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The Middle Elamite Archive of Anšan

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Abstract

Tal-e Malyan as known as ancient Anšan, is located in the Beyza plain of Fars Province. Anšan was a centre of Elamite highland in the eastern of the Susiana plain and a significant cultural center of Elamite. William Sumner's excavations from 1971 -1978 uncovered an administrative archive written in Middle Elamite language. The archive belongs to the Šutrukid dynasty (1210- 1100 B.C), the last dynasty of Middle Elamite period. The importance of the Anshan's archive compared to the earlier Elamite archive is that the clay tablets are written in middle Elamite cuneiform, a tradition that was begun gradually from the first middle Elamite dynasty, the Kidinu period (1550- 1400 B.C) in Haft- Tepe archive. The Anšan archive reveals details about construction of a temple and delivering commodities to administration in the city of Anšan by Huteluduš-Inšušinak (1120-1110 B.C), the last Šutrukid king. Text contents are about movement of commodities inside and outside of the Anšan administration office. These commodities mainly included metals such as gold, silver and bronze, which were delivered as raw material to the administration to make statues and objects for temples. The individuals who were participating in administrative procedures included officials, clerks, skilled artisans and labourers. These individuals on their roles in archive and the type of received commodities are classified. The aim of this paper is to analyse the Anšan archive texts in order to present a comprehensive overview of its contents and its administrative framework. Through the examination of this archive, try to gain a deeper understanding of administrative procedures in the Elamite bureaucracy.

Keywords: Middle Elamite Period, Anšan, Tal-e Malyan, The Archive of Anšan, Shutrukid Dynasty.



Introduction

The Middle Elamite archive of Anšan is the archive where its texts were written in Elamite cuneiform. This archive represents the Elamite administration, which at the end of the second millennium B.C reached a level of sophistication and tried to be independent from Mesopotamian cuneiform writing (Akkadian, old and middle Babylonian cuneiform), that had been used in Elam since 3rd millennium B.C, indeed this movement was started from Haft- Tepe archive. The footprint of Anšan archive can be seen in the Neo-Elamite archive of the Acropole of Susa and even the Persepolis Fortification archive. The corpus of this archive, which was found in Tal-e Malyan, is a result of the administrative activities in the city of Anšan.

Tal-e Malyan is located in Beyza plain in the Fars province, Iran. This area can be divided into three sections. The first section consists of a row of narrow mounds (about 50 meters wide) with approximate height of 4-8 meters, which surround the Malyan from three sides, which it seems they were related to the remains of the ancient wall of the city. The second section is an open area inside the mentioned remaining walls, which covers an area of about 70 hectares, few archaeological materials have been found from this area. The third one is interconnected mounds that cover an area of almost 100 hectares, and the main part of the city is found in this section of Tall-Malyan (Fig. 1). The highest mounds are located in northwest of the site which are 7 up to 8 meters above the plain. These mounds are located approximately 400 meters southwest of a large horseshoe-shaped structure; it is a mud-brick structure that seems to have been an important gate (Carter 1996: 1-4).

The first excavation of Tall-Malyan was conducted by Fereidoon Tavallali, in the early 1960s, but unfortunately, there is no record of it. William Sumner, who had not been aware of the Unpublished excavation of Tavallali, identified this site in 1968 in his surveys in the Fars. Subsequently, in 1971, he commenced the excavation of Tall-Malyan by collaborations with archaeological teams from the University of Pennsylvania and the Ohio State University. The excavation efforts persisted for a period of five seasons, concluding in 1978 (Abdi 2001: 48). The excavations were done in the sector of EDD where Middle Elamite remains and Anšan archive (TTM) were discovered (Carter 1996: 1). Excavations of this building have not been completed, but the Anšan archive texts, which are receipts of administrative activities in the city of Anšan, may be able to help in recognizing the type of building in ancient Anšan at the end of the second

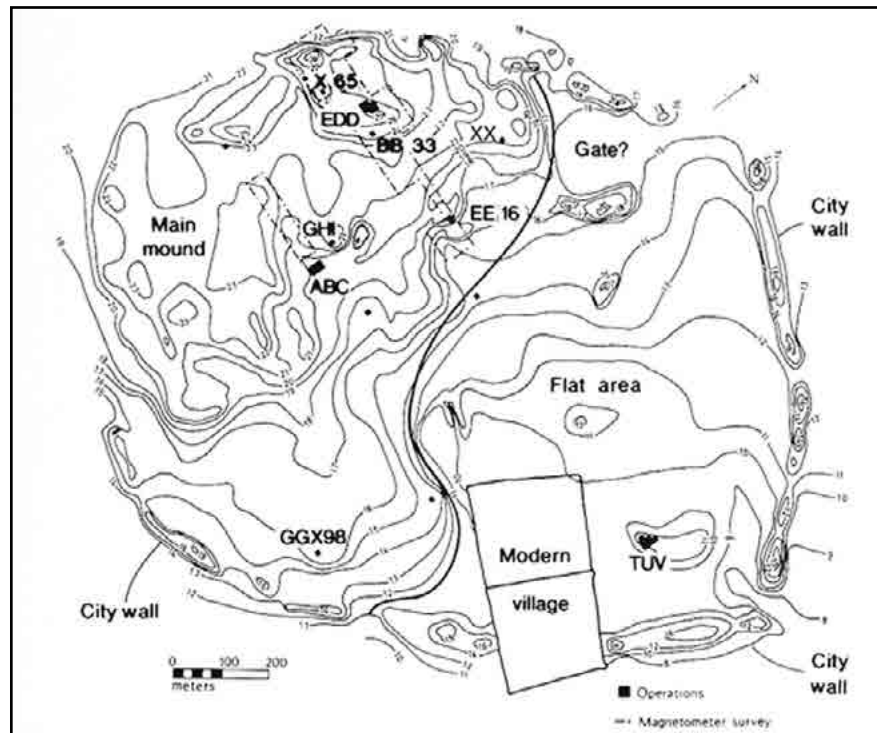


Fig. 1: The site of Tal-e Malyan (Carter 1996: 143, Fig. 3). ▶

millennium B.C. In this paper, tried to outline the type of archive and organization it served, administrative system, the official administrative levels and finally the dating of the archive.

