<br><r>                       | /ra/<br><ra> | /re/<br><ri>               | /ri/<br><ri <sub>2</sub> >          | /ro/<br><ru <sub>(2)</sub> > (= <ru> and<br><ru <sub>2</sub> >) or <?> | /ru/<br><ru <sub>(2)</sub> > (= <ru> and<br><ru <sub>2</sub> >) or <?> |
| /s/ (= /š/?)<br><s>              | /sa/<br><sa> | /se/<br><?>                | /si/<br><si>                        | /so/<br><su <sub>2</sub> >                                             | /su/<br><su>                                                           |
| /š/<br><š>                       | /ša/<br><ša> | /še/<br><še>               | /ši/<br><ši>                        | /šo/<br><šu> or <?>                                                    | /šu/<br><šu> or <?>                                                    |
| /t/<br><t>                       | /ta/<br><ta> | /te/<br><te>               | /ti/<br><ti>                        | /to/<br><?>                                                            | /tu/<br><tu>                                                           |
| /w/<br><(u <sub>2</sub> /)w>     | /wa/<br><wa> | /we/<br><we>               | /wi/<br><?>                         | (/wo/)<br>(<?>)                                                        | (/wu/)<br>(<?>)                                                        |
| /z/<br><z>                       | /za/<br><za> | /ze/<br><ze>               | /zi/<br><?>                         | /zo/<br><zu <sub>2</sub> >                                             | /zu/<br><zu>                                                           |

Table 1.2. Tentative reconstruction of the LE alpha-syllabary (identified signs in angle brackets; phonemic transcriptions enclosed in slashes).



The resulting phonetic grid is not a modern construct, since it is already attested — albeit only partially — in the school text LEI 13/M (see below, § 2.2.1 and Pls. XIII-XIV).

The system would theoretically comprise seventy-five ( $5 + 12 + 60 - 2$ ) to seventy-seven ( $5 + 12 + 60$ ) phonetic values, corresponding to seventy-four to seventy-six graphemes, since the  $\langle u_2/w \rangle$  sign was bivalently employed to represent both  $u$  and  $w$  (Tab. 1.2).<sup>51</sup> In practice, however, the system displays a certain degree of irregularity owing to the presence of several apparently redundant signs, that is, graphemes sharing the same phonetic value (see Tab. 1.2 and Pl. II).<sup>52</sup> Two of these doublets —  $\langle p \rangle$  and  $\langle p_2 \rangle$ , and  $\langle ru \rangle$  and  $\langle ru_2 \rangle$  — can plausibly be interpreted as diachronic variants (Dessert et al. 2022: 39). By contrast, the remaining pairs —  $\langle h \rangle$  and  $\langle h_2 \rangle$ ,  $\langle k \rangle$  and  $\langle k_2 \rangle$ ,  $\langle li \rangle$  and  $\langle li_3 \rangle$ ,  $\langle pi \rangle$  and  $\langle pi_2 \rangle$  — are attested synchronically, although several distinct cases may be distinguished:<sup>53</sup>

1.  $\langle h \rangle$  and  $\langle h_2 \rangle$ : these signs occur together within Group 4 (the Kamfiruz silver beakers; see Pl. III), and even within the same text (LEI 25b/Y<sub>2</sub>), but never in the spelling of the same word (Dessert et al. 2022: 39). Both are redundantly employed before  $\langle hu \rangle$  and  $\langle hu_2 \rangle$ , respectively, to express the graphic gemination of  $h$  (see *ibid.*) — a distribution that appears to exclude a phonemic distinction (cf. *ibid.*) unless such a distinction also affected the consonantal component of  $\langle hu \rangle$  and  $\langle hu_2 \rangle$ . The  $\langle h_2 \rangle$  sign, which is securely attested only in Group 4 (Pl. III), may represent a later innovation.

2.  $\langle k \rangle$  and  $\langle k_2 \rangle$ : only  $\langle k \rangle$  is attested in Group 1 (the earlier Susian texts); both signs are attested in Group 2 (the inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak), although never within the same text; only  $\langle k_2 \rangle$  occurs in Group 4 (Kamfiruz); and only  $\langle k \rangle$  in Group 6 (the Metal Vessel Group) (see Pl. III; cf. Dessert et al. 2022: 39). Accordingly,  $\langle k_2 \rangle$  appears to represent an innovation of the Puzur-Sušinak period that subsequently replaced  $\langle k \rangle$

51 Most purely syllabic writing systems operate with between fifty and ninety signs. By way of comparison, the Cypriot syllabary has 56 signs, Cree 70, Cherokee 86, and Inuktitut 108. Chinese *fan-ch'ieh* employs 62; and Japanese *hiragana* and *katakana* each consists of 50. The Mycenaean Linear B syllabary theoretically comprised sixty-five basic signs (five vowels and sixty CV signs), although only sixty are currently attested (Melena 2014: fig. 13). In addition to this basic set, twenty-seven further signs are attested, which were optionally employed by certain scribes within specific local traditions (Melena 2014: 26). Of these, fourteen have been deciphered; they represent CwV (e.g., dwo, used only at Pylos; dwe, nwa, twe, two), CyV (rya) or ptV (pte) values, as well as diphthongs.

52 They are distinguished in transliteration by means of the standard Assyriological convention of using subscript numerals.

53 This presentation of the data slightly modifies our earlier analysis (Dessert et al. 2022: 39–40) in that none of these doublets should be considered allographic.

entirely in the southwestern writing tradition, whereas the texts of the Metal Vessel Group continued to employ <k> to represent the phoneme *k*.

3. <li> and <li<sub>3</sub>>: both signs occur in the same text (LEI 8/H and duplicates), which may point to a phonemic distinction. It should also be noted that <li<sub>3</sub>> is no longer attested after the Puzur-Sušinak period (see Pl. III), but there is no evidence that it was subsequently replaced by <li>.

4. <pi> and <pi<sub>2</sub>>: these signs co-occur in Groups 2, 4, and 6 (see Pl. IV), are sometimes attested within the same texts (ibid.; see also Desset et al. 2022: 40), and even appear in the same context, namely in the spelling of the word *hatamti-p-ir*, which is written with both <pi> and <pi<sub>2</sub>> (Desset et al. 2022: 40). Accordingly, they appear to have been true homophones, both inherited from the PE writing system (cf. Kelley et al. 2022: tabs. 4 and 7).

The grid of signs and sign values, as illustrated in Plates II and VII, also shows several empty cases. These correspond to signs required by the system that are either unattested or not yet identified. These signs include <lu> (= *lo* or *lu*), <lu<sub>2</sub>> (*lo* or *lu*), <nu<sub>2</sub>> (*no* or *nu*), <ru<sub>3</sub>> (*ro* or *ru*), <se> (*se*), <šu<sub>2</sub>> (*šo* or *šu*), <tu<sub>2</sub>> (*to*), <wi> (*wi*), <wu> (*wo* or *wu*) (?), <wu<sub>2</sub>> (*wo* or *wu*) (?), and <zi> (*zi*).<sup>54</sup>

The absence of a distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives may be either linguistic, reflecting a property of the Elamite language itself, or orthographic, inherent in the LE writing system.<sup>55</sup> Only further and more detailed studies of orthographic practices in OE and ME cuneiform texts, as well as of the spellings of loanwords from Elamite into Akkadian and vice versa, will allow this issue to be clarified. The preference for voiceless consonants in the reading of LE graphemes and in the transcription of Elamite words is therefore purely conventional (cf. Paper 1955: 21; Bavant 2014: 243).<sup>56</sup>

54 For the possible non-existence of the signs <wu> and <wu<sub>2</sub>>, and of the corresponding phonemic sequences (*wo* and *wu*, or vice versa), see above.

55 The absence of two distinct subsets of plosives in the LE script may support the generally held view that the Elamite language did not exhibit a phonological distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants (Paper 1955: 21–24, 36; Reiner 1969: 72; Khačikjan 1998: 6; Tavernier 2011: 320; Bavant 2014: 241–243; cf. Grillot-Susini 2008: 11). However, the apparently systematic use of sign pairs such as PA and BA (= pa<sub>2</sub>), TA and DA (= ta<sub>2</sub>), KA and GA (= ka<sub>3</sub>), PI and BI (= pi<sub>2</sub>) in OE cuneiform texts (see Vol. III, § 1.6) seems, at first sight, to point in the opposite direction.

56 Note, however, that statistically “if a language has only one stop series, that series is plain voiceless” (Maddieson 1984: 39).

The three types of LE graphemes — namely vowel signs (V), consonant signs (C), and CV signs — can be combined in various ways (Desset et al. 2022: 36–37, 40); the following combinations are attested:

V + C: u-n, *o-n*, “me”

V + CV: a-ni, *ani* (prohibitive particle)

C<sub>1</sub> + C<sub>2</sub>V (very rare): r-ze-p, *rze-p*, “...s” (plural)

CV<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>1</sub> (very rare): pa-a-ri<sup>2</sup>-*ri*<sub>2</sub>, *pārerī* (?), “...”

CV<sub>1</sub> + V<sub>2</sub>: si-a-n, *siyan*, “temple”

CV + C: pe-l, *pel*, “year”

CV + C<sub>1</sub> + C<sub>2</sub>: hu-r-t, *hūrt*, “people”

CV + C<sub>1</sub> + C<sub>2</sub> + C<sub>2</sub>V: ha-t-ta-m-t-ti, *Hatamti*, “Elam”

CV + C<sub>1</sub> + C<sub>1</sub>V: la-n-ni, *lani*, “silver”

CV + CV: za-na, *zana*, “lady”

The sign sequence CV + C<sub>1</sub> + C<sub>2</sub> + C<sub>2</sub>V is particularly remarkable. Since geminates rarely occur in post-consonantal position,<sup>57</sup> the writing of double consonants is unlikely to represent phonemic length. Rather, it probably reflects some other consonantal feature, such as a *fortis* articulation (i.e., increased articulatory energy) conditioned by a specific phonological environment (Desset et al. 2022: 40–41).

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<sup>57</sup> According to Dmitrieva (2012: iv), “the crosslinguistic typology of geminate consonants demonstrates several prominent tendencies: geminates are typically found in intervocalic position, often after stressed vowels, but are avoided in adjacency to other consonants and on word boundaries”. Post-consonantal geminates in consonant clusters of the type C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub> are so infrequent that this configuration is not even tested in Dmitrieva’s study of geminate production and perception.

## CHAPTER 2

### LINEAR ELAMITE TEXTS UNRELATED TO PUZUR-SUŠINAK

Some of the LE texts from Susa cannot be associated with Puzur-Sušinak by content or context of discovery. These texts show significant differences from the Puzur-Sušinak texts in paleography (i.e., graphic forms of signs) and sign repertoire (see Pls. III-VI). Most were found in the Acropolis mound (Pl. VIII).<sup>1</sup> Having been discovered after the Puzur-Sušinak texts (recovered from 1898-1899 to 1908-1909), they probably come from deeper layers and are therefore older than the latter (see below).<sup>2</sup> Some may even be much older. In this regard, it should be noted that three of these texts — LEI 11/K, 14/N, and, especially, 15/O — contain PE-like signs, and could therefore attest to early (LEI 15/O) and intermediate (LEI 11/K and LEI 14/N) phases of Linear Elamite, which predate the later LE writing of the Puzur-Sušinak era.

#### 2.1 CLAY CONES

Three LE inscriptions — LEI 10/J, 11/K, and 12/L — are written on cone-like clay objects. While the cone of LEI 11/K (= Sb 17830) was fired, the other two (Sb 17829 and Sb 17831, respectively) are made of unbaked clay.<sup>3</sup> Similar (but larger) artifacts

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1 Due to the excavation and recording methods used in Susa in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the precise archaeological context of these documents cannot be determined. For general information on the texts in question (dimensions and materials of the inscribed objects, dates of discovery, bibliography, etc.), see Tab. 1.1 (§ 1.4 above). All texts have been collated (LEI 10/J, 11/K, 12/L, 13/M, 14/N, 15/O, and 18/R by G.P. Basello; LEI 20/T by F. Desset).

2 Steve (2000: 74-75) already suggested that some of these texts could be earlier than Puzur-Sušinak.

3 Information courtesy of François Bridey and Anne Liégey, respectively Curator of Ancient Iranian Art and conservator at the Louvre. There is some confusion in the literature about this point. R. de Mecquenem in

from ED Mesopotamia bear lengthy narratives on the exploits and accomplishments of rulers (Cooper 1985: 99–110), but this cannot be the case with the short inscriptions on the Susa cones. The exact nature of these texts and the function of these inscribed objects remain unclear. Several comparable clay artifacts — identical in shape to the cones from Susa, but unbaked and uninscribed — were found at Konar Sandal South (Jiroft), in the trash pit of Trench V (Holly Pittman, personal communication),<sup>4</sup> which also provided several sealings with impressions of ED III Mesopotamian seals (H. Pittman in Madjidzadeh 2008: 95–100; Pittman 2012: 82).

Both LEI 10/J and LEI 11/K were found by Roland de Mecquenem in 1912. In his report on the 1912 campaign of excavations at Susa, among the findings “entre les III<sup>e</sup> et II<sup>e</sup> niveaux” of the Acropolis, de Mecquenem mentions “deux documents d’un genre nouveau: deux petits cônes, l’un en terre crue, l’autre en terre cuite, portant chacun une inscription protoélamite écrite en spirale à partir de la pointe”.<sup>5</sup> These *niveaux* are horizontal (imaginary) planes, placed at intervals of 5 meters from each other, that were used as a practical and convenient way to divide the Acropolis into pseudo-layers — called *étages* — of equal size from top to bottom (Pl. IX; cf. Surdi 2024: 1). The two inscribed objects described by de Mecquenem are identifiable as the clay cones bearing the inscriptions LEI 10/J and LEI 11/K, respectively. They probably come from the upper layers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *étage* under the 2<sup>nd</sup> *niveau* (Surdi 2024: 4).<sup>6</sup> Since the base of the 2<sup>nd</sup> *étage* chronologically corresponds to the reigns of the Akkadian kings Man-īštūšu (“Man-ištūšu”) and Nāram-Suyin (“Nārām-Sîn”) (Surdi 2022: 138–144), LEI 10/J and LEI 11/K can be dated to a period preceding the Akkadian domination of Susa, that is, before ca. the 23<sup>rd</sup> century BCE (Surdi 2024: 5–6).<sup>7</sup>

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his 1912 campaign report speaks of “deux petits cônes, l’un en terre crue, l’autre en terre cuite” (<https://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/rapport/afficher/annee/1912>; accessed May 11, 2025). On the other hand, according to Scheil (1935: XI–XII), the cones of LEI 10/J and LEI 12/L are made of “terre cuite rougeâtre” while the material of the third cone would be “terre cuite grisâtre”. Finally, in Harper et al. 1992: 263–264, B. André-Salvini distinguishes the material of Sb 17829 (“baked clay”) from that of Sb 17830 (“clay”) (the opposite is true in both cases: Sb 17829 is unbaked and Sb 17830 baked).

4 Unfortunately, they were thrown away along with a lot of other non-impressed sealings before Pittman could photograph them.

5 <https://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/rapport/afficher/annee/1912>; accessed May 11, 2025.

6 Note that Surdi’s *level* corresponds to de Mecquenem’s *étage*, and not *niveau* (called “base” [of a level] by Surdi). Note, however, that on pp. 1–2 of the same article, Surdi translates de Mecquenem’s *niveau(x)* differently as “level(s)”, which is a bit confusing for the reader.

7 This dating fits well with the archaeological context of identical cones found at Konar Sandal South (see above).

The same is probably also true of LEI 12/L, although no information is given about the context of this find.<sup>8</sup>

These conclusions contradict the widely held view that Linear Elamite was created or introduced in Susa only at the time of Puzur-Sušinak,<sup>9</sup> rather than representing a development of the PE writing system. In this regard, it should be noted that, according to the Susa excavation reports, a large number of PE tablets also come from the layers of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *étage* (Surdi 2024: 4), which suggests that the chronological gap between the use of PE and LE writing at Susa may not be as wide as is generally assumed.<sup>10</sup>

### 2.1.1 LEI 10/J (Sb 17829; Pls. X and XI)

Text of uncertain content mentioning the Elamite PN Palar-hūh(-)pak<sup>11</sup> and the ancient Elamite term for “king, (divine) lord”, *zemt*.

Paleographically, the peculiar forms of <h> (cf. the shape of the same sign in LEI 11/K: 2), <la> (with the central dot moved to the right of the vertical stroke), and <ze> should be noted. Moreover, <hi<sub>2</sub>> and <hu> are rotated 90° and 180° clockwise, respectively. These anomalies could reflect a stage of writing in which the orientation

8 Surdi (2024: 6) credits Scheil (1935: I) with the information that LEI 12/L, 13/M, and 14/N were discovered “au sommet du troisième niveau [= *étage*, in de Mecquenem’s terminology] de l’Acropole de Susa”. However, these words by Scheil refer to a “nouvelle série de *tablettes* proto-élamites” (the use of *italics* to express emphasis is ours). Concerning LEI 12/L, 13/M, and 14/N, Scheil (1935: X) only says that they come from the excavations of the Acropolis. The three texts in question were likely found after 1912, as they are absent from the 1912 campaign report (see n. 5 above) and earlier records. Moreover, in the same report, de Mecquenem refers to LEI 10/J and LEI 11/K as “deux documents d’un genre nouveau”, implying that LEI 12/L had yet not been found. Finally, the publication of LEI 12/L, 13/M, and 14/N under the direction of de Mecquenem, rather than de Morgan, further indicates that they were discovered after de Mecquenem assumed the direction of the excavations in 1912. As the entire 2<sup>nd</sup> *étage* had been excavated down to its base in 1910–1911 (Surdi 2024: 4; cf. n. 6 above), these texts, like LEI 10/J and LEI 11/K, must have been found during de Mecquenem’s excavations of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *étage*, and thus they too predate the period of the Akkadian rule in Susa (we thank Mirko Surdi for discussing this issue with us and providing useful comments).

9 See, among others, Vallat 1986: 345; André-Salvini 2006: 130; Tavernier 2010a: 205; De Graef 2013: 265; D.T. Potts 2016: 118; and, most recently, Dahl 2023; Daneshmand 2024: 9–10; and Matthews et al. 2025: 47–48.

10 According to Dahl (2023: 107), the PE tablets date to ca. 3100–2900 BCE (cf. Dahl et al. 2013), while Dessert (2016: 90–91) argues for a longer time range: 3300–2900/2750 BCE. In this regard, it should be noted that the earliest securely datable LE text — LEI 19/S — dates to the late 30<sup>th</sup> – early 27<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE (Eskandari et al. 2025). See also §§ 1.3–1.4 above.

11 The date of the text (see above, § 2.1) makes Palar-hūh(-)pak one of the earliest Elamite anthroponyms attested (see also LEI 11/K and LEI 14/N below). According to Zadok (1994: 37–38), the only certain example of an Elamite personal name in Mesopotamian sources from the Pre-Sargonic period is Zana; however, this name is more likely Sumerian (Balke 2017: 460 with n. 1552). For Elamite personal names from the early Sargonic period, see above, Chap. 1, n. 26. For possible Pre-Sargonic examples, see *ibid.*, n. 25.

of some signs was not yet fixed (cf. <ri> upside down in LEI 12/L: 3'). Finally, the five-dot <š> sign is worth noting. This particular variant of the <š> sign is possibly also attested in the Jiroft text LEI 30/D' and regularly occurs in texts of the Metal Vessel Group (see Pl. V). Later texts from Susa (Puzur-Sušinak Group) and southwestern Iran (Marvdasht and Kamfiruz) display a three-dot variant (ibid.), suggesting that the form with five dots was the original one,<sup>12</sup> and the three-dot variant a later development in southwestern Iran.

The two-line inscription runs clockwise around the summit of the cone. The lines proceed from top to bottom. A long vertical groove marks the beginning and end of each line.

The text reads:

1. pa-la-r-hu-h-
2. pa-k la ze-m-t hi<sub>2</sub>-š-hi<sub>2</sub>-š la<sup>1?</sup> X

<sup>(1-2)</sup>*Palar-hūh(-)pak la zemt hišhi-š<sup>?</sup> ...*

<sup>(1-2)</sup>*Palar-hūh(-)pak recommended the king to the la(-gods) ...*

### *Commentary*

Lines 1-2: The proposed tentative translation assumes that the text follows the standard word order of Elamite: subject – indirect object – direct object – verb (Khačikjan 1998: 57; Stolper 2004: 84; Krebernik 2021: 196–197).

a. pa-la-r-hu-h-pa-k is almost certainly a personal name, although it is written across two lines. Cf. cun. se<sub>20</sub>-we-pa-la-ar-hu-uh<sub>(2)</sub>-pa-ak (see Vol. III, §§ 2.4–2.5, Cuneiform 8 and Cuneiform 9 passim; *ElW* 1307; Stolper 1982: 60, M-693: 1; Durand 1986: 111ff., M.6435 + M.8987 passim), with variants si-me-pa<sub>2</sub>-la-ar-hu-uh-pa<sub>(2)</sub>-ak, si-me-pa<sub>2</sub>-la-ar-hu-up-pak/pa<sub>2</sub>-ak (*ElW* 1082–1083), se<sub>20</sub>-we-pa-la-ar-pa-ak (in A.XV.084 [unpublished], courtesy of Katrien De Graef; cf. Steve et al. 1980: 89), and še-ep-la-ar/ra-pa-ak (Durand 1986: 114 n. 1). This name, borne by a later Elamite ruler (Lafont 2010), is supposed to attest to the verbal base *hū(h)pa* (*ElW* 686 s.v. hu-h-pa-ak; cf. Zadok 1984: 11; Krebernik 2021: 208) but the omission of *hūh* in the

12 The <š> sign is one of the few LE signs that do not yet have identified prototypes in the PE script.

variants  $se_{20}$ -we-pa-la-ar-pa-ak (Susa) and še-ep-la-ar/ra-pa-ak (Mari) may suggest that  $hi(h)pa$  consists of two elements —  $hih$  (cf. *ElW* 684 s.v. hu-h) and the verbal base  $pa$  (see *ElW* 105-106 s.vv. pa-a-h, ba-ak-li, ba-ak-ni, and ba-ak-ra; also note hu-up-hu-up pa-ak-na in Cuneiform 9: 32; see Vol. III, § 2.5). Be that as it may, the final element of the name is morphologically either a  $k$ -participle or a Conj. II verbal form (3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.).

b.  $la$  is a theophoric element in the PNs La-ahpe (la-a-ah-pi) and Rešap-la (ri-ša-ap-<sup>d</sup>la) (see Zadok 1984: 5 and 26). The latter's probable meaning, "The  $la$  are great", suggests that  $la$  is not a theonym but rather a collective name denoting a particular group or class of deities.

c. For  $zemt$ , "king, (divine) lord" (royal title and divine epithet), see Vol. II, § 2.2.

d.  $hi_2$ -š- $hi_2$ -š is tentatively interpreted as a Conj. I form (3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.) of an otherwise unattested verb  $hišhi$  (possibly a compound verb from  $hiš$ , "name", and a verbal base  $hi$ ). The proposed meaning, based on the context, is conjectural. Alternatively, one can interpret  $hi_2$ -š- $hi_2$ -š as a reduplication of  $hiš$ , "name", denoting the plural (cf. Krebernik 2018: 20 with n. 19), but the latter hypothesis is more difficult to reconcile with the rest of the text.<sup>13</sup>

### 2.1.2 LEI 11/K (Sb 17830; Pls. X and XII)

This inscription exhibits several peculiar glyphs not attested elsewhere in the LE corpus.<sup>14</sup> Some resemble PE signs (see Pl. VI). The form of the <ru> sign is also noteworthy, as it is not the one that occurs in other texts from Susa (Puzur-Sušinak Group) and the Kamfiruz Group, but rather that of the Metal Vessel Group (see Pl. IV).

The text probably runs clockwise like LEI 10/J, and, by analogy with the latter, the lines can reasonably be assumed to proceed from top to bottom. As in the cone of LEI 10/J, a deep groove intersecting the lines of text marks each line's beginning and end. The text's layout should be compared with those of LEI 27/A', 39/N', and 40/O' (see Vol. II, § 4.1).

13 Also note that in later texts, the plural "names" is represented by unreduplicated  $hiš$ ; see, e.g.,  $hi-iš$  a-pi-e (=  $hiš$  *ape*), "their names", in *EKI* 35 § VIII. On the other hand, the reduplication of nouns also seems to have lexical function in some cases (cf. *ElW* 1313 s.v. zu-uk-ki.zu-uk-ki).

14 See Dessert et al. 2022: figs. 3a-3b, nos. 59, 73, 79 (to be corrected as  $\bigcirc$ ), 90, 147, 156, and 184. Also note the unusual forms of <h> (cf. the shape of <h> in LEI 10/J: 1), and, if correctly identified, of <ha> and <su> (with dots at the bottom).



The text reads:

1. hu   mi ru pa t
2. [...] a ti h a  a zu
3. [...]  pa ri<sub>2</sub> a ha<sup>?</sup> me
4. [...] ri<sub>2</sub> hu<sub>2</sub>  mu  pa  ta
5. [...] r<sub>i</sub><sub>2</sub> ta ta ši  hu<sub>2</sub> mu  <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ([x])
6. [...] ha<sup>?</sup> su<sup>?</sup> ha<sup>?</sup> r ([...])

### Commentary

Line 1: Based on the comparison with the incipit of LEI 10/J, we expect a personal name to be present here. Accordingly, the entire first line may perhaps be interpreted as the writing of a personal name: hu---mi-ru-pa-t. Cf. the Elamite PN Kiten-pat (ki-tin-pa-at; Zadok 1984: 21 and 34; *ElW* 491 s.v. hw.ki-tin.pa-at). Alternatively, pa-t could represent *pat*, the word for “foot”, or the related homonymous adverb/preposition “beneath, under” (*ElW* 111 s.v. ba-at).

Line 2: a-ti-h looks like a verbal form of Conj. I (*ati-h*, 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg.). Cf. *ElW* 100 s.vv. at-tuk and at-tuk-qa.

Line 3: a-ha<sup>?</sup>(-)me may be the adverb *aha*, “here, there” (*ElW* 31 s.v. a-ha), followed by the inanimate nominal suffix *-me* (cf. Grillot 1987: 20–21 § 3.3), but the context is too obscure to be sure about this interpretation.<sup>15</sup> Nor is the identification of the second sign as <ha> certain (see comm. to line 6 below).

Line 5: ta-ta is attested in cuneiform as the writing of a personal name: Tata (*ElW* 298 s.v. ta-ta).

Line 6: The two signs tentatively identified as <ha> are not identical and also differ from the possible <ha> sign in line 3.

### 2.1.3 LEI 12/L (Sb 17831; Pls. X and XIII)

Very fragmentary inscription with some unusual glyphs.<sup>16</sup> The graphic forms of <k> and <s> recall sign variants of the Metal Vessel Group (see Pls. III–IV).

<sup>15</sup> Also note that the hypothesized *\*aha-me* is not otherwise attested. In later texts from the ME period, inanimate nouns of the *-me* class are connected with *aha* through the neutral suffix *-n* (see *ElW* 32 s.v. a-ha-an).

<sup>16</sup> See Dessert et al. 2022: figs. 3a–3b, nos. 122 (probably <ri> upside down) and 220.

Perhaps one line is missing at the beginning. If correctly identified and interpreted, the sign sequence  $li_3$ -ri (line 3'; see Commentary below) indicates that the direction of writing is clockwise, as in LEI 10/J and LEI 11/K.

The inscription reads:

- 1'. [...] 'a x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 2'. [...] s k n<sup>2</sup> 'x<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 3'. [...] s ki  $li_3$  ri<sup>1</sup>()  [...] / [...] 'p<sub>2</sub><sup>2</sup> x(= 3 dots arranged in an oblique row)<sup>17</sup>

### Commentary

Line 3':  $li_3$ -ri (with the <ri> sign written upside down<sup>18</sup>) is probably the same element (*lire*) that occurs with the same spelling in the writing of the compound (?) word *law(-)lire* (la-w- $li_3$ -ri; see below, § 3.4.1, LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*2). We could have another compound word: [...]-s-ki- $li_3$ -ri. Also note the three dots at the end of the text, possibly representing a number.

## 2.2 CLAY TABLETS

Three LE texts from the Acropolis of Susa — LEI 13/M, 14/N, and 18/R — are written on clay tablets.<sup>19</sup> At least for the first two, a date before the 23<sup>rd</sup> century BCE is conceivable (Surdi 2024: 6-7).

A different case is LEI 15/O, also written on a clay tablet.<sup>20</sup> This text comes from the so-called Donjon (Scheil 1935: XIV), an excavated area at the southern tip of the Ville Royale mound. Although the available archaeological information seems to favor a date in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE, some textual features suggest that LEI 15/O is earlier than the other texts considered in this work (see § 2.2.4 below). However, its very attribution to the LE corpus may be questionable (see *ibid.*).

17 Whether the signs after the slash symbol (= /) represent the continuation of line 3' in the space below or rather belong to a separate subscript is uncertain.

18 This may attest to a stage of writing in which the orientation of some signs was not yet fixed (cf. § 2.1.1 above).

19 Scheil (1935: XII-XIII) describes their material as “terre cuite rougeâtre”, but he says the same of the cones inscribed with LEI 10/J and LEI 12/L, which are made of unbaked clay (see n. 3 above).

20 “Terre cuite rougeâtre”, according to Scheil (1935: XIV). See the previous note.

## 2.2.1 LEI 13/M (Sb 17832; Pls. X, XIII, and XIV)

Lenticular tablet fragment containing the remains of a sign list. LEI 13/M is particularly remarkable in that it shows an early attempt to systematize the LE writing system. It suggests that a scribal school of Linear Elamite existed at Susa in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE.

The text lists groups of six or five LE signs arranged from left to right according to the vocalic sequence *e, u, o, a, i*.<sup>21</sup> Vowel signs (5) are placed in a horizontal row at the beginning of the text on what is presumably the obverse of the tablet, followed by two unclear lines.<sup>22</sup> Consonantal signs were aligned vertically near the left margin of each of the two columns on the presumed reverse, at the beginning of each line of text. The syllabic CV values resulting from the combinations of each consonantal sign with each vowel sign followed the consonantal signs to form a sort of phonetic grid or matrix that was probably intended to present the signs with their respective phonetic values arranged in a convenient predefined order (similar to what we do in Pl. VII). Unfortunately, only two of these sign sequences — the p-series and the m-series — have been preserved. Given the tablet's dimensions and the vertical extent of the preserved lines (Pl. XIV), the reverse cannot have contained all twelve consonant-based sign series, but only ten. The remaining two series must have been contained in the now-lost lower portion of the obverse.

Side A (= obverse)

- |    |                         |               |
|----|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | e u <sub>2</sub> u a i' | (= e u o a i) |
| 2. | [(x)] 'x'               |               |
| 3. | [...] 'x' [...]         |               |

Side B (= reverse)

col. i

- |     |            |
|-----|------------|
| 1'. | [...] 'ši' |
| 2'. | [...]      |
| 3'. | [...] 'x'  |

21 Cf. the Mesopotamian sign list Tu ta ti, with syllabic triplets such as u<sub>2</sub> a i, tu ta ti (from which the name of the list), etc., which follow the vowel order *u, a, i* (Veldhuis 2014: 147–148 § 4.1.1.2).

22 It should be noted that this portion of the text lacks the horizontal grooves separating the lines.

col. ii

1'. [...]

2'. p<sub>2</sub> pe pu 'x<sup>1</sup> [pa] 'pi<sup>1</sup> (= p pe pu 'po<sup>1</sup> [pa] 'pi<sup>1</sup>)

3'. 'm<sup>1</sup> me mu<sub>2</sub> mu ma mi (= m me mu mo ma mi)

*Commentary*

B ii 2': Based on the ordering scheme of the text (see above), <pu<sub>2</sub>> = *po* is expected after <pu> = *pu*, but the preserved traces of the sign do not allow for the restoration 'pu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>. It is conceivable that another sign with the same phonetic value was written here instead of <pu<sub>2</sub>>.

B ii 3': The <mu<sub>2</sub>> sign is not otherwise attested in our corpus. In addition, the peculiar form of the <me> sign, which resembles the <me> of the Metal Vessel Group (see Pl. III), should be noted.

2.2.2 LEI 14/N (Sb 17833; Pls. X and XV)

Tablet fragment. If correctly interpreted, the sign sequence 'ha<sup>1</sup>-te-te-r (Side B 2'; see Commentary below) points to the direction of writing being left-to-right. It should also be noted that the text does not rotate along the lower edge, as is the case with LEI 13/M and, more generally, with cuneiform tablets, but along a vertical axis as if it were the page of a book (cf., similarly, LEI 18/R and LEI 15/O below).<sup>23</sup>

Side A (= obverse?)

1. [...] 'x x x<sup>1</sup> t zu 'p<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]

2. [...] 'ru<sup>1</sup> si 'm r<sup>1</sup> [...]

Side B (= reverse?)

1'. [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> [...]

2'. [...] 'ha<sup>1</sup> te te r ka [...]

3'. [...] p<sub>2</sub>  p<sub>2</sub> 'x<sup>1</sup> [...]

(upper edge?)

4'. [...] 'x<sup>1</sup>  ri [...]

<sup>23</sup> The same is true of PE tablets, when the text continues on the reverse. Another sign of continuity between the PE and LE writing traditions.

*Commentary*

B 2': 𒀭ha<sup>1</sup>-te-te-r could be an Elamite personal name composed of the word for “love”, *hate* (*ElW* 646–647 s.vv. hw.ha-te and [h]a-te-ù-te), and the DN Ter (for which, see Zadok 1984: 45 *sub* 250): Hate-Ter, “Ter is love”. It should be noted, however, that this hypothetical personal name is not otherwise attested.

B 3': Note the resemblance of 𒀭 with the PE sign M308e.

## 2.2.3 LEI 18/R (Sb 9383; Pls. X and XVI)

Tablet fragment, very difficult to read (only a few signs can be identified with certainty). Similarly to LEI 14/N and LEI 15/O (and differently from LEI 13/M), the transition from obverse to reverse occurs by rotation along a vertical axis. The arrangement of signs on the reverse suggests a left-to-right direction of writing. No signs are repeated, which may indicate that the text in question is a sign list (cf. LEI 13/M and LEI 15/O), but no pattern or ordering principle can be recognized behind the arrangement of signs.

## Side A (= obverse)

1. 𒀭x (x) ri<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>
2. 𒀭x x<sup>1</sup> ke<sup>1</sup>
3. 𒀭u<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> za ša
4. [... (traces of signs)]

## Side B (= reverse)

1. ši 𒀭(x)<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup> 𒀭pi<sup>1</sup>

## 2.2.4 LEI 15/O (Sb 9382; Pls. X and XVII)

An almost entirely preserved tablet. The text consists of eight lines of writing, seven on the obverse and only one on the reverse. The more convex side is the obverse. The transition from the obverse to the reverse is made by rotating along the vertical axis, as in LEI 14/N and LEI 18/R. The arrangement of signs on the obverse (i.e., how the signs at the beginning and end of each line are aligned vertically) suggests that they were written from left to right.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Only on the left are the signs correctly aligned vertically. Also note that in line 6, the scribe was forced to write the last sign on the right edge.

