



# EXCAVATIONS AT TEPE YAHYA, IRAN 1967-1975

The Third Millennium



C. C. LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY  
General Editor and Project Director



D. T. POTTS

With contributions by  
Holly Pittman and Philip L. Kohl



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*Dedicated to the unheralded authors of this work:  
Our Iranian workers, site supervisors, and the  
extended archaeological household at Tepe Yahya*

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## Foreword

# Excavations at Tepe Yahya: The Biography of a Project

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*What is at stake is not only the distance that shelters the author of autobiography from his experience but the possible convergence of aesthetics and of history.*

Paul de Man, *Autobiography as De-Facement*

I intend the following to be memory not memoir. Today there is a fashionable insistence that anthropologists account for their place within the framework of their fieldwork experience. This, however, is decidedly not the opinion of archaeologists. The archaeological site report, that iconic volume frequently referred to as the “final report,” is, by intention, a creation as dry as dust. Ideally, the “final report” (read as one word) contains (a) a descriptive and illustrative account of all, or at least most, of the significant remains that one uncovered in excavation; (b) a description and illustration of the stratigraphy and the resultant periodization of chronological periods, phases, etc.; (c) a discussion of the methods employed in excavation, flotation, sampling, etc. The final report is meant to be a volume of description and classification. In its ideal form it should permit the reader an opportunity to reconstruct what you found, how you found it, and where you found it. The final report is not intended to inform the reader what you think about what you found. This is interpretation and interpretation is verboten in a “final report.” A final report is supposed to be an “objective” scientific analysis to be used by others in their search for empirical data. Thus, the site report is supposed to be free of subjective interpretation.

In fact, I find it regrettable that final reports do not include a narrative exposition of what the excavator(s) thought and interpreted as significant in their work. I would find it of inestimable value to read an interpretive evaluation, in conjunction with the classificatory and the descriptive, offered by the excavator(s) in those published final reports of some of the important sites on the Iranian Plateau such as Sialk, Hissar, Bampur, Susa, Ali Kosh, Choga Mish, Giyan, Tal-i Iblis, Bakun, Shahdad, and Persepolis. One might argue that a narrative exposi-

tion will not long endure, and thus does not belong in a final report, while the empirical data is of eternal significance. This is an absurd conceit. The value of empirical data is determined by the methods of its retrieval, but old interpretive ideas can long endure. The excavations at Troy as undertaken by Schliemann, Dörpfeld, and Blegen offer successive increments in methodology, and each replaced our empirical understanding of the site. The notion that final reports are of enduring value while ideas and hypotheses are ephemeral and time-bound is, in the archaeological context, a miscast notion. Today Schliemann’s final report of Troy has its greatest value among antiquarian book collectors. Schliemann’s idea that the archaeology of Troy represented the world of the Homeric epics has a far more lasting impact than his site report. Contrary to common belief, ideas or hypotheses may have a more enduring value than an archaeological final report. For example, Ghirshman’s idea (1954) that the Proto-Elamite settlement at Sialk represented a colony from Susa involved in the exploitation of nearby copper mines is a strangely modern idea, although propounded over fifty years ago. In archaeology the final report has attempted to divorce the interaction of data, ideas, and hypotheses. In spite of this *all* final reports incorporate interpretations at the most basic level. As we shall see, Dan Potts incorporates a whole suite of interpretive notions to advance a specific chronology for third-millennium Tepe Yahya.

Site reports in archaeology are rarely read. They are more typically perused, thumbed through in search of a sherd that offers the reader a typological match, an analysis that attests to the presence of tin, the determination of date and/or a context, or confirmation that pigs were consumed and/or hunted. In this regard the final report in archaeology is used in a manner similar to a

dictionary or an encyclopedia. Within a final report one searches in vain for a plot, but there is only definition. A narrative account that attempts to offer meaning and interpretation based upon the excavated data is all but absent. It is my contention that final reports should contain a chapter in which the chains of inference that lead from the material objects are directed toward observation, interpretation, and theories. What I am suggesting is that the dry-as-dust presentation of a descriptive archaeological site report would benefit by the inclusion of what Glynn Isaac (1971:128) called "lively portrayals of what happened in history." The two approaches are complementary rather than contradictory. I am in complete agreement with Jean Claude Gardin (1998) who champions the importance of narrativity in the writing of archaeological reports.

In our final report on the early periods at Tepe Yahya Tom Beale and I offered two chapters of narrative exposition of what we thought was happening at Tepe Yahya between 4900–3000 B.C. (Beale 1986). I did the same in the volume on the Proto-Elamite tablets (Damerow and Englund 1989). In the Afterword I attempt the same, but here I first offer an ethnographic account of life on our dig.

This archaeological report is a testament to the interaction of three distinctive components: (1) a group of foreigners, in this instance mostly Americans, undertaking archaeological excavations in; (2) a small village in Iran in which an average of seventy-five local workers ("the other") are employed; and finally (3) each of the above is directly involved in the daily manipulation of hundreds of artifacts, which from the moment of discovery are subject to interpretive manipulation. From the interaction of these three components, comprising two distinctive cultures and the remnants of a remote material world, results an archaeological report of illustrated sherds, sections, and sequences of culture. Rarely does an archaeological report discuss the nature of the interaction between the above components. I intend to touch upon these matters here.

Artifacts recovered by archaeologists are situated in three dimensions. They are produced within the context of a long past world, recovered as objects within our present world, and offered an interpretation, or a "meaning," which may, or may not, belong to either world.

The archaeologist is indebted to the past, constrained by 'what once was,' as well as by the idea that the document, the sherd and the seed, is actually a trace through which the past can be recovered. Inasmuch as it [the trace] is left by the past, it stands for the past, it 'represents' the past, not in the sense that the past would

appear itself in the mind (*Vorstellung*) but in the sense that the trace takes the place of (*Vertretung*) the past, absent from historical discourse. (Ricouer 1984:2)

The archaeological imagination, constrained by the documents, those sherds and seeds, that aim to "speak up for the past" provide us with "data," a representational image of the past wholly lacking in both plot and imagination. In the Near East, as perhaps in other regions of archaeological theater, plot and imagination are derived from an appreciation, at the most abstract level, of the interplay of such notions as the scientific method and a roster of "isms," be they colonialism, orientalism, Marxism, or fundamentalism, as perceived by the archaeological team of "scientists" and "the other." An example of such interdependence is the use of ethnoarchaeology, wherein foreign archaeologists study present ethnographic conditions in order to shed light on an archaeological past. We may think such an approach is an appropriate use of the scientific method, while those being studied, "the other," may think that a study of the present in order to better comprehend the remote past is a curious exercise in orientalism, an attempt to vindicate a vision of an unchanging orient juxtaposed to western notions of "progress." The recollections that follow attempt to be descriptive; their purpose is to allow the reader a better appreciation of what, how, and when we did what we did at Tepe Yahya. In an Afterword I offer what might pass as an interpretation of what was going on at Tepe Yahya in the third millennium. Such an interpretation goes far beyond the sherds and seeds. With apologies to R. G. Collingwood (1946:137), I substitute the word archaeology for history and the message still pertains, "All archaeology is the re-enactment of past thought in the archaeologist's own mind."



In 1965 I was appointed an Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University. Except for an earlier stint of summer school teaching at Pennsylvania State University, and a year teaching at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, it is my first and only academic appointment. I was hired to teach the archaeology of the Near East and it was anticipated, by faculty and students alike, that I would initiate a program of field research. Throughout that first year at Harvard I made plans to undertake my first major research project. In the summer of 1966 I departed for Syria where I planned to begin a survey along the Balikh and Khabur Rivers. Within the past decade this region of Syria has become a growth industry of archaeological research. In 1966 its understanding

was still largely the result of the excavations of Sir Max Mallowan, Max von Oppenheim, and André Parrot.

My plan was to locate a site that would offer a greater appreciation of the Halaf and Ubaid periods. It was, in retrospect, a simplistic program, one hardly meriting the term "research design." The Halaf and Ubaid periods were, and largely remain, poorly understood, and as they were antecedent to the great periods of urbanization in southern Mesopotamia I thought they deserved fuller attention. In the spring of 1966 Harvard awarded me a Milton Fund grant and the survey was undertaken in the months of July and August. Its success was measured by the fact that I had located a site of modest size that was littered with sherds of the Halaf and Ubaid periods. It was the site I planned to excavate over the course of the next several years. The following academic year was spent in planning for its excavation, which included the submission of a grant to the National Science Foundation (NSF). I was fortunate to be awarded a grant and selected a number of graduate and undergraduate students to accompany me to Syria. June 7, 1967, three days before my scheduled departure for Syria, the Six Day War erupted. My project in Syria became untenable.

Two circumstances coincided to allow me to transfer my research theater from Syria to Iran. Almost from the time in which I arrived at Harvard I was extremely fortunate to have a research assistant of extraordinary energy and ability: Denise Schmandt-Besserat. Denise and I had been working on the collections in the Peabody Museum in an effort to organize an exhibition of Near Eastern materials. It was Denise's sustained effort that brought this exhibition to fruition; the exhibition endured for over a decade on the fifth floor of the Peabody Museum. Of special significance to me was the collection at the Peabody Museum gathered in the 1920s by Sir Aurel Stein in his surveys of southeastern Iran and Baluchistan. Denise and I decided that we would make an effort to carefully study this collection and offer it for publication in a volume being planned to honor Robert H. Dyson, Jr., my principle mentor in graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Schmandt-Besserat 1977). Our work on the Stein Collection provided the backbone to the letter I wrote to Dr. John Cornell, Program Director for Anthropology at the NSF, that attempted to justify the transfer of funds from Syria to Iran. I wrote a three page letter to Dr. Cornell requesting that a percentage of the funds, which were awarded for excavation in Syria, be used for undertaking a survey in southeastern Iran. Our study of the Stein Collection was used to justify our interest in this very little known, but extremely large, region of Iran. Within ten days we had a positive response from Dr. Cornell. A week later those who were scheduled for departure to Damascus

accompanied me to Teheran: Denise Schmandt-Besserat, James Humphries, and Richard Meadow. The Stein Collection at the Peabody Museum and the generous and understanding support of Dr. Cornell allowed for the discovery of Tepe Yahya.

In Teheran we were assisted and guided by David Stronach, Director of the British Institute of Persian Studies. Over the next several years he offered informed, gracious, and at times stern, but always invaluable counsel. It was David who guided me through the highly bureaucratic process of securing permission to undertake archaeological research in Iran. We arrived in Teheran as a totally unknown and unexpected entity hoping to secure a permit from the Archaeological Service of Iran to undertake a survey in the province of Kerman. To my dismay I learned that it took three months or more to secure permission to undertake an archaeological field project. That schedule would allow me to begin the survey only after my classes began at Harvard. I was very concerned those first weeks in Teheran, for if I was unsuccessful in obtaining a permit neither NSF nor Harvard would be pleased. I preferred not to think of such consequences, instead spending the time awaiting the decision of the Iranian Archaeological Service by purchasing a Landrover, securing field supplies, and visiting a friend from earlier days in graduate school, Cuyler Young, who had just started a program of excavation at Godin Tepe. We arrived at Godin well past midnight in the midst of considerable commotion. Someone had broken into the storage facility. The gendarmes were undertaking what vaguely resembled an investigation.

Back in Teheran we found ourselves in fortunate hands. Dr. Ezat Negaban, the director of the Archaeological Service of Iran, acknowledged that the Kerman district in southeastern Iran was one of the least known provinces and deserving of archaeological survey. He championed our proposal and promised to move it through the various levels of bureaucracy as quickly as possible. Without Dr. Negaban's personal support the Yahya Project would never have gotten off the ground. He was as pleased to see archaeological research undertaken in this little explored region of Iran as he was dubious about the time we had chosen to undertake our work, namely, in the extreme heat of the summer.

Joined by Gholam Ali Shamlou, an archaeologist representing the Iranian Archaeological Service, we set out for the province of Kerman in the last week of June. Over the next nine weeks we traveled over 10,000 km in search of a very specific type of site. In the summer of 1967 we were not interested in isolating a specific area and doing an intensive mapping of the archaeological sites in that region. That would come later. Ours was



**Figure F.1.** Tepe Yahya as “discovered” in 1967.

most definitely not a systematic survey. We were in search of a substantial site with a long sequence of settlement; the greater the chronological expanse the better. Prior to 1967 only two archaeological sites in southeastern Iran, the second largest in Iran, had been excavated, and both were of limited duration and results: Tal-I Iblis (Caldwell 1967) and Bampur (de Cardi 1970). We located dozens of sites in the vicinity of the settlements of Kerman, Mahan, Baft, and Hajjiabad, but all were of small size and of limited chronological duration. Almost 100% of the sites, which we duly recorded, contained ceramics that offered no typological parallel and thus no clue to their date. I hoped to locate a site that would offer a long sequence of chronological periods and serve as a type-site for the region. The excavation of such a site would place into context a series of ceramic types making settlement survey more comprehensible with respect to chronological periods. Survey of the surrounding region would follow an understanding of the regional ceramic sequence. As September approached and after

months of survey that saw us camping under the stars, as well as being put up in police stations, schools, mosques, factories, and village homes, we had but two viable choices: Tepe Nurabad, a site we first visited in the Jiroft, which was earlier reported upon by Sir Aurel Stein, and Tepe Yahya, a site we discovered on August 17, 1967 (fig. F.1).

Five people in a short wheel-base Landrover is quite a crowd, particularly if the vehicle is also loaded with lanterns, food, excavation equipment, extra water, fuel, and bedding. Our search began in the early morning before it became unbearably hot. There was hardly a day in which we spent less than five or six hours in the Landrover; the remainder of the time was spent walking and/or inspecting sites. We had actually been in the vicinity, less than ten km from Tepe Yahya, weeks before the actual “discovery” of the site. We located a series of sites in the vicinity of Dolatabad and the Ab-Dasht Maden (a chromite mining village) that were most promising. These were the sites that were subsequently



intensively surveyed and subject to limited excavation by Martha Prickett (1979) on behalf of the Yahya Project. From the Dolatabad region we turned north toward Baft, then followed the Halil Rud to the Jiroft. From Jiroft we took the Tang-i Mordan pass through the easternmost Zagros Mountains back toward Dolatabad. A very significant amount of time was spent travelling in areas where only the roughest dirt paths served as roads. In crossing the Tang-i Mordan pass we simply made our own road. As we had no idea where we were, or for that matter where we were going, it cannot be said that we were lost. We were carrying British maps of 1:50,000, but they were of limited use. Some villages and roads depicted on the map did exist, while others did not, or were incorrectly situated; others actually did exist but were not on the map. We spent some considerable time in the Tang-i Mordan examining rock art and cairn burials. Cairns were widely scattered throughout this region of Iran and we took the opportunity to excavate a number of them (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Humphries 1968; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Fitz 1987).

Two elements converged to bring us to the Soghun Valley and the "discovery" of Tepe Yahya. Denise Schmandt-Besserat was championing our return to Dolatabad, which we visited weeks earlier, in the hopes that a more careful survey and some exploratory excavation of the many mounds there would identify this region as of primary significance. The second factor that led us to Tepe Yahya was our fear of running out of gas. In the mountains traversing the Tang-i Mordan we were told that the closest available petrol was in the village of Soghun. I have yet to locate this village on any map I have seen. Nevertheless, we were told it was about twenty km west of Dolatabad. We headed for Soghun and in descending the Tang-i Mordan caught site of the largest mound we had seen, or were to see, on our survey. It was August 17, 1967.

We spent several days in the tiny village of Baghin, which is at the very foot of the mound and three km from Soghun. At that time the village of Baghin consisted of fewer than a dozen houses. In 1967, and until our departure in 1975, there was no electricity, running water, or a school in the whole of the Soghun Valley. In 1998 I had the good fortune to return to Baghin and revisit the site of Tepe Yahya. The village, which in our time had less than 50 people, now has several hundred. There is electricity, running water, and a village schoolhouse in Baghin and the nearby village of Soghun has a medical facility and a bus service that connects it to the outside world. When we undertook our survey in 1967, there was no asphalt road that connected the city of Kerman with either the important coastal port of Bandar Abbas, today called Bandar Khomeini, or with the southern

town of Baft in the Zagros. The trip from Kerman to Yahya took two long and difficult days, largely over badly maintained dirt roads. We usually stopped overnight in Sirjan in a place that called itself the Hotel Bostan; it came close to sounding like Boston but the resemblance ended there. Today one can drive on an asphalt road from Kerman to within fifteen km of Tepe Yahya in approximately four hours.

In 1967 we did a small test trench at the base of Tepe Yahya in the hopes that the evidence recovered would strengthen our yet to be written NSF application. There was no doubt in my mind that this was the site we were going to return to in the following year. Our survey was over. Upon my return to Cambridge I wrote a short note for the journal *Iran* summarizing what I thought was of significance in our summer's survey (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1968). Three points are emphasized: First, the recovery of pottery similar to Tal-i Iblis, including bevel-rimmed bowls, from our sondage at Tepe Langar. A year before Joe Caldwell created quite a stir with his discovery of this pottery type at Tal-i Iblis. This evidence was thought, at that time, to constitute concrete proof of Mesopotamian influence, of the Uruk Period, in southeastern Iran; second, the excavation of a number of Iron Age cairns (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Humphries 1968); and third, our sondage at Tepe Yahya. From the surface of the mound we recovered pottery that suggested eastern parallels to Baluchistan as well as black-on-buff wares related to the west. The presence of steatite vessels was noted as was the potential importance of the site for adding to our understanding of east-west interaction. The short note concludes, "A final cautionary observation from our survey and excavation merits mention: the inability to correlate or locate in stratigraphic context material often found on the surface of the mound and the corollary, material found in excavation was not always evident on the surface of the mound." I noted that the coarse chaff-tempered wares that we recovered in our sondage, identical to what Dyson (1965) referred to as the "soft ware horizon," was "nowhere evident on the surface of the mound."

This partial asymmetry, distinguishing what one found in excavation from that recovered from the surface of a site, continued to trouble me. Over the course of several seasons at Yahya I became even more acutely aware that the story to be derived from surface materials differs greatly from what can be said on the basis of excavation data. In 1970 we discovered the Proto-Elamite settlement at Tepe Yahya, Period IVC. As is readily evident in this monograph the Proto-Elamite community is easily distinguished by a distinctive material inventory. Over the next few seasons I spent many quiet hours walking over the mound in search, not only

**Table F.1.** Distribution of sherds by chronological period from surface collection and excavation of the mound at Tepe Yahya.

Period	Number of sherds from surface at top of mound	Number of sherds from surface of eastern slope of mound	Percentage excavated within mound	Percentage recovered in off-mound survey
VI	0	1	54	0.5
V	3	3	16	5.0
IVC	0	0	3	0.2
IVB	0	1	6	0.8
IVA	4	14	8	31.0
III-1	78	131	12	34.5
Unknown	27	6	0	28.0

of the diagnostic features of Period IVC, but of those that characterized other periods of settlement at Yahya. In 1973 I decided to test, by systematic surface survey of the mound and statistical sampling, the relationship of the ceramic types recovered from the surface to those recovered in excavation. In order to accomplish this study in 1973 I took Marcello and Eda Vidale, a physicist and a statistician, to Tepe Yahya in order to define the research strategy for undertaking this program and to collaborate on the study (Vidale, Vidale, and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1976). Save for the recognition given by Arlene Rosen in *Cities of Clay* (1986), this study is all but ignored, perhaps due to its pessimistic conclusion. Table F.1 summarizes our results. The table offers a classification of the total number of sherds recovered from two surface locations of the mound by chronological period and summarizes the results of the distribution of sherds by chronological period within the mound (from excavation) and off-mound (systematic survey collection off-mound).

Our analysis confirmed my suspicion of earlier years. For example, the coarse wares noted in our 1968 sondage, characteristic of our earliest period of habitation (Period VI), are virtually invisible from the surface of the mound, and the Proto-Elamite settlement would never be detected in a surface survey of the site. These results have left me highly suspicious of claims that identify a settlement hierarchy from surface collections and then proceed to claim that a three- or four-tiered hierarchy signifies the origin of the state (Wright and Johnson 1975). The relationship of surface to data recovered from an excavated mound remains a taphonomic problem that greatly deserves further research.

Upon my return to Cambridge in the fall of 1968 I set aside a significant part of the fall semester to write an application for funding to the NSF. It was to be the first of four successful NSF submissions for research at Tepe

Yahya (1968: one year support; 1969–1970: two years support; 1971–1973: three years support; 1974–1975: two years support). The NSF was the principal source for funding the Yahya Project; however, additional funds were obtained throughout the 1970s from the Ford Foundation and private benefactors, most significantly Mr. Landon T. Clay and Mr. Giancarlo Ligabue. Following the 1967 survey I took between fifteen and twenty-five undergraduate, graduate, and staff personnel (photographer, artist, registrar, etc.) to Tepe Yahya each summer. Given the remoteness of the site this was a formidable undertaking that required considerable planning. Only those that lived through it can comment on the degrees of its success or failure. We were extremely fortunate in being given commissary privileges at the U.S. embassy. We were the only American expedition offered such privileges, and we are grateful to Ambassador and Mrs. Richard Helms. We trucked to the site cases of tuna fish, peanut butter, jams, juices, hash, canned vegetables, meats, and stew as well as scotch and vodka. In the Soghun Valley we competed with the local gendarmes in acquiring the limited eggs, cucumbers, and tomatoes that were available. We would periodically send the truck to Kerman, some 250 km distant, but still the closest place for us to purchase large quantities of potatoes, onions, cucumbers, tomatoes, spices, etc. Our cook, almost always acquired for us by David Stronach, accompanied the expedition from Teheran. Expedition supplies—whether beds, wheelbarrows, propane refrigerators, stoves, shovels, Coleman lamps, etc.—were all shipped down from either Teheran or Kerman.

It is difficult to capture the remoteness of Tepe Yahya. Perhaps one indication of it being beyond the “far-off beaten track” is indicated by the fact that we hardly ever had to host visitors (fig. F.2). Over the years at Tepe Yahya only two archaeologists/scholars came to visit us. Richard Frye and Rachel Maxwell-Hyslop made



**Figure F.2.** The village of Baghin in 1973.

the long journey to the site and had a specific reason for doing so: Richard's son and Rachel's daughter were participating in our excavations. In 1970 we were visited by the archaeometallurgical team led by Ted Wertime and Cyril Smith. This brought me into contact with Ronald Tylecote, Radomir Pleiner, and Benno Rothenberg, distinguished scientists accompanying the archaeometallurgical survey. Each of these scientists played an important role in guiding and sustaining my decades-

long interest in metallurgy. Benno was to spend the rest of the season with us at Yahya while the rest of this Smithsonian sponsored team departed for Afghanistan. Their objective was to discover the source(s) of tin that fueled the Near Eastern Bronze Age. The debate concerning the source(s) of tin in the Near East continues, enlivened by the recent discovery of bronzes containing tin at Tell Abraq in the United Arab Emirates (Weeks 1999). Later, Thierry Berthoud (1979) was to visit Yahya

in his own search for "fingerprinting" the copper deposits of Iran. He discovered a copper deposit with traces of ancient mining near Yahya. Subsequent analysis of this ore and metal artifacts from Yahya led to his conclusion that metals were produced at Yahya from local sources.

The remoteness of Yahya was remarkable. Today, a visit to Yahya offers a completely different impression from that of decades ago. As mentioned above, in the summer of 1998 I was privileged to return to Tepe Yahya. Electricity, running water, a village schoolhouse, a nearby clinic, a bridge across the occasionally flowing river, an asphalt road leading almost directly to the site, telephone service, and a local bus route are all additions of the Khomeini years. When I returned to Iran, after an absence of over two decades, I saw that the major cities had changed little, save for an even greater congestion, while the infrastructure of rural Iran is fundamentally transformed, typified by the changes in the villages surrounding Yahya. A visit to Tepe Yahya offers a wholly different experience from that of decades ago!

The remoteness of Tepe Yahya affected our everyday life as well as our excavation procedures. In 1970 Tom Beale used a series of plastic pails, hoses, something resembling cheese cloth, and a series of graduated sieving dishes (brought from the States) to initiate a flotation program. The tools were primitive and of insufficient size to process large samples. The absence of adequate tools was not, however, the major constraint on his undertaking. The lack of water was! Our water supply was brought in from a distance of over one mile by a single, and very difficult to obtain, donkey and driver, carrying two twenty-gallon cans (originally containers for the sale of gasoline). Tom had to share his water supply for flotation with the cooks, our gravity-fed shower system, the women who washed our pottery, conservation needs, and general toiletry essentials, and he found himself with little water. The alternative was to truck the flotation sample to the nearest mechanical water pump, over five miles' distance. We did this on rare occasions to process remains recovered from large hearths. Within his flotation regime Tom, and later Maurizio Tosi with the addition of an oil drum, succeeded in sampling specific areas from virtually all periods. The flotation samples were studied by Lorenzo Costantini (summarized by Meadow 1986b). Picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows had to be trucked down from Teheran. Our Marshalltown trowels were brought from the States as were our field notebooks, art supplies, and photographic essentials. Our small hand-picks were brought from Israel, a gift from Yigael Yadin. He designed them specifically for archaeological work in Israel and graciously had twenty-five of them manufactured for us in the Jerusalem

bazaar! I valued these small picks and wanted to take them as hand luggage aboard the El-Al flight from Tel Aviv to Teheran. I thought escorting them by hand would assure their eventual arrival at Tepe Yahya. This attempt was thwarted by the security check in the Tel Aviv airport. The security officer found twenty-five such tools carried aboard the passenger cabin to be a potential threat, particularly when carried by one with a passport stamped by virtually every Arab nation within the Near East. They wanted me to check them into the luggage compartment. Fortunately, Yigael Yadin had anticipated this problem. He was at that time in the government of Menachem Begin, and he wrote on official stationery an explanation of what the tools were for and identified their carrier as a friend and fellow archaeologist. My picks were immediately escorted to the plane by a security officer and placed in the storage facility above my seat. For years they aided in the identification of mud-brick at Tepe Yahya.

The Harvard infirmary, under the direction of Dr. Louise Shore, offered a medical course on emergency procedures and health-care maintenance for people serving in remote regions of the world, particularly aimed toward Peace Corps volunteers. I took this course and explained to Dr. Shore the location and the conditions under which our expedition lived for almost three months of the year. As a result, we were able to take a considerable supply of prescription drugs to our excavation. These were the only medical supplies within several days travel of Tepe Yahya. We shared our aspirin, bandages, and antiseptics with the villagers daily. Sometimes, in more serious cases, we offered prescription drugs, as when a man had walked two days to reach us for help. His hand was hideously swollen and his arm was completely discolored, the result of a wooden spike driven through his hand. We could do little in such cases save offer antibiotics or, in rare instances, drive them to Kerman or Bandar Abbas. A handful of men and women, frequently carrying their ill infants and children, awaited medical assistance daily. The task of ministering to them was taken up by Jim Humphries who ran a regular clinic and patiently and skillfully cared for children burned by cooking fires, cases of severe diarrhea, toothaches, and so forth. There were all too many instances in which the illness or injury was simply beyond our capacity to help. I deemed it essential to have a vehicle available in camp at all times in order to evacuate a member of the expedition, should this be required due to accident or illness. With two vehicles in camp this would pose no difficulty; one was released to serve its function as ambulance. Tensions rose among members of the expedition when some favored, and others did not, the release of the only vehicle at camp to transport an injured or ill villager to a

medical facility. Medical issues were of paramount concern and never easily resolved. Over the years it was necessary to send a member of our expedition back home only once. Ironically, that instance had nothing to do with local conditions. The person was suffering from hallucinations, the unfortunate aftermath of drug abuse back in the States! Although many suffered from periodic bouts of intestinal disorder—Phil Kohl lost more than thirty pounds in his first field season—we were, by-and-large, a healthy group. In the summer of 1970 I broke my wrist falling from a horse while trying to balance a dozen bags of sherds. A local “darvish,” a medical practitioner with a fine reputation for setting the bones of sheep and goat, wrapped my wrist in an egg and flour cast, and declared the injury a bad sprain. After eight days of enduring pain, and with the lower arm now turned black and blue, I took the three-day trip to the Kerman hospital and the city’s sole X-ray facility. My wrist was broken in seven places. Dev Kerman, our expedition photographer, accompanied me to the hospital. He took a splendid photo of the doctor setting my wrist while I, under anesthesia, was unaware of the nurse swatting flies resting on my chest. The doctor did a fine job. A few years later he was quite surprised to see the degree of mobility I had regained; he expected worse. I took the X-ray back to Yahya and showed it to the darvish. He pondered the X-ray, as if he had studied dozens of others, and smiling told me that anyone with such a photo could tell me where the bones were broken.

In 1968 I realized that in order to accomplish a substantial horizontal exposure, our work would require several seasons of excavation. I set out a series of 10 x 10 m trenches on the southern slope of the mound. These trenches connected to a series of 10 x 10 m squares across the top of the mound, which met, in turn, a series of 5 x 5 m trenches along the northern slope of the mound. It was my intention to cut the mound in two, thereby connecting the trenches to a single stratigraphic profile (figs. F.3, F.4). I anticipated that our work would take a decade. I was not much for the “telephone booth” approach of limited excavation, maximum sampling, accompanying statistical charts, and the hopes that a good theory will salvage a limited excavation. Needless to say after seven seasons of excavation we were not even close to our goal; less than three percent of the volume of the mound was excavated, a far cry from the projected fifteen percent called for in the initial plan.

The recognition that our work at Yahya was to take several years troubled me in one respect: it meant a series of summers apart from my family. I was explicitly told by some, and it was inferred by many, that taking one’s family on an archaeological dig was wrong on two counts: (1) it would jeopardize the health of our chil-

dren, and (2) archaeology was a serious undertaking and the presence of a family would trivialize the significance of that endeavor. From the 1950s to the 1970s the vast majority of archaeological expeditions from the U.S. conformed to their local culture and families were not welcomed on an archaeological expedition. There were very rare exceptions and I turned to an exception for advice. In the fall of 1968 Bob Braidwood was giving a series of lectures in our department. He was almost alone among American archaeologists to take his family to the field. Bob correctly predicted that our kids would be amongst the healthiest on the expedition. He advised that I ignore the taboo and take my family to Yahya. In 1969 my wife and two boys, aged 7 and 3, spent the first of several seasons at Yahya (fig. F.5). My wife took on the formidable task of running the day-to-day business of the dig house in a nearly forgotten part of the world involving the tangible needs of food, drinking water, hygiene, and clean clothing and the less than tangible, but no less complex personal affairs of the fifteen to twenty-five members of the expedition. In 1968 we lacked proper housing, propane gas for cooking, propane refrigerators, and toilet facilities. In discussing the first season some years ago I wrote,

That first season was most difficult. With a group of ten students and a government official from the Archaeological Service of Iran, and a cook from Tereran, we lived for almost three months in tents, cooking over open fires (mostly if not exclusively rice and goat) and trying to find secluded spots in the natural environment to serve as privy. There was no running water, no electricity, and not sufficient food available in the valley. At different times we were all ill, at times rather seriously. Most importantly we established good relations with the villagers. (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1974:275)

Those “good relations” throughout the 1968 season of excavation were compromised by a local khan. Prior to the Shah’s land reform the khan’s father laid claim to the ownership of most of the land in the Soghun Valley. The khan was attempting to reassert that claim. He requested a sum, the equivalent of \$2000, for permission to excavate on “his” mound. In 1968, within the context of village Iran, that was an enormous sum! We paid our workers, on average, \$1.00 a day, a sum that was favorably competitive with that paid to workers in a nearby chromite mine. Our government representative strongly advised us not to pay anything to the local khan for Iranian law placed the ownership of all archaeological sites in the hands of the government. The khan called a



**Figure F.3.** Tepe Yahya, 1973. Southern step trench.

strike, which was very effective. Almost no one showed up for work. Our government representative responded by calling in the local gendarmes, who then threatened to take the khan to Kerman and to certain jail. The khan recanted and work resumed. Over the years he remained a troublesome and unreliable presence, constantly badgering us to hire specific workers and agitating for unreasonable favors.

Our Iranian government representative in 1968 was the same man who accompanied us in our 1967 survey, Mr. Gholam Ali Shamlou. He was a serious-minded archaeologist with a keen interest in furthering his education. In 1970 he applied, and was accepted, to undertake a graduate program in anthropology/archaeology at Harvard. He returned to Iran in 1977 with a freshly minted Ph.D. He was not the only Iranian undergraduate and/or graduate student that participated in the excavations at Tepe Yahya. Throughout the 1960s, and particularly in the 1970s, there were thousands of Iranian students studying in the United States. These students were a tangible result of the Shah's extensive program of

scholarships given to competent students wishing to study abroad. Our Iranian students included a cousin to the Queen, who could not believe the impoverished nature of village Iran to which she was exposed for the first time! She suggested that I accompany her in asking the Queen to build us a new facility with electricity, running water, and all. I quickly declined her offer for there was already some resentment about our commissary privileges while others went without. To her great credit she lasted the entire season and adapted well to our conditions. Another less privileged Iranian student lasted a week and returned to Teheran.

By the 1969 season we had constructed and renovated two dig houses: one five-room house with attached kitchen, adjacent out-house, and an enclosed courtyard in which we grew alfalfa (our cook made an occasional soup from this) and one three-room house used mainly for storage. Most of the expedition staff slept on the roof. The 1969 season saw dramatic advances in our living conditions, which only those who endured the 1968 season could acknowledge.



**Figure F.4.** Tepe Yahya, 1973. Northern step trench.

The routine at Yahya began with the start of excavations at 6:00 A.M. and continued, with a tea break at 9:00, until noon. Work resumed at 3:00 P.M. and concluded at 6:00 P.M. This made for a long day. The noon break allowed for a nap, or more commonly, the updating of one's field book and small find cards (printed 5-x-7-inch cards used to describe the context and measurement of the object, and provide a drawing; see Beale 1986:5, fig. 1.1). Throughout each of the field seasons we had the benefit of the artist Ann Hechle. She was among the most valued and productive persons on the project. Today Ann is a noted calligrapher in England. Over the years at Yahya she drew thousands of images: Proto-Elamite tablets, cylinder seals and their impressions, chlorite bowls, and thousands of sherds. Her work load was staggering and her ability to measure up was highly impressive! At times she would acknowledge that she needed a break, that her eyes were exhausted from overwork. Her illustrations have been the mainstay of virtually every publication pertaining to the Yahya

Project. In the early seasons our photographic needs were well-served by Dev Kernan. In later seasons this task was undertaken by Richard Meadow and myself. The negative was later subject to the magic of Stephen Berger, longtime photographer at the Peabody Museum, who could transform a modest negative into a superlative photo. Our expedition staff always consisted of Ann Hechle, one or two registrars, a photographer, and my wife, who managed the camp. At times we also had a conservator. In 1970–1971, the seasons in which we recovered most of our Proto-Elamite tablets and cylinder sealings, we were fortunate to have Ingrid Reindell with us as conservator. We always brought a cook from Teheran (in 1970 he was an elderly gentleman who cooked for Ernst Herzfeld at Persepolis). We always hired a number of women from the village who cooked our bread and washed clothing and pottery, as well as a number of houseboys to haul water, assist the cook, and keep order in camp.

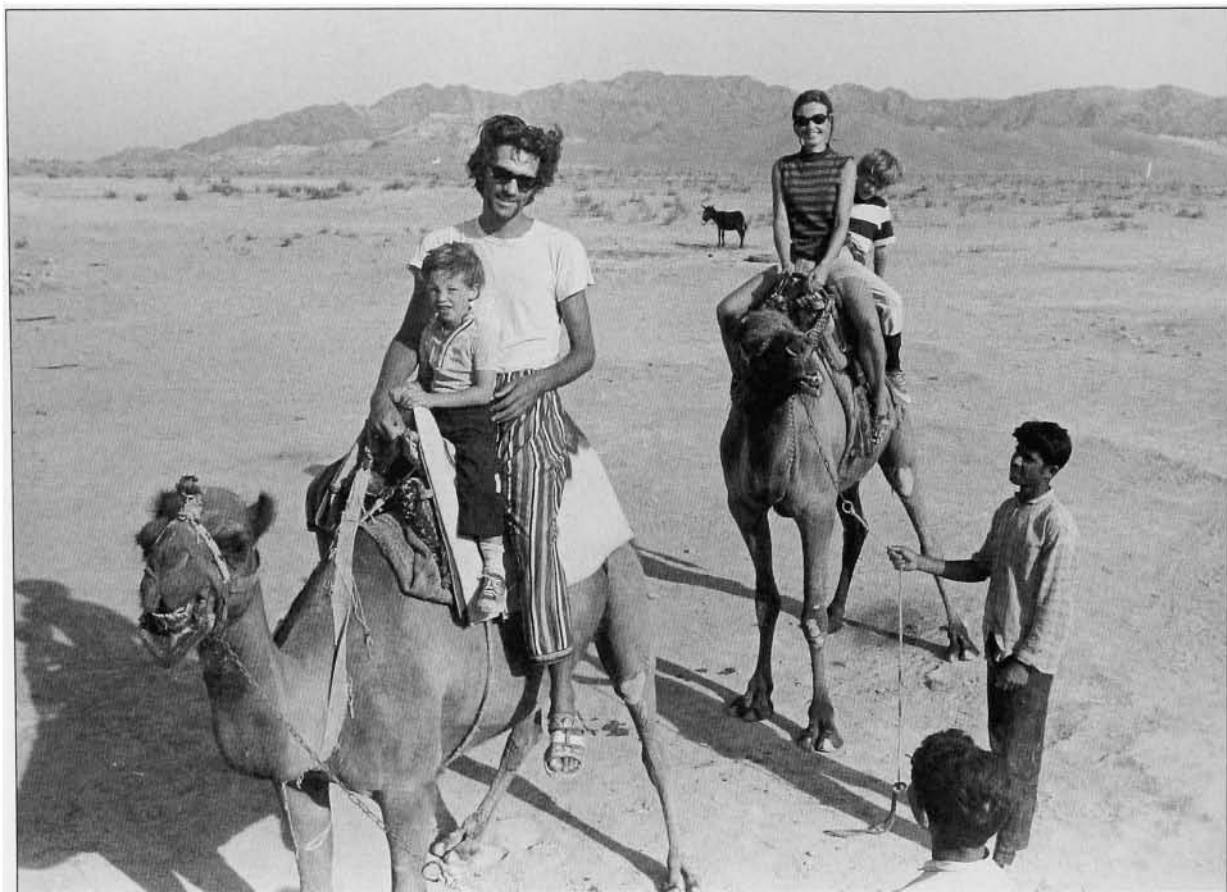


Figure F.5. The Lamberg-Karlovsky family at Tepe Yahya in 1970.

In 1969 our diet improved markedly, as did our evening cocktail hour, when we obtained commissary privileges. With ample quantities of vodka, tomato juice, Worcestershire sauce, and Tabasco, Phil Kohl invented the Yahya cocktail that came to be known as the "kolang buzurg," Persian for "big pick." It was guaranteed to make an impression on the brain! Parties were reserved for Thursday evenings. Friday was our day of rest.

Over the course of a single season we would have two or three large parties to which we would invite our workers. On these occasions we would hire a local band, consisting of a drummer or two, a stringed instrument, and a horn. We would slaughter and roast one of our sheep—part of a small herd that my wife would purchase for the expedition—and cook huge pots of rice on an open fire. The most difficult items to secure were sufficient wood for the cooking fire and enough large cauldrons for cooking the rice. Martha spent the better part of two days travelling about the valley in search of cauldrons. We dispatched a couple of men with donkeys to go to the mountains and return a day later laden with firewood. The party would begin in early evening and

last well past midnight. There was much dancing, at first men only, save for the females of our expedition who were allowed to dance as honorary men! Actually, after the villagers became accustomed to and trustful of our ways, a number of local women would join in the dance. The local gendarmes would attend and were completely untroubled by the fact that expedition members consumed alcohol. We *never* offered alcohol to our workers, even when asked!

Drugs, chiefly marijuana and opium, were readily available in the valley. In Iran the possession of the above drugs, although in common use throughout the country in the 1960s and 1970s, held the death penalty. I took this very seriously, particularly after an evening spent in 1970 with the American-trained chief of police in Kerman. He seemed a bit too enthusiastic in telling me that the previous year they hanged twenty-four drug offenders and shot an additional fourteen. Officers and eminent and powerful individuals were shot; ordinary people were hung. The death penalty appeared to operate on a class-conscious basis. Needless to say the consumption and/or use of illegal drugs by any member of





**Figure F.6.** The first season at Tepe Yahya, 1968. Left to right: Mr. Mahmud Khordavany, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, Arthur Bankoff, Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky, Andrea Bankoff, James Humphries, Peter Dane with arm around villager, Philip Kohl (kneeling), Hussein (cook), Jane Britton (on ground). Photograph by Richard Meadow.

the expedition was an instant one-way ticket back to the States. I never had to issue such a ticket.

The methods adopted for the excavations at Yahya were essentially those I learned at Jerusalem from Kathleen Kenyon, and at Hasanlu from Robert H. Dyson, Jr. Each 10 x 10 m square was separated by a meter balk (for a full description of the field methods see Beale 1986). The position and orientation of the step trench had little to do with surface debris or contour; it had a great deal to do with increasing the extent of shade and protection from the sun—the deeper the trench the greater the shade in the mornings and late afternoons. In an environment where daily temperatures approached and at times exceeded 40° C (100° F) even partial protection from the sun was a most welcome relief! Each 10 x 10 m square, and there were on average six to eight trenches excavated at a single time, was excavated by five to seven workers supervised by a graduate student.

There was a great advantage in having substantial continuity in returning graduate students and trained local workers. Workers, trained to excavate with a particular tool, returned year after year and worked with the same graduate student. Students responsible for excavating third-millennium contexts over the course of several seasons were: Martha Prickett, Dan Potts, Phil Kohl, Tom Beale, and Elizabeth Stone. Nagaraja Rao, Abdullah Masry, E. C. L. During-Caspers, Dennis Hessel, and Christine Lesniak each spent at least a single season excavating third-millennium contexts.

The long-term commitment and publication responsibilities undertaken by students who participated in the excavations at Tepe Yahya remain seminal to the overall success of the project (See figs. F.6–F.10. Individuals participating in the excavations at Tepe Yahya but not appearing on the photographs: Laura Nash, Marny Golding, Nagaraja Rao, Mirabbadin Kabooli, Dexter

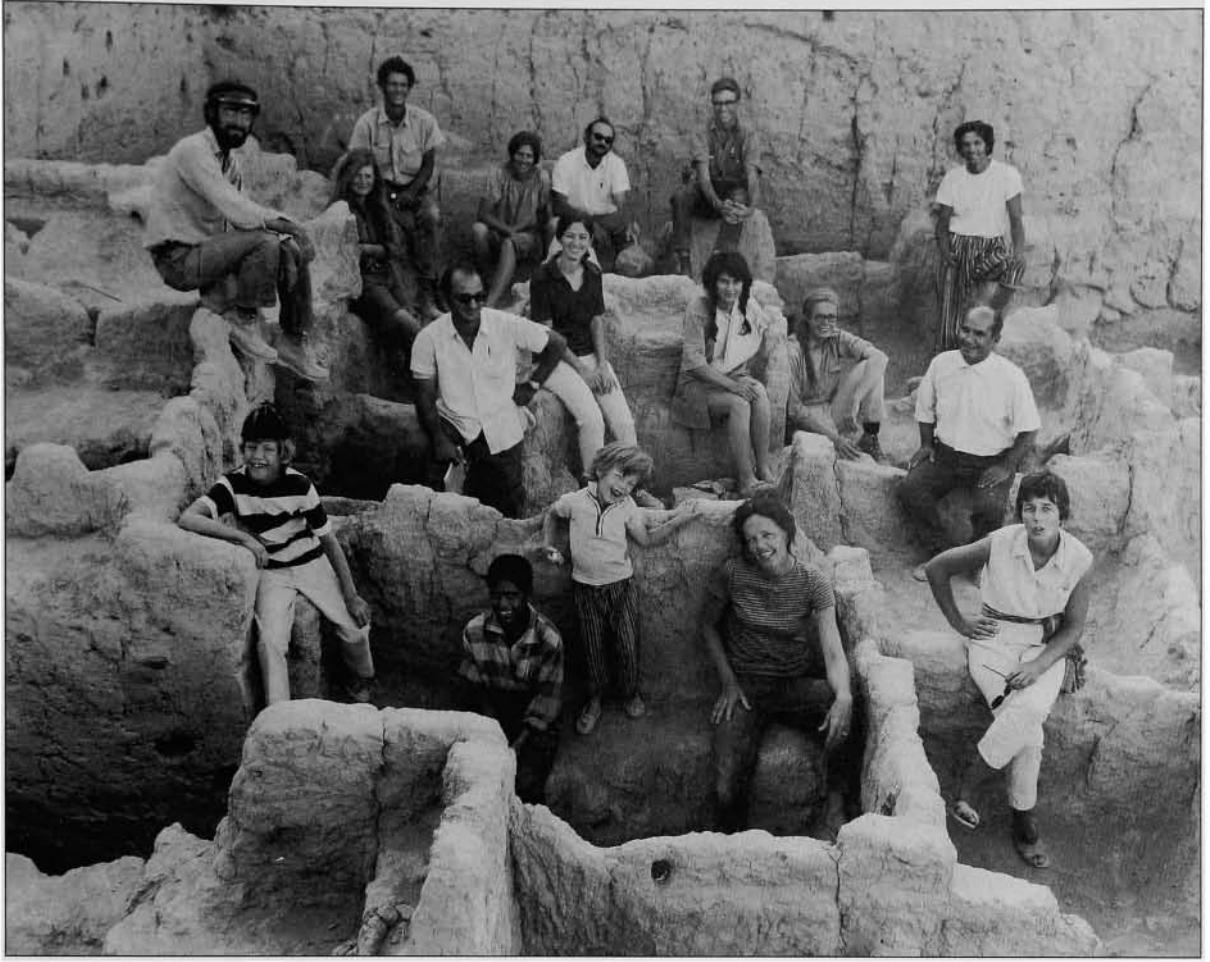


**Figure F.7.** Tepe Yahya, 1969. First row (in front of car): Richard Meadow, Ann Hechle, Philip Kohl. Second row: Martha Prickett, David Biernoff, Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, Donald Whitcomb, I. Azimzadeh, James Humphries. Third row (on top of car): Carl Lamberg-Karlovsky, Christopher Lamberg-Karlovsky (top of head), Thomas Beale, Vicki Tompkins. To right of car: Said Reza (who first cooked for Herzfeld at Persepolis), William Fitz. Photograph by Dev Kernan.

Perkins, Pat Daly, Ishmael Yaghmai, Mina Sadegh, Yasmin Ladjevardi, Thomas Adams, Jeff Frye, Ingrid Reindell, Maurizio Tosi, Sandro Salvatori, Benno Rothenberg). The extent of continuity in personnel is underscored by the fact that Dan Potts, Tom Beale, Richard Meadow, Peter Dane, and Christopher Thornton wrote their undergraduate Honors Theses on aspects of the Yahya Project and after continued work at Yahya the first three completed their Ph.D. dissertations on a related topic. Finally, Tom Beale and Dan Potts authored two of the final publications including this one. This was very much a planned endeavor. It was essential to enlist the collaboration of graduate students in order to fulfill the responsibilities for the publication of the materials recovered from Yahya. I anticipated that we would spend a significant number of years excavating at Yahya and surveying the surrounding countryside. Under such circumstances it was readily evident that within a short time a single person would be buried in publication

responsibilities. Thus, it was essential to encourage the interest of others in the study of thematic topics or in a corpus of material. I was fortunate in being surrounded by a good number of excellent students eager to assume such responsibility. In 1970 Dexter Perkins and Pat Daly joined the expedition with the express purpose of training Richard Meadow in the skills of zooarchaeology. Richard further enhanced these skills at Harvard through his study with Barbara Lawrence. In 1968 Richard Meadow completed his Honor's Thesis on our 1967 survey in Iran. After participating in each season of excavation at Yahya he completed his assignment by writing his dissertation on the zooarchaeology of the early periods at Tepe Yahya (Meadow 1986a).

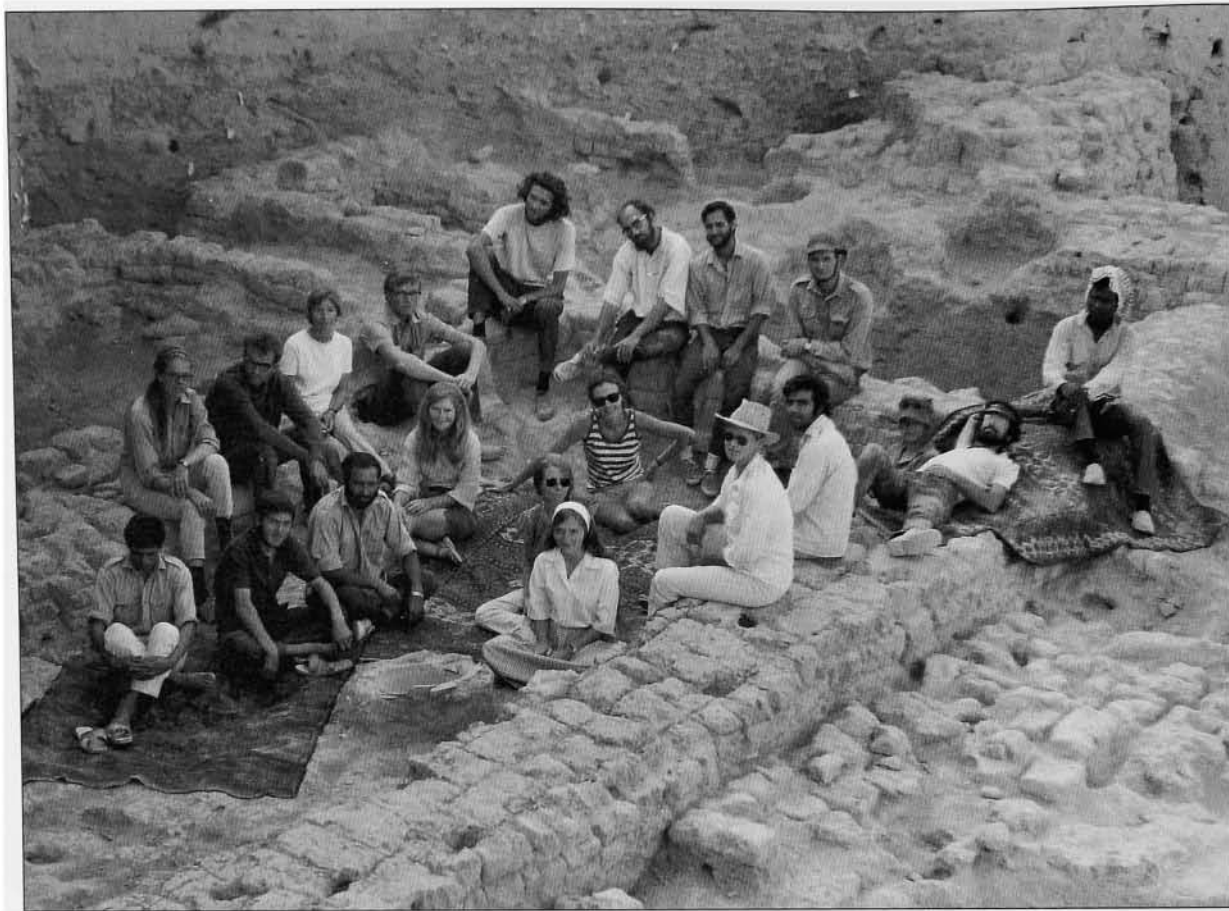
In the fall of 1969 I was invited by Professor Edith Porada to give a talk on our work at Tepe Yahya to the Columbia University Seminar on the Ancient Near East. Attending that talk was a student headed for the graduate program in Classics at Harvard University. His parents were living in Teheran and he wished to combine a



**Figure F.8.** Tepe Yahya, 1970. First row: Carl Lamberg-Karlovsky, Carl's friend, Christopher Lamberg-Karlovsky, Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky, E. C. L. During-Caspers. Second row: Thomas Beale, Gholam-Ali Shamlou, Polly Shenkman, Elizabeth Stone, Martha Prickett, our cook. Last row: Ann Hechle, William Fitz, Barbara Gard, Philip Kohl, James Humphries, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky. Photograph by Dev Kernan.

visit with them with an initial exposure to an archaeological expedition. It was in this manner that I first met Phil Kohl. I indicated that he could join us at Yahya if he were in Teheran at a specific date. I was somewhat surprised to see him show up in Teheran that following summer. Unfortunately, there was no room for him in any of our vehicles. I left him with a rough map of how to get to Tepe Yahya. Once again I thought I had seen the last of him. In mid-summer he arrived at Yahya, unceremoniously dumped from the back of a melon truck in front of the mound. He had hitchhiked all the way from Teheran. He lost thirty pounds that summer, was introduced to the importance of steatite, transferred from Classics to Anthropology, and eventually changed what had been called steatite to chlorite in a classic study of provenience and trade (Kohl 1974).

It remains most unfortunate that the Ph.D. dissertation of Martha Prickett has never been published (Prickett 1986a). Her recent death is a great loss to archaeology. It is an exceptional reservoir of original data and of outstanding significance. Martha spent almost a decade surveying; first broadly throughout the region and then intensively in the vicinity of Yahya. Her thesis is a remarkably detailed piece of scholarship containing the results of her surveys, her test excavations, and the analyses of the materials recovered. Her work is the most formidable single product resulting from the Yahya Project in its three richly documented and illustrated volumes. The volumes are available through the University of Michigan dissertation services. They deserve greater attention and a far wider distribution, though their detail and length proved too much to prepare for final publication.

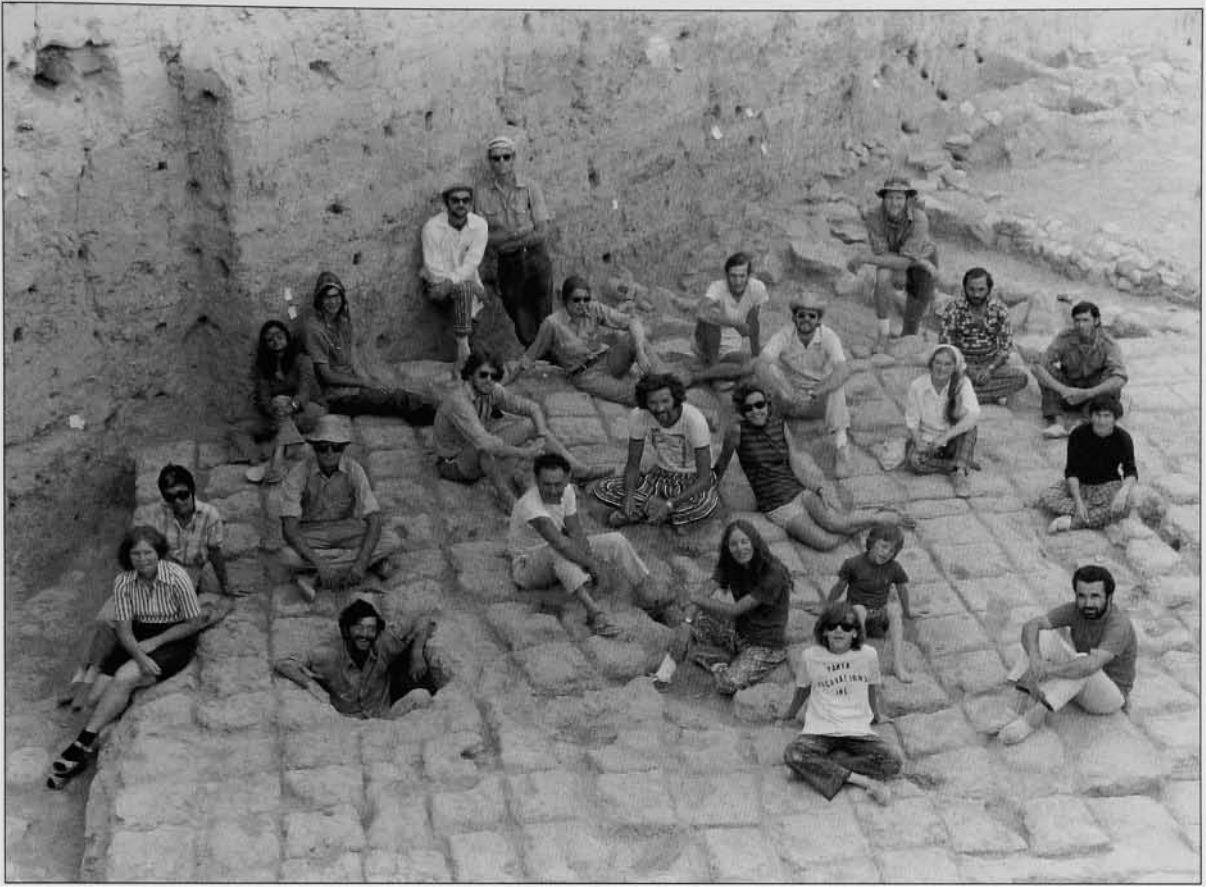


**Figure F.9.** Tepe Yahya, 1971. Back row sitting on walls: Martha Prickett, Andrew Williamson, Marian Laaf, James Humphries, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, Philip Kohl, Thomas Layton, Raffaele Biscione, Abdullah Masry, Thomas Beale, Elizabeth Stone, Ishmael Yashmai, Christine Lesniak. Sitting in room, left to right: three cooks, Ann Hechle, Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky. In front: Grace Corso, Deyne Meadow. Photograph by Richard Meadow.

In 1970–1971 Andrew Williamson accompanied the surveys undertaken by Martha Prickett. Andrew was a student at Oxford and much interested in the Islamic period. While Martha attended to the prehistoric sites, Andrew recorded the Islamic remains. Andrew discovered an early Islamic site, Dasht-i Deh, in the Soghun Valley, which he dated to the ninth–tenth century. He believed the site worthy of excavation and we were able to arrange to have the excavations of Dasht-i Deh incorporated into the Yahya Project. Andrew's two seasons of excavation were singularly successful. He uncovered the outline of what he believed to be a small mosque, some splendid metals, ceramics, and inlaid boxes. The excavation, as well as its publication, was never completed.

In the mid-1970s Andrew assumed a position as consultant and advisor on archaeology to the Ministry of Culture in the Sultanate of Oman. In 1974 Andrew invited us to undertake an archaeological survey in Oman. I obtained the sponsorship of the Peabody

Museum and the Harvard Survey was under way! It was the first such archaeological project under the official auspices of the Oman government. Today the survey is referred to in the literature as the "Harvard Survey"; its results were published as the lead article in the first volume of *The Journal of Oman Studies* (Hastings, Humphries, and Meadow 1975). My own schedule did not permit me to accompany the survey team but I sent out two graduate students, both old hands in the Yahya Project: Jim Humphries and Richard Meadow. Ms. Ann Hastings, who had lived in Oman and had a long-standing interest in archaeology, also accompanied the team. (For more than a decade Ms. Hastings was an invaluable research assistant involved in all facets of the Tepe Yahya Project. The index of small finds in all publications concerning Yahya owes a great deal to her dedication to the Yahya Project.) The Oman survey was a great success. Among many other settlements discovered the team located a site, which they named Samad after an



**Figure F.10.** Tepe Yahya, 1973. Ann Hechle, Eda Vidale, Dennis and Mala Heskell, Michael Toplyn, Thomas Beale, Philip Kohl, James Humphries, Daniel Potts, Martha Prickett, Marcello Vidale, Connie Piesinger, Glen Dash, Deyne Meadow, Faye (cook) and two assistants, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, Martha Lamberg-Karlovsky, Gregory Gordon, Jeffrey Frye, Hussain Baktiari, Carl and Christopher Lamberg-Karlovsky. Photograph by Richard Meadow.

adjacent stream, that suggested the presence of a major metallurgical production center. The site was carefully mapped and dated to the end of the third millennium. We spent months back in the Peabody laboring over the date of this site and took the gamble that many of the ceramic types had distant parallels with late-third-millennium Yahya. This guess proved to be correct. Following the first season of survey, plans were made to undertake a full scale excavation of this site. This was never to be. Andrew Williamson, conducting his own survey in the Dhofar region of Oman, was tragically killed by a mine that exploded upon impact with his vehicle. Andrew was replaced by Paolo Costa, an Italian specialist on the architecture of the Islamic period. Much to our dismay our team was never to return to Oman. Archaeological intrigue replaced our legitimate right to continue with the excavations of the site—Samad—that the Harvard Survey discovered. Maurizio Tosi was invited by his Italian colleague Dr. Paolo Costa, who was now advisor

to the government on all matters archaeological, to undertake a project in Oman. Oman had opened its doors to archaeologists and this previously little explored country was becoming a growth industry for archaeological research. Tosi took Gerd Weisgerber, affiliated with the German Mining Museum in Bochum, to visit the site of Samad, which the Harvard Survey team discovered and, as was well known, intended to return to for full excavation. Weisgerber, without ever contacting us, decided to excavate this site. For reasons that are not difficult to fathom he changed the name of the site from Samad to Maysar. Changing the name of the site, however, neither masks the fact that Samad and Maysar are the very same place nor does it legitimize the right for it to be taken away, without even the courtesy of a communication, from its discoverers. Excavations at Samad 5/ Maysar proved to be a great success. In order to legitimize the take-over of the site of Samad, and make the Harvard team *persona non grata* in Oman, we were

accused of taking an archaeological collection, sherds gathered over the course of our survey, out of the country and refusing to return them. One cannot return what was never taken. The materials recovered from survey, consisting of dozens of bagged and labeled sherds, were *all* duly deposited, in collaboration with our Omani colleagues, in a designated storage facility. We were never again to see these materials: the bags of sherds, our four-wheeled vehicle, or the field-notes left behind! Years later I discussed our loss of the project in Oman, specifically the excavation of Samad/Maysar, with Tosi, Costa, and Weisgerber. None of them was able to enlighten me on any matter pertaining to the affair.

From the inception of our excavations at Tepe Yahya James Humphries enthusiastically embraced the responsibility for writing his doctoral dissertation on the Iron Age levels. After five years of excavating the relevant levels at Yahya he inexplicably withdrew from the graduate program at Harvard. Fortunately, Peter Magee, a former student of Dan Potts at the University of Sydney, with an expertise in the Iron Age (Magee 1996), has completed a study of Periods II and III at Yahya. His forthcoming volume on the Iron Age at Tepe Yahya draws significant parallels with the contemporary communities in the Gulf, particularly on those of Muweilah in the United Arab Emirates and the Iron Age site of Akra in Pakistan (Magee forthcoming).

In 1969 I met Maurizio Tosi for the first time. He arrived in my office at Harvard and informed me that he was excavating Shahr-i Sokhta, which he identified as Aratta, the fabled resource-rich land of Sumerian legend. In 1969 I had heard of neither Maurizio Tosi nor Shahr-i Sokhta. Learning about both was to change much of my thinking. Shahr-i Sokhta was rich in the manufacture of lapis lazuli, which Tosi believed was exported to Mesopotamia. Thus, lapis lazuli at Shahr-i Sokhta complemented my own idea of the importance of chlorite at Yahya. Collaboration with Tosi and his colleagues in Rome at Istituto Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO, today renamed Istituto Italiano per l'Africa et l'Oriente [IsIAO]) introduced me to a number of Italian colleagues who were to participate in our work at Yahya: Silvio Durante (1979; Mazzeo 1981) studied our shells, Marcello Piperno (1973) completed a study of the stone tools from the early periods, and Lorenzo Costantini undertook an important study, which remains in his hands, completed but unpublished, of our paleoethnobotanical samples (summarized for the early periods at Yahya by Meadow 1986b). Tosi made two extended visits to our excavation and expanded upon the flotation procedures initiated by Tom Beale. Additionally, Raffaele Biscione and Sandro Salvatori spent a season with us at Yahya. Biscione followed up his visit to Yahya

by an extended stay at the Peabody Museum where he undertook a study of the unpublished collections in the Peabody Museum from Anau, Turkmenistan (Biscione 1977). Tosi also arranged for an initial study of our Proto-Elamite texts by Professor Piero Meriggi. This unpublished manuscript, in the archives of the Yahya Project at the Peabody Museum, was superseded by the more extensive study of the Proto-Elamite corpus by Peter Damerow and Robert Englund (1989).

Throughout the fall of 1972 Tosi and I worked in the Peabody Museum on the paper that was eventually published with the title "Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya: Tracks on the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau" (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973); the cribbing of part of its title from Sir Aurel Stein (1933) was intentional. In using Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya as case studies we attempted to show how, through the materials recovered from the two sites, one could link a comparative stratigraphy of "interaction spheres" that connected Central Asia, the Indus, the Gulf, and Mesopotamia. In the 1990s, in the fashion of "world systems," our perspective has become the consensus, but over 25 years ago it was seen as a somewhat inflated view and just a little self-serving in the use of our own sites as case studies in exemplifying the extent of interaction that tied the regions from Mesopotamia to the Indus and from the Gulf to Central Asia together. Recent years have seen an explosion in our understanding of the archaeology of the Gulf and of Central Asia; more so in the latter region than in the former. When we were excavating at Tepe Yahya we were aware of distant relations that connected Central Asia to the Indo-Iranian borderlands (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1973; Tosi 1973). The first concrete link between southern Turkmenia (Central Asia) and Mesopotamia was made via Shahr-i Sokhta: cylinder seals carved with Jamdat Nasr-like geometric motifs (the so-called Piedmont Style, which were also present at Yahya in Period IVC) were associated with Geoksyur pottery in Period I at Shahr-i Sokhta. This occasioned considerable excitement between myself and Tosi (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973).

In retrospect we still had little awareness of the extent of contact that characterized Central Asia and the Iranian Plateau in the Bronze Age. It was only in the late 1970s that Victor Sarianidi gave definition to what he referred to as the "Bactrian-Margiana Archaeological Complex" (BMAC; Sarianidi 1976). His excavations in the Dashly Oasis of Afghanistan offered a preliminary understanding of this archaeological complex. Later more extensive excavations in Turkmenistan at Togolok and Gonur, together with those of Ahmed Ali Askarov at Sapelli depe and Djarkutan in Uzbekistan, gave clearer definition to what some began to call the "Oxus Civilization"

(Lamberg-Karlovsky 1994b). The extensive contact of the BMAC with Susa has been noted by Pierre Amiet (1986) while contact with the Indo-Iranian borderlands is evident at Shahdad, Khurab, Khinaman in southeastern Iran; Miri Qalat in Makran; and at Sibri and Nausharo in Baluchistan. Potts (1993) has recently pointed out the presence of significant BMAC artifacts in the Gulf. It is more than likely that the contacts between these two distant regions, rather than being direct, were mediated by the communities situated in the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Whatever the motivations that brought these distant regions into contact it is worth remembering that whether the BMAC materials be from Susa, Shahdad, or Tell Abraq, they are scant in number, produced of a valuable material, and manufactured with fine craftsmanship, i.e., luxury items. The fine quality and numerous types of BMAC materials on the Iranian Plateau is best attested in the recent volume reporting upon the excavations at Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a).

It is of interest to note that initially no one suspected, least of all I, that the BMAC materials, whether of metal, stone, or ceramic, recovered from Shahdad in the early 1970s were intrusive to the region! Everyone conceived of them as indigenous to southeastern Iran, including Ali Hakemi. What were later recognized as BMAC artifacts were published by Hakemi as early as 1972 and frequently discussed by him at international conferences (Hakemi 1972, 1976). No one had the slightest suspicion that they were signature artifacts of a complex culture situated well to the north. Their intrusive nature on the Iranian Plateau (the material culture known today as the BMAC) escaped recognition, even by those who were later to make important contributions to its study (Amiet 1986; Porada 1964, 1993; Hakemi 1997a; Gubaev, Koshelenko, and Tosi 1998). Recent attempts to suggest that classic ceramic types of the BMAC find their origin in the Kachi Plain, i.e., the Mehrgarh/Nausharo region, remain as unconvincing as earlier claims for this region being an independent hearth for the origins of agriculture or the source for the origins of the Indus civilization (Jarrige 1994).

Our opportunity to collaborate with Victor Sarianidi was realized in the late 1980s and led to several seasons of collaborative excavations at Gonur depe (Hiebert 1994). In visiting a number of the principal BMAC sites (Gonur, Togolok, Taip, Sapelli, Djarkutan, and Kelleli) and in reviewing the materials recovered from these sites I became aware of an asymmetry of relations: BMAC materials are widely scattered over distant regions of distinctive archaeological cultures, from Susa and Shahdad to Tell Abraq, while there is a poverty of "foreign" materials recovered from BMAC sites. Thus, distant regions obtain elite BMAC objects (stone seals

and bowls, metal seals, vases, and axes) while BMAC sites obtain virtually nothing in return, at least nothing that survives in the archaeological record. How can one explain this asymmetry of relations? This question will be addressed in the Afterword.

In the early 1970s there was a newly appointed director of the Archaeological Service, Dr. Firouz Bagherzadeh. He was convinced, having been influenced by Americans who were committed to the overriding significance of their own archaeological surveys in Khuzistan, that a priority for future research should be given over to archaeological survey. The goal, as propounded by Henry Wright, was to create a definitive map of the archaeological resources of Iran.

I was aware of this new priority, but I was unaware that I was targeted by Dr. Bagherzadeh to initiate it in the province of Kerman. In September, following each season of excavation, field directors were responsible for selecting a series of their most important finds for exhibition. The Queen would come to view these materials and offer a few words of encouragement. I was totally dumbfounded when in 1973 Dr. Bagherzadeh informed the Queen, in my presence, that I had agreed to suspend my excavations at Tepe Yahya and devote myself to the new program, a comprehensive survey of archaeological sites in Kerman. He told the Empress that I was to start my surveys in the following year. Gregory Johnson, who was standing next to me and overheard the comments, was surprised that I was stopping excavations at Yahya. I told him that I was stunned for I knew nothing of this and had never agreed to anything of the sort. We had, in fact, initiated archaeological survey in the vicinity of Yahya in 1969 and continued doing so in each successive season. Now we were asked to suspend our excavations and devote ourselves entirely to survey. In 1974 we did neither excavation nor survey. We took the year off. This was partly our own desire and partly because it was expected that our energies would be turned exclusively to survey. Fortunately, and with some considerable effort, we were permitted to return to our excavations in the summer of 1975.

In fact, months before we were informed that survey was to become our priority we requested to undertake an exploratory excavation at Tepe Nurabad in the Jiroft, to the east of Yahya. We visited this site, noted by Sir Aurel Stein decades earlier, in 1968 and, had it not been for the discovery of Yahya, it was the one we would have excavated. It was our plan to have Richard Meadow run a test excavation at Tepe Nurabad. The surface of Nurabad was littered with far more sherds relating to those of Baluchistan type than we were recovering from Yahya. It appeared to me then, and still does today, that one crosses a ceramic boundary in traveling from Tepe

Yahya into the Jiroft. This is perhaps why, although ceramic parallels do wed Bampur to Yahya, their number are fewer than one might expect.

Our last season at Tepe Yahya was in the summer of 1975 (fig. F.11). Following our excavation I returned to Teheran in the fall for the annual conference that Dr. Bagherzadeh required field directors to attend. Over twenty years were to pass before I was to return to Iran again.

The 1960s and 1970s were a golden age for Iranian archaeology. This twenty-year period saw the excavations at Pasargadae and Nush-i Jan (David Stronach), Hasanlu and Hissar (Robert H. Dyson), excavations and survey in Marv Dasht, Pusht-i Kuh, and at Kangavar (Louis Vanden Berghe), Ganj Dareh (Philip Smith), Marlik and Haft Tepe (Ezat Neghaban), Shahr-i Sokhta (Maurizio Tosi), Tal-i Malyan (William Sumner), Susa (Jean Perrot), Djaffarabad (Genevieve Dollfus), Chogha Mish (Pierre Delougaz and Helene Kantor), Farukhabad and Sharafabad (Henry Wright), Tal-i Iblis (Joe Caldwell), Bampur (Beatrice deCardi), Yanik Tepe and Haftavan (Charles Burney), Tureng Tepe (Jean Deshayes), Baba Jan (Clare Goff), Hajji Firuz (Mary Voigt), Godin Tepe (T. Cuyler Young), Seh Gabi (Louis Levine), Siraf (David Whitehouse), Sang-i Chahmaq (Sei-ichi Masuda), Ali Kosh, Tepe Sabz, and Chogha Sefid (Frank Hole), extensive surveys of Khuzistan (Robert Adams, Henry Wright, and Gregory Johnson), and pioneering ethnoarchaeological studies by Carol Kramer (1982) and Patty Jo Watson (1979).

It should be noted that throughout this period there was little concerted collaboration between different excavation and/or survey programs. Most of the research programs proceeded within the context of their own design. While there was a near absence of formal collaboration between projects that had overlapping concerns, i.e., Susa, Malyan, Shahr-i Sokhta, Hissar, Godin, and Yahya with regard to Proto-Elamite and/or Uruk settlements, there was substantial informal contact between excavators at places like Leon's Restaurant, a Russian restaurant famed for its caviar, blini's, and ice-encased bottles of vodka, and the British and American Institutes. Well-attended International Congresses of Iranian archaeology were held during this period at Oxford, Munich, and three times in Teheran. Additionally, a significant conference was hosted by the French in their chateau at Susa in 1977 (see Perrot 1978). This brought together a number of archaeologists working on Uruk and Proto-Elamite concerns on the Iranian Plateau as well as archaeologists familiar with the Mesopotamian ceramic sequence. It was at that conference that Hans Nissen, among others, proclaimed the ceramics recovered from the Susa levels 22-18 as identical to those from the Uruk Period at Uruk

itself. The Uruk Expansion, already familiar to northern Mesopotamia at Habuba Khabira and Jebel Aruda, was now seen as colonizing Susa. Within a short time came the recognition, or the interpretation, that Godin and Sialk were also colonized by an expanding Mesopotamian world of Uruk frontiersfolk.

It is difficult to think of another region in the Near East that allowed for such a large number of productive excavations as existed in Iran from 1960 to 1980. The credit for such openness must be attributed to various Ministers, notably the Minister of Culture Mehrdad Pahlbod, brother-in-law of the Shah, and his various subordinates within the Iranian Archaeological Service and the Iran Bastan Museum. There is a ready contrast between the extraordinary productivity of archaeological research that characterized the 1960s and 1970s, and its near absence in the 1980s and 1990s. The past two decades are all but devoid of archaeological essays reporting upon new work undertaken in Iran. In the decades following the Khomeini revolution a new Iranian journal, *Madjalle-ye-Bastabshenasi Wa Tarikh* (Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History), was initiated. This new publication, and an occasional archaeological monograph, appears infrequently and is rarely characterized by new and important archaeological achievements.

In 1983 the Islamic Republic of Iran published an important booklet outlining its new policies and achievements. This included the statement that "cultural studies and activities have been performed *solely and independently* by the Islamic Republic specialists" (Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, Iran 1983:4; emphasis added). Today research is still performed solely by such specialists. Other more progressive laws were passed, including the prohibition of exporting "any antique [100 years or older] or artistic article" (Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, Iran 1983:5). Under the Shah's government it was possible to obtain a commercial permit for the excavation of an archaeological site. This permit allowed for its holder, following the standard fifty-fifty division of artifacts with the Archaeological Service of Iran, to publicly sell the remainder of the objects. These permits, together with outright illegal excavations, fueled the robust antiquities market that flourished throughout the 1960s and 1970s in Teheran. Commercial excavation permits are no longer issued and the numerous stores selling antiquities that lined Ferdowsi Avenue are all gone. Today the antiquities market in Iran receives no government sanction!

In 1983 "after nearly one hundred years of excavation by the French archaeologists, an expedition from the Iranian archaeological center was dispatched to this town (Shush/Susa) to examine the possibilities of explo-



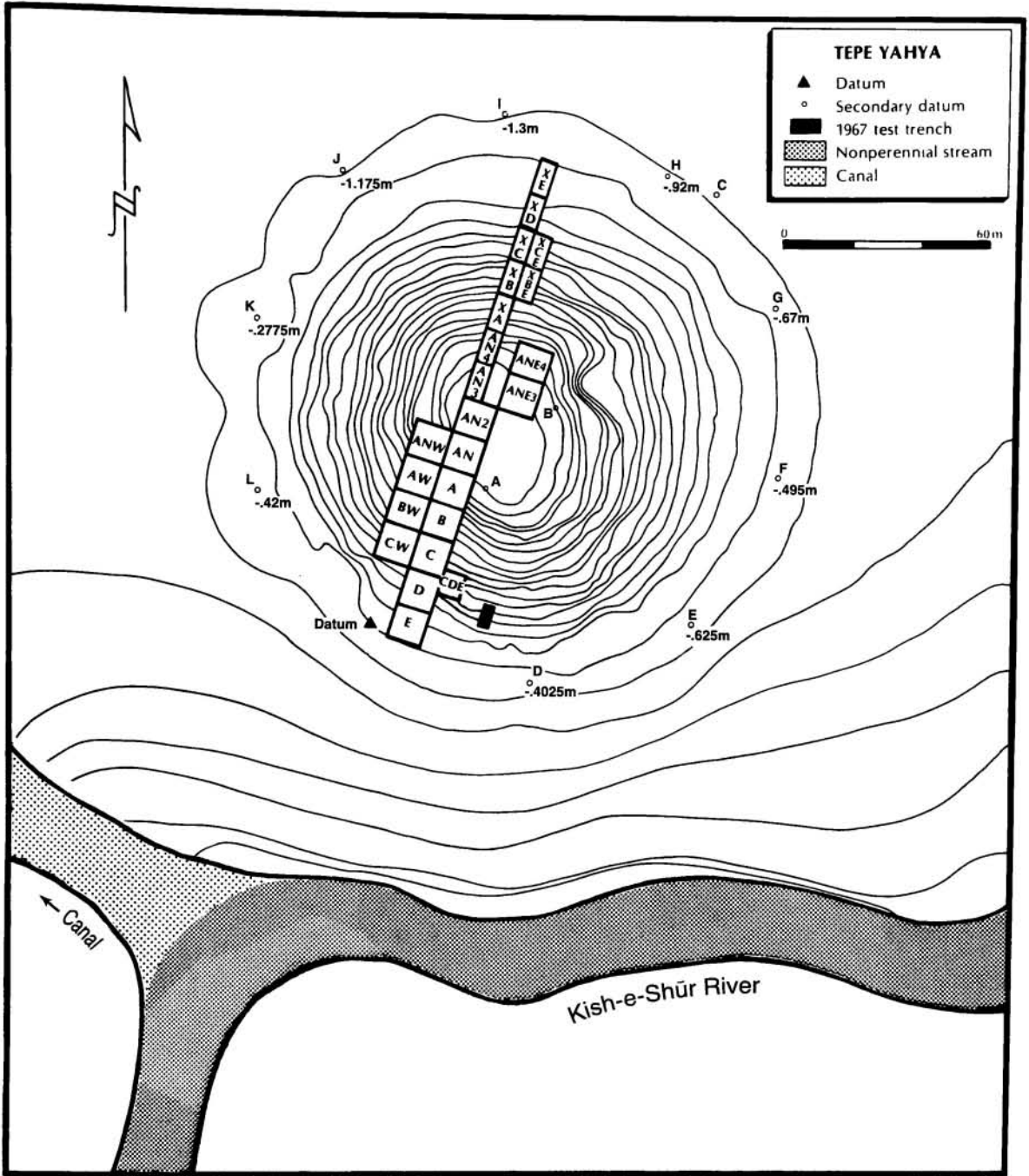


Figure F.11. Topographical plan of Tepe Yahya and areas of excavation.

ration and excavation" (Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, Iran 1983:11). Such an announcement is one among many that proudly announces that the Islamic Republic of Iran is in total control of its own past. One hopes that in time international collaboration and colonialism will not continue to be confused! In the summer

of 1998 I was told by Mirabbedin Kaboli, director of excavations at Susa and Shahdad, that the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research undertook sixty-seven field programs involving excavation, preservation, and conservation.

Under the Shah the rules governing the division of excavated materials between the foreign expedition and the Shah's government were really quite simple. The government had the right to select ten of what they considered to be the most desirable objects. Following the selection of these ten items all other materials were divided fifty-fifty. It was the responsibility of the director of the foreign mission to lay out on two tables the full corpus of objects recovered. Bags of pottery were also to be stacked into two piles. The tables containing the objects were to be balanced, both with regard to their quality and their number. On an appointed day, the Minister of Culture, or his designated subordinate, arrived to finalize the division of materials. It was possible to gamble and weigh one table with a slightly better array of objects. The Minister invariably would recognize the gamble and wish me luck. His assistant would then ask me to pull one of two envelopes from a hat. The envelope contained either the letter A or B, referring to the table of objects that I could ship home. These, and invariably all of the pottery, bones, and other "scientific" specimens were shipped to the Peabody Museum. The collection at the Peabody Museum from Tepe Yahya consists of thousands of sherds, hundreds of small finds, an enormous number of animal bones, and other organic and mineral samples. The division of excavated remains was invariably a smooth operation. Only once was I taken aback—when I was informed that all seals, sealings, and tablets were to count as one object. In the presence of the Minister of Culture there is no appeal!

Even with the publication of this volume there is still much from Yahya, from every time period, that remains to be published. Referring to archaeological reports as "final reports" is somewhat of a conceit, analogous to crowing about methods assuring one hundred percent recovery of excavated remains. Final reports are always a selection of what the excavators regard as significant and never final in the sense of reporting on one hundred percent of that recovered and/or accomplished.

Following the completion of the 1975 season I looked forward to a break in the regimen of excavation for several reasons. First, we had accumulated a vast amount of data and, before we were buried by an unmanageable excess, it was necessary to put forth a more substantive publication than the annual article reviewing the major results of each season. Second, a number of graduate students that I came to depend on for continuity of program were moving on to other projects and new positions. Phil Kohl took a position at Wellesley College, Richard Meadow began his long-term collaboration with Jean-Francoise Jarrige at Mehrgarh, James Humphries withdrew from graduate studies, and Dan Potts was off to the Freie Universität in

Berlin. I also became involved in the archaeological surveys that Abdullah Masry, newly appointed Director General of Archaeology in Saudi Arabia, was organizing. Participation in these surveys in Saudi Arabia initially turned a number of students and colleagues into this program: Dan Potts, Chris Edens, Michael Toplyn, Donald Sanders, and Garth Bawden. In addition to the above diversions two other considerations affected my plans. In 1976 I was asked to consider accepting the Directorship of the Peabody Museum, a position that I assumed in 1977. Also, in the mid-1970s another project was consuming a considerable amount of my time. The government of Iran had asked Harvard University to assist them in planning a new graduate facility, the Reza Shah Kabir University. This new university was to be constructed on the shores of the Caspian Sea. In the oil-rich days of the mid-70s it was planned to be nothing less than the best graduate university in the Near East. I participated in an endless array of meetings concerned with every detail of building a university. Delegations from Iranian ministries and universities arrived to imagine the unimaginable, i.e., the procedures and the cost of duplicating the library resources of Harvard University. At the time such concerns were taken seriously; in retrospect they were surreal undertakings. I recruited Charles Burney from Manchester University in England to spend a year in this nascent university and initiate the teaching of archaeology. After a year he was glad to return to England. Catherine Bateson agreed to serve as Dean of the Social Sciences. In the summer of 1978, with students rioting on campus and the first shots being fired in some cities, she was constructing the coming year's academic program. As she was asking Phil Kohl, who had just completed a survey in Afghanistan, to participate in the university's developing academic program, students were caving in the main door to the building. Phil's successful survey in Afghanistan and his excavation plans were terminated by the Soviet invasion the following year. Neither the U.S. State Department, the personnel at Reza Shah Kabir University, nor anyone at Harvard University anticipated in the summer of 1978 that within a year the Khomeini revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan would occur.

My last visit to Iran was in the fall of 1977 to attend a conference in Teheran and to indicate that in 1978 we would return to Yahya for a final season. That final season was never to be. Had it taken place we would have expanded our third-millennium exposures and begun a significant program of excavation on site R-37, a fourth-millennium site with extraordinarily well-preserved agricultural fields (Prickett 1986b). The preservation of these fields, as Tony Wilkinson has recently observed (personal communication), is unique within the Near East. In

1998 I revisited the area around Dolatabad and the sites and agricultural fields remain as pristine as they were over twenty-five years ago. The excellent preservation of sites and field systems within this region affords an unparalleled opportunity to investigate, within a carefully circumscribed ecological zone, aspects of settlement pattern, demography, environment, and the techniques of agricultural production.

By the end of my first year as Director of the Peabody Museum in 1978 it was evident that the political situation

would not permit a continuation of work in Iran. I turned my attention to the Arabian Peninsula, but more significantly to the challenge of developing a collaborative project with Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia. Organizing the first Soviet-U.S.A. Archaeological Symposium set this hope in motion. The symposium was held at the Peabody Museum in 1981 amid protests and demonstrations against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The success of this decade-long collaboration is reported on elsewhere (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1994a).



# Acknowledgments

Working on the final report of the third-millennium levels at Tepe Yahya brings me full circle in my archaeological career, back to some of the topics and concerns with which I was confronted during my initial entry into the study of Near Eastern archaeology. In 1971, during my first semester as an undergraduate at Harvard, I learned about the site of Tepe Yahya in a course on the rise and fall of civilizations taught by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and Jeremy Sabloff. Two years later I was privileged to participate in the 1973 season of excavations at Tepe Yahya. Although I had, at that point, only one season of excavation experience under my belt, I had certainly read most of what was then available on the Indo-Iranian borderlands as an undergraduate at Harvard. Sir Aurel Stein's surveys in Baluchistan and Kerman, Beatrice de Cardi's excavations at Bampur, Maurizio Tosi's work at Shahr-i Sokhta, Walter Fairervis's soundings at Damb Sadaat and Kili Ghul Muhammad, Jean-Marie Casal's finds at Mundigak, Joseph Caldwell's explorations at Tal-i Iblis, Ali Hakemi's incredible discoveries at Shahdad—these constituted my introduction to the ancient Near East, and explain, I think, why I have never really left the subject of Tepe Yahya and the Indo-Iranian borderlands even though I have been more involved in Arabian archaeology in recent years than in Iranian archaeology.

The early 1970s were a time of incredible energy and enthusiasm in the Anthropology department at Harvard. Tom Beale, Dennis Heskell, Jim Humphries, Phil Kohl, Richard Meadow, and Martha Prickett were all graduate students working on aspects of the ongoing excavations at Tepe Yahya, so the development of an early interest in the Indo-Iranian borderlands was hardly surprising. During the course of the 1974–1975 academic year I wrote an undergraduate honors thesis on Period IVC (Potts 1975) and took part in the final season of excavations at the site. In 1976, at the kind invitation of the late Jean Deshayes, I gave a paper summarizing some of the main points of my undergraduate thesis (Potts 1977) at the conference on the subject of the Iranian Plateau and

Central Asia convened by Deshayes in Paris. In 1978 I was prompted to return to the topic of Tepe Yahya by my failure to obtain permission to work on the late pre-Islamic archaeology of Saudi Arabia for my Ph.D. This time I tackled Periods IVC, IVB, and, to a lesser extent, IVA. I submitted my Ph.D. thesis on the third millennium at Tepe Yahya in 1980 (Potts 1980), but after writing only a few short articles based on that work (Potts 1981a, 1981b, 1982) I turned to other archaeological domains, principally in eastern Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, where I have worked ever since.

Since I submitted my Ph.D. thesis in 1980, I have undertaken two major revisions of the text with a view to providing a manuscript suitable for a final report on the Period IVC and IVB deposits at Tepe Yahya. The first revision was completed during the early 1980s while I was teaching at the Freie Universität in what was then West Berlin. The second was completed at the University of Copenhagen in 1990–1991 shortly before I left to take up the Edwin Cuthbert Hall Chair in Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney. Neither of those two revisions was ever published due principally to my own inability to finalize the necessary artwork and to the unavailability of certain ancillary studies of materials from Tepe Yahya, which were meant to be published in the same volume. By the mid-1990s, moreover, I was unwilling to see the last revision published. I felt that my excavations at Tell Abraq (undertaken from 1989 to 1998) and involvement with the third-millennium archaeology of the Oman peninsula would enable me to refine what I had previously said about ceramic parallels between the two regions.

At the *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* held in Venice in July 1997, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and I discussed the timetable for the needed revision of my Tepe Yahya manuscript yet again. The anticipated completion in 1998 of my excavations at Tell Abraq in the United Arab Emirates, the fact that I was by then entitled to sabbatical leave from the University of Sydney, and the fact that my eldest child had to be in Sydney in 1999

for an important series of high school exams all meant that a "now or never" point was rapidly approaching. Consequently I applied for and was granted sabbatical leave (Special Studies Program) for the period from 1 July 1998 through 1 February 1999. This support from the University of Sydney was generously supplemented by the American School of Prehistoric Research (ASPR) at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, and I undertook a third major revision of the IVC-IVB manuscript, which is presented here.

I am especially grateful to C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, for it was he, as excavator of the site, who entrusted the study of this material to me; it was he who first taught me the archaeology of Iran; and it was he, in his capacity of Chair of the Executive Board of the ASPR, who facilitated my coming to Harvard as a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Anthropology. I would also like to thank Professor Peter Ellison, Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the time when my application to be a Visiting Scholar was first submitted; Professor Jeremy Knowles, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University; and Professor William L. Fash, Jr., Chair of the Department of Anthropology during the period of my stay, for their hospitality. Several other colleagues, particularly Professor Ofer Bar-Yosef and Professor Gordon R. Willey, made my return to the Peabody Museum particularly enjoyable.

Three graduate student assistants at Harvard—Eric Kansa, Benjamin D. Saidel, and Liz Zachry—undertook a variety of tasks from scanning drawings to checking cross-references in my text. I am immensely grateful to all three and would certainly not have been able to complete the work in the course of a one-semester sabbatical without their help. Michael Sugerman, then a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology, helped with both software and hardware problems on numerous occasions. Once my manuscript was in production, Carolyn L. White under-

took the arduous task of copyediting, and Bryan Wells improved some of the artwork, for which I am extremely grateful. Donna Dickerson managed the production of the volume, expertly coordinating the synthesis of text and art and bringing it to final form. In addition, I would like to express my thanks to Lloyd Weeks, one of my Ph.D. candidates at the University of Sydney, for recalibrating the Tepe Yahya and Shahr-i Sokhta (Period IV) radiocarbon dates that are used here.

Many people excavated at Tepe Yahya, some of whom later went on to study particular groups of material from the site. I am acutely aware of the debt I owe to all who have labored in the sun, excavating, photographing, measuring, and counting, and drawing sections, plans, pottery, and small finds. Most of the field photographs were taken by Dev Kernan and Richard Meadow and later printed by Steve Burger at the Peabody Museum. Anne Hechle of Bath, U.K., drew the bulk of the pottery and small finds, and I have added only minimally to what she completed by 1975. Sections and plans were done in the field by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and individual excavators, principally Tom Beale, Dennis Heskell, Phil Kohl, Tom Layton, Martha Prickett, and Elizabeth Stone, and most were inked by me in the course of preparing my undergraduate and doctoral theses. Faunal remains have been the domain of Richard Meadow and several of his students. Much of the small find registration was undertaken at the Peabody Museum by Vicky Harding and Ms. Ann Hastings. The initial sorting of the ceramics in the field was done almost exclusively by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky. I thank all who devoted their energies to making Tepe Yahya yield some of its secrets and am deeply conscious of the fact that I have only touched on a small number of them in the text that follows.

D. T. Potts

# Introduction

## Some Principles of the Following Work

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The following section articulates the most important principles I have followed in putting together this report. These are subsumed under the following rubrics: organization; selectivity and quantification; disturbance, contamination, and objectivity; and completeness.

### ORGANIZATION

Archaeological reports can take many forms. Many consist of separate chapters or even volumes devoted to individual categories of information, e.g., architecture and stratigraphy, ceramics, metals, stone, and other small finds, etc. In the case of a multi-period site this effectively means that contemporary data are divorced from each other. Ceramics and small finds are presented in isolation, physically separate from the discussion of the architectural or stratigraphic context in which they were found. Associations between different artifact classes in the ground are thus completely lost. Only with a massive amount of effort can a diachronic picture be reconstructed out of the many separate entries in which material from a particular phase is presented. While this is not a bad thing for students preparing seminar reports, the cutting and pasting required by serious scholars researching multiple aspects of a site is a monumental waste of time.

This monograph is organized so as to facilitate an appreciation of the contextual association of the finds. Tepe Yahya is presented by phase (IVC2, IVC1, IVB6, IVB5, IVB4–2, and IVB1). Those phases have been determined on the basis of the architecture and stratigraphy, and a master list of contexts attributed to each phase is presented in appendix A. The attribution of a particular feature to a specific phase is the result of a lengthy process of comparing the information contained in the many notebooks of excavators with all available plans and sections. Appendix B contains a description of the various test trenches at Tepe Yahya, which contain contexts of Periods IVC and IVB date. Given the impor-

tance of the test trenches in the Yahya excavations, and the frequency with which the reader may encounter references to them, it is important to be able to locate a particular trench when the need arises. The finds (ceramics and all small finds) are presented in conjunction with the discussion of the stratigraphic context in which they were collected. Thus, there are no individual chapters on metals, ceramics, clay objects, etc. All finds, rather, are presented in the chapter detailing the particular stratigraphic phase in which they occurred. Only the glyptic, reported on here by Holly Pittman, has been somewhat severed from its context. This was an unavoidable consequence of the independent authorship of the glyptic sections.

One feature that characterizes this report is the use of “summary” figures of pottery. By this I mean figures that illustrate all examples of a particular ware or type deemed culturally or chronologically relevant from the Period IVC and IVB contexts dealt with here. Thus, the first time a particular ceramic type appears, such as black-on-grey ware (fig. 1.6.K), it is illustrated together with material from the same or closely related contexts. For the most part, all sherds are shown at thirty-three percent of their actual size unless size dictated a twenty-five percent reduction to conform with our page layout. This initial illustration is followed up with a figure that brings together all examples of a type from all contexts drawn from the later figures in the report (e.g., fig. 1.12 for black-on-grey ware) at a slightly greater reduction (usually twenty-five percent). It is hoped that these summary figures will be of use to readers interested in particular classes of ceramics. Their inclusion is meant to spare readers the trouble of flipping through the report to find similar pieces, had these been listed merely as internal cross-references. The verbal descriptions of ceramics given in the figure captions are obviously terse and lack Munsell soil color chart references or extended descriptions of paste and temper. This minimalist approach is a product of the fact that a large proportion of the sherds illustrated here are known only from their drawings and

associated very brief descriptions. For this reason, it is inconsistent to offer lengthier descriptions with a level of detail that could not be matched by the descriptions available for much of the illustrated material. The brief descriptions offered are thus not ideal, but are consistent.

Throughout the volume I have enlisted the provenience information as employed at Tepe Yahya and in other publications (see Beale 1986). The code follows a decimal notation most of the time (see below for variations). For example, for the provenience A.75.T7.11.2, "A" indicates the area/trench, "75" is the year of excavation, "T7" is the test trench number, "11" is the stratum or level number, and "2" is the feature number. There are some unavoidable variations employed in the volume, mainly in the rendering of plans and sections, which I would like to clarify. The trench or area is not included in the context code when described elsewhere in the illustration. Both the trench and feature numbers are optional and occasionally omitted categories in the code and are omitted in the illustrations. In some figures the test trench and stratum and feature designations are separated by a hyphen rather than a decimal.

## SELECTIVITY AND QUANTIFICATION

Readers should be aware that only a portion of the material dating to Periods IVC and IVB is presented here. To begin with, only the trenches excavated on the south side of Tepe Yahya are treated in this study (see fig. F.11 on page xxxix). The northern trenches (XB, XBE, XC, XCE) remain to be studied in detail.

Plans of virtually every significant architectural feature are published, though by no means are all sections from the site reproduced. Only those sections deemed most relevant and illustrative of the stratigraphic sequence at the site are published here. The small find corpus is as complete as possible, given the records. Every small find recorded in the field received a small finds card and these cards were used to complete the registration undertaken later at the Peabody Museum. The complete small finds inventory is included here, sorted into three separate appendices according to registration number (appendix C), phase (appendix D), and material (appendix E). Small find registration numbers appear in the text preceded by the letters SF, e.g., SF 281 or SF 1162. It is hoped that this will be of use to scholars interested in particular classes of small finds.

It is in the realm of ceramics that the question of selectivity looms largest. With the exception of areas selected for palaeobotanical sampling, the deposits excavated at Tepe Yahya relevant to periods IVC and IVB were only partially sieved in the 1971, 1973, and

1975 seasons. All sherds picked up in excavation were bagged. C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky undertook the sorting and made non-quantitative observations on the pottery from some, but not all, bags. Diagnostic sherds, principally rims, bases, and painted or relief-decorated pieces, were kept and all other non-diagnostic sherds were discarded. No absolute counts were kept nor was any typing of sherds done in the field. A selection of the diagnostic sherds was then drawn and photographed. Fifty percent of the selected pieces were transported to the Peabody Museum where a large collection of indeterminate size is now housed. The remaining fifty percent were transported and housed in the Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran. In the course of preparing my A.B. and Ph.D. theses I went through all of the pottery from the contexts discussed here and made non-quantitative observations and drew more of the previously undrawn sherds. The fact remains, however, that the drawings available represent a small selection from a vast body of material and the observations that I made nearly twenty years ago are more likely to confuse than enlighten. Comments on individual contexts such as "quite a few club-rim bowls," "some burnished grey," "a few black-on-orange" are probably best left out of the discussion. Even if the collections at the Peabody Museum were systematically counted and typed according to wares and/or shapes, the fact remains that we do not know the relationship between a selected sample and the original corpus from which it derives. This is, inevitably, a major obstacle to any quantification one might contemplate.

## DISTURBANCE, CONTAMINATION, AND OBJECTIVITY

Most archaeological sites are affected by what has come to be known as "bioturbation." In the case of Tepe Yahya, rats, mice, and other animals have burrowed through strata, and doubtlessly the odd sherd has dropped from a context belonging to one phase into an earlier one. Bioturbation is, however, undoubtedly the lesser of two evils at Tepe Yahya. Anthroturbation, if one might use such a word to characterize human modification of a site, has undoubtedly been much more significant. As Beale's work (1986) on the early periods made clear, massive leveling was undertaken at Tepe Yahya in antiquity that ripped out whole areas of the mound and shifted earth and rubble to form terraces. It is suspected that the mound may have been modified much later, during the Parthian or Sasanian Period. The result of this disturbance has been a significant admixture of material such that, chronologically speaking, sherds appear where they don't belong. In her study of the TUV mound



at Tal-i Malyan, Nicholas tried to describe each and every context objectively, deeming them tertiary, secondary, or primary (Nicholas 1990:15). Although I have not undertaken such an exercise here, it is clear that many of the deposits excavated at Tepe Yahya contain material that was unintentionally recycled from earlier levels, whether in the course of digging pits and dredging up old sherds, or through the construction of mud-brick walls, hearths, and other features. When the pottery and small finds of Tepe Yahya Periods IVC and IVB began to be uncovered in 1968 they represented, for the most part, largely unknown types, scarcely seen outside the pages of Sir Aurel Stein's survey reports (Stein 1931, 1936, 1937) and in what was then a new publication of Caldwell's excavations at Tal-i Iblis (Caldwell 1967). Thus, it was natural that in presenting the material in some of the early reports on the excavation, types that we can now date to earlier or later periods found their way into descriptions of Period IVC and IVB material. Some questions inevitably remain about the date and duration of different forms and wares, but in general it is clear that the better we come to know the pottery and small finds inventory of Tepe Yahya and other sites in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, the easier it is to spot the intrusive pieces.

Nevertheless, even if they are intrusive to Periods IVC and IVB, sherds of later periods still "belong" to these contexts, and were obviously found there, as a result of those taphonomic processes responsible for the evolution of Tepe Yahya. I have thought it best, therefore, to include the intrusive or contaminant sherds when presenting a particular context (for the most part this concerns pottery rather than small finds) in the belief that these sherds, too, constitute part of the record of site formation processes, which are an important aspect of the evolution of the mound itself. It would be a misrepresentation of the site if I were to arbitrarily remove all intrusive material from the figures to illustrate the body of material excavated, even if I could do so with 100 percent confidence that my attributions were correct.

Finally, in the absence of analyses on more than a small number of our stone objects, it was thought to be less misleading if all stones labeled "calcite," "marble," "alabaster," "gypsum," or "limestone" in the field were simply called "white stone." Undoubtedly some of the material is alabaster, but the lack of analytical detail for the bulk of the material suggests that it would be more objective to leave the specific mineralogical identification of each piece in abeyance and simply employ a neutral term pending further study.

## COMPLETENESS

The Tepe Yahya collection at the Peabody Museum is enormous. I am conscious that not only is there a vast quantity of material that might be reviewed yet again (even if I went through it all for my Ph.D. [Potts 1980]), but there is also much more work that could be done by way of citing parallels for everything published here. This is, however, not a Ph.D. thesis but a site report, and readers will find, I hope, enough secondary references here to lead them in the appropriate directions needed for further study. Furthermore, one must ask, to what end should one go on citing parallels? I think it is clear what the main lines of the site's orientation were. More parallels will be found as more work is conducted, but in an area as poorly known as the Indo-Iranian borderlands, the endless recitation of parallels to material from sites visited by Sir Aurel Stein, Walter Fairservis, Beatrice de Cardi, Louis Dupree, and others becomes suspect if one cannot actually examine the sherds themselves. There are many broad similarities between materials found at Tepe Yahya and a host of sites in the Indo-Iranian borderlands and Oman peninsula that, on closer inspection, turn out to be of stylistic interest only; the paste of the compared ceramics is palpably different. Thus, there is good reason not to go overboard in citing parallels. My own feeling is that a substantial level of completeness has been achieved by analyzing the *drawn* excavated material. Other material remains that would repay further study, just as much material exists from the north side of the mound that must, one day, be published.

Finally, I would like to address some of the analytical results, which are not reported on here in detail. The palaeobotanical remains from Periods IVC and IVB have been treated by Meadow, who has listed and discussed those taxa present at the site during the third millennium B.C. (Meadow 1986b:29-30, table 3.2). Analyses of metal artifacts are reported in Heskell's Ph.D. thesis (Heskell 1981; cf. Heskell and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1980). The lithic industry at Tepe Yahya during the third millennium has been studied by Piperno (Piperno 1973). The analysis of Yahya obsidian is reported by Blackman (Blackman 1984). The marine mollusks utilized at Tepe Yahya for fashioning beads, seals, and other small items are discussed by Durante (Durante 1979). Pigments from the IVC building have been analyzed by Reindell and Riederer (Reindell and Riederer 1978).



# Chapter 1

## Phase IVC2

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Period IVC2 is represented by a large building (referred to as the IVC2 building; fig. 1.1), parts of which were exposed in trenches A, B, and BW (fig. F.11, p. xxxix). Related aspects of the building were also identified: walling in A; a courtyard in A; and drains in A and C. Excavations in 1968, 1970, 1971, 1973, and 1975 did not clear the entire building. Nevertheless, an exposure of over 500 sq m was achieved. The excavated Phase IVC2 contexts are enumerated in table 1.1. All registered small finds are listed in appendices C, D, and E.

Before embarking on a detailed description of the building and the features related to it, a few words should be said about the construction techniques of the building in general. The building was constructed of unbaked, sun-dried mudbricks measuring 48 x 24 x 8 cm. It was laid out according to an ingenious system of measurement whereby the center lines of its interior walls were established, and measurements were taken from them (fig. 1.2). The principal walls of the building were built in a pattern of three alternating courses of brick. Presuming that some sort of string or cord was used to mark the center line of each wall, the first course (i.e., lowest), which consisted of four headers set side by side, would have been put in place by setting two bricks on either side of the center line. The second course consisted of two stretchers laid end to end. Finally, the third course consisted of a header on the outsides of the wall, flanking the two stretchers. Although we have no idea of the original height of the walls, this pattern of three alternating courses of brick was presumably repeated as the walls rose higher and higher. As Beale and Carter (1983) have shown, a similar method of design seems to have been used in the Late Uruk Period at both Eridu (Temples VII and VI) and Habuba Kabira (Hofhaus H and Werkstatt W).

The IVC2 building is unlike any that preceded or followed it at Tepe Yahya. The building shows a clear break with earlier architectural traditions at the site, as well as the possibility of a substantial hiatus of two or three cen-

tures following the end of Period V, which Beale estimates to have occurred around 3300 B.C. (Beale 1986:11).

The bricks used in the IVC2 building were square at the corners and had straight sides, suggesting that they were mass-produced and mold-made. Originally, they were faced with plaster, although this was preserved only on the lowest parts of the walls. The tops of the walls were in almost all cases badly eroded, probably the result of a period of exposure following the abandonment of the building (see chap. 3).

An important issue that remains to be discussed here is the nature of the IVC2 building's foundation. In fact, the walls of the building were not set into foundation trenches at all, rather the building was founded at least partially upon a poorly preserved brick and *gel* (New Persian for an earthy sort of mud plaster) platform, probably dating to Period VIA, which itself was founded upon a massive wall and rubble construction (Beale 1986:132ff). The complete description of this massive leveling, designed ostensibly to extend the surface of the mound, is given by Beale (1986:132–139). In different trenches on the south side of the mound, the IVC architecture was found to be resting more or less directly over the VIA leveling with, at least in the BW-CW area, evidence for the bricky platform just mentioned (Beale 1986:fig. 6.17). Towards the north and west there was virtually nothing between IVC and VIA rubble and walls. Further to the south and east, there was some evidence of VB pottery. Pertaining to these correspondences, then, the following descriptions in Beale's report on the stratigraphic relationship between the VI, V, and IVC remains accurate:

The strata overlying the VIA rubble are extremely compacted. In a few areas there is some VC–VA pottery and fill overlying the rubble, but in most areas the walls and fill of IVC directly overlie the rubble. (Beale 1986:136)

**Table 1.1.** Phase IVC2 building areas and rooms and associated excavated contexts.

Phase IVC2 areas and rooms	Phase IVC2 contexts
Area A	A.75.11.5, A.75.11.8, A.75.11.8a, A.75.11.10
Area B	A.75.11.4, A.75.11.7, A.75.11.7a, A.75.11.7b, A.75.11.9, A.75.11.9a, A.75.11.12
Area C	A.75.11.3 = A.75.T7.11.3, A.75.11.2a = A.75.11.3a, A.75.11.3b
Area D	A.75.11.6, A.75.11.6a
Area E	B.73.1.4
Room 1a/1b	BM.71.3.1, BM.71.3.3, BM.71.3.4, BM.71.3.5, BM.71.3.6, B.73.1.3, A.75.11.2, A.75.11.2a, A.75.11.2b (= A.75.T7.11.2b), A.75.11.2c
Room 2	B.71.8.1, B.71.8a.1, B.71.9, B.71.9.1, B.71.9.2
Room 3	B.71.7.5, B.73.1.5
Room 4	B.71.3.1, B.71.3.3, B.71.3.5, B.71.4.8, B.71.5.1, B.71.5.2, B.71.5.3, B.71.6b, B.73.1.6, B.73.1.7, B-C Balk 71.16.2, B-C Balk 71.16.3
Room 5	B.70.T4.1.1, B.70.T4.1.2, B.70.T4.1.3, B.70.20a.1, B.70.20b, B.70.T4.3, B.70.20b.1, B.70.20.1, B.73.1.1, B.73.2.1, A.75.11.1, A.75.11.1a
Room 6	B.71.11.2, BM.71.5.2, BM.71.6, B.71.13, BM.71.6.1, BM.71.6.2, B.71.13.2, B.71.13.1, B.71.13.3, B.71.13.4
Room 7	No material recorded; no context numbers.
Area G	BW.71.6, BW.71.6.2, BW.71.8.2, BW-CW.71.8.1, BW-CW.71.T4.1, BW-CW.71.11.1, BW-CW.71.11.2, BW-CW.71.11.3, BW.71.10, B.73.2, CW.73.1.1, CW.73.T1.4.1, CW.73.T1.5.5, CW.73.2, CW.73.2.1, CW.73.2.2, CW.73.T1.6.4, CW.73.2.3, CW.73.3, CW.73.4, CW.73.T1.5.4, CW.73.4, CW.73.5, CW.73.T2.4.1, CW.73.T1.5.1, CW.73.T1.5.6, CW.73.T1.6
Area H	C.68.T6.9, C.68.S, C.68.4, C.68.5.1

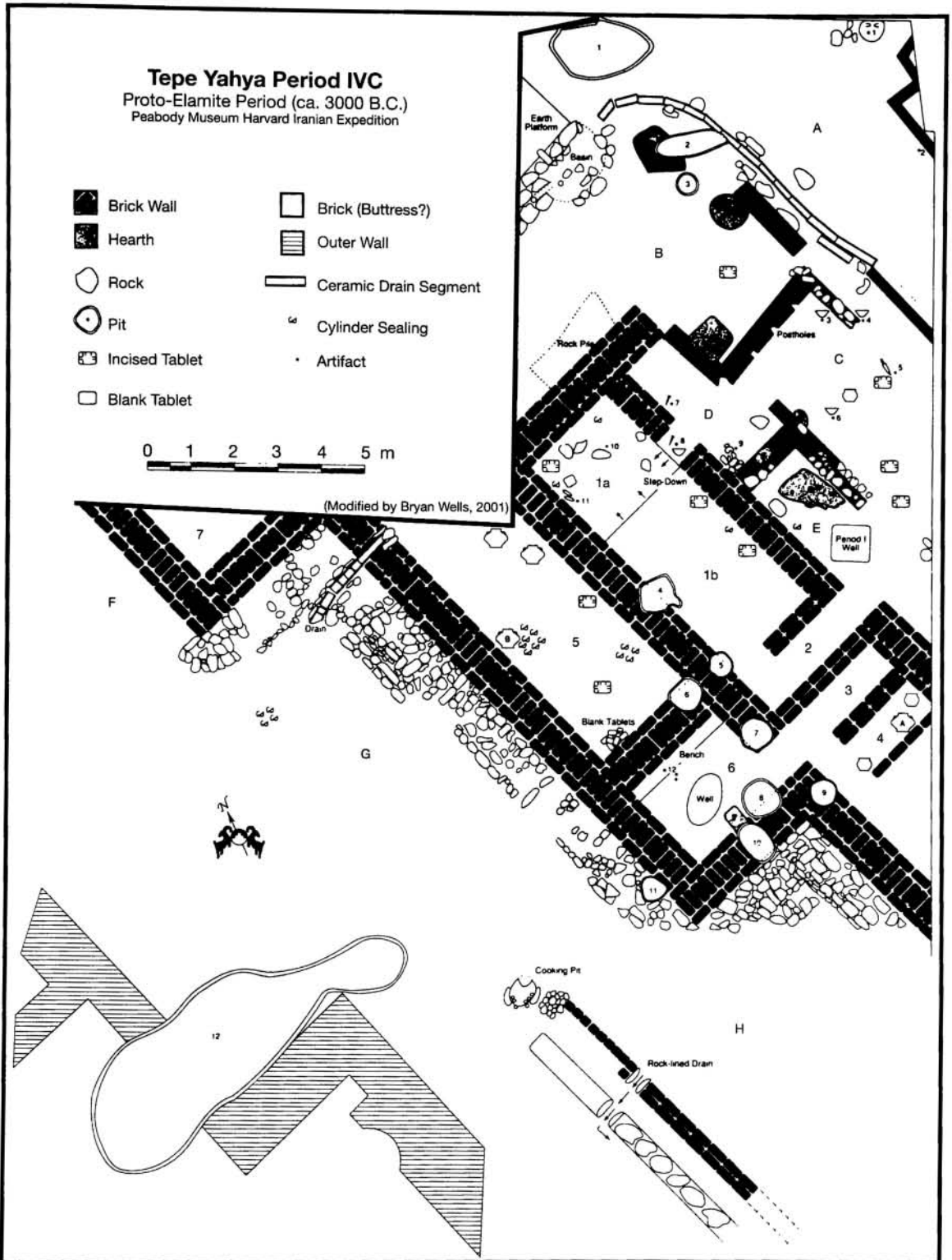
There is scarcely any VC deposition and no VC architectural remains on top of the VIA Upper Leveling in Trenches CW and BW. Either the VIA Upper Leveling was never meant to have any VC architecture built on it (perhaps being intended as an open terrace or courtyard), or else some VC architecture did exist there but was obliterated at the beginning of IVC, when the whole area was leveled to make room for the massive IVC building. (Beale 1986:140)

To the west, in Trenches BW and CW, the VB deposits thin to almost nothing, and the IVC building rests in some places directly atop Period VIA walls and rubble fill. This area probably was razed at the beginning of IVC, and the only indication of possible VB use of

the area was the recovery of a number of VB sherds at the base of the IVC walls. (Beale 1986:148)


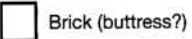



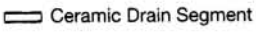

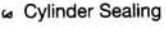
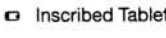

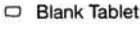
Some VA sherds were found in trenches BW and CW at the base of the IVC walls, but the sherds were mixed in with other sherds clearly belonging to VC and VB; whatever VA deposits may have existed here were obliterated by the IVC constructions. (Beale 1986:150–151)

In the plan of the IVC2 building (fig. 1.1), the rooms and corridors of the structure are labeled 1 to 7 for easier reference, and the exterior areas are assigned letters A through H. The architectural and other remains are reviewed below, moving from north to south. I will discuss the associated finds moving through the building.

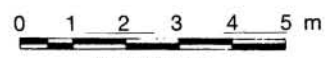


### Tepe Yahya Period IVC Building

Proto-Elamite Period (ca. 3000 B.C.)  
Peabody Museum Harvard Iranian Expedition

-  Brick Wall
-  Brick (buttress?)
-  Hearth
-  Outer Wall
-  Rock(s)
-  Ceramic Drain Segment
-  Pit
-  Cylinder Sealing
-  Inscribed Tablet
-  Artifact
-  Blank Tablet

YLK: Yahya Large Kuš = 72 cm  
Standard Brick Size: 48x24x8 cm



Harvard University 1977  
Laura L. Nash  
(Modified 2001 by Bryan Wells)

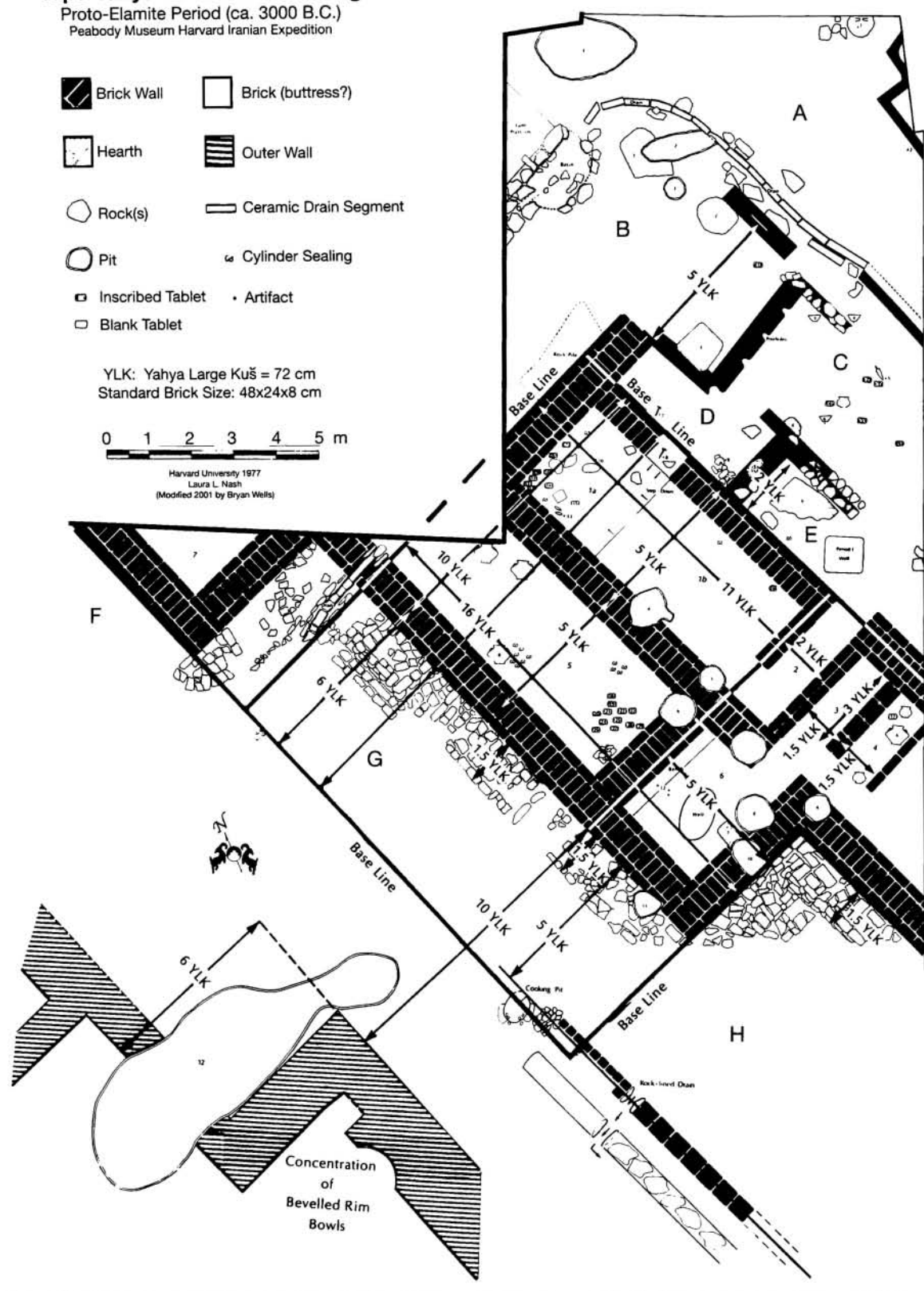


Figure 1.2. Plan of the IVC2 building showing hypothesized layout using standardized units of measure (after Beale and Carter 1983).



Figure 1.3. View of Area A from the east, looking west (scale = 1 m).

## AREA A

### Architecture and Stratigraphy

In the very northeastern corner of Area A (figs. 1.1, 1.2; unfortunately not visible in figs. 1.3, 1.4) was a narrow, zigzagging wall (A.75.11.10), which may represent the exterior of an oven (excavator's hypothesis) although this cannot be confirmed. It was built of mudbrick, the interior faces of which were plastered (no brick sizes could be determined in this wall). A large boulder was situated against the north balk, just to the northwest of this structure. The top of the stone had a hole carved through it, as if to provide a tethering place for an animal. Further west (fig. 1.3) was a large, roughly oval pit (A.75.11.11; labeled 1 on fig. 1.1) datable to Phase IVB5, which yielded a large incised ceramic lid (D = 25.2 cm; fig. 1.5) similar to another piece from BW.69.T5.5 (fig. 7.5 discussed below). Both pieces are undoubtedly intrusive and find a very close parallel in a piece from Begram, Period II (Ghirshman 1946:pl. 38, B.G. 342; ref. kindly supplied by St. John Simpson, British Museum), datable to the Parthian or early Sasanian Period (for the date see Whitehouse 1989). The fill in the western portion of Area A is context A.75.11.5.

Several chaff-tempered plaster floors were detected throughout Area A. These were probably external sur-

faces, no doubt those of a northern courtyard. The principal surface here was A.75.11.8. For the purposes of this discussion, the fired ceramic gutter, A.75.11.9, is the southern limit of Area A (figs. 1.3, 1.4). This gutter consisted of fourteen segments of an open gutter that emptied into a stone sump in Area B (see below). The gutter segments ranged in length from .5–1.05 m, were made of fired clay, and were approximately 2 cm thick. The interior depth of the gutter was 8 cm, and width varied from 13–20 cm. The lowest floor in this area, A.75.11.8a, ran up to the edge of the gutter. Associated with the floor was a white stone sherd (SF 3743, 4.7 x 4.4 x 1 cm). Floor A.75.11.8, on the other hand, ran directly over the drain.

Gutters of this type are quite rare at sites in Mesopotamia, Iran, and the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Cylindrical clay pipe drains, however, have been found on many sites and range from the large and well-known systems of Harappan sites like Mohenjo-Daro and Chanhudaro (Wheeler 1972:41, 57) of mid- to late-third-millennium date, to the much earlier Late Uruk Period system at Habuba Kabira in northern Syria (Strommenger 1976:pl. 28). They have also been found at Uruk in the Steinstifttempel and in "Kulthaus B" (Heinrich 1982:Abb. 104, 119); at Tell Asmar, Fara, and Kish in the Early Dynastic Period (Salonen 1965:78–79); in the so-called Central Quarters of Period III at Shahr-i



**Figure 1.4.** View of Area A from the southeast, looking north (scale = 2 m).

Sokhta, dated to the second half of the third millennium (Biscione, Salvatori, and Tosi 1977:109; Salvatori 1979:143); and in the late third millennium (Period IV1) temple at Mundigak (Casal 1961:65, fig. 36).

In view of the relative rarity of open, semi-rectangular gutters in the Iranian-Mesopotamian area, however, it is interesting to note their presence in the Proto-Elamite TUV area at Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 32b, c); in a Late Uruk or early Jamdat Nasr context on the Acropole at Susa (Steve and Gasche 1971:pl. 29.23, rectangular in section, however); and in levels 18b and 17 at Ville Royale I, Susa, a context datable to ED I (Carter 1980:fig. 14:4, 5). In neither case were the gutter segments found in situ as at Tepe Yahya. It is, moreover, clear that the dimensions of the Susa examples differ from their counterparts at Tepe Yahya. Nevertheless, the presence of generally comparable gutter pipes at three sites with Proto-Elamite tablets is surely more than coincidental.

### Ceramics

A selection of sherds from IVC2 contexts in Area A is shown in figure 1.6. Figure 1.6.G is important because it is the only sherd discovered at Tepe Yahya that bears an incised Proto-Elamite sign (cf. Damerow and Englund 1989:12–13, n. 30; 67–68), the so-called hairy triangle. Figures 1.6.D and E represent a simple type of wide-mouthed jar with slightly flaring rim. Similar

forms are represented abundantly at Susa (e.g., LeBrun 1971:fig. 62.1, 62.4–8; Steve and Gasche 1971:pls. 26.32–33, 28.4, the last with carelessly applied red paint) and Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pls. 16e, i, k, 17g) in Proto-Elamite levels. The distribution of broadly comparable jars at Tepe Yahya is shown in figure 1.7. Figure 1.6.B is one of a variety of club-rim bowls that have been found in IVC2 contexts. As figures 1.8 and 1.9 show, club-rim bowls of various sorts are attested throughout Periods IVC and IVB. The only complete example comes from a Phase IVB6 context and it is possible that the IVC examples are intrusive. Figure 1.6.C is the sole example of a narrow-necked jar or bottle. Similar, high-necked jars are known at Susa in what is considered a late Jamdat Nasr context (Steve and Gasche 1971:pl. 27.1–3). Figure 1.6.F is one of several spouts recovered in Period IVC. Generally speaking, spouted vessels were rare at Tepe Yahya, although another open trough spout was found in a Phase IVB6 context where it may well have been intrusive (fig. 1.10). Tubular spouts, both straight and bent, are much more common in Late Uruk Babylonia (e.g., Mackay 1931:pl. LXIII) and Susiana (e.g., LeBrun 1978:figs. 30.6, 12, 14; 31.4–10) than trough spouts, but a few trough spouts are in fact known from Late Uruk Susa (LeBrun 1978:fig. 24.9–10) and they were even more common at Sialk in contemporary Late Uruk levels (Amiet 1985:fig. 2). At least one example was recovered in Proto-Elamite levels at Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas



1990:pl. 23C) and others are known elsewhere at Tepe Yahya in IVC2 contexts (figs. 1.10, 1.34.E). Figure 1.6.H is one of a number of older black-on-buff sherds of Period V date discovered out of context in the later levels of Tepe Yahya. Given the simple fact that a hiatus in the occupation of Tepe Yahya, lasting several hundred years, separates Period V from Period IVC, it is highly unlikely that there can be any question of a continuation of the black-on-buff tradition at the site following period VA.

As for the black-on-orange/buff sherds (fig. 1.6.I, J), it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that these are intrusive from late-third-millennium contexts, where black-on-orange ware with decoration of this sort was most abundant (fig. 1.11). Their similarity to the later painted pottery of Bampur (de Cardi 1970:figs. 18.42, 20.80, 22.145, 25.254) is obvious. While it is tempting to draw comparisons to the painted decoration of Umm an-Nar pottery from southeastern Arabia (Potts 1990a:fig. 55 with comparanda), it should be stressed that the wares of the Arabian and Iranian assemblages differ demonstrably in their paste. The black-on-grey base (fig. 1.6.K) is closely paralleled by a group of bowls from the cemetery at Shah-i Tump (Stein 1931:pl. 15). Recently, Besenval has provided an important new sequence for Baluchistan at the site of Miri Qalat in Pakistani Makran where he has shown that the production of black-on-grey pottery began in Period II (early fourth millennium B.C.; Besenval 1997a:200 and figs. 4 and 5), continued through Periods IIIA (late fourth–early third millennium B.C.) and IIIB (early–mid third millennium B.C.), and was absent in Period IV, the late-third-millennium Harappan occupation at the site (Besenval 1994b:85). The fact that the piece can be compared with patently later sherds from Bampur (de Cardi 1970:figs. 18.38, 25.251, 30.20), Damin (Stein 1937:pl. XII; A.67), and Khurab (Stein 1937:pl. XII; C.232) does not prove that it is a late intrusion but rather that the black-on-grey tradition lasted well into the third millennium. Generally speaking, what little black-on-grey was found at Tepe Yahya (fig. 1.12), all from IVC2, IVC1, and IVB6 contexts (with the probable exception of the black-on-grey from context BW.69.T5, discussed below in chap. 7), parallels that found in Periods II and IIIB at Miri Qalat in Pakistan (Besenval 1997a:figs. 4, 5, and 16), Shah-i Tump, and related sites (e.g., Nazirabad) in the Makran (Stein 1931:pls. 10, 15).

### Small Finds

The Phase IVC2 small finds recovered in Area A were made of a variety of materials. The small finds included two white stone sherds (SF 3743, 4.7 x 4.4 x 1 cm; SF

3744, 2.2 x 1.5 x .4 cm), a fragment of a bowl of undetermined stone (SF 3717, 11.5 x 11 x 1.7 cm), a clay ball (SF 3797, .9 cm in diameter), a shell fragment with multiple perforations (SF 3802, 4 cm long), two mother-of-pearl buttons (SF 3801a, 1.7 cm in diameter; SF 3801b, 1.3 cm in diameter), two lead rings (?) (SF 3827a, 1.5 x 2 x 2 cm; SF 3827b, 1.8 x 2 x .2 cm), and an obsidian blade (SF 3839, 1.4 x 1 cm).

## AREA B

### Architecture and Stratigraphy

In Area B (identified in the northwestern corner of Trench A) a pooling area, basin, or sump (A.75.11.9a) consisting of unworked, unbonded stones (A.75.11.12) was discovered (figs. 1.1–3), into which the gutter found in Area A (A.75.11.9) appeared to drain. Beyond this point the gutter ran into the west balk of A, reappearing in BW, where it cut through the west wall of Room 5 and led into Area G (see below). It stopped here, although it was recovered further south in Area C. This gutter was abutted by the corner of a small earthen platform that continued into the west balk of Trench A.

Just south and west of the gutter in Area B were several pits (labeled 2 [A.75.11.4] and 3 on fig. 1.1) and hearths (labeled 1, 2, and 3 on fig. 1.1). Two of the hearths (2 and 3) were adjacent to or built into a pair of small walls of dark green clay that seemed to delineate several activity areas, labeled B, C, D, and E, respectively. The clay used in these walls was unlike that used in the main walls of the IVC2 building, both in color and consistency. Although they were clearly different from those of the main structure, these walls do appear to have been laid out following the same principles outlined by Beale and Carter for the main IVC2 building area (Beale and Carter 1983:82–87). Thus, while they may be later additions, as suggested by the fact that they did not bond to the main walls and were made in a different way, they were probably constructed soon after the original building.

For the most part, Area B is coterminous with context A.75.11.7, deemed to be a room. The lowest floor of this room was A.75.11.7b, about 10 cm above which a second floor (A.75.11.7a) was discovered that contained a large amount of ash and signs of burning. This fact, along with the presence of hearths, pits, and a water source, suggests that Area B may have been a cooking area linked to the main structure for the maintenance of its inhabitants.

## Ceramics

A small selection of pottery from Area B is shown in figure 1.13. Several of these types find close parallels at contemporary sites in Iran. Figure 1.13.A is an example of a carinated bowl with off-set lip, numerous examples of which were found in IVC2, IVC1, and IVB6 contexts (fig. 1.14). This is a form that is well-known in Proto-Elamite contexts at Susa (e.g., LeBrun 1971:figs. 61.9, 12, 65.19) and Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 21f, h). Figure 1.13.F is an example of a type of open bowl that is well-attested at Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 15j-p) and Susa (Steve and Gasche 1971:pls. 26.2-3, 31.8). The deep bowl with rounded rim and straight sides curving sharply inward towards a flat base (fig. 1.13.E) is represented by several other examples at Tepe Yahya (fig. 1.15). Similar bowls are known from Proto-Elamite Susa (LeBrun 1971:fig. 65.18) and Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 20f, j). Figure 1.13.C is the base of a conical cup. The ware and shape of this piece are more comparable to a Mesopotamian conical cup (e.g., Wright 1969:figs. 16a-c, 22) than to a Proto-Elamite *gobelet à base en moignon* or pedestal-based goblet (e.g., LeBrun 1971:fig. 60.1-4; Nicholas 1990:pl. 13u-bb).

It is probable that there has been contamination here, however. Figure 1.13.B finds an almost exact parallel at Tell Abraq in the last century or two of the third millennium (Potts 1990a:fig. 53.9). Figure 1.13.G is a type of jar that likewise has good parallels in late Umm an-Nar contexts in the Oman peninsula (e.g., Potts 1990a:figs. 53.9, 54.9). The decoration of the black-on-red/orange painted jar (fig. 1.13.H) also presents a chronological problem in that it finds close parallels among the domestic pottery from Hili in the Al Ain oasis of Abu Dhabi (Cleuziou, Pottier, and Salles 1978:fig. 23.7) during the second half of the third millennium, though the form, with its flaring neck, is more common among the finer Umm an-Nar funerary wares. At least one other example of this type has also been found in a Phase IVB1 context at Tepe Yahya (fig. 1.16). It may also be that the jar is related to a series of vessels of generally similar shape, decorated with two or three vertical bands below the neck and two wavy lines, from the necropolis at Tepe Jalyan in Fars, which de Miroschedji has dated broadly to the second half of the third millennium (de Miroschedji 1974:fig. 10.5-7, pl. X.2). Although the neck of figure 1.13.I is much more elongated, the decoration of this vessel recalls that of a jar from a late Umm an-Nar context at Tell Abraq (Potts 1990a:fig. 55.3). Both shape and decoration can be compared to finds from Khurab as well (Stein 1937:pl. XIV.Khur.B.i.119 and B.ii.203; cf. Lamberg-Karlovsky and Schmandt-Besserat 1977:fig. 7.34). This can be compared with

later black-on-orange pottery showing similar decoration from Periods IVC and IVB (fig. 1.17).

## Small Finds

The only small find recovered in a Phase IVC2 context in Area B was a bone needle (SF 3826, 5.1 cm).

## AREA C

### Architecture and Stratigraphy

As shown on the plan of the IVC2 building (fig. 1.1), the southern face of one of the clay walls delimiting Area B had an indented exterior, perhaps representing cavities made by wooden poles. It is possible that these mark remains of a lean-to of wooden poles and suspended mats intended to provide shade for Area C. Area C yielded a large quantity of important finds, despite its small size. The finds were found resting on two floors separated by ten to twenty cm of fill. A concentration of pottery (A.75.11.3b) was found roughly in the middle of context A.75.11.3 in Area C.

## Ceramics

The painted ceramics from Area C are illustrated in figure 1.18. Figure 1.18.A is almost certainly an example of the kind of black- or brown-on-buff ware found by Sir Aurel Stein at Chah Hussein (e.g., Lamberg-Karlovsky and Schmandt-Besserat 1977:fig. 8.10) on which intersecting lines create triangles that are then hatched. If this is the case, then the piece is probably intrusive from a Period VA context since this is considered by Lamberg-Karlovsky and Schmandt-Besserat to be the period at Tepe Yahya most comparable to the surface finds from Chah Hussein (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Schmandt-Besserat 1977:132). Figure 1.18.B is a black-on-grey beaker that can be compared with several pieces from IVC1 contexts (cf. fig. 2.22.G, H below). These pieces find a very close parallel in a tomb at Miri Qalat assigned to level II and attributed to Period IIIB, i.e., the first half of the third millennium (Besenval 1997a:fig. 16, upper left). The band of parallel, zigzagging lines between parallel lines (fig. 1.18.D) is typical of both the Bampur and Umm an-Nar traditions (cf. fig. 1.11), although the running semicircles above are unusual. Figure 1.18.E, on the other hand, can be compared closely with a brown-on-buff sherd from Period I at Shahr-i Sokhta (Potts 1975:fig. 36B), although a comparison with a type known at Tal-i Iblis in Period IV cannot be ruled out (Chase, Caldwell, and Fehérvári 1967:

fig. 22, lower righthand corner; cf. Sarraf 1981:abb. 13.160). The vertical, hatched, triangular shape in black-on-orange (fig. 1.18.F) is reminiscent of those found on several sherds from Phases 6 and 8 (mid-third millennium) at Shahr-i Sokhta (Cleuziou and Tosi 1989:fig. 6.5 and 9).

The ceramics from Area C that are unpainted, closed shapes are illustrated in figure 1.19. Figure 1.19.D, an everted rim of the sort often associated with Jamdat Nasr-related pottery (fig. 1.20), is similar to forms known at Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 19f). Figure 1.19.F, a much flatter, ledge rim, can be compared with rims from Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 19r) and ED I Susa (Steve and Gasche 1971:pls. 24.30, 25–28). At Tepe Yahya this type is found principally in Period IVC but is attested in IVB6 contexts as well (fig. 1.21).

Figure 1.22 illustrates the open shape, unpainted pottery from Area C. Figure 1.22.A is a carinated bowl with a parallel at Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 15b), although the Tal-i Malyan form is not perforated through the base. At Susa this form seems to originate in the Late Uruk Period (LeBrun 1978:fig. 31.1). The very clear bung-hole at the base of the piece from Tepe Yahya is, however, curious. It is reminiscent of the holes at the base of much larger beer brewing vessels in Mesopotamia, yet the dimensions of the example from Tepe Yahya would seem to preclude such an interpretation in this case. Figure 1.22.B is an example of a deep bowl with interior beveled rim, examples of which are attested in contexts as late as Phase IVB5 at the site (fig. 1.23).

Finally, figure 1.22.E is one of a small number of examples of a type known as the low-sided tray (fig. 1.24). In Iran, low-sided trays are known in contexts datable to both the Late Uruk and the Jamdat Nasr Periods, in Mesopotamian terms. Thus, they are present in Period VI–V at Godin Tepe (Levine and Young 1987:fig. 22.2–5); in the Banesh levels of Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 13c–d); in Period IV at Sialk (Amiet 1985:fig. 4); and in Period IV at Tal-i Iblis, where they were found in association with beveled-rim bowls, a lug of “late Uruk–Jamdat Nasr type,” and channel spouts (Chase, Caldwell, and Fehérvári 1967:fig. 24 bottom; for the chronology of low-sided trays in southern Mesopotamia, see, e.g., Porada et al. 1992:100).

### Small Finds

Chlorite finds recovered here included two shallow bowls (SF 3677, 11.3 x 7.5 x 2.9 cm; SF 3678, 11 x 7.5 x 2 cm), a sherd (SF 3679, 1.7 x .8 x .5 cm), and a so-called shaft straightener, i.e., a thin, ovoid stone with a groove running lengthwise down the center of one face (SF 3680, 6.2 x 4.7 x 1.4 cm). Whether these tools were

indeed used at Tepe Yahya to straighten arrow shafts has not been demonstrated (cf. Toulouse 1939; Cosner 1951).

