Asia Anteriore Antica
Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures

Firenze University Press
www.fupress.com/asiana

Citation: Wicks, Y. (2024). The Tomb of Two Priestesses? The Late Neo-Elamite Jubaji Tomb in a Religious-Royal Context. *Asia Anteriore Antica. Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures* 6: 107-143. doi: 10.36253/asiana-2806

Data Availability Statement: All relevant data are within the paper and its Supporting Information files.

Competing Interests: The Author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

The Tomb of Two Priestesses? The Late Neo-Elamite Jubaji Tomb in a Religious-Royal Context

Yasmina Wicks

Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", Italy
ywicks@unior.it

With an appendix on the Jubaji inscriptions by Gian Pietro Basello (Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")

Abstract. This article revisits one of the most significant archaeological discoveries in southwest Iran in recent decades, a rich early-mid 6th century BCE tomb of two women, unearthed near the village of Jubaji on the Ramhormoz plain in 2007. Based on the sumptuous grave assemblages and the inclusion of a gold ceremonial 'ring' inscribed with the name of a late Neo-Elamite king, Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata, the tomb's excavator, Arman Shishegar, reasonably interpreted the women – one aged under 17 years, the other 30-35 years – as princesses. Here it is argued that the women may have been important figures in a religious institution based on a combination of the context of the tomb, which seems to have been in an association with a monumental structure, and certain elements of the assemblages. While none of the individual items is significant in isolation, when put together they are highly suggestive of a cultic environment. These include several semiprecious stone beads, including two inscribed eye-stones, that were already very ancient when deposited, special ritual paraphernalia, the bronze coffins that held the women's remains, the inscribed gold 'ring' naming Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata, and an inscribed gold object (perhaps a bracelet) of a cult officiant. This is not to say that the roles of princess and priestess were by any means mutually exclusive, but it is the religious aspect that has yet to be investigated. A reassessment here of the significance of the inscribed objects from the Jubaji tomb in a religious context is taken as an occasion to publish new transliterations, translations, and analyses of the inscriptions by Gian Pietro Basello.

Keywords: Elam, Jubaji, Ramhormuz plain, priestess, Kurigalzu.

One of the most significant archaeological discoveries in southwest Iran in recent decades is a rich late Neo-Elamite tomb of two women, unearthed by chance near the village of Jubaji on the Ramhormoz plain in 2007 (map

Fig. 1a).[1] Based on the sumptuous grave assemblages and the inclusion of a gold ceremonial 'ring' inscribed with the name of an Elamite king, Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata, the tomb's excavator, Arman Shishegar, reasonably interpreted the women – one aged under 17 years, the other 30-35 years – as royal family members.[2] Accordingly, Shishegar entitled the 2015 final excavation report 'The Tomb of Two Princesses'.

Here I would like to revisit in more detail my earlier proposal that the women may have been important figures in a religious institution (Wicks 2019, 2023). This is not to say that the roles of princess and priestess were by any means mutually exclusive, but it is the religious aspect that has yet to be properly investigated. Points of particular interest are the context of the tomb (section i), which seems to be in an association with a monumental structure, and the assemblages. Even though they were composed mainly of the same grave good genres as other elite Neo-Elamite burial assemblages – storage and serving vessels, perfume vessels, adornments, mirrors, weapons, and even luxury fabrics – they contained certain additional items suggestive of a cultic context for the reasons I will elaborate on here. They include several semiprecious stone beads that were already very ancient when deposited, including two inscribed eye-stones (section ii), special ritual paraphernalia (section iii), the bronze coffins that held the women's remains (section iv), and the inscribed gold 'ring' naming Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata and an inscribed gold bracelet (?) of a cult officiant (section v). A reassessment of the significance of the inscribed objects here in a religious context is taken as an occasion to publish new transliterations, translations, and analyses of the inscriptions by Gian Pietro Basello (appendix).

1. TOMB CONTEXT

The subterranean stone tomb was encountered during the digging of a canal next to the 'Ala River near Jubaji (Fig. 1b). It belonged to an extensive settlement area (RH-058) composed of several small hills that yielded pottery sherds spanning the Middle Elamite to Parthian periods (Alizadeh 2014: 291).[3] Just above the level of the roof and possibly extending over it was a pavement of bricks comparable in size to Neo-Elamite bricks from neighbouring Tall-e Ghazir. This seems to suggest the tomb was associated with a contemporary building or complex (Fig. 1c). Another mudbrick structure noted in the vicinity was perhaps also related to the tomb (Shishegar 2015: 60, figs. 3.21-22, 3.27).

The earthmoving machinery heavily damaged the tomb, preventing anything more than hypothetical reconstructions of its architecture and the bronze coffin interments, and left human bones, animal bones and grave goods mixed in the debris. Furthermore, the assemblages – a treasure trove of gold, silver, bronze, and semi-precious stone items – were partly looted before Shishegar's arrival. Many of the items were later confiscated by police, but their original context has been lost (Alizadeh 2014: 240–41). Despite the damage, important information can still be obtained from the deposits that remained in situ, including a portion of each coffin and piles of metal objects along the north wall in the main chamber, and terracotta vessels and sacrificed animals just outside the entry.

The datable ceramics and metal vessels in the assemblages place the tomb within the Neo-Elamite II archaeological phase (*c*. 725/700-520 BCE). The inscription 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' on the 'ring' might offer a *terminus post quem* further narrowing the date. Although not designated as a king as would be expected in a royal inscription, this individual is presumed to be the king of the same name mentioned in an inscribed rock relief commissioned by a local ruler, Hanni of Ayapir, at Kul-e Farah in Izeh Valley, some 75 km from Jubaji as the crow

[1] This paper presents results of a project that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 892581 – ELAMortuary. We sincerely thank Javier Álvarez-Mon for providing us with his photographs of the Jubaji objects in the National Museum of Iran for the research presented in this paper and for his helpful comments on the draft. We also acknowledge the additional insights and philological suggestions provided by Gianni Marchesi (University of Bologna), and the valuable comments of the anonymous reviewer. Further thanks go to the National Museum of Iran for its kind permission to publish the photographs of the Jubaji objects.

[2] Skeletal remains examined by Farzād Foruzānar of ICAR (Shishegar 2015: 67).

[3] Shishegar (2015: 52) places the tomb 'in' the settlement but Alizadeh (2014: 291) 'next to' it.

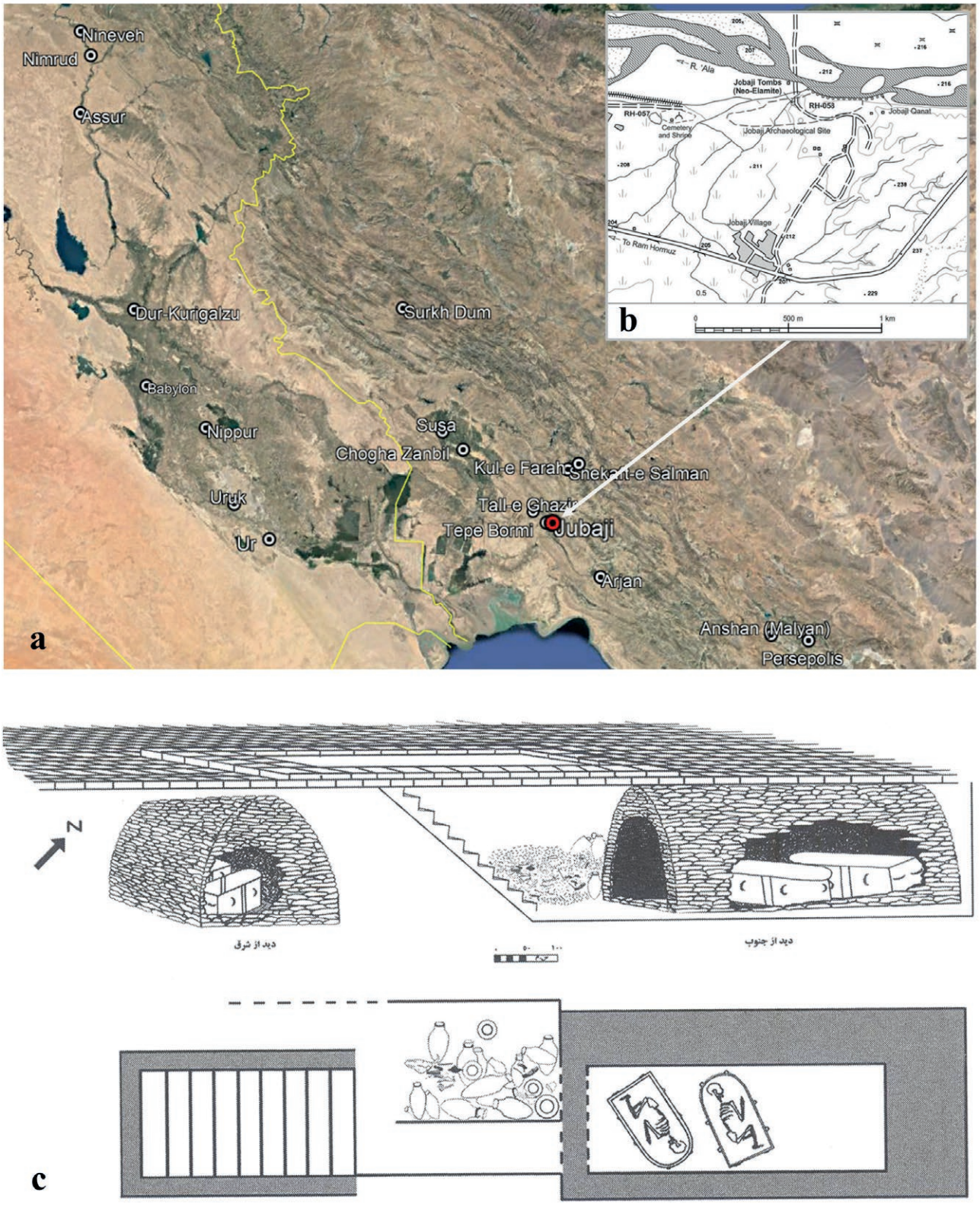

Fig. 1. a) map indicating main sites mentioned in text (Google Earth 2024), b) tomb location near Jubaji (Jobaji) village and the 'Ala River (after Alizadeh 2014, pl. 51), hypothetical tomb reconstruction (after Shishegar 2015: 64).

flies (EKI 75, Álvarez-Mon 2019: 85–91, KFI; see notes here in appendix JBJ 1). The various reigns proposed for king Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata range from *c*. 645–620 BCE (Tavernier 2004: 21–22) to as late as *c*. 585–539 BCE (Vallat 2006), with Shishegar (2015) opting for this latter range. This more recent date is supported by metalwork from the tomb that pre-empts formal and decorative styles favoured by the Achaemenid elite (Álvarez-Mon 2018: 847; 2020: 366, 396, 476).

The presence of a rich, probably royal, tomb reflects the geopolitical and economic importance of the Ramhormoz plain at the time. It occupied a central position along natural paths connecting lowland Susiana, highland Fars, and the Persian Gulf (Wright, Carter 2003: 62) and offered a large alluvial fan of the 'Ala River to sustain agriculture. It also boasted local sources of alabaster, gypsum, and bitumen.[4] From the early 2nd millennium BCE, when Elamite rulers consolidated control over southwest Iran, it emerged as a thriving settlement zone (Wright, Carter 2003: 61; Alizadeh 2014: 239–240) communicating between the new Elamite lowland capital of Susa in Khuzestan and the traditional Elamite highland capital of Anšan (Tall-e Malyan) in Fars. In the 1st millennium, Jubaji was one of seven occupied Neo-Elamite period sites on the plain along with the larger sites of Tall-e Ghazir (RH-001) and nearby Tappeh Bormi (RH-011), which is a likely candidate for the location of the ancient city of Huhnur,[5] and four smaller sites (RH-007S, RH-087, 116A, 116B) (Wright, Carter 2003: 69; Alizadeh 2014: 240, 302, table C10). Thanks to the more limited impact of growing antagonism between Elam and Assyria in the 8th and 7th centuries, occupation continued here unabated while sites dwindled on the exposed Susiana plain (Carter 1994: 72–73) in Elam's west, close to border conflict zones and a target of Assyrian retaliatory attacks. Along with the Behbehan plain to its southeast, Ramhormoz plain offered access to mountain refuges, the Persian Gulf, and allies in southern Babylonia making it an ideal power base (Stolper 1992: 199; Wright, Carter 2003: 72).[6]

2. ANCIENT STONE BEADS

Amongst the assemblages reported to have come from the Jubaji tomb were two genres of foreign semiprecious stone objects that had been manufactured long before the lives of the two interred women. One is a series of Harrapan bleached (or 'etched') carnelian beads that date back to the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE. The other, more recent but still eight centuries older than the tomb itself, are two inscribed Kassite period agate eyestones, both probably commissioned by the *c*. 14th century BCE king Kurigalzu (I or II). One had been inlaid into an applique, the other into a bracelet found on the wrist of the younger woman buried at the east (rear) end of the tomb (Shishegar 2015: 67).

2.1. Harappan carnelian beads

The Harappan carnelian beads are characterized by their distinctive 'etched' white designs, which were made by using alkali paint to bleach the stone (Kenoyer 2013: 10).[7] Some of examples attributed to the Jubaji assemblage are lengthwise-pierced barrel or slightly biconical shapes decorated with eyes, zigzags, or horizontal lines (Fig. 2a; compare beads from Harappan sites and Ur in Fig. 2c.1-5). The rest are flatter, laterally pierced, oval shapes

[4] Local use of an alabaster source at the northeast of the plain is attested by finds of partly worked pieces of it at Tall-e Ghazir (Wright, Carter 2003: 65). These local stone sources may help explain the numerous (locally made?) stone vessels recovered from the Jubaji tomb while none were noted in Neo-Elamite burials at Susa.

[5] The well-attested Elamite toponym Huhnur (Achaemenid Hunar) was probably located at Tappeh Bormi (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2005; 2018; *contra* Alizadeh 2014: n. 84) or, if not here, somewhere on the Ramhormoz plain (Basello 2018: 238; Henkelman 2017: 97–98, n. 70; Steinkeller 2018: 193; Potts 2016: 116).

[6] The Behbehan plain may have been the location of the Neo-Elamite royal city of Hidali. For debate over Hidali's location see Potts 2008: 291; Henkelman 2017: 97, n. 70; and Basello 2018: 238.

[7] Also reported as belonging to the tomb were very thin elongated cylindrical carnelian beads (Shishegar 2015, colour pl. 4/6 and 4/7), somewhat reminiscent of the characteristic long Harappan beads, but they lack their slightly biconical form.