Traditionally grouped with the LE texts, LEI 15/O has also been regarded as belonging to another writing system. According to Salvini (1998: 330), this text “must be considered to represent a different and probably older system of writing”; while Desset (2012: 93 n. 2) remarked that “le texte O ... doit être exclu de la liste des inscriptions en écriture E[lamite]L[ineaire]” since “les signes de cette tablette ne ressemblent pas en effet à ceux connus sur les autres inscriptions EL et sont d’ailleurs considérés à l’heure actuelle comme des hapaxes”.

On the other hand, LEI 15/O appears to share some graphic symbols with the LE writing, as well as with the sign repertoire of Proto-Elamite. Scheil (1935: XIV) noted that “assez de signes rappellent ici le vocabulaire proto-élamite, — et cependant ... on trouvera qu’il contient beaucoup de signes nouveaux”, while both Hinz (1969: 27) and Meriggi (1971: 185) considered LEI 15/O as belonging to an intermediate position or a transition phase between Proto-Elamite and Linear Elamite.

Yet another interpretation was proposed by Jacob Dahl. After observing that six signs are recorded on each line<sup>25</sup> and that none is repeated, Dahl (2009: 29) suggested considering LEI 15/O as a religious text “with no direct relation to a true writing system”. However, the absence of repetitions more plausibly indicates a sign list.<sup>26</sup>

Most recently, Fuls (2024: 12 with fig. 10) attempted to identify Indus writing symbols in LEI 15/O and concluded that this text “represents an extraordinary mixture of a sign pair from Sibri (Mehrgarh), Linear Elamite and Indus signs dating from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE”. It should be noted, however, that the matches he proposes between graphic symbols of LEI 15/O and Indus glyphs are in several cases rather forced. Moreover, most of the alleged Indus-like signs that, according to Fuls, would occur in LEI 15/O do show the characteristic “dots” of LE writing, which are completely absent in the Indus script.

Some signs listed in LEI 15/O do have forms that recall either LE or PE glyphs (see Tab. 2.1 below). This fact supports Hinz’s and Meriggi’s interpretation of LEI 15/O as a text documenting an intermediate phase between Proto-Elamite and Linear Elamite (see above). Accordingly, LEI 15/O should be very ancient. However, the attribution of a high date to it contrasts with the results of Surdi’s (2024: 7–9) review of the scant archaeological information available on this document. According to Surdi, “the text O

25 This is not exact, however. Line 6 consists of eight signs; and in line 7, only five signs are inscribed (the same was probably also true of line 1, which is not completely preserved).

26 Cf. also Mäder 2021b: 15–16; and Dahl 2023: 117–118.

| PE glyph                                                                                         | LEI 15/O                                                                                  | LE glyph                                                                                      | Transliteration |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| 221c:           | A 1a:    |                                                                                               |                 |
| M351c:          | A 1f:    |                                                                                               |                 |
|                                                                                                  | A 2c:    | No. 288:  ?  | šu (?)          |
| M319c:          | A 2d:    | No. 102:     | li              |
|                                                                                                  | A 2f:    | No. 51:  ?   | za (?)          |
| M344:           | A 3b:    | No. 133:  ?  | pa (?)          |
| M351:           | A 3c:    |                                                                                               |                 |
| M351 + 1(N14):  | A 3d:    |                                                                                               |                 |
|                                                                                                  | A 3e:    | No. 200:  ?  | si (?)          |
| M72:            | A 4b:    |                                                                                               |                 |
| M63:          | A 4d:  | No. 122:   | ri              |
| M465:         | A 5a:  |                                                                                               |                 |
| M352b:        | A 5c:  |                                                                                               |                 |
| M445:         | A 5e:  |                                                                                               |                 |
|                                                                                                  | A 6a:  | No. 42:  ? | hu (?)          |
|                                                                                                  | A 6g:  | No. 138:   | ni              |
| M253          | A 6h:  | No. 2:     | ki              |
| M228:         | B 1a:  |                                                                                               |                 |
| M288f:        | B 1b:  | No. 290:   | pu <sub>2</sub> |
| M286:         | B 1c:  |                                                                                               |                 |
| M139:         | B 1d:  | No. 219:   | ?               |

Table 2.1. Glyphs in LEI 15/O that have possible counterparts in PE and LE scripts (PE glyphs are from Dahl's [2006] sign list; for the numbering of the LE glyphs, see Desset et al. 2022: fig. 3a).

must have been discovered somewhere between the [Donjon's] upper layers datable to the Sasanian period (224–651 CE) and the lower layers with '2<sup>nd</sup> style' painted pottery (*ca.* 2600–2200 BCE)" (*ibid.*, 9). "In fact — Surdi (personal communication) adds — there is a real possibility that Text O stems from the strata referable to the second half / end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE. The Donjon strata attributable to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE were barely 'touched' by the Délégation in the season 1933–1934, a year earlier than the publication of Text O in 1935. Moreover, Pierre Amiet mentions that the texts published in MDP 26 [= Scheil 1935], including Text O, were discovered before 1933 (see Surdi 2024: 8 n. 25). Since the layers of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE in the Donjon had not yet been excavated before 1933, Text O must be dated archaeologically to a more recent period, assuming that Amiet's information is correct and that the Donjon's stratigraphy is consistent (which, from the excavation reports, would seem to be the case)". On the other hand, as the text in question may well have been found in a secondary context, the information considered by Surdi could only indicate a limit *ante quem*. Moreover, paleographic analysis and, especially, the above-mentioned links between some glyphs in LEI 15/O and sign forms of the PE script suggest a different, much earlier date. If LEI 15/O is indeed an LE text (as the use of the dots that are characteristic of LE writing may suggest), it cannot be contemporary with the other LE texts from Susa (the script is too different); it can only be earlier than the latter, and probably even earlier than LEI 19/S, which appears to use the standard signary of the later LE texts but which radiocarbon dating places in the late 30<sup>th</sup> – early 27<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE (Eskandari et al. 2025).

To conclude, while the archaeological information appears to point to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE as the date of LEI 15/O, an earlier date, at the beginning of the millennium, seems *a fortiori* preferable on epigraphic grounds.

## 2.3 STONE OBJECTS

### 2.3.1 LEI 20/T (Sb 18261; Pls. X and XVI)

Nothing is known about the circumstances and the context of this find. Nor is it known what kind of object this fragment was part of (André and Salvini 1989: 59–60). The direction of writing seems to be from left to right (assuming that the interpretation of the few preserved signs provided in the commentary below is correct).



1'.     nu<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup>-ni ʽxʼ-[...]

*Commentary*

Line 1': nu<sup>2</sup> a<sup>2</sup>-ni could represent the Elamite prohibitive particle *ani* preceded by the pronoun *nū*, "you".

## CHAPTER 3

### PUZUR-SUŠINAK INSCRIPTIONS

#### 3.1 PUZUR-SUŠINAK'S DIGRAPHIA AND BILINGUALISM

The Susian ruler whose name — written only logographically in cuneiform sources<sup>1</sup> — has variously been reconstructed as Puzur/Puzrī-Šušinak (Le Gac 1923: 147-148; Meriggi 1969: 176 n. 6), Kutik-Inšušinak (Hinz 1962: 7-8),<sup>2</sup> or Puzur-Inšušinak (Zadok 1984: 16 and 55-56; Steinkeller 2013a: 293 n. 4) also occurs in several LE inscriptions, where his name is spelled phonographically as pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-k (LEI 1/A: 2; LEI 3/C: 1'; LEI 5/E: 1; LEI 6/F: 1) or pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-k<sub>2</sub> (LEI 9/I: 1; LEI 16/P: 1).<sup>3</sup> The LE spellings thus provide us with the correct reading of the name (cf. Desset et al. 2022: 29-30 n. 30), which turns out to be an Akkadian name: Puzur-Sušinak, “(he who benefits from the) Protection of (the god) Sušinak”.<sup>4</sup>

By contrast, Puzur-Sušinak's father almost certainly bore an Elamite name. Written šim-pi<sub>2</sub>-is<sub>2</sub>-ḫu-uk in cuneiform texts,<sup>5</sup> his name occurs in LE texts as ši-n-pi-s-h-

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1 The following spellings are attested: [PU<sub>3</sub>.ŠA(=PUZUR<sub>4</sub>)-<sup>d</sup>N]IN.[MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.Š]EŠ<sub>4</sub> in Puzur-Sušinak 2 (Sb 160) i 4 (Scheil 1902: pl. 2); PU<sub>3</sub>.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub> in Puzur-Sušinak 1A (Sb 55) v 12 (Scheil 1913: pl. 2a) and passim in Puzur-Sušinak texts (see Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 56 s.v. Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>inšušinak); PU<sub>3</sub>.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> in ABAW NF 143 no. 35 rev. v' 15' (royal inscription of Ur-Namma in Sumerian, ergative case); and PUZUR<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub> in Scheil 1931: 2, line 12 (“Susa King List”; Sb 17729).

2 This “Elamite” interpretation of the name by Hinz was criticized by Meriggi (1971: 206), who instead suggested Kutir-Šušinak as a possible (but uncertain) Elamite reading. Cf. also Desset 2018a: 410.

3 For this important historical figure, see, among others, André-Salvini 2006; Steinkeller 2013a; D.T. Potts 2016: 112-119; Steinkeller 2018: 191-193; D.T. Potts 2021; and Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.3.2.6.5.

4 Or, less likely, “Sušinak is protection / a place of refuge” (cf. CAD P 558).

5 See Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 64 s.v. šim-pi<sup>(sic)</sup>-iś-ḫu-uk. Also note šim-pi<sub>2</sub>-is<sub>2</sub>-ḫu in MVN 10 no. 92 (= Maiocchi and Visicato 2020: no. 293) ii 6'; and šim-pi<sub>2</sub>-is<sub>2</sub>-(ḫu) in the related text RTC 249 (= Maiocchi and Visicato 2020: no. 290) ii 5' (cf. Steinkeller 2013a: 299-301). The use of B1 (= pi<sub>2</sub>) here, instead of the

hu-k (LEI 1/A: 4; LEI 5/E: 4, and, probably, LEI 3/C: 3-4), ši-n-pi-s-h-hu-k<sub>2</sub> (LEI 2/B: 3), or, with the nominal suffix *-ir* (delocutive), ši-n-pi-s-hu-ki-r (LEI 7/G: 1; LEI 8/H: 1). The cuneiform spelling is possibly closer to the actual pronunciation of the name, since the dental *n* before *p* was usually subject to labialization in Elamite ( $n \rightarrow m / \_ p$ ; Grilhot-Susini 1987: 10; Khačikjan 1998: 8). If so, then the LE spellings with <n> should be regarded as examples of morphographemic and/or historical writings reflecting the etymological form of the name. Be that as it may, in this work we transcribe this name as Šin-pishûk, following the LE spellings. The comparison with the PN Kikn-pishûš (wr. ki-k-n-pi-s-hu-š;<sup>6</sup> see Vol. II, § 4.1.2, LEI 27/A': 3, and § 4.1.3, LEI 40/O': 2 and 4) suggests that the name Šin-pishûk contains a verbal base *pishû*,<sup>7</sup> which, though of unknown meaning, can be regarded as an Elamite word.<sup>8</sup>

The different linguistic affiliation of the names of Puzur-Sušinak and Šin-pishûk probably reflects the complex ethnolinguistic situation in Puzur-Sušinak's Susa,

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expected BI<sub>2</sub> sign (= pi<sub>3</sub>), is somewhat surprising, as the former syllabogram was customarily used to represent a bilabial plosive plus *e* in the Sargonic syllabary (Hasselbach 2005: 41-44; Kogan 2011: 33-36; Sommerfeld 2021: 584 and 586-587). The same seems to be true of the syllabary of the Puzur-Sušinak texts, which — with the exception of a few new syllabograms such as ay<sub>x</sub>(E<sub>2</sub>), im<sub>x</sub>(URUDA×MAŠ), and ru<sub>9</sub> — is substantially derived from the Sargonic one; cf. ik-ri<sub>2</sub>-bi-su = *ikribē-su*, “his prayers” (Puzur-Sušinak 1A [Sb 55] v 15; Scheil 1913: pl. 2a), with e-bi<sub>2</sub>-sum<sub>6</sub>-ma = *ibbi-sum-ma*, “(Sušinak) called (him) for it, and ...” (Puzur-Sušinak 8: 9; copy by J. de Morgan *apud* Scheil 1900: pl. 12). See also Puzur-Sušinak 4 (Sb 86) ii 5-6, a-na a-mu-te u<sub>3</sub>-la e-BI-e<sup>2</sup> (cf. the copy by J. Jéquier *apud* Scheil 1900: 63; meaning unclear). On the other hand, a-bi-lum (ibid., ii 4) seems to represent *abīlum*, “man” (a reading *abēlum* with the lowering of *i* would not be motivated here; cf. Gelb 1957: 6-7 s.v. ʔ176L). In this connection, it should also be noted that the Akkadian DN Bēl(a)t-ēkallim was borrowed into Elamite as Peltikalim (see below, § 3.2.1, comm. to LEI 9/I: 1 *sub* a). Such an irregular correspondence between Akkadian *e* and Elamite *i* may mean that these two phonemes were very close in pronunciation. The same phenomenon could account for some apparent mistakes made by Susian scribes in their use of *e*-vowel signs; for instance, the writing of *ibbi-sum-ma* as e-bi<sub>2</sub>-sum<sub>6</sub>-ma (see above) or *ikmī* written as ik-me in Puzur-Sušinak 1A (Sb 55) i 13' (Scheil 1913: pl. 1a). Finally, note the variants e-pu-us<sub>2</sub> (Sb 14389) and i-pu-us<sub>2</sub> (Sb 18457) among the manuscripts of Puzur-Sušinak 8 (line 11); and the different spellings of the DN Narûte, written as <sup>4</sup>na-ru<sub>9</sub>-te<sub>4</sub> in Puzur-Sušinak 3 (Sb 17) ii 6 (see below, § 3.2.2 Suppl.) but <sup>4</sup>na-ru<sub>9</sub>-ti in Puzur-Sušinak 4 (Sb 86) ii 9.

6 Cf. also the RN na-pi-il-hu-uš in the “Susa King List” (Scheil 1931: 2 [= Sb 17729], line 6), possibly to be interpreted as Na-pishûš (cf. Dessert et al. 2022: 46-47 *sub* 9.1; for the initial element, cf. na(-a), “day(s)”, for which see Steve 1967: 16 and 124).

7 The LE spelling ši-n-pi-s-h-hu-k, with the redundant <h> sign, indicates that *hûk* was the second, accented syllable of a disyllabic word (cf. Dessert et al. 2022: 40-41 § 3.4).

8 Elamite verbal bases often have a C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>V structure (see Zadok 1995: 245-251). The word *pishû-k* would be the past participle or a Conj. II form of the verb *pishû*, while *pishû-š* is interpretable as a Conj. I form from the same base. Regarding the first element of the PN Šin-pishûk, this is perhaps the same word that occurs in the compound word *šin-šatin*, “šin-priest” (EIW 1159 s.v. v.ši-in-šá-tin-be).

whose population, as far as can be inferred from the available onomastic data (almost exclusively from the Sargonic and Ur III periods, the former of which precedes Puzur-Sušinak's reign, while the latter immediately follows it), consisted of Akkadian and Elamite speakers (Desset 2017: 13–14; Zadok 2018: 149–152). The same ethnolinguistic duality presumably underlies the bilingualism (Akkadian/Elamite) and digraphia (cuneiform/Linear Elamite) of the Puzur-Sušinak inscriptions: having to deal with this duality, Puzur-Sušinak may have used a double channel of communication to show equal respect and importance to all people of Susa when it came to inscribing texts on monuments.<sup>9</sup>

Probably inspired by Mesopotamian models of exercise of power, Puzur-Sušinak appears to have been the first in Susa to write royal inscriptions and to use LE writing for this textual genre in Elamite.<sup>10</sup> To understand why the royal inscriptions in Elamite were written in Linear Elamite and not in cuneiform, it should be considered that around 2150 BCE, when, approximately, Puzur-Sušinak ascended to the throne, cuneiform writing was still a relatively recent import in Susiana, with less than two centuries of use, while Linear Elamite may have had a much longer tradition, being probably related to the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium BCE Proto-Elamite writing (see above, § 1.3). Moreover, it is conceivable that each language was perceived as associated with a specific writing system: cuneiform with Akkadian and Linear Elamite with Elamite. Finally, cuneiform may have been considered inadequate to record the Elamite language. The adoption of cuneiform by native Elamite speakers to write their language (along with the traditional LE writing) seems to have occurred only a hundred years after Puzur-Sušinak, around 2000 BCE (see Vol. III, §§ 1.1 and 1.7), as evidenced by the cuneiform inscription of Kintatu (*ibid.*, § 2.1).

Four inscribed objects attributable to Puzur-Sušinak bear both LE texts and Akkadian inscriptions in cuneiform. LE texts never translate the Akkadian ones (or vice versa); they only share some proper names and some titles that can be considered identical or equivalent (partial bilingualism). The same is also true of some texts —

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9 According to Vallat (1997), in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE, “le titre roi de Suse et d’Anzan n’apparaît que dans les inscriptions accadiennes alors que roi d’Anzan et de Suse est exclusivement réservé aux textes rédigés en élamite, comme si les Igihalkides avaient voulu honorer les populations sémitiques de leur empire en accordant la primauté à Suse dans les inscriptions qui leur étaient destinées et flatter les habitants élamitophones du Plateau en plaçant Anzan en première place dans les textes élamites. *C’est une marque de politesse*”.

10 No LE inscriptions of earlier rulers have been found so far.

| Objects                                                    | LE                    | Cuneiform        | Titulary                                                                                                                              | Content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Remarks                                                                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sb 54 + Sb 6617<br>(seated statue of a goddess)            | LEI 9/I               | Puzur-Sušinak 9  | Equivalent titles — <i>hatpa-k Sušen-ir</i> in Elamite and <i>issiʔak Sūsim</i> in Akkadian — and absence of filiation in both texts. | Both texts contain exhortations to the same goddess, but the two versions do not coincide.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                        |
| Sb 17<br>(sculpted slab)                                   | LEI 1/A               | Puzur-Sušinak 3  | Different titles: <i>hatpa-k Sušen-ir</i> in Elamite; <i>issiʔak Sūsim</i> and <i>šakkanak māti Elamtim</i> in Akkadian.              | Different topics related to the furnishings of the temple of Insuš(i)nak aka Sušinak:<br>– some action concerning the <i>sohter</i> (“cabinet?”) of Insuš(i)nak in the LE text;<br>– the dedication of a copper and cedar wood peg ( <i>sikkatum</i> ) to Sušinak in the cuneiform text (+ the curse formula). | The different titulary in the two inscriptions might imply that the LE text predates the cuneiform text. <sup>11</sup> |
| Sb 6 + Sb 177<br>(and Sb 172/6733?)<br>(sculpted boulders) | LEI 2/B<br>(and 4/D?) | Puzur-Sušinak 12 | No comparison possible (no title preserved in the cuneiform text).                                                                    | No comparison possible (only the last row of the cuneiform text is preserved).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                        |
| Sb 87<br>(statuette)                                       | LEI 3/C               | Puzur-Sušinak 11 | No comparison possible (no title preserved in the cuneiform text).                                                                    | No comparison possible (very little of the cuneiform text is preserved). ↓                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | The cuneiform text could be complementary to the LE text. <sup>13</sup>                                                |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                        |                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                        |                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | ↑ The curse formula seems to occur only in the cuneiform text. <sup>12</sup>                                                                                                                                                              |  |
| Sb 137 (cun.)<br>139 (LE)<br>140A (LE)<br>149 (cun.)<br>150 (cun.)<br>151 (cun.)<br>153 (cun.)<br>155 (LE)<br>156 (cun.)<br>(157? cun.)<br>(18338? LE)<br>18451 (cun.)<br>18453 (cun.)<br>18454 (cun.)<br>18455 (cun.)<br>18458 (cun.)<br>(stone slabs possibly from the same monument) | LEI 6/F<br>7/G 8/H<br>(same inscr.)<br><br>(LEI 21/U?) | Puzur-Sušinak 6, 7(, and 13?) | Equivalent titles — <i>zemt Awan-ir</i> in Elamite and <i>sar Awan</i> in Akkadian (except for <i>issi?ak Sūsim</i> in Sb 157 = Puzur-Sušinak 13) — and presence of filiation in both Elamite (except for LEI 6/F) and Akkadian. | Different topics:<br>- celebration of the victory over Hūp(o)šan (+ curse formula) in the LE inscr.;<br>- construction of a stone staircase for Sušinak (+ curse formula and final exhortation to Sušinak) in the cuneiform inscriptions. |  |

Table 3.1. Relations between LE inscriptions and Akkadian cuneiform texts on Puzur-Sušinak's artifacts and monuments.

written in Linear Elamite or cuneiform — inscribed on media of the same type, such as a series of stone slabs that were interpreted as steps of a monumental staircase. In particular, three of these inscribed slabs, which bear the same LE inscription in Elamite (texts LEI 6/F, 7/G, and 8/H), have been related to other such slabs bearing cuneiform inscriptions in Akkadian (André and Salvini 1989: 61–69; Colonna d'Istria

11 But see the discussion of the chronology of Puzur-Sušinak's titles, below.

12 In this connection, note that in Chogha Zanbil, at the time of On-taš-Napireša, some Elamite inscriptions of this ruler typically ended with a curse formula written in Akkadian (De Graef 2013: 276; Basello and Ascalone 2018: 705–706).

13 See the previous note.

and Desset 2026; see below, § 3.4.1 with Suppl. a-c). Even though these texts use the same title, “king of Awan” (*zemt Awan-ir* in Elamite / *sar Awan* in Akkadian), to refer to Puzur-Sušinak, indicating a vague contemporaneity, they deal with different topics: the destruction of the enemy city (and polity) of Hūp(o)šan in the LE text, the construction of a stone staircase for the god Insuš(i)nak in the cuneiform inscriptions (same royal title but different subjects). On the other hand, the destruction of Hūp(o)šan (Akkadian Hupsana) is mentioned in a cuneiform text inscribed on both a seated statue and a fragmentary victory stele (see below, § 3.4.1), in which Puzur-Sušinak is *only* “governor of Susa” and “general of the land of Elam” (same subject but different titular). In the current state of knowledge, Puzur-Sušinak’s display inscription program remains unclear.

Eleven objects with LE texts belonging to Puzur-Sušinak are presently known (Pl. XVIII).<sup>14</sup> The inscriptions are generally poorly engraved, worn, or deliberately mutilated, making them sometimes difficult to read.<sup>15</sup> Most were found during the first years of excavations at Susa, between 1903 and 1907; information on archaeological contexts is sketchy in the best cases or nonexistent.

The LE inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak are presented here according to the different titles used by the ruler: 1) *hatpa-k Sušen-ir*, corresponding to Akkadian *issiʔak Sūsim*; 2) *hatpa-k Sušen-ir šepk hūrt Hatamti-p-ir*, Akkadian *issiʔak Sūsim šakkanak māti Elamtim*; 3) *zemt Awan-ir*, Akkadian *sar Awan*. It has been suggested that such changes in Puzur-Sušinak’s titular might have chronological relevance and reflect his *cursus honorum* from city-ruler of Susa to overlord of Elam/Hatamti, and finally, after conquering a vast area in the Zagros region to the north, emperor with the prestigious title “king of Awan”,<sup>16</sup> once belonging to the mighty rulers of an ancient dynasty, according to the Sakkalmah-period “Susa King List” (André and Salvini 1989: 69–71; André-Salvini 1992: 262 and 2006: 130; Steinkeller 2013a: 293 and 296; cf. Steve et al. 2002: 427–428;<sup>17</sup> and D.T. Potts 2016: 113–114). It should be noted, however, that the Akkadian

14 For general information on these inscribed objects (dimensions, materials, dates of discovery, bibliography, etc.), see Tab. 1.1 (§ 1.4 above).

15 All texts were collated by F. Desset, except for LEI 16/P, which was collated by Imane Achouche.

16 In the Akkadian texts, this title is preceded by the epithet *dannum*, “the mighty one”, in imitation of the Akkadian kings (see Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 194 s.v. *dannum* c) and Ēpir-mūpi, a predecessor of his as ruler of Susa and Elam (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 318–319). This epithet has no equivalent in Puzur-Sušinak’s Elamite texts.

17 Note the opposite view by Steve et al., who maintained that Puzur-Sušinak was originally a king of Awan

inscription Puzur-Sušinak 2 (Sb 160; Scheil 1902: pl. 2) with Titulary 2 could be earlier than Puzur-Sušinak 9 (see below, § 3.2.1 Suppl.) and Puzur-Sušinak 10A (Sb 123 and 134; copy of the former by J. de Morgan *apud* Scheil 1905: 7) with Titulary 1, as the unique use, in Puzur-Sušinak 2, of the Sargonic Akkadian spelling <sup>d</sup>NIN.MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠUŠ<sub>4</sub> to write the DN Sušinak,<sup>18</sup> instead of the later spelling <sup>d</sup>MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠUŠ<sub>4</sub> that is used in all the other Puzur-Sušinak inscriptions in cuneiform (see Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 18–19 s.v. <sup>d</sup>Inšušinak; and 56 s.v. Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>inšušinak), as well as in later texts from the Ur III period,<sup>19</sup> seems to suggest. Other peculiar features of Puzur-Sušinak 2, such as the writing of the vetitive particle (*ay*) with the A sign (as in the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad) instead of the E<sub>2</sub> sign (as in other Puzur-Sušinak inscriptions, such as Puzur-Sušinak 3 and 7; cf. n. 5 above), could corroborate this view.

If Puzur-Sušinak 2 is the earliest of the known cuneiform inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak (and not the work of an archaizing scribe), then Titulary 1 should be interpreted as an abbreviated form of Titulary 2, and no special chronological or historical significance should be attached to the absence of the second part of the titulary.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, the fact that in Puzur-Sušinak 2 — unique among the Puzur-Sušinak texts — filiation precedes royal titles might suggest that *issi?ak Sūsim* and *šakkanak māti Elamtim* here refer not to Puzur-Sušinak but to his father Šin-pishūk, whose name is placed immediately before these titles. The inscription in question could have been written when Puzur-Sušinak was not yet the sovereign but the Crown Prince regent, formally under the superior authority of his father, the ruler.<sup>21</sup>

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who, after subjugating Susa, assumed the title *issi?ak Sūsim*, “governor of Susa”, which was previously used by the representatives of the king of Akkad in Susa. Later, when Puzur-Sušinak also conquered Anšan, he would have added the title *šakkanak māti Elamtim*, “general of the land of Elam”, to his titulary.

18 See col. i 4, ii 2, iii 1 and 19, and iv 13. Cf. PU<sub>3</sub>.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>NIN.MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.<sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub> UGULA, “Puzur-Sušinak, the foreman”, in Scheil 1913: 72–73, no. 10 (= Sb 18110) rev. i 5’ (Sarg.). The spelling <sup>d</sup>NIN.MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub> also occurs several times in the “Treaty of Naram-Sin” (Sb 8833; Scheil 1911: figs. 1–2 and pls. 1–2; see col. i 8 and *passim*), but here it more likely represents Elamite Insuš(i)nak (the text being written in the Elamite language).

19 See PU<sub>3</sub>.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.[ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub>] dumu a-ḥu-na, “Puzur-Sušinak, son of Aḥūna”, in Dossin 1927: no. 79 seal (Ur III; cf. the text of the tablet, rev. 1); PU<sub>3</sub>.ŠA-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub> dub-sar dumu šu-e<sub>2</sub>-a, “Puzur-Sušinak, the scribe, son of Šu-Ea”, in Amiet 1972: no. 1649 (sealing): 1 (Ur III). Since the Ur III period, <sup>d</sup>NIN.MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub> is only used to write Sumerian Ninsusina, i.e., <sup>d</sup>nin-susin<sub>x</sub> (MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub>)<sup>(ki)</sup>; see, e.g., RIME 3/2, 138–140, Šulgi 31: 5 and 32: 1 (for the reading of MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub> as susin<sub>x</sub>, and not šušin, see Marchesi 2013: 286 with n. 9).

20 As in the case of the contemporary king of Ur, Ur-Namma (D’Agostino and Pomponio 2023: 105).

21 In some LE inscriptions, Puzur-Sušinak refers to Šin-pishūk as “his ...*śa*” — a term possibly meaning “predecessor” — and appears to emphasize how he fulfilled the latter’s plans or will. See LEI 1/A (§ 3.2.2), 2/B



Even so, one would expect that Puzur-Sušinak inherited both titles when he succeeded Šin-pishūk on the throne.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2 PUZUR-SUŠINAK AS “*HATPAK* (GOVERNOR) OF SUSA”

The term *hatpa-k* only occurs in Puzur-Sušinak’s titulary and LEI 23/W: 6 (Vol. II, § 4.1.6). As *hatpa-k Sušen-ir* corresponds to *issiʔak Sūsim*, “governor of Susa”,<sup>23</sup> in the Akkadian inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak (see below), we may assume that *hatpa-k* was the Elamite equivalent of Akkadian *issiʔakkum/išš(iʔ)akku(m)*, “city-ruler, governor”.

However, morphologically, *hatpa-k* is probably a *k*-participle of the verb *hatpa*, to be understood as “the *hatpa*-ed one”.<sup>24</sup> The verb in question seems to occur otherwise in an unpublished door socket inscription of Šilhak-Insuš(i)nak I from Tepe Pomp (henceforth Šil Po 1): <sup>4</sup>ru-hu-ra-ti-ir te-im-ti ši<sub>2</sub>-il-ha-ak-ri ha-at ti-ri-na ša-ri-e-ri ha-at-pa<sub>2</sub>-aš<sub>2</sub>-na (col. iv 13-15). This sentence, which is part of a series of curses at the end of the inscription, can tentatively be translated as “may Rūhūrazer,<sup>25</sup> the mighty lord, *turn to* the ... (= ša-ri-e-ri) pronouncing a *curse*”.<sup>26</sup> If this interpretation is correct

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(§ 3.3.1), and 3/C (§ 3.3.2). The presence of four men (whose names are not mentioned) called “the sons of Šin-pishūk” among the recipients of barley in two administrative documents of Girsu from the time of Gudea (Steinkeller 2013a: 299-301) also suggests that Šin-pishūk was a prominent figure of that time.

22 Also note that all the known *issiʔak Sūsim* of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE also bore the title *šakkanak māti Elamtim* (see below, § 3.2.2 Suppl., comm. to Puzur-Sušinak 3 i 7-9), so that the latter appears to have been a sort of standard second title in the titulary of the rulers of Susa in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE.

23 According to Vallat (1980: 3-4; 1993: CVII and 270-271), the GN Šušen refers to Susiana, whereas the city of Susa was called Šušun. See, however, Krebernik 2006: 67-69 with n. 37.

24 Cf. *kuši-k Šin-pishūk-ir*, “the one begotten by Šin-pishūk” (§ 3.4.1, LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*1); and *hane-k Pinekir-ik*, “(I,) the beloved of (the goddess) Pinekir” (Vol. II, § 2.4.1, LEI 25b/Y2: 1; § 2.4.2, LEI 26/Z: 2).

25 For the reading Rūhūrazer of the divine name usually transcribed as “Ruhurater” (Henkelman 2007), see the occurrence of *r-ze-p* (= *r(a)ze-p*), in association with *ru<sub>2</sub>-hu i-ri* (= *rūhū i-re*, “his offspring”) in LEI 39/N: 3 (Vol. II, § 4.1.5). In addition, note the variant spelling *la-hu-ra-še-er* (CUSAS 9 no. 428: 5), which attests to the same interchange between *t* and *š* that is found in the spelling variants of *zemt*, “king, lord”, and other Elamite words in cuneiform texts (see Zadok 1984: 3; Desset et al. 2022: 47-48).

26 The meaning of *hat* is very controversial; see, among others, *ElW* 581 s.v. *ha-at* (“Strafzepter, Fluch”; cf. p. 582 s.vv. *giš.ha-at* and *ha-at-ti*); Basello 2017: 362 (“punishing staff”); Henkelman 2022: 437-438 (“divine terror, wrath”); Mäder 2022: 24-25 (“sceptre(?)”, “curse(?)”). This new attestation of the term as the direct object of the verb *tiri-n-a* makes one lean toward “curse” as the correct translation of *hat*, despite the writing with the determinative for wooden objects — *geš* — in the NE inscription of the “Persepolis Bronze Plaque” (see n. 79 below). The latter (mis-)spelling may be due to confusion and interchange between the ways of writing two homonymous (or paronymous) words — *hat(i)*, “curse”, and *hat*, “scepter” (cf. *ElW* 582 s.v. *ha-at*). For

and the verbal base *hatpa* really means “to turn to, address”, or the like, then *hatpa-k Sušen-ir* could be assumed to mean, accordingly, “the one *turned to* by (the people of) Susa”, that is, “the one to whom (the people of) Susa *turned* (to rule)”.

### 3.2.1 LEI 9/I (Sb 54 + Sb 6617; Pls. XVIII-XXI)

This text is written on a limestone statue of a seated goddess (Pl. XIX.a-d). The head (Sb 6617) was discovered in 1904 to the southeast of the temple of Insuš(i)nak (Paladre 2023: 289; see Pl. VIII) while the body (Sb 54) was found in 1907 in trench 93, immediately to the south of the so-called “Shrine (*Édicule*) of Man-ʾistūsu”, near the temple of Ninḥursağa (Scheil 1913: 17; Álvarez-Mon 2018: 180 § 5 with n. 76 and pl. 2; Surdi 2022: 147-148; see Pl. VIII).<sup>27</sup>

Based on the erroneous interpretations of the LE text proposed by Frank (1923: 15-16) and Hinz (1962: 16; 1969: 39), this statue has long been mistakenly interpreted as representing the “Iranian” goddess Narunte or (more precisely) Narūte.

Another inscription, written in the cuneiform script and the Akkadian language (= Puzur-Sušinak 9; see below, § 3.2.1 Suppl.), is on the front side of the right leg of the throne with signs arranged within vertical cases, aligned in four rows from top to bottom (Pl. XIX.e). The two inscriptions were not necessarily written concurrently, but note that in both texts, Puzur-Sušinak only bears the title relating him to the city of Susa (Akkadian: *issīʾak Sūsim* / Elamite: *hatpa-k Sušen-ir*) and is not accompanied by his patronymic. The statue was probably not intended to be inscribed, as no surface was specifically prepared to receive an inscription.<sup>28</sup>

The Elamite text is on the left leg of the throne, organized in four lines (see Pls. XX-XXI).<sup>29</sup> Both the arrangement of the text and the direction of the writing are highly unusual. Line 1 runs on the front side of the left leg of the throne from bottom to top, while line 2, which also runs from bottom to top, is located slightly lower, separated from line 1 by the cavity carved out for the feet of the goddess. The signs

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the verbal base *tiri*, “to say, speak”, which also occurs in Šil Po 1 iv 4 in the clause *pap tiri-n-ri* (cf. *ElW* 108 s.v. ba-ap), see *ElW* 336-338. As for the enigmatic *ša-ri-e-ri*, the context suggests that this word, of unknown meaning, refers to the person to be cursed.

27 An additional fragment with part of the left shoulder has recently been identified by François Bridey in the storage of the Louvre and joined to the statue (Bridey 2017).

28 Moortgat-Correns (1989: 143) suggested that the statue could have been brought to Susa as a spoil of war and that both inscriptions could have been added by Puzur-Sušinak. See also Boehmer 1966: 355.