Methodology: This research focuses on excavation reports and monographs related to the middle Elamite period, Anšan and archival studies. Matthew Stolper translation of part of the cuneiform clay tablets of Anšan archive (1984) is the main reference in this research which the database was developed based on it. Finally, an analysis of archaeological and philological studies of the archive presented.

Literature Review

In fact, after more than a century of searching to find the place of ancient Anšan, Hansman proposed Marvdasht area as a possible place in 1972, one year after Sumner's excavations started in this area. He put forward this theory by analysis the historical documents and taking into account the expected size and wealth of Anšan, Marvdasht was proposed as a promising candidate due to its position as the main agricultural center of Fars province. Upon analysing the archaeological excavations in Marvdasht plain, it became evident that the sites with pre-Achaemenid pottery, like Tepe Sabz, were not as extensive as expected for the ancient city of Anšan. This led the researchers to explore Beyza Plain, where a significant site containing pre-Achaemenid pottery and an ancient wall in Tell-Malyan

was discovered. Consequently, after a year of Sumner's excavations, Tal-e Malyan was proposed as a potential location for the ancient city of Anšan (Hansman 1972: 111-112). In the same year, Maurice Lambert published an unprovenanced inscribed cuneiform brick in Vol. 66 of *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, claiming it was discovered in a location "between Shiraz and Persepolis". This inscription detailed the building of a temple in the city of Anšan (Lambert 1972). Subsequently, Erica Reiner published fragments of inscribed brick in the following volume of the same journal, which was discovered from Tal-e Malyan, the text described the construction of a temple commissioned by Huteluduš-Inšušinak and dedicated to Napiriša, Kiririša, Šimut, and Inšušinak. In her work, Reiner analyzed the brick fragments she had acquired and compared them to Lambert's published inscription (Reiner 1973: 8; Potts 2011: 35), ultimately identifying Tal-e Malyan as the ancient city of Anšan.

As stated above, the excavations of Sumner led to the discovery of a building and an archive belonging to the Middle Elamite period. Part of the corpus of the texts was published by Stolper (1984) in *Texts from Tall-I Malyan I*, where he translated and analysed the texts from a philological perspective. Then Stolper postponed a more general analysis to the publication of the second volume, which unfortunately have not been published yet. Apart from this book, Stolper published several articles from palaeographic and philological perspectives. In 2013 he published a paper, in which he gave a brief analysis on the organizational structure of the present archive (Stolper 2013). Stolper's contributions are the main source for the study of the Middle Elam archive of Anšan. This archive is rarely mentioned in the publications of other scholars, and from the few contributions, we can mention the works of Marie-Joseph Steve (Steve 1992), Olof Pedersén (Pedersén 1998) and Gian Pietro Basello and Grazia Giovinazzo (Basello & Giovinazzo 2018).

Dating of the building of EDD and the archive of Anšan

There are two views about dating of the excavated EDD building: the first view is known as the "Anšan view" and dates the building to c. 1000 BC or a century earlier (Stolper 1984: 9; Carter 1996: 16; Potts 2016: 255), and the second, is known as the "Susa view" and dates the building to 1000 BC or a century later (Steve 1987: 18-19; Steve 1992: 21; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002: 470-471).

Stolper, who was one of the pioneers and supporters of the "Anšan view", by considering diverse evidence, such as seal impressions found on the tablets and their similarities to other seal impressions found in Susa

and other Elamite sites, suggests a dating of c. 1300 BC, for the layer, in which the Anšan archive has been discovered. Furthermore, he made a palaeographic study and compared the cuneiform signs of the tablets of the Anšan archive with other Elamite tablets, and accordingly, he suggested a period after the reign of Šilhak-Inšušinak (c. 1125 BC). Finally, by considering the discovered inscribed brick of Huteluduš-Inšušinak, he proposed a dating of c. 11th and 10th centuries BC for the Anšan archive (Stolper 1984: 9).

Supporting the stolper view, Elizabeth Carter after studying the discovered Elamite goblets of Tal-e Malyan and the Elamite sites in Susiana plain and proposed a dating of second millennium B.C, then by establishing C14 dating, suggested the date of c. 1498–1056 B.C as date of construction the buildings and c. 1100–1000 B.C as the date of collapse of buildings (Carter 1996: 16). Also, Daniel T. Potts, followed Stolper, by emphasizing the palaeographic evidence obtained from fragments of discovered inscribed cuneiform brick of Tal-e Malyan, as well as comparing the pottery fragments of the EDD building with the pottery of Susa and Chogha Zanbil, and finally by taking the results of C14 dating into account, confirmed the proposed dating of Carter (Potts 2016: 240–243). On the other hand, Steve who was one of the supporters of “Susa view”, based on palaeographic evolutions witnessed that several signs attributed the archive to the first phase of the Neo-Elamite period (1000- 800 B.C) (Steve 1987: 18–19; Steve 1992: 21; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002: 470–471).

The distinction between these two views lies in different historical interpretations of political and cultural history of Elam, not in specific evidence or precise date of destruction of the building or dating of the Anšan archive. Specifically, the “Anšan view” interprets that the existing organization was indicative of final years of the Šutrukid dynasty’s rule, associated with a faction of Elamite elites residing in the highlands of Elam (Stolper 2013: 402).

The “Susa view” indicates this building belongs to the early Neo-Elamite period (1000- 550 B.C). Supporters of this view argue that following the Nebuchadnezzar I (1121-1100 B.C) conquest of Elam and subsequent collapse of the last Middle Elamite dynasty, this building represents primary evidence of state administrative organization which arose after long period of inactivity in Elam. This interpretation suggests that those responsible for establishing this organization were Elamite elites who reconstituted the political framework after the extensive devastation of the Šutrukid dynasty (Ibid:).

