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# TELL ASMAR, KHAFAJE, AND KHORSABAD

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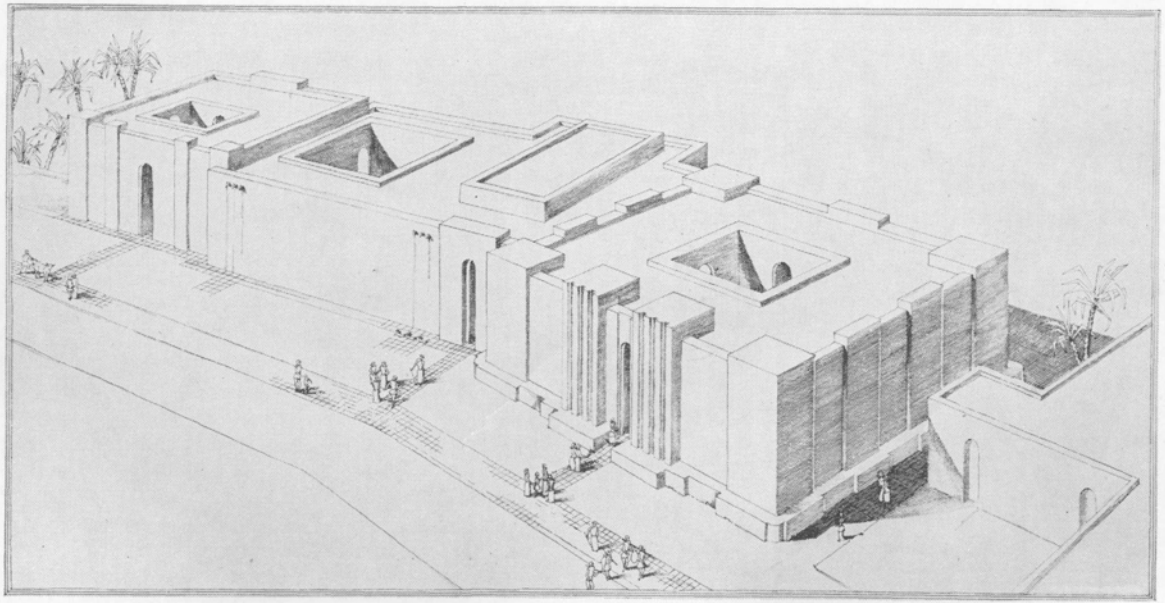
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RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PALACE AND TEMPLE GROUP AT ESHNUNNA
IN THE TIME OF ILUSHUILIA

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE COMMUNICATIONS, NO. 16

# TELL ASMAR, KHAFAJE AND KHORSABAD

## SECOND PRELIMINARY REPORT
OF THE
## IRAQ EXPEDITION

*By*

HENRI FRANKFORT



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# FOREWORD

The program of the Iraq Expedition, including as it did the simultaneous excavation of at least three sites, rendered inevitable a certain measure of decentralization. In drawing up plans for a resumption of field work after the summer of 1931, I had definitely assigned to each of the three senior assistants the responsibility for a section of the coming season's excavations. But it was not foreseen that this responsibility would assume the proportions which it did, owing to an illness which delayed my arrival at Tell Asmar for about a month after the excavations had started. The following report will show how much credit is due to Mr. Delougaz, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Loud for the admirable way in which they carried the full season's program through its difficult early stages and eventually to completion. Here, however, I want to express once more to them and to the other members of the staff my profound feeling of gratitude for the spontaneous and splendid teamwork which turned those first weeks, by dint of the strenuous exertions of all, into a very productive and successful period of the campaign.

The staff was divided as follows: Mr. Pinhas Delougaz was to succeed Dr. Conrad Preusser as director of the excavations at Khafaje with the assistance of Dr. Neilson C. Debevoise and Mr. Hugh S. Braun; Mr. Seton H. F. Lloyd, with Dr. Thorkild P. R. Jacobsen, was to work at Tell Asmar; and Mr. Gordon Loud, with Mr. Hamilton D. Darby, was to continue the excavations at Khorsabad. In the early weeks of the season Mr. Delougaz conducted a most productive investigation of the northern hills of Tell Asmar, while Mr. Lloyd, assisted by Mr. Darby, continued the exploration of the palace. At the same time Mr. Loud, with the help of Mr. Braun, investigated the building which the rain and subsequent growth of grass had revealed south of the palace toward the end of the previous season. On January 1, 1932, Mr. Delougaz began work at Khafaje, and Mr. Loud took over the excavation of the Akkadian houses in the north. Mr. Loud and Mr. Darby left on February 10 to begin work on the temples in Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. Dr. Jacobsen then took charge of the Akkadian houses.

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Work at Tell Asmar, which had started about the middle of November, continued up to March 6. At Khafaje the excavations were continued until March 24, a date too far advanced to be recommended; for the work was often delayed, and the staff suffered considerable discomfort, as a result of the dust storms which sweep across the desert at that time of year. The work at Khorsabad was closed on April 9.

In addition to the members mentioned above, the following formed part of the expedition: Mrs. Rigmor Jacobsen, photographer, Miss G. Rachel Levy, recorder, and Miss Jacoba C. van Scherpenberg, secretary. Mrs. Frankfort took care of the camp household and native personnel.

I have to acknowledge with gratitude that this report has improved, as did its predecessor, in the hands of the editorial staff at Chicago.

HENRI FRANKFORT

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# I

# THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE AND THE PALACE OF THE RULERS OF ESHNUNNA

## THE EXCAVATION

The readers of our first report[1] will remember how the work at Tell Asmar had in the first season been directed toward an elucidation of the position which our main site (Figs. 1–2) occupied within the framework of Babylonian history. While determining the eastern and southern limits of our complex of buildings, we had left its western and northern extent undefined in order to concentrate on our main objective. We obtained the historical information required by descending into the deeper layers of court 1 M 31[2] and into certain other localities where the succession of structural periods was often defined by inscribed bricks or hoards of tablets. Our list of kings, summarizing the information thus obtained, is reprinted from *OIC* No. 13 at the end of chapter iii of this report.

Our complex of buildings required to be fully uncovered in order to become intelligible as a unit or combination of units and the successive fluctuations of the various architectural forms observed for the purpose of establishing those characteristics already provisionally summarized under the term "palace."[3] But it would be a mistake to believe that a mere extension of the excavations over a wider area, followed by a systematic descent layer by layer to the original foundations, could reveal the history of our buildings in inverted order. For the upper layers gain significance only when studied in conjunction with those preceding them, the arrangement of which they partly maintain and partly modify. Thus it is only after investigating the original layout of the edifice that one may begin to study the later stages with any chance of their being intelligible. An ac-

[1] *Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The First Season's Work in Eshnunna, 1930/31* ("Oriental Institute Communications," No. 13 [Chicago, 1932]); hereafter abbreviated to *OIC* No. 13.

[2] Called the "palace courtyard" in Figures 3 and 16 of this report.

[3] Cf. *OIC* No. 13, p. 18.

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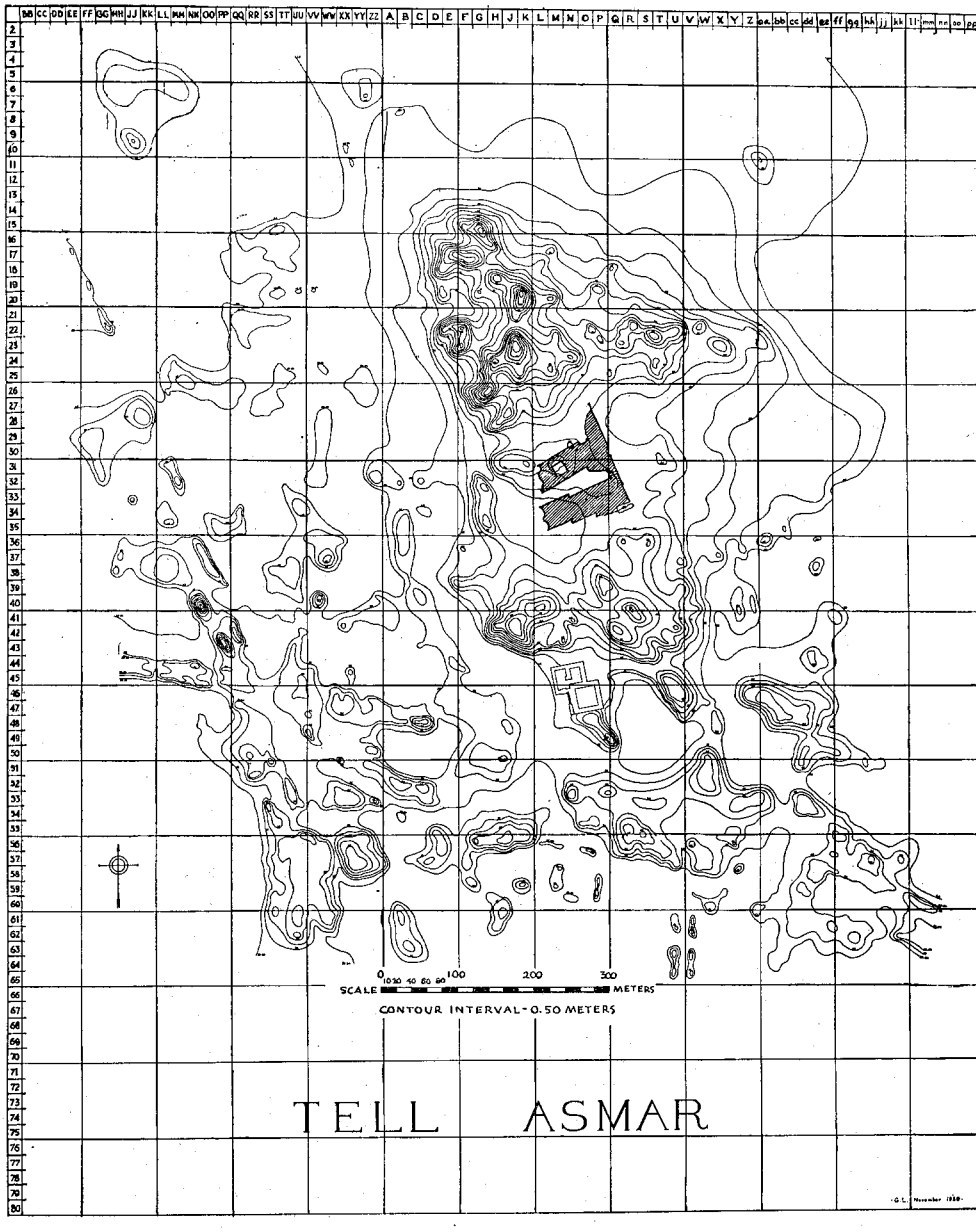



FIG. 1.—Contour map of Tell Asmar. The headquarters building of the expedition is outlined in M–P 44–47. North of it are the palace excavated during the first season and the southern building, both shown by hatching. On the farthest hillocks, northwest of the palace, Akkadian buildings were uncovered during our second season.

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FIG. 2.—Air view of Tell Asmar showing the second season's excavations

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count of the various remains in the order in which they were found must therefore necessarily be confused, and we shall merely outline the actual course of the excavations before describing their outcome as embodied in our plans and reconstructions.

Mr. Lloyd, who was in charge of the work in the palace complex, started investigations in a large court[4] located in O 30–31 and P 30 (cf. Fig. 1). Last year's discoveries at this point had shown that walls of an early period rose without interruption to the surface of the tell. We had found rebated doorways also, a certain indication of important buildings. The only evidence here of any notable activity on the part of later builders was that of a drain constructed of baked bricks and rebuilt twice, each time, of course, at a higher level (in 1 P 31). Originally laid down by Urninmar, it had been reconstructed by Urningishzida (whom we suppose to have been his brother[5]), thus proving the precedence of the former. Urningishzida used Bilalama's temple bricks alongside those stamped with his own name. Ibiq-Adad I then rebuilt the drain, but the remodeling which this part of the palace underwent in the time of his grandson Ibalpel seems to have affected among other things the system of drainage, so that the old course was altered.

The fact that, apart from the drain, so little remains is explained by the severe denudation of the tell at this point. Again at the west side of the court the foundations of Ibiq-Adad II cut ruthlessly down into the earlier layer. Where they have ceased, we find only the confused remains of flimsy structures erected by the survivors of the fire. Thus the exact plan of this eastern area as it was in Urninmar's day cannot be recovered. But it is, in any case, quite clear that Urninmar, entirely rebuilding the palace after contenting himself for some time with living in the makeshift edifice of the rulers who immediately succeeded the great conflagration, put down a main drain in 1 P 31, re-using the old gateway, which was still standing, as well as the walls of the rooms on the eastern and southern sides of the court. The gateway and these rooms, however, antedate not only the fire but even Bilalama.

Our knowledge had reached this point when Mr. Lloyd started

[4] Courtyard 17 O 30, called the "temple courtyard" in Figure 3 of this report.

[5] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 33 f.

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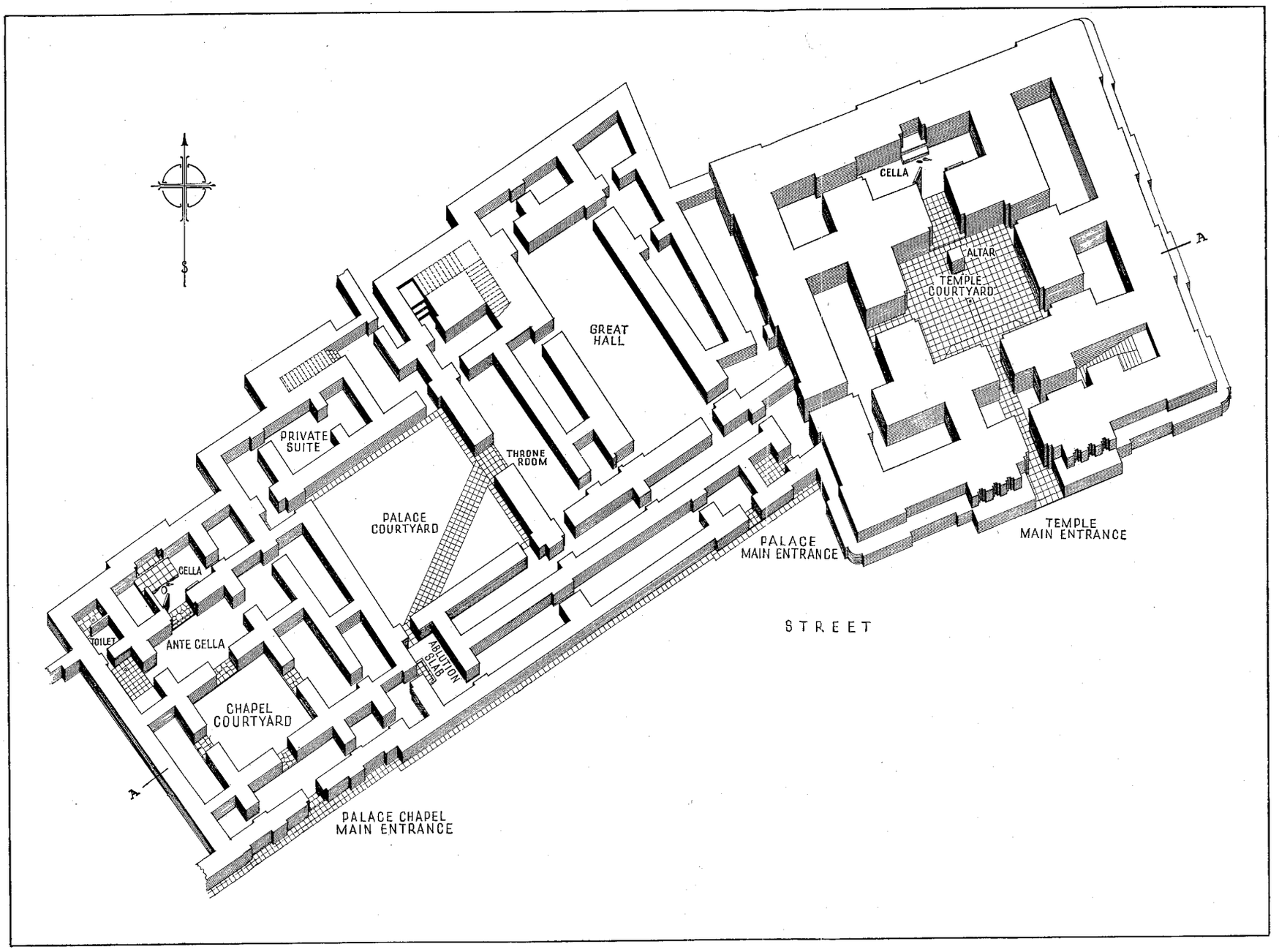



FIG. 3.—Plan of the palace and temple group in the time of Ilushuilia, son of Ituria. Scale, 1:400

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work. After four weeks of strenuous investigations, he began to suspect that, although Bilalama had connected the eastern and central parts of the complex of buildings by a network of rooms of secondary importance, the eastern section was originally an independent unit. At a depth of 6 meters below the surface he succeeded in neatly disentangling the details of this unit (Fig. 3). The shape of the northernmost room, with a niche facing the entrance, had already suggested a temple, and the discovery in the room of two inscribed pivot stones (cf. Fig. 13) confirmed this interpretation. These pivot stones form a document of the first historical importance. Dr. Jacobsen gives the following translation of their text:

> For the divine Gimilsin, the one called by name by Anu, the beloved one of Enlil, the king whom Enlil has mentioned with a pure heart for the shepherding of the land and of the four quarters (of the universe), the strong king, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters (of the universe), his god, has Ituria, *ishakku*[6] of Eshnunna, his servant, built for him his house.

Here, then, was a temple constructed by a local ruler, Ituria, who acknowledged as his overlord Gimilsin, a 3d dynasty king of Ur; and the god worshiped in this temple was the deified king of Ur himself. That the temple was not adapted but was founded by Ituria for this purpose is clear: the base of the walls of the sanctuary was just below the level of the pivot stones, and below them was a layer of ashes left from the ceremonies performed when the site was consecrated and the building begun. Deeper still there were some insignificant walls of houses of an earlier period. There was no reason to go deeper at that stage of our work.

The present-day situation in the Gimilsin temple is shown in Figure 4. The temple courtyard may be seen in the middle of the picture, where the walls and rebated doorways of the old temple rise unbroken to the surface, having been re-used in subsequent rebuilding. To the left is shown one rebate of the doorway leading from the court into the sanctuary. The Bilalama walls in the left foreground were underneath the bathroom of the Urninmar palace.[7] The remains of a baked brick pavement of Bilalama's palace are in the right foreground. There we see how Bilalama cut down parts of the thick walls of Ituria's temple and left the remainder standing to serve as partitions between his

[6] Governor.

[7] Shown in Figure 32 of the *Oriental Institute Handbook*, 3d ed. (Chicago, 1931).

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FIG. 4.—The courtyard of the Gimilsin temple, from southwest

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rooms (cf. Figs. 3 and 16). On the extreme right edge of the picture is the entrance to the anteroom, 1 P 31, in which the drain was built later (cf. p. 4). In the background is the round well (1 P 30) built by Ibalpel,[8] which destroyed the earlier structures at that point.

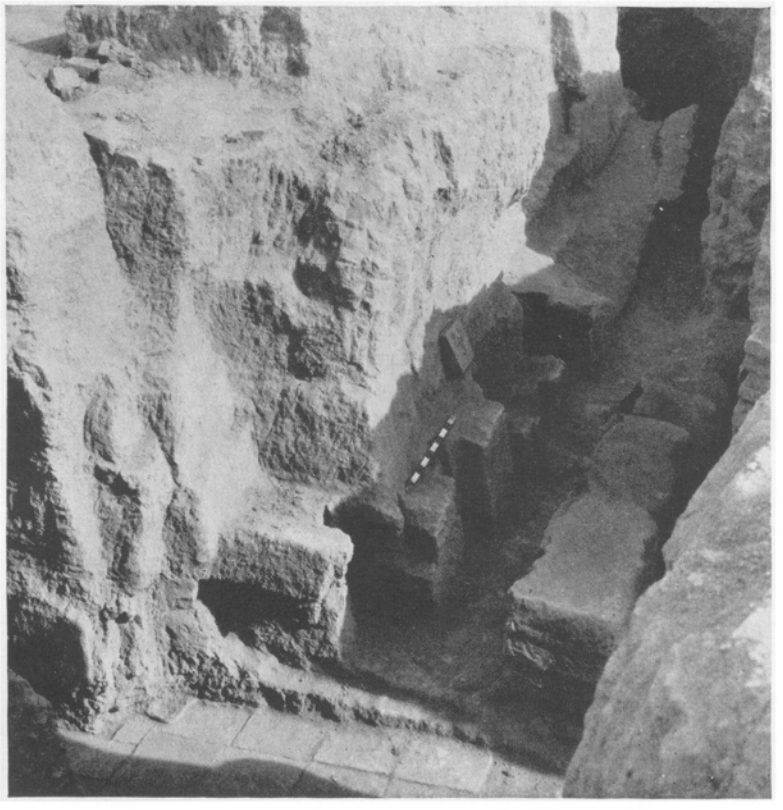


FIG. 5.—Ornamental recesses in the eastern tower of the Gimilsin temple disengaged from the retaining wall built in front of the towers and temple wall, from southwest.

The tracing of the outer faces of the building revealed several interesting details. In the first place, there is the "slotted" ornamentation of the towers flanking the entrance to the temple (Fig. 5; cf. Fig. 3). These were laboriously disengaged from the mud brick benches which had been built up against them in Bilalama's time (cf. p. 25). Outside

[8] See *OIC* No. 13, Figs. 6 and 11.

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the main temple wall was a low retaining wall with corners of an unusual shape (Fig. 6). This was evidently a later addition, and it helped to preserve the lower part of the ornamented panels on the towers. The retaining wall can be traced on the northern, eastern, and southern sides; but just after it turns at the southwest corner it is bonded

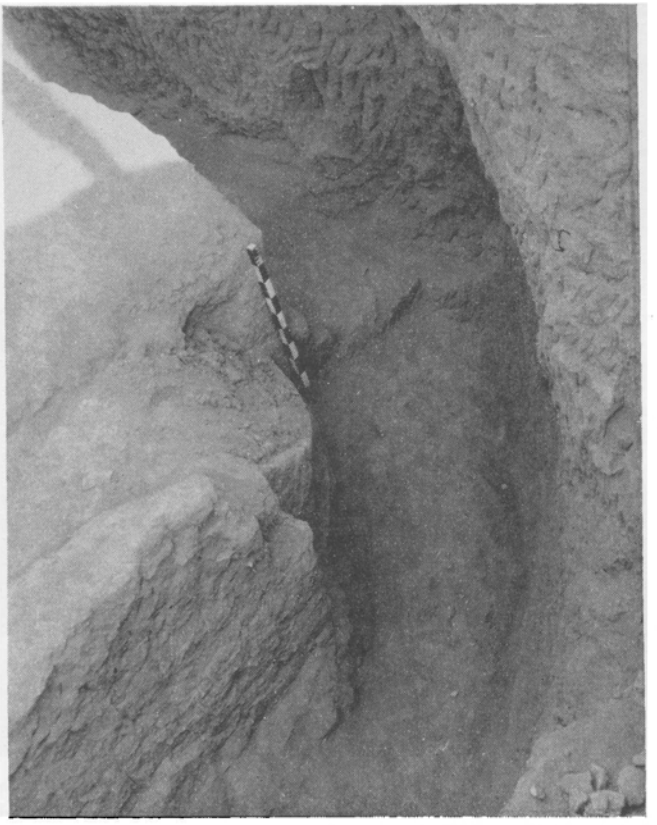


FIG. 6.—Corner of the retaining wall around the Gimilsin temple

with the wall of the adjoining part of the complex. This part, which we had already called the palace, must therefore have been built after the temple but at the same time as the retaining wall. The outer face of the temple wall, including the "slots" of the towers, can be traced vertically everywhere behind the retaining wall. Thus the retaining wall and the earliest palace must have been built either by Ituria, at a

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later date than the temple, or by his son Ilushuilia. The second theory seems to us more probable.

We then found that this earliest palace corresponded in level with the deepest stratum reached during the previous season in the palace courtyard, 1 M 31. We had at first attributed that level, paved with uninscribed bricks, to Kirikiri,[9] founder of the Elamite dynasty in Eshnunna; but it now became clear that it went back to an age one or perhaps two generations earlier. Our next task obviously was to link court 1 M 31 with other remains west of the temple and to record the changes in plan which had taken place during the centuries separating those deepest layers from the level of Ibalpel, which we had recovered in the previous season.[10]

The main difficulties encountered were due to an unusual phenomenon which occurred in the western part of our complex. There we found remains of the same period standing at two levels which differed by more than 2 meters (cf. Fig. 16). In our first season's work we had found baked bricks stamped with the name of Bilalama almost at the surface of the mound in L 32. The floors of the rooms in this area were strewn with a layer of ashes and rubbish. We thought at first that Bilalama's bricks had been re-used by some successor; but when we penetrated beneath Urninmar's level in the area just west of court 1 M 31 (Fig. 7), we found the correct explanation. There, some 2 meters below the surface, we found no walls, only a thick gray rubbish layer containing ashes from the great conflagration which had destroyed Bilalama's palace. This refuse layer stopped at a wall on the north, which seemed to be a retaining wall; beyond it were the rooms near the surface where we had found the pavements and revetments of Bilalama. Later we found north of the palace courtyard a long staircase which apparently was used to reach the higher rooms.

The gray refuse layer at the lower level (in the "outer courtyard" of Fig. 16) contained not only the ashes from the great conflagration but also the accumulated rubbish of a considerable period. This area had apparently been used as an open court during the reigns immediately preceding the fire and also after the fire until the time of Urninmar, who enlarged the palace on this side. How little remains of the

[9] See *OIC* No. 13, p. 19.

[10] Shown in Figure 6 of *OIC* No. 13.

