

## A Review and Analysis of Religious, Political and Social Structure of Elam

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**Abstract:** Elamites had reigned from fourth millennium to first millennium BC on a large part of southwest of Iran. For about 2500 years of a history full of conflicts, they could defeat invades of their powerful neighbors including Sumer, Akkad and Babylon and kept protected their independency and identity, but finally they assigned their reign to Assyrian. Elamites kept some features of their civilization including matriarchy system (transfer of king parentage from mother) and also their religion. The remained evidences show influence of Elamite religion on Elamite kings and people and they also show that Elamite religion has common points and discrete features with Mesopotamian religion. However, powerful state of Elam had continued for about 3000 years, from 3500 BC to 645 BC.

**Key words:** *Elam; Religion; Society; Politics; Sumer; Mesopotamia*

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### 1. Introduction

We have no accurate knowledge about cradle of Elamites. There are some works and buildings remained from residence of Elamites in Khuz plains (north of Persian Gulf) belonging to fourth millennium BC. Researches made on Elamites' skeletons show common features of Elamites with Sumerians and Daravidian civilization in Indus valley in Pakistan. This is while Elamite language (at least its final form) had significant difference with their neighboring countries. Elamites learned significant features of Sumer civilization including Cuneiform in replace of their own Pictograph. Of course, Elamites kept some features of their civilization including matriarchy system (transfer of king parentage from mother) and also their religion. It is to be noted that their language had no common feature with known languages and yet, it has not been read completely. Although Elamite religion reasonably continued for several thousand years, but there is no enough evidences to know more about it. The remained evidences show influence of Elamite religion on Elamite kings and people and they also show that Elamite religion has common points and discrete features with Mesopotamian religion. However, powerful state of Elam had continued for about 3000 years, from 3500 BC to 645 BC and it had most significant effect on people resided in Iran.

### 2. Problem description

Elamites were of those relatives and tribes which came to Iran from Middle Asia lands from about 5000 BC and resided in southwest of Iran. Elamite

state had continued for about 3000 years. Simultaneously with Sumerian, Elamites established their state or government which reigned on Khuzestan, Bakhtiari mountains, Lorestan, Poshtkouh and Anshān. Their capital was šuša and their most important cities include Ahvaz and Khāidalu (Khorram abad). After years, they extended their reigning lands to central and east parts of Iran. Elamites named their country "Hal-tampt" or "Hal-ta-am-ti", means land of God or God land. Sumerian people who resided in plains of Mesopotamian religion named that country Elam, means mountaineer country and called its people as Elamites, means residents of a mountaineer country. Akkadian people took these names from Mesopotamians and in this way, it is cited in Torah and this word inherited to Arabs and other Muslims with dictation of Eilām or Elām. Immigrants of Achaemenian people called them "Huwaja" about historian name of Elam country). Powerful state of Elam had continued for about 3000 years, from 3500 BC to 645 BC and it had most significant effect on people resided in Iran. There are a number of tablets and inscriptions remained from Elamites and more than 10000 Elamite tablets have been keeping in University of Chicago and translated works present valuable information about Elamite kings but there is not enough information from the times earlier than times of first Sargon, king of Akkād (2334 BC). Historians divide history of Elam into three periods:

"Avān" was first cross-country dynasty of Elam (2600-2550 BC) and Shushtar was its capital. Battles of them with "Sumer-Akkād" was most important events of the era which led to failure of Sumer-Akkād and Elamites ruled on Mesopotamian regions for years. Middle period of Elamites reign (1450-1100 BC) was golden era of Elam but due to internal

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conflicts, Elam had no central government and states reigned independently. New era of Elamite state (745-645 BC) was of most critical periods of Elamite government. On social view, Elamites could improve from rangy and hunting based life to a life based on agriculture and taming animals. Simultaneously they reached copper, bronze and invented metal dishes and Elamites developed their metal working industries. In this era, pottery making industries highly developed in the same era after invention of potter's wheel.



Fig. 1: The map of Elamite

It is to be noted that Elamites made first types of circular kart wheel. Along these extended developments, they created different road networks to connect different commercial centers. They built different warehouses to maintain and store different types of goods. They provided and adjusted different types of commercial documents and computed goods on clay inscriptions. Another development of Elamites refers to application of cylindrical seals with different shapes of animals and geometric shapes. In addition, Elamites extended artificial irrigation techniques in east and west of Iran which was more advanced than the previous techniques. This trend and changes in economy and life style led to decomposition of tribal life style and increase of hierarchies and that is the reason that slavery and traditions of hierarchical society developed in Elam faster than other societies.

