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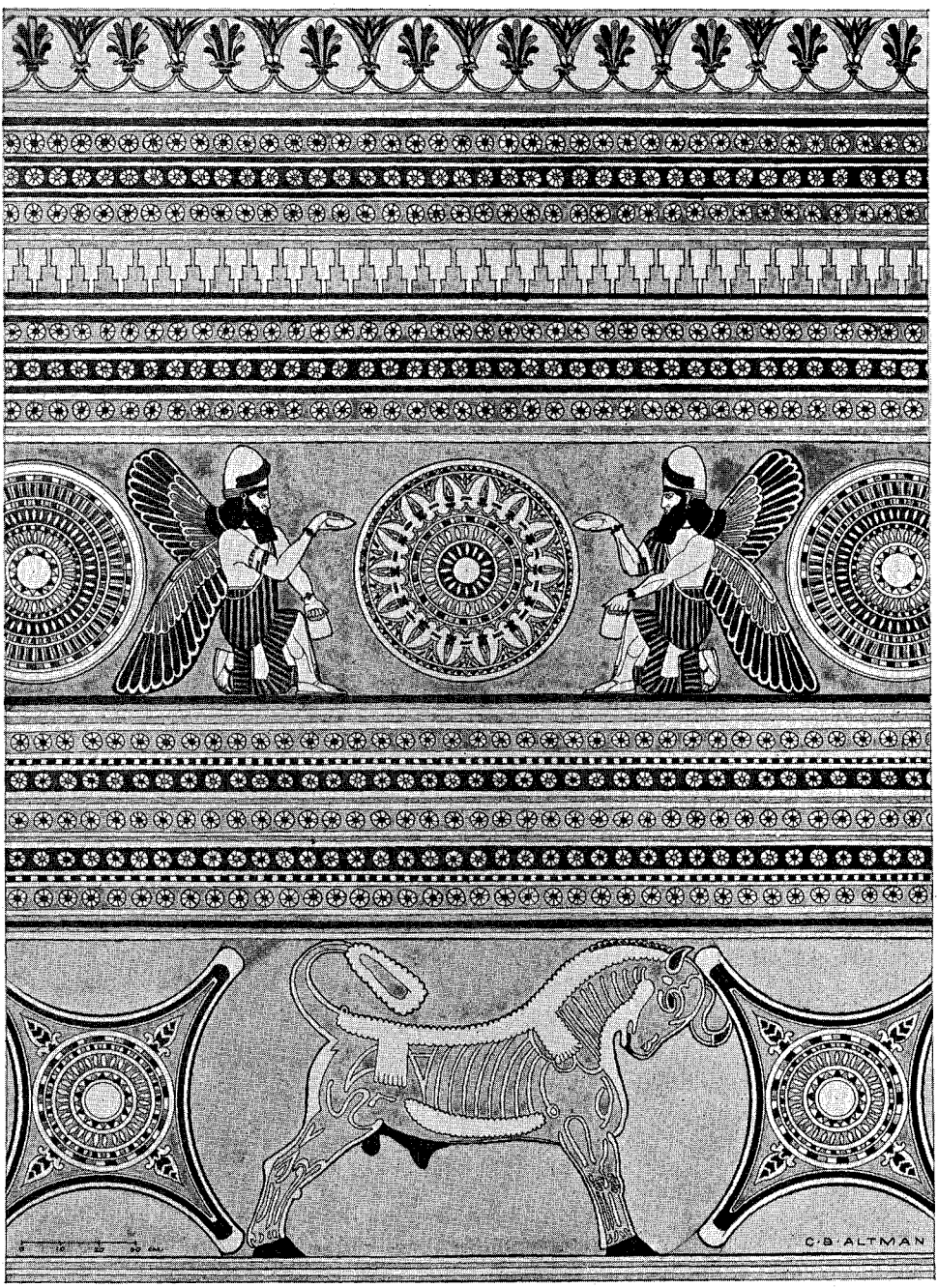
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From a water-color painting by C. B. Altman

MURAL DECORATION IN BUILDING *G* AT KHORSABAD
DETAIL OF FIG. 83

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PROGRESS OF THE WORK OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE IN IRAQ, 1934/35

FIFTH PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE IRAQ EXPEDITION

By
HENRI FRANKFORT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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FOREWORD

The discoveries of the 1934/35 season fall into two distinct groups, as indicated in the Table of Contents. The very successful start of excavations at Ishchali, the continued exploration of the citadel at Khorsabad, and the discovery of an earlier and a later town wall at Tell Asmar[1] are so many separate undertakings, each with an interest of its own. But the excavations at Khafaje and the bulk of the work at Tell Asmar have to be treated in conjunction. They form the last stage in a protracted attempt at solving a definite problem. We had set out, in our second season, to obtain trustworthy evidence as to the development of Mesopotamian civilization in prehistoric and early historic times. The four successive periods which could be distinguished—the al-ʿUbaid, Uruk, Jemdet Nasr, and Early Dynastic periods—were only known to us as static entities. No further subdivision was possible, let alone any insight into the processes by which each stage displaced its predecessor.

In our fourth preliminary report[2] we were already in a position to sketch a framework of relative chronology. Now, however, we can undertake this task with a greater degree of confidence and a higher measure of precision. For we now possess six parallel series of stratified remains connecting the Jemdet Nasr period with the age of Sargon of Akkad. It is appropriate that we should treat all of this material together, for in doing so we are able to demonstrate how the implications of the separate groups corroborate each other, and how the material from other sites fits into the scheme of relative chronology which our own discoveries suggest. An outline of this argument was presented to the Nineteenth International Congress of Orientalists which met in Rome in September, 1935. Our results are summarized in a folding table inserted at the end of this volume for reference.[3] We have included in the table some materials from Ur and Warka published

[1] To be discussed in a later report. [2] *OIC* No. 19, pp. 79–87.

[3] The table covers four of the six parallel series of stratified remains; the other two are those of the Tell Asmar pits mentioned on p. 15.

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while this report was in press, since their affinities and ages can be illuminated by reference to our discoveries. Comment on the chronological table precedes it.

The functions of the staff remained unchanged, but Mr. Leslie Grant succeeded Count Alexander zu Eltz as field assistant and photographer at Khafaje, where Mr. Pinhas Delougaz, assisted by Mr. Hamilton D. Darby, was again in charge. Mr. Seton Lloyd was in charge at Tell Asmar, and Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen, assisted by Mr. Harold D. Hill, at Ishchali. Mr. Gordon Loud, assisted by Mr. Charles Altman as architect and Mr. Olaf Lind, of the Megiddo Expedition, as photographer, was in charge at Khorsabad. Mrs. Rigmor Jacobsen was responsible for photography at Tell Asmar and Ishchali. Miss G. Rachel Levy was in charge of recording and was assisted in this work by Mrs. Leslie Grant and by our secretary, Miss M. A. Chubb. Miss Levy also produced the water-color drawings from which the gravure plates at the end of the volume were made.

HENRI FRANKFORT

LONDON
September, 1936

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

ABBREVIATIONS xi

I. DISCOVERIES CONCERNING THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD AT TELL ASMAR AND KHAFAJE 1

The excavations at Tell Asmar 1

The excavations at Khafaje 15

The subdivisions of the Early Dynastic period 35

The Jemdet Nasr period—the earliest settlement at Tell Asmar . 59

The civilization of Early Dynastic I 61

II. EXCAVATIONS AT ISHCHALI AND KHORSABAD 74

Ishchali 74

The citadel at Khorsabad 101

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . . *at end*

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ABBREVIATIONS

OIC	Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922——).
OIC No. 13	FRANKFORT, HENRI, JACOBSEN, THORKILD, and PREUSSER, CONRAD. Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The first season's work in Eshnunna, 1930/31 (1932).
OIC No. 16	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad. Second preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1933).
OIC No. 17	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Iraq excavations of the Oriental Institute, 1932/33. Third preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1934).
OIC No. 19	FRANKFORT, HENRI, and JACOBSEN, THORKILD. Oriental Institute discoveries in Iraq, 1933/34. Fourth preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1935).
OIP	Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924——).
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884——).
SAOC	Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931——).
SAOC No. 4	FRANKFORT, HENRI. Archeology and the Sumerian problem (1932).
SAOC No. 7	DELOUGAZ, P. I. Plano-convex bricks and the methods of their employment. II. The treatment of clay tablets in the field (1933).

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I

DISCOVERIES CONCERNING THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD AT TELL ASMAR AND KHAFAJE

The Excavations at Tell Asmar

The Abu Temple, it will be remembered, belongs to the northernmost group of buildings at Tell Asmar (Fig. 1; the temple is at *A*).[1] By the end of the season of 1933/34 we had completely investigated the "Square Temple," which with its three shrines represents the most impressive phase in the architectural history of the Abu Temple.[2] Underneath the Square Temple a single-shrine temple had been discovered which we called the "Archaic Shrine";[3] we excavated it this year (1934/35) through four successive building stages (Fig. 2) before again encountering a change of plan.

The Archaic Shrine contained only one sanctuary, with an altar or pedestal against its wall (Fig. 3). On either side of this pedestal there were subsidiary steps or bases, which differed in the successive stages of the building. In some stages a pot was placed at one corner of the altar, recalling the bitumen-lined drain in Shrine I of the Square Temple.[4] In some of the floors traces of hearths could be distinguished. With the aid of Figure 3 it is possible to identify the sacred precincts in Figure 4, taken by a camera with automatic release attached to two kites flying tandem. The altar or main pedestal can be seen at the left end of the oblong sanctuary, in the upper half of the picture. To the right of the sanctuary proper in Figure 4 (cf. the foreground of Fig. 3) is an irregularly shaped open court, within which were two round bases of mud brick reminding us of similar erections in the larger temples at Khafaje. The entrance into this forecourt was flanked by two small walls, which inclosed, in some stages of the building, a low dais or bench of mud brick. At the far corner of this forecourt one turned to the left, entering a narrow antechamber from

[1] Cf. *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 20, Locus D 17, and *OIC* No. 16, Fig. 1.

[2] *OIC* No. 17, pp. 40–46, and *OIC* No. 19, pp. 7–23.

[3] *OIC* No. 19, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 10 and Fig. 9.

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FIG. 1.—Air photograph of Tell Asmar

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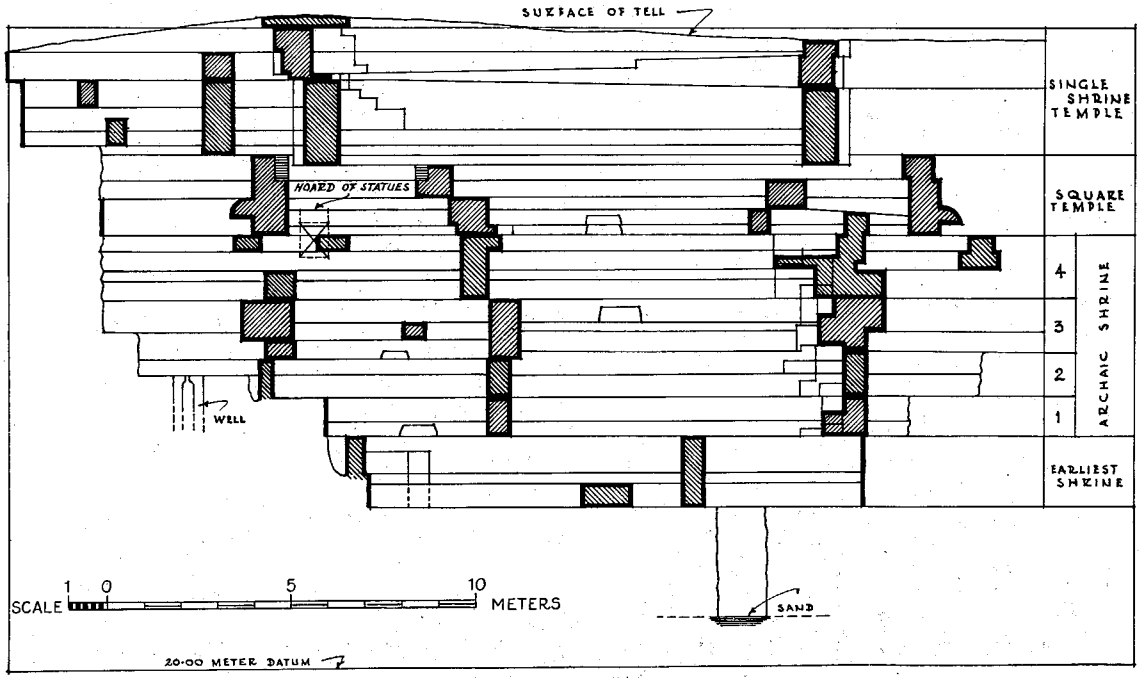


FIG. 2.—West-east section through the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar. Scale, about 1:200

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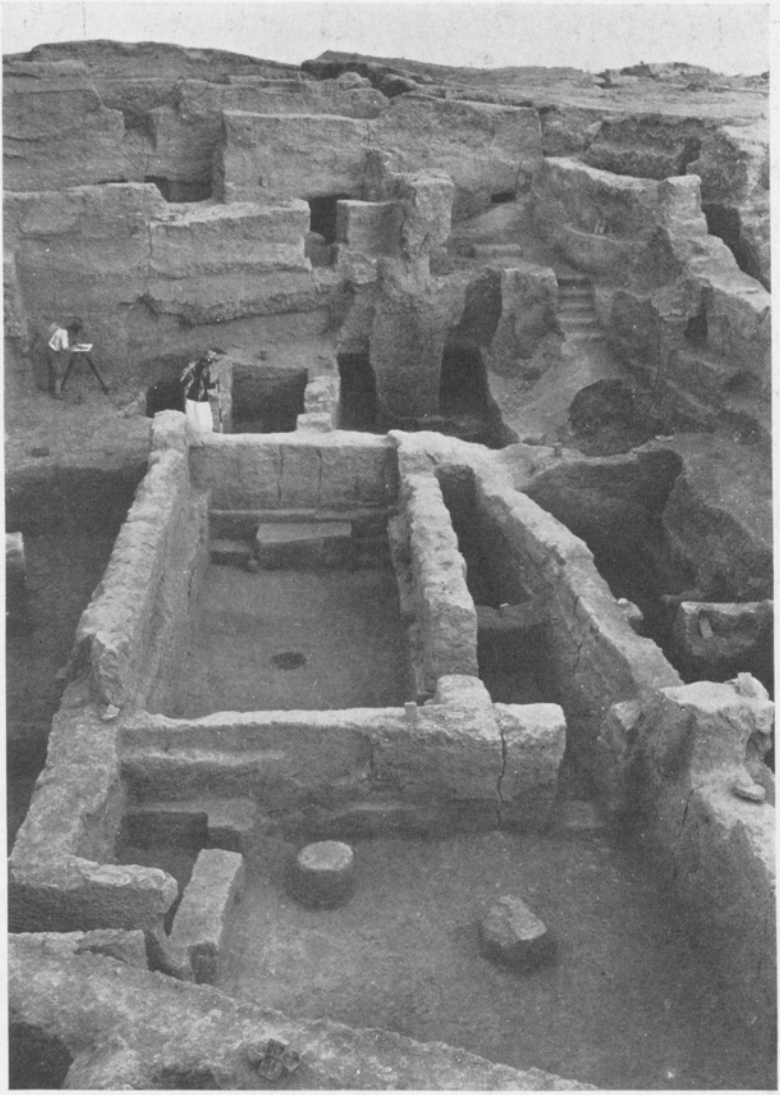


FIG. 3.—The Third Archaic Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar, from west

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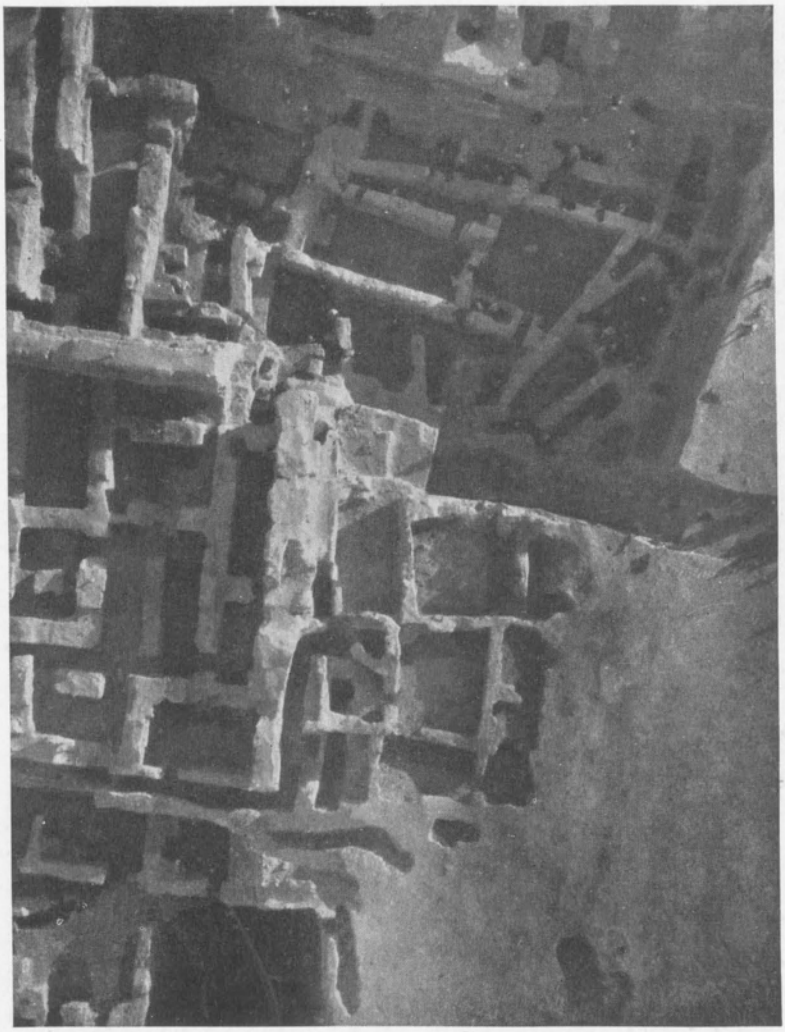


FIG. 4.—Kite photograph of the Third Archaic Shrine and the buildings adjoining it on the north.

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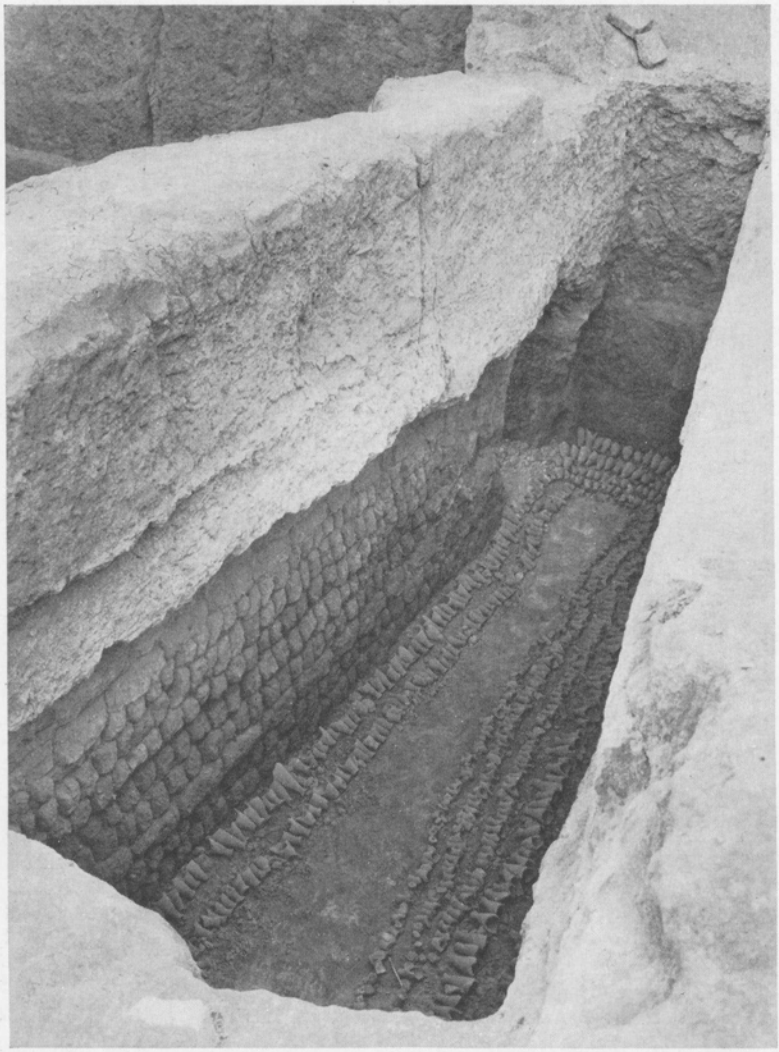


FIG. 5.—Calices in the "sacristy" of the Third Archaic Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar.

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which access to the sanctuary proper was gained. Another narrow chamber, in the corner of the building, probably served as vestry or sacristy, since it was not accessible from the antechamber but only through a narrow door beside the altar. In this "sacristy" were found the broken remains of 660 vessels of the goblet or calix type with solid foot which is characteristic of this period (Figs. 5–6). Such vessels were

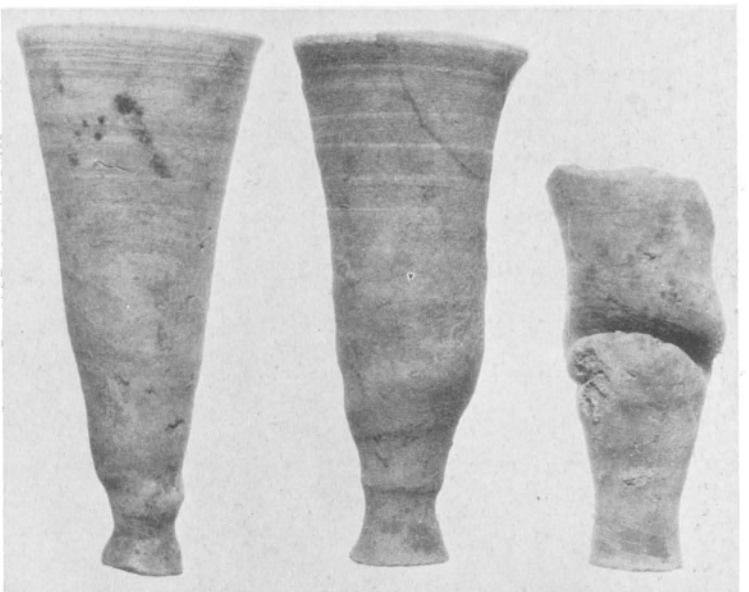


FIG. 6.—Calices from the archaic shrines of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar. Scale, 2:5.

found in great quantities in Sin Temple IV at Khafaje also (cf. pp. 56 and 60), and it seems as if they were deliberately smashed and thrown together after the completion of a ceremony. Sir Leonard Woolley has kindly drawn my attention in this connection to the è š -DUK.RU in Ur,[5] of which Mr. Gadd says: "The name seems to mean 'house of throwing down pots' or 'place where pottery is deposited,' but in this, as in the following cases, it would be useless to deduce anything from

[5] Cyril J. Gadd and Léon Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions* (Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, *Ur Excavations. Texts* I [London, 1928]) No. 1, line 19 and note on p. 2.

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FIG. 7.—The Abu Temple at Tell Asmar, from north, showing brickwork in the Square Temple (*A*), in the Fourth Archaic Shrine (*B*), and in the Third Archaic Shrine (*C*).

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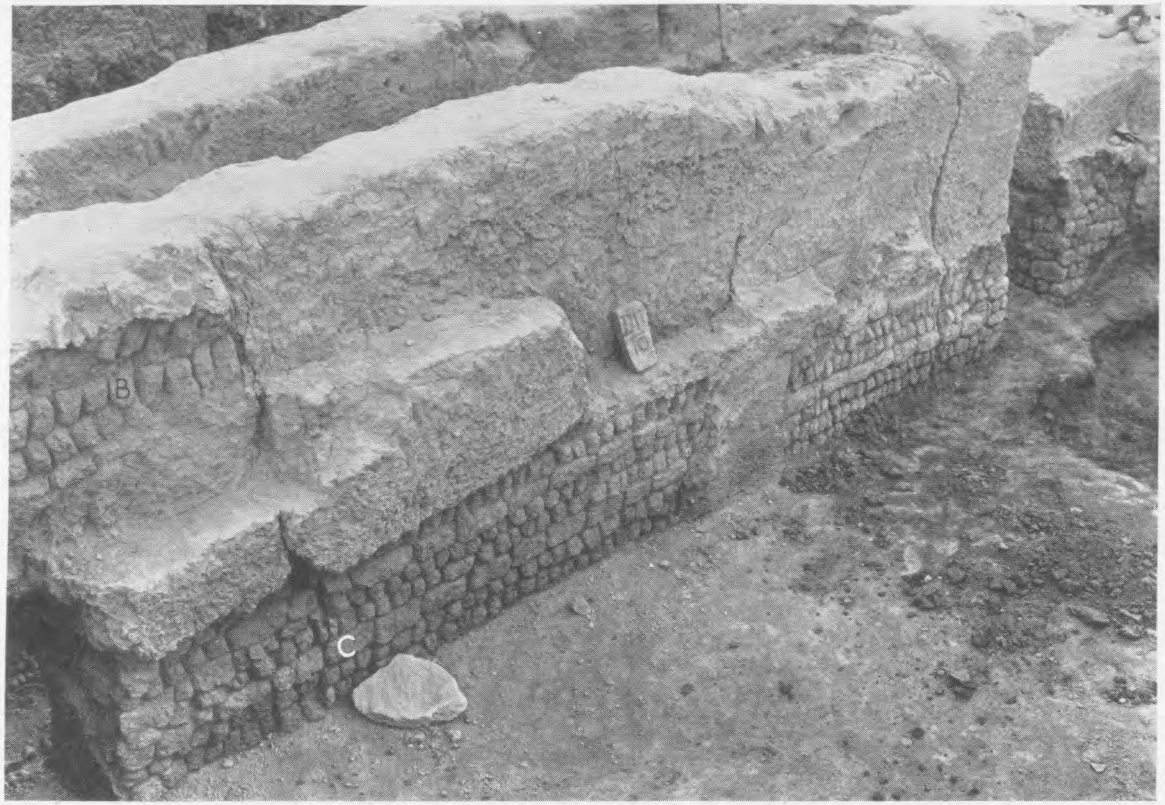


FIG. 8.—Brickwork in the Fourth and Third Archaic Shrines of the Abu Temple (detail of Fig. 7)

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the bare signification of the words." It may well be that this name applied to the room we have labeled "sacristy" in the Archaic Shrine.

The building material changed within the period of existence of the Archaic Shrine. Its last and uppermost stage was built of ordinary plano-convex bricks. But in the construction of the three earlier stages differently shaped bricks had been used. This fact is of considerable importance, because changes in building material have been observed at other sites also, notably at Warka.[6] The situation at Tell Asmar is clearly illustrated by Figures 7–8. At *C* the south wall of the sanctuary of the Third Archaic Shrine is disclosed after removal of the mud plaster. The irregular cross-sections of the small oblong bricks used in the building are clearly visible. Many of them are square in section and resemble precisely the "Riemchen" of the German excavators at Warka.[7] Others, however, are somewhat oblong in cross-section, and many are cambered and thereby recall the "plankonvexe Riemchen" distinguished at Warka from the uncambered small bricks.[8] At Tell Asmar and Khafaje we cannot separate these two types. Careful investigation, with the partly solicited, partly volunteered assistance of several village masons among our workmen, who even today handle the same material in their daily work, has established the fact that these small bricks were not made in a frame, as the plano-convex bricks were,[9] but were kneaded and rolled by hand, after which the lump of clay was thumped four times on a reed mat to flatten its long sides and twice again to flatten the ends. It goes without saying that in this process no two bricks are exactly alike in shape or size, though, as with all traditional crafts, a much more constant average prevails than we, accustomed to machine-made goods, are wont to suppose possible. To illustrate the difference in brick types and in methods of use, I show in Figure 9 a piece of wall of the First Archaic

[6] Julius Jordan, "Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen" (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, *Abhandlungen*, 1930, No. 4 [Berlin, 1931]) p. 18.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 20.

[8] Ernst Heinrich, "Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen" (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, *Abhandlungen*, 1935, No. 2 [Berlin, 1935]) pp. 16 f.

[9] See *SAOC* No. 7, pp. 5–13.

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Shrine in which the sun-dried bricks are not square in cross-section but oblong. They are, however, flat on all sides, and the way in which they are built into the wall resembles that of the "Riemchen" and not that usually found with plano-convex bricks. But it should be clear, in any case, that one cannot look for very exact correspondences in comparing such bricks.

Now even if we allow for a certain amount of variation, a very significant fact emerges. There is a definite contrast between the bricks used in the first three stages of the Archaic Shrine (illustrated by wall *C* in Figs. 7–8) and those used in its concluding stage (wall *B* in Figs. 7–8). The last is built of ordinary plano-convex bricks, just like the later Square Temple (wall *A* in Fig. 7) and its successor, the Single-Shrine Temple. In the three earlier stages of the Archaic Shrine, however, no plano-convex bricks have been used. Irregularly shaped as the bricks may be, the very broad, cambered shapes of true plano-convex bricks are absent. Moreover, there is a clear contrast in method of use, as a glance at Figure 7 will show.[10] At the top of that figure, at *A*, a piece of the south wall of the Square Temple is shown with its brickwork exposed. The bricks are plano-convex. The typical method of putting some courses of bricks on edge, so that their long sides stand upright, can clearly be seen.[11] Lower down, at *B* in Figures 7–8, is a piece of wall above the small door leading to the "sacristy." Here again the bricks are of the plano-convex type. The bricklaying is very coarse, tending toward the well known herringbone pattern. This piece of wall belongs to the uppermost or fourth stage of the Archaic Shrine. The wall of the third stage of the Archaic Shrine, shown at *C* in Figures 7–8, is built differently. The layers of stretchers are put on their narrow sides, so that the broad sides of the bricks appear in the face of the wall. Dr. E. Heinrich kindly informs me that this same method of building is observed also with "Riemchen"-work at Warka. It is obvious that this method could not be used with plano-convex bricks, which would offer little hold to the plaster on their convex

[10] Only the coherent piece of brickwork should be considered. The patches on either side are the work of pupil wall-tracers, whose training by experienced workmen is most economically undertaken whenever a special task of this kind presents itself.

[11] Cf. *SAOC* No. 7, pp. 20 ff.

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sides, and would even tend to be pressed out of the wall face entirely by the mere weight of the superimposed brickwork.