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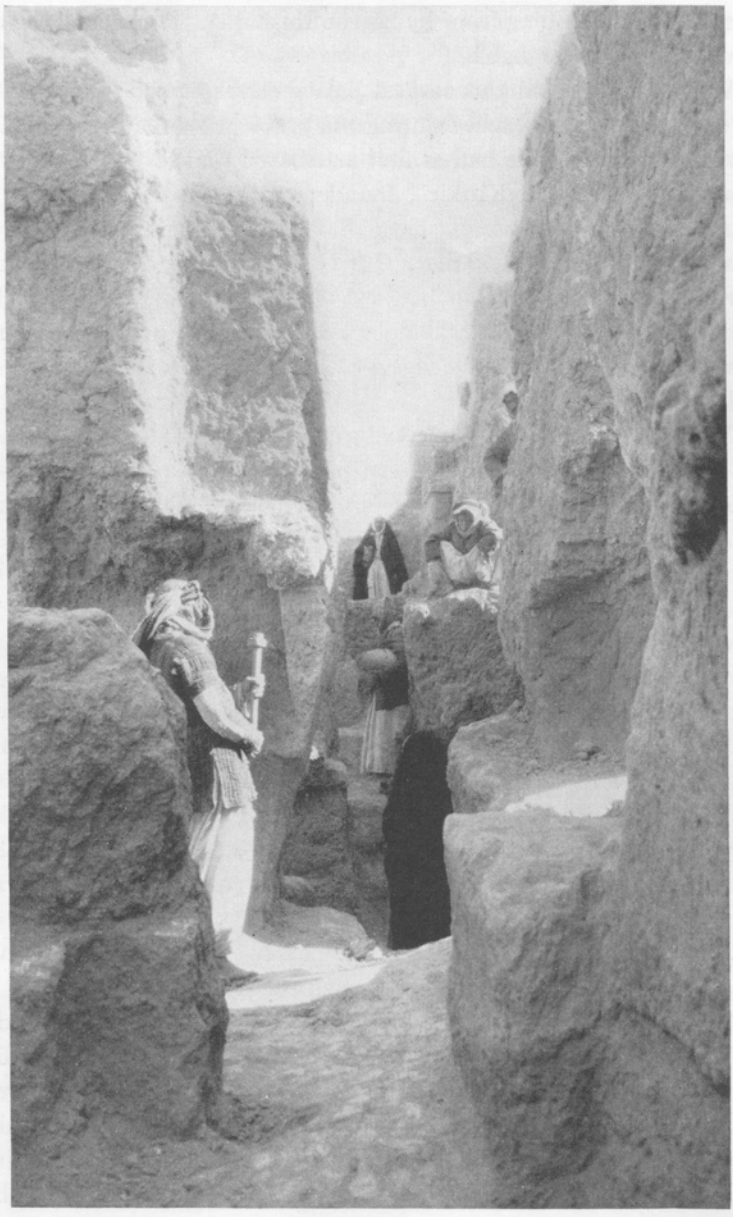


FIG. 7.—Descending below the palace of Urninmar in the area just west of Court 1 M 31.

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earliest building at this spot can be seen in Figure 8, where the kneeling workman is tracing the few courses of bricks which are left standing

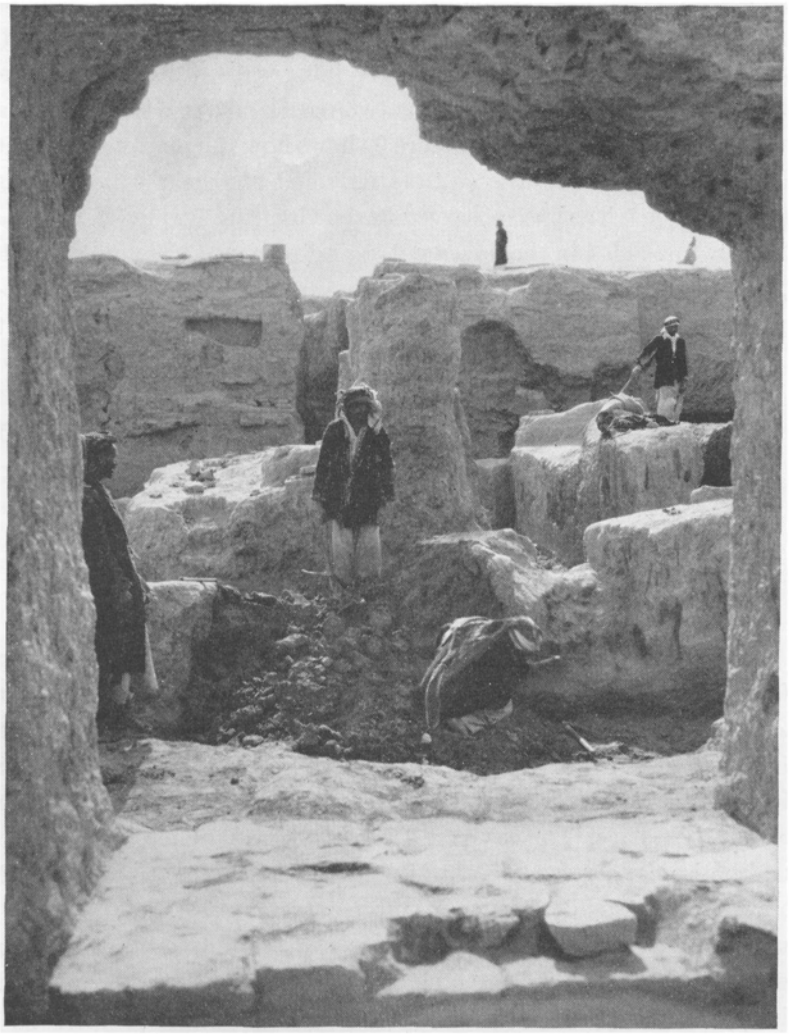


FIG. 8.—Courtyard of the palace chapel as seen from the cella. This area later became the outer courtyard of Figure 16.

from the original foundation. The workman standing in the center has his shoulder at the level of the Urninmar building, and the man on the right is standing on its floor.

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Until our full evidence is published it will not be possible to do justice to the ingenuity of Mr. Lloyd. By piecing together the sometimes scanty and always complicated evidence found in this part of the site, he has produced a plan (Fig. 3) of the original foundation, lying beneath these courtyards and retaining walls, which can be considered as certain except in one or two minor points. It was again a temple which we had found; Figure 9 shows how the platform in front of the niche, in which the cult statue stood and near which drains corresponding with those observed in the Gimilsin temple (cf. pp. 22–23) were imbedded in the pavement, was disengaged from underneath the enormous retaining wall which Nurakhum built across the sanctuary against the high level soil on the right. Unfortunately the pivot stones in the smaller temple were not inscribed, and therefore we do not know to whom it was dedicated.

As the investigation of the palace complex had been rounded off with the discovery of the building that formed its westernmost wing, we stopped work at this point. Let us here, then, review the results which we have obtained.

### THE EARLIEST PALACE AND THE GIMILSIN TEMPLE

Mr. Lloyd's reconstruction (frontispiece) gives a general impression of our complex as it must have looked in the time of its founder, about 2200 B.C. On the right is the temple which Ituria built to his lord, the divine Gimilsin of Ur; on the extreme left is the more modest edifice of the same type, found toward the end of the season; between them is the palace. The contrast between the two temples as shown in our frontispiece corresponds with their difference in function. Figure 3 shows that the smaller shrine was more easily accessible to the palace, and it may thus be called the palace chapel. The ornate building on the right was the state temple; for in building it Ituria expressed his dependence upon and his loyalty to his overlord.

It is still an open question whether Ituria built the adjoining palace also. As we have seen above, the palace was contemporaneous with the retaining wall built around the base of the temple after its completion. This wall and the palace may have been built by Ituria later

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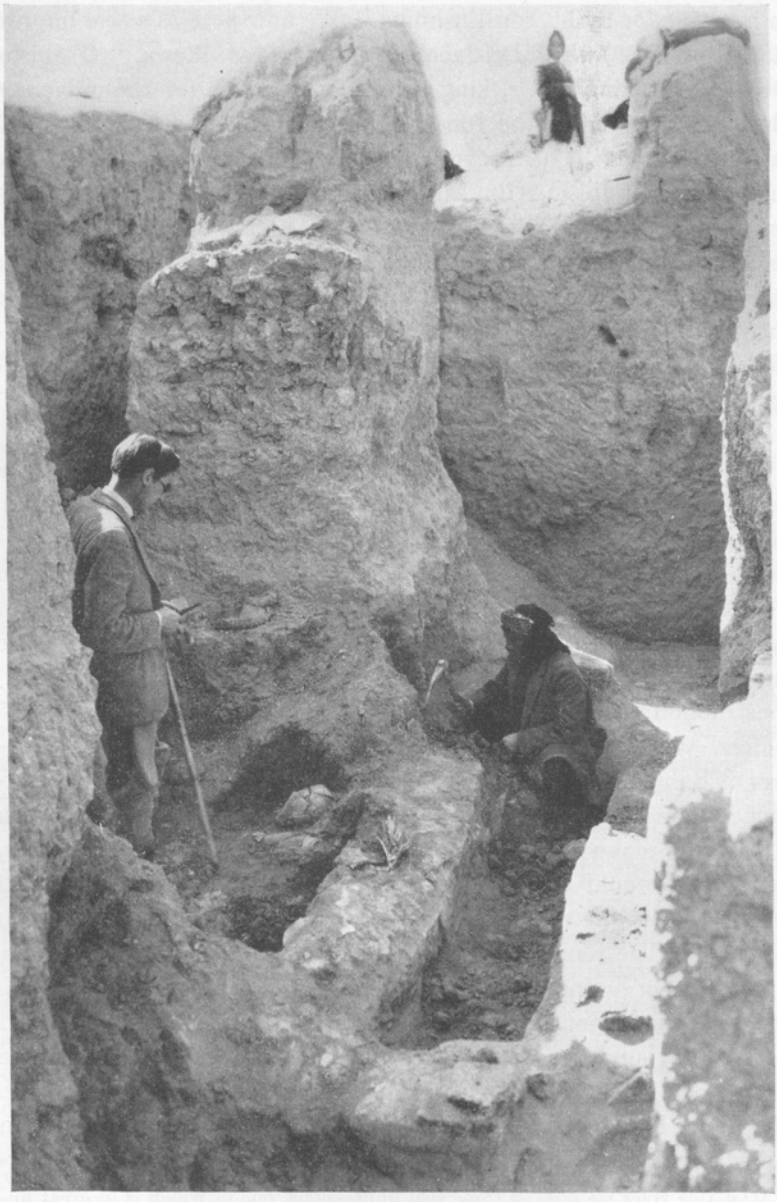


FIG. 9.—The platform in front of the niche in the cella of the palace chapel being disengaged from the retaining wall built across it by Nurakhum, from northeast.

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in his reign, or by his son Ilushuilia.[11] We now possess a seal impression (As. 31-188) which Dr. Jacobsen translates as follows: "(O) Ibisin, strong king, king of Ur, king of the four regions (of the universe), Ilushuilia the scribe, the son of Ituria, the governor of Eshnunna, is your servant." This proves, of course, that Ituria was still living in the reign of Ibisin, Gimilsin's successor. On the other hand, we found a vessel sealed with a mud stopper bearing the impression of a magnificent cylinder seal; on this seal impression Ilushuilia figures as ruler. The vessel was found beneath the large staircase northwest of the great hall (cf. Fig. 3). Though this staircase represents a modification of the original plan, it was built early in the existence of the palace. Perhaps it is safest to assume that Ituria built the temple and began the palace, which was completed by his son.

Before considering the palace and temples in detail, we must say a few words about what is hypothetical in the reconstruction. The plan in Figure 3 is based on ample evidence throughout; the record of objects found on the site will be published in a later report. In the elevation (frontispiece) the height of the roof above the floors is, of course, a matter of surmise; but we know that the doors of the Gimilsin temple must have been almost as high as they are shown in Mr. Lloyd's reconstruction because the walls are preserved to a height of over 5 meters. We have omitted the battlements usually shown in the drawings of Babylonian temples, as there is no good evidence for their existence before Assyrian times. The flat roof was probably covered with bitumen to make it rain-proof; perhaps this was covered with mats, as the roof would have been used for sleeping in the summer, and the heat of the day would have softened the bitumen if it had not been protected. The roof was probably surrounded by a simple parapet, and the water drained off by troughlike spouts of baked earthenware. We found such spouts in our excavations. Drip-pavements of baked bricks were found at all levels, and one such pavement contained three large jars, obviously placed so that they could receive jets of water. Mr. Lloyd has therefore restored two groups of three spouts each in the palace façade. The elevated roof of the great hall was almost cer-

[11] Of this ruler we possess three seal impressions, one of which is of great importance for the history of art, the others because of their inscriptions. They will be dealt with fully in our final report in the "Oriental Institute Publications" series. Ilushuilia succeeded his father during the reign of Ibisin of Ur.

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tainly vaulted over. There is evidence, which will appear in our final publication, that this hall was conceived as an independent entity; the walls are thicker than any others, and the vault probably rose above the level of the other roofs, allowing the hall to receive clerestory lighting. Here, however, Mr. Lloyd has kept his drawing quite schematic, since a practical application of the general ideas put forward would involve him at once in a set of problems (such as the number of windows, their size and distribution, etc.) for which we cannot adduce any evidence.

If we turn now from the elevation to look at the plan of the palace (Fig. 3) in somewhat greater detail, we see that the impression gained from the elevation, namely that the entrance leads straight into the great hall, is entirely mistaken. Entering the palace where it abuts on the Gimilsin temple, one passed through four long rooms, no doubt strongly guarded, before he reached the palace courtyard. Crossing to the right he entered a large transverse hall, which we have called the throne room by analogy with Assyrian and Babylonian palaces, though there is no niche opposite the door. But it might well be that the niche was a prerogative of the god and of the divine king, to which rulers like Ituria and his son, dependent upon an overlord, were not entitled. It seems probable that the normal business of government was transacted in the offices around the great hall; for the throne room would be occupied only on special occasions. The transaction of government business was, in fact, the purpose of our building. We find our justification for the term "palace" in modern usage, since all through the Near East the building which houses the government offices is called a "serai." It is clear that our structure could not have been a residential palace; for only the group of rooms directly northwest of the palace courtyard seems to have been a private suite. An adjoining stairway led up to the roof, which may have served as a loggia where business might be carried on in the summer or as a lookout post for a special guard when the ruler was actually occupying the suite. Characteristically, the main thoroughfare across the courtyard was laid down as far as possible from the ruler's private suite. It seems probable that the residential palace was situated to the north of the one we have excavated; for there was an exit in that direction which was maintained throughout the later reigns. This is a curious example of the prevailing conservative spirit, a paral-

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lel case being provided by the palace entrance, which remained in the same spot for over three centuries (Fig. 10).

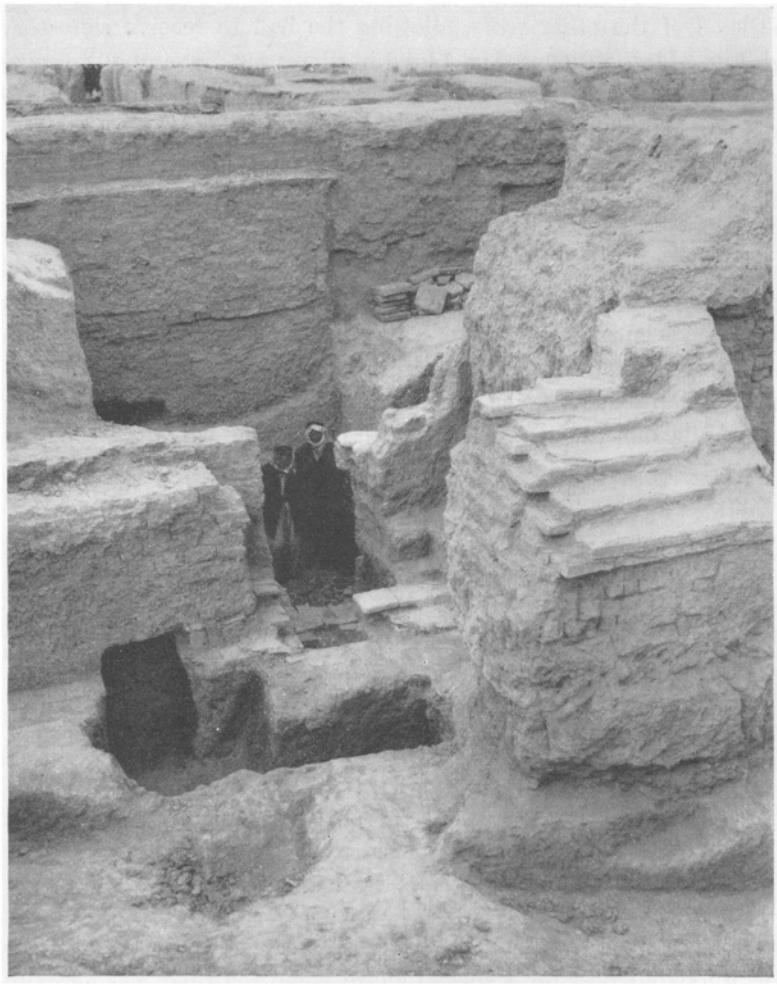


FIG. 10.—The main entrance to the palace, showing from top to bottom the two steps of Ibalpel (baked bricks removed); the five steps of Ibiq-Adad I (still in position); the white pivot stone of an intermediate layer (farther back); Bilalama's steps (partly removed); and, lower down, one step of the first palace.

Our interpretation of the three rooms north of the palace courtyard as a private suite is further supported by the presence in the ante-

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room of a small ablution place. It is almost hidden in the restored plan (Fig. 3), because this was drawn in isometric perspective for the sake

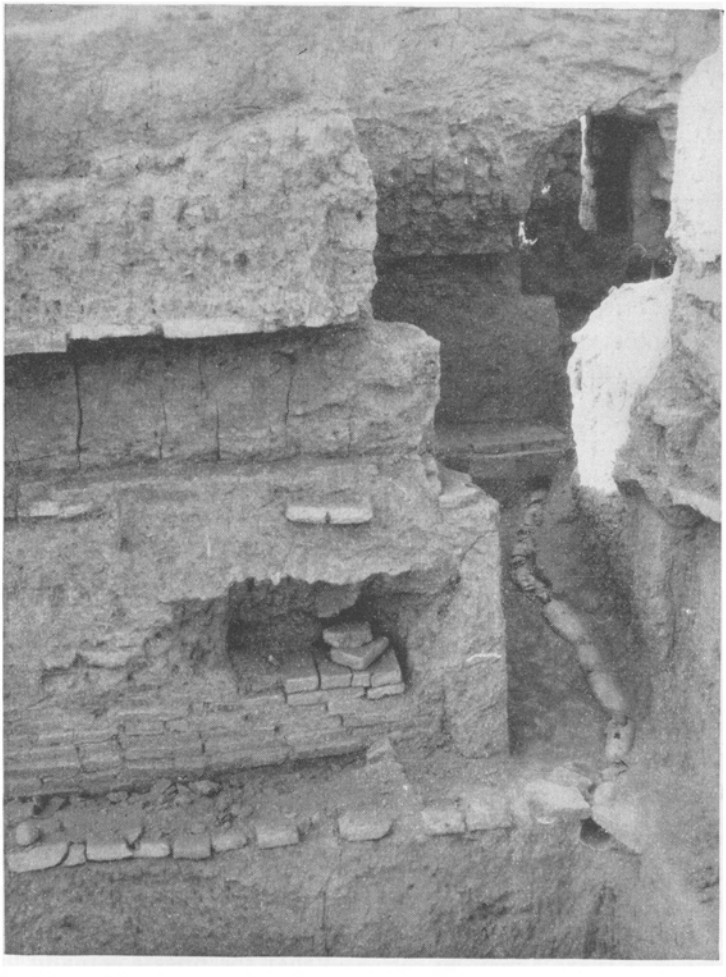


FIG. 11.—West corner of the palace courtyard, showing the levels of Ilushuilia, Bilalama, and Urninmar's first rebuilding. The drain in Ilushuilia's layer leads from the ablution slab in the anteroom of the private suite into the courtyard.

of clearness; but it is shown in Figure 11. There we see a small drain emerging in the foreground on the right below the pavement of the courtyard. This drain consisted of pots which had had their bottoms

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knocked out and were put together end to end. They were all imbedded beneath the hard tamped mud of the anteroom, but the photograph shows that they drained a small pavement of baked bricks, around which a row of bricks set on edge formed a rim to prevent water from spilling over. This is the ablution place against the west wall of the anteroom.

In the foreground of Figure 11 is the edge of a pavement of baked bricks, belonging to the first palace courtyard, and in the wall is a revetment of uninscribed baked bricks. Next there is a portion of a wall of sun-dried bricks, belonging to the same period. Upon this Bilalama founded the walls of his palace, the floor of which is indicated by a few pavement bricks. A vertical line of light in the upper right-hand corner of the photograph shows the position of a door in the Bilalama structure (cf. Fig. 16), the palace that was burned in the great conflagration (probably in the reign of Isharramashu). The remains of these burned walls were used as foundations in the reconstruction carried out by several successive rulers, among whom was Urninmar, who later rebuilt the palace entirely. His floor level had been removed when this photograph was taken.[12] We also went down well below the pavement of the earliest palace in order to make sure that there was no earlier building.

The only communication between the earliest palace and the palace chapel was through the room to the south of the courtyard. In passing to the chapel one had to step across an ablution slab laid in front of the door (Fig. 12). Perhaps the ablution place before the entrance to the private suite was used for a kind of ritual washing before one entered into the presence of the ruler.

The palace chapel conforms to the usual plan of the later Babylonian temples which we know, the sanctuary lying in the main axis which passes through the outer entrance also. Since the chapel appears to be a self-contained unit with a shower bath and privy in the northwest corner, it may be surmised that the priests actually lived there, in which case the rooms to the east of the chapel courtyard and antechamber must have been their quarters. We have no indication whatever of the god worshiped here; but he was probably one of the local gods of Eshnunna, with whom the ruler, or perhaps the dynasty,

[12] A comparison of Figures 3 and 11 makes it clear that simple-looking drawings like Figure 3 are the fruit of much labor and ingenuity.

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was specially connected. The features of the cella may best be studied in conjunction with those of the Gimilsin temple, which are described below.

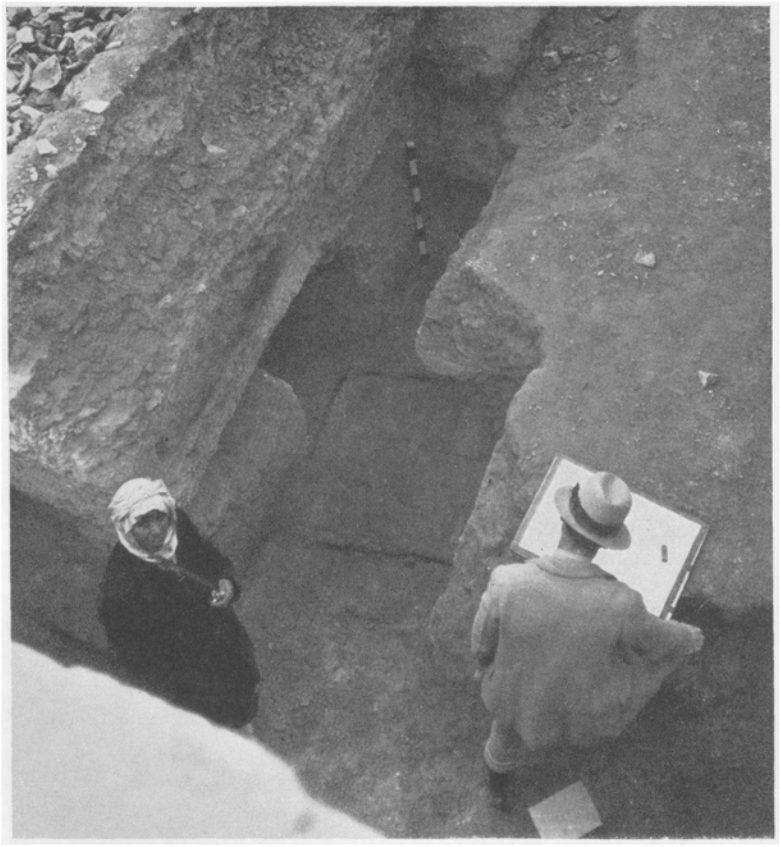


FIG. 12.—The ablution slab in front of the door leading from Ilushuilia's palace toward the palace chapel. Above this is the remainder of the Bilalama wall, which contains no door at this point (cf. Fig. 16) but stands only 20 cm. high. The remainder of the wall shown here consists of foundations put down by Urninmar.

The orientation of the state temple differed from that of the palace and the chapel. The main entrance, flanked by two ornamented towers, led through an anteroom to the courtyard. On the right of the anteroom a ramp led to the roof. In front of the entrance to the cella on the opposite side of the courtyard there was a square base of baked

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brick, no doubt the foundation for an altar. Processions from the palace to the temple, presumably held on those occasions when the

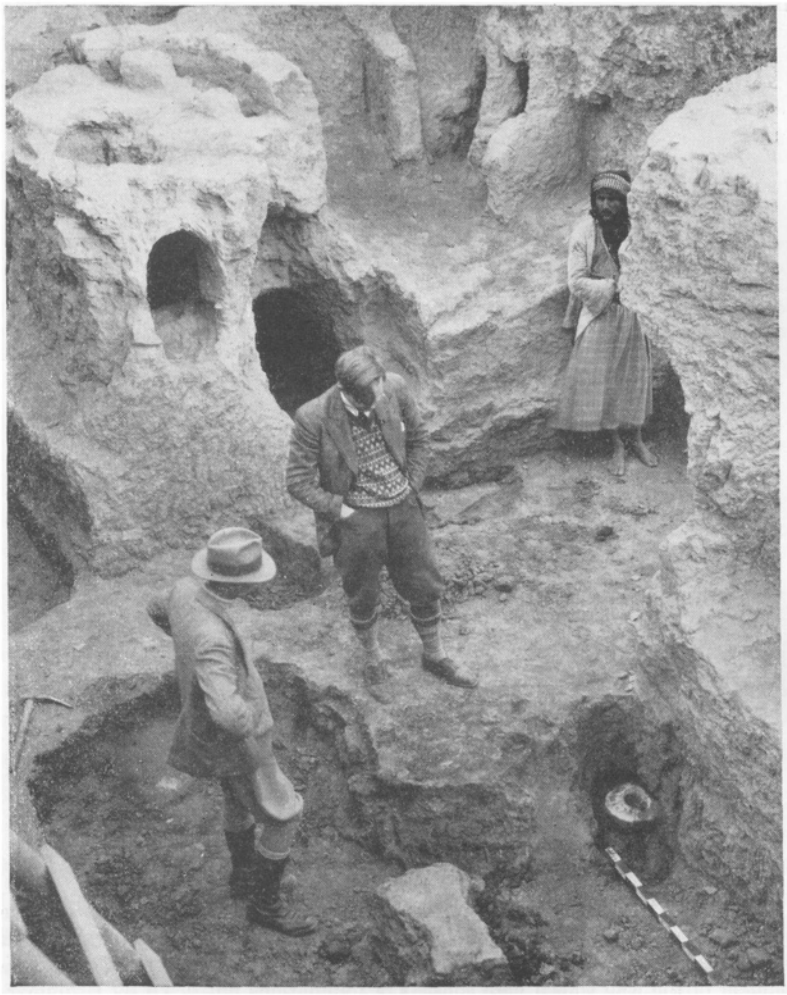


FIG. 13.—One of the pivot stones in the sanctuary of the Gimilsin temple after removal of the mud brick "box" which surrounded it. In the background is a smelting furnace erected after the conflagration.

ruler worshiped his overlord, the king of Ur, would debouch on to the temple court through the large doorway on the west. Two inscribed[13]

[13] The inscription is given on page 5.