Other stone finds included fragments of three white stone bowls (SF 3676, 14 x 8 x .3 cm, rim diameter is 4.2 cm; SF 3731, 4.3 x 2.6 x .7 cm; SF 3732, 4 x 2 x 1 cm), a complete white stone bowl (fig. 1.25; unregistered), a white stone fragment (SF 3733, 3.7 x 1.8 x 3.5 cm), and a whetstone fragment with a groove on one face (SF 3713, 5.5 x 3.5–4.2 x 1.2 cm). Stone beads included one of an undetermined material (SF 3815, 1.1 x 1.2 x .4 cm); one of lapis lazuli (SF 3817, .6 x .4 cm); and one of turquoise (SF 3816, .25 cm in diameter).

Clay small finds included a ball (SF 3796, 2 cm in diameter), a sling ball (SF 3794, dimensions not available), and a token (SF 3795, 1.2 cm in diameter).

Copper/bronze finds included a pin (SF 3763, 3.15 x .35 cm) and a spearhead with a wide, flat tang (fig. 1.26; unregistered). The spearhead is generally comparable to several pieces from Susa III contexts (LeBrun 1971:fig. 67.1–3).

Other mineral finds included fragments of chromite, a substance still mined locally (SF 3823, 10 x 8 cm); limnite (SF 3824, 10.5 x 3 cm); and red ochre (SF 3825, 3.5 x 1.5 cm). A single shell fragment was also recorded (SF 3803, dimensions not available).

### AREA D

The clay and stone walls separating Areas B and C, as well as another two adjacent to the north side of the main building, further served to enclose the space around the building's two northern entrances (fig. 1.1). Area D is the name given to a small, rectangular space just outside of the northernmost doorway leading into the IVC2 building. The area consisted of about ten thin layers of green plaster flooring; the lower portion was called A.75.11.6a, and the upper half A.75.11.6. A biconical, chlorite spindle whorl (SF 3675, 1 cm diameter) was discovered here.

### AREA E

South of Area D, on the opposite side of the low clay and stone walls just mentioned, was a large, nearly rectangular hearth (fig. 1.1). Slightly south of this was an intrusive, almost square, Period I (Partho-Sasanian) well. No small finds were discovered here.

## THE IVC2 BUILDING

I turn now to the building itself (fig. 1.1). The excavated portion of the structure consisted of five rooms (1, 3, 4, 5, and 6), the corner of a sixth (7), and a small corridor (2). The principal rooms are Room 1 and Room 5: a pair of long, rectangular rooms adjacent to each other. Room 5 was 2.58 m wide and of uncertain length, but clearly longer than Room 1. These rooms contained the majority of the Proto-Elamite tablets, cylinder seals, and sealings recovered. As the largest rooms in the structure, they also appear, by virtue of their contents, to have been the main work rooms of the building. Room 5 may have articulated, perhaps via a doorway, with Room 7 to the northwest. Only the southwestern corner of Room 7 was exposed, however, and a balk and overburden obscures the connection between the two. Room 1 could be entered by a small corridor (labeled 2 on fig. 1.1), or via a doorway that led to Area D. South of Room 1 were two small rooms, Rooms 3 and 4, which appear to have been built like a storage magazine. These measured 2.14 x .85 m and 2.16 x 1.90 m, respectively. The two rooms faced a corridor that led to a nearly square room, 2.3 x 2.74 m: Room 6. The well shaft in Room 6 is of post-IVC date, and the room appears to have had a hearth on the south side that was set into the southern wall, as well as a mudbrick bench on the north side set against the north wall. In layout, the arrangement of Rooms 1, 5, and 6 is reminiscent of the arrangement of Rooms 903, 876, and 892 in level 18 on the Acropole at Susa (LeBrun and Vallat 1978:fig. 2).

### Room 1

The northernmost room of the IVC2 building, Room 1, is rectangular and measures 6.7 x 2.5 m. It was accessible via two doorways, one in its eastern wall (BM.71.3.6) and one in its southern wall. The northern portion of the room has been designated 1a, and the southern portion 1b (see fig. 1.1). Trench BM is a small area in the north of Trench B excavated in 1971 by Martha Prickett; it is roughly equivalent to the southern half of Room 1 as shown in figure 1.1. The walls of the room were preserved to a height of approximately 50 cm and contained between 40 and 50 cm of deposits, divided by no fewer than five clearly distinguishable, superimposed floors. These can be arranged from lowest to highest as follows: (1) floor A.75.11.2b, also A.75.T7.11.2b; (2) floor A.75.11.2a, 10 cm of fill; (3) floor A.75.11.2, 15 cm of fill; (4) floor BM.71.3.4, 10 cm of fill, also B.73.1.3; (5) floor BM.71.3.3, 2–5 cm. of fill.

The earliest floor in Rooms 1a and 1b, floor A.75.11.2b, consisted of 4 cm of green gel. On it and

above it was a large quantity of small finds. Roughly 10 cm above the first floor came the second floor, A.75.11.2a, on which a certain amount of brick fall was found. I will now examine the pottery and small finds from each room of the IVC building.

The pottery and small finds from Room 1 are presented in accordance with the stratigraphy of the room, beginning with the earliest and proceeding to the latest floor.

### Floor A.75.11.2b (also A.75.T7.11.2b)

#### *Ceramics*

Pottery found on the earliest floor in the room is shown in figure 1.27. Figure 1.27.A is one of two wide-mouthed IVC2 goblets made of burnished greyware (fig. 1.28). Though geographically distant, Hissar has yielded tall goblets with flaring sides of burnished greyware in Period IIIB graves (Schmidt 1937:pl. 38, H 2434), although these date most probably to the second half of the third millennium B.C. (Voigt and Dyson 1992:171). A flaring mouthed jar made of limestone from Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 33A-B) is more contemporary with our goblet, though the material is different. Figure 1.27.B belongs to the class of collared-rim jars discussed above in connection with the examples from Area C (cf. fig. 1.21). Were it not for the fact that the Period IVC examples are made of burnished greyware, one might also suggest that they were intrusive examples of burnished Lapui ware from VC through VA2 contexts (cf. Beale 1986:4.16a–c, j).

Figure 1.27.H has been described as coming from polychrome or bichrome jars of Jamdat Nasr affinity. This assessment is based principally on the shape. Neither the decoration, which shows no geometric motifs, nor the rim, which is flat rather than beveled, nor the absence of nose-lugs, recommends its identification as a Jamdat Nasr product, although the girth of the piece is reminiscent of Jamdat Nasr jars. On the other hand, the vessel is very similar both in shape and decoration to a piece from the Banesh Period at Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 19T). A sherd that may have come from the same vessel was discovered on the next floor up in the same room (fig. 1.34.D).

#### *Small Finds*

Small finds found on the lowest floor (A.75.11.2b) included a bead (SF 3671, 1.1 x 1.25 cm) and a disk (SF 3674, 5.8 x 3.15 x .7 cm) of chlorite; a complete white stone bowl (SF 3745, fig. 1.29; 18 cm rim diameter, 4.4 cm base diameter, 8.7 cm tall), two sherds from one or more white stone vessels (SF 3730, 5.3 x 2.2 x .7 cm), two mortars (SF 3720a, 28 x 12.5 x 2.8–3.8 cm; SF 3721a, 7.2 x 8 x 4 cm), four whetstones (SF 3720b, fig.

1.30.A, 10.1 x 4.5 x 1.2 cm; SF 3720c, fig. 1.30.B, 9 x 5.5 x 1.6 cm; SF 3720d, fig. 1.30.C, 9.5 x 7 x 1.5 cm; SF 3721d, 12 x 8 x 1.6 cm), four stone balls (SF 3716a, 6 cm in diameter; SF 3716b, 7 cm in diameter; SF 3721b, 4.7 x 4.5 cm; SF 3721c, 5.7 x 5.2 cm), a pair of heulandite beads (SF 3812a, fig. 1.31, 5 x .8 x .4 cm; SF 3812b, fig. 1.31, 5 x .8 x .4 cm), a bead of undetermined stone (SF 3814, .2 cm in diameter), a pair of clay zoomorphic figurines (SF 3792, 2.4 x 2.1 x 1.7 cm; SF 3793, 2.9 x 1.1 cm), and three copper/bronze pins (SF 3759, fig. 1.32, 12.2 x 1 cm; SF 3760, 4.3 x .2 cm; unregistered). The third pin has an elaborate, rectangular head (fig. 1.33; no dimensions available) with an indistinct form of decoration.

#### Floor A.75.11.2a

##### *Ceramics*

Pottery from the second floor in Room 1 (A.75.11.2a) is illustrated in figure 1.34. Figure 1.34.A is an unusual bottle or flask for which I can find no close parallels. The deep bowl with rounded sides (fig. 1.34.B) is a form well attested in Period IVC contexts (cf. fig. 1.35). The ledge rim of a collared jar (fig. 1.34.C) belongs to a large class of rims from Period IVC contexts discussed above (cf. fig. 1.21). The sherd shown in figure 1.34.D may have come from the vessel recovered in floor A.75.11.2b (fig. 1.27.H). Figure 1.34.E is a unique, tubular, straight spout (cf. fig. 1.10). Figure 1.34.F is yet another example of a large, open bowl with rounded rim and straight sides that curve inward to a fairly narrow base, comparable to those shown in figure 1.15. Similar bowls are known from Proto-Elamite Susa (LeBrun 1971:fig. 65.18) and Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 20f, j).

##### *Small Finds*

Two chlorite bowl fragments were recovered from the second floor (SF 3670, 4.5 x 1.9 x 0.6 cm; SF 3672, 5.3 x 1.9 x 1.2 cm), as well as a fragment of a white stone bowl (SF 3669, 6.7 x 5.5 x 1.9 cm), a stone polisher (?) (SF 3722, 6.5 x 4.9 x 3.2 cm), a stone ball (SF 3715, 6.4 x 5.7 x 5 cm), and a bead of undetermined stone (SF 3813, .7 cm in diameter).

#### Floor A.75.11.2

##### *Ceramics*

Pottery from floor A.75.11.2 is shown in figure 1.36. The third floor of Room 1 (A.75.11.2) yielded a complete example of a large, neckless, spouted cauldron (fig. 1.36.E). This differs demonstrably from the contemporary, straight-spouted, open cauldrons found at Tepe Farukhabad (e.g., Wright 1981:figs. 51a, 52k); the spouted jars of Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pls. 18d,

19s); or earlier spouted vessels of Late Uruk affiliation from Choga Mish (Delougaz and Kantor 1996:pls. 102–111). Later spouted vessels are also attested in the region at, e.g., Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:569, ac. 3; 574–575, da.1–4).

##### *Small Finds*

Small finds included a fragment of a white stone bowl (SF 3719, 5.5 x 3.5 x 1.2 cm), two mortars (SF 3714, 15.9 x 2.8 x 2.5 cm; SF 3714a, 12.5 x 17.4 x 2–6 cm), and a copper/bronze pin (SF 3764, 6.5 cm).

#### Floor BM.71.3.4

None of the sherds found in association with this floor were drawn and no small finds were discovered.

#### Floor BM.71.3.3

##### *Ceramics*

A black-on-red painted sherd from a hearth (BM.71.3.1) associated with the fifth and latest floor has an interior-painted diagonal line adjacent to a wavy line (fig. 1.37.A). This resembles the decoration found on a sherd from the surface of Takkul Area C (Stein 1937:pl. XX.Tak.C.62), a settlement located between Bampur and the Jiroft (closer to the latter) discovered by Stein. These sherds, it should also be noted, are virtually identical to a piece of so-called Black-on-Buff and Black-on-Smooth Buff Ware from a Period VA context at Tepe Yahya (Beale 1986:figs. 4.24s). The rarity of this type in Periods VA2 and VA1 (fewer than 30 examples are known) raises the possibility that it is intrusive from Period IVC, but the opposite cannot be entirely ruled out. A rim sherd from a deep, straight-sided bowl (fig. 1.37.C) is one of a number of such pieces found in Phase IVC2 and IVB6 contexts (fig. 1.38).

#### Room 2

Room 2 is, in fact, a small corridor and there are only two drawn sherds from it (fig. 1.39). One of these comes from the rim of a collared jar with everted rim (fig. 1.39.A), and the other is the rim of an open bowl with an indentation beneath the rim (fig. 1.39.B). It seems to be a variant of a club-rim bowl.

#### Rooms 3 and 4

##### *Ceramics*

Rooms 3 and 4 appear like a pair of small stalls (fig. 1.1). There is no drawn pottery from Room 3, but Room 4 contained a number of interesting pieces. Figure 1.40.A (cf. fig. 1.41 for a view of the piece in situ) is a large, plum-slipped buff storage jar with an extremely

wide girth and a rope ridge around the shoulder. Black-painted decoration is made up of four panels of two vertical rows of diamonds bordered by a single vertical line to the left and right. Single rows of diamonds are found *inter alia* at Khafajah (Delougaz 1952:pl. 8, Kh. IX 101), Fara (Nagel 1964:Taf. 8.4), Nippur (Wilson 1986:fig. 10.5), Kish (Nagel 1964:Taf. 9.1), Jamdat Nasr (Nagel 1964:Taf. 14.8, 11, 15), and Tepe Farukhabad (Wright 1981:fig. 59a). Double rows of diamonds are much rarer, and are, to my knowledge, known only from Jamdat Nasr itself (Nagel 1964:Taf. 14.10). This comparison notwithstanding, it is apparent that the enormity of figure 1.40.A relative to the thinness of the painted band of decoration on its upper shoulder; the large, undecorated area; the twin, horizontal bands along the carination; and the chain ridge, find no close parallels in the Mesopotamian repertoire of Jamdat Nasr polychrome ceramics. Nor are there any closer comparanda at Tal-i Malyan, Tal-i Ghazir, Tepe Sialk, or Susa. The western inspiration for this vessel is apparent, though the specific source of this inspiration remains unknown.

The same is true of figure 1.40.B (cf. fig. 1.42), which, with its four pierced nose-lugs and broad band of decoration, is more reminiscent of genuine Jamdat Nasr polychrome than figure 1.40.A. The principal design elements are a black hourglass flanked by four parallel, vertical lines. The design is repeated around the body of the vessel within an area bounded by four parallel, vertical lines. A row of punctations and two horizontal lines decorate the shoulder of the vessel; the carination is also decorated with a line of punctations. The hatched hourglass is known on a number of polychrome vessels, e.g., from Khafajah (Nagel 1964:Taf. 7.6; Taf. 17.1) and Tell Gubba (Fuji 1981:fig. 11.6), whereas the solid black hourglass, combined with other motifs, is attested at Jamdat Nasr (Mackay 1931:pls. 68.11, 69.11, 15), Susa (Steve and Gasche 1971:pl. 25.27), and Tepe Farukhabad (Wright 1981:fig. 60a, cf. table 24). A solid hourglass framed by parallel, vertical lines, without blank space between them, is found on a spouted, hole-mouth jar of Jamdat Nasr type from Tell Gubba (Fuji 1981:fig. 14.2). A remarkably similar sherd, showing only the hourglass framed by a pair of vertical lines to the right and left, was also discovered by Stein on the surface of Tump-i-Qasimabad (Stein 1937:pl. 9. Qas. surf. 23). Stein's photograph shows that this piece comes from the shoulder of a large, carinated vessel on which the design occurs just above a carination, as is the case on the jar from Tepe Yahya. Other sherds with similar nose-lugs have been found in Phase IVC1 and IVB6 contexts (fig. 1.43).

Additional painted sherds from Room 4 are shown in figure 1.44. Figure 1.44.A is an anomalous piece. I have

described it elsewhere (Potts 1980) as Jamdat Nasr monochrome, but it is now apparent that, while the geometric portions of the design (solid and hatched hour-glasses) are in the Jamdat Nasr tradition, the central, horned caprid is not. Judging by the size of the horns, it is probably either a wild goat or sheep (for discussion and illustrations see Uerpmann 1987:113–127). These caprids occur commonly on Chalcolithic pottery in Luristan (e.g., Levine and Young 1987:figs. 10.50.1 [Seh Gabi] and 19.7 [Choga Maran]; Vanden Berghe 1987:figs. 4.20–21 [Hakalan A and B] and 9 [Parchinah and Hakalan]); on Jamdat Nasr pottery from the Mahi Dasht (Levine and Young 1987:fig. 26 [Choga Maran]); on Early Dynastic I–II examples in the Scarlet Ware tradition at Susa (Carter 1987:fig. 2c); at sites in the Pusht-i-Kuh, such as Abdanan (Carter 1987:fig. 3d) and Kaleh Nisar (Carter 1987:fig. 3b); at Khafajah in the Diyala region (Delougaz 1952:pls. 11, 15, 138); and at Gubba in the Hamrin (Fuji 1981:fig. 14.3, pls. 2.2, 13.2). None of these comparisons serve necessarily to help fix the date for our piece, although a date in the Jamdat Nasr Period, contemporary with the rest of the IVC material, is possible. The parallels do, however, underscore the widespread penchant for painted ovicaprids far to the west of Tepe Yahya, in the Zagros and adjacent Susiana, Diyala, and Hamrin plains. This penchant for depicting long-horned ovicaprids persisted until the recent past. Indeed, the Danish ethnologist C. Feilberg, after residing among the Lurs, wrote, “Donnez à un Lour du papier et un crayon et il dessinera presque toujours un . . . gibier. . . Le gibier qu'il dessine est ordinairement un bouquetin aux grandes cornes recourbées en arrière” [Give a Lur a piece of paper and a pencil and he will almost always draw a . . . wild animal. . . The wild animal that he draws is usually a wild goat with large horns curving to the back] (Feilberg 1952:67).

The only comparanda for the wild goat or sheep on the sherd from Tepe Yahya that is geographically closer would seem to be on a group of sherds from Damin (Tosi 1974:fig. 26), although these are more reminiscent of the ovicaprids found frequently on the pottery of Bampur (e.g., de Cardi 1970:figs. 30.22, 36.100). The Bampur pottery, however, is demonstrably different from the tradition represented by the examples from Tepe Yahya and the western sites noted above. Ovicaprids also occur much later on Shahr-i Sokhta Black-to-Brown-on-Buff-Surface Ware (Biscione and Bulgarelli 1983:235), but this type is unrelated, both in form and decoration, and is also much later than the Tepe Yahya vessel.

Figure 1.44.B is a black-on-red/orange bowl that is closely paralleled by another piece from a Phase IVB6 context at Tepe Yahya (fig. 1.45). Finally, figure 1.44.C finds an exact parallel in a piece discovered by Stein on

the surface of Tump-i-Surkh-qalat (Stein 1937:pl. 20.Kal.1), a site located on the Halil-Rud not far from the southern end of the Jiroft.

The unpainted pottery from Room 4 (fig. 1.46) includes fragments of many deep bowls that appear characteristic of Period IVC2. The simple bowls with very straight sides, such as figure 1.46.A and F, are most common in IVC2 and appear only once in IVB (fig. 1.38). A bowl with an indented groove in a beveled rim is also characteristic of IVC (fig. 1.46.B, 1.47). A similar form is known at Banesh period Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 21i-k) and at Susa during the Late Uruk period (Acropole level 17b; LeBrun 1978:fig. 19.24-25). The bowls with rounded sides and with flattened upper rim surfaces (e.g., fig. 1.46.C, D, E) are only attested in IVC2 and IVC1 (fig. 1.48). Several closed shapes from Room 4 are illustrated in figure 1.49.

#### *Small Finds*

Small finds from Room 4 were represented in a variety of materials. Chlorite finds included a bowl (SF 882, 7 x 6.5 x 1.3 cm), a disk (SF 530, 8.5 x 5.5 x 2.5 cm), and an unidentified fragment (SF 531, 9.2 x 8 x 3.2 cm). Other objects included a shell bead (SF 1754, 1.1 cm in diameter), a clay spindle whorl (SF 1149, 3 cm in diameter), a clay comb handle (SF 1150, 8.7 x 2.7 x 1.9 cm), and two fragments of copper ore (?) (SF 3482, 6 x 4 x 5 cm; SF z-526, no dimensions available) were found.

Two pieces with foreign parallels stand out. A flat copper disk (SF 2783, 3.7 x .3 cm) with open grill-like decoration, recovered inside the jar shown in figure 1.37.B (fig. 1.50), has been compared with Central Asian bronze stamp seals (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1984). A square ivory bead (SF 1696, .9 x 1 x .3 cm), perforated diagonally near the corners, represents a type known in Jamdat Nasr and Early Dynastic contexts at Khafajah, in a Period II burial at Tepe Hissar, in Acropole level 15 at Susa, in Jamdat Nasr/Early Dynastic I levels at Tell Gubba, and in the so-called Hafit-type graves near Mazyad in Abu Dhabi (McCown 1942:51, fig. 14; Dyson 1965:240; LeBrun 1971:fig. 70.2, 4; Li 1989:figs. 18.59e, 19b.60n, 20.63v; Cleuziou, Pottier, and Salles 1978:16-17, fig. 17; Cleuziou and Tosi 1989:30, fig. 1).

### **Room 5**

Despite the large size of Room 5, very little pottery was ever drawn (fig. 1.51). Small finds from Room 5 included a bone awl (SF 1354, 18 x 2.3 x 1.5 cm), two chlorite vessel fragments (SF 315, 19.6 x 6 x 1.7 cm; SF 316, 3 x 2.7 x .8 cm), a chlorite pendant (SF 314, 4.5 x 1.3 x .8 cm), and two whetstone fragments (SF 2502,

8 cm in diameter; SF 2503, 8.3 x 7.5 x 2 cm). A cache of tablet blanks was found in the southwestern corner of Room 5 (figs. 1.1, 1.52; cf. Damerow and Englund 1989).

### **Room 6**

There are only a few pieces of drawn pottery from Room 6 (fig. 1.53), including an open trough spout (fig. 1.54.A) and a burnished grey, flaring rim (fig. 1.54.B). Small finds included a chlorite sherd (SF 533, 2.8 x 2.7 x .5 cm), a white stone fragment (SF 3845, 3 x 5 x 3.3 cm), a stone ball (SF 2402, 2.6 cm in diameter), and a bead of an undetermined stone (SF z-417, 1 x 2.4 cm in diameter).

### **Room 7**

The southwest corner of Room 7 was the only portion exposed (fig. 1.1), and no pottery from this area was drawn.

## **AREA G**

Area G is an open area south of the IVC building in Trench BW (fig. 1.1). Most of the brick in this area is later and has been assigned to IVC2 (see chap. 2), except for the ceramic drain that cut through the wall of the IVC building in Trench BW (fig. 1.60). Due to disturbance it was not possible to ascertain the precise relationship between the remains of the drain in Area G and those observed further east in Area H.

#### *Ceramics*

For the most part the unpainted, open shapes from this area are familiar (seen in fig. 1.55). Closed shapes of unpainted pottery are illustrated in figure 1.56 and the incidence of hole-mouth jars should be noted (fig. 1.57). Intrusive black-on-buff sherds from Period V are present (fig. 1.58.A, C, D). Figure 1.58.A closely parallels a rim of "Early (imported?) Black-on-Buff Ware," dating to Period VC (Beale 1986:figs. 4.19, right center, and 4.21a, cf. fig. 4.20l). Similar pieces are also known from Tal-i Iblis II contexts, again in Bard Sir Painted (Chase, Caldwell, and Fehérvári 1967:figs. 10 and 15; cf. Sarraf 1981:table 7, design 1.3). Figure 1.58.C exactly parallels a body sherd from a Period VB-VA.2 context (Beale 1986:fig. 4.20gg) on which are the same opposed, offset solid triangles and an area of horizontal hatching. Another identical rim of the same type is also known from Tal-i Iblis (Bard Sir Painted) Period I (Chase, Caldwell, and Fehérvári 1967:fig. 4, bottom right; Sarraf

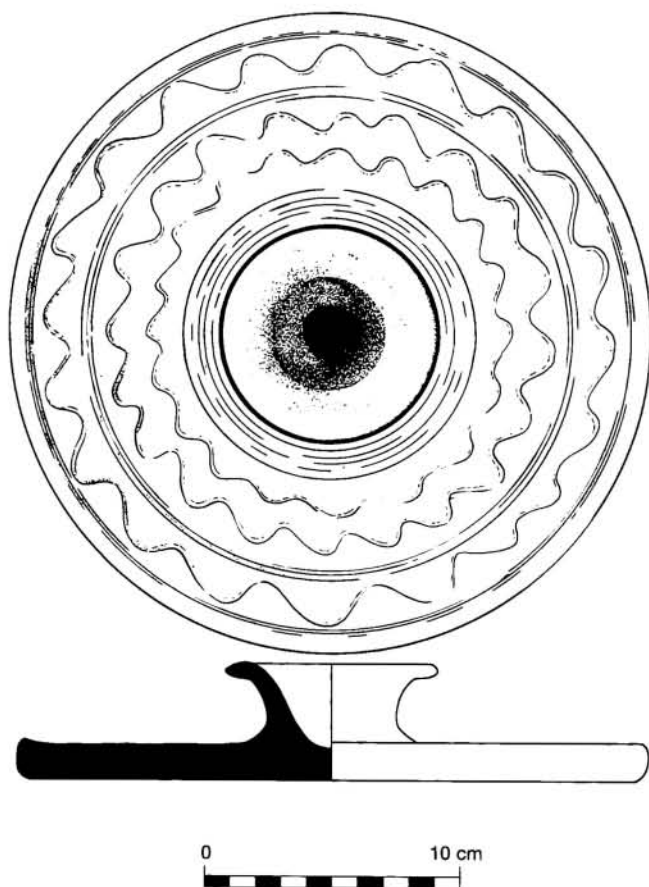
1976–80:22 bottom center; Sarraf 1981:table 7, design 6.4.3, Taf. 2.1.15). A lugged jar with punctate decoration (fig. 1.58.B) seems more in the Late Uruk/Susa II than in the Jamdat Nasr/Susa III tradition (Delougaz and Kantor 1996:pls. 112.C, F, G, 113.D, 114.D, I, J). An incised disk with wagon-wheel pattern on the face was also picked up in this area (fig. 1.59, BW.71.6).

## AREA H

Remains of four walls were found south of the main building in Trench C and, in a test trench, the continuation (?) of the gutter described above in Area G (figs.

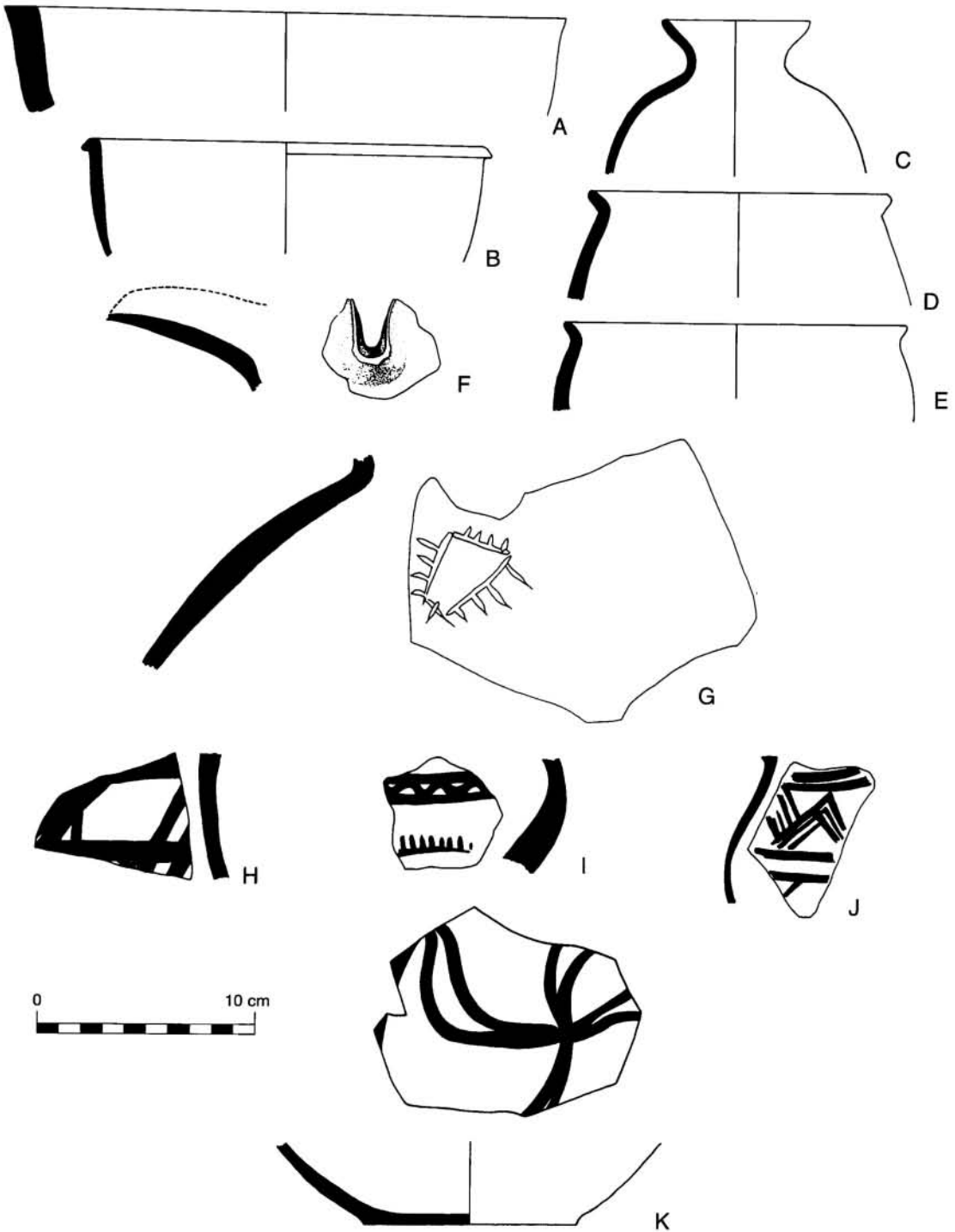
1.60, 1.61). The gutter did not articulate with the walls. It did, however, cut through another wall made of mudbricks that conform to the standard IVC size. From here the gutter appeared to empty into a drainage ditch bounded by a pair of parallel walls. The ditch was floored with chaff-tempered gel and contained a residue of silt.

The drain yielded a number of small finds, including a bead of undetermined stone (SF z-64, .2 cm in diameter), a stone pestle (SF 1963, 17.5 x 7 cm), a polished stone fragment (SF 2118, 2.4 cm in diameter), and a pin (SF 2629, 13.7 x .4 cm), and spatula (SF 2630, 19.6 x .8 x .4 cm) of copper/bronze.



**Figure 1.5.** Plain brown, medium grit, incised ceramic lid (A.75.11.11).





**Figure 1.6.** Pottery from Area A, Phase IVC2. A. coarse grit buff (A.75.11.8); B. plain orange buff (A.75.11.8); C. reddish brown, no visible temper (A.75.11.8); D. coarse tan chaff/grit (A.75.11.8); E. pink-buff with grit (A.75.11.8); F. plain brown, incised (A.75.11.5); G. plain tan, incised (A.75.11.8); H. rare black-on-buff (A.75.11.8); I. black-on-orange/buff (A.75.11.5); J. fine black-on-orange (A.75.11.8); K. black-on-grey (A.75.11.8).

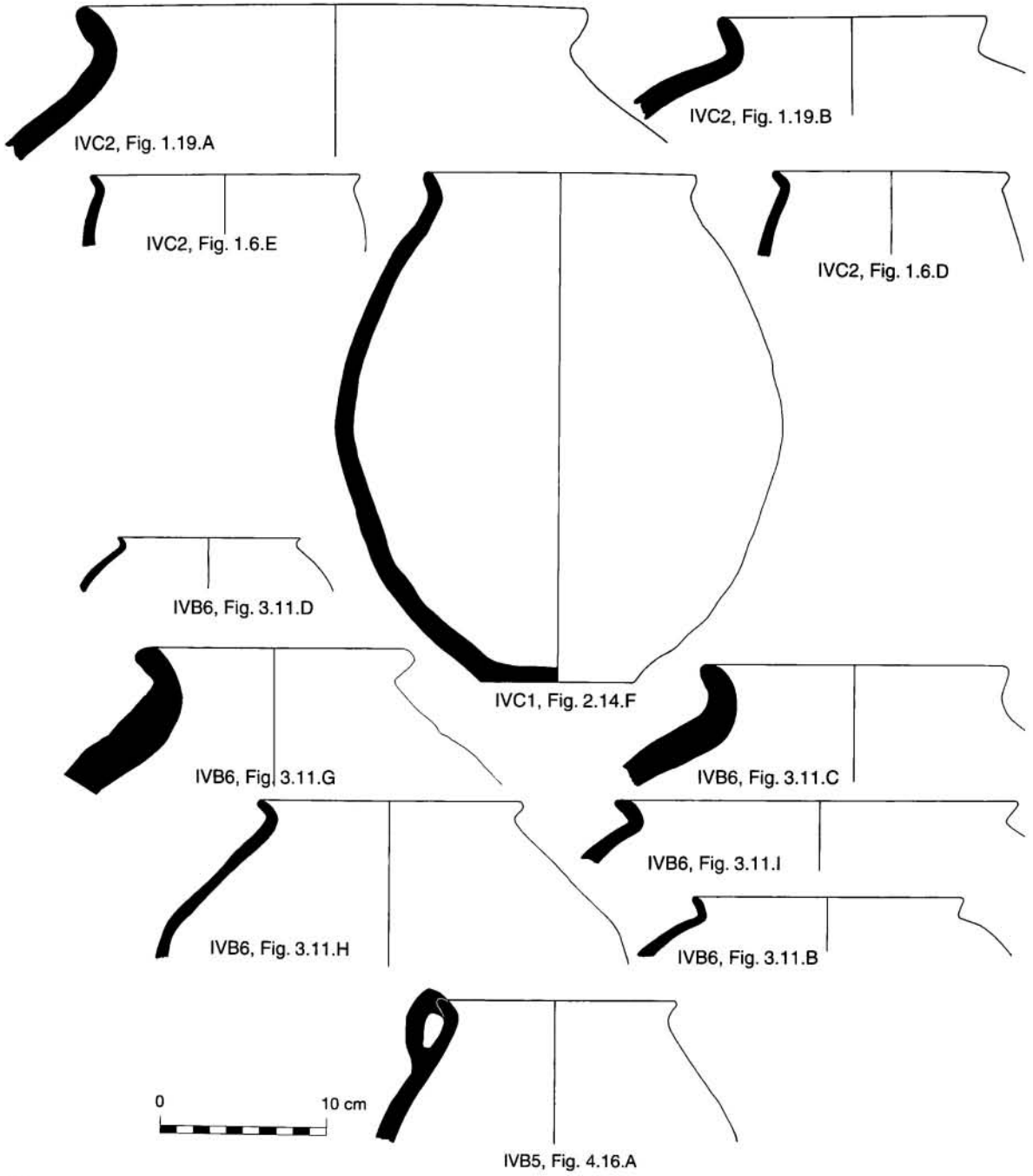


Figure 1.7. Wide-mouthed jars with slightly flaring rims, Periods IVC–IVB.

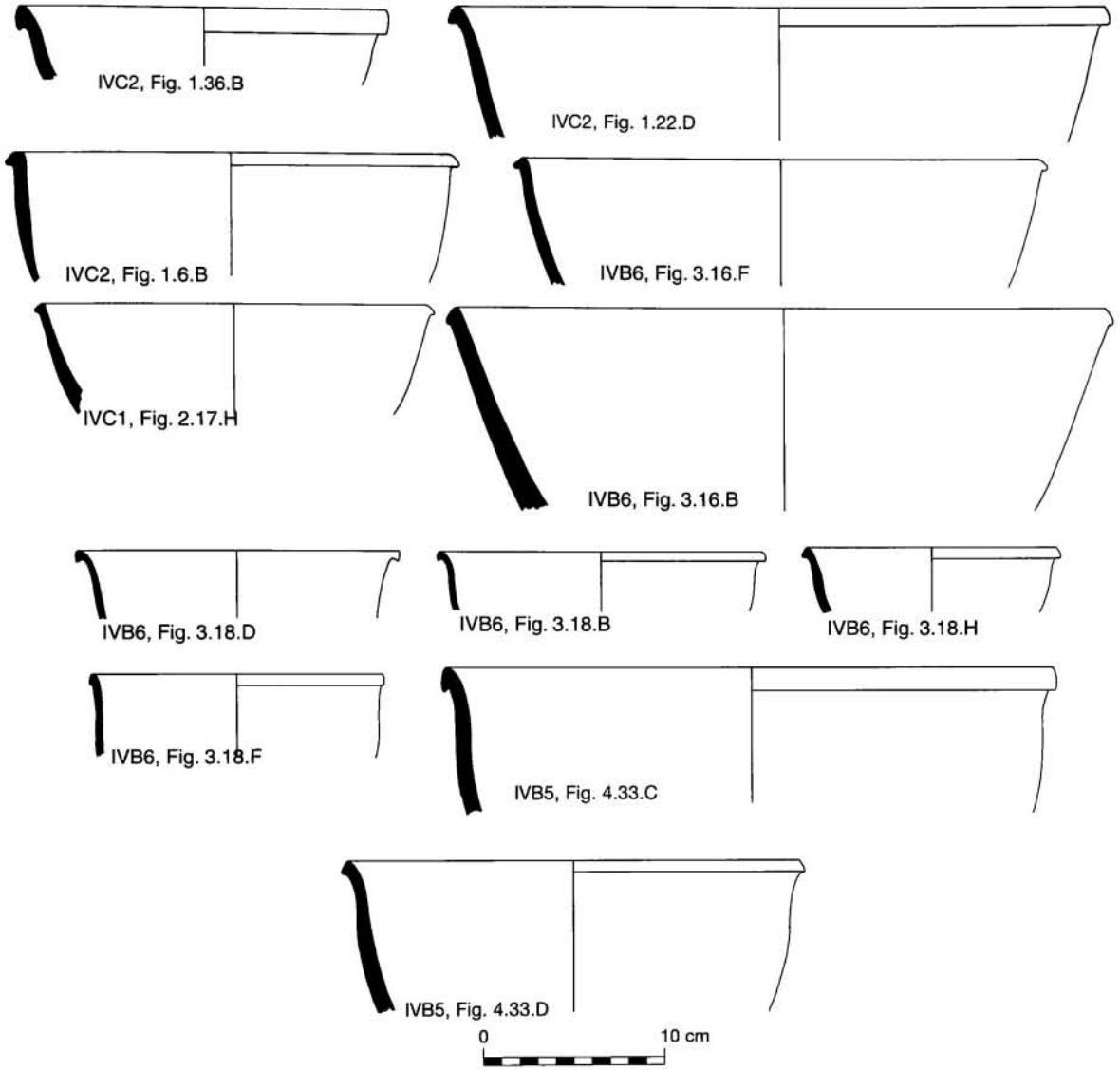


Figure 1.8. Fine club-rim bowls, Periods IVC–IVB.

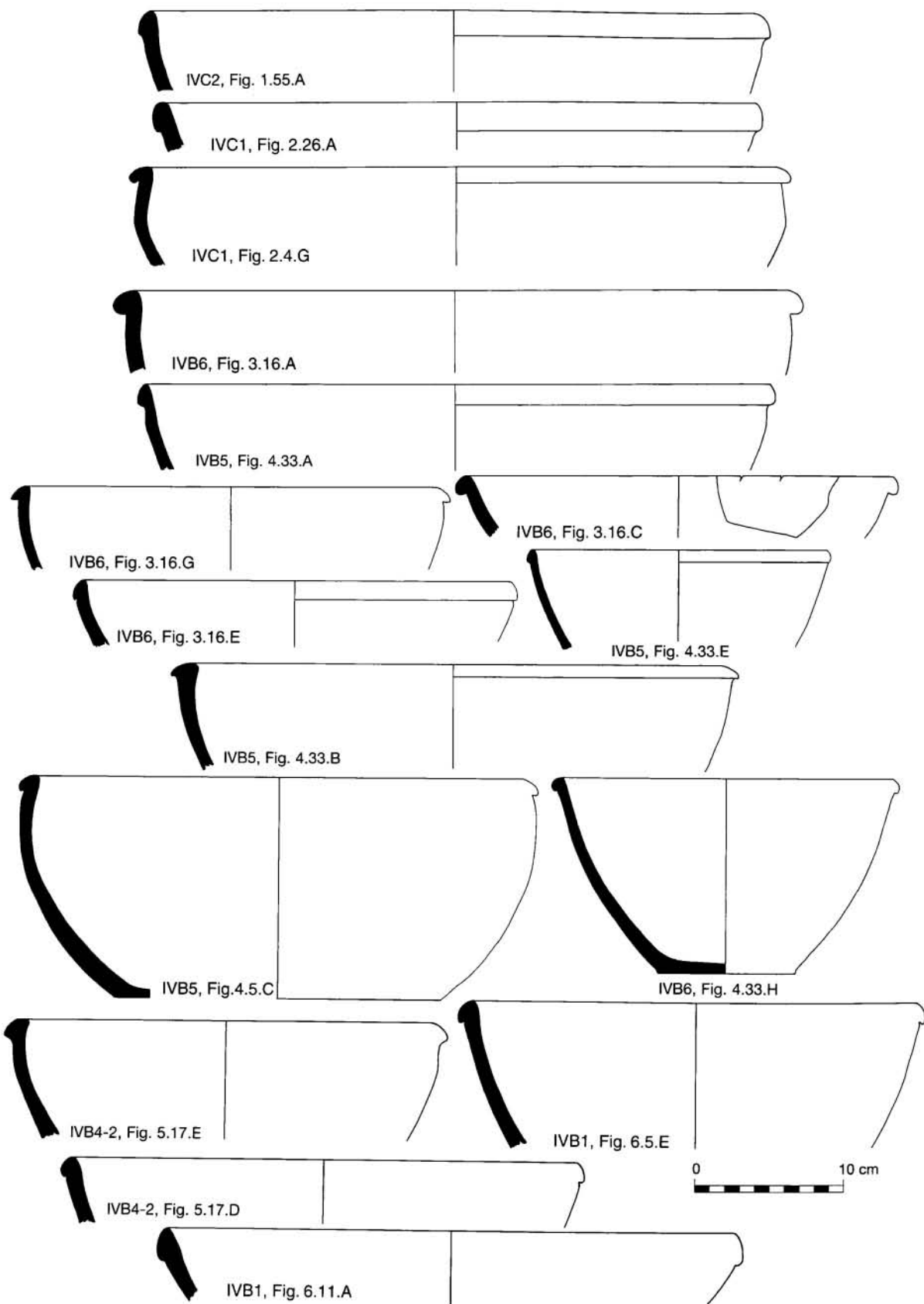
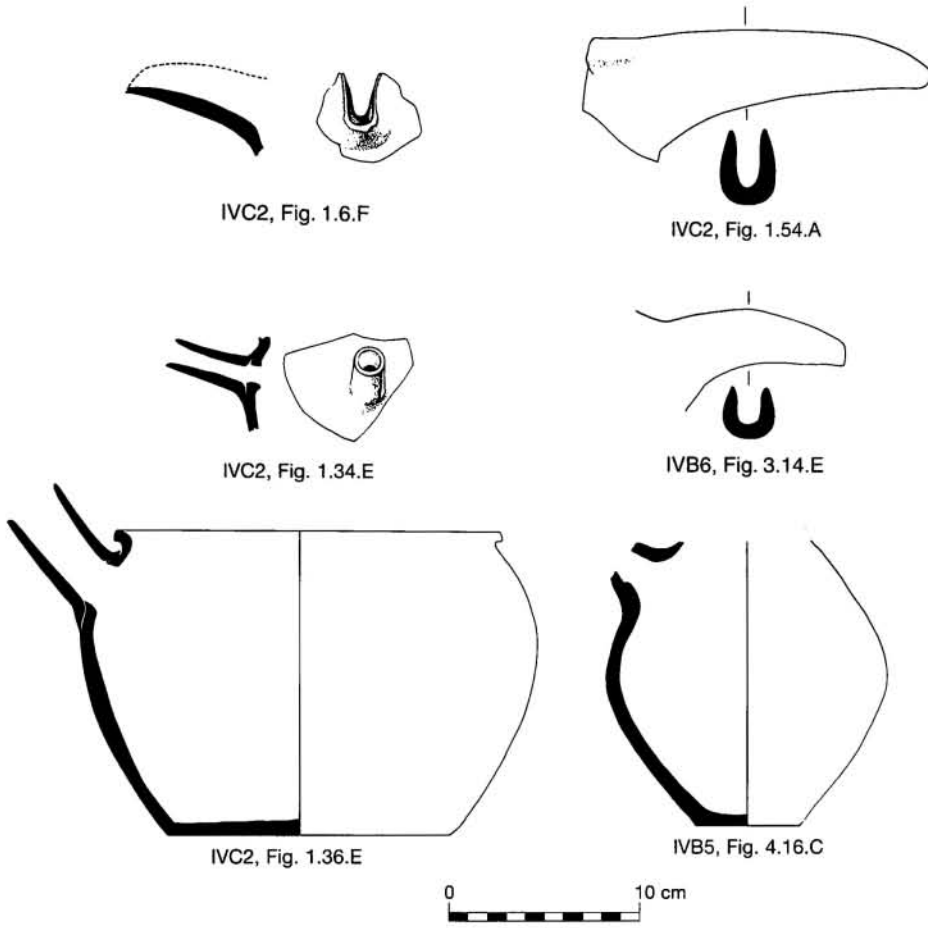


Figure 1.9. Club-rim bowls, Periods IVC-IVB.



**Figure 1.10.** Spouts and spouted vessels, Periods IVC–IVB.



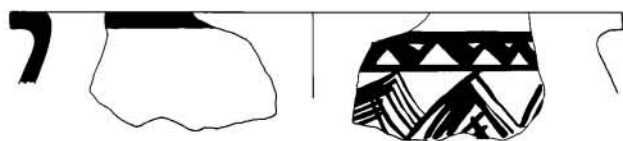
IVC2, Fig. 1.13.G



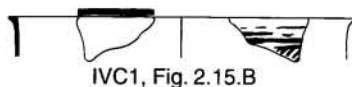
IVC2, Fig. 1.18.D



IVC2, Fig. 1.6.J



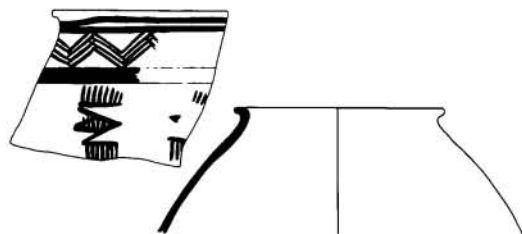
IVC1, Fig. 2.22.F



IVC1, Fig. 2.15.B



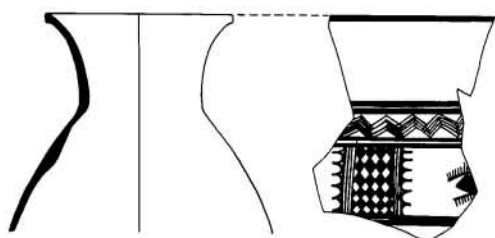
IVC1, Fig. 2.25.I



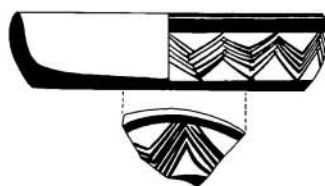
IVB6, Fig. 3.10.J



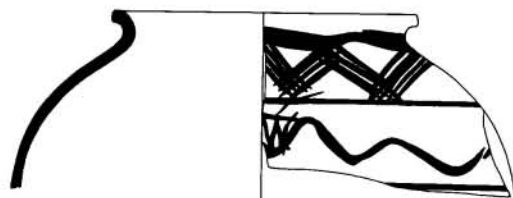
IVB6, Fig. 3.10.K



IVB5, Fig. 4.28.F



IVB5, Fig. 4.29.C

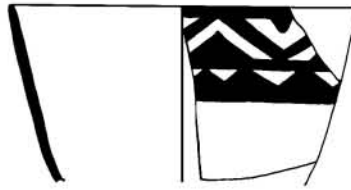


IVB5, Fig. 4.28.F

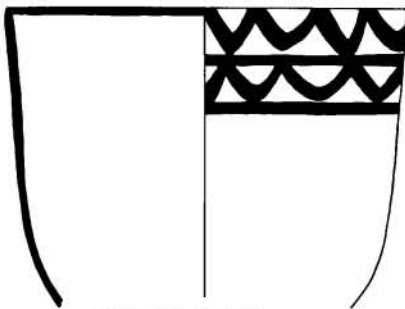
Figure 1.11. Black-on-orange ware, Periods IVC-IVB.



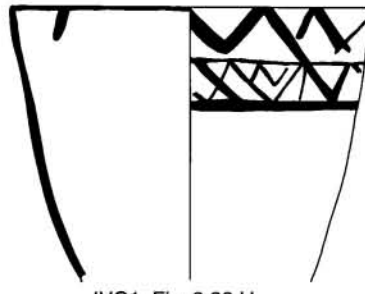
IVC2, Fig. 1.6.K



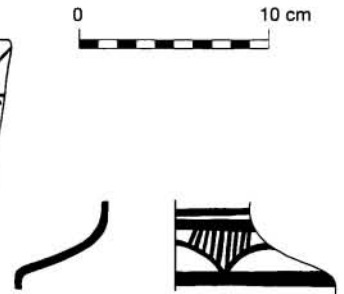
IVC2, Fig. 1.18.B



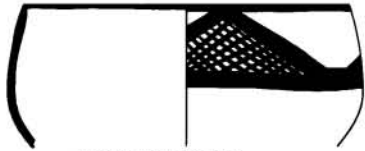
IVC1, Fig. 2.22.G



IVC1, Fig. 2.22.H



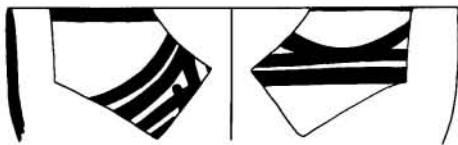
IVC1, Fig. 2.15.C



IVC1, Fig. 2.23.C



IVC1, Fig. 2.25.K



IVB6, Fig. 3.22.A

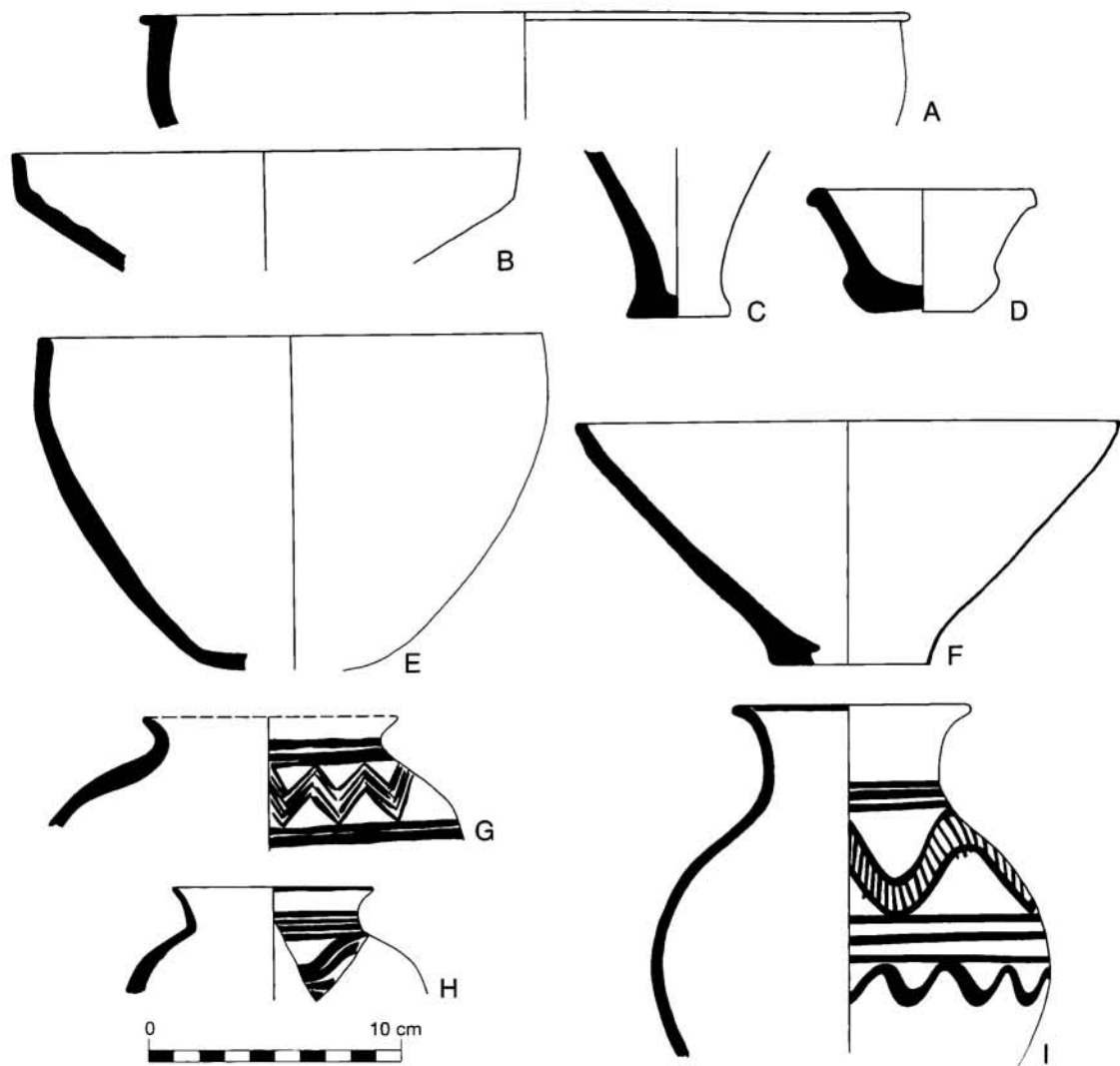


IVB6, Fig. 3.22.B



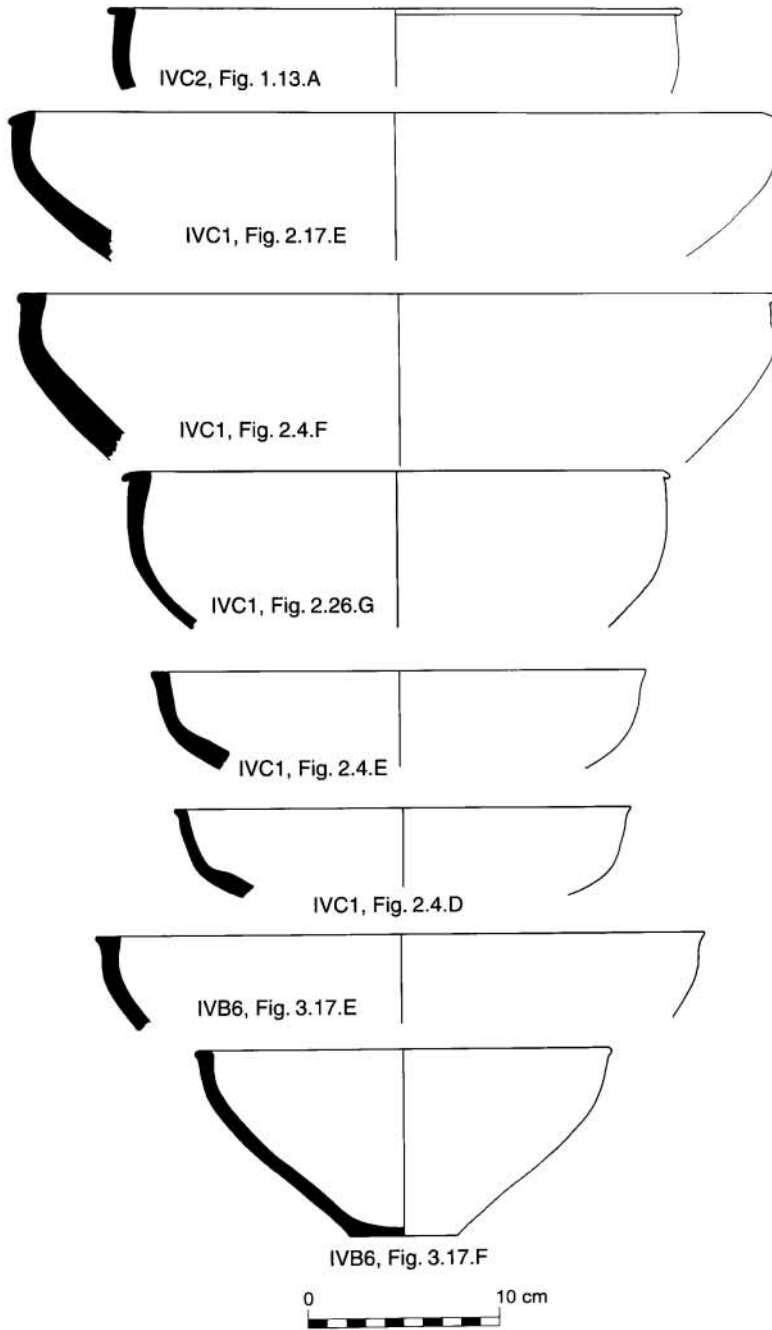
IVB6, Fig. 3.22.C

Figure 1.12. Black-on-grey ware, Periods IVC–IVB.

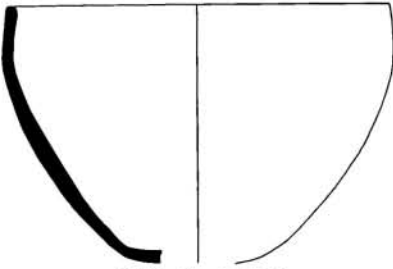


**Figure 1.13.** Pottery from Area B, Phase IVC2. A. smooth tan (A.75.11.9); B. plain orange-buff (A.75.11.7); C. plain tan (A.75.11.7a); D. plain red, medium grit (A.75.11.7b); E. burnished grey (A.75.11.7); F. plain brown (A.75.11.7a); G. black-on-burgundy (A.75.11.7b); H. black-on-red (A.75.11.7); I. black-on-red (A.75.11.7a).

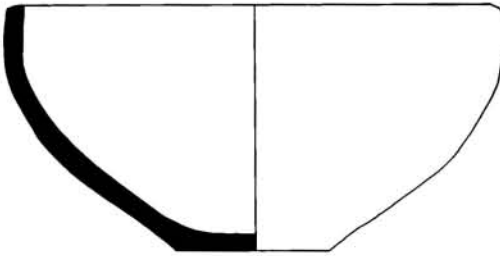




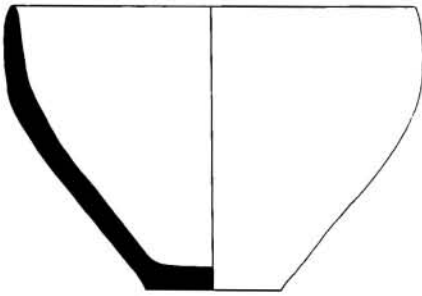
**Figure 1.14.** Carinated bowls with off-set lips, Periods IVC-IVB.



IVC2, Fig. 1.13.E



IVC1, Fig. 2.19.C



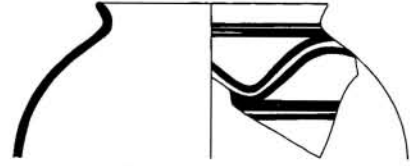
IVB5, Fig. 4.16.H



Figure 1.15. Deep, open bowls with straight sides and carination, Periods IVC–IVB.



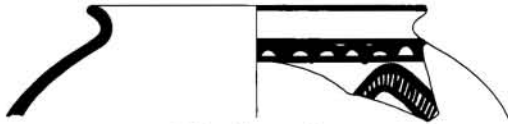
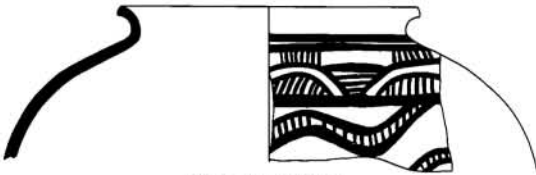
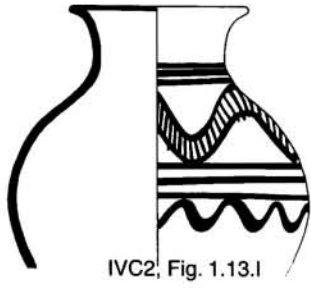
IVC2, Fig. 1.13.H



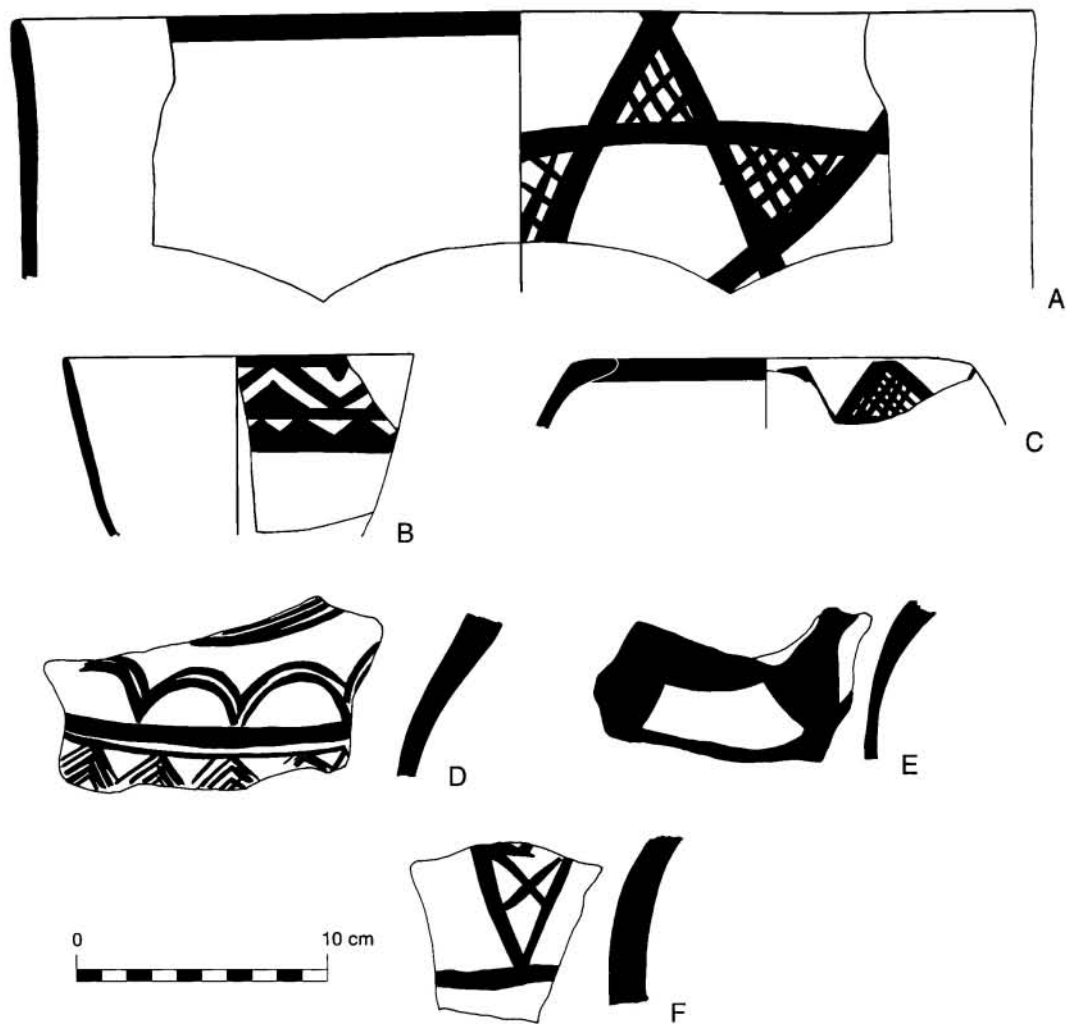
IVB1, Fig. 6.5.B



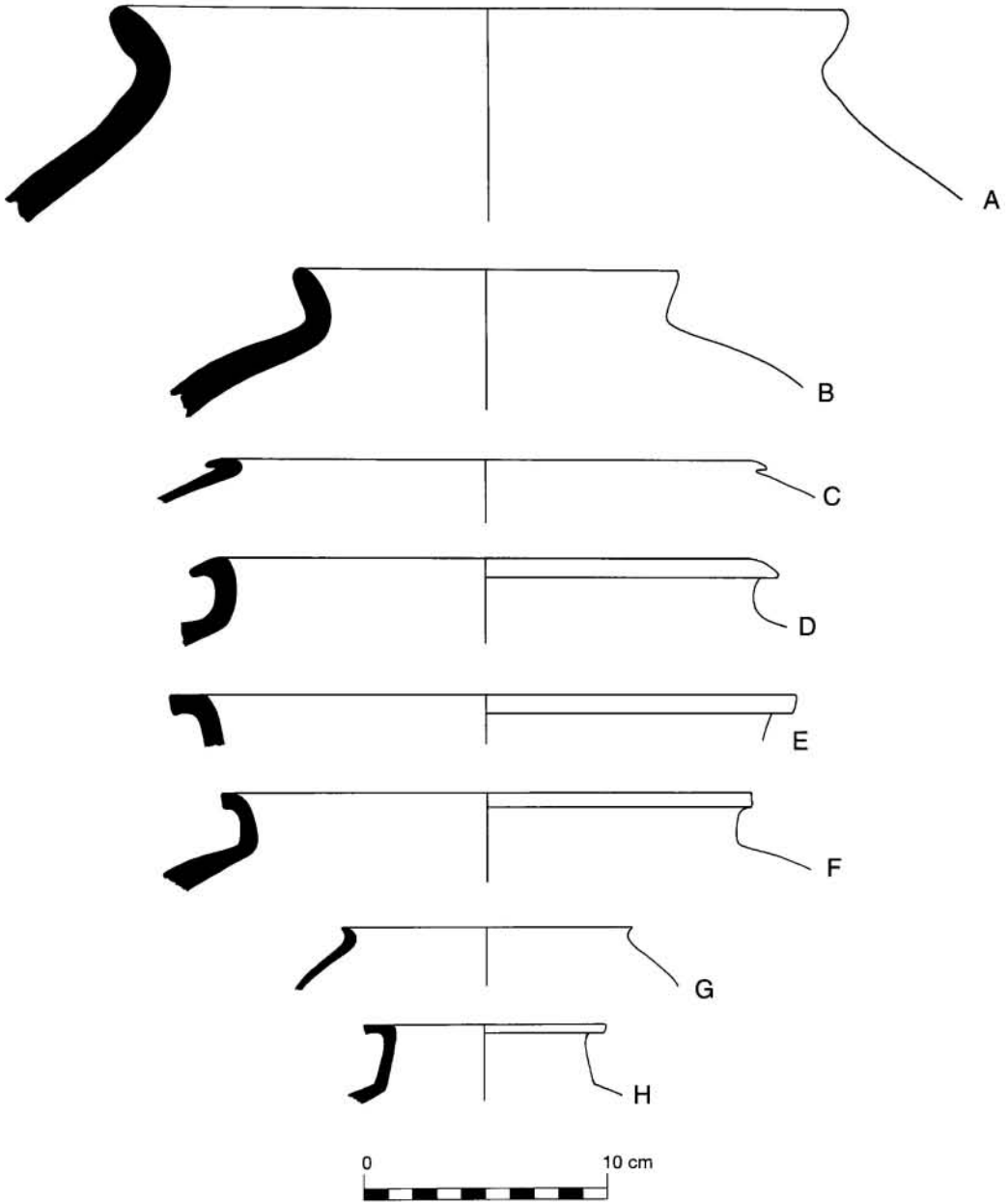
Figure 1.16. Black-on-orange jars with parallel, wavy lines, Periods IVC–IVB.



**Figure 1.17.** Black-on-orange jars with hatched parallel wavy bands, Periods IVC–IVB.



**Figure 1.18.** Painted pottery from Area C, Phase IVC2. A. black-on-buff (A.75.11.3a); B. black-on-grey (A.75.11.3); C. Jamdat Nasr monochrome, greenish-buff, black paint, no visible temper (A.75.11.3a); D. black-on-grey ware (A.75.11.3); E. black-on-orange/buff (A.75.11.3a); F. black-on-orange (A.75.11.3).



**Figure 1.19.** Pottery from Area C, Phase IVC2, closed shapes, unpainted. A. plain brown, heavy grit (A.75.11.3); B. plain brown (A.75.11.3); C. red-slipped pink-buff (A.75.11.3); D. white-slipped orange (A.75.11.3a); E. white-slipped orange (A.75.11.3a); F. plain orange (A.75.T7.11.3); G. fine orange (A.75.11.3a); H. fine smooth red-brown (A.75.11.3).

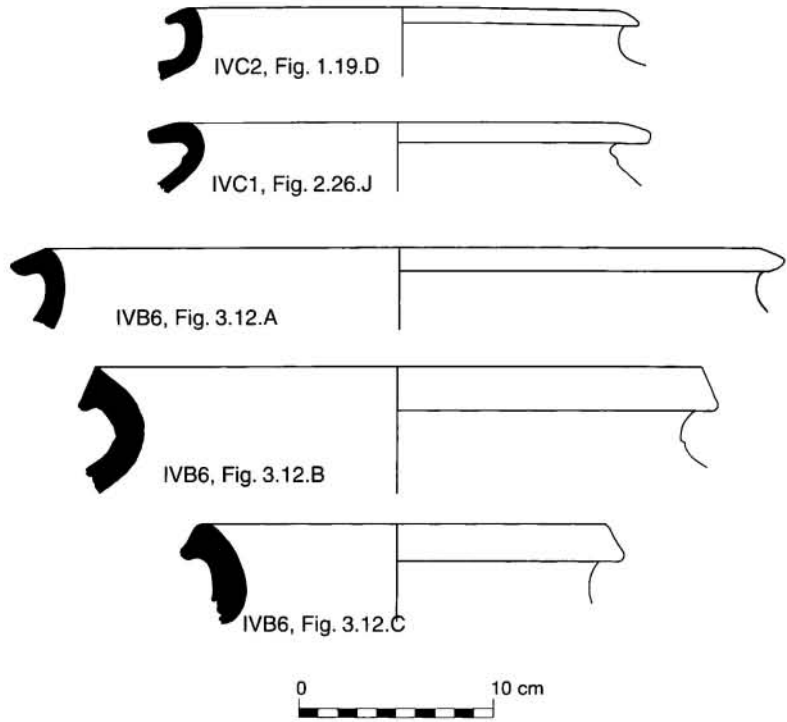


Figure 1.20. Jars with everted rims, Periods IVC–IVB.

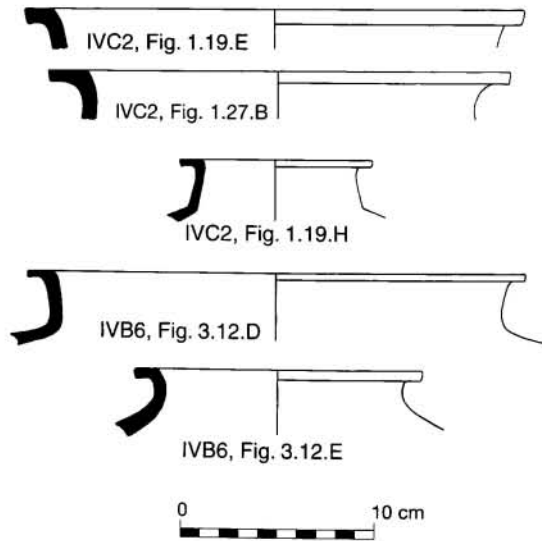
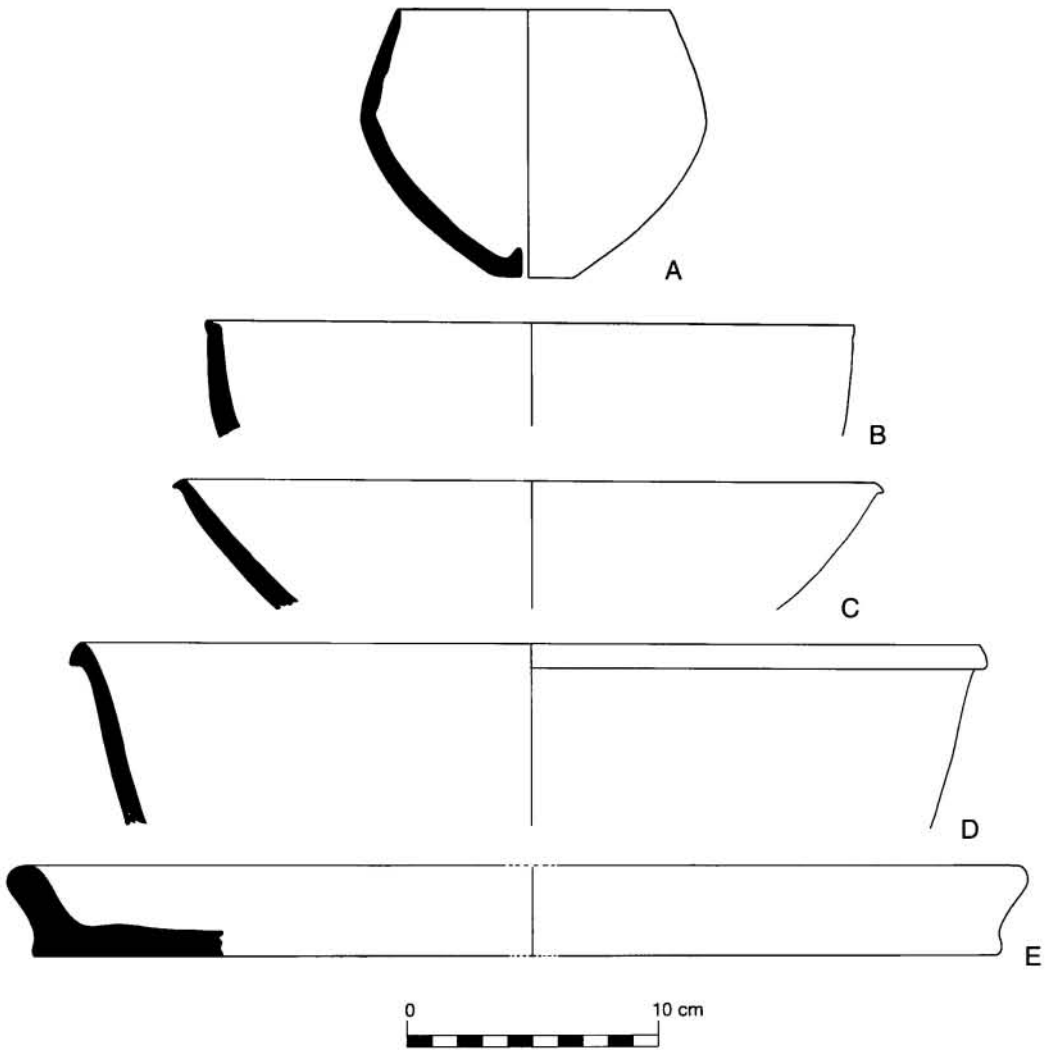
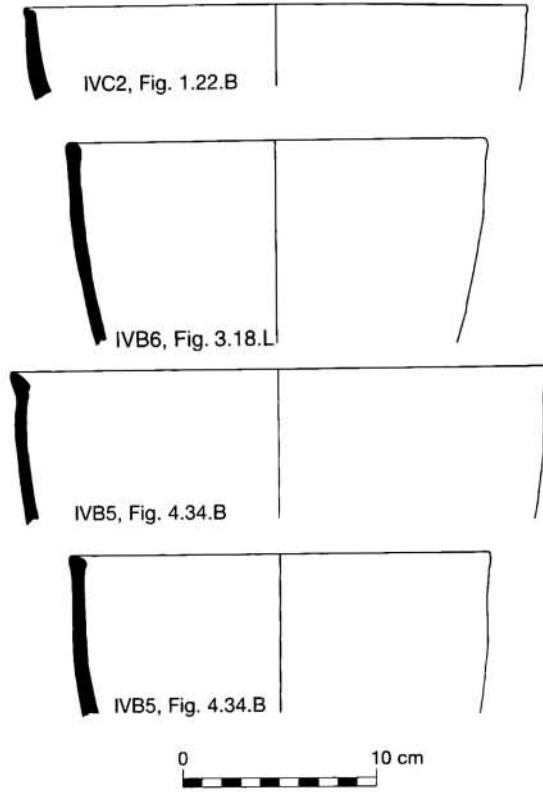


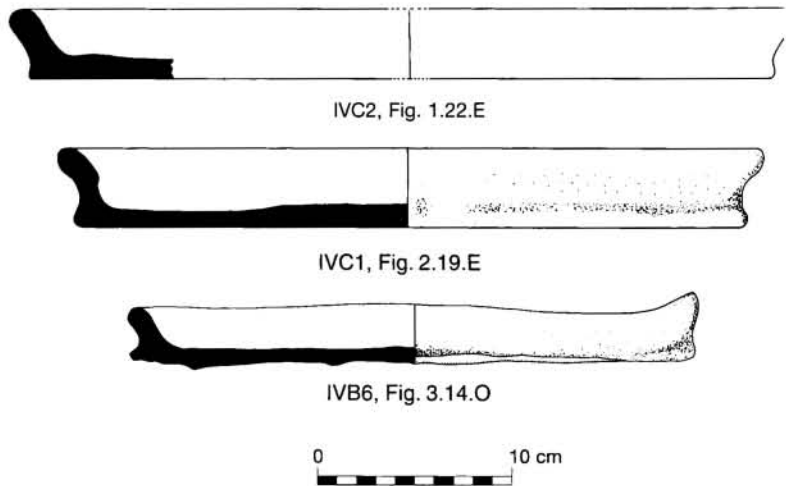
Figure 1.21. Jars with ledge rims, Periods IVC–IVB.



**Figure 1.22.** Pottery from Area C, Phase IVC2, open shapes, unpainted. A. plain brown, medium grit (A.75.11.3); B. smooth brown grit (A.75.11.3a); C. fine yellow-buff (A.75.11.3a); D. plain brown, reddish-brown slip (A.75.11.3); E. coarse chaff, heavy grit, light brown (A.75.11.3).



**Figure 1.23.** Deep bowls with interior beveled rim, Periods IVC–IVB.



**Figure 1.24.** Low-sided trays, Periods IVC–IVB.



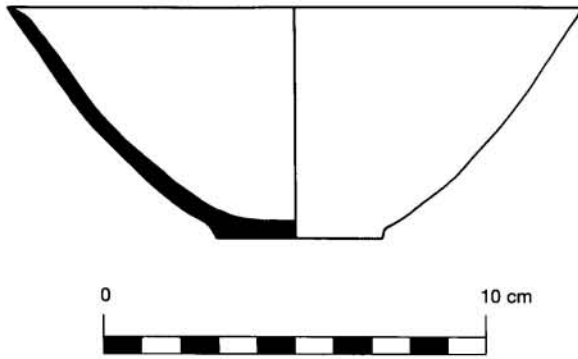


Figure 1.25. White stone bowl (unregistered) from A.75.11.3a.

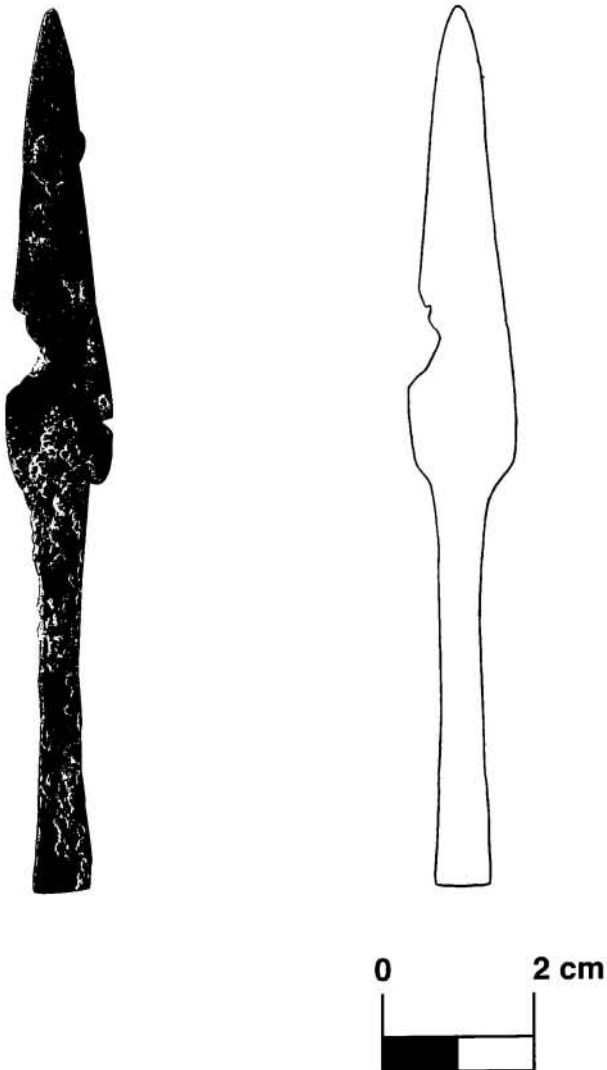
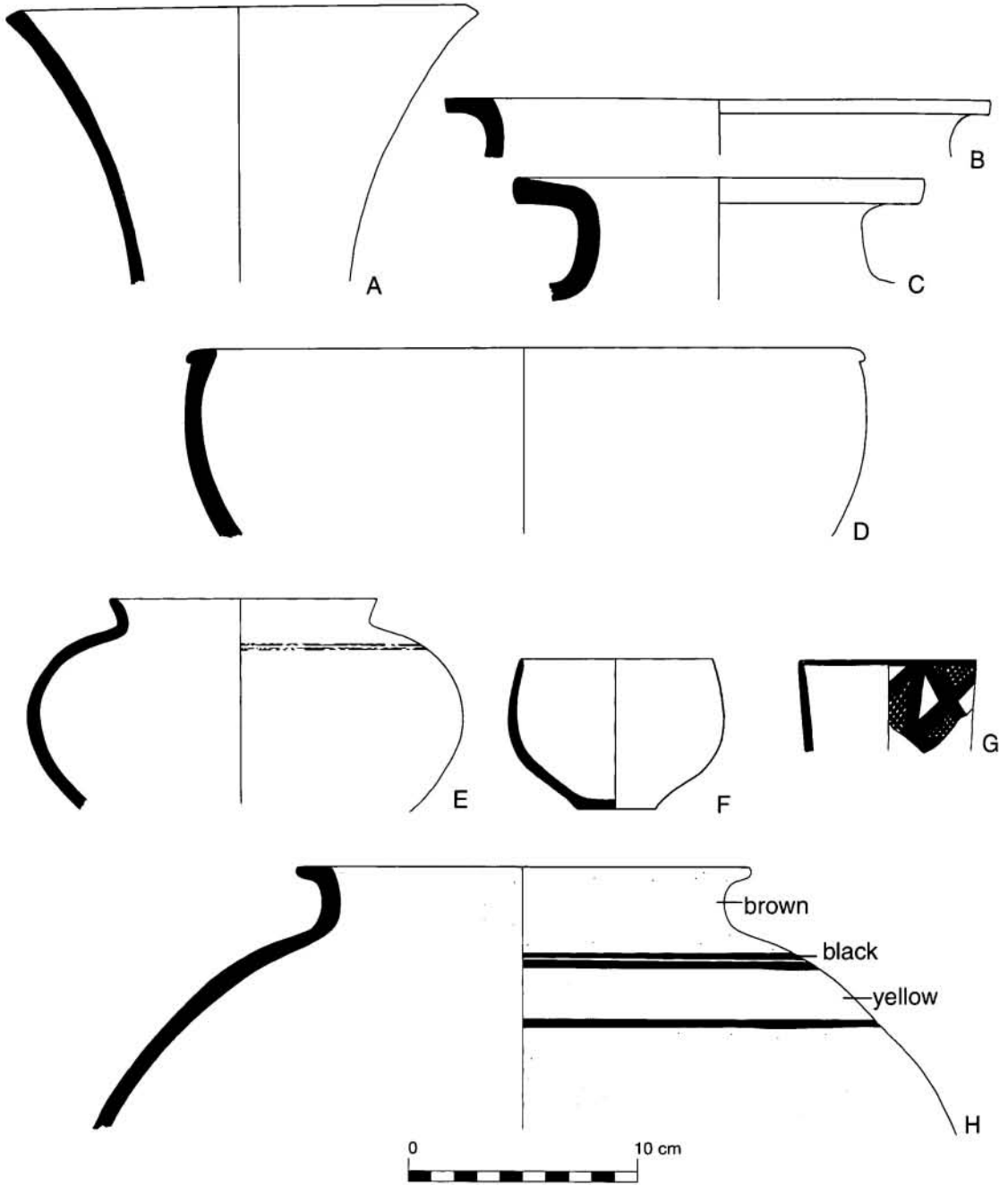


Figure 1.26. Cu/br spearhead (unregistered) from A.75.11.3a.



**Figure 1.27.** Pottery from the lowest floor in Room 1, A.75.11.2b and A.75.T7.11.2b. A. burnished grey; B. burnished greyware; C. brown-slipped buff, light grit; D. reddish-brown, medium grit; E. bricky red chaff, medium grit; F. plain buff; G. fine black-on-buff; H. plain brown with black paint and yellow/white slip.

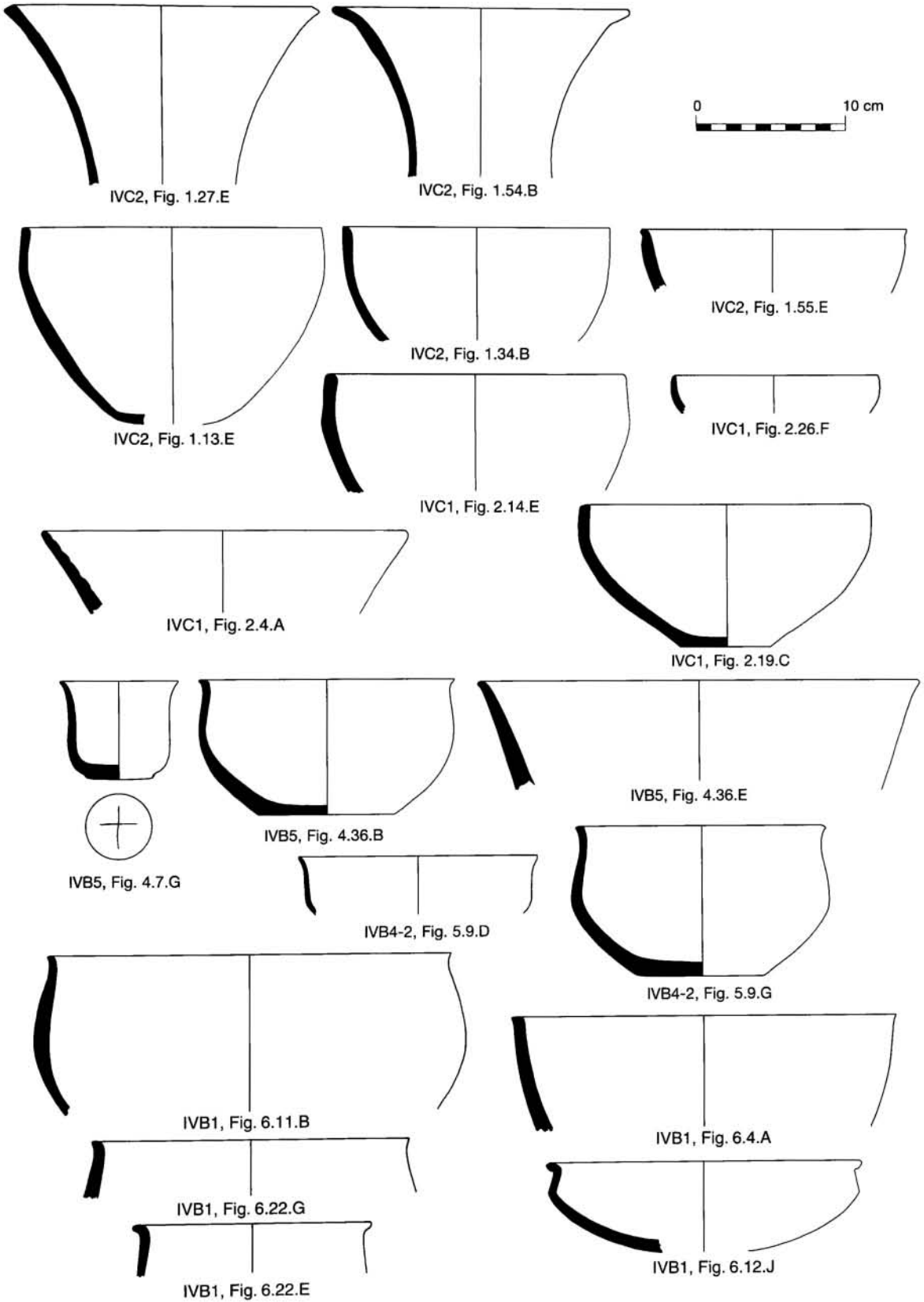


Figure 1.28. Burnished greyware, Periods IVC–IVB.

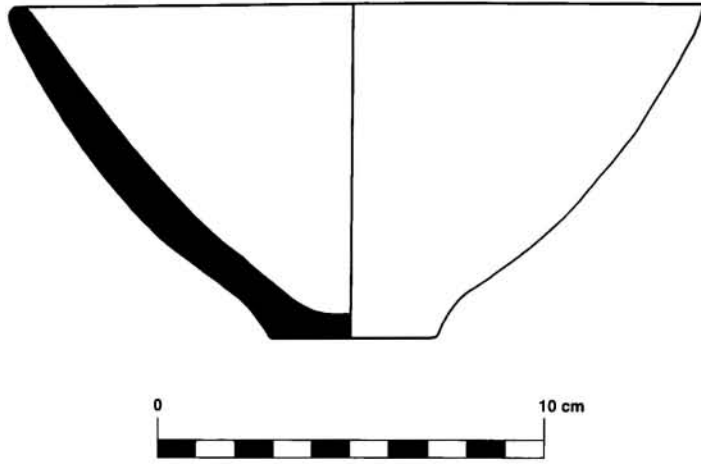


Figure 1.29. White stone bowl (SF 3745).

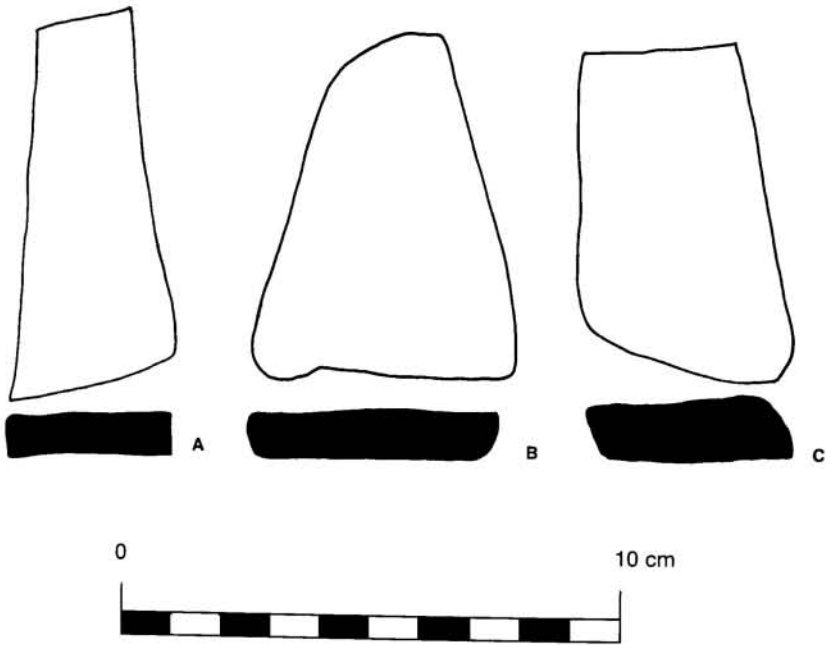


Figure 1.30. Stone whetstones: A. SF 3720b; B. SF 3720c; C. SF 3720d.



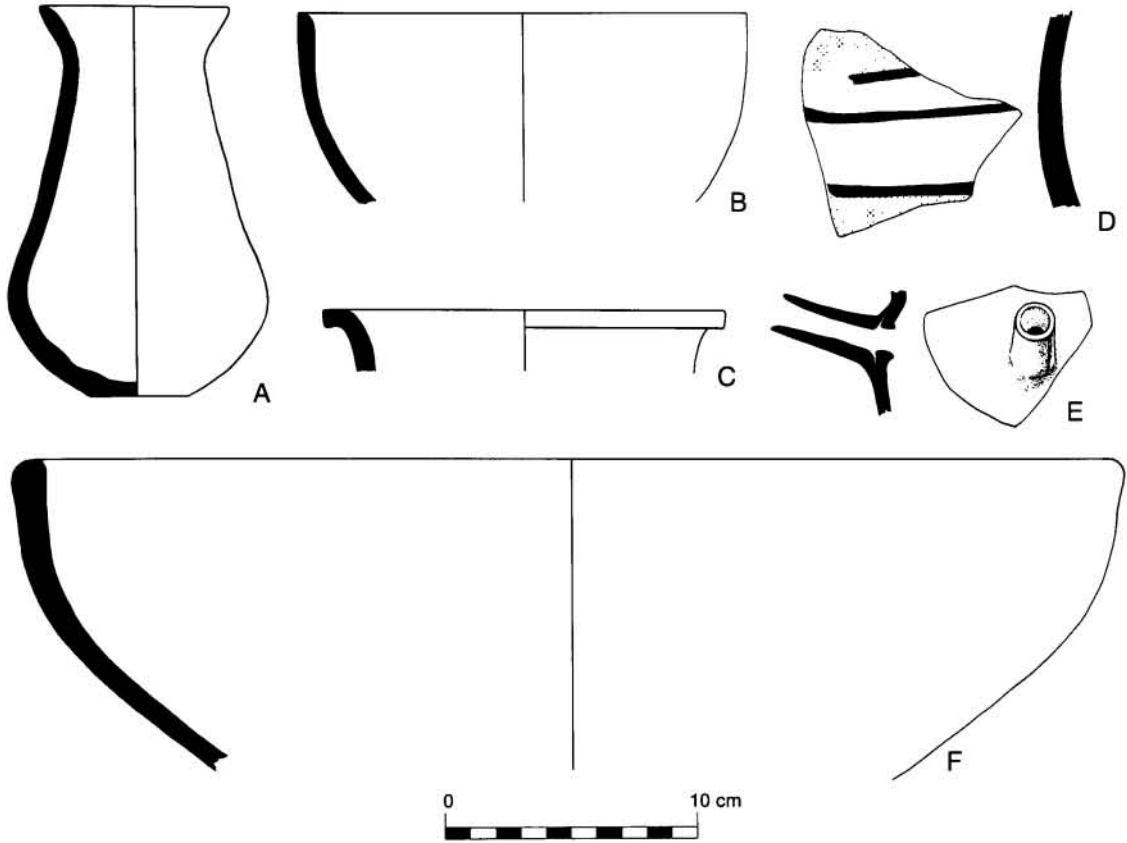
**Figure 1.31.** Two heulandite beads (SF 3812a, b; scale unit = 1 cm).



**Figure 1.32.** Cu/br pin (SF 3759; 12.2 x 1 cm).



**Figure 1.33.** Cu/br pin (unregistered) from floor A.75.T7.11.2b (7.92 x 1.86 cm).



**Figure 1.34.** Pottery from Room 1, floor A.75.11.2a. A. coarse brown with chaff and grit; B. burnished grey; C. plain buff; D. plain brown with black paint and yellow/white slip; E. dark brown slip over plain brown, medium grit; F. pinkish-buff, medium grit.

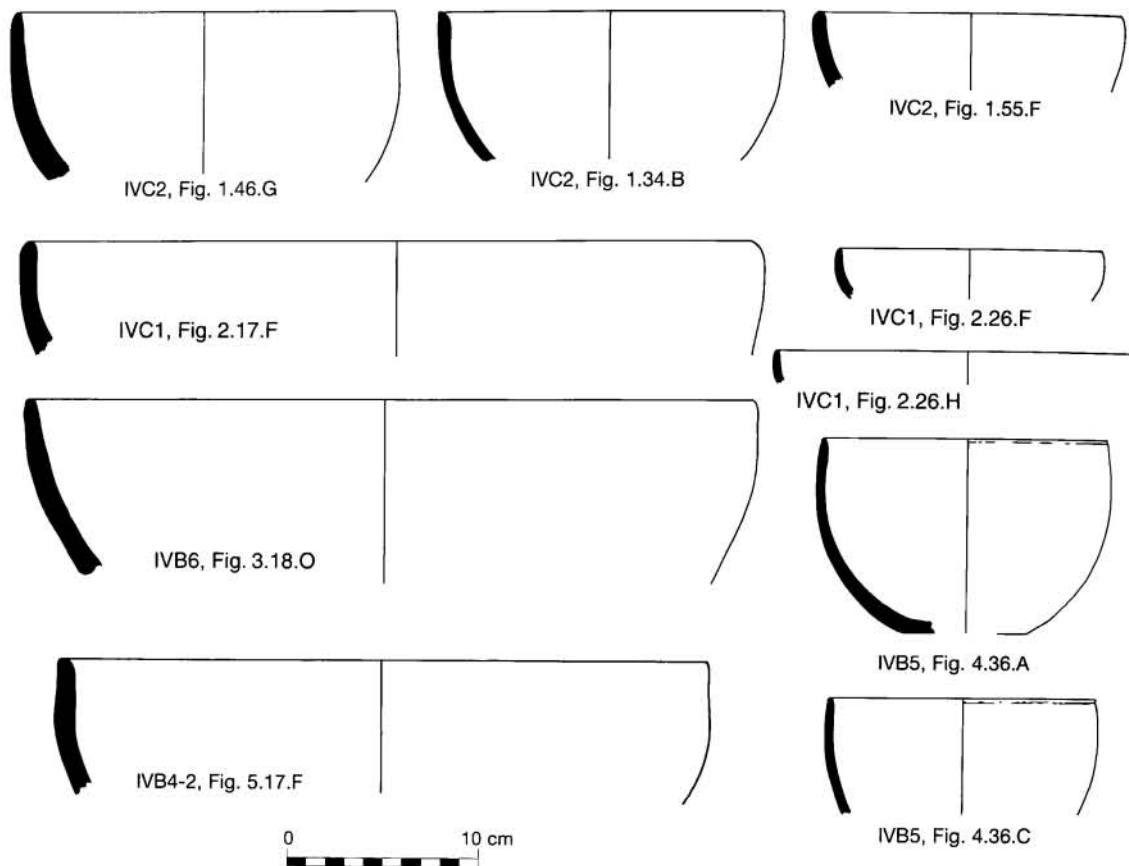
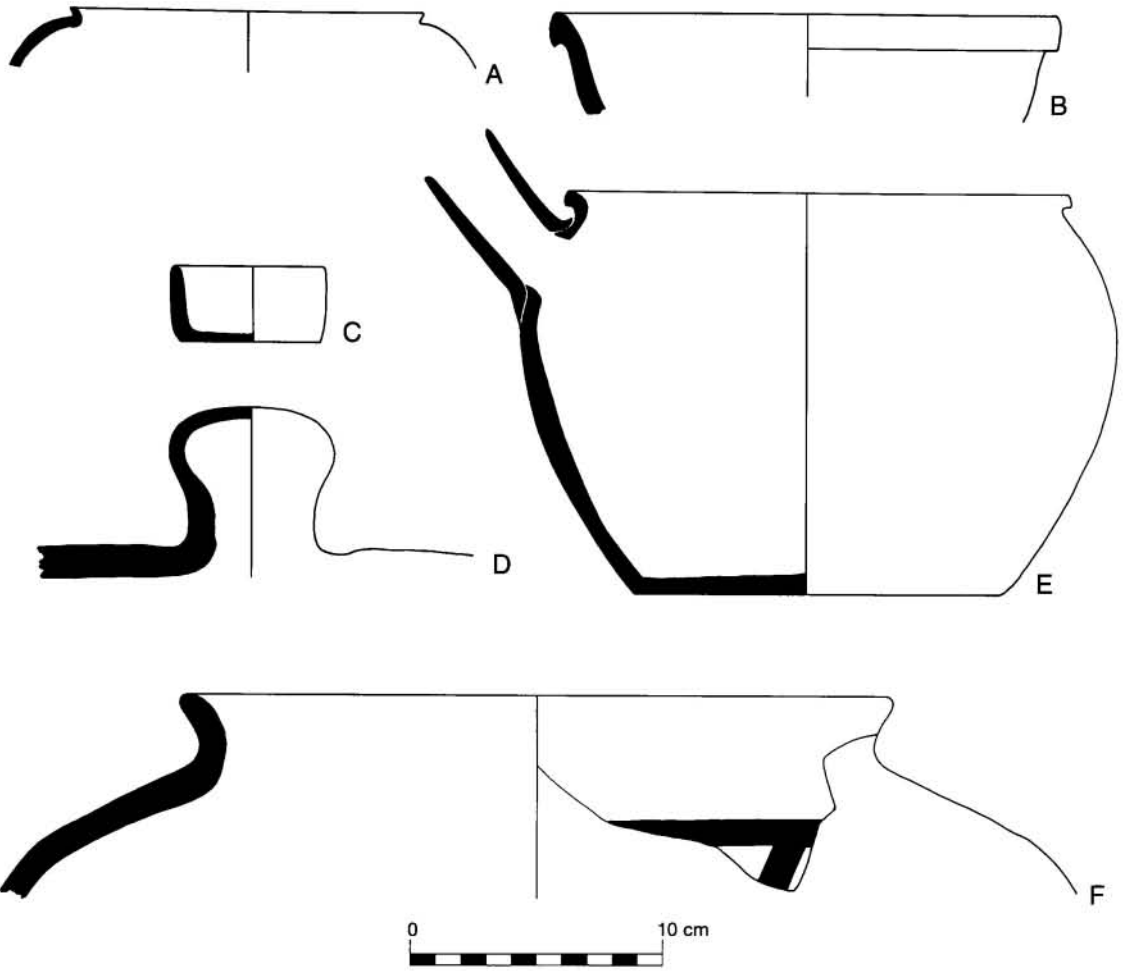
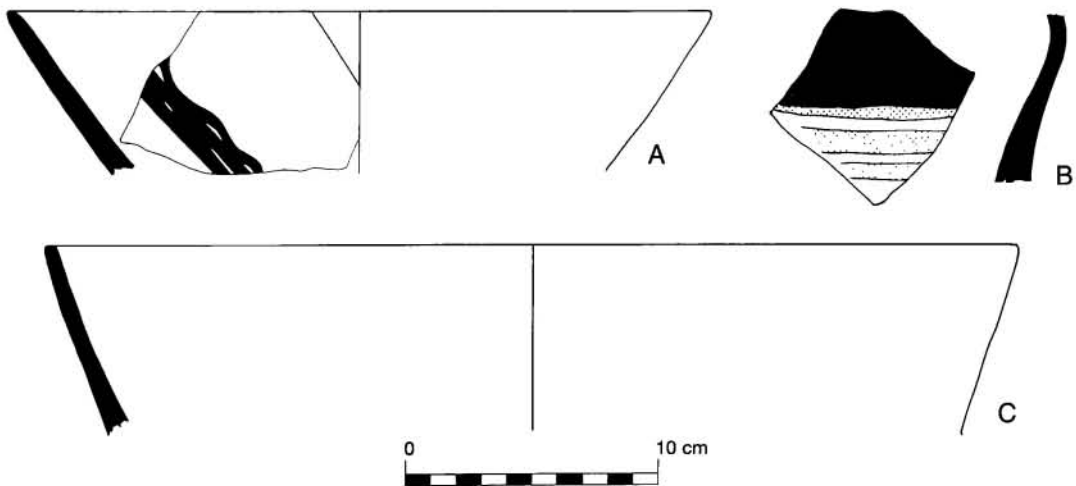


Figure 1.35. Deep bowls with incurving sides, Periods IVC-IVB.





**Figure 1.36.** Pottery from Room 1, floor A.75.11.2. A. plain pink-buff; B. fine red-brown; C. coarse orange grit; D. plain buff, coarse grit; E. orange/brown over tan-buff, fine grit; F. brown-on-buff.



**Figure 1.37.** Pottery from the hearth (BM.71.3.1) associated with the latest floor (BM.71.3.3) in Room 1. A. black-on-red-orange; B. red-slipped buff and black; C. red-slipped buff.

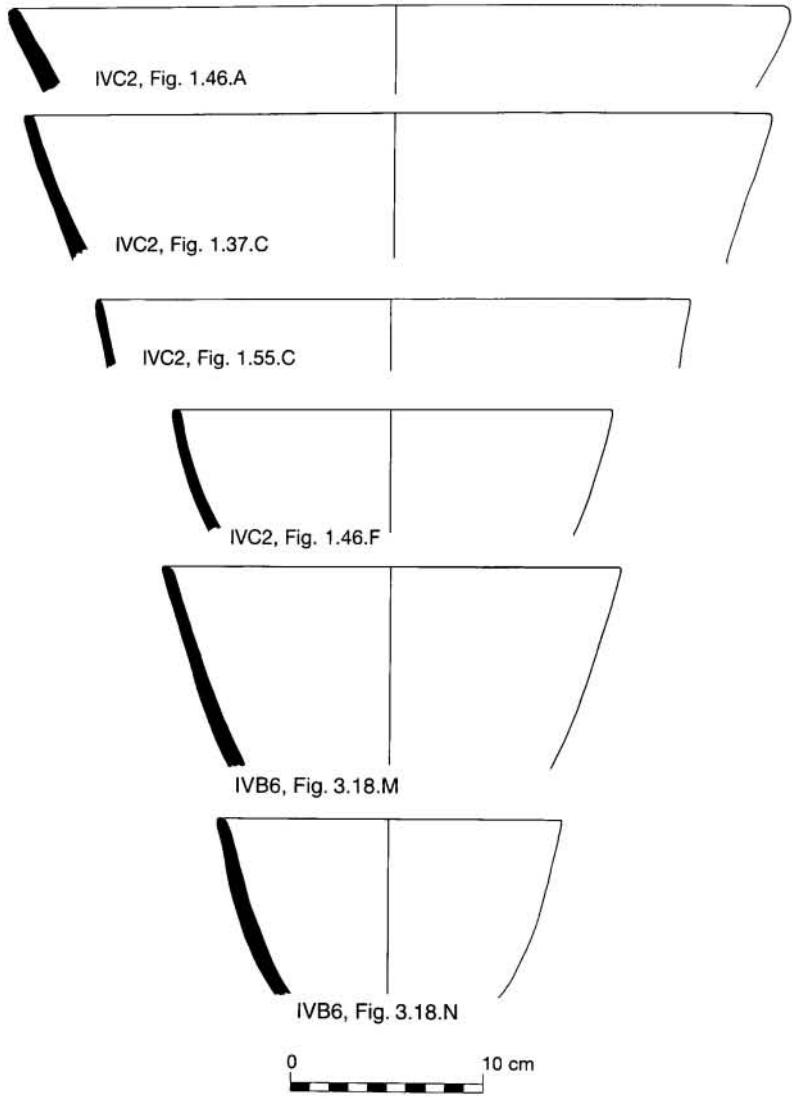


Figure 1.38. Deep, straight-sided bowls, Periods IVC–IVB.

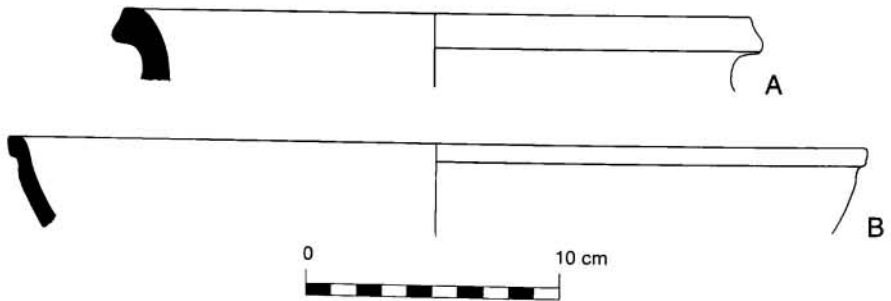
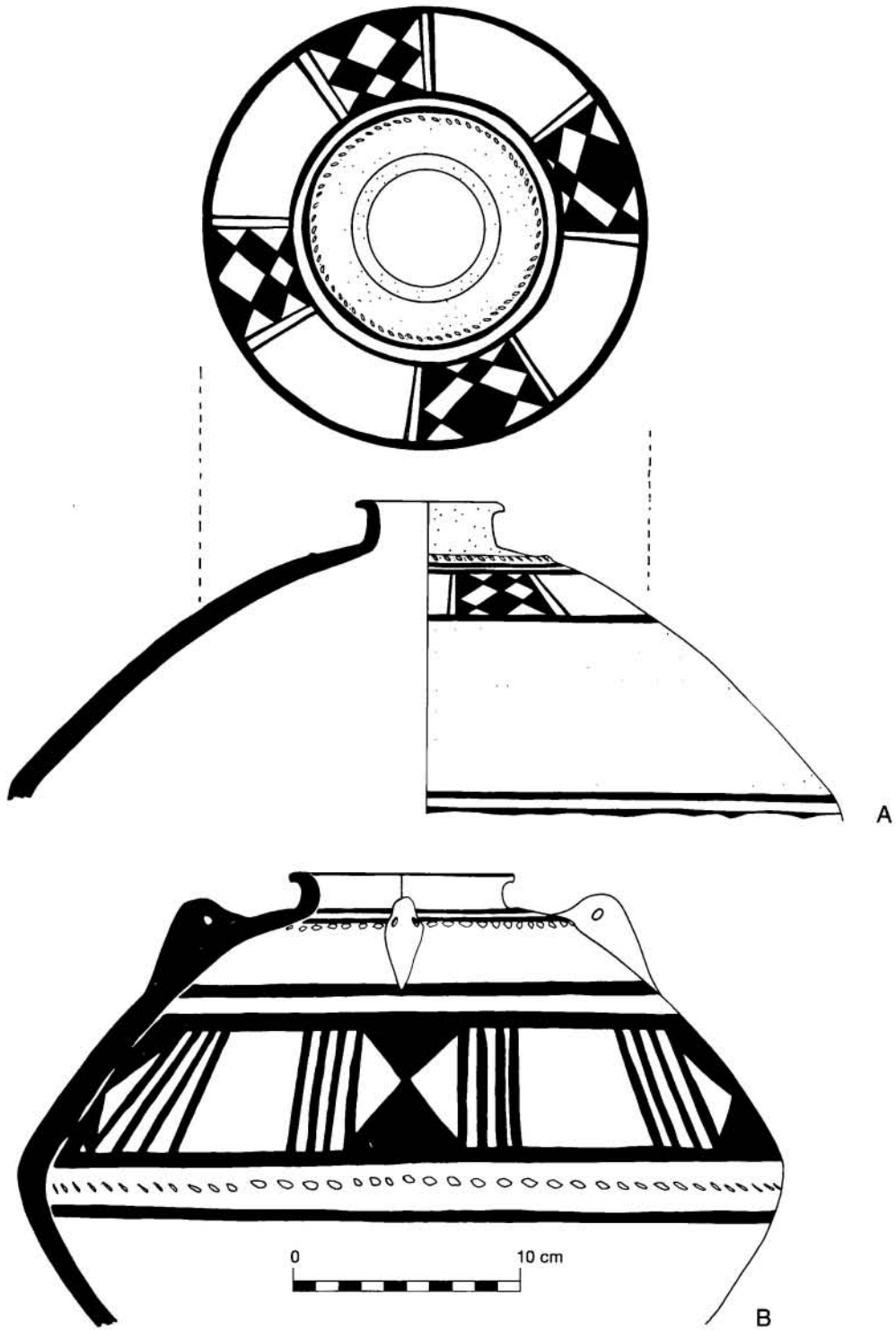


Figure 1.39. Pottery from Room 2, Phase IVC2. A. red-slipped orange (B.71.8.1); B. smooth orange-pink (B.71.9).



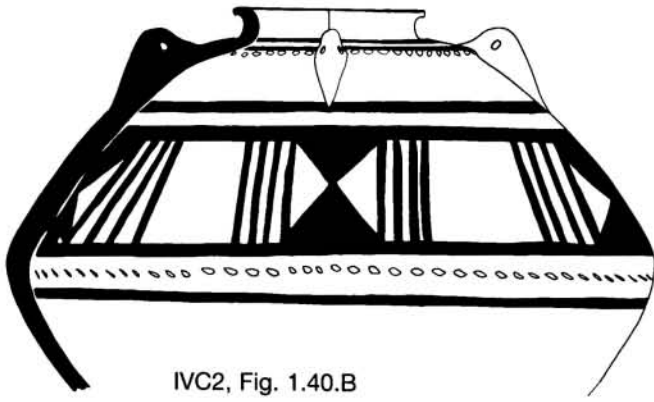
**Figure 1.40.** Jamdat Nasr-style storage jars from Room 4 (B.71.4.8), IVC2 building. A. plain buff, brown slip, white wash, black paint, medium grit; B. plum-slipped buff, black paint.



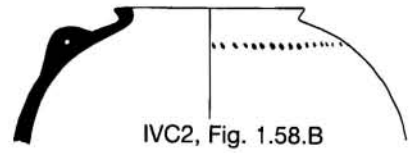
Figure 1.41. Polychrome storage jar (= fig. 1.40.A) in situ (scale = 50 cm).



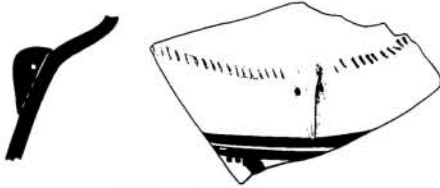
Figure 1.42. Polychrome storage jar (= fig. 1.40.B).



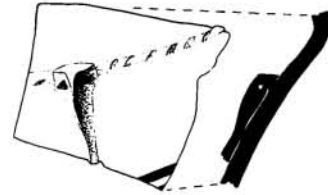
IVC2, Fig. 1.40.B



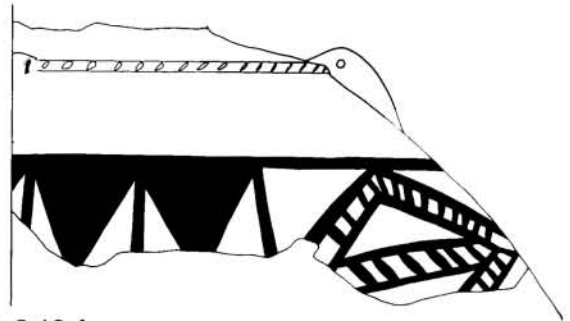
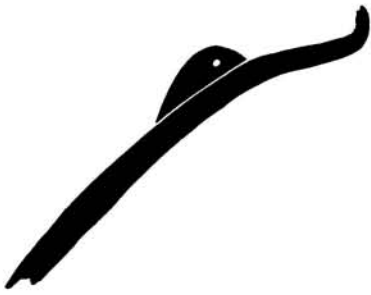
IVC2, Fig. 1.58.B



IVC1, Fig. 2.6.A



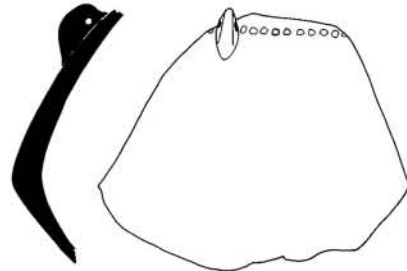
IVC1, Fig. 2.6.B



IVB6, Fig. 3.13.A



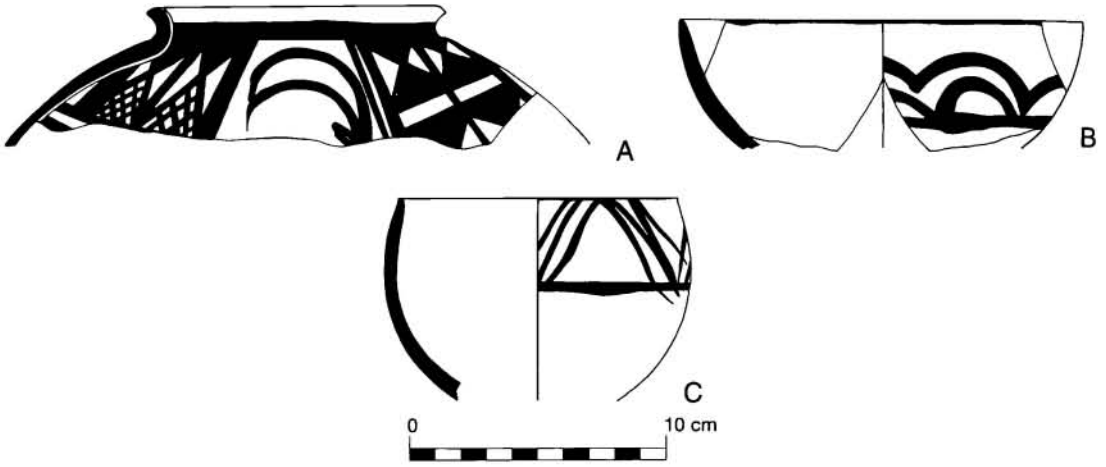
IVB6, Fig. 3.13.C



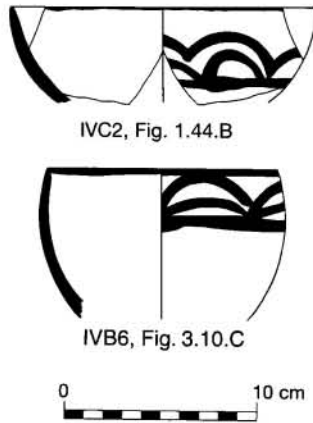
IVB6, Fig. 3.13.D



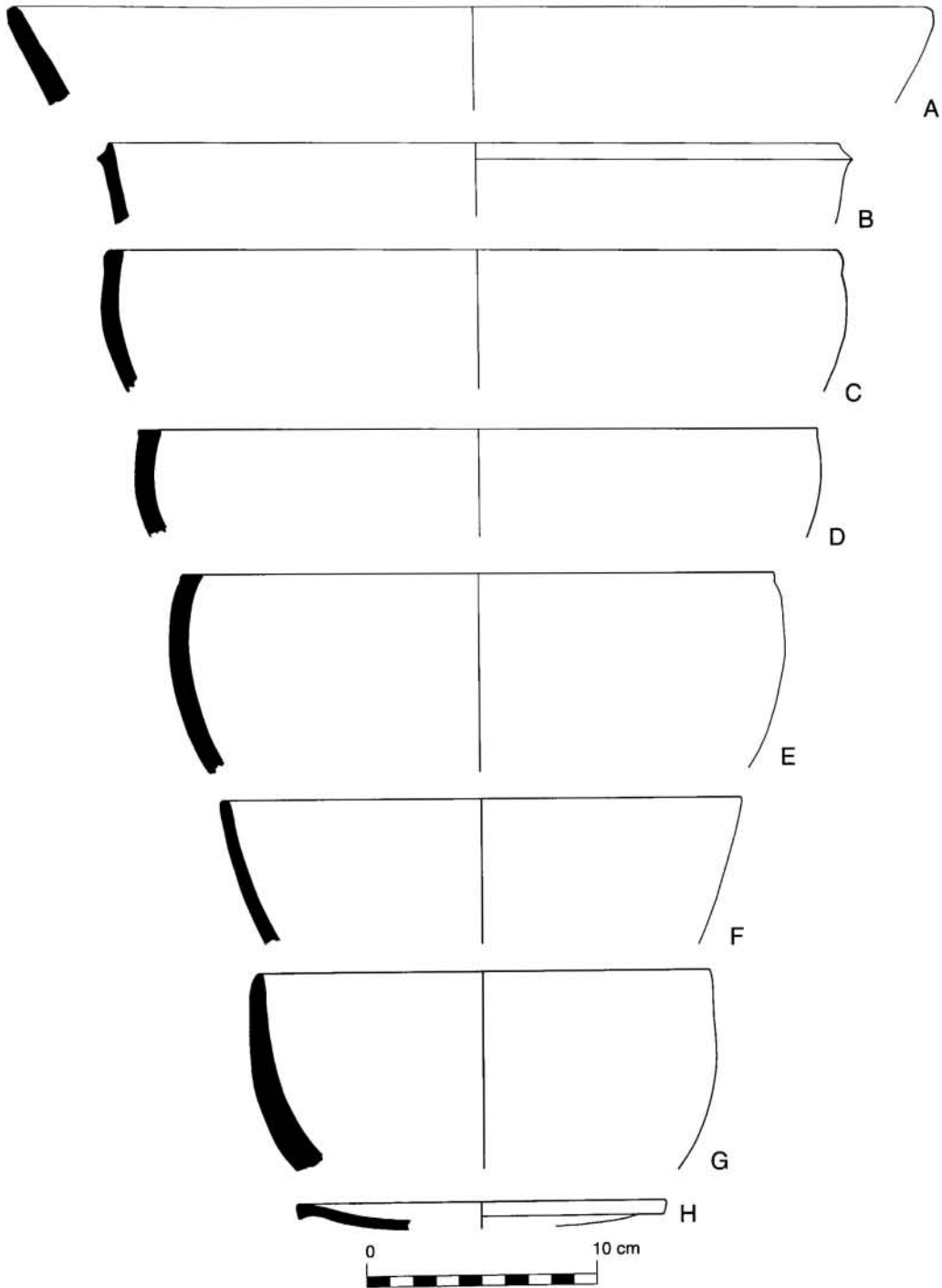
Figure 1.43. Polychrome and unpainted pottery with nose lugs, Periods IVC–IVB.



**Figure 1.44.** Painted pottery from Room 4 (B.71.4.8), Phase IVC2. A. Jamdat Nasr-related (?) polychrome; B. black-on-red/orange; C. black-on-buff.



**Figure 1.45.** Painted bowls with curvilinear decoration, Periods IVC-IVB.



**Figure 1.46.** Unpainted pottery from Room 4, Phase IVC2, open shapes. A. buff-slipped red (B.71.4.8); B. fine orange (B.73.1.6); C. coarse tan (B.71.5.1); D. burnished red (B.71.4.8); E. brown-slipped buff (B.71.5.1); F. plain buff (B.71.5.1); G. burnished buff (B.71.5.1); H. smooth red-orange (B.71.5.1).

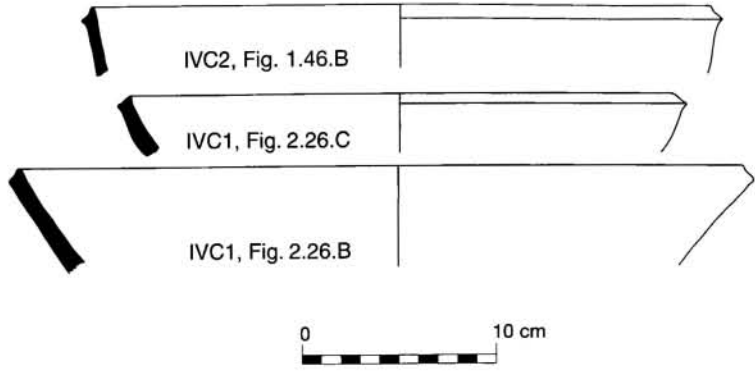


Figure 1.47. Large bowls with indented rim, Period IVC.

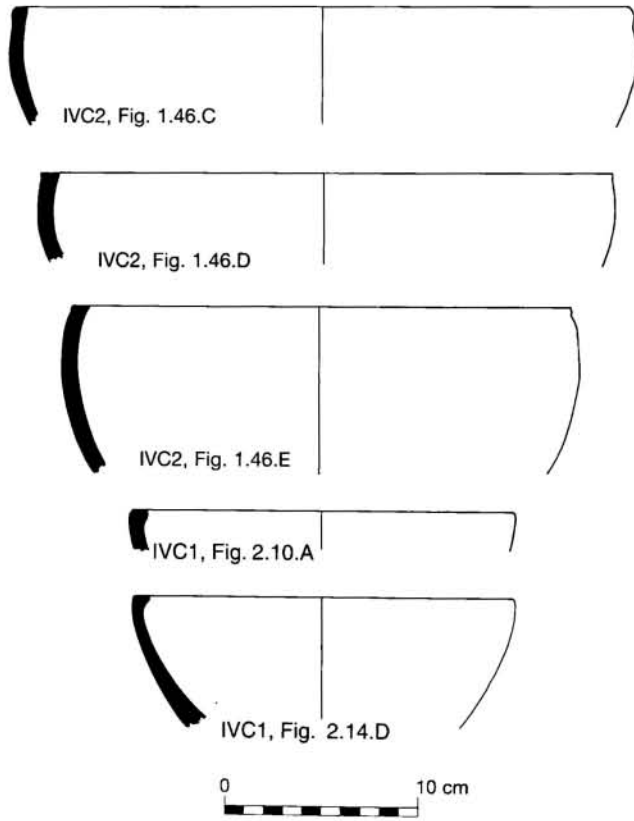
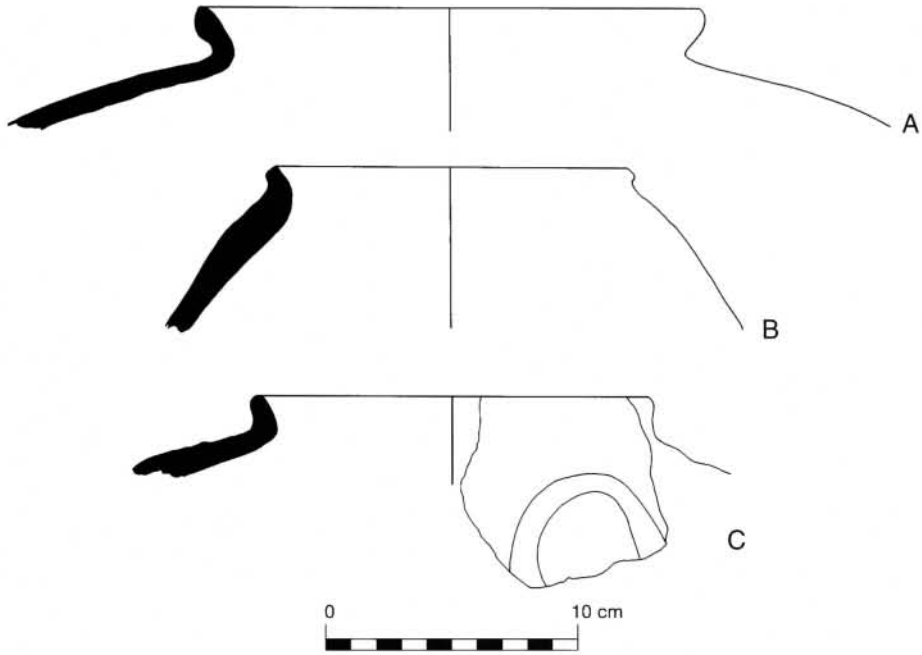
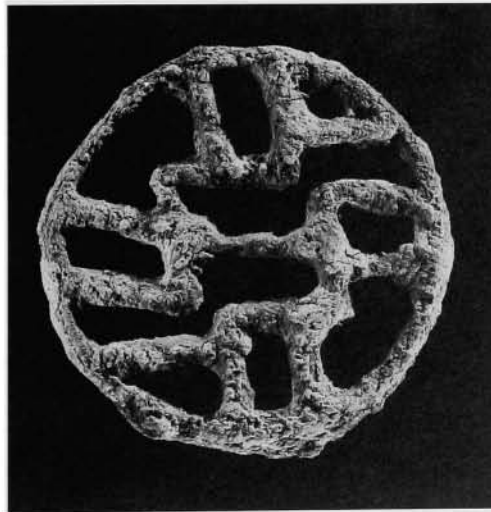


Figure 1.48. Deep bowls with rounded sides, Period IVC.





**Figure 1.49.** Unpainted pottery from Room 4, Phase IVC2, closed shapes. A. coarse tan grit (B.71.4.8); B. coarse tan grit (B.71.4.8); C. coarse tan (B.71.5.1).



**Figure 1.50.** Cu/br disk (SF 2783, 3.7 cm D x 0.3 cm).



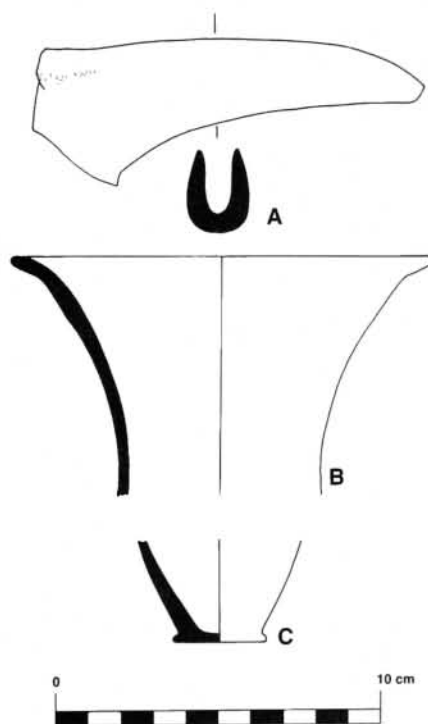
**Figure 1.51.** View of Room 5 (with scale), IVC2 building, from the west (scale = 1 m).



**Figure 1.52.** Cache of uninscribed tablets in Room 5, IVC2 building (scale = 30 cm).



**Figure 1.53.** View of Room 6 (in foreground with scale), IVC2 building, from the east (scale = 1 m).



**Figure 1.54.** Pottery from Room 6, Phase IVC2. A. white-buff wash over plain red, medium grit (BM.71.6); B. burnished grey (B.71.13); C. plain tan (B.71.13).

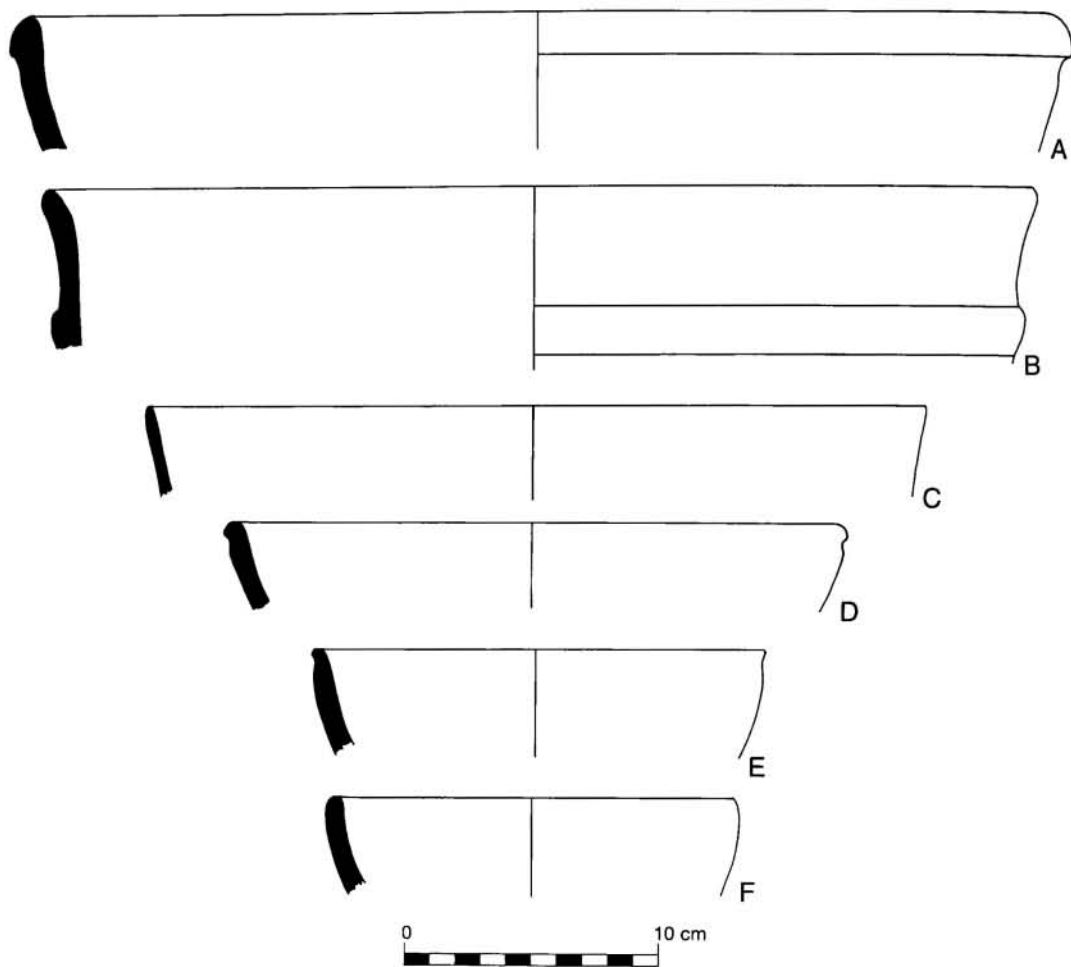
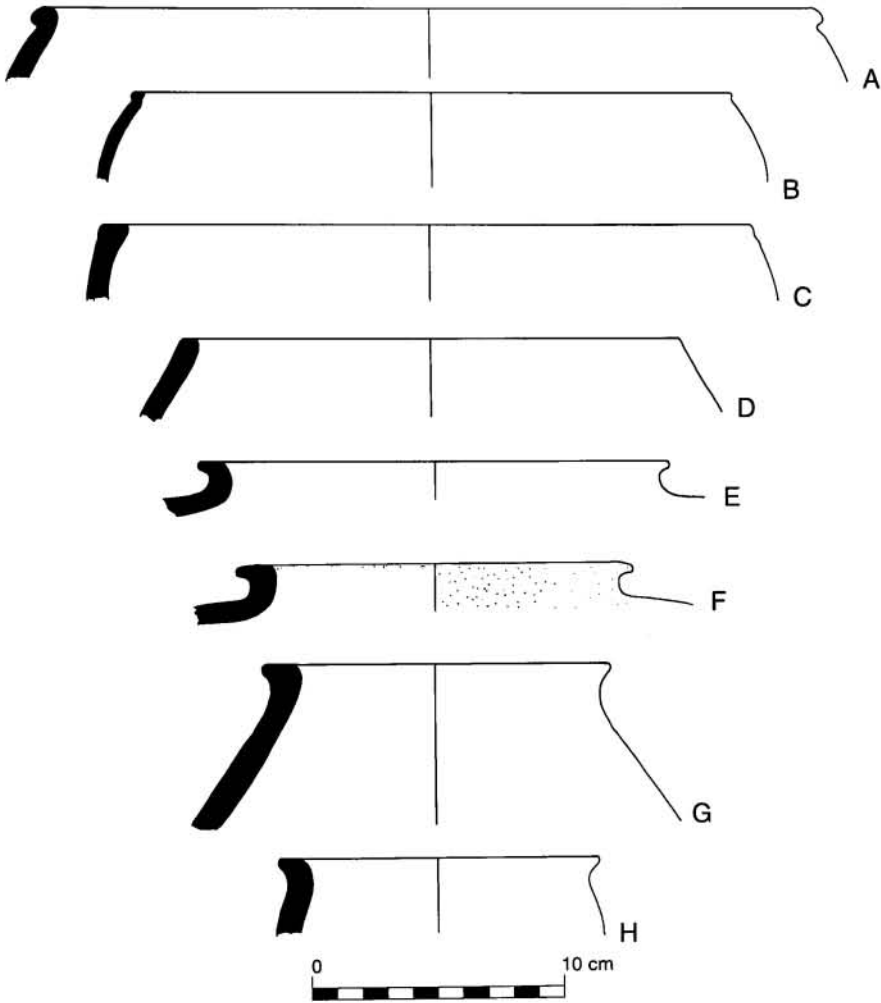


Figure 1.55. Unpainted pottery from Area G (BW.71.6), Phase IVC2, open shapes. A. brown-slipped red; B. red-slipped tan; C. plain orange-buff; D. smooth orange-pink; E. burnished grey; F. buff-slipped orange.