There is, then, a clear architectural contrast between Archaic Shrines I–III, on the one hand, and Archaic Shrine IV and subsequent buildings, on the other. Curiously enough, the absence of plano-convex sun-dried bricks in the walls of the three earlier stages of the Archaic Shrine does *not* mean that plano-convex bricks were entirely unknown. We found at the level of the Second Archaic Shrine a hearth built of typical plano-convex bricks that had been made in a mold but were kiln-baked. This hearth was situated outside the temple, in an adjoining room, and there is no doubt whatever about the stratification. Moreover, a baked plano-convex brick was found lying loose on the floor of the First Archaic Shrine, and another was used as a pivot stone in the anteroom of the shrine. At Warka plano-convex bricks seem to have appeared suddenly, although the small oblong bricks ("Riemchen" and "plankonvexe Riemchen") continued in use for some time before the plano-convex bricks became the exclusive building material. This tallies with our observations at Tell Asmar, inasmuch as the few baked plano-convex bricks found at the level of the First Archaic Shrine show beyond a doubt that such bricks were known.

It is clear that the period during which the Archaic Shrine existed is one of transition, in the course of which plano-convex bricks, made in a frame, displaced the earlier small, handmade, oblong bricks.

Below the First Archaic Shrine we observed a complete change of plan. A very humble shrine (Figs. 10–11) adjoining a narrow, curved street appeared there as the original foundation of the Abu Temple—a temple which was to remain a center of worship for the best part of a millennium. This earliest shrine belongs to the Jemdet Nasr period. Its level and its pottery establish its age, as we shall see presently. Below this earliest shrine 3 meters of soil contained only the remains of poor hovels. No walls were recognizable; but the ashes of hearths, burned matting, and a number of potsherds testified to human habitation. The pottery belonged to the Jemdet Nasr period and retained this character down to virgin soil.

I have indicated above that the level of the Earliest Shrine corroborated the evidence of its pottery in favor of a Jemdet Nasr date.

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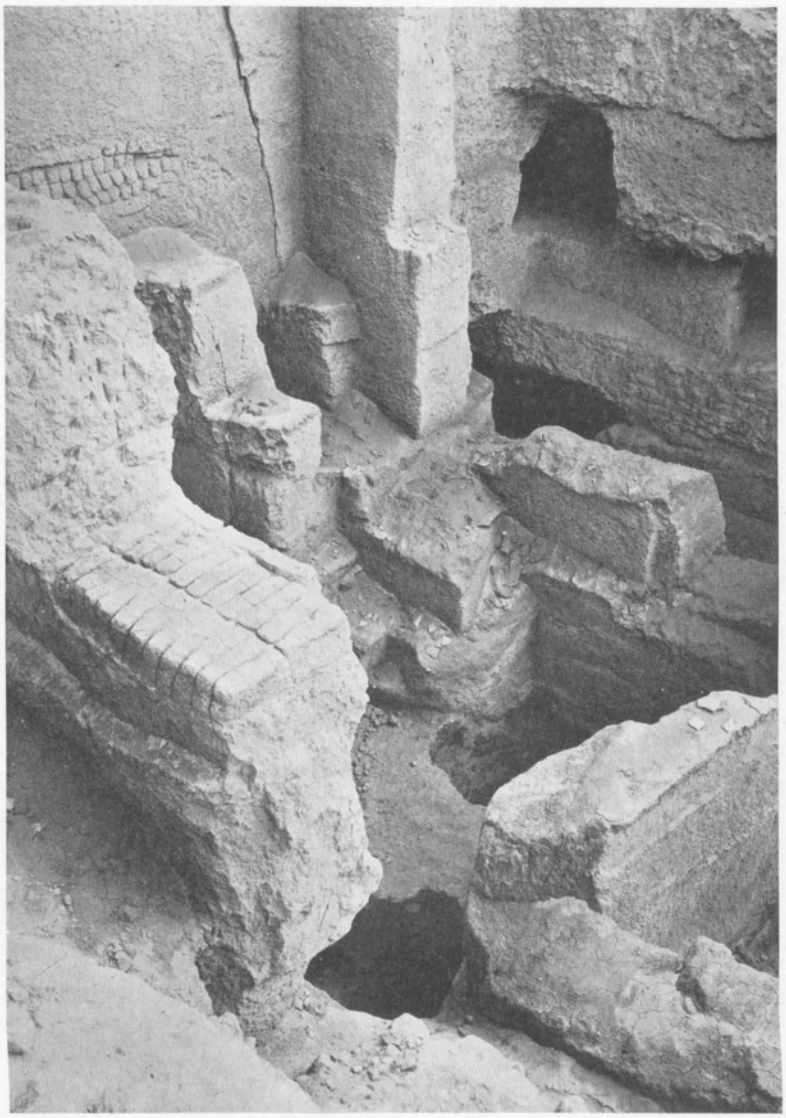


FIG. 9.—Brickwork of the First Archaic Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar.

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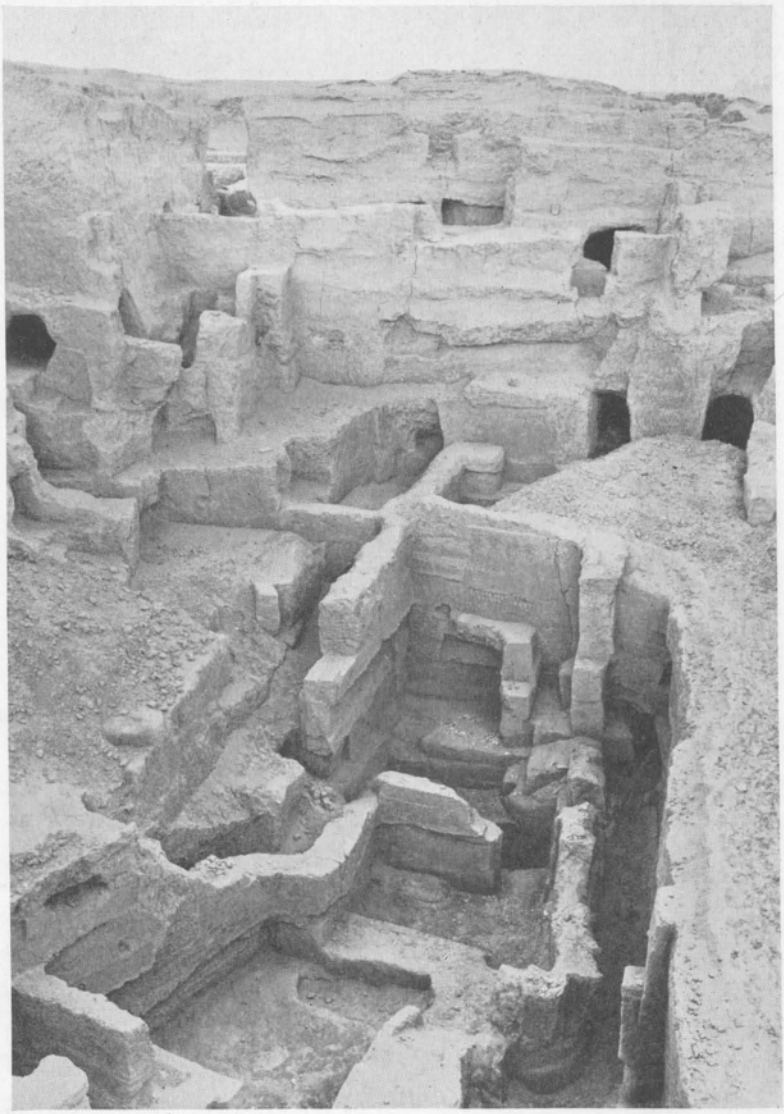


FIG. 10.—The Earliest Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar, from west

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This conclusion followed from a consideration of other discoveries made at Tell Asmar. Our work at the temple being part of the larger task of obtaining trustworthy stratigraphical evidence for building up a relative chronology of the Early Dynastic period, I have been anxious to have several means of checking throughout the evidence of any one excavation. Already in the previous season, therefore, we had sunk two shafts, one to the north and one southeast of the Abu Temple;[12] they can be distinguished as small dark squares (*B–C*) on the air photograph (Fig. 1). It is the evidence from these shafts, considered

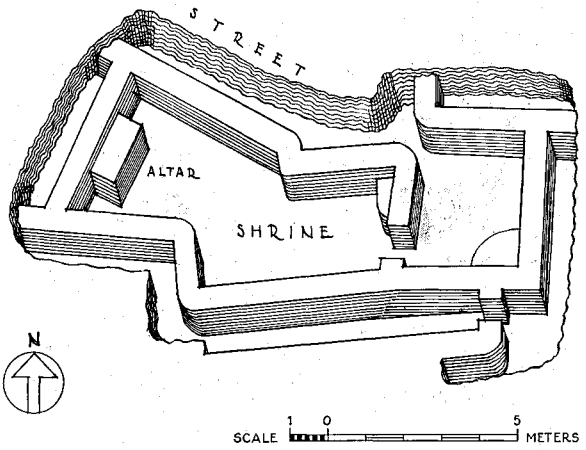


FIG. 11.—Plan of the Earliest Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar. Scale, 1:200.

in conjunction with that from the temple, which gives us the right to draw certain inferences from our levels. We shall discuss this evidence later, together with that obtained at Khafaje.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT KHAFAJE

The investigation of the Temple Oval at Khafaje had been completed,[13] but it remained to establish its relation to the preceding phases of culture. We stated in our previous report that no earlier remains were found beneath and that an artificial foundation of sand descended for over 8 meters.[14] It is perhaps unnecessary to assume

[12] *OIC* No. 19, pp. 18–23.

[13] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 63–88; *OIC* No. 16, pp. 62–76; *OIC* No. 17, p. 63; *OIC* No. 19, pp. 32–37.

[14] *OIC* No. 19, p. 32.

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that the whole space occupied by the sand bed had been excavated, though it is certain that some excavation had taken place, for we now found older walls cut into when the sand bed of the Oval was laid down (Fig. 12). On the other hand, we observed that at the northern edge the sand bed was resting upon black soil in which reeds and matting had been preserved to a remarkable extent, as frequently



FIG. 12.—Walls of plano-convex bricks of Layer 6 at Khafaje, cut through by excavation for First Temple Oval.

happens in bogs. It may be, therefore, that parts of the site allotted to the Oval had been filled-in swamps. The fact that we found in the black marsh soil several of the common bowls or cups which remained in use throughout Early Dynastic times supports this supposition. But even if we assume that but little excavating was done and that the Temple Oval was founded to a large extent on land reclaimed from the marshes, the actual filling of sand, which we traced at a sufficient num-

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ber of points to be sure of its existence underneath the whole Oval, represents a staggering amount of labor, which was entirely preliminary to the brickmaking and the erection of the massive structure itself.[15] It is surely appropriate to take occasion from time to time to realize the scale upon which work was undertaken in the great periods of Mesopotamian civilization, simply because most of the work of its people has now literally returned to dust, while Egypt, fortunate in its possession of stone, preserves the splendor of past achievements.

The Sin Temple, at the northern edge of our excavations,[16] could be followed into earlier periods than the Temple Oval. We decided, therefore, to excavate also the intermediate strip of ground lying between the Temple Oval and the Sin Temple (Fig. 13). This would provide a check on our observations in the Sin Temple and at the same time enable us to co-ordinate the stratification of the Temple Oval, as far as it went, with contemporaneous and earlier remains. In the season of 1932/33 we had already explored the surface layers of this intermediate area and discovered that it was part of a walled-in quarter of the town.[17] At all periods, apparently, blocks of dwellings had occupied this section; here, in square O 43, about halfway between the Temple Oval and the Sin Temple, a small shrine also was discovered when we dug down. The usual pedestal or altar was constructed against its southeastern wall.

Numerous graves were found among the house ruins. It was an attractive hypothesis of Reuther[18] that such graves were dug into the ruins when a quarter of the town became temporarily deserted; and this may have been true in later times. Our observations, however, go to prove that in Early Dynastic times the tombs were actually dug into the floors of still occupied houses; for they were in line with the walls of the rooms, and sometimes even two sides of a grave were formed by the foundations of walls (see Fig. 13). The gradual rise of floor levels was reflected in several series of tombs dug down periodically from the new levels of habitation.

[15] *Ibid.* p. 32.

[16] *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 60, P 42–Q 43.

[17] *OIC* No. 17, pp. 69 ff. and Figs. 54 and 60.

[18] Oscar Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes)* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, "Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung" XLVII [Leipzig, 1926]) p. 50.

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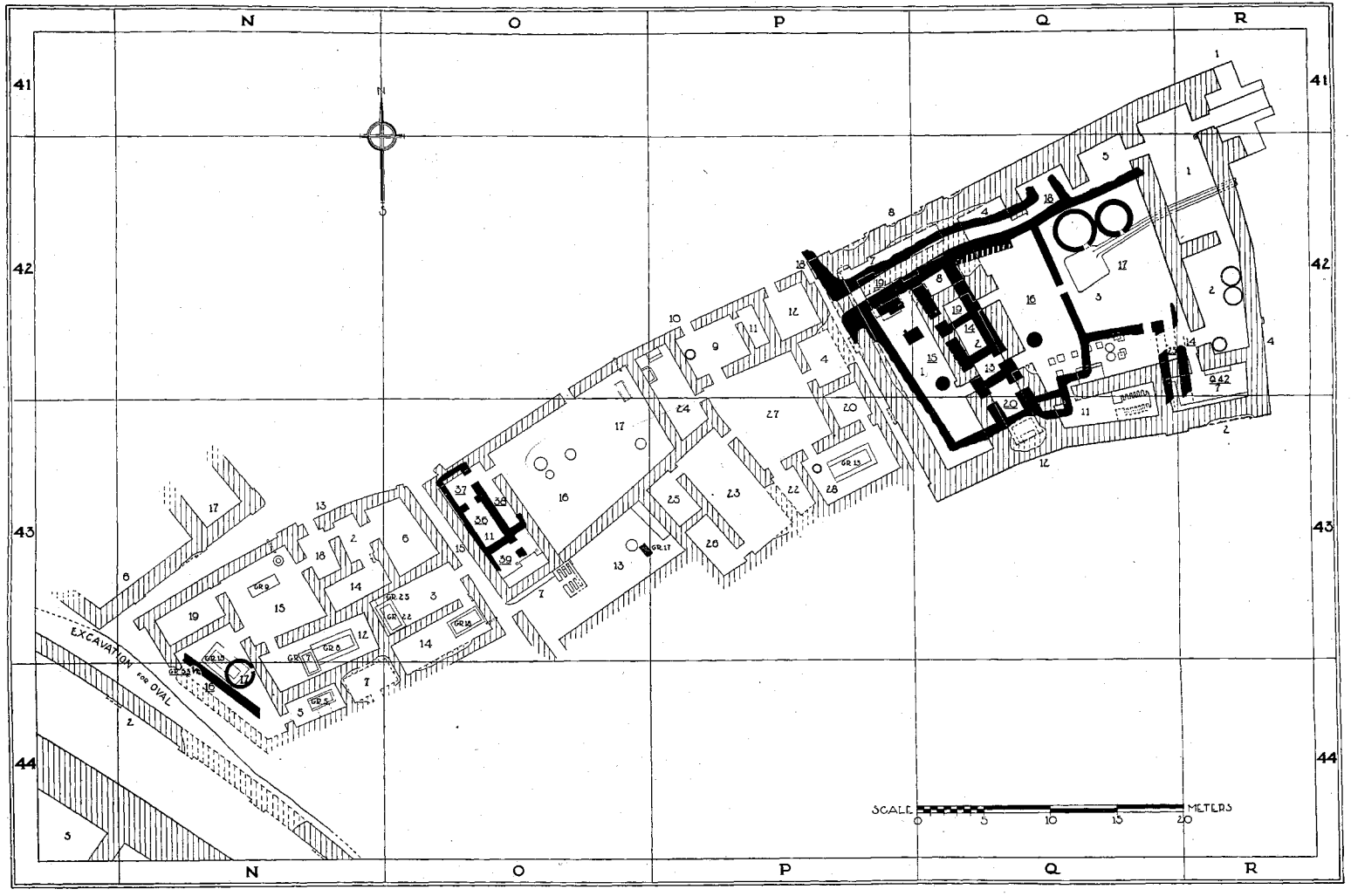


FIG. 13.—Plan of house area (*N–P*) and of Sin Temple (*P–R*) at Khafaje, as excavated. Scale, 1:500. Underscored numbers and solid black refer to Sin Temple VI and contemporary structures.

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The majority of the burials were walled in and vaulted over with plano-convex bricks and contained more than one interment each (e.g., Fig. 14). The bodies lay in contracted positions without any rule as regards orientation. The skeletons were but rarely found intact, and even when so found the substance of the bones had been so rotted by the salts contained in the soil that no preservation, measuring, or determination of sex could be attempted. In most cases, moreover, the caving-in of the brick vault had completely smashed the bones. In one grave a troughlike sarcophagus of baked clay was found (Fig. 15), and in another—the only case of a single interment—the body had been placed in a round basket (Figs. 16–17), which was astonishingly well preserved after five thousand years.

A few graves of a different type were found at a deeper level, quite near the foundation of the Temple Oval, the excavation of which had, in fact, decapitated one of the skeletons. These graves were neither lined with bricks nor vaulted over. The contracted body had apparently been wrapped in matting and placed in the ground without the protection of any structure (Fig. 18). But it seems that a fire had been lighted over or near the bodies; for the matting was calcined, and some bones showed traces of burning. The fire seemed also to have reddened the clay soil round the bodies. Here again comparisons with Warka are suggested,[19] and we hope for further information on this type of burial after a resumption of our work.

The contents of these tombs will be discussed presently in conjunction with our other material. Here a few remarks about our recording must be made. Though the usual leveling instruments were used throughout the work, the oriental method of building on previously occupied space prevents our attaching any significance to the mere metrical levels.[20] While work was in progress, Mr. Darby, therefore, in his detailed survey and study of the architectural remains distinguished the various *layers*, each of which, as far as one can now reconstruct the situation, includes the actual floors, connected by doorways and passages, which were contemporaneous. Graves, however, being dug down from above, are often found in layers to which they do not belong but which, by the time the grave was dug, had become covered

[19] Jordan, *op. cit.* pp. 24–26.

[20] Cf. *OIC* No. 17, pp. 5 f.

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FIG. 14.—Tomb 6, in Layer 3, Khafaje

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FIG. 15.—Grave 15, in Layer 4, Khafaje

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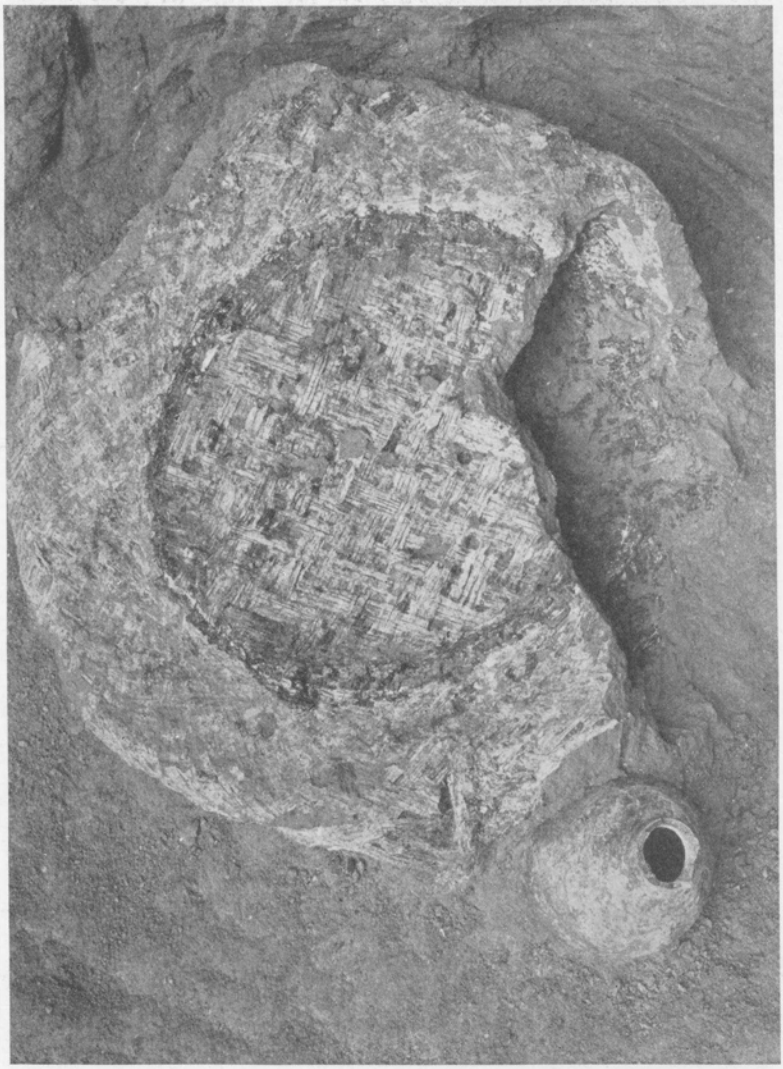


FIG 16.—Grave 54, in Layer 5, Khafaje. An unopened basket burial

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FIG. 17.—Basket burial shown in Fig. 16, after opening

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FIG. 18.—Grave 51, in Layer 11, Khafaje

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by reason of the continuous rise of the level of habitation. In our table at the end of this report we have therefore distinguished the layers of the floors from the layers of the graves and have merely indicated the number of graves of each period which we excavated.

In two places—in the small shrine in O 43 and in the area in N 44 immediately adjoining the Temple Oval (see Fig. 13)—we went down to water level. In each we actually reached the Uruk period. This was made certain by a few sherds of red and gray pottery which turned up; by a typical Uruk tablet, without pictograms but with numerals only



FIG. 19.—"Uruk" tablet found at Khafaje. Actual size

(Fig. 19);[21] and, finally, by a change in building material. In these deepest layers bricks with rectangular section were still used, but instead of being small oblong "Riemchen" they were large and flat, not unlike the "Patzen" at Warka.[22] We are hoping that a low water table will allow us in the autumn to investigate these layers further.

In the Sin Temple we first of all rounded off the work of 1933/34[23] by completing the excavation of the entrance. The entrance proved to be a curious and elaborate affair (Fig. 20) showing that predilection for curvature which seems characteristic of the Early Dynastic period.

[21] Arnold Nöldeke, Ernst Heinrich, und E. Schott, "Fünfter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk unternommenen Ausgrabungen" (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, *Abhandlungen*, 1933, No. 5 [Berlin, 1934]) p. 14 and Pl. 14 *b* and *d*.

[22] *Ibid.* p. 14.

[23] Cf. *OIC* No. 19, pp. 39–54 and Fig. 45.

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FIG. 20.—Two views of the entrance to Sin Temple III at Khafaje

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Several objects, later in date than the periods with which we are mainly dealing in this report, turned up during these supplementary excavations. Among them are fragments of a relief plaque with banquet and chariot scenes (Fig. 21)[24] and two small alabaster figurines,



FIG. 21.—Fragments of an alabaster plaque found at Khafaje. Scale, 2:5

one showing two bearded figures riding one behind the other in a two-wheeled chariot, the other showing a nude servant at the moment of

[24] Cf. *OIC* No. 13, Figs. 44–45. Fragments with such representations have now been found too often for them to be interpreted as memorials of victory. They must be considered as being in some way related to the cult. The matter is fully discussed in the forthcoming volume *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafaje* (*OIP* XLIV).

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getting up with a load on his back (Fig. 22). The servant carries the weight by means of a band wound round the forehead—a method still used by the porters and carriers of Baghdad.

Bricked up within the walls of the second stage of the Sin Temple[25] we found a copper head of a bull or cow (Figs. 23–24). This object therefore belongs at the very latest to the preceding stage (Sin Temple III), and according to our table at the end of this volume it would be



FIG. 22.—Alabaster figurines found at Khafaje. Actual size

contemporaneous with the Square Temple at Tell Asmar. This is indeed very likely. The metal head has a triangle of mother-of-pearl inlaid on the forehead exactly as in the case of the alabaster forepart of a bull found in 1933/34 in the Square Temple.[26] Moreover, the new head differs from those found at Ur in the same way as our hoard of statues differs from the bulk of Early Dynastic statuary, namely by a

[25] It should be remembered that the successive stages of the Sin Temple are of necessity numbered from the surface downward, since we have not yet reached the first foundation.

[26] *OIC* No. 19, Fig. 26.

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closer approach to geometric forms.[27] In the present case this is particularly noticeable in the volutes of muzzle and nostrils. The eyes, cut from shell and lapis lazuli, are inlaid in bitumen. The muzzle and horns are solid, the head being cast and not hammered into shape. The uncouth shape of the neck arises from the necessity for fitting it on to the wooden dowel of a piece of furniture or possibly on to the sounding box of a harp.

Stone fragments with very archaic cuneiform writing had been discovered last year in Sin Temple III. This year more pieces were found, enough to complete the strange shape shown in Figure 25. It represents, no doubt, the lion-headed eagle Imdugud, and is most carefully made, the tongue being cut separately from red jasper (Fig. 25 *B*). Unfortunately the stone is a kind of schist which flakes easily, and one side with its inscription is entirely lost; the inscription on the other side is, for the moment, unintelligible.

The upper five stages of the Sin Temple are all built on the same general plan. In the sixth stage we encounter a complete change. This break in the architectural history of the temple coincides, as we shall see presently, with the transition from the Jemdet Nasr period to Early Dynastic I. Sin Temple VI is shown in solid black in Figure 13, and the underlined locus numbers likewise refer to this building.

The upper five stages of the Sin Temple had each possessed a large court, 3 Q 42, and two sanctuaries, 1 and 2 Q 42 (Fig. 13).[28] The earlier Sin Temple (VI) is not yet completely excavated, but it is already certain that it contained behind its forecourt, 16 Q 42, a single sanctuary, 15 Q 42 (Fig. 26),[29] with a row of small rooms, 13, 14, 19, and 20 Q 42, on one side (Fig. 13). The sanctuary could be entered from the forecourt through vestibule 13 Q 42 and also through room 20 Q 42. Rooms 14 and 19 Q 42 were accessible from the sanctuary only. The sanctuary contained an altar or pedestal at the northwestern end of the room, exactly as we had found to be the case in the later stages

[27] *Ibid.* pp. 13 and 55–78.

[28] Cf. *OIC* No. 19, Fig. 45.

[29] The floor level of this sanctuary of Sin Temple VI was at the level of the large white stone slab lying in front of the pedestal in Fig. 26 and should be so reconstructed. The floor shown in the figure belongs to an earlier building period, that of Sin Temple VII.

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of the temple. But this earlier room was decorated on its northwestern and northeastern walls with doubly recessed niches, a feature known in later times as an outside decoration only. These niches were not built up with the bricks, but were cut into the thick mud plaster that covered the walls.

Not only the plan of the building and the niches decorating this sanctuary distinguish it from the later stages, but also the type of bricks used in the walls and the kind of pottery found in the rooms

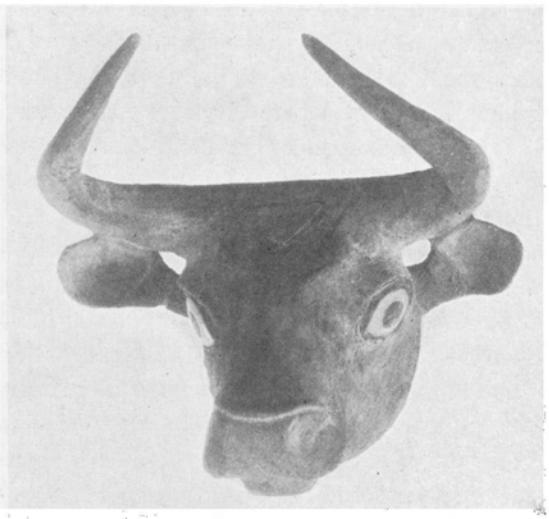


FIG. 23.—Copper head of a bull or cow, found at Khafaje. Scale, 1:2

mark it as different. The walls are built of small oblong bricks. The pottery found in the sanctuary (Pl. VIII *A*) itself clearly belongs to the Jemdet Nasr ware with single-color decoration, called "pink-line" ware in its later debased survivals in the higher layers at Ur, but also well known from the site of Jemdet Nasr itself.[30] Also some elaborate pieces of polychrome ware were found here (Pl. VIII *B*). The knob-like piece was possibly the lower part of a calix or perhaps a *ziggatu*,[31] and the other is a fragment of an animal-shaped vase. We also found

[30] Ernest Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq* (Field Museum of Natural History, "Anthropology, Memoirs" I 3 [Chicago, 1931]) Pls. LXVIII, LXXVIII, and LXXX.

[31] Cf. *OIC* No. 17, pp. 84 ff.