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pivot stones were found in position beneath the pavement of the cella. Each was surmounted by a "box" of unbaked bricks through which the



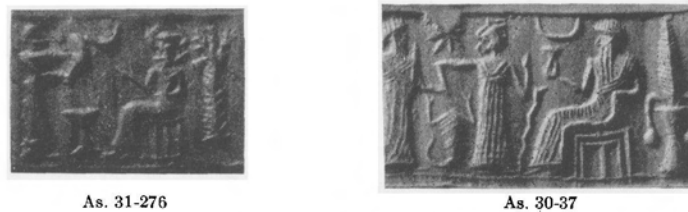
FIG. 14.—Pottery drains in the pavement in front of the niche in the cella of the Gimilsin temple. The hole dug in the platform was made by ancient robbers digging for the foundation deposit.

pivot of the door passed to rest upon the stone below. Figure 13 shows one of these stones after the box had been removed. The doors of the cella could not be opened farther than is shown in Figure 3. Behind the left (western) door we found traces of a screen of reeds imbedded

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in the pavement. It is probable that this screen was obligatory for ritual reasons; for in the palace chapel there was a thin wall of mud bricks built in a corresponding position. The statue of the god stood upon a platform reached by a step, in a niche facing the doorway. In front of the niche we made a most interesting discovery, confirmed by what was later found in the palace chapel. Buried in the pavement of the cella were two drains (Fig. 14). One was a large pot without bottom standing upright, with four rows of holes to allow the liquid to enter even if it ran beyond the actual mouth of the drain. This kind of vessel was used normally as the top section of the numerous vertical pottery drains which served open courts, bathrooms, privies, and so on.[14] There was no drain beneath the pot standing in the sanctuary, and it



As. 31-276 As. 30-37

FIG. 15.—Impressions of two cylinder seals showing ritual scenes

was obviously not meant to hold a large quantity of liquid. The second drain was a pipe of baked clay, protected by terra cotta slabs, which sloped to a small pot. There seems to be no doubt that both arrangements were meant to absorb liquid spilled in front of the god's statue, which would otherwise have formed puddles on the ground; moreover, the disappearance of the fluid underground may have been a ritual requirement. One thinks immediately of the blood of sacrificial animals or of libations of beer and water as a reason for the need of drains in front of the cult niche. We must consider also the scenes shown on two cylinder seals found at Tell Asmar[15] (Fig. 15). Seal As. 31-276 shows a god enthroned and a worshiper pouring water over a large object

[14] These drains did an immense amount of damage to the remains of the deeper layers, as our detailed plans will show.

[15] Parallels are known in sculptured monuments of this and earlier periods, e.g., on the stela of Urnammu (Ur-Engur) in *Antiquaries Journal* V (1925) Pl. XLVIII and on an early dynastic plaque *ibid.* VI (1926) Pl. LIII. See also Sidney Smith in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London* IV (1926) 69–76.

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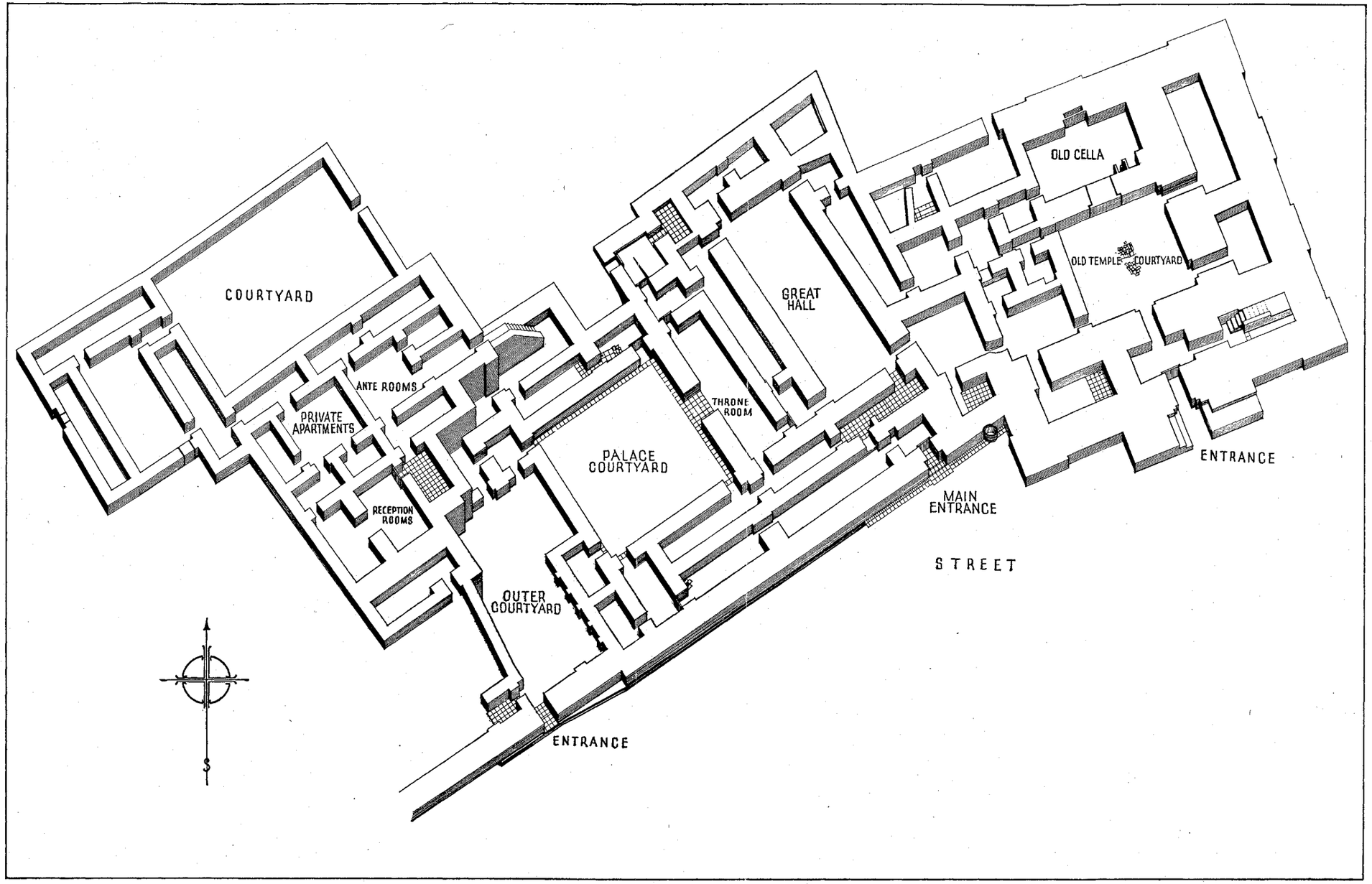



FIG. 16.—Plan of the palace in the reigns of Bilalama and Isharramashu. Scale, 1:400

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shaped like an hourglass or a spool. Near the god a date palm is pictured. Seal As. 30-37 depicts a worshiper being introduced to the god by a goddess. The palm tree in the first seal is replaced by a group of objects in the second. The spool-shaped object appears to be one of the pottery stands such as were found by Andrae in the archaic temple of Ishtar in Assur. It is a support upon which can be placed bowls of incense or in which can be inserted, as our seal impression shows, palm branches and bunches of dates. Probably the watering of these and similar specimens of crops in the presence of the god was intended to bring about a satisfactory harvest. One would like to think that on such occasions the spool-shaped pottery stand was placed over the mouth of the big drain-top in the pavement before the niche containing the cult statue of the god.

### THE PALACE OF BILALAMA

We have just described the earliest stage of the palace complex. Here we can only summarize its later development. The middle part of the complex, the palace proper, entirely absorbed the shrines by which it was flanked. In the case of the state temple this development was natural enough. We know that Ituria still ruled under Ibisin, the last king of the 3d dynasty of Ur. Perhaps in the reign of Ituria's son Ilushuilia, and certainly in the time of his successor Nurakhum, the weakening of the power of Ur must have become very noticeable in far-away Eshnunna. Yet each of these rulers maintained the Gimilsin temple in a good state of repair and left it much as he had found it at his accession. For some unknown reason Nurakhum did away with the palace chapel. When he was succeeded by Kirikiri, an Elamite related to the aggressors who overthrew Ibisin of Ur, worship in the Gimilsin temple was of course discontinued.

Kirikiri's son Bilalama entirely rebuilt the palace, the restored plan of which is shown in Figure 16. The first feature which strikes us is the encroachment of the palace on the old Gimilsin temple. The outside walls were still used, but the cella was cut off from the courtyard. It was now connected with a new set of rooms; these have thin walls and are partly accommodated within the thickness of the old temple walls, which are cut away where necessary (cf. Fig. 4). The western tower of the former temple entrance was strengthened and

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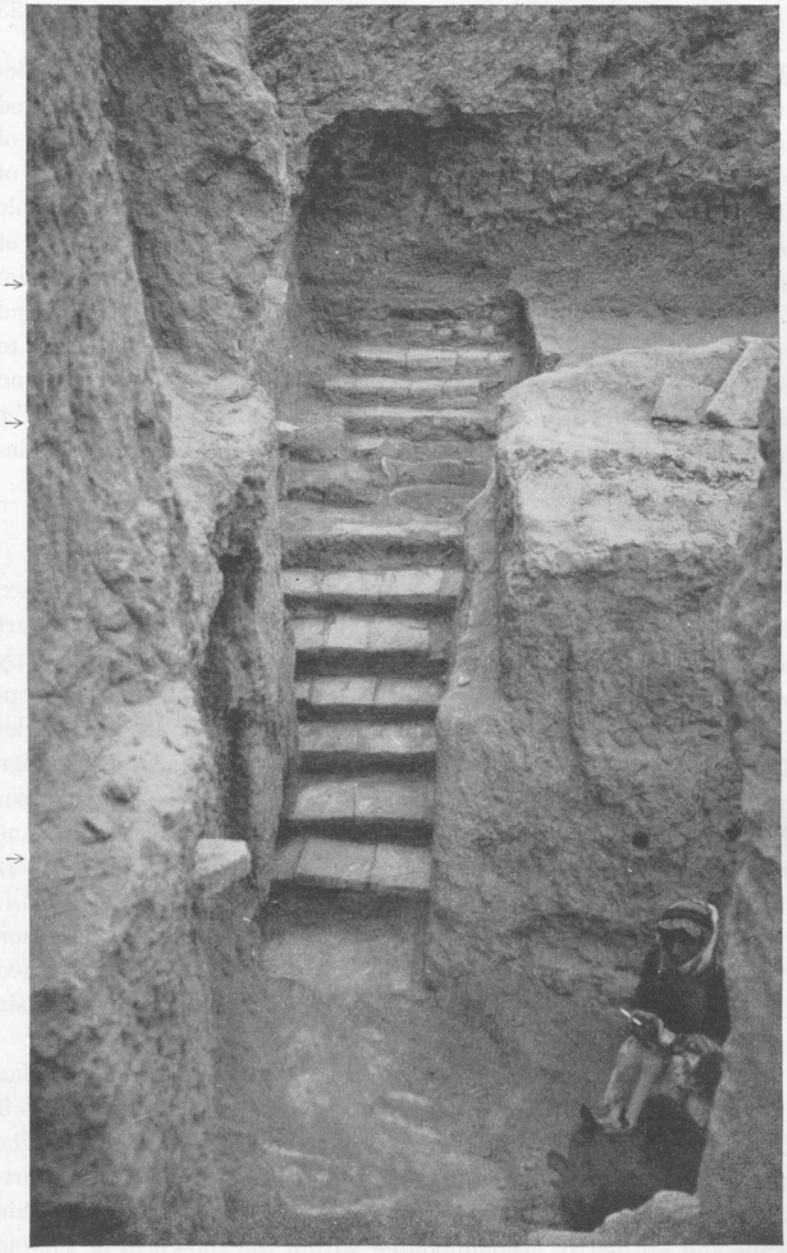


FIG. 17.—Staircase constructed by Nurakhum. Three pivot stones at the left (marked by arrows) show the slope of a ramp which took its place in the palace of Bilalama.

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enlarged, and both towers were supplied with low platforms, no doubt used as benches for servants and petitioners.

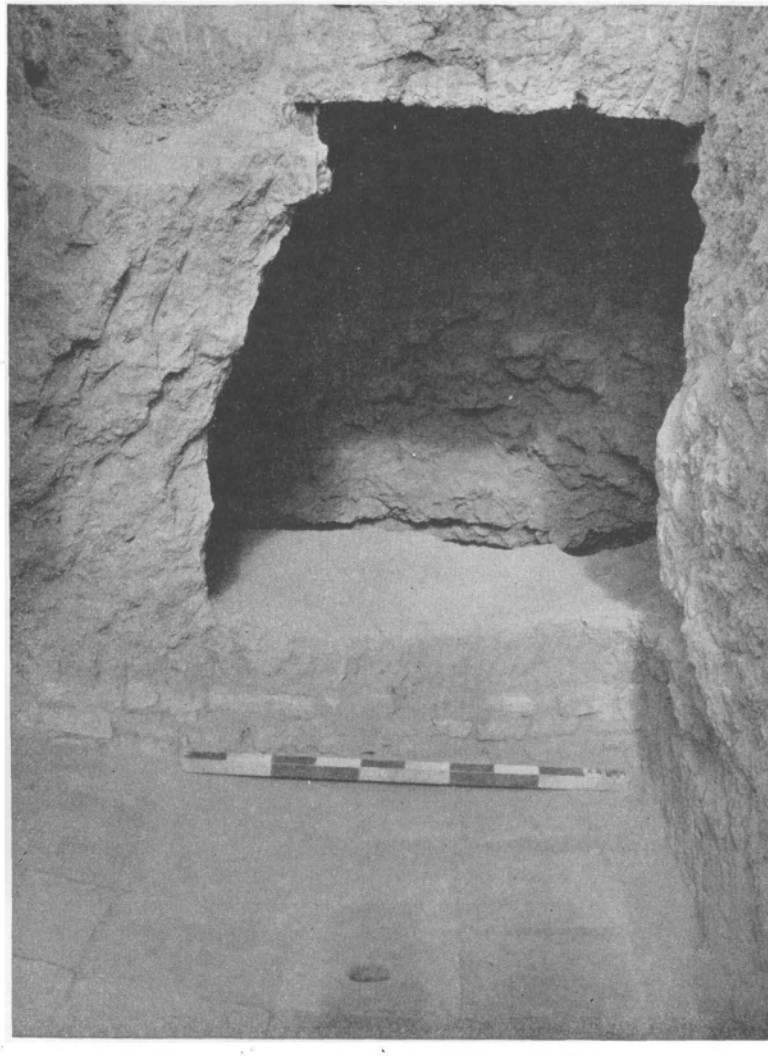


FIG. 18.—Paved room in Bilalama's palace

The central part of the palace was not greatly changed. The staircase north of the throne room was replaced by a ramp, the slope of which we can determine by means of pivot stones (Fig. 17). The ad-

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joining paved room may have been a bathroom or perhaps merely a light shaft for the surrounding rooms. The easterly corner of this room is shown in Figure 18. The Bilalama pavement shows clearly, with three or four courses of the wall which belonged to it. Above the wall there was a layer of rubbish; and above that, the foundation of

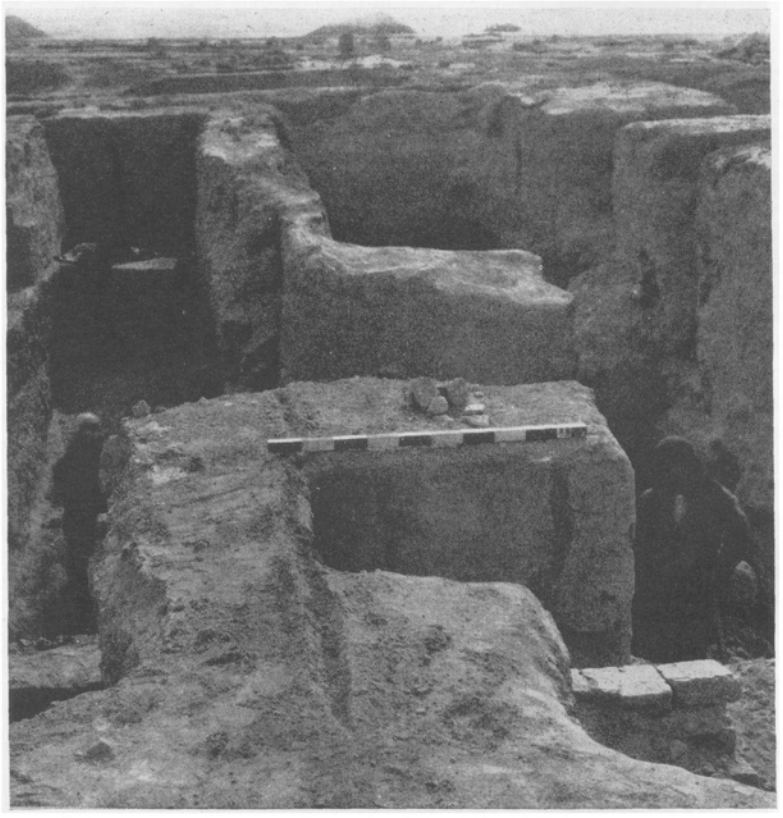


FIG. 19.—Foundations of Ibiq-Adad II cutting into walls of Urninmar

Urninmar's palace, the bricks of which show at the top of our figure. At the back of the tunnel under Urninmar's wall can be seen other brickwork. This, though it extends deeper than Urninmar's wall, was put down later, for it belongs to Ibiq-Adad II, whose thorough rebuilding was based in the eastern part of the palace on a new system of walls. In many places Ibiq-Adad II's building has left only a thin shell of Urninmar's earlier walls. In Figure 19 the measuring-

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stick rests on one of Urninmar's walls. At right angles to this wall, beyond the doorway, we see a wall combining materials of the two periods. The Urninmar bricks are seen as a shell on the right face of the wall; the remaining brickwork is that of Ibiq-Adad II, most of which

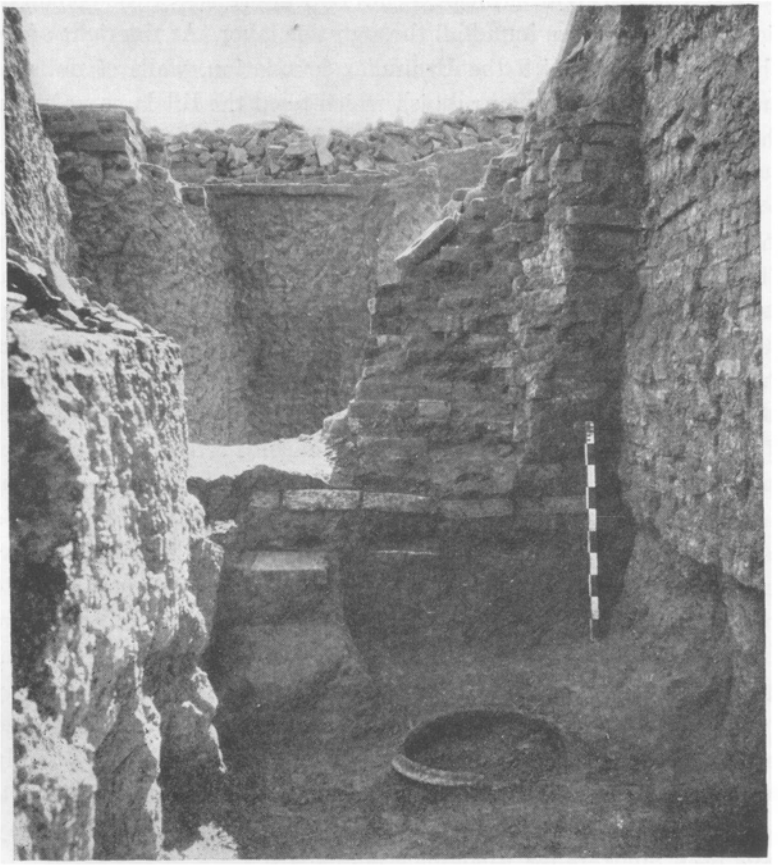


FIG. 20.—Walls of Bilalama and Urninmar

has been removed in order to clear the rooms of the earlier palace. In the doorway we found an undamaged doorsill of Urninmar's bricks covered with bitumen.

The room at the southwest corner of the palace courtyard is shown in Figure 20.[16] The baked brick foundation at the back of the room

[16] Figure 31 in the *Oriental Institute Handbook*, 3d ed., shows the same locality some 6 meters higher.

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belongs to Urninmar's building. A white line 20 cm. below its base is formed by a decayed mat upon which a wall of Bilalama's palace had been built. To the left of this line a baked paving-brick shows the actual floor level in Bilalama's time. Here then the Bilalama wall was preserved to a height of only 20 cm. It bears traces of the conflagration, similar to those found all through this layer. At the right of the photograph, level with the Urninmar foundation, walls of unbaked bricks are seen resting on rubbish which filled the Bilalama palace at this spot. All this had to be removed before we could trace the earlier buildings.

West of this part of the Bilalama palace the walls of the chapel of the earlier palace had been razed to make room for an open court (see Fig. 16). This explains the difficulty we experienced in disengaging the walls of this chapel. North and northwest of the open court were buildings at a higher level. They seem to have taken the place of the modest private suite in the earlier palace. Access to them is so difficult that we are involuntarily reminded of the foreign origin of the Elamite ruler who built this residence. From the main palace entrance one passed through various guardrooms and crossed the palace courtyard. In the northern corner of the court there was a doorway leading to two more narrow rooms which had to be traversed in order to reach a small court with a stairway mounting to the higher level. A lobby at the top of the stairs led into a square chamber. There a doorway at the left led to another anteroom; beyond that was a paved chamber or court; and behind that lay the reception room. The shape of the room beyond this suggested that it was an informal throne room which could be reached directly from the private apartments. The function of the rooms and courtyard to the northwest of the private apartments is not clear; they may have been quarters for Bilalama's bodyguard.

At the south corner of the outer courtyard a gateway led to an open space sloping up to the level of the private apartments and separated from the courtyard by a retaining wall. The room at the top (northwest) of this slope was probably a guardhouse for the soldiers on duty in the outer courtyard. Water from the slope was carried off by a drain under the patch of baked brick pavement at the bottom. The

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short wall flanking this pavement kept the drain from becoming clogged by dirt washed down by the rains from the slope above.

In the Bilalama layer we found a seal impression of Gimililushu of Isin, son of Ishbiirra the conqueror of Ur. This discovery confirmed therefore our synchronism of the advent of the first Elamite ruler, Kirikiri (father of Bilalama), with the fall of the 3d dynasty of Ur under the combined onslaught of Elamites and Amorites.[17]

There is now definite evidence that the great conflagration ascribed to the Sumerian reaction against the Elamites (which was led by Anumutabil of Der and resulted in the enthronement of Uṣurawasu in Eshnunna[18]) took place not under Bilalama but under his successor Isharramashu, or possibly under Aṣuṣu.[19] On the southeast side of the palace courtyard and in the paved room to the southeast of the great hall (a space which was probably open to the sky and served as a light shaft) we found bricks inscribed with Isharramashu's name a little above the Bilalama pavement. Here and elsewhere the marks of the conflagration go down only to that level and not to the original floor level of Bilalama's time.

The plans of the palace in later periods and the objects, inscriptions, and architectural evidence which we obtained this year do not call for discussion in a preliminary report. The complete and final report in the series of "Oriental Institute Publications" is in preparation.

[17] See *OIC* No. 13, p. 27.

[18] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 32 f.

[19] A ruler of whom we possess only seal impressions, and who seems not to have built in the palace at all.

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## II

## THE SOUTHERN BUILDING AT TELL ASMAR

The big southern building, the existence of which was first revealed to us by rain toward the end of the previous season,[1] was excavated by Mr. Loud. It soon became clear that there was nothing left of this structure but the foundations (Fig. 21), although the seriousness of the loss presumably suffered as a result of the denudation of the soil became apparent only when the character of the earlier walls was made clear. In the palace, where we had unraveled the history of one group of buildings through several centuries, the deeper layers could supply such information as was lost in the higher strata and vice versa. The southern building, on the contrary, was a new foundation, built on top of layers of private houses, or rather in trenches cut into the older remains. Mr. Loud carried out the excavations with the greatest care in the hope of extracting from the bare skeleton of foundation walls some definite information regarding the date and function of the building; but the results are of necessity unsatisfactory.

The private houses beneath the building contained some inscribed baked bricks intended of course for use in public buildings. These were re-used in the private houses, probably after the reign of the ruler named upon the bricks. Since some of these bricks mention Ibalpel, the foundation of our building must have been built later than his reign. The street to the north of the southern building is paved with bricks naming Ibiq-Adad II, Ibalpel's son. We know that Ibiq-Adad II carried out an elaborate reconstruction of the palace (cf. p. 26), that he was a very powerful ruler,[2] and that soon after his reign the independence of Eshnunna came to an end. The southern building really formed one architectural group with the palace of Ibiq-Adad II and was actually connected with it by the gateway to the east (in Q 31; cf. Fig. 21). For all these reasons we have ascribed the southern building to Ibiq-Adad II. Whether the building was ever finished it is diffi-

[1] See *OIC* No. 13, pp. 11 f.

[2] See *OIC* No. 13, pp. 36 ff.

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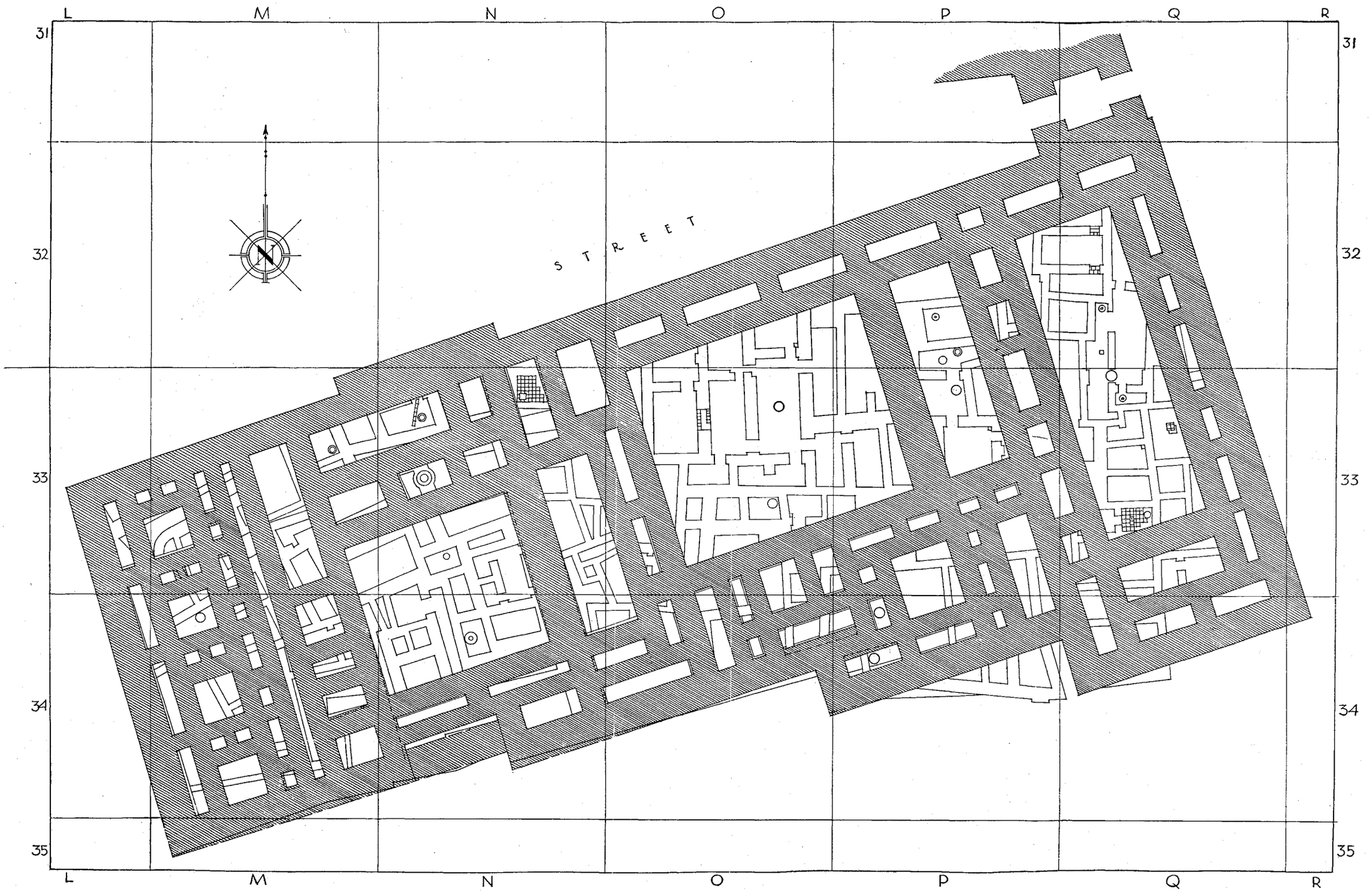



FIG. 21.—Plan of the southern building. Scale, 1:400

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cult to say. No traces of its floors or of objects which could be ascribed to it were found, but the denudation of the tell may possibly account for that. On the other hand, it seems highly improbable that this part of the tell would have been washed away to such a low level if the massive ruins of a large building had been lying in place. It may well be, therefore, that Ibiq-Adad II never completed his ambitious project.