**Figure 1.56.** Unpainted pottery from Area G (BW.71.6), Phase IVC2, closed shapes. A. buff-slipped brown; B. buff-slipped brown; C. brown-slipped buff; D. red-slipped orange; E. brown-slipped orange; F. light brown-buff slip over plain red, light chaff and medium grit; G. coarse tan grit; H. coarse buff.

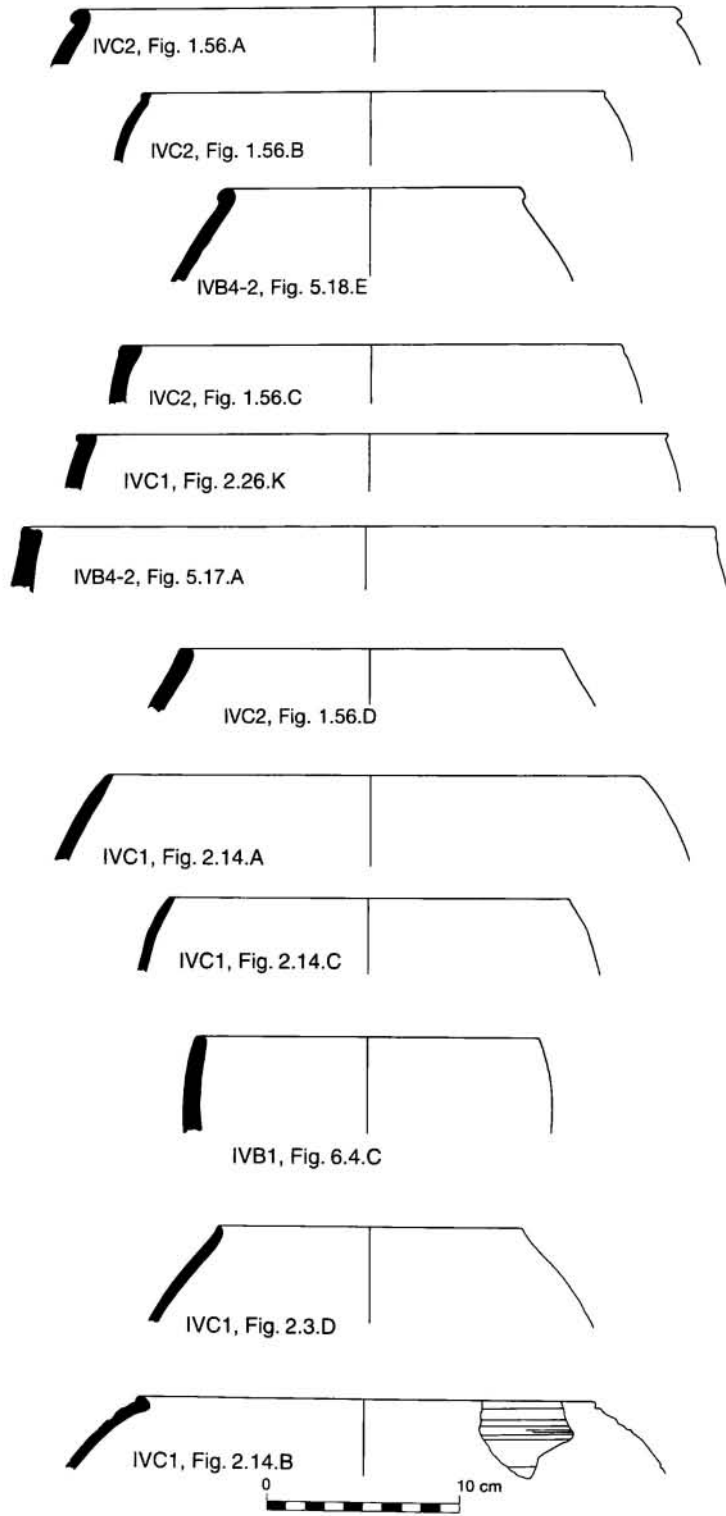
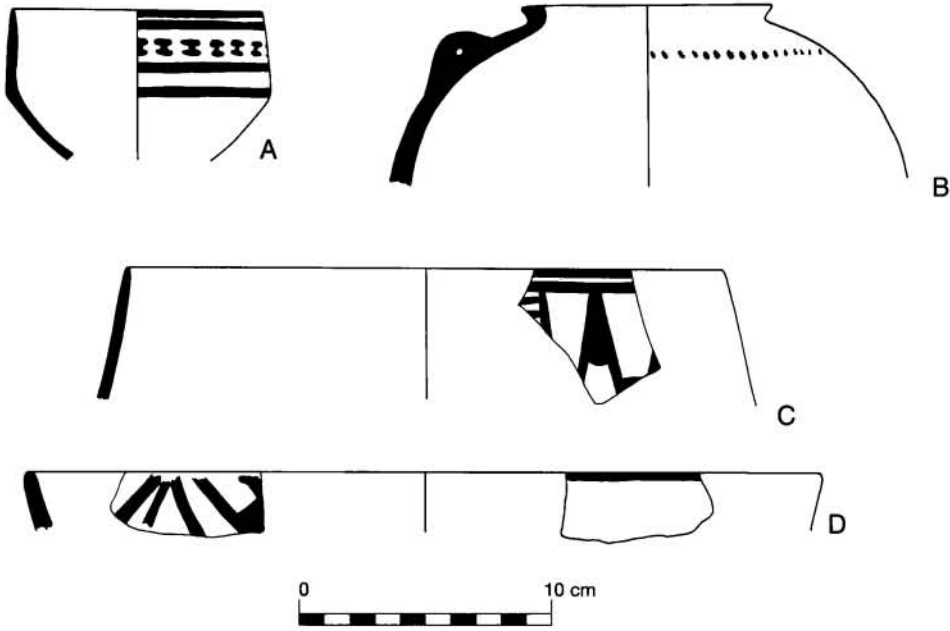
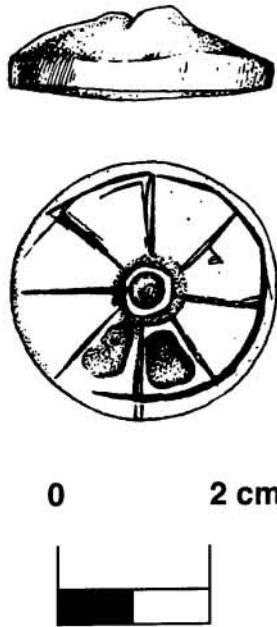


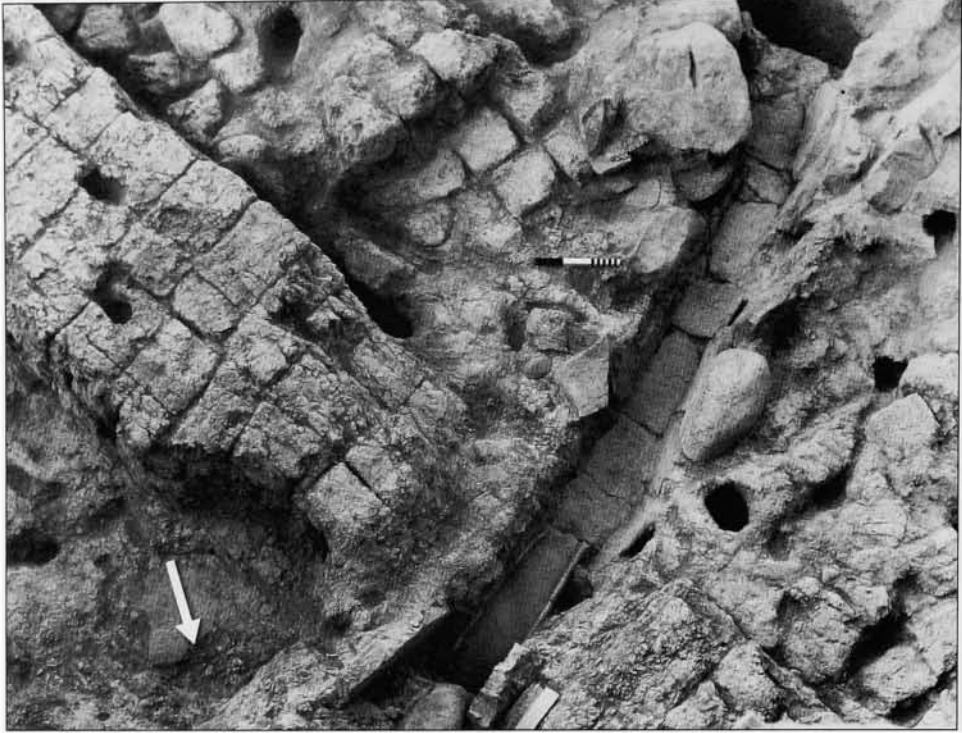
Figure 1.57. Hole-mouth jars, Period IVC.



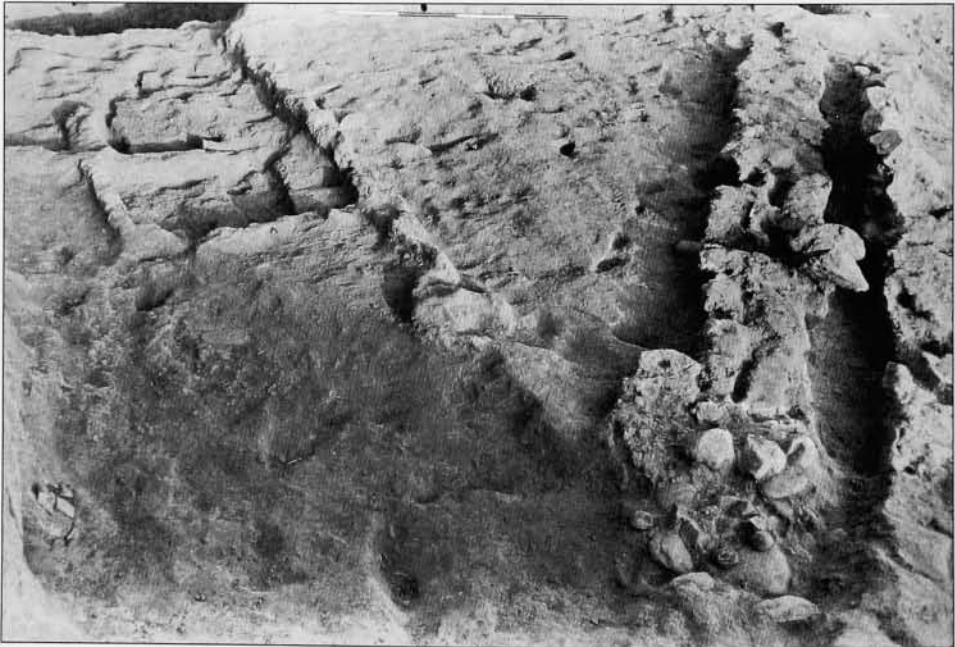
**Figure 1.58.** Decorated pottery from Area G, Phase IVC2. A. black-on-buff (BW.71.10); B. plain brown, chaff and grit (CW.71.T1.S); C. black-on-buff (BW.71.10); D. black-on-buff (BW.71.6).



**Figure 1.59.** Incised disk with wagon-wheel pattern (unregistered) from BW.71.6.



**Figure 1.60.** Close-up of the ceramic drain in Area H (Trench BW) where it cut through the west wall of Room 5 (cf. fig. 1.1) into Area G (scale = 30 cm).



**Figure 1.61.** Drain in Area H (C.68.T6.9, scale = 2 m).



# Chapter 2

## Phase IVC1

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There are three types of Phase IVC1 deposits: (a) a set of walls in Trenches BW-CW; (b) the so-called buttresses adjacent to the south and west walls of the IVC building; and (c) fill deposits within and around the IVC building that lie above the primary occupation floors to the tops of the building's walls. Each of these different components is discussed below. Following this, a brief discussion of pigments at Tepe Yahya is presented. The contexts for the excavated IVC1 deposits in and around the IVC building are listed in table 2.1.

### TRENCH BW-CW WALLS

Figure 2.1 shows a group of poorly preserved and confusing walls to the southwest of the main IVC structure, which were constructed on a floor that postdates the IVC building. The BW-CW walls were built on a clay floor (BW-CW.71.9) beneath the BW.71.T2.6 floor (see below) and above the brick platform (BW.71.10) that served as the foundation for the IVC building. The IVC "buttressing" was associated with part of this.

The composition of the BW-CW walls also suggests that they postdate the main building, for they were made of poorly shaped bricks that differed in size from those used in the IVC building. One wall (BW-CW.71.7.7; fig. 2.1) contained two redeposited artifacts of IVC2 date. Both a cylinder sealing and a copper-bronze bowl containing yellow pigment were mixed into the brick and gel of the wall. These artifacts had probably been abandoned in the area and were inadvertently scooped up and incorporated into the material used to make the BW-CW walls.

As figure 2.1 shows, the dimensions of these walls are highly irregular. A passage was cut into one wall (BW-CW.71.7.6, 7.7, 8.3), and the created passage was at some point blocked with an upright, standing stone.

Several small wall stubs (e.g., BW-CW.71.6.2, 8.2) do not articulate with anything.

### THE IVC "BUTTRESSES"

The plan of the IVC building (figs. 1.1, 1.2) shows a discontinuous area of brick along the south and west faces of Rooms 5, 6, and 7. This area represents an amalgam of soil, broken bricks, half-bricks, whole bricks, and sherds that was originally interpreted as a set of "buttresses." The fact that these buttresses never bonded to the walls of the IVC building, coupled with the haphazard manner of their composition, makes it unlikely that these are in fact the remains of functional buttresses. Moreover, part of the buttress area (BW.71.T2.5.2, 6.2) was built on a surface that postdates the construction floor of the IVC building (BW.71.T2.6), while another part appears to have been associated with BW.71.10, the brick platform on which the IVC building was constructed.

The BW-CW rooms may, however, give us some clue as to the function of the so-called buttresses. First, their association with the floor indicates that the buttresses postdate the IVC building. The makeshift nature of the buttresses suggests two possibilities: (1) they were thrown up against the face of an already dilapidated and collapsing IVC building by later inhabitants of the BW-CW area to shore up the IVC walls and prevent their collapse on their own living space; or (2) they were simply chunks of fallen wall from the IVC building that were never cleared away by the later occupants of the area to the south and southwest. Furthermore, the fact that no signs of bonding were recovered between the buttresses and the exterior face of the IVC building, combined with the chaos of whole and broken bricks, dirt, and mud plaster, used to make the buttresses, suggests that they were not part of the original construction of the IVC2 period.

**Table 2.1.** Phase IVC1 building areas and rooms and associated excavated contexts.

Phase IVC1 areas and rooms	Phase IVC1 contexts
Areas A–E	A.75.11, A.75.T7.11
Room 1a/1b	BM.71.3, BM.71.3.2
Room 2	B.71.8
Room 3	B.71.4.10, B.71.6a, B.71.T1.1, B.71.T2.1, B.71.T2.2
Room 4	B.71.3.4, B.71.4.6, B.71.4.9, B.71.4.8
Room 5	B.70.20, B.70.20a
Room 6	B.71.11, B.71.11.1, B.71.12, BM.71.4, BM.71.5
Areas F and G	BW.71.T1.2, BW.71.T1.2.1, BW.71.T1.4, BW.71.T1.5, BW.71.T2.5.2, BW.71.T2.5.3, BW.71.T2.5b, BW.71.T2.6, BW.71.T2.6.2, BW.71.T2.7, BW-CW.71.6.1, BW-CW.71.6.4, BW-CW.71.7.2, BW-CW.71.7.3, BW-CW.71.7.4, BW-CW.71.7.5, BW-CW.71.7.6, BW-CW.71.7.7, BW-CW.71.8.3, BW-CW.71.9, BW-CW.71.9.1, BW-CW.71.9.2, BW-CW.71.9.3, BW-CW.71.11.4, BW-CW.71.11.5, BW-CW.71.T3.1, BW-CW.71.T3.2, B-C Balk 71.17, B-C Balk 71.18, B-C Balk 71.21, B-C Balk 71.22, B-C Balk 71.22.1, B-C Balk 71.23, B-C Balk 71.25, B-C Balk 71.25.1, B-C Balk 71.25.2, B-C Balk 71.25.3, B-C Balk 71.28, B-C Balk 71.28.1, BW.71.T2.6b

### REMAINS IN AN.73

Walls recovered in the Trench AN2 sounding (AN2.73.12; see fig. F.11, p. xxxix for the location of Trench AN2) may be contemporary with one of the IVC occupations (fig. 2.2). The walls cannot be related stratigraphically to the remains found in Trenches A, B, BW, or C (discussed above in this section), but the recovered ceramics and the approximate elevation of the strata suggest their contemporaneity.

### IVC BUILDING FILL

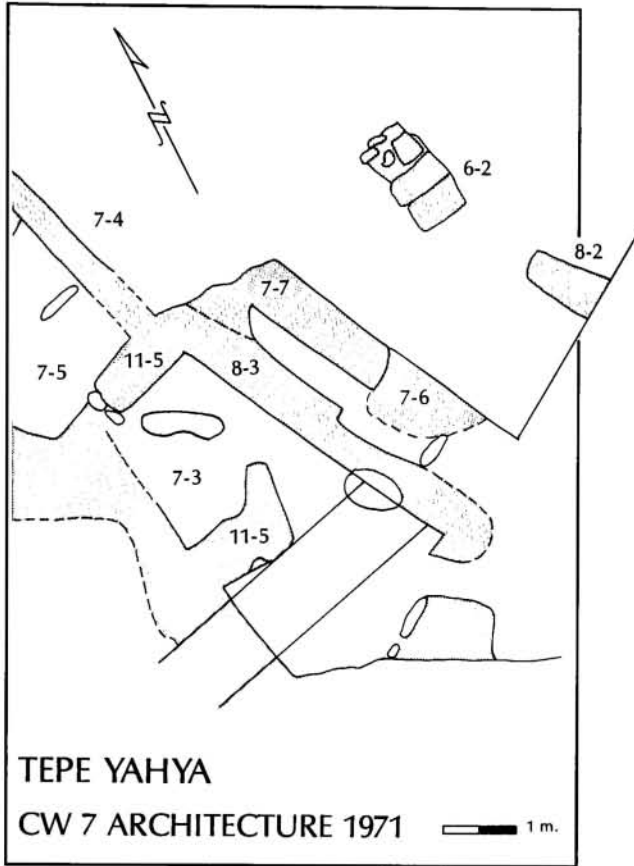
The third type of Phase IVC1 deposit is the secondary fill within the IVC building. The building itself constitutes a stratigraphic unit that was sealed both below and above. Below it, as described in chapter 1, was the brick platform on which the structure was built. Above the building was a floor that is assigned to the earliest phase of IVB (see chap. 3). Within the building lay a deposit, some of which was either non-uniform or secondary. It is the secondary deposits that are of interest here. The primary IVC2 deposit, as defined here, consists of the occupation floors within and outside the building and all artifacts found upon them. These floors are distinguished from secondary deposits of fill that could have accrued any time between the abandonment of the building and the sealing of it by the IVB floor that ran over the building's eroded walls. The soft texture of the sec-

ondary deposits suggests they may have been aeolian. Much of it probably did arrive by human agency, however, as there is an unusually high artifact content (principally pottery and faunal remains) in the deposits within the confines of the IVC building.

Excavators noted in the field that the very eroded nature of the tops and sides of the IVC walls suggests that the IVC building was not sealed by another building or floor level immediately after its abandonment, but rather that a period of exposure and consequent weathering ensued. The infilling of the IVC building took place over time, eventually reaching the level of the tops of the dilapidated walls of the IVC building (about 1–0.5 m); the inhabitants of the rooms in the adjacent BW-CW area (fig. 2.1) used the IVC building as a dump. This accounts for the presence of later, intrusive finds in the building (see below), necessitating the attribution of the contents of the IVC building to a primary (IVC2) and a secondary (IVC1) period of use. These secondary deposits are discussed below. The locations and configurations of the areas and rooms are shown in figures 1.1 and 1.2. The contexts are listed in table 2.1.

### SECONDARY DEPOSITS OUTSIDE THE IVC BUILDING: AREAS A–E

A selection of pottery from IVC1 contexts in Areas A–E (table 2.1) is shown in figures 2.3, 2.4, and 2.6. The finely turned, folded rim of figure 2.3.A is closely paral-



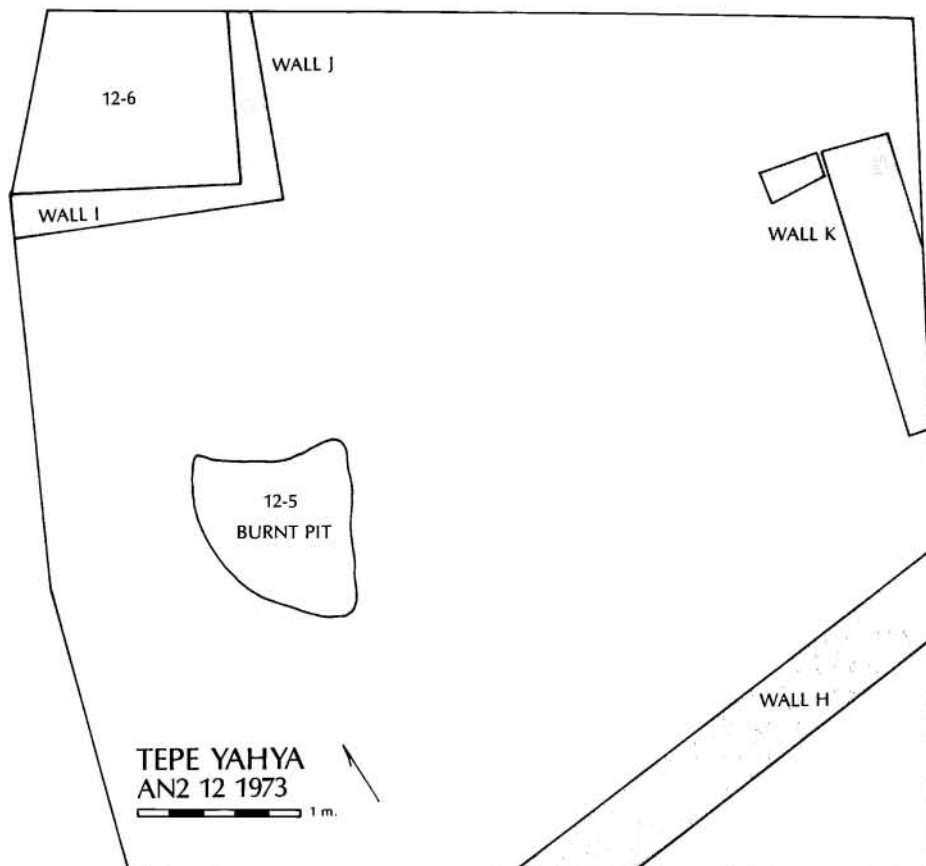
**Figure 2.1.** Plan of poorly-preserved, irregular mudbrick walling in Trench BW-CW, excavated in 1971, to the south of the IVC2 building. The numbers label the strata and features in Trench BW-CW.

leled at Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 18k), as is the ledge rim of figure 2.3.B (Nicholas 1990:pl. 19e), while the carinated bowl (fig. 2.4.D–F) resembles those examples from Susa and Tal-i Malyan cited earlier (cf. fig. 1.14). Club-rim bowls are present (fig. 2.4.G) while the carinated bowl (fig. 2.4.B) may be an example of a Central Asian type, a complete example of which was discovered in a IVB5 context (see discussion below and fig. 2.5).

Figures 2.6.A and B are clearly fragments of nose-lugged, Jamdat Nasr-style storage jars, of the sort found in Room 4 and, no doubt out of context, in Phase IVB6 (fig. 1.43). The decoration on figure 2.6.C, described as brown-on-red, resembles both black-on-buff and black-on-red sherds from Period VA (Beale 1986:figs. 4.20u, 4.24q, 4.33b), although the distinctive rim of our piece is unlike that of the plain bowls of earlier date. The black-on-orange sherd (fig. 2.6.D) is almost certainly intrusive from Period IVB4–1 and finds parallels, gener-

ally speaking, in a group of similarly decorated sherds from the poorly stratified area BW.69.T5.5 (cf. chap. 7 and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:fig. 24A, B, G). Different types of crosses are occasionally encountered on pottery from Periods I–IV at Bampur (e.g., de Cardi 1970:figs. 16.16 [= 29.316], 22.166), Chah Hussaini (Stein 1937:pl. XIX. Hus.461), and Shahr-i Sokhta (Biscione and Bulgarelli 1983:231), but none of these resemble the black cross composed of adjacent wedges on the black-on-orange body sherd shown in figure 2.6.E.

The small finds recorded in this area include two clay slingballs (SF 3791, 3 cm in diameter; SF 3798, 4.3 x 2.7 cm), the rim of a white stone, hole-mouth jar (fig. 2.7, A.75.11, unregistered), two bowl fragments of undetermined stone (SF 3712, 10 x 3.8 x .8 cm; SF 3718, 9.2 x 4.1 x 2.1 cm), a chlorite bowl fragment (SF 3673, 7 x 2.7 x 1 cm), and a copper/bronze pin with a pin-wheel-like head (SF 3765, fig. 2.8, 5.3 x 3.2 x .7 cm).



**Figure 2.2.** Schematic plan of mudbrick walls and pit recovered in AN2.73.12. The numerical labels are stratum and feature contexts.

## SECONDARY DEPOSITS WITHIN THE IVC BUILDING: ROOM 1A/1B

Room 1 is poorly represented in the body of drawn pottery from Tepe Yahya. Figure 2.9 is a black-on-orange sherd showing a pair of hourglasses on their sides. Superficially, this piece resembles a sherd found by Stein at Chah Hussein (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Schmandt-Besserat 1977:fig. 8.9), but the Tepe Yahya sherd is painted on the interior (shown in Potts 1975:pl. 34.C.4) whereas the fragment from Chah Hussein was painted on the exterior.

Small finds from Room 1a/1b include a fragment of a white stone bowl (SF 2412, 1.8 x 4.5 x 5 cm), an ivory bead (SF 1697, .7 x .2 cm), and an axe or macehead of stone (SF 2411, 5.5 x 2.5 x 3.5 cm).

## ROOM 2

No pottery from Room 2 was drawn. The only small find recorded here was a small lump of lead (SF 2881, 1.6 x 1.1 cm).

## ROOM 3

The carinated bowl type represented here in figure 2.10.C belongs to a large family of small, carinated bowls and beakers that are typical of Period IVB (fig. 2.11). Figure 2.12.A–E are almost certainly all intrusive pieces from Period VB–VA. The shape and hatched triangles of figure 2.12.A are clearly in the general style of Baluchistan, but the three registers of triangles are unusual. Two registers are known at Tepe Nurabad just west of the Jiroft (Stein 1937:pl. XXV. Nur. 38) and on sites in Sistan (Fairservis 1961:109, design 62). A frieze of stacked diamonds (fig. 2.12.B) can be found on black-on-red sherds from Period VA (e.g., Beale 1986:fig. 4.30o, p) and on Aliabad Painted ware from Tal-i Iblis (Chase, Caldwell, and Fehérvári 1967:143). The running frieze of horizontal, isosceles triangles on figure 2.12.C is reminiscent of a similar decoration that uses solid, instead of open, triangles on a bowl fragment found at Tepe Sultan Miri north of Minab (Stein 1937:pl. 25.S.Miri 34). The motif on the exterior of figure 2.12.E is very reminiscent of designs found on the interior of Period VB–VA2 black-on-buff bowls (e.g., Beale 1986:fig. 4.24b).

Chlorite finds from Room 3 included two bowl fragments (SF 536, 6 x 4 x 1.5 cm; SF 537, 2.5 x 2 x .2 cm). The other small finds recorded from Room 3 are a clay spindle whorl (SF 1152, 2.2 cm in diameter), a bowl fragment of undetermined stone (SF z-723, dimensions unavailable), a stone hoe (?) (SF z-538, fig. 2.13, 17.7 x 8.4 cm), and an undoubtedly intrusive fragment of iron (SF 3219, 3.5 x 3.2 x 1 cm).

## ROOM 4

Hole-mouth jars, such as those in figures 2.14.A and C, appear to be typical of Period IVC, where they are found in both IVC2 and IVC1 contexts (fig. 1.57). The incised hole-mouth rim (fig. 2.14.B) is unique, as is the rim of a bowl with incurving rim (fig. 2.14.D). The black-on-buff sherds (fig. 2.15.A, D) are almost certainly intrusive from Period V, although I can find no exact parallels to them. The black-on-orange bowl rim (fig. 2.15.B) is probably intrusive from Period IVB, as is the black-on-grey canister neck and shoulder fragment (fig. 2.15.C). The canister shape is characteristic of the late third millennium at Shahr-i Sokhta (Period IV), Bampur (Period VI), Hili (the great tomb), and the late-third-millennium tomb of Umm an-Nar-type at Tell Abraq (cf. the discussion in Wright 1984:145 and below, chap. 8).

Small finds from Room 4 include a shell pendant (SF 1761, 1.5 x 1.2 cm) and a complete white stone vessel (fig. 2.16, unregistered).

## ROOM 5

The undecorated wares recovered in Phase IVC1 contexts from Room 5 include at least one example of a large storage jar with raised, meandering snake ridges (fig. 2.17.A) that can be compared with numerous examples from later Period IVB contexts (fig. 2.18) and with finds of mid- to late-third-millennium date in the Gulf region at sites such as Umm an-Nar, Ghanadha, Shimal, Amlah, Bidya, Bat, Qalat al-Bahrain, Damin, and Kulli (Potts 1990a:figs. 24, 28.1-4; Frifelt 1995:161-162 with refs.). Figure 2.17.E belongs to that category of carinated bowl with off-set lips discussed above (cf. fig. 1.14), which finds parallels at Tal-i Malyan during the Banesh period (Nicholas 1990:pl. 21f), as do the simple, rounded rims such as figure 2.17.F (cf. Nicholas 1990:pl. 20c, f, k). The plain wares from Room 5 also include two diagnostic intrusive types, the beveled-rim bowl (fig. 2.19.A, B) and the low-sided tray (fig. 2.19.E). Beveled-rim bowls, although undoubtedly associated with the original use of the IVC building, were actually found in the fill, not on the floor, of the struc-

ture (fig. 2.20). A squat bowl or cup with slightly flaring sides (fig. 2.19.D) finds a close parallel in later Period IVB levels, although the IVB examples have markedly larger rim and base diameters (fig. 2.21). The deep bowl with straight, steeply incurving sides (fig. 2.19.C) is almost identical to an example from a Phase IVB2 context in Area B and seems to be a IVC2 type (fig. 1.15).

Turning to the painted wares (fig. 2.22), the snake spiral on figure 2.22.A appears unparalleled in the region. Figure 2.22.B is either an intrusive VB-VA2 black-on-buff bowl or beaker fragment (cf. Beale 1986:fig. 4.24), or perhaps an intrusion from Period VC (cf. Beale 1986:fig. 4.21.d). Figure 2.22.C and E can be compared with a painted sherd found by Stein at Tepe Daruyi, very close to Tepe Nurabad (Stein 1937:pl. XXV. Dar.3). Figure 2.22.F may be compared with painted sherds from Tal-i Iblis IV (e.g., Sarraf 1981:Taf. 22.1.321) and is probably an intrusive black-on-orange piece from the later IVB occupation (cf. fig. 1.11). The black-on-grey beakers (fig. 2.22.G, H) come without doubt out of the same tradition as the black-on-grey beakers found at Miri Qalat in a Period IIIB (level II) tomb (Besenval 1997a:fig. 16, upper left).

Small finds included two slingballs (SF z-262 and SF z-263, no dimensions), a disk of clay (SF 1141, 1.6 cm in diameter), a white stone vessel fragment (SF 2256, 7.1 x 6.3 x 1.1 cm), a vessel fragment of undetermined stone (SF 2257, 7.1 x 3.6 x 1 cm), a pierced stone disk (SF z-348, 2.3 x 1.6 cm), a white stone pendant (SF 2258, 2.3 x 2 x 1.5 cm), two copper/bronze pins (SF 2723, 5.1 x .2-4 cm; SF z-295, 3.9 cm), and an obsidian flake (SF 3327, 1 x .7 x .3 cm). The pin (SF 2723) was analyzed by Dennis Heskell and consists of 99.3% pure copper with .3% silver and .4% nickel (Heskell 1981:83, fig. 12a).

Chlorite finds included a disk (SF 312, 8.5 x 10 x 2.5 cm), a shallow, oval bowl (SF 313, 9.2 x 5.2 x .7 cm), and an unidentified fragment (SF 311, 9 x 5 x 1.3 cm).

## ROOM 6

Figure 2.23.A is yet another example of that class of carinated bowls and beakers discussed above. The black-on-grey bowl (fig. 2.23.C) almost certainly originated somewhere in the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Although I can find no exact parallels among the greyware sherds from Period II at Bampur illustrated by de Cardi, it seems generally comparable (de Cardi 1970:fig. 21), while a black-on-grey bowl rim from Bampur Period III (de Cardi 1970:fig. 22.141) shows a similar use of hatching beneath a black band, as does a black-on-grey rim from the surface of Takkul (Stein 1937:pl. XX. tak.A.8). The exact same cross-hatched triangles in black-on-grey ware

can also be found stacked in registers on jars from the Level II (Period IIIB) tomb at Miri Qalat, attributed to the first half of the third millennium (Besenval 1997a:fig. 16, upper, middle, and lower right). Figure 2.23.D is most probably a black-on-buff intrusion from Period V.

Small finds from the fill of Room 6 included a clay comb handle (SF e1243, 4.7 x 5.5 x 2.4 cm), a bone pendant (SF 1698, 2.2 x 1.3 x .45 cm), a shell bead (SF z-414, 3.5 x 1.9 cm), a white stone bowl fragment (SF 2400, fig. 2.24, 9.5 x 1 cm), a vessel fragment of undetermined stone (SF Z-567a, 3.6 x 3.6 x .8 cm), and two copper/bronze pins (SF 2719, 8.5 cm; SF 2786, 8.5 x .3 cm).

## AREAS F AND G

This section examines the painted ware from Areas F and G first (fig. 2.25). Figures 2.25.A–E and K are intrusive black-on-buff and black-on-grey sherds from Period V. Figure 2.25.F seems similar to a class of painted pottery known in the Banesh period at Tal-i Malyan (cf. Nicholas 1990:pl. 19g) and is perhaps related to a type of banded ware also found in contemporary levels at Susa (Steve and Gasche 1971:pl. 25.33, 34; LeBrun 1971:fig. 63.1 [Acropole level 15]) and Tepe Farukhabad (Wright 1981:fig. 56k). The decoration on figure 2.25.H bears a superficial similarity to a large class of Umm an-Nar period domestic ware (Potts 1992:69 and fig. 1.7–8; cf. Cleuziou, Pottier, and Salles 1978:fig. 23.7), but the ware is most definitely not Omani. Figure 2.25.I is almost certainly an intrusive example of late-third-millennium, fine black-on-orange ware, well-known in Umm an-Nar period contexts in the Oman peninsula (cf. Potts 1990a:figs. 13, 55.6, 8, 12; Potts 1989:fig. 19). Figure 2.25.J is certainly an import from eastern Baluchistan. Parallels for this sort of decoration can be found in the material from Amri (Casal 1964:fig. 65.226) and Togau (de Cardi 1965:pl. VII.2), but the distinctive, carinated shape as well as the decoration, suggest that this is a fragment of a Nal-type carinated bichrome beaker (for another example from Tepe Yahya, see Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 34, left). The date of the Nal complex is currently thought to be about 3000–2500 B.C. (Shaffer 1992:456). The black-on-grey bowl with geometric and vertical wavy line decoration (fig. 2.25.K) is very reminiscent of black-on-grey bowls from Period II at Miri Qalat, attributed to the early fourth millennium (Besenval 1997a:figs. 4, lower right; 5, upper left). Whether the bowl with incised lines beneath the rim (fig. 2.25.L) is intrusive is difficult to say, but it is certainly likely given the frequency of incised material in the later periods at Tepe Yahya.

Several of the undecorated wares from Areas F and G are, by now, familiar Period IVC types, such as the club-rim bowl (fig. 2.26.A), the bowl with indented, beveled-rim (fig. 2.26.B, C), the bowl with offset lip (fig. 2.26.F), and the beveled-rim bowl (fig. 2.27.E). Whether figure 2.27.A is the base of a wide-bodied conical cup, similar to those from the region of Ur (Wright 1969:fig. 22), or a pedestal-based goblet such as those known from Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 13v-bb) and Susa (Acropole levels 16-15; e.g., LeBrun 1971:fig. 60.1-4, 1978:fig. 34.3), is difficult to tell.

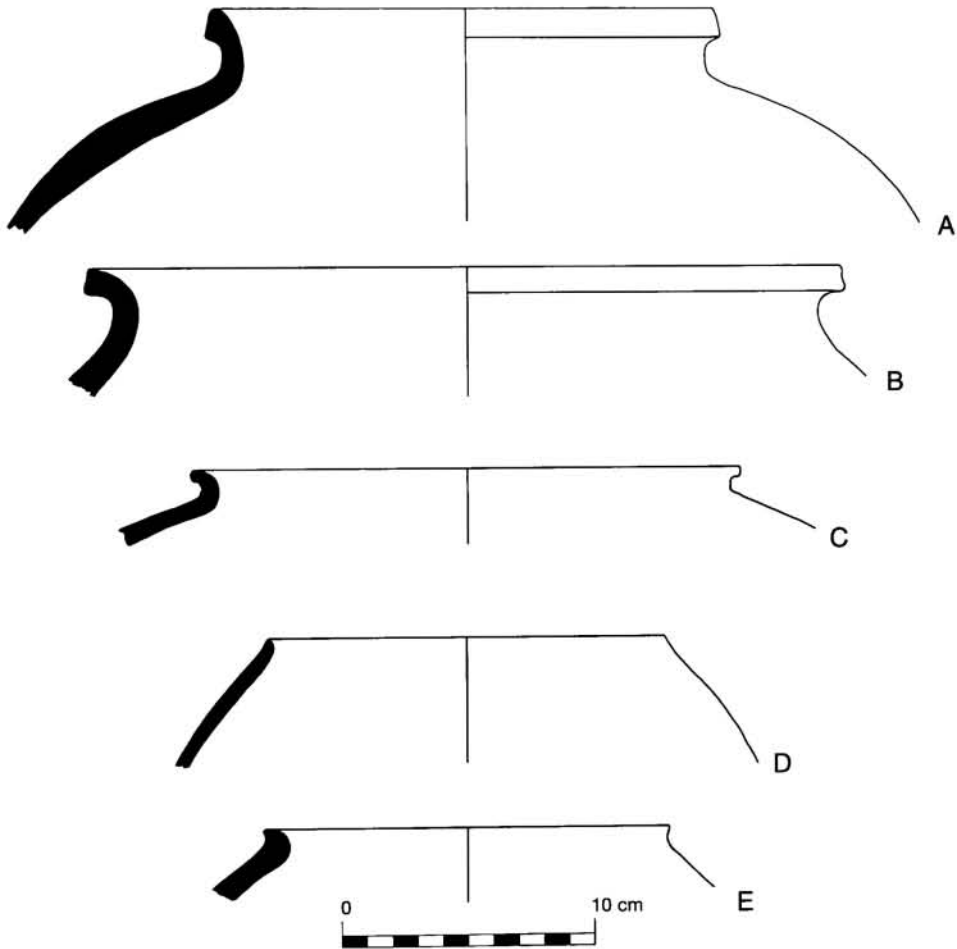
Chlorite recovered in this area included four bowl fragments (SF 559, 8 x 4.7 x 1 cm; SF 562, 1.5 x 1.7 x .2 cm; SF 564a, 6 x 3 x 1 cm; SF 564b, 2.7 x 1.5 x .5 cm), and a pin (SF 563, 5.8 x .2 cm). Other small finds recovered in Areas F and G included six zoomorphic figurines of clay (SF 1159; 5.3 x 3 x 2 cm; SF e1246, 3 x 2 cm; SF e1249, 2.4 x .7 cm; SF 1273, 3 x 2.5 x 1.5 cm; SF 1274, 3.5 x 2.5 x 1.5 cm; SF z-718, 3 x 1.7 x 2 cm), a clay ball (SF 1160, 3.3 cm in diameter), a clay spindle whorl (SF 1247, 4.1 x 3.4 x 1.4 cm), and clay slingball (SF z-467, 3.2 x 1.75 cm), three white stone bowl fragments (SF 2421, 3.3 x 3.1 x 1.2 cm; SF 2430, fig. 2.28, 4.4 x 3.5 x .3 cm; SF 2426, 10.5 x 5.2 x 1.9 cm), an agate bead (SF 2973, 1.4 x 1.1 x .4 cm), a frit bead (SF z-436, 2.3 x .9 cm), and a stone bead (SF 2425, 1.2 x 1 x .2 cm), a serpentine pin (SF z-522, 5.85 x .35 cm), and an obsidian flake (SF 3332, 3.1 x 2 x .2 cm).

## A NOTE ON PIGMENTS AT TEPE YAHYA

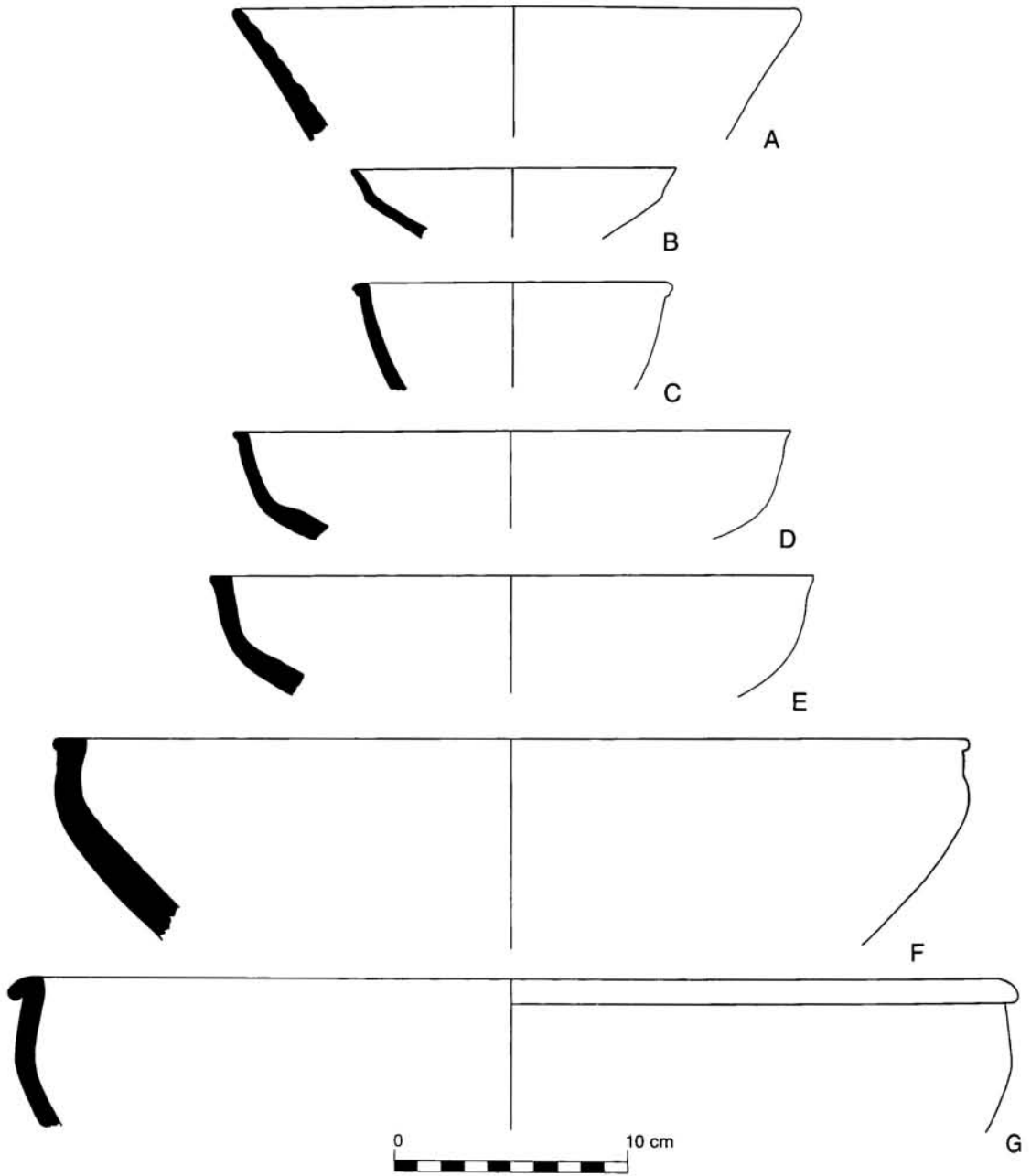
The discovery of earth pigments at Tepe Yahya provides good reason to believe that the grinding and preparation of pigments was carried out in the building. A total of six pigment samples was recovered, including a lump of brilliant yellow pigment found adhering to the wall of a copper/bronze bowl that was built into the wall of one of the Phase IVCl rooms in Trench BW-CW, and a sample of red pigment adhered to the wall of a chlorite bowl fragment. Two pigment samples, a red and a yellow sample, have been analyzed by infrared spectroscopy (Reindell and Riederer 1978). Yellow pigment found at Tepe Yahya is natrojarosite, a rare "sodium-iron-sulfate-hydrate of an intense yellow colour" (Reindell and Riederer 1978:123). Other small finds from the IVC building and its environs further suggest work in pigment preparation. These include the approximately thirty fragments of vessels made of stone: five mortars, seven pestles, and five smooth rectangular stone slabs (whetstones?); and six flat, approximately circular or rectangular, stone palettes.

Furthermore, six copper/bronze pins or styluses and fifty-two flint fragments were also found in the building. These artifacts, with the pigment samples, suggest grinding and preparing pigments, and in this regard, it is interesting to remember that at Proto-Elamite Tal-i Malyan (Nickerson 1977), fragments of wall paintings were found. This may have been one use for pigments of the sort found at Tepe

Yahya in Period IVC. Closer to Tepe Yahya, there is also evidence of painting on both mats and models of shrines (?) at Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:figs. 40, 42). The possibility that the earth pigments could be used to make paint to decorate pottery or, mixed with a fatty substance, to make eye or body make-up, cannot be ruled out (J. Riederer, personal communication).



**Figure 2.3.** Undecorated jars from Areas A–E (A.75.11), Phase IVC1. A. plain orange; B. plain tan-buff; C. plain brown; D. plain tan-buff, flakey brown wash interior and exterior; E. coarse tan-grit.



**Figure 2.4.** Undecorated bowls from Areas A–E, Phase IVC1. A. burnished grey (A.75.T7.11); B. brownish-buff, no visible temper (A.75.11); C. dark brown, no visible temper (A.75.11); D. plain tan, Phase IVC2 (A.75.11.8); E. plain tan-buff (A.75.11); F. black burnished (B-C Balk.71.25.2); G. plain tan (A.75.T7.11).



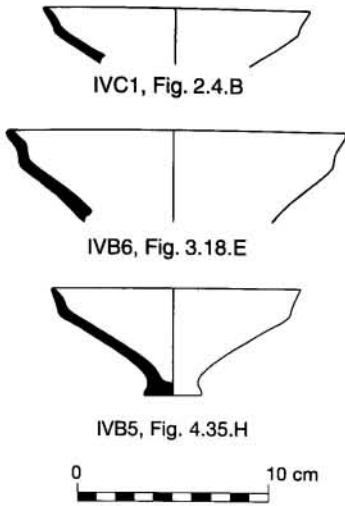


Figure 2.5. Sharply carinated bowls, Periods IVC–IVB.

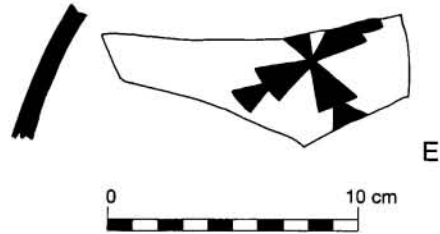
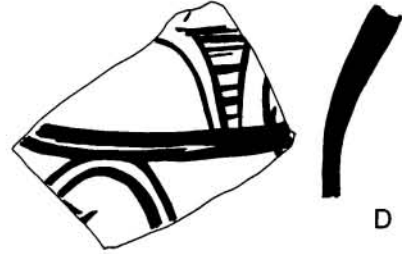
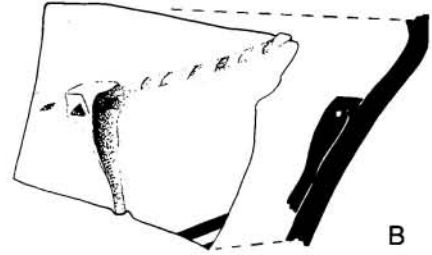
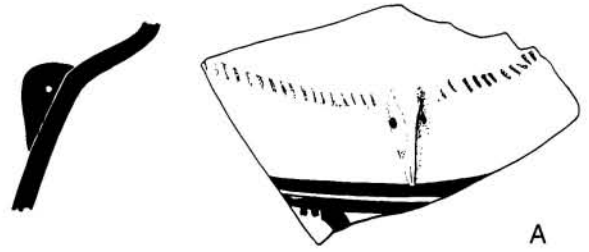
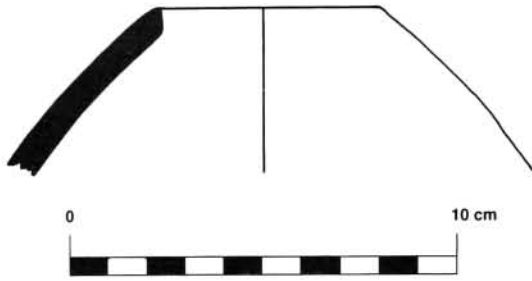
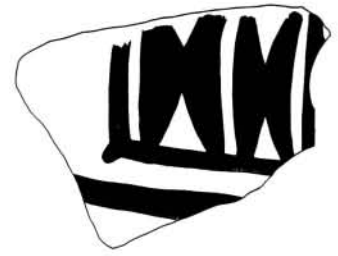


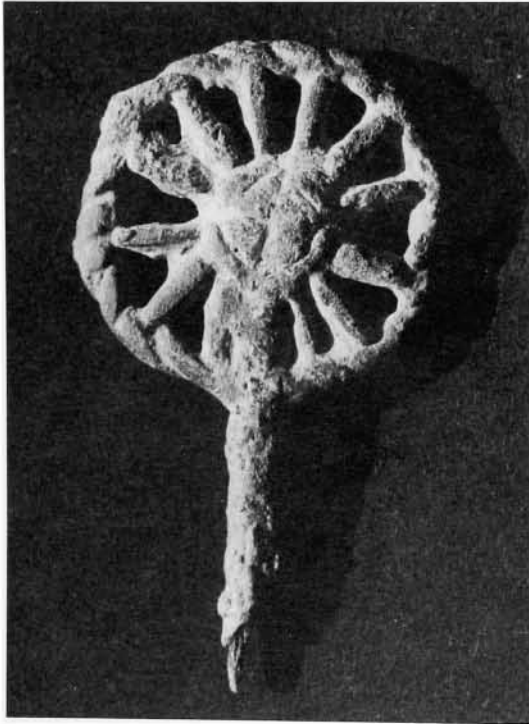
Figure 2.6. Decorated pottery from Areas A–E, Phase IVC1. A. Jamdat Nasr-related polychrome, brownish-red wash over tan-buff, black paint (A.75.11); B. Jamdat Nasr-related light brown wash over plain buff, medium grit (A.75.11); C. brown-on-red (A.75.T7.11); D. black-on-orange (A.75.11); E. black-on-orange (A.75.11).



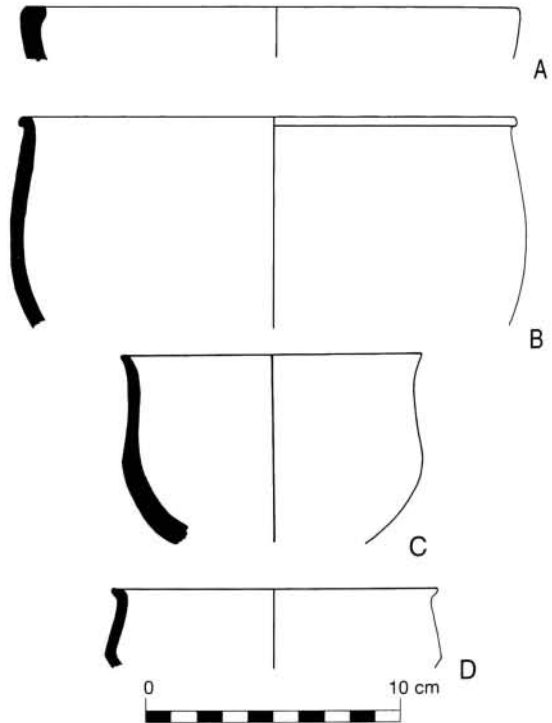
**Figure 2.7.** White stone hole-mouth bowl fragment from A.75.11 (unregistered).



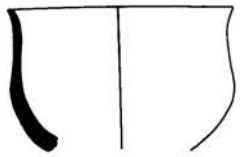
**Figure 2.9.** Black-on-orange sherd from BM.71.3, Phase IVC1.



**Figure 2.8.** Cu/br pin with pinwheel-like head (SF 3765, 5.3 cm L x 3.2 W x 0.7 cm).



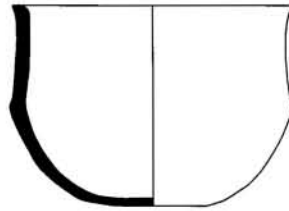
**Figure 2.10.** Undecorated pottery from Room 3, Phase IVC1. A. plain orange-buff (B.71.4.10); B. brown-slipped buff (B.71.T1.1); C. plain buff (B.71.T1.1); D. red-slipped buff (B.71.T1.1).



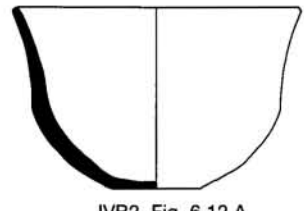
IVC1, Fig. 2.10.C



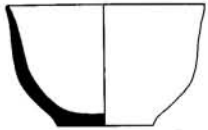
IVB6, Fig. 3.14.A



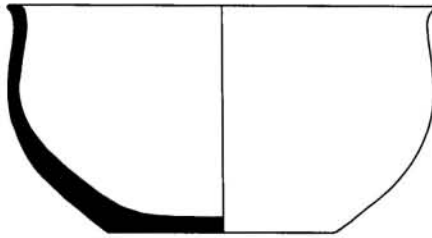
IVB5, Fig. 4.7.F



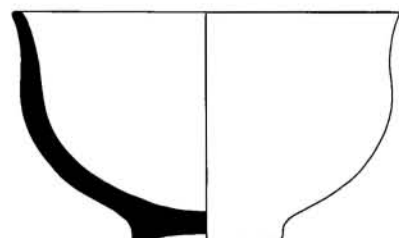
IVB2, Fig. 6.12.A



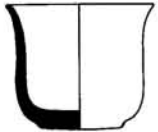
IVB5, Fig. 4.11.B



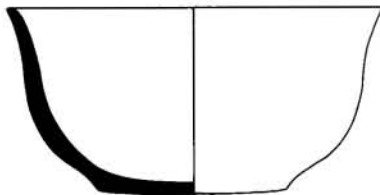
IVB5, Fig. 4.36.B



IVB5, Fig. 4.35.F



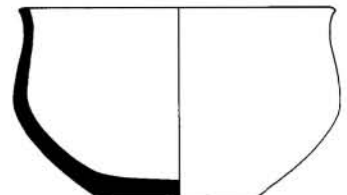
IVB5, Fig. 4.7.G



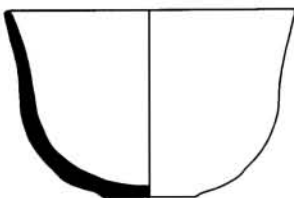
IVB4-2, Fig. 5.2.E



IVB4-2, Fig. 5.17.K



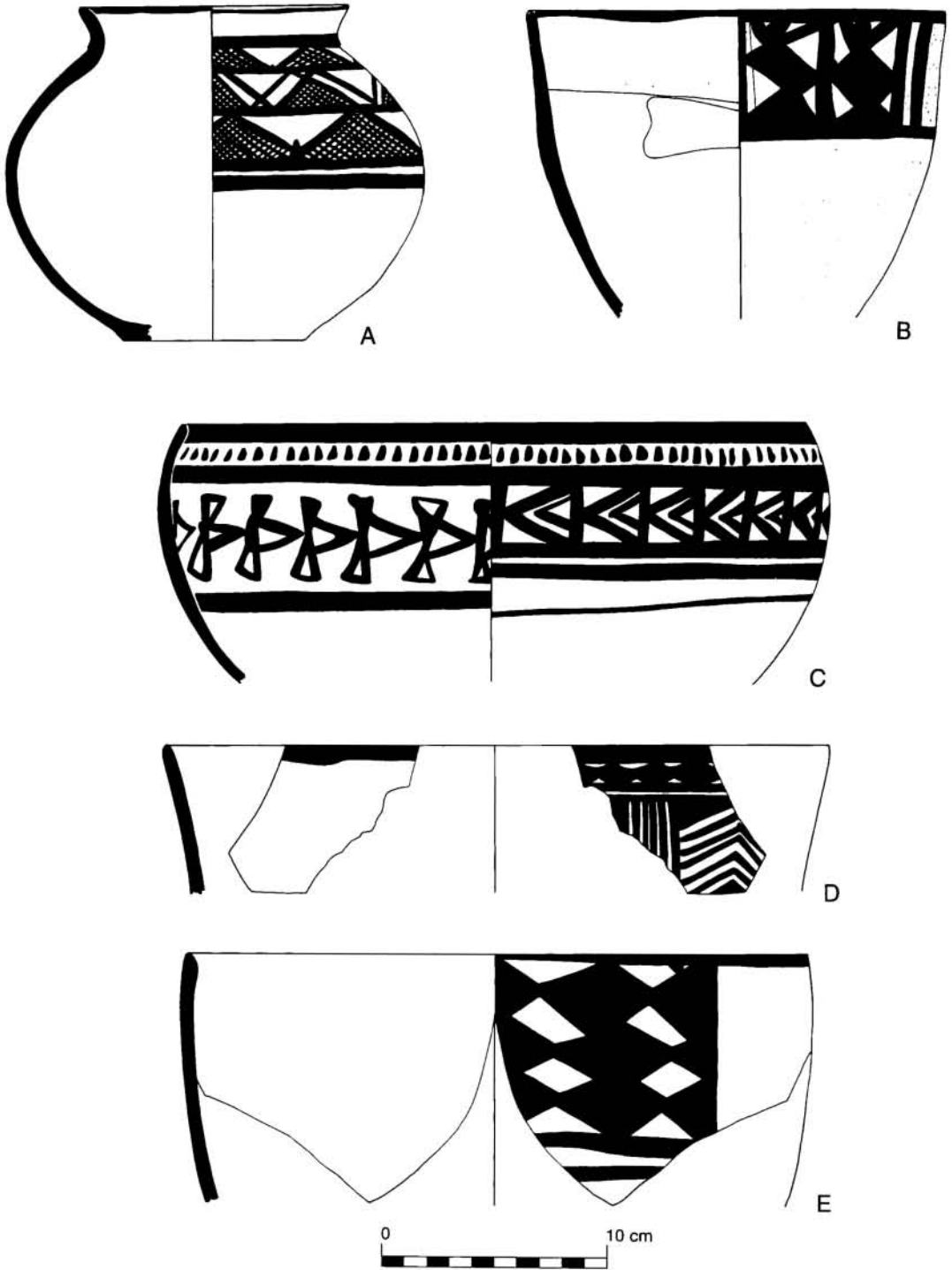
IVB4-2, Fig. 5.9.G



IVB1, Fig. 6.12.B



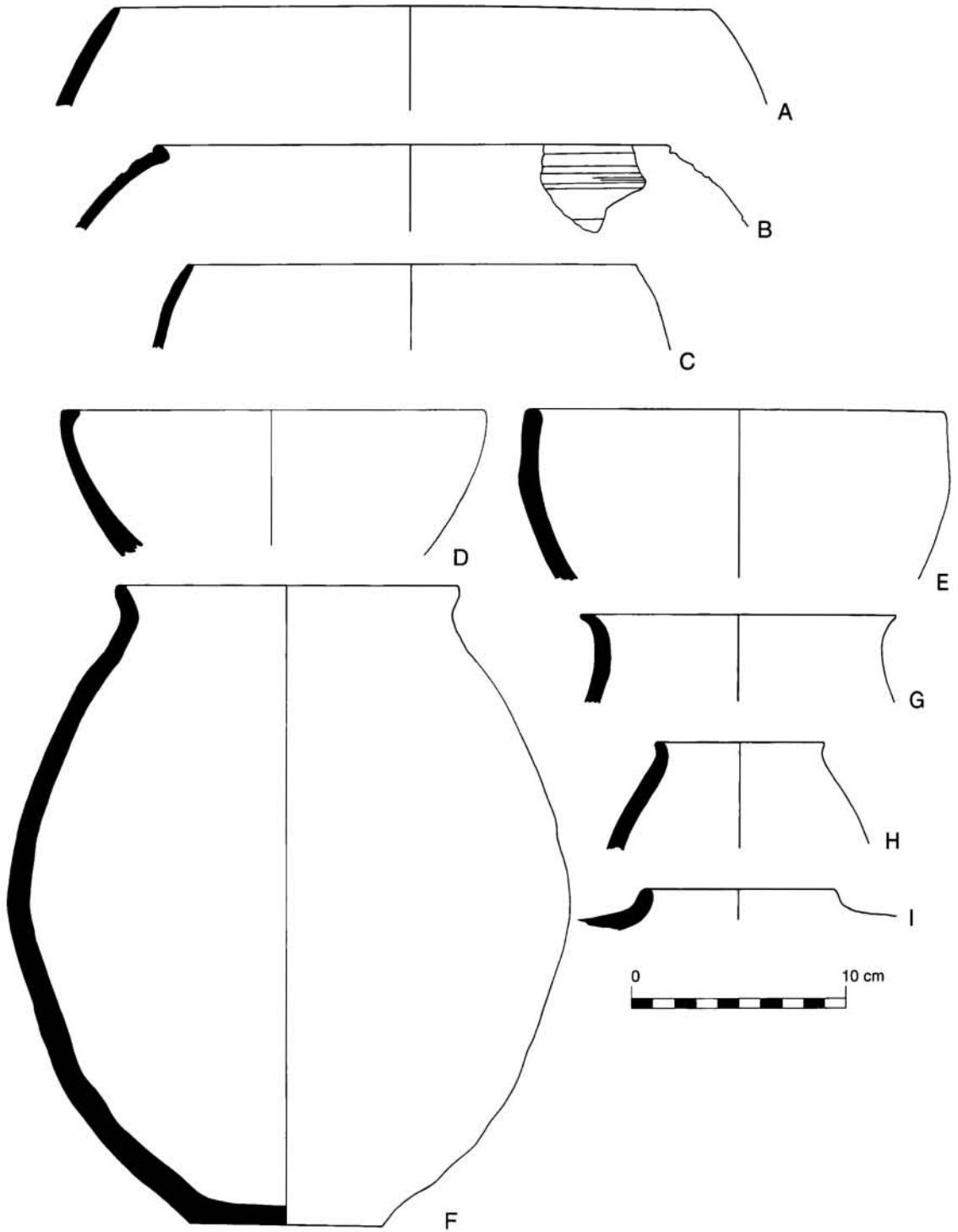
Figure 2.11. Carinated bowls and beakers, Periods IVC–IVB.



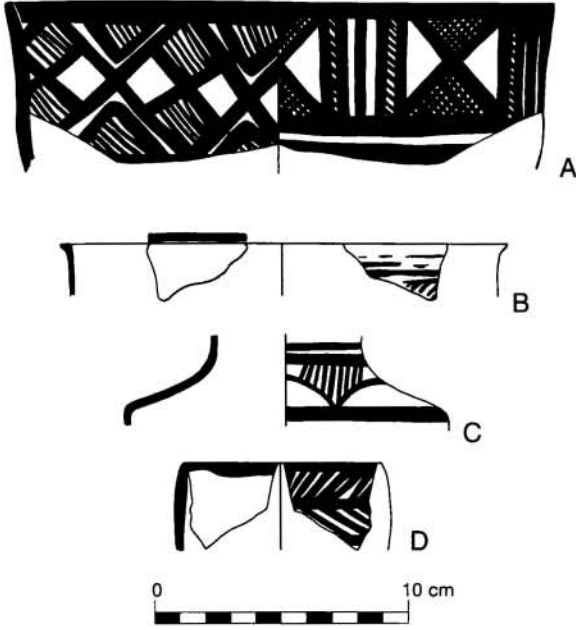
**Figure 2.12.** Decorated pottery from Room 3, Phase IVC1. A. brown-on-cream slipped buff (B.71.T1.1); B. black and red bichrome (B.71.4.10); C. black-on-buff (B.71.4.10); D. black-on-buff (B.71.4.10); E. black and red bichrome (B.71.4.10).



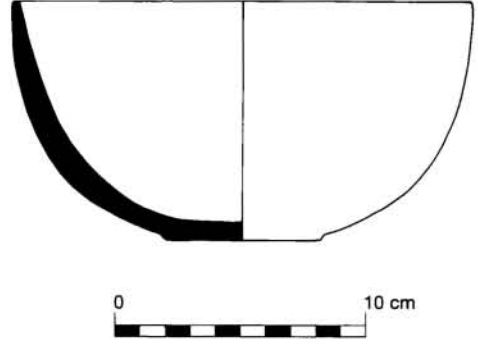
Figure 2.13. Stone hoe(?) (SF z-538, 17.7 x 8.4 cm).



**Figure 2.14.** Undecorated pottery from Room 4, Phase IVC1. A. buff-slipped buff (B.71.4.9); B. coarse brown incised (B.71.4.9); C. orange-tan grit (B.71.4.6); D. plain brown grit (B.71.4.6); E. burnished grey (B.71.4.9); F. coarse brown grit (B.71.4.8); G. smooth red-orange (B.71.4.9); H. coarse tan grit (B.71.4.6); I. coarse brown grit (B.71.4.6).



**Figure 2.15.** Decorated pottery from Room 4, Phase IVC1. A. black-on-buff (B.71.4.9); B. black-on-orange (B.71.4.9); C. black-on-grey (B.71.4.6); D. black-on-buff (B.71.4.9).



**Figure 2.16.** White stone bowl from Room 4 (B.71.4.9, unregistered).

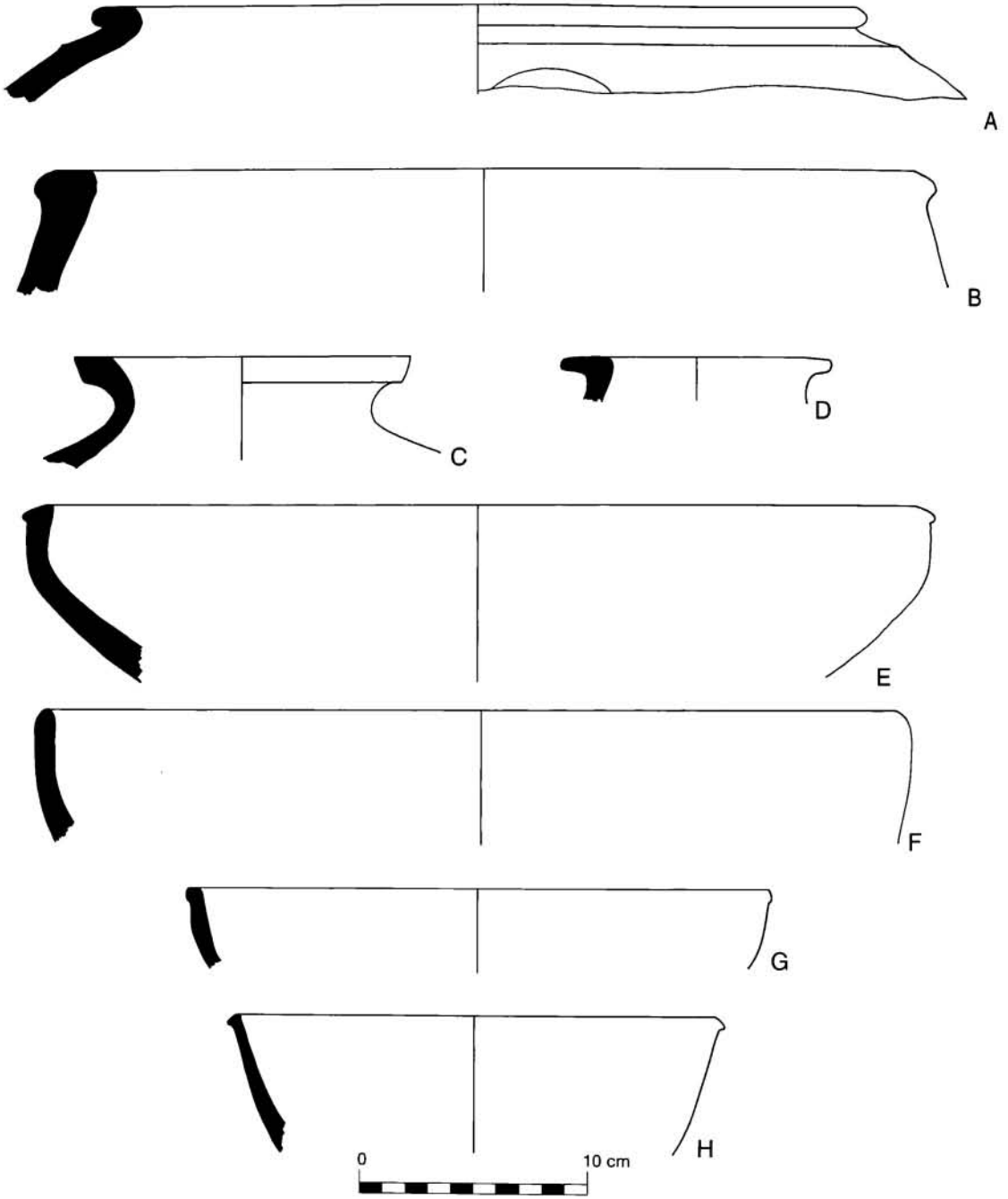


Figure 2.17. Undecorated pottery from Room 5 (B.70.20), Phase IVC1. A. plain orange, raised ridge; B. orange-slipped tan; C. red-slipped red; D. plain orange; E. plain red; F. plain tan; G. burnished black; H. burnished black.



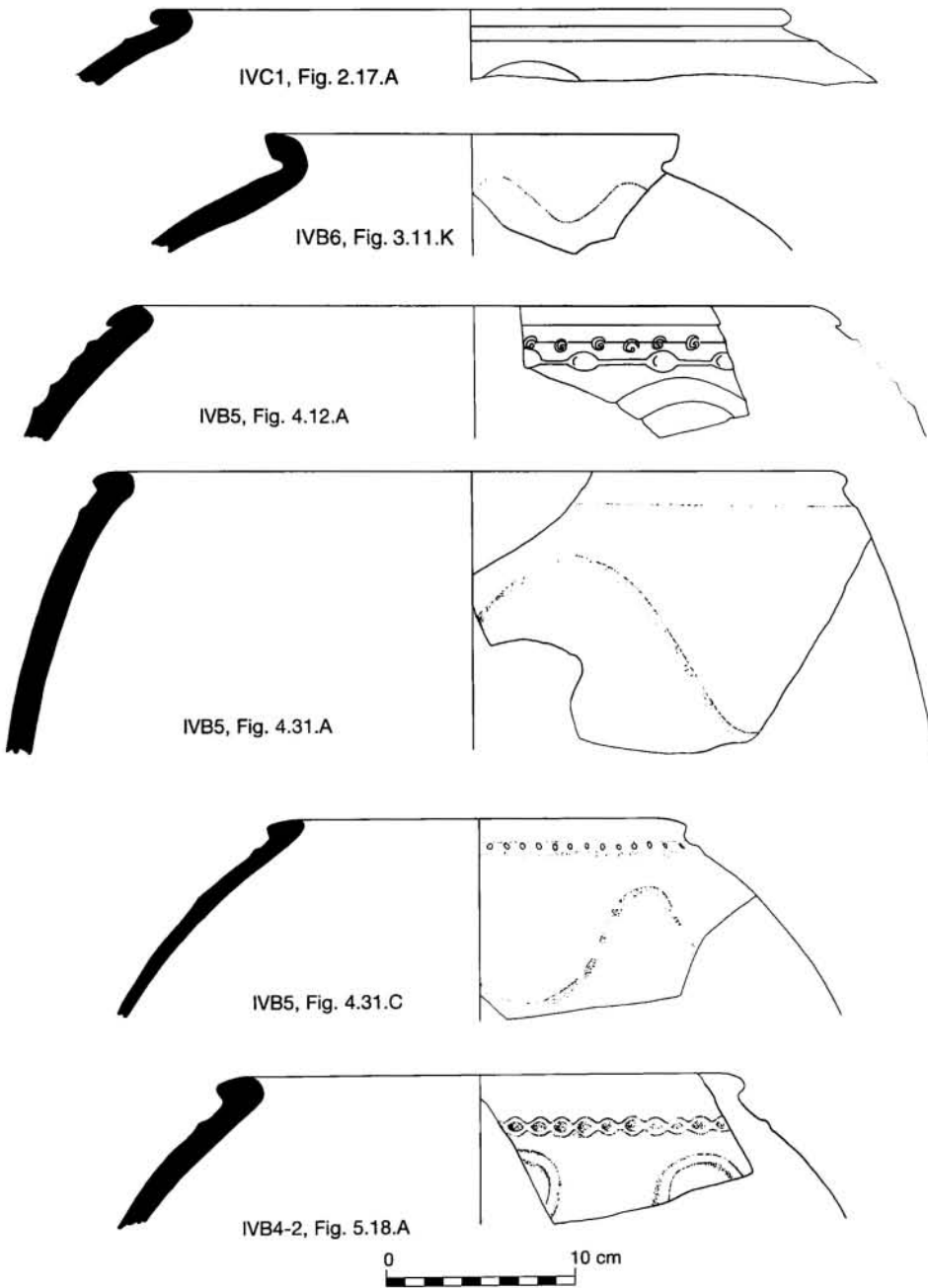
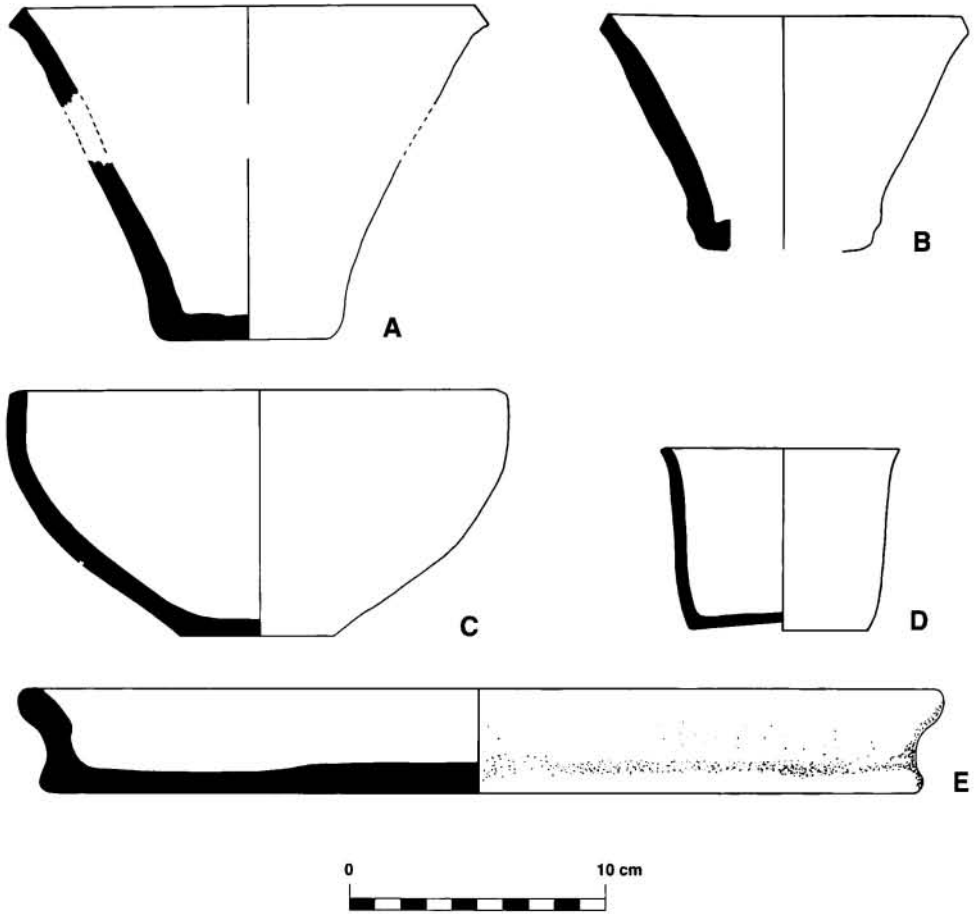
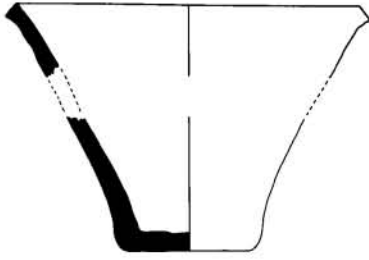


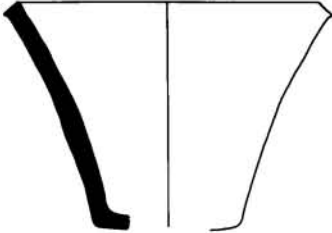
Figure 2.18. Snake-cordoned jars with or without punctate or chain-ridge decoration, Periods IVC–IVB.



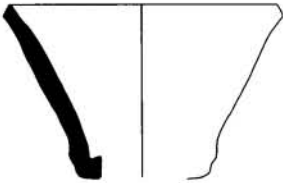
**Figure 2.19.** Complete vessels from Room 5 (B.70.20), Phase IVC1. A. beveled-rim bowl; B. beveled-rim bowl; C. streak burnished grey; D. plain brown; E. coarse tan, low-sided tray.



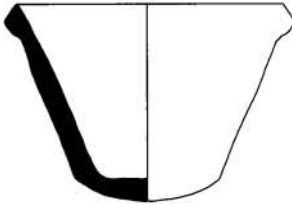
IVC1, Fig. 2.19.A



IVC1, Fig. 2.27.E



IVC1, Fig. 2.19.B



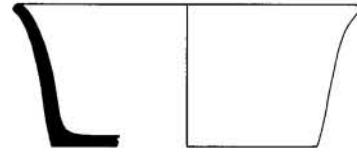
IVB6, Fig. 3.14.M



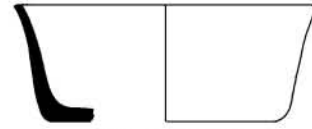
**Figure 2.20.** Beveled-rim bowls,  
Periods IVC–IVB.



IVC1, Fig. 2.19.D



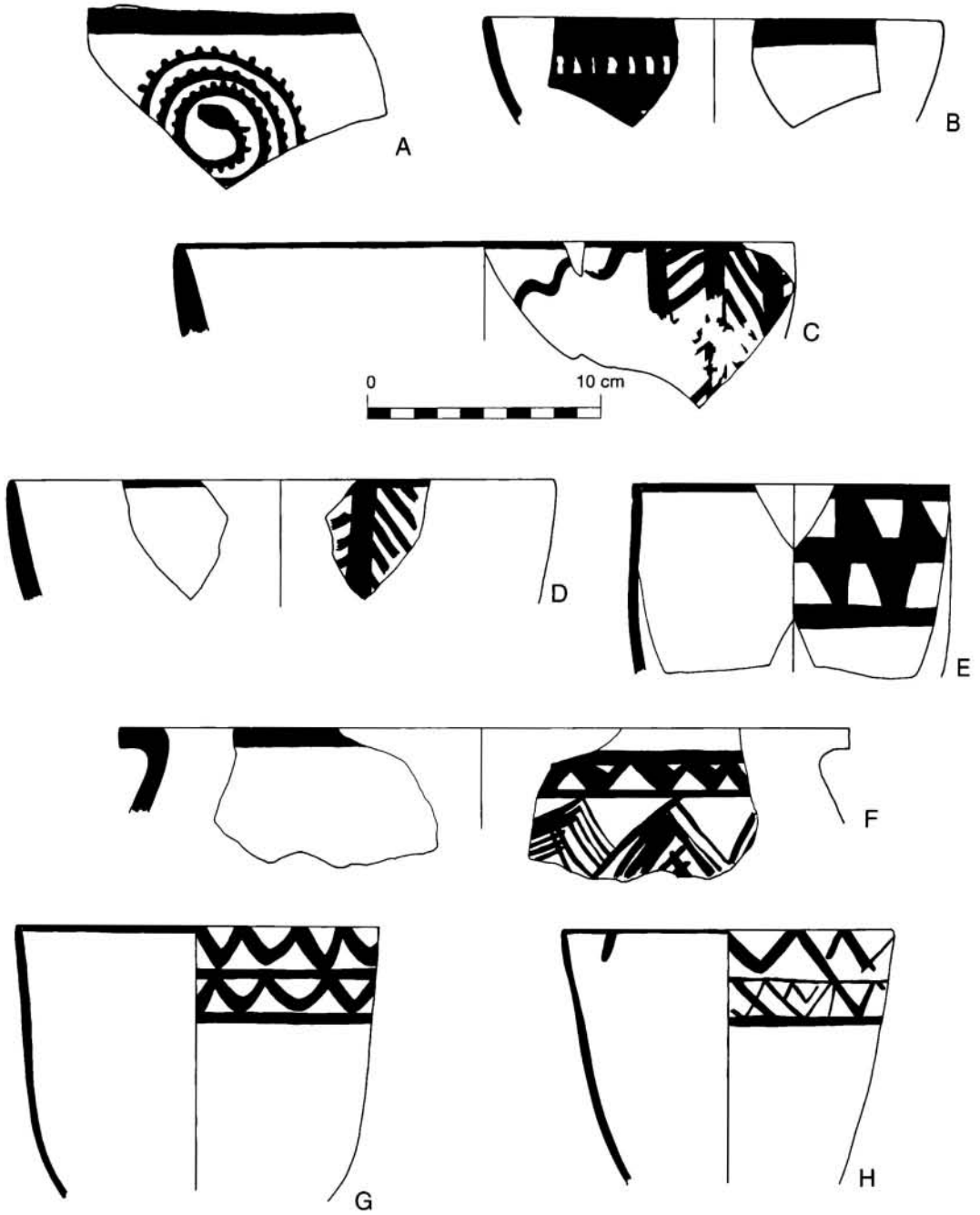
IVB6, Fig. 3.14.C



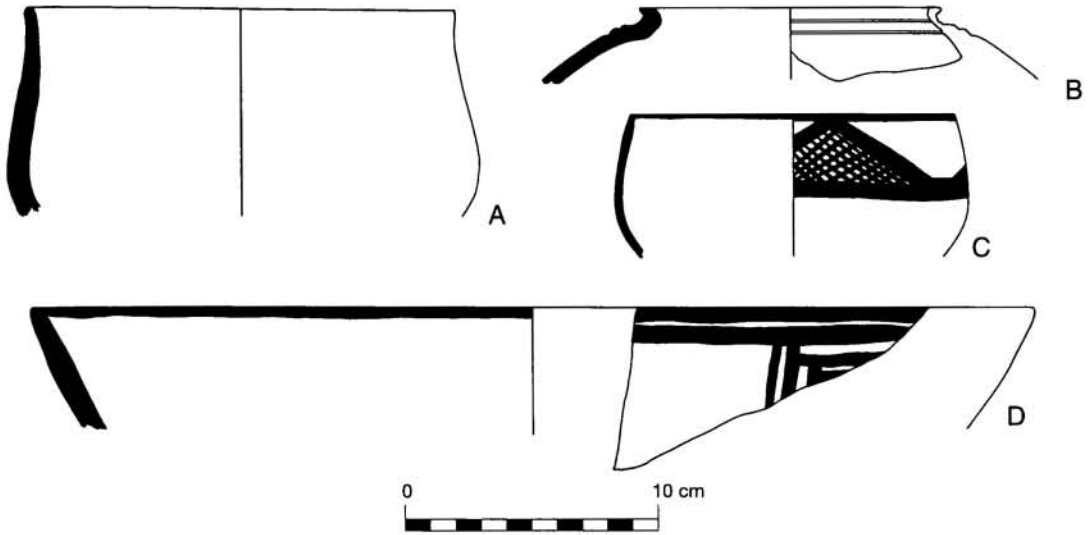
IVB1, Fig. 6.22.F



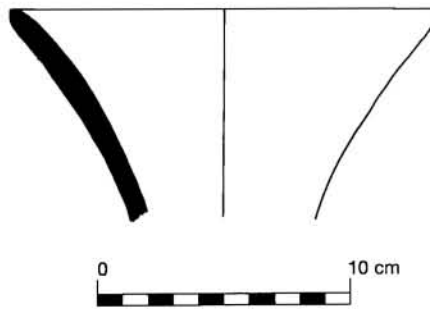
**Figure 2.21.** Shallow bowls with slightly  
flaring sides, Periods IVC–IVB.



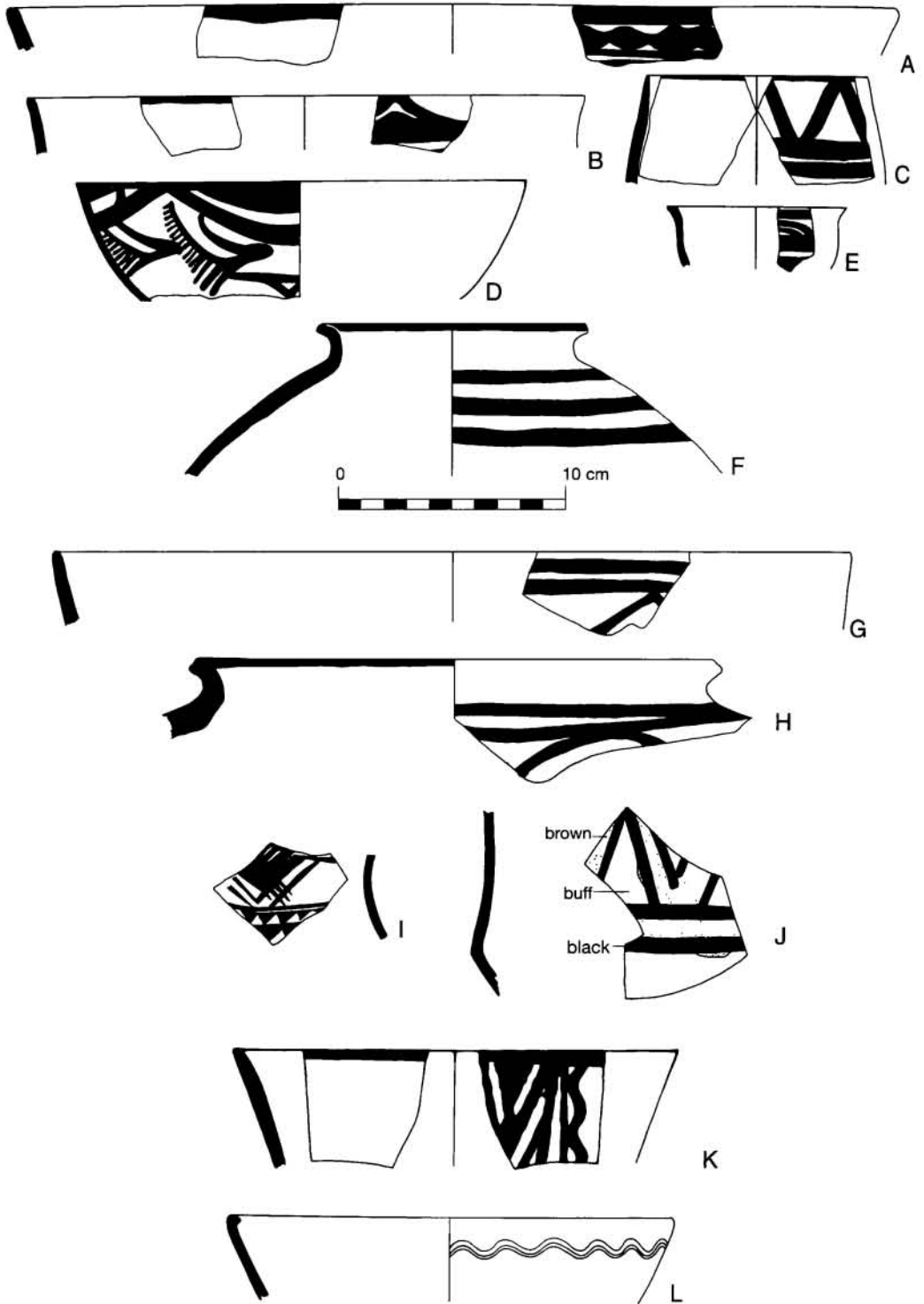
**Figure 2.22.** Painted pottery from Room 5 (B.70.20), Phase IVC1. A. black-on-buff; B. black-on-buff; C. black-on-buff; D. black-on-buff; E. black-on-red-orange; F. black-on-orange; G. black-on-grey; H. black-on-grey.



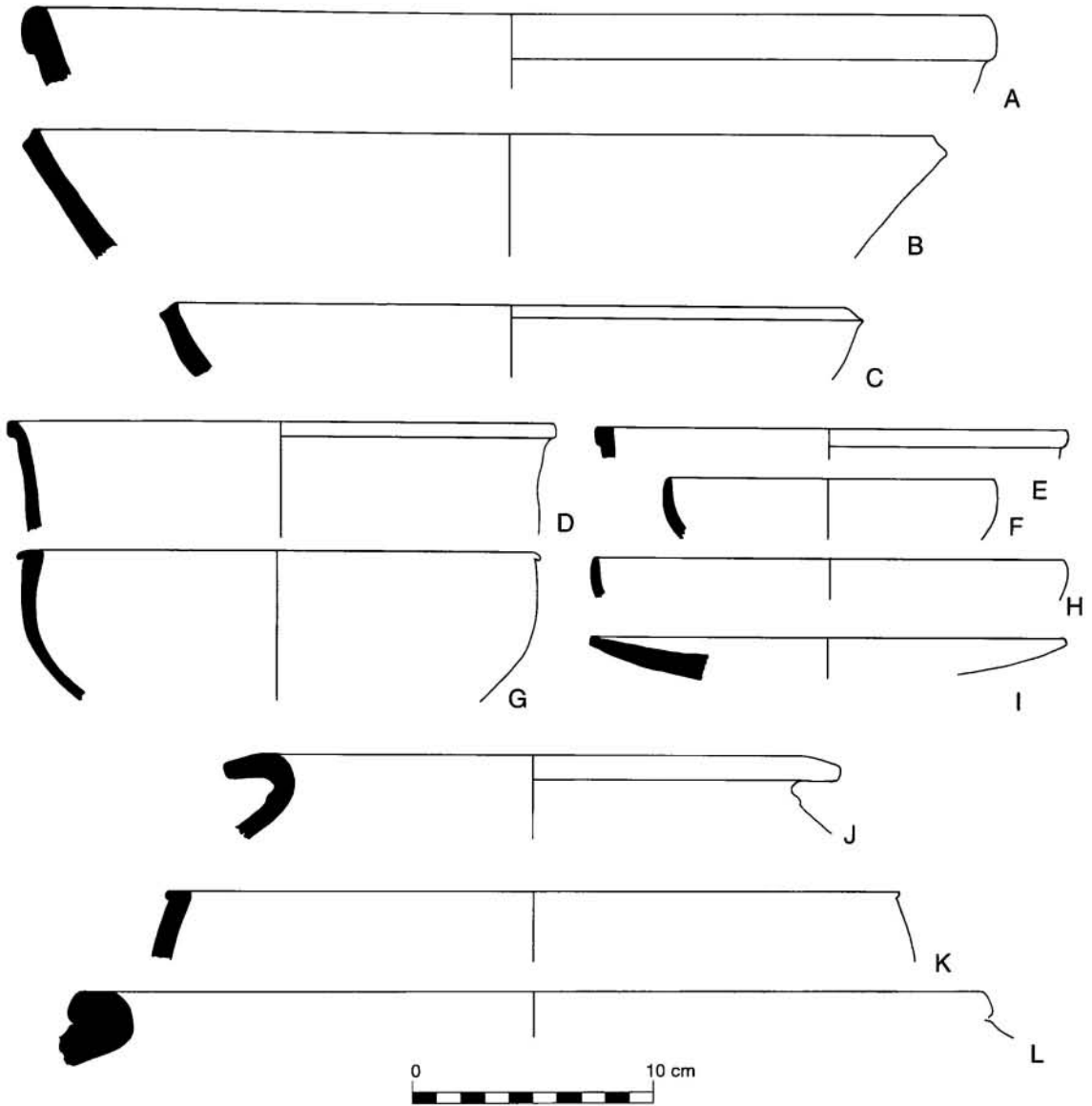
**Figure 2.23.** Pottery from Room 6, Phase IVC1. A. coarse tan chaff (B.71.11.1); B. coarse black grit (BM.71.4); C. black-on-grey (B.71.11); D. black-on-buff (B.71.11).



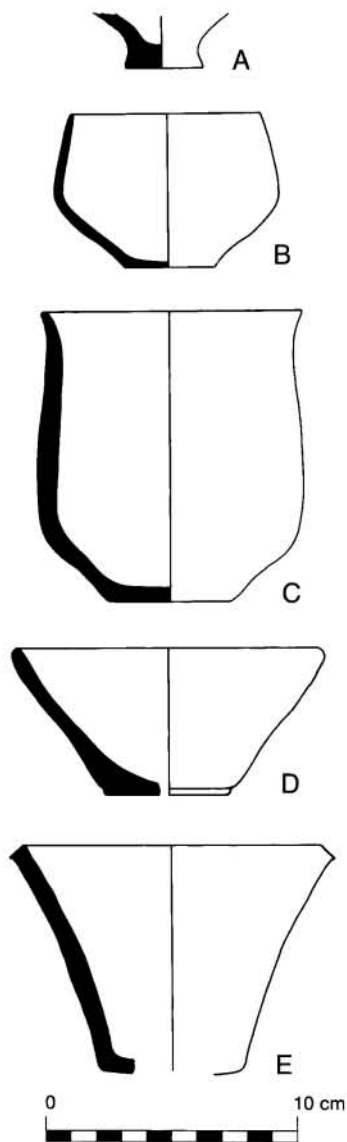
**Figure 2.24.** White stone bowl fragment (SF 2400).



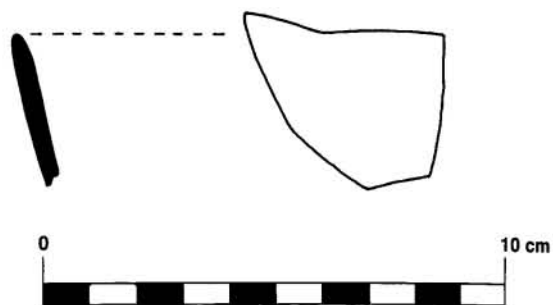
**Figure 2.25.** Painted pottery from Areas F and G, Phase IVC1. A. black-on-buff (B-C Balk.71.28); B. black-on-buff (B-C Balk.71.28); C. black-on-buff (BW-CW.71.7.7); D. black-on-buff (BW.71.T1.2.1); E. black-on-buff (B-C Balk.71.28); F. black-on-buff (BW-CW.71.6.1); G. black-on-orange (B-C Balk.71.28); H. black-on-orange (B-C Balk.71.28); I. black-on-orange (B-C Balk.71.28); J. black-on-brown-slipped buff (BW.71.T2.6b); K. black-on-grey (B-C Balk.71.28); L. tan grit, incised (B-C Balk.71.18).



**Figure 2.26.** Undecorated pottery from Areas F and G, Phase IVC1. A. plain tan (B-C Balk.71.28); B. brown-slipped orange (B-C Balk.71.23); C. brown-slipped orange (B-C Balk.71.23); D. red-slipped buff (B-C Balk.71.18); E. orange-slipped tan (B-C Balk.71.28.1); F. No description available; G. burnished grey (B-C Balk.71.28.1); H. thin red, some grit (B-C Balk.71.23); I. plain tan (B-C Balk.71.28.1); J. orange-slipped buff (B-C Balk.71.23); K. plain red, fine grit (BW-CW.71.7.7); L. plain orange-buff (B-C Balk.71.18).



**Figure 2.27.** Complete shapes and a conical cup base from Areas F and G, Phase IVC1. A. plain tan (conical cup) (B-C Balk.71.28); B. plain buff (B-C Balk.71.23); C. plain buff (B-C Balk.71.28.1); D. plain buff (B-C Balk.71.28.1); E. beveled-rim bowl (B-C Balk.71.28).



**Figure 2.28.** White stone bowl fragment (SF 2430).



# Chapter 3

## Phase IVB6

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### PHASE IVB6 STRATIGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

Phase IVB6 was not excavated as an architectural and stratigraphic unit, but has been reconstructed here *post facto* with the aid of many sections and plans from the notebooks of the excavators. There is, however, no single floor plan for the entire phase across all of the trenches. Rather, the phase is best understood by considering the remains in their vertical, stratigraphic setting, rather than on a horizontal plane. The excavated Phase IVB6 contexts are as follows:

A.75.10  
A.75.10a  
A.75.10b  
A.75.10c  
A.75.10.1  
BM.71.1  
BM.71.1.1  
BM.71.1.2  
BM.71.1.3  
BM.71.1.4  
BM.71.2  
BM.71.2.1  
BM.71.2.2  
BM.71.2.3  
BM.71.2.4  
BM.71.2.5  
BM.71.7  
B.70.11  
B.70.17  
B.70.17.1  
B.70.17.2  
B.70.17.3  
B.70.18  
B.70.18.1  
B.70.18.2  
B.70.18a  
B.70.19  
B.70.T3.2  
B.70.T3.3  
B.70.T3.4

B.70.T4.1  
B.70.T4.2  
B.71.3  
B.71.3.2  
B.71.4.1  
B.71.4.2  
B.71.4.3  
B.71.4.4  
B.71.4.5  
B.71.7  
B.71.7.1  
B.71.7.2  
B.71.7.3  
B.71.7.4  
B.71.8a  
B.71.T1.1.1  
B.71.T1.2.1  
B.71.T1.4.1  
B.71.T1.4.2  
B.71.T1.4.3  
BW.71.T2.1  
BW.71.T2.2  
BW.71.T2.2.1  
BW.71.T2.2a  
BW.71.T2.3  
BW.71.T2.3a  
BW.71.T2.3a.1  
BW.71.T2.4  
BW.71.T2.4.1  
BW.71.T2.4.2  
BW.71.T2.4a  
BW.71.T2.5  
BW.71.T2.5.1  
BW.71.T2.5a  
B-BW.71.7.1  
B.70.18  
BW.70.T4.8  
BW.70.T4.9  
BW.69.T5.10  
A.75.T7.10  
A.75.10.2  
A.75.T7.10a  
A.75.T7.10.1

The B-BW north section is presented in figure 3.1 (most of the contexts in figure 3.1 are not discussed, but are presented in order to provide the complete section). A floor runs over the surface of the IVC2 wall (B.70.T4.1.3), and postdates it. A hearth (context B.70.18.2) was dug into this floor, and a deposit of fill (B.70.18, B-BW.70.T4.8, B-BW.70.T4.9, and BW.69.T5.10) rested above it. The total depth of deposit here ranges between 30–54 cm. All of the features just mentioned are stratigraphically below the bases of the Persian Gulf room (IVB5) walls discussed in chapter 4.

Moving towards the east, another surface (BM.71.1.1) seals an area of infilling or brick fall in Room 1b of the IVC2 building (fig. 1.1), as well as a series of surfaces, the highest of which (BM.71.3.4) was associated with a wall (BM.71.1.2) that was built directly over the north wall of Room 1b. This surface (BM.71.1) is also associated with a wall (BM.71.1.2) that was built directly over the IVC building wall BM.71.3.6. The BM.71.1.2 wall is not a continuation of the IVC wall, however, for not only does the floor (BM.71.1.1) appear to run between the two, but the upper, later wall is built of bricks of a different size from those used in the IVC building. Furthermore, a floor that abuts the east side of the Persian Gulf room (IVB5) wall B.70.8.4 runs nearly right over the top of the BM.71.1.2 wall. A confusing mass of bricks (B.70.17 and BM.71.2) is associated with BM.71.1.2, all of which is above BM.71.1.1.

To the east of the wellshaft, which slices through the entire mound, is another set of features that probably belong to Phase IVB6. These features are shown on figure 3.1 at the far right of the north section as B.71.7.1, B.71.7.2, and B.71.7.4. A layer of stone and sherds (B.71.7.2), a gravel lens (B.71.7.4), and an unnumbered wall are just visible in the east section of Trench B (fig. 3.2). A plan of the concentration of stones and sherds (B.71.7.2, fig. 3.3), which was set into the clay floor B.71.7.1, indicates that a wall, seen only in the east section, was associated with the stone, sherd, and clay flooring. The surface B.71.7.1 runs directly across the top of the B.71.7.5 wall, the wall to the north of Rooms 3 and 4 in the IVC2 building (see chaps. 1 and 2). B.71.7.5 ran perpendicular to the southern wall of Room 1b in the IVC2 building, which was entered via a short corridor labeled 2 (Room 2) on figure 1.1. Some time after the construction of the IVC2 building this corridor was blocked up with bricks labeled B.71.8A on figure 3.3. The lowest course of four bricks was set in an even row. The next two courses were placed more haphazardly, and there was no indication that these bricks actually constituted a wall. Once the area was filled to the height of the adjacent walls, the entire area was covered

over with the stone, sherd, and clay floor (B.71.7.1), and the walls and fill were used as a foundation. The unnumbered wall seen in figure 3.3 was constructed on this surface (B.71.7.1). This construction is without question a Period IVB wall, by virtue of its clear differentiation from the IVC walls. Unfortunately, we cannot establish a true stratigraphic link between the wall, the surface on which it rests, and the architecture in the north balk though the level of the surface would seal the top of the unnumbered wall.

In 1970, another wall was revealed that probably also belongs to Phase IVB6. This wall is visible in the east section of a test trench 3.6 m west and parallel to the east balk of Trench B (fig. 3.4). A group of walls is visible in the section. The lowest, B.70.11.1, is the top of a Period IVC building wall. Slightly above and to the left of this wall is B.69.T5.4, a slumping wall that the excavator originally associated with the Persian Gulf room (IVB5). This association is sound and the wall fits together nicely with others found in Trench B to comprise a complete room. To the left of B.69.T5.4 and B.70.11.1 is another wall (the unnumbered grey stippled wall to the right of B.TT3.1 and B.TT3.2 in figure 3.4). The wall was originally considered to be a bricky mass, possibly brick fall, but the section shows that the wall was preserved to a height of probably three courses, and there is some brick fall to the right or south side of the wall. The B.70.11 fill (B 11 in figure 3.4), below the Persian Gulf room (IVB5) and above the IVC building walls, should belong to Phase IVB6. B.70.T3.2 was sealed by the floor of the Persian Gulf room (IVB5), and is west of and probably equivalent to B.70.T4.2, the stratum in which the unnumbered wall appeared. For these reasons, the wall has been assigned to Phase IVB6.

We have also assigned a group of pits that were dug down from above the IVC building to Phase IVB6. A number of these pits (B.71.T1.1.1, B.70.17.2, B.70.18.2, B.71.4.1, B.71.4.2, B.71.4.3, and B.71.4.5) were cut into the tops of the IVC building's walls, cutting down the height of the walls. These pits are shown in figure 1.1 as pits 4–10 and the contexts correlate to the numbers as follows: B.71.T1.1.1 = Pit 7, B.70.17.2 = Pit 6, B.70.18.2 = Pit 4, B.71.4.1 = Pit 9, B.71.4.2 = Pit 10, B.71.4.3 = Pit 8, B.71.4.5 = Pit 5. Not surprisingly, the sherds found in these pits are more like the rest of the pottery of Period IVB than like that of Period IVC. Because of their stratigraphic position, it is quite clear that the sherds postdate the IVC building and predate Phase IVB5 (Persian Gulf room). We cannot determine the exact relationship of these pits to the other architectural features assigned to IVB6, but it is quite likely that they are contemporary.

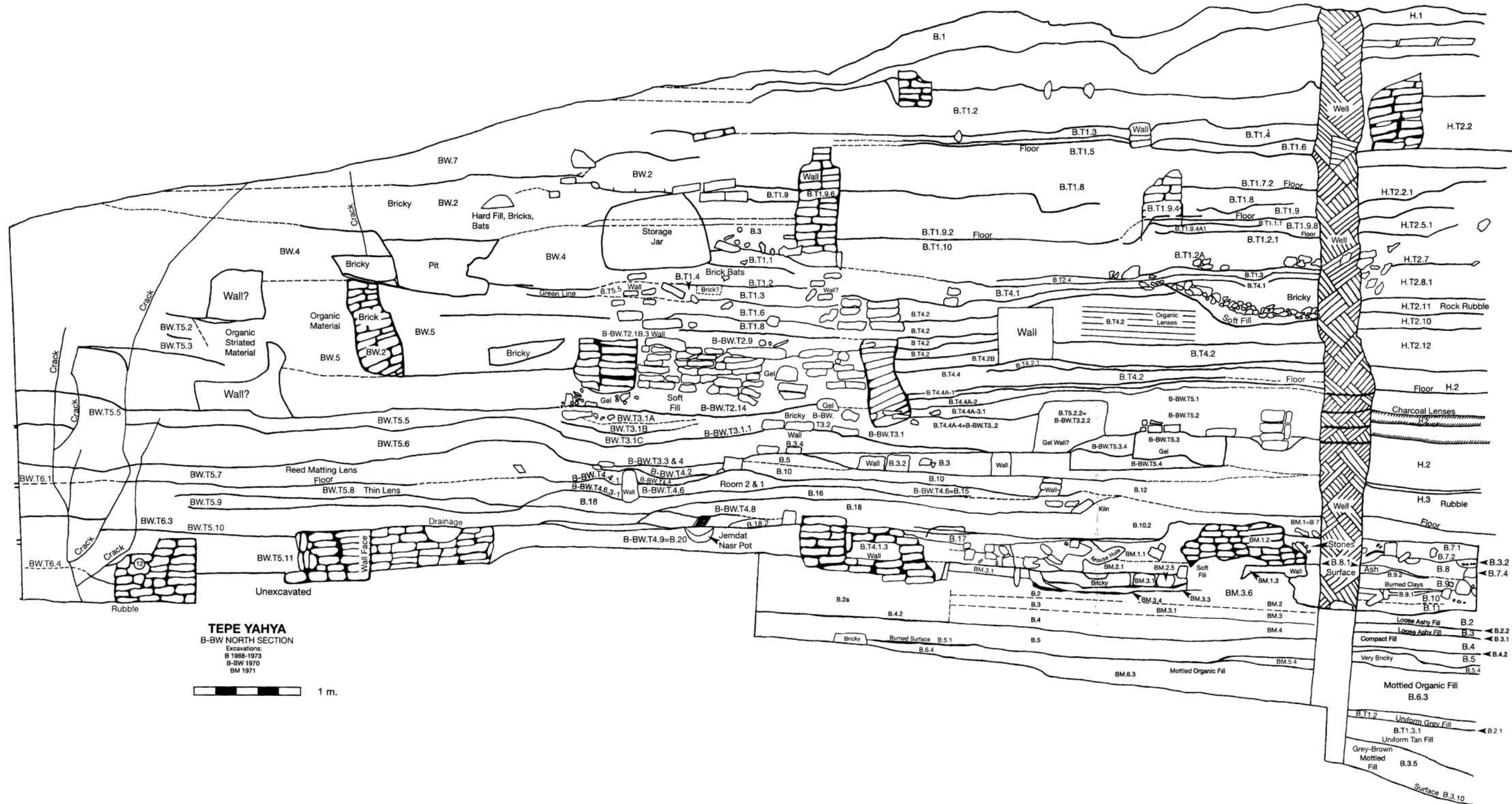


Figure 3.1. Trenches B-BW, north section, showing the results of excavations between 1968 and 1973.



In conclusion, several observations arise out of the foregoing description. To begin, it is impossible to establish any link between Phase IVC1 and Phase IVB6 on stratigraphic grounds. Both phases give the appearance of having been squatter occupations, but whether the Phase IVB6 is a continuation of Phase IVC1 is difficult to say. It does seem, however, that some deliberate leveling and infilling took place at the beginning of Phase IVB6. The evidence for leveling can be seen in the state of the IVC walls. These were brought down to a more or less uniform height, over which are at least two well-defined Phase IVB6 floors (BM.71.1.1, and the unlabeled floor into which the B.70.18.2 hearth had been dug). The evidence for infilling is most clear in the case of the bricked up corridor (Room 2) of the IVC2 building (fig. 1.1), where several layers of bricks (B.71.8a; fig. 3.3) were laid down and a pebble and clay floor superimposed on the whole area. The evidence for architecture on these Phase IVB6 surfaces is slight, however, having probably been knocked down prior to the construction of the Persian Gulf room (IVB5). The fact that a Phase IVB6 wall (BM.71.1.2) was built directly on top of a IVC wall (BM.71.3.6) may have been fortuitous, or it may have been done for stability. The Phase IVB6 wall is not, in any case, an organic extension of the earlier wall since, as discussed above, a floor running over the top of the IVC wall divides the two. No doubt the people who dug the Phase IVB6 pits right into the tops of the IVC walls were unaware of the IVC building's existence, for it can hardly have been light work to dig into a hard, mudbrick matrix. Further, whatever the exact function of the pits may have been, a pit dug into softer soil (e.g., IVC room fill) would have been more easily executed and probably just as serviceable.

The relationship between Phase IVB6 and the subsequent Phase IVB5 is difficult to determine, but it would not appear, based on the ceramic evidence, that a very long period of time intervened between the two phases. The important point is that the Phase IVB5 walls only rested directly on Period IVC2 walls in the center of Trench B (figs. 3.5, 6). This fact originally gave the impression of the absence of an intervening phase between IVC and IVB5. It does not alter the fact that as one moves gradually north towards the center of the mound, an appreciable gap becomes more and more discernible between the two deposits until it amounts, in some areas, to over half a meter in the B-BW section. The unrecognized slope of occupation was therefore responsible for giving the original impression of stratigraphic continuity between IVC and IVB5, whereas a careful examination of the sections shows a gap.

## PHASE IVB6 CERAMICS

The pottery from the Phase IVB6 contexts is very mixed and contains a large number of older sherds. Intrusive black-on-buff (figs. 3.7–9) and black-on-red (fig. 3.10.A–E) sherds undoubtedly date to Period V. The deep bowl with geometric decoration (fig. 3.7.A) is clearly reminiscent of Aliabad Painted ware at Tal-i Iblis (Chase, Caldwell, and Fehérvári 1967:143). Although the hole-mouth form and geometric decoration of figure 3.9.A recalls the Soghun Bichrome Ware of Periods VI–VC at Tepe Yahya (Beale 1986:fig. 4.15), the decoration of this piece with its solid black triangle framed by a running black band between horizontal lines can be closely paralleled on two jars from Banesh period Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990:pl. 17a, 18c). Jars with flaring (e.g., fig. 3.11.B, C, H, I), everted (fig. 3.12.A), folded (fig. 3.12.B, C), and ledge rims (fig. 3.12.D, E), which seem to carry on Jamdat Nasr/Proto-Elamite traditions, may be intrusive from Phase IVC2 contexts. The examples of lugged and polychrome vessels (fig. 3.13.A–E), not to mention beveled-rim bowls (fig. 3.14.M) and low-sided trays (fig. 3.14.O), may also be intrusive. Figure 3.13.F illustrates a sherd with a leopard in "skid position," painted in black over a red washed buff ware. Leopards in skid position are attested in Period IC at Tepe Hissar and at Tepe Sialk in Period III6-7b, dating to the Late Uruk or Jamdat Nasr Period (Dyson 1965:238) and suggest that this piece is intrusive from a Phase IVC2 context. A comparable piece is also known from the surface of Seh Gabi mound F (Young and Levine 1974:fig. 14.14). Another piece that strongly recalls the pottery of Proto-Elamite Tal-i Malyan is figure 3.10.G, for the device of a wavy or zigzagging band between two parallel lines is often found there (e.g., Nicholas 1990:pl. 20n, 24s). On the other hand, a very similar device is known later in the mid-third millennium at Tepe Jalyan (de Miroschedji 1974:fig. 11.5) and several other examples of comparable type are known from Phase IVB5 and Phase IVB1 levels (fig. 3.15).

Club-rim bowls (fig. 3.16) appear more common in Phase IVB6 than in IVC, while deep bowls with slightly pinched rims (e.g., fig. 3.17.E, F) are in the IVC tradition and are known also at Tal-i Malyan during the Banesh period (cf. Nicholas 1990:pl. 21f). It is difficult to say therefore whether the Phase IVB6 examples are stray finds from Period IVC, but it is certainly a possibility. The same applies to some of the plain, deep bowls (e.g. fig. 3.18.L–O).

On the other hand, hollow-footed chalices (fig. 3.14.I, J) are suggestive of a date much later in the third millennium. The hollow-footed form is not indigenous

to the area, though not unknown either, as the several examples from Tepe Yahya attest (fig. 3.19). Similar examples had already been found at Mehi by Sir Aurel Stein (Possehl 1986:figs. VIII Mehi I.6.3, X Mehi III.6.13), but it is to the north that one must look for the origin of this type. The form is well-attested in southern Turkmenistan (e.g., Khlopina 1981:fig. 5; Kohl 1984:pl. 10c), the Murghab plain (e.g., Sarianidi 1981:figs. 2-4; Masimov 1981:fig. 5), southern Uzbekistan (Askarov 1981:fig. 4; Kohl 1984:pl. 22), southern Tadjikistan (P'iankova 1981:fig. 18), and northern Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1977:fig. 26). More recently the form has appeared at Mehrgarh in period VIII contexts (Jarrige 1985:figs. 1, 2; Santoni 1988:fig. 1) and Tell Abraq (Potts 2000:127). A fragment from a City II context at Qalat al-Bahrain (Larsen 1983:fig. 51n) also shows the same ridge at the juncture of the foot and bowl seen in figure 3.14.J. Whatever the precise chronology of the variants of this type may be, and the mechanisms by which they were brought south, there can be little doubt that the type is, broadly speaking, Central Asian.

Figure 3.18.E is another Central Asian fragment. In 1975 a complete example (fig. 4.38.H; cf. fig. 2.5) of this type was found in Area A in a Phase IVB5 context. Close parallels exist amongst the Bactrian pottery published by Amiet (Amiet 1977:fig. 1.2), on Bronze Age sites in Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1977:fig. 25.II.4), at Khurab (Stein 1937:pl. XV.Khur.D.246), as well as in the "Bactrian" complex from the Mehrgarh VIII cenotaphs (Santoni 1988:fig. 1, upper middle). The small, elongated cup (fig. 3.14.G) finds an approximate parallel in Period IVB5 (fig. 3.20), and the same is true of the large storage jar with punctate chain-ridge decoration (fig. 3.13.H, cf. fig. 3.21).

A small number of black-on-grey sherds was found in Phase IVB6 contexts (fig. 3.22). Some of the black-on-orange sherds (fig. 3.10.I-L) belong in the general category of Umm an-Nar and Baluchistan black-on-orange wares of the second half of the third millennium. The zigzag patterns on figure 3.10.J, K, the stylized palm leaf on figure 3.10.L, and the hatched meander on figure 3.10.I are all extremely common throughout the area. The chain-link device on figure 3.10.F is, to my knowledge, without close parallel.

Figure 3.13.G shows the incised rear legs of a quadruped, and one wonders whether this was a poor man's version of the relief-decorated Proto-Elamite pottery known at Tal-i Malyan on which cattle are depicted (Sumner 1976:fig. 3). Finally, the small bowl with punctate decoration (fig. 3.13.I) is likely to be an intrusion from Period IVA.

## PHASE IVB6 SMALL FINDS

Small finds made of clay included four fragmentary zoomorphic figurines (SF 1153, 4.3 x 3.3 cm; SF e1248, 2.5 cm maximum diameter; SF 3790, 2.5 x 2.1 x 1.5 cm; SF z-438, 2.3 x 1.1 cm), a bead (SF 3789, 2.1 cm in diameter), a ball (SF 1148, 3.5 cm in diameter), a spindle whorl (?) (SF z-449, 3.8 x 3.3 cm), and an unidentified clay object (SF e1242, 2.9 x 1.1 cm).

Beads of bone (SF 1355, .3 x .7 cm), shell (SF 1739, .7 x .2 cm), and undetermined stone (SF e2334, 1.7 x .9 x .9 cm; SF 3707, 1.4 cm in diameter; SF 3810, 1.6 x .8 cm; SF 3811, 1.7 x .8 cm), and a mother-of-pearl pendant (SF 1764, 10.5 x 3.5 x 1 cm) were also discovered.

The stone vessel fragments included six of white stone (SF 2246, 5.2 x 3.6 x 1 cm; SF 2247, 3.6 x 3.2 x 1 cm; SF 2248, 3.6 x 3.2 x .5 cm; SF 2249, 3.3 x 2.9 x 1 cm; SF 2423, 2.9 x 2.2 x .6 cm; SF 2424, 7.2 x 14 x 1 cm), a complete profile of white stone (SF 2252, SF 2253, SF 2254, fig. 3.23, 17.2 x 12 x 1.5 cm, 7.3 x 8.2 cm, 1.6 x 1.5 x .8 cm), and two fragments of undetermined stone (SF 3711, 3 x 1.7 x .85 cm; SF z-722, 2 x 26.5 cm). In addition, a pestle of schist-like stone (SF 3708, 14.5 x 3.8 cm), a whetstone (SF 2255, fig. 3.24, 9 x 3 x 1.5 cm), and a stone disk (SF 2410, 6.7 x 5.2 x 2 cm) were found. Other stone objects included a disk with incised lines on both faces (SF 3709, fig. 3.25, 4.5 x 2 cm), a cone (SF 3710, 2.8 x 1.2 cm), and several unidentified fragments (SF z-408, 3.3 x 2.05 x .7 cm, white; SF z-409, 2.6 x 2.1 x 2.1 cm, green; SF z-547, 6.2 x 3.6 x 2.4 cm, grey).

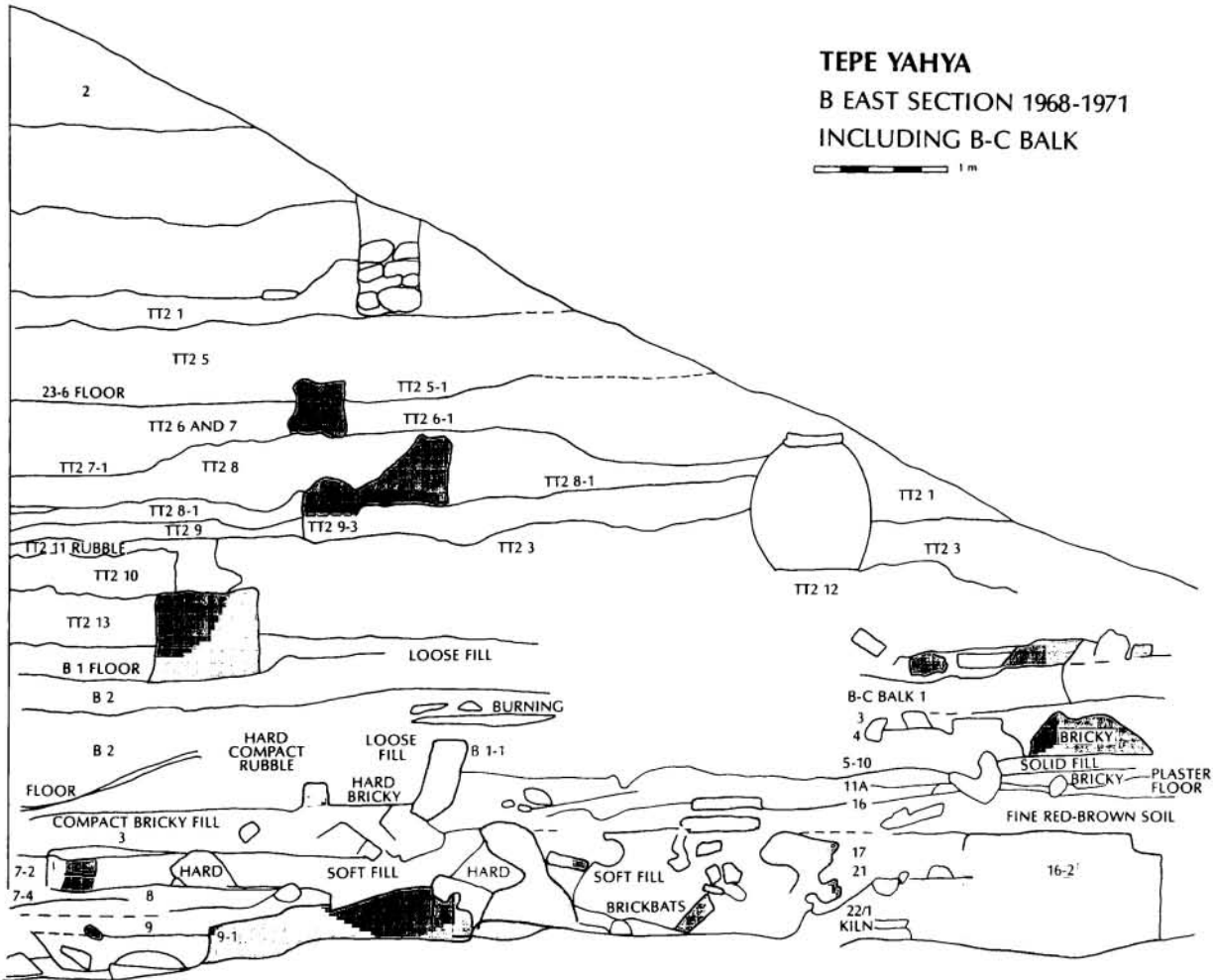
Chlorite small finds from Phase IVB6 contexts included nineteen vessel fragments (SF 294, 3.8 x 3.2 x 0.6 cm; SF 295, 2.9 x 2.3 x 0.5 cm; SF 296, 4.1 x 5.9 x 0.7 cm; SF 297, 9.2 x 4 x 1.2 cm; SF 298, 5.7 x 3.3 x 0.6 cm; SF 299, 4 x 3.2 x 0.8 cm; SF 307, 9.5 x 7.5 x 1 cm; SF 310, fig. 3.26, 7.5 x 3.4 x 0.4 cm; SF 323, 2.2 x 1.5 x 0.9 cm; SF 527, 4.5 x 4 x 1 cm; SF 528, 3.2 x 4.2 x 1.3 cm; SF 529, 5 x 4 x 0.5 cm; SF 532, 2.9 x 0.9 x 1.3 cm; SF 3655, 5.5 x 5.2 x 0.7 cm; SF 3656, 4.2 x 1.5 x 1.1 cm; SF 3657, 4 x 4 x 0.3 cm; SF 3658, 4.2 x 6.2 x 0.6 cm; SF 3659, 10 x 7 x 5.5 cm; SF 3661, 6 x 3.5 x 0.9 cm), a drilled weight (?) or pendant (SF 308, 3.5 x 3.5 x 2.1 cm), two so-called shaft straighteners (SF 309, 6.5 x 4.5 x 1.5 cm; SF 3668, 9.6 x 8 x 3.5 cm), two buttons (SF 3663, 1.9 x 0.2 cm; SF 3665, 2.2 x 0.9 cm), two disks (SF 3662, 1.7 x 1.2 x 0.7 cm), a spindle whorl (SF 549, 1.1 x 3.4 cm), two arrow-shaped fragments (SF 3664a and b, 3.6 x 1.7 cm), a gaming piece (?) or token (SF 3667, fig. 3.27, 1 x 2.6 cm), an unidentified, long, tapering object (SF 3666, 21.5 x 9.7 x 1.9 cm), and two raw or only slightly worked fragments (SF 547, 6 x 3.4 x 2 cm; SF 3660, 10.5 x 6.5 x 3.5 cm).

Miscellaneous stone finds included an obsidian flake (SF z-570, 1.2 x .8 x .1 cm), a fragment of turquoise (SF 2941, no dimensions available), two pieces of white stone (SF z-328, 2.2 x 2 x 1.6 cm; SF z-330, no dimensions available), a drilled stone of undetermined type (SF 3707a, 13.2 x 3.5 cm), and a stone ring (SF 3705, fig. 3.28, 9.1 x 3.1 cm).

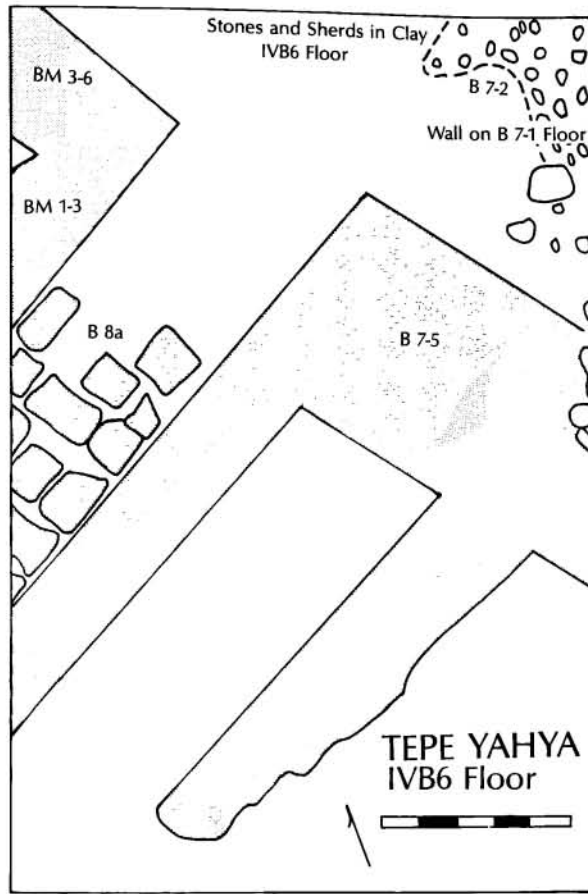
Copper-bronze finds included five pins (SF 2719, 8.5 x .4 cm; SF 2780, 12.5 x .6 cm; SF 2781, 15.9 x .3 cm;

SF 3368, no dimensions available; SF 3761, 16 x .2 cm), a sheep figurine (SF 3762, 1.6 cm long), a perforated copper sheet (SF 2787, 2.5 x .2 cm), and a fragment of a thin band (SF 2784, 2.3 x .4 x .05 cm). A piece of lead (?) coil (SF 2880, 1.2 cm in diameter, .1 cm thick) was also found.

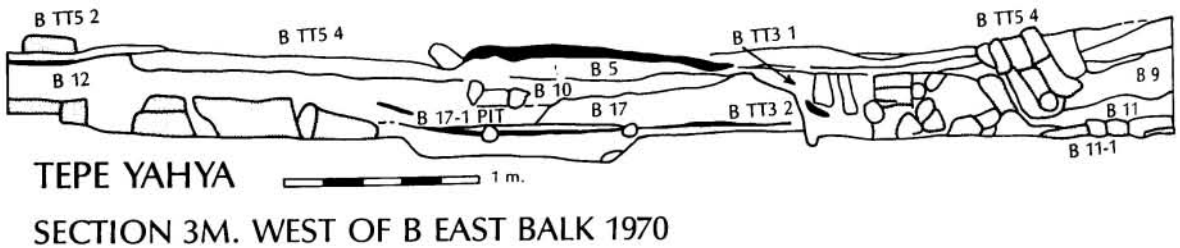
A stamp seal (glyptic catalogue no. 59) with a representation of an Akkadian-type bull man was recovered in a Phase IVB6 context. This seal is discussed in chapter 10.



**Figure 3.2.** Trench B, east section, 1968–1971, including the B-C Balk. In the figure the test trench designation sometimes precedes the stratum number. The feature number follows the stratum number and is sometimes separated by a hyphen or solidus. Walls are shown in shaded grey.



**Figure 3.3.** Plan of the Phase IVB6 floor B.71.7.1 and stone and sherd concentration B.71.7.2. The unnumbered wall discussed in the text is labeled "wall" on the B 7-1 floor. The letters designate the trench and are followed by the stratum number; the feature number, where present, is separated by a hyphen.



**Figure 3.4.** Section of test trench three meters west of the B.70 east balk.





**Figure 3.5.** View showing the superimposition of the Phase IVB5 walls over the Phase IVC2 walls in the center of Trench B, from the west (scale = 1 m).



**Figure 3.6.** View showing the superimposition of the Phase IVB5 walls over the Phase IVC2 walls in the center of Trench B, from the east (scale = 1 m).

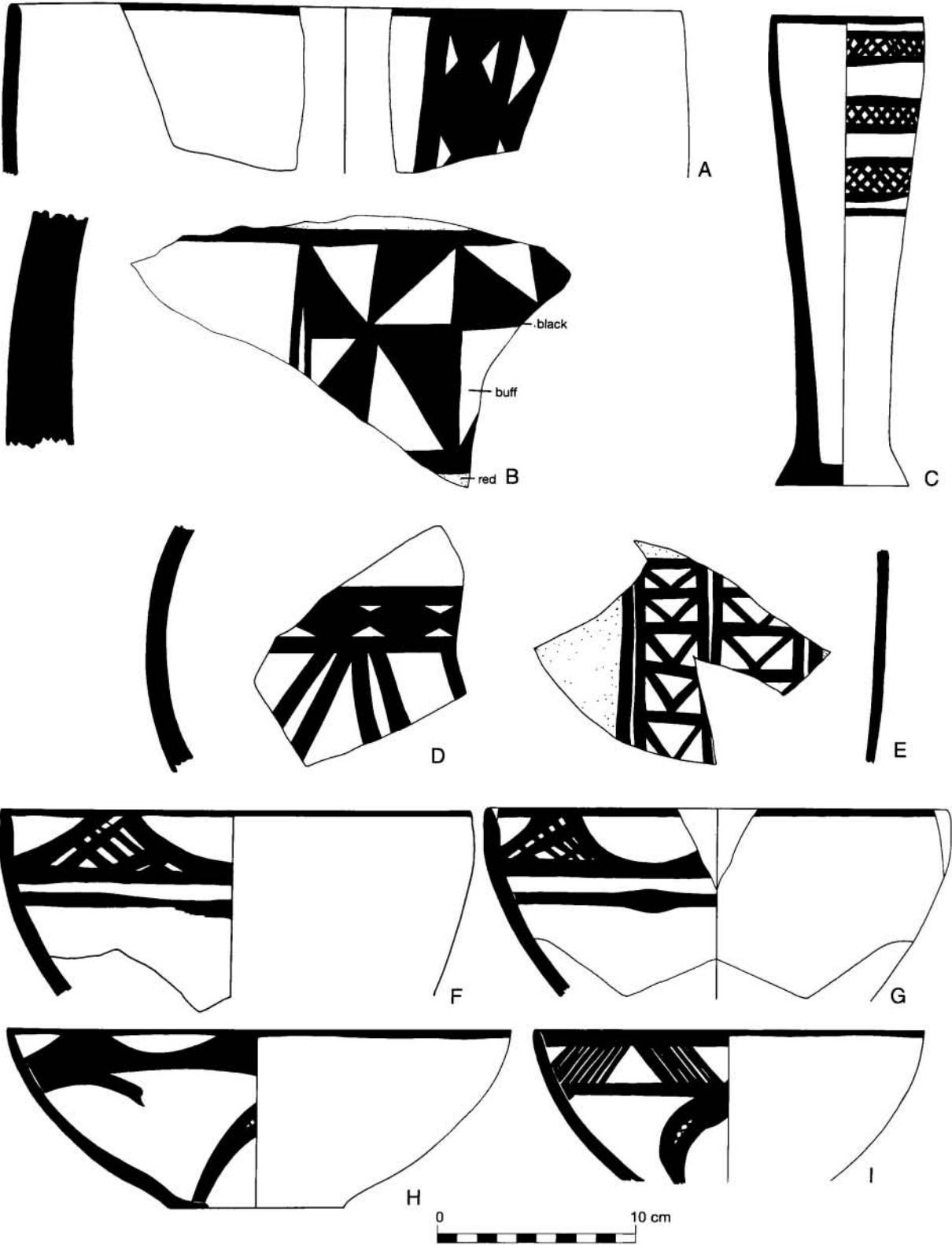
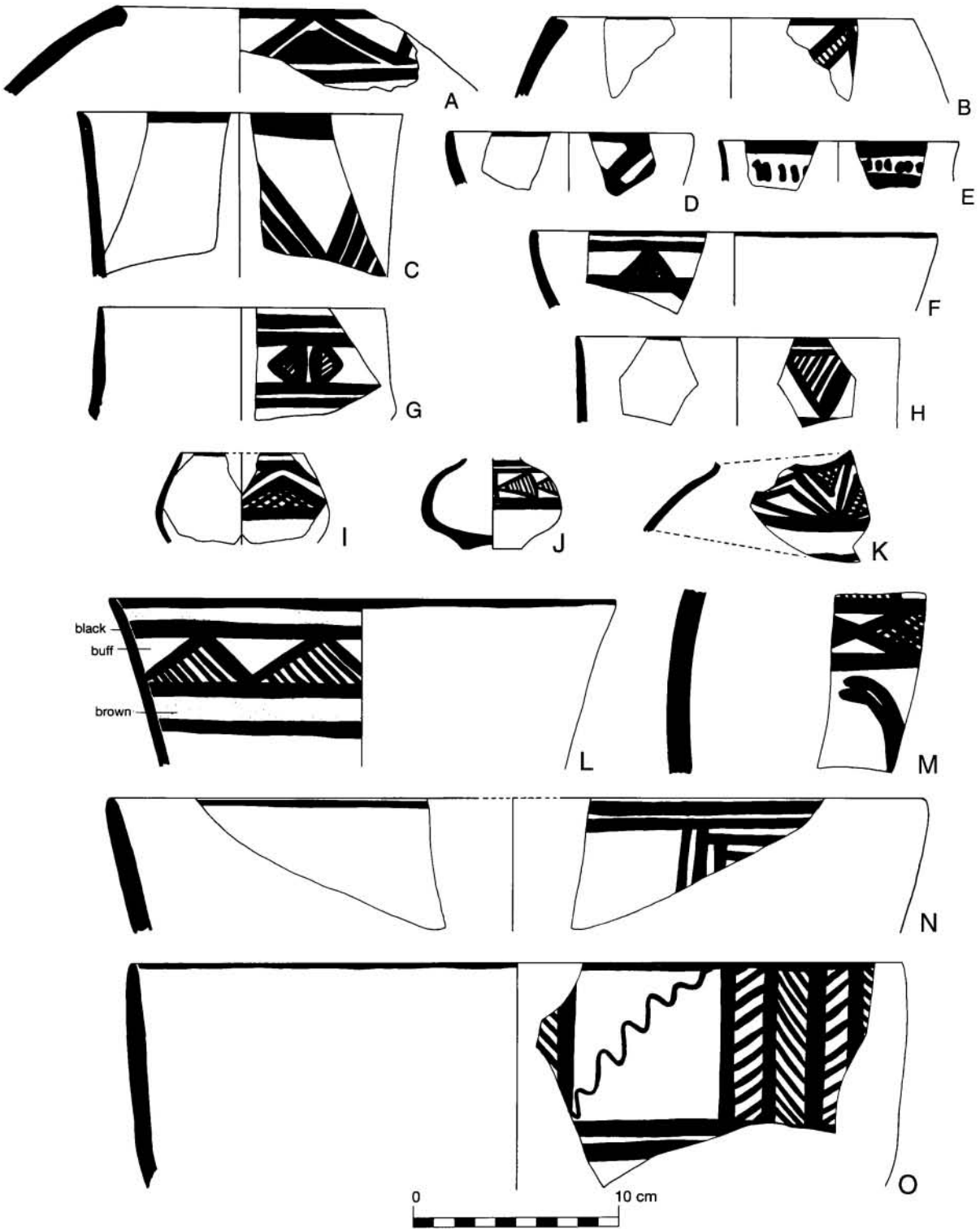


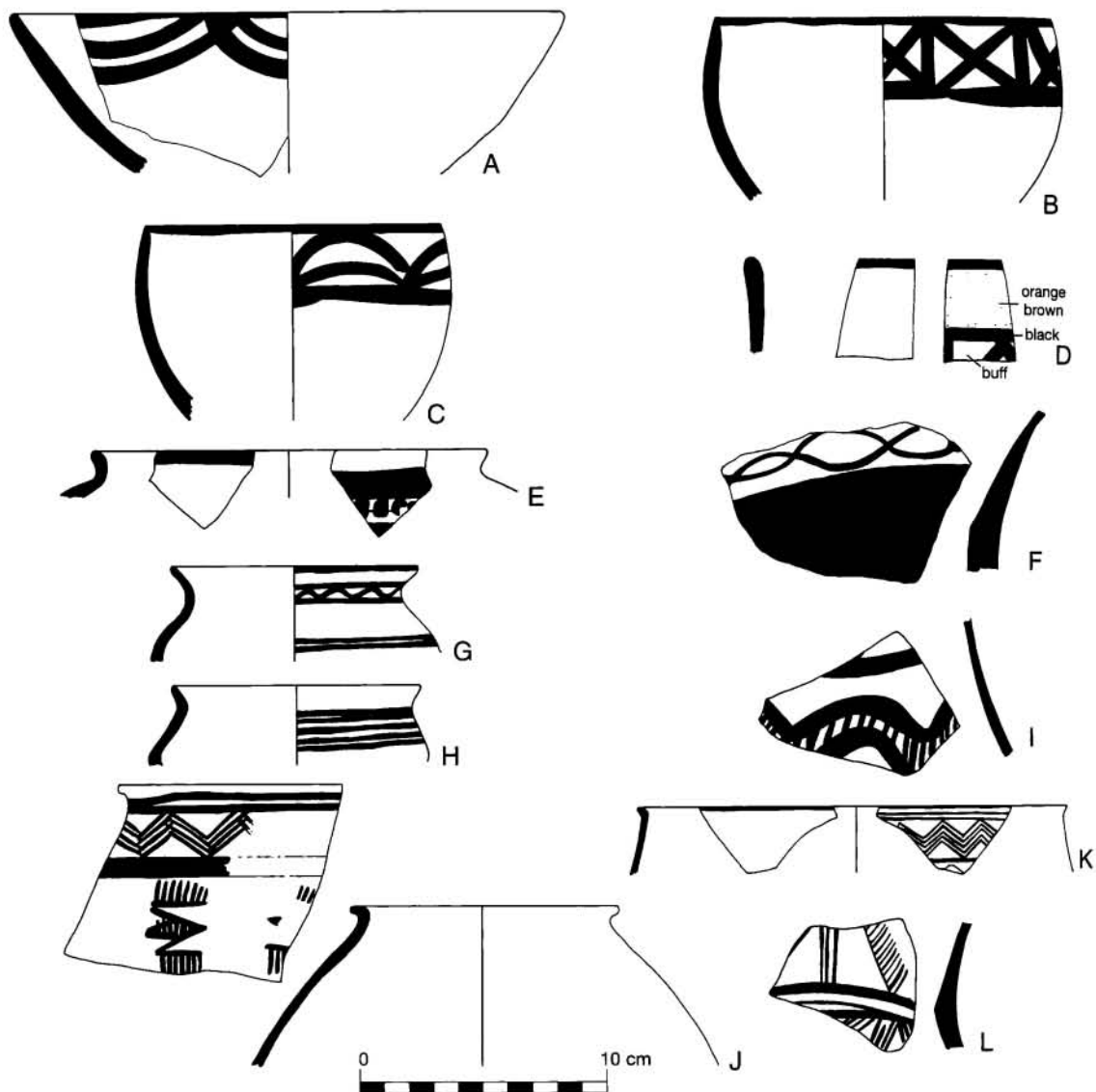
Figure 3.7. Intrusive black-on-buff, Phase IVB6. A. B.71.4.1; B. BW.71.T2.2; C. BW.71.T2.3a; D. A.75.10b; E. BW.71.T2.2a; F. BW.71.T2.3a; G. BW.71.T2.3a; H. B.71.4.3; I. BW-CW.71.7.1.



