



Cemeteries of the First  
Millennium B.C. at Deve  
Hüyük, near Carchemish.  
salvaged by T. E. Lawrence  
and C. L. Woolley in 1913

(with a *catalogue raisonné* of the  
objects in Berlin, Cambridge,  
Liverpool, London and Oxford)

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## PREFACE

Rapid as the spread of controlled excavations has been in the Near East there are still many areas, and historical periods, for which evidence recovered by modern methods remains meagre. As more and more carefully conducted, fully published excavations become available, there is a natural tendency to disregard material collected earlier by methods no longer archaeologically acceptable. Understandable as such an attitude is, it unnecessarily restricts the range of evidence available for comparison and study. If rigorously critical methods are applied to these early collections, they need be little less instructive than fresh work, much of which regrettably takes a generation to reach full publication, if published in detail at all. The objects studied here were assembled from a known site in a manner which would now be regarded with suspicion. But even today rescue archaeology takes many forms and the salvage operation they represent preserved a considerable amount of useful information, which might otherwise have been totally lost. To the man who rescued them, at the time engaged on a major controlled excavation in the vicinity, the course of action followed was both necessary and fully responsible, in the face of deprivations by diggers and dealers with no interest whatsoever in the archaeological significance of their loot.

A considerable body of historical sources for the history of the Near East under the Achaemenid Persian Empire from about 550-330 B. C. has reduced the importance of archaeological research on sites occupied at the time. Enough fine tableware and jewellery in precious metals, sufficient examples of court architecture and sculpture, have survived to illustrate general studies and text books without recourse to obscure museum collections or very scattered and meagre information in archaeological reports. Closer examination, however, will show the historical sources to be very uneven in their significance, with a marked bias towards relations between the Greeks and the Persians, whilst some of the most commonly illustrated examples of the applied arts have no well established origin, and may sometimes be ingenious forgeries. If the historical perspectives are to be broadened, and criteria for assessing uncontexted objects sharpened, reference must be made to those groups of material whose source is known and whose authenticity is not open to doubt. If on occasion, as here, the circumstances of their discovery leave much to be desired, they should be fully examined, but not allowed to provide a barrier to clear publication and critical study of the objects in the light of subsequent research.

The objects recovered by T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Woolley from the site of Deve Hüyük near Jerablus (ancient Carchemish) in Turkey, belong primarily to an inhumation cemetery used mainly in the fifth century B. C. The range and variety of the small objects offer a valuable guide to the material culture of Syria, outside court circles, at a time when for this, one of the richest of the provinces in the Achaemenid Empire, there is very little

such evidence. As it was primarily a military cemetery, its relevance for the archaeology of the Empire as a whole is much wider than its location might at first suggest.

These objects were brought to England in 1913. They were divided into five groups for despatch to museums and private collectors. Consignments eventually reached the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the Merseyside County Museum, and a museum in Berlin. Owing to the way in which these objects were recovered and initially published by Woolley, without any reference to the divisions, it is necessary to proceed with caution. Two other groups of graves are represented: a cremation cemetery of the Late Iron Age and intrusive graves of the Parthian period. Even the so-called published 'groups' (Concordance II) from the inhumation cemetery of the Achaemenid period cannot be accepted as any more than token assemblages which, as will be clear from the following account, reflect no more than plausible associations. Each object registered as from Deve Hüyük in the various museum collections must now be assessed individually, as in the following catalogue raisonné. For the most part, with the help of Woolley's published reports, the odd published comments of Hogarth on these cemeteries, and museum registers, there are no insuperable problems. But there are sufficient doubts to prevent entirely separate treatments of the material from the three main periods represented.

Only careful analysis, category by category, reveals what the peasants were devastating when Lawrence and Woolley arrived on the scene. Deve Hüyük was the main source of antiquities of the Iron Age acquired by the British Museum Expedition to Carchemish (under Woolley's direction) from outside their primary working area; but objects were also bought from peasants looting other sites in the region. They are drawn into the following account wherever they best extend the range of discussion.

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## PERMISSION TO PUBLISH

I am most grateful to the governing bodies of the Ashmolean Museum, the British Museum, the FitzWilliam Museum, and the Merseyside County Museums, for permission to publish objects from Deve Httutk and Kefrik in their collections.



## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AAS</u>	<u>Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie</u> (Damascus).
<u>AASOR</u>	<u>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u> (New Haven).
<u>AfO</u>	<u>Archiv für Orientforschung</u> (Graz).
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u> (Cambridge, Mass.).
<u>AJBA</u>	<u>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology</u> (Sydney).
<u>AK</u>	<u>Antike Kunst</u> (Berne).
<u>AMI</u>	<u>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</u> (Berlin).
<u>Ann. Serv.</u>	<u>Annales du Service</u> (Cairo).
<u>Arch. Anz.</u>	<u>Archäologischen Anzeiger</u> (Berlin).
<u>ÄZ</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</u> (Berlin).
<u>Bagh. Mitt.</u>	<u>Baghdader Mitteilungen</u> (Berlin).
<u>BASOR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u> (Jerusalem and Baghdad).
<u>BCH</u>	<u>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</u> (Paris).
<u>BMBeyr.</u>	<u>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</u> (Beirut).
<u>BMMMA</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</u> (New York).
<u>BMQ</u>	<u>British Museum Quarterly</u> (London).
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</u> (London).
<u>C</u>	Cambridge: FitzWilliam Museum.
<u>DAFI</u>	<u>Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran</u> (Paris).
<u>IA</u>	<u>Iranica Antiqua</u> (Leiden).
<u>IEJ</u>	<u>Israel Exploration Journal</u> (Jerusalem).
<u>JARCE</u>	<u>Journal of the American Research Center in Cairo</u> (Princeton).
<u>JCS</u>	<u>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</u> (New Haven).
<u>JGS</u>	<u>Journal of Glass Studies</u> (Corning, U. S. A. ).
<u>JHS</u>	<u>Journal of Hellenic Studies</u> (London).
<u>JdI</u>	<u>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</u> (Berlin).
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</u> (Chicago).

L	Liverpool: Merseyside County Museums.
<u>LAAA</u>	<u>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</u> (Liverpool).
<u>MDAFA</u>	<u>Mémoires Délégation archéologiques française en Afghanistan</u> (Paris).
<u>MUSJ</u>	<u>Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph</u> (Beirut).
O	Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
<u>PEQ</u>	<u>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</u> (London).
<u>PSBA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</u> (London).
<u>QDAP</u>	<u>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine</u> (Jerusalem).
<u>RLA</u>	<u>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</u> (Berlin).
<u>Sov. Arkh.</u>	<u>Sovetskaya Arkheologiya</u> (Moscow).
WA	London: British Museum, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities.
<u>ZA</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</u> (Berlin and New York).
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u> (Wiesbaden).
<u>ZDPV</u>	<u>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</u> (Wiesbaden).

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## NOTES FOR THE READER

1. Objects are identified on the figures by their catalogue numbers. In so far as is possible they have been arranged in sequence.
2. In order to complete and publish this project as economically as possible, illustration was reduced to the necessary minimum. Line drawing is almost exclusively the medium employed. The greater part of the collection is illustrated. The unillustrated objects concentrate in Chapter V, where duplication of miscellaneous bead drawings was considered pointless.

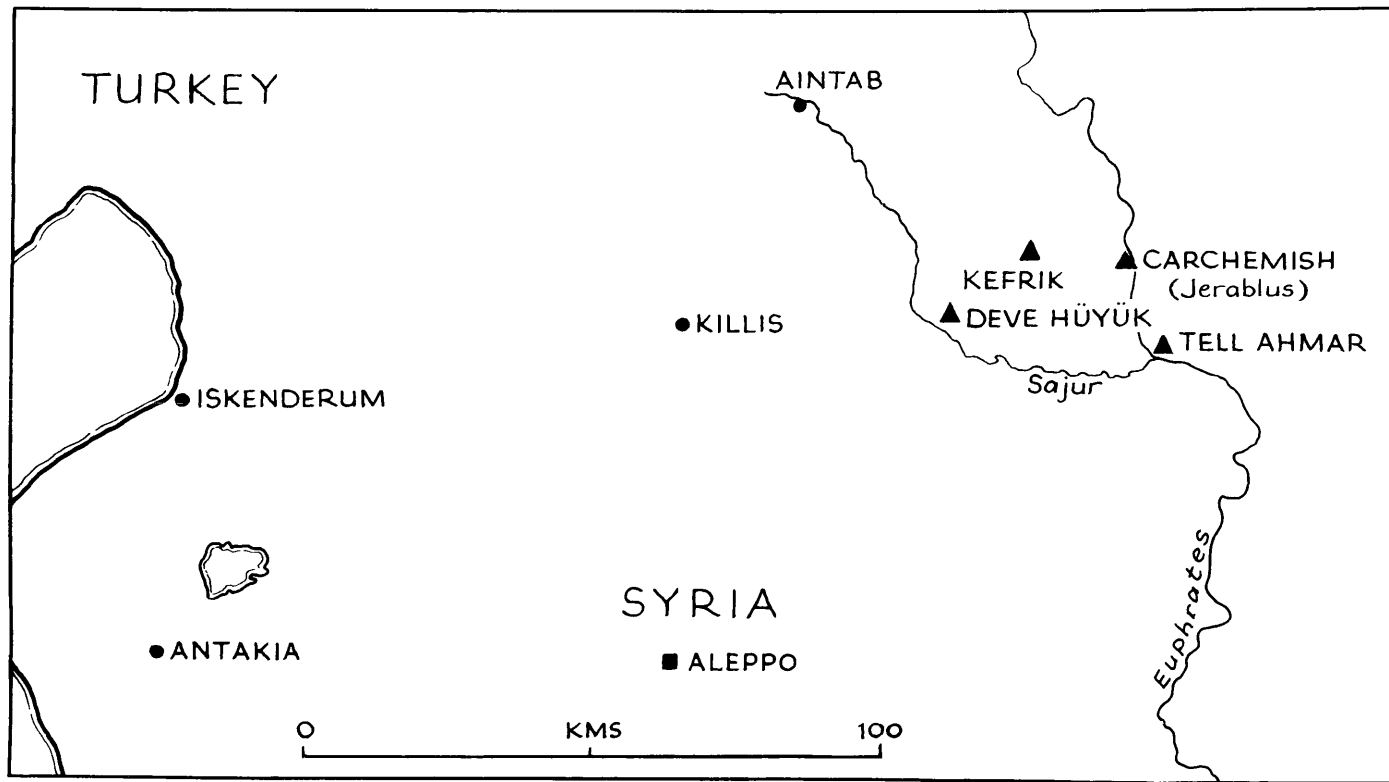


Fig. 1 Sketch map to show the location of Deve Hüyük

## INTRODUCTION

"It will be most desirable to publish all these things in groups on an adequate scale. . . ." Flinders Petrie, Ancient Egypt (1917), 42, reviewing Woolley's paper on Deve Hüyük.

### 1. The 'rescue' of the Deve Hüyük cemeteries

Woolley makes quite clear in his accounts in the Liverpool Annals that the objects studied in the following pages came to him in 1913 through peasants looting grave-yards revealed by cuttings for the Berlin to Baghdad railway in the area of the Sajur valley near Jerablus (Carchemish), where he was directing excavations on behalf of the British Museum:

" At the same time the construction of the Bagdad Railway, with its necessary cuttings and clearance of surface soil, has led to the discovery of ruins and graveyards all along its line. The objects thus found met with such a ready sale, thanks partly to the presence of a new foreign element and partly to the activity of the regular dealers, that in numerous villages of North Syria the peasants have been induced to leave their ordinary work and to look for 'antikas'. A vast amount of plundering is going on, almost unchecked by the authorities, resulting for the most part in the destruction alike of antiquities and of the information that would make them of real value. Fortunately, by dint of careful enquiries, we have been able in many cases where sites were within our reach to obtain from the villagers the information we desired as to the character of graves or the provenance of objects and to photograph complete tomb groups; . . ." Woolley, 1914, 87.

In a subsequent article, devoted entirely to the Achaemenid period cemetery at Deve Hüyük, he was more specific in this particular case:

". . . on the north-east lip of this hollow [i. e. in the Deve Hüyük tell] lay the ancient cemeteries, which last winter [i. e. early in 1913] some fifty peasants were busily plundering in full view of the Bagdad railway passing within a quarter of a mile of the hill. " Woolley, 1914-16, 115-6.

What is not clear from these accounts is the manner in which the material was accumulated. Letters from Woolley and Lawrence to Hogarth at Oxford during February, March and April 1913 make clear that it was purchased in competition with the dealers of Aleppo, chief among them a certain Madame Koch, who appears to have been the prime mover in the systematic clearance of the Deve Hüyük cemeteries once they had been revealed. It was in no

sense an archaeological excavation. Lawrence, as will be seen, participated directly, if only at night, and perhaps not so romantically as he described it. So too, briefly, did Woolley. In reply to an enquiry by the Liverpool Museum in October 1929 Woolley said that he did not himself dig these objects up but "was present one day only while the native plunderers were at work, but for the rest had to rely on their (generally very accurate) reports: so there really are no written records." (Merseyside County Museums: Antiquities Department: note of Miss D. M. Vaughan, 1929.)

The sequence of recovery is best described through extracts from the relevant letters; the first is in the Ashmolean Museum, the others in the Carchemish Archive, in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum. All are addressed from the camp at Carchemish to Hogarth. Lawrence had returned to the Near East from England by mid-January 1913 to rejoin the excavation at Carchemish directed by Woolley. In a letter dated 'End of Feb.' he writes (the breaks in the text are Lawrence's):

"I am getting garrulous, but no matter... the Ottoman post will correct these faults: and besides I have got more seals, which I packed this evening to send to you: it is a pleasure to pack seals, even when there is no post in view... and these are very nice seals: at least one is a beauty: button-like (thin bulla-bead), red stone, with characters incised... not big, or sharp, or well cut, but you cannot have everything for your money as a rule... I cannot even get one of your copper-plate posters from the greedy Leeds—though the number of seals presented by me, through forgetfulness to claim the purchase money is legion... Seriously, this last half-dozen, bought by me on the fringe of Abu Galgal, is very good. I rushed back, and have not been down again, because some villains began to dig at Deve Hüyük. . . a Hittite cemetery of the last period, with Roman shaft tombs in between. The Hitt. graves were full of great bronze spears and axes and swords, that the wretches had broken up and thrown away, because Madame Koch, who is doing the dig, didn't buy such things. I got some good fibulae which are yours, and not Kenyon's this time at all events... [18 miles away] much better than B. M. ones, some bracelets and earrings of bronze, a curious pot or two... and as a sideline, some Roman glazed bottles with associated Greek pottery, and a pleasant little lot of miscellanea... tomorrow I return there to gather up, I hope, Hittite bronze weapons in sheaves:—unless the police get there first. It is exciting digging:—a plunge down a shaft at night, the smashing of a stone door, and the hasty shovelling of all objects into a bag by lamplight. One has to pay tolerably highly for glazed pottery, so I will probably buy no more... glass is found, but very dear... bronze is thought nothing of...".

The remainder of the letter (published completely in Moorey, 1975, 116-7, and illustrated in Mallowan, 1967, 202-21, pl. XXXII) is not relevant to Deve Hüyük. E. T. Leeds was Assistant Keeper, Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford from 1908-28, Keeper of the Ashmolean from 1929-45. "Bronze" here is clearly an error for iron. In a letter of April 10th, 1913, Lawrence writes that "... Madame Koch will probably write to you:

and she is a very quaint person. She has been a little too long in Aleppo buying and selling...'. (Sir) Frederick Kenyon was Director of the British Museum from 1909 to 1930.

On March 18th, 1913, Woolley added a significant postscript to a letter about other matters to Hogarth. In the course of the main text he had written:

"The bulk of the stuff [i. e. being despatched to Hogarth] is from the Phoenician cemetery at Deve Hüyük, Sajur valley. . . "

Then,

"P. S.

You will, if you unpack the stuff, be amazed at the number of Phoenician bronze bowls; we have had to buy virtually all that turned up, so as to make sure of everything coming to us; there is always a chance of something extra fine. The only class of things I have not brought from Deve Hüyük is the glass—ordinary polychrome Phoenician—for which Aleppo dealers are paying up to £14! and so far as I can learn none of them worth £3. Also I failed to get a leaf lecythus in the form of a woman's head; but the type is so common that I was quite content to record it and let it go. We have got one small tomb group with a Phoenician blue glass cylinder rather nice, and a silver Athenian coin: so there is good dating material for you! Tonight from the same cemetery have come three clay horses, with riders; two of the horses remarkable as having two heads each i. e. a rough attempt to figure the Phoenician group of rider with a lead horse. A very fine clay lamp-filler in the shape of a duck, beautifully modelled under strong Mesopotamian influence, is one of the best pieces".

In a letter of April 20th Woolley again referred at one point to Deve Hüyük:

"Deve Hüyük is played out, practically: I got from there a steatite box with a lion and gryphons on the sides—had to pay through the nose for it too—but there has been little else that is new. The cemetery will make a very interesting publication. . . ."

A week later, on April 28th, it is Lawrence who notes the end:

"Deve Hüyük is dead: exhausted, and not sooner than ourselves, since we have masses of stuff from there. "

Woolley, as was his life-time practice, did not delay long in writing up his report, for on September 16th 1913 he was able to send a manuscript on Deve Hüyük from an address in Essex to Hogarth at Oxford. Three weeks later on October 9th Hogarth informed him that "Three of the D. H. shares—for the British Museum, Berlin and Cambridge—have been packed and are about to be sent off. . . ." (for the Berlin consignment see Appendix).

The two most interesting academic points to emerge from this correspondence are Lawrence's recognition of graves from the Parthian period

amongst the earlier ones and Woolley's failure at this stage, at least in his letters, to distinguish clearly between the two main cemeteries at Deve Hüyük with their contrasting burial customs, clearly brought out in the two papers he published soon afterwards. Vast quantities of related material were distributed at this time through the antiquities market; but I only know one publication (Buhl, 1952).

## 2. The Chronological Framework

No independent chronological framework has yet been offered for the Syrian Iron Age. It is usually linked either to Cyprus or Palestine, where established systems exist, though both are the subject of considerable debate. Gjerstad's Cypriote chronology (1948, 427ff.), based on changing ceramic styles, ran as follows:

Cypro-Geometric I	c. 1050-950 B. C.
Cypro-Geometric II	c. 950-850 B. C.
Cypro-Geometric III	c. 850-750 B. C.
Cypro-Archaic I	c. 750-650 B. C.

Mrs Birmingham's cogent criticisms of his absolute chronology (1963, 39) have led her to offer the following modifications:

Cypro-Geometric I-II	c. 1050-900 B. C. :Early Iron Age
Cypro-Geometric III	c. 900-600 B. C. :Middle Iron Age

Baramki has proposed a simple division along these lines for Phoenicia (1961, 71): Early Iron Age (c. 1150-900 B. C.) and Middle Iron Age (c. 900-550 B. C.) Most complex of all is the situation now prevailing in Palestinian archaeology. Without going into details not strictly relevant here, the first major division, between Iron I and IIa, or Early and Middle Iron, falls in the later tenth century or soon after. A second division (IIb) terminus is provided by the Assyrian campaigns of the final quarter of the eighth century that saw the end of the independent kingdom of Israel and the devastation by Sennacherib in 701 B. C. The final phase of the local Iron Age (IIc) runs down to the Persian period.

For the purposes of this catalogue a simple system may be proposed for Syria:

Early Iron Age (I)	c. 1150-950/900 B. C.
Middle Iron Age (II)	c. 950/900-750/725 B. C.
Late Iron Age (III)	c. 750/725-550 B. C. (Deve Hüyük I)
Persian Occupation	c. 550-330 B. C. (Deve Hüyük II)

The most difficult distinction to define here is that arbitrarily set in the second half of the tenth century, taken to be marked at Carchemish by the reigns of Subis and Katuwas. The Middle Iron Age is what has been loosely called on some sites the "Aramaean" phase; the Late Iron Age is the period of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian domination, beginning in the last quarter of the eighth century with Sargon's campaigns (see, in general, Winter, 1973).



### 3. Deve Hüyük I

#### (a) Grave types and chronology

The cremation cemetery at Deve Hüyük does not appear to have engaged the attention of Lawrence and Woolley in 1913 to the same extent as its successor, perhaps because it was already overshadowed by the far more extensive Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish. This they excavated and recorded systematically, though it was only published concisely long after (Woolley, 1939). Few finds were brought back to England from Deve Hüyük I, compared to II, and Woolley's own account of the cemetery is submerged in a general discussion of comparable cremation graves elsewhere (Woolley, 1914, 87ff.). It evidently lay close to the later inhumation cemetery, on the northeast lip of a shallow depression surrounding the tell at Deve Hüyük. An ambiguous use of 'here' in his account conceals at a crucial point whether Woolley is writing of Deve Hüyük I alone or collectively of finds in a series of four very similar cemeteries in the Carchemish region. As it happens, the account is too general for this to matter significantly.

In Deve Hüyük I "The cinerary urn...generally plain but sometimes painted was covered by an earthenware saucer or a bowl of gilt bronze, and over it was inverted a bell krater... , more often a large terracotta bath. Small objects were thrown in with the bones, other vessels might be ranged round the bath cover; in the case of children there were added clay figurines, dolls... for a girl, for a boy horses or horsemen... of Cypriote type." Woolley singled out for mention five primary types of pottery in these cremation cemeteries: "imported Cypriote and Greek island"; "bell kraters of local make painted, . . . tall narrow-mouthed urns similarly painted"; "bowls with a curious tripod base formed by three ribbon-like loops of clay"; and "small trefoil mouthed oenochoae." All are well illustrated in the Yunus cemetery report, to which Deve Hüyük I is no more than an appendix. Woolley argued that the cremation cemeteries in the Carchemish region had remained in use until the Neo-Babylonian conquest of the region at the end of the seventh century B.C. But, from his own account of his excavations within the city area at Carchemish, it is clear that this conclusion must be treated with reserve. In publishing the pottery from houses in the outer town, which were ruined during or soon after 605 B.C., Woolley noted that "The pottery from the house sites of the outer town is instructive as illustrating the domestic wares in use at the end of the seventh century... Generally speaking the types are not those of the Yunus graves, though c. 1 and 3 are fairly common there, and in the eight houses— or rather, parts of houses—dug by us no example of the painted Yunus pottery occurred" (Woolley, 1952, 234). Sherds of this pottery had been found in the Lower Palace area and on the Acropolis, so it was not exclusively a funerary ware. This could be taken to indicate that in the Carchemish area, as at Hama, cremation cemeteries like that at Deve Hüyük I did not last long after the Assyrian conquest. In other words the majority of the graves in Deve Hüyük I were of the eighth century B.C., with only a possibility that some fall into the seventh century (cf. Bassit: Courbin, 1973; 1978). Much more work needs to be done on the Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery of Syria before specific forms and fabrics may be used to give closer datings than these.

## (b) Cremation: origins and distribution

The rite of cremation is unusual enough in the historical ancient Near East for its appearance in a particular place at a particular time to be culturally significant (RLA, 'Grab'; Riis, 1948, 37ff.; Bittel, 1958, 30ff.). During the second millennium B.C. it was widely practised in Anatolia by all classes. It had already appeared on at least one site (Gedikli Hüyük), in the southeast of Anatolia, by the later third millennium B.C. (Alkim, 1966, 55ff.). It may be noted that a text from Nuzi read by Oppenheim to include the phrase 'at the time when King Shurattarna died and was cremated' is now thought to have no reference to the cremation of a king (Gaal, 1976, 281-6).

Occurrences elsewhere in the Levant, usually in the later part of the second millennium B.C., are few and have usually been taken as evidence of a Hittite presence, where this is historically feasible, as at Tell Atshana and at Ras Shamra (Woolley, 1955, 202ff.). Two equivocal occurrences in Palestine at the very end of the thirteenth or early in the twelfth century B.C. have not yet been satisfactorily explained (Albright, 1938, 75-6; Garstang, 1933, 36). It is generally assumed that the popularity of cremation through the first half of the first millennium in Syria owed much to a persisting Hittite tradition, strengthened by the arrival of Luwian-speaking peoples after the upheavals in Anatolia that saw the end of the Hittite Empire. A concentration of such cemeteries in and about Carchemish, seat of the Hittite Imperial administration in Syria and later a leading "Neo-Hittite" city, would seem to strengthen such an hypothesis. The most striking series of cremation cemeteries so far uncovered at this time in Syria are those at Hama; a sequence running over three or four hundred years down to the city's destruction in 720 B.C. More unusual are the cremation graves at Tell Halaf. Here two seated stone statues encased in a mudbrick massif overlay shaft graves containing cremations in urns and associated grave goods of the tenth or ninth centuries B.C. (Naumann, 1950, 159ff., 357ff.).

At Carchemish itself only one grave, a cremation, was found within the city walls, in room E of the North-west Fort. It yielded "the finest small objects that came to light during the whole expedition" (Woolley, 1952, 250ff.). Its cremation urn was set into a circular pit. Woolley explained this exceptional intra-mural grave as the burial of a high ranking man who had died during the siege of 605 B.C. Woolley was cognisant of three extra-mural cremation cemeteries at Carchemish; but only that at Yumus was properly excavated. Merj Khamis, about four miles north of the city, was plundered by peasants. The West Gate Cemetery at Carchemish lay outside Woolley's concession and was known to him only through scattered objects (Woolley, 1939, 12, 18). The Hittite tradition of cremating kings may have survived in Lydia as a funerary rite, for there is some evidence of it at the tomb of Alyattes, father of Croesus, at Sardis (Hanfmann, 1963, 55) and it is alleged that Croesus himself died on a pyre.

The 'Hittite' cremation tradition is not the only one in the Levant in the earlier first millennium B.C. Cremation burials in urns have been found as early as the second half of the eleventh century B.C. at Azor in Israel (Dothan, 1960, 260). A series of cremation burials, extending from the Lebanon down what is now the coast of Israel into the region of Gaza, in the eighth and

seventh centuries B.C., have been associated with Phoenician communities. The Phoenicians themselves practised both cremation and inhumation; cremation graves may be seen extending westwards through the Mediterranean with their penetration. Among the Israelites to burn a body was an outrage, as with the Egyptians, reserved for notorious criminals (Gn. 38:24; Lv. 20:14; 21:9). The burning of the bodies of Saul and his sons before burial by the people of Yabesh in Gilead is anomalous (I Sam. 31:12). Although cremation never seems to have held a primary place in Mesopotamian funerary practice, it is not absent there. In the first half of the first millennium B.C., for instance, there is scattered evidence for cremation burials in urns both at Assur and Babylon, side by side with the normal forms of inhumation (Haller, 1954, 52ff.; Reuther, 1926, 189, 214). In Elam in the second millennium B.C. it is found in use among the royal family at Tchoga Zanbil (Ghirshman, 1968, 73-4); but not among the lower classes buried at Susa.

#### 4. Deve Hüyük II

##### (a) Grave-groups and chronology

Woolley provided a clear description of the graves in this inhumation cemetery:

"Graves were found at a depth of from five to eight feet, the poorer sort merely cut in the soil, those of the better class lined and roofed with stone; the walls were sometimes built up of coarse rubble, sometimes formed of large slabs set on edge, amongst which were basalt blocks obviously taken from older Hittite buildings. The ends were generally unlined, the roofs formed of great slabs; one of these roof slabs, of basalt, was a rough example of the offering-tables with three shallow cup-like depressions that are commonly found on Late Hittite cemeteries. A typical grave measured 3.00 m by 0.80 m internally, the sides formed of rough slabs about 0.80 m high, the roof of these basalt blocks each about one metre square, the top of the roof was about a metre below the present surface. The majority of the graves lay very roughly E. x W., with an error of about 20 degrees, but some were N. x S.; there was nothing like regular orientation, and bodies were found with their heads towards all points of the compass. The bones were much decayed and could often be distinguished only by their colour from the infiltrated soil that filled the graves, nor were the native plunderers inclined to spend much time on things so unprofitable; but in most cases there was enough to show that the body lay at full length, though the position of the arms remained uncertain. In two or three instances at least the remains of the skull were found in a bronze bowl which had been placed under the head. It was not uncommon for a grave to contain more than one body, and as many as four were reported from a single cist." (Woolley, 1914-16, 116-7)

The earliest phase in the use of this cemetery may be dated by the imported Greek pottery in groups 9, 11, 14 and 20, and some unassociated pieces. The earliest of these vessels is a late sixth century Corinthian aryballos (no. 56). An Attic black-figure skyphos of the Haimon Group (no. 57) is now dated to the

first quarter of the fifth century, whilst the black-glaze cup in group 11 is of a type which passed out of fashion in Greece soon after 480 B.C. (no. 58). The lekythoi decorated with an ivy branch motif, represented here by a fragment in group 20, and a complete unassociated example (no. 60), are more likely to have been made in the second quarter of the fifth century. Also to the earlier part of this century belongs the lekythos shaped as a woman's head noted by Woolley, but not acquired by him (see under no. 60). In considering the Greek pottery it should also be noticed that the sheet bronze aryballoi in group 15 (nos. 117-118), if not actually of Greek manufacture, reproduce exactly a Greek pottery form of the later sixth or earlier fifth century B.C.

Into this chronological horizon also falls the iron akinakes, with the decorated bronze chape, in group 11 (nos. 149, 156) where it is associated with an Attic black-glaze cup (no. 58). Not only the type of weapon, but also the shape and distinctive design on the chape, are very closely matched on reliefs at Persepolis carved between about 500 and 450 B.C. for Darius I, Xerxes and Artaxerxes I on the Apadana (the so-called 'Treasury Relief'), Xerxes' palace and the Central Building, where they are worn by soldiers in "Median costume". Less decisive, but no less indicative, chronological evidence is provided by two unassociated pieces of metalwork. A fine bronze phiale mesomphalos (no. 85) is closely matched, in silver, in a late sixth century tomb-group found on the island of Rhodes. One of the reported bronze horse-bits is very like an example found in the debris of the Persian sack of the Athenian Acropolis in 480 B.C. (no. 227).

In assessing the chronological range of the inhumation graves of the cemetery the legible coins in groups 10 and 23 are naturally crucial for they indicate burials in the very late fifth or into the earlier fourth century B.C. Group 10 included two iron spearheads and is presumably a soldier's grave; from 23 only personal ornaments were reported and a blue glass cylinder seal. As more than one body was not uncommonly reported from a grave it is likely that repeated burials over a period of time were regular funerary practice here as, for instance, at 'Atlit in Israel about the same time (Johns, 1933, 58-9). In such circumstances it is only possible to set the range of burials in Deve Hüyük within the century from about 480 to 380 B.C. The Iron Age cemetery at Kamid el-Loz in the Lebanon covers the same range of time and offers many important comparisons for Deve Hüyük II (Poppa, 1978).

#### (b) The occupants

The contents of the groups from Deve Hüyük II indicate the presence of soldiers, whose origin may be established through a number of material clues. The method of constructing the better made graves is distinctive. In the cemeteries of the fifth century at Tell Ahmar and Neirab, near Aleppo, inhumations were placed in baked clay urns or sarcophagi as in contemporary cemeteries in Iraq at Babylon, Kish, Nippur and Ur (Reuther, 1926, 212ff.; Moorey, 1978, 48 ff.; McCown, 1967, 117ff.; Haller, 1954, 71; Woolley, 1962, 67ff.). The majority of contemporary inhumation graves at Kamid el-Loz in the Lebanon are shallow earth burials neither surrounded nor covered by stones (Poppa, 1978, 19ff.). A further contrast is provided by rock-cut tombs, in the 'Phoenician' tradition, at contemporary cemeteries like that at 'Atlit, where the grave-goods often closely parallel those at Deve Hüyük (Johns, 1933, 41-4).

Close parallels to the Deve Htıytk II stone cists are few for this period in the Levant. They include some partially published graves at Ras Shamra (Schaeffer, 1935, 148ff.) and a better known group of five graves at Gezer excavated by Macalister long ago (Macalister, 1912, 289ff; cf. also Herzog, 1978). It was Woolley, in publishing Deve Htıytk, who first realised their close affinity, indicating that they were of the fifth century B.C., not 'Philistine' as the excavator had supposed. Such stone-built, cist graves are typical of the West Iranian funerary tradition in the Iron Age. They have been excavated at many sites from Luristan northwards to the Caspian region and westwards onto the Iranian plateau at Tepe Sialk (Ghirshman, 1939; Egami, 1965-6, 1968, 1971; Cinquabre, 1978). Among objects in the Deve Htıytk II graves pronounced Iranian characteristics are evident in a number of cases.

Among the pottery, two types are relevant here. Some lamps (nos. 61-5), in an extremely coarse red ware, conspicuously different both from the imported Greek fabrics and the local buff wares, are totally unlike anything in the ceramic repertory of this period so far published from Iraq or the Levant. But they are exactly like some lamps reported among stray finds from Japanese excavations at Dailaman in the Caspian province of Gilan in Iran and from the pioneer researches of de Morgan, at the turn of the century, in Talish on the south-western shores of the Caspian Sea at such sites as Agha Evlar and Chir-Chir. A zoomorphic rhyton (no.66), in a fine burnished ware, is alien again to the local tradition at this time, but matched by comparable vessels, without exact context, from Gilan and Mazanderan on the south Caspian shores.

Such clues among the weapons are more elusive, but no less significant. Unique still in a reported Levantine context are the iron short swords with T-shaped hilts and kidney-shaped guards, recognized as the akinakai of the ancient Greek historians (Herodotus: VII:54; Xenophon: An. 1.2.27), with their characteristic chapes. In his famous list of Xerxes' army Herodotus associates this weapon particularly with the Caspians (VII:67). On the Apadana friezes at Persepolis this, the so-called 'Median sword', is worn not only by Medes, who also bring one among their tribute, but also by delegations 11 and 17. Yet another delegation has one among its offerings. General opinion favours identifying these men as Scythians and Sogdians/Chorasmians respectively, though absolute certainty is not possible with the available evidence (Roaf, 1974). In his analysis of the throne bearers represented in reliefs on the finished royal tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam Schmidt identified the 'Median dagger' on fourteen men falling into his ethnic groups: East Iranian (5, 9, 10); European Scythian (24, 25); Asiatic Scythian (7, 8, 14 and 15); East and West Median (4, 6, 12, 20, 21). Another distinctive, but less certainly diagnostic, weapon in these graves is the iron double-headed axe-head. Such weapons are brought as tribute by Delegation 17 on the Apadana at Persepolis. Schmidt identified it as the sagaris of Herodotus (VII:64) and used it to identify them as Scythians; but its use within the Persian army was wider than that. Indeed the king's weapon-bearer at Persepolis has one (for full discussion see no.220 below).

Comparison with the well excavated cemetery at Kamid el-Loz in the Lebanon (Poppa, 1978) is instructive and illustrates, particularly, how much information is lost without the skeletal evidence. Although the Kamid el-Loz cemetery included male, female and child burials, the most common were those of women (Poppa, 1978, 43-49, 135-9). Significantly, for the assumptions made here, personal ornaments and toilet equipment predominate. Vessels, of any material, are rarer than at Deve H̄tytk II. There are no weapons, save for a few iron 'arrowheads', no pieces of horse-harness and few items of obvious foreign origin.

### (c) Conclusions

In antiquity it is very unlikely that Deve H̄tytk was ever a place of much consequence. It lay, however, in an area of great strategic importance. It was within easy reach of two major fords across the river Euphrates, that at Carchemish and that at Tell Ahmar, about twenty kilometres to the south. At the time of the Neo-Babylonian conquest in the last decade of the seventh century B.C., major settlements at both these sites suffered destructions from which they had not recovered by the Achaemenid period. Only a cemetery, and that apparently a civilian one, is known from this period at Tell Ahmar. Carchemish yielded no evidence of occupation at that time.

The inhumation cemetery at Deve H̄tytk appears to have been opened some time in the first half of the fifth century B.C. for troops serving a military establishment somewhat set back from the river Euphrates, in an area rich enough agriculturally to support it and with good access to two Euphrates crossings, either down the Sajur valley or directly across country. Soldiers were buried there with certain distinctive arms and pottery; their womenfolk with personal ornaments and cosmetic articles differing little from finds of the period throughout Syro-Palestine. With the evidence of arms alone: akinakes, sagaris and gorytus, it may only be said that this is likely to have been a garrison of predominantly Iranian-speaking troops rather than local Syrians, whose traditional arms were different. The additional evidence of the crude anthropomorphic lamps strengthens the suggestion (and it may be no more), that some at least of them were drawn from the Caspian provinces, where the cist form of burial was also at home.

### 5. Deve H̄tytk III

This cemetery is a mere ghost. In his letters, cited on p. 2, Lawrence recognised intrusive graves of the Parthian period cut into the Deve H̄tytk II. Woolley makes no explicit mention of them; but their presence is clear from scattered objects of this date published in his paper in LAAA VII, as well as others, which he bought, now in museums. These are too few and too various to give any indications of the precise date or character of the cemetery; but they indicate a close affinity to the graves excavated at Dura-Europos, downstream on the Euphrates.

## CHAPTER I

### VESSELS

#### I POTTERY

The pottery brought to Europe from Deve Htıytk I is of no very great significance, except as further illustration of the Late Iron Age pottery current in the Carchemish region. The best corpus of evidence was provided by the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939) as so little pottery was published fully from the city excavations; on dating see pp. 5-6 here. The local fabrics do not differ very much from the range of wares found at Hama (Riis, 1948). Isolated imports of Phrygian pottery and the presence of "Cypro-Phoenician" juglets, some made locally, indicate a pattern of commercial contacts evident also at Carchemish and Tell Halaf by the Late Iron Age. Glazed vessels form a very minor constituent in the ceramic repertory and owe more to developments in Mesopotamia than to western contacts at this time. An Egypto-Phoenician element is evident only from the "Bes Vase" in the pottery, though very clear in amulets, beads and seals from this site. Comparison with vessels from the Yunus Cemetery indicates that virtually all the plain ware jugs and bowls of varying sizes illustrated on plate XXVIII of Woolley, 1914-16, came not from Deve Htıytk II, as their presence in that volume might suggest, but from the earlier cremation cemetery. Woolley makes no explicit cross-reference to them in his account of the inhumation cemetery. So far as I can tell this plate is made up of photographs taken at Carchemish; I have located none of the vessels in British collections.

Woolley himself described the pottery of Deve Htıytk II rather more precisely. The local wares differ from those of the Late Iron Age not so much in fabric, although this is less various, but mainly in size and range of shapes, now predominantly juglets and small jars; the relatively rare painted examples are similar to those from contemporary coastal sites. Yet caution is necessary here, for so little comparative material is available from inland settlements of the fifth century B.C. The Greek imports do not differ from those found on other Syro-Palestinian sites at this time. Much more unusual, as evidence of a distinctively Iranian element in the cemetery, are the coarse ware lamps and the rhyta. For the general range of pottery the cemetery at Kamid el-Loz is comparable (Poppa, 1978, 52-3).

Isolated examples of Parthian pottery from intrusive graves in Deve Htıytk III follow traditions well known through excavations at Dura-Europos and Seleucia-on-Tigris.

(A) Middle Bronze Age

The following two vessels, accessed as from Deve Htıytk in the respective museums, would automatically have been excluded from this volume had not Woolley remarked "indeed in grave DH 2 there was a black ring-burnished vase, of the shape shown on plate XXIII, fig. 9 of the article already referred to [i.e. Woolley, 1914]" (Woolley, 1914-16, 125). They may be survivors rescued from Iron Age 'archaeologists' and re-used:

1. Bowl; black; ring-burnished fabric.  
(C) E. 71.1913; .086 H; .102 D; cf. Woolley, 1914, pl. XXIII.11 (it may indeed be this bowl).

Such bowls as this are typical of Middle Bronze Age I cemeteries in the Carchemish region.

2. Zoomorphic jar; buff fabric; hand-made hollow vessel in the shape of a ram with added tail, neck, ram's horns and stubby legs.  
(WA) 108665; .055 H; .103 L.

Parallels from level H at Hama (Ingholt, 1940, pl. XVIII.1) and from Kara Keui, acquired by Woolley (Ashmolean, 1913.442-3 nos. 2A, 2B: the latter a very close parallel) indicate a date in the earlier Middle Bronze Age for this vessel.

(B) Late Iron Age

Deve Htıytk I: the cremation cemetery

(1) Cinerary Urns

3. Two-handled urn: buff fabric decorated with black paint; wide rim decorated with interlocking bands of five black lines; the upper part painted in panels. In the centre on one side two birds one above the other; on the other a stylized tree. The flanking panels are filled with cross-hatched designs in rectangular panels or irregular diamonds.  
(O) 1913.631; .422 H; .363 D.
4. Two-handled urn: buff fabric decorated with black paint; interlocking design of three black lines on the wide rim in dark paint; upper part divided into panels and decorated with geometric devices: triangles and diamonds with cross-hatching; open panels like 'doorways'.  
(O) 1913.632; .204 H; .247 D.
5. Two-handled urn: buff fabric decorated with black paint; bands round the neck; panels on the upper part of the body decorated with cross-hatched triangles or wavy lines set vertically.  
(O) 1913.633; .265 H; .197 D.
6. Two-handled urn: buff fabric decorated with black paint; encircling bands of paint round the neck; painted panels on the body.  
(WA) 108729; .205 H; .158 D.



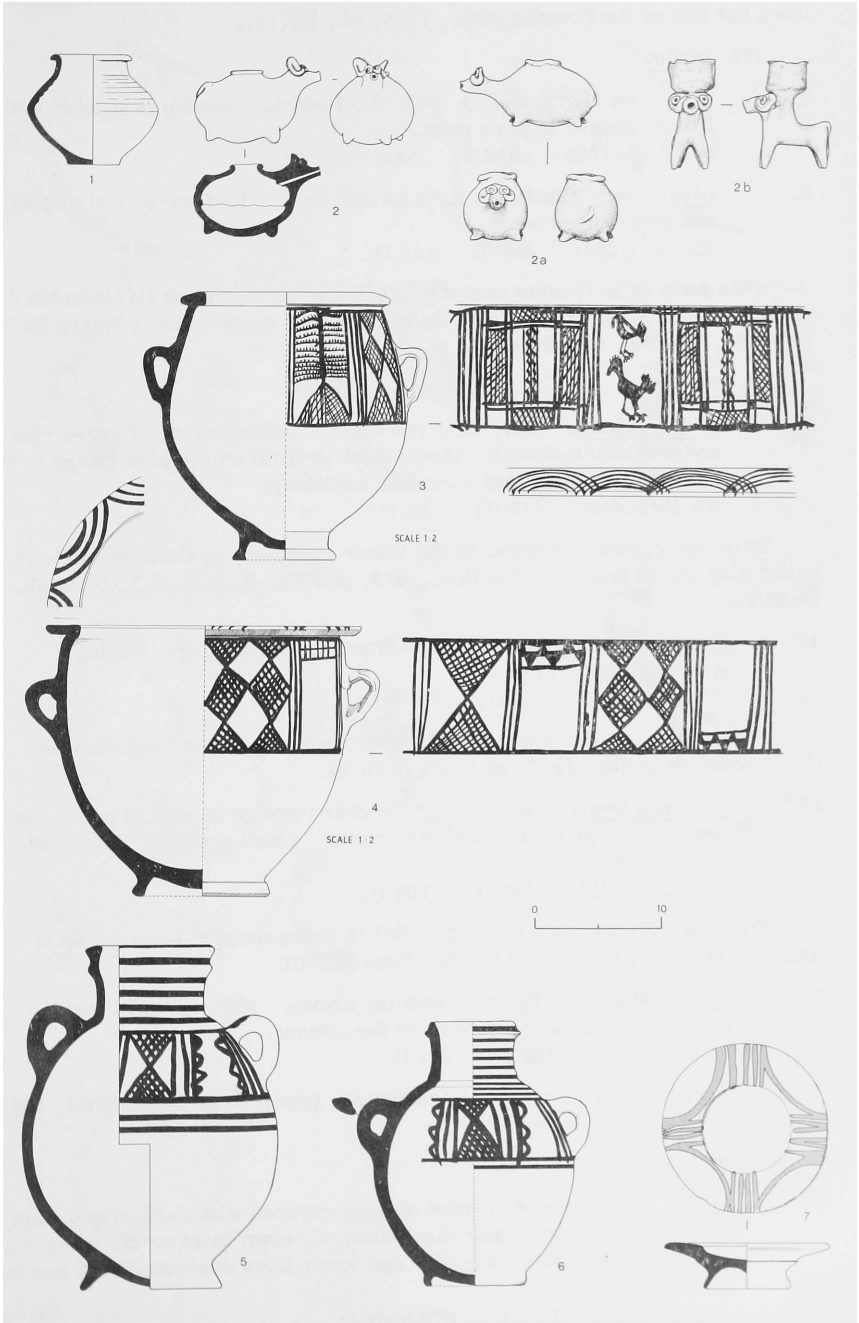


Fig. 2

These cinerary urns are typical of the cremation cemeteries of the Carchemish region (Woolley, 1939, pls. X-XI) and may be traced southwards down the line of the Orontes (Riis, 1948, 55, fig.45).

(2) Dishes

7. Dish: on slight, hollow foot; buff fabric; the lip is painted with linear designs in dark paint.  
(C) E.85.1913; .030 H; .132 D.
8. Dish: very similar in form to the above; buff ware, red slipped and ring-burnished.  
(O) 1913.654; .035 H; .140 D.

This form is well represented in the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, pl.XVb) and may again be traced southwards to Hama (Riis, 1948, 75, fig.113: Type XXXII).

(3) Bowls

9. Pedestal bowl: fine, light red ware; unburnished; flanged rim and moulded pedestal; incised fish graffito on the side (there is no reason to suppose this a modern addition).  
(O) 1913.646; .115 H; .265 D.

This type of bowl occurred in the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish both in baked clay and in trachyte (Woolley, 1939, pl.XXIII B.5-8, pl.XXIV B.32, pl.XVIc).

10. Bowl: fine buff fabric; faint traces of burnishing; slightly grooved vertical rim.  
(O) 1913.645; .068 H; .196 D.

This bowl is again comparable to some from the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, pl.XXIII B.25-6).

11. Pedestal bowl; buff fabric; "rocker" design on a band round the lower side, just above the carination; small appliqué loop handle to one side.  
(C) E.81.1913; .775 H; .105 D.

This type of bowl has a close parallel in the cremation cemeteries at Hama (Riis, 1948, 69, figs. 14, 90: Type XXVIII).

12. Bowl; fine, thin fabric; reddish brown; plum red slip inside and out; thick white deposit in the bottom.  
(WA) 108755; .105 D; .051 H.

The attribution of this bowl is uncertain; parallels at Hama (Riis, 1948, 71, figs. 97-8) suggest Deve Htıytık I.

(4) Juglets

13. Juglet: buff fabric; centre of body covered with dark brown slip; lip painted brown; encircling bands of brown paint on the inner lip and round the neck; shoulder and lower body decorated with concentric circles.  
(WA) 108659; .121 H; .078 body D.

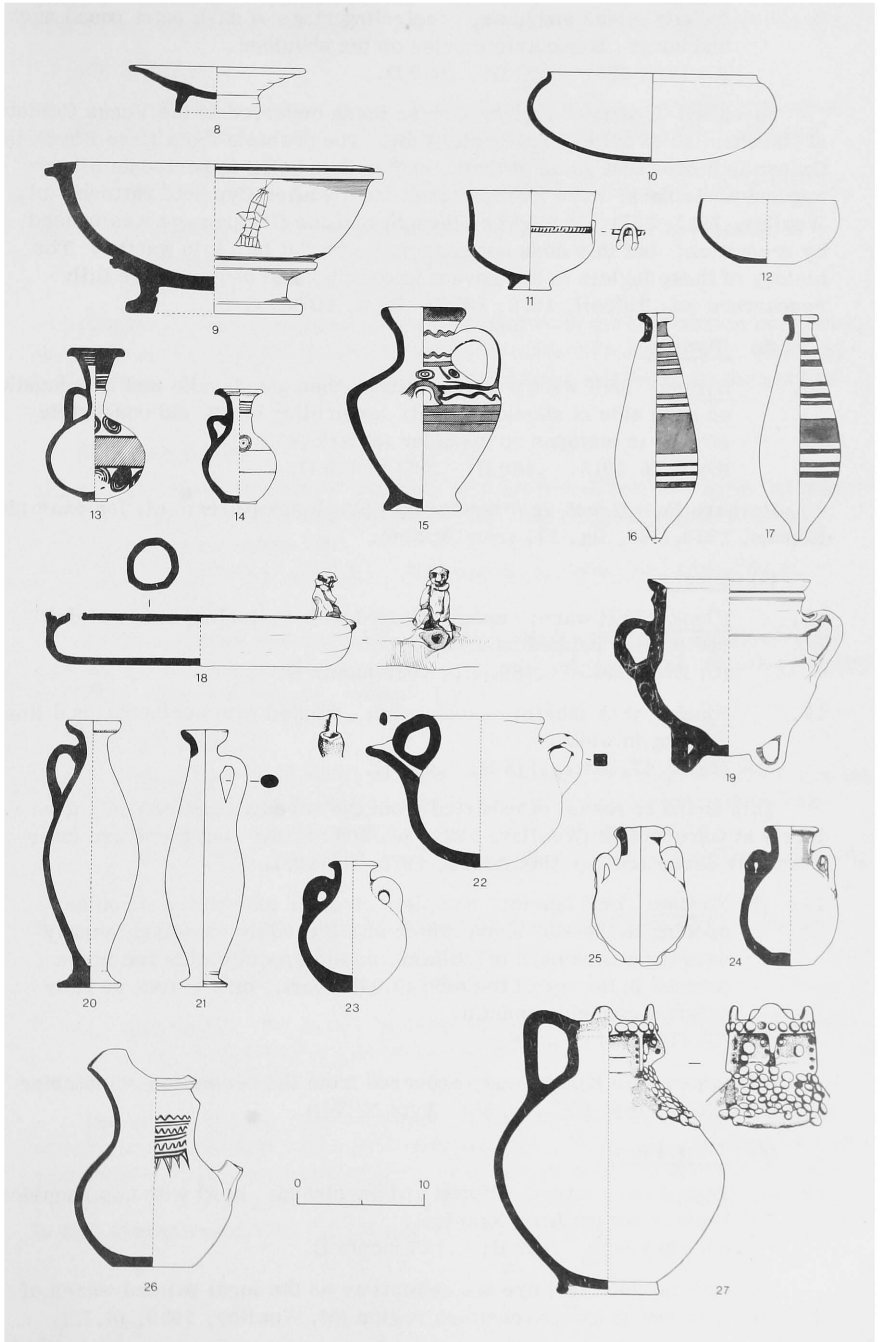


Fig. 3

14. Juglet: badly overfired; greenish colour; distorted handle and 'bubbly' sides and base; encircling rings of dark paint round neck and body; concentric circles on the shoulder.  
(O) 1913.668; .093 H; .059 D.