Mr. Loud's very precise observations make it certain that the foundations were laid by digging trenches with almost vertical sides, without regard to the ancient house ruins. The trenches were then filled with brickwork starting from one or both ends. The alignment of the walls was adjusted as the work went on; irregularities in deeper layers are shown by broken lines beneath the hatching in Figure 21. As soon as we attempt to reconstruct the doorways and rooms above the foundations we get into difficulties. For one thing, we do not know whether each cross-wall in the foundations corresponds with a wall in the actual building. In the palace we had no opportunity for making observations on this subject, because the later builders used the earlier walls, on the whole, as their foundations, and we did not descend into the foundations of the earliest palace. In the southern building we find a heavy monumental structure erected on a site occupied by small walls only, and it may be that the builders attempted to distribute weight evenly on their foundations and to prevent uneven settling by building a much more complicated net of foundation walls than they ever intended to raise above floor level. This is suggested especially by the western part of the building (Fig. 22). In any case the rooms were probably a little larger than the spaces between the foundations; for in the palace the actual walls were set back about 20 cm. on the foundations. There were neither doorsills nor pivot stones to show us the interrelationships of the rooms. It seems safe to assume, however, that an entrance flanked by two towers was based on the block projecting from the north wall in M 33–N 32.

The hope that we may some day be able to reconstruct the plan of the southern building is based on the custom of Babylonian architects of building up their structures from standardized units. It is quite clear for instance that the unit of a square court with a transverse room at one side, in which Koldewey, Andrae, and Jordan see the

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FIG. 22.—The western end of the southern building, shown beyond the palace, the clearing of which is nearing completion. In the background is the expedition house.

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original form of the Babylonian house, is found in our southern building no less than three times. There is, moreover, a great similarity between the eastern part of the southern building and that group of rooms in the palace which consists of palace courtyard, throne room, and great hall; and the group in P 33–34 might correspond with the rooms and staircase on the northwest side of the palace group just mentioned. However, the fact that such architectural units were used at all implies the possibility that they were employed merely as groundwork for buildings, regardless of their functions. As to the function of the southern building, we are at present completely in the dark.

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# III

# THE AKKADIAN BUILDINGS AT TELL ASMAR

## THE EXCAVATION

To avoid scattering the experienced members of the staff during the period in which I was absent from camp (cf. p. vii) the work at Khafaje was postponed. This gave us an opportunity to carry out at Tell Asmar an investigation the need of which we had felt for some time. The first season's concentrated attention on one part of the site had supplied us with more historical information than could otherwise have been obtained, but it had also kept us from gaining any insight into the composition of the remaining hillocks which appear on Mr. Loud's contour map as part of Tell Asmar (cf. Fig. 1). Guided by a few soundings and the sherds and small objects which were lying about on the surface, we felt confident that the upper layers of the southern mounds contained Arab houses, that the center of the site was last inhabited in the Larsa period, and that the northern spurs of Tell Asmar contained much older remains. But we had as yet no hint as to the whereabouts of a building the existence of which was known to us from bricks found in the palace: E-sikil, the temple of Tishpak at Eshnunna. We were the more anxious to find this shrine since Dr. Jacobsen had shown that Tishpak was a form of the Ḫurrian god Teshup, and that he had succeeded an earlier Sumerian god, Ninazu, in Eshnunna.[1]

I asked Mr. Delougaz to reconnoiter our site outside the area we were excavating. The remains he found were such as to keep us occupied throughout the season and promise to do so for at least two more campaigns. His results are not rounded off because it was in the nature of his task to move forward as soon as the general character of the ruins disclosed at any particular spot had become clear. One might consider his work as the digging of a trial trench, except that we always avoid the adoption of set limits as to width and depth such as are implied in the term "trench." In that sense, our trenches deserve

[1] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 51–59.

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the name only for the first hour or so. As soon as walls appear, the further development of our excavation is entirely dependent on the direction, depth, and extent of the remains themselves.

For the understanding of Mr. Delougaz' work it is necessary to visualize the conformation of the soil as shown in Figures 1–2. He started work at the extreme north, on the spur which is nearest the corner of the town wall.[2] His first trench extends through D 14–16, E 14–17, F 16–17, G 18–19, and H 18–19. That is, it starts on a low spur which rises slowly toward the southeast to a small isolated mound. Beyond this mound there is a steeper depression toward the southeast; and this is bordered by another low mound, which is really the northwestern spur of a higher hill as yet untouched.

At the north end of this long stretch of ground Mr. Delougaz found some walls immediately below the surface. It soon became clear that they were so large and regular that they could not belong to mere private houses. A system of regular rooms and courts was disclosed. The surface finds had made us assume, provisionally, an early date for this part of the site. This was confirmed not only by a few cylinder seals but also by a scrutiny of the bricks of which the walls were built. They were rather small, measuring about 15×30 cm., and from 5 to 7 cm. thick. Most of them were flat on both sides, but some were decidedly plano-convex, though they bore no fingermarks.[3] This establishes the date of our edifice with some precision: it belongs to the end of the early dynastic period, is decidedly pre-Sargonid, and probably was built by a northern contemporary of Entemena of Lagash. The discovery of a monumental building of this period is important. This structure presents a number of interesting features which we shall discuss more fully when we have finished excavating it. Three privies found here are, to my knowledge, the earliest ever found. One is shown in Figure 23. It is built entirely of baked bricks, with which the lower parts of the walls of the room are also lined. Underneath it runs a large vaulted drain of baked bricks, which serves another privy

[2] This wall may be seen in the lower right corner of the air view shown in Figure 29 of the *Oriental Institute Handbook*, 3d ed. The wall has not yet been located on the ground.

[3] Cf. *OIC* No. 13, pp. 61–63, and Delougaz' *Plano-Convex Bricks* in "Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 7 (Chicago, 1933). The latter is the first comprehensive study of this subject.

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built up against the back wall of the one shown in our picture. This drain was big enough to allow a boy to be sent through it for periodical

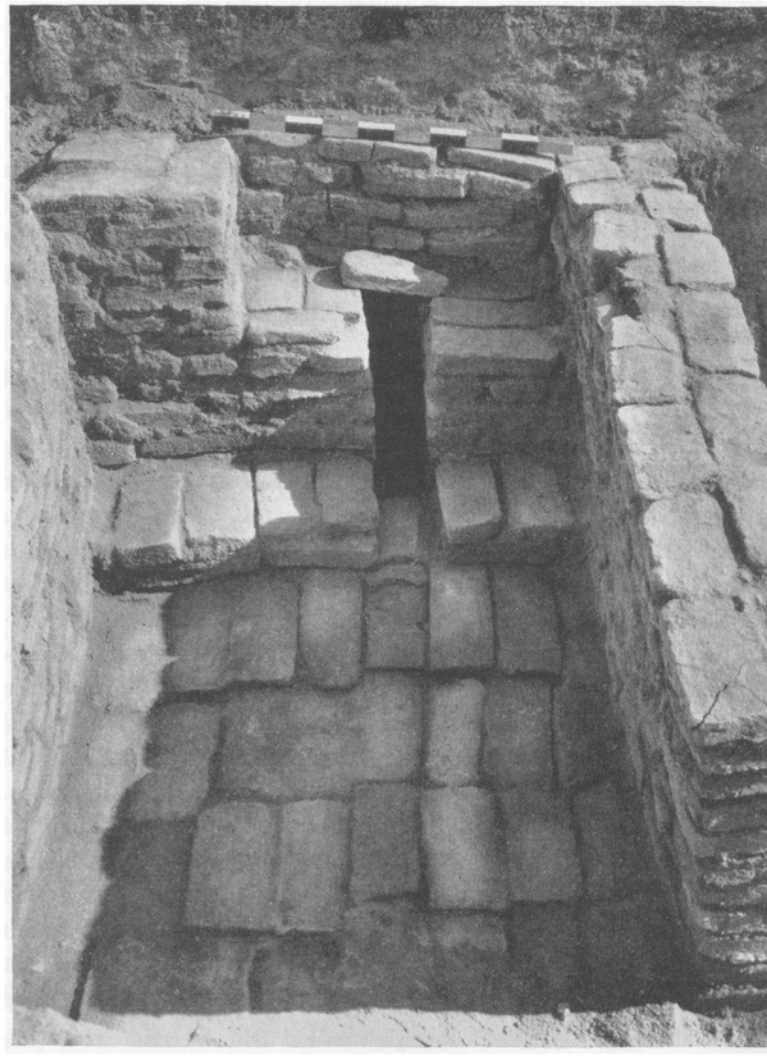


FIG. 23.—Privy in an Akkadian building

cleanings. The main drain ran outside, parallel with the outer wall of the building, and the various drains within were connected with it.

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The building was reconstructed in later times, and the hillock consists of the remains of these later structures, which for some reason are missing farther to the north. In this later stage, which is perhaps of Sargonid date, the entrance is shown in Figure 24. A step of baked bricks led into the porter's lodge; just beyond the step may be seen the "box" of baked bricks in which the pivot of the one-leafed door revolved. A small brazier was beyond, filled with the ashes of a

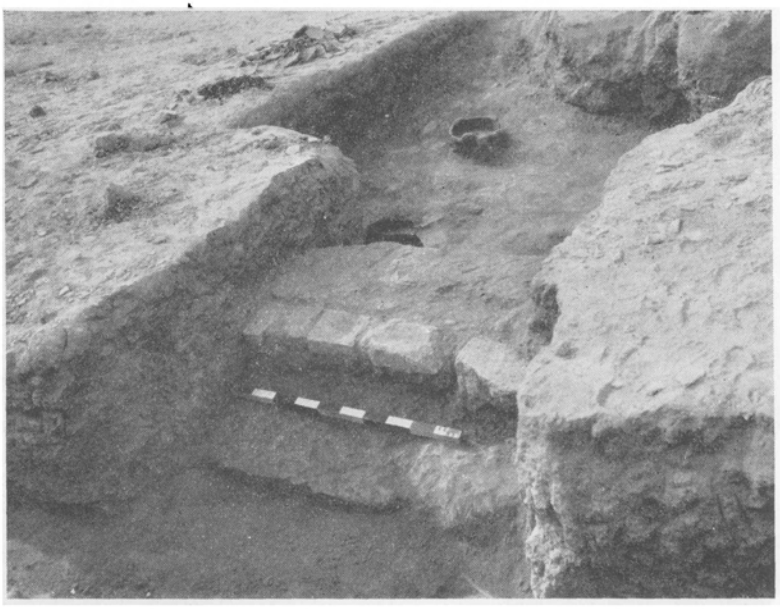


FIG. 24.—Porter's lodge in an Akkadian building

fire by means of which a guard, some 4,600 years ago, held the penetrating cold of a Mesopotamian winter at bay.

The depression southeast of this hillock covers the site where from time immemorial a street seems to have run. Beyond the street there is a maze of small walls belonging to private houses (Fig. 25). The excavation of these houses was continued throughout the season, first under Mr. Loud and then under Dr. Jacobsen. To excavate them was a difficult task at best. Instead of the large and generally consistent reconstructions which mark the successive periods in the existence of a public building, the private houses reflect the limitation of their

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owners' resources by all sorts of makeshifts, partial repairs, re-use of material, and so on, which turn a detailed investigation into an exasperating undertaking. Although the objects unearthed are interest-



FIG. 25.—View from the east across private houses, showing the street on the right and the walls of three successive building periods.

ing (e.g., Fig. 26) and more numerous than in public buildings, they do not wholly compensate for the cost and labor involved in such work. Yet the issue could not be shirked. For the date of these houses was established beyond all doubt, not only by the objects found there, including numerous cylinder seals, but also by fragments of

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tablets and seal impressions, two of which mentioned Shudurul, the last king of the dynasty of Sargon of Akkad. Of this period, the importance of which is shown by the magnificence of its monuments, we know very little from Mesopotamia itself;[4] most of those monuments were found at Susa, whither they were carried after victorious raids by Elamite rulers of a later period. Moreover, it was clear from the be-

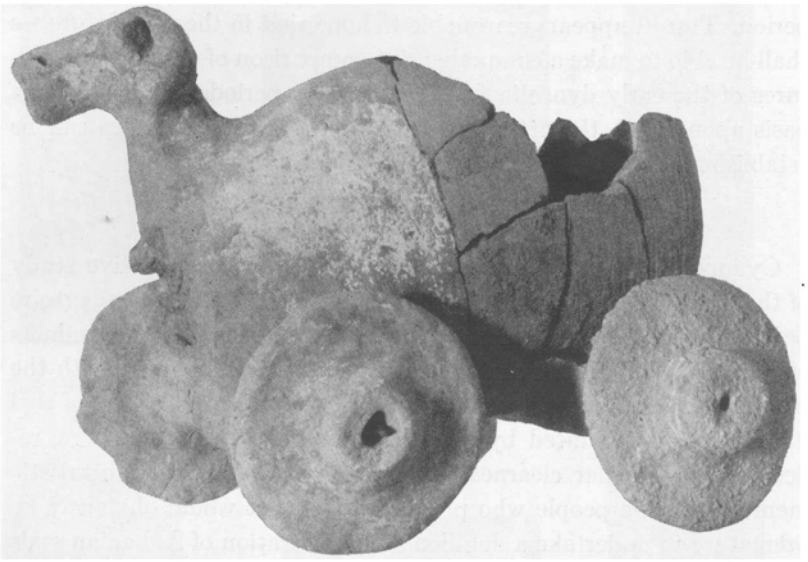


FIG. 26.—A child's toy of pottery from the Akkadian houses. A broken eyelet for tying the pull-cord may be seen on the breast of the ram.

ginning that we could obtain in the Akkadian town at Tell Asmar material bearing on the most hotly debated problem of Babylonian archeology: the date of the brilliant stage of Sumerian civilization best known, at the moment, from the royal tombs at Ur. Our work at Khafaje has supplied us with remains contemporary with those royal tombs, and the top layer of this new site at Tell Asmar has given us remains of Sargonid date. Surely a comparative study of the material from both sites should enable us to decide whether the two periods are 800 years apart, as Mr. Woolley maintains, or are separated by a lesser

[4] Banks found at Bismayah (Adab) part of a town of Sargonid date, but his investigations were very summary, or are, at least, not published in any detail.

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interval, or partly overlap, as was supposed by Professors Christian and Weidner.

Our work on these private houses has by no means reached a stage at which a serviceable account can be published; for our time has been taken up entirely with the careful disentangling of the remains. Although three successive periods are now distinguishable, it seems not unlikely that the site was inhabited continually from an even earlier period. Thus it appears reasonable to hope that in the near future we shall be able to make a comprehensive comparison of the material cultures of the early dynastic and the Sargonid periods and thus find a basis upon which the attribution of remains from other sites can be established with a considerable degree of certainty.

## THE CYLINDER SEALS

Cylinder seals play an important part in any comparative study of the kind outlined above. The richness of their decorative repertoire becomes a special asset when we attempt to distinguish the products of the Sargonid and the early dynastic periods. In contrast with the peculiarities of tools, weapons, or utensils, the characteristics of seal designs are not dictated by utilitarian motives. Seals, therefore, reflect with particular clearness the spirit of the age and the artistic mentality of the people who produced them. It would obviously be premature to undertake a detailed characterization of Akkadian seals as opposed to those of the preceding age. Yet no account of our work would be adequate which did not include some reference to the fine collection of seals, which form the most important class of objects among our finds. Figures 27 and 28 show a selection of seals found in the Akkadian houses. Three seals discovered during the previous season at Khafaje (Fig. 29), which represent in a very pure form the "Sumerian" style of glyptic art, may serve as a foil for the seals from Tell Asmar.

The complicated nature of the Akkadian style is manifest, and careful observation soon reveals the inadequacy of an analysis of the subject matter alone in reaching a definition of Akkadian glyptic art as distinct from that of earlier and later periods. Seal As. 31-532 (Fig. 28) illustrates this. It is an example of the well-known "presentation scene," in which a worshiper is introduced to the god by minor deities.

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As. 31-854



As. 31-142



As. 31-280



As. 31-853



As. 31-640



As. 31-660



As 31-580



As. 31-161



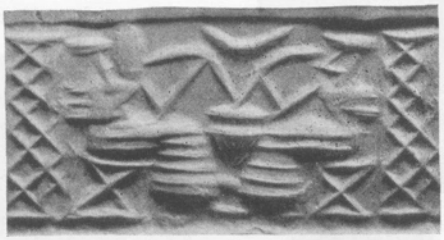
As. 31-221

FIG. 27.—Impressions of Akkadian cylinder seals and one stamp seal

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As. 31-532



As. 31-602



As. 31-652



As. 31-639



As. 31-811



As. 31-851



As. 31-279

FIG. 28.—Impressions of Akkadian cylinder seals

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This scene is often referred to as characteristic of the 3d dynasty of Ur and the 1st dynasty of Babylon. It is true that it was then most common, but our cylinder is by no means the only instance of its occurrence in an earlier period. On the other hand, there is a difference



I-360



I-514



I-140

FIG. 29.—Impressions of early dynastic (Sumerian) cylinder seals found at Khafaje.

in style between our seal and the later examples; the freedom and liveliness of the composition form a strong contrast with the conventional scheme prevalent in the last centuries of the third millennium B.C.

As Seal As. 31-532 shows that subjects common at a later date are found in Akkadian times, so As. 31-602 illustrates the unusual survival of an earlier subject. It shows in a highly conventionalized manner

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two people seated on cross-legged chairs drinking through reeds from a large jar which stands between them. The scene is exceedingly common in the early dynastic period, but the style of our seal is entirely different from that of the older examples.

In fact, only an analysis of the style of the seals will reveal their age. If studied with this problem in mind, the material we have discovered proves extraordinarily illuminating. If we first try to characterize in a few words the style of the Sumerian seal-cutter who produced the Khafaje cylinders (Fig. 29) and preceded the Akkadian artists, we may say that he combined a disregard for reality and the limitations of nature with a fantastic imagination and a strong sense of decorative values. It is fatuous to inquire into the exact relationship between the various figures on his seals. Clearly the artist was not interested in that aspect of his subject but was preoccupied exclusively with producing a closely interwoven pattern. It is characteristic that his designs do not offer a clear-cut limit at either end. In accordance with the shape of the object upon which they are carved, and perhaps also in view of the use to which these cylinders were put, the designs are composed as continuous friezes, and any hiatus is avoided throughout. The subordination of every detail to the requirements of decorative effect creates within these narrow friezes a space possessing the reality of a well composed fairy tale. The composite monsters which inhabit them do not appear incredible or even less real and alive than the men and animals who are their companions.

The style of the Sumerian seals, product though it was of an artistic mentality peculiar to that people, naturally became embodied in the tradition of the workshops; and the Akkadian seal-cutters continued to work in that tradition. But nothing illustrates better the profound difference between the Sumerian and the Akkadian mind than a study of the transformations which the art of seal-cutting underwent in Akkadian times. It is obviously impossible here to follow in detail the development of Sargonid craftsmanship, but the outcome of the process is clearly shown in our illustrations. Continuous friezes (Fig. 29) were replaced by single, well limited scenes (Figs. 27–28). A single impression gives all there is to know of an Akkadian cylinder, whereas the unrolled frieze with the rhythm of recurring motives is an essential part of the beauty of a Sumerian

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seal. This development, as also certain other innovations which we shall study presently, is the result of a change in the artist's viewpoint. The direction of his interest has shifted from decorative and imaginative values to the rendering of the concrete, and clearness of representation now seems to be his first requirement. This new viewpoint leads to a reduction of the number of figures used in any one scene and to a wider spacing which makes for clearness but destroys the continuity of the old frieze. The new interest in the concrete enhances the substantiality of the single figures but thereby often destroys the decorative harmony of the design.

The contrast between the Sumerian and Akkadian schools of art can best be studied in a subject which is a favorite with both: that of men and beasts in combat. Seal As. 31-652 (Fig. 28), though unfortunately much worn, has peculiar merits. The Sumerian groups (Fig. 29) seem to resemble ghosts interlocked in inimical encounter rather than beings of flesh and blood; the Akkadian seal shows all the grimness of the fight. The god and the bull, his victim, strain every muscle, while a roaring lion rises behind a bush. What Sumerian seal would ever elicit so sensory an association as that of sound? In this cylinder the wider spacing characteristic of Akkadian seals seems almost to have preserved the limitless pattern of Sumerian times; but there is a hiatus between the back of the god and the lion which is only poorly filled by the volute of the lion's tail and the crescent above. Though the unity of the design considered as surface decoration is here more pronounced than in other seals of this period because the main figures are drawn not on vertical but on sloping axes, this peculiarity is evidently due not to desire for decorative effect on the part of the artist but to his endeavor to render the vigor of the action. Seals As. 31-639 and As. 31-811 (Fig. 28) show the usual composition on vertical axes. Seal As. 31-639 is very well carved, but its good qualities accentuate the barrenness of the composition. In seal As. 31-811 the introduction of the "antithetical group" solves the problem of composition, and the limits of the scene are accentuated by the introduction of a tree. In this seal the second consequence of Akkadian realism becomes clear. We find here a disproportionate emphasis on the bodily form of the man-headed bull, which was perfectly acceptable in the fairyland of Sumerian designs but is now turned into a grotesque absurdity.

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We cannot do justice to the Akkadian seal-cutters by studying the designs which they took over from their Sumerian predecessors but which were incompatible with their own artistic mentality. It is in the mythological scenes, which are Akkadian inventions, that their talent finds full scope. Such subjects, which incidentally present an inexhaustible field to the student of religion, are very well represented among our finds, and a few of them appear in Figure 27. We see the sun god Shamash ascending the mountain of the East while the gates of heaven are opened by minor deities (As. 31-142 and As. 31-854); again, a captive demon kneels in front of him (As. 31-853; cf. As. 31-280). On seal As. 31-640 a strange figure of a man with bird's legs and a bird's tail is brought to be judged by the god Ea, shown with water and fishes which are his attributes. The seal is carved in very hard stone, and the design has suffered accordingly in clearness of line. Sometimes the gods fight among themselves: on seal As. 31-580 two gods stand wrestling and a third grasps his adversary's beard, presses him down with his foot, and prepares for the stroke of the mace. Seal As. 31-660 shows two gods plowing; a lion, a dragon, and a scorpion form the team. Mr. Sidney Smith suggests to me that the scene may have astrological significance.

The small seal As. 31-161 (Fig. 27) stands apart from the rest in style, yet it is of a type not uncommon in Sargonid Eshnunna. During our short season we obtained no less than four such cylinders. They are all made of frit and in both material and design resemble certain seals found in Susa[5] and Assur.[6] We have already indicated[7] that Eshnunna and Assur, both situated in the region east of the Tigris intermediate between Babylonia proper and the highlands of Elam, were related politically and culturally during the last centuries of the third millennium B.C. This conclusion was based entirely on historical evidence. On the strength of the archeological material supplied by such seals as As. 31-161 we now conclude tentatively that the same close alliance in cultural matters between the eastern borderlands of Babylonia already existed in Sargonid days. It will be interesting to observe whether this conclusion is confirmed when our excavations are resumed.

[5] "Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse" XII (Paris, 1911) 109–10 and 133–34.
[6] Walter Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur* (Leipzig, 1922) p. 83.
[7] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 36 f.

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## RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Some of our seals were found with a number of other objects in hoards packed in small pots and hidden under ground. Figure 30 shows one of these after the cracked top of the vessel had been removed. Inside may be seen a small lapis lazuli cylinder seal capped with silver, some beads, ear pendants, and other ornaments, some in-

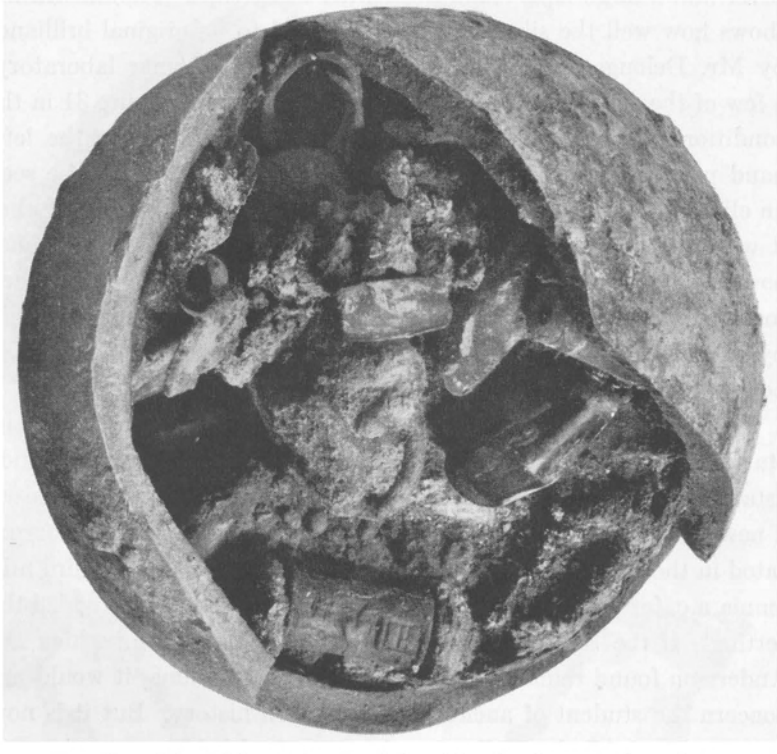


FIG. 30.—A hoard found in one of the Akkadian houses. Actual size

gots of silver blackened by contact with the soil, and some small pieces of silver wire. It was obviously the stock in trade of a small jeweler, containing finished objects as well as raw material. A similar hoard comprised the working capital of a seal-cutter: some finished seals, some undecorated beads, a copper chisel, two pointed instruments of copper, and a whetstone pierced for suspension from the girdle. Another of these craftsmen-traders had hidden with his silver and beads

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a set of weights; another, a coppersmith no doubt, had put with the tools and the copperplate which he had for melting not only his cylinder seal but also broken clay dice.