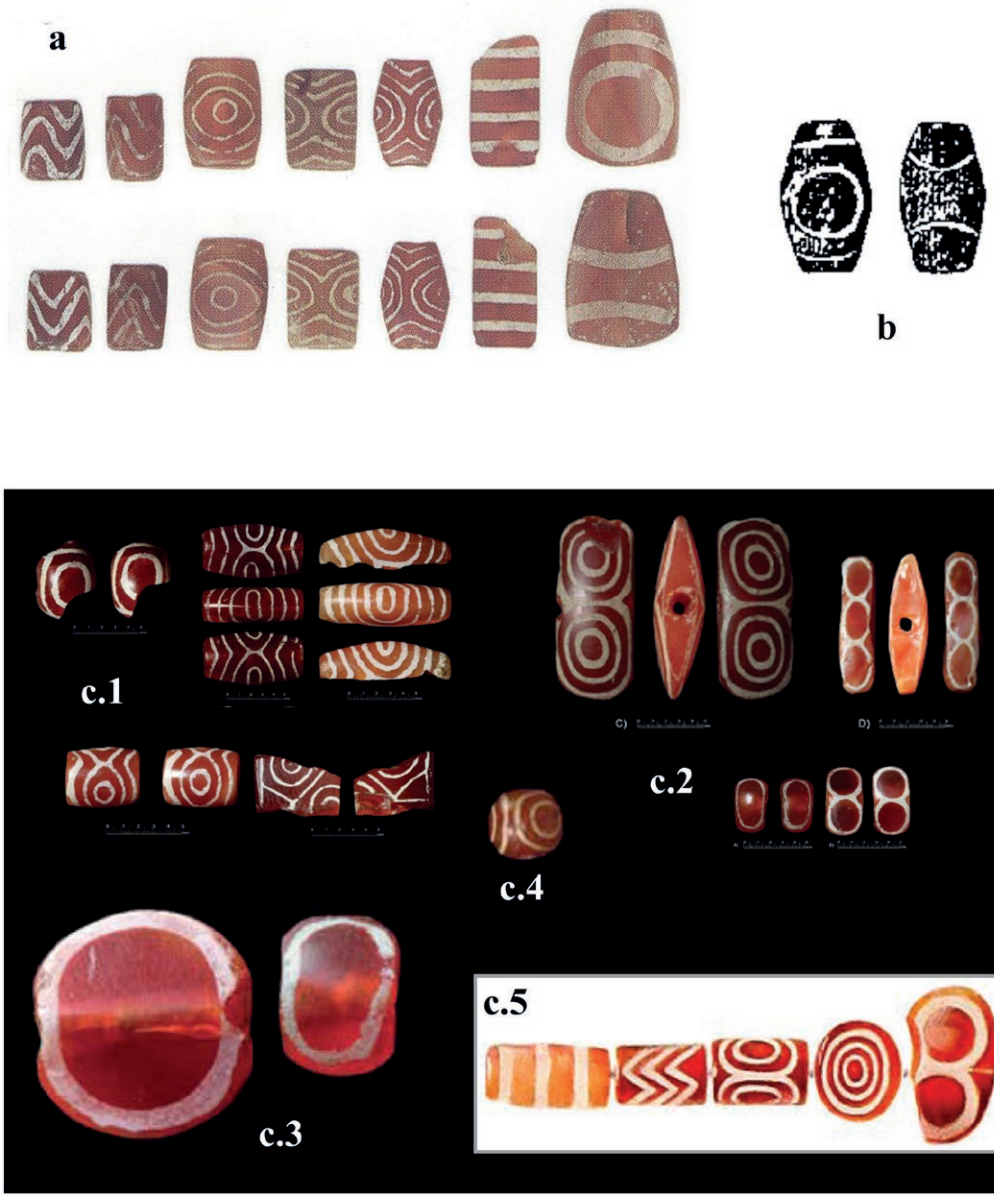

Fig. 2. Harappan etched carnelian beads *1*: a) Jubaji tomb (from Shishegar 2015, color pl. nos. 10.1–4); b) Surkh Dum, h. 1.6 cm (Schmidt, Van Loon, Curvers 1989, pl. 232ah, c) nos. 1–2. Dholavira (Prabhakar 2018, figs. 8–9), no. 3. Karanpura (Prabhakar 2018, fig. 5), no. 4. Harappa (Kenoyer 2013, fig. 6c, three-eyed bead), no. 5. Royal Cemetery of Ur (Frenez 2023, fig. 8f).

with eye designs and visible holes confirming prior use as beads. These eye-stones were preserved as insets on two gold discs together with agate eye-stones (Fig. 3a-b). Gold loops on the reverse of both discs indicate that they were meant to be sewed as appliques on to some kind of backing (note the reused or altered disc 6a with traces of removed gold loops). These widely traded bleached carnelian beads are most common at Harappan (*c.* 2600-1900 BCE) sites but have also been found across a vast area encompassing western China, Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Greece (Kenoyer 2013: 10). An important sample of bleached Harappan beads and typical elongated biconical Harappan carnelian beads were preserved at Susa, which had direct trade contacts with Harappa (Meluhha) (Amiet 1986: 143–144, fig. 92a, top two rows and 92b; for Susa-Harappa trade contacts see Vidale 2018: 287–288; Ascalone 2023: 468–470).

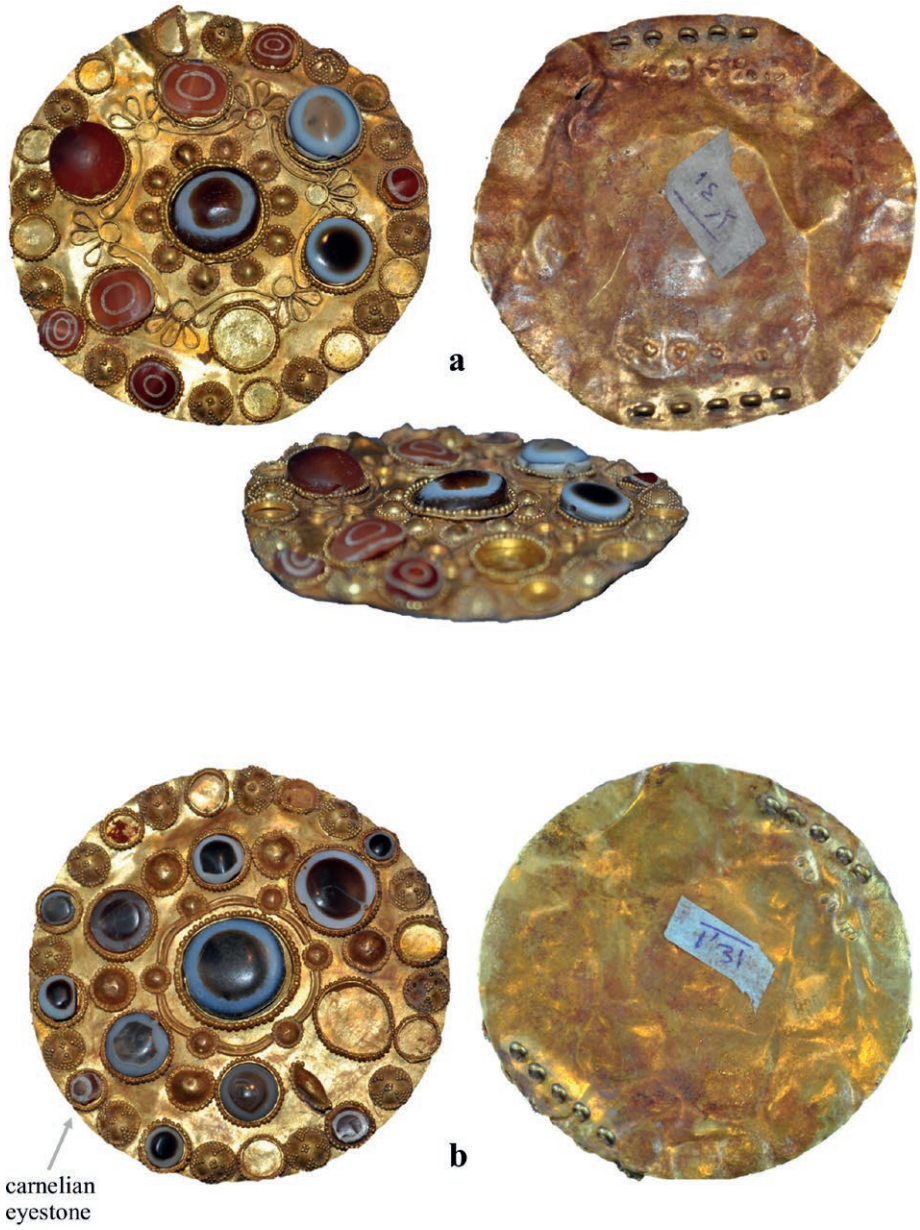

Fig. 3. Harappan etched carnelian beads from Jubaji tomb *2*: a) gold applique with eye-stone insets, diam. 7.5 cm b) gold applique with eye-stone insets, diam. 7.5 cm (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

The number of Harappan bleached beads accessible to the artisans who fashioned the Jubaji jewellery is striking given the length of time that had elapsed since their production. To my knowledge the Jubaji tomb is a unique instance of several of these ancient stones occurring together in a 1st millennium BCE context. Another very late find that can be cited is a single Harappan etched bead (Fig. 2b) in a sanctuary at Surkh Dum in Luristan in an Iron Age III context (*c.* first half of the 7th century BCE). The excavation report assigns this bead to the Iron Age, its earlier Harappan origin apparently unnoticed (Schmidt, Van Loon, Curvers 1989: 487–488 [context], Sor 183:6a). Presumably part of a votive deposit, it was notably found in the same area 6 (level 2B-1) as a cylindrical agate bead with a votive inscription of Kurigalzu II (Brinkman 1989: 476, no. 2, possibly dedicated to Ninlil). Enrico Ascalone (2022: 23) recently observed that Harappan 'etched' beads occur strictly within mid-third to early

2nd millennium BCE contexts in Mesopotamia and Iran, with just one bead at Ebla in Syria bringing this range down to the mid-2nd millennium BCE. This confirms that finds of these beads in such late archaeological contexts at Jubaji and Surkh Dum are rather exceptional.

A possible piece of written evidence for their long-term circulation is an inscription of the Kassite king Agum II preserved in two Neo-Assyrian copies by scribes of Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE). It refers to votive gifts of eye-stones from Meluhha (^{na4}IGI.MEŠ *me-luḫ-ḫa*, line II 39), which are probably to be identified with the bleached carnelian eye beads. These beads appear with *ṣurru* (obsidian) from Marhaši (^{na4}ZÚ *mar-ḫa-ši*, lines II 36 [described as 'green'] and III 9) (Paulus 2018, appendix 3; Choukassizian Eypper 2018: 180). Assuming the Kassite text was accurately copied, it demonstrates the role of temples in maintaining in systemic contexts semiprecious stone items from cultures that had exited the historical stage centuries prior.[8]

2.2. Kassite agate eye-stones

Much like the Harappan beads, it is remarkable that not just one, but two Kassite period eye-stones manufactured around 800 years earlier were deposited in the Jubaji tomb. The one set into the applique preserved most of its (Kassite) Sumerian inscriptions on the obverse and reverse sides (Fig. 4a, appendix JBJ 3). The obverse labels the eye-stone as a votive gift from the king Kurigalzu (I or II) to Enlil and possibly also Adad. The reverse completes the texts with a curse formula against anyone who may erase the inscription, the label-plus-curse being a common pairing in inscriptions at this time (Galter 1987: 17). The bracelet eye-stone inlay, however, had been recut into a much smaller eye, and preserved only a few characters of its original inscription (Fig. 4b, appendix JBJ 4). Eye-stones like these carved from chalcedony (agate, onyx, etc.) with alternating layers of dark brown/black and light colours were popular in Mesopotamia, as were their faience imitations. They are often found as jewellery inlays, but as in the two Jubaji Kassite eye-stones and the Harappan bleached eye-stones discussed above, some have lateral holes for stringing as beads indicating this was a secondary use. An uninscribed eye-stone from the so-called foundation deposit of the temple of Inšušinak at Susa even preserved traces of a gold wire onto which it had been strung (Mecquenem 1905: 67, pl. XIII.7, Louvre Museum, inv. Sb 5775, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010179591). Eye-stones appear in texts spanning the Akkadian to Neo-Babylonian periods. They are frequently mentioned in association with temples or deities and less often as treasury items, gifts, booty, tribute. In the 1st millennium BCE, they also appear as objects with a magical function (Clayden 2009, appendix B).

A catalogue of inscribed eye-stones compiled by Tim Clayden (2009, tab. 1, appendix A) includes a total of 19 examples recovered during excavations in Mesopotamia at Uruk (1), Babylon (3), Dur-Kurigalzu (1), Nippur (11), Khorsabad (2?),[9] and Assur (1). A further 16 examples have been excavated in Iran at Susa (1), Jubaji (2), Surkh Dum (2) and Persepolis (11). Clayden did not include the eye-stone from Susa, of which only half survives, or the Jubaji eye-stones, which had not yet been published. G.P. Basello reads the extant line of the Susa fragment as ^{d}IM 'god Adad' (context not recorded, Louvre Museum, inv. Sb 11098, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010183801). Kurigalzu I/II dedicated all three other attested eye-stones to Adad (Clayden 2009, nos. 9, 29–30) – or four if Basello's proposed reading of Adad on the Jubaji eye-stone (JBJ 3) here is correct – perhaps he also commissioned this one. Accounting for the Susa and Jubaji examples, now almost half of the provenanced corpus of inscribed Mesopotamian eye-stones derives not from contexts in Mesopotamia, but rather in Iran.

The nine preserved names of the commissioners are all Mesopotamian kings.[10] Only two are pre-Kassite, the Ur III ruler Šu-Sin (2037-2029 BCE) and Assyrian ruler Šamši-Adad I (1813-1781 BCE), and their stones bear

---

[8] See Paulus (2018) on the historical authenticity of this text from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh. An inscribed Kassite statue fragment from Susa also includes an anachronistic reference to Marhaši (see below n. 20).

[9] Clayden 2009, nos. 8 and 51 are listed as Khorsabad finds, but the Louvre Museum assigns the latter, a stone of Sargon II, a Nineveh provenience (N III 3400/N III 289 https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010172808).

[10] Clayden (2009, tab. 1) lists some 20 rulers, although the excavated eye-stones belong to just these nine, and a *c.* 8th-7th century BCE eye-stone stamp seal of an official from tomb 19 at Tell en-Nasbeh, Palestine (Clayden 2009, no. 78). Elamite kings do not

Fig. 4. Kurigalzu inscribed eye-stone beads from Jubaji tomb: a) gold applique with inscribed eye-stone bead (diam. 5.5 cm), b) gold cuff-style bracelet with recut inscribed eye-stone bead, approx. diam. 6.5 cm (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

simple name inscriptions. In the Kassite period, the inscriptions dedicate the stones as votive offerings to various deities by Kurigalzu I/II (*c.* 1400/1332-1308 BCE), Burna-Buriaš II (1359-1333 BCE), Kurigalzu II (1332-1308 BCE), and Kadašman-Enlil I/II (*c.* 1370/1263-1255 BCE). Then after a gap of several centuries, they reemerge –

seem to have adopted the practice, unless one accepts two unprovenienced eye-stones of Humban-umena (*c.* 1350-1340 BCE), father of Untaš-Napiriša: one in the Yale Museum (Clayden 2009, no. 37), and another strangely large one (diam. 5 cm) in the Foroughi collection (Steve 1987, no. 4). A votive agate of Kutir-Nahunte (*c.* 1155-1150 BCE) from Susa (Lambert 1970: 246, n. 1) does, however, demonstrate the dedication of at least one inscribed agate stone in a different form by an Elamite ruler. A 6 cm wide portion of this agate, which has been broken approximately in half, is housed in the Louvre Museum (Sb 9467, w. 6 cm, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010182210) and the rest in the National Museum of Iran in Tehran.

again inscribed as votive offerings – with the Neo-Assyrian rulers Sargon II (721-705 BCE) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE), and the Neo-Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BCE). The best attested of these commissioners is Kurigalzu I/II, with Enlil being his most nominated recipient. There is no way of distinguishing between Kurigalzu I and II except where the inscriptions include the filiation 'son of Burna-Buriaš', identifying Kurigalzu II. Where a filiation is omitted Clayden (2009: 43) suspects the author was Kurigalzu I. If correct, this king should also be the author of inscription JBJ 3 on the Jubaji applique.

As at Jubaji, most find contexts of inscribed eye-stones were secondary (Clayden 2009, appendix A). A significant contingent of the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE corpus, nine in total, came from a hoard of mainly Kassite inscribed votives from a Parthian context at Nippur (Clayden 2011). Two more, one of Burna-Buriaš the other of Nebuchadnezzar II, came from a (single?) hoard in a Parthian house at Babylon. Finally, 11 of the 13 known Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian examples were recovered from the Achaemenid treasury at Persepolis (Schmidt 1957; see also Rezaei Naraghi 2022). It is striking that the Persepolis eye-stones were all Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian, whereas Jubaji yielded Kassite ones, presumably reflecting their different sources and circumstances of movement.

The few other known eye-stone contexts, both primary and secondary, were cultic. The bead naming Šu-Sin was found at Uruk in a small foundation-level pit in the doorway of room 216 connecting the ziggurat to a suite of rooms to its northwest. It had been strung onto a necklace with a bead of his wife Kubatum, his beloved *lukur* priestess (Akkadian *nadītum*), and deposited with a necklace of another of his *lukur*s, Abbabašti (Limper 1988: 63–66, nos. 140–141, pls. 21–25; Frayne 1997: 337–338, E3/2.1.4.28–29; Clayden 2009, no. 1).[11] Three eye-stones dedicated to Enlil were recovered from Mesopotamian temples: one in Temple A, i4/5 at Assur, perhaps removed from Babylonia as booty (Brinkman 1976, 226 Q.2.77; Clayden 2009, no. 11); one from the Kassite level of the Temple of Enlil (room 9, level III) at Nippur (McCown, Haines 1967, pls. 30.10, 31.8; Brinkman 1976: 227, Q.2.86; Clayden 2009, no. 13); and one at Dur-Kurigalzu in the north east courtyard of the e2.u4.gal temple in what seem to be Kassite levels based on a 1981 preliminary report of the find (Excavations in Iraq, 1979-80, *Iraq* 43(2), p. 172; Clayden 2009, no.15). Originally, these eye-stones had probably been dedicated at Enlil's city of Nippur where another one was unearthed in his temple in a Kassite context and six more in a Parthian hoard, or possibly at Dur-Kurigalzu (Clayden 2009: 50).

The two eye-stones from Surkh Dum – a Kassite onyx with a partly preserved inscription of Kurigalzu I/II 'governor of Enlil' (Sor 610)[12] and a Kassite chalcedony bearing the name Ninlil (Sor 714) – were also found in a cultic context. They had been deposited in a 'floor hoard' of an Iron Age II/ *c.* 8th century temple (area 1-2 steps, level 2C) just below the level that yielded the Harappan bead and cylindrical agate bead of Kurigalzu II (Schmidt, Van Loon, Curvers 1989: 487–488, tab. 8, cat. 31A:20, pl. 257a-b; Brinkman 1989, nos. 6–7).[13] A similar preservation of the Jubaji eye-stones of Kurigalzu in a temple for a period of time after their arrival from Mesopotamia would seem plausible.

---

[11] See Sharlach (2008, with references) on junior wives of Ur III rulers with the religious title *lukur*.

