ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM · OXFORD

# Kish Excavations 1923-1933

WITH A MICROFICHE CATALOGUE
OF THE OBJECTS IN OXFORD
EXCAVATED BY THE OXFORD–FIELD MUSEUM,
CHICAGO, EXPEDITION TO KISH IN IRAQ, 1923-1933

P. R. S. Moorey

Kish was one of the most important cities of ancient Iraq, the site of crucial political developments in the late fourth and early third millennia B.C., in what is generally acknowledged to be one of the oldest literate urban civilizations in the world. Even after its political supremacy passed its geographical position ensured a continuing role in the history of Mesopotamia to the Islamic conquest. The excavations of the Oxford-Field Museum, Chicago, Expedition from 1923-33 were on a very large-scale, never likely to be repeated, and were never fully published. A final report only exists for one of the six major areas of excavation. This book seeks to fill the gap as far as is now possible by offering a comprehensive survey of the results integrated with information from other excavations in Iraq. A concluding essay attempts a history of Kish. A set of microfiches bound in with the text provide a fully illustrated *catalogue raisonné* of the Oxford collection of finds from these excavations. They are a representative sample of the whole, complemented by the results of studying the collections in Baghdad and Chicago.

Of particular interest are the results of studying the archaeological remains contemporary with the very early secular kingship exercised from Kish, c. 3000-2500 B.C., including the 'chariot graves' and two very early palaces; a well equipped cemetery of the Persian occupation of Iraq in the fifth to fourth centuries B.C.; a series of large Sasanian buildings, two with a unique group of stucco decoration.

Dr. Moorey is Senior Assistant Keeper in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, and Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford.

# KISH EXCAVATIONS
1923–1933

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM · OXFORD

# KISH EXCAVATIONS 1923-1933

WITH A MICROFICHE CATALOGUE
OF THE OBJECTS IN OXFORD
EXCAVATED BY THE OXFORD - FIELD MUSEUM,
CHICAGO EXPEDITION TO KISH IN IRAQ, 1923 - 1933

BY
P. R. S. MOOREY


CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD

*Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford* OX2 6DP
OXFORD LONDON GLASGOW
NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA CAPE TOWN
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE JAKARTA HONG KONG TOKYO
DELHI BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI



Published in co-operation with the Visitors of the Ashmolean
by the Delegates of the Press



British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Oxford - Field Museum, Chicago,
Expedition
Kish excavations, 1923-1933.
1. Kish, Iraq
I. Title II. Moorey, Peter Roger Stuart
III. Ashmolean Museum
935 DS70.5.K5

ISBN 0-19-813191-7

Printed in Great Britain by
Thomson Litho Ltd, East Kilbride, Scotland.

CONTENTS

# PREFACE

This report sets out to acquit, as far as is now possible, an obligation laid on Oxford University in 1923 by Stephen Langdon, Shillito Reader in Assyriology. He then arranged for the University to join with the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, in an expedition (to excavate ancient Kish in Iraq) that lasted until 1933. L. Ch. Watelin, field-director for the greater part of this time, died in 1934, Langdon himself in 1937. It is a hybrid volume, a cross between a standard museum catalogue raisonné and an orthodox excavation report. I first intended just to write a simple catalogue of the objects from Kish in Oxford. It became increasingly obvious to me as I proceeded that the inadequacy of the published excavation reports had to be supplemented from the surviving field records before any real sense could be made of the objects. I began working intermittently along these lines in 1963 and had virtually abandoned the project in 1965, when the partial records available in Oxford proved insufficient and inquiries by letter to Baghdad and Chicago brought no promise of better prospects. Happily at this point Mr. McGuire Gibson, then a research student working with Professor I.J. Gelb at Chicago University, managed to re-assemble the Kish records in the Field Museum of Natural History. He showed that it would be possible to reconstruct a full series of object record-cards by amalgamating those surviving in Oxford and Chicago, though most of the original plans and pottery drawings were to remain undetected, if not by now destroyed. Once two complete sets of cards had been assembled Gibson and I proceeded independently with our researches, though regularly in touch by letter. Gibson's interests moved more towards field survey and area studies (1), whilst I concentrated on unravelling the archaeology and history of Kish as it emerged from the excavated objects and buildings.

I studied the Kish collection in Baghdad, and visited the site, in 1969. The material in Chicago I saw in 1973. Allowing for the usually finer objects retained in Baghdad, the wider range of Sasanian material and more numerous pottery in Chicago, the three collections

are generally speaking representative. Objects excavated earlier at Kish by de Genouillac are largely known to me from his publications, but I have examined some pieces in Brussels, Istanbul and Paris. In writing this book I have taken Mackay's excellent reports as final and very rarely added to them save in matters of detail and interpretation; I have also taken as read Watelin's reports on the Neo-Babylonian temple of Tell Ingharra (Excavations at Kish, III). The other Kish volumes, and the many preliminary reports, vary so much in scope and accuracy that I have only used them when primary records failed, and I have generally written fresh accounts of the areas they describe. Where no systematic report was ever made I have tried to provide one, albeit often very brief. I have only repeated information given by Gibson about topography, documentation and bibliography when it seemed vital for an understanding of this book. His other work, as the footnotes show, is interwoven into the fabric of the text at a number of points.

In undertaking this project, nearly fifty years after the excavations were started, I have been very conscious that the original work was inspired by aims no longer recognized as viable and executed by methods which were largely inadequate, even by the standards of the day, after Mackay's departure. Each generation misses opportunities recognized by the next, as each generation has opportunities denied the next. It would be to confound the evil if the results of this excavation were for these reasons ignored and the finds, with what is left of the records, allowed to suffer further neglect. It would be particularly so at a time when fresh excavations at Kish on this scale are unlikely, though modern development there is radically modifying the site. Were it by some happy chance to prove otherwise, for the significance of Kish in the archaeology and history of Mesopotamia is not in any doubt, full knowledge of early excavations would be vital to the new excavators.

At an advanced stage in the preparation of this book it became apparent that economic pressures would not permit such specialist collections to be produced in the lavish manner previously used for Ashmolean Museum Catalogues. The whole project was radically revised and the present format adopted as the best means of publishing the text and illustrations at an acceptable price. I am well aware that we all prefer to read text

on a printed page rather than on a screen, and that for rapid cross-reference the conventional book is a perfect working tool. I am also aware that for the present few libraries, and even fewer individuals, have microform readers readily available. I have therefore arranged this book with these considerations in mind, providing a continuous narrative of the excavations area by area on a printed page with appropriate maps, plans and diagrams, whilst relegating only the detailed catalogue entries and the illustrations of objects to microfiche. It is such material that costs most to reproduce and is most likely only to be consulted by the few specialists working from time to time on exactly comparable objects. With all its obvious disadvantages, some of which the future will reduce, I believe that text-fiche publications allow museums, and field archaeologists, a potentially indispensable opportunity for making as widely available as possible basic evidence that might otherwise languish for ever unseen, if not largely unknown, in archives or basements.

It has rarely been possible to take account of articles or books appearing after the end of 1975.

September, 1977. P.R.S. Moorey.

(1) The City and Area of Kish, 1972.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My work on Kish has been facilitated over the years in every way through the courtesy and generosity of the following people, who have either put funds at my disposal for travel, made readily available objects and records in their charge, or provided me with rooms in which to work: in Baghdad in 1969, the then Director General of Antiquities, Dr. Isa Salman, and successive Keepers of the National Museum of Antiquities, Dr. Faraj Basmachi and Dr. Fawzi Rashid, and in the British School of Archaeology, the Director, Mr. E.E.D.M. Oates, and the Assistant Director, Mr. J.J. Orchard; in Chicago in 1973, Dr. Van Stone and Mr. C. Legge of the Field Museum of Natural History, Professor J.A. Brinkman and Professor A. Mc.Gibson of the Oriental Institute, Chicago University; in Oxford, the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, and two successive successive Keepers of Antiquities, Mr. R.W. Hamilton and Mr. H.J. Case, and the Management Committee of the Wainwright Near Eastern Archaeological Fund. I am much indebted to them all.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Mc.Gibson, of Chicago, for generously sharing with me the fruits of his own researches on Kish before publication and allowing me to use some of his figures here. Either directly, or through him, I had the good fortune to consult two members of the original expedition: Dr. Henry Field and the late Mr. T.K. Penniman, who both served as physical anthropologists. Their first-hand information has been invaluable; not least the film taken by Dr. Field and kindly shown to me by the staff of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. I am grateful to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, for permission to use prints of Mr. Penniman's notes.

In Oxford my debts are naturally manifold: to Professor E.T. Hall and the staff of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, particularly Dr. R.E.M. Hedges and Mr. F. Schweizer; to the late Mr. D.F.W. Baden Powell and the late Mr. A.W.G. Kingsbury of the Pitt Rivers and University Museums respectively. Within the Ashmolean Museum I am most grateful to Mrs. Pat Clarke, Mrs. J. Croxall and Mrs. Lorna Wallace who over many years shared the drawing; to Miss O. Godwin for the photography; to

Miss A.C. Western and her staff in the Conservation Laboratory; to Mrs. Patricia Baines, Miss Victoria Stileman and Mrs. Celia Watson for typing and retyping drafts and to Mrs. Bette Jones for the final master typescript and her husband, Mr. Alun Jones, for his editorial skills. I would also thank my colleague Mrs. J. Crowfoot Payne for her specialist report on the flints (see microfiches) and for undertaking, during my absences in quest of Kish, full administration of the Ashmolean's Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Collections. Only the staff of the Ashmolean Library know how much this book owes to their help and the superb resources they manage; it is a very great deal. Professor O.R. Gurney, who is preparing a hand-list of the Kish tablets, has always been most ready to answer my queries. Dr. J.P. Grégoire has kindly copied the inscriptions on stone for inclusion here (see microfiche, Appendix I). I have received more stimulus than I know from a number of people who have from time to time worked on material from Kish. I think especially of Professor J.A. Brinkman, the late Mr. Briggs Buchanan, Professor I.J. Gelb, Mr. Christopher Walker, Dr. A. Westenholz, and Professor Norman Yoffee; and of Professor Edith Porada and the members of the Archaeological Seminar at Columbia University, New York.

The men to whom I owe most of all: S. Langdon, E. Mackay and L. Ch. Watelin, I never knew; indeed two were dead before I was born. In the following pages I have been critical of how they dug, I have not always accepted what they wrote and I have often been irritated by what they left unwritten. But I have always been deeply aware that it was they who laboured in the heat of the day and long into the night at Kish to retrieve the evidence upon which this book rests. I like to think they would have reviewed it with equal candour, and not been too disappointed.

# LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS

ABBREVIATIONS

(Applying both to main text and microfiches)

| | |
|---|---|
| AAn | Archäologischer Anzeiger (Berlin). |
| ADIM | American Documentation Institute, c/o Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. |
| Adams Evolution | R.McAdams, The Evolution of Urban Society: Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico (Chicago, 1966). |
| AfO | Archiv für Orientforschung (Graz). |
| AG | K.L. Tallqvist, Akkadische Götter epitheta (Helsingfors, 1938). |
| AHw | B. Meissner-W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (1959). |
| AJA | American Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge (Mass.). |
| AJSL | American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago). |
| AM | Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Memoirs:<br>E. Mackay, I(1): Report on the Excavation of the 'A' Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia (1925).<br>I(2): A Sumerian Palace and the 'A' Cemetery at Kish, Mespotamia (1929).<br>I(3): Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq (1931).<br>(The pagination and the plate numbers are continuous throughout). |
| Amiet Glyptique | P. Amiet, La Glyptique Mesopotamienne Archaïque, (Paris, 1961). |
| Andrae AIT | W. Andrae, Die Archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur (Leipzig, 1922). |
| ANET | (Ed.) J.B. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts... (Princeton, 1969). |

| | |
|---|---|
| AnOr 19 | Analecta Orientalia 19: N. Schneider: Die Götternamen von Ur III. |
| Archéologie | L. Vanden Berghe, Archéologie de l'Iran ancien, (Leiden, 1959). |
| AS | Anatolian Studies (London). |
| Babylon | R. Koldewey, The Excavations at Babylon (London, 1914). |
| Barrelet | M-Th. Barrelet, Figurines et Reliefs en terre cuite de la Mesopotamie antique, I (Paris, 1968). |
| BE I | The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania: series A: Cuneiform Texts edited by H.V. Hilprecht. |
| Bichapour | R. Ghirshman, Bichapour, II (Paris, 1956). |
| Bivar Seals | A.D.H. Bivar, Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamp Seals, II: The Sassanian Dynasty (London, 1969). |
| BMQ | British Museum Quarterly (London). |
| Boese Weihplatten | J. Boese, AltMesopotamische Weihplatten (Berlin, 1971). |
| Buchanan I | B. Buchanan, Catalogue of the Ancient Near Eastern Seals in Oxford, I: Cylinder Seals (Oxford, 1966). |
| Buckingham | J.S. Buckingham, Travels in Mesopotamia (London, 1827). |
| CAD | Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. |
| CIRPL | E. Sollberger, Corpus des Inscriptions 'Royales' Présargoniques de Lagaš (Geneva, 1956). |
| CT | Cuneiform Texts...in the British Museum, London. |
| Dailaman | N. Egami et al., Dailaman, I-IV (Tokyo, 1965, 1966, 1968, 1971). |
| Delougaz | P. Delougaz, Pottery from the Diyala Region (O.I.P. LXIII, Chicago, 1952). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Delougaz Pre-Sargonid | P. Delougaz, Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region (O.I.P.LVIII, Chicago, 1942). |
| Delougaz Temple Oval | P. Delougaz, The Temple Oval at Khafajah (O.I.P.LIII, Chicago, 1940). |
| Der I | L. de Meyer, Tell ed-Der I (Leuven, 1971). |
| E.D. | Early Dynastic (I, II or III as appropriate). |
| EP | El Palacio, Santa Fé, New Mexico. |
| Fauna | E.D. van Buren, The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as represented in Art (Rome, 1939). |
| FM | Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. |
| FMN | Field Museum News, Chicago. |
| Frankfort, Sculpture of the Third Millennium | H. Frankfort, Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah (Chicago, 1939). |
| Gawra I | E.A. Speiser, Excavations at Tepe Gawra (Philadelphia, 1935). |
| Gawra II | A.J. Tobler, Excavations at Tepe Gawra (Philadelphia, 1950). |
| Gefässe | E. Strommenger, Gefässe aus Uruk von der NeuBabylonischen Zeit bis zu den Sasaniden (Berlin, 1967). |
| Gibson | McGuire Gibson, The City and Area of Kish (Field Research Projects, Miami, Florida, 1972). |
| The Gimilsin Temple | H. Frankfort, The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar (Chicago, 1940). |
| Hissar | E.F. Schmidt, Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan (Philadelphia, 1937). |
| Hrouda | B. Hrouda and K. Karstens, 'Zur inneren Chronologie des Friedhofes 'A'...bei Kis', ZA 24 (1966), 256ff. |
| HMR | Initial registry letters in early seasons for Uhaimir. |
| ILN | Illustrated London News (London). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Innenstadt | O. Reuther, Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes) (Leipzig, 1926). |
| IitAE | E. Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East (London, 1941). |
| IM | National Museum of Antiquities, Baghdad. |
| IRSA | E. Sollberger and J. Kupper, Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes (Paris, 1971). |
| I R, II R | H.C. Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (London). |
| JA | Journal Asiatique (Paris). |
| JAOS | Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven). |
| JCS | Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven). |
| JdI | Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Berlin). |
| JEOL | Jahrbericht 'Ex Oriente Lux' (Leiden). |
| JESHO | Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden). |
| JGS | Journal of Glass Studies (Corning). |
| J.N. | Jamdat Nasr. |
| JNES | Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago). |
| JRAI | Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, (London). |
| JRAS | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London). |
| K | Initial registry letter in the ninth to eleventh seasons (1930-33). |
| KB | Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. |
| Ker-Porter | R. Ker-Porter, Travels in Georgia, Persia and Armenia, ancient Babylonia etc. 1817-20, London, 1821-2. |
| Khorsabad | Loud and Altman, Khorsabad, II: the Citadel and the Town (Chicago, 1938). |

| | |
|---|---|
| KM | Initial registry letters in the eighth season (1929-30). |
| Kich | H. de Genouillac, Premières Recherches Archéologiques à Kich, I-II, (Paris, 1924-5). |
| Ktesiphon I | O. Reuther, Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928-9, Berlin, 1930. |
| Ktesiphon II | E. Kuhnel et al., Die Ausgrabungen der Zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition 1931/2. Berlin, 1932. |
| LAAA | Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool). |
| MAD | Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago). |
| MAOG | Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig). |
| MDOG | Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-gesellschaft (Berlin). |
| MDP | Mémoires de la délégation en Perse Paris (including those numbers which have a slightly different title, but are numbered in the same sequence). |
| MIOF | Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin). |
| MVAeG | Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-aegyptischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig). |
| Nippur, I | D.E. McCown, Nippur, I (Chicago, 1967). |
| Nissen | H.J. Nissen, Zur Datierung der Konigsfriedhofes von Ur (Bonn, 1966). |
| O.B. | Old Babylonian. |
| OECT | Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, (Oxford). |
| OFME | Oxford-Field Museum (Chicago) Expedition to Mesopotamia, 1923-33. |
| O.I.P. | Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago. |
| OLZ | Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, (Berlin). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Opificius | R. Opificius, Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelief (Berlin, 1961). |
| OrNS | Orientalia (Nova Series, Rome). |
| Persia PS | R. Ghirshman, Iran: Parthian and Sassanians (London, 1962). |
| PBS | Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia. |
| PPS | Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, (Cambridge). |
| PSBA | Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London). |
| RA | Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris). |
| RISA | G.A. Barton, The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad (New Haven, 1929). |
| RLA | Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Berlin and New York. |
| Seleucia Figurines | Van Ingen, Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris (Michigan, 1939) |
| SKL | Th. Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List (Chicago, 1939). |
| Sov.Arkh. | Sovetskaya Arkheologiya (Moscow and Leningrad). |
| SPA | A.U. Pope (ed.), a Survey of Persian Art....(London, 1939). |
| Symbols | E. van Buren, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art (Rome, 1945). |
| Taxila | J. Marshall, Taxila, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951). |
| TCS I | E. Sollberger, Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur (Texts from Cuneiform Sources I). |
| TSBA | Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology (London). |
| UE | C.L. Woolley, Ur Excavation Reports (London). |
| UET | Ur Excavations: Texts (London). |

| | |
|---|---|
| UVB | Vorläufiger Bericht...Uruk-Warka (Berlin). |
| V | Initial registry letter, seventh season (1928-9). |
| VAB | Vorderasiatische Bibliothek. |
| Van Buren Clay Figurines | E. van Buren, Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria, (New Haven, 1930). |
| WVDOG (Babylon) | Wissenschaftliche Veroffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. |
| Wright Administration | Henry T. Wright, The Administration of Rural Production in an Early Mesopotamian Town (Ann Arbor, 1969). |
| X | Initial registry letter in the fifth season (1926-7). |
| XK | S. Langdon and L.Ch. Watelin, Excavations at Kish, I, III, IV (Paris, 1924, 1930, 1934). |
| Y | Initial registry letter in the sixth season (1927-8). (Not to be confused with area 'Y' on Tell Ingharra). |
| YOS | Yale Oriental Series. |
| ZA | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (Berlin and New York). |
| Ziegler Terrakotten | C. Ziegler, Die Terrakotten von Warka (Berlin, 1962). |

## NOTES FOR THE READER

### (1) Topography and Terminology

The archaeological site of Kish in central Iraq, lies about 12 kilometres due east of ancient Babylon, about 14 kilometres north-east of the modern town of Hillah on the Euphrates. Here, about 2 kilometres north of the modern cut of the Shatt An-Nil canal, are at least forty tells, extended in oval formation over an area of about 8 kilometres from west to east, $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres from north to south. Some are large and grouped in major clusters, some tiny, some isolated. Archaeologists and ancient historians now refer to them all as Kish, ancient name of the city whose primary shrines lay about the standing ruin of an eroded ziggurat known locally as 'Tell Uhaimir'. Until the ancient topography of the whole area is much better known from documentary sources, Kish suffices as a short-hand description for many closely related settlements extending back in time long before the use of writing, and running down to the Mongol invasion, long after the name of Kish had passed from record. It is vital to emphasize at the outset that the name is only conventional. From at least the Third Dynasty of Ur, c.2100 B.C., the area of 'Tell Ingharra' and 'Mound W', east of 'Uhaimir', was known as Hursagkalama. It has always to be borne in mind that the Early Dynastic buildings uncovered on 'Mound A', on 'Tell Ingharra' and in 'area P' may not have lain in the city of Kish mentioned in the earliest Sumerian records. That may well have been confined to a much more restricted area round 'Tell Uhaimir'. The distribution and designation of the main mounds in the following account, which moves from west to east across the site, are those given by E. Mackay, AM I(2), pullout plan. The reader's attention is particularly directed to pp.14-16 here, where a concise explanation of the excavators' recording system is given, season by season.

### (2) Excavation records: objects and archives

Each chapter here has a dual purpose: (i) To set each area of excavation in its fullest archaeological context in the light of subsequent work elsewhere in Iraq, and (ii) To provide a detailed catalogue of the objects now in Oxford. This catalogue and complementary

illustrations are on the microfiches, in the same order of area as in the main text, with handlists of graves in cemeteries 'A', 'W' and 'Y', appendices on the stone inscriptions, and scientific analyses of selected objects.

Careful examination of the objects allocated to Baghdad and to Chicago from the O.F.M.E., 1923-33, made clear to me that Oxford's share was representative enough to allow for a full reconstruction of these very important, but ill-published, excavations. I have only cited material from the other two collections when necessary to broaden the basis of my conclusions. Ideally all three collections should be fully published as a single unit; but first hand study of them convinced me that in prevailing political and economic circumstances this was not feasible. Each collection requires the attention of someone on the spot for a considerable length of time, if the original archaeological context of each object is to be accurately established (and for many it may now prove impossible). I had originally intended to publish as an appendix to this volume a complete distribution list to show, with original field numbers, where each object may now be found. Although a considerable amount of information has been rescued, it seemed too meagre and faulty to merit such treatment. The draft list, with all surviving Kish excavation records in Oxford, and my working notes, will be deposited in the Griffith Institute, Oxford. Both the National Museum of Antiquities, Baghdad, and the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, have Kish archives.

(3) Microfiches Index

An index to the contents of the microfiches will be found at the end of this volume following the general index.

Chapter 1

# THE EXPLORATION OF KISH, 1811-1933

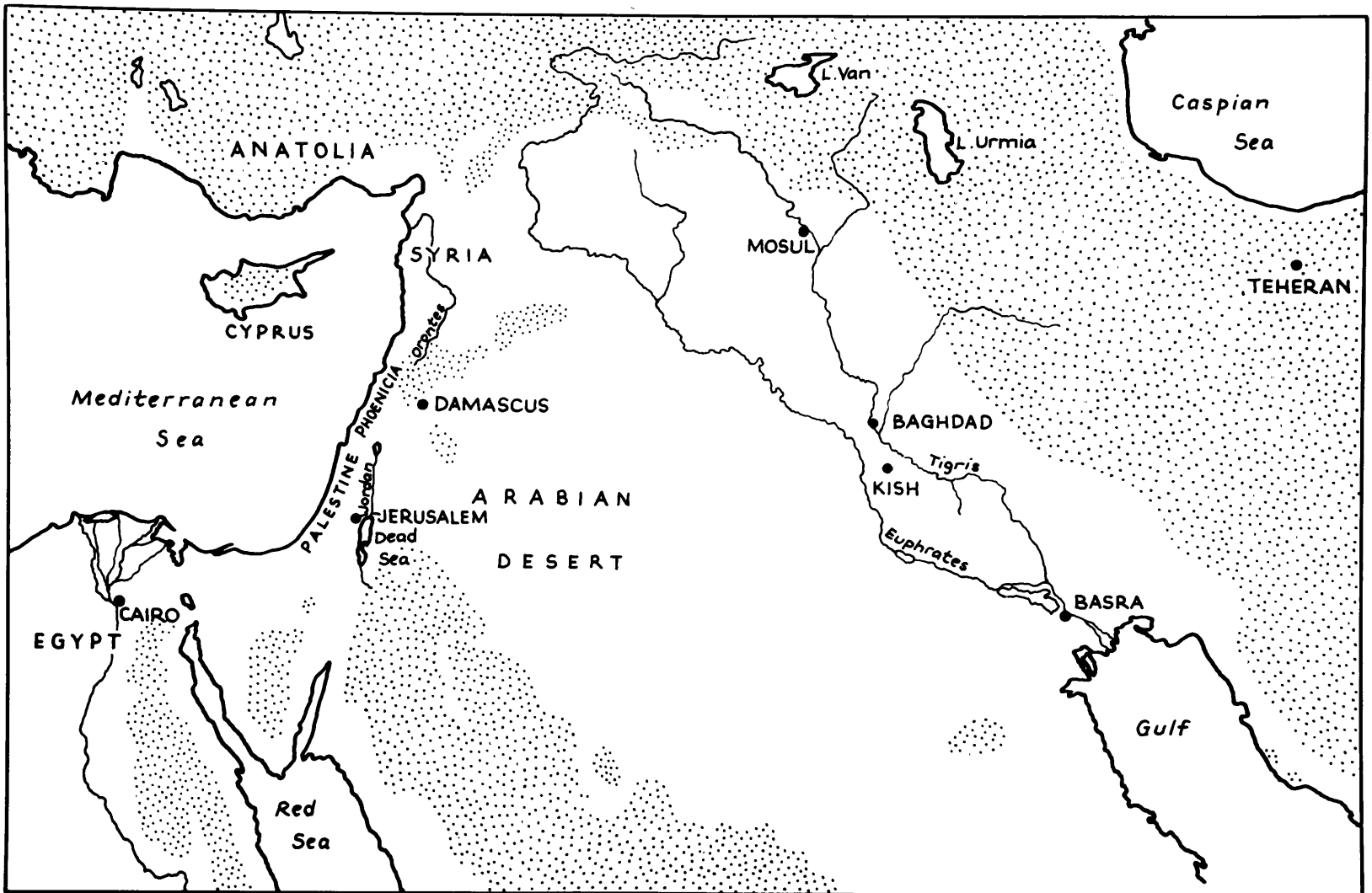
## I. Early Exploration: 1811-1923 (1)

It was a quest for the eastern limits of ancient Babylon, in the early nineteenth century, that turned the attention of travellers to a group of mounds north-east of Hillah later to be identified with the site of the ancient city of Kish(2). Early in the seventeenth century Pietro della Valle had been the first to point out that the real site of Babylon lay not at Aqar Quf nor at Birs-Nimrud, as earlier visitors had supposed, but in the vicinity of Hillah (3). This identification was generally accepted in the eighteenth century by such scholars as d'Anville and Niebuhr, though the latter's misplaced location of the remnants of Herodotus's 'Temple of Belus' at Birs-Nimrud probably did more than anything else to stimulate the abortive quest for 'Greater Babylon' which so pre-occupied travellers for the next hundred years. It was inevitable that these men should start from the evidence for the topography of Babylon available in classical sources. Unfortunately the oldest and most important source, that of Herodotus (4), offered an enormous figure for the circumference of the city, 4 x 120 stades or about 95 kilometres, which long bedevilled discussions about the city's size and dictated the widely ranging travels of scholars trying to relate this description to the mounds of the Hillah region (5).

The mound of Uhaimir first appeared in the literature of the subject as a distant landmark on Babylon's eastern horizon noted by C.J. Rich (1787-1821) on December 20th, 1811, as he returned from his first visit to Babylon. '... All along the road to Mohawil Khan are vestiges of ruins: in particular I observed three mounds. Al Hheimar is three hours from Mohawil, upon the same line. It is a high, conical mound, with bricks like those found at Babylon' (6). Rich, Resident of the East India Company in Baghdad since 1808, laid the foundations for the systematic study of Babylon by his thorough examination of the site, including mapping and primitive excavations, and by rapid publication of his conclusions, which were to

have a remarkable impact (7). Although Rich does not appear to have visited Uhaimir, at least not before 1818, his reports of the site were based on information from men who had, such as Dr. Hine, the physician to the Residency and Captain Lockett, of the Royal Navy, whom Buckingham records were the first to visit Uhaimir (8). His fuller description called attention to a feature of the mound which has persistently intrigued visitors: 'The base is a heap of rubbish, on the top of which is a mass of red brick-work, between each layer of which is a curious white substance, which pulverizes on the least touch. I have not yet visited Al Hheimar, but those who have, conjectured... that it must originally have been layers of reeds' (9).

Rich's official position in Baghdad offered him excellent opportunity not only to pursue his own researches, but also to promote those undertaken by others; a responsibility he magnificently sustained (10). He assisted J.S. Buckingham (1786-1855), the first European traveller both to visit Uhaimir and write an account of it himself. Buckingham left the Residency to visit the neighbourhood of Babylon disguised as the Arab guide of Bellino, the Residency's secretary, on July 24th, 1816. Two days later, on July 26th, he explored the ruins of Babylon and set out for Uhaimir to the east (11). Langdon (12) believed that there was a deficiency in the dates of Buckingham's published diary at this point; but there are no grounds for this assumption. Buckingham was clearly a tenacious and inexhaustible, if not impatient, traveller. Early on July 26th he explored Babil and the other local mounds, then about 9 a.m. he left for Uhaimir, returning to Hillah at sunset. July 27th was spent at Hillah recovering and July 28th in visiting Birs-Nimrud. In planning his ride to Uhaimir he may well have been misled by Rich's ignorance of the actual distance from Babil and the nature of the intervening terrain. The journey to Uhaimir was as eventful and unpleasant as might be expected at such a time of year in this part of Iraq. Indeed Bellino abandoned the quest before Uhaimir was actually reached and even the intrepid Buckingham, accompanied belatedly by his Kurdish escort, spent only a few minutes on the mound in the worst possible conditions of heat and dust which he graphically relates. Consequently his description of the site was not made on the spot: 'But though I did not make the same copious notes upon the spot, as I had done on every other part of the ruins of Babylon, I was



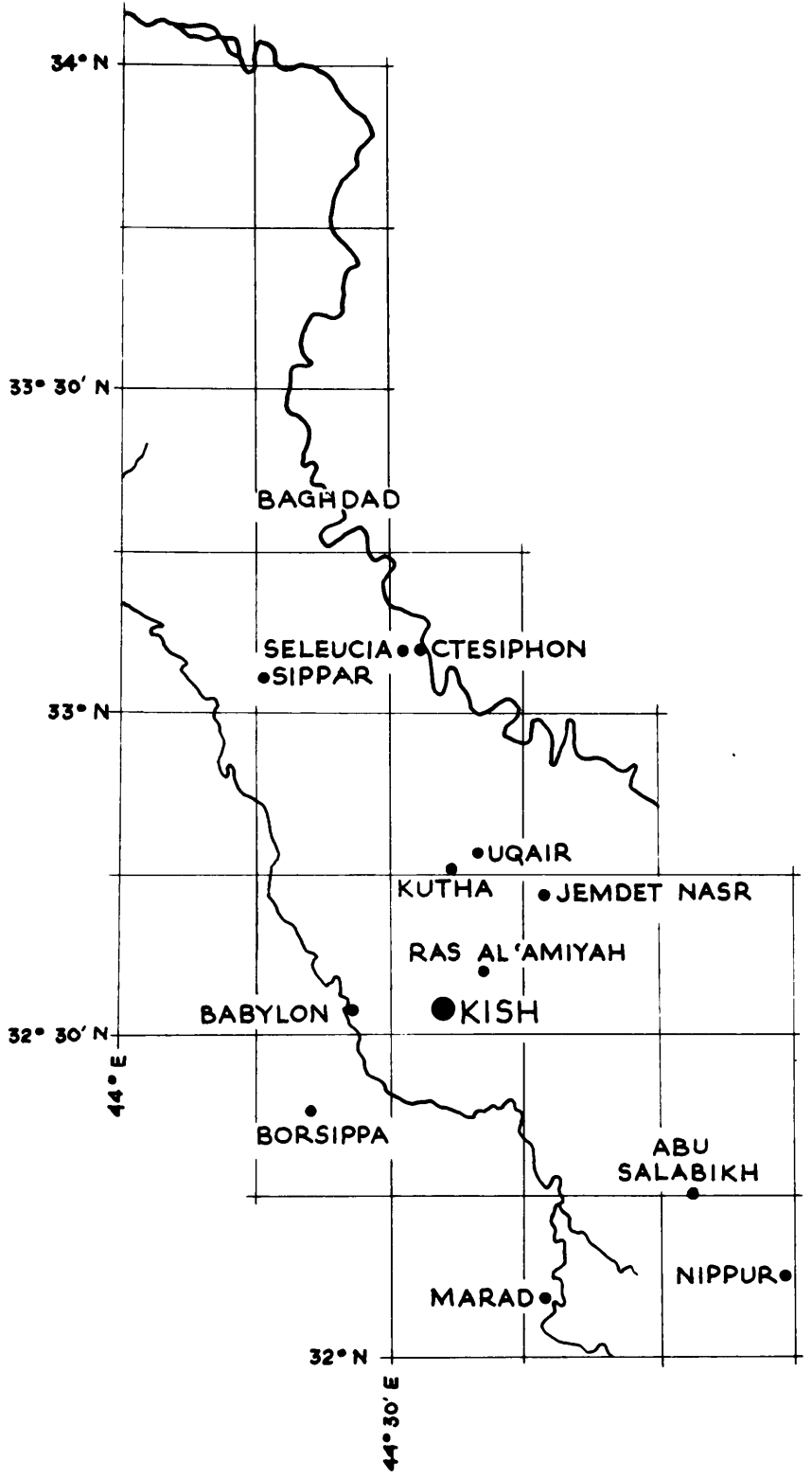

A. The Near East to show the location of Kish in Iraq

enabled on the following day, at Hillah, in a quiet apartment of the khan at which we lodged, to reduce to writing what was then fresh in my recollection' (13). In such circumstances Buckingham's report is naturally rather superficial and only its main points need detain us here before passing to the fuller, and virtually contemporary, account by Ker Porter. Buckingham described with estimates of its dimensions, the shape and form of the mound 'Al Hheimar', the brickwork visible on the summit, the layers of white matter in the brickwork and the surrounding mounds. In his brief visit he saw no inscribed bricks, though he dug into the mound for 'fresh bricks with their white cement' (14). He concluded that 'The ruins of Babylon may be said, therefore to terminate at this spot, which marks the extreme eastern boundary of the city' (15) and presented a detailed argument to support the view that 'this mass of Al Hheimar was part of the ancient city wall' (16).

There may be no doubt that Sir Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842), artist by training, traveller and lecturer by inclination, was the most observant of the early visitors to the site of Kish (17), which he was to exclude from the area of Greater Babylon. Porter rode over to Uhaimir from Hillah on November 22nd, 1818. The excellence of his description of the site at this time may best be left to speak for itself:

> 'Having ridden an hour (from Hillah), we took a direction due east, crossing, at different distances, three other canals in a course from north to south; the last of the three was very wide, and not more than a mile from Al Hymer, the whole of which intervening space is covered with broken bricks, pottery, glass, and all the other usual relics of Babylonian ruins. When we reached the great mound itself, which had long been a conspicuous object above the horizon, I found it to be pyramidal, with numerous dependant smaller mounds. Its base was nearly circular, in circumference 276 yards, and in height about 60 (presumably feet). One third of its elevation is composed of unburnt brick, the rest of the pile of that which has passed through the fire. A large and solid mass of the latter surmounts the whole, standing clear from any of the loose rubbish which so abundantly encumbers its base. The

fire-baked bricks on the outside, by some cause have become extremely soft; and I should ascribe that effect to their complete exposure to the external air, they there break with ease on the slightest force; but on penetrating into the solid building, I found them as hard as any others of Babylonia. In broad square surface, they exceeded those of the Birs and the Kasr, nearly three quarters of an inch; but the thickness was not more than in those of the Birs. The whole of this mass, as it stands on its rounded ruin-encumbered foundation, presents four straight faces, but unequal and mutilated, looking towards the cardinal points. That to the south measures 39 feet, the north 37, the east 48 and the west 51. Through them all, the usual air-channels traverse each other. The courses of the bricks differ in this building from any I had hitherto remarked, a layer of clay only, seeming to be their cement; though at the unequal distances of four, five, six or seven bricks, a bright white substance appears in some places an inch thick, as if spread between them (this is discussed, with a chemical analysis, and adjudged to be 'the common bed of reeds')... I closely examined the broken fragments of brick-work below, and found only quantities of bitumen. The burnt bricks I have already described as forming the solid summit of the mound, are very coarsely finished; but the masses found at its foot in different places, are of fine clay, of the best kiln-baked fabric. They differ in size from any others I have seen, being fourteen inches long, twelve and three quarters broad, and about two and a half thick; those I had examined in the great piles of the Birs, the Kasr, etc., usually measuring thirteen inches square, and three in thickness. During my examination of Al Hymer, I was so fortunate as to obtain an entire brick of this beautiful construction; and found its inscription also varying from those of the preceding piles; hence, I may call it an unique specimen. It contains ten lines (Ker Porter's pl.LXXVIIa) of cuneiform letters, in an upright column (here follows an outdated discussion of this inscription of Adad-apla-iddina)...




B. Central Iraq to show the location of Kish in relation to other major ancient cities

Independent of the specimen of ten lines, which produced this digression, we picked up other relics of the ruin; and amongst them several broken pieces of jaspar, red and green, of various forms, all nicely polished, as having belonged to former objects of ornament. Mr. Belino found a fragment of black marble, containing an inscription (Ker Porter's pl.LXXVIIh).

'While standing on the mount of Al Hymer, we perceived, at some little distance to the eastward, a considerable group of mounds, appearing nearly equal in height to the one we then occupied. To these we directed our horses' heads; and found the distance between the one we left and those to which we were going, about 1656 yards; the intermediate track being divided by a deep and highly embanked old canal which ran south 25° east. On its first appearance it gave me so much the idea of a ruined wall, that I conceived it possible to have found some trace of the long-sought boundary of Babylon; but on close examination, like searching for the philosopher's stone, the pursuit still ended in disappointment. Nitrous tracks, and other incontestible vestiges of former ancient buildings, spread all the way from the mount of Al Hymer, to the bank of this old water-channel, and beyond it, even to the base of the vaster mounds we approached. Minor elevations covered the plain on every side; and we quickly ascended the highest of the prominent group. It was not inferior in height to Al Hymer, and of the same conical form. From its base three branches projected, of less elevation; two running southward and south-west; and the third, the longest, to the north; from which struck out eastern and western ramifications. The central mound, and its adjuncts, stood perfectly detached from all others, in an open area; nearly surrounded towards the north and north-east, by a deep chain of minor mounds, covered with the usual fragments of scattered ruin.

'In a direction, north 20° east, we observed another high mound, standing quite alone; in altitude nearly equal to the last described,

but of an oblong shape, or rather like a compressed horse-shoe, open to the eastward (Bandar). Its length was 161 yards; and its breadth, equal in every part, 46 yards. It stood east and west. Looking from its summit to the eastward, the whole plain seemed an undeviating flat; not an object of any kind disturbing the smooth surface, excepting a tomb or two, six miles distant. From the top of this most eastern mound I took the following bearings: Hillah minaret S.80° W; Mujelibé N.65° W; Al Hymer, N.40° W.

'On returning by the base of the great ramified mound, I observed a low continued ridge, like what might once have formed a wall. It was distant from the mound 460 yards, in a direction S.30° W. There were no remains of a ditch...

'The distance from Al Hymer to the shore of the Euphrates, being close upon eight miles, puts it out of the question to suppose it could have ever stood within the limits of Babylon, or even formed part of its great bulwarked exterior wall;... From its present name nothing can be gathered; it having no derivation to be traced in Arabic...' (18).

In 1827 Captain Robert Mignan of the East India Company travelled from Basra to Baghdad by boat up the Tigris and then explored in more detail the region round Babylon. He was attracted to Uhaimir, again as part of the quest for Babylon's eastern limits which, like Buckingham, he believed lay in this area. His enthusiasm seems to have been damped by his actual encounter with the site: 'At a considerable distance to the northward and eastward of El Hamir, a very large assemblage of mounds, the remains of some extensive buildings, are divided by a canal running south. The ground surrounding this spot is covered with nitre, and cut by countless canal beds of great antiquity; while very visible vestiges of ancient edifices exist: but the place being so far removed from the site of the venerable city, and seeing no end to my researches if attempting to prosecute them further to the eastward, which I well knew would have ended in disappointment, from the unsettled and unsafe state of the country; I was induced, however reluctantly, to retrace my steps

to Hillah' (19). His account of Uhaimir is cursory and is not to be compared with Ker Porter's a decade earlier. Nor are the passing references in other travellers who saw the site in the next twenty years (20).

Henry Layard (1817-1894), as might be expected, was the first to realize the true significance of the mound of Uhaimir, though it is not absolutely clear whether he visited the site. The tone of his description suggests that he did, probably between October 1850 and January 1851, whilst he was conducting excavations at Babylon. The description he published in Nineveh and Babylon in 1853 is characteristically concise and clear:

> 'About two hours and a half, or eight miles to the north-east of Hillah, a mound, scarcely inferior in size to those of Babylon, rises in the plain. It is called El Hymer, meaning, according to the Arabs, the red, from its colour. The ruin has assumed a pyramidal form, but it is evidently the remains of a solid square structure, consisting, like Birs Nimroud, of a series of terraces or platforms. It may be conjectured, therefore, that it was a sacred edifice built upon the same general plan as all the temples of Babylonia and Assyria. The basement or substructure appears to have been of sundried brick; the upper part, and probably the casing of the lower, of bricks burnt in the kiln. Many of the latter are inscribed with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar. Although the masonry is solid and firmly bound together, it is not united by a white cement like that of the Mujelibé. The same tenacious mud that was used for making the bricks has been daubed, as far as I could ascertain, between each layer. The ruin is traversed like the Birs by square holes to admit air.
>
> 'Around the centre structure are scattered smaller mounds and heaps of rubbish, covered with the usual fragments of pottery, glass and bricks'. (21).

Before Layard's description of Uhaimir had appeared in print two members of the Expédition scientifique et artistique de Mésopotamie et de Médie, its leader Fresnel (1795-1855) and the young Jules Oppert

(1825-1905), later Professor of Assyriology at the Collège de France, had undertaken the first formal excavations on the site in October 1852. Since in his report of this work Oppert made certain definite advances on previous knowledge of the site it is worth reproducing at length, particularly when Langdon in his account (22) was not entirely fair in his summary of Oppert's work. Oppert may have been mistaken in his views about the place of Uhaimir and the local mounds, which he identified as Cutha, in Greater Babylon, but apart from his excavations at Uhaimir he was the first to explore 'El-khazneh' and 'Tell-el-Bendar' and also to provide a sketch map of the site. Tragically the antiquities he discovered were lost in the Tigris in May 1853 whilst in transit to Basra. Oppert's catalogue survived; but it is far too cryptic to offer any real information about the finds (23). Only three entries, possibly a fourth, relate to Uhaimir. These record a carnelian amulet, perhaps a Pazuzu head, a fragment of an inscribed black stone cylinder and a fragment of a large cuneiform inscription on black stone,finely written, which may be identified as part of an Old Babylonian inscription like those already known from a piece published in copy by Ker Porter and later amplified by the finds of the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition (24). A Neo-Assyrian (?) rock crystal cylinder seal catalogued as from Cutha may also be from somewhere at Kish, since Oppert believed this to be the site of Cutha (25).

As usual Oppert and party started out for Uhaimir from Hillah:

> 'Au nord-est de Hillah, à peu près à 14 kilomètres de distance, se trouve un groupe de ruines repandues sur 3 kilomètres d'étendue. Une ville très-peuplée a dû se trouver jadis dans les environs; car déjà, avant d'arriver, on découvre des traces d'habitations babyloniennes. Au Nord, le Nahr-en-Nil, aujourd'hui à sec, limite à peu près ces ruines, quoique quelques rares débris s'y montrent encore au delà de ce canal.
>
> 'Le centre de tout ce groupe, que se dessine de loin, forme une colline, connue jusqu'ici sous le nom de Alhymar, mais dont le véritable nom est celui d'Oheymir (Arabic given). M.Fresnel et moi, nous l'avons exploré pendant

plusieurs jours; nous partîmes de Hillah le 15th Octobre 1852, et, après une course assez longue à travers les différents canaux, nous arrivâmes, après quatre heures, au tumulus El-khazneh, le trésor. Ce monticule, nommé le trésor dans la légende populaire, est formé d'un amas de briques, rempli d'une grande quantité de débris de pierre qui, quelquefois, portent des inscriptions. A côté du grand tell que se présente sous une forme ovale, on en voit, à l'ouest, un autre ayant presque la même forme, mais beaucoup plus petit.

'A l'est du Khazneh, se dresse le tumulus auquel les Bédouins donnent le nom de Petit Rouge. Il peut avoir 60 pieds de hauteur, et sa pente est seulement de 35 mètres de longeur, du sommet jusqu'à la base. Il est formé de briques rouges, épaisses, très-poreuses. Quelques constructions assez étendues se trouvent encore en haut; entre l'argile elle-même, se trouvait une masse poudreuse, blanche, que nous reconnûmes plus tard être la décomposition des roseaux mis entre les briques. Généralement, ces briques en haut de la ruine ne sont pas munies d'inscriptions. Du haut de l'Oheymir on a un aspect sur tout le pays: Babil est au nord 81° 1′ ouest, jusqu'à nord 87° 28′ ouest; Birs Nimroud, sud 46° 52′ ouest; Ibrahim-sur-Amran, sud 78° 48′ ouest; la traînée Hubb-Ibrahim se trouve juste au nord. Les palmiers dits d'Effendiyeh étaient au nord 81° 10′ ouest; le Khan-Mohawwil, nord 59° 54′ ouest; le minaret de Hillah, au sud 59° 3′ ouest.

'Nous fîmes des fouilles en bas de l'Oheymir, sans trouver autre chose que des briques rouges. Ayant pénétré assez profondement, M. Fresnel fit cesser les trauvaux, parce qu'il semblait évident que la ruine ne recélait rien dans son intérieur, au moins à la hauteur de nos fouilles. Nous fîmes d'autres excavations au Khazneh et à Bender, qui furent couronnés d'une succès plus grand, car nous en retirâmes une grande quantité d'antiquités de tous genres, entre autres une pierre de basalte portant une inscription archaique fragmentée, que appartenait aux plus beaux spécimens de

l'écriture cunéiforme que j'aie jamais vus. Quelques poteries, quelques fragments de figurines, furent également mis au jour.

'Tout près de l'Oheymir se trouve un pavage de briques de Nabuchodonosor, de quatre lignes, que sont importantes pour la lecture des briques de Babylone. Nous cherchâmes en vain à obtenir une brique de dix lignes, comme Ker Porter en avait obtenu, une que fournit une légende toute à fait inconnue jusqu'ici; malheureusement nous ne pûmes nous en procurer.

'... A 700 mètres, près de l'Oheymir, on rencontre un tumulus dont l'entendue est beaucoup supérieure à celle du tumulus cité: ensuite on arrive à deux canaux dont les berges se coupent au nord dans un angle très-aigu; tout le terrain qu'ils renferment est rempli de restes d'habitations. A quelque distance de là, près de 1,700 mètres de l'Oheymir, se trouve une ruine d'une forme très-extraordinaire, dont le nom est Tell-el-Bender, ou tumulus du port. Qu'on se figure deux longs remparts de 6 mètres de hauteur, dans une direction parallèle, et séparés l'un de l'autre par une vallée de 20 mètres. La direction en est de nord 40° ouest vers sud 40° est, et on peut les poursuivre pendant 100 mètres. Ils sont jointes au nord par an autre rempart qui les coupe sous des angles droits. Vers le midi il n'y a pas de jonction, de sorte que la ruin actuelle ressemblerait assez à un port, s'il y avait eu de l'eau.

'Selon mes relèvements, le Tell-Bender serait juste auprès du mur (i.e. of Babylon); la ligne du Nil dont on trouve des tronçons au nord-est et au midi, le couperait; de sorte que la conformation qui a inspiré le nom aux Arabes fait réellement deviner son ancienne destination. Le Tell-Bender a pu être un emporium, situé au bord au fossé qui entourait le mur, et qui pouvait porter les merchandises jusqu'à l'Euphrate.

'Au midi de Bender se trouve encore un tumulus, qui semble promettre une riche moison d'antiquités, à en juger par les débris de toute sorte qui couvre sa surface' (26).

Although Oppert was clearly aware of the inscription of Adad-apla-iddina found by Ker Porter on Uhaimir, he was unable to read it. Its full implications do not appear to have been realised, or at least were not put into print, until 1874 when George Smith published a lecture he had given in November of the previous year to the Society for Biblical Archaeology. He then spoke of 'Kisu... a great town in Babylonia, now represented by the mounds of Hymer' (27). A few months before his lecture Smith had himself visited the site:

> 'On the 19th March (1873) I left Hillah, and rode out into the desert to see the ruins of Hymer. Here was a tower in stages similar to that at Birs Nimrud, but of much smaller dimensions. Some excavations have been made with no result, the place, as usual, not having been investigated on any scientific plan. One of our party found here a fragment of alabaster, with a cuneiform inscription ...' (28).

The identification of Uhaimir with the site of ancient Kish, was followed in the next thirty years by such scholars as Delitsch, Hommel and Hilprecht (29), but it seemed to be seriously challenged in 1906 when Weissbach argued, not unreasonably in view of his evidence, that Opis and Kish had been closely associated cities on the Tigris (30). Three years later the problem was finally resolved in a masterly note by Thureau-Dangin, who showed from the textual evidence not only that Uhaimir had formed part of ancient Kish, but also, despite apparent evidence to the contrary, that Kish had then been on the Euphrates (31).

In the meanwhile the mounds east of Uhaimir had been further investigated. In January 1885 William Hayes Ward, Director of the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia (1884-5), had paid a brief visit to the site. His short record of this trip describes excavations not mentioned elsewhere:

> (Entry for January 21st 1885) '... At 2.23 leaving caravan, Hayes, Noorian, and I started with two guides for Tell Chemir; at 2.35 crossed an old canal; at 2.41 reached Tel-el-Hazreh, or Shan-el-Huzrieh ('glory of the Treasures'), a low mound covered with ordinary broken pottery, black stone, green and blue glaze, glass, bricks and slag. Daoud (Thoma)

had dug a little way into the mound, but found nothing. Here we stopped ten minutes and then went to Cheimir.

'Close by Cheimir is Tel Hudhr (Mound I). Behind it is Tell Bender, very little excavated by Mr. Rassam, and to right En-'urrah. Daoud dug here with twenty men for a year, but, they say, found nothing. Cheimir is a reddish hill, with many low elevations to the west and north. On our way to En-'Urrah we passed what was said to be an affluent of the Shatt-en-Nil. The top of El-Hudhr is irregular, about two hundred and fifty paces long, running north and south, with apparently a small ziggurat at the south end. I had no time to go to el-Bender' (32).

Daoud Thoma was Rassam's head overseer of excavations at Babylon. In his own account of work at Babylon in 1879-1880 Rassam does not refer specifically to these excavations, though they may be covered by the general statement that 'Besides the excavations I carried on at Birs Nimroud, in the mound of Ibraheem-Alk-haleel, and Babylon, I tried other small mounds in the neighbourhood, both on the eastern and western sides of the Euphrates' (33). Ward's diary is the first record of the word En-'Urrah (later Ingharra), though it was sometime before it was established in the literature. de Genouillac referred to the main mound in this area as 'Tell du Sud-Est' and Langdon could only trace the name as far back as the post World-War I maps of the Geographical section of the British Military Survey of Iraq (34). For over thirty years after Thoma's excavations the mounds of Kish were a prey to clandestine excavators, who seem to have recovered numerous tablets, before the first systematic excavations at the site by a French expedition in 1912 led by Henri de Genouillac.

de Genouillac accompanied by his architect, M. Raoul Drouin, opened his excavations at Uhaimir on 28th February, 1912 (35). Attention was first concentrated on the Ziggurat, the rooms round its base and the areas where there was evidence of clandestine excavation in the low mounds to the west of the Ziggurat. When sandstorms interrupted this work soundings were made on the tell adjoining the excavator's camp to the north. de Genouillac's 'Tell du Campement' (36) was the 'Tell Hudhr' of earlier writers, Tell 'I' of the Oxford-Field Museum

Expedition. Then attention was switched to Ingharra where all efforts for more than a month were concentrated on clearing the small wing of a large Neo-Babylonian edifice then called a palace. At the same time Bandar was investigated. Towards the end of the season the excavators returned to the areas of earlier clandestine excavation in the vicinity of Uhaimir that had produced the most small finds and tablets. At the end of April increasing heat and declining funds brought work to a close. A second season planned for the winter of 1913-14 with a larger team of French specialists was frustrated by the outbreak of war and the subsequent creation of the Kingdom of Iraq as a British Mandate territory. Owing to difficulties in studying the finds, which had been sent to Istanbul as required by Ottoman Law, de Genouillac was unable to publish his report until 1925. By then the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition had already undertaken three seasons of excavations at Kish. de Genouillac inserted a short footnote in his report (37) bitterly criticizing Langdon for the way he had launched the new expedition with little or no regard for the Frenchman's earlier efforts.

## II. The Oxford-Field Museum (Chicago) Expedition, 1923-33

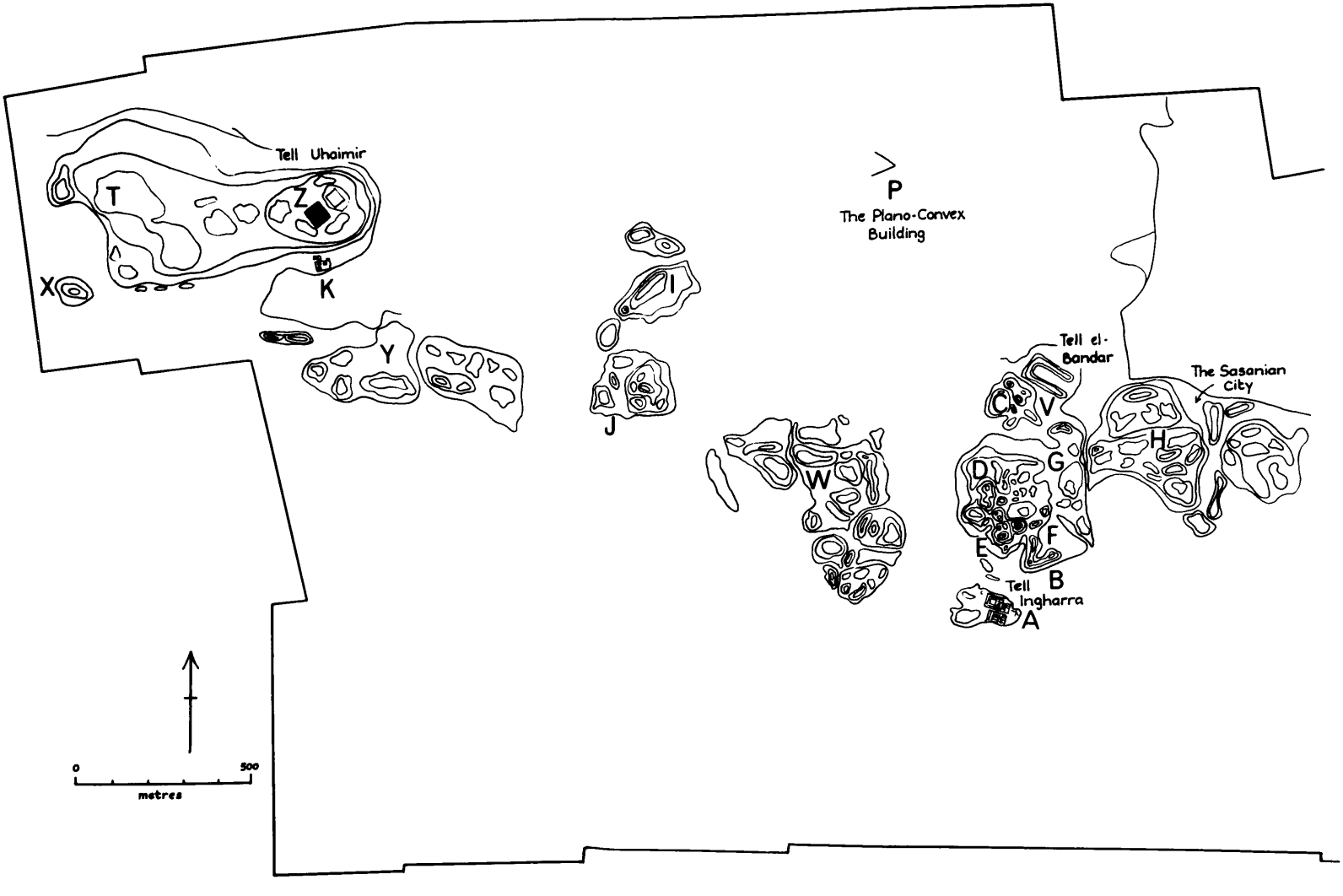
Gibson (38) has already published an account of the origins and course of the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition, with detailed table of the staff and annual progress, based on records in the Field Museum. It is only necessary here to retell the salient facts and then proceed directly to a description of the recording system. The initiative, on behalf of Oxford University, came from Stephen Langdon, Professor of Assyriology, who in 1921 approached Dr. B. Laufer, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, with proposals for a joint expedition, possibly to Warka. Weld-Blundell, who provided much of the English money for the subsequent excavations, visited Iraq in 1921-2 to report on possible sites, in the event recommending Kish. E. Mackay, an English archaeologist trained by Petrie, was chosen to lead the Expedition in preference at this point to the less experienced Frenchman, L. Ch. Watelin, by profession an engineer, who had dug at Susa. Official sanction for the work to begin was received in October, 1922. After preliminary difficulties over the staffing of the Expedition (39), Mackay began work at Tell Uhaimir in March, 1923. In

1926 Mackay, believing that Langdon was to drop the concession for a year, accepted an appointment to direct excavations at Mohenjo-Daro in the Indus valley. Then Langdon changed his mind and hired Watelin, who was to direct work until it ceased in 1933, after eleven seasons. Watelin died in 1934, Langdon in 1937. The Expedition's general efficiency suffered throughout from Langdon's absentee direction. Though only twice in the field (2nd. and 4th. seasons), he kept overall charge of the work, particularly the discovery and publication of tablets, and regularly published popular accounts of the excavations based on weekly reports by letter from the director in the field. Inconsistencies and errors particularly abound in his reports and letters to 'The Times' and 'Daily Telegraph'. Thus the inadequacies of field recording under Watelin were compounded by Langdon's remoteness, pre-occupation with tablets, and increasing lack of familiarity with the areas under excavation. The justice of a later archaeologist's stricture is hard to deny, '...Ingharra was badly excavated, the excavations were badly recorded and the records were correspondingly badly published' (40). He might well have added that the records, even when properly kept under Mackay, were depleted and scattered during and after the completion of work. Between 1962 and 1965 sufficient were discovered, variously distributed between Baghdad, Chicago and Oxford, (41) to make the following reconstruction possible.