So-called 'Cypriote' juglets such as these occurred in the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, pl.XVIb). The example from Deve Hıttık in Oxford indicates that some of them, rather than being imported as oil or unguent containers, were manufactured locally after Cypriote patterns (cf. Woolley, 1952, 237). It might be thought that the fire damage was caused by cremation; but this does not seem to be so. It is a kiln waster. The history of these juglets in the Levant is complex and has yet to be fully researched (cf. Tufnell, 1953, 297ff; Rast, 1978, 54).

(5) 'Hydria'

15. Hydria: buff ware; brown paint; shoulder handle and loop handle on each side at shoulder level; encircling bands and concentric circles in metopes on shoulder in dark paint.  
(C) E.76.1913; .160 H; .063 mouth D.

Perhaps East Greek or following an East Greek pattern (cf. for example Köpcke, 1968, 266, fig. 17, from Samos).

(6) Flasks

16. Flask: buff ware; cream slipped with encircling bands of dull red paint; pointed base broken off.  
(C) E.87.1913; .180. H; .028 mouth D.
17. Flask: pink fabric; cream slip; painted with horizontal red lines varying in width.  
(L) 49.47.322; .175 H; .067 D.

This shape of vessel is reported from the seventh century B.C. town levels at Carchemish (Woolley, 1921, pl. 20d. 1, 3); but there are later examples decorated like this (Stern, 1973, fig.199).

18. (7) Kernos: buff fabric; complete circular tube with a circular opening in the side above which sits a crudely modelled monkey wearing a neck band or collar; on the opposite side two holes pierced in the top of the tube (0.074 apart), only traces of their original covering remain.  
(O) 1920.141; .250 D.

A fragment of a kernos was recovered from the cremation cemeteries at Hama (Riis, 1948, 69, fig. 88: Type XXVII).

(8) Tripod Bowl

19. Light brown ware; slipped and burnished; bowl with two shoulder handles set on three loop feet.  
(O) 1913.642; .152 H; .135 mouth D.

Although the loop feet are not unfamiliar on the local painted wares of the Late Iron Age in the Carchemish region (cf. Woolley, 1939, pl. LX,

XIII), the fabric here is distinctive. Both form and fabric are paralleled at Tell Fakhariyah (McEwan, 1957, no.90, 37, pls. 34, 39) further to the east.

(9) Flasks

20. Red fabric covered with a purplish-brown slip, partially burnished; tall biconical body; broad flat foot; shoulder handle; chipped base.  
(O) 1913.641; .213 H; .076 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVII.16.
21. Red fabric; very pronounced wheel marks; surface has been shaved down; small side handle.  
(C). E.112.1913; .200 H.

Despite the publication of the Oxford flask with the inhumation cemetery, parallels at Carchemish in seventh century levels (Woolley, 1921, pl.20.8) indicate that both these vessels should probably be attributed to the earlier cremation cemetery.

(10) Spouted Jar

22. Coarse buff fabric; slipped, with traces of burnishing on the exterior; burning evident on the base; handmade; spout attached to the neck by a slight bar.  
(WA) 108664; .117 H; .098 mouth D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVII.4.

This is another vessel that might well belong with the cremation rather than the inhumation cemetery with which it was published (cf. Woolley, 1939, pl.XXIV; Yunus cemetery, spouted types).

(11) Glazed Jars

23. Squat jar; pair of small handles; faded bluish-green glaze crazed and bubbly, perhaps by association with a cremation rather than through a kiln misfiring; marked DH.y.2 on the side.  
(WA) 108753; .102 H; .082 mouth D; possibly Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVI E.
24. Squat jar; two shoulder handles; very poor faded bluish-green glazing with many air holes and eruptions.  
(O) 1913.669; .109 H; .078 D.
25. Squat jar; two small shoulder handles; faded bluish-green glaze; with many eruptions and air-holes.  
(L) 49.47.314; .113 H; .080 W.

The glazed pottery of Deve Htıytık I and II, not easily distinguished out of context, is muddled in the published reports. These vessels may best be compared with the two-handled jars, coarsely glazed, found in the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, pl.XIVa). The notation DH.y.2 is that sporadically used for the cremation cemetery.

(12) Phrygian Jug

26. Jug: coarse red fabric; buff slip burnished about the neck and down the back near the handle; reserve panel at the front; handle broken off. Lower part of the neck decorated in black paint with irregular wavy lines between linear borders; triangles pendant from lowest line running round the body.  
(O) 1913.635; .165 H; .127 D.

This typical Phrygian painted jug is closely paralleled at Alishar (von der Osten, 1937, pl.362, cf. also Akurgal, 1955, pl.27, 33). Similar pottery, though rare, was also reported from the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish by Woolley (Woolley, 1939, pl.XIIB, c). One of the reliefs at Carchemish shows a characteristic Phrygian vessel, presumably of metal, and an actual example in bronze was found at Tell Halaf (Woolley, 1921, pl.B 306; Muscarella, 1967, 67; Hrouda, 1962, pl.48:8). A date in the eighth century B.C. for this jug is most likely, associating it with Deve Hıytk I.

(13) Jug with anthropomorphic neck

27. Jug: light pink ware, buff slip; pot-bellied with a ring base; three regularly placed projections on the lip as if from a crown or diadem; front of the jug's neck modelled as a female face with pierced side projections (4 holes in each) acting as ears and a central squarish projection pierced with nostrils as the nose; eyes in appliqué clay. Blobs decorate the diadem and provide a spreading frontlet on the chest. This might be taken for a beard; but the Cypriot parallels cited below suggest rather that a piece of jewellery is intended and that this is a woman's head.  
(WA) 108661; .217 H; .172 gtest D. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXXVII. 5, p.126.

"The face pot ... said by the natives to have come from a cist grave, in technique resembles far more closely the pottery and figurines of the Late Hittite period, to which it very likely belongs; it might be compared to certain well-known Cypriote types". Woolley's caution in accepting the reported source is understandable. This vessel belongs to a tradition, distinct from that represented by the "Bes Vases" (no.28), which would be expected in the cremation rather than in the inhumation cemetery.

The Cypriote prototypes to which Woolley refers may easily be traced through the standard survey of Cypriote Iron Age pottery (Gjerstad, 1948, figs. XXIX.20, XXXV.25, XXXIX.24, XLII.15-16, L.17, LV.18-19). Following Mrs. Birmingham's revised chronology (1963, 15-42), the closest parallels fall into 'Middle Iron' (c.900-600 B.C.), more specifically the second half of that period. This was the time when imported Cypriote pottery, and local imitations, was being placed in the cemeteries near Carchemish. This very unusual jug imitates the Cypriot jugs with necks in the form of women's heads; but does so without the paint used in Cyprus. As Woolley noted, it is done with the same technique as was used in eastern Syria in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. for hand-made figurines of men and women and is more likely to have been made at this time than in the fifth century (for figurines see pp. 100ff.).

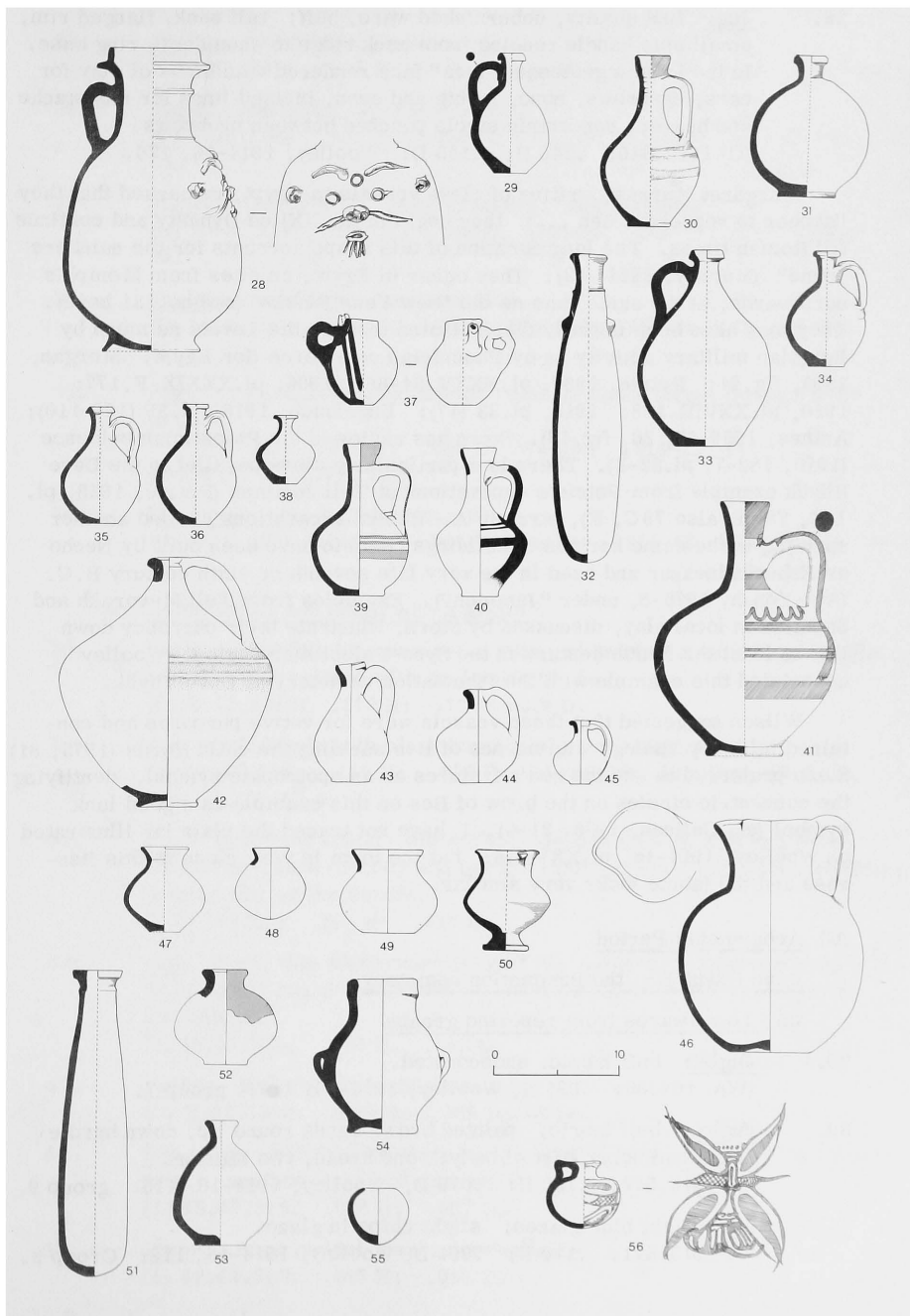


Fig. 4

(14) "Bes" jar

28. Jug: fine quality, unburnished ware, buff; tall neck, flanged rim, small side handle running from neck ridge to shoulder; ring base. In the front a grotesque "Bes" face rendered with blobs of clay for ears, eyebrows, nose, mouth and eyes, incised lines for moustache and beard; concentric circle punched between eyebrows.  
(C) 1913.640; .240 H; .145 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 126.

Margaret Murray, writing of these vessels in Egypt, remarked that they "appear to represent Bes ...; they begin in the XXIIInd Dynasty and continue till Roman times. The long duration of this shape accounts for the numbers found" (Murray, 1911, 42). They occur in Egypt, on sites from Memphis northwards, at the same time as the 'New Year Flasks' (see no.131 here). They may have been initially disseminated through the Levant as much by Egyptian military activity as by Phoenician commerce (for Egypt; Morgan, 1895, fig.94; Petrie, 1888, pl.XXXV.64-66; 1906, pl.XXXIX.F.177; 1910, pl.XXVIII.138; 1915, pl.33 (47); Engelbach, 1915, pl.39 (109-110); Anthes, 1959-65, 26, fig.48). Stern has reviewed the Palestinian evidence (1976, 183-7, pl.32-3). There is a particularly close parallel to the Deve Htıytk example from Petrie's excavations at Tell Jemmeh (Petrie, 1928, pl. LIX, 78 m, also 78 C, F), stratum A. Recent excavations yielded another such jug in the same horizon of buildings, said to have been built by Necho or Nebuchadnezzar and used in the very late seventh or sixth century B.C. (Avi-Yonah, 1975-8, under "Jemmeh"). Examples from Tell Mevorakh and Samaria in local clay, discussed by Stern, illustrate their currency down into at least the fourth century in the Syro-Palestinian region. Woolley associated this example with the inhumation cemetery at Deve Htıytk.

Wilson suggested that these vessels were for votive purposes and contained milk, by analogy with scenes of Bes suckling the child Horus (1975, 81). Stern preferred to see the god's features as an apotropaic symbol, identifying the concentric circles on the brow of Bes on this example as a good luck symbol (cf. Culican, 1976, 21-4). I have not traced the plain jar illustrated on Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVII.6; but the form is very close to this Bes-vase and the fabric looks very similar.

(C) Achaemenid Period

Deve Htıytk II: the inhumation cemetery

(a) Local wares from reported groups

29. Juglet: buff fabric, undecorated.  
(WA) 108695; .094 H, Woolley, 1914-16, 117: group 7.
30. Juglet: buff fabric; painted brown bands round lip, down handle and round upper part of body; one broad, two thinner.  
(O) 1913.572; .135 H; .079 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 118: group 9.
31. Jar: light blue glazed; slight chips in glaze.  
(O) 1913.571; .110 H; .094 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 9.



32. Alabastron: dull red fabric; plain.  
(O) 1913.580; .244 H; .053 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 118: group 11.
33. Juglet: buff fabric; undecorated.  
(O) 1913.581; .115 H; .105 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 118: group 11.
34. Juglet: buff fabric; undecorated.  
(O) 1913.588; .091 H; .063 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15.
35. Juglet: buff fabric; neck cracked; undecorated.  
(O) 1913.589; .092 H; .065 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 119: group 15.
36. Juglet: buff fabric; undecorated.  
(O) 1913.590; .095 H; .063 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 119: group 15.
37. Juglet; reddish-brown fabric; tubular spout thrust through body to base.  
(O) 1913.591; .070 H; .058 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 119: group 15, pl. XXVII.13.
38. Miniature jar; buff fabric; plain.  
(O) 1913.592; .054 H; .044 D, Woolley, 1914-16, 119: group 15.
- (b) Local wares not listed with a group
39. Juglet: buff fabric; decorated with red paint; neck, top of handle and shoulder painted with encircling bands.  
(C) E.73.1913; .119 H; .120 mouth D.
40. Jug: buff fabric with black horizontal encircling bands.  
(L) 49.47.316; .118 H; .074 D; cf. no.30; Woolley, 1914-16, 125, pl. XXVIII.4.
41. Jug: light-buff ware; white slip; decorated with dull red paint: encircling bands on body and neck; running cusps round the shoulder; painted line on the handle.  
(WA) 108750; .203 H; .147 D.
42. Jug: hard, thin white ware painted black overall with encircling white bands round the shoulder; heavy accretion over body, neck and handle.  
(L) 49.47.320; .205 H; .168 D.
43. Juglet: Buff fabric; undecorated.  
(C) E.88.1913; .095 H; .026 mouth D.
44. Squat jug: soft pinkish ware with traces of over-all black (or brown) paint; surface worn and encrusted.  
(L) 49.47.318; .072 H; .067 D.
45. Juglet: hard pinkish ware; undecorated.  
(L) 49.47.319; .045 H; .040 D.

46. Jug: fine buff fabric; undecorated.  
(C) E.86.1913; .190 H; .82 D (mouth), cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVIII.10.
47. Small jar: buff fabric; undecorated.  
(WA) 108666; .065 H; .062 D.
48. Small jar: fine, thin, pinkish ware; black slipped; horizontal ring burnishing.  
(L) 49.47.321; .054 H; .054 D.
49. Jar: pinkish ware; undecorated.  
(L) 49.47.323; .068 H; .079 D.
50. Pedestal Bowl with pinched and flared lip: buff fabric; undecorated  
(O) 1913.643; .078 H; .066 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVII.14.
51. Alabastron: discoloured green glaze; no lug handles.  
(O) 1913.719; .243 H; .038 mouth D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVI J.
52. Small jar: Upper part with darker blue-green glaze, lower with white glaze.  
(C) E.79.1913; .070 H; .080 D; possibly Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVI L
53. Small jar; buff fabric with very discoloured light-blue glaze.  
(WA) 108662; .099 H; .077 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVI B.
54. Jar with side lugs: hard, cream ware with fugitive horizontal encircling bands in black.  
(L) 49.47.317; .113 H; .090 D.
55. Tiny bowl: handmade; soft blackish-brown fabric; poorly baked.  
(L) 49.47.325; .048 H; .053 D.

This is a mixed group of pottery and there must always remain doubts about whether all the items listed here in (b) were from the inhumation rather than the earlier cremation cemetery. Woolley himself was aware of the question, but saw it as evidence of continuity (1914-16, 125): "A few of the vases of local fabric, decorated with bands of black paint, preserve something of the Cypriote tradition that influenced so strongly the pottery of the Late Hittites ..." Painted juglets were found at Al Mina in level III in considerable quantities (Woolley, 1938, 24, fig.11, pl.IV B). In the few places in Syria and the Lebanon where comparisons are available for the Achaemenid period, notably at Til Barsib (Thureau-Dangin, 1936, 75ff) and Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, 52-3), the pottery from simple graves of the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. is comparable in range to that from Deve Hüyük II: juglets, jars and alabaster, glazed and unglazed. The pottery of Palestine at this time is much better known and more fully studied. Lapp (1970) surveyed certain of the basic chronological groups and Stern presented the known repertory in more detail (1973, 96ff). Fresh evidence steadily accumulates (Stern, 1978, 26ff). The pottery of this period in Cyprus was embraced by the monumental studies of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and they remain the fundamental frame of reference (Gjerstad, 1948). The scattered remains

from Deve Htýtk offer indifferent evidence, save in the more exotic wares considered below.

(c) Imported Greek Pottery

(a) Corinthian

56. Aryballos: round and squat; broken rim; debased 'quatrefoil' floral design.  
(O) 1913.637; .051 H; .059 max. body D; Woolley, 1914-16, 125; Payne, 1931, 320-1; Clairmont, 1955, 102, no.28.

Payne listed this vessel with his "Late Corinthian Vases I (c.575-550 B.C.)"; but indicated that production, almost certainly at Corinth, ran down to the end of the sixth century with ever more casual rendering of the decoration. Such aryballoi are very widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean World and the Levant.

(b) Attic

57. Skyphos: black figured; in the centre on either side a woman seated on a stool looking at herself in a mirror held forward in her left hand; at either end of the panel a palmette; between woman and palmette a single line with dots along the upper and lower edges; six large black dots in the field.  
(O) 1913.638; .070 H; .142 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVII.3; Clairmont, 1955, 117, no.171; Beazley, 1956, 579.

Beazley classified this vessel with his "Shallow skyphoi (Class K.2)", connected with the Lancut Group (Late Haimon Group). These cups are to be dated either in the first quarter of the fifth century or soon after (Kurtz, 1975, 150-1).

58. Kylix: 'black glaze'; buff fabric; slip worn off in places and of purplish brown colour.  
(O) 1913.579; .079 H; .151 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: grave group 11, pl.XXVII.1; Clairmont, 1956-7, 14, no. 476.

This cup is of a type which passed out of fashion in Greece soon after 480 B.C. (Sparkes, 1970, 91ff., pl.19 Type C).

The following fragment is probably from a cup of exactly this kind:

59. Base of a cup: dark slip.  
(O) 1913.573; .034 H; .071 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: grave group 9; Clairmont, 1956-7, 15, no. 484 (wrongly numbered as 1913.673).
60. Lekythos: foot lost; white-ground; worn surface; on the shoulder a double row of parallel lines; at the shoulder/body join a meander within linear borders; then double lattice panels framing above and below an ivy-berry tendril.  
(WA) 108754; .200 H; .074 W (shoulder); Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVII.2; Clairmont, 1955, 114, no. 135; Moorey, 1975, pl. XXI (centre).

This vessel may be attributed to the Beldam workshop in the second or third quarter of the fifth century B.C. (Kurtz, 1975, 152ff., cf. pl.70.6-8). Good parallels have been found at Tell Taanach in a Persian intrusion into Iron II levels that Mrs. Lapp dated to the middle of the fifth century B.C. (1964, 43, fig.24, left) and at Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, pl.3: grave 1). In describing the contents of grave-group 20 Woolley refers to "the lower part of an Attic b.f. lecythus, with design of cross hatching and vine wreath in black on a white ground" (Woolley, 1914-16, 120). I have not located this fragment which must have been from a lekythos like (WA) 108754.

It is clear from Woolley's letter to Hogarth cited on p. 3 here that he did not obtain the lekythos "in the form of a woman's head, face dull brick-red, hair and spout black" in grave-group 14 (Woolley, 1914-16, 119). It sounds similar to Beazley's 'Group J', dated to about 480 B.C. (1929, 53, figs. 6-7; for a general survey of Attic pottery in the Achaemenid Empire see: Vries, 1977, 544-48; for Palestine, Stern, 1973, 138ff).

(d) Pottery of Iranian origin or affinity

(i) 'Lamps'

61. Very coarse, gritty red ware with dark flushes; hand made; damaged; sub-rectangular bowl with pinched lip at the front; the back rises to form a plaque crudely decorated with a human face; on either side of the face a hole is pierced through the plaque; eyebrows, eyes and mouth are rendered with appliqué clay; the whole face is framed by a margin of incised dots.  
(O) 1913.647; .088 H; .082 W; Woolley, 1914-16, 126, pl. XXVII.12; Moorey, 1975, 112, fig.3:3.
62. Ware exactly as in the previous example; hand-made; boat-shaped with a tall wall at the back, pinched up at intervals round the edges; marks of burning.  
(C) E.77.1913; .072 H; .075 L.
63. Fire-blackened creamy clay quite different from the previous two; hand-made; boat-shaped, two side projections, with high back; three knobs set along the top edge; St. Andrew's cross in appliqué clay on the back panel.  
(WA) 108667; .111 H; .092 W; .014 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVII.11, group 13.
64. Fire-blackened coarse clay; ladle-like shape with a pinched spout and a flat vertical back; broken and repaired.  
(L) 49.47.324; .070 x .089 x .070; group 2: Woolley, 1914-16, 117.
65. Coarse ware as in the first two cases; dark flushes; hand-made; shallow, open bowl with a slight lip; eight projecting knobs at irregular intervals round the shoulder of the bowl.  
(O) 1913.644; .036 H; .088 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVII.1D; Moorey, 1975, 112, fig.3:2.

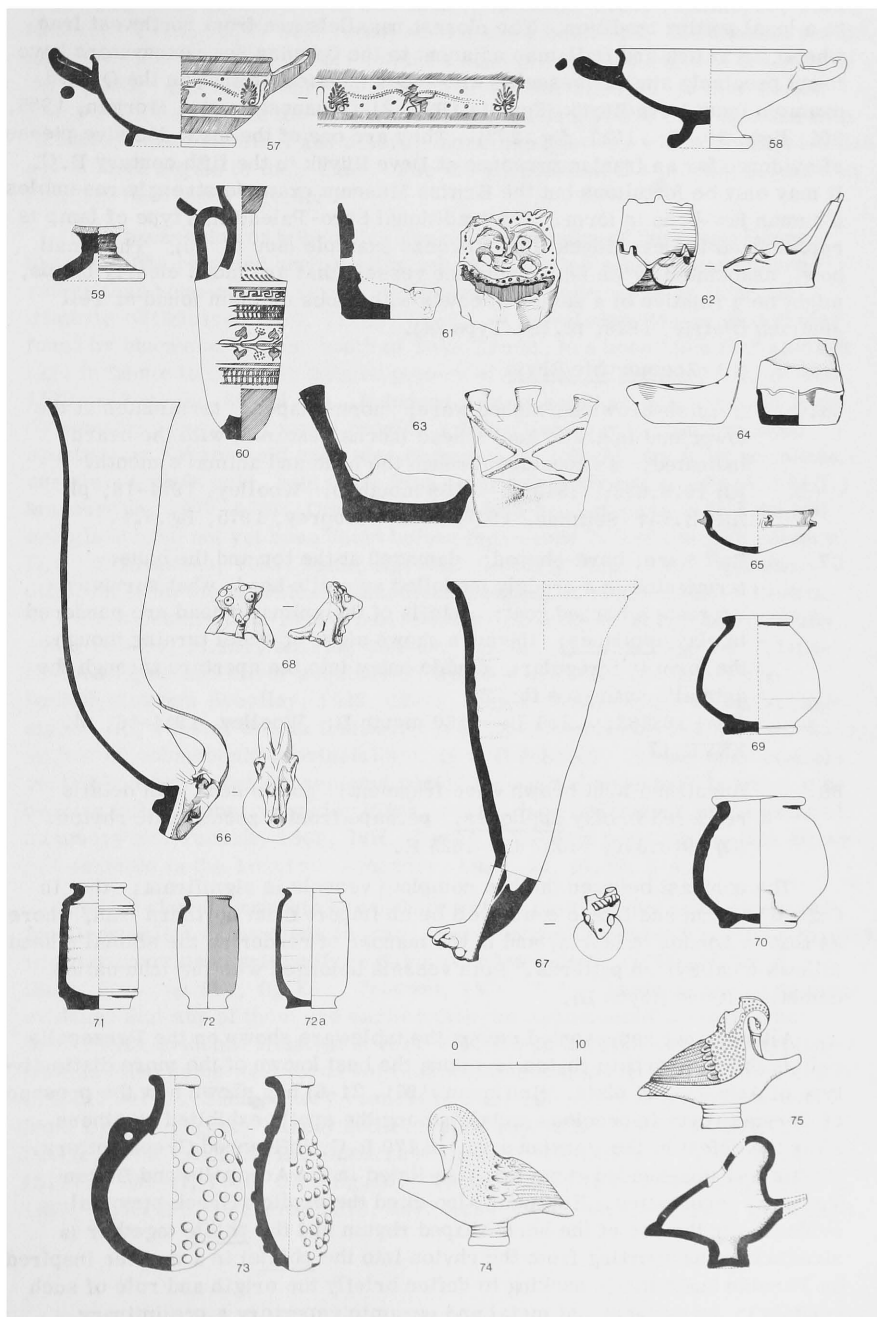


Fig. 5

Both the form and the distinctive ware of three of these vessels set them apart from the other pottery reported from Deve Htıytık; nor do they belong to a local potting tradition. The closest parallels are from northwest Iran where, in Talish and Dailaman adjacent to the Caspian Sea, excavators have found precisely similar vessels, with faces identical to that on the Oxford example from Deve Htıytık (Egami, 1966, 21 (Japanese text); Morgan, 1905, 306, figs. 596-7; 1927, fig. 272). They are one of the most decisive pieces of evidence for an Iranian presence at Deve Htıytık in the fifth century B.C. It may only be fortuitous but the British Museum example strongly resembles a human jaw-bone in form. The traditional Syro-Palestinian type of lamp is represented in Deve Htıytık II by a bronze example (see p. 40). The small bowl, associated by its fabric with the vessels that are more clearly lamps, might be a relative of a series of bowls with knobs on them found at Tell Jemmeh (Petrie, 1928, pl. L: Type 24).

(ii) Zoomorphic Rhyta

66. Reddish-brown burnished ware; horn-shaped; terminates at the lower end in a wild goat's head (horns restored) with the beard indicated; an aperture through the head and animal's mouth. (O) 1913.636; .346 L; .109 mouth D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVII.15; Seltman, 1927, 249a; Moorey, 1975, fig.3.1.
67. Buff ware, horn-shaped; damaged at the top and the base; terminates in a crudely modelled animal's head, what survives suggests a horned goat; details of the animal's head are rendered in clay appliqués; the horn shows signs of wheel turning though the form is irregular; double entry into the aperture through the animal's head (see fig. 5). (WA) 108663; .296 L; .150 mouth D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVII.17.
68. Burnished light brown ware fragment; goat's head with details rendered in clay appliqués; perhaps from a zoomorphic rhyton. (O) 1913.670; .057 L; .025 H.

The contrast between the two complete vessels is significant; that in Oxford in form and fabric could well be an import from northern Iran, whereas that in London in fabric, and in the manner of rendering the animal's head, follows local Syrian patterns. Both vessels belonged with the inhumation cemetery (Deve Htıytık II).

Although not represented among the tableware shown on the Persepolis reliefs the zoomorphic rhyton is among the best known of the more distinctive type of Achaemenid plate. Hoffmann (1961, 21-6) has shown how the presence of Persian rhyta in precious metals among the spoils exhibited at Athens after the defeat of the Persian army in 479 B.C. influenced Greek pottery. Griffin and lion-headed rhyta are also listed in the Acropolis and Delian Treasury inventories. Hoffmann also cited the explicit Greek pictorial evidence for the use of the horn-shaped rhyton and the phiale together (a stream of wine spurting from the rhyton into the phiale) in a manner inspired by Persian custom. In seeking to define briefly the origin and role of such vessels in the Achaemenid metal and ceramic repertory a preliminary

distinction has to be drawn between straight bucket-shaped vessels entirely consisting of an animal's head and neck (Wilkinson, 1967; Calmeyer, 1979) that have a reasonably well-established history before the Achaemenid period, and those vessels in which the animal's head is set at an angle to the body of the vessel. The latter have no such clear earlier history. In this second group are vessels like the present two, shaped as a gently curving horn with an animal-head terminal and others, more like goblets, with animal protomes set at right angles to their base. For the purposes of the present discussion they are best taken together.

The procession of tributaries chased on the edge of the fragmentary bronze coffin reported as from Ziwiye in Kurdistan seem to carry horns rather than horn-shaped rhyta; gold horns are referred to in Urartian contexts (Wilkinson, 1960, 213ff., fig.2). A baked clay lion-headed rhyton found by chance at Leilan, south of Lake Urmia, has been identified as most akin in fabric to Urartian painted pottery of the eighth century B.C. (Kleiss, 1972, 157-8, fig. 30, pl.39). If indeed it is as early as this, or even later by a century or two, it would provide a direct ancestry for the two most spectacular Achaemenid examples (though their authenticity is by no means certain), both in gold, said to be from Hamadan (Wilkinson, 1954-5, 221ff.; Muscarella, 1977, 179) Other surviving lion-headed rhyta in faience and cut-glass have not yet been dated before the second half of the fifth century B.C. (Ghirshman, 1962, 55ff., fig.26). An early form in metal, rather different from the canonical Achaemenid shapes, is represented in bronze by a sixth century bull-rhyton from Samos and another from Syria (Köpcke, 1968, 289-90, pl.121, no.113, 289-90; Zahn, 1930, 148, fig.1). A bull-rhyton of gold and silver acquired by Woolley in Syria, and now in the British Museum (Woolley, 1923, 69-72, plate), is in a distinctively archaic style; but whether this is indicative of a Neo-Assyrian or Urartian workshop, or just of Achaemenid provincialism, is still debated. Among such vessels certainly dated to the Achaemenid period the animal repertory is wide, embracing bulls, lions, winged griffins, goats, deer and horses (for a general summary see Tuchelt, 1962, 78ff. (Group IV); on a particularly fine silver gilt example in the Louvre: Amandry, 1959, 52, pl.29, 3-4).

Baked clay zoomorphic horn-shaped rhyta have not yet been reported from controlled excavations in Iran: but a number have been revealed through illicit excavations, primarily in Gilan (Vanden Berghe, 1959, pl.3c, d; Durr, 1966, no.674, fig.65; Crouwel, 1974, 7-8). There is so far no clear evidence that any of them are earlier than the Achaemenid period. The Deve Höyük evidence illustrates very well how in the fifth century a typically Iranian form came westwards with the Achaemenid army and was then copied in local wares. Such pottery vessels in local fabrics have been reported from Cyprus, Egypt, Turkey and Palestine (Gjerstad, 1948, pl. LVII.17; Petrie, 1906, pl. XXXVIIA—incorrectly dated; Genouillac, 1926, pl.14.173, 15.171; Bittel, 1940, 579, fig.15; Young, 1962, 155, pl.41.2-3; Petrie, 1928, pl.XV.5, 7; Stern, 1978, 43; Rose, 1976, pl.V B2, IV.2 (in stone)).

(D) Parthian Period: Deve Htıytk III

69. Small jar: bluish-green glaze; indented foot; said to have been found with Oxford 1913.724 (no.479).  
(O) 1913.721; .094 H; .100 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVIC, 124.
70. Small jar: bluish-green glaze; like no.69.  
(L) 49.47.315; .108 H; .106 D.

Despite the published association with the inhumation cemetery of the fifth century B.C. the distinctive form of these jars strongly suggest that they are from intrusive graves of the Parthian period (cf. Toll, 1946, 58ff., fig.27: upper).

71. Small cylindrical jar: greenish-blue glaze.  
(WA) 108668; .098 H; .043 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVID.
72. Small cylindrical jar: greenish-blue glaze (not on foot).  
(C) E.78.1913; .090 H; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVIA.

The Ashmolean also has a jar of this type(72A: 1913.271) not specifically attributed to Deve Htıytk. They were the most characteristic type of green-glazed pottery at Dura-Europos and are particularly numerous on sites of the Middle Euphrates region, from the first to the third centuries A.D. (Toll, 1946, 54ff.). They were designed to contain ointments and are most frequently found in women's graves with cosmetic equipment.

73. Pilgrim-flask: very discoloured glaze, perhaps originally green; the body decorated with concentric circles of blobs.  
(WA) 108657; .153 H; .120 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVIK.

Glazed pilgrim flasks were common in levels III and II (c. 141 B.C. to A.D. 116) at Seleucia-on-Tigris (Debevoise, 1934, figs 298-306, 315); but rare at Dura-Europos (Toll, 1946, 53).

74. Spouted vase in the form of a duck; light red ware with traces of a maroon slip; hollow; made in a two-piece mould.  
(O) 1913.448; .110 H; .056 W; .140 L. (? Deve Htıytk).
75. Spouted vase in the form of a duck; exactly like the previous one.  
(WA) 108658; .102 H; .056 W; .130 L.

Compare such vessels from levels of the Parthian period at Nineveh in Iraq (Campbell Thompson, 1931, pl.XXXVI.7.G.17(B)).

## II. THE METAL VESSELS

None of the following metal vessels is attributed to the cremation cemetery, Deve Htıytk I, though they occurred in the contemporary Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, pl.XVIIc,d).

Studies of Achaemenid metal vessels have been dominated by luxury wares in gold and silver mentioned in Greek literary accounts and known from representations in art and from a few spectacular finds, not all of proven authenticity (Amandry, 1959, 38ff.; Muscarella, 1977, 135ff.). The



range of surviving examples is not exceptionally varied, since they are all from sets of drinking vessels or display services of table plate, some with a royal inscription. It is to contemporary graves scattered across the Persian Empire that reference must be made for comparisons with the more mundane range of vessels reported from Deve Hüyük II, where base metal bowls were among the most common objects. In grave 32 at Neirab, near Aleppo, there were a number of bronze vessels: a situla with a loop handle; a situla with a long handle; a plain, shallow dish with an umbo; and two small, shallow dishes with handles, possibly incense burners (Abel, 1928, 198, fig.4). Of the graves at Tell Ahmar (Til Barsib) in Syria, only 'B' yielded bronze vessels: a plain shallow bowl (with straight sides and a floreate handle); a handled filter; a situla with a loop handle; a decorated phiale with umbo; and an enigmatic object that, if not a furniture fitting, may be some kind of goblet (Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl.XVIII.9; XIX.1-3,6). At Ras Shamra a bowl and a situla with a loop handle were found together (Schaeffer, 1935, fig. 7g,h). A closely comparable series of bronze phialai, to those in Deve Hüyük II, was found in the cemetery at Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, 57).

The graves at Gezer, constructed like those of Deve Hüyük II, contained richer plate. Grave 4, for a woman, held a bronze ladle, a tall necked silver vessel, a decorated deep silver bowl, a plain, shallow silver dish and a plain bronze deep bowl (Macalister, 1912, 292ff., fig.154-6). Grave 5 held a silver ladle and a deep bowl (Macalister, 1912, 294, fig.157). At Tell Farah (S) in Israel tomb 817 held a bronze strainer, a bronze ladle and a deep bronze bowl; in tomb 650 was a fine silver ladle and phiale (Petrie, 1930, 14, pl.XLVII, XLIV.3-5, XLV). As might be expected from their geographical positions the silver from both Gezer and Farah was made under noticeable Egyptian influence. A chance find, possibly a grave, at Kh. Ibsan in northern Israel yielded standard bronze objects: a plain deep bowl, a fine censer and the handle of what may have been a strainer (Amiran, 1972, 135ff.; pl.XIII-XIV; cf. also Stern, 1980, 90ff.).

Neither Mesopotamia nor Iran has produced as much ordinary metal tableware from excavations as might be anticipated. Woolley (1962, pl.32) provided a repertory of shapes on the basis of his excavations at Ur. In graves of the fifth century B.C. at Nippur bronze bowls normally appeared individually or with plain bronze piriform bottles like those from Deve Hüyük II (McCown, 1967, pl.108). No metal vessels were reported from the fifth century graves on mound 'W' at Kish; but an isolated bronze bowl was reported from Tell Barguthiat (Langdon, 1934, pl.XVIIC). A burial in a baked clay sarcophagus, excavated by the Danish Expedition to Bahrain, contained a shallow bronze dish, a bronze situla with a loop handle, a bronze situla with a long handle and a bronze handled strainer (Glob, 1956, 172ff., fig.7-8). This burial is probably later sixth or early fifth century rather than "Neo-Babylonian" as published. The rich fourth century woman's burial in a bronze coffin at Susa yielded a silver phiale (Morgan, 1905, pl.II).

Almost all the forms and schemes of decoration found in these burials belong to a craft-tradition already well established in eastern Syria and Mesopotamia in the Neo-Assyrian period, though surviving plate of this time is still very rare, especially in precious metals. A distinctive, traditional

Egyptian influence is occasionally apparent, as noted above, in southern Palestine and the Delta, rarely in the vessel shapes, more often in their floral decoration. A group of "temple hoards" provide the best available evidence for the range of silver plate available in Egypt under the Achaemenids (Cooney, 1956; Dumbrell, 1971). Anatolia, from which more silver plate of this period has been clandestinely reported than has yet been published for the whole Empire, was undoubtedly an important production centre of fine metal tableware for the Achaemenid court and aristocracy, as it was a, if not the, major source of silver. Here rich rulers, long before the Persian Conquest, had established court workshops to produce fine metalwork, though evidence of it is still sparse and concentrated at such sites as Gordion (Akurgal, 1961; Bittel, 1976). Here also, particularly to the west, Greek influence was more and more evident as the fifth century proceeded. Among well-contexted finds the still unpublished plate from tumuli at İkiztepe in the Hermus valley near Güre, west of Uşak, is outstanding. Only the briefest description is at present available. It is said to consist of "bowls, dishes, ladles, jars and oinochoai ... Many have affinities to Persian and Lydian shapes known in pottery" (Mellink, 1967, 172). Tomb paintings of the fifth century at Karaburun in Lycia include some representations of metal vessels. In one case the owner of the tomb is shown reclining on a banquet couch holding a fluted phiale. He is approached by attendants, one holding in his right hand a two-handled goblet with griffin finials and in his left a phiale; a ladle is suspended from his little finger by a ring at the end of its handle (Mellink, 1971, 252, pl.55).

Technically the metal vessels from Deve Höyük II offer no surprises; but it is by no means always easy, particularly with phialai, to tell whether they were hammered, with repoussé decoration, or cast. In both cases the surface was finished by chasing and tracing. The National Museum of Antiquities in Baghdad exhibits a baked clay mould for a phiale and this was probably the regular means of mass producing simple bronze examples ("Old Babylonian" Terracotta Display, 1977; no details). No. 111 here illustrates a technique that may have been much more common than rare surviving examples testify. Many of the surviving plain silver and bronze deep bowls with prominent shoulder may once have had such decorated sheet metal overlays. The series of reliefs in the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna in Egypt, dated to about 310 B.C., illustrate various stages in the manufacture of rhyta and bowls from gold and silver. Although the craftsmen are Egyptian, they are manufacturing vessels in the international Achaemenid court style, just modified by Hellenic taste (Lefebvre, 1923, pl.VII-IX). The operation of casting is not shown; but one craftsman is tracing decoration on the base of what may be a cast phiale (Lefebvre, 1923, pl.VII; upper right). The hammering of sheet metal bowls is clearly shown (Lefebvre, 1923, pl.VII; lower right), as are various finishing processes.

(i) Basins and bowls:

76. Basin: bronze; hammered; flat base; tall, vertical sides with everted rim; undecorated; traces of fabric in the corrosion on the outside.  
 (WA) 108673; .123 H; .271 mouth D: Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI.  
 13.

This is by far the largest metal vessel reported from Deve Hüyük II. I have not traced any exact parallels, although some vessels larger than the routine bowls were found at Ur (Woolley, 1962). It would be suitable for blending the wine served in the shallow, open bowls (phialai)

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- 77. Bowl: bronze; hammered; hemi-spherical; one side patched in antiquity with a rectangular strip folded over the rim and rivetted into place.  
(C) E.66.1913; .064 H; .115 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI. 6, for shape.

This is the simplest kind of vessel found in Deve Hüyük II and represents an old tradition.

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- 78. Shallow open bowl: bronze; cast; plain.  
(O) 1913.609; .045 H; .193 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI. 7 for type: group 18.
- 79. Shallow open bowl: bronze; cast; plain save for a slight moulding on the inside lip.  
(WA) 108712; .035 H; .143 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI. 7 for type: group 13.
- 80. Shallow open bowl: bronze; cast; plain.  
(C) E.103.1913; .040 H; .177 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXI.7 for type.
- 81. Shallow open bowl: bronze; cast; plain.  
(L) 49.47.284; .048 H; .180 D.
- 82. Shallow bowl: bronze; cast; plain.  
(O) 1913.586; .035 H; .150 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI. 7 for type: group 11.
- 82A. Shallow bowl: bronze; cast; plain.  
(L) 49.47.284A; .045 H; .143 D.

The association of this bowl with Deve Hüyük is uncertain.

The presence of these bowls in three of the reported "tomb groups" from Deve Hüyük II is sufficient to establish that this simple form was still current in the fifth century B.C. As might be anticipated it has an earlier history in the area. There were examples in the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, pl.XVIIc) and the Ashmolean has a rather deep example from Kefrik: a site where Woolley bought at least one group from a cremation cemetery of the Late Iron Age (see Appendix II).

83. Shallow open bowl with an umbo: bronze; cast; plain.  
(O) 1913.675; .035 H; .138 D; for type cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXI.9.
84. Shallow open bowl with an umbo: bronze cast; plain save for a slight moulding on the inner lip.  
(WA) 108767; .037 H; .157 D; for type cf. LAAA VII, pl.XXI.9.  
(The British Museum registers do not specifically attribute this bowl to Deve Hıtytk.)

Lushey has examined the emergence of an umbo at the centre of metal bowls in the Near East (1939, 31ff), where it was established by the Late Bronze Age. These examples might have belonged to Deve Hıtytk I, rather than to II, since such bowls were found in the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, pl.XVIIId.2) and at Sinjirli (Andrae, 1943, pl.56c,h); but Woolley cites one in group 5 (possibly one of the above) and they occur at Til Barsib and Kamid el-Loz in the Achaemenid period (Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl.XIX.5; Poppa, 1978, pl.12: grave 15).

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85. "Libation bowl" (Phiale Mesomphalos): bronze; pronounced umbo; chased detail; fifteen petals with formalized flowers on short stems set between them; in the angle at the base of each 'flower', inside and out, is chased a tiny floral design.  
(O) 1913.673; .042 H; .191 D; Moorey, 1975, 111, fig.2:6.

This distinctive type of shallow bowl was particularly popular among the Greeks as a libation vessel, though in origin oriental. The basic shape, undecorated, may be traced back to at least the ninth century in Assyria (Lushey, 1939, fig.9.4-6). Late eighth century examples have been found in the War Kabud cemetery in western Luristan in Iran (Vanden Berghe, 1968, pl.32a,b). Dozens of bronze examples were found in a royal tomb from the very late eighth or early seventh century B.C. at Gordion in Turkey, where the form also appears in glass (Young, 1958, 139ff. fig.22; Van Saldern, 1959, 25ff.; figs. 1-2). On these examples the raised petals are narrow, with parallel sides, and there are multiple concentric ridges round the umbo. The elaborate form of decoration used on this example was current by the mid-sixth century B.C. to judge from examples found in Greece, notably a whole range of bronze bowls from a votive deposit at Perachora (Payne, 1940, 148ff.). There is a fine silver example from a sixth century burial at Kameiros on the island of Rhodes (Jacopi, 1931, 43ff., fig.13). Examples travelled deep into the Near East in the Achaemenid period, for an example was excavated at Ur (Woolley, 1965, pl.35; Woolley, 1962, pl.23) and others, without precise context, have been reported from western Iran (Calmeyer, 1964, pl.59:114 should read 113; Buhl, 1968, no. 199, pl. on p. 87; Moorey, 1974, no.132 A (plate)).

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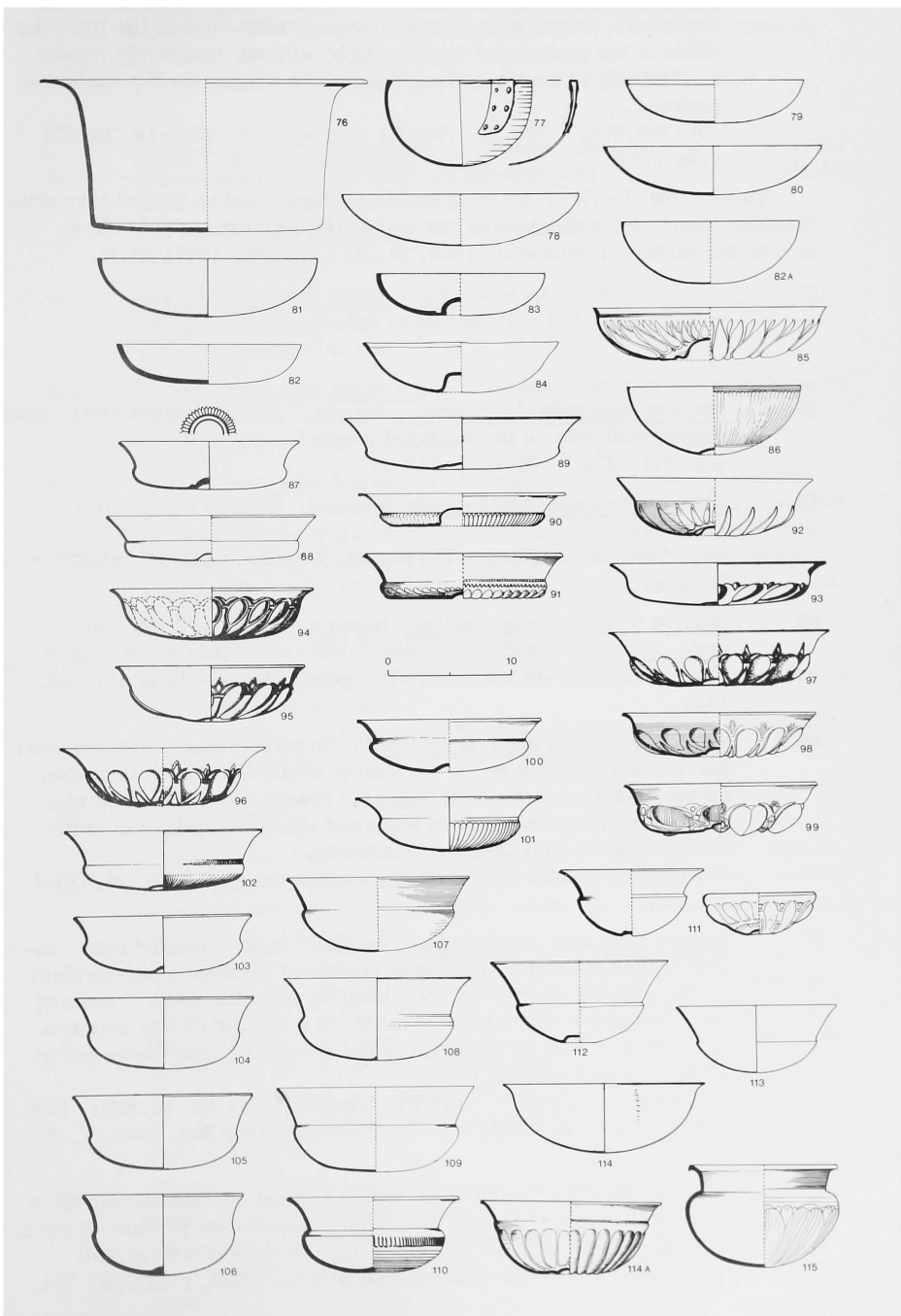


Fig. 6

86. Hemi-spherical bowl with a slight umbo: bronze; cast; badly corroded; three chased lines round the outer edge of the lip; the whole of the exterior is slightly fluted with an irregularly chased semi-circle at the head of each groove to emphasize the scalloped contours.  
(O) 1913.676; .060 H; .143 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI. 8 for shape.

Three silver bowls of the early fourth century found at Tell el-Mashkuta (ancient Pithom) have this kind of vertical fluting, giving a ripple effect across the surface (Rabinowitz, 1956, pl.IIIA; Oliver, 1977, no.7).

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87. Shallow bowl with slight umbo: bronze; cast; everted rim; umbo ornamented with an incised petal roundel.  
(L) 49.47.279; .050 H; .147 D.
88. Shallow bowl with slight umbo: bronze; cast; everted rim; plain.  
(WA) 108675; .037 H; .170 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI.4. for shape.
89. Shallow bowl with slight umbo: bronze; cast; everted rim; umbo ornamented with an incised rosette of 15 petals; damaged.  
(L) 49.47.281; .043 H; .193 D; group 24: Woolley, 1914-16, 120.
90. Shallow bowl with pronounced umbo: bronze; cast; everted rim; plain on the inside save for encircling mouldings round the umbo. On the outside a circle is irregularly chased round the umbo at a distance of 3 mm from it; a series of narrow 'petals' run to the shoulder where they terminate in points.  
(WA) 108674; .026 H; .170 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI.4 for shape.
91. Shallow bowl with slight umbo: bronze; cast; everted rim; inside, round the umbo, a circular border of stamped semi-circles; on the exterior narrow 'petals' radiating from the umbo; running round the upper edge of this shoulder is a margin of tiny stamped dots; below them on the bulge of the shoulder a continuous run of short, vertical parallel lines.  
(O)1913.677; .035 H; .160 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI: top centre; Bossert, 1951, fig.788 (centre); Hamilton, 1966, 4, fig. 4.