However, due to the more definite evidence of the first view, such as the C14 dating, study of potteries and inscribed bricks of Huteluduš-Inšušinak, it seems proposed dating of “Anšan view” is more acceptable and it is main criteria for dating of the building of EDD.

Elamite Archives

During the early old Elamite period, the city of Susa was conquered and governed by the successors of Sargon of Akkad (2250- 2100 B.C), followed by the rulers of the Ur III dynasty (2112- 2004 B.C) by end of the third millennium B.C. These rulers administered Susa as if it was a domestic province, used Mesopotamian bureaucratic systems, along with Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform writing in Susa (Stolper 1992: 255; De Graef 2013: 272-273). From 1898-1910, approximately 90 Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform clay tablets and inscriptions were discovered from different areas of the Acropole of Susa, which belonged to the Akkad and Ur III Dynasty, also one text was found during the 1926 excavation. Regarding the design and configuration of the signs, these texts exhibit similarities to the Akkadian tablets unearthed in Eshnunna and other cities in Mesopotamia under the domination of Akkadian authority (Basello & Giovinazzo 2018: 484).

From the Middle Elamite period, three archives have been discovered so far. The first is the archive of Haft Tepe (Kabnak). More than thousand complete and broken cuneiform clay tablets were discovered in the excavations of 1965–1978, under the supervision of Negahban (Negahban 1993; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013: 161). P. Herrero and J.J. Glassner published about 290 texts from the aforementioned collection, in four articles (Herrero & Glassner 1990, 1991, 1993, 1996). In the excavations, directed by B. Mofidi-Nasrabadi, in the warehouse of a structure previously considered as a scribal space, new tablets were discovered. In 2005, about 30 tablets were found in room 1, about 30 tablets from room 5 and, in 2007 about 50 tablets were found from room 12. Some of these tablets have been published by D. Prechel and Mofidi-Nasrabadi, and the rest of them are still Unpublished (Prechel 2010, 2018; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2021).

The cuneiform tablets of Haft Tepe are written in Babylonian but the names of individual and some goods, some of administrative and religious terms, also the month name are mainly Elamite. Actually, this archive shows the change from Akkadian bureaucratic tradition in the land of Elam to the Elamite gradually. After the Kidinuid dynasty, the Igi-Halki dynasty (1400- 1210 B.C) began. Humban-Numena (circa 1370 B.C), the powerful Elamite king, started use of the Elamite cuneiform script and language

extensively in the administrative system. (Malbran-Labat 1995: 59–61; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018: 236–237).

Second archive is the Goshtaspi archive which found from the Tepe with the same name near Khan Ahmad village in Bashet region of Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad Province (cf. Ata’i 2016; Yaghma’i et al., 2018, 2015). The 39 middle Elamite clay tablets, a tag and a clay envelope were obtained (Ata’i & Rayat 2017: 347–346). The third Middle Elamite archive is the Anšan archive.

The Archive of Tal-e Malyan (Anšan)

The excavations of Carter in 1972–1974 in Tal-e Malyan, led to the discovery of the middle Elamite buildings (Carter 1996; Basello & Giovinazzo 2018: 487–488; fig. 2). It seems that this building was destroyed by fire in the IVa at the end of the 12th or 11th century B.C and Two sets of the middle Elamite cuneiform tablets were discovered from it. The primary set, comprising 246 tablets, was unearthed during the 1972–1974 excavations in sections A and B within the burnt layer IVa. These tablets primarily document metal transactions. Subsequently, in 1976, approximately 34 additional texts were found in the burnt layer, which differ from the first group in terms of content, their texts focusing on rations, foodstuffs, and livestock. The tablets are described as small and cigarette-shaped in form (Basello & Giovinazzo 2018: 487).

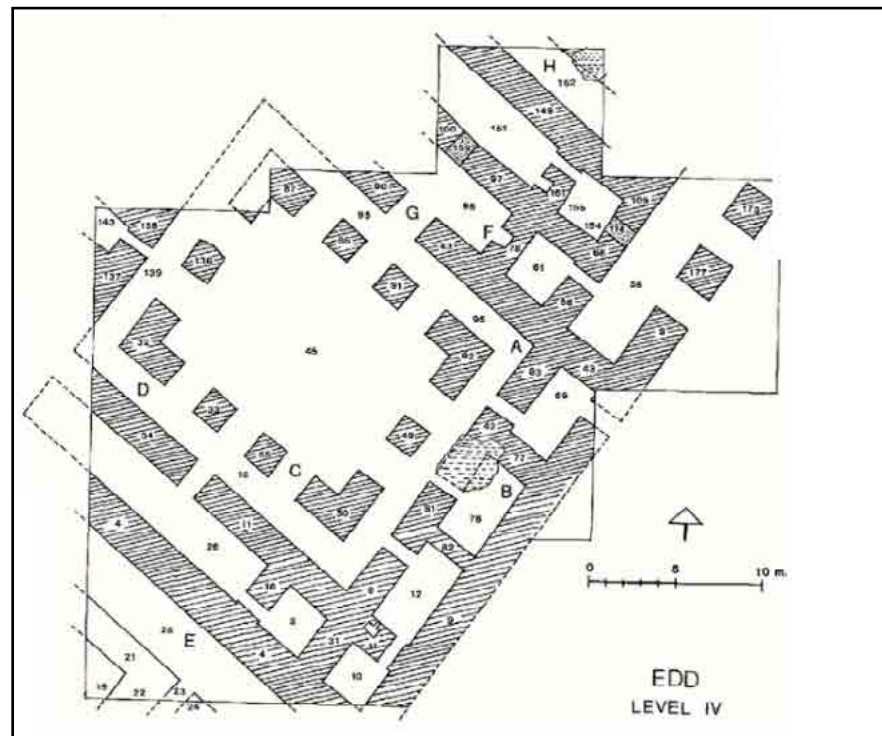


Fig. 2: Plan of the Middle Elamite building of Anšan, EDD (Stolper 1984: 4, fig. 3). ►

	Group	Category	Raison d'être	Texts
1	Audit and transfer of goods	1a: The transfer of the raw metals to officials	Auditing of raw metals and supervise the objects production	TTM 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 24, 33, 40, 44, 45, 48, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 66, 67, 68, 73, 74, 78, 90
		1b: The transfer of constructed objects to officials	Audit producing objects, monitor their use and send object to the desired location	TTM 14, 16, 58, 73, 95
2	The transfer of the raw materials to the individuals	2a: Transferring metals to craftsmen	The production of the desired materials	TTM 1, 3, 7, 11, 13, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 36, 37, 42, 43, 46, 47, 49, 53, 56, 59, 66, 69, 73, 76, 97
		2b: Transfer of the agricultural and livestock products	Rations	M-1461, M-1463, M-1468, M-1470, M-1472, M-1484, M-1486, M-1488, M-1506, M-1507, M-1509, M-1517

◀ Table 1: Classification of the archival texts of Malyan (Authors, 2023).