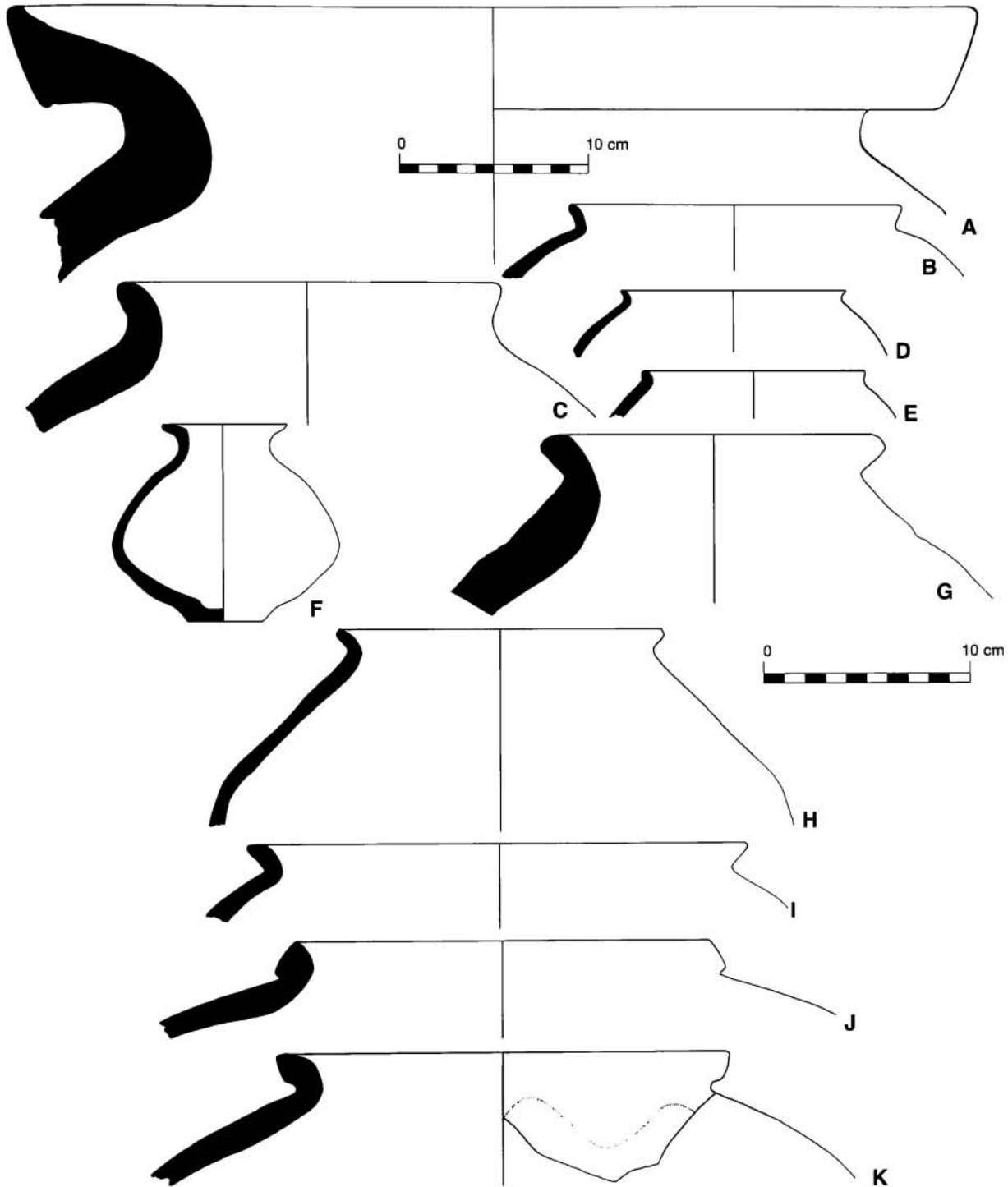
Figure 3.8. Black-on-buff chalice (fig. 3.7.C).



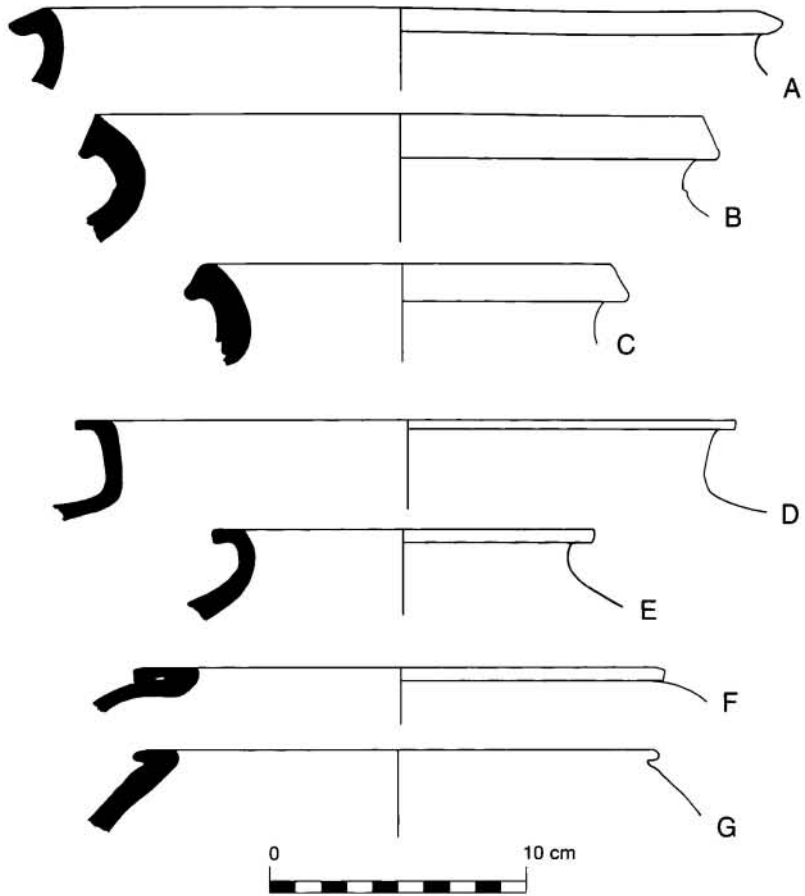
**Figure 3.9.** Intrusive black-on-buff, Phase IVB6. A. BW.71.T2.4; B. BW.71.T2.3a; C. BW.71.T2.2a; D. BW.71.T2.5a; E. BW.71.T2.5a; F. BW.71.T2.5a; G. B.70.11; H. B.70.18; I. B.70.T3.3; J. A.75.T7.10.1; K. BW.71.T2.2; L. BW.71.T2.2a; M. B.70.18; N. B.70.11; O. B.70.18.



**Figure 3.10.** Black-on-red/orange/orange-buff/burgundy, Phase IVB6. A. black-on-red/orange (BM.71.1.1); B. black-on-red/orange (BM.71.2.1); C. black-on-red/orange (BW.71.T2.4.2); D. black-on-red/buff bichrome (BW.71.T2.2a); E. black-on-red/orange (BW.71.T2.5a); F. black-on-orange/buff (A.75.10a); G. black-on-burgundy (B.71.3); H. black-on-burgundy (B.71.3); I. black-on-orange (A.75.10c); J. black-on-orange (A.75.10.2); K. black-on-orange (B.70.11); L. black-on-orange (A.75.10a).

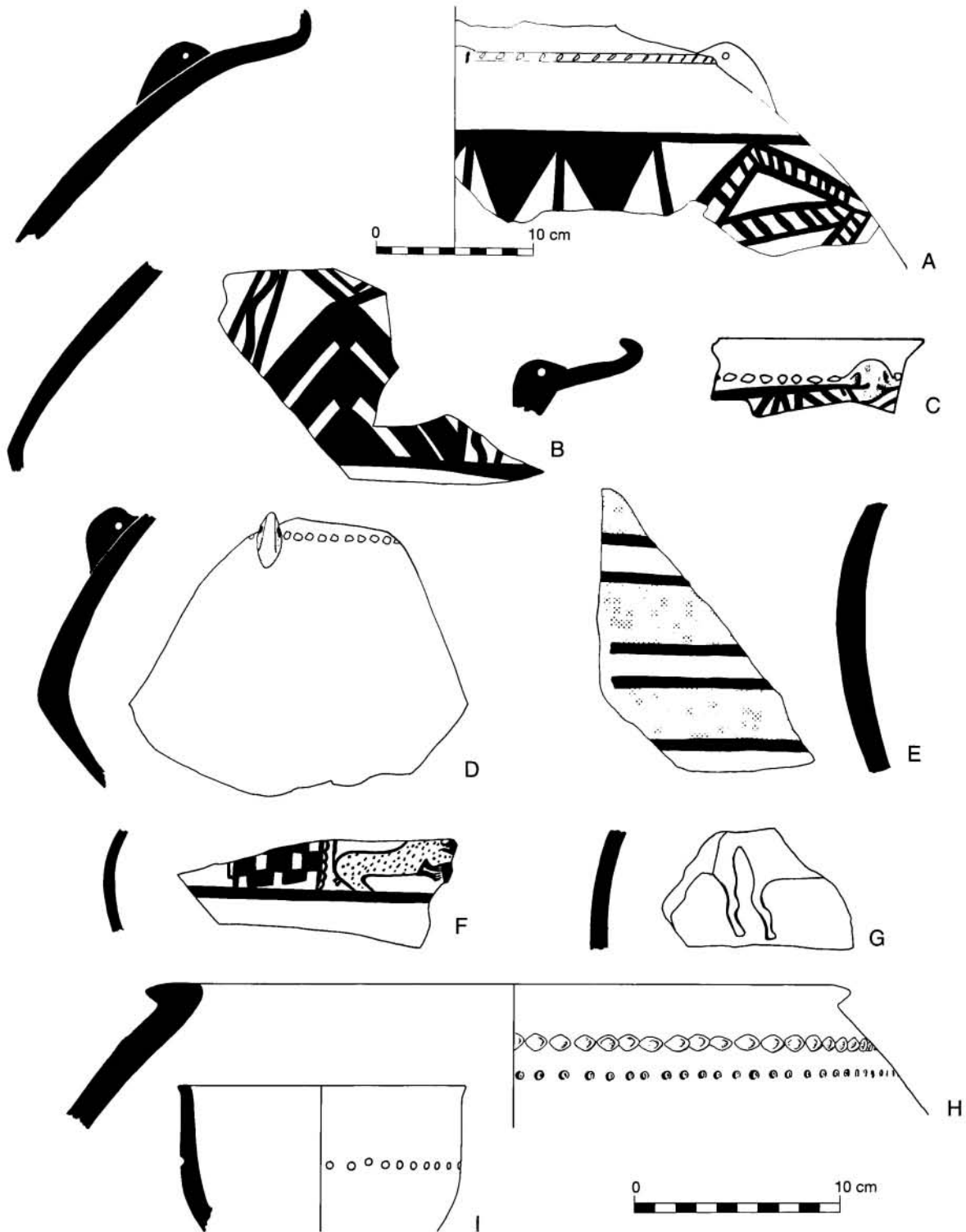


**Figure 3.11.** Unpainted Phase IVB6 pottery, jar forms. A. no description available (BW.71.T2.3); B. coarse tan grit (BM.71.1.1); C. fine orange (B.71.3); D. brown-slipped red (BW.71.T2.5a); E. brown grit (BW.71.T2.3a); F. coarse tan chaff (BM.71.1.1); G. white-slipped pink (A.75.10a); H. grey-black-slipped brown (BM.71.2.1); I. coarse red chaff (BM.71.2.1); J. brown-slipped buff, medium grit and chaff (BW.71.T2.2a); K. plain brown, heavy coarse grit (A.75.10).

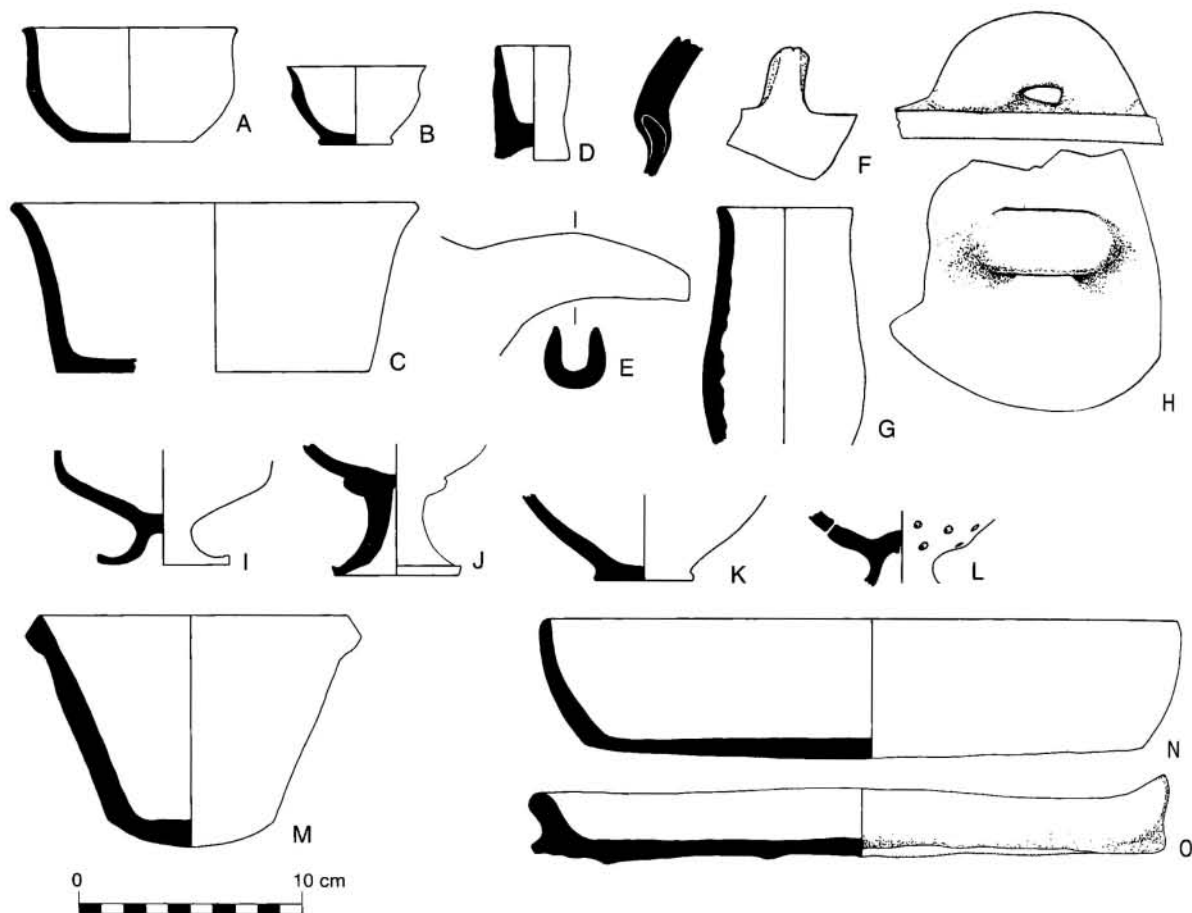


**Figure 3.12.** Unpainted Phase IVB6 pottery, jars with everted folded and ledge rims. A. smooth tan (A.75.10b); B. red-slipped tan (B.71.3); C. smooth orange-pink (B.71.8a); D. pink-buff with grit (A.75.10b); E. pink-buff with grit (A.75.10b); F. plain pink-buff (A.75.10b); G. plain tan (A.75.10a).





**Figure 3.13.** Jamdat Nasr-related and other decorated pottery, Phase IVB6 (all at 33% except for A at 25%). A. plum- and black-on-buff slip (BM.71.2.5); B. red-on-buff, chaff and grit (BW.71.T2.3a); C. black-on-plain red (BW.71.T2.3a); D. bur-nished red-slipped tan (BW.71.T2.3a); E. no description available (A.75.10b); F. black-on-red washed buff (A.75.10a); G. brown-slipped buff, incised (B.70.18); H. coarse red-brown grit (B.70.11); I. plain orange-buff grit (B.71.4.2).



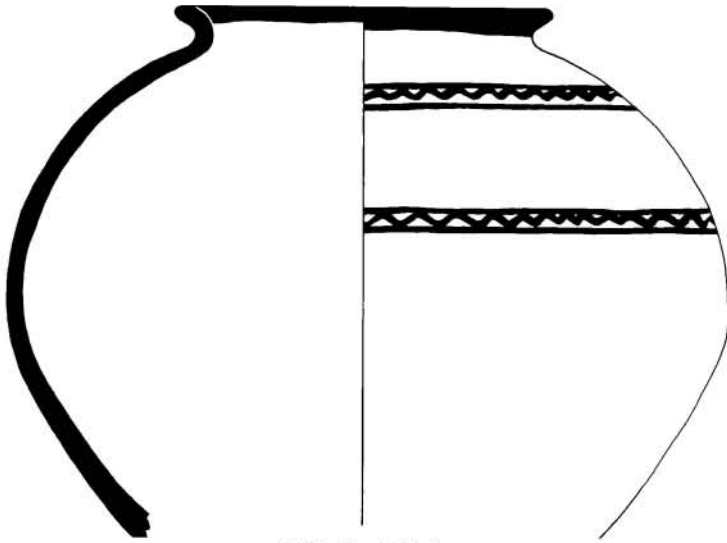
**Figure 3.14.** Unpainted Phase IVB6 pottery, complete and miscellaneous shapes. A. burnished black (B.71.4.4); B. burnished black (B.71.4.5); C. coarse grit buff (B.71.3); D. coarse tan (B.71.3); E. tan with grit (B.71.7.4); F. no description available (B.70.T4.2); G. coarse brown grit (B.71.T2.2); H. coarse brown (A.75.10a); I. white-buff (A.75.10a); J. red-orange grit (B.71.3); K. fine orange-buff slip over buff (A.75.10); L. plain brown, fine grit (A.75.10); M. friable, tan, beveled-rim bowl (A.75.10b); N. plain buff (A.75.10.2); O. coarse tan low-sided tray (BM.71.2.5).



IVB6, Fig. 3.10.G



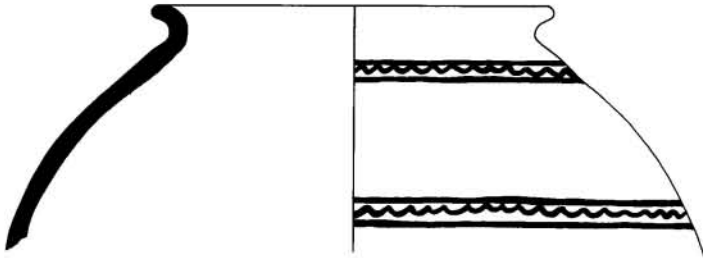
IVB5, Fig. 4.18.A



IVB1, Fig. 6.13.A



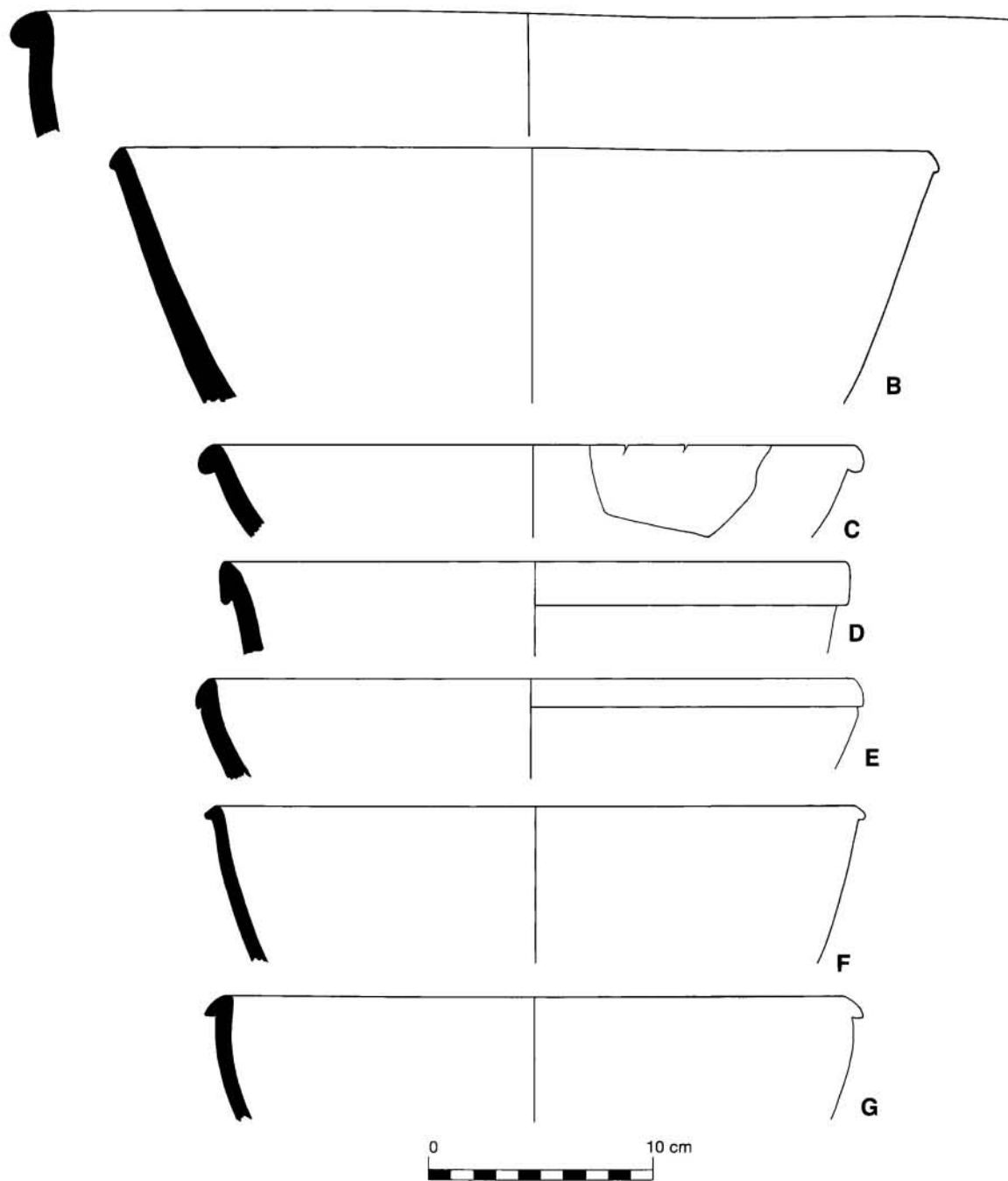
IVB1, Fig. 6.13.B



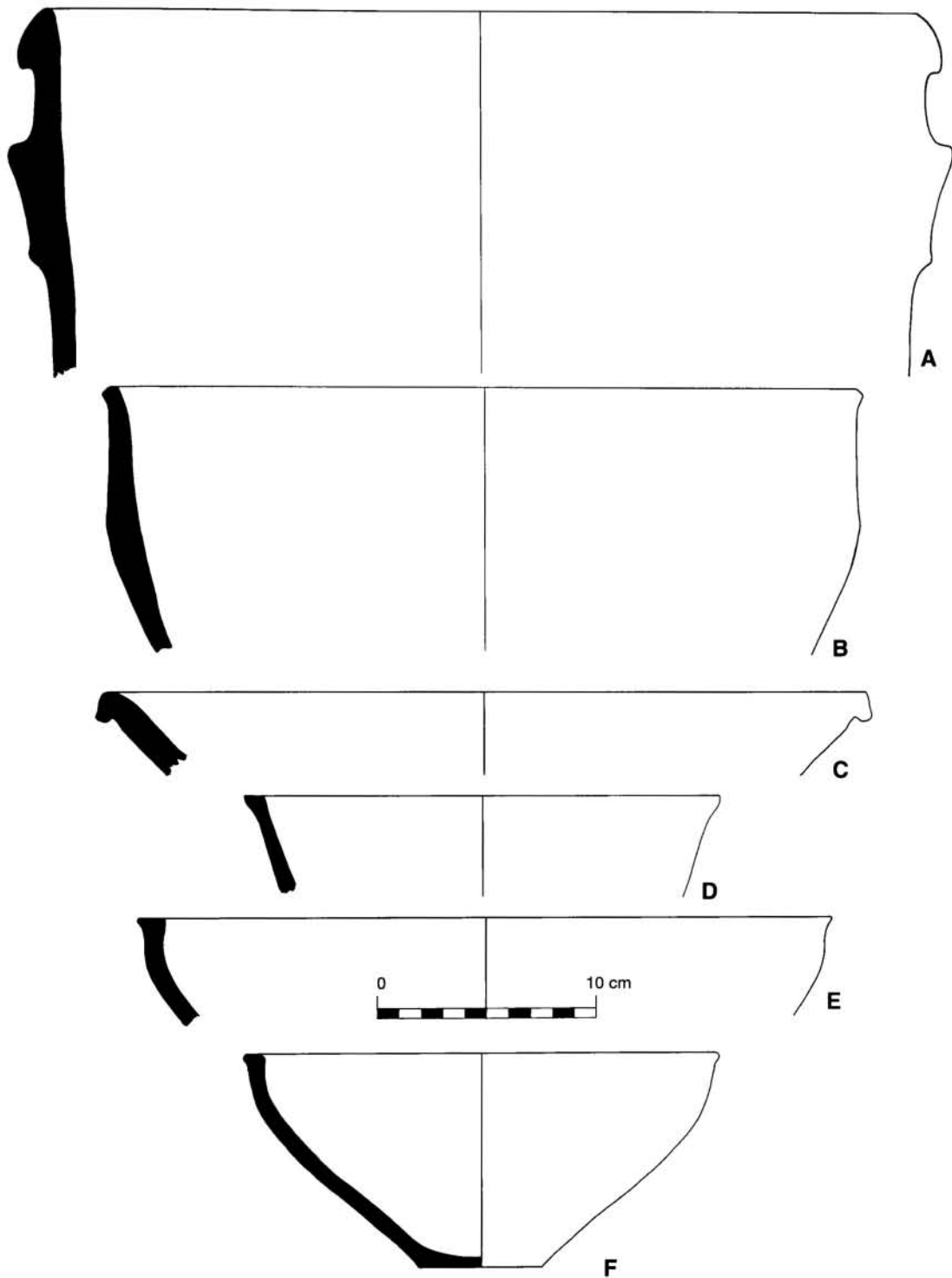
IVB1, Fig. 6.13.D



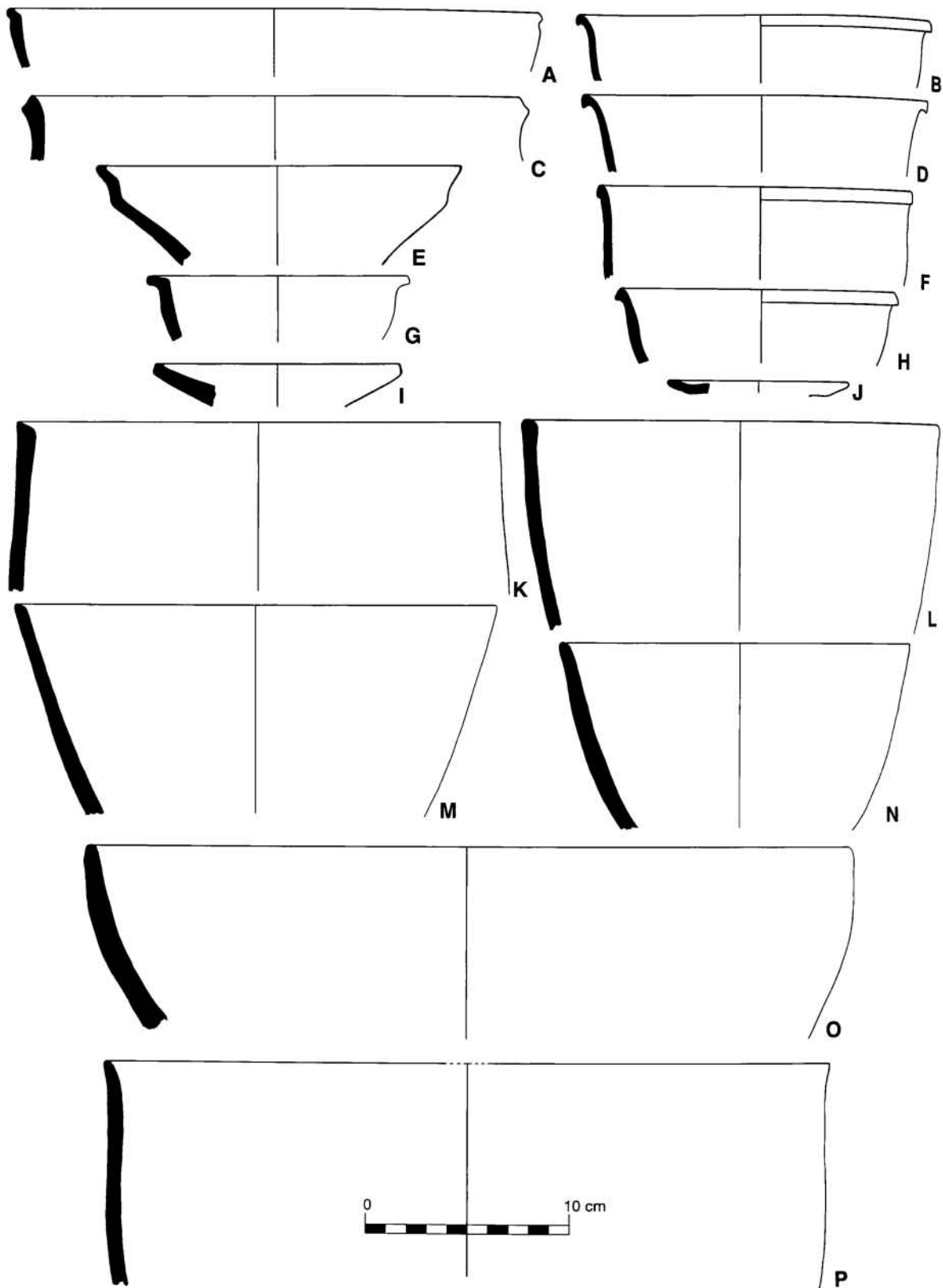
Figure 3.15. Painted black-on-orange pottery with wavy bands between horizontal lines, Periods IVC–IVB.



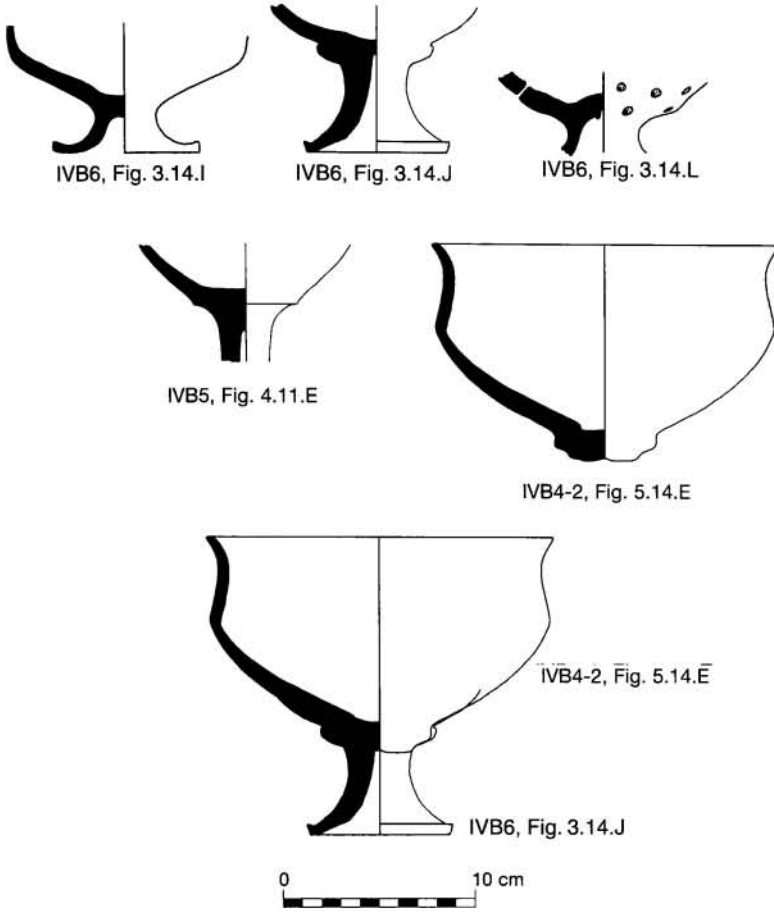
**Figure 3.16.** Unpainted Phase IVB6 pottery, club-rim bowls. A. plain tan (A.75.10); B. brown wash over red-tan (BW.71.T2.3a); C. reddish-brown, light grit (A.75.10); D. smooth red-orange (B.71.3); E. plain red-brown (A.75.10); F. buff-slipped reddish-brown, medium grit (A.75.10); G. plain red-brown (A.75.10).



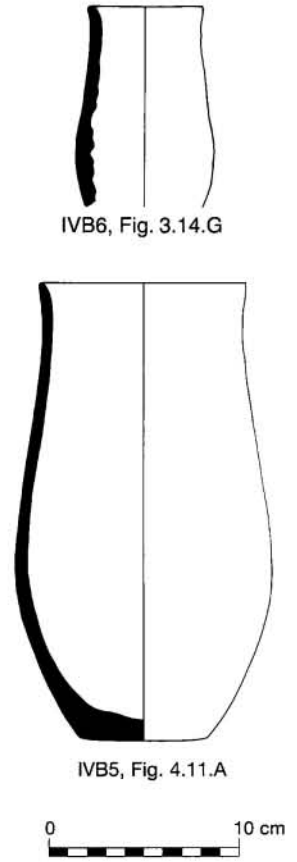
**Figure 3.17.** Unpainted Phase IVB6 pottery (except where noted), deep vats and bowls. A. plain brown, coarse grit (B.71.T1.1.1); B. plain buff (B.71.4.4); C. plain brown, coarse grit, Phase IVB5 (A.75.10.3); D. buff-slipped orange (B.71.7); E. plain tan (B.71.3); F. red-brown grit (A.75.10).



**Figure 3.18.** Unpainted Phase IVB6 pottery, miscellaneous bowls. A. smooth red (B.71.4); B. plain pink-buff (A.75.10a); C. coarse pink grit (B.71.7); D. reddish-brown-slipped cream-buff (A.75.10.2); E. plain grey (A.75.10); F. coarse tan (B.71.7); G. no description available (B.70.11); H. red-slipped pink (A.75.10b); I. red-slipped buff (BW.71.T2.2a); J. red-brown-slipped buff (A.75.10a); K. plain buff, medium grit (A.75.10); L. red-brown-slipped buff (B.71.3.2); M. plain brown (A.75.10); N. pinkish-brown, heavy grit (A.75.10); O. coarse tan (BM.71.2.1); P. streaky brown wash over plain buff (A.75.10a).



**Figure 3.19.** Hollow-footed chalice fragments, Periods IVC–IVB. The bottom piece is a computer-generated reconstruction made by superimposing a nearly complete bowl (fig. 5.14.E) on top of a base (fig. 3.14.J).



**Figure 3.20.** Small, elongated cups, Period IVB.

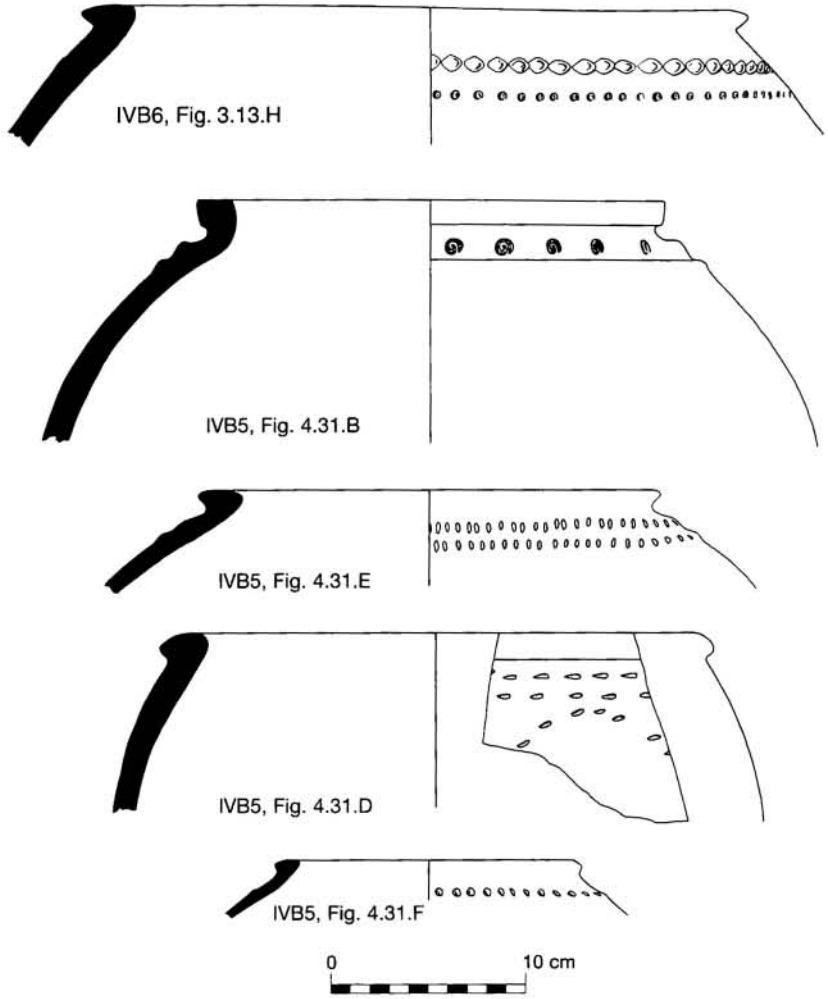
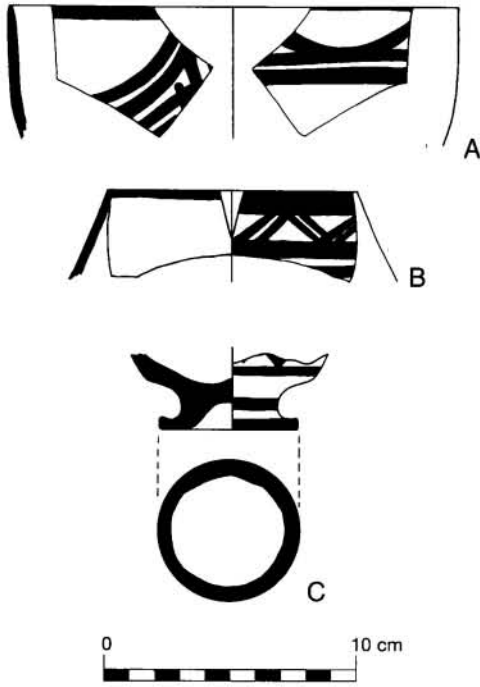
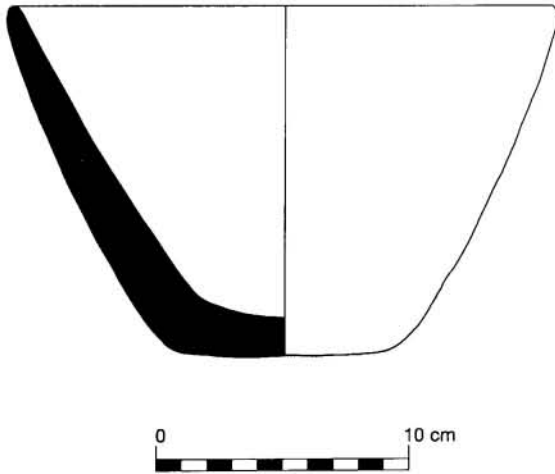


Figure 3.21. Chain ridge and punctate decorated storage jars, Periods IVC–IVB.





**Figure 3.22.** Black-on-grey, Phase IVB6.  
A. B.70.18; B. B.70.11; C. B.70.T3.2.



**Figure 3.23.** White stone vessel (SFs 2252, 2253, 2254).

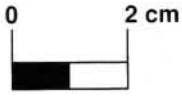
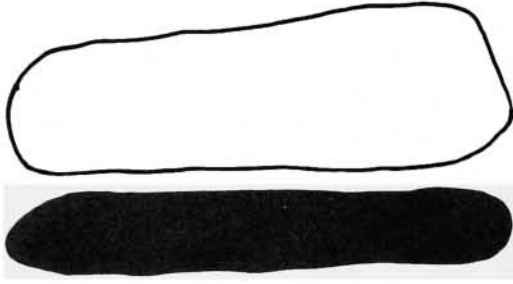


Figure 3.24. Whetstone (SF 2255).



Figure 3.26. Incised chlorite rim sherd (SF 310; 7.5 cm x 3.4 cm x 0.4 cm).

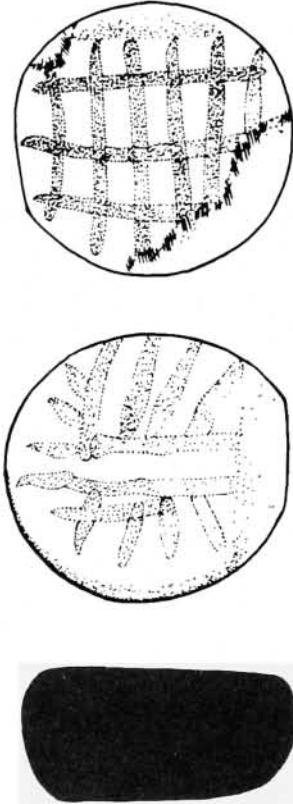


Figure 3.25. Stone disk with incised lines on obverse and reverse (SF 3709).

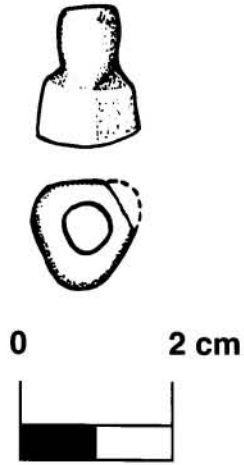


Figure 3.27. Chlorite gaming piece or token (SF 3667).

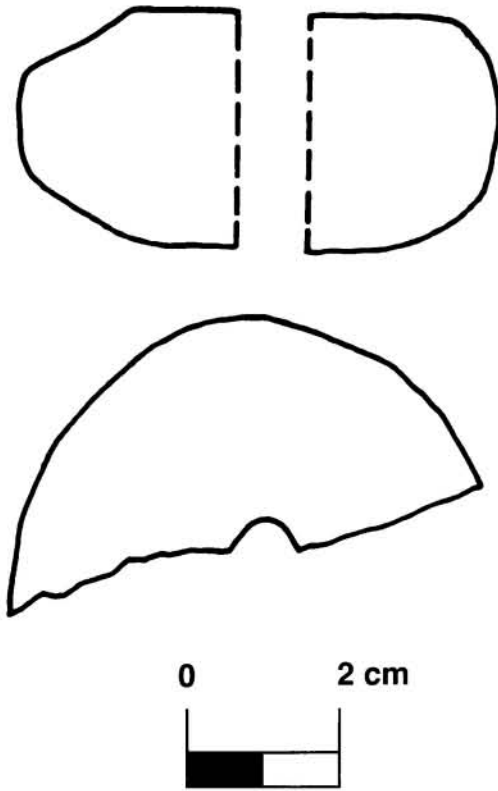


Figure 3.28. Stone ring or macehead (SF 3705).



# Chapter 4

## Phase IVB5

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### INTRODUCTION

In previous publications the level of architecture discussed in this chapter has been designated either as the "lower phase of IVB" (e.g., Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:310) or IVB2 (e.g., Kohl 1974; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1977:40). Informally, the members of the excavation team have long referred to this architecture as the "Persian Gulf room." Here the phase designation has been changed to IVB5. It is represented by a single architectural level (fig. 4.1), recovered in Trenches A, B, BW, and CW, as well as in the B-C and BW-CW balks (see figure F.11, p. xxxix for the location of these trenches). Trench C does not have evidence of Phase IVB5 strata. Rather, it has Period IVA material directly overlying remains of Period V date. It is possible that any Phase IVB5 remains that once existed in this area of the mound were removed as a result of construction during Period IVA times, or else during the Partho-Sasanian era when it is believed that the contour of the mound was greatly modified.

Parts of the Phase IVB5 complex were first exposed in 1969 during excavations in Trench BW (figs. 4.2-4.4). The walls of a rectangular building (labeled context BW.69.T5.10) that was identified in 1969 were exposed more fully in 1970. Another room was found adjacent to the one in Trench BW in Trenches B and CW and in the B-C and BW-CW balks in 1970 and 1971. In 1973, some very poorly preserved architecture was found in the AN2 deep sounding that may relate to the IVB5 complex. Finally, the excavation of Trench A exposed substantially more Phase IVB5 levels during the 1975 season.

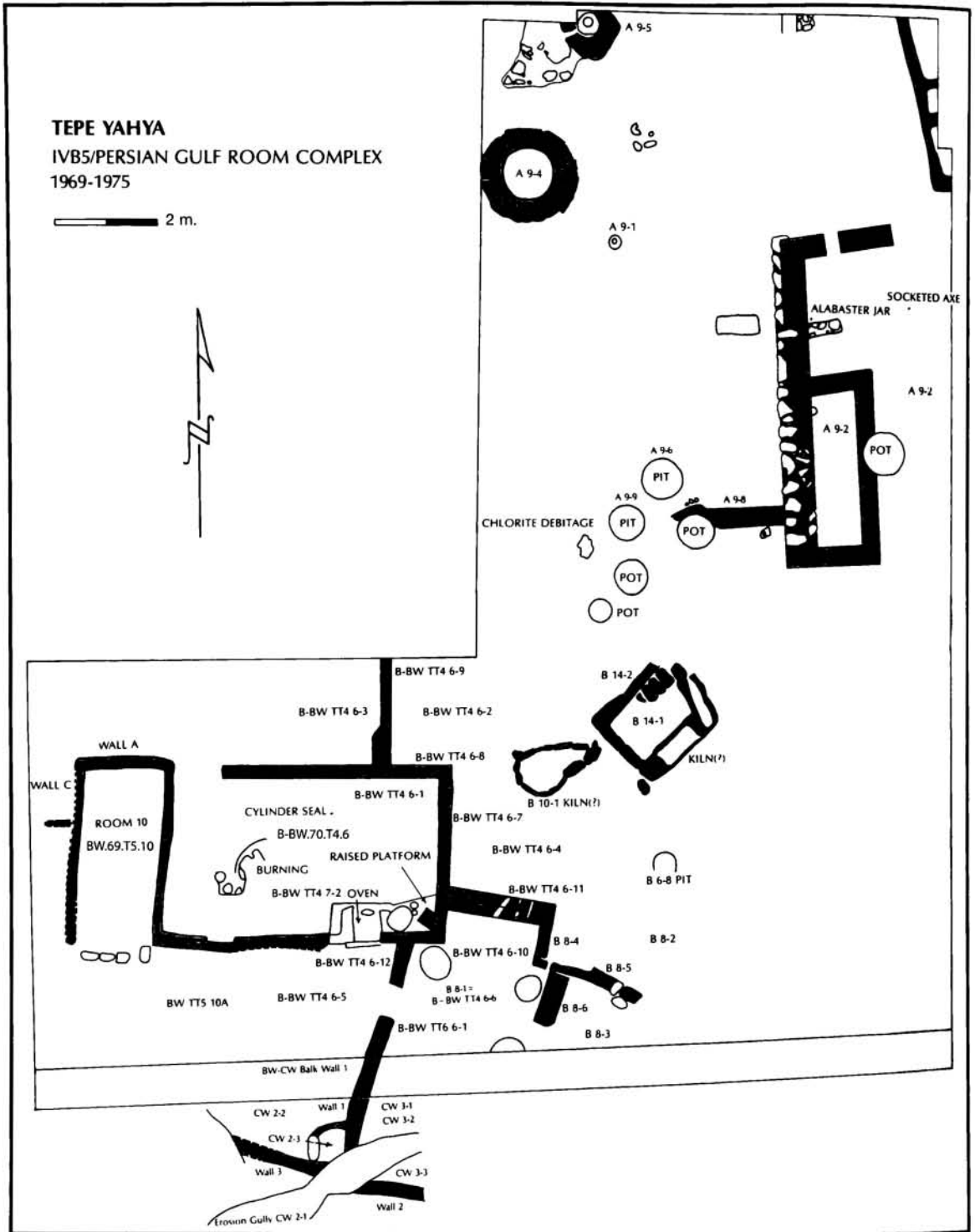
In general, the Phase IVB5 complex in Trenches B and BW appears to be typical of many modern Near Eastern villages and ancient pre-urban sites, representing the remains of a small building surrounded by open courtyard space broken only by several small, subsidiary walls. A number of hearths and pits were found scattered throughout the area. The remains in Trench A, a narrow

room with a stone and mudbrick bench attached to the exterior of its west wall and a number of pits, also included a concentration of chlorite debitage, no doubt indicative of a work area.

The Phase IVB5 contexts in this area may be grouped as follows: (1) the Persian Gulf room and attached walls and features, (2) Room 10, (3) south of the Persian Gulf room, (4) north of the Persian Gulf room, (5) northeast of the Persian Gulf room, (6) east of the Persian Gulf room, (7) southeast of the Persian Gulf room, (8) kiln (?) northeast of the Persian Gulf room, (9) south of the Persian Gulf room in BW-CW Balk and Trench CW, (10) the B-C Balk, (11) Trench A. The contexts and features are listed in table 4.1. The recovered remains from each area are discussed in turn below.

### THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM AND ATTACHED WALLS AND FEATURES

The Persian Gulf room is a single, rectangular room that narrows slightly at its eastern end and measures approximately 5.34 x 3.36 m (measurements taken inside the room from the midpoints of the walls; fig. 4.3). In the northwestern corner of the room is a doorway. In the southeastern corner of the room is a hearth or oven (B-BW.70.T4.7.2, fig. 4.4) faced with brick that seems to have had a trough draining into an area to the south of the room's southern wall, i.e., into the area called B-BW.70.T4.6.10. This area may represent another room (see discussion below). The north, south, and east walls of the room were constructed of bricks set out as stretchers, one row wide, preserved to a height of only one brick. The walls were built on a foundation of small stones that were never more than 10 cm in diameter. The walls rested above the level of the room's interior floor, but were lower than the level of the exterior floor. Brick sizes from these three walls varied slightly as follows: east wall, 26 x 42 cm; north wall, 24 x 44-46 cm; and south wall, 22-24 x 42-44 cm.



**Figure 4.1.** Plan of the Phase IVB5 architecture. Contextual information is rendered as follows: the trench is designated by letter, the test trench number is preceded by "TT," the strata and feature numbers are separated by hyphens. The year designation is not present in these contexts.



**Figure 4.2.** View of the Phase IVB5 architecture in Trench B-BW, looking west (scale = 1 m).

A secondary wall (B-BW.70.T4.6.9, 2.16 m long), preserved to a height of three courses of brick, ran from the north side of the room directly into the Trench BW north balk, and appeared to the excavator to slightly postdate the original building. It was not constructed on a foundation of stones, and the bricks used (25–40 x 20 x 10 cm) did not conform in size with those found in the rest of the room. An area of burning in the western end of the room (B-BW.70.T4.7), originally interpreted as a possible kiln, is more likely burnt debris from the building's roof.

No pottery from the walls themselves was drawn. Chlorite finds removed when the walls were taken down included a vessel fragment (SF 388, 3 x 1.6 x .6 cm) and a bead (SF 390, 2.4 x .7 cm). Resting on the raised platform in the southeastern corner of the room (fig. 4.3) were four stone mortars (SF 2414, 3 x 26 cm; SF 2415, 3 x 20 cm; SF 2416, 7.5 x 6.5 cm; SF 2417, 8 x 7 x 6.5 cm), two copper-bronze pins (SF 2788, 18.5 x .3 cm; SF 2789, .6 x .4 cm), and a copper-bronze hook (SF z-478, 18.5 cm long).

Table 4.1. Phase IVB5 areas and rooms and associated excavated contexts.

Phase IVB5 area or room	Context
Persian Gulf room and attached walls and features	
North wall	B-BW.70.T4.6.8 = B-BW.71.1.2
East wall	B-BW.70.T4.6.7 = B-BW.71.1.1
South wall	B-BW.T4.6.10
North extension	B-BW.T4.6.9
Hearth	B-BW.70.T4.7.2
Platform	BW.71.T1.3
Southern extension	B-BW.70.T4.6.12
Eastern extensions	B-BW.70.T4.6.11, B.70.8.4, B.70.8.5, B.70.8.6
Persian Gulf room fill	B-BW.70.T4.6.1 (seal 57), BW.71.T1.1.1, B.70.T3.1
Persian Gulf room burnt roof fall	B-BW.70.T4.7
Persian Gulf room main floor	B-BW.70.T4.7.1 = BW.71.T1.1
Room 10	
Fill	BW.69.T5.8, BW.69.T5.9
Floor	BW.69.T5.10a
South of the Persian Gulf room	
Fill	B-BW.70.T4.6.5, B-BW.70.T6.5
Fill and floor	BW.69.T5.10
Superimposed floors	B-BW.71.4a-c
Upper floor	B-BW.70.T6.5.1 = B-BW.70.T4.6.5.1
Fill between upper and basal floors	B-BW.T6.6
Basal floor	B-BW.70.T6.6.2
Wall on basal floor	B-BW.70.T6.6.1
North of the Persian Gulf room	
Fill/area	B-BW.70.T4.6.3
Fill	BW.69.T5.9a, B-BW.70.T4.5, B-BW.70.T4.6
Plaster floor	B-BW.70.T4.6.3.1
Northeast of the Persian Gulf room	
Fill	B-BW.70.T4.6.2
Area	B-BW.70.T4.6.4
Floor	B-BW.70.T4.6.2.1
East of the Persian Gulf room	
Upper fill	B.70.13
Upper surface	B.70.13.1
Upper fill	B.70.14, B.70.15 = B.70.T3.1
Upper surface	B.70.15.1
Lower fill	B.70.16
Pit	B.70.16.3
Lower, primary floor	B.70.16.1
Small, burnt area of main floor	B.70.16.2
Area B	B.70.8.2 and B.70.8.3
Fill	B.70.8, B.70.9, B.71.4.7



Table 4.1 (continued)

Phase IVB5 area or room	Context
Southeast of the Persian Gulf room	
Area B-BW	B-BW.69.T4.6.6 = B.70.8.1
Floor	B-BW.70.T5.6.6.1 = B.70.8.1.1
Kiln (?) northeast of the Persian Gulf room	
Kiln/hearths	B.70.10.1, B.70.10.2
Walls	B.70.14.1, B.70.14.2, B.70.14.3
Ash	B.70.15.1
South of the Persian Gulf room in BW-CW Balk and CW	
Fill	BW-CW Balk.71.1, CW.71.T1.3.3
Floor	BW-CW Balk.71.2, CW.71.T1.2.2, CW.71.T1.3.2
Hearth	CW.71.T1.2.3
Burnt area	CW.71.T1.3.1
The B-C Balk	
Fill	B-C Balk.71.15, B-C Balk.71.16, B-C Balk.71.24
Floor	B-C Balk.71.15.2 = B-C Balk.71.16.4, B-C Balk.71.16a
Basal floor	B-C Balk.71.20.1 (= PG room floor?), B-C Balk.71.24.1, B-C Balk.71.26, B-C Balk.71.27
Walls	B-C Balk.71.15.1, B-C Balk.71.20.2
Trench A	
Fill	A.75.9
Floor	A.75.9.1
Room	A.75.9.2
Ovens	A.75.9.3 + A.75.10.3, A.75.9.4
Brick platform	A.75.9.5
Pits	A.75.9.6, A.75.9.9, A.75.11.13
Walls	A.75.9.7, A.75.9.8
Ash pit	A.75.10.1

The pottery from the fill of the Persian Gulf room (B-BW.70.T4.7.1) included a complete profile of a club-rim bowl (fig. 4.5.C). Small finds from the fill of the Persian Gulf room included a chlorite vessel fragment (SF 389, 2.4 x 2.1 x .6 cm), two clay slingballs (SF z-279a, 4.4 x 2.5 cm; SF z-279b, 4.8 x 2.7 cm), and a soft-stone stamp seal (glyptic catalogue no. 57, fig. 4.6, 1.9 x .5 cm).

The pottery found on the floor of the Persian Gulf room (figs. 4.7, 8) included six small, rather squat jars that belong to the beaker and carinated bowl class referred to several times above (cf. figs. 2.10.C, 2.11, 2.23.A). These jars can be paralleled with pieces from Khurab (Stein 1937:pls. XVII, top row center, XXXIII:5 = Khurab B.ii.166, and perhaps also pls. XV, lower photograph right, XXXIV.17 = Khurab D.243) and Bampur

(Stein 1937:pl. XXXII:l = Bampur A.159). Similar forms are also attested in Period II at Shahr-i Sokhta (Tosi 1983:fig. 1). A streak-burnished greyware beaker from Period IV2 at Bampur (de Cardi 1970:figs. 27, left, 28.275) is probably related to our series, as is a cup base from Period III (de Cardi 1970:fig. 22.150). Whether the squatter vessels from Damin are related to this series is difficult to say (Tosi 1970:fig. 9a-d). The ring bases of the vessels shown in figures 4.7.D, E, however, are not paralleled at any of these sites. With its potter's mark on the base, figure 4.7.G bears witness to the beginning of the potter's mark tradition at the site well before Period IVA, when it is most frequently attested (cf. Potts 1981b). Figure 4.7.I finds a relatively close parallel at Tepe Jalyan (de Miroschedji 1974:fig. 11.5).



**Figure 4.3.** View of the Persian Gulf room from the west, looking east (scale = 1 m).

Small finds from the floor (B-BW.70.T4.7.1) of the Persian Gulf room included a soft-stone cylinder seal (glyptic catalogue no. 49, fig. 4.9, 3.5 x 1.3 cm), a chlorite vessel fragment (SF 391, 7.8 x 5.4 x 1.8 cm, unfinished), a biconical carnelian bead (SF 2947, 2.4 x .4 cm), and two copper-bronze pins (SF 2729, SF 2730, SF 2731, 6.9 x .4 cm, square-sectioned tang; SF 2732, SF 2733, 10.7 x .3 cm).

## ROOM 10

To the west of the Persian Gulf room (B-BW.70.T4.6.1) is another room, excavated in 1969 and designated Room 10 (fig. 4.10). The west wall of the Persian Gulf room served as the east wall of Room 10 (fig. 4.1). Together, these rooms probably represent a two-room dwelling in which the rooms were not connected. The walls of this second, western room (Room 10) were recovered in varying degrees of poor preservation. The north wall was no more than 20 cm thick, and brick lengths were approximately 35 cm. It proved very difficult to isolate individual bricks, and the wall appeared to consist of a good deal of compacted gel. The western wall of the room was also poorly preserved, and on the

southern end of the room there was no recoverable wall at all, only five large stones that seemed to constitute a demarcation of sorts. It is possible, however, that these stones represent the foundation for a mudbrick wall that was no longer preserved. The existence of another small wall, running perpendicular to the west wall of the room, was noted but was not recovered in excavation. The overall dimensions of Room 10 were 1.62 x 3.6 m. The interior of the room was filled with several superimposed lenses of dirt fill (labeled BW.69.T5.8 and 9), which rested on the main floor of the room (BW.69.T5.10a).

A selection of pottery from fill within Room 10 is illustrated in figures 4.11, 4.12.A–E, H, and 4.13. Only figures 4.12.F and G came from the floor of the room, and these are possibly intrusive black-on-buff sherds from Period VA, as is figure 4.12.D, which finds a close parallel in Period III at Tal-i Iblis (Chase, Caldwell, and Fehérvári 1967:137). Among the undecorated pieces, the beaker (fig. 4.11.C) and carinated cup (fig. 4.11.B) are obviously similar to the pieces from the Persian Gulf room (and elsewhere on the site) described above. Figure 4.11.E is the mid-section of a broken hollow-footed chalice (cf. fig. 3.19). The large storage jar with punctate and chain-ridge decoration (fig. 4.12.A) finds



**Figure 4.4.** View of the Persian Gulf room from the north, looking south, with the oven in the southeastern (upper left) corner (scale = 1 m).

numerous parallels both at Tepe Yahya and elsewhere, as discussed in chapter 2 (fig. 2.18). The incised wavy line on the upper portion of the beaker illustrated in figure 4.14 demonstrates clearly that decoration of this sort is not exclusive to the late periods at the site.

Small finds from the fill in this area (BW.69.T5.9) included two chlorite vessel fragments (SF 180, 2.5 x 1.2 cm; SF 181, 3 x ? cm), a pair of incomplete, clay zoomorphic figurines (SF 1085, 8.3 x 3.2 cm; SF 1086, 4 x 2.2 cm), two clay comb handles (SF 1083, 7.3 cm long; SF 1084, 9 x 4.5 cm), a stone loomweight or doorsocket (SF 2110, 21 cm in diameter, hole 6.5 cm in diameter), and a copper-bronze pin (SF 2690, fig. 4.15, 11 cm long; Heskell 1981:84, fig. 19).

Small finds from the floor of the room included an unfinished chlorite vessel (SF 184, 7 cm tall) and a stone ball (SF 3347, 5.5 cm in diameter).

## **SOUTH OF THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM**

No standing architecture was recorded directly south of the Persian Gulf room (the walls to the southeast and east of the Persian Gulf room, which make up a part of

a room, are discussed below). Nevertheless, the floors encountered here yielded a large quantity of ceramics and some small finds.

Pottery from the area to the south of the Persian Gulf room is illustrated in figures 4.16 and 17. The painted wares, in particular, include a number of intrusive pieces from the earlier periods at Tepe Yahya, such as figure 4.17.G. The example of “knobbed ware” (fig. 4.17.E) is one of the very rare pieces from the site. The singularity of this type has long been appreciated, and parallels have been drawn to numerous sites in Iran and across the Indo-Iranian borderlands, including Tell Asmar, Tepe Giyan, and Susa (Khan 1964:pl. 36.11–13; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:37; Carter 1980:fig. 14.13, 14).

Small finds discovered south of the Persian Gulf room included two chlorite vessel fragments (SF 394, 7.5 x 5.7 x 1.7 cm; SF 395, 3.7 x 6 x 4 cm), an incomplete, clay figurine of a quadruped (SF 1087, 4.5 cm long), a clay bead (SF 1117, 1.9 cm in diameter), an alabaster vessel base (SF 2111, 8.6 x 6 x .8 cm), and a fragment of copper-bronze (SF 2736, 1.7 x 1.5 x .4 cm).

## NORTH OF THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM

The pottery from this area includes a painted jar rim (fig. 4.18.A) that can be compared with a type attested from Phases IVB6–IVB1 at Tepe Yahya (fig. 3.15).

Chlorite finds from this area included three bowl fragments (SF 182, 2.5 x 1.8 cm; SF 386, 4.7 x 3.3 x 1.2 cm; SF 387, 3.8 x 2.2 x 1.2 cm), and a disk (SF 183, 2.1 cm in diameter). A vessel fragment of undetermined, red stone (SF z-742, 10 x 3.7 cm) was also recovered here.

## NORTHEAST OF THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM

The only documented find from this area was a white stone vessel base fragment (SF 2285, 4.5 x 3.2 x 1.3 cm).

## EAST OF THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM

To the southeast of the Persian Gulf room was some walling, first picked up in Trench B, which ran into the BW-CW balk and CW trench (fig. 4.1). This may have been part of another room, or it may represent the wall of an unroofed courtyard. The area, called B-BW.70.T4.6.6 (= B.70.8.1), was bounded on the north by a wall (B-BW.70.T4.6.11) that ran at a slightly oblique angle to the eastern wall of the Persian Gulf room. It was preserved to a height of two bricks, and was two bricks wide. The bricks in the wall were the same size (22 x 42–44 cm) as others found elsewhere in the Persian Gulf room. The oblique angle of the wall, however, and the shallowness of the wall's foundation relative to the depth at which the Persian Gulf room walls were set into the ground, suggest that this wall is a slightly later addition to the main room. Pottery from this area is illustrated in figure 4.19.

Chlorite finds from the fill in this area included seven vessel fragments (SF 288, 3.2 x 2 x .5 cm, 10 cm rim diameter; SF 301, 4.2 x 2.1 x 1.2 cm, unfinished; SF 304, 4.8 x 1.9 x .9 cm; SF 305, 3.2 x 2 x .8 cm; SF 306, 3 x 2.5 x 1.9 cm, unfinished box or bowl; SF 321, 8.2 x 4.6 x 1.1 cm; SF 322, 2.5 x 2.3 x 1.3 cm), a pounder (SF 303, 7.7 x 7.2 x 3.8 cm), and a bead (SF 302, 1.4 x .7 x .4 cm). Other small finds found were a pair of clay beads (SF 1114, .7 cm in diameter; SF 1115, .7 cm in diameter), a clay slingball (SF z-241, 4 x 2.6 cm), a white stone vessel base fragment (SF 2251, 9.6 x 4.2 x 1.3 cm), a vessel fragment of undetermined, black stone (SF z-377, 3.1 x 2 x .7 cm), a dark blue-black stone bead (SF z-224, .7 cm in diame-

ter), a highly polished, spherical object of hard, green stone (SF z-379, 3.6 x 4.6 x 2.2 cm), a worked fragment of white stone (SF z-380, 5 x 3.9 x 1.2 cm), an unidentified stone object (SF e2336, 4.9 x 2.3 x .5 cm), and four copper-bronze pins (SF 2720, 8.5 x .2 cm; SF 2721, 6 x .3 cm; SF 2722, 7.2 x .3 cm; SF 3363, fig. 4.20, 21.9 x .5 cm; Heskell 1981:91, fig. 21).

## SOUTHEAST OF THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM

To the west of the B.70.8.1 walling was a small wall (B-BW.70.T4.6.12) that ran southwest from the southeastern corner of the B-BW.70.T4.6.1 room (fig. 4.1). The wall was interrupted by a doorway, and on the southern side of the doorway the wall continued for a short distance before disappearing into the BW-CW balk. Brick sizes in the northern portion of the wall were approximately 42 x 28 cm in the northern section and 40 x 30 x 12(?) cm in the southern section. The wall was also isolated in Trench CW (labeled Wall 1 in figure 4.1) and, although it was cut by an erosion gully, it seemed to join another wall running roughly perpendicular to it (Walls 2 and 3 in figure 4.1). This latter wall was also cut by the erosion gully. The walls were too poorly preserved for the excavator to ascertain brick sizes. In 1971 the middle of wall B-BW.70.T4.6.12 and Wall 1 was identified when the BW-CW balk was excavated. It is of interest to note, however, that a small, curving wall and a large stone blocked the corner formed by the intersection of Wall 1 (B-BW.TT6.6.1) and Walls 2 and 3. A concentration of small, angular, serpentine pebbles was found in that corner. All of the walls in this area rested on the same surface associated with the Persian Gulf room.

A zigzagging wall (B.70.8.4, B.70.8.5; fig. 4.1) may also belong with the walls just discussed, forming either part of a room or a walled-in courtyard. This wall ran nearly perpendicular to the B-BW.70.T4.6.11 and B-BW.70.T6.6.1 walls, and thus ran at a slightly oblique angle to the east wall of the Persian Gulf room. Bricks used in this wall measured 36 x 20 cm and 28 x 20 cm. Much of the wall was preserved to a height of only one brick.

Small finds from this area include a chlorite pounder (SF 289, 5.5 x 6 cm), an unfinished chlorite bowl (SF 291, 5.7 x 6.4 x 1.2 cm, rim diameter 9 cm, base diameter 8.2 cm), a clay slingball (SF z-281, 4.7 x 2.7 cm), and a fine sandstone whetstone or palette (SF z-407, 9.8 x 1.4 x .9 cm).

## KILN (?) NORTHEAST OF THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM

Two ovoid, fired clay structures were identified in Trench B, labeled "kiln(?)" on figure 4.1. The westernmost structure (B.70.10.1) measured 1.5 x .5 m. It was 25–30 cm deep. The function of this structure is uncertain. The walls were plastered and the bricks stood on end. The bricks used were generally 30–40 x 18 x 10 cm. A second, burnt clay chamber was located just to the northeast of the first. The walls of the chamber measured 1.6 m (B.70.14.3) and 1.7 m (B.70.14.2), and were preserved to a height of only two and one courses, respectively. Brick sizes were 42 or 35 x 19 cm (B.70.14.2) and 25 x 17 or 41 x 16 cm (B.70.14.3). The side walls were constructed of fired clay. The structure contained a good deal of ash (B.70.14.1), and seemed related to a burnt clay trough located at its northern end.

The function of the burnt clay chamber and trough, as well as the small bin to which they were adjoined, is unclear. They do not appear to be either ceramic kilns or metallurgical installations. They could have simply been domestic ovens, perhaps used for cooking or baking bread. The structure was only partially recovered in Trench B, and continued into the north B balk. The walls rested on B.70.15.1, a hard floor with scattered patches of burning that extended throughout most of Trench B. This surface was 3–5 cm higher than the basal floor, which seemed directly associated with the exterior walls of the Persian Gulf room. The variation in brick sizes detected in the fired clay structures suggests a lack of standardization in brick manufacture, but the closeness of many brick dimensions, which often vary by a matter of several centimeters, probably indicates that some recognized norm for brick sizes did exist.

## SOUTH OF THE PERSIAN GULF ROOM IN BW-CW BALK AND TRENCH CW

None of the pottery recovered in these contexts was drawn. Chlorite finds from this area included two bowl fragments (SF 560, 11.5 x 5 cm; SF 561, 9 x 6 x 3.3 cm), and an object of undetermined function with carved panels and sixteen drill-holes (SF 888, 8.1 x 2.2 cm). Other small finds recorded here were a clay slingball (SF 1161, 4.5 x 2.2 cm), the complete profile of a white stone vessel (SF 2427, 3.3 cm base diameter, 2.8 cm high), and the rim fragment of a vessel of undetermined stone (SF z-594, 7.6 x 5.1 x .9 cm).

## THE B-C BALK

A painted sherd from the B-C Balk (B-C Balk.71.27) comes from a black-on-buff bowl (fig. 4.21) and shows a distinctive pattern of three curving lines drawn in a descending, curvilinear, zigzagging manner. This particular type of decoration is characteristic of Mundigak III.2–IV.3 (Casal 1961:fig. 48) and although it tends to occur on the interior of vessels (e.g., Casal 1961:figs. 54.64, 68.206, 74.242), it is found on the exterior as well (e.g., Casal 1961:fig. 88.374, Period IV2). According to Meadow's chronology of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, this last mentioned piece would be dated to the middle of the third millennium (cf. Meadow 1973:fig. 1). A similar, though more globular, bowl fragment is also known from a IVB1 context (fig. 4.22).

The only small find from the balk was a clay comb handle (SF e1245, B-C Balk.71.16, 4.3 x 2.5 x 1.2 cm).

## TRENCH A

Trench A yielded a much better preserved area of architecture and related features. The primary floor in this area was A.75.9.1. It could be traced throughout the trench and was covered with a hard layer of compacted soil, A.75.9. The features encountered in A will be described moving north to south (fig. 4.1).

A poorly preserved brick platform (A.75.9.5) into which a single pot had been set was found in the northwestern corner of the trench (fig. 4.23). A channel or trough ran around the outside of the feature. Just south of this feature was a circular oven (A.75.9.4) made of mudbricks measuring 40 x 19 x 13 cm (fig. 4.24). The individual bricks in the lowest course were separated from each other by a small gap, perhaps for ventilation. The interior of the oven, which measured 1.2 m in diameter (2 m exterior diameter), was filled with what appeared to be white lime, ash, or burnt earth. Its function could not be determined.

In the northeastern corner of the trench a mudbrick kiln or oven (A.75.9.3 + A.75.10.3) was excavated (fig. 4.25). It consisted of a series of three small chambers with walls of green brick running off of a main west wall of green gel. It continued into both the Trench A west and east balks (fig. 4.26, 27). The oven was plastered with a layer about 2 cm thick on both the interior and exterior. The plaster on the interior walls was clearly burnt. No artifacts were recovered in the upper part of the interior chambers, but considerable quantities of charcoal covered their floors.

Further south in Trench A, the western half of the trench was devoid of structures while the eastern part of the trench was largely taken up by a narrow room (A.75.9.2, fig. 4.1) oriented north-south that measured 3.06 x .92 m across the interior. The room was adjacent to a mudbrick wall faced with stone that measured 6.5 x .60 m. The wall turned east at its northern end, and ran for some 46 cm where it was interrupted by a 30 cm wide gap, after which it continued for another 1.10 m. Below this corner of the wall was a small stone structure measuring 70 x 28 cm and described by its excavator as a bin. A white stone unguent jar (SF 3740, see below) was found near the bin, while slightly further east a socketed copper/bronze axe head (SF 3756, see below) was found. Near the southern end of the stone and brick wall was a small mudbrick wall that extended to the west, (2.20 x .38 m, A.75.9.8), which probably belongs to a different constructional phase. A complete pot was set into its western terminus, near which an unfinished chlorite handbag or weight was also found (fig. 4.40). A small, ash-filled oven or fire pit (A.75.10.1) was uncovered near the northern end of the stone bench on its western side. Two pits (A.75.9.6 and A.75.9.9) were located further west, as well as several standing pots and an area of chlorite debitage, which undoubtedly resulted from chlorite-working in this area.

The pottery from Trench A has been divided into two groups, decorated and undecorated. Figure 4.28.A is generally comparable to finds from Khurab (Stein 1937:pl. XIV = Khurab B.i.119, ii. 203 and 204) and Shahdad (e.g., Hakemi 1997a:586, Ed. 15; 590, Eh. 4), although the Yahya vessel is a storage jar and much larger than any of these examples. The vertically hatched semicircles on figure 4.28.B find an exact parallel at Damin (Tosi 1974:fig. 28, lower left-hand corner). The device of counterposed, hatched triangles seen on figure 4.28.D is paralleled on a tumbler from Shah-i Tump (Stein 1931:pl. 28, Sh.T.vi.2.c), on a jar from Kulli (Stein 1931:pl. 23, Kul.I.vii.5), and on a sherd from Mehi (Possehl 1986:fig. 4. Mehi 9). Figure 4.28.F shows an unusually tall, long-necked jar with a frieze of parallel, zigzagging lines and part of a "fringed M." This latter device is well-known at Bampur and, although it is no exact parallel for the piece, similar design elements arranged in different order are found on a vessel of roughly similar shape from Bampur I-IV levels at Bampur site Y (de Cardi 1970:fig. 30.1). The design element to the left of the fringed M, on which short, spiky lines appear to protrude from a vertical bar, can be found on several pieces from Damin (Tosi 1970:fig. 7c = fig. 35; 1974:fig. 28, upper right).

The flat-bottomed bowl with zigzag decoration on both the body and base (fig. 4.29.C), is generally comparable to pieces known from Mundigak (Casal 1961:fig. 83.310 = Period IV1; fig. 89.393 = Period IV2) and Shahdad where a similarly shaped vessel was apparently used as a lid that fit over the top and rested on the shoulder of a canister jar (Hakemi 1972:pl. 6B; for several, less similar shallow dishes used as lids, cf. Hakemi 1997a:596, Ek. 17, 603, Er. 4). The multiple comb-incising of figure 4.29.G is found in Bampur I-IV (de Cardi 1970:figs. 17:8, 18:30-34, 22:133, 30:33, 49), although not on vessels of this form. A more comparable piece may be a sherd from Damin (Tosi 1974:fig. 36).

A unique incised sherd (fig. 4.30) showing a serpent-dragon with prominent teeth is undeniably reminiscent of similar figures commonly incised on soft-stone flasks and trays from Bactria (e.g., Pottier 1984:figs. 20.149, 30.225, 31.231, 42.312; Amiet 1980a:fig. 1; 1986:fig. 159). In addition to this piece, a very small fragment of incised greyware was found in A.75.9, the only incised greyware found in situ at Tepe Yahya, although two other pieces of this distinctive ceramic type had previously been found on the surface of the site (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:44). These finds provide an important link with a whole host of sites in the Indo-Iranian borderlands, including Bampur IV-VI (de Cardi 1970:319-325), Shahdad, Maula, Katukan, Damin, Gabro Maro, Ramrud, Shah-i Tump, Mehi (de Cardi, Collier, and Doe 1976:fig. 16), and the Burnt Building of Period IV at Shahr-i Sokhta, which has been C-14 dated to between 2200-1800 B.C. (Biscione 1979:293). In eastern Arabia incised greyware has now been found at half a dozen sites, including 'Amlah 1, Bat, the great tomb at Hili, Hili North Tomb A, Tarut (de Cardi, Collier, and Doe 1976:fig. 16, cf. Potts 1990b:105), and Al Sufuh (Benton 1996). The occurrence of this type in Umm an-Nar contexts necessarily implies a date between 2500 and 2000 B.C., but this is too broad a range to assist us in dating Phase IVB5.

Turning to the undecorated pottery (figs. 4.31-36), most of the forms have already been seen, such as the large storage jars with plastic ridge (fig. 4.31.A, C); the short-necked storage jars (fig. 4.32); the large, club-rim bowls (fig. 4.33); or the squat, carinated bowls (fig. 4.35.C, E), which have parallels inside the Persian Gulf room. Figure 4.35.H is without doubt an import from Central Asia, and can be compared with the sherds shown in figure 2.5. The tall goblet, figure 4.35.G, with its rough interior, may be compared with a piece from a Period VI context at Bampur (de Cardi 1970:fig. 41.422). Figure 4.35.I resembles the narrow-based chal-

ices known from Khurab (Stein 1937:pl. 15.Khur. D.245), Shahdad (Hakemi 1972:pl. 7.B), Period VI at Bampur (de Cardi 1970:fig. 41.425), or Farukhabad 1 in Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1977:fig. 6). Two burnished, globular bowls with a slight indentation beneath the rim (fig. 4.36.A, C) appear to be imitations of Omani soft-stone bowls, lacking only the dotted circles to make the effect complete.

Chlorite finds made in the Phase IVB5 fill (A.75.9) in Trench A included samples from the concentration of debitage (SF 3616), four vessel fragments (SF 3640, 3.3 x 3.2 x .7 cm; SF 3641, 2.8 x 3.1 x .3 cm; SF 3643, 6.2 x 1.8 x 1.2 cm; SF 3644, 3 x 1 x 1.2 cm, unfinished), a polished piece (SF 3637, 2.2 x .9 cm), a knobbed, concave disk (SF 3638, 3.8 x 3.7 cm), and an unfinished object with a central depression (SF 3639, 7.1 x 4.4 x 3.5 cm). Other small finds from the fill included two turquoise beads (SF 3807, 1.4 x .4 cm; SF 3808, 1.3 x .3 cm), two clay comb handles (SF 3783, 9 x 3.3 x 2.6 cm; SF 3785, 9 x 1.8 cm), three clay slingballs (SF 3782a, 4.3 cm in diameter; SF 3782b, 3 cm in diameter; SF 3784, 4.8 x 2.8 cm), a clay spindle whorl (SF 3788, 3.5 cm in diameter), a clay ball (SF 3786, 3.5 cm in diameter), a mother-of-pearl button (SF 3800, 1.6 cm in diameter), three white stone vessel fragments (SF 3737, 2.4 x 2.1 x .4 cm; SF 3738, 2.5 x 1.75 x .4 cm; SF 3739, fig. 4.38.A, 8 x 1.2 x 5 cm), seven vessel fragments of undetermined stone (SF 3693, 6 x 11 x 1.3 cm; SF 3699, 3.5 x 3.5 x 1.3 cm; SF 3700, 6.5 x 4 x 1.5 cm; SF 3700a, 3.8 x 3.3 x 1 cm; SF 3701, 4.3 x 3.5 x 1.7 cm; SF 3702, 3.5 x 3.7 x 1.2 cm; SF 3703, 4.5 x 2.2 x 1.5 cm), three whetstones (SF 3694, fig. 4.37.B, 11 x 6.3 x 1.1 cm; SF 3695, fig. 4.37.A, 17.7 x 7.3 x 1.5 cm; SF 3696, 5.4 x 1.3 x 1.2 cm), a ball of white stone (SF 3704, 6.1 x 4.8 x 5.1 cm), a drilled stone (SF 3698, 7.8 x 6.8 x .5 cm), two fragments of copper-bronze (SF 3753, 4.1 x 2.4 x .3 cm; SF 3754, .5 cm), and a copper-bronze point (SF 3758, 5.5 x 1.6 x .3 cm).

Finds from the floor of the area (A.75.9.1) included two chlorite vessel fragments (SF 3648, 2.3 x 1.2 x .6 cm; SF 3649, 12.8 x 2.9 x .5 cm), a fragment of white stone polished on two sides (SF 3728, 17.5 x 7 cm), and a fragment of malachite (SF 3821, no dimensions available).

Finds from the floor of the room (A.75.9.2) included two copper-bronze axes (SF 3755, 10.2 x 6.1 x 1.2 cm; SF 3756, 9 x 8.5 cm), five chlorite vessel fragments (SF 3650, 4.5 x 2.4 x 1.3 cm; SF 3651, 3.2 x 3.2 x .2 cm; SF 3652, 6 x 4.2 x .7 cm; SF 3653, 6.8 x 7 x 1 cm; SF 3654, 8 x 1.1), a carnelian (?) bead (SF 3809, .5 x .4 cm), a clay pendant (SF 3787, 2.2 x 2.2 cm), a square-based white stone unguent jar (SF 3740, fig. 4.38.B, 5.6 cm high) that, although undecorated, resembles soft-stone vessels

of Central Asian type (cf. Pottier 1984:figs. 20-21; Hakemi 1997a:618-619). A bowl fragment of white stone (SF 3741, 4.3 x 1.8 x .5 cm), a marble pyramid (SF 3729, 1.35 x 1.35 x 1.3 cm), a fragment of undetermined stone (SF 3650, 4.5 x 2.4 x 1.3 cm), a shell bead (SF 3757, 1.6 x .4 cm), and a stone axe or loomweight (SF 3697, fig. 4.39, 9.7 x 7 x 3.5 cm) were also recovered.

In dismantling wall A.75.9.8 a chlorite "handbag" or "weight" (fig. 4.40) was discovered. Similar, decorated examples, are known from a variety of sites in Iran and Central Asia (Muscarella 1993:143-153), while at the tomb of a saint near Ashin, another village in the Soghun Valley, an undecorated piece was observed and photographed by the Tepe Yahya team in 1970 (figs. 4.41, 4.42). Another example of an undecorated handbag or weight was brought to the expedition house in Baghin (fig. 4.43).

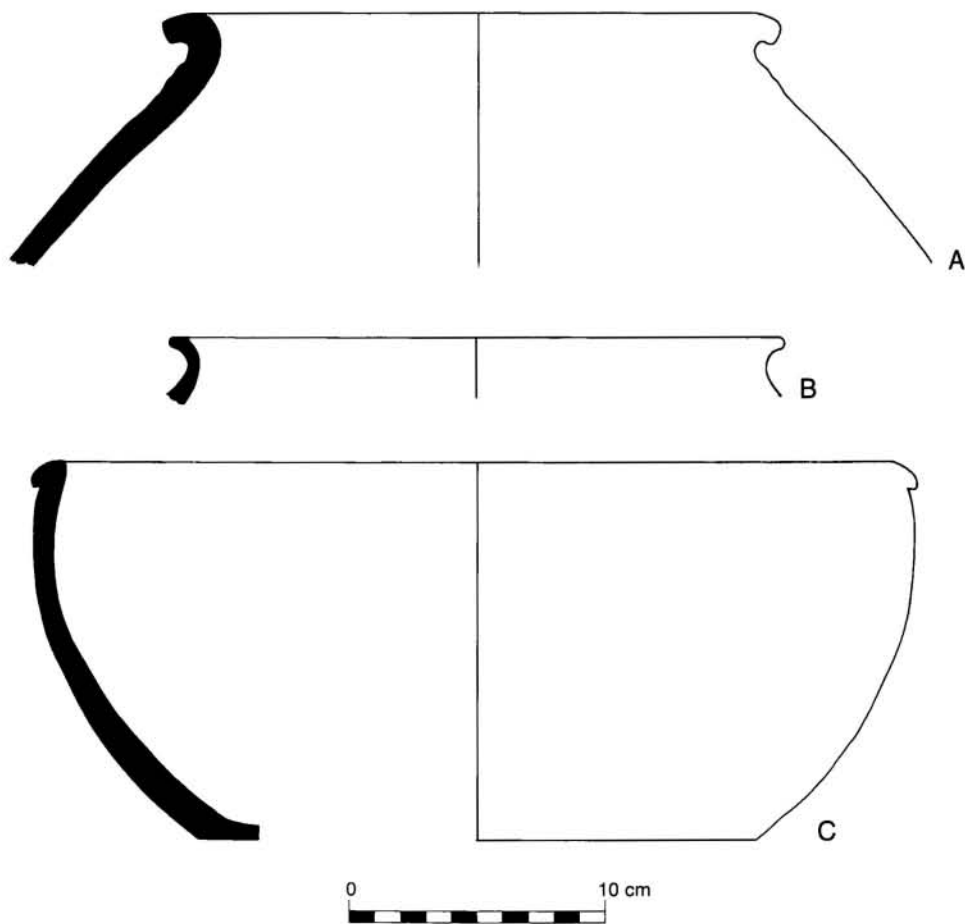
The copper/bronze shaft-hole axe (SF 3756, fig. 4.44) is an important piece because of the fact that it is one of the relatively rare axes found in Iran in a late-third-millennium context. Nearly identical comparanda are known from Damin (Tosi 1970:figs. 17a and 54, top), Shahdad (Amiet 1986:fig. 119; Hakemi 1997a:636, Gp. 3), and Susa (Tallon 1987:96, no. 73 = Deshayes 1960:no. 1553). Tallon has also drawn a parallel between the axes from Damin and Susa and another axe found by Stein in a grave at Shah-i Tump (Piggott 1952:219, fig. 26), while F. A. Khan has suggested that the Shah-i Tump axe is comparable to pieces known from Chanhudaro, Maikop, Ur, and the Caucasus (Khan 1964:99 and Pl. XLIX.1). There is no doubt, however, that while these pieces are all generally comparable, the examples from Tepe Yahya, Shahdad, Damin, and Susa are, as a group, much more closely allied in overall shape, blade form, and shaft size. Tallon is reluctant to suggest a precise date for this group beyond noting M. Tosi's suggestion of a date around 2200 B.C. for the Damin axe (Tallon 1987:95). Amiet has suggested that this particular form of axe was an indigenous product of southeastern Iran, which was exported as far west as Susa and as far east as Chanhudaro (Amiet 1986:164). He followed Deshayes in dating the Chanhudaro axe to the early second millennium (Jhukar period), but Tallon has noted that the piece differs typologically from the rest of the group and that in any case the second-millennium date is hardly to be relied upon (Tallon 1987:95).

A late-third- (or, less probably, early-second-) millennium date, however, would suit the white stone unguent jar found in the same area (SF 3740, fig. 4.38.B). Amiet has called the square-based flask with

flattened sides and circular mouth “un fossile directeur de premier ordre” for the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods in Iran and Central Asia (Amiet 1977:98). Although comparanda made of serpentine or chlorite, decorated with the dot-in-circle or crude, naturalistic figures, are known from a number of sites throughout the Indo-Iranian borderlands and as far west as Susa (de Miroschedji 1973:pl. 8, fig. 11; Amiet 1980a:160ff) and as far south as Hili North tomb A (Cleuziou and Vogt 1985:fig. 4.5),

the white stone variety is much rarer. Examples of this shape, though not strictly comparable, however, are known from both Hissar IIIC (Schmidt 1937:fig. 130) and Shahr-i Sokhta (Tosi 1968:fig. 93; 1969:figs. 42c, 234–235; 1983:fig. 16, bottom row, second from left).

The only small find from the kiln or oven (A.75.9.3) was a white stone vessel rim fragment (SF 3742, fig. 4.38.A, 3.2 x 2 x .6 cm).

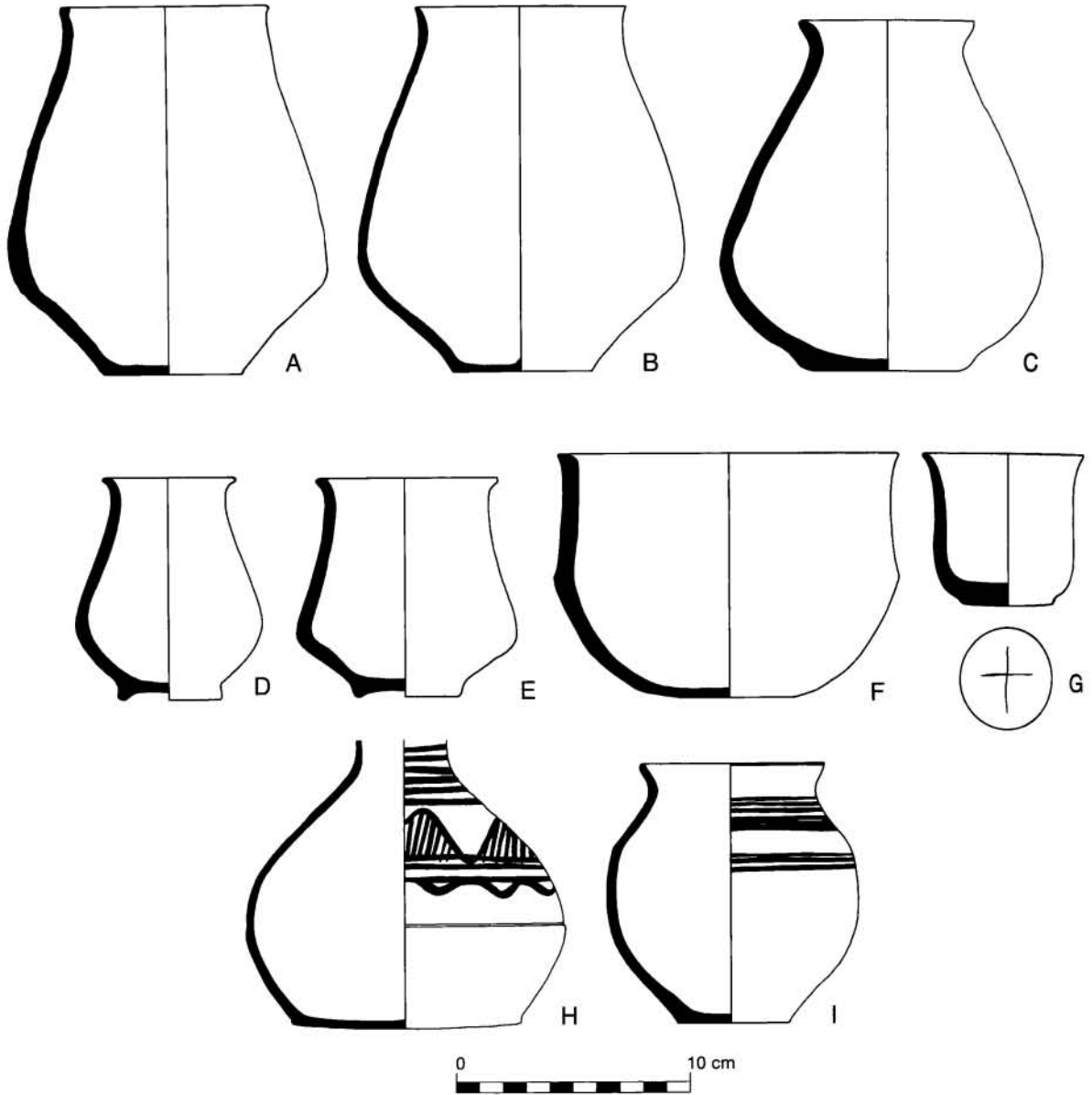


**Figure 4.5.** Pottery from the fill (A), platform (B), and roof fall (C) of the Persian Gulf room, Phase IVB5. A. plain buff (B-BW.70.T4.6.1); B. pink-buff, coarse grit (BW.71.T1.3); C. red-washed tan grit. (B-BW.70.T4.7).





**Figure 4.6.** Stone stamp seal (glyptic catalogue no. 57; see p. 245).



**Figure 4.7.** Pottery from the floor of the Persian Gulf room (B-BW.70.T4.7.1), Phase IVB5. A–D, F. red-slipped brown-buff, fine grit; E. brown-slipped fine tan grit; G. burnished grey, incised base; H. plain buff, brown slip, black paint; I. black-on-tan/buff.



Figure 4.8. Pottery from B-BW.70.T4.7.1 (measurements not available).

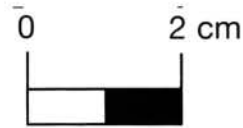
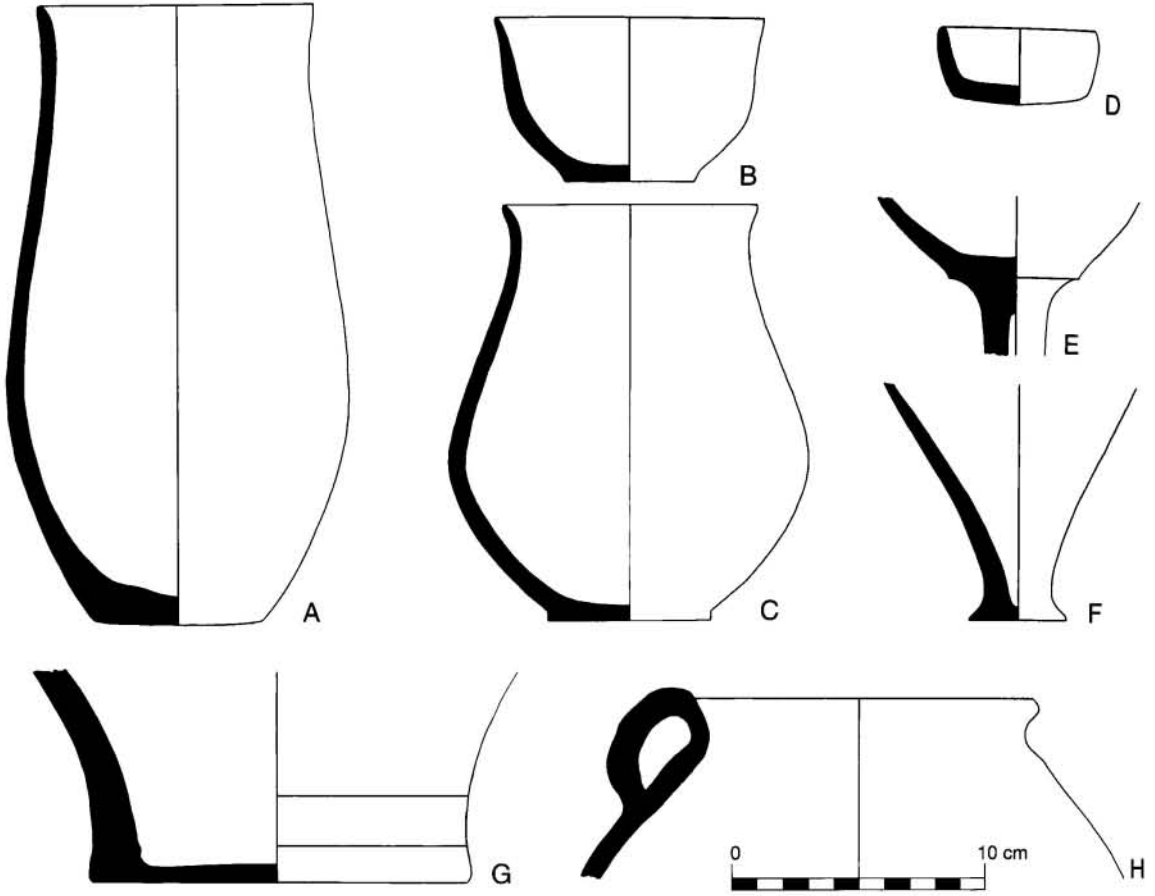


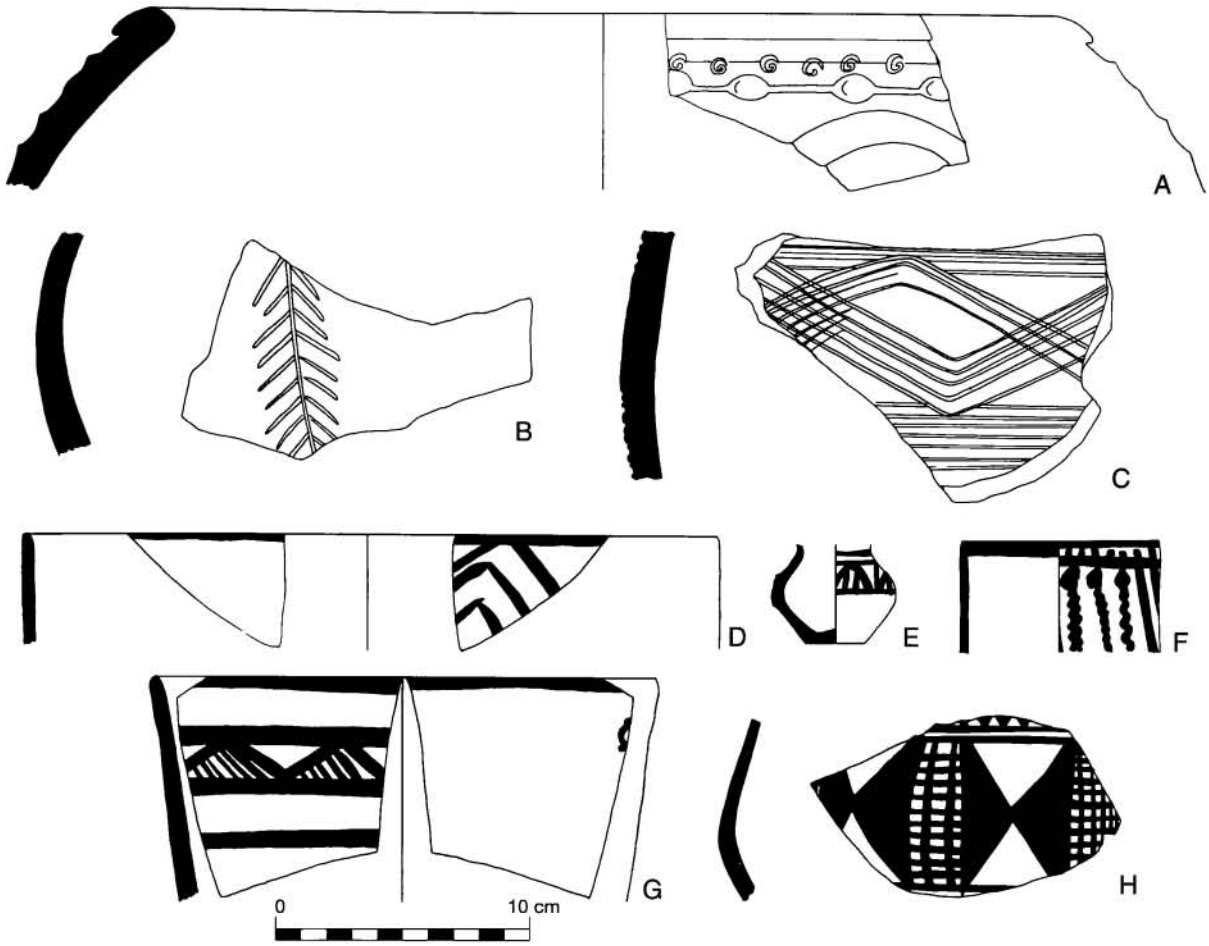
Figure 4.9. Soft-stone cylinder seal from the Persian Gulf room (glyptic catalogue no. 49; see p. 245).



**Figure 4.10.** Room 10 from the north, looking south (scale = 1 m).



**Figure 4.11.** Undecorated pottery from Room 10, Phase IVB5. A. plain reddish-brown grit (BW.69.T5.9); B. reduced grey (BW.69.T5.9); C. reddish wash (BW.69.T5.9); D. coarse tan (BW.69.T5.9); E. red-orange grit (BW.69.T5.9); F. brown grit (BW.69.T5.9); G. plain buff (BW.69.T5.8a and 9a); H. coarse brown grit (BW.69.T5.9 and 10).



**Figure 4.12.** Decorated pottery from Room 10. Contexts BW.69.T5.8a and 9a are poorly stratified layers that do not correlate with other layers, but are most likely Phase IVB5. A. plain reddish-brown (BW.69.T5.8a, 9a); B. plain reddish-brown, incised (BW.69.T5.8a, 9a); C. plain reddish-brown, incised (BW.69.T5.8a, 9a); D. black-on-buff (BW.69.T5.8a, 9a); E. black-on-red washed buff (BW.69.T5.9); F. black-on-buff (BW.69.T5.10a); G. black-on-buff (BW.69.T5.10a); H. black-on-red wash (BW.69.T5.8).

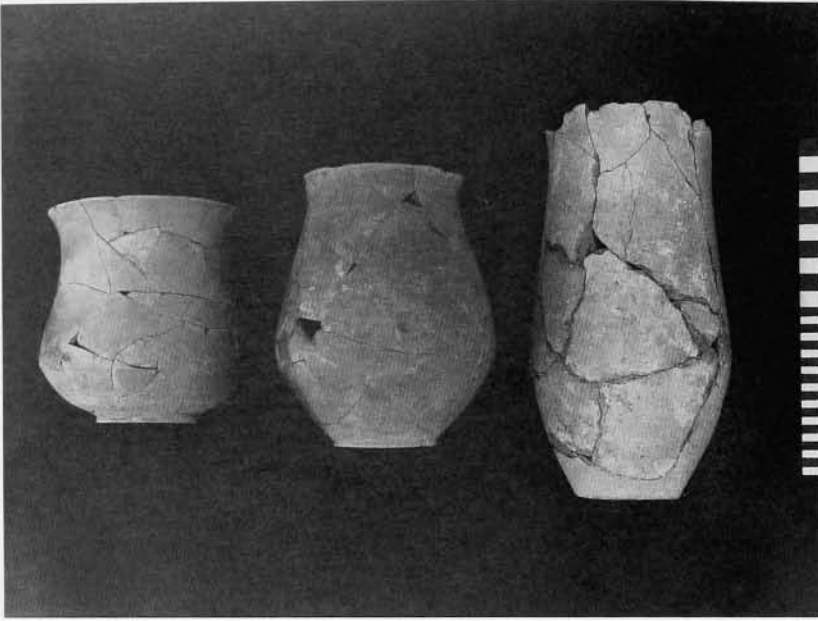


Figure 4.13. Pottery from BW.69.T5.8, 9, and 10a. Left: reddish grit; middle: reddish wash; right: fine orange, buff slip (scale = 20 cm).



Figure 4.14. Beaker from BW.69.T5.7, 8, poorly stratified layers that are probably Phase IVB5 (scale = 20 cm).

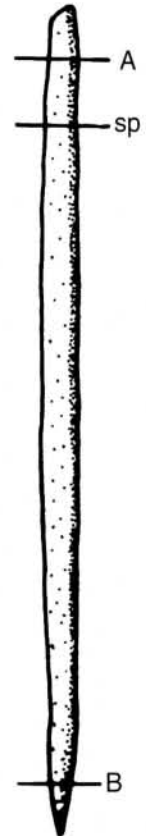
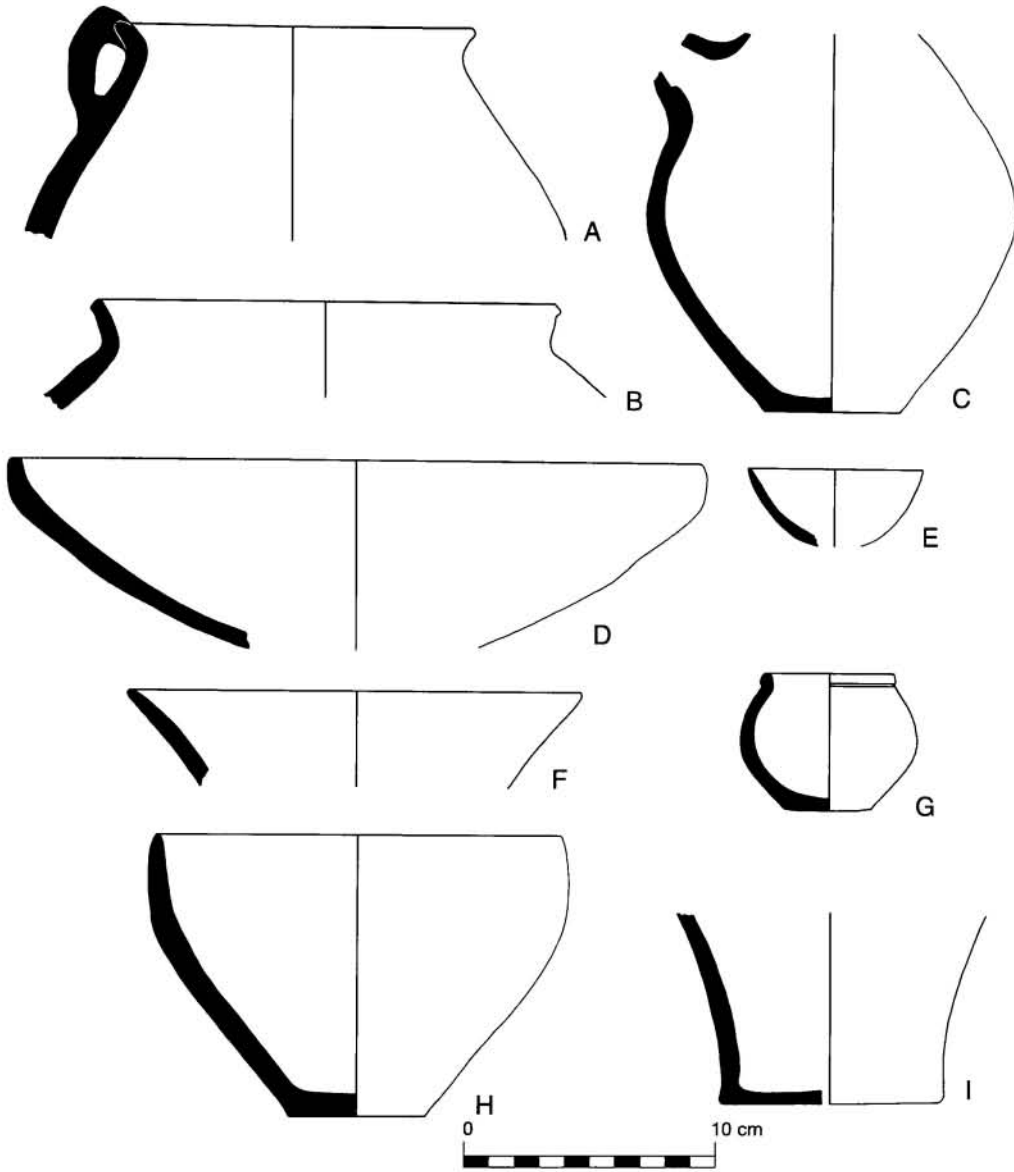
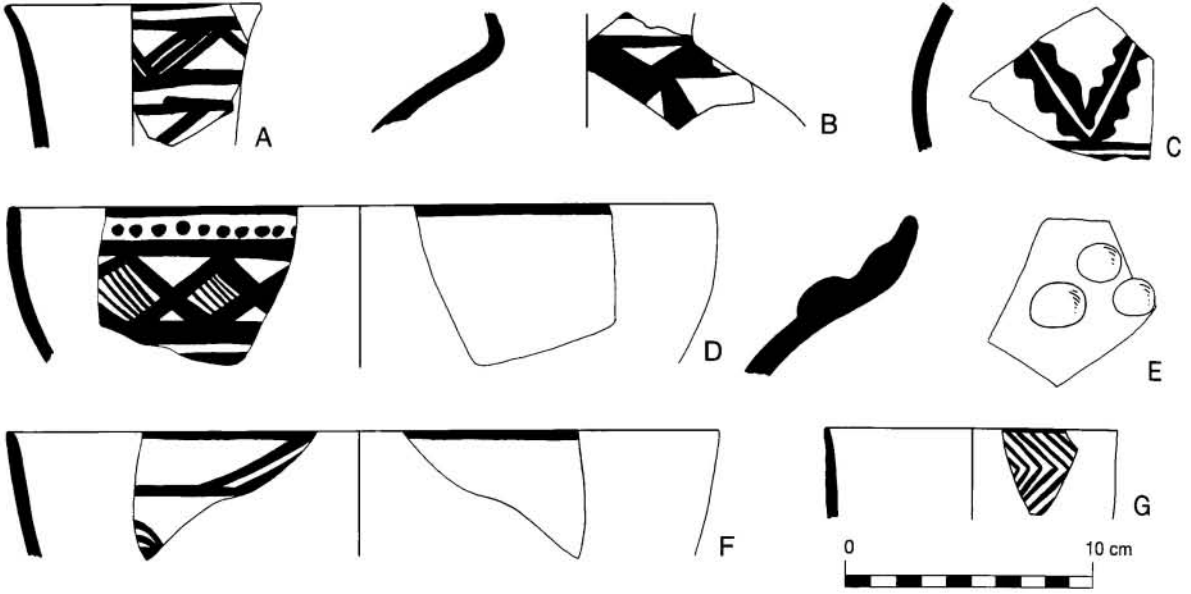


Figure 4.15. Cu/br pin from BW.69.T5.9 (SF 2690). A, sp, and B indicate where the pin was sampled for analysis.

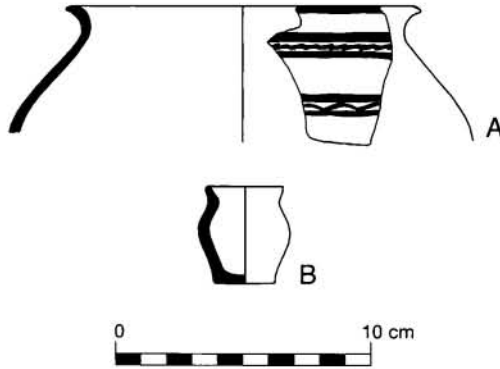




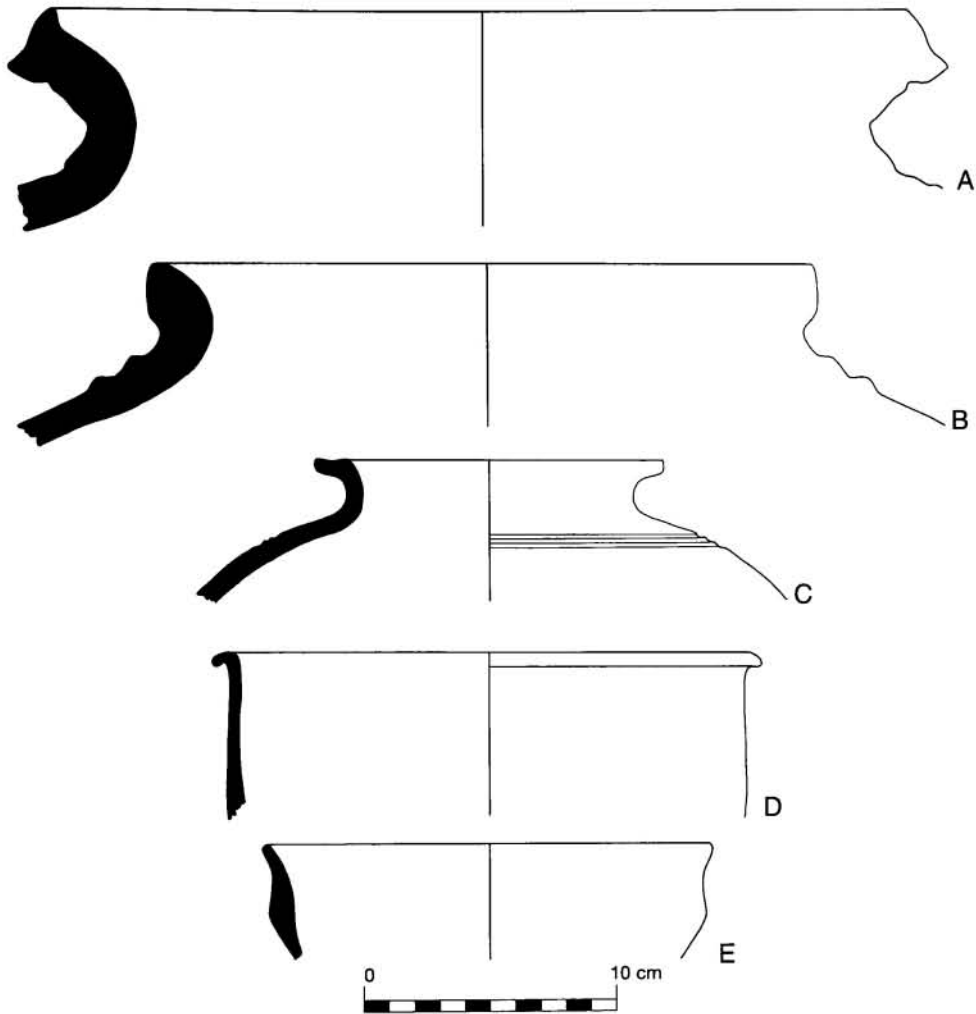
**Figure 4.16.** Undecorated pottery from south of the Persian Gulf room (BW.69), Phase IVB5.  
 A. coarse grey (BW.69.T5.10); B. plain buff (BW.69.T5.10); C. plain red, grit and chaff (BW.69.T5.10);  
 D. coarse chaff (BW.69.T5.9, 10); E. plain reddish-brown (BW.69.T5.9, 10); F. red wash (BW.69.T5.9,  
 10); G. reduced grey (B-BW.70.T6.5); H. coarse tan (BW.69.T5.10); I. burnished grey (BW.69.T5.10).



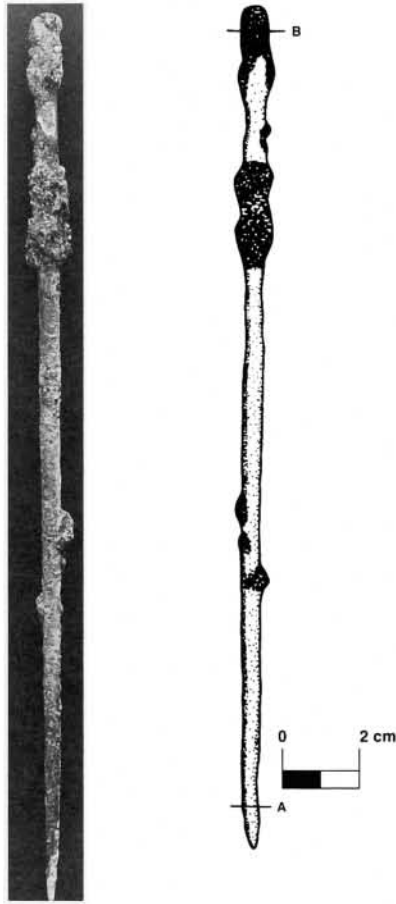
**Figure 4.17.** Decorated pottery from south of the Persian Gulf room (BW.69.T5.10). A. black-on-buff-slipped buff; B. black-on-buff-slipped buff; C. black-on-red-slipped buff; D. black-on-buff; E. plain red, raised knobs; F. black-on-reddish-tan (BW.69.T5.9, 10); G. black-on-buff-slipped buff.



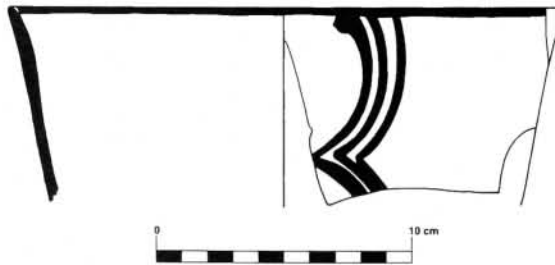
**Figure 4.18.** Pottery from the area north of the Persian Gulf room (B-BW.70.T4.5), Phase IVB5. A. black-on-orange; B. plain brown.



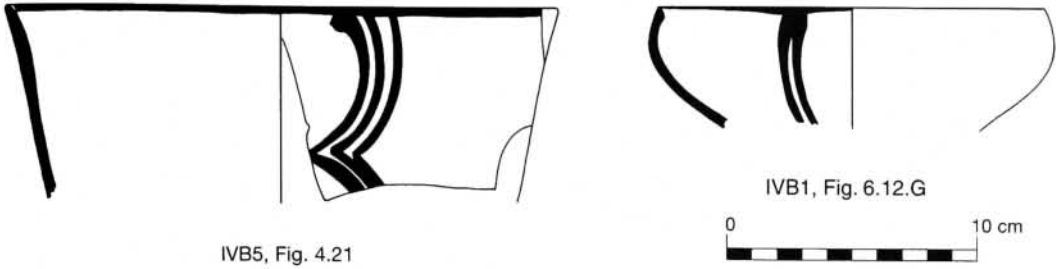
**Figure 4.19.** Pottery from the area east of the Persian Gulf room, Phase IVB5 (except where noted). A. buff-slipped, medium coarse chaff (B.70.T3.1); B. plain brown, coarse grit (B.70.9); C. reddish-brown grit, Phase IVB6 (B.70.10.2, 14, 17); D. plain brown, fine temper (B.70.8.2).



**Figure 4.20.** Cu/br pin from east of the Persian Gulf room (SF 3363). A and B indicate where the pin was sampled for analysis.



**Figure 4.21.** Painted sherd from B-C Balk.71.27, bituminous black-on-tan-buff, overfired.



**Figure 4.22.** Black-on-tan-buff with interior curvilinear decoration, Period IVB.



**Figure 4.23.** Area A viewed from the north. Note pot on platform (left; scale = 2 m).

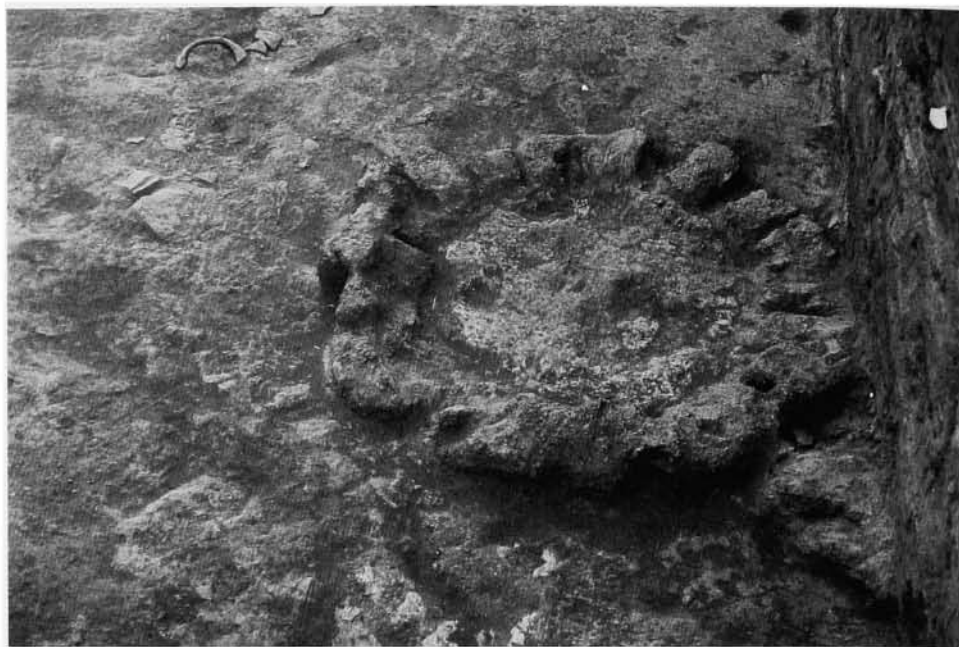


Figure 4.24. Circular oven made of mudbricks (context A.75.9.4).



Figure 4.25. Mudbrick kiln or oven with three chambers (context A.75.9.3; scale = 30 cm).

# West Section A

1 m.

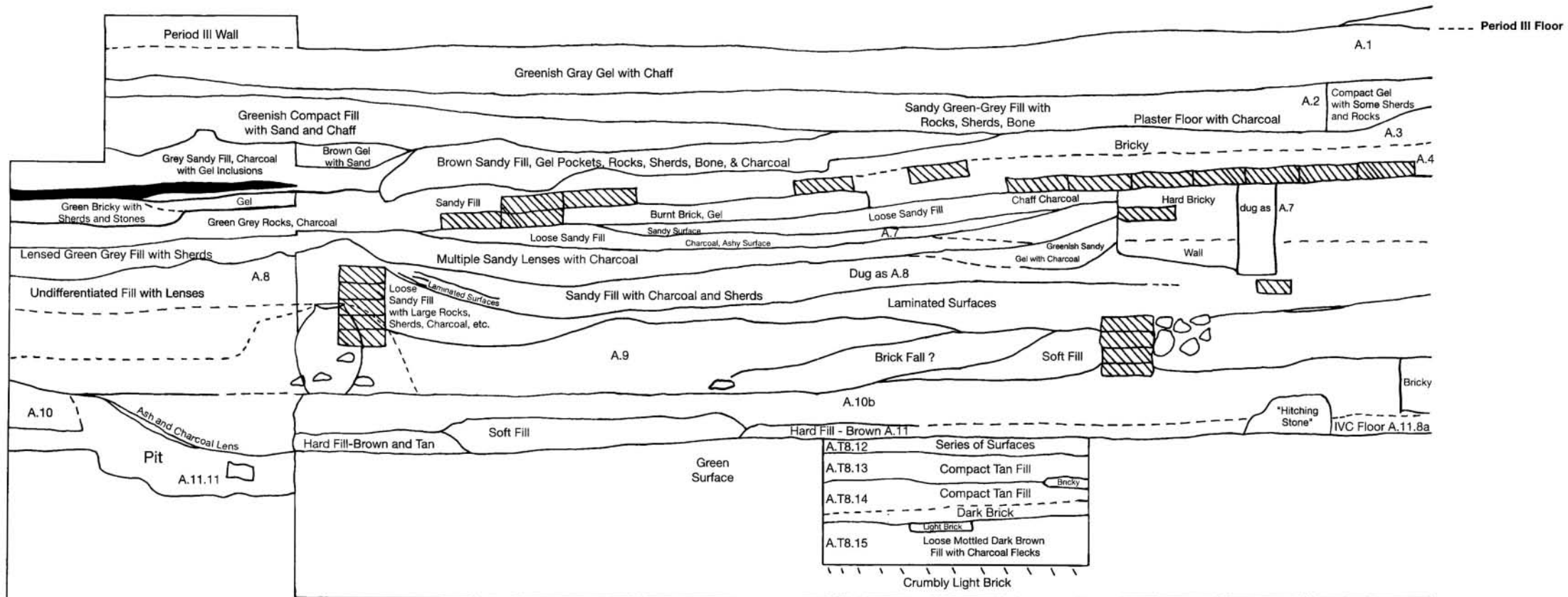


Figure 4.26. A.75 north section.

# East Section A

1 m.

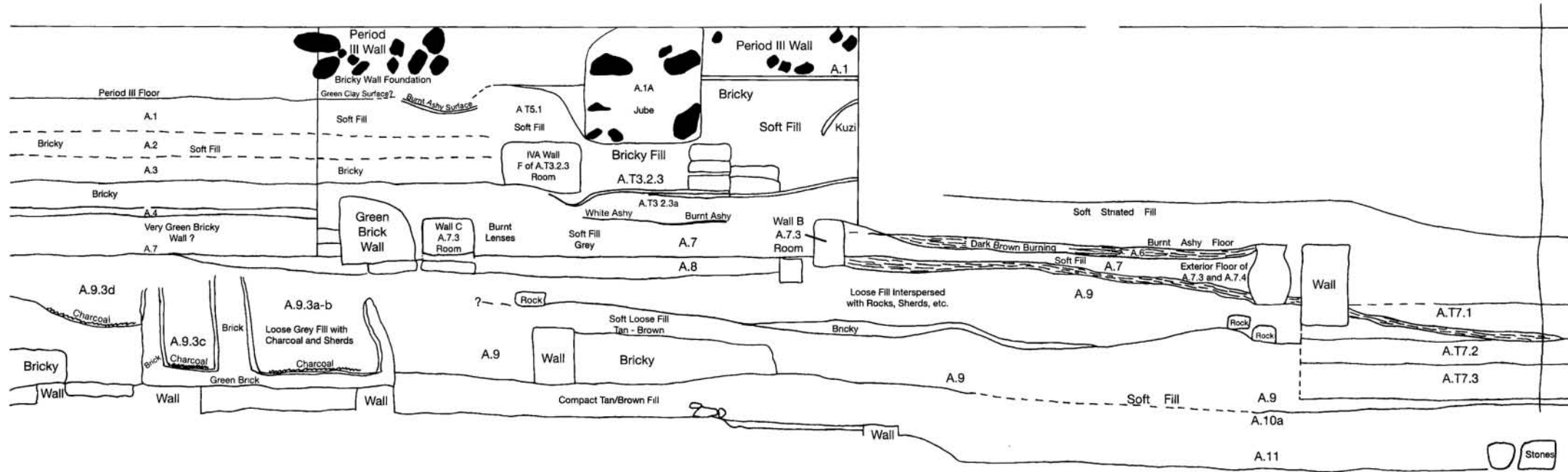
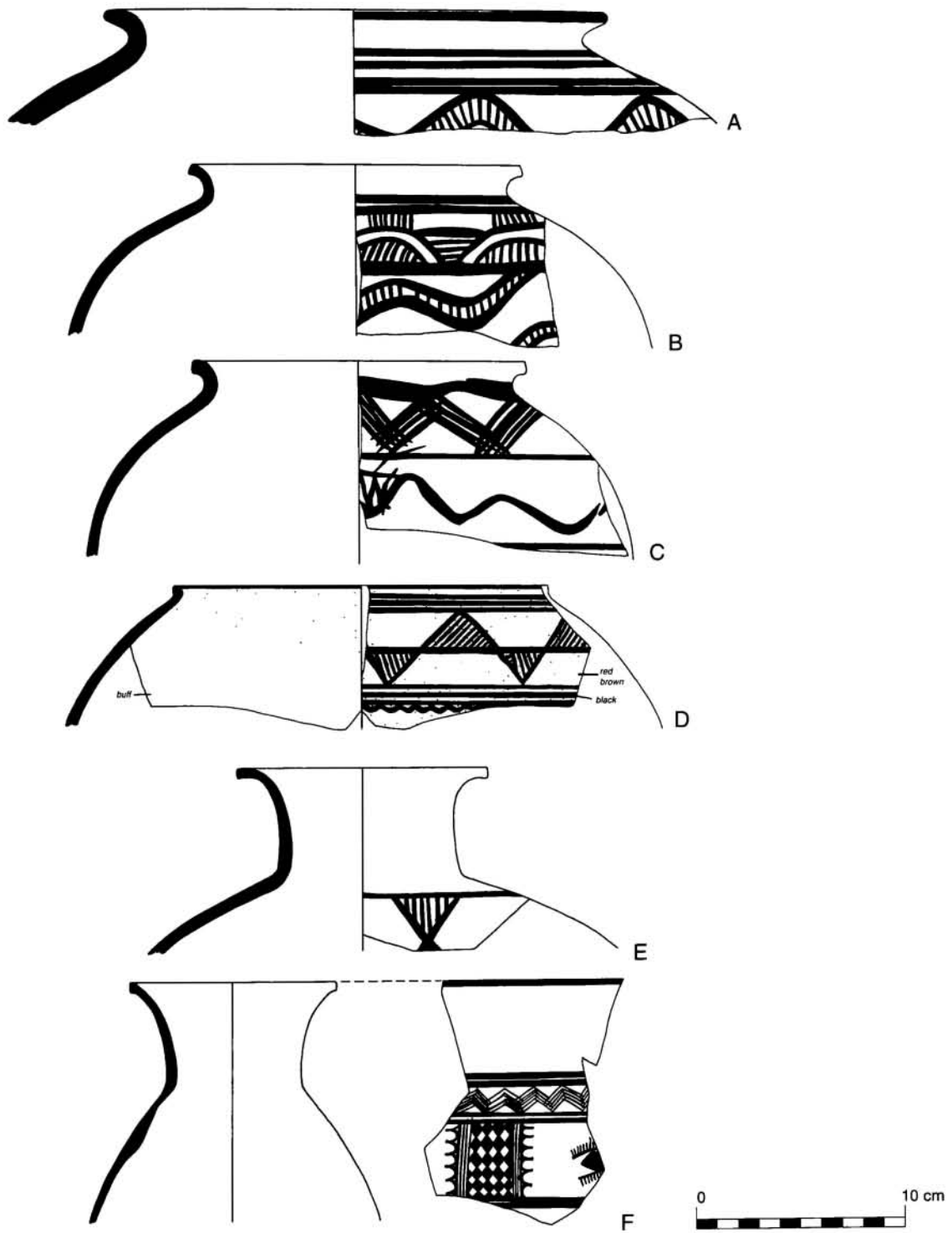
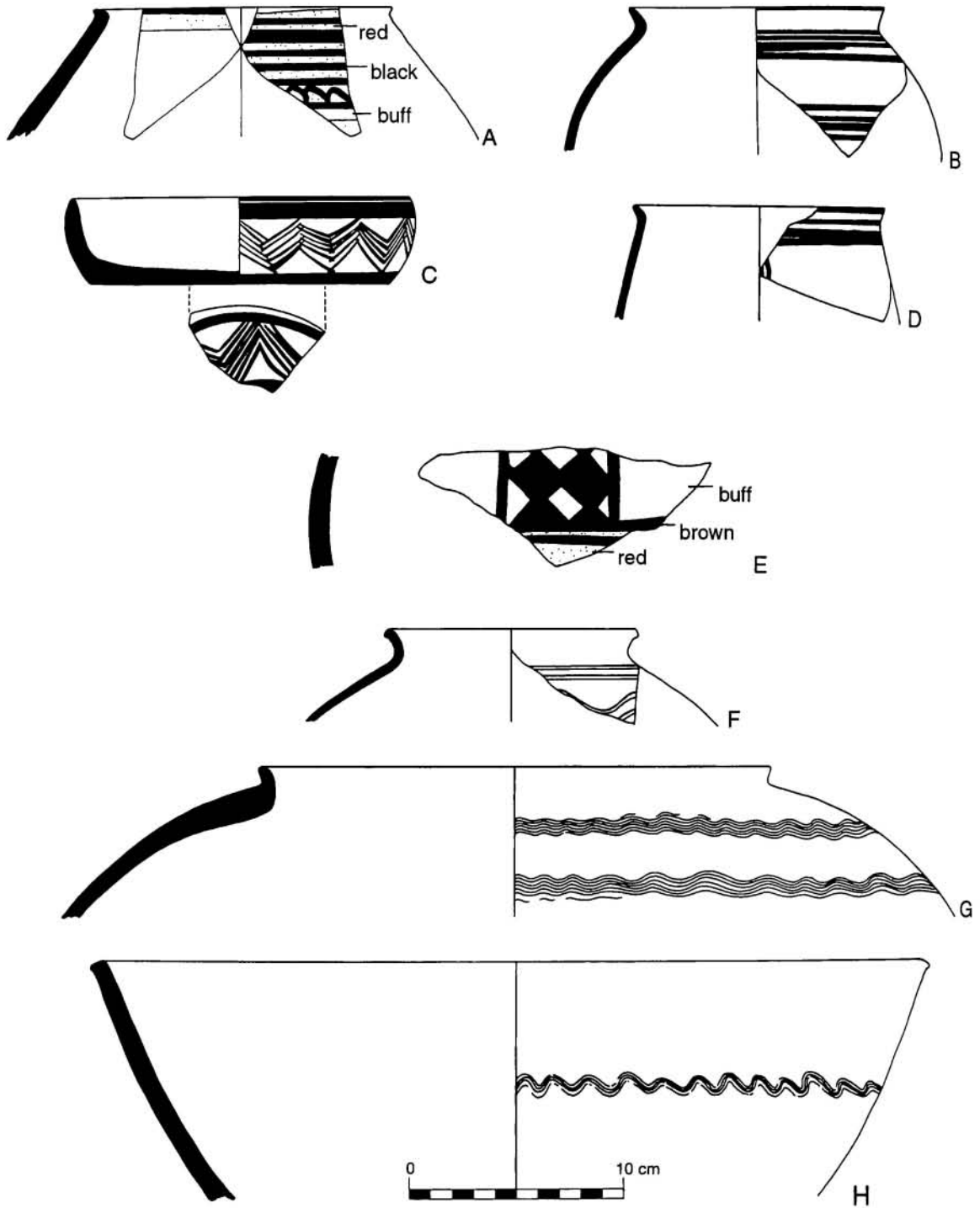


Figure 4.27. A.75 east section.