[12] This should be an eye-stone of Kurigalzu I if Bartelmus (2010: 154) is correct that he was the only Kassite king to use the title 'governor for Enlil' ($GIR_3.ARAD_{(2)}$ ^{d}en-lil$_2$). In this case, it would be the first eye-stone attributable to this king without possible confusion with Kurigalzu II, hence disproving the suggestion that all eye-stones of Kurigalzu can be assigned to the latter's reign (George 2011: 118).

[13] The Neo-Assyrian Queens' Tomb II at Nimrud also yielded an inscribed object of Kurigalzu – a rectangular gold-mounted carnelian stone re-used as a necklace spacer bead. But it was not a votive offering, simply reading 'Stone of the head(dress), of Kurigalzu, the king' (Al-Rawi 2008: 134–135, Fig. 15-r; Hussein 2016: 18, 93, pl. 54a). Another remarkable example of inscribed Kassite objects in later contexts is at Metsamor in Armenia. A carnelian cylinder seal with a Syrian style image and an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription 'Great Leader (king) Kurigalzu', apparently a gift from the pharaoh, was found in a *c.* 11th-9th century BCE burial chamber (XI), and an agate frog weight with an inscription of Ulam Buriaš, son of Burna-Buriaš in a neighboring chamber (VIII) (Khanzadian, Piotrovskiĭ 1992).

2.3. Function of beads and eye-stones

The functions of semiprecious stone beads and jewellery insets went beyond the mere decorative, and this is true especially for eye-stones. The relatively few inscribed versions were obviously a royal prerogative strongly associated with cult. By contrast, the plethora of uninscribed eye-stones had less-specific functions ranging from luxurious, apotropaic ornamentation for royal women, to decoration for cult statues of goddesses, to magical/therapeutic use (Clayden 2009: 41–46, 52–55).[14] A conspicuous aspect of the inscribed re-cut eye-stone on the bracelet in the Jubaji tomb is its position on the inner side of the wrist rather than a prominent frontal position. If not considered a flaw on the stone to be concealed on this side, perhaps the fragmentary inscription was regarded as holding potent protective powers for the vulnerable pulse point.[15] Given the early age of death of this woman, around 17 years, she may have been suffering from an illness or injury and needed protection. While the inscription on this re-cut eye-stone had been largely removed, the other eye-stone set into the Jubaji applique could, in theory, still have been read since Sumerograms were still learned and used into the 1st millennium (e.g., Gesche 2001: 72–74; Cooper 2006: 85). Kurigalzu was certainly familiar to later audiences, in part thanks to the extensive body of inscriptions he left behind. His name appears, for example, in a Neo-Babylonian temple inventory from Ur listing items of four different Kassite rulers (Brinkman 1976: 242, Q.3.17; Ur Excavation Texts IV, no. 143, IM 57150). Kassite rulers were also popular subjects for later literary works, and Kurigalzu appeared in literary texts such as the Berlin Letter (see section ii.4) and the Donation of Kurigalzu I (Brinkman 2017: 32–33). Therefore, the eye-stone could surely still have carried the historical weight of this famous king when it was deposited at Jubaji.

2.4. How did ancient beads end up at Jubaji?

Now I return to question of why ancient objects originating from Harappa and Mesopotamia might have arrived in Iran and why temples likely played a role in keeping them out of archaeological contexts until much later. The Harappan beads probably arrived in Elam in the mid-3rd to early 2nd millennium via the thriving long-distance exchange network reaching from the Indus Valley to the Levant, while the Kassite eye-stones likely came under very different circumstances as further discussed below. Once in Elam, the beads and eye-stones might have ended up in burials, household hoards, or votive deposits that were later exposed, or perhaps been stored for long periods in temples as property of deities, as was the case for semiprecious stones like carnelian and agate in Mesopotamian temples (Benzel 2015). They may even have been preserved through a practice of active collecting, storage, and display of antiquities, which could retain their power over time and become tools of divine legitimization (Harper 1992: 162). Such collections have been unearthed in temple hoards in the religious precinct on the Acropole mound at Susa, including the so-called 'deposit of the gold statuette' from the temple of Inšušinak containing a votive agate of Kurigalzu dedicated to Ištaran, the city god of Der (Brinkman 1976: 230, Q.2.105; Louvre Museum, inv. Sb 6590, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180262). Similar collecting practices are known, for example, at the temple of Šamaš at Sippar (Walker, Collon 1980: 93–114, plan 3), and a collection of antiquities spanning the late 3rd millennium to the 7th century BCE was uncovered in a side chamber of the *gipāru*

---

[14] The Neo-Assyrian 'queens" tombs at Nimrud (Gansell 2012: 12–13) and an Achaemenid bronze coffin burial at Susa (Tallon 1992: 249) are good examples of the extensive use of eye-stone adornment for royal women, while the archive of the Eanna temple at Uruk documents multitudes of eye-stones for ornamentation of cult statues of Ištar, Nanaya, Urkayītu (Beaulieu 2003: 13, texts NBC 4894:56, PTS 2684:1, PTS 3136:1, VS 20,19:1, GCCI 2, 372:4). Magical/therapeutic use of eye-stones is well-attested in Mesopotamia, the Lamaštu-Series III being an especially well-documented example instructing the stringing of specific numbers of eye-stones ('*inatu*') with 'mule stones' (*parû*-stones) to protect pregnant women and infants from the Lamaštu 'baby-snatcher' demon (Farber 2014: 186–189, 254). But if the women in the tombs were priestesses, death in childbirth may be an unlikely explanation. While information is lacking on the traditions of priestesses in Elam, Old Babylonian women in religious offices were not permitted to bear children (De Graef 2023), and pregnancy of *entu*-priestesses seems still to have been considered an aberration in the late Neo-Assyrian period (see n. 30).

[15] Collon (2010: 152) notes the importance placed in Assyria on protection of the wrist as the site of a main artery.

complex at Ur (see section iv) belonging to its phase of revival under the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus (556-539 BCE) (Brinkman 1965b: 250).[16]

Potential agents for the movement of Kassite eye-stones to Elam are numerous. In the Middle Elamite period arrival via peaceful royal interaction is possible – especially if one gives credence to the claim of the 'Berlin letter' that a sequence of Elamite kings had married Kassite princesses. Probably partly fictional, the 'letter' is a Neo-Babylonian literary text written from the perspective of the 12th century BCE Elamite ruler Šutruk-Nahunte (*c.* 1184-1155 BCE) or his son Kutir-Nahunte (*c.* 1155-1150 BCE) and recalls five such intermarriages, the last being between the author and the eldest daughter of the Kassite king Meli-šipak (1186-1172 BCE) (van Dijk 1986; Goldberg 2004; on the author's identity see Paulus 2013: 432, 436; Potts 2016: 224; Roaf 2017: 183). Especially pertinent is the union of Humban-umena and a daughter of Kurigalzu I who gave birth to Untaš-Napiriša, founder of the Elamite city of Chogha Zanbil. Untaš-Napiriša then married a daughter of Burna-Buriaš, i.e., a sister of Kurigalzu II. While it is tempting to read Elamite-Kassite history from the text, John Brinkman (2017: 33) cautions against using this and similar 'letters' describing much earlier events, amongst which the Kassites are a favoured subject, for the reconstruction of histories. Archaeological and artistic evidence has yet to be properly tapped for information on cultural connections between Elam and Kassite-era Babylonia, but Chogha Zanbil notably yielded seals inscribed with the same distinctive Kassite Sumerian, rendering Akkadian in Sumerian logograms, seen also on the eye-stones.[17] A. Bartelmus (2016: 225–226) observes that it is not clear whether these seals (and similar seals from Thebes), of which six are in Sumerian and four in Sumerian-Akkadian, were local or Babylonian products, but their content and language are hardly distinguishable from Kassite seals from Nippur, similarly containing an occasional incorrect character or accidental omission.[18]

Even if Elamite-Kassite intermarriages could be proved historically correct, Elamite military activity in Babylonia in the late 13th and 12th centuries is a more likely explanation for the presence of Kurigalzu's stones in Elam. Amongst the major reported events are Kidin-Hutran II's (*c.* 1240-1210 BCE) conquest of Enlil's city of Nippur (Grayson 1975: 176–177, Chronicle P/no. 22),[19] Šutruk-Nahunte's attacks on a series of Babylonian cities, from which he brought back many plundered Mesopotamian monuments to Susa (Paulus 2013; Roaf 2017, tab. 6.02), and Kutir-Nahunte's overthrow of the last Kassite king and plunder of Enlil's temple at Nippur and all the temples of Borsippa (Lambert 1994: 69; Foster 1996: 287–288). The plundering activity of the latter has been elicited from the three so-called 'Kedor-Laomer Texts', which were composed in the Achaemenid era and present the same historical problems as the Berlin Letter. However, they may well include actual royal letters within the poetic narrative (Foster 1996: 24). Furthermore, temple riches surely remained susceptible to removal to Elam during the period of Kutir-Nahunte's and then his brother Šilhak-Inšušinak's (*c.* 1150-1120 BCE) occupation of parts of Babylonia after the fall of the Kassites (Brinkman 1968: 466; Beaulieu 2018: 154). Amongst the Kassite objects recovered at Susa are *kudurru*s, which were typically kept in temples as 'guarantees' for royal land grants (Beaulieu 2018: 134), and smaller inscribed Kassite objects including the abovementioned Kurigalzu agate dedicated to Ištaran and eye-stone dedicated to Adad.[20]

---

[16] Ur III tablets, an inscription from a statue of the Ur III ruler Šulgi, and a foundation cone of Kudur-mabuk, both of whom had daughters who served as *entu*s of Nanna, a Kassite *kudurru*, and an inscribed clay pedestal of Sin-balassu-iqbi who restored the *gipāru* (Woolley 1925: 383–384, room E. S. 2; 1962: 17, room 5). Sin-balassu-iqbi claimed that he preserved ancient foundation inscriptions and had a Sumerian inscription of Amar-sin copied for display in a temple museum (Brinkman 1965b: 249–250).

[17] This is a gross oversimplification of the use of Sumerian in Kassite Babylonia period. For an excellent, detailed discussion of the complexities of the acquisition and use of Sumerian by Kassite-era scribes in various text genres refer to Bartelmus (2016: 202–249).

[18] Erica Reiner (1970) judged the seal inscriptions as the work of provincial artists due to incomplete lines, often inaccurate or truncated signs.

[19] Preserved as a Late Babylonian fragment, the text may be a copy of an early original Grayson (1975: 56).

[20] Others are a lapis fragment with a Burna-Buriaš inscription (Mecquenem 1929, pl. 7; Frame 1987, no. 3; Louvre Museum, Sb 6868, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180510; two (?) chariot yoke finials with votive inscriptions of Kurigalzu II to Enlil (Sb 6862, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180504 and Sb 715, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010175099) (for the functional interpretation of these objects see Álvarez-Mon, Wicks 2021: 126, with references); a right shoul-

Much later events closer to the time of the Jubaji interments could also have brought inscribed Kassite eye-stones to Elam. Several reports accuse Chaldean rulers of sending Babylonian treasures, typically gold, silver, and precious stones, as gifts to Elam to garner military support against Assyria. Nabu-šuma-iškun (760-748 BCE) removed from the Esagila temple in Babylon 'silver, gold, choice and priceless stones [...] what earlier kings had brought (there) [...] he adorns the women of his palace; (and) he offers them to Syria and Elam as gifts' (Cole 1994: 248–249; Glassner 2004, no. 52, lines 34–45).[21] Under Mušezib-Marduk (692-689 BCE), the Babylonians were charged with the same transgression, sending Esagila's 'silver, gold, and precious stones' to Humban-menanu (Luckenbill 1924: 42, lines 28–34; Borger 1956: 12–13, §11 4a; Brinkman 1983: 39–40; RINAP3 Sennacherib 022, v:28-34). Merodach-Baladan II sent gold, silver, and precious stones amongst other gifts to solicit aid with vary degrees of success from Huban-nikaš I (743-717 BCE) and Šutruk-Nahunte II (717-699 BCE) (Brinkman 1965a: 163–165; Waters 2000: 14, 20–21; Fuchs 1994: 152–155, nos. 306–314). His son Nabu-zer-kitti-lišir and a certain Nabu-ahhe-iddina, son of Kuppuptu later sent lavish gifts to Huban-haltaš II (681-675 BCE) to no avail (Weidner 1954–56/AfO 17 *apud* Potts 2016: 267; Frame 1992: 66–67). Perhaps most famously, the Babylonian king Šamaš-šuma-ukin was accused of removing items from Esagil to send to Huban-nikaš II (653-652? BCE) to go to war against his brother Ashurbanipal (Borger 1996, C vii 128–129). Huban-nikaš had also earlier carried off booty from Uruk to Elam during the reign of his father Urtak (675-664 BCE) (Frame, Parpola 2023, no. 10).[22] Much of the criticism of Babylonian rulers in these texts may have been literary trope intended to cast them in an unfavourable light. But they leave little doubt that temples were places where precious stones could be preserved, even over generations, and that these items were amongst the favoured portable luxury items carried off as booty or sent as diplomatic gifts to Elam.

3. RITUAL PARAPHERNALIA

Many of the array of metal, stone, and ceramic vessels and utensils in the Jubaji tomb would have been used for funerary rituals, but two types stand out for their overtly cultic character. The first are frying pan-shaped (or patera) metal vessels carrying seated fish-women figures on the handles, and the second are tripod metal stands thought to have functioned as candelabras or braziers. Both are a stark contrast with the other rather standardized vessels and utensils that characterized Neo-Elamite assemblages and appear far more at home in a temple inventory.

3.1. Fish-woman pans

The tomb contained remnants of six pans carrying figures of elaborately ornamented and coiffed women with fish body appendages emerging from their heavy flounced skirts. Two complete pans, one silver and one bronze, had been preserved in a pile of vessels between the two coffins (Fig. 5a-c). Also identified in this deposit were four bronze fish-woman figures preserving rivet holes, rivets, or handle fragments (Fig. 6a-d), a bronze sheet pan frag-

---

der fragment of a statue with a Kurigalzu II inscription: 'Kurigalzu, king of the universe, who has struck Susa and Elam as far as the border of [Mar]ḫaši' (Roaf 2017: 169, source 2 [=MDP 28, no. 9; Brinkman 1976, 209–210, Q.2.2]) - if the reading is correct, the mention of Marhaši (east of Elam), is anachronistic, recalling Sargonid and Hammurabi inscriptions (Sb 6863, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180505); a seal of an official purchased by Dieulafoy '*en mission*' https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010170694; and Kaštiliaš IV (1232-1225 BCE) *kudurru* fragment mentioning Kurigalzu (Brinkman 1976: 176, O.2.5, Sb 30, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010174460).

[21] Whether the bejewelled women or the jewels alone were offered is unclear.

[22] This occurred when Urtak came with his troops to Uruk to appoint a ruler (Frame, Parpola 2023, no. 10). A document from the reign of Esarhaddon lists treasures returned *from* Elam by Urtak, and a return gift to honor a peace treaty (Fales, Postgate 1992: xxiv–xxv, no. 60, obv. ii 16; Gorris [2020: 40] takes these as Elamite temple treasures returned by Ashurbanipal *to* Elam with Assyrian gifts, or as silver items sent by Esarhaddon [p. 121]).

Fig. 5. fish-woman pans from Jubaji tomb *1*: a) silver and bronze pans in situ in a pile of vessels against the tomb wall (from Shishegar 2015: 282) b) complete bronze bronze pan and c) complete silver pan (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran), d) biconical gold beads from the tomb (from Shishegar 2015, color pl. 11/2).

Fig. 6. fish-woman pans from Jubaji tomb *2*: a-d) bronze fish-woman figurines (pans lost) (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

ment, and a piece of a long bronze pan handle (Shishegar 2015: 309).[23] The figures have unique hairstyles and costumes suggestive of intentional differentiation of their status or identity, and even their physiognomy and fish bodies are individualized to an extent. Both preserved pans have an omphalos, or navel, surrounded by stepped concentric circles that probably embody cosmological meaning. Certain Mesopotamian sources indicate that the underworld, the earth's surface, the surrounding cosmic ocean, and the heavens were conceived as circular, and the use of concentric circles to depict the separate realms is attested (Horowitz 1998: 41, 206, 257–258, 325, 334, 361). The fish-woman attachments amplify these cosmological allusions. Fish were associated with the pure and purifying water of the cosmic *apsû* realm of Ea/Enki that manifested on earth as marshes and rivers (Horowitz 1998:

[23] Bronze is used here throughout based on the assumption, not confirmed by analyses, that all the copper-base objects from Jubaji were made from a copper-tin alloy.

335, 344–345; CAD A2: 194, *apsû* 1b). They played a special role in ritual purification as they were believed to take evil away from earth with them to the *apsû* (e.g. Knudsen 1959: 60, text ND 5577; Foster 1996: 873).