29 In previous studies, what we consider to be lines 1-2 were interpreted as a single line of text.

used in line 2 are noticeably much smaller than those in line 1. Line 3, which is engraved on the lateral side of the left leg of the throne, from bottom to top, seems to have been deliberately damaged.<sup>30</sup> Finally, line 4 is written horizontally, from right to left, on the lower part of the left side of the throne.

The inscription reads:

1.     pe-<sup>1</sup>li-ti-ka-<sup>1</sup>li<sub>3</sub>-m<sup>1</sup> | ha-t-pa-k<sub>2</sub> su-še-ni-r<sup>1</sup> pu<sup>1</sup>-zu-r<sup>1</sup>-su-ši-na-<sup>1</sup>k<sub>2</sub><sup>131</sup>
2.     za-na u-ri
3.     a-ni u pu-<sup>1</sup>ri<sub>2</sub>/r<sup>1</sup>[(...)-n-ti]<sup>32</sup>
4.     ka-ta-ki nu na a-w (?)

<sup>(1)</sup>*Peltikalim* | *hatpa-k Sušen-ir Puzur-Sušinak* <sup>(2)</sup>*zana o-re* <sup>(3)</sup>*ani o pur(i)[(...)-n-ti]*  
<sup>(4)</sup>*kata(k)-ki nû na aw (?)*

<sup>(1)</sup>(Statue of) Peltikalim. The *hatpak* of Susa, Puzur-Sušinak(, speaks as follows): <sup>(2-3)</sup>“My lady, do not *stra[y away]* from me. <sup>(4)</sup>*I am alive; (from) now (on), (my) days are for you*”.

### Commentary

Line 1: The dividing sign that separates pe-l-ti-ka-li<sub>3</sub>-m from the rest of the text probably indicates a textual boundary. What precedes this dividing sign is presumably a label inscription meant to identify the portrayed goddess.<sup>33</sup>

a. Peltikalim almost certainly derives from Akkadian Bēl(a)t-ēkallim,<sup>34</sup> “Lady of the palace”, a well-known byname of Innana/Eštar (Wilcke 1976: 76-77 §§ 3.1 and 3.6;

30 This is perhaps related to the beheading of this statue and the mutilation of other monuments of Puzur-Sušinak, which may have occurred when Ur-Namma of Ur conquered Susa (Marchesi 2013).

31 The <pu> sign in the writing of the PN Puzur-Sušinak was left incomplete (the vertical line closing the second semicircle is lacking), probably because of the small space available before the 90 degree variation of the surface to be inscribed.

32 Note that the <pu> sign here does not have the form normally used in the inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak, but rather the older form attested in LEI 13/M (see Pl. IV).

33 A label inscription identifying the depicted deity is also found on the only other known example of an inscribed divine statue from the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE (Strommenger 1959: 47-48).

34 Cf. the OA month name Bēlt-ēkallem (variously spelled as be-e-te<sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>3</sub>-li-im, be-el-te<sub>2</sub>-E<sub>2</sub>.GAL<sup>lim</sup>, be-el-te<sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>3</sub>/kal<sub>2</sub>-lim, be-el-te<sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>3</sub>-lu-um, and be-te-kal<sub>2</sub>-lim; Hirsch 1972: 54 n. 279; Kouwenberg 2017: 68 *sub* 3) and see von Soden 1995: 102 § 64g.

ibid., 79 § 5; Behrens and Klein 2000: 344–345 §§ 3.2.1 and 4).<sup>35</sup> In this connection, it should be noted, with Tavernier (2010a: 205), that some iconographic details of the statue (i.e., the eight-petaled rosette on the pedestal and the six lions depicted on the throne and at the feet of the goddess) point to Innana/Eštar (or her “Iranian” counterpart Pinekir; Koch 2005a) as being the deity that is portrayed (cf. Mayer-Opificius 1998: 281–282; Marchesi 2016a: 88 with n. 22). The cult of Nin<sup>9</sup>egala (Sumerian) aka Bēl(a/e)t-ēkallim (Akkadian) is well attested at Susa in the Sukkalmah period (Steve 1967: 87; von Weiher 1971: 39 n. 2), and it may well have been introduced at the time of the Akkadian domination.

b. *hatpa-k Sušen-ir Puzur-Sušinak*: this is the only case in the Puzur-Sušinak inscriptions in which the king’s title precedes the king’s name. This fact may be related to the structure of this inscription and the use of direct speech in the continuation of the text.

Line 2: *za-na u-ri* stands for *zana o-re*, literally, “the lady of mine”. For *zana*, “lady, mistress”, see *ElW* 1282 s.v. *za-na*. The following *o-re* is a genitive construction involving the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. pronoun, *o*, and the delocutive nominal classifier, *-r* (see Vol. III, Appendix B.4).

Line 3: *a-ni* is probably the prohibitive / negative imperative particle, *ani* (“may ... not; do not”; Khačikjan 1998: 49; Grillot-Susini 2008: 83; Tavernier 2011: 332), followed by the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. pronoun, *o* (here with indirect/oblique object function), and by what is conceivably the beginning of a Conj. III verbal form, whose last preserved sign looks like an incomplete <r> or <ri<sub>2</sub>>. Based on the verbal base *pura* (*ElW* 235 s.v. *pu-ra-h*), it would be tempting to restore *pu-<sup>r</sup>1-[ra-n-ti]* (Conj. III, 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg.).<sup>36</sup> It should be noted, however, that *pura* is a transitive verb, while the non-direct-object pronoun *o* implies the presence of an intransitive verb in our text, the base of which could be either *\*purV* or *\*purCV* (all unattested elsewhere). Accordingly, the original text can be assumed to have displayed either *\*pu-ri<sub>2</sub>-n-ti* or *\*pu-r-CV-n-ti*. Needless to say, the proposed translation is conjectural. Cf., for a

35 Cf. also <sup>d</sup>in-na-na-pe<sub>3</sub>-el-ti-ap-pu-ki(-i), “Innana-Pelt-apuki” (i.e., “Innana-Lady of ...”), in TZ 45: 1 and 2. Note that pe<sub>3</sub>-el-ti-ap-pu-ki(-i) here does not represent an epithet of Innana, as is usually interpreted, but rather another byname of the goddess (otherwise, one would expect a connecting nominal suffix: <sup>d</sup>in-na-na-pe<sub>3</sub>-el-ti(-ir) ap-pu-ki-ir). It may derive from Akkadian *\*Bēl(a)t-ḥapūqim*, “Lady of embrace / Protective lady” (root ḤPQ; cf. Akkadian *epēqu(m)* and *ipqum*).

36 Cf. u<sub>2</sub>-te-en-ti (= *ute-n-ti*) in LEI 26/Z: 5 (Vol. II, § 2.4.2) and LEI 37/K’ (ibid., § 2.6.1). Accordingly, the 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sg. suffix in Conj. III appears to have been *-ti*, rather than *-t*.

possible semantically parallel passage, *EKI* 45 § 11, ... <sup>d</sup>in-šu-ši-na-ak na-pir<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ri a-ni un hi-ša-an-ti (... *Inšušinak nap-ir o-re ani o-n hiša-n-ti*), “... Insuš(i)nak, my god, do not abandon me”.

Line 4: The text appears somewhat elliptical; the intended meaning may be along the lines of: “I am alive (implicitly: thanks to you), and I now live for you”.

a. The first two signs could be taken to represent the verb *kata*, “to live” (Krebernik and Wasserman 2020: 55); especially, cf. ka-ta-ak-li = *kata-k-le*, “may he be alive” (ibid., 48 and 50, line A.14). We assume that ka-ta-ki stands for *kata(-k)-ki*, to be interpreted as a unique example of the hitherto conjectural 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. form of Conj. II (cf. Grillot-Susini 2008: 77; Quintana 2010: 105 with n. 82; Krebernik 2021: 209). The spelling ka-ta-ki could be a defective spelling for *kata-k-ki* (possibly to be pronounced as [katak.ki], with a hiatus) or attest to the reduction of two identical and consecutive consonants belonging to two different morphemes to a single consonant, as in the case of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. pl. suffix of Conj. I (*-hu* instead of expected *-h-h*, pl. morpheme + 1<sup>st</sup> pers. marker).

b. For na, cf. cun. na-a (var. na), “day(s)” (Steve 1967: 16 and 124; *ElW* 967 s.v. na-a.me-lu-uk-ra). The same term may occur as a component of the RN Na-pishūš (see n. 6 above).

c. We tentatively interpret LE a-w as the equivalent of cun. (a-)am, “now” (*ElW* 14 and 48). For LE w = cun. m, see Desset et al. 2022: 46.

### 3.2.1 Supplement: Puzur-Sušinak 9 (Sb 54 + Sb 6617 cun.;<sup>37</sup> Pl. XIX.e)

row i

|    |                                                                                   |                      |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. | PU <sub>3</sub> <sup>!</sup> .ŠA- <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub> | <i>Puzur-Sušinak</i> |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|

row ii

|    |                                                  |                           |
|----|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | ᵀENSI <sub>2</sub> <sup>ᵀ</sup>                  | <i>issi<sup>?</sup>ak</i> |
| 2. | MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub> <sup>ki</sup> | <i>Sūsim</i>              |
| 3. | at-ti                                            | <i>atti</i>               |

row iii

|    |                                                         |                                   |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | [ <sup>d</sup> NIN]-ᵀE <sub>2</sub> <sup>ᵀ</sup> .⟨GAL⟩ | [ <sup>d</sup> Bēl(a)t]-ē⟨kallim⟩ |
| 2. | in uz-ᵀni <sup>ᵀ</sup> -ki                              | <i>in uzni-ki</i>                 |

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37 The transliteration was checked against the photographs of the text. Cf. Scheil 1913: 17-19; and Gelb and Kienast 1990: 335-336, Elam 10.

row iv

|    |                                  |         |
|----|----------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | ʾlu <sup>1</sup> -[ub-si]        | lu[bsī] |
| 2. | DI.KU <sub>5</sub> <sup>ni</sup> | dīn-ī   |
| 3. | dī <sub>3</sub> -ni              | dīmī    |

(i 1)(Thus speaks) Puzur-Sušinak, (ii 1-2)governor of Susa: (ii 3 – iii 1)“You are [Bēl(a)t]-ē(kallim). (iii 2 – iv 1)May I [have] your attention, (iv 2-3)decide my case”.

### Commentary

i 1: Influenced by Hinz’s (1962: 16; 1969: 39) reading of the LE text, Gelb and Kienast (1990: 335) restored two additional lines before the name of Puzur-Sušinak: [a-na / <sup>d</sup>na-ru<sub>9</sub>-te, “to (the goddess) Narūte”]. However, the beginning of the inscription is completely preserved, and there is no space for such alleged lost lines.

iii 1: The restoration of the divine name (which can occur only here) is based on the LE text (see above).

iii 2 – iv 1: Cf. *anāku ina uzni-ka lubšī*, “may I have your attention” (lit., “may I be in your ear”), in an unpublished letter from Susa quoted in *CAD* U/W 364. Cf. also Puzur-Sušinak 12 (Sb 177) i’ 15’-16’ (see below, § 3.3.1 Suppl.); and Puzur-Sušinak 7 (Sb 156 and duplicates): 27-28 (§ 3.4.1 Suppl. a). In transcribing *uzni-ki*, instead of *uzni-ki*, we assume that the vowel of the genitive singular ending before possessive suffixes is short as in Sargonic Akkadian (see Hasselbach 2005: 151).

### 3.2.2 LEI 1/A (Sb 17; Pls. XVIII, XXII, and XXIII)

This inscription is engraved on a lozenge-shaped limestone slab, usually called the “Table au lion”, because of a protruding lion’s head at one of its corners. The object (Sb 17), which was found in 1903 under the paving of the temple of Insuš(i)nak in the Acropolis of Susa (see Pl. VIII), not far from the foundation tablets and bronze canephora of Sulgi (Álvarez-Mon 2018: 183 § 7),<sup>38</sup> also bears a two-row cuneiform text in Akkadian (= Puzur-Sušinak 3; see below, § 3.2.2 Suppl.). Considering the titles used — *hatpa-k Sušen-ir*, “*hatpak* of Susa”, in the Elamite text, but *issī<sup>2</sup>ak Sūsim šakkanak*

38 Here is how G. Lampre (1905: 162-163) described the artifact and its discovery: “La pierre en losange ... est un calcaire à grain serré, de teinte rougeâtre. Elle mesure 0<sup>m</sup>,86 de longueur, sur 0<sup>m</sup>,68 de largeur et 0<sup>m</sup>,18 d’épaisseur et fut trouvée, en février 1903, à 5 mètres de profondeur dans le prolongement et au-dessous du niveau des dallages du temple de Chouchinak [= Insuš(i)nak], non loin des logements qui renfermaient les canéphores de bronze et les tablettes de pierre au nom de Doungi [= Sulgi]”.

*māti Elamtim*, “governor of Susa, general of the land of Elam”, in the Akkadian text — it appears that the cuneiform inscription was abutted against the LE inscription only in a second stage (but see the discussion of the chronology of Puzur-Sušinak’s titles, § 3.1 above). More carefully engraved, the cuneiform inscription was planned to precisely occupy the entire space between the LE inscription and the edge of the stone slab.

The slab was possibly used as a sort of dashboard to display texts dealing with the furnishings of the temple of Insuš(i)nak (a *peg/sikkatum* in the Akkadian text; a *sohter* in the Elamite text). Both inscriptions are positioned in such a way that, to read them, one must look at them from the opposite side of one of the two sides ending with a lion’s head.

The LE inscription consists of five lines (running from right to left), and it is shorter than the cuneiform one. It seems that the engraver miscalculated the length of the lines because most of them appear to have been lengthened at a later stage. Moreover, the fifth line is longer than the others and goes beyond the frame determined by the ends of lines 1–4.

The text reads:

1. su<sub>2</sub>-h-te-r i-n-su-ši-na-k-ki-r
2. pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-k ze-ʾm<sup>1</sup>-t<sup>139</sup> i
3. ha-t-pa-k su-še-ni-r
4. ši-n-pi-s-h-hu-k
5. 𒀭-r-ša i-ri pe-s-e zu-p<sub>2</sub>-pa-š

<sup>(1)</sup>*sohter Insušinak-ir* <sup>(2)</sup>*Puzur-Sušinak zemt i* <sup>(3)</sup>*hatpa-k Sušen-ir* <sup>(4)</sup>*Šin-pishūk* <sup>(5)</sup>*...rša i-re pes-e zupa-š*

<sup>(1)</sup>(As for) the *sohter* of Insuš(i)nak — <sup>(2)</sup>Puzur-Sušinak, this king, <sup>(3)</sup>the *hatpak* of Susa, <sup>(5b)</sup>accomplished the *plans* of <sup>(4)</sup>Šin-pishūk, <sup>(5a)</sup>his *predecessor*.

### Commentary

Line 1: This is the earliest attestation of the term *sohter*. The same word occurs

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39 The <t> sign lacks the distinctive three dots (cf. n. 70 below).

in several cuneiform texts from the ME period, written as su-uh-tir, su-uh-te-ir (*ElW* 1099-1100), or šu-uh-tir (*ibid.*, 1176).<sup>40</sup> The use of the animate nominal suffix -ir in the phrase su<sub>2</sub>-h-te-r i-n-su-ši-na-k-ki-r,<sup>41</sup> instead of the inanimate suffix -me,<sup>42</sup> confirms Krebernik's (2021: 203) hypothesis that *sohter* was originally a noun belonging to the animate class (see also Henkelman 2022: 429 with n. 55). As for the meaning of the term, several hypotheses have been put forward; in addition to the traditional translation "altar" (or the like; *ElW* 1099 s.v. su-h-te-ir, with previous literature; see also Steve 1967: 28), *sohter* has also been taken to denote a royal chapel within a temple (Grillot 1983), a tabernacle (Vallat 1999: 38-39; 2004: 180), an "édicule orné de cornes" (Grillot-Susini 2001: 142), or a "dynastic shrine with images of the royal family and their immediate predecessors" (Henkelman 2022: 429; cf. *ibid.*, 431-432). See also D.T. Potts 2010: 60; and Álvarez-Mon 2020: 338 with pl. 136. On the other hand, Marchesi (*forthc.*) argues that the term *sohter* refers to an element of temple furniture, possibly a type of closet that contained certain types of artifacts such as artworks representing past and present members of the royal family, and various precious objects. According to later texts from the time of Šilhak-Insuš(i)nak I and Hûte-lûtûš-Insuš(i)nak (12<sup>th</sup> century BCE), the *sohter* could be made of gold (or plated with gold), have a silver and gold door, be fixed by means of golden columns to a podium (?) built with special glazed bricks, while horns and other undetermined gold and bronze artifacts could be placed on top of it, probably as decorations (Marchesi *forthc.*). Although some differences can be expected between the 22<sup>nd</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, this new attestation of the term shows that the *sohter* had a specific relationship with (the temple of) Insuš(i)nak at Susa as early as the time of Puzur-Sušinak.

Lines 2-3: For *zemt*, "king, lord" (royal title and divine epithet), see Vol. II, § 2.2. Puzur-Sušinak may have wanted to emphasize his status as an independent ruler by

40 Three *sohter* from the ME period were previously known: the *sohter* of the *talim* temple of Napireša, part of the "the sacred precinct" (*siyan-kûk*) in Āl-On-taš-Napireša/Chogha Zanbil (TZ 9; time of On-taš-Napireša); the *sohter* of the *kūmpūm kutiya* temple of Insuš(i)nak in Susa (*EKI* 47 and 48; time of Šilhak-Insuš(i)nak I); and the *sohter* of the *kūkūnūm* temple of Insuš(i)nak in Susa (*IRS* 53; time of Hûte-lûtûš-Insuš(i)nak).

41 For this spelling with a double *k*, cf. hu-ze-hu<sub>2</sub>-p-ša-k<sub>2</sub>-ki-r in *LEI* 26/Z: 4 (Vol. II, § 2.4.2); and, in later cuneiform texts, spellings such as <sup>d</sup>in-su-uš-na-ak-ki, <sup>d</sup>in-su-uš-na-ak-ki<sub>2</sub>-ik, <sup>d</sup>in-šu-ši-na-ak-ki, etc. (*ElW* 760-761). Such graphic doubling of certain consonants probably served to indicate their pronunciation as fortis (on geminate spellings, see Desset et al. 2022: 40-42 § 3.4).

42 Cf. su-uh-te-ir <sup>d</sup>in-su-uš-na-ak-me, "the *sohter* of Insuš(i)nak", in *EKI* 48 § 18.



using the term “king” (not necessarily related to his future title “king of Awan”) in addition to “*hatpak* of Susa”, the traditional Elamite title of Susian rulers. The use of the demonstrative pronoun/adjective *i* after *zemt* possibly has an emphasizing function as well.

Lines 4-5: Literally, “(of) Šin-pishûk, the *predecessor* (= ...*rša*) of his (= Puzur-Sušinak’s), his (= Šin-pishûk’s) *plans* (= *pes*) he (= Puzur-Sušinak) accomplished (= *zupa-s*)”. For this type of inverted genitive construction (x y-e, “(of) x, his y” = “y of x”), which emphasizes the *rectum* of a genitive phrase by moving it into the first position (which is normally occupied by the *regens*), see, for instance, [Nahû]nte-ûtû *par-e* (EKI 54 § 12), “[of] Nahû]nte-ûtû, her offspring” (with “her” referring to Nahûnte-ûtû) (see also Grillot-Susini 1987: 23 and 2008: 50 with additional examples).

a. For Šin-pishûk ...*rša i-re*, cf. *Insušinak zemt i-re*, “Insuš(i)nak, the lord of his (= Puzur-Sušinak’s)” in LEI 2/B: 1 (see below, § 3.3.1); accordingly, the phrase can be translated as “Šin-pishûk, the ...*rša* of his (= Puzur-Sušinak’s)”. The problem is the meaning of the term ...*rša* (𐎶𐎶𐎶-*rša*), which only occurs in Puzur-Sušinak inscriptions, expressing some relationship between Šin-pishûk and Puzur-Sušinak. The former is known from other texts to have been Puzur-Sušinak’s father (see below, § 3.4.1, LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*1; and Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 64 s.v. Šim-pi-iš-ḫu-uk), but the usual word for “father” in Elamite is *ata* (ElW 26 s.v. ad-da). The enigmatic term ...*rša* could still be another, rarer (literary?) word for “father” or indicate a different kind of relationship (i.e., distinct from the father-son relationship) between the two. For instance, supposing that Šin-pishûk preceded Puzur-Sušinak on the throne of Susa, one could think of “predecessor” as the possible meaning of ...*rša* (this is the interpretation we tentatively lean toward), but, again, there is another word in Elamite that presumably means the same, that is, \**ur(-ir)*.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, one could alternatively compare Šin-pishûk ...*rša i-re* with *Tariyawauš ... Wištašpa šak-re* (< \**šak i-re*) (wr. <sup>1</sup>ta<sub>2</sub>-ri-ia-ma-u-iš ... <sup>1</sup>mi-iš-ta<sub>2</sub>-aš<sub>2</sub>-pa<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>ša<sub>2</sub>-ak-ri), “Darius, ..., Hystaspes’ son” (lit., “Darius, ..., (of) Hystaspes — the son of his”; DB § 1), and, by analogy with this construction, consider the pronoun *i* of *i-re* as referring not to Puzur-Sušinak but rather to Šin-pishûk and interpret ...*rša* as a term for “son, offspring”, or the like. However, the construction *Tariyawauš ... Wištašpa šak-re*

43 Only the plural *ur-ip* is attested; see, for instance, the phrase su-un-ki-ip u<sub>2</sub>-ri-pu-pe<sub>3</sub> (= *sunki-p/sunk-ip ur-ip o-pe*), “the kings my predecessors”, in EKI 13 § III and passim (see R. Labat *apud* Grillot 1970: 233 n. 14; McAlpin 1981: 82; Stolper 2004: 75; Grillot-Susini 2008: 93 and 96; cf. ElW 1246-1247 s.v. ú-ri-pu-pi).

appears to have been a later linguistic development and is only attested in Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite (Grillot-Susini 1987: 23).

b. Note the “morphological” spelling *pe-s-e* (instead of phonographic *\*pe-se*), showing the two morphemes (*pes* and the possessive suffix *-e*) that make up this word<sup>44</sup> — here used as the direct object of the verb *zupa-š*. The translation of *pes* (hapax legomenon?) is hypothetical; assuming that our interpretation of the verbal base *zupa* is correct (see below, *sub c*), the context appears to require a meaning such as “design, plans, project” for *pes*. In any case, whatever the exact translation of the term in question might have been, what the text says is probably that Puzur-Sušinak brought to completion the work planned (and begun?) by his father Šin-pishûk.

c. *zu-p<sub>2</sub>-pa-š* (verbal form, 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. Conj. I) could call for comparison with cuneiform *zu-up-pa<sub>2</sub>-ah* (1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. Conj. I) in *EKI* 47 § 29. However, the verb that occurs in *EKI* 47 seems to denote a negative action or behavior (cf. *ElW* 1312 s.v. *zu-ub-ba-h*) and therefore does not fit the context of our text. In this regard, it should also be noted that the resemblance of LE *zu-p<sub>2</sub>-pa-š* with cuneiform *zu-up-pa<sub>2</sub>-ah* may be only apparent: while *zu-p<sub>2</sub>-pa-š* stands for *zupa-š*, the cuneiform spelling *zu-up-pa<sub>2</sub>-ah* can represent either *zupa-h* or *zopa-h*. In any case, it is more tempting to connect LE *zu-p<sub>2</sub>-pa* with cun. *su-um-pa<sub>2</sub>* and *zu-um-pa<sub>2</sub>*,<sup>45</sup> which in turn appear to be variants of cun. *tu-um-pa<sub>2</sub>/tu<sub>4</sub>-um-pa<sub>(2)</sub>* (*ElW* 383-384), “to accomplish, carry out, fulfill”.<sup>46</sup> Cf. Cuneiform 9: 16-18 (Vol. III, § 2.5), *se<sub>20</sub>-we-pa-la-ar-hu-uh-pa-ak* <sup>d</sup>*na-pi-ri-ša ik-ku su-um-pa<sub>2</sub>-aš {ki}*, “Sewe-palar-hûh(-)pak performed an offering for Napireša” (OE), with *EKI* 28A § 24, <sup>d</sup>*in-šu-ši-na-ak na-pir<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ri ik-ku tu-um-pa<sub>2</sub>-ah*,<sup>47</sup> “I performed an offering for Insuš(i)nak, my god” (ME).<sup>48</sup>

44 “Morphological” spellings are also attested in Elamite texts in cuneiform (see Tavernier 2018b: 142 and 145).

45 The bilabial nasal *m* may well represent a secondary phonetic development (possibly due to the accented second syllable beginning with the labial plosive *p*) or reflect a nasal pronunciation of the preceding vowel (cf. the DN Hûpan/Hûmpan: Zadok 1984: 11-13; Gorris 2020b).

46 For the meaning, see Steve 1967: 55 and 64. See also *EKI* 10a § II, <sup>d</sup>*na-ah-hu-un-te ku-ul-la-an-ka ku-la-a ur tu<sub>4</sub>-um-pa-an-ra a-ak tu<sub>4</sub>-ru-un-ka hu-ut-ta-an-ra*, “for Nahûnte, who, when I pray, fulfills the prayer for me, and when I ask (lit., say) (something), he does (it)”.

47 For the meaning of *ik-ku*, see König 1965: 64 n. 8 (of p. 63); and *ElW* 748 s.v.

48 Note that spellings with an initial dental consonant are already attested in OE texts; see *tu<sub>3</sub>-um-pa<sub>2</sub>-an* in Cuneiform 3: 3' (Vol. III, § 2.2); and *tu<sub>3</sub>-um-pa<sub>2</sub>-aš* in Cuneiform 1: 6 (ibid., § 2.1) and Cuneiform 3: 2' and 5' (ibid., § 2.2). For additional examples of interchange between dental stops and sibilants in the writing of some Elamite words, see Zadok 1984: 3; Tavernier 2010b: 1072; Dessert et al. 2022: 47. Although the phenomenon still awaits a comprehensive investigation (as is often the case in Elamite studies), such variant spellings seem

Moreover, see *EKI* 67 i' 4 (Vol. III, § 2.6), [... nu-u]k-ku-up zu-um-pa<sub>2</sub>-ah (OE); and M. Lambert 1970: 243, lines 7–8, in-ti-ik-ka-ak nu-uk-ku-up zu<sup>l?</sup>-um-pa<sub>2</sub>-ah,<sup>49</sup> “for that reason, I performed sacrifices” (ME).<sup>50</sup>

### 3.2.2 Supplement: Puzur–Sušinak 3 (Sb 17 cun.; Pl. XXII)

#### row i

|     |                                                                      |                                                                                          |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.  | a-na                                                                 | <i>ana</i>                                                                               |
| 2.  | <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub>                      | <i>Sušinak</i>                                                                           |
| 3.  | ba'-li <sub>2</sub> -su                                              | <i>bēli-su</i>                                                                           |
| 4.  | PU <sub>3</sub> .ŠA- <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub> | <i>Puzur-Sušinak</i>                                                                     |
| 5.  | ENSI <sub>2</sub>                                                    | <i>issi<sup>?</sup>ak</i>                                                                |
| 6.  | MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub> <sup>ki</sup>                     | <i>Sūsim</i>                                                                             |
| 7.  | KIŠ.NINTA <sub>2</sub>                                               | <i>šakkanak</i>                                                                          |
| 8.  | ma-ti                                                                | <i>māti</i>                                                                              |
| 9.  | ELAM <sup>ki</sup>                                                   | <i>Elamtim</i>                                                                           |
| 10. | DUMU šim-pi <sub>2</sub> -is <sub>2</sub> -ḥu-uk                     | <i>mara<sup>?</sup> Šimpishuk</i>                                                        |
| 11. | ḡešGAG EREN                                                          | <i>sikkat weri<sup>?</sup>ē</i> (! Text: <i>weri<sup>?</sup>ē sikkat</i> ) <i>erēnim</i> |
| 12. | A.MU.NA.RU                                                           | <i>isruk</i>                                                                             |

#### row ii

|    |                                                                   |                        |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | šu DUB                                                            | <i>šu tuppam</i>       |
| 2. | šu-a                                                              | <i>šu<sup>?</sup>a</i> |
| 3. | u <sub>3</sub> -sa <sub>2</sub> -sa <sub>3</sub> -ku <sub>8</sub> | <i>usattsaku</i>       |
| 4. | <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub>                   | <i>Sušinak</i>         |
| 5. | <sup>d</sup> INNANA                                               | <i>Eštar</i>           |
| 6. | <sup>d</sup> na-ru <sub>9</sub> -te <sub>4</sub>                  | <i>Narūte</i>          |
| 7. | <sup>d</sup> KIŠ.UNUG.GAL                                         | <i>Nerigla</i>         |
| 8. | SUḤUŠ-su                                                          | <i>isdē-su</i>         |

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to indicate that the Elamite phoneme we transcribe as *z* could be either an interdental non-sibilant fricative or an affricate sibilant (Desset et al. 2022: 47; NB: [tz], there, should be corrected to [dz]).

49 M. Lambert (1970: 244) read the verb as “tu-um-pá-ah” but the first sign is definitely not TU. It seems that the engraver started out writing TU by engraving a *Winkelhaken* wedge but then changed his mind and wrote the ZU sign, omitting, however, the central horizontal wedge of ZU.

50 For in-ti-ik-ka-ak, cf. Steve 1967: 10 ad 4; and *ElW* 762 s.vv. in-ti-ik-ka and in-ti-ik-ka-ak. For nu-uk-ku, cf. König 1965: 118 n. 5; *ElW* 1015 s.v.; and Malbran-Labat 1995: 111.

|     |                                                                         |                              |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 9.  | li-su <sub>2</sub> -ḥu                                                  | <i>lettsuhū</i>              |
| 10. | u <sub>3</sub> ŠE.NUMUN <sup>1</sup> -su                                | <i>u zera<sup>8</sup>-su</i> |
| 11. | li-il-qu <sub>3</sub> -tu <sub>3</sub>                                  | <i>lelqutū</i>               |
| 12. | NINTA <sub>2</sub> ay <sub>x</sub> (E <sub>2</sub> ) u <sub>3</sub> -ta | <i>aplām ay utā</i>          |
| 13. | MU                                                                      | <i>sumam</i>                 |
| 14. | ay <sub>x</sub> (E <sub>2</sub> ) ʾir <sub>3</sub> -si <sup>1</sup>     | <i>ay irsī</i>               |

(i 1-2) To Sušinak, (3) his lord, (4) Puzur-Sušinak, (5-6) governor of Susa, (7-9) general of the land of Elam, (10) son of Šin-pishūk, (11-12) dedicated a peg of copper and cedar wood. (ii 1-3) He who removes this inscription — (4-11) may Sušinak, Eštar, Narūte, (and) Nergal uproot his roots and pick up his seed, (12) may he not find an heir, (13-14) may he not acquire offspring.

### Commentary

i 2: At the time of Puzur-Sušinak, the city-god of Susa, called Insuš(i)nak in Elamite, was called Sušinak in Akkadian (see Desset et al. 2022: 29–30 nn. 29–30).

i 3: ba’ (= BAD)–li<sub>2</sub> is a historical writing reflecting the etymon *ba<sup>8</sup>lum* of the Akkadian term for “lord, owner” (see, most recently, Sommerfeld 2024).<sup>51</sup> The pronunciation of this word as *bēlum* at the time of Puzur-Sušinak is suggested by the loanword Peltikalim (from Akkadian Bēl(a/e)t-ēkallim; see above, § 3.2.1, comm. to LEI 9/I: 1 *sub* a) and by the spelling is<sub>2</sub>–me–ma<sub>2</sub> (representing *ismē–ma*, “he heard ... and ...”; Puzur-Sušinak 1A [Sb 55] v 16; Scheil 1913: pl. 2a), which shows that <sup>8</sup> in *Ca<sup>8</sup>–* syllables was no longer preserved while the vowel *a* in the syllable nucleus had risen to *e*.<sup>52</sup>

i 7–9: The title *šakkanak māt(i) Elamtim* was also borne by various other rulers or officials, namely Ilī-isma<sup>8</sup>ni<sup>53</sup> (RIME 2, 308, Ilī-išmāni 1), Ēpir-mūpi (ibid., 306,

51 For the transliteration of BAD as ba’, with ’ representing the presence of a final release (either a laryngeal or a pharyngeal consonant), see already von Soden and Röllig 1991: 5\* *sub* 42; Borger 2003: 270 *sub* 113.

52 Note that in the Sargonic syllabary, MA<sub>2</sub> is a CVC sign to be transliterated as ma’ (von Soden and Röllig 1991: 7\* *sub* 88; Borger 2003: 295 *sub* 201; see also Sommerfeld 2021: 600–601). In Sargonic Akkadian, “he heard ... and ...” is *isma<sup>8</sup>ma*, and should be written as is<sub>2</sub>–ma’–ma.

53 For reading *isma<sup>8</sup>* rather than *yisma<sup>8</sup>*, see Sommerfeld 2021: 573–583. As Sommerfeld points out, the approximant *y* in the onset of closed syllables is either preserved or lost in Sargonic Akkadian, depending on the phonetic environment. More precisely, the verbal prefix *yi-* is reduced to *i-* in closed syllables “if in the following syllable velar or glottal [or pharyngeal] consonants appear, accompanied by the back vowel [u] or the low vowel [a] in the nucleus” (ibid., 583; the addition in square brackets is a personal communication from Sommerfeld).

Epir-mupi 1), Ušumgal (Boissier 1926: 18, no. 2; cf. M. Lambert 1979: 30 n. 79 and fig. 2), Hun-NI.NI (RIME 3/2, 456, Hunhili 2001), and Itatu-Insuš(i)nak (Scheil 1905: 16 and pl. 5; cf. Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 256-257, IV01a). All of them were also governors (*issiʔakkum* or *iššiʔakkum*) of Susa, except for Hun-NI.NI, who was “governor of Kimaš”.<sup>54</sup> Regarding the term *šakkanakkum*, which denoted the highest-ranking military official (at least, from the Sargonic period onward), see, most recently, Schrakamp 2010: 199-208. In the title *šakkanak māt(i) Elamtim*, *šakkanakkum* is generally translated as either “(military) governor” or “viceroy”. However, as the title in question originated in an Akkadian milieu, presumably as a military title, there is no reason to depart from the primary meaning of *šakkanakkum* and not to translate it as “general” also in this context. The dual title — “governor of GN, general of the land of Elam” — meant that the bearer of these two titles combined both the highest civilian office (*issiʔakkūtum*) and the highest military office (*šakkanakkūtum*). Incidentally, note that not all of them were independent rulers; some were probably appointees under the higher authority of a king of Akkad or Ur III.<sup>55</sup>

i 10: For the reconstruction of the Oakk term for “son” as *marʔum* rather than *merʔum* as in Old Assyrian (cf. Kouwenberg 2017: 190-191), see ki-ma mar-i<sub>3</sub>, “like my son”, in CUSAS 27 no. 229 rev. 3.

i 11: *sikkatum* here does not denote a foundation peg/document, as interpreted by Sollberger and Kupper (1971: 124) and Gelb and Kienast (1990: 328-329), but rather an element of the locking system of a door (cf. Scurlock 1988; D.T. Potts 1990; Basello 2012: 43-44). See Puzur-Sušinak 2 (Sb 160) ii 11-13 (Scheil 1902: pl. 2), u<sub>3</sub> *bāb*(KA<sub>2</sub>)-su / *ḡešsikkat*(GAG<sup>i</sup>) *weriʔē*(URUDA)<sup>e</sup> *ḡešerēnim*(EREN) / is<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>8</sub>-un, “moreover, he (= Puzur-Sušinak) provided his (= Sušinak’s) gate with a peg of copper and cedar wood”. Incidentally, it should be noted that the spelling URUDA<sup>e</sup> in Puzur-Sušinak 2

54 For Ilī-ismaʕni and Ēpir-mūpi bearing the title “governor of Susa”, see, respectively, M. Lambert 1979: 12-14; and Scheil 1913: 5, no. 1. All others bear the two titles — “governor of GN, *šakkanakkum* of the land of Elam” — jointly in the same inscription as is the case with Puzur-Sušinak.