The contents of one of these pots have been restrung as a complete necklace (Fig. 31). Most of the beads are of lapis lazuli, some of carnelian, and some of rock crystal. The two center pieces are a frog of silver and a large lapis lazuli bead with silver caps. The illustration shows how well the silver has been restored to its original brilliance by Mr. Delougaz' skilful treatment in the Tell Asmar laboratory; a few of the silver beads are to be seen at the top of Figure 31 in the condition in which they were found. In the circlet, near the left-hand pendant by which the part-circlet is suspended, may be seen an elliptical carnelian bead with white etched lines. We assume that it was used to pair with the red and white shell shown in a similar position at the right.[8] Etched beads are rare, but they have been found at Ur and Kish. They have been the subject of a special study by Mr. Ernest Mackay,[9] who drew attention to the fact that such beads are found, though not in great numbers, at Mohenjo Daro.

Here, then, our finds at Tell Asmar gain great significance. For the startling discoveries by Sir John Marshall and his collaborators, which established the existence of the culture of the Indus Valley, have raised a new problem of co-ordination: How can the new facts be incorporated in the story of human development in the fourth and third millennia B.C. for which Babylonia and Egypt have hitherto provided the setting? If the Indus culture stood by itself, like that of which Dr. Andersson found remains in Honan in Northern China, it would not concern the student of ancient Near Eastern history. But it is now certain that the Indus Valley was in contact with Mesopotamia. Besides the etched beads already mentioned, there have previously been found in Mesopotamia some six or seven seals which resemble those from India so closely that the foreign origin of most of them cannot be doubted. Unfortunately their archeological context is completely un-

[8] The arrangement of the necklace is, of course, conjectural. "Right" and "left" are used here with reference to the necklace, not to the beholder.

[9] "Further Links between Ancient Sind, Sumer and Elsewhere," *Antiquity* V (1931) 459–61.

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FIG. 31.—Necklace of stone and silver beads. Above, silver beads in the condition in which they were found. Scale, 4:5.

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known or else they are isolated finds.[10] Such circumstances preclude any definite statement as to the date of their importation. Neither do the discoveries in the Indus Valley contain any indication of their precise age. Yet it is necessary to know with what stage of Mesopotamian

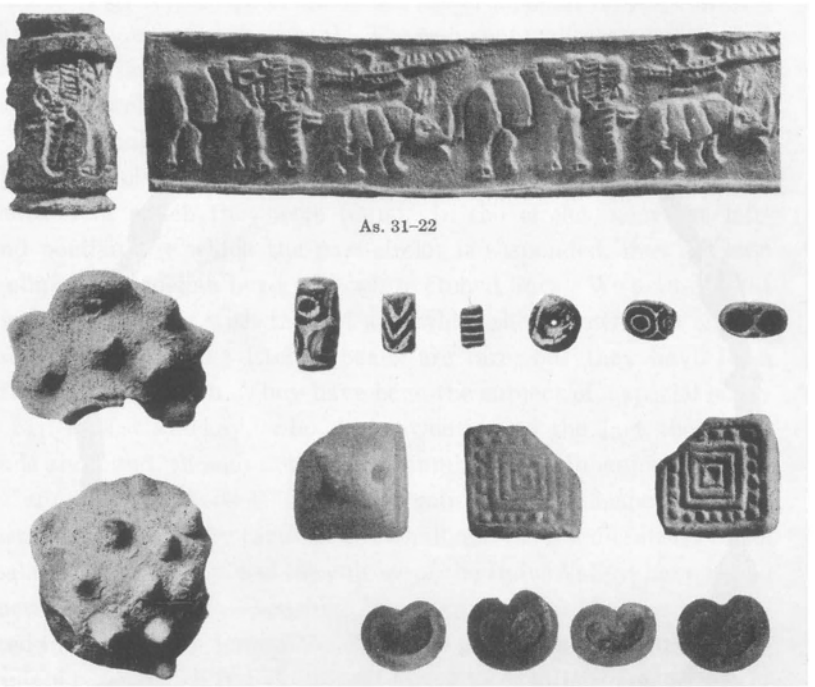



FIG. 32.—Cylinder seal with its impression, potsherds, etched beads, an alabaster stamp seal with its impression, and inlays of bone, found in the Akkadian houses at Tell Asmar.

or Egyptian history the Indus civilization was contemporaneous, before the problem of its possible influence on the cultural development of the ancient Near East can even be approached. The chronological

[10] This is, for instance, the case with the interesting Indian seal found by Mr. Woolley in the shaft of a tomb of the so-called 2d dynasty of Ur; see "A Fresh Link between Ur and Mohenjo Daro," *Illustrated London News*, February 13, 1932, p. 240. There is little certainty as to the date of any small object found by itself in the filling of a shaft; and the 2d dynasty of Ur is so unimportant in the history of Mesopotamia that even if there were good reason for dating this tomb to this dynasty, of which nothing is yet known, its age in terms of years would remain entirely uncertain.

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question is simplified by the fact that the finds at Mohenjo Daro are so homogeneous throughout the layers thus far excavated that one may consider all of them as representing one cultural stage. It is this epoch of the Indus civilization which can, for the first time, be dated with certainty by the discoveries made in the Akkadian houses at Tell Asmar. If we compare these objects, shown in Figure 32, with some from Mohenjo Daro (Fig. 33), there can be no doubt as to the close connec-

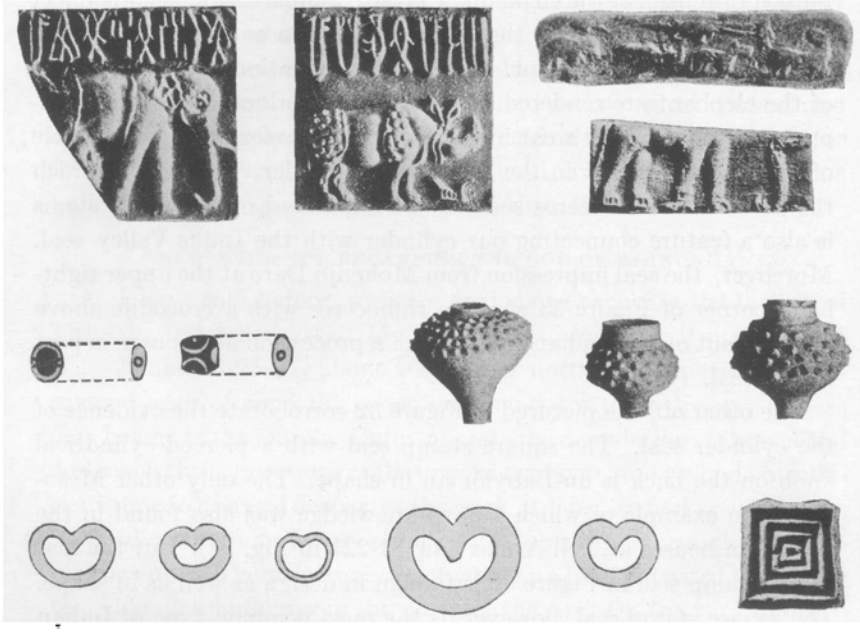


FIG. 33.—Seal impressions, etched beads, pots, inlays, and a stamp seal, from Mohenjo Daro in the Indus Valley.

tion between the two groups. The assumption that the objects from Tell Asmar are importations from the Indus Valley is corroborated by the absence of similar objects among discoveries made elsewhere in Mesopotamia.

The most important piece of evidence is, of course, the cylinder seal As. 31-22. Its material has not yet been determined with certainty, but it appears to be glazed steatite. In only one or two instances have seals of this shape been found in the Indus Valley, where square flat stamp seals prevail. Yet the subject of our cylinder, without paral-

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lel among the thousands of known Babylonian seals, alone suffices to establish its non-Babylonian character. Moreover, no Babylonian seal of this quality shows so unbalanced a composition. The animals, foreign to the Babylonians,[11] were obviously carved by an artist to whom they were familiar, as appears from the faithful rendering of such details as the skin of the rhinoceros (which resembles plate-armor more closely than does the skin of his companion) and the sloping back and bulbous forehead of the elephant. Certain peculiarities of style connect the seal as definitely with the Indus civilization as if it actually bore the signs of the Indus script. Such is the convention in which the feet of the elephant are rendered. A peculiar network of lines such as appears on the elephant's ear in the Indian seal extends over the whole of his head and trunk in the Tell Asmar cylinder. The way in which the ears of the rhinoceros seem to be implanted on two little stems is also a feature connecting our cylinder with the Indus Valley seal. Moreover, the seal impression from Mohenjo Daro at the upper right-hand corner of Figure 33 shows a rhinoceros with a crocodile above him in front of an elephant—just such a procession as appears in part on our seal.

The other objects pictured in Figure 32 corroborate the evidence of the cylinder seal. The square stamp seal with a pierced cylindrical knob on the back is un-Babylonian in shape. The only other Mesopotamian example of which I have knowledge was also found in the Akkadian houses at Tell Asmar (As. 31-221 in Fig. 27). But the alabaster stamp seal in Figure 32 is foreign in design as well as in shape. The square stamp seal, however, is the most common type of Indian seal, and a design of concentric squares is not infrequent (Fig. 33). The potsherds decorated in barbotine technique, the etched beads of carnelian, and the small inlays of bone, probably used on statuettes, are all as similar to finds from the Indus Valley as they are foreign in Mesopotamia.

There can be no doubt that the Akkadian city of Eshnunna was in communication with the Indus Valley just before the middle of the third millennium B.C. But whether it was in actual contact with Mohenjo Daro remains uncertain. Most of the Indian seals previously

[11] The rhinoceros was unknown in ancient Babylonia; the elephant, common on the middle or upper Euphrates until the 15th century B.C., was not employed in Babylonian art.

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discovered in Mesopotamia resemble those from Mohenjo Daro so closely that one could believe that they came from that very site. This is the case neither with our cylinder nor with our stamp seal, which shows surrounding the concentric squares a row of dots not to be found among Sir John Marshall's discoveries. The difference may be due to chronological or geographical causes: our seals may belong to a slightly earlier or later stage of the Indus civilization than that found at Mohenjo Daro or they may have come from another site within the same cultural province. Whichever assumption is correct, the excavations at Tell Asmar have produced a whole group of imported Indian objects in a well dated archeological context and have thereby supplied for the first time a firm chronological basis for the further study of the newly discovered civilization of the Indus Valley and its influence on the ancient Near East.

### NEW EVIDENCE REGARDING THE GOD OF ESHNUNNA

As I have said before, we were anxious to excavate the temple of Tishpak, and I had asked Mr. Delougaz to locate it if possible. In L 26–27 and M 25–27, about 100 meters north of the palace, he discovered walls of great thickness, ornamented with buttresses. These may belong to the temple. Unfortunately the denudation of the soil had destroyed the connections of the uppermost layer, and we had not sufficient time to descend deeper, as the work at Khafaje had now to begin.

We did obtain, however, some very interesting information regarding the cult of Tishpak from a spot where we least expected it, namely the Akkadian buildings in the north of the site. On the very summits of the two hillocks (cf. p. 35) we found isolated houses of the Larsa period built directly upon Akkadian ruins 400 or 500 years older, without any interposing layers of débris (Fig. 34). Obviously the area of habitation of Eshnunna has gradually moved southward, and just as the hills containing Arab remains lie to the south of the Larsa town, so the Larsa town itself was situated to the south of the ruins of the Akkadian town. These ruins were at that epoch, as at the time of our arrival, low mounds of earth. We have seen in studying the history of Eshnunna that the Larsa period, intervening as it did between the powerful hegemony of Ur under the 3d dynasty and the equally powerful rule of Hammurabi of Babylon, was a period of great prosperity for a small independent state such as this. Evidently the town center

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FIG. 34.—Suburban houses of the Larsa period superimposed upon Akkadian ruins of two periods

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was too small to accommodate the increasing population. We know from the air photograph taken during our first season (cf. p. 35, n. 2) that the town wall inclosed the ruined northern mounds of the Akkadian town; so we need not be astonished to find a few isolated houses

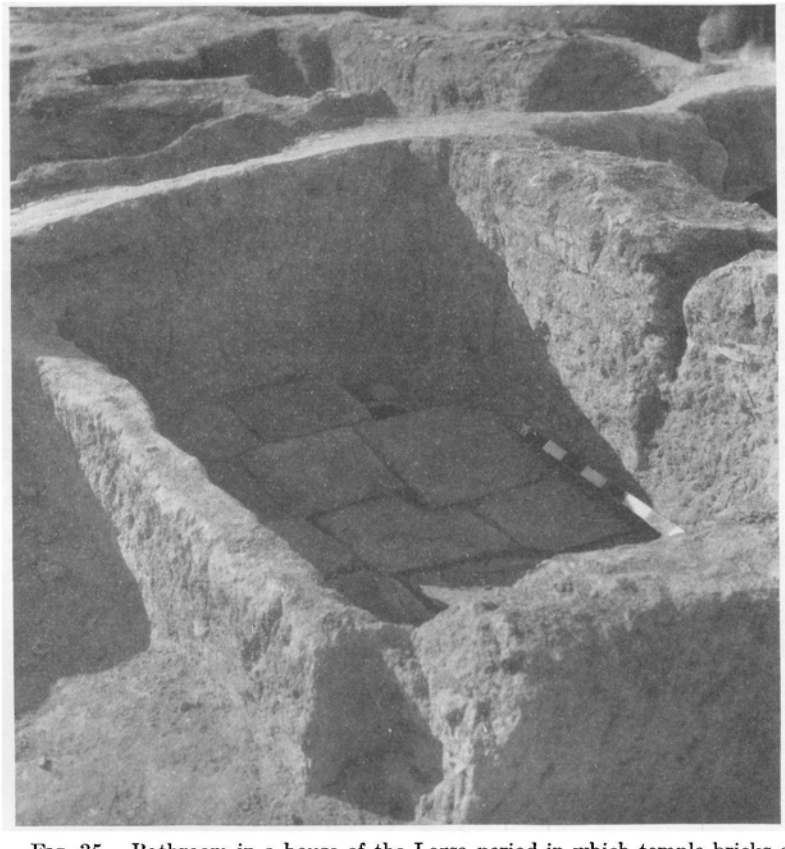


FIG. 35.—Bathroom in a house of the Larsa period in which temple bricks of Shulgi were re-used.

of the Larsa period established upon these mounds. Their remains are throughout entirely separate from the older ruins, which they cover only on those two small areas of this part of the site.[12]

Now a bathroom in one of these houses of the Larsa period was paved with baked bricks (Fig. 35). They were originally intended for

[12] The slow and detailed work of 1932/33 justifies the very definite statement which I have just made as to the complete separation and independence of the remains of the two periods.

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## KING LIST AND SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF ESHNUNNA AS REVEALED BY THE EXCAVATIONS

| Year B.C.* | Babylonian Overlord | Ruler of Eshnunna | Events of the Reign |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2247 | Shulgi of Ur, year 29 | Urguedinna | E-sikil was built by Shulgi for Ninazu or Tishpak |
| 2231 | year 45 | Kallamu | Was probably transferred by his overlord from Kazallu to Eshnunna |
| 2221–2213 | Gimilsin of Ur | Ituria | Built temple to the god Gimilsin |
| 2212–2187 | Ibisin of Ur | Ilushuilia | Built palace adjoining temple of Gimilsin |
| | | Nurakhum | Secularized palace chapel, but continued use of Gimilsin temple |
| 2187 | Ibisin captured for the Elamites by Ishbi-irra of Isin | Kirikiri | Probably had relations with Elamite rulers |
| | | Bilalama | Rebuilt palace, discontinued use of Gimilsin temple; rebuilt E-sikil for Tishpak; extended his territory by alliance with Amorites; his daughter Mekubi married ruler of Susa |
| | | Isharramashu | Palace was destroyed by fire, probably in course of anti-Elamite Sumerian campaigns of Anumutabil of Der |
| | | Uşurawasu | Was originally vassal of Anumutabil of Der |
| | | Aşuşu ? | |
| | | Urninmar | First reconstructed palace, then renewed it entirely |
| | | Urningishzida | |
| | | $^{d}$Ibiq-Adad I | Enlarged palace |
| | | $^{d}$Naramsin | Conquered Sippar and probably Durbalati |
| | | $^{d}$Dadusha | Had relations with Assur; perhaps daughter married there |
| | | Ibalpel | Rebuilt palace |

* The absolute dates are taken from Weidner's list in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II (Heidelberg, 1925) 439–52. These reigns are, however, dated about 120 or even 170 years earlier in various publications. Shulgi's building activity in Eshnunna and the positions of Ilushuilia and Nurakhum were revealed by discoveries during the second campaign at Eshnunna.

The rulers Sharria and Belakum may be successors to Ibalpel and Ibiq-Adad II respectively, but we do not yet have enough data to justify their inclusion in the king list.

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KING LIST AND SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF ESHNUNNA AS REVEALED BY THE EXCAVATIONS—*Continued*

| Year B.C. | Babylonian Overlord | Ruler of Eshnunna | Events of the Reign |
|---|---|---|---|
| About 1950 | | dIbiq-Adad II<br>Abdiarah<br>Shiqlanum | Conquered Rapiqu (between 1955 and 1940) and probably also Dur-rudumme; rebuilt palace |
| 1924 | Hammurabi, year 31 | | Eshnunna was conquered by Hammurabi |

other use, for when turned over they were found to be inscribed. Without forestalling their ultimate publication, we may mention here that the inscription stated that Shulgi had built the temple E-sikil for a god called Tishpak, where the inscription is in Akkadian; but for Ninazu, where it is written in Sumerian. There could be no more striking confirmation of the thesis presented by Dr. Jacobsen in our first report, that Tishpak succeeded Ninazu as chief god of Eshnunna.[13]

[13] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 51–59.

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# IV

# KHAFAJE

## THE EXCAVATION

The period of activity at Khafaje was a short one, as we have explained in our Foreword, but a comparison of the old plan[1] with that shown in Figure 40 will show how much has been achieved, notwithstanding extraordinary difficulties.[2] Our first report explained that the entire complex of ruins in Khafaje was composed of plano-convex bricks. It is clear that since their shape is less regular these are even more difficult than ordinary mud bricks to distinguish from the surrounding soil. These plano-convex bricks, moreover, are used in a variety of ways; for regular bonding occurs as well as a method which Mr. Delougaz compares with the rubble filling of stone walls.[3] It must be remembered, furthermore, that all of the ruins are denuded down to the lowest courses of the buildings; that there are several periods of construction to be distinguished; that all these different structures are telescoped into a layer about 1 meter deep; and that rains and weathering have caked together the bricks and the surrounding soil, which itself consists of nothing but decayed mud bricks and does not differ in composition from the actual walls which have to be traced. From all this one may gain an approximate idea of the difficulties encountered at Khafaje. I know of no other site which illustrates more strikingly the truth that excavation in Mesopotamia, in contrast with that in other countries, consists in the art not of finding things but of recognizing them when they are found. As neither Dr. Debevoise nor Mr. Braun had had experience in this kind of work, Mr. Delougaz had to shoulder the

[1] *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 22.

[2] It will incidentally reveal also a simplification in the references, the squares being indicated and locus numbers being employed as is done in the work at Tell Asmar. A comparison of the two plans will enable the reader to insert the permanent references in the plans of our first report.

[3] In "Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 7, p. 26.

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full burden of initiating them into it and of teaching the native workmen.[4]

The danger presented by inexperienced workmen is twofold. It is obvious that they may cut away ancient walls by injudicious digging; and on a site where the remains are in any case fragmentary, even slight damage may be very serious. An example of the importance of the most meager evidence may be found in the minute remains of bitumen plaster which revealed to Dr. Preusser the presence of ornamental recesses in the outer inclosure wall.[5] On the other hand, instead of destroying evidence, a workman may carve out of the hard soil bricks or walls which were never there. To find out which of the men could be trusted, Mr. Delougaz used various stratagems. He marked an S-shaped trench and ordered the men to clean every brick in the walls which they would find there (Fig. 36). The bricks in the foreground, discovered by an experienced man, were genuine and indicated the direction in which the brickwork was laid throughout. The novice carved out bricks following the curve of his section of the S-shaped trench merely because the first bricks had lain parallel to its sides. He, of course, was henceforth assigned to carrying baskets. On another occasion, when it had been decided to solve a most difficult problem by clearing brick by brick an area of 20×30 meters, a number of circles were drawn and a man put inside each of them with the order to clean what brickwork he should find. Some of the men were completely lost and started to carve bricks parallel with the circumference. Others cleared brickwork which appeared meaningless, but which, when the widening circles were connected, linked up with lines of brickwork found elsewhere. Evidently these were the only men who had an aptitude for this kind of work. It requires a combination of sharp eyesight (to detect fine differences in the grayish brown shades of the mud and changes in the direction of the small particles of straw and grit which it sometimes contains) and a fine sense of changes of resistance experi-

[4] Fortunately we could engage some men from Tarkhalan—ancient Nuzi, near Kirkuk—who had been employed there in the excavations of the Harvard Expedition (in co-operation with the American School of Oriental Research at Baghdad), of which Mr. Delougaz had been a member before the Oriental Institute started work in Iraq. Thus some of the men were old friends whose particular abilities he knew. We were also assisted by the courtesy of Mr. R. B. Starr, field director at Tarkhalan, who sent us a detailed descriptive list of his men.

[5] See *OIC* No. 13, pp. 85 f.

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enced in digging. That this ability cannot be acquired by everyone is shown by the fact that only two of the local men whom we had tried to

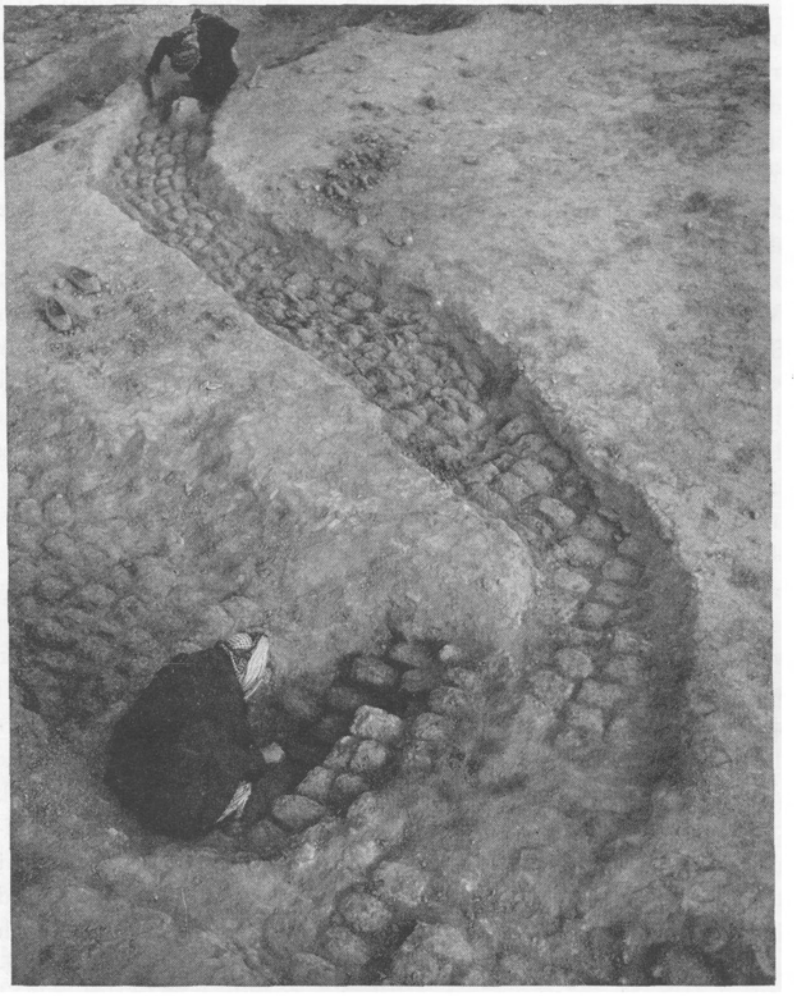


FIG. 36.—An S-shaped trench used for the training of brick-cleaners

train in the previous season were found to be reliable. The workmen themselves have a certain respect for those able to do this difficult work. They indicate a wall-tracer or brick-cleaner with the term used for mechanic or engineer—*ustādh*.

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Large picks are never employed in our excavations unless certain walls, after having been photographed and plotted, must be demolished in order to make earlier ruins accessible. The tracing of walls which have been well established as such is effected with small picks made on a model evolved at Tarkhalan (cf. p. 59, n. 4). They are of a size and weight which allow of their being used with one hand when

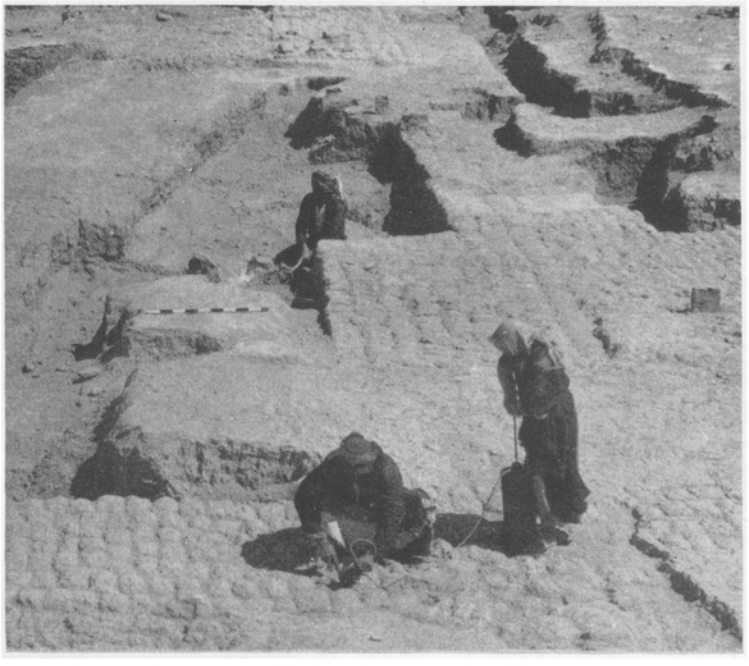


FIG. 37.—Excavating walls. The bricks on the surface are cleaned with knives and compressed air, after which the face of the wall is traced with a small pick (middle background).

necessary. The broad edge does not cut into the soil in such a way that the outlines of the bricks are obliterated but forces the earth to break away along lines separating the different grades of consistency. The actual cleaning brick by brick and the clearing of the floors of rooms etc. was done with knives. In addition we used for the first time an air-compressor, originally intended for spraying paint but found most useful in cleaning small doubtful areas, joints between bricks, or even the objects found (Figs. 37–38).

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I have described at some length the difficulties encountered at Khafaje and our methods of dealing with them, not only to do justice to the results obtained by Mr. Delougaz, but also because our experience may prove useful to others.

Much time and energy were spent on the training above outlined, and the progress of the work during that period was of necessity slow.