As I have argued elsewhere (Wicks 2109; 2023), the Jubaji fish-women appear to be a unique Elamite invention. The only other known example is an unprovenanced fish-woman figurine, clearly detached from a similar pan, reported to have been found in the Ramhormoz region over half a century before the Jubaji discovery (BM 132960, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1962-0417-1; Barnett 1963: 96). The complete human form and headless fish appendage of these women distinguish them from the two main Mesopotamian fish characters, both associated with purification and Enki/Ea: the divine *kulullu/kuliltu* hybrid with a human upper body and a fish lower body, also known in Elam,[24] and the fish-cloaked *apkallu*, connected to the antediluvian sage Adapa, who endows exorcist priests with his wisdom (see Dalley 2011; Annus 2016: 16, 21). Displaying none of the typical divine markers (horned headwear, animal ears) and enacting an outstretched-hands gesture made by human supplicants before their gods, the Jubaji figures are clearly meant to represent human beings. But given their strong cultic connotations, they are probably images of priestesses.[25] If so, the find in the tomb of actual gold beads of the same distinctive biconical form as those strung around the fish-women's necks (Fig. 5d) is a tantalizing hint linking the interred women to this order of priestesses.

3.2. Tripod stands

Five whole and fragmentary bronze tripod stands were found with the metal vessels between the two coffins (Shishegar 2015: 313). The only complete one stands around 65 cm tall. At the top of its stem is a hollow, spool-shaped head that must have supported a vessel or tray for coals (Fig. 7a) and the bottom it is connected by three rampant bulls to a tripod base with duck-head feet. Amongst the remaining four are two stands with duck-head feet, both missing the spool, and two bases, of which only a pair and a trio of horses remained (Fig. 7b-e). The only similar stand known from Elam was found near Arjan on the neighbouring Behbehan plain in a *c*. 600 BCE tomb of an elite man, also buried in a bronze coffin. Standing 75 cm tall, it depicts lions, bulls, and Atlas figures and carries the inscription 'Kidin-Hutran son of Kurluš' (Alizadeh 1985: 55, 60–61; Álvarez-Mon 2010: 157–163). The only good comparison for these Elamite stands is a taller (h. 118 cm) late 8th/early 7th century BCE stand from the Haldi temple at Toprak Kale carrying inscriptions of the Urartian king Rusa (Barnett 1950: 24–25, fig. 13; Van Loon 1966: 98–99, pls. XVIII–XIX; Potts 2009: 6–7, with references).[26] A dish on top of the Toprak Kale example permitted placement of burning wood or charcoal for use as a brazier (Potts 2009: 7).[27] Assyrian and Babylonian temple inventories and ritual texts also document the use of ritual braziers, sometimes expressly made in bronze, to burn offerings to the gods (Potts 2009: 5; CAD K *kinūnu*: 393–395).

Much less elaborate ritual braziers or 'fire-stands' are attested in both the visual and archaeological records of Elam. One appears in the abovementioned rock relief of Hanni of Ayapir in the open-air sanctuary of Kul-e Farah (KFI, Álvarez-Mon 2019: 85–91). Depicted next to a sacrificial scene, it is a simple knee-high stand topped by a bowl with a flame tended by a figure labelled 'Kutur, the priest'. Another *c*. 7th-6th century BCE relief at the site shows a similar scene (KFV), and a much earlier *c*. 12th century Elamite relief across the valley at Shekaft-e Salman (SSI) depicts another stand, was probably added to the relief in the 7th century BCE, in front of four royal

---

[24] The 14th century BCE stele of Untaš-Napiriša from Susa shows a female human-fish hybrid with a divine horned helmet and animal ear along with Napiriša, the Elamite Enki/Ea (Amiet 1966: 374–377, Fig. 282; Aruz 1992: 128–139). Human-fish hybrids are also depicted in Elam in association with the storm god (e.g. Amiet 1972: 231).

[25] Trudy Kawami (2019: 154) agrees to the extent that 'The figures may represent human individuals who embody the divine, or at least the supra-natural, in their social function [...] the deceased themselves shared some supra-natural aspects with the cast figures.' Javier Álvarez-Mon (2020: 453–458) is similarly open to the possibility.

[26] Other comparanda suggested for these stands are less similar (e.g., Potts 2009; Alizadeh 1985: 60–61).

[27] Much smaller tripod offering or incense stands with ring at the base and a bowl at the top, sometimes specified as having been rivetted on, also occur in the Levant and Cyprus in much earlier, Late Bronze Age, contexts (Bartelheim et. al. 2008, figs. 3a-b, 4, 17i-n).

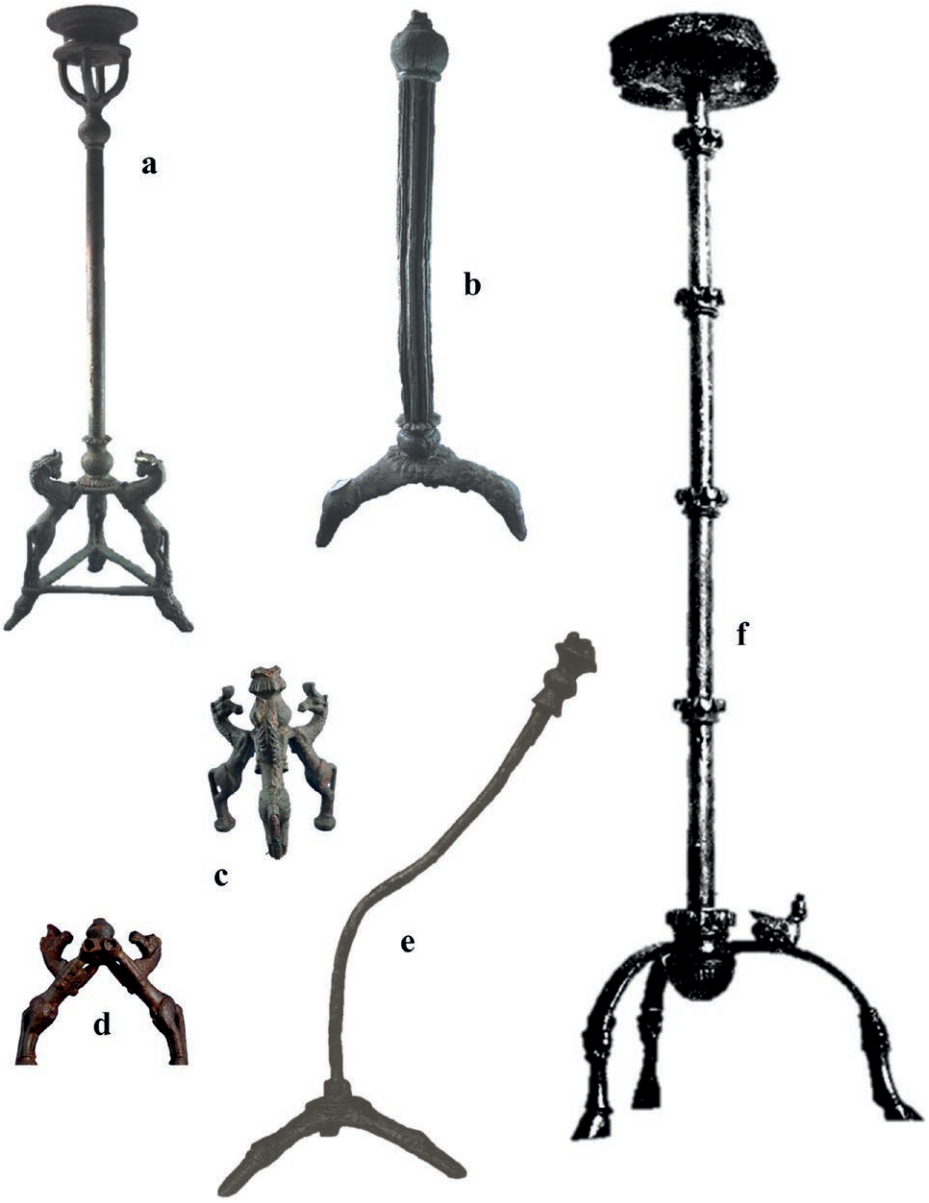

Fig. 7. bronze tripod stands from Jubaji tomb: a) complete stand, approx. h. 65 cm), b) near complete stand (approx. h. 55 cm), c-d) stand bases (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran), e) near complete, bent stand, approx. h. 70 cm (from Shishegar 2015, p. 327); f) bronze stand from Toprak-Kale, h. 118 cm (from Van Loon 1966, pl. XVIII).

worshipers (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 32–35, 82–84). At Chogha Zanbil on the Susiana plain, the *c*. 7th century phase of the Išmekarab temple yielded a 40 cm high ceramic stand topped by a dish that could have held coals for burning offerings (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013: 53, fig. 10). Earlier use of smaller versions of these terracotta stands in funerary rituals at the site is attested in the Middle Elamite *palais-hypogée* tomb IV, where three of them (approx. h. 20 cm) were set down beside a burial platform (Ghirshman 1968, pl. XCI, G.T.Z 982–984; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013, fig. 135).[28] The Jubaji and Arjan bronze tripod stands may have been luxury metal versions of these braziers, more fit-

[28] Neo-Assyrian royal funerals also included a burnt offering (*šuruptu*) (Parpola 1970: texts 4, 195 and 280).

ting for temples, with removable dishes that were either not identified amongst the assemblages or taken away from the tomb directly after their use.

4. BRONZE COFFINS

Intensifying the impression that the Jubaji women were linked to the religious sphere are their bronze coffins (Fig. 1c). Both belong to a class of bronze U-shaped 'bathtub' coffins apparently conceived for use in Neo-Assyrian palaces as ritual basins, perhaps even in ancestor cult practices (Richardson 1999: 145; Brown 2010; Wicks 2015: 100–111). Their earliest attested use as coffins is in the Neo-Assyrian northwest palace of Ashurnasirpal (883–859 BCE) at Nimrud. Here three bronze coffins were deposited together in a secondary context in the antechamber of Queen's tomb III sometime between the later 8th and later 7th centuries BCE (Wicks 2015: 12–16, with references). Two others were used to bury two females in the *gipāru* religious complex at Ur in southern Mesopotamia, and another one to bury the man in the Arjan tomb (Wicks 2015). The two in the *gipāru* at Ur, PG1 and PG2, unearthed by Leonard Woolley in 1925-26 are of particular significance (Woolley 1926: 379; 1962: 53–56, pls. 17–18; see also Curtis 1983: 88–91). The coffins, which were placed close together in separate corbelled brick vaults, each contained a richly adorned and equipped female interment (Curtis 1983: 89–91). The PG1 female was aged around 25 years, while the PG2 female was noticeably smaller but not well enough preserved to determine her age (Molleson, Hodgson 2003). Analyses of their tibias and metatarsals revealed that they spent substantial time kneeling with their toes curled under (Molleson, Hodgson 2003: 120–121, fig. 23), presumably related to their specific role(s) in life.

Woolley (1926: 379) assigned the coffin burials to *c*. 700-650 BCE, a date well-supported by the assemblage (Curtis 1983: 87–88, 91–93; 2008: 163, 165), and noted that they cut across the southwest wall of the *gipāru* of Kurigalzu. His field notes further indicated that PG2 lay 'directly under', and hence pre-dated, the temenos wall of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BCE).[29] Just north of the coffins this same wall cut in half the poorly preserved Neo-Assyrian *gipāru* building he assigned to Sin-balassu-iqbi (Woolley 1965: 35–36, pl. 53; see also Curtis 1983: 93). Sin-balassu-iqbi, governor of Ur during the reigns of Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 BCE), sought to undertake the most impressive monumental building projects at Ur since those of the Kassite king Kurigalzu, and he too adopted Sumerian for his building inscriptions. He rebuilt not only the *gipāru* but also the associated temple of Ningal, wife of the moon god Nanna, and carried out numerous restorations including work on the ziggurat (Brinkman 1965b: 249–251).

It was probably in this new incarnation under Sin-balassu-iqbi, that the coffins were deposited with the mortal remains of resident priestesses of Nanna (Weadock 1975: 112–114). The esteemed female cultic office of *entu*, also recorded in Assyria at this time,[30] was associated especially with princesses and had a long history in Mesopotamia. Sargon of Akkad (*c*. 2334-2279 BCE) installed his daughter Enheduanna – the world's first known author – as *entu* of Nanna (Westenholz 1989), and Naram-Sin (*c*. 2254-2218 BCE) later installed his daughter Tutanapšum

[29] Contradicting his initial report that one of the coffins lay under the wall of Nebuchadnezzar, Woolley later placed both coffins 'close to' the Temenos wall and stated that they had been 'dug down into the buried ruins of the ancient *gipāru* from a Persian house of which every brick had disappeared' (Woolley 1962: 55–56, 68; Woolley, Moorey 1982: 260).

[30] Three late Neo-Assyrian omen texts belonging to the celestial omen series, *Enuma Anu Enlil*, state that *entu*-priestesses will be made pregnant if Scorpius stands in the lunar halo (Hunger 1992, nos. 147, 307 and 480) and another states that if an eclipse occurs on the 28th day of Nisan, 'a daughter of the king, [an *entu*-priestess, will die]' in place of her father, who will fall ill but recover (Hunger 1992, no. 102, lines 10-11). Saana Svärd (2018: 126) highlights that the scribes were therefore aware of the tradition of the *entu*-priestess and the placement of princesses in the office, and points to another, rather mundane, text in which an *entu* receives barley (Mattila 2002, no. 68) demonstrating that at least one woman was known as an *entu*. Conversely, Natalie Naomi May (2022: 145) dismisses the omens as evidence of the *entu*-priestesses' existence, proceeding from an assumption that the *Enuma Anu Enlil* series was composed in the Old Babylonian period and copied until it reached late Neo-Assyrian scholars, and questions Mattila's reading of '*entu*' in the barley text. Regarding the former argument, although eclipse omens did exist in the Old Babylonian period, celestial omens gained popularity only relatively late, and the series reached its final form only by the 7th century BCE (Mattila 2002: XIII-XIV).

as *entu* of Enlil (Michalowski 1981: 175; Frayne 1993: 122–124, E2.1.4.19–20). Earlier burials of *entu*-priestesses within the *gipāru* complex are documented both archaeologically and textually. Five plundered corbel-vaulted tombs were preserved under a series of Isin-Larsa period rooms (B10, B12-15) on its northeast side, separating the *gipāru* residences and the temple of Ningal (Woolley, Mallowan 1976: 8, 51–52, pl. 118).[31] Slightly later, Enanedu – daughter of Kudur-mabuk, a Larsa ruler of Elamite descent (De Graef 2022: 458–459) – described her repairs to the cemetery of former *entu*-priestesses in the *gipāru* when she served as *entu* in the reigns of her brothers Rim-Sin and Warad-Sin (Frayne 1990: 299–301, no. 20:34–43, BM 130729).[32] More than one millennium later, Nabonidus (556-539 BCE) boasted of his reinstatement of the ancient *entu* office, in which he installed his daughter Belšalti-Nanna (En-nigaldi-Nanna), and his restoration of the *gipāru* and the wall of the 'cemetery' of the *entu* priestesses along its side (Clay 1915: 66–67; Weadock 1975: 109–110; *Nabonidus* 34, http://oracc.org/ribo/Q005431/).

Given the close geographical, political, economic, cultural, and social ties between southern Babylonia and Elam, with frequent exchanges of people, materials, and ideas, including religious beliefs and rituals, the shared funerary treatment of important female individuals at Ur and Jubaji should not be surprising. In particular, the close connections between the Elamite and Babylonian elite, such as the marriage of the Chaldean ruler Merodach-Baladan to an Elamite, probably royal, woman (Henkelman 2008: 36) generated plentiful opportunities for the transfer of elite Babylonian customs such as the use of bronze coffins for the elite – including the religious elite.

5. GOLD OBJECTS WITH OWNERSHIP INSCRIPTIONS

The inscribed gold 'ring' naming Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata and the bracelet (?) of a cultic officiant, both more or less contemporary with the tomb, were looted and only later reunited with the assemblages (Shishegar 2015: 67). Here is it assumed that they both did indeed come from the tomb, as seems reasonable under the circumstances, but the provenience and even the authenticity of the objects and their inscriptions will never be beyond all doubt.

5.1. Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata 'ring'

The gold 'ring' of 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' (Fig. 8a, appendix JBJ 1) was one of three similar gold objects in the tomb typified by a curved tubular grip with disc-shaped finials. Though small, these objects were probably some kind of hand-held official insignia judging by a far more elaborately decorated inscribed example held in the hand of the man in the Arjan tomb.[33] The *c.* 7th/6th century Kul-e Farah IV relief in the Izeh Valley shows an object resembling these unique Elamite 'rings' with large disc terminals in the right hand of a weapon bearer (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 76).[34]

---

[31] See also Weadock (1975: 109–110) and Charpin (2020: 202), noting the floor plan discrepancies in Woolley's publications and a possible sixth tomb under room B.11 or B.16.

[32] Documents from the Ningal temple dated to Larsa ruler Sumu-el years 10 and 27-28 also list offerings, styled as 'libations' to two dead *entu*-priestesses alongside minor gods; namely Enanatuma (*entu* around *c.* 1975 BCE, daughter of Išme-Dagan, king of Isin), who was being venerated at least fifty years after her death, and a certain Enmegalana (Figulla 1953a: 111, nos. 35–36; 1953b: 176, nos. 60–63). See also Weadock 1975: 104; Charpin 2020: 195, 202, n. 98 (with recent references).