55 This is almost certainly true of Ilī-ismaʕni (M. Lambert 1979: 12-19; Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.4.12.13), while the epithet *dannum*, “the mighty”, attributed to Ēpir-mūpi in imitation of the kings of Akkad on some seals of his subordinates (RIME 2, 306-307, Epir-mupi 2001-2002) suggests that the latter was or became an independent ruler (Schrakamp forthc.: §§ 13.4.12.16-17). Incidentally, this fact also suggests that Ēpir-mūpi probably followed, rather than preceded, Ilī-ismaʕni (*contra* M. Lambert 1979: 15-17; see Schrakamp forthc.: §§ 13.4.12.13-14). For Ušumgal and Itatu-Insuš(i)nak (both rather obscure historical figures), see Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.3.2.7.1 and De Graef 2022: 451, respectively.

points to a *plurale tantum* form *\*weri<sup>7</sup>ū* of the term for “copper” in the Susian Akkadian of Puzur-Sušinak (cf. NAR<sup>e</sup> = *nārē*, *ibid.*, ii 18). Moreover, in the present text, *weri<sup>7</sup>ē* is misplaced, the correct word order being that of Puzur-Sušinak 2 ii 12 (see above).

ii 8–11: That is, “may (the gods) uproot him (as if he were a plant) and pick up his seed (so that nothing will sprout)” (cf. CAD Z 240). For the reading of ŠE.NUMUN-SU as *zera<sup>8</sup>-su*, cf. *ze<sub>2</sub>-ra-šu* in Gelb and Kienast 1990: 374, Varia 6 (Lullubum 1): 33.

ii 12–14: Cf. Puzur-Sušinak 2 (Sb 160) v 6–9 (Scheil 1902: pl. 2), ap-[lam] / a<sup>7</sup>u<sub>3</sub><sup>7</sup>-[ta] / su<sub>4</sub>-m[a-am] / a i[r<sub>3</sub>-si]; and “Abu Sheeja Stele” (Hussein et al. 2010: 57–58 and fig. 29) iii 1–4, ap-la-am / a<sup>7</sup>u<sub>2</sub><sup>7</sup>-ta<sub>2</sub> / su<sub>4</sub>-ma-am / a ir<sub>3</sub>-ši. Note that ay<sub>x</sub>(E<sub>2</sub>) is the standard spelling for the vetitive particle (*ay*) in the Puzur-Sušinak inscriptions,<sup>56</sup> and that the syllabogram ir<sub>3</sub> no longer represents *yir* as in the Sargonic syllabary (Sommerfeld 2021: 575–577) but rather *ir*.<sup>57</sup> For NINTA<sub>2</sub> as an abbreviation of DUMU. NINTA<sub>(2)</sub> = *aplum*, “heir”, see Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994: 181–182.

### 3.3 PUZUR-SUŠINAK AS “HATPAK (GOVERNOR) OF SUSA” AND “ŠEPK (GENERAL) OF THE PEOPLE OF HATAMTI”

Some inscriptions add the title *šepk hūrt Hatamti-p-ir* to that of *hatpak Sušen-ir*. This second title probably corresponds to *šakkanak māti Elamtim*, “general of the land of Elam”,<sup>58</sup> in the Akkadian inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak. However, the Akkadian title is not the exact translation of the Elamite one, as *hūrt* does not mean “land, country” like Akkadian *mātum* but rather “subject(s), people” (*ElW* 722 s.v. hu-ūr-du; see also 723–724 s.vv. hu-ur-ti, hu-ur-ti-be, hu-ur-ti-pi, hu-ur-tú, hu-ur-tu<sub>4</sub>, hu-ur-tu-ur; and Henkelman 2008: 257 n. 564).

56 This syllabic value is probably related to the original reading hay<sub>x</sub> of e<sub>2</sub>, the Sumerian term for “house” (see, most recently, Kogan and Krebernik 2021: 421–422 with n. 210).

57 The absence of the syllabograms e<sub>3</sub> (= *ye*) and u (= *yu*) and of spellings of the type i-iC (= *yiC*) to write verbal conjugation prefixes demonstrates that initial *y* in such prefixes is no longer preserved in the Akkadian of the Puzur-Sušinak texts. Moreover, note the use of the ir<sub>3</sub> sign as VC syllabogram in the writing of the DN Bēlat-Terraban in Puzur-Sušinak 5 (Sb 6642) i 2, “ba’-la-at-te-ir<sub>3</sub>-ra-ba-an (copy by P. Toscanne *apud* Scheil 1913: 20).

58 For this title, see above, § 3.2.2 Suppl., comm. to Puzur-Sušinak 3 i 7–9. The title was not coined by Puzur-Sušinak himself: two predecessors of his as governors of Susa — Ilī-isma<sup>9</sup>ni and Ēpir-mūpi — already used it (see *ibid.*).

As far as the term *šepk* is concerned, we find it again in the titulary of Lapu, “*šepk* of Hešaore(y)i” (LEI 27/A’: 1; see Vol. II, § 4.1.2). The related abstract noun *šepk-me*, “*šepk*-ship”, occurs in LEI 40/O’: 2 (Vol. II, § 4.1.3), another Lapu text. No attestations of these two words are known in cuneiform sources. On the other hand, it is tempting to connect *šepk* with later *šekp* (assuming a metathesis of *p* and *k*), which occurs in Cuneiform 9: 40 and 48 (Sewe-palar-hūh(-)pak; see Vol. III, § 2.5) as well as in an inscription of Šilhak-Insuš(i)nak I (EKI 54 §§ 18 and 20), in the word sequence *ur-ip šekp-ip men(-ip) Hatamti-p (ak) pala Šušen-ip*, “the predecessors *šekps*,<sup>59</sup> the rulers of Hatamti, (and) the people of Susa”. The phrase *ur-ip šekp-ip* may refer to the ancient rulers of the past or, rather, to primordial chiefs or leaders.<sup>60</sup> If so, we may assume that *šekp* and its putative ancestor *šepk* mean something like “leader, commander, *dux*”.<sup>61</sup>

The phrase *šepk hūrt Hatamti-p-ir* contains the earliest certain attestation of the GN Hatamti, the native name of Elam (cf. Krebernik 2006: 62–67).<sup>62</sup> This toponym is found in the LE corpus under three spellings: ha-ta-m-ti (LEI 3/C: 3’; LEI 5/E: 3; LEI 25b/Y<sub>2</sub>: 1; LEI 26/Z: 1; LEI 32/F’: 1; LEI 36/J’: 2 and 4), ha-t-ta-m-t-ti (LEI 35/I’: 1 and 2; LEI 37/K’), and ha-ta-ti (LEI 24/X: 1 and 3; LEI 41/P’: 1; LEI 42/Q’: 2). While the last spelling variant (texts of Eparti II and Šilhaha, ca. mid-20<sup>th</sup> century BCE) attests to the well-known phenomenon of the graphic omission of nasals before occlusive phonemes, the more accurate spelling ha-t-ta-m-t-ti (texts of Pala-išan, late 20<sup>th</sup> century BCE) — which, incidentally, is the only example of a word spelling having two pairs of geminate consonants — may suggest that Hatamti originally was a name consisting of two disyllabic morphemes, namely \**hata-mVti* (with *ta* and *ti* accented according to the Elamite accent rule with accent usually falling on the second syllable), which subsequently lost a vowel in pretonic position (cf. Desset et al. 2022: 40–41).<sup>63</sup>

59 Cf. su-un-ki-ip u<sub>2</sub>-ri-pu-pe<sub>3</sub> (= *sunk<sub>1</sub>-p/sunk<sub>1</sub>-ip ur-ip o-pe*), “the kings my predecessors”, in EKI 13 § III and passim.

60 Cf. the translation “anciens héros” by Scheil (1911: 33). Note that the kings of the past are called te-im-ti pu-ur-ki-ip-pi (cf. pu-ur-ki-me, *ElW* 242) in an inscription of Hūte-lūtūš-Insuš(i)nak from Susa (Vallat 1978: 98, lines 19–20).

61 With the exception of Scheil’s (see the previous note), none of the previously proposed translations of *šekp-ip* — such as “Werkleute, Zünfte” (König 1965: 217), “Künstler” (*ElW* 1148 s.v. še-ik-pi-ip), “priests” (F. Vallat in Mahboubian 2004: 44) — fit the context.

62 The earliest attestation previously known was in Cuneiform 8: 5 (Sewe-palar-hūh(-)pak, 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE; see Vol. III, § 2.4). An alleged earlier attestation in a badly preserved passage of the “Treaty of Naram-Sin” (Hinz 1967: 79 and 92) is to be regarded as uncertain (cf. EKI 2 § 14).

63 Note, however, that the DN Napireša — from *napi*, “god”, and *reša*, “great” — does not become, similarly,

Starting with Sewe-palar-huh(-)pak (first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE), cuneiform spellings such as ha-ta<sub>2</sub>-am-ti (Cuneiform 8: 5 [Vol. III, § 2.4]; Cuneiform 9: 5 [ibid., § 2.5]; Vallat 1993: 90; Krebern timer 2006: 62–63), ha-ta-am-ti, and ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti (Vallat 1993: 90–91<sup>64</sup>) attest to the persistence of the standard form Hatamti throughout the OE, ME, and NE periods. In the Achaemenid period, new spellings such as hal-tam<sub>5/6</sub>-ti and hal-la-tam<sub>5/6</sub>-ti (ibid., 90<sup>65</sup>) probably reflect a later attempt at etymologizing the toponym as “*Tamt(i)*-land”, based on the term *hal*, “land, territory” (*ElW* 574 and 594).

3.3.1 LEI 2/B (Sb 6 + Sb 177; Pls. XVIII and XXIV) and LEI 4/D (Sb 172/6733; Pls. XVIII, XXV, and XXVI)

These inscriptions were written on two boulder fragments, both carved with the body of a large serpent in relief, covered with hexagonal scales, coiling around a vertically perforated hole with a diameter of 10 cm. The boulders, presumably of comparable size,<sup>66</sup> formed a pair and were probably part of the same cultic installation (André and Salvini 1989: 57; Pittman 2018: 592). This raises the question of whether the respective LE inscriptions were two complementary parts of the same text, with LEI 2/B preserving the beginning and LEI 4/D the ending. Several paleographic and orthographic features seem to support this hypothesis (see below).

The first fragment, Sb 6, is a broken boulder decorated with a coiled snake (at the top) and a foundation scene involving two deities, together with the remains of the head of a crouching lion. It was found in 1903 near the temple of Insuš(i)nak (Pl. VIII; cf. Álvarez-Mon 2018: 183 § 8 and pl. 2). It joins another boulder fragment, Sb 177 (André and Salvini 1989: 54–58 and pls. I–III), recovered during the 1898–1899 campaign in the area of the “Pointe des Galeries” and the “ravine du Porc-Épic”, at the southern end of the Acropolis (Jéquier 1900: 128–129 [courtesy of Mirko Surdi]; see Pl. VIII). The latter preserves the rear part of the lion together with the end of an Akkadian cuneiform inscription (= Puzur-Sušinak 12; see below, § 3.3.1 Suppl.).<sup>67</sup>

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\*Napisša. In this case, the LE spelling na-pi<sub>2</sub>-r-ri-ša (LEI 35/I': 2; LEI 37/K') suggests an accent falling on the third syllable — *re* — and no known Elamite spelling of this theonym shows a possible elision of the preceding vowel *i* (contra Desset et al. 2022: 41).

64 Vallat's tam<sub>e</sub> = tam<sub>5</sub>(PIR<sub>2</sub>). Note that the spelling “ha-tàm-ti”, listed there, is to be read ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti.

65 Vallat's tam<sub>e</sub> = tam<sub>6</sub>(GIM).

66 For the dimensions of the preserved fragments, see Tab. 1.1 (§ 1.4) *sub* LEI 2/B and LEI 4/D. The precise dimensions of Sb 6 + Sb 177 after their joining are unknown (cf. André and Salvini 1989: fig. 1).

67 For a third, smaller fragment (Sb 18446), presumably from the same boulder, see André and Salvini 1989: 55–56.



The scene depicting a kneeling god holding a foundation peg and a *lamma*-goddess standing behind him was probably added later, slightly damaging the third line of the fragmentary LE inscription (Pittman 2018: 595–599<sup>68</sup>).

This inscription (LEI 2/B) consists of three lines, written from left to right. The text is very similar to LEI 1/A (see above, § 3.2.2), except for the incipit and the use, here, of the title *šepk hūrt Hatamti-p-ir*, in addition to *hatpa-k Sušen-ir*. It reads:

1. i-n-su-ši-na-k<sub>2</sub> ze-m-t' i<sup>1</sup>-ri i<sup>1</sup>-[...-e (?) pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-k<sub>2</sub>]
2. ha-t-pa-k<sub>2</sub> su-še-ni-r | še-p<sub>2</sub>-[k<sub>2</sub> hu<sub>2</sub>-r-t ha-ta-m-ti-pi<sub>2</sub>-r]
3. ši-n-pi-s-h-hu-k<sub>2</sub> i<sup>1</sup>-r-ša i-[ri pe-s-e zu-p<sub>2</sub>-pa-š]

<sup>(1)</sup>*Insušinak zemt i-re ... [...-e (?) Puzur-Sušinak]* <sup>(2)</sup>*hatpa-k Sušen-ir šep[k hūrt Hatamti-p-ir]* <sup>(3)</sup>*Šin-pishūk ...rša i-[re pes-e zupa-š]*

<sup>(1)</sup>[(As for) *the ... of (?)*] Insuš(i)nak, his lord — [Puzur-Sušinak,] <sup>(2)</sup>*hatpak* of Susa, *šep[k* of the people of Hatamti, <sup>(3)</sup>accomplished the *plans*] of Šin-pishūk, h[is] *predecessor*.

#### Commentary

Lines 1–3: Restorations are made on the basis of the partially parallel text LEI 1/A (above, § 3.2.2). See the commentary on that text. In line 1, we assume an inverted genitive construction as in line 3 (see comm. to LEI 1/A: 4–5 *sub a*): “(of) Insuš(i)nak, the lord of his (= Puzur-Sušinak’s), [his (= Insuš(i)nak’s) ...]”.

\*\*\*

LEI 4/D is written on a fragmentary boulder (Sb 172; findspot unknown) with a central perforation. This is decorated with a snake wrapping its coils around a vertical hole of the same diameter as that of Sb 6 + Sb 177. Two pairs of writing lines run from right to left (the opposite of LEI 2/B). The text is not a finished stand-alone inscription but rather the final part of a longer inscription; it reads:

<sup>68</sup> The same author also argues that the scene in question obliterated the pre-existing depiction of a bovid, and that the original program of the boulder consisted of “a roaring feline facing a threatening bull in the presence of a snake” (Pittman 2018: 596).

- 1'. pe<sup>1</sup>-l ki-ma hu-li<sub>2</sub> la-w-li<sub>3</sub>-<sup>69</sup> hu-li<sub>2</sub>-š<sup>69</sup> | <sup>70</sup> s-hu<sub>2</sub>  
 2'. ri<sub>2</sub>-t<sup>70</sup>-wa te-la<sup>1</sup>-k<sub>2</sub><sup>70</sup> | a-k<sub>2</sub>-ka<sup>1</sup>(ne<sup>71</sup>)-ra ʽtu<sup>1</sup>-p<sub>2</sub> i-ʽme<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 3'. pi<sub>2</sub>-š | ti-n-ra | i-n-su-ši-na-ʽk<sub>2</sub><sup>71</sup>  
 4'. ši-mu-t | na-ru-te | a-ha i-ʽri<sup>1</sup> [...-h]-ʽš<sup>1</sup>-[ne]<sup>72</sup>

(<sup>1</sup>)*pel ki-ma hūle law-li... hūle-š ...shū* (<sup>2</sup>)*rit-wa* (?) *tela-k aka-r-a tup i-me-ma* (<sup>3</sup>)*piš ti(ya)-n-r-a Insušinak* (<sup>4</sup>)*Šimot Narūte aha i-re [...-h]š-[ne]*

(<sup>1</sup>)In one year, he made a *huge/rich* supply. (<sup>2</sup>)... came/went ... Whoever (<sup>3</sup>)*introduces changes* (<sup>2</sup>)in his (= Puzur-Sušinak's) inscription, (<sup>4</sup>)[may] (<sup>3</sup>)Insuš(i)nak, (<sup>4</sup>)Šimot, (and) Narūte [*uproot*] his *roots*.

### Commentary

Line 1':

a. For *pel*, “year”, cf. cun. pi-el (*ElW* 191 s.v.). For the phrase *pel ki-ma*, “in one year”, see *ElW* 188 s.v. h.be-ul.

b. The noun *hūle* in combination with the semantically related homonymous verbal base *hūle*, “to provide, supply” (cognate object construction),<sup>73</sup> is found in the Tepe Pomp inscription of Šilhak-Insuš(i)nak I: <sup>AŠ</sup>ša-a-pi-pi sa-hi-im-ma hu-li hu-li-ih, “(As for the city of) Šapipi — I supplied (it) with bronze” (Šil Po 1 i 4-6; unpublished).<sup>74</sup> In our inscription, the verb is in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.: *hūle-š* (Conj. I).

69 Note the W-shaped scratches on hu-li<sub>2</sub>-š.

70 Both the supposed <t> and <la> signs are written without their distinctive dots (three and one, respectively; cf. n. 39 above). In the former case, a reading ri-w<sup>70</sup>-wa is also possible (cf. a-w-wa-ni-r in LEI 6/F: 1), but this would result in a hapax of unknown meaning. Finally, note that the dividing sign is different, consisting of a longer vertical stroke.

71 The sign in question looks like <ne>, but the context requires <ka>, which graphically is like <ne> upside down. In other words, the intended sign is <ka>, but it is erroneously written upside down as if it were <ne>.

72 The end of the line was erased on purpose, cancelling the verb of the curse formula, but two upper dots of the <š> sign are still visible.

73 Cf. Insuš(i)nak's epithet pa<sub>2</sub>-hi-ir hi-iš hu-li-ri (*IRS* 48: 9), possibly “the protector *who provides fame*”.

74 Literally, “with bronze I supplied a supply” (but the English language does not tolerate cognate object constructions). The translation “bronze” for *sah(i)* is assured by the occurrence of *sahi-ya* on objects made of bronze (see *ElW* 1059 s.v. sa-hi-ya). For sa-hi-im-ma (= *sahi-ima*), cf. *ElW* s.vv. ak-ti-im-ma, e-ri-en-tum<sub>4</sub>-im-ma, ha-la-at-im-ma, la-an-si-it-im-ma, u<sub>2</sub>-hi-im-ma, u<sub>2</sub>-pa-at-im-ma, and up-qu-mi-im-ma (all with the same suffix, -*ima*).

c. The hapax *law-li...* (la-w-li<sub>3</sub>-𐎠) can be compared with *law-lire*, possibly a compound noun, which qualifies the GN Hûp(o)šan in LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*2 (below, § 3.4.1). However, the context here may support the presence of an adjective meaning “huge” or “rich”. In this case, one could hypothesize that the undeciphered sign (= 𐎠) represents the adjectival suffix *-ya* (Grillot-Susini 2008: 49). However, in LE texts, the phonemic sequence *iya* is consistently written as Ci-a; see si-a-h (LEI 26/Z: 3), si-a-an (LEI 17/Q), and ti-a-h/š (LEI 17/Q; LEI 27/A': 2–3; etc.).

Line 2':

a. ri<sub>2</sub>-t<sup>17</sup>-wa seems to consist of the noun *rit*, “one tenth, tithe” (*ElW* 1042–1043), and the suffix *-wa* (see Vol. III, Appendix B.3). It should be noted, however, that *rit* in the sense of “tithe” is otherwise attested only in much later Achaemenid sources. An alternative reading ri<sub>2</sub>-w<sup>17</sup>-wa (= *riwa*), though possible, would complicate matters even further (see n. 70 above).

b. te-la<sup>1</sup>-k represents a Conj. II form (3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg.) of *tela*. The meaning of this verbal base is rather controversial (see, among others, *ElW* 316 s.v. te-la-ak-ni [with previous literature]; Vallat 1981: 28–29; Basello 2016: 373; Krebern timer and Wasserman 2020: 53–54). In this regard, the following points should be highlighted. An Akkadian brick inscription from Chogha Zanbil — TZ IV (Steve 1967: 109–111) — translates Elamite DN<sub>1</sub> a-ak DN<sub>2</sub> li-na te-la-ak-ni into Akkadian DN<sub>1</sub> u<sub>3</sub> DN<sub>2</sub> e-lu-uk-ku-nu li-il-li-ik (TZ IV: 5–6), “may (what I have made and strived for) come to you, DN<sub>1</sub> and DN<sub>2</sub>”,<sup>75</sup> thus providing the equivalence of Elamite *tela* with Akkadian *alāku*, “to go, come” (cf. M. Lambert 1965: 36; Steve 1967: 12).<sup>76</sup> A new attestation of the term — ha-at-ti pa<sub>2</sub>-ha-at-ti DINGIR-GAL <sup>d</sup>ki-ri-ri-ša-ti <sup>d</sup>in-su-uš-na-ak-ti na-ap ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti-ip-ti ki<sub>2</sub>-ri-i na-ap-pi-in-ni i-ma te-la-ak-na (Šil Po 1 iv 5–7) — supports such an interpretation of *tela* as a verb of motion: “may the protective *curse* of Napireša, Kirireša, Insuš(i)nak, and the gods of Elam come upon him as a divine *punishment*” (cf. Vallat 1981: 28–29; 1983: 12 n. 6).<sup>77</sup>

75 And not “... be pleasing to you” as translated in *CAD* A/1 321. The proposal to interpret *eli* ... *alāku* as “to be pleasant for (someone)”, which underlies the often-found similar rendering of the corresponding Elamite expression, has no basis. See, for instance, *STC* II pl. LXXXIII: 99, su-pu-u<sub>2</sub>-a u su-lu-u<sub>2</sub>-a lil-li-ku *eli*(UGU)-ki, “may my prayers and my supplications come to you” (prayer to Ištar); and “Dialogue of Pessimism” 16, bur-ru-u<sub>2</sub> a-ka-lu šu-um-mu-u<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>2</sub>-tu-u<sub>2</sub> *eli*(UGU) *amēli*(LU<sub>2</sub>) il-lak, “hunger, eating, thirst, (and) drinking come upon a man” (W.G. Lambert 1963: 145–146).

76 Note that Elamite li-na, which is usually taken to mean “as a gift/offering” (see *ElW* 831 s.v.; cf. Steve 1967: 12), is ignored in the Akkadian translation.

77 For the translation of ha-at-ti (= *hat-ti*) as “curse”, see n. 26 above.

c. For the indefinite pronoun *aka-r-a* (also in LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*3), see Desset et al. 2022: 57 *ad* 3b.

d. *tup* is almost certainly a loanword from Sumerian *dub* (“tablet”) or rather Akkadian *tuppum* (“tablet, inscription”). The later Elamite language (Middle Elamite) has *tupi-me*, instead, which shows the addition of the inanimate nominal suffix *-me* (*ElW* 385 s.v. *tu<sub>4</sub>-up-pi-me*; Tavernier 2007b: 57–58 and 66–67). Note, however, that the following pronominal phrase — *i-me*, “of his” — makes it clear that *tup* is a noun of the *me*-class. Accordingly, the translation “inscription, text” appears more appropriate than “tablet” or “inscribed object” (cf. Khačikjan 1998: 12).

e. *-ma* is probably the Elamite locative suffix “in/on” (Grillot-Susini 1987: 29; Khačikjan 1998: 16; Grillot-Susini 2008: 65).

Line 3’:

a. The LE spelling *pi<sub>2</sub>-š* attests to the term *piš*, which represents the key-word of the curse formula in this inscription of Puzur-Sušinak but remains of uncertain interpretation. The same term, reduplicated, may occur in the sentences *piš-piš li-e-eš an-zi-eš* and *piš-piš ti-ša<sub>2</sub> an-zi-iš*, which are found in Elamite spells quoted in Akkadian incantations (Farber 1989: 74, line 256; id. 2014: 134, “*Lamaštu* Series” III 62). Unfortunately, these passages are obscure and do not help us infer the meaning of *piš* (cf. *ElW* 223 s.v. *piš-piš*). The *Elamisches Wörterbuch* also has the entry “*pi-iš*, ‘Schrifttafel (?)’” concerning a term that would occur in NE texts (*ElW* 198) and would be identical (according to the Authors) to ME *pi-is-si* (*ibid.*, 197). Assuming with Hinz and Koch that NE *pi-iš* is the same word as ME *pi-is-si*, and following Grillot-Susini (2008: 83) in interpreting the latter as “dedication” (see also Grillot and Vallat 1978: 84 with n. 14), we previously translated *aka-r-a tup i-me-ma piš ti(y)-n-r-a* as “whoever puts a dedication on the inscription of his (= Puzur-Sušinak’s)” (Desset et al. 2022: 31). However, this interpretation can no longer be maintained. First, *pi-is-si* does not mean “dedication” but rather “appeal, invocation”, or the like. This is made clear by *EKI* 45 § 11, *pi-is-si ap-pa a-ha ta<sub>2</sub>-al-lu-ka<sub>4</sub> d<sup>in</sup>-šu-ši-na-ak na-pir<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ri a-ni un hi-ša-an-ti*, “the invocation that was written there is ‘Insuš(i) nak, my god, do not abandon me’” (cf. Hallock 1973: 148–149). Moreover, and more importantly, it is unlikely that a monosyllabic word like *piš* would become disyllabic like *piš<sub>1</sub>*.<sup>78</sup> As for cun. *pi-iš* — the very existence of the term is uncertain. *ElW* 198

<sup>78</sup> The case of *ha-at* (*ElW* 581) and *ha-at-ti* (*ibid.*, 582) is obviously different, the latter being a form with an attached suffix (*hat-ti*). See above, comm. to line 2’ *sub* b.

s.v. pi-iš lists two alleged attestations. The first one occurs in a fragmentary Elamite letter from Niniveh — K. 4697 left edge 2 (= Weissbach 1902: 177, no. 2: 20), UN<sup>MEŠ</sup> pi-iš [...]. A simple inspection of the photograph of the tablet (<https://cdli.earth/P395696>, accessed September 17, 2025) reveals that the text is broken immediately after the iš sign; therefore, pi-iš in this case could also be the initial part of a longer word: pi-iš-[...] (cf. *ElW* 198 and 223). The second alleged attestation comes from the text of the “Persepolis Bronze Plaque”, also referred to as “O/Ururu” (Schmidt 1957: pls. 27-28; cf. Waters 2000: 87-89; Basello 2017). Here, in rev. 26, Hinz and Koch read “pi-iš hu-man-ra” and translated “(wer) die Schrifftafel (?)/Urkunde (?) an sich nimmt” (*ElW* 198 and 694). However, the passage in question reads pi-iš-ti-man-ra (collated by G.P. Basello), with *pišti-ma-n* being one of a long series of verbs of Conj. III, denoting injurious actions that could be performed against the bronze plaque.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, the supposed pi-iš in the NE texts, like ME pi-is-si, cannot be used to any advantage in determining the meaning of LE pi<sub>2</sub>-š. The new translation we propose for the latter is based on the assumption that this spelling represents an otherwise unattested noun *piš*, etymologically related to the verbal base *piši*, “to renew” (*ElW* 223 s.vv. pi-ši-ik and piš-ši-ik);<sup>80</sup> accordingly, our passage could be translated as “whoever puts *something new* (= *piš*) in his inscription”, that is, whoever makes changes to Puzur-Sušinak’s text. What is meant would be the possible usurpation of the monument by altering its inscription.<sup>81</sup> However, the context also allows for other solutions. For instance, one might think of a tool for erasing the inscription and

79 sa-ah i ša<sub>2</sub>-šum el-ha-la-e-ra<sup>1</sup> Aški<sub>2</sub>-sa-at-ir-ra<sup>1</sup> na-pir<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ri i zi<sub>2</sub>-ma si-ra-ha su-ku-man-ra mi-ul-ka<sub>4</sub>-man-ra<sup>1</sup> pi-iš-ti-man-ra zi<sub>2</sub>-ri-man-ra ri-ip-pa<sub>2</sub>-man-ra pa<sub>2</sub>-par<sub>2</sub>-ti-man-ra<sup>1</sup> hi-man-ra z[a]k-man-ra A<sup>meš</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup> (NA<sup>1</sup>) ul-la<sup>1</sup>-man-ra<sup>1</sup> hu-ma-ša<sub>2</sub> Ašhal pe<sub>3</sub>-ti-na<sup>1</sup> in<sup>1</sup> tin-ki<sub>2</sub>-man-ra<sup>1</sup> (ges)ha-at DINGIR-GAL d<sup>r</sup>x-x-x<sup>1</sup> a-ak ša<sub>2</sub>-šum el-ha-la-e-ra<sup>1</sup> na-pir<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-ri-na ša<sub>2</sub>-li-mi t[a]k-ni (“Persepolis Bronze Plaque” rev. 24-29), “this bronze (plaque) that I have hung in front of Šašum, the ... (= *elhalae*), the one of Kīsat, my (personal) deity — he who *will* remove (it), who *will* damage (it), ... who *will* obtain (it), who *will* pay (for it), who *will* deliver (it) to the waters, who, having seized (it), *will* bring it to an enemy country — may the *curse* of Napireša, ..., and Šašum, the ... (= *elhalae*), my (personal) deity, be put as a ... (= *šalumi*) (over him)” (cf. Basello 2017: 362; and Quintana 2018: 735).

80 Cf. *kok*, “protection” (*ElW* 553 s.v. ku-uk), and *koki*, “to protect” (ibid., 507 s.vv. ku-ki-iš-na and ku-ki-it-na); *kuš*, “offspring, building” (ibid., 567-568 s.v. ku-uš), and *kuši*, “to give birth, create, build” (ibid., 539-542); *lim*, “fire” (ibid., 822 s.v. li-im), and *lima* “to fire” (ibid., 823 s.vv. li-im-ma-ak, li-im-ma-[ak-na], etc.); *sat*, “allotment, portion” (ibid., 1056 s.v. sa-at), and *sati*, “to allot, apportion” (ibid., 1066 s.vv. sa-ti-ik, sa-ti-iš, etc.); *zak*, “price, value” (ibid., 1266-1267 s.vv. za-ag-gi and za-ak; 1275 s.v. za-ik), and *zaki*, “to pay” (ibid., 1266-1267 s.vv. za-ag-gi-iš, za-ag-gi-iš-da, etc.); and so forth.

81 Cf., for instance, *EKI* 9 IIIb § VIII, a-ak hi-iš<sup>1</sup> un-taš-DINGIR-GAL-me su-ku-ša-ak (= *sūkuš-š ak*) i-me-ni a-ha-ar ta-an-ra, “and he who removes the name of On-taš-Napireša and puts his own (name) here”.

translate “whoever puts the *chisel* (= *piš*) on his inscription” (to erase it).<sup>82</sup>

b. *ti-n-ra* apparently represents *ti(ya)-n-r-a*, a Conj. III form of *tiya* with the “final suffix” *-a* (due to the relative clause construction; cf. Grillett-Susini 1987: 40). For *tiya* as an earlier variant of *ta*, “to place, put”,<sup>83</sup> see Vol. II, Tab. 2.10.<sup>84</sup> For the elision of the final vowel of *tiya* before the morpheme sequence *-n-r-a* (with the concomitant loss of the glide *y*), cf. *pe-t-n-ra* for *pet(< peti)-n-r-a* in LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*3 (§ 3.4.1 below).

Line 4’:

a. Along with *Insuš(i)nak*, the patron god of Susa,<sup>85</sup> *Šimot* and *Narūte* are invoked here as warrants of the integrity of the inscription.<sup>86</sup> For these two deities, see Henkelman 2011 and Koch 1999, respectively. The former is identified with the Mesopotamian god *Nergal* (Zadok 1984: 40; Henkelman 2011: 512), whereas the goddess *Narūte* does not seem to have had a Mesopotamian counterpart. In this regard, it should be noted that *Narūte* also occurs in Puzur-Sušinak’s Akkadian inscriptions (in curse formulas), whereas *Šimot* does not, apparently being replaced by *Nergal*; see, e.g., Puzur-Sušinak 3, above, § 3.2.2 Suppl.).

b. The interpretation and translation of *a-ha i-ri* [...-h]-[š?]-[ne (?)] are based on the curse formulas in the Akkadian texts of Puzur-Sušinak, which usually begin with the same couple of coordinated clauses: “may (the gods) ... uproot his roots and pick up (i.e., destroy) his seed” (see Puzur-Sušinak 12, below, § 3.3.1 Suppl.; Puzur-Sušinak 3, above, § 3.2.2 Suppl.; Puzur-Sušinak 7, below, § 3.4.1 Suppl. a; and Puzur-Sušinak 2 [Sb 160; Scheil 1902: pl. 2] = Gelb and Kienast 1990: Elam 3); or, “may (the gods) ...

82 Cf. *EKI* 16 § III, *ak-ka sa-al-mu-um u<sub>2</sub>-me hu-ma-an-ra ak-ka hu-tu<sub>4</sub>-un-ra ak-ka tu<sub>4</sub>-up-pi-me me-el-ka-an-ra ak-ka hi-iš u<sub>2</sub>-me su-ku-un-ra*, “he who seizes my statue, who breaks (it), who damages the inscription, who removes my name” (statue of *Napir-asu*).

83 In this regard, also note the use of *ta* in the sense “to put by writing” in clauses such as *hi-še a-ha ta-ah*, “I put his name here (i.e., on this brick)” (*EKI* 14 § III = *IRS* 23: 4); *hi-iš ‘un-taš-DINGIR-GAL-me a-ha ta-aš<sub>2</sub>-ni*, “may he put the name of *On-taš-Napireša* here” (*EKI* 9 IIIb § XII).

84 The form *tiya* is attested in 3<sup>rd</sup>-millennium BCE inscriptions (LEI 4/D and LEI 17/Q) and in texts of the Metal Vessel Group (LEI 23/W, 27/A’, 38/M’, 40/O’), while *ta* (LEI 26/Z, 32/F’, 34/H’, 37/K’, 41/P’, and 42/Q’) probably represents an early 2<sup>nd</sup>-millennium BCE development (*tiya* > *ta*) in southwestern Iran.

85 It should be noted that *Insuš(i)nak* is also invoked in the final (curse?) formulas of inscriptions of the Metal Vessel Group, possibly from a completely different geographic context, east of Fars (see Vol. II, §§ 4.1.2–4.1.3, LEI 27/A’ and LEI 40/O’).