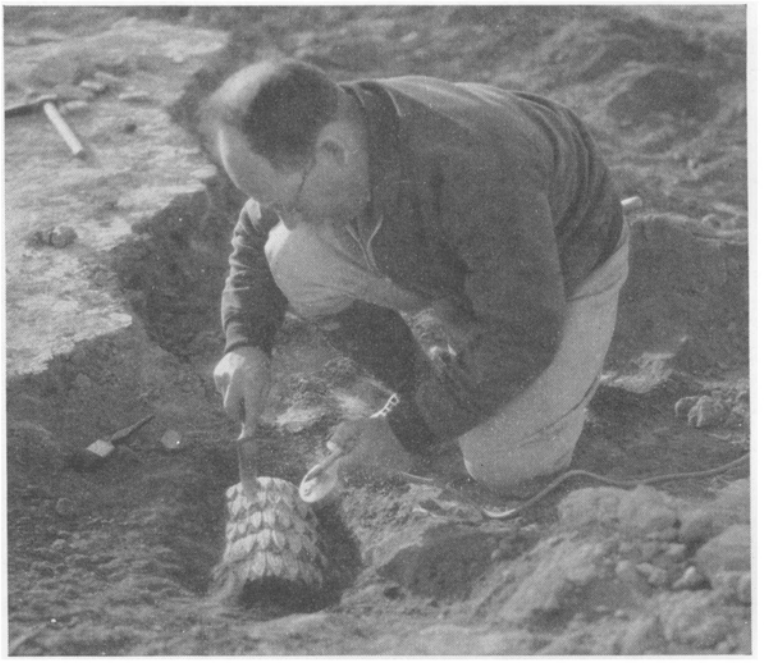


FIG. 38.—Mr. Delougaz cleaning a fragile statuette of soft stone with the aid of compressed air.

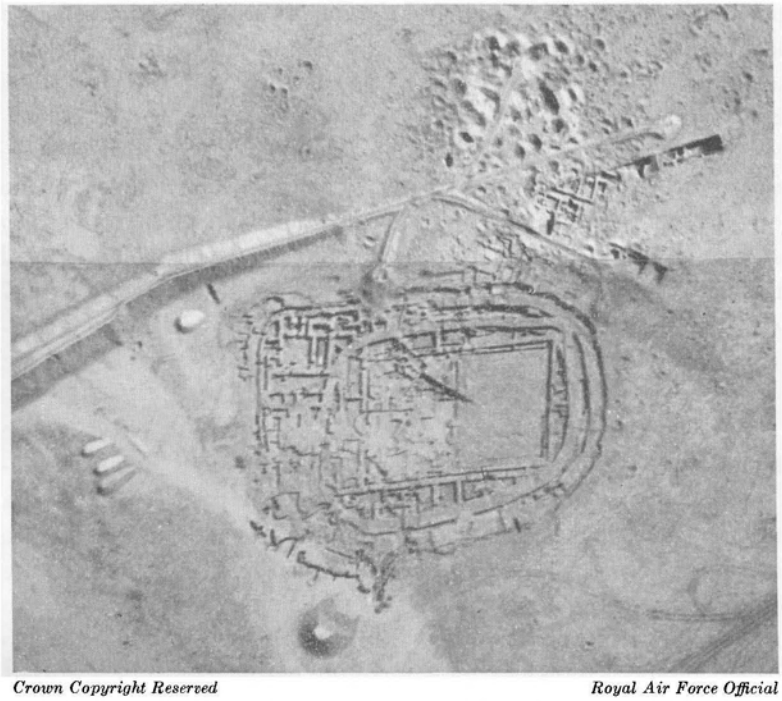
Our immediate aims were indicated by the work of the preceding season: it was necessary to complete the outline of the "oval" and to explore the area which it inclosed (Fig. 39). Only then could we think of descending into somewhat deeper layers in order to disentangle the sequence in time represented by the various remains. The earlier report has already drawn attention to the slope of the ground and the consequent disappearance of the remains of the oval inclosure wall in the southwest.[6] The situation at the western end of the oval proved to be

[6] *OIC* No. 13, p. 84.

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much more complicated than we could suspect when we started work, and we cannot even hypothetically restore its southwestern section. The clearance of the area inside the oval had been the main task of the past season. In comparing the outcome as embodied in our plan (Fig.



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FIG. 39.—Air view of the excavations at Khafaje

40) with Figure 22 of our former report, it is but fair to state that this inclosed area was not so totally untouched by excavation as our earlier plan may suggest. A trench had been dug in M 45, and the area around the brick basin in M 44 had been extensively cleared. Unfortunately this was done at the very beginning of the season when we ourselves had not mastered the precise technique required by the peculiar difficulties of the site, and of course our men were not trained in a sufficient degree. Some damage was done unwittingly. That our plan in Figure 40 appears nevertheless as complete as it does and that so

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much evidence has thus been recovered from ruins damaged by man as well as by time is entirely due to Mr. Delougaz' watchfulness and talent.

### THE TEMPLE PLATFORM

A square mass of brickwork in the eastern part of the oval inclosure appeared at the very beginning of the second season and presented a most baffling problem. Wherever we tried to descend below the surface, brickwork appeared. Then a hazardous decision was taken: we decided to clean the whole area brick by brick. Often during the succeeding weeks we held anxious conferences to discuss whether we were really entitled to spend so much money and labor on this part of the work. What if the outcome were to show merely that the wall of the inclosure contained a brick pavement a few courses thick and that all the superimposed structures were lost forever as a result of weathering? Yet each time we arrived at the same conclusion and reluctantly admitted that any other method would entail the risk of destroying evidence. The outcome fully justified the procedure.

In giving the name "temple platform" to the buttressed square which is now visible in the inclosure we do not prejudice its interpretation either as a ziggurat or as a simpler elevation upon which stood a temple such as was found in al-ʿUbaid. The diagonals are oriented to the points of the compass. The buttresses suggest that the structure rose to a considerable height, and Mr. Delougaz calculated that the longer staircase on the northwestern side of the platform ascended to a height of about 6 meters. It is therefore reasonable to believe that at this height the top of the platform was reached, unless we have to deal with a ziggurat.

Foundations of two separate staircases are seen in our plan. That they are not contemporaneous is suggested by other features of the platform. The northeastern wall consists of six buttresses measuring about 2 meters each, alternating with curtains of 3 meters. The southwestern wall has five buttresses of about 2 meters each with curtains of about 4 meters. The way in which the two systems of buttresses meet in the northwestern and southeastern walls suggests that each of these systems represents a separate period in the existence of the building. We have indicated in the plan by different methods of cross-hatching that the two staircases seem to belong one to each of the two periods

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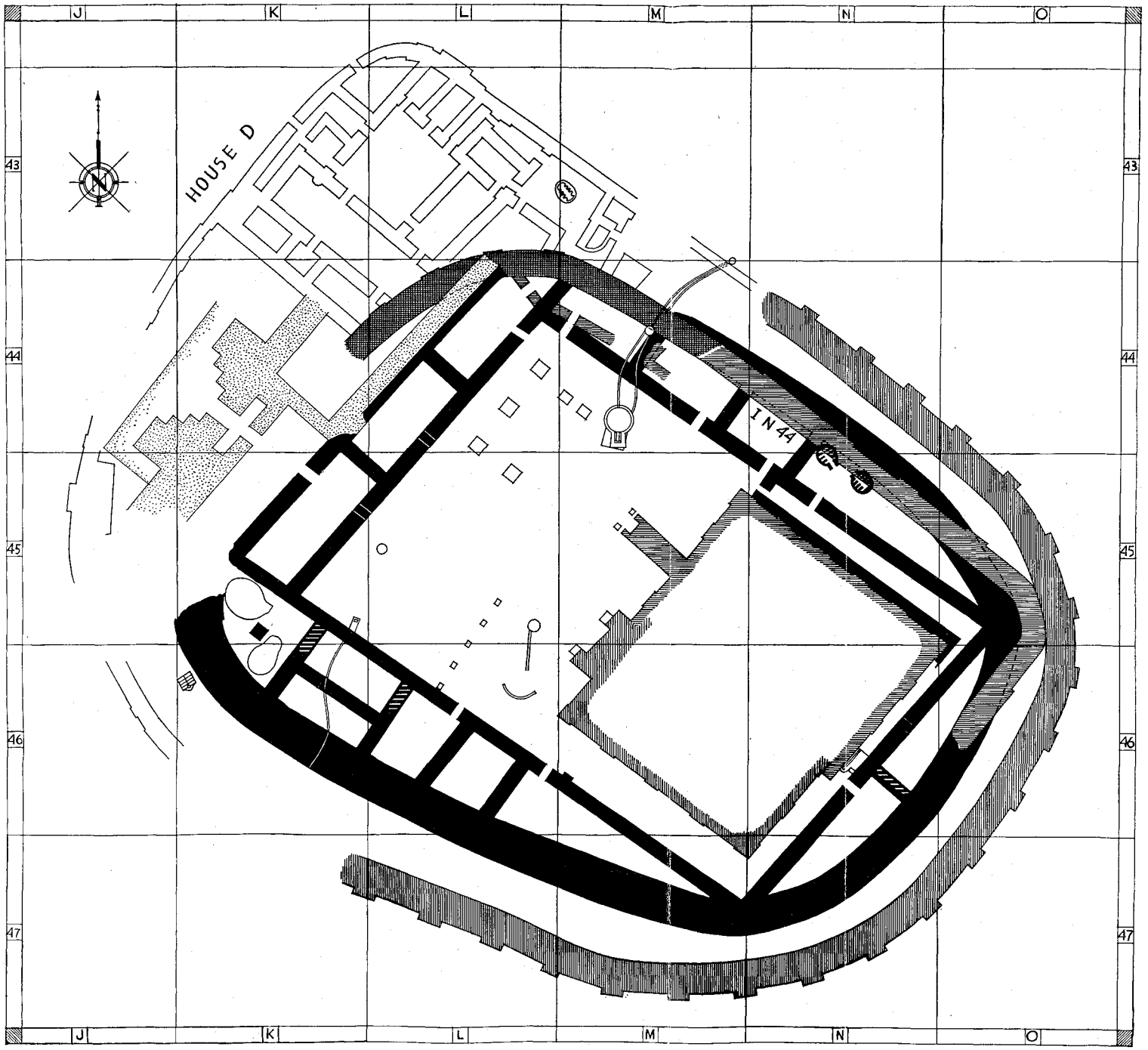



FIG. 40.—Plan of the temple inclosure at Khafaje. Scale, 1:600

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of construction. A descent into deeper layers, which is justified now that the surface remains have been completely excavated, will throw further light on this question. Already a third period, older than either



FIG. 41.—The earliest temple platform, appearing below a later platform (left); the northwest wall of the temple courtyard (right).

of those which we have been discussing, seems to be indicated by remains on the northeastern side of this platform (solid black on the plan). At first it was thought that this brickwork formed a foundation platform for the buttressed building (Fig. 41), but it appears to turn at right angles, disappearing beneath the northern corner buttress. At

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the moment there is no trace of buttresses on this earliest platform wall. As a rule, however, buttresses do not start from the actual foundation, but from a point near and above the surface of the soil; therefore we cannot be certain that the third platform was built without such support. On the plan the different crosshatchings of the inclosure walls indicate how they are, purely tentatively, connected with the periods of the temple platform.

### THE TEMPLE COURTYARD

An open courtyard lay to the northwest of the temple platform. Near the northeast wall in M 44 lies the round basin built of baked bricks and lined with bitumen which was found last year.[7] This year a basin of sun-dried bricks was found near the western corner of the platform, in L 46. Unfortunately it had been practically on the surface of the ground, and all but one row of bricks had disappeared. A little farther to the north there was an open drain laid in bitumen, connected with a pottery basin (in L 45) over 1 meter in diameter and nearly a meter deep. A line of five piles of regularly laid bricks near by may be the remains of a colonnade. Some square brick structures in the north corner of the courtyard may be interpreted in the same way. It is not yet clear to which of the different periods to be distinguished in the temple platform these subsidiary structures must be assigned. That they had a function in connection with the ritual of the temple seems probable.

Between the oval inclosure wall and the straight wall surrounding the temple courtyard and platform there is a series of rooms. Their distinctive walls (black in Fig. 40) are everywhere about 1.20 meters thick. Mr. Delougaz succeeded in tracing these walls even in the area excavated in the previous season (Fig. 42). Some of the doorways have been identified. Elsewhere we have restored them tentatively, and this is shown on the plan by white lines across the black walls (e.g., in the northwest wall of the courtyard). Restored walls are indicated by thick black crosshatching, as in the case of the double room near the west corner of the inclosure wall where a drain leaves the courtyard. Although we at first thought that there had been a gate at this point,

[7] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 70 f.

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this now seems improbable. A monumental entrance has been discovered in the northwest end of the inclosure.

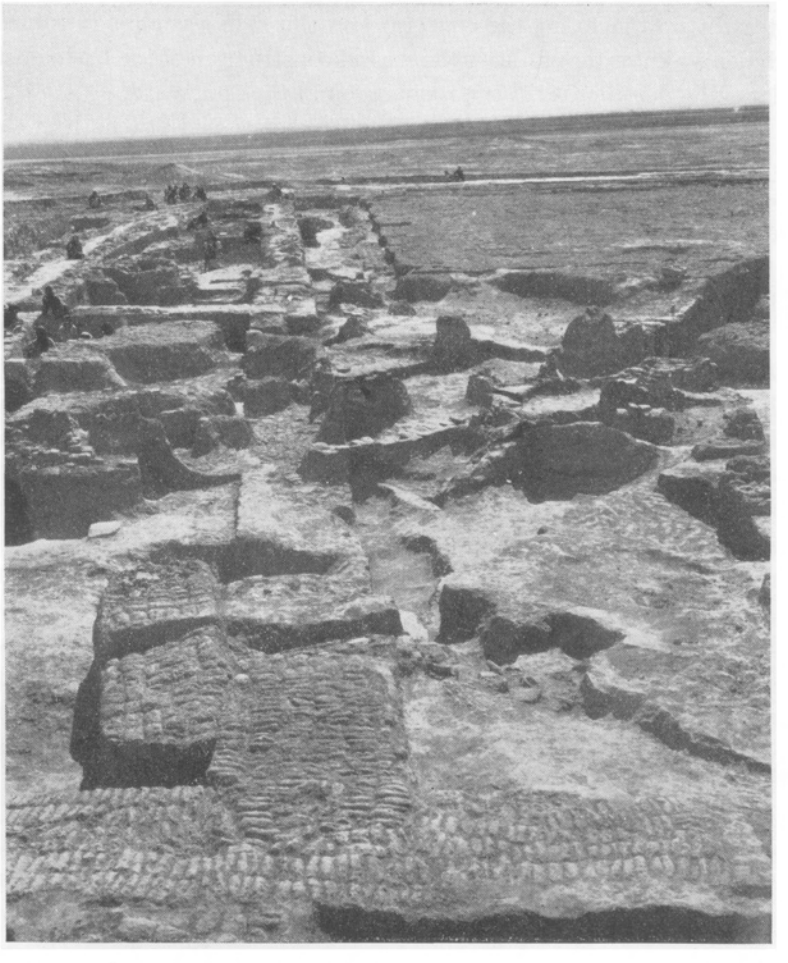


FIG. 42.—The temple platform (right background) and the northeast wall of the temple courtyard (running straight from foreground to background), on the right of which is the round basin. The oval inclosure wall shows in the left background.

At the time of the excavation of the baked brick basin in M 44 during the first season's work, it was unfortunately isolated from its surroundings (cf. Fig. 42). It was shown, however, that the basin had

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been destroyed and reconstructed.[8] The basin was connected with a drain, also of baked bricks. The drain is badly damaged, but a careful investigation in the second season revealed that it was laid when the straight wall inclosing the courtyard on this side was already ruined. Hence we know that at least the second construction of the basin postdates the destruction of the rooms around the courtyard.

One of this series of rooms, 1 N 44, was discussed at length in the previous report.[9] It is the "macehead room," which produced a number of valuable fragments of stone sculpture and maceheads in our first year's work. It now appears that the adjoining kiln was situated not on top[10] of the southeast wall of this room but beside it, so that it need not be ascribed to a later period.

There are some traces in L–M 44 of a similar series of rooms built around the court in a later period. These traces of later walls are shown with horizontal hatching on our plan. Our finds suggest that the function of these rooms was such that one would expect them to be part of each rebuilding of the temple. It was noted in last year's report that the macehead room contained only products of the stonecutter's craft. This year again we found there some maceheads and fragments of stone statuettes. The rooms on either side contained stone vases. Two large blocks of stone lying on the surface near by, which had first drawn our attention to this part of the site, appear now to belong to 1 N 44 and may represent the raw material of the stonecutters. No other class of objects was found there. In both rooms in N 46 we found pots, baskets, and sickles of flint set in bitumen (Fig. 43). Although the wooden handles had decayed, these sickles were the most nearly complete that have been found. They were lying on a fragment of a wooden box in which nail holes were plainly visible. Here, then, were the stores of perishable goods and the tools for work in the fields. The series of rooms which surround courtyard and platform seems to represent the temple storerooms and temple workshops which we know from the texts played a great part in the economic organization of the early Sumerian people.

The rooms on the southwestern side of the inclosure have been only superficially excavated. It may be that the stores and workshop of the metal-workers were there; for a few pieces of bronze and a very

[8] *OIC* No. 13, p. 71. [9] *Ibid.* p. 66 ff. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

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large copper vase were found in the vicinity of the spot where the three extraordinary copper statuettes were discovered last year.[11] The point



FIG. 43.—Flint sickles

is still unsettled, however, for the statuettes were certainly found where they had been hidden in a time of turmoil. This need not mean that they were concealed *outside* the magazine to which they belonged;

[11] In M 47. They are described in *OIC* No. 13, pp. 76 ff.

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the conditions under which some groups of maceheads were discovered prove the contrary. We must, however, keep an open mind on the subject. A raid carried out in the beginning of our first season, when a regular fusillade was directed against and replied to by our guards, was said by well informed villagers to have been instigated by Baghdad dealers. It was thought that they wished to procure some especially valuable "antikas" hidden in the ruins by their finders because they had not yet consented to accept the dealer's price. It is possible that these prizes were the copper statuettes found by Dr. Preusser.

### THE GATE

The area to the southwest of House D proved extremely difficult to excavate. Here, as in the southeast, solid masses of brickwork appeared as soon as the surface was scraped, but it was unlike the temple platform in that no uniform alignment could be observed. Fortunately the Khafaje party had by this time had the experience of cleaning some 60,000 individual plano-convex bricks. It soon appeared likely that we were dealing here with a group of various walls, dating from different periods but all razed to the surface of the plain by the action of rain, sun, and wind. A first inkling of what might be expected here was derived from a line of fragmentary baked bricks, some plano-convex, some flat, and from sherds of large pots which lay approximately in the axis of the temple platform. Working with the best men, Mr. Delougaz very carefully cleared the structure shown in Figure 44 (marked with dots in Fig. 40). This is obviously a gate leading into the temple inclosure, but we cannot yet say to which of the levels observed farther east it belongs. It is clear only that the platform upon which it was built was cut into a curved wall, faint traces of which have been found in J 46 also (outlined on the plan). Even though the relative dating of the gate is uncertain, the discovery of a structure of this type built of plano-convex bricks is astonishing; for here, two thousand years before Khorsabad was founded, we have the prototype of the fortified town gates used by the Assyrians. The Assyrians used a transverse room between the outer and the inner gate exactly as did the builders of the Sumerian temple at Khafaje, in order to insure the safety of their strongholds by creating a second line of defense. Like

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FIG. 44.—The gate, from northwest

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those of the Assyrians, the gateway at Khafaje was flanked by two protecting towers. The plan of the approach, narrowing from the front of the towers to the actual gateway itself, is not found in later times, but it occurs in the palace of Mound A at Kish,[12] which is also built of plano-convex bricks.

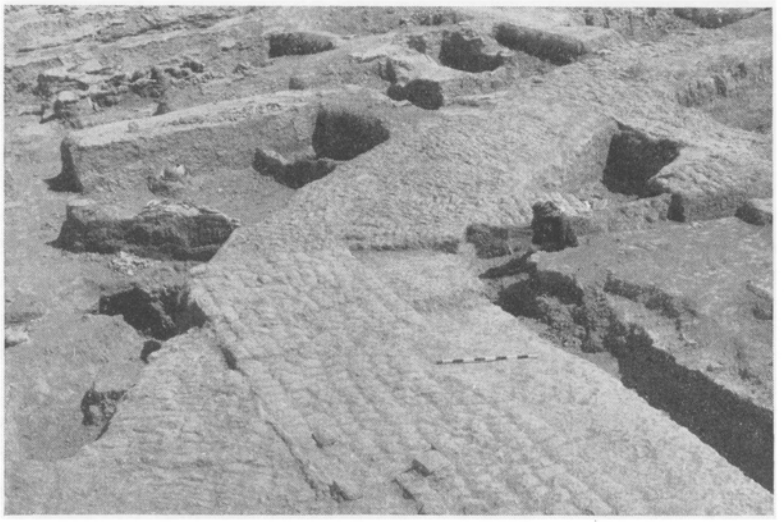


FIG. 45.—Northern half of L 44, from southwest. The earliest oval inclosure wall runs from the upper right to the lower left corner. Two rebuildings, both attempting to achieve a straight-lined plan, can be seen in the foreground, the later one of well laid bricks and the earlier one (on the right) covered with mud mortar. House D is seen in the background.

Figure 40 shows with which wall we think the gate may be connected. It is a rebuilding of the northwestern side of the inclosure, and we connect it with the gate because there is great similarity in the methods of building. This portion of wall obviously represents an attempt to straighten out the curved lines of the older walls (Fig. 45). This feature it has in common with a wall found in N 44–45 and O 45–46 (marked with horizontal hatching). Part of this wall was cleared in the first campaign and described as the "hooked wall."[13]

[12] Field Museum of Natural History, "Anthropology Memoirs" Vol. I, No. 2 (Chicago, 1929) Pl. XXII.

[13] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 86–88.

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We now call it the "straightened wall." Its course has been followed to the point where the slope of the hill brings us below the level of its foundations, and we know that the wall contains no hairpin bends. It runs straight along the northeastern and southeastern sides of the inclosure, maintaining only in its rounded corner a reminiscence of the



FIG. 46.—General view across the southeast part of the excavations, showing from left to right the oval "outer inclosure wall," the late straightened wall, the wall of the temple courtyard, and the temple platform.

earlier stages of the building's history (Fig. 46). This wall represents the latest period which we can trace by architectural remains in the eastern part of the oval. We do not know whether the gate, which represents the latest period traceable in the west, belongs to the same structure. In order not to include hypotheses in our plan, we have given different markings to these two groups.

We cannot end our discussion of the gate without mentioning some minute fragments of inscribed stone vases which were found above it. Two of these are shown in Figure 47. In one case Dr. Jacobsen has ingeniously completed a dedicatory inscription of Rimush, king of Kish

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and successor of Sargon of Akkad.[14] These fragments were discovered in the layer of potsherds and flat baked bricks which extended through K 44–45 and L 45, overlying the gate. The latter was therefore pre-Sargonid. It is tantalizing that the buildings of Sargonid date, if any,

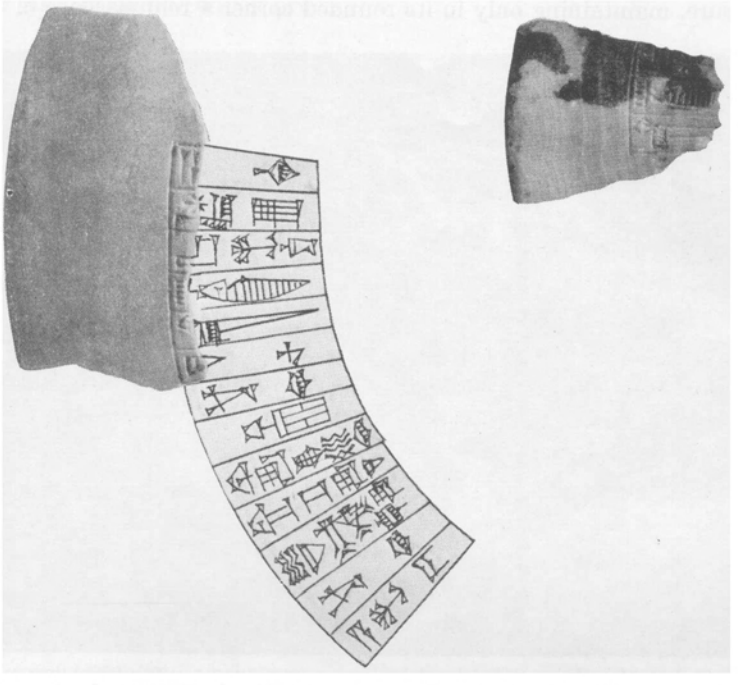


FIG. 47.—Fragments of inscribed stone vases. Dr. Jacobsen has restored the inscription of the fragment first found.

have entirely d'sappeared; but we now hope that work in other parts of the site may reveal the relations of Khafaje with the kings of Akkad.

## OTHER REMAINS

A few remarks may be added concerning other conspicuous features either in the plan or in last year's report. It has been ascertained in M 44, N 44–45, and O 45–46 that the "inner inclosure wall"[15] (solid black) underlies the straightened wall (horizontal hatching) which

[14] University of Pennsylvania, *Babylonian Expedition* Ser. A, Vol. I, Pl. 4.

[15] I am quoting "inner inclosure wall" and "outer inclosure wall" because it is expedient to continue to refer to them in this way in connection with the plan; but it seems quite certain that they were never simultaneously in use.

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represents the latest stage of reconstruction traceable in this part of the ruins. Dr. Preusser believed that he could distinguish two building periods even in the earlier wall,[16] and Mr. Delougaz has received the same impression from a variety of indications which he will follow up in the coming season.

The "outer inclosure wall" seems not to have been entirely ruined when the straightened wall (formerly called the "hooked wall") was built, for the latter touches its inner face at the corner without cutting into it. At this point we obtain therefore a succession in time of "inner inclosure wall," "outer inclosure wall," and straightened wall. As we have said, we can tentatively correlate these periods with the three periods observed in the temple platform, and this we have indicated by corresponding hatchings on the plan (Fig. 40).

It now remains to connect these three periods with the remains farther to the north and west. This will be a complicated problem. A little evidence bearing on it has been discovered during this season. In N 44 Mr. Delougaz observed a difference in color which led him to a minute investigation of the "outer inclosure wall" at this spot. The bricks of this wall are generally carelessly made and contain ashes and potsherds which give them a dark gray color; but, from a certain point in N 44 toward the northwest, they appear to be made of a very pure clay. They are also the largest plano-convex bricks so far discovered, measuring 22×31 cm. with a thickness of 10–12 cm. Perhaps a breach had to be filled here in connection with the erection of House D. It is probable that fragments of the "outer inclosure wall" have been recovered in J 45 and J 46, but here again connecting links are needed before we can be certain.

A leveling instrument was, of course, in constant use throughout the excavations;[17] but a mechanical comparison of levels, never very conclusive, is particularly misleading at Khafaje. At present the ground slopes downward from east to west, but in ancient times there seems to have been a slope toward the river, that is, from southeast to northwest. As long as we have insufficient data as to the exact slope of the ancient soil, we cannot of course reduce the absolute figures obtained with our level to such as may enable us to relate contemporaneous remains not actually connected.

[16] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 65 f.

[17] Cf. *OIC* No. 13, p. 60.