Neither under Mackay nor Watelin was there a long-term, systematically conceived programme of operations or a logical, ongoing system of recording. Both excavators changed their registry methods. The results, crucial to an understanding of the following text and catalogue, may best be tabulated:

A FIRST SEASON (March 13th to May 28th 1923: Mackay): Field numbers: 1-342; the majority prefixed HMR (= Uhaimir), sometimes with a sub-heading to denote a specific area of excavation. Tablets from west of Uhaimir ('Town Ruins') had a number followed by a letter 'W'.

B SECOND SEASON (October 1st 1923 to March 20th 1924: Mackay): Field numbers: (342?-) 350-1556; with various alphabetic prefixes: HMR; PCB (Plano-convex Building = area P); UG (Ingharra); UGW (mound W).




C. The Tells at Kish (after E. Mackay)

C THIRD SEASON (October 8th 1924 to March 20th 1925: Mackay): Field numbers: 1557 to 2936; new prefix for Ingharra = IG with sub-designation: IGA (Mound A), IGB (Mound B), IGQ (Neo-Babylonian Temple), IGS (Ingharra South), IGW (Mound W) and ISW (Ingharra Southwest). The prefixes were now rarely used with the numbers, which are better cited alone. Objects from Jamdat Nasr were in this season prefixed GN in the main numerical series.

D FOURTH SEASON (December 21st 1925 to March 1926: Mackay): Field numbers: 2396-2607* (duplicated by Mackay); 2937-3472.

E FIFTH SEASON (December 19th 1926 to March 20th 1927: Watelin): Field numbers: new series: X.1 - 650.

F SIXTH SEASON (December 1st 1927 to March 22nd 1928: Watelin): Field numbers: Y.1 - 506; for objects from Jamdat Nasr a separate sequence: PJN 1-179 (P = Mr. James M. Patten, of Chicago, who financed the work).

G SEVENTH SEASON (November 28th 1928 to March 12th 1929: Watelin): Field numbers: V.1-949.

H EIGHTH SEASON (November 23rd 1929 to March 18th 1930: Watelin): Field numbers: KM 1-539 (there are some variations such as M1K, but these may be disregarded).

I NINTH SEASON (November 15th 1930 to March 17th 1931: Watelin): Field numbers K.540 - 1442.

J TENTH SEASON (November 25th 1931 to March 18th 1932: Watelin): Field numbers: K.1443-1884 (including Kb 1837-41, 1858-79 and 1881-2; Kb = Kish, near Barguthiat = Umm el-Jerab.

K ELEVENTH SEASON (January to March 1933: Watelin). Financed by the American Institute of Persian Art (A.U Pope); Field Museum not associated. Field numbers: K.1885-2399.

By the original agreement of June 16th 1922 after the official division of objects between the Iraq Museum and the Expedition, Oxford was to receive all inscribed objects, Chicago all archaeological, skeletal and scientific material. The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, were to be given for display purposes representative collections of the categories not allocated to them. The annual division proceeded as required by the Iraqi

Antiquities Law, with Langdon receiving all baked clay inscribed objects for study-purposes. Normally the subsequent division of objects between Oxford and Chicago adhered strictly to the letter of the initial agreement, giving Chicago much the larger collection; but at times Langdon's understanding of 'representative' was more liberal than his American colleagues thought just.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

(1) AM, I(2), pull-out plan; Gibson, fig.5.

(2) Gibson, Appendix IV: on Kish archives.

(3) S.A.Pallis, The Antiquity of Iraq (Copenhagen, 1956), pp.46ff.; Pallis gives full bibliography; della Valle visited the site in 1616.

(4) I.178-200.

(5) O.E.Ravn, Herodotus' Description of Babylon (Copenhagen, 1942), provides a useful summary of modern views on the subject.

(6) First published by his widow in Babylon and Persepolis (London, 1839), p.37.

(7) C.J.Rich, Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, published in Fundgruben des Orients (Mines de l'Orient), III (Vienna, 1813), pp.129-162, 197-200; republished in England by James Mackintosh, London in successive editions 1815, 1816, 1818; see also Second Memoir on Babylon (London, 1818). For popular reaction see Byron, Don Juan, V.62, published in 1821; for Rich's career see S.Lloyd, Foundations in the Dust (London, 1947), pp.4ff. and the Dictionary of National Biography.

(8) Ker Porter, II, p.325.

(9) C.J.Rich, Memoir (1816), p.40.

(10) Ker Porter, II, p.245.

(11) Buckingham, II, pp.240ff.; on Bellino see R.D.Barnett, Iraq, XXXVI (1974), pp.5ff.

(12) XK, I, p.44.

(13) Buckingham, II, p.306.

(14) Buckingham, II, p.348.

(15) Ibid., p.314.

(16) Ibid., p.327.

(17) For his biography see Dictionary of National Biography and R.D.Barnett, Iran X (1972), pp.19ff.

(18) Ker Porter, II, pp.393ff.

(19) Travels in Chaldea (London, 1829), pp.231ff.

(20) J.R.Wellsted, Travels to the City of the Caliphs... (London, 1840), I, p.280; J.B.Fraser, Travels in Koordistan (London, 1840), II, pp.35ff.; F.R.Chesney, Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition (London, 1868), p.88.

(21) Nineveh and Babylon (London, 1853), pp.542ff.; G.Waterfield, Layard of Nineveh (London, 1963).

(22) XK, I, pp.52ff.

(23) M.Pillet, RA, XVI (1919), pp.40ff.

(24) RA, XVI (1919), p.42, no.32; p.43, no.1,2; cf. Ker Porter, II, pl.LXXVIIh; XK, I, p.56.

(25) RA, XVI (1919), p.40, n.1. Cutha is now located at Tell Ibrahim.

(26) J.Oppert, Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie (Paris, 1863), I, pp.216ff.

(27) TSBA, III (1874), p.364.

(28) Assyrian Discoveries (London, 1875), pp.62ff.

(29) Wo lag das Paradies? (Leipzig, 1881), p.219; Grundriss der Geographie...des Alten Orients, 2(1) Munich, 1904), p.238; The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia (Philadelphia, 1904), p.49.

(30) Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II in Wadi Brisa... (Leipzig, 1906), pp.42ff.

(31) OLZ, 12 (1909), col.204ff.; for the complex problem of the Kish waterways see Gibson, pp.50-1, and the cautionary remarks by Nissen in R.McG.Adams and H.J.Nissen, The Uruk Countryside: the Natural Setting of Urban Societies (Chicago, 1972), pp.41ff. and H.Weiss, J.A.O.S. 95 (1975), pp.434-453.

(32) J.P.Peters, Nippur, I (New York, 1897), Appendix F, pp.322ff.

(33) Asshur and the Land of Nimrod (New York, 1897), p.347.

(34) XK, I, p.34.

(35) Kich, I, pp.15ff.

(36) Ibid., pl.39.

(37) Ibid., p.29.

(38) Gibson, pp.70-2.

(39) Lady Bell (Ed.), The Letters of Gertrude Bell, II (London, 1927), p.664: dated January 30th 1923.

(40) S.Lloyd, Iraq, XXXI (1969), p.48.

(41) In this Professor Mc.Gibson was particularly helpful.

## Chapter 2

## TELLS UHAIMIR, KHAZNA AND BANDAR

### I. TELL UHAIMIR

#### (a) Documentary Evidence

In formal lists and in prayers the shrines of Kish (Uhaimir) are usually listed between those of Babylon, more rarely Borsippa, and Cutha, in accord with the city's geographical position between the two. The major temple complex was known as é-me-te-ur-sag, dedicated to Zababa, and first recorded in the thirtieth year of Sumu-la-el, second ruler of the First Dynasty of Babylon (1). The actual shrine of the god was é-kišib-ba, already referred to in the Sargonid period (2). The foundation of this complex was considerably older than the earliest record of their names. Among the texts, dated to E.D. IIIA, from Abu Salabikh is a hymn to Kish and Zababa, described as the 'goring ox of Kish' (3), though Zababa does not appear in the contemporary deity lists from Fara-Shuruppak. The plano-convex brickwork found deep in excavations at Uhaimir would correspond with this period. Whether or not Zababa was a Semitic deity in origin remains open to question, with the weight of present evidence against (4). A fragmentary stone vase excavated at Nippur, now in the British Museum, bears a dedicatory inscription to Zababa by U-hub, ensi of Kish, sometime in E.D. III (5). Among a collection of Sumerian Temple hymns, originally compiled by Enheduanna, the daughter of Sargon of Agade, is one to the temple of Zababa at Kish (6). A stone dagger hilt found by the O.F.M.E. on Tell Ingharra, with a short Sargonid dedicatory inscription, also refers to Zababa (Oxford: 1937.651).

In the Ur III period Zababa's name does not appear in offering lists, but in the next century or so he became a regular member of the Babylonian pantheon. In the Waradsin inscription from Ur (7), as in the Code of Hammurabi (8), he is described as the son of Enlil, in the second case specifically as the eldest son. He was particularly extolled by rulers of the First Dynasty of Babylon, most of whom contributed something to his shrine at Kish (9), and in lists of Old Babylonian gods he follows An, Enlil, Ninhursag, Nanna, Enki, Iškur and Utu (10). He was a war god, sometimes described as

'sharp-horned', whose symbol was the bird (?eagle)-headed sceptre or mace (11). He is on occasion identified with the similar gods Ninurta and Ningirsu, and variously married to Baba or Ishtar, who by the Old Babylonian period shared his temple complex (12). The Ziggurat é-u$_6$-nir-ki-tuš-maḫ (13) was dedicated to both of them. Recognition of Zababa on artefacts from Uhaimir is no simple matter. A single Old Babylonian cylinder seal, Buchanan, I, 517, bears a dedicatory inscription to Zababa. The complementary scene shows the 'man with a mace' facing a suppliant goddess, with between them an eagle, fly and lightning fork, one above the other. The eagle may well stand for Zababa, as may the mace-bearer, for he appears regularly on baked clay plaques, commonly votive chariot fronts, from Uhaimir. Ishtar armed is also shown on similar objects.

The temple establishment at Uhaimir in the later Old Babylonian period may be further described in a group of tablets, from clandestine excavations, now largely at Yale. But caution is still necessary. Their origin, only assumed from internal evidence to be Kish, has yet to be fully elucidated. These texts reveal, apart from a temple and cult of Zababa, a shrine to Marduk of Babylon, and two cult centres of Inanna, one for Inanna of Uruk, at times in association with An. A further link with Uruk is provided by evidence for a cult of Kanisurra ('daughter of Nana'), otherwise known only at Uruk (14).

Even after the First Dynasty of Babylon the city's kings honoured Zababa and his shrines, for Adad-apla-iddina extensively restored é-me-te-ur-sag (15) and Nebuchadnezzar II has left a detailed record of the building undertaken there by Nabopolassar and himself, specifically in the é-kišib-ba, for the honour of Zababa (16). By the first millennium B.C., if not before, the gate of Babylon through which ran the road from Kish was known either as the 'Zababa' or 'Ninurta' Gate (17). Herodotus called it the 'Kish' gate.

(b) The Ziggurat

If Uhaimir and neighbouring tells be taken as the centre of ancient Kish it is remarkable how little is really known about them from the excavations of Oppert, de Genouillac and Mackay. In every case this arises not so much from the paucity of finds as from a uniform inadequacy of publication. Oppert's period of

excavation at Kish was brief and not likely to yield much, but both of his successors on the site devoted considerable attention to it, though subsequently moving to the archaeologically richer mounds of Ingharra. de Genouillac's report offers a very cursory account of his work on the ziggurat and adjoining town site, with only the most sketchy plans (18), whilst providing no provenance for the objects listed in the catalogue. Occasionally it is possible to attribute individual objects to their original find-spots, but only within very broad limits. Of Mackay's work only second-hand reports ever went into print, largely contributions by Langdon to general reviews of current archaeological work (19). Even the popular account published in the first volume of Excavations at Kish, including the plan, were worked up by Langdon from Mackay's reports by letter from the field and suffer from his ignorance of the actual excavation. Nor was it possible to integrate Mackay's results with de Genouillac's report, since it reached Langdon only after his volume was already 'declared ready for the press' (20).

As his final reports on mound 'A' and the Jamdat Nasr building make clear, Mackay's own published account, had the opportunity arisen, would have made ample amends for the short-comings of these preliminary reports. All his field-reports and register cards have survived, carefully drawn up as for mound 'A', but unfortunately his plans, save for the barest fragments, are apparently lost along with the pottery drawings noted on the relevant field-cards. Scattered cards of uneven significance survive from his record of architectural features and burials. Such lacunae in the surviving records of Mackay's work make reconstruction of his results extremely hazardous, even after all the objects he found and catalogued have been examined. Allowance must also be made for the fact that this was the first part of Kish he dug. As time went on he developed greater facility in handling and processing his finds, whilst the more he dug the wider became his appreciation of the site's topography and stratigraphy. In the following account an attempt has been made to extract from Mackay's records as much as possible about his work in the area of Uhaimir and its relation to the earlier finds of de Genouillac. The result is far from satisfactory, even as a general sketch. More than any other area excavated by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition this one requires further serious

investigation before the simplest things may be said with any certainty about the original form and architectural history of é-me-te-ur-sag.

The form of the ziggurat mound (Tell Uhaimir) before excavation was well described by Ker Porter in a passage already quoted (21). When de Genouillac explored this mound in 1912 the excavations made by Oppert in 1852 were still visible, not at its base as his account indicates, but about the middle, where he found nothing but the core of red baked-brick after which the tell was named. According to de Genouillac the tower was orientated by its faces and survived to a height of nineteen and a half metres. The rectangular platform on the top he identified as é-kišib-ba and he noted the levels of reeds, at every fifth course, now reduced to a white powder. He cut a trench at the south-east corner of the Ziggurat base in an attempt to find a foundation deposit. In this he failed; but high in a room here he uncovered a series of Neo-Assyrian seal impressions in a layer of ashes (22). He also located part of an enclosure or revetment wall which he first compared with brickwork of Sargon II (23); subsequent discovery of a similar wall on the north (north-west) led him to speculate on a Neo-Babylonian origin (24). With the help of a particularly perceptive workman he traced and planned the niched façade of the lowest storey of the ziggurat round all four faces (25), though he found the corners very damaged. Having observed from the top of the tell traces of rooms running round all sides of the Ziggurat save on the south (south-east) where debris obscured them, he excavated some, but with little success. His site-plan (26) indicates that this work was concentrated on the south and north-east sides of the ziggurat. On the south-east face, towards the east corner, he found a brick buttress. His plan of the Ziggurat was printed upside down without a scale or direction-pointer (27).

It is much to be regretted that Mackay had no detailed knowledge of de Genouillac's work when he began excavations in March 1923, though vestiges of the earlier trenches must still have been apparent here as they were, more definitely, on Ingharra. The general progress of Mackay's work on the ziggurat may be followed through his registration of objects. Excavation started on the south-east side of the platform moving out to the south and east corners with progressive discovery of rooms ('cells') in the south-

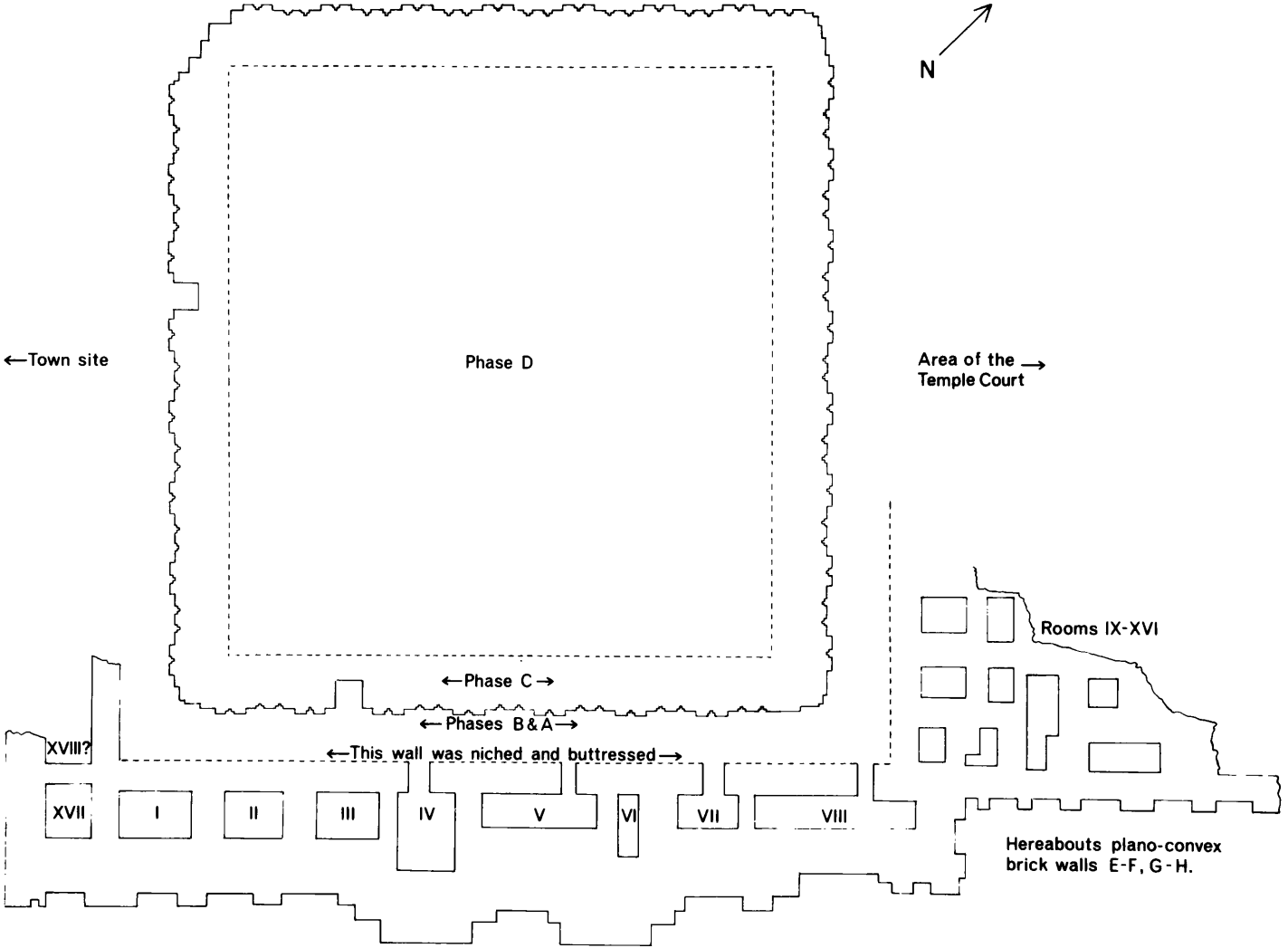
east Temenos wall and at the east corner, overlying a much earlier building. The south-west side of the platform was investigated early in the second season.

Mackay orientated the ziggurat correctly by its corners, giving the height as slightly over 18.5 metres (28) and the base dimensions as 185' x 198' (29). The discrepancy between the base measurements of de Genouillac (59.2 x 63.2 metres) and those of Mackay may be explained in part by the damaged state of the corners, which would bedevil accurate measurements unless carefully cleared in each case. Although de Genouillac's plan and report suggest that he cleared round all four faces of the ziggurat, it is not certain that Mackay did. Of the plan, which he published without a scale, Langdon wrote: 'The exterior of the base of the ziggurat has now been sufficiently traced to warrant the reconstruction which I have made from Mr. Mackay's plans, pl.XLIV' (30). As neither Mackay's original plans, upon which this was based, nor his final plans have survived it is impossible to say who was responsible for the bizarre rendering of the ziggurat facade, notably at the corners; but it seems likely that Langdon considerably modified, and in doing so distorted, Mackay's plans (31). This rendering of the facade is best ignored and de Genouillac's much more carefully drawn version accepted, since it largely tallys with photographs taken by Mackay and was measured out by de Genouillac in detail (32). Langdon also ignored the niches and buttresses set at regular intervals on the inner Temenos wall which appear clearly on excavation photographs, including one he published (33). The entrance into chamber VIII through the outer temenos wall also seems to be an addition by Langdon unwarranted by the excavation. After the scale, the most important lacuna on the published plan is the absence of any indication of the chamber numbers which are used regularly on the field cards. The oblong chamber at the eastern end of the south-eastern range is definitely VIII, that immediately before it is VII; chambers VI-I may be numbered back consecutively to the south corner, where chambers XVII-XVIII were located. Chamber XVIII was the last to be numbered, and therefore presumably the last to be cleared, in the temenos wall. Chambers IX-XII were all in bad condition owing to the regular accumulation of rain water which soaked into the fabric after storms. The bricks - 26 x 17 x 8 cms. - used here were regarded by Mackay as evidence for a late date. These chambers lay, with numbers

XII-XVI, at the eastern end of the north-east side, as shown on Langdon's plan (34). This is almost certainly the area in which de Genouillac found traces of a Neo-Assyrian occupation.

A much earlier phase of building was also traced here. The regularly buttressed wall shown in XK, I, pl.XLIV running along the south-east side of chambers IX-XII looks as if it is Langdon's rationalization of two walls of plano-convex brick, lying just below the surface, reported here in the first season by Mackay. These walls, G - H and E - F, had been built up against one another; E - F was secondary. They were not reported again, but may well be the only surviving traces of the outer walls of a plano-convex brick temple hereabouts, further evidenced in a sounding made later to the north-west. This would complement the early literary evidence for the temple of the god Zababa at Kish. On the exposed side of these walls was a deposit of clay sling-balls and pellets.

As a result of his work on the ziggurat Mackay proposed four main stages of construction. The earliest (D) was represented by an inner core of mudbrick including some plano-convex brickwork, only revealed in the deep trench on the south-east side, with its foundations at 4.05 metres below datum, which had been set arbitrarily at 2.60 metres above the present plain level. This was encased in a structure of red baked brick (C), rectangular in form, measuring 43 metres long on the south-east side, 53 metres on the south-west. The face was not preserved in any area uncovered by Mackay. The core of this building rises five to ten metres above the later mudbrick facing to give the summit of the ziggurat its present distinctive shape, red colour and name, as all earlier visitors had observed. Mackay thought much of the burnt-brickwork had been systematically robbed to provide building material elsewhere. The layers of white powdery substance which had so long fascinated travellers was finally shown to be 'calcined reed or matting which has absorbed alumina, probably from the brickwork'. Its occurrence is not so regular as de Genouillac supposed, varying from four to seven courses apart (35). This part of the ziggurat was ventilated by holes and drained by water shafts. Each channel runs right through the ziggurat and emerges on the other side. All are perfectly straight. The divergence in level is so slight that a subsidence of the ziggurat may account for




D. Diagram of the Ziggurat at Uhaimir (reconstructed from various sources)

any error. The holes are in a straight line with one another, the distance between each varying from 2.30m to 2.50m. The uppermost line of holes are at a level 2.41 metres from the top of the ziggurat, as measured from the top of the ziggurat to the floor of the channel. These channels run through the ziggurat from the north-east to the south-west side. Below these are another layer of holes at a level 4.22m from the summit of the ziggurat. These run from the south-east side to the north-west side of the ziggurat and therefore cross the channels above them at right angles. Below these bottom channels the brickwork of the ziggurat is very decayed and no others could be traced owing to a filling of debris which exactly resembled the surrounding brickwork. The layers of white bore no relation to the holes. A baked brick construction inserted at an angle in a recess in the mudbrick lower stage on the south-east side is best identified as a vertical drain.

Mackay attributed the burnt-brick core (C) to Samsuiluna for two reasons, first on account of a tablet he found between two vertical bricks on the ziggurat summit (36) and secondly on the close relation between the burnt bricks of the core (33/34cms x 35cms x 13/14 cms) and the inscribed bricks of Samsuiluna found in the debris on the south-east side of the ziggurat (37). The inscribed bricks leave no doubt about his work on the ziggurat, but the tablet, an Old Babylonian wage-list with no date, is of little importance in dating the structure. The extent of Kassite work hereabouts remains unknown, despite the presence of brick fragments inscribed for one of the Kurigalzu's at Uhaimir.

The third stage in construction (B) was represented by a mudbrick construction against the baked-brick core on the south-east side running down to a baked-brick pavement of Adad-apla-iddina (38). Above this pavement was another baked-brick pavement, this time laid by the builders of Nebuchadnezzar II in conjunction with, but thirty centimetres above, the bottom of the mud-brick, buttressed facing of the lower stage of the ziggurat (39) - phase A. Langdon was wrong in attributing this recessed façade and pavement to Samsuiluna (40), since it must postdate Adad-apla-iddina. No Samsuiluna pavement was found <u>in situ</u>. The existing outer surface, most likely the work of Nebuchadnezzar II, is of mudbrick. On the south-east side are two mudbrick

buttresses more than nine metres apart, one uncovered by de Genouillac. As these rest on the Nebuchadnezzar pavement they are later than it is, but, since Mackay recorded that they were bonded into the façade, these are but phases in a single major reconstruction (41). There was no evidence for changes in the form of the ziggurat after the Neo-Babylonian period.

The south-west side of the ziggurat was extensively denuded perhaps, as Mackay suggested, because it faces the prevailing wind. The face was difficult to detect until its foundations had been reached. Three metres or more of debris had accumulated here, largely from the disintegration of the ziggurat. Mackay thought he might have located the temple kitchens on the south-west side since about halfway along there was a concentration of ashes and another of discarded animal bones in the debris. On this side there also seems to have been at least one buttress, 'block of brickwork D', as on the south-east side.

With the information available the Uhaimir ziggurat may only be cautiously attributed to a specific category within the system suggested by Unger and retained by Parrot (42). Combining the work of de Genouillac and Mackay, who between them surveyed all four sides and cleared much of the surrounding corridor, it is apparent that there is no room at the lowest stage for a ramp or staircase projecting at right angles. The ziggurat summit was therefore reached either from the roof of adjacent temple buildings as at Tell Rimah (43) or by an ascending ramp running round the four sides as was the general pattern in northern Iraq. Excavation of the surviving surface of the ziggurat was not meticulous enough to reveal traces of this. Mackay thought the two 'buttresses' on the south-east face had something to do with the access, at least to the first stage; but as they are very secondary structures this seems unlikely.

Evidence for dating the range of chambers on the south-east side of the ziggurat is sparse, but homogeneous. They were part of the Old Babylonian plan of the ziggurat, with only very minor alterations in subsequent periods. In the west corner of chamber XVIII a deep pit was sunk well below foundation level. 'At a depth of three metres from the top of the brick-work of the west corner of the chamber a thin layer of pottery sherds were found which represents I think a thin layer of pottery covering the surface of the

desert before the level for the ziggurat and its chambers were artificially raised. Nothing but clean earth was found below this level of pottery' (44). On the north-east side of the same chamber the excavator found an intrusive structure which seems to have been a robbed out cist grave of baked brick, including one inscribed for Samsuiluna. Level with its foundations on the outside was an Old Babylonian cylinder seal (45). The other chambers yielded Old Babylonian pottery, terracottas, cylinder seals and tablets. Later pottery and figurines were scattered in the upper levels. The most interesting single find from these chambers was an Indus valley stamp seal (46), which Mackay thought had been brought here with earth for foundations and was therefore out of context.

The best stratigraphical evidence is provided by Chamber XI. A photograph survives (47) showing the floor level of this room with the door-socket in situ. On the floor at this level were the necks of two large storage jars with ribbed sides and multiple 'columns' round the rim. Such vessels belong to the Larsa and Old Babylonian periods (48). Taken as a whole there is remarkably little evidence from this area for Neo-Babylonian occupation. de Genouillac traced Neo-Assyrian occupational debris, but erosion seems generally to have left little standing in the temenos area save wall-stubs from the Old Babylonian buildings. From chamber XVII came a tablet dated Hammurabi 36 (HMR 253) and from chamber XVIII one dated Hammurabi ?34 (HMR 363).

(c) The Temple Area

In the area on the north-east side of the ziggurat, apart from tracing the inner wall of the corridor round the ziggurat, de Genouillac cleared a well to a depth of eight metres 'au milieu de la cour (Est)'. The more extensive excavations by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition in quest of the main temple were not much more successful in locating it, though the bricks they found bearing Hammurabi's record of his reconstruction of the temple largely derive from this area. In the same area a large paved courtyard was partially cleared to reveal an altar base and a well, lined with triangular mudbricks. A small patch of paving near this well included a re-used brick of Adad-apla-iddina, part perhaps of Nebuchadnezzar II's recorded restoration. The walls of the courtyard, traced to a depth of four feet, measured 142' (43.3m) on the

south-west and north-east sides, 123' (37.5m) on the south-east and north-west, exactly in line with the ziggurat. In the centre of the courtyard a pit was sunk to a depth of 25 feet cutting down through masonry of plano convex brick. Finds included Larsa sherds of white-filled incised pottery about a metre below the surface. From the extreme eastern end of the ruins a trench 40' wide was driven westwards in quest of the north-east wall of the temple. Although the trench was continued for a distance of about fifty metres (10 rods) towards the ziggurat, no wall or gate was reached. Within the main trench a small shaft was sunk to Virgin soil, again cutting through plano-convex brickwork and reaching levels containing sherds of Ubaid painted pottery (49). A great retaining wall and platform on the southern side of the temple area were identified as the work of Adad-apla-iddina (50).

No plan of this part of the excavation has survived, although the field cards bear chamber numbers as for the south-east and north-east sides of the ziggurat. Objects were reported from chambers 21 and 22, presumably in the series running up to XVIII used in the ziggurat corridor, then only one further chamber in the temple area -50- is numbered and listed as having finds. It seems very unlikely that nearly thirty other rooms were cleared yielding no finds at all or at least nothing worthy of record. I therefore take this to represent a new series, arbitrarily started at 50, which was a large room 455 cms. broad, 830 cms. long.

(d) The '<u>Town Site</u>'

When de Genouillac started work at Uhaimir the mounds west of the ziggurat were honeycombed with the pits of clandestine excavators. From these must have come many tablets, revealed by their content as from Kish, which reached museums and private collectors before 1912. de Genouillac extended these pits and it was from them that most of his small finds came (51). No detailed plans or descriptions were published, but a group of rooms near the ziggurat were particularly rich in 'school' texts (52) and another series were identified as potters' workshops. In this area a well was also cleared, to a depth of 8.50m. Various graves ranged in date from the Old Babylonian to Parthian periods.

In his first season of excavation Mackay resumed work on the town site, marked as ridge 'T' on his plan (53). Between 1923-4 he revealed at least thirty-five

rooms, though no plans have survived to show how these formed houses or self-contained buildings. None seem to have been later than the Old Babylonian period, though below that at a depth of two to three metres were walls of plano-convex brick. A number of burials were reported among these ruins. Mackay's finds exactly complement those of de Genouillac: Old Babylonian pottery, texts, cylinder seals, impressions and terracotta plaques, with the thin spread of later objects.

Mackay's excavations left no doubt that there had been an important scribal centre here. Administrative texts, letters and contracts were reported, but in addition sign lists, lexical texts, literary fragments, practice tablets and even a bone object which may have been a stylus. Dated tablets name Sumulael, Sinmuballit, Hammurabi, Samsuiluna and Ammiditana. After the Old Babylonian period there seems to have been little more than a temple-complex here.

(e) The 'Fort'

Mound X (Gibson, no.21) was excavated in 1923-4 and shown to contain a 'fortress' with large buttressed rampart and substantial interior chambers round a central court or larger chamber (54). Again no plan has survived, though one was certainly made. The building was approximately square in shape and orientated to the cardinal points. Two main building periods were distinguished. The earlier was attributed to Nebuchadnezzar II, the later, in two phases, to the Achaemenian or Seleucid periods. A burial was found in the east corner of the 'fort' situated 162 cms. below the top of the adjacent brickwork. The skeleton of a child was contracted in a large burial urn with two vessels and a crude faience cylinder seal, probably Neo-Babylonian-Achaemenian in date (55).

Mackay thought that the fort was isolated and in no way joined to a wall. Two parallel ridges which run eastwards from the fort, were described as 'the moat-wall' by Langdon in one report (56), in another as a mudbrick wall six metres wide (57). It is extremely unlikely that this marks a wall. It is much more likely to be a dried-up canal bed, possibly Neo-Babylonian or Seleucid as there is evidence of Parthian occupation along the ridges.

## (f) The Outlying Tells

### (i) Tell Khazna

Ishan al-Khazna ('Treasure Mound') in the vicinity of Uhaimir was visited by Oppert's expedition in 1853 (58) but the only published excavations on the mound are those of Reitlinger in 1930-1. These indicated that an Islamic group of buildings erected in one corner of the Neo-Babylonian settlement had then been used for a relatively short period. Reitlinger published a selection of the Islamic Sherds, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (59). Gibson's sherd collection from the mound spanned Early Islamic to Late Abbasid wares (60).

### (ii) Tell Bandar

Tell Bandar (the 'harbour'), (Mound V, Gibson no.8), the most salient feature on the site of Kish, has attracted the attention of all three excavators of the site in turn, Oppert in 1852, de Genouillac in 1912 and Watelin in 1933 (61) (de Genouillac, I, 28, pl.XVII, plan VIII; Iraq, I, (1934) 121-2). de Genouillac cleared the north-eastern corner tower of a fortress, which crowns the tell, and a stretch of wall running west from it to a semi-circular bastion. He thought the fortress was built in terraces, the upper stage equipped with narrow, sharply angled vertical loopholes, the lower stage and the encircling walls which face it, ornamented with false columns. All wall surfaces he found were plastered. In 1933 Watelin exposed the whole northern end of the fortress revealing the south-east corner tower; he showed that the upper stage was built of unbaked bricks measuring 40 x 26 x 17 cm., while the size given by de Genouillac for all the bricks, 31.5 x 31.5 x 10.5 cm., applied only to the lower levels. As such bricks were used in the Neo-Babylonian structures on Ingharra Watelin dated these levels on Bandar to the same period. Finds in the fortress were few, but enough, as de Genouillac had also thought, to attribute it to the Parthian period. Here, as for instance at Nippur (62), the Parthian architects had used earlier buildings as foundations. Gibson's more recent survey work indicated that Watelin was correct in suggesting that Tell Bandar had a long history, perhaps extending back at least to the Early Dynastic period. The most characteristic Parthian finds from Bandar are the baked clay figurines. A few 'magical' bowls found on the surface are later.

The small, tall mound C (Gibson, no.9) adjacent to Bandar on the west, was tested in 1923-4 (63) when trenches were cut into the north-east side. They revealed buttressed mudbrick walls and an outer gateway; no evidence satisfactory for dating this structure was published or can now be traced in the finds. Mackay took them to be Old Babylonian. Surface sherds indicate that there was some kind of settlement here in the Parthian period, no doubt associated with the fort on Bandar. Earlier occupation, in the third and early second millennia, was also evidenced by sherds.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

(1) R. Borger, Orientalia 27 (1958), pp.407-8; RLA, II, 361.

(2) RLA, II, 321; A.W.Sjoberg, The Collection of Sumerian Temple Hymns (Locust Valley, New York, 1969), p.135a.

(3) R.D.Biggs, JCS, 20 (1966), p.80; AbST 192 iii 9ff: B.Biggs, Inscriptions from Tell Abu Salabikh (Chicago, 1973), no.268.

(4) J.J.M.Roberts, The Earliest Semitic Pantheon (Baltimore, 1972), pp.55-6.

(5) A.Goetze, JCS 15 (1961), pp.107-8.

(6) Sjoberg, op.cit., p.43; also ZA 54 (1961), pp.63-5.

(7) UET, I, no.128, 3: temple at Ur.

(8) XXVIIb, 83-4.

(9) RLA, II, 361.

(10) R.Chiera, Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur (OIP XI, Chicago, 1929), 123 Rs. II 15.

(11) Roberts, op.cit., pp.56-7; Symbols, p.148; U.Seidl, Baghdader Mitteilungen, 4 (1968), p.34,74,163-4.

(12) Roberts, op.cit., p.56; J.Renger, ZA 59 (1969), p.106.

(13) RLA, II, 485.

(14) J.J.Finkelstein, Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters (YOS XIII, New Haven), pp.11-12.

(15) XK, I, pp.16-17.

(16) L.Legrain, Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon (PBS 15, Philadelphia, 1926), pp.45ff.

(17) E.Unger in F.Wetzel, Die Stadtmauern von Babylon (Leipzig, 1930), pp.105-6.

(18) Kich, I, pp.18ff., pl.40-2.

(19) AfO, II (1924-5), pp.45ff.; Der Alte Orient, 26 (1927), pp.55-67.

(20) XK, I, p.IV: under 'Errata'.

(21) See pp.3-6.

(22) Kich, I, p.18, 56-7; II, pl.XII.

(23) Ibid, I, pl.XXII.4, p.18.

(24) Ibid, I, pl.41-2, p.18.

(25) Ibid, I, p.18, pl.41-2.

(26) Ibid, I, pl.40.

(27) The plan in XK, I, pl.XLIV is correctly orientated. In de Genouillac's plan the south-east, not the north-west, face is upwards. The Ziggurat is more correctly placed on the site-plan: Kich, I, pl.40. The scale on Kich, I, pl.42 is approximately: .025 = 1 metre.

(28) Two readings: 18.69, 18.88.

(29) 56.4 x 60.3 metres.

(30) XK, I, p.65.

(31) There is a photograph, negative 150, which shows that Mackay drew the recessing of the south-east side of the Ziggurat in detail agreeing exactly with de Genouillac.

(32) Kich, I, pl.42.

(33) XK, I, pl.XLVIII.1: 35 cm. deep, 3.40 metres wide.

(34) XK, I, pl.XLIV.

(35) XK, I, p.46, n.1.

(36) HMR 1 = Ashmolean 1924.523.

(37) R. Borger, Orientalia 27 (1958), pp.406-7: HMR 14, 124.

(38) IR 5, 22: HMR 49, 57-9, 342.

(39) XK, I, pl.XLVIII.2; XLIX.2.

(40) XK, I, p.65.

(41) XK, I, pl.XLIX.1 shows the most easterly buttress, not the 'retaining wall of Nebuchadnezzar'.

(42) Ziggurats et Tour de Babel (Paris, 1949), pp.54-5.

(43) D.Oates, Iraq, XXIX (1967), pp.70ff.; Th.A.Busink, JEOL 21 (1969-70), p.130.

(44) Field card: by Mackay.

(45) HMR 255: IM 1688: Negative 138.

(46) E.Mackay, JRAS (1925), pp.697-8, pl.X.1.

(47) Negative 68.

(48) Compare Delougaz, pl.127d.

(49) XK, I, p.67; pl.II.3, VIII.1.

(50) XK, I, pp.16, 51, 65.

(51) Kich, I, p.19; areas marked on pl.40.

(52) Kich, I, p.29 n.3 - de Genouillac was mistaken in believing that Langdon's 'Library' was at Uhaimir; it was in fact in mound 'W'.

(53) AM,I (2), plan opposite title-page.

(54) AM,I p.80; XK, I, p.33, pl.XXXIII - incorrectly labelled 'Khuznan'.

(55) XK, I, pl.XVII.2 for a photograph of this grave: HMR 492-4A, B; cf. Nippur, I, p.58.

(56) XK, I, p.33, cf. plan on pl.XXXIII.

(57) AfO, II (1924), p.46.

(58) Oppert, p.217.

(59) Ars Islamica, II (1935), pp.198ff.

(60) Gibson, no.25.

(61) de Genouillac, I, p.28, pl.XVII, plan VIII; Iraq I (1934), pp.121-2.

(62) J.Knudstad, Sumer 24 (1968), pp.95ff.

(63) XK, I, 34-5; AM, I, 82.

# Chapter 3

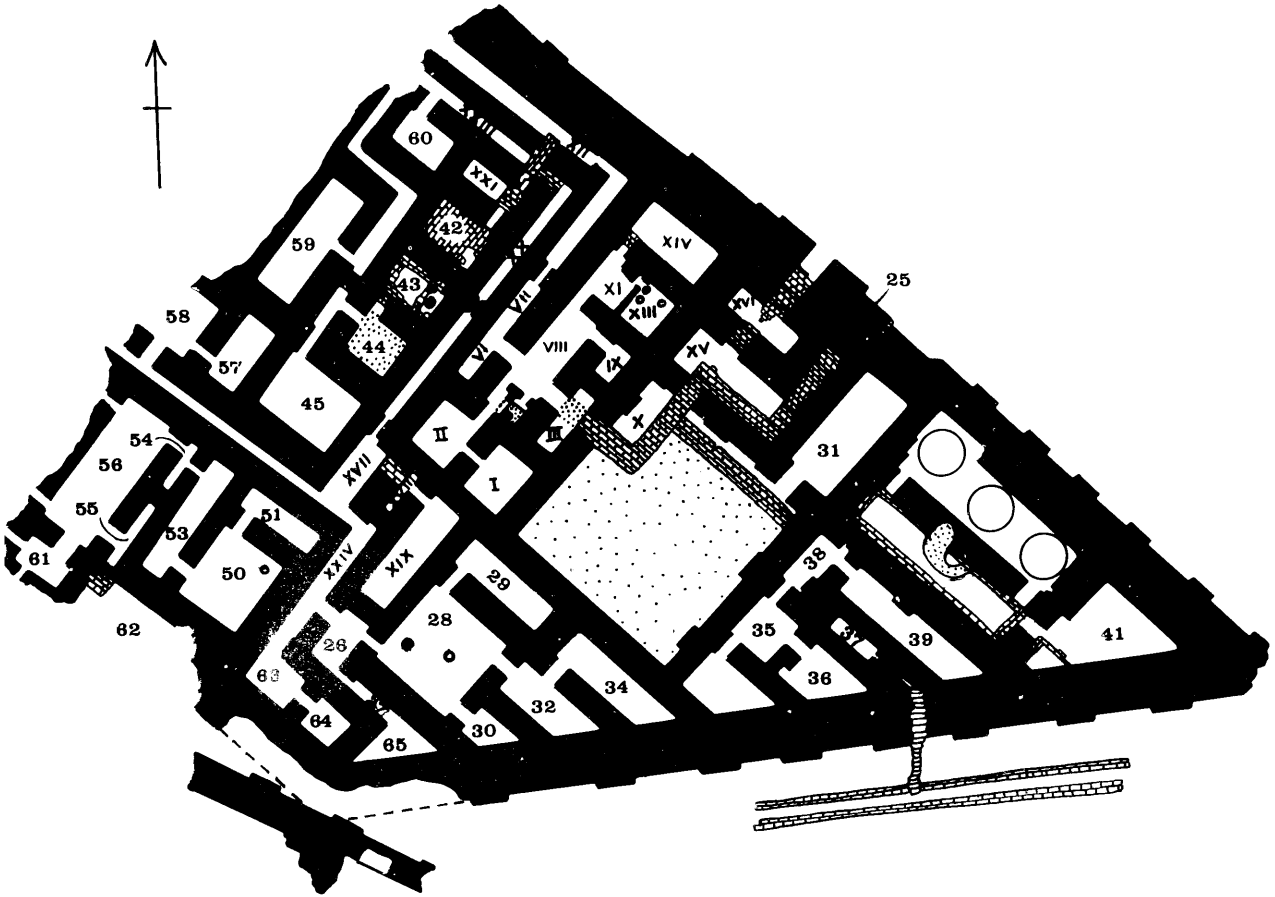
## AREA 'P'

The excavations of 1923-4 in an area designated 'P' to the north of Ingharra are barely mentioned at all in the published reports (1), but they produced evidence for a major area of urban settlement here in the Early Dynastic period (2). Work began on November 2nd 1923 under the supervision of Lt. Col. W.H. Lane who had joined the expedition a month earlier. In November excavation was concentrated in a series of rooms on the north-west side of a large courtyard moving slowly round to an entrance - rooms numbered I to XV. In December work was proceeding on the entrance complex and rooms to the south and south-east of the courtyard reaching round to rooms 40 and 41, which were the centre of activity in late December and January 1924. In the following two months the external wall was cleared, the long drain revealed on the south-east side and a length of buttressed wall on the south-west corner was uncovered at the very end of the season. Meanwhile work went on in the rooms west of the courtyard. The course of the excavations may be followed through the card-index of objects and a few cards giving architectural details. A partial plan of the site has survived among the Kish records in the Field Museum, Chicago (3), and a set of negatives made of a more final plan exist in Oxford. An incomplete attempt on the cards to rationalize the room numbering in order to provide a continuous sequence from the entrance is ignored here and the original system retained. Roman numerals were used until room XXIV, thereafter Arabic.

### (I) The 'Plano-Convex Building' (PCB)

#### (i) The plan and course of excavation

The entrance to the PCB on the north-east was approached by a well-laid brick pavement, originally covered with bitumen. The south-east jamb was reasonably well preserved, but the opposite side had been destroyed to foundation level. The entrance passage was paved throughout with plano-convex bricks set in bitumen. It rose about seventy centimetres from the threshold to the chamber in the gateway. The outside wall to the west as far as room XIV was badly preserved and appeared to have been deliberately




E. Plan of the 'Plano-convex Building' (after E. Mackay)

0 10 20

dismantled, perhaps in an attack on the building. The outside wall on the other side of the entrance was better preserved, though badly cut into by a vertical shaft of later date, perhaps a well. Just before this intrusion the horizontal drain from room 25 emerged from the wall. The substantial external wall with rectangular buttresses survived here to a height of about one hundred and fifty centimetres and was plastered all over. The rounding of a corner east from the entrance seems to be deliberate, as the plaster was carried round it. This very substantial wall with regularly set buttresses running round the whole building is the most distinctive feature of the plan. Similar, less substantial, walls flank only the exposed sides of palace 'A' (4) and appear to be confined to the east side of the 'palace' at Eridu (5). Buttresses, though they were to become one of the most distinctive features of later Mesopotamian architecture, do not appear in the earliest structures of plano-convex brick, perhaps, as Delougaz suggested, for technical reasons (6). At Khafajah buttresses on the outer face of the enclosure were an innovation of the second building period (7).

On the upper pavement of the first room in the gateway - XVI - scattered fragments of inlay were found. In one case triangular fragments of shell were set in a thick 'stucco' coating on a piece of wood, .55 x .20 x .04 m., perfectly preserved. This border of an inlaid box or fragment of furniture is the only piece of intact wood inlay of this kind reported from Kish. Other fragments of shell inlay were found in the same room and in XV, as well as elsewhere in the PCB. Their position, as with similar pieces from palace 'A' (8), suggest debris left by looting. The popularity of this decorative technique in the last phase of the Early Dynastic period has long been evident from finds at Ur and Mari (9). In the larger, inner chamber of the gate - XV - numerous pieces of thick mud plaster with charred matting adhering to them were found on the pavement. This is probably remains of roofing. It suggests a single storey gatehouse with a roof of wooden beams supporting matting upon which was laid a thick mud plaster. Such a form of roofing is identical with that employed in many parts of the near East to this day and was clearly common in the Early Dynastic period. By careful observation of the fallen fragments in one of the rooms of the Khafajah Temple Oval (10) Delougaz was able to provide a very convincing

reconstruction of a ceiling constructed exactly in this manner. As may be seen from the plan, considerable traces of paving, originally covered with bitumen, survived in this room. A more unusual feature was a row of plano-convex bricks set on their edges along the wall to form a wainscott. These bricks were flatter than usual, stood nineteen centimetres high and projected from the wall. A pit, probably intrusive, filled with flint and sherds, cut through the pavement in the centre of the room.

Leading off room XV to the north-east was a small chamber - 25 - entirely paved and set with a wainscott as in the previous room. A drain in the N.E. corner led through the wall to a sump outside. This was constructed of brick covered with a thick layer of bitumen. The channel (11) was covered with flat slabs of micaceous schist. The drain projected thirty centimetres beyond the outside wall, where it was finished off with a smooth coating of bitumen. This is almost certainly an ablutions room, directly comparable in fittings to that in the 'Square' Abu Temple at Tell Asmar (12).

This fortified gateway, for with its very substantial outer wall and flanking towers, it can be little else, is remarkably similar in form to that at the entrance to the inner court at Khafajah (13) in the first two building periods - ED II to IIIa. The small chamber immediately inside the gate opening into a much wider rectangular room with a small chamber off to one side, for ablutions in the PCB, would provide accommodation for a guard. Though not particularly defensive in form, unlike the oblique entry into the Gimilsin palace at Tell Asmar (14), it has none of the monumental features of the entrance to the east wing in palace 'A' at Kish (15), with its flight of stairs between recessed flanking towers leading to a beautifully stuccoed inner room, or the reconstructed gate of the third building period at Khafajah (16). It is an unpretentious strongpoint allowing access directly to the great court, but only thence into the inner rooms of the building. The domestic quarter, to the west of the great court, is as difficult of access as the inner suite in the west wing of palace 'A' (17), which again was probably the domestic quarter.

The great central court was paved with bricks of varying size. In the middle of the court there was an intrusive grave, with the body laid about 'the level of

the upper mud paving'. Three sherds of pottery, a copper pin, silver earrings and two shells with cosmetic paint in them were recovered from this burial. The excavators equated it with the cemetery in area A which was then being excavated. A cylinder seal found on the southern side of the great court showed 'a man paddling a boat with a human head and body as a prow and a tail twisted up and terminating in a face' (18). The motif first appeared in Early Dynastic II, was common in Early Dynastic III and virtually disappeared by the Akkadian period. It is particularly common at Kish, in the Diyala and at Mari (19).

East of the great court in room 35 first notice is given of a type of fitting very common in this building. Plano-convex bricks set one behind the other provided the sloping sides for a circular structure with a central bowl thickly and roughly lined with bitumen (20). In the area of room 37 the walls were not so well preserved as elsewhere and no entry into this room was identified. The pavement of the room sloped downwards to the south-east, where there was a long water channel covered with slabs of micaceous schist and lined with bitumen, as were parts of the room (21). It led into a horizontal drain passing through the wall to join the large drain on the outside of the building which ran parallel to the south-east wall about three hundred and eighty centimetres away from it. This was constructed like the drains elsewhere but on a larger scale.

In room 40 a wainscott of plano-convex brick rested on a thick layer of bitumen though the rest of the floor was paved in the usual way with brick. No trace of bitumen was found under this pavement, so it is probably a damp course, rather than remains of an earlier flooring. The pavement of a single thickness, sloped towards a drain near the side of the room. At one end of the room was a bitumen coated pit built of broken brick (22). Below the pavement was a deep circular well shaft constructed of large baked clay segments (23). It was excavated to a depth of 11.05 metres before the height of the water table prevented further work. A certain amount of pottery was recovered from the shaft, but the most important find was a headless statue with an inscription on the skirt, recovered from the debris at the top (24).
The position of the well associates it with other vestiges of an earlier building phase concentrated in

this corner of the building. The east wall of room 40 was built over a semi-circular bitumen pavement, certainly part of an earlier structure. In the long rectangular room to the north-east, immediately inside the enclosure wall, three circular structures built of plano-convex bricks laid at an oblique angle, were uncovered and found to be badly damaged in order to accommodate the walls of the later structure. The large corner chamber - 41 - was originally paved throughout, though only a small portion remained with traces of a wainscott in the south-west corner.

Many of the features in this area of the PCB may be explained in some measure by comparison with remains in the temple oval at Khafajah (25). Water was obviously used extensively in the building. Except perhaps in the entrance ablutions room, it is impossible to say exactly how and why. The many bitumen lined basins and wainscotted rooms with bitumen linings are carefully designed for the use and drainage of water. The well was no doubt to ensure an independent supply within the walls. The circular features are more enigmatic. The way the excavators describe recovering pottery from them, though no details are given, suggests that they were built exactly like those at Khafajah (26). These consisted of an outer brick wall with an earth filling covered by an irregular paving of brick. They also stood close against the outer wall. Their form may be paralleled by similar circular structures, usually identified as opferstätten, found on a number of Mesopotamian sites from Proto-literate time (27). Delougaz (28) suggested that those at Khafajah were rubbish incinerators, not places of sacrifice, as they were so isolated. The same might apply in the PCB, though there always remains the possibility that here they are the vestiges of kilns or ovens destroyed by the later building.

The excavation of the PCB had started on the north-west side of the great court and it was in rooms I and II that the only attempt was made to obtain some idea of the depth of building levels on the site. One of these sondages, in room II, yielded a very schematic stratigraphy. It indicates two major phases of construction separated by a band of clay approximately thirty-seven centimetres thick. This appears to be an artificial packing before the upper building planned by the excavators was built. It occurred regularly just below pavement level in the highest building, usually

composed of fair sized lumps of clay. In two cases marks were observed on the clay lumps showing that a flat tool had been used to excavate them, presumably from the river bed. It was noticed that despite the clay filling the upper walls followed closely the line of those below it. Exactly the same packing was observed on Tell Ingharra and in palace 'A'. Below the lowest level of foundations the excavators traced a 'thick mass of potsherds' and a thick 'layer of ashes'. References to upper pavements in a number of rooms and the sequence of plastering in others are the only surviving records of phases within the main building periods. Most of the surviving walls of the upper building were coated with a layer of mud and then stuccoed white. This had happened twice in the upper building and in each case the stucco face showed extensive signs of burning. The final conflagration had left a very considerable debris of ash and charcoal over the whole area. The absence of any correlation between these indications of building phases and records of associated pottery does not allow for any reconstruction of the building's history.

Close to the corner of room I a group of pottery was found with every appearance of being a grave group, but no bones were located. A portion of the wall had been cut away to take the pottery. Langdon published a photograph of this group without indicating its provenance (29).

In the pavement of room II two seal impressions were found on fragments of unbaked clay: 'as far as can be seen there is a figure dressed in a kilt with both hands upraised before a seated figure', and the other 'maybe a hawk-headed figure driving a cow towards the left'.

In room IX a circular basin of bitumen containing ashes and bones was found immediately below the upper pavement of crude bricks. Its base was in the form of a square platform with bricks laid on it so as to form a rough pedestal with a rim, also of brick. Alongside the pedestal, grouped on the pavement, were pieces of unbaked clay, some roughly shaped into cones or barrels. In room XI against one wall was a platform of bricks overlaid with bitumen. On each side was a raised ledge (30). In the north corner there was a circular depression in the bitumen and an irregular block of basalt covered on the upper and lower faces with a number of cup-like depressions varying from twenty to

sixty centimetres in diameter. Also in this room were two large jars partially embedded in the pavement. Rooms XI and XII were originally one; the partition is a later addition. Three drains made of interlocking sections of baked clay, about sixty centimetres high, were found in room XIII. In the absence of channels and drains associated with these rectangular structures they are probably not for water. The fittings suggest a more specialist function. The presence of basins, the vessels set in the floor and the broad bitumen lined receptacle with its basalt block may indicate a press for wine or oil. Comparable fittings were again found in the inner enclosure at Khafajah (31).

The long passage XX, at its N.E. end, and the south-east entrance into room XVII, provided the only door sockets to which the excavators make any reference and they were not inscribed. Halfway along the passage there was a large jar partially embedded in the wall and many copper fragments were recovered from the passage way itself, perhaps vestiges of the sack. Room 28 was paved throughout except in the centre where there was a shallow pit (32), lined with plano-convex bricks. Nothing was found in this pit. Close to it was another smaller one with sloping sides and a bitumen lining of the normal kind. In it were found three jars in a very broken state and a miniature limestone pyramid, incised with a bull's head (U.G. 811) (33). On top of these, lying in an irregular position was a large plaster object which seemed to have fallen from some height crushing the objects in the pit (34). The excavators interpreted this as a capital from a wooden pillar which originally stood in the central pit, found empty, supporting the main roof beam. The very narrow boring in the object makes this unlikely. It is more probably a weight or counterpoise pierced to be suspended by rope.

Records for the remaining rooms in the PCB are very scanty. Towards the end of the building's history room 44 was given a plaster floor, a feature not normally found here. Rooms 45 and 50 had the usual circular basins in the pavement. Pottery drains similar to those in room XIII occurred twice in passage XXII. An intrusive burial was found in 62, where the plan is rather confused. At the very end of the excavation in 1924 the S.W. corner was investigated. It was found to be interrupted by a thick piece of walling with plain square buttresses, still standing to a height of six to

eight feet. It ran from north-west to south-east and was built of plano-convex brick. This suggests a large building of Early Dynastic date, built to the south of the PCB and, by the way the wall cuts into the corner, probably later.

As in the case of palace 'A' it is only possible to date the PCB within the broadest limits, and then only by comparison with the better known building. Pottery from the 'intrusive' graves in room I of the PCB (35) and in the courtyard shows that it was probably deserted sometime in ED IIIb. Both graves are exactly like those in cemetery A. The scattered remains of inlay, comparable to that from palace 'A', and the cylinder seal from the great court indicate that it too flourished in the period ED IIIa-b. The excavators dated the PCB earlier than palace 'A' because the pottery found in some of the rooms was earlier than that found under the north-west corner of palace 'A'. The records are insufficient to check this in the light of subsequent discoveries. The excavators only draw attention to one type of pottery: 'the pottery with pointed bases are found beneath the paving of the chambers in various places... a fragment of the base of the same kind of pottery was found in the clay filling of the room'. Similar pottery was found in palace 'A' (36) and in the Diyala, where convex and pointed bases, in considerable variety, were a characteristic of the ED III period (37). Of the very few vessels in the Ashmolean collection which may be safely ascribed to the PCB none is earlier than ED III. The headless statue from the well in room 40 is closely paralleled by a group of seated female statues from the Diyala region also shown holding a cup and a plant, probably a palm fan (38). Two of these were found in the temple oval at Khafajah in period III, one in House 'D'. In the absence of sufficiently distinct stylistic criteria for the dating of Early Dynastic female statuary, the Kish piece may be ascribed to ED III with these examples (39). The inscription, faintly cut and overlaid with a hard grey accretion, has so far proved illegible. (40).