[33] Two smaller bronze 'rings' from Susa and a silver one, possibly from Choga Zanbil, add no more evidence on function as they lack find contexts (Álvarez-Mon 2011: 305–306).

[34] Slightly later, open 'rings' with rather different animal head or griffin terminals appear in the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis as tribute in the hands of Median, Lydian, Scythian, and Sogdian (?) dignitaries (Schmidt 1953, pls. 27b, 32, 37, 43). Closed, circular, hand-held rings had a much longer history in Iran in the form of the characteristic Mesopotamian motif of a ring and rod passed from deity to ruler. Later, closed 'rings of investiture' are held by a ruler in the Parthian-era Tang-e Sarvak II relief (Haerinck 2003: 223) and passed from a deity or priest to a ruler in Sasanian reliefs (Overlaet 2013: 314–315, 322–323).

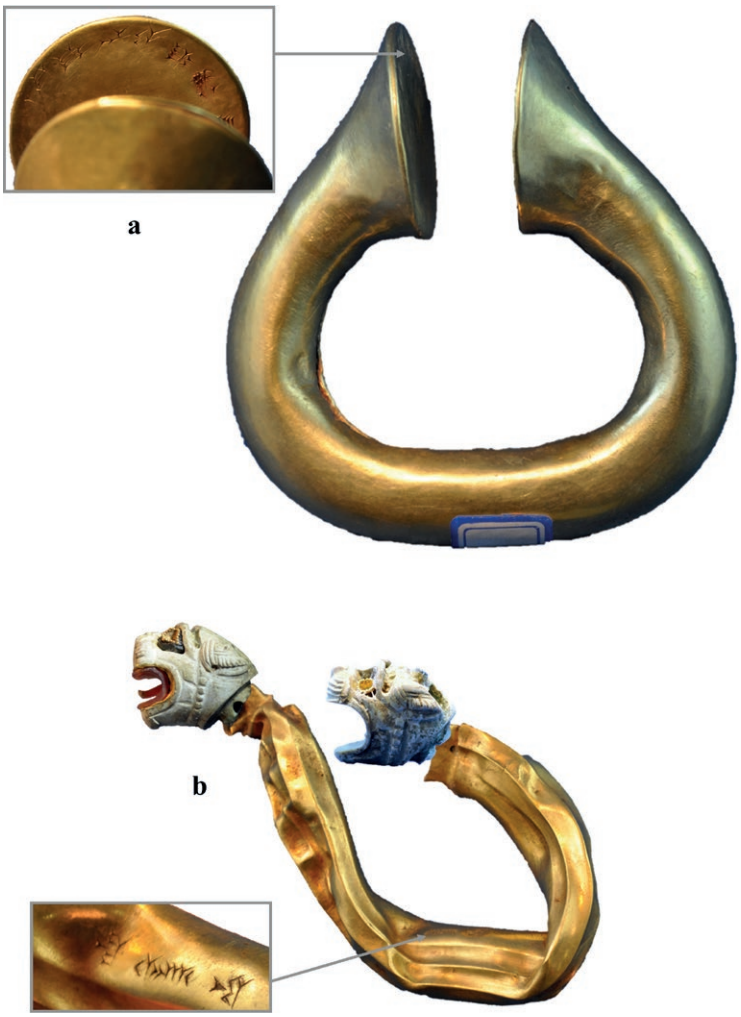

Fig. 8. inscribed gold objects from Jubaji tomb: a) 'ring' of Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata (approx. h.10 cm), b) gold bracelet with lion-head terminals (approx. w. 6 cm in original state) (photographs courtesy of J. Álvarez-Mon and the National Museum of Iran).

The Arjan 'ring' and three other metal objects in the assemblage all carried the same name inscription 'Kidin-Hutran son of Kurluš'. The consistency of the inscriptions and the placement of the ring in the man's hand suggest that they marked his personal identity. Perhaps they were property or gifts acquired in his life or were items bestowed upon his death. The Jubaji 'ring', inscribed with a male name, was perhaps intended to signal in a general way the royal lineage of one or both women.[35] If they were priestesses, it might have marked one or both as dedications to the temple by their royal male relative, whether their father or brother.[36] Or perhaps it could have been a dowry item brought to the temple.[37] Its dedication by the king as a votive offering to a temple could not be excluded either.

[35] Perhaps the practice of inscribing objects was more common in these areas further south, since no inscriptions have been detected on grave goods in the many, albeit less wealthy, Neo-Elamite burials at Susa. Slightly later, stone vessels inscribed with the names of Achaemenid rulers are attested but only in non-mortuary contexts (e.g., numerous examples from Persepolis in Schmidt 1957: 84–88).

[36] As May (2022, n. 10) notes, princesses and free women were typically consecrated by their male family members, whether their fathers or brothers.

[37] In 24th century BCE Ebla, priestesses received rich gifts as dowries when entering the temple (Biga 2016: 79), and Old Babylonian documentation likewise records dowries of *nadītu* (Dalley 1980: 54), religious women who are also attested in legal tablets at Susa at

5.2. La-ar-na bracelet

Most explicitly connected to the cultic sphere is the gold bracelet inscribed '*la-ar-na*' nominating it as the property of the maker/doer of the 'offerings, sacrifice' (Fig. 8b, appendix JBJ 2). Wouter Henkelman (2008: 270, 274, 298) translates *lar* as 'officiant': 'the term par excellence that describes the "priestly" class of Elamite society', observing its use only for cultic specialists like high priests and *šatin* (cultic experts) and officials whose rank implied cultic duties such as the chancellor or the king. Whether the bracelet marked one of the women in the tomb as a *lar* or had instead been the possession of a (male) cultic specialist – even the king himself – is not self-evident, as gender is not implicit in either the inscription or the role.

Women certainly held positions in the cultic sphere, and sometimes very important ones. The esteemed female cultic office of *entu* discussed above appears in Elam from at least *c.* 15/14th century with an inscription from Haft Tappeh, which assigns an *entu* and an *ippu* priest responsibility for what seem to be royal funerary offerings. In the Neo-Elamite period the office is attested on a fragmentary inscribed limestone block (or stele?) of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak II (*c.* 550-530 BCE) from Susa (MDP 11, no. 102; EKI 85:14).[38] It contains 31 entries listing livestock for lap 'officiants', i.e., officials or groups with courtly and/or cultic roles including an ^{AŠ}*en-te*.GAL É.DA^{rMEŠ} [^{AN}] *hu-ban-na*, 'high-priestess of the "aside" temple of Humban' (Henkelman 2008: 362, 446–447). It is not clear what 'aside' implies – perhaps a building wing, or a shrine of Humban (or a subsidiary goddess) attached to a larger structure (Henkelman 2008: 447, n. 1036) – and whether it reduces her status in any way vis-à-vis her male counterparts, including a 'high priest'. But at any rate, her responsibility for the animals was the same. François Vallat identified another term possibly referring to a type of priestess, the *muhtip*, in the Susa Acropole text corpus, which also date to the early-mid 6th century BCE. Vallat (2002/03: 540) observes that these females appear to be either providing or receiving materials in the same way as male *šatin* priests (MDP 9: nos. 121 and 123, priests in nos. 89, 107, 168). 168). It is worth bearing in mind, however, that the same goods are also received by other individuals without qualification. Noting that a *muhhudu ullira* depicted in the relief of Hanni of Ayapir (KF I, EKI 75 G) seems to be a sacrificial priest, Vallat raises the possibility that the *muhtip* too could play this role. Slightly later, Persepolis Fortification text NN 2259 refers to a certain Utur – probably an Elamite name – who seems to be a female officiant or 'priestess' receiving livestock with a male individual named Kusa for the performance of a dedication (on) an (offering) table (Henkelman 2008: 403–404). Assuming that women could indeed perform ritual sacrifices of animals like male cultic specialists,[39] the unusual find in the Jubaji tomb of at least ten daggers, typically considered male-gendered objects, might be contemplated as possible evidence for sacrificial duties of the women.

CONCLUSION

None of the individual pieces of evidence discussed here is significant in isolation. But in combination, the tomb's incorporation into a large building or complex, the ancient stone beads, the ritual pans and tripod stands, the bronze coffins, and the inscribed gold items, one the property of a cultic officiant, make a compelling case for a link to a temple institution. This link may be explained in terms of the involvement of the institution in royal funerary rites, or, as I am inclined to believe, the identity of the interred women as highly ranked 'clergy' who were buried within the temple complex. This does not in any way negate the conclusions of Arman Shishegar that they were princesses of the family of Šutur-Nahunte. The appointment of royal daughters as high priestesses to keep the

---

this time. Numerous dowry lists of women from Neo-Babylonian elite households have been preserved and their standard (portable) items included silver, gold, jewelry, garments, furniture, tableware, and utensils (Roth 1989).

[38] For the dating of this ruler, who would have been contemporary with Cyrus II, see Tavernier 2004: 39; Henkelman 2008: 445–446). As Gorris (2020) notes, the name of the office is borrowed from Akkadian *entu rabītu*, but the cult was that of a local Elamite god.

[39] In a Persepolis text Ururu the *šatin*, for example, performs animal sacrifices (Henkelman 2008: 314, PF 0352).

royal family and religious institutions closely bound had a long history in Mesopotamia,[40] and there is no reason why Elamite royalty should not have sought such relationships with the gods.

The riverside location of the tomb and the fish-women pans could suggest the association of the women with a water cult. Sources of pure water were important locations for Elamite worship. In an open-air sanctuary high above the Fahliyan river in the Mamasani region, a rock relief depicting worshipers receiving flowing water from a deity, perhaps Napiriša – the Elamite Ea/Enki – was carved around the 17th century BCE and new worshipers were added as late as the 6th century BCE (Potts 2004: 153–154; Álvarez-Mon 2019: 15–22). In the Izeh valley, the cave sanctuary with a spring at Shekaft-e Salman was established with reliefs at around the 12th century BCE, and the sanctuary in the rocky Kul-e Farah gorge with a seasonal creek was selected for extensive relief carving commencing around the 9th century BCE (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 2). In the Elamite lowlands, a (Middle Elamite?) building at the old bank of the Ab-e Dez close to Chogha Zanbil might also have played a role in riverside rituals (Henkelman 2008: 378).

A collation of written evidence for river-related cultic activity in ancient southwest Iran by Wouter Henkelman (2008: 377–384) further highlights the potential for an Elamite river-based cult at Jubaji. For example, Šaz(z)i the (son of the) river god known from Sukkalmah-dated legal documents at Susa appears as an offering recipient in the late Neo-Elamite Susa Acropole text archive (MDP 9 12:2, 5; 93:6; 168:3). Then the Persepolis Fortification texts, which postdate the Jubaji tomb by perhaps at most a century, record river offerings of wine, grain, and sacrificial animals. An Elamite origin for this cultic practice is likely. The only named recipient of the river offering text (NN 0339) is Humban, an Elamite god who had been worshiped since the 3rd millennium and whose cult still preserved pre-Achaemenid elements. Henkelman nominates Napiriša as another potential recipient and Anahita, who is frequently associated with streaming, pure waters. Another potential female divine candidate for worship is the daughter of Ea/Enki, Nanshe (or a contemporary, local Elamite equivalent), amongst whose important roles pertained to fish and fishing (Veldhuis 2004). Much earlier she was certainly known in Elam, as the late third millennium BCE ruler, Gudea of Lagash built a temple to her at the Elamite settlement of Adamdun (Potts 2021). Though much later, Trudy Kawami (2018: 690; following Rose 2011: 147) observes the long association of women with water offerings such as libations into streams or wells in Zoroastrian tradition in Iran.

If the importance of the Ramhormoz plain by around 600 BCE was not clear enough prior to the discovery of the Jubaji tomb in 2007, there can now be little doubt that it had hosted an important late Neo-Elamite royal city. And following through to the conclusion of the arguments I have made in this article; it was very likely also the location of an important temple. In my view, the wealth and elaborate cultic objects of the Jubaji burials would seem most fitting for a temple to either of the two venerable Elamite gods Humban or Napiriša, or even Ruhurater, who was worshiped at Huhnur on the Ramhormoz plain.[41] Here, elite, probably royal, families, can be reimagined dedicating their daughters continuing a long tradition of forging ties between the divine and royal houses.

Abbreviations

CAD Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
DB Achaemenid royal inscriptions in the name of Darius (I) at Bisotun
EKI König 1965
MDP Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse series
RINAP The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
XSd Achaemenid royal inscription in the name of Xerxes (I) from the Gate of Darius at Susa, published in Vallat 1974

[40] Several princesses were also appointed in the Ebla region in the 24th century as priestesses (Biga 2016: 79).
[41] For the worship of Ruhurater at Huhnur, including the possible restoration of a temple to this deity there in the Neo-Elamite period, see Henkelman 2007, 2008: 41, 59.

REFERENCES

Alizadeh A. 1985, A Tomb of the Neo-Elamite Period at Arjān, near Behbahan, *Archaologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 18: 49–73.

Alizadeh A. 2014, *Ancient Settlement Systems and Cultures in the Ram Hormuz Plain, Southwestern Iran* (Oriental Institute Publications 140), Chicago, The University of Chicago.

Al-Rawi F.N.H. 2008, Inscriptions from the Tombs of the Queens of Assyria, in J. Curtis, H. McCall, D. Collon, L. al-Gailani Werr (eds) *New Light on Nimrud: Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference 11th–13th of March 2002*, London, British Institute for the Study of Iraq in Association with the British Museum: 119–138.

Álvarez-Mon J. 2010, *The Arjān Tomb, at the Crossroads of the Elamite and the Persian Empires*, Leuven, Peeters.

Álvarez-Mon J. 2011, The Golden Griffin from Arjān, in J. Álvarez-Mon, M.B. Garrison (eds) *Elam and Persia*, Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns: 299–377.

Álvarez-Mon J. 2018, The Elamite artistic heritage of Persia, in J. Álvarez-Mon, G.P. Basello, Y. Wicks (eds) *The Elamite World*, London – New York, Routledge: 829–850.

Álvarez-Mon J. 2019, *The Monumental Reliefs of the Elamite Highlands: A Complete Inventory and Analysis (from the Seventeenth to the Sixth Century BC)*, University Park, Eisenbrauns - Penn State University Press.

Álvarez-Mon J., Wicks Y. 2021, Elamite War Chariots and Military Equipment at Ancient Kabnak (ca. 1400 BCE), *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 73: 121–134.

Álvarez-Mon J. 2020, *The Art of Elam ca. 4200–525 BC*, London, Routledge.

Amiet P. 1966, *Elam*, Paris, Archée Éditeur.

Amiet P. 1967, 'Eléments émaillés du décor architectural néo-élamite', *Syria*, 44(1–2): 27–46.

Amiet P. 1972, *Glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses Achéménides: cachets, sceaux-cylindres et empreintes antiques découverts à Suse de 1913 à 1967* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 43), Paris, Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Amiet P. 1986, *L'âge des échanges inter-iraniens, 3500–1700 avant J.-C.*, Paris, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.

Annus, A. 2016, *The Overturned Boat, Intertextuality of the Adapa Myth and Exorcist Literature* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 24), Helsinki, Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Aruz J. 1992, Stone Sculpture, in P.O. Harper, J. Aruz, F. Tallon (eds) *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 127–131.

Ascalone E. 2022, *Bronze Age Weights from Mesopotamia, Iran and Greater Indus Valley* (Weight & Value 3), Hamburg, Wachholtz Verlag Kiel.

Ascalone E. 2023, Note on New Weights from Susa: Further Evidence on Susa-Indus Commercial Transactions and Cultural Relations, in J. Tavernier, E. Gorris, K. De Graef (eds) *Susa and Elam II: History, Language, Religion and Culture*, Leiden, Brill: 461–495.

Attinger P. 2021, *Glossaire sumérien–français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.

Barnett R.D. 1950, Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van, *Iraq* 12: 1–43.

Barnett R.D. 1963, A Review of Acquisitions 1955–1962 of Western Asiatic Antiquities (i), *The British Museum Quarterly* 28: 92–101.

Bartelheim M., Kızılduman B., Müller U., Pernicka E., Tekel H. 2008, The Late Bronze Age hoard of Kaleburnu/Galinoporni on Cyprus, *Památky archeo logické* 99: 161–188.

Bartelmus A. 2010, Restoring the Past. A Historical Analysis of the Royal Temple Building Inscriptions from the Kassite Period, *Kaskal: Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico* 7: 143–171.

Bartelmus A. 2016, *Fragmente einer großen Sprache. Sumerisch im Kontext der Schreiberausbildung des kassitenzeitlichen Babylonien* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 12/1–2), Boston-Berlin, De Gruyter.