86 These three deities also appear in the god list of the “Treaty of *Naram-Sin*”, in the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> position, respectively (Hinz 1967: 91 and 93).

pick up his seed and remove his roots” (Puzur-Sušinak 4 [Sb 86] = Gelb and Kienast 1990: Elam 5; cf. Puzur-Sušinak 11, below, § 3.3.2 Suppl.). Note that a-ha i-<sup>ʾ</sup>ri<sup>1</sup> (= *aha i-re*) means “the *aha* of his (= of the person who is to be cursed)”.<sup>87</sup> Here, the locative adverb *aha*, “here, there” (*ElW* 31 s.v. a-ha), is excluded by the context (a noun is required). Since the word for “seed” in Elamite is known to have been *par* (*ElW* 109 s.v. pa-ar), we assume that the hapax noun *aha* corresponds to OAkk *isdum* in the sense of “root”. As for [... -h]-<sup>ʾ</sup>š<sup>1</sup>-[ne], the context requires a 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl. Conj. I precative verbal form. For the restoration of the precative suffix as *-ne* (rather than *-le* or *-na*; cf. Khačikjan 1998: 50), see hu'(a)-t-ta-k-<sup>ʾ</sup>ne<sup>1</sup> in LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*3 (§ 3.4.1 below).

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LEI 2/B and LEI 4/D were written on the same type of support (boulders with similar dimensions and the body of a large serpent covered with hexagonal scales, coiling around a vertically perforated hole with a diameter of 10 cm). Moreover, they share some peculiar paleographic and orthographic details, notably:

- 1) The <ha> sign has the same distinctive upper part, which resembles a double caret symbol.
- 2) Both texts use the <k<sub>2</sub>> sign (like LEI 9/I, 16/P, and 21/U) in contrast to LEI 1/A, 3/C, 5/E, and 8/H and duplicates, in which the <k> sign is employed.
- 3) LEI 2/B and LEI 4/D have the spelling i-n-su-ši-na-k<sub>2</sub> for the DN Insuš(i)nak, which is peculiar to these two texts only (see Tab. 3.2).

These shared features suggest that LEI 2/B and LEI 4/D may be two separate but complementary parts of a larger inscription appearing on two different components of the same monument, even though the former is written L → R, whereas the latter is R → L. It is conceivable that LEI 2/B and LEI 4/D were on two different

|      | <k>                                                                                           | <k <sub>2</sub> >                                                    |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ši> | i-n-su- <u>ši</u> -na- <u>k</u> (-ki-r) (LEI 1/A: 1)                                          | i-n-su- <u>ši</u> -na- <u>k<sub>2</sub></u> (LEI 2/B: 1; LEI 4/D: 3) |
| <š>  | i-n-su- <u>š</u> -na- <u>k</u> (LEI 8/H and duplicates: *1; LEI 27/A': 4; LEI 40/O': 1 and 5) | i-n-su- <u>š</u> -na- <u>k<sub>2</sub></u> (LEI 21/U: 2)             |

Table 3.2. Spellings of the DN Insuš(i)nak attested in LE texts.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *rūhū i-re* (LEI 39/N': 3); *zemt i-re* (LEI 2/B: 1); and *...rša i-re* (LEI 1/A: 5; LEI 2/B: 3; LEI 3/C: 4'; see above, § 3.2.2, comm. to LEI 1/A: 4-5 *sub a*).

monumental boulders positioned symmetrically and inscribed in opposite directions to preserve some mirror image symmetry. If so, we should read the two inscriptions as complementary parts of a single text:

<sup>(1)</sup>[(As for) *the ... of (?)*] Insuš(i)nak, his lord — [Puzur-Sušinak,] <sup>(2)</sup>*hatpak* of Susa, *šepk* [of the people of Hatamti, <sup>(3)</sup>accomplished the *plans*] of Šin-pishûk, h[is] *predecessor*. [... (x lines missing)] <sup>(1)</sup>In one year, he made a *huge/rich* supply. <sup>(2)</sup>... came/went ... Whoever <sup>(3)</sup>*introduces changes* <sup>(2)</sup>in his (= Puzur-Sušinak's) inscription, <sup>(4)</sup>[may] <sup>(3)</sup>Insuš(i)nak, <sup>(4)</sup>Šimot, (and) Narûte [*uproot*] his *roots*.

### 3.3.1 Supplement: Puzur-Sušinak 12 (Sb 6 + Sb 177 cun.)<sup>88</sup>

row i'

|      |                                                                                                |                                |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|      | [šu DUB šu-a]                                                                                  | [šu tuppam šu <sup>?</sup> a]  |
| 1'.  | [u <sub>2</sub> -s]a-sa <sub>3</sub> -ku <sub>8</sub>                                          | [us]attsaku                    |
| 2'.  | u <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup>                                                                    | u                              |
| 3'.  | [...] KAB GAL                                                                                  | [...] ... rabī <sup>?</sup> am |
| 4'.  | e <sup>?</sup> 1-ra-bu-us <sub>2</sub>                                                         | errabu-s                       |
| 5'.  | d <sup>1</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .šEŠ <sub>4</sub>                                              | Sušinak                        |
| 6'.  | u <sub>3</sub>                                                                                 | u                              |
| 7'.  | [d]KIŠ.UNUG.GAL                                                                                | Nerigla                        |
| 8'.  | [SU]HUŠ-su                                                                                     | [is]dē-su                      |
| 9'.  | [l]i <sup>1</sup> -su <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> (SU)-ha <sup>89</sup>                          | [l]ettsuhā                     |
| 10'. | u <sub>3</sub>                                                                                 | u                              |
| 11'. | [š]E.NUMUN-su                                                                                  | [z]era <sup>8</sup> -su        |
| 12'. | [l]i <sup>1</sup> -il-[q]u <sub>3</sub> -ta <sub>2</sub> <sup>90</sup>                         | [l]elqutā                      |
| 13'. | [b]a'-li <sub>2</sub>                                                                          | [b]ēl-ī                        |
| 14'. | ay <sub>x</sub> (E <sub>2</sub> ) <sup>1</sup> im <sub>x</sub> (URUDA×MAŠ)-si-ni <sup>91</sup> | ay imsi-ni                     |
| 15'. | [i]n uz-ni-su                                                                                  | [i]n uzni-su                   |
| 16'. | [lu]-ub-si                                                                                     | [l]ubsī                        |

88 Cf. Scheil 1900: 66; André and Salvini 1989: pl. Ib; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 337–338, Elam 13.

89 Here and in line 12', the LI sign lacks the final stroke.

90 See the previous note.

91 Note that E<sub>2</sub> and URUDA×MAŠ are written in ligature.



[... He] <sup>(1')</sup>who removes [this inscription] <sup>(2'-4')</sup>and *penetrates* the great ... — <sup>(5'-12')</sup>[m]ay Sušinak and Nergal uproot his roots and pick up his [s]eed. <sup>(13'-16')</sup>“May my [l]ord not neglect me; [may] I have his attention”.

### Commentary

i' 11': See comm. to Puzur-Sušinak 3 ii 10 (above, § 3.2.2 Suppl.).

i' 13'-16': Cf. Puzur-Sušinak 7 (Sb 156 and duplicates): 25-28 (below, § 3.4.1 Suppl. a) and Puzur-Sušinak 9 (Sb 54) iii 2 – iv 1 (above, § 3.2.1 Suppl.). The URUDA×MAŠ sign with the value im<sub>x</sub> only occurs in the Puzur-Sušinak texts.

### 3.3.2 LEI 3/C (Sb 87; Pls. XVIII and XXVII)

This text is written on a fragmentary alabaster or limestone statuette (Sb 87; only the lower part is preserved) from de Morgan's excavations at Susa (findspot unknown; see Álvarez-Mon 2018: 186 § 12). The statuette probably portrays Puzur-Sušinak himself.<sup>92</sup> The king is dressed in a long fringed robe, on which two lines of an Akkadian curse formula can be read (below, § 3.3.2 Suppl.; see also above, § 3.1, Tab. 3.1 *sub* Sb 87 with n. 12). Perpendicular to the cuneiform inscription, five lines of an LE inscription, written from right to left, are preserved. Two additional signs are found on the back. This inscription is unique among the LE texts of Puzur-Sušinak in that it features a sort of *scriptio continua*, with words split across two lines. The text reads:

- 1'. [pu-zu]-r<sup>1</sup>-[su-ši-na]-k | ha-r<sup>1</sup>t-pa-k<sup>1</sup>
- 2'. su-še-r<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-r | še-p<sub>2</sub>-k hu<sub>2</sub>-r<sup>1</sup>-
- 3'. t<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>-[ta-m-ti]-r<sup>1</sup>pi<sub>2</sub>-r | ši-n-r<sup>1</sup>pi-
- 4'. s<sup>1</sup>-[h-hu-k] -r<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> i[-ri]
- 5'.<sup>93</sup> [pe-s-e zu-p<sub>2</sub>-pa-š (...)](-)a/hu<sup>1</sup>-t(-)ha<sup>1</sup>(-)[(...)]
- 6'.<sup>94</sup> <^>-n

92 There are two additional very similar small figurines that presumably also depict Puzur-Sušinak (Álvarez-Mon 2018: 185-186 §§ 10-11 and pls. 7a-b), but they bear cuneiform inscriptions in Akkadian with dedications to the goddess Bēlat-Terraban and another deity whose name cannot be retrieved (<sup>d</sup>al-x-šur<sub>2</sub>?) (see Gelb and Kienast 1990: 329-332, Elam 5 and 6). It should be noted that for these statuettes, as well as for a seated statue (Álvarez-Mon 2018: 179-180 § 4 and pl. 4) and other figurative monuments bearing his inscriptions, such as the statue of the goddess Bēl(a)t-ēkallim inscribed with LEI 9/I (see above, § 3.2.1), the upper part is always missing, suggesting deliberate destruction.

93 Under the fringe of the robe.

94 Adscript (?) on the back.

<sup>(1)</sup>[Puzur]r-[Sušina]k *hatpak* <sup>(2)</sup>Sušen-ir *šepk* *hūr*= <sup>(3)</sup>t Ha[tamti]-p-ir Šin-pi= <sup>(4)</sup>s[hūk  
...]*rša* i-[re <sup>(5)</sup>pes-e *zupa-š* (...)]...[(...)] <sup>(6)</sup>...n

<sup>(1)</sup>[Puzur]r-[Sušina]k, *hatpak* of <sup>(2)</sup>Susa, *šepk* of the peo= <sup>(3)</sup>ple of Ha[tamti, <sup>(5)</sup>  
accomplished the *plans* of] <sup>(3)</sup>Šin-pi= <sup>(4)</sup>s[hūk,] h[is *prede*]cessor. <sup>(5)</sup>[(...)]...[(...)] <sup>(6)</sup>...

### Commentary

Lines 1'-5': Cf. LEI 1/A (above, § 3.2.2), 2/B (above, § 3.3.1), and 5/E (below, § 3.3.3). See the commentary on LEI 1/A (§ 3.2.2).

### 3.3.2 Supplement: Puzur-Sušinak 11 (Sb 87 cun.; Pl. XXVII, bottom)

|                                                        |                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1'.     SUHUŠ <sup>di3</sup> -[su]                     | <i>isdē</i> -[su] |
| 2'.     [l]i-is <sub>2</sub> -ba-al-ki-tu <sub>3</sub> | [l]esbalkitū      |

[... <sup>(1'-2')</sup>m]ay they (i.e., the gods) remove [his] roots.

### Commentary

Lines 1'-2': Both Scheil (1908: 11) and Gelb and Kienast (1990: 337) provide two additional lines of text (i.e., ŠE.NUMUN-su / li-il-qu<sub>2</sub>-tu<sub>3</sub>, "may (the gods) [...] pick up his seed") before this clause, but these two lines, which do occur before *isdē-su lesbalkitū* in Puzur-Sušinak 4 (Sb 86) iii 3-6 (see the copy by J. Jéquier *apud* Scheil 1900: 63), are not preserved here (see also Meriggi 1971: pl. Ic).

### 3.3.3 LEI 5/E (Sb 140B; Pls. XVIII and XXVIII)

Fragment of a limestone (or sandstone) object (findspot unknown), presumably a subrectangular (?) lid, as suggested by the presence of a rim.<sup>95</sup> A four-line inscription enclosed within a frame is partially preserved;<sup>96</sup> the lines, running from left to right, are arranged in the unusual order of bottom to top.<sup>97</sup> Each textual element (PN<sub>1</sub>, first

95 Admittedly, the rim could also indicate a vessel; however, in that case the signs of the inscription would appear upside down, and one would have to assume that there was no intended relationship between inscription and support, but rather that a discarded fragment was used by an engraver for practice. A red stain is visible on the outer surface of the presumed lid, but its significance remains uncertain.

96 Frame: 21 × 10 cm. Lines: ca. 2.5 cm wide each.

97 A similar arrangement is found in the cuneiform inscription on the seated statue of Puzur-Sušinak (Sb 55), on

title, second title, PN<sub>2</sub>) occupies a separate line. Unlike LEI 1/A and LEI 2/B (see above, §§ 3.2.2 and 3.3.1, respectively), this text does not appear to refer to a specific item associated with Insuš(i)nak. Judging from the preserved frame, the inscription appears to have consisted of only four lines; however, the text makes sense only if we assume it to be incomplete.<sup>98</sup> It may be hypothesized that the text continued in another frame on the missing portion of the object.<sup>99</sup>

1. pu-zu-ʾrʾ-su-ʾšiʾ-na-ʾkʾ |
  2. [ha]-ʾtʾ-pa-ʾkʾ su-še-ni-r
  3. [še]-ʾp<sub>2</sub>-k hu<sub>2</sub>-r-tʾ haʾ-ta-ʾm-tiʾ-[pi<sub>2</sub>-r]
  4. [ši-n]-piʾ-s-ʾh-hu-kʾ
- (rest of inscription not preserved)

<sup>(1)</sup>*Puzur-Sušinak* <sup>(2)</sup>*[ha]tpak Sušen-ir* <sup>(3)</sup>*[še]pk hūrt Hatamti-[p-ir* <sup>(4)</sup>*Šin]-pishūk* <sup>(5ff)</sup>*[...]*

<sup>(1)</sup>Puzur-Sušinak, <sup>(2)</sup>*[hat]pak* of Susa, <sup>(3)</sup>*[še]pk* [of] the people [of] Hatamti, <sup>(4ff)</sup>*[... of Šin]-pishūk*, [his *predecessor*. (...)] (?)

The inscription can reasonably be assumed to continue as ...*rša i-re pes-e zu-pa-š* (...); cf. LEI 1/A (§ 3.2.2), 2/B (§ 3.3.1), and 3/C (§ 3.3.2).

### 3.4 PUZUR-SUŠINAK AS “KING OF AWAN”

At a certain point in his career, Puzur-Sušinak appears to have abandoned the titles

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the left side: from the viewer's perspective, two horizontal rows of vertical cases follow a bottom-to-top order (see the drawing by P. Toscanne *apud* Scheil 1913: 12, where the two rows are labeled “Col. 4” and “Col. 5”).

98 There is nothing that links Puzur-Sušinak (together with his two titles) to the following mention of his father's name. The same occurs, *mutatis mutandis*, if the lines of the inscription are read in the usual top-to-bottom order: in that case, the text would constitute an inscription of Šin-pishūk, with the two royal titles attributed to Puzur-Sušinak's father. Once again, however, no element connects Šin-pishūk with the subsequently mentioned Puzur-Sušinak, with the added complication, in this case, of the inverted order of the two royal titles. What, moreover, would be the meaning or function of the dividing sign following the name of Puzur-Sušinak at the end of the inscription?

99 Possibly to the left of the preserved frame. It is tempting to suggest that in this presumed left frame, the signs ran in the opposite direction (from right to left), thereby creating a peculiar symmetry: the two parts of the inscription would have proceeded outward in opposite directions. This, however, cannot be proven.

*hatpak Sušen-ir* and *šepk hūrt Hatamti-p-ir*, adopting instead the new, presumably more prestigious title *zemt Awan-ir*,<sup>100</sup> “king of Awan”.<sup>101</sup>

The GN Awan, spelled a(-w)-wa-n(i-...) in Linear Elamite and a-wa-an<sup>ki</sup> in cuneiform (Vallat 1993: 25–26), may be etymologically related to the Elamite word *awa*, “mother” (a-wa in LEI 26/Z: 3 [Vol. II, § 2.4.2]; cun. am-ma: *ElW* 51–54): analyzing it as *Awa-n*, with *-n* being the well-known suffix that occurs in several geographical names (presumably as a place indicator; see Vol. II, § 2.5.7, comm. to LEI 32/F: 1 *sub a*), one may wonder whether the sense of “motherland” or “mother-city” applies to this toponym.<sup>102</sup>

The historical information concerning Awan is conveniently summarized by Stolper (1987; see also Carter and Stolper 1984: 10–15). For a period during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE, Awan was presumably a preeminent political power in western Iran. According to the “Sumerian King List” (a pseudo-historiographic Mesopotamian composition; see Marchesi 2010), a foreign dynasty from Awan even exercised kingship over Mesopotamia in Pre-Sargonic times (Glassner 2004: 120–121). The early 2<sup>nd</sup>-millennium BCE “Susa King List” (Sb 17729; Scheil 1931; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 317–318; Glassner 1996; Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015: 23–25; Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.3.1.2) lists twelve kings of Awan, of whom Puzur-Sušinak is the last one. Although the historical reliability of such sources is far from certain, these references probably reflect the prominent role played by Awan on the Iranian Plateau before the advent of the kings of Akkad. Interestingly, one of the purported kings of Awan mentioned in the “Susa King List”, Lūh-išan (no. 8), seems to occur in an inscription of Sargon of Akkad as a son of the king of Elam (lu-uh-is<sub>2</sub>-an DUMU hi-si-ip-ra-si-ni LUGAL ELAM<sup>ki</sup>; RIME 2, 23, Sargon 8, Caption 5). It is possible, though not certain, that the sovereign referred to in this inscription as “king of Elam” was properly a ruler of Awan (even though he is not included among the kings listed in the “Susa King List”<sup>103</sup>), and that his son Lūh-išan succeeded him on the throne of this polity.

100 For the use of *zemt* — usually “lord” (with reference to a god) — as a royal title, see Vol. II, § 2.2.

101 Corresponding to *sar Awan* in the Akkadian inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak from the same period (see below, § 3.4.1 Suppl. a–c).

102 Cf. Persian *sar zamin-e mādari* (سرزمین مادری) and *mām-e mihan* (مام میهن), “Motherland”; *Bharat Mata*, “Mother India”; *Inang Bayan*, “Motherland”, in the Philippines; Greek μητρόπολις, “hometown” (lit. “mother-city”); Russian *Matuska Rossija*, “(dear) Mother Russia”, and *Rodina-Mat’*, “Motherland”; French *Mère patrie*; Italian/Spanish *Madrepatria/Madre patria*; etc.

103 We agree with Glassner (1996) that hi-še-ip-ra-te-ip, the ninth king of Awan according to the “Susa King

An open question is whether Awan was the name of a city or rather of a region (see Vallat 1993: CXXII-CXXV; Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.2.2). Recently, it has been suggested that Awan was a territorial designation denoting the territory of the city of “Adamdun”, in the southeastern portion of Khuzestan (Michalowski 2008: 115–116; Steinkeller 2013a: 296–297).<sup>104</sup> According to Steinkeller (2018: 184), the GN Awan was also used in a broader sense to refer to the “adjoining highlands (roughly modern Fars), up to the border of Marhashi (Parahshum)”, which would make Awan “a native correspondent of Babylonian ‘Elam’, both terms describing roughly the same geographical area” (ibid., 179; see also the map on p. 178). However, thanks to the decipherment of Linear Elamite, we now know that at least during the time of Puzur-Sušinak, the native equivalent of Sumerian Elam and Akkadian *Elamtum* was Hatamti and not Awan (see above, § 3.3). Moreover, the phrase  $\text{susin}_x(\text{MUŠ}_3.\text{ŠEŠ}_4)^{\text{ki}}$  a-dam-DUN<sup>ki</sup> ma-da a-wa-an<sup>ki</sup>-ka, which occurs in two royal inscriptions and a dating formula (year name) of the last king of Ur III, Ibbī-Sîn, does not imply that Awan was a “territorial designation”, as Michalowski suggested, interpreting it as “Susa (and) Adamdun of the land of Awan” (followed in this by Steinkeller; see above). In fact, the final *a* is the locative morpheme (requested by the verbal form  $\text{šid bi}_2\text{-in-gi}_4$ , “he howled/roared there”), and there is only one genitive suffix (*ak*) involved. Accordingly, the phrase in question should mean “in/over Susa, Adamsul,<sup>105</sup> (and) the territory of Awan”.

On the contrary, the phrase “the territory of Awan” rather suggests that Awan was a city (at least originally). This interpretation is also supported by the inclusion of Awan among the cities that succeeded one another in exercising kingship in the “Sumerian King List”. Finally, it should be noted that Awan is mentioned among the plundered “Iranian” cities (Arawa, Sabum, Susa, etc.) that provided Sargon with booty during his campaign against Elam and Parahsum (= Marḥaši) (RIME 2, 22–24, Sargon 8; cf. Steinkeller 2018: 185).

By the second half of the 22<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, Awan appears to have lost its former presumed hegemony. Puzur-Sušinak probably used the title “king of Awan” to

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List”, is hardly identifiable with the  $\text{ḫi-si-ip-ra-si-ni}$  of the Sargon inscription: apart from the obvious differences between the two names,  $\text{Hišep-ratep}$  followed rather than preceding  $\text{Lūh-išan}$  as king of Awan according to the above-mentioned list (see also Gelb and Kienast 1990: 317).

104 For the location of Awan, see also, most recently, D.T. Potts 2016: 82–91 (who rather proposes to locate Awan in Luristan). For an overview of the various proposals, see Schrakamp forthc.: § 13.2.2.

105 For the reading of a-dam-DUN<sup>ki</sup> as a-dam-sul<sup>ki</sup>, see Krebern timer 2006: 74; and Schrakamp 2014.

emphasize his power and hegemonic ambitions, claiming to be the heir to the once-powerful sovereigns of Awan (cf. André-Salvini 2006: 130; Steinkeller 2013a: 296). This usage can be compared to the adoption of the title “king of Kiš” by non-Kishite Mesopotamian rulers with pretensions to grandeur (including the early kings of Akkad) in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 97–98), or the use of “king of (the city of) Anšan” in the 7<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE by the early Persian rulers, Cyrus II and his predecessors Cambyses I, Cyrus I, and Teispes (see Schaudig 2001: 549, K1.2: 1–3; and 552–553, K2.1: 21).

3.4.1 LEI 8/H (Sb 140A; Pls. XVIII and XXXI) and (partial) duplicates LEI 6/F (Sb 155; Pls. XVIII and XXIX) and LEI 7/G (Sb 139; Pls. XVIII and XXX)

These three LE inscriptions engraved on stone slabs reproduce the same basic text (see below). Thirteen additional slabs with a similar shape but bearing cuneiform inscriptions of Puzur-Sušinak also exist.<sup>106</sup> Although their findspots are unknown, it can reasonably be assumed that they all originate from the same structure (probably on the Acropolis) and were discovered around the same time, that is, before 1908 (Colonna d’Istria and Desset 2026: 25 with nn. 1–2). André and Salvini (1989: 60–69) suggested that all these slabs — together with Sb 18338, which bears the LE text LEI 21/U — formed the steps of one or more monumental staircases of the temple of Insuš(i)nak.<sup>107</sup> They further hypothesized that the steps bore “alternativement un texte, semblable ou voisin, en Akkadien ou en Elamite”, thus providing us with “bilingues indirectes pour la lecture de l’Elamite linéaire” (ibid., 69). Although this latter assumption has proven incorrect — no Elamite-Akkadian text written in both Linear Elamite and cuneiform is attested — it remains convenient to consider the Linear Elamite and cuneiform inscriptions on these slabs together, since they share the same type of support and at least one key textual feature: the use of a new title “king of Awan” by Puzur-Sušinak (except for Sb 157 = Puzur-Sušinak 13).

The slabs with cuneiform inscriptions attest to three Akkadian texts (see below, § 3.4.1 Suppl. a–c). The first two — Puzur-Sušinak 6 and Puzur-Sušinak 7 — commemorate the building of a staircase (see below, § 3.4.1 Suppl. a–b). This may also be the subject of the third cuneiform text (Puzur-Sušinak 13), but the relevant

<sup>106</sup> The blocks were sawed by the French excavators in order to bring them to France (traces of sawing are visible on many specimens). Their current width, therefore, does not correspond to the original, which was greater.

<sup>107</sup> See already Landsberger and Güterbock 1937–39: 55 with n. 3.

portion of the text is not preserved (see below, § 3.4.1 Suppl. c).

A fourth slab inscription is written in Linear Elamite. It is repeated almost verbatim on three slabs (all of them written from right to left). However, LEI 6/F presents a shorter version of the inscription, omitting the reference to Puzur-Sušinak's father.

Epigraphically, it should be noted that except for a single case (in the writing of the name Šin-pišuk in LEI 8/H: 1), these texts do not seem to distinguish between the <a> and <hu> signs (both realized as <a>).<sup>108</sup> Moreover, other apparent inaccuracies in writing, as well as attempts to correct writing mistakes, can be detected (see below).

Separate transliterations and an edition of the composite text are presented below.<sup>109</sup>

#### LEI 6/F<sup>110</sup>

1. pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> ze-m-<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup> a-w-wa-<sup>1</sup>ni-r | i-n<sup>1</sup>-su-š-na-<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> i-r<sup>1</sup> ha-ne-<sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup>
2. hu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>1</sup>pu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-š-ša-n<sup>111</sup> la-w-li<sub>3</sub>-ri li-m-ma-š<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> pa-<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>-[ra i-r ra-p<sub>2</sub>-pa-š i-r] <sup>1</sup>pe-t<sup>1</sup>-ra-š
3. <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[k-ka]-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> [pe]-<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>-[n-ra |] <sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup> [r-sa-m-ki ... (?)]

#### LEI \*7/G (reconstructed) + 7/G<sup>112</sup>

1. [pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-k ze-m-t a(-w)-wa-ni-r |] ku-ši<sup>1</sup>(ku)-k<sup>113</sup> | ši-n-pi-s-hu<sup>1</sup>(a)-

108 Note, however, that the inscribed slabs appear to have been outdoors and exposed to the elements for a long time; the resulting weathering may have obscured the shallow dots that distinguish <a> from <hu>.

109 This edition supersedes the preliminary version published in Desset et al. 2022: 55–57. Our transliterations reflect the present state of preservation of the texts. The copies published in André and Salvini 1989 (figs. 5–7) occasionally show features that are no longer visible today.

110 On the top side of the slab, there is a circular hole, 2 cm in diameter, whose function remains unclear. The lines are 4 (line 1) or 4.5 (lines 2–3) cm high. The signs are relatively well preserved. Collation of the original against the copy published by André and Salvini (1989: fig. 5) yielded the following observations: Line 1: the spacing between the first two signs (<pu> and <zu>) is greater. Line 2: no traces of the <r> sign before pe-t-ra-š are visible. Line 3: no signs after the three dots of the <t> sign are detectable, except for the lower part of a trapezoid-shaped sign (not drawn in the copy).

111 The <n> sign here appears as  (correctly drawn in André and Salvini 1989: fig. 5).

112 The slab is broken into two pieces across the middle but is nonetheless complete. However, it preserves only the second half of each line of the inscription. The first half must have been inscribed on a separate slab placed alongside it (cf. André and Salvini 1989: 66–68 with fig. 9), which was not found. We call the text on this lost slab LEI \*7/G. The first two lines of LEI 7/G are 4.2 and 4–4.5 cm high, respectively. The exact height of the third line cannot be established (the lower border is not preserved).

113 The engraver first produced a dittography, repeating the preceding <ku> sign, then attempted to correct it into <ši> (graphically identical to <ku> upside down) by adding a horizontal stroke at the top of the sign — a feature not shown in André and Salvini's copy (1989: fig. 6) — but left the correction incomplete (cf. Desset et al. 2022: fig. 9, right).

ki'(a)-r<sup>114</sup>

2. [i-n-su-š-na-k i-r ha-ne-š | hu<sub>2</sub>-pu<sub>2</sub>-š-ša]-n la-w-r<sup>115</sup>li<sub>3</sub>-ri<sup>115</sup> li-r<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>-ma-š <|> pa-t-ra i-r<sup>1</sup> ra-r<sup>1</sup>p<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-pa-š
3. [i-r pe-t-ra-š a-k-ka-ra pe-t-n-ra | ] hu'(a)-n-ha<sup>1</sup>-s-r<sup>1</sup>ki | <⋈>-r-sa-m-ki i hu'(a)<sup>1</sup>-t-ta-k-r<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>116</sup>

*LEI 8/H*<sup>117</sup>

1. [pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-k] r<sup>1</sup>ze<sup>1</sup>-m-t a-r<sup>1</sup>wa-ni<sup>1</sup>-[r | ku]-ši-k | ši-n-pi-s-h[u]-ki-r | r<sup>1</sup>i-n-su-š<sup>1</sup>-<na-k><sup>118</sup>
2. r<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[r ha-ne]-r<sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup> | hu<sub>2</sub>-r<sup>1</sup>pu<sub>2</sub>-š-ša<sup>1</sup>-[n la-w]-r<sup>1</sup>li<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>-[r]i li-r<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>-ma-š | pa-t-r<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> i-r<sup>1</sup>ra-p<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-pa-š
3. r<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[r] r<sup>1</sup>pe<sup>1</sup>-t-ra-š<sup>119</sup> a-k-ka-r<sup>1</sup>ra pe-t-n-ra<sup>1</sup> | hu'(a)-n-ha<sup>1</sup>-s-r<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> | <⋈>-r-sa<sup>1</sup>-m-ki
4. r<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> hu'(a)-t-ta-k-r<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>120</sup>

*LEI 8/H and duplicates — composite text*<sup>121</sup>

- \*1. pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> ze-m-t a(-w<sup>122</sup>)-wa-r<sup>1</sup>ni-r<sup>1</sup> | (ku-ši-k | ši-n-pi-s-h[u]-ki-r<sup>123</sup> | )<sup>124</sup> r<sup>1</sup>i-n<sup>1</sup>-su-š-na-r<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> i-r<sup>1</sup> ha-ne-r<sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup> |

114 Both <hu> and <ki> (required by the context) are made as simple rhombuses, which is properly the shape of the <a> sign.

115 The <ri> lacks the two lower dots.

116 As in line 1, the <hu> sign (required by the context) lacks the two distinctive dots that distinguish it from <a>.

117 The upper right corner of the inscription appears to have been hammered. The lines, approximately 3 cm high, are shorter than in the other two exemplars.

118 There does not appear to be sufficient space for the last two signs.

119 Wrongly written as pe-t-ra-s, before being corrected into pe-t-ra-š, with <š> written above <s>. Note that the <ra> sign (written slightly oblique) also seems superimposed on another sign.

120 As in LEI 7/G: 1 and 3, the <hu> sign seems to lack the two distinctive dots that distinguishes it from <a>.

121 The three extant exemplars do not show a fixed division into lines. For simplicity and clarity, we have adopted here an artificial division based on the structure of the text, that is, presentation of the ruler (name, title, filiation) and his claim of a special relationship with the main god Insuš(i)nak (line 1); Puzur-Sušinak's deeds (line 2); curse formula (line 3).

122 Only in LEI 6/F.

123 Text from LEI 8/H. LEI 7/G has ši-n-pi-s-hu'(a)-ki'(a)-r<sup>1</sup>.

124 LEI 6/F omits the text in brackets.



- \*2. hu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>1</sup>pu<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-š-ša-n la-w-li<sub>3</sub>-ri li-m-ma-š |<sup>125</sup> pa-t-ra i-<sup>1</sup>r<sup>1</sup> ra-<sup>1</sup>p<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-pa-š <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[r] <sup>1</sup>pe<sup>1</sup>-t-ra-š
- \*3. a-k-ka-<sup>1</sup>ra pe-t-n-ra<sup>1</sup> | (hu<sup>1</sup>(a)-n-<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>-s-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> |)<sup>126</sup> <sup>1</sup>(<sup>1</sup>ḫ)-r<sup>1</sup>-sa-m-ki <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> hu<sup>1</sup>(a)-t-ta-k-<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>

(<sup>\*1</sup>)Puzur-Sušinak zemt Awan-ir (kuši-k Šin-pish[<sup>u</sup>]k-ir) Insušnak i-r hane-š (<sup>\*2</sup>)Hūpošan law-lire lima-š pat-r-a i-r rapa-š i[-r] petra-š (<sup>\*3</sup>)aka-r-a pet(i)-n-r-a (hūn(-)haski) ...r(-) samki<sup>2</sup> i hūta-k-ne

(<sup>\*1</sup>)Puzur-Sušinak, king of Awan(, the one begotten by Šin-pish[<sup>u</sup>]k) — Insuš(i)nak loves him. (<sup>\*2</sup>)He (= Puzur-Sušinak) burnt down the (city of) Hūp(o)šan, the ..., subjugated it, (and) *subjected i[t] to tribute*. (<sup>\*3</sup>)Whoever rebels may (... and) ... be done/made *to him*.

### Commentary

#### Line \*1:

a. ku-ši-k šin-pi-s-h[u]-ki-r: cf. ku-ši-ik-e, “her begotten (one)” = “the one she gave birth to” (*ElW* 440 s.v.); and pu-hu ku-ši-ik u<sub>2</sub>-pe<sub>3</sub> a-ak <sup>1</sup>nah-hu-un-te-u<sub>2</sub>-tu<sub>2</sub>-pe<sub>3</sub>, “the begotten children of mine and Nahunte-utu” = “the children begotten by me and Nahunte-utu” (*EKI* 46 § 11 et passim; see König 1965: 199). For the verb *kuši*, “to build, create, give birth”, see *ElW* 539–543; Malbran-Labat 1995: 181; and, most recently, Romagnuolo 2012: 187–191.

b. <sup>1</sup>i-n<sup>1</sup>-su-š-na-<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup> i-r ha-<sup>1</sup>ne<sup>1</sup>-š: cf. li-ka<sub>4</sub>-me <sup>1</sup>in-su-u[š-na]-ak ir h[a]-ni-iš-ri, “the *likawe* whom Insu[š(i)]nak loves” (epithet of Šilhak-Insuš(i)nak I) in *EKI* 54 § 2. See also *EKI* 15 §§ I–II, u<sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>un-taš-DINGIR-GAL ša-ak <sup>1</sup>hu-um-pan-nu-me-na-ki<sub>2</sub> su-un-ki-ik an-za-an [š]u-šu-un-ka DINGIR-GAL a-ak <sup>1</sup>in-šu-ši-na-ak un ha-ni-ih-ši, “I, On-taš-Napireša, son of Hūmpān-o-mēna, king of Anzan (Anšan) and [S]usa — Napireša and Insuš(i)nak love me”; and *EKI* 4C § III (= *IRS* 21: 3), am-ma-tu-ur-na DINGIR-GAL un ha-ni-iš un ha-ah-pu-uš, “Napireša loves me (and) listens to me since (I was in) the mother’s womb” (cf. Mäder 2019: 130 and 134–135).<sup>127</sup> For

<sup>125</sup> LEI 7/G omits the dividing sign.

<sup>126</sup> LEI 6/F appears to have omitted the text in brackets.