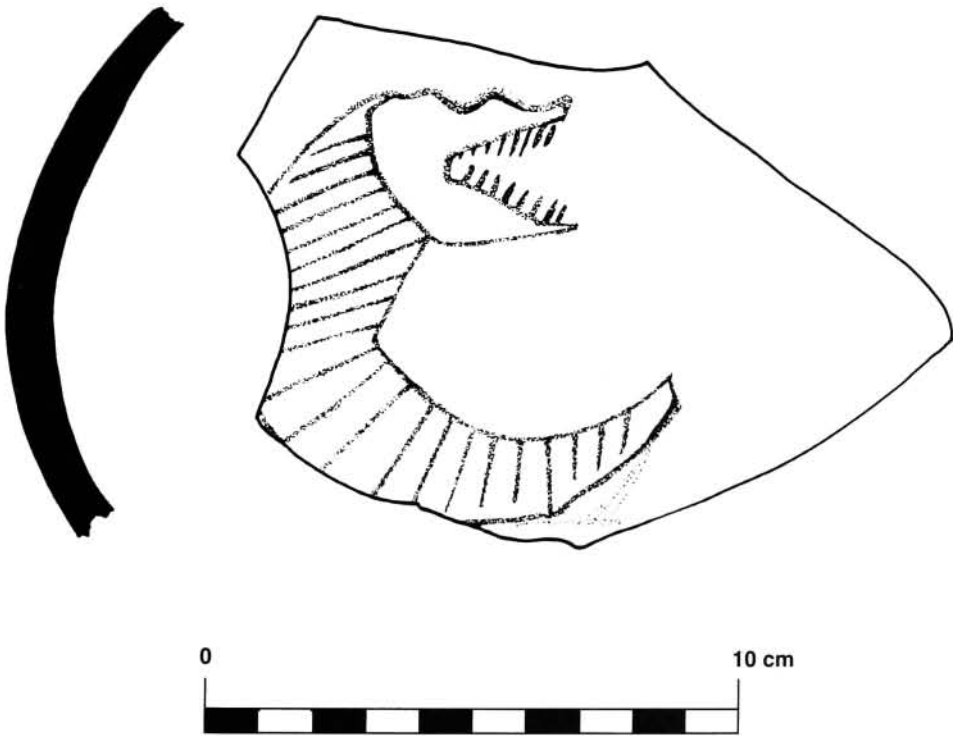




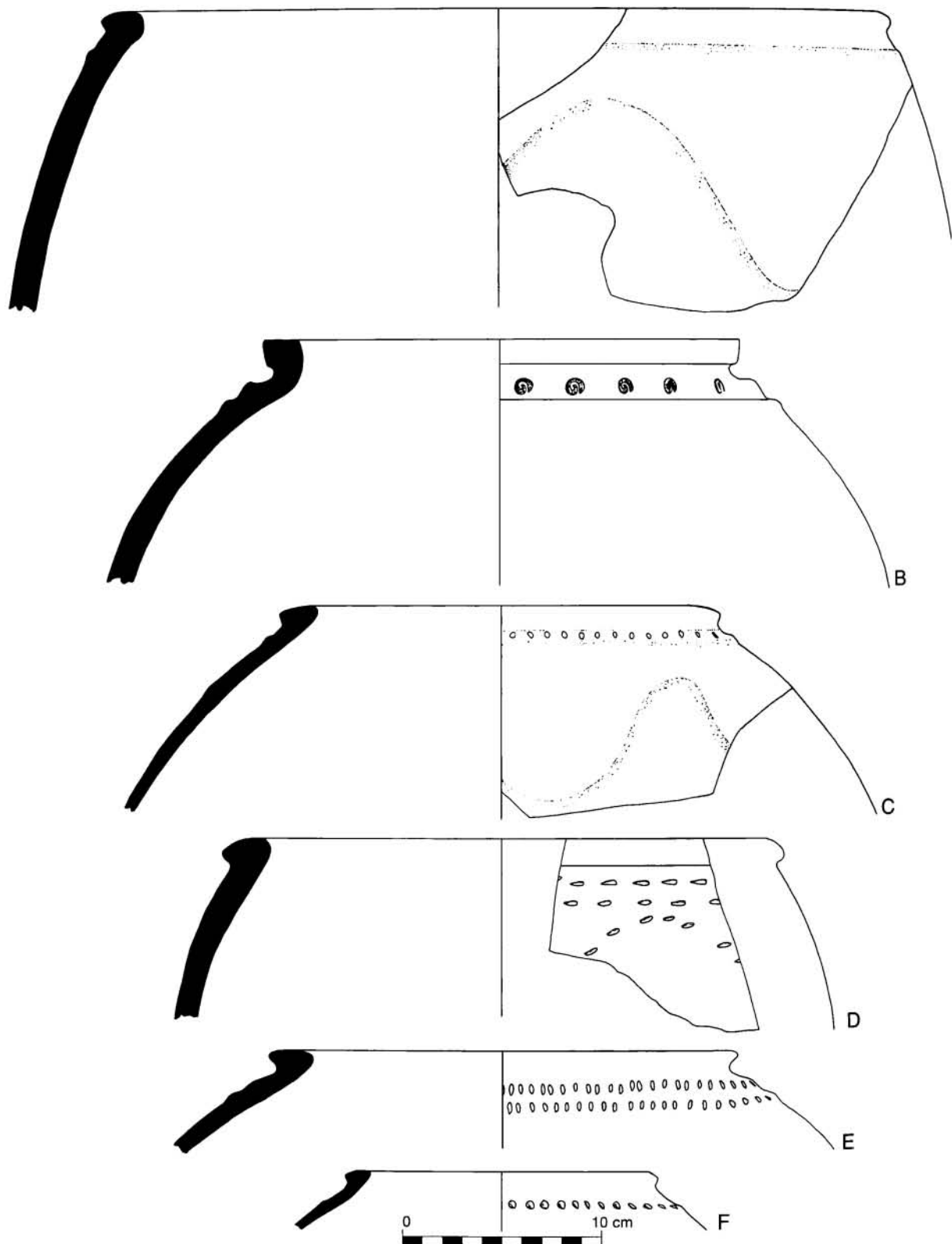
**Figure 4.28.** Decorated pottery from Area A, large jars, Phase IVB5. A. black-on-red-slipped orange (A.75.9.1); B. black-on-orange (A.75.9); C. black-on-orange (A.75.9); D. black-on-orange (A.75.9.2); E. brown-on-red-slipped buff (A.75.9); F. black-on-orange, fine grit (A.75.9).



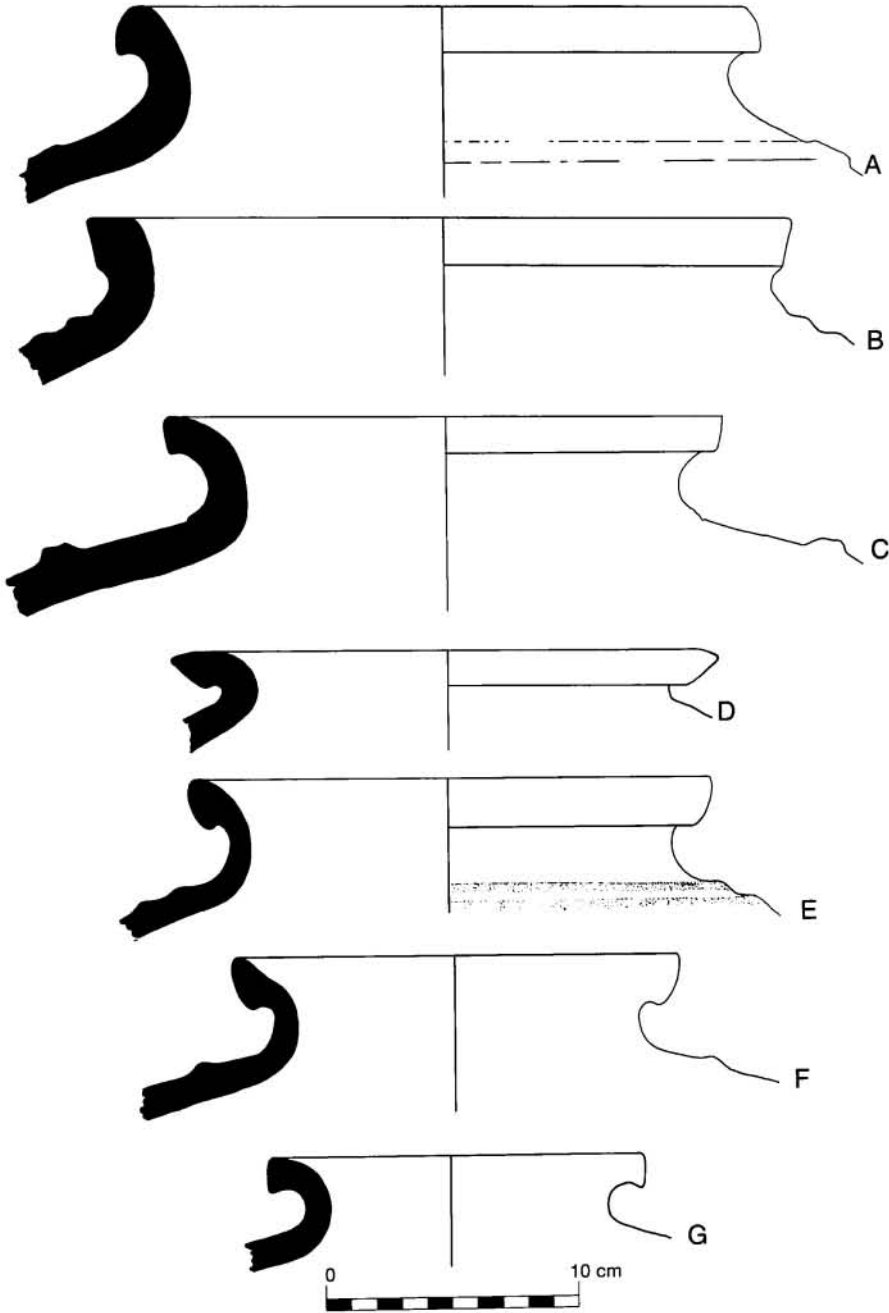
**Figure 4.29.** Decorated pottery from Area A, Phase IVB5. A. black-on-buff slipped red-brown (A.75.9.2); B. black-on-red-brown slip over plain brown, fine grit (A.75.9); C. black-on-orange-slipped buff (A.75.9.2); D. black-on-tan (A.75.9); E. brown-on-buff-slipped red-brown (A.75.9); F. incised red (A.75.9); G. plain buff, incised (A.75.9.2); H. plain buff, incised (A.75.9.2).



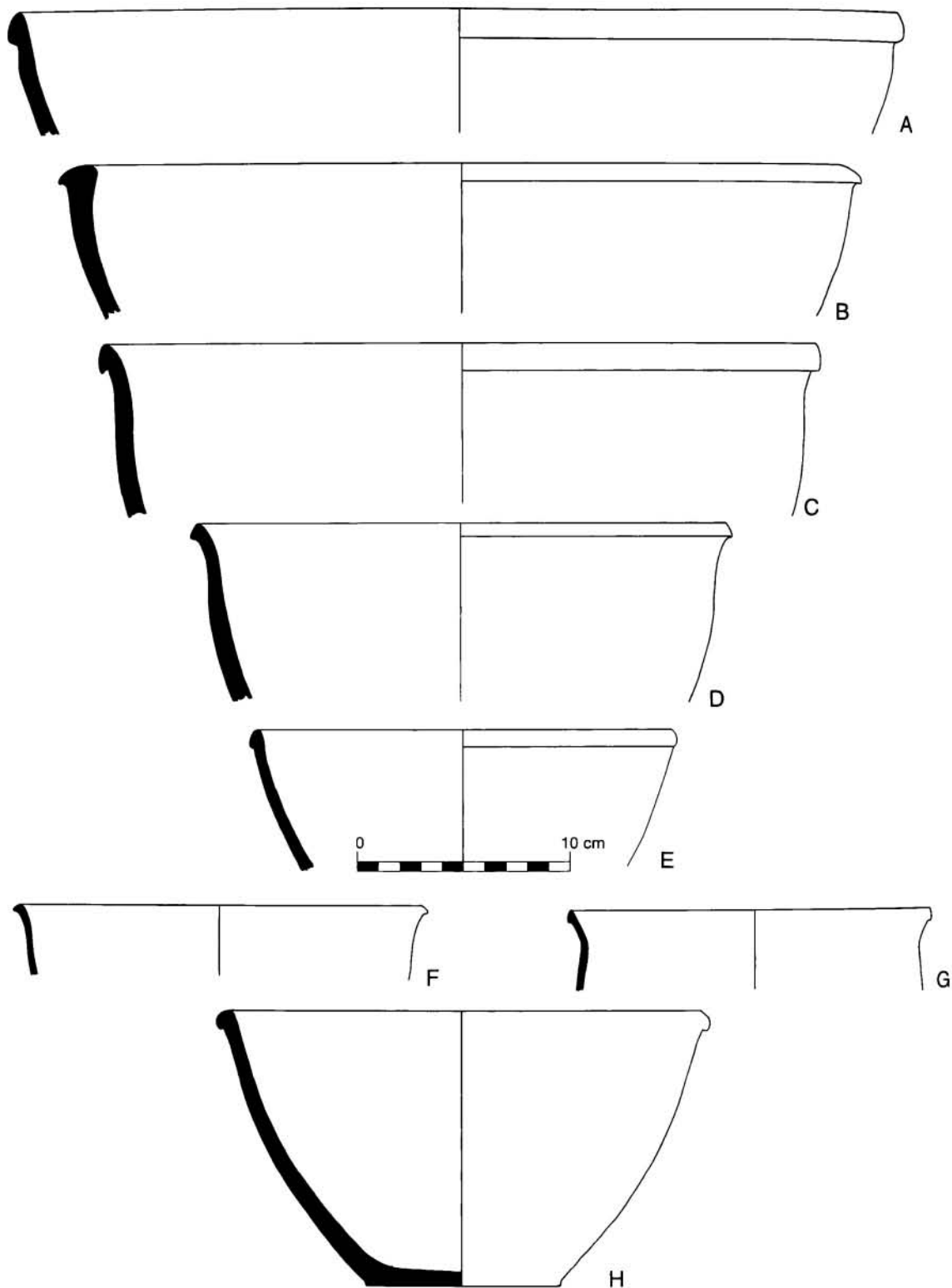
**Figure 4.30.** Photograph and drawing of plain buff-brown, fine grit, sherd with incised dragon/snake (A.75.9), Phase IVB5.



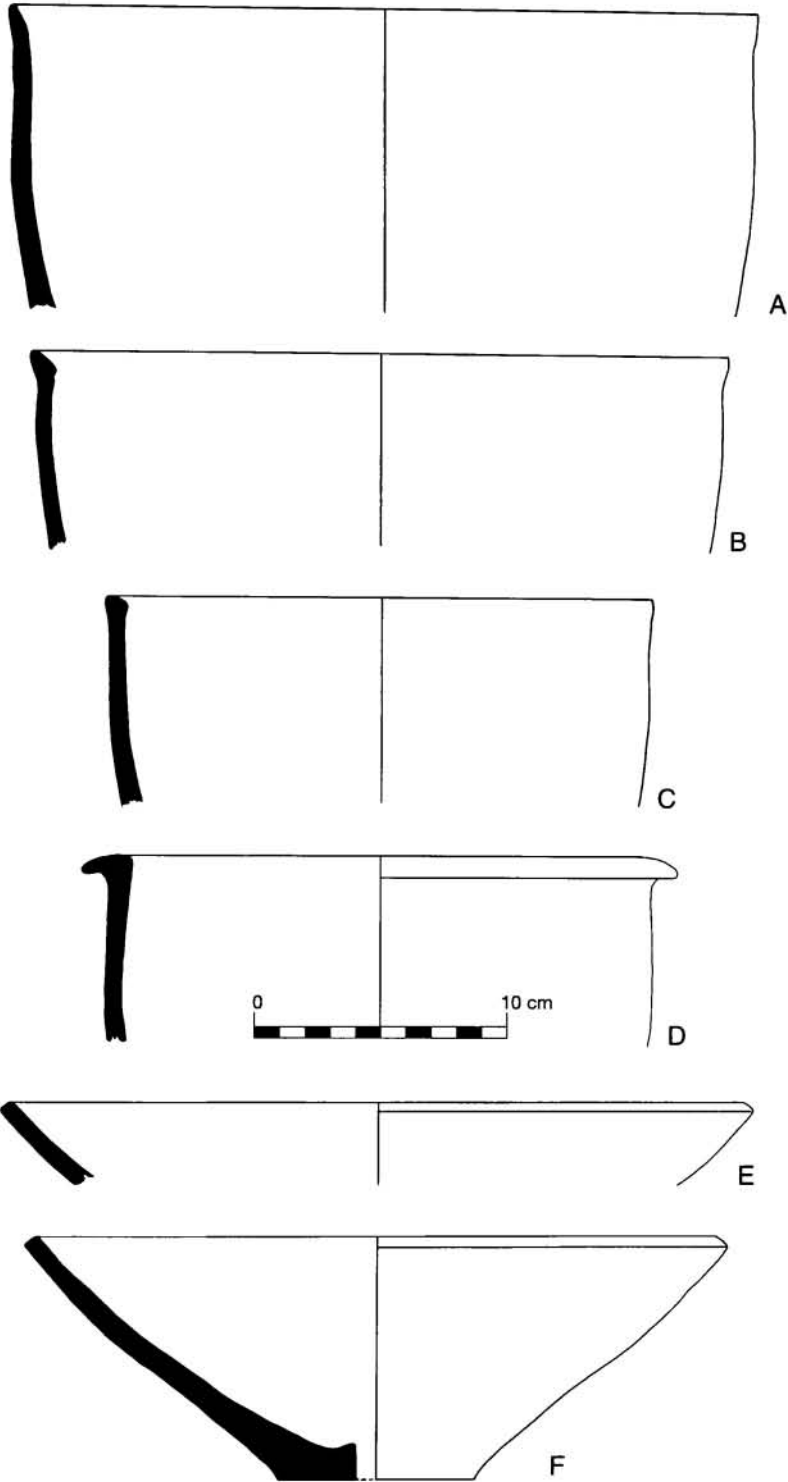
**Figure 4.31.** Large jars with snake/rope/punctate ridges, Phase IVB5. A. plain buff-brown, medium grit (A.75.9); B. plain brown, medium grit (A.75.9); C. plain red, medium grit (A.75.10.3); D. tan-buff, medium grit (A.75.9); E. plain red, heavy grit (A.75.10.3); F. plain red, no visible temper (A.75.9).



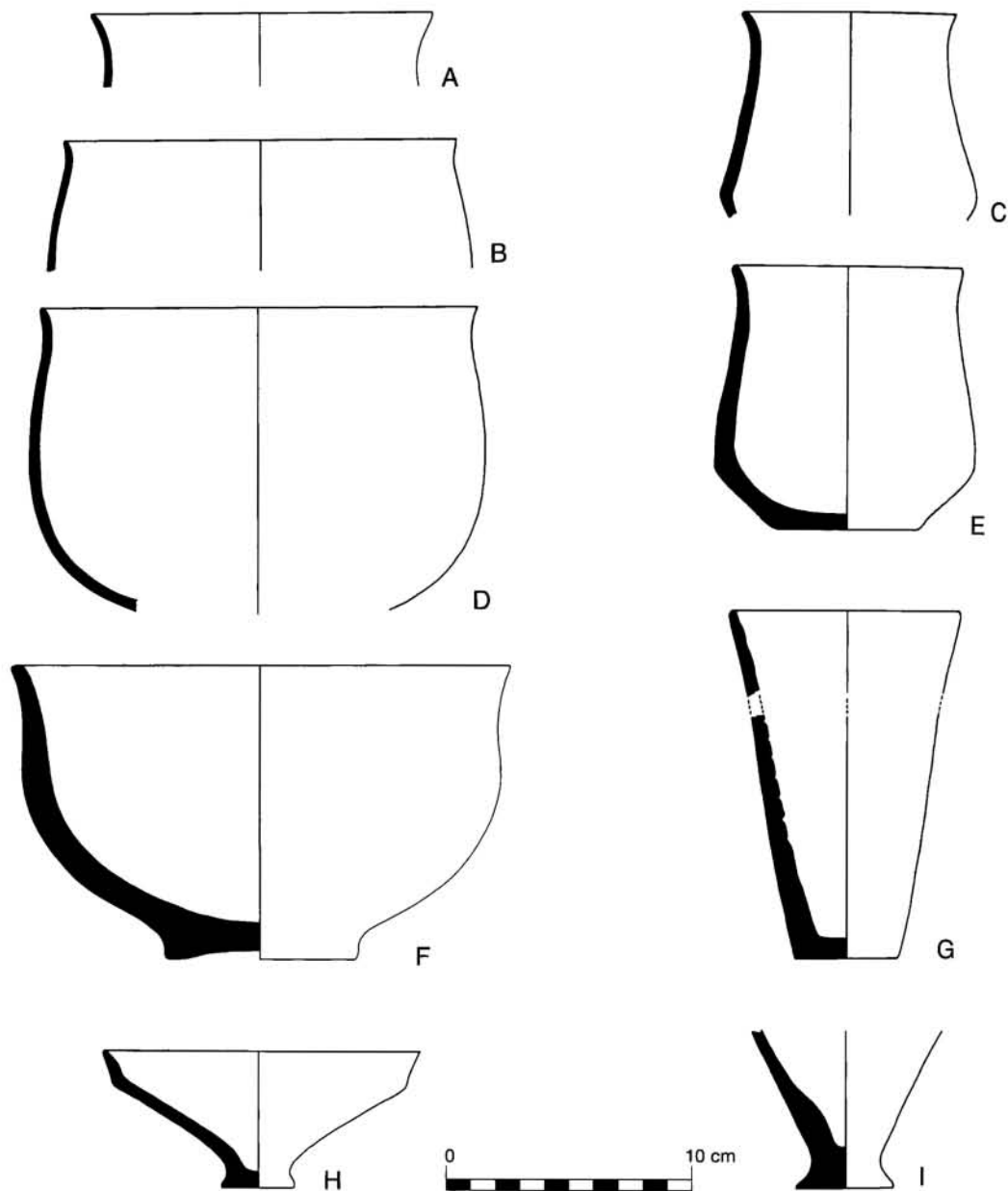
**Figure 4.32.** Storage jars with broad rims and short necks, Phase IVB5. A. plain brown, heavy grit (A.75.10.3); B. plain brown, coarse grit (A.75.9); C. plain brown, coarse grit (A.75.9); D. plain brown, fine grit (A.75.9); E. plain brown, heavy grit (A.75.10.3); F. plain brown, medium grit (A.75.10.3); G. plain orange, buff slip (A.75.9.2).



**Figure 4.33.** Club-rim bowls, Area A, Phase IVB5 (except where noted). A. chocolate brown slip, medium grit (A.75.9); B. plain brown, medium grit (A.75.9); C. reddish-brown wash over plain buff, fine grit (A.75.9); D. reddish-brown wash over plain buff, fine grit (A.75.9); E. reddish-brown, no visible temper (A.75.10.3); F. fine orange slip over plain orange (A.75.9.6); G. fine orange slip over plain orange (A.75.9.6); H. brown wash over light brown, medium grit, crushed white mineral temper, Phase IVB6 (A.75.10.4).

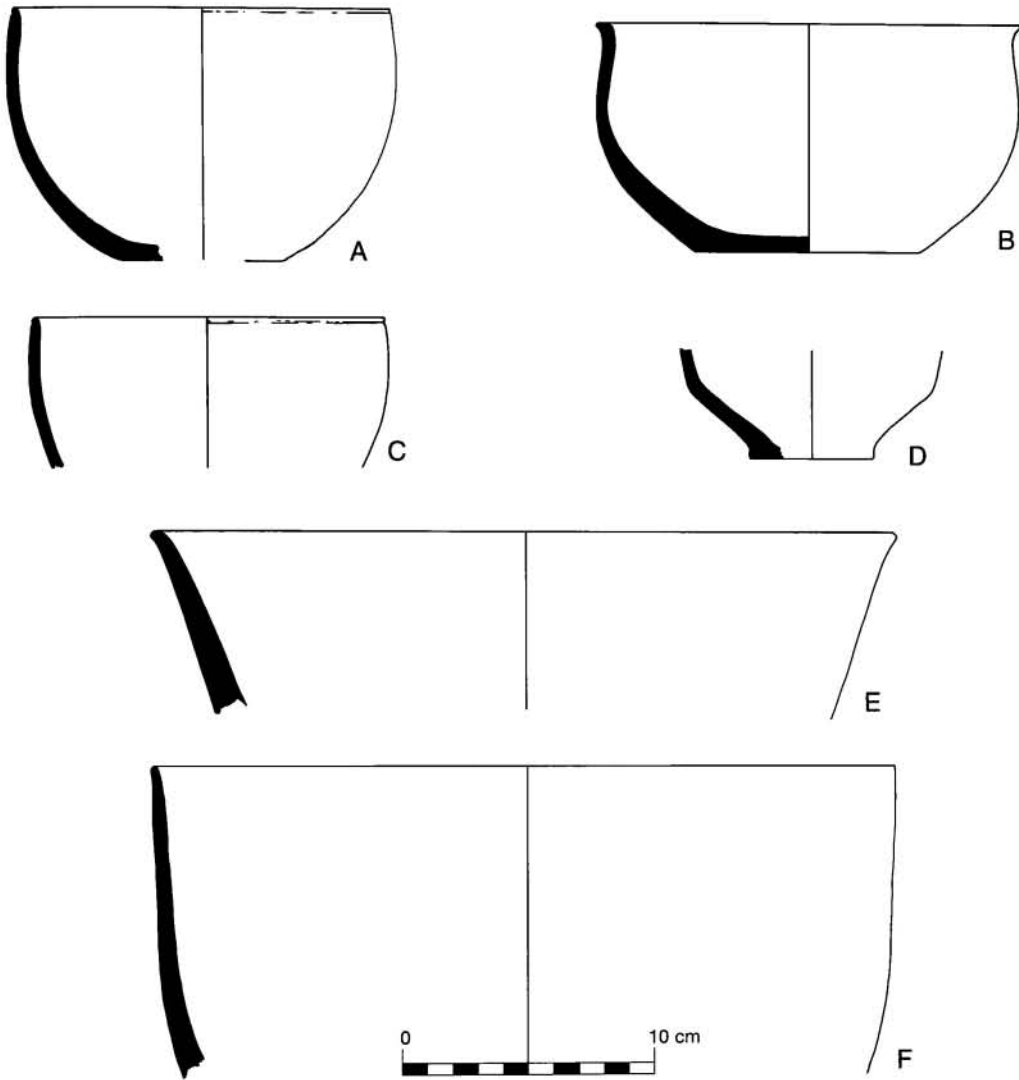


**Figure 4.34.** Deep vats and wide bowls, Area A, Phase IVB5. A. buff wash over brown, no visible temper (A.75.9); B. red, fine grit (A.75.10.3); C. fine buff, no visible temper (A.75.9); D. buff-brown, fine grit (A.75.10.3); E. plain brown, medium grit (A.75.9); F. plain brown, fine grit (A.75.9.2).

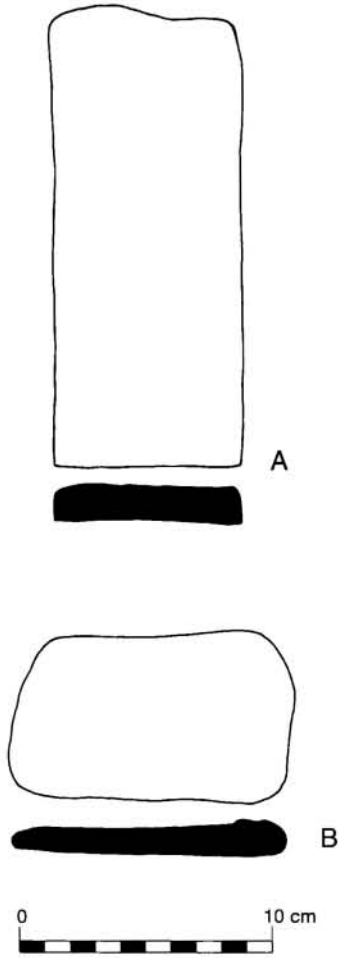


**Figure 4.35.** Small bowls and cups, Area A, Phase IVB5. A. fine orange slip over plain orange (A.75.9); B. fine orange, no visible temper (A.75.96); C. orange-tan, fine grit (A.75.9); D. plain orange, orange slip (A.75.9.2); E. plain brown-buff, medium grit (A.75.9); F. plain brown, coarse grit (A.75.9.6); G. plain brown, fine grit (A.75.9); H. plain brown, medium grit, string-cut base (A.75.9); I. plain brown, fine grit (A.75.9).

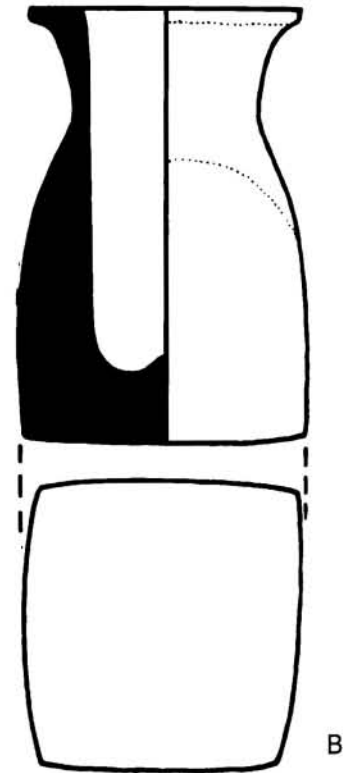
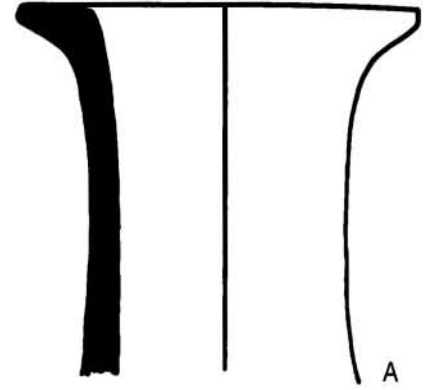




**Figure 4.36.** Burnished red and grey ware, Area A, Phase IVB5. A. streak burnished red slip, medium grit, interior band c. 3 cm wide burnished (A.75.9); B. burnished grey, fine grit (A.75.9); C. burnished red (A.75.9); D. burnished black (A.75.9); E. burnished grey (A.75.9); F. streak burnished brown, coarse grit, vertical burnishing on exterior, horizontal burnishing inside and below lip (A.75.9).



**Figure 4.37.** Stone whetstones  
(A. SF 3695, B. SF 3694).



**Figure 4.38.** White stone vessels  
(A. SF 3739, B. SF 3740).

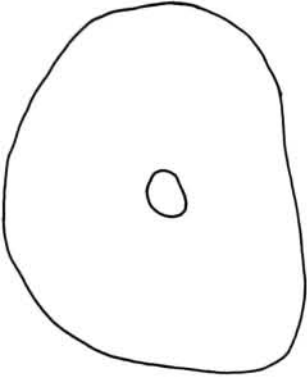
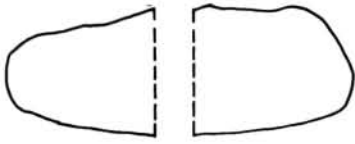


Figure 4.39. Stone axe or loomweight(?) (SF 3697).

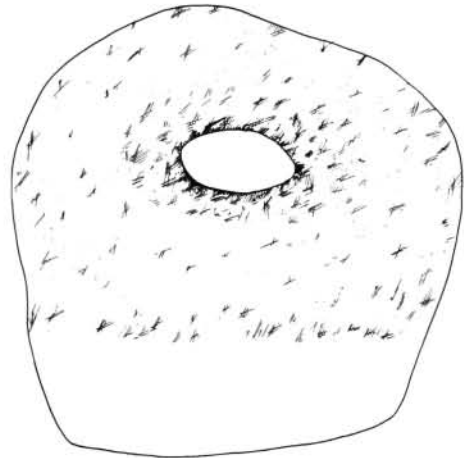
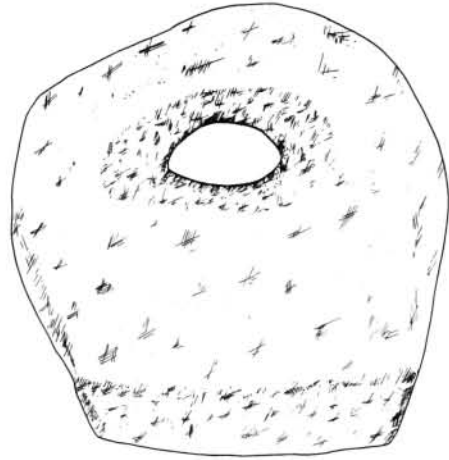


Figure 4.40. Soft-stone weight or handbag from A.75.9.8.



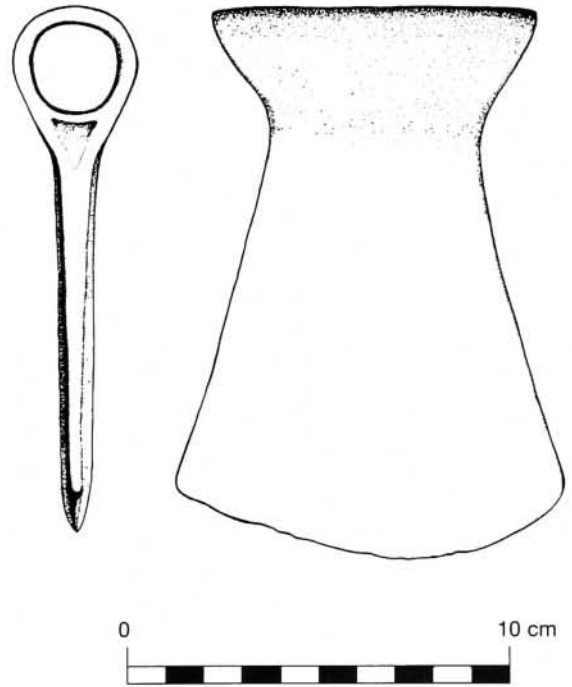
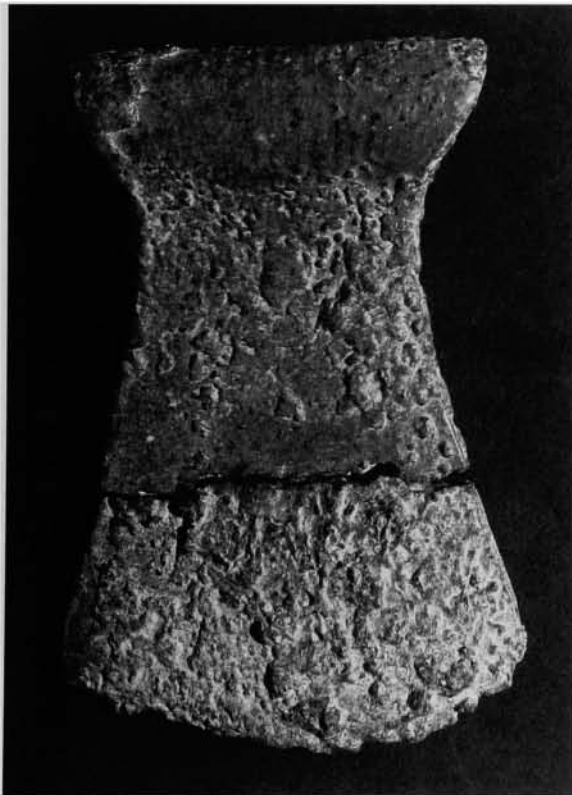
Figure 4.41. Tomb of a saint at Ashin, Soghun Valley, Iran, showing a soft-stone weight or handbag in situ (scale = 30 cm).



Figure 4.42. Soft-stone weight or handbag from Ashin (scale = 30 cm).



**Figure 4.43.** Soft-stone weight or handbag brought to expedition house in Baghin by a local villager (scale = 30 cm).



**Figure 4.44.** Cu/br shaft-hole axe (SF 3756).



# Chapter 5

## Phases IVB4, IVB3, and IVB2

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The Period IVB remains that postdate the Persian Gulf room and the other Phase IVB5 complexes can be divided broadly into two groups. A thin series of wall stubs and fill from Phases IVB4, IVB3, and IVB2 were found directly over the IVB5 remains in Trench B and BW (fig. F.11 on p. xxxix). A fairly substantial building level called Period IVB1 was above those deposits. Unfortunately, the remains recovered in Trenches BW and AN2 are virtually impossible to correlate with these levels. No complete rooms could be reconstructed from the disarticulated walls uncovered in Trenches BW and AN2, and what the sequence of floors, walls, and fill considered here actually represents is difficult to say. The compact nature of the deposits and the poor quality of the brickwork suggest a series of seasonal or short-lived occupations at Tepe Yahya in the late third millennium. The occupations do not seem to have amounted to a village or town settlement, yet they did occur with sufficient regularity to result in some stratigraphic accumulation over time. Previous discussions of the carved chlorite industry at Tepe Yahya, noting the absence of architecture (e.g., Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:310–314; Kohl 1978:464), have suggested that artisans worked in the open. Could they also have been seasonal inhabitants of the site who came to carve chlorite annually and then took it away with them to trade? Such an explanation might account for the minimal architectural remains found in Phases IVB4–2. An analysis of the faunal finds from these levels would perhaps tell whether this hypothesis is tenable. Due to the shallowness of the Phases IVB4–2 remains, we have treated them as a unit, although an original separation of three microphases has been retained. The contexts for each phase are enumerated in table 5.1.

### PHASE IVB4

The IVB4 architecture consists only of two parallel walls and some associated brick fall (fig. 5.1). The first wall (context B-BW.70.T3.3.1) emerged first in the

Trench B-BW north balk. It ran south into Trench B for a distance of approximately 2.2 m and was preserved to a height of two or three courses of bricks. The bricks were in a poor state of preservation, but were 26 cm wide and of variable length. They were notably “tempered with a great deal of pottery” according to the field notes.

About 1.2 m west of wall B-BW.70.T3.3.1 was a second wall, which ran parallel to the first, called B-BW.70.T4.4.2. It was only 1 m long, and ran due south from the north balk. The wall consisted of three courses of bricks, which measured 30 x 35–45 cm. Both of these walls rested on the same surface (B.70.10.3 = B-BW.70.T4.4.1). This surface was covered with white, organic material, which probably is the remnants of burnt reed matting. The surface ran directly over the top of the Persian Gulf room wall B-BW.70.T4.6.9, a stratum of fill (B.70.15), and the surface (B.70.15.1) on which another IVB wall (B.70.14.3) rested (these contexts are discussed in chap. 4). Thus, this surface (B.70.10.3) serves as the dividing line between Phase IVB5 and IVB4.

Turning to the pottery from Phase IVB4 (fig. 5.2), figure 5.2.A recalls the comb-incised pottery of Anjira (de Cardi 1965:fig. 21) and Chah Hussaini in Baluchistan (Stein 1937:pl. 19. Hus.17), less so sherds from Nindowari (de Cardi 1983:fig. 31.31) and Bampur (de Cardi 1970:fig. 41.433). Interestingly, comb-incised pottery is also attested at Susa in an Ur III context (Steve and Gasche 1971:pl. 66.9, 10) where it may well be an import from the east. Figure 5.2.C shows a stylized tree with palm fronds that, although there are no precise parallels, clearly belongs in the tradition of palms depicted frequently on the pottery of Bampur (e.g., Stein 1937:pl. IX. A.133; de Cardi 1970:fig. 38:379), and is also attested at Damin (Stein 1937:pl. XI, lower, A.60; Tosi 1970:figs. 11, 21c, 23f), Khurab (Stein 1937:pl. XIII. Khur.B.ii.199), and Maula (Stein 1937:pl. IX, lower, Mau.3+6). The carinated bowl (fig. 5.2.E) is in the tradition of those vessels found within the Persian Gulf room. Figure 5.2.F is a fragment of what are called truncated

Table 5.1. Phase IVB4, IVB3, and IVB2 excavated contexts.

Period	Context
IVB4	B-BW.70.T3.3.1, B.70.6, B.70.7, B.70.10.3, B-BW.70.T3.4, B-BW.70.T4.2, B-BW.70.T4.4, B-BW.70.T4.4.1, B-BW.70.T4.4.2, B-BW.70.T6.4, B-BW.70.T6.4.1
IVB3	B.70.3.2, B.70.3.5, B.70.3, B.70.5, B-BW.70.T5.5, B-BW.70.T3.3, B-BW.70.T5.3, B-BW.70.T5.3.1?, B.69.T5.4, B.69.T5.5
IVB2	B.70.1.2, B.70.2.6, B.70.3.1, B.70.3.4, B-BW.70.T4.1a.2, B.70.1.1, B.70.4, B.70.2, B-BW.70.T4.1a.1, B-BW.70.T5.1, B-BW.70.T5.2, B-BW.70.T5.2.1, B-BW.70.T5.4(?), B-BW.70.T6.1, B-BW.70.T6.2, B-BW.70.T6.2.1, B-BW.70.T6.2.2, B-BW.70.T6.2.3, B-BW.70.T6.2.4, B-BW.70.T6.2.5, B-BW.70.T6.2.6, B.70.T6.2.6, B-BW.70.T6.3, B.69.T6.3

pots (“bols à profil concave”), sherds of which appeared in the later Period IVB levels (fig. 5.3) and a complete example of which was found in a IVA4 context (A.75.T3.4). The truncated pot is yet another example of a Central Asian type that, during the late third and perhaps early second millennium, was diffused as far south as Baluchistan and Kerman (fig. 5.4). Comparable vessels are known from Sapally-tepe in southern Uzbekistan (Askarov 1973:160, pl. 20.20), Dashly-tepe 3 in northern Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1976:pl. 45.20), and various sites in the Lower Murghab delta (Masimov 1981:figs. 3.18, 5.6–12). Outside of Central Asia this form has been found at Mehi (Possehl 1986:fig. 10, Mehi III.6.2 and 3), Khurab (Stein 1937:pl. 6.Khur.L.i.276), Shahdad (e.g., Hakemi 1997a:408, obj. no. 2996; 468, obj. no. 3505), and the Mehrgarh VIII cemetery and cenotaphs (Jarrige 1985:111; Santoni 1988:fig. 1), in addition to Tepe Yahya.

Chlorite finds from Phase IVB4 contexts include vessel fragments (SF 381, 3.5 x 2.6 x .8 cm, 16 cm in diameter; SF 385, 3.5 x 1.2 x .5 cm, 6 cm in diameter), a gaming piece(?) (SF 392, fig. 5.5, 2.2 x .9 cm), and a macehead (SF 393, 6 x 7.5 cm). Other small finds included a white stone vessel fragment (SF 2282, 3.5 x 4.1 x 1 cm), a fragment of a brown stone vessel (SF 2283, 3 x 2.1 x 1.1 cm), a white stone loomweight or door socket (SF 2281, fig. 5.6, 15 x 7 x 6.5 cm), and a badly worn chlorite cylinder seal (glyptic catalogue no. 50, fig. 5.7, 2.5 x 1.4 cm). Unfortunately, this latter piece was so badly preserved that it is nearly impossible to make out more than one or possibly two stick-figures.

### PHASE IVB3

One wall (B.70.3.2) rests on floor B.70.5 in Phase IVB3 (fig. 5.8). The wall ran at a slightly oblique angle to the north B-BW balk, and was preserved to a height of three courses, making it unlikely that it was merely brick fall.

Brick sizes of 35–50 x 40 cm were recorded, but the wall itself was only one brick thick. These brick sizes are unusually large for Period IVB, and differ from the sizes recorded in Phases IVB6 through IVB4.

Pottery from IVB3 contexts is illustrated in figure 5.9. Figure 5.9.A is most probably an intrusive piece of black-on-buff from a VA context, while the caprid horns on figure 5.9.B suggest it is either a black-on-orange or black-on-buff fragment (cf. Shahr-i Sokhta) from eastern Iran. Another fragment of a truncated bowl (fig. 5.9.C) and a carinated bowl (fig. 5.9.G) compare well with the examples from Phase IVB4 discussed above.

Chlorite finds from Phase IVB3 levels included a vessel fragment (SF 286, 2.4 x 1.4 x .3 cm), a handle (SF 285, 4.8 x 1.5 x .8 cm), and a flat fragment (SF 377, 3.2 x 3.4 x .6 cm). Other small finds recovered were two clay comb handles (SF 1147a, 5 x 2 cm; SF 1147b, 7.5 x 2.3 cm), a bone bead made of a fish vertebra (SF 1331, 1.3 x 1.2 cm), a white stone vessel fragment (SF 2072, 4.7 x 3.2 x 1.1 cm), and a fragment of a vessel of undetermined stone (SF 2241, 4.9 x 1.8 x 1.4 cm).

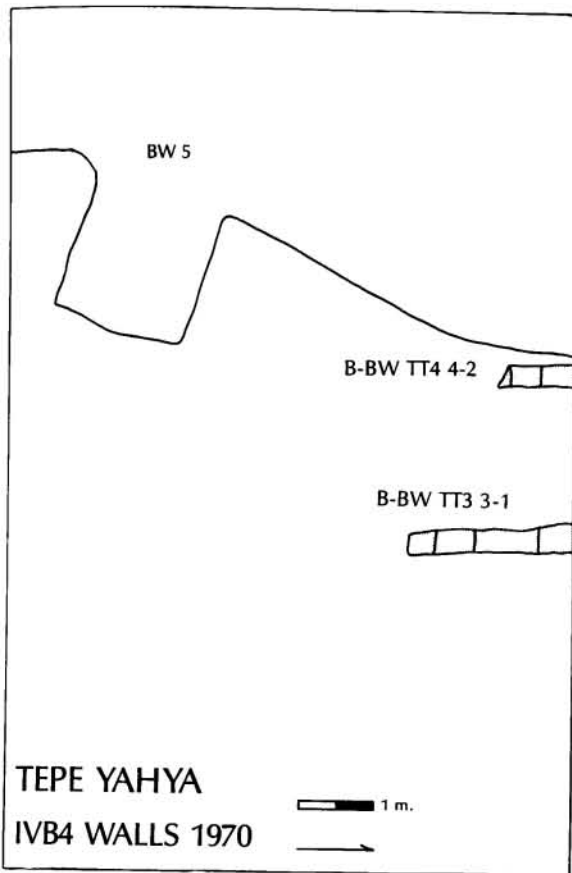
### PHASE IVB2

Four small walls and a wall spur resting in a disarticulated fashion on a stratum of hard, bricky soil (B.70.4) were identified above the Phase IVB3 architecture (fig. 5.10). These walls cannot be reconstructed into anything even remotely resembling a coherent plan. They do not articulate, and although two of the walls are parallel to each other, they are too far apart to suggest the outline of a plan. The walls are individually described below.

The first wall, B.70.1.2, ran northwest–southeast in the center of Trench B and rested on the hard bricky surface (B.70.4). It was approximately 1.6 m long and was made of bricks that measured 20 x 20–25 x 35 cm.

The second Phase IVB3 wall, B.70.3.1, ran roughly north–south, and was approximately 1.25 m long. Brick





**Figure 5.1.** Plan of the Phase IVB4 walls, excavated in 1970. The context labels describe the trench, test trench, stratum, and feature.

sizes varied, but several measured 25 x 30 cm. The wall was only one brick wide, and ran nearly perpendicular to B.70.1.6, a wall spur with which it did not bond.

B.70.1.6 was a wall spur only two bricks long and one brick high (not visible on fig. 5.10). It ran east-west and rested on top of the Phase IVB3 wall B.70.3.2 (fig. 5.8). The position of B.70.1.6 above B.70.3.2, which, in turn, was below B.70.4 and on B.70.5, suggests that wall spur B.70.1.6 belongs with the IVB2 walls. Brick sizes were 25–26 x 32–33 cm.

The third wall, B.70.3.4, ran north-south and extended into the Trench B north balk. It was only one brick wide, and rested on the bricky soil of B.70.4. Brick sizes could not be ascertained. A spur ran out from the wall in an east-west direction for about 75 cm, but did not relate to any of the other walls. It is possible that this may originally have articulated with the northern end of the first wall, B.70.3.1.

The fourth wall, B-BW.70.T4.la.2, rested on surface B-BW.70.T4.la, and was roughly parallel to B.70.1.2. It was poorly preserved, and ran northeast-southeast. Parts

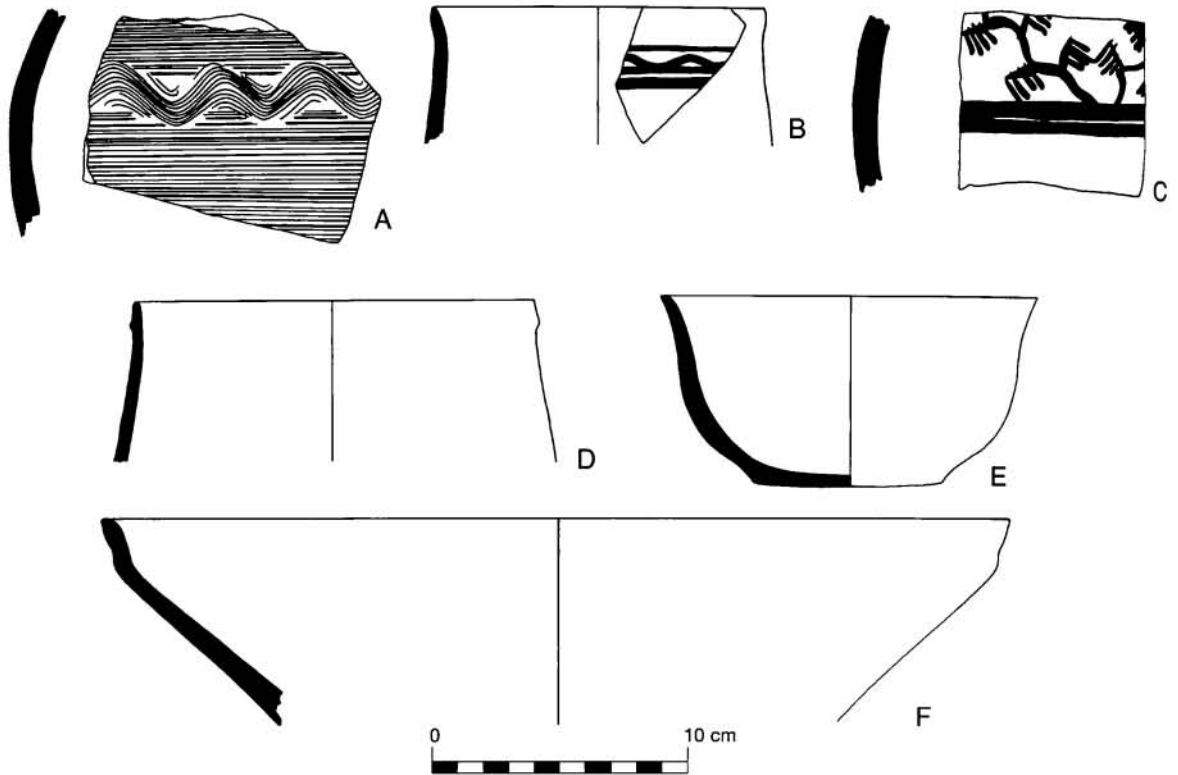
of two adjoining walls were also recovered, thus making three sides of a room. No brick sizes were determined. In Trench B-BW a possible continuation of this structure was excavated as B-BW.70.T6.2 (fig. 5.11, 12). This wall was followed for about one meter, and was adjacent to a series of hearths, B-BW.70.T6.2.1 through 2.6, which were all superimposed upon one another. To the south of the hearths, the wall continued for perhaps 75 cm until it reached the Trench B-BW south balk where it can be seen in section as B.70.2 (fig. 5.13). The bricks used in this portion of the wall measured 36 x 20 cm.

A selection of sherds from Phase IVB2 contexts is shown in figure 5.14. One of these is the flaring-rimmed bowl (fig. 5.14.E) of a hollow-footed chalice, broken below the rib near the point where the bowl would have joined the foot. In figure 3.19 the profile of this piece is shown joined to a hollow-foot and demonstrates what a complete vessel of this typical Central Asian type would look like.

The association of the Phase IVB2 walls with floor B.70.4 or its equivalent is important. The B.70.4 floor was the surface on which the disk seal (glyptic catalogue no. 58, fig. 5.15, 1.83 x .66 cm) was discovered that was used by Porada to date the early style Persian Gulf seals (Porada 1971:331ff).

Other chlorite finds made in Phase IVB2 contexts included three vessel fragments (SF 268, 2.5 x 2 x .5 cm; SF 269, 2.7 x 1.8 x 2.5 cm; SF 272, 2.2 x .7 x 2.1 cm); two handles, one of which is carved with opposing serpents (SF 270, figs. 5.16, 4 x 3.6 x 5.5 cm), and one of which is plain (SF 271, 2.3 x .9 cm); and the bifacial disk seal (glyptic catalogue no. 58, 1.83 x .66 cm) mentioned already and discussed above. Other small finds included a clay spindle whorl (SF 1113, 2.9 cm in diameter), a white stone vessel fragment (SF 2243, 1.6 x 1.75 x .6, 10 cm in diameter), a fragment of a green stone vessel (SF 2240, 8.3 x 3.7 cm), a fragment of a greenish-black stone vessel (SF z-361, 8.6 x 4.5 x 3.7 cm), a green stone bead (SF 2280, 1.1 x .8 x .6 cm), a stone spindle-whorl(?) (SF z-360, 3 x 1.9 cm), and a biconical carnelian bead (SF 2940, .3 x .8 cm).

We cannot be certain whether the scanty remains (A.75.8 fill, A.75.8.1 floor) recovered in A.75.8 belong to this same phase of architecture and for this reason these contexts are omitted from appendix A. Only an east-west wall (A.75.8.2), measuring approximately 20 cm high, 30 cm wide, and 5 m long, and a small hearth (A.75.8.3), 1–1.25 m in diameter, were found in A.75.8. Pottery from A.75.8 is illustrated in figures 5.17–19. Along with club-rim bowls (e.g., fig. 5.17.D, E), fragments of truncated pots (fig. 5.17.H, I), and large storage jars with plastic, meandering ridges (fig. 5.18.A, B), all of which are well-known in earlier third millennium contexts, we probably have at least one Iron Age intrusion in



**Figure 5.2.** Pottery from Phase IVB4 contexts (except where noted). A. comb-incised brown, medium grit (B-BW.70.T4.4); B. black-on-brown/buff, Phase IVB2 (B-BW.70.T6.1); C. black-on-orange (B-BW.70.T3.4); D. plain brown tan (B-BW.70.T3.4); E. plain tan, chaff (B-BW.70.T3.4); F. brown-slipped buff, overfired (like stoneware) (B-BW.70.T6.4).

the form of a complete "tulip" bowl (fig. 5.17.M). Two pieces bear incised decoration (figs. 5.17.G and 5.19), the latter piece showing what appears to be a crudely rendered sketch of a headless bovid with uplifted tail.

The large number of chlorite finds is of considerable interest, as is the copper/bronze chisel (see below) associated with these finds in Trench A. There is no stratigraphic link between the A.75.8 material and the Trench B and B-BW IVB2 complex and their association remains tenuous.

Chlorite finds from A.75.8 include sixteen vessel fragments (SF 3617, 2.3 x .7 x .6 cm; SF 3619, 5.2 x 1.2 x .5 cm; SF 3620a, 5 x 1.8 cm; SF 3620b, 5 x 1 cm; SF 3620c, 3 x 1 cm; SF 3620d, 2 x .4 cm; SF 3621, 2 x .5 x .3 cm; SF 3622, 4 x 2.3 x .3 cm; SF 3623, 4.5 x 1.9 x 1 cm; SF 3624, 5.2 x 3.3 x .6 cm; SF 3625, 2 x ? cm; SF 3626, 5.4 x .9 x 3 cm; SF 3627, 5.3 x .8 cm; SF 3628, 1.9 x 4.5 x 11 cm; SF 3633, 10.7 x 2 x .8 cm; SF 3635, 7.5 x 3 x .9 cm), a square token or gaming piece (SF 3618, 3.9 x 3.7 x 3.2 cm), and a pendant with decoration on one face (SF 3634, fig. 5.20, 3 x .6 cm). Other small finds included two clay comb handles (SF 3775, 6.2 x 2.7 x 2.5 cm; SF 3779, 7 x 3.4 x 2.3 cm), a clay ball (SF 3778, 3.1 cm in diameter), a white stone, cone-shaped

token (SF 3736, 2.1 x 1.3 cm), and a polished stone ball (SF 3706, 4.3 x 2.5 x 2.5 cm).

From the floor A.75.8.1 came a clay comb handle (SF 3781, 6.1 x 3.6 x 2.1 cm); a clay figurine fragment, possibly a human foot (SF 3780, 2.5 x 3.7 x 1.5 cm); a white stone labret (SF 3727, fig. 5.21, 6.2 x 2.7 cm) that is slightly larger than those found at Tepe Yahya during the early periods, which never exceeded 5.3 cm in diameter (Beale 1986:178); and a copper-bronze pin (SF 3752, 8.3 x .4 cm). Chlorite finds recovered on A.75.8.1 included a lid (SF 3630, 6.1 x 6.2 x 1.1 cm with four knobs), a complete but broken chlorite bowl (unregistered, fig. 5.22, rim diameter 11.5 cm, height 5.2 cm), two vessel fragments (SF 3631, 4.2 x .7 x 6 cm, 4.5 cm in diameter; SF 3632, 5.2 x 2.2 x .3 cm), and a complete tall cup (SF 3629, fig. 5.23, 7.9 cm high, 4.9 cm rim diameter). The cup is similar to several other pieces found at Tepe Yahya (figs. 5.24, 25). Previously published pieces from Khurab (Stein 1937:pls. 6 and 32.13, Khur.F.i.263) and Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:609, Fi. 1; 610, Fi. 5), though similar in shape and general execution, have different patterns of incised geometric decoration.

Other small finds include a clay rod (SF 3776, 6.5 x 1.2 cm) from A.75.8.5.

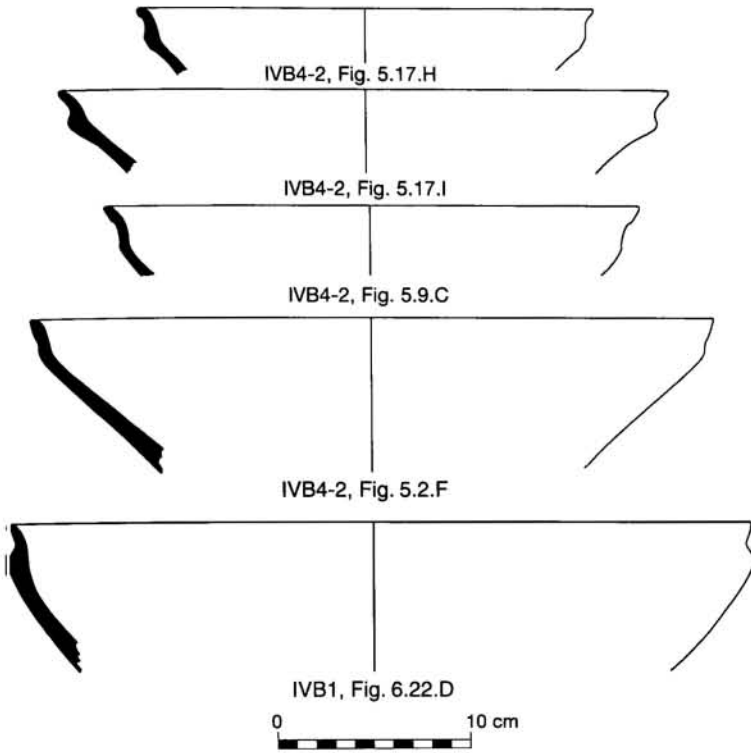


Figure 5.3. Truncated pot rims, Period IVB.

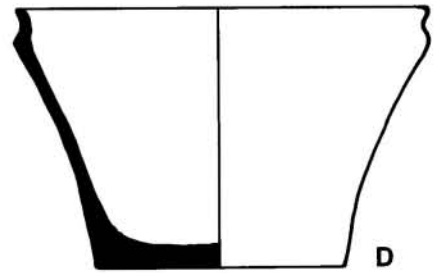
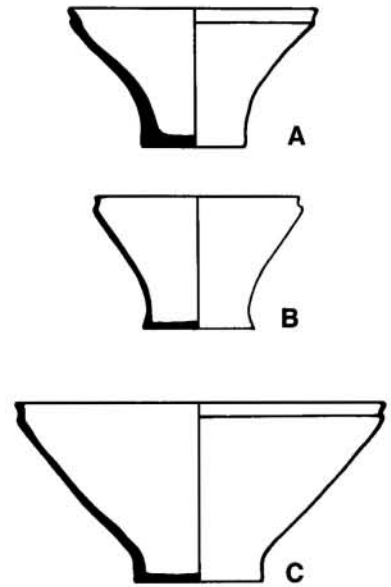


Figure 5.4. Selection of truncated pots from sites in Bactria and Margiana. A. Mehrgarh VIII (after Santoni 1984:fig. 1.8); B. Sapally-tepe (after Askarov 1973:pl. 20.20); C. Dashly-tepe (after Sarianidi 1976:pl. 45.20); D. Tepe Yahya, Phase IVA4 (A.75.T3.4; after Potts 1980:fig. 51.K).

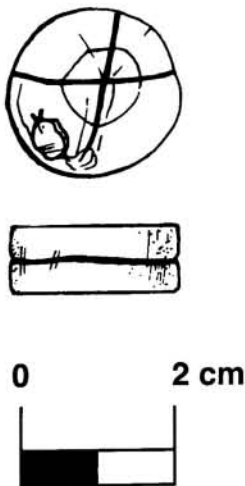


Figure 5.5. Chlorite gaming piece(?) (SF 392).

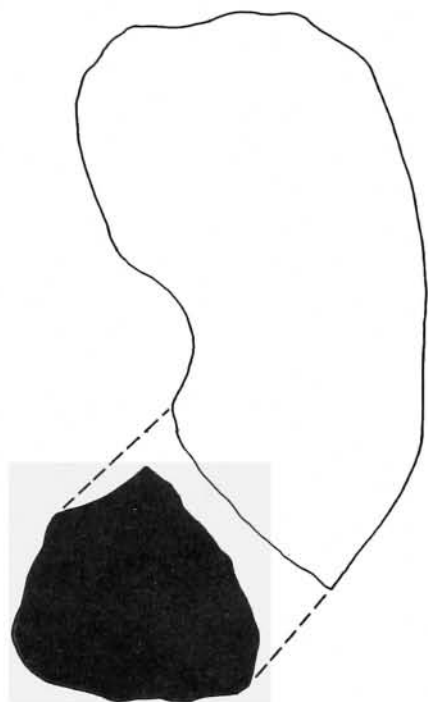


Figure 5.6. White stone loomweight or door socket (SF 2281).

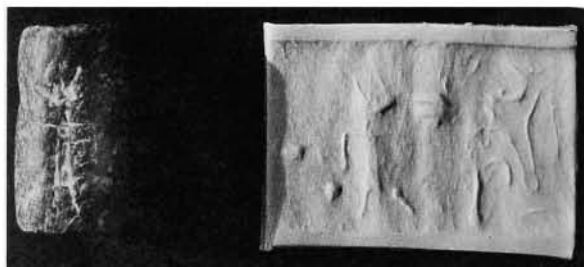


Figure 5.7. Photograph and drawing of chlorite cylinder seal (glyptic catalogue no. 50; 9 mm in diameter x 14 mm; see p. 245).

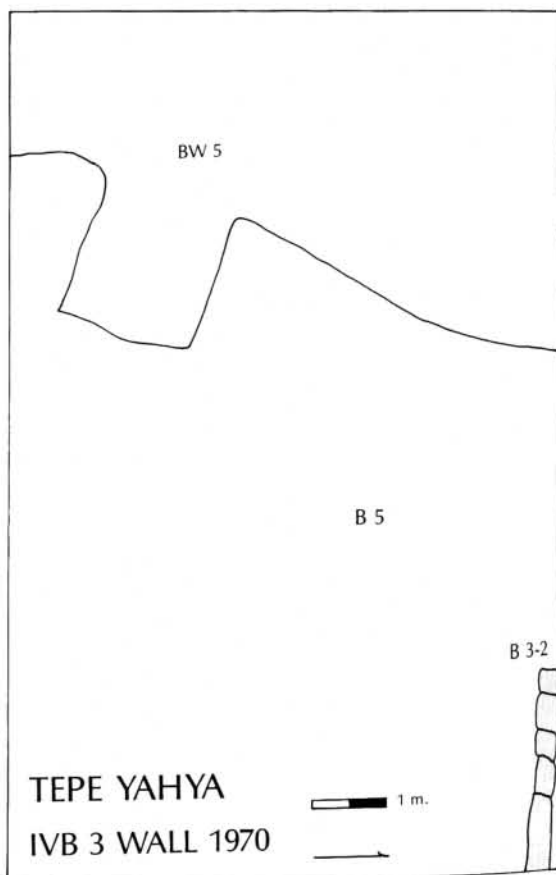
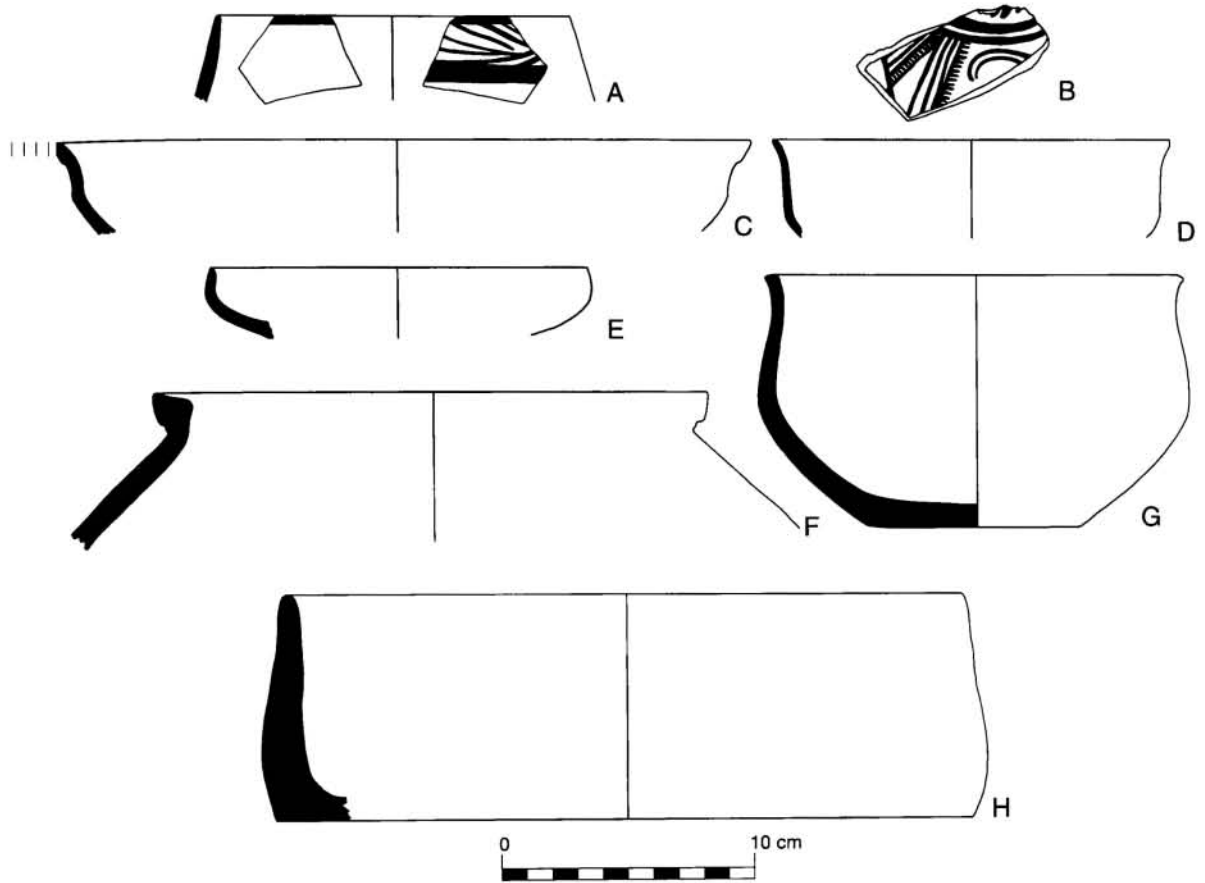


Figure 5.8. Plan of the Phase IVB3 wall, context B.70.32, 1970.



**Figure 5.9.** Pottery from Phase IVB3 contexts. A. sherd lost, probably black-on-buff (B.70.5); B. sherd lost, probably black-on-orange or black-on-buff (B.69.T5.5); C. plain brown (B-BW.70.T5.3); D. burnished grey (B-BW.70.T5.5); E. burnished black (B.70.3); F. coarse tan grit (B-BW.70.T5.3); G. burnished grey (B.70.3); H. plain buff, medium grit (B.70.3.2).

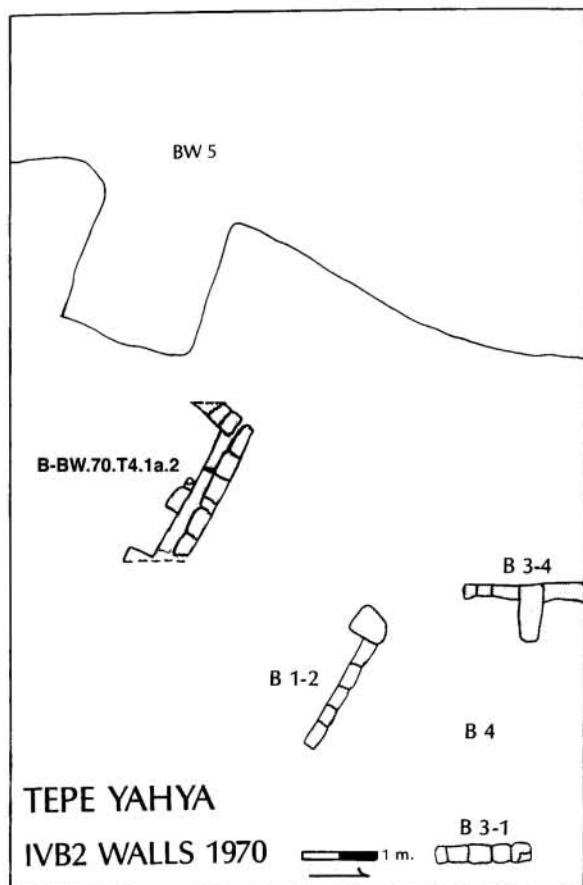


Figure 5.10. Plan of the four Phase IVB2 walls, 1970.

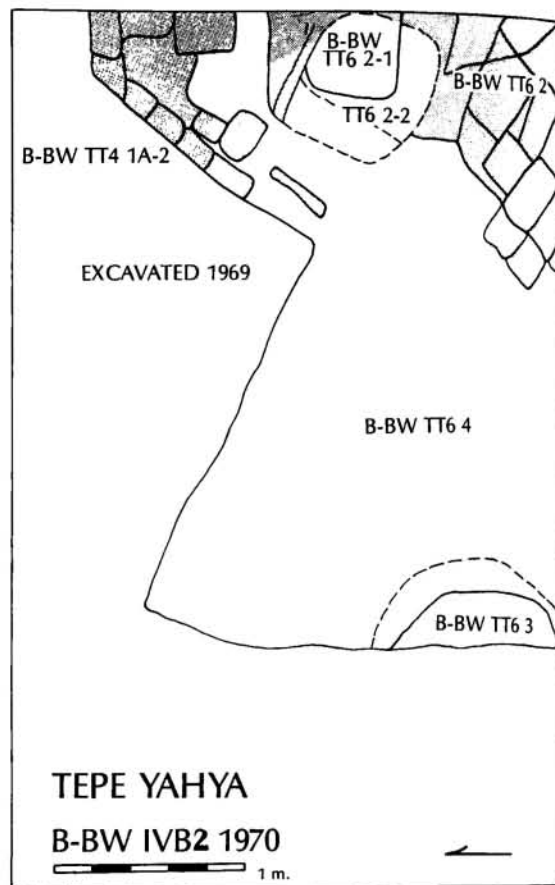
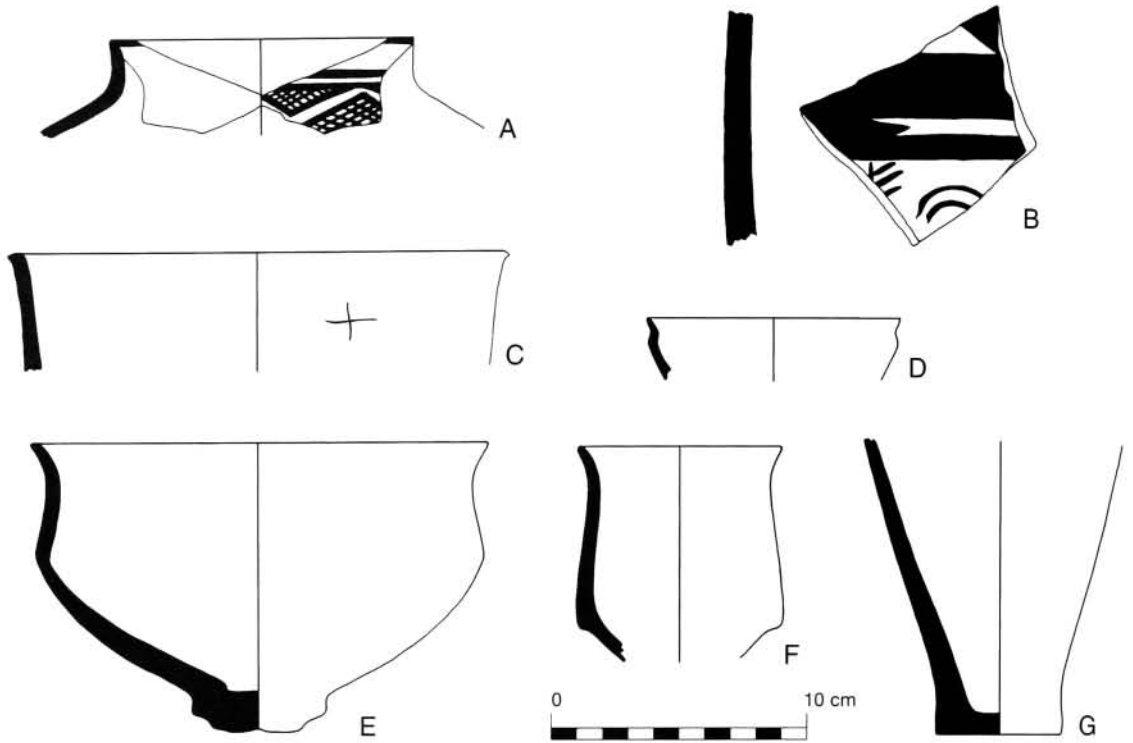


Figure 5.11. Plan of the Phase IVB2 architecture in Trench B-BW showing the location of hearths B-BW.70.T6.2-6 and pit B-BW.70.T6.3.





**Figure 5.14.** Pottery from Phase IVB2. A. black-on-buff (BW.69.T6.3); B. brown-on-brown, medium grit (B.70.2); C. coarse buff (B-BW.70.T6.2); D. plain brown, fine grit (B.70.4); E. red washed plain buff, medium grit (B.70.2); F. smooth red grit (B.70.4); G. coarse buff grit (B-BW.70.T5.2.1).

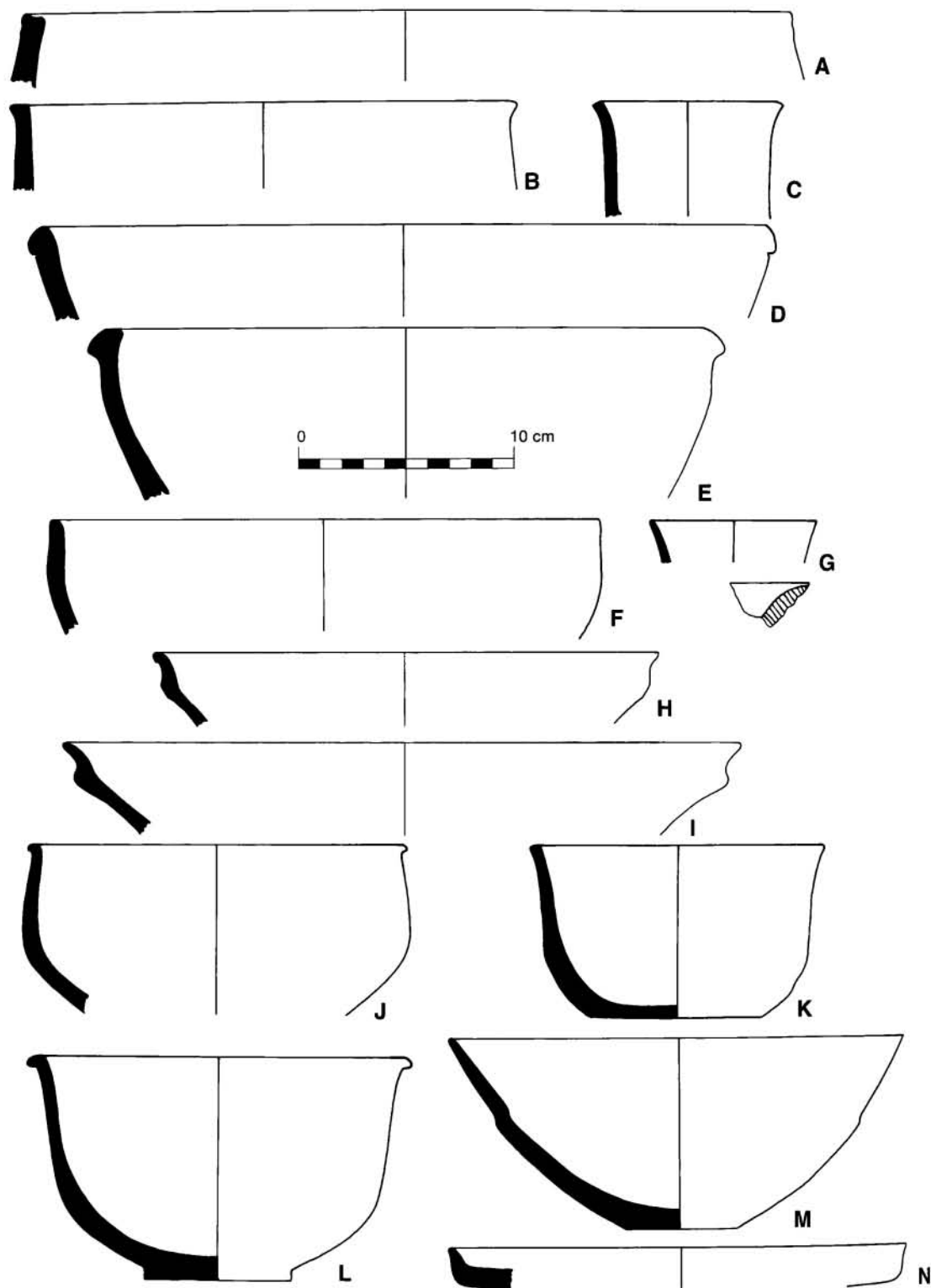


**Figure 5.15.** Disk seal (glyptic catalogue no. 58; 15 mm in diameter x 8 mm; see p. 245).

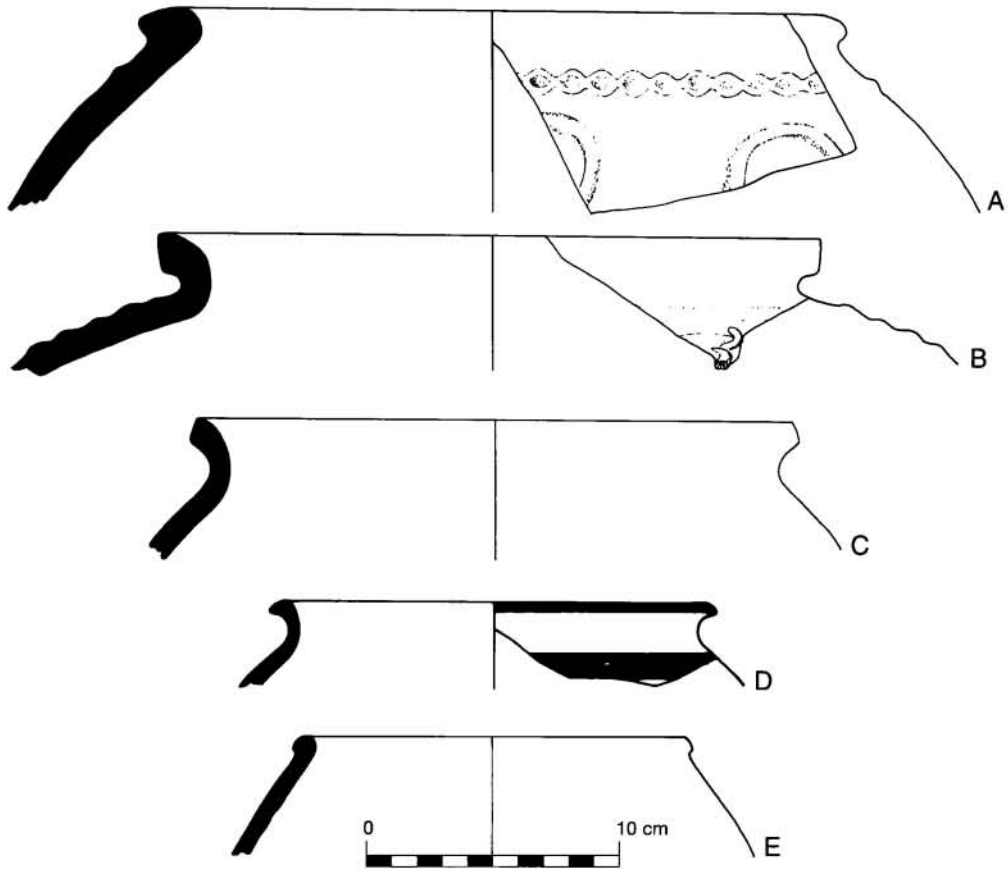




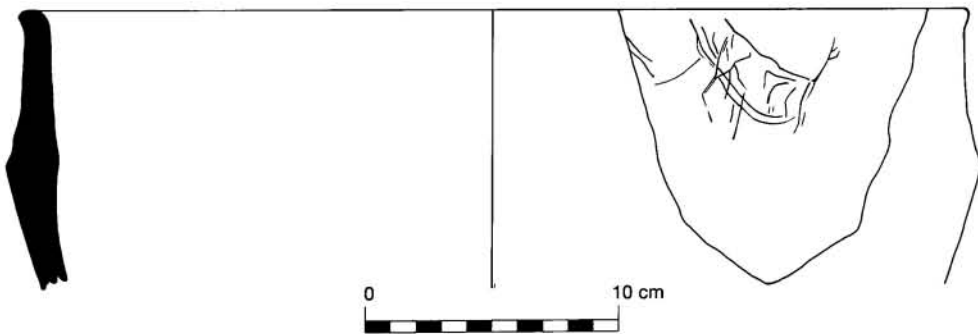
**Figure 5.16.** Carved chlorite fragment (SF 270; 4 x 3.6 x 5.5 cm).



**Figure 5.17.** Bowls, vats, and cups from A.75.8 and A.75.8a. All sherds from A.75.8 except where otherwise indicated. A. plain buff, no visible temper; B. black burnished; C. pitted burnished tan (A.75.8a); D. tan-buff, fine grit (A.75.8a); E. plain reddish-tan, reddish-orange slip interior and exterior (A.75.8a); F. burnished black; G. sherd lost; H. plain brown, medium grit; I. plain buff, fine grit; J. tan-buff, fine grit; K. plain orange, fine tan grit; L. plain brownish-grey; M. sherd lost; N. coarse brown grit, red slipped interior.



**Figure 5.18.** Large jars from A.75.8 and A.75.8a. All sherds from A.75.8 except where otherwise indicated. A. reddish-orange, medium grit, red slipped; B. plain buff, medium grit (A.75.8a); C. plain buff, medium grit (A.75.8a); D. fine tan grit, red slip, black paint; E. burnished grey.



**Figure 5.19.** Vat with incised bull, plain red with chaff and heavy grit temper, from A.75.8.

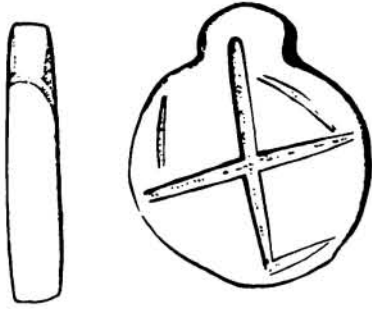


Figure 5.20. Carved chlorite disk (SF 3634).

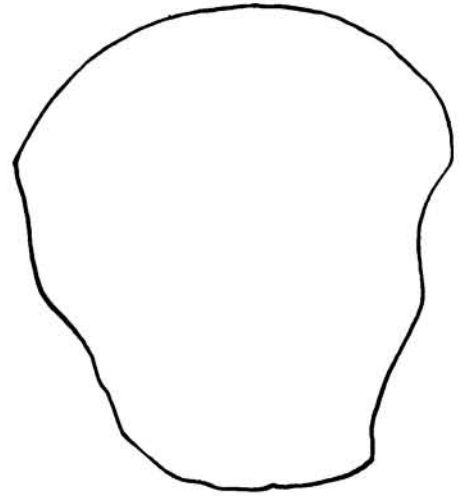
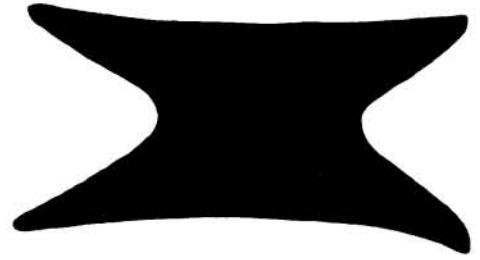


Figure 5.21. White stone labret (SF 3727).

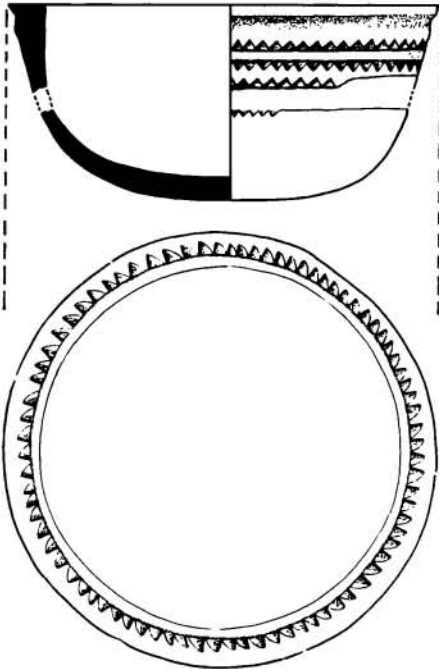
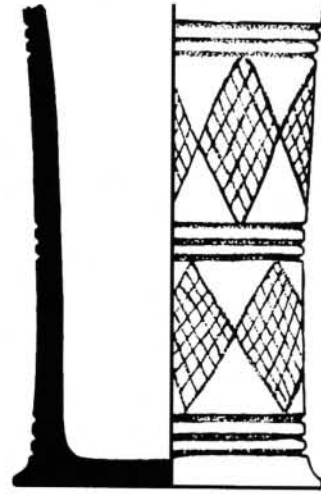
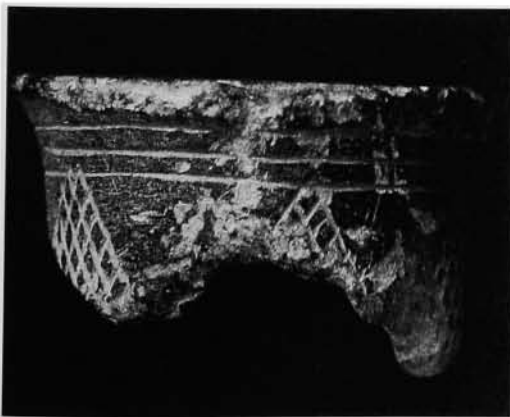


Figure 5.22. Chlorite bowl (unregistered) from A.75.8.1 (5.2 cm high, 11.5 cm rim diameter).



**Figure 5.23.** Chlorite vessel fragment (SF 3629; 7.9 cm high, 4.9 cm rim diameter).



**Figure 5.24.** Chlorite vessel fragment from the north side of Tepe Yahya, context XBE.71.T1.6b (6 cm x 4 cm).



**Figure 5.25.** Chlorite vessel fragment from A.73.58 (6 cm x 18 cm).



# Chapter 6

## Phase IVB1

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Fairly discrete concentrations of architectural and stratigraphic features assignable to Phase IVB1 were identified in Trenches A, B-BW, and the B-C Balk. These features are presented in the discussion that follows. The features are summarized in table 6.1. The subdivisions in table 6.1 are made on the basis of divisions suggested by the arrangement of the features themselves and their associated contexts.

### REMAINS IN TRENCH A

#### Architecture

The latest architectural phase of Period IVB is represented by an extensive complex (figs. 6.1–3), most of which was recovered in Trench A during the 1975 season of excavation (see fig. F.11 on p. xxxix). The architecture in this area consists of two large, rectangular buildings; a circular “tholos”; an oven similar to modern bread ovens used in Iran today; and a wall that bordered a white plaster floor on which several large storage jars rested. The Trench A, Phase IVB1 contexts are listed in table 6.1.

Area A was covered with a number of buildings attributable to Period IVA, most of which were excavated in 1973. A stratum of fill (A.75.5a) was encountered some 5–10 cm lower than the earliest Period IVA building. This stratum marks the uppermost fill associated with Phase IVB1. Beneath this was A.75.6, which surrounded the walls of the main Phase IVB1 building complex in Trench A. It was in A.75.6 that the tops of those walls first began to emerge. The fill above Phase IVB1 building floors was excavated as A.75.7, except in a pair of test trenches where it was labeled A.75.T7.1 and A.75.T2.6.

The first feature considered here is the southernmost building, A.75.7.1 (= A75.6.1). This rectangular building measured 7.4 x 3.5 m. The walls were constructed using a combination of headers and stretchers, which meas-

ured 40 x 17 x 10 cm and 29 x 19 x 10 cm, respectively. The north wall of the building was punctuated by three features: an interior recess near the western end of the building (30 cm wide, 40 cm deep), an exterior projection (buttress?) in the center of the north wall (62 cm wide, 24 cm deep), and a pair of interior and exterior projections (buttresses?) towards the east end of the north wall (1 m wide, 24 cm deep). In addition, the south wall of the building had an interior projection (buttress?) that jutted into the room approximately 1.54 m from the interior of the western corner (66 cm wide, 20 cm deep).

Room A.75.7.3 was the westernmost room of a building that was comprised of at least two rooms. A narrow portion of the second room, measuring only 20–30 cm wide, was exposed at the eastern extremity of the trench. The southern and western faces of Room A.75.7.3 were very irregular. Bricks measuring 42 x 21 x 10 cm were used in this building and were laid in alternating courses of headers with double rows of stretchers. The interior dimensions of Room A.75.7.3 were 3.12 x 2.56 m. A wall measuring approximately 36 cm wide separated the two rooms in this building.

There were indications that Room A.75.7.3 may have been joined to the structure that we refer to here as the “tholos” (A.75.7.4). It is unclear, however, whether several short wall fragments shown on the plan of the Phase IVB1 architecture (fig. 6.1) did, in fact, join Rooms A.75.7.3 and A.75.7.4, or whether this was only brick fall. In any case, the outer face of the tholos was no more than 20 cm from the west wall of Room A.75.7.3. The tholos was perfectly circular, unlike any other structure ever found at Tepe Yahya. Brick sizes were approximately 39 x 18 x 9 cm. The bricks used were made of chaff-tempered, green clay, and were all laid as headers. The interior diameter of the structure was 2.94 m, and the exterior diameter was 3.8 m. The upper surface of the structure’s walling was eroded, and the whole structure appeared to have been leveled to a uniform height. It was a semisubterranean structure, and we have no way of estimating how high its walls stood above ground

Table 6.1. Phase IVB1 architectural and stratigraphic features and associated excavated contexts.

Phase IVB1 architectural and stratigraphic feature	Context
Remains in Trench A	A.75.7, A.75.7.1, A.75.7.2, A.75.7.3, A.75.7.4, A.75.7.5, A.75.5a, A.75.6, A.75.6.1, A.75.T7.1, A.75.T2.6
Remains in Trench B	
Group I	
Ramp	B.69.T5/5a.2.2 = B-BW.70.T3.2.2
Walls	B.69.T5/5a.3.1, B-BW.70.T3.2.4
Brick fall	B.69.T5/5a.3.2 (north of B.69.T5/5a.3.1)
Fill (northern part of trench only)	B.69.T5/5a.5 = B-BW.70.T3.2, B.69.T5/5a.3, B-BW.70.T4.1
Surface	B.69.T5/5a.3.4 = B.70.1
Wall associated with surface	B.69.T5/5a.3.1
Ramp	B.69.T5/5a.2.2 = B-BW.70.T3.2.2, B.69.T5/5a.2.1 = B-BW.70.T3.1.1 = B-BW.70.T3.1c.1 = B-BW.70.T3.2.3
Pottery cache	B-BW.70.T3.2.1
Group II	
Walls	B-BW.70.T2.10.3 and 4
Fill associated with walls	B-BW.70.T2.14
Floor	B-BW.70.T1.8.1
Fill under floor	B.69.T4/4a.4
White and grey ash under fill	B-BW.70.T2.5.3 ~ B.69.T4a.7
Surface/charcoal and ash lenses under ash	B-BW.70.T2.5.4 = B-BW.70.T2.14.5
Hearths	B-BW.70.T2.14.1, B-BW.70.T2.14.3, B-BW.70.T2.14.4 = B-BW.70.T2.16.1
Pottery cache	B-BW.70.T2.14.2
Platform/foundation	B.69.T5/5a.2 = B.69.T4a.7.1
Hearth	B.69.T4a.7.6
Wall	B.69.T4a.7.2
Area of wall	B.69.T4a.7.3
Area to north of wall	B.69.T4a.7.4
Fill	B-BW.70.T1.11 = B-BW.70.T2.6 = B-BW.70.T4.1a
Fill and intervening surfaces	B-BW.70.T2.17 = B-BW.70.T3.1a-c, B-BW.70.T3.1a.1-1.c.1
Pits	B-BW.70.T4.1.2-4
Remains in the B-C Balk	
Fill	B-C Balk.71.5, B-C Balk.71.5a, B-C Balk.71.8, B-C Balk.71.10, B-C Balk.71.11, B-C Balk.71.11a, B-C Balk.71.12, B-C Balk.71.13
Wall	B-C Balk.71.11.1, B-C Balk.71.11.2, B-C Balk.71.11.3
Wall?	B-C Balk.71.6 + B-C Balk.71.7
Kiln or oven	B-C Balk.71.9.1
Surface	B-C Balk.71.4.11, B-C Balk.71.11.7
Floor	B-C Balk.71.11.5
Room	B-C Balk.71.11.6

Note: The subdivisions in Trench B are those noted in the excavations where features and contexts seemed to be associated.



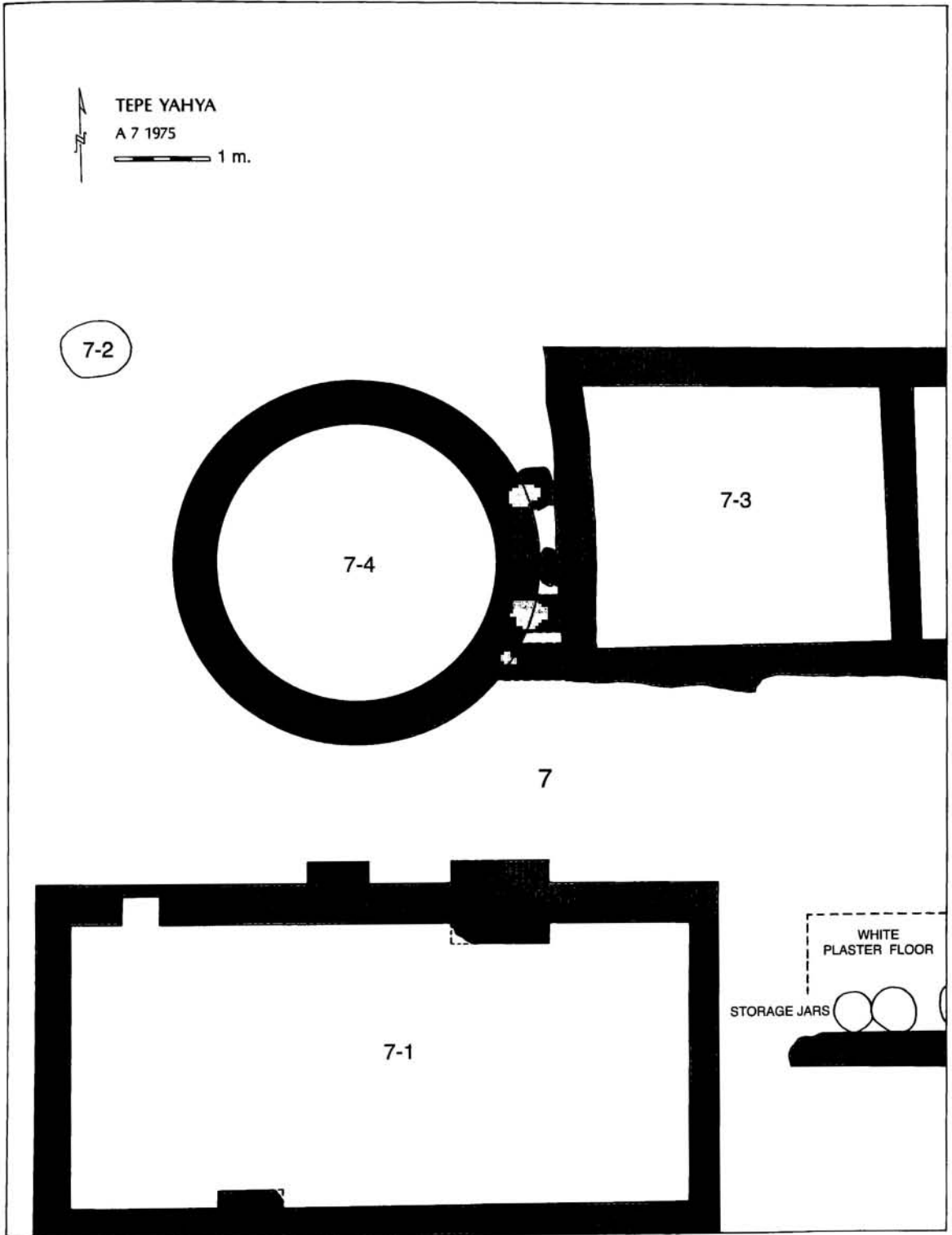


Figure 6.1. Plan of the Phase IVB1 architecture in Trench A. The numbers label stratum and feature contexts. Single numbers are strata.



**Figure 6.2.** View of the Phase IVB1 architecture in Trench A from the north, looking south (scale = 2 m).

originally. The walls were set into the ground to a depth of about 1 m below the floor level associated with the rest of the Trench A, Phase IVB1 architecture. The upper fill within the tholos contained some sherds. The lower portion of the fill consisted largely of brick fall, probably from the walls and/or roofing of the structure. Below the bricky fill was a stratum of soft, mustard-colored soil, and approximately 20 cm below this was another stratum of green, sterile fill. No detectable traces of grain or vegetable matter were recovered in flotation to suggest the function of the tholos.

In the northwestern corner of Trench A was a small, sunken, baked brick oven (A.75.7.2). It was 72 cm in diameter and 60 cm deep, and resembles ovens seen all over Iran today, particularly contemporary bread ovens.

Finally, in the southeastern corner of Trench A was a small area of burnt, white plaster floor (1.24 x 1.46 m) on which three storage jars rested. The floor abutted a wall that ran east-west into the east balk, and measured approximately 1.62 x .36 m.

### Ceramics and Small Finds

Pottery from Phase IVB1 contexts in Trench A is illustrated in figures 6.4 and 6.5. Forms such as the tall bottle (fig. 6.4.F) and the small jar with incised wavy line around the carination (fig. 6.4.D) appear here for the

first time in the Period IVB ceramic repertoire. Painted pottery shows clear similarities to material from earlier Period IVB deposits (fig. 6.5.A, cf. fig. 1.17; fig. 6.5.B, cf. fig. 1.16). Figure 6.5.C represents a squat jar with decorated shoulder that may be related to the group illustrated in figure 3.15, attested as early as Phase IVB6, while the deep bowl with incised potter's mark (fig. 6.5.F) is probably intrusive from period IVA.

The small finds from the Phase IVB1 fill in Trench A included twelve chlorite vessel fragments (SF 3602, fig. 6.6, 8.7 x 8.8 x .8 cm; SF 3603, 3.7 x 1.7 x 1.5 cm; SF 3604, 8 x 5 x .7 cm; SF 3605a, 4.7 x 4 x .6 cm; SF 3605b, 2 x 1 x .5 cm; SF 3605c, 4.8 x 5 x 1.5 cm; SF 3606, 1.4 x .5 x 5.6 cm; SF 3607, 3.4 x 2.4 x .6 cm; SF 3613, 2 x 1 x .6 cm; SF 3614a, 2.1 x .6 x .3 cm; SF 3614b, 5.5 x 3.5 x .5 cm; SF 3615, 4.1 x 2.2 x .6 cm), three indeterminate chlorite fragments (SF 3600, 3 x 1.7 x .8 cm; SF 3601, 2.6 x 1.8 x .5 cm; SF 3612, 4.4 x 1.3 x .8 cm), and an etched carnelian bead (SF 3805, .4 x .3 cm). S. Asthana, who has seen at least two of three carnelian beads from Tepe Yahya, is of the opinion that none of them appear to be Harappan either in "craftsmanship or design" (Asthana 1979:57).

The small finds from the fill in the tholos (A.75.7.4) included three chlorite vessel fragments (SF 3608a, 3.3 x 2.6 x .4 cm; SF 3608b, 3.3 x 4.4 x .3 cm; SF 3609, 3.2 x 2 x .3 cm), a white stone vessel fragment (SF 3735, 3.5



**Figure 6.3.** View of the Phase IVB1 architecture in Trench A from the west, looking east (scale = 2 m).

x 2.6 cm), an ivory or bone bead (SF 3819, fig. 6.7, 1.9 x 1.3 x .4 cm). From the wall of the tholos itself (A.75.7.5) came two chlorite vessel fragments (SF 3610, 6.8 x 5.3 x 1.1 cm; SF 3611, 6.5 x 5 x .8 cm).

## REMAINS IN TRENCH B

### Architecture

Indications of the A.75.7.1 building just described had been noted in 1969 and 1970 during excavations in Trenches B and BW. The south wall of the room ran along the edge of Trenches A and B and was seen in section. It appears that a ramp, B.69.T5/5a.2.2 = B-BW.70.T3.2.2, running north-south abutted the southern face of building A.75.7.1. The construction of this ramp was as follows. Individual bricks had been set upright in a row. Each brick was approximately 20 cm wide and was separated from the next by a space of approximately 20 cm filled with dirt. The bricks grew progressively shorter towards the south so that a sloping effect was achieved. The standing bricks were paved over with horizontally laid bricks (B-BW.70.T3.2.3). This pavement extended into Trench B to the south of building A.75.7.1 (in Trench A) for about 2 m. The Trench B, Phase IVB1 contexts are listed in table 6.1.

The area just south of the ramp was called B.69.T5/5a.3.2. South of this was a poorly preserved, east-west wall (B.69.T5/5a.3.1, B-BW.70.T3.2.4 = B-BW.70.T5/5a.3.1, fig. 6.8), consisting of a single course of bricks. It rested on floor B.69.T5/5a.2.1 = B.69.T5/5a.3.4 = B-BW.70.T3.2.3, and on stones towards its western end. The brick sizes recorded here were 20 x 34 x 6-9 cm. The fill around the ramp was labeled B.69.T5/5a.3.

The architectural complex in Trench A is complemented by an unusual series of hearths in Trench B, recovered during the 1970 season of excavations. B-BW.70.T2.14.1, 14.3, and 14.4 were three baked clay hearths, each about 3 cm thick, which were bordered by burnt brick and underlain by a foundation of pebbles (Context B.69.T5/5a.2). Beneath these hearths, and extending over the entire Trench B-BW areas, was a burnt surface (B-BW.70.T2.5.4) containing quantities of charcoal and ash. This may represent the boundary between Phases IVB1 and IVB2. A very large cache of pottery was recovered (B-BW.70.T2.14.2) resting on a burnt surface (B-BW.70.T2.14.5). These features, together with the Trench A, Phase IVB1 architecture of A.75.7, probably represent the latest occupation for which we can use the designation Period IVB. Four phases of architectural construction—referred to as Period IVA—commence above this level and are characterized by an orientation different from that of Phase IVB1.

It is possible, although difficult to prove, that the architecture recovered in Level 7 of the AN2 deep sounding in 1973 may have been part of the Phase IVB1 complex. A plan of this complex area is provided in figure 6.9.

### Ceramics and Small Finds

The pottery from Trenches B and B-W (figs. 6.10–13) consists, almost without exception, of types that are already familiar. This applies to the large storage jars (fig. 6.10.B–D); the club-rim and other bowl types (fig. 6.11); the small, carinated bowls or cups (fig. 6.12.A–C); the painted bowl with pendant stripes (fig. 6.12.G); and the painted jars (fig. 6.13.A, B, and D). Pieces such as figure 6.10A, a storage jar fragment with coarse rope-ridge at the shoulder, and figures 6.11.E and 6.12.C, carinated bowls with exterior potter's mark, may be intrusive from Period IVA. Figure 6.12.J, a carinated bowl that seems to imitate metallic forms, probably belongs in the Iron Age, and the same may be true of Figure 6.13.C (cf. fig. 6.4.D?).

Small finds from Trenches B, BW, and AN2 made of chlorite include one vessel (SF 77, 3.4 cm in diameter, 1.7 cm high), twenty-six vessel fragments (SF 76, 5 x 3.3 x 1 cm; SF 78, 6 x 2.8 x 1, 14 cm in diameter; SF 79, 6.8 x 1.8 x 1, 22 cm in diameter; SF 94, 1.8 x .9 x .5 cm; SF 95, 3 x 3 x .8 cm, 14 cm in diameter; SF 97, 5.8 x 3.1 x .8 cm, 12 cm in diameter; SF 253, 2.5 x 1.5 x 1.4 cm; SF 254, 1.6 x 2.2 x .7 cm; SF 255, 3.6 x 1.7 x .6 cm, 20 cm in diameter; SF 341, 1.8 x .6, 10 cm in diameter; SF 361, 5.4 x 4 x .5 cm; SF 362, 8.5 x 7.2 x 4 cm, 12 cm in diameter; SF 363, 1.7 x 1.4 x .4 cm, 11 cm in diameter; SF 364, 5.7 x 4.2 x .8 cm, 20 cm in diameter; SF 365, 4.2 x 2.4 x 1.8 cm; SF 373, 2.5 x 1.1 x .9 cm; SF 374, fig. 6.14, 2.5 x 1.7 x .7 cm; SF 376, 3.7 x 2.6 x 1 cm; SF 379, 8 x 5.8 x 1 cm, 2.9 cm high, 12 cm in diameter; SF 380, 5.7 x 1.6 x 1 cm, 18 cm in diameter; SF 815, 4.6 x 3.8 x 1.7 cm; SF 816, 2.6 x 2 x .4 cm; SF 817, 2.7 x 2.5 x .4 cm; SF 837, 2.2 x 1.7 x .5 cm; SF 838, 5.5 x 5.3 x 1 cm; SF 839, 7 x 3.1 x 1.1 cm), three tokens (SF 342, 2.5 x 2 x .9 cm; SF 343, 2.6 x 2.3 x 1.1 cm; SF 344, 2.5 x 2.2 x 1.1 cm), seven beads (SF 75, fig. 6.15, 3 x 1.5 cm; SF 333, 2.2 x 1.3 x .9 cm; SF 334, 3 x 1.3 x .9 cm; SF 360, 2.2 x .9 x 1 cm; SF 366, 2 x .7 x .6 cm; SF 371, 2.6 x 1.1 x .4 cm; SF 375, 1.9 x 1 x .5 cm), and five indeterminate fragments (SF 367, 9 x 6 x 3.4 cm; SF 368, 2.8 x 1.9 x 1.1 cm; SF 369, 2.2 x 1.6 x .9 cm; SF 370, 2.1 x 1.1 x .9 cm; SF 372, 2.3 x 1.8 x 1.2 cm; SF 378, 7.8 x 5.8 x 1.2 cm).

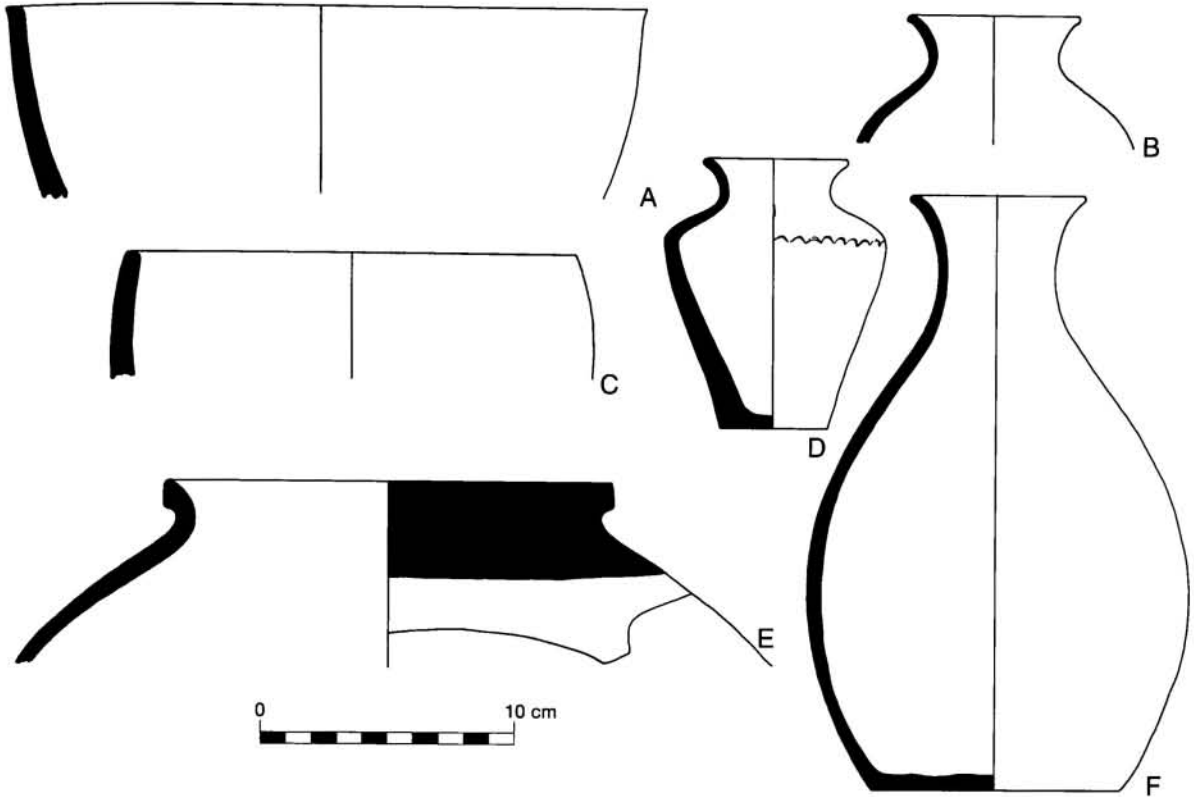
Other small finds recovered here included the following objects made of clay: three zoomorphic figurine fragments (SF 1077, 2.5 x 2.7 x 1.8 cm; SF 1079, 4 x 3.9 cm; SF z-741, 2 x 2.5 cm), a burnished bead (SF 1078,

1.4 x 1.8 cm), a comb handle (SF 1883, 6 x 4 x 2.5 cm), two slingballs (SF z-277a, 4.6 x 2.9 cm; SF z-277b, 5.2 x 3.2 cm), and a cylinder (SF 1885, 4.2 x 2.2 x 2 cm). Additional finds recorded were a serpentine cylinder seal blank(?) (SF z-406, 2.4 x .9 x 1.1 cm), a turquoise bead blank (SF 2944, 2.2 x .8 x .5 cm), a turquoise bead (SF 2946, 1.6 x .6 x .4 cm), twelve small fragments of turquoise (SF z-121, 6 chips, .5–1.1 cm long; SF 3315, 6 chips), a bone ring (SF z-66, 2 cm in diameter), a bone or shell bead (SF 2885, 1 x .1 cm), two vessel fragments of undetermined stone (SF 2077, 5.1 x 3.7 x 1.3 cm; SF z-403, 6.2 x 9.2 x 1.4 cm), two stone beads (SF 2070, 1.6 x 1 x .6 cm; SF 2264, 1.4 x 1.1 cm), a stone bead blank (SF 2277, 1.2 x 1 x .5 cm), a stone mortar (SF z-384, 6.1 cm in diameter), a stone pestle (SF 2066, fig. 6.16, 11 x 4 cm), a stone palette (SF 2236, fig. 6.17, 6.7 x 3.6 x .8 cm), a basalt loomweight or door socket (SF 2071, fig. 6.18, 17 x 7 cm), a polished black stone handle (SF z-349, no dimensions available), a fragment of petrified wood (SF z-331, 2.5 x .6 cm), and six unidentified fragments of stone (SF z-140, 5.3 x 1.4 cm; SF z-144, 2.1 x 1.2 cm; SF z-159, 7.1 x 2.7 x 2.2 cm; SF z-385, 4.4 x 1.1 cm; SF z-167, 3 cm long; SF z-168, 2.5 cm long), and one serpentine fragment (SF z-169, 2.3 cm long).

Copper-bronze finds included a pin (SF 2727, 11.7 cm long), a needle (SF 2674, 12 x .2 cm), a slag fragment (SF 2675, 3.5 x 1.9 x 2.1 cm), and two unidentified fragments (SF 2725, 3.9 x .4 x .4 cm; SF 2726, 6.3 x .4 x .5 cm).

### REMAINS IN THE B-C BALK

Based on stratigraphic evidence, the B-C Balk.71.11 architecture is contemporary with Phase IVB1 features in Trenches A and B (the B-C Balk contexts are listed in table 6.1). The walls in the excavated B-C Balk formed a Z-shape and were associated with some very large stones and brick fall (fig. 6.19). Context B-C Balk.71.11.1 may or may not have been a wall. It consisted of hard gel, and had a rough exterior face, which could not easily be followed (fig. 6.19). B-C Balk.71.11.1 rose only about 4 cm above the floor level B-C Balk.71.11.4 and 11.5 (fig. 6.20). It ran approximately northwest–southeast in the balk. Wall B-C Balk.71.11.2 was somewhat better preserved, and was constructed of bricks measuring 40 x 23 x 12 cm. It was preserved to a height of two courses of brick, but the bricks had been set upon two rows of stones, and tended to be mashed down over the stones with gel added to fill in the gaps. B-C Balk.71.11.2 ran approximately northeast–southwest, and joined both wall 11.1 and wall 11.3. B-C Balk.71.11.3 was preserved to a height of less than one course of bricks. It ran along the



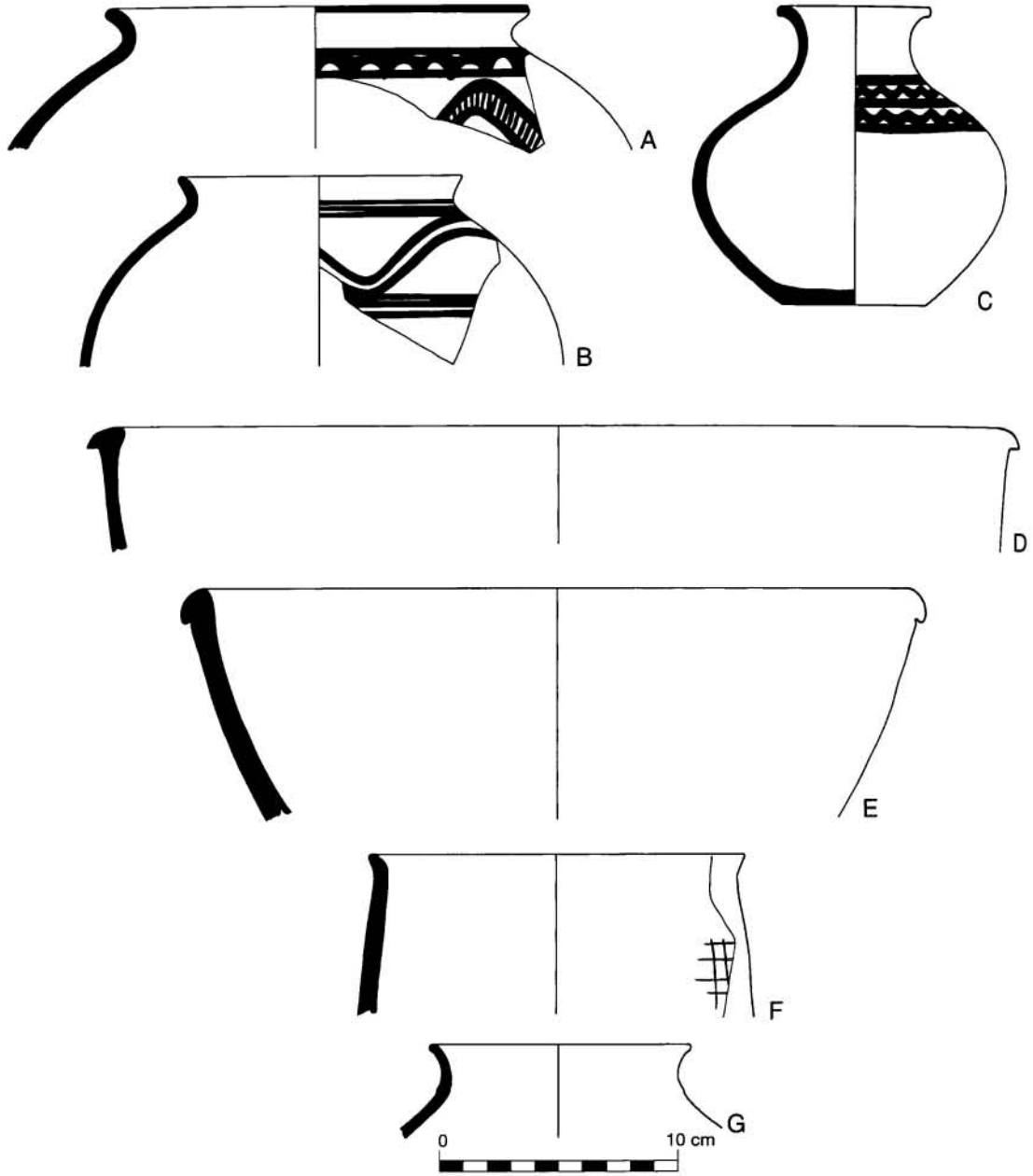
**Figure 6.4.** Pottery from Phase IVB1, Trench A. A. burnished grey (A.75.6); B. orange-tan slip over plain tan, fine grit (A.75.6); C. reddish-brown slip over plain buff, possibly of Phase IVB1 date (A.75.5a.2); D. reddish-brown slip over light orange, fine grit (A.75.T7.1); E. plain brown, brown wash, medium grit, possibly of Phase IVB1 date (A.75.5a.4); F. black wash over plain red (A.75.T7.1).

east side of a kiln or oven (B-C Balk.71.9.1; fig. 6.19). This wall ran in a northwest-southeast direction, but had not been detected in Trench B in 1969. Wall 11.1 rested on floor 11.4, which was seen only on its eastern side, while to the south a plaster floor (B-C Balk.71.11.5) was found that articulated with both wall 11.1 and wall 11.2. Floor B-C Balk.11.7 ran up along the southern face of wall 11.3. The room formed by walls 11.2 and 11.3, referred to as B-C Balk.71.11.6, was filled with red ash, approximately 15 cm thick (see fig. 6.20).

The B-C Balk.71.9.1 kiln or oven was first seen in the Trench B south section in 1969, where it was called B.69.T5.1.5. The B.69 contexts are not enumerated in table 6.1 or in appendix A, but are presented here in order to fully describe this structure. The ash contained within it was called B.69.T5.1.6. The kiln rested on the B.69.T5.3.4 floor, i.e. the same floor on which the ramp in Trench B, which articulated with the A.75.7.3 room, rested. The oven or kiln was excavated in 1969 as B.69.T4a.7.5 and 7.6. The structure measured approxi-

mately 1.52 x .45 x .26 m, although these measurements were incomplete and could not be accurately corrected in 1971 when the B-C Balk was removed. The sides of this structure were made of fired mud plaster, which merged with the B.69.T4a.7.1 floor. The plaster had been renewed at least once, and the space intervening between the first and second plasterings was filled with a layer of ash and gel. A small wall (B.69.T4a.7.2) one brick thick had an intentionally made hole in it (a blowhole for ventilation?) and may have been part of the same structure.

A mass of brick in the eastern part of Trench B, excavated in 1970, seemed to belong with the B-C Balk. 71.11.3 and 9.1 features, for the floors running to B-C Balk.71.11 and B.70.3 = B.71.1.1 could be followed in the B-C balk and B east balk (fig. 6.21). The bricky mass was probably not a wall. It ran in an east-west direction, and was only one brick wide in the east balk, whereas it was perhaps three bricks wide in the center of the test trench. It may be that this was the corner of a building combined with bricks that had fallen into the room. This



**Figure 6.5.** Pottery from the Phase IVB1, Trench A architectural complex. A. black-on-tan-buff, fine grit (A.75. tholos mixed contexts); B. black-on-tan/buff, medium grit (A.75.7.6); C. black-on-red-slipped buff (A.75.7.1); D. plain brown, medium grit (A.75.7.3); E. plain tan-buff, medium grit (A.75.7.1); F. mottled reddish-brown slip over plain tan-buff, medium grit (A.75.7.4); G. mottled red-buff, fine grit (A.75.7.1).

interpretation is suggested by the orientation of some of the bricks, which differed from that of the wall itself. In addition, the walling that was visible in the Trench B east balk may represent a one-brick-wide curtain wall running off of the structure towards the east. We may presume, then, that the area north of the building corner, if that is what is represented here, was the interior of a room. This interpretation is also supported by the fact that three ceramic vessels were discovered set in a row running

north-south along the east side of the feature's north-south extension.

A selection of ceramics from Phase IVB1 contexts in the B-C balk is presented in figure 6.22. Apart from the enigmatic fragment figure 6.22.B, which may be part of a broken lamp, the main object of interest is the rim of a large, truncated pot of Central Asian type (fig. 6.22.D, cf. fig. 5.4). The only Phase IVB1 small find from the B-C balk was a chlorite lid(?) (SF 2429, 2 x 1.1 cm).

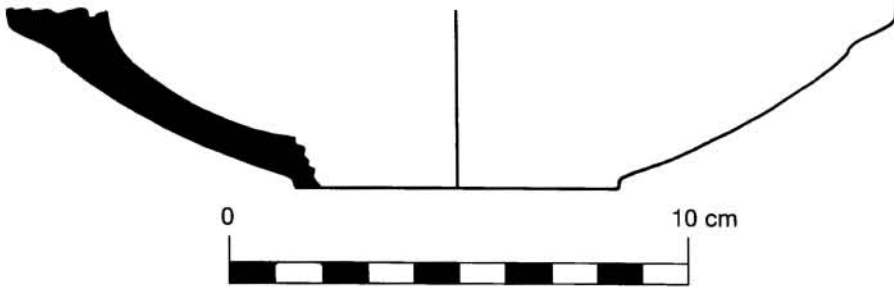


Figure 6.6. Chlorite vessel base (SF 3602).

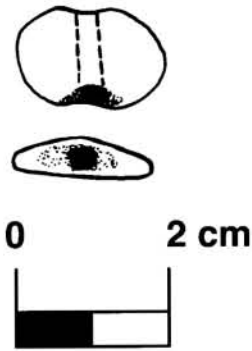


Figure 6.7. Ivory or bone bead (SF 3819).

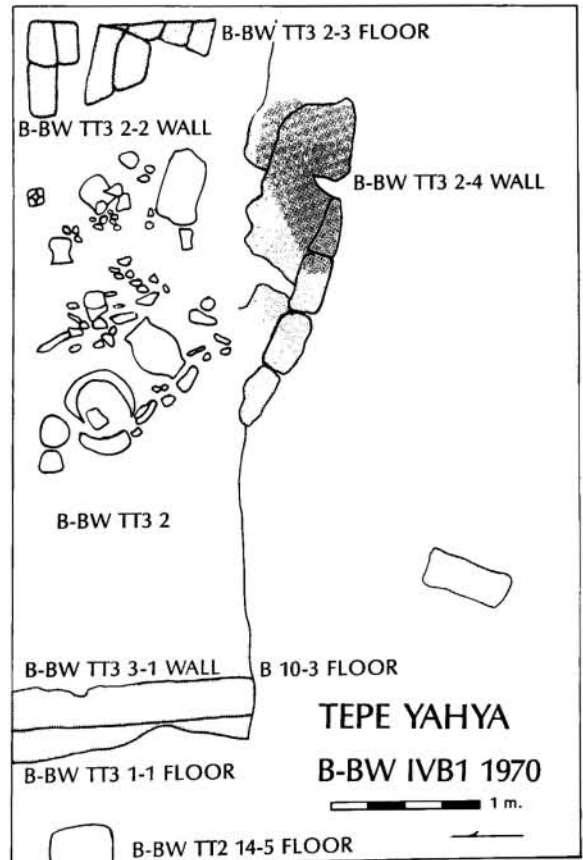
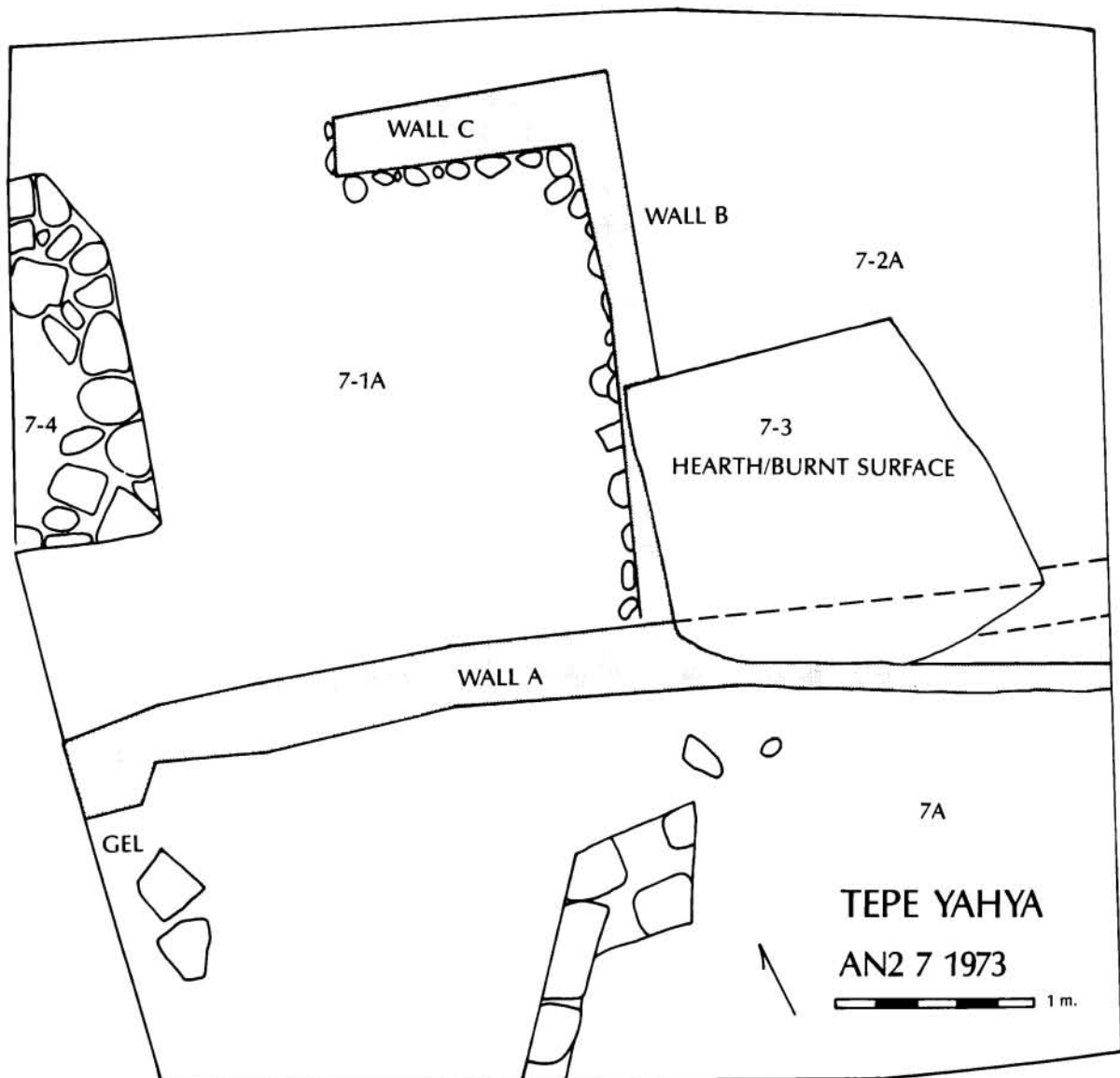
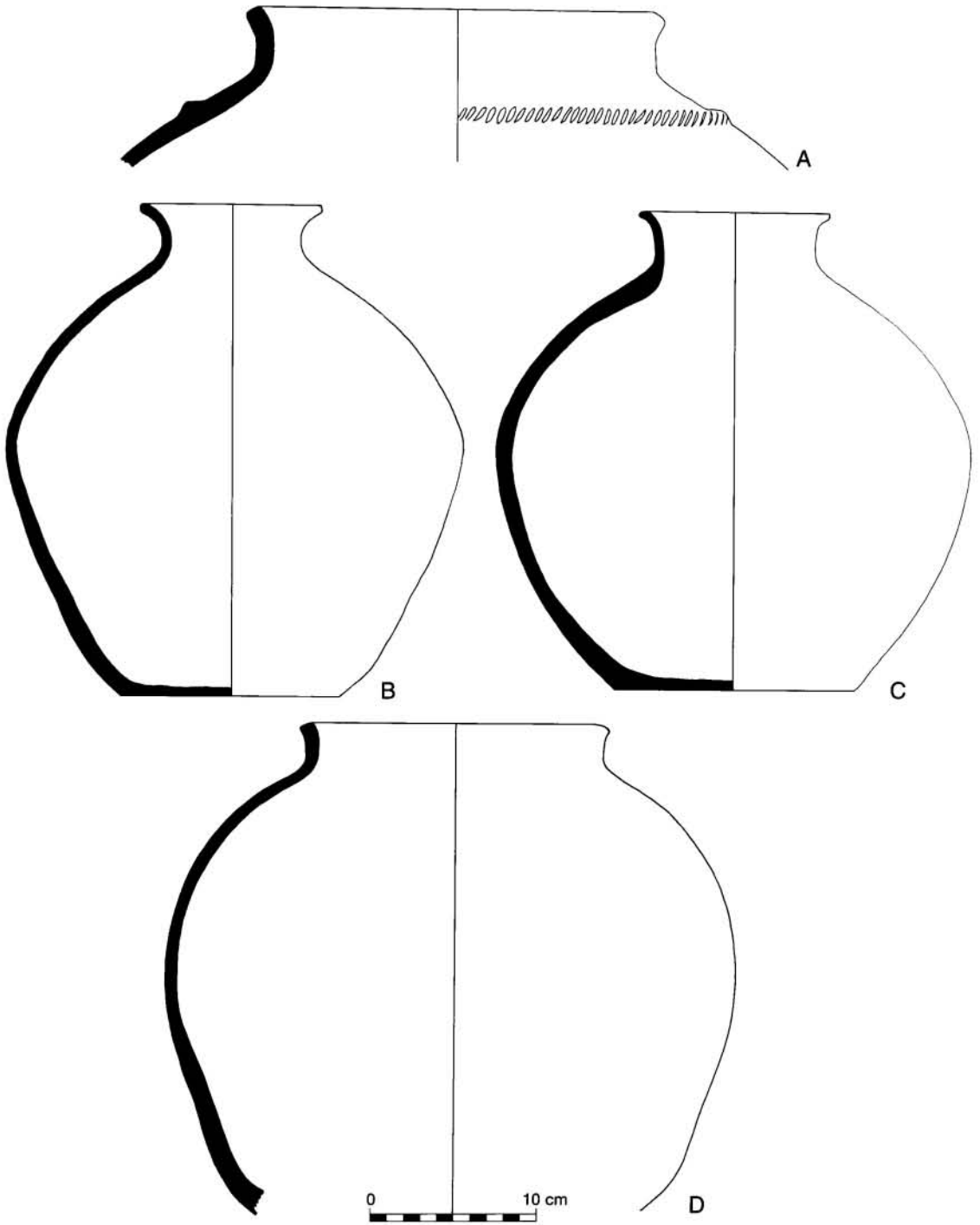


Figure 6.8. Plan of the Phase IVB1 architecture in Trench B-BW.