(ii) Function, antecedents and successors

Though the surviving records give only a cursory idea of the excavations in area 'P', it will be seen from comparing this brief review with Mackay's careful plan that only a few rooms remain entirely unnoticed and their regularity suggests magazines. In fact, if the

evidence is considered as a whole, a consistent function is reflected in all the extant remains, though much of the building is still to be explored to the west of the great court. Apart from the important fact that the plan shows none of the characteristics of a religious building, as known from other contemporary sites, it is unlikely that a primarily religious building would have been so completely abandoned at the end of the Early Dynastic period (41). Nor does any aspect of the excavated building indicate the presence of a range of rooms that might be interpreted as the ceremonial apartments of a royal residence, as is the case with the east wing of palace 'A'. The only suggestion of a domestic quarter lies to the west of the great court, beyond corridors XV and XXIV, in an area not fully cleared. For the rest it is a matter of a fortified entrance, store rooms and perhaps workshops round a central court set within a very substantial circuit of walls. It is the plan of a fortified residence or arsenal, rather than a residential royal palace like that in 'A', with its pillared hall, columned loggia and monumental entrance (42). It makes clear when considered in conjunction with the complex of buildings in area 'A', that by the third phase of the Early Dynastic period, perhaps even earlier, the physical setting of the secular authority at Kish was extensive and fully developed. The very clear documentary evidence from Fara for early royal power and organisation, including a reference to the war chariot of the chief mason of Kish, indicates the already extensive household of a monarch at this time (43). Developments shortly after the 'floruit' of the building in areas 'A' and 'P' at Kish are reflected in the words of Urukagina of Lagash: 'The houses of the ensi (and) the fields of the ensi, the houses of the (palace) harem and the fields of the (palace) harem, the houses of the (palace) nursery (and) the fields of the (palace) nursery crowded each other side by side' (44).

One of the more significant changes in temple architecture in the Early Dynastic period was an increasing tendency to place the cella behind a court and subsidiary rooms. In the Protoliterate period courtyards do not appear to have been integrated into temple plans in this way (45). The earliest palaces obviously derive from a comparable interest in grouping all aspects of royal business and ceremonial life in a single unit within a readily defensible framework.

Though Babylonian architects were always to build up their palaces from separately conceived units, based on rooms round a court, they became increasingly adept at merging them into a massive whole. In palace 'A', in the palace at Eridu, and to a lesser extent in the Presargonid palace at Mari, the rectangular blocks which make up the building are still easily distinguishable, as are the blocks west of the great court in the PCB.

The antecedents of these Early Dynastic III palatial buildings are still obscure for all earlier buildings with which they might be connected are in one way or another more closely associated with major religious establishments. The Late Prehistoric Administrative building at Jamdat Nasr and comparable structures at Uruk in the later fourth millennium B.C. do not appear to be residences, even in part (46). In the Early Dynastic II House 'D' at Khafajah, and the contemporary southern rooms of the Shara Temple at Tell Agrab, where shrines still dominate substantial domestic residences, it is best to recognise the seat of a priest or priestess with considerable authority (47). Such also is the most likely identification of the complex including residential accommodation in area 'E' at Tell Abu Salabikh in Early Dynastic IIIA (48). At Fara and at Tell el-Wilayah insufficient has been revealed of the buildings whence came important groups of tablets for their architectural form and function to be properly analysed (49).

Apart from references to a 'lugal' and his administrative seat in the archaic texts from Ur normally dated to Early Dynastic I, no 'palaces' in the modern sense may be recognised until the pre-Sargonid buildings under the great Old Babylonian palace at Mari, the Early Dynastic III palace at Eridu, and the substantial non-religious structures in areas 'A' and 'P' at Kish. The transition to secular palaces was probably a slow change of emphasis rather than a fundamental revolution in planning. The earliest palaces certainly contained shrines, as the evidence from Mari makes clear (50); but they served only one of the many aspects of kingship reflected in the independent residential and ceremonial blocks at Eridu and Kish, rather than the focus of interest as still in Early Dynastic II at Khafajah. Except, of course, when vassals wishing to honour the divine kingship of Ur III later created palaces which were once again nothing

more than mere appendages to monumental shrines.

Even in the third millennium distinctions are apparent in major non-religious buildings. As the tablets it yielded make clear, and its distinctive internal fittings confirm, the so-called 'Akkadian Palace' at Tell Asmar (51) served as a residence and/or workplace for a community of textile manufacturers. The 'palace' of Naram-Sin at Brak, and what may be a near contemporary foundation at Assur (52), both revealed only at their very lowest levels, are distinctive in plan and function. They are very regular buildings in which long narrow rooms flank a series of courtyards set within a strong outer wall. They have the appearance of strongholds for the collection and storage of goods brought in from the surrounding country as dues or tribute: a function endorsed by the meagre evidence in tablets so far found at Brak. Nor is the 'E-Khursag' building on the temenos at Ur, identified as a palace by Woolley, likely to be a major royal residence (53). This more probably lay elsewhere in the city, adjacent to, but not within, the sacred precinct. Founded by Ur-Nammu and completed by his son, 'E-Khursag' was probably a building occupied by the monarch or members of his close family for specific cult functions, not his main administrative or ceremonial residence. That would probably have been more like the enormous complex excavated at Mari, in part at least dating from the Ur III period (54). This huge, self-sufficient enclave with reception halls, administrative quarters, shrines, private apartments, kitchens, workshops and magazines is set within a fortified enclosure wall (55). The palaces of minor rulers at Uruk and Tell Asmar (Eshnunna) reflect the same architectural trend (56).

These are the buildings which stand directly in line of descent from the fragments of a more scattered 'serai' excavated in areas 'A' and 'P' at Kish, flourishing in the last major phase of the Early Dynastic period on more ancient foundations. They are the archaeological corollary to Jacobsen's thesis, drawn from the documentary evidence, for an emergent kingship of a distinctive kind in the period Early Dynastic II to III (57).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

(1) XK, I, pp.4-5, 35-6, pl.III.3, XXXV.1; AM, I, p.83.

(2) See Iraq XXVI (1964), pp.83ff. for my original study of this building.

(3) Not available to me in 1963, when I worked from the Oxford negatives.

(4) AM I (2), pl.XXI.

(5) F.Safar, Sumer 6 (1950), fig.3.

(6) P.Delougaz, Plano-convex Bricks and the Methods of their Employment (O.I.C. 7, Chicago, 1933), pp.28-9.

(7) Delougaz Temple Oval, p.75.

(8) AM, I, pl.XXV-VI, pp.120ff.

(9) See pp. 58-61 here.

(10) Delougaz Temple Oval, pp.133ff., figs. 121-3.

(11) 24 cms. wide, 22 cms. deep.

(12) S.Lloyd in Delougaz, Pre-Sargonid, pp.178-9, fig.137.

(13) Delougaz Temple Oval, pl.III-V, VII; for date see H.Frankfort, op.cit., end-plate: chronological table.

(14) H.Frankfort, The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar (O.I.P. XLIII, Chicago, 1940), pl.I.

(15) AM, I, pl.XXII.XXV.

(16) Delougaz Temple Oval, pl.XI.

(17) AM, I, pl.XXI.

(18) Number given as UG 983 = IM 1945; published by P.Amiet, Sumer XI (1955), p.56, fig.8.

(19) Amiet Glyptique, pp.177ff.; UG 983 is fig.1416 here.

(20) 57 cms. wide at the top; 35 cms. wide at the bottom.

(21) 45 cms. wide, 40 cms. deep.

(22) 80 cms. at the top tapering to 42 cms. at a depth of 32 cms.

(23) Each 37 cms. deep.

(24) XK, I, pl.XXXV, top centre; statuary also came from a blocked well at Khafajah, Delougaz Temple Oval, p.39.

(25) Delougaz Temple Oval, pp.120-130.

(26) Ibid., pp.35ff., figs. 31-2.

(27) Van Buren, Iraq XIV (1952), pp.76ff.

(28) Delougaz Temple Oval, p.37.

(29) XK, I, pl.XV.2, p.76.

(30) 41 cms. long, 19 cms. wide.

(31) Delougaz Temple Oval, pp.43ff., figs.40-1.

(32) Diameter 113 cms., 60 cms. deep.

(33) Another stone pyramid of a similar kind was found in Room XV: UG 643 (FM) was .122 high with base .041 x .042; UG 811 (IM) was .109 high, with base .063 x .052.

(34) 'Base flat, 47 cms. in diameter;height 28 cms. Conical shape. Hole in top somewhat oval in section measuring 4 cms. in diameter and 26 cms. deep. Two small holes in side of base which run obliquely to central hole. The large hole at top does not run through to base and is acentric'.

(35) XK, I, pl.XV.2; a Jamdat Nasr type tablet was reported from the PCB, perhaps indicating a much earlier administrative building hereabouts: OECT, VII, pl.XV.49: formerly Ashmolean 1924.924, now in Baghdad.

(36) AM, I, p.123, pl.XXXVII.4,5,6.

(37) Delougaz Temple Oval, p.99.

(38) H.Frankfort, Sculpture of the Third Millennium, pl.67, nos.84, 85.

(39) S.Langdon, XK, I, pp.4-5, described this statue as a 'King of Kish' holding a weapon. I base my identification on the Diyala analogies; the inscription is probably dedicatory, not descriptive as Langdon implies.

(40) It falls in the group mentioned by A.Goetze, JCS XV (1961), p.111, n.34.

(41) The earliest shrines at Kish have yet to be identified with confidence.

(42) Mackay (AM, I, p.110) called the PCB a 'Fortress-Palace'.

(43) Th.Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957), pp.120-22, n.67.

(44) S.N.Kramer, The Sumerians (Chicago, 1963), p.318.

(45) H.Frankfort, Pre-Sargonid Temples..., p.304.

(46) Ibid., pp.261ff. For early palaces see P.Garelli (Ed.), Le Palais et la Royauté (Paris, 1974), esp.11-26; P.R.S.Moorey, Iraq XXXVIII (1976), pp.95ff.

(47) S.N.Kramer, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (Philadelphia, 1952), p.50 note to line 301.

(48) J.N.Postgate, Iraq, XXXVIII (1976), pp.133ff.

(49) Th.Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957), p.107, n.31; T.Madhloom, Sumer, XVI (1960), pp.62ff. (in Arabic with plans and plates); Sumer, XIX (1963), pp.82ff. (German). H.P.Martin, 'The Tablets of Shuruppak', Le Temple et le Culte (Istanbul, 1975) 173-182.

(50) A.Parrot, Archäologie und Altes Testament (Galling Festschrift) (Tübingen, 1970), pp.219-224.

(51) H.Frankfort, Third Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition 1932-3 (O.I.C. 17, Chicago, 1934), pp.23-39; I.J.Gelb, RA LXVI (1972), pp.3ff.

(52) M.E.L.Mallowan, Iraq IX (1947), pp.27-8, n.3; but see also C.Preusser, Die Paläste in Assur (Berlin, 1955), p.8, for a later dating; an early tablet was found in the area of the palace: C.Preusser, op.cit., pl.12c.

(53) C.L.Woolley, Excavations at Ur (London, 1954), pp.147ff.; H.J.Lenzen, Iraq 22 (1960), p.136.

(54) A.Moortgat, The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia (London, 1969), pp.69ff.

(55) A.Parrot, Mission de Mari II: Architecture (Paris, 1958), end plate.

(56) H.J.Lenzen, U.V.B. XIX (1963), pl.49; H.Frankfort, Pre-Sargonid Temples, pl.XII.

(57) Th.Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957) p.120.

## Chapter 4

## MOUND W

### (i) The Structures

'W' is a tell of considerable size to the west of Ingharra (1). The larger part of the mound covers an area of about 550 x 300 x 5 metres, with subsidiary mounds to the north-west covering 250 x 250 x 4 metres. Langdon assumed in his reports that the river bed of the ancient Euphrates had lain to the east of Uhaimir and west of W, but Gibson has suggested, following Mackay's observation that cultivation around W was at a level 1.50 metres above his Uhaimir datum, that the river with its silt load flowed much closer to W. Gibson's sherd collection indicated that the mound was primarily occupied from the Early Dynastic to Achaemenian periods with a scatter of Parthian and Early Islamic sherds on the surface. The eastern area seems to be mainly Old Babylonian and earlier. The mound is distinguished among those excavated by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition for the wealth of tablets dug out of it. Well over half the tablets found came from W, which was rich in Neo-Assyrian and later texts. It is then all the more to be regretted that techniques of excavation and recording were more inadequate here than anywhere else on the site. Langdon was only interested in digging out tablets and paid attention neither to their archaeological context not to their associations; only Mackay's most basic records survive and Watelin hardly touched this mound at all. What little may be retrieved does no more than show the mound's great potential.

Excavations on W were opened by Langdon during the second season. He worked there during February and March 1924, and, although he only reported these excavations very cursorily in Excavations at Kish, I, 87ff., a full card-index of objects survives. Langdon was not with the expedition during their third season so Father Burrows supervised work on W under Mackay's overall direction. From this season a card-index of objects and a few notes typed on cards have survived. Langdon again returned to the site for a fortnight during the fourth season in December and January 1925-6 to mine for tablets;he left no records. A large batch of field numbers allocated to him for tablets (Kish

3166-3299) were never used. During the fifth season Watelin worked briefly on W from February 25th to March 13th 1927, in quest of more tablets. He left very few object cards and his annual report (in the Chicago archive), which record his excavations in an area where Langdon had already worked. Here he found a building that measured 30.4 metres along one side with rooms surviving to 4.40 metres high. Finds were few and surviving tablets in very poor condition. Burials containing glazed ware had been dug into the building.

The work of the second and third seasons on W is best summarized in turn as separate areas are involved.

Langdon: February to March 1924

'On the western side of the mound marked W, I began work... a business document of the period of Nebuchadnezzar had been found by a workman on the ridge of this mound just south of its central parts. We began to find clay coffin burials at a slight depth at once, clay figurines of the mother and child, pottery of the later period and some bronze implements. After four weeks of discouraging results, I placed some jokhas lower down the mound, almost at plain level, and slightly farther north, where we immediately came upon a rich deposit of literary tablets. As the excavation spread northward and toward the centre of the mound it became evident that we had entered a large building, whose rooms in nearly every instance contained tablets, but in a shockingly bad condition (2)'. As no plans survive, this is the only evidence for the location of Langdon's work apart from the rough location given in his sketch plan of Kish (3).

The scattered burials found at the time in the upper levels of W were a foretaste of a much more extensive cemetery cleared by Burrows in the following season. The recorded finds and the types of baked clay coffin indicated that these burials belonged to the fifth century and later (4). Comparable graves were scattered on the top of mound A and Tell Ingharra.

Although Langdon's description of the stratigraphical position of his 'library' building leaves much to be desired, it is sufficient, when correlated with the objects he found, to provide a basic sequence. There were two building levels in the area he explored with about five feet of debris between the pavements of the upper and the lower, which included the so-called 'library' complex (5). In one of the 'library' rooms

Langdon found two baked clay 'Papsukkal' figurines and three small baked clay dog figurines, each inscribed. Almost every room contained tablets which had been stored in large jars, arranged round the room according to contents, primarily syllabaries and religious texts. These finds indicate that the 'library' was founded in the seventh century B.C. It is not, as Langdon originally suggested, of the Isin or Hammurabi period. Indeed it is to be doubted whether this excavation reached levels of the Old Babylonian period, except in the most superficial way. Sometime in the Neo-Babylonian period the 'library' had been levelled to make way for the buildings whose remains lay immediately below the surface of W. The Achaemenid burials in turn cut into them suggest that they were largely disused by the fifth century B.C.

Burrows and Mackay: third season

Although the card-index for this period of excavation is complete, the absence of plans prevents any reconstruction of the buildings which were cleared, though they were taken to be houses. A single published remark of Mackay's - 'There are numbers of large houses situated, chiefly, in the southern part of the mound' (6) - affords the only evidence for the area of W in which he and Burrows worked. A few surviving notes refer to a House D and the burials found in various of its rooms, to a House KJ and to a series of chambers: 2, III, IV, 20, 25, 27-9, 31-2, 3840; but they provide only the size of the bricks and notes on miscellaneous features in the architecture. A small group of tablets found in House D dated from Nebuchadnezzar, year 24 to Darius, year 26. Burials 49 and 50 were found just above the mud pavement in one of the largest rooms in this house, suggesting that the majority of the graves on W must be dated after c.490 B.C. In room 8 of House D the excavators found 'a large fibula of the bent arm type and a pottery lamp with a long spout'. 87 burials were recorded in this season on W, all of the fifth to fourth centuries B.C.

(ii) The Graves

Although graves of the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. and later were scattered over most of the tells at Kish, no concentration of graves comparable to that on W was excavated between 1923-33. Comparison with contemporary cemeteries elsewhere indicates that the graves at Kish were typical of the period both in the

methods of burial and the relatively restricted range of grave-goods; generally two or three small pots and a few items of personal jewellery.

Methods of burial:

'Bath-tub' coffins were used for the greater number of adult burials as on other contemporary sites in central and southern Iraq. At Nippur (7) and Babylon (8) they appear in the Neo-Assyrian period; at Ur, where the best stratified evidence was of the Achaemenid period, Woolley regarded them as rather later (9). Similar coffins have been found at Uruk (10) and Tell al-Lahm (11). Two coffins on W, in graves 6 and 25, varied slightly in form, but there is no reason to think this marks any significant chronological distinction.

Two jar burials, 36 and 42, are the only evidence for a type of burial very much older than the use of baked clay coffins. It survived into this late period at a number of other sites (12). As is common throughout central and southern Iraq at this time the oval tub or 'hubb' burials were generally those of children or young adults and are the most numerous after the coffin burials (13).

Pottery

The selection of pottery from graves on W in the Ashmolean Collection is meagre, but reference to the collections in Baghdad and Chicago, reveal that the range of vessels was neither great nor very original. Comparable types are found locally in contemporary graves on Tell Ingharra, and at sites like Babylon, Nippur and Ur (14). As at Ur there is an approximately equal percentage of glazed and unglazed vessels, reflecting the considerable increase in production of glazed vessels in the fifth century B.C. At Ur in the Neo-Babylonian period only about 20% of the pottery in graves was glazed (15). At Kish, as elsewhere, the surviving glazes are most commonly a pale smokey blue which easily flakes off, applied to forms almost equally common unglazed. Polychrome is very rare. Although the fabric is not so thin as in examples from elsewhere, a number of these graves contained bowls of 'egg-shell' ware (16) much finer than the common run of contemporary pottery in Iraq and possibly distributed from a few centres specialising in its manufacture, Ur certainly among them. Technical studies of these glazes are reported in Appendix C.

## Glass

The two glass vessels from these graves are of outstanding importance. Such objects, complete and well-contexted, are very rare in Iraq. The vessel in grave 23 (Baghdad: IM 2277) is paralleled by what may be slightly earlier vessels from Ur, Sultantepe and Karmir Blur (18). The other vessel (Chicago: Field 230904), from grave 54, differs slightly in form (19). Both vessels have been published by Barag (20) as of the seventh or sixth century; their archaeological context suggests a date in the fifth century B.C.

## Stone

Only two graves, 35 and 47, contained stone vessels, both alabastron-shaped (21). They and the glass vessels may have been luxury items containing a precious unguent or scent produced to the west in Syria or Phoenicia.

## Metal

Unlike the 'bath-tub' coffins at Nippur (22) no metal vessels were reported from such graves on mound W. Indeed the base metals are represented only in bracelets, finger rings and fibulae; weapons and tools are conspicuously absent, save for two iron knife blades not securely associated with the burials in graves 47 and 51. Both gold and silver were used for jewellery without particular distinction apart from one or two finer earrings. Such is also the case in other contemporary cemeteries (23). The most unusual metal object is the silver figurine in grave 75 (Baghdad: IM 2332), which seems to have been an anthropomorphic kohl pot of a type occasionally found in the Near East at this time; another - in bronze - was found at Kish on Tell Ingharra (V 529: Baghdad: IM 48694), perhaps from a disturbed grave (24).

## Seals and Beads

Beads were almost as common as pottery, but seals are very rare. Only one cylinder seal is reported from a grave (25). The style and design are very unusual. It is not clear whether it is contemporary or, as the design has distinct Neo-Assyrian characteristics, earlier than the burial. Stone stamp-seals: the conventional fifth century scaraboids and pyramidal

chalcedony forms, are equally rare. A Jamdat Nasr stamp-seal threaded onto a necklace in grave 17 draws attention to a point about the beads recognized by the original excavators. Many, perhaps the majority, of the beads are much earlier than the context in which they were found. There is clear documentary evidence that in antiquity early beads were dug out of ancient sites for re-use (26). Many of the carnelian and lapis-lazuli beads are probably of third millennium manufacture; only those of faience, frit, glass and silver are certainly of the fifth or fourth century B.C.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

(1) AM, I (1), pp.80-1; Gibson, no.13.

(2) XK, I, p.87, pl.XXIII, XXVII.

(3) XK, I, pl.XXXIII, top.

(4) XK, I, pl.XXII.1: 1303; XXIII, XXIV, upper; XXV.1, rt.; XXVIII.3, XXIX.2: mixed pottery batches.

(5) XK, I, p.88.

(6) AM, I, p.81.

(7) Nippur I, pp.119, 147.

(8) E.Strommenger, Bag. Mitt. 3 (1964), p.158, fig.1.

(9) UE, VIII, p.65.

(10) UVB (1934), p.24, pl.18d.

(11) Sumer, V (1949), p.161, pl.VC.

(12) Babylon: Innenstadt, p.186; Tell al-Lahm: Sumer, V (1949), p.162; Ur: UE, VIII, p.55; Nippur, I, p.120; Der, Sumer, I (1945), p.49.

(13) Babylon: Innenstadt, pp.205-8; Nippur, I, pp.119; Tell el-Lahm: Sumer, V (1949), p.161, pl.VA; Ur: UE, VIII, pp.53-5.

(14) Innenstadt, pl.73-4; UE, VIII, pl.40.34a, 36; pl.41.48; pl.49.92, 99, 102-3; pl.52.171; pl.54.191, 194; Nippur, I, pl.102-3.

(15) UE, VIII, p.90.

(16) UE, VIII, p.90; Tell al-Lahm, Sumer, V (1949), pl.III.7; Nippur, I, pl.103.13-4.

(17) UE, VIII, p.90.

(18) UE, VIII, pl.28:U.17062; AS, III (1953), p.50, pl.VIIf; Sov. Arkh. (1964), pp.307ff.; figs.3-4, neck only.

(19) Nippur, I, pl.148.4; Innenstadt, pp.217, 221, pl.74.119a.

(20) In A.L.Oppenheim, Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia (Corning, 1970), pp.158-9, figs.57-8.

(21) Cf. UE, VIII, pl.34: U.15457; Innenstadt, pp.28-9, fig.31; Nippur, I, pl.107.17.

(22) Nippur, I, p.147.

(23) UE, VIII, p.56, pl.34; Nippur, I, pl.157; Innenstadt, pl.74.

(24) W.Culican, Iranica Antiqua XI (1975), pp.100ff.

(25) XK, I, pl.XXII, 1, top.

(26) A.Leo Oppenheim, Letters from Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1967), p.87.

## Chapter 5

## MOUND A

Mound A (1) is the most southerly of the group of mounds known collectively as Tell Ingharra, from which it is separated by a broad depression cut by centuries of winter rain. The strong walling of the palace on the north side of the tell withstood erosion, but the north-east corner of the mound was badly denuded, as was its southern side. This was the only mound at Kish properly contoured by the excavators and Mackay published a series of sections which give a good idea of its form (2). The mound rose to its highest point of 5.84 m. above zero level just to the east of centre; its greatest extent from east to west is about 200 metres, from north to south 80 to 100 metres. Excavation was concentrated in the eastern half of the mound where a cemetery overlay a group of buildings, all of the third millennium B.C. They will be considered here in order of time, not excavation, starting with the palace.

### I. The Palace

The Palace in area A was the most fully reported of all the buildings excavated by the O.F.M.E. Mackay provided a complete plan and thorough examination of the structural features, though he paid no close attention to stratigraphy. Unfortunately, as so often with secular buildings in Mesopotamia, finds within the structure were extremely rare. No doubt they had been thoroughly looted during and after its sack. Although there is no point in repeating what Mackay set out so clearly, his report may appropriately be reviewed in the light of subsequent work elsewhere. As this palace remains the only extensive building of its type yet explored in Iraq (3) it merits regular reappraisal.

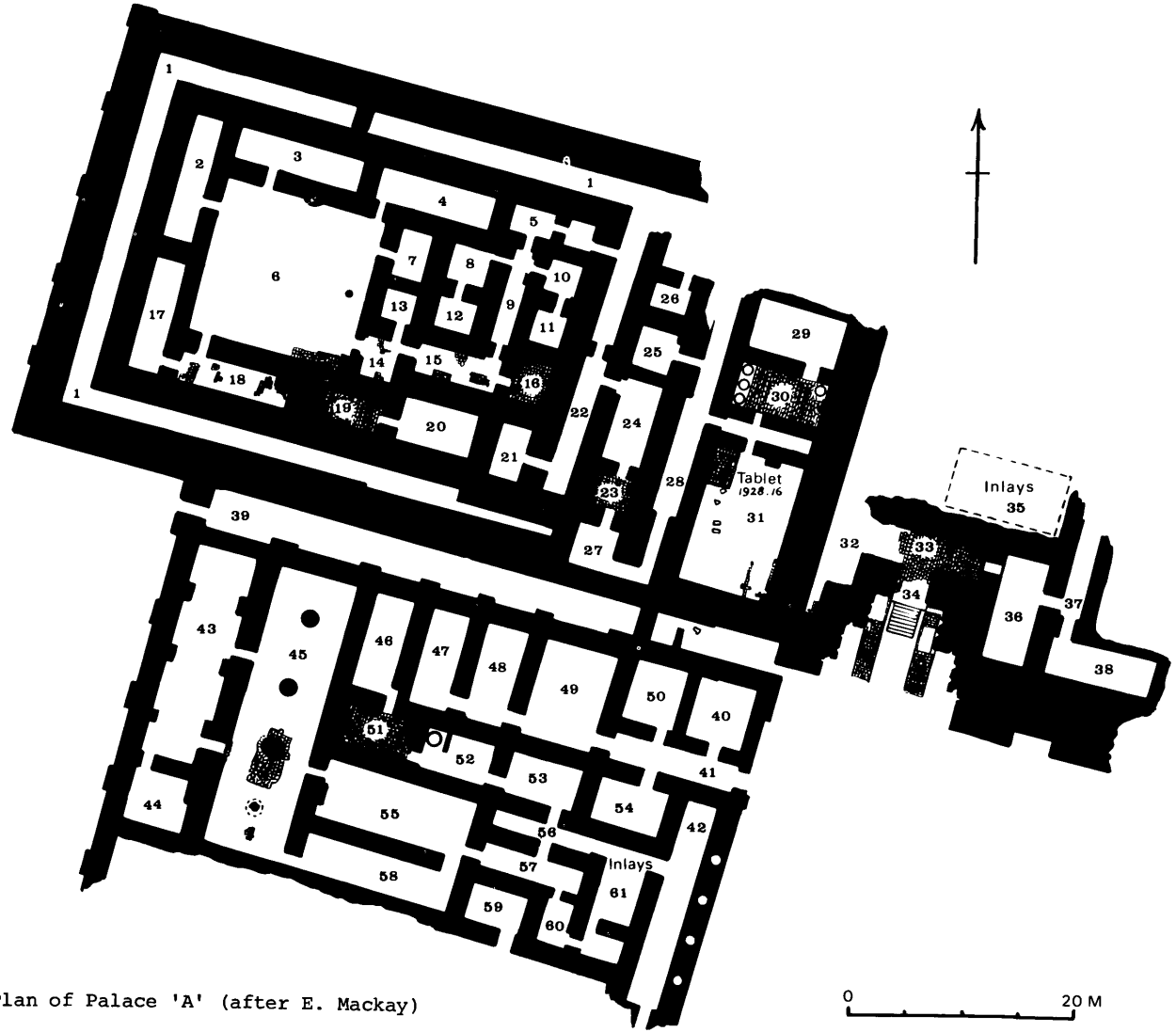
The primary problem is that of chronology. There seems no reason to doubt the relative building sequence established by Mackay. The northern block was built first (rooms 1-31) with an entrance on the east side by a flight of steps which may represent a secondary stage of building in this phase of operations (rooms 32-8). The southern block was subsequently added (rooms 39-60) and a ramp laid over the original eastern stairway. Traces of minor repairs and restoration were found in

both blocks. The palace was set on some kind of foundation platform, but sadly no systematic attempt was made at establishing the levels below it.

A very fine inscribed cylinder seal of shell in the 'Fara style' was found 'just above the footing of chamber 25 of the palace'. Mackay believed it belonged to a grave, not to the palace period (4). But the depth is considerable, deeper than the graves generally went, and seals of this style were very rare in the cemetery above the palace. The cylinder represents in general terms a terminus post quem for the palace's construction, placing the earliest date for the construction of Palace A late in Early Dynastic II. What little ceramic evidence there is strengthens this conclusion.

At the north-west corner of the palace a spouted vessel was found below the level of the palace foundations (5). It is closely paralleled in the Diyala region by vessels from levels of Early Dynastic I (6). Closely associated with this pot was a group of five vessels, three of them spouted (7). There seems no reason to doubt the excavator's view that on account of their great depth these are all earlier than the palace and have no relation to the graves above it. The dating of the tall spouted vessels of the Early Dynastic period is complicated by the persistence of the same basic form with minor variations, both at Kish and in the Diyala, from Early Dynastic I - II (8). The largest spouted vessel of this group: 2895 A is most closely paralleled in the Diyala by vessels of Early Dynastic I - II (9). The small household jars (2895 D, E) are very similar to examples, with the same type of bevelled rim, from Khafajah in levels of Early Dynastic II, and Tell Farah (10). They are quite distinct from vessels of the same type found in cemetery A which normally have a ring-base and wider, much more sharply carinated shoulders (11). Virtually no pottery was associated with the palace occupation levels and what was lacks variety. Cups with convex or pointed bases predominate (12); commonest in Early Dynastic III in the Diyala, they were also found in the Plano-convex Building, but not in cemetery A.

Other objects from low levels at the north-west corner of the palace were either not kept (2870-1, 2876: pottery) or are not suitable for close dating (2872, 2917: stone bowls). Langdon's reference to a deep sounding at the palace in the 1928-9 season under




F. Plan of Palace 'A' (after E. Mackay)

Watelin's direction is a misunderstanding of Watelin's report of his work at this time in area Y on neighbouring Tell Ingharra (13). There is no evidence for such an excavation elsewhere in Watelin's records and no trace of a deep cutting on the site of palace A, though most of Mackay's work could still be traced in 1969.

One grave in cemetery A is crucial to any discussion of the palace's chronology. Grave 23, a richly equipped female burial, was cut down onto a platform of plano-convex brick in chamber 31 of the palace. In itself this would be of no significance, were it not that in dismantling the platform the excavators found in it a tablet of 'Fara' type, normally attributed to Early Dynastic IIIA. Biggs regards this one as slightly later than those from Fara (14). The tablet lists delivery of some commodity in jars to deities (Nintu, Inanna and Enki) and persons listed by name or profession. Some light is thrown on the relation of the platform to the structure of room 31, in the earlier northern block of the palace, by considering its other internal fittings and those of room 30, across an intervening passage. In both cases the rooms were equipped to serve as workshops. Room 30 contained three large bitumen-coated vats almost certainly contemporary with the structure since the pavement was specifically designed to accommodate them (15). In room 31 the pavement was more damaged. Four large limestone blocks set on the floor were probably to support a fitting now lost, as they were never used elsewhere in the palace for paving. The bitumen-coated pavement which included the tablet almost certainly served some function in which water or some other liquid played a part. Even if it is not part of the original structure, this platform certainly formed part of the palace fittings during and not after its destruction, which could not have been earlier than an advanced date in Early Dynastic IIIA.

Two aspects of the excavations on Tell Ingharra, subsequent to the work on mound A, also indicate that this palace is unlikely, from its stratigraphical position, to have been built before Early Dynastic IIIA. The remains of the palace were close to the surface of the tell (16). The building seemed to the excavators to have been burnt, perhaps after an assault. Nowhere is there any report of a level of silt or similar deposit over the palace. The height of tell A varied

between about 5.84 and 1.94 m. above zero level (i.e. the excavators' plain level) (17), which suggests, in view of the close proximity to Tell Ingharra, that the remains of palace 'A' lie well above the 'Flood Stratum' found in the Y cutting at a mean depth of two or three metres below the plain level (18). Although it would be unwise to argue in detail from such tenuous evidence as these artificial levels, the margin seems wide enough to allow for reasonable certainty over the main point. This indicates that palace 'A' is contemporary with the two plano-convex brick ziggurats on Tell Ingharra which lie above the 'Flood Stratum' and were built in Early Dynastic IIIA-B. Moreover all the fragments of shell inlay excavated on Ingharra, many exactly like those found in the rooms of palace A, were above the 'Flood Stratum' never below it (see pp.72ff).

The inlays from the palace were the only significant internal fittings which survived. They are important as one of the rare groups of such inlay which may reasonably be identified as the internal decoration of a secular building; only the pre-Sargonid palace at Mari offers direct comparison (19). The Ubaid frieze was an external decoration on a temple (20). At Mari all the sanctuaries of Early Dynastic date have yielded fragments of mosaic inlays, generally from portable mosaic panels set in wood (21). Other finds of these inlays are too fragmentary for their original context to be certain; but in almost every case they were from temple areas (22).

The friezes from palace A were made of schist plaques with cavities cut into them for shell or limestone inlays. Exactly comparable methods were used in the Mari palace (23) friezes and for making two wall plaques found in Temple Oval II-III (Early Dynastic IIIA-B) at Khafajah, one illegible, the other entirely decorated with goats and sheep passant (24). In palace A each motif was cut in silhouette with the inner details incised on its surface in fine lines. The plaques were probably secured to the wall with pegs as were a whole series of contemporary votive plaques (25), for both the large schist fragments from palace A have apertures for such fittings. In one case it was square or rectangular, in the other round (26). It seems unlikely that the tiny fragments of iron reported with these plaques had any structural function (27); but they might well have been used for inlays like the tiny

pieces of lapis lazuli and pink limestone found with them. What little evidence there is indicates that this inlaid schist frieze ran round the inside of a room in a single register. The reconstruction of the whole scheme is not possible; only the most general observations may be offered on its iconography.

Two concentrations of inlay were found. Owing to erosion those from room 35, part of the main entrance complex, were badly scattered and little may be said of their original arrangement, though the subject they illustrate would have been entirely appropriate to a palace entrance. Just below the surface towards the north-west corner of the room were the fragments of an inlaid schist plaque with limestone silhouettes of soldiers and captives in procession (28). Further fragments of mother-of-pearl inlay, probably washed down by rain, were found to the north. These had once formed part of a scene with seated male and female figures, and at least one female musician clashing copper cymbals like those found in cemetery A (29).

The circumstances of discovery in room 61, in the southern block of the palace, allow for a more satisfactory analysis of the decoration's original form and setting. Here the fragments of an inlaid schist plaque, exactly comparable to that found in room 35, lay along the floor of the northern wall between the two doorways, in the middle of the room and at the northern end of the west wall, again in close proximity to a doorway (30). The limestone inlay's were silhouettes of soldiers, captives and various animals: rams, bulls and goats (see microfiche section for a check-list of inlays). This is clearly a military triumphal procession of prisoners and animals representing booty. In this frieze the figures are about 20 cm. high; the animals to a comparable scale. These dimensions are important in assessing which pieces of the shell inlay might also have belonged to this frieze. The mother-of-pearl inlays found in room 61 are to the same general scale as those in limestone, but the range of motifs is different. Animals appear (see the microfiches) as do servants carrying animals; but the human figures seem this time to be part of a banquet scene in which female musicians also appear. Two tiny fragments may be identified as chariot rein-rings and indicate that at least two chariots had a place in the scene depicted. It is most reasonable to assume that limestone and mother-of-pearl inlays were

combined in a single frieze as at Ubaid (31). The whole composition vividly recalls the palace friezes at Mari, a less monumental frieze in the Ishtar Temple at Mari, and the decoration of the 'Ur Standard' (32), with their combination of banqueting scenes and war trophies; motifs also found in various combinations on the cylinder seals of Early Dynastic III (33).

The significance of the Kish friezes is clear. The meaning of the banquet scenes, particularly those on votive plaques, has been much discussed. Amiet provided a full review of the problem in which he argued that Frankfort's explanation of them all as New Year Celebrations was not viable (34). Certainly in palace A the setting of the frieze suggests an intention more akin to that of the much later Assyrian monarchs who decorated the walls of the ceremonial apartments in their palaces with representations of their military triumphs and the festivies held in celebration of them (35). The psychological impact on visiting dignitaries was no doubt greater with monumental sculptured reliefs, but against plain white stuccoed walls its clarity and definition cannot be in doubt. Moreover, if the inscription on a piece of mother-of-pearl inlay found in room 35 identified a particular ruler, as seems to be the case (36), then this is one of the earliest representations of a specific event which the ruler in question desired to record in a way most easily intelligible to his subjects. A similar fragment of inlay from Telloh bore the name of Ur-Nanshe (37). Unlike the Eannatum stela the divine element is absent from these Kish friezes; they are secular in intent and setting. On other mosaics and many of the banqueting scenes on cylinder seals deities are also absent. When they do appear they are clearly identified by the 'horned crown', as on a cylinder seal from Tell Ingharra at Kish (38).

The remaining inlays from room 61 form two groups. The first, of soldiers and captives again, though in some cases its constituent parts seem smaller and more delicate than the limestone and mother-of-pearl inlays. The pastoral motifs definitely belong to something else. They are a quarter the size on average of the main frieze and cut from the rounder contours of the shell to give these silhouettes a modelled form entirely lacking with the other inlays. The main elements in the design are rams, goats, calves, and bulls rendered passant and couchant, two animals which may be lions or

leopards, a goat being milked from behind, fragments of reed byres and a seated figure carrying two palm fronds (microfiches). Leaves with red limestone and lapis lazuli inlays are also associated with this mosaic. These inlays were probably part of a portable object rather than a scheme of wall decoration. On a small scale the design has much in common with the monumental frieze from Ubaid dedicated by association to Nin-Khursag. A wide range of Early Dynastic III cylinder seals are engraved with a comparable range of motifs.

If, as seems most likely, these inlays were all made to decorate the palace then at the earliest they belong to the Early Dynastic II/Early Dynastic IIIA transition. (39). The earliest inlays of this kind so far recorded from another site are from the Square Abu Temple at Tell Asmar in a context dated to Early Dynastic II (40). Pieces from Nippur span the transition to Early Dynastic III (41). The Ubaid friezes were associated with a small temple built by Aʿannepada of Ur in Early Dynastic IIIA-B (42). The 'Ur Standard' belongs to Early Dynastic III as do most of the Mari inlays. Isolated pieces from Bismya, which originally formed part of a rural scene, were found amongst a variety of objects attributable to Early Dynastic III (43).

## II. The Cemetery

Ernest Mackay's excavations of the cemetery over the palace on mound A (1923-25) was published with exemplary speed and in considerable detail, though the author made clear in his account the very real difficulties involved in establishing the integrity of the grave-groups he was reporting. Unfortunately the publication of the cemetery in two successive parts, is not consistent. Mackay chose to assemble his finds, both pottery and minor objects, on plates in a typological series; but even these are selective not comprehensive. In the case of graves 1-38, which appeared in the first half of the cemetery report, he included a chart from which it is possible, using it in conjunction with the plates on which the location of each object is marked, to reconstruct the grave groups, though without the field numbers, which were never published. In the second half of the cemetery report, which covered graves 39-154, Mackay adopted a system of illustration on plates similar to that used in the first

report but with the addition of field numbers for each object. But this time he did not include a chart tabulating the grave-groups. Once again it is possible to reconstruct certain grave-groups from the plates, with assiduous attention to the detailed notes on various types of object given in the main text, though rarely with complete accuracy as by far the greater number of grave-groups were incompletely illustrated. As Mackay's carefully annotated field-cards have survived it is possible to reconstruct all the recorded grave-groups in full, though descriptions of individual objects are at times very cryptic (44). Even a cursory glance through the catalogue of graves reveals the disturbed condition of a great many of them. As the report intimates, and the field cards confirm, there were many more graves whose contents had been scattered by human or natural activity. A great many objects, exactly comparable to those reported from grave-groups, were recorded without context from the upper levels of mound A.

The graves on mound A at Kish differ in one important respect from those of an earlier period excavated in the Y sounding on neighbouring Tell Ingharra (see pp. 103ff.) and in mound A at Khafajah, where graves had been dug below, or in relation to, the floors of a series of superimposed houses which provided a valuable guide to the sequence of interment. In both cases this extended from late in the Prehistoric period. The situation in the cemetery area at Ur was somewhat different again, since the graves were not directly related to houses. But even there various groups of graves can be related to a stratigraphical sequence, though by no means as certainly as at Khafajah. On mound A at Kish widely dispersed graves were found immediately below the surface cut to varying depths, overlying a large building of plano-convex brick identified as a palace (see pp.55ff here), which had been destroyed and considerably eroded before the graves were dug. With the exception of four burials, attributed to the first millennium B.C., all one hundred and fifty graves recorded on the site contained grave-goods of comparable type. The cemetery was clearly greater in extent than Mackay's work revealed. To the north, when excavating on Tell Ingharra some years later Watelin discovered a number of graves more richly equipped than those in mound A, but with identical types of pottery

and certainly contemporary. These ill-recorded graves must be included in any appraisal of cemetery A (see pp.70 ff).

In attempting to establish the chronological span of cemetery A attention must first be paid to the history of the underlying palace and the various fragmentary buildings found above it.

The stratigraphic evidence on mound A suggests that the palace was abandoned at the earliest during Early Dynastic IIIA (see pp.57-8). Mackay and some subsequent commentators assumed that the erosion of palace A to the level found by the excavators must have been a very long process. Although there is no scientific evidence available yet on erosion rates, any visitor to a mudbrick site in Iraq excavated in the last fifty years will be aware of the rapidity with which exposed mudbrick walls are worn down, even when deep in excavation trenches. Palace A was a building of unbaked clay bricks and timber, seriously damaged before it was abandoned. Apart from depredations for building material to use elsewhere, the ruined walls, no longer roofed or regularly plastered, would have been an easy prey for natural erosion. Amiran in discussing the recent pattern of settlement in Palestine drew attention to the extremely rapid disintegration of abandoned stone-built villages. Significantly he concluded: 'The disintegration of villages and the formation of a tell is by no means a slow and gradual process taking generations to become effective. Quite the contrary: it is a quick process taking no more than a few years' (45).

The sequence of events following the erosion of the palace is generally clear. None of the graves in the overlying cemetery was found directly beneath the walls of the eroded secondary buildings, largely built of bricks plundered from the palace, found above the palace buildings. But the pottery reported from the earliest of them is essentially the same as that from the graves (46). For instance Type 'G', which was particularly characteristic of the finds from these buildings also occurred in one grave (47). In the Diyala this very distinctive form of vessel does not appear before the later Early Dynastic period, as also at Mari, and remains in use until the Isin-Larsa period (48). In one of the rooms of building complex 'Q' was a jar of type E decorated with shell appliques (49).

This type of pottery appears a number of times in grave-groups (50); the same form, but spouted, is reported from the Diyala in the Proto-Imperial period (51). Also in this building was a large vat or storage jar similar to those from room 30 in the palace (52) and used in the Diyala from Early Dynastic III to the Isin-Larsa period (53). On the mud floor of one of the rooms in complex Q was a copper toilet case exactly like those commonly found in the graves (54).

There was one group of objects regularly found in the upper levels of mound A associated neither with the palace nor the graves. The various baked clay chariot and wagon models must be related by their contexts to the scattered settlement on the mound during and possibly after the use of the cemetery (55). Models of this kind appear either to be toys or votives, not funerary gifts. Parallels from such sites as Fara, Nuzi, Gawra, Chagar Bazar and Nippur indicate that the type of vehicle model most commonly found on mound A - two-wheeled with tubular axle at the front and saddle-shaped ridge between the seat and the front - range from the later Early Dynastic period to Ur III (for details see microfiches).

Apart from the house walls the excavator found two groups of kilns, probably for baking pottery, which are either contemporary with cemetery A or slightly earlier. Is it perhaps possible that pottery was made and sold on the spot for use in furnishing graves? One group lay outside the western wall of the palace's southern block, with graves 69 and 70 cut right into them. Two others were found in room 31 of the northern block, one partially built into the eastern wall of the room (56). A number of graves, walls, drains and what may have been well-shafts were found scattered over the mound clearly indicating that it had been intermittently occupied right down to the Abbasid period (57).

The stratigraphy of mound A may now be briefly summarized before proceeding to an examination of the cemetery. Palace A, set on some kind of platform, was first built early in Early Dynastic IIIA. Interior fittings of rooms at the eastern end of the northern block were reconstructed, if not actually built, at an advanced date in Early Dynastic IIIA. The palace was destroyed, abandoned and eroded before a rather primitive settlement was established over its ruins. Then or very soon afterwards a large cemetery was dug all over the site extending northwards onto Tell

Ingharra. There is general agreement among archaeologists and historians that Early Dynastic III lasted between two hundred and fifty and three hundred years (58). If a century or more, extending from the Early Dynastic II/Early Dynastic IIIA transition, is allowed for the life of the palace, an interval of another century - probably excessive - for its destruction, erosion and resettlement, and the best part of a third century for the cemetery all the requirements of the available evidence are perfectly satisfied without undue acceleration of the various natural processes involved.

(i) Grave-groups and chronology

In only two cases were later graves reported as cut down into earlier ones; grave 52 was cut into 53, 56 into 58. These graves were close together in the centre of the mound above the southern wing of palace A. The range and types of pottery recovered from 56 a and 58 are too poor to offer significant chronological information, but grave 52 is of very considerable interest. This grave included a 'mother-goddess' jar with high foot, tall neck, pronounced outer-ledge rim and richly decorated handle; the distinctive characteristics of such jars found in graves of the Akkadian period at Khafajah, one associated with an Akkadian seal (59). More important is an associated jar with broad, collar-like rim, pronounced shoulder and raised foot found in Akkadian contexts at Nippur (60). There is a similar contemporary form reported from Ur (61). Such jars appear in graves 2, 6, 14, 38, 52, 92, 102, 104 and 106 of cemetery A. It may also be noted that grave 104 contained one of the very rare shaft-hole axe-heads from mound A and an elaborate dagger (62). Grave 52 also contained a straight pin with a hole pierced in the shank to take a ring fitting or thread. At Ur Nissen had dated this type of pin specifically to the Akkadian period (63). It also occurs in other Kish graves, notably 102 and 104. Grave 53, cut into by 52, had been so disturbed that only a 'mother-goddess jar' and an 'offering-stand' were reported from it, but in both cases not even they are early forms in the system worked out for the Diyala (64). This is the best stratigraphical evidence available for showing both that cemetery A was not in use for a very great length of time and that the period of use ended in the Akkadian period. A brief review of the whole cemetery and the contemporary burials on Tell

Ingharra serves to strengthen this dating. In the following discussion information provided by Mackay is not repeated, though in abbreviated form it will be found in the catalogue of grave-groups on microfiches.

As Hrouda and Karstens have used the cylinder seals from this cemetery as the basis for their phase-dating, discussion may best begin with them (65). Cylinder seals found in the graves may be dated virtually without exception to Early Dynastic III, closer dating within that period is still debatable (66). From cemetery A there are no seals in the Akkadian glyptic style, but in grave 306 on Tell Ingharra Watelin found a very fine lapis lazuli seal which may be dated to Sargon's reign (67), associated with pottery, stone vessels and personal ornaments typical of cemetery A (68). There is only one seal clearly in the 'Fara Style' from a grave (69). Had the cemetery been used in the earlier part of Early Dynastic III more such seals would certainly be expected from the graves as they are richly represented among the seal impressions found on Tell Inharra below the 'Flood Stratum' (70). The subjects found on the cylinder seals from cemetery A are remarkably consistent, only occasionally departing from standard themes of animals in file, animals or men and animals in combat. The style of these seals is predominantly that of Early Dynastic IIIA, with parallels at Mari, Susa and in the Diyala (71); seals from the earlier graves in the Royal Cemetery at Ur are more distantly related. The theme of the anthropomorphic boat is another motif most comprehensively documented in central Iraq and used on a variety of seals from Kish (72). It was already known in Early Dynastic II, but the examples from cemetery A are all later in style. In one case from mound A it is combined with a scene of building (73). This seal, and an unusual scene of animal sacrifice on a cylinder seal from grave 7, may belong to Early Dynastic IIIB. The seals, usually of lapis lazuli, cut with geometric designs are also late (74).

The pottery from the graves is remarkably homogeneous (75). The range of vessel is wide, but during the lifetime of the cemetery there were no radical innovations in form or decoration. Contrast with the pottery from graves in the Y sounding below the 'Flood Stratum', all earlier than Early Dynastic IIIA, is marked and only in a relatively few cases are the forms strikingly alike. For chronological purposes four ceramic types from

Mound A are of particular importance: Mackay's A, B, D and G. As type G has already been discussed, it remains but to consider the others.

The so-called 'mother-goddess handled jars' with a single upright anthropomorphically decorated handle on the shoulder (type A) remain the most distinctive feature of cemetery A and contemporary graves on Tell Ingharra, whilst handles have also been reported from Tell Uhaimir. On the basis of finds in the Diyala Delougaz traced a development from short, geometrically decorated handles (ED II) to taller geometric or 'sprig' decorated handles (ED IIIA) and finally to handles decorated with applied human features (ED IIIB) (76). The jars from cemetery A are virtually all of the later type with applied human features on the handles, high necks and pronounced ledge-rims. This type of vessel was found only in six graves at Khafajah all associated with 'Houses 2 or 1', dated from Early Dynastic IIIB into the Akkadian period (77). But the best specimens came from the surface of mound A at Khafajah, again emphasizing their place late in the Early Dynastic sequence. At Tell Asmar they occurred in house levels attributed to the Proto-Imperial period (78). At Mari, Fara and at Tell al-Wilayah (79) similar handles and jars were found in contexts which may be dated late in the Early Dynastic or very early in the Akkadian period. Examples from Susa are closest in form to those of the Proto-Imperial period from the Diyala region (80). At Ur a single isolated example, not so richly decorated as most of those from Kish, was found in a grave (PG/778) which Nissen has attributed to Early Dynastic IIIB (81).

Another object from Ur throws interesting light on the possible significance of these extraordinary jars. In grave PG/895 close to the skull lay a baked clay female figurine rendered in far more detail than the handles from Kish, which appeared to Woolley to have been broken off a vessel. It was associated with an offering stand. No other grave at Ur contained a similar object. Nissen placed this grave in the earliest Akkadian period and Madame Barrelet has noted the figurine's Akkadian affinities (82). In the Early Dynastic period baked clay nude female figurines were rare. This is the more striking since they are common objects in almost every other period. It is possible that the popularity of 'goddess-handled jars' in cemetery A and on Ingharra has an intimate, if now

obscure, link with the cult of Ishtar, whose temple was to be, if not already, one of the glories of ancient Ehursagkalamma. A 'mother-goddess' figurine, in reality perhaps a doll, was found in a child's grave of Early Dynastic I at Khafajah (83).

The 'fruit-stands' (type B) of cemetery A are the lower, broader type regarded as late on the Diyala sites, where such vessels had already become relatively rare by the Proto-Imperial period (84). These vessels appear in slightly variant form at Ur, Mari, Fara and Susa in the later phases of the Early Dynastic period and possibly into the early Akkadian period (85). Scattered evidence from sites like Bismaya and Telloh indicates that they had a wider currency than the 'Goddess-handled' jars (86). The persistent close association of these two types of vessel at Kish is striking. The decoration of a stand from Ur may offer a partial explanation. Incised on the stem are two palm-trees, the doorways of two shrines flanked by a pair of poles with single side-loops and two incised triangles standing for the female pudenda, exactly as on the handles of certain vessels from Kish (87). The functional affinity of the two vessel types is epitomized in the baked clay 'cult-wagon' from Sin Temple VIII at Khafajah, where a 'fruit-stand' is set above a pair of upright handled jars, all mounted on a wheeled platform. The decoration of these stands at Kish is entirely geometric and very simple in cemetery A; but a rather larger damaged stand was found by Watelin on Ingharra with an elaborately decorated stem (88). On the base are incised a tortoise and a lion threatening a man, above, on the stem, a hero holding a pole with single side-loop and a snake flanking what was probably a shrine facade (89). At Mari these stands were found in graves, in temples and in what may have been private houses (90).

During the course of Early Dynastic III spouted vessels (Type D), which had been a regular feature of the ceramic tradition of central Iraq since the Proto-Literate period, became progressively rarer and the older forms had disappeared by the Proto-Imperial period. In the Diyala only one fresh type of spouted jar appears in the Proto-Imperial period; a similar form is often reported from mound A at Kish, but not from graves (91). Spouted vessels are relatively rare in the cemetery, appearing only in graves 23, 24, 81, 87(2), 96(2) and 149. But there is no reason on that

account alone to regard these graves as particularly early. In graves 23, 87 and 96 they were associated with fully developed 'goddess-handled' jars; indeed grave 87 was distinguished by the greatest variety of pottery found in a single grave. Grave 23 contained three cylinder seals which might all arguably be attributed to Early Dynastic IIIB.

Mound A yielded a variety of vessels and sherds which would fall within Delougaz's class of 'ribbed and studded' ware, first encountered in Early Dynastic III, but particularly characteristic of Proto-Imperial contexts in the Diyala region (92). Ribbed jars and bowls were classified by Mackay as Type P. They come mainly from unassociated contexts, but four examples were found in three graves: 62, 87 and (106(2). The small globular jars of 'studded ware' found in the Diyala were not recorded from mound A, though they occur elsewhere at Kish (93), but a number of vessels with simpler applique decoration were. Outstanding among these are the shallow 'bowls', round or oval, decorated on the outside with simple geometric and floral patterns (94). They are not reported in grave-groups. In the Diyala such vessels range in date from the later Early Dynastic III to the Akkadian period (95). As with so many of the pottery forms distinctive of central Iraq in this period close parallels may be found at Susa.

Apart from these more distinctive ceramic types cemetery A contained a wide range of ordinary pottery. Virtually all the forms classified by Mackay may be matched in the Diyala, as Delougaz's comparative charts make clear. Little pottery of this period has yet been published from Mari, but one find there is of particular interest. Some distance along the street running by the west side of the Ninni-Zaza Temple a remarkable pottery model of a courtyard house was found below the oldest road surface. Pottery vessels were packed into the rooms of the model and round the outside (96); in almost every case they may be exactly paralleled by vessels from cemetery A at Kish. It would be idle with the meagre evidence available to speculate on the function of this remarkable model, but it is relevant to the present discussion for two reasons. In the first place it indicates that whatever the possible ritual use of the 'goddess handled' jars and the 'fruit-stands', the other pottery from the graves represents a typical selection of household

wares. The model itself offers some general indication of the elevation of the larger houses contemporary with cemetery A.

The minor objects from cemetery A are of considerable interest for the light they throw on the technology and taste of the cemetery's occupants, but they do not offer chronological evidence to compare with that of the seals and the pottery. As such finds from the Diyala sites are still unpublished, resort must still be made to Ur for parallels. In this case they are far more common than with the pottery, as ceramic traditions vary more markedly from area to area than do the more specialist crafts of metalsmith and jeweller, regularly using imported materials which would often have reached Kish by river and canal from cities like Ur in the south. Only the axes and pins yield some definite chrononological information. The cast shaft-hole axes are paralleled at Ur in graves of the Late Early Dynastic or Early Akkadian period (97). At Ur the pin type found in graves 52, 102, 104 and 107 at Kish was specifically early Akkadian, whilst that in graves 12, 40, 111, 117, etc. with a bent head was more distinctive of Early Dynastic IIIA (98). Analyses of metal objects from cemetery A now in Oxford are listed in a microfiche appendix.

(ii) Graves on Tell Ingharra contemporary with cemetery A

From late in December 1925 to March 1926 Mackay cut a series of trenches between mound A and Ingharra and further to the north still on the southern slopes of mound E in an area designated ISW and later fully explored by Watelin (99). Here Mackay regularly encountered, a metre or so below the surface, disturbed graves and scattered artefacts exactly like those found in previous seasons on mound A. None of his trenches seem to have provided evidence for any concentration of burials as on mound A so it must be assumed that a wide area in this vicinity was uninhabited at the same time and used intermittently for burials. In only two respects did these new finds increase knowledge of the period. In reporting cemetery A Mackay was insistent that 'not a single painted jar or fragment of one was found' (100), but a number of vessels from ISW, attributed by him to the same period as cemetery A, are described as 'painted' (Field No. 2441*) or more explicitly as 'coated with a slip now powdery and

painted red' (Field No. 2445*) or 'washed over with a thin red colour' (Field No. 2465*). In ISW he also found a jar of 'A' cemetery type containing contemporary gold, silver, copper, carnelian, onyx and lapis lazuli beads (Field Nos. 2970*, 2988*), which may well be a true hoard robbed from graves rather than a burial deposit.

When Watelin succeeded Mackay as field director in 1926 he naturally lacked Mackay's detailed knowledge of earlier finds and consequently his cataloguing is by no means easy to follow. Yet it is clear that throughout his work on the main group of mounds at Ingharra in the next few years he regularly found further evidence for burials contemporary with those in mound A. Only on one occasion during his first season, 1926-7, did he record a grave-group of this period. This lay four metres below the surface in trench B, a broad, wide swathe cut along the south-east side of the Neo-Babylonian temple. Apart from skeletal material it contained a jar of type C, another of type E, a stone bowl, a copper pin, a long-baked clay bead and a frit handle (Field nos. X.189-194). It was only in his second season, 1927-8, that he recorded three grave-groups whose contents and stratigraphical position have a vital bearing on the archaeology of cemetery A as a whole. Watelin referred briefly to these graves in publishing a preliminary report on his work (101); a detailed inventory will be found here (on microfiche).

These three graves lay in the Red Stratum on Tell Ingharra (102). The cylinder seal from grave 306 provides certain evidence that the use of this area as a cemetery extended into the Akkadian period (103). When the other contents of these three graves are compared with the grave-groups of mound A they do not differ save in a greater concentration on fine and precious objects. When excavating the earlier graves in the Y sounding Watelin found that the most richly equipped lay nearest to, and under, the later Ziggurat platform. It may well be that late in Early Dynastic IIIB and in the Early Akkadian period social distinction carried with it the right to be buried in close proximity to the religious buildings on Ingharra.