Basello G.P. 2012, Doorknobs, Nails or Pegs? The Function(s) of the Elamite and Achaemenid Inscribed Knobs, in G.P. Basello, A.V. Rossi (eds) *DARIOSH Studies II. Persepolis and Its Settlements: Territorial System and Ideology in the Achaemenid State* (Series Minor, 78), Naples, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale": 1–66, pls. I–XX

Basello G.P. 2018, Administrative Topography in Comparison: Overlapping Jurisdiction between the Susa Acropole Tablets and The Persepolis Fortification Tablets, in J. Tavernier, E. Gorris, K. Abraham, V. Boschloos (eds) *Topography and Toponymy in the Ancient Near East Perspectives and Prospects*, Leuven, Peeters: 217–266.

Beaulieu P.-A. 2003, *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Leiden, Brill.

Beaulieu P.-A. 2018, *A History of Babylon 2200 BC–AD 75*, Medford, Wiley Blackwell.

Benzel K. 2015, "What Goes in Is What Comes Out" – But What Was Already There? Divine Materials and Materiality in Ancient Mesopotamia, in B. Pongratz-Leisten, K. Sonik (eds) *The Materiality of Divine Agency*. Berlin – München – Boston, De Gruyter: 89–118

Biga M.G. 2016, The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ebla Kingdom (Syria, 24th century BC), in B. Lion, C. Michel (eds) *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, Boston-Berlin, De Gruyter: 71–89.

Borger R. 1956, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, Graz, Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers.

Borger R. 1996, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.

Brinkman J.A. 1965a, Elamite military aid to Merodach-Baladan, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24: 161–166.

Brinkman J.A. 1965b, Ur: 721-605 B.C. Review of "Ur Excavations, IX: The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods by Leonard Woolley", *Orientalia (n.s.)* 34(2): 241–258.

Brinkman J.A. 1968, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158–722 B.C.* (Analecta Orientalia 43), Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

Brinkman J.A. 1976, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History (Vol. I), A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*, Chicago, The University of Chicago.

Brinkman J.A. 1983, Through a Glass Darkly: Esarhaddon's Retrospects on the Downfall of Babylon, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103(1): 35–42.

Brinkman J.A. 1989, The Inscriptions, in Schmidt, Van Loon, Curvers 1989: 475–484.

Brinkman J.A. 2017, Babylonia under the Kassites: Some Aspects for Consideration, in A. Bartelmus, K. Sternitzke (eds) *Karduniaš. Babylonia under the Kassites 1*, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter: 1–44.

Brown B. 2010, Kingship and Ancestral Cult in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 10: 1–53.

Carter E. 1994, Bridging the Gap between the Elamites and the Persians in Southeastern Khuzistan, in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt, M.C. Root (eds) *Achaemenid History Vol. VIII*, *Continuity and Change*, Leiden, Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten: 65–95

Charpin D. 2020, Enanedu et les prêtresses-enum du dieu Nanna à Ur à l'époque paléobabylonienne, in D. Charpin, M. Béranger, B. Fiette, A. Jacquet. *ARCHIBAB 4. Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne* 22 (Mémoires de N.A.B.U.), SEPOA: 187–210.

Choukassizian Eypper S. 2018, A Brief Look Eastward, in S.V. Panayotov, L. Vacín (eds) *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic: Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller*, Leiden – Boston, Brill: 167–188.

Clay A.T. 1915, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Clayden T. 2009, Eye-stones, *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 2: 36–86.

Clayden T. 2011, The Nippur 'hoard', *Al-Rāfidān* 32: 1–56.

Cole S.W. 1994, The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabu-šuma-iškun, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 84: 220–252.

Collon D. 2010, Getting it Wrong in Assyria: Some Bracelets from Nimrud, *Iraq* 72: 149–162.

Cooper J. 2006, Response for the First Session: Origins, Functions, Adaptation, Survival, in S.L. Sanders (ed.) *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, Chicago, The University of Chicago: 83–90.

Curtis J. 1983, Late Assyrian Bronze Coffins, *Anatolian Studies* 33: 85–95.
Dalley S. 1980, Old Babylonian Dowries, *Iraq* 42(1): 53–74.
Dalley S. 2011, Apkallu, in J. Eggler (ed.) *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East*, Electronic Pre-Publication ed.. Leiden: Brill. Last Revision 10, March 2011. https://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_apkallu.pdf, retrieved 1-6-2024.
De Graef K. 2022, The Middle East after the Fall of Ur. From Ešnunna and the Zagros to Susa, in K. Radner, N. Moeller, D.T. Potts (eds) *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East* (Vol. 2), Oxford: Oxford University Press: 408–496.
De Graef K. 2023, Other than Mother: On Childlessness as Part of the Social Identity of Nadītu Women, *Avar* 2(1): 9–30.
Fales F.M., Postgate J.N. 1992, Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration (State Archives of Assyria 7), Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.
Farber W. 2014, *Lamaštu: An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 17), Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns.
Figulla H.H. 1953a, Accounts concerning Allocation of Provisions for Offerings in the Ningal-Temple at Ur, *Iraq* 15(1): 88–122.
Figulla H.H. 1953b, Accounts concerning Allocations of Provisions for Offerings in the Ningal-Temple at Ur (Continued), Iraq 15(2): 171–192.
Foster B.R. 1996, *Before the muses: An anthology of Akkadian literature* (2 vols.), Bethesda, CDL Press.
Frame G. 1987, Three new Kassite royal inscriptions in the Louvre, *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 5: 5–6.
Frame G. 1992, *Babylonia 689–627 B.C.: A Political History*, Istanbul, Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
Frame G., Parpola S. 2023, *The Correspondence of Assurbanipal, Part II: Letters from Southern Babylonia* (State Archives of Assyria 22), University Park, Eisenbrauns – Penn State University Press.
Frayne D.R. 1990, *Old Babylonian Period* (2003-1595 BC) (RIME 4), Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
Frayne D.R. 1993, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods* (RIME 2), Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
Frayne D.R. 1997, *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)* (RIME 3/2), Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
Frenez D. 2023, Indus Valley: Early Commercial Connections with Central and Western Asia, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, retrieved 17-1-2024, from https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-595.
Fuchs A. 1994, *Die Inschriften Sargons II aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen, Cuvillier.
Galter H.D. 1987, On Beads and Curses, *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 5: 11–30.
Gansell R. 2012, Women in Ancient Mesopotamia, in S.L.James, S. Dillon (eds) *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, Malden, Blackwell: 11–24
George A.R. 2011, Other Second-Millennium Royal and Commemorative Inscriptions, in A.R. George (ed.) *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection* (Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17 = Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Cuneiform Texts 6), Bethesda, CDL Press.
Gesche P.D. 2001, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 275), Münster, Ugarit-Verlag.
Ghirshman R. 1968, *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur Untash). Vol. II, La Ziggurat* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 40), Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
Glassner J.J. 2004, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature.
Goldberg J. 2004, The Berlin Letter, Middle Elamite chronology and Šutruk-Nahunte I's genealogy, *Iranica Antica* 39: 33–42.
Gorris E. 2020, *Power and Politics in the Neo-Elamite Kingdom* (Acta Iranica, 60), Leuven, Peeters.
Grayson A.K. 1975, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, New York, J.J.Augustin Publisher.

Haerinck E. 2003, Again on Tang-i Sarvak II, NE-Side. Goddesses Do Not Have Moustaches and Do Not Wear Trousers, *Iranica Antiqua* 38: 221–245.

Harper P.O. 1992, Mesopotamian Monuments Found at Susa, in P.O. Harper, J. Aruz, F. Tallon (eds) *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 159–162.

Henkelman W.F.M. 2007, Ruhurater, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 11: 449.

Henkelman W.F.M. 2008, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Henkelman W.F.M. 2017, Imperial Signature and Imperial Paradigm: Achaemenid administrative structure and system across and beyond the Iranian plateau, in B. Jacobs, W.F.M. Henkelman, M.W. Stolper (eds) *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich. Imperiale Muster und Strukturen. Administration in the Achaemenid Empire. Tracing the Imperial Signature*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 45–256.

Horowitz W. 1998, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns.

Hunger H. 1992, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (State Archives of Assyria 8), Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.

Hussein M.M. 2016, *Nimrud: The Queens' Tombs*, Baghdad – Chicago, Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage – The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Kawami T.S. 2018, Elamite Dress and Textiles, in J. Álvarez-Mon, G.P. Basello, Y. Wicks (eds) *The Elamite World*, London – New York, Routledge: 673–694.

Kawami T.S. 2019, Some observations on fringe in Elamite dress, in M. Cifarelli (ed.) *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, Oxford – Philadelphia, Oxbow Books: 147–160.

Kenoyer J.M. 2013, Eye Beads from the Indus Tradition: Technology, Style and Chronology, *Journal of Asian Civilizations* 36(2): 1–22.

Khanzadian E.V., Piotrovskiĭ B.B. 1992, A Cylinder Seal with Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Inscription from the Metsamor Gravesite, *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* 30(4): 67–74.

Knudsen E.E. 1959, An Incantation Tablet from Nimrud, *Iraq* 21: 54–61.

König, F.W. 1965. *Die elamischen Konigsinschriften* (Archiv für Orientforschung 16), Graz.

Lambert M. 1970, Une inscription de Kutir-Nahunte, *Journal Asiatique* 258(3–4): 243–246.

Lambert W.G. 1969, An eye-stone of Esarhaddon's Queen and other similar gems, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 63: 65–71.

Lambert W.G. 1994, The fall of the Cassite dynasty to the Elamites: An historical epic, in H. Gasche, M. Tanret, C. Janssen, A. Degraeve (eds) *Cinquante-deux reflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommages à Léon de Meyer*, Ghent, Peeters: 67–72.

Langdon S.H. 1923, The Eyes of Ningal, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 20: 9–11.

Limper K. 1988, *Uruk. Perlen, Ketten, Anhänger. Grabungen 1912-1985* (Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka 2), Mainz, P. von Zabern.

Luckenbill D.D. 1924, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Oriental Institute Publications 2), Chicago, The University of Chicago.

Mahboubian H. 1995, *Treasures of the mountains. The art of the Medes*, London, Houshang Mahboubian.

Maiocchi M. 2023, *Lessico delle iscrizioni reali sumeriche* (Il Nuovissimo Ramusio 43 = Dizionari del Vicino Oriente Antico 1), Roma, ISMEO.

Mattila R. 2002, *Legal transactions of the royal court of Niniveh. Part II: Assurbanipal through Sin-šarru-iškun*, (State Archives of Assyria 14), Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.

May N.N. 2022, Women in Cult in First Millennium BCE Mesopotamia, in K. De Graef, A. Garcia-Ventura, A. Goddeeris, B. Alpert Nakhai (eds) *The Mummy Under the Bed. Essays on Gender and Methodology in the Ancient Near East*, Münster, Zaphon: 125–156

McCown D.E., Haines R.C. 1967, *Nippur I. Temple of Enlil, Scribal Quarter, and Soundings* (Oriental Institute Publications 78), Chicago, Chicago Oriental Institute.

Mecquenem R. de 1905, Offrandes de fondation du Temple de Chouchinak, in J. de Morgan, G. Jéquier, R. de Mecquenem, B. Haussoullier, D.L. Graadt Van Roggen (eds) *Recherches archéologiques deuxième série* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 7), Paris, Ernest Leroux: 61–130.

Mecquenem R. de 1929, Rapport de Mission 1929. *Roland de Mecquenem Archives de Suse 1912-1939*, retrieved from http://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/index/rapports.

Messina V. 2018, The Fourth Terrace of Elymais: Preliminary Survey at Qalʿe-ye Bardi of the Iranian-Italian Joint Expedition in Khuzestan, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 91: 167–180.

Michalowski P. 1981, Tudanapšum, Naram-Sin and Nippur, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 75: 173–176.

Mofidi-Nasrabadi B. 2005, Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappe Bormi (Iran), *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 95: 161–171.

Mofidi-Nasrabadi B. 2013, *Planungsaspecte und die Struktur der altorientalischen neugrundeten Stadt in Choga Zanbil*, Aachen, Shaker Verlag.

Mofidi-Nasrabadi B. 2018, Who was "^{d}MÙŠ.EREN.EŠŠANA.DINGIR.MEŠ"?, *Elamica* 8: 113–126.

Molleson T., Hodgson D. 2003, The Human Remains from Woolley's Excavations at Ur, *Iraq* 65: 91–129.

Overlaet, B. 2013, And Man Created God? Kings, Priests and Gods on Sasanian Investiture reliefs, *Iranica Antiqua* 48: 313–354.

Paper H.H. 1954, Note préliminaire sur la date de trois tablettes élamites de Suse, in R. Ghirshman, *Village perse-achéménide* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 36), Paris, Presses universitaires de France: 79–82, pl. 24.

Parpola S. 1970, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (Part 1, *Texts*), Kevelaer, Verlag Butzon and Bercker.

Paulus S. 2013, Beziehungen zweier Großmächte – Elam und Babylonien in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. Ein Beitrag zur internen Chronologie, in K. De Graef, J. Tavernier (eds) *Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives. Proceedings of the International Congress Held at Ghent University. December 14-17. 2009* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 58), Leiden – Boston, Brill: 429–449.

Paulus S. 2018, Fraud, Forgery, and Fiction: Is There Still Hope for Agum-Kakrime?, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 70: 115–166.

Potts D.T. 2004, The Numinous and the Immanent. Some Thoughts on Kurangun and the Rudkhaneh-e Fahliyan, K. von Folsach, H. Thrane, I. Thuesen (eds) *From Handaxe to Khan. Essays Presented to Peder Mortensen on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press: 143–156.

Potts D.T. 2008, The Persepolis Fortification texts and the Royal Road: another look at the Fahliyan area, in P. Briant, W.F.M. Henkelman, M. W. Stolper (eds), *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis. État des questions et perspectives de recherches, Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la « Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre » et le « Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides » (GDR 2538 CNRS), 3-4 novembre 2006*, Paris, Éditions de Boccard: 275–301.

Potts D.T. 2009, Urartian and Assyrian Echoes at Saruq al-Hadid (Emirate of Dubai), *Liwa* 1: 3–9.

Potts D.T. 2016, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (2nd ed.), New York, Cambridge University Press.

Potts, D. T. 2021, Puzur-Inshushinak, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History: Asia and Africa*: 1-3.

Prabhakar V.N. 2018, Decorated Carnelian Beads from the Indus Civilization Site of Dholavira (Great Rann of Kachchha, Gujarat), in D. Frenez, G.M. Jamison, R.W. Law, M. Vidale, R.H. Meadow (eds) *Walking with the Unicorn: Social Organization and Material Culture in Ancient South Asia*, Oxford, Archaeopress: 475–485.

Reiner E. 1970, Légendes des cylindres, appendix in E. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) Vol. IV: La Glyptique* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 42), Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Rezaei Naraghi N. 2022, Study of "Eye-Stone" in Achaemenid Empire, *Ancient Iranian Studies* 1(1): 67–79.

Richardson S. 1999, An Assyrian Garden of Ancestors: Room I, Northwest Palace, Kalhu, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 8: 145–216.

Roaf M. 2017, Kassite and Elamite Kings, in A. Bartelmus, K. Sternitzke (eds) *Karduniaš. Babylonia under the Kassites 1*, Berlin – Boston, De Gruyter: 166–195.

Rose J. 2011, In Praise of the Good Waters: Continuity and Purpose in Zoroastrian Lay Rituals, *Archeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 43: 141–156.

Roth M.T. 1989, The material composition of the Neo-Babylonian dowry, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36: 1–55.

Salaris D. 2019, 'ὀρεινὰ καὶ λῃστρικὰ ἔθνη (Strabo XVI.1.17): Mountain Tribes of Elymais and State Powers, from Neo-Elamite Kingdom(s) to Alexander the Great', in L. Prandi (ed.) *EstOvest. Confini e conflitti fra Vicino Oriente e mondo greco-romano* (Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica. Monografie 46), Roma, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider: 79–115, with Appendix by G.P. Basello, A sample of Neo-Elamite sources suggesting relationships between Susa and mountain peoples (ca. 600 BCE): 99–105.

Scheil V. 1928, Sparsim, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 25: 37–49.

Schmidt E.F. 1953, *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Oriental Institute Publications 68), Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Schmidt E.F. 1957, *Persepolis II: The Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (Oriental Institute Publications 69), Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Schmidt E.F., Van Loon M.N., Curvers H. 1989. *The Holmes Expedition to Luristan* (Oriental Institute Publications 108), Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Sharlach T. M. 2008, Priestesses, Concubines, and the Daughters of Men: Disentangling the Meaning of the Word lukur in Ur III times, in P. Michalowski (ed.) *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, Boston, American Schools of Oriental Research: 177–183.

Shishegar A. 2015, *Tomb of the Two Elamite Princesses of the House of King Shutur-Nahunte Son of Indada* [in Persian with English summary], Tehran, Cultural Heritage, Handcrafts and Tourism Organization.

Steinkeller P. 2018, The Birth of Elam in History, in J. Álvarez-Mon, G.P. Basello, Y. Wicks (eds) *The Elamite World*, London – New York: 177–202.

Steve M.-J. 1987, *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques, Inscriptions royales de Suse et de la Susiane* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 53), Nice, Editions Serre.