The flattened shoulders and easier curves distinguish these bowls from their Neo-Assyrian precursors with their sharp-shouldered profiles (Hamilton, 1966, 1ff.). This shape, with its flat base-line, is represented at Tell Farah (S) in Israel in the Achaemenid period (Petrie, 1930, pl.XXVIII.744. 824).

92. Shallow bowl with umbo: bronze; everted rim; hammered sheet bronze; exterior has sixteen traced petals, irregularly spaced, radiating from the umbo; corrosion holes.  
(O) 1913.574; .045 H; .151 D; group 9: Woolley, 1914-16, 118.
93. Shallow bowl with slight umbo: bronze; everted rim; gadrooned ornament with traced detail on the exterior; cf. no. 96 for detailed description of such decoration.  
(L) 49.47.274; .041 H; .171 D; group 16: Woolley, 1914-16, 119.
94. Shallow bowl with slight umbo: bronze; everted rim; repousse and traced lotus design radiating from the umbo. cf. no. 96.  
(C) E.54.1913; .041 H; .167 D.
95. Shallow bowl with slight umbo: bronze; everted rim; gadrooned ornament with traced floral detail on the exterior.  
(L) 49.47.283; .045 H; .156 D.
96. Shallow bowl with low umbo: bronze; everted rim; exterior: lotus design: 13 sepals of the calyx radiating from the umbo, then in higher relief 13 petals of the corolla with chased on the surface between each of them a pistil rising between a pair of stamens; sepals and petals outlined with a chased line; also the base of the sepals inside.  
(WA) 108686; .043 H; .165 D.
97. Shallow bowl: very similar to the previous bowl, but with a cruder use of the chasing tool.  
(WA) 108764; .045 H; .180 D (association with Deve Hüyük not explicit in the British Museum register).
98. Bowl with umbo: bronze; corrosion damaged; gentle S-profile; exterior has sixteen chased petals, irregularly spaced, radiating from a central umbo, then in higher relief 14 petals of the corolla, chased on the surface between each of them a pistil rising between a pair of stamens. On the inside, round the umbo, semi-circles at the base of each sepal.  
(O) 1939,82; .037 H; .160 D; given by W. H. Buckler, who must at some time have acquired it from Hogarth as this bowl is illustrated by Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI, top left; Bossert, 1951, fig.788 (left); Lushey, 1939, 42, no. 16; the bowls listed in the same place by Lushey as "Karkemish" (his 41-2, nos. 8 and 18, figs. 18, 20), are now in East Berlin as VA 7086 and 7048 and were part of the Deve Hüyük collection sold to Berlin in 1913 by Hogarth (see p. 143).
99. Shallow bowl with umbo: bronze; slightly everted rim; exterior: lotus design: 7 sepals of the calyx radiating from the umbo; between them in high relief 7 petals of the corolla, with the pistil set between two stamens worked in repoussé with chased details, one between each petal.

(O) 1913.678; .042 H; .162 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI, top right; Bossert, fig.788 (right); Lushey, 1939, 42, no. 19.

As Lushey included these phialai in his classic study of the vessel, though only through nos. 98-9 here (published in illustrations by Woolley), little more need be said of them. Lushey traced the evolution of the repousse leaf and lotus patterns from Neo-Assyrian sources and his comparative evidence demonstrated that the Deve H $\ddot{u}$ yt $\ddot{u}$ k II bowls were typical of the Achaemenid period. By contrast the earlier Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish produced bronze bowls with tongue-like repousse decoration exactly like bowls from Tell Halaf in contemporary contexts of the late eighth or seventh century B.C. (Woolley, 1939, pl.XVIIId.1, cf. Hrouda, 1962, pl.48). A comparable range of Achaemenid period vessels from a controlled excavation in Syria is still awaited. It is reported that a group of early Achaemenid bronze phialai were found in illicit excavations at Tanjara in the Orontes valley north of Hama (Culican, 1975, 102-3, n. 9; cf. also Galling, 1970, 3). A hoard of bronze vessels has also been reported, through the antiquities market, from the region of Msayaf in Syria (Amandry, 1959, 44-6). A few comparable vessels were found at Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, pl.13, grave 17).

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100. Shallow bowl with low umbo: bronze, cast; everted rim; plain.  
(O) 1972.1973; .043 H; .151 D.

This bowl was found unnumbered in the Ashmolean collection; it probably belongs with the Woolley material from Deve H $\ddot{u}$ yt $\ddot{u}$ k.

101. Bowl: bronze; everted rim; band of vertically incised lines round shoulder; decorated on the exterior base with very lightly chased radiating lines.  
(C) E.104.1913; .049 H; .150 D.

102. Shallow bowl with umbo: bronze; cast; slightly everted rim; traces of fabric corroded to the base and perhaps also inside.  
(C) E.102.1913; .044 H; .160 D: group 25: Woolley, 1914-16, 120.

This shape has a history extending back into Neo-Assyrian times (Hamilton, 1966, fig.1-3; although the interior decoration of the bowl (O) 1964.482 is now assumed to be modern, the bowl itself is ancient.). In the earlier examples the shoulder angle has a tendency to be sharper.

103. Deep bowl; slight umbo: bronze; plain; damaged.  
(L) 49.47.306; .052 H; .145 D.

104. Deep bowl; rounded base without umbo: bronze; plain.  
(L) 49.47.280; .057 H; .148 D.

105. Deep bowl; rounded base without umbo: bronze, plain.  
(L) 49.47.267; .062 H; .146 D; group 24: Woolley, 1914-16, 120.



106. Deep bowl: rounded base with central boss on the inside; bronze; plain.  
(L) 49.47.264; .065 H; .130 D; group 20: Woolley, 1914-16, 120.
107. Deep bowl with rounded base: bronze; body badly preserved; plain.  
(O) 1913.570; .057 H; .146 D; group 1: Woolley, 1914-16, 117.
108. Deep bowl with very slight indentation at centre of base; bronze; plain.  
(C) E.101.1913; .061 H; .152 D; group 14: Woolley, 1914-16, 119.
109. Deep bowl with rounded base: bronze; plain.  
(WA) 108765; .067 H; .160 D.
110. Deep bowl with rounded base: bronze; at the centre of the exterior is a lathe mark with a compass drawn chased rosette; the shoulder is decorated with a row of chased vertical lines joined at the base by crescents; the lower body is horizontally ribbed.  
(WA) 108672; .062 H; .139 D.

These deep bowls, like the shallower phiaiai previously listed, have Neo-Assyrian ancestors. In the ninth century Assyrian reliefs show Assurnasirpal's drinking bowls as nearly hemispherical without a shoulder (Barnett and Forman, n.d., pls. 28-9); but the shoulder had appeared by the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (c. 745-727 B.C.) (Barnett and Falkner, 1962, pl.XLVIIa). It was standard on seventh century baked clay versions (Oates, 1959, 132, pl. XXXVII.59,). At Persepolis richly fluted bowls, presumably of precious metal, appear in the hands of various delegations on the Apadana reliefs (Schmidt, 1957, pl.70 B.C.) and an actual, plain deep, bronze bowl was found there in room 12 (Schmidt, 1957, II, pl.68.1). At Tell Farah (S) in Israel, tomb 187 yielded a strainer and a deep bronze bowl with horizontal ribbing on the body (Petrie, 1930, pl.XLVII, cf. also Buisson, 1932, pl. XXXVIII.21-2; Grant, 1931, pl.XLVII.44). A plain deep bowl in bronze was associated with the handle of a bronze strainer and a bronze censer in a chance find from Kh. Ibsan, west of Lake Kinnereth, in Israel (Amiran, 1972, pp.135ff., pl.XIIIA, fig.1). Horizontal ribbing was a decorative technique particularly favoured by metal smiths in the Achaemenid period (Cooney, 1965, 40ff.). A deep bronze bowl, undecorated, was found in grave 9 at Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, pl.9.22).

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111. Deep bowl with a sheet metal overlay for the lower part; bronze; slight umbo, sharp shoulder and everted neck. On the sheet bronze overlay are eleven irregularly spaced repoussé ovals with chased lotus designs between each one; in the centre of the base, round the umbo, twenty-eight chased petals form a rosette. Damaged.  
(O) 1913.594; .056 H; .020 D; Hamilton, 1966, 6, fig.6; Shefton, 1971, 109-111, pl.XXII.11-13.

112. Deep bowl: bronze, cast in a form almost exactly like no. 111, but without a decorative overlay.  
(WA) 108766; .067 H; .145 D.

113. Deep bowl with sharp shoulder and flared neck: bronze; plain.  
(O) 1913.620; .055 H; .130 D; group 19: Woolley, 1914-16, 119.

A vessel made in exactly the same way as 1913.594 (no. 111) was found in levels of the Achaemenid period at Tell Farah (S) in Israel (Petrie, 1930, 10, pl. XXVIII.756). The same form is reported in silver from eastern Turkey, but without decorative overlay (Dalton, 1964, no. 182, fig. 72). Shefton, in the paper cited above, has examined their influence on the shapes and decoration of Attic black-glaze vessels. A much more elaborate variant of this type of vessel, in silver, but from an unknown source has been published in detail by Bivar; it is a single casting (Bivar, 1961, 169ff.—now in Stockholm). The form was also used in Achaemenid pottery (Stronach, 1978, fig. 106.4, 8, 11, with lobes) and a decorated bronze example was found in grave 9 at Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, pl. 9: 21).

114. Deep bowl: rounded base; bronze; plain.  
(L) 49.47.282; .057 H; .163 D.

The Ashmolean has a more elaborate bowl of the same basic form as this, but with vertical grooved decoration, acquired by Woolley at Kharar (114A: (O) 1913.772; .059 H; .147 D).

115. Deep bowl: bronze; hemispherical, slightly ribbed body. On the body is chased a distinctive lotus pattern of 4 sepals forming the calyx, 4 petals of the corolla between and then three smaller petals in each remaining interval.  
(O) 1913.674; .083 H; .120 D.

This bowl, more than any other in Deve Hıtytk II, is 'Egyptianizing' in form and decoration. The leaves of the white lotus with which it is decorated, with their distinctive triangular marking at the top of the petals appear on a silver flask reported from Tell el-Maskhuta (ancient Pithom) (Cooney, 1956, no. 50, pl. 73; cf. no. 51, pl. 75), and on a comparable vessel from one of the so-called 'Philistine' tombs excavated by Macalister at Gezer (Macalister, 1912, 293, fig. 154:1, fig. 156 right). A shallower, plain example was found in tomb 55 at Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, pl. 18). This particular shape of bowl, with variations in the profile, was also popular in Egypt from the fifth to fourth centuries B.C. (Cooney, 1965, 41, pl. XXIII.3 right). A plain, but inscribed, example was included in the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard (Rabinowitz, 1956, 1ff., pl. I-II; Dumbrell, 1971, fig. 4). The later Hellenistic variant of this design is illustrated by a bronze bowl from Ras Shamra (Schaeffer, 1935, pl. XXX.4). A cut glass bowl from old excavations at Nippur in Iraq is similarly decorated (Barag, 1968).

116. Heavy deep bowl: bronze; cast; encircling mouldings; so corroded that it is difficult to see what decoration it has; perhaps of the same family as no. 115.  
(L) 49.47.238; .080 H; .130 D (not drawn).

(ii) Aryballoi:

117. Aryballos; bronze; sheet; squat body of globular form; rounded bottom and flattened shoulders with small loop handles between neck and shoulders made from rectangular strips of metal folded over and soldered on. Narrow neck; rim broken off. The body was made in two halves secured by an encircling band of metal (0.006 wide) set on the inside of the junction.  
(O) 1913.595; 0.056 H; 0.050 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: group 15; pl.XXII.1; Moorey, 1975, 11, fig. 2:3.
118. Aryballos; bronze; sheet; exactly like no. 117 above, but more damaged about the body; retains a wide bowl-like rim missing from the previous example.  
(O) 1913.596; 0.065 H; 0.062 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15; Moorey, (1975), 111, fig. 2:4.

These two vessels, significantly attributed to the same "grave-group", reproduce in metal a well-known late sixth or early fifth century Greek pottery shape (Beazley, 1927-8, esp. 197). It is not an easy shape to make in metal and these examples are skilfully constructed in two pieces with the body seam concealed beneath a hoop of metal. It is probable that they are of Greek manufacture, since this is not a form encountered in Oriental contexts.

(iii) Mugs:

119. Mug; bronze; hammered; tall vertical sides; slight carination down to a rounded base; two prominent mouldings just below the lip.  
(O) 1913.684; 0.122 H; 0.116 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI.10.
120. Mug; bronze; hammered; slightly convex, rounded base; vertical sides, uneven lip, slightly turned inwards; plain.  
(WA) 108677; 0.087 H; 0.073 D (base); cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI.11.
121. Mug; bronze; hammered; cylindrical; plain.  
(O) 1913.700; 0.106 H; 0.087 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXI.12.
122. Mug; bronze; hammered; vertical sides, slightly rounded base; plain.  
(WA) 108702; 0.126 H; 0.097 approx. D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXI.2.
123. Mug; bronze; hammered; cylindrical body with hemispherical base joined on to overlap the body.  
(O) 1913.575; 0.054 H; 0.044 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: group 9, cf. pl.XXI.11.

Simple mugs with vertical sides have been reported from other sites in the Achaemenid period (Woolley, 1962, pl.32:15; McCown, 1967, pl. 108: 12) where they represent only the latest in a long line of simple drinking or measuring vessels.

(iv) Piriform bottles:

124. Piriform bottle; bronze; hammered; tapering egg-shaped body; wide neck and everted rim; pointed base; plain.  
(O) 1913.683; 0.202 H; 0.062 D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXI. 15.
125. Piriform bottle; bronze; hammered; elongated S-profile; slightly everted, rolled rim; plain.  
(WA)108719; 0.187 H; 0.049 mouth D; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXI.15.

These vessels, often equipped with a loop handle, were a standard aspect of the Achaemenid repertory of metal vessels, probably acting much as did dipper jugs in pottery. Examples varying only slightly in profile are reported from Bahrein, Nippur, Ur and Til-Barsib (Glob, 1956, 170-1, figs. 7, 8; McCown, 1967, pl. 108:16-19; Woolley, 1962, pl. 32: Types 12-13; Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl. XIX.3). Their ancestry has been examined by Calmeyer (1973, 129 ff.).

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I have been unable to trace the Egyptian situla illustrated by Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXII.5; comparative evidence assembled by Calmeyer (1973, 134-5) is generally earlier than the Achaemenid period. But Woolley attributed his example, measuring 0.085 H., to group 6 in Deve Htıyık II.

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(v) Lamps

126. Lamp; bronze; hammered; shallow dish with irregular flange; at one point on the edge the flange is broken, pulled out and upwards to form a spout.  
(WA) 108676; 0.023 H; 0.130 D (approx.).
127. Lamp (?); bronze; hammered; flat base, low side; at one point the side is raised and hammered out to form a double lip; three suspension holes; top of the sides folded over.  
(O) 1913.585; 0.034 H; 0.172 D; Woolley, 1914-16, Group 11.

The shape of the Oxford dish does not immediately suggest a lamp. That in the British Museum is a close metal copy of the baked clay lamps typical of the Persian period in the Syro-Palestinian region. These have flattened bases and pronounced flanges contrasting markedly with the high-footed, late Iron Age II types (Lapp, 1970, 186). From the "Solar Shrine" at Tell ed-Duweir and from Idalion in Cyprus come comparable bronze lamps (Tufnell, 1953, pl. 42; 2, 63:1, p. 143; Gjerstad, 1935, pl. C LXXIX:18).

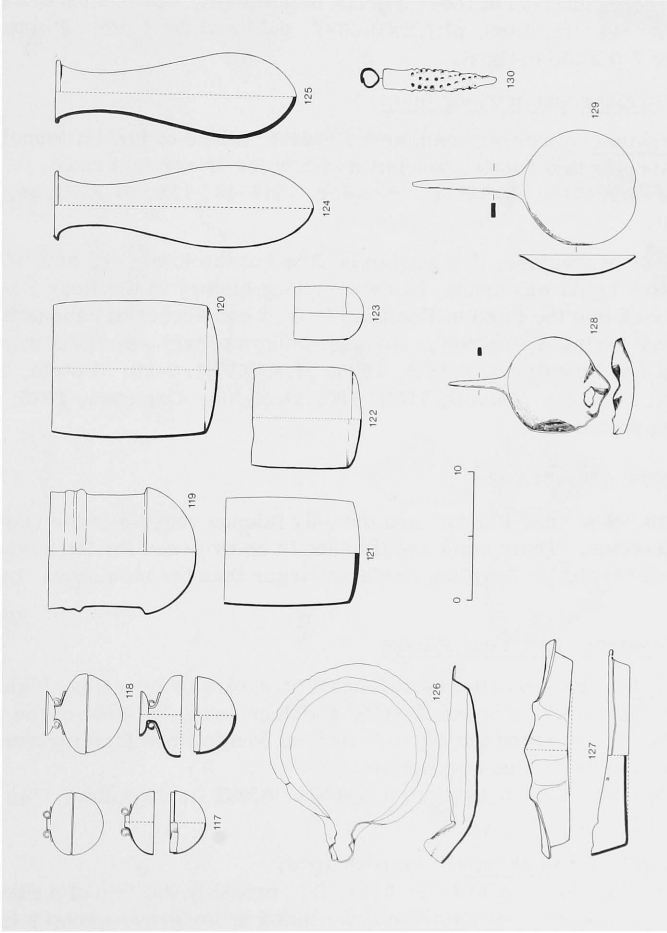


Fig. 7

(vi) Ladles:

128. Ladle; bronze; circular bowl; hammered; very shallow, with short, solid cast tang; the edge of the bowl is pinched into a lip opposite the tang; hole in the metal near this lip.  
(C) E.68.1913; 0.075 H; 0.126 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXII.8.
129. Ladle; bronze; shallow, circular bowl; tanged, pointed handle.  
(L) 49.47.260; .175 L; .090 W; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXII.8, p.120: group 20.

The precise function of these objects is unknown; but compare the shallow pan: Petrie, 1888, pl. XXXIX.6-7, p.77 and the ladle: Poppa, 1978, pl.7, grave 7 (Kamid el-Loz).

(vii) Strainer and drinking tubes:

130. Strainer; bronze; hammered sheet; folded to form a funnel tapering to a point; punctured with holes in vertical rows.  
(WA) 108714; 0.088 H; Woolley, 1914-16, 118, pl. XXII, 26, group 13.

This type of strainer, designed to be fitted at the lower end of a tube through which liquid was drunk, has a very long history in the Near East extending back into the third millennium B.C. when scenes of banqueting already show "drinking straws"; for near contemporary examples compare from Egypt and Palestine: Petrie, 1888, pl. XXXVIII. 9-10; Petrie, 1906, pl. XXXIVA, XXXVB; Tufnell, 1953, 395, pl. 58:38; Contenau, 1935, pl. 35 (Persian precursor).

### III. FAIENCE AND GLASS

The two "New Year Flasks" are the only faience vessels in the Deve Htıyık collections. Their main significance is as evidence for the eastward penetration of typically Egyptian products larger than the ubiquitous "eye-amulets".

(i) Faience: New Year Flasks

131. Flask; lotus-shaped neck flanked on each side by a tiny, highly stylized ape; a broad, beaded necklace round the base of the neck; broad band round the edges; incised double lines forming a continuous pattern; no inscription.  
(O) 1913.720; 0.127 H; 0.098 W; 0.052 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVI H.
132. Mouth of a flask only; lotus-shaped.  
(O) 1913.577; 0.017 H; 0.045 D; probably the 'top of a glazed pilgrim-bottle, of Egyptian type' listed under grave-group 9 in Woolley, 1914-16, 118.

Flasks of this type, known from their inscriptions as 'New Year' gifts, are among the most typical of the smaller antiquities of the late Pharaonic period in Egypt, dating from the XXVIth Dynasty (c.663-525 B.C.) onwards.

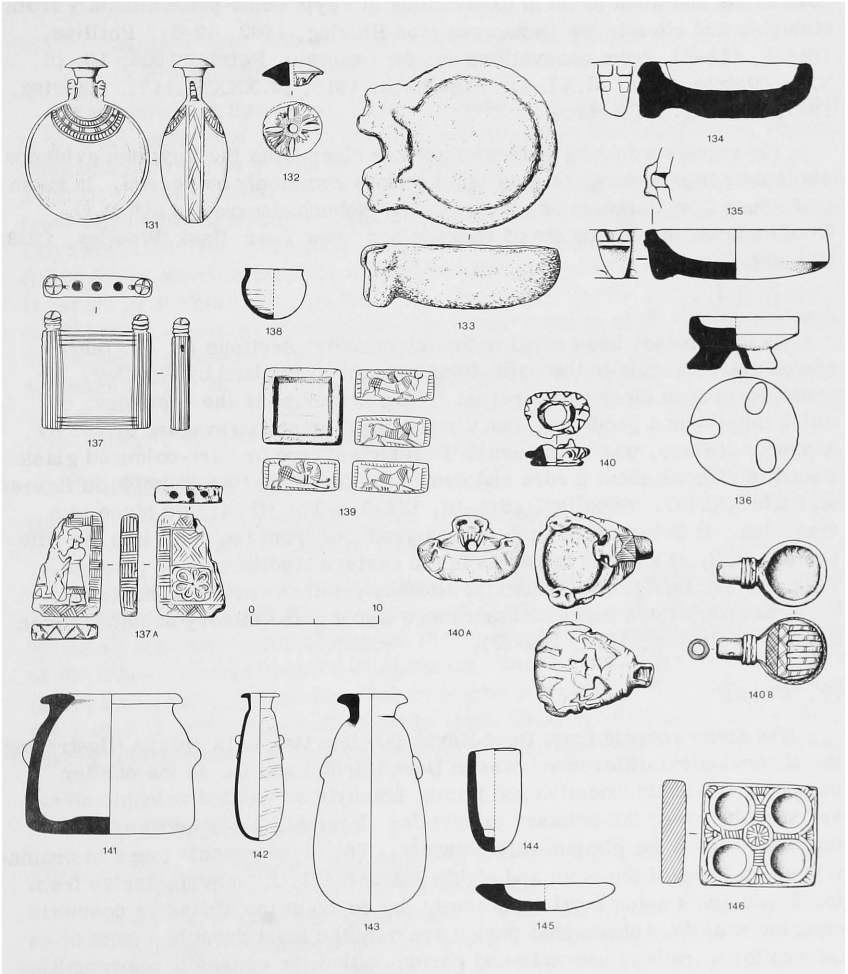


Fig. 8

They are almost invariably of a fine light blue or pale green glazed faience, usually of Lucas's variant 'D' (Lucas, 1962, 163-4). They are commonly decorated with garlands round the neck and have an ape of Thoth, recorder of time, seated on each side of the neck. When they are inscribed, the inscription runs down the side of the neck. The gods of Memphis are usually invoked, to give the owner all life and health, and a happy New Year. Seals and scarabs with comparable seasonal greetings are known from the later New Kingdom in Egypt (Keimer, 1947, 1 ff). Such flasks are well represented in museum collections and when found in excavations in Egypt come predominantly from Memphis and sites in the Delta area (von Bissing, 1902, 42-6; Phillips, 1944-5, 118-9; from excavations see for example, Petrie, 1906, 19, pl. XXI; Petrie, 1888, pl.XL.4; Engelbach, 1915, pl.XXXIX.117; Lansing, 1937, 4-5, fig. 2 (Thebes)).

The mass production of these flasks is clear from the Egyptian evidence. Their presence in western Asia is much less commonly evidenced. In room 4 of House D at Carchemish, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 605 B.C., Woolley found the fragments of an inscribed 'New Year' flask (Woolley, 1923, 127, fig.46).

#### (ii) Glass

As has already been noted in the introductory sections (p. 3), there are no glass vessels in the collections brought to England by Woolley. He made the reason clear in his report 'The glass found in the cemetery, of which there was a good deal, but it was bought up at extravagant prices by Aleppine dealers, was of the usual 'Phoenician' type or vari-coloured glass wound in ribbons about a core and combed in festoons.' An example is figured on Plate XXVI G. (Woolley, 1914-16, 124-5). The illustrated piece is a small jug. It is typical of such juglets produced from the sixth into the fifth century B.C. at various factories in the eastern Mediterranean (Harden, 1968 (1), 55, fig.3). No industrial site has yet been certainly identified, but it has often been suggested that there was a glass factory at this time on Rhodes (Weinberg, 1966, 709-12).

#### IV. STONE

The stone vessels from Deve Hüyük fall into two main groups illustrating the chronological difference between Deve Hüyük I and II. In the earlier cemetery, as at Carchemish and Hama, trachyte or related volcanic stones and steatite, were the primary materials; later alabaster became the favourite choice for simple toilet vessels. The stone vessels found in cremation cemeteries of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. in Syria derive from local industries using local resources; by contrast the alabaster cosmetic containers of the Achaemenid period are only the most durable aspect of an international trade in unguents and perfumes that the economic opportunities of the period had stimulated. The standard forms, and their enormously wide distribution, alabastra particularly, indicate the output of major production centres closely associated with the organisation of the contemporary cosmetics trade (Rostovtzeff, 1953, 84ff.). With the possible exception of the small tripod dish no. 136, there is no trace of the incense altars which are one of the most widely distributed witnesses to the incense and perfume



trades in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. on settlement sites (Ziegler, 1942, 224ff.; Glueck, 1971, 120-5; Rashid, 1974, 162-5).

(i) Trachyte or related volcanic stones

133. Shallow bowl with two projecting bull-heads in relief on one side.  
(O) 1913.672; .046 H; .159 x .134
134. Shallow bowl with projecting bull's head.  
(WA) 108671; .043 H; .138 W.
135. Shallow bowl with stylized projecting bull's head.  
(L) 49.47.327; .040 H; .137 D.

Many bowls of this stone, in forms closely related to the ceramic repertory, were excavated from cremation cemeteries in the Carchemish region. They often served as stands for the cinerary urns (Woolley, 1939, 15, pl. XVIIc,d; XVIIb). Both the Ashmolean and the British Museum have examples from sites other than Deve Htıytık acquired either through Lawrence or Woolley ((O) 1948.230; (WA) 108732). A close parallel to these two from Deve Htıytık I was found in level C, of the seventh century B.C., at Tell Jemmeh in Israel by Petrie (1928, pl.XLII.2). Buchholz's (1963, 23ff.) list of the many known examples of contemporary tripod vessels of this stone indicates the extent of commerce in such vessels, produced from a stone prevalent in southern Syria. In the Carchemish region there is a break in their manufacture at the time of the Babylonian campaign in the later seventh century B.C., if not before. None was reported from Deve Htıytık II.

(ii) Speckled green stone

136. Very shallow circular dish: three feet.  
(WA) 108660; .042 H; .085 D.

Vessels of this form have a long and varied history in the Levant (Buchholz, 1963, 23ff.) into which this example, out of context, may not easily be placed. Its small size and material suggest that it should be classified as a relative of the tripod incense burners of alabaster, best known on South African sites (Cleveland, 1965, 115) of the sixth to fourth centuries B.C., rather than of the larger tripod mortars of volcanic stone listed by Buchholz. Elaborate, luxury tripod stone dishes were found at Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, pl.55, 3-4).

(iii) Brown Limestone

137. Flat, rectangular kohl box with a protruding knob at each corner on the top edge; under each knob a hole runs at an angle of 45° from the top to the side, presumably for the passage of a cord by which the box was suspended from a belt or neckband. Three deep cylindrical holes bored into the upper edge at regular intervals provide tubes for kohl.  
(O) 1913.658; .093 H; .086 W; .019 th; Woolley, 1914-16, 124, pl.XXVI.10.

The origin of kohl boxes such as this may be traced to Egypt, where they appear during the New Kingdom (Petrie, 1927, 27, pl.XXII.10-11). A

similar container, of steatite, was found at Hama in period II, dated from about the twelfth to the ninth centuries B.C. (Riis, 1948, 179-80, pl.230D). Two further unprovenanced examples of steatite, one in London (WA 91905: Barnett, 1975, 131, fig. 48), the other in Oxford (1921.85: fig.137A), are carved in low relief. On the London example one face, in two registers, has a seated man facing a standing woman, both raising a bowl in one hand; in the register above are a man and a woman in bed. On the reverse are a lion and sphinx. On one face of the Ashmolean fragment a man moves to left, carrying a situla in his lowered right hand, an unidentified object in his raised left. Only the lower legs survive of another man facing him. On the reverse are square panels filled with incised stars and rosettes. Stylistically these objects belong to the eighth or seventh centuries B.C. Fragments from a number of decorated steatite vessels were recovered during excavations at Carchemish (Woolley, 1952, pl.28.3 = WA 116123; 28.4 = WA 116122; cf. Herzfeld, 1931, 133, fig. 2, pl.2: bought in Baghdad).

Such comparative evidence may indicate that this kohl box was more likely to have come from Deve Hüyük I, than from II with which Woolley published it. In the inhumation cemetery metal kohl tubes were particularly prevalent (see pp. 96ff.).

(iv) Steatite

138. Hemi-spherical bowl with a groove cut below the rim on the exterior. (O) 1913.624; .040 H; .051 D: Woolley, 1914-16, 120, pl.XXXVI. 9, grave-group 9.

This very simple vessel, perhaps for preparing a cosmetic, would be dated to the fifth century by its context.

139. Square-sided dish (or possibly the lower part of a box): an animal is carved on the exterior of each side in sunk relief (a) winged bull, (b) winged lion with head turned back over its shoulder, (c) bull, (d) winged bull similar to (a) but its rump is not decorated with an incised pattern. (O) 1913.726; .025 H; .063 square; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXXVI. 8; see letter cited on p. 3 here.

Although in sunk rather than raised relief, these animals are stylistically most akin to the decoration of the steatite objects considered above, and to the whole series of "lion-cups" in steatite mentioned below (p. 47). Attribution to Deve Hüyük I is then most probable.

(v) Pinkish-red stone

140. "Libation Spoon" fragment: pinkish-red stone; only a piece of the collar between the bowl and the tube survives; carved floral decoration, perhaps inspired by the lotus. It looks as if it may have been intentionally cut down for re-use as a ring fitting. (L) 49.47.330; .050 D; cited Przeworski, 1930, 134, n.3.

This tiny, battered piece is from a bowl-shaped spout of a type widely distributed in the Near East and East Mediterranean, probably from workshops in Syria, in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. They were made of

stone, faience and ivory with imitations in pottery; but so far no metal examples have been reported. Decoration varied considerably, but leonine features were a favourite device. Well over a hundred have already been published, though not all are of well established authenticity, especially examples reaching the antiquities market in recent years. Walter (1959, 70ff.) and Freyer-Schauenburg (1966, 99ff.; see also Boehmer, 1972, 211ff.; Muscarella, 1977, 190ff.) have attempted systematic lists. The various suggestions made in the past for the mounting and use of these bowl-shaped spouts have been critically examined by Kepinski (1977, 71ff.).

Two complete bowls of this type acquired for the Ashmolean by Lawrence and Woolley, one bought at "Sandileh, near Abu Galgal" (1914.21; fig.140A) and the other at Aleppo (1920.2; fig.140B), are illustrated here for comparison. They were first published in a basic paper by Przeworski (1930, pl. XXIV.3,4). Woolley (1914, 16) commented on two such objects illustrated by him (*ibid.*, pl. XXVII m): "they are two of a series known to us, several at least of which were found in connection with burnt burials". This agrees well with their dating elsewhere.

(vi) Alabaster

141. Squat jar with broad flat base: slightly convex sides; two small lug handles; broad, low under-cut rim.  
(O) 1913.723; .108 H; .05 D. of opening; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVI.1.

When Petrie classified vases of this form from Egypt, he cited this example as the most reliable guide to their date (1937a, pl. XXXVI.923; cf. von Bissing, 1904, 36 pl. IV.18230, 18233). This shape, but without lugs, appeared in level 2 at Al Mina during the fourth century B.C. (Woolley, 1938, 141, fig. 4: MN 77). A vase of comparable form, but with less sharply cut rim, said to be from Egypt (now in the British Museum: BM 134979) has an Aramaic inscription in ink mentioning the thirteenth year of Artaxerxes I (452 B.C.); but the authenticity of this inscription has been questioned (Bresciani, 1958a, 268-9; Naveh, 1968, 317 ff.). The shape has been reported from Tell Halaf in Syria and from Cyprus (Hrouda, 1962, pl. 55.206; Cesnola, 1882, pl. 11). Later derivatives are current in Southern Arabia (Ryckmans, 1935, 140, pl. III). A vase, inscribed for Xerxes in cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic, now in Philadelphia, has the same inelegant sack-like shape, but is larger and has an upright neck (Burchardt, 1911, 77, pl. X.5).

142. Typical 'alabastron' shape with rounded base: tiny lug handles; low neck; flanged rim broken at intervals.  
(O) 1913.722; .116 H; .015 D opening; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVI.3.
143. Alabastron: full-bodied; tiny lug handles; flanged rim.  
(L) 49.47,326; .168 H; .089 D; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVI.2.

Of all the alabaster vessels current in the Achaemenid Empire, and beyond, this is the most familiar. At Persepolis on the reliefs they are shown in the hands of the king's personal attendants. Actual vessels were found in

the excavations there. Some, Schmidt thought, were of Egyptian origin, some possibly of local manufacture (Schmidt, 1957, 90). At Babylon the excavators found evidence in the eastern part of the southern citadel for the manufacture of these vessels. "A very large number of these graceful vases, which in Greek Art are called alabastra (Fig.47), were found here, especially waste products of their manufacture. For the purpose of hollowing them out a crown-bit was used first of all, which cut out a cylindrical piece and afforded room for other boring instruments. Masses of these cylindrical cores were found here" (Koldewey, 1914, 72). Ben-Dor (1945, 109-10) in surveying the Palestinian evidence noted that although 'several specimens have been found in Palestine, all made of Egyptian alabaster and identical in shape with those typical of their country of origin (i.e. from Gezer, 'Athlit and Samaria), there was a brief revival at this time of the local industry, whose products might easily be distinguished by form and technique.' In Syria such vessels appear from the later Neo-Babylonian period onwards. Von Bissing (1939, 131ff.) provided a basic corpus of these vessels, including the Deve Httÿtk evidence. Inevitably the passing years have added ever more examples, for these were very common objects of trade in their heyday. The more important new finds are:-

#### Lebanon and Syria:

1. Al Mina, Woolley, 1938, fig.19 (MNN38—level 3).
2. Tell Halaf, Hrouda, 1962, pl. 55: 208-210.
3. Kamid el-Loz, Poppa, 1978, pl. 22:38.

#### Iraq

4. Kish—cemetery W graves 35 and 47: Moorey, 1978, microfiche 1, C14, DO2.
5. Nippur, McCown, 1967, pl.107.17.
6. Ur, Woolley, 1965, pl.34 U.15451.

#### Iran

7. Susa, Ghirshman, 1954, pl.LII G.S. 318.22110.
8. Persepolis, see above.
9. Pasargadae: Stronach, 1978, fig. 99.

#### Cyprus

A wide selection from Salamis (Karageorghis, 1970 *passim*).

144. Mug: vertical strokes of the original working still clear on the outside.  
(WA) 108709; .08 H; .042 W (at mouth); Woolley, 1914-16, 118, pl.XXVI.6, grave group 10.
145. Dish: circular with shallow central depression.  
(WA) 108708; .110 D; .021 H; Woolley, 1914-16, 118, pl.XXVI.5, grave group 10.

The crudely made mug has no close published parallels elsewhere; but the dish is a late example of a series of such cosmetic vessels well known in the Iron Age in Palestine. Nearest in date to this one is an example found

on the floor of Court P in the 'Residency' at Tell ed-Duweir with sherds of Greek pottery dating to the second half of the fifth century B.C. (Tufnell, 1953, 133, 138, 396, pl.64:2; also pl.57:49, 64:3; for earlier examples cf. Thompson, 1972, 148-50 with references).

(vii) Marbly Limestone

146. Palette: rectangular with four regularly spaced circular depressions with an incised lotus flower pattern running between them; central rosette.  
(O) 1913.725; .019 th; .081 x .091; Woolley, 1914-16, 124, pl. XXVI.7.

A fragmentary palette comparable to this one was found at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) in the so-called "Solar Shrine" (Tufnell, 1953, 397, pl. 64:10; for a reconsideration of this building see Aharoni, 1975, 3ff.).

## CHAPTER II

### WEAPONS AND HARNESS TRAPPINGS

#### (A) Weapons

No weapons or harness trappings were reported from the cremation cemetery, Deve Htıytık I.

It is the military equipment that gives Deve Htıytık II its particular interest. It is the only coherent group of archaeological material so far available from a Near Eastern fifth century context that may be cited for comparison with the literary and pictorial evidence for the weaponry of soldiers in the Achaemenid armies. One of the most remarkable passages in The Histories of Herodotus is the List of Xerxes' army given in Book VII. Although the artificial character of this list is evident from the varied geographical, historical and mythical notes with which it is enlivened (matter improbable in a formal state document), it seems unlikely to be pure invention. Whether it is indeed a description of an actual army or just a graphic picture of the Persian Empire, as it were on the move, is a complex question not directly relevant to our present purpose. To compile this composite picture Herodotus used a great variety of sources no longer easily identifiable, save where the author actually offers a clue (as with the picture of the army of Darius crossing the Bosphoros (IV.88) commissioned by Mandrocles). Some items may be misleading or indeed erroneous, total figures may be grossly exaggerated, but wherever they may be checked the basic descriptions are sound. Ironically, the modern scholar may often be in a better position than was Herodotus for understanding some of the data he set out, for we have the advantage of a longer historical perspective and a growing body of evidence from archaeological sources for matters only known to Herodotus by report. Of all the details contained in the 'List' the most graphic are the descriptions of arms and armour. So far as I am aware the only detailed examination of these, in the light of available archaeological evidence, was provided by George Rawlinson in his edition of Herodotus, published in 1858. He was assisted in this by his brother, Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, 'the Father of Assyriology', and by the eminent English Egyptologist Sir J. G. Wilkinson.

As Macan (1908, 167ff.) has most lucidly analysed, in his commentary, six classes may be defined among the arms described by Herodotus:

1. The Medo-Persian tradition (chps. 61-2; cf. chp.80): in addition to bow and dagger this included a short spear and sometimes a wicker shield; for some troops scale-armour was provided as additional protection.

2. The Greater Iranian tradition: here again the bow and dagger were the primary weapons. There is no mention of body armour; but certain specific additions are listed for individual peoples: short swords for Bactrians

(64:1; 66); leather jackets for Pactyans (67-8; cf. 85); the axe for Scythians (64:2) and lassos for Sagatians (85).

3. The Anatolian tradition (Paphlagonians: 72-3; Thraco-Bithynians: 75; Moscho-Colchians: 78-9; Cilicians: 91, cf. 77; Lycians: 92): among whom the distinctive equipment was the small round shield and javelins, though many also had heavy thrusting-spears, bow and dagger.

4. The Egypto-Mesopotamian tradition (63; 89): in which metal helmets, large shields and scale armour were added to the offensive range of throwing-spears, daggers, heavy thrusting-spears and 'wooden clubs studded with iron' (Assyrians), or heavy axes (Egyptians). An equivocal position is held by the Syro-Phoenician troops who "wore helmets very like the Greek ones, and linen corselets; they were armed with rimless shields and javelins" (89).

5. The Greek tradition: in this context, more exactly East Greek, embracing Lydians (74), Pamphylians (91), Cypriots (90) and Carians (93), metal helmets, body armour and greaves with shields, swords and spears, are typical: the nearest the Great King came to having troops like the well-armed Greek hoplites.

6. The Afro-Asian tradition: with these peoples, from the southern periphery of the Achaemenid Empire, the bow was the predominant weapon. The Indians carried "cane bows and cane arrows tipped with iron" (65); cf. 70 for the eastern Ethiopians. The African Ethiopians "... carried long bows made of palm-wood... small cane arrows tipped not with iron but with stone worked to a fine point" (69). The Libyans, by contrast, "carried javelins hardened by fire" (71). The Arabians had long bows "which assumed a reverse curve when unstrung" (69).

Any attempt to correlate this information with the archaeological record is best done typologically. Two factors restrict the enquiry. First, and most obviously, arms and armour of organic material will only have survived in the most exceptional circumstances. Secondly, Herodotus was using Greek to describe weapons often alien to the Greek tradition and only rarely, as in the well-known case of the akinakes, did he add a gloss; but even then it is not an exact description of the weapon.

At Deve Htütk II nothing remains to guide us to the form of the bows carried by those whose arrows accompanied them to the grave. In the "Army List" Herodotus describes a great number of peoples armed with the bow. Forms varied as did the materials of which bows were made; but about these the Greek text is rarely explicit. The Arabian bow was defined as a recurved longbow; the Ethiopian, again long, as of palm stem; the Lycian of cornel-wood. Three main Asiatic types seem to be involved: the Median long-bow of various woods; the short bow of cane or reed or wood used by the Bactrians, Scythians and related peoples; and the Indian longbow of bamboo. Then three non-Indo-Iranian forms, those of Arabia, Ethiopia and Lycia, are isolated. The various arrows are described with uneven attention to detail. Ethiopian arrows are listed as small or short; Lycian arrows are said to be unfeathered. Indian arrows have iron tips; Ethiopian, stone. Archaeological evidence suggests that the majority of arrowheads, left un-

specified by Herodotus, were of the small socketed bronze varieties represented at Deve Höyük II. In this context, the much heavier iron tanged 'arrowheads' are more probably to be identified as 'javelin points'; though the lightest ones would fall within the weight range that some authorities argue might have been fired from a longbow.

Second only in popularity to the bow and arrow among Xerxes' assembled troops was the javelin (Greek: akontia), a light throwing spear. Virtually all the Anatolian peoples carry them as do the Phoenicians, Libyans and Samothracians. Only isolated hints indicate that the form of the javelins varied: the Pisidian 'hunting spears of Lycian workmanship' contrasting with the Libyan 'javelins hardened with fire'. In life, as in the text, it is hard to draw a line between the light throwing spear and the heavy spear, such as those carried by the 'Immortals', not designed to be thrown away. A number of the Iranian peoples, pre-eminently bowmen, are in the 'Army List' with short spears (αίχμας βραχέας, Μηδικάς) in addition to their bows. The Anatolian peoples equipped with javelins also have 'small spears' (αίμας ού μεγάλας), presumably for use at close quarters. The four peoples in the Moschian group only have the spear specifically assigned to them as an offensive weapon and it is short-shafted, large pointed. Since the spear attributed to the Egyptians is suitable for naval warfare, it may be assumed to have had an exceptionally long shaft like a pike. At Deve Höyük II I have assumed, on the basis of weight and form, that the tanged iron javelin heads are to be distinguished from the socketed iron spearheads.

Swords, as distinct from various types of dagger or short sword, among which was the akinakes, were rare in the Persian army of Xerxes. The Egyptians are listed with long swords or cutlasses: perhaps the type of weapon found by Petrie at Memphis (1910, pl. XXXVIII.2). The Cilicians have swords comparable to those of the Egyptians, described by Herodotus with the same work as is used for the Greek sword (ξίφη). Carians and Lydians carried curved swords. At Deve Höyük II the long sword is not evident (except possibly no. 147), though varieties of the short sword, including pre-eminently the akinakes, are. Of remaining offensive weapons given in the 'Army List' by Herodotus only the axe of the Scythians, the sagaris, appears in this cemetery.

Defensive armour is not evident in Deve Höyük II. According to Herodotus the helmet was apparently unknown among peoples of the eastern empire, Medes and Persians included. There the felt cap, or the turban in various forms, provided the prevalent headgear. Nor was the shield much more common to these peoples; Median equipment alone included the γερρον. If I am correct in identifying the troops buried here as predominantly Iranian, then the sheet metal disks (nos. 223-6) may well not be shield fittings. Scale armour was worn by some among the Medes and Persians. In a paper published in 1923 Woolley remarked 'the North Syrian cemetery of Deve Höyük... produced... scale armour exactly like that of Zubov's Farm, Kuban' (1923, 70; for the Zubov's Farm armour, see Minns, 1913, 213, fig. 134). Although this is not mentioned in LAAA VII, and I have failed to trace any in the surviving Deve Höyük collections, there is no reason to doubt Woolley's report. If, as was increasingly the case by the fifth century B.C., the



scales at Deve Htıyık II were of thin iron, their non-survival under the conditions of recovery at this site is not remarkable (cf. Boehmer, 1972, 102-4; also Petrie, 1909, p.13, pl.XVI; Stronach, 1978, fig. 96).

(1) Sword with 'cotton-reel' pommel:

147. Iron; only the hilt and the upper part of the blade survives; cruciform guard; very corroded; cotton-reel pommel with square-sectioned grip.  
(WA) 108724; .122 L. hilt; a.127 L. of blade extant. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVJ; Aitchison, 1960, fig. 65; Moorey, 1975, 112, fig.3.4.
- 147A. Fragments of a sword; iron; identity not certain as one piece looks like a spear tip.  
(L) 49.47.311; group 14: Woolley, 1914-16, 119.

Exact parallels to this type of iron sword have been reported from clandestine excavations at Tomadjan in the province of Gilan in northern Iran (Samadi, 1959, fig. 43), where the form has a long ancestry on bronze swords and daggers (Moorey, 1971, nos. 58-60 with comments). It seems to be a distinctively Iranian form with no close parallels to the west, where the following flange-hilted tradition was paramount in the later Bronze Age. Iron swords of the Persian period are not commonly reported (cf. Elgavish, 1968, pl.XLIV.73; Petrie, 1910, pl.XXXVIII.2).

(2) Flange-hilted dagger:

148. Iron; crescentic pommel, single indentation at either side below the grip, flanged guard. Three rivets surviving to secure the hilt inlays, one in pommel, one in grip and one in guard. Blade with triangular section tapers towards the damaged point.  
(O) 1913.705; .319 L; .105 L of hilt; .030 gtst. width of blade.  
Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVK; Hodges and Maxwell-Hyslop, 1964, 52-3, pl.XII.6—the early dating implied here cannot be sustained; Moorey, 1975, 112, fig.3.5.

This is an exact copy in iron of the standard form of bronze dagger developed in Mesopotamia and the Syro-Palestinian region in the second millennium B.C. (Moorey, 1971, nos.46-7 and references; Boehmer, 1972, fig.22). There is a characteristic fully developed example from period I (1200-1050 B.C.) at Hama (Riis, 1948, 120, fig. 135A, G IV 301).

Evidence is now available from western Iran through which the transition from bronze to iron may be studied stage by stage, though the chronology of this evolution is by no means certainly established. An important series of flange-hilted iron swords has been found by Vanden Berghe in cemeteries of the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. in western Luristan (Vanden Berghe, 1968, pl.27B). Once the iron pattern had been established it persisted through the Achaemenid period, as is apparent from examples found in the destruction levels at Persepolis presumably dating to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. (Schmidt, 1957, pl. 75.1, 2). So far as it is possible to judge from the way their inlaid hilts are represented, it was swords and

daggers such as these which the "Persians" carry on reliefs at Persepolis and Darius has on his statue from Susa (cf. for example Schmidt, 1952, pl. 29, Persian leading delegation 3; Stronach, 1974, fig. 24, pl. XXI). It is a form distinct from that of the "Medes", represented at Deve Hüyük by the following examples.

(3) Daggers with a T-shaped hilt:

149. Iron; rectangular pommel; kidney-shaped guard; blade mis- by corrosion, probably because it was originally in a scabbard; point lost; bronze chape associated (see below).  
(O) 1913.582; .134 L; Group 11; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVH; Moorey, 1975, 110, fig. 1.7.
150. Iron; rectangular pommel; plain grip; kidney-shaped guard; traces of the graining of a wooden scabbard in the corrosion of the blade.  
(O) 1913.705A; .346 L. Cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVH; Moorey, 1975, 112, fig. 3.6.
151. Iron; rectangular pommel; plain grip; kidney-shaped guard; blade cleaned down in modern times for use as a knife (? by T. E. Lawrence, who gave it after the main group, cf. Woolley's comments: Woolley, 1914-16, 121).  
(O) 1919.61; .115 L. of hilt; .233 L as extant. Cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVH.
152. Iron; rectangular pommel; plain grip; kidney-shaped guard; traces of a wooden scabbard on both faces of the blade. The lower end of the blade curves out to one side as if the iron had corroded into the shape of the chape.  
(C) E.55.1913; .300 L; .110 L of hilt.  
Cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVH.
153. Iron; rectangular pommel; plain grip; kidney-shaped guard; badly damaged blade.  
(WA) 108723; .334 L; .122 L of hilt.
154. Iron; tip of dagger blade.  
(WA) 108728; .040 L.
155. Iron; corroded, but intact.  
(L) 49.47.222; .305 L; .204 L. of blade.

Before proceeding to a discussion of these daggers they must be related to two chapes, one of bronze (from group 11, with the first dagger in the list), the other of ivory, unassociated.

(4) Dagger chapes

156. Bronze; cast. Crescentic with plain back; front with design cast in one with the surface, chased and engraved details. Young bovid curled round so that its rump and tail appear opposite the head; palmette within a stylized ear. Single rivet.  
(O) 1913.584; .042 H; .062 W.

Woolley, 1914-16, p.11, pl.XXIII.1 group 11; Seltman, 1927, fig. C on p. 250; Herzfeld, 1941, fig. 367; Goldman, 1957, fig. 1.6; Moorey, 1975, 113, fig. 1.8; Stucky, 1976, 19, fig. 11; Bernard, 1976, 234, no. 10.

157. Ivory, bronze repairs. The surface is badly worn and much detail is lost. Crescentic with plain back; front carved in low relief with a design virtually identical to that on the bronze example above. A single hole for a rivet is pierced through the top of the chape; in antiquity the chape cracked along a line running from this hole and was crudely repaired with four small sheet bronze plaques rivetted as two pairs to hold chape and scabbard base together. The position of the rivets would have prevented the tip of a dagger from reaching fully into the chape.

(O) 1913.639; .068 H; .065 W.

Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXII.2; Seltman, 1927, fig.d on 250; Goldman, 1957, fig. 1.7; Moorey, 1975, 112, fig. 3.9; Stucky, 1976, 19, fig.7; Bernard, 1976, 234, no. 9.