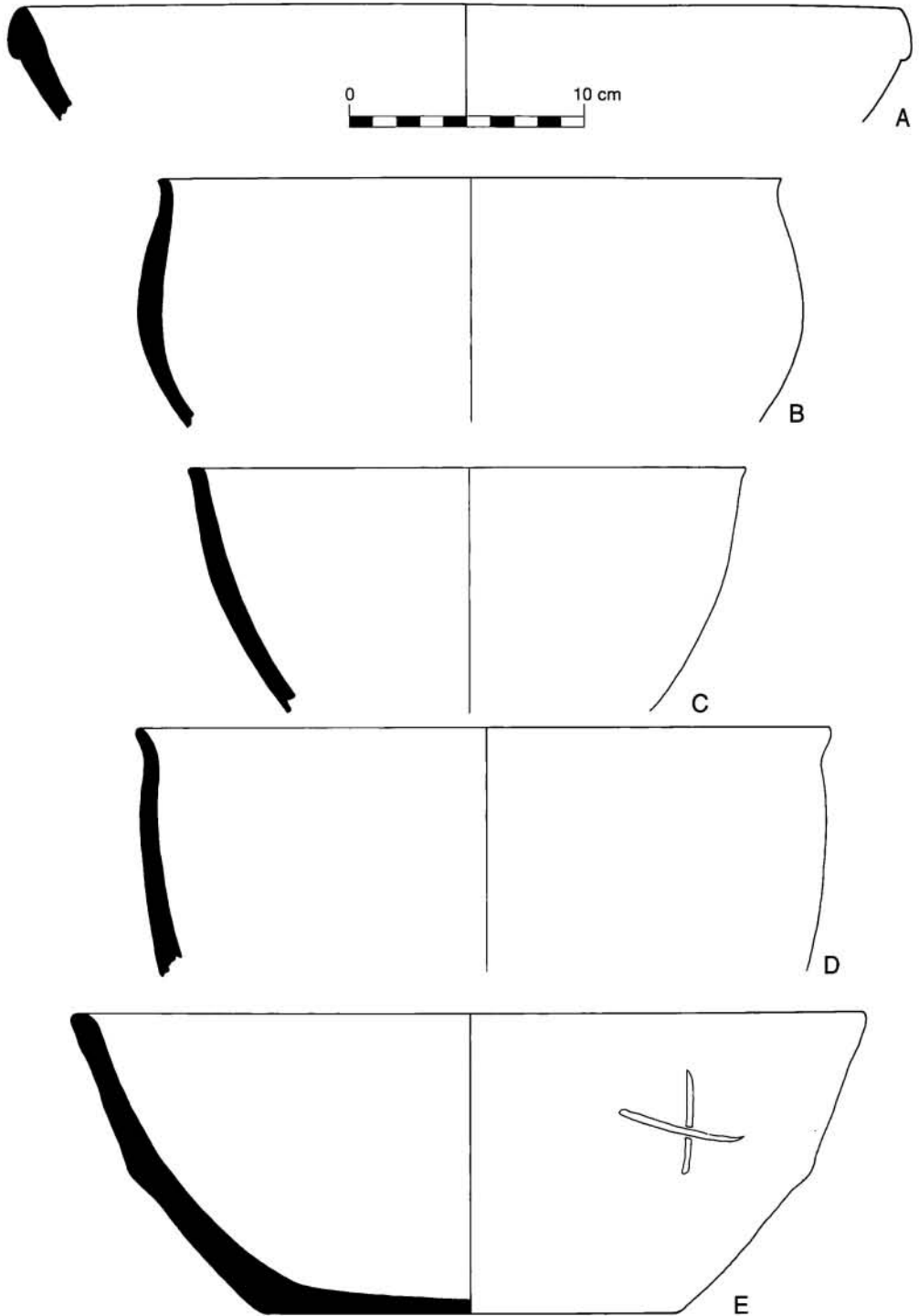


**Figure 6.9.** Plan of the AN2.73.7 architecture. Numbers label stratum and feature contexts; single numbers are stratum numbers.

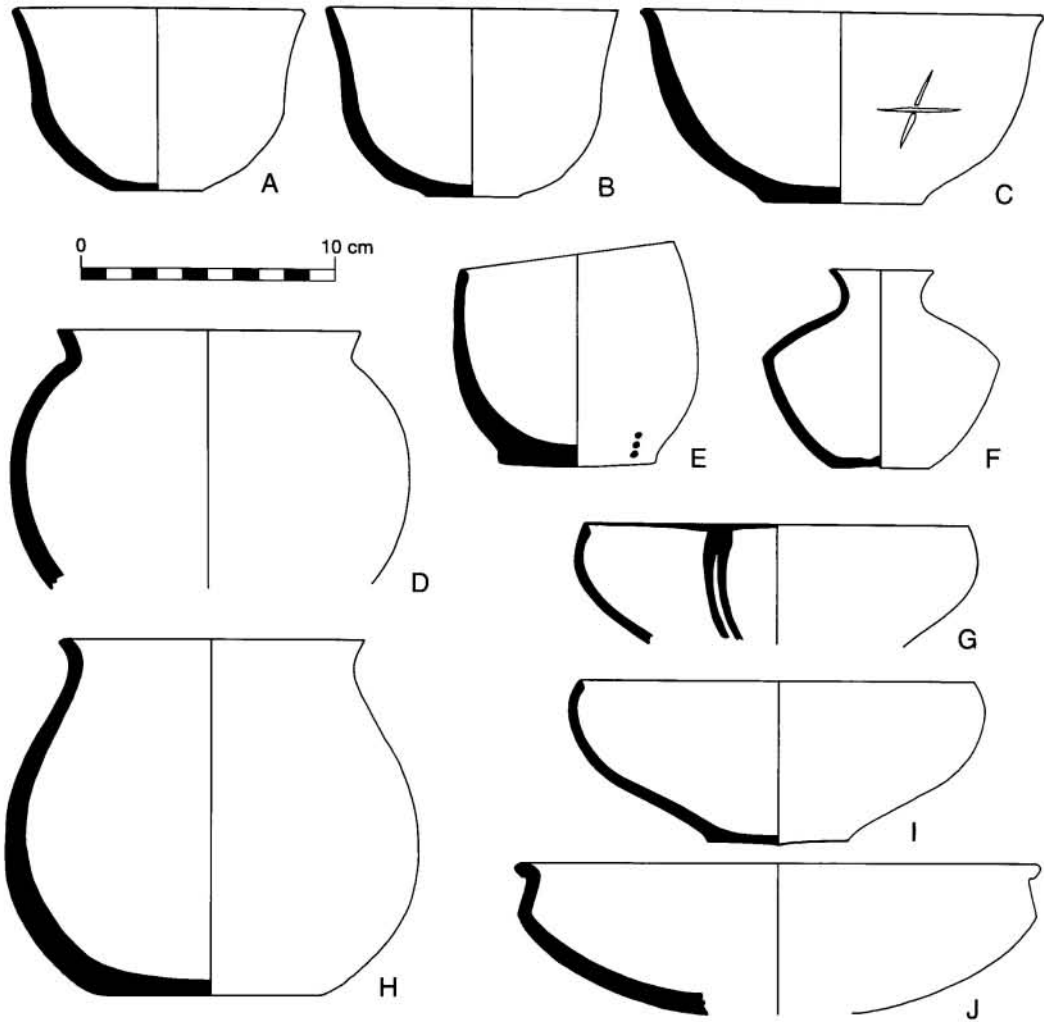




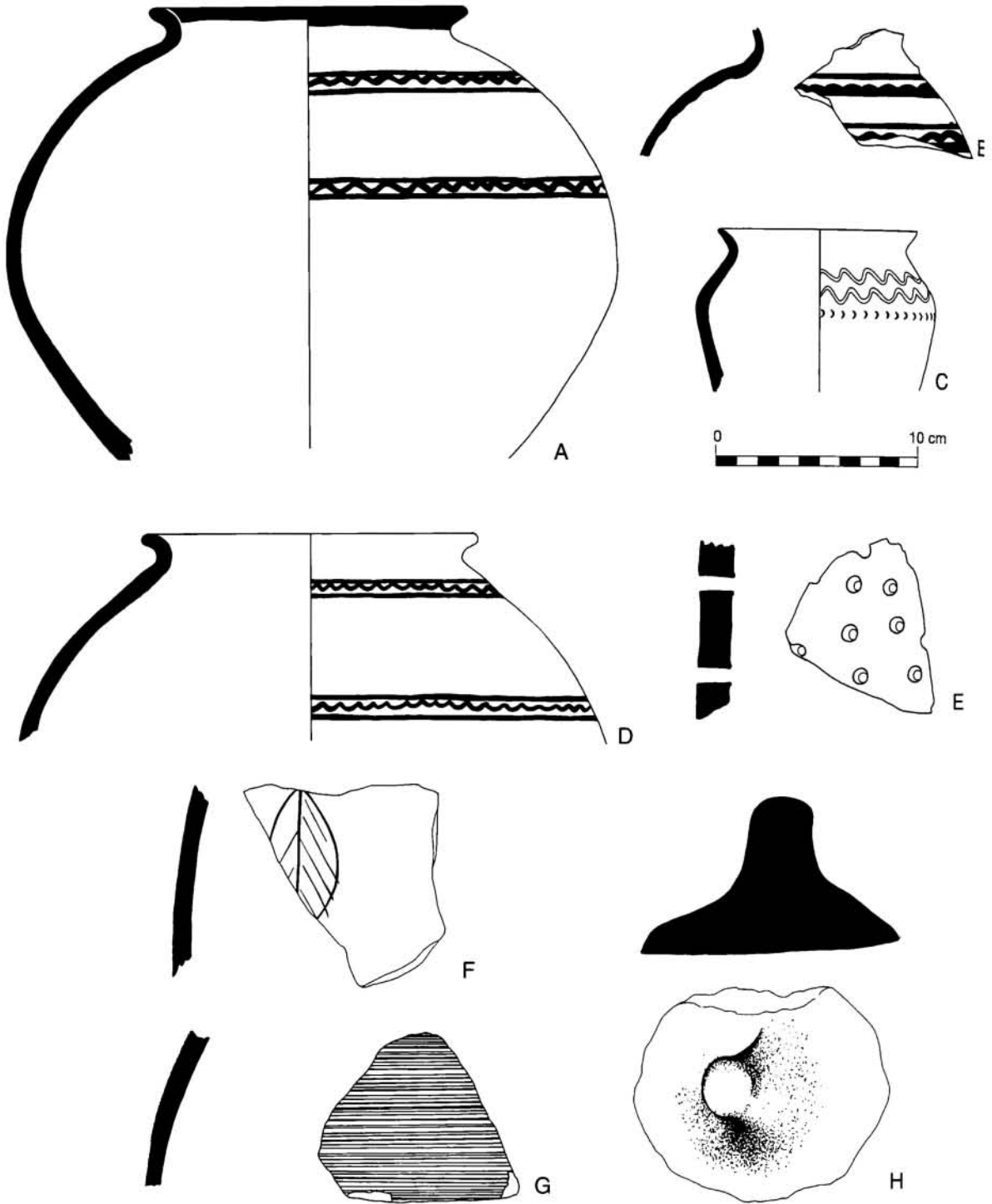
**Figure 6.10.** Pottery from Phase IVB1, large jars. A. coarse grey (B-BW.70.T2.14.2); B. plain brown, coarse grit (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); C. plain buff (B.69.T5/5A.3); D. plain reddish-buff, medium coarse grit (B-BW.70.T2.14.2).



**Figure 6.11.** Pottery from Phase IVB1, deep bowls. A. plain coarse brown (B-BW.70.T3.1); B. burnished grey (B-BW.70.T4.1); C. plain grey (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); D. brown-slipped buff (B-BW.70.T3.1); E. plain brownish-buff, medium coarse grit (B-BW.70.T3.2.1).



**Figure 6.12.** Pottery from Phase IVB1 (except where noted), small bowls and short, squat jars. A. plain coarse brown, Phase IVB2 (B-BW.70.T4.1a.1); B. coarse grit, reddish brown (B-BW.70.T4.1a.1); C. plain brownish-buff, medium grit (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); D. smoothed black (B-BW.70.T2.14.2); E. reddish-brown slipped buff (B-BW.70.T2.14.2); F. reduced grey (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); G. black-on-red/orange (B-BW.70.T2.14.2); H. plain brown, coarse grit (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); I. plain red (B-BW.70.T2.14.2); J. burnished grey (B-BW.70.T4.1).



**Figure 6.13.** Pottery from Phase IVB1, decorated and miscellaneous pieces. A. black-on-red slip (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); B. brown-on-brown (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); C. burnished tan, some grit, incised (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); D. brown-on-red-slipped buff (B-BW.70.T3.2.1); E. buff-slipped brown (B-BW.70.T4.1); F. buff-slipped buff (B-BW.70.T4.3); G. buff-slipped buff, incised (B-BW.70.T4.3); H. coarse brownish-buff (B-BW.70.T4.1).

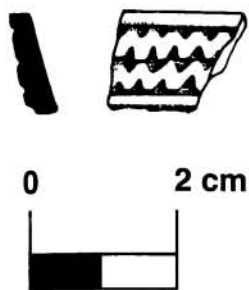


Figure 6.14. Chlorite vessel rim (SF 374).

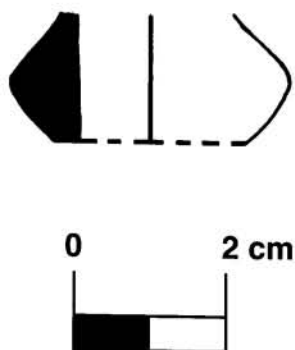


Figure 6.15. Chlorite bead (SF 75).



Figure 6.16. Stone pestle (SF 2066).

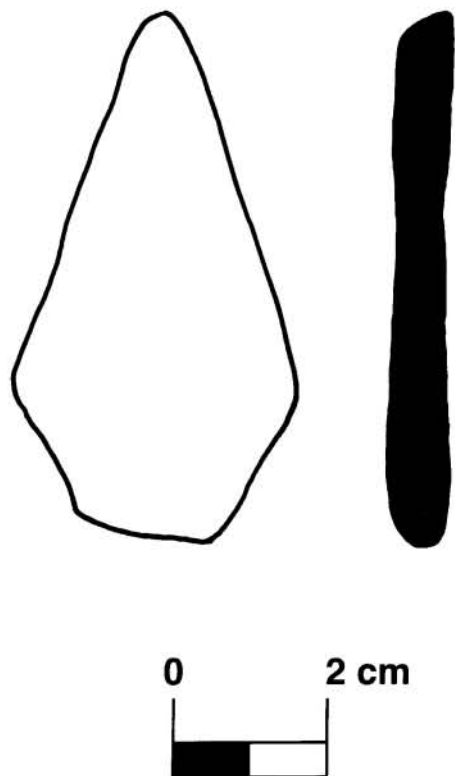


Figure 6.17. Stone palette (SF 2236).

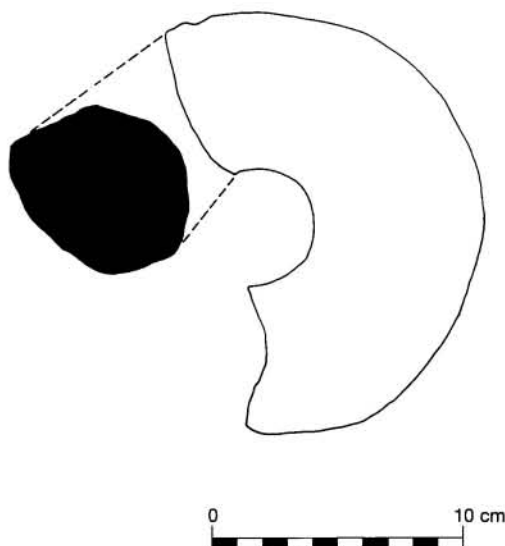


Figure 6.18. Basalt door socket or loomweight (SF 2071).

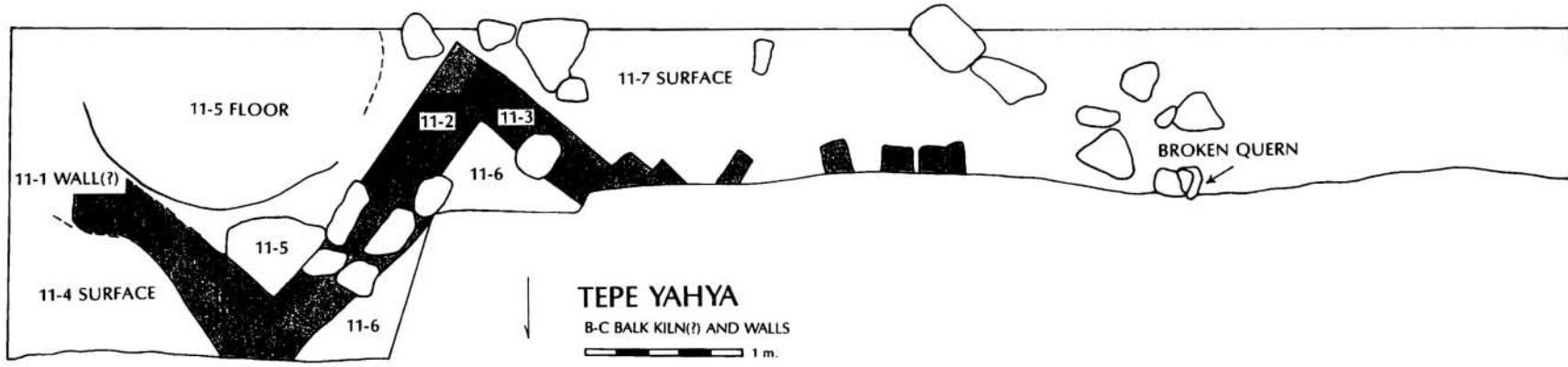


Figure 6.19. Plan of the B-C Balk.71.11 architecture. Numbers label stratum and feature contexts.

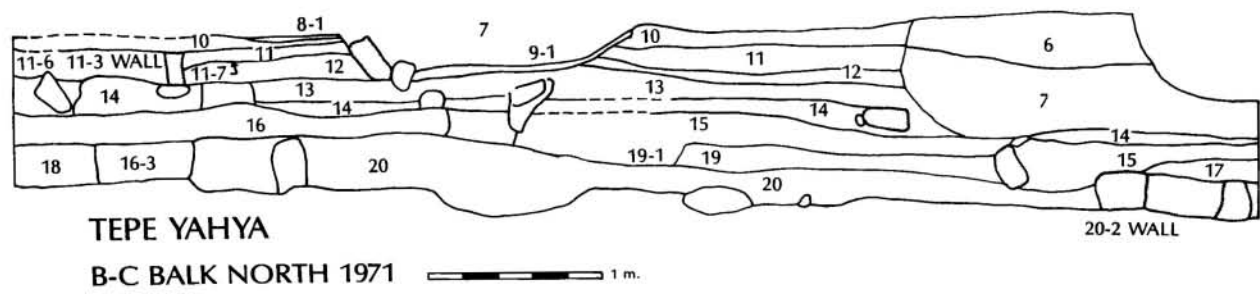


Figure 6.20. B-C Balk.71 north section. Numbers label stratum and feature contexts; single numbers label strata.

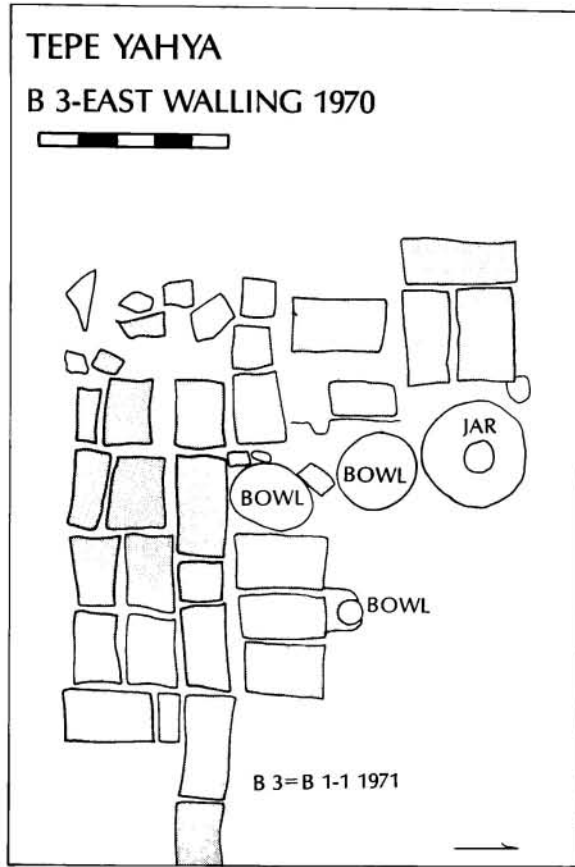


Figure 6.21. B.71.3 east walling.

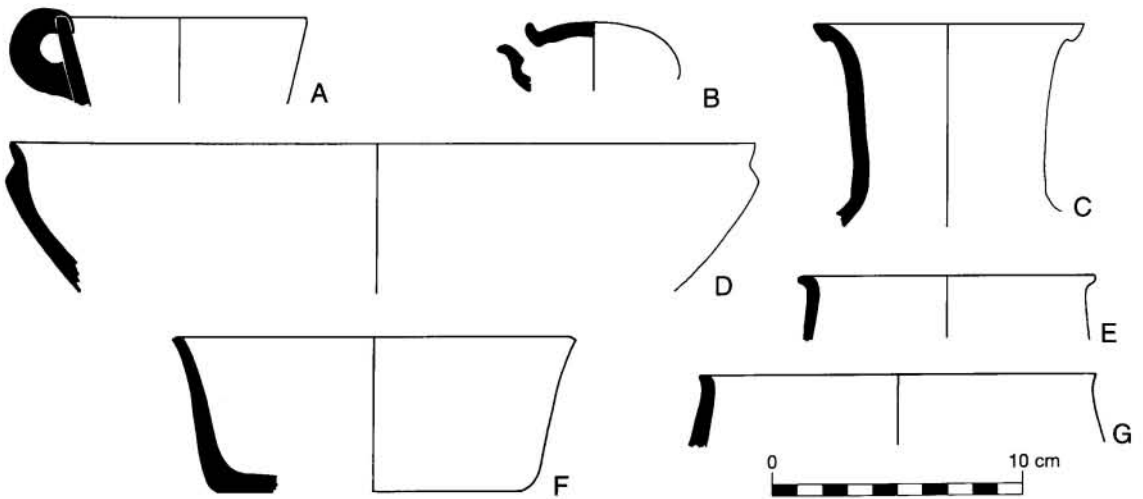


Figure 6.22. Pottery from the B-C Balk. A. plain red, medium coarse grit (B-C Balk.71.13); B. tan washed buff (B-C Balk.71.12); C. black-on-brown-slipped buff, fine grit (B-C Balk.71.13); D. plain buff, medium white grit (B-C Balk.71.11a); E. burnished grey (B-C Balk.71.13); F. no description available (B-C Balk.71.11.2); G. burnished grey (B-C Balk.71.13).





# Chapter 7

## Context BW.69.T5.5–7

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### INTRODUCTION

As anyone who has ever constructed a Harris matrix knows, there are invariably loci that cannot be linked to the main matrix of an excavation. Although the Tepe Yahya strata and features have not been subjected to an exhaustive “matrification,” all of the stratigraphic and architectural features discussed in the previous six chapters can be related in a coherent set of phases. The same cannot be said for the strata recovered in Test Trench 5, Area BW, during the 1969 season (see fig. F.11, p. xxxix for the location of Area BW). Although numerous strata from other trenches have been “thrown out” when they could not be clearly linked with the IVC2–IVB1 phases defined above, the wealth of finds in BW.69.T5.5–7, particularly those of carved chlorite (table 7.1), necessitates an abbreviated presentation of this area. The excavation notes from BW.69.T5 consistently characterize the soil matrix as a series of amorphous lenses, indistinct floor levels without architectural association. The emphasis here, therefore, will be on the finds. In particular, a selection of the ceramics from these strata is illustrated with a view to demonstrating, however impressionistically, the existence of links to the better stratified material presented in the foregoing chapters (figs. 7.1–9). The carved chlorite is discussed only briefly, as this has been the subject of an overview (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988) and there is little new to contribute on the subject.

### CERAMIC CORRELATIONS

The captions to the composite ceramic figures in this chapter indicate where a clear parallel exists to a sherd or shape found in one of the stratified Phases IVC2–IVB1 assemblages. These suggest that by far the bulk of the comparanda at Tepe Yahya itself come from Phase IVC2–IVB5 contexts. Some pieces, both in BW.69.T5 and in the better stratified deposits, are probably out of context, and the sheer elevation of the BW.69.T5 strata

suggests that Phases IVC1, IVB6, and IVB5 are more likely to be related to BW.69.T5–7 than to IVC2. The following brief comments are by no means meant to be exhaustive, but merely indicative of some of the directions suggested by the material illustrated here.

Beginning with figure 7.1, the large storage jar (fig. 7.1.D) is interesting in that it bears painted snakes in black outline that are strongly reminiscent of the snake-cordoned storage jars that appear in contexts ranging from Phase IVC1 to Phase IVB4–2 at Tepe Yahya (fig. 2.18). Figure 7.1.E is without parallel in the pottery from Phase IVC2–IVB1 but finds a relatively close parallel in BW.69.T5.6 (fig. 7.7.E). Figure 7.1.F, although decorated with a standard pattern of parallel zigzags commonly found on the fine black-on-orange of southeastern Iran (Tepe Yahya, Khurab, Damin, Bampur, etc.), is an unusually shaped bowl with thick walls and interior beveled rim. Figure 7.1.K is generally reminiscent of a sherd from a Period VI context at Mundigak (Casal 1961:fig. 123.666a).

Figure 7.4.L is a surprise in that if it were only a rim sherd, one would expect it to come from a deep, club-rim bowl. No other examples of a flat, club-rim dish of this sort are known from the site.

Figure 7.5 is a fragment of an incised ceramic lid somewhat less elaborately decorated than the complete example found in A.75.11.11 (fig. 1.5).

Two hollow-footed chalice bases, figures 7.6.A and 7.8.I, are included here. These, as discussed above, derive from forms well-known in Central Asia, Baluchistan, and southeast Iranian sites such as Khurab.

Figures 7.7.A–C all show stylized palm trees with good parallels in the Indo-Iranian borderlands. Figure 7.7.B, on which an ibex is shown adjacent to a stylized palm tree, strongly resembles a sherd from Bampur V2 (de Cardi 1970:fig. 37.108, cf. fig. 30.5). Similar palm trees without associated fauna also occur on sherds from Period IV2 at Mundigak (Casal 1961:fig. 93.214). Figure 7.7.D is a classic, small Bampur-like canister with typical stripes on the interior of the rim and running, horizontal

Table 7.1. Small finds from Context BW.69.T5.5-7 arranged by stratum and registration number.

Reg. no.	Area	Season	Test		Feature	Locus	Material	Object
			trench	Stratum				
96	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	body fragment
111	BW	69	5	5		floor	chlorite	rim fragment
127	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
128	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
129	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
130	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
131	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	fragment
132	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
133	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
134	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
135	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
136	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
137	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
138	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
139	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	body fragment
140	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	unidentified
141	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	unidentified
142	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	spout
143	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	fragment
144	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
145	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
146	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
147	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
148	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
149	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
150	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
151	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
152	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
153	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
154	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	body fragment
155	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	body fragment
156	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
157	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
158	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	body fragment
160	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
161	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	disk
162	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
163	BW	69	5	5		fill	chlorite	body fragment
1333	BW	69	5	5		fill	bone	bead
2091	BW	69	5	5		fill	white stone	base fragment
2092	BW	69	5	5		floor	stone	whetstone?
2093	BW	69	5	5		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2094	BW	69	5	5		fill	stone	bead
2685	BW	69	5	5		fill	cu/br	pin
2686	BW	69	5	5		fill	cu/br	pin
2687	BW	69	5	5		fill	cu/br	slag
3252	BW	69	5	5		fill	cu/br	slag
3356	BW	69	5	5		fill	cu/br	pin
3357	BW	69	5	5		fill	cu/br	pin

Table 7.1 (continued)

Reg. no.	Area	Season	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3358	BW	69	5	5		fill	cu/br	ring
164	BW	69	5	6		burnt lens	chlorite	figurine
165	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
166	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
167	BW	69	5	6		burnt lens	chlorite	disk
168	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
169	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	base fragment
170	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	handle?
171	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
172	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	base fragment
173	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	unidentified
174	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	bead
175	BW	69	5	6		fill	chlorite	unidentified
1716	BW	69	5	6		fill	shell	bead
2095	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	rim fragment
2096	BW	69	5	6		fill	white stone	base fragment
2097	BW	69	5	6		fill	white stone	body fragment
2098	BW	69	5	6		fill	white stone?	bead
2099	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	bead
2100	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	whetstone?
2101	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	body fragment
2102	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	rim fragment
2103	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	door socket
2104	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	axe/macehead
2105	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	loomweight?
2106	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	bead
2107	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	bead
2688	BW	69	5	6		fill	cu/br	blade
2910	BW	69	5	6		fill	turquoise	bead
2911	BW	69	5	6		fill	turquoise	bead
2912	BW	69	5	6		fill	turquoise	ring?
3346	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	plug
z-75	BW	69	5	6		fill	clay	disk
z-95	BW	69	5	6		fill	cu/br	pin
z-125	BW	69	5	6		fill	iron	fragment
z-709	BW	69	5	6		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-711	BW	69	5	6		fill	white stone	body fragment
z-712	BW	69	5	6		fill	stone	disk
176	BW	69	5	6a		fill	chlorite	axehead
1334	BW	69	5	6a		fill	bone	unidentified
178	BW	69	5	7		fill	chlorite	jar
1082	BW	69	5	7		burnt lens	clay	comb handle
2108	BW	69	5	7		fill	stone	handle
2109	BW	69	5	7		fill	white stone	body fragment
179	BW	69	5	7	10	fill	chlorite	rim fragment
2689	BW	69	5	7	10	room fill	cu/br	pin

Table 7.2. Contexts of chlorite fragments and debitage in association with stone tools.

Phase	Location	Remains
IVB1	B.69.T4a.4a-4	large quantity of chlorite vessel fragments and flint fragments
	B.69.T4a.7	large quantity of chlorite vessel fragments and tools
	B-BW.70.T3.1	chlorite fragments and tools
	B-BW.70.T4.1	a few chlorite bowl fragments with blades and scrapers
IVB2	B.70.2	chlorite fragments and blades
IVB3	B.70.5	chlorite fragments and scrapers
IVB5	B-BW.70.T4.5	chlorite fragments and scrapers
	B.70.8	chlorite bowl base and scrapers
	B.70.8.1	chlorite pounder and scrapers
	B.70.8.1.1	chlorite bowl fragments and blades
	A.75.9	large amount of debitage
	A.75.9.1	chlorite debitage
IVB6	B.70.11	chlorite bowl fragments with scrapers and blades
	B.70.17	chlorite bowl with scrapers and blades
	BM.71.1.1	chlorite fragment with flint blade fragment
IVC2	BM.71.6	chlorite fragment with flint flake

isosceles triangles (cf. for the shape and motif see de Cardi 1970:figs 25.258, Bampur IV1; 36.93, Site Y, phase 1; 38.361, Bampur V2; 43.477, Bampur VI). A very similar example was also discovered recently in the late-third-millennium, Umm an-Nar-type tomb at Tell Abraq (Potts 1998:9) and fragments of this type are known from a badly plundered, Umm an-Nar-type tomb at 'Amlah 1 in Oman as well (de Cardi, Collier, and Doe 1976:fig. 17.18-27).

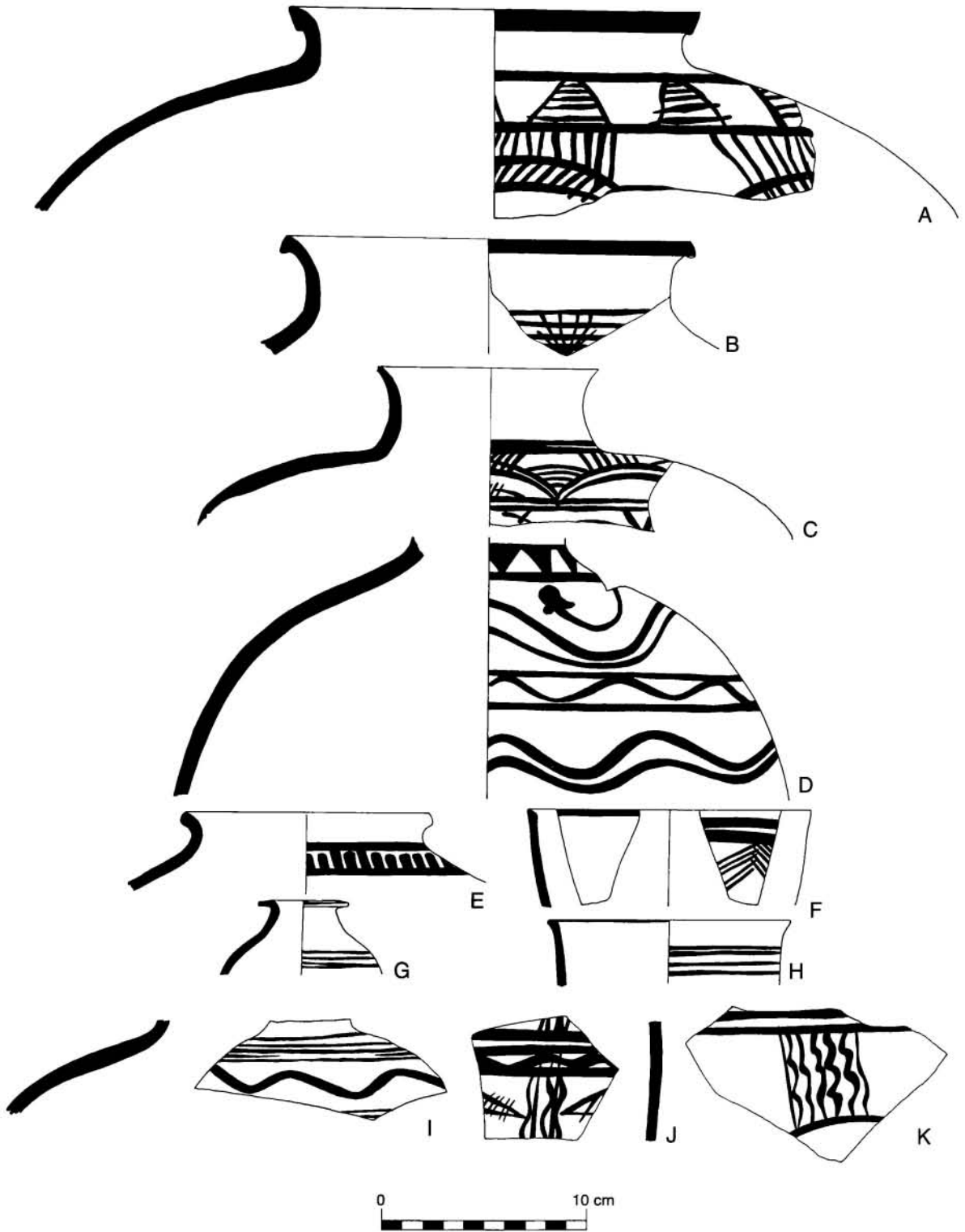
The sherds in figures 7.9.B, C, although small, each bear some remnant of a snake cordon. In each case the snake's head is preserved and in one case (fig. 7.9.C) it has been highlighted with punctate decoration. This decoration, although absent on most of the other extant examples from the site (fig. 2.18), clearly points to Anjira in Baluchistan, a topic discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. Finally, a single nose-lug (fig. 7.9.D) undoubtedly comes from a IVC2/Jamdat Nasr-type storage jar (cf. fig. 1.43).

## CHLORITE

In 1988 an account was published in which the chronology of carved chlorite at Tepe Yahya was discussed in detail (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988). For the purposes of that article all finds from BW.69.T5.5 were assigned to Phase IVB1, while those from BW.69.T5.6 were attrib-

uted to Phase IVB4-2. On that basis no less than 52.7 percent of the Intercultural Style fragments were deemed to belong to Phase IVB1, and an additional 16.2 percent were considered to have come from Phase IVB4-2 contexts (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:47). All those chlorite fragments found in BW.69.T5-7 are listed in table 7.1. In light of the internal ceramic parallels to Phases IVC2-IVB5 cited above and the external parallels just reviewed, it is clearly no easy matter to correlate BW.69.T5.5, 6 and 7 with one or more specific phases between Phases IVB6 and IVB1. In table 7.2 I have brought together the evidence that is available from the south side of Tepe Yahya bearing on the chronology of chlorite carving at the site. The table lists those contexts in which chlorite fragments and debitage were associated with stone tools, the assumption being that these associations reflect areas of chlorite working. With the exception of a single instance in a Phase IVC2 context, there is a fairly even distribution of finds throughout all phases of Period IVB.

A selection of carved chlorite, largely from BW.69.T5 and 6, is shown in figures 7.10 and 11. For the most part these pieces all belong to the standard Intercultural Style repertoire, although one piece (fig. 7.11, center row, far left) represents an example of a type that occurs in Phase IVB6 (fig. 3.26), Phase IVB2(?) (fig. 5.22), and Phase IVB1 (fig. 6.14). It may be of Central Asian origin (cf. Sarianidi 1977: fig. 65; 1981: fig. 12.5). Two figurative



**Figure 7.1.** Painted pottery from BW.69.T5.5 and Tepe Yahya comparanda where available. A. black-on-orange-buff, large jar, cf. fig. 4.28.B, Phase IVB5; B. black-on-red-slipped buff, large jar; C. black-on-red/brown slipped buff, large jar, cf. fig. 4.28.B, Phase IVB5; D. black-on-reddish-buff, large jar; E. black-on-red-slipped buff, large jar; F. black-on-orange, bowl; G. black-on-red-slipped buff, jar; H. black-on-brown-slipped buff, jar; I. brown-on-buff-slipped buff, body sherd; J. black-on-reddish-brown, body sherd; K. black/brown-on-red-slipped buff, body sherd.

pieces are illustrated in figures 7.12 and 9.6. Both have been previously published and discussed *inter alios* by Porada (Porada 1975:378). The braided hair of the male torso (fig. 7.12) is particularly interesting in light of the presence of long, solitary braids on a wide range of

Elamite images beginning at least as early as the rock relief at Kurangun (Amiet 1966:fig. 295) and running through Middle Elamite and Neo-Elamite iconography (e.g., Amiet 1966:421, rock relief of Hanni at Eshkaft-e Salman).

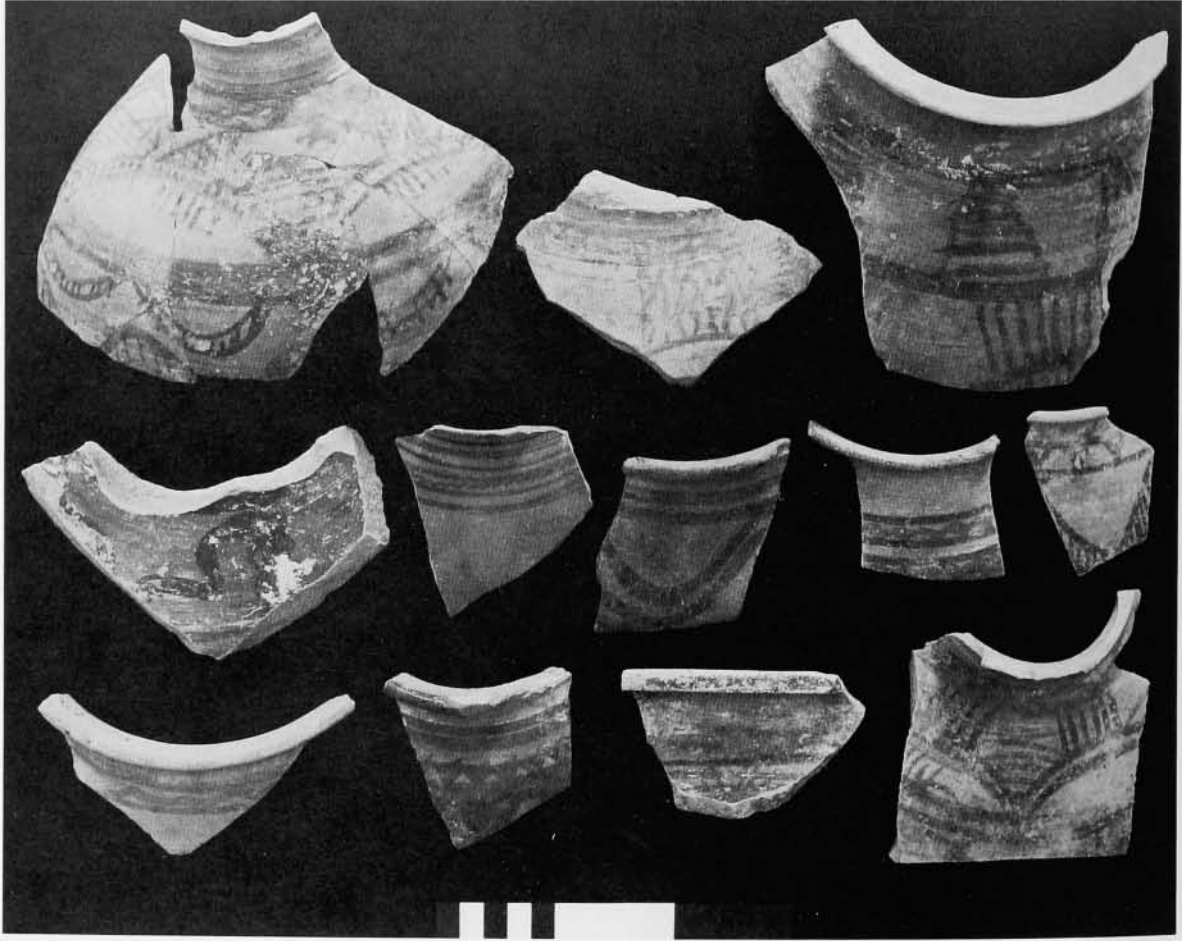
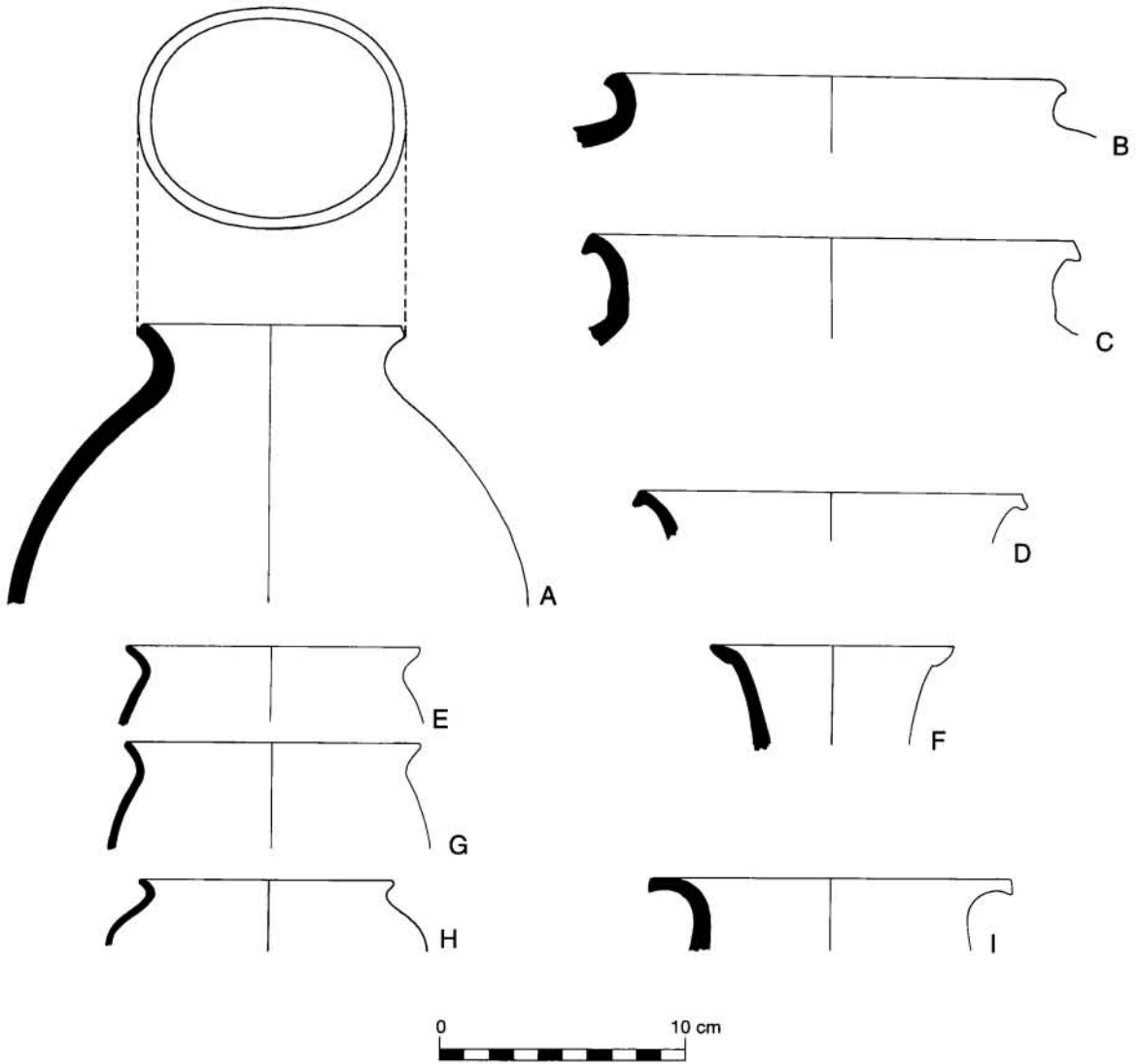
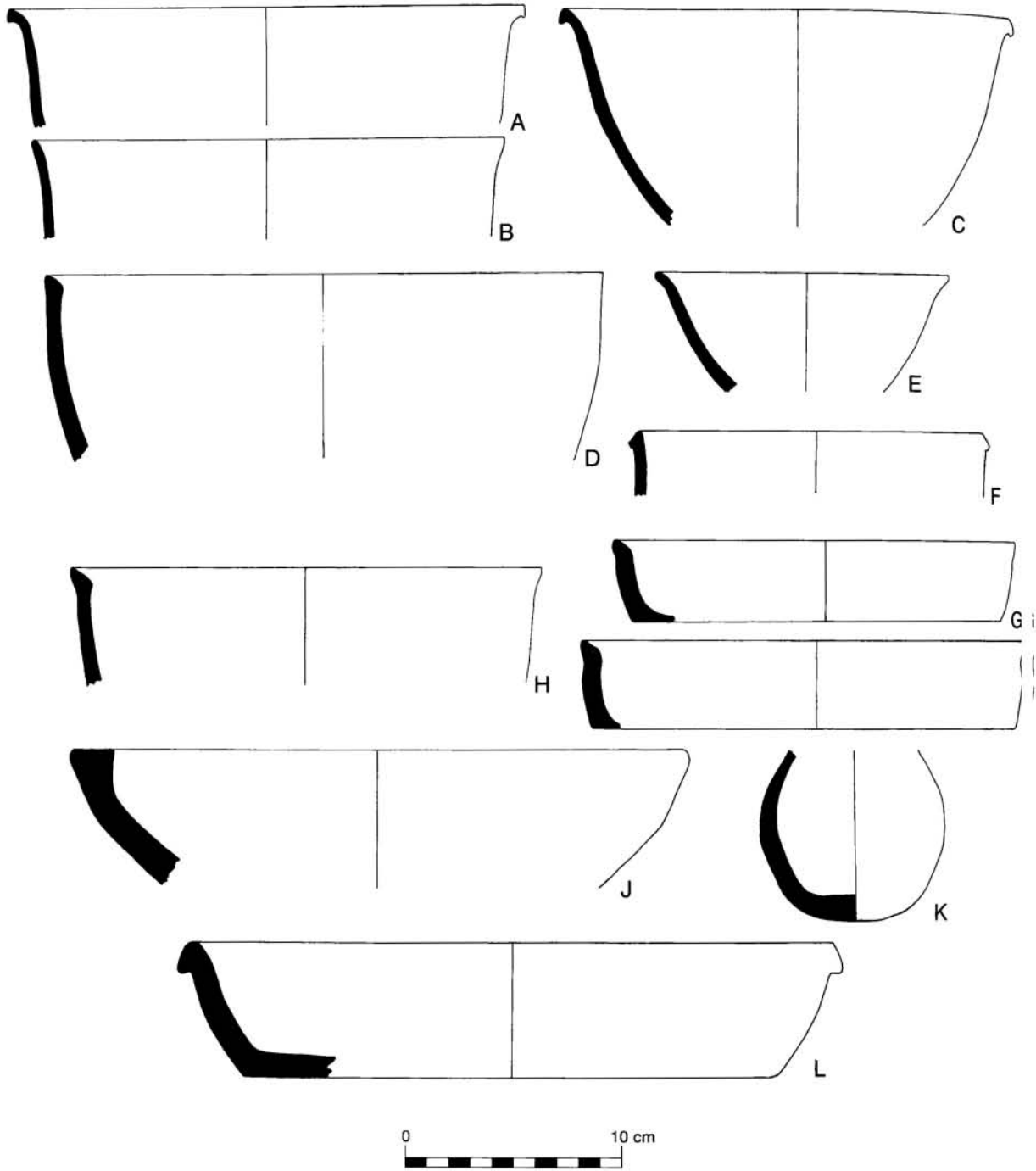


Figure 7.2. A selection of black-on-orange sherds from BW.69.T5.5-7.

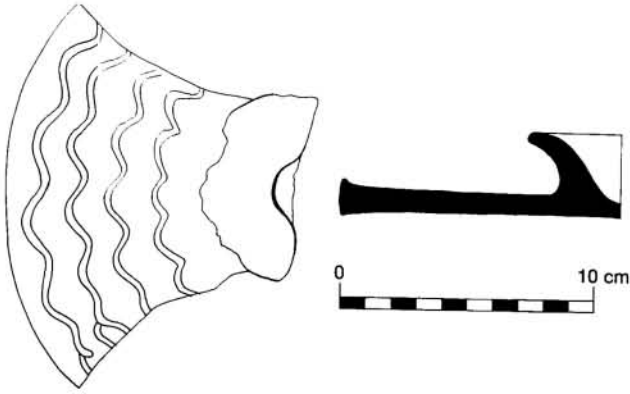


**Figure 7.3.** Unpainted jars from BW.69.T5.5 and Tepe Yahya comparanda where available. A. plain buff grit (16.5%), jar with flared rim; B. plain red, jar with everted rim; C. plain red, jar with everted rim, cf. fig. 3.12.B, Phase IVB6; D. plain red?, jar with everted rim; E. plain red?, jar with flared rim, cf. fig. 1.6.C, Phase IVC2; F. plain brown, high-necked jar; G. plain red, jar with flared rim, cf. fig. 1.6.C, Phase IVC2; H. plain red?, jar with flared rim; I. reddish-brown slipped buff, ledge-rim jar, cf. figs. 1.19.H, 1.27.B, 1.34.C, Phase IVC2, and fig. 3.12.D, E, Phase IVB6.

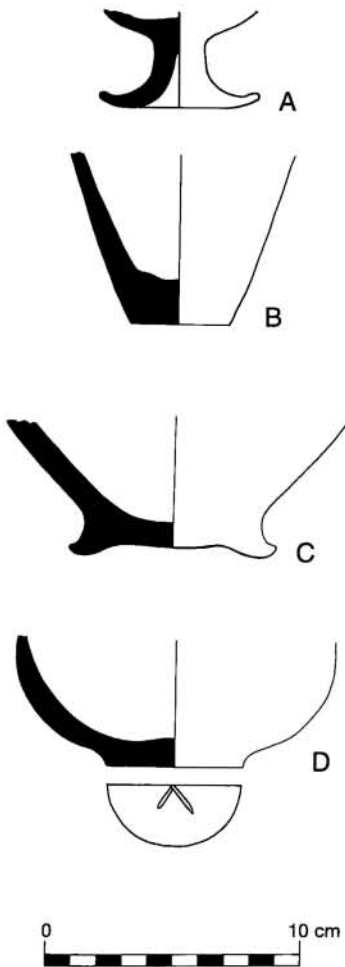


**Figure 7.4.** Unpainted bowls from BW.69.T5.5 and Tepe Yahya comparanda where available. A. red-slipped buff, fine club rim bowl, cf. fig. 3.18.B, D, Phase IVB6; B. reddish-orange slipped buff, deep bowl (16.5%); C. red-slipped buff, club rim bowl, cf. fig. 1.22.D., Phase IVC2, fig. 3.18.H, Phase IVB6; D. plain buff, bowl with interior beveled rim, cf. fig. 1.22.B, Phase IVC2, fig. 3.18.L, Phase IVB6, fig. 4.34.B, C, Phase IVB5; E. red-slipped tan, deep bowl; F. red-slipped tan, jar with folded rim; G. plain tan, tray with interior beveled rim; H. red-slipped tan, bowl with interior beveled rim, cf. fig. 1.22.B, Phase IVC2, fig. 3.18.L, Phase IVB6, fig. 4.34.B, C, Phase IVB5; I. plain tan, tray with interior beveled rim; J. plain buff bowl with thickened rim, cf. fig. 2.4.E, Phase IVC1; K. red-slipped, chaff-tempered tan, globular body; L. plain reddish-tan, club rim tray.

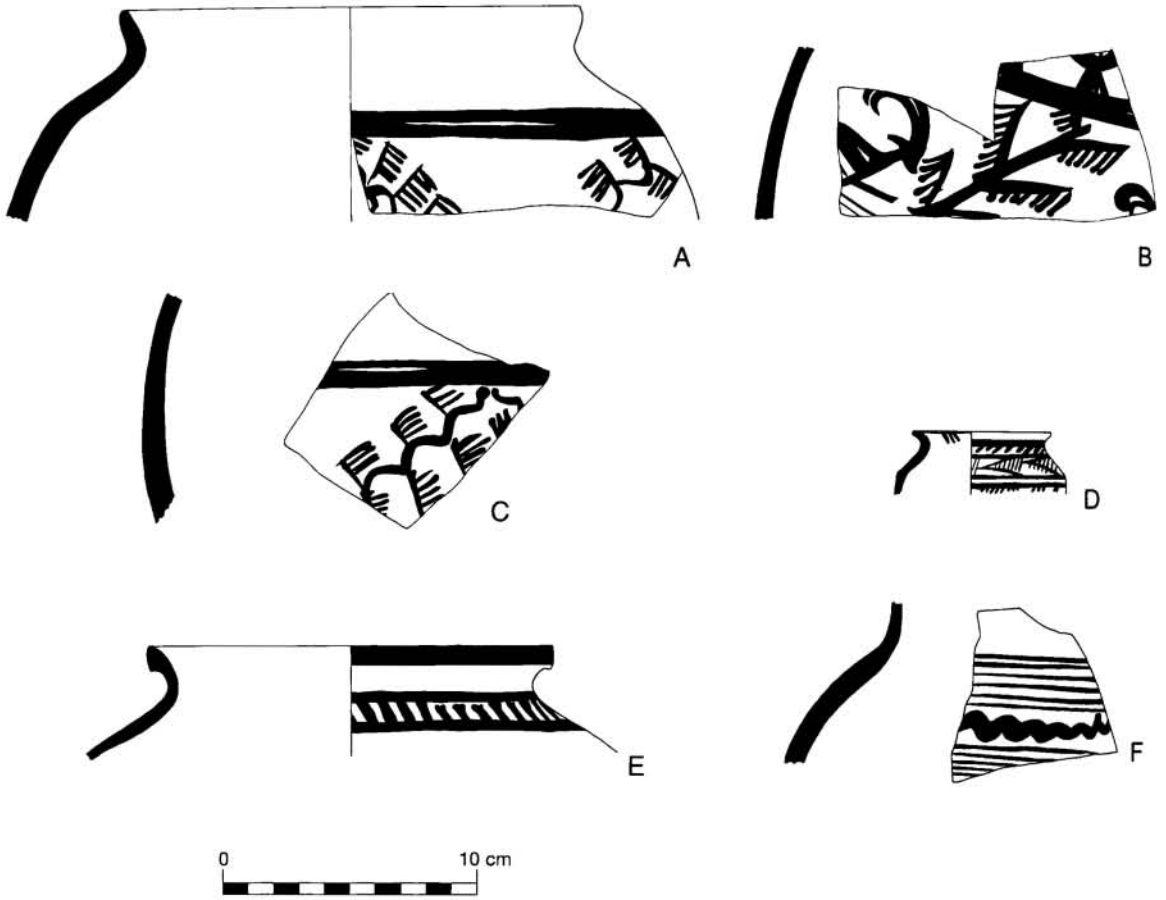




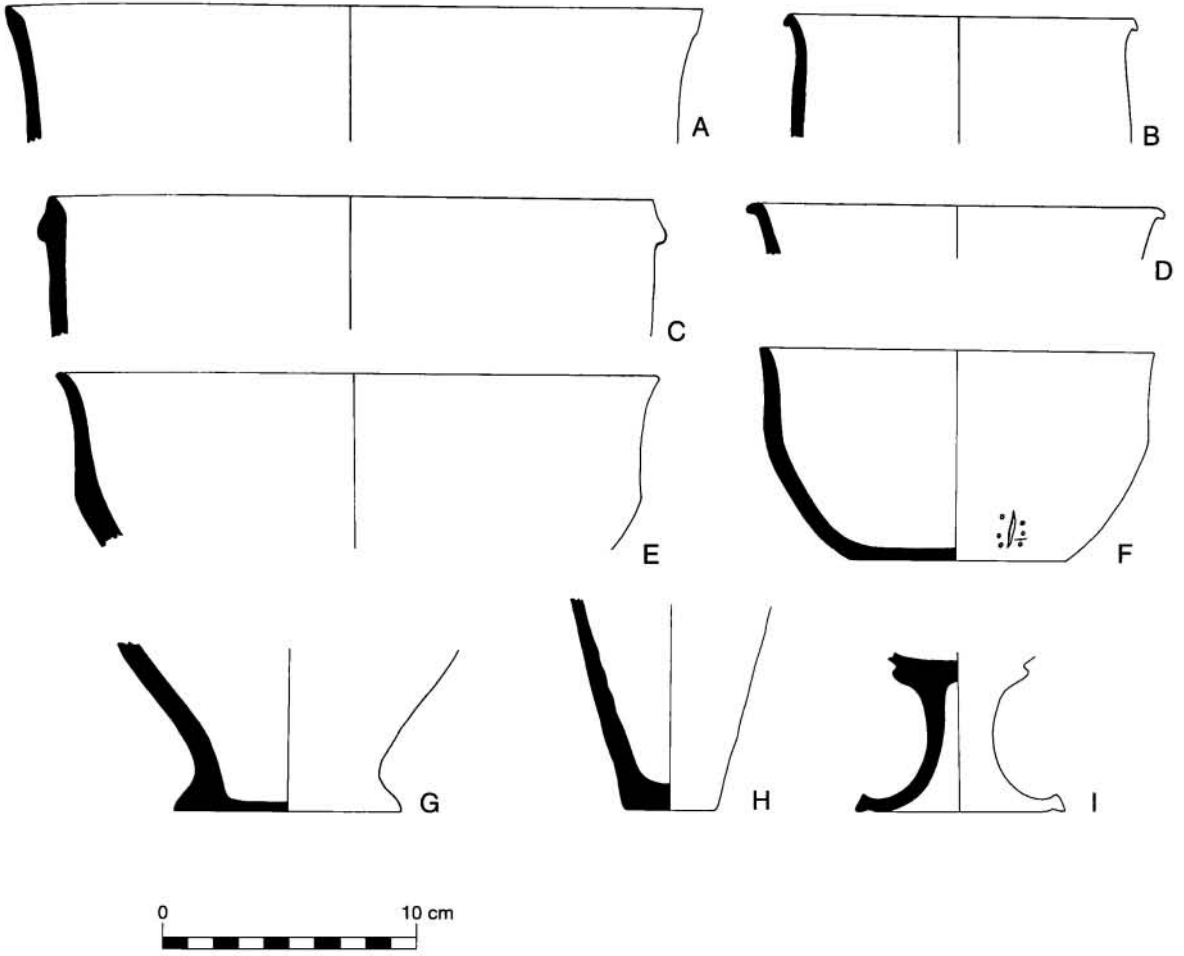
**Figure 7.5.** Plain buff incised lid from BW.69.T5.5, cf. fig 1.5, Phase IVC2 pit.



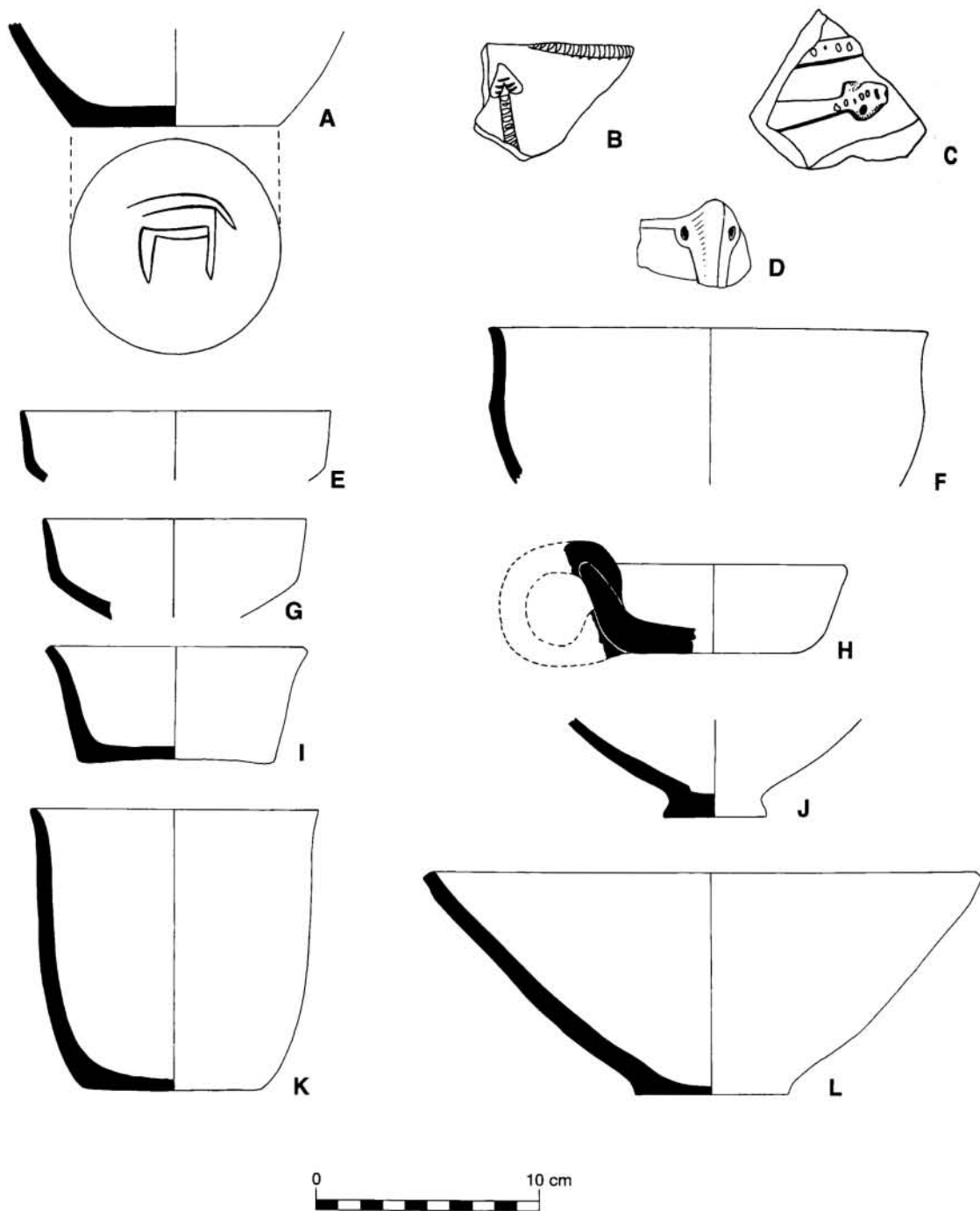
**Figure 7.6.** Selected bases from BW.69.T5.5. A. reddish-orange slipped buff, hollow-footed chalice; B. chaff-tempered buff, cup base; C. plain red, flaring ring base; D. brown-slipped buff, bowl base.



**Figure 7.7.** Painted pottery from BW.69.T5.6 and Tepe Yahya comparanda where available. A. black-on-red-slipped tan, large jar, cf. fig. 5.2.C, Phase IVB4; B. black-on-orange/buff (surface find), body sherd, cf. fig. 5.2.C, Phase IVB4; C. black-on-red-slipped tan, body sherd, cf. fig. 5.2.C, Phase IVB4; D. fine black-on-grey, small canister; E. black-on-red-slipped tan, large jar; F. brown-on-buff, body sherd.



**Figure 7.8.** Unpainted pottery from BW.69.T5.6 and Tepe Yahya comparanda where available. A. red-orange-slipped buff, bowl with interior beveled rim, cf. fig. 1.22.B, Phase IVC2, fig. 3.18.L, Phase IVB6, fig. 4.34.B, C, Phase IVB5; B. tan-slipped buff, fine club rim bowl; C. plain red, deep vat with folded rim; D. plain grey, jar with everted rim; E. grey burnished, carinated bowl, cf. fig. 4.36.B, Phase IVB5, fig. 5.9.G, Phase IVB4-2; F. plain reddish-orange, incised/punctate potter's mark, carinated bowl; G. coarse grit-tempered buff, flat base; H. coarse tan, tall cup base; I. plain reddish-buff, hollow-footed chalice, cf. fig. 3.14.J, Phase IVB6.



**Figure 7.9.** Unpainted pottery from BW.69.T5.7 and Tepe Yahya comparanda where available. A. red-slipped buff, incised, base; B. red-slipped buff, snake cordon, body sherd; C. plain brown, snake cordon, body sherd; D. plain reddish-brown, nose lug, cf. fig. 1.40.B and 1.58.B, Phase IVC2, fig. 2.6.A, B, Phase IVC1, fig. 3.13.A, C, D, Phase IVB6; E. black burnished, carinated bowl; F. grey burnished, carinated bowl; G. tan grit, flaring-sided bowl, cf. fig. 3.14.C, Phase IVB6, fig. 6.22.F, Phase IVB1; H. coarse brown, ring-handled dish; I. black burnished, base; J. red burnished, cup; K. plain buff, wide, shallow bowl; L. description unavailable.



Figure 7.10. A selection of carved chlorite, mostly from BW.69.T5.5 and 6 (scale = 20 cm).

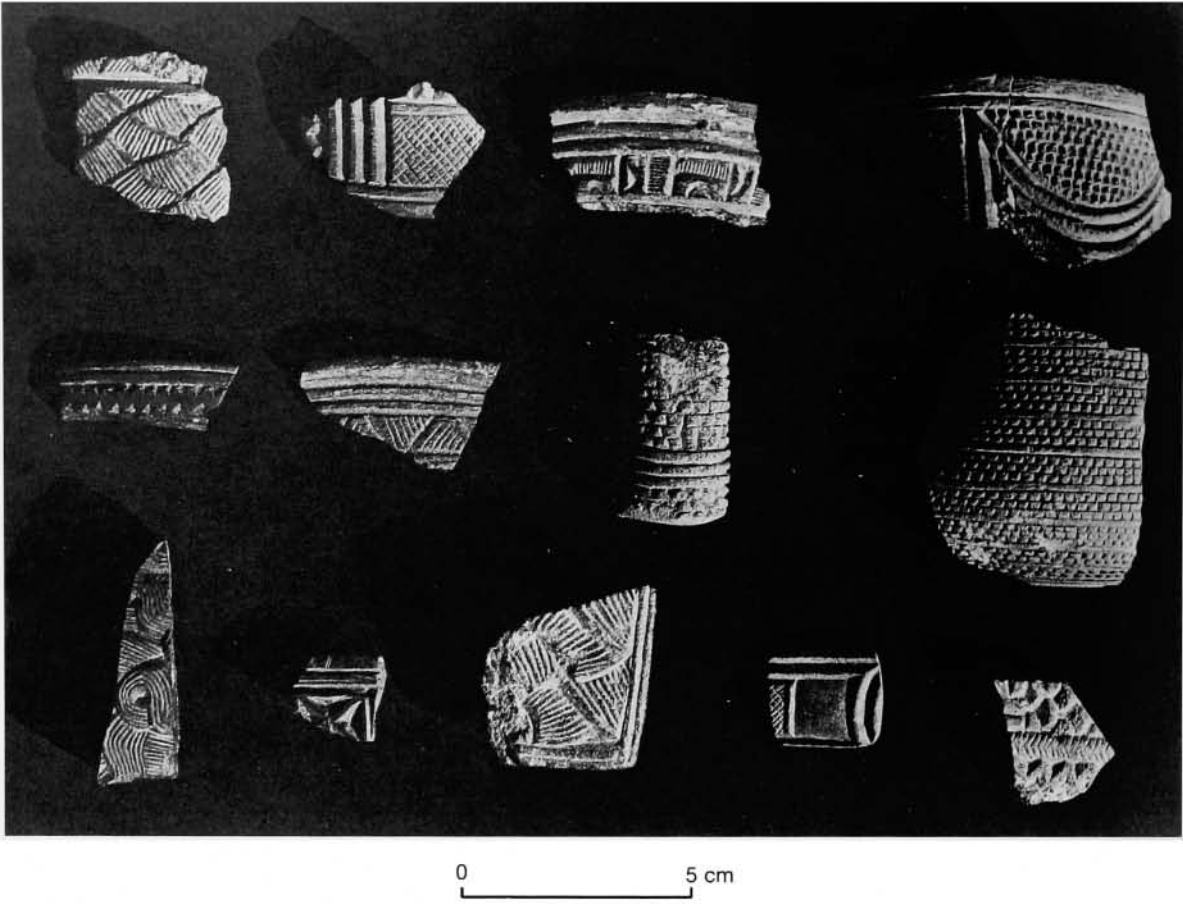
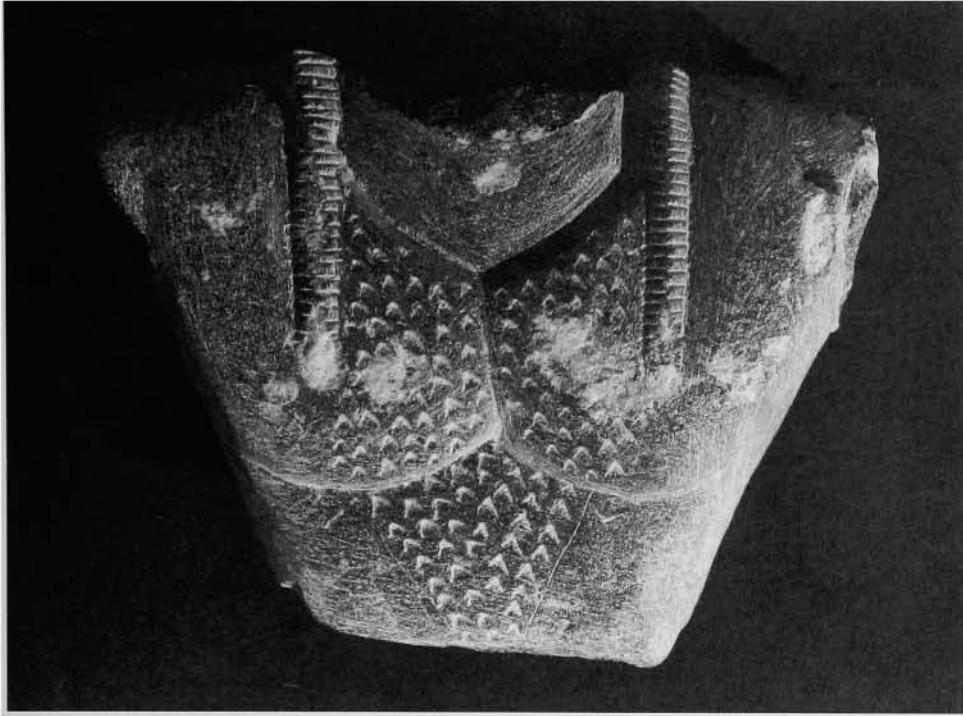


Figure 7.11. A selection of carved chlorite, mostly from BW.69.T5.5 and 6.



0 2 cm

**Figure 7.12.** Carved male torso of chlorite from BW.69.T5.5.





# Chapter 8

## Situating Tepe Yahya in Time and Space

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### INTRODUCTION

In his review of the first volume of the Tepe Yahya excavation report, F. Hole remarked, "Tepe Yahya is so remote from other excavated contemporary communities that it is hard to make direct comparisons" (Hole 1987:140). In actual fact, it is not so difficult to draw comparisons—for the most part this means ceramic comparisons—since parallels with sites such as Tal-i Iblis, Tal-i Bakun, or Chah Hussaini are fairly obvious. In the case of Periods IVC and IVB the situation is somewhat different. As noted throughout this report, it is possible to draw numerous comparisons to pottery from other sites in both periods. With the exception of those parallels to intrusive, earlier material from Period V, e.g., to Tal-i Iblis, the comparisons that I deem relevant to an appreciation of Tepe Yahya's chronology and cultural orientations are summarized in tables 8.1, 3–5, and 7–8. Obviously, these are by no means exhaustive and for the better known types, such as beveled-rim bowls, I have only cited a selection of parallels, mainly from sites in Iran. In general these parallels should suffice to indicate the main lines of the site's chronology and foreign relations throughout the course of the third millennium B.C. The question is, having drawn these comparisons, what can we make of them? In the following discussion I shall address two main themes—chronological and cultural correlations—for each of the main sub-phases from Phases IVC2 through IVB1. The chronological correlations are supported by data in tables 8.2 and 8.6.

### PHASE IVC2

#### Chronological Correlations

The end of Period VA, the period that preceded Phase IVC2 in the Tepe Yahya sequence, has been variously set at about 3400 B.C. (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:5), 3300

B.C. (Beale 1986:8), and 3900 B.C. (Prickett 1986a:table 3.2). The important point here, however, is that Period VA was followed by a hiatus in occupation at Tepe Yahya. The question is, how long was the fourth millennium hiatus at Tepe Yahya?

The Phase IVC2 settlement has been dated variously to about 3400–3300 B.C. (Prickett 1986a:table 3.1), 3400–3000 B.C. (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:5, 1971:87, 1972b:89, 1975b:302; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:31), 3400–3200 B.C. (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975a:357), 3200–2900 B.C. (Kohl 1974:32; Potts 1975:80; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1977:35), and 3000 B.C. (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1978:116). The early dates for the Period IVC settlement were partially predicated upon the results of C14 determinations (table 8.2), and partially upon the equation of the Period IVC materials with the Late Uruk as well as Jamdat Nasr horizons in Mesopotamia (e.g., Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972a:227–228). The Late Uruk suggestion can now be eliminated in light of the epigraphic, ceramic, and glyptic evidence adduced above. An affinity with the Susa III/Proto-Elamite and Uruk III/Jamdat Nasr periods seems clear judging by the palaeography of the tablets from Tepe Yahya (Damerow and Englund 1989), which are comparable to Susa III (Acropole II:16–14b) and not to Susa II (Acropole II:18–17; LeBrun and Vallat 1978; Vallat 1971:243) types. Moreover, if we consider the absence of incised, lug-handled storage jars, characteristic of Acropole II:18–17 at Susa (LeBrun 1978:figs. 32.10, 34.10, 14), Godin V (Weiss and Young 1975:fig. 3), Habuba Kabira (Sürenhagen 1978:Taf. 6, 7), and Uruk IV (Porada et al. 1992:fig. 3), combined with the presence of beveled-rim bowls, conical cups, low-sided trays, and pottery comparable to Jamdat Nasr polychrome, all of which are associated in the Jamdat Nasr-period levels (XIV–XII) at Nippur (Porada et al. 1992:100–101), then a post-Late Uruk date for Period IVC seems clear.

Nevertheless, the ceramic evidence suggests that the Phase IVC2 occupation lasted into ED I times. This is

Table 8.1. Diagnostic pottery types present in Phase IVC2 contexts and selected comparanda.

Type	Examples	Comparanda cited in text	Region
Black-on-orange (geometric)	1.18.F	Shahr-i Sokhta	Seistan
Black-on-grey ware	1.6.K, 1.18.D	Bampur, Damin, Khurab, Miri Qalat, Shah-i Tump Shahr-i Sokhta	Baluchistan Seistan
Black-on-red (geometric)	1.13.I, 1.37.A, 1.44.B	Khurab, Takkul, Tump-i Surkh Qalat	Baluchistan
Black-on-red (wavy lines between horiz. bands)	1.13.H	Tepe Jalyan	Fars
Bowls, various undecorated	1.13.A, 1.13.F, 1.22.A, 1.34.F, 1.46.B	Susa Tal-i Malyan	Khuzistan Fars
Burnished greyware	1.27.A, 1.54.B	Hissar	Khorassan
Low-sided tray	1.22.E	Godin Tepe Tepe Sialk Tal-i Malyan	Luristan Central Iran Fars
Jars, various undecorated	1.6.C–E, 1.19.F	Susa Tal-i Malyan	Khuzistan Fars
Painted caprid	1.44.A	Khafajah Tell Gubba Abdanan, Mahi Dasht Bampur, Damin Shahr-i Sokhta	Diyala Hamrin Luristan Baluchistan Seistan
Polychrome cf. Jamdat Nasr	1.27.H, 1.37.B, 1.40.A	Fara, Jamdat Nasr, Kish, Nippur Khafajah Tell Gubba Susa, Tal-i Ghazir, Tepe Farukhabad Tepe Sialk Tal-i Malyan Tump-i-Qasimabad Hissar	Babylonia Diyala Hamrin Khuzistan Central Iran Fars Baluchistan Khorassan
Trough spout	1.6.F	Susa Tal-i Malyan	Khuzistan Fars
Wide-mouthed jar with flaring rim	1.6.C–E	Susa	Khuzistan

implied by parallels between Phase IVC2 sherds and material from Ville Royale I:18–17b at Susa, which E. Carter equates with Period III:14A–13 in the Acropole sequence (Carter 1980:20). According to P. Amiet, the “*époque Proto-Elamite classique*” at Susa encompassed both the Jamdat Nasr and ED I periods (Amiet 1972:34ff), and is thus equal to Period III:16–14b in the Acropole sounding. LeBrun also aligns the Acropole sounding with both Jamdat Nasr and ED I (LeBrun 1971:183). For this reason, Amiet has suggested that

Tepe Yahya Period IVC may have ended as late as about 2800 B.C. (Amiet 1976:8; for more detail on the correlation of the Ville Royale and Acropole soundings in this period, see Dittmann 1986b). Amiet’s suggestion is corroborated, moreover, by the association of beveled-rim bowls and polychrome pottery in the Inanna temple (Level XI) at Nippur during ED I times (Porada et al. 1992:101). Many of the same parallels, it should also be noted, can be made between Tepe Yahya Phase IVC2 and the Proto-Elamite Banesh material from the TUV

**Table 8.2.** Calibrated radiocarbon dates from Tepe Yahya, Periods IVC and IVB.

Sample	Phase	Radiocarbon age	Calibrated age range B.C. (1 Sigma)	Calibrated age range B.C. (2 Sigma)	Reference
Beta-6474	IVB1	3240 ± 120	1673–1652 (.06) 1648–1398 (.94)	1869–1843 (.01) 1777–1251 (.97) 1249–1204 (.02)	Prickett 1986a
TF-1140	IVB1	3560 ± 110	2031–1991 (.11) 1989–1742 (.89)	2197–1612 (1.0)	RC 15:581 <sup>1</sup> Potts 1980
TF-1143	IVB5	4150 ± 130	2884–2572 (.98) 2514–2507 (.02)	3036–2392 (.98) 2387–2337 (.02)	RC 15:581 Potts 1980
Beta-6475	IVB5	2950 ± 60	1256–1238 (.08) 1219–1046 (.92)	1375–1348 (.02) 1317–988 (.97) 956–944 (.01)	Prickett 1986a
Beta-6472	IVB6	3560 ± 140	2118–1085 (.07) 2041–1734 (.87) 1720–1690 (.06)	2278–2219 (.03) 2208–1526 (.97)	Prickett 1986a
GX-5159	IVC1	4310 ± 200	3304–3231 (.10) 3180–3163 (.03) 3114–2618 (.87)	3509–3402 (.03) 3390–2446 (.96) 2437–2402 (.01)	Prickett 1986a
GX-5160	IVC1	4150 ± 280	3087–3058 (.03) 3046–2300 (.97)	3500–3429 (.01) 3380–1947 (.99)	Prickett 1986a
GX-5161	IVC2	3720 ± 180	2399–2375 (.04) 2357–1883 (.96)	2610–2608 (<.005) 2589–1627 (1.0)	Prickett 1986a
Beta-6469	IVC	4650 ± 230	3646–3088 (.99) 3059–3045 (.01)	3947–2872 (.99) 2799–2778 (<.005) 2712–2708 (<.005)	Prickett 1986a
GX-1730	IVC	4590 ± 180	3615–3596 (.03) 3522–3080 (.93) 3064–3041 (.04)	3754–3744 (<.005) 3718–2877 (1.0) 2791–v2789 (<.005)	Lamberg- Karlovsky 1970:132 Potts 1980

Note: The figures in parentheses after the calibrated date ranges represent the relative area of that range under the probability distribution.  
1. RC is the journal *Radiocarbon*.

area at Tal-i Malyan, which is probably slightly earlier than Ville Royale I:18–17, and thus of Jamdat Nasr date (Nicholas 1990:3). The glyptic correlations with “classic” Proto-Elamite glyptic from Susa and Protoliterate material from Sin Temples I-V at Khafajah (Frankfort 1955) made by H. Pittman in chapter 10 do not contradict this chronology.

In view of the recent discovery of beveled-rim bowls in a period IIIa context at Miri Qalat in the Pakistani Makran (Besenval 1994a:521; 1997a:fig. 18), the easternmost find of this type to date, it is important to comment briefly on their date. Although Besenval sees the bowls as evidence of the easternmost extension of

“Proto-Elamite” civilization and notes that the eventual discovery of Proto-Elamite tablets in the Makran range cannot be ruled out, the fact remains that we still have no idea whether the chronological “event” to which these can be linked is Susa II–Late Uruk, the earlier one, or, Susa III–Jamdat Nasr, the later one. Therefore, it may be premature for the excavator to link Miri Qalat IIIa with Shahr-i Sokhta I and Phase IVC2 at Tepe Yahya. The presence of earlier beveled-rim bowls at Susa, Choga Mish, Tal-i Ghazir, and perhaps Tal-i Iblis dictates against assuming contemporaneity between Miri Qalat IIIa and Tepe Yahya Phase IVC2.

On the other hand, the large number of parallels between the black-on-grey ware found in the Period IIIB tomb at Miri Qalat, cited in chapters 1 and 2, and the black-on-grey sherds from Tepe Yahya, clearly strengthens the chronological association of Miri Qalat IIIB and Tepe Yahya Phase IVC2. The black-on-grey sherds from Shah-i Tump and Miri Qalat provide the closest comparanda for the Tepe Yahya Phase IVC2–IVB6 black-on-grey so far published in the archaeological literature of the Indo-Iranian borderlands. This being the case, many, if not all, of the black-on-grey sherds from Phase IVC1 and IVB6 contexts at Tepe Yahya would seem to be intrusive from Phase IVC2.

### Cultural Correlations

J. Alden has suggested that an “Aliabad phase” occupation existed at Tepe Yahya after Period VA and that the Phase IVC2 building was an intrusion by a foreign, “Proto-Elamite” element into a local, “Aliabad” cultural milieu (Alden 1982:616). The situation, he suggests, would have been comparable to that observed at Godin Tepe where the Period VI material is now considered to represent the remains of the indigenous population, while that of Period V, originally thought to follow Period VI chronologically, is seen as intrusive yet contemporary (Levine and Young 1987:39–40). In this regard it is important to note that in the Shah Marandaulatabad Basin, some 25–65 km west of Tepe Yahya (Prickett 1986a:12), the sequence of settlement was *not* characterized by abandonment following the occupational phase contemporary with Tepe Yahya Period VA. Rather, the number of settlements dropped from 44 to 21, and these settlements show their strongest affinity not with any assemblage represented at Tepe Yahya, but with the so-called Aliabad material characteristic of Tali Iblis in Periods IV and V (Prickett 1979:54; 1986a:448; 1986b:236–237). At Tepe Yahya itself Prickett has identified no more than ten possible Aliabad/Iblis IV–V sherds from various contexts, and “only two absolutely distinctive Iblis IV/V sherds from the Tepe Yahya excavations in strata between Yahya VA and IVC” (Prickett 1986a:450–451).

Unfortunately, Alden’s hypothesis with respect to Tepe Yahya is contradicted by the minimal ceramic evidence observed by Prickett and by the absence of an architectural or stratigraphic deposit with which the few sherds in question can be linked confidently (cf. Prickett 1986a:453). In any case, even if the Soghun Valley were sparsely inhabited in the (post-Period VA) fourth millennium, it seems clear that the construction of the Phase IVC2 complex was the result of a foreign initiative, most probably emanating from Susa or its environs, if the

clear ties between the Phase IVC2 glyptic and Susa are reliable indicators (see chap. 10).

Although it is not my intention to revisit the entire question of what constituted the Proto-Elamite phenomenon, it is important to underscore the very significant divide between the Susa II–Late Uruk phase, to which Tepe Sialk IV1, Choga Mish, early Tali-i Ghazir, and Godin Tepe V can be linked, and the Susa III–Jamdat Nasr phase, to which Tepe Sialk IV2, Banesh period Tali Malyan, Tepe Yahya Phase IVC2, or Shahr-i Sokhta I can be aligned (for detailed ceramic comparisons, see Voigt and Dyson 1992:132 ff; cf. Dyson 1987:650). Whether one believes in a Mesopotamian colonization of Susiana during the first of these two phases (e.g., Algaze 1993) or not (Potts 1999:56–67), there is little doubt that the second phase marked a very different phenomenon from its predecessor. It is this second phase with which the diffusion of so-called “Proto-Elamite” or Susa III-type tablets to sites as distant as Hissar, Shahr-i Sokhta, and Tepe Yahya is associated. What the eventual relationship between the two phases may have been is far from clear, if one did indeed exist.

Because the emphasis in virtually all published discussions of Phase IVC2 at Tepe Yahya has been on the Susa III–Banesh Malyan–Jamdat Nasr-related finds (beveled-rim bowls, conical cups, low-sided trays, polychrome pottery, cylinder seals and sealings, Susa III/Proto-Elamite-type tablets), the question may be asked, is the “Western” orientation suggested by those frequently discussed finds truly indicative of what was going on at Tepe Yahya around 3000 B.C.? If the interpretation of Tepe Yahya’s refoundation following the post-Period VA hiatus given here is correct, then the answer to the question is, at least in part, yes. The impetus, it is argued here, came from the west, most probably from Susiana itself. Yet there is more to the Phase IVC2 settlement than beveled-rim bowls, polychrome pottery, Proto-Elamite tablets, and cylinder sealings. In addition to quantities of unpainted, seemingly local bowl and jar types, fine black-on-orange with parallel sets of zigzagging lines, black-on-orange ware with hatched wavy bands, burnished greyware and black-on-grey ware occurs. As the cited ceramic comparisons attest (table 8.1), material of this type shifts the focus from west to east, towards Bampur, Damin, Khurab, Shah-i Tump, Miri Qalat, and other sites in Baluchistan. An important question remains: Does this material, even when discovered in a Phase IVC2 context, belong where it was found, or does it represent contamination from Phase IVC1 and/or the later Period IVB occupation? Unfortunately, in the absence of a quantified ceramic sample, the answer to this question can never be more than an impressionistic one. Even with a quantified

sample, it could be argued, it is still virtually impossible to separate the intrusive sherds from the nonintrusive due to the lack of excavated sites in the environs of Tepe Yahya. As things stand, however, one must admit that the number of painted sherds from Phase IVC2 contexts that call to mind similar material from sites further east in Baluchistan is minuscule in comparison with the amount of unpainted, probably local material and the presence of those artifacts mentioned above, which point towards the West.

Nevertheless, in the case of the black-on-grey and burnished grey (red, brown, and black) wares, it would be wrong to dismiss these types as intrusive in Phase IVC2. In spite of the fact that black-on-grey ware of the Emir variety (Fairservis 1956:196, 1961:86; Wright 1984) has been found at numerous sites in association with many of the ceramic types attested in the later levels of Period IVB at Tepe Yahya (e.g., incised grey, storage jars with snake cordons, black-on-orange wares), the fact is that all of the drawn black-on-grey sherds at the site come from Phase IVC2, IVC1, and IVB6 contexts (cf. fig. 1.12). The sherds find clear parallels amongst black-on-grey pottery from Miri Qalat IIIB, and are so different from the Bampur-like canistered vessels of late-third-millennium date. Both of these facts make a genuinely early date for this sort of material a certainty. Even though the amount of black-on-grey ware found in Phase IVC2 contexts is negligible and could reflect contamination from Phase IVC1–IVB6, the material found in the Phase IVC2–IVB6 contexts is so clearly different from the bulk of the Bampur material, both in shape and in decoration, and so like that found in Miri Qalat IIIB, that it seems to be genuinely earlier than the presumably later material from BW.69.T5 (e.g., fig. 7.7.D).

As for the burnished wares, particularly the burnished greyware, de Cardi observed that burnished greyware was very rare at Anjira in the earliest periods (I–II) and “in the absence of analogies within Baluchistan . . . must be regarded either as an import or an heirloom brought possibly from Iran” (de Cardi 1965:122). A year later, however, she found several dozen sherds of burnished grey and red ware in the Period V and VI levels at Bampur (de Cardi 1970:316, fig. 43). The quantities of burnished red, grey, and black pottery at Tepe Yahya in a variety of shapes makes an origin in southeastern Iran seem more likely than one in Baluchistan. Quantitatively there is much more burnished pottery at Tepe Yahya than, for example, at Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:582, Di. 4, Dj. 1–4), appearing principally in Phases IVC2 and IVB5. What relation, if any, the grey burnished pottery of southeastern Iran may have to burnished pottery of the Hissar-Shah Tepe-Tureng Tepe tradition in northeastern Iran or the burnished ceramic

tradition of the Swat Valley in Pakistan remains to be investigated.

In conclusion, while the re-foundation of Tepe Yahya at the beginning of Phase IVC2 may have been the result of an influx from the West, one must be cautious in discounting the importance of ties to other sites in the Indo-Iranian borderlands once the site was resettled. Given Tepe Yahya’s geographical location, moreover, this seems like nothing less than one would expect.

## PHASE IVC1

### Chronological Correlations

As noted in chapter 2, the eroded nature of the Phase IVC2 complex strongly suggested to its excavators that the building lay abandoned for a considerable period of time before the site was once more reoccupied. While some of the material found in the fill of the Phase IVC2 building was clearly of IVC2 type, e.g., nose-lugged polychrome jar fragments (fig. 2.6.A, B), a low-sided tray (fig. 2.19.E), and beveled-rim bowl fragments (figs. 2.19.A–C, 2.27.E), or even intrusive from Period V contexts (e.g., figs. 2.12.B–E, 2.15.A, D, 2.22.B–E, 2.23.D, 2.25.A–E), much of the pottery, if not local, was characteristic of the Indo-Iranian borderlands during the third millennium. Yet how should this deposit be dated? Was there a gap of any kind between Phases IVC2 and IVC1? If, on the basis of a dating of Susa III/Yahya IVC2 into or through the end of ED I in the Mesopotamian sequence, we place the end of Phase IVC2 at around 2800 B.C., was occupation uninterrupted? If a gap exists in the sequence did reoccupation follow within decades, or not for centuries? Two positions are implied by the material presented in chapter 2.

### Evidence Favoring a “Short” Gap of 200–300 Years between Phases IVC2 and IVC1–IVB1

In the absence of a more precise understanding of the comparative and absolute chronology of southeastern Iran in the third millennium, none of the ceramic indicators associated with Phases IVC1 and IVB6–1 can be taken as unequivocal evidence of occupation between about 2800 and 2500 B.C. Some of the types found in Phase IVC1–IVB1 may date to this period, but none of them necessarily do. They could just as easily date to the latter half of the third millennium. The principal evidence in favor of a “short” gap of two or three centuries duration is the carved chlorite manufactured in the so-called Intercultural Style or *série ancienne*, which, as discussed in chapter 7, was found in particular abundance in BW.69.T5. As numerous studies have shown,

Table 8.3. Diagnostic pottery types present in Phase IVC1 contexts and selected comparanda.

Type	Examples	Comparanda cited in text	Region
Beveled-rim bowls <sup>1</sup>	2.19.A, B, 2.27.E	Godin Tepe	Luristan
		Susa, Acropole II:22-17 and Ville Royale I:18b-17, Tal-i Ghazir	Khuzistan
		Sialk IV	Central Iran
		Tal-i Malyan	Fars
		Tal-i Iblis	Kerman
		Miri Qalat	Baluchistan
		Togau	Baluchistan
Bichrome black and brown-on-buff	2.25.J	Amri	Indus plain
		Tepe Daruyi, Tepe Sultan Miri	Kerman
Black-on-buff (bowls)	2.12.C, 2.22.C, D	Tal-i Malyan	Fars
Black-on-buff (jar, horiz. bands)	2.25.F	Bampur, Miri Qalat, Shah-i Tump, Takkul	Baluchistan
Black-on-grey ware	2.23.C	Bampur	Baluchistan
Black-on-orange (geometric)	2.15.B	Shahr-i Sokhta	Seistan
		Chah Hussaini	Baluchistan
Black-on-red/orange ("bow tie")	2.9	Bampur, Chah Hussaini	Baluchistan
Black-on-orange ("flying" cross)	2.6.E	Shahr-i Sokhta	Seistan
		Susa	Khuzistan
Bowls, various undecorated	2.4.D-F	Tal-i Malyan	Fars
		Tepe Nurabad	Kerman
Brown-on-cream-slipped buff (hatched triangles)	2.12.A	Ur, Uruk, etc.	Babylonia
Conical cup	2.27.A	Susa, Tepe Farukhabad, etc.	Khuzistan
		Tal-i Malyan	Fars
		Tal-i Malyan	Fars
Jars, various undecorated	2.3.A, B	Tal-i Malyan	Fars
Snake-cordoned storage jar	2.17.A	Anjira, Bampur, Damin, Kulli	Baluchistan
		'Amlah, Al Sufouh, Bat, Bidya, Ghanadha, Shimal, Tell Abraq, Umm an-Nar	Oman peninsula
		Qalat al-Bahrain	Bahrain

1. References are to selected sites in Iran and Baluchistan only (the list is far from exhaustive). For sites in Mesopotamia, Syria, or Anatolia, as well as additional sites in Khuzistan, see e.g., the relevant articles in Ehrich 1992.

the floruit of this material was between Early Dynastic II and III in Mesopotamian terms (Kohl 1974:243ff), even if its manufacture lasted into the Old Akkadian period (cf. Amiet 1986:133).

#### Evidence Favoring a "Long" Gap of 500-600 Years between IVC2 and IVC1-IVB1

A whole group of artifacts from Phases IVB6 through IVB1 cluster chronologically at the end of the third mil-

lennium. These include glyptic catalogue no. 59 (IVB6), with its representation of an Akkadian-type bull-man; an alabaster unguent, square-based jar (IVB5, SF 3740) of a type common in Bactria, Iran, and the Gulf about 2000 B.C.; a piece of incised greyware (IVB5), dated by associated radiocarbon samples at Shahr-i Sokhta where it was found in the Burnt Building of Period IV (2200-1800 B.C.); a Persian Gulf-related seal (IVB5, glyptic catalogue no. 57) of a type that dates to the late

third millennium B.C.; and sherds of "truncated pots" (IVB1) similar to those from numerous sites in Bactria, Margiana, and Baluchistan, where they date to the late third and early second millennium B.C.

### Can the Chronological Dilemma Be Solved?

Amiet has summarized the alternatives for dating the Intercultural Style at Tepe Yahya as follows: "En somme, deux hypothèses s'opposent. Ou bien les cachets et sceaux-cylindres de la couche ancienne de Yahya IVB lui appartiennent effectivement (à l'exception du cachet du Golfe Persique), et imposent de dater cette couche au plus tôt de l'extrême fin de l'époque des dynasties archaïques, et donc de dater les ateliers, plus récents, de la seconde moitié de l'époque d'Agadé. Ou bien tous les sceaux sont descendus depuis le niveau IVA, et on perdu toute valeur de référence chronologique. Dans ce cas, les ateliers auraient pu fonctionner à une époque contemporaine de celle des tombes royales d'Ur, vers le milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire" (Amiet 1986:134). [In sum, we are faced with two contradictory possibilities: the stamp and cylinder seals of the early level(s) of Yahya IVB truly belong there (with the exception of the Persian Gulf-type seal), and thus demand a dating of those levels at the latest to the very end of the Early Dynastic era, thus making the [chlorite] workshops more recent, from the second half of the Akkadian period; or, all of the seals are intrusive from Period IVA levels, and have lost all chronological significance. In this case, the workshops may have existed at a time contemporary with that of the Royal Cemetery at Ur, around the middle of the third millennium.] In Amiet's opinion, "cette seconde hypothèse nous paraît mois vraisemblable."

As Amiet recognized, if the sub-phases IVB4-1 are to be dated to ED II-IIIa, traditionally considered the floruit of the Intercultural Style, then Phases IVCl, IVB6, and IVB5, which precede them stratigraphically, must be earlier, and hence fit in at the end of IVC2, which is probably equivalent to Early Dynastic I. It was a study of precisely this point in the sequence that first indicated to me, however, that the dating of the later Period IVB sub-phases was wrong. A number of diagnostic artifacts were found in strata earlier than those of the supposed EDII-IIIa horizon. These artifacts find their closest parallels with material of seemingly late-third-millennium date. In Mesopotamian terms, therefore, artifacts of Akkadian and Ur III date were found in strata that must be earlier than the strata with the carved chlorite of assumed ED II-IIIa date.

An examination of the architecture and stratigraphy suggests that we cannot be dealing with a case of reverse stratigraphy. One possibility to consider is that the

Persian Gulf room was built into the side of the mound physically below older strata. This possibility might offer a solution to the problem were it not for the fact that some of the most diagnostic "late" artifacts—the incised greyware sherd, the square-based alabaster jar, and the socketed axe (*Hache à Collet*)—were all found in Trench A, deep within the mound in a manner that cannot be explained as having been dug in from above. Moreover, the uniformity in pottery types from Phases IVCl through IVB1 suggests that these and the intervening strata be considered a unit of no more than several hundred years. The conclusion I have drawn, therefore, is that the technique of carving chlorite in the Intercultural Style can only have begun at Tepe Yahya in the late third millennium, probably in the Akkadian period, and lasted into the Ur III period, ending around 2000 B.C. (cf. Amiet 1976:8, 1980a:160).

The evidence for the continuation of the Intercultural Style in Akkadian times in Mesopotamia and Iran has been summarized already by de Miroschedji (1973:25), and supports the assertion that production at Tepe Yahya was of this date. Furthermore, Danish and French excavations on Failaka demonstrate that Intercultural Style chlorite was being recycled in Ur III and Isin-Larsa as well as Kassite times (Ciarla 1985; Potts 1990b:268, n. 34), and at least one piece has even been found there with an Isin-Larsa inscription (P. Kjaerum, personal communication). This cannot be a later addition to an already ancient piece, as Kohl has argued in the case of a piece from Ur and a piece in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, which are inscribed with the name of Rimush (Kohl 1974:248, but cf. de Miroschedji 1973:25; Klengel and Klengel-Brandt 1980; Braun-Holzinger 1991; Potts 1994:table 6.1). The Failaka piece had a smooth place left within the framework of the whole design to accommodate the inscription, and it cannot be contended that the inscription was cut over an existing design at some time after the piece's manufacture.

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that the Phase IVCl deposit may date to about 2200 B.C., followed immediately by Phase IVB6. The ceramic indicators of a late-third-millennium date found in Phase IVCl occur all through Period IVB, and suggest that the period did not last very long. The parallels with snake-cordoned ware from Qalat al-Bahrain, Umm an-Nar island, and Tell Abraq, all of which fall in the period 2400-2000 B.C., are particularly significant in this regard. In the section below this particular type of ceramic is examined in more detail.

### Snake-Cordoned Ware

Since the discovery of snake-cordoned sherds at Tepe Yahya (fig. 2.18), this type of material has been identi-

**Table 8.4.** Diagnostic pottery types present in Phase IVB6 contexts and selected comparanda.

Type	Examples	Comparanda cited in text	Region
Bowls, various undecorated	3.17.E, F	Tal-i Malyan	Fars
Hollow-footed chalice	3.14.I, J	Mehi, Mehrgarh	Baluchistan
		Qalat al-Bahrain	Bahrain
		Tell Abraq	Oman peninsula
Incised quadruped legs	3.13.G	Tal-i Malyan	Fars
Black-on-buff (painted triangles)	3.9.A	Tal-i Malyan	Fars
Black-on-burgundy (bands)	3.10.G	Tal-i Malyan, Tepe Jalyan	Fars
Black-on-red-slipped buff (leopard in skid position)	3.13.F	Seh Gabi	Luristan
		Sialk III6-7	Central Iran
		Hissar IC	Khorassan
Snake-cordoned storage jar	3.11.K	Anjira, Damin, Khurab, Kulli	Baluchistan
		'Amlah, Al Sufouh, Bat, Bidya, Ghanadha, Shimal, Tell Abraq	Oman peninsula
		Qalat al-Bahrain	Bahrain

fied at and published from a number of sites to the west and south of Kerman, including Susa (Steve and Gasche 1971:pl. 73.1-4), Qalat al-Bahrain (Højlund and Andersen 1994:figs. 310-322), the settlement on Umm an-Nar island (Frifelt 1995:figs. 216-217), Ghanadha island to the north of Abu Dhabi (al-Tikriti 1985:pl. 11.D-G), Tell Abraq (Potts 1990a:figs. 24, 28.1, 3, 4), Shimal in northern Ras al-Khaimah (Vogt and Franke-Vogt 1987:fig. 46), Bidya on the east coast of the U. A. E. in Fujairah (al-Tikriti 1989:pl. 80), 'Amlah 3b in inner Oman (de Cardi, Collier, and Doe 1976:fig. 20.164), and Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:461, obj. no. 3450 from grave 287). At none of these sites, however, does the ware appear in great concentrations. Furthermore, although Frifelt suggested, "The snake-ridge jars in spite of their size, may be an Oman product" (Frifelt 1995:162), this seems doubtful in view of the great numbers of such sherds found in 1957 by B. de Cardi in her soundings at Anjira near Surab in the Kalat district of Baluchistan (de Cardi 1965:pl. 8, 1983:31). According to de Cardi, "cordons were applied to the outer walls of . . . vessels and occurred on 28.4% of the counted sample. They were either single straight or wavy ridges, usually of rounded D-section, made by luting a thin coil of clay to the surface and smoothing it down with the fingers. Double or triple cordons both straight or wavy, are also found together or in combinations of alternate straight and wavy bands. Occasionally the wavy cordons were transformed into snakes, some with small diamond-shaped heads . . . others resembling cobras, with expanded hood and forked tongue clearly marked. These

occur either singly, in pairs . . . or even as a triple row around the bowl . . . usually of bell or sinuous form" (de Cardi 1965:168). Two points suggest that Anjira and the Surab area in general may have been the "homeland" of this type of pottery. First, the raised cordons terminating in snakes' heads are seemingly identical to those found elsewhere in Iran and the Gulf, and seem to be numerous (the exact size of the counted sample is not stated) and, second, and perhaps most importantly, the practice of making raised cordons in the form of a snake was part of a much broader tradition of applying raised cordons to pottery at Anjira, suggesting that the tradition was a well-established one in the region. The same cannot be said elsewhere in Iran or the Gulf. For the moment, therefore, I suggest that the snake-cordoned pottery from Tepe Yahya and other sites in the Gulf region originated in the Anjira region.

Chronologically speaking, all of the occurrences of snake-cordoned jars on sites in the Gulf region would date to about 2400-2000 B.C., with sites like Umm an-Nar and Al Sufouh at the earlier end of this time spectrum, and sites like Bidya, Shimal, and Tell Abraq towards the end. At Tell Abraq, in any case, where calibrated C14 dates place the foundation of the settlement around 2200 B.C. (Potts 1997), they cannot range far outside the period 2200-2000 B.C.

### Cultural Correlations

If the beveled-rim bowl and conical cup sherds from the Phase IVC1 deposit are considered intrusive from IVC2,



then it has to be said that the black-on-orange, black-on-red/orange, black-on-grey, and snake-cordoned sherds (table 8.3), all of which can be paralleled in later Period IVB contexts as well, suggest the existence of stronger ties with sites in the Indo-Iranian borderlands than with any sites in the west by this time. The few parallels drawn with Tal-i Malyan do not fundamentally alter this perception. What may have been carried from Baluchistan to Bahrain, Susa, the Oman peninsula, and Kerman in the large snake-cordoned storage jars is an intriguing question. Chances are, it was not the pottery vessels with snake cordons that were significant, but rather their contents. The existence of parallels to sites in the east as distant as Anjira, and the practical absence, with the exception of a few parallels to Tal-i Malyan, of ties to sites in the west, suggests that Tepe Yahya was on the western edge of an interaction sphere stretching across the Indo-Iranian borderlands deep into Baluchistan. No doubt sites like Bampur, Damin, or Tepe Nurabad were more centrally placed in the system described by the ceramic parallels in table 8.3. A second interaction sphere may have linked Kerman and Baluchistan with the Oman peninsula, Bahrain, and perhaps even Susa (via the Gulf, not overland). This interaction sphere might account for the diffusion of the snake-cordoned jars just mentioned.

## PHASE IVB6

### Chronological and Cultural Correlations

Much of what has been said above applies to the material from Phase IVB6 as well. Once again, if we omit the intrusions from Phase IVC2 such as Jamdat Nasr-related monochrome and polychrome (fig. 3.13.A–E), beveled-rim bowls (fig. 3.14.M), low-sided trays (fig. 3.14.O), painted pottery with parallels in the Banesh levels at Tal-i Malyan (figs. 3.9.A, 3.10.G), or the painted fragment with a leopard in “skid position” paralleled at Sialk 6–7 and Hissar IC, then the only addition to the corpus of note is the hollow-footed chalice. This is both a chronological indicator of the late third and early second millennium throughout the Indo-Iranian borderlands, and a leitfossil of the Bactrian-Margiana Archaeological Complex or BMAC (Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992:7; cf. Sarianidi 1993:fig. 7). The presence of examples at sites as close as Khurab suggests that those found at Tepe Yahya need not be directly from Bactria or Margiana, but the obvious similarities between the pieces found at sites in Kerman and Baluchistan and those known at sites further north implies that material is, in some measure, moving south

from a northern source. Once again, it is likely that the contents of these vessels, rather than the vessels themselves, were of value to the peoples of the Indo-Iranian borderlands.

## PHASE IVB5

### Chronological Correlations

Apart from a single sherd of incised greyware picked up on the surface of the site, the only example of this well-known type found at Tepe Yahya comes from A.75.9, a Phase IVB5 context. This suggests that the appearance of incised greyware at Tepe Yahya postdated that of black-on-grey ware, which, as noted above, is confined to Phase IVC2–IVB6 contexts. The relative chronology of incised greyware is not particularly problematic, but the absolute chronological range of the type must not be ignored, particularly since indices for determining the absolute chronology of incised greyware are few and one should not be led astray by the few radiocarbon dates available from contexts in which this type has been found. Thus, for example, the 2-sigma range of the only good radiocarbon date from a Phase IVB5 context at Tepe Yahya is 3036–2392 cal. B.C. (table 8.2). At Shahr-i Sokhta, where incised greyware was found in small quantities throughout the Period IV Burnt Building, the excavators have suggested a date range for the architectural context of about 2200–1800 B.C. (Biscione 1979:293 and figs. 2, 3). Yet, as a recalibration of the Shahr-i Sokhta IV dates shows (table 8.6), the 2-sigma range of the relevant dates extends from the early third to the mid-second millennium B.C. Interestingly, incised greyware is associated with black-on-grey ware, specifically with the high-shouldered canister shape, at Shahr-i Sokhta. The association of black-on-grey and incised grey is, moreover, elsewhere attested at Al-Sufouh in Dubai (Benton 1996) in a context datable to about 2400–2200 B.C.; at Miri Qalat in the Makran, where it is dated to Period IIIB, put roughly into the first half of the third millennium B.C. (Besenval 1994a:fig. 6.3.a–c); and on Umm an-Nar island in Tomb II, which must date to 2500–2300 B.C. (Frifelt 1991:figs. 120–124).

As indicated in chapter 4, two rounded bowls made of burnished red ware from IVB5 are particularly intriguing in that they clearly seem to imitate soft-stone vessels manufactured in the Oman peninsula in the so-called *série récente*. This is suggested both by their shape and by the slight indentation running beneath the lip. The examples from Tepe Yahya lack only the double-dotted circles of their stone counterparts for the analogy to be complete. Chronologically speaking, the stone

Table 8.5. Diagnostic pottery types present in Phase IVB5 contexts and selected comparanda.

Type	Examples	Comparanda cited in text	Region
Black-on-buff (horizontal bands)	4.7.I	Tepe Jalyan	Fars
Black-on-buff (nested, wavy lines)	4.21	Mundigak	Seistan
Black-on-orange (geometric)	4.28.B, D, F; 4.29.C	Shahdad	Kerman
		Bampur, Damin, Khurab, Shah-i Tump	Baluchistan
		Mundigak	Seistan
Comb-incised pottery	4.29.G	Bampur, Damin	Baluchistan
		Susa	Khuzistan
Incised greyware	not illustrated	Shahdad	Kerman
		Bampur, Damin, Mehi, Shah-i Tump, Miri Qalat, Gabro Maro, Maula, Katukan	Baluchistan
		Ramrud, Shahr-i Sokhta	Seistan
		Al Sufouh, 'Amlah 1, Bat, Hili, Umm an-Nar	Oman peninsula
		Tarut	Saudi Arabia
Knobbed ware	4.17.E	Tell Asmar	Diyala
		Susa, Ville Royale I:18b-17	Khuzistan
		Tepe Giyan	Luristan
Snake-cordoned storage jar	4.12.A, 4.31.A, C	Anjira, Damin, Khurab, Kulli	Baluchistan
		'Amlah, Al Sufouh, Bat, Bidya, Ghanadha, Shimal, Tell Abraç, Umm an-Nar	Oman peninsula
		Qalat al-Bahrain	Bahrain
Squat beakers	4.7, 4.8	Bampur, Khurab	Baluchistan
		Shahr-i Sokhta	Seistan
Tall goblets	4.35.G, I	Bampur, Khurab	Baluchistan
		Farukhabad 1	Bactria

prototypes for these vessels are well-dated in the Oman peninsula at a large number of sites to the last three centuries of the third millennium. They are absent, for example, at the early Umm an-Nar settlement and tombs on Umm an-Nar island and at the slightly later, but still early Umm an-Nar tomb of Al Sufouh. On the other hand, they are well-attested at Tell Abraç, Hili North Tomb A, Moweihat, and numerous other sites, of later third-millennium date. Thus, a date around 2300-2000 B.C. can be suggested without hesitation for the stone bowls on which these ceramic imitations were modeled.

Of the nonceramic indicators, certainly the square-based alabaster flask, socketed axe, and Persian Gulf-related seal are the most important. As noted above, both of these find close parallels in very late third-millennium contexts.

### Cultural Correlations

As Beatrice de Cardi's overview showed more than twenty years ago (de Cardi, Collier, and Doe 1976: 118-122), the distribution of incised greyware seems to show a real radial pattern with its center in Iranian Baluchistan (Bampur, Maula, Katukan, Damin, Gabro Maro), and small quantities spread from Oman ('Amlah, Bat) and the United Arab Emirates (Al Sufouh, Umm an-Nar, Hili) in the south, to Kerman (Tepe Yahya, Shahdad) in the west, to Seistan (Shahr-i Sokhta, Mundigak) in the north, and to Pakistani Baluchistan (Miri Qalat, Shah-i Tump, and Mehi) in the east (de Cardi, Collier and Doe 1976:fig. 16). Other types that find clear parallels within western Baluchistan include the squat beakers of the Persian Gulf room for which

Table 8.6. Radiocarbon dates from Shahr-i Sokhta Period IV.

Sample	Phase	Radiocarbon age	Calibrated age range B.C. (1 Sigma)	Calibrated age range B.C. (2 Sigma)	Reference
TUNC-63	IV0	3430 ± 70	1870–1840 (.15) 1780–1630 (.85)	1890–1530 (1.0)	RC 19:205 <sup>1</sup>
P-2072	IV0	3750 ± 60	2270–2250 (.09) 2210–2040 (.91)	2340–1970 (1.0)	RC 19:207
R-901a	IV0	3540 ± 50	1920–1860 (.43) 1850–1770 (.57)	2020–2010 (.01) 1980–1740 (.99)	RC 20:94
P-2071	IV0	3970 ± 60	2570–2520 (.30) 2510–2400 (.64) 2380–2360 (.06)	2620–2280 (1.0)	RC 19:207
R-898	IV1	3680 ± 50	2130–2070 (.44) 2050–1970 (.56)	2190–2160 (.06) 2150–1910 (.94)	RC 20:94
P-2073	IV1	3840 ± 60	2400–2370 (.12) 2360–2190 (.88)	2460–2130 (.99) 2070–2060 (.01)	RC 19:207
P-2070	IV1	4070 ± 60	2860–2820 (.16) 2660–2640 (.12) 2630–2490 (.72)	2870–2800 (.17) 2770–2720 (.07) 2700–2460 (.76)	RC 19:206
P-2069	IV1	3930 ± 60	2490–2320 (1.0)	2570–2270 (.95) 2260–2200 (.05)	Ehrich 1992:133
P-2068	IV1	4220 ± 60	2900–2860 (.23) 2820–2690 (.77)	2920–2620 (1.0)	Ehrich 1992:133
R-900	IV1	3730 ± 50	2190–2160 (.23) 2150–2040 (.77)	2280–1970 (1.0)	RC 20:94
R-2075	IV2	3950 ± 60	2560–2530 (.12) 2500–2340 (.88)	2590–2280 (.98) 2240–2210 (.02)	RC 19:206

Note: The figures in parentheses after the calibrated date ranges represent the relative area of that range under the probability distribution.  
1. RC is the journal *Radiocarbon*.

parallels exist at Bampur and Khurab, while comb-cised pottery and storage jars with raised snake cordons both find close parallels at Anjira in eastern Baluchistan. Thus all of these types, while quantitatively rare at Tepe Yahya, nonetheless point in an easterly direction, most notably towards the Bampur basin.

The phenomenon of ceramic vessels imitating *série récente* stone bowls seems to be yet another indication of a tie across the Straits of Hormuz linking Kerman and southeastern Arabia. That actual stone bowls of this type moved across the Gulf to sites in Iran is clear from their presence at sites such as Tepe Yahya (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:fig. 4cc–dd) and Susa (de Miroschedji 1973:pl. 6f–g). They are absent at Shahdad where, however, examples of so-called *série tardive*, the typical

soft-stone vessel of the Wadi Suq period in the Oman peninsula during the first half of the second millennium, occur (e.g., Hakemi 1997a:617, Fm. 2; 695, Ra. 4).

Finally, knobbed ware, known from sites as far afield as Tepe Yahya, Tell Asmar, Susa, and Tepe Giyan, is as yet too rare to allow its place of origin or origins to be determined. Nevertheless, the majority of examples cited clearly originate in the broadly defined “west” (i.e., Tell Asmar: Diyala region; Susa: Khuzistan; Tepe Giyan: Luristan).

As far as nonceramic chronological indicators go, the square-based alabaster flask has been described in the discussion of Phase IVB6, with its clear ties to the Bactrian world, as has the Persian Gulf-related stamp seal, which clearly points towards Dilmun (Bahrain) and

the central Gulf for its inspiration. Thus, in addition to interacting with a host of possible sites in Baluchistan, Tepe Yahya also seems to have been party to contacts overland linking the region with Bactria and Margiana, and to the south and west, linking Kerman with the Gulf at this time.

## PHASES IVB4, IVB3, IVB2, AND IVB1

### Chronological and Cultural Correlations

The same general picture applies in the succeeding phases. Diagnostic pottery types and selected comparanda are listed in tables 8.7 and 8.8. The most notable addition to the corpus of foreign material at this time is the truncated pot. As noted above, numerous parallels can be drawn to material found at sites in Turkmenistan, Bactria, and Margiana where the type is a leitfossil of the Namazga V period (Kohl 1984:119ff). Closer to the Soghun Valley we can find the same shape at, e.g., Khurab and Shahdad, and in northern Baluchistan at Mehrgarh. The published examples of this type are too numerous to cite but it is clear that the type is alien to southeastern Iran and native to the BMAC. Whether these in turn are to be associated with a suite of attributes reflecting an Indo-Aryan or Indo-Iranian population movement out of Central Asia into the Indo-Iranian borderlands (cf. Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992; Hiebert 1994; Parpola 1988) is a matter that cannot be answered on the basis of the Tepe Yahya material alone.

## CONCLUSION

At the risk of sounding terribly post-processual, I think it is only honest to say that the material from Periods IVC and IVB at Tepe Yahya certainly does have more than one "story" to tell us. The Proto-Elamite/Jamdat Nasr-related pottery, seals and sealings, Intercultural Style chlorite, Baluchistan-related ceramics (black-on-grey, incised greyware, black-on-orange, comb-incised, snake-cordoned), Central Asian material (truncated pots), and Omani or Gulf-related material (some of the pottery and seals) indicate different things about the site and seem to reflect cultural relations that may have operated on a variety of levels. Many years ago Lamberg-

Karlovsky and Tosi sketched out what they saw as the different interaction spheres in which Tepe Yahya and Shahr-i Sokhta played a role on the basis of many of these same material culture indices (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973). In essence, that sketch is still valid today. There may be more dots on the maps and slightly more chronological control than was available in 1973, but the basic principles remain true. Above all, what should be retained from their sketches is the notion that the different fossil indicators used (e.g., burnished greyware, black-on-grey ware, incised greyware, beveled-rim bowls, polychrome pottery) probably reflect not a few, but many different planes of activity, or interaction spheres, in which the sites involved played some role. Chlorite vessels may have been moving by means that were entirely different from alabaster vessels; snake-cordoned ware may have contained some particular commodity that made their distribution unique and quite unrelated to black-on-grey bowls, large black-on-orange jars, burnished greyware, comb-incised ware, or truncated pots. This is why the impression the site and its finds make on one reader, schooled perhaps in the archaeology of Mesopotamia and Khuzistan, or another more familiar with the Gulf, or another looking at things from the perspective of Central Asia, or yet another coming at the site from the vantage point of Baluchistan, will be necessarily very different. In this sense I maintain that the site of Tepe Yahya during Periods IVC and IVB has many stories to tell, none of which is all-inclusive or necessarily obvious and "correct," except in the sense that our material must be ordered chronologically in the most coherent fashion for the stories to have any credence whatsoever. The purpose of this report is largely to effect the organization of this material on spatial (architectural), stratigraphic, and chronological levels. I have presented some of the many stories suggested by that material. It remains for readers interested in the archaeology of the Indo-Iranian borderlands to use this material to refine those stories, reject them, and/or develop new ones out of the existing "stuff" of the excavation of a small, albeit significant, mound on the southeastern margin of Kerman province. So many tantalizing leads are provided by the Tepe Yahya finds that one can only hope excavation will resume in southeastern Iran in the not-too-distant future. To be certain, there are other sites with similar and differing orientations, waiting to be excavated in this corner of the Indo-Iranian borderlands.

**Table 8.7.** Diagnostic pottery types present in Phase IVB4, IVB3, and IVB2 contexts and selected comparanda.

Type	Examples	Comparanda cited in text	Region
Black-on-orange (stylized palm)	5.2.C	Bampur, Damin, Khurab, Maula	Baluchistan
Comb-incised pottery	5.2.A	Anjira Susa	Baluchistan Khuzistan
Snake-cordoned storage jar	5.18.A	Anjira, Damin, Khurab, Kulli 'Amlah, Al Sufouh, Bat, Bidya, Ghanadha, Shimal, Tell Abraq, Umm an-Nar Qalat al-Bahrain	Baluchistan Oman peninsula Bahrain
Truncated pots	5.2.F, 5.9.C, 5.17.H, I	Khurab, Mehi, Mehrgarh Dashly, Sapally-tepe	Baluchistan Bactria/Margiana

**Table 8.8.** Diagnostic pottery types present in Phase IVB1 contexts and selected comparanda.

Type	Examples	Comparanda cited in text	Region
Black-on-red/orange	6.12.G	Mundigak	Seistan
Black-on-tan/buff (wavy lines between horiz. bands)	6.5.B	Tepe Jalyan	Fars
Truncated pots	6.22.D	Khurab, Mehi, Mehrgarh Dashly, Sapally-tepe	Baluchistan Bactria/Margiana



## Chapter 9

# Reflections on the Production of Chlorite at Tepe Yahya: 25 Years Later

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When Karl Lamberg-Karlovsky invited me to write a “retrospective essay” on the corpus of carved soft-stone vessels from Tepe Yahya for this volume I agreed with both enthusiasm and some trepidation. While significant parts of my doctoral dissertation, *Seeds of Upheaval: The Production of Chlorite at Tepe Yahya and an Analysis of Commodity Production and Trade in Southwest Asia in the Mid-Third Millennium* (Kohl 1974) were published in a series of articles over the years (e.g., Kohl 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1986; Kohl, Harbottle, and Sayre 1979), the thesis itself was never published but just made available on the University Microfilms service from Ann Arbor. Since I finished the dissertation, several important corpora of related carved stone vessels were published (e.g., those from Tarut [Zarins 1978] and Shahdad [Hakemi 1997a, 1997b]), and the vessels from Yahya themselves had been reanalyzed and published in full (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988). Even prior to the complete publication of the Shahdad materials, Lamberg-Karlovsky (pp. 55–68) cited 544 examples of what I defined in my dissertation as “Intercultural Style” vessels; my dissertation only listed 292 such vessels. In other words, the primary database has expanded considerably over the last quarter century, and this basic fact meant that any retrospective examination of the chlorite vessels from Tepe Yahya would necessarily have to consider these more recently published materials.

Another source of concern was how to respond to the critics of my model of a complex commercial exchange network in finished commodities, semiprocessed goods, and raw materials that linked much of western Asia into a Bronze Age “world system” (Kohl 1978, 1989; Edens and Kohl 1993) in which structurally contrastive urban lowland centers or cores dominated highland resource-rich areas. Possehl (1986:73–90), for example, has argued against any systematic market exchange in the mid- to late third millennium B.C. between Sumer and Elam, on the one hand, and eastern Iran and the Indus borderlands, on the other. He emphasizes the social, not

economic, character of the exchange that linked different regional polities together in eastern Iran, and he insists that the exchanged products, including the carved soft-stone vessels, were produced to satisfy an indigenous eastern Iranian demand. The commodities that made their way farther west to southwestern Iran or Mesopotamia got there serendipitously via various unsystematic, *ad hoc* arrangements (p. 78). Amiet objects to the term Intercultural Style to refer to this corpus of related carved vessels (1986:132–139); it is too vague and inexact, and he prefers to identify them specifically as representative of the art or culture of Marhashi or, more generally, as trans-Elamite (i.e., eastern Iran). For Amiet, these vessels were most likely the products of seminomadic specialists, while the elaborate, roughly contemporaneous metals from Luristan were the products of itinerant, fully nomadic smiths (p. 135). Like the villages of Meluhhans in Mesopotamia, some of these mobile artisans made their way to Sumer and carved their vessels on demand. Neither Possehl nor Amiet believe that the evidence supports, as Lamberg-Karlovsky (1975a) and I argued, a complex, market-driven, merchant-directed trading network. Both perspectives require a considered response.

An additional related problem concerns the nature and locus of relevant archaeological research in the ancient Near East over the past quarter century. Archaeological excavations on the Iranian plateau, as well as farther east in Afghanistan, effectively ceased at the end of the 1970s, and there has been a corresponding cessation of field research in Iraq since the 1991 Gulf War. Meanwhile, archaeological investigations in Oman and the Persian/Arabian Gulf (e.g., Tosi 1986; Potts 1990b), and in northern Mesopotamia in Syria and in eastern Turkey (e.g., Stein et al. 1996) have flourished. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union made it possible for Western archaeologists to collaborate with scholars from the former Soviet Union; as a result, the works of archaeologists from the southern republics of the former Soviet Union have now

become much more familiar to Western scholars, and the archaeological discoveries from Central Asia (e.g., Hiebert 1994; Sarianidi 1998) and the Caucasus (e.g., Kushnareva 1997; Santrot 1996; Miron and Orthmann 1995) are regularly incorporated into large-scale reconstructions of the ancient Near East during Chalcolithic and Bronze Age times.

With specific reference to the chlorites, the documentation of the slightly later Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) in northwestern Afghanistan, southern Uzbekistan, and southeastern Turkmenistan has highlighted the complexity of Bronze Age developments in Amiet's trans-Elamite world and added fundamentally to our knowledge of interconnections across the Iranian plateau to Central Asia. The BMAC phenomenon—for lack of a better word—seems to begin at the end of the third and beginning of the second millennia or 2100–1900 B.C. and continues into the second millennium (cf. Hiebert 1994:77), and contains many distinctive artifacts made of chlorite or related soft-stones, including composite statuettes with detached white stone heads, two fragments of which have been found in context on the Gonur citadel (Sarianidi 1998:50–51); small, frequently incised perfume jars or vials; and squat kidney-shaped containers—all of which are quite distinctive from the Yahya chlorites.

However one prefers to model it, the evidence for Uruk “colonies” and settlers in western Iran and eastern Anatolia and for the so-called Uruk Expansion (Algaze 1993) or for some form of political and economic integration between northern and southern Mesopotamia beginning toward the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. underscores the scale and intensity of long-distance macro-interregional connections beginning roughly one thousand years prior to the beginning of the exchange of the elaborately carved soft-stone vessels. I completed my dissertation the same year that the spectacular archives at Ebla were unearthed (1974); the tablets found there, which overlap temporally with the beginning of the trade in the Intercultural Style vessels, have documented a flourishing “international” exchange of goods that linked together widely disparate areas of western Asia, and that even allow for the compilation of tables of equivalencies (relative values and rates of exchange; for example, cf. Pettinato 1981:184–227).

In short, all this steadily accumulating evidence for long-distance interconnections and exchange bolsters the model of a very complex, if not commercial, exchange network tied to the exchange of finished prestige goods, such as the carved soft-stone vessels. At the very least this evidence makes the model more credible since one of the counterarguments, cited extensively by Possehl

(1986:88–90) among others, for a later, much more substantial, maritime trade is based not only on cuneiform texts documenting this trade, but also implicitly on an evolutionary model denying such “rational” economic behavior for earlier periods. These earlier periods were supposedly still dominated by social and religious, not secular, profit-motivated concerns. This latter, somewhat romantic model has always seemed to me to be simplistic and ultimately related to the mistaken monolithic *Tempelwirtschaft* model for ancient Sumer (cf. Kohl 1974:444–457, 467–476). The exchange of the elaborately carved soft-stone vessels, which we now know continued at least well into the latter half of the third millennium (see below), overlaps with the later commercial trade documented by cuneiform texts that is referred to by Possehl. There is no necessary contrast between an earlier exchange system and a later trading network, though it is theoretically possible that the same vessels, presumably fulfilling the same prestige functions, could have been distributed by different means at different times. It simply is not clear. Nevertheless, the theoretical argument against commercial trade seems less robust in light of the new dates for the Tepe Yahya carved vessels and of this considerable additional evidence suggesting even earlier forms of tight political and/or economic integration extending back at least into the second half of the fourth millennium B.C.

### CHLORITE PRODUCTION AT TEPE YAHYA AND CHLORITE ARTIFACTS AT SHAHDAD

While the focus of my dissertation was on the production and distribution of the elaborately carved soft-stone vessels, it also documented chlorite artifacts found at Tepe Yahya throughout the occupation of the site from Neolithic through Iron Age times. This evidence clearly revealed that chlorite, an abundantly available local resource (fig. 9.1), was utilized continuously throughout this sequence. It was always a preferred, easily accessed material, and it was possible to document a continual local demand for chlorite and contrast this pattern of local utilization with the exponential increase of chlorite production during the later IVB period (Kohl 1974:42–43, 66, 73, 97). This dramatic increase in the number of chlorite artifacts recovered in proportion to the area excavated and the direct evidence for production in the form of waste flakes or debitage and numerous unfinished or partially worked objects (fig. 9.2) during the later four sub-phases of Period IVB were interpreted as due to a nonlocal or externally generated demand for the objects produced by the Tepe Yahya





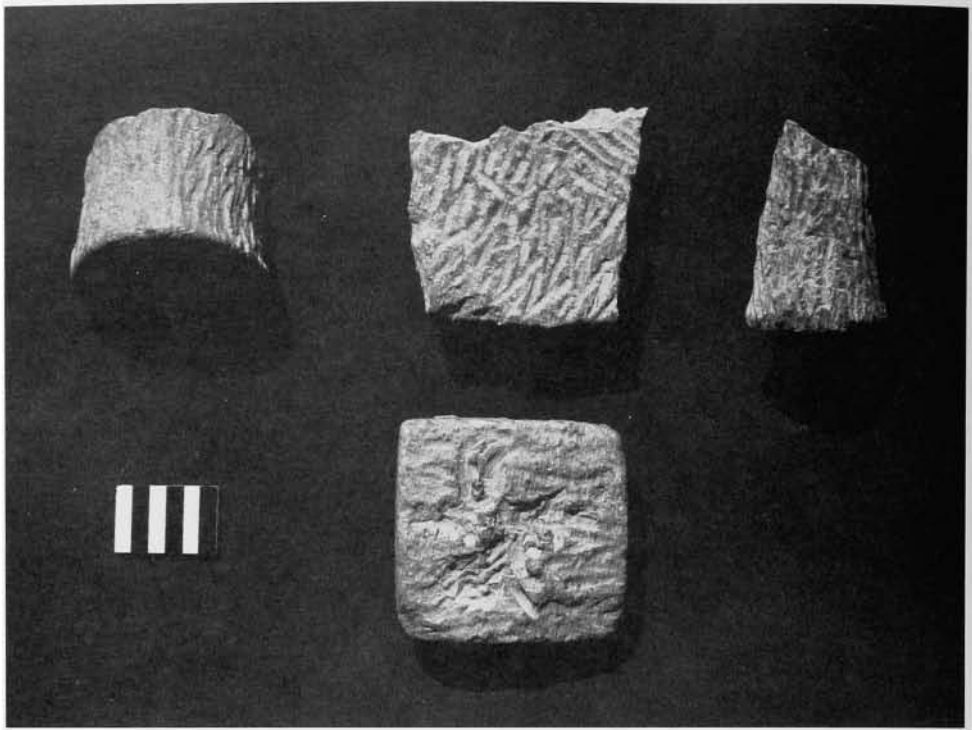
**Figure 9.1.** Outcrop of worked chlorite in the mountains immediately north of Tepe Yahya. Numerous outcrops were found with evidence of stone removal or quarrying. It was impossible to determine when such activity took place.

craftspeople; viz., the elaborately carved Intercultural Style vessels. This interpretation still seems valid, even straightforward, given the distributional evidence. The evidence for increased chlorite production and utilization during Period IVB is marked and unaffected by whether the occupation at Tepe Yahya during Period IV is continuous or, as now appears more likely, discontinuous (i.e., a substantial chronological gap separating Period IVC from IVB). The production of chlorite is qualitatively greater during Period IVB and tapers off during the subsequent IVA period.

Certain implications ineluctably follow. From the perspective of the Tepe Yahya artisans, the carved chlorite vessels were commodities; i.e., objects produced for exchange. That interpretation does not mean that they were not also locally utilized; undoubtedly, they were, though, sadly, direct evidence for local consumption at Tepe Yahya is essentially lacking, particularly since the burial grounds were never located. The use of the term “commodities” unfortunately carries certain anachronistic connotations. The carved chlorite vessels were highly valued luxury goods, as shown by their discoveries in elite “royal” burials and in temples in Mesopotamia;

some clearly were brought back as prized booty by victorious Mesopotamian kings, such as Rimus, presumably after sacking Elam and Barahsum (Klengel and Klengel-Brandt 1980:50–51). They were not mass-produced, nor meant for mass consumption. Rather at Tepe Yahya, at least, they were painstakingly produced by highly skilled artisans—handicrafts that must have commanded a high rate of exchange.

The related vessels found in the cemeteries at Shahdad suggest, as Possehl argued (1986), that they were valued by some of the local peoples of eastern Iran, though it is interesting to contrast their abundance on Tarut Island and Tepe Yahya (221 and 113 examples respectively [Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:59–64]) with their very occasional occurrence at Shahdad and their paucity or absence at other contemporaneous sites east of the Dasht-i Lut, such as at Shahr-i Sokhta, where only one Intercultural Style vessel was found despite the extensive excavations, and Bampur. The overall distribution of the Intercultural Style vessels is highly directional; that is, the vast majority of the vessels from neither Tepe Yahya nor Tarut Island are found in southern Mesopotamia, in the Diyala Valley, at Mari on the



**Figure 9.2.** Unfinished, partially worked vessel fragments from Tepe Yahya (Trench A, level 6, feature 7, 1975 season). The objects show how the vessels were shaped with a pointed implement prior to being smoothed by hand; the squarish plaque/seal(?) on the bottom seems to show a partially worked design of an eagle or bird (scale unit = 1 cm).

middle Euphrates, and at Susa in southwestern Iran. Evidence for their consumption in eastern Iran or the Indus borderlands is strikingly sparse, and this distributional evidence contradicts Possehl's model.

Chlorite artifacts occur quite frequently at Shahdad, but few actually can be listed as examples of the elaborately carved Intercultural Style vessels (seven examples [Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:58]). The greater and more convincing parallels to the Tepe Yahya chlorite corpus are to undecorated vessels, such as the bell-shaped bowls and the flat-based cups with slightly flaring or concave sides (Hakemi 1997a:605–607); tall goblets decorated with bands of triangles, chevrons, oblique lines, or incised schematic hut designs; and open bowls with flat rims and alternating incised annular and zigzag lines (Hakemi 1997a:609–611; the incised schematic hut designs were not found at Tepe Yahya). Most of the chlorite artifacts from Shahdad, such as compartmented boxes with lids, hut house models, and small vials or perfume jars typically decorated with the simple drilled concentric or dot-in-circle motifs, either occur only rarely or are not found at Tepe Yahya. These small vials or perfume jars, in particular, have been documented during the last quarter century on sites to the northeast in

Bactria and Margiana. The simplest explanation for the differences between the chlorite artifacts from Tepe Yahya and those from Shahdad is chronological; viz., the Shahdad cemeteries largely postdate the period of the externally stimulated, peak production of the Intercultural Style vessels at Tepe Yahya, though the fact that there is some overlap may also indicate that this observed difference is also cultural or spatial. The carved Intercultural Style vessels have a more southerly (marine-oriented?) distribution than the Shahdad chlorites. If the distinction between the Shahdad and Tepe Yahya corpora is not primarily chronological, then an alternative explanation is that the more elaborately carved vessels' characteristics of the Yahya corpus were exclusively targeted towards the urban markets to the west, and the objects the eastern Iranians maintained for themselves were poor imitations. This latter explanation seems less convincing and is undercut by the truly magnificent metals, statues, and other objects unearthed at Shahdad; they had and appreciated (and presumably produced) extremely sophisticated, aesthetically pleasing, and complex objects. In this context, the infrequent occurrence of the Intercultural Style vessels at Shahdad is striking.

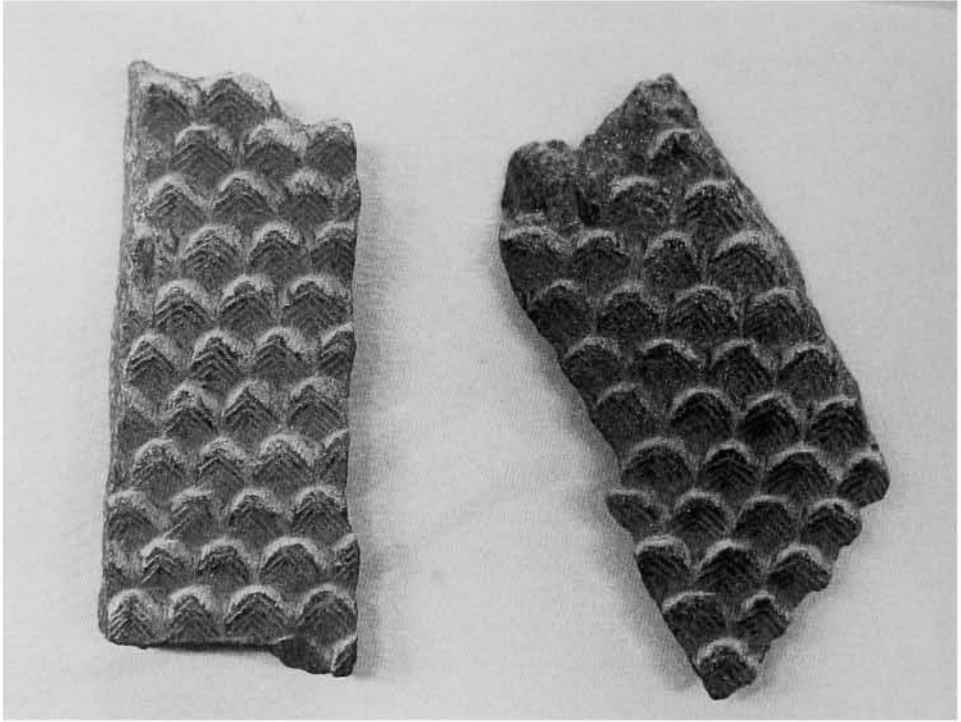


**Figure 9.3.** Large Intercultural Style vessel from trench grave PG 1633 at Ur showing bands of the beveled-square or brick design separated by wavy lines; the beveled-square motif is also common in the Tepe Yahya corpus. Note how the design covers the entire surface of the vessel, which is a characteristic feature of the Intercultural Style (approximately 26 cm in height).