Language and script in the Middle Elamite archive of Anšan

Tal-e Malyan tablets written in Middle Elamite cuneiform, but for accurate dating, Stolper indicate lack of Elamite texts from period of 1100-750 B.C make a problem to recognize and exact date that these tablets were written (Stolper 1984: 7–8). Generally, the comparisons between available middle Elamite texts from Susa and Malyan texts have demonstrated that the writing and cuneiform script of Malyan archive are later than what is called the middle Elamite script.

The unprovenanced text of MDP 11 299 (Stolper 1984: 8–9; Scheil 1911: 299), along with BM 136845, BM 136846, and BM 136847, contains the name Šilhak-Inšušinak (Walker 1980: 76–79; Stolper 1984: 8–9). These texts all include names and words that were also found on the Malyan clay tablets. These texts do not provide a precise date, but according to Scheil and the existence of the name of Šilhak-Inšušinak, they should be dated from the 12th to 7th century B.C (Stolper 1984: 8–9). Although the language used in the writing of the Malyan archive is middle Elamite, they contain many Mesopotamian words and logograms (Stolper 1984: 8–9).

The Classification of the administrative texts of Anšan

The Malyan archive texts based on their contents can be categorized in the two main groups, also each group divided to the two subgroups. The primary group are audit texts, which relate to management supply of raw materials for goods manufacturing, as well as control the use of manufactured goods. The second group is concerning movement of goods and it's divided into two subgroups as well. The first subgroup involves sending raw materials to craftsmen and artisans for making objects, while the second group of texts are about dispatching rations, livestock, and other consumable goods (Table 1).

First group

In the first group of Malyan texts, which is related to the audit of raw materials, certain amount of metals such as gold, silver, bronze and etc. was sent by the central administrative organization to one of the employees and he received it. Probably, this person was responsible for supervising manufacture of objects from these raw materials. For example, in text TTM 57, it is mentioned that a talent of copper (30 kg) was sent to an individual named Haltir-Akšir and he received it (Stolper 1984: 87).

Stolper 1984: 87, TTM 57:

1. 1 talent of copper;
2. large ... ;
3. transferred to Haltir-akšir
4. Lalube, [x].
5. [] received(?).

Although, the text format of the second group is similar to the first, the employees who received the goods had different tasks in the manufacture of goods. These texts probably show the next step of good production which is returning the raw materials to the archive in the form of manufactured objects. For example, in the text of TTM 16, Ururu received the value of 516 silver stars. In this text, it is indicated that these stars were weighted and then received (Stolper 1984: 47). Probably, the purpose of the measurement was to determine that the weight of the manufactured product is equal to the weight of the raw metal delivered to the master craftsman to make the object. Stolper 1984, 47, TTM 16:

1. 516 silver stars;
2. Weighed out and
3. received, accounted for,
4. and Ururu
5. received (them);
6. for ...
7. Lalube,
8. 13.

Second group

The first group of these texts shows the transaction of goods from Anšan administration to the craftsmen to produce desired objects. For example, Tempipi, who was mentioned as a master craftsman in TTM 97, received a shipment of gold to produce “horns” (Stolper 1984: 68).

Stolper 1984: 68, TTM 97:

1. 24 minas 5 shekels of gold;

2. for “horn(s)”;
3. transferred to Tempipi.
4. Api, 15.
5. He received (it).
6. Anza[n].

The second category of this group is related to the payment of agricultural and livestock products as rations to state employees in Anšan. For example, texts M-1463 and M-1560 are related to the payment of flour by the Anšan administration.

Geographical extent of the archive of Anšan

The only toponym mentioned in the texts of the Malyan archive is Anšan, which is written as h.An-za-an. Anšan has been attested seventeen times in the texts, fourteen times after the date formula, and three times in other parts of texts. Since this toponym is mentioned where we expect to see the place of transactions, or where the text is written and stored, and the fact that no other place is mentioned in this archive texts, the possibility is strengthened that the Malyan archive only worked in the city or the province of Anšan (Stolper 1984: 15).

It seems that the administrative texts of Malyan can be divided into two general categories in terms of origin and destination of shipments. The tablets of TTM 1-78, are indicating the movement and circulation of materials inside the state organization of Anšan or related administrations. The second group are includes the tablets of TTM 79-83, indicating the movement of materials from inside the organization to the outside or vice versa (Stolper 1984: 16).

The commodities mentioned in the texts of Anšan

The main commodities group that administrative activities of Anšan archive related to are: the metals includes raw metals, also the metal objects and agricultural and livestock products (Basello & Giovinazzo 2018: 488). Here, these objects and materials mentioned by their names. Among the 116 published texts, 82 texts¹ are related to the transfer of raw metals, which are gold, silver, copper, tin, and antimony (Stolper 1984: 30–153) and 12 texts² refer to the metal objects such as statues and horns (Table 2).

Unfortunately, the main body of texts which related to agricultural and livestock products has not been published, resulting in limited understanding of the content. Stolper's work in 2013, Text M-1157, as well as M-1470, M-1472, M-1486, and M-1488, discuss the shipment and delivery of grain

(Stolper 1976: 4, 2013: 401, 412). Also, several texts correlated to the transportation and delivery of livestock. For example, M-1461 mentions sheep, while M-1517 and M-1484 mention cows (Stolper 1976: 4-5). Nevertheless, due to the absence of publication of remaining tablets, it appears that quantity of texts referencing these animals and commodities is significantly higher than the current count.