158. Two sheet bronze clamps exactly like those on the ivory chape above; also a tiny piece of folded sheet bronze with two rivets.

(WA) 108715: Group 13: Woolley, 1914-16, 118; .010 H; .031 L (clamps).

These daggers, with the associated chape in group 11, are identical with weapons regularly represented on the reliefs at Persepolis, as has often been pointed out. Goldman, Stucky and Bernard (*op. cit.*) have devoted special studies to the chapes, with Bernard cogently challenging the descriptions and stylistic chronology of his predecessors. They have exact parallels on reliefs cut at Persepolis between about 490-480 B.C. on present estimates (Tilia, 1972, 204). Although often referred to as the 'Median' dagger, after the close association with the Medes of its most spectacular examples at Persepolis, it is by no means only worn by them. On the Apadana reliefs delegations 11 and 17 wear it. Delegation 17, like the Medes (delegation 1), also bring one among their tribute; but with a curved pommel which has parallels in South Russian graves (cf. Minns, 1913, figs. 169-171). General opinion favours identifying these men as Scythians and Sogdians (Chorasians) respectively (Walser, 1966, 102; Roaf, 1974, 149), though in his final assessment Schmidt preferred to identify 11 as the 'Scythians beyond the Sea' and 17 as the 'Hauma-drinking Scythians'. Absolute certainty is not yet possible. In his analysis of the throne-bearers represented on the finished royal tomb facades at Naqsh-e Rostam Schmidt identified the 'Median dagger' on fourteen, falling in his ethnic groups: East Iranian (5, 9, 10), European Scythian (24, 25), Asiatic Scythian (7, 8, 14 and 15), East and West Median (2, 4, 6, 20, 210 (Schmidt, 1970, 108ff.)). It was to remain in use at Persepolis down into the fourth century, for examples were found there in the destruction debris (Schmidt, 1957, pl. 75.4, 9). Otherwise only isolated examples have been published from Iran, all so far clandestinely excavated (Samadi, 1959, fig. 43: Gilan). One such weapon was metallurgically examined by Smith (1971, 43, no.101, fig.2.2.d, 2.18), who showed that it was forged from a single piece of steel save for the pommel, which was a separate piece pierced at the centre to fit a small tenon on the top of the grip.

It has long been accepted that when, in Book VII. 54 of his Histories, Herodotus speaks of a 'Persian sword of the kind which they call akinakes', it is a weapon of precisely this kind to which he refers. It was remarkable for its shortness, as Xenophon's use of μάχαιρα and κοπίς to describe it indicates, and as the description of the murder of the Magi by Darius I and his friends in Herodotus III. 78 implies. On luxury weapons of this form the wooden scabbard, of which traces remain on some of these examples, was covered with embossed sheet gold (Herodotus IX. 80; Xen. An. I. 8. 29). The Persepolis reliefs, and representations such as those on Oxus 48 and 70 (Dalton, 1964), show exactly how it was worn on the right side. The upper part of the scabbard had a pronounced and distinctive, broad, lateral extension perforated on its outer edge; there was also a projecting loop on the same side lower down. It was then secured by cords or thongs to the belt and by a cord passed round the thigh to prevent it from dangling inaccessibly in combat. The chape was rivetted to the base of the scabbard; as the ivory chape here makes clear, this was not always a secure fitting. Indeed the account of the death of Cambyses given in Herodotus III. 64 graphically illustrates the danger: 'As he sprang onto his horse, the chape of his scabbard fell off, and the bared point entered his thigh.' Such an accident would have been impossible with a long weapon. A bronze statuette in the British Museum, probably of the later Achaemenid period, shows a rider in "Median" costume wearing an akinakes exactly in the position Cambyses would have done (WA 117760; von der Osten, 1966, pl. 86).

The ultimate origin of this weapon, and its characteristic scabbard and chape, lies outside the Near East. It appears in graves of the Caucasian Koban culture by the eighth or early seventh centuries B.C.; by 650-500 B.C. it is associated there with chapes of the same form, though more stylized decoration, as appear slightly later in Deve Höyük II. The presence of such weapons far to the west in Turkey by about 650 B.C. may be inferred from the discovery at Sardis of a bone-chape in association with well-dated Greek pottery. A contorted 'eagle-beaked' animal motif carved on the chape's front in low relief is characteristically 'Scythian' and has been associated with a known Cimmerian presence in Turkey at this time (Hanfmann, 1966, 14, fig. 9; Mellink, 1966, 158, pl. 41.13). A similarly decorated gold pommel was said to have been found with the so-called 'Ziwiye Hoard' in Iranian Kurdistan (Ghirshman, 1964, figs. 157-8; on this debatable "hoard" see Muscarella, 1977a). A long iron sword, with the T-shaped hilt of these daggers, was excavated at Karmir Blur in Urartu in debris left when the citadel was sacked about 590 B.C. by Scythian and Transcaucasian tribes (Piotrovsky, 1973, pl. 53).

To this period, the first half of the sixth century B.C., belong two magnificent akinakai with decorated gold hilts and scabbards, one found by General Melgunov in 1763 in the Litoi kurgan, the other by Schultz in 1903 at Kelermes (see particularly Minns, 1913, fig. 65-9, 1/1-2 (Melgunov); 222, with Rostovtzeff, 1922, pl. VII (Kelermes)). Although there is a clear Urartian element in the superb decoration of these two weapons and their scabbards, of non-Urartian shape, their form and some of the motifs are Scythian; the more so on the gold plated iron-axe also found at Kelermes (Artamonov, 1969, pl. 1-55). There are no good reasons for attributing them

to 'Median Art', as Barnett (1962, 73ff.) has done. Neither the men who ordered them nor those who made them, nor the region in which they were found, and in all probability made, were in any sense 'Median'. They reflect an important aspect of the close interrelationship of Urartian and Scythian culture in eastern Turkey and Transcaucasia in the later eighth century B.C. (Kantor, 1960, 13). Nothing is known of Median art as yet and it is both archaeologically and historically superfluous to introduce it here. The sheet gold scabbard cover, with embossed decoration, in the Oxus Treasure is a different matter. It is ornamented with a lion hunt (Dalton, 1964, no. 222, pl. IX). The dating of this cover must perforce rest entirely on internal evidence, since the associated objects, if the coins are taken into account, runs down as late as the second century B.C. (Schlumberger, 1953, 46-9; Bellinger, 1962, 51ff).

Since Dalton's pioneer account, this object has been regarded as the earliest in the hoard, of the sixth century B.C. The 'royal' hunter on the scabbard wears what is commonly identified as the high Assyrian royal crown with Median or Persian costume. This anomalous detail, particularly, has persuaded scholars of an early date, though only Barnett has gone so far as to identify Astyages in this figure (Barnett, 1957, 76; 1964, 78ff.). So little is known of Astyages that even if a contemporary or near contemporary king were to be expected in such a design as this, and that is arguable, he would be impossible to single out. (The high headdress may be the turban worn by a number of the peoples within the Achaemenid Empire when represented on certain monuments (Roaf, 1974, 94 (Persian), 106 (Arian), 108 (Parthian), 126 (Lydian)), whilst the scalloped border of the Oxus scabbard cover, Scythian in ancestry, had been commonly adopted for the scabbard perimeters of the akinakes wheresoever and by whomsoever it was worn (see Farkas, 1969, for a more detailed discussion).

Another hunt, this time of gazelles, appears on the gold covering of the akinakes hilt from Chertomlyk in South Russia, found with only the upper blade surviving in a scabbard cover embossed with scenes in fourth century Greek style. The Iranian origin of this akinakes has never been doubted, but its date is less easily agreed; Barnett grouping it with the examples previously mentioned as an example of sixth century 'Median Art'. Neither the decoration nor the form require this early dating; indeed it seems unlikely (Barnett, 1962, 89-90: the mirror cited here is probably Lydian or East Greek rather than Urartian (Greifenhagen, 1965, 17, fig. 1) and the silver ladle from Tell Fara (South) in Israel, also cited, is definitely fifth century Achaemenid not Urartian). There is nothing in the decoration of the hilt demanding a date before the fifth century and it might well be closer in date to the scabbard than is often assumed. The British Museum possesses a model akinakes scabbard, said to be of cedar wood, with traces of gilding applied over gesso. It was apparently found in Egypt (though the wood would then be an import) and seems most likely to have been a funerary substitute for a luxury weapon of this type (Barnett, 1962, pl. IIb; WA: 5428). The FitzWilliam Museum, Cambridge, has a fragment from an ivory chape, decorated in relief, which was part of a collection formed in Egypt (EGA 4586.1943). A number of metal and ivory chapes have emerged through the Art Market in recent years from unspecified sources (Muscarella 1974, no. 156 bis; Ishiguro 1976, no.

147). In his excavations at Tell Defenneh (Daphnae) in the Egyptian Delta, in the so-called Ionian Fort of the sixth century B.C., Petrie found an iron sword with a hilt rather different from these but still of a distinctively 'Scythian' type (Petrie, 1888, pl.XXXVII.7, cf. Minns, 1913, fig. 18, p.69 and comments). The mass of associated Greek pottery belongs to the reign of the pharaoh Amasis (568-525 B.C.) and ceases about the time of the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses, with which this weapon and others found on the site may have been connected.

One-edged knives:

- 159 Iron; butt end broken off; slightly curved upper edge; flanged handle with remains of two rivets which originally retained wooden plaques which have left traces of their graining in the corrosion; slightly concave cutting edge slopes up to the point.  
(O) 1913.706; .249 L; .027 W. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVG.
160. Iron; slightly curved upper edge; concave cutting edge rising towards the tip; tang largely lost; rivet hole at junction of tang and blade.  
(WA) 108685; .205 L. Perhaps Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVH.
- 161 a-b Iron; very slightly curved back; cutting edge rises gently to the tip; rivet at one end where there may have been a tang. (b) Another fragment of a blade.  
(C) E.94.1913; .153 L; .020 W; .095 L; .013 W.
162. Iron; straight back; slightly curved blade; rivet in handle.  
(L) 49.47.225; .170 L. Woolley 1914, 16, pl.XXIV J.
163. Iron; fragment of a blade.  
(L) 49.47.226; .109 L.
164. Iron; fragment of a blade.  
(O) 1913.602; .055 L; ? Group 15.

The presence of such knives as these in graves of the Tli cemetery in association with akinakai indicates that these might also be of Iranian origin, where comparable implements are reported from Pasargadae, Persepolis, Susa and the West Caspian provinces (Tli: Tekhov, 1972, fig. 2: 308, 326; Stronach, 1978, fig. 95.12-14; Schmidt, 1957, pl. 81.13; Susa, Ghirshman, 1954, pl.XLIX.G.S.2099; Morgan, 1927, fig. 251). But this is not necessarily so, as there is ample evidence for a long tradition in straight-backed and curve-backed knives with flanged hilts in the Syro-Palestinian region from very early in the Iron Age (Petrie, 1928, pl.XXXI; Tufnell, 1953, 387, pl. 59.13ff.; Guy, 1938, 166, fig. 172.4, pl.167.2; Hamilton, 1935, pl.33.124; Petrie, 1930, pl.XXI.96, XXX.129, XXIV.212; Riis, 1948, 124-5; Woolley, 1921, fig. 19, pl.23.10-11; Petrie, 1957, pl.XXI.20; XXII.39-40, 43). Indeed Woolley himself observed that "the small, slight-curved knives...closely resemble specimens found in cinerary burials of the preceding age." (Woolley, 1914-16, 121-2). Fragments of iron knives were found in the cemetery at Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, 59-60).

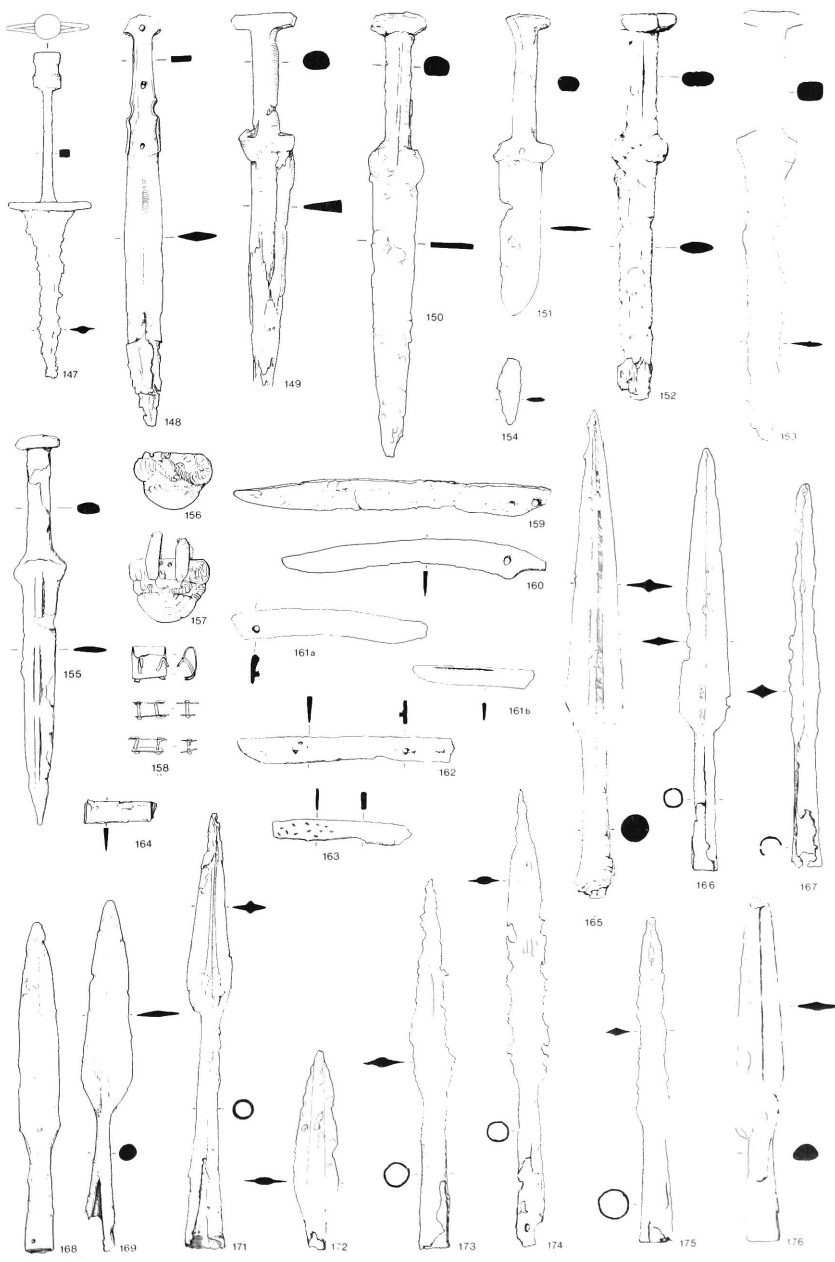


Fig. 9

(5) Spearheads

There is no problem in the identification of the socketed spearheads for thrusting weapons; but the identification of heads for light throwing spears (javelins) is more complex, involving as it does the definition of 'arrowheads'. Are the small tanged, flat iron blades for arrows or javelins? Experts in the handling of bows and arrows are largely agreed that the maximum weight for arrowheads for a strong archer using a bow of 35-45 kg is about 7 gr. It is known that higher weights are feasible and were used; but the absolute upper limit is debated, some putting it at 10 gr, others arguing for as high as 40 gr in certain circumstances (Pope, 1962, 40ff; Korfmann, 1972, 33-39; Pratt, 1976). I have assumed here that a weight over 10 gr is more likely, in this context, to indicate the head for a javelin not an arrow.

(A) Heavy, thrusting spearheads:

- 165 Iron; regularly tapering straight-sided blade with prominent triangular midrib; gently rounded shoulders; folded socket with the upper end of a wooden shaft corroded into it.  
(O) 1913.709; .382 L; (.120 L. of socket); perhaps Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVA.
- 166 Iron; damaged; blade with prominent midrib; folded socket.  
(WA) 108706; .330 L; .108 L. of socket; Group 18: Woolley, 1914-16, p.118, cf. pl.XXVA.
- 167 Iron; heavily corroded; blade with a prominent midrib; folded socket with a rivet hole.  
(WA) 108718; .295 L; .095 L. of socket; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVA.
- 168 Iron; long flat blade with virtually no midrib; short folded socket with a single rivet hole at the base.  
(O) 1913.710; .256 L; .085 L. of socket; perhaps Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVC.
- 169 Iron; virtually no midrib on a flat blade; gently rounded shoulders; folded socket broken at base.  
(O) 1913.711; .272 L; .110 L. of socket; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVD.
170. Iron; prominent square-sectioned midrib; folded socket, broken (not illustrated here).  
Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford, 1953.1.32 (originally (O) 1913.707); .236 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXVE; Coghlan, 1956, 180ff. (metallurgical analysis) fig. 56.6, pl. II-IV.
- 171 Iron; long folded socket with short narrow blade; gently sloping shoulders and prominent triangular midrib. Traces of rivets which secured wooden shaft into socket.  
(O) 1913.708; .346 L; .185 L. of socket: Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVF.
- 172 Iron; blade with low slightly convex midrib; damaged along edges; most of a folded socket lost.  
(WA) 108707; .135 L.



173. Iron; only a vestige of the blade remains undamaged; folded socket complete.  
(WA) 108720; .283 L.; .120 L. of socket.
174. Iron; badly corroded and damaged; low flat midrib; trace of rivet towards base of folded socket.  
(WA) 108721; .352 L.; .127 L. of socket.
175. Iron; very corroded and edges of blade damaged; folded socket.  
(WA) 108722; .247 L.; .090 L. of socket.
176. Iron; tip of blade and lower part of one side broken off; folded socket complete with part of a wooden shaft corroded into it.  
(C) E. 56.1913; .265 L.; .080 L. of socket.
177. Iron; lower part of folded socket broken; heavily corroded.  
(C) E. 95.1913; .275 L.
178. Iron; heavily corroded; folded socket; prominent midrib.  
(L) 49.47.285; .266 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: group 14.
179. Iron; heavily corroded but intact; as above.  
(L) 49.47.223; .253 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: group 14.  
(see also fragments (L) 49.47.311).
180. Iron; very corroded; point lost.  
(L) 49.47.265; .255 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: group 20.

When represented on reliefs and minor objects the spears of the Persian army have a socketed head with a lozenge or leaf-shaped blade. The shafts of those carried by the king or members of the royal guard have a globular knob at the base. It may be that the following is such a butt:

Spear butts (?):

181. Bronze; spherical ball with "triangular" slits cut into the surface; lotus pattern with a central bud on the base; short tubular neck, broken on one side and pierced to take a rivet.  
(C) E.72.1913; .060 H. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.4.
182. Bronze; cylindrical, one end open; cast; incised encircling lines on outer, upper end.  
(L) 49.47.249; .037 H.; .028 D.

This appears to be a ferrule of some kind, but its date is uncertain.

(B) Light spearheads (javelin heads)

Although weights are given here, they can only be an approximate indicator of the original, as oxidized iron increases in weight.

183. Iron; tanged lanceolate blade, slight midrib; pronounced short stem; short tang.  
(O) 1913.713; 0.109 L.; 0.030 L. of tang? approx.15 grammes.  
Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVA.
184. Iron; tanged lanceolate blade; slight midrib; barbed and tanged.  
(C)E.57.1913a; 0.105 L.(tang broken). Cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXXV

- 185 Iron; tanged lanceolate blade; slight midrib; tanged.  
(C) E.57.1913b; 0.072 L. (tang broken). Cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVA.
- 186 Iron; tanged lanceolate blade; prominent midrib; barbed and tanged.  
(WA) 108726; 0.115 L. Possibly Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVB.
- 187 Iron; tanged lanceolate blade; prominent midrib; barbed and tanged.  
(WA) 108725; 0.115 L. Perhaps Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVC.
- 188 Iron; tanged ovate blade; tanged.  
(O) 1913.715; 0.094 L.; approx. 16 grammes. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIVD.
- 189 Iron; tanged broad ovate blade; tanged.  
(O) 1913.712; 0.108 L.; approx. 11 grammes. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVE.
190. Iron; tanged; lanceolate blade; long tang.  
(O) 1913.714; 0.150 L.; approx. 14 grammes. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVF.
- 191 Iron; tanged; badly corroded blade and broken tang.  
(WA) 108727; 0.093 L. Cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIVF.
- 192-3 Iron; tanged; barbed; corroded and damaged.  
(L) 49.47.227a,b; .119, .098 L.; about 14½ grammes; about 12½ grammes.

Socketed iron spearheads comparable to those in Deve Hüyük II appear with akinakai in the Tli cemetery (Tekhov, 1972, fig.2: 294) and have been reported from the excavations at Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, pl.76.1) and Susa (Ghirshman, 1954, pl.XLIII.G.S.1030c; for Iraq, cf. McCown, 1966, pl.55.12). They follow a long tradition in western Iran with iron spearheads closely copying their bronze precursors, some of which had been magnificent weapons with very long heads and proportionately extended shafts (Moorey, 1971, nos. 88-9). Indeed spearheads with sockets as long, if not longer than, the blades are characteristic of Caucasian and West Iranian weapons in the later second and early first millennia B.C. By the Achaemenian period when bronze had been universally superseded by iron for spearheads some trace of these features endures (cf. nos. 165, 171); but the spearheads were generally smaller and sockets less extended (Erdmann, 1977, 49ff.).

In his description of the Persian army on the march under Xerxes, Herodotus (VII.41) wrote 'Of these last one thousand carried spears with golden pomegranates at their lower end instead of spikes; and these encircled the other nine thousand, who bore on their spears pomegranates of silver. The spearmen too who pointed their lances towards the ground had golden pomegranates; and the thousand Persians who followed close after Xerxes had golden apples.' There is ample evidence for this custom on reliefs and seals. As Jacobsthal (1956, 191-6) pointed out in a comprehensive study of this evidence, it is virtually impossible to identify apples or pomegranates.

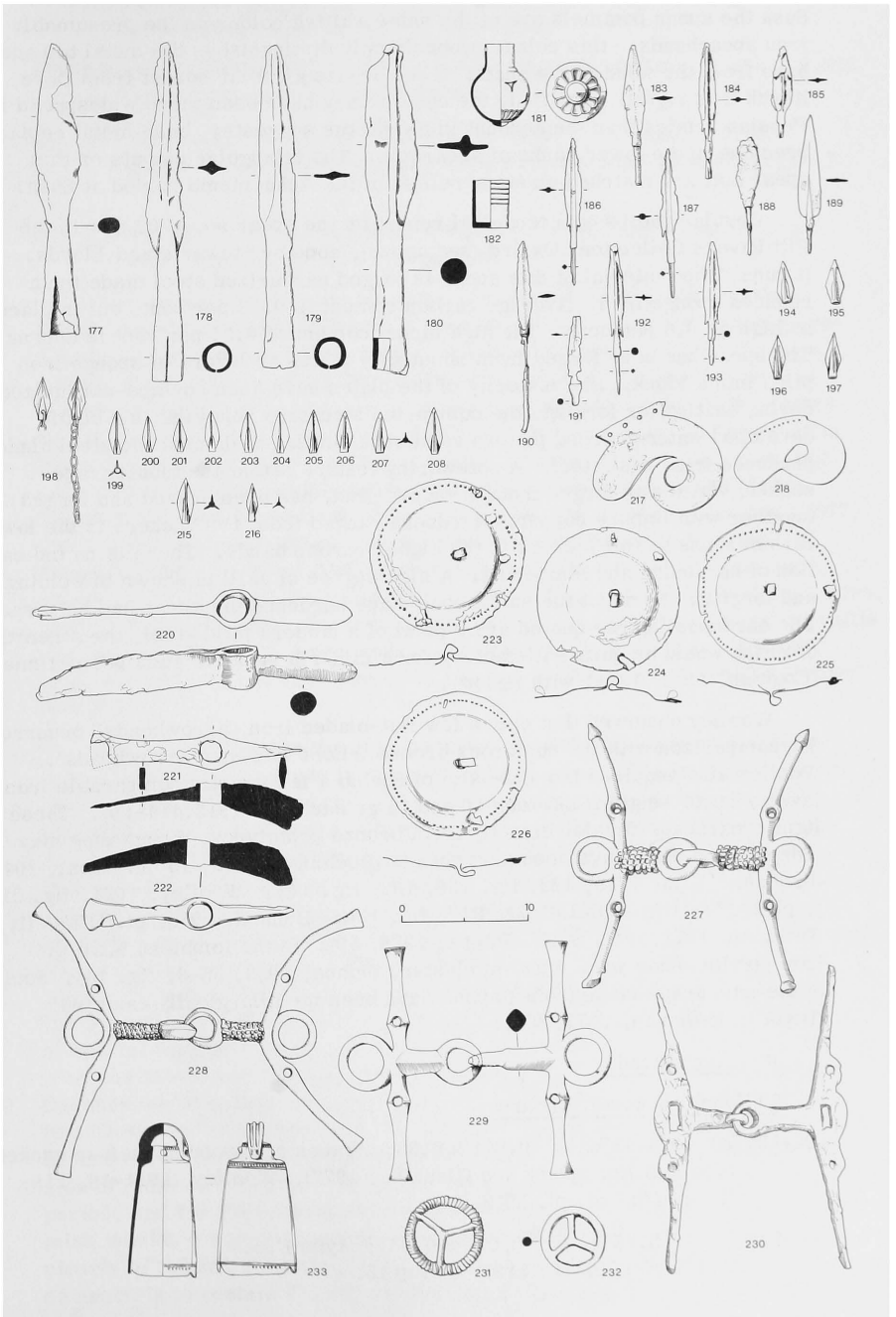


Fig. 10

They are just globular terminals. As they are monochrome for the main part, gold and silver are also indistinguishable. On the polychrome tiles from Susa the spear pommels are of the same whitish colour as the presumably iron spearheads; this colour probably only distinguishes the metal top and base from the wood of the shaft. If the bronze globular socket from Deve Hüyük II is rightly identified, the custom may have been more widespread in Persian armies than the account in Herodotus suggests; base metal replacing precious in the lower ranks of spearmen. The triangular cutouts on this spear butt are matched on stone reliefs of the Achaemenid period at Susa.

Coghlan published a technical report on the spear no. 170, now in the Pitt Rivers Collection, Oxford (see above), done by Stewarts and Lloyds. It runs "The material of this spear is forged carburized steel made from reduced sponge iron. Average carbon content is 0.18 per cent, but in places as high as 0.6 per cent. The high nickel content of 0.32 per cent is unusual. The spear has been forged from about fifty plates or layers of sponge iron piled into a block...the majority of the plates have been surface-carburized during heating for forging, the compacted structure resulting in a highly developed water-marked pattern somewhat similar to damascene steel blades produced from cast steel. A noteworthy feature is that the tubular taper socket, which was forged from a 'tagged' end, has been brazed and forged together with impure copper. Hardness ranged from 108 Vickers in the low carbon zones to 152 Vickers in the higher carbon bands. There is no indication of hardening and tempering. A high degree of skill is shown in welding and forging. No doubt the smith could have hardened the spear had he wished. The hardness figures quoted are typical of a modern mild steel, the strength of which would be quite satisfactory for a mid-rib spear of such proportions." (Coghlan, 1956, 137-9 with fig.44).

Woolley observed that only a few flat-bladed iron "arrowheads" occurred "by comparison with the numerous bronze trilobe socketed arrowheads". Woolley also acquired from the site of Shebib a few exactly comparable iron javelin heads weighing between 10 and 15 gr each ((O) 1913.414-19). These light spearheads develop directly from bronze prototypes, though they may indeed more often have been arrowheads (Boehmer, 1972, 150ff. (iron), 104ff. (bronze); Riis, 1948, 122, fig. 138, 132, fig. 142; Woolley, 1921, fig. 20c-f, pl.23.7-8, 13; Abel, 1928, 317, fig. 16e; Dunand, 1958, pl.CLXXVII; Erdmann, 1977, 6ff., 32ff; Poppa, 1978, 59). In the tombs at 'Atlit the iron javelin heads were found in clusters (Johns, 1933, 55-6, fig. 14). Some of the iron arrowheads from Paphos have been metallurgically examined (Blyth in Erdmann, 1977, 92).

#### (6) Arrowheads

##### Trilobe, socketed, bronze:

194-195 (O) 1913.587a,b; 0.011 x 0.33; traces of a wooden shaft in socket; type F.3 (for typing see Cleuziou, 1977). Woolley, 1914-16, 118; Group 11; cf. pl. XXII.28.

196-197 (O) 1913.597a, b; 0.011 x 0.031; type F.3.  
Woolley, 1914-16, 119; Group 15.

- 198 (O) 1913.692; 0.120 total length; socket pierced to take a bronze chain (cf. LAAA VII, p. 124: "a bronze arrowhead hung on a celt of polished green steatite"); type F.3.
- 199-204 (WA) 108769-774; 0.033; 0.026; 0.026; 0.031; 0.032; 0.032 L.; all type F.3, save 108772 = Type F.17.
- 205-208 (C) E.46.1913(2); E.58.1913(2): four arrowheads: 0.033; 0.036; 0.038; 0.033 L.; Type F.3, save one of E.46.1913 = F.17.
- 209-216 (L) 49.47.250-1: eight arrowheads; from .025—.035 L.; all 250 = Type F.3; 251 = Type F.17.

Most of the arrowheads are of bronze, small, with a short hollow socket and three triangular barbs' (Woolley, 1914-16, 121). As comprehensive studies of this widely distributed type of arrowhead already exist, notably that by Cleuziou (1977), it merits no detailed discussion here. A precursor for this type appears in eastern Kazakhstan by the ninth century B.C. The most typical forms were widely diffused through southwest Asia from the very late eighth or early seventh centuries B.C. It appears that the Cimmerians primarily used the socketed arrowhead with two blades, the Scythians that with three, which the Medes also adopted (Cleuziou, 1977, 193). Such light arrowheads are particularly well-suited to the needs of mounted archers. Two trilobe forms were used by the Achaemenid army: Cleuziou's F.3, on which the socket base is in line with the back of the blades, and F.17, on which the socket is longer and the blades have an angular profile (Cleuziou, 1977, with comparanda). At Persepolis Schmidt recorded 66 examples of F.3, 114 examples of F.17, and 3600 of the two undifferentiated (1957, 99).

There is no force in the argument that the return to bronze for such arrowheads as these arose from a shortage of iron. This is clearly not the case at Deve Hüyük II, where all the other weaponry is of iron, nor is it true elsewhere (cf. Rothenberg in Aharoni, 1975, 80-1). Iron arrowheads at this time were all of wrought iron, individually hand forged, and were therefore not susceptible to mass production. When numerous arrowheads were needed, as they were by the Neo-Babylonian and Persian armies depending so much on salvos of arrowheads from highly mobile archers, mass production in bronze was crucial. This technical point is endorsed by the surviving moulds for producing bronze socketed arrowheads of this type. Cleuziou (1977, 198) cites examples in stone from Russia. Two bronze examples are of special interest: both are in the British Museum, one reported to be from the Mosul area (Budge, 1884, 109-10, fig. 1), the other excavated at Carchemish (Woolley, 1921, pl.23b). The more complex, that from Mosul, is a tin-bronze with about 10% tin, designed to produce simultaneously three bronze arrowheads. As Coghlan (1952, 162-4) remarked in the best discussion of these two moulds: "A metal mould would therefore serve for a long period, and for the production of a large number of castings." The Carchemish mould, for producing only one arrowhead at a time, is simpler, but clearly of the same family. Such an arrow as these, from Lachish, proved on analysis to contain 77.76% copper, 20.47% tin and 2.14% lead with minor

impurities. Rothenberg (in Aharoni, 1975, 80) remarked of this analysis: "The extremely high tin and lead content found in our specimen (Pl.36:15) establishes the technological efficiency of the producers of the trilobe arrow-head, who had to find a highly fluid metal, to allow the casting of its extremely thin tubular socket and wings, and at the same time, a very hard bronze-point capable of penetrating armour."

Classical tradition reveals great respect for the peoples of the Iranian plateau as archers. The contradictory statements in classical authors as to the size and appearance of the Persian bow is to be explained by the two different bows current in their armies (Schmidt, 1952, pl.65C illustrates the two types side by side). At Persepolis, unsheathed bows are slung over the left shoulders of many soldiers—Medes, Persians and Elamites—and their shape is clearly shown by those brought as tribute on the Apadana reliefs by Delegation 2 (Elamites) (*ibid.*, pl.28). Comparable bows are carried by the guards represented on glazed brick friezes from Susa (Rutten, 1936, pl.51). They are tall segment-shaped bows of uniform thickness with well developed ends ("ears"). Such also are the bows on the Behistun relief and, in a short version, those carried by kings on Achaemenid coinage. No such bow has yet been found, but the composite segment-shaped bow in a grave of the Parthian period at Yrzi near Baghouz in Syria is exactly of this type (Rausing, 1967, 105, fig. 52). It is made of wood, gazelle's horn and bone, wrapped from end to end with sinews. It was originally about 176 cm (74.7") long. Soldiers carrying such unsheathed bows at Persepolis and Susa have on their backs, high on the left side, a long tapering quiver with closed top and ornamental arrow-shaped tassels (good illustration, Schmidt, 1952, pl. 83-4). It is probable that in battle it was archers fighting on foot who used these bows. Xenophon (*An.* iii.4.17) remarks that "The Persians use large bows, and so all the arrows of theirs which were picked up came in useful to the Cretans..." Diodorus Siculus (XVII.115) describes how it was fired with the archer down on one knee.

Quite different was the short, composite, doubly convex bow with set-back handle, adopted from the Scythians, carried in a combined quiver and bow case (*gorytus*). This is constantly and clearly represented on the Persepolis reliefs, worn on their left side by men in both Median and Persian dress (Schmidt, 1952, pl.51-2). This was more often the weapon of mounted archers, who fired from it arrows tipped with the light bronze trilobe, socketed arrowheads (cf. Dalton, 1964, no. 24, pl.X). The presence of combined bow and quiver cases in Deve Htıytık II may be established only from a single piece of evidence.

(7) ?Gorytus Tips

- 217 Bronze; sheet. Cut in the shape of a curled horn; projecting flange along the bottom with four circular perforations.  
(O) 1913.682; 0.090 H.; 0.102 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, 123, pl.XXII.7.
- 218 Bronze; sheet. Cut very like the previous piece, but with a less elegant curve; ten holes perforated along the edge of the projecting flange.  
(WA) 108681; 0.089 L. Woolley, 1914-16, 123, pl.XXII. 6.

- 219 Bronze; sheet. Cut like the previous pieces; pierced with holes for attachments; broken in 3 pieces; corroded.  
(L) 49.47.235; .090 L. (not traced in 1978).

Among the more important appearances of the gorytus at Persepolis are those with the royal axe-bearer, the leader of Delegation 11 and each member of Delegation 17, less the groom, on the Apadana friezes (Schmidt, 1952, pl. 37, 43; III, 86). It was presumably an object basically of wood or wicker with a fabric or leather covering, which would rapidly perish when buried (Minns, 1913, 67). At Persepolis there clearly appears at its upper end a curling terminal, not unlike the beak of a predatory bird, which seems to be of metal stitched onto the edge of the upper tip of the gorytus. These sheet-metal pieces are the shape depicted and are pierced exactly as would be required to fix them in the position shown. Similar objects are reported from Soviet Azerbaijan (Diakonov, 1956, fig. 46) and Samaria in Israel (Reisner, 1924, 361; II, pl. 82m (4597); also Durr, 1966, no. 659 (no illustration)).

(8) Battle-axe (sagaris)

- 220 Iron; narrow rectangular blade slightly curved downwards; short shaft-hole; long butt protuberance; shape slightly distorted by heavy corrosion.  
(O) 1913.704; 0.252 L.; 0.032 D. of shaft-hole; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIV L.

On the southern relief found in the Treasury at Persepolis (now known to have formed part of the Apadana series) the king's weapon-bearer carries an axe with head modelled at one end as a bird's head, from whose beak the blade protrudes, at the other as a bifurcate claw (Tilia, 1972, pl. XCVII, 6). This type of axe is also carried by the same official on the royal tomb facades (Schmidt, 1970, pl. 43). Such a weapon, of bronze, less elaborately made, was found on the portico floor of the Throne Hall at Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, pl. 78.1a, b). The iron form represented in Deve Hüyük II by this example is of the same family, though of a simpler form more suited to the less tractable metal and to regular army issue. Such axes are brought as tribute by Delegation 17 on the Apadana reliefs; Schmidt took it to be the sagaris of Herodotus (VII.64) and used it to identify them as 'Hauma-drinking Scythians' (Schmidt, 1970, pl. 156; Schmidt, 1952, pl. 43, for the delegation). Whatever its exact affiliation, and some would see Delegation 17 as Sogdians, this was a weapon brought first to the Near East by the Scytho-Cimmerian confederation from their South Russian homeland. Its most spectacular representative is from Kelermes, probably made some time in the first half of the sixth century B.C. (Artamonov, 1969, pl. 9-19). A typically Scythian bronze axehead of this type has been reported with an iron akinakes from a grave found by clandestine excavators at Ilimler in the Amasya Vilayet in Turkey. There was also a horse skeleton in the grave with the body of a man (Hauptmann, 1972, 106, n. 15). A fine example of a sagaris said to be from north-west Iran, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, has a silver shaft and an iron blade. A curled Scythian lion decorates the cap on the top of the shaft-hole and suggests a date in the late seventh century B.C. (Bunker, 1970, 49, no. 34). Simple forms of this weapon appear with akinakai, comparable to those from Deve Hüyük II, in the Tli cemetery

(Tekhov, 1972, fig.2; 293, 305). There is a similar weapon, which may be associated with the invasion of Cambyses, from Tell Defenneh in the Egyptian delta (Petrie, 1888, pl.XXXVIII.1).

(9) Axe-adzes:

- 221 Iron: very corroded; central hole for shaft.  
(WA) 108682; 0.15 H.; 0.167 L.; LAAA VII, pl.XXIVK.
- 222 Iron; corroded; adze edge intact; axe edge damaged.  
(L) 49.47.228; .164 L.; .020 D. of shaft-hole.

These are the only objects among the ironwork from Deve Hüyük more readily classified as tools than as weapons of some kind. Since such tools would be required by an army whether on the march or in camp, their presence here is not so surprising. Identical tools occurred in occupation levels at al Mina with adzes and axes (Woolley, 1938, 139, 166; MN 329; Ashmolean 1938.145-6). They follow a long established pattern in iron (Boehmer, 1972, 143, pl.XLV.1271-4; Von der Osten, 1957a, fig.111 d 650; Place, 1867, pl.71.4: Khorsabad) with an ancestry in bronze (Deshayes, 1960, 279ff.).

(10) Bronze Disks

- 223 Bronze; sheet; disk with flange and low central protuberance pierced in the centre to take a split-pin. Hole pierced in the flange at either end of the diameter; in one hole a piece of sheetmetal remains corroded in place, possibly a split-pin. There may be traces of another hole in the flange.  
(C) E.69.1913; 0.112 D. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.3.
- 224 Bronze; sheet; disk with flange and low central protuberance, pierced at the centre with a split-pin still in situ; repoussé dot margin on flange; two holes on perimeter with iron rivets in place; two bronze fittings passed through the flange on inner edge.  
(C) E.69.1913; 0.111; D. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.2.
- 225-6 Bronze; sheet; 2 disks with a central hole still containing a split-pin, its head forming a small open loop; repoussé dot margin on edge; at two points on the perimeter, opposite one another, are traces of an iron rivet.  
(L)49.47.308a,b; .112, .110 D.

There is no certain way of identifying the original function of these disks. In the context they may most plausibly be interpreted as 'shield-bosses'; the disposition of rivets does not suggest cymbals and a role in horse-harnessing for disks of this size is not apparent (Moorey, 1971, 246 on problem of identifying disks). Various types of shield were used in the Persian army, as may best be seen on the reliefs at Persepolis. The largest was a tall rectangle, probably of wicker, sometimes covered with hide, strengthened by metal bosses. This protected the whole of a man's body. Spearmen who guard the palace entrances on the reliefs at Persepolis have them, as do Persian soldiers depicted on Greek vases (Schmidt, 1952, pl. 151 B; Bovon, 1963, 595-6, figs. 2,14). Pausanias compared this shield to that of the Celts (VIII, c.50; IC, c.19) and Herodotus describes how at



Plataea the Persians made 'a rampart of their wicker shields' (IX.61; cf. also 99 and 102). This would only have been possible with large rectangular ones. Smaller elliptical shields with crescentic apertures on each side of the centre are carried by the lines of Persian soldiers shown on the Persepolis reliefs (Schmidt, 1952, pl.100-1). Again the body of the shield was probably wicker suitably covered; but the reliefs suggest that the central boss and the edges of the shield were of sheet metal (Schmidt, 1952, pl.22, 25A). On the Apadana reliefs circular shields are brought by delegations 14 (possibly Gandaran) and 21 (?Carian); shields of almost semi-circular cross-section and ribbed pattern by delegation 19 (identity very uncertain) (Schmidt, 1952, pl.40, 47, 45 respectively). So far the decorative shield bosses shown at Persepolis have not been found in excavations, though there is a precursor at Samos (Köpcke, 1968, 292, pl. 124).

In addition to his shield the Persian soldier was protected by scale-armour. Whether or not such armour was found in the inhumation cemetery at Deve Höyük is obscured by Woolley's uncharacteristic vagueness on the point. In 1914-16, 122 he enigmatically remarks 'Again fragments of scale armour found with the cremated burials of the Late Hittites are exactly like those from Scythia...', without any clear reference to Deve Höyük's cemetery of cremation graves. In a later paper published in 1923 he remarks that 'the North Syrian cemetery of Deve Höyük...produced ...scale armour exactly like that of Zubov's Farm, Kuban.' (1923, 70, cf. Minns, 1913, 231, fig. 134). As the latter is contemporary with the inhumation, not the cremation, cemetery at Deve Höyük, we may perhaps assume that he means the former. Herodotus records Persian use of scale armour (VII.61; IX.22) and there is ample archaeological evidence for it (for a comprehensive review see Boehmer, 1972, 102-4, adding Petrie, 1909, pl.XVI). A miscellaneous collection of bronze fragments in Liverpool (49.47.287) contains pieces of sheet bronze; but they do not appear to have been armour scales.

#### (B) Horse-Harness:

The horsemen listed in Book VII of Herodotus' Histories, as part of the army of Xerxes, are all from Asiatic contingents: the Persians, Medes, Cissians, Bactrians, Sargartians, Caspians, Pactyans and Paricanians. According to the Herodotus Anatolia provided none. He also associated with the cavalry Indians and Libyans, who drove chariots, and Arabs with their camels. The cavalry are credited with the same arms as the infantry from corresponding peoples, save for some of the Persians, who in addition wear helmets, and the Sagartians (dressed in a blend of Persian and Pactyan fashion), who have no weapons but the dagger and lasso. Texts from the reigns of Nabuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus indicate that already in the earlier sixth century B.C. Babylonian troops had adopted "Cimmerian" horse-harnessing and armaments: leather straps, bows and arrows with iron and bronze heads, through contact with their Iranian allies (Dandamayev, 1977, 32-40). In the instructions Cyrus the Great gave to the earliest satraps, according to Xenophon (Cyropaedia VIII VI.10), the first was to 'organize companies of cavalry and charioteers from the Persians who went with them and from the allies'. Persian military strength rested ultimately on their fine cavalry.

Deve Htıyık II offers no certain evidence for heavy, as distinct from light, cavalry. The first appearance of heavy cavalry in the Persian army is debatable, for Herodotus does not mention it. Xenophon, though with what historical truth is not known, credited Cyrus the Great with the innovation (Cyropaedia VII.i.46). A tablet in the Murashû archive from Nippur in Babylonia, dated to the second year of Darius II (423 B.C.), describes a heavily armoured cavalryman equipped with a metal helmet, body armour, a shield, arrows of two types, one specified as 'Cimmerian', and two iron spears (Ebeling, 1952, 203-213). The two spears may have differed to suit varying conditions, as in his Cyropaedia Xenophon (I.ii.9) writes of "one to throw, the other to use in case of necessity in a hand-to-hand encounter." It is heavy cavalrymen who are usually shown in the combat scenes on the "Graeco-Persian gems" made in western Turkey. The combatants are generally a Greek hoplite on foot and a rider in Medo-Persian costume. The helmet is clearly shown, occasionally with a plume. The upper body is protected by a piece of body armour covering the torso and fitted with extra sections to protect the upper arms and neck (cf. Seyrig, 1952, 196, pl.XXIa; Furtwängler, 1900, pl.XI.7 and 9; Boardman, 1970, figs. 881-3). The riders wear trousers or leggings, in some cases obscured by a sub-triangular fitting, which may be the piece of defensive armour more clearly portrayed on Lycian monuments of the later fifth or early fourth century B.C. (Bernard, 1964, 195ff., pl.X, figs. 1-2).

(1) Horse Bits:

(a) Bronze:

- 227 Cast. Bar cheekpieces curving outwards cast in one with the corresponding canon and rein-ring; jointed mouthpiece with canons interlocking; small round holes pierced through the cheek-pieces on either side of the rein-ring to take cheekstraps. The canons, thick solid cylinders, are covered with tiny bronze knobs irregularly arranged in rows. The rein-rings stick straight out beyond the ends of the canons in the same place as the cheek-pieces. Each cheek-piece has one end cast as a hoof, the other as a phallus.  
(O) 1913.717; 0.108 W. across the mouthpiece; 0.210 L. of cheekpiece. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIV.3; Seltman, 1927, fig.b on pl.250; Potratz, 1941-4, 23, fig. 38; Potratz, 1966, 117, pl. LII.124a; Anderson, 1961, 69-72, pl.34a,b.
- 228 Cast. Bar cheekpieces cast in one with the canons and rein-rings; jointed mouthpiece with single interlocking ring at the centre worn by use. The canons, solid cylinders, are covered with tiny bronze knobs. The cheekpieces turn out at an acute angle on either side of the rein-ring. Each arm is pierced to take a cheekstrap and each ends in a flat swollen terminal. One terminal is broken across the hole for a cheekstrap.  
(WA) 108759; 0.120 across mouthpiece; 0.216 L. of cheekpiece; the association of this bit with Deve Htıyık is not certain; Potratz, 1966, 117, pl.LII.124a.

- 229 Cast. Very similar to the previous bits in construction but with plain canons and straight cheekpieces, each ending in a flat swollen terminal.  
 (C) E. 59.1913; .111 across mouthpiece; .182 L. of cheekpiece. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIV.5; Potratz, 1941-4, 23, fig. 40; Potratz, 1966, 117, fig. 47b.

The reliefs and actual finds at Persepolis, and the wide distribution of other surviving examples, indicate that these were the horse-bits most generally used by horsemen in the Persian armies. They were developed (some time in the sixth century B.C.) from the standard type of bronze bit (Potratz Type III) in which straight, usually bar cheekpieces, moved freely on the ends of a jointed mouthpiece terminating in rein-rings. Known examples are best tabulated:

1. Persepolis: Fifteen bits of this type were found in the Treasury and the quarters of the garrison at Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, 100, pls. 78.2-4; 79.7-9) and what seem to be exactly comparable bits, judging from the cheekpieces, are shown on the reliefs (*ibid.*, I, pl.52).  
 The actual bits found in the debris of Alexander's sack might be anything up to one hundred and fifty years younger than those shown on the reliefs.
2. 'Luristan': Godard, 1938, 242, fig. 157.
3. 'Kurdistan': Morgan, 1896, 8, fig.10; Potratz, 1941-4, fig. 41.
4. Khorsabad: Loud and Altman, 1938, 99, pl.62, 189-90.
5. Warka (British Museum WA 91187) Rawlinson, 1871, pl.418; Wolff, 1935-6, 337, fig. 14; Potratz, 1941-4, 21, fig. 23; Potratz, 1966, 117, pl. LII 122; provenance kindly checked in B.M. registers by Mr. J. E. Curtis, 1976.
6. Tell Deim, Iraq: Baghdad, IM 60180: al-Tikrit, 1960, pl.10 (Arabic Section).
7. ?Mesopotamia: (Louvre AO 2672): Noettes, 1911, pl. II, fig. 3; Noettes, 1924, pl. XVIII, fig. 49; Noettes 1931, fig. 34; Pottier, 1924, 140, No. 165 (no illustration); Wolff, 1935-6, 337, fig. 15.
8. ?Syria: (Allard Pierson, Amsterdam, no.6331); Potratz, 1966, 117, pl. LII 123.
9. Byblos: Dunand, 1958, 796, fig. 908: 15725-6 (fragments).
10. Egypt: Petrie, 1917, pl. LXXI.39.
11. Egypt: (Fouquet Collection, Cairo): Noettes, 1911, pl. III; fig.5; Noettes, 1924, pl. XXIV, fig. 67; Noettes, 1931, fig. 62; Wolff, 1935-6, 337, fig. 16; Potratz, 1941-4, fig. 35; Potratz, 1966, 117.
12. Georgia: Chantre, 1886, pl. LXI.4; Gallus and Horvath, 1939, pl. LXXXII.9; Potratz, 1941-44, 25, fig. 42; Potratz. 1966, 119, fig. 47f.

13. Athens: Lechat, 1890, 385, fig.1; Pernice, 1896, 20; Daremberg and Saglio, 1896, 1339, fig. 3292; Potratz, 1941-4, 25, fig. 43; Potratz, 1966, 117, fig. 47c.

14. Olynthus: Robinson, 1941, 487ff., pls. CLXII-III.

(b) Iron:

- 230 Iron; bar cheekpieces in one with the corresponding canon; jointed with a single central link. Traces of ribbing on the canons. At the centre each cheekpiece swells to accommodate a slot for the rein: it is flanked on each side by a small loop for the cheekstraps; the ends of the cheekpieces are too worn for the shape of their terminals to be certain.  
(O) 1913.716; 0.098 across the mouthpiece; 0.235 L. of cheekpiece. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIV.4; Potratz, 1941-4, 23, fig. 39; Potratz, 1966, 117.