<sup>127</sup> An Akkadian inscription of Hūmpān-o-mēna suggests that Elamite *aw/ma-tūrna* corresponds to Akkadian *uš-tu<sub>4</sub> libbi(ša<sub>3</sub>) um-mi<sub>2</sub>-šu<sub>2</sub>*, “since (he was in) his mother’s womb” (MDP 53 no. 4: 4).

Elamite *hane/i* as the equivalent of Akkadian *rāmu*, “to love”, see *ElW* 616 s.v. *ha-ni*. Cf. also Malbran-Labat 1995: 172–173; and Desset et al. 2022: 31 with n. 50. For the translation of *hane/i* in the Conj. I with the present tense (rather than with the past tense, as is usually the case with this conjugation), cf. *ElW* 616–617 s.vv. *ha-ni* and *ha-ni-h*; and Grillot-Susini 2008: 73. Finally, the spelling *i-n-su-š-na-k* for the name of the chief god of Susa (which also occurs in LEI 21/U) is also noteworthy, as it attests to the pronunciation of this theonym as *insušnak* already in the time of Puzur-Sušinak (cf. Desset et al. 2022: 29 n. 29; and *ibid.*, 41).

Line \*2:

a.  $hu_2-{}^{\text{r}}pu_2{}^{\text{l}}-š-ša-n$   $la-w-li_3-ri$ : cf.  $hu-up-ša-an$   $la-am-li-ir-ri$  in *EKI* 54 §§ 18 and 73; and  $hu-up-[\check{s}]a-an$   $la-am-li-ir-(ri)-na$  in *EKI* 70C § IV (cf. Vol. III, § 2.7). Cf. also Henkelman 2008: 255–257. It should be noted that  $li_3-ri$  (= *lire*) also occurs as an element of the acephalous term [...]  $-s-ki-li_3-ri$  (LEI 12/L: 3'; see above, § 2.1.3), which suggests that LE  $la-w-li_3-ri$  is to be analyzed as a compound noun: *law-lire*.<sup>128</sup> Since this word only occurs in association with the GN Hūp(o)šan (for which, see below; for the spelling  $hu_2-pu_2-š-ša-n$ , see Desset et al. 2022: 41),<sup>129</sup> it could be a distinctive qualifier of this toponym.<sup>130</sup>

b.  $li-m-ma-š$ : cf.  $pe_3-ti-ip$   $lu-uk$   $li-im-ma-aš-pi$ , “the enemies that the *fire/flare* burned”, in Cuneiform 8: 30 (see Vol. III, § 2.4) and Cuneiform 9: 24 (*ibid.*, § 2.5) (see also comm. to Cuneiform 8: 30). Our text is a bit ambiguous regarding the subject of *lima-š*. Considering that in the previous sentence the subject is the god Insuš(i)nak, one may infer that this deity is also the subject of this and the following clauses (cf. Desset et al. 2022: 56). However, the Akkadian account of the conquest of Hūp(o)šan attributes this achievement to Puzur-Sušinak himself (see below, Puzur-Sušinak 1). Accordingly, the subject of *lima-š*, *rapa-š*, and *petra-š* (a sequence of three 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. Conj. I verbs) should be the Susian ruler.

c. The clause *pat-r-a i-r rapa-š* can be compared with *pat-p-o-p* (var. *pat-p(i)-o-pe*) *rapa-k-na*, “may they (i.e., the enemies) be enslaved under me” (Cuneiform

128 Incidentally, the LE spelling with *w* excludes the possibility that  $la-w-li_3-ri/la-am-li-ir(-ri)$  is related to the later term  ${}^{\text{d}}la-an-li-ri-ra$ , attested in Achaemenid sources, as suggested by Hinz and Koch in *ElW* 801 (“Kult-Zelebrierer”), and, more recently, by Henkelman (2008: 255; “offering-giver” or “oblator”).

129 Cf., however,  $la-w-li_3-{}^{\text{H}}$  in LEI 4/D: 1' (see above, § 3.3.1, comm. *ad locum*).

130 Cf. Scheil 1932: 75: “Le qualificatif *lamlir* ... peut signifier *rūqu* ou *rapsu* “le lointain” ou “le vaste”, comme s'exprimaient les Assyriens, en parlant des Gutî ou des Madaï, etc.”.

8: 33 // Cuneiform 9: 27; see Vol. III, §§ 2.4 and 2.5). However, note that in our text, the word *pat*, “under” (cf. Henkelman 2022: 435 n. 71), is not followed by the “genitive” form of the pronoun as in the latter example. The form *pat-r-a* probably derives from *\*pat-ir-a*, that is, *pat* plus the nominal suffix *-ir* referring to the GN Hûp(o)šan plus the so-called “final suffix” *-a*, possibly with a nominalizing function (cf. Krebernik 2021: 112). Accordingly, *pat-r-a i-r rapa-š* should mean, literally, “he bound it (= Hûp(o)šan) into (a position of) subordination” (cf. Grillot and Vallat 1984: 25).<sup>131</sup> The verb *ra(r)pa*, whose basic meaning is “to fix, fasten, tie”,<sup>132</sup> is here used metaphorically to denote political subordination (cf. Grillot and Vallat 1984: 25). Finally, it should be noted the use of the accusative pronoun of the animate class *i-r* (Malbran-Labat 1993: 154–155; Bavant 2014: 266) to refer, again, to Hûp(o)šan as the direct object of the verb — Hûp(o)šan being treated as a noun of the animate class (cf. Henkelman 2022: 435–438).

d. The verbal base *petra* is otherwise unattested. The proposed translation is therefore conjectural, inferred from the context and based on the following hypothetical sequence of events: Puzur-Sušinak first set fire to the city of Hûp(o)šan, thereby subduing it, and subsequently imposed the payment of tribute on the defeated enemy. Cf. *EKI* 80 § III, *ha-al<sup>mes</sup> la-al-la-ri-ip-pe<sub>3</sub> hal-pu-uh a-ak za-ap-pe<sub>3</sub> tu<sub>3</sub>-uh*, “I struck the Lallar(i)-lands and received their tribute” (cf. Gorris 2020a: 87).

Line \*3:

a. For the indefinite pronoun *aka-r-a* (also in *LEI* 4/D: 2', above, § 3.3.1), see Desset et al. 2022: 57 *ad* 3b.

b. For *ṛpe-t-n-ra*<sup>1</sup> (= *pet(i)-n-r-a*, 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. Conj. III form + “final suffix” *-a*, here probably having a subordinating function, the clause being relative), see above, § 3.3.1, comm. to *LEI* 4/D: 3' *sub* b. The verbal base is *peti*, “to be(come) hostile, rise up (against), rebel” (Hallock 1969: 678 s.v. *beti*-).

c. The two hapaxes *hu'(a)-n-ṛha<sup>1</sup>-s-ṛki<sup>1</sup>* (= *hun(-)haski*) and *ṛ-sa-m-ki* (= ...*r(-)samki*) are probably the (grammatical and/or logical) subject of the verb *hûta-k-ne* at

131 Cf. *pe-ti-ir u<sub>2</sub>-ri ni pa<sub>2</sub>-at-ru-ur ta-at-ni* (= *pet-ir o-re ni pat-r-o-r ta-t-ni*), “my enemy — may you place him beneath me”, that is, “may you subject my enemy to me” (*EKI* 45 § 7); and *pa<sub>2</sub>-at-pu-up ta-at* (= *pat-p-o-p ta-t*), “you placed them beneath me” (*EKI* 54 § 17).

132 The verb in question is otherwise used with architectural elements to indicate their fixing/fastening (*ElW* 1018 s.v. *ra-ab-ba-h*; and 1020 s.v. *ra-ar-ba-h*; see also Malbran-Labat 1995: 183; and Marchesi *forthc.*). In later texts of the Achaemenid period, it comes to mean “to tie, seize, conscript” (*ElW* 1021–1022; note especially the equation with Akkadian *šubbutū*, *ibid.*, 1022 s.v. *râb-ba-ip*).

the end of the sentence. The two words appear to share the same syllabic structure and play with assonance.<sup>133</sup> Even though their respective meanings are unknown, they probably denote specific threatening consequences for the possible rebel.

d. ʾi<sup>1</sup> hu<sup>1</sup>(a)-t-ta-k-ʾne<sup>1</sup> (= *i hūta-k-ne*) can alternatively mean “may it be done/made”. Cf. šu-ru ni-ka<sub>4</sub>-me na-ap-pi-ip ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti-ip na-ap-pi-ip <sup>Aš</sup>an-ša-an-pi na-ap-pi-ip <sup>Aš</sup>šu-še-en-pi i hu-ut-ta-ak-na, “our *happiness* — may it be made by the gods of Elam, the gods of Anšan, (and) the gods of Susa” (EKI 54 § 18; cf. *ElW* 1182 s.v. šu-ru; Hinz 1974 [especially, 127]; and Henkelman 2008: 256). The resumptive pronoun *i* in our passage can function either as the subject or as the indirect object of the precative verbal form *hūta-k-ne* (although other examples of *i* used as an indirect object are only found in Achaemenid texts; see Bavant 2014: 264). The verb *hūta* is a well-known equivalent of Akkadian *epēšu*, “to do, make, build” (see, most recently, Romagnuolo 2012: 183–184 with n. 7). For the *-ne* form of the precative/optative suffix in this text, cf. *ElW* 316 s.v. te-la-ak-ni-e and Tavernier 2007a: 273.

\*\*\*

In LEI 8/H and duplicates, Puzur-Sušinak’s titles *hatpak Sušen-ir* and *šepk hūrt Hatamti-p-ir* are notably replaced by *zemt Awan-ir*, “king of Awan”, which corresponds to *sar Awan*, the title used by Puzur-Sušinak in his Akkadian inscriptions from, presumably, the same period (see below, Suppl. a–c). One might therefore also expect *šilha-k-ri*, “the mighty one”,<sup>134</sup> to render the epithet *dannum* in Puzur-Sušinak’s Akkadian titulary, but this is not the case.

Although Puzur-Sušinak employed equivalent titles in his LE and cuneiform slab inscriptions, which suggests that these texts are roughly contemporary, they are not bilingual versions of the same composition: the Elamite text concerns the conquest of Hūp(o)šan, while the Akkadian ones record the erection of a staircase for the god Insuš(i)nak.

Puzur-Sušinak’s victory over the enemy city of Hūp(o)šan is also attested in a cuneiform inscription of the same ruler in Akkadian, where the toponym is spelled

133 If this is the case, the possibility that the first sign is <a> rather than <hu> can be ruled out, since the undeciphered grapheme 𐎶 is unlikely to have an *a* vocalization (in the grid of LE phonetic values, all Ca slots are already occupied; see Pls. II and VII). The grapheme in question could instead be read as lu, lu<sub>2</sub>, nu<sub>2</sub>, ru<sub>2</sub>, šu<sub>2</sub>, tu<sub>2</sub>, wu, or wu<sub>2</sub>.

134 Cf. *zemt šilha-k-ri*, “the mighty lord/king\*”, in LEI 37/K’ (applied to the god Napireša) and LEI 43/R’ (applied to King Eparti II\*) (see Vol. II, §§ 2.6.1 and 2.5.1, respectively).

ḥu-up-sa-na.<sup>135</sup> This text, Puzur-Sušinak 1, was engraved on a seated statue (Sb 55; discovered in 1909 in trench 90 of the Acropolis) and on a lost stele that was stolen at Susa as it was about to be shipped to France (Álvarez-Mon 2018: 179–180 § 4). In this inscription (Scheil 1905: 14–15 and pl. 4 [stele]; id. 1913: 7–16 and pls. 1–2a [statue Sb 55]; Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 126, IIG2e; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 321–324, Elam 2), Puzur-Sušinak recounts his campaign and conquests in the Zagros mountains, to the north of Susa (Steinkeller 2013a: 294–295; cf. also *ibid.*, 304–312 and figs. 1–2). The relevant passage reads as follows:

|                                                                            |                             |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. [PU <sub>3</sub> .ŠA- <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub> ] | [Puzur-Sušinak]             |
| 2. [ENSI <sub>2</sub> ]                                                    | [issi <sup>?</sup> ak]      |
| 3. [MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub> <sup>ki</sup> ]                     | [Sūsim]                     |
| 4. KIŠ.NIN[TA <sub>2</sub> ]                                               | šakkan[ak]                  |
| 5. ma-ti                                                                   | māti                        |
| 6. ELAM <sup>ki</sup>                                                      | Elamtim                     |
| 7. DUMU šim-pi <sub>2</sub> -is <sub>2</sub> -ḥu-uk                        | mara <sup>?</sup> Šimpishuk |
| 8. i <sub>3</sub> -nu-me                                                   | inūmē                       |
| 9. ki-maš <sup>ki</sup>                                                    | Kimaš                       |
| 10. u <sub>3</sub>                                                         | u                           |
| 11. ma-at <sup>{ki}</sup>                                                  | māt                         |
| 12. ḥu-ur <sub>2</sub> -tim <sup>ki</sup>                                  | Hurtim                      |
| 13. i-ke <sub>2</sub> -ru-us <sub>2</sub>                                  | ikkerū-s                    |
| 14. i-li-ik-ma                                                             | illek-ma                    |
| 15. na-ak-ru-us-su <sub>2</sub>                                            | nakrūt-su                   |
| 16. ik-me                                                                  | ikmī                        |
| 17. u <sub>3</sub>                                                         | u                           |
| 18. ḥu-up-sa-na <sup>ki</sup>                                              | Hupsana                     |
| 19. SAĜ.ĜEŠ.RA                                                             | inḥar/inēr                  |

135 Contrary to Vallat's (1993: 104) statement — "Hupš[a/]en est à rechercher en Susiane et doit être différencié de Hupsana qui doit être localisé sur le Plateau Iranien" — it can now be argued that the 22<sup>nd</sup>-century BCE LE spelling hu<sub>2</sub>-pu<sub>2</sub>-š-ša-n, cun. ḥu-up-sa-na in an Akkadian contemporary text, and 2<sup>nd</sup>-millennium BCE cun. hu-up-ša-an/še-en (in Elamite texts) all represent the same toponym. While the LE spelling points to an etymon Hūpošan, the contemporary cuneiform spelling suggests that, by the time of Puzur-Sušinak, the form had evolved into Hūpšan — the same form also attested in later ME sources (see above, comm. to LEI 8/H and duplicates: \*2 *sub* a).

[<sup>(1)</sup>Puzur-Sušinak, <sup>(2-3)</sup>governor of Susa,] <sup>(4-6)</sup>gener[al] of the land of Elam, <sup>(7)</sup>son of Šin-pishūk — <sup>(8-13)</sup>when Kimaš and the land of Hūrtum<sup>136</sup> became hostile to him, <sup>(14-16)</sup>he marched and took his enemies prisoners. <sup>(17-19)</sup>Moreover, he conquered Hūp(o)šan.<sup>137</sup>

The inscription goes on to enumerate a long list of cities and villages — over sixty-one toponyms — that Puzur-Sušinak subjugated during his campaign before concluding with the account of a king of Šimaški submitting after hearing of the Susian ruler's accomplishments. Although both Puzur-Sušinak 1 and LEI 8/H and its duplicates refer to the conquest of Hūp(o)šan, the different titles borne by Puzur-Sušinak in the two inscriptions — i.e., “governor of Susa, general of the land of Elam” (Akkadian) and “king of Awan” (Elamite) — suggest that the cuneiform text likely predates the LE one.

### 3.4.1 Supplement a: Puzur-Sušinak 7 (Sb 156 and duplicates; Pl. XXXII)

Sources: Sb 156 (Pl. XXXII, middle; Scheil 1908: pl. 3: 1a; André and Salvini 1989: pl. VIa; Colonna d'Istria and Desset 2026: fig. 1, left, and fig. 3, left); Sb 137 (Pl. XXXII, bottom); Sb 149 (André and Salvini 1989: pl. VIb); 150 (Pl. XXXII, top; Colonna d'Istria and Desset 2026: fig. 1, right, and fig. 3, right); 153 (Scheil 1908: pl. 3: 1b; Colonna d'Istria and Desset 2026: fig. 2); 18451; 18453; 18454; 18458.<sup>138</sup>

Previous treatments: Scheil 1908: 9-10; Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 125, IIG2c; André and Salvini 1989: 64-67; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 333-334, Elam 8; Colonna d'Istria and Desset 2026: 25-27, Text 1.

|    |                                                                      |               |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | [a]-na                                                               | [a]na         |
| 2. | [ <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .]ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub>                   | [Suš]inak     |
| 3. | [ba'-li <sub>2</sub> ]-su                                            | [bēli]-su     |
| 4. | a-na-ku <sub>8</sub>                                                 | anāku         |
| 5. | PU <sub>3</sub> .ŠA- <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub> | Puzur-Sušinak |
| 6. | da-num <sub>2</sub>                                                  | dannum        |

136 For the location of Kimaš and Hūrtum/Hurti, see now Ghobadizadeh and Sallaberger 2023.

137 For the meaning “to conquer” of *naḥārum* (OB *nērum*), see Alkhafaji and Marchesi 2020: 13.

138 Pictures of all these exemplars can be found in the Collections database of the Louvre (<https://collections.louvre.fr/>), searching the museum numbers. All sources were checked on photographs and/or *estampages*. Sb 150 was collated by L. Colonna d'Istria. For the text score, see Colonna d'Istria and Desset 2026: tab. 2.

|     |                                                                                                   |                                  |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 7.  | LUGAL                                                                                             | <i>sar</i>                       |
| 8.  | a-wa-an <sup>ki</sup>                                                                             | <i>Awan</i>                      |
| 9.  | DUMU šim-pi <sub>2</sub> -is <sub>2</sub> -h <sub>u</sub> -uk                                     | <i>mara? Šimpishuk</i>           |
| 10. | in 1.MU                                                                                           | <i>in sattim</i>                 |
| 11. | <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub>                                                   | <i>Sušinak</i>                   |
| 12. | ip-pa <sub>2</sub> -al-su-sum <sub>6</sub>                                                        | <i>ippalsū-sum</i>               |
| 13. | ki-ib-ra-tim                                                                                      | <i>kibrātim</i>                  |
| 14. | ar-ba-im                                                                                          | <i>arba<sup>s</sup>im</i>        |
| 15. | [a-n]a qa <sub>2</sub> - <sup>r</sup> ti-su <sup>1</sup>                                          | <i>[an]a qāti-su</i>             |
| 16. | i-di <sub>3</sub> -nu                                                                             | <i>iddinu</i>                    |
| 17. | ḡešKUN <sub>5</sub> NA <sub>4</sub>                                                               | <i>simmilti abnim</i>            |
| 18. | i-pu-us <sub>2</sub>                                                                              | <i>iḥpus/īpus</i>                |
| 19. | šu DUB šu-a                                                                                       | <i>šu tuppam šu<sup>a</sup>a</i> |
| 20. | u <sub>3</sub> -sa-sa <sub>3</sub> -ku <sub>8</sub>                                               | <i>usattsaku</i>                 |
| 21. | <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub>                                                   | <i>Sušinak</i>                   |
| 22. | <sup>d</sup> UTU                                                                                  | <i>Samas</i>                     |
| 23. | <sup>r</sup> u <sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup> KIŠ.UNUG <sup>1</sup> .GAL                               | <i>u Nerigla</i>                 |
| 24. | <sup>r</sup> SUḪUŠ <sup>1</sup> -su                                                               | <i>isdē-su</i>                   |
| 25. | [li]- <sup>r</sup> su <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -h <sub>u</sub>                                   | <i>[le]ttsuhū</i>                |
| 26. | [u <sub>3</sub> ŠE].NUMUN-su                                                                      | <i>[u ze]ra<sup>s</sup>-su</i>   |
| 27. | [li]- <sup>r</sup> il-qu <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> -tu <sub>3</sub>                               | <i>[l]elqutū</i>                 |
| 28. | [ba <sup>r</sup> ]-li <sub>2</sub>                                                                | <i>[bē]l-ī</i>                   |
| 29. | <sup>r</sup> ay <sub>x</sub> (E <sub>2</sub> ) im <sub>x</sub> (URUDA×MAŠ) <sup>1</sup> -si-an-ni | <i>ay imsi-an-ni</i>             |
| 30. | [in u]z-ni-su                                                                                     | <i>[in u]zmi-su</i>              |
| 31. | [lu-u]b-si                                                                                        | <i>[lu]bsi</i>                   |

(1-2)[T]o [Suš]inak, (3)his [lord] — (4-6)I am Puzur-Sušinak the mighty, (7-8)king of Awan, (9)son of Šin-pishuk —, (10-12)in the year when Sušinak looked benevolently upon him (= Puzur-Sušinak) (13-16)(and) gave the four edges (of the world) [int]o his hand, (17-18)he built a stone staircase. (19-20)He who removes this inscription — (21-27)[may] Sušinak, Šamaš, and Nergal uproot his roots [and] pick up his [se]ed. (28-31)“May my [lo]rd not neglect me, [may I] have his [atte]ntion”.

*Commentary*

The text is initially written in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, but then the voice shifts to the king himself, who introduces himself in the 1<sup>st</sup> person (“I am Puzur-Sušinak, ...”), before continuing in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person once again. This alternation between 3<sup>rd</sup>-person external narration and 1<sup>st</sup>-person self-presentation may be a rhetorical device rather than the result of a scribal error in the composition of the text (as suggested by Colonna d’Istria and Desset 2026: 27).

Lines 28–31: Cf. Puzur-Sušinak 12 (Sb 177) i’ 13’–16’ (above, § 3.3.1 Suppl.) with comm. *ad locum*.

## 3.4.1 Supplement b: Puzur-Sušinak 6 (Sb 151 and Sb 18455)

Sources: Sb 151 (Scheil 1908: pl. 3: 2; Colonna d’Istria and Desset 2026: fig. 4, left); Sb 18455.<sup>139</sup>

Previous treatments: Scheil 1908: 10–11; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 332–333, Elam 7; Colonna d’Istria and Desset 2026: 27–28, Text 2.

|     |                                                                                    |                           |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1.  | a-na                                                                               | <i>ana</i>                |
| 2.  | <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub>                                    | <i>Sušinak</i>            |
| 3.  | ba’-li <sub>2</sub> -su                                                            | <i>bēli-su</i>            |
| 4.  | PU <sub>3</sub> .Š[A]- <sup>d</sup> MUŠ <sub>3</sub> .ŠEŠ <sub>4</sub>             | <i>Puzu[r]-Sušinak</i>    |
| 5.  | da-num <sub>2</sub>                                                                | <i>dannum</i>             |
| 6.  | LUGAL a’(ZA)-wa-an <sup>ki</sup>                                                   | <i>sar Awan</i>           |
| 7.  | DUMU šim-pi <sub>2</sub> -is <sub>2</sub> -ḥu-uk                                   | <i>mara? Šimpishuk</i>    |
| 8.  | <sup>ḡeš</sup> KUN <sub>5</sub>                                                    | <i>simmiltam</i>          |
| 9.  | i-pu-us <sub>2</sub>                                                               | <i>iḥpus/īpus</i>         |
| 10. | ‘šū <sup>1</sup> DUB                                                               | <i>[šū] tuppam</i>        |
| 11. | ‘šū <sup>1</sup> -a                                                                | <i>šū<sup>2</sup>a</i>    |
| 12. | ‘u <sub>3</sub> -sa <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -sa <sub>3</sub> -k[u <sub>8</sub> ] | <i>usattsak[u]</i>        |
| 13. | ‘u <sub>3</sub> sum <sub>6</sub> <sup>1</sup> -ma                                  | <i>u summa</i>            |
| 14. | [L]U <sub>2</sub> <sup>lam</sup>                                                   | <i>[ab]īlam</i>           |
| 15. | ‘ša-ni <sup>1</sup> -am                                                            | <i>šani<sup>2</sup>am</i> |

<sup>139</sup> Pictures of both sources can be found in the Collections database of the Louvre (<https://collections.louvre.fr/>) searching the museum numbers. Both exemplars were checked on photographs. Another fragmentary slab (Sb 18452), bearing two lines of a curse formula, may belong to either this text or Puzur-Sušinak 13 (see below, 3.4.1 Suppl. c).



16.  $\text{u}_3\text{-kal}_2\text{-la-mu}^1\text{-ma}$  *ukallamū-ma*  
 17.  $[\text{si-}\text{ti}_3\text{-i}]\text{r-tam}_2$  *[siti]rtam*  
 18.  $\text{u}_3\text{-pa}_2\text{-sa}_3\text{-su}_2$  *upattsatsu*  
 (the inscription continued on another, adjacent, slab; see André and Salvini 1989: 66-67)

(1-2)For Sušinak, (3)his lord, (4-5)Puzu[r]-Sušinak the mighty, (6)king of Awan, (7)son of Šin-pishūk, (8-9)built a staircase. (10-12)[He who] removes this inscription (13-16)or instructs another [m]an and (17-18)makes him obliterate the [te]xt — (19ff.)[may ...]

### Commentary

Line 3: Cf. a-bi-lum in Puzur-Sušinak 4 (Sb 86) ii 4 (copy by J. Jéquier *apud* Scheil 1900: 63) and Puzur-Sušinak 5 (Sb 6642) ii 5 (copy by P. Toscanne *apud* Scheil 1913: 20).

### 3.4.1 Supplement c: Puzur-Sušinak 13 (Sb 157)

Sources: Sb 157 (Colonna d'Istria and Desset 2026: fig. 4, right).<sup>140</sup>

Previous treatments: André and Salvini 1989: 67-68; Colonna d'Istria and Desset 2026: 28-29, Text 3.

- |     |                                                                                               |                            |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1.  | $\text{a-na}^1$                                                                               | <i>ana</i>                 |
| 2.  | $\text{dMU}\text{š}_3\text{.}[\text{šE}]\text{š}_4$                                           | <i>Suši[na]k</i>           |
| 3.  | $\text{ba}'\text{-li}_2\text{-su}^1$                                                          | <i>bēli-su</i>             |
| 4.  | $\text{PU}_3\text{.šA-d}\text{rMU}\text{š}_3\text{.}^1[\text{šE}\text{š}_4]$                  | <i>Puzur-Suši[nak]</i>     |
| 5.  | $\text{EN}[\text{SI}_2]$                                                                      | <i>issi[ak]</i>            |
| 6.  | $\text{rMU}\text{š}_3\text{.}^1[\text{šE}\text{š}_4^{\text{ki}}]$                             | <i>Sū[sim]</i>             |
| 7.  | $\text{q}[\text{u}_3^?-\text{ra-ad}]^{\text{d}}[\text{MU}\text{š}_3\text{.šE}\text{š}_4] (?)$ | <i>q[urād Sušinak] (?)</i> |
| 8.  | $\text{DUMU} [\text{šim}]\text{-rpi}_2\text{-is}_2\text{-}[\text{hu-uk}]$                     | <i>mara? [Šim]pis[huk]</i> |
| 9.  | $\text{GA}^?/\text{šA}^?-\text{[...]}$                                                        | <i>...[...]</i>            |
| 10. | $\text{e}^?-\text{[...]}$                                                                     | <i>e[...] (?)</i>          |
| 11. | $\text{m}[\text{a}^?-\text{[...]}]$                                                           | <i>m[a...] (?)</i>         |
| 12. | $\text{i}_3^?-\text{[nu-me]} (?)$                                                             | <i>i[nūme] (?)</i>         |
| 13. | $\text{rPU}_3\text{.}^1[\text{šA}]\text{-dMU}[\text{š}_3\text{.šE}\text{š}_4]$                | <i>Pu[zur]-Sus[inak]</i>   |
|     | (rest broken)                                                                                 |                            |

<sup>140</sup> The text was checked against photographs (for pictures, see <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010174577>, accessed October 7, 2025). See also the previous note.

(1-2)For Suši[na]k, (3)his lord, (4)Puzur-Sušinak, (5-6)gover[nor] of Su[sa,] (7)the w[arrior of Sušinak,] (8)son of [Šin]-pis[hūk,] (9-11)... (12ff.)W[hen] Pu[zur]-Suš[inak ...]

### Commentary

Lines 5-6: The title “governor of Susa” suggests that this slab inscription predates the others. Whether the slab belonged to the same structure as those bearing Puzur-Sušinak 6, Puzur-Sušinak 7, and LEI 8/H and duplicates remains uncertain.

Line 7: André and Salvini (1989: 68) remarked that “l’on doit s’attendre à l’expression *šakkanakku ša mati Elam(tim)*<sup>KI</sup>, comme étant la seule que l’on puisse restituer avant le patronyme de la ligne 8”, but the preserved traces of the first sign rule out the possibility that it is KIŠ, the initial element of the compound logogram KIŠ.NINTA<sub>2</sub>, i.e., the sign sequence for *šakkanakkum*. The sign in question is possibly identifiable as G[U]. If this identification is correct, one may tentatively propose the restoration q[u<sub>3</sub>-ra-ad] <sup>d</sup>[MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.ŠEŠ<sub>4</sub>], that is, q[urād Sušinak], “the w[arrior of Sušinak]”, although this epithet is otherwise unattested.

## 3.5 UNDETERMINED PERIOD

Two extremely fragmentary texts by Puzur-Sušinak — LEI 21/U and LEI 16/P — cannot be assigned to any of the three (?) hypothesized phases of Puzur-Sušinak’s reign based on his royal titulary.

### 3.5.1 LEI 21/U (Sb 18338; Pls. XVIII and XXXIII).

Inscribed slab, possibly from the same structure as LEI 8/H and duplicates (André and Salvini 1989: 60-64; see above, § 3.4.1). A circular depression on the top surface may indicate a re-use as a door socket. The inscription, of which very little remains, runs from right to left. As in LEI 7/G (above, § 3.4.1), the text must have begun on an adjacent slab to the right and continued onto another slab to the left. It reads:

1. [...] ši-<sup>r</sup>n-pi-s<sup>l</sup>-hu-ki-<sup>r</sup> x<sup>141</sup> x<sup>142</sup> x<sup>143</sup> x<sup>l</sup> [...]

---

141 x = | (the dividing sign) or na.

142 x = pa or s.

143 x = la, t, or u<sub>2</sub>/w.

2. [... i]-n-su-š-na-<sup>r</sup>k<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> | na-<sup>r</sup>h<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[hu<sub>2</sub>-te ...]

[<sup>(1)</sup>...] *Šin-pishûk-ir* [... <sup>(2)</sup>... *I*]nsušnak Nah[ûte ...]

[<sup>(1)</sup>...] of/by Šin-pishûk [... <sup>(2)</sup>... may I]nsuš(i)nak, Nah[û(n)te ...]

### *Commentary*

Line 1: Based on LEI 8/H and duplicates (§ 3.4.1), we may tentatively restore the text as [pu-zu-r-su-ši-na-k<sub>2</sub> ze-m-t a(-w)-wa-ni-r | ku-ši-k<sub>2</sub> |] ši-<sup>r</sup>n-pi-s<sup>1</sup>-hu-ki-<sup>r</sup><sup>1</sup>, “[Puzur-Sušinak, king of Awan, the one begotten] by Šin-pishûk”. Another feature that LEI 21/U shares with LEI 8/H and its duplicates — and that distinguishes it from all the other texts of Puzur-Sušinak — is the use of the shorter form Insušnak rather than Insušinak for the name of the patron god of Susa (see Tab. 3.2 [§ 3.3.1] above). Conversely, the use of the <k<sub>2</sub>> sign instead of <k> brings LEI 21/U closer to LEI 2/B, 4/D, and 9/I, all presumably dating to a period before Puzur-Sušinak adopted the title “king of Awan”. Moreover, an alternative restoration such as [... ša-k<sub>2</sub>] ši-<sup>r</sup>n-pi-s<sup>1</sup>-hu-ki-<sup>r</sup><sup>1</sup>, “[son] of Šin-pishûk”, cannot be completely ruled out.

Line 2: Cf. na-h<sub>2</sub>-hu<sub>2</sub>-te and na-h<sub>2</sub>-hu<sub>2</sub>-n-te\* (LEI 25b/Y<sub>2</sub>: 1; LEI 26/Z: 2\*; LEI 36/J': 2-3; see Desset et al. 2022: 31 with n. 49). For Nahû(n)te, the Elamite sun-god, see Stolper 1998; and Desset et al. 2022: 31 n. 50. This sequence of divine names, separated by the dividing sign, is probably part of a curse formula, as in LEI 4/D: 3'-4' (see above, § 3.3.1). It should also be noted that the sun-god often occurs immediately after the city-god of Susa, Insuš(i)nak, in the curse formulas of Puzur-Sušinak's Akkadian inscriptions — see Puzur-Sušinak 2: 67-68 (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 326); Puzur-Sušinak 4: 19-20 (ibid., 330); and Puzur-Sušinak 7: 21-22 (above, § 3.4.1 Suppl. a). This strengthens the case for completing na-<sup>r</sup>h<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[...] as na-<sup>r</sup>h<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-[hu<sub>2</sub>-te] in this line.

### 3.5.2 LEI 16/P (Sb 17822; Pls. XVIII and XXXIV)

De Mecquenem (1956: 200) reported a “fragment de gypse mesurant 0,11 m sur 0,08 m”, which “provient du chantier n° I, de l'Acropole de Suse (Campagne 1931, numéro d'Inv. 373 M); sur une face polie, légèrement concave, il porte au-dessus d'une ligne horizontale quelques signes protoélamites. Il avait échappé à notre récolement de 1947 et nous a été signalé par M. L. Le Breton”. However, in his report

on the 1930 campaign,<sup>144</sup> de Mecquenem noted, with reference to the finds from the Ville Royale mound, that “un fragment de gypse posé sur un sarcophage à moulures portait quelques caractères proto-élamites”. If the gypsum fragment mentioned in the 1930 report corresponds to Sb 17822, de Mecquenem’s later attribution of the piece to the 1931 campaign would be erroneous, and LEI 16/P would thus represent the only Susian LE inscription found in the Ville Royale. Indirect support for this hypothesis comes from the inventories: the 1930 inventory<sup>145</sup> lists under no. 373 a “fragment d’inscription proto-élamite, gypse”, whereas the 1931 inventory<sup>146</sup> records under the same number a “hochet d’enfant” (information courtesy of Mirko Surdi). De Mecquenem may have conflated these two entries when preparing his 1956 publication. The fragment would then have been recovered in the “Grand sondage”, located immediately north of the Donjon on the western side of the Ville Royale. This findspot is also consistent with the levels excavated by de Mecquenem in that sector of the mound (from 12 to 20 meters in depth).<sup>147</sup>

As for the content of the text, only the name of Puzur-Sušinak — written from right to left — is preserved:

1. [...] pu-zu-r-su-ši-<sup>1</sup>na-k<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]

[<sup>(1)</sup>...] *Puzur-Sušinak* [...]

#### *Commentary*

For the use of the <k<sub>2</sub>> sign and its possible chronological implication, see comm. to LEI 21/U: 1 (§ 3.5.1 above).

144 <https://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/rapport/afficher/annee/1930> (accessed October 7, 2025).

145 <https://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/inventaire/lister/annee/1930> (accessed December 12, 2025).

146 <https://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/inventaire/lister/annee/1931> (accessed December 12, 2025).

147 <https://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/rapport/afficher/annee/1930> (accessed October 7, 2025).