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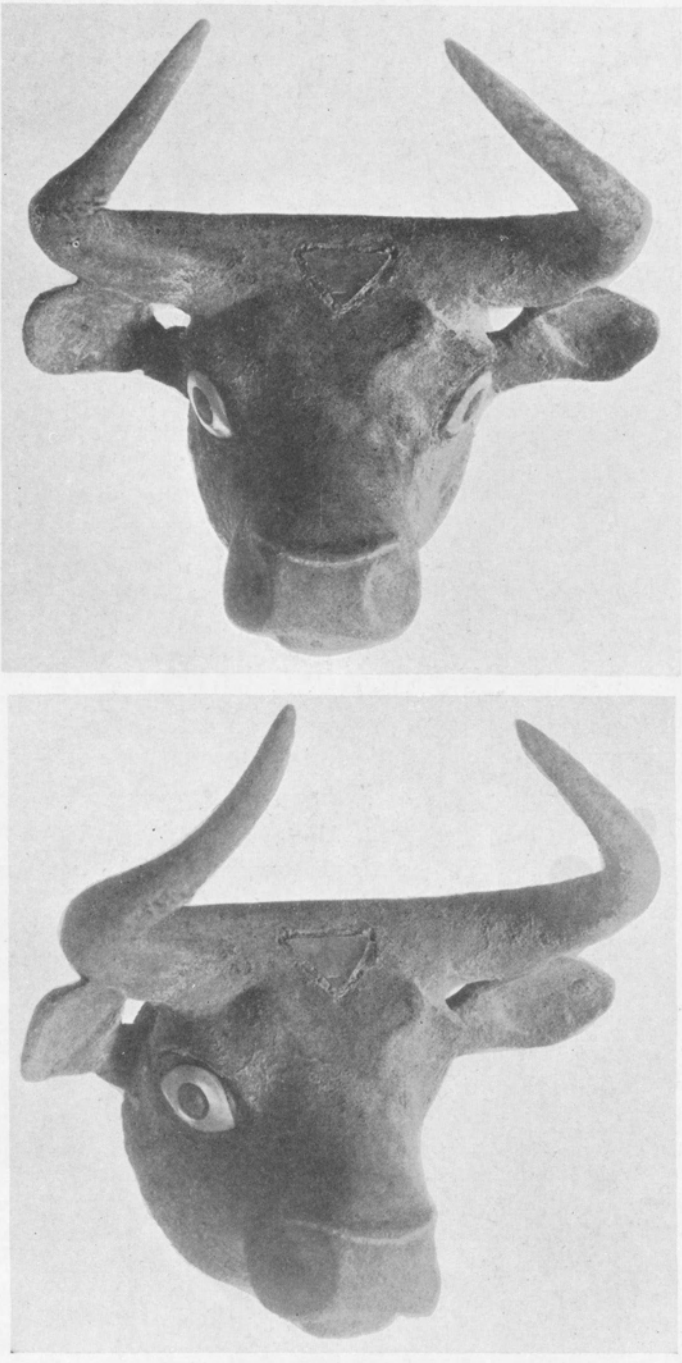
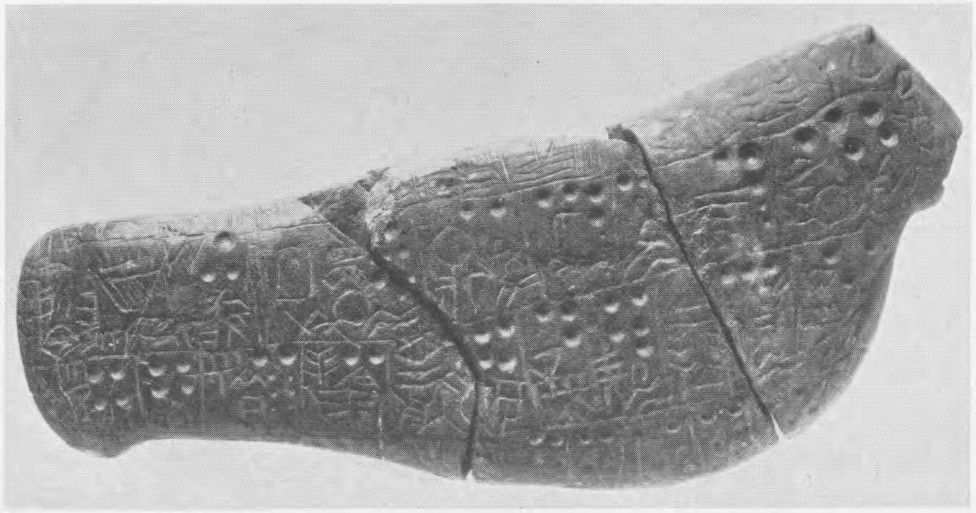


FIG. 24.—Views of the same head. Scale, 2:3

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A



B

FIG. 25.—Stone figure of a lion-headed eagle with inscription, from the Sin Temple, Khafaje. *A*. Side view. Scale, 1:2. *B*. Front view. Actual size.

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FIG. 26.—The sanctuary of Sîn Temple VI, Khafaje

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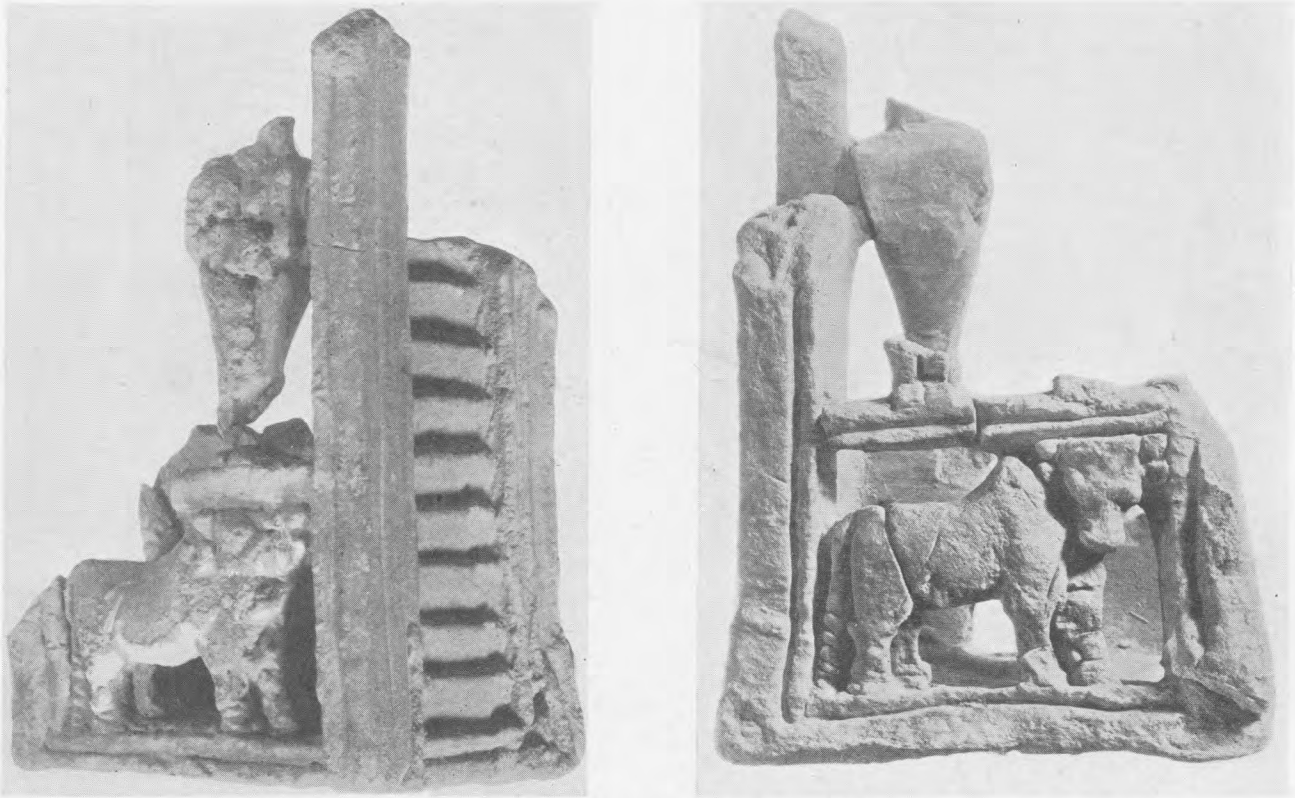


FIG. 27.—Alabaster carving found in Sin Temple VI at Khafaje. Scale, 2:3

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in this sanctuary an alabaster carving, worked *à jour*, presumably part of an elaborate vase the upper part of which is now lost (Fig. 27). The design appears to have been the same on the two long sides, showing a bull fitted into an oblong space below, while above the feet of two figures are preserved. On one side the figure adjoining the upright appears to be that of a nude woman. The narrow side presents an inexplicable ladder or "blind" design.

In one of the three small rooms adjoining the sanctuary a group of beads, pendants, and seals was found. The seals are most illuminating (Figs. 28–29). The three shown in Figure 28 are clearly debased survivals of the animal-file and temple designs of the seals of the Uruk period found at Warka and elsewhere. In Figure 29, Kh. V 156 and 346 render the geometric patterns known from the impressions on proto-Elamite tablets. These designs occur on a special class of long, thin seals of glazed steatite of which we found several fragments at Tell Asmar also. Seal Kh. V 344 (Fig. 29) resembles several cylinders from the site of Jemdet Nasr.[32]

The bull pendants shown in Figure 31, strung by us with the beads exactly as they were found, and the double-fish pendants (Fig. 30) found with the seals are similar to objects found at Warka in the great deposit of votive offerings.[32a]

THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

We may now survey in its totality that phase of Mesopotamian civilization which separated the prehistoric Jemdet Nasr period from the advent of Sargon of Akkad, and which we have called the Early Dynastic period because some of the early dynasties of the ancient king lists are known to fall within its scope. Though this period covered a considerable length of time, we cannot yet estimate it definitely in years; but at Eshnunna, for instance, it covered all the building activity separating the foundation of the First Archaic Shrine from the rebuilding of the Single-Shrine Temple in Akkadian times—a period represented archeologically by a rise in level of almost 10 meters.

[32] Mackay, *op. cit.* Pl. LXXIII 6, 8, and 21–22.

[32a] Ernst Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* ("Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka" I [Berlin, 1936]) Pls. 10, 11, 13*i*.

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Kh. V 259



Kh. V 308



Kh. V 307

FIG. 28.—Cylinder seals found in Sin Temple VI at Khafaje. Impressions, actual size.

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Kh. V 346



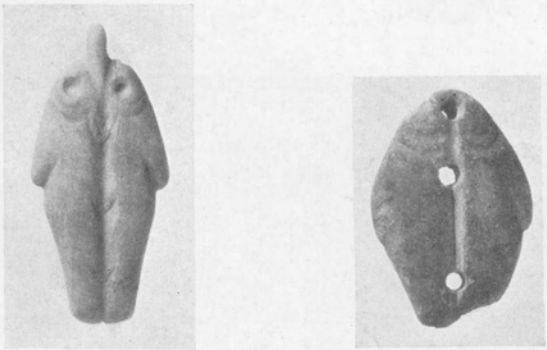
Kh. V 156



Kh. V 344

FIG. 29.—Cylinder seals found in Sin Temple VI at Khafaje. Impressions, actual size.

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Kh. V 302 Kh. V 303

FIG. 30.—Pendants from Sin Temple VI at Khafaje. Actual size

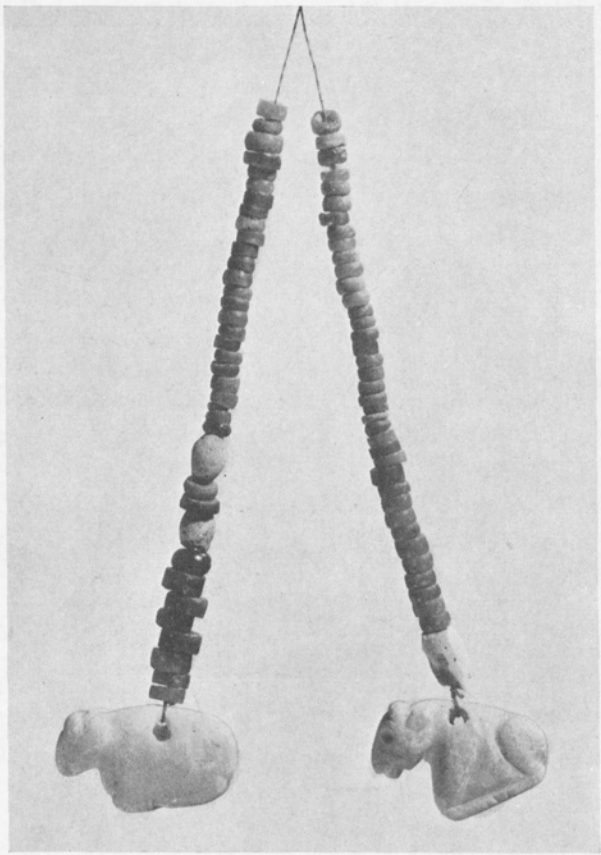


FIG. 31.—Beads and pendants found together in Sin Temple VI at Khafaje. Scale, 2:3.

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Moreover, our investigations have shown that this Early Dynastic period clearly falls into three subdivisions. These we shall describe in succession, starting with the third, or latest, which immediately preceded the advent of Sargon of Akkad. They are tabulated at the end of the book.

EARLY DYNASTIC III[33]

This subdivision itself falls into two parts—a fact which we have already emphasized when comparing our discoveries with those of M. Parrot at Tell Harīrī near Abu Kemal on the middle Euphrates —the site of the ancient city of Mari[34]—and in writing our fourth preliminary report.[35] The graves discovered in our first season,[36] as well as some found in the third,[37] contained objects closely resembling those from the Royal Tombs at Ur and from Cemetery "A" at Kish and were contemporaneous with the last phase of the Temple Oval, of which only the gate and the northeastern section of the inner inclosure wall remain.[38] These graves therefore belong to the very end of Early Dynastic III, which we shall call Early Dynastic III *b*. But most of the objects discovered at Khafaje, both in the Sin Temple and in the Temple Oval, belong (together with the objects from Mari and Assur H/G) to the earlier part of Early Dynastic III when the Second Temple Oval existed. This earlier half of Early Dynastic III we shall call Early Dynastic III *a*. The upper layers of the Sin Temple belong to this phase. If the temple existed down to Akkadian times, as is quite possible, the later remains have been lost as a result of denudation. The archeological differences between the earlier and the later part of Early Dynastic III are not great. Paleographically the Fara texts (III*a*) differ appreciably from those of the 1st dynasty of Ur.

[33] Since the Early Dynastic period is conceived as one unit, it seems best to designate the subdivisions by Roman numerals only without using the word "period."

[34] H. Frankfort and André Parrot, "Mari et Opis," *RA* XXXI (1934) 173–89.

[35] *OIC* No. 19, pp. 79–81. [36] *OIC* No. 13, pp. 107–11.

[37] *OIC* No. 17, pp. 66–68. The graves of the first and third seasons are not entered in the table at the end of the present volume because they are not part of the single series of stratified deposits to which the graves summarized there belong.

[38] *OIC* No. 16, Fig. 40; the gateway is dotted and the inclosure wall is hatched horizontally, since it was not known then that they belonged together.

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At Tell Asmar we cannot distinguish an earlier and a later part of Early Dynastic III. It is possible that the Single-Shrine Temple existed through all of Early Dynastic III, or, alternatively, that the highest floor levels of the Square Temple belong to Early Dynastic III *a*. In any case, the hoard of copper vessels establishes an Early Dynastic III *b* date for part of the Single-Shrine Temple.[39]

The material from the other sites mentioned above proves clearly that the subdivision of Early Dynastic III into two phases is valid for the country as a whole.

EARLY DYNASTIC II

Early Dynastic III was preceded by Early Dynastic II, which was in many ways the most impressive of all of the subdivisions of the Early Dynastic period. At Tell Asmar the Square Temple of Early Dynastic II was unrivaled by any earlier or later stage in the history of the sanctuary. During this same time at Khafaje the Oval was founded while Sin Temple III was in existence. After the completion of the Oval, but still within Early Dynastic II, the Sin Temple was entirely rebuilt and became what we now call Sin Temple II. As an illustration of our method we shall indicate here precisely how the "layers" of the intermediate area (Fig. 13) allow us to reconstruct the course of events in such detail. The highest layer damaged by the excavation for the sand bed of the Temple Oval is Layer 6. This layer, then, was in existence when the Temple Oval was founded. The building remains of this layer were made of plano-convex bricks,[40] just as the last Archaic Shrine at Tell Asmar—that which preceded the Square Temple—was completely built of such bricks. Furthermore, Layer 6 was coexistent with Sin Temple III, which, therefore, had just been built when the construction of the Temple Oval was begun. While the building of the Temple Oval was in progress, Layer 5 accumulated in the adjoining house area.[41] The first Temple Oval was completed and in use, how-

[39] For the hoard itself see *OIC* No 17, pp. 37–39; for the chronological implications see *OIC* No. 19, p. 81.

[40] *OIC* No. 13, p. 62.

[41] From this it is obvious that Layer 6 not only goes back to the very beginning of Early Dynastic II, but may even be considered as forming the transition from Early Dynastic I to Early Dynastic II; hence the reference to the Archaic Shrine here and on pp. 56 f. However, since Layer 6 belongs typologically more to Early Dynastic II than to Early Dynastic I, it has been placed under Early Dynastic II in the table at the end of this report.

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ever, at the time represented by Layer 4 of the house area, which in its turn is connected with Sin Temple II. The latter must therefore have been built immediately upon completion of the First Temple Oval. These stages in the architectural history of the site are embodied in the hatched plan in Figure 13. The house area was apparently gutted by fire toward the end of Early Dynastic II, since Layer 3 is entirely covered by an ash layer, which also separates at least the outer walls of the First Temple Oval from the foundations of the Second Temple Oval and extends between Sin Temples I and II. Several statues buried in Sin Temple II show traces of burning.

The material civilization of Early Dynastic II is now well known. In the first place we have to mention the hoard of statues found in the Square Temple at Tell Asmar,[42] which, as I hope to show elsewhere, is likely to represent the first school of monumental sculpture in Mesopotamia. At Khafaje also we found a number of sculptures which must be assigned to this period on stylistic grounds, though they happened to be buried with other and later pieces of discarded temple furniture in the succeeding period.[43] The ruins of the First Temple Oval and of Sin Temple III did not contain any sculptures at all.

The cylinder seals of Early Dynastic II are known from types that came from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar[44] and from graves at Khafaje. Some of these seals are shown in Figure 32. The upper one (Kh. V 141) shows in its top register a man milking a goat, while another shakes a large vessel suspended from above in the process of making butter. The second (Kh. V 15) depicts a boating scene. A clothed figure, bearded and long-haired, accompanied by two nude bald-headed men, is punting a boat which contains a vessel; the remainder of the field is occupied by a strange kneeling figure, an eagle (perhaps lion-headed), an indistinct object, and some fish. The third (Kh. V 1) presents a good example of the typical Early Dynastic II animal frieze, including the fantastic figure with lion-shaped legs. We have in preparation a volume[45] devoted exclusively to the seals from Tell Asmar and Khafaje, in which we shall demonstrate in detail that

[42] *OIC* No. 19, pp. 55–78.

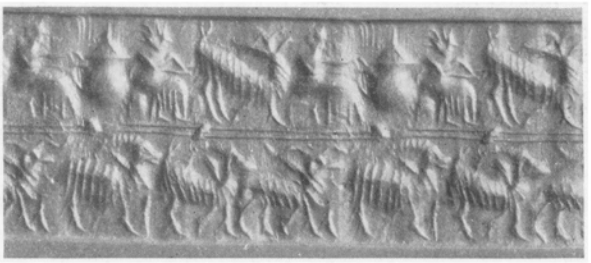
[43] These matters are fully dealt with in our forthcoming *OIP* XLIV entitled *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafaje.*

[44] *OIC* No. 19, Figs. 32–33.

[45] To appear as an *OIP.*

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the cylinders from Early Dynastic II establish, in fact, the age of the majority of the seal impressions from Fara.



Kh. V 141



Kh. V 15



Kh. V 1

FIG. 32.—Cylinder seals of Early Dynastic II from graves at Khafaje. Impressions, actual size.

The pottery of this period is also well known. Some comes from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar (Pl. I), and much more was found in the graves at Khafaje which belong to this period (Figs. 33–35). A small difference between the pottery from these two places should however be

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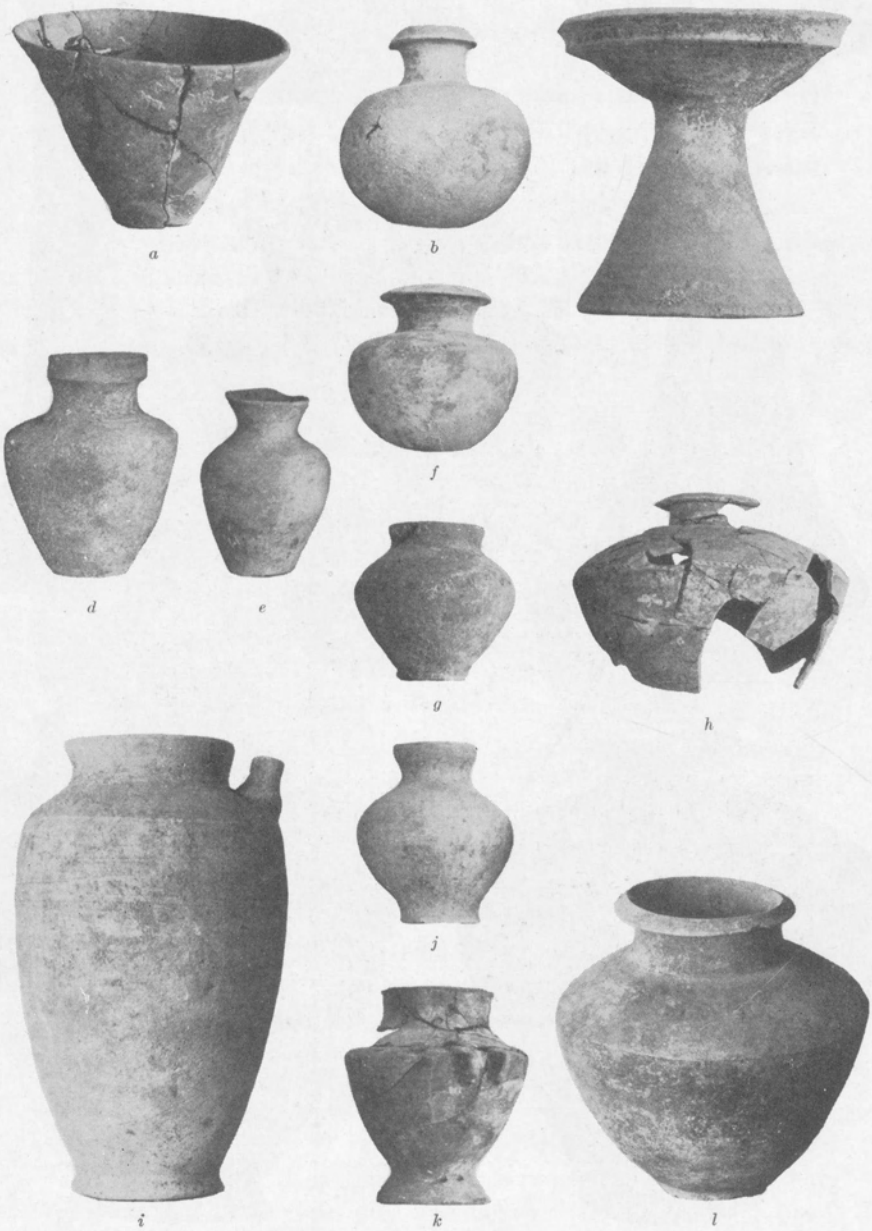


FIG. 33.—Pottery from graves of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje

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FIG. 34.—Pottery from graves of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje

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noted. Most of the pottery from the Square Temple belongs to the last phase of its occupation; this explains the fact that the pottery from the graves at Khafaje makes a somewhat more archaic impression and evidently links up with that of the preceding period, which is well represented by the pottery of the Archaic Shrine at Tell Asmar, as we shall see. In fact, when the graves were first discovered, we were struck by the novel combination of plano-convex bricks and pottery with plum-red slip. The latter is shown in Figure 33 *h* and *l*. Figure 34 *e* is a

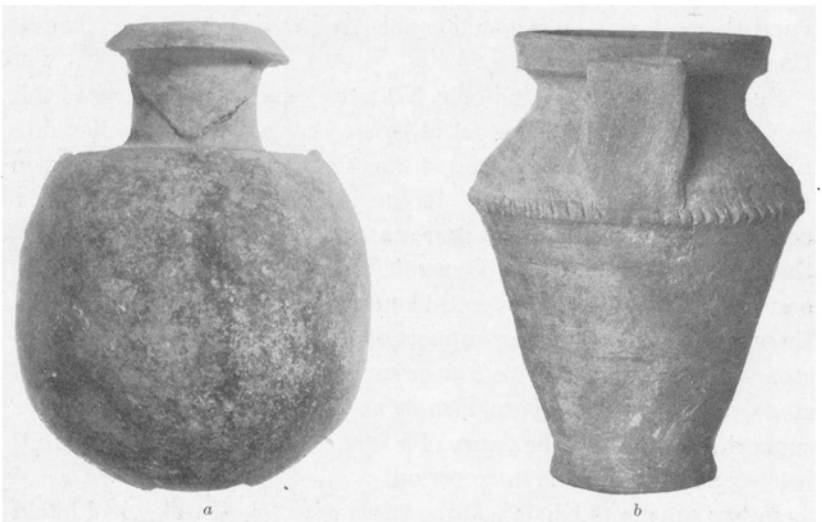


FIG. 35.—Pottery from graves of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje. Scale, 1:3

shape which also points to the past, while Figures 33 *b–c*, 34 *a* and *d*, and 35 *a* are as clearly connected with the subsequent development as illustrated by Cemetery "A" at Kish. Though Figure 34 *d* represents, in fact, a precursor of the so-called "vase with goddess-handle" from Kish "A,"[46] it resembles in every detail vases found in the last Archaic Shrine at Tell Asmar (cf. Pl. II), which is earlier than the bulk of the graves at Khafaje. Figure 33 *i* provides a clear link with the Square

[46] Thus we now have stratigraphical proof that D. B. Harden's derivation of the "mother-goddess handle" from the "unpierced shoulder excrescence," in *Iraq* I (1934) 35–37, was correct. Note our Fig. 35 *b*, where the origin of the "handle" as an atrophied spout is clearly illustrated.

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Temple, where likewise reserved-slip ware (Pl. I 2) was found as it was in these graves (Fig. 34 *f*).

The tall pottery stand of Figure 34 *c* occurs in two sizes, one about one foot and the other about two feet high. Such stands were occasionally found supporting copper cups. Similar cups were found set in stone bowls (Fig. 36). In the latter case we have obviously a simple way of piling up funerary furniture; but in the former the cups seem to fit the pottery stands so precisely that we are inclined to claim a connection between them. If hot beverages were drunk from the copper cups, the pottery stands would enable the persons drinking to handle them without discomfort.

Supports of another kind (Fig. 37) were found in two graves of this period. These supports consist of twisted copper rods spreading into a threefold foot at one end, and at the other into a fourfold claw upon which a bowl could be placed. In this last feature they resemble the copper statues found in our first season at Khafaje,[47] which might, therefore, be dated to Early Dynastic II. That this dating is probably correct is confirmed by the resemblance between the supports of these three figures and the copper support of a stone vase from Kish.[48] The stone vase contained in this copper support is almost identical with a stone vase from the Square Temple at Tell Asmar. The fine copper support resting upon the figure of a frog, which was found at Kish,[49] belongs no doubt to the same period.

In two graves at Khafaje stone vases were found which had inlaid borders of shell and lapis lazuli triangles, the pieces being fastened with bitumen into a groove on the shoulder (Figs. 38–39). An alabaster cup (Fig. 40) again provides a link with the Square Temple at Tell Asmar.[50]

The personal ornaments belonging to Early Dynastic II are comparatively insignificant. We have shown some of the seals (Fig. 32),

[47] *OIC* No. 13, Figs. 32–33. On the two smaller statues only traces of the claws are left.

[48] L. C. Watelin and S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish. The Herbert Weld (for the University of Oxford) and Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago) Expedition to Mesopotamia* IV (Paris, 1934) Pl. XXI 2.

[49] Watelin and Langdon, *op. cit.* Pl. XXI 1.

[50] Cf. *OIC* No. 19, Fig. 27, center figure of top row.

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FIG. 36.—Copper cups and stone bowls from graves of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje. Scale, 1:3

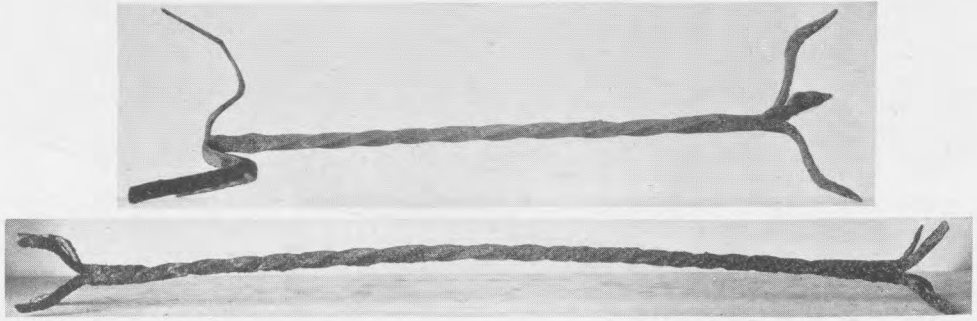


FIG. 37.—Copper supports from graves of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje. Scale, 1:5

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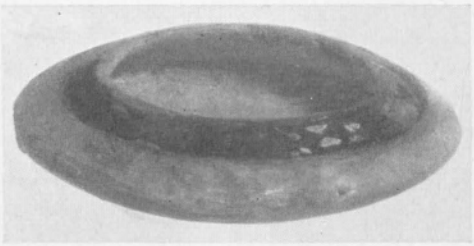


FIG. 38.—A stone vase from a grave of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje. Scale, 3:4.



FIG. 39.—A stone vase from a grave of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje. Scale, 1:2.

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but they are rare. In a few graves girdles of shell rings of an unusual type were found, the rings being apparently stitched on to some material, probably leather, of which only a grayish substance remained. In Figure 41 we have reconstructed two patterns which were actually observed in the soil. To the same period belongs a hoard of beads and pendants which were found in Layer 6 and therefore just antedated

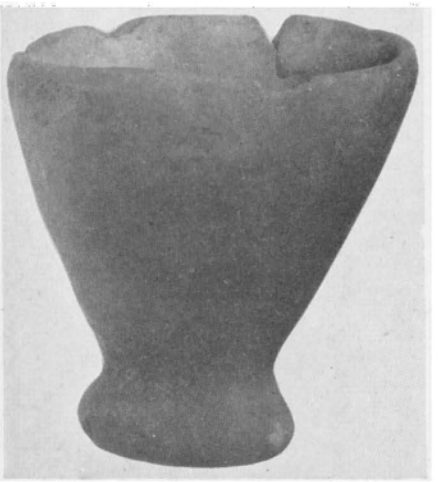


FIG. 40.—An alabaster cup from a grave of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje. Scale, 1:2.

the foundation of the First Temple Oval. In Figure 42 we have pictured some sets of these beads in the order in which they were found. Those in the curved string are of hematite and gray limestone; carnelian and agate occur in the string next to that, and black and white mottled stone, green fayence, and shells in the two shorter strings. Figure 43 gives a view of the collection as restrung by us. Figure 44 shows three ram (or bull) pendants found with the beads, the one at our left being strung with the set of green glazed beads with which it was found.