From religious point of view, Elamites know the world full of spirits and named their great God as Inshushinak but only kings and druids could perform religious rituals of this God. This God located in a clean and sacred place in jungle. The book "history of Elam" says that Elamite religion had magical aspects in a way that it even affected Assyrian. In other words, during the times Elam was land of magicians and evils in view of Mesopotamian people.

### 3. Etymology of the word "Elām"

Elam was a name for a high land and in east of Akkad. People used the word Elam in Akkadian and Babylonian language for a country under the name of Hal Tam Eti or Hatamti which probably pronounced as Altamti. This word divides into two parts, part one "Hal" means land and part two "Tamti" means sacred or Gods and totally it means sacred land or land of Gods. (Negahban .E1993) The word Elam for the first time appeared on a Sumerian inscription belonging to mythical king of first Kish dynasty named Anembaragisi. This king gained lots of weapons in his battles with Elamites. Persians named lands of Elamites as UVja or Huja and thought their homelands on eastern mountains of Susa. Greek writers named them Uji or Uzi and this word has been remaining in some parts of Khuzestan, (Momtahan H1976) & (Amiyeh P2010) & (MajidZadeh Y1991) & ( Mir Saeedi N2004) & (Talaee H1995) People of Babylon named eastern high lands of Babylon as "Alamtuya Allam", which means mountains or land of sunrise (means: east) (Amiyeh P2010) Sumerians wrote Elam with NIM sign which NIM in Sumerian language means "high" and by this they pointed to the mountains behind Khuzestan. Elamites wrote their lands as Hal-ta-amti in their cuneiform writing style which it probably has been read as hal-tampt. Probably, "hal-tamat" "hal" means "land" and "tampt" means propitious or superior. All these lead us to the point that Elamites know their land as God land or Superior land (Rajabi P2001), (Amiyeh P2010) Mathew Wolfgang Stolper in his book "History of Elam" said that current name of Elam comes from its Hebraic name "ELAM" which is noted in the Old Testament. It includes the word Elam in Sumerian language, Elamtu in Akkadian language, Hatmati or Haltamti in Elamite language. All these names refer to a set of sociopolitical structures in southwest of Iran in ancient era and most evidence of it, has been founded around Susa (Amiyeh P 2010) In Sumerian resources from mid-third millennium BC, name of Elam was written with its Sumerian name "NIM" which simply means "High" and mostly comes with reference "KI" which means "land" or "country". Its common Akkadian form is "KUR elammatum" or Elamite lands. There are a number of discussions about its etymology. In Damero and England point of view, Elam is Akkadian form of Sumerian and Elamite words under the effect of the word "Elam" which means "high". For the first time, it was through ruling time of Siu-Peler-Hupak in 18<sup>th</sup> century BC that the land of Elam was cited as Hatamti or Hal-Hatamti in writing language of Elamites and this land in Akkadian and Sumerian language was called Elam. In Walter Hints view, this word consists of Hal [means land] and tamt [the merciful God]. Currently it is said that the word Hal-Hatamti may be Elamite compact form of its Akkadian writing style "alaitummatum" which means High Land. It is highly probable that the word Elamtu in Akkadian language comes from Elamite word "Ha(L) tamti" and if the above assumption comes true, it is highly probable that residents of south and southwest of Iran had not have an

integrated government for the times before second millenniums BC. People of high lands of Iran in third millennium BC which our story starts since that era included different ethnics with their own language; but they never introduced themselves with Elamite titles. The word Elam was used by Sumerian writers for high lands located on the east side of Mesopotamia and they reasonably called there as High Land (Pats, 2011), (Frank, 2003).



Fig. 2: A picture of an elamite woman

#### 4. Social structure of ancient Elam

Society of Susa and other important cities of Elam through third millennium BC include a series of relative comorbidity and there were strong influences of matriarchy and during those times, the society was changing its stance from matriarchy to patriarchy and based on published evidences we find out that it is about the end of second millennium and early of first millennium BC that patriarchy prevailed through Elamite society of the era. Considering the above notations, it is to be said that comorbidity of relatives was a distance between this step with the previous one of matriarchy. Also, evidences show that some of organizational and pre-development features of matriarchy, previous Elamite-*ālu*, still remained in Elamite society in second millennium BC. These evidences clearly show that some entities of previous system of matriarchy are still remained. Secondly, in previous matriarchy or administrative system, *ālu* was most important administrative or organizational position. Actually, matriarchy system does not mean that only women governed economic, organizational and tribal affairs. In all comorbidity of matriarchy which remained up to current era, women have had been source and core of tribes and also source of power, administrative and political options of society, they play important administrative role of people. In other words, men representing head of tribes (mother-head) perform important political, religious and economic tasks.