The diversity of administrative texts of the Anšan archive suggests the wide range of activities carried out by this archive and potentially the scale of the structures overseen by this institution. For example, items like flour are documented in M-1463, M-1506, M-1507, and M-1509, with a specific mention of a “grain product” in M-1463. Additionally, animal products like sheep hides in M-1461 and goat hides in M-1468 are also listed among these commodities.

Table 2: Mentioned materials and goods in the archive of Anšan (Authors, 2023). ►

	Category of Materials	Material	Sign of the material	Texts
1	Metals	Copper	<i>za-bar</i> ^{MES}	TTM 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 67, 68, 76, 78, 90, 92
		Tin	<i>a-na-ku</i>	TTM 7, 67, 90
		Gold	<i>KÛ.GI</i> ^{MES}	TTM 1, 4, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 39, 43, 44, 45, 59, 66, 73, 74, 86
		Silver	<i>KÛ.BABBAR</i> ^{MES}	TTM 21, 61, 73, 75
		Antimony	<i>lu-lu</i> ^{MES}	TTM 67
2	Metal objects	statues	<i>za-al-mu</i> ^{MES}	TTM 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 86
		Stars	<i>MUL</i> ^{MES}	TTM 14, 15, 16, 17
		wall pegs	<i>hu-up-hu-pu-um</i> ^{MES}	TTM 34, 36, 37, 58, 69, 70, 78, 95, 97
		chariot	<i>GIŠGIGIR</i> ^{MES}	TTM 17
		horn	<i>ka-as-su-na</i>	TTM 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 66, 90
		ring	<i>HAR</i> ^{MES}	TTM 8, 9, 10, 73, 75
		bolt, knob	<i>li-gi</i> ^{MES}	TTM 25, 67
		beam	<i>GIŠku-šu-ru</i> ^{MES}	TTM 12, 13
3	Agricultural products	grain	<i>ŠE.BAR</i> ^{MES}	M-1157, M-1470, M-1472, M-1486, M-1488
4	Livestock products	sheep	<i>UDU.NITA</i>	M-1461
		cow	<i>ku-maš</i> ^{MES}	M-1517, M-1484
5	Secondary agricultural products	flour	<i>ZÍ.DA</i> ^{MES}	M-1463, M-1506, M-1507, M-1509
		Product produced from grain	<i>ši-ip-ru-um</i>	M-1463
6	Secondary livestock products	sheep's hide	<i>KUŠ</i> ^{MES}	M-1461
		Goat's hide	<i>ÛZ</i> ^{MES} / <i>hi-du</i> ^{MES}	M-1468

The Archival Practice in the Archive of Anšan

The Anšan archive serves as an administrative repository for the state. The tablets found in the EDD building predominantly depict the transfer of

various raw materials, including copper, tin, silver, gold, and antimony, from the administrative office of Anšan to individuals both within and outside of the organization. These materials were utilized in the production of items such as chariots (TTM 17), wall pegs (TTM 72-69, 77-78, 80-84, 96-97), and statuettes (TTM 1-7, 85). It is possible that production of these objects was part of the procedure of temple construction, dedicated to the gods Napiriša, Kiririša, Inšušinak, and Šimut, in the city of Anšan by the order of Huteluduš-Inšušinak (c. the end of the 12th century BC).

The administrative structure of the Anšan archive is similar to the Haft Tepe archive (ancient Kabnak). A state archive was established in the city of Haft Tepe to supervise the construction of temples and tombs, also to manage other resources as well. The present study has demonstrated that the administrative organization of Kabnak functions in the same way as the administrative organization of Anšan (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013: 161; Basello & Giovinazzo 2018: 486-487).

The architectural analysis reveals a resemblance in construction patterns between the plan of phase IV of the EDD building in Tal-e Malyan and the plan of palaces numbers 2 and 3 in Chogha Zanbil (Stolper 1984: 27; Carter 1996: 6-7; Ghirshman 1996, Plates nos. 13-14).

Both organizations appear to produce materials and the decorative items, as commissioned by the administrative office. For example, H.T. 39, discovered at Haft Tepe, documents transfer of silver to an individual tasked with crafting various components of a chariot (Herrero & Glassner 1990: 8). Similarly, TTM 17, discovered at Tal-e Malyan, related to delivery of copper for making of large copper stars to decorate a chariot (Stolper 1984: 48). Additionally, the text H.T. 435 from Haft Tepe references the production of gold plates, bracelets, statues, and figurines (Herrero & Glassner 1990: 23). Furthermore, TTM 4 from Malyan discusses the payment of one shekel of gold for the creation of golden figures (Stolper 1984: 32-33).

No evidence of the aforementioned statues and chariots has been discovered in these two sites so far. However, during the excavations of 1904 in Susa, a collection of gold, silver, and copper statues, as well as golden rings and plaques, were discovered under the pavement near the wall of the temple of Inšušinak on the Acropole. These artifacts, dating back to the 12th and 11th centuries B.C, coincide with the period when administrative texts from Anšan reference the creation of such items for embellishment of a temple in the city. Since these artifacts were not discovered in Haft Tepe or Anšan, but rather in Susa, it is plausible to

infer that the creation of such ritual objects was likely a standard practice for Elamite temples or palaces. Considering the efforts of Elamite Kings who aimed to construct temples for deities across all major cities of Elam, it is plausible to assume that the creation of such objects was a customary undertaking in every Elamite city. It is important to highlight that in order to carry out such tasks, the presence of an administrative structure is crucial to control management of raw materials and production processes, in addition to equipped workshops, artisans, raw materials and goods. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that in every significant Elamite city with a temple, the likelihood of an administrative organization (to supervise construction activities and raw materials), an archive (for record keeping), and workshops (to produce demanded objects) is high.