This bit has no exact parallel from the Near East. It marks a major technological step for an iron bit in having the cheekpiece and its adjacent canon forged together in direct imitation of the previous group of bronze bits. Previously iron cheekpieces had been made separately and either moved freely on the ends of jointed iron mouthpieces, very often made of twisted wire, or passed through rings at the end of the mouthpiece. In a transitional stage twisted iron snaffle mouthpieces had cast bronze cheekpieces (Petrie, 1930, pl.XXXVIII.239:Tb.240). By the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. bits entirely of iron with cheekpieces moving freely on the mouthpiece may be traced across the Near East (Tepe Sialk: Ghirshman, 1939, 51, pl.LVI.S. 803a-c, LXVIII S.715d, 3; Baba Jan, Goff, 1969, 126, fig. 7.5; Agha Evlar: Morgan, 1905, fig.811; Nippur: McCown, 1967, pl.156.22; Salamis, Karageorghis, 1967, pl.XV, CXIV; Boehmer, 1972, 160ff., fig. 49A, pl. LVIII; Gordion-Young, 1962, pl.48, fig. 26; Norsun Tepe: Hauptmann, 1972, 69, fig.2). If the equipment at Tell Defenneh in the Egyptian delta is in some way associated with Cambyses' invasion of Egypt, the iron horse-bits, like the 'Scythian' sword cited earlier (p. 58), may be Persian army equipment (Petrie, 1888, pl.XXXVII). In this case iron cheekpieces still move freely on iron mouthpieces. The American excavations at Persepolis only recorded 'half a side-bar of one specimen of iron' (Schmidt, 1957, 100, n.16).

(2) Harness-rings:

- 231 Bronze: cast. Ring with ribbed upper surface; divided into three equal compartments by triple bars.  
(O) 1913.699; 0.061 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIV.1.
- 232 Bronze; cast. Exactly the same as the former; plain surface.  
(C) E.90.1913; 0.050 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIV.2.

The function of these rings is an open question. Woolley illustrated them both on the same plate as the horse-bits and a role in the harnessing of a horse's headstall, at the junction of three straps just below the eye, is a very plausible guess; but no more. On the Persepolis reliefs, and on a silver rhyton of the Achaemenid period in the shape of a horse's head, a

distinctive kind of horn-shaped fitting filled this role (Schmidt, 1952, pl.52; Pope, 1938, pl.110). Actual examples in stone and bone were found at Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, 100, pl.79. 3-6). Their Scythian precursors, usually zoomorphically decorated, have been reported from Iran and Turkey (Herzfeld, 1941, 272-2, fig. 374; Hauptmann, 1972, 107). None of this form was reported from Deve Hüyük II.

(3) Horse bell:

- 233 Bronze; cast. Rectangular case with tapering sides; circular opening in the top with a low collar; originally an iron pin passed across this and the clapper, now lost, was presumably suspended from it. A suspension loop, passing above the collar, is treated zoomorphically as two addorsed, very stylized, goat's heads, their horn sweep forming the loop. A margin of dots between parallel horizontal lines runs along the top and bottom of the casing.  
(C) E. 67.1913; 0.120 H.; base 0.060 x 0.050.

The addorsed goats' heads are a typically 'Iranian' device. Horse bells are shown on the Persepolis reliefs and this seems to be the most likely identification for this object (Schmidt, 1952, pl.35B). Such bells are also often represented on Assyrian palace reliefs and actual examples have been found in excavations there (Rimmer, 1969, 29-40, 47-8, pls. XIX-XX). They have a wide distribution in Iran, Urartu, Caucasia and Turkey in the earlier first millennium B.C. (Moorey, 1971, 137-8; add Jantzen, 1972, pl.79-80). The shape of this bell is distinctive; the British Museum has a rather similarly shaped bell, said to be from 'Amlash' in northwest Iran (Rimmer, 1969, pl.XIX D (BM 134703).

## CHAPTER III

### PERSONAL ORNAMENTS AND TOILET ARTICLES

Among the personal ornaments and toilet articles from Deve Hüyük I and II there is some confusion, notably in Woolley's presentation of the fibulae and straight pins. This may usually be resolved by direct comparison in the first instance with the Yunus Cemetery excavations, in the second with finds in the fifth century graves at Neirab and Tell Ahmar. In the Yunus Cemetery bronze finger rings, earrings and bracelets, with bronze fibulae, were the predominant ornaments (Woolley, 1939, pp.21ff., pl.XXI). Kohl pots and sticks were recorded from only a few graves. This pattern is repeated in the other cremation cemeteries recorded by Woolley (Woolley 1914, p.95); the same simple repertory occurred at Hama (Riis, 1948, pp. 125ff.). The fifth century cemeteries of the region, in common with Deve Hüyük II, were more variously furnished with personal ornaments and toilet articles, though to a strikingly common pattern owing much to Egypto-Phoenician fashions (cf. Neirab: Abel, VIII, 1927, fig. 15, pl.LIV; Tell Ahmar: Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl.XVIII; Stern, 1973, 151ff.). Distinctively Iranian traits are very rarely evident in this range of objects. If the soldiers buried in Deve Hüyük II were of Iranian origin, it is probable many of the women were local.

### PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

#### I ANKLETS AND BRACELETS

The separation of bracelets from anklets out of context rests entirely on the criterion of size, and that is by no means fool-proof. It is assumed here that when the width is between 4.5 to 7.5 cm it is most likely to have been a bracelet; an anklet if wider than 7.5 to 8 cm. But still it has to be remembered that bracelets worn high on the arm by men, in Assyrian fashion, would have large diameters comparable to anklets. In his report Woolley indicated that most of the objects in this category with decorated terminals were indeed anklets: "Heavy bronze anklets were worn, two pairs sometimes occurring in one grave; the heads of these are sometimes plain, more often rudely fashioned into the heads of dogs or snakes... Bracelets were generally of thin bronze wire without any attempt at decoration." (Woolley, 1914-16, 123). Earlier he had commented on "dog's-head anklets...most common in our cemetery." (ibid. 122). Why Woolley saw these as 'dogs' is mysterious, since this animal virtually never appears on zoomorphic bracelet terminals in the Near East.

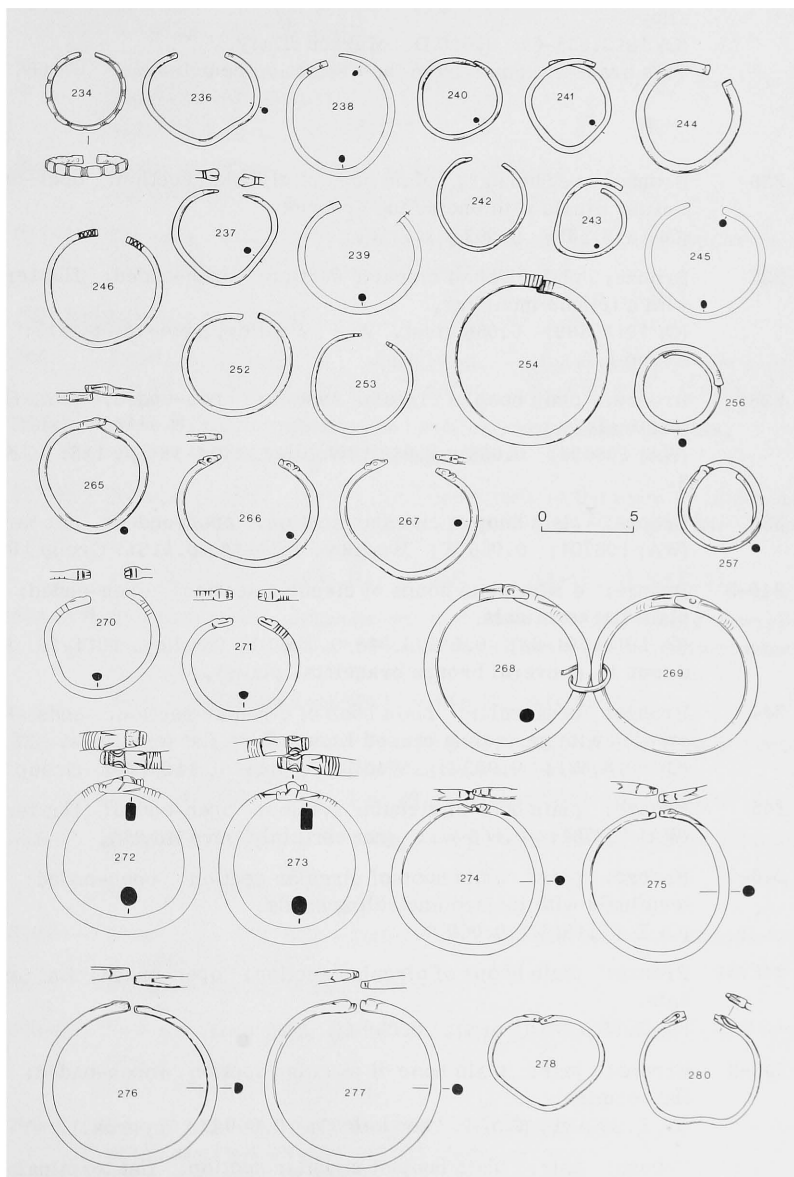


Fig. 11

(A) Flat terminals

- 234-5 Bronze; pair; open-ended, plain terminals; hoop cast with flat square mouldings alternating with two ridges; very golden coloured alloy.  
(O) 1913.655-6; 0.040 D. Marked 'Dh.y.l'  
This bracelet comes from the cremation cemetery.
- \*\*\*\*\*
- 236 Bronze; penannular; plain hoop of circular section; open-ended, flat terminals with encircling grooves.  
(O) 1913.568; 0.063 gdst. W.
- 237 Bronze; plain hoop of circular section; open-ended; flat terminals with a trilobe moulding.  
(O) 1913.569; 0.056 gtest. W.; Woolley, 1914-16, p. 117: Group 1.
- 238 Bronze; plain hoop of circular section; open-ended; plain flat terminals.  
(WA) 108696; 0.065 x 0.058; Woolley, 1914-16, p. 118: Group 8.
- 239 Bronze; plain hoop of circular section; open-ended; flat terminals.  
(WA) 108704; 0.066 W; Woolley, 1914-16, p.118: Group 10.
- 240-3 Bronze; 4 with plain hoops of circular section; open-ended; plain flat terminals.  
(O) 1913.604-6a; 0.046/0.048/0.048 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15 ('several bronze bracelets, plain').
- 244 Bronze; penannular; plain hoop of circular section; ends slightly swollen with encircling chased lines behind flat terminals.  
(O) 1913.621; 0.059 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119-120; Group 19.
- 245 Bronze; plain hoop of circular section; open-ended; flat terminals.  
(WA) 108761; 0.065 W.; (not certainly Deve Httýtk).
- 246-7 Bronze; pair; plain hoop of circular section; open-ended; flat terminals with incised encircling bands.  
(C) E.97.1913; 0.060 D.
- 248-51 Bronze; plain hoops of circular section; open-ended; flat terminals.  
(C) E.98.1913 (1 of 4); 0.050 D. (approx.).
- 252-3 Bronze; pair; plain hoop of circular section; open-ended; flat terminals.  
(C) E.99.1913 (2 of 4: see below); 0.060 D. (approx.).
- 254-5 Bronze; pair; plain hoop of circular section; flat terminals, with incised encircling lines, slightly overlapping.  
(C) E.100.1913; 0.090 D. (approx.).



- 256 Bronze; spiral; plain hoop of circular section; slight thickening towards the flat terminals.  
(O) 1913.701; 0.047 D.
- 257 Bronze; spiral; plain hoop of circular section; flat terminals.  
(O) 1913.702; 0.048 D.
- 258-9 Bronze; pair; plain hoop of circular section; flat terminals, with incised encircling lines.  
(L) 47.47.291; .072 D.
- 260 Bronze; plain; heavy, circular sectioned hoop.  
(L) 49.47.254; .070 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 20.
- 261-4 Bronze; four badly mis-shapen, open-ended small bracelets.  
(L) 49.47.307; .037 to .050 widest.

(B) Zoomorphic terminals

- 265 Bronze; penannular; plain hoop; stylised calf-head terminals.  
(O) 1913.603; 0.058 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, 119; Group 15.
- 266-7 Bronze; pair; plain hoop; stylized calf-head terminals.  
(O) 1913.703a, b; 0.075 gtest. W.
- 268-9 Bronze; pair; plain hoop; terminals in the form of calf-heads, overlapping; joined together by a thin bronze loop of wire, one end with a snake-head terminal.  
(O) 1913.698; 0.091 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.11.
- 270-1 Bronze; pair; plain hoops (distorted); very stylised animal-head terminals, so worn as to make identification of the animal uncertain (? calf).  
(WA) 108680 and 108680A; 0.060 D. (approx.).
- 272-3 Bronze; pair; thick, heavy hoops; slightly overlapping zoomorphic terminals; very stylised, perhaps calf-heads.  
(WA) 108679; 0.082 D.; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.12.
- 274-5 Bronze; pair; plain hoop; very stylised animal-head terminals (? calf).  
(C) E.63.1913; 0.082 D.
- 276-7 Bronze; pair; plain hoop; very stylised and worn animal-head terminals (? calf).  
(C) E.63.1913; 0.094/.096 D.
- 278-9 Bronze; pair (?); plain hoop; very stylised animal-head terminals (? calf).  
(C) E.98.1913; 0.050 D.
- 280-1 Bronze; pair; plain hoop with an inswing opposite the terminals, which are incised with animal features.  
(C) E.99.1913; 0.060 D.
- 282-3 Bronze; pair; plain, circular sectioned hoop; zoomorphic terminals: ram's horns curved round to frame eyes.  
(L) 49.47.233; .085 D.

- 284-5 Bronze; pair; plain, circular sectioned hoop; very flattened zoomorphic terminals, possibly calf heads.  
(L) 49.47.234; .090 D.
- 286 Bronze; slender hoop; zoomorphic terminals too corroded for description.  
(L) 49.47.278; .065 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 16.
- 287-8 Bronze; a pair; slender, circular sectioned hoop; zoomorphic terminals, possibly calf.  
(L) 49.47.289; .065 D.
- 289-90 Bronze; a pair; circular sectioned hoop; calf-head terminals.  
(L) 49.47.290; .067 D.
- 291 Bronze; slender hoop; rectangular section; calf-head terminals.  
(L) 49.47.292; .061 D.; (recorded as earlier than the Achaemenid period; but the type is clearly of that time).

The plain terminals, to judge by size, are largely found on wrist bracelets the zoomorphic ends on bracelets or anklets. The zoomorphic terminals, when not snake-heads, are most often the young calves or bovids familiar from fine silver examples in the Achaemenid period. They are most easily recognised by the line of curls, highly stylised here, along the lower jaw line (Amandry, 1958, 9ff). It is these finer pieces which are most commonly illustrated in publications; but the fashion was widespread in base metal and has an earlier history in Syria as in Iran (Vouni: Gjerstad, 1937, pl.XCIIe-g; Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl.XVIII; Macalister, 1912, 293, fig.154.3; Dunand, 1939, 194-5, fig.181, pl.XCIII.3054, CLXXXII.13548; "Masyaf Hoard", Syria: Amandry, 1958, pl.10: 13-14, 11: 19-20; 12: 30-2, for this provenance see Amandry, 1959, 46, n.70; on history: Moorey, 1971, 218ff.; also Stronach, 1978, fig.90; Stern 1973, 151-3, fig.251-2; 1978, 43; Poppa, 1978, 55-6).

Anklets had long been common ornaments in Syro-Palestine, as Miss Tufnell's summary of the evidence makes clear (1958, 37ff.; the historical hypotheses argued here are highly debatable). Iron had begun to be used for anklets by the earlier first millennium B.C., but does not appear to have enjoyed wide popularity (Tufnell, 1953, 389-90, pl. 154-6; Riis, 1948, 125ff). At 'Atlit the anklets were always of bronze, very heavy and with overlapping terminals; almost invariably worn on the right ankle (Johns, 1933, 52, pl. XVII.44). Bronze parallels for examples from Deve H<sup>tt</sup>tk II indicate a widespread fashion in the Levant (e.g. Petrie, 1930, 15, pl. XLVIII.574; Thureau-Dangin, 1936, 78, pl. XVI; Macalister, 1912, p.293, fig.154.10; Dunand, 1939, 174ff., pl. LXXII; Gjerstad, 1937, pl.XLII (Vouni)).

#### (C) 'Lotus' terminals

- 292-3 Bronze; pair; open-ended; rectangular sectioned hoop; crescentic terminals with moulding and incised encircling bands behind them; chased star; the upper surface of the hoop is ribbed for its whole length.  
(O) 1913.679-80; 0.072/0.074 D.

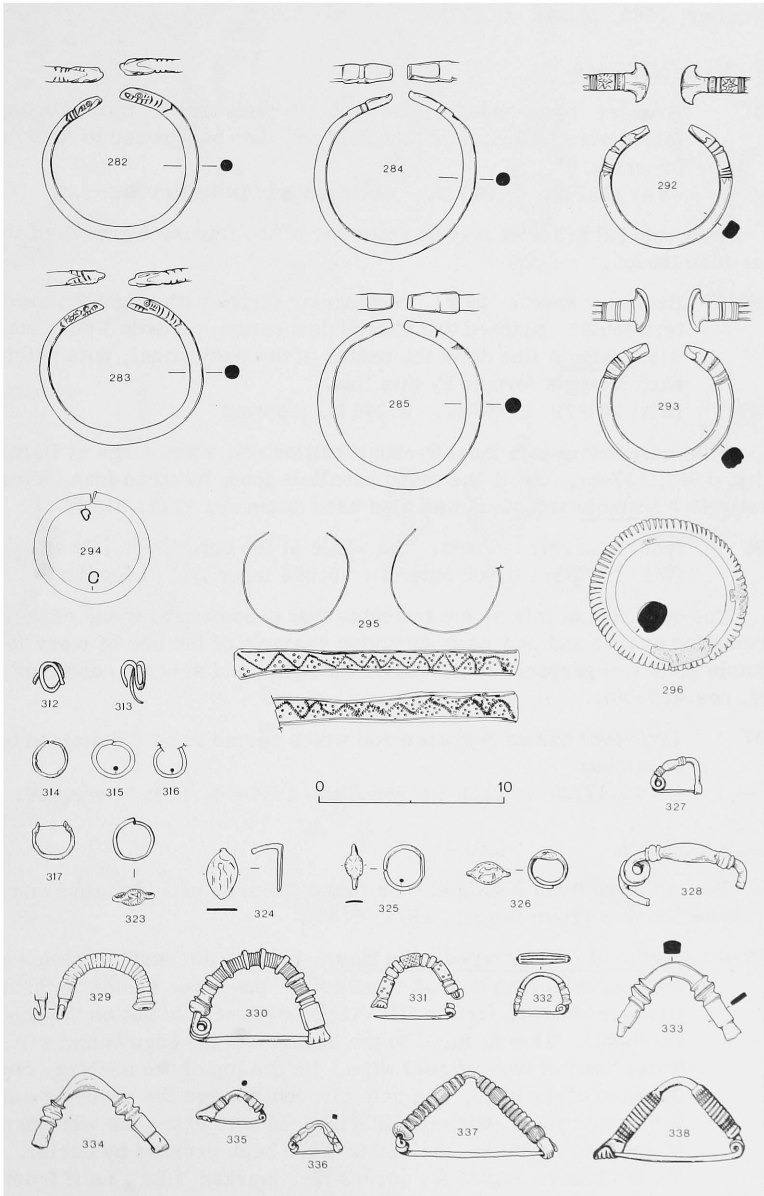


Fig. 12

A bracelet, illustrated by Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.10, seems to have a terminal similar to this, rather than the dog-head he described. The earlier form of this terminal appears in the cremation cemeteries at Hama (Riis, 1948, 126, fig.149); and the developed Achaemenid form, as here, at Ur (Woolley, 1962, pl.34: U.16730).

(D) Variant Forms

- 294 Bronze; open-ended; made from a rectangular strip of bronze folded over to form a hollow tube and then bent round to form a bracelet.  
(WA) 108762; 0.060 D.; not certainly Deve Httÿtk.

This unusual bracelet may be from one of the intrusive graves of the Parthian period.

- 295 Bronze; sheet; pair; rectangular strips with slightly flared terminals; punched and chased decoration: double linear borders with tremolo line down the centre of the main panel, dots within each triangle formed by this line.  
(WA) 108679, 108679A; 0.060 D. (approx).

This may belong to a local Syrian tradition (cf. sheet rings at Hama: Riis, 1948, 127-8); but it has many parallels from Western Iran, where the distinctive tremolo technique was also used (Moorey, 1971, 216 ff.).

- 296 Ivory; burnt; closed; the whole of the outer edge ribbed.  
(WA) 108758; 0.085 outer D; 0.060 inner D. (irregular).

The condition of this object indicates that it comes from one of the cremation graves and is a rare surviving example of the use of ivory for simple pieces of personal ornament in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (cf. nos.417-20).

- 297 Liverpool has an S-shaped rod which seems to be a distorted bracelet or anklet:  
(L) 49.47.261; .170 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 20.

II EARRINGS

The earrings from Kāmid el-Loz in the Lebanon provide important comparisons for this group (Poppa, 1978, 54-5).

- 298-9 A pair of 'boat-shaped' earrings; gold. The 'boat' in each case is made of a single piece of sheet gold; the lower end of the hoop is hammered out to form a flat circle of sheet gold set on the top of the 'boat'. This is fused to the basket and the edge bound with a triple band of twisted gold wire. On the top of the earring, opposite the base of the hoop, is a hole pierced through the covering and again with a margin of twisted gold wire. In both cases the workmanship is not very skilful; the 'boats' have been crushed by burial.  
(O) 1913.649; 0.023 H; 0.013 W; marked 'Dhy', as if from the cremation cemetery.

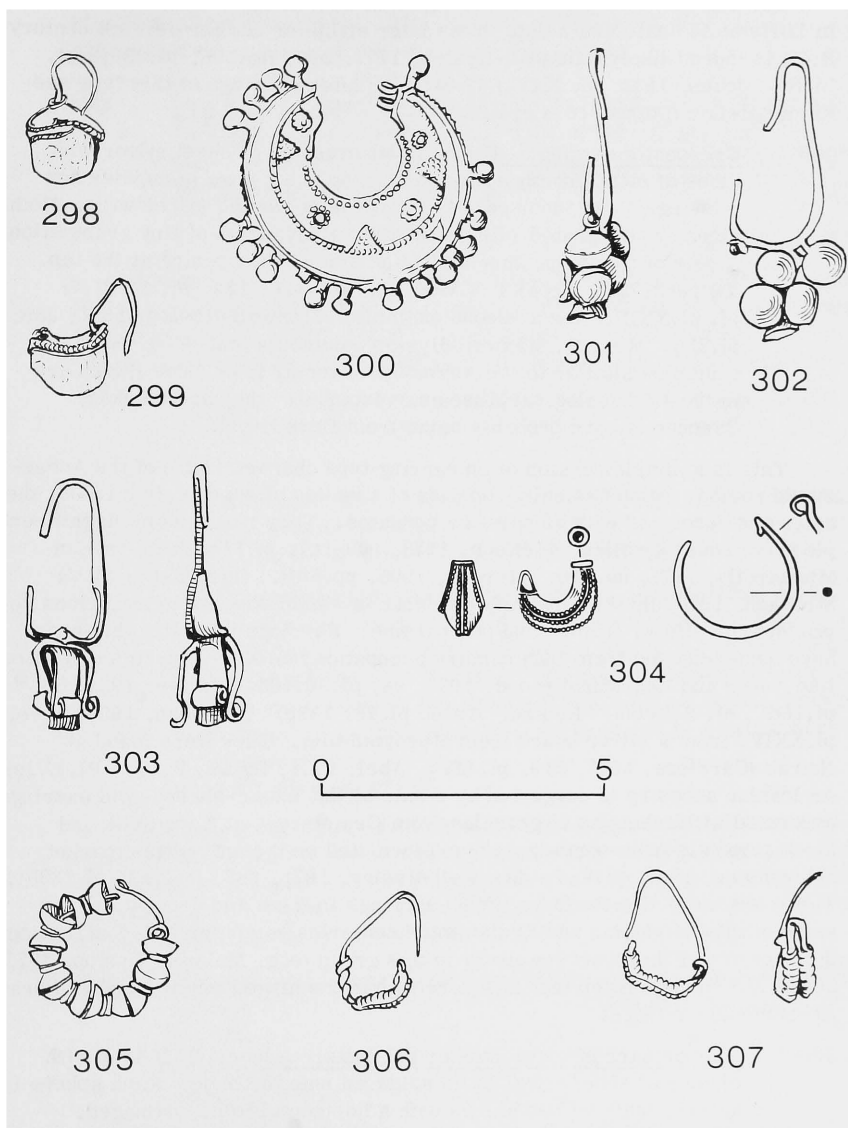


Fig. 13

Parallels for this form of earring from Tell Halaf in Syria and War Kabud in Luristan indicate that a date in the later eighth or earlier seventh century B.C. is indeed likely (Maxwell-Hyslop, 1971, 240, fig.133, pl.250; cf. 'Atlit: Johns, 1932, pl. XXV.637-8); for later earrings of this type see Kāmid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, pl.9).

- 300 Crescentic earring; silver. Flat crescent of sheet silver with blobs of metal evenly spaced along the outer edge (a number now missing). The inner edge is lined with a twisted silver wire. Both faces are decorated with 'rosettes' and triangles of tiny granulations. A pair of tiny loops survive on one side of the opening at the top. (O) 1913.731; 0.048 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 123, pl. XXIII.7; cf. pl.XXIII.5 for a second example; Maxwell-Hyslop, 1971, 268, pl.256. Mrs. R. Maxwell-Hyslop comments that 'Five more examples similar to the Ashmolean earring from Deve Hūytk are in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul; they are marked Carchemish and probably came from Deve Hūytk.'

This is a simple version of an earring type characteristic of the Achaemenid period, which basically consists of a series of concentric circles, the outer one decorated with globules or pendants. They range from magnificent pieces of court jewellery (McKeon, 1973, 109-117, pl.I\* with its pair in Muscarella, 1974, no.156; Morgan, 1905, pp.50ff., figs.78-80, pl.V; Stronach, 1978, fig.85) to simple variants in which wire and granulations reproduce the effects of inlay and polychrome. Earrings very like this one have been reported from fifth century occupations on Neo-Assyrian city sites like Assur and Khorsabad (Loud, 1938, 98, pl.60.166; Haller, 1954, 59, pl.16d; cf. Babylon; Reuther, 1926, pl.76. 138c; Robinson, 1950, 44-8, pl.XXIV, from a silver hoard from Mesopotamia). They were found at Neirab (Carrière, 1927, 210, pl. LIV; Abel, 1928, fig.2a, b, c.; Pl. LVIc). An Iranian ancestry is suggested by a pair of flat lunate-shaped gold earrings decorated with triangles of granules from Cemetery A at Tepe Sialk and exact parallels from north-west Iran circulated on the antiquities market (Ghirshman, 1939, pl.V.7; Maxwell-Hyslop, 1971, 187, fig.112, pl.133b). These are more like the Deve Hūytk earrings in form and decoration than some of the Babylonian and Lydian intermediaries commonly cited in tracing the ancestry of the court jewellery in this group (e.g. Maxwell-Hyslop, 1971, 268-9). It may be noted that this earring had the hinged pin of more elaborate Achaemenid earrings.

- 301-2 Pair or earrings with cluster pendants; silver. Tall hoop with cluster of sheet silver balls soldered onto the base. Each sphere is hollow, made of two halves with a horizontal join; damaged. (O) 1913.623; 0.049 H; Woolley, 1914-16, 119-20; Group 19, pl.XXIII.8; Maxwell-Hyslop, 1978, pl.XXXb.

Parallels for this earring in silver from Tell Farah (South) and Kāmid el-Loz and, in gold, from Tell ed-Duweir (Petrie, 1930, pl.XLVIII.572; Poppa, 1978, pl.5; Tufnell, 1953, 160, fig.15) indicate that they were widely produced in the Levant in the Achaemenid period (cf. the 'Jordanian' hoard: Kraay & Moorey, 1969, pl.XXII.131, 134-5). Again their ancestry may be traced most directly to Iran, where Neo-Elamite jewellers at Susa (Amiet,

1966, pl.357), and earlier the craftsmen who served the aristocracy of Marlik in Gilan (Negahban, 1964, fig.78), constructed earrings from small spheres of sheet gold and silver.

- 303 Earring with floral pendant; silver (copper corrosion products). Tall hoop with rectangular base-line specially hammered out. Four strips of sheet metal, with lower edges rolled back, are rivetted to the base line to form a four-petalled floral device with a pyramidal centrepiece, solid cast.  
(O) 1913.737; 0.015 W; 0.045 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII.6.

This is a local jeweller's attempt to reproduce as faithfully as possible the fine earrings with floral pendants long favoured among the Assyrians (Maxwell-Hyslop, 1971, 244-5). It also appears in the graves at Neirab (Abel, 1928, 194, fig.2g) and at Tell Jemmeh (Petrie, 1928, pl.XXIV.73).

- 304 Earring; leech-shaped; silver; patterned with granules.  
(L) 49.47.252 L. of drop; .014 W; Woolley, 1914-16, 120, Group 20.

This was a popular type of earring in the fifth century (Petrie, 1928, pl.I.17, XX.48; Carrière, 1927, pl.LIV. 107a,b, 110; Woolley, 1938, 165: MN 187; Kraay & Moorey, 1969, 194ff., pl.XXII).

- 305 Earring with beaded decoration; bronze. Open-ended circular strand of wire; square-sectioned; coiled once at the top to form a sprung hoop, which is pierced with a tiny hole corresponding to one in the other end of the hoop. Set round the hoop are tiny hollow spheres each made of two halves with a vertical seam; between each 'bead' is a wire separator; at each end is a half sphere with a flat surface.  
(O) 1913.695; 0.024 W.

Technically this earring is closely related to nos. 301-2 but here the spheres have been set horizontally, perhaps to imitate a more elaborate type of earring in precious metal with granulated or beaded decoration round a circular hoop. This earring has a fixing device which seems to be a more primitive form of the hinge found on no.300.

- 306 Earring with twisted wire decoration; bronze. Single strand of bronze wire bent to form the hoop and then doubled back at the bottom to form two parallel strands which are both tightly bound round with bronze wire to form a pair of coils.  
(O) 1913.693; 0.023 W; 0.030 L.

This looks like a local jeweller's way of reproducing the more elaborate earrings of the period made with a simple loop-in-loop chain (Minns, 1913, fig.190.4; Kraay & Moorey, 1969, 200, no.136, pl.XXII). It has Neo-Assyrian precursors (Jakob-Rost, 1962, 35, fig.3); for the Achaemenid period compare an earring from Kāmid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, pl.11).

- 307 Earring; exactly like no.306; but with a small eye-bead on the damaged pin.  
(O) 1913.694; 0.024 W.

There is the remains of a bronze earring of this type with (C) E.106 1913 (see no. 523).

- 308-11 Earrings; bronze; four damaged examples; one of them like 306.  
(L) 49.47.295; .013 to .016 L.  
For such simple earrings, see also Kāmid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, *passim*).

### III HAIR-RINGS

- 312-13 Wire coil; bronze; 0.016 D; wire coil; silver; 0.021 D.  
(O) 1913.599-600; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15.

The form, and the context, of these objects suggests that they might be hair-rings rather than finger rings. Similar objects were found in graves of the Achaemenid period at 'Atlit in Israel (Johns, 1933, 54, fig.10, pl. XVII.408-9, pl. XXV, 643, pl. XXVI.980-1). The manner in which such rings were worn, commonly in dressing hair over the ear, may be seen on Syrian and Cypriot sculpture (Andrae, 1943, pl. 34c; Gjerstad, 1937, pl. LXVI.1,3).

### IV FINGER-RINGS

#### (a) Plain rings

- 314 Open ring; bronze. Plain hoop with slightly overlapping terminals.  
(O) 1913.566; 0.019 D; Woolley, 1914-16, p.117: Group 1.
- 315-6 Bronze; open-ended, slightly overlapping terminals; another with terminals lost.  
(WA) 108699-700; 0.022/0.017 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 8.
- 317 Bronze; penannular ring with thin wire joining the open ends; probably to take a faience scarab mounted as a bezel.  
(O) 1913.576; 0.022 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 9.
- 318 Bronze; three corroded together; central one has a bezel.  
(L) 49-47.255; .025 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 20.
- 319 Bronze; two; bent out of shape.  
(L) 49.47.256; .020; .023 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 20.
- 320 Bronze; heavy; corroded; ? a finger ring.  
(L) 49.47.293; .022 D.
- 321 Bronze; penannular; plain with very slender hoop; ? a finger ring.  
(L) 49.47.294; .022 D.
- 322 Bronze; various small rings with overlapping terminals; very small apertures; function uncertain.  
(L) 49.47.296; .009-020 D.

The contexts of these rings alone indicates a fifth century date, since the type has a long history (cf. Neirab: Carrière, 1927, pl. LIV.100-1).



(b) Bezel Rings

- 323 Bronze; flat oval bezel made in one with a thin open-ended hoop; winged quadruped (?) on bezel.  
(O) 1913.613; 0.022 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 18.
- 324 Bronze; part of a finger ring with large flat oval bezel worked in one with the thin hoop; on the bezel: ? standing male figure in 'Median' dress.  
(O) 1913.565; bezel: 25 x 17 mm; hoop: .5mm (broken); Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 23, pl. XXIX lower (captioned 25).
- 325 Bronze; flat oval bezel made in one with a thin open-ended hoop; floral design within a frame on the bezel.  
(O) 1913.564; 0.024 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 117: Group 1.
- 326 Bronze; flat bezel worked in one with a thin open-ended hoop, terminals overlapping; animal passant (? lion) within a crude border on the bezel.  
(O) 1913.739; bezel: 18 x 10.5 mm; hoop: 19.5 dia.; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 22.

The regular appearance of the bezel ring in the Near East coincided with the Achaemenid Empire. Although there are isolated examples of bezel rings before this time, notably in Turkey (Boehmer, 1972, 120ff), the form with oval bezel and thin hoop, distinctive of the Achaemenid period, seems to be a development inspired by regular contact with the Greeks, who had used such rings for some time. This change in fashion, accelerated in the Seleucid period, is an aspect of glyptic history.

The finger ring with bezel designs gained popularity as first the cylinder seal, and then the traditional forms of Near Eastern stamp-seal, gradually passed from common usage through the Achaemenid period. Impressions made by ring bezels among the fifth century Murashû archives from Nippur and the coffin hoard from Ur are generally of pointed ovals (Legrain, 1925, pl. XXXVIff.; Woolley, 1962, nos. 701ff.); the more rounded bezels seem to be later (Boardman, 1970, 322). When these rings are of base metal the bezel designs are often very difficult to make out accurately, as here; but the Deve Htıytık II designs differ in no significant way from the range of motifs recorded among rings regularly excavated (Poppa, 1978, 56; Schmidt, 1957, 46, 79 (also impressions on tablets); Ghirshman, 1954, 33ff. (Susa); Dalton, 1964, nos. 107ff.; Stronach, 1978, fig. 92), or circulated through the antiquities market in Iran (Porada, 1964, 16-17, pl. II.3-4; this paper also surveys the earlier "lobed" rings not represented at Deve Htıytık).

## V FIBULAE

In publishing brief comment on the cremation cemetery, Deve Htıytık I, Woolley (1914) illustrated no fibulae from it. The three fibulae on pl. XXVIa in that paper, without any indication of source, are from the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (cf. Woolley, 1939, pl. XIXc. 4-6). It then seems possible that some of the fibulae without recorded grave-groups illustrated on pl. XXIII of Woolley, 1914-16, come not from the inhumation cemetery Deve

Hüyük II that was the subject of the article it illustrates, but from its eighth century predecessor. In the 24 grave-groups from Deve Hüyük II listed by Woolley, 10 contain fibulae (1, 4, 5, 8, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21 & 25). Two small fibulae in 8 are not classified—the remainder are compared to types A-M (no. I) shown on Woolley, 1914-16, plate XXIII, lower. On this system there is 1 of type A, 3 of D, 3 of G, 2 of J, 1 of K and 1 of M. No examples of B, C, E, F, H and L are cited in this connection and, as the following list shows, some if not all, of these could have come from the eighth century cremation graves at Deve Hüyük. Fibulae were among the Deve Hüyük objects sold to Berlin (see p. 143).

Most studies of fibulae in the Near East have concentrated on their early history and distribution rather than on their slow retreat from fashion. It might be assumed from some of these surveys that by the fifth century fibulae were already in eclipse. Such does not seem to have been the case, for traditional forms are still regularly encountered at this time. At Persepolis the members of Delegation IX sculptured on the Apadana friezes wear capes fastened with fibulae. Although the identification is not entirely secure, they are usually said to be Cappadocians (Roaf, 1974, 129, with references). In excavations at Persepolis only two curved and two angular bronze fibulae were recorded (Schmidt, 1957, 79, pl.46.5-6); but they were more numerous in Achaemenid and later contexts at Susa (Ghirshman, 1954, 34, pl. XLVIII; see also Ghirshman, 1964, 90-107). In Iraq Woolley commented that at Ur "one thing which distinguishes the Persian from the Neo-Babylonian graves is the common occurrence in the former of the bow fibulae" (Woolley, 1962, 103, pl. 34). Finds in graves at Nippur and Kish (Cemetery W) confirm this (McCown, 1967, pl.151.19-21; Moorey, 1978, Microfiche 1). Contemporary with Deve Hüyük II are graves at Ras Shamra in Syria (Schaeffer 1935, fig. 7; also Stucky, 1972, fig.4, pl.III; Stucky, 1973, pp.26-8) and Kamid el-Loz in the Lebanon (Poppa, 1978, 54) with fibulae. Fibulae continued to occur through the upper occupation levels at al Mina (Woolley, 1938, 162ff., fig.17). Although the evidence is more scattered, there is sufficient indication that a similar usage was current into the fifth century, if not later, in Palestine (Johns, 1933, 55; Tufnell, 1953, 394; Stern, 1973, 153 lower left) and Egypt (Petrie, 1906, 19, pl.XXA). Vanden Berghe (1978) has listed the fibulae from Western Iran.

The Deve Hüyük fibulae have been included to a greater or lesser extent in the three current classifications of these objects, by Birmingham (1963), Blinkenberg (1926) and by Stronach (1959). As in no case are they all included, the most comprehensive listing, that by Blinkenberg, forms the framework for the following catalogue:-

(a) Blinkenberg XIII. 1

- 327 Bronze; cast. Assymetrical bow with elongated forearm and rounded arc; pin complete. Bow swollen in the centre with mouldings at either end.  
 (O) 1913.689; 0.020 H; 0.027 L. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIIIB; Blinkenberg, 1926, 234, Type XIII.1.b; Stronach, 1959, "East Mediterranean Type III"; Birmingham, 1963, "Mycenaean and derivative forms IV", 90 cites this fibula, though her list on 89 gives 1913.690 below.

- 328 Bronze; cast. Almost horizontal bow with swollen centre framed by two mouldings; catchplate and pin broken off.  
(O) 1913.690; 0.030 H; 0.069 L; Blinkenberg, 1926, 234, Type XIII.1.c; Birmingham, 1963, "Mycenaean and derivative forms IV", 89 (c. 1125-950 B.C.).

Birmingham remarked that no. 327 did not really belong to the category in which Blinkenberg had placed it, since "its small size and sharply triangular shape show that it has come under the influence of the 8th-7th century elbow fibulae"; for Stronach it was "a surprisingly late example found in the Post-Assyrian cemetery". Both would be more at home in the cremation rather than the inhumation cemetery and, if indeed they were found there, are survivors.

(b) Blinkenberg XIII.3

- 329 Bronze; cast. Semi-circular ribbed bow with traces of fabric bound round the centre of the bow; pin lost.  
(O) 1913.563; 0.032 H; 0.052 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 117; Group 1; Blinkenberg, 1926, 237, Type XIII.3.c (incorrectly as 1913.569).
- 330 Bronze; cast. Semi-circular, continuously ribbed bow; prominent disks with bands of ribbing between them; pin complete; catchplate in the shape of a human hand.  
(O) 1913.686; 0.050 H; 0.076 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIIIK; Blinkenberg, 1926, 237, Type III.3.f; Stronach, 1959, p.189; Near Eastern Type I.5.

Were it not for the presence of no. 329 in an inhumation grave-group, both these fibulae would be more readily expected in an eighth century context.

(c) Blinkenberg XIII.5

- 331 Bronze; cast. Semi-circular bow with various ribbed cross-hatched and plain mouldings; catchplate in the form of a human hand, very stylized. Catch broken.  
(O) 1913.732; 0.030 H; 0.045 L. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIIIC; Blinkenberg, 1926, 238, Type XIII.5a; Stronach, 1959, 190; Near Eastern Type I.6.
- 332 Bronze; cast. Grooved semi-circular bow of rectangular section with multiple ribs at each end; complete pin.  
(O) 1913.688; 0.023 H; 0.030 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII H; Blinkenberg, 1926, 238, Type XIII.5c; Stronach, 1959, 187; Near Eastern Type I.3.

Both of these fibulae have a number of seventh century parallels.

(d) Blinkenberg XIII.10

- 333 Bronze; cast. High arched bow of square section; plain bead on each arm; catch plate broken and pin, possibly of iron, lost.  
(O) 1913.657; 0.041 H; 0.072 L; from Cremation Cemetery. Blinkenberg, 1926, 240-1, Type XIII.10.b.

Fibulae of this type, originating in the ninth century, developed a more sharply angled bow by the seventh, when the triangular form became commoner and decoration more elaborate.

(e) Blinkenberg XIII.11

- 334 Bronze; cast. Arched bow with collared bead on each arm; pin lost.  
(O) 1913.687; 0.040 H; 0.075 L; ? Cremation Cemetery.  
Woolley, pl.XXIII A; Blinkenberg, 1926, 242, Type XIII.11.b;  
Stronach, 1959, 193: Near Eastern Type II.4.

This type of fibula with grooved beads and slightly swollen bow appears in Syria in the later seventh century.

(f) Blinkenberg XIII.12

- 335 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with mouldings at either end; complete; two incised lines on the catch plate.  
(O) 1913.567; 0.018 H; 0.033 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 117, Group I; Blinkenberg, 1926, 243, Type XIII.12a.
- 336 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow, square-sectioned, with moulded decoration at each end; complete.  
(O) 1913.601; 0.027 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15;  
Blinkenberg, 1926, 243, Type XIII.12b.
- 337 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with grooved rings on each arm; catchplate in the form of a human hand; pin complete.  
(O) 1913.773; 0.046 H; 0.088 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII G; Blinkenberg, 1926, 245, Type XIII.12.m; Stronach, 1959, 196: Near Eastern Type III.4.
- 338 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with grooved rings on each arm; complete.  
(C) E.61.1913; 0.045 H; 0.080 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 21, cf. pl.XXIII G.
- 339 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped with prominent ribbed mouldings on each arm; pin lost.  
(C) E.62.1913; 0.090 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 21, pl. XXIII M.
- 340 Bronze; cast. Triangular bow with bead-and-reel mouldings at each end; each reel chased with short lines. Catch-plate in the shape of a human hand; pin complete.  
(O) 1913.685; 0.051 H; 0.100 L.; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII J; Blinkenberg, 1926, 245, Type XIII.12.n.
- 341 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with bead-and-reel mouldings on each arm; iron pin lost.  
(WA) 108713; 0.040 H; 0.105 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 118, pl.XXIII J: Group 13; Blinkenberg, 1926, 246, Type XIII.12.t; Stronach, 1959, 200: Near Eastern Type III.7.

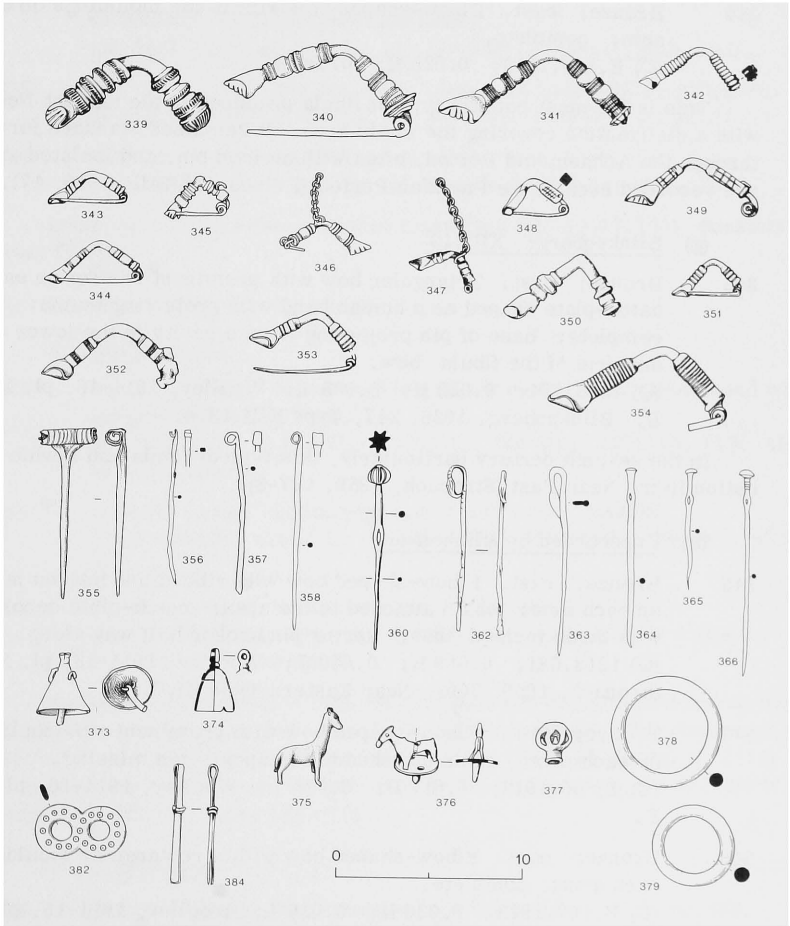


Fig. 14

- 342 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with ribbed mouldings on each arm; iron pin now lost.  
(WA) 108698; 0.027 H; 0.057 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, 118:  
Group 8; Blinkenberg, 1926, 246, Type II.12.v; Stronach, 1959,  
196: Near Eastern Type III.4.
- 343 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with mouldings on each arm;  
complete.  
(C) E. 108.1913; 0.020 H; 0.044 L.
- 344 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with crude mouldings on each  
arm; complete.  
(C) E.110.1913; 0.025 H; 0.053 L.

This is the most popular type of fibula produced in the ancient Near East with a distribution covering the whole area. It remained standard form through the Achaemenid Period, often with an iron pin, and isolated survivors are recorded even in the Parthian Period (Frisch and Toll, 1949, 47).

(g) Blinkenberg: XIII.13

- 345 Bronze; cast. Triangular bow with prominent ribbing on each arm;  
catch-plate shaped as a human hand with projecting thumb; pin  
complete; base of pin projecting from a cavity in the lower end of  
one arm of the fibula bow.  
(O) 1913.774; 0.022 H; 0.035 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII  
E; Blinkenberg, 1926, 247, Type XIII.13.b.

In the seventh century particularly, this type of fibula had a wide distribution in the Near East (Stronach, 1959, 197-8).

(h) Unrecorded by Blinkenberg

- 346 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with ribbed and beaded mouldings  
on each arm; chain attached to the apex; catch-plate decorated  
with three incised lines; spring pin broken half way along.  
(O) 1913.681; 0.019 H; 0.040 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII D;  
Stronach, 1959, 200: Near Eastern Type III.7.
- 347 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with prominent rib-mouldings  
on each arm; chain attached to the apex; pin missing.  
(C) E. 60.1913; 0.017 H; 0.036 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII  
F.
- 348 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with a rectangular moulding on  
each arm; complete.  
(C) E.107.1913; 0.020 H; 0.036 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII  
L.
- 349 Bronze; cast. Elbow-shaped bow with crude circular mouldings  
on each arm; pin lost, but base passes through lower end of one  
arm.  
(C) E.109.1913; 0.038 H; 0.072 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16,  
pl. XXIII G (i.e. Blinkenberg, 1926, Type XIII.12.m).

- 350 Bronze; cast; angular; pin lost; 3 prominent mouldings on each arm.  
(L) 49.47.275; 0.063 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIII A, p.119: Group 16.
- 351 Bronze; cast; intact; both arms beaded for whole length.  
(L) 49.47.241; 0.038 L; 0.020 H; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII D.
- 352 Bronze; cast; complete, though pin detached; bead-and-reel mouldings; iron stain on pin base.  
(L) 49.47.239; 0.075 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIII J.
- 353 Bronze; cast; pin detached; clasp as hand with bent fingers.  
(L) 49.47.240; 0.057 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIII J.
- 354 Bronze; cast; as above; pin lost.  
(L) 49.47.266; 0.098 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIII J.

Liverpool also has two corroded fragments ((L) 49.47.300), possibly from fibulae.

## VI STRAIGHT PINS

### (a) Rolled heads

- 355 Bronze; cast; hammered top rolled over; shank decorated with incised encircling lines.  
(O) 1913.611; 0.032 W; 0.091 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 18, pl.XXII.19.
- 356 Bronze; cast; hammered top rolled over; broken.  
(WA) 108687; 0.083 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 117: Group 7, pl.XXII. 21.
- 357-8 Bronze; cast; hammered tops rolled over.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 518-9 (C. L. Woolley acquisition); 0.088 L; 0.108 L: ? Deve Hüyük.

The appearance of these pins (or just possibly cosmetic sticks) in two inhumation groups fixes their date; comparable objects were excavated from the "Achaemenid Village" at Susa (Ghirshman, 1954, pl.XLV G.S. 2113). Such pins were also in use in Syria earlier in the Iron Age, as at Sinjirli (Andrae, 1943, 93, figs. 109-110).

### (b) Toggle-pins

- 359 Bronze; cast; melon-shaped segmented head; cf. no.360.  
(C) E.93.1913; 0.152 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.22.
- 360 Bronze; cast; large melon-shaped segmented head.  
(L) 49.47.263; 0.099 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 20.
- 361 Bronze; cast; flat, slightly swollen head.  
(C) E.111.1913; 0.105 L; Woolley, 1914-15, pl. XXII.20.

- 362 Bronze; cast; lower end lost; top in the shape of a bird's head curving over; short chased lines on the upper shaft just below the head.  
(O) 1913.718; 0.089 L (as extant); Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.19.
- 363 Bronze; cast; very corroded; head in silhouette looks like that of a predatory bird; as tip is lost it might be a kohl stick.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 517 (C.L. Woolley acquisition); 0.102 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.19.
- 364 Bronze; cast; nail-head; slight swelling where pierced.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 513, (C. L. Woolley acquisition); .066 L; ? Deve Htıytk.
- 365 Bronze; cast; nail-head; slight swelling where pierced.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 514; (C. L. Woolley acquisition); 0.066 L; ? Deve Htıytk.
- 366 Bronze; cast; domed head with mouldings on the upper shank; swelling about hole.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 515; (C.L. Woolley acquisition); 0.111 L; ? Deve Htıytk.