EARLY DYNASTIC I

Various features of the remains of Early Dynastic II discovered by us toward the end of the previous season both at Tell Asmar and at Khafaje seemed to point to the proximity of the Jemdet Nasr age and

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led us to anticipate the discovery of layers of that date almost at once on resumption of the excavations.[51] This expectation, however, was not fulfilled. Instead we discovered a transitional period which

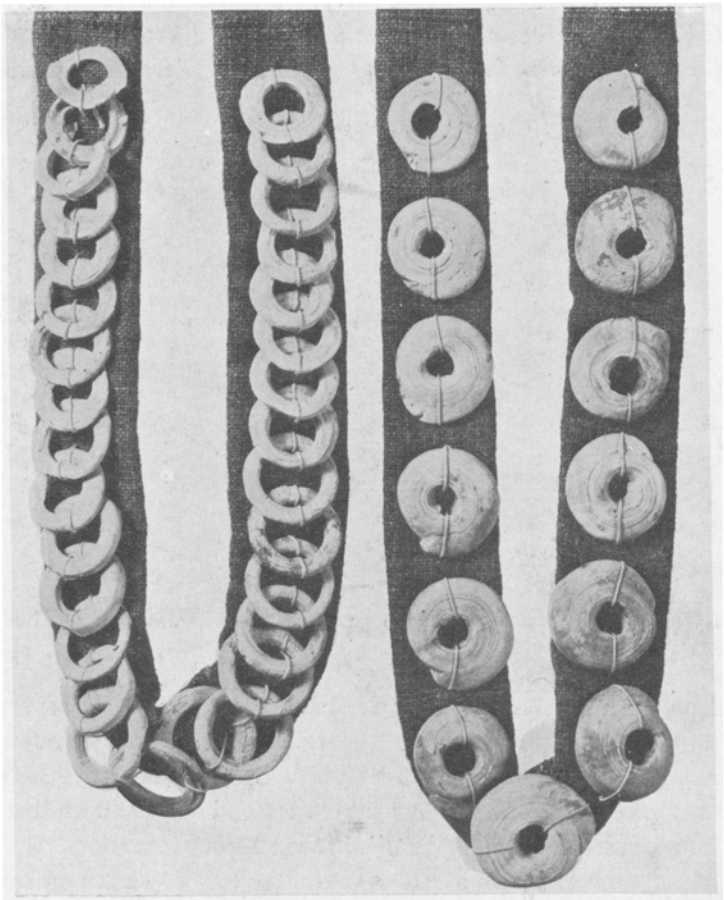


FIG. 41.—Girdles of shell rings from graves of Early Dynastic II at Khafaje. Scale, 1:2.

separates the remains of the true Jemdet Nasr age from those which we have discussed hitherto. Until we had completed the excavation of the remains of this period we reserved judgment as to its precise charac-

[51] *Ibid.* pp. 37 and 83; *RA* XXXI 177.

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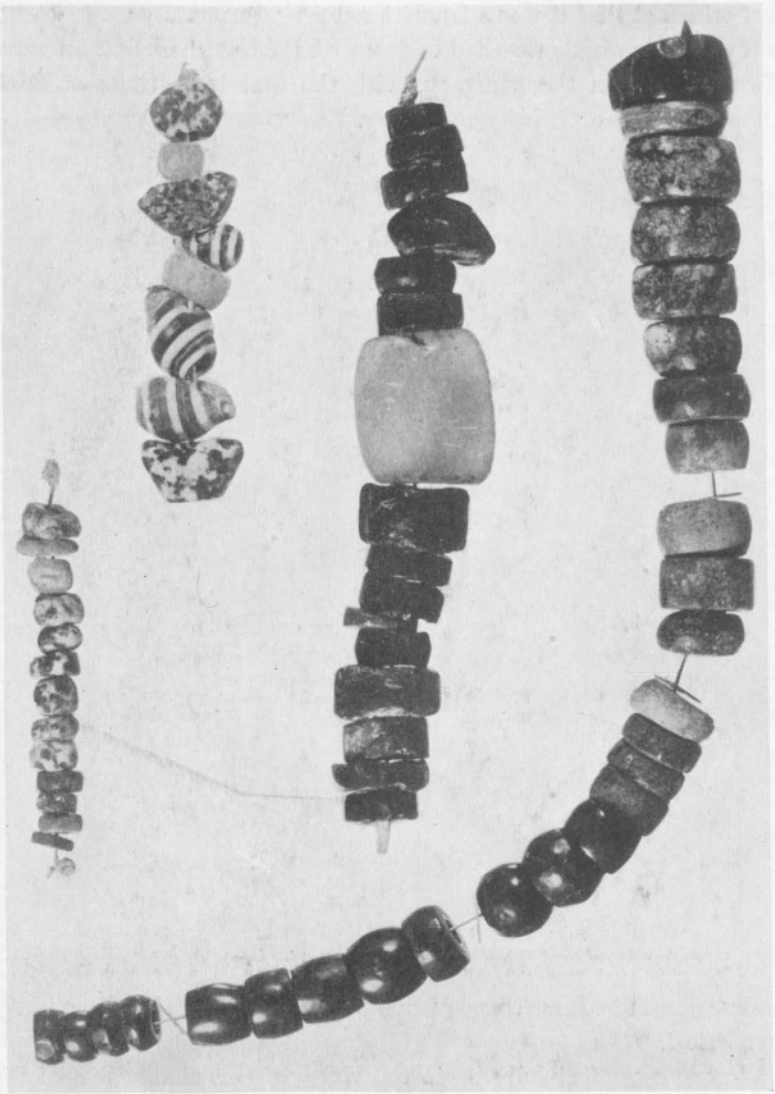


FIG. 42.—Beads from Layer 6 at Khafaje, in same order as found. Actual size.

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ter;[52] the fact that it was a transitional period naturally made it difficult to decide whether we had to deal with the last phase of the Jemdet Nasr age or, on the contrary, with the first indications of Early Dynastic culture. It has now become clear that the latter alternative

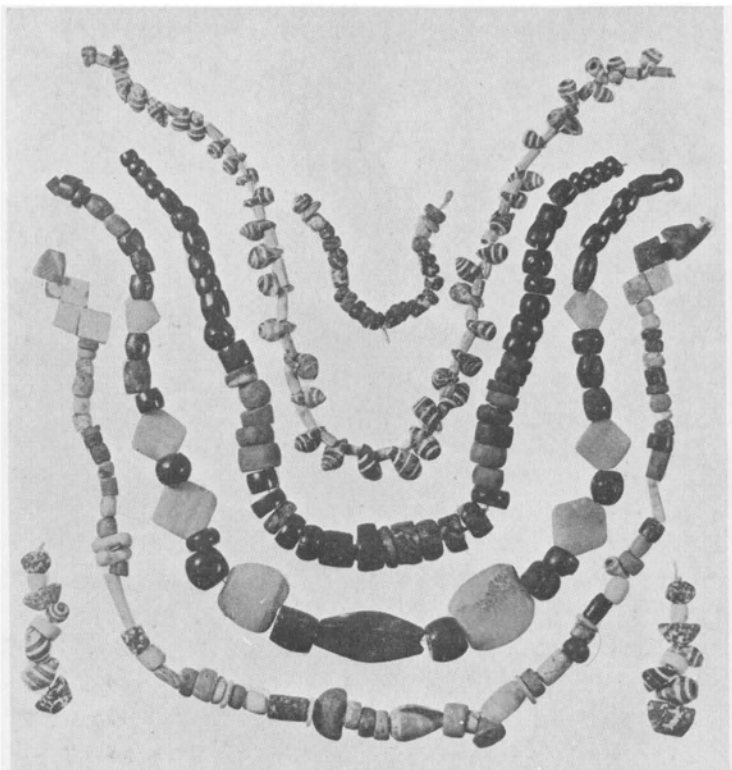


FIG. 43.—Beads from Layer 6 at Khafaje, restrung. Scale, 2:5

is correct, and we have consequently called this transitional age Early Dynastic I.

We can most fruitfully begin the study of this subdivision of the Early Dynastic period with a survey of the material from the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar, where the Archaic Shrine with its four successive stages falls entirely within the limits of this period. The upper-

[52] Hence our very general and not very appropriate appellation "protodynastic," which appeared in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* LI (1934/35) 271.

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most of these stages (Archaic Shrine IV) contained the pottery shown in Plate II. As pointed out in the footnote on page 45, the jars with a

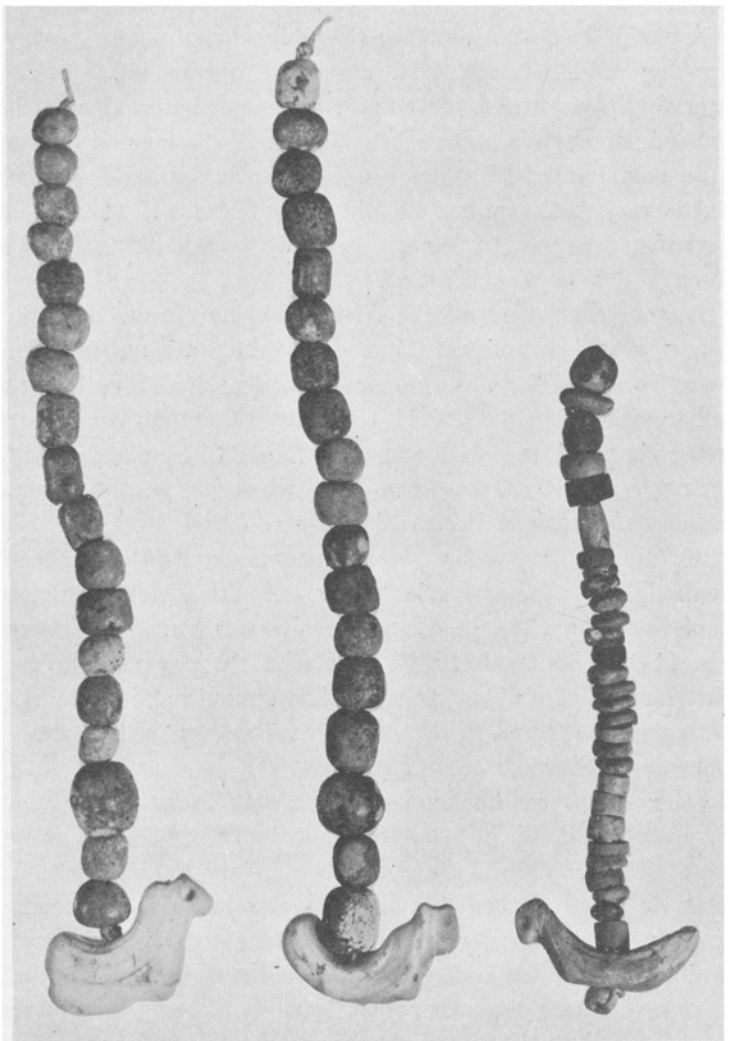


FIG. 44.—Ram or bull pendants from Layer 6 at Khafaje. Actual size

broad lug on the shoulder represent a development halfway between the original spout and the "goddess-handle" of Kish "A." Their decoration, here as in the cemetery at Khafaje, often shows a combina-

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tion of incised and reserved-slip decoration. The brazier (Pl. II 14) and the supports (Pl. II 11–13) are obviously related to those of the later periods (cf. Pl. I), though their shapes are distinctive as well as the design of deeply cut-out triangles which do not pierce the clay but, since they are left rough, seem intended to receive inlays of another material. Fragments of painted pottery include both red monochrome ware and polychrome ware, which, however, is distinguished from that of the true Jemdet Nasr deposits in that the orange-red or scarlet paint is very easily rubbed off, obviously because it was laid on the vessel after firing with a flux of apparently organic matter, such as albumen, which has now decayed.

The preceding stage of the Archaic Shrine (Archaic Shrine III) shows a prevalence of just those wares which are not found in the Square Temple and its contemporaneous deposits. "Scarlet ware" is amply represented (Pl. III 5, 14–15, 21, 29–30, and 32) as is also monochrome plum-red ware with a fast slip (No. 28). Similarities with the later stages of Early Dynastic ceramics are absent; on the other hand, a number of true Jemdet Nasr sherds were found (Pl. III 10, 22, and 24–26). Incised decoration is much more elaborate than in the later periods, in some cases covering the vessel with a closely interwoven net of lines (No. 31), in others merely ornamenting the shoulder (Nos. 11–12). Some of the jars are of a shape never observed in higher levels, being of a type called "hole-mouthed," for there is no neck and the flat rim rests directly on the shoulder, which carries four tubular lugs (Fig. 45).

In the next preceding stage of the Archaic Shrine (Archaic Shrine II) we again find (Pl. IV) elaborately incised ware (No. 6) as well as cut-out triangles (Nos. 1–2) like those of Plate II 12–13, which now appear on hole-mouthed jars with tubular lugs or with triangular pierced lugs distinctive of the Jemdet Nasr period. The unpierced lugs, likewise peculiar to the Jemdet Nasr period (Pl. IV 8–9), now appear upon vases of pure Jemdet Nasr shape and with the sharp-edged, beveled rims noticed already in the Third and the Fourth Archaic Shrine (cf. Pl. III 28 and 31–32 and Pl. II 8).

The earliest stage of the Archaic Shrine (Archaic Shrine I) did not produce any pottery. As it is, the pottery bridges the gap between the Jemdet Nasr period and Early Dynastic II completely.

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It is valuable to realize how well the evidence from Tell Asmar is corroborated by that from Khafaje. In Layer 6 of the house area, which just antedated the excavation for the foundation of the First Temple Oval, a brazier was found (Fig. 46) which might have been made on the model of that of Plate II 14. From Layer 8 we have a



FIG. 45.—Hole-mouthed jar with tubular lugs, from Early Dynastic I at Tell Asmar. Scale, about 1:5.

bowl with cut-out triangles (Fig. 47). Unpierced triangular lugs are conspicuous on pottery from graves contemporaneous with these layers (Fig. 48 *a* and *d*), which include the charred burials referred to above (p. 19). The same kind of pottery has been found in Cemetery "Y" at Kish.[53] Both at Kish and at Khafaje a few black bowls ap-

[53] See Harden's article in *Iraq* I 30–44, especially Pl. VI *a*, Fig. 2, No. 8, and Fig. 5, No. 12; also Watelin and Langdon, *op. cit.* Pl. I, underneath "flood stratum."

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peared that were of entirely different fabric from that of the other pottery and were decorated with pebble-burnished lines (Fig. 49). Even at Warka, in the south, such bowls have been found occasionally, as

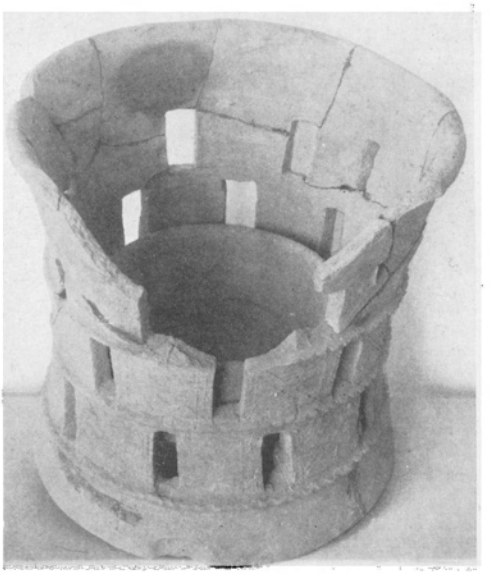


FIG. 46.—Brazier from Layer 6 at Khafaje. Scale, 1:5



FIG. 47.—Bowl with cut-out triangles, from Layer 8 at Khafaje. Scale, 3:10

Dr. E. Heinrich kindly tells me. A most striking characteristic of Early Dynastic I is the calix with solid foot (Fig. 6), which occurs in all stages of the Archaic Shrine and in the contemporaneous Sin Temple IV, surviving into the period of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar

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(Early Dynastic II), but occurring in neither Early Dynastic III nor the Jemdet Nasr period.

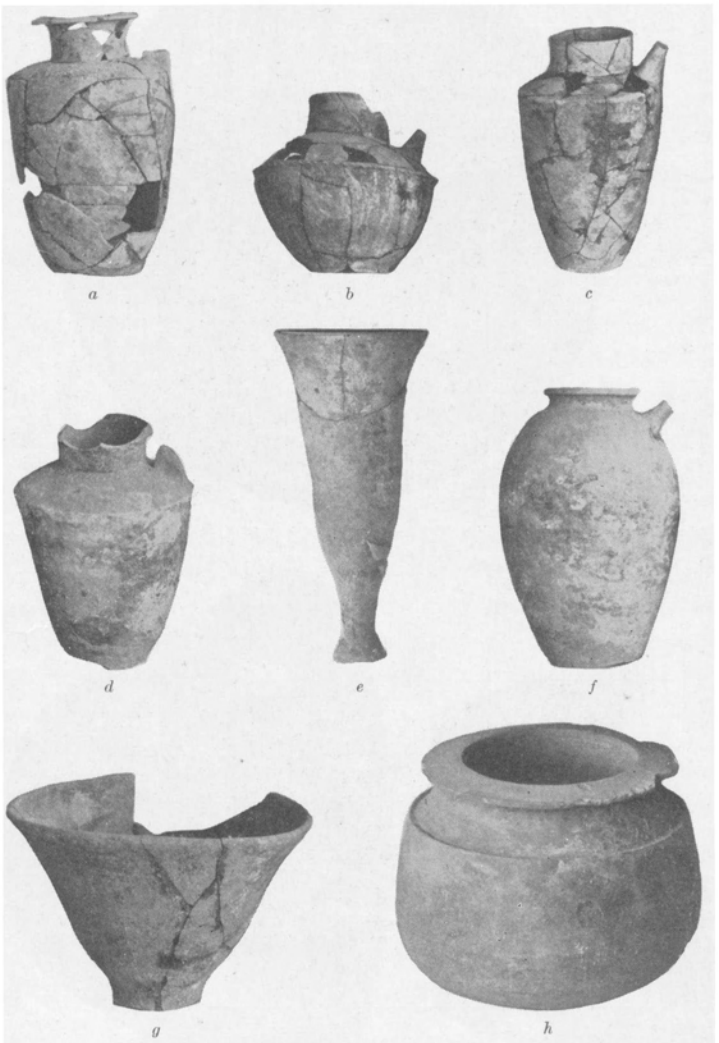


FIG. 48.—Pottery from graves of Early Dynastic I at Khafaje

The comparisons which we have been able to make with other sites should dispel any suspicion that the remains described in this section represent a locally restricted variety or phase of Mesopotamian cul-

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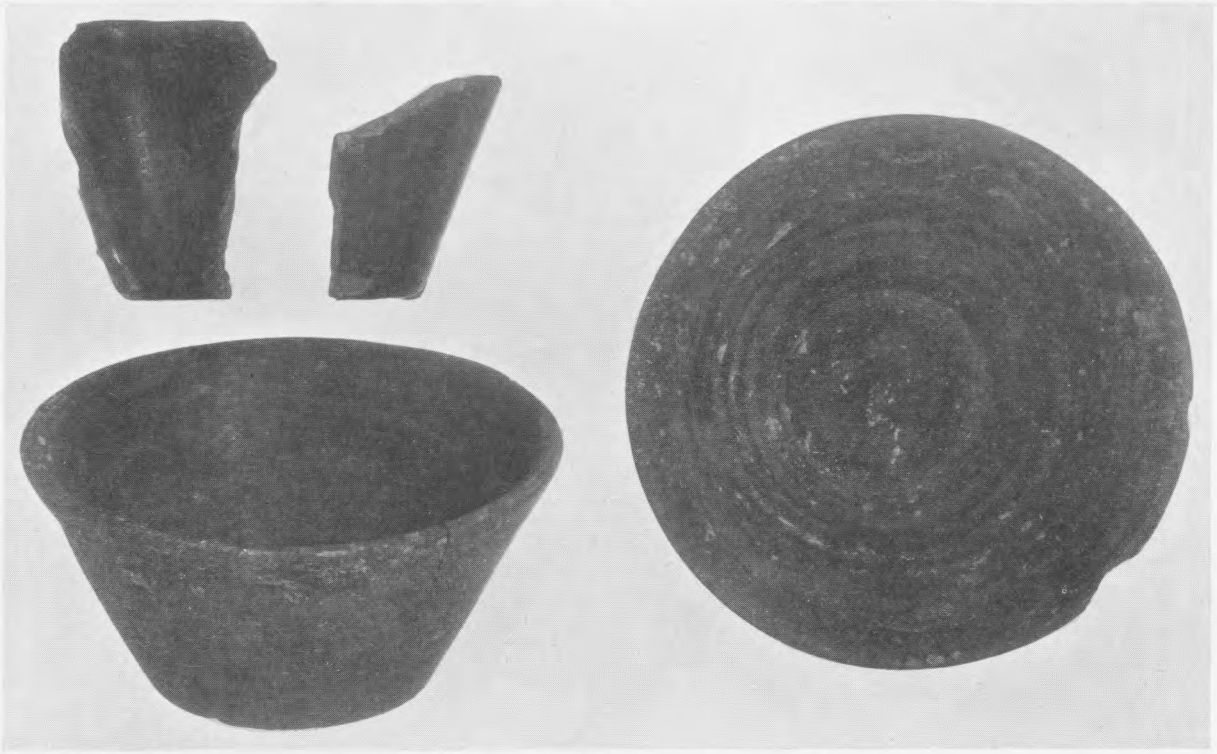


FIG. 49.—Black burnished bowls from Khafaje. Scale, 5:8

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ture. The cylinder seals, which are very distinctive (pp. 65–68), are well represented in various collections and do not derive exclusively from the region where we are working.[54] As to building material, we have seen above (pp. 11 f.) that plano-convex bricks seem to have been known from the beginning of Early Dynastic I, but that they became predominant only toward its end. However, we shall be able to appreciate to the full the peculiar place which Early Dynastic I occupies in the cultural development of the country only after having considered the remains of the Jemdet Nasr period.

THE JEMDET NASR PERIOD—THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENT AT TELL ASMAR

We have already described how underneath the First Archaic Shrine a temple on a much more humble scale was discovered (see p. 12). It represents the earliest foundation of the Abu Temple. Its pottery (Pl. V) could be ascribed without hesitation to the Jemdet Nasr period; but since we had obtained in the successive stages of the Archaic Shrine a series of remains which very gradually bridged the gap between the Jemdet Nasr period and Early Dynastic II, we wished to get some more information as to the exact chronological position of this, the earliest shrine at Tell Asmar. This information was to hand in the stratified material from the two test pits which had been opened toward the end of the previous season and were completed in the present (see Fig. 1 and p. 15).

The Bird-Vase Pit is located immediately to the north of the Abu Temple and derives its name from a ritual vessel[55] which was found there in a level corresponding with the end of the Square Temple or the beginning of the Single-Shrine Temple. The Pit under the Akkadian Houses is southeast of the Abu Temple. Since these pits passed through rubbish heaps and remains of very poor dwellings, there was no clear-cut division of the stratification. In the absence of floor levels

[54] Ernst Heinrich, hrsg. von Walter Andrae, *Fara. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab 1902/03* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung [Berlin, 1931]) Pls. 61 *f* and 62 *a;* Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets, et pierres gravées de style oriental (Musée du Louvre)* I (Paris, 1920) 43, No. S 267, illus. Pl. 24, No. 17; H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (*OIP* XXII [1934]) Pl. VII 63–64.

[55] *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 27.

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we kept the sherds and other objects from each meter of excavated soil separate, and thus they are shown in Plates VI–VII.

One unexpected fact stands out with indubitable clarity from these records: the earliest definite settlement of Eshnunna dates back no farther than the Jemdet Nasr period. It is true that a few sherds of al-'Ubaid ware testify to the presence of people in the region of Eshnunna during a preceding age (Pl. VI, meter 22–21, Nos. 9–10; Pl. VII, meter 22–21, No. 16 and perhaps also Nos. 10–11); but most of the sherds are certainly of Jemdet Nasr date. Similar observations were made at Kish and at Fara.[56] In addition to pottery we found in each pit, close to virgin soil, a semi-pictographic tablet (Pl. VI, meter 22–21, No. 11, and Pl. VII, meter 22–21, No. 12) of the type found at the site of Jemdet Nasr. It seems, therefore, that the settlement of the country underwent some change at, or after, the conclusion of the Uruk period; for while some of the well known cities, such as Ur and Uruk, existed from the earliest times alongside such villages as were found at Samarra and Arpachiyah, indicating that settlement in the plain was possible, other cities, on the other hand, were first founded in the Jemdet Nasr period.

Returning to our test pits we find that for several meters above virgin soil the nature of the objects remains the same. Polychrome pottery of the Jemdet Nasr type occurs along with plain-slipped, reserved-slipped, incised, and undecorated sherds of shapes that are characteristic of the Jemdet Nasr period. Also two fragments of glazed steatite cylinders with geometric patterns, such as occurred in Sin Temple VI at Khafaje (Fig. 29), appear (Pl. VI, meters 26–24, No. 12; Pl. VII, meter 24–23, No. 13). Another cylinder (Pl. VII, meter 25–24, No. 6) is of the squat shape typical of this age. But just before the level of 27 meters is reached the character of our finds changes suddenly. In the Bird-Vase Pit (Pl. VI) we find in meter 27–26 a number of the elaborately incised wares with flat rims and lug handles which are characteristic for the Archaic Shrine and predominate in the later layers of the pit, while polychrome painted wares characteristic of the Jemdet Nasr period are discontinued. The goblet with solid foot, predominant in the Archaic Shrine at Tell Asmar and in Sin Temple IV

[56] Watelin and Langdon, *op. cit.* Pl. I; Erich Schmidt in *Museum Journal* XXII (1931) 211–14.

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at Khafaje, now appears in our pits also, and an impression of a "brocade style" seal (Pl. VI, meter 27–26, No. 24) completes the series of features which we have observed as characteristic of Early Dynastic I. In the Pit under the Houses (Pl. VII) we observe that no polychrome painted Jemdet Nasr ware appears above meter 26, while pink-line ware and reserved-slip ware continue. Immediately upon reaching meter 27 we find a predominance of fragments of hole-mouthed jars with incised decoration and flat rims, and "scarlet ware" (Nos. 4–5) appears along with the calices with solid foot.

This coincidence of a change at the same level in two pits situated on opposite sides of the Abu Temple naturally suggests that we should scrutinize the stratification of the temple itself for a similarly distinctive contrast. The section through the Abu Temple (Fig. 2) shows that there, too, virgin soil was struck just above meter 21; hence we have a common datum level for the earliest habitations. There is no reason to assume that the 3 meters of house débris underneath the Earliest Shrine accumulated at a different rate from that which we found in our two shafts. The pottery of the Earliest Shrine corresponds as closely as could be with that found in the corresponding levels of our pits; and the cultural change observed in both pits between the 27- and 26-meter levels corresponds clearly with the architectural change between the Earliest Shrine and the First Archaic Shrine; for the latter is actually founded at 26.30 meters. Below this point the remains belong to the Jemdet Nasr period, above it to Early Dynastic I.

THE CIVILIZATION OF EARLY DYNASTIC I

The preceding survey of the remains of the Jemdet Nasr period from Tell Asmar should set off with greater clarity the peculiar character of Early Dynastic I—a cultural phase which, in the work of 1934/35, we have for the first time been able to distinguish and isolate. As we have seen in discussing the building material (pp. 10–12) and the pottery (pp. 52–57), Early Dynastic I is obviously a period of transition. But the features which connect it with the past are clearly survivals, while those which connect it with the succeeding age bear testimony to the new factors which subsequently produced the full-fledged Early Dynastic civilization. Thus, plano-convex bricks were

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TABLE OF POTTERY TYPES AT TELL ASMAR AND KHAFAJE

Jemdet Nasr Period	Early Dynastic I	Early Dynastic II	Early Dynastic III
	A. Painted Wares		
1. Polychrome-decorated ware (black and red designs in white panels, body fast purple-red slip)	Discontinued		
2.	"Scarlet ware"; background is a scarlet body paint, easily rubbed off; black designs, occasionally representational, are painted on buff body clay not covered by scarlet	Discontinued	
3. Monochrome-decorated pottery (sometimes representational designs; stars; pentagram)	Simplified ("pink-line" ware)	Discontinued	
	B. Slip-decorated Wares		
4. Plain ware with plum-red slip	Continued	Continued	Discontinued
5. Reserved-slip ware	Continued	Continued	Discontinued
	C. Wares with Incised Decoration		
6. Unpierced triangular lugs on shoulder and simple incised rope pattern	Continued	Discontinued	
7. Four pierced triangular lugs, connected with simple incised rope pattern	Continued	Discontinued	
8.	Hole-mouthed flat-rimmed jars, four tubular lugs, richly incised shoulder decoration	Discontinued	

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TABLE OF POTTERY TYPES AT TELL ASMAR AND KHAFAJE—*Continued*

Jemdet Nasr Period	Early Dynastic I	Early Dynastic II	Early Dynastic III
C. Wares with Incised Decoration—*Continued*			
9.	Pottery completely covered with incisions	Discontinued	
10.	Pottery with cut-out triangle decoration	Discontinued	
11.	Wing-lug ware with incised decoration	Continued	Becomes "goddess-handle" ware
D. Undecorated Wares			
12. Jars with sharp shoulder and flat rim with beveled edge	Continued	Continued	Discontinued
13.	Calix with solid foot	Continued	Discontinued
14.		"Fruit stand"	Continued with elaborate incised decoration

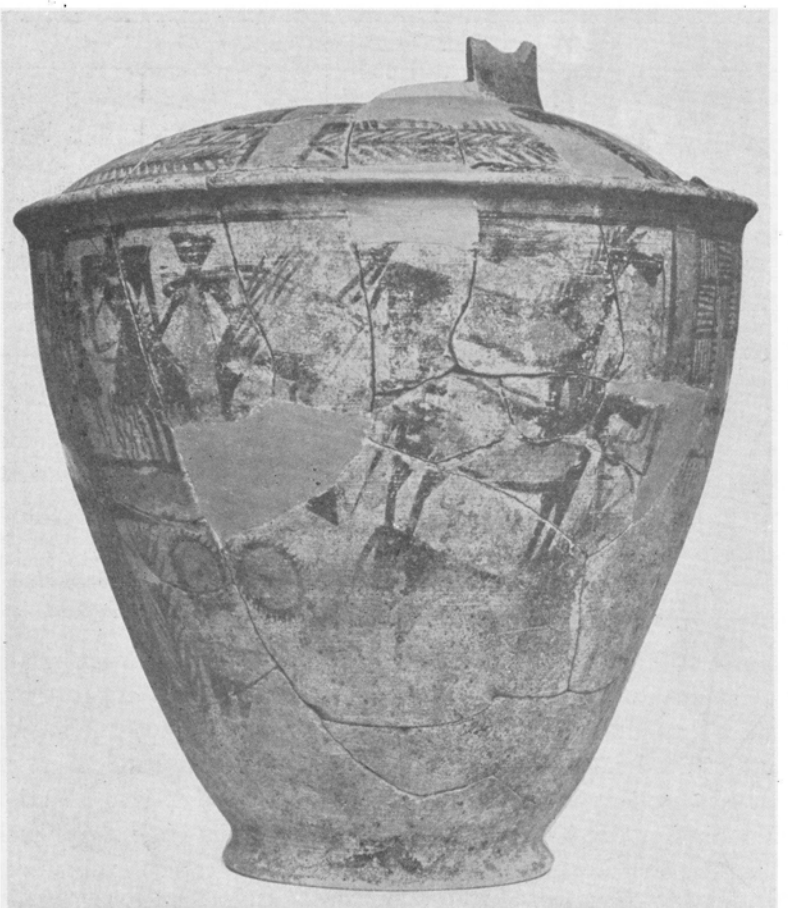
known at the time of Archaic Shrine I at Tell Asmar, but they became predominant only in the period of Archaic Shrine IV. In pottery we notice a rapid decline of painting, which was such an outstanding feature of the Jemdet Nasr period, while, on the other hand, there occurred a sudden outburst of various types of incised designs, a method of decoration which remained characteristic for the whole of the Early Dynastic civilization. The ceramic development can be easily understood from the accompanying table, in which the history of fourteen types is summarized.