Apart from these three graves objects identical to those from the graves of cemetery A are scattered through the finds catalogued, primarily from area Z, during the excavations of 1927-8. Of these the most characteristic are the anthropomorphic baked-clay jar

handles (Field Nos. Y.26, 64, 68, 105-7, 225-6, 230, 248, 265, 300-2), bronze or copper toilet sets (Field Nos. Y.76a, b, 103, 128), silver roundels (Field No. 76c) and 'handles' of white alabaster inlaid with bitumen (Y.151, 234 - both with other objects and clearly disturbed grave-groups). Inlay fragments in shell and stone like those from palace A were also fo found in area Z and trench B.3 (Field Nos. Y.459-464, 485). Scattered sherds of the baked clay vessels with moulded decoration similar to those found on mound A also occurred on Ingharra (Field Nos. Y.162, 328; cf. AM I, pl.XLV, 3-4), where one outstanding baked clay stand was also found (Field No. Y.77; Iraq, 32 (1970), plate XVI).

A unique object from grave 317 deserves more than a passing mention. This ivory stand was considerably more complex than Watelin allowed in describing it as 'consisting of two small bearded human-headed bulls... mounted standing parallel on a pedestal supported by wheels...only one of the bulls could be preserved' (104). The restored bull (7.5 cm. long; 5.5 cm. high as extant) and the pedestal of the same or another bull are now displayed in the National Museum of Antiquities, Baghdad. Only three hooves are represented standing on the pedestal; the right front hoof is absent. There is a deep rectangular socket in the bull's neck. The upper neck is pierced with a tiny hole and the back of the head is cut back to form a small ledge. The original form of the object may be gauged to some extent from the surviving body fragments (Baghdad Museum no. IM 5765). These include the left shoulder and much of the body of another bull, most of the right shoulder of a bull which does not belong with the previous piece, part of the left shoulder and body of yet another bull, for there seems to be no connection with either of the previous animals, and a rather battered head with a bearded human face exactly as on the complete bull. There seems little doubt that there were originally four bulls. There were certainly three. Apart from the evidence of the platforms to be considered in a moment, the almost certain absence of any relation between the left and right shoulder fragments leads me to postulate a fourth. Though very damaged the fragments of platforms may be restored to make a second complete one and two very damaged ones. When it is possible to tell, only three hooves stood flush with the top of each platform. Certain fragments provide a clue to the destination of the fourth hoof.

It seems that the front knee, probably the right in two cases, the left in two cases, was bent, as on two surviving examples, and the hoof set on foliage rising from the platform. One hoof resting on a fragment of foliage and one fragment of a platform with painted foliage and dismembered leaves survive. The leaves are painted black and picked out in red. Isolated vestiges of paint indicate that at least parts of the animal's bodies were similarly treated.

The most difficult problem to resolve with these figures is their final arrangement on four self-contained platforms. The presence of a number of finished edges suggests that each bull stood independently on its own rectangular platform (approx. 7.5 cm. long, 2.0 cm. wide and 1.5 cm. high). The clue to their assemblage may lie in the small holes, 0.3 cm. wide, which are pierced horizontally through each pedestal half way between front and back. It was these no doubt which led Watelin to suggest that the platforms were wheeled. He may, if it really belongs here, have been strengthened in this view by a small circular domed disc of ivory(?) with a central boring now stored with IM 5765. In appearance it is more like the many spindle-whorls found at Kish than it is like a modern wheel. None of the holes pierced in the platforms bear traces of wear on their edges and seem too small to take an axle large enough to support wheels for a model of this size. The bulls are best seen standing flat on the ground, or more probably on some table or stand, set at the four corners or evenly spaced round the base of another object which rested in the sockets cut into the back of their necks. Of this nothing has survived.

It is possible to take our knowledge of this object slightly further. A number of decorated shell inlay plaques found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur show bulls and goats rampant over foliage rendered exactly as on this stand (105). On seals human-headed bulls are commonly grouped in pairs (106), whilst bulls, natural and anthropomorphic, were used as decorative pedestals for stone vases.

The use of ivory for this stand, and for combs in these graves, is of more than passing interest. Ivory is not often reported from the Early Dynastic period, though later it is well documented at Ur (107). The two naked female figurines from Mari, a similar figure from Tell al-Wilayah and the ivory figurine

fragments from level G at Assur (108) indicate that this material was probably more common late in the Early Dynastic period than surviving evidence allows. The comparative rarity of nude figurines of women in the Early Dynastic period might suggest these objects were not of Sumerian manufacture, but the bulls, indisputably Sumerian in style, certainly were.

Considerable interest also attaches to the faience vessel in the form of a shell, with a bull in relief along one side (109). There are close parallels in stone from Ur (110). Although by this time beads, pendants and cylinder seals had for some time been made of faience, vessels are very much rarer. The earliest so far reported seem to be those from late prehistoric levels at Ur (111). The whole subject is complicated by the loose terminology used over the years in excavation reports for objects of frit, faience and glazed baked-clay. Both Mackay and Watelin describe as glazed clay objects that are of faience. There is as yet no firm evidence for vessels of glazed baked-clay before about the sixteenth century B.C. in Iraq. At Kish jewellery and cosmetic articles of faience appear from Jamdat Nasr levels; larger objects only from Early Dynastic III. This vessel is outstanding. I have been unable to trace the original source of the two tiny, faience, couchant bullocks illustrated on XK, IV, pl.XXI.4-5; but close parallels from Assur indicate a date in the range Early Dynastic IIIB to Akkadian (112). They may well come from a context on Ingharra close to grave 317. Some significant sherds of faience vessels from excavations in area Z were never published. They are described as 'white paste with green glaze' and were decorated with 'herring-bone' incisions (Y.120-30). There are now excellent parallels for such vessels from Tell Taya in northern Iraq in levels of the Akkadian period (113).

## III. Conclusion

Cemetery A was in use for a relatively brief time; perhaps two or three generations; on current reckoning, between about 2400-2300 B.C. Even if the archaeological material as published will bear the precise statistical interpretation given it by Hrouda and Karstens (114), and this must be open to real doubt in view of the imperfect nature of the evidence, it does not allow for the very broad chronological spread they gave this cemetery. If the four groups they

distinguished in the life of the cemetery are indeed chronological phases, and not sociological distinctions as seems more likely, then they reflect modications of material culture and funerary practice during the declining years of Early Dynastic III and the advent of the Akkadian supremacy, not the final flowering of Sumerian culture from Early Dynastic II through to IIIB.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

(1) Gibson, no.2.

(2) AM, I, pl.XXIII.

(3) AM, I, (2); see pp. 41ff. for the early history of Mesopotamian palaces.

(4) AM, I, p.94, pl.XLI.8 = Amiet Glyptique, no.947.

(5) AM, I, p.149, pl.LI.20 (2869).

(6) Delougaz, pl.78 - C.515.362.

(7) AM, I, pl.LI.23-27 (2895A-D).

(8) Delougaz, pp.53, 81, 91; AM, I, pl.XIV, LI: Type 'D'; Iraq, 28 (1966), pl.VII, IX.

(9) Delougaz, pl.67d, e.

(10) Delougaz, pl.72i, j - B.526.700; B.545.240a, p.82; Heinrich, Fara, fig.35 F.134.

(11) AM, I, pl.LI: Type C.

(12) AM, I, pl.XXXVII.4-6; cf. Delougaz, pp.99-100.

(13) J.R.A.S., 1930, p.630; I was misled by Langdon's account when I wrote Iraq, XXVIII (1966), p.44.

(14) AM, I, pp.11, 19, pl.XXXVI.10, 12; for date see Gibson, p.79; Dr. A.Westenholz has told me he regards it as 'Fara Type'.

(15) AM, I, pl.XXXI.2.

(16) AM, I, pl.XXIII.

(17) AM, I, pp.81-2.

(18) Contra the interpretation of Mallowan, Iraq, 26 (1964), pp.69, 70.

(19) Parrot, Syria, XLVI (1969) fig.13.

(20) UE, I, passim.

(21) For the best group see A.Parrot, Le Temple d'Ishtar (1956), pp.136ff., pl.LVI-LVIII.

(22) Tell Asmar, O.I.C., 19 (1935), fig.25; Nippur - Archaeology, 15 (1962), p.79, fig.6.

(23) See n.19.

(24) H.Frankfort, Sculpture of the Third Millennium..., p.47, nos.197-8.

(25) D.Hansen, JNES, 22 (1963), pp.145ff.

(26) XK, I, pl.XXVI.1 (Baghdad); pl.XXXIX (Oxford).

(27) AM, I, p.97.

(28) AM, I, pl.XXII, XXXV.2, 3; pp.120-1: UGA 1501 in Baghdad.

(29) AM, I, pl.XVII.2, 3, 5, 6.

(30) AM, I, p.97 cf. Hansen's comment on the position of votive plaques at Nippur: JNES, 22 (1963), p.152.

(31) UE, I, p.89.

(32) For Mari see p.58,n.23 ; Ur - Woolley, UE, II, pl.91-2.

(33) Amiet Glyptique, nos.1193, 1213, 1216 particularly.

(34) Amiet Glyptique, pp.127ff.

(35) Guterbock, A.J.A., 61 (1957), p.68: Sargon II.

(36) XK, I, pl.VI (upper left) = AM, I, pl.XXXV.1; W.W.Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles (1957), p.21, n.2. considers it the earliest in the series of Kish royal titles; see also W.Nagel in Moortgat Festschrift, pp.184, 190.

(37) G.Cros, Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello (Paris, 1910-14) pl.II.1.

(38) Amiet Glyptique, no.1359: Kish: Y.192: Baghdad.

(39) E.Porada in Erich, Chronologies in Old World Archaeology (1965), p.161 note, put them in Early Dynastic II.

(40) O.I.C. 19, fig.25.

(41) D.Hansen, Archaeology, 15 (1962), p.79, fig.6.

(42) UE, I, pp.126ff.; see esp. pl.XXXVII T.O. 317-8, 422 for comparison with Kish inlays.

(43) E.J.Banks, Bismya, (1906), p.272, figure.

(44) See the grave list on microfiches.

(45) D.H.K.Amiran, IEJ 3 (1953), pp.208-9; see also Woolley's comments on erosion in UE, IV, p.30 n.1.

(46) AM, I, pp.76,113ff.

(47) AM, I, pp.131, 139-50; grave 11 - AM, I, pl.XV.1.

(48) Delougaz: Types C.201.200,203,205; 201.201a,b; 211.200; C.011.201a,b; A.Parrot, Le Temple d'Ishtar, pp.212-3.

(49) AM, I, p.114, pl.XLV.5; LII.9 (2131).

(50) AM, I, p.149.

(51) Delougaz, p.106, pl.185: C.587.682.

(52) AM, I, p.114, pl.XXXI.2.

(53) Delougaz, pl.196: D.654.310; pl.197: E.223.000; pl.198: E.313.010.

(54) AM, I, p.114, pl.LIX.28B.

(55) AM, I, pl.XLVI.

(56) AM, I, p.116, pl.XXXI.1.

(57) AM, I, pp.76-7, 118, 138.

(58) As from Gilgamesh of Uruk to Sargon's accession: T.Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List (1939), Table II; P.Delougaz, Pre-Sargonid Temples..., pp.125ff.; M.Rowton, Cambridge Ancient History I (1) (3rd Edition, 1970) p.219ff.

(59) Delougaz,Private Houses pp.129ff.; 159-68, esp. 162.

(60) AM, I, pl.LI.13, cf. McCown, Nippur, I, pl.82.1.

(61) Nissen, pl.8: Type 158; UE, II, pl.261.158.

(62) AM, I, pl.XXXIX.2448, 2430 not 2730.

(63) Nissen, pl.16: metallgeräte 2, Nadel 1c-d.

(64) AM, I, pl.XLVIII.24; XLIX.18.

(65) ZA 24 (1966) pp.262ff.

(66) R.Boehmer, ZA 27 (1968), pp.261ff.

(67) R.Boehmer, Die Entwicklung der Glyptik wahrend der Akkad-Zeit (Berlin, 1965) no.860, fig.318: 'Akkadisch Ib,c'; see also p.71 here.

(68) XK, IV, pl.XXXIV.50.

(69) AM, I, pl.VI.19 - grave 12; but also see from mound A the fine seals: AM, I, pl.XLI.7,8,17 - which may be from disturbed graves.

(70) See pp.98 ff. here.

(71) Amiet, p.58.

(72) Amiet, pp.177ff.; pl.106ff.

(73) AM, I, pl.VI.17.

(74) AM, I, pl.XLI.10-12 (2408, 2249, 2850B); cf. Nissen, p.61; A.Parrot, Le Temple d'Ishtar, p.197, pl.LXVII.251, 586.

(75) This pottery was fully discussed by Mackay in AM, I and Delougaz, passim, assembles much of the comparanda on the basis of the Diyala excavations.

(76) Delougaz, pp.87ff.

(77) Delougaz, Private Houses, pp.129ff.

(78) Delougaz, pp.89-90.

(79) A.Parrot, Le Temple d'Ishtar, pl.LXX.702; T.A.Madhloom, Sumer, 16 (1960), pl.9,10-11 (Arabic Text); see also S.A.Rashid, Sumer, 19 (1963), pp.82ff.; E.Heinrich, Fara, pl.18K; cf. M.Th.Barrelet, Figurines et Reliefs en terre cuite, I (Paris, 1968), no.92 (Tello); L.Legrain, Terracottas from Nippur, (Philadelphia, 1930), no.379 (?upside down).

(80) Le Breton, Iraq, 19 (1957), p.117.

(81) Nissen, p.175: 'Ur I - Lu'.

(82) Nissen, p.177; M.Th.Barrelet, Figurines et Reliefs en terre cuite I (1968), p.66.

(83) Delougaz, Private Houses, p.87, fig.57: E.D.I.

(84) Delougaz, p.90.

(85) UE, II, pl.180.226: Type 243; A.Parrot, Le Temple d'Ishtar, pp.213ff.fig.105; E.Heinrich, Fara, pl.20a; le Breton, Iraq, 19 (1957), fig.36.16, p.117.

(86) P.R.S.Moorey, Iraq, 29 (1967) 109-10, with discussion of the decoration.

(87) UE, II, pl.218 (U.13709), p.388.

(88) Y.77: Baghdad; this is the 'foot of an altar table' mentioned in XK, IV, p.51; see Iraq XXXII (1970), pl.XVI.

(89) Amiet, nos.1284, 1287-90.

(90) A.Parrot, Le Temple d'Ishtar, pp.213ff.

(91) Delougaz, p.106: C.556.322; cf. AM, I, pl.LI.18 (1872B).

(92) Delougaz, pp.101-2, 105.

(93) K.550 = IM 18700; cf. Delougaz, pl.188: C.665.543c for the form.

(94) AM, I, pl.XLV.4 (1831; 2543; 2625).

(95) Delougaz, p.102.

(96) A.Parrot, Le Temple d'Ishtarat et de Ninni-zaza, pp.293ff., pl.LXXXff.; fig.314. For Kish parallels: Mari 3201,3209,3223 (Upper) = Type O; Mari 3207-8,3212,3222,3223-4 = Type L; 3229 = Type Q; Mari 3218,3226 = Type RA; 3216,3220 = Type C; 3219 = Type P; 3205 = Type S (pl.IV.41).

(97) AM, I, pl.XXXIX.7 (2034,2448); cf. UE, II, pl. 223: Type A.1.a or A.1.b; for dating Nissen, pl.15.

(98) AM, I, pl.XVII.1,4; pl.LXII.2,3; cf. UE, II, pl.225: Types S.1-10; for dating see Nissen, pl.19.

(99) See pp.94 ff.; and plan I.

(100) AM, I, p.140.

(101) XK, IV, p.49ff.; these grave groups are listed on microfiche.

(102) For the Red Stratum see pp.96 ff.

(103) XK, IV, pl.XXXIV.3.

(104) XK, IV, p.50; Iraq, XXXII (1970), pl.XVII.

(105) UE, II, pl.100: U.10917A; pl.104: U.10412,12353.

(106) Amiet Glyptique, p.138.

(107) W.F.Leemans, Foreign Trade of the Old Babylonian Period (1960), p.125.

(108) A.Parrot, Le'Tresor'd'Ur (Paris, 1968), 18ff., pl.VII-VIII with the important article by A.Moortgat, Iraq XXXVI (1974), 155ff.; T.A.Madhlum, Sumer 16 (1960), pl.7 (Arabic Text); Andrae AIT, 56ff., pl.29.

(109) XK, IV, pl.XXXI.7.

(110) UE, II, 377, pl.182 in calcite; also a fragment from Ingharra: XK, IV, pl.XXXVII.3.

(111) J.F.S.Stone and L.C.Thomas, PPS (1956), 37-84 for a full survey of the problem.

(112) Andrae AIT, pl.49a.

(113) J.Reade, Iraq XXXIII (1971), 98, pl.XXVd.

(114) ZA, 24 (1966), 256ff.

## Chapter 6

## TELL INGHARRA

The concentration of mounds known collectively as Tell Ingharra (an Arabic name not yet properly explained) lies about two kilometres south-east of the Uhaimir ziggurat and is very roughly square. Each of its corner tells was designated respectively, from the north clockwise, D.G.F, and E (fig.C). Excavation was concentrated on mound E with its twin ziggurats of plano-convex brick. D was cursorily investigated between 1928-30. G and F form a low lying area to the east of the two prominent mounds, measuring roughly 300 metres from north to south, 100 from east to west. They are pocked with what seem to be excavation hollows, many no doubt clandestine, and sherds from the surface offer evidence for occupation in the Early Dynastic period, then again from Achaemenid to Sasanian times (Gibson, no.4). D and E, before excavation, rose to a height of about 10 metres above the present plain level, with the two ziggurat cores rising 7 or 8 metres higher. Very approximately they cover an area 150 metres wide and 300 metres long. The main features of the excavations in mound E will be considered here in chronological sequence starting with the most recent.

### I. Ancient Hursagkalama

In the Ur III period there appears in the records the name Hursagkalama (hur-sag-galam-ma) linked with the ziggurat at Nippur. It first appears with the determinative KI in the Old Babylonian period at Kish. Contracts dated at Hursagkalama were found by the O.F.M.E. in mound W (1) and a private inscription, commemorating repairs on the temple of Ninlil at Hursagkalama by Iddin-Nergal, governor of Kish under Merodach-Baladan II, was found at a depth of six metres in trench C.3 on Tell Ingharra (2). Such archaeological evidence served to confirm topographical indications offered by other texts. In the first millennium B.C. they customarily listed Hursagkalama between Kish and Cutha (3). Yet still its exact limits are unknown; even its precise status in relation to Kish is obscure.

Isolated Early Dynastic inscriptions from Ingharra mentioning 'Kish' might be taken to mean that in this

period the whole area of settlement from Uhaimir eastwards to Ingharra bore this name, written with the determinative KI. Gibson's survey tended to suggest the existence of two distinct settlements from earliest times; but the depth of deposit over the prehistoric remains in cutting Y on Ingharra suggests strongly that any conclusion about the late prehistoric settlement pattern hereabouts must necessarily be tentative. Variants in the spelling of Hursagkalama from the Old Babylonian period onwards offer no consistent pattern which allows for any clear definition of its status.

Ancient itineraries and lists of cities always place Hursagkalama after Kish suggesting that, even when seen as a twin-city, it was regarded as the lesser (4). When reference is made to Hursagkalama we may be sure it does not include the temple É-me-te-ur-sag and the surrounding city at Uhaimir; but when reference is made to Kish, particularly in political contexts, it is often to be understood as embracing Hursagkalama (5). Most probably the great temple of Hursagkalama lent its name to the surrounding settlement. Whether a single set of walls or defences surrounded both Uhaimir and Ingharra at any time is not known, since no surface indications have been traced and no city-walls investigated by excavation. In view of the vast circumference involved it seems improbable. From the context Samsuiluna's wall (Bad me-lam-bi-kur-kur-ra) may be taken to have embraced only the area of Uhaimir. If not united by land, then the two 'cities' were always closely linked by water (6).

If there is doubt about the area of Hursagkalama there is none about the dedication of its main temple. From the Isin-Larsa period there is ample documentary evidence for an important shrine of Inanna/Ishtar on the site, indeed Ishtar was sometimes referred to as the 'Lady of Hursagkalama' (7). One of the ziggurats in Hursagkalama, that associated with the temple of Ishtar, was known as é-kur-maḫ (8). Ishtar's temple was not the only one here, nor was she the only deity revered at Hursagkalama. Indeed such isolation would be unusual in a Babylonian city. Knowledge of the other gods with shrines at Hursagkalama is confused by the damaged state of the relevant texts so far published; but Ninlil and Ninshubur appear among them (9). A macehead dedicated to Enki is also reported from Ingharra.

## II. Excavation Areas Other Than The Y Soundings

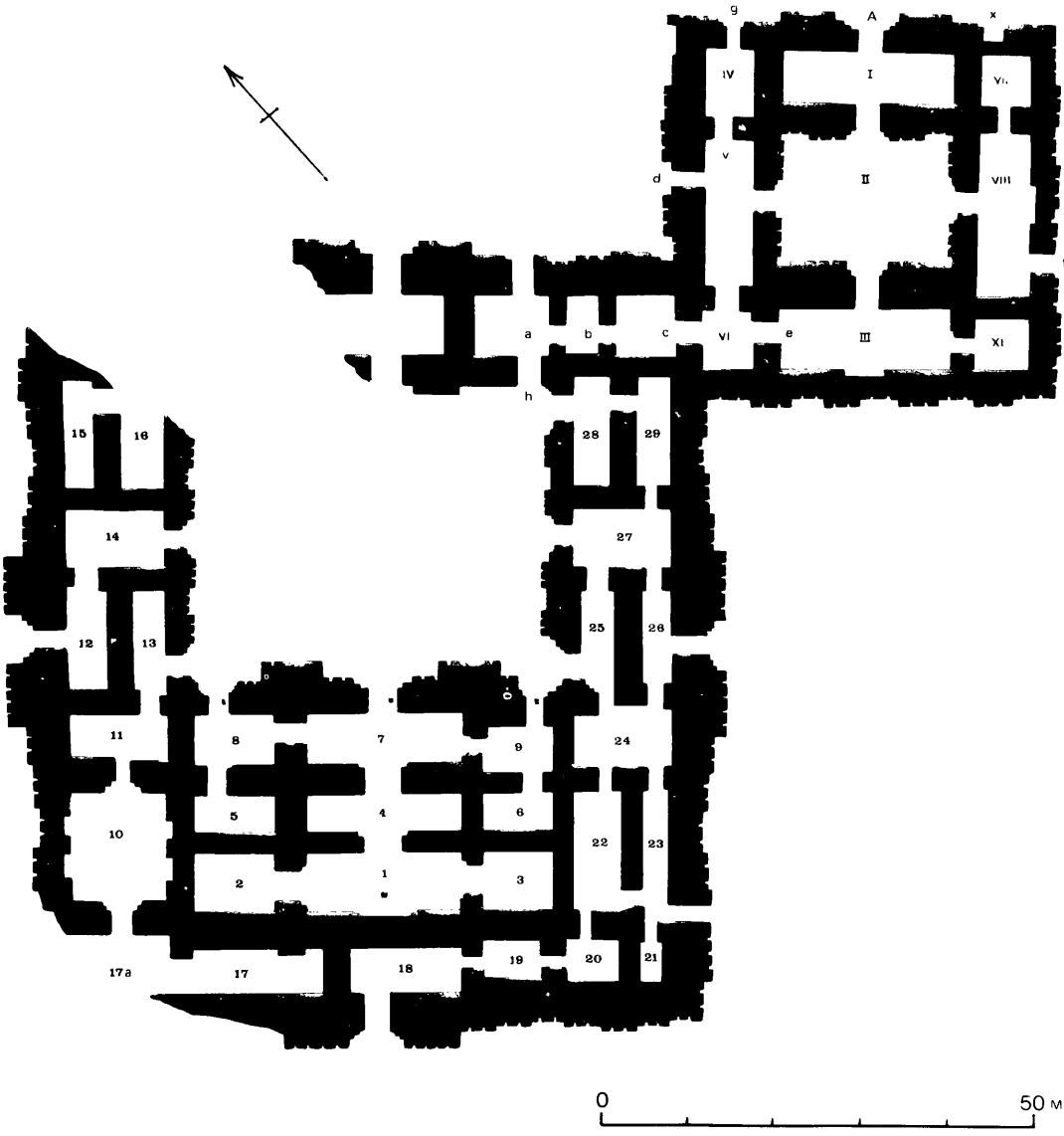
### A. The Neo-Babylonian Temple Complex

Apart from palace A the Neo-Babylonian temple on Tell Ingharra was the only building at Kish properly described in a published report by its excavator (10). In 1911-2, on the summit of Ingharra, de Genouillac cleared a small building which he referred to as a 'palace'. The only small finds very cursorily reported then were some beads and a baked clay cylinder inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (11). The brick inscriptions of Sargon II found here (12) only describe building operations at Babylon, whence they were probably brought in the Neo-Babylonian period. Just over a decade after de Genouillac's work, when Mackay began to dig there, the earlier excavations were already filled with wind-blown sand. He accepted de Genouillac's ground-plan. Later Watelin demonstrated that this small building was the north-east wing of a larger temple, orientated to the four points of the compass (13). There is no published evidence to show whether the two buildings were built at the same time or, as seems likely from the planning, at different times. If so, the interval was slight. The temple is set on the Early Dynastic plano-convex brick platform, which also supports the adjoining ziggurats. It also overlies other earlier structures, including the late third millennium retaining wall, niched and buttressed, of the ziggurat platform.

Mackay set the original temple floor at roughly the fifth course of bricks above the base course, approximately five metres above plain level. Watelin found four foundation boxes set into the plano-convex brick platform, one in chamber 1 and one at each of the doorways leading from the central court into rooms 7, 8 and 9 respectively. In each case the foundation boxes were made of stamped Nebuchadnezzar II bricks, the inscriptions facing inwards, with bitumen on the reverse. This bitumen need not necessarily mean they were re-used, as the excavator implied, in the reign of Nabonidus. A clay figurine (microfiche) was found in the box in chamber 1, close to where the cult statue had probably stood. Beside it was a broken jar, some beads and scarabs. In the wall behind the cult statue's niche in the same chamber was a cache of rings, beads and pins in gold, silver, copper and precious stones (14).

In the absence of any unequivocal evidence from the building for the name of this temple, its builder and cults, their identities have to be sought elsewhere. In 1924 Langdon had identified Ingharra with the ancient city of Hursagkalama, placing the frequently mentioned temple of Ishtar 'beneath the lofty spur marked D' (15). In 1929 he moved it to the temple cleared by Watelin. This identification has been received by some with caution (16). Although a number of Neo-Babylonian, and later, contracts dated at Hursagkalama, excavated from this area, indicate that Ingharra is part at least of this city (17), more work on D, and also on mound W, is needed before confident identifications may be made. The most relevant piece of evidence was found, not in mound D as Langdon reported (18), but in trench C3 at 6 metres depth. This inscribed brick recorded the restoration of Ninlil's Temple in Hursagkalama by Iddin-Nergal, governor of Kish in the reign of Merodach-Baladan II. This must refer either to a previous temple on the site of that cleared by Watelin or another yet to be identified in the vicinity.

The excavator identified the royal builder as Nabonidus. There is no certain evidence of this. Many bricks with the standard inscriptions of both Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus were reported from debris round the temple. None was found in situ in the structure (19). Two finds may point to Nebuchadnezzar II as the builder: the stamped bricks bearing his name used for foundation boxes and the barrel cylinder fragments, objects only associated with building operations, found in close proximity to this temple (20). But no mention of this building is recorded in his surviving building inscriptions, perhaps because the work was never satisfactorily completed. Watelin believed that the double bank of bricks, laid without mortar, that he and de Genouillac found in a number of rooms, was stacked thus pending repairs which the fall of Nabonidus had forestalled (21). Gibson accepted this interpretation, but extended it. For him the 'cornice' shown in some of de Genouillac's plates (22) was the base course for a later restoration. The renovation had to be at a higher level because of the rise of debris outside the temple (23). The stacks of unused bricks are then seen as foundation packing or buttressing. The presence of houses and scattered graves in the upper metre or so of Ingharra strongly suggests that by some time in the late sixth or early




G. Plan of the Neo-Babylonian Temple on Tell Ingharra (after Mackay and Watelin)

fifth century B.C. the temple area had ceased to be an active religious centre, possibly after Xerxes' sack of Babylon in 482 B.C.

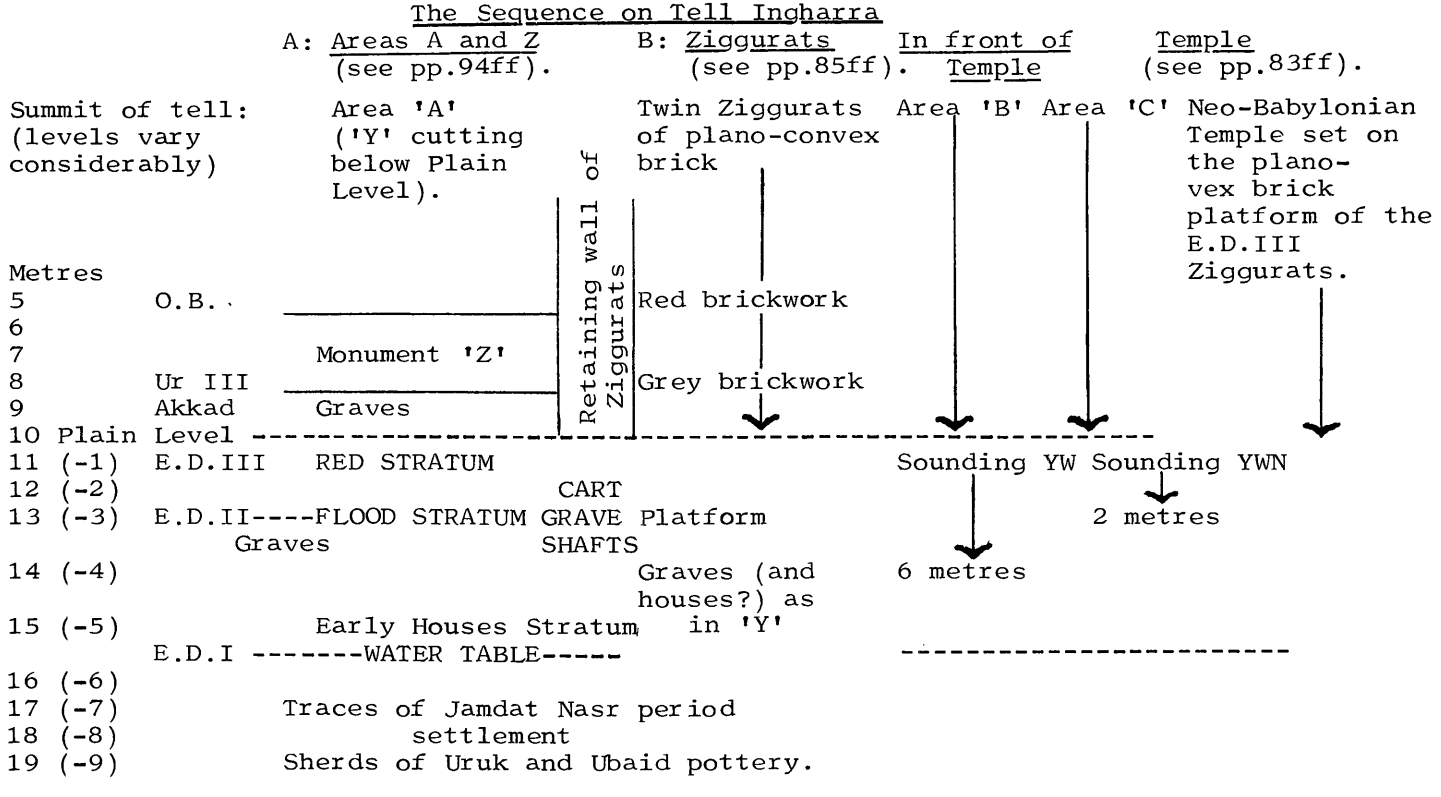
Examination of the ground plan of near contemporary temples excavated at Babylon provides no clearer indication of the likely royal builder, though it does show that this temple is standard in design (24). Comparisons of this kind do, however, suggest that Watelin's published temple plan, though it may be an accurate record of what he found, does not allow sufficiently for modifications subsequent to the original design. Such details as two entries on the north-east side, no clear passage through rooms 25-6 on the south-east, and a break in the outer wall of rooms 18 and 23 further round, are departues from canonical designs and should perhaps be treated with caution.

In 1926-7 (Field numbers X1-650) Watelin re-excavated that part of this temple complex already cleared by Mackay, followed its south-east wall to the south corner, and then exposed part of the south-east outer wall. Some rooms in the south-west part of the temple Watelin cut a broad trench (B) extending north-west beyond the temple. He dug it first to the level of the temple floor, about five metres above the plain level itself before sinking a small pit down a further five metres where he reached plano-convex brickwork.

## B. The Ingharra Ziggurats

Apart from the temple the only standing structures on the summit of Tell Ingharra were two ziggurats both built of small plano-convex bricks: a larger one on the south-west side of the main temple (Z.1) and a smaller one on the south-east side (Z.2). These ziggurats, which may well have been in total disrepair by the Neo-Babylonian period, had been considerably cut into by the Neo-Babylonian builders, who do not appear to have had any plans for uniting them as they stood with the new temple complex. To judge by Neo-Babylonian work at other sites, it was probably their intention to reconstruct the ziggurats completely.

The smaller ziggurat (Z.2) appears to have been investigated by Mackay on only one occasion. He referred very briefly to this in his published report (25); but on one of his surviving site-cards he gives more details: '...a cutting made on the N.W. side of the ziggurat revealed a portion of one of the stages


The Sequence on Tell Ingharra
A: Areas A and Z (see pp.94ff).
B: Ziggurats (see pp.85ff).
In front of Temple
Temple (see pp.83ff).
Summit of tell: (levels vary considerably)
Area 'A' ('Y' cutting below Plain Level).
Twin Ziggurats of plano-convex brick
Area 'B'
Area 'C'
Neo-Babylonian Temple set on the plano-vex brick platform of the E.D.III Ziggurats.
Retaining wall of Ziggurats
Metres
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
O.B.
Ur III
Akkad
Plain Level
(-1)
(-2)
(-3)
(-4)
(-5)
(-6)
(-7)
(-8)
(-9)
Red brickwork
Grey brickwork
Monument 'Z'
Graves
E.D.III RED STRATUM
E.D.II----FLOOD STRATUM
Graves
CART GRAVE SHAFTS
Platform
Graves (and houses?) as in 'Y'
Early Houses Stratum
E.D.I -------WATER TABLE-----
Traces of Jamdat Nasr period settlement
Sherds of Uruk and Ubaid pottery.
Sounding YW
Sounding YWN
2 metres
6 metres

paved with plano-convex bricks measuring 23 x 13.5 x 4-5.5 cms.; well baked and shaped and with a thumb mark in the middle...the wall (i.e. of the ziggurat) is thickly plastered with mud mixed with tibn and then coated with gypsum wash. It is further ornamented with shallow pilasters 10 cms. deep which apparently run along it at intervals...mats for bonding purposes were used at intervals or perhaps reeds; their presence can be detected by thin lines of white running through the brick-work'. It is described as standing 'over a small plano-convex building of an earlier date'; but no more details are given.

The ziggurats are only very cursorily mentioned in Watelin's report (26). Surviving information about the greater ziggurat (Z.1) has to be gleaned from a variety of sources, largely unpublished (Watelin's letters to Langdon, 3rd January 1931; 16th February 1931; 3rd March 1931). In November 1930, Watelin extended his cutting Y eastwards towards the face of the greater ziggurat where he found the Y cemetery continuing, with graves becoming proportionally richer as he approached the ziggurat. In January 1931 he reported that his trench had cut into an irregular mass of plano-convex brick in which he observed a bed of 'ashes' a metre thick; probably the remains of reeds or reed-matting. Above this level the bricks were red and baked, below it grey and unbaked. He observed that this ash level ran at a mean level of three metres above 'plain level' into the greater ziggurat. At the same time he cleared more of the retaining wall of rectangular bricks with tower-like buttresses, separated by deep recesses, first discovered by Mackay. Each buttress and each recess was decorated with a T-shaped groove (27). Watelin traced this wall northwards running under the main Neo-Babylonian temple and continuing at least forty metres north of the north-east temple wall (Watelin to Langdon, 17th February 1932). Very slightly to the north of the 'Y' sounding he found a further wall, ornamented regularly with T-shaped vertical grooves but no buttresses, immediately in front of the buttressed retaining wall, which turned off at right-angles under the west corner of the temple and ran onto the north-west. The right-angle formed by these two walls in area 'Z' defined the extent of the 'Red Stratum' (see p. 96) in this part of the tell. As a result of this work Watelin was convinced that the plano-convex bricks which he had previously found under the Neo-Babylonian temple cella were part of the

original ziggurat platform still in situ; its western limits defined by the retaining wall running northwards. By the end of the season in 1931 he felt able to report 'The temple is therefore built entirely on the platform of the Ziggurat. They have not put a pavement in the court, for the bricks of the platform served as a pavement' (28). He later revealed, by trench 'D' parallel to the north-east face of the temple, the limits of the ziggurat platform on that side. Both ziggurats may then be seen to have been set on a single platform that presumably carried a contemporary temple completely dismantled by Neo-Babylonian or earlier builders when they erected a temple on the same site.

Immediately against the face of the ziggurat in sounding Y Watelin demolished the retaining wall and went down to the water table. He reached the base of the ziggurat which appeared to rest on 'pounded earth'. It then became clear that the Y settlement continued under the ziggurat. To confirm this important observation he cut through his dump on the south side of the ziggurat (cutting YZ or Ys) and proved his inference (letter, 3rd March 1931) (29). In one place he found the corner of a room with wood-lined floor and wall. This cutting indicated, as does its structure, that the ziggurat was probably built sometime in E.D. IIIA (see below for date of the underlying Flood Stratum).

This ziggurat is particularly interesting as it appears to be the only one at present examined in which Early Dynastic construction was not obliterated or completely obscured by later reconstructions. It provides valuable indication of the form such structures had reached by the middle of the third millennium B.C. This, and the smaller ziggurat, were both built of small plano-convex bricks set 'herring bone' fasion (30) (brick sizes 19x17x11 cms.; 17x11x7.5 cms.). According to the excavators this method of bonding was found only in the ziggurats at Kish (31). Although the number of the ziggurat's stages may not be established from the evidence available (32), these excavations appear definitely to have revealed a staged tower rather than a temple on a platform like those of the same period at Al Ubaid and Khafajah (33).

As archaeological evidence is still sparse, discussion of the earliest form of the ziggurat, as

distinct from the temple on a high terrace, has concentrated on scenes in Early Dynastic glyptic generally interpreted as 'the Building of a Temple Tower' (34). Amiet has convincingly challenged this interpretation on a number of occasions (35), arguing that the structures shown on seals are altars or platforms built of wood, in various sizes, but not ziggurats of the form best known from the Neo-Assyrian palace relief at Nineveh (Kuyunjik) (36), however much they may appear to resemble it. Cogent as his arguments are in reference to the glyptic scenes, the archaeological evidence from Ingharra indicates that considerable caution is still necessary in estimating how far the staged tower had developed by E.D.III. It may, in some cities, have had a closer resemblance to its better known Neo-Assyrian successors than to its late Prehistoric proto-type, the temple on a high terrace. Even if the structure represented on these seals is not a staged tower, it might be an altar built in imitation of one. It is striking that most of the cylinder seals of known provenance bearing scenes of this kind come from Kish or the Diyala sites; only one so far is definitely associated with a south Mesopotamian site, that of Adab (37). Unfortunately interpretation of documentary sources for the history of the staged temple-tower before the Ur III period is still too controversial to provide any sound ground for arguments about its form (38).

## C. Trenches 'B' and 'C'

### (1) The sequence of occupation

The wide area of the tell immediately to the west of the standing Neo-Babylonian temple was cleared down to about plain level in a series of trenches. Although the accumulation of debris here varied greatly in height, with ridges rising to about nine metres, troughs falling to almost plain level itself, nothing can justify the ruthless methods used to clear it (39). No regard was paid to planning, or even photography, of the buildings encountered as the trenches went down. Objects from this area, of which there were many, were haphazardly catalogued merely by arbitrary levels. All were recorded in metres down from the surface of the mound. Since this was so erratic, the height of the mound from plain level, at the point where the object lay, was often recorded in parenthesis. For instance,

C-3,4(5) would mean trench C-3 at 4m. depth, where the surface of the tell is 5 metres above plain level. Plain level itself is denoted either C-3,4(plain) or more awkwardly, C-3 4(4). The general conclusions that emerge from a study of all these objects, randomly distributed between the collections in Baghdad, Chicago and Oxford, are meagre, contributing little to the archaeology of the site. Though the finds here include nothing of unique importance, the comprehensive range of cylinder seals and tablets vividly illustrates the many opportunities missed.

As will be seen more explicitly in discussing the scattered graves found during this work (p. 91 ), the final phase of occupation seems to have fallen in the Achaemenian period. Its floor levels, domestic debris and traces of mudbrick building occurred at a level approximately halfway up the surviving height of the Neo-Babylonian temple walls (40). Below these, at about the temple's floor level, were buildings contemporary with it. If a valid assessment may be based on datable tablets, cylinder seals and terracotta plaques, despite the imprecise recording, there was little found here from the millennium between the later Neo-Assyrian occupation of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. back to the declining years of the First Dynasty of Babylon. A considerable number of Old Babylonian tablets, including administrative, lexical and literary texts, were found in the 'C' trenches, with a distinct indication that buildings north-east of the main temple, uncovered by trench C-15,. may have been the source of the religious and mythological texts (41).

Towards the bottom of the C trenches, the point from which the cuttings YW and YWN were subsequently made, there is a concentration of Early Dynastic (mainly III) and Akkadian cylinder seals, inscribed tablets and other fragments. This level, approximately that of the adjoining plain, corresponds to the interval between the Neo-Sumerian Monument 'Z' (p. 94 ) and the earlier Red Stratum in the area of excavations to the south. It marks the only major area of occupation in the Akkadian period yet located securely at Kish. Gelb (42) has published sixty-five tablets, mainly found low in the C trenches, that formed the administrative archives of a corporate body concerned primarily with agriculture in the latter part of the Akkadian dynasty. Regrettably the pottery and the small finds associated

with them may not be reliably identified. Scattered graves found in clearing the B and C trenches tell a comparable story.

(2) Scattered graves

In 1913, just below the surface on Ingharra in or about the area below which lay the great Neo-Babylonian temple complex, de Genouillac had excavated graves inside simple houses. They were apparently just like those found close to the surface of mound W by the Oxford-Chicago expedition that I have attributed to the fifth century B.C. (43). When Langdon first inspected W and Ingharra he commented on the absence of glazed sherds on the surface (44). Later Watelin reported that the glazed pottery he found in baked clay sarcophagi in the upper levels (there were at least ten in the top metre or so of trench C) was different from that he found elsewhere on Ingharra (45); but exactly like those from graves on mound W (46). In short, only a few scattered Parthian graves were excavated on Ingharra or nearby (47). As on most of the main mounds at Kish explored by this expedition, the graves closest to the surface were largely of the later fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and, as on W, these had been cut down into the final level of houses.

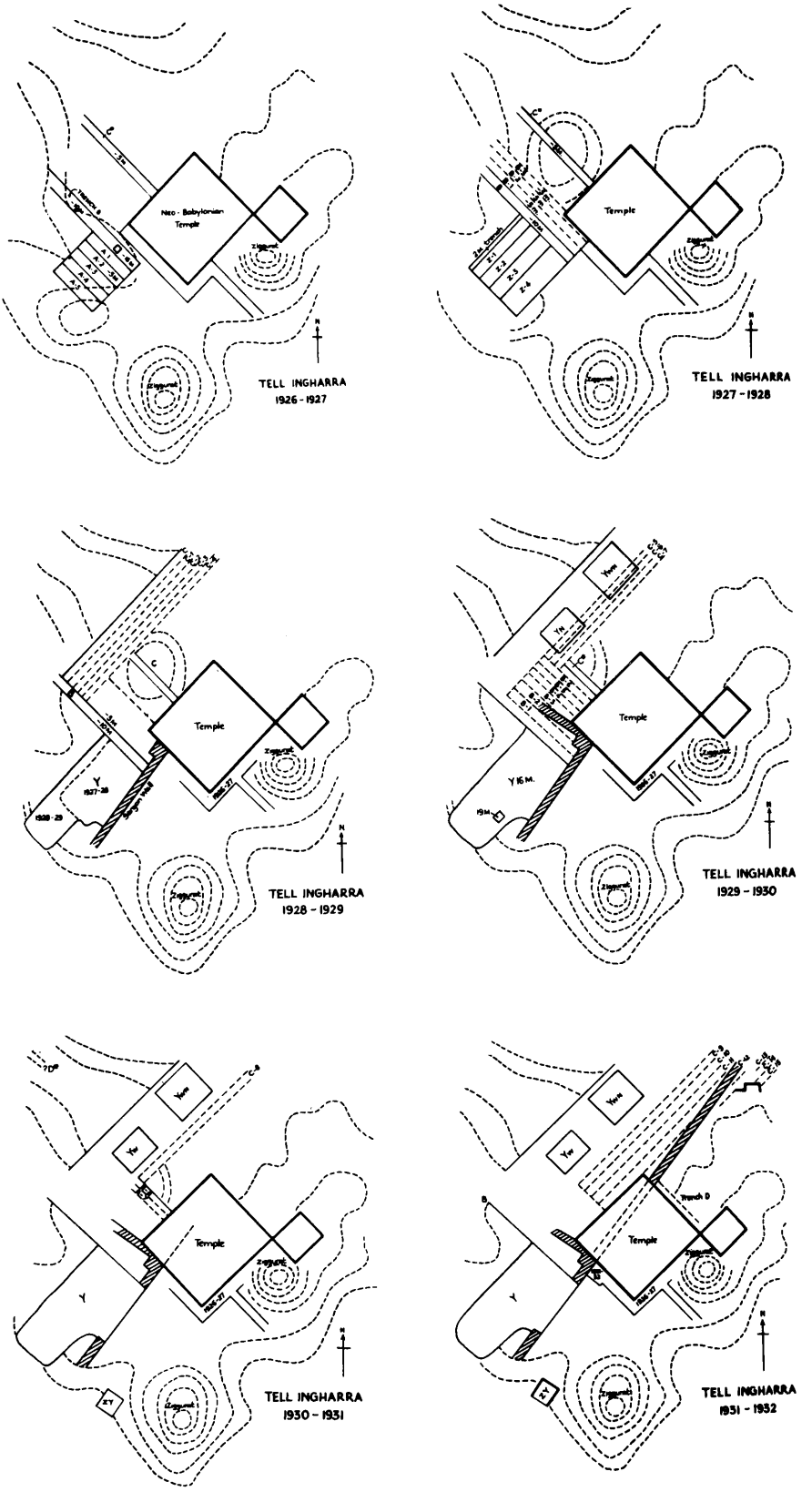
In his published report Watelin confused the chronology of the pottery from the simple burials, cut directly into the earth, which he found deeper on Ingharra in trenches B and C. This confusion is evident from the mixture of Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian or Achaemenian pottery illustrated as from the first four metres of Ingharra (48). When excavating these graves Watelin believed them to be earlier than the sarcophagi (49). He divided them into two groups, which he designated 'Neo-Babylonian' and 'Old Babylonian' respectively on the basis of the main pottery type. To the more recent group he ascribed those graves in which his pottery type 'P' predominated; with it he found his types 'R' and 'Y' (50). Already in the first publication of the excavations at Kish by this expedition vessels recognizable as types 'P' and 'R' were ascribed to the Neo-Babylonian period in one context, to the Old Babylonian another (51). In publishing his own material de Genouillac had noticed this discrepancy and on his own findings thought Old Babylonian to be correct(52). Both types P and Ya appear in his report as Old Babylonian and more recently recovered examples from Nuzi, Uruk and the Diyala sites

indicate that this is basically correct, though some such phrase as 'first half of the second millennium' would better indicate the range of occurrence. It is likely that few Neo-Babylonian graves were found on Ingharra by this expedition. This was after all the period when the great temple complex was most active and this an important part of the city, most unlikely to offer much space for concentrations of burials.

If this group of graves is then assigned to the first half of the second millennium B.C., the other, earlier group distinguished by Watelin as 'Old Babylonian' must be earlier still. In these graves he found his pottery types: C,Ca,Cb,AA,AAa,K,Cc,L,N (53). Examination of these forms in the published pottery chart reveals that they have a striking resemblance to the forms of cemetery 'A' as published by Mackay (54). Indeed the alphabetic designation of the types is almost exactly the same as that Mackay had used. Direct comparison where possible with pottery from the Diyala sites serves to confirm that a date in the later Akkadian or post-Akkadian period is probably correct for these graves. In describing their contents Watelin commented on the complete disappearance of the upright handled jars with 'mother-goddess' ornament and the offering stands; this was his reason for ascribing them to the Old Babylonian period. Delougaz, in his discussion of these two very distinctive forms, assigned both to a group with its floruit in E.D. III and pointed out that they were rare or non-existent in the following period (55). This strongly suggests that Watelin's earlier group of scattered earth-cut graves should be assigned in the main to the Akkadian-Ur III periods and associated with those in the Red Stratum (see p. 96 ) of the Y sounding to the south, that were slightly earlier, for upright-handled jars and offering stands still appear in them (p. 70 ).

(3) Order of excavation 1927-32

(a) During the 1927-8 season (excavation numbers Y.1-506) Watelin pressed on with exposing the outer face of the Neo-Babylonian temple including the wing originally exposed by de Genouillac. But the main effort was directed to work in a large zone on the west. In the area of Monument Z the mound was cleared in a series of trenches, varying in width, dug simultaneously from northwest to southeast, taking Monument Z with them: Z-1 to Z-3 and Za. At about plain level Za was subdivided and a trench




H. The Sequence of excavation trenches on Tell Ingharra, 1926-32 (after M. Gibson)

five metres wide - the Y sounding - was cut in its southeastern part to water level about six metres further down. Some pits were taken a little lower. Subsequently the other part of Za, now also known as Y, was taken down to the same level. Z-1 and Z-3, now known as Ya, were excavated to about three metres below the plain. New trenches, B-1 to B-3, were cut down to 5 metres from the surface.

(b) In the 1928-9 season (excavation numbers V.1-949) the Y sounding was extended southwestwards. A series of trenches, each about five metres wide, were driven parallel to the northwest front of the temple and taken down to plain level: C, C-1 to C-5, and nothing was done in the B trenches.

(c) In the 1929-30 season (excavation numbers KM 1-539) a trench in Y was cut down three metres below the water table and in the area of the C trenches two soundings - YW and YWN - were opened to test below the plain level. Both trenching systems B (by B-4 to B-6) and C (By C-5 to C-7) were extended. The existing trenches B-1 to B-3 were cut down from 5 to 10 metres (i.e. to the plain).

(d) By the 1930-1 season (excavation numbers K.540-1442) attention was turning strongly to the Sasanian buildings on mound H, though some valuable further work was done in sounding Y, which was extended to reveal the ziggurat face. A fresh cutting - ZY - was made in the southwest side of the greater ziggurat and dug down to the water table. Another trench explored the extent of the plano-convex brick ziggurat platform running under the Neo-Babylonian temple. New trenches B-7 and B-8 as well as C-8 were dug parallel to the existing trenches in these areas.

(e) The season of 1931-2 (excavation numbers 1443-1448) saw the end of Watelin's work on the main Ingharra mounds. Fresh trenches in the C series (9-15) found the extension of the ziggurat platform retaining wall and other structures north of the Neo-Babylonian temple. A new trench - D - five metres wide was driven parallel to the northeast face of the temple to trace the extent of the ziggurat platform in this area.

The following dated tablets whose archaeological context is known have some bearing on the chronology of the 'C' area:

C.2 (2m.): ?Apil-Sin 6 or Hammurapi 40.
C.2 (2m.): Ammiditana 14.
C.3 (4m.): Ammiditana 4 ?
Monument at top of C.4: Ammizaduqa 10.
C.6 (4m.): Šamaš-šum-ukin 12
C.6 2(8) : Hammurapi 20.
C.6 2(8) : Hammurapi 17.
C.8 3 : Hammurapi 17.

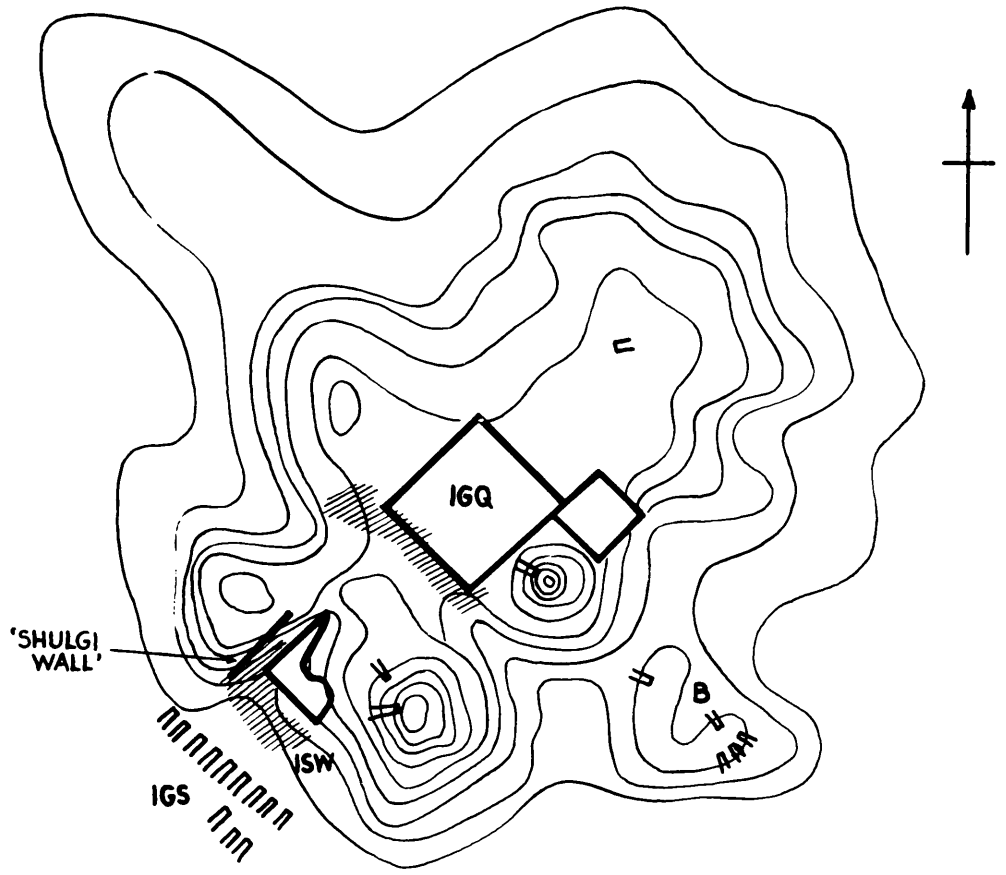
Professor Norman Yoffee has in hand the publication of the many other Old Babylonian tablets from both Uhaimir and Ingharra which lack any exactly recorded locations.

D. Areas IGQ, IGS, and ISW in 1925-6

In his final season as field director (1925-6) Mackay began the systematic investigation of the main group of mounds at Ingharra. As early as 1923 he had cut a trench in the larger ziggurat (56), but had not then followed this up. In 1925-6 he again investigated the larger ziggurat on its western side and cut into the small ziggurat on its northwestern face (57). Further work revealed the western corner of the large Neo-Babylonian temple, the best preserved building on Ingharra, with its floor at about five metres above plain level (58). Rooms 10 and 17 were then cleared and the doorway in the northwestern side reached (59). For record purposes Mackay designated the temple IGQ. In the same season Mackay cut a series of ten or more small parallel trenches in the flat area between Mound A, where his main work had been concentrated (see pp. 55 ff.), and the Ingharra ziggurats. This was known as IGS. Work then proceeded northwards to reveal the south-west face of the larger ziggurat and a substantial retaining wall called the 'Sargon Wall'. This area of the excavations was called ISW. The west corner and some of the northwest side of the retaining wall was cleared, revealing in the process a further wall, the 'Dungi (Shulgi) Wall', so called after a tablet found adjacent to it (Ashmolean: 1969.562).

E. Monument Z and Levels to the Red Stratum

Beneath Hillock A lay the building designated 'Monument Z', which was cleared in 1926-7 down to its foundations, about 3 metres above the plain level. The published plan (60) does not reveal much about this building, which appears to have been modified a number




I. The Excavation Trenches on Tell Ingharra, 1923-6 (after M. Gibson)

of times and was largely built with rectangular bricks salvaged from earlier structures. No clear link with the ziggurat retaining wall was established, though both were of rectangular bricks and similarly niched. The structure of the retaining wall with buttresses and T-shaped grooves is typical of Babylonian temple architecture. It is closely paralleled at Tell Asmar as early as the Ur III period (61).

In his introductory remarks on this building Watelin reported that its 'foundations lay on the same level as the floors of the Neo-Babylonian temple' (62), but in the main text he remarked that 'Monument Z had been set upon the Red Stratum' reported to be at least two metres lower down (63). This confusion is apparent in all references to the buildings above the Red Stratum in this area. There were clearly earlier levels of debris below the so-called Monument 'Z' whose plan was published. In his interim report for 1927-8 Langdon wrote: 'in this intervening layer the buildings are of plano-convex brick in two periods the superior stratum having the smaller size (19 x 13 x 6 cms) and the lower stratum immediately above the temenos (red) platform having the larger (22 x 11 x 5 cms)' (64). This seems to be largely derived from a report submitted to him by Watelin, who wrote 'these bricks do not make part of the built walls. Between the bottom of Z and the Red Stratum there is a hiatus'. It appears then that all this plano-convex brick may be part of an extensive collapse from buildings associated with the ziggurat and its platform.

Monument Z was first attributed to the time of Shulgi on the evidence of an Ur III contract tablet found in the debris between it and the ziggurat (Excavation no.K.3418*). Langdon later placed it in the Akkadian to Old Babylonian periods on the basis of tablets he published from the area (65). More recently both Lloyd and Gibson have dated its initial construction to the Akkadian period (66).