## ABBREVIATIONS

### Bibliographic abbreviations

|         |                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| A.XV    | Inventory prefix referring to documents from Susa, Ville Royale, Chantier A, layer (“ <i>couche</i> ”) XV                                                        |
| ABAW NF | Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge:<br>Vol. 143 = Wilcke 2018                                |
| AHw     | <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> = von Soden 1965–85                                                                                                            |
| BIN     | Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University:<br>Vol. 3 = Keiser 1971<br>Vol. 9 = Crawford 1954                                   |
| CAD     | <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , The Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1956–2010                               |
| CDLI    | Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative. URL: <a href="https://cdli.earth/">https://cdli.earth/</a>                                                                 |
| CUSAS   | Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology:<br>Vol. 9 = Dalley 2009<br>Vol. 27 = Milano and Westenholz 2015<br>Vol. 33 = Notizia and Visicato 2016 |
| DB      | Darius Behistun: trilingual royal inscription of Darius I                                                                                                        |
| EKI     | Elamite royal inscriptions edited by König (1965)                                                                                                                |
| ElW     | <i>Elamisches Wörterbuch</i> = Hinz and Koch 1987                                                                                                                |
| ETCSL   | Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. URL: <a href="https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/">https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/</a>                                  |
| IRS     | Royal inscriptions from Susa edited by Malbran-Labat (1995)                                                                                                      |
| K.      | Tablets in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum                                                                                                         |
| LEI     | Linear Elamite Inscription: siglum of the Linear Elamite texts                                                                                                   |
| M       | Prefix for Proto-Elamite signs                                                                                                                                   |
| M.      | Prefix of Mari excavation numbers                                                                                                                                |
| M-      | Prefix for tablets from Tal-e Malyan                                                                                                                             |
| MDP     | Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse:<br>Vol. 11 = Scheil 1911<br>Vol. 53 = Steve 1987                                                                             |

|          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| MSL      | Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon:<br>SS (= Supplementary Series) 1 = Civil et al. 1986                                                                                                                          |
| MVN      | Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico:<br>Vol. 10 = Grégoire 1981                                                                                                                                              |
| Nik      | Prefix used for the Sumerian administrative texts in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, edited by Selz (1989), after the name of the Russian Assyriologist M.V. Nikol'skij, who first published them in 1908 |
| OIP      | Oriental Institute Publications:<br>Vol. 14 = Luckenbill 1930                                                                                                                                                     |
| RIME     | The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods:<br>Vol. 2 = Frayne 1993<br>Vol. 3/2 = Frayne 1997                                                                                                           |
| RTC      | <i>Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes</i> = Thureau-Dangin 1903                                                                                                                                                     |
| Sb       | Susiane bis: collection prefix of documents from Susa in the Louvre                                                                                                                                               |
| Šil Po 1 | Inscription of Šilhak-Insuš(i)nak from Tepe Pomp (to be published by F. Desset and L. Colonna d'Istria)                                                                                                           |
| STC II   | <i>The Seven Tablets of Creation</i> , II = King 1902                                                                                                                                                             |
| TZ       | Royal inscriptions from Chogha Zanbil published by Steve (1967)                                                                                                                                                   |

## Other abbreviations

|         |                                 |
|---------|---------------------------------|
| AchE    | Achaemenid Elamite              |
| C       | consonant                       |
| Chap.   | Chapter                         |
| col(s). | column(s)                       |
| comm.   | commentary                      |
| Conj.   | Conjugation                     |
| cun.    | cuneiform                       |
| DN      | divine name                     |
| ead.    | eadem                           |
| ED      | Early Dynastic                  |
| ed.     | edition                         |
| ed(s).  | editor(s)                       |
| et al.  | <i>et alii</i>                  |
| ff.     | and the following pages/lines   |
| fig(s). | figure(s)                       |
| forthc. | forthcoming                     |
| GN      | geographical name               |
| ibid.   | <i>ibidem</i>                   |
| id.     | <i>idem</i>                     |
| inscr.  | inscription                     |
| inv.    | inventory                       |
| IPA     | International Phonetic Alphabet |

|            |                                                                            |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| L          | left                                                                       |
| LE         | Linear Elamite                                                             |
| lit.       | literally                                                                  |
| ME         | Middle Elamite                                                             |
| mill.      | millennium                                                                 |
| n./nn.     | note/notes                                                                 |
| NE         | Neo-Elamite                                                                |
| NF         | <i>Neue Folge</i>                                                          |
| no(s).     | number(s)                                                                  |
| NS         | <i>Nova Series / Nuova Serie</i>                                           |
| OA         | Old Assyrian                                                               |
| OAkk       | Old Akkadian                                                               |
| OB         | Old Babylonian                                                             |
| OE         | Old Elamite                                                                |
| p./pp.     | page/pages                                                                 |
| PE         | Proto-Elamite                                                              |
| pers.      | person                                                                     |
| PhD diss.  | doctoral dissertation                                                      |
| pl.        | plural                                                                     |
| pl(s).     | plate(s) (capitalized as Pl./Pls. when referring to plates in this book)   |
| PN(s)      | personal name(s)                                                           |
| R          | right                                                                      |
| RAE        | Royal Achaemenid Elamite                                                   |
| rev.       | reverse                                                                    |
| RN         | royal name                                                                 |
| Sarg.      | Sargonic                                                                   |
| sg.        | singular                                                                   |
| Suppl.     | Supplement(s)                                                              |
| s.v./s.vv. | <i>sub voce / sub voces</i>                                                |
| tab(s).    | table(s) (capitalized as Tab./Tabs. when referring to tables in this book) |
| V          | vowel                                                                      |
| var.       | variant                                                                    |
| Vol.       | Volume                                                                     |
| wr.        | writing/written as                                                         |





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## IMAGE CREDITS

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Plate I:    | François Desset                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Plate II:   | François Desset                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Plate III:  | François Desset (the Proto-Elamite signs are from Dahl 2006)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Plate IV:   | François Desset (the Proto-Elamite signs are from Dahl 2006)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Plate V:    | François Desset (the Proto-Elamite signs are from Dahl 2006)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Plate VI:   | François Desset (the Proto-Elamite signs are from Dahl 2006)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Plate VII:  | François Desset                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Plate VIII: | Adapted from Steve and Gasche 1971: <i>Plan</i> 1                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Plate IX:   | Mirko Surdi                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Plate X:    | François Desset                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Plate XI:   | Top row: <a href="https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010188731">https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010188731</a> , © 2013 Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Raphaël Chipault<br>Middle and bottom rows: Gian Pietro Basello (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)                                                                                                        |
| Plate XII:  | <a href="https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010188732">https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010188732</a> , © 2013 Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Raphaël Chipault                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
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| Plate XIV:  | François Desset (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Plate XV:   | <a href="https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010188735">https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010188735</a> , © 2018 Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Plate XVI:  | LEI 18/R: Gian Pietro Basello (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)<br>LEI 20/T top: <a href="https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010189176">https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010189176</a> , © Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville<br>LEI 20/T bottom: François Desset (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales) |



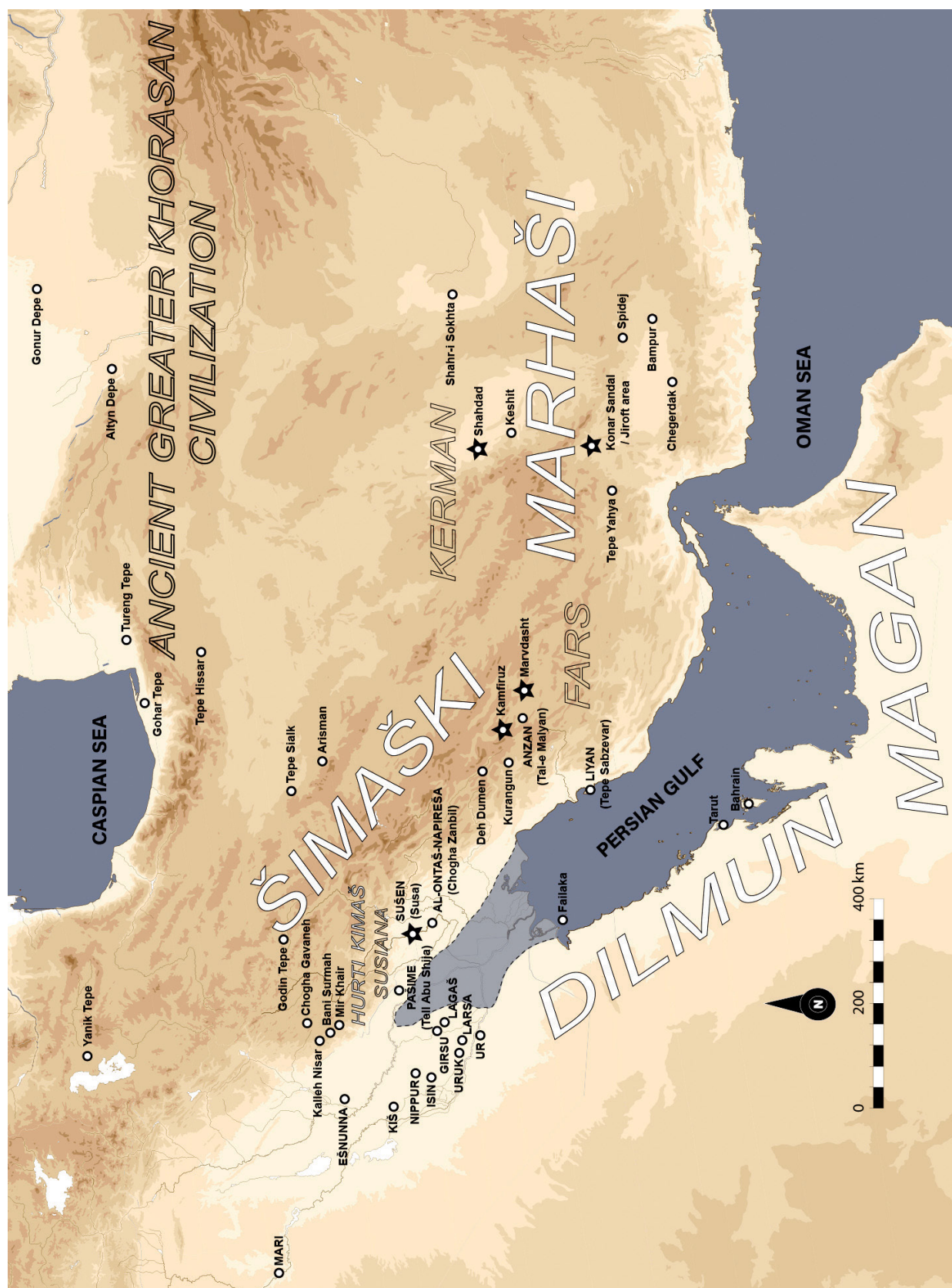
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Side edges: Gian Pietro Basello (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)
- Plate XVIII: François Desset
- Plate XIX: a-d: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010174482>, © 2018 Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Mathieu Rabeau  
e: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010174482>, © 2013 Musée du Louvre, Dist. Grand Palais Rmn / Raphaël Chipault
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Bottom (grayscale): Hinz 1969: fig. 5
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Bottom: Gian Pietro Basello (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)
- Plate XXVI: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180406>, © 2013 Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Raphaël Chipault
- Plate XXVII: <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010479081>, © 2013 Musée du Louvre, Dist. GrandPalaisRmn / Raphaël Chipault
- Plate XXVIII: François Desset (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)
- Plate XXIX: Top and bottom: François Desset (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales).  
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- Plate XXX: Top and bottom: François Desset (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)  
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Middle (*estampage*): Francesco Giannone (courtesy of Michaël Guichard and IV<sup>e</sup> Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études)
- Plate XXXII: Laurent Colonna d'Istria (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)
- Plate XXXIII: François Desset (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)
- Plate XXXIV: Imane Achouche (courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités orientales)

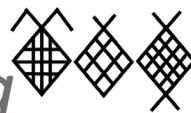
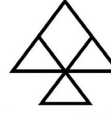
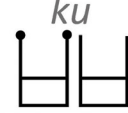
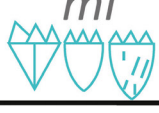
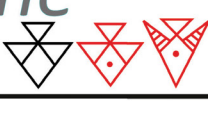
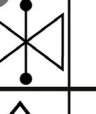
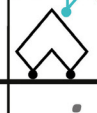
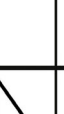
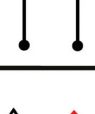
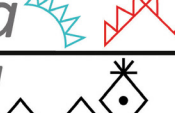
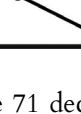
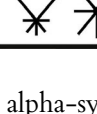
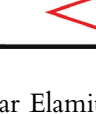
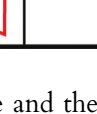


# PLATES





Map of the archaeological sites mentioned in the text (sites with LE inscriptions are marked with a black star).

|                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <i>a</i>                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>e</i>                                                                                                                                                                             | <i>i</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>u</i>                                                                                                                                                                                 | <i>u</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                           |
| <i>h</i>  <i>h</i> <sub>2</sub>      | <i>ha</i>                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>hi</i>  <i>hi</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                                            | <i>hu</i>                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>hu</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                          |
| <i>k</i>  <i>k</i> <sub>2</sub>      | <i>ka</i>                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>ke</i>                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>ki</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>ku</i>                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>ku</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                          |
| <i>l</i>                                                                                                              | <i>la</i>                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>li</i>  <i>li</i> <sub>2</sub>  <i>li</i> <sub>3</sub>  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>m</i>                                                                                                              | <i>ma</i>                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>me</i>                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>mi</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>mu</i>                                                                                                                                                                                | <i>mu</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                          |
| <i>n</i>                                                                                                             | <i>na</i>                                                                                                                                                                           | <i>ne</i>                                                                                                                                                                           | <i>ni</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <i>nu</i>                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>p</i>  <i>p</i> <sub>2</sub>  | <i>pa</i>                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>pe</i>                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>pi</i>  <i>pi</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                                       | <i>pu</i>  <i>pu</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>r</i>                                                                                                            | <i>ra</i>                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>ri</i>  <i>ri</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                                        | <i>ru</i>                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>ru</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                        |
| <i>s</i>                                                                                                            | <i>sa</i>                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>si</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <i>su</i>                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>su</i> <sub>2</sub>                                                                                        |
| <i>š</i>                                                                                                            | <i>ša</i>                                                                                       | <i>še</i>                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>ši</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <i>šu</i>                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>t</i>                                                                                                            | <i>ta</i>                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>te</i>                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>ti</i>                                                                                                                               | <i>tu</i>    |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>w</i>                                                                                                            | <i>wa</i>                                                                                                                                                                          | <i>we</i>                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>z</i>                                                                                                            | <i>za</i>    | <i>ze</i>    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>zu</i>                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>zu</i> <sub>2</sub>   |

The 71 deciphered alpha-syllabic signs of Linear Elamite and their most common graphic variants. Blue: southwestern Iran; red: Metal Vessel Group (Vol. II, § 4.1); black: sign forms shared by the two groups.



| PE signs                                                                                                                                                                             | Transliteration | Early Susian texts                          | Puzur-Sušinak<br>(Susa, ca. 2120 BCE) | Marvdasht<br>vessel<br>(21st century BCE) | Kamfiruz silver beakers<br>(20th century BCE)                                                                 | Southeast<br>(Kerman) Group | Metal Vessel<br>Group | Seals |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------|
| M218                                                                                                                                                                                 | a               | 15/O 10/J 11/K 12/L 13/M 14/N 18/R 20/T 9/I | 1/A 2/B 4/D 3/C 5/E 6/G/H             | 42/S 21/U 16/P 17/Q 26/Z 25/Y             | 43/R 42/Q 24/X 36/J 34/H 32/F 35/I 37/K 19/S 28/B 29/C 30/D 31/E 38/M 27/A 40/O 44/S 39/N 23/W 45/T 22/V 33/G |                             |                       |       |
| M096                                                                                                                                                                                 | e               |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | h               |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | h <sub>2</sub>  |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M259<br>M263 M263a<br>M356                                                                                                                                                           | ha              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | hi              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | hi <sub>2</sub> |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M220 M262                                                                                                                                                                            | hu              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M099                                                                                                                                                                                 | hu <sub>2</sub> |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M131 M066                                                                                                                                                                            | i               |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | k               |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | k <sub>2</sub>  |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M257a                                                                                                                                                                                | ka              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M352n                                                                                                                                                                                | ke              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M253                                                                                                                                                                                 | ki              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M029                                                                                                                                                                                 | ku              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | ku <sub>2</sub> |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M243g                                                                                                                                                                                | l               |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M004                                                                                                                                                                                 | la              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M319c                                                                                                                                                                                | li              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M107a                                                                                                                                                                                | li <sub>2</sub> |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M302e                                                                                                                                                                                | li <sub>3</sub> |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M246a, M246b, M246c, M246d, M246e, M246f, M246g, M246h, M246i, M246j, M246k, M246l, M246m, M246n, M246o, M246p, M246q, M246r, M246s, M246t, M246u, M246v, M246w, M246x, M246y, M246z | m               |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                      | ma              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M204g M206b                                                                                                                                                                          | me              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |
| M134 M134b                                                                                                                                                                           | mi              |                                             |                                       |                                           |                                                                                                               |                             |                       |       |

Graphic variants of LE signs, I: from <a> to <mi>. Non-symmetrical signs are shown in their original orientation. Signs in red are worn or damaged; black question marks indicate uncertain identifications, red question marks uncertain reconstructions.

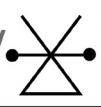
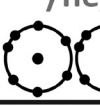
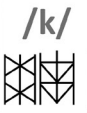
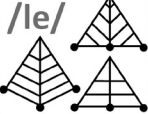
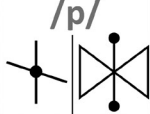
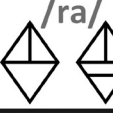
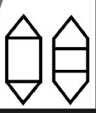
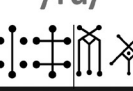
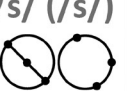
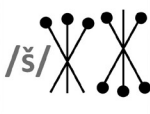
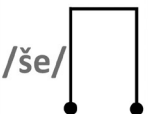
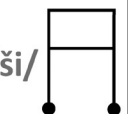
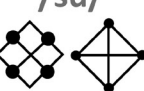
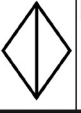
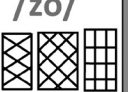


| PE signs | Transliteration | Early Susian texts                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Puzur-Sušinak<br>(Susa, ca. 2120 BCE) | Marvdasht<br>vessel<br>(21st century BCE) | Kamfiruz silver beakers<br>(20th century BCE) | Southeast<br>(Kerman) Group | Metal Vessel<br>Group | Seals |
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|          | <i>mu</i>       | 15/O 10/J 11/K 12/L 13/M 14/N 16/R 20/T 9/I 1/A 2/B 4/D 3/C 5/E 6/F 7/H 8/I 9/J 10/K 11/L 12/M 13/N 14/O 15/P 16/Q 17/R 18/S 19/T 20/U 21/V 22/W 23/X 24/Y 25/Z 26/A 27/B 28/C 29/D 30/E 31/F 32/G 33/H 34/I 35/J 36/K 37/L 38/M 39/N 40/O 41/P 42/Q 43/R 44/S 45/T 46/U 47/V 48/W 49/X 50/Y 51/Z 52/A 53/B 54/C 55/D 56/E 57/F 58/G 59/H 60/I 61/J 62/K 63/L 64/M 65/N 66/O 67/P 68/Q 69/R 70/S 71/T 72/U 73/V 74/W 75/X 76/Y 77/Z 78/A 79/B 80/C 81/D 82/E 83/F 84/G 85/H 86/I 87/J 88/K 89/L 90/M 91/N 92/O 93/P 94/Q 95/R 96/S 97/T 98/U 99/V 100/W 101/X 102/Y 103/Z 104/A 105/B 106/C 107/D 108/E 109/F 110/G 111/H 112/I 113/J 114/K 115/L 116/M 117/N 118/O 119/P 120/Q 121/R 122/S 123/T 124/U 125/V 126/W 127/X 128/Y 129/Z 130/A 131/B 132/C 133/D 134/E 135/F 136/G 137/H 138/I 139/J 140/K 141/L 142/M 143/N 144/O 145/P 146/Q 147/R 148/S 149/T 150/U 151/V 152/W 153/X 154/Y 155/Z 156/A 157/B 158/C 159/D 160/E 161/F 162/G 163/H 164/I 165/J 166/K 167/L 168/M 169/N 170/O 171/P 172/Q 173/R 174/S 175/T 176/U 177/V 178/W 179/X 180/Y 181/Z 182/A 183/B 184/C 185/D 186/E 187/F 188/G 189/H 190/I 191/J 192/K 193/L 194/M 195/N 196/O 197/P 198/Q 199/R 200/S 201/T 202/U 203/V 204/W 205/X 206/Y 207/Z 208/A 209/B 210/C 211/D 212/E 213/F 214/G 215/H 216/I 217/J 218/K 219/L 220/M 221/N 222/O 223/P 224/Q 225/R 226/S 227/T 228/U 229/V 230/W 231/X 232/Y 233/Z 234/A 235/B 236/C 237/D 238/E 239/F 240/G 241/H 242/I 243/J 244/K 245/L 246/M 247/N 248/O 249/P 250/Q 251/R 252/S 253/T 254/U 255/V 256/W 257/X 258/Y 259/Z 260/A 261/B 262/C 263/D 264/E 265/F 266/G 267/H 268/I 269/J 270/K 271/L 272/M 273/N 274/O 275/P 276/Q 277/R 278/S 279/T 280/U 281/V 282/W 283/X 284/Y 285/Z 286/A 287/B 288/C 289/D 290/E 291/F 292/G 293/H 294/I 295/J 296/K 297/L 298/M 299/N 300/O 301/P 302/Q 303/R 304/S 305/T 306/U 307/V 308/W 309/X 310/Y 311/Z 312/A 313/B 314/C 315/D 316/E 317/F 318/G 319/H 320/I 321/J 322/K 323/L 324/M 325/N 326/O 327/P 328/Q 329/R 330/S 331/T 332/U 333/V 334/W 335/X 336/Y 337/Z 338/A 339/B 340/C 341/D 342/E 343/F 344/G 345/H 346/I 347/J 348/K 349/L 350/M 351/N 352/O 353/P 354/Q 355/R 356/S 357/T 358/U 359/V 360/W 361/X 362/Y 363/Z 364/A 365/B 366/C 367/D 368/E 369/F 370/G 371/H 372/I 373/J 374/K 375/L 376/M 377/N 378/O 379/P 380/Q 381/R 382/S 383/T 384/U 385/V 386/W 387/X 388/Y 389/Z 390/A 391/B 392/C 393/D 394/E 395/F 396/G 397/H 398/I 399/J 400/K 401/L 402/M 403/N 404/O 405/P 406/Q 407/R 408/S 409/T 410/U 411/V 412/W 413/X 414/Y 415/Z 416/A 417/B 418/C 419/D 420/E 421/F 422/G 423/H 424/I 425/J 426/K 427/L 428/M 429/N 430/O 431/P 432/Q 433/R 434/S 435/T 436/U 437/V 438/W 439/X 440/Y 441/Z 442/A 443/B 444/C 445/D 446/E 447/F 448/G 449/H 450/I 451/J 452/K 453/L 454/M 455/N 456/O 457/P 458/Q 459/R 460/S 461/T 462/U 463/V 464/W 465/X 466/Y 467/Z 468/A 469/B 470/C 471/D 472/E 473/F 474/G 475/H 476/I 477/J 478/K 479/L 480/M 481/N 482/O 483/P 484/Q 485/R 486/S 487/T 488/U 489/V 490/W 491/X 492/Y 493/Z 494/A 495/B 496/C 497/D 498/E 499/F 500/G 501/H 502/I 503/J 504/K 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671/V 672/W 673/X 674/Y 675/Z 676/A 677/B 678/C 679/D 680/E 681/F 682/G 683/H 684/I 685/J 686/K 687/L 688/M 689/N 690/O 691/P 692/Q 693/R 694/S 695/T 696/U 697/V 698/W 699/X 700/Y 701/Z 702/A 703/B 704/C 705/D 706/E 707/F 708/G 709/H 710/I 711/J 712/K 713/L 714/M 715/N 716/O 717/P 718/Q 719/R 720/S 721/T 722/U 723/V 724/W 725/X 726/Y 727/Z 728/A 729/B 730/C 731/D 732/E 733/F 734/G 735/H 736/I 737/J 738/K 739/L 740/M 741/N 742/O 743/P 744/Q 745/R 746/S 747/T 748/U 749/V 750/W 751/X 752/Y 753/Z 754/A 755/B 756/C 757/D 758/E 759/F 760/G 761/H 762/I 763/J 764/K 765/L 766/M 767/N 768/O 769/P 770/Q 771/R 772/S 773/T 774/U 775/V 776/W 777/X 778/Y 779/Z 780/A 781/B 782/C 783/D 784/E 785/F 786/G 787/H 788/I 789/J 790/K 791/L 792/M 793/N 794/O 795/P 796/Q 797/R 798/S 799/T 800/U 801/V 802/W 803/X 804/Y 805/Z 806/A 807/B 808/C 809/D 810/E 811/F 812/G 813/H 814/I 815/J 816/K 817/L 818/M 819/N 820/O 821/P 822/Q 823/R 824/S 825/T 826/U 827/V 828/W 829/X 830/Y 831/Z 832/A 833/B 834/C 835/D 836/E 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1289/P 1290/Q 1291/R 1292/S 1293/T 1294/U 1295/V 1296/W 1297/X 1298/Y 1299/Z 1300/A 1301/B 1302/C 1303/D 1304/E 1305/F 1306/G 1307/H 1308/I 1309/J 1310/K 1311/L 1312/M 1313/N 1314/O 1315/P 1316/Q 1317/R 1318/S 1319/T 1320/U 1321/V 1322/W 1323/X 1324/Y 1325/Z 1326/A 1327/B 1328/C 1329/D 1330/E 1331/F 1332/G 1333/H 1334/I 1335/J 1336/K 1337/L 1338/M 1339/N 1340/O 1341/P 1342/Q 1343/R 1344/S 1345/T 1346/U 1347/V 1348/W 1349/X 1350/Y 1351/Z 1352/A 1353/B 1354/C 1355/D 1356/E 1357/F 1358/G 1359/H 1360/I 1361/J 1362/K 1363/L 1364/M 1365/N 1366/O 1367/P 1368/Q 1369/R 1370/S 1371/T 1372/U 1373/V 1374/W 1375/X 1376/Y 1377/Z 1378/A 1379/B 1380/C 1381/D 1382/E 1383/F 1384/G 1385/H 1386/I 1387/J 1388/K 1389/L 1390/M 1391/N 1392/O 1393/P 1394/Q 1395/R 1396/S 1397/T 1398/U 1399/V 1400/W 1401/X 1402/Y 1403/Z 1404/A 1405/B 1406/C 1407/D 1408/E 1409/F 1410/G 1411/H 1412/I 1413/J 1414/K 1415/L 1416/M 1417/N 1418/O 1419/P 1420/Q 1421/R 1422/S 1423/T 1424/U 1425/V 1426/W 1427/X 1428/Y 1429/Z 1430/A 1431/B 1432/C 1433/D 1434/E 1435/F 1436/G 1437/H 1438/I 1439/J 1440/K 1441/L 1442/M 1443/N 1444/O 1445/P 1446/Q 1447/R 1448/S 1449/T 1450/U 1451/V 1452/W 1453/X 1454/Y 1455/Z 1456/A 1457/B 1458/C 1459/D 1460/E 1461/F 1462/G 1463/H 1464/I 1465/J 1466/K 1467/L 1468/M 1469/N 1470/O 1471/P 1472/Q 1473/R 1474/S 1475/T 1476/U 1477/V 1478/W 1479/X 1480/Y 1481/Z 1482/A 1483/B 1484/C 1485/D 1486/E 1487/F 1488/G 1489/H 1490/I 1491/J 1492/K 1493/L 1494/M 1495/N 1496/O 1497/P 1498/Q 1499/R 1500/S 1501/T 1502/U 1503/V 1504/W 1505/X 1506/Y 1507/Z 1508/A 1509/B 1510/C 1511/D 1512/E 1513/F 1514/G 1515/H 1516/I 1517/J 1518/K 1519/L 1520/M 1521/N 1522/O 1523/P 1524/Q 1525/R 1526/S 1527/T 1528/U 1529/V 1530/W 1531/X 1532/Y 1533/Z 1534/A 1535/B 1536/C 1537/D 1538/E 1539/F 1540/G 1541/H 1542/I 1543/J 1544/K 1545/L 1546/M 1547/N 1548/O 1549/P 1550/Q 1551/R 1552/S 1553/T 1554/U 1555/V 1556/W 1557/X 1558/Y 1559/Z 1560/A 1561/B 1562/C 1563/D 1564/E 1565/F 1566/G 1567/H 1568/I 1569/J 1570/K 1571/L 1572/M 1573/N 1574/O 1575/P 1576/Q 1577/R 1578/S 1579/T 1580/U 1581/V 1582/W 1583/X 1584/Y 1585/Z 1586/A 1587/B 1588/C 1589/D 1590/E 1591/F 1592/G 1593/H 1594/I 1595/J 1596/K 1597/L 1598/M 1599/N 1600/O 1601/P 1602/Q 1603/R 1604/S 1605/T 1606/U 1607/V 1608/W 1609/X 1610/Y 1611/Z 1612/A 1613/B 1614/C 1615/D 1616/E 1617/F 1618/G 1619/H 1620/I 1621/J 1622/K 1623/L 1624/M 1625/N 1626/O 1627/P 1628/Q 1629/R 1630/S 1631/T 1632/U 1633/V 1634/W 1635/X 1636/Y 1637/Z 1638/A 1639/B 1640/C 1641/D 1642/E 1643/F 1644/G 1645/H 1646/I 1647/J 1648/K 1649/L 1650/M 1651/N 1652/O 1653/P 1654/Q 1655/R 1656/S 1657/T 1658/U 1659/V 1660/W 1661/X 1662/Y 1663/Z 1664/A 1665/B 1666/C 1667/D 1668/E 1669/F 1670/G 1671/H 1672/I 1673/J 1674/K 1675/L 1676/M 1677/N 1678/O 1679/P 1680/Q 1681/R 1682/S 1683/T 1684/U 1685/V 1686/W 1687/X 1688/Y 1689/Z 1690/A 1691/B 1692/C 1693/D 1694/E 1695/F 1696/G 1697/H 1698/I 1699/J 1700/K 1701/L 1702/M 1703/N 1704/O 1705/P 1706/Q 1707/R 1708/S 1709/T 1710/U 1711/V 1712/W 1713/X 1714/Y 1715/Z 1716/A 1717/B 1718/C 1719/D 1720/E 1721/F 1722/G 1723/H 1724/I 1725/J 1726/K 1727/L 1728/M 1729/N 1730/O 1731/P 1732/Q 1733/R 1734/S 1735/T 1736/U 1737/V 1738/W 1739/X 1740/Y 1741/Z 1742/A 1743/B 1744/C 1745/D 1746/E 1747/F 1748/G 1749/H 1750/I 1751/J 1752/K 1753/L 1754/M 1755/N 1756/O 1757/P 1758/Q 1759/R 1760/S 1761/T 1762/U 1763/V 1764/W 1765/X 1766/Y 1767/Z 1768/A 1769/B 1770/C 1771/D 1772/E 1773/F 1774/G 1775/H 1776/I 1777/J 1778/K 1779/L 1780/M 1781/N 1782/O 1783/P 1784/Q 1785/R 1786/S 1787/T 1788/U 1789/V 1790/W 1791/X 1792/Y 1793/Z 1794/A 1795/B 1796/C 1797/D 1798/E 1799/F 1800/G 1801/H 1802/I 1803/J 1804/K 1805/L 1806/M 1807/N 1808/O 1809/P 1810/Q 1811/R 1812/S 1813/T 1814/U 1815/V 1816/W 1817/X 1818/Y 1819/Z 1820/A 1821/B 1822/C 1823/D 1824/E 1825/F 1826/G 1827/H 1828/I 1829/J 1830/K 1831/L 1832/M 1833/N 1834/O 1835/P 1836/Q 1837/R 1838/S 1839/T 1840/U 1841/V 1842/W 1843/X 1844/Y 1845/Z 1846/A 1847/B 1848/C 1849/D 1850/E 1851/F 1852/G 1853/H 1854/I 1855/J 1856/K 1857/L 1858/M 1859/N 1860/O 1861/P 1862/Q 1863/R 1864/S 1865/T 1866/U 1867/V 1868/W 1869/X 1870/Y 1871/Z 1872/A 1873/B 1874/C 1875/D 1876/E 1877/F 1878/G 1879/H 1880/I 1881/J 1882/K 1883/L 1884/M 1885/N 1886/O 1887/P 1888/Q 1889/R 1890/S 1891/T 1892/U 1893/V 1894/W 1895/X 1896/Y 1897/Z 1898/A 1899/B 1900/C 1901/D 1902/E 1903/F 1904/G 1905/H 1906/I 1907/J 1908/K 1909/L 1910/M 1911/N 1912/O 1913/P 1914/Q 1915/R 1916/S 1917/T 1918/U 1919/V 1920/W 1921/X 1922/Y 1923/Z 1924/A 1925/B 1926/C 1927/D 1928/E 1929/F 1930/G 1931/H 1932/I 1933/J 1934/K 1935/L 1936/M 1937/N 1938/O 1939/P 1940/Q 1941/R 1942/S 1943/T 1944/U 1945/V 1946/W 1947/X 1948/Y 1949/Z 1950/A 1951/B 1952/C 1953/D 1954/E 1955/F 1956/G 1957/H 1958/I 1959/J 1960/K 1961/L 1962/M 1963/N 1964/O 1965/P 1966/Q 1967/R 1968/S 1969/T 1970/U 1971/V 1972/W 1973/X 1974/Y 1975/Z 1976/A 1977/B 1978/C 1979/D 1980/E 1981/F 1982/G 1983/H 1984/I 1985/J 1986/K 1987/L 1988/M 1989/N 1990/O 1991/P 1992/Q 1993/R 1994/S 1995/T 1996/U 1997/V 1998/W 1999/X 2000/Y 2001/Z 2002/A 2003/B 2004/C 2005/D 2006/E 2007/F 2008/G 2009/H 2010/I 2011/J 2012/K 2013/L 2014/M 2015/N 2016/O 2017/P 2018/Q 2019/R 2020/S 2021/T 2022/U 2023/V 2024/W 2025/X 2026/Y 2027/Z 2028/A 2029/B 2030/C 2031/D 2032/E 2033/F 2034/G 2035/H 2036/I 2037/J 2038/K 2039/L 2040/M 2041/N 2042/O 2043/P 2044/Q 2045/R 2046/S 2047/T 2048/U 2049/V 2050/W 2051/X 2052/Y 2053/Z 2054/A 2055/B 2056/C 2057/D 2058/E 2059/F 2060/G 2061/H 2062/I 2063/J 2064/K 2065/L 2066/M 2067/N 2068/O 2069/P 2070/Q 2071/R 2072/S 2073/T 2074/U 2075/V 2076/W 2077/X 2078/Y 2079/Z 2080/A 2081/B 2082/C 2083/D 2084/E 2085/F 2086/G 2087/H 2088/I 2089/J 2090/K 2091/L 2092/M 2093/N 2094/O 2095/P 2096/Q 2097/R 2098/S 2099/T 2100/U 2101/V 2102/W 2103/X 2104/Y 2105/Z 2106/A 2107/B 2108/C 2109/D 2110/E 2111/F 2112/G 2113/H 2114/I 2115/J 2116/K 2117/L 2118/M 2119/N 2120/O 2121/P 2122/Q 2123/R 2124/S 2125/T 2126/U 2127/V 2128/W 2129/X 2130/Y 2131/Z 2132/A 2133/B 2134/C 2135/D 2136/E 2137/F 2138/G 2139/H 2140/I 2141/J 2142/K 2143/L 2144/M 2145/N 2146/O 2147/P 2148/Q 2149/R 2150/S 2151/T 2152/U 2153/V 2154/W 2155/X 2156/Y 2157/Z 2158/A 2159/B 2160/C 2161/D 2162/E 2163/F 2164/G 2165/H 2166/I 2167/J 2168/K 2169/L 2170/M 2171/N 2172/O 2173/P 2174/Q 2175/R 2176/S 2177/T 2178/U 2179/V 2180/W 2181/X 2182/Y 2183/Z 2184/A 2185/B 2186/C 2187/D 2188/E 2189/F 2190/G 2191/H 2192/I 2193/J 2194/K 2195/L 2196/M 2197/N 2198/O 2199/P 2200/Q 2201/R 2202/S 2203/T 2204/U 2205/V 2206/W 2207/X 2208/Y |                                       |                                           |                                               |                             |                       |       |

[illegible]

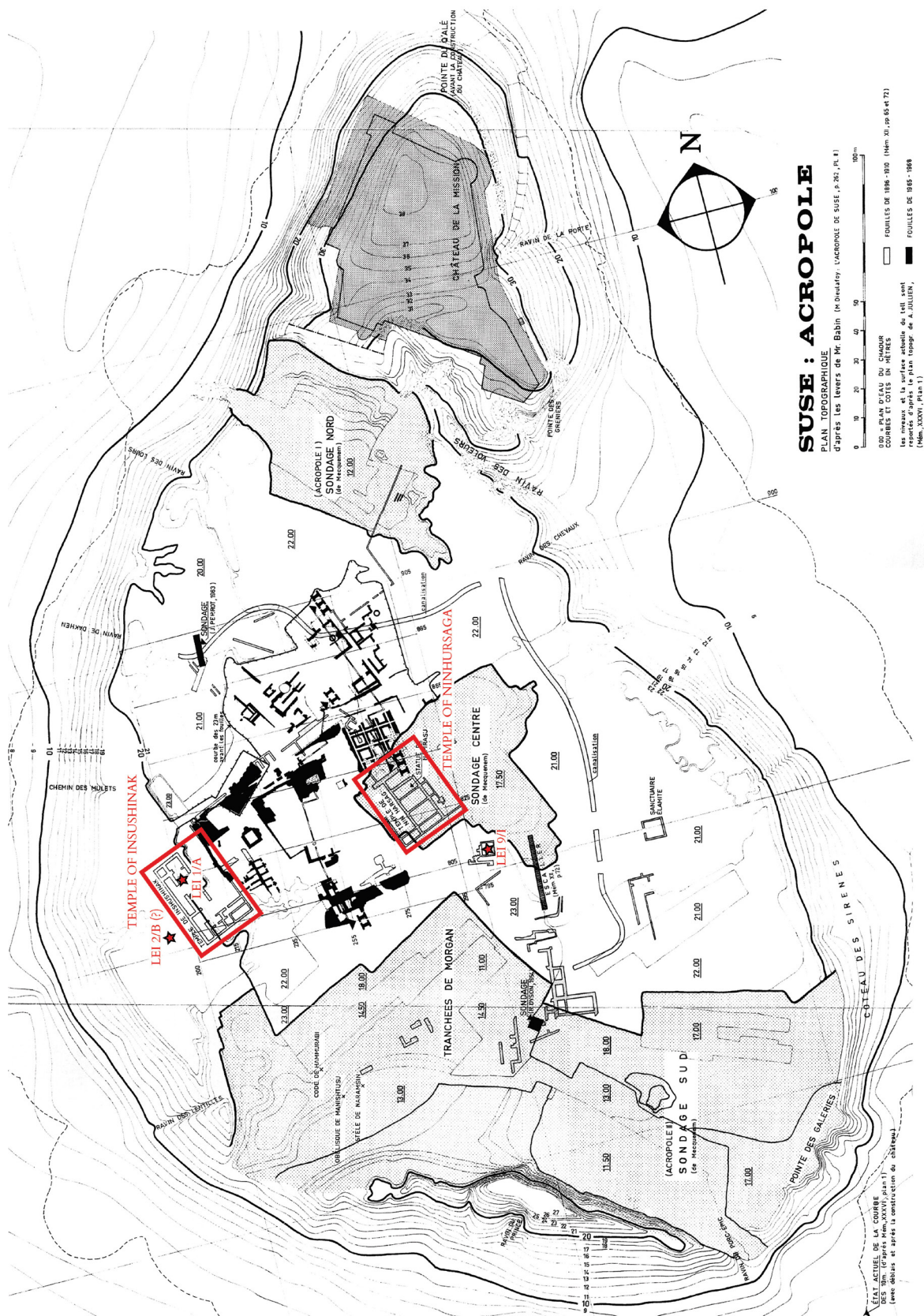
Graphic variants of LE signs, III: from <su2> to <zu<sub>2</sub>>, and undeciphered rare signs. Non-symmetrical signs are shown in their original orientation. Signs in red are worn or damaged; black question marks indicate uncertain identifications, red question marks uncertain reconstructions.