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House D, hardly touched this year, awaits further investigation. The narrow outer wall in K 43 was traced in K 44 and J 44. Its inner buttresses are as yet inexplicable. House D was built against the "inner inclosure wall" (cf. Fig. 45), but inside there was an accumulation of rubbish including several floor levels. Traces of the fire by which the house was eventually destroyed are evident in the uppermost of these. The work carried out here in the rooms adjoining the inclosure walls, added to the evidence of at least three building periods in the temple inclosure itself, convinces us that the period during which plano-convex bricks were used was long enough to deserve a designation of its own. The label "pre-Sargonid," with which the advocates of a shortening of the usual chronology for this period seem to be satisfied, is inadequate.

### SOME OBJECTS FOUND

The beads shown in Figure 48 were found partly inside, partly outside, a grave in 3 M 44 (the northwest room in M 44), the only one discovered within the temple inclosure. Without doubt the burial belonged to one of the two earlier periods heretofore distinguished, for it was below the eastern end of a later wall (cf. Fig. 40). The grave measured 1.00×.60 meters and was lined with mats. It had evidently been robbed in antiquity, before the building of the thin wall above it. It contained some very fragmentary remains of a skeleton, a few pieces of pottery, and some rock crystal and alabaster beads. These were distinctive enough to make it certain that the curious beads found in the immediate vicinity were dropped there by the ancient tomb robbers.

A fragment of a relief scene in green stone (Fig. 49) is more archaic in style than the extraordinary plaque[18] recovered in 1930/31 by Dr. Preusser, but this piece is no less remarkable. The convention in which the hair and beards of the men is rendered corresponds with that used on archaic monuments of Lagash and Nippur. The sheepskin skirts are not suggested in the usual way, by a series of conventionalized tassels, but are roughly incised. The scene itself, compared with last season's plaque, is much less rich in motives. The upper and lower registers seem both to have contained representations of a feast and the two squares on either side of the central hole to have contained as usual the bringing of food and drink. The servant on our fragment

[18] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 95–98.

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carries a pile of loaves on his head and a "Tigris salmon" of respectable size over his shoulder .

The fine head in Figure 50 represents a type as definitely Sumerian as any of the early heads from other Mesopotamian sites. But the style in which it is carved is entirely different from that of Sumerian sculpture. I do not refer here to the absence of inlay in the eyes and eyebrows; for this statuette was carved not in alabaster but in hard green

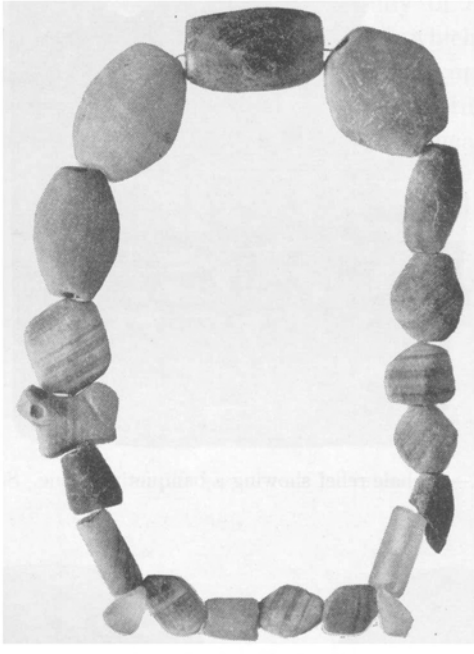


FIG. 48.—Alabaster and rock crystal beads from a grave. Scale, 1:2

stone. There is a much less external and therefore more convincing differentiation. If we observe the muscles around the mouth and eyes we see at once that they are modeled with a sensitiveness, with a feeling for texture and for the distinction to the touch of flesh and bone, which is absent in the more abstract art of Sumer proper. The difference which we here observe can be matched by a comparison of Akkadian and Sumerian cylinder seals (cf. pp. 40–46). This head was found in the layers of débris from which the vase fragments inscribed with the name of Rimush were derived. There are therefore two ways to explain its curious features: it is either a piece of Sargonid date, and

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FIG. 49.—Archaic relief showing a banqueting scene. Scale, 1:2

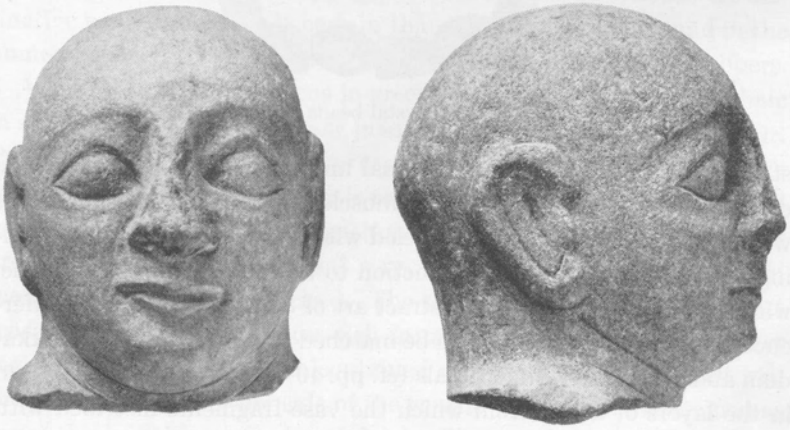


FIG. 50.—Head of green stone

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the Sumerian features of the head are due to the racial peculiarities of the sitter, or it is a piece of pre-Sargonid date made by an artist (presumably of Akkadian race) who represented the school which was to become predominant in the country after the hegemony of the dynasty of Akkad was established. Already we find evidence accumulating that in the country of Eshnunna the Akkadian tradition survived much more strongly than in the rest of Mesopotamia. We may also refer in this connection to Dr. Jacobsen's study of the name of Warum.[19] At the moment it must remain uncertain which explanation of this remarkable head is correct. But it is entirely appropriate to conclude an account of the work at Khafaje by formulating a problem of importance in the confident expectation that the near future will provide its solution.

[19] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 43 f.

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# V

# KHORSABAD

## THE SITE

An account of our excavations at Khorsabad was omitted from the first preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition[1] because of lack of space. It is the more necessary to include that account here, since, at the moment, it represents the only investigation of a purely Assyrian site in Iraq. Early in 1929 Dr. Chiera, as leader of the Khorsabad Expedition, had begun excavation there. In a brilliantly conducted campaign he had rescued what we have good reason to believe to be the best preserved of the reliefs in Sargon's palace. It only remained for the larger Iraq Expedition, into which the Khorsabad Expedition was merged, to discover by what methods fresh information could be gained.

The five members of the newly organized Iraq Expedition met in Baghdad about Christmas, 1929. Though much time was spent that winter in travel and in reconnoitring for a concession in the south and later in preparing for quarters and work there, we managed to maintain excavation in the older Oriental Institute concession at Khorsabad from January 26 to April 9, 1930. At the end of our second season (1930/31) Mr. Delougaz, Dr. and Mrs. Jacobsen, Mr. Loud, and Miss Levy worked in Khorsabad for several weeks. While reconnoitring further in the city, they had to remove and pack the slabs which had been found in Room 7 of the palace during the previous season. In the season of 1931/32 Mr. Loud, assisted by Mr. Darby, excavated at Khorsabad from February 15 to April 9.

Sargon built his new capital, Dur Sharrukin, about fifteen miles northeast of Nineveh, the most important city of the empire and, until the time of Sargon, its capital. Dur Sharrukin was almost square (Fig. 51), having sides about a mile long. On the northwest side is an artificial hill upon which Sargon's palace was built. This palace was excavated completely in the middle of the last century by a Frenchman, Victor Place, who worked for four years on the site under ap-

[1] *OIC* No. 13.

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palling difficulties. He was probably the best excavator of his generation. He showed an intelligent interest in the ruins as he found them, and did not ransack them for sculptures and tablets. In fact,

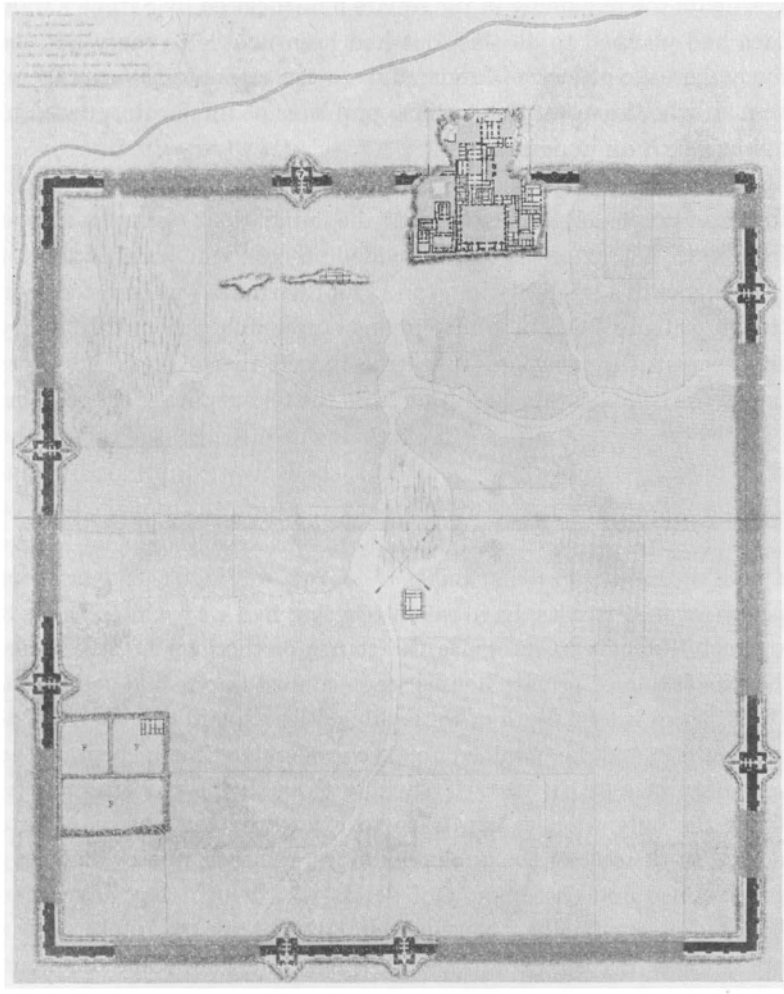


FIG. 51.—Plan of the city and palace of Khorsabad (Dur Sharrukin), after Place

his results need only to be corrected in what must be considered minor points when we remember the totality of his achievement. Yet such corrections are of considerable importance from a modern scientific point of view, and therefore our investigations in the palace were di-

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rected toward such points as the existing plan showed to be of vital consequence.

In addition to the work in the palace it was obviously our duty to investigate the remainder of the square mile inclosed by Sargon's wall. Place had planned to do this, but had been unable to carry out the scheme because of lack of funds; and we can estimate the courage of the man who, knowing the peculiar problems of these ruins, dared to envisage such an undertaking.

Sargon built his capital on a site where at most only a village, Maganuba, had previously existed, so that the foundations rest upon almost virgin soil. The lie of the land provided no economic justification for the existence of a large city here, and Dur Sharrukin was deserted soon after its founder's death. Such circumstances would seem to simplify the process of excavation. It is true indeed that Khorsabad offers none of the complications resulting from the telescoping of the remains of successive periods, such as have taken so conspicuous a part in the preceding chapters of this report. But the heavy rains which distinguish the Kurdish winters from those of the south have played havoc with the ruins. Massive public buildings have collapsed into large mounds of sun-dried bricks; and these, soaked through each winter for twenty-seven centuries, have caked together in a way which makes it extremely difficult to recognize the course of the ancient structures. The excavation of private houses seems almost impossible because so little of them is left. Both of these difficulties explain why at Khorsabad results cannot be obtained unless considerable time is spent on the excavation of a single area. Trenching through the modern cultivation is the only way we can hope to locate the remains of private houses. In the case of the public buildings, the scale upon which they were planned and the amount of débris with which they have been filled and covered render considerable labor necessary before even a part of them becomes comprehensible. In addition, since our main task lies in Eshnunna, we have been able to devote only the ends of our seasons, when sand storms and heat drove us from Tell Asmar, to the work at Khorsabad. Thus the results obtained there are fragmentary; but that they do not lack interest and importance the following pages will show.

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## THE TOWN

During our first season (1929/30) we excavated Place's Gate 7 (Figs. 51–52), to the southwest of the palace hill, because it was the only town gate not touched by our French predecessor and therefore it offered a good opportunity to test the accuracy of his work. At the same time, since we knew from Place's plans of the other gates what to expect, it was a favorable place in which to start work with a staff in need of experience.

In a literal sense the inhabitants had to "go up" to the gate, for its level was well above that of the city and of the land outside the walls. Enough was left of the vault of the outer gate to make reconstruction



FIG. 52.—Town Gate 7 (right foreground) before excavation. In the background is the hill upon which the ruins of Sargon's palace are visible.

possible (Figs. 53–54). It was whitewashed inside, as was all of the outer and inner brickwork. That the gate chamber had been roofed in and was not an open court was established by a scrutiny of traces of decayed fibrous remains which turned up among the masses of fallen brickwork. Some of the fibers were white, others black; occasionally there were clear traces of red paint adhering to them. Their structure often showed the grain of wood; at other times, the texture of matting. Some of the pieces measured as much as 75 cm. across. The remains of mats sometimes showed a convex surface, produced presumably by their sagging under the weight of superimposed layers. The most satisfactory reconstruction leads us to assume that roofing beams were placed about 26 cm. apart and were covered with mats. Upon these a layer of mud was placed, then more mats, and another layer of mud. This was covered with either the tamped mud forming the floor of a

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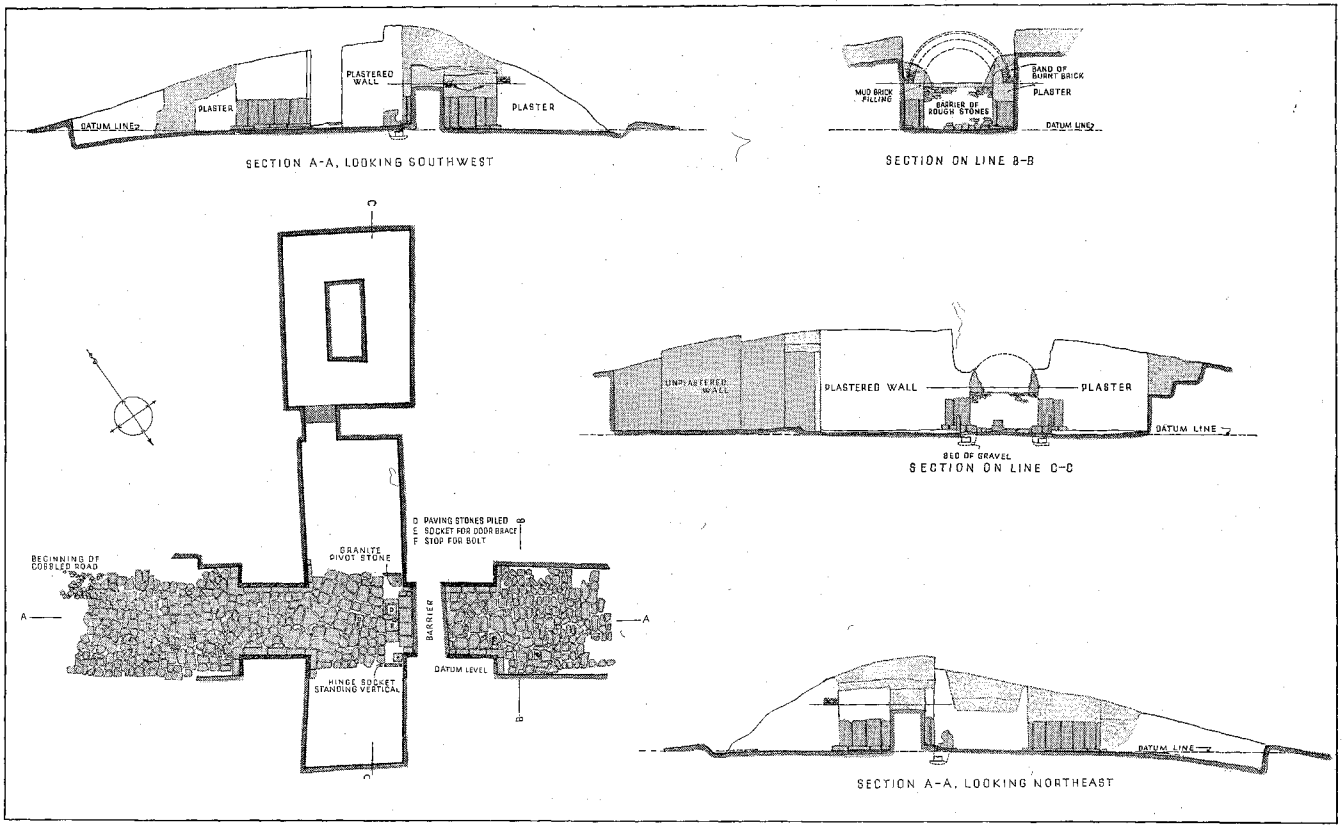



FIG. 53.—Plan and cross-sections of Gate 7. Scale, 1:500

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second-story room or with mud bricks. The beams together with the mats which were laid directly upon them formed the actual ceiling of the gate chamber and were painted red. To the south of the gate chamber there was a room which contained a ramp leading up to the second story and giving access to the towers protecting the gate and to the top of the walls and their battlements. The gateway was lined with strong slabs of stone standing on end, a scheme recalling the Hittite methods of building. A stone pavement of irregular slabs led through the gate, and a small projecting base protected the dado slabs against damage from bumping carts. On the town side this pavement



FIG. 54.—Gate 7 as seen from the town side

was connected with another of small cobbles, the pavement of the streets.

These discoveries alone add to the information contained in Place's plans sufficient new details to reward our labor at the gate. We have yet to refer to the observation of another fact of considerable general interest. We found that the gateway was blocked with stones (Fig. 54). This was not a makeshift after theft or removal of the wooden doors, for the latter had never been put into place. Two paving blocks were piled neatly behind the barrier. Two more blocks, one on each side, stood on edge (only one shows in Fig. 54). The latter were cut out on one side, ready to be let down over the pivot stones and closed around the pivots of the doors when these were put into place (Fig. 55). But the pivot stones showed no signs of wear. They had never

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been used at all. The explanation of this extraordinary situation is to be found in the failure of Sargon's attempt to change the political geography of Assyria by transferring the capital from Nineveh to

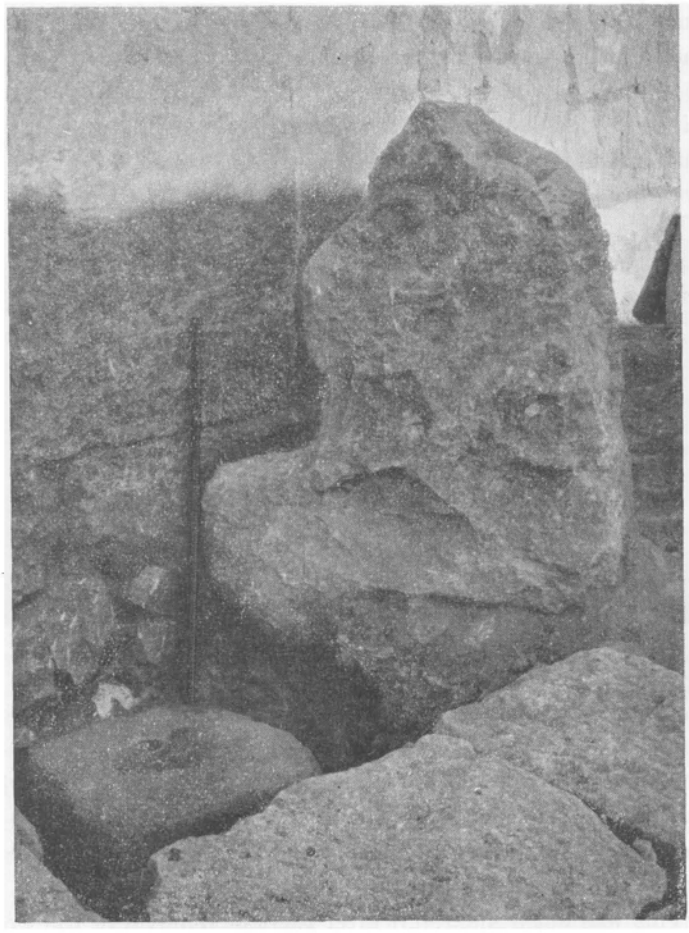


FIG. 55.—One of the pivot stones of Gate 7, with a paving slab standing on edge

Dur Sharrukin. After Sargon's death in 705 B.C. Sennacherib immediately moved the capital back to Nineveh. It seems probable that most of Sargon's subjects, unless their attendance upon the king was obligatory, had been too closely connected with the old capital by family

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and business ties to follow their ruler. Thus it came about that large areas within the walls of Dur Sharrukin were never built upon, and the seven gates with which Sargon equipped his town walls were far in excess of the demands made by traffic. That we found no trace of houses behind the gate which we excavated evidently explains why the gate itself was blocked.

During the same winter (1929/30) and the next two seasons we made trial excavations in various places within the town. The hill near the palace, actually lying a little more toward the southeast than mapped by Place, was tested first and appeared to contain a public building; some of the bricks bore the royal stamp, and one of them bore a square imprint showing the figure of a bull. A few rooms were cleared, but a continuation of the work is required before any account of these ruins can be given.

The building which Place marked F on his map (Fig. 51) was tested during our second season (1930/31). We believe that his plan of the site was drawn after his return to Paris, since that assumption would explain some slight inaccuracies which it contains. In his plan Building F is turned 90° counterclockwise. It does not lie entirely within the city wall, but extends outside as well as inside (Fig. 56; cf. Fig. 51). It appears to be a public building, perhaps connected with the city defense, but this is a mere guess based on its situation astride the city wall and near one of the town gates. We made soundings all over this area, which measures 200 by 300 meters. Stamped bricks and an inscribed prism of Sargon were found here. A series of three rooms provided with costly stone pavements was uncovered. As the floor level is at several points from 5 to 6 meters below the surface, it is obvious that only further work can yield results of value. It should be recorded, however, that the excellence of the architecture and the very dimensions of this building make it appear a most promising site for excavation as soon as sufficient time can be devoted to its clearance.

Toward the end of the 1931/32 season we investigated two areas within the town. We wished to obtain some information upon Assyrian private houses, an unknown quantity from the excavator's point of view. Since we knew from our work near Gate 7 that large areas within the town were never inhabited and had found that all considerable elevations of the soil proved when tested to contain pub-

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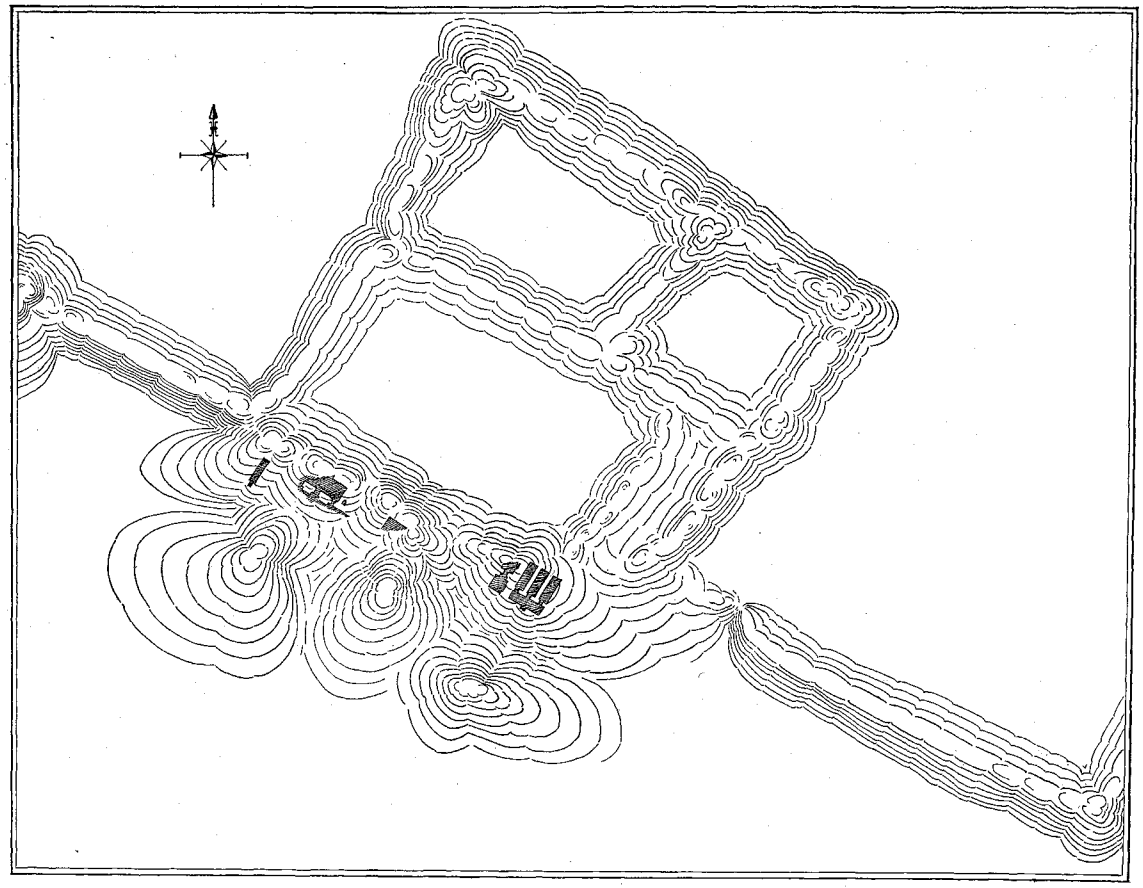


FIG. 56.—Sketch plan of Building F. Scale, 1:4000

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lic buildings, it was necessary to take into account other than surface indications when searching for the dwellings of the residents of Dur Sharrukin. Now two parts of the city should have been inhabited, if any: first, the southeastern quarter of the town, for that was situated immediately behind the gate of entry for those coming from Nineveh, only 15 miles distant; and second, the area near the palace itself. Walks through plowed fields which now cover the city (cf. Fig. 52) showed potsherds intermingled with the soil in both these areas. We started trenches where the sherds were most thickly strewn.

The southern trial trench revealed the existence of walls founded on layers of stones and large pebbles, but the floor of the building seemed to be almost level with the surface. Since the soil is regularly plowed and sown every spring, it is questionable whether a continuation of this excavation would reveal anything of value. However, we plan to resume work here, though it already seems fairly certain that we are again in a public building, constructed with stone doorsills and stamped bricks bearing Sargon's imprint.