It is quite important that the place of the "scarlet ware" is properly established, for a valuable vase in the British Museum,[57] which Arab thieves had stolen from the house area at Khafaje before our excavations started, belongs to this class of pottery (Figs. 50–51). We are allowed to reproduce it here by the courtesy of the Trustees of the

[57] *British Museum Quarterly* VIII (1933/34) 38–41, with Pl. VIII.

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Museum and of Mr. Sidney Smith, Keeper of the Department of Assyrian and Egyptian Antiquities. Since the technical qualities are hard to appraise in a photograph, we add in Plate VIII *C* three frag-



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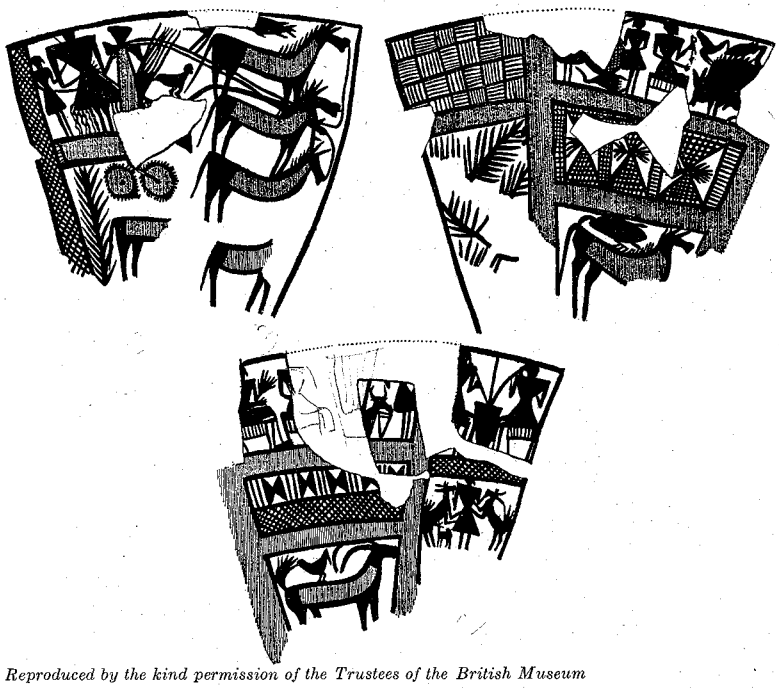
FIG. 50.—"Scarlet ware" vase from Khafaje, now in the British Museum (*British Museum Quarterly* VIII [1933/34] Pl. VIII).

ments of "scarlet ware" which were actually found by us at Khafaje.[57a] While the "scarlet ware" from Tell Asmar shows only geometrical decoration (Pl. III), we here have animals rendered in a peculiar way: head and legs are drawn in solid black while the larger surface of the body

[57a] Complete pots were found at Khafaje and Tell Ajrab in 1935/36.

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is filled in with red. This is exactly what we notice in the animals on the British Museum vase. Now Mr. Sidney Smith has pointed out that the banqueting and chariot scenes of the vase which he published are inseparable from such well known Early Dynastic monuments as the "standard" from Ur[58] and the plaques we have been finding at Khafaje



Reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

FIG. 51.—Decoration of vase shown in Fig. 50 (*British Museum Quarterly* VIII [1933/34] 39).

in each of our campaigns. Once more we are therefore led to the conclusion that the period of the "scarlet ware" is more closely allied to the Early Dynastic than to the Jemdet Nasr period.[59]

A similar conclusion follows from a study of the seals in Figures 52–

[58] Cf. C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*. II. *The Royal Cemetery* (Oxford, 1934) Pls. 91–93.

[59] This ware is not found at Jemdet Nasr, but forms part of the pottery from Tepe Ali-Abad, near Musyan (Délégation en Perse, *Mémoires* VIII [Paris, 1905] 92–143). It is evident that various discoveries assigned to the Jemdet Nasr period will have to be reconsidered in the light of the evidence which we are here presenting.

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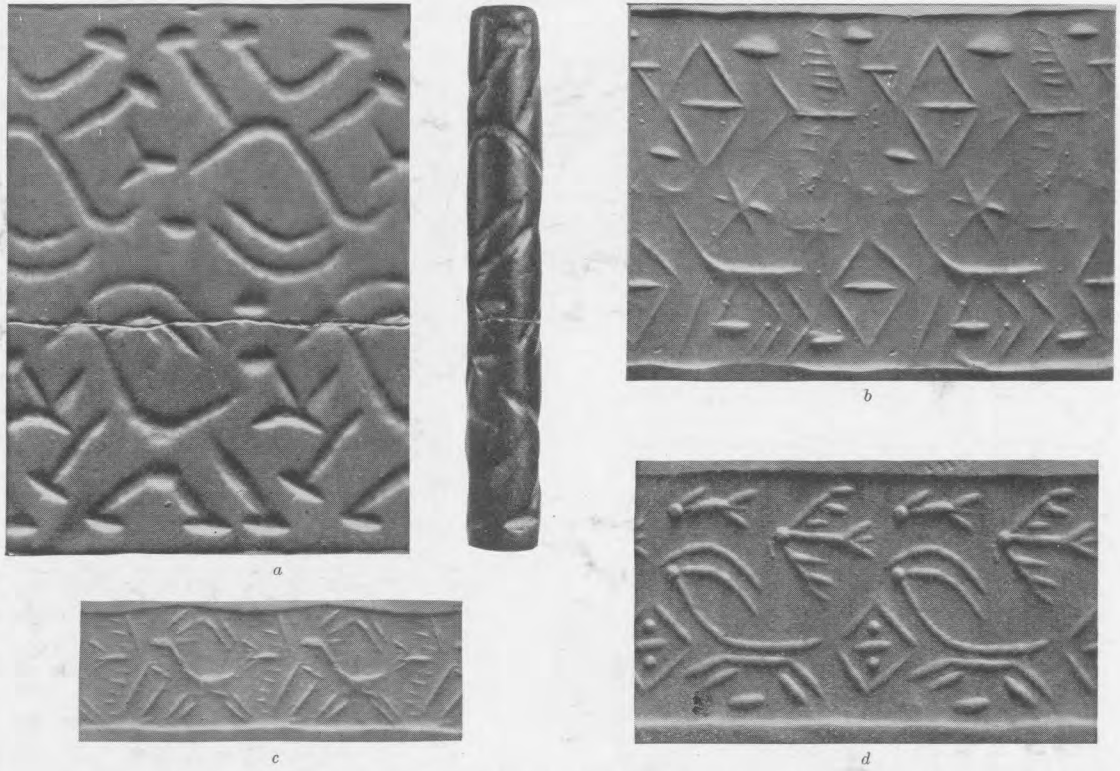


FIG. 52.—"Brocade style" cylinder seals from Khafaje. Impressions, actual size

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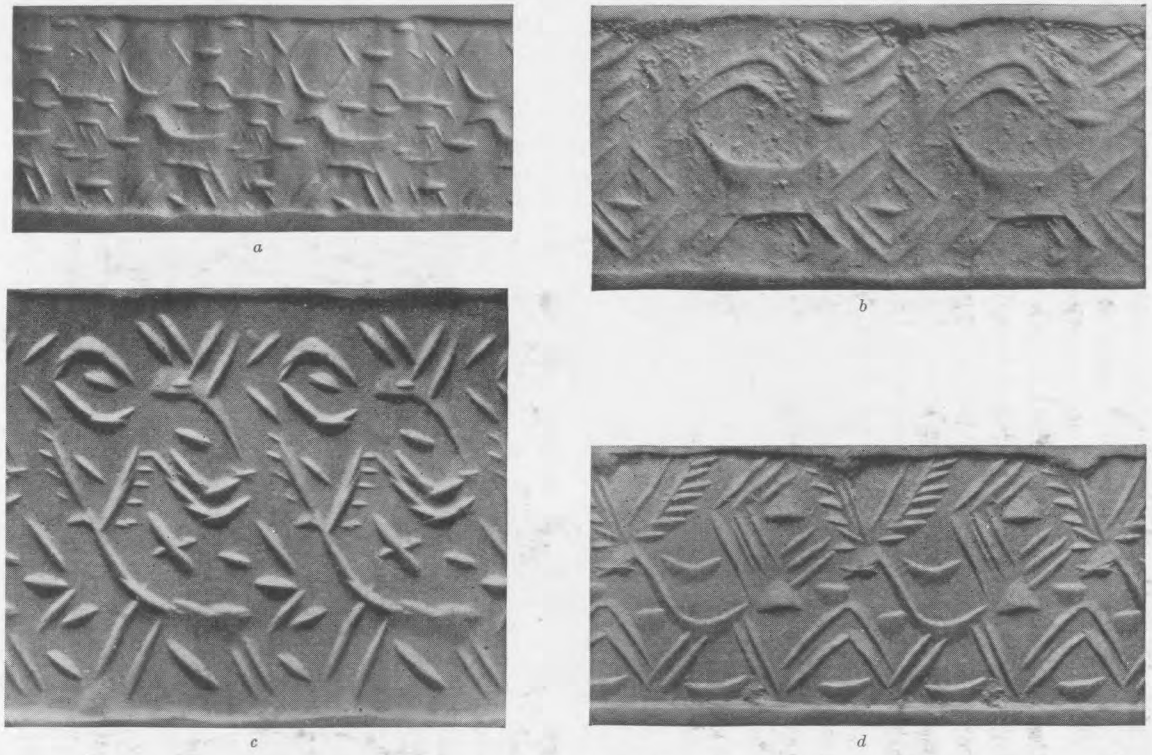


FIG. 53.—"Brocade style" cylinder seals from Khafaje. Impressions, actual size

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53. On the one hand, the elongated, narrow shape resembles that of the glazed steatite seals of the Jemdet Nasr period, and the subject of the designs is similarly void of innovation. We find files of goats or other animals, sometimes together with fish and birds—representations which, after all, are merely the products of the disintegration of the ritual scenes of the Uruk period glyptic. On the other hand, the method in which the motives are rendered in these "brocade style" seals is entirely new and shows them to belong to Early Dynastic I rather than to the Jemdet Nasr period. The subject appears to be of secondary importance; the ingenuity of the seal-cutter is concentrated upon creating a satisfactory pattern for the frieze which the seal impression produces.[59a] This pattern, like a textile design, is made to cover the whole surface evenly, and filling motives such as lozenges or crosses are used to achieve this end. The only significant comparison with this new decorative style is the Dipylon style of vase-painting in Greece. This, a quasi-geometric, quasi-primitive style of design, nevertheless contains in embryo all the elements of the great subsequent development. Exactly the same applies to the "brocade style" seals of Mesopotamia. The suppression of the narrative in favor of the decorative value of the design is the outstanding characteristic of later Early Dynastic glyptic,[60] and this tendency becomes manifest for the first time with the emergence of the "brocade style" in Early Dynastic I.

We do not as yet possess works of sculpture in the round from Early Dynastic I; as regards relief, I should like to suggest tentatively that the green stone vases with carvings, of which we found several fragments in higher layers,[61] go back indeed to the period we are discussing. The even covering of the surface with the design reminds one of the "brocade style" seals. An example of this kind of stonework, found by Banks at Bismayah,[62] shows men with long hair ornamented with feathers, recalling the well known "Personnage aux Plumes" from Telloh.[63] The very archaic script on this relief from Telloh is not unlike that of our lion-headed eagle (Fig. 25). Both must be placed, as

[59a] This applies to new designs at Ur also. See comment on table at end.

[60] *OIC* No. 16, pp. 44 f. [61] *OIC* No. 19, pp. 52 f.

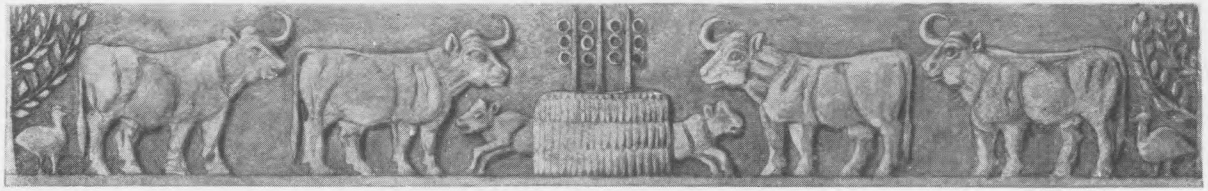
[62] E. J. Banks, *Bismya, or The Lost City of Adab* (New York and London, 1912) pp. 267–69.

[63] E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884–1912) II, Pl. 1 *bis* 1.

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A



B

FIG. 54.—*A*. Green stone vase, probably of the Jemdet Nasr period, found in an Early Dynastic layer of a small shrine in the house area at Khafaje. Scale, 1:2. *B*. Development of design on vase, drawn by Miss G. Rachel Levy.

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FIG. 55.—Pottery bird-vase found in Layer 5 in the small shrine in the house area at Khafaje. Scale, 1:3

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Dr. Jacobsen tells me, between the earliest inscriptions from Lagash and the Jemdet Nasr period. Early Dynastic I certainly seems a likely age to which to ascribe these monuments.[63a]

Decorative carving in stone had attained a high degree of perfection at a very early date. Richly decorated vases are, in fact, characteristic of the Uruk and the Jemdet Nasr periods. There is no doubt that the



FIG. 56.—Vase of the Jemdet Nasr period, from the Earliest Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar. Scale, 1:3.

green stone vase (Fig. 54) found in an Early Dynastic layer of the small shrine (~~1 Q 42~~) in the house area at Khafaje is in reality much older. The scene of calves running from a sacred inclosure to meet the cows occurs on vases and cylinder seals of the Jemdet Nasr and Uruk periods; but since our knowledge of the extent of time separating these periods is, at the moment, in a very fluid state, we cannot define the date of our vase more precisely.

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[63a] As to tablets, the "Archaic Texts" from Ur belong here. See comment on table at end.

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FIG. 57.—Clay figurines from Tell Asmar and Khafaje. Scale, 3:5

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A pottery bird-vase painted in red (Fig. 55) presents a somewhat similar case. It was found rather high up in the same small shrine, in Layer 5 to be precise, but though occurring in an Early Dynastic II layer, it was certainly made in an earlier period. It most probably is a specimen of painted Jemdet Nasr ware with monochrome decoration. This kind of ware seems to have surprises in store for us still, as the vase with trees, from the Earliest Shrine in Tell Asmar, proves (Fig. 56).[64] While sherds showing the same fringed lines as our bird-vase occur in Early Dynastic I also (Pls. II 4 and III 17), they probably derive from an earlier period.

Finally there are some small clay figurines which may be assigned to Early Dynastic I (Fig. 57). These are remarkable in many ways. At Khafaje one such figurine (*a*) was found in Sin Temple V, that is, in a layer of Early Dynastic I, and two others in Jemdet Nasr layers—*b* in Sin Temple VI and *c* in Layer 12 of the house area. At Tell Asmar we found two examples, *d* and *e*, in Archaic Shrine III. The resemblances among these objects are very great indeed. Thus one specimen from Tell Asmar (Fig. 57 *e*) has in common with the Khafaje examples the atrophied arms, the perforation of the left shoulder, and the pellets applied to the right. The other figurine from Tell Asmar (Fig. 57 *d*) is more elaborate, but it, too, shows the same method of making the eyes—by sharply cutting across an applied pellet of clay—which was used at Khafaje. Much more extraordinary, however, is the resemblance between our figurines and some which Sir Leonard Woolley discovered at Ur.[65] There we observe the same way of rendering the eyes and the same ornamentation of the shoulders; yet the figurines from Ur belong to the al-ʿUbaid period. We have therefore to assume an extraordinarily long survival either of actual customs (e.g., tattooing of the shoulder?)[66] or, at least, of the traditions of certain crafts. An alternative explanation would be that the al-ʿUbaid, the Uruk, and the Jemdet Nasr periods are more closely interrelated and, especially, less widely spread in time, than is commonly assumed. On this problem we hope to throw further light after the completion of another season's excavations at Khafaje.

[64] Cf. Henry Field and R. A. Martin, "Painted pottery from Jemdet Nasr, Iraq," *American Journal of Archaeology* XXXIX (1935) 310–20, esp. Pl. XXXIII 4.

[65] *Antiquaries Journal* X (1930) Pl. XLVIII opp. p. 337. [66] *Ibid.* p. 339.

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II

EXCAVATIONS AT ISHCHALI AND KHORSABAD

Ishchali

The site of Ishchali (Fig. 58),[1] situated about three miles south by southeast from Khafaje, had supplied antiquity dealers in 1929 with some very valuable objects and a large number of tablets. Wishing to place these objects and tablets in their proper context, we started work where the Arabs had most thoroughly ransacked the ruins. We were pleasantly surprised to find that the thieves at Ishchali had not burrowed deeply and had done less damage than we expected on the analogy of our experience at Khafaje. On the other hand, certain parts of the buildings had suffered very badly when, at some time, builders were attracted by the baked bricks used for stairs, floors, and terraces and had removed this material in great quantities. Yet Ishchali suffered less from denudation than Tell Asmar, and we were able to obtain a continuous plan of the buildings without descending more than a few meters below the surface. So after one season's work we have uncovered a fragment of the buttressed town wall, a gate leading through it, a large secular building (serai), a temple complex, and a thoroughfare which runs from the gate between the buildings (Fig. 59). The temple being of exceptional interest, we have already begun the investigation of its deeper layers; but for the purpose of this report we shall consider only its latest stages.

In the plan of the temple (Fig. 60) the hatched walls represent the uppermost layer, which, in some places, was denuded down to floor level so that the positions of the doors could not be distinguished. The walls drawn in black were traced down to deeper layers. The period to which the hatched walls belong can be deduced from the inscriptions on the baked bricks used in the complex. These give the names and titles of known rulers of Eshnunna. It is therefore certain that Ishchali formed part of the kingdom of Eshnunna, the capital of which was situated at Tell Asmar. On the Ishchali brick inscriptions, trans-

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

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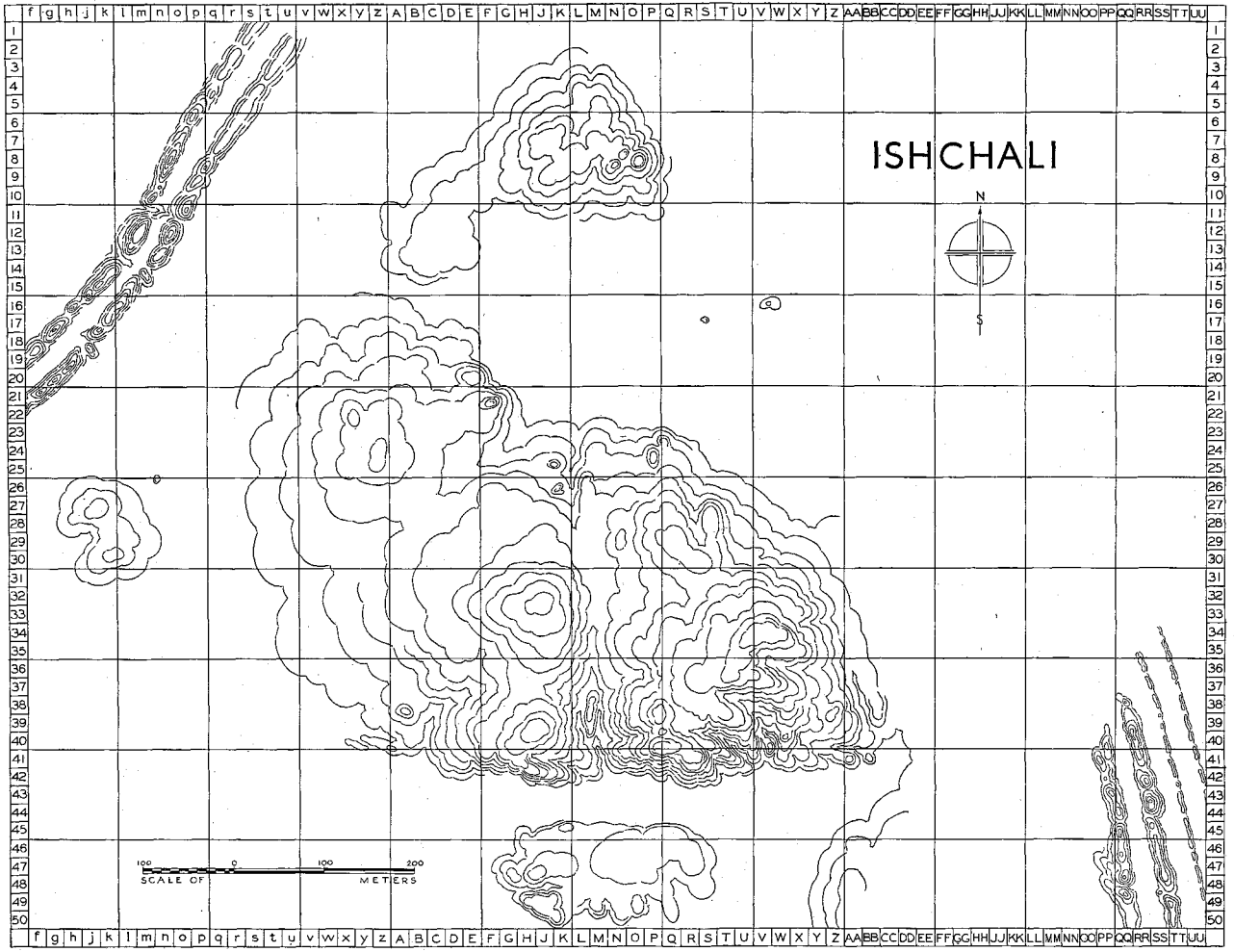


FIG. 58.—Contour map of Ishchali, based on a terrain-sketch made by Dr. Julius Jordan and Dr. Conrad Preusser at the request of Mr. Sidney Smith, Director of Antiquities. Scale, 1:8000.

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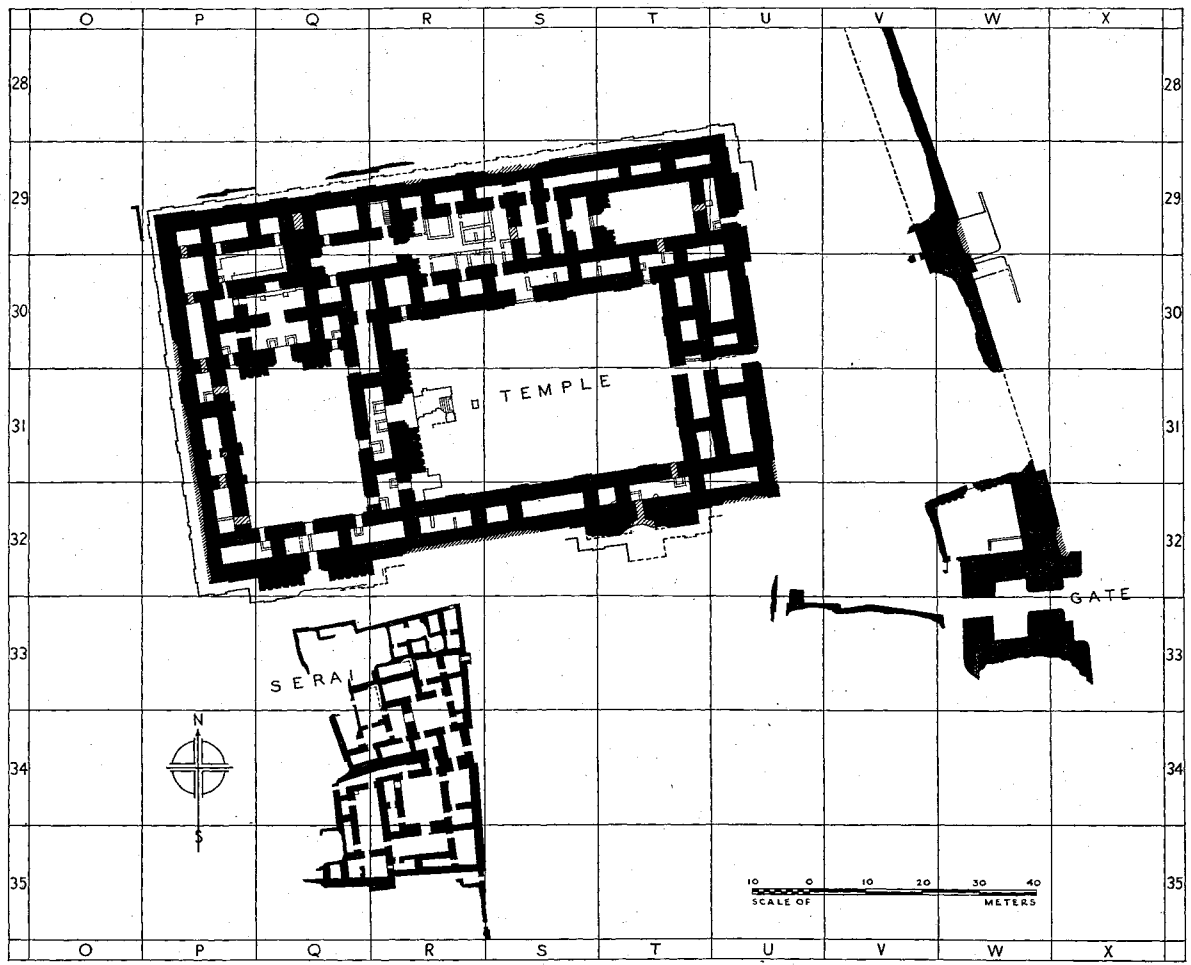


FIG. 59.—Plan of excavations at Ishchali. Scale, 3:4000

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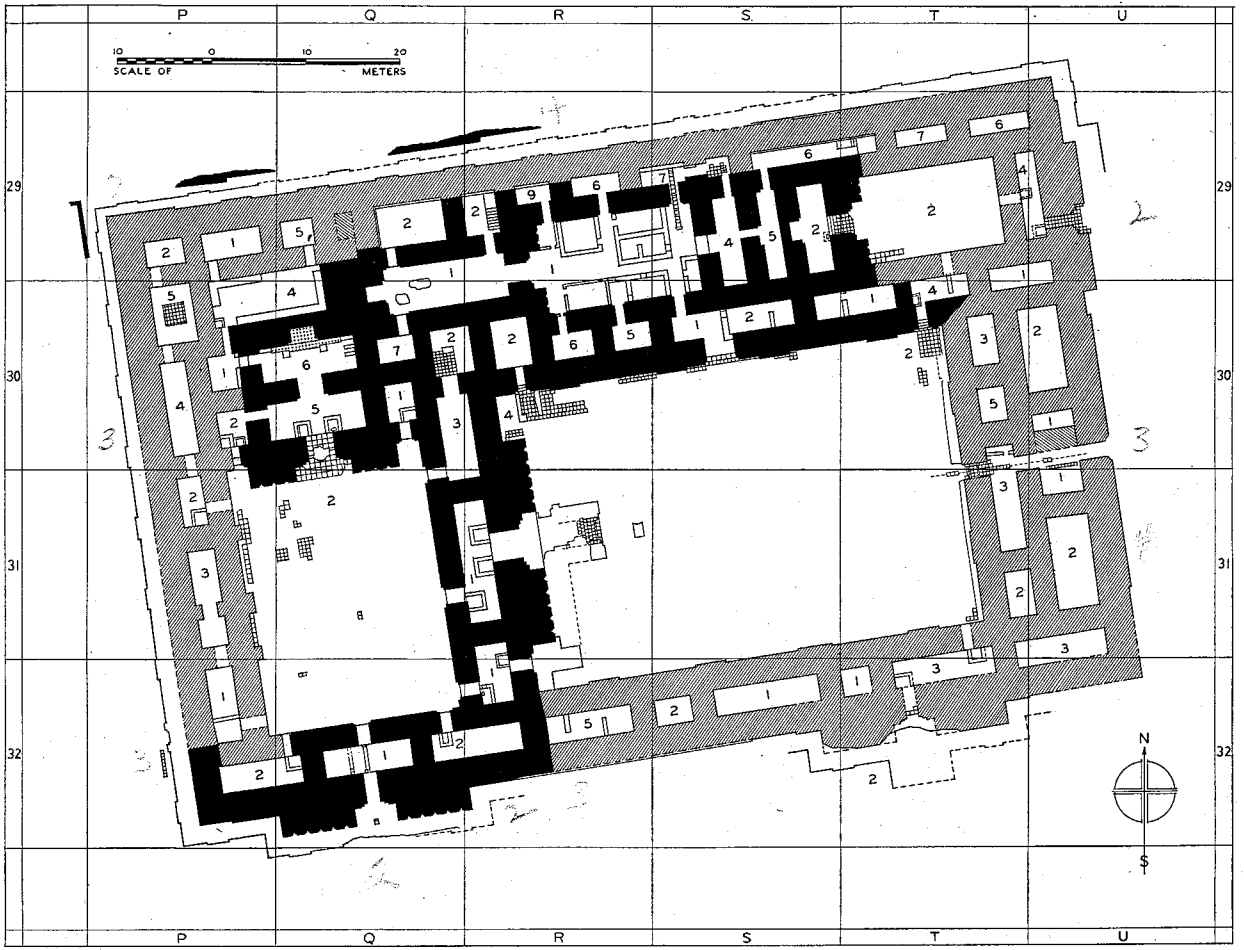


FIG. 60.—Plan of temple complex at Ishchali. Scale, 1:800

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lated by Dr. Jacobsen, we again find the name of Ibiq-Adad II and note also the same epithets as on the Tell Asmar bricks: "the mighty king, the king who enlarges Eshnunna, shepherd of the black-headed (people), beloved of Tishpak, son of Ibalpel."[2] Another inscription, that of Ibalpel II, is likewise in all particulars identical with that from Tell Asmar.[3] Then there is a date formula of Naramsin on tablet Ish. 34–T. 112, upon which Dr. Jacobsen comments as follows:

Šanat na-ra-am-sin KA-*ba-la-tim iṣ-ba-t*[*u*], "year when Naramsin seized KA-balatum." This formula is the Akkadian version of a Sumerian formula which was found on a tablet from Ishchali bought in Baghdad in 1929 and referred to in *OIC* No. 13, p. 35. On that tablet the name of the city was slightly damaged, so we suggested as a tentative reading *Dur*(?)-*ba-la-ti*. On the present tablet, however, the name is intact and leaves no doubt that we should have read KA-*ba-la-ti*.