Fig. 3: The obtained objects from the “The Inšušinak temple hoard” (Álvarez-Mon 2020: pl. 126). ▶

So, the administrative system of Anšan archive was responsible for managing the raw materials for making of ordered objects by the state administration. The administrative procedure was as follows: first shipment of metals which was sent to an artist or workshop to make ordered objects. It is not clear whether the person who received the metals was a master craftsman or if he was just an official who had the task of supervising production of objects (Stolper 1984: 30). After producing the items, they were delivered and back to the state institution, then the objects were sent by the administrative system to individuals, probably to be placed and installed in the desired place, as in TTM 85, the transfer of statue to the unknown destination in the city of Anšan was mentioned (Stolper 1984: 120–121; Sajjadiyan 2022: 66).

The large number of material shipments in the Anšan archive shows the extent and magnitude of the activities of state administration in this city. The texts that record small shipments of metals mainly indicate the withdrawal of metals from the institute to produce objects, but texts that record movement of considerable amounts of metals indicate the withdrawal of metals from the institution, both for producing objects and in the form of raw metals (Stolper 1984: 13–14). For instance, text TTM 92, in the first line, mentions thirty talents of copper in one shipment.

In addition, the city of Anšan is located in the fertile plain of Beyza, a plain that is still a place for planting all kinds of agricultural products and raising livestock, so the archive was active in agricultural and livestock issues. For example, text M-1509 is evidence for sending flour outside of estate administration (Stolper 1984: 100, fig. 7), as rations for their employees. Furthermore, aside from the aforementioned text, there are more texts relating to the trade of livestock, crops, and grains, as well as processed agricultural goods such as flour and animal husbandry (Hinz & Koch 1987: 305; Stolper 2013: 401, 414).

Within the administrative texts of Anšan, the key information includes: the quantity and type of metals, and objects, destination, the administrative procedure, and the date. Although variations may exist in the level of detail provided, these four elements generally encompass the essential content of the texts (Stolper 1984: 10).

The type of metals is usually mentioned at the beginning of the texts. Gold and silver signs were written as Sumerograms. Copper is the most frequently mentioned metal in the texts. The weight units used in the texts were talent (30 kg = 60 mina), mina (500 grams = 60 shekel) and shekel (8.4 grams), which in fact were the common Babylonian weights (Stolper

1984: 10; Kuhrt 2007: 884). Fractions and particles are usually indicated by numerical signs, except for ri-bu-utMEŠ, which means a quarter of a shekel (Stolper 1984: 10).

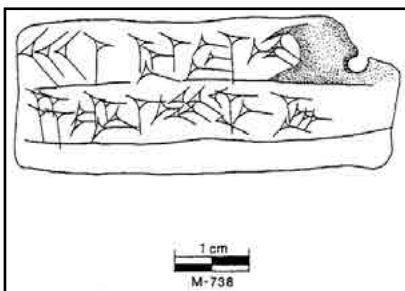
After the tablets were produced, the issue of arranging and safeguarding the texts was raised. According to the documents found in room 76, it seems that specific texts might have been stored on wooden shelves in room 76, which is located next to the central courtyard.

The tablets appear to have been categorized based on their content and the specific products they referenced. It is likely that these tablets were divided into two distinct groups: the first group consisting of tablets discussing precious metals like gold and silver, which were discovered in the northeast corner of the eastern corridor within the central courtyard. The second group of tablets pertained to less valuable metals such as copper and tin, and were found in room 76 (Ibid.).

It is important to note that the tablets found in the northeast corner of the eastern corridor of the central courtyard were not discarded in this place, in fact, their positioning serves as proof of evacuation of the EDD building prior to the devastating fire. Remarkably, the texts found in the same clusters contain identical content, indicating that they were categorized according to their subject matter. Within this context, the terms HAR.ŠI.GAL and HAR.ŠI.BÍL are notable. Stolper interprets these terms as signifying “large storehouse” and “new storehouse,” respectively. This observation indicates the existence of a minimum of two storehouses within this administrative framework, likely tasked with the management and storage of goods and raw materials (Ibid: 100-101).

Among the Malyan texts, TTM 5 stands out due to its significance in archival practices. This particular tablet features a brief inscription consisting of two lines. Although part of the tablet is damaged, it references a specific quantity of metal designated for the creation of a statue. Notably, there is a perforation in the upper right corner of the tablet (Fig. 4), which likely served the purpose of suspending a string or plaque to facilitate the identification of the tablet (Ibid: 34). A similar issue has been frequently noted in the tablets of the Persepolis Fortification archive, which had two holes for string.

In the archive, numbers of documents are associated with individual accounts. These records show certain individuals can be creditors of administration that were waiting for delivery of specific products which did not arrive yet or they can be debtors to the administration. For example, in the text of TTM 49, a shipment of copper was sent to a person



▲ Fig. 4: The TTM 5 tablet (Stolper 1984: 34, fig. 5).

named Attibet under the title of “not deposited”. He was a creditor to the administration. This means that a shipment was probably supposed to be sent to him, and for whatever reason, it did not happen so the mentioned person was a creditor to the administration. Subsequently, upon that the Anšan administration pay his debt and fulfilled its duty towards this person, it is mentioned in the archive text (Ibid: 77).

Some texts seem to be a receipt for finish of work. For example, the text TTM 44 related to make of an object. At the beginning of this text, seven shekels of gold are mentioned, and then it is said that the amount of “horn” and “anvil?” by means of which they were made by Dannan-Pinigir, sent to Akkamen (Stolper 1984: 74, 44).

Record of the volume of transactions

Based on number of transactions, the texts can be divided into two groups: single-issue memoranda (Ibid: nos. 1-65, 79-83) and multiple-issues memoranda (Ibid: nos. 66-78), (Ibid: nos. 84-99). The first group tablets, which represent a single transaction, recorded shipments from the amount of 1 to 1445 shekels of gold (Stolper 1984: 4, 39). This group of texts also recorded the transaction of shipments from 205 to 3600 shekels of copper (Ibid: nos. 38, 57). The second group include tablets related to several transactions and summary texts of transactions, have recorded amounts of up to 36,000 shekels of metal (Ibid: no. 92).