Despite the abundance of chlorite at Shahdad, no raised-relief *figured* representations, such as those found at Tepe Yahya and Tarut Island, which are characteristic of some of the most famous examples from Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran, were found in the nearly 400 excavated graves. The few classic Intercultural Style vessels covered with overall raised representations, such as the beaker with the mat-weave design (Hakemi 1997a:200, obj. no. 0345, Grave 69) or the squat straight-sided vessel with imbricate motif (p. 208, obj. no. 0403, Grave 47), occur in graves that are difficult to interpret or contain few objects. Grave 39 contained thirteen ceramic vessels, a dot-in-circle decorated chlorite vial, a small alabaster bowl, and a blade fragment, in addition to the mat-weave Intercultural Style beaker. Besides the imbricate Intercultural Style vessel, Grave 47 contained only four ceramic pots plus a very elaborate shaft-hole copper/bronze axe with an incised, figured representation (fish?) on its blade (obj. no. 0402). The Shahdad graves are, at best, weakly bimodal

(“rich” vs. “poor”) in terms of number of objects found per burial. Some burials (e.g., Graves 36, 116, 122, 133, 140, 193, 291) contain more than twenty ceramic vessels in addition to stone and copper/bronze artifacts, but many of the most spectacular objects found at Shahdad are found in graves, like Grave 47, containing little else. Grave 114, for example, which yielded the famous copper/bronze “Standard of Shahdad” (obj. no. 1049), contained an additional five metal objects—vessels and tools, including a unique toothed saw (obj. no. 1046)—but only six ceramic vessels. Similarly, Grave 165, which contained a chlorite box with a lid decorated with the raised-whorl design of the Intercultural Style, had only four additional objects: a plain red ware jar, an alabaster goblet, and a copper/bronze knife and dagger.

Very roughly, then, the graves at Shahdad can be broken down into three basic types: (1) graves with relatively few ceramic vessels (less than fifteen) and a few metal and stone (chlorite and alabaster) artifacts; (2) well-equipped graves containing more than fifteen ceramic vessels and numerous metal and stone artifacts; and (3) graves that have relatively few objects, but contain one or two of the most elaborate or unique artifacts found at Shahdad. It is very difficult to interpret such a classification in terms of the status or social ranking of the buried individual. Chlorite vessels with Intercultural Style designs, sometimes quite schematically rendered (e.g., the vial with cut hut design from the “rich” Grave 291, obj. no. 3523), occur in all three grave types. The chlorite vessels from Shahdad are not only found in “rich” graves. The weak evident patterning makes it virtually impossible to distinguish elite from nonelite grave contexts, suggesting a relatively equal or shared distribution of wealth in their society. This pattern certainly contrasts with the context of the securely stratified examples of Intercultural Style vessels from the Mesopotamian sites of Khafajeh, Mari, Ur, and Nippur, which are found in temples and wealthy or “royal” burials (except for one example from the simple trench grave PG 1633 at Ur; cf. Kohl 1974:243–249; fig. 9.3). All one can say is that chlorite artifacts, like other “exotic materials,” if indeed they were such in this east Iranian context, were available and locally consumed in that they formed part of the standard burial offerings. It is simply unclear how these items made their way to the Shahdad cemetery, whether it was via some form of gift exchange or commercial trade, given the chronological distinction (the Shahdad cemeteries largely overlap with the subsequent Tepe Yahya Period IVA), or that some of the carved vessels may have been inherited or passed down, i.e., kept as heirlooms before finally being “consumed” as burial offerings. Whatever the process, it need not be, and probably was not, the same one that brought these



**Figure 9.4.** Intercultural Style vessel fragments from Uruk with overall-imbricate design. These fragments were smoothed on a lathe, a production technique not used in the Tepe Yahya Period IVB workshop (measurements not available).

elaborately carved, symbolically charged commodities to southwestern Iran and Mesopotamia.

The sharp quantitative increase in the production of chlorite at Tepe Yahya during Period IVB is not the only evidence to suggest an externally stimulated demand. It is also a question of what was produced during this period and what was produced before. As mentioned above, chlorite was an abundantly available local resource (fig. 9.1) and was utilized throughout the Tepe Yahya sequence. Some important and distinctive chlorite objects were found in the earliest periods at Tepe Yahya, including a female figurine (Beale 1986:200–202; figs. 7.25–7.29) and the infrequently reproduced, though very striking, human head with incised decoration (figs. 7.30c, 7.31, 7.32). Other finds include bracelets, beads, so-called shaft straighteners, and numerous unfinished and finished vessel fragments (listed in Beale 1986:appendix B). A few carved examples (Kohl 1974:54, pl. VIIa; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:cat. nos. 482, 452) appear already in Period IVC, though it is notable how exceptional such objects actually are. No Intercultural Style vessels are attributed to Period IVC, while more than seventy-five percent of all such vessels come from Period IVB levels and an additional twenty-two percent come from Period IVA; these

latter vessels may or may not have been heirlooms or produced during the earlier period IVB (cf. Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:47–53).

The point is that despite a tradition of working chlorite for over two millennia at Tepe Yahya (beginning ca. 5000 B.C.), there is no evolution or development of chlorite carving at Tepe Yahya in the distinctive Intercultural Style prior to the increase in chlorite production associated with Period IVB. The chlorite vessels just suddenly appear, and this evidence strongly suggests that the style does not develop locally, but answers to an externally stimulated demand. Despite Amiet's objections to the Intercultural Style designation and his insistence on seeing it as indigenous to eastern Iran (Amiet 1986:132–139), we really do not know the origin or origins of this style. Some of the figured representations, such as the lion-headed eagle motif, seem more at home in Mesopotamia, and some art historians, like Porada (1971), even tried to detect predynastic Egyptian influences on this style; if the latter suggestion is correct, our chronological problems become even greater and more puzzling. If the low chronology for Period IVB—advocated by Potts and now bolstered by the calibrated radiocarbon dates—is correct, then the east Iranian or trans-Elamite origin of this style becomes even more problematic. That is, if the most securely dated east



0 2 cm



**Figure 9.5.** Vessel fragment (exterior and interior) from the Sin Temple at Khafajeh. The exterior shows part of the characteristic combatant serpent motif with oval holes on its body for inlay. The interior has circular work marks that show that it was smoothed and finished on a lathe.

Iranian examples (those from Tepe Yahya) date primarily to the Akkadian period, and the most securely dated Mesopotamian examples date to the mid-third millennium or Early Dynastic II–III periods, then it becomes difficult to view the Iranian examples as original and the Mesopotamian examples as derivative. Thus, while the phrase “Intercultural Style” may not be the most felicitous or aesthetically pleasing label or term of reference, it does have the virtue of referring to a recognizable corpus of materials (cf. Kohl 1974:138–146) found in manifestly different cultural contexts. It also distinguishes the vessels with the raised-figured and more stylized ornamental representations of this style from the later, more schematic, incised designs that dominate, for example, the Shahdad corpus. Finally the term makes no unwarranted assumption as to the source(s) of origin of this shared style. For these reasons, it seems sensible to retain it.

The theory that the Intercultural Style vessels were produced by seminomadic craftspeople may be true, but it must be emphasized that there is no hard data to support it. The Shahdad craftspeople were city dwellers. We know that the actual settlement at Shahdad was vast, a true urban center, the remains of which extend over an area estimated at 400 ha (Salvatori and Tosi 1997:126). The 4 ha hamlet of Tepe Yahya was totally different, yet the level of chlorite workmanship, as seen in the finest carved examples found (figs. 9.8, 9.10, 9.11), exceeded that evident at Shahdad. Were these examples made by itinerant craftspeople? If such craftspeople were passing through or were only seasonally present to produce these fine works of art, why would they locate themselves on an abandoned settlement in the middle of the Sogun Valley, and not directly at the chlorite sources in the mountains north and west of the valley, where transhu-

mans graze their flocks today during the hot summer months? The richest chlorite-bearing late Period IVB levels at Tepe Yahya contain numerous ceramic vessels that show features of continuity with earlier ceramics from the site. Such continuity is puzzling in light of the apparent gap of several centuries between the end of Period IVC and the beginning of Period IVB. There are two explanations: (1) the later Period IVB inhabitants at Tepe Yahya, whose distant ancestors had carved chlorite for hundreds of years, continued to work this stone, but now produced elaborately carved vessels in a new, non-indigenous style; or (2) a new group of unknown origin occupied the abandoned site and carved vessels in a recognizable style that had been produced and traded for centuries prior to the Period IVB occupation at Tepe Yahya. If the latter interpretation is correct, then the ceramic continuities evident in the Tepe Yahya Period IVB levels are best seen as intrusive, though it is puzzling why there are so many of them. In neither case, however, is it necessary to conceptualize the Tepe Yahya lapidaries as pastoralist or seminomadic in origin.

Carving these vessels required considerable labor (Kohl 1977:121–123). The Tepe Yahya vessels were real handicrafts, evident from the stages of workmanship that can be reconstructed from the unfinished and finished vessel fragments. No lathes or bow drills were used to smooth chlorite until the much later Period III, and this feature contrasts with two examples of Intercultural Style vessels from Mesopotamia (e.g., figs. 9.4, 9.5). That is, it is clear just in terms of workmanship that some Intercultural Style vessels could *not* have been produced in the Tepe Yahya workshop, that there must have been other or multiple centers producing identically carved vessels. As expected with handcrafted



**Figure 9.6.** Two sides of ceremonial chlorite axe head with incised design of an eagle or bird from the chlorite-rich level of the Tepe Yahya Period IVB workshop (Trench BW, test trench 5, level 6A; approximately 13.4 cm in height).

production, the Tepe Yahya corpus also exhibits considerable diversity in terms of rendering of different motifs. The finest classic examples consist of the carved raised designs, characteristic of the Intercultural Style, such as the hut or architectural facade motif, and the entwined

serpent design with oval holes for inlay cut into the serpent's body and circular holes for an associated feline or other combatant. Other renditions of what seem to be the same serpent motif are quite distinct (cf. Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:pl. IX, top row right), and some



designs, particularly of birds, are incised rather than raised, such as appear on the unique ceremonial axe and the unique lid, possibly to a compartmented box (figs. 9.6, 9.7).

It can be convincingly argued, I believe, that the recurring repertoire of Intercultural Style motifs degenerate or become cruder and more schematic over time.

For example, these motifs are seen in some of the hut design objects from Shahdad, e.g., the vial from Grave 291 (obj. no. 3523), which combines the later concentric or dot-in-circle motif characteristic of the *série récente* (de Miroschedji 1973) with a crudely cut hut motif, or in finds from farther east, e.g., the incised serpents on the soft-stone kidney-shaped containers or palettes from



**Figure 9.7.** Grooved lid (exterior and interior) that is a unique object from Tepe Yahya, possibly a lid to a compartmented box, which is common at Shahdad and other sites north and east of Yahya. The exterior has an incised depiction of an eagle on the top and bands of incised triangles running along the sides. Approximately 10.5 cm wide.



southern Bactria (Pottier 1984:pl. XLII, figs. 312a, b), or the crudely incised hut design on a "steatite" lid apparently found on the surface at Gonur in southern Turkmenistan (cf. Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992:8, fig. 3). Nevertheless, the Tepe Yahya corpus clearly demonstrates that this trend is not universal; elaborately raised and more schematically rendered incised designs occur together in the same chlorite-bearing levels, confounding the best efforts of art historians to disentangle them. This diversity is characteristic of handicraft production; some objects are nicely rendered, others less so.

### ANALYTICAL EVIDENCE, THE CHLORITE VESSELS FROM TARUT ISLAND, AND THE MARITIME MOVEMENT OF MATERIALS

As part of my original dissertation, I conducted physical and chemical analyses on carved and uncarved samples of chlorite from Tepe Yahya, from chlorite outcrops or source samples collected in the mountains immediately north and west of Yahya, and from artifacts, particularly from the Intercultural Style vessels, found on sites from Mesopotamia in the west to Shahr-i Sokhta in eastern Iran. While this analytical study was innovative in certain respects, it also suffered from some serious limitations. The first and most important unsolved difficulty related to the insufficient and unrepresentative number of collected geological source samples. Chlorite is a mineral that occurs fairly commonly and it can be formed by different geological processes throughout broad zones of deposits that extend for hundreds of miles and contain chlorites of different types. Although vast areas of Southwest Asia lack detailed geological surveys, chlorite deposits are known to occur within the Arabian peninsula to the south and on the Anatolian plateau to the north, or, in other words, throughout the very broad area where these carved vessels were distributed. Chlorite essentially can be found in a belt that extends nearly the entire length of the Zagros Mountains, and samples were available only from the immediate environs of Tepe Yahya. The second difficulty was due to the fact that chlorite is a metamorphic rock that can exhibit considerable chemical and physical variation within a given source or even within a single artifact! Such variation is hardly conducive to a successful archaeological provenience study.

With the help of Dr. E. V. Sayre, who was then at Brookhaven National Laboratory, twenty-six samples were submitted to neutron activation analysis. The range of element concentrations was very great, suggesting

that the parameters for group formation would have to be broadened considerably from those typical of studies on more amenable materials, such as clays/ceramics and obsidian. Multiple drillings on a single handheld specimen showed considerable variation, and suggested that neutron activation or trace chemical element analyses would not be the most appropriate analytical techniques. Fortunately, this initial run also revealed unexpectedly high concentrations of iron oxide in the samples from Yahya in southeastern Iran and from the neighboring source deposits; this finding led us to question the previous mineral identification of these materials as steatite, and we began to determine their mineral compositions by submitting them to X-ray diffraction analysis. We soon realized that the vast majority of collected samples, especially the Intercultural Style vessels, were made of chlorite and/or chlorite compounds mixed with other minerals, such as dolomite, quartz, and serpentines. Thus, at the outset, we corrected a glaring misidentification in the archaeological literature.

As the work proceeded, we realized we could further break down the relatively pure chlorite samples through a semiquantitative analysis of the relative intensities of their basal plane peak reflections (Kohl, Harbottle, and Sayre 1979:140-146). By obtaining X-ray diffraction patterns for 360 artifacts and source samples and by studying the relative intensity of the basal plane peak reflections of the "pure" chlorites, we were able to break down the corpus according to their simple mineral identification—various nonchlorites, chlorites, and chlorite mixtures or compounds—and tentatively, at least, distinguish between at least four separate groups, probably representing four separate sources of chlorite. Of the 360 tested artifacts 311 proved to be "pure" chlorites. A semiquantitative analysis of the basal plane peak reflections was conducted on 305 of the "pure" chlorites, including 93 Intercultural Style samples that constituted eighty-five percent of the Intercultural Style samples analyzed by X-ray diffraction. In other words, fifteen percent of the 109 Intercultural Style samples (or 16 total) were not "pure" chlorites, but were other minerals or mixtures. The basal plane peak analysis statistically broke the 93 Intercultural Style "pure" chlorites into four groups, presumably representative of four separate chlorite sources, and these were interpreted archaeologically (Kohl 1974:298-327).

The archaeological implications of the work were significant and, to some extent, unexpected. Certain, though not all, Sumerian sites seemed to obtain their material from separate sources and *not* from the single documented production workshop at Tepe Yahya. The Mesopotamian site of Bismaya (or Adab) was particularly distinctive since most of its analyzed samples were

actually made from steatite. The clustering of the Intercultural Style "pure" chlorites broke into groups preliminarily identified as (1) a Sumerian (southern Mesopotamian and Diyala Valley) group; (2) a Susa-Mari-Yahya group, the source presumably being the chlorite found in the Yahya area; (3) a group with samples dominantly from Susa and Mari; and (4) a final group with samples from Susa, Adab (again being distinctive even in its "pure" chlorites), and the Persian/Arabian Gulf (containing some of the tested samples from Tarut and Failaka). The analytical work clearly demonstrated that there had been multiple production centers, carving complicated, iconographically identical designs on vessels destined for the temples and wealthy graves in urban centers far removed from where the stone was quarried and, at least for some of the vessels, worked.

The chlorite sources were impossible to precisely "fingerprint," and the statistical divisions into these groupings were not as tight and certain as is commonly achieved in provenience studies of obsidian artifacts, for example. Nevertheless, the distinction between Sumer (southern Mesopotamia and the Diyala Valley), on the one hand, and Tepe Yahya, Susa, and Mari, on the other, was clear and explicitly noted (cf. Kohl 1974:315–316). This evidence now is consistent with the downdating of the Yahya workshop and its carved vessels to the later third millennium. That is, while the apparent association between the Yahya source and some of the carved samples from late Early Dynastic contexts at Mari remains problematic, the analytical work demonstrated that the earlier Sumerian examples were not produced in the Yahya area. An important and, at the time, unobserved demonstration is the central role of Susa in receiving chlorites, including apparently finished carved examples, from several different source areas; some of these materials seem to have reached Susa via a maritime route (particularly, those forming the fourth group above). Susa may have played a particularly significant role importing these vessels over a considerable period of time, including when the chlorite workshop at Tepe Yahya was operative.

More strikingly, the soft-stone artifacts analyzed from the small island of Tarut just off the Arabian coast and north of Dhahran and Bahrain also proved to be highly distinctive, suggesting that Tarut was an emporium or transshipment center for these vessels and/or for the semiprocessed and unworked raw materials (partially worked fragments were found at Tarut, including those with combatant snake designs; cf. Zarins 1978:pl.75b, no. 605, pl. 72b, nos. 110, 251). The stone vessels from Tarut were made from several distinctive minerals, including relatively pure chlorite, talc or

steatite, a talc-chlorite mixture, chlorite-quartz, chlorite-andradite, phlogopite, and muscovite schist. The tiny island of Tarut was receiving its soft stones—in unfinished and/or finished forms—from several different source areas. Lathe-turned vessels (Zarins 1978:pl. 72b, no. 501) were also found at Tarut. This production technique was never used in the late Period IVB workshop at Yahya. Unfortunately, the precise archaeological contexts of the carved vessels from Tarut are unclear, and other recovered objects, particularly the ceramics, range in date from Early Dynastic I through Ur III times (excluding the even later Hellenistic materials found on the island). The Tarut corpus also contains more than fifty examples of vessels decorated with the later concentric circle or dot-in-circle motifs, and Zarins (1978:66) suggests that the limited stratigraphic work undertaken on the island confirms the basic division between an earlier Early Dynastic period in which the carved "green steatite" vessels were recovered and a later Old Akkadian to Ur III period in which the "grey steatite" vessels with concentric circles were found, the source for the latter presumably being the mountains of Oman (cf. Crawford 1998:44–50).

Undecorated soft-stone vessels were also recovered at Tarut. These include the bell-shaped bowls with raised circular bases (e.g., no. 33 in the Tarut catalogue; Zarins 1978), which are also found at Yahya, Shahdad, and, most notably, at Ur (stone vessel types 49–51 from the Royal Cemetery) where they were so designated by Sir Leonard Woolley (Woolley 1934). It is instructive to consider these undecorated bell-shaped bowls in greater detail (cf. Kohl 1974:263–268). Twenty-six such vessels were found at Ur, twenty-four of which could be assigned a date on stylistic or stratigraphic grounds. Twenty of the twenty-four bell-shaped bowls from Ur are dated to the Early Dynastic III period, while the remainder are dated to Akkadian times. The association between the uncarved bell-shaped bowls and the decorated Intercultural Style vessels is clear: seven bell-shaped bowls were recovered from Pu-abi's tomb at Ur (PG 800), and this tomb also contained two Intercultural Style vessels. The bell-shaped bowls, like the carved Intercultural Style vessels, are characteristically found in wealthy elite or "royal" contexts at Ur. Some of the bowls from Ur are quite large; one from Pu-abi's tomb, for example, stood 40 cm high with a rim diameter of 53 cm (U. 10528; see also U.10519 in Woolley 1934: 558–559). This vessel must have weighed several pounds, and it would have been difficult to import such a heavy and fragile vessel into Mesopotamia as a finished object in any manner other than by sea. The presence of these bowls at Tarut suggests that this was the case, and such maritime-directed trade is also supported

by the X-ray diffraction analytical data of the soft-stone vessels from Tarut (as discussed above). The bell-shaped bowls found at Yahya and Shahdad are also helpful for clarifying certain sticky chronological difficulties to which we turn below.

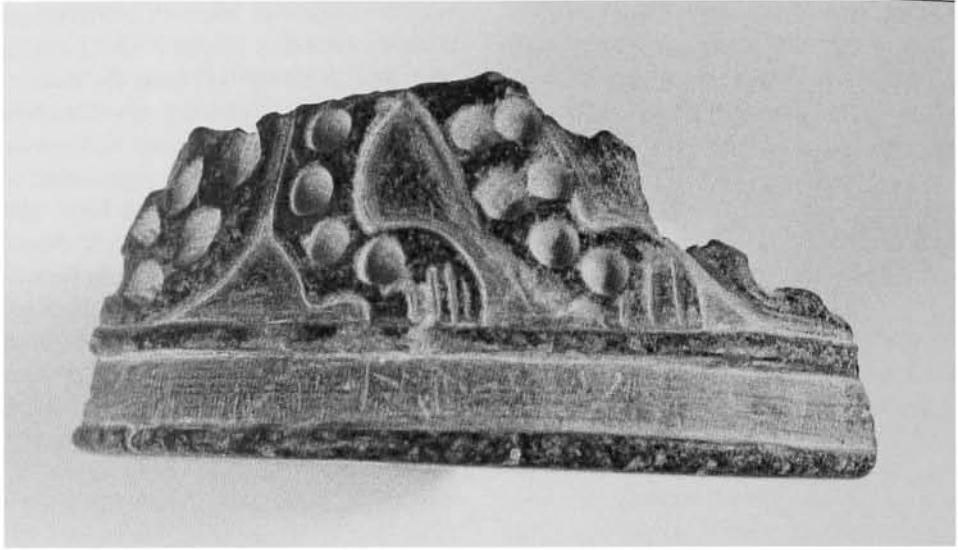
### CHRONOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS AND CONTEXTS

The new radiocarbon evidence (table A.1, p. 276) apparently resolves the major chronological problem in favor of the low chronology advocated by Potts (this volume) and Amiet (1986). Specifically, the new radiocarbon determinations indicate that Period IVB at Tepe Yahya dates principally to the Akkadian period and possibly to the immediate post-Akkadian period. This dating confirms that the chlorite produced at Yahya, specifically the carved and uncarved vessels that are so similar to those found in Mesopotamia, were actually produced later than their Mesopotamian counterparts. The argument for an extremely short period of carved chlorite production at Yahya was based not only on their profuse occurrence in the later Period IVB levels and their apparent contemporaneity with nearly all of the securely stratified examples from Mesopotamia to late Early Dynastic or mid-third-millennium times, but also on the theoretical argument that a long-distance trade in such highly specific, finished commodities would have been inherently unstable. The first part of this reconstruction—that the Yahya workshop may have functioned only for a *relatively* short time (a few hundred years?)—may still be correct, but the latter argument—that viewed the Intercultural Style as a short-lived phenomenon or a horizon style—was overstated at the time and now appears glaringly incorrect. Some matters clearly need to be rethought.

The “low” dating of Period IVB at Tepe Yahya has two immediate implications. First, the fact that this period with its six sub-phases is *relatively* short and continuous, along with the stratigraphic evidence for chlorite commodity production, suggests an initial period of development (Period IVB, Phases 6–5), followed by the take-off or period of peak chlorite production (Phases 4–1). Second, the argument for direct continuity between Periods IVB and IVA period is enhanced. How is this continuity reflected in the chlorite corpus? Undecorated bell-shaped bowls are found at Tepe Yahya in both the later phases of Period IVB and in the subsequent Period IVA. While it is always possible that chlorites found in Period IVA levels at Yahya could have been produced in the earlier period when chlorite production was at its height and kept as heirlooms, their

numbers and their relatively common occurrence at Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:605–606) suggest that they were still produced following the main period of the Intercultural Style vessel production. Similarly, open bowls with zigzag line(s) or line(s) decorated with incised triangles running beneath a pointed or ledge rim occur in both Period IVB and IVA contexts at Tepe Yahya (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:78–81, figs. 3–4) and probably were produced during both periods. Similar vessels have also been found at Susa and Ur (Kohl 1974:220–224), and possibly related fragments decorated with wavy lines have also been found in Margiana (Sarianidi 1998:50, figs. 7, 9, 18). Vessels with such simple designs could have been and probably were produced over a long period of time. The chlorite goblet with flaring sides and two registers of incised triangles from Tepe Yahya (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:78, fig. 3I), which comes from a Period IVA level, is closely paralleled by a taller, similarly shaped and decorated goblet from Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:610, obj. no. 0485) and from the Khurab cemetery (Stein 1937:pl. VI).

This list could be extended and probably also applies to some of the “classic” Intercultural Style motifs, such as the “whorl” (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:78, fig. 3B, pl. Xb) and imbricate (Hakemi 1997a:208, obj. no. 0403) designs. Since we know that the Intercultural Style was not a horizon style, exclusively produced during the mid-third millennium, it is possible, if not likely, that some of the designs and forms continued to be produced during the Tepe Yahya Period IVA. The whorl-design vessel from Yahya was found resting on the floor of a Period IVA room, while other fragments depicting this motif are found in Period IVB contexts. The imbricate-design vessel from Shahdad closely resembles the only Intercultural Style vessel found at Shahr-i Sokhta (though it is shorter with a wider diameter; cf. Kohl 1977:fig. 1), and both of these vessels with their designs covering their entire surfaces are much the same as the vessel fragments from Uruk (fig. 9.4). Vessels with these motifs may still have been produced after the floruit of this style at Tepe Yahya during Period IVB. It also remains possible, however, that such rare or unique objects at Shahdad and Shahr-i Sokhta and their isolated Yahya Period IVA occurrences are heirlooms kept after the time they were made. It is difficult to choose between these alternative explanations. Lamberg-Karlovsky’s catalogue (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988) of the Intercultural Style vessels from Yahya counted twenty-seven fragments in this style (22 percent of the total number of Intercultural Style vessel fragments from Tepe Yahya), which were recovered from Period IVA contexts, though that figure might be somewhat reduced by excluding some of the examples with incised



**Figure 9.8.** Combatant serpent and feline vessel fragment found in secondary context at Tepe Yahya (Period I; approximately 9.4 cm wide at base).

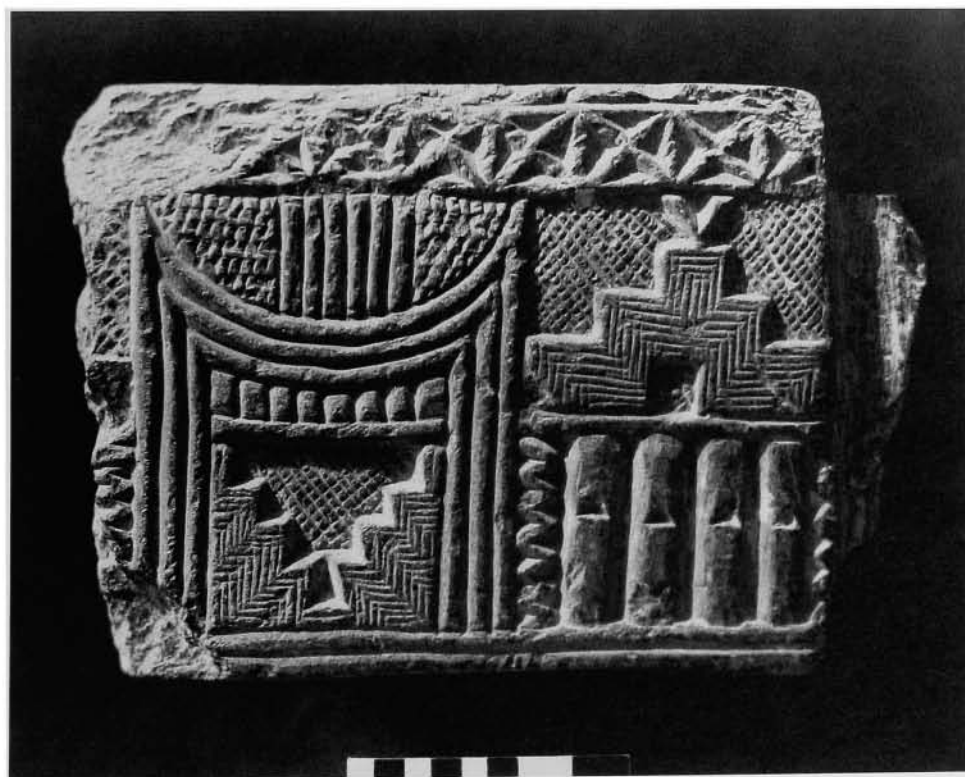
triangles and zigzag line motifs discussed above (i.e., not considering them as representative of this style). In other words, it is not always clear what to include and what to exclude from the Intercultural Style corpus; several of the Period IVA Intercultural Style vessel fragments from Tepe Yahya would only be listed in the more inclusive definition of the style.

It is important to emphasize the secondary contexts and/or reuse of some of the most elaborately carved (and most frequently published) chlorite artifacts from Tepe Yahya. Three examples illustrate the point. The first example is the combatant snake and feline (?) fragment (fig. 9.8; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:78, fig. 3G, pl. IV, lower left). This base fragment depicts both the oval holes for inlay on the serpent's body and the circular holes on the feline's or other combatant's body, and the design itself begins above a raised band that separates the base from the design. The manner of separation of the design from the base by a raised band is identical to a combatant serpent and eagle vessel found by J. Peters in a mixed Ur III context at Nippur in southern Mesopotamia at the end of the last century (fig. 9.9). The Yahya fragment was found together with undecorated stones that formed the foundation to a Period I wall. It had clearly been removed from its original context and obviously held no special meaning for the later inhabitants who built the wall. The second example is the hut plaque with pillars and stepped tower or architectural facade (fig. 9.10; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988: pl. VIII). It was found on the north side of the mound, lying face

down beneath the plastered floor of a Period IVA house. Its pillars or columns closely resemble those depicted on a vial or hut/house model from Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:624, obj. no. 4077). The color of this plaque, a light greenish brown, is highly distinctive for the Yahya chlorites, and its Period IVA context with the Shahdad parallel may argue for its later production during Period IVA times. Again, however, the context of its discovery makes this interpretation moot. The fragment, which was broken on both sides, had been deliberately placed in a position where the hut motif could not be seen; it may or may not have retained some symbolic significance or prestige value for the individual who had placed it there. Finally, the third example is what appears to be part of a padlock-shaped carved "weight" fragment (cf. Muscarella 1993) with representations of a date palm with drooping fronds on one side, and a humped bull with a scorpion and possible fly representation on the other (fig. 9.11; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988:pl. VII); it was found in the AN2 deep sounding cut down from the center of the mound in a presumably primary context in an appropriate Period IVB level. This weight, possibly damaged during its manufacture, had a large hole cut through its center, apparently so that it could function as a door socket. Whatever meaning this object originally was intended to have clearly had been supplanted or overlooked so that it could fulfill a much more prosaic function. No other obviously reused Intercultural Style vessels have been found in Mesopotamia, a contrast that underscores the fact that the carved vessels, weights, and



**Figure 9.9.** Combatant serpent and eagle vessel from Nippur. Note how the design is raised above the base like the fragment from Tepe Yahya (fig. 9.8) (scale = 15 cm).



**Figure 9.10.** Tepe Yahya plaque with hut and architectural facade motif (scale = 10 cm).



**Figure 9.11.** Two sides of Tepe Yahya “weight”(?) fragment apparently reused as door socket during IVB times. One side depicts date palms, and the other has a representation of a humped bull with a scorpion set above its back. Object shown at fifty percent of size.

plaques found there were exotic imports and were not as readily discarded or reused as they were where they were produced, such as the Period IVB workshop at Tepe Yahya.

The humped bull-scorpion motif is found on a similar well-known object from a late Early Dynastic temple context at Agrab (fig. 9.12; Frankfort 1936; Amiet 1977:366, fig. 298), a parallel that strikingly illustrates the specificity of these design elements and their meaningful or iconographic character. Such specificity and coincidence in the design motifs and their obvious iconographic character drove the seemingly secure chronological link between Yahya Period IVB and the mid-third millennium; this correlation now appears to be incorrect by as much as 300 years or so. Such continuity in the production of closely related objects, which *must* have been produced at different workshops over an extended period of several hundred years, underscores the ritual/sacred nature of these objects. In other words, the incredible conservatism in the style of the representations is best explained by the ritual, meaningful character of their imagery.

The iconography of the serpent motif illustrates this point further. Snakes do not have ears, nor are the scales

on their bodies oval in shape, but these two specific features are characteristic of the depiction of the most elaborately carved representations of serpents on the Intercultural Style vessels. This distinctively rendered “serpent” probably represents a well-known mythological creature. Frequently, the serpent or serpents are depicted in combat or opposed to one another or to another animal—typically a lion or an eagle (fig. 9.13). Two serpents appear in opposition to one another on a characteristic (and easily recognizable) padlock-shaped “weight” or what Durrani (1964:88) termed a “stone ritual slab with handle,” which was accidentally discovered in the subsidiary Soch River Valley of the Ferghana Valley in Uzbekistan (fig. 9.14; Brentjes 1971). This object is unique in terms of its context. It is a total outlier and represents the northeasternmost example of an Intercultural Style artifact. It is simply impossible to determine how this object ended up in Soch, Uzbekistan, particularly since nothing comparable has been found on the extensive excavations of the Bronze Age sites of Bactria and Margiana, which are, of course, later. Yet this object shares these very specific features with objects found far to the south and west. If anything, the recognition that the Intercultural Style vessels were



**Figure 9.12.** Plaque or “weight”(?) fragment from Agrab in the Diyala Valley with a humped bull and scorpion design similar to figure 9.11.

0 5 cm



**Figure 9.13.** Back side of the famous colored and inlaid vessel from Level VIIB in the Inanna Temple at Nippur. The inscription “Inanna and the Serpent” seems to identify the feline with the Mesopotamian deity, though it may very well have been secondarily cut into the vessel.

produced over an extended period of time (possibly 300 years or more) only complicates our understanding of the exchange system or systems that were ultimately responsible for their distribution; more, not less, complexity is suggested.

The list of reworked objects or artifacts found out of their original context from Tepe Yahya could easily be extended. The “heirloom” problem at Yahya is not hypo-

thetical, but real. Are all the Intercultural Style vessels from Yahya produced only during one relatively short period (corresponding to the final sub-phases of Period IVB), as I suggested in my dissertation, or does their manufacture continue into subsequent Period IVA times? It can be argued either way. The Mesopotamian examples largely date to late Early Dynastic times, though as Potts (pp. 199–200) observes, there are some





**Figure 9.14.** Combatant serpents on padlock-shaped “weight” from the Soch Valley in Uzbekistan. This unique chlorite find from Central Asia shows the serpents with ears and the oval holes for inlays on their bodies (measurements not available).

Intercultural Style vessels that are securely dated to the Akkadian period, and the Yahya corpus now appears to largely coincide with this later period of production. The apparently related carved chlorite vessels found at Failaka may suggest that the maritime-directed trade in these vessels continued still later, possibly even into the early second millennium. As I remember the Failaka materials, however, their designs were highly distinctive and not characteristic of the “classic” Intercultural Style vessels, such as are found at Yahya; until the Failaka vessels are properly published, it is impossible to deal with them adequately.

As suggested above, the uncarved bell-shaped bowls, the goblets with incised designs, and some of the open bowls with simple lines of zigzags or incised tri-

angular designs most likely continued to be produced during the subsequent Period IVA, and this may or may not have been true for some of the vessel fragments with certain simpler “classic” motifs, such as those with the mat, imbricate, or whorl patterns. Nevertheless, I believe the Tepe Yahya chlorite corpus can be readily distinguished from that at Shahdad, which in turn can be distinguished from that at Shahr-i Sokhta (cf. Kohl 1977), and both of these corpora differ from the characteristic chlorite and soft-stone artifacts found on sites throughout Bactria and Margiana. Are these latter distinctions chronological or spatial/cultural? They are probably a bit of both. Certainly, there is considerable overlap between the materials found at Shahdad and those attributed to sites from Bactria and Margiana (cf.

Sarianidi 1998:139, fig. 71). Some of the objects from Shahdad could have been produced in northern Afghanistan or vice versa, and it is also true that many of the Bronze Age sites in Bactria and Margiana continued to be occupied well into the second millennium B.C. The bulk of the Yahya chlorites are earlier and related principally, I believe, to a Gulf-centered trade in finished commodities and raw materials. Subsequently this trade gave way to the influx of new peoples (Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992) and the emergence of new population centers and artisan communities who communicated with each other and exchanged "exotic materials" across overland routes linking eastern Iran and western Central Asia.

### FINAL THOUGHTS: CHLORITES AS COMMODITIES

What then of the argument that the vessels were traded or that they represent part of an extensive commercial network largely directed by profit-seeking Mesopotamian merchants? How does the redating of the Tepe Yahya Intercultural Style vessels affect this model? The picture I painted twenty-five years ago seems cloudier and fuzzier, even without this new dating evidence; youthful certainties give way to middle-aged doubts and questionings, a perfectly natural, if depressing, process. The realization that the carved vessels were produced over an extended period of time muddies the waters even further. Despite these caveats, the commercial trading model still appears to me to be plausible, though it is not necessarily the only means by which these materials were distributed; other mechanisms, such as gift exchanges, marriage alliances, tribute, booty brought back from conquest, and the like, undoubtedly were also at work. It simply must be acknowledged that the vessels could have wound up in their final elite burial and temple contexts by a variety of different means. One of the arguments for a competitive, merchant-driven trading network is that there were known multiple production centers for a very specific type of prestige good; viz., the Intercultural Style vessels. If the vessels themselves are produced over a period of several hundred years, some of these centers, like the Yahya workshop, were not functioning simultaneously but sequentially. One production center simply replaced another for some unknown reason such as the abandonment of old or the occupation of new areas due to shifting political alliances, movements of peoples, climatic/environmental changes, etc. In particular, the analytical evidence from Tarut with its variety of distinct mixtures of minerals and chlorites is still most reasonably interpreted as

evidence that multiple workshops and/or soft-stone source areas were engaged in the production and distribution of these objects at the same time. The concept of Yahya as an exploited highland peripheral area dependently linked to a dominant Mesopotamian core also needs to be rethought. We never found the Yahya artisans, but it is hard to argue that the later ones exhumed at Shahdad were badly exploited; rather, on the basis of the diffuse distribution of finely crafted goods in the Shahdad cemetery, everyone there seems pretty well-off.

The network(s) or other means responsible for the exchange of these finished prestige goods must be more, not less, complicated than previously imagined, if these vessels indeed were produced and exchanged over a period of several hundred years. The fact that the elaborately carved vessels appear so suddenly and the evidence for chlorite production increases so dramatically in the Period IVB levels at Yahya suggests that they were produced to answer a demand; someone wanted them. This pattern of sudden appearance likely characterized other workshops producing these vessels as well. Different workshops—functioning simultaneously, sequentially, or both—fulfilled the needs of different urban centers or markets (for example, as supported by the analytically distinctive and diverse soft-stone vessels found at Bismaya). The evidence readily lends itself to a commercial exchange model, though one that is qualified by the necessary caveats against anachronisms. These luxury goods are commodities only in the sense of being produced for exchange and consumption by elites. I do not wish to be dubbed an ethnocentric formalist, but I still believe this data is consistent with the model of merchants competing to meet orders or requests for such goods; such a model is consistent with the cuneiform evidence from Ebla and with what is known for the Old Assyrian trading network, an analogy to an exchange system that is no longer so chronologically removed from the period of the production of the vessels at Yahya. Undoubtedly, the rise and fall of production centers like Tepe Yahya, or even cities of artisans like Shahdad, are related to shifting political alliances in the trans-Elamite world, formations that can only be dimly discerned archaeologically.

Other mechanisms, besides commercial exchange, were responsible for the distribution of these vessels. Some of the vessels certainly were brought back to Mesopotamia as royal booty. The "elites" in eastern Iran or in Amiet's trans-Elamite world are hardly the peers of their urban contemporaries to the west; rather, there is little evidence for social differentiation at Shahdad and elsewhere in eastern Iran, the Indus borderlands, and Central Asia. Of course, when it is advantageous to do so, royal elites can overlook status distinctions and treat

their inferiors as equals; hence, all those Mesopotamian references to the "kings" of Magan and of other areas east of Sumer. The exchange of gifts among such "royal" personages is another viable explanation for the distribution of the Intercultural Style vessels and of other such finished commodities and prestige goods. If gift exchange was the preferred mechanism and the "elites" of the trans-Elamite world were so diffuse or so broadly distributed throughout their societies, then there must have been a considerable amount of gifts given in return. In either case—commercial or gift exchange—Mesopotamia must have produced its own commodities or surplus goods to participate in the exchange network.

Obviously in order to exchange something, it must first be produced. Ultimately what is produced and exchanged will be consumed, even if such consumption takes the peculiarly nonutilitarian and paradoxically productive—in the sense of being removed from circulation—form of a burial good, which is the favorite findspot of the Intercultural Style vessels (save for those recovered to date from Tepe Yahya). Whether the communities producing such prestige goods exchanged them as gifts or traded them as commodities, they must have received something in return, but the imports or gifts from Mesopotamia and other urban centers to the west remain as recalcitrantly invisible as ever. If Sarianidi (1998:50) is correct in seeing the later composite soft-stone statuettes from Bactria and Margiana as portraying "seated grand dames in rich Sumerian dresses," then there possibly may be a little more evidence today for the trade of wool and woolen textiles or at least for the diffusion of styles of clothing. Such "evidence" admittedly is very elusive and unsatisfactory.

Getting the chronology straight and reconceptualizing how the materials were exchanged are important exercises but are not ultimately central for assessing the real significance of the corpus of chlorite artifacts from Tepe Yahya. Regardless of the date of the Yahya workshop and whether Mesopotamian *tamkar* or merchants were directly involved, the evidence still overwhelmingly documents that the Yahya artisans were laboriously carving extremely distinctive objects, at least some of which had highly specific meanings or were symbolically charged, that were meant to be exchanged to satisfy an external or nonindigenous demand. That is, these lapidaries were producing commodities not for local, but principally for foreign consumption. The analytical evidence also is unequivocal. Tepe Yahya was not the sole production center for these vessels but only one of several, some of which functioned simultaneously and some sequentially. It is likely that some materials were exchanged as unworked or semiprocessed objects. Other objects clearly moved as finished goods having

been quarried, hollowed out, smoothed, carved, and occasionally painted and inlaid—all of these activities were performed in a small four ha village such as Tepe Yahya (fig. 9.15).

Are the Intercultural Style vessels the only commodity produced and exchanged over long distances in finished and semiprocessed form, or are they just the best documented and most easily recognizable? This problem was also addressed in my dissertation (Kohl 1974:498–501), and I still believe that the best answer is no, the Intercultural Style vessels are not unique. If one carefully examines ornaments and jewelry or metal tools and weapons from western Asia during the Early Bronze period, one will find numerous examples of remarkably similar objects found in disparate areas, suggesting most plausibly in many cases that these items were exchanged as finished commodities. The Tepe Yahya corpus, I strongly believe, represents just the highly visible tip of a much more substantial iceberg. The fact that these vessels had a specific symbolic content shared by different cultures is also highly significant and suggests that ideas and possibly belief systems, as well as materials, were exchanged over large parts of western Asia over a several-hundred-year period during the Bronze Age. The degree of highly specific communication over diverse areas and the sharing of ideas and materials evident in the Yahya chlorite corpus constitute the most significant features of this corpus.

Does such communication and the production, distribution, and consumption of finished commodities constitute evidence for a Bronze Age "world system?" Perhaps, but it depends, in part, on what one means by this term and whether one finds the concept at all heuristically useful. Certainly, such a system—if it existed at all—differed greatly from Wallerstein's modern world system (Wallerstein 1974). In the Bronze Age, peripheries are not so ruthlessly exploited, nor typically made dependent on urban cores as Wallerstein proposes; if anything, they may benefit from such externally stimulated interaction. The interregional connections that are established seem more to promote or to reinforce social differentiation within the urban centers, viz., as seen by those dependent, ration-nourished, semifree workers on temple and palace estates in Mesopotamia, producing textiles and other commodities for both internal and external consumption.

When models differ to such an extent and the terminology becomes misleading or in need of revision, then perhaps, as Stein has argued (1998), it is best to abandon them and their terms and develop others that are more consistent with real archaeological data. This may be so, but those models have yet to be developed, and other existing alternatives such as interaction spheres are



**Figure 9.15.** Vessel fragment from Tepe Yahya showing the head of a feline or serpent (compare its depiction to the head of the serpent in fig. 9.9 above) with its mouth painted red. The inlaying and coloring of the vessels also took place in the Yahya workshop (5.6 cm W x 6.5 cm H).

imprecise and unsatisfying, though seemingly more congruent with the ambiguous nature of the archaeological record. All models carry their own imperfect conceptual luggage. Certainly, the “world” of western Asia, linking together Mesopotamia, Elam, and trans-Elam and stretching across the Iranian plateau to the Indus Valley, was much more complex and systemically or structurally integrated than eastern North America during the first few centuries B.C. for which the concept of an interaction sphere was originally articulated in order to describe connections among sites of the so-called Hopewell culture. These two “interaction spheres” are qualitatively distinct, and the models that we use to explain or better understand them should reflect this difference.

The most basic assumption of the world systems model is that the “world” (whatever its spatial parameters may be at a particular time) under consideration is *systemically* integrated to the extent that what happens in one part of the system has serious sociopolitical and economic consequences throughout the entire system. For me, one of the most useful features of the world systems model is trying to determine what the spatial parameters of the “world” are or what is internal or external to the system at a given point in time, i.e., trying to determine the appropriate unit of analysis for detecting such systemic or structural integration. If one utilizes the distributional evidence of the Intercultural Style vessels to partially contour such a system, then clearly during the mid- to late third millennium B.C.

Tarut and Tepe Yahya are participants in the same system with sites in southwestern Iran and Mesopotamia. The Soch Valley in Uzbekistan, however, with its lone combatant serpent “weight” falls outside the system; this part of Central Asia lies on the “margin”—to employ Sherratt’s insightful term (Sherratt 1993). Current evidence suggests that the serpent weight is unique, and a single stray find can only function at best as a chronological link between disparate areas. It cannot be used to document substantial integration or significant interregional exchange or trade.

Can one still conceptualize a functioning “world system” without dominant cores and submissive peripheries? Are the asymmetries and dependencies fundamental to the model or can they be replaced by more balanced systems of long-distance exchange and structured interdependencies? Or are we forever doomed to employ amorphous concepts for an archaeological discussion of extensive interregional connections? Such questions are useful to ask, I believe, even if they cannot be satisfactorily answered. The debate will continue. Castle-building in the sand fulfills at least one useful purpose: it stimulates additional research. If there is one conclusion to be drawn, it is that there is certainly more work to be done—both empirically and conceptually. For me, what is unmistakably clear is how intellectually stimulating it was to study the Tepe Yahya chlorites twenty-five years ago and to return to reconsider them again. I am most grateful for these opportunities.

# Chapter 10

## Glyptic Art of Period IV

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### INTRODUCTION

Seals, both stamps and cylinders, together with pottery, are hallmark artifacts of the ancient civilizations in the Near East. Both engraved stamp seals and their ancient impressions in masses of malleable clay are commonly found in archaeological sites from archaeological contexts as early as the seventh millennium B.C. (von Wickede 1990). The purposes of the earliest seals and their marks are debated and certainly changed over time and across regions. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that from the beginning they were charged with symbolic meaning that carried information of social value. The earliest use of stamp seals to make impressions known today is found in the region of the Middle Euphrates River. By the middle of the fifth millennium, stamp seals were commonly used in Iran, and have been found at sites in Khuzistan, Luristan, and Fars. At around the same time stamp seals engraved with geometric patterns were in use at sites on the Iranian Plateau (Rashad 1990). Stamp seals recovered in Period VI are the earliest evidence of seal technology at Tepe Yahya. There is no report of evidence for their use as impression-making devices (Beale 1986:181). Related finds in Period V suggest the local practice of seal use continued in later periods. Nothing distinctive in this practice suggests that these early seals reflect direct contact with communities beyond the Soghun Valley. Rather the formal or typological similarities they share with seals found elsewhere are interpreted to reflect shared cultural norms and forms typical of late Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures found across the Iranian Plateau.

The indigenous character of the glyptic art changes radically in the beginning centuries of the third millennium, when Tepe Yahya is reoccupied in Period IVC after the lengthy abandonment following Period V. Then, the glyptic art, together with other administrative artifacts, suggests direct contact with communities to the west. The interregional contact reflected in the glyptic has also been observed in the ceramic assemblage and in

details of architecture. It is obvious that the new settlement at Tepe Yahya was, to some degree, affected by and probably at least indirectly involved in the processes of pristine state formation taking place in the alluvial drainage of the Tigris and Euphrates River system. Within the increasingly complex social setting, elaborate administrative systems were developed that included numbering systems, scripts, and distinctive types of clay documents (Nissen, Damerow, and Englund 1993). Glyptic art, beginning with stamp seals and increasing with the invention of the cylinder seal, was an important tool in these systems of economic administration (Pittman 1994b). The new administrative systems introduced at Tepe Yahya in Period IVC were brought in by people from communities to the west. These communities, known primarily through excavations at Susa in Khuzistan and at Tal-i Malyan in Fars (later the site of ancient Anshan, the highland capital of the Elamite kings), were part of a social system that was considerably more complex than that known at the time in the Soghun Valley; this social system had developed in complexity into what is conventionally called a state from village-based chiefdoms.

The cultural period in the west during which this contact took place is frequently referred to as the Proto-Elamite horizon, a rubric used to associate the early western assemblage with later speakers of the Elamite language. The distinctive script and glyptic style used during this period have also been designated as "Proto-Elamite" and that usage is retained here. The absolute date for the Proto-Elamite horizon lies sometime around 3000 B.C. Its duration, as measured through archaeological as well as artifactual remains, seems to be short, lasting only three or four generations, approximately 150 to 200 years. The glyptic art of Tepe Yahya Period IVC, together with the administrative systems in which it is imbedded (Damerow and Englund 1989), is closely similar to evidence from Susa and Tal-i Malyan, as will be documented in detail below. It seems likely that the occupation revealed in Period IVC is of a "colonial" type

paralleled slightly earlier at Godin Tepe, level V (Weiss and Young 1975), although only an integrated discussion of the various categories of material remains can allow for a final conclusion. In other words, while local elements are found in other parts of the artifact assemblage, the administrative and glyptic remains reflect almost no local elements. Indeed the glyptic from Period IVC is so close in its iconography, style, and use to Susa and Malyan that it is understood to be foreign to Tepe Yahya.

Glyptic art of an entirely different character was recovered in the later Periods IVB and IVA levels at Tepe Yahya. First, there is virtually no evidence for its use as a tool in the economic administration. Rather, the glyptic evidence is preserved in large part as actual seal stones recovered from fill associated with architectural remains. Second, the glyptic of these later periods belongs to a well-defined south-central Iranian Plateau regional style, which employs a distinct iconography and figural style. This style is well represented at Shahdad, a large site north of Tepe Yahya, where comparable seals were found in burial contexts (Hakemi 1997a). In the Period IVB and IVA levels, the close relations with the west manifest in Period IVC disappear and are replaced by strong connections to the east, to the north, and to the Gulf.

It appears from the glyptic evidence that there is no continuity of occupation between Periods IVC and IVB at Tepe Yahya. We can imagine that there was a considerable hiatus as long as 500 years as measured through glyptic art. Period IVC ends around 2750 B.C. The glyptic associated with Period IVB can be no earlier than the Old Akkadian period, sometime between the twenty-fourth and twenty-second centuries B.C.

The glyptic from Tepe Yahya Period IV has been discussed in a number of publications over the years. In addition to the initial presentations in the preliminary reports and the presentation of the Period IVC material by Potts in his 1980 dissertation, Pierre Amiet, in particular, has considered the glyptic from Tepe Yahya in detail (Amiet 1986, 1997b). My intention here is to build on previous observations and summarize the conclusions that can be drawn from this valuable category of evidence. This discussion will treat the two phases of glyptic art found at Tepe Yahya separately, as they reflect entirely different functions for this symbolically charged artifact. The catalog follows the discussion.

## PERIOD IVC: PROTO-ELAMITE PHASE

When considering the glyptic art from the early-third-millennium levels at Tepe Yahya, a fundamental feature is its use as a tool in the economic administration

(Pittman 1997). Seals themselves are rare; only two were recovered. Instead, forty-three glyptic images are preserved as impressions on clay masses either used as locking devices or shaped as tablets and inscribed with Proto-Elamite script. Neither the form of the Period IVC glyptic art nor the patterns of its use developed out of local practices. Rather both the seals and the patterns of administrative praxis are clearly imported from communities in the west. Consistent with this is the dominance of cylinder seals, which replace the stamp seals of earlier levels. This distinctive administrative tool was probably invented and certainly was developed in Mesopotamia sometime during the Middle Uruk period around 3400–3300 B.C. By the time cylinders were introduced onto the Iranian Plateau, they were adapted with distinctly Iranian features first in Khuzistan and slightly later in Fars. Because the glyptic from early-third-millennium Tepe Yahya is so closely associated with formal, semantic, and functional traditions outside of the region, it is useful to provide a brief review of the background context for the Tepe Yahya Period IVC glyptic art. As stated above, this period has been called the Proto-Elamite period after the distinctive script. Although the Proto-Elamite texts cannot be read and their underlying language is unknown, features seen in glyptic and other symbolic forms suggest some degree of cultural continuity from the early to the late third millennium when the Elamite language is first preserved through cuneiform script.

All aspects of the sealing activity from Tepe Yahya Period IVC are closely paralleled by material from the Proto-Elamite levels at Susa (Amiet 1972; LeBrun 1978) and Tal-i Malyan (Nicholas 1990; Sumner 1974, 1976, 1986, in press; Pittman 1994a, 1997, forthcoming). Although the samples from the two sites are different, they are also closely comparable in general and in particular. Tepe Yahya does not exhibit a closer relationship to one than to the other in the modes of analysis currently used. The southern overland route from Susa to the east onto the Iranian plateau passes through Fars. Malyan grew to an urban center of some 50 ha during this period. Although it is not demonstrated through the glyptic art, some have argued that Malyan may even have been the original center of Proto-Elamite culture during this period (Alden 1982; Amiet 1979). Regardless of whether or not this is an accurate reconstruction, there is no question that Tepe Yahya, and indeed Shahr-i Sokhta further to the east, were connected to the lowland city cultures through the communities in Fars, especially the one at Malyan.

Among the forty-six distinct images retrieved from Period IVC at Tepe Yahya, there are three distinct styles in the cylinder seals used together with Proto-Elamite

script: the classic figural style (13 examples), the glazed steatite style (16 examples), and the wheelcut style (9 examples). In addition, a small number of incised cylinder seals (4) and an engraved stamp seal (1) are used in the administration of the Proto-Elamite horizon. Three impressions are illegible. The three cylinder seal styles are found at Tepe Yahya in essentially the same proportions that are found at Malyan. These proportions are different from those recorded for Susa where the glazed steatite style was more abundant. Since the glyptic corpus from Susa is much larger and more varied than that from either Malyan or Tepe Yahya it is difficult to draw conclusions from this comparison.

The geographical distribution of each seal style is distinct. The classic style is found only in archaeological contexts that have also produced Proto-Elamite tablets. The other styles are more widely dispersed. They are found at sites on the Iranian Plateau together with Proto-Elamite tablets, but they are also found along the trans-Tigridian piedmont, and across the Jezira all the way to western Syria. This is especially the case for the glazed steatite style seals, which in western contexts are sometimes referred to as the "Piedmont" style.

The Proto-Elamite classic style seals are highly distinctive iconographically and stylistically. They are engraved most commonly with animal subjects, most frequently lions, bulls, and caprids. These are the only subjects known on classic style seals from Tepe Yahya. Less often birds, hedgehogs, bears, and equids are shown. The most distinctive iconographic feature of the Proto-Elamite classic style is scenes of animals acting as humans. Given the size of the sample from Tepe Yahya, it is significant that no examples of this distinctive subject matter were found. As known from Susa and Malyan, the Proto-Elamite classic style seals were carved using a variety of formal characteristics that suggest that numerous workshops produced these fine objects. For the most part, in Proto-Elamite classic seals, figural volume is created through the layering of flat surfaces, which are then internally differentiated through incised linear detail. Unlike their Mesopotamian counterparts, which are carved with extensive use of the drill, Iranian seals of the early third millennium continued to be carved with the graver, which was so effective in creating powerful forms on the earlier stamp seals.

There is remarkable variety in the composition and style of the classic style seals. When looking for parallels among these seals between sites it becomes apparent that there are virtually no two that are "identical." Rather, each seal combines elements from a large repertory of iconographic, stylistic, and compositional solutions in what are fundamentally unique combinations. This variety of combinations is a testimony to the free-

dom that the seal cutter had in rendering his designs. When drawing comparisons between sites one must bear in mind the range of variation found within each site.

In a monograph on the glazed steatite seals, I argue that the style had its origins in the Tigridian piedmont (Pittman 1994a). They were first introduced either at Susa or further to the north in the Diyala where the type is abundantly documented in Period IV of the Sin Temple at Khafajeh. The glazed steatite style seals, also referred to as the burnt steatite style seals, are commonly carved from a soft stone described as either steatite or chlorite. After the seal design was cut, the object was fired to a temperature at which it was transformed into enstatite, giving the seals their distinctive white appearance. Enstatite is a harder but far more brittle material than the original softer stone. The brittleness accounts for the fact that many glazed steatite seals, including the one from Yahya (fig. 10.22) are found broken. The physical proportions of glazed steatite seals tend to be long and narrow. The most common patterns for these seals are bounded hatched lines in geometric forms—bands, triangles, circles, and arcades. Animals or floral patterns rarely are found on these seals. As is true with the classic style, the variation among the glazed steatite seals at Tepe Yahya is considerably narrower than that at either Susa or Malyan.

Wheelcut seals are somewhat less common than either glazed steatite or classic style seals. They are the only seal type that is carved using a rotary device driven by a bow drill. The semiotic status of the design elements on the wheelcut seals is probably different from that found on either the glazed steatite or the classic style. Their imagery is less distinctive, carved with patterns that are repeating, abstract, and interlocking. The only figural subject commonly found on the wheelcut seals is a caprid, though spread-winged birds are also found. The wheelcut seal is the forerunner of the so-called brocade style seal prevalent only in the Diyala region. Like glazed steatite seals, wheelcut seals are frequently narrow and long. The style and patterns of use of the wheelcut seal are the same at Susa, Malyan, and Tepe Yahya.

The functions of seal use found at Tepe Yahya Period IVC are also closely paralleled at Susa and at Malyan. The majority of the glyptic evidence is preserved as impressions, usually fragmentary, on remains of clay sealings. In addition, at least two inscribed tablets were impressed with cylinder seals. A full range of administrative tools known in the west is found in the early-third-millennium levels at Yahya (Pittman 1997). One must be careful when comparing percentages because of the vastly different nature of the corpora and excavation recording techniques. However, closely similar patterns are documented, including the fact that at each site only

a small percentage of inscribed tablets are seal-impressed. Both at Susa and at Malyan, some twelve percent of the inscribed tablets were seal-impressed. The type of seals used to impress Proto-Elamite tablets where found is uniformly the classic style.

The remainder of the clay sealings are locking devices for immobile storage (13 sealings) and sealings for mobile storage (20 sealings). Immobile storage includes door sealings (3 sealings) and a type of sealing that is a flat ovoid slab of clay (10 sealings). I have tentatively argued that this ovoid slab of clay may have secured longer-term storage by securing an opening (door or window) that was bricked up and covered with wall plaster (Pittman 1994a). This type of sealing is consistently covered on the back with wall plaster wherever it is found in early-third-millennium contexts.

Mobile storage sealing devices include clay jar rim sealings (19 sealings), basket sealings, and bag sealings (1 sealing). The most common by far are jar rim sealings. At Yahya a number of the jar rim sealings were applied to jars with small mouths and short necks. There are few large-mouth jar sealings at Yahya in Period IVC. Both Malyan and Susa had a far greater number of sealings taken from large-mouthed jars.

The methods of impressing the seal into the wet clay sealing are the same at the three sites. Cylinder seals are usually rolled perpendicular to the orientation of the string used for securing the lock. They can be impressed once or more than once. By and large, seals were not rolled with great attention to the legibility of the imagery, with the exception of the ovoid wall sealings. On the wall sealings, the seal was generally rolled carefully and evenly over the flat surface of the clay slab rendering the imagery legible and continuous. Within the sample from Yahya there is no evidence for the use of any single seal to impress more than one type of sealing. In contrast, at Susa and at Malyan, it is not uncommon to have the same seal used to mark both doors and jars, or doors and tablets. Also, there are no examples at Yahya of counter sealing in which more than one seal is impressed on a single document. Again, this practice exists both at Malyan and Susa. If the sample at Yahya were bigger, it is likely that these elaborations of sealing practice would be found as well.

### Iconographic Discussion

Thirteen different classic-style images can be reconstructed from the impressions recovered from Period IVC. Only one is preserved in its entirety (cat. no. 27, fig. 10.27), two others are largely preserved, and the rest are fragmentary, although their basic iconography can be reconstructed. Wild animals are the only theme. Felines

and bovids are each represented in six different seals. Caprids are represented on one seal, the one preserved in its entirety.

Felines are the primary subject matter of figures 10.5, 10.7, 10.25, and 10.26. They are likely present as well in figure 10.37. All of the felines are rendered according to stylistic conventions identical to examples known from both Susa and Malyan. The comparanda from Susa and Malyan are cited here according to a system of categories developed for a comprehensive catalogue of Proto-Elamite glyptic art (Pittman forthcoming). The lion with the very full mane seated on his haunches facing left (fig. 10.26) is related to Susa 4:7 (Amiet 1972:934). On both seals, a small bovid is associated with the larger animal. Susa 4:9 (Legrain 1921:163) is also very similar to the Yahya example, differing only in the relatively larger size of the bovid in the Yahya seal.

The skidding posture of the feline in figure 10.7 is closely paralleled at Susa and Malyan; compare Susa 4:2, 6:16 (Amiet 1972:990, 999) and Malyan TUV 60 (Pittman forthcoming). The undulating plant together with felines is paralleled in Malyan ABC 17 and ABC 18 (Pittman forthcoming). It is also present with caprids in Malyan ABC 14 (Pittman forthcoming).

The feline with the curl under the chin (fig. 10.25) is a distinctively Proto-Elamite stylization that is seen in numerous examples from Susa and Malyan: Malyan ABC 10, ABC 21, TUV 75 (Pittman forthcoming); Susa 5:4 (Amiet 1972:949), 5:5 (Legrain 1921:161), 7:16 (Amiet 1972:974), and 7:29 (Amiet 1972:986).

The recumbent lion above another animal as seen in Yahya figure 10.5 is also known from Susa 4:3 (Legrain 1921:164), 4:18 (Pittman forthcoming), 6:12 (Amiet 1972:996).

The images showing bovids are less well-preserved than those showing felines. It is still possible to draw close parallels to Susa and Malyan. Yahya figure 10.31 originally had a file of either one or two large bovids and a foursquare cross in the field. Susa 5:5 (Legrain 1921:161) shows such a large bovid with a cross, but combined with a feline. Yahya figure 10.6 preserves the rear of a bovid that is most probably rendered skidding. Susa 1:13 (Legrain 1921:133) shows a fantastic mixed creature in such a posture, as does Susa 3:3 (Legrain 1921:325), in which an auroch assumes this posture now with head reversed. A common compositional arrangement for the Proto-Elamite classic style glyptic is to show animals confronted, often separated by a landscape element or symbol. Yahya figure 10.24 shows the rear haunches of two confronted bovids, similar to completely preserved images at Susa 6:8 (Legrain 1921:198), 6:9–6:13 (Legrain 1921:93, 169; Amiet 1972:996; Legrain 1921:95).



The composition of Yahya figure 10.20 with two animals at right angles to one another deserves comment. I read the composition as one in which a bovid is placed perpendicular to the horizontal axis of the seal. The only other example of this composition known to date is Susa 4:11 (Delaporte 1920). It is possible, however, that the Yahya impression represents two impressions of the same seal at different angles. The style in which the animal body is cut seems extremely flat, much like Susa 4:23 (Delaporte 1920:S323) and 5:14 (Amiet 1972:956).

The last classic-style seal (fig. 10.27) is the only complete one preserved from Tepe Yahya. This complex image finds close parallels at both Susa and Malyan to its many distinctive features. The composition of three caprids rampant toward a stepped platform mountain surmounted by a tree is known in fifteen examples from Susa 7:1-7:15 (Amiet 1972:976; Delaporte 1920:S254; Legrain 1921:142; Amiet 1972:980; Legrain 1921:141; Amiet 1972:978; Amiet 1972:981; Amiet 1972:982; Legrain 1921:108, 110, 109, 317; Mequenem 1949:25; Amiet 1972:984, 983). In these examples, sometimes the mountain is stepped, and sometimes it is rendered with a scale pattern. In some instances, the tree is a single spade-shaped leaf, in others (like the Yahya example) the spade tree is augmented by flanking tendrils or branches. The species of caprid is differentiated by the shape of its horns. In the Yahya example, a bearded goat is combined with what is probably a makhor sheep whose horns are shown frontally. It is interesting to observe that all of the close parallels from Susa having three animals in the composition show lions together with the rampant goats. On the other hand, the closest example from Malyan (in which the goats are not rampant, but stand on all four legs) does show the third animal as a different species of goat. Our sample is too small to draw any conclusions from the distribution of this interesting iconographic variation.

The use of Proto-Elamite signs in the glyptic art is well known from Susa (as well as Malyan) where seven signs are found in the seals iconography that are also used in the tablets often appearing at the beginning of individual inscriptions, perhaps to denote some type of corporate unit. In the Yahya classic-style Proto-Elamite seals, the only sign used is the four-armed cross. It is reported as a sign on the tablets from Tepe Yahya only once (Damerow and Englund 1989:66).

The classic-style seals exhibit a wide variety of uses at Tepe Yahya. Two are preserved as impressions on inscribed tablets. Three are used as wall sealings; this subsumes the multiple impressions of figure 10.27 as one sealing. Two are arguably door sealings, and three show clear indications for use as jar sealings. The others

are of uncertain function, but they can certainly be associated with mobile storage.

The glazed steatite material from Tepe Yahya reflects the same limited subset of known variation as seen in the classic-style seals. Seventeen examples are recorded from the excavations. The glazed steatite style makes up a little more than a third of the total number of images recorded from Yahya. One example of an actual glazed steatite seal was found at Yahya (fig. 10.22).

Among the design elements used in the glazed steatite style, the hatched group is most numerous. Because of the incomplete nature of most of the impressions, it is difficult to be sure if we are dealing with hatched bands or partially preserved hatched triangles. It would appear that the hatched triangle is one of the dominant design elements (figs. 10.12, 10.32, 10.35, 10.36). A hatched circle is present in two examples (figs. 10.21, 10.22) and a hatched arcade is preserved in others (figs. 10.13, 10.34). The range of subject matter represented among the glazed steatite seals is narrow, even considering the small size of the sample. In particular multiple-element group seals in which animals are combined with hatched or other elements are missing.

When it can be determined, function of the glazed steatite seals is predominately to secure jar rims with small openings and short necks. Only one sealing, figure 10.12, is arguably a wall sealing, although this is not certain.

There is one image that may belong to the glazed steatite category preserved in impression that deserves special comment. Figure 10.16 consists of an outlined four-sided cross, rendered in a rather unbalanced and cursory manner. Next to the cross is a series of dots and curved lines. As observed above, the four-sided cross is the only sign of Proto-Elamite script that appears in the seals at Tepe Yahya. Here it is one of the two major design elements. In spite of its cursory appearance, the four-sided cross is one of the most common Proto-Elamite signs to occur in the seals (Pittman 1994a:fig. 16). Its appearance in this format augments its representation in the classic-style seals discussed above. The sealing carrying this design is complete, and it served to secure a small-mouthed jar with a short neck ending in a flat everted rim.

Only one example of the multiple-element group without hatched elements is preserved at Yahya (fig. 10.29). Its four-petaled rosettes are among the most common of this type at the other sites (Pittman 1994a:fig. 15).

The last group of seals from the early-third-millennium levels to consider is the wheelcut group. Images of seven of these seals are preserved at Tepe Yahya. One is preserved as an actual seal (fig. 10.23), the others are

preserved as fragmentary impressions (figs. 10.3, 10.10, 10.17, 10.38, 10.39, 10.40, 10.43, 10.44). Three are figural: two depict birds (figs. 10.3, 10.28), and one shows the head of a horned animal (fig. 10.9). Three show abstract patterns of short wheelcut lines (figs. 10.10, 10.17, 10.23), and a fourth shows an abstract pattern made up of small diamond patterns arranged in three interlocking rows and the center of each diamond is inscribed with a small mark (fig. 10.30).

Both images that depict birds show them with spread wings. Figure 10.3 is paralleled at Susa and at Malyan (Amiet 1972:1027; Pittman forthcoming), but the three registers of flying birds in figure 10.28 is more unusual.

The animal head of figure 10.9 is probably cut with a graver rather than with a drill. Its closest parallels are found not in seals but in the pottery of the eastern regions. For example, in Mundigak IV pottery, horned caprids with eyes rendered as a large dot are well known. These painted versions further parallel the Yahya example in the presence of linear patterning on the neck.

One example of a stamp seal, figure 10.4, is preserved among the impressions of Period IVC. This stamp seal has a circular bezel. Its concentric circle design is surrounded by a tightly notched border. Although there are stamp seals that are associated with Proto-Elamite material from both Malyan and Susa, this seal belongs to another category entirely. As we will see in the consideration of glyptic art from Periods IVB and IVA, the compartmented stamp seal, first in stone and later in bronze, is a type that most probably originated in eastern Iran or southern Turkmenistan. This is certainly a rare manifestation of the eastern connection that is so strongly manifest in the later levels.

Apart from the stamp-seal impression, the glyptic art of Period IVC at Yahya reveals close contact with cultures that developed and were indigenous further to the west. The reasons for this conclusion are twofold. First and most importantly, there is no evidence that this elaborate system of visual signs and its use in economic administration evolved indigenously in the Soghum Valley. The current evidence suggests that the peoples practicing the administration in Period IVC were not drawing on widespread traditions that generally were shared in the Late Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age cultures of south-central Iran. Second, the parallels to specific features of style and iconography are so close among Tepe Yahya and Susa and Malyan to suggest that the individuals using these materials may actually have come from or were closely affiliated with individuals from Khuzistan or from Fars. It is, of course, possible that the individuals at Yahya were linked to Susa through intermediaries at Malyan. When combined with other

evidence, the interpretation that Period IVC at Yahya seems to be some kind of “colonial” installation is supported by the glyptic art.

### PERIODS IVB AND IVA: THE LATE THIRD MILLENNIUM

At Tepe Yahya the evidence for seals as impression-making tools in an economic administration disappears along with the Proto-Elamite script. In the later periods, seals were instead used, though infrequently at Yahya, to mark ceramic vessels themselves rather than on clay sealings to secure the contents of a vessel. This radical change in function is not universal in Iran, for to the west at the Elamite sites of Susa and Malyan, cylinders and stamps continue to mark both epigraphic and anepigraphic administrative documents. This break in administrative practice, especially when combined with other features of the glyptic, reflects a reorientation among the communities of south-central Iran away from the urban centers in the west, and toward the communities of the north, south, and east.

Along with this change in function, a style and iconography indigenous to the south-central Iranian Plateau can be identified in the glyptic and other arts. This style was first identified by Porada (1964). It has been most fully characterized by Amiet, who has sought to define a unified cultural “koine” for third-millennium B.C. highland Iran (Amiet 1986, 1997a, 1997b). In the course of his writings, Amiet termed this phenomenon the “transelamite” cultural style. This term reflects its character as closely related to, but clearly distinct from, the third-millennium post-Proto-Elamite world centered to the west in Khuzistan, Luristan, and Fars. In my own studies of third-millennium Iran and Central Asia, “transelamite” has been a useful analytical construct. In discussing the glyptic from Tepe Yahya and Shahdad, however, it is possible to speak more specifically of a south-central Iranian glyptic style that can be confined to the last centuries of the third millennium B.C. (Pittman 2001).

Both cylinder and stamp seals were used during the second half of the third millennium in south-central Iran. Both types are found in Tepe Yahya Periods IVB and IVA. While it is likely that both were produced in south-central Iran, the stamps show direct connections to distant communities to the east while the cylinders are closely limited to regional comparanda. For this reason, the cylinders and the stamps seals from Periods IVB and IVA are discussed separately below.

As a whole the glyptic art of the late third millennium found at Tepe Yahya is paralleled in most of its com-

plexity only in comparable seals found in graves at the site of Shahdad some 150 km to the north (Hakemi 1997a). Through these parallels it is possible to hypothesize a distinct culture of the south-central Iranian Plateau that participated in the long-distance relations that crisscrossed the ancient Near East. This is a period when the Elamites in Khuzistan and Fars were facing westward, responding to the intense pressures from Mesopotamia. It is this external pressure that encouraged greater political unity among the Elamites, first under the leadership of the Dynasty of Awan, and then under the rulers of Shimashki, before the great consolidation of highland tribes under the confederacy of the Sukkulmah (Stolper 1984).

### Cylinder Seals

Five cylinder seals (figs. 10.46–50) were found in Period IVB levels. A sixth cylinder seal (fig. 10.51) was found in a Period IVA context, which is considered in this section because it is a worn and broken example of a type found in greater numbers in Period IVB. It most certainly originated from this earlier level. A seventh cylinder seal (fig. 10.52) found on the surface of the mound is also so closely comparable to this group that it is included in this discussion. All but one (fig. 10.50) of these cylinders are typical examples of the south-central Iranian Plateau style. This style, shared by four seals from Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:661, Ib2, Ib3, Ib4; obj. no. 2263, p. 355), developed directly out of an earlier style known through seals from Susa and through the Intercultural Style (Pittman 2001). It can be distinguished from the earlier style formally and iconographically. In the south-central Iranian Plateau style, the figures tend to be less voluminous and they do not always adhere strictly to a single ground line, but are sometimes distributed over the entire image field. Details of iconography appear that are unknown in the earlier material, including wings and horns used to denote an individual's divine status. These details, along with a more generalized stylistic influence, are certainly derived from Mesopotamian prototypes, probably Old Akkadian, introduced into south-central Iran when the Akkadian army and its entourage arrived there.

The imagery of the Period IVB cylinders is remarkably uniform. Further, as Amiet has developed (1986, 1997a), when the Tepe Yahya seals are combined with others of a closely similar style from Shahdad, several important concepts in the religion of the south-central Iranian Plateau culture can be inferred from their imagery. First, the dominant image is that of female divinity shown in several aspects. Whether we should understand these representations as distinct manifesta-

tions of a single divine being or as different beings cannot be known. She is shown standing and sitting or squatting on the ground, as well as seated on a chair-like throne. Her divine status is marked by one or more attributes, including horned headdress, wings, grain sprouting from the body, standing posture, or seated on a platform. Three of the seals from Yahya (figs. 10.46, 10.49, 10.51) show pairs of deities who are equal in status. Although the pair of gods in figure 10.49 has been interpreted as the Iranian equivalent of Inanna and Dumuzi (Potts 1981a), I concur with Amiet (1986) who interprets both as female deities. The differences in their state of dress and some other attributes denote either two distinct female deities or different aspects of a single divine entity. Such a balanced pairing of posture where both deities stand or squat is unknown among the seals from Shahdad. At Shahdad, the combination of standing and squatting deities occurs in all four seals of the south-central Iranian Plateau style. The most magnificent rendition of this standing and squatting combination of female figures is rendered in relief on the silver vase said to be from near Persepolis in Fars that carries a linear Elamite inscription (Hinze 1969).

Two other seals that belong to the Period IVB group (figs. 10.47, 10.52) carry another important theme derived from the earlier mid-third millennium works of art: the palm tree with long foliage and heavy date clusters. This theme is seen on Intercultural Style vessels as well as on handled weights. The association of this fruit-bearing tree with divinity is suggested by its association with a standing female on figure 10.47. A palm tree of similar appearance is rendered on the bronze standard from Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:649), which may allow us to associate the tree with a highland cultic ritual.

The seal in figure 10.48 carries the most elaborate iconography of the south-central Iranian Plateau group from Tepe Yahya. It belongs to a series that also includes three seals without provenance published and discussed by Amiet (1986:fig. 132:10, 12; 1997a: fig. 5). All four seals show deities enthroned on a chair with a high back that curls out at the top. In the Yahya example, the chair top resembles a snake head, a feature later seen in the royal seals of the Sukkulmah rulers (Amiet 1972:2015). While the divinity in the Yahya example is certainly female, to judge both from the breasts and the elaborately coiffed hair, the seated figures on the other seals appear to be male and not female as interpreted by Amiet. All of the seals render a ceremony involving human actors in the presence of either a cult statue or an actual divinity. On the Tepe Yahya seal, male kneeling figures—to judge from their posture—with hair drawn back in a bun, flank the enthroned figure. Behind the goddess is a third squatting figure, this time female, who

interacts with a snake in a posture reminiscent of an earlier Intercultural Style vase from Mari (Strommenger 1964:fig. 39, bottom). In the Yahya seal, an intriguing figure stands outside the cult scene and holds a pair of wands while supporting one on her head. This is also probably a goddess. The fact that this series is absent from the Shahdad cylinders would seem accidental. Indeed, the theme is certainly suggested on the standard from Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:649).

Although we cannot know if the seals from Tepe Yahya Periods IVB and IVA are locally produced, they share certain stylistic features. All are carved from dark stone, probably steatite or chlorite. This distinguishes them from the Shahdad examples, which are all carved from either alabaster or shell. Further, the Yahya cylinders are all cut with a gouging tool, giving the figures an angular quality. There are few visible traces of a bow drill, where at Shahdad the drill seems to be used more liberally.

### Period IVB Stamp Seals

Ten stamp seals were either found in or can be associated with Period IVB at Tepe Yahya. There is remarkable variety among them. For the most part, the stamp seals from the later third-millennium Period IVB at Yahya do not belong to Amiet's trans-Elamite style, nor can they be grouped—like the cylinders—into a later south-central Iranian Plateau style. Rather, these stamps find their closest parallels to types known from other, distant regions. Indeed, in most cases it is likely that the stamp seals are actual imports from those regions into Tepe Yahya.

The stamp seals are of two distinct types: compartmented and engraved. The compartmented stamp seals of both stone and bronze, both in geometric and in zoomorphic form, are known in large numbers at Shahdad, Shahr-i Sokhta, and Mundigak, as well as at sites in Central Asia. The engraved stamp seals of stone reflect strong connections to the south and to the communities in and around the region of the Gulf, in particular on the islands of Failika and Bahrain. Given the variety among these stamps, the comparanda for each will be discussed individually.

Figure 10.53 is a compartmented stamp seal in stone. Such stamp seals are documented as early as the fourth-millennium levels at the site of Mehrgarh on the Indo-Iranian border to the east (Jarrige et al. 1995). They are also well known by the early third millennium in southern Turkmenistan where examples are associated with Geoksyur pottery in Namazga II. At the site of Shahr-i Sokhta, compartmented stamp seals in stone become frequent in early-third-millennium Period II levels. Over two

hundred seals and many impressions are reported at the site in Period II (Tosi 1983:155–158). By the second half of the third millennium, a considerable variety exists among compartmented stone stamp seals reflecting regional difference. The example from Tepe Yahya is gouged and has high walls separating compartments. A close parallel from Shahr-i Sokhta Period II (Tosi 1983:pl. 72, fig. 73, middle left) is also circular and has a scalloped edge. The interior is filled with stepped compartments rather than the two raised circular posts. Both have a boss on the back that is laterally drilled for suspension. This type of seal is not reported from Shahdad and certainly reflects relations with the east and the northeast.

Catalogue no. 54 (not illustrated) is an uncarved stamp seal with a knob handle. It is not certain if catalogue no. 55 (fig. 10.54) is really a stamp seal. If it is a seal, it is unfinished. One surface is marked with linear grooves arranged in a nonsymmetrical geometric arrangement. It is likely that this object is locally made.

The design of catalogue no. 56 (not illustrated) links this object, described as a stamp seal, to many of the compartmented stamp seals that carry a cross pattern. It is made of agate, which is unusual for seals found in south-central Iran. I am not aware of any close parallels to this particular seal.

The stamp seal in figure 10.55 is one of the most important seals found at Tepe Yahya. It belongs to the so-called early series of the Persian Gulf seals. D. Beyer has suggested that the early variety of this stamp type “probably makes its appearance at the Agade period to which there is a tendency to attribute the levels of Qala’at al Bahrain City I” (1989:136–137). Examples of the type are found in graves of the same date as the later Persian Gulf-type stamp seals in the burial fields on the island of Bahrain (Ibrahim 1982; Mughal 1983). The date of those graves has been secured through inscription to the twentieth century B.C. This seal finds close parallels in its shape, its gouged style of figural carving on its bezel, and its circular composition, to the horned quadruped subject matter of those found in Bahrain (Mughal 1983:pl. 45; Beyer 1989:242–246), and it is certainly an import from that region. It is interesting that this seal type is not reported from Shahdad, suggesting that Tepe Yahya may have had direct contact with the communities on the coast, perhaps serving as an intermediary to the further inland regions.

The double-sided form of a stamp seal (fig. 10.56) is unique at Yahya. It is a type that is also unknown at Shahdad. Double-sided stamp seals are well known in Turkmenistan to the north as well as in the Gulf among the stamp seals from Bahrain and Failika (Kjaerum 1983:335–367). Double-sided stamps and other double-sided objects probably had a binary logic. The reptilian

figure on the obverse is not a scorpion in any realistic sense, rather this figure finds its closest and most salient parallel on the jeweler's seal from Susa (Pittman 2001). Amid groups of goddesses and other divine entities, this same creature, with a large round head, six legs, and a long, scorpion tail is clearly shown on the Susa seal. Although its meaning is unknown, there can be no doubt that this figure is emblematic of a potent natural force in the Bronze Age Iranian cosmos. On the other side of the stamp seal, the soles of two opposed left feet are shown. Feet have a long history in stamp seal iconography. Representations of feet, often together with scorpions, are known in contemporary stamp seals from Shahdad, Shahr-i Sokhta, and Bahrain. While the meaning of the theme cannot be known for certain, Edith Porada (personal communication) suggested that this was to protect against scorpion bite.

Stamp seal figure 10.57 has been compared by Amiet (1986:133) to an Old Akkadian representation of a human-headed bull. This comparison seems highly appropriate, especially given the distinctive posture of the turned-back head. However, it seems that the figure is probably not a human-headed bull but rather a human-headed lion, if we can judge from the raised tail. In addition, the body markings are different from ones seen on Old Akkadian seals. Rather, they are strongly reminiscent of patterning used to enliven the bodies of felines on Indus Valley seals (Joshi and Parpola 1987:H-163). The circular shape of this stamp seal and its loop handle associate it closely with seals from the Gulf.

The seal in figure 10.58 is an openwork compartmented stamp seal, a type that is well documented at Shahdad, both in actual stamps and in the impressions made on pottery (Hakemi 1997a:660, Ia.10; 672-673). Numerous examples are also known at Shahr-i Sokhta during Period III where they are mostly symmetric, geometric patterns. While the meaning of these designs is uncertain, their systematic and extensive use indicates that they were part of a system of differentiation and identification. The primary referent, however, alludes us. Impressions found in Period IVA and considered below would have been made by this type of stamp seal (figs. 10.60, 10.61, 10.62).

Catalogue no. 61 (not illustrated) is an openwork compartmented stamp seal of a type reported in abundance from the plundered graveyards in Bronze Age Bactria (Pittman 1984:54-55). A few examples of this type are known from Shahdad (Hakemi 1997a:660), but it is not as common as the openwork variety represented by catalogue no. 60.

The seal in figure 10.59, although found in Period I at Yahya, certainly belongs together with the other compartmented stamp seals of Period IVB. Compartmented

stamp seals of bronze are known only from late third through second millennium B.C. contexts in eastern Iran and Afghanistan. Period I is first millennium A.D. in date. Thus the context of the seal was disturbed and it is assigned to Period IVB, a period where compartmented stamp seals are common. It represents a variety of the bronze compartmented stamp seal that carried figural representation. In this example a quadruped with a very large eye is shown in profile. Seals of this type were used to make impressions on pottery in Period III at Shahr-i Sokhta (Tosi 1983:pl. lxxiii).

### Period IVA Stamp Seals

One cylinder seal (fig. 10.51) was found in a Period IVA context. Its specific iconography and style join it to the group of five found in Period IVB, and it is discussed above. Its broken and worn condition reinforces the notion that it was already old when it was discarded during Period IVA.

Period IVA produced less abundant evidence for the use of stamp seals than other periods. Two stamp seals were found. Figure 10.65 is a steatite seal with crossed lines paralleled at Malyan in a seal from a deposit of Kaftari date (Pittman forthcoming). Figure 10.66 is a four-sided bead with crudely gouged single images on each side.

The remaining glyptic evidence recovered at Tepe Yahya is preserved as impressions of stamp seals. As at other sites on the Iranian Plateau and in Central Asia, stamp seals were used to mark ceramics. At Tepe Yahya, this practice seems to be limited to Period IVA. Figures 10.60, 10.61, and 10.62 are impressions made into pottery that seem to have been made by compartmented stamp seals, probably of bronze.

Figure 10.64 is the only recorded instance of a clay bullae from these later levels. It is impressed with a stamp seal that carries an image of a standing, bird-headed, humanoid figure with raised arms.

Figure 10.65 is a unique example of an impression on a pottery sherd of an Indus Valley inscribed seal of a type illustrated by Parpola (Joshi and Parpola 1987: 88-100).

It is significant that no stamp seals were found (besides fig. 10.51) in Period IVA. In addition, among the more than three hundred potters marks carried on the pottery, all but three (figs. 10.60, 10.61, 10.62) are incised. This may have chronological significance. Period IVA belongs to the early second millennium following the floruit of south-central Iranian Plateau culture so clearly represented in Tepe Yahya Period IVB and at Shahdad in the seals of the south-central Iranian Plateau style.

## THE CATALOGUE

The catalogue of glyptic art from Tepe Yahya is presented according to individual images. Apart from two fragmentary seals, the glyptic art of the Proto-Elamite period (Period IVC) is preserved as impressions on clay sealing devices. A composite drawing has been constructed when more than one impression exists. For the later Period IVB, seal imagery is preserved primarily through actual seal stones. In Period IVA, seal impressions are the most common form of preservation, this time on the body of ceramic vessels. The catalogue entries are arranged when possible according to provenance and the catalogue numbers have been determined using this provenance. Otherwise, arrangement follows typology, with cylinder seals listed first, followed by stamp seals. The TY number that follows the catalogue number is taken from Potts's dissertation (1980). The Y number is taken from registration records in the Peabody Museum. The catalogue numbers are accompanied by illustration numbers. Drawings were made from the objects when possible, and were otherwise made from existing photographs. The drawings of seals and seal impressions are rendered at 1:1 unless noted in captions. All drawings were made by the author, except when noted in the catalogue entry. A brief description of the object follows the catalogue and figure numbers. When known, the administrative function of the sealing is presented in the catalogue entry. The dimensions given for the objects (seals or clay sealings) and images are maximums. Fragmentary measurements are enclosed in parentheses. The context, period, and previous publications of the object conclude the entries.

## Phase IVC2

**Catalogue no. 1, Y 34; figure 10.1 (p. 247).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with sigmoidal curve below. Jar sealing with impression of tanned leather on back and seal rolled parallel to leather markings.

*Dimensions:* L. (15 mm), H. (20 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (22 mm), H. (30 mm), Th. 8 mm.

*Context:* B.71.9; Phase IVC2.

*Previous Publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig.118.

**Catalogue no. 2, Y 22; figure 10.2 (p. 247).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with one rosette petal. Three fragments of jar sealings with string and skin impression on the reverse. Orientation of impression uncertain.

*Dimensions:* L. (24 mm), H. (7 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (26 mm), H. (20 mm), Th. 8 mm.

*Context:* B.13.2; Phase IVC2.

**Catalogue no. 3, TY 20; figure 10.3 (p. 247).**

Fragmentary impression of a wheelcut style cylinder seal with long-necked bird with spread wings. Fragment of jar sealing or wall sealing with seal rolled parallel to horizontal axis of object.

*Dimensions:* L. (25 mm), H. (23 mm). Jar sealing or wall sealing measured L. (25 mm), H. (25 mm).

*Context:* A.11.2c; Phase IVC2.

*Previous publication:* Potts 1980:fig. 3e.

**Catalogue no. 4, TY 22; figure 10.4 (p. 247).**

Impression of a stamp seal with circle surrounded by notched border. Fragment of a bag or jar sealing with curved mass of sealing clay with impression of knot and skin on reverse. Orientation of sealing is uncertain.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 18 mm. Bag or jar sealing measured L. (31 mm), H. (31 mm), Th. (13 mm).

*Context:* B.71.6b; Phase IVC2.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

**Catalogue no. 5, TY 19; figure 10.5 (p. 247).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with feline walking to the right with raised tail curled, possible second register below. Inscribed tablet, seal-impressed on both sides.

*Dimensions:* L. (30 mm), H. (20 mm).

*Context:* A.75.11.3a; Phase IVC2.

*Previous publication:* Potts 1980:fig.3c.

**Catalogue no. 6, Y 43; figure 10.6 (p. 247).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style seal showing rear of bovid in skidding posture. Haunch of animals delineated by lines. Fragment of jar sealing with string and skin impression on reverse. Seal rolled perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (22 mm), H. (35 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (36 mm), H. (22 mm), Th. 15 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 7, TY 29, figure 10.7 (p. 248).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with feline in skidding posture with tail raised in S-curve and single spade-shaped leaf on long curving stem and chest and foreleg of a rampant caprid (?). Fragment of door sealing with string impression preserved on reverse and seal rolled parallel to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (35 mm), H. (25 mm). Door sealing measured L. (44 mm), H. (44 mm), Th. 20 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6(?); Phase IVC2-1.

*Previous publication:* Potts 1980:fig. 4g.

**Catalogue no. 8, Y 38; figure 10.8 (p. 248).**

Fragmentary impression of a classic style cylinder seal with two-register composition of quadrupeds. Complete

jar sealing with string and skin impression on reverse and seal rolled perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (20 mm), H. (40 mm). Jar sealing measured L. 43 mm, H. 22 mm, Th. 11 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

**Catalogue no. 9, TY 27; figure 10.9 (p. 248).**

Fragmentary impression of a cylinder seal with head and neck of horned animal. Fragment of jar sealing with string impression with seal rolled perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (20 mm), H. (17 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (28 mm), H. (35 mm).

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 10, Y 42; figure 10.10 (p. 249).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite or wheelcut style cylinder seal with obscured pattern of outlined petal forms and straight lines. Fragment of door sealing with string impression on reverse. Seal rolled at uncertain orientation.

*Dimensions:* L. (30 mm), H. (15 mm). Door sealing measured L. (43 mm), H. (26 mm), Th. (17 mm).

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

**Catalogue no. 11, Y 44; figure 10.11 (p. 249).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with curved ladder pattern with widely spaced rungs. Fragment of jar sealing with string impressions on the reverse. Seal rolled at angle to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (20 mm), H. (15 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (33 mm), H. (22 mm), Th. (1 mm).

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 12, TY 30; figure 10.12 (p. 249).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with outlined petals, stacked chevron, and hatched band. Almost complete sealing of uncertain function with irregular surface impressed with skin on reverse. Seal rolled twice perpendicular to long axis of sealing.

*Dimensions:* L. (32 mm), H. (38 mm). Sealing measured L. 47 mm, H. 35 mm, Th. 18 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

**Catalogue no. 13, TY 31; figure 10.13 (p. 249).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched arcades with hatched interior. Fragment of jar sealing with string and skin impression on reverse. Seal rolled multiple times perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (20 mm), H. (35 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (41 mm), H. (20 mm), Th. 10 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

*Previous publication:* Potts 1980:fig. 4i.

**Catalogue no. 14, Y 31; figure 10.14 (p. 250).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched band pattern. Fragment of jar sealing with no string or skin impression on reverse. Orientation of impression uncertain.

*Dimensions:* L. (20 mm), H. (15 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (25 mm), H. (18 mm), Th. (11 mm).

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 15, Y 36; figure 10.15 (p. 250).**

Fragmentary impression of incised style cylinder seal with three chevrons stacked vertically over herringbone pattern. A single drilling appears in the upper field. Fragment of jar sealing with string and skin impression on reverse. Seal rolled perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (35 mm), H. (21 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (38 mm), H. 25 mm, Th. 9 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 16, TY 23; figure 10.16 (p. 250).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style seal with outlined foursquare cross and two curved lines and six drillings to the side. Complete jar sealing with string and skin impressions on reverse. Seal rolled three times perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. 40 mm, H. 25 mm. Jar sealing measured L. 65 mm, H. 28 mm, Th. 8 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

**Catalogue no. 17, TY 25; figure 10.17 (p. 251).**

Fragmentary impression of wheelcut style cylinder seal with short diagonal lines. Fragment of jar sealing with string and skin impression on the reverse. Seal rolled perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (22 mm), H. (25 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (30 mm), H. (24 mm).

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 18, Y 30; figure 10.18 (p. 251).**

Fragmentary impression of incised style cylinder seal with outlined triangle(?). Fragment of jar sealing with string and skin impressions on reverse. Seal rolled perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (11 mm), H. (12 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (15 mm), H. (15 mm).

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 19, TY 26; figure 10.19 (p. 251).**

Fragmentary impression of incised cylinder seal with three chevrons stacked above four drillings. Fragment of jar sealing with string impression on reverse. Seal rolled perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (15 mm), H. (20 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (25 mm), H. (20 mm), Th. 6 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 20, TY 12; figure 10.20 (p. 251).**

Fragmentary impression of a classic style cylinder seal showing bull recumbent to left with front leg extended and a smaller standing animal at right angle above. Impression is on fragment of clay slab with wall plaster on back. Seal rolled (twice?) along horizontal axis.

*Dimensions:* L. (45 mm), H. (30 mm). Clay slab measured L. (45 mm), H. (30 mm), Th. 12 mm.

*Context:* B.71.6; Period IVC.

*Previous publication:* Potts 1980:fig. 17, pl. 21.

**Catalogue no. 21, TY 24; figure 10.21 (p. 251).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with double outlined hatched arcade or circle with traces of interior rosette. Sealing of uncertain function.

*Dimensions:* L. (20 mm), H. (15 mm). Sealing fragment measured L. (20 mm), H. (20 mm), Th. (18 mm).

*Context:* BW-CW.71.8.1; Phase IVC2-1.

**Catalogue no. 22, TY 17; figure 10.22 (p. 252).**

Glazed steatite style seal, probably fragmentary. Original design may have been a hatched circle and a four-petaled rosette. Cylinder broken in half leaving a hatched arcade and two-petaled rosette. Made of fired steatite or chlorite.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 10 mm, H. (17 mm).

*Context:* BW-CW.71.8.1; Phase IVC2-1.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972b:fig. 4A; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 117; Potts 1980:pl. 24.

**Catalogue no. 23, TY 16; figure 10.23 (p. 252).**

Wheelcut seal, broken along vertical axis with short wheelcut lines arranged at oblique angles. Top and bottom of seal bordered by two horizontal lines.

*Dimensions:* Diameter (8 mm), H. 31 mm.

*Context:* unknown.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972b:fig. 4B; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 120; Potts 1980:pl. 23.

**Phase IVC1****Catalogue no. 24, Y 39; figure 10.24 (p. 253).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal

with rear ends of two opposed bovids. Fragment of door sealing with wall plaster on base, string impressions around peg. Seal rolled perpendicular to peg and string.

*Dimensions:* L. (27 mm), H. (22 mm). Door sealing measured L. (32 mm), H. 45 mm, Th. 25 mm.

*Context:* B.71.20; Phase IVC1.

**Catalogue no. 25, TY 14; figure 10.25 (p. 253).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with feline in striding posture. Fragment of jar sealing with string and skin impressions on reverse. Seal rolled twice perpendicular to string.

*Dimensions:* L. (30 mm), H. (28 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (62 mm), H. 38 mm, Th. 20 mm.

*Context:* B.71.20; Phase IVC1.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 119; Potts 1980:fig. 18, pl. 22.

**Catalogue no. 26, TY 13; figure 10.26 (p. 254).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with feline seated on haunches facing left. Two registers in front show small feline in skidding posture above and small bovid below. Fragment of a clay slab wall sealing with wall plaster adhering to reverse. Seal rolled parallel to horizontal axis of sealing.

*Dimensions:* L. (60 mm), H. 40 mm. Clay slab wall sealing measured L. (80 mm), H. 50 mm, Th. 12 mm.

*Context:* B.71.20; Phase IVC1.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:pl. 4; Potts 1980:pl. 25.

**Catalogue no. 27, TY 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18; figure 10.27 (pp. 254-255).**

Classic style cylinder seal reconstructed from seven fragments with two caprids with heads turned back rampant against a stepped platform (mountain) surmounted by tree. Tree has a spade-shaped top with four undulating stems emerging from the straight trunk. To the left of this heraldic group is a third caprid rampant with head turned back whose horns are viewed frontally rather than in profile. Beneath the belly of each animal is a four-sided cross. There are 9 fragments of clay slab wall sealings. Wall plaster is preserved on the reverse of most fragments. Seal is carefully rolled along horizontal axis of sealing.

*Dimensions:* L. 90 mm, H. 45 mm. Clay slab wall sealings ranged in size with maximum measurements of L. (75 mm), H. 52 mm, Th. 12 mm.

*Context:* B.71.20 (fragments); Phase IVC1.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:pls. 4, 5; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 115; Potts 1980:figs. 13-15; pls. 17-19, 25.



**Catalogue no. 28, TY 11; figure 10.28 (p. 256).**

Fragmentary impression of cylinder seal with birds with spread wings. Almost complete clay slab wall sealing with wall plaster adhering to back with surface of sealing covered with a textile impression and subsequently impressed. Seal was rolled along the horizontal axis of the object.

*Dimensions:* L. (18 mm), H. (18 mm). Clay slab wall sealing measured L. (75 mm), H. (50 mm).

*Context:* B.70.20; Phase IVC1.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:pl. 4; Potts 1980:fig. 16, pl. 20.

**Catalogue no. 29, TY 6; figure 10.29 (p. 256).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with two four-petal rosettes, drilling in the field. Fragment of a clay slab wall sealing. Seal rolled along the horizontal axis of the sealing.

*Dimensions:* L. (30 mm), H. (25 mm). Clay slab wall sealing measured L. (50 mm), H. (35 mm), Th. (14 mm).

*Context:* B.70.20; Phase IVC1.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 116; Potts 1980:fig. 12, pl. 16.

**Catalogue no. 30, TY 4; figure 10.30 (p. 257).**

Fragmentary impression of incised style cylinder seal with two or three horizontal rows of connected diamonds with interior lozenges. Fragment of clay slab wall sealing with wall plaster adhering to the reverse. Seal rolled along horizontal axis of sealing.

*Dimensions:* L. (26 mm), H. (22 mm). Clay slab wall sealing measured L. (27 mm), H. (45 mm), Th. 10 mm.

*Context:* B.70.20; Phase IVC1.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 116; Potts 1980:fig. 10, pl. 14.

**Catalogue no. 31, TY 27; figure 10.31 (p. 257).**

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with rear of bovid skidding. A second bovid with head down follows, separated by a foursquare cross. Tablet is inscribed and sealed on obverse.

*Dimensions:* L. (38 mm), H. (30 mm). Tablet measured L. 45 mm, H. 35 mm.

*Context:* B.70.20; Phase IVC1-2.

*Previous publication:* Damerow and Englund 1989:pl. 5a, b.

**Other Phase IVC1 Contexts****Catalogue no. 32, TY 3; figure 10.32 (p. 257).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched triangle with internal solid triangle. Function uncertain; seal rolled across the obverse, orientation unknown.

*Dimensions:* L. (28 mm), H. (35 mm).

*Context:* BW-CW.71.7.2; Phase IVC1.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 117.

**Catalogue no. 33; figure 10.33 (p. 257).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with double-outline chevron. Complete jar(?) sealing. Seal rolled three times.

*Dimensions:* L. (22 mm), H. (20 mm).

*Context:* unavailable; Phase IVC1?

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 117.

**Phase IVB6****Catalogue no. 34, TY 1; figure 10.34 (p. 258).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched arcade with interior concentric triangle. Fragment of large jar sealing with rope and skin impression on reverse. Seal impressed perpendicular to rope on obverse.

*Dimensions:* L. (35) mm, H. (30) mm. Jar sealing measured L. (48) mm, H. 42 mm, Th. 15 mm.

*Context:* BW.71.T2.2; Phase IVB6.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 117; Potts 1980:fig. 7, pl. 11.

**Catalogue no. 35, Y 7; figure 10.35 (p. 258).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched triangle with interior alternating triangles. Fragment of large jar sealing with string impression on reverse. Seal rolled at angle.

*Dimensions:* L. (30 mm), H. (30 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (70 mm), H. (55 mm), Th. 28 mm.

*Context:* B.71.1; Phase IVB6.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

**Catalogue no. 36, TY 2; figure 10.36 (p. 258).**

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched triangle with three concentric interior triangles. Fragment of sealing of uncertain function.

*Dimensions:* L. (25 mm), H. (20 mm). Sealing measured L. (40 mm), H. 40 mm.

*Context:* B.71.7; Phase IVB6.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 117; Potts 1980:fig. 8, pl. 12.

**Phase IVB2****Catalogue no. 37, Y 35; figure 10.37 (p. 259).**

Fragmentary impression of a classic style cylinder seal with fragment of shoulder and front leg of quadruped.

Fragment of jar sealing with string and skin impressions on reverse. Seal rolled perpendicular to string.  
*Dimensions:* L. (12 mm), H. (18 mm). Jar sealing measured L. 12 mm, H. 22 mm, Th. 11 mm.  
*Context:* B.70.4.10; Phase IVB2.

### No Controlled Context Information

#### Catalogue no. 38, Y 11; figure 10.38 (p. 259).

Fragmentary impression of wheelcut style cylinder seal with two petal forms and curved marking in field. Fragment of clay slab wall sealing(?).  
*Dimensions:* L. (18 mm), H. (15 mm). Clay slab wall sealing(?) measured L. (22 mm), H. (20 mm), Th. 5 mm.  
*Context:* unknown.

#### Catalogue no. 39, Y 33; figure 10.39 (p. 259).

Fragmentary impression of wheelcut style cylinder seal with traces of short diagonal lines and a pair of stacked chevrons. Fragment of jar sealing with string impression on reverse. Seal rolled perpendicular to string.  
*Dimensions:* L. (10 mm), H. (20 mm). Jar sealing measured L. (14 mm), H. 31 mm, Th. 18 mm.

#### Catalogue no. 40; figure 10.40 (p. 259).

Fragmentary impression of wheelcut cylinder seal with oblique line pairs. Fragment of clay wall sealing(?) with seal rolled once parallel to sealing orientation.  
*Dimensions:* L. (45 mm), H. 30 mm. Clay wall sealing(?) measured L. (45 mm), H. 45 mm.  
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 116.

#### Catalogue no. 41, figure 10.41 (p. 260).

Fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with rear of recumbent quadruped. Function of sealing uncertain. Seal is rolled once.  
*Dimensions:* L. (21 mm), H. (26 mm). Sealing measured L. (32 mm), H. (26 mm).  
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 116.

#### Catalogue no. 42; figure 10.42 (p. 260).

Fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with pair of outlined rosette petals. Function of sealing uncertain. Seal is rolled once.  
*Dimensions:* L. (30 mm), H. (12 mm). Sealing measured L. (30 mm), H. (18 mm).  
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 116.

#### Catalogue no. 43; figure 10.43 (p. 260).

Fragmentary impression of wheelcut cylinder seal with short oblique lines. Function of sealing uncertain. Seal rolled twice perpendicular to length of sealing.  
*Dimensions:* L. (25 mm), H. (28 mm). Sealing measured L. (55 mm), H. (28 mm).  
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

#### Catalogue no. 44; figure 10.44 (p. 260).

Fragmentary impression of wheelcut cylinder seal with oblique opposing lines. Function of sealing uncertain, multiple impressions.  
*Dimensions:* Unknown.

#### Catalogue no. 45; figure 10.45 (p. 261).

Illegible seal(?) impression on ovoid mass of clay. Function of impression uncertain.  
*Dimensions:* L. 38 mm, W. 33 mm.  
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 118.

### Period IVB

#### Cylinder Seals

#### Catalogue no. 46, TY 34; figure 10.46 (p. 261).

Fragmentary cylinder seal of fired serpentine with two winged and horned deities, probably female, stand facing right between vegetation or snakes. Each has long hair gathered in a long mass at the back of the neck. Each holds its hands clenched at the waist and wears a skirt hatched horizontally.  
*Dimensions:* Diameter 11 mm, H. (15 mm).  
*Context:* BW.5.5; Period IVB.  
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 22.

#### Catalogue no. 47, TY 33; figure 10.47 (p. 262).

Chlorite cylinder seal with female figure with narrow waist and long hair secured in a bun at the back of her head, wearing a long skirt, extends her arms to touch the branches of a palm tree with abundant and symmetrical foliage.  
*Dimensions:* Diameter 9 mm, H. 24 mm.  
*Context:* B-BW; Period IVB.  
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:pl 26c.

#### Catalogue no. 48, TY 38; figure 10.48 (p. 262).

Chlorite(?) cylinder seal with winged female figure wearing a horned headdress and long skirt sitting facing left on a chair with a high and curved back. This goddess is flanked on both sides by kneeling female figures that raise one arm toward the deity. Each has long hair that is

gathered and secured at the back of the head. The figure in front kneels above a double snake interlace, and the one behind is above a scene of a squatting female figure who raises one hand toward a curved snake with tongue extended. To the far left and facing the seated goddess is a standing figure who clasps her hands at her waist. From her shoulders and from the top of her head rise star forms. In the field are five lozenge-shaped forms.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 20 mm, H. 30 mm.

*Context:* Persian Gulf room; Period IVB.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:pl. 26d; Potts 1981a:137, fig. 2; Amiet 1986:fig. 132.9.

**Catalogue no. 49, TY 32; figure 10.49 (p. 263).**

Steatite cylinder seal with two squatting deities facing right. A female with wings and wearing a horned headdress holds her hands clasped at the waist. Next to her squats a second female(?) deity with a rectangular torso hatched vertically, grain sprouts from both sides of her body and from the top of her head. The lower body of both deities is a rectangular form detailed by a horizontally running chevron pattern.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 9 mm, H. 23 mm.

*Context:* B-BW.70.7.1; Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:fig. 2a, drawing reversed; pl. VI.

**Catalogue no. 50, TY 43; figure 10.50 (p. 263).**

Heavily worn steatite cylinder seal that was probably recut from older seal with crudely incised humanoid figure facing left toward what may be a seated figure.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 9 mm, H. 14 mm.

*Context:* B.70.6; Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:91, fig. 2B.

**Catalogue no. 51; figure 10.51 (p. 264).**

Fragmentary chlorite cylinder seal with two squatting female deities facing right with one raised hand. Both wear full robes decorated with a chevron pattern, and originally both also wore horned headdresses. A tulip-shaped plant form is in the field.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 12 mm, H. 24 mm.

*Context:* north step trench, second building level; Period IVA.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b: pl. 31c.

**Catalogue no. 52; figure 10.52 (p. 264).**

Steatite or chlorite cylinder seal with two palm trees and two ovoids.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 10 mm, H. 24 mm.

*Context:* surface.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 21.

**Stamp Seals**

**Catalogue no. 53; figure 10.53 (p. 264).**

Circular compartmented steatite stamp seal with horizontally pierced knob and scalloped edge. The interior has circular ridge enclosing two solid circles.

*Dimensions:* Max. diameter 23 mm, H. 11 mm.

*Context:* BW.T5.6; Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 25F, fig. 21L.

**Catalogue no. 54; unillustrated.**

Blank steatite stamp seal that is a round disk with perforated knob on the back.

*Dimensions:* Max. diameter 25 mm.

*Context:* BW.T5.5; Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 25E.

**Catalogue no. 55; figure 10.54 (p. 264).**

Steatite stamp seal with seven crudely incised lines, four deeper short gouges.

*Dimensions:* Max. diameter 30 mm, H. 10 mm.

*Context:* B.T5A.1.1 or BW.6; Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 25I, fig. 21P.

**Catalogue no. 56; unillustrated.**

Compartmented stamp seal with button back for perforation made of agate-like stone with linear pattern of ridges arranged in a cross form.

*Dimensions:* H. (16 mm), L. (15 mm).

*Context:* B.1.12; Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 17, 18.

**Catalogue no. 57, TY 37; figure 10.55 (p. 265).**

Persian Gulf-type circular steatite stamp seal with hemispherical knob pierced through for suspension with horned caprid, moon crescent, two small drillings, and bovid head arrayed around the edge.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 15 mm, H. 9 mm.

*Context:* B-BW.T4.6.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:fig. 21D; 1975b:pl. 26A.

**Catalogue no. 58, TY 35; figure 10.56 (p. 265).**

Double-sided steatite stamp seal, perforated along the lateral axis with opposing footprints on one side, a fantastic creature with long tail, six legs, and a head as seen from above on the other.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 15 mm, H. 8 mm.

*Context:* B.4; Period IVB.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:fig. 2C; 1975b:pl. 26.

**Catalogue no. 59, TY 36; figure 10.57 (p. 266).**

White stone stamp seal with partially broken perforated knob with human-headed lion(?) with head turned back and tail raised. Several dots in the field.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 22 mm, H. (10 mm).

*Context:* B.T3.2.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:fig. 2E.

**Catalogue no. 60; figure 10.58 (p. 266).**

Copper or bronze compartmented stamp seal with pierced knob for suspension with stepped cruciform outline and central dot.

*Dimensions:* H. 10 mm, W. 20 mm.

*Context:* XB.T2.15; Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972b:fig. 4F.

**Catalogue no. 61; unillustrated.**

Bronze compartmented stamp seal with array of perpendicular lines around a divided square.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 22 mm.

*Context:* Period IVB.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 124.

**Catalogue no. 62; figure 10.59 (p. 266).**

Copper or bronze(?) compartmented stamp seal with loop for suspension on back with animal in profile facing right, with a circular eye and scalloped body patterning.

*Dimensions:* L. 41 mm, H. 20 mm.

*Context:* A.4.T3.1; Period I.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970:pl. 8F.

**Period IVA Stamp Seals****Catalogue no. 63; figure 10.60 (p. 266).**

Stamp seal impression on sherd with four verticals above two dots.

*Dimensions:* H. 8 mm, W. 13 mm.

*Context:* Period IVA.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:pl. 30b.

**Catalogue no. 64; figure 10.61 (p. 266).**

Stamp seal impression on sherd of alternating feet.

*Dimensions:* H. 18 mm, W. 14 mm

*Context:* Period IVA.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:pl. 30b.

**Catalogue no. 65; figure 10.62 (p. 267).**

Stamp seal impression on sherd of two overlapping impressions showing the head of a horned caprid.

*Dimensions:* L. 13 mm, H. 9 mm.

*Context:* Period IVA.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:pl. 30c.

**Catalogue no. 66; figure 10.63 (p. 267).**

Stamp seal impression on plain red ware sherd with Harappan inscription.

*Dimensions:* L. 14 mm, H. 10 mm.

*Context:* XB.T1.2A; Period IVA.

*Previous publications:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972b:pl. 2B; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 137I.

**Catalogue no. 67; figure 10.64 (p. 267).**

Stamp seal impression on clay bullae with humanoid figure (bird-like head) with extended arms.

*Dimensions:* H. 17 mm, W. 12 mm.

*Context:* Period IVA.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:pl. 30b.

**Catalogue no. 68; figure 10.65 (p. 267).**

Rectangular steatite(?) stamp seal with perforated knob on the back with lines crossed from corner to opposite corner.

*Dimensions:* W. 13 mm, L. 16 mm, H. 10 mm.

*Context:* Period IVA.

*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975b:311, fig. 5c.

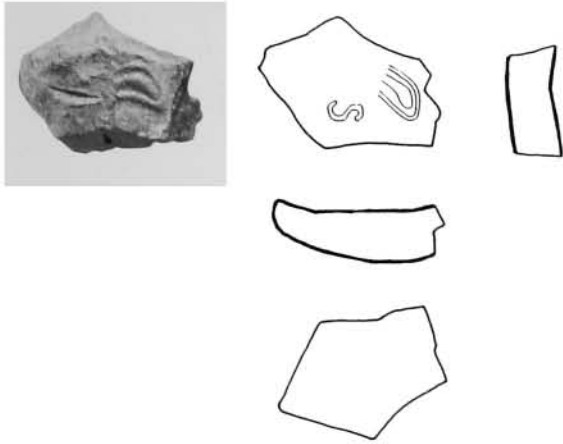
**Catalogue no. 69; figure 10.66 (p. 268).**

Steatite stamp seal made from a four-sided perforated bead. One image is carved on each side of the four-sided bead: scorpion; palm-tree(?); fish; two stars.

*Dimensions:* Diameter 9 mm, H. 24 mm.

*Context:* Period IVA.

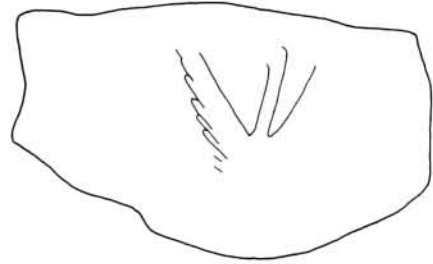
*Previous publication:* Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:fig. 121.



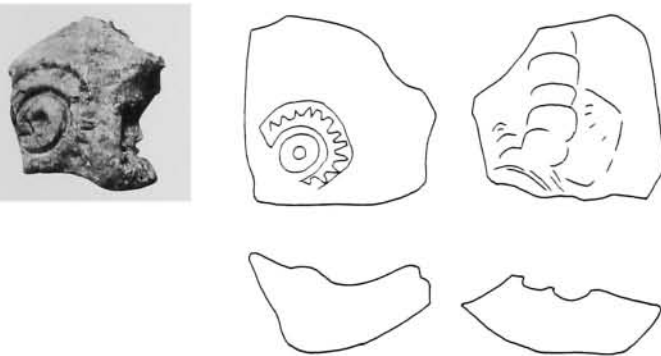
**Figure 10.1.** Catalogue no. 1, Y 34, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal sigmoidal curve. Drawing shown at 80 percent.



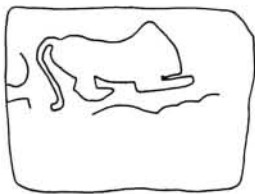
**Figure 10.2.** Catalogue no. 2, Y 22, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with one rosette petal. Shown at 80 percent.



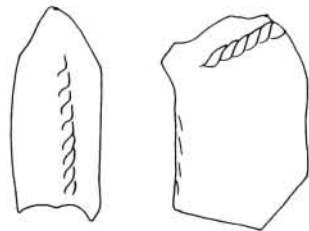
**Figure 10.3.** Catalogue no. 3, TY 20, fragmentary impression of wheelcut style cylinder seal with long-necked bird with spread wings (after Potts 1980:fig. 3e). Shown at 80 percent.



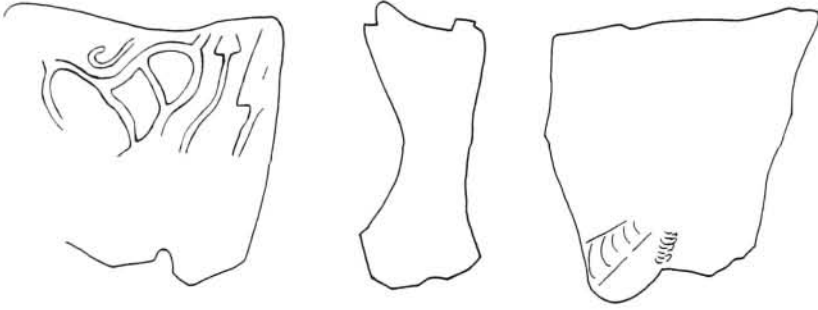
**Figure 10.4.** Catalogue no. 4, TY 22, stamp seal impression of circle with notched border. Drawing shown at 80 percent.



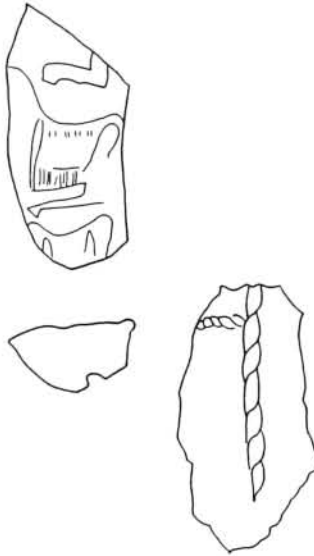
**Figure 10.5.** Catalogue no. 5, TY 19, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with feline (after Potts 1980:fig. 3c). Shown at 80 percent.



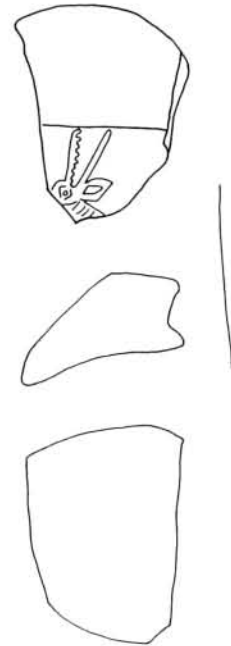
**Figure 10.6.** Catalogue no. 6, Y 43, fragmentary impression of classic style seal with bovid in skidding posture. Shown at 80 percent.



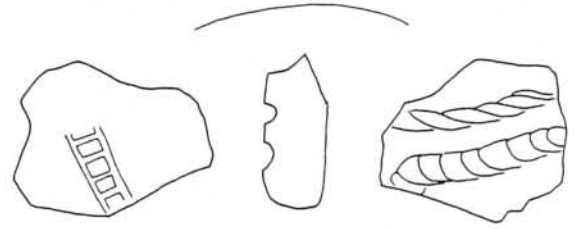
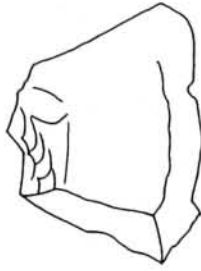
**Figure 10.7.** Catalogue no. 7, TY 29, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with feline in skidding posture with raised tail (after Potts 1980:fig. 4g). Shown at 80 percent.



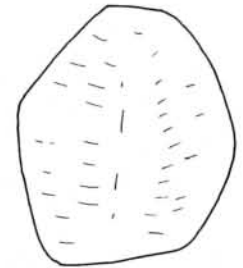
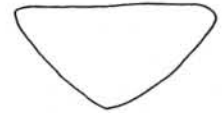
**Figure 10.8.** Catalogue no. 8, Y 38, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with two-register composition of quadrupeds. Drawing shown at 80 percent.



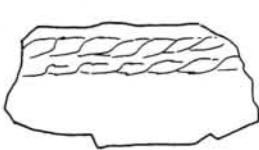
**Figure 10.9.** Catalogue no. 9, TY 27, fragmentary impression of cylinder seal with horned animal. Shown at 80 percent.



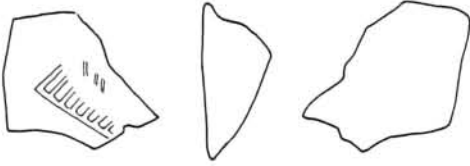
**Figure 10.11.** Catalogue no. 11, Y 44, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with curved ladder pattern. Shown at 80 percent.



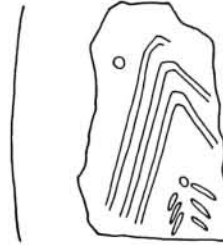
**Figure 10.12.** Catalogue no. 12, TY 30, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with petals, chevrons, and hatched band. Drawing shown at 80 percent.



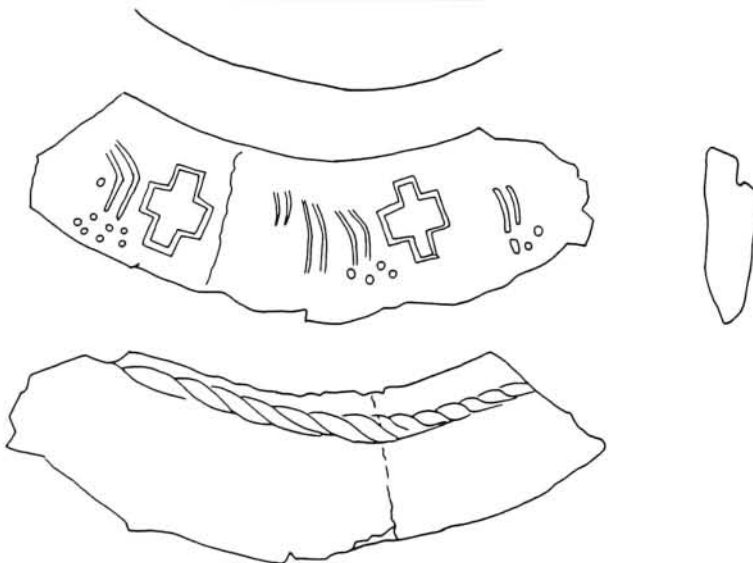
**Figure 10.13.** Catalogue no. 13, TY 31, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with hatched arcades with hatched interior (after Potts 1980:fig. 4i). Shown at 80 percent.



**Figure 10.14.** Catalogue no. 14, Y 31, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with hatched band patterning. Shown at 80 percent.

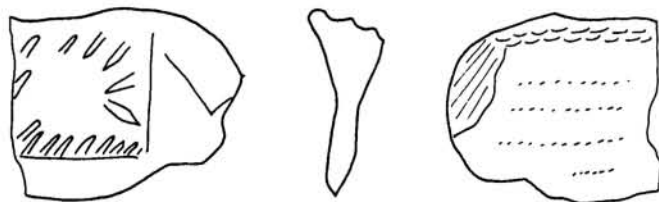


**Figure 10.15.** Catalogue no. 15, Y 36, fragmentary impression of incised cylinder seal with chevrons over herringbone pattern. Shown at 80 percent.



**Figure 10.16.** Catalogue no. 16, TY 23, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite seal with foursquare cross, two curved lines, and six drillings. Photograph shows fragment of complete jar sealing. Drawing shown at 80 percent.

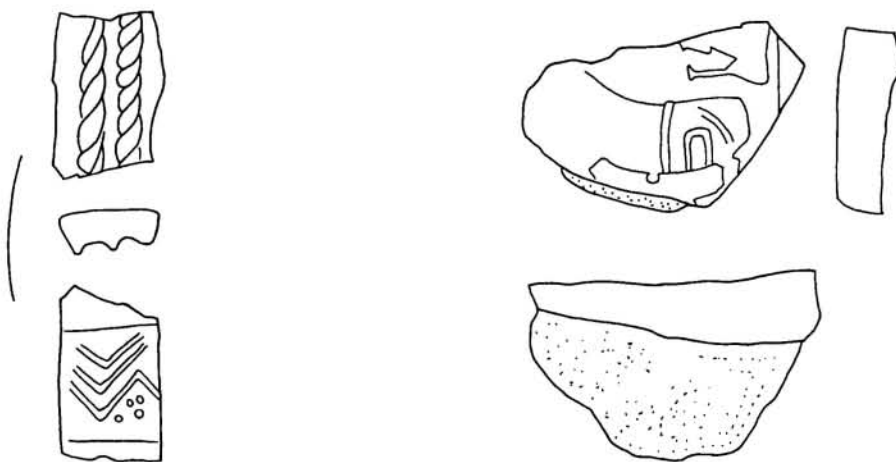




**Figure 10.17.** Catalogue no. 17, TY 25, fragmentary impression of wheelcut cylinder seal with short diagonal lines. Shown at 80 percent.



**Figure 10.18.** Catalogue no. 18, Y 30, fragmentary impression of incised cylinder seal with outlined triangles. Shown at 80 percent.



**Figure 10.19.** Catalogue no. 19, TY 26, fragmentary impression of incised cylinder seal with three chevrons and four drillings. Shown at 80 percent.

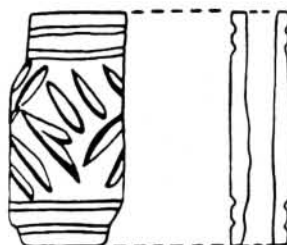
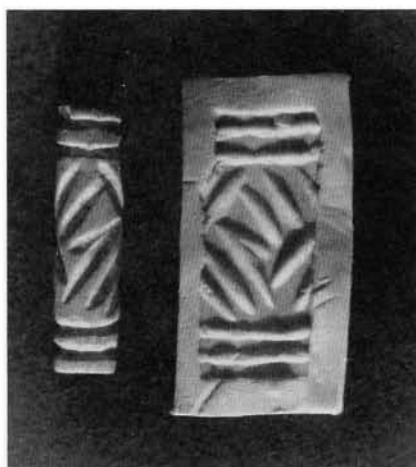
**Figure 10.20.** Catalogue no. 20, TY 12, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with recumbent bull and smaller standing animal (after Potts 1980:fig. 17, pl. 21). Shown at 80 percent.



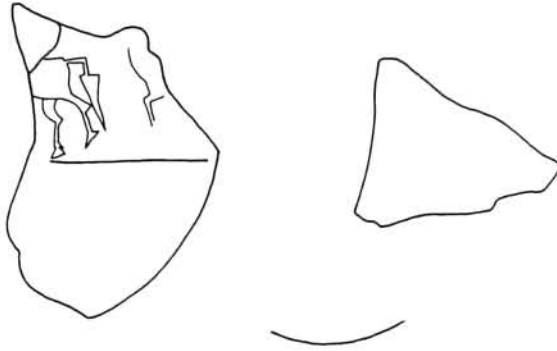
**Figure 10.21.** Catalogue no. 21, TY 24, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with double outlined hatched arcade or circle with traces of rosette.



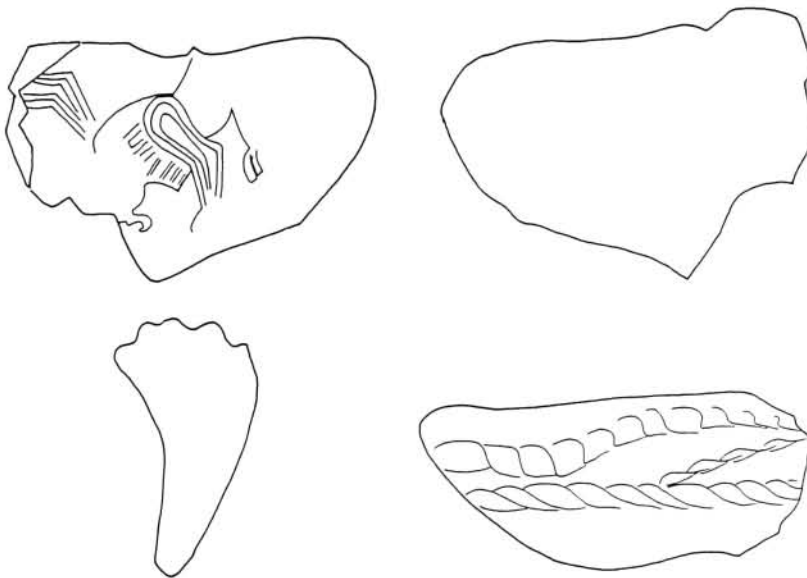
**Figure 10.22.** Catalogue no. 22, TY 17, broken glazed steatite style cylinder seal, showing hatched arcade and two-petaled rosette (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972b:fig 4a).



**Figure 10.23.** Catalogue no. 23, TY 16, broken wheelcut seal with lines at oblique angles (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972b:fig 4b).



**Figure 10.24.** Catalogue no. 24, Y 39, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with rear ends of opposing bovids. Shown at 80 percent.

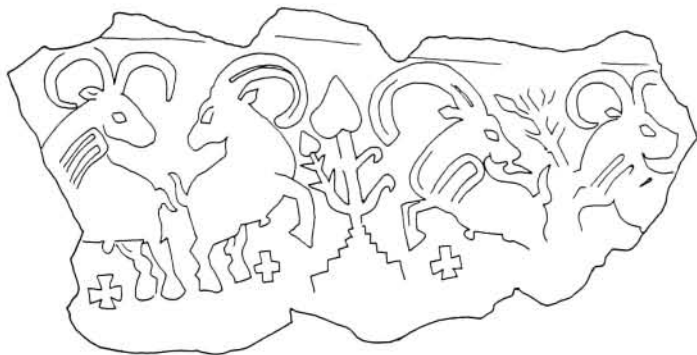


**Figure 10.25.** Catalogue no. 25, TY 14, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with feline in striding posture. Drawing shown at 80 percent.



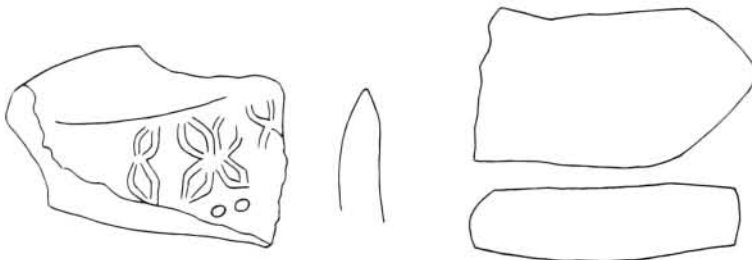
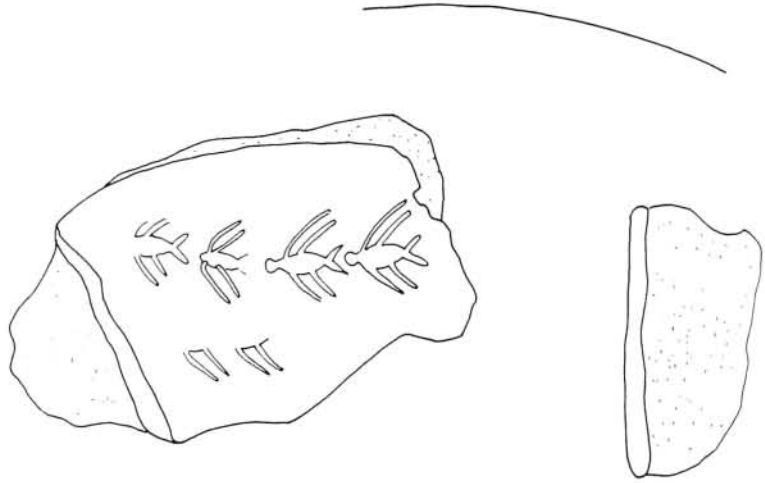
**Figure 10.26.** Catalogue no. 26, TY 13, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with seated feline facing left and two registers in front with small bovid and small feline. Drawing shown at 75 percent.

**Figure 10.27.** Catalogue no. 27, TY 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, classic style cylinder seal reconstructed from seven fragments. Drawing extrapolates from fragments. Two rampant caprids against a stepped platform surmounted by tree with third caprid and four-sided crosses (after Potts 1980:figs. 13–15, pls. 17–19, 25). Drawing shown at 75 percent.

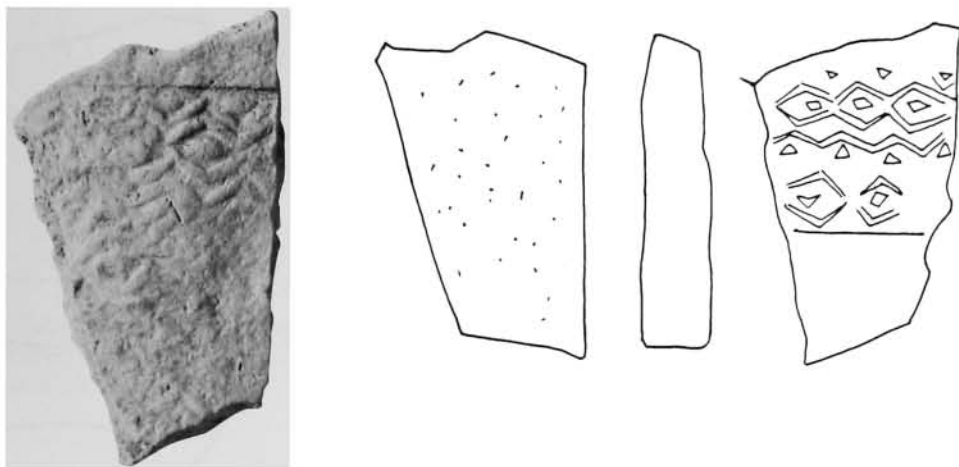




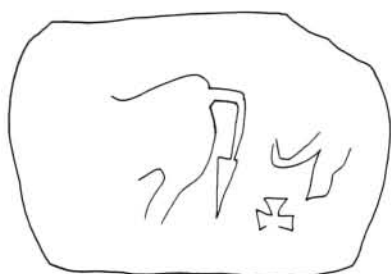
**Figure 10.28.** Catalogue no. 28, TY 11, fragmentary impression of cylinder seal with birds with spread wings (after Potts 1980:fig. 16, pl. 20). Drawing shown at 75 percent.



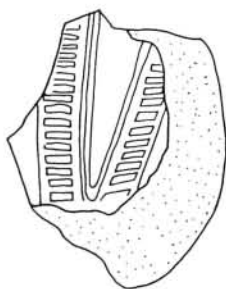
**Figure 10.29.** Catalogue no. 29, TY 6, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with four-petaled rosettes and drilling. Drawing shown at 75 percent.



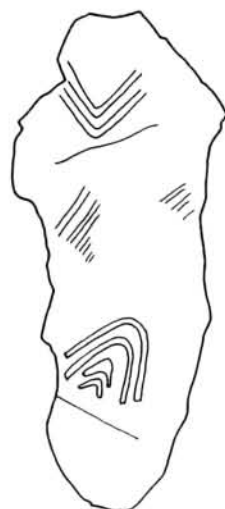
**Figure 10.30.** Catalogue no. 30, TY 4, fragmentary impression of incised style cylinder seal with two or three rows of connected diamonds with interior lozenges.



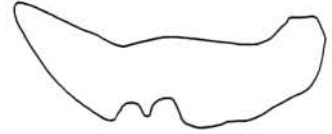
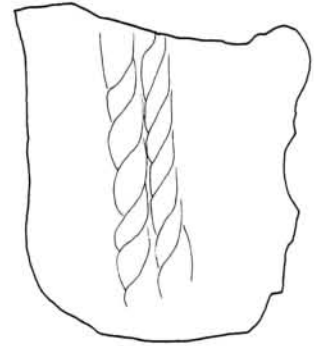
**Figure 10.31.** Catalogue no. 31, TY 27, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with rear of skidding bovid, head of second bovid, and a foursquare cross (after Damerow and Englund 1989). Shown at 75 percent.