It has to be made clear at the outset that the group of tablets published by Langdon in 1927 were found in the trenches cut into Hillock A (see p.86 ) above Monument Z; indeed Watelin specifically reported that no inscriptions were found in this building in the 1926-7 season. Old Akkadian tablets were found there in 1927-8, some in the debris between the Red Stratum and Monument Z above it (Schroeder to Langdon, January 1928). According to Langdon 'a good many marble

statuettes were found in the debris' and Watelin's letters mention Sumerian statuary. Illustrated pieces and fragments now in the Baghdad and Chicago museums show that they were primarily of Early Dynastic III. A headless statuette with a private votive inscription mentioning $KIS^{ki}$ came from ISW at about 1 metre below the surface, though in the published reports very confused references suggest a context nearer Z (67). Seals in the debris within at least the upper part of the building were largely Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian, as were a number of baked clay plaques and baked-clay nude female figurines characteristic of that period. What little record there is of the pottery found here embraces the same period.

There may be little doubt that the final level of use in Monument Z dated to the Old Babylonian period; a notable baked clay plaque of a king trampling his foes, was among debris in the upper metre (68). In view of the date of the Red Stratum (see p. 97) and of the Old Akkadian tablets found under Monument Z, a foundation date for the building before the very end of the Akkadian period is unlikely. It seems to be an early Neo-Sumerian structure set upon the debris of later Early Dynastic, and possibly Akkadian, buildings associated with the ziggurats and their platform.

F. The Red Stratum

The most immediately distinctive of all the levels revealed by deep excavation on Ingharra was that named by Watelin after the debris of red plano-convex bricks which had formed it. This stratum lay generally about 1.5 metres below Monument Z and about the same distance above the Flood Stratum, extending downwards from the excavators 'Plain Level'. It varied between one and one and a half metres in thickness (69). At first Watelin took this stratum to be a platform (70), but finally decided that it was merely debris from a partial destruction of the greater ziggurat in which he had identified a level of red plano-convex brick. Gibson believed it to be a building level on account of the 'foundation-box' of plano-convex bricks found on the surface of the level (71). Lloyd has argued for Watelin's final verdict (72), which seems the most viable explanation. It is less easy to establish whether this was an architectural disaster or the result of enemy action at the time when palace 'A' and

the Plano-convex Building were also badly damaged.

Red brick is not nearly so conspicuous in the construction of the Ingharra ziggurats as in that of Tell Uhaimir, whose very name bears witness to their prevalence. At Uhaimir, as at Ur, they form part of a Neo-Babylonian structure (73). At Ingharra, though they are almost two millennia older, their presence might be explained by the same phenomenon as Woolley described in writing of the Ur ziggurat (74). He believed that the large quantity of vegetable matter, the frequent layers of reed and matting, regularly employed in the building of ziggurats, began to smoulder when excessively damp, stimulated by air which filtered in through the ziggurat's brickwork and drainage channels. The disastrous internal combustion this set up not only fired the bricks in situ to a dark red colour, but on occasion damaged the fabric itself. In Woolley's words 'the bricks themselves, though sometimes quite hard, are more often soft and crumbling, resolving themselves into a coarse grit, which with no more than the pressure of the fingers can be reduced to a fine powder' (75). Whether the larger of the two Ingharra ziggurats suffered this fate or was caught in a conflagration and sack which destroyed its ancillary buildings is an open question. As the datable finds in this level suggest that it is contemporary, in archaeological terms, with the final occupations of palace 'A' and the Plano-convex Building' the latter may be the more probable.

Dug down into the Red Stratum from an original surface level below Monument Z were graves similar to those in cemetery 'A', some richly equipped, definitely extending from Early Dynastic IIIB into the Akkadian period. Particularly important in establishing this chronology is grave 490 found in 1928-9 'partially in the plain level'. It contained a 'mother-goddess jar' (Type A), a jar of type C and a copper cosmetic set: all typical of cemetery A in form. Cylinder seals from the Red Stratum are of comparable date (XK, IV, pl.XL = Amiet Glyptique, 1074; XK, IV, pl.XXXV, burial 344 = Buchanan, I, 295; see also Buchanan, I, 293 for reference to another seal. (76). Tablets from this stratum were badly recorded; but when they can be traced they are of 'Fara type' (77) with the exception of an Old Akkadian letter attributed to the Red Stratum (78). The amount of grain and the numbers of people to whom it is distributed in these 'Fara type' texts indicate

a considerable bureaucracy operating presumably from buildings hereabouts in Early Dynastic IIIA contemporary with the floruit of Palace 'A', where a comparable text was found. The ziggurat collapse which did so much to form the Red Stratum took place sometime in Early Dynastic IIIB and thereafter then served as a cemetery. It is not until the mature Akkadian period that texts and small finds indicate an urban settlement here again.

It should be noted in passing that Watelin's account of finds from the Red Stratum is singularly faulty (79). A number of the objects he mentions when traced to the field cards are found to come from elsewhere, either in his 'C' trenches or in cuttings YW or YWN (as he states) at levels higher than the Red Stratum in cutting 'Y'. Of particular importance in this respect are the plaque shown in XK, IV, 44, pl.XXVIII, which is from trench C-6 at 3(3), just above the Red Stratum; and the head in XK, IV, 45, pl.XXX, from trench C-3 at 3 metres (V.894 = IM 8992). It would be dangerous to date them on the supposition that they came from the Red Stratum.

## G. The Flood Stratum

Immediately below the Red Stratum Watelin found the most widely discussed of all the levels excavated on Tell Ingharra (80). This, the Flood Stratum, averaged thirty centimetres thick at between 2.70 and 3.00 metres below the plain level and was separated from the Red Stratum by a layer about a metre thick of 'indefinite and sterile character', though in examining what remains of the original section both Gibson and I found E.D. II-III pottery sherds in this level (81). Both Field (1927-8) and Penniman (1928-9) recorded graves in this level, i.e. 'Y' at 2 metres; but finds were few and not susceptible to close dating. In cutting Ya and in the main Y sounding there was also some evidence of simple structures in this level (82). This may be the level from which the highest graves, including the cart burials, in the Y sounding were dug. Watelin, and I in an earlier account, inclined to the view that the Flood Stratum marked the end of the use of this area for domestic occupation (83); but Gibson raised sound objections to so precise a view of the situation in the light of evidence from cutting YW.. In the lower, or more truly 'flood' stratum, of clean water-laid silt, the excavators found fresh-water

mussel shells, skeletons of fresh water fish (84), rubble and pottery sherds. Among the sherds fragments with 'haematite wash' and 'black wash or slip' are specifically mentioned (85).

The two levels are undoubtedly the result of a considerable inundation during which the Euphrates overran this part of the plain. A crucial terminus post quem for this event is provided by the few tablets and 'Fara Style' sealings found immediately below it in cutting YW (86). During such a considerable flood the heavy debris would sink in standing water, leaving the clearer upper level distinguished by the excavators. The controversy in the press between Woolley, Langdon and others (87) over the discovery of the Flood of Biblical and Sumerian tradition has given this level an inflated significance. More recently Mallowan demonstrated quite clearly that this flood level on Ingharra may not realistically be associated with either tradition. It was merely the culmination of a long standing threat. As will be seen in the subsequent analysis of the stratigraphy of the 'Y' sounding beneath it, this part of the city had long been subject to flooding of varying intensity. Indeed the silt deposited by successive floods caused the surrounding alluvium to keep pace with the rise of the settlement tell, which accounts for the great depth of occupation levels here below the plain level.

## III. THE 'Y' SOUNDING

### i. The Settlement

In the deep sounding 'Y' the excavators reached what they took to be Virgin Soil at nine metres below the plain level. The Water Table was encountered at six metres depth and from below this was recovered Jamdat Nasr period pottery mixed with a certain amount of Early Dynastic I material (89). Watelin took a plano-convex brick pavement running across much of the 'Y' area at water-level to mark the beginning of the so-called 'Early Houses Stratum (EHS)' which ran upwards to about 4 metres below the plain level. This two metres of occupation was part of a building complex laid out on either side of a narrow street. To the east a number of rooms were cleared, many containing burials; to the west larger rooms and a virtual absence of graves were taken to indicate a public building. The published plan (90) shows the main layout

established half a metre below the water-table. The buildings had been subject to recurrent, if minor, flooding. The excavators were able to correlate very broadly the traces of water-borne debris in the street and periodic reconstructions, three or four apparently to the same basic plan, of the houses. As might be expected the drainage system in the houses was well defined; but doorways were difficult to locate and no stone or baked clay door-sockets were found. The most interesting feature was a series of wooden boards placed against a house wall in the 'second stage of construction' (91). Lloyd has called attention to a contrast between the extremely bombé plano-convex bricks laid 'on their flat sides in layers and not in herring bone fashion' described by Watelin in these houses and the bricks of the contemporary Early Dynastic I Archaic Abu Temple at Tell Asmar, where the bricks develop from riemchen in the earliest phase to a slightly plano-convex in the latest, always laid on edge in tiers with an occasional course of stretchers in between (92). Bombé bricks laid in the same manner appear in the Early Dynastic II square Temple at the same site (93). This variation is regional not chronological.

Comparable areas of urban settlement have been excavated on a number of Mesopotamian sites, notably Khafajah and Tell Wilayeh (94). But the most relevant in the present context is the small fragment of a settlement revealed in Pit F at Ur which in plan is very like the 'EHS' at Kish (95). This pit at Ur was cut to the east of the E-H site within the Temenos enclosure (96). In the upper levels of the sounding A-E, all the buildings were of plano-convex brick and the finds indicate a range in date from E.D.I in E to E.D.III in A. It is of particular interest to find that the buildings in level E, the earliest in plano-convex brick, were a 'reconstruction' to a virtually identical ground plan of those in the lower level F, built of flat-topped rectangular bricks (97). Another aspect of this sequence is important for the archaeology of the earliest phase of E.D.I. Solid-footed goblets were in use at Ur before it became customary to build in plano-convex brick. Solid-footed goblets, together with incised and reserved slip wares, occur down to level G, where they were with distinctive Jamdat Nasr fabrics. In level G, to which it is virtually confined, the solid-footed goblet, was common. In pit Z, to the south-east of F, the level

which Woolley designated SIS 8 was distinguished by this vessel, which was rare above and below this stratum. At Nippur, though these vessels were still found in level IX, they were most common in X (98). At Uruk the same type of vessel appeared with proto-literate pottery (99). The ground plan of the settlement, probably private houses set along a street, ran down through levels G and H virtually unchanged, although between levels F and G there appeared to be signs of extensive destruction and a temporary abandonment of the settlement. This evidence, taken as a whole, indicates the fundamental continuity between the periods conventionally described as Proto-literate 'd' (Jamdat Nasr period) and Early Dynastic I. The 'Y' settlement indicates the same for the region of Kish.

The earliest pottery recorded clearly by Watelin in his report of work in 'Y' belongs to the Jamdat Nasr period (100). There is some scanty evidence for similar painted wares at Uhaimir (101) and de Genouillac reported a stone plaque from his excavations there that is also of the late prehistoric period though he gives no exact context for it (102). Conditions made it very difficult to excavate below the water table in Y, but Watelin believed that he had reached Virgin Soil at a depth of nine metres below the Flood Stratum. Woolley's experience at Ur suggests that this should be regarded as an open question, particularly when Penniman's unpublished autobiography (Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, archives) indicates that earlier sherds were dredged out of 'Y' in the 1928-9 season. He comments 'about a metre lower (i.e. than the first Jamdat Nasr sherds) appeared small sherds of Uruk ware, polished red, polished black, and polished grey ware...Last of all, in the ninth metre below the plain and the eighteenth below the tops of the great mound, we came on the small thin Ubaid sherds, yellow in colour, and some with traces of greenish or black decoration'. Ubaid sherds were also reported from Uhaimir (103). In this connection it should be remembered that the important Ubaid settlement at Ras al-Amiya, five miles north of Kish, was below the alluvium and only discovered through canal digging (104).

In commenting on the distribution of pottery Watelin noted that his pottery types 4 (hole-mouthed jars with incised decoration) and 5 (reserved slip ware) were not found in graves between three and six metres, that is

from the Flood Stratum to the water table, but only outside them in 'the lower levels' (105) (XK, IV, 17, pl.I). In the Diyala valley four-lugged incised vessels of Watelin's Type 4 were characteristic of E.D.I, when they seem to have belonged more to the earlier than to the later part of the period (106). In the 'Y' sounding sherds of such vessels appeared predominatly in the 'EHS', at from five to six metres depth. The sherds of reserved slip wares, found with the incised wares in the earlier levels, are identical with those similarly associated in the deep soundings at Tell Asmar, again in E.D.I contexts (107). Also typical of these settlement levels were concentrations of the solid-footed goblets, already discussed in connection with Ur, 'these occurred in compact masses and are confined to a layer one metre thick immediately above the water table' (108). This sounds very like similar deposits of such vessels at Tell Asmar in the Archaic Shrine III of the Abu Temple (109).

A variety of painted wares were reported from between three and five metres depth below the plain level. The majority are base or body sherds from jars covered all over with a monochrome slip, varying in colour from red to orange, then burnished, sometimes in criss-cross patterns. Such wares occurred also in the Diyala valley in E.D.I to II, though by E.D.III there was said to be a complete absence of painted wares (110). More distinctive, and found in sufficient quantities for a few basic shapes to be restored, was a grey ware, usually burnished. It normally reproduces the simpler forms of stone vessels, but also includes a series of bottle shapes. Although it may be a descendant of Uruk monochrome pottery, such ware appears in the Diyala also during E.D.I and has relatives in northern Iraq and Syria (111).

Among the few complete vessels reported from outside grave-groups, one or two merit individual comment. One at least was given an incorrect context in Watelin's publication. The tall, hollow stand illustrated in XK, IV, pl.I.14 as from below the Flood Stratum was in fact found above it in 'YW' at a depth of 2 metres. This is an E.D.III or later context, as parallels from elsewhere would suggest (112). These stands or supports, large and small, with triangles cut out of the sides to form à jour decoration, were reported outside the graves in 'Y' and at least one was found at water table level in 'YW' (113) (XK, IV, 14ff.,

pl.XVI.5,6; JRAS, 1930, pl.IX.4; cf. Delougaz, pl.45a,c.). These objects were also manufactured in the Diyala in E.D.I to II; the earlier forms are those most closely matched at Kish. Hollow baked-clay objects shaped like a squat pear are exactly paralleled by examples from Khafajah and Tell Asmar, where they are characteristic of E.D.II, though some examples were earlier, and at Nippur where they were confined to level X, of E.D.I (114).

ii. Burials in the 'Y' Sounding

In common with general archaeological practice at the time of excavation graves found in this sounding were recorded by their absolute depth in relation to a fixed bench-level; in this case the 'plain-level'. As the graves seem almost invariably to have been dug down into earlier levels of occupational debris, these metrical levels are of no significance in defining their stratigraphical position or chronological range. This is particularly so when it is now impossible either to establish the level from which each was dug, or their exact relation to one another and to excavated structures. Each skeleton was numbered. The anthropologist in each season was responsible for keeping records of the skeletal remains and to this end kept personal notebooks from which a formal record was written up at the end of the season. Objects were registered on cards within a numerical sequence for the relevant season. If they were associated with a particular skeleton, this was usually noted on the card; but there is no surviving independent index of grave-groups. It is clear from what has survived that the registering of pottery from graves was by no means comprehensive; even when a vessel was registered the description was minimal. The check-list of skeletons, given in the microfiche section, with recorded grave-goods is reconstructed from whatever relevant documentation I could assemble. It is arranged by depths for convenience sake, with the cart-burials isolated in so far as is possible. The excavation of these more elaborate burials compared unfavourably with contemporary work by Woolley at Ur, where the form of the grave and the association of related objects and skeletons was usually well-established. In every case in the Y sounding the cart-burials were so ill-recorded as to remain forever matter for debate.

Watelin described the methods of burial in outline

(115). He believed that the 'dead were buried in the building of their own period'. The majority of burials were simple with the body in half-crouch position surrounded by grave-goods. The bodies may have been clothed. They and some of their equipment were wrapped in matting. Many of the bodies were placed on brick platforms under plano-convex brick vaults, often set into a corner, where the house-wall foundations formed two sides of the grave. There were some burials in roughly built rectangular brick coffins (116), lined and roofed with wood. There were no traces of baked clay sarcophagi. It is not entirely clear from the available records whether the area had ceased to be inhabited when the burials were made or whether, as Watelin himself believed, they were cut down below the floors of occupied houses. Study of their pottery, in relation to that from the houses, generally suggests that the former was more often the case. It is probable that childrens' burials alone were made in occupied houses. The cart-burials, and the private graves most nearly associated with them were certainly cut down into an area no longer inhabited, some time after the major flood that formed the so-called Flood Stratum. Such was contemporary practice at Ur, though both at Fara, at Khafajah and at Abu Salabikh there is ample evidence for burial under the floors of private houses (117).

A. The Cart-Burials

I have used the term cart to describe the vehicles in these burials, rather than the more usual chariot, since in common English usage this denotes a vehicle, normally light, primarily for hunting and fighting. Such connotations may be misleading in this context, where the evidence only suggests that certain privileged male individuals were buried with a vehicle.

Although stratigraphical evidence for the date of the cart-burials is absent, two observations may be made about their relative positions. The shafts of comparable graves at Ur were cut ten metres or more down into a talus of debris from earlier occupation levels (118). The carts at Kish lay between one and two and a half metres below the 'Flood Stratum'; a depth barely sufficient to cover the vehicles and allowing no room for ramps. It is reasonable to suppose that they were originally cut from above the 'Flood Stratum' into an area in which settlement had

been abandoned. Traces of a cart-burial sealed below the larger ziggurat indicate that they were cut before it was built.

If the Diyala system is adopted for dating the artefacts reported with these burials, they fall into E.D.II, much closer to III than to I. The copper axeheads Y.406 O-P are of a type found in contexts of E.D.II at Mari and at Tell Agrab and of E.D.IIIA at Ur (119). The deep sheetmetal bowls with rim suspension lugs are comparable to a type of vessel with similar fittings also found at Ur in the 'royal graves' (120), where the copper tools, goads and saws, are also well matched (121). The fine zoomorphic, copper rein-rings are the earliest amongst those so far reported from excavations in Iraq. A plain double rein-ring is represented in place on a chariot pole carved on a stone plaque from Sin Temple VIII at Khafajah in an E.D.II context (122). The pottery associated with these carts is, in Diyala terms, of E.D.II rather than III. In a letter to Langdon Watelin commented (7th May 1928) that the cart-burials 'contain painted vases, which have not been found at Ur'. The records show this to mean the standard buff wares of the period covered with a red slip. Although red painted jars without plastic decoration were still common on the Diyala sites during E.D.II, painted pottery of any kind is rare in the following period. As Gibson has noted certain of the other pottery types shown in photographs and sketches of these burials during the excavation are typical of Diyala E.D.II (123); indeed they appear in other 'Y' graves.

In seeking to define the social status of the individuals accorded this form of burial the comparable graves at Ur naturally form the main touchstone. The contrasts are striking. At Kish there were no cylinder seals in the cart-burials; indeed they were very rare in 'Y' graves. At Ur, in the royal graves and elsewhere, cylinder seals cut with banquet scenes seem to denote court officials (e.g. PG 1130, 1315). At Kish evidence for human sacrifices is meagre. Inadequate records preclude a definite conclusion, but there were certainly none of the large concentrations of human skeletons, without individual grave-goods, found at Ur. There were no 'Death Pits' here. The graves were in no way significantly distinguished from other graves in the 'Y' sounding by their furnishings, with the sole exception of the cart and its fittings:

rein-rings, goads etc. There was no precious metal, no increase in the number of pottery or stone vessels, nor any marked variation in the range, quality and quantity of copper objects (compare the other graves 391, 469, 494, 538, 683-4, 689) or jewellery. The owner of each grave was alone distinguished by his (the grave-goods suggest men) possession of a cart, or possibly carts, the bovid to draw it into the grave, and the equids to accompany it. The cart-burials do not seem to vary in any way one from the other and might fall so close in time as to be, not the graves of rulers in dynastic succession, but of nobles, contemporary or near contemporary.

Broadly the cart-burials were sunk from above the Flood Stratum, which falls somewhere very late in E.D.II, but below the foundations of the greater ziggurat laid sometime in E.D.IIIA. They may then be earlier, if not by very much, than the Ur burials of similar form. The graves with vehicles excavated at Susa were too ill-defined to place them exactly in this sequence; but they are broadly contemporary and simply equipped like those at Kish (124). In all three cases the draught animals used at the time of burial were bovids, not equids. There were, it seems, no equids in the cart-burials at Ur and Susa.

The following account of the cart-burials is based on Watelin's published report, two type-written manuscripts about cart burials I and II (now in Chicago) by Watelin and Henry Field, and the card-index of objects for 1927-8, by Penniman's notes and sketch for 1928-9 (III), and just by the register of objects and annual reports thereafter (125).

Cart-burial I

This grave lay at four metres below the plain level in association with several skeletons, among them numbers 322-4, 326 and 329. Each skeleton was surrounded by pottery, but no other small finds were recognised in the grave. A low mudbrick wall was taken to have divided the tomb in half, with the human skeletons in one section and in the other the two wheels of a vehicle, with the skeleton of a bovid (126). Numerous broken pottery vessels lying between the wheels prevented the excavators from tracing the form of the cart, which Field is certain (contrary to Gibson's suggestion) had only two not four wheels. A rein-ring topped by an onager was associated with this cart

(127). The pottery was not registered. Grave 373 was found under the cart-burial.

Cart-burial II

This, the most fully described of these graves, has given rise to uncertainties (128), which the surviving records and photographs cannot finally resolve. The stages of its discovery are on record. A copper ferrule nail first alerted the excavators, then a copper saw was found lying near the outstretched arm of a skeleton (129). During the next day of work more human skeletons were found, each with pottery vessels and copper tools beside it. Then the 'outer walls' of the tomb were traced and a male skeleton found at the entrance to the tomb, lying on his right side with knees flexed (no.357, not 237 as published). At 15.5 metres (5.5 metres below plain level) lay the skeletons of four equids (130). Conditions were too damp for the human or animal skeletons to be recovered for study. Then slightly lower at about 16 metres were the remains of a four-wheeled vehicle set on a plano-convex brick platform, its body supported on bricks. The front of the cart was not located, but a pole, extending three metres from it, was. This terminated in a copper cap. Adjacent to the cap was a copper rein-ring topped by a hobbled stag (131) and the skeletal remains of a bovid. Closer to the front of the cart had been found another copper rein-ring topped by a plain horizontal figure-of-eight to take the reins (FM 236525). Watelin's description of the cart, based on field-drawings (132) is clear enough, but his description of the team and harnessing rests far too much on inferences supplied by Lefebvre des Noettes. Gibson interpreted the surviving photographs to show the equids in part overlying the vehicle. Henry Field, who was present at the excavation, reports that this was definitely not so (133). Gibson has overlooked how narrow the cart was; if this is allowed for, then surviving photographs suggest that Watelin was almost certainly right in supposing that the cart was brought down a ramp to the platform, upon which it was eventually set, and then the equids slaughtered slightly higher up the ramp. Here, as in I, it is possible that the bovid was merely used for traction down the ramp into the tomb chamber; a confined space in which the full team of equids normally used to draw the cart would have been inoperable. The presence of two rein-rings is a puzzle. There seems to be no evidence for a second vehicle.

Are we to suppose one mounted, as reliefs show, at the rear of the pole close to the cart's front, and another forward near its end, with the animal set like a mascot just above the pole terminal? There is no other evidence for such an arrangement.

The Cart

1. Platform 45 cm. wide; length undetermined; at the rear a slight step, with curved protective band of copper on its outer edge.
2. Wheels with a diameter of 50 cms.; axles 90 cms. long, diameter of 8 cms. Wooden pegs served as linch-pins and the wheels were made of irregular boards held together by transverse boards secured with wooden pegs. Copper nails with slightly domed heads were hammered, at intervals of 5 mm., into the edge of the wheel, perhaps securing in place a leather 'tyre'.
3. The cart pole was thought to be about three metres long and terminated in a copper cap. This supported a wooden yoke 5 mm. thick (as extant), square in section, curved in bow-fashion right and left.

Associated objects

Y.406 A assorted animal bones 'found on the south side of the yoke animals'.
B teeth of the yoke animals of the chariot (XK, IV, pl.XXIV.1).
C-E baked clay 'rattles' with handles; .095; cf. (1929.301).
F-G large jars; broken.
H three worked flints.
J two toilet shells; no pigment.
K copper saw blade; leaf-shaped, broken; .215 L.
L copper saw blade; leaf-shaped with tang; .405 L.
M copper chisel; .165 L.
N copper pin; no head; .100 L.
O copper axehead, 'hafted in the middle' (i.e. crescentic); .140 L.
P copper axehead; .150 L.
Q two 'polishing' conches; 'one very worn on two sides'.
R small black shell pierced.
S black stone pestle and mortar (said to have been found on the floor of the cart).
T copper nails from the cart wheels.
U 2 pieces of copper.

V beads - 'carnelian, lapis, agate etc.'.
W 'copper object...c. 20 cm. block.. found in proximity with the piece of harness for bearing reins'; the pole terminal mentioned in XK, IV, 31.
X copper rein-ring topped by a hobbled stag; .190 x .075 (FM 236528) - Field, Art and Archaeology, 1931, 251; XK, IV, pl.XXIV.1, XXV.3.
Y baked clay jar; .100 H; .055 D.
Z baked clay animal; headless and legless; .060 L.
AA baked clay model boat (?); .120 L.
AB bitumen model boat; .150 L.
AC copper fragments.
AD baked clay vessel.
? undecorated copper rein-ring (FM 236525).

Cart-burial III

This burial, at 15 metres, with skeleton 529, was said to be associated with three carts (134). Fortunately Penniman's field sketch and notes on this grave survive. These indicate an arrangement very like that in II with animal bones (?equid) laid on the right side of four wheels, the front two still in the original position, the rear two displaced when the vehicle was crushed by the earth burden above. The rein-ring was in place on the pole and just in advance of it to the left side were the remains of animal bones and teeth (?bovid).

V.32 wood and nails - ? part of one of the wheels; discovered on 2nd January 1929; remainder excavated and registered on 2nd to 6th March. Wheels 58 cms. in diameter.
782 copper dagger with openwork hilt (XK, IV, pl.XVIII); .110 L.
783 copper ladle; .250 L; XK, IV, pl.XVIII.4.
784 copper saw blade; .420 L; XK, IV, pl.XVIII.2-3.
785-6 copper gouges; .150 and .075 L.
787 copper implement; .155 L.
788 copper jar with suspension lugs on the rim; .165 H; .110 D; XK, IV, pl.XX.3.
789 copper jar similar to V.788; fabric impression; .180 H; .120 D; XK, IV, pl.XX.2.
790 copper cup imitating the shape of a shell; .140 x .120; XK, IV, pl.XIX.10.
791 copper needle; ? length.
792 'hammer-stone'; .080 x .080.

793-4 copper goads; .080 and .100 L.; XK, IV, pl.XVIII.5.
795 copper rein-ring with an onager on top; XK, IV, pl.XXV.1 (FM 236527).
796 broken baked clay jar; red slipped; two others were also said to be associated with this grave V.944-5; all were globular, squat jars (cf. vessels from grave 510).

Traces of further cart-burials

IV: set of wheels located, but not registered, very close to, and half under, the larger ziggurat in the south-east baulk of 'Y' at about 4 metres below the plain level (Watelin to Director, Field Museum, 23rd January 1931).
V: plain copper rein-ring: IM 5764 (XK, IV, pl.XXV.2); this may belong to cart-burial I.
VI: Grave 631 - at 4 metres depth; the inventory of this burial suggests association with an unrecognised cart-burial.
K.703-6 copper goads; .160; .110 L (3 examples).
K.707 copper rein-ring(?); birds squatting on the upper edge (FM 236526): an enigmatic object of uncertain function.
K.708-9 copper tools; .090; .120 L.
K.710 copper sawblade; .260 L.
K.711 copper spearhead.
K.712 copper adze-blade; .150 L.
K.714 copper hook.
K.1066 copper spearhead.
K.1363 copper spearhead.
VII: see the comments in the microfiche catalogue on grave 684 at 6 metres depth; it may also be an unrecognised cart-burial.

## B. The Ordinary Graves

### I. The Objects

#### (a) Pottery

An important terminus post quem for the chronology of the pottery in the ordinary graves in the 'Y' sounding is provided by Watelin's observation, already considered, that jars with incised decoration, and solid-footed goblets, were always reported from outside the graves and then only in the metre or two

immediately above the water-table. On the Diyala sites such goblets were particularly common in the early and middle phases of E.D.I. In the sequence of graves cut below houses at Khafajah they appear from grave 33 (Houses 11) to 83 (Houses 7) the final level attributed to E.D.I; but by then they were not nearly so common as before (135). This pottery distribution may be taken to show that the majority of graves cut down between 4 and 6 metres in Y were sunk, in Diyala terms, from a time late in E.D.I through E.D.II into levels of settlement debris deposited in the earlier part of E.D.I, when incised jars and solid footed goblets were in current use. The bulk of the recorded pottery from the graves, and those illustrations of graves in situ that have survived, confirm this basic distinction. There is no evidence for Proto-literate 'd' burials; even the lowest, recorded at 6 metres and more, have pottery in them which need not be particularly early in E.D.I.

Three forms: spouted jars, single-lugged jars and jars with upright handles, commonly deposited in the Y graves, establish more exactly the time span of these burials. Surviving grave plans and photographs show, apart from the often very numerous conical cups and small jars, that graves regularly had three or four spouted jars in them. These vessels normally have flat bases, slightly rounded shoulders, and a very small spout set at 45° close to the neck, which is either very low or about 4 centimetres high and slightly concave. The low-necked form, with its ovoid body, slightly curved spout and flat base is exactly matched at Khafajah in a grave dug down from Houses 8 in the later part of E.D.I (136); those with taller necks appear in the Diyala at the same time. The presence of single-lugged jars, very typical of E.D.I in the Diyala (137), indicates that the Y grave series certainly be begins in E.D.I., but their association there with jars with upright handles in graves cut as low as 5 metres suggests that it was late in the period. At Tell Asmar such jars first appear well stratified in the latest phase of the Archaic Shrine of the Abu Temple, late in E.D.I., and in the grave sequence at Khafajah in burials cut down from Houses 6 early in E.D.II (138). The pottery from the Y grave sequence indicates a range in date then from later E.D.I through into E.D.II as defined for the Diyala sites. The evidence of the conical cups is hard to estimate as so few were properly recorded; but they appear all to be

of the wider, lower types normal in this time range (139).

(b) Stone Vessels

By far the greater number of stone vessels are very simple open bowls either with straight sides angled at about 45° or gently curved; both types exactly paralleled at Khafajah, at Ubaid and at Ur in near contemporary graves; also in later graves at Khafajah and Ur (140). Finest of all are the tall cone-shaped vessels of thinly ground calcite. In general stone forms have many parallels in contemporary baked clay vessels, though only in the case of the burnished and coloured wares does there seem to have been a conscious attempt at imitation of stone surfaces. Rarer, and most distinctive, amongst the stone vessels are very heavy globular jars with deeply in-cut necks and widely spread horizontal rims, a type found also in the so-called 'Jamdat Nasr' graves at Ur (141). Two examples in Oxford with ancient repairs are of particular interest. Dr. J.D. Bell, Department of Geology and Mineralogy, Oxford University, reported that two bowls (1929.364 from grave 469 and 1929.367 from grave 479) were 'variably altered mafic igneous rocks, either lavas or minor intrusions. A generally basaltic composition of the original rock is indicated'. Such also was a tiny bowl from cemetery 'A' (Kish 2716 - 1925.339).

(c) Metalwork

So far as it is possible to trace, only a single fragment of gold (grave 679 at 5.5 metres) and no silver was found in the 'Y' graves, though silver occurs occasionally for jewellery in the contemporary graves at Khafajah. Where analytical evidence is available the base metal is copper or arsenical-bronze; so far there is no evidence for a tin-bronze alloy. The range of objects is exactly comparable with that in the graves at Khafajah, allowing that some burials in Y, notably the cart-burials, were more richly equipped with copper objects. At Khafajah pins and vessels appear from the Proto-literate period, the first metal mirror in E.D.I, the first metal cosmetic shell in E.D.II; but only in E.D.III were metal weapons and tools included in the grave furnishings. Technically the most interesting of the metal objects in the ordinary graves are the cast copper stand set on a frog

and the openwork cylindrical vessel support (142). They are lost-wax copper castings as fine as the rein-rings in the cart-burials. They are much more elaborate than two similar stands in graves of E.D.II at Khafajah (143). Adams has seen the increasing quantity of metal in these graves an indicator of wealth differentials in E.D.I. (144).

(d) Beads and Seals

Two cylinder seals were reported with grave-groups, both of E.D.I (graves 622 and 630). This meagre number is in marked contrast, for instance, with the cemetery over palace A or the graves at Ur, where in E.D.III cylinder seals seem definitely to define the social role of those in whose graves they appear. Nor were stamp-seals any more common. The only examples were two with very worn Jamdat Nasr drill-style designs that occurred together in grave 430 at 6 metres. The range of materials for beads: carnelian, lapis-lazuli, rock-crystal, steatite (?chlorite), calcite, grey quartzite, shell and faience, is standard for the period. Particular interest attaches only to the few faience beads whic h may derive from an industry much more active in northern Iraq than in Sumer (145). It is possible that some of the more enigmatic flint tools were devised for the manufacture of beads.

(e) Shells

Apart from the shells used as beads and pendants or possibly deposited as food, there were a number in graves either whole or cut for use as containers. Later, in E.D.III, shells were regularly deposited in graves as indeed were vessels of metal, stone and baked clay inspired by the shape of shells. In cemetery A, and also in Y, the smaller shells were primarily cosmetic containers, as in graves at Khafajah; the only large shell in a grave of cemetery A was also certainly a cosmetic container (146). In other contexts there is no certain evidence for the uses of the larger shells, or their copies in other materials. That they were lamps, as is often said, does not seem very likely in view of the common absence of any trace of burning; indeed some of the marks said to be this may be traces of a black cosmetic (147). Many of them were containers for drink or for dispensing liquids.

(f) Bones

There were few bone artefacts. Scattered animal bones indicate that joints of meat were placed in the graves at the time of burial as also were fish (this is clear from Penniman's records).

IV. CUTTING YWN

YWN, sunk to only two metres below the 'plain level' near the edge of the tell, did not reach the Flood Stratum. As this sounding lay towards the sloping edge of the tell, finds were very mixed. The remains of a large building were uncovered (148) as well as burials contemporary with those in cemetery A.

V. CUTTING YW

YW was cut in 1929-30 in the area of trench C. It went down to water level, six metres below 'plain level'. In the upper three metres or so of this cutting buildings of sun-baked rectangular bricks were uncovered (149) which the excavator dated to the same period as Monument Z; late Akkadian through into Ur III. Published photographs indicate at least two building phases. They had been considerably cut about by drains and water channels in which plano-convex bricks were re-used; some of these drains took Old Babylonian objects down into earlier levels. The buildings yielded a variety of objects, seals and tablets extending back from the Old Babylonian period and three small alabaster heads of men (150) (XK, IV, pl.XXIX.2-4). Immediately below these buildings the excavators found what they believed to be the Red Stratum again, though Gibson doubts it (151). The difference may be no more than a matter of description. Though it is not so distinctively coloured red hereabouts, being much further removed from the ziggurat collapse which coloured the level in the area of the Y sounding, it is contemporary, again separated from the Flood Stratum by some traces of buildings (letter, 24th February 1930). Below the Flood Stratum here was an urban settlement as in Y. Only one grave was found, in contrast with the concentration in Y, at 6.50 metres depth close to the water table (Photo.33, 1929-30 season) with exactly the same range of pottery as was found in graves of the Y sounding at comparable depth. Small finds were also similar to those from Y.

Here there was clearer indication of a relative date

for the Flood Stratum. In Watelin's own words (Letter, 17th February 1930) 'You will find photographs of impressions which are going to permit us to date the flood exactly. These impressions come from a bed of pottery and ashes, directly covered by the flood, which also contains the archaic tablets'. These impressions were never recorded on fieldcards nor marked with their source. They arrived in the Ashmolean and were accessed in 1930. A selection were illustrated, and commented on, by Langdon; but he included impressions either found in Y in 1928-9 (152) or in trenches B and C, above the Flood Stratum (153). In fact, of the impressions illustrated, up to seven are rollings of a single fine cylinder seal in the 'Fara Style' (154). This number of rollings may be nearly trebled from fragmentary impressions among those received in Oxford in 1930.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

(1) S.Langdon, Der Alte Orient, 26, (1928), 66-7; D.O.Edzard, RLA (1975) under 'Hursag Kalama'.

(2) XK, III, 17ff: incorrect provenance.

(3) D.D.Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib (Chicago, 1924), 25,1,40; 54,52; 57,12.

(4) XK, I, 23ff.; A.Schott, ZA, 42 (1934), 207, note.

(5) See for instance Tiglath-Pileser III's offering of sacrifices: KB II, 12, 11; KB II, 6, 15-16 and the Babylonian Chronicles reference to the 'Gods of Kish': D.J.Wiseman, Chronicles of the Babylonian Kings (London, 1956), 50-1, line 6.

(6) F.R.Kraus, MVAeG 35 (2) (1930), 69; the waterways of Kish, and their relation to the major river system of Iraq at any particular time, are problems fraught with difficulties; see Gibson, passim, and the important modifications by H.J.Nissen in R.McC.Adams and H.J.Nissen, The Uruk Countryside (Chicago, 1972), 45 and H.Weiss, J.A.O.S. 95(1975), 434ff.

(7) K.L.Tallqvist, AG, 332; Th.Dangin, RA, XXXIII (1936), 109; XK, I, 23ff.; RLA, II, 304.

(8) II R 50, 13b.

(9) J.A.Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts (Leipzig, 1895-7), 58, 6-10; O.Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur (Leipzig, 1920), no.84.

(10) XK, III.

(11) Kich, I, pl.44, 24ff. - text series B, no.136.

(12) RA, 10 (1913), 83ff.

(13) XK, III, pl.II - de Genouillac's dimensions for the wing, 30 x 32 metres, are not in agreement with Watelin's scale here.

(14) XK, III, pl.X purports to be this jewellery; but this plate is identical with XK, I, pl.XXIV: 'Strings of beads from Neo-Babylonian graves' ascribed to mound W. This is correct. They are 1369, 1151 and 1343 from the 1923-4 season. For the temple hoard see Art and Archaeology, (1927), 108, fig.12.

(15) XK, I, 35.

(16) A.Schott, ZA, 42 (1934), 208, note.

(17) Langdon, Der Alte Orient, 26 (1928), 66-7.

(18) XK, III, 18ff.

(19) Ibid. 1.

(20) See n.11. above.

(21) XK, III, 11-13.

(22) Kich I, pl.XV,2. XVI.1.

(23) Gibson, 91.

(24) For example the Temple of Ishtar of Agade in the Merkes: R.Koldewey, The Excavations at Babylon (London, 1914), fig.244.

(25) AM I, 82.

(26) XK, IV, pp.45, 55-6.

(27) XK, IV, pl.III, fig.6.

(28) Note this important revision of XK, III, pp.6, 14.

(29) Cf. XK, IV, p.9, pl.XI.1.

(30) XK, IV, pp.45, 55-6.

(31) XK, IV, p.6.

(32) Langdon's statement to the contrary, Art and Archaeology (1928), pp.161-2 is fanciful.

(33) For example the photograph in Art and Archaeology (1927), p.104, fig.4.

(34) H.Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (1939), p.76; Stratified Cylinder Seals...(O.I.P. LXXII (1955), pp.39-40; Van Buren, RA 46 (1952), pp.65ff.

(35) Amiet Glyptique, p.180, n.125 with references.

(36) Th.Dombart, ZA 4 (1929), pp.39ff.

(37) Amiet Glyptique, p.182, n.126.

(38) Th.A.Busink, Bib.Or. 7 (1950), p.70; J.E.O.L. 21 (1969-70), pp.91-142, esp. p.122 n.1.

(39) XK, IV, pl.V.2, top, shows the 'C' area before clearance; pl.VI.3 after.

(40) XK, IV, pl.3.

(41) M.Gibson, Iraq 34 (1972), p.119.

(42) MAD V (Chicago, 1970).

(43) Kich I, p.27: colour plate, pl.IX.

(44) XK, I, p.21.

(45) XK, IV, p.52, pl.XXXVI.1.

(46) XK, IV, p.52, n.2, pl.II: T-U-Ua.

(47) XK, IV, pp.54-5, pl.II, top rt., pl.XXXVI.2,3,4.

(48) XK, IV, pl.II.

(49) XK, IV, p.52.

(50) XK, IV, pl.II.

(51) XK, I, pl.XXXII.1,3, with pl.XXXV.3.

(52) Kich II, p.10, pl.50:135, 52:48.

(53) XK, IV, p.52.

(54) AM I, passim.

(55) Delougaz, p.105.

(56) AM I, pl.XXIV.2.

(57) XK, III, pl.III for this trench.

(58) E.Mackay, The Times, August 25th 1926; XK, I, p.3.

(59) AM I, p.82.

(60) XK, IV, p.47, fig.6.

(61) H.Frankfort et al., The Gimilsin Temple...(O.I.P. XLIII, 1940), figs.5,6.

(62) XK, IV, p.iv.

(63) XK, IV, p.48.

(64) Art and Archaeology (1928), pp.165-6.

(65) RA, XXIV (1927), pp.89ff.

(66) Iraq XXXI (1969), p.44; Gibson, p.188.

(67) S.Langdon, JRAS (1930), pp.601ff; XK, IV, p.iv, n.1; I.J.Gelb, Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar (2nd Ed.), pp.3-4.

(68) Art and Archaeology (1928), fig.8; R.Opificius, Das Altbabylonische Terrakottarelief, no.482; Iraq, XXXVII (1975), p.93, pl.XXIIIa: Y.29 = IM 5902.

(69) The published reports are not consistent: XK, IV, p.45, pl.I; Gibson, pp.181-4; also letters: Watelin to the Field Museum Director, 23rd March 1928; Watelin to Langdon, 7th May 1928.

(70) XK, IV, p.44.

(71) Gibson, p.184.

(72) Iraq XXXI (1969), pp.44-6.

(73) UE,V, pp.23,84,112,128ff., 136,138,142-3.

(74) Iraq XXXI (1969), pp.45-6.

(75) UE,V, p.130.

(76) XK, IV, pl.XL = Amiet Glyptique, 1074; XK, IV, pl.XXXV, burial 344 = Buchanan, I, no.295; see also Buchanan, I, no.293 for reference to another seal.

(77) Art and Archaeology (1928), p.163; XK, IV, pp.36-8,61-2, pl.XLIII-IV; OECT VII, pl.IV.

(78) XK, III, pl.XI.20: Ashmolean 1929.160.

(79) XK, IV, pp.45-6.

(80) XK, IV, 40ff.; JRAS, 1930, 601.

(81) Gibson, 175-6; Watelin to Langdon, 4th December 1928; I visited the site in February 1969.

(82) XK, IV, pl.IV.1.

(83) XK, IV, 40ff; Iraq XXVI (1964), 31.

(84) JRAS, 1930, 603; H.Field, Man, March 1936, 75.

(85) Watelin to Langdon, 7th March 1928.

(86) The exact dating of this material is still very open: see H.Martin in Le Temple et le Culte (Istanbul, 1975), 173-182.

(87) The Times, 4th January; 16th, 18th, 19th and 30th March; 17th July 1929; Daily Telegraph, 18th and 21st March; 5th June; 13th December 1929.

(88) Iraq XXVI (1964), 62ff.

(89) XK, IV, 1ff.

(90) XK, IV, 7, fig.2.

(91) XK, IV, pl.XI.1: possibly part of a burial.

(92) Iraq XXXI (1969), 47-8.

(93) Delougaz, Pre-Sargonid Temples...163,170ff.

(94) Delougaz, Private Houses...passim. T.A.Madhloom, Sumer 16 (1960) (Arabic), pl.IIa, rt.; S.Rashid, Sumer 19 (1963), 82ff.

(95) UE IV, pl.75.

(96) UE IV, pl.I.

(97) UE IV, pl.75.

(98) D.Hansen, JNES 22 (1963), 156 n.54; R.Ehrich, Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, 209.

(99) UVB 4 (1932), pl.20 B,C.

(100) XK, IV, 4-6, pl.VII-VIII.

(101) XK, I, 67-8, fig.3.

(102) Kich II, pl.II.1: Brussels, Cinquantenaire O.711.

(103) XK, I, 67-8.

(104) D.Stronach, Iraq 23 (1961), 95-137.

(105) XK, IV, 17, pl.I.

(106) Delougaz, 54.

(107) Delougaz, pl.63.

(108) XK, IV, 14: Type Aa.

(109) Delougaz, Pre-Sargonid Temples, fig.125; for a rural site near Ur: Wright Administration, 61ff.

(110) Delougaz, 56-7, 143.

(111) Delougaz, 137 n.56; for full discussion H.Kühne, Die Keramik von Tell Chuera (Berlin, 1976), 55.

(112) AM I, pl.LII.25-6: mound A; Delougaz, 100ff., pl.104d,f.

(113) XK, IV, 14ff., pl.XVI.5,6; JRAS 1930, pl.IX.4; cf. Delougaz, pl.45a,c.

(114) Delougaz 60, 81, pl.70g-i; D.Hansen in Ehrich, Chronologies in Old World Archaeology, 209.

(115) XK, IV, 17-19.

(116) XK, IV, pl.XI; cf. UE II, 137ff., pl.14a.

(117) E.Schmidt, Philadelphia Museum Journal 22 (1931), 207; Delougaz, Private Houses, passim; N.Postgate, Iraq XXXVIII (1976), p.158.

(118) UE, II, 34.

(119) A.Parrot, Syria XIX (1938), 4ff., pl.II.4; Delougaz, Pre-Sargonid Temples, 268: Ag 36: 143-5, 161, 394; UE, II, pl.234:type 3.

(120) UE, II, pl.234: type 41.

(121) UE, II, pl.227: U.6421, pl.229: type 3.

(122) Frankfort, Sculpture of the Third Millennium, no. 188, pl.108.

(123) Gibson, 86.

(124) Le Breton, Iraq XIX (1957), 114.

(125) See also Gibson, 84-5 and Field's comment in Gibson, n.159.

(126) XK, IV, pl.XXIII.2.

(127) Art and Archaeology 26 (1928), 167, fig.24 = XK, IV, pl.XXV.4 = Y.221: IM 5763.

(128) XK, IV, 30-1; Gibson 85, n.160.

(129) H.Field, Art and Archaeology 31 (1931), 250-1, figures.

(130) XK, IV, pl.XXIII.1.

(131) XK, IV, pl.XXIV.1, XXV.3.

(132) XK, IV, fig.3.

(133) Gibson, 85, fig.63.

(134) XK, IV, 30.

(135) Delougaz, 56.

(136) Delougaz, 52-3, pl.38a-b.

(137) Delougaz, 57-8.

(138) Delougaz, 83-5.

(139) Wright Administration, 63, 76-7.

(140) Delougaz, Private Houses 58-110; UE, I, pl.LXI; Wright Administration, 77ff.; UE, IV, pl.32; UE, II, pl.242, Types 16, 19-22.

(141) UE, II, pl.33: U.19401.

(142) XK, IV, pl.XX.1,2.

(143) Delougaz, Private Houses, graves 91/110; figs.69, 78,98,107-8.

(144) Adams, Evolution, 99.

(145) J.F.Stone and L.C.Thomas, PPS XXII (1956), 40-46.

(146) AM, I, 14-15, 135; pl.XXXVIII.3.

(147) J.M.Aynard, Syria XLIII (1966), 21-37; A.L.Oppenheim, Orientalia 32 (1963), 407-12. At Kish there were close copies in calcite: XK, IV, pl.XXXVIII.3 and faience: Ingharra, grave 317; both E.D.III.

(148) XK, IV, 48ff; pl.XXXII.

(149) XK, IV, pl.XXVII.2.

(150) XK, IV, pl.XXIX.2-4.

(151) Gibson, 194.

(152) XK, IV, pl.XXXVIII, centre, 2nd from rt.; bottom, 2nd from left; pl.XL, top left.

(153) XK, IV, pl.XXXVIII, top rt.: C4 at 6m; XXXIX.4: C5 at 2m.

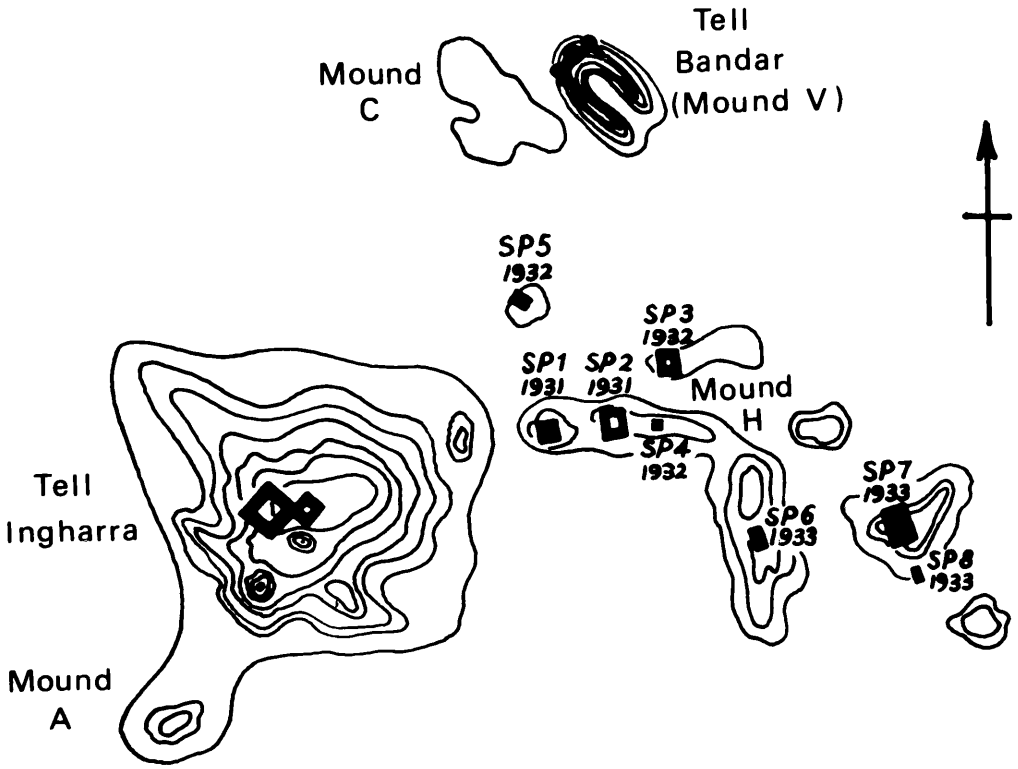
(154) Buchanan, I, 135; Amiet Glyptique, 946.

# Chapter 7

## TELL H: THE SASANIAN SETTLEMENT

Although the concentration of small mounds to the east of Tell Ingharra (tell 'H'; Gibson, nos.4-6) was the main focus of the Expedition's work during the final three seasons (1930-33), and the finds of outstanding importance for knowledge of the Sasanian period in Iraq, scattered preliminary publications have not facilitated proper study of them. Langdon was not interested in this period, Watelin was dead within a year of the final season's work and the Kish material woven into the Sasanian sections of the monumental Survey of Persian Art is extremely selective, only a fragment of it actually written by Watelin. The so-called Sasanian palaces 1, 2 and 3 (in part) were excavated in 1930-1, work on 3 continued and fresh work was undertaken on 4 and 5 in 1931-2, whilst 6, 7 and 8 were cleared during the final season in 1933 when the American Institute of Persian Art (A.U. Pope) financed the excavations. Only SP-1 to 3 and 7 were regarded as of sufficient interest to be planned. For the unplanned smaller buildings, 4-6 and 8, only the card-index of objects is available; but this is sufficient at least to provide some guide both to their main period of occupation and their relation to more substantial neighbours. For the large buildings the same record is to hand, in addition to the published plans, photographs and drawings of the stucco from SP-1 to 2, now largely in Chicago. With this rather exiguous material I have attempted in the following pages a rapid appraisal of the Sasanian settlement close to Ingharra, followed by a detailed consideration of the objects in Oxford, predominantly from SP-7.

Before reviewing the archaeological material building by building, it is convenient to consider first the date at which the Sasanian settlement here ceased. A terminus is provided by the absence of Early Islamic pottery from the buildings and, more positively, by one particular group of pottery: the 'Jewish' Incantation Bowls found wherever the Expedition dug in the upper metre or less of debris. Although such bowls have been reported from sites in Iraq lying approximately between Nippur and Bismaya in the south, Assur in the north, and eastwards into Iran, very few have yet been found in well-dated contexts.




J. Sketch Plan of Tell 'H' - the Sasanian settlement (after L. Ch. Watelin)

They share, with a few exceptions, a very restricted range of shapes and bear, almost invariably on the inside, magic incantations in one of three scripts, Aramaic, Syriac,and Mandaic, representing a variety of Aramaic dialects. Those found at the end of the last century in some quantity at Nippur overlay Parthian buildings and occurred in proximity to seventh century Kufic coins. Montgomery neatly summarised the chronological evidence thus: 'the terminus ad quem of our texts is the seventh century (probably its beginning), with a fair leeway back into the preceding century' (1). He, and subsequent commentators, seem agreed that they definitely precede the Islamic conquest. Slowly accumulating archaeological evidence bears this out, without much refining Montgomery's suggested span. If anything they concentrate in the decades immediately before rather than after A.D.600. In sounding 'C' of more recent excavations at Nippur four incantation bowls were found in level III associated with plain wares exactly like those found with them at Kish. This level falls late in the Sasanian period, but no report of the exact context of the bowls is given (2); such also is the case at Ctesiphon (3). At Tell Abu Sarifa, about 17 km. north-northwest of Nippur, two incantation bowls were found in well-stratified contexts in 1969. Both had been buried upside down, one in the wall of a large room in level II, the other slightly higher in the same area of level III. The excavator dated level II 'before 500', level III, A.D. 500-650 (4). But as these levels were dated on the Kish evidence, the dates have to be revised in the light of the subsequent discussion, particularly Adam's early date for level II (5).

Where good records are available these bowls appear either built into the structure of houses or in cemeteries. They were normally placed upside down, a number sometimes set one inside the other (6). The purpose of the bowls was defensive. The principal client normally invoked protection for a spouse, for children, for house or property; the inversion of the bowl in the ground may have been to trap the demons cursed (7). The exact context of the Aramaic bowls at Kish is obscure. No mention is made of buildings above the so-called Sasanian buildings, where they might have been set into walls; graves are referred to only sporadically. The same obscurity arises also at Bandar and Barguthiat (see pp.30). In all cases it seems they were just placed in the ground a short distance

beneath the surface. The presence of these bowls in some quantity at Kish is not surprising as there was very considerable Jewish settlement in the heartland of Babylonia in the Sasanian period. The community closest to Kish, for which there is literary evidence, was that at Babel (8).

Lying as they always do on mound 'H' very close to the surface, these bowls indicate that major occupation of the Sasanian buildings was over by the later sixth century A.D. Other evidence from the settlement to be considered subsequently, though less explicit, could be taken to indicate that with a major building programme on the royal estate at Ctesiphon, initiated by Khusraw I, the minor Sasanian royal establishment at Kish passed into eclipse.

Sasanian Building (SP-1) (fig.K)

At the most westerly end of the low sprawling mounds which adjoin Tell Ingharra to the east Watelin excavated part of a substantial building with two ivans, a larger and a small one, facing across an open court-yar (9) (fig.K). Such is the basic plan of the rear court at Firuzabad (10), though the Kish building has neither the axial plan nor the monumental symmetry of this third century stone palace in Fars. In SP-1 two small, ornamental pools were set in the court flanking the larger, north-facing ivan. Throughout walls of sundried mudbrick were badly disintegrated, but usually preserved to a height of a few feet. Access was oblique through a portal on the east side with two brickbuilt columns 'coloured yellow'. Within this portal a passage at the northern end gave access to the main courtyard adjacent to the smaller ivan. To the south an opening in the wall reached a richly ornamented archway (B1,B1) leading to a narrow passage opening onto the courtyard immediately in front of the larger ivan. Among the more elaborate buildings excavated by the Germans at Ctesiphon there was at least one, at Umm es-Sa'atir (11) that resembled SP-1 in its somewhat haphazard combination of long rectangular and small square rooms with very narrow linking passages; all thus designed to facilitate barrel vaulting.

So rich and varied was the stucco decoration recovered, largely from the two ivans, that the excavators have left no record of the more mundane architectural features and, in contrast to the other Sasanian buildings, only one pottery vessel, a full-

bodied jar with cylindrical neck and triple shoulder handles (12), was catalogued. Although Watelin offered some guide to the exact loci in which fallen stucco fragments were found in captions to the drawings published in The Survey of Persian Art, I, this information, as the following list shows, is by no means comprehensive. Nor, from the positions in which the fragments were found, was it possible for him to offer any clear guide to their original arrangement on the walls and vaults of the ivans. Indeed the reconstructions offered leave a certain amount to be desired. It is provisional reconstructions of the scheme of stucco decoration in two ivans at Umm es-Sa$^{c}$atir, Ctesiphon, which offer the best available guide as to how the fragments from SP-1 may originally have looked in situ, for, as in the architecture of the two buildings, there are many close parallels both in style and motifs between the two sets of stucco (13).

The Stucco (Figs. K and L)

The list on p.130 gives the original location of the various fragments of stucco from SP-1; here it will be briefly reviewed by category.

(a) Arched openings

The decorative scheme of the ivan arches is indicated by fragments of tori moulded with scale patterns, zig-zags or rows of quatrefoils, whilst the extrados carried border patterns of palmettes, flowers or pomegranates alternating in evenly spaced rows. The torus ended on each side with fluttering scarf tassles (14). The whole ornament was symbolic rather than architectural, representing the royal diadem. This is clear from the fully preserved diadem on the face of the ivan arch at Taq-i-Bustan (15).