After recording the metals and their quantities, name of the expected product or the destination of shipment is mentioned. These objects and goods have been recorded by Sumerian and Akkadian logograms, Elamite signs with specific meanings and unknown Elamite signs (Ibid: 10).

After this section, the administrative formula is mentioned. These formulas mainly include PI+PÍR which probably means “sent to” and conjugational forms of the verbs sira- meaning “weighed” and du- meaning “received” or “issued”, and occasionally a combination of these formulas is given in the texts (Ibid:). According to Stolper, all three mentioned signs probably represent different parts of a process (Ibid: 14). In general, nineteen different administrative formulas are mentioned in these texts, the most repeated formula is: “Sent to PN” (PI+PÍR PN).

Seals Usage in the archive of Anšan

About a quarter of tablets have seal impressions. These seals cover the unwritten part of the tablets (Stolper, 1984: 15). This issue indicates that the tablets were sealed after writing. Two seal impression can be recognized

from the sealed tablets. Seal number 1 (Fig. 5) is used on almost all of the sealed tablets, i.e. 25 tablets³, except one tablet which was sealed by another seal (Ibid: 16).

Seal number 2 is recorded only on TTM 45 (Fig. 6), which is related to the shipment of gold for making the “horn” that was delivered to an individual named Akkamen (Ibid: 16).

Stolper asserts that the uniformity in handwriting found on these tablets, along with the consistency in seal impressions, suggests the presence of a centralized entity responsible for managing the transportation of goods (Ibid: 26).

Administrative hierarchy in the archive of Anšan

Due to the lack of evidence and the nature of the administrative texts of this archive, it is not possible to obtain the job titles and hierarchy of the active individuals in the Anšan administrative system, but an attempt has been made to provide a general classification. So, the individuals who received

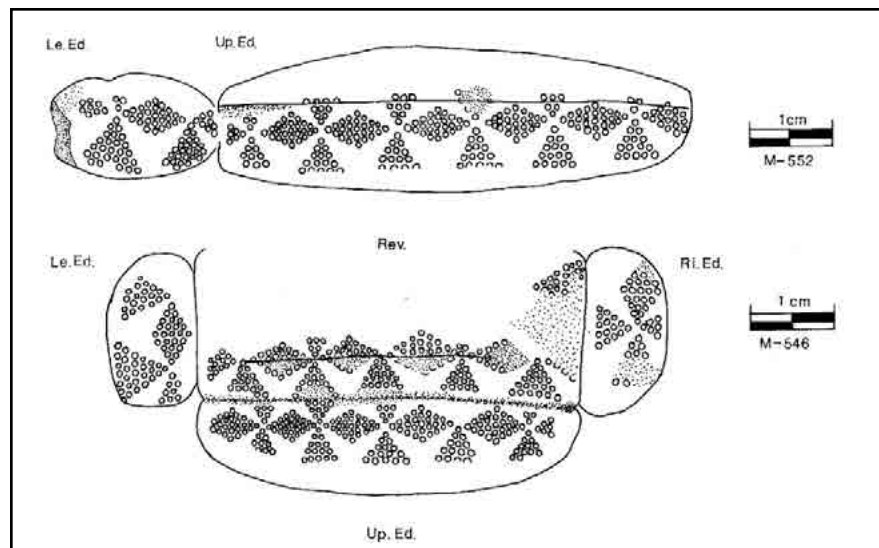


Fig. 5: Seal no. 1 (Stolper 1984: 17, fig. 4). ▶

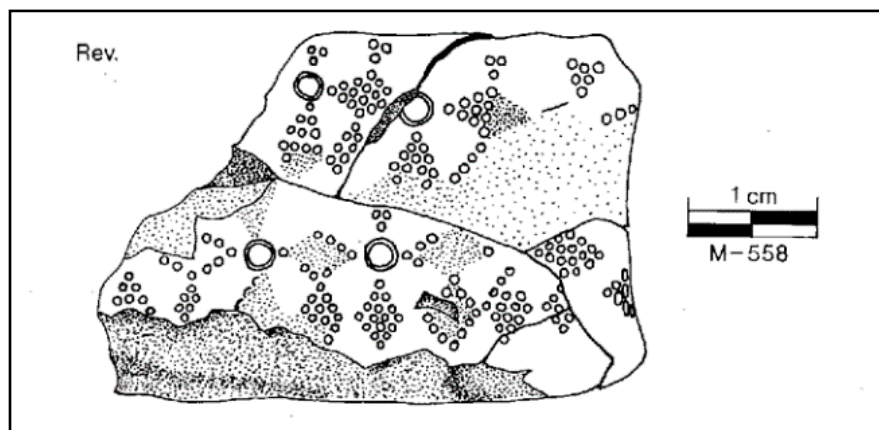


Fig. 6: Seal no. 2 (Stolper 1984: 17, fig. 5). ▶

only raw metal are artisans, and the persons who received produced goods in addition to raw metal are known as officials. In the meantime, the titles used for artisans and administrative officials in the texts have been a kind of confirmation of this pattern. For example, Akkamen, mentioned in TTM 4, is referred to as ka4-si-te, which, as Stolper suggested, may indicate a role related to metals, such as metal smith or craftsman (Stolper 1984: 33). Similarly, in TTM 53, the title kurkurrumbe is used, which appears to signify craftsman (Ibid: 83). These individuals, who hold these titles, have only been provided with raw metals from the archive.

On the other hand, another person in a text related to distributed rations, M-603, has the title of teppír (Stolper 2013: 400), which seems to mean “Schreiber” or “Sekretär” (Hinz & Koch 1987: 319). As mentioned earlier, this problem shows that the administrative officials were also among the recipients of the goods, and although the texts are only the receipts of these transactions, they also indicate the administrative procedures.

Conclusion

The administrative archive of Anšan was one of the first Elamite archives that written in Elamite cuneiform and it was the beginning of tradition that was continued in the archives of Susa and Persepolis. Actually, the Anšan archive has not received the attention it deserves.