The presence of such pins as these in association with objects from the fifth century inhumation cemetery is surprising and the possibility that they are Late Bronze Age intruders cannot be excluded. Toggle-pins were found in Iron Age contexts at Hama (Riis, 1948, 134), also perhaps examples from Sinjirli (Andrae, 1943, 94, fig.111-112). A toggle-pin was found at Tell Rifa'at in a Hellenistic level (Seton-Williams, 1967, 25).

- 367-71 Bronze; very fine wire-like shanks; four with heads turned over; one broken off.  
(L) 49.47.231; .048-.070.
- 372 Needle; cast; point lost; bronze.  
(L) 49.47.230; .120 L.

## VII PENDANTS

- 373 Small bell; bronze; sheet; conical with a long bronze clapper secured by wire passed through the sides of the bell towards the top.  
(O) 1913.593; 0.030 H; 0.027 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119; Group 15, pl.XXII.27.
- 374 Small bell; corroded; clapper lost; ring handle for suspension.  
(L) 49.47.253; .034 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 120; Group 20.

Such small bells as this were widely used as personal ornaments. In the Egyptian Delta they appear among beads on necklaces about the same time that polychrome glass head-pendants first became fashionable (Petrie, 1906, 17-18, 29-42, 45, pl.XIXA, pl.XXXVIII.41). One of the fifth century tombs in the cemetery at Salamis in Cyprus yielded seven perforated shells used as beads for a necklace and a bronze bell-shaped pendant (Karageorghis, 1970, pl.CLIV.T.73A.2.). They have also been found on major Assyrian



sites (Loud, 1938, pl.60.160-5; Rimmer, 1969, pl.XIXb) and at Susa and Pasargadae (Ghirshman, 1954, pl. XLVI G.S.2121; Stronach, 1978, fig. 88.21-3). Later, in the Parthian period, they were worn at the waist to judge from their position in undisturbed graves (Toll, 1946, 121-2).

- 375 Tiny statuette of a standing young deer with budding horns; bronze. (O) 1913.696; 0.040 H; 0.036 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIX. 12.

Although this small statuette has no suspension loop and does not appear ever to have been pierced for suspension, it is hard to classify save as a pendant. Such animal pendants in base metal were particularly popular in western and north-western Iran in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Moorey, 1971, pp. 232ff.).

- 376 Tiny goat, pierced vertically, mounted on a disk, with two holes in it and a spike below; bronze; perhaps a stopper. (L) 49.47.310; 0.038 H.
- 377 Hollow sphere with short collar; bronze; one large hole surrounded by six oval openings in the side. (O) 1913.614; 0.022 H; 0.021 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 18.

This object is very like the spear-butt, no.181 here; but it is too small for such a function. It is probably a terminal of some kind but for what is not apparent from the context.

I have been unable to trace the pendant of "Cypriote type" (pyramidal with triangular cutouts in the sides) illustrated by Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXII.9.

### Rings

- 378-9 Bronze; two cast rings with closed circuit; marked 'Dh'. (O)1968.68-9; 0.043/0.030; 0.060/0.045.

These two rings are probably not personal ornaments. They look more like rings for fitting or adjusting straps on a horse harness or sword belt.

- 380 Plain; bronze; cast, perhaps for suspending an akinakes (nos. 149-155). (O) 1913.587; 0.026 D; ? Group 11.
- 381 Plain; bronze; cast. (O) 1913.583; 0.025; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 11.
- 382 Bone; figure-of-eight shape; burnt; regular concentric circles incised on front. (O)1913.660; 0.28 W; 0.48 L.

The condition of this fitting indicates association with a cremation grave in Deve Htytk I. It seems again to be a strap-junction.

- 383 Ring: ivory; flat with chipped edge. (L) 49.47.245; 0.021 D; 0.009 D central aperture.

## TOILET EQUIPMENT

### (i) Tweezers

- 384 Bronze; sheet; plain; sliding ring of twisted wire.  
(O) 1913.691; 0.063 L.; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.24.

This simple cosmetic tool was standard equipment in Syro-Palestine by the Iron Age and appears regularly (Macalister, 1912, III, pl. CXXXV.1; McCown, 1947, pl. 105.13-14; Lamon, 1939, pl.84: 21; Riis, 1948, 134: XXII; Poppa, 1978, pl. 19, grave 61; for the Achaemenid period in Iran: Susa: Ghirshman, 1954, pl.XLIX G.S.2201).

### (ii) Mirrors

- 385 Bronze; cast; tanged disk.  
(C) E.65.1913; 0.179 L; 0.125 D.
- 386 Bronze; cast; dull gold alloy; heavy disk with short square-sectioned tang.  
(WA) 108703; 0.153 L; 0.110 D.; Woolley, 1914-16, 129, pl. XXII.25--listed as Group 8.
- 387 Bronze; sheet; tanged disk.  
(WA) 108763; 0.193 H; 0.133 D. (? Deve Htytk).
- 388 Bronze; cast; tanged.  
(L) 49.47.309; 0.162 L; 0.112 D.

The circular mirror with a tang to be fitted into a wooden or bone handle did not become the prevalent shape in Egypt until the XXVIth Dynasty (Petrie, 1927, 29). Thereafter for two or three centuries it was associated throughout Egypt, Palestine and Syria with a common set of toilet articles, as at Deve Htytk II, including kohl tubes and sticks, and cosmetic palettes (cf. for example Petrie, 1906, pl.XXA; Macalister, 1912, 289-300, fig.154.5 = 155 (rt) 157.5; Johns, 1933, pl.XXIII.551 ('Atlit); Carriere, 1927, pl. LV A (Neirab); Thureau-Dangin, 1936, 80, fig.23 (Til-Barsib); Stern, 1973, 149).

### (iii) Kohl tubes

#### (a) Bone

- 389 Natural bone; badly burnt; hollow; upper and lower margins decorated with a broad band of incised lattice pattern; at one end the wall thickens to take a vertical hole for fitting a lid; opposite, a hole in the side to set a fastening; 5 holes round the bottom for fitting a base plate.  
(O) 1913.667; 0.075 H; 0.050 D.
- 390 Natural bone; hollow; incised bands of lattice and herring-bone decoration at each end; one (? the lower) pierced with four holes and the inside shaved down, perhaps to fit a base plate; no surviving trace of holes at the other end.  
(C) E.70.1913; 0.094 H; internal D. 0.010/.020.

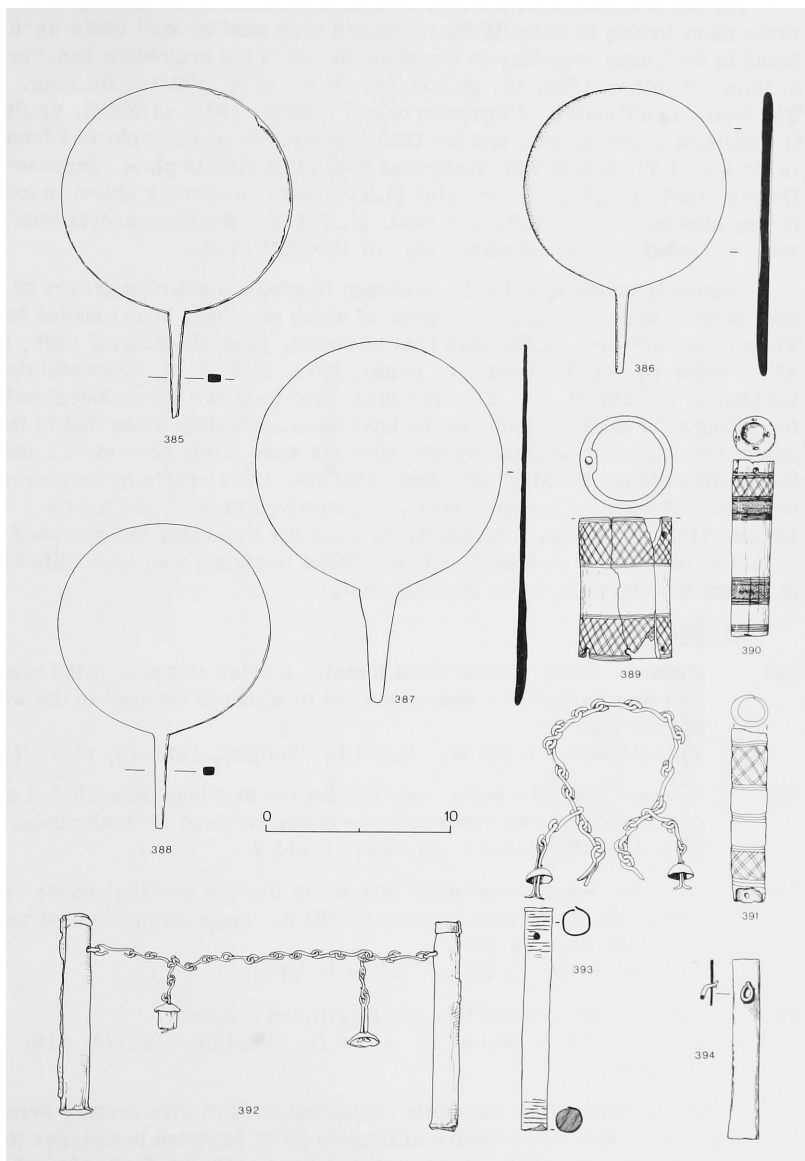


Fig. 15

- 391 Natural bone; hollow; band of incised lattice decoration at each end; hole through the side at one end.  
(WA) 108684; 0.092 H; 0.018 D.

The burnt condition of the tube in Oxford indicates that some at least of these tubes belong to Deve Htıytk I. Indeed very similar kohl tubes were found in the Yunus cemetery at Carchemish and in the cremation cemeteries at Hama (Woolley, 1939, 22, pl.XXI.22; Riis, 1948, 179-82, fig.230). The type was ultimately of Egyptian origin (Petrie, 1937, pl.XXXI, pp.762-4) It continued in use at least into the fifth century, for an example was found in tomb C at Til Barsib with the bronze kohl stick still in place (Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl.XVIII.8; cf. also pl.XVI.8-9); a similar object in tomb G may also have been a kohl tube (ibid. pl.XVI.9). Similar associations were recorded at Hazor (Yadin, 1961, pl.CCCLXV.7-9).

Caution is encouraged by the presence in Syro-Palestinian graves of the fifth century of decorated bones, some of which may have been handles for weapons or mirrors, rather than kohl tubes (cf. Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl. XVI.8 (tomb G), XVIII.7 tomb B; Poppa, 1978, pl.4, 7, 8, 10 (certainly a kohl tube), 18, 20, 21, 23, 25). But these tend to lack the peripheral holes for fitting a lid and base found on the kohl tubes. Woolley noted that in the inhumation cemetery at Deve Htıytk "Mirrors were fairly common... and the handles always missing" (Woolley, 1914-16, 123); perhaps they were commonly of wood. One ivory handle had survived in the 'Atlit tombs (Johns, 1933, p.53, fig.7, pl.XXIII.551), but the excavator thought wood had generally been used; a bone handle was found in place on an iron knife blade at Shikmona (Elgavish, 1968, pl.LXII.150).

(b) Sheet metal

- 392 Bronze; pair; folded sheet metal; wooden stoppers with bronze fittings attached to a chain, one end of which is secured to the walls of each tube.  
(O) 1913.697; 0.030 W; 0.108 L. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.29.
- 393 Bronze; one of a pair; exactly like the previous example but only one of the tubes survives with the chain and caps for both tubes.  
(WA) 108768; 0.117 L. of tube; 0.015 W.
- 394 Bronze; single sheetmetal tube made like the previous ones; a loop in the upper side fixed by a split pin suggests that it also was originally one of a pair.  
(C) E.64.1913; 0.096 L; 0.014 D. of top.
- 395 Bronze; cylindrical tube, now split and flattened.  
(L) 49.47.276a; 0.106 L; 0.016 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 16.

As with so much of the cosmetic equipment used in fifth century Syro-Palestine, these kohl tubes derive ultimately from Egyptian prototypes (for the Levant cf. Petrie, 1930, pl.XLIV.1; Johns, 1933, 86-7, fig.64, pl. XXVII.711 ('Atlit); Carrière, 1928, pl.LVb (Neirab)). Examples were reported from the Late Iron Age Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley, 1939, 26: grave YC2).

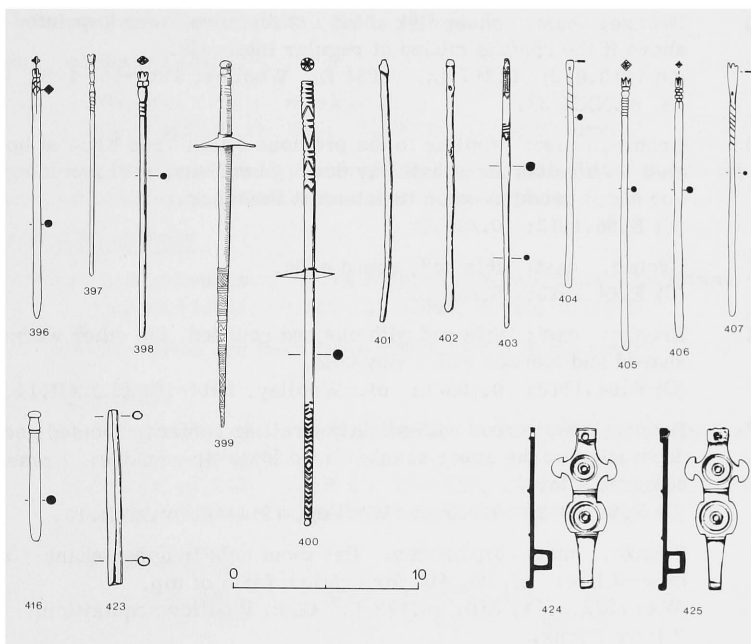


Fig. 16

(iv) Kohl Sticks

All have rounded tips and are therefore not pins.

- 396 Bronze; cast; plain save for a slightly moulded head.  
(WA) 108705; 0.132 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 10.
- 397 Bronze; cast; head only decorated: ornamental moulding  
terminating in a castellated finial; bead-and-reel mouldings on the  
upper shank.  
(O) 1913.598; 0.119 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 119; Group 15, pl.  
XXII.13.
- 398 Bronze; cast; similar to the previous stick but with a more  
crudely moulded head.  
(C) E.92.1913; 0.142 L; perhaps Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.16.
- 399 Bronze; cast; sheet disk about 1/3 distance towards pointed end;  
above it the shaft is ribbed at regular intervals.  
(O) 1913.610; 0.217 L; 0.034 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group  
18, pl.XXII.23.
- 400 Bronze; cast; similar to the previous stick; rod blunt at both  
ends with a disk about half way down; bead-and-reel mouldings at  
one end; crude chevron incisions at the other.  
(C) E.96.1913; 0.236 L.
- 401 Bronze; cast; thin rod, round ends.  
(C) E.64.1913; 0.236 L.
- 402 Bronze; cast; thin rod with one end rounded, the other wedge-  
shaped and pierced with a tiny hole.  
(C) E.64.1913; 0.135 L; cf. Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.14.
- 403 Bronze; cast; rod with slightly swelling centre; incised geometric  
decoration on the upper shank; head lost, tip rounded; brassy  
coloured alloy.  
(C) E.91.1913; 0.145 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.15.
- 404 Bronze; cast; top broken; flat about hole in upper shank; spiral  
incised line; cf. no. 407 for original form of top.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 516; 0.122 L; C.L. Woolley acquisition;  
? Deve Hüyük.
- 405 Bronze; cast; rod with castellated top and mouldings round the  
upper shank.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 520; 0.148 L.
- 406 Bronze; cast; rod with castellated top and two squarish mouldings  
on upper shank.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 521; 0.140 L.
- 407 Bronze; cast; flattened top with three points on the upper edge  
(damaged); hole pierced through at the base of the head; spiral  
incised line down upper shank.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 522; 0.137 L.

- 408-9 Bronze; cast; rectangular heads with four small projections.  
(L) 49.47.229a, b; 0.150 L; 0.134 L (tip lost).
- 410-12 Bronze; cast; very corroded; traces of moulded tops; 2 broken.  
(L) 49.47.262; 0.102, 0.127, 0.151 L.
- 413-5 Bronze; cast; one swollen at both ends; one rectangular head with four projections; one with a swollen, one with a spatulate end.  
(L) 49.47.276<sup>c</sup>; 0.127 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 16.

There are precise parallels for these cosmetic sticks at Kāmid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, *passim*; see also the sticks at Til Barsib and Neirab: Thureau-Dangin, 1936, pl.XVIII.8; Abel, 1928, pl.LVb: Tb.28, rt). They occur at Pasargadae in Iran (Stronach, 1978, fig.91.13). The form was already known in Syria by at least the Late Iron Age (cf. Yunus Cemetery Woolley, 1939, pl.XXI.13). The decoration derives directly from bone prototypes (cf. Hama; Riis, 1948, 173-4).

(v) Cosmetic Pestle (?)

- 416 Bronze; cast; moulded top.  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 524; 0.070 L; ? Deve Htıytk.

This squat, relatively heavy object seems more like a pestle for grinding small quantities of cosmetic than a stick for applying it.

(vi) Rods of Ivory

- 417-20 One hollow tube; three solid rods with incised decoration.  
(L) 49.47.244; 0.112 L; 0.008, 0.009, 0.111 L.

Whether these are from Deve Htıytk I or II is not clear.

(vii) "Spangles"

- 421 Tiny hollow, hemispherical sheet bronze fittings, pierced at the top for sewing on to cloth.  
(L) 49.47.277; 0.006 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 16: "a quantity of small hemispherical bronze spangles."

(viii) "Bugle-beads"

- 422 Narrow, folded cylinder of sheet bronze; open at both ends.  
(L) 49.47.276<sup>b</sup>; 0.124 L; 0.008 D; Woolley, 1914-16, Group 16.
- 423 Like no.422, but badly corroded and split at one end.  
(L) 49.47.299; 0.095 L; Woolley, 1914-16, Group 16.

(ix) Box Fittings (?)

- 424-5 Pair of cast bronze fittings; pierced at one end to take a rivet; part of an iron rivet survives in situ in one case; below the narrow tongue there is an open rectangular loop.  
(C) E.89.1913; 0.085 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXII.30.

These are best identified as the hasps for a small wooden box, possibly for toilet equipment. What parallels there are indicate an association with the intrusive graves of Deve Htıytk III rather than anything earlier (cf. Davidson, 1952, nos. 895ff., pl.67).

## CHAPTER IV

### BAKED CLAY FIGURINES AND RELIEF PLAQUES

#### (A) Baked Clay Handmade Freestanding Figurines

##### (i) Female

- 426 Standing woman; buff fabric; crude columnar figure with stubby arms; appliqué clay blobs for hair and necklace.  
(C) E.80.1913; 0.097 H; Deve Htıytık I.
- 427 Standing woman carrying a child; buff fabric; details of head and headdress in appliqué clay.  
(O) 1913.634; 0.103 H; 0.040 D; Woolley, 1914, pl.XXVlb.1; Deve Htıytık I.

##### (ii) Male

- 428 Standing man; pinkish fabric, surface fired to a greenish colour; columnar body with right hand to forehead; left held across breast; turban-like headdress; band across mouth; large nose and bulging eyes; slightly restored.  
(L) 49.47.328; 0.109 H; 0.055 W; Woolley, 1914, 95; cf. pl.XXVI, fig.(b)2: Deve Htıytık II.

In describing the cremation graves in the Yunus cemetery at Carchemish Woolley (1939, 16) wrote, "The most elaborate graves were those of children. In them, against the side of the urn, there would be placed a clay feeding-bottle and a set of terracotta figurines, female figures in the case of a girl (pl.VI.2), horsemen and riderless horses in the case of a boy". These figurines, in what Woolley aptly described as 'snow-man' technique, were numerous at Carchemish in the upper levels. One house contained nine horses (Woolley, 1952, 257, pl.70). Most of the examples illustrated by Woolley are seventh century; but were "the last examples of a long-lived tradition". The Ashmolean collection contains fragments of a number of figurines in this style obtained by Woolley and others in Syria before 1920, as well as those in the Kefrik Group (see Appendix I here for Kefrik; also Ashmolean 1913.447 (Gaiourilla), 1914.131; 1914.781: Bt in Aleppo).

##### (iii) Horses and Horsemen

- 429 Horse; buff fabric; harnessing indicated by blobs under the neck only; no trace of a rider.  
(C) E.74.1913; 0.100 H; 0.090 W; Woolley, 1914, pl.XXVlb.3; Deve Htıytık I.



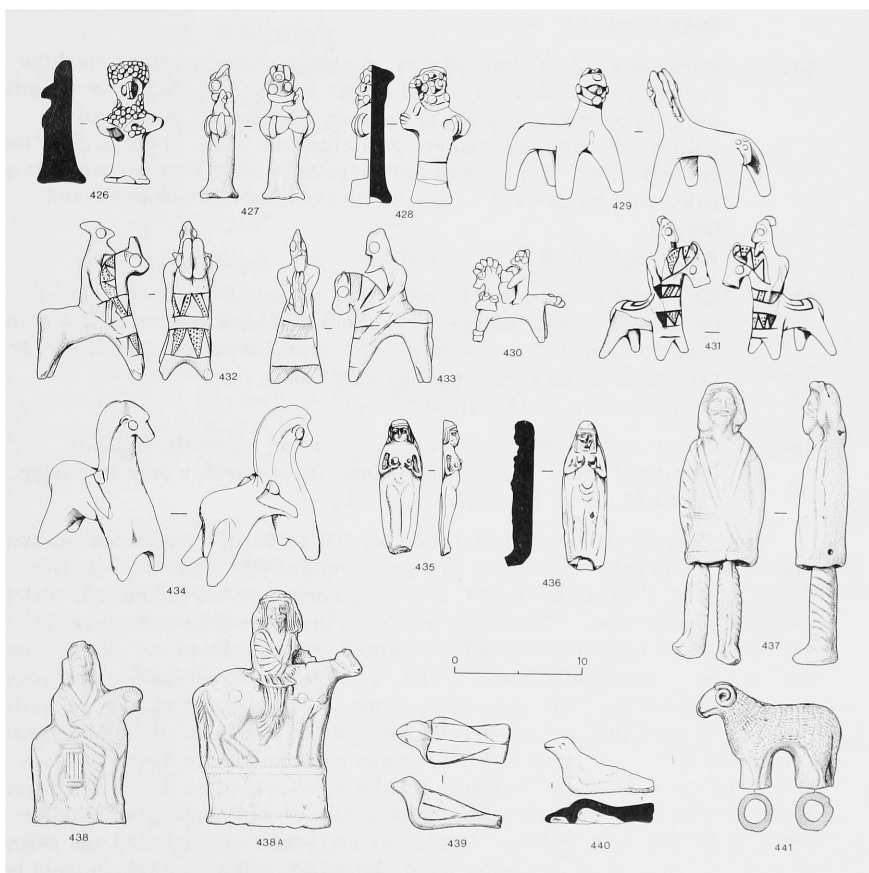


Fig. 17

- 430 Horse and rider; buff clay; details in appliqué blobs (Woolley's 'snow-man technique'); one foreleg lost; breast-plate with bosses; tail dressed; rider wears a bossed frontlet on his head and carries two vessels (?).  
(O) 1913.653; 0.073 H; 0.076 L; Deve Htıytık I.
- 431 Horse and rider; buff fabric; painted details in black; rider represented by head and upper body closely set against the back of the horse's neck; mane and other details painted in.  
(C) E.75.1913; 0.110 H; 0.100 W; Woolley, 1914, pl.XXVIb.4; Deve Htıytık I.
- 432 Horse and rider; buff fabric; forelegs of horse joined until the very bottom so that the model stands freely; horse has two heads set side by side, no doubt to indicate a led horse as well as a ridden one; the bearded rider is crouched close to the back of the horse's neck; the front of the horse is painted with pendant triangles filled with black dots; large blobs mark the eyes of rider and horses.  
(O) 1913.671; 0.073 H; 0.076 L.
- 433 Horse and rider; buff fabric; boldly modelled bearded rider; horse with broad, wedge-shaped rear and back legs so that it stands steady; bands of red paint in black margins on the animal's body eyes of men and horse appliqué clay blobs.  
(O) 1913.648; 0.119 H; 0.092 L.
- 434 Horse (rider lost); buff fabric; forelegs scarcely divided; prominent eyes; upstanding mane; legs of rider only surviving.  
(L) 49.47.329; 0.140 H; 0.103 L.

In his report on Deve Htıytık I Woolley (1914, 95-6) commented particularly that "... in the case of children there were added clay figurines, dolls (Plate XXVIb, 1 and 5) for a girl, for a boy horses or horsemen (Pl. XXVIb. 2-4) of Cypriote type. Thus a boy's tomb in the West Gate Cemetery (at Carchemish) consisted of a handled cinerary urn, unpainted ... while round the jar were set four clay horses, and, with them, two miniature clay pots. Sometimes the horses are riderless, more often there are riders, sometimes carrying shields and quivers and wearing pointed helmets. In some cases a second led horse is suggested by a curious convention, the single horse's body being provided with two heads side by side". Similar horse and horse-rider figurines were found in the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish (Woolley 1939, pl.XVIIIb. 1-2, c.1-2). These are entirely hand modelled and decorated with paint. This is an important point in distinguishing pre-Achaemenid horsemen, for the great majority of Achaemenid and later horsemen have moulded faces. Precisely when this trait first appeared is not yet certain. Some time in the sixth century is most likely, for this distinction also applies to horse and rider figurines from Mesopotamia (Barrelet, 1968, 128-30) and is first apparent about this time.

So far as I can trace, none of the typically Achaemenid riders were reported from Deve Htıytık II, though there is ample evidence for their popularity in Syria at this time. This may mean they were rarely placed in graves.

As Rostovtzeff (1935, 188) commented, "Similar statuettes of the Achaemenid period are found in hundreds in all the cities which were occupied by the Persian Army... They have never been collected and studied." At Al Mina the typical 'Persian' horsemen were best represented in level 2 (Woolley, 1938, 163, pl.X; cf. in Syria: Neirab, Carrière, 1927, 205-6, pl.LII; Nebi Mend: Pézard, 1922, pl.XVI, figs.1-2). The transition from the Achaemenid rider to his Parthian counterpart (see Deve Hüyük III below) is best documented at Seleucia-on-Tigris (van Ingen, 1939, 27-8).

(B) Baked Clay Mould-Made Plaques and Statuettes

(i) Single-piece mould

- 435     Nude female clasping her breasts; brownish buff; back plain and shaved down.  
 (WA) 108669; 0.033 W; 0.102 L.
- 436     Nude female clasping her breasts; brownish buff fabric; back plain and shaved down.  
 (C) E.52.1913; 0.120 L.

Both these plaques of nude females belong to Group A.I of the Riis classification (1949, 70-1). At Neirab comparable figurines were found in the upper levels of the mound that had served as a cemetery in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods (Carrière, 1927, 204-5, pl.51.32, 35). At Tell Ahmar no clear indication is given as to whether the published figurines were from the cemetery of the fifth century B.C., or from a slightly earlier context (Thureau-Dangin, 1936, 83, pl. 17.3, 5-6). At Al Mina examples were reported from levels 2 and 5 (Woolley, 1938, 163, 168, pl.X.MN 32, 86).

(ii) Two-piece mould

- 437     Hollow; standing bearded man; reddish buff fabric with traces of red and black paint; legs made separately, pierced through the top to be secured by string to the upper body; wearing a short kaftan open at the chest; baggy trousers; restored.  
 (O) 1914.20; 0.205 H; 0.070 W; Rostovtzeff, 1922, 11, pl.I.4.

Figurines of this type, both male and female, are typical of sites of the Parthian period in Syria and Iraq (cf. van Ingen, 1939, 26, n.7, no.562e, pl. XXXIX.282).

- 438     Hollow; horseman; freestanding; the rider has long hair, is bearded and wears a short kaftan open at the chest; baggy trousers; a rectangular box, apparently suspended from the horse's harness just below the rider's right hand, is probably a gorytus; combined quiver and bow case. The horse's legs are modelled in relief; hand broken.  
 (O) 1913.727; 0.140 H; 0.088 W; Rostovtzeff, 1922, 11, pl.I.2.

Soon after they reached the Ashmolean these two figurines caught the sharp eye of Rostovtzeff, who subsequently classified them as part of a 'Syro-Parthian' group. His attention was particularly directed to the horsemen in this category (Rostovtzeff, 1943, 184, n.26, for his final comments).

The Ashmolean has another good example, acquired by Woolley at Ain el-Beida (438A: 1913.454; 0.183 H; 0.127 W; Rostovtzeff, 1943, pl.I.1). Both may be dated by another, very similar, found in tomb 28 at Dura-Europos, dated not later than the first century A.D. Another such figurine was found in the town site at Dura-Europos (Toll, 1946, 110, pl. XLVIII; Rostovtzeff, 1935, fig.6). The Ashmolean example from Deve Hüyük was taken by Toll to be the earliest in the series, dating probably to the first century B.C. (see also Riis, 1942).

- 439 Dove; hollow; made in a two-piece mould; buff fabric; wings in low relief marked with a single straight line; broad, flat tail. (O) 1913.728; 0.043 H; 0.037 W; 0.090 L.
- 440 Dove; half a figurine exactly like that above; very worn. (WA) 108670; 0.045 H; 0.072 L.
- 441 Ram; hollow; made in a two-piece mould; thick, wide tail; curling horns; lower part of the legs restored. (O)1913.729; 0.086 H; 0.049 W; 0.120 L.

Parallels for the doves, on Greek sites, indicate that they might possibly date as early as Deve Hüyük II, though Syrian evidence suggests III (Stilwell, 1952, 187; for Syria, cf. Pézard, 1922, pl.XVII.2f). The ram certainly belongs with the later Parthian graves. The Ashmolean has a tomb group (1913.778-88), acquired by Woolley at a site called 'Sebahler' in Syria, with a ram of exactly this type associated with a shekel of Tyre and a bronze coin of Antioch, both of the first century A.D.

## CHAPTER V

### SEALS; BEADS; AMULETS; COINS AND WEIGHTS

#### (A) SEALS

As will be clear from the following catalogue, information on the origin of the seals recovered from the cemeteries at Deve Hüyük is often ambiguous. Woolley's reports make clear that cylinder seals were more common with graves of the cremation cemetery than with the later inhumation burials (1914, 96; cf. 1914-16, 126-7). By the Achaemenid period throughout the Near East, outside court circles, metal finger rings with decorated bezels (see nos. 323-6 here), and stamp-seals, were more widely used than cylinder seals. One of the special features of such stamp-seals in the Levant is the use of glass in their manufacture. When writing of the stamp-seals attributed to the cremation cemetery, Woolley only commented specifically on the bullae inscribed in Hittite hieroglyphic (1914, 96). He had more to say of seals in the inhumation cemetery: "Of the seals... the tall conoid seals with oval faces, of crystal or chalcedony, somewhat rudely engraved with Late Mesopotamian subjects... Round-faced conoid seals moulded in glass... Moulded paste scarabs and scaraboids are common" (1914-16, 126). This range is also found on contemporary sites in the area (cf. Neirab: Abel, 1928, 200, fig. 6; Thureau-Dangin, 1936, figs. 17-22; Til Barsip; Poppa, 1978, 62-3; Kamid el-Loz).

#### (1) Cylinder Seals

All the cylinder seals in Oxford were published by Buchanan, but are included here to allow for completeness and some revision in dating. With the exception of nos. 458-9, they are more likely to have belonged with the cremation than with the inhumation graves at Deve Hüyük. Measurements here are in millimetres (mm).

#### 1: The Cremation Cemetery

##### (i) Cappadocian Style (c 1950-1800 B.C.):

442 Brown and black jaspery limonite; broken. Three worshippers approaching a banded (?) crescent standard; from a cremation grave. Plate I

(O) 1913.748; 15x 9; Buchanan, 1966, no. 830.

The style of the seal establishes the early date clearly (Buchanan compared Mari II:3, pl. XXXIX, 942 from outside the palace) and, if the reported source is correct, it was by then a considerable antiquity.

(ii) Mitannian Style:

- 443 Brown jasper; broken. Bull's head between two eagles (?) above two, perhaps originally three, recumbent antelopes; linear borders. Plate I  
(O) 1913.743; 19 x 9; Buchanan, 1966, no. 917.

This is a typical example of the "Elaborate Mitannian Style" of the late fifteenth to fourteenth centuries B.C.

(iii) Neo-Assyrian Styles:

- 444 Light grey mica schist, brown-tinged; nude archer with footwear having turned-up toes, star, ornamental tree, rampant goat, bird, second archer, bush; linear borders. Plate I  
(O) 1913.317; 30 x 15; Hogarth, 1920, no. 238; Woolley, 1914, pl. XXCIH; Buchanan, 1966, no. 572.

Woolley's publication of this seal with material from the cremation cemetery broadly indicates its context. Moortgat-Correns (1969, 250) challenged Buchanan's classification of it as "Middle Assyrian", though she suggested no alternative. Buchanan's observation that the scene derives from thirteenth century Middle Assyrian hunting scenes is valid enough; but it seems more likely to be a provincial Neo-Assyrian seal of the ninth or eighth century B.C.

- 445 Red brown burnt limestone (?); cracked; male sphinx with feathered chest, archer on one knee with quiver on back, plant between them; in the field: "eye lozenge", two joined wedges; linear borders. Plate I  
(O) 1913.661; 25 x 11; Buchanan, 1966, no. 577.

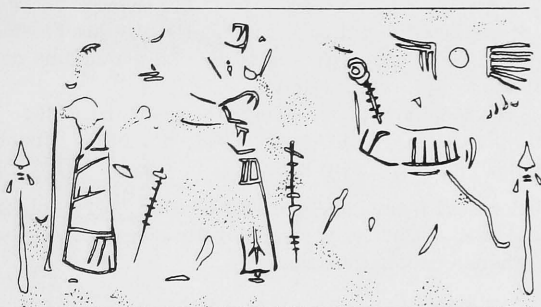
Buchanan compared a seal from Assur and another from Nimrud, both indicating a ninth century date for the Deve Htytk example.

- 446 Serpentine; worn and damaged; design flanked on each side by a spade of Marduk; worshipper facing standing deity; various illegible filling-motifs; animal passant, possibly a bull, with winged disk above. Figure 18  
(WA) 108741; 26 x 13.
- 447 Steatite; very worn; seated figure to left. Plate I  
(L) 49.47.258; 30 H; Woolley, 1914-6, 120, pl. XXIX, lower, DH20.

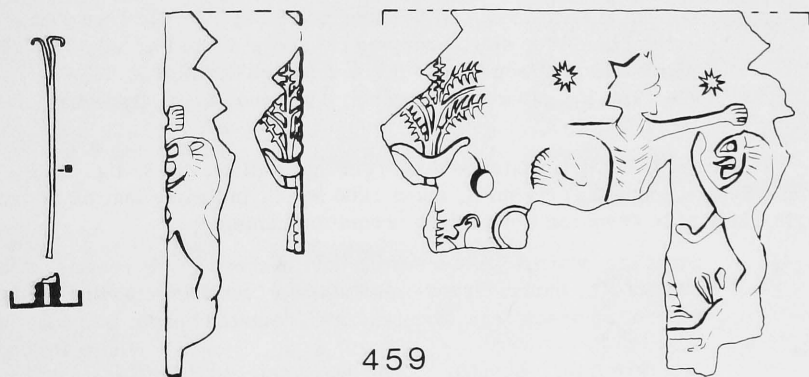
These like the previous seals are examples of the ninth or eighth century Neo-Assyrian "Linear Style". They had clearly been much used before burial.

(iv) Provincial Syrian Styles of the very late second or the earlier first Millennium B.C.:

- 448 Dark grey serpentine; two animals (one reversed); linear filling motifs; deep gouged linear borders. Plate I  
(O) 1913.758; 11 x 7; Buchanan, 1966, no. 730.



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Fig. 18

As Buchanan noted, his attribution of this seal to a provincial Jamdat Nasr style was not certain. This crude linear animal design might well be contemporary with the use of the cremation cemetery, whence it probably came, forming an aspect of the workshops represented by the following rather heterogeneous collection of crude designs from Deve Hüyük.

- 449 Green-glazed steatite; standing deity; jar on stand; mounted winged disk above offering table with provisions on it; enigmatic filling motif; seated deity. Plate I  
(O) 1913.336; 22 x 8; Hogarth, 1920, no. 236; Woolley, 1914, 96, pl. XXVIII; Buchanan, 1966, no. 992: "found with a cremation burial" (T. E. Lawrence).

A cylinder seal from Carchemish (Woolley, 1921, pl. 25b.3) suggests that this seal need not be other than broadly contemporary with the cremation cemetery, whence it is said to come.

- 450 Brown steatite; two ibexes, another smaller one above the second; stag; angular devices in the field; linear borders. Plate I  
(O) 1913.337; 22 x 8; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXVII J; Hogarth, 1920, no. 240.
- 451 Glazed faience, now buff coloured surface; worn; tree with horned animal on either side, scorpion (?) above animal to left, loop (?) above other; deep thickly cut double line borders.  
(O) 1914.33; 30 x 11; Hogarth, 1920, no. 229; Buchanan, 1966, no. 1026.

A more broadly cut faience seal from Hama (Riis, 1948, fig. 195F) attributed to cemetery period II, about 1000 B.C., indicates that this example is likely to be from the Deve Hüyük cremation cemetery.

- 452 Steatite; worn; indeterminate device above crude rosette, ornamental (?), human figure brandishing a "weapon" standing on the back of a horse; row of dots above, dentated border below. Plate I  
(O) 1913.750; 26 x 10; Buchanan, 1966, no. 1029.
- 453 Red serpentine, worn and chipped; bird above two horizontal wedges (?); ibex with head turned back, (?) young animals beneath suckling; rosette above uncertain curvi-linear device; five dots in field; notched border above and below (?). Plate I  
(O) 1913.744; 17 x 8; Buchanan, 1966, no. 103.
- 454 Red serpentine; worn; two registers with traces of animals and perhaps human figure (above left). Plate I  
(O) 1913.741; 18 x 10; Buchanan, 1966, no. 1035.
- 455 Faded glazed faience; convex; worn; very crude linear design, possibly a human figure flanked by animals; ground line. Plate I  
(O) 1913.745; 25 x 9 (13); Buchanan, 1966, no. 1042.





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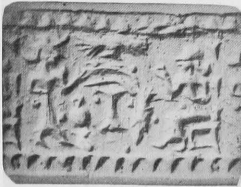
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- 456 'Steatite'; worn and recut, perhaps in antiquity; side-wise animal, human figure, second animal (?); illegible lines.  
 Plate I  
 (O) 1913.742; 22 x 11; Buchanan, 1966, no. 1043.

(v) Babylonian Cut-Style:

- 457 Brownish chalcedony; star above goat with head turned back, winged hero with scimitar.  
 Plate I  
 (O) 1913.733; 18 x 9; Buchanan, 1966, no. 651.

Buchanan attributed this seal to the "Cut Style" of the later eighth or seventh century B.C., when it is difficult to distinguish between Assyrian and Babylonian examples; he preferred the latter attribution.

2: The Inhumation Cemetery

(i) Achaemenid Style:

- 458 Blue glass; 'royal hero' grasping reversed lion on either side of him.  
 Plate I  
 (O) 1913.627; 17 x 9; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIX, 120: grave-group 23; Buchanan, 1966, no.681.

This is a typical seal of the Achaemenid court style, though the material, as with the following seal, may be distinctive of seal cutters in Phoenicia and Syria at that time.

- 459 Amber glass; badly broken; silver mounting pin and caps for both ends; design only very partially visible: date palm flanked by rampant goats; "royal hero" dominating rampant animals, one of which is certainly a lion.  
 Figure 18  
 (WA) 108717 (Pin: 0.038 L); Woolley, 1914-16, 118, 127 ('badly broken'); grave-group 13.

The triumphant hero alongside exactly this type of tree is a standard design, varying in details, among the seal impressions at Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, pl.3-4).

3: Parthian Grave (?)

- 460 Blue glass; very worn surface; frieze of three standing figures, dot.  
 Plate I  
 (O) 1913.746; 16 x 8; Buchanan, 1966, no. 1048: 'from a cremation burial'. (Woolley).

Woolley's attribution is suspect. As Buchanan pointed out, the style of the figures here suggests a date considerably later than the cremation cemetery. This is likely to be from one of the intrusive graves of the Parthian period noted by Lawrence.

(2) Stamp seals

(a) Prehistoric

The relationship of these seals to the cemeteries is now impossible to tell; but there is every possibility, to judge by other sites, that they had been found and re-used in the Iron Age, if only as ornaments:

- 461 'Steatite'; carinated hemi-spheroid; slightly concave face; broken and worn; antelope. Plate II  
(O) 1913.757; 22x 6.

Such seals as this may be dated towards the end of the prehistoric period in Syria (cf. Hogarth, 1920, no. 117, bought in Aleppo).

- 462 Brownish mica-schist; low backed gable seal; perforation (broken) parallel to design; two facing figures, outside arms up, inside ones meeting at vertical line (?shield); the figure to left may have a dagger at his waist, with what may be a bow behind; long stroke to right; holes in figures from wear. Plate II  
(O) 1914.90;  $21\frac{1}{2}$  x 18 x 5; Hogarth, 1920, no.51.

Seals of this shape are comparable in date to the previous one.

(b) Seals with Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscriptions

These are both clearly attributed to the cremation cemetery:

- 463 'Steatite'; double convex disk with two shallow grooves in the side; worn; on both faces: inscription in linear borders; in field of (a): two stars, two gouges; of (b) four stars, trefoil. Plate II  
(O) 1913.333; 24 x 13; Woolley, 1914, pl.XXVIII, 96; Hogarth 1920, no. 330; Kennedy, 1958, no.10.

This and the following seal, despite equivocal evidence from Alishar, are best regarded as survivors, manufactured no later than the thirteenth century B.C. (Buchanan, 1967, 18ff).

- 464 'Steatite' (burnt white); double convex disk with two shallow grooves in the side; irregular, almost flat faces; on both faces; inscription, linear border; added gouges in (a); (b) worn and broken. Plate II  
(O) 1913.334; Woolley, 1914, 96, pl.XXVIII; Hogarth, 1920, no. 331; Kennedy, 1958, no.27.

(c) Syrian: Eighth century B.C.

- 465 'Steatite'; disk, pierced by a piece of bronze wire ending in a loop; (a) Bull, spray before and above it; (b) Bull above animal; spray before and above it. Plate II  
(O) 1913.665;  $17\frac{1}{2}$  x 6; Hogarth, 1920, 89, no. 319.

This seal was attributed to the cremation cemetery. The iconography and style is in accord with such a dating, for it belongs with a whole group of seals from Syria at this time decorated with quadrupeds of various kinds (cf. Riis, 1948, fig. 199B, C).

(d) Syrian: Seventh century B.C.

- 466 'Steatite' (burnt); ovoid with side groove; on top: triple lined cross with X in quadrant; scorpion (?) above lion with tongue out; below, cross in rectangle; fish. Plate II  
(O) 1913.650; 24 x 20 x 12; Hogarth, 1920, no. 199; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIX.14.

Hogarth attributed this seal to a cremation grave; as its condition indeed suggests; but Woolley put it, almost certainly incorrectly, with the later graves. This is a Syrian form and cutting, belonging to a series predominantly of seventh century date, like the following seal.

- 467 'Steatite'; worn; ovoid with two shallow grooves on the high side; linear marks on top; one animal above another. Plate II  
(O) 1913.753; 16 x 12 x 9.
- 468 High Scaraboid; black serpentine; very worn; probably shows a lion couchant. Plate II  
(O) 1913.754; 16 x 13 x 10.

(e) Neo-Babylonian Styles

Stamp-seals of this shape and with comparable decoration were used in Mesopotamia under the Neo-Babylonian kings and then through much of the fifth century B.C. Woolley associated them particularly with the inhumation cemetery at Deve Hüyük (cf. Poppa, 1978, pl. 3, 19 (Kamid el-Loz)).

- 469 Bluish chalcedony; octagonal pyramid; worshipper, god with stylus in a crescent above a plant. Plate II  
(O) 1913.755; 18 x 12½ x 24½ (26); Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIXb, upper row centre.
- 470 Milky chalcedony; octagonal pyramid; chipped; symbols set on the back of a dragon recumbent on an altar, crescent above, standing worshipper. Plate II  
(O) 1913.562; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIXa.11, XXIXb (DH.1), 117: grave group 1.
- 471 Milky yellowish chalcedony; oval conoid; crescent above a plant. Plate II  
(O) 1913.740; 15½ x 12 (face 15/11½) x 20½ (22).
- 472 Bronze; solid; curved tops, flat sides and bases (no designs visible); suspension loops of wire, one retaining parts of a chain, the other broken. Figure 19  
(L) 49.47, 297a, b; 0.034 H; 0.018 H.

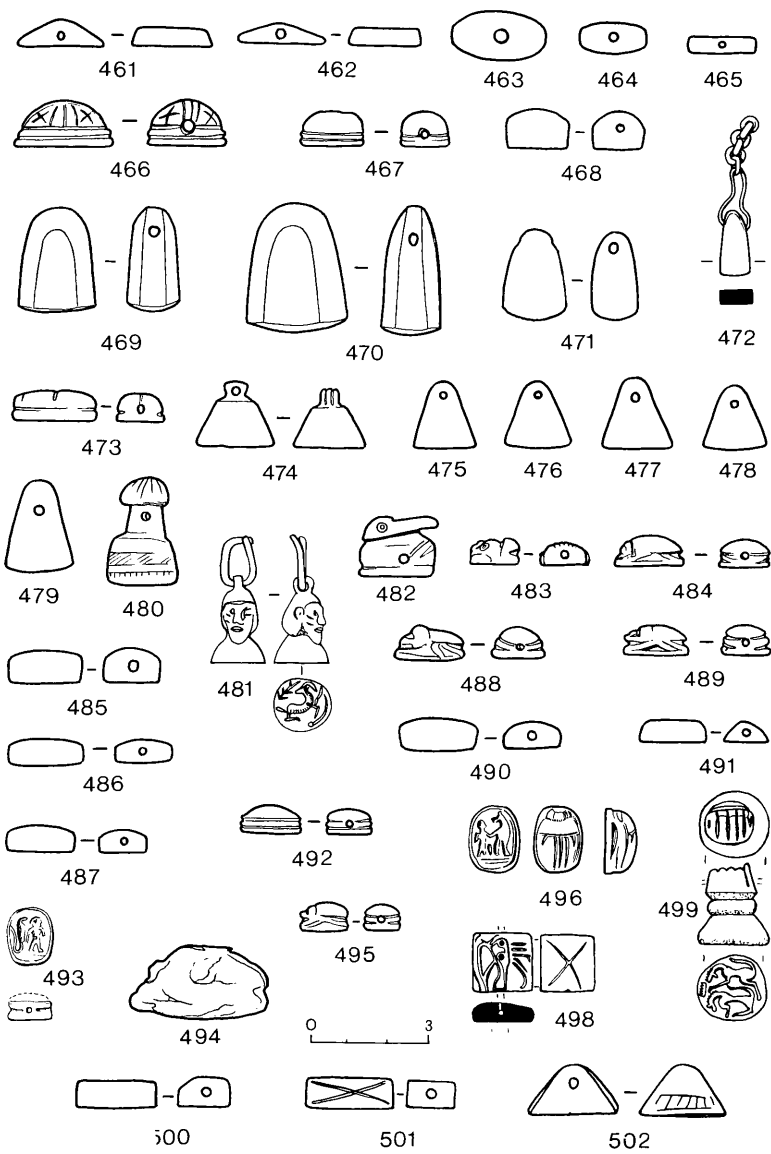


Fig. 19

Fig. 19

(f) Various styles of the seventh to fifth centuries B.C.

(i) Ovoid

- 473 Burnt steatite; loaf-shaped ovoid; shallow groove above the base; worn; man, head in profile to left, wearing boots with turned up toes, holding unidentifiable long objects on either side of him.  
Plate II  
(O) 1913.652 (1); 21 x 11 x 7; Hogarth, 1920, no. 289 (from a cremation grave).

(ii) Conoid

- 474 Faience; worn light green glaze; topped by a small, ribbed loop; standing figure with three upward curving wings on either side.  
Plate II  
(O) 1913.659 (1); 19 x 17.
- 475 Faience; worn green glaze; mouflon seated on its haunches facing to left with a sign like Egyptian nfr behind (two horizontal bars rather than one).  
Plate II  
(O) 1913.617; 16 x 18; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 18, pl. XXIX A.10 (shape), B 9.
- 476 Faience; bluish-green glaze; ?birds on either side of a central tree.  
Plate II  
(O) 1914.93; 18 x 18; Hogarth, 1920, no. 276 (from the cremation cemetery).
- 477 Faience; light blue glaze; walking bird with spiky wing and blob-like tail.  
Plate II  
(O) 1913.756; 19 (18) x 19; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.29 B.5.
- 478 Faience; faded blue glaze; winged (?) animal moving to right.  
Plate II  
(O) 1913.659(2); 16 x 15.
- 479 Green glass; copper or bronze wire suspension loop in situ; an 'antelope' moving to left; possible traces of another head above its rump.  
Plate II  
(O) 1913.724; 17 x 23.

(iii) Stalk

- 480 Burnt steatite; domed top with incised decoration; perforated stem; hatching round the lower sides; recumbent horned animal facing left with twisted creature in the field above. Plate II  
(O) 1913.752; 17 x 26 (base 12); Woolley, 1914-16, pl. 29 A.15 (shape).

(iv) Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic

- 481 Bronze; bust of a bearded man with a suspension loop on his head through which passes a wire ring; on the base a wild goat with head turned back; a branch and a snake (?) in the field. Figure 19 (WA) 108697; 22 x 14 (seal); Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIX. A3, p. 118: Group 8.