(b) Wall plaques
i. Geometric and floral

Plaques, approximately 30 cm. square, were mass-produced so that they might, like ceramic tiles, be set beside each other to cover wall and vault surfaces. The motifs most commonly found were clearly chosen to form continuous designs either repeating a single device or using a number in regular sequences both horizontal and vertical. These plaques were framed in variously decorated borders from which pieces survive. There is a striking similarity in the range of motifs used for this kind of stucco decoration throughout the

Sasanian Empire.

ii. Heraldic

These are plaques like i., but with motifs more obviously symbolic in function, notable among them in SP-1 winged rams' heads in profile or facing forward, and the devices or 'monograms' well-known both on Sasanian rock reliefs and seals (16).

(c) Figured designs and human busts

i. Male busts

Although the fragment K.1407 gets no specific mention in the accounts of stucco from Kish there may be no doubt from the field register of objects and the illustrated account in the ILN, March 7th 1931, p.369, that this single fragment of a king's head and shoulders was found in SP-1, not SP-2, where a whole series decorated the main courtyard (see p.135). Sadly, in the absence of a crown, there may be no certainty that this is also Bahram V (see p.136). The style of the necklace on K.1407 is slightly different, so it may very well represent another ruler.

ii. Female heads

These fall into three quite distinct groups:

a. Detached heads, terminating at the base of the neck, which were set alternately with floral plaques on the underside of the arched entrance B1,B1. The hair, whether straight or curled, bears no diadem.

Recourse is normally made to Hatra for parallels to this distinctive form of architectural decoration as it is so far without close parallel in Sasanian buildings. At Hatra the carved stone masks and busts set on the outside of ivan arches, not on the underside as at Kish, framed by decorated tori, are generally deities, male and female (17). No such pious intent inspired the Kish builders, for here, at what is probably the entrance to the female apartments of the palace, they set exclusively female heads without any of the attributes of divinity. Indeed they are best seen as dancing girls or the like, precursors of the full-size buxom wenches who decorated the Ummayad palace of Khirbet al-Mafjar in Jordan (18). There are, however, Sasanian parallels in the palace at Bishapur both to theme and motif. There, in square panels, on the third

century mosaic floors of the triple ivan, naked women dance, play the harp or weave garlands. They are accompanied by rectangular panels of detached heads, male and female, young and old, whose identity is still a matter for debate (19). Arab geographers mention a palace built by Bahram V near Hamadan that 'was a huge structure, with halls, passages and chambers, in part cut out of the live rock. At the four corners were sculptural female figures...' (20).

b. A single plaque showing a female head in a square frame surrounded by a floriate border. She wears a diadem formed of a double brow-band, set with a jewel at the centre in the front, from which rises a pleated frill. The hair is dressed in curls, lightly clustered over the ears; she wears double-drop earrings (see K.1417 in list below).

Two such plaques as this have been published, in drawings, from finds by the German excavators at Ctesiphon, one female, from Umm es-Saʿatir (21), the other said to be male, from Maʿaridh IV (22). They were both ivan ornaments. A comparable plaque with a female head from Hissar was thought to have been set as part of a horizontal frieze between two flanking columns directly across the apex of an arched opening (23). Since these plaques are so widely distributed it may be assumed that the figure had a specific identity. Resemblance to the traditional Near Eastern motif of a courtesan at a window (24) seems to be fortuitous, since this is but one in a series of designs where monograms or winged rams' heads are also set within ornamented square frames. The diadem is less elaborate than on the next group of heads, but sets this figure apart from the unornamented heads of the archway. Perhaps in this case a domestic goddess is intended.

c. Head and shoulder busts (at least one fragment down to the waist) of a woman with her hair dressed in plaits falling onto her shoulders. She normally wears a rich diadem with a brow-band bearing a central jewel, then a row of 'pearls' supporting a pleated diadem topped by another row of 'pearls'. She may also wear a double-banded necklace with a square jewel set in the front centre with two pendant balls.

The index of objects suggests that fragments of at least six such busts were found in the main courtyard, where

presumably they had been set on the walls, as were comparable male busts in SP-2. They seem to vary in size and in details of ornamentation. The excavators assumed that the lady represented was a queen, wife of the monarch shown in SP-2 and, possibly, by the single very damaged male bust from SP-1. Although this is by far the most likely identification, it is difficult to check with present evidence as women rarely appear in Sasanian monumental art. When the Sasanian queen appears, as for instance on gems where she may be certainly recognized, she wears an ornamented crown similar to that of a king (25). On a unique representation in relief at Sar-Mashhad, where Bahram II's wife appears, she is shown helmeted (26). On a relief of Narseh at Naqsh-i Rustam Anahita, as befits a goddess, wears a mural crown surmounted by a globe of hair (27). If this lady is accepted as a queen then an interesting contrast emerges between buildings SP-1 and 2, for in the former only the queen appears, save for a single head, in the latter only the king with no trace of the queen. Since there is no reason to suppose these two buildings other than contemporary, of the third decade of the fifth century (see p.136), they may well have been part of a single palace complex. SP-1 would have been the female apartments, then SP-2, westwards across courtyards never excavated, the male with proper provision for a reception hall and throne-room. The oblique entry to both sections indicates that this was a minor palace.

iii. Boys

A number of plaques showed boys in shirts, which left their genitals exposed, with arms raised as if holding swags; perhaps the grape-vines found adjacent to them. In each case the head is missing. Similar low relief human sculpture was found at Ctesiphon (28).

iv. Animals

One complete panel of a lion attacking a bull, and part of at least one more, repeat a motif of great antiquity in the Near East, variously interpreted (29), but perhaps still visible at the time in one of its finest monumental renderings, that on the Apadana staircase at Persepolis. Another fragment shows the headless body of a reclining bull. Certain other pieces might be taken to suggest that there was a traditional Sasanian hunting scene here with horses, stags, boars and gazelles. Fragmentary birds recall designs at

Ctesiphon and on later Ummayad stucco.

The existence of pattern blocks among the fragments recovered from this building may indicate that work was in progress on the stucco to the very end of its life. Such decoration, particularly if exposed to the elements on an iwan front or in a courtyard, must always have been in need of repair and renovation.

## The Programme of Decoration

The circumstances of excavation allow no grounds for confident restorations of the original scheme of decoration; but an attempt has been made on figures K-M here to group as far as possible the very scattered published illustrations of the finds. More ambitiously, perhaps over-confidently so, an attempt has been made on figure L to suggest how the smaller iwan might originally have been ornamented. The rockcut iwan at Taq-i Bostan has been used as the basis for suggesting that the vault was undecorated, the lower walls covered with floral plaques and the main area of the rear arch decorated with a scene including animal and human figures: its original arrangement lost beyond recall. It is much more difficult still to assess how much decoration covered the walls flanking the north side of the courtyard. It is cautiously proposed here that this court, as more certainly that in SP-2, was in some way ornamented with royal busts; but here both the king and his queen appeared, she perhaps most commonly. To this aspect of the decorative scheme may also belong the ram symbols, the monograms and the lion attacking the bull: a theme long associated in Iran as elsewhere with the monarchy and its authority.

## Check-List of Stucco

Virtually all the stucco went to the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, where it was extensively restored. The following list includes only those pieces registered in the course of excavation. Details of location are taken from figures in SPA I, and manuscript notes on the original drawings used for that volume now in the Chicago Kish archive.

A. Fragments of known location

I. Smaller ivan

(i) 'A' - north west corner

K.1381 .290 x .180: plaster 'scarf' terminal; the Field Museum has at least eight such pieces; SPA, I, fig.148; fig.K.

K.1392 .220 x .200: plaque - relief ram's head, front view; SPA, I, fig.213; fig.K.

K.1399 .200 x .150: niche-head fragment with a bead-and-reel border; ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.3; SPA, I, fig.175; cf. Ktesiphon, I, fig.13; fig.K.

K.1440 fragment of arch voussoirs.

? plaque - rosettes: SPA, I, fig.182, lower; fig.K.

(ii) 'B'

K.1380 heads of animals, generally wild boars; at least half a dozen in Chicago.

K.1387 .560 x .260: palmette frieze.

(iii) 'C': span front of the ivan

K.1378 .290 x .270; fragment from a panel showing a stag to one side of a curving arcade; ILN, February 14th 1931, 261, fig.; cf. Ktesiphon, I, fig.39; Hissar, pl.LXXIII H.1541; fig.L.

K.1383 .120 x .250: branch with leaves and fruit; SPA, I, fig.184a; fig.K.

K.1396 .280 x .140: headless boys in shirts; SPA, I, fig.212; fig.L.

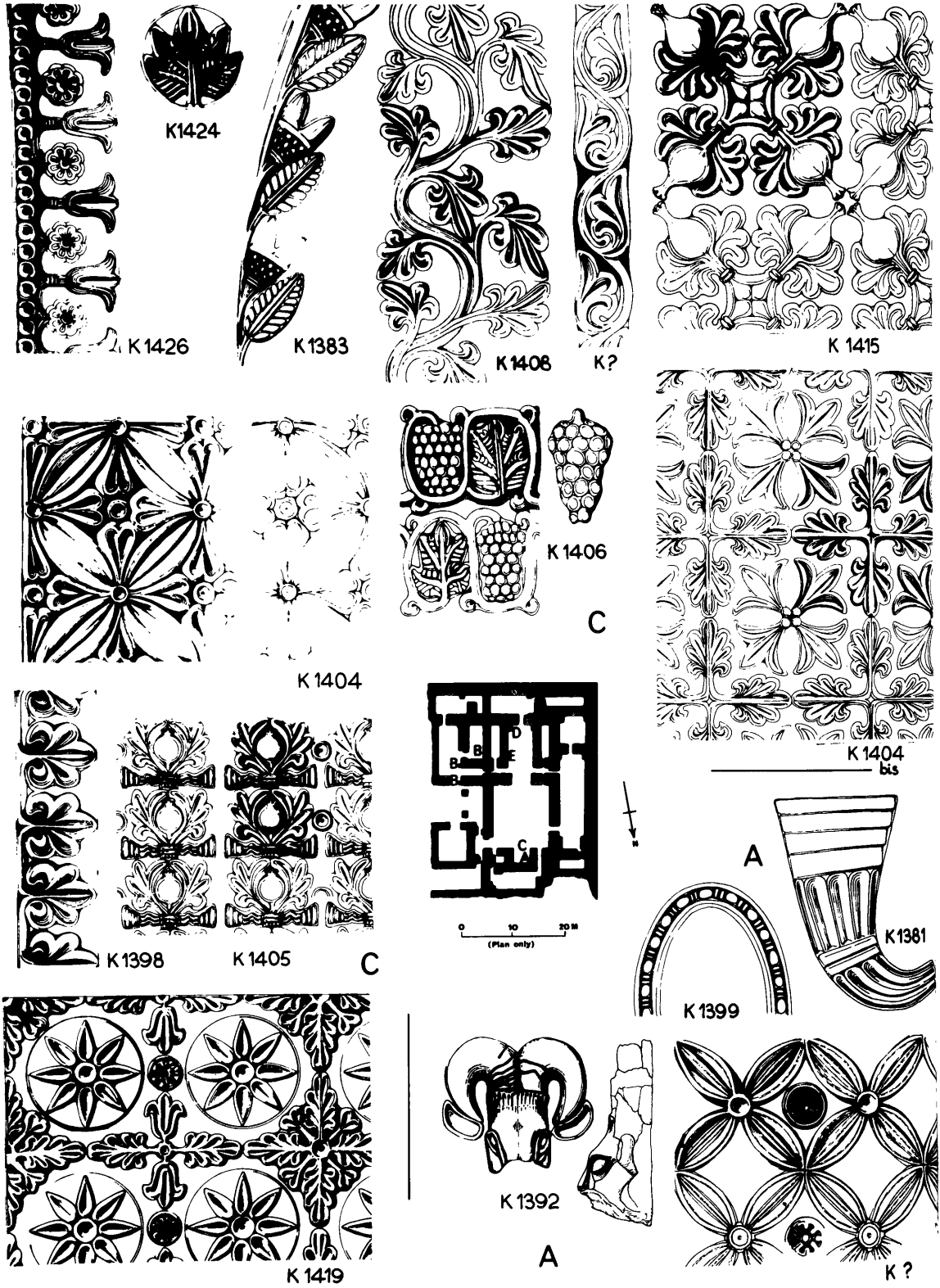
K.1397 .290 x .180: ibid.; cf. Ktesiphon, II, fig.38.

K.1398 .207 x .160: acanthus leaf frieze; two slots in block; SPA, I, fig.188a,b (as locus 'E'; Martin's note is accepted here); fig.K.

K.1400 .380 x .190: headless bull reclining; fig.L.

K.1402 .250 x .160: panel of winged ornament (part in Baghdad: IM 18602).

K.1404 ?: panel - quatrefoil leaf pattern in centre; trefoil in each corner; SPA, I, fig.192; fig.K.




K. Stucco from SP - 1 (after R. A. Martin)

K.1404 bis. .374 x .185: pattern block; convex back with two slots; simple quatrefoil leaf pattern with intermittent rosettes in circles; SPA, I, fig.182, upper; ILN, February 14th 1931, fig. on p.261; fig.K.

K.1405 .460 x .210: panel - pomegranates and ribbons; ILN, March 7th 1931, 369, fig.1; SPA, I, fig. 186b; fig.K.

K.1406 .400 x .240: plaque - vines with grape bunches; ILN, February 14th 1931, 261, fig.; SPA, I, fig.193a-c (part in Baghdad, IM 18603); fig.K.

K.1407 .390 x .200: fragment of a human torso - lower neck and shoulders; necklace; fig.L.

K.1408 .250 x .250: block - curving branch with tendrils each ending in a leaf; SPA, I, fig. 194a; ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.6; fig.K.

K.1409 .320 x .320: two plaques (one in Baghdad: IM 18598): winged ram's head with profile with ribbons; ILN, February 14th 1931, fig. on p.261; O.Grabar (Ed.), Sasanian Silver (Michigan, 1967), no.70 (plate); cf. ibid, no.61 (plate) - a gold medallion; fig.L.

K.1410 .180 D.: two monograms (one in Baghdad: IM 18603); ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.3; SPA, I, fig.279b on p.806; cf. Ktesiphon, I, fig.16; fig.L.

K.1411 .390 x .290: panel - lion attacking a zebu; SPA, I, fig.173: 'the ground is blue, the lion's belly yellow, and the mane red' (Baghdad: IM 18597); fig.L.

K.1412 .290 x .310: headless boys; cf. nos. K.1396-7; fig.L.

K.1413 .350 x .280: human torso broken at the neck, waist and top of shoulders; the same necklace as on female busts.

K.1414 .210 x .130: female head. This may fit onto K.1413 and is on a larger scale than the head: ILN, March 7th 1931, p.369, fig.5.

K.1415 ?: plaque: pomegranate framed by leaves in each corner; SPA, I, fig.190; fig.K.

K.1416 .290 x .190: plaque: pomegranates and ribbons; cf. K.1405.

K.1417 .320 x .320: plaque (Baghdad: IM 11950); female head in the centre of a floral frame; ILN, February 14th 1931, fig. on 261; A Guide to the Iraq Museum Collections (1942), 133, figure; Kunst aus Mesopotamien (Exhibition Catalogue, Hamburg, 1964), 158, pl.67; R.Ghirshman, Persia - Parthians and Sasanians, fig.230; fig.L.

K.1418 .140 H.: female head and part of a bust; cf. ILN, March 7th 1931, 369, fig.5; fig.L.

K.1419 .440 x .230: plaque - 8-petalled flowers in roundels; SPA, I, fig.189; ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.3.

K.1424 .200 D.: roundel - palmette; SPA, I, fig.185; Fig.K.

K.1426 ?: border - rosette and palmette frieze; SPA, I, fig.188c,d; cf. Ktesiphon, II, figs.24,40.

? border fragment - leafed branch; ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.6; SPA, I, fig.194b; fig.K.

? plaque - leaves; SPA, I, fig.192.

II. Larger ivan

(i) 'D': south-east corner

K.1388 .140 H.: border - leaves; SPA, I, fig.188f; fig.M.

? border - pomegranate and rosettes; ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.3; SPA, I, fig.188g; fig.M.

K.1423 fragment of a horse's head; 'life-size'. cf. Ktesiphon, I, 29, fig.15; Ktesiphon, II, fig. 37; SPA, IV, pl.175 (Nizamabad); fig.M.

K.1438 ornamental niche head; cf. K.1399, fig.K.

(ii) 'E': east wall

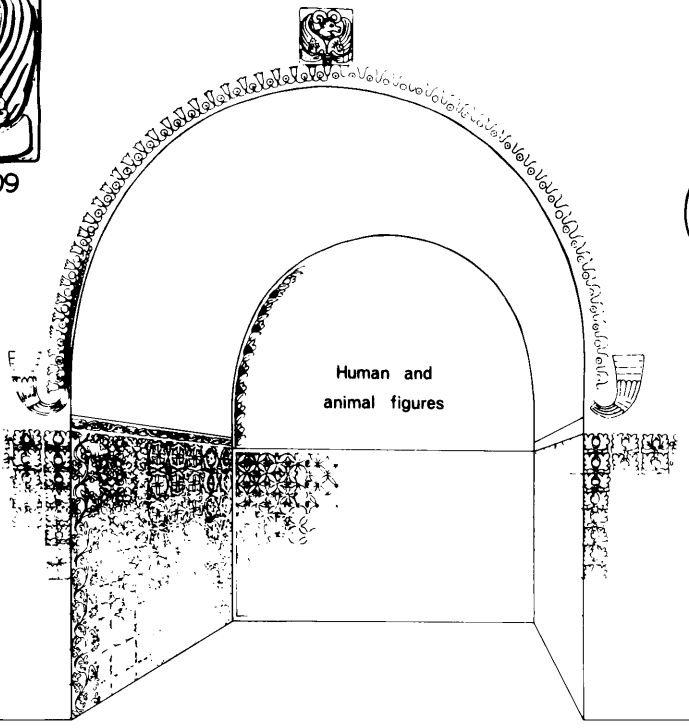
K.1382 .150 x .080: fragmentary lemon-shaped ornament.

K.1384 .390 x .120: palm leaf; SPA, I, fig.179a; fig.M.

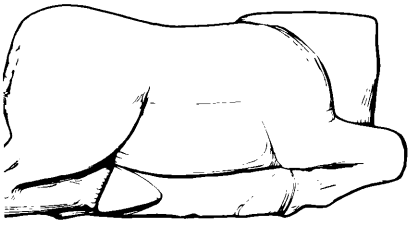
K.1390 .140 H.: plaque - triple leaf pattern; SPA, I, fig.187c; fig.M.

K.1403 .210 x .160: border: palmette frieze.

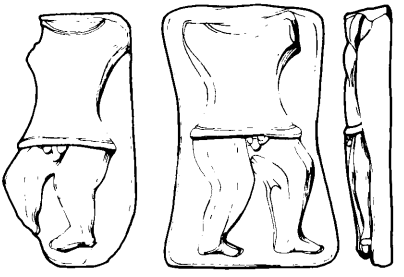
K 1409



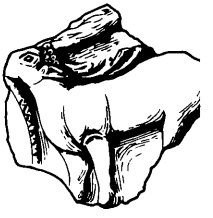

K 1407



K 1400

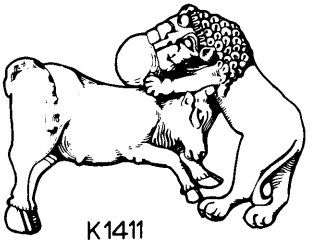


K 1396



K 1378

K 1417

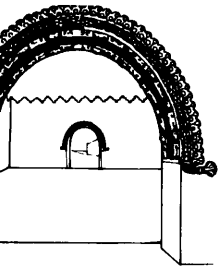


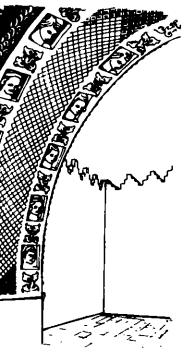
K 1411

K 1410

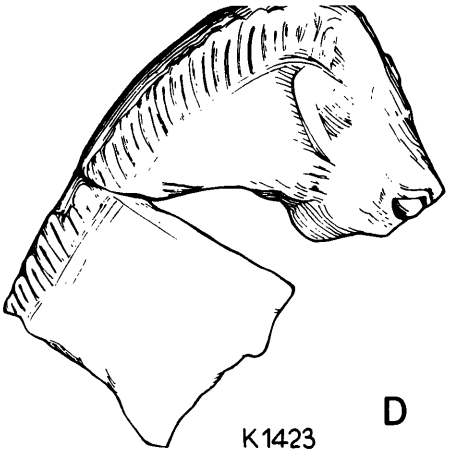
K 1414

L. Stucco from SP - 1 (after R. Martin)



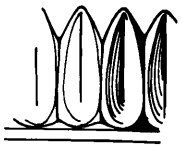


B1

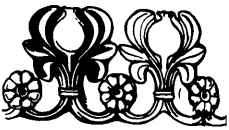


K1423

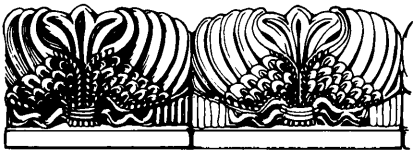
D



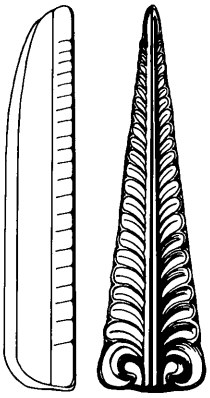
K1388



K?

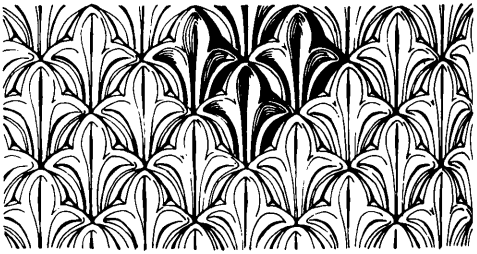


K?



K1384

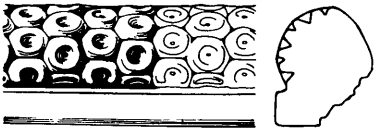
E



K1390

K?

K1421



K?

E

M. Stucco from SP - 1 (after R. Martin)

K.1421 border - interlocking key patterns; SPA, I, fig.179b; fig.M.

? torus - zigzag mouldings; SPA, I, fig.176a; ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.3; fig.M.

? torus - raised circles; SPA, I, fig.176e; fig.M.

? border - winged and ribboned palmettes; SPA, I, fig.187a; ILN, April 25th 1931, 697, fig.6, lower; fig.M.

? torus - scaled mouldings; SPA, I, fig.187b; fig.M.

(iii) Arch: '$B_1$ $B_1$'

K.1438 portal with inset heads; ILN, March 7th 1931, 369, figs.4 and 6; SPA, I, fig.171a,b. Restored for display in the Field Museum; the exact shape of this arch is by no means as certain as this reconstruction might suggest; fig.M.

III. Pieces without exact recorded loci

K.1377 .280 x .160: fragment; headless lion rampant; cf. K.1411 from the span of the smaller ivan front.

K.1379 .440 x .150: fragment of a female bust; ?locus 'C'.

K.1385 .080 x .080: gazelle's head fragment; ?locus 'B'.

K.1389 .485 x .128: fragment; meandering acanthus branch.

K.1391 .130 x .090: fragment of a bird; ?locus 'B'.

K.1393 .180 x .110: ibid.

K.1394 female bead and bust; not in one piece; ?locus 'C'.

K.1395 .200 x .140; female neck and shoulders from a bust; ?locus 'C'.

K.1401 circular pattern block; single grape leaf; 2 slots in back.

Sasanian Building 2 (SP-2) (fig.N)

The second, and architecturally the most interesting, of the Sasanian buildings at Kish lay about 35 to 40 metres directly to the east of SP-1 (Fig.J) (30). No link between the two was established by the excavators but it has already been suggested in discussing SP-1 that a direct architectural relationship is probable. The building material was again sundried brick, often badly preserved. Only the central portion, rectangular in plan, of a large building was cleared. Within this, to the north, is an approximately square forecourt with engaged columns, rising from a low ledge on the east and west walls. To the south two small pools are set before a triple-arched facade leading into an aisled ivan closed at the southern end by a small apsidal room. It seems very likely, as Reuther proposed (31), that there was a central dome here with two barrel-vaulted side-arms, the apse having a half-dome. The columns, set on square bases, were brick built with fluted stucco surfaces beginning a couple of feet or so above the ground (32). The reconstruction in SPA, I, fig.170 is misleading in this respect, as it is also may be in setting stucco decoration round the square bases, where it would have been constantly exposed to the depredations of passing feet. The floriate capitals given in this reconstruction rest upon very little evidence (cf. K.1439). It is more probable, as was the case at Hissar, that stucco decoration only covered the central portion of each column and that there were generally plain, curved or rectangular, capitals with impost blocks to carry barrel vaults over all three aisles (33). The walls of the inner chamber were decorated with a stucco pattern of interlocking squares and rosettes, whilst the arches had geometrically decorated tori with floral borders (34), again as at Hissar (35). Watelin records that the stucco here, and in the rooms to the east, was painted red.

The layout of this part of the building has led to the suggestion that it was a Christian church (36). Neither the form nor the stucco decoration justify such a proposal; indeed they both endorse quite another function. Reuther was the first to point out (37) that the closest parallel was to be found in the triple-apsed hall of the Ummayad palace at Mshatta in Jordan, where it had served as an audience hall in front of a throne-room. Although the apse at Kish may indicate a

Syrian building tradition rather than an Iranian one, the whole unit is very like that at Hissar, where a great central ivan supported by six massive brick columns leads to a square domed chamber flanked by rectangular rooms (38). These, rather than the Syrian ecclesiastical sources normally cited, may well be the precursors of the Mshatta design. The stucco decorations of the forecourt in SP-2 strongly support the view that the aisled ivan was a royal audience chamber.

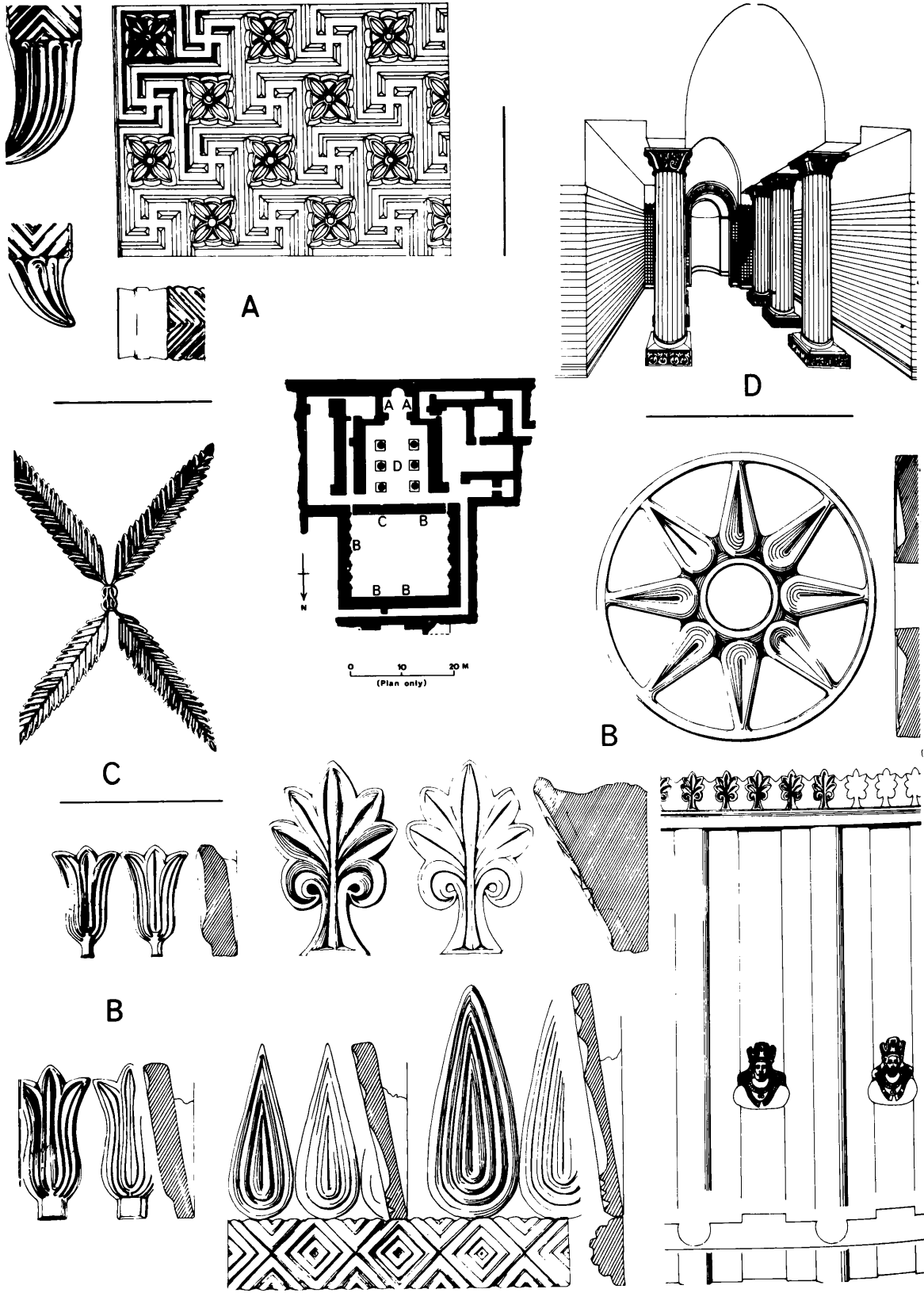
Here fourteen half-columns were found, seven on the east, seven on the west wall. With them, in various states of preservation, were fourteen royal heads in stucco that had originally been built into the structure of the wall, but exactly how was not clear. In the published reconstruction (39) they are shown set about a third of the way up the wall between the relief piers. In his text Watelin allowed that they might have been set on the columns. If indeed they were set regularly between the piers, as drawn on the plan, then twelve rather than fourteen heads would be expected. In the only known parallel to this form of architectural decoration, and it also has to be reconstructed (though from better evidence), busts of King Narseh (A.D.293-302) were set in the centre of blank walls on the stone monument at Paikuli, north of present day Khaniqin (40). An isolated stucco royal head, probably of Kavadh I (A.D.488-531), is now in Chicago Institute of Fine Arts, but nothing certain is known of its source (41). Three dimensional royal figures in stucco are represented by two heads, from commercial excavations at Nizamabad, (now in Berlin) which Sarre identified as Khusraw II (A.D.591-628), though the wings of the crown are missing (42). Little other stucco seems to have been found in this court, save a series of palmettes which were thought to come from a cornice crowning the east and west walls, and probably a grill or roundel whose exact findspot in Sp-2 is not recorded (43). Stucco roundels, solid save for a central hole, were found in the 'Sudbau' at Ctesiphon and restored as part of a battlemented balustrade (44). A very similar roundel was found in room 7 of the palace at Tepe Hissar (45). Openwork roundels from Maʿaridh II at Ctesiphon were taken to be window grills (46). No battlement fragments were observed in SP-2 and this roundel seems, as at Hissar, to be unique.

The chronology of the stucco in SP-2 depends entirely on the identity of the monarch shown in the stucco busts, variously identified as Shahpur II ( (A.D.310-379) or Bahram V (A.D.420-438). It is now generally agreed that each Sasanian king had his own distinctive crown or crowns specially designed for him (47) and that their individual attribution and primary characteristics are well established (48). Controversy over the Kish busts has turned largely on their poor state of preservation, for none is complete, and the inadequacies of published photographs and drawings. If the characteristics of the surviving examples are studied, the following main points emerge:

1. The crown is battlemented with a triple-stepped crenellation at the front and half of one on either side towards the back of the head, where the crown originally ran into the wall.
2. In the centre of each side of the head is a plain vertical element rising into a crescent-shaped projection.
3. A row of curls runs round the lower edge of the crown.
4. The summit of the head, usually of solid plaster, is in every case too damaged to establish what sat there.

Comparing these observations with numismatic evidence for Sasanian royal crowns it is immediately clear that only two monarchs, Shapur II and Bahram V, have crowns in any way resembling this one, for Shapur I, from whose crown Shapur II's directly derives, wears cheekpieces definitely not shown on the Kish heads. The crown of Shahpur II is regularly battlemented all round and surmounts either a circlet of 'pearls' or a row of curls (49); by contrast that of Bahram V was the first to have a crescent on a pearl at the side of the crown, flanked fore and aft by a triple-stepped battlement. Although the coinage seems more often to show this crown surmounting a row of 'pearls', there are examples in which these are clearly replaced by a band of curls (50). It is this crown, not that of Shahpur II, which is worn by the monarchs at Kish. This dating also fits very well the evidence of finds from SP-7 (see p.141).

If this identification is accepted and the building taken to be contemporary with the famous Bahram Gur, then it may be possible to set it in a more exact historical context. Yezdegard I's (A.D.399-420) son




N. Plan of SP - 2 with stucco (after L. Ch. Watelin and R. Martin)

Shahpur, King of Armenia, was nominated to succeed his father, but on Yezdegard's death Shahpur was slain by the nobles, who wished to establish another line of the Sasanian royal family on the throne through a prince named Khusraw. With the aid of the King of Hira Bahram, Shahpur's younger brother, successfully contested the issue, dethroned Khusraw, and was crowned as Bahram V in 420 (51). Armies advancing on Ctesiphon by a direct route from Hira would pass through the Kish area.

Check-list of Stucco in SP-2

See the note about stucco from SP-1 on p.129.

A. Fragments of known locus (fig.N)

(i) 'A' - ivan apse and niche

K.1368 .220 x .070: archivolt moulding; cf. SPA, I, fig.176b-d, 177.

K.1373 .200 x .120: oval ornament with linear decoration on surface.

K.1375 .180 D.: roundel - rosette; SPA, I, fig.193A.

K.1376 .240 x .180: interlocking key pattern with rosettes in the intervals; SPA, I, fig.181 (not SP-1 as here); cf. Ktesiphon, II, fig.25 (Umm es-saʿatir); Iran, 5 (1967), fig.5 (Qalʿeh-i Yazdigird); for Parthian precursors: B.Goldman, Berytus, X (1950-1), 13ff.

K.1420 fragment of 'winged pattern' from arch or vault.

K.1428 .119 x .660: panel of rosette ornament.

? triple leaf motif; SPA, I, fig, 184a,b.

(ii) 'B' - walls of main court

K.1372 .190 x .145: leaf ornament; SPA, I, figs.172, 186a.

K.1422 .400 D.: grill or roundel; 3 examples; SPA, I, fig.193a.

K.1427, 1429-37 heads and shoulders of a king in various states of preservation; all went to Chicago, save K.1429 (Baghdad IM 18596) and K.1436 (Oxford 1932.980); ILN, April 25th 1931, fig.5; SPA, I, fig.211.

(iii) 'C' - main ivan arch

K.1374 knot and leaf pattern; restored as SPA, I, fig.178.

(iv) 'D' - columned chamber

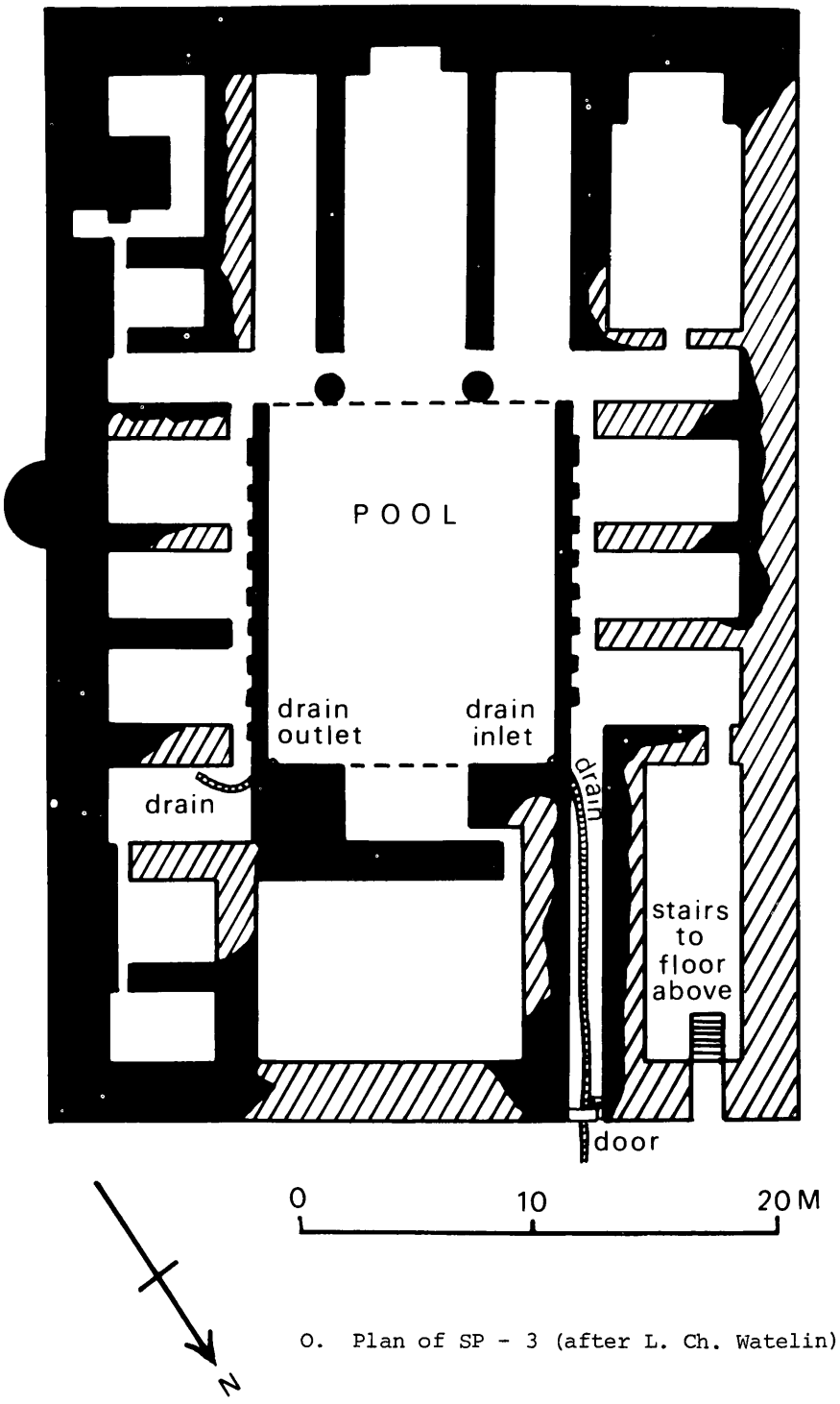
K.1439 capital with floral decoration; see SPA, I, fig.170 (restoration).

B locus unknown

K.1369-70 .240 x .090, .300 x .140: leaf ornaments.

Sasanian Building 3 (SP-3)

About fifty metres to the north-east of SP-2 Watelin excavated a substantial rectangular building of sundried mudbrick with a single semi-circular projection on its east wall (52) (fig.0). Langdon first identified the structure as a swimming pool on account of the large rectangular water tank which occupied the centre of the building, the series of ivans surrounding it and the very narrow entrance passage. Later (53), when he realized that the tank was only 20" deep, he argued with more conviction that it had been 'a royal summer house where the Persian nobility retired to escape the torrid heat in the rooms beside the patio constantly supplied with running water'. The relatively rich collection of pottery from this building and the complete absence of stucco decoration emphasises its domestic and informal character. The narrow entrance passage, perhaps to ensure privacy as much as security, was designed in this way, as were the narrow corridors of SP-1 and 2, for barrel vaulting. The large water-tank, neither bath nor swimming pool, is one of the earliest examples of a feature fundamental ever since to Persian domestic architecture, particularly welcome no doubt in the blazing and arid summers of the Kish area. Stairs to the right of the entrance door presumably gave access to a flat roof rather than to a second storey. The large, triple ivan facing north-north-east is approached through a columned arch, but beyond is divided by thin partition walls rather than by columns as in SP-2. As this is unlikely to have been a self-contained building, it may best be seen as part of the same architectural development as SP-1 and 2, providing a garden palace or pavilion with an ornamental pool adjacent to the main residential and reception buildings.




O. Plan of SP - 3 (after L. Ch. Watelin)

There is still no close parallel to this building, which may well be a form specially adapted to conditions in central Iraq, where the springs used to feed ornamental pools in the Sasanian palaces of Iran (54) were not available. No such feature was found in villas excavated by the Germans at Ctesiphon, though they did uncover parts of a richly ornamented bath building to the west of the Taq. Its special character was made clear by the presence of water channels, clay pipes, the remnants of a warming oven, a well, and what may have been a masonry platform for resting (55). It was from buildings such as this that the better known, and often splendidly ornamented, Ummayad baths derive (56).

Together SP-1, 2 and 3 form a distinct group among the buildings of this period found at Kish. They appear to be part of a single complex in which SP-1 and 2 may have been physically linked across a courtyard, whilst SP-3 stood slightly apart, perhaps with gardens intervening. Whether this was a provincial royal residence or just the seat of a leading nobleman is not clear. The available evidence is equivocal, for it turns on whether a frieze of royal heads, those of Bahram V, are more likely in the seat of the King or in the home of a leading courtier. Since female portraits, here taken to be those of his queen, occur in SP-1, it might indeed be argued that these are respectively the apartments of the King and Queen, rather than of a noble and his lady. SP-1 and 2 were decorated with stucco in the third decade of the fifth century and it may be assumed that this also is the date of their erection; there is no reason to suppose that SP-3 is much removed in date. They were all abandoned sometime in the sixth century.

The remarkable stylistic affinity between the stucco found here and that from Ctesiphon and distant Hissar has often been commented on, the more so since opinions vary considerably about their chronological relationship. An extreme view (57) places that at Kish in the fourth century, during the reign of Shahpur II, and that at Ctesiphon well into the sixth with the Hissar fragments. The archaeological evidence allows for a more flexible situation. Schmidt dated the occupation of the Hissar palace on the basis of a coin of Kavadh I (A.D.488-531) found on the floor of the great ivan between two of its columns (58). It is likely that this marks a relatively late date in the

use of the building and allows perfectly well for a construction date in the early or mid-fifth century. The dating of the villas at Ctesiphon with stucco ornament is more complex. The recent Italian excavators, who identify the roughly circular city immediately to the west of Salman Pak and the Taq as Coche, date its occupation from the first quarter of the third - foundation of Ardashir I - to the later fifth century (59). Then, they argue, a change in the course of the Tigris and flooding confined occupation to high regions to the north and east of Salman Pak, where the villas in question lay (Umm es-Saʿatir and el-Maʿaridh). The great ceremonial palace of the Taq-i-Kisra, it is now generally agreed, was built by Khusraw I (A.D.531-578); then it is assumed that the surrounding royal estate with the peripheral villas for the nobility developed, particularly as coins of Khusraw I and II predominated (60). Since it is not known whether the Taq had a predecessor on the same site, and the numismatic evidence is only a general guide to the later stages of occupation, the vital question of the date of the villas' foundation remains open. There is sufficient, if scattered, numismatic evidence to suggest that some of these villas might well have been built in the later fifth century or earlier sixth as retreats for the aristocracy on high ground beyond the immediate confines of the city, where they would have gardens and game-parks protected by it and the Tigris.

Sasanian Buildings 4, 5 and 6 (SP-4, 5 and 6)

It is much to be regretted that rather than concentrate on further exploration of the Sasanian buildings already uncovered, both horizontally and vertically, Watelin proceeded in 1932-3 to haphazard soundings in adjacent low tells. Of these only SP-7 was planned and described even in a preliminary report and this will be considered separately as most of the objects in Oxford came from it. For the rest their location is only known from Langdon's sketch map (Fig.J) (61). This indicates that the areas excavated were smaller than SP-1, 2, 3, and 7 and that the rooms found had no clear arrangement about a central court or pool. SP-4, the smallest sounding, was described as 'a large private house' which yielded an interesting group of pottery(62). Its location, about 20 metres to the east of SP-2, suggests that it might well have been part of the same complex; its pottery is similar to

that from SP-2. SP-5 was the most westerly area tested, lying about halfway between the Ingharra temples and the Bandar fortress. It showed that the Sasanian settlement occupied a wide area which had not been inhabited since the third millennium. SP-6 lay towards the southern end of the L-shaped tell which included SP-1, 2, 3 and 4, but some considerable distance from them. SP-8 was due south of 7.

Sasanian Building 7

By far the largest area cleared in the Sasanian settlement was away to the south-east of the main concentration of tells. Here a rectangular cutting c, 100 x 60 metres in extent, revealed a sprawling complex of sundried mudbrick buildings close to the surface (63). No walls were preserved more than about a metre in height. The most prominent features of the published plan are two platforms of brick, about 13 metres square, rising to a height of just under two metres; the more westerly of the two overlay earlier buildings set on a different alignment. These platforms were surrounded by a series of square and rectangular rooms without any obvious means of access. The excavators took them to be cellars. Many contained substantial storage jars amid a varied scatter of domestic debris assumed to have fallen from living rooms set over them. The date of this building may be established within broad limits.

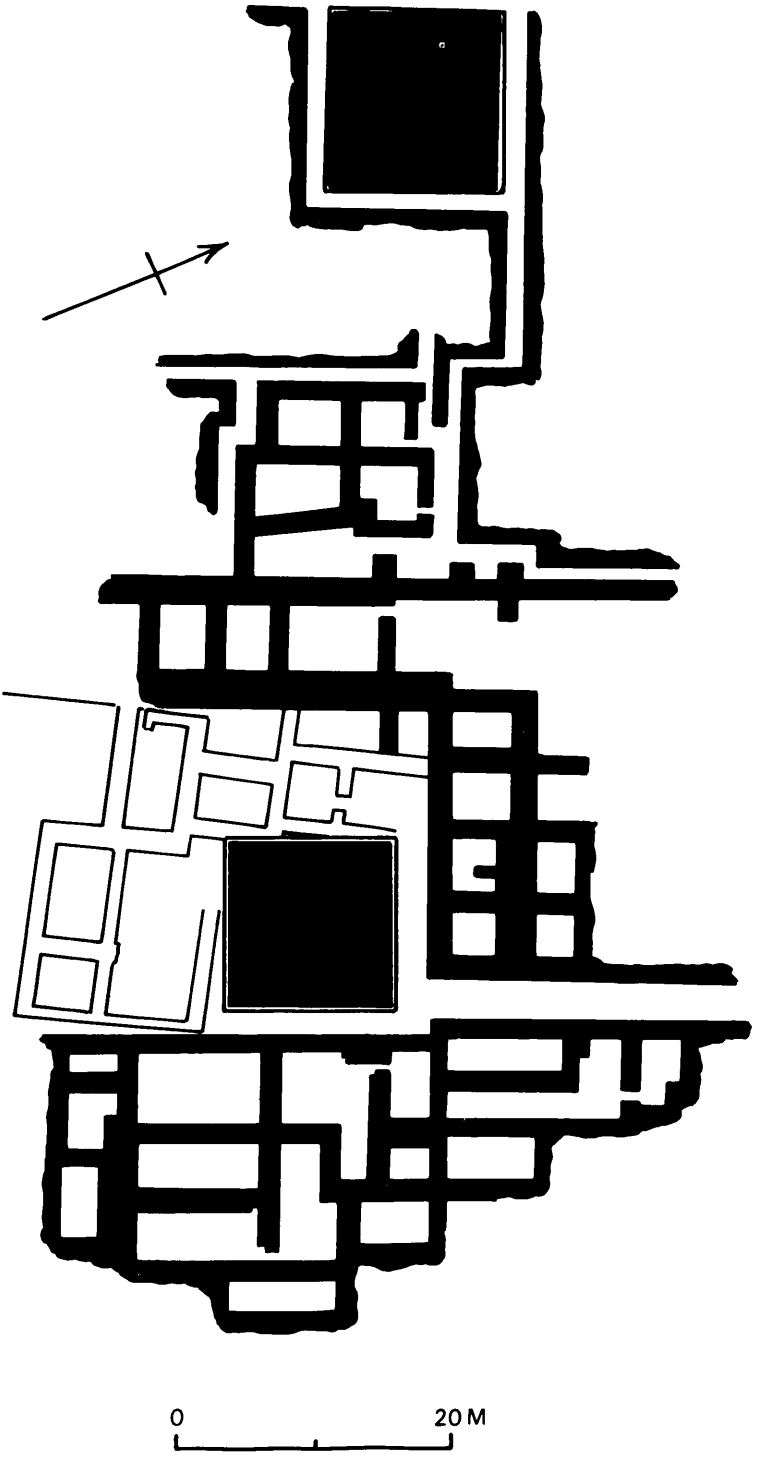
As everywhere in the Sasanian settlement the surface levels yielded incantation bowls of the later sixth century (see p.123). Under the threshold of one of the rooms, at a depth of two metres from the surface, was found an inscribed lead scroll (64). Such scrolls, usually inscribed in Mandaic, are normally taken to be about a century or two earlier than the incantation bowls. What little published information there is on them provides no well established dating, though A.D.400± 50 seems to be the general consensus (65). Also reported at a depth of two metres was a hoard of bronze coins, many much corroded and now illegible (66). Langdon reported the hoard (67) as '161 Roman bronze coins of the fourth and fifth centuries, Arcadius (395-408), latest issue of Constantine I, Valentinian, Theodosius and his sons, Honorius, and several of later issues, circa. A.D.450. The latest coin is Justinian I (527-65)'. The last sentence introduces an unnecessary ambiguity as it refers not to

the hoard, but to the latest coin found in the excavations (i.e. not on the surface) of SP-7. The majority of coins in the hoard that may be identified, and they are generally in very poor condition, fall be between A.D.375 and 408. The earliest are late in Constantine I's reign or soon after, the latest fall early in the reign of Theodosius II, suggesting that it was deposited soon after A.D.430.

Both the inscribed lead roll and the hoard indicate that the structure excavated in SP-7 was founded sometime in the first half of the fifth century A.D. The incantation bowls just under the surface above it and the coin of Justinian from its debris show that occupation ceased sometime in the middle of the sixth century A.D. It seems likely that the majority of the glass and pottery, with other small finds, recovered from this building would date towards the final stages of its occupation. Such also is probably the date of most of the objects from other buildings in the Sasanian settlement now in Oxford; typologically they usually compare closely with those from SP-7.

Well published assemblages of Sasanian pottery from Iraq are still rare. To the earlier Sasanian period, before c. A.D.350, belongs the pottery from Tell Mahuz in Northern Iraq (68). This is largely of coarse, locally produced wares with parallels in the northern part of the country. There is little close affinity with pottery from Kish, though links are sufficient to indicate a common tradition deriving from the Parthian range of shapes and techniques. Indeed, as other evidence from Kish suggests, the pottery there marks a subsequent phase in the Sasanian pottery industry in Iraq. The stages of this evolution before the earlier fifth century A.D. are now well illustrated by pottery from the Italian excavations at Coche (69), providing a sequence over two centuries or so, and including many closer parallels to the Kish repertory. From soundings in a small Sasanian-Early Islamic settlement at Tell Abu Sarifa near Nippur Adams excavated a range of bowls, jars and juglets very similar in form and fabric to the pottery from Kish (70).

In a comprehensive publication of the later third and early fourth century glass found in tombs at Tell Mahuz Ponzi argued that the glass from Kish was later (71). In this she was certainly right. There are two main groups among the Kish glass distinguished both by




P. Plan of SP - 7 (after L. Ch. Watelin)

colour and repertory of forms and decoration. The first, of bluish-green glass with mould-blown ribbing if decorated, derives largely from the Parthian and earlier Sasanian range of shapes. Glass of this type, simple in its forms, was found at Tell Abu Sarifa (72) in later Sasanian levels. The second, of colourless or buff glass often richly decorated with cut facets and disks, comes usually in shallow or deep-walled bowls. This form of decoration may be of peculiarly Iranian origin. Numerous clandestine finds of such glass in northern Iran suggest a local production centre somewhere in that country. Finds in Iraq, though scattered and almost invariably fragmentary, are widely distributed (73). Far afield one such bowl was found in the Mausoleum of the Japanese Emperor Ankan who died in A.D.535.

Insofar as Iraq is concerned this is the only Sasanian building in which platforms have yet been found. Although they have been recognised in field surveys in Khuzistan as characteristic of certain Sasanian sites, no clear evidence for their function has yet been forthcoming. In an urban context, as at Kish, they may have formed part of a warehouse, used for temporary storage as later in khans and caravanserai. This building is most unlikely to be a 'villa' as described by Langdon. It contrasts markedly with the residential buildings SP-1-3. Areas of urban settlement contemporary with it at Coche (74) and Ctesiphon (75) also suggest that this formed part of an administrative building not a residence.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

(1) J.A.Montgomery, Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur (Philadelphia, 1913), p.104.

(2) Nippur, I, pp.150,153, pl.163, 166-7.

(3) Ktesiphon, II.

(4) R.McC.Adams, Ars Orientalis 8 (1970), p.115, fig.17.

(5) Unless possibly the wall including the bowl is intrusive in level II.

(6) For a good illustration see H.V.Hilprecht, The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia (Philadelphia, 1904), p.448, fig. (Nippur).

(7) E.M.Yamauchi, JAOS 85 (1965), pp.511-23.

(8) J.Neusner, A History of the Jews in Babylonia (Leiden, 1966), pp.241ff., map V.

(9) ILN, Feb.14th 1931, p.261; March 7th 1931, p.369; April 25th 1931, p.697; SPA, I, pp.538,584, fig.169a.

(10) SPA, I, fig.150.

(11) Ktesiphon, II, fig.2.

(12) K.1348 = ILN, April 25th 1931, fig.2, left, p.697; not glazed as here.

(13) West ivan: Ktesiphon, II, fig.8 (Upton's reconstruction); east ivan: J.H.Schmidt, Syria, XV (1934), p.8, fig.8.

(14) SPA, I, fig.148, pp.176b-d.

(15) S.Fukai, Taq-i-Bustan, I (Tokyo, 1969), pl.V.

(16) Bivar Seals, pp.17-8.

(17) W.Andrae, Hatra, (Leipzig, 1908-12), II, pl. XIV-XXI.

(18) R.W.Hamilton, Khirbet al Mafjar, (Oxford, 1959), pp.233-6, pl.XXXV.

(19) Bichâpour, II, passim.

(20) G.Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, (London, 1905), p.195.

(21) Ktesiphon, II, fig.9.

(22) J.H.Schmidt, Syria XV (1934), p.13, fig.10.

(23) Hissar, pl.LXXIII H 1394.

(24) Compare R.D.Barnett, A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum (London, 1957), pp.145ff.

(25) Persia PS, figs.294b,308.

(26) Iit AE, pl.CXXIII fig.410.

(27) Archéologie, pp.25, pl.30b,c.

(28) Ktesiphon, II, fig.38.

(29) W.Hartner, JNES, 24 (1965), pp.1ff.

(30) ILN, 25th April 1931, p.697; SPA, I, pp.584ff.; Iraq, I (1934), fig.2.

(31) SPA, I, p.538.

(32) See the illustration in ILN, April 25th 1931, fig.1.

(33) Hissar, pl.LXXII ff.

(34) SPA, I, figs.170, 176b-d, 177, 184b, c.

(35) Hissar, pl.LXXVIII H 1416.

(36) Gibson, p.77; following Langdon, Iraq, I (1934), p.114; Watelin regarded it as a palace.

(37) SPA, I, p.538; K.A.C.Creswell, A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture, (Oxford, 1958), pp.124ff., fig.22.

(38) Hissar, fig.170.

(39) SPA, I, fig.172; 14 following SPA, I, p.587; Langdon, Iraq, I (1934), p.114: 'five busts'.

(40) E.Herzfeld, Die Aufnahme des Sasanischen Denkmals von Paikuli (Berlin, 1914), pl.II, fig.1; SPA, I, fig.164; cf. also stucco heads in roundels at Qal'eh-i Yazdigird, E.Keall, Iran, V (1967) fig.7.

(41) N.C.Debevoise, Bulletin of the Art Institute, Chicago, XXIV (1930), p.10, figures; SPA, IV, pl.178B.

(42) F.Sarre, Amtliche Berichten der Berliner Museen (1928), pp.1ff., figs.2-4; SPA, IV, pl.178a,c - incorrectly captioned as female heads; cf. also O.Grabar (Ed.), Sasanian Silver (Michigan, 1967), no.69 (plate).

(43) K.1375 - SPA, I, fig.193a.

(44) Ktesiphon, I, fig.14; SPA, I, fig.145.

(45) Hissar, pl.LXXIX: H.1600.

(46) Ktesiphon, II, fig.41, p.21.

(47) K.Erdmann, Ars Islamica, XV-XVI (1951), pp.90-1, n.13.

(48) R.Göbl, Sasanian Numismatics (1971), pp.42ff.

(49) Ibid., pp.46-7.

(50) F.D.J.Paruck, Sasanian Coins (Bombay, 1924), esp. no.318.

(51) A.Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides (Copenhagen, 1944), pp.275.

(52) ILN, Feb.20th 1932, p.273; AfO, VIII (1932), pp.78.

(53) Iraq, I (1934), p.115; O.Reuther, SPA, I, pp.545-6.

(54) SPA, I, p.546.

(55) Ktesiphon, II, pp.12-13, fig.7.

(56) R.W.Hamilton, Khirbat al Mafjar, pp.45ff.; but see R.Ettinghausen, From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World (Leiden, 1972), pp.17ff.

(57) H.Lenzen, JdI 67 (1952), Beiblatt, 188ff.

(58) Hissar, p.337.

(59) G.Gullini, Mesopotamia, 1 (1966), pp.7ff.

(60) Ktesiphon, II, p.27.

(61) Iraq, I (1934), pp.114, fig.2.

(62) ILN, Feb.20th 1932, pp.273, fig.2: pottery.

(63) Iraq, I (1934), p.116, fig.3; SPA, I, fig.174; ILN, August 19th 1933, pp.288-9.

(64) K.1933: Ashmolean: 1933.1285.

(65) E.M.Yamauchi, Mandaic Incantation Texts (New Haven, 1967), p.2; Ktesiphon, II, pl.45; Vanden Berghe, Archaeologia, 16(2) (1970), p.365, figs.125-7.

(66) K.2387: Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, 20.9.1933. I am most grateful to Miss Cathy King for restudying these coins for me in 1973.

(67) Iraq, I (1934), p.123.

(68) R.V.Ricciardi, Mesopotamia, V-VI (1970-1), pp.427ff.

(69) R.V.Ricciardi, Mesopotamia, VIII-IX (1973-4), pp.15ff.