Finally we found a tablet (Ish. 34–T. 144) with the much discussed year date "year Rapiqum was sacked." The stratification of this tablet is of great importance. It was found on the floor of that stage of our building which has pavements of baked bricks with the stamp of Ibiq-Adad II, son of Ibalpel. This discovery establishes, therefore, as a fact that not the first but the second ruler of the name of Ibiq-Adad was the conqueror of Rapiqu, as we had already concluded on circumstantial evidence in our reconstruction of the history of Eshnunna in our first report.[4]

The temple complex at Ishchali is the most complete shrine of the Hammurabi period so far discovered. It contained three separate sanctuaries; the largest of these occupied the western part of the complex, its main axis running from southeast to northwest. The two smaller sanctuaries were located together along the north side of the complex. South of these two sanctuaries lay the large temple court, which was inclosed on the east and south sides by the usual rows of storage rooms. The floor level of this court was lower than that of the sanctuaries, but the whole complex stood well above the surrounding ground and was therefore surrounded by a retaining wall or *kisu* of baked bricks. The state of preservation of this *kisu* at the northwest corner of the complex is shown in Figure 61. It is possible even in the

[2] *Ibid.* p. 48; for the time of his reign see pp. 37–41.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 47

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 37–39.

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photograph to note a difference in its construction; in its upper part bitumen mortar is used, but mud mortar in the lowest thirteen courses.

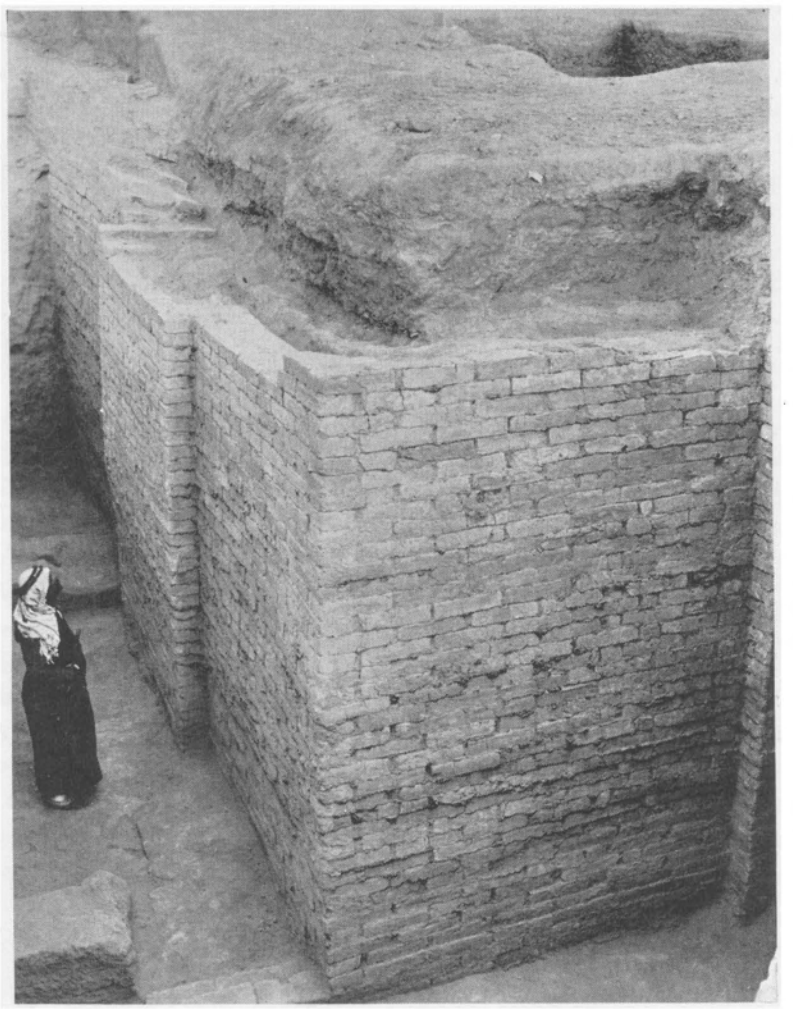


FIG. 61.—Retaining wall around the temple complex

The change seems to coincide with the ancient level of the surface of the soil. It seems that the mud mortar was used in the underground courses; for a stairway, actually bonded with the *kisu* and therefore

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belonging to the original layout, starts only with the fourteenth course. Moreover, older walls in the immediate vicinity are preserved up to this level.

Since it is sometimes asserted that Mesopotamian architecture used vertical wall faces exclusively, it is interesting to note that the *kisu* shows a slight batter above the original level of the soil, and this batter becomes more pronounced at a height of about 2.50 meters. Unfortunately the top layers of the retaining wall have fallen a prey to brick-robbers, so that we do not know where and in what form it ended; but where it is best preserved it rises only 7 centimeters above the inside floor level of the building, which was considerably higher than that of the surrounding soil. This fact in itself shows the importance of strengthening the outer wall with a retaining wall to withstand the outward pressure.

The only interesting feature in the northernmost group of rooms is a stairway supported by a corbeled arch in 2 R 29 (Fig. 62). This part of the sanctuary soon fell into disuse, and several unsubstantial secondary structures, magazines or servants' quarters, were constructed within its forecourt (1 R 29).[5]

The easternmost sanctuary of the three possesses a "Breitraum" cella (2 S 29) and a long forecourt (2 T 29) (Fig. 63). Several pieces of charred wood were found in the cella, and these were clearly of three different types. One kind consisted of pieces of heavy roofing beams, another of thin pieces. As the floor was covered with white ashes, above which was found a layer of charred powdery substance next to a layer of clean clay, Dr. Jacobsen and Mr. Hill, on whose notes this account is based, concluded—probably rightly—that we had found here the remains of a ceiling consisting of heavy beams which had supported thinner rafters covered with a rainproof layer of clay. A third type of wood was observed in front of the cult niche, the largest piece being

[5] The reader will remember that our method of recording allots separate series of locus numbers to each square of 20 meters; thus the gate chamber leading from the south into the large southwestern court is locus 1 in Square Q 32, noted I Q 32. The gate chamber leading from the main court into the southwestern court is 1 R 31; the antecella and cella of the western sanctuary are numbered 5 Q 30 and 6 Q 30 respectively; etc. When a room falls within more than one square it depends on the course of excavations to which series of square numbers it happens to be assigned.

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over a meter long, and incomplete at that. In texture these pieces differed from those found elsewhere in the room, and they seemed to have been carefully planed. They are best explained if we consider

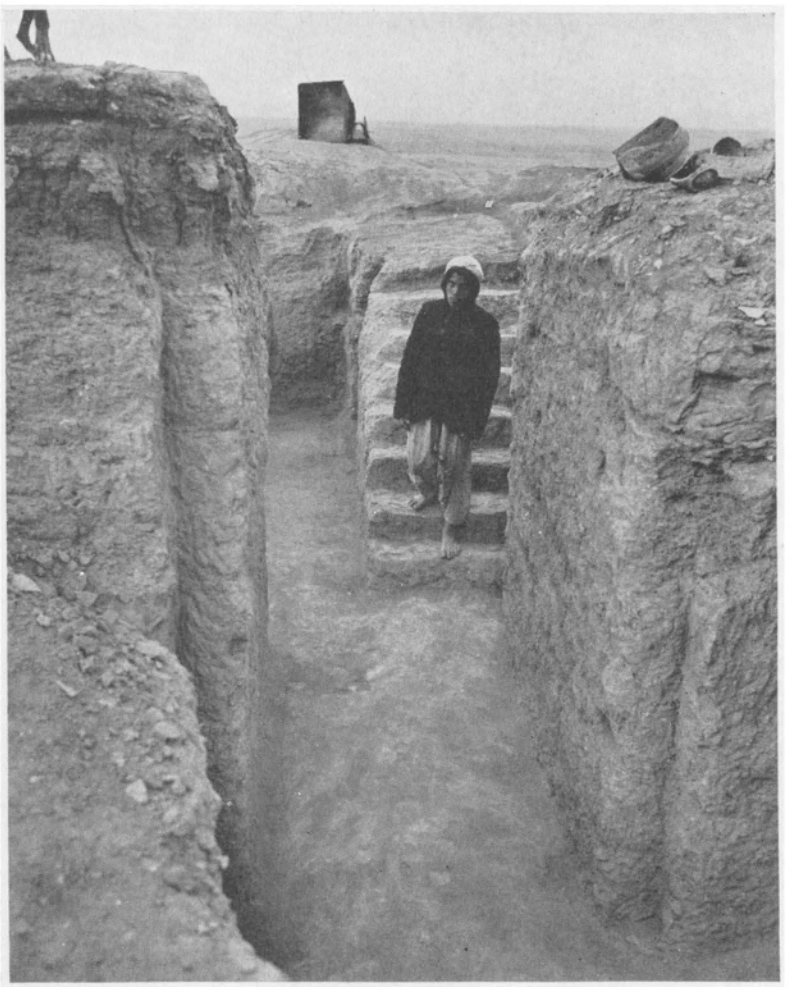


Fig. 62.—Stairway in 2 R 29

them as the remains of a lintel covering the niche, which should then be reconstructed with a flat and not with an arched or domed top.

The two sanctuaries discussed so far contain no more than the

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FIG. 63.—Sanctuary in northeast portion of the temple complex

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indispensable elements, forecourt and cella. Each forecourt is surrounded by a row of single storage rooms. Two oblong rooms (4 S 29 and 5 S 29) are fitted into the space left over between the two sanctuaries proper. But the third sanctuary of our complex, which occupies its western section, is not only built on a larger scale but moreover contains an antecella between the forecourt (2 Q 31) and the cella (6 Q 30). The gate towers, decorated with vertical grooves which habitually mark the dwelling of a god, in this case flank the entrance to the antecella, while they belong to the entrance to the cella in the two smaller sanctuaries. Similarly decorated towers are found at the two entrances into the forecourt of the western sanctuary, 1 R 31 and 1 Q 32.

There can be no doubt that in the western sanctuary we have the main shrine, to which the other two sanctuaries are subsidiary. Fortunately we can say with a high degree of probability what deity was worshiped in this shrine. A cylinder seal (Ish. 34–45, Fig. 68) bears an inscription which is translated by Dr. Jacobsen as follows: "Mattatum, daughter of Ubarrum, for her health to Kititum has presented (this seal)."

A brick inscription of Ibiq-Adad II makes it certain that this was indeed the name of the deity worshiped here. There she is called "Inanna-Kititum"; and her name, as Dr. Jacobsen tells me, occurs in a proper name and on unpublished account tablets from Tell Asmar dated to the Larsa period. He contributes the following notes on the subject:

> The name "Kititum" means "the Kitian," "she of Kiti," and is obviously an abbreviation of ^{d}INANNA *ki-ti-tum*, "the Kitian Inanna" (or Ishtar?). The form ^{d}INANNA k i - t i used in Tell Asmar appears only in Sumerian context and represents probably ^{d}i n a n n a (k) k i t i (k), "Inanna of Kiti." Kiti, from which Kititum is derived, is a place-name. It occurs twice in texts from Tell Asmar, both times with the determinative KI (As. 30–T. 92, "4 *sila* oil for sacrifices in *ki-ti*^{ki} on the day Bilalama went (away)," and As. 31–T. 351, "4 *sila* oil to *ki-ti*^{ki} for anointing purposes"). The city was probably situated somewhere in the Diyala region, but it has not yet been possible to locate it. Our goddess is called the "Kitian" because the main center of her cult was in the city Kiti, and to distinguish this Inanna from different forms of this goddess worshiped elsewhere. The designation ^{d}INANNA *kititum*, "the Kitian Inanna," *kititum* for short, is thus exactly parallel to such

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designations as ^{d}*ištar urukitum*, "the Urukian Ishtar," shortened to *urukitum*, "she of Uruk," i.e. the form of Ishtar which was worshiped in Uruk; ^{d}*ištar ninuaitum*, shortened to *ninuaitum*, "the Ninevite Ishtar," "she of Nineveh," i.e. the Ishtar worshiped in Nineveh; etc.

Concerning the cult of Inanna-Kititum we know practically nothing. A date formula of Belakum found on several Tell Asmar tablets mentions that he fashioned a statue of Inanna-Kiti. This statue seems to have stood in the palace of Eshnunna,[6] not in our Kititum sanctuary at Ishchali, for one of the tablets (As. 31–T. 694) mentions an offering of beer "(to) the palace (for) Inanna-Kiti," and another tablet (As. 30–T. 30) mentions offerings "in front of Inanna-Kiti on the day of entering the palace." A shrine of Inanna-Kiti (é-^{d}INANNA k i - t i) is mentioned higher up in the same tablet. This also is probably to be sought in Eshnunna.

The Kititum sanctuary could be entered directly from the street through gate 1 Q 32, or from the main court of the complex, through 1 R 31. The large decorated towers of the latter gate must have produced a particularly impressive effect, because they stood upon a terrace to which a flight of steps gave access. The gate was of importance; it could be closed with a double door against the main court, and with a single-leaf door against the forecourt of the Kititum sanctuary. Figure 64 shows the steps and the terrace, or rather what has been left of those structures by the seekers after building material. These have dug down from the surface and removed the main block of brickwork almost completely. A narrow ridge in the middle together with the lower steps and the two side walls of the stairway is all that remains. The terrace appears therefore with a dotted outline in Figure 60.

The main portion of the Kititum sanctuary appears in Figure 65. We are looking from its forecourt (2 Q 31) toward the north. In the foreground, leading into the antecella (5 Q 30), is a doorsill of baked bricks covered with bitumen. This doorway could be closed by a two-leaf door, as the pivot boxes show. Behind the antecella, and only separated from it by an open doorway, we see the cella with the niche for the cult statue placed in the main axis of the building. In the niche a dais of baked bricks was originally constructed; but since the bricks

[6] *OIC* No. 16, p. 18.

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have been dug up in later times, only their impressions and traces of mortar on the walls remain. On either side, in front of the niche, there was a square pillar of mud brick (the one on the right clearly showing in Fig. 65). Sufficient traces were left to show that the dais originally ended with a vertical face between these two columns (see Fig. 60). A height of 80 centimeters is probable; a minimum height of 55 centimeters is certain. A subsequent filling of the space round the dais when the floor level was raised suggests that the front face of the dais was smooth and vertical; in fact, no trace of steps leading up to it was found.

At the northwest corner a door led into a small room (1 P 30) which in its turn gave access to a long narrow room (4 Q 30) situated behind the cella. This room might be called the temple treasury; valuable objects used in the cult were apparently kept here. In the first room a number of pottery vessels had been stored, but in the long narrow room objects of greater value were found by us. It is, moreover, significant that a pivot box should occur at its door. This is not usual unless a door gives access to a court or to the street; and in the case of 4 Q 30 the apparent desire of the builders to lock a room situated at the very center of a building and already protected by the doors of the outer gateway and antecella indicates the valuable nature of its contents. We could not hope, of course, to recover more than an infinitesimal fraction of the ancient treasure; in fact, we obtained none but broken bits which, when the temple fell into disuse, had not been considered worth the trouble of removal, among them an unusual number of beads and seals and fragments of carved stone vessels. The beads and seals may well have served to deck the cult statue on festive occasions. Their value was in several cases due to their great age; for to our astonishment we found in this room in a temple of the Larsa period a number of Early Dynastic and even older cylinders, among them those shown in Figure 66. One is tempted to consider one type of terra-cotta plaque (Fig. 67) as a representation of the cult statue of the goddess Kititum wearing the necklaces which had been dedicated to her at various periods.

Several of the cylinder seals are of considerable interest (Fig. 68). In the first place it was one of them which taught us the name of the

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FIG. 64.—Steps leading from the main court of the temple complex to the Kititum Temple

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FIG. 65.—The Kititum Temple, from south

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deity worshiped here. But it is impossible here to discuss all the seals in detail; both style and subject are too varied for a summary treatment. It may suffice to point out that the advanced style of the Hammurabi period (Ish. 34–45 and Ish. 34–127) is found alongside the pure Larsa style (Ish. 34–24 and Ish. 34–20). While the offering to Shamash



Ish. 34–39



Ish. 34–46

FIG. 66.—Two Early Dynastic cylinder seals from the Kititum Temple. Impressions, actual size.

(Ish. 34–83) and the adoration of Adad (Ish. 34–74) are stock motives of the first-named period, it is most unusual to find at this time a representation of the mother-goddess in the mountain grave of her son and paramour, such as we have in Ish. 34–68.[7] The lion-headed demons of

[7] Cf. Delaporte, *op. cit.* p. 10, T 100, and Pl. 5, No. 6; W. H. Ward, *Cylinders and Other Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (New York, 1909) No. 89; Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I (Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek, hrsg. von W. Foy, 1. Reihe, Bd. III [Heidelberg, 1920]) 263.

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Ish. 34–129 occur often in Babylonian glyptic, but this particular scene is without parallel and not easy to explain. The figure with the multiple mace, a deity, is sometimes represented with the horned crown of divinity;[8] and it seems that his antagonist, whom he is usually in the process of subjecting, has here sought refuge at an altar or at



FIG. 67.—Terra-cotta plaque (perhaps representing the cult statue) from the Kititum Temple. Scale, 2:3.

the abode of the lion-headed demons. The rôle of the figure with the scimitar and the "Syro-Hittite" pointed cap remains obscure.

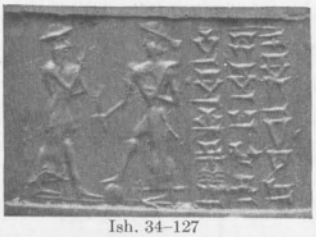
The terra-cotta plaques are a not less varied and rich source of information than the cylinder seals. Some of them were found in the temple, others in the street, in secular buildings, or on the surface.

[8] Hugo Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik* (Berlin, 1915) p. 98, points out that this figure is named Shamash on the cylinder *Bibl. Nat.* No. 242 described by L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910) p. 139 and Pl. XVII.

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Ish. 34–45



Ish. 34–127



Ish. 34–129



Ish. 34–121



Ish. 34–120



Ish. 34–24



Ish. 34–83



Ish. 34–74



Ish. 34–20



Ish. 34–68

FIG. 68.—Cylinder seals from the Kititum Temple. Impressions, actual size

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FIG. 69.—Fragments of terra-cotta plaques showing armed, bull-eared god. Scale, 1:2

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One group of fragments (Figs. 69–70) represents a curious deity; he wears a horned crown, has bull's ears, and carries weapons in his hands and in his girdle. This deity is surrounded or wrapped up in an enigmatic object. Sometimes (Fig. 69 *a*) one is reminded of a bower of



FIG. 70.—Fragments of terra-cotta plaques showing armed, bull-eared god. Scale, 1:2.

palm leaves, at other times of feathered wings (*ibid.* *b*, *e*, and *f*). M. Parrot believes, on the strength of a discovery from Larsa, that it is Nergal who is thus represented in a "slipper-shaped" sarcophagus.[9] Such sarcophagi are, however, more commonly met with in later times.

[9] André Parrot in *Syria* XV (1934) 382 with special reference to Newell No. 213.

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FIG. 71.—Terra-cotta plaques showing deities. Scale, 3:4

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FIG. 72.—Terra-cotta plaques from Ishchali. Scale, 4:5

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a *b*



c

FIG. 73.—Terra-cotta plaques from Ishchali. Actual size

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On the other hand, the numerous weapons appearing in our plaques are certainly compatible with a god of war or of death. One fragment —which may belong to a figure of this god—shows lion claws or the talons of a bird of prey (Fig. 69 *f*).



FIG. 74.—Fragment of terra-cotta relief from Ishchali. Scale, 3:4

We have already put forward the suggestion that the plaque in Figure 67 might represent the statue of the goddess Kititum in her niche. The plaques in Figure 71 might be coarse renderings of the same subject.

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Figures 72–73 give an impression of the variety of subjects on these plaques: there occur religious symbols such as the lion (Fig. 72 *d*) or the bull-man with the sun-standard (*ibid. a*), heroes and gods (*ibid. c*

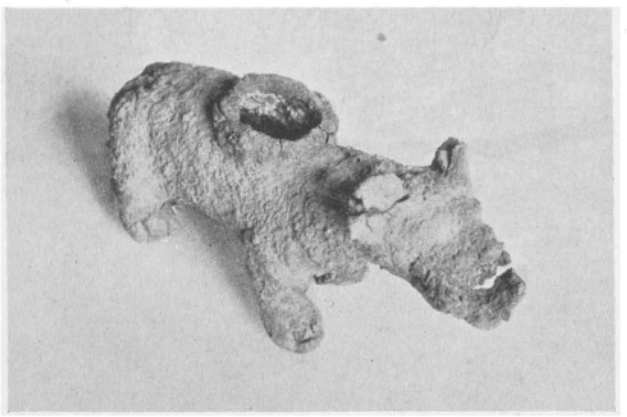


FIG. 75.—Copper lamp in the form of a lion, found in the Kititum Temple. Scale, about 3:5.

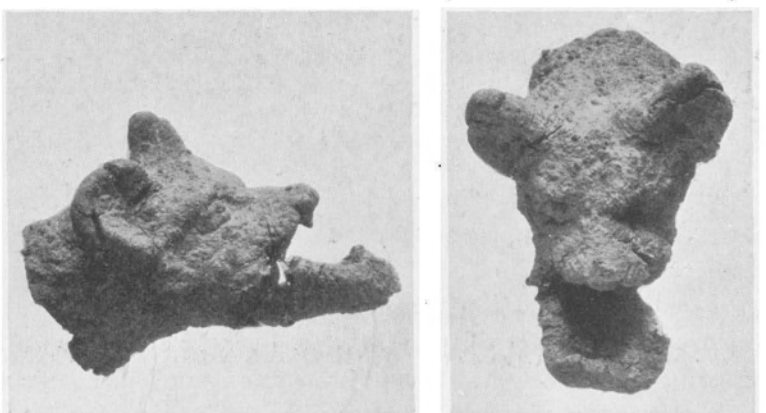


FIG. 76.—Two views of a lion head, part of a second copper lamp, found in the Kititum Temple. Actual size.

and Fig. 73 *a*), dancers with wands (Fig. 73 *b*), a man riding a humped bull (*ibid. c*), and musicians (Fig. 72 *b*). The last-named subject is shown also on a large terra-cotta relief, of which unfortunately only

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one fragment was found (Fig. 74); the coat of the musician is painted red, and the strings of the lyre are painted as red lines over his right hand.

Among the more important single objects which were discovered at Ishchali a heavily corroded copper lion (Fig. 75) must be mentioned. It was found with the head of a similar figure (Fig. 76) in the antecella of the Kititum sanctuary. The abnormally protruding lower jaw suggests that these figures were used as lamps, the wick burning in the mouth, and the oil being replenished through the opening in the back.

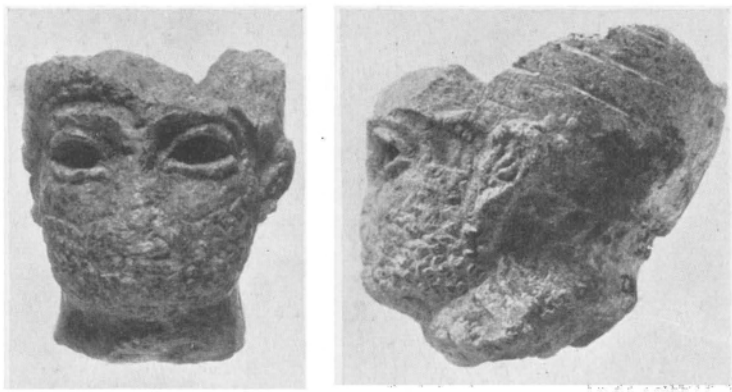


FIG. 77.—Two views of a granite head found at Ishchali. Actual size

A small head of black granite (Fig. 77) is finely worked but badly damaged. The same applies to the most outstanding single object found at Ishchali, a fragment of a vase of black bituminous stone (Fig. 78.) Less than one-third of the original bowl has been preserved; a reconstruction in water color by Miss G. Rachel Levy is shown in Figure 79. Fortunately one figure of a mouflon ram is almost complete, so that we can judge the high quality of this piece of sculpture where stylization and simplification of form actually give enhanced power and vitality. Other renderings of the same subject in the same material are known from Susa;[10] none, however, is comparable with our fragment as an artistic achievement.

[10] Georges Contenau, *Les antiquités orientales. Sumer Babylonie Élam* (Paris, 1927?) Nos. 48–49.

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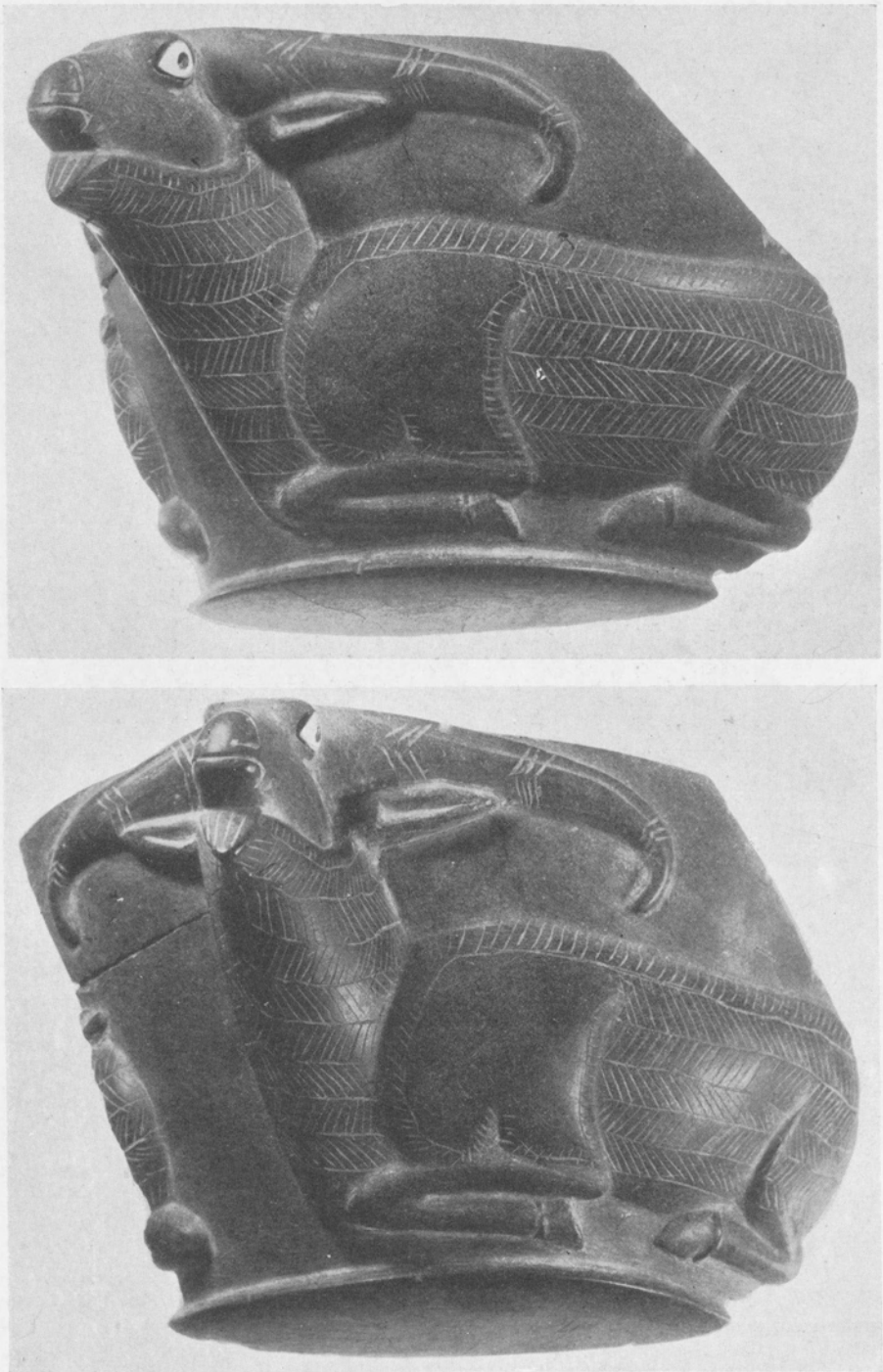


FIG. 78.—Two views of a fragment of a vase of bituminous stone, from Ishchali. Scale, 2:3

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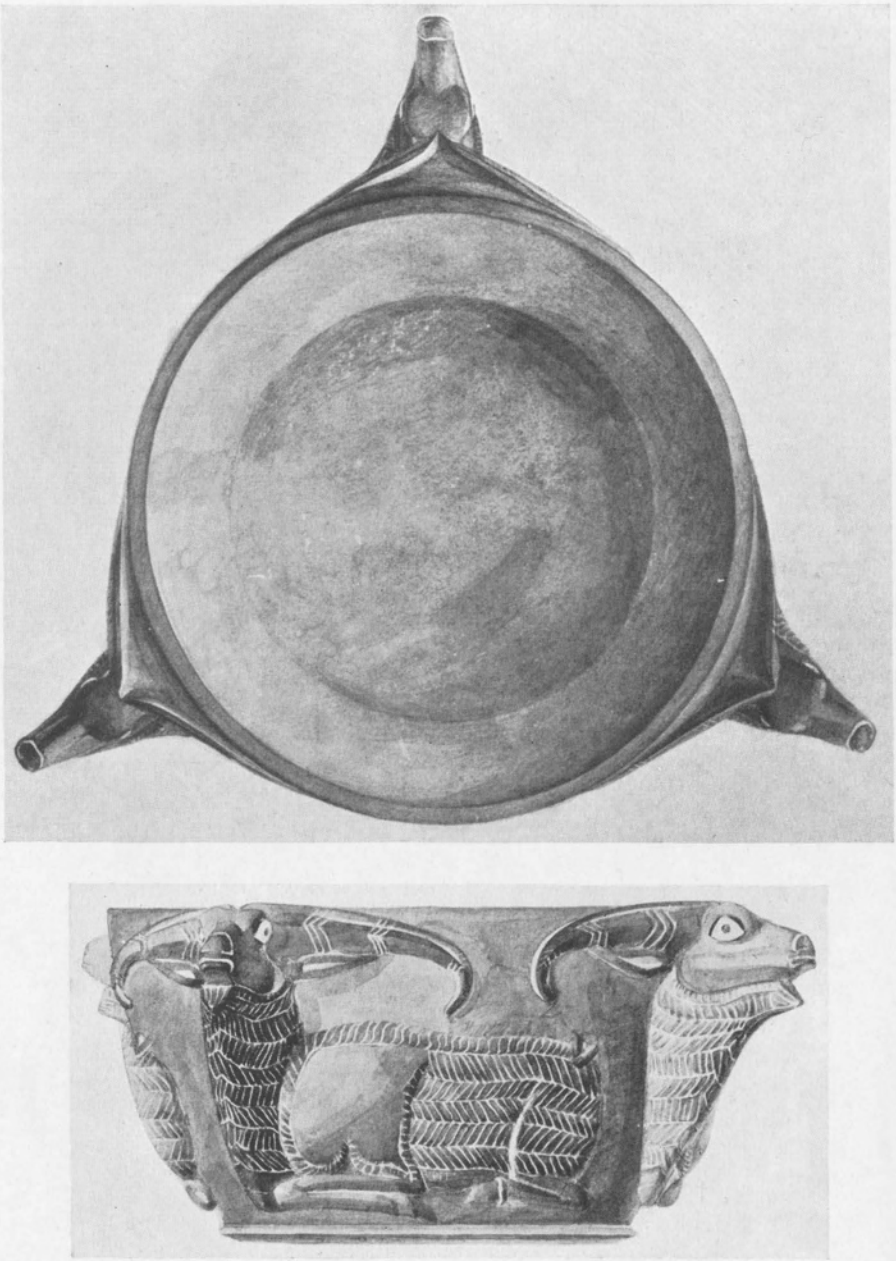


FIG. 79.—Reconstruction of the stone vase found at Ishchali. Scale, about 1:3. From water-color paintings by Miss G. Rachel Levy.