Plate II Stamp Seal Impressions

- 482 Burnt steatite; crouching hare carved on the back pierced between its legs; eyes represented by circles; elongated winged quadruped on base. Plate II  
(O) 1913.652(4); 16 x 18; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIX.6.
- 483 Burnt steatite; negroid face on the back, eyes rendered as circles exactly as on the previous seal; illegible incised design on the back.  
(O) 1913.652(3); 13 x 11; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIX.7.
- (v) Scarabs and Scaraboids
- 484 Scarab; faded blue glazed faience; uraeus behind a standing man above a nb sign. Plate II  
(O) 1913.736(1); 12 x 18 x 7.
- 485 Scaraboid; faience; bronze loop attachment; one end broken; plain back; surface chipped, trace of hieroglyphs (?). Figure only  
(O) 1913.747; 18 x 15.
- 486 Scaraboid; pale greenish-blue glazed faience; hieroglyphic inscription. Plate II  
1913.736(2); 11 x 16 x 6.
- 487 Scaraboid; greenish-blue faience; djed column flanked by uraei wearing Red Crowns facing outwards; sun symbol above; ground line. Plate II  
(O) 1913.736(3); 18 x 14 x 7.
- 488 Scarab; deep blue-green glazed faience; design too worn to read (possibly a Bes figure). Plate II  
(O) 1913.736(4); 17 x 13 x 10.
- 489 Scarab; pale blue glazed faience; standing man with uraeus. Plate II  
(O) 1913.751; 11 x 15 x 7; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIX, lower, 2nd from left, centre row; p.6: grave-group 6.
- 490 Scaraboid; dark, streaked yellowish-green glazed faience; worn surface; archer. Plate II  
(O) 1913.749; 17 x 14 x 7; said to be from the cremation cemetery.
- 491 Scaraboid of long ovoid form; yellowish-green glazed faience; bronze mounting wire in boring; chipped; ankh sign between notched lines; nb sign on each side. Plate II  
(O) 1913.651(2); 16 x 11 x 6; Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIX B.11; cf. Tufnell, 1953, 369, pl. 43:45 (Tell ed-Duweir).
- 492 Scarab with two thick side grooves; greenish-blue glazed steatite; ankh sign flanked by hatched nb signs. Plate II  
(O) 1913.652(2); 16 x 11 x 7; Hogarth, 1920, no. 290 (as cremation cemetery); Woolley, 1914-16, pl. XXIXB.14 (as inhumation cemetery).



- 493 Scarab; glazed steatite; back lost; uraeus behind walking man; nb sign below. Figure only  
(C) E.106.1913; 14 x 12 x 5; on a string of beads; Woolley, 1914-16, 120; Group 25; cf. pl. XXIX (DH6).
- 494 Scarab; faience; completely distorted by fire; ? recumbent sphinx with signs in the field above. Figure only  
(O) 1913.666; 32 long.
- 495 Scarab; faience; very worn; recumbent sphinx wearing Red Crown; forefeet held upwards; illegible sign in upper field. Plate II  
(O) 1913.659(3); 12 x 8.
- 496 Scarab; faience; man and animal (?). Figure only  
(L) 49.47.268; 16 x 13; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 24.
- 497 Scaraboid; faience; no trace surviving of glaze or design. Not illustrated.  
(L) 49.47.257; 21 x 15; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 20.

(v) Plaques

- 498 Green glazed faience; central boring; cross on upper side; stylized bird and fish (?) below. Figure only  
(WA) 108683 (part of); 14 x 15 x 5.

(vi) Fist

- 499 Baked clay; back shaped as a clenched fist with a prominent thumb; boring through fist; on the base two lions (?), one above the other; filling motif. Figure only  
(WA) 108683 (part of); 20 x 18.

Seals with a fist-shaped back were reported from levels of the Persian period at Tell Jemmeh (Petrie, 1928, pl.XX:17; cf. also Petrie, 1925, 7, nos.290-1). An earlier form, appearing in the eighth century at Sinjirli, is not quite so explicitly a fist (Andrae, 1943, 73-4, pl.37c).

(vii) Tabloid and Pyramidal

- 500 Tabloid; steatite: (a) schematic animal, (b) unclear lines (c) crossed lines (d) three gouges. Plate II  
(O) 1914.110<sup>e</sup>; 20 x 13 x 7½.
- 501 Tabloid; steatite; (a) two enclosed crosses, (b) two enclosed groups of offset parallel lines. Plate II  
(O) 1913.760; 22½ x 12 x 8.
- 502 Pyramid; brown glazed faience; crudely made; four crosses in squares. Plate II  
(O) 1913.759; 22 x 14.

(B) BEADS AND PENDANTS

This is the least satisfactory group of material available for study from Deve Hüyük. Even a casual glance will reveal how random is the selection,

how mixed the stringing, even when the assemblage is attributed to a particular group. Not only are there certainly beads and pendants from Parthian graves; but there may well be beads manufactured in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., if not earlier, for beads are notoriously enduring. Old beads are constantly re-used, particularly if of stone, and new ones regularly made to popular standard designs, especially in faience. The beads are listed below starting with those reported from groups. None are attributed to Deve Hıytlk I, though the condition of some might suggest the cremation cemetery.

Since there is nothing strikingly unusual in the following range of beads and amulets they are most instructively compared with such well authenticated groups as those from Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, 64-66) or the very varied selection from 'Atlit (Johns, 1933, 41 ff). Less clearly published grave-groups, such as those from Neirab (Abel, 1928, pl. LV, fig. 3), indicate that the range of types was standard over a wide area. Johns' (1933, 49-50) observations on 'Atlit sum up the cultural implications very well: "The mass of the material... is not particularly distinctive of any one foreign culture but was common to the whole littoral from the Nile Delta to Phoenicia and to Cyprus, as re-united by the revival of commerce in Sa'ite times. Forms of jewellery, for instance, then common to Cyprus, Phoenicia and coastal Palestine can mostly be traced to Egypt. But as in the manufacture of fine encrusted glass... these were crafts of Egyptian origin which Phoenicia and its dependencies had made their own." Among the jewellery from Deve Hıytlk II this is best illustrated by the ubiquitous faience "Eyes-of-Horus" in their simplest, silhouette form and the glass "eye-beads". These beads, set with "eyes" of two or more strata of glass in a colour contrasting with that of the matrix, have a vast area of distribution through the Levant, Egypt and the Mediterranean. Among the objects rescued from Deve Hıytlk II the relative rarity of faience amulets in the form of Egyptian deities or religious symbols is striking and possibly significant. They may concentrate on coastal sites and decline in concentration inland and eastwards (cf. 'Atlit: Johns, 1933, pl. XXVIII, XXX top for the primary types). The intrusion of beads from Parthian graves is easily established by comparison with comparable material from the graves at Dura-Europos (Toll, 1946).

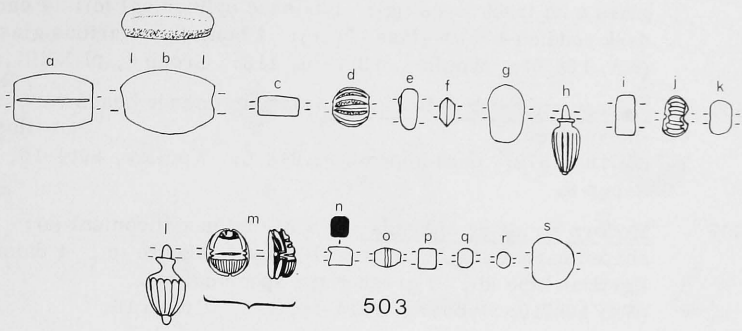
(1) Strung beads, amulets and pendants reported as from grave-groups

503 Modern stringing of beads and pendants: 1 black glass, barrel-shaped (a); 1 turquoise (?), ovoid (b); 1 faience, tubular (c); 4 faience, ribbed spherical (d); 1 yellow glass, cushion-shaped (e); 1 white glass, carinated (f); 1 bone (?), spherical (g); 1 faience attenuated vase-shaped (h); 1 brown glass, block-shaped (i); 1 rock crystal, ribbed (j), also one similar in blue glass; 1 rock crystal vase-shaped pendant (l); 1 carnelian scarab, plain base (m); 7 faience or glass of various shapes (k, n-s).

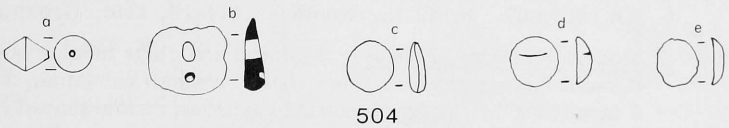
(WA) 108688; Woolley, 1914-16, 117 Group 7.

504 (a) Biconical glass bead on a piece of copper wire; (b) amber stud with flat base and slightly rounded surface; (c) brown stud like the former; (d) glass stud; (e) blue glass stud.

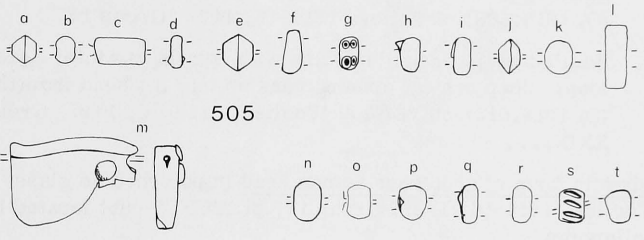
(WA) 108689-108693; 0.011 W; 0.020 W; 0.011 W; 0.012 W; 0.010 W; Woolley, 1914-16, 117: Group 7.



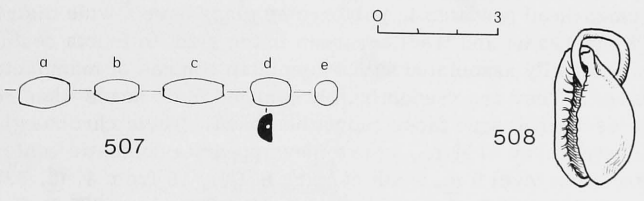
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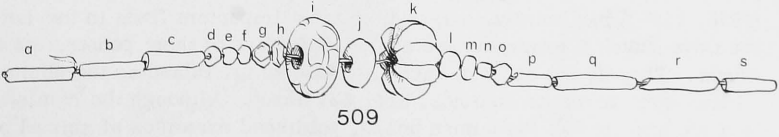


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Fig. 20

- 505 Modern stringing of beads and pendants: 1 pale blue faience silhouette Eye-of-Horus amulet (m); 4 carnelian beads (j, k, o, p), 3 spherical and 1 carinated; 1 faience with ribbed surface (s); 1 lapis lazuli spherical (n); 5 blue glass (b, d, f, h, i); 15 white glass with inset 'eyes' (g); 1 faience cylindrical (c); 4 carinated, dark reddish-brown glass (?) (e); 1 bone (l); various glass (i). (WA) 108701; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 8, pl. XXIX.16.
- 506 Modern stringing of beads: 25 tubular faience beads variously discoloured. Not illustrated  
(O) 1913.578; each approx. 0.018 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 9.
- 507 Modern stringing of beads: 1 white faience biconical (a); 1 barrel-shaped carnelian (b); 1 barrel-shaped chlorite (c); 1 damaged Egyptian blue (d); 1 green glass spherical (e).  
(WA) 108710; Woolley, 1914-16, 118: Group 10.
- 508 Shell; mounted with a suspension ring for stringing on a necklace.  
(O) 1913.607; 0.043 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15.
- 509 Modern stringing of beads: 7 faience and glass tubular (a-c; p-s); 6 small faience globular (d-e; l-o); 3 small carnelian, 1 spherical, 2 faceted (f-h); 1 large mottled carnelian melon-shaped (k); 1 spherical bead of poor quality carnelian (?) (j); one large spherical glass bead with inset white 'eyes'. discoloured (i).  
(O) 1913.608; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15.
- 510 Ram's head; dark blue glass with details in white; suspension loop; deep conical opening runs up into the head from the base.  
(O) 1913.612; 0.037 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 15, pl. XXIX.1.

("Pendant in form of grotesque human head in polychrome glass"

Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 17, pl. XXIX.2—not located in a British collection).

Human-head pendants in polychrome glass have a wide distribution through the Levant and Mediterranean in the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. They are usually associated with Phoenician centres of manufacture and commerce. They are predominantly bearded male heads when recognisable; the series of grotesque faces cannot be sexed. Their chronological range is well illustrated at Al Mina, where they appear in domestic contexts, with 5 reported from level 5 (c. sixth century B.C.), 15 from 4 (c. 520-430 B.C.), 10 from 3 (430-375 B.C.) and none from 2 (after about 375 B.C.). Stern (1976, 116-7) has briefly reviewed the most important finds in the Levant; the Deve Hıyıklı II examples are useful indicators of their penetration eastwards. They do not seem to have travelled so far inland as the ubiquitous 'Horus-eye' pendants (see nos. 514, 521 here). Although the ram's head is made exactly like the human heads, published examples of animal pendants are not so common as human ones (Haevernick 1977).

When found strung on complete necklaces the head pendants are normally at the centre. The identity of the figure depicted on the apotropaic amulets

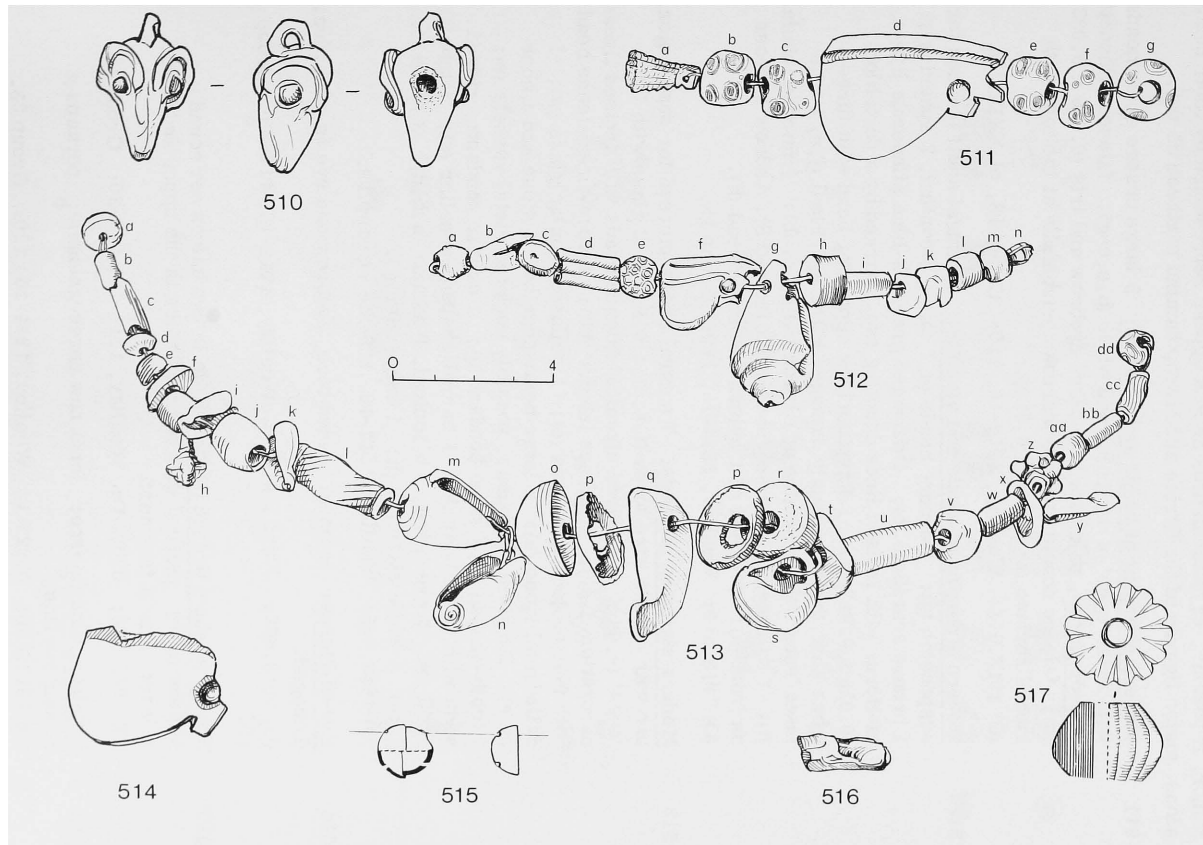
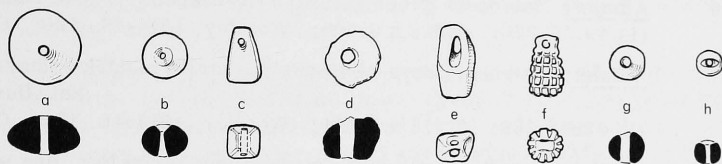


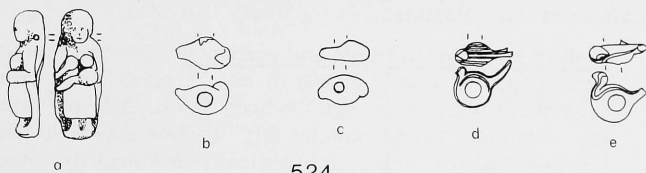
Fig. 21

has long been debated without conclusive answer. They are distinct from Bes and other demons found on many pendants in the Phoenician world (cf. Stern, 1976, 117-8; Culican, 1976, 21-4) but whether the relatively realistic male and female heads are indeed Baal and his consort as has been suggested is questionable. Although the demons Pazuzu and Humbaba, and such relatively minor, if popular, Egyptian deities as Bes appear represented by their heads alone, major figures of the Syrian and Mesopotamian pantheon do not.

- 511 Modern stringing of beads and amulets: 5 large orange glass beads with inset 'eyes' of dark blue and white (b, c, e-g); faience silhouette Eye-of-Horus, pale blue with black eyebrow and iris (0.046 x 0.032) (d); faience conoid amulet, pierced horizontally at the top, with ribbed surface (a) (0.016 x 0.010).  
(O) 1913.618; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 18, pl. XXIX.13.
- 512 Modern stringing of beads and amulets: 1 natural shell pierced for suspension (g); 3 bronze beads (a, l, m), 1 biconical, 2 spherical; 1 bronze scaraboid (c); 1 damaged greenish-blue silhouette Eye-of-Horus with incised lines denoting eye, marked by a dark blob (0.025 x 0.017) (f); 1 Egyptian blue separator bead with three tubes (d); three variously damaged glass spherical (j, n) 1 with inset 'eyes' (e); remains of 1 biconical glass (b); 1 faience tubular (i); 1 damaged faience scaraboid with incised St. Andrew's Cross on front (k); segment of 1 cylindrical stone bead (h).  
(O) 1913.619; Woolley, 1914-16, 119: Group 18.
- 513 Modern stringing of beads: 7 natural shells pierced for suspension, two with copper wire loops (i, k, m, n, s, x, y); 2 glass with inset 'eyes' (v, dd); 2 collared biconical faience beads with incised linear decoration (l, cc); 1 faience tubular (bb); 1 openwork faience bead with four projecting bosses (z); 1 collared tubular glass (w); 1 cylindrical stone (u); 2 large hemispherical, 1 stone and 1 bone (o, r); 2 bronze fragments, possibly necks of metal vessels (p); 1 tooth-shaped dark stone pendant (q); 1 bronze pendant: ridged stem with floral base (h); 1 barrel-shaped carnelian (e); 1 tubular shell (c); 3 green frit, 2 biconical, 1 tubular (a, b, d); 3 stone (aa, f, g); 1 white glass (?) (j); 1 bone, disc (t).  
(O) 1913.625; Woolley, 1914-16, 119-20: Group 19.
- 514 Eye-of-Horus; faience; faded blue, eyebrow and eye in dark blue; damaged.  
(O) 1913.622; 0.031 x 0.039; Woolley, 1914-16, 119-20: Group 19.
- 515 Spherical sheet bronze bead; made in two halves set round a faience core; pierced with two tiny holes in the upper and lower halves; also a fragment.  
(O) 1913.626; 0.005 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 119-20: Group 19.
- 516 Amulet; blue faience; form now unrecognisable: perhaps a recumbent lion.  
(O) 1913.630; 0.023 L; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 23.



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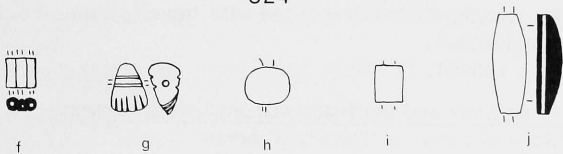


Fig. 22

- 517 Bead; pale green glass; fluted 'melon' shape; deeply grooved.  
(O) 1913.629; 0.020 x 0.027; Woolley, 1914-16, 120; Group 23.
- 518 Modern stringing of mixed faience, glass and stone beads.  
(L) 49.47.273; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Not illustrated  
Group 24.
- 519 Amulet; faience; green glazed; ape of Thoth. Not illustrated  
(L) 49.47.271; 0.015 x 0.008; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 24.
- 520 Amulet; faience; green glazed; fly-shaped. Not illustrated  
(L) 49.47.270; 0.018 x 0.006; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 24.
- 521 Amulet; faience; 'eye-of-Horus'; details in dark colour; worn.  
Not illustrated  
(L) 49.47.269; 0.012 x 0.011; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 24.
- 522 Amulet; steatite; square; pierced longitudinally; one side  
decorated with incised chequers; worn. Not illustrated  
(L) 49.47.272; 0.023 x 0.021; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 24.
- 523 Modern stringing of beads and amulets: 2 bronze barrel-shaped (b),  
1 amber glass with 'eyes' (n); 1 blue glass (h); 1 "white" glass (g);  
2 hemispherical frit (a, d); 1 steatite (l); 2 stone pyramidal pen-  
dants (c, e); 1 frit pendant with ribbed surface (f); 3 ribbed frit  
(i-k); "eye-of-Horus" amulet (m).  
(C) E.106.1913; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 25.

The last with a recorded context is described as 'one grave with the glazed amphora' i.e. Parthian, as the beads indicate.

- 524 Modern stringing of beads and pendants: faience amulet of a seated  
woman sucking a child (0.003 H) (a); 4 glass bird-pendants, simple  
drop shape pierced through the body (b-e); 1 triple faience separator  
(f); 1 faience "hand" amulet (g); 4 stone spherical beads (h);  
1 cylindrical (i); tapering biconical ivory bead (j); about 65 glass  
beads, sometimes decorated with 'eyes', some just blobs of glass,  
2 segmented.  
(WA) 108683.
- (2) Beads, amulets and pendants without known contexts  
(None of these is illustrated here)
- 525 Modern stringing of beads: 13 pale blue glass beads with navy blue  
and white inset 'eyes'; cylindrical glass with white stripes; 14  
tiny glass beads of irregular shapes, just simple drops of glass;  
1 biconical faience; 1 melon-shaped faience; 1 shell; 1 faience  
separator with two apertures; 1 worn glass spherical; upper part  
of an Egyptian Shu amulet.  
(O) 1913.659.
- 526 Modern stringing: 1 cylindrical glass, dark blue with red collars  
and yellow swirls; 5 spherical glass, mainly blue and white, 1  
yellow and green; 2 vase-shaped pendants of dark glass; 2 clear  
glass beads, 1 spherical, 1 pear-drop; 1 rock crystal spherical



bead; 1 bronze amulet shaped like a miniature axehead; 1 bronze stamp-seal with wire loop, design obscured; 1 rectangular glass bead; 1 faience hand amulet.  
(O) 1913.734. (Some, if not all of these may be from Parthian graves.)

- 527 Modern stringing of beads and amulets: 1 bluish-green faience silhouette Eye-of-Horus with brow and iris in black (0.025 x 0.017); 2 light blue faience silhouette Eyes-of-Horus with incised details and dark eye blob (0.014 x 0.011); 5 very worn dark glass scaraboids.  
(O) 1913.735.
- 528 Modern stringing of beads: 1 natural shell; 26 orange glass beads with dark blue and white 'inset' eyes; 1 spherical green glass; 7 ribbed faience and dark blue glass; 27 biconical green glazed red limestone (?) beads; 1 disk and 2 cylindrical beads of the same material.  
(O) 1914.104.
- 529 Modern stringing of beads and amulets: 1 bluish-green Eye-of-Horus with the details in raised linear relief in the same glaze colour (0.013 x 0.022); 3 tiny white stone or shell; 3 biconical, 1 spherical, 2 cylindrical, 1 carinated disk of steatite; the remainder segmented and flat triangular beads of the same stone.  
(O) 1914.105.
- 530 Modern stringing of 4 complete and 1 fragmentary "Horus" eyes pierced for suspension; 3 glass beads: black and white glass with inset circles in blue and yellow.  
(C) E.105.1913.
- 531 Pendant; faience; faded greenish-blue glaze; obese seated Bes with high triple feather headdress.  
(O) 1913.652(5); 0.022 H; 0.010 W.
- 532 Pendant; faience; faded greenish-blue glaze; as the previous object.  
(O) 1913.652 (6); 0.015 H; 0.007 W.
- 533 Eye-bead; blue and white glass.  
(O) 1913.736(5); 0.110 L.
- 534 Shell; copper or bronze suspension wire, with ends turned over, passing through it.  
(O) 1913.738; 0.047 L.
- 535 Vase-shaped pendant; green felspar; double horizontal bore.  
(WA) 108716; 0.010 x 0.011.

This type of pendant is more likely to have come from a Parthian than from an earlier grave.

- 536 Glass bead; very worn; ridged sides.  
(O) 1914.110c.

- 537 Glass scaraboid; very damaged.  
(O) 1914.110d.
- 538 Modern stringing of mixed faience, glass and stone beads; one faience pendant, bag-shaped with overall crisscross.  
(L) 49.47.243.
- 539 About 55 segmented faience beads; they appear to have been part of a cremation burial.  
(L) 49.47.286.
- 540 Modern stringing of mixed faience, glass and stone beads.  
(L) 49.47.301.
- 541 Modern stringing of mixed faience, glass and stone beads.  
(L) 49.47.302.
- 542 Bead; mica schist; rectangular; pierced longitudinally.  
(L) 49.47.247; 0.028 x 0.015 x 0.010.
- 543 Bead; faience (?); barrel-shaped.  
(L) 49.47.305; 0.025 x 0.020.
- 544 Beads; 16 rolled sheet copper or bronze; open at both ends, some slightly biconical.  
(L) 49.47.298; 0.047 to 0.051 in length.
- 545 Round pendant with suspension loop; amber glass; lion passant in relief.  
(O) 1914.110a; 0.020 W; Parthian period (cf. Crowfoot, 1957, 398, pl.XXVI.4).

(C) COINS

- 546 Bronze; illegible.  
(WA) 108694; 0.011 D; according to the British Museum registers this coin is from group 7, but it is not so listed in Woolley's publication.
- 547 Silver; worn obverse; Head right of male deity; laureate (?) hair and whiskers dotted, pointed beard represented by lines, eye full, dotted border; reverse, galley to right, very worn.  
(WA) 108711; 0.012 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 118, pl. XXIII.3; group 10.
- Naster (1967; esp. p.14) has discussed the coinage of Aradus, to which city this coin belongs, in detail; for this particular type, dated late fifth to early fourth century B.C., see Hill, 1910, pl.I:12ff.
- 548 Lead; obverse: owl flanked by an olive spray and AE; reverse: device (head) obliterated; probably a local imitation of an Athenian coin in lead. This coin weighs 14.81 grammes, whilst the standard Athenian weight is 17 grammes. It is incised with a chisel cut made in antiquity to test the coin's authenticity.  
(O) 1913.628; 0.025 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: group 23.

I am grateful to Dr. C. M. Kraay for comments on this coin. He suggests a date in the late fifth century B.C.

- 549 Bronze; illegible.  
(O) 1913.664; 0.017 D; no recorded group.

Coins were found in the contemporary graves at 'Atlit (Johns, 1933, 57) and Kāmid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978, passim).

(D) WEIGHTS

- 550 Bronze; cast; flat base and domed back.  
(O) 1913.663; 0.013 H; 22.91 grammes.
- 551 Haematite; rectangular base with high domed back.  
(O) 1913.662; 0.017 H; 0.025 L; 22.65 grammes.
- 552 Limestone; drum-shaped with faceted top rising to a point.  
(O) 1913.730; 0.017 H; 0.013 D.; 7.83 grammes.

Weights are not commonly found in cemeteries; but grave YC 46 of the Yunus Cemetery at Carchemish contained five, of bronze (Woolley, 1939, 30, pl.XXI.26).

(E) "SPINDLE-WHORLS"

- 553 Hemispherical; steatite; pierced vertically.  
(L) 49.47.259; 0.027 D; Woolley, 1914-16, 120: Group 20.
- 554 Disc-shaped; steatite; faint incised ring.  
(L) 49.47.304; 0.025 D.
- 555 Bun-shaped; grey stone; incised encircling horizontal lines.  
(L) 49.47.303; 0.040 D.
- 555A Blunt cone; grey marbled stone (Marked D.Y)  
(WA) 1922.5.11, 500; .020 W.

(F) CELT

- 556 Celt; polished serpentine.  
(L) 49.47.248; 0.038 L; Woolley, 1914-16, pl.XXIX.18.

Spindle-whorls occurred in the graves at Kamid el-Loz and were taken as indicative of a female burial (Poppa, 1978, 43).

## CHAPTER VI

### DEVE HÜYÜK II IN CONTEXT: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR PERSIAN OCCUPATION OF THE NEAR EAST c. 550-330 B.C.

Material traces of the two hundred years of Persian rule in the Near East are still generally elusive. In many regions of their far flung empire this period is among the least known archaeologically. This might be explained most easily by the subsequent profound and everywhere evident impact of Hellenic art and culture in areas previously ruled by the Persians; but the available evidence only partially sustains such an interpretation. Persian influence was geographically restricted and socially superficial in all but a very few areas over which they at one time or another had authority. In government and administration they adopted and modified rather than radically changed what they had gained by conquest or annexation. Existing administrative hierarchies were crowned and reinforced with imperial civil servants and military officers, not transformed to a standard pattern. In religious matters the Persian administration was usually tolerant and accommodating, sympathetic to traditional custom and practice, nowhere seeking to force their own cults by edict. As rulers they seem primarily to have lived in enclaves or in military strongpoints, widely scattered, but linked by a highly efficient communications system and by the strongly centralized administration it served and fostered.

In most cases the sites chosen for centres of control already had long histories of occupation, since they were commonly either at nodal points in natural systems of communication or crucial to strategic control of particular regions. The Persian contribution was generally confined to the reconstruction of existing administrative buildings or to the creation of parks and palaces in the Iranian manner, particularly in the satrapal capitals. Landscape gardening, the most ephemeral of arts, was a Persian speciality. The king and his court, mirrored in that of a descending hierarchy of satraps, governors and high officials, set the fashions in costume and luxury goods so clearly described in Greek and Biblical accounts, and in the surviving evidence of monuments and artefacts. It was parade weapons, seals, vessels of gold, silver-gilt and silver, and of cut glass, jewellery and richly worked textiles, which took Persian court fashions and taste deep into the Near East and beyond, to be imitated in cheaper materials, base metals and baked clay, where the native populations aspired to the gracious living they implied. In some regions, notably Egypt, Persian cultural influence was very slight, confined to decorative features which need sharp investigation to detect them (Cooney, 1965). In others, where various living cultural traditions were competing for the attention of local artisans, outstandingly in Anatolia, there was a subtle blending of styles and motifs from east and west to produce objects, and modes of life, of novel character, whose emergence and character

still provide much opportunity for investigation (Hanfmann, 1975; Starr, 1975, 1977).

The following survey, region by region, seeks to trace as concisely as possible those artefacts which indicate a Persian presence in the various parts of their far flung empire in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. In general I have restricted my citations of the available evidence. It could be considerably extended in a number of instances, but without sharpening the main points. Only in one case have I intentionally extended the presentation to take particular note of tureutic, as this is the best known and most often cited aspect of the "Achaemenid International Style". It is also, increasingly, the most treacherous. Reproductions and imitations of Achaemenid gold and silver plate were already current by the late nineteenth century (Dalton, 1964, 58, n.195). Then, as western involvement in Iran expanded between the two World Wars, and thereafter until the late 1970s, the steadily growing interest of collectors was satisfied by local manufacturers when looted objects fell short of demand (Cronin, 1957, 155-6). In an important series of papers Muscarella (1977, 1979, 1979a) has called attention to this problem and distinguished between the merely 'reported' and the properly excavated examples of Achaemenid fine art.

Coinage has not been included in this survey. Although it might appear at first sight to be an ideal medium for detecting a Persian presence, closer examination reveals it to be of little use in this respect. Although sigloi were the imperial coinage, hoards show them circulating only in western Anatolia, perhaps exclusively from a mint at Sardis. Elsewhere they are found rarely in hoards, often in fragments circulating as bullion. Persian darics and sigloi are also difficult to date individually, as the types were only slightly modified between their first appearance in the late sixth century B.C. and the conquests of Alexander the Great (Kraay, 1966, 1976). Although finds of gold darics are not confined by area, as their metal was universally welcome as bullion or as material for re-use in jewellery, they are rare. Where non-imperial coinage was minted in the western empire types developed individually and even when Persian elements are evident in their designs, their role is secondary. They are vital for studies of local cultural fashions, but add little to the present enquiry.

### Iran and Afghanistan

Achaemenid art in Iran is almost invariably associated, often in a subordinate role, with architecture. The major palaces of Pasargadae, Persepolis and Susa, and minor palaces at other places, with their monumental sculpture and glazed brick friezes, define for us the Achaemenid 'Court Style', which is otherwise known only from vestigial traces at sites like Babylon and Sidon. The movable furnishings of these fine buildings have largely gone beyond recall. What little has been recovered from their debris does not in general illustrate the luxury arts of the period as well as objects from the provinces. A richly furnished female burial at Susa (Morgan, 1905) and a hoard of jewellery from Pasargadae (Stronach, 1978) are as remarkable for their isolation as for their contents. A still unique collection of gold plate recovered by clandestine excavations in Hamadan, though regularly illustrated, has to be regarded with caution, for even if some of it is

genuine, there are pieces associated with it in various publications which certainly are not (see Muscarella, 1979a). The primary find is now divided between Teheran and New York (Vanden Berghe, 1959, 190, pl.135-6). A collection of carved ivories recovered from a well at Susa in 1935 illustrates a craft less evident at this time elsewhere, except in tiny scattered fragments (Amiet, 1972). Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, pl.47ff) provided evidence for the splendid carved stone vessels current in the empire, though elsewhere, save for alabastra, they remain isolated finds. They are almost as rare as the cut glass, again just evident at Persepolis (Schmidt, 1957, pl.67), which for the Greeks was the particular mark of Persian luxury (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 74). Such glass has been found scattered through the empire (Oliver, 1970). Various archives of seal impressions at Persepolis, as yet only partially published (Schmidt, 1957, pl.2ff), provide the basic frame of reference for the glyptic repertory particularly associated with the Persian administrators. Smaller groups are known from Memphis and Daskyleion. Much of the military equipment (*akinakai*, battle-axes and trefoil arrowheads) associated with the Iranian elements in the Achaemenid armies was of Transcaucasion, mainly Georgian invention (Sulimirski, 1978, 10-11). It is largely undocumented from controlled excavations in Iran, outside Persepolis. Virtually the only representative illustration of material culture at this time, outside the royal foundations, is from Susa (Ghirshman, 1954).

The range of available evidence from the eastern Achaemenid Empire is still extremely small (Cattenat and Gardin, 1976; Macdowall and Taddei, 1978). The administrative impact of the Persian rulers was considerable, as continuing use of Aramaic as the administrative language in the third century B.C. demonstrates. But the Persian presence is still an historical rather than an archaeological one. Of the primary regions involved only Bactria and its Asiatic hinterland have so far provided evidence of the kind to be considered later from the western provinces of the Empire. Achaemenid Drangiana (modern Seistan) and eastern Afghanistan are archaeological *terra incognita* at this time.

A detached zoomorphic spouted-amphora handle, akin in style to those from Duvanli, is reported without secure provenance as from Afghanistan (Amandry, 1959, 41). The renowned "Oxus Treasure" (Dalton, 1964) continues to dominate the archaeological record. Its findspot is uncertain, but is usually assumed to have been near Kobadian (Mikojanabad), north of the river Oxus in modern Tajikistan, ancient Bactria. The integrity of the published hoard has never been established; indeed it is very doubtful and the whole group is best treated as an assembly of individual objects whose original association is not proved (Muscarella, 1979a, 26). It reached Europe with some 1500 coins extending in date from the early fifth century to about 200 B.C. (Schlumberger, 1953; Bellinger, 1962). Its contents have been much discussed, but never better than in Dalton's fine initial catalogue. Kuzmina (1977) has presented the most detailed case for arguing that many of the vessels, and much of the jewellery, were the work of craftsmen active in Bactria, not imports from production centres to the west, in the fourth, perhaps even in the fifth, century B.C. Although Bactria did not actually produce gold for the Persian kings, it was the entrepôt for Siberian gold. Delegation XIII on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, probably Bactrians,

bring vessels presumed to be of precious metal, as do Delegation XV, who are probably Parthians (Roaf, 1974). Delegation XVII, perhaps Sogdians/Chorasmians, bring bracelets and fine parade weapons. It was also the Bactrian workshops which supplied the nomads of Inner Asia with some of their more spectacular Achaemenid luxuries (see p. 141 here).

### Mesopotamia

Documentary evidence for the condition of Mesopotamia under the Achaemenid Empire is relatively full and some of it has been studied (Meuleau, 1968, Dandamayev, 1969). The same is not yet true of the archaeological evidence for material culture at this time. Graves at Kish (Moorey, 1978), Babylon (Reuther, 1926, 24-6), Nippur (McCown, 1967) and Ur (Woolley, 1962) have yielded the most comprehensive information on pottery and other objects, among which metal vessels, and seals or sealings in Achaemenid Court Style, are the most distinctive artefacts of the period. The well known archival finds from Uruk are not matched by artefacts. This is largely explained by the apparent absence of graves or substantial signs of fifth and fourth century occupation in the areas so far excavated there. The Seleucid period was one of outstanding architectural achievement at Uruk and much of the immediately preceding occupation was obliterated by the later buildings. In the north, on the major Assyrian sites, occupation may be traced, but only through elusive clues, usually indicating little more than squatter occupation in or near the ruined Neo-Assyrian structures (Assur: Haller, 1954, 71, fig. 88; Nimrud, Mallowan, 1966, 296-9; Khorsabad: Loud, 1938, 58, pl.59-62). Once again the best evidence for minor objects comes from graves. The jewellery, the personal ornaments and cosmetic articles, and the metal vessels in silver or bronze, depart little if at all from well-established local traditions. Very rarely does a piece of decoration indicate a strictly Persian influence (cf. Culican, 1975). Only at Babylon are there traces of monumental architecture, sculpture and glazed brick friezes in the fully fledged Court Style and that is hardly surprising as this was the second capital of the Empire. A small provincial fortified manor at Tell Deim is reminiscent of similar Achaemenid strongpoints in Palestine (al-Tikriti, 1960).

In glyptic so-called 'Neo-Babylonian' motifs long persisted and a coffin burial on Bahrein, where a seal accompanies a bronze situla, plain bowl, strainer and ladle might as easily be fifth as sixth century B.C. (Glob, 1956, 164ff., fig.1; Zettler, 1979). Luxury goods are rarely more distinctive. A silversmith's hoard, possibly from Babylon, now in the British Museum, was 'put away about the middle of the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.' (Robinson, 1950, 44ff.), to judge by the coins in it. It included an amphora handle cast as a winged bull with its head turned back and two fragments of silver embossed with conventional lotus decoration. Bahrein has yielded a silversmith's scrap hoard of the period (Frifelt, 1964). A remarkable fifth century burial at Ur contained a collection of clay impressions mostly taken from seals, but a few from the decoration of metal vessels reminiscent of similar designs in Egypt on faience and metal vessels from Memphis (Legrain, 1951, nos.833ff.). Some silver bowls from Nippur and Ur (McCown, 1967, pl.108.8-9; Woolley 1962, 131, pl.23, lower centre) belong with the Achaemenid international repertory, as does an isolated cut glass bowl from the old excavations at Nippur (Barag, 1968, 17 ff).

## Syria, Phoenicia and Cyprus

Sources for the history of this region, part of the great satrapy 'beyond the River', in Achaemenid times are singularly meagre (Rainey, 1969). Nor is this deficiency in any way compensated for in the archaeological record. No substantial building or group of buildings of this period has yet been found in Syria. Most of the evidence comes from graves at sites like Til Barsip (Thureau-Dangin, 1936, 75ff.), Neirab (Carrière, 1927, 207ff.) and Kamid el-Loz (Poppa, 1978). The coastal sites like Ras Shamra (Schaeffer, 1935, 148ff., Stucky, 1972, 26ff.) and al Mina (Woolley, 1938) have yielded a variety of small finds, but very few which throw any significant light on the presence of Persians in the region. In Phoenicia, although strongly independent local traditions of manufacture and commerce found renewed vigour under Persian tutelage, they diverged little in style to suit the new Persian overlords. Architecture and rare small finds in some of these cities, as at Byblos and Sidon, bear some marks of the Achaemenid international style (Dunand, 1939, 174ff., 194-5, fig.181, pl. LXXII, XCII.3054; 1958, 69, 78, 84, figs. 45, 59, 69, pl. CLXXVII, CLXXXI, CLXXXII. 13548; 1968, 43ff.; 1969, 64-70; Jidejian, 1969, 59ff.; 1971, 43ff.). Chance finds of silver and bronze plate and jewellery have been reported from Syria, but without publication of the full details (Woolley, 1923; Amandry, 1959, 46 n.70; Culican, 1975, 103, n.9). Traditional Phoenician iconography, still best documented on seals, was only modified in the most minor way by contact with Persia, (Culican, 1969).

For Cyprus Gjerstad's summing up (1948, 473) is still cogent: 'Unlike Egypt and similar to Assyria, Persia exercised no direct influence on Cypriote culture and art. Only single objects of Persian provenance have been found in Cyprus ...' Even these remain very exceptional and the gold bracelets from Vouni (Gjerstad, 1937, pl.XCI) illustrate yet again how Persian cultural influence in the more distant parts of the Empire, as in those where political control was more direct, may only be seen in luxury goods. Equally isolated is a headless limestone statue, said to be Cypriot, of a man in Persian costume (trousers, tunic and kandys--like coat), now in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul (Gervers-Molnar, 1973, fig.16).

## Palestine

This is the only part of the Empire for which a detailed study of the material culture exists (Stern, 1973). Stern's comprehensive monograph amply confirms a number of the general conclusions emerging from this short survey. Local servants of the Persian administration, or military contingents, settled at previously occupied major sites in order to supervise the country from courtyard buildings, which generally followed an architectural pattern already well established by previous Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian overlords in Syro-Palestine (Amiran and Dunayevsky, 1958). They do not reflect the columned halls and small pavilions of Persepolis and Pasargadae. Good examples have been excavated at Hazor and Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. The so-called 'residency' at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) has been variously dated, but its erection in the Persian period now seems well established (Ussishkin, 1978, 41-2). Kathleen Kenyon sought to identify masonry of the Persian period in part of the Temple platform at Jerusalem (Kenyon, 1970, 137-49;



1974, 172ff.); but it is in the developed Phoenician, rather than the Persepolitan, style. From Samaria, capital of the Persian province and seat of its governors, comes unusual evidence of the imperial rulers. Clandestine excavations there have revealed some of the bronze elements from a throne and from Reisner's excavations came a related mould (Tadmor, 1974, 37ff.; Kyrieleis, 1969, 35ff.). The simpler bronze fittings of a bed and a stool, marked with Aramaic letters, were found in tomb 650 at Tell Farah (South) (Petrie, 1930, pl.XLV-I). A recently excavated cemetery at Tell el-Mazar in the Jordan Valley, of the sixth century, promises to offer important parallels for Deve Hittik II (Sauer, 1979).

The luxury goods which denote a Persian presence elsewhere in the Empire are also found here; but not in any significant numbers. Silver plate is so far confined to two sites in the south: Tell el-Farah (South) and Gezer. Tomb 650 at Fara yielded a silver leaf-phiale with everted rim, slight omphalos and twenty-four regularly spaced plain, pointed leaves of low rounded profile, perhaps the most universal of all pieces of Achaemenid plate (Petrie, 1930, pl.XLVN; Lushey, 1939). The accompanying silver ladle, its handle cast as a nude girl swimming with the bowl in her hands, the suspension loop at her feet supported by addorsed calf-heads with richly rendered jawline curls, is so far unique. The only pottery from this grave, the upper part of a tall storage jar, falls into Group III ( $\pm$  450 B.C.) of Lapp's scheme (1970) for Palestinian pottery of the Persian period. The ladle has been attributed by Barnett (Barnett, 1962, 90) and Mrs. Amiran (1966, 88ff.) to an Urartian, or Urartian influenced, workshop of an earlier period. Neither the date of its burial nor its style supports this suggestion. Egyptian inspiration for the swimming girl handle, whether direct or indirect through Phoenicia, has been well documented by Frau Wallert (1967). Moreover, the addorsed animal-heads upon which the Urartian case was set, are also used on a ladle from Gezer (Macalister, 1912, fig. 157; see below). They have no certain parallel in Urartian work, but are well known in Achaemenid architecture and art, particularly with the distinctive jawline of curls on this piece (Amandry, 1958). The mouldings on the handle may also be matched in the Achaemenid period in Syria (Thureau-Dangin, 1936, 80, fig. 23). In tomb 817 at Tell el-Farah (South) was a bronze strainer, bowl and dipper (Petrie, 1930, pl.XLVII) and other sites in the region have produced bronze copies of the drinking sets and incense burners of the Persian or 'Persianized' aristocracy (Amiran, 1972; Stern, 1980).

In an isolated group of stone built graves at Gezer, initially said to be 'Philistine', but later recognized to be of the Persian period (Macalister, 1912, 289ff.; Iliffe, 1935, 185), two were equipped with silver plate closely related in form and decoration to examples from Egypt, notably in the Pithom hoard. Grave 4, of a woman, contained a deep silver bowl with lobed ornaments round the shoulder and a jar with tall neck and overlapping lotus leaf decoration on the body (Macalister, 1912, 293, fig. 154.1, 4; cf. Cooney 1956, no. 50; von Bissing, 1901, no. 3585), and also included a deep bronze bowl and a plain ladle. The lady wore a pair of silver calf-headed anklets. In the adjacent grave 5, most richly equipped of all, was a silver ladle with addorsed lion-heads on the suspension ring and a hemi-spherical silver bowl patterned on the exterior with overlapping lotus leaves (Macalister, 1912,

296, fig. 157.2, 4). Associated seals and pottery, notably by comparison with graves at Kamid el-Loz in the Lebanon (Hachmann, 1966, 69-88; 1970, 45-9), indicate a date of deposit in the fifth century B.C. or soon afterwards.

Jewellery of distinctive 'Court Style' is virtually unknown; a gold earring from Ashdod is an outstanding exception (Dothan, 1971, 64, pl. XXI.2). Seal impressions in the Court Style are slightly more numerous in the region of Samaria, appearing at the capital itself (Reisner, 1924, pl. 57h, 1-2; Crowfoot, 1957, 88, pl. XV.42), at Shechem (Wright, 1965, 168, fig. 94) and in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Lapp, 1974, pl. 62-3). In Judah a type of seal was developed deriving directly from Persian models in the Court Style (Stern, 1971).

### Egypt

Archaeology has produced surprisingly little from Egypt that reveals in any distinctive way the periods of Persian occupation. Cooney's summary of the evidence written in 1953 still stands; "If the Persians made the effort to adopt Egyptian art, the Egyptians certainly did not return the compliment by showing an interest in Persian aesthetics, for even with the most painstaking effort only a negligible trace of Persian influence can be traced in Egyptian products of this time. A few designs in glazed wares, a very occasional piece of jewelry, the style of certain lions' heads, the decorations and details of a group of votive offerings from Leontopolis, seem to be the known result of Persian influence on the minor arts of Egypt". He was unable to add much more a decade later (Cooney, 1965).

The attribution of some objects to Egypt is questionable and has been critically examined by Muscarella (1977, 1979a). The major illustrations of Cooney's conclusion may be swiftly cited. The inscribed, headless statue of Darius I found at Susa, but carved in Egypt according to the inscription, and the 'Canal Stelae' of the same ruler, are the most outstanding royal monuments revealing a fusion of Egyptian forms and Persian details (Stronach, 1974; Roaf, 1974). A few high ranking Egyptian officials have left statues in which their strong Persian sympathies are shown in the wearing of costume and jewellery, bracelets and torcs, of Persian type (Cooney, 1953, 1ff.; Botti-Romanelli, 1951, 33 pl. 28; Botti, 1956, 1ff.; Bresciani, 1958, 177ff.). Much rarer is a local stela showing the funerary rites of a Persian, on which the mourners include trousered servants and a groom with a horse; the furniture is also in the Persian style (von Bissing, 1930; Culican, 1965, pl. 52). Even more distinctive of Persian culture is an inscribed support for a barsom (Grelot, 1972, 332-4). Various Delta sites, such as Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Tell Defenneh, have yielded isolated small finds of Persian character; but only at Memphis, the seat of the Persian administration, do they concentrate. Even there they are few and far between, including, most distinctively, seal impressions in the Achaemenid 'Court Style' and terracotta heads of Persians (Petrie, 1910, pl. XXXVff.; Scheurleer, 1974, 83ff.). Stone trial pieces illustrate stages in the diffusion of the 'Achaemenid' style for jewellery and other minor arts (Frankfort, 1950).

"Hoards" of precious metal vessels reported at various places in the Delta, where they were originally the property of temples, contribute to

knowledge of the Achaemenid International style in silver plate. Where coins are associated they provide a terminus post quem for the date of deposit, but not, of course, for manufacture. This, by the very nature of such collections, could be considerably earlier. One hoard, that from Leontopolis, contained not plate but a series of stone vessels supported in the paws of rampant lions, whose body markings indicate Persian influence among the craftsmen who made them (Cooney, 1953, 17 ff.; 1965, 39ff.). The three primary hoards of silver plate cover a period of more than a century of manufacture extending from the first (c. 525-404 B.C.) to the second Persian occupation (c. 341-332 B.C.) of Egypt and beyond, to at least the end of the fourth century B.C.

Of these three, that from Tell es-Mashkuta (Pithom) has every appearance of containing the oldest vessels (Cooney, 1957, 43-4, pl. 68-74; for a sceptical view, Muscarella, 1979a, 36-7). The circumstances of its discovery about 1947 are obscure. Four Aramaic dedicatory inscriptions make clear that the vessels came from a group of Qedarite Arabs. It is further believed that the name of one donor Qaynu bar Gašmu melek Qedar identifies the son of that Gašmu who figures prominently in the old Testament as an opponent of Nehemiah (2:19-20; 6:1-9) in the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. (Rabinowitz, 1956, 1-9; 1959, 154-5; Dumbrell, 1971, 33ff.). Robinson, on the coin evidence, suggested that the hoard was buried in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. (Robinson, 1947, 124; see also Jungfleisch, 1949, 27-34; 1949(1), 124). This would agree well with Rabinowitz's later fifth century dating for the inscriptions; also with Strong's attribution (1964, 95-101) of a silver janiform head-vase inscribed in Lydian to the earlier fourth century B.C. (if the association may be accepted and that is far from certain).