Therefore, one of most important features of Zhenti system remained through third millennium and second millennium BC in parentage of Elamite kings and this is strong evidence that Elamite society of third millennium BC came out of matriarchy Zhenti. Another reason to the existence of previous Zhenti society may be reached through study of Elamite "Pantheon" (Eskandari, 1998), (Rajabi, 2001), (Dandamayuf, 2007), (Amiyeh, 2010), (Pirnia, 2007), (Vosoghi, 2005), (Arfaee, 2008).

#### 5. Emergence of religion and investigating role of religious patterns in architectural and artistic works

Elamite religion contains some common features with Mesopotamian traditions but this religion, sustainably keeps its individuality and features. A part of this individuality refers to a type of uncommon praise of eternal femininity and praising snakes which has an origin in magic. Snake was a constant symbol for Elamite civilization. Even potteries of forth and third millennium BC show complicated shapes of snakes. Shape of snake was on potter's heads and on dishes may be to defeat Satan. Reliefs of snakes were mounted on doors to be guardians of gates. These shapes were available on reliefs of kings, religious dishes and instruments' handles for example cane, axe and royal bats and they constitute columns of kings' thrones in standing style. From ancient times, shape of two twisted snakes around life tree, in mating mode, was symbol of fertility for Elamites and this symbol even reached Egypt. Shapes of snakes with head of human being show divinity of this creepy but this divinity was unfamiliar for Mesopotamians. Elamite religion is like language which transfers conceptions across centuries. In Elamite religion, superior state belonged to a Goddess. Based on an agreement made in 2280 BC which starts as follows: "listen Goddess Pinikir and you good Gods of heavens", Elamites know Pinikir as Goddess of heavens with power of cursing people, this points to some sort of matriarchy between believers of this religion. Religious leaders and tribal heads and royal family led believers to pray in sacred places or temples. These places contained religious statues, altars and sacrifice places and people gave their sacrifices and gifts to Gods. Common places for these types of temples were heights and high lands or a high temple in city or sometimes a temple on top of a mountain or a place far away from a village. Elamites believed to a life after death and there are a range of evidences to this claim in their graves for example they placed a clay pitcher in each grave as a gift. After death of an ordinary Elamite, his family buried him without shroud in yard of the house but ignoring that how poor is he, his family buried a clay pitcher under his feet. Rich people also had the same dishes, no regards that they were buried in clay coffin or in beautiful graves made of bricks. There were also some channels to pure water in graves because Elamites believed that water is required for their life

after death. All these samples show that Elamites believed to a life after death. They believed that there are two Gods named Ishnikarab (Išnikarab) and Lagmal coming for soul of dead people which left earth in order to guide the soul to Inshushinak. Inshushinak was their great God who judged about souls. Considering this, Elamites were not sure about final vote but the other life was not totally under shadows (Hints, 2007), (Harririan, 2001), (Amiyeh, 2010), (Glen, 2009), (Pirnia, 2007), (Mir Saeedi, 2004), (Sarraf, 2010) Therefore, in all religious rituals, Elamite kings and people try to prove their obedience against Elamite Gods. Each of them presents different objects and buildings to Gods. Especially, Elamite kings did their best shot in construction of Ziggurats and temples and presented them to their Gods. Moreover, Elamites brought some animals to sacrifice or present them to their Gods. These animals included goats, sheep and ewes. God of snake and wavy waters is the Great God or National God of Elamites, named "Inshushinak" (Sarraf, 2012) Anyway, role of Gods or semi-Gods was common in Elam and Mesopotamia. In initial eras of Elamite civilization, these supernatural creatures have strange combinations: half human-half plant, half human-half snake, half human-half goat and etc. These combinations were common in Mesopotamia but Elamites had more imaginative minds. Elamites imagined a supernatural creature named Griffin (Lion-Eagle) as guardian of temples but this creature was not familiar for Sumerians. But, Sumerians had a naked hero to protect their temples, named Gilgamesh which is not founded in seal making artifacts of Susa. But after a while, along with penetration of Babylon culture, this sign was added to Elamite culture and we can see this sign in memoriam stone of Untush-Gal in shape of a creature, half human-half bull. No doubt, Elamites believed to Gods of badness and goodness. In fact, Babylon residents considered Elam as land of magicians and demons (Pirnia, 2007), (Aminizadeh, 2012), (Glen, 2001).