The Anšan texts are recorded of process of receiving and distributing raw materials by state administration in the city. These materials, predominantly metals, are initially provided to individuals in for crafting various objects. Skilled craftsmen then transform these raw materials into decorative objects such as chariot parts, copper and gold ornaments, and knobs. Subsequently, these finished products are returned to the administration office storage and likely distributed to individuals for installation in specific locations within the city, probably temples. Moreover, it appears that the administration also compensates state employees in Anšan with livestock and agricultural supplies.

Despite the absence of any evidence of the recognized of metal objects from the excavations in this region, a comparative analysis of the middle Elamite archives from Anšan and Haft Tepe, along with two collections of artifacts discovered from the Acropole of Susa—specifically, the “hoard of the temple of Inšušinak” and the “royal hoard”—can enhance our comprehension of the operational dynamics of such structures.

The administrative records found in the Haft Tepe archive exhibit resemblances in transactional activities with the Anšan archive. Both

archives document transactions involving the exchange of raw materials and finished goods, including plaques, figurines, and chariot components made of copper, silver, and gold.

The workshop responsible for the production of these items at Haft Tepe has yet to be identified; however, evidence of other workshops where different products were created has been uncovered. This suggests a relationship and co-existence among these various structures.

The artifacts founded from the surroundings of the Inshushinak Temple of the Acropole of Susa encompass a variety of items such as rings, figurines, and plaques adorned with a star motif crafted from copper, gold, and silver. Notably, these items had been previously referenced in the archives of Anšan and Haft Tepe. While it is conceivable that these artifacts were produced in Susa or other regions rather than Anšan and Kabnak, their presence offers insight into the final products of administrative institutions and workshops. The unearthing of treasures from the Acropole and the discovery of texts from Haft Tepe near industrial complexes suggest that the administrative structure of Anšan may have been part of a vast state complex, which only the bureaucratic aspect has been uncovered thus far.

When it comes to the type of activity, the Anšan archive is similar to the Haft Tepe archive. This similarity extends to the construction of a sacred complex consisting of tombs and temples, as well as an administrative structure responsible for the distribution of raw metals, the production of decorative objects such as parts of chariots and statues, and the provision of rations for tombs. The archival records of the Anšan archive reveal the presence of officials, master craftsmen, and artisans.

Based on the texts, the active individuals in Anšan archive can be categorized into four distinct classes. At the top tier of the hierarchy are officials and employees holding administrative positions. The second group consists of lower-level employees tasked with overseeing and executing the organization's operations. The third class comprises master craftsmen who bear direct responsibility for constructing the organization's intended items. Finally, the lowest and most extensive class is made up of low-level artisans who likely operate under the guidance of the master craftsmen.

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Observation Contribution

The sections 1-5 of the article and the overall supervision were conducted by Leila Makvandi, and the writing of sections 6-11 was carried out by Aboutaleb Sajjadiyan, the corresponding author.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare the absence of any conflicts of interest while adhering to publication ethics in citation practices.

Endnote

1. TTM 1-4, 6-15, 17-59, 61-69, 73-76, 78-79, 82-84, 86-90, 91-94, 99 and 107.
2. TTM 5, 16, 60, 70-72, 77, 80, 85, 91 and 95-96.
3. TTM 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23, 30, 32, 39, 44, 48, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 68, 78, 93, 97, 98 and 113.

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بایگانی عیلام میانه انشان

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چکیده

محوطه تل ملیان واقع در دشت بیضا استان فارس، به عنوان انشان باستان، مهم‌ترین پایگاه عیلامیان در شرق دشت شوشان و شاید مهم‌ترین مرکز فرهنگی عیلامیان در جهان عیلامی بوده است. در کاوش‌های ویلیام سامنر در فاصله سال‌های ۱۹۷۸-۱۹۷۱م. یک بایگانی اداری به خط و زبان عیلامی میانه به دست آمده است. این بایگانی که از آخرین آثار برجای مانده از دوره عیلام میانه، سلسله شوتروکی، و فعالیت شاهان این دوره در این منطقه است اهمیت به سزایی در مطالعات بایگانی‌های عیلامی دارد. اهمیت بایگانی انشان در قیاس با بایگانی‌های اداری عیلامی پیش از خود که به خط اکدی/بابلی نوشته می‌شدند در این است که متون آن به خط و زبان عیلامی نگاشته شده‌اند و به نوعی آغازگر میراثی است که نتیجه آن را می‌توان در بایگانی‌های هخامنشی بارو و خزانه تخت جمشید کرد. مطالعه این بایگانی می‌تواند در شناخت ساختارهای دیوانسالاری عیلامی راهگشا باشد، بایگانی‌ای که پس از گذشت بیش از چهل سال از کشف، همچنان مورد مطالعه هدفمند قرار نگرفته است. بایگانی حاضر نشان دهنده ساخت معبدی در شهر انشان به دستور آخرین شاه عیلام میانه، هوتلودوش اینشوشیناک، هستند و وظیفه این بایگانی مدیریت منابع و نیروهای آن است. بایگانی انشان در این میان به کنترل جریان‌های ورودی مواد به سازمان و یا از سازمان به افرادی در بیرون از آن می‌پرداخته است، به این صورت که مواد اولیه که شامل فلزات با ارزش بوده‌اند را از مرحله دریافت تا مرحله ساخت و قرار گرفتن در محل مورد نظر سازمان کنترل و مدیریت می‌کرده است. در این فرآیند نام افرادی در متون اداری ثبت شده که در این پژوهش با توجه به فعالیت و کالایی که دریافت کرده‌اند به گروه‌هایی نظیر مسئولان، کاتبان، استادکاران و کارگران تقسیم شده‌اند. هدف پژوهش پیش رو این است که با به بررسی بایگانی انشان، نوع متون و ساختار آن، تصویری از محتوای متون و ساختار اداری بایگانی انشان ارائه کند.

کلیدواژگان: عیلام میانه، انشان، تل ملیان، بایگانی انشان.

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