My skepticism as to our chance of finding the private houses of Dur Sharrukin is strengthened by the disclosures of three trial trenches which we dug between Gate 1 and the palace. Two of them reached virgin soil without revealing even the faintest trace of houses, though the ground contained potsherds throughout its depth of about 2 meters. The third trench brought us to a definite layer of ashes and potsherds at a depth of about 2 meters, but no walls nor even a hearth, grain mill, or other indication of continuous occupation were discovered. It may well be that such private houses as there were have left scarcely a trace. Stone blocks and pebbles used in their construction would have been fetched away in course of time by the inhabitants of the small villages which (but for the short duration of Sargon's whim) have existed here from earliest times and survive today under the names of Khorsabad, Barima, Faddhiliya, and so on. The remaining heaps of mud brick would have been so small that centuries of regular plowing would have leveled them with the surrounding plain. Yet near the palace there are traces of large walls which seem to inclose an area within the city wall. We know that Sargon used a considerable amount of forced labor in the building of his capital—captives and colonists from other parts of

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the empire. Was an encampment of such laborers inclosed within these walls near the palace? It is obvious that the accommodation for the laborers would have been much more ramshackle than that of even the poorest burghers of Dur Sharrukin and that a layer containing ashes and potsherds might well be all that remains of it today. The problem is so interesting that we are by no means inclined to desist from our search for more definite information.

### SARGON'S PALACE

Two parts of the palace were excavated during the first season (Fig. 57): the small square room (No. 7) where we knew that Place's predecessor, Botta, had found some reliefs showing very exceptional representations, and the large space (Court VII in Place's plan) which was shown by its three gates, elaborately decorated with winged human-headed bulls, to be of special importance.

Although the clearance of a space of the size of Court VII involved a considerable expenditure of labor and though no reliefs, except one interesting fragment (Fig. 58), were found intact, we were well repaid by our results. For we had discovered nothing less than Sargon's throne room. There was sufficient evidence of decayed beams to prove that the room had been covered over and was not a court, as Place reported it to be. The patterns decorating the plaster laid over the beams and also patterns of the colored plaster which had apparently covered the upper parts of the walls, above the row of relief slabs, have been studied, copied, and restored in color by Mr. Loud and form an entirely new contribution to our knowledge of Assyrian architectural decoration.

The throne room can best be understood from a comparison of Figure 59 with Figure 57. On the left in Figure 59 is the central entrance from Court VIII. The white stone fragment still standing is a portion of one of a pair of relatively small human-headed bulls which formed the sides of the entrance. The colossal bull now in Chicago stood immediately outside this gateway. The wall running toward the foreground was originally covered with sculptured slabs which have now disappeared. Beyond the central entrance one sees a pavement of baked bricks, which may be a secondary feature of this room, and traces of another entrance into the court. A third entrance is just

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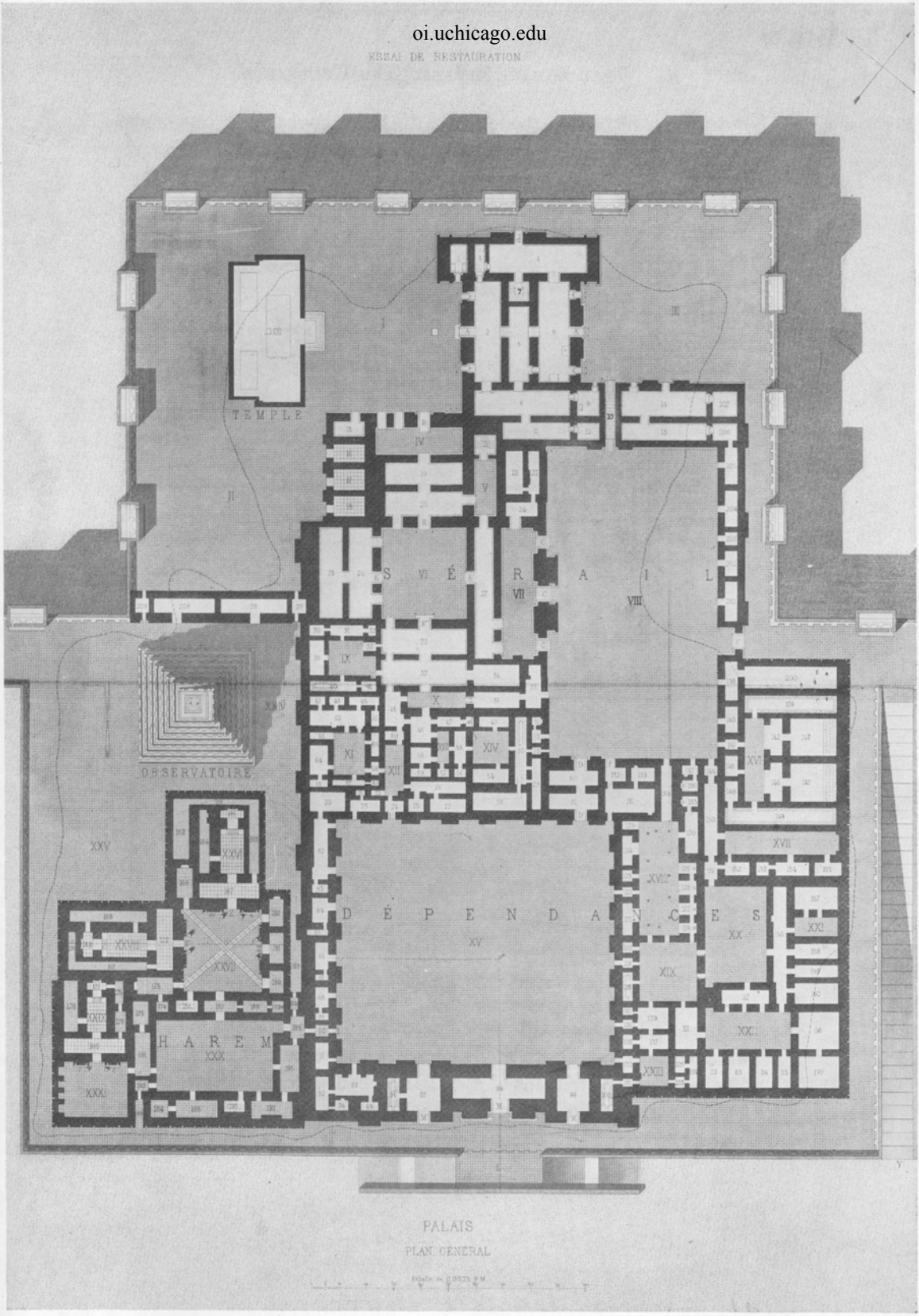



FIG. 57.—Restored plan of Sargon's palace, after Place

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outside our picture on the left. On the right, opposite the central entrance, are traces of stone against the mud brick wall. These are re-



FIG. 58.—Fragment of a sculptured slab in the throne room, showing Assyrian soldiers towing a boat during a campaign against Merodachbaladan, mentioned in the cuneiform text above the figures.



FIG. 59.—The throne room in Sargon's palace, from northwest

mains of a huge monolith, 6 meters wide and perhaps 8 meters high, which formed a shallow niche in the wall. In the background of Figure 59 are shown the remains of a similar monolithic niche, before which lies an enormous monolithic base for the throne. This base, now badly

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damaged, measured originally 4×5 meters and was almost 1.50 meters thick. The sides of the throne base are sculptured. On the west side appear Sargon's archers attacking a mountain city. On the other side the king halts his chariot on the battlefield above the body of a fallen enemy, while officers pile up before him a pyramid of heads (Fig. 60). A pavement of stone slabs measuring 2×4 meters each, laid through the middle of the room and surrounded by a tamped-mud floor, led up to the throne (Fig. 59).

The positions of the two niches show an interesting mixture of cultural influences. Professor Andrae has studied, in a most fascinating work,[2] the differences between the northern people inhabiting Assyria and the Babylonians in the south, in so far as such differences become manifest in their architecture. He has shown that, notwithstanding the fact that the culture of the north stood under the strongest southern influence, it retained certain features of a special northern character. In a Babylonian temple, which is derived from a southern type of dwelling, the heightened niche which harbors the statue of the god faces the entrance. In Assyria the plan of the sanctuary is based on the plan of a northern house, where the master and his guests sit round a hearth removed as far as possible from the entrance. Now for the first time we find evidence that the contrast between the north and the south, which is reflected in the primitive houses and in the sanctuaries (the dwellings of the gods), holds good also for the throne room of the divine king. In the Neo-Babylonian palaces discovered at Babylon the king's throne is found facing the entrance in a room corresponding exactly in shape and position with the throne room at Khorsabad. In Sargon's throne room, however, the niche facing the entrance was empty. The throne was before the other niche, at the end of the room, in a place corresponding with the position of the god's statue in a northern temple. The strip of stone paving running from the central entrance to the throne emphasizes the exclusive importance of the throne.

Another feature identifies the enthronement of the king with the epiphany of the god. Mr. Loud, in making the plan of the throne room and studying it in great detail, discovered that two small flights of steps gave access to the throne base, not as one might expect at the

[2] *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1930) chap. i.

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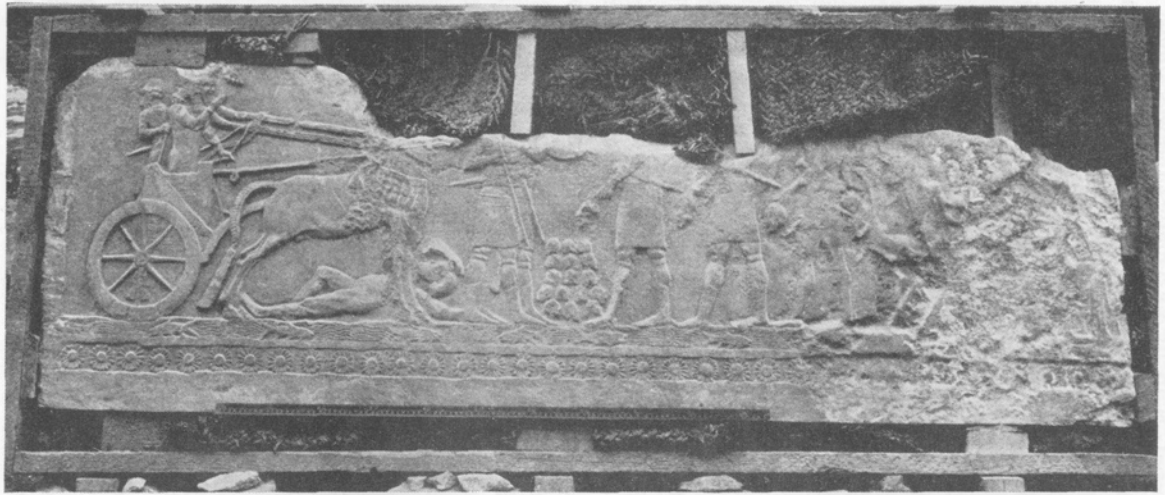


FIG. 60.—Relief on one side of the throne base, showing Sargon after a battle

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center but at each front corner. In one of the temples excavated in 1931/32 the same arrangement was found (cf. Fig. 66).

Before we turn to the excavation of the temples, however, we must mention the work in the small room (No. 7) where the unusual hunting scenes copied by Botta could no longer be left in moist soil. Our earlier experience had sufficed to show that the damage caused during the last eighty years by rain and by the lime-burners of the surrounding

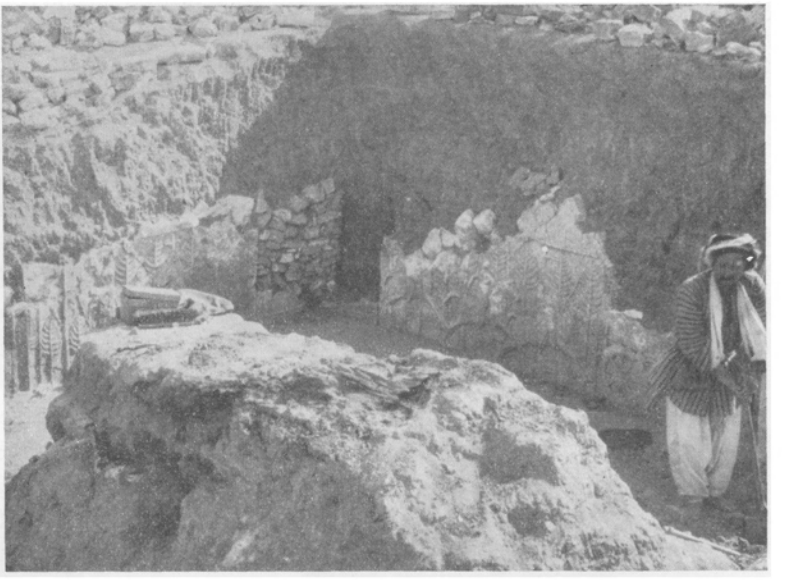


FIG. 61.—Damaged reliefs in Room 7. On the pile in the center are remains of a roofing beam and fragments of painted plaster.

villages far surpassed any injury incurred during the previous period (nearly 2,600 years) since the palace was deserted. The state in which we found Room 7, however, exceeded our worst expectations. Where Botta had observed a lower row of scenes completely intact, with a band of inscriptions separating it from an upper row of reliefs, we found that not only the upper row but even the band of inscriptions had partly disappeared, partly decayed, and partly collapsed, and that the lower row of scenes also was sadly damaged (Fig. 61). During the few weeks of work in 1930/31 these slabs were taken down and packed by Mr. Delougaz—an extremely ticklish undertaking since they were

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cracked all over as the result of a conflagration in the northern part of the palace. While occupied with this work, Mr. Delougaz made two very interesting discoveries. He found that the relief slabs were backed and supported by rough stones in a manner which suggested to him that they were erected before the walls were built. The facing of the walls was thus erected before the walls themselves. This procedure is less paradoxical than it seems, for it was certainly simpler to build



FIG. 62.—Sculptor's trial piece. Scale, 3:5

mud brick walls around the sculptured slabs than to move several tons of finely sculptured stone into place inside a comparatively small room without doing any damage. As in Egypt, the slabs of stone were first put into place and then carved on front and back, a long inscription covering the backs of the slabs. Among the stones backing the reliefs was found a remarkable head (Fig. 62), carved perhaps in an interval of leisure when the sculptor sought diversion. He never intended to finish it, for the stone is not large enough to accommodate the other side of the face; but the carving and modeling show a spon-

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taneity which is commonly absent from the official sculpture of the period.

Another portion of the palace which required investigation was the part which Place called the harem. Andrae had concluded on the evidence of the plans that it was not the harem but a complex of temples. This supposition was confirmed by our excavations during the season of 1931/32.

Working on the northwest side of the large court, No. XXVII (cf. Fig. 57), Mr. Loud struck the tunnels in which Place had traced the walls and made many of his most startling discoveries. Though Place's energy and ingenuity must have been truly astonishing, it is quite comprehensible that certain small details in the decoration of the façades of this court escaped his notice. His drawings are correct in the main features, but the actual ruins show that the buildings were even more gorgeously decorated with pilasters and recesses than he discovered.

The doorsill at the entrance to the large complex to the northwest of Court XXVII showed that we were indeed dealing with a temple, for it was inscribed with a prayer to Sin the moon god. Two other large temples were dedicated to Shamash the sun god and to Ningal, Sin's spouse. Three small temples were dedicated to Adad the storm god, Ninurta the god of war, and Ea the god of water and wisdom. The temple to Nabu, mentioned in the inscriptions, is not found here; but it is likely that Dur Sharrukin contained other temples besides those situated in the palace.

An attempt in the past to move the enormous monolithic doorsill of the Sin temple had been abandoned when the great stone cracked (Fig. 63). On each side of the gigantic doorsill there is an oblong platform faced with glazed bricks which have suffered terribly from weathering. In some places the original freshness of the color is preserved, in others the blue has turned white or the glaze has actually flaked off the bricks. Yet no photograph can give the rich effect that even the miserable remains of color produce. The much stylized designs, showing a series of divine symbols (lion, eagle, bull, fig tree, and grain seeder), were copied by Place. Since these are the earliest glazed brick tableaux of which we know, we are removing the two which are comparatively complete, for we feel confident that in the laboratories of Baghdad and Chicago these unique monuments can be restored so as to give us some

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idea of their original splendor. That the safe removal of material so fragile is a task of considerable magnitude need hardly be stressed.

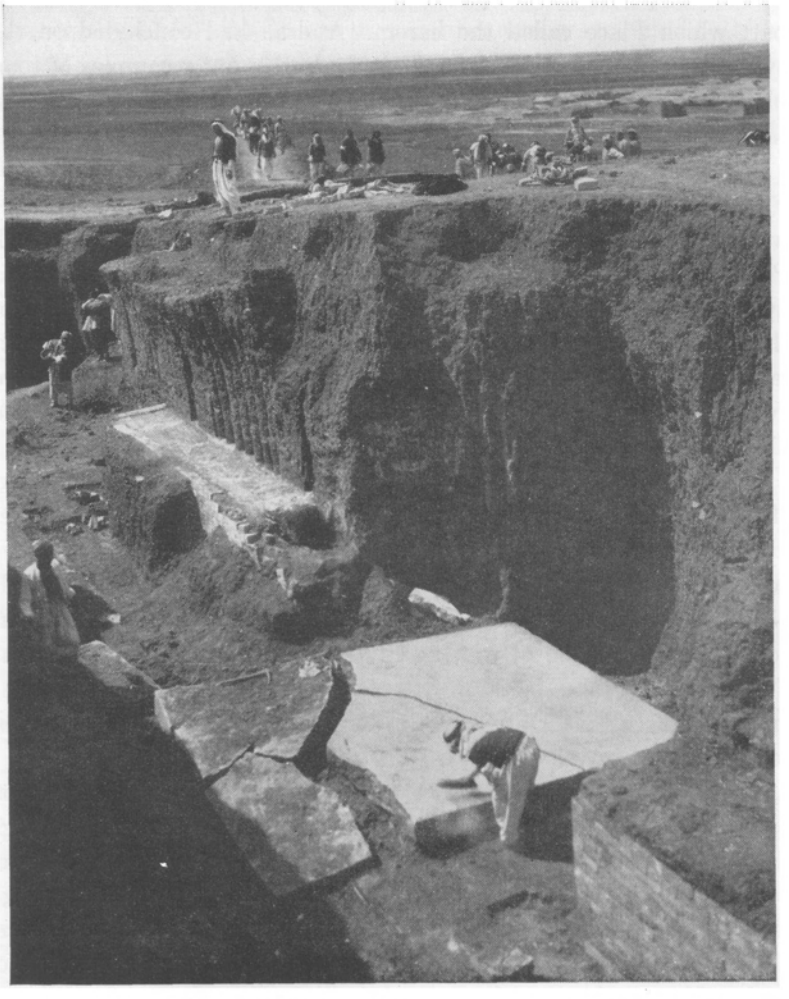


FIG. 63.—Front of the temple of the moon god Sin in Sargon's palace

Above the platforms the wall is decorated with pilasters and recesses in various groups, a decoration which also occurs on the wall of the court beyond the projecting front of the temple. The whole wall was covered with whitewash above a black dado.

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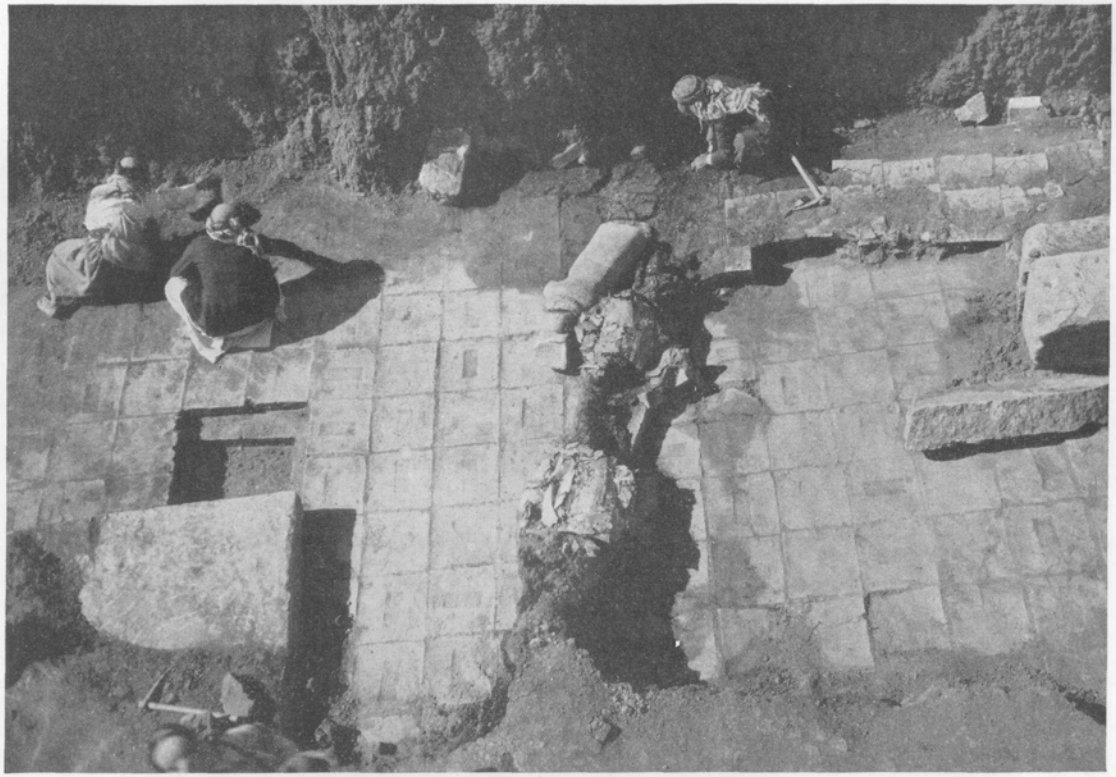


FIG. 64.—Courtyard in front of the temple of Shamash, showing paving bricks with Sargon's imprint, a fallen tree with bronze bands, and a fallen statue.

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A dark patch on the far platform (Fig. 63) is caused by decayed wood. We know that a large mast, perhaps a cedar tree, stood on each side of the entrance of an Assyrian temple. We actually found a considerable portion of such a tree in front of the temple of Shamash (Fig. 64). It lay where it had fallen when the temple front collapsed. On the right were the remains of the platform, fronted with glazed bricks which also had fallen face downward. Below the tree were the bricks of the courtyard pavement, upon which Sargon's imprint was clearly discernible. Around the tree in two places were found bronze bands adorned with beautiful friezes showing figures of men and bulls framed between rows of embossed rosettes.

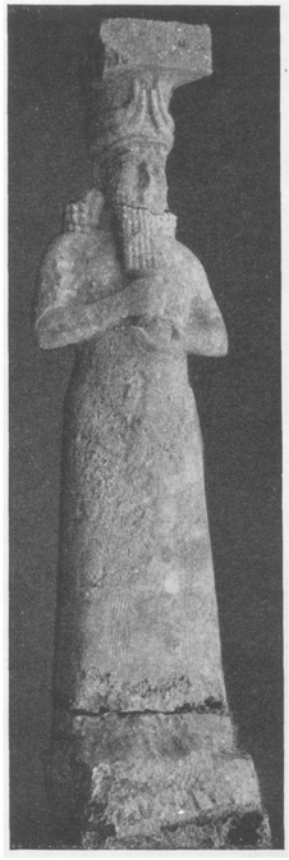


FIG. 65.—Statue of a minor deity holding a vessel from which water flows. Scale, about 1:17.

Such trees, which recall the flagstaffs of the Egyptian temple pylons, probably were not purely decorative. Mr. Sidney Smith, in studying the part played by trees in Assyrian religion,[3] states that at the New Year's festival in Assyria in the gardens of the Nabu temple, fillets with fresh green leaves were put on a (bare?) tree trunk to take the place of the old ones which had dried; bronze bands called "yokes" were removed, also perhaps to be replaced by fresh ones, and in at least one case a golden dish was set on top of the tree. It is impossible not to connect the trees of Khorsabad and their bronze bands with those which played a part in the ritual of the New Year. Another feature of this ritual may be illustrated by one of our finds. It appears that in front of the trees, on each side of the temple entrance, there stood a statue of a minor deity. We found one almost intact (Fig. 65) and another badly damaged. That

[3] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London* IV (1926) 69–76.

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these were not cult statues is clear not only from their position outside the temple but also because they were obviously intended to act as supports; for a square block hollowed out a little on the top was carved

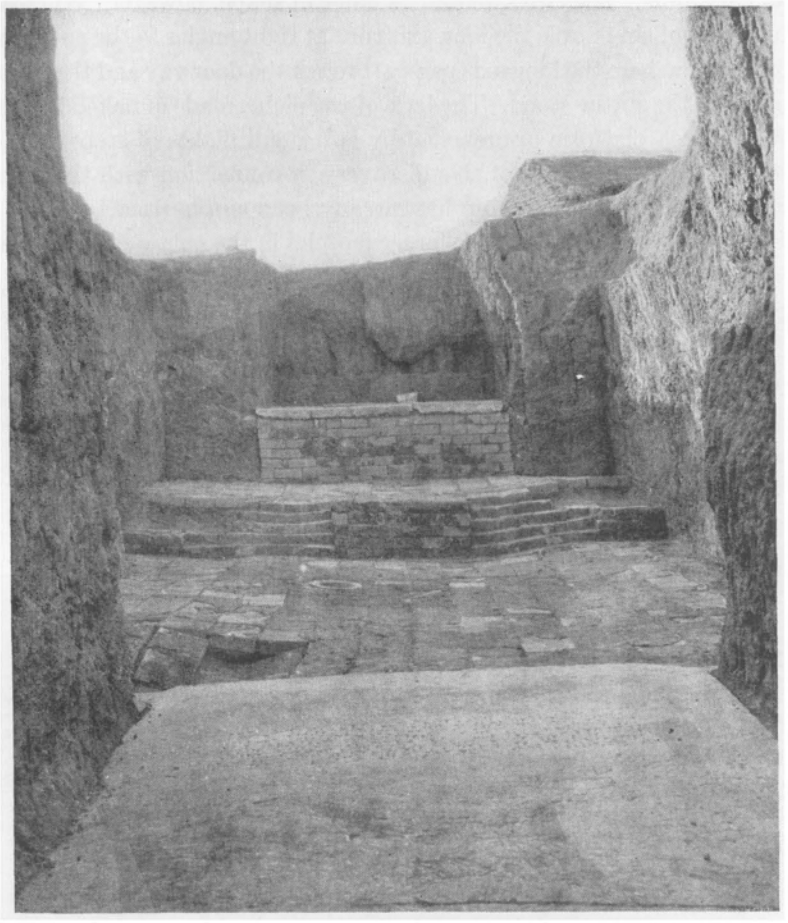


FIG. 66.—The temple of Adad in Sargon's palace. The doorsill in the foreground is inscribed with a prayer.

above the crowns. One wonders whether they held golden dishes used in the New Year's ritual.

One of the smaller temples, which Place mistook for a bedchamber, is shown in Figure 66. We see in the foreground a large doorsill inscribed with a prayer addressed by Sargon to Adad. The room is en-

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tirely paved with baked bricks, in which a circular stone vessel is imbedded. This may have served to drain the moisture from libations and would thus correspond to the drains found in the Gimilsin temple at Eshnunna. The two sanctuaries differ in shape, however. Whereas in the Gimilsin temple the long axis runs at right angles to the entrance of the cella, here the long axis passes through the doorway and the niche in which the statue stood. The base of the niche, made of baked bricks, stands on a platform approached by two small flights of steps at the sides.[4] The importance of this discovery in connection with the facts observed in the throne room has already been emphasized.

We hope to clear one of the larger temples in the palace next season.

[4] A similar but more complicated arrangement is found in the Assur temple of Tukultininurta which is more than five centuries older than those at Dur Sharrukin. See Andrae, *op. cit.* Fig. 20.

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