## 6. Relation of religion and policy

Religion and policy are two powerful and significant entities in civilized human communities and they are also two integrated elements in administration of state and army affairs. Regarding that domestic beliefs played significant roles in constitution of religion based societies and basis of non-secular governments, but note that there have been struggles and conflicts in obtaining power and superior position in governments, related to power of religious system (druids and clergymen) in different societies and with independent point of view than political system and vice versa. In fact, Elamite society was not excluded of this and upon emergence of government entity, religious power became integrated with or themselves. Considering primitive thoughts of people in that era who know kings as representatives of Gods, king and his reign became religious and divinity based. Therefore,

people considered king as administrator of government on behalf of Gods and he also had religious position and at the same time, superior position in administration and judicial systems. King is responsible for construction, protection, maintenance and development of glory of temples, digging channels and establishment of irrigation network to provide facilities for society. He is also responsible for finding approaches to protect cities through building fortifications. He is also commander of army and finally he gives a major portion of spoils to temple (house of God). Considering that "Ishak" (religious and administrative head of temple) owned positions of religious leader, military commander and responsible for judicial affairs, he had no difference with a real king. There was no difference if military commander was independent from the temple or Ishak himself was the commander of the army at the same time (Eskandari, 1998) Kutik Inshushinak made a new and large temple in Susa and devoted it to his God (Inshushinak) while presenting different sacrifices to him with his pure faith because he believed that Goddesses helped him in his victories and gave him power and wealth. After that Attat Hushuniz became king of Susa, he developed Inshushinak temple and choose especial title of "favored servant" for himself.



Fig. 3: Elamite seal with god, worshiper and giant snake

One of Akkadian inscriptions of Attat Hushu says that he, in charge of protector of Susa people, devoted a temple to Great Ningal Goddess (Pinikir) to secure life of people in Susa. He also held a ceremony for Elamite Goddess of victory named Narunte and her Akkadian companion named Akuntium in a temple. Untush Nepirish made several temples to protect his kingdom and he summarizes kingdom, constructional principles and its devotion to Gods in the following sentences: "after I gained constructional materials, I erected this sacred area in Untush city and put it in two interior and exterior walls and I made a high temple not similar to

previous temples made by previous kings. I devoted it to my Gods Humban and Inshushinak as guardians of sacred area. I hope to devote my efforts and construction to them in order to establish kindness and justice of Humban and Inshushinak in this place" (Hints, 2009) During time of Nakhunte the king, two Gods were significant in royal and administrative records named Humban and Inshushinak and kings may announce these kings superior than themselves in order to attract believers and stabilize their political power. Kindatu, one of Simash kings, intelligently made an expedient and sacrificed for local God of Susa and secretaries of later periods say that he reconstructed temple of Inshushinak in Susa based on his faith and belief and by this he attracted people of other regions which previously were under reign of Ur. Idadu-Inshushinak probably started his reign in Susa with position of Ishaku of Susa and then he became Ishaku and Shankaku of Elamite lands. He spoke from raising walls of Akropolice temples and storing a tub of lime water in honor of Inshushinak. He resort to Inshushinak, Shamash, Inana (Ishtar) and Sinn from invaders who wants to destroy his constructions. It is to be noted that kings founded their political power based on their religious stance and records show that names of two kings Idadu-Napir (Idadu Khudast) and Idadu-Tamti (Idadu Khavandast) are not real and these names comes from the Elamite opinion that know kings as Gods (Glen, 2009). During reign of middle-Elamite kings, different group's people were integrated in middle size groups and new residential areas came to existence in periods between Susa and Anshan. Brick tablets of remaining local temples point to supports of kings for these developing regions. Extended constructions of temples may be considered as faith based acts and also as means of extending power of kings (Stolper, 2010) Therefore, main goal and intention of Untash Gal government was integration of different religions and traditions and finally he made a great temple in his new capital in two floors. However, these kings constructed a number of buildings in their era in order to prove and stabilize their dominations on their conquered regions. Their vast accuracy and artistic sense in construction of temples in Susa shows that they tend to put Susa as heart of their emperorship and residence of Inshushinak, great and main God of Elamites (Amiyeh, 2010). In fact, Elamite land was no more than a political content and these glories belonged to powerful and ambitious kings like Shilhak-Inshushinak. Integration of Elam consisted of a tribal unity and this unity was continuously under pressure of discretion and each tribe praised its own Gods. Nationalization of local praises was one of acts of kings of great dynasties to stabilize political stance of country. Toward this idea, they sacred their capitals (Susa or Dur-Untush) and they tried to collect local Gods in them. These capitals were highly similar to stance of Mecca before Islam which was a center for Gods of different tribes. Therefore, a more accurate review of political and religious relations in Elamite society shows that