Steve M.-J. 1992, *Syllabaire Elamite. Histoire et Paleographie* (Civilisations du Proche-Orient: Serie II, Philologie 1), Neuchâtel – Paris, Recherches et publications.

Stolper M.W. 1992, Stele of Adda-Hamiti-Inshushinak: The Inscriptions, in P.O. Harper, J. Aruz, F. Tallon (eds) *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures at the Louvre*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 199.

Svärd S. 2018, Women in Neo-Assyrian Temples, in S. Yamada (ed.) *Neo-Assyrian Sources in Context: Thematic Studies on Texts, History, and Culture* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 28), Helsinki, Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project: 117–133.

Tallon F. 1992, The Achaemenid Tomb on the Acropole, in P.O. Harper, J. Aruz, F. Tallon (eds) *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 242–252.

Tavernier J. 2004, Some Thoughts on Neo-Elamite Chronology, *Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology* 2004.003.

Vallat F. 1974, L'inscription trilingue de Xerxès à la Porte de Darius, *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4: 171–180, fig. 31 pl. XXXVII, pl. XL.

Vallat F. 2000 (published 2001), Le 'clergé' élamite, in S. Graziani (ed.) with the collaboration of Maria Cristina Casaburi and Giancarlo Lacerenza, *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, volume 2, Naples, Istituto universitario orientale: 1065–1074.

Vallat F. 2002/03, Suse: G.1. La religion suso-élamite, in: *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 74, Paris, Letouzey and Ané: 529–553.

Vallat F. 2006, Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, Šutur-Nahunte et la chronologie néo-elamite, *Akkadica* 127: 59–62.

Vallat F. 2011, IX. Textes historiques élamites et achéménides, in A.R. George (ed.) *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection* (Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17 =

Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Cuneiform Texts 6), Bethesda – Maryland, CDL Press: 187–192, pls. LXXIII–VII.

Van Dijk J. 1986, Die dynastischen Heiraten zwischen Kassiten und Elamern. Eine verhängnisvolle Politik, *Orientalia (n.s.)* 55(2): 159–170.

Van Loon M.N. 1966, Urartian Art: Its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations (Publications de l'institut historique et archeologique neerlandais de Stamboul 20), Leiden, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Veldhuis N. 2004, *Religion, literature, and scholarship: the Sumerian composition Nanše and the birds, with a catalogue of Sumerian bird names* (Cuneiform Monographs 22), Leiden – Boston, Brill – Styx.

Vidale M. 2018, Great Domino Games: From Elam, Looking Eastwards, in J. Álvarez-Mon, G.P. Basello, Y. Wicks (eds) *The Elamite World*, London – New York, Routledge: 275–303

Walker C.B.E., Collon D. 1980, Hormuzd Rassam's Excavations for the British Museum at Sippar in 1881-1882, in L. De Meyer (ed.) *Tell ed-Der* (vol. 3), Leuven, Peeters: 93–112

Waters M.W. 2000, *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 12), Helsinki, Helsinki University Press.

Weadock P.N. 1975, The *giparu* at Ur, *Iraq* 37: 101–128.

Westenholz J.G. 1989, Enheduanna: En-Priestess, hen of Nanna, spouse of Nanna, in H. Behrens, D. Loding, M.T. Roth (eds) *DUMU-E²-DUB-BA-A: Studies in honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania Museum: 539–556.

Wicks Y. 2015, *Bronze "Bathtub" Coffins in the Context of 8th-6th Century B.C.E. Babylonian, Assyrian and Elamite Funerary Practices*, Oxford, Archaeopress.

Wicks Y. 2017, Late Neo-Elamite Ceremonial (?) "Rings", *Elamica* 7: 149–173.

Wicks Y. 2019, *Profiling Death. Neo-Elamite Mortuary Practices, Afterlife Beliefs, and Entanglements with Ancestors*, Leiden, Brill.

Wicks Y. 2023, Female, Fish and Frying Pan: An Enigmatic Funerary Object Unique to Elam, in K. De Graef, J. Tavernier, E. Gorris (eds) *Susa and Elam II. History, Language, Religion and Culture* (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse 59), Leiden, Brill: 394–440.

Woolley C.L. 1925, The Excavations at Ur, 1924–1925, *The Antiquaries Journal* 5(4): 347–402.

Woolley C.L. 1926, The Excavations at Ur, 1925–1926, *The Antiquaries Journal* 6(4): 365–401.

Woolley C.L. 1962, *Ur Excavations* (Vol. IX), *The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods*, London, The Trustees of the British Museum.

Woolley C.L. 1965, *Ur Excavations* (Vol. VIII), *The Kassite Period and the Period of the Assyrian Kings*, London, The Trustees of the British Museum.

Woolley C.L., Mallowan M. 1976, *The Old Babylonian Period* (Ur Excavations VII), London – Pennsylvania, The British Museum – The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Woolley C.L., Moorey P.R.S. 1982. *'Ur of the Chaldees': A Revised and Updated Edition of Sir Leonard Woolley's Excavations at Ur*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Wright H.T., Carter E. 2003, Archaeological Survey on the Western Ram Hormuz Plain, 1969, in N. F. Miller, K. Abdi (eds) *Yeki Bud, Yeki Nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*, Los Angeles, University of California: 267–289.

Zadok R. 1983, A Tentative Structural Analysis of Elamite Hypocoristica, *Beiträge zur Namen-forschung*, neue Folge 18: 93–120,

Zadok R. 1984, *The Elamite Onomasticon* (Supplemento agli Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale 40), Naples, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale".

Ziffer I. 2014, The Akkadian Seals in the Hahn-Voss Collection, in E. Bleibtreu, H. Ulrich Steymans (eds) *Edith Porada zum 100. Geburtstag. A Centenary Volume* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 268), Fribourg: Academic Press – Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht: 45–74.

Appendix: the Jubaji inscriptions by G.P. Basello (object descriptions by Y. Wicks)

INSCRIPTION JBJ 1: GOLD 'RING' WITH NAME INSCRIPTION OF ŠUTUR-NAHUNTE SON OF INTATA

Object description (see Fig. 8)

A small, curved, tubular shaped object (ext. h. 10 cm, w. 9 cm; int. 6 cm, thickness *c*. 2 cm) flaring at each end into disc terminals (diam. 4 cm), one of which carries an Elamite inscription. The discs were evidently separately made pieces soldered onto the ends of the tube or 'grip', which appears to have been formed by hammering gold sheet around a solid material (presumably left inside). A small gap remains on the inner side where the edges of the sheet do not quite meet.[42] The original location of the 'ring' in the tomb is unknown, as it was looted prior to the excavation (Shishegar 2015: 67).

Elamite inscription

The inscription was engraved along the upper border of one terminal following the curve of the disc.

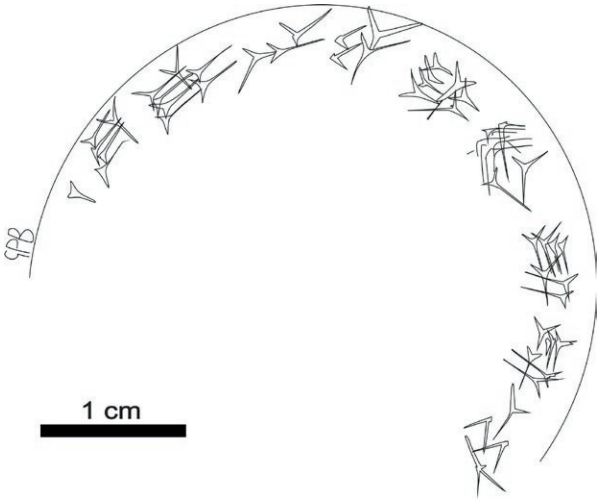

Fig. 9. Drawing of JBJ 1 inscription based on several photographs by J. Álvarez-Mon.

^{DIŠ}šu-tur-^{AN}UTU(PÍR) DUMU in-da-da-na
Šutur-Nahunte šak Intata-na.
Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata.

The final *-na* may have been used to refer to the whole epigraph, i.e. 'belonging to Šutur-Nahunte' (see Basello in Salaris 2019: 100).

[42] The flaring portion leading to the terminals appears to have been made separately and soldered on to the central part of the grip. On the Arjan "ring" the marks indicating a similar solder were taken as signs of wear that might give a clue as to their function (Álvarez-Mon 2011: 303–304). However, the use of a different gold alloy with a lower melting point to solder the pieces together can be blamed for the color difference (for this and further manufacture observations see Wicks 2017).

Some of the vertical wedges (in DIŠ, tur, AN, DUMU) are quite short, as if it had been difficult to prolong them towards the centre of the disc due to the obstacle presented by the opposite terminal. This suggests that the inscription was engraved after the manufacture of the 'ring' was complete. A further stroke seems to have been added to DUMU after the engraving of the vertical wedge, to prolong it towards the bottom. Some other (apparently) secondary strokes are visible, for example, in the first da.

Palaeography and orthography

The logogram for Nahunte, the Elamite sun god, is written using the common graphic variant of the corresponding Sumerian logogram (UTU) recorded as PÍR in modern syllabaries (Steve 1992, no. 393/227).

All the glyphs are well represented in Marie-Joseph Steve's (1992) syllabary for the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods, except for PÍR and na which have a distinctive (or 'diagnostic', to borrow a term from the study of ceramics in archaeology) formal appearance. In the epigraphic periodization of Steve represented in Table 1, the best matches for these two glyphs are with inscriptions of Tepti-Hupan-Inšušinak (N II 10).

Table 1. Matrix of formal matches between the distinctive glyphs of PÍR and na in JBJ 1 and those collected in Steve 1992. An 'x' marks a good match while an 'o' marks a poor match (blank: not attested). See Steve 1992: 21-23 for the list of texts belonging to each period.

		N I A	N II											N III A		N III B		
		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	1	2	1	2	3
393/227	PÍR	x	o	o	o	x	o	o		x	o		o	o		o	x	o
70	na	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o

According to Steve, good matches for PÍR can also be found in the following texts or corpora:

- a corpus of Elamite administrative tablets from Tal-e Malyan (N I A 1);
- a list of witnesses from Susa, probably part of a legal document (N II 6) published by Vincent Scheil (1928: 40, no. 3:5); note that the glyph in Steve is slightly different from the one in Scheil's drawing, so perhaps Steve based it on his own collation of the text;
- an administrative letter from the so-called 'village perse-achéménide' at Susa published by Herbert Paper as MDP 36 1:4 (N III B 2). However, the accompanying photograph does not confirm this match (Paper 1954, pl. XXIV).

A carnelian bead carrying the name Šutur-Nahunte, published by François Vallat (2011, no. 91; see also below, *Onomastics and prosopography*), should be added to the best matches. Except for na, which does not occur on the bead, all the glyphs, including PÍR, represent a nearly perfect match.

Formal comparisons such as these are just one of several elements a scholar must consider in dating an inscription. The best match does not necessarily represent a coeval dating, since palaeography is not a unitarian development but a historical process. Besides the formal variants due to different writing materials, the incidence of each column in the matrix is different: for example, column N III B 2 represents a single text, while N III B 1 represents around 300 administrative tablets from the Acropole mound at Susa.

The lack of a personal classifier before Intata, shared by all occurrences of this name as a patronymic (see below, *Onomastics and prosopography*), is normal, since after the word 'son' there were few doubts for the reader that an anthroponym would have followed.

Onomastics and prosopography

Intata is a linguistically Elamite name, the hypocoristic form of *intaš* (Zadok 1983: 101, no. 37; *intaš*: Zadok 1984: 16, no. 67); i.e., *in ta-š* '(he) put/established (*ta-*) it (*in*)'; cf. Lalintaš (*Lali* is possibly a DN; cf. Lila in Zadok 1984: 26, no. 128).

A 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' is attested also in the following inscriptions, with both anthroponyms (i.e., 'Šutur-Nahunte' and 'Intata') written using the same spelling as JBJ 1:

– The inscription in the name of Hanni at Kul-e Farah (EKI 75) dated to *c*. 650-550 BCE (Álvarez-Mon 2019: 91, §15.6, with further references), somewhat earlier by Steve (1992: 21–22) on palaeographical grounds (N II, *c*. 750-653, but before Hallutaš-Inšušinak *c*. 699-693):

(EKI 75:10, §14) ba-me EŠŠANA ^{DIŠ}šu-tur-^{AN}UTU(PÍR) šá-ak in-da-da-ri-na hu-ut-tan-ka$_4$
pa-me sunki Šutur-Nahunte šak Intata-r-na huta-n-k
I (*-k*) do (*huta-n-*) the service[?] (*pa-me*) of (*-na*) the king (*sunki*) Šutur-Nahunte son (*šak*) of (*-r*) Intata

Fig. 10. Drawing of EKI 75 §14 based on photographs by Gian Pietro Basello. Blank spaces represent areas left blank in the relief to avoid covering depicted figures. Red lines delimit damaged areas of the written surface.

Here the phonographic spelling šá-ak for 'son' was preferred to the logographic one in JBJ 1, where the scribe probably aimed to write as few characters as possible in inscribing this small metal surface which necessitated manoeuvring around the opposing terminal. The syntax is different from JBJ 1, since the construction with the personal marker (*-r*) is used instead of the so-called genitive postposition *-na* to link the father's name to his son's name. In EKI 75, I understand the following *-na* as connecting the whole syntagm 'Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata' to the governing substantive *pa-me* 'service[?]'.

JBJ 1 and EKI 75 are not perfectly comparable from a palaeographical point of view, but the differences between them can be explained by the different medium (metal vs. rock) and perhaps a different scribal school.

The mention of Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata in inscriptions at both Jubaji and Kul-e Farah is not surprising if one considers that Ramhormoz and Izeh are separated by *c*. 70 km and the smoothest access to Izeh is from Ramhormoz (via Baghmalek). Today Izeh is rather isolated since there are no roads crossing the mountains towards the west or north, but in the past footpaths leading directly to Masjed-e Suleiman were used, maybe passing through the ancient site of Kol Chenar in the valley of Shami (see the recent discoveries of fortified and cult structures at Qalʿe-ye Lit/Qalʿe-ye Bardi in Messina 2018). The fertile valley of Izeh probably hosted a couple of waystations along an alternative path connecting Fars to Susiana.

– An unprovenanced carnelian bead (MS 2879) in the Schøyen collection, published by Vallat (2011, no. 91). Here the dedication was by a šu-tur-^{AN}UTU(PÍR) DUMU in-da-da-ir. The logographic choice for writing 'son' is the same as in JBJ 1, but it does not share the personal classifier DIŠ placed before the name of Šutur-Nahunte. Its syntax is also different from JBJ 1, which has the postposition *-na*. Instead it follows that of EKI 75 with the personal marker, except for its spelling (ir instead of ri). The bead is offered to ^{AN}ú-ir-šu ^{AŠ}e-ul an-za-an-ra 'the god Uršu of the Anšan Gate' (e-ul is a broken writing for *el* 'gate'; see XSd/Elamite:2, referring to the e-el of Darius at Susa). If the syntagm 'Anšan Gate' corresponds to the much older Sumerian sag-kul ma-da an-ša-an^{ki} 'the bolt to the land of Anšan', an epithet of Huhnur in a year name of king Ibbi-Suen (IS 9), we can connect the bead to this ancient city thought to have been located in the Ramhormoz plain.

Even if Šutur-Nahunte son of Intata is qualified as king only in EKI 75 §14, the attribution of these three occurrences of the same anthroponym and patronymic to one and the same individual is strengthened by the palaeographic details and the ties with the same geographical area.[43]

INSCRIPTION JBJ 2: BRACELET (?) WITH LA-AR-NA INSCRIPTION

Object description (see fig. 8)

A misshapen fluted gold tube, probably a bracelet (approximately h. 5 cm, w. 6 cm in its original form), with an Elamite inscription on the inner surface. It finishes in narrow and flat section at each end with small piercings suggesting it had been fitted with terminals. Shishegar (2015: English summary, fig. 10: 3.2) reconstructed it with a pair of elaborate lion-head terminals of alabaster (?) with gold and glass inlays and corresponding pin holes. This object was looted prior to the excavation, so its original location in the tomb is unknown (Shishegar 2015: 67).

Elamite inscription

The inscription was added on the inner side of the curved shaft. The 'Y' stylization of the wedges with angles between strokes maintained in each impression, suggests that the inscription was added using a wedge-shaped punch. Presumably the same tool was used to engrave all the wedges and any differences between them result from variations in the force and direction of the blow to the punch or the angle at which the punch was held.