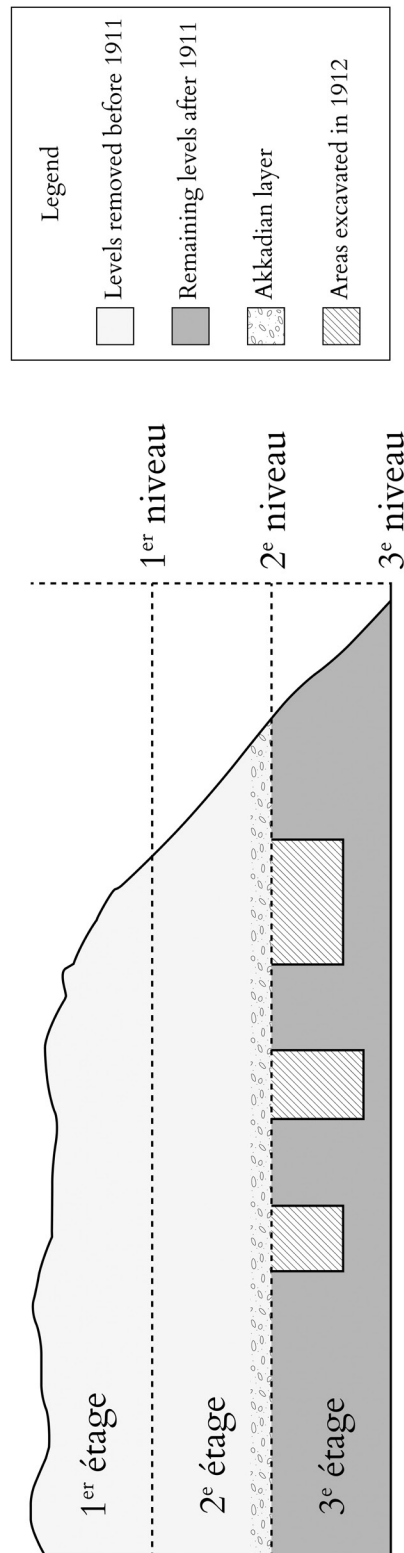
|                                                                                               |                                                                                          |                                                                                          |                                                                                          |                                                                                           |                                                                                            |                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                               | /a/     | /e/     | /i/     | /o/     |                                                                                            | /u/     |
|  /h/         | /ha/    | /he/    | /hi/    |  ?      | /hũ/    |  ?      |
| /k/          | /ka/    | /ke/    | /ki/    |  /ko/    |                                                                                            | /ku/    |
| /l/          | /la/    | /le/    | /li/    | ?                                                                                         |                                                                                            | ?                                                                                          |
| /m/          | /ma/    | /me/    | /mi/    | /mo/    |                                                                                            | /mu?/   |
| /n/         | /na/    | /ne/   | /ni/    |  ?     | /nũ/    |  ?     |
| /p/        | /pa/  | /pe/  | /pi/  | /po/  |                                                                                            | /pu/  |
| /r/        | /ra/  | /re/  | /ri/  |  ?    | /rũ/  |  ?    |
| /s/ (/ś/)  | /sa/  | ?                                                                                        | /si/  | /so/  |                                                                                            | /su/  |
| /š/        | /ša/  | /še/  | /ši/  |  ?    | /šũ/  |  ?    |
| /t/        | /ta/  | /te/  | /ti/  | ?                                                                                         |                                                                                            | /tu/  |
| /w/        | /wa/  | /we/  | ?                                                                                        | ?                                                                                         |                                                                                            | ?                                                                                          |
| /z/        | /za/  | /ze/  | ?                                                                                        | /zo/  |                                                                                            | /zu/  |

Tentative reconstruction of the phonemic values of the deciphered LE signs.





Susa – Plan of the Acropolis and findspots of LE inscriptions.

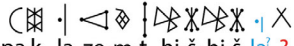


Susa – Schematic reconstruction of the Acropolis based on de Mequenem's 1912 report, showing the levels removed before 1911 and the areas excavated in 1912.

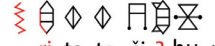
## SUSA (Group 1)

## cones

## 10/J

- 1  pa-la-r-hu-h-
- 2  pak la-ze-m-t hi<sub>2</sub>š·hi<sub>2</sub>š la<sup>?</sup> ?

## 11/K

- 1  hu ? ? mi rupat
- 2  a ti h a ? a zu
- 3  ? pa ri<sub>2</sub> a ha<sup>?</sup> me
- 4  ri<sub>2</sub> hu<sub>2</sub> ? mu<sup>?</sup> pa ? ta
- 5  ri<sub>2</sub> ta ta ši ? hu<sub>2</sub> mu ?
- 6  ha<sup>?</sup> su<sup>?</sup> ha<sup>?</sup> r

## 12/L

- 1'  a
- 2'  s k n<sup>?</sup> ? ?
- 3'  s ki li<sub>3</sub> ri<sup>?</sup> ?
-  p<sub>2</sub> ?

## stone object

## 20/T

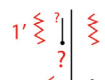
- 1'  nu<sup>?</sup> a<sup>?</sup> · ni ?

## tablets

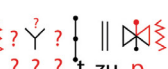
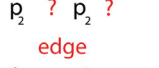
## 15/O

- | side A                                                                               | side B                                                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | 1  |
| 2  |                                                                                       |
| 3  |                                                                                       |
| 4  |                                                                                       |
| 5  |                                                                                       |
| 6  |                                                                                       |
| 7  |                                                                                       |

## 13/M

- | side A                                                                                                                  | side B                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  e u <sub>2</sub> u a i <sup>?</sup> | 1'                                  |
| 2                                     | 2'  p <sub>2</sub> pe pu ? pi      |
|                                                                                                                         | 3'  m me mu <sub>2</sub> mu ma mi |

## 14/N

- | side A                                                                                                     | side B                                                                                                                     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  t zu p <sub>2</sub> | 1'                                    |
| 2  ru si m r           | 2'  ha te te r ka                     |
|                                                                                                            | 3'  p <sub>2</sub> ? p <sub>2</sub> ? |
|                                                                                                            | edge                                                                                                                       |
|                                                                                                            | 4'  ri                                |

## 18/R

- | side A                                                                                                                  | side B                                                                                                                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  ri <sub>2</sub>                   | 1  ši ? a <sup>?</sup> pi <sup>?</sup> |
| 2  ke <sup>?</sup>                   |                                                                                                                             |
| 3  u <sub>2</sub> za <sup>?</sup> ša |                                                                                                                             |
| 4                                    |                                                                                                                             |





LEI 10/J.







side A



side B



LEI 12/L (top) and LEI 13/M (bottom).





|     |      |      |        |        |      |
|-----|------|------|--------|--------|------|
|     |      |      |        |        |      |
|     | /e/  | /u/  | /o/    | /a/    | /i/  |
|     |      |      |        |        |      |
| /p/ | /pe/ | /pu/ | (/po/) | (/pa/) | /pi/ |
|     |      |      |        |        |      |
| /m/ | /me/ | /mu/ | /mo/   | /ma/   | /mi/ |

side A

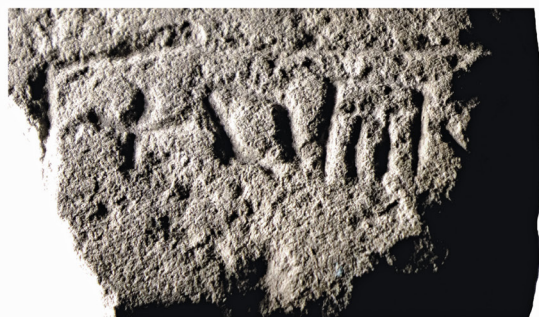
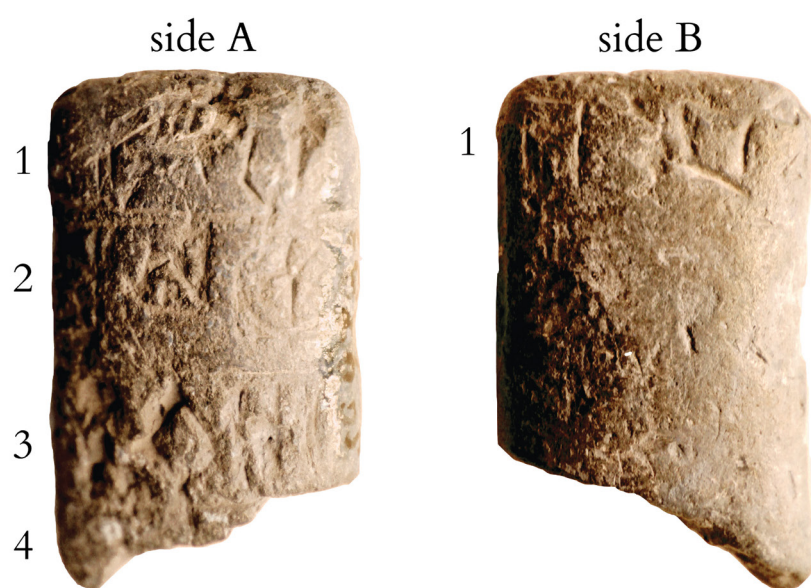


side B



edge

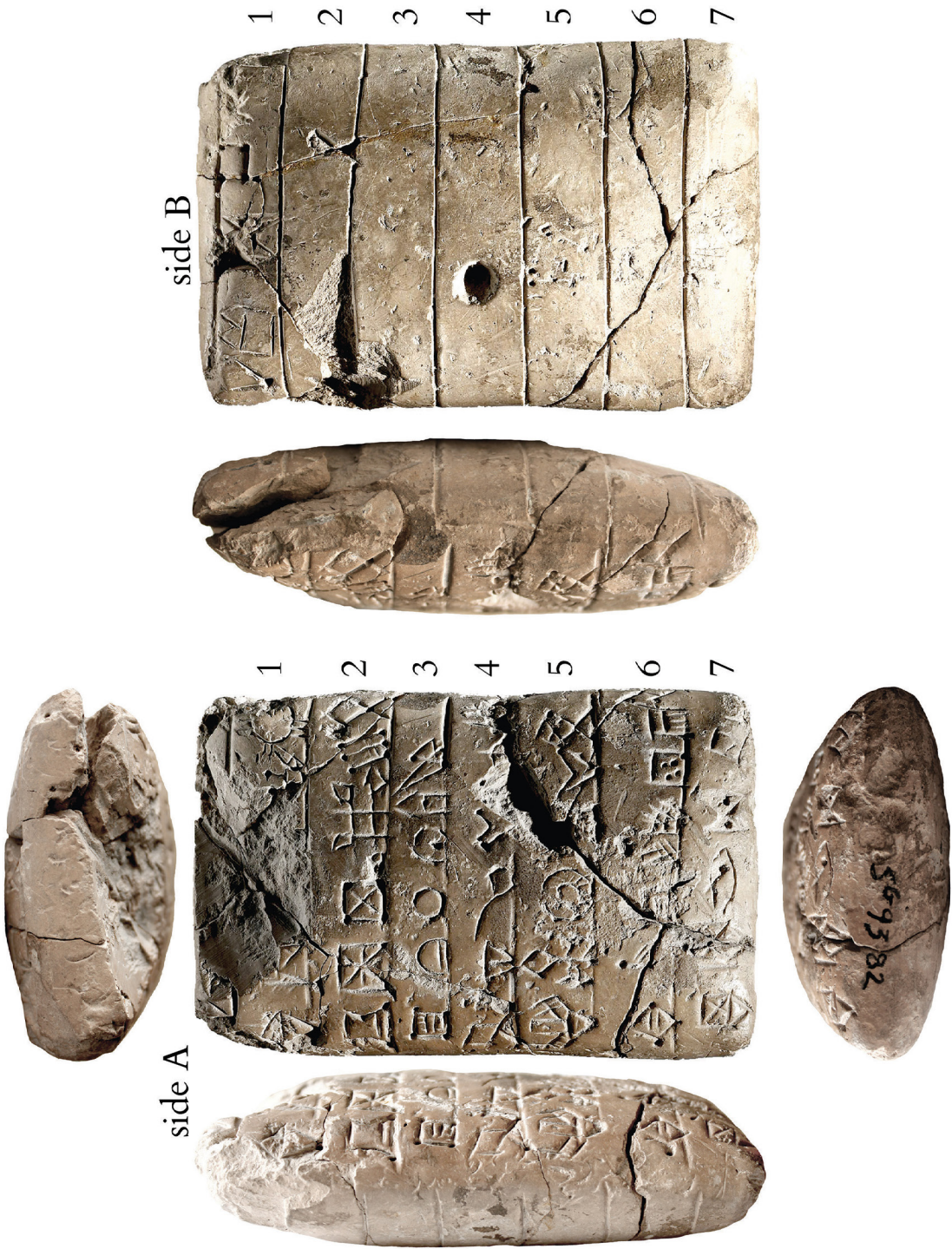




LEI 18/R (top) and LEI 20/T (bottom).



LEI 15/O.



16/P   
 pu-zu-r su-ši<sup>na</sup>k<sub>2</sub>

## PUZUR-SUŠINAK (Group 2)

9/I<sub>1</sub>   
 pe · l · ti · ka · li<sub>3</sub> · m ha<sup>t</sup>pa<sub>k</sub><sub>2</sub> su-še-ni · r pu<sup>z</sup>·zu-r su-ši<sup>na</sup>k<sub>2</sub> zana u · ri

3   
 a · ni u pu · r(i<sub>2</sub>)

4   
 ka<sup>ta</sup>·ki nu na a · w

1/A<sub>1</sub>   
 su<sub>2</sub>·h · te · r i · n · su-ši<sup>na</sup>·k · ki · r

2   
 pu-zu-r su-ši<sup>na</sup>k ze · m · t i

3   
 ha · t · pa · k su-še-ni · r

4   
 ši · n · pi · s · h · hu · k

5   
 ? · r · ša i · ri pe · s · e zu · p<sub>2</sub> · pa · š

3/C

1'   
 pu-zu-r su-ši<sup>na</sup>k ha · t · pa · k

2'   
 su-še-ni · r še · p<sub>2</sub> · k hu<sub>2</sub> · r ·

3'   
 t ha · ta · m · ti · pi<sub>2</sub> · r ši · n · pi ·

4'   
 s · h · hu · k ? · r · ša i · ri

5'   
 pe · s · e zu · p<sub>2</sub> · pa · š a/hu<sup>t</sup> t ha

6'   
 ? n

6/F // 7/G // 8/H

1   
 pu-zu-r su-ši<sup>na</sup>k ze · m · t a · w · wa · ni · r ku · ši · k ši · n · pi · s · hu · ki · r i · n · su-ši<sup>na</sup>k i · r<sup>l</sup> ha · ne · š

2   
 hu<sub>2</sub> · pu<sub>2</sub> · š · ša · n la · w · li<sub>3</sub> · ri li · m · ma · š pa · tra i · r ra · p<sub>2</sub> · pa · š i · r pe · tra · š

3   
 a · k · ka · ra pe · t · n · ra hu<sup>l</sup> · n<sup>o</sup> ha · s · ki ? · r<sup>o</sup> sa · m · ki i hu<sup>l</sup> · t · ta · k · ne

2/B   
 i · n · su-ši<sup>na</sup>·k<sub>2</sub> ze · m · t i · ri ? · e pu-zu-r su-ši<sup>na</sup>k<sub>2</sub>

2   
 ha · t · pa · k<sub>2</sub> su-še-ni · r še · p<sub>2</sub> · k<sub>2</sub> hu<sub>2</sub> · r · t ha · ta · m · ti · pi<sub>2</sub> · r

3   
 ši · n · pi · s · h · hu · k<sub>2</sub> ? · r · ša i · ri pe · s · e zu · p<sub>2</sub> · pa · š

4/D

1'   
 pe<sup>l</sup> · l ki · ma hu · li<sub>2</sub> la · w · li<sub>3</sub> · ? hu · li<sub>2</sub> · š ? · s · hu<sub>2</sub>

2'   
 ri<sub>2</sub> · t<sup>l</sup> · wa te · la<sup>l</sup> · k<sub>2</sub> a · k<sub>2</sub> ka<sup>l</sup> · ra tu · p<sub>2</sub> i · me · ma

3'   
 pi<sub>2</sub> · š ti · n · ra i · n · su-ši<sup>na</sup>·k<sub>2</sub>

4'   
 ši · mu<sup>t</sup> narute a · ha i · ri · h · š · ne

21/U

1   
 ši · n · pi · s · hu · ki · r

2   
 i · n · su-ši<sup>na</sup>·k<sub>2</sub> na · h<sub>2</sub>

5/E   
 pu-zu-r su-ši<sup>na</sup>k

2   
 ha · t · pa · k su-še-ni · r

3   
 še · p<sub>2</sub> · k hu<sub>2</sub> · r · t ha<sup>l</sup> · ta · m · ti · pi<sub>2</sub> · r

4   
 ši · n · pi<sup>l</sup> · s · h · hu · k



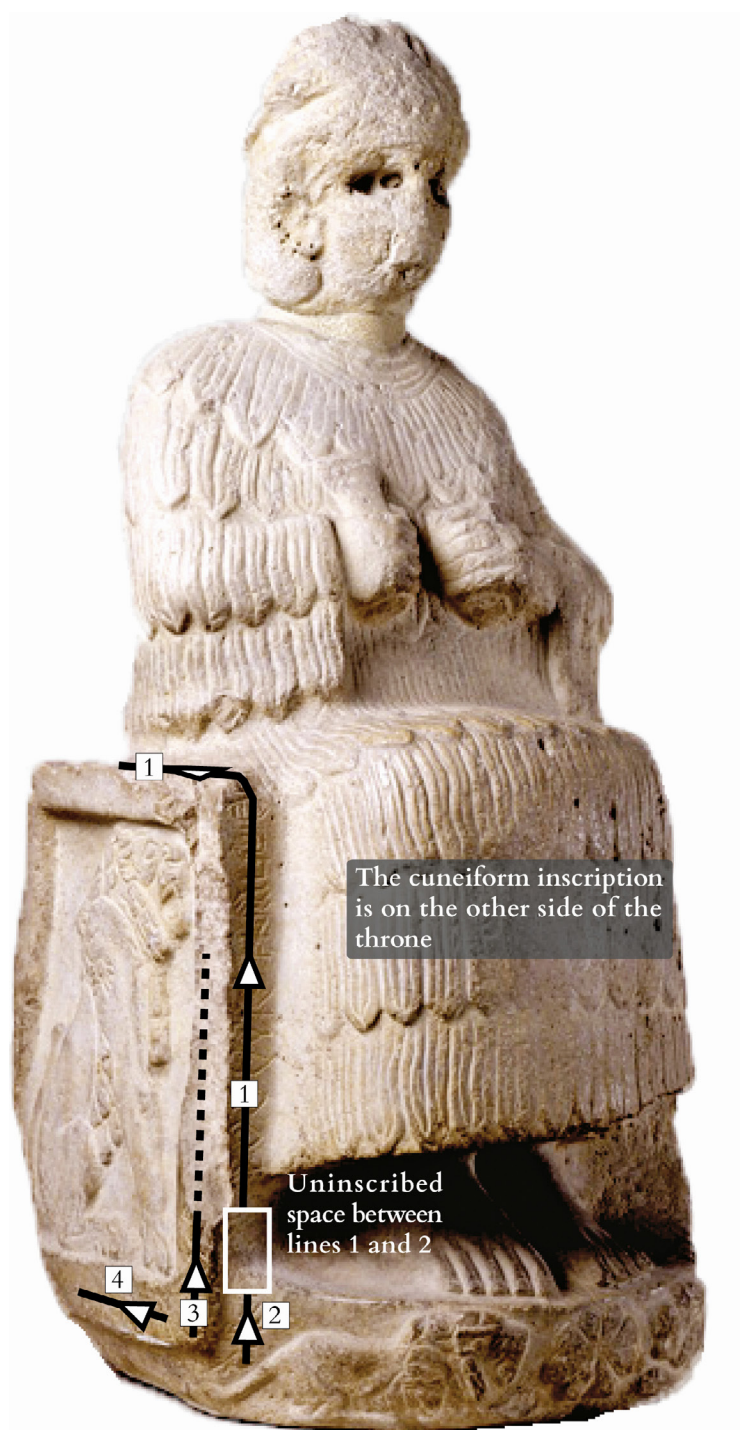


Statue of Peltikalim (a-d) and cuneiform inscription Puzur-Sušinak 9 (e).



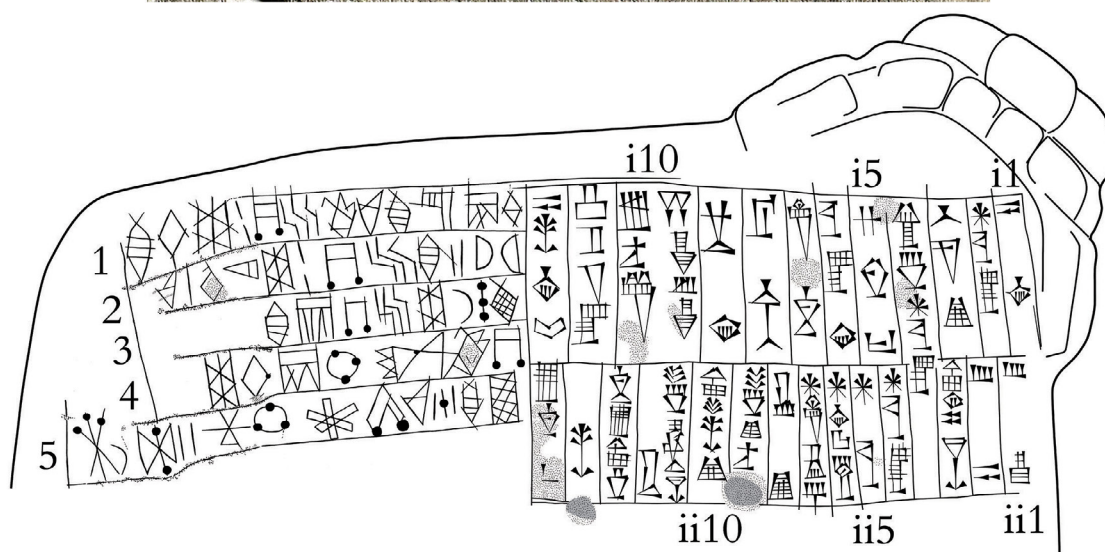






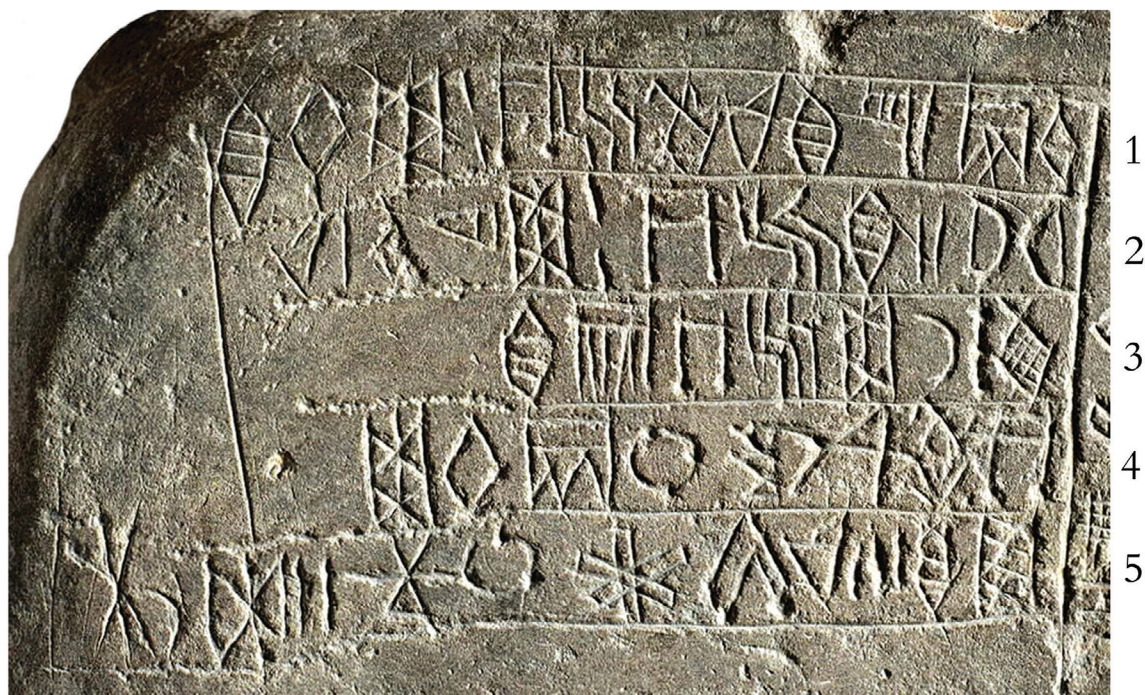
1                    
 pe · l · ti · ka · li<sub>3</sub> · m hatpak<sub>2</sub> su · še · ni · r pu<sup>1</sup> · zu · r · su · šinak<sub>2</sub>  
 2     3                
 za · na u · ri a · ni u pu · r(i<sub>2</sub>)  
 4                    
 ka · ta · ki nu na a · w

Arrangement of the four lines of LEI 9/I (see the Conventions section for the color conventions).



LEI 1/A and cuneiform inscription Puzur-Sušinak 3.





LEI 1/A – bis.





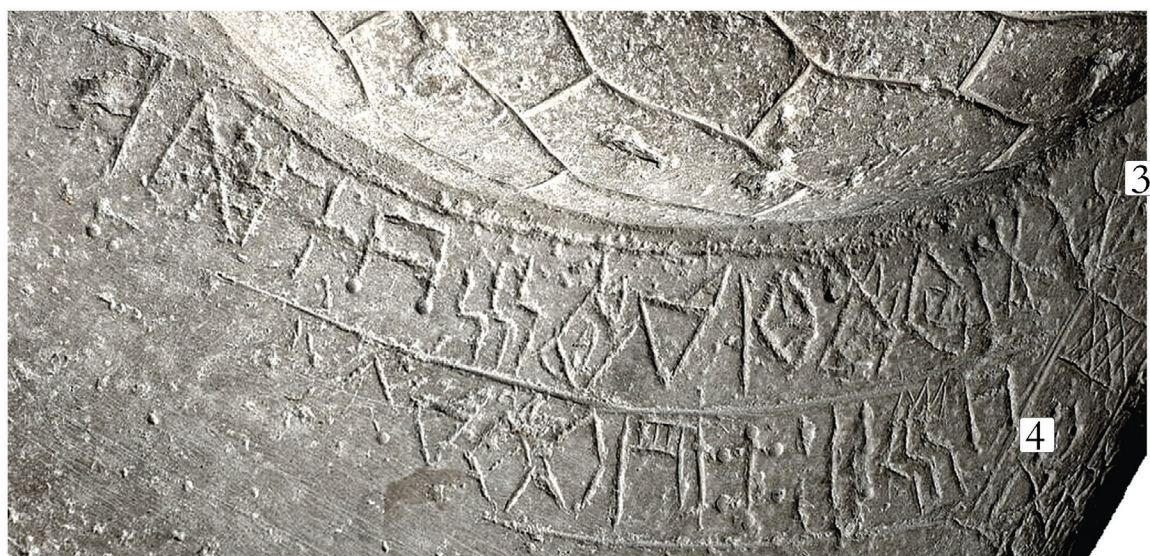
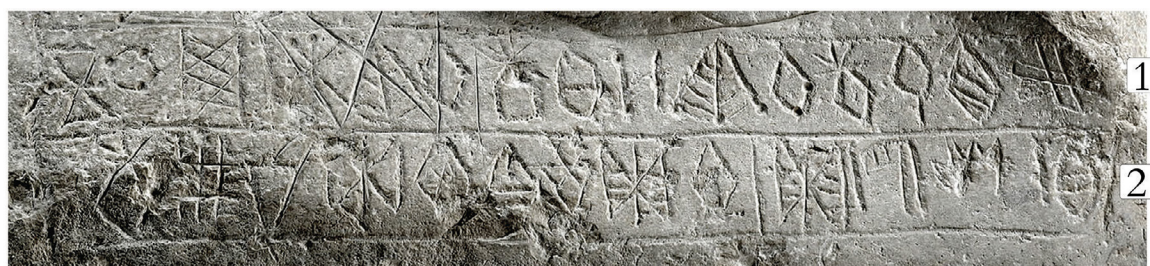
1 2 3





LEI 4/D.









LEI 3/C and cuneiform inscription Puzur-Sušinak 11.















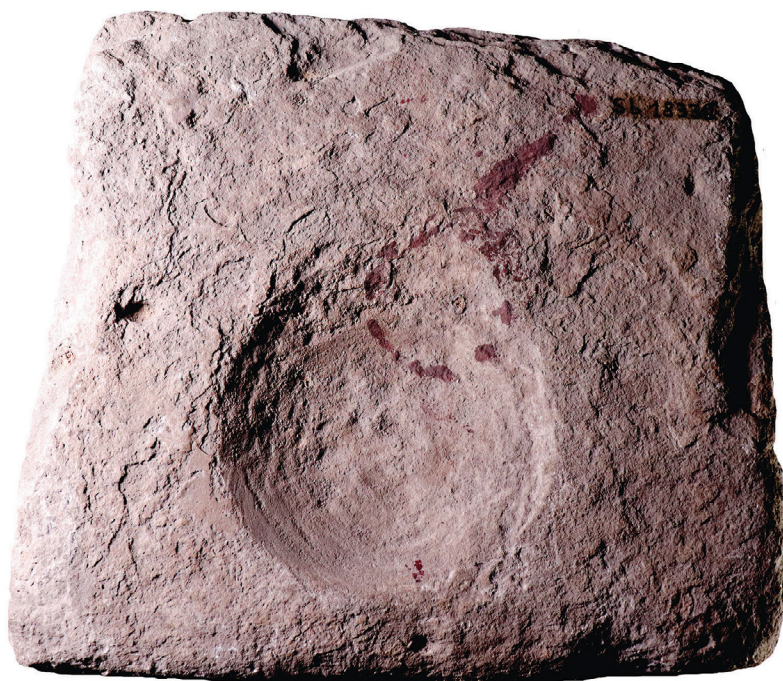


LEI 8/H.





Slabs bearing the same cuneiform inscription (Puzur-Sušinak 7).



1

2



1

2







ISBN 978-88-7849-226-4  
doi: 10.12878/orientlabsm10