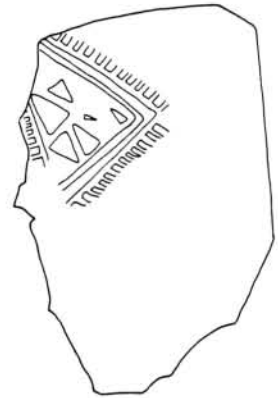
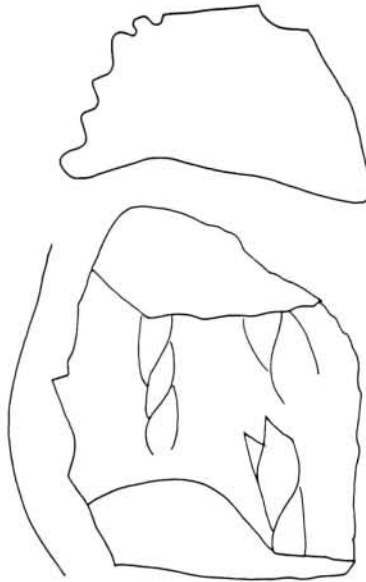
**Figure 10.32.** Catalogue no. 32, TY 3, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite cylinder seal with hatched triangle with internal solid triangle. Drawing shown at 75 percent.



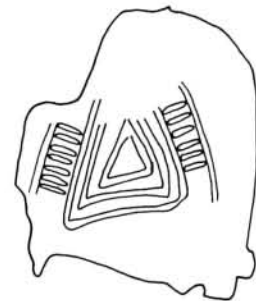
**Figure 10.33.** Catalogue no. 33, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with double-outline chevron.



**Figure 10.34.** Catalogue no. 34, TY 1, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched arcade with interior concentric triangle. Drawing shown at 85 percent.

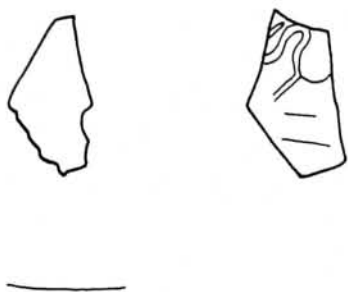


**Figure 10.35.** Catalogue no. 35, Y 7, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched triangle with interior alternating triangles. Drawing shown at 75 percent.

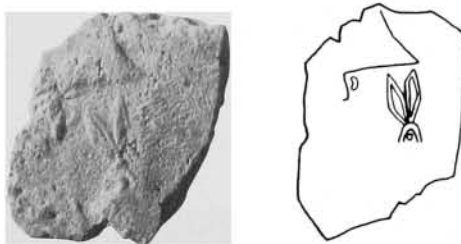
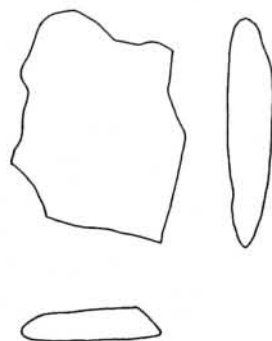


**Figure 10.36.** Catalogue no. 36, TY 2, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with hatched triangle with three concentric interior triangles. Drawing shown at 85 percent.

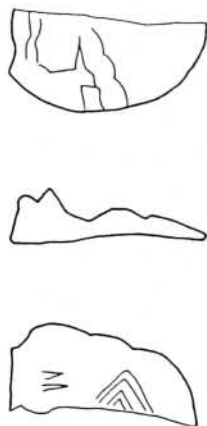




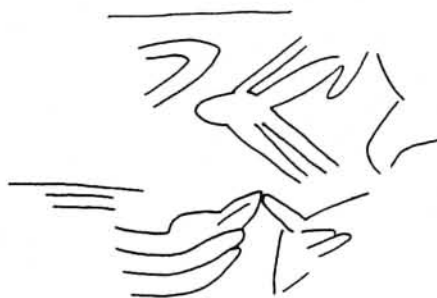
**Figure 10.37.** Catalogue no. 37, Y 35, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with shoulder and leg of quadruped.



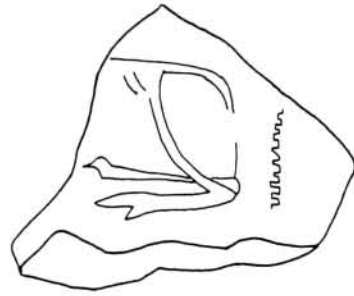
**Figure 10.38.** Catalogue no. 38, Y 11, fragmentary impression of wheelcut style cylinder seal with two petal forms and curved marking.



**Figure 10.39.** Catalogue no. 39, Y 33, fragmentary impression of wheelcut style cylinder seal with traces of short diagonal lines and stacked chevrons. Shown at 80 percent.



**Figure 10.40.** Catalogue no. 40, fragmentary impression of a wheelcut cylinder seal with oblique line pairs.



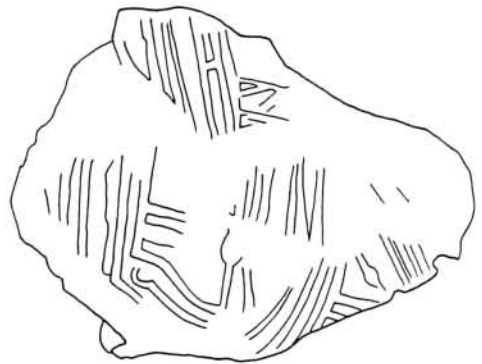
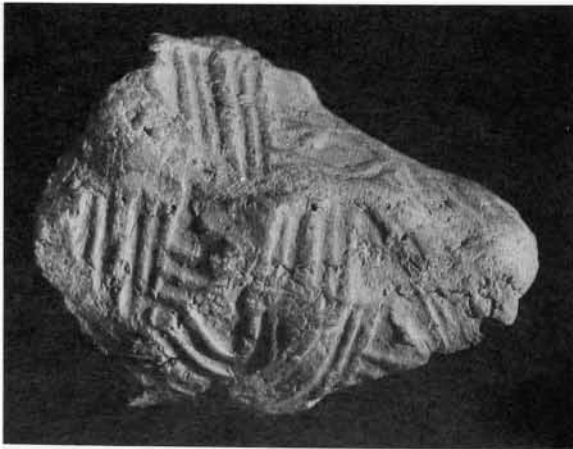
**Figure 10.41.** Catalogue no. 41, fragmentary impression of classic style cylinder seal with rear of recumbent quadruped.



**Figure 10.42.** Catalogue no. 42, fragmentary impression of glazed steatite style cylinder seal with pair of outlined rosette petals.



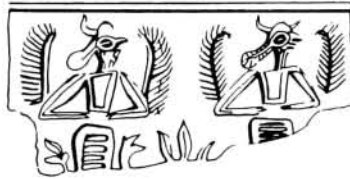
**Figure 10.43.** Catalogue no. 43, fragmentary impression of wheelcut cylinder seal with short oblique lines.



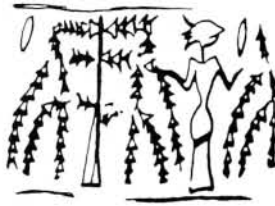
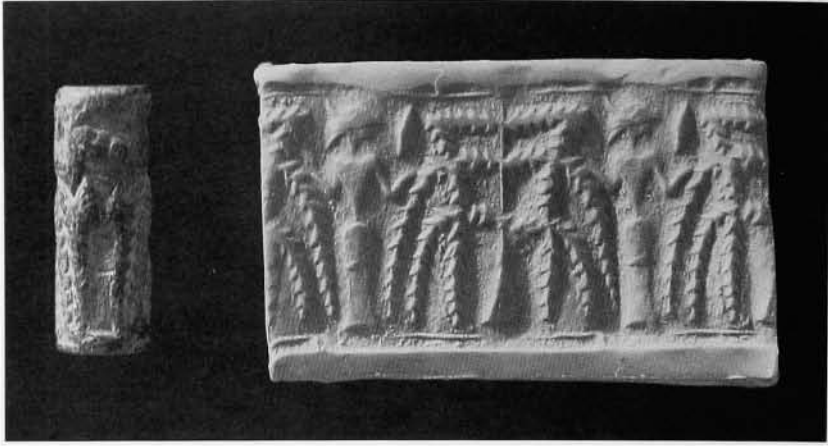
**Figure 10.44.** Catalogue no. 44, fragmentary impression of wheelcut cylinder seal with oblique opposing lines. Drawing shown at 80 percent.



**Figure 10.45.** Catalogue no. 45, illegible seal(?) impression on ovoid mass of clay.



**Figure 10.46.** Catalogue no. 46, TY 34, fragmentary cylinder seal of fired serpentine with two winged and horned deities facing right between vegetation and snakes (after Amiet 1986:132.5). Drawing shown at 85 percent.



**Figure 10.47.** Catalogue no. 47, TY 33, chlorite cylinder seal with female figure with extended arms and palm tree (after Amiet 1986:132.1).



**Figure 10.48.** Catalogue no. 48, TY 38, chlorite(?) cylinder seal with winged female figure and other images (after Amiet 1986:132.9).

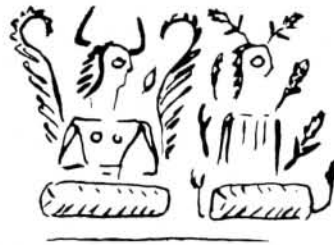


Figure 10.49. Catalogue no. 49, TY 32, steatite cylinder seal with two squatting deities facing right (after Amiet 1986:132.6).

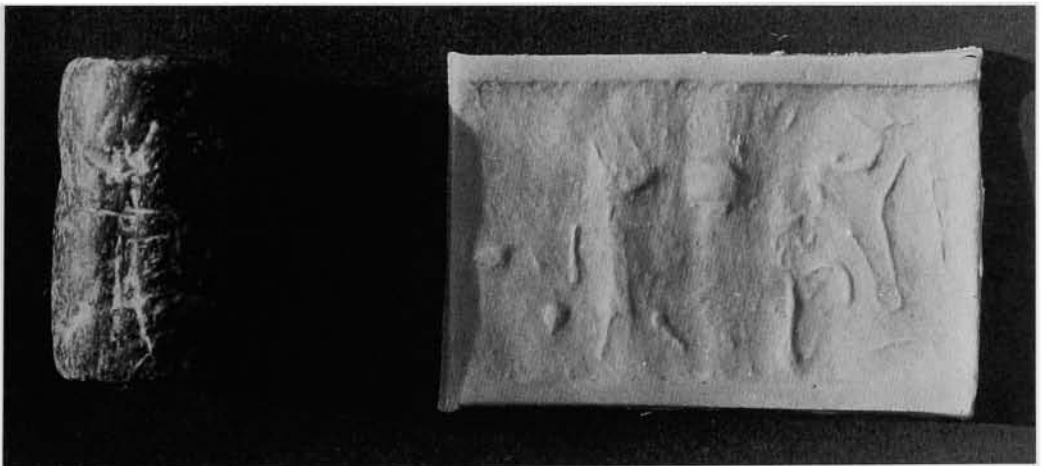
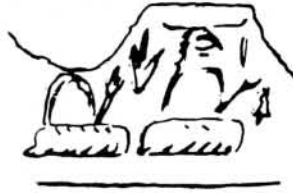


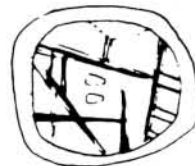
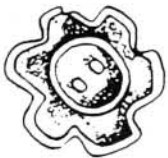
Figure 10.50. Catalogue no. 50, TY 43, steatite cylinder seal recut from older seal with humanoid figure and possible seated figure (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971:fig. 2b).



**Figure 10.51.** Catalogue no. 51, fragmentary chlorite cylinder seal with two squatting female deities (after Amiet 1986:132.3).



**Figure 10.52.** Catalogue no. 52, steatite or chlorite cylinder seal with two palm trees and two ovoids. Photo shown at about 146 percent.



**Figure 10.53.** Catalogue no. 53, compartmented steatite stamp seal with pierced knob and scalloped edge (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970). Shown at 80 percent.

**Figure 10.54.** Catalogue no. 55, steatite stamp seal with incised lines and short gouges (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970). Shown at 80 percent.



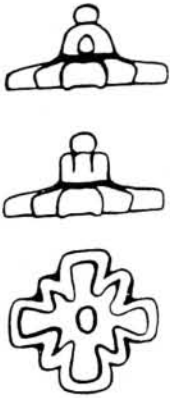
**Figure 10.55.** Catalogue no. 57, TY 37, circular steatite stamp seal with pierced knob and horned caprid and bovid (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970). Drawing shown at 125 percent.



**Figure 10.56.** Catalogue no. 58, TY 35, double-sided steatite stamp seal with opposing foot prints and six-legged creature on opposite sides. Drawing shown at 125 percent.



**Figure 10.57.** Catalogue no. 59, TY 36, stamp seal with human-headed lion(?) with head turned back and tail raised (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971).



**Figure 10.58.** Catalogue no. 60, copper or bronze compartmented stamp seal with stepped cruciform outline and central dot (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972b).



**Figure 10.59.** Catalogue no. 62, copper or bronze compartmented stamp seal with animal in profile with scalloped body patterning (after Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970). Shown at 2.25:1.



**Figure 10.60.** Catalogue no. 63, stamp seal impression in sherd with four verticals above two dots.



**Figure 10.61.** Catalogue no. 64, stamp seal impression on sherd of alternating feet.





**Figure 10.62.** Catalogue no. 65, stamp seal impression on sherd of two overlapping impressions of seal with head of horned caprid.



**Figure 10.63.** Catalogue no. 66, stamp seal impression on plain red ware sherd with Harappan inscription.



**Figure 10.64.** Catalogue no. 67, stamp seal impression on clay bullae with humanoid figure with raised arms.



**Figure 10.65.** Catalogue no. 68, rectangular steatite stamp seal with perforated knob on the back with lines crossed from corner to corner.



**Figure 10.66.** Catalogue no. 69, steatite stamp seal made from four-sided perforated bead with images of a scorpion, palm tree, fish, and two stars. Shown at 2:1.

## Afterword

# Excavations at Tepe Yahya: Reconstructing the Past

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*It is more of a job to interpret the interpretations  
than to interpret the things.*

Montaigne, *Essays*

What can we say of society at Tepe Yahya? Is it possible to do an ethnography of Yahya, even of a most restricted sort, based on the archaeological materials recovered from the various periods? One can approach such an effort along the lines posed by the Greek poet Archilocus and subsequently made famous by Sir Isaiah Berlin (1958), “The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing.” Berlin went on to say,

Taken figuratively, the words [above] can be made to yield a sense in which they mark one of the deepest differences which divide writers and thinkers, and, it may be, human beings in general. For there exists a great chasm between those, on one side, who relate everything to a single central vision, one system, less or more coherent or articulate, in terms of which they understand, think and feel—a single, universal, organising principle in terms of which alone all that they are and say has significance—and, on the other, those who pursue many ends, often unrelated and even contradictory, connected, if at all, only in some de facto way, for some psychological or physiological cause, related to no moral or aesthetic principle.

A site report is neither fox nor hedgehog in its writing or in the final product. A site report is rather like the construction of a dictionary, a series of descriptive entries that cannot be read as either fiction or nonfiction. It contains no plot, yet it remains an essential tool for the subsequent construction of a story. An archaeological site report is as essential to a story (ethnological or archaeological) as a dictionary is to a narrative. The excavations at Tepe Yahya, undertaken in the decade of

the ascendancy of the New Archaeology, turned a generation of archaeologists into hedgehogs, all sharing the conviction that if they adhered to a specific scientific method (positivism), within a framework of evolutionary theory, they would “firmly ground archaeology in science and lead to cumulative knowledge” (Binford 1989).

Traditionally archaeological site reports are devoid of interpretation. The canonical approach is to eliminate all interpretation and report only on the facts: a descriptive analysis of the material remains within their stratigraphic and chronological context. To know the data is to appreciate the hedgehog, for it consists of one big and enduring thing. Interpretation is another matter. Like the fox it requires knowing many things, not all necessarily enduring. The hedgehog and the fox, like data and interpretation, are not to be confused with each other, any more than the two animals are ever seen mingling.

There are three distinctive elements within the context of the Yahya Project that distinguish it from many other sites on the Iranian Plateau: a number of exceptional “art” objects of fifth millennium date (Beale 1986), among the most extraordinary recovered from the Iranian Plateau; an architectural complex containing seals, sealings, inscribed tablets, and beveled-rim bowls, referred to as the Proto-Elamite settlement; and a workshop involved in the manufacture of chlorite vessels carved in the Intercultural Style. Tepe Yahya is the only known production center of this widely distributed type of artifact. These three elements, in conjunction with the exceptionally important settlement regime and associated agricultural fields discovered on our initial survey in 1967 and mapped with test excavations by Martha Prickett, are among the most significant results of the Yahya Project.

## PERIOD IVC: THE PROTO-ELAMITE SETTLEMENT

*Truth resides in a panoramic rather than a local view of events.*

Polybius

The Proto-Elamite settlement at Tepe Yahya is an event-like episode. The settlement was constructed atop an abandoned mound and occupied for a few generations (probably no more than 150 years). Following the abandonment of the Proto-Elamite settlement, the site was once again uninhabited for an unknown amount of time. Several observations about the Proto-Elamite settlement follow here: A single building complex was uncovered over an expanse of five hundred square m. Approximately 50 m from the major exposure of the IVC complex, we uncovered the corner of a building constructed with headers and stretchers of identical size. It is likely that the entire top of the mound was covered with such building(s). The building contains an assemblage of outstanding significance: bichrome and polychrome Jamdat Nasr-like storage vessels, Proto-Elamite tablets, cylinder seals of the Piedmont style, cylinder sealings (in some instances in direct association with large jars), and beveled-rim bowls. In earlier publications I referred to this architectural complex as an "administrative building" and dated it to the Uruk/Jamdat Nasr Period (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971, 1975b). In the early 1970s the beveled-rim bowl was *the* "fossil index" for the Uruk Period, to which it was thought to be restricted. The associated seals and pottery indicated a Jamdat Nasr date, thus, the Uruk/Jamdat Nasr designation. Today, it is possible to suggest a dating between 3100 to 2800 B.C., ranging from Jamdat Nasr to Early Dynastic I in Mesopotamian terms. The Proto-Elamite settlement at Yahya does not appear to be as early as that at Susa (levels 17–16) or the early phases of the Banesh Period at Malyan. The sealings at Yahya, however, do appear to be identical to those of Shahr-i Sokhta 1.

The precise dating of the Proto-Elamite settlements at Susa, Malyan, Choga Mish, Sialk, Yahya, Shahr-i Sokhta, Hissar, Tal-i Ghazir, etc. is of great importance (fig. A.1). We do not know if the settlements were contemporaneous, sequential, or both. The earlier Uruk Expansion offers a cautionary note. Initially, it was thought that the spread of the Uruk was a relatively short phenomenon. Today we know that the Uruk Expansion, from southern Mesopotamia to central Anatolia, was a process that endured for at least 600 years! The expansion from Khuzistan (Susa), should that be the Proto-Elamite epicenter, to Miri Qalat in Baluchistan could have taken 200–400+ years. The radiocarbon dates for

the earliest Banesh settlement at Malyan seem to cluster around 3300–3200 B.C. Thus, there could be a 300–400 year difference between Malyan and Yahya. *None* of the settlements, including the stratigraphic sequence of Proto-Elamite levels at Susa, have a sufficient number and/or clustering of dates to permit an unraveling of the chronology and/or the duration of the Proto-Elamite settlements and their expansion. The chronological relationship of the Proto-Elamite settlements remains an unresolved issue!

It is important to point out that the pottery of the Proto-Elamite settlement at Yahya contains both painted and plain wares of *local* indigenous type, not readily paralleled at Malyan, Susa, or even Shahr-i Sokhta. The local wares are associated with types that define the Proto-Elamite settlements on the Iranian Plateau: beveled-rim bowls, polychrome jars, trays, seals, tablets, sealings, etc. Thus, it is clear that a local population and a foreign Proto-Elamite culture experienced a process of acculturation.

The building complex at Yahya is still best seen as "administrative," at least in distinction to such terms as "temple" or "palace." What is the scale of "administration" for this building? The texts at Yahya pertain to small numbers and relate to bread, wheat, and textiles (Damerow and Englund 1989). Whether the texts are recording production, consumption, or redistribution, the numbers are small and are within the range of the needs of an extended family. Peter Damerow and Robert Englund draw three important conclusions from their study of the Tepe Yahya texts (Damerow and Englund 1989:62–63).

[1.] The similarity of the proto-elamite texts from these outlying sites [Malyan, Sialk, Yahya] to those from Susa seems, in fact, less suggestive of political or economic control of these settlements by interests centered in or around Susa—or for that matter any other external center—than of the mundane functioning of more or less independent units.

[2.] The texts, so far as we have been able to classify them, record however the dispensation of products from agricultural activity, in particular the rationing of quantities of grain to presumable workers under the direction of household administrators, and possibly the disbursement of grain for the purpose of sowing, as we think, rather unimposing fields.

[3.] The complete absence of references in these texts to the exploited resources of the regions, in particular to metals and stone, sug-

gest that such exploitation, if at all recorded, will have been secondary to primary agricultural activities in the respective settlements.

I am in complete agreement with these statements. In contrast, the Proto-Elamite texts at Susa record very large numbers of animals (23,600 of one animal) and grain measures (17,100 of one grain). These large sums at Proto-Elamite Susa are comparable to the large numbers recorded in the proto-cuneiform texts at Uruk (Damerow and Englund 1989:63 n.171).

Differences in scale signify differences in the complexity of social organization. At Yahya the "administrative" texts contain figures that are not beyond the needs of an extended household. Within the Soghun Valley there are numerous sites with sherd scatters, some extending over a considerable distance, but none of the size to suggest the presence of an administrative center (con. Dittman 1986a) directing activities at Yahya. If there was a regional center it is likely that it was Shahdad, which certainly was the largest and an exceptionally rich site, if the cemetery is good witness. There is, however, no evidence from either excavation or surface debris that Shahdad was inhabited at this time, though this does not eliminate the possibility of its presence. Careful surface survey at Yahya did not offer a single clue to the presence of Period IVC (Vidale, Vidale, and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1976).

It remains difficult to assess which of several possibilities is more probable regarding the Proto-Elamite world on the Iranian Plateau. There are at least three different possibilities: (1) Alden's thesis (1982) of a Proto-Elamite hegemony centered at Malyan, which others would situate at Susa (Wright 1998; Wright and Johnson 1975); (2) a series of regionally-based independent centers, i.e., Khuzistan (Susa), Fars (Malyan), Kerman (Shahdad), Seistan (Shahr-i Sokhta), etc.; (3) the existence of numerous, loosely structured, decentralized, tribal configurations. The first two scenarios posit the existence of a state structure of administrative centralization while the third scenario would complement the highly structured state centralization evident in Khuzistan. The archaeological data join the textual evidence to support the conclusion that "whether they were only inspired by or were in direct contact and exchange with an external political center cannot, given the present state of insufficient documentation, be determined" (Damerow and Englund 1989:62-63).

The Proto-Elamite settlement at Yahya offers no hint as to why it was abandoned. We have little understanding as to whether such Proto-Elamite settlements and/or influences at places like Sialk, Hissar, Shahr-i Sokhta, and Yahya, were abandoned simultaneously or sequen-

tially. There is little evidence at Yahya that permits one to distinguish whether one is dealing with an independent household (as in a manorial estate), a social unit affiliated with a tribe, a community controlled by a larger centralized polity, or all three.

## PERIOD IVB: CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Amiet (1974) was the first to suggest that the date of the Period IVB settlements, specifically the chlorite workshops, were Akkadian or later, around 2400-2200 B.C. Over the years he has been consistent in advancing this *terminus post quem* for Period IVB. As Potts indicates in chapter 8, following his quote of Amiet (p. 201), the chlorite workshops at Yahya date to the Akkadian period and later. It is worth examining this argument in detail. In chapter 8 Potts advances four artifacts and a number of ceramic sherds as indicative of a late-third-millennium date for Period IVB. He favors a chronological gap of 600 years between the abandonment of IVC (ca. 2900-2800 B.C.) and the resettlement at Yahya in IVB (ca. 2300-2200 B.C.). The argument advanced is far from strong. I shall take each of his six points in turn.

First, both Amiet (1974) and Potts have argued that the bull-man seal from Yahya is of Akkadian date. It must be realized that the bull-man motif first appears on Proto-Elamite seals, becomes exceedingly popular in the Early Dynastic II period, and continues throughout the entirety of the third millennium. Frankfort (1939) long ago defined the salient characteristics of the Mesopotamian bull-man motif: the upper torso is human, it stands upright on bovine legs, its face is turned in frontal view, it has long shoulder-length hair with elaborate ringlets, a luxuriant beard, horns, often wears a kilt, and "is often ithyphallic especially in Sargonid times" (Frankfort 1939:46). The Yahya bull-man seal is *utterly* different! The entirety of the body is a bull, its body is standing on four feet in full profile, the body of the bull is decorated with incised lines wholly unlike anything in Mesopotamia, it is entirely devoid of shoulder-length hair and fulsome beard, and lacks kilt and horns. Lastly, at Yahya it is a stamp seal depicting a single bull with a detached human head whereas in Mesopotamia the bull-men of completely different style appear on cylinder seals as part of an elaborate frieze of struggle. Upon careful examination, the so-called bull-man seal from Yahya bears absolutely no relationship in either its style, its form, or its composition to the bull-man seals of Mesopotamia.

Amiet (1974) and Potts (this volume) also have used the seal from Yahya depicting a winged female and a

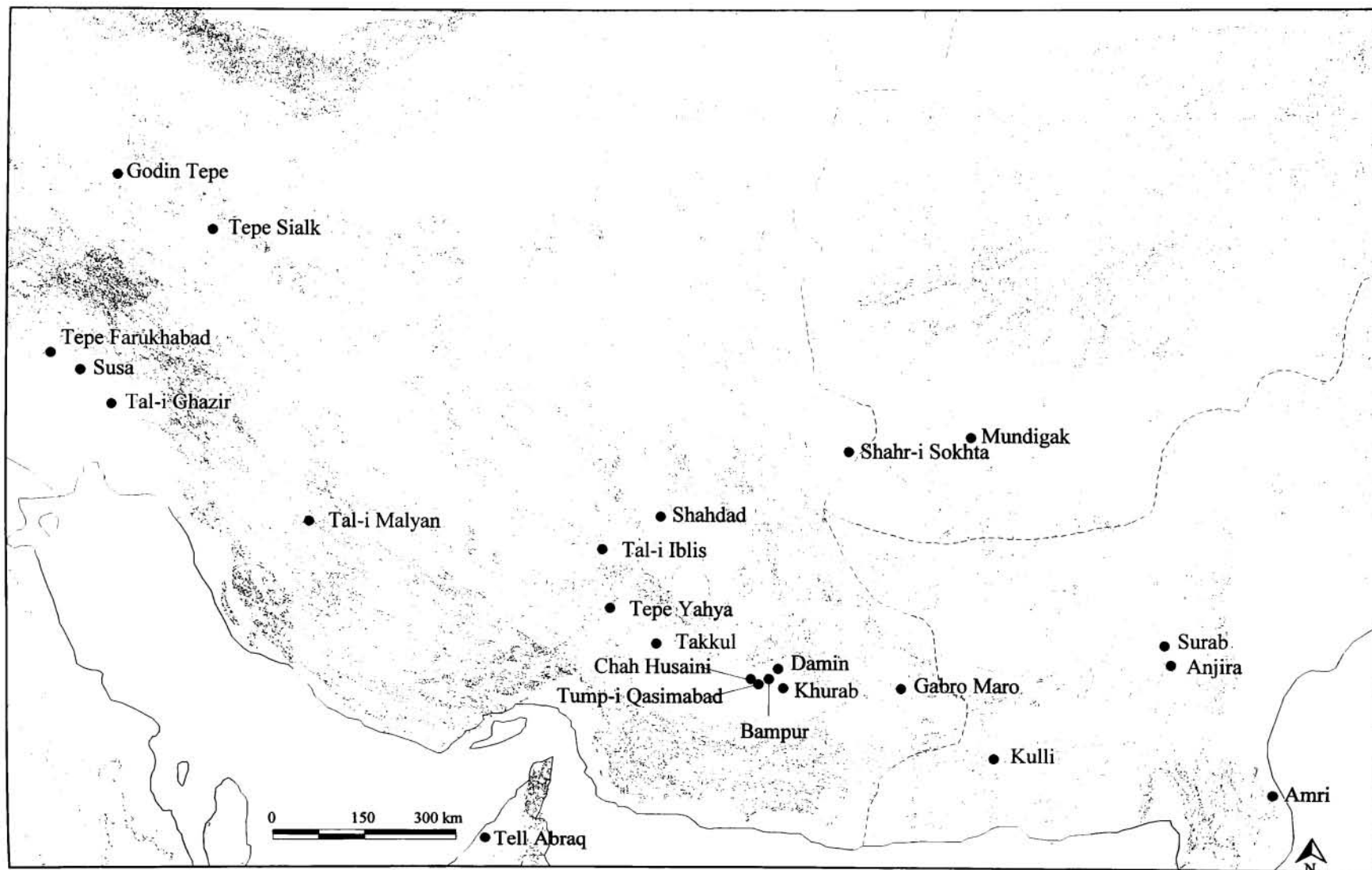


Figure A.1. Map of the Indo-Iranian borders illustrating the principal sites discussed in the text.

male with vegetation sprouting from his body as further evidence for an Akkadian date. This type of seal, within the Mesopotamian context, falls within a group of seals depicting vegetation deities. Seals with so-called vegetation deities are already known from the Early Dynastic II period (Frankfort 1939) and throughout Old Babylonian times. Numerous examples of vegetation deities can be cited from the stratified seal corpus from the Diyala that predate the Akkadian period (e.g., Frankfort 1955; Collon 1995). Moreover, careful analysis of the Yahya seal simply does not relate to the style, form, or composition of those from *any* period in Mesopotamia. It was in recognition of the *distinctive* style of seals from southeastern Iran that Edith Porada (1993:486) dubbed these seals "southeast Iranian style."

I digress here on a matter of considerable interest, as it relates to how the Yahya seals became designated as belonging to the Akkadian period. As early as 1962 Edith Porada (1964) declared a seal (made of shell?), in the private collection of Mosséne Foroughi, to be from Iran and of Akkadian date! The seal was purchased from a dealer and is therefore without provenience. Porada suggested that the principal motif on the cylinder seal involves scenes from the Etana myth. She states, "At the same time the wide-shouldered narrow-waisted and naturally proportioned figures are comparable to Mesopotamian types of the Akkad period and indicate the date of the cylinder" (Porada 1964:91). A decade later Amiet (1974) published the same Foroughi seal, and, following Porada, believed it to be of Akkadian date and to illustrate the Etana myth. Amiet proceeded to compare that Foroughi seal with the one from Tepe Yahya depicting a male vegetation deity and winged female. He offers no narrative or illustrative parallels that convincingly relate the Yahya seal to stratified, or well-dated, Akkadian seals. Amiet's logic appears to be straightforward: the Foroughi seal is Akkadian, based on Porada's designation, and the Tepe Yahya seal is stylistically similar to the Foroughi seal. Thus the Tepe Yahya seal is also Akkadian. The "evidence" is based entirely on personal authority, not objective criteria nor evidence! I might point out that I discussed the dating of the Yahya IVB seals over twenty years ago with both Amiet and Porada. I asked them to offer concrete parallels between the Yahya seals and their alleged Akkadian counterparts. In one of her last publications, Porada (1993) withdrew an Akkadian date for the seals from Yahya of "southeast Iranian style."

This is a classic example in which an art historian takes an unprovenienced object and uses it to date one with an archaeological context. Aside from the fact that there is a woman with wings emanating from her back and a male with vegetation growing from the body—

motifs that are found in Mesopotamia from Early Dynastic to Old Babylonian times, and appear with some popularity as far away as Bactria (Sarianidi 1986)—there is *nothing in the style or composition of the Yahya seal to connect it with any similar seal from any specific period in the Mesopotamian corpus*. Neither Amiet nor Porada have published a careful analysis, a detailed description, and/or illustration of the seals from Yahya and compared them with a known Akkadian corpus from Mesopotamia. In place of analysis and description Amiet has merely asserted that a comparison exists and that the Yahya seals are of Akkadian date. In fact, a careful analysis of the bull-man seal and the seal with "vegetation deity" indicates that the style, composition, and form find *no* ready parallel from any specific period in the corpus from Mesopotamia. Attempts to date seals recovered from distant regions and thought to relate to Mesopotamian motifs produced in distinctive styles have been misleading. This point is extremely well documented by Marchetti (1998). Comparisons of Early Syrian seals to Mesopotamian glyptics frequently result in a misleading date; "it is necessary to rely mainly on an internal archaeological and stylistic sequence for the study of the mature Early Syrian glyptic in order to eventually evaluate relationships with South Mesopotamia in a historical perspective and not within a core/periphery scheme" (Marchetti 1998:130). The exact same can be said for a study and dating of the "southeast Iranian style" and its relationship to Mesopotamia.

Second, Potts suggests that "an alabaster unguent, square-based jar (IVB5, SF 3740) of a type common in Bactria, Iran, and the Gulf about 2000 B.C." supports a late-third-millennium date for Period IVB. This is not so. The vessel type that Potts is referring to is (1) made entirely of chlorite/steatite, (2) invariably decorated with well-known motifs (most commonly the dot-in-circle, which appears at Yahya in the later IVA period), (3) typically has sharply defined corners and square bases with, (4) well-defined necks and flaring rims (Pottier 1986). The Yahya object is (1) alabaster, (2) undecorated, (3) has rounded corners and an ovoid base, (4) with a squat neck and no rim. Alabaster occurs at Yahya throughout the fifth and fourth millennia. It would certainly not be for lack of chlorite that they made this object of alabaster at Yahya. As Casanova (1991) has shown alabaster vessels are far from uncommon on the Iranian Plateau throughout the third and second millennium. Alabaster vessels first appear at Yahya in the fourth millennium. Casanova has also shown that alabaster vessels are poor chronological indicators. This object fails as a typological parallel and as a chronological marker.

Third, "a piece of incised greyware (IVB5), dated by associated radiocarbon samples at Shahr-i Sokhta where it was found in the Burnt Building of Period IV (2200–1800 B.C.)" is taken as further documentation for a late-third-millennium date for Period IVB. If this incised greyware sherd from Yahya ties Yahya to Shahr-i Sokhta Period IV, it is the *only* piece at Yahya that does so. The ceramics from Period IV at Shahr-i Sokhta are utterly different and without parallel at Yahya. It is generally thought that Yahya was abandoned during Shahr-i Sokhta Period IV, or perhaps, settled with an entirely different material culture. At any event, there is nothing save this one sherd to tie the two sites together. Does this offer a good dating opportunity? I think not. Incised greyware sherds appear at Bampur IV2, which the excavator relates to Amri IIIC (pre-Harappan) and offers a date of about 2400 B.C. (de Cardi 1970:320–325, fig. 56). Once again, this single item does not offer a conclusive, let alone suggestive, date, other than the second half of the third millennium.

Fourth, a Persian Gulf-related seal from Phase IVB5 is advanced as dating to the late third millennium. It is precisely this seal that led me to term the architectural complex from which it was retrieved the "Persian Gulf room." This seal dates to the late third millennium, but when in the late third millennium? As Potts (1990b:161) has pointed out, there is an earlier "Persian Gulf" type and a later "Dilmun" type of seal. T. C. Mitchell (1986:283) has shown that the Dilmun type (which is divided into three varieties) "appear[s] to group around the Akkadian period." Thus, the seal from Yahya could be Akkadian, but it could also be earlier, as it is of the Persian Gulf type that generally precedes the appearance of the Dilmun type. Another seal from Yahya contains two feet and a scorpion, common motifs on Gulf seals. It is also not particularly helpful for dating. Seals with feet and snakes appear at Brak in the Jamdat Nasr Period (Mallowan 1947:122, pl. 18.1), and as Amiet (1980c:122, pl. 6.11, 9A) points out they already appear as important motifs on the archaic seals at Susa. The motifs on these Yahya seals appear over a wide geographical area and over an extensive chronological horizon. There is nothing in the style of the seal that privileges its dating to any specific time within the second half of the third millennium.

Fifth, Potts also advances "sherds of 'truncated pots' (IVB1) similar to those from numerous sites in Bactria, Margiana, and Baluchistan" as an argument for a "late third and early second millennium B.C." date. In my opinion a late-third-millennium date for the end of Period IVB is acceptable, but pushing it into the early second millennium is not. The use of this ceramic type offers little support for an early-third-millennium date.

The "truncated pots" referred to by Potts are those classified by Russian archaeologists as *stolovaya* (serving vessels; P'iankova 1993), Hiebert's types 2.A.2 and 2.A.3 (1994:46). In the "whole pot" typologies, as developed by the Russians, serving vessels are distinguished by the form of the base: footed or trumpet form. The truncated pots at Yahya are of the trumpet form. This form already appears in Namazga V, prior to the BMAC of Margiana. In fact, once again we have a ceramic form best described as a horizon style. Hiebert (1994:46–47) describes the type:

The form of the footed bases is similar to the ceramics of South Asia, but does not necessarily indicate any specific interaction between South Asia and Margiana and Bactria. For example, footed bases first occur in eastern and central Kopet Dagh during the late Namazga IV with the beginning of wheel-finished pottery. This ceramic trait appears to have been adopted from South Asia during an earlier period of wide-ranging contact.

The use of footed and/or trumpet vessels is not a good chronological marker. Footed vessels appear at Gonur as buff-ware, at Hissar as grey burnished, and at Yahya as red-slipped. These vessels are almost certainly not all contemporaneous. Hiebert (quoted above) refers to the presence of this type in South Asia. Jean-Francoise Jarrige (1994:fig. 25.1, j, k, r) has recently suggested that these ceramic forms, typically taken to be of BMAC type, may, in fact, have their origins in Baluchistan. This is based upon his evidence that at Nausharo these types appear in periods that predate the BMAC. Clearly, the use of this ceramic type to date the end of period IVB at Yahya is misdirected. Nevertheless, a date of about 2200–2100 B.C. for the *final* occupation of Period IVB1 is entirely acceptable. What is far more tenuous is the attempt to date the *beginning* of Period IVC1–IVB6 to this time frame (see below).

Sixth, in his concluding chapter Potts refers to a socketed axe (Hache à Collet) as further indicating a terminal-third-millennium date. This is an extremely simple socketed axe. In his catalogue of axes Deshayes (1960:1:194; 2:pl. XXV, no. 12.5; see also Cerny et al. 1991) documents the presence of this type of axe from the Balkans to the Indus beginning in the fourth millennium. This is most definitely not a chronological indicator.

Seventh, and finally, as evidence for a short gap of 200–300 years instead of 600 years, Potts offers the Intercultural Style chlorite as the best evidence, acknowledging that it reaches its floruit of popularity in



the Mesopotamian context in the Early Dynastic II–III periods. The fact that the Intercultural Style does indeed continue into the Akkadian period is sufficient for him to join Amiet (1986) in dating the chlorite workshops at Yahya to the Akkadian period and later. As indicated above, I do not find any of the evidence brought forth, initially by Amiet, and subsequently adopted and embellished by Potts (p. 201) to be compelling for determining that “the evidence suggests that the Phase IVC1 deposit may date to about 2200 B.C., followed immediately by Phase IVB6.”

One further comment deserves mention. Throughout the volume there is a consistent and unsettling assertion that sherds that argue for an earlier, or a continuous, sequence are consistently said to be out of context, and there are a very large number of them! On the other hand, sherds that support the argument are always in good context. In discussing Phase IVB6 Potts eliminates the existence of *five* different ceramic types found in IVB6. He regards the presence of all sherds of all five types as intrusive from the earlier Phase IVC2. It is not merely a handful of sherds that are seen as intrusive but sherds representative of *five different* ceramic types. If these types are not considered intrusive one can make an argument for cultural continuity, but such an argument would not suit the posited existence of a major gap.

Potts also advances an argument that ceramic types, i.e., black-on-grey ware and snake-cordoned ware, that date to the late third millennium in the Gulf offer a comparable date for them on the Iranian Plateau. The fact is that the origin for these types is on the Iranian Plateau. The time in which they are adopted in the Gulf does *not* offer a date for their *first* occurrence on the Iranian Plateau. Given the wide distribution of these ceramic types it is not unreasonable to assume that they had a distinctive function and a considerable life-span—class elements pertaining to a horizon style.

Snakes are a popular and widely distributed motif. They appear on seals throughout the third millennium in Mesopotamia as well as on the Iranian Plateau; they appear as raised motifs on pottery and on seals throughout the entire span of the BMAC; and in the Gulf snakes are even placed in pots with human burials. It is unreasonable to assume that snakes had a substrate of common meaning throughout this vast area and during their immense iconographic time span. Potts concludes that snake-cordoned jars find their point of origin in Baluchistan and make their appearance in the Gulf from 2400 to 2000 B.C. Thus, in Baluchistan and on the Iranian Plateau they should be earlier than their first appearance in the Gulf, i.e., earlier than 2400 B.C. Until there is an analysis of the typological variation, geographical distribution, and chronological date it is best

to avoid the widely distributed snake-cordoned jars as a chronological marker. There are snake-cordoned jars in the BMAC, at Shahdad, Merhgarh, Yahya, and Tell Abraq, to mention but a few sites. There are substantial variations in the style, shape, and date of the jars at each of these sites. The snake-cordoned motif simply cannot be seen as a contemporaneous horizon style until it has been subjected to a careful typological and contextual study!

In my opinion the dating of the chlorite workshops, and for that matter the entirety of Period IVB, cannot be definitively put to rest with the evidence at hand. Most assuredly it is, as Potts argues in chapter 8, to be dated to the later part of the third millennium. But does this mean a date of 2400 or 2100 B.C.? It would appear that Potts' preference is for the later date. I do not believe that the stylistic and typological parallels presented by Amiet and Potts are sufficiently persuasive to eliminate an earlier date from consideration. There has been much ambiguity in the dating, provenience, and trade of chlorite and the Intercultural Style. This is clearly evident in the literature (for a review see Lamberg-Karlovsky 1993). Kohl, in virtually all of his publications pertaining to chlorite at Yahya, has advocated an earlier date for the inception of Period IVB at Yahya, while Potts supports a later date. It is my contention that the evidence from Yahya can be used to support both positions. Clearly, only a return to field excavations can resolve this debate.

Recently, Karen Frifelt (1991, 1995) has published the final report on the excavation of the settlement and graves at Umm an Nar in the Gulf. It is exceptional how many parallels exist between this site and Period IVB at Yahya. At Umm an Nar one finds black-on-grey ware (Frifelt 1991:46–47), incised grey ware (Frifelt 1991:62, 63; 1995:65), black-on-red ware (Frifelt 1991:42–47, 55, 57, 74–80), microbeads of steatite (Frifelt 1991:120), snake-cordoned ware (Frifelt 1995:162–163), and among the plain wares it is difficult to find a shape that cannot be readily paralleled at Yahya in Period IVB. Needless to say, the parallels are not exact but they are most convincing! After a careful consideration of the ceramic and small find parallels to Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau, the Indus, and the Gulf itself, Frifelt concludes (1995:239):

Our comparison with Mesopotamian material places the Settlement mainly within E.D. III with emphasis on the earlier part and reaching back into E.D. II or possibly I and forward into Early Akkadian times . . . the island had then existed . . . through half a millennium, from 2700 to ca 2200 B.C.”

Table A.1. New radiocarbon dates for Period IVB.

Context	Material	Period	Conventional date	Calibrated B.C.	
				1 Sigma	2 Sigma
B-BW.70.T4.7.1 <sup>1</sup>	seeds	IVB5	3800±135	2460–2420 (.768)	2592–1877
B-BW.70.T6.4	seeds	IVB5	3665±140	2211–1878 (.890)	2456–1736
B.70.8.1 <sup>2</sup>	charcoal	IVB5	3690±55	2141–2015 (.887)	2206–1915
B-BW.69.T5.8A	charcoal	IVB5	3835±55	2350–2200 (.861)	2461–2190
B-BW.69.T5.9	charcoal	IVB2	3675±55	2137–2010 (.813)	2200–1909
B-BW.70.T4.5.1 <sup>3</sup>	charcoal	IVB5	3790±55	2301–2137 (1.00)	2360–2111
A.75.9.3 <sup>4</sup>	charcoal	IVB5(?)	3690±65	2143–2008 (.769)	2211–1891
BW.65.T5.6 <sup>5</sup>	charcoal	IVB5	3715±90	2207–2007 (.817)	2355–1881
B-BW.69.T5.5 <sup>6</sup>	charcoal	IVB5	3675±110	2200–1896 (1.00)	2349–1784

Note: All radiocarbon samples were analyzed by the Department of Geosciences, University of Arizona. The dates are corrected for  $\delta^{13}C$ . The numbers in parentheses after the 1 sigma cal. B.C. date is the relative area under probability distribution. The relative areas under probability distribution at 2 sigma are all in excess of .900.

1. The seeds were taken from a complete pot associated with seal TY 32.
2. The charcoal was taken from a hearth.
3. Sample associated with Intercultural Style carved chlorite and seal TY 35.
4. From a pit, possibly from a later phase than IVB5.
5. From fill associated with chlorite wasters and carved fragments.
6. From a strata of fill containing one of the richest deposits of worked chlorite.

Over the years Dan Potts advocated a long gap (500–600 years as initially suggested in his Ph.D. dissertation) while Phil Kohl favored continuity or at most a short gap (200–300 years) between Periods IVC and IVB. Kohl, influenced by the Early Dynastic II–III dates of the Intercultural Style in Mesopotamia, preferred to see a date in the middle of the third millennium for the dating of the Intercultural Style at Yahya. Potts, influenced by Amiet's dating of the chlorite workshop at Yahya (Amiet 1986) and the seal recovered from the Persian Gulf room as Akkadian, advocated a major gap between Periods IVC and IVB. As noted above, the objects used for a late dating of Period IVB are far from convincing.

In order to shed new light on the issue, and perhaps put the controversy to rest, Phil Kohl encouraged me to run a new series of radiocarbon dates in April 1999, specifically related to the Persian Gulf room and the slightly later chlorite-bearing levels of Period IVB. Phil joined me in carefully selecting nine samples. Phil was well aware that in this monograph Dan Potts was advocating a low chronology for Period IVB and the chlorite workshops. As Phil had long held a position advocating a higher chronology he urged me to run a new series of

samples. I agreed. Phil and I carefully went through the available samples in order to select the best one from the best context. All samples were collected by different excavators in different seasons. Upon selection of the samples we notified Dan that a new series of radiocarbon dates were forthcoming with hopes of zeroing in on the date of Period IVB5. We all enthusiastically awaited the results obtained from the University of Arizona radiocarbon labs in June 1999 (table A.1). The new dates did not offer a definitive resolution. It might, however, be pointed out that one of the very best samples (#1) consisted of seeds recovered from a complete pot resting on the floor of the Persian Gulf room next to seal TY 32. This sample had a date of 2460–2420 B.C., a date to which Phil gravitates while Dan might look to one of a number of dates that are centuries later.

It is interesting to note that if one accepts the maximum calibration at 1 sigma, a date for the chlorite bearing levels at Yahya is 2400+ B.C. If, on the other hand, one accepts the minimum calibration at 1 sigma, then a date of 2200 B.C. is possible. The former would please Phil, the later Dan. If the new dates serve any purpose, they point to the fact that Period IVB at Yahya is to be dated from 2400 to 2100 B.C.

## INTERACTION SPHERES, CHLORITE WORKSHOPS, AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF PERIOD IVB

Period IVB, with its various building levels, some well-preserved, others fragmentary, and some that are merely surfaces without architecture, is far from impressive. There is nothing in the archaeology of Period IVB that suggests anything beyond the realm of domestic households. There is virtually nothing in the architecture, nor in the material remains, that suggests an "elite" presence within Period IVB. Three elements within the archaeological context of Period IVB do give importance to this period: the presence of cylinder seals, the documentation of a production center involved in the manufacture of chlorite bowls incorporating the Intercultural Style, and a wide variety of ceramic types with distant parallels to the Gulf and Central Asia. The seals of this period are well-treated by Holly Pittman (chap. 10). As is evident in the different treatments accorded the date of these seals by Potts, Pittman, Kohl, and myself, their dating remains ambiguous until further research refines the chronology of this "southeast Iranian style." The chlorite vessels, and the Intercultural Style is well-covered in the commentary of Phil Kohl (chap. 9).

Potts concludes his contributions to this volume by suggesting that the observations made by Maurizio Tosi and I in an article published in 1973 remain essentially valid to this day. The observations, however, were of a very limited nature. We introduced the concept of "interaction sphere," itself adopted from Joe Caldwell (1964), to suggest that trade in certain resources—chlorite vessels, lapis lazuli, turquoise, metal—united distant regions. This was further suggested by the extensive number of ceramic types that could be traced across the Iranian Plateau, Baluchistan, Central Asia, and the Gulf.

Today, a quarter of a century after our excavations at Tepe Yahya, we are no nearer to an understanding of the mechanisms that circulated goods from Mesopotamia to the Indus and from the Gulf to Central Asia. In 1973 we left the mechanisms that characterized the exchange that united these interaction spheres in abeyance. In 1972 and 1975 I laid out a series of hypotheses that attempted to place these mechanisms into a specific context (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972a, 1975a). The basic thesis advanced the presence of a market exchange within a network of supply-and-demand. Trade between the Iranian Plateau and Mesopotamia took place within a context of the development of underdevelopment; "economic exploitation" and "economic imperialism" were part of the vocabulary of my perspective:

It is possible that the Mesopotamian capacity to produce *surplus* grain, textiles, and perishables (such as fish)—the commodities which the texts inform us were traded for the mineral wealth of the Iranian Plateau—assisted the Mesopotamians in their exploitation of the Iranian Plateau. (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975a: 361, emphasis in original)

This approach was later adopted by Phil Kohl in his much-quoted article in *Current Anthropology* (1978). There remains little evidence, however, that Mesopotamia was dumping surplus grain on the Iranian Plateau. Transport facilities were inadequate to truck grain from Mesopotamia to distant Yahya, and more importantly, our evidence suggests that the region was more than self-sufficient in agricultural production. More recently, core-periphery relations and "world systems" have become the fashion, but a change in the vocabulary has added little to our understanding of the mechanisms that tied Yahya to distant regions. Kent Flannery (1999:4) has suggested, "in the 1990s we find ourselves in a virtual 'paradigm boutique,' free to try on new models without necessarily buying." Most fashionable among these models is the world systems approach, first introduced by Phil Kohl and kept alive in this volume (chap. 9). Phil believed that the Yahya chlorite workshops were contemporaneous with the chlorite bowls found in Early Dynastic-Akkadian contexts on numerous Mesopotamian sites. This contemporaneity suggested to him the presence of commodities responding to markets of supply and demand over very great distances; a veritable world system engaged in the trade of textiles, cereal, lapis, and other mineral wealth, including carved chlorite bowls. The fact that the popularity of carved chlorite bowls had seriously waned in Mesopotamia, at the very time that the inhabitants of Tepe Yahya initiated their manufacture, makes the chronology that Phil was following wrong, not, at first glance, the model. The Intercultural Style maintained its popularity over a very broad region over the course of several hundred years. Its early use in Mesopotamia precedes its manufacture at Yahya by several hundred years. The fact is that no one has undertaken a careful typological and chronological study of the chlorite corpus in order to distinguish which styles were earlier and which were later, and the degree of regional variation in its style. There has been a false assumption that the entire chlorite corpus was of mid-third-millennium date and relatively contemporaneous. Such a view assisted in the construction of a world system mirage. In his essay in this volume Phil suggests that much of the Shahdad chlorite corpus is later than that of

Yahya. This, based on their differences in style, seems a reasonable suggestion and further expands the chronological life of this class of object.

In the hands of Phil Kohl the Intercultural Style chlorite bowls remain an important item in advancing the notion of a world system. After offering a number of caveats concerning the applicability of world systems he remains faithful to its utility. The world system approach was introduced by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) in his study of the emergence of capitalism. It has proven to be a fruitful approach in studying the penetration of native communities by Western capitalism (Ortner 1984). Within the archaeological study of precapitalist societies the world system model is wholly without value. It pretends to offer an explanation of intercultural trade networks through the very use of its own descriptive phrase "world system." What that "system" is, or was, in third-millennium Mesopotamia and greater Iran is avoided. It is sufficient to imply (and allow the implication to stand as explanation) the presence of economic determinism. Issues pertaining to power relations, human agency, manipulation, bureaucracy, and the like are all avoided. I have long preferred the term "interaction sphere" for dealing with cultural relations at a distance. The term suggests that interaction, at several different levels, characterizes relationships at a distance: economic, political, religious, social, etc. Interaction spheres require not only the recognition that multiple levels of complexity exist in cultural interaction, each requiring definition, but allow for their analysis without the baggage of prior conceptions. It is a phrase that, unlike world systems, is value neutral. A study of interaction spheres requires one to examine the specific type and nature of the interaction as well as the extent of the geographical sphere confronted.

Phil Kohl's physico-chemical analyses indicate that the chlorite produced at Yahya was consumed over a very wide geographical expanse. Several hypotheses may be advanced: (1) the complex iconography depicted over the surface of the vessels was well understood from Mari to Yahya and from Tarut to Gonur, (2) the vessel as a finished item was as significant, perhaps more so, than its contents, (3) the vessel was at once a luxury good and an essential commodity; its frequent association with temples and burials underscores the ideological message it conveyed, and (4) typically, long distance trade involves high-value goods with a low weight, that is, trade in light-weight treasures. This rule of thumb is contravened when dealing with goods laden with symbolic meaning.

The Intercultural Style suggests the presence of an ecumene of shared meaning: a symbolic language of

iconography understood over an extraordinarily wide geographic expanse. Clearly the creation of close inter-elite ties played a crucial role in the development of sociopolitical complexity. It is perhaps wrong to think of exchange and trade within a narrowly defined sphere of economics. During the Bronze Age, technology and information were transferred over considerable distances. Both operated within the context of an open system, involving economic as well as political, social, and religious spheres. Technology and information encouraged stylistic emulation. In this regard carved chlorite vessels of the Intercultural Style circulated within a domain that united the economic, political, and religious spheres. The behavioral significance of a single trade item can be singular as well as multiple. An item may have a political significance in one setting, an economic in another, and a religious in a third; the oriental carpet with coat-of-arms situated in the bazaar and/or in the mosque is one example wherein context aids in identifying its "meaning."

There is little evidence for the use and/or trade in exotics in Period IVB at Yahya. In fact, were it not for the presence of the carved chlorite vessels the entirety of the period would be of passing interest: a relatively small settlement of successful farmers wherein a lone landlord monitors his estate with cylinder seals. There is little in the way of luxury goods in the settlement, no lapis lazuli, carnelian, tin bronze, etc.; nor is there the presence of fine objects, statuary, or an impressive architectural complex. The entirety of the assemblage speaks of a modest agricultural settlement. It is apparent, but not fully understandable, that contemporary Shahr-i Sokhta was involved with lapis production at the time in which Yahya was producing carved chlorite vessels, yet the objects manufactured in one community are not present in the other.

How does one account for such an asymmetrical distribution of what are regarded as trade goods on two production sites? Perhaps they were both producing for a common market, a central core such as Mesopotamia, or, more locally, the kingdom of Marhashi (see below). There is little evidence to support the notion that there were monopolist tendencies controlling the production and/or distribution of exotic materials, whether in Mesopotamia or on the Iranian Plateau. At Yahya chlorite was an item of trade produced from a local chlorite mine (Kohl 1978). Within Period IVB the only commodity we recovered from our excavations that was produced for exchange was the carved chlorite bowls. There is no evidence of what they obtained in return for the chlorite. Perhaps they received an "invisible import" (Crawford 1973). Period IVB at Yahya is not distin-

guished by the presence of any foreign objects, luxury items, or a material inventory suggestive of differential wealth within the community. At Yahya there is no evidence for warfare, thought by some to be a concomitant of differential resource distribution (Kohl 1978; Possehl 1986; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1975a), nor is there evidence to suggest who controlled the labor of the chlorite producers, or who benefited from the "profits." All of the interesting questions may be and have been asked, but convincing answers remain elusive. The presence of seals suggests the control, securing, and accessing of goods (Fiandra 1979), but sealings are completely absent from Period IVB contexts. The styles of the seals recall distant Mesopotamian motifs, though this influence has perhaps been exaggerated. Upon closer examination the seals from Shahdad and from Yahya contain motifs and styles utterly distinctive within the Mesopotamian genre.

Perhaps an understanding might emerge if we look at the sociopolitical rather than a constant riveting upon the economic. What was the political context in which Yahya was situated? Does this political context offer an understanding of the exchange mechanisms that, on the one hand, tied together the different communities on the Iranian Plateau and, on the other hand, tied the Plateau to more distant regions? Different authors have suggested varied political identities for this region of south-eastern Iran. Majidzadeh (1976) has suggested that such sites as Shahdad and Yahya formed part of the kingdom of Aratta, that fabled resource-rich land mentioned in Mesopotamian texts. Steinkeller (1982) has more recently suggested that this region may be part of the kingdom of Marhashi, also mentioned in late-third-millennium texts. The later suggestion seems more likely.

The texts offer an understanding of Marhashi as an independent kingdom and, as such, provide a geographical setting suitable for an understanding of the political context in which Yahya played a part. Given the identity of material culture recovered from Yahya and Shahdad it is reasonable to suppose that they were part of the same polity. The great size of Shahdad, over 100 ha, makes it the most likely candidate to be the center of the kingdom of Marhashi. Already in Period VA, the end of the fourth millennium, the evidence from Tepe Yahya, Tal-i Iblis, Shahdad, Chah Hussein, and numerous other sites surveyed in the Bardsir Valley and along the Halil Rud (Sajjadi 1987) indicates the presence of a shared cultural ecumene. Into this region of material and cultural homogeneity arrive the Proto-Elamites. One can imagine that the arrival of the Proto-Elamites brought profound changes to this region. The appearance of a ranked society within an interaction network that was less markedly

stratified resulted in an increased complexity of cultural exchange. The impact of the Proto-Elamite incursion resulted in the emergence of an indigenous complexity (Period IVB) that incorporated this region of Iran, i.e., Marhashi, into larger spheres of political interaction. In the later half of the third millennium the Iranian Plateau is characterized by a confederation of kingdoms, each independent, each interacting and self-contained. Within the broadest theoretical perspective the entirety of the last half of the third millennium is best seen from the Indus (Meluhha) to Mesopotamia, and from the Gulf (Dilmun and Magan) to Central Asia, as a series of co-evolutionary polities whose interaction results in a cultural complexity in which the sum is greater than its individual parts. Archaeological evidence suggests that throughout this vast expanse there are dozens of Marhashi's spread from the Gulf to Central Asia.

With reference to trade between the BMAC of Central Asia, Shahdad (Marhashi?), and Susa it can be argued that political factors were responsible for the increased contact between these regions during the Ur III period. At this time Puzur-Inshushinak, the king of Susa, looked to the east, established a period of Elamite revival, and was able to create a period of Susian independence. He conquered the kingdom of Simaski to the east, maintained complete independence from Mesopotamia, and extended his influence to distant Shahdad, where a characteristic "linear Elamite" inscription was found in tombs that also contained an extensive inventory of Central Asian artifacts (Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1995). It is not unlikely that the Central Asian artifacts recovered from Susa, so ably documented by Amiet (1986), date to the period of Puzur-Inshushinak when Susa was free of Mesopotamian dominance. It is also not unlikely that Puzur-Inshushinak, like the Akkadian and Ur III kings who were adversaries of the Elamites, maintained a diplomatic alliance with Marhashi. I note the recently auctioned round seal, unfortunately without context, with a crude carving of an Indus-like bull and brazier containing a linear Elamite inscription where an Indus inscription would typically be placed. This seal is further evidence, of unique type, of the wide-ranging contacts characteristic of this period of Elamite revival (Boisgirard and Kevorkian 1992).

The evidence for trade, exchange, and interaction between Mesopotamia and its near and distant neighbors supports the general observation made by Gordon Willey (1999:87), "An alteration of periods of intensive interregional communication with periods of regional diversity was a key factor in the growth of civilizational complexity." As is evident in this monograph, Period

IVB has ample evidence for contacts with the Gulf, the BMAC, and Mesopotamia. This period of intense interaction culminates in the second half of the third millennium with the formation of the kingdom of Marhashi. Steinkeller (1982:263) summarizes the evidence:

Marhashi's influence appears to have reached its peak in the beginning of the Sargonic period, when she competed with Akkade for hegemony in Iran. Though defeated by Akkade, Marhashi continued as a key Iranian power to at least as late as post-Ur III times.

Sargon boasts of being "the slayer of Elam and Marhashi." Both his son Rimush and his grandson Naram-Sin waged military campaigns against Marhashi. Two Intercultural Style chlorite vessels, taken as booty from Marhashi and containing identical votive inscriptions, commemorate Rimush's victory over Marhashi. Rimush's defeat of Marhashi appears to eliminate the kingdom as a significant power in Iran. It is tempting to equate this with the end of Period IVB at Yahya. One of the important commodities that came to Mesopotamia from Marhashi was a soft stone referred to in the texts as *marhushu*. Bowls, figurines, and small containers were produced from this stone, and, as Steinkeller suggests (1982:251), it is tempting to relate this stone to chlorite/steatite.

The chlorite bowls produced in Period IVB Tepe Yahya were a commodity desired over an extensive region of the Near East. The chlorite bowls were an exotic item of great craftsmanship that were produced and consumed over a wide area and their complex iconography was commonly understood from Mari to Yahya and from Tarut to Nippur. What these bowls contained remains unknown to us. The considerable labor and skill expended in their production would surely indicate the precious nature of their contents. Decades ago Werner Sombart (1967) looked to the *incentives* of trade, stressing the importance of demand and the patterns of consumption. What makes Period IVB Tepe Yahya

exceptional is the presence and manufacture of the Intercultural Style vessels. They underscore the fact that goods themselves acquire a significance as part of social practice. The Intercultural Style bowl was an item to be reckoned with; it was an item that involved symbolic significance in the context of social behavior. In Mesopotamia its presence in temples and tombs attests to its highly charged significance. They were goods whose very significance enhanced the incentive for further trade and exchange.

The resources that were traded in the third millennium were culturally defined. Importance was attached to lapis lazuli, agate, and to such items as these chlorite bowls. Relatively small quantities of value-laden goods were exchanged, which acted as powerful signifiers of communication with distant regions. The cellular self-sufficiency of the ancient economy, as argued by the classicists Moses Finley (1973), A. H. M. Jones (1948), and Keith Hopkins (1983), may well be true; so also may be the fact stressed by Max Weber (1976), namely, that the ancient economy was primarily agrarian dominated by political rather than economic motives. The carved bowls at Yahya were "*intercultural*," meaning that they were both utilized and manufactured by different cultures. To lament the use of the term Intercultural Style is to miss the point of their significance (Amiet 1974). The cultures recovered by archaeologists from Tarut, Yahya, Mari, and Nippur, not to mention Mohenjodaro and Gonur, are all different, yet from each of the above sites carved bowls of the Intercultural Style are present. It is extremely difficult to point to another artifact type that, in the second half of the third millennium, has such an extensive geographical distribution. The cultural complexity that is evident over this wide geographical expanse is likely, in large part, to be both the cause and the effect of intensive interregional communication. The third millennium is followed by a period of regional diversity, which, after 2000 B.C., whether it be in the Gulf, the eastern borders of the Iranian Plateau, or Central Asia, sees a clear diminution in civilizational complexity.



## 1970 (continued)

	BW.T5	B	B.T3	B.T4	B-BW.T1	B-BW.T2	B-BW.T3	B-BW.T4	B-BW.T5	B-BW.T6
IVB5	1c, 8, 9, 9a, 10, 10a	4.7, lower 5, 8, 8.1, 8.1.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6, 8.7, 9, 10.1, 10.2, 13, 13.1, 14, 14.1, 14.2, 14.3, 15, 15.1, 16, 16.1, 16.2, 16.3	1		1, 1.1		5, 5.1	5, 6, 6.1, 6.2, 6.2.1, 6.3, 6.3.1, 6.4, 6.5, 6.5.1, 6.6, 6.6.1, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, 6.12, 7, 7.1, 7.2		5, 5.1, 6, 6.1, 6.2
IVB6		11, 17, 17.1, 17.2, 17.3, 18, 18.1, 18.2, 18a, 19	2, 3, 4	1, 2				8, 9		
IVC1										
IVC2		20, 20a, 20.1, 20a.1, 20.b, 20b.1		1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 3				3		

## 1971

	BM	B-BW	B-C Balk	BW- CW	BW-CW Balk	BW- CW.T3	BW- CW.T4	B.T1	B.T2	BW.T1	BW.T2	BW	B
IVB1			5, 5a, 6, 7, 8, 9, 9.1, 10, 11, 11a, 11.1, 11.2, 11.3, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.7, 12, 13										3 East
IVB2													
IVB3													

1971 (continued next page)



## 1971 (continued)

	BM	B-BW	B-C Balk	BW- CW	BW-CW Balk	BW- CW.T3	BW- CW.T4	B.T1	B.T2	BW.T1	BW.T2	BW	B
IVB4													
IVB5		1.2, 4a-c, 5	15, 15.1, 15.2, 16, 16.4, 16a, 20.1, 20.2, 24, 24.1, 24.2, 26, 27		1, 2, 2.1					1, 1.1, 3		2.1a, 2.1b, 2.1c	4.7
IVB6	1, 1.1, 7.1 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 7							1.1, 2.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3			1, 2, 2a, 2.1, 3, 3a, 3a.1, 4, 4.1, 4.2, 4a, 5, 5.1, 5a		3, 3.2, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 7, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 8a
IVC1	3, 3.2, 4, 5		17, 18, 21, 22, 22.1, 23, 25, 25.1, 25.2, 25.3, 28, 28.1	6.1, 6.2, 6.4, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 8.2, 8.3, 9, 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 11.4, 11.5		1, 2		1	1, 2	2, 2.1, 4, 5	1, 2, 3, 5.2, 5.3, 5b, 6, 6.2, 6b, 7		3.4, 4.6, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 6a, 8, 11, 11.1, 12
IVC2	3.1, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 5.2, 6, 6.1, 6.2		16.2, 16.3	8.1, 8.2, 11.1, 11.2, 11.3			1					6, 6.2, 6.3, 8.1, 8.2, 10	3.1, 3.3, 3.5, 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 6b, 7.5, 8.1, 8a.1, 9, 9.1, 9.2, 11.2, 13, 13.1, 13.2, 13.3, 13.4

	1973				1975			
	B	CW	CW.T1	CW.T2	CW.T1	A	A.T2	A.T7
IVB1						5a, 6, 6.1, 7, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5	6	1
IVB2								
IVB3								
IVB4								
IVB5			2		2.2, 2.3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3	9, 9.1, 9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 9.5, 9.6, 9.7, 9.8, 9.9, 10.1, 10.3, 10.4, 11.3, 11.11, 11.13		
IVB6						10, 10a, 10b, 10c, 10.1, 10.2		10
IVC1						11		11
IVC2	1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 2, 2.1	1.1, 2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 3, 4, 5	6	4.1	4.1, 5.1, 6, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 6.4, S	11.1, 11.1a, 11.2, 11.2a, 11.2b, 11.2c, 11.3, 11.3a, 11.3b, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.6a, 11.7, 11.7a, 11.7b, 11.8, 11.8a, 11.9, 11.9a, 11.10, 11.12		11.3, 11.2b

## Appendix B

# Description of Test Trenches at Tepe Yahya Containing Period IVC and IVB Contexts

Year	Trench	Test trench	Description	Dimensions
1968	C	1	Northeastern corner of the trench	2 x 2 m
		2	Strip running the length of the trench north to south along the east balk, immediately south of Test Trench 1	2 x 8 m
		3	Southern half of Test Trench 2; designation was changed after Wall 2 appeared	2 x 4 m
		4	Strip running the width of the trench east to west along the north balk, just west of Test Trench 1	2 x 8 m
		5	Trench in the eastern half of Test Trench 4 running along the eastern face of Wall 4, cutting across Test Trench 4 on a diagonal	1 m wide
		6	Strip running parallel to Test Trench 4, separated from it by a 50 cm balk; a similar balk separates Test Trench 2 and Test Trench 6 on the eastern end of the trench	2 x 7.5 m
1969	B	4	Trench along the north B balk, running from the east edge of B.T3.2-3 to the west edge of Test Trench 2 (1968)	2 m wide
		4a	Southern extension of Test Trench 4, running across the center of Trench B; strata with same numbers as those of B.T4 are a continuation of the latter; eventually extended further west to include the whole area east of the deep, 2 m wide trench in the west side of Trench B dug in 1968	3 m wide
		5/5a	Trench running north to south across the eastern part of Test Trench 4a; called 5a after it was extended beyond its original width	2 m wide
	BW	5	Irregularly shaped area in western part of Trench BW; extended across the north balk from northwest corner of the trench eastwards; east face abutted the Trench BW 5 architecture	4 (NW-NE) x 1.8 (NW-SW) x 3.8 (SW-SE) x 2.77 (NE-SE) m
		6	Western two m of Trench BW, designated after BW.T5.6 was reached	2 m wide
1970	B	3	Trench running along the north face of the B-BW.70.T4.6.11 wall, extending to the Trench B east balk; slanted diagonally across Trench B; began 4.66 m south of the northeast corner of the trench on its east side	1 x 6.5 m
		4	Trench running the length of Trench B north to south; the eastern face began 6.8 m west of the northeast corner and 6.34 m west of the southeast corner of Trench B	2 x 10 m

*(continued next page)*

Year	Trench	Test trench	Description	Dimensions
	B-BW	1	Strip running north to south along the western side of Trench B, originally designated B-BW balk	.7 x 10 m
		2	Trench in western part of Trench B set against IVA building	1.3 m wide, expanded
		3	Trench running east-west along the north balk from the western edge of B.69.T4a and T5, ending at the east face of the B-BW.70.T2.10.5 wall	1.5 x 6.7 m
		4	Trench running north-south, coinciding with the area of the original B-BW balk; includes an irregularly shaped area between .5 m and 2.5 m wide west of the balk which was left unexcavated at the end of the 1969 season	2 x 10 m
		5	Irregularly shaped mass of unexcavated material adjacent to the south balk, east of the area excavated in Trench BW in 1969	3.3 x 2.5 m
		6	Trench along the south balk, running from the eastern edge of B-BW.70.T4 to a point 2 m west of the east balk	2 x 4.63 m
1971	BM		Area along the north balk of Trench B, beginning 60 cm east of the northwest corner of Trench B, running for 4.65 m	4.65 x 2 m
	B-C Balk		Balk between Trenches B and C, plus a 1 x 2 m area at its eastern end	1 m wide
	B	1	Trench running diagonally from the northwest corner of Trench B into Trench BW; west face of trench was about 25 cm east of the northwest corner of the Trench B north balk; trench was approximately perpendicular to BW.71.T2	1 x 10 m
	BW	1	Trench against west balk	1 x 8 m
	BW	2	Trench perpendicular to B.71.T1; the west face was 1.2 m east of the northwest corner of Trench BW	1 x 8.6 m
	BW-CW	3	Trench against the west balk of Trench BW-CW	1 x 6 m
	BW-CW	4	Trench in the middle of Trench BW-CW, about 4 m from the eastern balk, running north-south for 4 m	1 x 4 m
1973	CW	1	Trench along the eastern face of Trench CW, stopping 50 cm south of Trench BW	1.5 m wide
1975	A	2	North-south trench along the western balk	2 x 9 m
		7	Trench along the southern end of Trench A running east to west	2 x 10 m

## Appendix C

# Catalogue of Small Finds (Excluding the Glyptic) from Phases IVC2 to IVB1 Contexts at Tepe Yahya Sorted by Registration Number

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
13	IVC2	C	68	1&2	8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
14	IVC2	C	68	3	2	3	wall	chlorite	bowl
75	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	bead
76	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	body fragment
77	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	bowl
78	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
79	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
94	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fall	chlorite	body fragment
95	IVB1	B	69	5	3		ash lens	chlorite	body fragment
97	IVB1	B	69	5	3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
180	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
181	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
182	IVB5	BW	69	5	9a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
183	IVB5	BW	69	5	9a	11	floor	chlorite	disk
184	IVB5	BW	69	5	10a		fill	chlorite	bowl
253	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
254	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
255	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
268	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
269	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
270	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	handle
271	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	handle
272	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
273	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
274	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	disk
275	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	cup
276	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	bead
277	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	base fragment
278	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	rim sherd
279	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
280	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	fragment
281	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
282	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	chlorite	pendant

Note: The registration numbers used here are arbitrary, used to track the artifacts. Artifacts with *a*, *z*, or *e* preceding their registration number were not registered in the field; these artifacts were given these numbers later when circumstances warranted additional numbers.

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
283	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
284	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
285	IVB3	B	70		5		fill	chlorite	handle
286	IVB3	B	70		5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
288	IVB5	B	70		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
289	IVB5	B	70		8	1	room fill	chlorite	pounder
291	IVB5	B	70		8	1	floor	chlorite	bowl
294	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
295	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
296	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	base fragment
297	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	fragment
298	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
299	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
301	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
302	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	bead
303	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	pounder
304	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
305	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
306	IVB5	B	70		16		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
307	IVB6	B	70		17		mortar & brick	chlorite	rim fragment
308	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	chlorite	weight? or pendant
309	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
310	IVB6	B	70		19		stone pile	chlorite	rim fragment
311	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	fragment
312	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	disk
313	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	bowl
314	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	pendant
315	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	body fragment
316	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	body fragment
321	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
322	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
323	IVB6	B	70	3	2		fill	chlorite	fragment
333	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	chlorite	bead
334	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	chlorite	bead
341	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	base fragment
342	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
343	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
344	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
358	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
359	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
360	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	surface	chlorite	bead
361	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	surface	chlorite	fragment
362	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	base fragment
363	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
364	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
365	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
366	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
367	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
368	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
369	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
370	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
371	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
372	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
373	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment?
374	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
375	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
376	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	2	1	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
377	IVB3	B-BW	70	3	3		fill	chlorite	fragment
378	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
379	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	chlorite	base fragment
380	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
381	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
385	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	4	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
386	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
387	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	5		fill	chlorite	bowl fragment
388	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	9	wall	chlorite	body fragment
389	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		burnt soil	chlorite	body fragment
390	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	7	wall	chlorite	bead
391	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	chlorite	fragment
392	IVB4	B-BW	70	6	4		fill	chlorite	gaming piece?
393	IVB4	B-BW	70	6	4		fill	chlorite	macehead
394	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	chlorite	fragment
395	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
527	IVB6	B	71		3		burnt debris	chlorite	body fragment
528	IVB6	B	71		3		burnt debris	chlorite	body fragment
529	IVB6	B	71		3		floor	chlorite	rim fragment
530	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	chlorite	disk
531	IVC1	B	71	4	8		fill	chlorite	unidentified
532	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
533	IVC2	B	71		13	4	surface	chlorite	body fragment
536	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	chlorite	rim fragment
537	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	chlorite	body fragment
538	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	bracelet
539	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
540	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
541	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
542	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	rim fragment
543	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	rim fragment
544	IVC2	BW	71		10		fill	chlorite	body fragment
547	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	chlorite	fragment
548	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	chlorite	disk
549	IVB6	BM	71		2	2	fill/fall	chlorite	spindle whorl
550	IVC2	BM	71		6		fill	chlorite	whorl
556	IVB1	B-C balk	71		5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
558	IVB5	B-C balk	71		16		fill/fall	chlorite	base fragment
559	IVC1	B-C balk	71		23		fill	chlorite	body fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
560	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
561	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
562	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	3	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
563	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	room fill	chlorite	pin
564a	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	chlorite	base fragment
564b	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	chlorite	body fragment
815	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	1a	fill	chlorite	body fragment
816	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
817	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
821	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	chlorite	button
822	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
837	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	65	screen	chlorite	body fragment
838	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	65	screen	chlorite	body fragment
839	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
841	IVC2	B	73		1		wall	chlorite	unidentified
842	IVC2	B	73		1	3	wall	chlorite	body fragment
843	IVC2	B	73		1	7	wall	chlorite	bowl
882	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	chlorite	bowl
888	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
1077	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1078	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1079	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	bead
1083	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	comb handle
1084	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	comb handle
1085	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1086	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1087	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		?	clay	figurine
1113	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	clay	spindle whorl?
1114	IVB5	B	70		14		fill	clay	bead
1115	IVB5	B	70		16	1	surface	clay	bead
1117	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	clay	bead
1118	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1141	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	disk
1147a	IVB6	B	70		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1147b	IVB6	B	70		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1148	IVB6	B	71		3		room fill	clay	ball
1149	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	clay	spindle whorl?
1150	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	clay	comb handle
1152	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	clay	spindle whorl
1153	IVB6	BM	71		1	1	fall/fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1154	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1155	IVC1	BW	71		2		fill	clay	comb handle
1159	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1160	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	ball
1161	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		fill	clay	slingball



Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
1162	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	2	room fill	clay	cylinder seal
1163	IVC1	BW-CW	71		11	5	wall	clay	whorl
e1242	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	clay	unidentified
e1243	IVC1	B	71		12		room fill	clay	comb handle
e1245	IVB5	B-C balk	71		16		fall/fill	clay	comb handle
e1246	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	room fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1247	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
e1248	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
e1249	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1273	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1274	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1285	IVC2	CW	73		2	2	fill	clay	vessel
1331	IVB3	B	69	5	4		fill	bone	bead
1345	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	bone	awl
1354	IVC2	B	71		Rm 5	cleaning	room	bone	awl
1355	IVB6	BW	71	2	3a		floor	bone	bead
1696	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	ivory	bead
1697	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	ivory	bead
1698	IVC1	BM	71		5		fill	ivory	pendant
1739	IVB6	B	70		17		mortar & brick	shell	bead
1754	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	shell	bead
1761	IVC1	B	71		4	6	room fill	shell	pendant
1764	IVB6	A	75		10		?	stone	bead
1882	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1883	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	clay	comb handle
1885	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	clay	cylinder
1888	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1889	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1890	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1892	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1962	IVC2	C	68	1-2	8		fill	white stone	body fragment
1963	IVC2	C	68	6	9		floor	stone	pestle
2066	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4	4	fill	stone	pestle
2070	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	obsidian?	bead
2071	IVB1	B	69	5	3	4	floor	basalt	loomweight or door socket
2072	IVB3	B	69	5	4		fill	white stone	body fragment
2077	IVB3	B	69	5a	2		fill	stone	body fragment
2108	IVB4-2	BW	69	5	7		fill	stone	handle
2109	IVB4-2	BW	69	5	7		fill	white stone	body fragment
2110	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	stone	loomweight or door socket
2111	IVB5	BW	69	5	10		fill	white stone	base fragment
2118	IVC2	C	68		Surf		surface	stone	unidentified
2236	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	stone	palette
2240	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	rim fragment
2241	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	stone	body fragment
2243	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	white stone	rim fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
2246	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2247	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2248	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2249	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2251	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	white stone	base fragment
2252	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	base fragment
2253	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	body fragment
2254	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2255	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	siltstone	whetstone
2256	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	white stone	rim fragment
2257	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	stone	rim fragment
2258	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	white stone	pendant
2262	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	white stone	disk
2263	IVB2	B	70	1	2		fill	jasper	ear plug?
2264	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	stone	bead
2275	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	white stone	door socket
2277	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	stone	bead blank
2278	IVB5	B-BW	70	3	5	2	brick fall?	white stone	body fragment
2279	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	white stone	body fragment
2280	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1a		fill	stone	bead
2281	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		fall	white stone	loomweight or door socket
2282	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		wall fall?	white stone	rim fragment
2283	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	4		fill	stone	unidentified
2285	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6		fill	white stone	base fragment
e2334	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	stone	bead
e2335	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	stone	unidentified
e2336	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	stone	unidentified
2399	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	white stone	rim fragment
2400	IVC1	B	71		11		room fill	white stone	rim fragment
2402	IVC2	B	71		13		fill	stone	ball
2410	IVB6	BM	71		2	1	room fill	stone	disk
2411	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	stone	axe/macchead
2412	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	white stone	base fragment
2418	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	stone	body fragment
2420	IVB6	BW	71		4	1	brick fall	obsidian	blade
2421	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	room fill	white stone	base fragment
2422	IVC2	BW	71		10		fill	sandstone	whetstone
2423	IVB6	BW	71	2	2		fill	white stone	body fragment
2424	IVB6	BW	71	2	3a		floor	white stone	rim fragment
2425	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	room fill	stone	bead
2426	IVBC1	BW-CW	71		7	7	wall?	white stone	base fragment
2427	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		floor	white stone	bowl fragment
2429	IVB1	B-C balk	71		10		fill	chlorite	lid
2430	IVC1	B-C balk	71		22		kiln?	white stone	rim fragment
2498	IVB1?	AN2	73		4		fill	white stone	base fragment
2499	IVB1?	AN2	73		4		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2502	IVC2	B	73		1	1	floor	stone	whetstone

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
2503	IVC2	B	73		1	1	floor	white stone	whetstone
2530	IVC2	CW	73		2	2	wall	stone	whetstone
2531	IVC2	CW	73		4		fill	stone	ball
2627	IVC2	C	68	6	7		fill	cu/br	pin
2628	IVC2	C	68	6	7		fill	cu/br	chisel
2629	IVC2	C	68	6	9		fill?	cu/br	pin
2630	IVC2	C	68	6	9		fill	cu/br	spatula
2674	IVB1	B	69	5	3	2	fall	cu/br	needle
2675	IVB1	B	69	5a	2		platform	cu/br	slag
2690	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	cu/br	pin
2719	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	cu/br	pin
2720	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2721	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2722	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2723	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	cu/br	pin
2724	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	cu/br	pin
2725	IVB1	B-BW	71	3	1		fill	cu/br	fragment
2726	IVB1	B-BW	71	3	1		fill	cu/br	fragment
2727	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	cu/br	pin
2729	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2730	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2731	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2732	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2733	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2734	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	8		fill	cu/br	pin
2735	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	9		fill	cu/br	needle
2736	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	cu/br	fragment
2780	IVB6	B	71		4	2	pit	cu/br	pin
2781	IVB6	B	71		4	3	pit	cu/br	pin
2782	IVC1	B	71		4	6	room fill	cu/br	pin
2783	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	cu/br	disk
2784	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	cu/br	sheet fragment
2786	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	cu/br	pin
2787	IVB6	BM	71		2	5	surface	cu/br	perforated copper sheet
2880	IVB6	BM	71		1	1	fall/fill	lead	coil
2881	IVC1	B	71		8		room fill	lead	fragment
2885	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	bone or shell	bead
2887	IVB6	B	70	4	2		room fill	shell?	bead
2940	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	carnelian	bead
2941	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	turquoise	fragment
2944	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	turquoise	bead blank
2946	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	turquoise	bead
2947	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	carnelian	bead
2973	IVC1	BW-CW	71		6	1	fill	agate	bead
3219	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	iron	fragment
3315	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	turquoise	fragment
3327	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	obsidian	flake

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3332	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	3	fill	obsidian	flake
e3347	IVB5	BW	69	5	10a		fill	stone	ball
3363	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	cu/br	pin
3368	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	cu/br	pin
3482	IVC2	B	71		4	8	room fill	cu/br	ore?
3483	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	white stone	bowl
3484	IVC1	B	71		4	9	room fill	white stone	bowl
3485	IVC2	B	71		13	4	hearth	white stone?	unidentified
3600	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	fragment
3601	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	fragment
3602	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3603	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3604	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3605a	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3605b	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3605c	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3606	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3607	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3608a	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3608b	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3609	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3610	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	chlorite	body fragment
3611	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	chlorite	body fragment
3612	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
3613	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3614a	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3614b	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3615	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3616	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	debitage
3617	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill?	chlorite	body fragment
3618	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	token or gaming piece
3619	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620a	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620b	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620c	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620d	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3621	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3622	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3623	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3624	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3625	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3626	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3627	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3628	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3629	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	tall cup
3630	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	lid
3631	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3632	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	base fragment
3633	IVB2?	A	75		8a		fill?	chlorite	rim fragment
3634	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill/sieve	chlorite	pendant
3635	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3636	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3637	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3638	IVB5	A	75		9		sieve	chlorite	concave disk
3639	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	unfinished object
3640	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3641	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3642	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	bowl
3643	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3644	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3645	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	spindle whorl
3646	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	fragment
3647	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3648	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3649	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3650	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
3650a	IVB5	A	75		9	2	fill	stone	fragment
3651	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3652	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3653	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3654	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
3655	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	rim fragment
3656	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3657	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3658	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3659	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3660	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	block
3661	IVB6	A	75		10a		sieve	chlorite	rim fragment
3662	IVB6	A	75	7	10a		fill/sieve	chlorite	disk
3663	IVB6	A	75	7	10a		fill/sieve	chlorite	button
3664a	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3664b	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3665	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	button
3666	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3667	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	gaming piece (?) or token
3668	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
3669	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3670	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	chlorite	body fragment
3671	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	chlorite	bead
3672	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3673	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3674	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	chlorite	disk
3675	IVC2	A	75		11	6	floor	chlorite	whorl
3676	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	base fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3677	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	bowl
3678	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	bowl
3679	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	body fragment
3680	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	shaft straightener
3693	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3694	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3695	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3696	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3697	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	stone	axe or loomweight
3698	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	unidentified
3699	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3700	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	base fragment?
3700a	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3701	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	base fragment
3702	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3703	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3704	IVB5	A	75		9		tholos fill	white stone	ball
3705	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	ring
3706	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	stone	ball
3707	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	bead
3707a	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	stone	drilled piece
3708	IVB6	A	75		10	2	?	schist?	pestle
3709	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	disk
3710	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	cone
3711	IVB6	A	75		10a		?	stone	body fragment
3712	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
3713	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	stone	whetstone
3714	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	stone	mortar
3714a	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	stone	mortar
3715	IVC2	A	75		11	2a	floor	stone	ball
3716a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3716b	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3717	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	stone	base fragment
3718	IVC1	A	75	7	11		fill	white stone	body fragment
3719	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	white stone	body fragment
3720a	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	mortar
3720b	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3720c	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3720d	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3721a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	mortar
3721b	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	stone ball
3721c	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3721d	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone/palette
3722	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	stone	stone polisher
3724	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3725	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	white stone	body fragment
3727	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	white stone	labret
3728	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	white stone	fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3729	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	white stone	pyramid
3730	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	white stone	rim fragment
3731	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	white stone	body fragment
3732	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3733	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	fragment
3735	IVB1	A	75		7	4	tholos fill	white stone	rim fragment
3736	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	white stone	token
3737	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3738	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3739	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3740	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	white stone	jar
3741	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	white stone	body fragment
3742	IVB5	A	75		9	3	oven/kiln	white stone	rim fragment
3743	IVC2	A	75		11	8a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3744	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	white stone	body fragment
3745	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	white stone	bowl
3752	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	cu/br	pin
3753	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	cu/br	fragment
3754	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	cu/br	fragment
3755	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	cu/br	axe
3756	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	cu/br	axe
3757	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	shell	bead
3758	IVB5	A	75		9		sieve	cu/br	point
3759	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	cu/br	pin
3760	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	cu/br	pin
3761	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	cu/br	pin
3762	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	cu/br	zoomorphic figurine
3763	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	cu/br	pin
3764	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	cu/br	pin
3765	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	cu/br	pin
3766	IVB2?	A	75	8	4		?	cu/br	fragments
3774	IVB1	A	75	1	4		fill	clay	slingball
3775	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	comb handle
3776	IVB2?	A	75		8	5	?	clay	rod
3777	IVB5	A	75		8		fill	clay	pendant?
3778	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	ball
3779	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	comb handle
3780	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	clay	figurine fragment, foot?
3781	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	clay	comb handle
3782a	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3782b	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3783	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	comb handle
3784	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3785	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	comb handle
3786	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	ball
3787	IVB5	A	75		9	2	fill	clay	pendant
3788	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	spindle whorl

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3789	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	clay	bead
3790	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3791	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	clay	slingball
3792	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3793	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3794	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	clay	slingball
3795	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	clay	token
3796	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	clay	ball
3797	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	clay	ball
3798	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	clay	slingball
3800	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	mother-of-pearl	button
3801a	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	shell	button
3801b	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	shell	button
3802	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	shell	pendant
3803	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	shell	fragment
3805	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	carnelian	bead
3807	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	turquoise	bead
3808	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	turquoise	bead
3809	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	carnelian?	bead
3810	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	bead
3811	IVB6	A	75		10		?	stone	bead
3812a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	heulandite	bead
3812b	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	heulandite	bead
3813	IVC2	A	75		11	2a	floor	stone	bead
3814	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	bead
3815	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	stone	bead
3816	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	turquoise	bead
3817	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	lapis lazuli	bead
3819	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	ivory or bone	bead
3821	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	malachite	fragment
3823	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	chromite	fragment
3824	IVC2	A	75	7	11	3	floor	limnite	fragment
3825	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	red ochre	pigment
3826	IVC2	A	75		11	7b	floor	bone	needle
3827a	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	lead?	ring?
3827b	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	lead?	ring?
3839	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	obsidian	blade
3845	IVC2	B	71		13		fill	white stone	fragment
z?	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	cu/br	spear point
z-64	IVC2	C	68		Surf		surface	stone?	bead
z-66	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	bone	ring
z-121	IVB1	B	69	4	4a-4		fill	turquoise	fragment
z-140	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	stone	fragment
z-144	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	stone	fragment
z-159	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	stone	fragment
z-167	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	serpentine	fragment
z-168	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	stone	fragment
z-169	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	serpentine	fragment



Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
z-224	IVB5	B	70		16		fill	stone	bead
z-241	IVB5	B	70		8		fill	clay	unidentified
z-251	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	8		fill	stone	ball
z-252	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	clay?	unidentified
z-255	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	unidentified
z-262	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	slingball
z-263	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	slingball
z-268	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	1	room	clay	slingball
z-277a	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	clay	slingball
z-277b	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	clay	slingball
z-279a	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		fill	clay	slingball
z-279b	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		fill	clay	slingball
z-281	IVB5	B	70		8	1-1	floor	clay	slingball
z-295	IVC1	B	70		20		fill	cu/br	pin
z-328	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	fragment
z-330	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	fragment
z-331	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill?	wood	petrified fragment
z-348	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	stone	disk
z-349	IVB1	B	69	5	3	4	floor	black stone	handle
z-360	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	whorl?
z-361	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-377	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-379	IVB5	B	70		14		fill	stone	unidentified
z-380	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	stone	fragment
z-382	IVB2	B-BW	70	5	1		fill	stone	body fragment
z-384	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	stone	mortar
z-385	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	6		fill	stone	fragment
z-403	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	stone	base fragment
z-406	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	floor	serpentine	seal blank?
z-407	IVB5	B	70		8	1-1	floor	sandstone	whetstone
z-408	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	stone	fragment
z-409	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	stone	fragment
z-414	IVC1	BM	71		4		fill	shell	bead
z-417	IVC2	BM	71		6		fill	stone	bead?
z-436	IVC1	BW-CW	71		6		fill	frit	bead?
z-438	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-449	IVB6	B	71		3		fill	clay	spindle whorl
z-467	IVC1	BW-CW	71		11	5	wall	clay	slingball
z-470	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		?	clay	figurine
z-522	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	fill	serpentine	pin
z-526	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	copper ore	fragment
z-538	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	stone	hoe?
z-547	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	stone	fragment
z-566	IVC1	B	71		4	8	?	stone	mortar
z-567a	IVC1	B	71		11		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-568	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		fill	stone	body fragment
z-569	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		fill	stone	body fragment
z-570	IVB6	BW	71	2	4	1	fill	obsidian	fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
z-594	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		floor	stone	rim fragment
z-699	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	2a	fill	stone	rim fragment
z-718	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-722	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-723	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	stone	base fragment
z-725	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-730	IVC2	C	68	3	2		fill	clay?	unidentified
z-741	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-742	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	3	room	stone	base fragment

## Appendix D

# Catalogue of Small Finds (Excluding the Glyptic) from Phases IVC2 to IVB1 Contexts at Tepe Yahya Sorted by Phase

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
75	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	bead
76	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	body fragment
77	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	bowl
78	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
79	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
94	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fall	chlorite	body fragment
95	IVB1	B	69	5	3		ash lens	chlorite	body fragment
97	IVB1	B	69	5	3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
253	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
254	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
255	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
333	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	chlorite	bead
334	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	chlorite	bead
341	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	base fragment
342	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
343	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
344	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
358	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
359	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
360	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	surface	chlorite	bead
361	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	surface	chlorite	fragment
362	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	base fragment
363	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
364	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
365	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
366	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
367	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
368	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
369	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
370	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
371	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
372	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
373	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment?
374	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment

Note: The registration numbers used here are arbitrary, used to track the artifacts. Artifacts *a*, *z*, or *e* preceding their registration number were not registered in the field; these artifacts were given these numbers later when circumstances warranted additional numbers.

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
375	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
376	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	2	1	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
378	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
379	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	chlorite	base fragment
380	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
556	IVB1	B-C balk	71		5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
1077	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1078	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1079	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	bead
1345	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	bone	awl
2066	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4	4	fill	stone	pestle
2070	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	obsidian?	bead
2071	IVB1	B	69	5	3	4	floor	basalt	loomweight or door socket
2236	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	stone	palette
2264	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	stone	bead
2275	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	white stone	door socket
2277	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	stone	bead blank
2279	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	white stone	body fragment
2280	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1a		fill	stone	bead
2429	IVB1	B-C balk	71		10		fill	chlorite	lid
2674	IVB1	B	69	5	3	2	fall	cu/br	needle
2675	IVB1	B	69	5a	2		platform	cu/br	slag
2725	IVB1	B-BW	71	3	1		fill	cu/br	fragment
2726	IVB1	B-BW	71	3	1		fill	cu/br	fragment
2727	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	cu/br	pin
2885	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	bone or shell	bead
2944	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	turquoise	bead blank
2946	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	turquoise	bead
3315	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	turquoise	fragment
3600	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	fragment
3601	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	fragment
3602	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3603	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3604	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3605a	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3605b	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3605c	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3606	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3607	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3608a	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3608b	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3609	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3610	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	chlorite	body fragment
3611	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	chlorite	body fragment
3612	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
3613	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3614a	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3614b	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3615	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3645	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	spindle whorl
3646	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	fragment
3647	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3724	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3725	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	white stone	body fragment
3735	IVB1	A	75		7	4	tholos fill	white stone	rim fragment
3774	IVB1	A	75	1	4		fill	clay	slingball
3805	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	carnelian	bead
3819	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	ivory or bone	bead
z-66	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	bone	ring
z-121	IVB1	B	69	4	4a-4		fill	turquoise	fragment
z-140	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	stone	fragment
z-144	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	stone	fragment
z-159	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	stone	fragment
z-167	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	serpentine	fragment
z-168	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	stone	fragment
z-169	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	serpentine	fragment
z-277a	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	clay	slingball
z-277b	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	clay	slingball
z-331	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill?	wood	petrified fragment
z-349	IVB1	B	69	5	3	4	floor	black stone	handle
z-384	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	stone	mortar
z-385	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	6		fill	stone	fragment
z-403	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	stone	base fragment
z-406	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	floor	serpentine	seal blank?
z-741	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
815	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	1a	fill	chlorite	body fragment
816	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
817	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
837	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	65	screen	chlorite	body fragment
838	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	65	screen	chlorite	body fragment
839	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
1882	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1883	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	clay	comb handle
1885	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	clay	cylinder
2498	IVB1?	AN2	73		4		fill	white stone	base fragment
2499	IVB1?	AN2	73		4		fill	white stone	rim fragment
z-699	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	2a	fill	stone	rim fragment
268	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
269	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
270	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	handle
271	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	handle
272	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
273	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
274	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	disk
275	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	cup

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
276	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	bead
277	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	base fragment
278	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	rim sherd
279	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
280	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	fragment
283	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
284	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
1113	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	clay	spindle whorl?
2240	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	rim fragment
2243	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2262	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	white stone	disk
2263	IVB2	B	70	1	2		fill	jasper	ear plug?
2940	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	carnelian	bead
z-360	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	whorl?
z-361	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-382	IVB2	B-BW	70	5	1		fill	stone	body fragment
3617	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill?	chlorite	body fragment
3618	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	token or gaming piece
3619	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620a	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620b	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620c	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620d	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3621	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3622	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3623	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3624	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3625	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3626	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3627	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3628	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3629	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	tall cup
3630	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	lid
3631	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3632	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	base fragment
3633	IVB2?	A	75		8a		fill?	chlorite	rim fragment
3634	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill/sieve	chlorite	pendant
3635	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3706	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	stone	ball
3727	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	white stone	labret
3736	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	white stone	token
3752	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	cu/br	pin
3766	IVB2?	A	75	8	4		?	cu/br	fragments
3775	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	comb handle
3776	IVB2?	A	75		8	5	?	clay	rod
3778	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	ball
3779	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	comb handle

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3780	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	clay	figurine fragment, foot?
3781	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	clay	comb handle
281	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
282	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	chlorite	pendant
285	IVB3	B	70		5		fill	chlorite	handle
286	IVB3	B	70		5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
377	IVB3	B-BW	70	3	3		fill	chlorite	fragment
1331	IVB3	B	69	5	4		fill	bone	bead
2072	IVB3	B	69	5	4		fill	white stone	body fragment
2077	IVB3	B	69	5a	2		fill	stone	body fragment
2241	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	stone	body fragment
381	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
385	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	4	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
392	IVB4	B-BW	70	6	4		fill	chlorite	gaming piece?
393	IVB4	B-BW	70	6	4		fill	chlorite	macehead
2281	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		fall	white stone	loomweight or door socket
2282	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		wall fall?	white stone	rim fragment
2283	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	4		fill	stone	unidentified
2108	IVB4-2	BW	69	5	7		fill	stone	handle
2109	IVB4-2	BW	69	5	7		fill	white stone	body fragment
180	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
181	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
182	IVB5	BW	69	5	9a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
183	IVB5	BW	69	5	9a	11	floor	chlorite	disk
184	IVB5	BW	69	5	10a		fill	chlorite	bowl
288	IVB5	B	70		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
289	IVB5	B	70		8	1	room fill	chlorite	pounder
291	IVB5	B	70		8	1	floor	chlorite	bowl
301	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
302	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	bead
303	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	pounder
304	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
305	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
306	IVB5	B	70		16		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
321	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
322	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
386	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
387	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	5		fill	chlorite	bowl fragment
388	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	9	wall	chlorite	body fragment
389	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		burnt soil	chlorite	body fragment
390	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	7	wall	chlorite	bead
391	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	chlorite	fragment
394	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	chlorite	fragment
395	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
558	IVB5	B-C balk	71		16		fill/fall	chlorite	base fragment
560	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
561	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
888	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
1083	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	comb handle
1084	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	comb handle
1085	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1086	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1087	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		?	clay	figurine
1114	IVB5	B	70		14		fill	clay	bead
1115	IVB5	B	70		16	1	surface	clay	bead
1117	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	clay	bead
1118	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1161	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		fill	clay	slingsball
e1245	IVB5	B-C balk	71		16		fall/fill	clay	comb handle
2110	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	stone	loomweight or door socket
2111	IVB5	BW	69	5	10		fill	white stone	base fragment
2251	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	white stone	base fragment
2278	IVB5	B-BW	70	3	5	2	brick fall?	white stone	body fragment
2285	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6		fill	white stone	base fragment
e2336	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	stone	unidentified
2427	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		floor	white stone	bowl fragment
2690	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	cu/br	pin
2720	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2721	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2722	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2724	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	cu/br	pin
2729	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2730	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2731	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2732	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2733	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2736	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	cu/br	fragment
2947	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	carnelian	bead
e3347	IVB5	BW	69	5	10a		fill	stone	ball
3363	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	cu/br	pin
3616	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	debitage
3636	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3637	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3638	IVB5	A	75		9		sieve	chlorite	concave disk
3639	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	unfinished object
3640	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3641	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3642	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	bowl
3643	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3644	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3648	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment



Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3649	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3650	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
3650a	IVB5	A	75		9	2	fill	stone	fragment
3651	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3652	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3653	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3654	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
3693	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3694	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3695	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3696	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3697	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	stone	axe or loomweight
3698	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	unidentified
3699	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3700	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	base fragment?
3700a	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3701	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	base fragment
3702	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3703	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3704	IVB5	A	75		9		tholos fill	white stone	ball
3728	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	white stone	fragment
3729	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	white stone	pyramid
3737	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3738	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3739	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3740	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	white stone	jar
3741	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	white stone	body fragment
3742	IVB5	A	75		9	3	oven/kiln	white stone	rim fragment
3753	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	cu/br	fragment
3754	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	cu/br	fragment
3755	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	cu/br	axe
3756	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	cu/br	axe
3757	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	shell	bead
3758	IVB5	A	75		9		sieve	cu/br	point
3777	IVB5	A	75		8		fill	clay	pendant?
3782a	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3782b	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3783	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	comb handle
3784	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3785	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	comb handle
3786	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	ball
3787	IVB5	A	75		9	2	fill	clay	pendant
3788	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	spindle whorl
3800	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	mother-of-pearl	button
3807	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	turquoise	bead
3808	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	turquoise	bead
3809	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	carnelian?	bead
3821	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	malachite	fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
z-224	IVB5	B	70		16		fill	stone	bead
z-241	IVB5	B	70		8		fill	clay	unidentified
z-268	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	1	room	clay	slingball
z-279a	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		fill	clay	slingball
z-279b	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		fill	clay	slingball
z-281	IVB5	B	70		8	1-1	floor	clay	slingball
z-377	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-379	IVB5	B	70		14		fill	stone	unidentified
z-380	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	stone	fragment
z-407	IVB5	B	70		8	1-1	floor	sandstone	whetstone
z-470	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		?	clay	figurine
z-568	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		fill	stone	body fragment
z-569	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		fill	stone	body fragment
z-594	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		floor	stone	rim fragment
z-742	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	3	room	stone	base fragment
294	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
295	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
296	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	base fragment
297	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	fragment
298	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
299	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
307	IVB6	B	70		17		mortar & brick	chlorite	rim fragment
308	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	chlorite	weight? or pendant
309	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
310	IVB6	B	70		19		stone pile	chlorite	rim fragment
323	IVB6	B	70	3	2		fill	chlorite	fragment
527	IVB6	B	71		3		burnt debris	chlorite	body fragment
528	IVB6	B	71		3		burnt debris	chlorite	body fragment
529	IVB6	B	71		3		floor	chlorite	rim fragment
532	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
547	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	chlorite	fragment
548	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	chlorite	disk
549	IVB6	BM	71		2	2	fill/fall	chlorite	spindle whorl
1147a	IVB6	B	70		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1147b	IVB6	B	70		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1148	IVB6	B	71		3		room fill	clay	ball
1153	IVB6	BM	71		1	1	fall/fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
e1242	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	clay	unidentified
e1248	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1355	IVB6	BW	71	2	3a		floor	bone	bead
1739	IVB6	B	70		17		mortar & brick	shell	bead
1764	IVB6	A	75		10		?	stone	bead
2246	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2247	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2248	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2249	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
2252	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	base fragment
2253	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	body fragment
2254	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2255	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	siltstone	whetstone
e2334	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	stone	bead
e2335	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	stone	unidentified
2410	IVB6	BM	71		2	1	room fill	stone	disk
2420	IVB6	BW	71		4	1	brick fall	obsidian	blade
2423	IVB6	BW	71	2	2		fill	white stone	body fragment
2424	IVB6	BW	71	2	3a		floor	white stone	rim fragment
2719	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	cu/br	pin
2734	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	8		fill	cu/br	pin
2735	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	9		fill	cu/br	needle
2780	IVB6	B	71		4	2	pit	cu/br	pin
2781	IVB6	B	71		4	3	pit	cu/br	pin
2784	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	cu/br	sheet fragment
2786	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	cu/br	pin
2787	IVB6	BM	71		2	5	surface	cu/br	perforated copper sheet
2880	IVB6	BM	71		1	1	fall/fill	lead	coil
2887	IVB6	B	70	4	2		room fill	shell?	bead
2941	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	turquoise	fragment
3368	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	cu/br	pin
3655	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	rim fragment
3656	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3657	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3658	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3659	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3660	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	block
3661	IVB6	A	75		10a		sieve	chlorite	rim fragment
3662	IVB6	A	75	7	10a		fill/sieve	chlorite	disk
3663	IVB6	A	75	7	10a		fill/sieve	chlorite	button
3664a	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3664b	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3665	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	button
3666	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3667	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	gaming piece (?) or token
3668	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
3705	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	ring
3707	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	bead
3707a	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	stone	drilled piece
3708	IVB6	A	75		10	2	?	schist?	pestle
3709	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	disk
3710	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	cone
3711	IVB6	A	75		10a		?	stone	body fragment
3761	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	cu/br	pin
3762	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	cu/br	zoomorphic figurine

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3789	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	clay	bead
3790	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3810	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	bead
3811	IVB6	A	75		10		?	stone	bead
z-251	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	8		fill	stone	ball
z-252	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	clay?	unidentified
z-328	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	fragment
z-330	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	fragment
z-408	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	stone	fragment
z-409	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	stone	fragment
z-438	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-449	IVB6	B	71		3		fill	clay	spindle whorl
z-547	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	stone	fragment
z-570	IVB6	BW	71	2	4	1	fill	obsidian	fragment
z-722	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	stone	rim fragment
2426	IVBC1	BW-CW	71		7	7	wall?	white stone	base fragment
311	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	fragment
312	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	disk
313	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	bowl
530	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	chlorite	disk
531	IVC1	B	71	4	8		fill	chlorite	unidentified
536	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	chlorite	rim fragment
537	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	chlorite	body fragment
538	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	bracelet
539	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
540	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
541	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
542	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	rim fragment
543	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	rim fragment
559	IVC1	B-C balk	71		23		fill	chlorite	body fragment
562	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	3	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
563	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	room fill	chlorite	pin
564a	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	chlorite	base fragment
564b	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	chlorite	body fragment
882	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	chlorite	bowl
1141	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	disk
1152	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	clay	spindle whorl
1154	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1155	IVC1	BW	71		2		fill	clay	comb handle
1159	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1160	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	ball
1162	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	2	room fill	clay	cylinder seal
1163	IVC1	BW-CW	71		11	5	wall	clay	whorl
e1243	IVC1	B	71		12		room fill	clay	comb handle
e1246	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	room fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1247	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
e1249	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1273	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
1274	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1696	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	ivory	bead
1697	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	ivory	bead
1698	IVC1	BM	71		5		fill	ivory	pendant
1761	IVC1	B	71		4	6	room fill	shell	pendant
2256	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	white stone	rim fragment
2257	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	stone	rim fragment
2258	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	white stone	pendant
2399	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	white stone	rim fragment
2400	IVC1	B	71		11		room fill	white stone	rim fragment
2411	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	stone	axe/macehead
2412	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	white stone	base fragment
2418	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	stone	body fragment
2421	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	room fill	white stone	base fragment
2425	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	room fill	stone	bead
2430	IVC1	B-C balk	71		22		kiln?	white stone	rim fragment
2723	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	cu/br	pin
2782	IVC1	B	71		4	6	room fill	cu/br	pin
2783	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	cu/br	disk
2881	IVC1	B	71		8		room fill	lead	fragment
2973	IVC1	BW-CW	71		6	1	fill	agate	bead
3219	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	iron	fragment
3327	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	obsidian	flake
3332	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	3	fill	obsidian	flake
3483	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	white stone	bowl
3484	IVC1	B	71		4	9	room fill	white stone	bowl
3673	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3712	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
3718	IVC1	A	75	7	11		fill	white stone	body fragment
3765	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	cu/br	pin
3791	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	clay	slingball
3798	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	clay	slingball
z-255	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	unidentified
z-262	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	slingball
z-263	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	slingball
z-295	IVC1	B	70		20		fill	cu/br	pin
z-348	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	stone	disk
z-414	IVC1	BM	71		4		fill	shell	bead
z-436	IVC1	BW-CW	71		6		fill	frit	bead?
z-467	IVC1	BW-CW	71		11	5	wall	clay	slingball
z-522	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	fill	serpentine	pin
z-526	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	copper ore	fragment
z-538	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	stone	hoe?
z-566	IVC1	B	71		4	8	?	stone	mortar
z-567a	IVC1	B	71		11		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-718	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-723	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	stone	base fragment
z-725	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	stone	rim fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
821	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	chlorite	button
822	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
1888	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1889	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1890	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1892	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
13	IVC2	C	68	1&2	8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
14	IVC2	C	68	3	2	3	wall	chlorite	bowl
314	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	pendant
315	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	body fragment
316	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	body fragment
533	IVC2	B	71		13	4	surface	chlorite	body fragment
544	IVC2	BW	71		10		fill	chlorite	body fragment
550	IVC2	BM	71		6		fill	chlorite	whorl
841	IVC2	B	73		1		wall	chlorite	unidentified
842	IVC2	B	73		1	3	wall	chlorite	body fragment
843	IVC2	B	73		1	7	wall	chlorite	bowl
1149	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	clay	spindle whorl?
1150	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	clay	comb handle
1285	IVC2	CW	73		2	2	fill	clay	vessel
1354	IVC2	B	71		Rm 5	cleaning	room	bone	awl
1754	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	shell	bead
1962	IVC2	C	68	1-2	8		fill	white stone	body fragment
1963	IVC2	C	68	6	9		floor	stone	pestle
2118	IVC2	C	68		Surf		surface	stone	unidentified
2402	IVC2	B	71		13		fill	stone	ball
2422	IVC2	BW	71		10		fill	sandstone	whetstone
2502	IVC2	B	73		1	1	floor	stone	whetstone
2503	IVC2	B	73		1	1	floor	white stone	whetstone
2530	IVC2	CW	73		2	2	wall	stone	whetstone
2531	IVC2	CW	73		4		fill	stone	ball
2627	IVC2	C	68	6	7		fill	cu/br	pin
2628	IVC2	C	68	6	7		fill	cu/br	chisel
2629	IVC2	C	68	6	9		fill?	cu/br	pin
2630	IVC2	C	68	6	9		fill	cu/br	spatula
3482	IVC2	B	71		4	8	room fill	cu/br	ore?
3485	IVC2	B	71		13	4	hearth	white stone?	unidentified
3669	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3670	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	chlorite	body fragment
3671	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	chlorite	bead
3672	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3674	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	chlorite	disk
3675	IVC2	A	75		11	6	floor	chlorite	whorl
3676	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	base fragment
3677	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	bowl
3678	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	bowl
3679	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	body fragment
3680	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	shaft straightener

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3713	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	stone	whetstone
3714	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	stone	mortar
3714a	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	stone	mortar
3715	IVC2	A	75		11	2a	floor	stone	ball
3716a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3716b	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3717	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	stone	base fragment
3719	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	white stone	body fragment
3720a	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	mortar
3720b	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3720c	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3720d	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3721a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	mortar
3721b	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	stone ball
3721c	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3721d	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone/palette
3722	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	stone	stone polisher
3730	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	white stone	rim fragment
3731	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	white stone	body fragment
3732	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3733	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	fragment
3743	IVC2	A	75		11	8a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3744	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	white stone	body fragment
3745	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	white stone	bowl
3759	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	cu/br	pin
3760	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	cu/br	pin
3763	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	cu/br	pin
3764	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	cu/br	pin
3792	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3793	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3794	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	clay	slingball
3795	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	clay	token
3796	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	clay	ball
3797	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	clay	ball
3801a	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	shell	button
3801b	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	shell	button
3802	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	shell	pendant
3803	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	shell	fragment
3812a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	heulandite	bead
3812b	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	heulandite	bead
3813	IVC2	A	75		11	2a	floor	stone	bead
3814	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	bead
3815	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	stone	bead
3816	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	turquoise	bead
3817	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	lapis lazuli	bead
3823	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	chromite	fragment
3824	IVC2	A	75	7	11	3	floor	limnite	fragment
3825	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	red ochre	pigment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3826	IVC2	A	75		11	7b	floor	bone	needle
3827a	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	lead?	ring?
3827b	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	lead?	ring?
3839	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	obsidian	blade
3845	IVC2	B	71		13		fill	white stone	fragment
z?	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	cu/br	spear point
z-64	IVC2	C	68		Surf		surface	stone?	bead
z-417	IVC2	BM	71		6		fill	stone	bead?
z-730	IVC2	C	68	3	2		fill	clay?	unidentified



## Appendix E

### Catalogue of Small Finds (Excluding the Glyptic) from Phases IVC2 to IVB1 Contexts at Tepe Yahya Sorted Alphabetically by Material

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
2973	IVC1	BW-CW	71		6	1	fill	agate	bead
2071	IVB1	B	69	5	3	4	floor	basalt	loomweight or door socket
z-349	IVB1	B	69	5	3	4	floor	black stone	handle
1331	IVB3	B	69	5	4		fill	bone	bead
1345	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	bone	awl
1354	IVC2	B	71		Rm 5	cleaning	room	bone	awl
1355	IVB6	BW	71	2	3a		floor	bone	bead
3826	IVC2	A	75		11	7b	floor	bone	needle
z-66	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	bone	ring
2885	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	bone or shell	bead
2940	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	carnelian	bead
2947	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	carnelian	bead
3805	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	carnelian	bead
3809	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	carnelian?	bead
13	IVC2	C	68	1&2	8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
14	IVC2	C	68	3	2	3	wall	chlorite	bowl
75	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	bead
76	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	body fragment
77	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	bowl
78	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
79	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
94	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fall	chlorite	body fragment
95	IVB1	B	69	5	3		ash lens	chlorite	body fragment
97	IVB1	B	69	5	3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
180	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
181	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
182	IVB5	BW	69	5	9a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
183	IVB5	BW	69	5	9a	11	floor	chlorite	disk
184	IVB5	BW	69	5	10a		fill	chlorite	bowl
253	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
254	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
255	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
268	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment

Note: The registration numbers used here are arbitrary, used to track the artifacts. Artifacts with *a*, *z*, or *e* preceding their registration number were not registered in the field; these artifacts were given these numbers later when circumstances warranted additional numbers.

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
269	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
270	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	handle
271	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	handle
272	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
273	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
274	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	disk
275	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	cup
276	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	bead
277	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	base fragment
278	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	rim sherd
279	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
280	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	chlorite	fragment
281	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
282	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	chlorite	pendant
283	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
284	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
285	IVB3	B	70		5		fill	chlorite	handle
286	IVB3	B	70		5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
288	IVB5	B	70		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
289	IVB5	B	70		8	1	room fill	chlorite	pounder
291	IVB5	B	70		8	1	floor	chlorite	bowl
294	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
295	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
296	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	base fragment
297	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	fragment
298	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
299	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
301	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
302	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	bead
303	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	chlorite	pounder
304	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
305	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
306	IVB5	B	70		16		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
307	IVB6	B	70		17		mortar & brick	chlorite	rim fragment
308	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	chlorite	weight? or pendant
309	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
310	IVB6	B	70		19		stone pile	chlorite	rim fragment
311	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	fragment
312	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	disk
313	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	chlorite	bowl
314	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	pendant
315	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	body fragment
316	IVC2	B	70		20b		fill	chlorite	body fragment
321	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
322	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
323	IVB6	B	70	3	2		fill	chlorite	fragment
333	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	chlorite	bead

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
334	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	chlorite	bead
341	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	base fragment
342	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
343	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
344	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	5	4	floor	chlorite	token
358	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
359	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
360	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	surface	chlorite	bead
361	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	surface	chlorite	fragment
362	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	base fragment
363	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
364	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
365	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
366	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
367	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
368	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
369	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
370	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
371	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
372	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
373	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment?
374	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
375	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	bead
376	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	2	1	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
377	IVB3	B-BW	70	3	3		fill	chlorite	fragment
378	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
379	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	chlorite	base fragment
380	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
381	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		fill	chlorite	body fragment
385	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	4	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
386	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	5		fill	chlorite	base fragment
387	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	5		fill	chlorite	bowl fragment
388	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	9	wall	chlorite	body fragment
389	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		burnt soil	chlorite	body fragment
390	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	7	wall	chlorite	bead
391	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	chlorite	fragment
392	IVB4	B-BW	70	6	4		fill	chlorite	gaming piece?
393	IVB4	B-BW	70	6	4		fill	chlorite	macehead
394	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	chlorite	fragment
395	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
527	IVB6	B	71		3		burnt debris	chlorite	body fragment
528	IVB6	B	71		3		burnt debris	chlorite	body fragment
529	IVB6	B	71		3		floor	chlorite	rim fragment
530	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	chlorite	disk
531	IVC1	B	71	4	8		fill	chlorite	unidentified
532	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
533	IVC2	B	71		13	4	surface	chlorite	body fragment
536	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	chlorite	rim fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
537	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	chlorite	body fragment
538	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	bracelet
539	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
540	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
541	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	body fragment
542	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	rim fragment
543	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		?	chlorite	rim fragment
544	IVC2	BW	71		10		fill	chlorite	body fragment
547	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	chlorite	fragment
548	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	chlorite	disk
549	IVB6	BM	71		2	2	fill/fall	chlorite	spindle whorl
550	IVC2	BM	71		6		fill	chlorite	whorl
556	IVB1	B-C balk	71		5		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
558	IVB5	B-C balk	71		16		fill/fall	chlorite	base fragment
559	IVC1	B-C balk	71		23		fill	chlorite	body fragment
560	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
561	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
562	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	3	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
563	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	room fill	chlorite	pin
564a	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	chlorite	base fragment
564b	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	chlorite	body fragment
815	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	1a	fill	chlorite	body fragment
816	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
817	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	chlorite	body fragment
821	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	chlorite	button
822	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
837	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	65	screen	chlorite	body fragment
838	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	65	screen	chlorite	body fragment
839	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
841	IVC2	B	73		1		wall	chlorite	unidentified
842	IVC2	B	73		1	3	wall	chlorite	body fragment
843	IVC2	B	73		1	7	wall	chlorite	bowl
882	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	chlorite	bowl
888	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		1		fill	chlorite	unidentified
2429	IVB1	B-C balk	71		10		fill	chlorite	lid
3600	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	fragment
3601	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	fragment
3602	IVB1	A	75		5a		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3603	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3604	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3605a	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3605b	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3605c	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3606	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3607	IVB1	A	75		7		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3608a	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	vessel fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3608b	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3609	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3610	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	chlorite	body fragment
3611	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	chlorite	body fragment
3612	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	fragment
3613	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3614a	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3614b	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3615	IVB1	A	75	7	1		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3616	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	debitage
3617	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill?	chlorite	body fragment
3618	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	token or gaming piece
3619	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620a	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620b	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620c	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3620d	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3621	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3622	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3623	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3624	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3625	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3626	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3627	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3628	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	chlorite	base fragment
3629	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	tall cup
3630	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	lid
3631	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3632	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	chlorite	base fragment
3633	IVB2?	A	75		8a		fill?	chlorite	rim fragment
3634	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill/sieve	chlorite	pendant
3635	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3636	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3637	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3638	IVB5	A	75		9		sieve	chlorite	concave disk
3639	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	unfinished object
3640	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3641	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3642	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	bowl
3643	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3644	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3645	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	spindle whorl
3646	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	fragment
3647	IVB1	A	75	7	3		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3648	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3649	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3650	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3651	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3652	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3653	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3654	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	chlorite	body fragment
3655	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	rim fragment
3656	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	rim fragment
3657	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3658	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	chlorite	body fragment
3659	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	vessel fragment
3660	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	block
3661	IVB6	A	75		10a		sieve	chlorite	rim fragment
3662	IVB6	A	75	7	10a		fill/sieve	chlorite	disk
3663	IVB6	A	75	7	10a		fill/sieve	chlorite	button
3664a	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3664b	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3665	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	button
3666	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	chlorite	unidentified
3667	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	gaming piece (?) or token
3668	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	chlorite	shaft straightener
3670	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	chlorite	body fragment
3671	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	chlorite	bead
3672	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	chlorite	rim fragment
3673	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	chlorite	body fragment
3674	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	chlorite	disk
3675	IVC2	A	75		11	6	floor	chlorite	whorl
3677	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	bowl
3678	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	bowl
3679	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	body fragment
3680	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	chlorite	shaft straightener
3823	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	chromite	fragment
1077	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1078	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1079	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	bead
1083	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	comb handle
1084	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	comb handle
1085	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1086	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1087	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		?	clay	figurine
1113	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	clay	spindle whorl?
1114	IVB5	B	70		14		fill	clay	bead
1115	IVB5	B	70		16	1	surface	clay	bead
1117	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	clay	bead
1118	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1141	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	disk
1147a	IVB6	B	70		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1147b	IVB6	B	70		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1148	IVB6	B	71		3		room fill	clay	ball

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
1149	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	clay	spindle whorl?
1150	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	clay	comb handle
1152	IVC1	B	71	1	1		brick fall	clay	spindle whorl
1153	IVB6	BM	71		1	1	fall/fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1154	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	clay	comb handle
1155	IVC1	BW	71		2		fill	clay	comb handle
1159	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1160	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	ball
1161	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		fill	clay	slingball
1162	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	2	room fill	clay	cylinder seal
1163	IVC1	BW-CW	71		11	5	wall	clay	whorl
e1242	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	clay	unidentified
e1243	IVC1	B	71		12		room fill	clay	comb handle
e1245	IVB5	B-C balk	71		16		fall/fill	clay	comb handle
e1246	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	room fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1247	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
e1248	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
e1249	IVC1	BW-CW	71		9	2	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1273	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1274	IVC1	B-C balk	71		18		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1285	IVC2	CW	73		2	2	fill	clay	vessel
1882	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
1883	IVB1?	AN2	73		7		fill	clay	comb handle
1885	IVB1?	AN2	73		7a		fill	clay	cylinder
1888	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1889	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1890	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
1892	IVC1/2?	AN2	73		12		fill	clay	tablet blank
3774	IVB1	A	75	1	4		fill	clay	slingball
3775	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	comb handle
3776	IVB2?	A	75		8	5	?	clay	rod
3777	IVB5	A	75		8		fill	clay	pendant?
3778	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	ball
3779	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	clay	comb handle
3780	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	clay	figurine fragment, foot?
3781	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	clay	comb handle
3782a	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3782b	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3783	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	comb handle
3784	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	slingball
3785	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	comb handle
3786	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	ball
3787	IVB5	A	75		9	2	fill	clay	pendant
3788	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	clay	spindle whorl
3789	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	clay	bead
3790	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3791	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	clay	slingball
3792	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3793	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	clay	zoomorphic figurine
3794	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	clay	slingball
3795	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	clay	token
3796	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	clay	ball
3797	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	clay	ball
3798	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	clay	slingball
z-241	IVB5	B	70		8		fill	clay	unidentified
z-255	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	unidentified
z-262	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	slingball
z-263	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	clay	slingball
z-268	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	1	room	clay	slingball
z-277a	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	clay	slingball
z-277b	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	clay	slingball
z-279a	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		fill	clay	slingball
z-279b	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7		fill	clay	slingball
z-281	IVB5	B	70		8	1-1	floor	clay	slingball
z-438	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-449	IVB6	B	71		3		fill	clay	spindle whorl
z-467	IVC1	BW-CW	71		11	5	wall	clay	slingball
z-470	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		?	clay	figurine
z-718	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-741	IVB1	B	69	4a	7	4	fill	clay	zoomorphic figurine
z-252	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	clay?	unidentified
z-730	IVC2	C	68	3	2		fill	clay?	unidentified
z-526	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	copper ore	fragment
2627	IVC2	C	68	6	7		fill	cu/br	pin
2628	IVC2	C	68	6	7		fill	cu/br	chisel
2629	IVC2	C	68	6	9		fill?	cu/br	pin
2630	IVC2	C	68	6	9		fill	cu/br	spatula
2674	IVB1	B	69	5	3	2	fall	cu/br	needle
2675	IVB1	B	69	5a	2		platform	cu/br	slag
2690	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	cu/br	pin
2719	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	cu/br	pin
2720	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2721	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2722	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	cu/br	pin
2723	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	cu/br	pin
2724	IVB5	B	70	3	1		fill	cu/br	pin
2725	IVB1	B-BW	71	3	1		fill	cu/br	fragment
2726	IVB1	B-BW	71	3	1		fill	cu/br	fragment
2727	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	cu/br	pin
2729	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2730	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2731	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2732	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin
2733	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	7	1	floor	cu/br	pin



Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
2734	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	8		fill	cu/br	pin
2735	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	9		fill	cu/br	needle
2736	IVB5	B-BW	70	6	5		room fill	cu/br	fragment
2780	IVB6	B	71		4	2	pit	cu/br	pin
2781	IVB6	B	71		4	3	pit	cu/br	pin
2782	IVC1	B	71		4	6	room fill	cu/br	pin
2783	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	cu/br	disk
2784	IVB6	B	71		7		fill	cu/br	sheet fragment
2786	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	cu/br	pin
2787	IVB6	BM	71		2	5	surface	cu/br	perforated copper sheet
3363	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	cu/br	pin
3368	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	cu/br	pin
3482	IVC2	B	71		4	8	room fill	cu/br	ore?
3752	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	cu/br	pin
3753	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	cu/br	fragment
3754	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	cu/br	fragment
3755	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	cu/br	axe
3756	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	cu/br	axe
3758	IVB5	A	75		9		sieve	cu/br	point
3759	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	cu/br	pin
3760	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	cu/br	pin
3761	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	cu/br	pin
3762	IVB6	A	75		10		fill/sieve	cu/br	zoomorphic figurine
3763	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	cu/br	pin
3764	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	cu/br	pin
3765	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	cu/br	pin
3766	IVB2?	A	75	8	4		?	cu/br	fragments
z?	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	cu/br	spear point
z-295	IVC1	B	70		20		fill	cu/br	pin
z-436	IVC1	BW-CW	71		6		fill	frit	bead?
3812a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	heulandite	bead
3812b	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	heulandite	bead
3219	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	iron	fragment
1696	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	ivory	bead
1697	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	ivory	bead
1698	IVC1	BM	71		5		fill	ivory	pendant
3819	IVB1	A	75		7	4	fill	ivory or bone	bead
2263	IVB2	B	70	1	2		fill	jasper	ear plug?
3817	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	lapis lazuli	bead
2880	IVB6	BM	71		1	1	fall/fill	lead	coil
2881	IVC1	B	71		8		room fill	lead	fragment
3827a	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	lead?	ring?
3827b	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	lead?	ring?
3824	IVC2	A	75	7	11	3	floor	limnite	fragment
3821	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	malachite	fragment
3800	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	mother-of-pearl	button
2420	IVB6	BW	71		4	1	brick fall	obsidian	blade

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3327	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	obsidian	flake
3332	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	3	fill	obsidian	flake
3839	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	obsidian	blade
z-570	IVB6	BW	71	2	4	1	fill	obsidian	fragment
2070	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	obsidian?	bead
3825	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	red ochre	pigment
2422	IVC2	BW	71		10		fill	sandstone	whetstone
z-407	IVB5	B	70		8	1-1	floor	sandstone	whetstone
3708	IVB6	A	75		10	2	?	schist?	pestle
z-167	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	serpentine	fragment
z-169	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	serpentine	fragment
z-406	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	5	floor	serpentine	seal blank?
z-522	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	fill	serpentine	pin
1739	IVB6	B	70		17		mortar & brick	shell	bead
1754	IVC2	B	71		6b		fill	shell	bead
1761	IVC1	B	71		4	6	room fill	shell	pendant
3757	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	shell	bead
3801a	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	shell	button
3801b	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	shell	button
3802	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	shell	pendant
3803	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	shell	fragment
z-414	IVC1	BM	71		4		fill	shell	bead
2887	IVB6	B	70	4	2		room fill	shell?	bead
2255	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	siltstone	whetstone
1764	IVB6	A	75		10		?	stone	bead
1963	IVC2	C	68	6	9		floor	stone	pestle
2066	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4	4	fill	stone	pestle
2077	IVB3	B	69	5a	2		fill	stone	body fragment
2108	IVB4-2	BW	69	5	7		fill	stone	handle
2110	IVB5	BW	69	5	9		fill	stone	loomweight or door socket
2118	IVC2	C	68		Surf		surface	stone	unidentified
2236	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	stone	palette
2240	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	rim fragment
2241	IVB3	B	70		3		fill	stone	body fragment
2257	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	stone	rim fragment
2264	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	stone	bead
2277	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	stone	bead blank
2280	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1a		fill	stone	bead
2283	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	4		fill	stone	unidentified
e2334	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	stone	bead
e2335	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	stone	unidentified
e2336	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	stone	unidentified
2402	IVC2	B	71		13		fill	stone	ball
2410	IVB6	BM	71		2	1	room fill	stone	disk
2411	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	stone	axe/macehead
2418	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	stone	body fragment
2425	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	5	room fill	stone	bead

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
2502	IVC2	B	73		1	1	floor	stone	whetstone
2530	IVC2	CW	73		2	2	wall	stone	whetstone
2531	IVC2	CW	73		4		fill	stone	ball
e3347	IVB5	BW	69	5	10a		fill	stone	ball
3650a	IVB5	A	75		9	2	fill	stone	fragment
3693	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3694	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3695	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3696	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	whetstone
3697	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	stone	axe or loomweight
3698	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	unidentified
3699	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3700	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	base fragment?
3700a	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3701	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	base fragment
3702	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3703	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	stone	body fragment
3705	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	ring
3706	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	stone	ball
3707	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	bead
3707a	IVB6	A	75	7	10		fill	stone	drilled piece
3709	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	disk
3710	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	cone
3711	IVB6	A	75		10a		?	stone	body fragment
3713	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	stone	whetstone
3714	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	stone	mortar
3714a	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	stone	mortar
3715	IVC2	A	75		11	2a	floor	stone	ball
3716a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3716b	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3717	IVC2	A	75		11	5	fill	stone	base fragment
3720a	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	mortar
3720b	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3720c	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3720d	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone
3721a	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	mortar
3721b	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	stone ball
3721c	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	ball
3721d	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2b	floor	stone	whetstone/palette
3722	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	stone	stone polisher
3810	IVB6	A	75		10		fill	stone	bead
3811	IVB6	A	75		10		?	stone	bead
3813	IVC2	A	75		11	2a	floor	stone	bead
3814	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	stone	bead
3815	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	stone	bead
z-140	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	stone	fragment
z-144	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	stone	fragment
z-159	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	stone	fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
z-168	IVB1	B	69	5	2		fill	stone	fragment
z-224	IVB5	B	70		16		fill	stone	bead
z-251	IVB6	B-BW	70	4	8		fill	stone	ball
z-348	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	stone	disk
z-360	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	whorl?
z-361	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-377	IVB5	B	70		15		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-379	IVB5	B	70		14		fill	stone	unidentified
z-380	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	stone	fragment
z-382	IVB2	B-BW	70	5	1		fill	stone	body fragment
z-384	IVB1	B	70		1		fill	stone	mortar
z-385	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	6		fill	stone	fragment
z-403	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	stone	base fragment
z-408	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	stone	fragment
z-409	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	stone	fragment
z-417	IVC2	BM	71		6		fill	stone	bead?
z-538	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	stone	hoe?
z-547	IVB6	BW	71	2	2a		fill	stone	fragment
z-566	IVC1	B	71		4	8	?	stone	mortar
z-567a	IVC1	B	71		11		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-568	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		fill	stone	body fragment
z-569	IVB5	B-C balk	71		27		fill	stone	body fragment
z-594	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		floor	stone	rim fragment
z-699	IVB1?	AN2	73		7	2a	fill	stone	rim fragment
z-722	IVB6	B	70		18		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-723	IVC1	B	71		4	10	fill	stone	base fragment
z-725	IVC1	B-BW	71		3		fill	stone	rim fragment
z-742	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6	3	room	stone	base fragment
z-64	IVC2	C	68		Surf		surface	stone?	bead
2941	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	turquoise	fragment
2944	IVB1	B	69	4a	7		fill	turquoise	bead blank
2946	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill	turquoise	bead
3315	IVB1	B	69	4a	4a-4		fill	turquoise	fragment
3807	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	turquoise	bead
3808	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	turquoise	bead
3816	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	turquoise	bead
z-121	IVB1	B	69	4	4a-4		fill	turquoise	fragment
1962	IVC2	C	68	1-2	8		fill	white stone	body fragment
2072	IVB3	B	69	5	4		fill	white stone	body fragment
2109	IVB4-2	BW	69	5	7		fill	white stone	body fragment
2111	IVB5	BW	69	5	10		fill	white stone	base fragment
2243	IVB2	B	70		4		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2246	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2247	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2248	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2249	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
2251	IVB5	B	70		13		fill	white stone	base fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
2252	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	base fragment
2253	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	body fragment
2254	IVB6	B	70		17		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2256	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	white stone	rim fragment
2258	IVC1	B	70		20		room fill	white stone	pendant
2262	IVB2	B	70		2		fill	white stone	disk
2275	IVB1	B-BW	70	2	14	2	room fill	white stone	door socket
2278	IVB5	B-BW	70	3	5	2	brick fall?	white stone	body fragment
2279	IVB1	B-BW	70	4	1		fill	white stone	body fragment
2281	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		fall	white stone	loomweight or door socket
2282	IVB4	B-BW	70	4	2		wall fall?	white stone	rim fragment
2285	IVB5	B-BW	70	4	6		fill	white stone	base fragment
2399	IVC1	B	71		4	8	fill	white stone	rim fragment
2400	IVC1	B	71		11		room fill	white stone	rim fragment
2412	IVC1	BM	71		3		fill	white stone	base fragment
2421	IVC1	BW-CW	71		7	4	room fill	white stone	base fragment
2423	IVB6	BW	71	2	2		fill	white stone	body fragment
2424	IVB6	BW	71	2	3a		floor	white stone	rim fragment
2426	IVBC1	BW-CW	71		7	7	wall?	white stone	base fragment
2427	IVB5	BW-CW balk	71		2		floor	white stone	bowl fragment
2430	IVC1	B-C balk	71		22		kiln?	white stone	rim fragment
2498	IVB1?	AN2	73		4		fill	white stone	base fragment
2499	IVB1?	AN2	73		4		fill	white stone	rim fragment
2503	IVC2	B	73		1	1	floor	white stone	whetstone
3483	IVC1	B	71		4	8	room fill	white stone	bowl
3484	IVC1	B	71		4	9	room fill	white stone	bowl
3669	IVC2	A	75	7	11	2a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3676	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	base fragment
3704	IVB5	A	75		9		tholos fill	white stone	ball
3712	IVC1	A	75		11		fill	white stone	body fragment
3718	IVC1	A	75	7	11		fill	white stone	body fragment
3719	IVC2	A	75		11	2	floor	white stone	body fragment
3724	IVB1	A	75		6		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3725	IVB1	A	75		7	5	wall	white stone	body fragment
3727	IVB2?	A	75		8	1	floor	white stone	labret
3728	IVB5	A	75		9	1	floor	white stone	fragment
3729	IVB5	A	75		9	2	room fill	white stone	pyramid
3730	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	white stone	rim fragment
3731	IVC2	A	75		11	3	floor	white stone	body fragment
3732	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3733	IVC2	A	75		11	3a	floor	white stone	fragment
3735	IVB1	A	75		7	4	tholos fill	white stone	rim fragment
3736	IVB2?	A	75		8		fill	white stone	token
3737	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3738	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment
3739	IVB5	A	75		9		fill	white stone	rim fragment

Reg. #	Phase	Trench	Year	Test trench	Stratum	Feature	Locus	Material	Object
3740	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	white stone	jar
3741	IVB5	A	75		9	2	bench	white stone	body fragment
3742	IVB5	A	75		9	3	oven/kiln	white stone	rim fragment
3743	IVC2	A	75		11	8a	floor	white stone	body fragment
3744	IVC2	A	75		11	8	floor	white stone	body fragment
3745	IVC2	A	75		11	2b	floor	white stone	bowl
3845	IVC2	B	71		13		fill	white stone	fragment
z-328	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	fragment
z-330	IVB6	B	70		11		fill	white stone	fragment
3485	IVC2	B	71		13	4	hearth	white stone?	unidentified
z-331	IVB1	B-BW	70	3	1		fill?	wood	petrified fragment

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