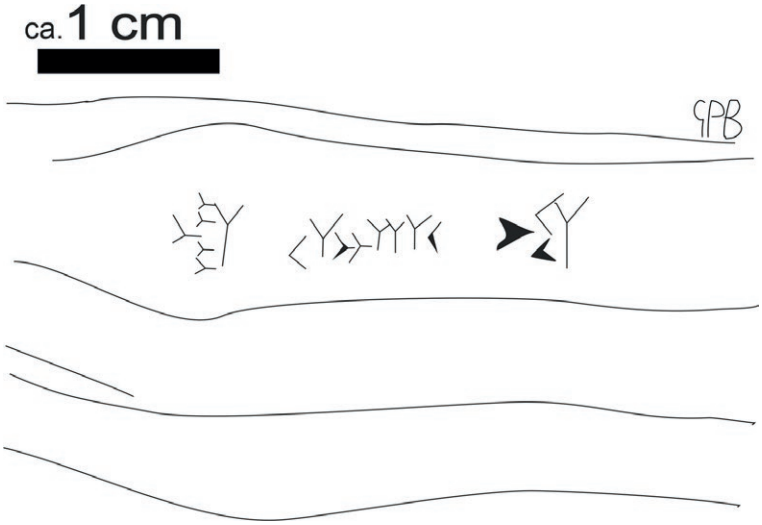

Fig. 11. Drawing of JBJ 2 inscription based on a photograph by J. Álvarez-Mon.

la-ar-na
la-r-na
'Belonging to the (cult) officiant'

[43] A Šutur-Nahunte, occurring as a patronymic and qualified as a king, is attested in the unprovenanced so-called Seal of Jerusalem from the Hahn-Voss collection (see Ziffer 2014: 46–49 on the history of this collection), now in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem (Amiet 1967: 44–45; Gorris 2020: 63–64, no. 4). For a full list and discussion of the occurrences of the name Šutur-Nahunte (with or without the patronymic Intata) see Elynn Gorris (2020: 30).

Shishegar (2015: 67) interpreted 'Larna' as the female anthroponym of the individual in the western coffin. However, *la-* can be interpreted as a verbal base with the meaning of 'to make offerings, sacrifice' (see Vallat 2000; Henkelman 2008: 181–304). Elements supporting the interpretation of *la-r-na* as a common noun instead of an anthroponym are the lack of a personal classifier, and the lack of the patronymic, which is usually needed to identify an individual.

With the animate class marker *-r*, here used to form a *nomen agentis* (i.e. 'the one who *la-*'), the verbal base *la-* has been rendered as 'clergy' by Vallat (2000: 1069) and '(cult) officiant' by Henkelman (2008: 270–272). The translation 'officiant' is preferred here according to the interpretation in the main text.

Further occurrences of *lar* in two Middle Elamite inscriptions in the name of Šilhak-Inšušinak I and in a late Neo-Elamite inscription on a bowl assigned to the Kalmakarra hoard are discussed by Henkelman (2008: 271–274). The latter occurrence, where *la-r* appears in the context of a slightly more articulated ownership inscription on another precious object in metal, runs as ^{AN}la-ar ^{AN}DIL-BAT-na (Lambert in Mahboubian 1995: 31; Vallat 2000: 1069–1070; Henkelman 2008: 270–271, n. 615). The divine classifier and the governed theonym supports the interpretation of a divine office.

In this interpretation *-na* is considered as the so-called genitive postposition whose function is to make explicit ownership, in this case referenced with his/her office rather than an anthroponym.

Palaeography and orthography

The best matches in the epigraphic periodization of Steve shown in Table 2 are with inscriptions of Hanni (EKI 75; N II B 7) and Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (EKI 86–89; N II B 13) for la and na, and with the Susa Acropole tablets (N III B 1) for ar.[44]

Table 2. Matrix of formal matches between the glyphs in JBJ 2 and those collected in Steve 1992. An 'x' marks a good match while an 'o' marks a poor match (blank: not attested). See Steve 1992: 21–23 for the list of texts belonging to each period.

		N I A	N II											N III A		N III B		
		1	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	1	2	1	2	3
55	**la**	o	o	x	x	o	x			o	o	o	x	o		o		o
451	**ar**	x		o							o					x		
70	**na**	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o

The form of na corresponds to the one on JBJ 1, suggesting a common origin of the two inscriptions.

The sign ar is rarely used in the Neo-Elamite period and is absent in the Persepolis tablets and Achaemenid royal inscriptions, being replaced by the sign ir in the framework of the so-called 'broken writing'. So *lar-na* would have been written la-ir-na in the Persepolis tablets.

[44] Atta-hamiti(-Inshushinak) is possibly to be identified as Athamaita, leader of the third Elamite revolt against Darius in 520 BCE in the Bisotun inscription (DB V §71) (Waters 2000: 85; Tavernier 2004: 24).

INSCRIPTION JBJ 3: APPLIQUE WITH INSCRIBED KURIGALZU EYE-STONE INSET

Object description (see Fig. 4)

A pale blue, white, and brown banded agate eye-stone (diam. 3.5 cm) set at the centre of a gold sheet disc (diam. 5.5 cm) surrounded by circles and rows of opposing triangles made with gold granulations. Four pairs of holes in the disc suggest it was sewn onto a garment or perhaps a headdress. The eye-stone bears a short epigraph on both the obverse (the 'eye') and the reverse side, which is concealed when the stone is set into the ornament. Prior use as a bead is clear from a lengthwise hole, also seen on many other inscribed eye-stones (as for JBJ 4 below, Fig. 7) and uninscribed eye-stones. The stone was cut so that the layers created a thin brown iris (now faded at the surface), a pale blue sclera, a white ring around the sclera, and a plain brown base or reverse. The stone has a lengthwise crack across its centre and almost one quarter of the stone has been broken away and lost. The location of this object is not reported, so it may have been amongst the looted items.

(Kassite) Sumerian inscription on the obverse

Two inscribed lines of text arranged in concentric circles, one on the outer blue sclera, the other on the inner brown iris, running counterclockwise. Part of the inscription on the sclera is missing due to the loss of part of the stone, and an additional portion has been chipped away. Half of the inner inscription on the brown iris has also been chipped away.

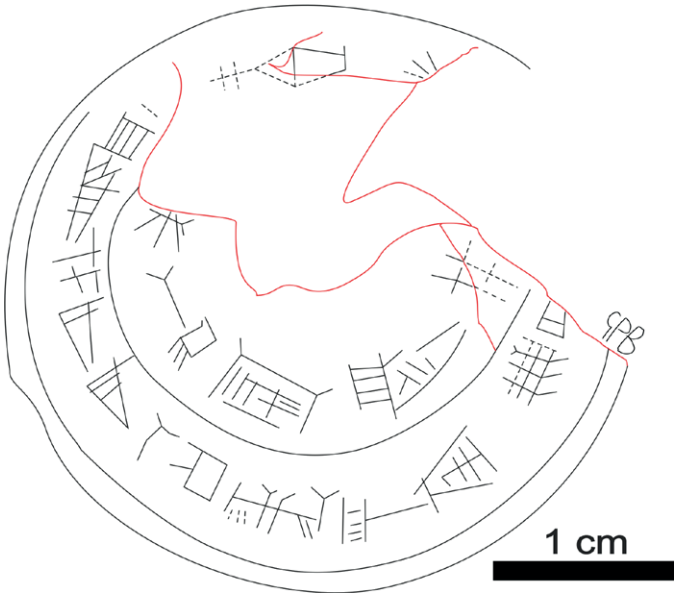

Fig. 12. Drawing of JBJ 3 obverse inscription based on several photographs by J. Álvarez-Mon. The sign IM is restored according to the form in Lambert's drawing of AO 21306 (Lambert 1969: 67, fig. 3, (iii)).

(inner) [x²] ^{d}en-líl lugal-a²[-ni-ir]
(outer) [^{d}]i[škur²] lugal-a-ni-ir ^{m}ku-ri-gal-zu in-[na²-ba]
'To Enlil, [his] lord, [(and²)] A[dad²], his lord, Kurigalzu has [presented] (this eye-stone)'

An Akkadian reading is also possible, as seen also, for example, in a Kassite spool (or chariot yoke) from Susa with a votive inscription of Kurigalzu II to Enlil. This inscription has just one Akkadian possessive pronominal

suffix written phonographically (further references in Basello 2012: 18; housed in the Louvre Museum, Sb 6862, https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010180504).

Palaeography

Several comparisons can be provided among the Kassite eye-stones listed by Brinkman (1976), Clayden (2009, Appendix A, section III) and available in the online Corpus of Sumerian Kassite Texts (https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ckst/). See especially the eye-stone Louvre AO 22497 (= Brinkman 1976, Q.2.76) published in Lambert 1969: 66–67, (i), and Fig. 2. From the palaeographic point of view, it seems to be engraved by the same hand. The text is the same except that it is dedicated to another god (Ninurta). The most relevant difference is in the arrangement of the epigraph, in horizontal lines instead of concentric circles.

(Kassite) Sumerian inscription on the reverse

The completely preserved epigraph on the reverse (the plain brown side) is arranged in three horizontal lines framed and separated by horizontal lines.

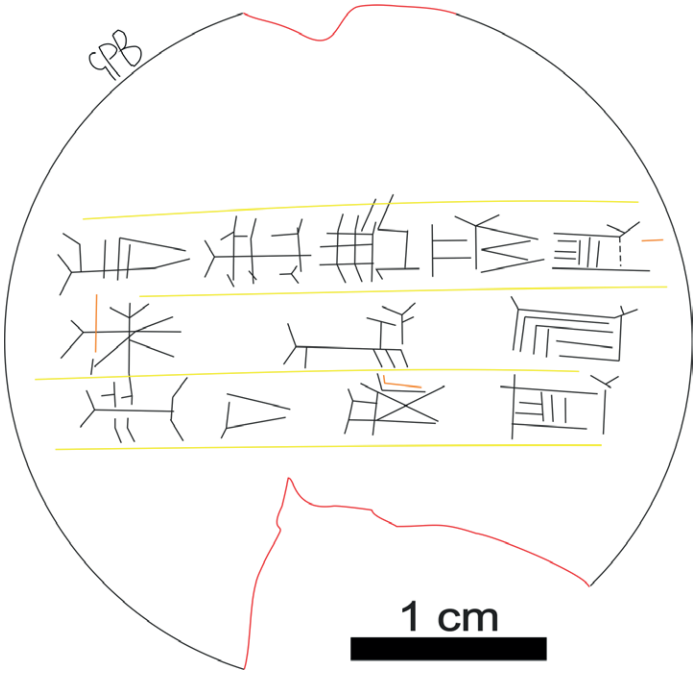

Fig. 13. Drawing of JBJ 3 reverse inscription based on several photographs by J. Álvarez-Mon.

(1) lú mu-sar ḫé-ùr
(2) ^{d}en-líl
(3) mu-ni ḫé-ùr

(1) (The one) who will erase the inscription,
(2) the god Enlil
(3) may erase his name.

As for the inscription on the obverse side, an Akkadian reading is also possible. The meaning of the Sumerian verb ùr is quite clear from the context as 'erase, remove', properly assigned to šu ùr ('to swipe the hand over something; erase something with the hand', attested also in reference to inscriptions) in standard Sumerian dictionaries (e.g. Attinger 2021: 1118, *s.v.* ur_3: 'passer en nivelant (tout); raser, araser, aplanir; effacer (une inscription, une tablette)'; Maiocchi 2023: 450. *s.v.* šu uru_{12}).

A close textual comparison is an 'agate knob' found at Kish bearing a three-line Sumerian epigraph dedicated by a king Kurigalzu to Zababa (Brinkman 1976: 225, Q.2.70, and n. 40), read by Brinkman as follows:

(1) ^{d}Za-ba_4-ba_4
(2) *Ku-ri-gal-zu* lugal šár lú mu-sar x [ ]
(3) ^{d}iškur! (= IM!) ^{d}utu mu-ni ḫé-ùr

Thanks to JBJ 3, the final part of line 2 could be restored as lú mu-sar ḫé-ùr.

The curse on the back of the JBJ 3 eye-stone completes very well the epigraph on the front, and was surely carved at the same time. This is confirmed also on palaeographical grounds, since the stylization of cuneiform wedges (required for the engraving of a hard stone rather than the usual impressing of clay) of the left part of the sign in on the front is exactly the same of the left part of sar on the back, just like these parts correspond in the usual forms of the signs on clay.

Palaeography

The sign ḫé (morphologically the modal proclitic expressing wishes) in line 1 and line 3 of JBJ 3 is rendered by two slightly different glyphs.

INSCRIPTION JBJ 4: GOLD CUFF-STYLE BRACELET WITH RECUT INSCRIBED EYE-STONE INSET

Object description (see Fig. 4)

An ornate cuff-style gold bracelet (h. 5.5 cm, w. 6.5 cm) found on the wrist of the skeleton in the eastern coffin. It is composed of a circular face with a large central eye-stone and separately made wristband with smaller eye-stones, the middle one of which is inscribed. The main eye-stone on the face is framed by a granulated circle, then a concentric register of granulated 'rosettes' with central bosses, and another register of alternating rectangles of agate inlays and gold divided by granulated lines. Two panels join the circular face to the wristband, each decorated with a pair of teardrops with now-missing inlays and a pair of granulation-encircled eye-stones. The wristband has thick, plain double-band borders framing pairs of granulated lines and row of vertically arranged 'rosette' pairs alternating with three granulated double-rings inset with eye-stones (one missing), the middle one of which is inscribed. The face and wristband join at both sides via hinge-like mechanisms connected by removable pins, both of which remained inside the pin holes.[45] The eye-stones in this piece are mostly recycled beads of blue, brown, and white banded agate, with visible lateral holes. Some are quite convex while others are flatter. The middle, inscribed, eye-stone on the wristband is very flat and its texture duller than the others.[46] Its upper inscribed brown layer has been ground down substantially around the border, to reveal the layer of blue below and create the 'eye' effect.

[45] Bracelets of a comparable style have been recovered from Queens' Tomb II at Nimrud (Hussein 2016, pl. 72a-c; catalogue nos. ND 1989.9, 1989.10, 1989.12, and 1989.43, 44).

[46] There are examples of manufactured stones made from a "paste" (see Al-Rawi 2008: 135) which may tend to shine less than stone examples, but there is presently no suggestion that this is an artificial stone.

(Kassite) Sumerian inscription

According to the publication of Shishegar (2015: 159), this eye-stone preserved a complete two-line inscription consisting of the female anthroponym a-ni-nu-ma/ku. However, the extant height of line 2′ is lower than that of line 1′, the two lines are not vertically centred, and some of the characters are partly truncated. This attests the eye-stone was originally larger and had been recut at some point, perhaps to fit into the bracelet.[47] Since most extant inscribed Kassite eye-stones (see Clayden 2009: 38, table 1) are in the name of Kurigalzu, the following restoration of the text is tentatively proposed.

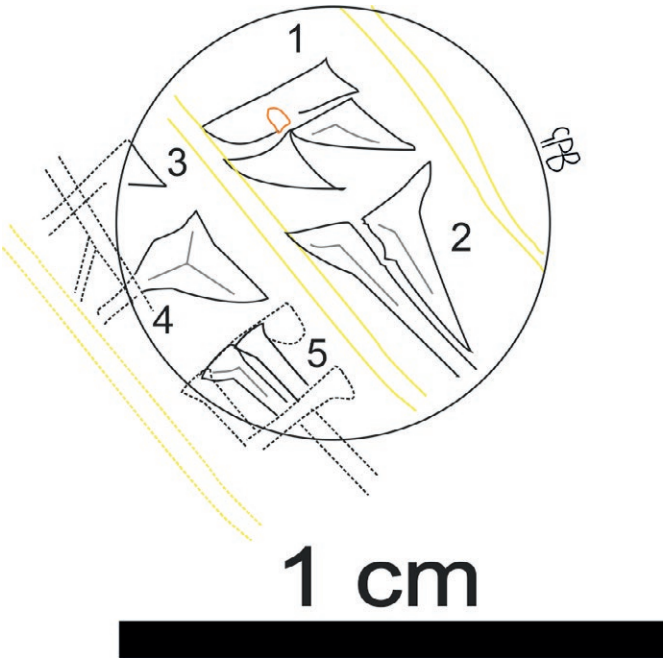

Fig. 14. Drawing of JBJ4 based on a photograph by J. Álvarez-Mon (grey: tentative chisel contact edges; orange: accidental stroke; yellow: line rules; dashed: restorations).

[DN²]
(1′) [lugal²-]a-ni[-ir²]
(2′) [ku²-r]i²-g[al²-zu²]
[...]

'[To DN²,] his [lord²], [Kur]ig[alzu² ...]'

These highly speculative restorations follow the common Kassite template found also in the Kurigalzu epigraph JBJ 3 above, and, for example, in the spool from Susa mentioned above (Basello 2012: 18). A good match, also in the 'typesetting' of the glyphs, is represented by the agate eye-stone MLC (= Morgan Library & Museum, New York) no. 2625 (= Brinkman 1976: 227, Q.2.87; see also Electronic Babylonian Library, www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/MLC.2625), kindly brought to our attention by Alexa Bartelmus. If a and ni on line 2 were less spaced in this stone, the vertical alignment with ri and gal in the following line would be the same as in JBJ 4: 1′–2′.

[47] This is not an isolated example of a recut eye-stone. For example, an onyx eye-stone acquired by the Ashmolean Museum dedicated to the goddess Ningal by Abī-ešuh (1711-1684 BCE) was later trimmed into a pair of eyes and rededicated to Ningal by Aššur-uballit (1363-1328 BCE) (published by Langdon 1923; see also Frayne 1990: 405–406 E4.3.8.2; Clayden 2009, no. 7).