(70) R.McC.Adams, Ars Orientalis, VIII (1970), pp.87ff., esp. figs.6-7.

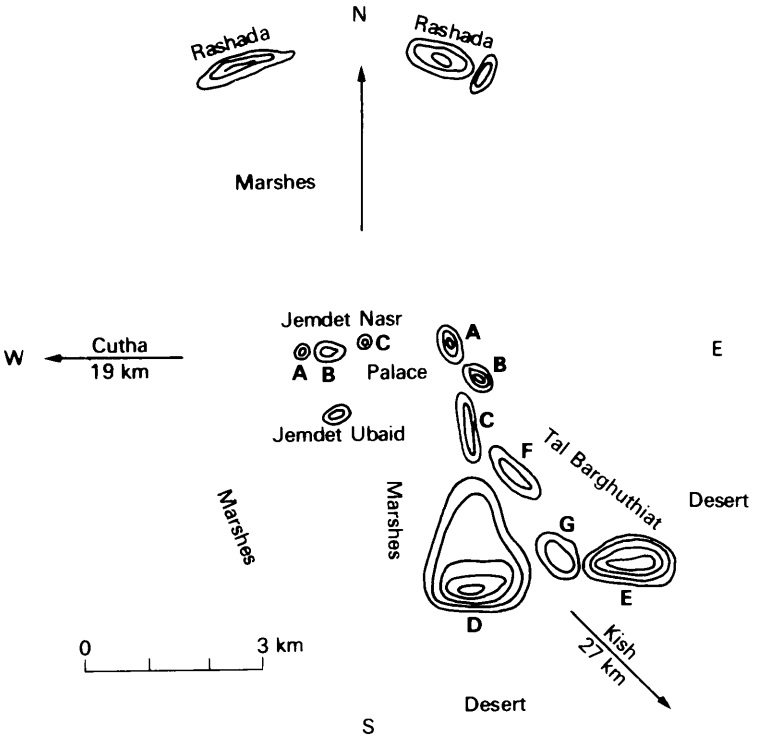
(71) N.Ponzi, Mesopotamia, III-IV (1968-9), p.313.

(72) R.McC.Adams, Ars Orientalis, VIII (1970), pp.114-5, fig.15.

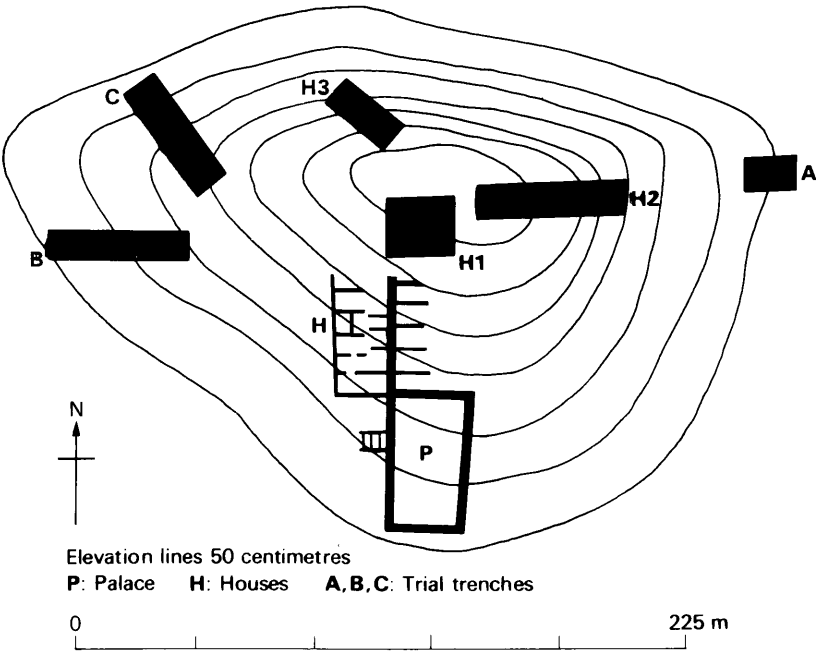
(73) Van Saldern, Ars Orientalis, V (1963), p.10 n.24.

(74) Mesopotamia, V-VI (1970-1), pl.IV.

(75) Ktesiphon, II, figs.1, 18.




Q. Sketch plan of Jamdat Nasr and Tell Barguthiat (after S. Langdon)




R. Sketch Plan of Jamdat Nasr (after S. Langdon)

# Chapter 8

## THE OUTLYING TELLS

### I. Jamdat Nasr

Of the tells outside the immediate area of Kish examined by this Expedition none was so important as Jamdat Nasr (Gibson, no.92; Adams, no.203), about 27 kilometres north-north-east of Kish, immediately to the east of the mounds of Tell Barguthiat (fig.Q; see also pp.157ff.)

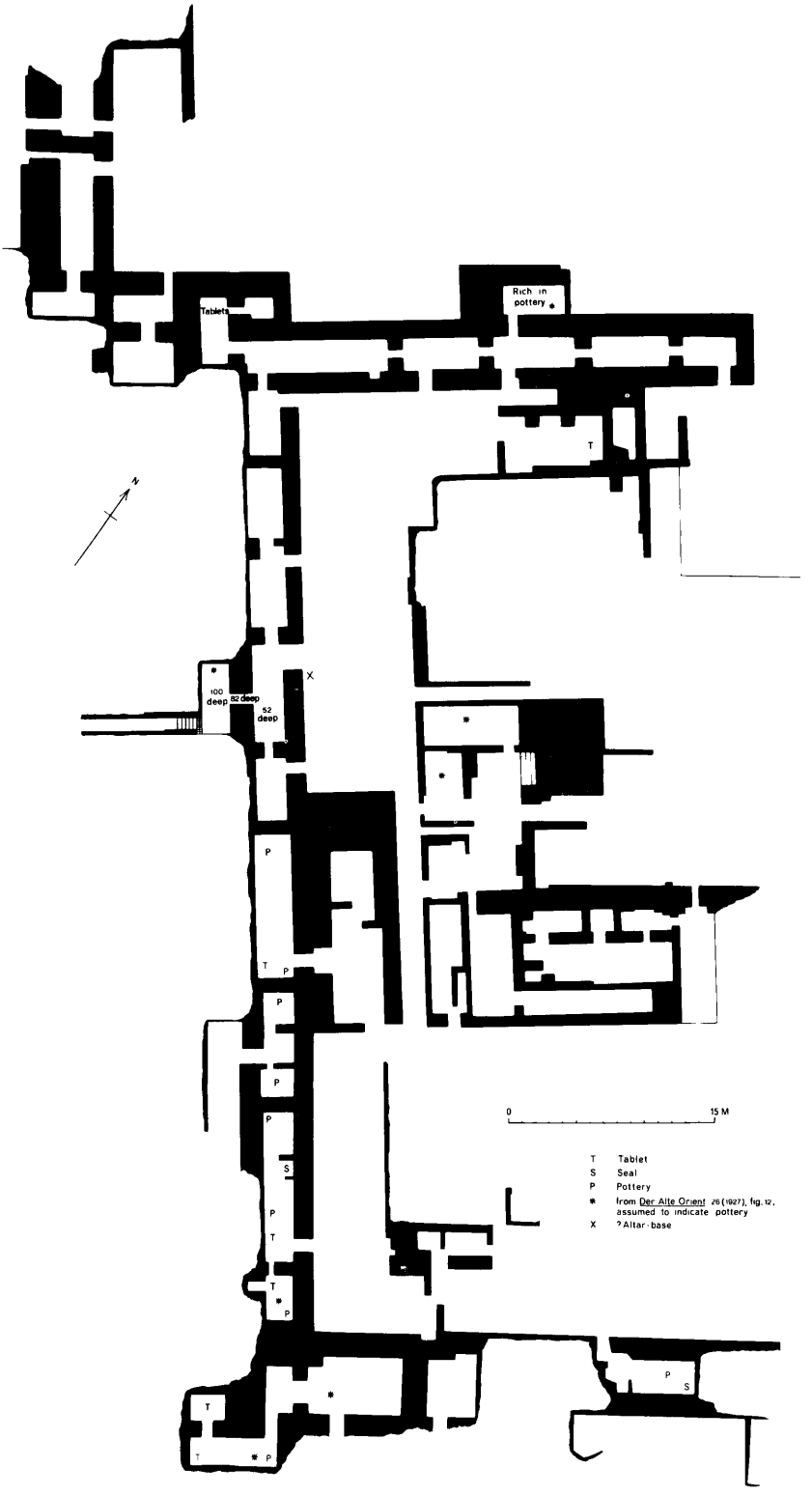
#### (1) The Excavations

In so far as it goes Mackay's well-known report of 1931 is excellent; so good in fact that it has inhibited further publication and rather obscures the narrow archaeological base upon which he worked. He took no direct part in the excavations at Jamdat Nasr, although he had been responsible for first recognizing the site's importance when in 1925 a Hillah dealer showed him painted sherds and tablet fragments from it. Langdon directed the work on site, under trying conditions, and 'Mr. Mackay catalogued every object which I brought in from that site each night on my return (i.e. to base camp at Tell Uhaimir)'. These record cards, entirely without any account of the precise findspot (1), were the source of Mackay's publication. This only has the most meagre references to the buildings whence the objects came. Such a report was rightly considered to be Langdon's responsibility. He published the tablets, almost certainly his primary purpose in excavating, and a very cursory general report in German in a periodical now increasingly rare (2). This brief account includes a sketch map of Jamdat Nasr in relation to the larger Tell Barguthiat (Fig.Q), a contoured diagram (incorrectly orientated in the original) of the main tell to show the location of the excavation trenches (Fig.R), and a plan (with enigmatic scale) of the building complex which had yielded so many tablets. The original of this plan, executed in pencil, forms the basis of Fig.S here. It bears general indications of where, within the various rooms, Langdon found pottery (P), seals (S) and tablets (T).

The central, and largest, tell at Jamdat Nasr rises to about 4 m above the plain at its highest point. It

is roughly oval, measuring at its greatest extent about 275 m from east to west, about 200 m from north to south. The main building Langdon uncovered lay on the southern side of the tell. As excavated it measured approximately 92 x 48 m overall. Three sides were reasonably well preserved, but that on the east was badly eroded. This building, set on a low platform, had been destroyed by fire which preserved traces of a clay-covered reed-mat and timber roof. The building's exact orientation is now obscure. In one place an almost exact north-south alignment is given; then in the main plan the building is aligned with its corners to the cardinal points. Only towards the north-western end of the building did Langdon clear what he took to be an outer wall and here he discovered a passage and a stairway, of unbaked bricks, which gave access to the main building. At this point Langdon's description is by no means clear, but seems to indicate that the stairway was set against a platform about 2 m high. With only a small work force he decided not to clear the perimeter wall of this platform, but to concentrate instead on the building set on it. The frame-moulded bricks used in this construction were of the types designated Riemchen (20 x 8.5 x 8 cm) and Flachziegel (23 x 9 x 6.5 cm) by the German excavators of Uruk. The former, primarily for walls, were found baked and unbaked; the latter, probably tiles, were only found baked. Mackay is far more explicit about the state of this building when excavated: 'The masonry of the building or buildings at Jemdet Nasr was exceptionally good, and the alignment of their walls remarkably accurate. Such refinements as pottery gutters to carry off rain...and baked bricks were used to pave some of the rooms'(3). One feature of the baked bricks was distinctive. They each had a series of three holes running diagonally through them, probably pierced with a stick, about 1 cm in diameter, before baking (4).

Langdon's comments on internal fittings are meagre. Just to the right of the entrance into the main courtyard from the access stairway was a small brick platform supporting two large pottery jars (marked 'X' on Fig.S) (5). Another feature clear from the plan, almost immediately opposite the stairway, is a more substantial platform, about a metre high, approached at one corner by a flight of three steps. Immediately adjacent to it were two rooms especially rich in fragments of finely painted pottery. Among them was a now well-known spouted jar painted with a pentalpha which




S. Plan of the Administrative Building at Jamdat Nasr (after S. Langdon's pencil plan in Oxford)

Gordon Childe, in a widely read textbook, identified as the Sumerian ideogram for deity, and as evidence for a temple rather than a palace here (6). Here also was a pottery jar in the shape of a pig; of it Mackay commented 'this must have been an object of ceremonial use for it would have had to be filled and emptied by the mouth which has a very narrow aperture' (7). Langdon marked on his draft plan the rooms whence tablets came (but regrettably did not record the tablets in groups as excavated), and noted that a concentration of 150, mostly unbaked,were found in the room at the southern corner.

Langdon excavated beyond the west corner of this building, but the only plan to have survived is a small fragment which fits directly onto the corner of the main building complex (see Fig.R). Langdon's sketch plan of the mound shows quite a considerable area (H 4) cleared to the northwest of the main building. Painted pottery was found in a concentration of rooms here; but the walls were badly preserved and difficult to trace. Significantly, two long rectangular cuttings (B and C), made on the western slopes of the tell, revealed no trace of buildings. A series of cuttings around the summit of the mound, and running down the east side, uncovered more rooms containing pottery, plain and painted, comparable to that from the main building and H 4. H 1, due north of the 'palace', where the rooms had also been destroyed by fire, yielded a useful collection of charred grain.

Watelin, Mackay's successor as director of the Oxford-Field Museum, Chicago, Expedition to Mesopotamia (O.F.M.E.), reopened excavations at Jamdat Nasr on 13th March 1928. This work was specially financed by Mr. Henry J. Patten of Chicago. As Langdon was not then in Iraq, the work may be briefly observed through Watelin's informal reports to him. On 14th March he wrote,

'Yesterday we started excavations at Jemdet Nasr continuing what had been done before. I set the men to work in places which had been been excavated according to the plan in Der Alte Orient, whose orientation is false and whose scale (printed as 1:80) is impossible to understand. I do not know how to fit in with the plan rooms which I have cleared. We have found two pots painted overall, but few decorated, many fragments, and some tablets in very poor condition. They are not pictographic but very archaic and there

are some fairly large fragments. Also about 15 cylinder seals and some very old seals (i.e. stamp-seals), finally a small group of two people in soft limestone whose occupation indicates that the sensual joys have not changed since 3500 B.C. - the group is a marvel of sculpture' (8).

An enclosed rough sketch plan indicates that Watelin was working on the east side of the large building found in 1926. The sketch, which certainly makes better sense architecturally than Langdon's plan of this area, is not so different as Watelin's letter might suggest. Four days later he wrote again:

'The excavations have continued two more days at Jemdet Nasr. Today two painted pots and a fragment of pottery vase with the following characters near the neck..(see n.25)...and a fragment of a painted vase with a representation of deer. I found in one room three furnaces of baked clay of 1.30 m diameter and 0.6 m in height approximately. Curiously no fragments of pottery around, so they are not potters' kilns. I found some bricks with dimensions: baked, 28 x 12 x 5 cm with 3 holes (9); baked, between 22 x 8.5 x 6 cm and 22 x 8 x 6 cm, 3 holes; unbaked, 27 x 13 x 8 cm, no holes. I have found only three skulls and skeletons just at the highest point of the mound, with some unpainted vases around, and one skull with a necklace of baked clay beads...from the surface of the tell to virgin soil at least 4 m according to one of my sondages, water in the shafts at 6 m.'

Work ceased on 22 March 1928.

The new tablets were published by Langdon (10), those sherds of painted pottery allocated to Chicago by Field and Martin, (11) and the skeletons by Field (12). Field's report contains slightly more information about this excavation, which seems to have extended beyond the area of the main building uncovered in 1926. Buildings were encountered, as in 1926, within 50-200 cm of the surface. The few graves excavated, overlooked in some more recent surveys of this site (13), suggest the existence of a cemetery on the fringes of Mound 'B'. They may best be tabulated:

JN 1: $\frac{3}{4}$ m deep at the east end of the mound; one plain vessel.
JN 2: $\frac{1}{2}$ m deep; two badly broken jars; beads.

JN 3: $\frac{3}{4}$ m deep, slightly east of JN 1; painted pottery jar; two plain jars.
JN 4: 1.25 m deep; west side of tell; no grave goods, but sherds of plain and painted ware closely associated.
JN 5: near JN 4 at 1.25 m depth; no grave goods.
JN 6: centre of tell at $\frac{3}{4}$ m depth; no grave goods.

The 'furnaces' reported by Watelin were illustrated (14), but never properly located on a plan. Field comments on 'the large bakery kilns standing in the largest room discovered at Jemdet Nasr' (15); this was probably a courtyard on the east side of Langdon's plan. The published photographs suggest that these installations were simple updraught pottery kilns despite Watelin's reservations. There was no trace of domes surviving, but their round or oval plan with a simple stoke-hole and pierced floor, upon which pottery could be set, is characteristic of such structures. Comparable kilns were found at Kish built into the western side of palace 'A' subsequent to its destruction (16).

(2) Discussion

Only in the most superficial way does the main building at Jamdat Nasr resemble the standard plan of developed prehistoric shrines in Iraq (17). There is no trace here of the characteristic central rectangular room or court with a small podium towards one end and a hearth or altar at the other. Nor does the Jamdat Nasr casemate wall very closely resemble the conventional parallel rooms on either side of this central shrine. Niched facades were not recorded, nor was there any evidence for coherent cone-mosaic decoration. None of the acknowledged Mesopotamian temples have yielded, from within their nuclear structures, such an assemblage of pottery, seals and tablets as Jamdat Nasr. Indeed the general absence of small finds within such structures has often been particularly frustrating to excavators.

Uruk, alone for the moment, provides a broad spectrum of evidence for later prehistoric buildings of a monumental character not immediately classifiable as 'places of worship', even if they may have been ancillary to temple altars. In the Eanna precinct of Uruk IV there was a substantial, symmetrically planned square building, with a rectangular room or portico set on each of the four sides of a central courtyard. Each

of these long rooms had its own set of contiguous long narrow, and smaller, rectangular rooms. Facades and buttresses were richly niched. It is a coherent, well-knit plan, not in any precise sense that of a temple. At first unfortunately described as a palace, it is now more often appropriately described as a ceremonial building or reception hall (18). The Stampflehmgebaude, further north in Eanna, in part overlying the Hallenbau, is later (19). It is a far less impressive building set about courtyards with a series of corridor-like rooms, possibly store-rooms, and a few large rooms. It was built, in the lower courses at least, of stamped earth. Its original construction has been dated to late Jamdat Nasr times, though it was twice reconstructed in the Early Dynastic period. Part of a narrow corridor was filled with plano-convex bricks and large bricks measuring 60 x 28/32 x 10/15 cm. Small finds were scarce. Indeed from neither building has come evidence of contents which might throw light on their function. The contrast between the general layout of Eanna precinct IV and that of III is also instructive for any study of the complex Langdon uncovered at Jamdat Nasr. The well articulated layout of IV was replaced in III by smaller buildings arranged in a number of units, each round a court, and all within a girdle of buildings. In this period, contemporary with Jamdat Nasr, the temple was the focus for a miscellany of houses, administrative offices and 'places of sacrifice', regularly modified in plan (20). It is exactly this kind of heterogeneous building complex, on a smaller scale, that Langdon encountered and was unable to unravel satisfactorily as he dug and planned it.

When reviewing the small finds from Jamdat Nasr for clues to the function of the primary building complex whence so many of them came, interest naturally concentrates on the tablets and seals. But other objects, though less instructive, contribute significantly when taken together. Fire destruction had at least twice preserved grains and seeds, once in vessels in the main building, once outside it. The first sample, of wheat, was variously identified as Triticum turgidum and Triticum compactum; the second, of barley, consisted in part at least of '6-rowed hulled barleys' (21). Helbaek more recently identified an impression of club wheat (T.compactum s.l.) from Jamdat Nasr (22). A third sample of mixed seeds and barley, included 'some umbelliferous plant', and 'a smaller number of seeds

very similar to those of certain species of Panicum' (millet) (23). Concentrations of large plain-ware jars in the areas excavated in 1928 offer evidence of storage. Of two pictographic inscriptions incised on the shoulders of what were smaller plain-ware jars, one has been read as a woman's name (24), the other as denoting a specific capacity of beer (25).

By the Jamdat Nasr period the formerly ubiquitous bevel-rim bowl is known to have largely given way to a varied range of more finely made conical bowls (26). Jamdat Nasr was no exception to this; Mackay reported only six bevel-rim bowls (27). Since Nissen's ingenious suggestion that the bevel-rim bowl was a standard measure of capacity in a ration system akin to that Gelb has described as distinctive of Mesopotamian society in the third millennium B.C. (28), and not a votive vessel as had been previously suggested (29), study of this shape and its successors has assumed a fresh significance and vitality (30). Without any kind of numerical information the possible distributive role of the variously sized conical bowls from Jamdat Nasr may not be assessed; but their presence is emphasized here, as in the case of the large storage jars, to counteract the false perspective arising from the apparent prominence of decorated jars in the published ceramic repertory of this site. In this instance methods of retrieval and publication almost certainly distorted the overall picture.

The other small finds exhibit a marked absence of luxury goods. Although Lapis lazuli appears for the first time on south Mesopotamian sites in the Jamdat Nasr period (31), Mackay noted its absence at Jamdat Nasr, as also the rarity of carnelian (32). He further commented on the poor workmanship of the beads. Stone vessels were rare. There was virtually no object which may confidently be described as a weapon. The occasional pierced stone 'macehead' (33) is not certainly such, whilst the numerous grooved, but unpierced, stone 'maceheads' are now generally agreed to have had some role in hunting or agriculture as yet unrecognized (34). Of copper there was only the occasional fish-hook, adze-blade, spatula and bowl (35). Hoes and shaft-hole axeheads of baked clay (definitely functional objects not models) and of chipped stone, and baked clay sickles and chipped stone 'choppers' constituted the tool kit of agriculturalists (36).

The functional implications of seals and sealings may be expected to be more explicit. Here a significant distinction is immediately apparent. The actual stamp-seals and cylinders found on the site bear the relatively simple schematic geometric, animal, and human frieze designs often taken to be particularly distinctive of the site and its period (37). The only reported sealing is on two large fragments from what seems to have been a sealing from the neck of a big jar. It bears a pattern of rosettes, maltese crosses and ibexes that associates it with the east Mesopotamian 'piedmont style' defined some years ago by Le Breton (38). In contrast the impressions on tablets, unmatched by actual seals from the site, evoke another world. Here varied human activity blends with symbols. The files of porters, the piles of inanimate goods, the domestic animals and the birds, as well as the interlaced snakes and rosettes, often very closely match sealings found in Uruk III and at Susa (39). One tablet sealing is of outstanding importance. It appears on at least half a dozen tablets (40). Amiet recognized its affinity to the archaic collective sealings from Ur (41); but it was M.Lambert who proposed translations for the series of pictographs, identifying among them, as at Ur, various Sumerian cities: ?Ku$^{c}$ara, Ur, Larsa, Uruk, Zabalam and either Umma or Akshak (42).

Although the stratigraphical context, and thus the relative date, of the collective sealings from Ur is open to question it has usually been assumed that the archaic sealings as a group do not predate the Early Dynastic Period. Hansen has published evidence from Nippur for dating the sealings from S.I.S.4-5 at Ur to Early Dynastic I (43). At Ur the collective sealings are rolled only on clay lumps, presumably from jars or bales conveying various commodities, not on tablets recording them. At Jamdat Nasr they were found only on tablets. Normally, when sealing and inscription appears on the same tablet, the sealing is on one face and the sides, the inscription on the other; when it is a matter of overlap the tablet has generally been sealed before inscription. The apparent distinction in usage between Ur and Jamdat Nasr may, of course, be fortuitous; the result of partial excavation on both sites. But it may equally well be an important indication of disparate functions, to be tested against future finds. It could be taken to mean that in the main building at Jamdat Nasr scribes, amongst other

activities evidenced by the tablets, were assembling records of consignments (for written records are essentially for reference back) rather than receiving the goods themselves brought from elsewhere in sealed containers. Such goods would be sent to magazines or storehouses; no such structures are immediately apparent from the plan provided by Langdon (44). If this were so, the absence of sealings like those found at Ur would not be so surprising.

The economic and political significance of the collective seals remains a matter for debate. Some twenty years ago Jacobsen argued that they had been 'used for sealing deliveries from a common fund of goods, created for a common purpose by individual contributions from the cities collectively sealing' (45), and saw in them corroborative evidence for his concept of an early political alliance, the 'Kengir League'. Wright more recently confined himself to their economic significance envisaging 'a system by which a storehouse in a town is related to those in several nearby towns, and which can build up into chains of interrelated towns stretching from one end of the alluvium to the other...' (46). In analysing the Ur sealings he showed that certain towns occurred one with another more often than chance alone would suggest: Ur and Larsa, Larsa and Adab, Adab and Keš. The surveys of Adams and Gibson in the centre of Iraq demonstrate how Jamdat Nasr was well placed on a canal/waterway system in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. to be linked with the sites of known location in Lambert's reading of the collective sealing (47). Even if Jacobsen's concept of a 'Kengir League' remains only an illuminating hypothesis, the tangible evidence these sealings provide for a close commercial relationship already in the late prehistoric period is in itself significant enough. It should come as no surprise now that the elaborate trading networks of the Uruk period are ever better documented. It has been suggested that internal economic links may have been complemented from a very early stage in the history of writing by a wide circulation of 'scholarly' texts (48).

Jamdat Nasr may also have held a distributional role in a slightly different commercial network, facing eastwards rather than southwards into Sumer. Cylinder seals cut in the style originally defined by Le Breton as 'Piedmont Jamdat Nasr' (49) have, as the name

indicates, a predominantly East Mesopotamian distribution. They are extremely rare in Sumer, but are well represented at Susa, in the Diyala, and at Kish (50). Impressions on sealings have been published from Nineveh, Susa, Kish and Jamdat Nasr (51). If seals decorated in a common style may not safely be taken to demonstrate any direct commercial links between the sites at which they occur, their impressions on seals for jars or bales are a different matter. As with the cities of the collective sealings, Jamdat Nasr's geographical location was crucial (52). She was in as good a position to link up with caravan routes up and down the plains east of the Tigris as with any, necessarily restricted, use of water-transport downstream on that unpredictable river. Survey has suggested that Jamdat Nasr was occupied, at least partially, into Early Dynastic I (53). Since the water course on which she lay had not changed, it may be that modifications in an overall pattern of external trade, or internal commodity distribution, brought about the end of settlement here.

In many later contexts associated tablets would be expected to give some clear indication of a building's primary function. Here the matter is not so simple (54), as the Jamdat Nasr tablets have still to be fully interpreted. They deserve a new edition and thorough re-appraisal. As I am not competent even to do this in a preliminary way, my comments here are only directed to those general considerations which, avoiding details, do not rest on the complexities of direct translation. Although reservations continue to be expressed, the language of these texts is generally taken to be Sumerian. That they are predominantly economic texts is not in question; primarily administrative checklists of persons, of commodities, and of land areas, subtly interrelating all three. So far no one has identified a literary text among them, though such are already known among the archaic texts from Uruk and the later 'archaic texts' from Ur (55). Various deities are named. The term lugal does not appear but there is a group of personal names commencing with the element en (56). Recently Edzard, unlike Jacobsen in the paper cited earlier (57), has preferred to leave entirely open the exact definition, and etymology, of en and ensi.

The location of the tablets within the Jamdat Nasr building should not be overlooked. Apart from a single

room to the north-east Langdon seems only to have found them in the long or 'projecting' rooms of the casemate wall. The scatter which Watelin recovered in 1928, in the centre of the building on the north-east side, appear from his letters and sketch-plan to have been largely in eroded debris - or possibly in the last vestiges of a casemate wall on this side of the building. Nissen has commented on the rarity of any good archival context for archaic tablets found at Uruk (58). The tablets published by Falkenstein were largely found above the 'Limestone Temple' between 1928 and 1931 in the area of the enigmatic 'Red Temple'. So little of this building has been shown in published plans that its character is a very open question. It may well have been an administrative building ancestral to that at Jamdat Nasr (59). In the following years as many again were found primarily above and to the west of the 'Loftus Façade'. The archaic texts from Ur were scattered in rubbish tips (60).

## II. Tell Barguthiat

Tell Barguthiat (Gibson, no.94) (Fig.T), a complex of mounds about 29 kms. north-north-east of Kish, was briefly investigated by Langdon in 1925 (61). At the top of tell D, nearest to Jamdat Nasr, he found a 'stone' slab, three feet square and six inches thick, inscribed for Nebuchadnezzar II. In February 1933 Watelin returned to the site with a party of 200 workmen and pitched camp on a small tell about a hundred yards south of mound A. Here a few tablets were found, some naming a city of Girumu which Langdon took to be the ancient name of Barguthiat (62). Four cuttings were made into the sprawling mound A on its south side: trench 1, eight feet wide, was driven in from plain level where the mound was highest, 2 was cut at right angles to the lower end of 1, 3 was set parallel to 1 somewhat to the east and 4 was cut on the summit of the mound above 3. As might be expected such excavation - like a series of step trenches down the side of a tell - partially revealed a sequence of structures, which may be unravelled tentatively from Langdon's singularly confused account, based on Watelin's letters (63). On the summit of tell A was a building of the Sasanian period with two small ornamental water basins flanking an entrance or ivan as in SP-1 and 2 at Kish. Below this were structures, and scattered graves, of the Parthian period, then of the Neo-Babylonian or

Achaemenian periods. Trench 2 was sunk six feet below the plain level 'passing through compact earth and layers of ashes; a few fragments of pottery were found but no objects'. A square area, trench 5, and four narrow trenches numbered together 6, were cut into the western slope of tell B; objects in Oxford from cutting 6 are mainly of the Neo-Babylonian or Achaemenian period. A single trench 7 was cut across a tiny tell just to the north of A; there is nothing from this trench in Oxford. The objects catalogued below have to be regarded as a random sample from this site, as they were recorded by trench number without any reference to the level or building in which they were found.

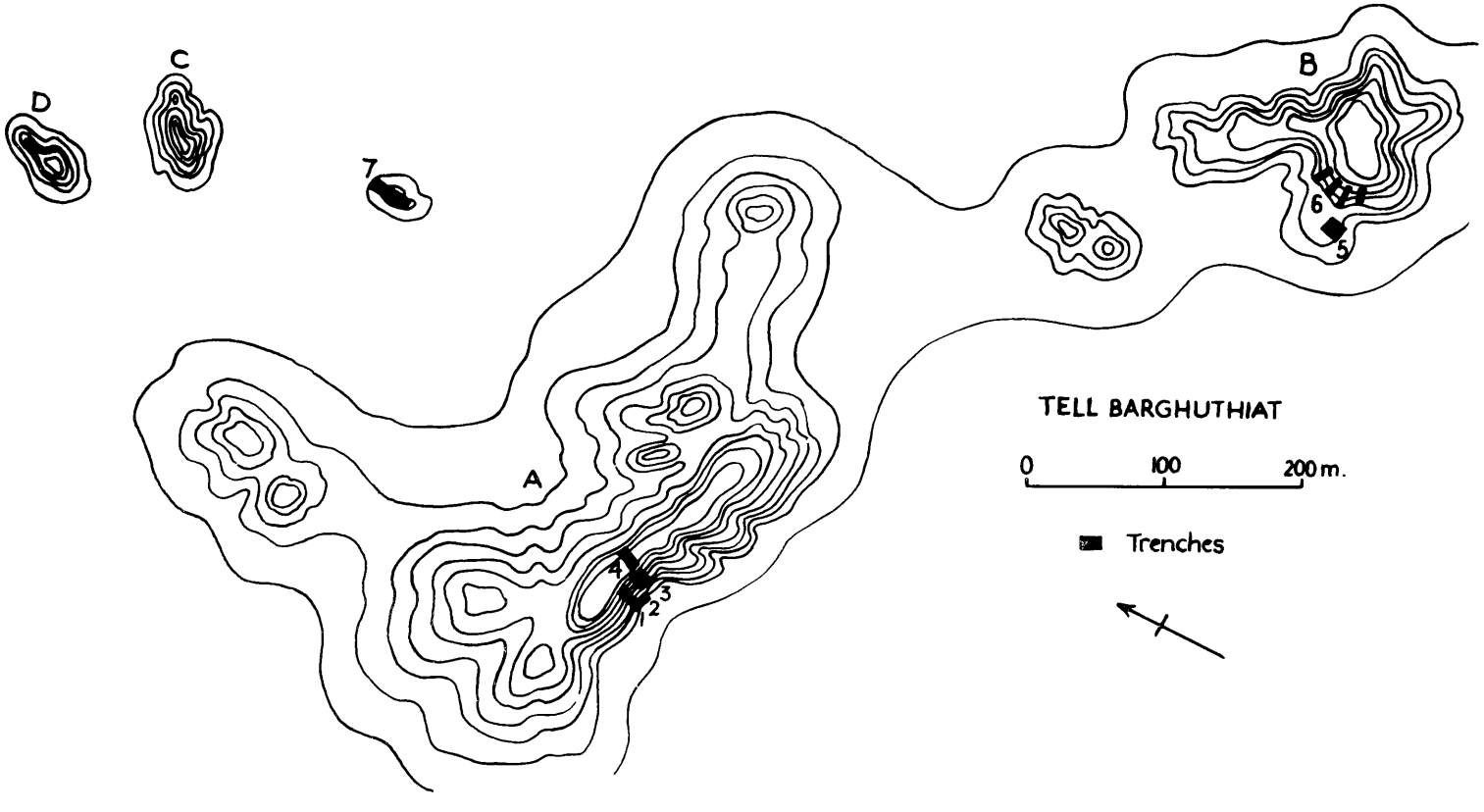
## III. Umm el-Jir

Umm el-Jir (variously Umm Jerab/Umm el-Djerab in the records) is a tell about 8.5 km. south-east of Barguthiat. It was first explored in a series of trenches by Watelin from March 1st to 17th 1932, after clandestine excavations had called his attention to the site. This excavation was never published and what casual references there are to it in the Expedition's preliminary reports are very misleading. The site was again briefly investigated by the Iraqi Directorate General and Chicago University between late December 1966 and January 1967. Gibson published a full report on his soundings with a summary of Watelin's work based on his reports by letter to Langdon in England and a few surviving sketch plans (64). This excavation will only be very cursorily reviewed here as background for the catalogue of objects in Oxford.

Umm el-Jir is a long low mound, measuring approximately 700 x 300 x 4 metres. Watelin concentrated his activities in three areas:

1. In the highest part of the tell at its western end he distringuished two main building phases under thin levels of Islamic and Neo-Babylonian occupation. The lower building was of unbaked plano-convex bricks (17 x 11 x 6 cm) laid in a herringbone pattern (65), the upper was of rectangular bricks (26/24 x 14/13 x 9 cm) similar to those in the supporting wall of the larger ziggurat on Tell Ingharra. No coherent building plan was recovered. Pottery and small finds, but no tablets, were found here.

2. On the south side of the tell a building which had been destroyed by fire was partially cleared. Here two




T. Sketch plan of Tell Barguthiat to show the excavation trenches (after Langdon and Watelin)

tablet fragments were found in the debris and two graves:

Grave alpha: pottery and small finds like those from Cemetery A: 'Mother-goddess' type vase (Type A); offering stand (Type B); vessels of types BB, C, and E; copper pins with faience heads; two Early Dynastic III cylinder seals; two cosmetic shells; necklace of faience and carnelian beads; broken copper cup.

Grave beta: perhaps part of alpha; 'contains only vases'.

A third, apparently contemporary grave, was found on the summit of the tell:

Grave gamma: vases of types BB and AC; two metal pins; two cosmetic shells and half a cylinder engraved on the flat surface.

3. Trenches cut on the eastern and western ends of the tell proved abortive as the walls were very badly preserved.

Although no record is explicit it is clear that Watelin, as Gibson more recently, found no tablets in his excavations save the two fragments already cited. The important group of tablets, most of them from the later Akkadian period, from this site fully published by Gelb (66) were acquired by purchase from clandestine excavators. In the report of his excavations Gibson briefly listed the recorded finds from Watelin's excavations, with reference when possible to their present location, but without illustrations.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

(1) I have used copies in the Kish Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; for the site see also McG.Gibson, The City and Area of Kish (Miami, 1972), 140, no.92; 202, no.203 (Adam's Survey); for a first-hand account of conditions at the time of excavation see: H.Field, The Field Museum-Oxford University Expedition to Kish, Mesopotamia 1923-9 (Field Museum, Chicago, 1929), 11-14, 22-3.

(2) Der Alte Orient, 1927, 67ff.

(3) AM I (3), 289.

(4) Ibid., Pl.LXX.25.

(5) Identification as an 'altar' is questionable.

(6) New Light on the Most Ancient East (4th Edition; London, 1958), 134, PL.XXIa.

(7) AM I (3), 252, PL.LXXVI, fig.2.

(8) The originals of these letters are in Chicago; Oxford only has English translations by Dr. Ann Perkins; the statuette is not illustrated and I did not locate it in Baghdad in 1969; cf. the contemporary copper pinhead: O.Muscarella (Ed.), Ancient Art: the Norbert Schimmel Collection (Mainz, 1974), no.109 (bis).

(9) Cf. AM I (3), Pl.LXX.25.

(10) JRAS (1931), 837-44; O.E.C.T. VII, Pl.XLI.

(11) AJA 39 (1935), 310-20.

(12) JRAS (1932), 967-70.

(13) A.Perkins, The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia (Chicago, 1949) 133.

(14) H.Field, op.cit., P.XII; L. Ch.Watelin, Excavations at Kish IV (Paris, 1934) Pl.XXVIII.1.

(15) H.Field, American Anthropologist 34 (1932), 309.

(16) AM I (2), Pl.XXXI; for a comprehensive review of ancient kilns see G.Delacroix and J.L.Huot, Syria 49 (1972), 35-95.

(17) The primary evidence is conveniently assembled in E.Heinrich, ZA 49 (1950), 21ff.; for the definition of a Babylonian temple assumed here, see E.Sollberger in Le Temple et le Culte (Compte Rendu de la Vingtième Rencontre Assyriologique Int.; Istanbul 1975), 31ff.

(18) H.J.Lenzen, UVB XXV (1974), 15-19; Iraq 36 (1974), 121ff., PL.XVI; E.Heinrich in W.Orthmann, Der Alte Orient (Propyläen, Berlin, 1975), 144, Fig.5.

(19) H.J.Lenzen, UVB XXII (1967), 24-7, Pl.13b, 29; UVB XXIV (1968), 11-12, Pl.1-2.

(20) H.J.Lenzen, UVB XX (1964), Pl.30-1.

(21) H.Field, American Anthropologist 34 (1932), 303ff., citing various specialists.

(22) Science 130 (no.3372) (1959), 367, n.11.

(23) Also H.Helbaek, op.cit., p.371: broomcorn millet.

(24) AM I (3), Pl.LIX.1.

(25) O.E.C.T. VII, Pl.XLI.120 (reversed), p.40: sign 320.

(26) R.McC.Adams and H.J.Nissen, The Uruk Countryside (Chicago, 1972), 99.

(27) AM I (3), 249-50.

(28) BaM 5 (1970), 137; JNES 24 (1965), 230-43.

(29) P.Delougaz, Diyala Pottery, 127-8.

(30) G.A.Johnson, Local Exchange and Early State Distribution in Southwestern Iran (Ann Arbor, 1973), 129ff.; H.T.Wright, The Administration of Rural Production in an Early Mesopotamian Town (Ann Arbor, 1969), 63, Fig.22.

(31) G.Herrmann, Iraq 30 (1968), 31.

(32) AM I (3), 272, 291.

(33) AM I (3), Pl.LXX.7-9.

(34) AM I (3), 269; cf. R.McC.Adams and H.J.Nissen, op. cit., p.211.

(35) AM I (3), Pl.LXXI.30-2, LXXV.4; for analyses: P.R.S.Moorey and F.Schweizer, Archaeometry 14 (1972), 180.

(36) AM I (3), Pl.LXXV,LXXVI.11 - not sufficient distinction is always made in the archaeological literature between baked clay tools from Babylonia shown by size and wear to be functional and true miniatures or models.

(37) AM I (3), Pl.LXXIII; B.Buchanan, Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum Museum, I, (Oxford, 1966), nos.14,19,26,28,31 (not from a grave), (34 is Kish not Jamdat Nasr), 38, (40 is Kish), 42,46,49-50,52,53,59-60,66-7.

(38) L.le Breton, Iraq 19 (1957), 108; AM I (3), Pl.LXXVI.13, p.285.

(39) B.Buchanan, op.cit., p.8 with references to Uruk up to 1961; they have accumulated since then: UVB XVIII (1962), Pl.19; XIX (1963), Pl.13-16; XXIV (1968), Pl.18-20; XXV (1974), Pl.18-19,23,26-27, 41-2 and pp.70-2; for Susa: P.Amiet, MDP XLIII

(1972) and the precise stratigraphical information in Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran, I (1971), 217ff.

(40) B.Buchanan, op.cit., no.9; including one from clandestine excavations at Jamdat Nasr now in Berlin.

(41) RA 44 (1967), 198.

(42) RA 47 (1970), 189.

(43) In D.G.Mitten (ed.), Studies presented to George M.A.Hanfmann (Mainz, 1971), 47-54, Pl.17-21,

(44) On the assumption they would have been long, narrow contiguous rooms as elsewhere - UVB XXIV (1968), Pl.1-2.

(45) ZA 52 (1957), 109, n.35.

(46) H.T.Wright, op.cit., p.31.

(47) McG.Gibson, The City and Area of Kish: Akkad Survey - Map 2; see also comments of H.Weiss, JAOS 95 (1975), 436ff.

(48) R.D.Biggs, Inscriptions from Tell Abu Salabikh (Chicago, 1974), 26-7.

(49) See note 38.

(50) P.Amiet, MDP XLIII (1972), Pl.115-120; H.Frankfort, Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region (Chicago, 1955), Pl.11-15; B.Buchanan, op.cit., nos.74-8 (Kish not Jamdat Nasr), 80.

(51) See references under note 50; for Nineveh: M.E.L.Mallowan, LAAA (1933), 138ff., Pl.LXV-VI.

(52) E.E.D.M.Oates, Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq (London, 1968), 8.

(53) See note 1.

(54) A.Falkenstein, Archäische Texte aus Uruk (Berlin, 1936), 13ff., 43ff., for much relevant comment; also H.J.Nissen and A.A.Vaiman, Acta Antiqua XXII (1974), 5-27.

(55) R.D.Biggs, op.cit., p.29.

(56) D.O.Edzard in P.Garelli (Ed.), Le Palais et la Royauté (Paris, 1974), 141-9.

(57) See note 45.

(58) UVB XXVI-II (1972), 89.

(59) A.Falkenstein, op.cit., p.3; H.J.Lenzen, ZA 49 (1950), 1-2; UVB XIX (1963), Pl.45.

(60) E.T.Burrow, UET II, 1.

(61) Der Alte Orient XXVI (1927), 67-8.

(62) RA XXX (1933), 189-91.

(63) Iraq I (1934), 118.

(64) JNES 31 (1972), 237-94.

(65) Cf. ibid., fig.9.

(66) I.J.Gelb, Sargonic Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (MAD 5; Chicago, 1970), 59ff.; see also Xff.

## Chapter 9

# ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY: THE CITY OF KISH, c.3000 B.C. to A.D. 650

The emergence of Kish as an influential city-state in central Iraq in the very early third millennium B.C. may be reconstructed tentatively, first from the relevant entries in the Sumerian King List, then from the 'historical' epics which form one of the main genre of later Sumero-Akkadian literature, supplemented by the meagre information which may be gleaned from isolated contemporary or near contemporary royal inscriptions. Kish was never again to achieve the supremacy which was hers during this the earliest, formative, stage of Mesopotamian history. For a long time afterwards her name bestowed so much prestige that it was adopted by rulers of other cities so long as they could claim that Kish acknowledged their overlordship, even if it was not their capital city.

Although there is already clear evidence both from Uhaimir and Ingharra for occupation in the Ubaid period, the earliest recognizable settlements on the site of Kish belong to the later Proto-literate or Jamdat Nasr period, when two small villages along a natural or slightly altered water course rapidly grew into an urban settlement. Among his finds from Kish de Genouillac published a stone plaque carved in low relief with the facade of a shrine and two figures, one either pouring a libation over the other or perhaps striking him (1). Stylistically this plaque belongs to the Jamdat Nasr period rather than to Uruk IV. It is particularly unfortunate that de Genouillac gave no details of the circumstances in which this object was found. It is the oldest sculptured stone yet found at Kish and may show a very early ruler of the city. The inscribed archaic limestone tablet found out of context in palace A, an archaic tablet from the Plano-convex Building, a fragmentary archaic inscription on pink limestone, and one or two tablets of Jamdat Nasr type found out of context on Ingharra are isolated indications of a fully developed administration at Kish by the last quarter of the fourth millennium B.C. Within two or three hundred years the settlement had grown physically to a position whence its rulers could establish themselves as major political figures in

southern Mesopotamia, where there was already a distinct, long established tradition of city government (2).

The reason for the especial predominance of Kish as early as this may only be guessed at. The narrow area of land round Kish, where even in ancient times the rivers were no more than thirty or forty miles apart, would always have been a crucial area to control, dominating as it did the sources of water for irrigation to the south and the main routes of communication (3). Easy access to the main waterways, moreover, facilitated military penetration of the south either by river and canals or along their banks. Indeed Gelb has suggested that the emergence of a unit larger than the original city-states in the south, organized round the so-called 'Nippur amphictyony' was a response to the establishment of a strong political unit in the north around Kish, and to the threat of invasion by Semites from the north (4). Whilst virtually all the earliest recorded kings in the south bear Sumerian names, some of the early rulers of Kish - Kalibum, Zuqaqip, Samuk and Tizkar - have Semitic names. Ingharra has yielded a number of Akkadian-written 'archaic kudurru' fragments dating to the Early Dynastic III period (5). In the south Jacobsen has seen secular kingship emerging gradually from the custom of electing ad hoc warleaders much in the manner of Israel under the Judges (6). If a West Semitic tradition was paramount at Kish from very early the precocious emergence there of a powerful secular kingship may have derived more immediately from the exploitation of a tribal system by singularly forceful individuals in the ruling family or group; a political pattern familiar in more recent Arab history.

Kish was enshrined in Mesopotamian tradition as the city which first exercised political supremacy over Sumer after the Flood: 'The Flood then swept over (the land). After the Flood had swept over (the land) the kingship had descended from heaven (a second time), Kish became (the seat) of Kingship' (7). The list of ante-diluvian kings with which the canonical Sumerian King List begins seems to derive from a separate tradition, which was never stabilized in the way the main list was, though the name of the cities of Sumer which then exercised the kingship, and their order, is reasonably consistent in the surviving sources (8). In order these were Eridu, Patibira ('Canal') or

Badtibira ('Fortress of the Smiths'), Larak, Sippar and Shuruppak (Fara).

The first ruler of Kish whose activities are recorded in any form is Etana: 'the shepherd, he who ascended to heaven, who made firm all the lands', thirteenth name in the First Dynasty of Kish according to the King List, but probably first after the Flood in the genuine Kish tradition. The series of Akkadian rulers, many with animal names, between the Flood and him were almost certainly inserted in this position by a later editor of the list, for the Etana epic clearly states that he was not only first King of Kish, but also first king of all (9). Hallo has presented a different restoration by breaking the first dynasty of Kish into two or more parallel series of names, one beginning with Mashkakatu ('Harrow'), another with Kalibum, and a third with Etana (10). The King List's comment on Etana is twofold, on the one hand historical in its implication that he established some form of suzerainty over a wide area, on the other purely legendary in its reference to his quest for the 'plant of birth in heaven'. The mythological information the editor clearly derived from a tradition current when he wrote in the later third millennium B.C., but so far known only from an Akkadian recension of the early second millennium B.C. The main theme of this very popular legend is perhaps illustrated on a number of cylinder seals of the Akkadian period which show a mortal rising to heaven on an eagle's back (11). It is not until Enmebaragesi last but one of the 1st Dynasty at Kish, that there appears a name, a Sumerian one, which is also found on a contemporary inscription.

A fragmentary votive inscription bearing this ruler's name was found in the Temple Oval at Khafajah in an archaeological context dated to Early Dynastic II (12). On another sherd of a large alabaster vessel of unknown origin, now in the Iraq Museum, the name appears again, this time followed by the title 'King of Kish' (13). According to a Sumerian legend Aka, son of Enmebaragesi, engaged in conflict with Gilgamesh, King of Uruk, though legends current in the time of Shulgi, King of Ur c.2090 B.C., attributed the start of this war to Enmebaragesi himself (14). It seems that Aka was forced to submit to Gilgamesh (15). This is the first real indication that Kish was closely involved with her troops in the internal affairs of Sumer. The legend implies that a vital part was played in Kish's

supremacy by riverborne armies striking swiftly and unexpectedly downstream. The rulers of the city had clearly established some form of hegemony over Uruk as part of an increasing role in Sumerian life, for Enmebaragesi is also credited, in the so-called Tummal inscription, with building the Temple of Enlil at Nippur. Tummal was the area at Nippur consecrated to the goddess Ninlil. Aka, following his father's policies, made the 'Tummal pre-eminent and brought Ninlil to the Tummal' (16). The conflict with Uruk marked an important stage in the establishment of the imperial ambitions of the rulers of Kish, for this city, whose interests extended far beyond the borders of Mesopotamia well into Iran (17) had already long been established as an influential power in the south. Indeed the King List records a victory by Enmebaragesi over Elam (18). A version of the Kesh Temple Hymn on tablets found at Abu Salabikh, dated to Early Dynastic IIIA, records that 'the king of Kish put a stone bowl in place in the temple'. This is another reflection, almost contemporary, of a time when Kish controlled Sumer at least as far south as the region of Nippur and Adab, the general area in which Kesh is thought to have been (19).

Both Enmebaragesi and Aka may be dated early in Early Dynastic II in Diyala archaeological terms, or possibly to the very end of I. Although some of the earliest burials found in the 'Y' sounding are contemporary with these rulers, the cart-burials are later. Within the next generation or so Kish, apparently subject to Ur after Aka's death, declined in political power. At a time when so much depended on the energy and ability of individual rulers this is hardly surprising. The days of Kish's greatest influence over Sumer were already over by Early Dynastic IIIA. But the reflection of her former power survived in the title 'King of Kish' now proudly borne by a number of rulers from other cities who had exercised authority over Kish at some time.

The first known to us was Mesilim, who may originally have been the ruler of the city of Der, not far to the west of Kish (20). A macehead inscribed for him was found at Tello, other votive inscriptions were found at Adab, and he was arbitrator in a boundary dispute between Lagash and Umma (21). These meagre evidences suffice to show that he exercised a widely ranging authority over central and southern

Mesopotamia, similar to that established in earlier generations by the native rulers of Kish, whose title he assumed as a mark of his imperium. In doing this there is no reason to believe that the contemporary representative of the native dynasty was thereby dethroned. He probably continued to rule on as a vassal. Not only the evidence of the King List, but other isolated inscriptions of the later Early Dynastic period bear witness to a continuing line of local rulers (22). Among the records of a ruler's household of Early Dynastic IIIA found at Fara, there is reference to '10 measures of varnish (for) the Chief-builder of Kish' (23). To this period also belongs the administrative tablet found during excavations in palace A. The man who left his name on the inlaid frieze of palace A, whether a suzerain or a native ruler, also ruled at Kish (24).

Mesilim was not the only influential figure about this time to claim suzerainty over Kish, for the excavations at Nippur have revealed another ruler, unmentioned in the King List, a victor over Elam, who used the title 'King of Kish'. This title alone appears on a battered stone statuette, but an Ur III copy of a votive text of the same ruler reveals more about him. It reads: 'To Inanna, Enna-il the son of A-Imdugud (sic) having smashed Elam, dedicated (this object)' (25). This may in some way be connected with the fact that the dynasty of Awan, situated north of Susa, was overthrown by the founder of the IInd Dynasty of Kish according to the King List (26).

Kish was also about this time, in the course of Early Dynastic IIIA, briefly subject to Ur under their Kind Mesannepada, who founded the city's first dynasty and later assumed the title 'King of Kish' (27). Ur's authority over Kish seems to have been short-lived for neither of his immediate successors, A'annepada nor Meskiagnuna, claimed the title, though according to the Tummal Inscription both controlled Sumer as least as far north as Nippur. This period saw a revival in the fortunes of Kish, before she again became subject to foreign powers.

Nothing is yet known of the first two rulers of the IInd Dynasty of Kish, Su-Suda or Dadasig. The third, Mamagal (Magalgal), may be identified with a ruler who appears in a later Omen text (28) as Magalgal, the skipper, 'who exercised emperorship; in the midst of the city a ... snake killed him'. Two things are

interesting about this text. The description of the ruler as a skipper, or some kind of sailor, reflecting the early importance of Kish's position on the Euphrates, and the reference to 'emperorship', the political role so intimately associated with the city's rulers.

The next phase in the history of Kish, Early Dynastic IIIB, suffers not so much from a lack of evidence as from uncertainties over interpretation of what has survived. In the battle scene depicted on the so-called 'stela of Vultures', which Eannatum of Lagash erected to commemorate his victory over Umma, a fallen foe threatened directly by Eannatum's spear is labelled 'King of Kish'. Jacobsen has restored the damaged name as Kalbum referred to in the King List as fourth ruler of the IInd Dynasty of Kish (29). The chronology of Eannatum's reign is uncertain and open to a number of interpretations (30). There may be no doubt, however, that at some point in his reign in order to stabilize his power over Sumer it was necessary to defeat Kish, an old ally of his city's arch enemy Umma, and frustrate renewed efforts by the northern city to exert its influence in Sumerian politics. Once Eannatum had achieved his aim he assumed the title 'King of Kish' or as he phrased it 'To Eannatum the ensi of Lagash, whom Ningirsu had conceived ... Inanna, because she loved him, gave the kingship of Kish in addition to the ensi-ship of Lagash' (31).

Many years ago Poebel reconstructed an inscription which recorded a victory by Enshakushanna, likely to have been ruler of Ur and Uruk, over a king of Kish (32). If this ruler can be identified with the Inbi-Ishtar listed by the King List in the IInd Dynasty of Kish subsequent to Kalbum, as has been suggested, this event must have taken place after the reign of Eannatum. In any event Inbi-Ishtar was captured and the city of Kish was sacked by her southern conqueror. Uruk was to maintain its domination over Kish under a subsequent ruler Lugal-kinishedudu. Originally ensi of Uruk he concluded a treaty of brotherhood with Entemena of Lagash, which with Umma, was later to become part of his realm. He then achieved the kingship of Ur and crowned his career of aggrandizement in the time-honoured manner by gaining the title 'King of Kish' (33). His successor, Lugal-kisalsi, retained the title (34), but thereafter it appears to have lapsed for the next ruler of Uruk, Lugalzagesi, though he ruled over

much of Sumer, did not. The most remarkable figure in the history of Kish in the declining years of the Early Dynastic period is recorded in the King List as the barmaid ('woman of wine') Ku-Baba, who is said to have 'consolidated the foundation of Kish'. According to a later chronicle account she had seized power over Kish from the city of Akshak (35). Her fame endured in the divination tradition which specifically recorded messages given her by the entrails (36).

Meagre as is this outline history of the vacillating fortunes of Kish in the earliest phase of her history, it will serve as a basis for some general conclusions. Many of the names of the earliest rulers of the city are Semitic (Akkadian) and it was almost certainly this element in the population which raised Kish to the powerful position it regularly held in the Early Dynastic period. Some of these kings pursued a definite policy towards the south in which respect for Nippur, holy city of the Sumerians, played a vital role. It was a king of Kish who built there the temple of Enlil and Ninlil. The fact that rulers of Ur, Lagash and Uruk highly esteemed the title 'King of Kish' may be taken to imply that it carried with it a force which went far beyond physical possession of the city itself, though that was almost certainly a preliminary requisite for any aspirant to the title. It is now very difficult to discern with any certainty which particular aspects of the nature or ideals of kingship were involved, but two - the antiquity of the title and its imperial aspirations - were especially potent. Kish may well have been the original home in Mesopotamia of a supreme secular authority entirely independent of the priesthood on the one hand, or of popular elective control on the other (37). If so the title's attractions for ambitious rulers of small city-states is clear enough. At the same time the rulers of Kish, as early as Etana, if we may credit the comment of the editor of the King List, were not merely the rulers of the city and its immediate neighbourhood. They also aspired 'to make firm all the lands'. There are many points in the early histories of Ur, Lagash and Uruk, inadequately though they are documented, which suggest that the rulers of Sumer were politically expansionist, even imperialist, long before the supremacy of the Akkadian dynasty. The Kish monarchy seems somehow to have sanctioned and re-inforced these ambitions, making its title particularly desirable.

Partial as excavations on the site of Kish have so far been, there is already clear evidence of an extensive double-city in the Early Dynastic III period, although its detailed topography remains obscure. Isolated tablets from the house remains in the 'Y' sounding may be dated between the 'archaic' texts from Ur and the tablets more akin to those from Fara and Abu Salabikh; above the Flood Level in the same area tablets more akin to those from Fara occurred with various archaic kudurrus. Presargonic texts were also found at Uhaimir. The earliest shrines at Kish have yet to be identified on the ground. The remains of two ziggurats of small plano-convex brick were examined on Ingharra, and a plano-convex brick building was found underlying the Neo-Sumerian temple area at Uhaimir. Palatial administrative buildings were excavated in areas A and P. Soundings in two other mounds - B and H - in the vicinity of Ingharra suggested the existence of other buildings which formed part of the city at this period. The recorded history of Kish in Early Dynastic III suggests numerous instances of war damage. This is reflected in the archaeological record by the heavy fortification of the north wing in palace A, the substantial outer walling of the 'Plano-convex building building', and evidence for more than one destruction by fire in both building complexes. The final, massive destruction of these administrative buildings and the Ingharra ziggurats and temple complex may be associated with Uruk's conquest of Kish late in Early Dynastic IIIB, possibly that of Enshakushanna. Thereafter until well into the Akkadian period the whole area was used, it seems, only for burials.

The city of Kish played an unpredictable role in the political history of the Akkadian dynasty. Although specially favoured by its founder Sargon I the city was eventually so alienated from his successors as to become a major centre of revolt in the reign of his grandson Naram-Sin. Both the King List and epic literature record Sargon's humble origins, in a place somewhere on the upper Euphrates, and his apparently rapid rise to the position of cup-bearer at the court of Ur-Zababa, a ruler of the Fourth Dynasty of Ur (38). The subsequent stages of Sargon's career are known, but their chronology is obscure, as no contemporary inscription is yet known. Ur-Zababa was probably dethroned, if not killed by Lugalzagesi, an ambitious and ruthless ensi of Umma who had established himself as ruler of much of Sumer with his capital at Uruk.