druids and clergymen intelligently abused royal families to gain their goals and perform their commands. As seen that kings should have religious titles to legitimate their government and divide power between them and so called high druid we can observe penetration and power of religion between royal families (MajidZadeh, 1991), (Frank, 2003 ).

## 7. Religious beliefs and hierarchies of Gods

In case of Elamite Gods and their stance, we may say that there are records remained from a convention (of earlier Elamite inscriptions) dated back to 2280 BC, we may find nearly all Gods of Elamite in time of fall of this kingdom in 640 BC in their religious rituals and these Gods show themselves as owners of a totally stabilized spiritual hierarchies and this shows that world of Gods was ancient even for 23<sup>rd</sup> century BC people. The above-named convention starts with this note: "listen our Goddess, Pinīkr, and you good Gods of heaven". Later, Elamite know Pinīkr as Goddess of heavens having power to curse people and her name was a part of especial names. For instance, daughter of most famous Elamite king, Shilhak Inshushinak, was called "Utu-E-Hihi-Pinikir" means "I devoted her uterus to Pinikir". Mesopotamian people know Pinikir as a type of Ashtar or Ashtarut (Aštārtēh) in old era. Obviously, this Goddess in Elamite beliefs was dignified mother of all Elamite Gods. Any way, there was a similar Goddess in south-east coasts of Persian Gulf named "Kīrīrīsh". Her main praising temple placed in Liyan, Bushehr. Also, Kirirish is not originally an especial name but it means Great Goddess ("Kīrī" means Goddess and "Rīsh" means big). Kirirish gradually penetrated from Liyān to northeast, because kings and princes of middle- and late-Elamite era devoted some temples in Suziyān to her. In capital city of šuša, Kīrīrīsh was dignified title of Mother of Gods and Goddess of Great Temple. However, Kirirish was significantly differed from Pinīkr, local Goddess of Susa. Notable point is that Elamites were never under stress or agitation for having two or three Mother Goddess at the same time, while stabilized local Mother Gods were also unique. Elamite presented some gifts to local and foreign Gods based on their caution and providential sense and devoted a separate gift for each of them. However, it does not seem that they respected to more than two Mother Gods in one region, except in Susa which in late periods of Elamite kingdom, they also officially praised another Goddess in addition to Pinikir and Kīrīrīsh, named Parti. In third millennium BC, Grandmother of Gods still had doubtless domination on Elamite religious system but this trend changed during second millennium as well as matriarchy gradually changed to patriarchy in old Elamite era. In a text related to trinity of Gods, "Humbān, Inshushināk and Kīrīrīsh", Kīrīrīsh is obviously named as great wife. This text shows that Kīrīrīsh was wife of Humbān and also wife Inshushinak. As we can see nowadays, Inshushināk

was most great God of Elamites, because religious inscriptions are mostly serious and unattractive but they relive when they reach to name of Inshushinak. Also, Elamite God of Sun named (Nāhunte) which his name is a local name for sun and it originally combines from Nan-Hunte means creator of day. Nahunte was also God of performing rules. And in convention of 2280 BC, God of sun has fifth rank after Inshushināk. Here, we only name most important Elamite Gods. Simut or Shimut is a major God of Elamites in this group and he is named as God of Elamites. He was powerful messenger of Gods and he was respected across the country. His wife was Manzat or Manzit. In convention of 2280 BC, šimut owns seventh rank after Inshushināk and Manzat only has eighteenth rank after Shishum and before Narunte (Ravandi, 1994), (Aminizadeh, 2012), (MajidZadeh, 2007), (Mohammad Panah, 2011). Note that during reign of Shilhak Inshushināk, the only local God of Susa was Inshushinak and this God owned most extended realm and they made a number of temples to praise him in his realm. Only one inscription informs about erection of his temples in Tattu, Sha-Atāmitik, Akalat (Gods in this temple were Adad and Shāla) as the same as Asha-Attata-Akal-Libruk, Marut (probably Narmati or Batayeh) and Shahantalāk. But they did not only know God of Susa as the great God and they also respected other Elamite Gods. Lakamar only had a temple in Bit-Huli and Humban had one in Beptarisian Sit and also there were two temples in Liyān, one for Kiririshā itself and another for Kiririšā and Humban (Glen, 2009), (Sarraf, 2012). Glory of Elam during reign of Untaš Gāl is along with emergence of new Gods and there are 13 other Elamite Gods named on remaining works of Untāš Gāl era and these Gods were appeared for the first time in this era. Although these 13 Gods were in two categories:

1. Those Gods who appeared only during reign of Untaš Gal and they were only praised in this period and there is no other name in periods later than Untaš Gal.
2. Those Gods who appeared during reign of Untaš Gal for the first time and they were praised also in other periods later than Untash Gal.

First group included Elamite Gods as follows:

1. Adad (Eyam)
2. Pali Li
3. Mashti
4. Tamuz
5. Shala
6. Nazit
7. Nusku
8. Hishmitik
9. Napratep
10. Ruh Uratir

Second group included:

1. Kilah Shupir (Shilhak Inshushināk)
2. Upur Kupak (Hutuludush Inshushināk)
3. Tapti (Attāhamiti Inshushināk)

It may be said that after era of Hitā which included more Gods, there are highest number of Gods during reign of Untash Gal in Elamite society. This shows higher effect of religion on Elamite society which led Untaš God to make Zigurāt and a number of temples for Gods of his era. Since era of Shutruk Nāhunte that we observed emergence of two new Gods in Elamite society including: 1. Bali Piti, 2. Suh Sipa (first Shilhak Inshushinak) The God "Bāli Piti" was especially praised by Elamites in era of first Shutruk Nāhunte and Suh Sipa was praised from era of first Shutruk Nāhunte and continued up to reign of first Shilhāk Inshushinak. Lamagar is the only God that for the first and the last time was praised in reign of first Kutir Nāhunte. Five out of these six Elamite Gods especially belong to era of Shilhāk Inshushinak (inšušināk):

1. Paliti
2. Tash Midir Shu
3. Tiru Mitir
4. Humbān ālu
5. La

There is another God else than these five famous Gods which its name emerged in time of Shilhak Inshushinak but not devoted to this era but this God was praised during time of Shilhak Inshushinak and also Halutush Inshushinak, king of Elam.

Last group of Elamite Gods appeared for the last time in reign of Halutush Inshushināk (inšušināk). These Gods included three gods named Man, Tirutir and Parti (Safizadeh, 2004), (Razi, 2011), (Pats, 2011), (Amiyeh, 2010), (Harririan, 2001).

## 8. Conclusion

There are some written and unwritten information for complete recognition of Elamite society, religion and policy which are mostly recorded by Mesopotamian secretary's. In division of historical centuries of Elamite era, we have three periods. First period relates to relation of Elam with Akkad and Sumer; second one to its close relation with Babylon civilization and third period deals with relation of Elam with Assyrian people. First era of it is not clarified and we only know that Elamites defeated Sumerians. In second era, they battled with Babylon kings that resulted in a number of failures and victories. Elamites passed their most stressful era in third period when they were neighbor with Assyrians and finally their dynasty was defeated by Babylon king "Ashurbanipal" in 645 BC. Study of these three periods show that the second period was golden era of Elamites, because of great kings including Shutruk Nehunte, Shilhak Inshushinak and Kudur Nehunte and etc. They made efforts for independence and protection of Elamite land and they tried to change local governments to a central and integrated government. Although they founded significant success toward this but they built common constructions and used political acts to protect Elamite land. However, Assyrians defeated semi-independent government of Elam due to several reasons including claims of princes for ruling

their own lands, interior wars, economic weaknesses and lack of having a unified army. Elamite society was based on matriarchy system. But after domination of patriarchy system on matriarchy, we observe dignified stance of women and keeping previous system in heart of religious society of Elamites. Elamites had different Gods and some significant Gods of them include Inshushinak, Kirirish, Pinikir, Kiten, Humban and etc, while they also believed to types of masters and they believed to world of spirits and the other life after death.

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