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THE CITADEL AT KHORSABAD

Great efforts were made to complete the excavation of the citadel at Khorsabad[11] during this season. The reason that we did not succeed lies in the unexpected extent of the buildings within its walls.

The air photograph (Fig. 80) shows the palace hill in the middle, with the expedition house upon it marked *K*. Toward the left-hand edge of the photograph, at *A*, the gate where the well preserved bulls and genii were discovered last year can be seen. Above this point, at *M*, a narrow T-shaped line in the picture indicates a search trench where the citadel wall was observed to join the town wall; the latter cannot easily be distinguished beneath the plowed and cultivated field, but runs horizontally across the photograph just below the expedition house. To the right of the palace hill, which stands astride the town wall, another search trench (at *N*) marks the point where the citadel wall meets the town wall. Directly below this point the *tracé* of the citadel wall with its towers is clearly outlined by the trench seen in the photograph and can be followed to Gate *B* (the bulls from which appear to be in the British Museum) and then onward until it curves again and reaches Gate *A*.

Even this year our information concerning Sargon's palace was increased. Instead of discovering a construction on the order of Place's theoretical plan, we found at *C* the actual remains of a wide ramp leading up to the palace hill, sloping rather steeply, but so large that massed traffic could be accommodated.

Entering the citadel through Gate *A* one would reach the ramp to the palace along a road which skirts the Nabu Temple (*E*). This road was bridged by a stone viaduct[12] enabling the inhabitants of the palace hill to enter the Nabu Temple without descending to the lower level of the citadel, the Nabu Temple itself standing on a platform five meters above street level. Buildings *F* and *G*, adjoining the Nabu Temple, and *H*, on the other side of the road, remain unidentified. Building *D*, however, contained a fine inscribed doorsill of Mosul marble (Fig. 81), stating that this was the house of Sinahusur, the brother and grand vizier of Sargon. The great similarity between the plan of Building *D* and those of the unidentified buildings suggests

[11] *OIC* No. 19, pp. 99 f.

[12] *Ibid.* Fig. 101.

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Royal Air Force Official

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FIG. 80.—Air photograph of the citadel and environs, Khorsabad

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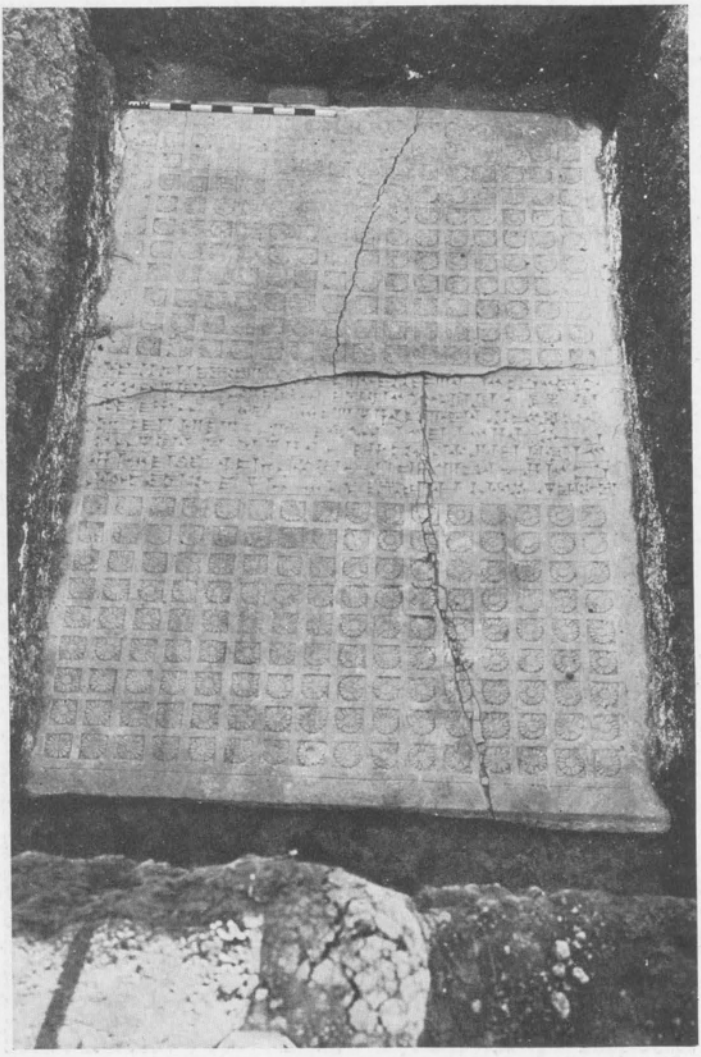


FIG. 81.—Carved alabaster doorsill from the house of Sinahusar (Building *D* in Fig. 80).

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FIG. 82.—Storeroom in Building *G* in Fig. 80

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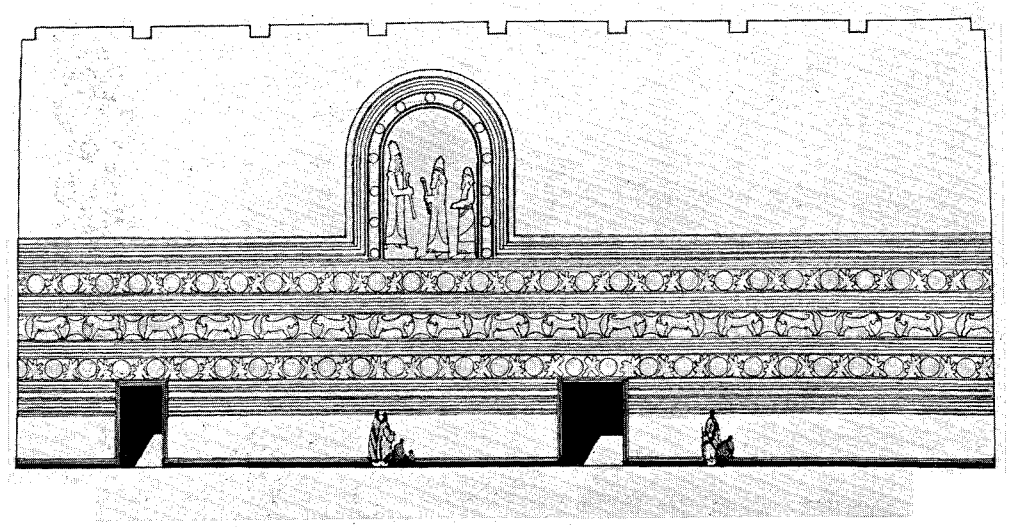


FIG. 83.—Restoration of the mural decoration in Building *G*, by C. B. Altman

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that these too were dwellings of high officials. Since the destiny of these men was inextricably interwoven with that of their lord, the safety of both king and grandees was increased by establishing these dignitaries and their retinues within the walls of the citadel. The estate of



FIG. 84.—Carved doorsill in Building *G*

the Grand Vizier appears to have been the richest of all; for work undertaken subsequent to the making of the air map has revealed that the limits of his estate extended to the right, close to the citadel wall.

Residence *G* produced no inscriptions, but gave a series of valuable indications as to the appointments of this type of building, including

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bedrooms with adjoining bathrooms and elaborate service apartments (Fig. 82).[13] Of exceptional importance is the large area of decoration painted on plaster preserved in this building. Mr. C. B. Altman has succeeded in restoring the complete decoration of one wall 31 meters long (frontispiece and Fig. 83). The stela-shaped group of the worshiping king was placed in the wall facing the main entrance, and by a fortunate chance the plaster had toppled forward into the open space of the doorway.[14] ¶To complete further the reader's impression of the richness of such a room we depict in Figure 84 the carved doorsill of its main entrance.

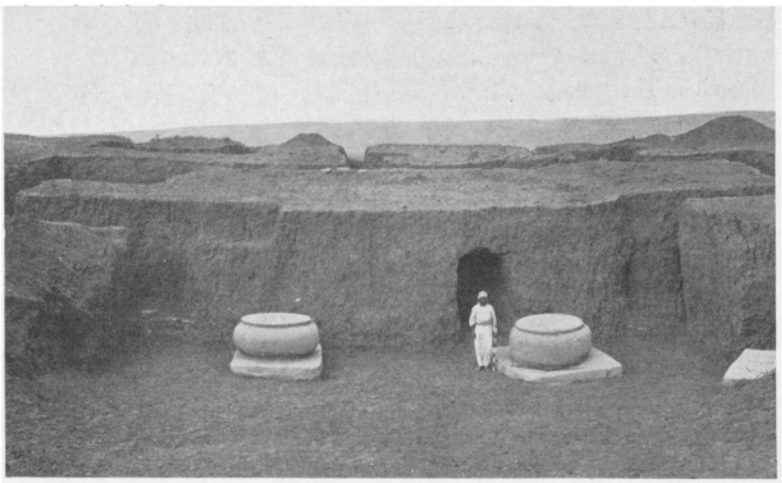


FIG. 85.—Column bases in "Palace *F*" at Khorsabad

The right-hand top corner of the citadel, which appears blank in the air photograph, is known to contain another large building which could not be excavated. Outside the citadel, Building *J* was excavated to obtain some means of comparison for the buildings inside it. Noth-

[13] All these points will be studied in detail in the volume which Mr. Loud is now preparing for the *OIP* series. See provisionally his article, "An architectural formula for Assyrian planning, based on the results of excavations at Khorsabad," *RA* XXXIII (1936) 153–60.

[14] A colored reproduction of the detail drawing shown in our frontispiece appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of September 28, 1935; a similar reproduction will, of course, be included in the forthcoming volume by Mr. Loud.

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ing of importance was discovered here, but the plan resembles those of the citadel residences.

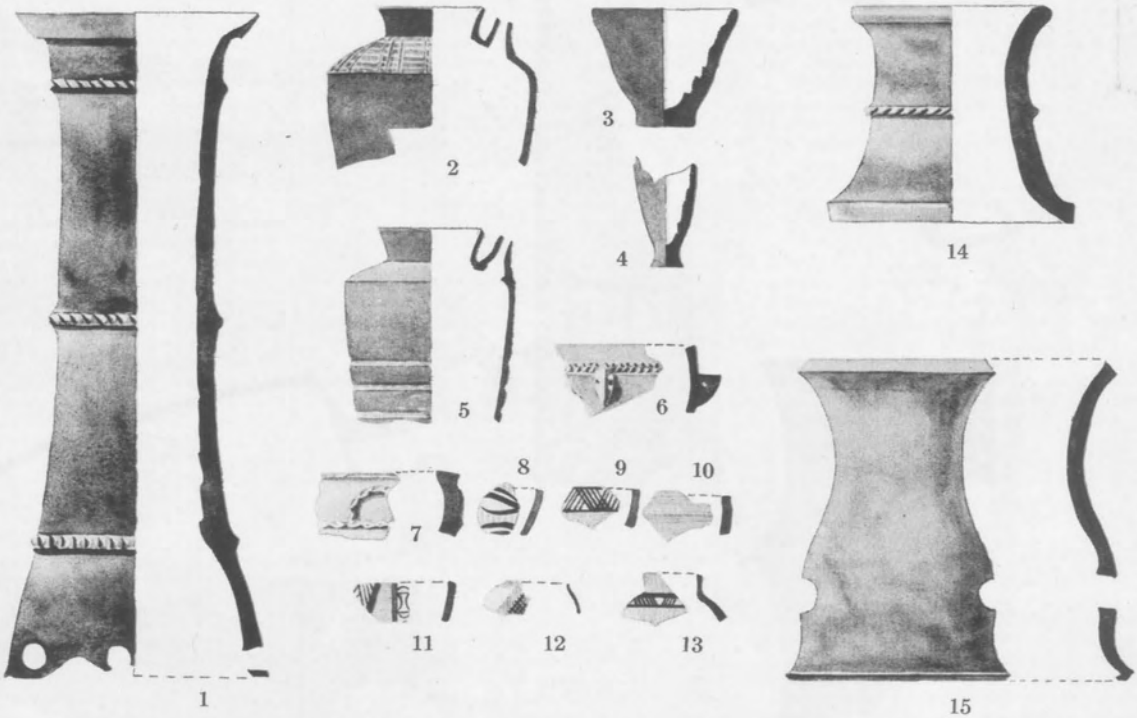
A building called "*F*" by Place (not shown on the air photograph), which was set astride the southwestern town wall, had been investigated by us in a previous season,[15] and further work was done here during 1934/35. Inscriptions found there mention only the building of the city, and the edifice remains unidentified. Its scale can be judged from the monolithic column bases of basalt shown *in situ* (Fig. 85). They measure 1.75 meters in diameter and are placed in the entrance gate leading from the outer terrace into the main court. That Place's "Palace *F*" at Khorsabad was, in fact, a palace is practically certain, since a monolithic throne base, measuring 4.50×5.00×1.00 meters, was found occupying a position similar to that of the one discovered on the palace hill.[16]

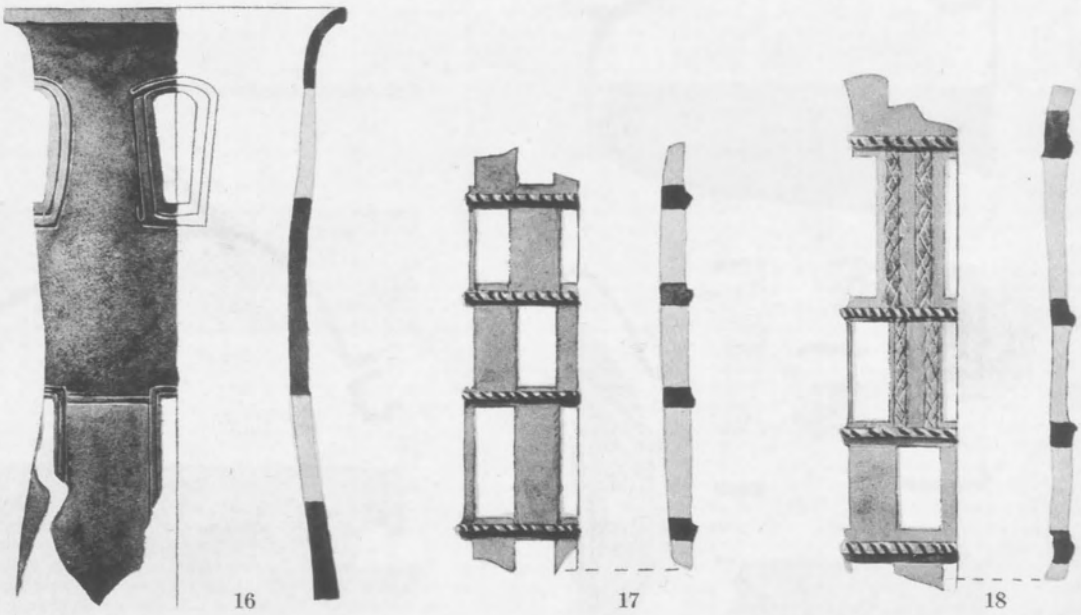
[15] *OIC* No. 16, p. 87.

[16] *OIC* No. 16, pp. 93–95.

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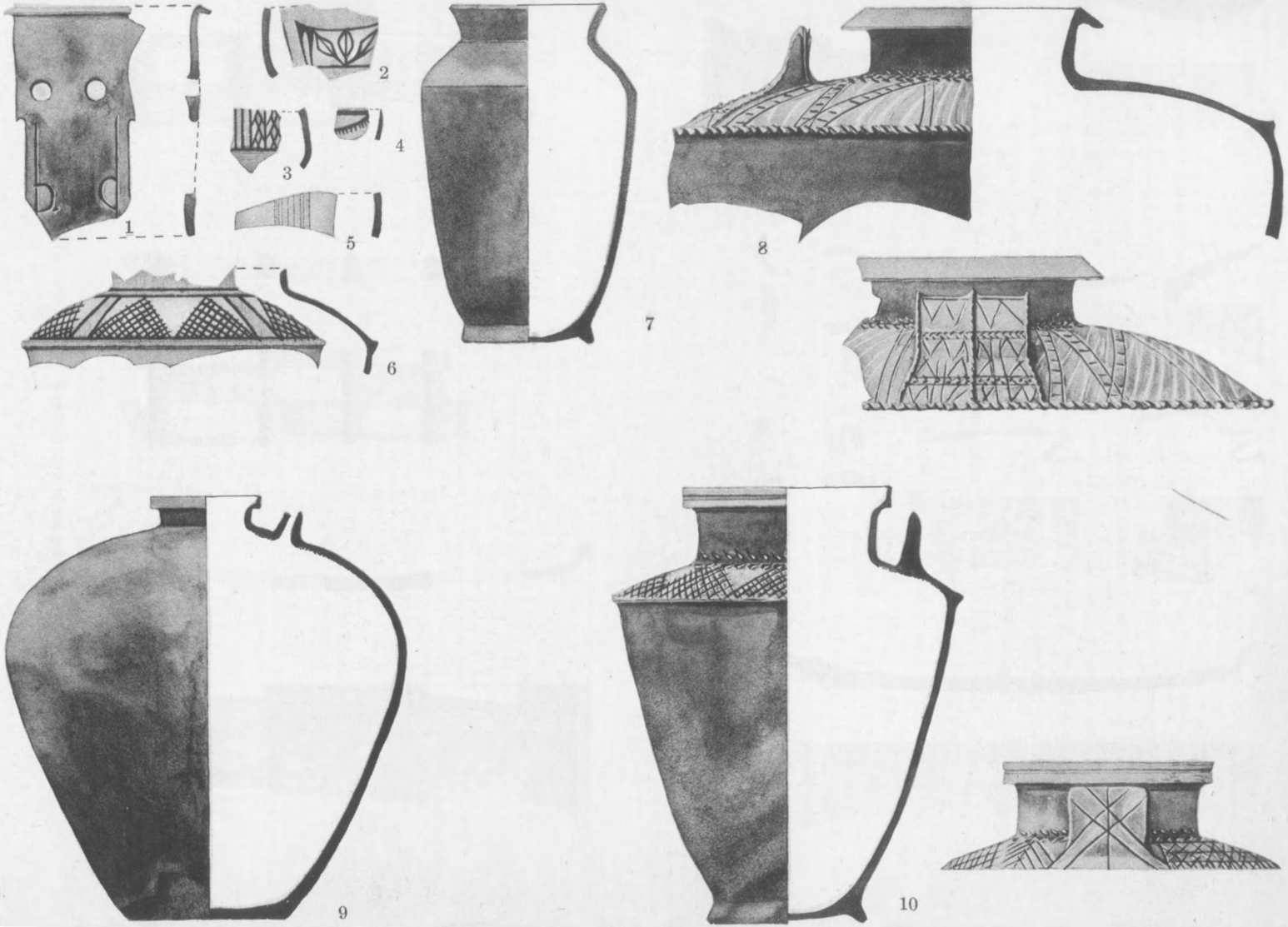
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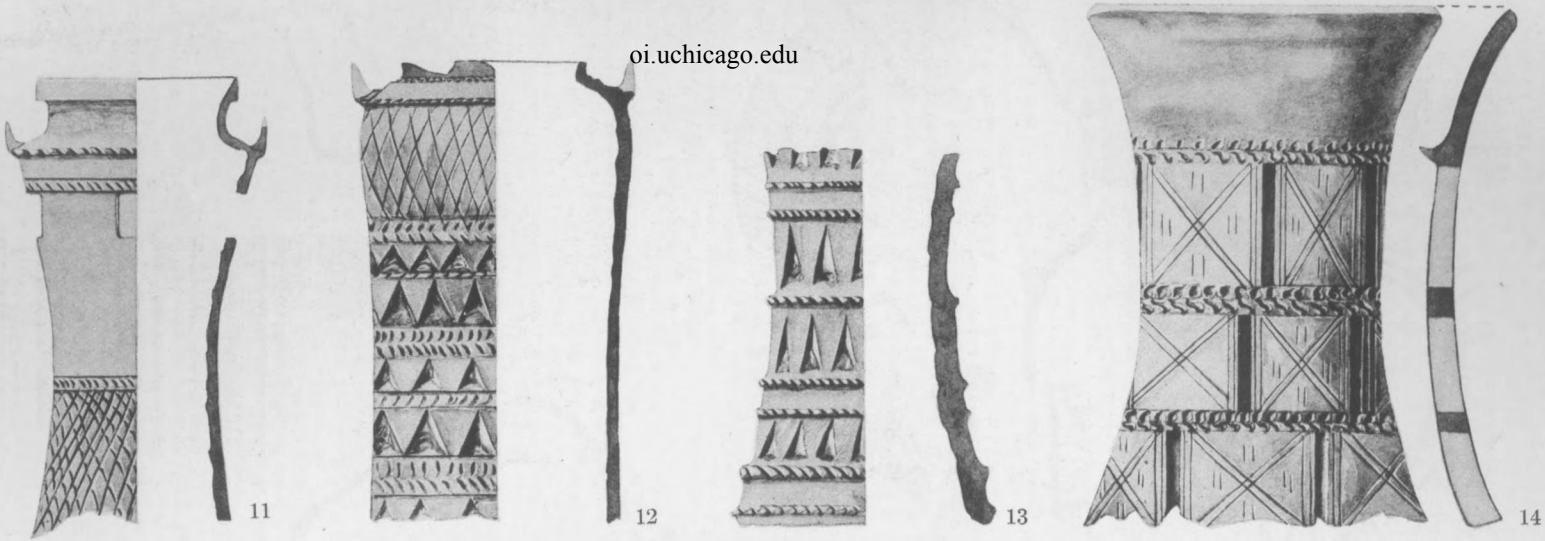


POTTERY FROM THE SQUARE ABU TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR

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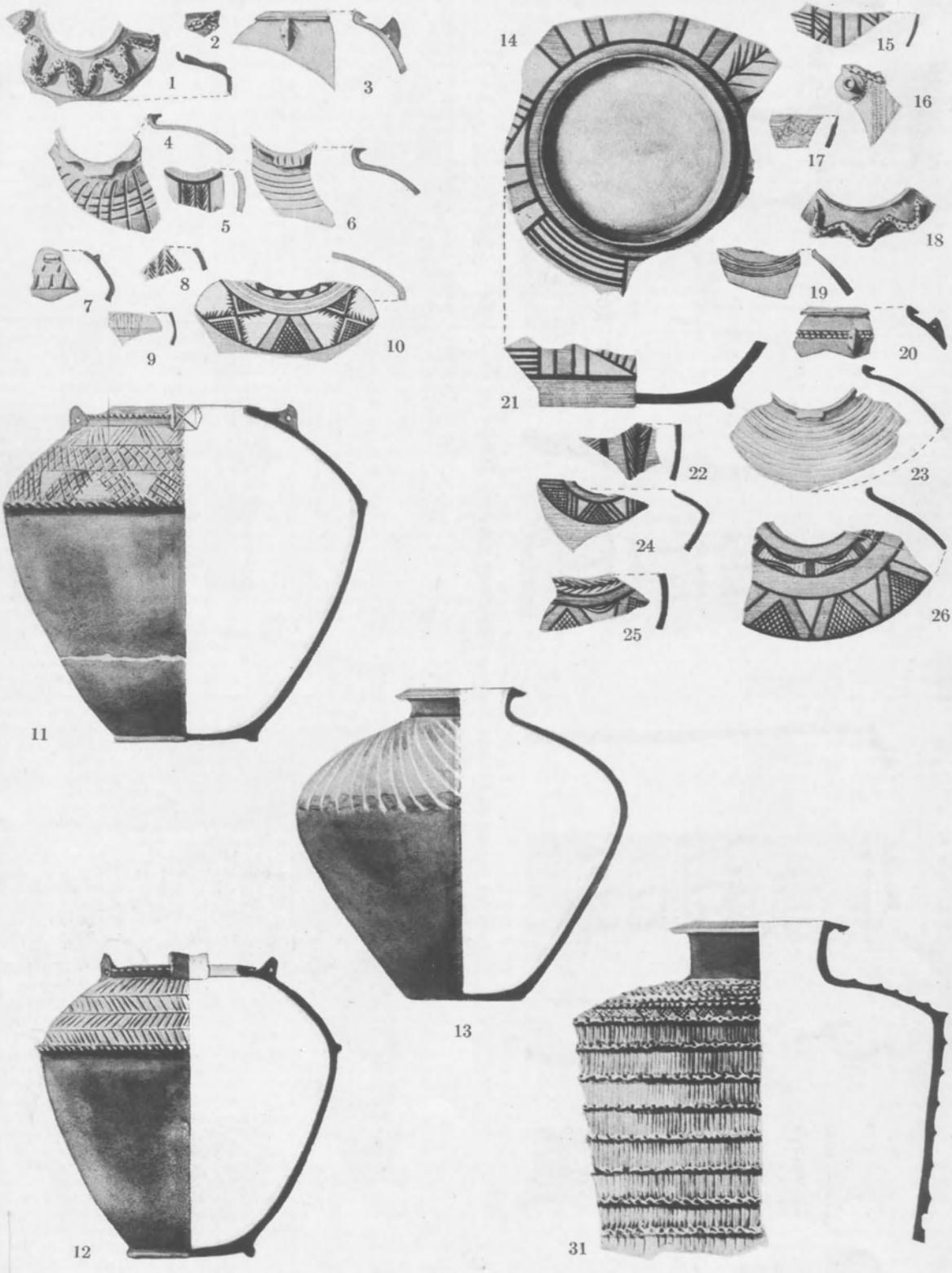


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POTTERY FROM THE FOURTH ARCHAIC SHRINE OF THE ABU TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR

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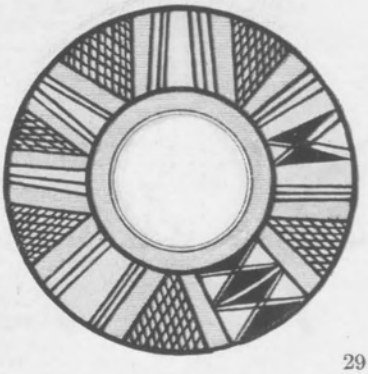


POTTERY FROM THE THIRD ARCHAIC SHRINE OF THE ABU TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR

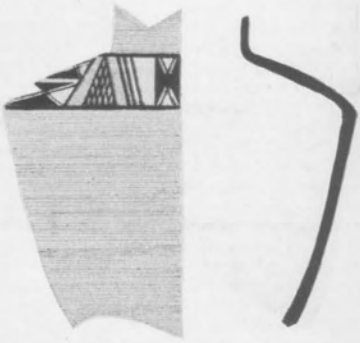
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27