Although no inscription survives in which Lugalzagesi claimed the title 'King of Kish', as had his predecessor at Uruk, there may be little doubt that the city was subject to him. A later inscription of Naram-Sin recorded the liberation of Kish by Sargon from captivity and servitude to Uruk (39). At the time the citizens of Kish had pledged eternal loyality to Sargon. A liver omen from Mari may also refer to Sargon's liberation of Kish: 'Omen of Kish, of Sargon' (40). Throughout his reign Sargon bore the old titles 'King of Kish', as did his two immediate successors, Rimush and Manishtushu (41), and the city was clearly favoured, although Sargon had created a new capital for himself at Akkad, a site not yet identified somewhere not far to the west or north-west of Kish. According to the Sumerian King List Kish retained her own dynasty of rulers until sometime in the reign of Manishtushu. In this reign Kish was one of four Babylonian cities where the king purchased land, from which the existing population was displaced, in order to reward his high-ranking Akkadian adherents, mainly state and temple administrators (42). Despite the fact that this land was acquired by purchase, apparently at a fair price, and not confiscated, such policies were hardly likely to be popular with the dispossessed. This action may account for the hostility of Kish to later rulers of the dynasty. Although both Rimush and Manishtushu had to suppress extensive internal revolts at the outset of their reigns, Kish does not seem to have been among the rebels until the reign of Naram-Sin. Then the citizens of Kish in some kind of assembly elected one of their number, Imgu-Kish, as their king and he seems to have headed a revolt (43). Naram-Sin suppressed it and was, significantly, the first king of the dynasty not to style himself as 'King of Kish'. If any single event may be taken to mark the eclipse of Kish as a place of considerable political significance in Mesopotamia this has much to recommend it. The city now had an increasingly minor role, usually much involved with the ascending political fortunes of the neighbouring city of Babylon.

Under the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur Kish was administered by a governor and no longer had any special relationship with the ruling dynasty. This arrangement almost certainly dates back to the latter part of the Akkadian dynasty, when Naram-Sin abolished any special privileges the city may have enjoyed because of its place in Sargon's career (44). A rich collection of

tablets dated to the later part of the Sargonic period found on Tell Ingharra, now published by Gelb (45), indicate that whatever the city's declining role in greater Mesopotamia, life within it flourished.

Kish was not likely to have played any very prominent role in the politics of the declining dynasty of Akkad. Her place in the Gutian invasions is illustrated by a single piece of evidence. One of the very few contemporary inscriptions of the last Akkadian ruler, Shu-Durul, was found in the course of de Genouillac's excavations at Kish (46). Taken in conjunction with the king's only other known inscription, from the Diyala, it suggests that Shu-Durul, who reigned for about fifteen years, was able to retain some control over the vital area of central Mesopotamia which surrounded his capital at Akkad. The continuing existence of Kish, little more, may be inferred from mention of her governors in various economic and administrative texts of the Ur III period (47) and the occurrence of such texts at Uhaimir and Ingharra, although generally speaking Ur III administrative texts are very rare in north Babylonia. To this period I have attributed the foundation of 'Monument Z' on Ingharra (p.94). In the course of the slow disintegration of central authority during the reign of Ibbi-Sin, when Ishbi-Erra was gradually establishing himself as an independent ruler with a capital at Isin, the governor of Kish is listed among those whom Ishbi-Erra had restored to office after they had presumably been dismissed by Ibbi-Sin for disloyalty (48).

The fortunes of Kish after the collapse of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur have to be reconstructed almost entirely from the date formulae or oaths on contract tablets (49) and isolated royal inscriptions which refer directly or indirectly to the city. At a time when the history of Mesopotamia as a whole is ill-documented it is not likely that a single now relatively obscure city will play a very prominent part in the surviving records. The parallel dynasties of Isin and Larsa established a <u>modus vivendi</u> which persisted for about two hundred years, despite periods of friction and the intervention of other city-states like Eshnunna and Uruk (50). Throughout this time the tiny state of Kish was sometimes precariously independent under her own rulers, more often the prey of predatory neighbouring rulers who either established direct overlordships or

set up a co-regency between themselves and a local ruler, as did the earlier Amorite rulers over Babylon.

The earliest record we have for Kish in the Isin-Larsa period is a liver omen from Mari (51) which records a defeat for the armies of Ishme-Dagan of Isin at Kish. The text is too cryptic to establish how far the city was involved in the battle, but the presence of this record in the liver-omens' tradition of Mari suggests that Kish was caught up in a conflict between the rulers of Isin and Mari. To this reign may also belong reference to the importance of the temples of Kish which appears in the 'Lamentation over Nippur' (52). In the course of his excavations at Kish de Genouillac found a tiny fragment from a text of Lipit-Ishtar's code of laws (53). To this reign may also belong the only known building inscription of a king of Kish in this period. Ashduni-arim, ruler of the city, inscribed a number of very small cones, said to be from Tell Uhaimir, with a rather bombastic account of a campaign against another, unnamed city within a day's march of Kish. Following a successful campaign he repaired the 'great wall of Kish' from which these cones may originally have come (54).

If this inscription is correctly placed Ashduni-arim was a near contemporary of a ruler called Sumu-ditan, King of Kazullu or Marad, who ruled over Kish for a brief period about the time of Ur-Ninurta, King of Isin (55). Sumu-ditan is known to have died when the local ruler of Kish was a certain Yawium, associated in a number of oaths with Zababa, city-god of Kish (56). He, and maybe also his immediate predecessors, were subject at times to control from another city in central Mesopotamia, perhaps Kutha (Tell Ibrahim) (57). Though the available information could hardly be more meagre, it is sufficient to demonstrate that Kish had sunk into almost complete political insignificance during the earlier part of the Isin-Larsa period. The rulers of local cities regularly asserted their authority over her own rulers who, when opportunity offered, wrote pathetically pompous accounts of very minor military triumphs.

Yet in such unsettled times the city's independence of action was not completely stifled, for the eleventh year of Sumu-el, King of Larsa (c.1894-1866 B.C.) was designated: 'Army of Kish defeated' (58). Although this certainly marks some resurgence in the city's

political fortunes, it is still not possible to place it in exact relation with the known rulers of Kish at this time. It is likely that Sumu-el's opponent was Yawium (59). As the influence of Isin and Larsa waned in central Mesopotamia Kish was directly caught between the opposing forces of Babylon in the west, Eshnunna in the east. For the greater part of his thirty-six year reign Sumu-la-el, King of Babylon (c.1990-1845 B.C.) was engaged in struggles with Kish and Kuzullu. His thirteenth and nineteenth years were named after victories over Kish, though it is impossible to assess how much the city itself suffered in each 'destruction' (60). Once he had overcome the resistance of Kish Sumu-la-el set about endowing it with fine buildings. The date formula for his thirtieth year recorded that he had built é-me-te-ur-sag, the temple complex at Uhaimir (61); a fact also recorded by Hammurapi on inscribed bricks found at Uhaimir (62). This is the first documentary evidence for the construction of any of the temples at Kish, though they were certainly not the first on the site (see p.171).

Under Sumu-la-el Babylon's influence over Kish was short-lived for sometime in the second half of the nineteenth century B.C. her great rival Eshnunna, a powerful state in the Diyala region, may have brought Kish under her control. At this time three consecutive rulers of Eshnunna - Ibiqadad II, and his two sons Naram-Sin and Dadusha - were all deified (63). This may be taken as contemporary acknowledgment of their special power and influence (64). Of the three Ibiqadad II and Naram-Sin may at present be directly linked with Kish. Naram-Sin, the more powerful, established his authority over most of central and northern Mesopotamia, where he ruled at Assur for about four years (65). Ibiqadad II revived the old title 'King of Kish' and Naram-Sin used an archaic form of the city's name to write it, without the KI-determinative (66). Their use of this title in a consciously archaic form, apparently defunct for about two hundred years in the sense they appear to have understood it, indicates the vitality of the historical traditions associated with Kish.

Among the texts found in the course of de Genouillac's excavations was a series of letters which formed part of the correspondence of Tutunishu, a Babylonian functionary exercising authority as a governor of Kish about the middle of Sin-muballit's

reign (c.1812-1793 B.C.) (67). Zababa, god of Kish is never mentioned in the greetings, though Samas and Marduk occasionally are. These letters reveal at one point that Kish is threatened by an important enemy fleet assembled at Mashkanshabra. Though the identity of the enemy is unstated, it was almost certainly Rim-Sin of Larsa, who was involved in a constant struggle with Babylon and Isin. As might be expected from the geographical proximity of the two cities, Kish was most likely to acknowledge the rulers of Babylon when powerful and the rulers of any other state which momentarily held Babylon in tutelage. The meagre references to Kish in Hammurapi's inscriptions suggest that the city had suffered since the building activities there of his predecessor Sumu-la-el. For his thirty-sixth year, at a time when a series of military victories in the previous few years had established his authority over much of Mesopotamia, Hammurapi adopted the date formula: 'He restored the temple é-me-te-ur-sag and built the temple tower, and (thus) he greatly increased the glamour of Zababa as well as of Inanna in a pious manner' (68). Supplementing this with the passage referring to Kish in the Code of Hammurapi a wider appreciation of his work there emerges:

> 'the monarch of kings full brother of Zababa
> the refounder of the settlement of Kish,
> who has surrounded é-me-te-ur-sag with splendour;
> the one who has made secure the great shrines of Inanna,
> the patron of the temple hursagkalama' (69).

Hummurapi's brick inscription at Uhaimir is further evidence of his building there (70). Fragments of Old Babylonian stone monumental inscriptions, some certainly of Hammurapi, have been found on and off at Uhaimir since Ker Porter retrieved a piece in 1818 (see p.5) (71). Considerably more obscure is his building at Ingharra or mound 'W', as in excavations on Ingharra the Old Babylonian buildings recognized were of little moment and on 'W' never reached.

Although evidence for the complicated political history of Samsuiluna's reign is scanty, the role of Kish is reasonably clear. Throughout a time of considerable insecurity, with recurrent rebellions in the south and north-east, Kish was maintained as a vital military outpost of the capital at Babylon. A lengthy internal rebellion under the leadership of one Rim-Sin, possibly a nephew of the earlier ruler, who

had seized the throne of Larsa, was finally crushed at Kish in Samsuiluna's fourteenth year (72). A detailed account of this rebellion records in Akkadian and Sumerian versions the fortification of Kish; fragments of both accounts were found in excavations at Kish (73):

> 'Then (after his victory) Samsuiluna...by the craft of his people built the town of Kish, dug its moat, surrounded it with cane-brake, made its foundations as firm as a mountain with masses of earth, caused its bricks to be moulded, built its wall; in the span of one year he raised its top higher than before' (74).

Then again in Samsuiluna's twenty-fourth year, when the fortress Dur-Samsuiluna (Khafajah) was built to hold down the recalcitrant inhabitants of the Diyala region (75), the wall at Kish was refurbished. Samsuiluna's interest in the City was not merely tied to its strategic importance for Babylon. Though Hammurapi had not used the title Samsuiluna styled himself 'King of Kish' (76) immediately after his primary title 'King of Babylon', clearly using the ancient title for its imperial connotations in Sumer. Inscribed bricks found at Uhaimir record his restoration of the Ziggurat and the Temple of Zababa and Ishtar (77).

During the last century of the First Dynasty of Babylon Kish remained closely associated with Babylon. Ammi-ditana used the title 'King of Kish' (78) and Ammisaduga erected a statue in the temple of Zababa and Ishtar in his fifteenth year (79). A group of legal and administrative texts from clandestine excavations at or about Kish belongs to these two reigns (80).

After the Old Babylonian period evidence for the history of Kish becomes even rarer than before, for neither documents nor excavations have much to offer yet. Nothing is known of the City in the Kassite period save for isolated pieces of evidence which show the persistence of settlement on the site, notably at Uhaimir and on mound W. A small onyx bead inscribed by one of the Kurigalzu's from Uhaimir (microfiche), the faience face-mask pendant from W and a very damaged kudurru from mound H (the Sasanian settlement) are mere stray clues. A Kassite tablet from Nippur, dealing with the administration of the textile industry, reports on workmen from Kish (81). There is a Kassite omen text, now in Chicago, said to be from Kish (82)

and one royal name suggests some close connection with the City (83). The period between the collapse of the Kassite hegemony in Babylonia and the emergence of the Chaldean dynasty about five hundred years later was marked by the recurrent impact of foreign invasion, since intrusive peoples regularly took advantage of the vulnerable area in central Iraq round Babylon. Though Kish almost never receives specific mention in available records, her geographical position inevitably involved her in strife as so often before. Again as in the Kassite period it is only through extremely rare references that the continuing existence of the city may be charted. She probably survived, if at times precariously like neighbouring Babylon, largely on account of her highly venerated religious institutions. Stamped bricks at Uhaimir record the work of Adad-apla-iddina (c.1069-48 B.C.) on é-me-te-ur-sag (84) as part of his programme for restoring some of Babylonia's greatest shrines (85).

Three centuries silence follow until Tiglath-pileser III, the first Assyrian king in almost five centuries effectively to assume the crown of Babylonia (c.728-727 B.C.), recorded his acquisition of Kish and the sacrifices offered at Hursagkalama (86). In the reign of Merodach-Baladan II (c.722-709 B.C.) Kish was administered by a governor, directly responsible to him, who left record of restoration undertaken on the temple of Nin-lil at Hursagkalama (87). The allegiance of Kish to the Babylonian cause seems to have been firm since the City does not appear among those from which Merodach-Baladan II took pro-Assyrian hostages (88). The inscribed brick fragments of Sargon II found at Ingharra by de Genouillac refer only to Babylon (89), whence they may have been brought by Neo-Babylonian builders. In 703 B.C. Sennacherib launched his first campaign, primarily against Merodach-Baladan II, who had once more acceded to the Babylonian throne. The Assyrian king marched with his army down the Tigris from Assur to Kutha, sending an advance party to Kish where Merodach-Baladan, advancing from Babylon, routed it (90). In anger at this repulse Sennacherib stormed Kutha and advanced towards Kish, but Merodach-Baladan had fled before the Assyrian army was able to defeat his troops and enter Babylon (91). Shortly afterwards Sennacherib weeded out from Kish and Hursagkalama, among other cities, the Arabians, Aramaeans and Chaldaeans...'together with the citizens who led the

insurrection' (92). Brinkman has shown that a fragmentary inscription from the surface of Ingharra originally taken to refer to Assur-nadin-sumi, Sennacherib's eldest son, who was regent of Babylon (c.700-694 B.C.), was misread and may not at present be securely dated (93). Little is known of the history of Kish in the seventh century, but the evidence recovered by Burrows and Langdon from mound W (pp.48ff). indicates the existence there of a thriving religious centre then part of Hursagkalama. During the early phase of the Neo-Babylonian struggle against Assyria under Nabopolassar the Babylonian Chronicle records that the 'Gods of Kish' were removed to Babylon in face of the advancing Assyrian army (94).

The great Neo-Babylonian kings regarded Kish almost as a suburb of Babylon, which, like the capital, they endowed with a remarkable series of fine buildings. But despite the relatively extensive royal building inscriptions which have survived from this period, very little exact information may be gleaned from them about work done at Kish, largely because Nebuchadnezzar II's inscribed bricks bear a text referring only to Babylon (95). An important inscription of this King, quoted on p.20, indicates that Nabopolassar undertook extensive work at Uhaimir, as did Nebuchadnezzar himself; but of this very little has yet been found in excavations. In contrast the impressive Neo-Babylonian Temple at Ingharra may not certainly be attributed to any single ruler (pp.83ff). One of Nebuchadnezzar's undertakings, the fortifications of Babylon, used Kish very much as had Samsuiluna a millennium earlier, as an important bulwark to the east of the capital. A massive wall and a moat was constructed from a point on the Euphrates north of Babylon to 'the middle of Kish' (96). In the Nabonidus Chronicle the gods of Kish and Hursagkalama feature in the record of the New Year Festival of his year 17 (97).

The capture of Babylon by the Persians under Cyrus was virtually bloodless and Kish no doubt surrendered just before the capital was laid siege (98). There may have been a much greater disturbance in the history of Kish when the armies of Xerxes savagely crushed the Babylonian revolt of 482/1 B.C. Occupation of the houses on mound W ceases about then; graves were dug into them in the later fifth century. So far as it is possible to judge there was a comparable sequence in the upper levels of Ingharra. Business documents,

notably from mound W, bear witness to the persistence of settlement in eastern Kish into the very early Seleucid period; but the city then disappears from recorded history and continuing settlement thereabouts has to be reconstructed entirely from archaeological evidence. Distinctive wares of the Seleucid period, normally unglazed and decorated with stamps and indents, were not generally reported from the site. The pottery sequence re-opens, sporadically with glazed Parthian pottery.

The O.F.M.E. contributed little to understanding of the long period between the establishment of Seleucid rule and the advent of the Sasanians, save for isolated graves encountered in the course of other work and cursory re-examination of the Parthian fortress on Tell Bandar. Research in the considerable Sasanian town adjacent to Ingharra was spoiled by haphazard digging in an unsuccessful search for more stucco decoration once the main concentrations in Buildings I and 2 had been uncovered. It has been argued here (p.136) that this is primarily a settlement of the fifth and early sixth centuries A.D. dominated by a small palace, for a senior member of the court, if not for the monarch himself. There had grown up around the palace an urban community whose business centre was revealed in building 7 and whose houses, virtually unexcavated, were traced in the scattered sondages known as buildings 4-5-6 and 8. The Kish-Cutha area was of considerable importance in the Sasanian period, settlements were numerous and Babylon the site of a royal residence (99). The middle years of the Sasanian empire saw a considerable increase in the power and independence of the landed nobility which would have provided an appropriate setting for the development of an estate like that at Kish as much for a nobleman as for a king.

In the ninth season of the O.F.M.E. Mr. Gerald Reitlinger, in the name of the Expedition, conducted excavations at three sites: Abu Sudaira, Ishan al-Khazna and Tell as-Suʿaydan, where considerable remains of the Islamic period existed on or near the surface (100). Published pottery, samples of which are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, found in the clearance of religious buildings close to the surface and in a deep sounding revealed a gap in occupation from the Neo-Babylonian period to the eleventh century A.D. and then settlement from the

thirteenth to fourteenth century at Sùdaira, S.E. of Ingharra. At Khazna, closest to Uhaimir (see p.30) eleventh century Islamic occupation overlay buildings said to be Neo-Babylonian, as also at the more distant Tell as-Su'aydan, which lay outside the immediate area of Kish.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

(1) Kich, II, pl.I.1 - now Musée Cinquantenaire, Brussels O.711.

(2) For a possible reconstruction of the contemporary political situation in Sumer see Th.Jacobsen, ZA, 18 (1957), 104ff. reprinted in Towards the Image of Tammuz (1970), 132-156; see also D.Edzard in P.Garelli (Ed.), Le Palais et la Royauté (Paris, 1974), 141-149.

(3) D.Oates, Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq (1968), 8.

(4) Genava, 8 (1960), 266; de Vaux, Histoire Ancienne d'Israel: La Période des Juges (1973), 19ff. for a searching examination of the concept of an amphictyony in the ancient Near East.

(5) Genava, 8 (1960), 265-7.

(6) See note 2.

(7) S.N.Kramer, The Sumerians (1964), 328.

(8) J.Finkelstein, JCS, 17 (1963), 39ff.

(9) Th.Jacobsen, SKL, 155; Freybank, MIO, 17 (1971), 1-13; J.V.Kinnier Wilson, Iraq, 31 (1969), 8-17; S.N.Kramer, The Sumerians, 214.

(10) W.W.Hallo and W.K.Simpson, The Ancient Near East: A History (1971), 40-2, fig.7; he aligns this dynasty with Early Dynastic I.

(11) R.M.Boehmer, Die Entwicklung der Glyptik wahrend der Akkad Zeit (1965), 122ff., pl.LVIII.

(12) SKL, 168-9; H.J.Nissen, ZA, 57 (1965), 1-5; P.Delougaz, The Temple Oval at Khafajah (1940), 146, fig.126.2 - Kh.III.35.; IRSA, no.IA1, IA1a.

(13) D.O.Edzard, ZA, 53 (1959), 9-26.

(14) S.N.Kramer, AJA, LIII (1949), 1ff.; Edzard, op. cit.20ff.

(15) Th.Jacobsen, AJA, LIII (1949), 18; M.Lambert, Sumer, VIII (1952), 57, n.1; Kramer would not agree.

(16) S.N.Kramer, The Sumerians, 46ff.; E.Sollberger, JCS, XVI (1962), 40ff.

(17) S.N.Kramer, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (1952).

(18) SKL, 83-5.

(19) R.D.Biggs, ZA, 61 (1972), 202, 206.

(20) D.O.Edzard, ZA, 19 (1959), 25 n.67.

(21) IRSA, nos.IA3-IA4c.

(22) For example C.J.Gadd, B.M.Q., XIV (1940), 32; UE, I, 126; IRSA, no.IA4a.

(23) Th.Jacobsen, ZA, XVIII (1957), 121 n.67; Hallo has argued that the Farah texts are to be dated to the time of Ur-Nanshe of Lagash or slightly later: Orientalia, 42 (1973), 228ff.

(24) XK, IV, pl.VI (upper left) = AM, I, pl.XXXV.1; W.W.Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles (1957), 21 n.2 considers it the earliest in the series of Kish Royal Titles; W.Nagel, Moortgat Festschrift (1964), 184, 190, 210, 215, places the ruler between Enmebaragesi and Mesilim.

(25) A.Goetze, JCS, XV (1961), 105ff.

(26) SKL, 95-6.

(27) UE, II, pl.207. 191; UE, III, no.518; this accepts the reconstruction of M.B.Rowton, Cambridge Ancient History, I(1), (1970), 227, 236, not W.W.Hallo, The Ancient Near East, fig.8 as, at present, more commensurate with archaeological evidence for the position of the 1st Dynasty of Ur. The question remains very open.

(28) A.Boissier, Choix de Textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne I (1905), 47, nos.17-18.

(29) ZA, 52 (1957), 125 n.77.

(30) ZA, 52 (1957), 130, n.90; S.N.Kramer, The Sumerians, 54ff.; M.Lambert, Sumer, VIII (1952), 71ff.

(31) S.N.Kramer, op.cit. 310.

(32) PBS, IV, 15ff.; see also PBS, XV, 15; W.W.Hallo, Mesopotamian Royal Titles, 4; the battle also features in the date of a tablet: Th.Dangin, RA, 33 (1956), 62; also A.Westenholtz, Literary and Lexical Texts...from Nippur (Malibu, 1975), 115.

(33) SKL, 169; Kraus is sceptical in ZA, 47 (1952), 39.

(34) A.Goetze, JCS, 15 (1961), 105ff.

(35) SKL, 104-5; H.G.Güterbock, ZA, 42 (1934), 51, 54.

(36) E.Weidner, MAOG, 4 (1928), 229ff.; A.Goetze, JCS, 1 (1947), 264.

(37) S.N.Kramer, RA, 58 (1964), 149ff.; Adams Evolution, 136ff.

(38) SKL, 107, 111; for the legends see H.Hirsch, AfO, XX (1963), 6ff.; W.W.Hallo and J.J.A.van Dijk, The Exaltation of Inanna (1968), 6-7.

(39) A.Poebel, Assyriological Studies, 14, 23ff.

(40) M.Rutten, RA, 35 (1938), 41.

(41) W.W.Hallo, Mesopotamian Royal Titles, 25, 151; on possible location of Akkad see Weiss, JAOS, 95 (1975), 442ff.

(42) V.Scheil, MDP, II, 1ff.; pl.1ff.

(43) A.Poebel, AS, 14, 22ff.; but compare his translation with that of Th.Jacobsen, JNES, 2 (1943), 165.

(44) W.W.Hallo, Mesopotamian Royal Titles, 26,45.

(45) MAD, V; Mac.Gibson, Iraq, 34 (1972), 122-3.

(46) Kich, II, pl.54 - see H.Hirsch, AfO, XX (1963), 31-2.

(47) G.Pettinato, Untersuchungen zur NeuSumerischen Landwirtschaft, I (1967), 5; D.O.Edzard and G.Farber, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 2: Die Orts- und Gewassernamen der Zeit der 3.Dynastie von Ur (Wiesbaden, 1974), 105-6.

(48) S.N.Kramer, The Sumerians, 344: letter of Puzur-Numushda to Ibbi-Sin reporting the activities of Ishbi-Erra.

(49) For a detailed examination of such texts from clandestine excavations, variously attributed to Kish, see particularly S.D.Simmons, JCS, 14

(1960), 75ff. There is some doubt whether the 'Manana-Yawium' group really come from Uhaimir as has been suggested; see: N.Yoffee and V.Donbaz, Old Babylonian Texts from Kish Conserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Forthcoming).

(50) For a very fully documented history of this period see D.O.Edzard, Die 'Zweite Zwischenseit' Babyloniens (1957); also W.W.Hallo, Bib.Or. 18 (1961), 4ff.

(51) M.Rutten, RA, XXV (1938), 44, pl.VI.

(52) D.O.Edzard, op.cit., 88; RA, 52 (1958), 238.

(53) Kich, II, no.18; J.Nougayrol, RA, XLVI (1952), 53-5.

(54) Th.Dangin, RA, 8 (1911), 65ff.; Barton, RISA, 336-7; CT, XXXVI, pl.4; D.O.Edzard, op.cit., 130.

(55) F.R.Kraus, AfO, XVI(1945-51), 320-1; S.D.Simmons, JCS, 14 (1960), 85.

(56) S.D.Simmons, JCS, 14 (1960), 82-3, 85.

(57) Ibid. 79, n.111-12a.

(58) RLA, II, 157.

(59) S.D.Simmons, JCS, 14 (1960), 87.

(60) RLA, II, 175-6.

(61) JCS, 14 (1960), 86.

(62) R.Borger, Orientalia, 27 (1958), 407ff.

(63) Th.Jacobsen, OIP, LIII, 18 n.7.

(64) For the history of Eshnunna see the basic treatment in Th.Jacobsen, The Gimilsin Temple..., OIP, XLIII (1940), 116ff.; more recent evidence in J.R.Kupper, The Cambridge Ancient History II (1973), 14ff.

(65) AfO, 4 (1927), 2 col. 1. 33-4.

(66) Date formula on the tablet BIN VII 175; W.W.Hallo, Mesopotamian Royal Titles, 26, n.5.

(67) J.R.Kupper, RA, 53 (1959), 21 and notes.

(68) ANET, 270.

(69) ANET, 164.

(70) R.Borger, Orientalia, 27 (1958), 407-8.

(71) Ker Porter, II, pl.44h; XK, I, 15.

(72) RLA, II, 183.

(73) Recently E.Sollberger, RA, 63 (1969), 29ff.

(74) Ibid. 40.

(75) RLA, II, 183; A.Poebel, AfO, IX (1933-4), 241ff.

(76) XK, I, pl.XXXIV.1; A.Poebel, op.cit., 246.

(77) R.Borger, Orientalia, 27 (1958), 407-8.

(78) L.W.King, Letters... Hammurabi, (1898-1900), 110, 114.

(79) RLA, II, 190.

(80) E.Szlechter, Tablettes Juridiques et Administratives (1963), VIII for list; see the introduction to J.Finkelstein, Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters (YOS, 13, 1972); N.Yoffee, JCS (forthcoming).

(81) H.Radau, Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, XVII (1), 109.

(82) A.Goetze, YOS, X (1947), no.63.

(83) J.A.Brinkman, ZA, 59 (1969), 245.

(84) Ker Porter II, pl.77a = IR 5, no.XXII; XK, I, 16-7, 65.

(85) J.A.Brinkman, A Political History of Post Kassite Babylonia (1968), 140-1.

(86) KB, II, 12, 11; KB, II, 6, 15-6; IIR 67: 11-12.

(87) XK, III, 17-19, pl.XI.

(88) J.A.Brinkman in Studies to Oppenheim (1964), 6ff.

(89) RA, 10 (1913) 83ff.

(90) S.Smith, Senn. 20-1.

(91) Ibid. 23-30.

(92) Ibid., 52; also KB, II, 84, 37-9.

(93) G.Neate, Iraq, XXXIII (1971), 54ff.; J.A.Brinkman, Orientalia, 41 (1972), 245-8.

(94) D.J.Wiseman, Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) (1956), 50-1.

(95) XK, I, 18-19.

(96) W.H.Lane, Babylonian Problems (1923), 136ff.; the wall was about 17.5 kms. long; S.Langdon, Die NeuBabylonischen Konigsinschriften (1912), 166-7.

(97) S.Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts (1924), 116-7.

(98) A.T.Olmstead, History of the Persian Empire (1948), 50; Herodotus I, 190-1.

(99) F.Wetzel, Das Babylon der Spätzeit (1957), 74.

(100) Gibson, nos.47, 25, 147; G.Reitlinger, Ars Islamica II (1935), 198-218; IIIrd. International Congress of Iranian Art (Leningrad, 1939), 197-201.

## CONCISE BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list is complementary in emphasis to the text; it is primarily archaeological.


Amschler, J.W., 'Die ältesten Funde des Hauspferdes. Unter erstmaliger Benüzung der von Dr. Henry Field (Chicago, U.S.A) in Kish ausgegraben Knochenmaterialen', Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, IV, 1936, 497-516.
'Goats from Ur and Kish', Antiquity II, 1937, 226-8.
'The Domestication of Animals in South-western Asia', ADIM, nos.7594 (45pp.), 7596 (94pp.) (Washington: Library of Congress, 1963).
Letter to H.Field about Equidae at Kish, Iraq, dated 1936: Miscellanea Asiatica Occidentalis, LV, 1962, Micro film 7674: ADIM (Library of Congress).

Baltrusaitis, J., 'Sassanian Stucco: Ornamental' in A.U.Pope (Ed.), A Survey of Persian Art, I, Oxford, 1938, 601-30.

Barton, G.A., 'Archaeological News from Iraq' BASOR, 33 (1929), 11-12.

Beck, H.C., 'Etched Carnelian Beads', Antiquaries Journal 13 (1933), 384-98.

Boese, J., Alt Mesopotamische Weihplatten, Berlin and New York, 1971.

Boule, M., 'Les Fouilles de Kish (Mésopotamie)', L'Anthropologie 40, 1930, 203-4.

Brinkman, J.A., 'Documents relating to the Reign of Aššur-nadin-šumi', Orientalia 41, 1972, 245-8.

Brinkman, J.A., continued — Materials and Studies for Kassite History I: A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources pertaining to specific monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty (Chicago, 1976).

Buchanan, B., — Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, I: Cylinder Seals, Oxford, 1966.

Buckingham, J.S., — Travels in Mesopotamia, II, London, 1827.

Burn, R., — 'Coins of the Ilkhanids of Persia', JRAS, 1933, 831-44.

Burrows, E., — 'Notes on the 1st Dynasty of Kish' Orientalia VI, 1922, 33-40.
'Notes on the antediluvian Kings' Orientalia VII, 1923, 50-58.

Buxton, L.H.D., — 'Recent excavations in Mesopotamia', Man 23, 1923, 90-2.
'On the human remains excavated at Kish' in S.H.Langdon, XK, I, 115-25.
'Excavations in Mesopotamia', Man, 26, 1926, 52-3.
(with D.T.Rice), 'Report on the human remains found at Kish' JRAI 61 (1931), 57-112.

Cappieri, M., — The Mesopotamians of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages Field Research Projects, Miami, Florida, Occasional Papers no.12, 1970.

Carbonell, V.M., — 'List of Kish Crania in the British Museum (Natural History)' Miscellanea Asiatica Occidentalis, vol.L, (Ed. by H.Field), American Documentation Institute Microfilm, no.7225 44-6. (Washington, Library of Congress).

Chesney, F.R., — The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris in the Years 1835, 1836 and 1837, London, 1850.
Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition carried on by Order of

Chesney, F.R., continued — the British Government during the Years 1835, 1836 and 1837, London London, 1868.

Civil, M., — 'Sur le nom d'un roi de Kiš', RA 63 (1969), 179.

Das Gupta, C.C., — 'On the affinity between one Mohenjo-daro and one Kish terra-cotta figurine' Indian Culture III, 1936-7, 186-7.

During Caspars, E.C.L., — 'Etched Carnelian Beads' Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, London, 10 (1971), 83-98.

Eliot, H.W., — Excavations in Mesopotamia and Western Iran of 4000-5000 B.C. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1950.

Field, H., — 'New Discoveries at Kish'; a great temple; 5,000 year-old pottery' ILN, September 4th, 1926, 395.
The Field Museum - Oxford University Joint Expedition to Kish, Mesopotamia, 1923-9, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1929.
'Child Sacrifice at Kish', EP, 28, 1930, 292.
'Child Sacrifice at Kish', FMN, October, 1930, vol.no.10.
'The Field Museum - Oxford University Joint Expedition to Kish' AJA 34, 1930, 54.
'The Field Museum - Oxford University Joint Expedition at Kish', Art and Archaeology. 31, 1931, 243-52, 323-4.
'Gold Earrings from Kish' FMN 2 (9), 1931.
'Kish Earrings exhibited' FMN 2 (10), 1931.
'More Treasures from Kish' EP, 30, 1931, 233.
'Ancient wheat and barley from Kish, Mesopotamia, American Antiquity, 34, 1932, 303-9.

Field, H., continued
'Fish at Jemdet Nasr and Kish', FMN 3 (5), May, 1932.
'Human Remains from Jemdet Nasr, Mesopotamia, JRAS, 1932, 967-70.
'Late news from Antiquity: Kish Excavations' DQ, January, 1933, 7-12.
'Steatite Vases from Kish', Antiquity VII, 1933, 84-5.
'Fish in Mesopotamian 'flood' deposits at Kish, Iraq' Man 36, 1936, 75.
'A Miniature Sumerian Head', FMN, 9 (5), 1938.
'Human Remains from Kish, Iraq' ADIM, no.2345, 1944, 1-118.
'Kish Iraq', BJ, 1948, 28.
The Track of Man, New York, 1953; London, 1955.

(and Martin, R.A.,) 'Painted Pottery from Jemdet Nasr, Iraq' AJA, XXXIX (1935), 310-20.

Fraser, J.B., Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia, etc., I-II, London, 1840.

Fuller, A.H., 'The Stone Implements of Kish, Iraq' ADIM, 4469, 1955, 96-116.

Gelb, I.J., Sargonic Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (Chicago, 1970).

Genouillac, H. de, 'Texte de Sargon le Jeune provenant des Fouilles d'El-Ahymer' RA, X, 1913, 83-7.
Premières Recherches archeologiques à Kish. I-II, Paris, 1924-5.

Gibson, M., 'Report on Kish Text Project' Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society, 1970, Philadelphia, 1972, 600-2.
'The Archaeological Uses of Cuneiform Documents: patterns of occupation at the City of Kish', Iraq, XXXIV, 1972, 113-123.
The City and Area of Kish, Field Research Projects, Miami, 1972.

Gibson, M., continued — 'Umm el-Jir, a Town in Akkad' JNES, 31, 1972, 237-294.

Goetze, A., — 'Early kings of Kish', JCS XV, 1961, 105-111.

Gordon, C.H., — 'Aramaic Incantation Bowls: Ashmolean Museum' Orientalia 10, 1941, 276-280.

Gurney, O.R., — 'A List of Copper Objects' Iraq, 31, 1969, 3-7.
'The Fifth Tablet of The Topography of Babylon', Iraq 36 (1974), 39-52.

Hallo, W.W., — 'Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension' JCS, 17, 1963, 52-7.

Harden, D.B., — 'A Typological Examination of Sumerian Pottery, from Jemdat Nasr & Kish', Iraq I, 1934, 30-44.
Excavations at Kish and Barguthiat 1933, II: Pottery and Glass, Iraq, I, 1934, 124-136.

Hedges, R.E.M., and Moorey, P.R.S., — 'Pre-Islamic Ceramic Glazes at Kish and Nineveh in Iraq' Archaeometry, 17 (1975), 25-43.

Hrouda, B., and Karstens, K., — 'Zur inneren Chronologie des Friedhofes 'A' in Ingharra/ Chursagkalama bei Kis' ZfA, LVIII, 1967, 256-67.

Hussakof, L., — 'Fishes excavated at Kish', Miscellanea Asiatica Occidentalis (Ed. H.Field), American Documentation Institute Microfilm, no.7225, Washington Libdary of Congress, 1962.

Jensen, P., — 'Kis', ZA XV, 1900, 210-56.

Johns, C.H.W., — 'A New King of Kish', PSBA 32, 1910, 279-81.
'The Mananâ-Japium Dynasty at Kish' PSBA, 33, 1911, 98-103.
'Note on the Mananâ-Japium Dynasty at Kish', PSBA, 34 (1912), 23.

Johns, C.H.W., continued — 'Some Babylonian Tablets in the Manchester Museum', Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, III, 1914, 67-72.

Klengel-Brandt, E., — 'Die Terrakotta form eines Wagenschildes im Vorderasiatische Museum', Forschungen und Berichte 5, 1962, 10-13 (found at Kish).

Kohl, P.L., — 'Carved Chlorite Vessels' Expedition (Fall, 1975), 18-31.
'Steatite' Carvings of the Early Third Millennium B.C.', AJA, 80 (1976), 73-5 (including pieces from Kish).
'Seeds of Upheaval: The Production of Chlorite at Tepe Yahya & an analysis...' (Ann Arbor University Microfilms, 1974).

Kupper, J - R., — 'Lettres de Kiš', RA (1959), 19-39; LIV (1960), 177-82.

Langdon, S.H., — 'Tablets from Kiš' PSBA, 233, 1911, 185-97, 232-43.
Excavations at Kish I. 1923-4, Paris, 1924.
'Selection of Inscriptions excavated at Kish' AJSL, XL, 1924, 225-30.
'Home of Kings 'dated' from the Flood: A Palace of 3500 B.C.' ILN, May 9th 1925, 898-99, 901.
'The Field Museum-Oxford University Joint Expedition at Kish', Art and Archaeology XXIV (4), 1927, 103-111.
'Tablets found at Mound Z at Hursagkalamma (Kish)', RA XXIV, 1927,89-98.
'Fragments of Enūma eliš' in O.E.C.T., VI, 1927.
'Ausgrabungen in Babylonien Seit 1918' Der alte Orient XXVI, 1928, 55-75.

Langdon, S.H., continued

'Excavating Kish: The Cradle of Civilization', Art and Archaeology, XXVI, 1928, 155-68.
Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr, O.E.C.T., VII, 1928.
'Relics of Sumer's First Capital After the Flood' ILN, June 2nd 1928, 991.
'New Relics of the World's Earliest Civilization (about 3500 B.C.): Discoveries at Kish', ILN, August 31, 1929, 374-5.
'The Biblical Deluge as Ascertained Fact', ILN, February 8th 1930, 206-7.
'Excavation at Kish, 1928-9, JRAS, 1930, 601-10.
'A Christian 'nave' at Kish? The Discovery of a second Neo-Persian Palace' ILN, April 25th 1931, 697.
'A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins', JRAS, 1931, 592-6.
'New Texts from Jemdet Nasr' JRAS, 1931, 837-44.
'New Light on early Persian Art: Unexpected 'finds' at Kish - Sasanian Bas Reliefs', ILN, February 14th 1931, 261.
'Persian Art Discoveries at Kish: Unsurpassed examples of Sasanian Sculpture', ILN, March 7th 1931, 369.
(Illustrations of pottery and a royal stucco head from Kish), ILN, August 15th 1931, 250.
'Palace Three' - The Bath of the Sasanian Kings, at Kish', ILN, February 20th 1932, 273.
'The Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh', JRAS 1932, 911-48.
'New Discoveries at Kish and Barguthiat: A Sasanian Villa with complete household ware; Terra-cotta figurines; Pottery; Ivory and Coins' ILN, August 19th 1933, 288-9.

Langdon, S.H., continued

'Tablets from Barguthiat', RA, XXX, 1933, 189-91.
'Field Museum-Oxford University Joint Expedition to Mesopotamia: Excavations at Kish and Barguthiat, 1933' Iraq, I, 1934, 113-123.
'History of Kish' in H.Field, Arabs of Central Iraq, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Memoirs, IV, 1935, 79-82.
'Tablets from Kish and Umma', RA, XXXIV, 1937, 66-79.
Letters and Articles in The Times: January 22nd, February 26th, March 11th, March 12th, July 3rd, September 24th, 1924; January 14th, March 5th, August 12th, November 11th, 1925; January 13th, February 1st, March 1st, June 15th, 1926; January 29th, February 3rd, March 28th, 1927; January 29th, February 3rd, March 14th, March 17th, 1928; January 4th, December 27th, 1929; November 28th, 1931; February 2nd, March 7th, May 13th, 1932; July 25th, 31st, 1933.
Letters and Articles in The Daily Telegraph: January 28th, 1928; August 12th, 1928; December 13th, 1929; February 9th, June 23rd, 1931; February 2nd, March 5th, July 30th, 1932; July 25th, 31st, 1933.

Layard, A.H., Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, London, 1853.

Laufer, B., Ostrich Egg-Shell Cups of Mesopotamia and the Ostrich in Ancient and Modern Times, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Leaflet 23, 1926.

Laufer, B., continued — 'Tamed Deer in Ancient Times' FMN, I (3), 1930, 1.

Lehmann, C.F., — 'Sar Kiššati' ZfA XI, 1896, 197-206.

Lloyd, S., — 'Back to Ingharra', Iraq, XXXI, 1969, 40-8.

Lutz, H.F., — Real Estate Transactions from Kish, University of California Press, 1932.

Mackay, D., — The Ancient Cities of Iraq, Baghdad, 1926.
'Painted Potsherds', The English Review (1927), 81-9.

Mackay, E.J.H., — Report on the Excavations of the 'A' Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia, I, Chicago, 1925.
'Sumerian Connexions with ancient India' JRAS, 1925, 697-701.
Letter to The Times, London. August 25th, 1926.
A Sumerian Palace and the 'A' Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia, II, Chicago, 1929.
Report on the Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq, Chicago, 1931.
'A Sumerian Representation of an Indian Stand' JRAS, 1933, 335-8.

Mallowan, M.E.L., — 'Noah's Flood Reconsidered' Iraq 27, 1965, 62-82.

Malycheff, V., — 'Analyse des Limons de Kish et d'Ur', L'Anthropologie 41 (1931), 271-2.

Martin, R.A., — 'The Foreign Trade of Ancient Kish', FMN 7 (11), 1936, 2.
'Babies' rattles from 2600 B.C. and other ancient toys', FMN, 8 (8), 1937, 5.

Meer, Van der — 'Syllabaries A, B' and B', OECT IV, 1938.
'Tablets of the HAR-ra=hubullu series in the Ashmolean Museum', Iraq 6, 1939, 144.

Mignan, R., 'Travels in Chaldaea, including a Journey from Bussorah to Baghdad, Hillah, and Babylon performed on foot in 1827', London, 1829.

Moorey, P.R.S., 'The Plano-Convex Building' at Kish and Early Mesopotamian Palaces', Iraq 26, 1964, 83-98.
'A Reconsideration of the Excavations on Tell Ingharra (East Kish), 1923-33', Iraq 28, 1966, 18-51.
'Some Aspects of incised Drawing and Mosaic in the Early Dynastic Period', Iraq 29, 1967, 97-116.
'Cemetery A at Kish: Grave Groups and Chronology', Iraq 32, 1970, 86-128.
with Schweizer, F., 'Copper and Copper Alloys in ancient Iraq, Syria and Palestine: some new analyses', Archaeometry 14, 1972, 177-98.
'The Terracotta Plaques from Kish and Hursagkalama, c.1850 to 1650 B.C.', Iraq 37 (1975), 79-99.

Neate, G., 'A Fragment from Kish with the Name of Aššur-nadin - šumi', Iraq 33, 1971, 54-56.

Oppert, J., Expédition scientifique en Mesopotamie, exécutée par Ordre du Gouvernement, de 1851 à 1854, par Mm. Fulgence Fresnel, Félix Thomas et Jules Oppert, 2 vols., Paris, 1863.

Parrot, A., Archéologie mésopotamienne: les étapes, Paris, 1946, 309-26.

Penniman, T.K., 'A note on the inhabitants of Kish before the Great Flood', XK, I, 65-72.

Peters, J.P., Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates, 2 vols., New York, 1899, 1904.

Pope, A.U., 'The Sasanian Buildings near Kish: The villa east of the Palace Complex', SPA, 591-2. 'Sasanian Stucco: Figural', SPA, I, 631-45.

Porter, R.Ker, Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... during the years 1817,1818,1819 and 1820, London, 1822.

Rassam, H., Asshur and the Land of Nimrod, Cincinnati, 1897.

Ravn, E.O., Udgravning: Mesopotamien, Oslo, 1930.

Reitlinger, G., 'Islamic Pottery from Kish', Ars Islamica, 2, 1935, 198-218. 'Islamic Glazed Pottery from Kish', IIIrd. International Congress on Persian Art, Leningrad, 1939, 197-201.

Rich, C.J., Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon. Second Memoir on Babylon. 3rd Ed., London, 1822.

Rathburn, T.A., A Study of the Physical Characteristics of the Ancient Inhabitants of Kish, Iraq (Field Research Projects, Miama, Florida, 1975).

Rostovtzeff, M., 'Les Passe-Guides...' Syria, 13 (1932), 321-6.

Simmons, S.D., 'Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Harmal and Elsewhere', JCS, 14, 1960, 75-87; 15 (1961), 49-58, 117-125.

Smith, G., 'Assyrian Discoveries: an account of explorations and discoveries on the site of Nineveh, during 1873 and 1874'. London, 1875.

Sollberger, E., 'Samsuiluna's Bilingual Inscriptions C and D', RA 63 (1969), 29-43.

Thureau-Dangin, F., 'Me-silim, roi de Kiš' ZA, 11, 1896, 324-6.
'L'Emplacement de Kiš', OLZ, 12, 1909, cols. 204-7.
'Ašduni - Erim, roi de Kiš', RA, VIII, 1911, 65-79.
'Rois de Kiš et rois d'Agadé' RA, IX, 1912, 33-7.
'Encore la Dynastie d'Agadé', RA, IX, 1912, 81-3.

Unger, E., 'Neue Ausgrabungen in Kisch', Atlantis 1, 1929, 125.

Vavilov, N.I., 'Note on wheat from Kish', ADIM 7674, 1938.

Watelin, L.Ch., 'Notes sur l'Industrie lithique de Kish (Iraq)', L'Anthropologie, 39, 1929, 65-76.
'Rapport sur les Fouilles de Kish', Journal Asiatique 215, 1929, 103-116.
Excavations at Kish III (1925-7), Paris, 1930.
'Essai de Coordination des Periodes archaiques de Mesopotamie et de l'Elam' L'Anthropolgie, 41, 1931, 265-72.
Excavations at Kish (1925-30), IV, Paris, 1934.
'The Sasanian Buildings near Kish' SPA, I, 584-590.
'The Four Wheeled Chariot from Kish'. Miscellanea Asiatic Occidentalis V, ADIM microfilm no.3962, 1962, 3-9.

Weidner, E.F., interim reports in AfO I(11), 1923, 90-1; 2, 1924-5, 45-6, 90-1, 142-3; 3, 1926, 23, 200-1; 4, 1927, 113, 242-3; 5, 1928-9, 188; 6, 1930-1, 34-5; 7, 1931-2, 61-2, 209, 296; 8, 1932-3, 78-9, 152-3; 9, 1933-4, 72-3.

Weiss, H., 'Kish, Akkad and Agade', JAOS 95 (1975), 434-453.

Wellstead, J.R., Travels to the City of the Caliphs, along the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean...2 vols., London, 1840.

Yoffee, N., The Old Babylonian texts from Kish: a first report, JCS (forthcoming).

Yoffee, N. and Donbaz, V., Old Babylonian Texts from Kish Conserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (in prep.).

SELECT INDEX

In indexing sites the prefix 'Tell' (or its equivalents) has been ignored.

INDEX TO THE CATALOGUE AND ILLUSTRATIONS ON MICROFICHES

Fiche 1

| (A) | Text | Frames |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Catalogue of the objects from Tells Uhaimir, Khazna and Bandar (chapter 2) | A04-B04 |
| 2 | Catalogue of the objects from area P (chapter 3) | B06-B09 |
| 3 | Catalogue of the objects from Mound W (chapter 4) | B10-D06 |
| 4 | Catalogue of the grave-groups on Mound W | C08-D06 |
| 5 | Catalogue of the objects from Mound A (chapter 5) | D07-A09(2) |
| 6 | Check-list of the grave-groups in Mound A | D07-F13 |
| 7 | Supplement to the check-list of graves in Mound A: three graves on Tell Ingharra | F14-G01 |
| 8 | Catalogue of the objects from palace A | G02-G08 |
| 9 | Catalogue of the objects from buildings on mound A later than the palace | G09 |
| 10 | Catalogue of objects contemporary with cemetery A, but without exact context | G11-A09(2) |

| (B) | Drawings | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Objects from Tell Uhaimir | A06 |
| 2 | Pottery from Tell Khazna | B01 |
| 3 | Objects from Tell Bandar | B03 |
| 4 | Objects from Area P | B05 |
| 5 | Objects from Mound W | B11 |
| 6 | Objects from Mound W | C02 |
| 7 | Objects from Mound W (1924-6 numbers); Objects from area B on Tell Ingharra (1967 numbers) (N.B. see Fiche 2: B07-B10 for catalogue of latter). | C09 |
| 8 | Pottery from cemetery A to illustrate Mackay's types A-C | D09 |

| | | Frames |
|---|---|---|
| 9 | Pottery from cemetery A to illustrate Mackay's types D-S | D11 |
| 10 | Decorated handles of jars (Mackay: Type A) | G10 |

Fiche 2

(A) Text

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Continuation of catalogue of objects from Mound A | A04-A09 |
| 2 | Catalogue of objects from Tell Ingharra (chapter 6) | A10-G06 |
| 3 | Catalogue of the objects from in and around the Neo-Babylonian Temple | A10 |
| 4 | Catalogue of unprovenanced objects from Tell Ingharra by season, 1926 following | A11-B07 |
| 5 | Catalogue of objects from the B trenches | B07-B10 |
| 6 | Catalogue of objects from the C trenches | B10-C07 |
| 7 | Catalogue of inscribed bricks from Ingharra | C07-C08 |
| 8 | Catalogue of objects from ISW and IGQ | C08-C10 |
| 9 | Catalogue of objects from Hillock A | C10-C11 |
| 10 | Catalogue of objects from Monument Z, Area Z and the Red Stratum | C11 |
| 11 | Catalogue of objects from the Y Sounding not recorded with grave-groups | C11-E09 |
| 12 | J. Crowfoot Payne, Flint and Obsidian Industries (including areas other than Ingharra) | D09-E09 |
| 13 | Check-list of grave-groups in the Y Sounding (excluding 'cart-burials' for which see main text, pp.104ff.) | E09-G03 |
| 14 | Catalogue of the objects from cuttings YW and YWN | G03-G06 |
| 15 | Catalogue of the objects from Tell H: the Sasanian Settlement (chapter 7) | G07-B05(3) |
| 16 | Catalogue of objects from the surface | G07 |

| | | Frames |
|---|---|---|
| 22 | Objects from Tell H | G08 |
| 23 | Ibid. | G11 |

Fiche 3

(A) Text

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Continuation of catalogue of objects from Sasanian Buildings 4, 6 and 7 | A04-B01 |
| 2 | Catalogue of objects from Sasanian Building 8; surface sherds | B01-B05 |
| 3 | Catalogue of objects from Tells Jamdat Nasr, Barguthiat and Umm el-Jir; objects bought by the O.F.M.E. at Kish and Tell Ibrahim (chapter 8) | B06-D05 |
| 4 | Catalogue of the objects from Jamdat Nasr | B06-C02 |
| 5 | Catalogue of the objects from Tell Barguthiat | C03-C13 |
| 6 | Catalogue of the objects from Umm el-Jir (Djerab) | C14-D03 |
| 7 | Catalogue of the objects bought at Kish | D03-D04 |
| 8 | Early Dynastic Plaque Fragment from Tell Ibrahim (Cutha) | D05 |
| 9 | Appendix I: J-P. Grégoire, Catalogue des inscriptions cunéiformes sur pierre provenant de Kish (with handcopies) | D06-E09 |
| 10 | Appendix II: Analyses of Metal, Pottery and Faience | E10-F05 |

(B) Drawings

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Objects from Tell H | A04 |
| 2 | Glass sherds from Tell H | A11 |
| 3 | Ibid. | A13 |
| 4 | Unglazed sherds from Tell H | B02 |
| 5 | Glazed sherds from Tell H | B04 |
| 6 | Pottery from Jamdat Nasr | B07 |
| 7 | Objects from Jamdat Nasr | B11 |

| | | Frames |
|---|---|---|
| 8 | Objects from Tell Barguthiat | C04 |
| 9 | Ibid. | C06 |
| 10 | Objects from Umm el-Jir (Djerab); objects bought at Kish | D01 |

Fiche 4

The following frames run in sequence:

1 Aerial view of Tell Ingharra (Expedition photograph)

2 A: View of the Uhaimir Ziggurat; B: Brick structure in chamber XVIII of the Uhaimir ziggurat platform (Expedition photographs)

3 A: Jar from upper level of Chamber XI, Uhaimir; B: View of Chamber XI (Expedition photographs)

4 Views of the inscribed Early Dynastic III statuette from the Plano-convex Building. (Ashmolean photographs)

5 A: Two views of the Early Dynastic III ivory bull figurine from grave 316 on Tell Ingharra. B: Marbly limestone bowl carved to represent a basket from grave 317 on Tell Ingharra, Early Dynastic III. C: Headless alabaster nude female statuette from between the Ingharra ziggurats and their supporting wall, ?Early Dynastic III. D: Headless alabaster female statuette from Ingharra trench B at plain level, Akkadian/Neo-Sumerian. E: Gypsum statuette of a seated woman holding a cup and a fish, Early Dynastic III. (All Expedition photographs of objects not in Oxford).

6 A: Clay 'Papsukkal' figurine from Mound W (Oxford, 1924.701). B: Bronze stag from mound W (Oxford, 1924.317). C: Frit face mask pendant from Mound W (Oxford 1926.457) (Ashmolean photographs)

7 A and B: Selection of the Achaemenian glazed pottery recovered from Mound W (odd pieces may be later) (Expedition photographs). C: Clay dog figurines from Mound W (Oxford 1924.302-4)

8 A: Bronze fibulae from Mound W. B: Iron dagger and spearhead from Mound W (Expedition photographs)

9 Beads from graves on Mound W now in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

10 Grave-groups 32 and 75 on Mound W (Expedition photographs)

11 A: Mound W seen from Mound A. B: Two glass bottles from graves 23 and 54 on Mound W (neither in Oxford). (Expedition photographs)

12 Part of an inlaid frieze from palace 'A' in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

13 Limestone inlays: human, in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

14 Limestone inlays: human, in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

15 Bone inlays: human, structural, in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

16 Limestone inlays: animal, in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

17 Bone inlays: human and animal, in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

18 Mother-of-pearl inlays: human, in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

19 Mother-of-pearl inlays: animal, floral, geometric, chariot, in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

20 A: Clay 'Papsukkal' figurine from the Neo-Babylonian Temple, Tell Ingharra (Oxford, 1928.527). B: bronze censer handle, bought (Oxford, 1925.119) (Ashmolean photographs)

21 Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian baked clay figurines and plaques from various contexts, now in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

22 Fragments of Old Babylonian baked clay plaques from various contexts, now in Oxford (Ashmolean photographs)

23 A: Bone cosmetic spoon of Egyptian type from Mound W (not in Oxford). B: Alabaster bull support from cutting YW at 1 metre (not in Oxford). C: Pair of gold earrings from trench C-9,2(2) on Tell Ingharra (Oxford, 1931.52). D: Two pairs of gold earrings from graves contemporary with that whence came C here not in Oxford). (A,B,D: Expedition photographs;

C: Ashmolean photograph)

24 Head of an Ivory Figurine from Tell Ingharra, later eighth or seventh century B.C. (not in Oxford). (Expedition photograph)

25 Tell Ingharra: area Z and the Y Sounding before and after exposure of the ziggurat platform (Expedition photograph)

26 A: Baked clay Humbaba mask from trench C-5, at 1 metre on Tell Ingharra (Oxford, 1929.280). B: Fragment of an Early Dynastic II relief from Sounding Y at 4 metres depth (Oxford, 1929.277). C: Fragmentary baked clay chariot model from trench C-3 at 4 metres depth. (Oxford, 1929.306). D: Sasanian pottery stamp from Tell H (Oxford, 1927.649). E: Incised face of Humbaba on a sherd from trench C-5 at 1 metre depth (Oxford, 1930.209) (All Ashmolean photographs)

27 A: Fragment of an Early Dynastic relief plaque (X.246), not in Oxford. B: Fragment of an Early Dynastic relief plaque (X.100), not in Oxford

28 Stone bowls from the Y Sounding, now in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

29 Stone bowls from the Y Sounding, now in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

30 Beads from graves in the Y Sounding, now in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

31 Stucco head of a Sasanian King from Tell H now in Oxford (Ashmolean photograph)

32 A: Storage jars found at Jamdat Nasr in 1928 (Expedition photograph). B: Inscribed sherd from Jamdat Nasr (Oxford, 1928.474) (Ashmolean photograph)

33 Fragment of an Early Dynastic III(?) incised stone plaque from Tell Ibrahim (Oxford, 1933.1331). (Ashmolean photograph)

**Other Ashmolean Catalogues available through Oxford University Press**

*The Cretan Collection in Oxford*
by John Boardman

*Catalogue of the Ancient Persian Bronzes*
by P. R. S. Moorey

*Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Oriental Metalwork 700-1100*
by David A. Hinton

*Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire*
*Part I: Augustus*
by C. H. V. Sutherland and C. M. Kraay

*Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Paintings*
by Christopher Lloyd

*Catalogue of Chinese Greeware*
by Mary Tregear

*Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings*
*Volume I Greek and Etruscan*
by John Boardman and Marie-Louise Vollenweider

**Available direct from the Ashmolean Museum**

*Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*
*Volume I. Cylinder Seals*
by Briggs Buchanan

*Catalogue of Italian Terra-Sigillata*
by A. C. Brown

*Catalogue of the Drawings*
*Volume II. Italian Schools*
by K. T. Parker

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN 0 19 813191 7