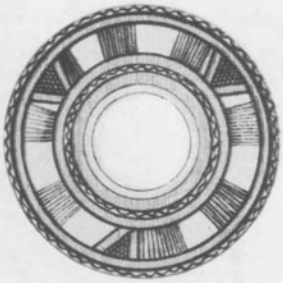


29



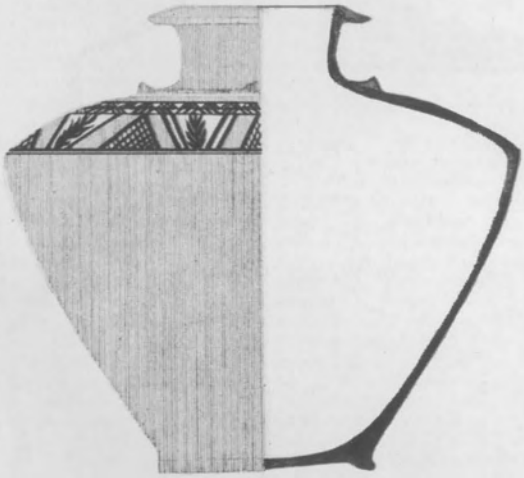


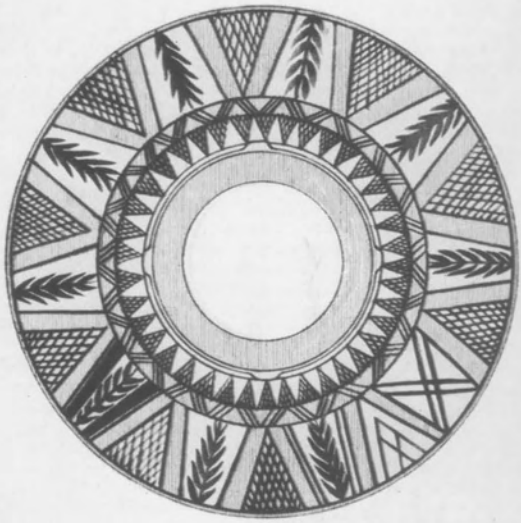
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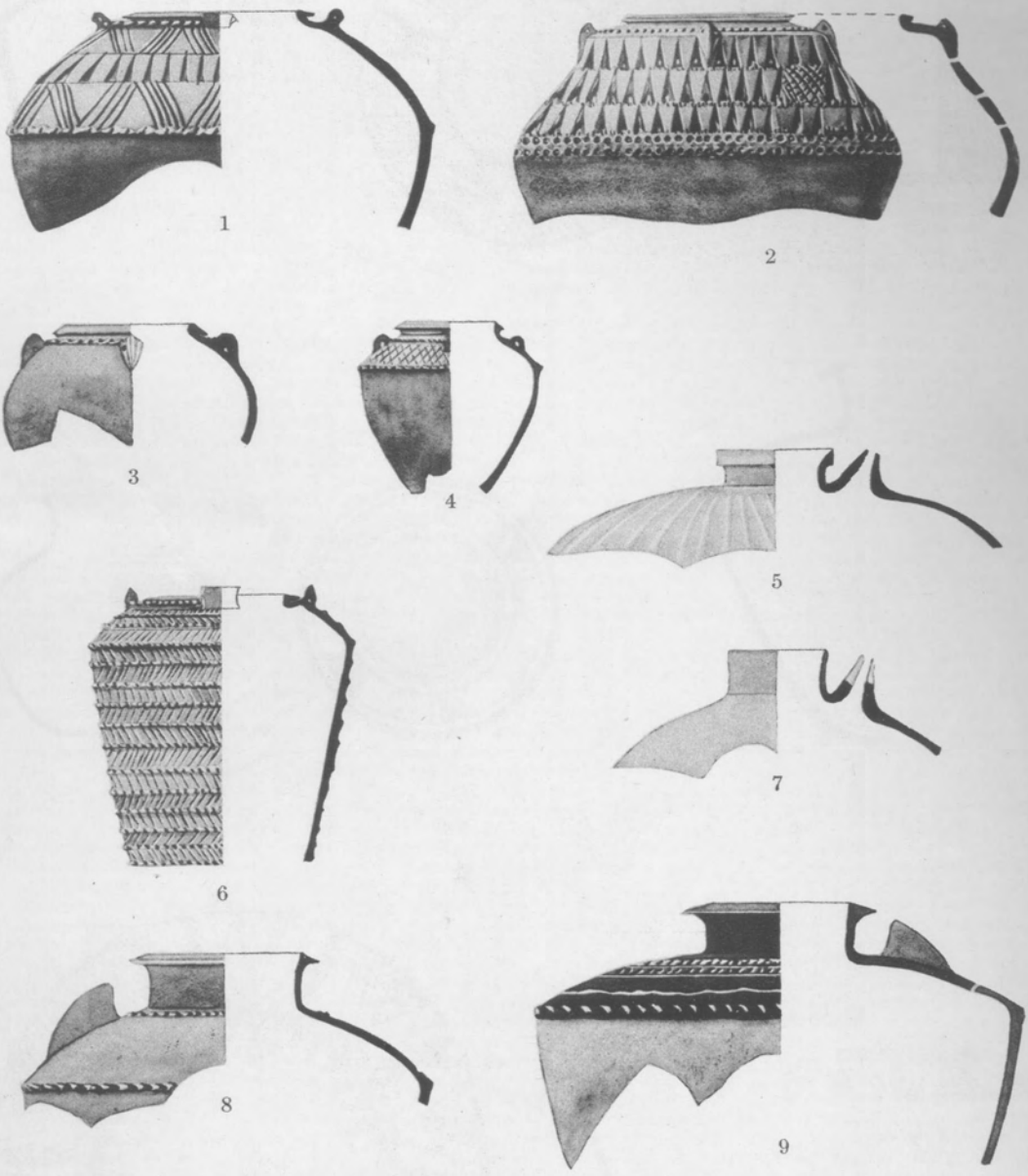




32

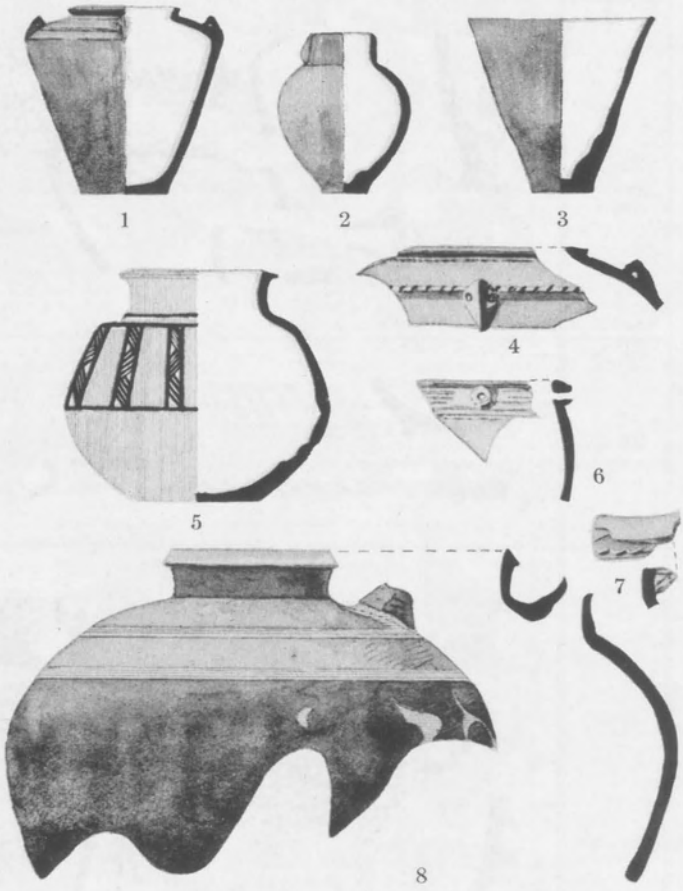
Pottery from the Third Archaic Shrine of the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar (*Concluded*)

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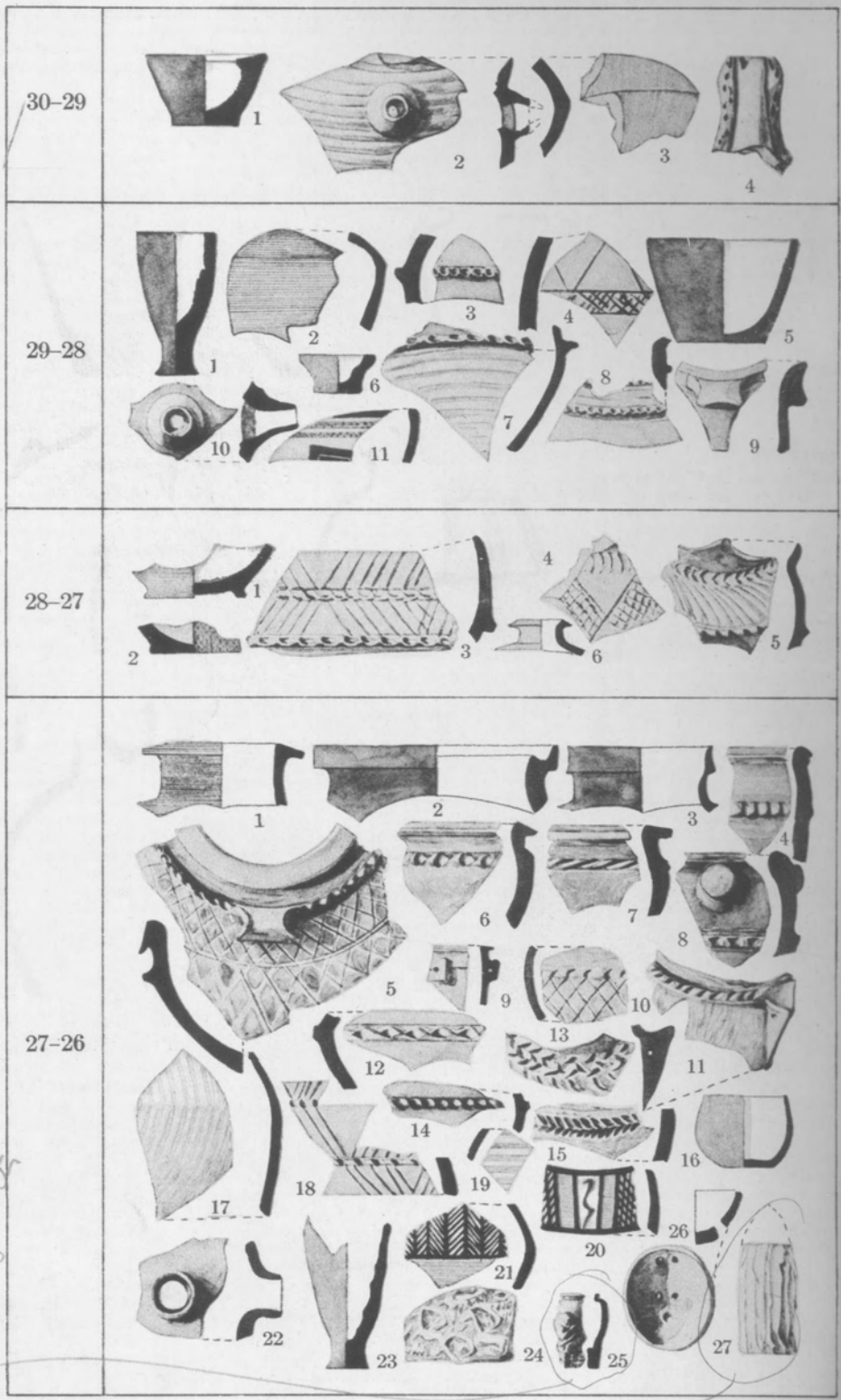
POTTERY FROM THE SECOND ARCHAIC SHRINE OF THE ABU TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR

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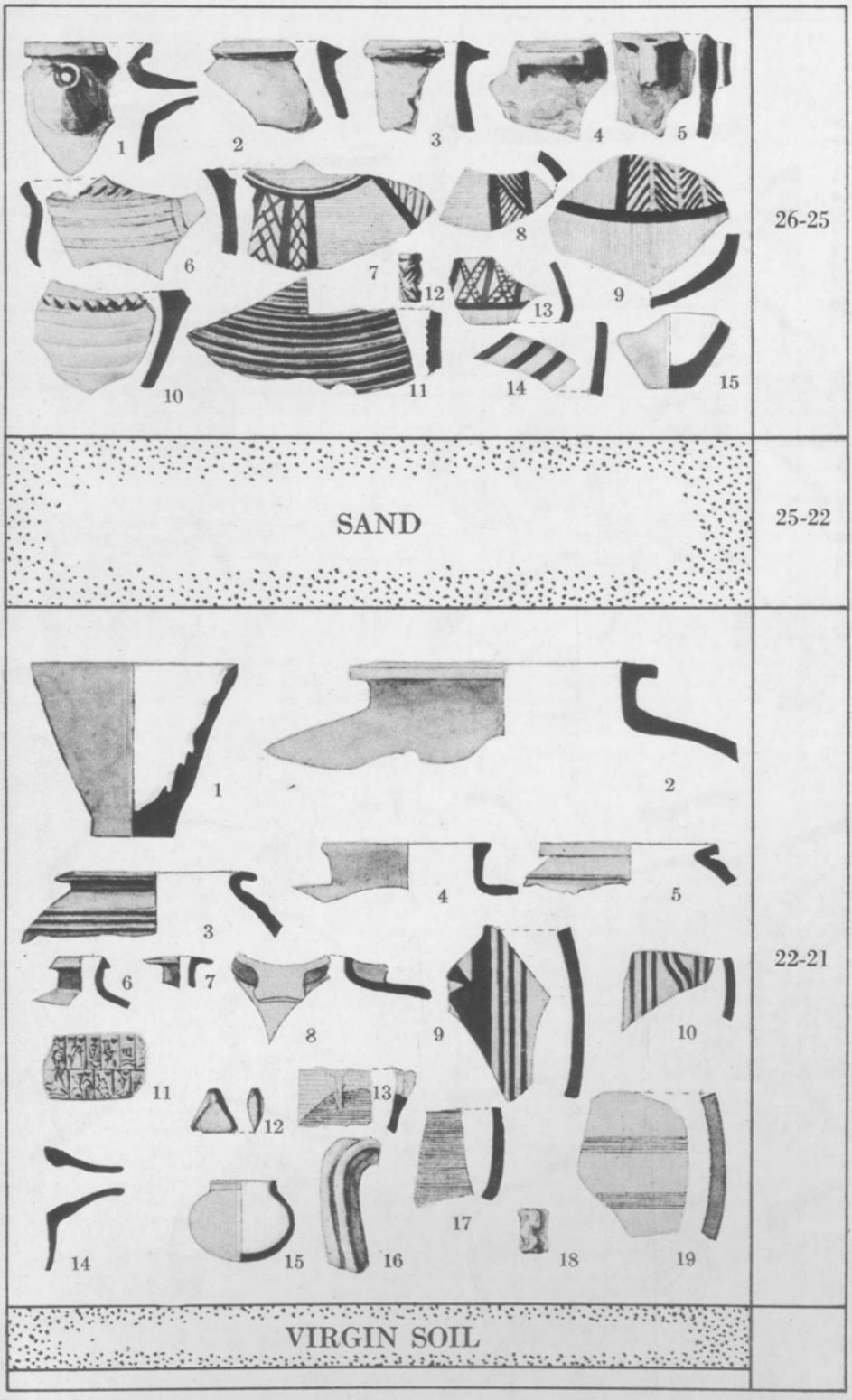
POTTERY FROM THE EARLIEST SHRINE OF THE ABU TEMPLE AT TELL ASMAR

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OBJECTS FROM BIRD-VASE PIT AT TELL ASMAR. NUMBERS ON MARGINS INDICATE METERS ABOVE DATUM LEVEL

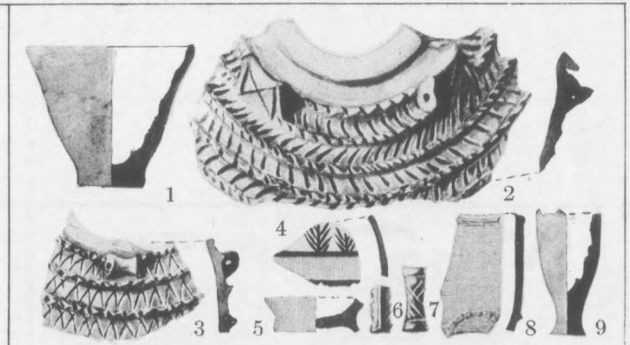
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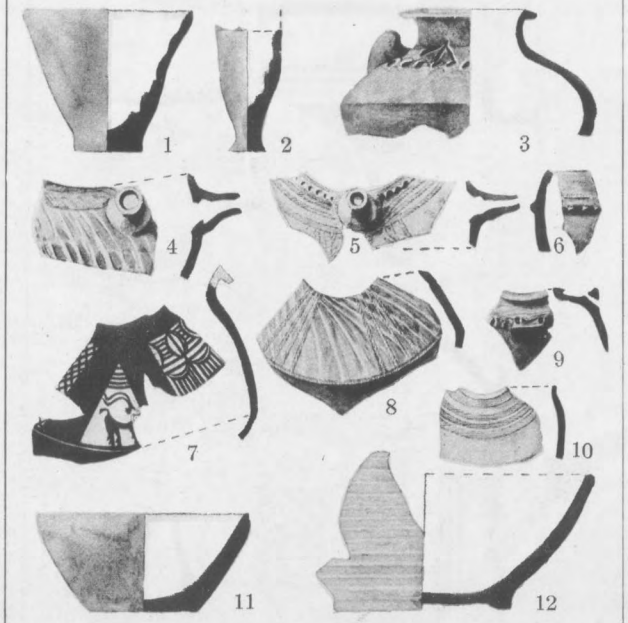
OBJECTS FROM BIRD-VASE PIT AT TELL ASMAR (*Concluded*)

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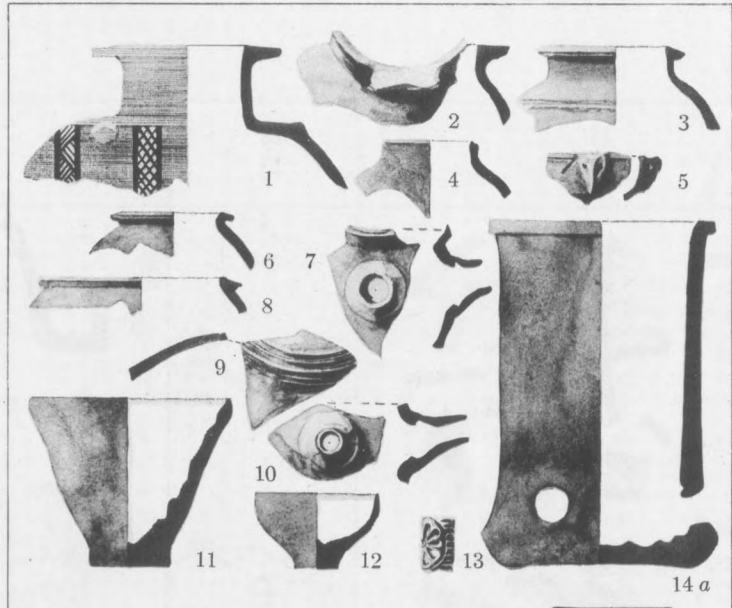
29–27



27–26

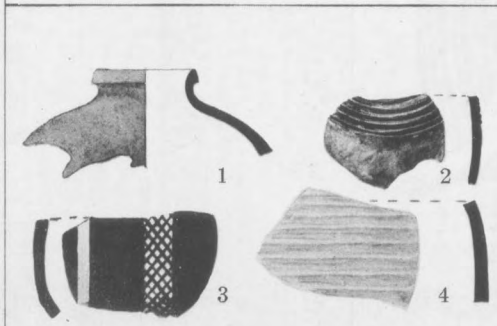


24–23

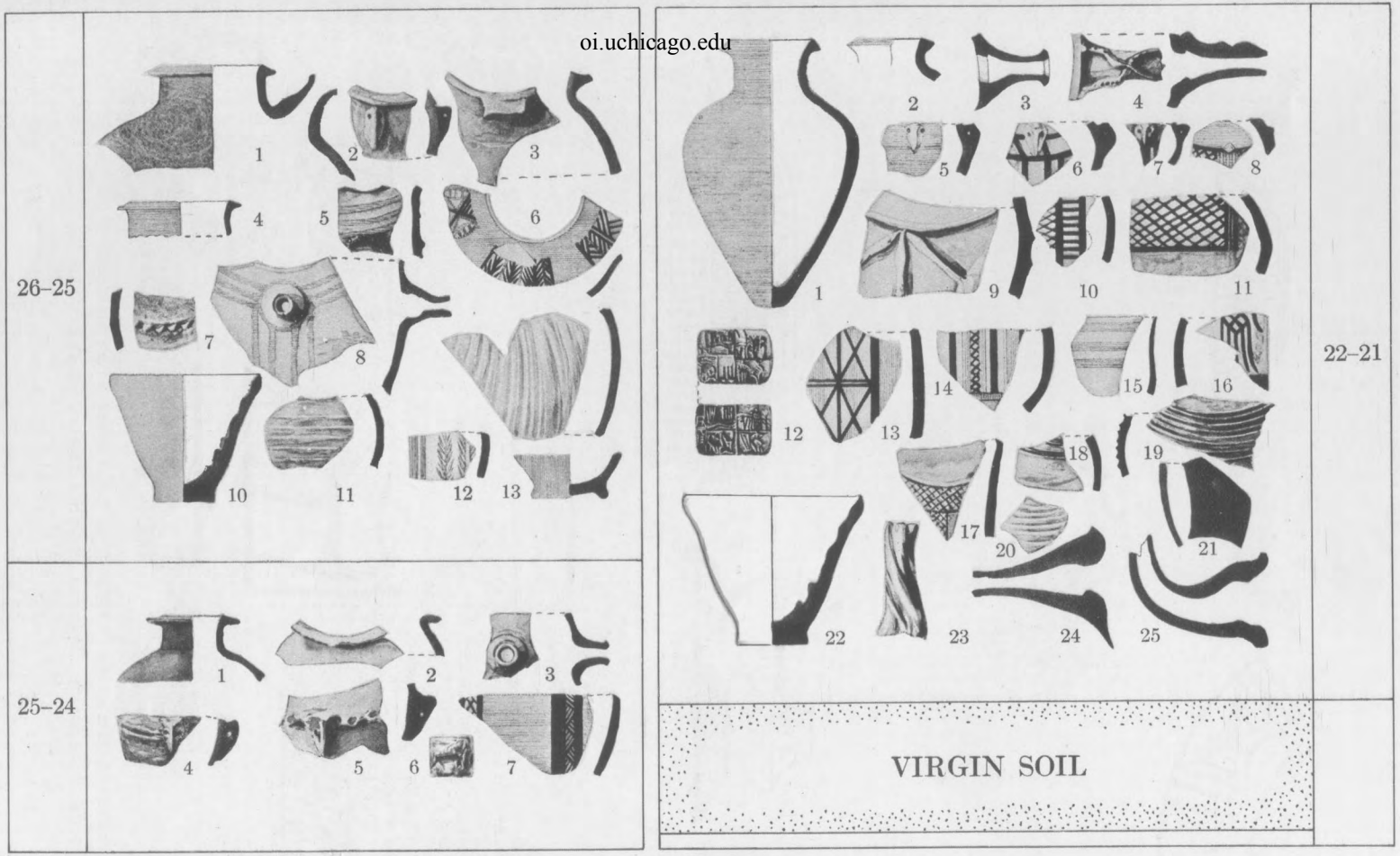




23–22



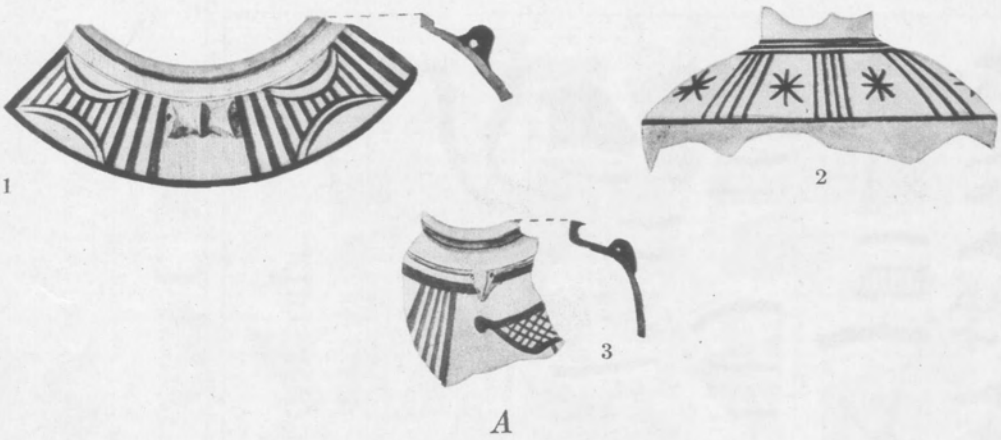
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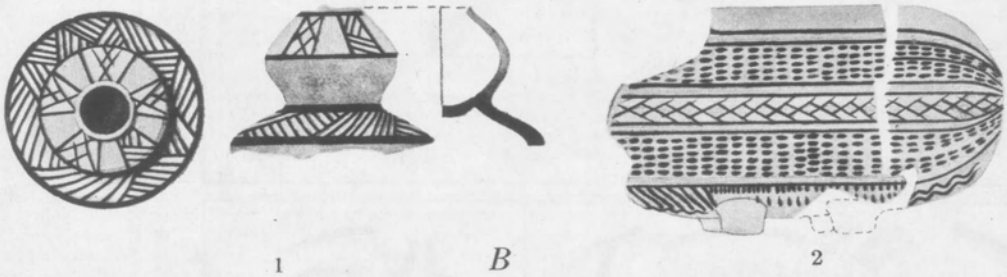
Objects from the Pit under the Akkadian Houses. Numbers on Margins Indicate Meters above Datum Level

Pit under Akkadian Houses = Sounding in H 18:14 in OIP 63 OIP 72

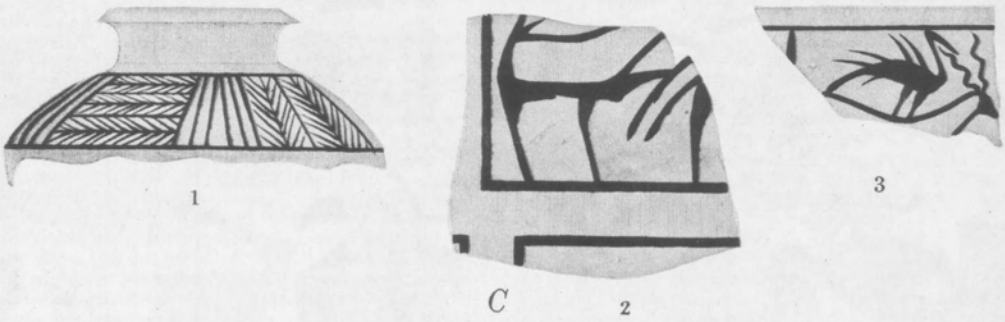
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A



B



C

A. Monochrome-decorated Pottery from Sin Temple VI at Khafaje

B. Polychrome-decorated Pottery from Sin Temple VI at Khafaje

C. Fragments of "Scarlet Ware" from Khafaje

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COMMENT ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The sequence of the discoveries at Tell Asmar and Khafaje should be sufficiently clear to the reader of the first part of this volume, but the grouping of other remains (the right-hand column of the table) may require some elucidation. We shall discuss this column starting from the latest subdivision of the Early Dynastic period.

The close affinity of the various groups of remains classed here as Early Dynastic III *b* is by now well acknowledged. Discussions about the age of the Royal Tombs at Ur affect only a matter of detail, namely the date of that group in relation to those which are approximately contemporaneous with it. The limits of possible disagreement are narrowly fixed on the one hand by the accession of Sargon and on the other by the earlier remains from Fara, Mari, and Assur. Even expressed in terms of years, these limits are fairly close. Though we cannot go here into a discussion of absolute chronology,[1] the cross-datings established with Egypt[2] make it impossible to place the Jemdet Nasr period much before 3000–3100 B.C.; hence the whole development of Early Dynastic civilization takes place between that date and Sargon's accession. The Royal Tombs at Ur represent, with the other remains named in the uppermost section of our table, the latest phase in that development.

The earlier part of Early Dynastic III was known to be represented in the Ishtar temple at Mari and that of Assur H/G and in the palace of Mound "A" at Kish. To these we may now add the majority of the texts from Fara, since Dr. Falkenstein has established an archeological synchronism with some inscribed seal impressions.[3] Most of the seal impressions from Fara belong, however, to an older stage. Incidentally, it may not be superfluous to recall that the seal impressions found at Fara occur not on tablets but only on jars and packages of merchandise and stores. These sealings are comparable to those found in the Square Temple at Tell Asmar and in graves at Khafaje (Fig. 32) and belong to Early Dynastic II.

The fairly complete insight which we have gained into the cultural development from the Jemdet Nasr period to the better known stages of Early Dynastic civilization can be further enriched in one respect. The "Archaic Texts" from Ur[4] can be definitely assigned to Early Dynastic I. We need, of course, an archeological point of comparison, since we did not find inscribed tablets in our excavations. This is provided by the seal impressions found with these tablets in seal-impression strata IV–V at Ur.[5] Similar seal impressions have turned up at Warka[6] in association with remains of Early Dynastic I, namely plano-convex bricks on the one hand and pottery continuing the shapes of the Jemdet Nasr period on the other.[7] The Ur seal impressions, at first considered of "Jemdet Nasr" date,[8] show in fact in a high degree the tendency to interweave their motives into a homogeneous pattern; and this tendency, as we have seen, is typical for the glyptic of Early Dynastic I (cf. p. 68).

Finally it remains to draw attention to a distinction between the architectural remains of Early Dynastic I and those of the Jemdet Nasr period. It was observed at Warka that buildings of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods were founded on solid terraces of small oblong bricks ("Plattengründung"), whereas the buildings of plano-convex bricks had foundations for which trenches had been dug ("Gründung in Baugraben").[9] At Tell Asmar the Archaic Shrines were built according to the latter method, even in the earlier stages in which the building material is not plano-convex but handmade oblong bricks (cf. pp. 10–12). In its architecture also, then, this transitional period appears to be more closely connected with the Early Dynastic than with the Jemdet Nasr culture (cf. pp. 61–73).

[1] We discuss the date of the Royal Tombs at Ur more fully in a forthcoming number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

[2] See Alexander Scharff, "Neues zur Frage der ältesten ägyptisch-babylonischen Kulturbeziehungen," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* LXXI (1935) 89–106. In a previous article, "Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der 4. ägyptischen Dynastie," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXXI (1928) 73–81, the same author had already urged the necessity of reducing Old Kingdom dates.

[3] Adam Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* ("Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka" II [Berlin, 1936]) p. 22.

[4] Eric Burrows, *Archaic Texts* (Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia, *Ur Excavations. Texts* II [London, 1935]).

[5] *Antiquaries Journal* X (1930) Pls. XLIX 3 and L 1–3; C. L. Woolley, *The Development of Sumerian Art* (New York, 1935) Pls. 68–69.

[6] Ernst Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* ("Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka" I [Berlin, 1936]) Pl. 16.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 10. [8] Woolley, *loc. cit.*

[9] Ernst Heinrich, *Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . . in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen* (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, *Abhandlungen*, 1935, Nr. 2) p. 15; Heinz Lenzen in Arnold Nöldeke *et al.*, *Siebenter vorläufiger Bericht . . . .* (*op. cit.* Nr. 4) p. 16.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

		Tell Asmar	Khafaje				Other Sites
		Abu Temple	Temple Oval	House Area: Floors	House Area: Number of Graves	Sin Temple	
Early Dynastic Period	Early Dynastic III	Single-Shrine Temple	Last				Kish: Cem. "A"; Lagash: Dyn. of Urnanshe; Ur: Royal Tombs and 1st Dyn.
			Second	2		I	Assur H/G; Fara: Texts; Kish: Palace of Mound "A"; Mari
	Early Dynastic II	Square Temple	First	3–6	39	II/III	Fara: The majority of the seal impressions
	Early Dynastic I	Archaic Shrines I–IV		7–11	15	IV/V	Kish: Cem. "Y"; Al-ʿUbaid: "Later Cemetery"; Ur: Tablets and seal impressions from S.I.S. IV–V; Warka: Part of stratum I in P XIII
Jemdet Nasr Period		Earliest Shrine		12–13		VI/VII	
		3 Meters of House Débris				M. 33.80	
Uruk Period		Virgin Soil	At M. 32.50 : tablet with numerals as at Uruk IV At M. 31.00 : gray Uruk ware				At Kish & Fara* the settlements do not antedate the Jemdet Nasr period
		Water Level Feb. 1935	At M. 30.50 : water level Feb. 20, 1935				

* *SAOC* No. 4, p. 50 and Table I.