Two of the inscribed vessels from Pithom bear floral designs of distinctive Egyptian inspiration, the interior of a phiale and the exterior of a deep bowl (Rabinowitz, 1956, pl.IB.IV), and one, undecorated, is a traditional Egyptian shape (Rabinowitz, 1959, pl.I-III). The two other inscribed vessels, a hemispherical bowl with vertical grooving, and a phiale, have no such clear affinities. Of the uninscribed vessels, only one, a tall-necked jar with lotus-leaf decoration on its ovoid body, is of a shape long associated with Egypt (Cooney, 1957, pl. 73; Petrie, 1900, pl.XXIV.2). The others belong to what may loosely be termed the international Achaemenid repertory.

No coins were reported with the vessels often known as the "Thmuis Hoard", found in 1871 at modern Teima el-Amdid, where two tells, el-Rab'a (Mendes) and Tmai (Thmuis) to the south, mark the site of successive ancient cities, the former largely Pharaonic, the latter Ptolemaic and Roman (Hansen, 1967, pl.XX). This hoard was found 'in einem gemauerten Loch in der Erde 100 m vom Naos nach Angabe des Herrn Brugsch-Bey' (von Bissing, 1901, no.3581). This refers to the surviving Naos of Amasis on Tell el-Rab'a (Mendes), to which site the hoard is properly attributed. It has been suggested that a group of extremely similar vessels found in 1917, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, came from the same site (Lansing, 1938, 199, fig.1). Three vessels of Egyptian pedigree, with hemispherical bodies and tall necks, one with a lotus pattern on the exterior of the body, the other vertically ribbed, match a vessel in the Pithom hoard (von Bissing, 1901, no. 3584; Lansing, 1938, 199, fig.1) upper row; Cooney, 1957, no.50).

More distinctive is a series of bowls, either shallow with vertical sides, or deep with carinated body and squared rim, decorated on the exterior with low relief, close-set or overlapping leaves punctuated regularly round the outer edge by projecting egg-shaped lobes (von Bissing, 1901, no.3582-3, 5; Lansing, 1938, 199, fig.1, lower left, centre). A rosette is usually set at the centre of the base on the outside. Two other phialai with vertical sides have stylized leaves with a median ridge (von Bissing, 1901, no. 3581; Lansing, 1938, 199, fig. 1, lower right). So far as I know no exact parallel for either of these shapes has yet been reported from outside Egypt.

Two isolated silver bowls are relevant here. The authenticity of neither is in doubt and both have been attributed to sites in the Delta. One, a particularly fine example of the deeper type of lobed bowl, is inscribed with a Persian owner's name (Tryprn) (Bivar, 1961, 180-99). Another shallow lobed bowl is now in the British Museum (Shore, 1961, 21-5). The leaf pattern used on all these vessels must be distinguished from that on the much more widely produced Achaemenid 'leaf-phialai'. In section these leaves are plain and have a gently curving profile; those on the Egyptian bowls are much closer-set, if not actually overlapping, have a median ridge and a broad, flattish profile. The godrooned shallow bowl with protruding lobes and vertical rim as distinct from the everted rims commonly found on phialai of the international Achaemenid type, was already produced in Egypt by the XX1st Dynasty (c. 1069-945 B.C.) (Montet, 1951, pl. LIV, top, 82, fig.30; 101, pl. LXIX, fig. 42). The thick, square-sectioned rim of the deeper bowls seems to be an Egyptian trait, common on stone vessels in the New Kingdom and later used on comparable metal shapes (Petrie, 1937a, pl. XXXIII, esp. no. 858, cf. pl. XL.58, 60.).

The date of the "Thmuis Hoard" is ill-defined. Bivar (1961, 197) cited some glass bowls, notably an example in the Canosa Group, now in the British Museum, with protruding flat shoulder fins and moulded leaf patterns on the underside, in an attempt to provide a chronology for the distinctive range of lobed silver bowls from Egypt that he saw as 'commencing from towards the end of the fourth century'. Subsequent work on the Canosa Group has indicated a date of manufacture in the first half of the third century B.C., if not later, for the 'finned' glass bowls (Harden, 1968, 21-47; Oliver, 1968, 68 for a later dating). There is an exact parallel in moulded and cut glass (now in the Hermitage) to the lobed silver bowls. It belongs with a whole repertory of such glasses, all closely matching metal shapes, produced in the Achaemenid Empire from at least the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. (Oliver, 1970, 13, fig.8; Vickers, 1972, 15-16).

The third of the Egyptian Delta hoards, that from Tuhk el-Qaramous, is not only more mixed, but also by far the most recent in deposit. It was found, with silver coins of Ptolemy I Soter (c. 304-282 B.C.) and Ptolemy II Philadelphus (c. 285-246 B.C.), in two brick-lined chambers in a block of brick buildings at the back of a temple (Edgar, 1906, 205-6). Overlapping leaves with a base rosette decorate the exterior of a shallow, and of a deep, bowl (Edgar, 1907, pl. XXVII-VIII); but neither has lobes or a vertical rim. The two lobed phialai in this hoard (Edgar, 1907, pl. XXVI; Vernier, 1927, pl. CXIII) also have everted rims with repoussé or incised decoration, some

reminiscent of the Achaemenid international style in plate. A fine silver rhyton, of marked Greek style, indicates most clearly that these vessels represent an Achaemenid craft legacy operative in Ptolemaic workshops, rather than the living tradition evident at Pithom and Mendes. A unique series of tomb reliefs emphasizes this distinction (cf. Parlasca, 1979).

These reliefs, illustrating the activities of metal-workers, were carved in the tomb of Pedusiri (Petosiris) in the necropolis of Hermopolis Magna some time in the last decade or two of the fourth century B. C. (Lefebvre, 1923). On the north wall of the pronaos (Panel A) the lower register shows the hammering out of sheet copper and the shaping of a copper bowl over a stake by hammering; above, three craftsmen chase surface details on the head of a zoomorphic rhyton, on one head of an object formed of three horse-protomes and on the reverse of a shallow bowl, all of gold and silver. Gold and silver smiths appear again on Panel B, where are shown, in the lower register, the surface finishing of an elaborate stand in Graeco-Egyptian style and the forming of the upper part of a zoomorphic rhyton over a stake; in the next register a stand, a zoomorphic rhyton and a jar are polished; then above, a whole range of objects are weighed before going in procession to the master of the house. The repertory of shapes includes simple bowls of varying depth, full-bodied jars and ladles, zoomorphic rhyta, handled jars and stands. Traditional Egyptian forms appear with shapes of Greek and Persian inspiration, much as the style of the reliefs throughout Pedusiri's tomb blends Egyptian and Greek methods of representation.

### Anatolia

The archaeological evidence for a Persian presence in Anatolia is more difficult to handle than that from any other part of the western Empire. Existing local traditions were strong and varied, but are still poorly documented. At the time of the Persian supremacy native Anatolian, Greek, Semitic (Aramaean), as well as Persian, influences must be reckoned with. The evidence is meagre, fragmented and scattered. Much of the evidence for the source of specific objects is highly unreliable and may only be used with caution (Muscarella, 1979, 1979a). Although much of it is published only in brief preliminary notices, a little of it, notably the 'Graeco-Persian' seals, have been disproportionately discussed without any striking advance in our understanding of the cultural situation as a whole. The regular intermingling of eastern, western and native styles in art and architecture presents a constant challenge to the eye and largely baulks any attempt at fine distinctions. During this period the upper classes in many regions adopted Persian fashions and ways of life. Sculpture, painting and glyptic show that costume and furniture, the etiquette of banquetting and the methods of hunting, the depiction of battle scenes, of court receptions and of funeral processions, were all adjusted to Persian ways, whilst at the same time some of the idioms of Greek art, no doubt often in the hands of Greek artisans, were brought into the service of the new rulers and their officials. The balance of contributions was always delicate and only crudely described by such current terms as 'Graeco-Persian' or 'Perso-Anatolian', though this is as much as may be judiciously said in the present state of knowledge.

The location of the satrapal residence at Daskyleion has been identified, but its layout is unknown. Finely cut masonry and details in the Ionic Order, surviving in fragments, suggest that the architects and masons were Greeks (Akurgal, 1956; 1961, pp. 167ff.). A collection of seal impressions in the Achaemenid Court Style, as at Memphis, some inscribed for Xerxes, alone bear precise witness to the political allegiance of its creators. In major centres, like Sardis and Gordion, the native architecture and material culture persisted basically unchanged, as seems also to be the case in the small palaces of provincial rulers (Nylander, 1970, 117ff.; cf. Hanfmann, 1975, 18-19). Surviving examples of funerary sculpture (Kleeman, 1958; Akurgal, 1966; Mobius, 1971) are not in the Achaemenid Court Style, but in various local styles, of which the most sophisticated tend to be the most Hellenized (Hanfmann, 1975, 18-19). Persian taste may certainly be observed in some of these reliefs, but in imagery and costume, not in style. The same is also true of rare Iranian cult monuments like the well known relief from Ergili of priests (Macridy, 1913) and a less well known fire-altar from Cappadocia, also decorated with figures of priests (Bittel, 1952). The fusion of cultural traditions is particularly well illustrated in a painted tomb, of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., at Karaburun (tumulus II), near Elmali, where a 'Persianized' local dignitary is represented in a drinking scene, in battle with Greeks, and in a funeral procession, with his costume and gestures closely matching those of Medes on the Apadana friezes at Persepolis (Mellink, 1974, 545; 1974a, 357, pl.68. 14-15). Here Anatolian traditions are perceptibly mingled with Oriental and Greek, but the blend has a distinctive character of its own, which is taken as typical of local art in the Achaemenid period.

Actual examples from controlled excavations of the luxury goods in Achaemenid style shown on reliefs and on tomb paintings, are few. Even the outstanding collection of jewellery from Sardis was 'found in the most unexpected places in tombs which had for the most part been plundered in antiquity and re-used' (Densmore Curtis, 1905, 10). Conspicuous in this assembly of fine objects are the stamp seals, which in Anatolia as a whole at this time particularly well epitomize the effect of diverse cultural pressures on native artists in many workshops. Boardman (1970a, see also 1970, pp. 303ff.) has isolated an important group of pyramidal stamp seals with octagonal bases decorated in Achaemenid Court Style. They were produced in western Anatolia, perhaps exclusively in Lydia. Placed as Lydia was between the East Greek world and the Orient it is not surprising that other seals in this group should have designs either purely Greek in style or more definitely local, uniting the styles and iconography of east and west. Beneath the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus Newton discovered a number of alabaster jars (in fragments), one with cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscription: 'Xerxes, the Great King' (Newton, 1862, pl.VII). A fragmentary cut glass phiale came from the fill of the new temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Hogarth, 1908, 318; Oliver, 1970, fig.3). No gold plate that has found its way into the literature has yet emerged from excavations, controlled or uncontrolled. Much silver or silver gilt plate has, bringing with it endless problems of provenance and attribution.

By far the greater part of the surviving corpus of silver vessels manufactured in the Achaemenid period has been found in Anatolia, the primary source of the metal for the Achaemenids; but little of it has yet received systematic publications and study. Representations of plate in art (Dentzer, 1969; Mellink, 1971, pl.56.26; 1973, 297-301, pl.44.6) are rarely explicit enough for the shapes to be accurately classified. The most outstanding excavated group comes from the controlled excavation of burials richly furnished with silver vessels at Ikiztepe in the Hermus Valley, west of Uşak, though they have yet to be comprehensively illustrated. Preliminary reports (Mellink, 1971, 172, pl.59) indicate a varied collection of bowls, dishes, ladles, jars and jugs, many with fluted decoration, some reminiscent of Lydian pottery shapes. One of two fluted omphalos bowls has finely embossed and engraved double-bull protomes set above winged disks and palmettes. Most striking of all is a silver incense burner, exactly like those shown in front of the king on the Persepolis reliefs.

From western Anatolia, where Greek influence was always very strong, are reported two groups of silver from Panderma on the Sea of Marmora, one of a horizontally ribbed beaker with rounded base, a phiale and ladle, of the earlier fourth century B.C.; the other of a phiale, pail and ladle later by a century or so (Luschey, 1938, 78-80, figs. 3,4). Amandry (1963, 264, fig.163, 268, fig.172) has called attention to a group of silver vessels said to have been found at Aidin in 1904, now in Istanbul, and also to a silver alabastron reported as from Coula, near Smyrna, in 1888. The British Museum has a silver leaf phiale found in a tomb at Bodrum (Halicarnassus) during Newton's excavations in 1857 (Walters, 1921, no. 16, fig. 4). South-western Asia Minor is given as the source of a clandestinely excavated bowl and jug now in Boston (Anon., 1963, 154, figs. 134-5), whilst isolated parts of drinking sets in silver have been reported from controlled excavations at Sardis and Gordion (Amandry, 1963, fig.163; Young, 1962, 154-5, pl.41. 1a; Sams, 1979).

The southern shores of the Black Sea between Sinope and Trebizond are another regular source of "reported" finds. Tombs at Sinope are said to have yielded the plate now in the Stathatos collection. In one grave was said to have been a phiale with almond-shaped lobes with a jug with calf's head junction at lip and handle, fragments of an alabastron, a hemispherical bowl, a small cup and a spoon with swan's head handle terminal. In the other were a square plate and jar which do not seem to be as early as the Achaemenid period (Amandry, 1963). A fine silver-gilt phiale in Boston, with palmette and lotus frieze decoration (Terrace, 1963), and an amphora-rhyton in a private collection (Amandry, 1959, 49ff., pl.24), have also been loosely attributed to Sinope. According to old reports two fine fourth century amphora handles cast as winged male goats, in a "Graeco-Persian" style, now divided between Berlin and Paris, were found at Samsun (Pope, 1938, IV, pl.112). From Unye, east of Samsun, Akurgal (1967, 32-8, pl.8) has published an unusual lobed phiale with distant affinity to a shallow gold bowl in the Oxus Treasure. It is decorated with repoussé winged wild goats and palmettes in a provincial style that makes dating even more hazardous than usual. Akurgal placed it in the second half of the sixth century, which seems very early in view of the marked Persian character. The area bounded by Trebizond-

Erzincan-Ezerum and Batumi embraces another reported concentration of clandestine finds. From Erzincan is said to come a griffin-rhyton, cylindrical ribbed box, lobed phiale and a plain shallow dish now in the British Museum (Dalton, 1964, 178-181, pl. XXXII-III). These are all typical of the oriental tradition. A silver goat-headed rhyton of the later fifth or early fourth century in the Louvre is attributed to Erzerum (Contenau, 1930).

From graves of the later fifth century at Ialysos on Rhodes (Laurenzi, 1936, 179-80, figs. 168-9) come a pair of phialai exactly matched by a single one from Kazbek in the Caucasus inscribed in Aramaic with an Iranian name (Tallgren, 1930, 116ff., fig.4). All three are identically decorated with a series of pear-shaped bosses between which are set opposed S-spirals, each terminating in a bird's head and decorated with a palmette. Four gold bracelets in the British Museum (Marshall, 1911, nos. 1203-1207) are attributed to excavations at Kameiros.

### Greece

Very few objects of Achaemenid Persian type have been reported from Greece. A gold bracelet, purchased in Karlsruhe in 1887, was attributed then to a chance find during the cutting of the Corinth Canal (Pope, 1938, IV, pl.122; Muscarella, 1977, 195). Lion-shaped cutouts in gold for sewing onto clothes, Achaemenid in style, have been excavated at Dodona (Anon., 1956, 300, fig.2) and Samothrace (Megaw, 1966, 19, fig.33). Military equipment is no more common. A bronze horsebit from the Acropolis at Athens has already been cited here (p. 72); a helmet excavated at Olympia has a dedicatory inscription identifying it as Persian (Kunze, 1961, 129ff., pl.56-7). The back wall of a third century chamber tomb at Dion in Macedonia was painted with a close copy of a rug decorated in a distinctively Achaemenid Persian style, like those from Pazyryk. This presumably shows how such imported rugs hung on house walls in Macedonia (Boardman, 1970b).

### Thrace

At a time in the early fifth century B.C. when the Thracian regions between Rhodope and the Aegean Sea were ruled by the Persians the Achaemenid International style penetrated into Europe, where it was to have a significant, if elusive, influence (Sandars, 1971). The silver-gilt amphora from the Koukova mound, Duvanli (Filov, 1934, 46, no.14, pl.III; but see also Muscarella, 1979a, 25), probably made somewhere in Asia Minor, epitomizes this tradition at its most distinctive. Other artefacts from the region employ oriental, if not precisely Persian, decoration, but more often than not modified by Greek or more local workshop traditions (Fol and Marazov, 1977, plates on p. 66 (top), on p. 70 (lower), p. 78, p. 82 (top, right).

### The U.S.S.R.

Objects manufactured in workshops where Achaemenid styles were current penetrated surprisingly deep into the area of the modern U.S.S.R. The fine silver phiale from a tumulus at Prokhorovka, near Orenburg, about six hundred kilometres due north of the Caspian Sea, is very similar to a scattered group of phialai inscribed for Artaxerxes I whose origin is unknown, but whose authenticity has not been convincingly challenged yet (Rostovtzeff,



1922, pl. XXIV.1, lower; cf. Moorey, 1974, pp. 183-4). Its much more elaborate companion, with repoussé floral designs between the lobes, has no close parallels from Western Asia at present. Both the 'Orenburg' vessels carry Aramaic inscriptions. A find at Ust Kamenogorsk in the Bukhtarma valley in 1734 included one of the finest of Achaemenid ram-head rhyta and a pair of zoomorphic vessel handles (Smirnov, 1909, pl. V.17-18; Calmeyer, 1979, 197, fig. 6). An early Sarmatian grave mound broken open by construction workers in 1971 at Orsk, about 500 km north of the Aral Sea, yielded an alabaster vessel inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphic, Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite: "Artaxerxes, the Great King." (Smirnov and Saweljew, 1972, fig. 2-3). Systematic archaeological excavation in the same region revealed a fourth century Sarmatian barrow burial containing a silver rhyton with a harnessed horse protome and a gold spiral torc with goat terminals in Achaemenid style (Smirnov and Saweljew, 1972, figs. 5 & 6). Less spectacular objects, including glass beads and vessels, found in the South Ural region have been attributed to western workshops within the Achaemenid Empire. Other luxury goods, including textiles, came from the West, and played an important part in the evolution of the decorative arts of the steppe nomads (Roes, 1952; Azarpay, 1959; Rudenko, 1970). It was probably high level political contacts, rather than routine trade, which explain why the most evident traces of a Persian presence are confined to luxury goods. Local material culture persisted in established traditions, with little more than its decorative arts influenced by the culture of the imperial overlords (Cattenat and Gardin, 1977).

Gold and silver plate from sites close to the Black Sea embrace a range of styles in which Greek, Scythian and Persian taste are variously evident. The isolation of oriental imports in a relatively unadulterated Achaemenid Court Style is not as easy as in regions remoter from Greek influence. Silver zoomorphic rhyta from Kul Oba and Kurgan IV of the "Seven Brothers Group" are more immediately recognizable as products of the Achaemenid Court Style isolated among more locally manufactured jewellery and plate (Minns, 1913, figs. 90 & 110; Artamonov, 1969, pl. 117, 119 and 250). Penetrating into the Caucasus and beyond, where Urartian traditions of fine craftsmanship in metal may well have survived into the Achaemenid period (bearing in mind the early acquisition of this region by Cyrus), some outstanding finds of plate have been reported; but not all of them securely attributed. The two gold bowls said to be from Kelermes are both distinctive in form and decoration and, though certainly oriental in origin, are hard to place in a precise context within the known production of Achaemenid workshops (Rostovtzeff, 1922, pl. VII; Artamonov, 1969, pl. 40-6; Muscarella, 1979a, 25). The Akhagori hoard, found in 1908 in the Ksanik valley, though predominantly of personal ornaments, included some plate (Smirnov, 1934; Muscarella, 1979a, 25). The jewellery is individual enough to indicate that local taste and tradition played a significant part in its manufacture. The silver phiaiai, though not so distinctive, have unusual decoration (Pope, 1938, IV, pl. 119). An independent craft tradition is even more apparent in a much more recent find, of plate alone, revealed during construction works at Erevan, near the Urartian citadel at Arinberd (Erebuni) (Areklian, 1971, 143ff.; Brentjes, 1973, 2-5). This comprised three rhyta and a bowl with

vertically ribbed body. The largest rhyton is outstanding, terminating in a mounted man. His horse is shown couchant with an embroidered saddle cloth. The rider wears Medo-Armenian dress and has an akinakes at his belt. The local manufacture of this vessel seems certain; not so the two associated rhyta. One has vertically ribbed sides and terminates in a horse protome; the other has a bull's head protome and figures in repousse round the upper part of the goblet. Both these objects might be products of the Greco-Scythian workshops in South Russia, for the derivative classical scenes on the rhyton are closely matched by a very similar vessel from Roumania (Svoboda, 1956, 73, fig.22). An outstanding find of jewellery and other fine objects of the period from Vani has yet to receive full publication.

### Conclusion

Throughout their Empire the Persian cultural impact was everywhere circumscribed. Rare indeed are examples of monumental art or architecture outside the capital cities and royal palaces that identify the presence of a Persian establishment. The formal setting for Persian rule, in all but very isolated cases, was that of the previous local rulers in each province. Persian armies travelled with vast 'treasures', as did local governors and officials. The Persian plate and furniture, carpets and wall hangings, garments and personal ornaments, which such agents spread through the Empire diffused with them the Achaemenid 'Court Style'. In toreutic and jewellery particularly, to a lesser extent in glyptic, court craftsmen established a distinctive repertory, though always drawing on long established Near Eastern traditions of form and decoration. They were much copied, as the most evident and desirable indications of status, and widely exported into the peripheries of the Empire, where rich gifts also eased the course of diplomacy and the stabilization of frontier regions. Through the exceptionally wide territorial span of the Achaemenid Persian Empire themes and motifs, more rarely stylistic traits, which had developed over centuries in the Near East, were now carried further than before, deep into Europe and Asia to influence local developments in the decorative arts. In the Near East itself, modified by the diverse but extremely strong local artistic heritages of Egypt and the native Anatolian kingdoms, the Achaemenid court style sporadically endured through adoption and further variation into early Hellenistic workshops.

## Appendix I

### OBJECTS FROM DEVE HÜYÜK SOLD TO BERLIN IN 1913

I am most grateful to Dr. E. Klengel for supplying me in 1977 with the following checklist of the objects sold to Berlin in 1913 (see the letter cited on p. 3 here) and now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR. They were selected as duplicates of the objects retained in England by Hogarth and are not integrated into the main catalogue here, save by brief citation when appropriate.

VA 6991-8	Iron weapons.
VA 6999-7006, 7030-33; 7035	Bronze fibulae; some are illustrated from the same negative in Meyer, 1965, pl.91; Klengel, 1967, pl. 39; Seibert, 1973, pl.58.
VA 7007-18, 7094-5	Bronze bracelets.
VA 7019-20, 7034, 7044, 7063	Finger rings.
VA 7021-2, 7025	Bronze kohl tubes.
VA 7023	Six bronze pins.
VA 7024, 7070	Glazed vessels.
VA 7026-9	Arrowheads.
VA 7036, 7067	Silver earrings.
VA 7037	Faience object.
VA 7038	Amulet fragment.
VA 7039	Four shells.
VA 7040	Cylinder seal.
VA 7041	Volcanic stone object; pierced.
VA 7042	Bronze ornament.
VA 7043	Beads.
VA 7045	Bronze tumbler
VA 7046	Faience vessel
VA 7047-54, 7086	Bronze bowls, cf. Luschey, 1939, 41, no.8 = VA 7086, pl. 18a-c, section drawing on 162:18; 42, no. 18 = VA 7048, pl.20a,b, section drawing on 162:20
VA 7055	Faience seal; Jakob-Rost, 1975, no. 388
VA 7056	Bronze earrings
VA 7057	Three bronze bracelets
VA 7058-9	Spindle whorls
VA 7060, 7093	Bronze pins
VA 7061, 7069	Small bronze bells
VA 7064	Bronze sheetmetal object
VA 7065	Shells
VA 7066	Bronze kohl stick
VA 7068	Bronze vessel
VA 7071	Painted pottery vessel

VA 7072-76	Pottery
VA 7081	Bronze handle
VA 7080, 7085, 7087	Terracotta figurines
VA 7082	Baked clay lamp
VA 7083	Baked clay relief plaque
VA 7084	Bronze mirror
VA 7088	Alabastron
VA 7089	Chain
VA 7090	Glazed terracotta
VA 7096	Bronze hand

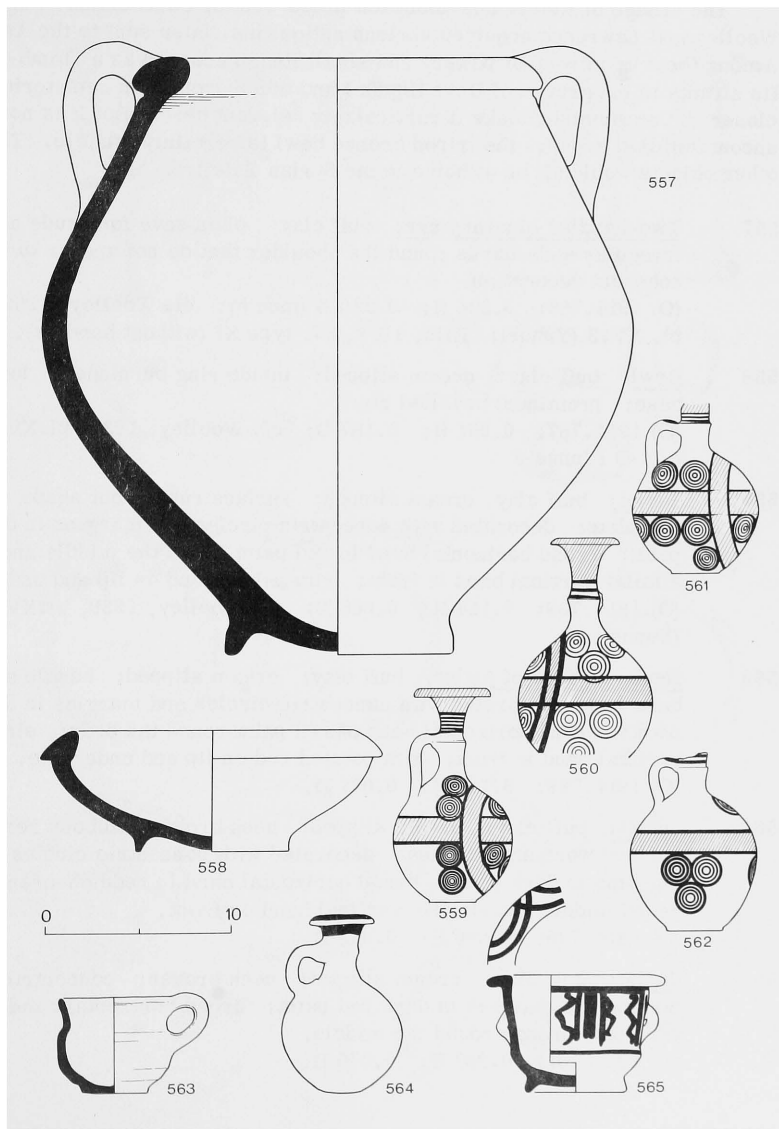


Fig. 23

## Appendix II

### OBJECTS FROM KEFRIK

The village of Kefrik lies about ten miles west of Carchemish.<sup>1</sup> Here Woolley and Lawrence acquired various antiquities, later sent to the Ashmolean. Among them is a group of pottery and small finds accessed as a "tomb-group". Its affinity to the graves of Deve Hüyük I and other cremation cemeteries closer to Carchemish, make it particularly relevant here. But it is not an uncontaminated group; the tripod bronze bowl is certainly Islamic. The other objects would all be at home in the Syrian Late Iron Age.

- 557 Two-handled cinerary urn; buff clay; plain save for crude and irregular stab marks round the shoulder that do not appear to be coherent decoration.  
(O) 1914.786; 0.324 H; 0.220 D (mouth); cf. Woolley, 1939, pl. XV.3 (Yunus); Riis, 1948, 57, type XI (without handles).
- 558 Bowl; buff clay; cream slipped; inside ring burnished; low ring base; prominent bevelled rim.  
(O) 1914.787; 0.061 H; 0.187 D; cf. Woolley, 1939, pl.XVe.4; c. 1-3 (Yunus).
- 559 Juglet; buff clay, cream slipped; surface rubbed but shape complete; decorated with concentric circles and margins in dark paint; broad horizontal band in red paint round the middle and a similar vertical band in front; rim painted red on lip and underside.  
(O) 1914.788; 0.114 H; 0.065 D; cf. Woolley, 1939, pl.XVI.2 (Yunus).
- 560 Neck and body of juglet; buff clay; cream slipped; handle and base lost; decorated with concentric circles and margins in dark paint; broad horizontal band of red paint round the body; similar vertical band in front; rim painted red on lip and underside.  
(O) 1914.789; 0.114 H; 0.071 D.
- 561 Juglet; buff clay; cream slipped; neck broken and body restored; surface worn and cracked; decorated with concentric circles and margins in dark paint; broad horizontal band in reddish-orange round middle and similar vertical band on front.  
(O) 1914.790; 0.090 H; 0.068 D.
- 562 Juglet; buff clay; cream slipped; neck broken; concentric circles and margins in dark red paint; broad horizontal band in very pale orange round the middle.  
(O) 1914.791; 0.093 H; 0.070 D.

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1. Turkish General Staff Map 1:800,000 (Malatya sheet); Dussaud, 1927, map XIII as "Kourik". The seals in this section are not illustrated.

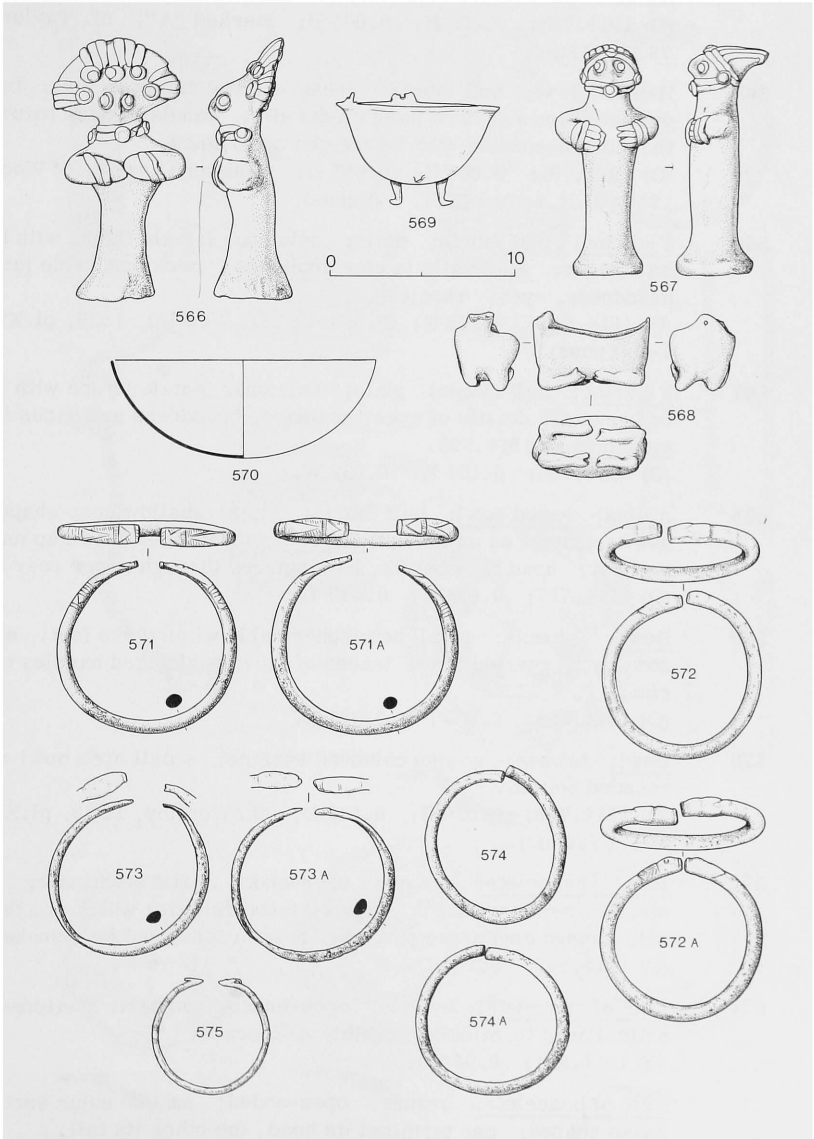


Fig. 24

- 563 Small cup; reddish-buff clay with buff wash; slight foot; loop side handle.  
(O) 1914.792; 0.050; 0.061.
- 564 Ring-necked juglet; reddish-buff fabric; red-slipped; encircling bands of dark paint; surface very badly worn.  
(O) 1914.793; 0.096 H; 0.065 D; marked "A"; cf. Taylor, 1959 78 (Al Mina).
- 565 Handled bowl; buff fabric; cream slipped on upper part; bands of curved lines in dark paint on the rim; panels of dark paint on the sides decorated with lattice and curly lines.  
(O) 1914.794; 0.060 H; 0.095 D; miniature version of Woolley, 1939, pl.X.1, 2; IX.4, 6 (Yunus).
- 566 Figurine; buff fabric; plain; columnar female figure with hands on breasts; all details in clay appliqués; necklace, wide fan-shaped headdress, eyes; repaired.  
(O) 1914.795; 0.138 H; 0.068 W; cf. Woolley, 1939, pl.XVIII. 1-3 (Yunus).
- 567 Figurine; buff fabric; plain; columnar female figure with hands on breasts; details of eyes, necklace, headdress and hands in clay appliqués as 1914.795.  
(O) 1914.796; 0.124 H; 0.052 W.
- 568 Animal-shaped bowl; buff fabric; plain; shallow boat-shaped bowl rendered as an animal couchant with its feet drawn up under its body; head broken off; hole pierced through upper rear end.  
(O) 1914.797; 0.035 H; 0.060 L.
- 569 Bowl; ? brass; small hemispherical bowl on three feet; one now lost; everted rim; traces of three perforated handles on the rim.  
(O) 1914.798; 0.057 H; 0.085 D.
- 570 Bowl; bronze; golden coloured surface; small open bowl with rounded bottom.  
(O) 1914.799; 0.050 H; 0.145 D; cf. Woolley, 1939, pl.XVII. C.1-2 (Yunus).
- 571 Pair of bracelets; bronze; open-ended; flat terminals; circular sectioned hoop; tapered towards ends, which are decorated with incised geometric patterns, possibly inspired by a snake.  
(O) 1914.800; 0.102 D.
- 572 Pair of bracelets; bronze; open-ended; circular sectioned hoop; animal head terminals, possibly calf-heads.  
(O) 1914.801; 0.088 D.
- 573 Pair of bracelets; bronze; open-ended; sub-circular section; snake shaped; one terminal its head, the other its tail.  
(O) 1914.802; 0.090 D (approx.).



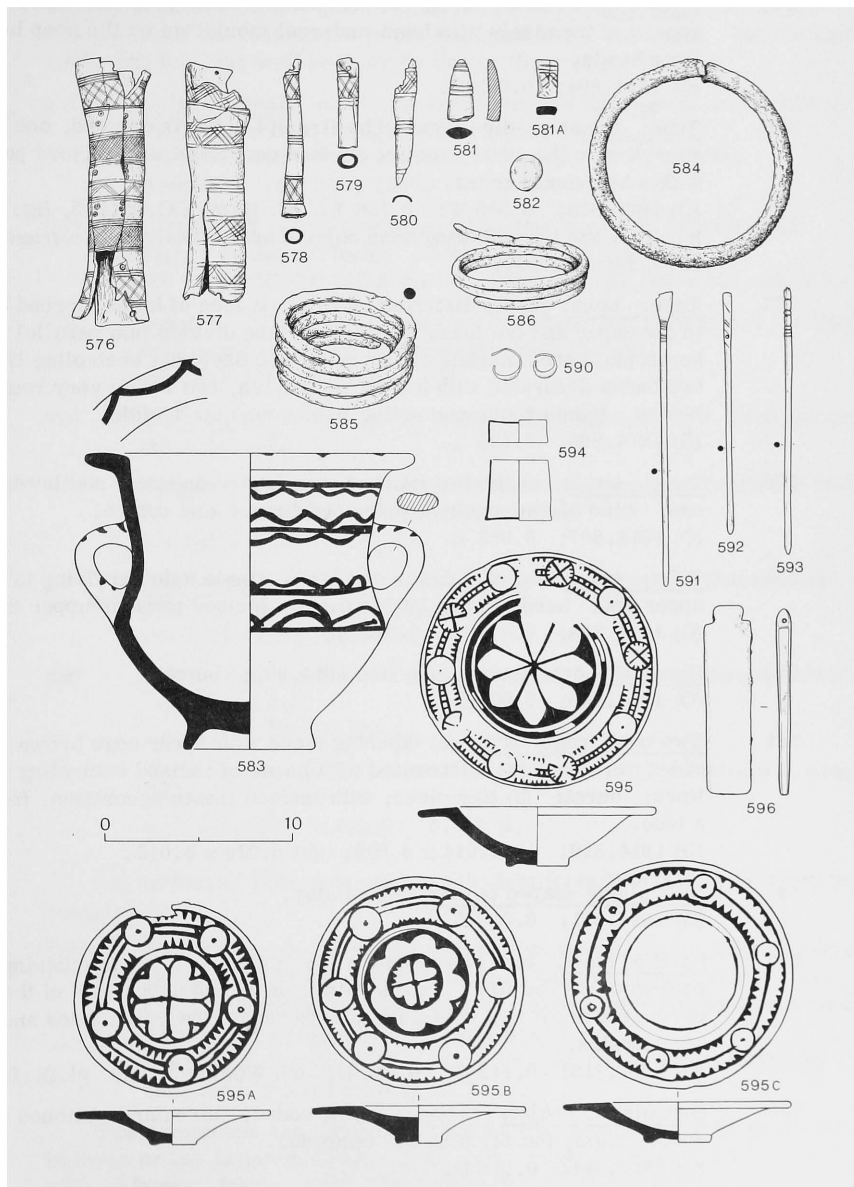


Fig. 25

- 574 Pair of bracelets; bronze; plain, flat touching terminals; circular sectioned.  
(O) 1914.803; 0.083 D.
- 575 Bracelet; bronze; open-ended; sub-circular sectioned hoop; goat head terminals with bead-and-reel mouldings on the hoop behind their heads.  
(O) 1914.804; 0.065 D.
- 576 Tube; bone; badly distorted by fire; 4 holes in one end, one surviving in the other; entire surface decorated with incised patterns within horizontal zones.  
(O) 1914.805; 0.043 W; 0.135 L; cf. Hama CC, p.180, fig. 230 F. This and the following bone objects are illustrated in Karageorghis, 1970, fig.3, p.227.
- 577 Tube; bone; badly distorted by fire; traces of holes pierced both in the upper and the lower edges; surface divided into parallel horizontal zones marked out by pairs of closely set encircling lines; two bands decorated with a chevron pattern, two with a very rough lattice. Band of four encircling lines round the middle.  
(O) 1914.806; 0.125 L.
- 578 Tube; bone; encircling band of open lattice on upper and lower end; band of four encircling incised lines round centre.  
(O) 1914.807; 0.082 L.
- 579 Tube; bone; burnt; lower end lost; single hole surviving in upper end; band of open lattice pattern incised towards upper end.  
(O) 1914.808; 0.047 H; 0.012 W.
- 580 Piece of bone; from a tube like 1914.808; burnt.  
(O) 1914.809; 0.067 L.
- 581 Two bone fragments: (a) tapering piece with lower edge brown and sides worn smooth; decorated with bands of incised encircling lines; burnt; (b) tiny piece, with incised linear decoration, from a tube.  
(O) 1914.810; (a) 0.014 x 0.033; (b) 0.020 x 0.012.
- 582 Irregularly shaped pellet; baked clay.  
(O) 1914.811; 0.019 D.
- 583 Handled bowl; buff clay, white slip; lip decorated with running pattern of curved lines in dark paint; neck and upper part of the carination decorated with a running pattern of "wiggly" lines and semicircles.  
(O) 1914.813; 0.149 H; 0.182 D; cf. Woolley, 1939, pl.IX.15.
- 584 Bracelet or anklet; bronze; open-ended; circular-sectioned hoop; plain, flat terminals; corroded.  
(O) 1914.814; 0.110 D.
- 585 Bracelet; bronze; circular-sectioned hoop; plain; flat terminals; five spiral coils.  
(O) 1914.815; 0.033 H; 0.070 D.

- 586 Bracelet; bronze; like 1914.815 but with three spiral coils.  
(O) 1914.816; 0.067 D.

The following objects are said in the Ashmolean register to be "group found with pot burial A"—the marking borne by 1914.793 (no.564) in the above group. An association is not implausible for the seals; but the kohl sticks and box may well be later by two or three centuries.

- 587 Cylinder seal; steatite; tree; human figure with arms raised, seated on a lion; stag; linear borders.  
(O) 1914.114; 0.020 x 0.008; Hogarth, 1920, no.241;  
Buchanan, 1966, no. 1027.
- 588 Scaraboid; red serpentine; standing man with arms raised, dagger in the left hand; flanked by floral motifs.  
(O) 1914.115; 0.016 x 0.014; Blinkenberg, 1931, 162, pl.18E.
- 589 Scarab; (?) gypsum; very stylised back and high sides; winged quadruped in course to the right; dots in field.  
(O) 1914.116; 0.018 x 0.014.
- 590 Earrings; bronze, seven fragments of light, simple leech earrings.  
(O) 1914.117.
- 591 Spatula; bronze; one end rounded, the other hammered flat with incised encircling lines behind terminal.  
(O) 1914.118a; 0.161 L.
- 592 Kohl-stick; bronze; one end rounded; other end flattened and pierced with a small hole.  
(O) 1914.118b; 0.130 L.
- 593 Kohl-stick; bronze; one end rounded; other end moulded with castellated top.  
(O) 1914.118c; 0.144 L.
- 594 Box with lid; sheet bronze; squat cylindrical box with matching lid.  
(O) 1914.119; 0.035 H; 0.035 D.

The following objects of comparable date from Kefrik have no reported association:-

- 595 Small dish; faience; restored from sherds; ring base, broken; shallow bowl with broad lip flange; pattern in dark lines: an eight petalled rosette in reserve; on the lip compass drawn circles separated by bands of horizontal lines.  
(O) 1914.125; 0.030 H; 0.130 D; the Ashmolean register is annotated "burnt burial (C. L. W.)".

The Ashmolean has three other dishes like this acquired by purchase in Syria or the Lebanon (595A: 1913.129: Kirk Maghara; 595B: 1913.303: Aleppo; 595C: 1913.124: Beirut). Published comparisons are very scanty. A fragment of a faience vessel in black, blue and yellow, decorated with a rosette, from the 'Water Postern' at Carchemish may be

from a similar dish (Woolley, 1921, pl.26.C.7). Parlasca (1976, 144ff.) cites other examples, including one from Palmyra; but his dating to the later first millennium is too late (cf. also Ishiguro, 1976, nos. 58A & B).

- 596 Hone; greenstone; narrow rectangle; polished, with a suspension loop at the top cut from the stone.  
(O) 1914.126; 0.103 L.
- 597 Conoid seal; faience; antelope in course to right, head turned back; ? eagle above.  
(O) 1914.127; 0.015 x 0.017.
- 598 Stud; steatite; crude cross-hatching on the broken square top; very worn; antelope passant to left; floral motifs in field; dentated border.  
(O) 1914.128; 0.024 x 0.023; "Bought by Hamoudi (Woolley's foreman) from a girl in Kefrik village."

Concordance I: Museum Numbers and Catalogue Numbers

A: Deve Httytik

(i) Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum)

E.52.1913:	436	E.101.1913:	108
54.1913:	94	102.1913:	102
55.1913:	152	103.1913:	80
56.1913:	176	104.1913:	101
57.1913:	184-5	105.1913:	530
58.1913:	205-8	106.1913:	493/523
59.1913:	229	107.1913:	348
60.1913:	347	108.1913:	343
61.1913:	338	109.1913:	349
62.1913:	339	110.1913:	344
63.1913:	274-5	111.1913:	361
64.1913:	401-2	112.1913:	21
65.1913:	385		
66.1913:	77		
67.1913:	233		
68.1913:	128		
69.1913:	223-4		
70.1913:	390		
71.1913:	1		
72.1913:	181		
73.1913:	39		
74.1913:	429		
75.1913:	431		
76.1913:	15		
77.1913:	62		
78.1913:	72		
79.1913:	52		
80.1913:	426		
81.1913:	11		
85.1913:	7		
86.1913:	46		
87.1913:	16		
88.1913:	43		
89.1913:	423		
90.1913:	232		
91.1913:	403		
92.1913:	398		
93.1913:	359		
94.1913:	161		
95.1913:	177		
96.1913:	400		
97.1913:	246-7		
98.1913:	278-9		
99.1913:	280-1		
100.1913:	252-3		

(ii) Liverpool (Merseyside County Museums)

49.47. 222:	155	49.47. 276a:	395
223:	179	276b:	422
225:	162	276c:	413-5
226:	163	277:	421
227:	192-3	278:	286
228:	222	279:	87
229:	408-9	280:	104
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(iii) London: British Museum (Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities )

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(iv) Oxford (Ashmolean Museum)

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(i) Oxford (Ashmolean Museum)

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## Concordance II: published "grave-groups" and catalogue numbers

No list survives, if any was ever made, of the museum distribution of Woolley's published "grave-groups" (1914-16, 117ff.); indeed there is evidence in his own article that he did not purchase everything listed in the "groups". The following correlation is based on the very uneven evidence of museum registers and marks surviving on some objects. It suggests that complete groups were sent to specific museums; but it is by no means always possible to document them precisely in the relevant collection even when that is known. I have only listed those items for which clear evidence may be traced on the object or in a register.

### Grave-Group:

1. Bronze bowl, type 2, Pl.XXI, found under the head; two fibulae, types D and K, Pl.XXIII; two bronze rings, one plain, with flat inscribed bezel; two bronze bracelets with tripartite heads; suspended from the neck a chalcedony conoid seal of Late Mesopotamia type, Pl.XXXIX; two very rough clay pots, one of bottle shape, one squat with almost straight sides slightly turned out to the rim.

Catalogue Nos: 107; 236-7; 314; 325; 329; 335; 470.  
(Oxford)

2. Bronze bowl, as in (1); a clay lamp (broken), of the type shown in pl. XXVII, 11 but simpler; a spouted vase, kettle-shaped (broken); and a pot of black ring-burnished ware, broken and much decayed.

Catalogue No.: 64 (Liverpool)

3. An 'alabastron' with small knob handles; two slender bronze bracelets; two heavy bronze anklets with roughly-fashioned, snake-head ends; and a crystal bead.

4. Bronze bowl, as in (1); a large beaded knee fibula, pl.XXIII, J; two rings of twisted bronze wire; a fragment of a bronze kohl-pot (type of pl.XXII, fig.29); iron spearhead, length 0.34 m., type A, pl.XXV; iron spearhead, length 0.16 m (broken); a blue and white mosaic glass bead.

5. Plain bronze bowl with umbilical knob, diameter 0.155 m, type 9, pl. XXI; a plain bronze bracelet, and a small fibula (type D) pierced for attachment to a chain.

6. Bronze bowl with godroons and lotus ornament, diameter 0.163 m; two bronze spatulae or kohl-sticks, one with flattened and one with rounded head, lengths 0.14 and 0.165 m respectively; a small bronze situla, height 0.085 m (pl. XXII, 5); a bronze pendant, height 0.07 m (pl. XXII, 9); two steatite spindle-whorls; a blue glazed conoid seal showing a man with an asp, Phoeniko-Egyptian style (pl.XXXIX, 7); and a fragment of a large size amulet in Egyptian blue glass.

Catalogue no.: 489 (Oxford)

7. Bronze bowl with godroons and lotus ornament, diameter 0.165 m, type as 5, pl.XXI; a bronze pin with flattened and curled head, length 0.009 m; a small clay oenochoe, plain, height 0.095 m, type 4, pl. XXVIII.

Catalogue nos: 29, 356 (London)

8. Plain bronze mirror, total length 0.19 m, cf. pl.XXII, 25; two small bronze fibulae; a plain bronze bracelet and two small plain bronze rings; a pendant seal of bronze in the shape of a man's head (pl.XXIX, 3) on the base device, uncertain; a large size amulet of Egyptian glaze and a lot of small beads, mostly of mosaic glass (Pl. XXIX, 16).

Catalogue nos: 238; 315-16; 342; 387; 487; 505 (London)

9. Bronze bowl, slightly godrooned and with umbilical boss, diameter 0.16 m, type 5, pl.XXI; a small bronze tumbler or cup, type 11; a bronze ring penannular with wire joining the ends as if to carry a scarab; a lot of bugle beads, light blue paste; a small oenochoe of pseudo-Cypriote type, with black paint bands; a blue-glazed pot, type of Pl. VI, L; top of a glazed pilgrim-bottle, of Egyptian type; the base of a black-glazed Attic kylix.

Catalogue nos: 30; 31; 59; 92; 123; 132 (Oxford)

10. Bronze tumbler-shaped vase, height 0.13 m, type 12, Pl.XXI; two bronze kohlsticks, one decorated with rings; a bronze mirror, as Pl. XXII, 25; a silver Persian coin, Pl.XXIII, 3; a plain alabaster saucer and an alabaster tumbler-vase, Pl.XXVI, 5 and 6; two iron spears, types A and G, Pl.XXV; two plain bronze bracelets; a few paste and glass beads.

Catalogue nos: 122; 166; 172; 293; 386; 396 (London)

11. Heavy shallow bronze bowl, diameter 0.15, type 7; another, plate-shaped, roughly hammered out to a double spout as if for a lamp; two bronze arrowheads, type 28, Pl.XXII; bronze dagger-pommel with head of ram, etc., Pl.XXIII, I; a very small bronze ring; iron dagger, type H, Pl.XXV; small clay amphora with black paint bands; small plain oenochoe, type of Pl. XXVIII, 4; clay alabastron; black Attic kylix, Pl. XXVII, 1.

Catalogue nos.: 32; 33; 58; 82; 127; 156; 194; 380-1.  
(Oxford)

N.B. No grave-group 12 is listed by Woolley.

13. Plain shallow bronze bowl, diameter 0.145 m, type 7, pl.XXI; large bronze fibula, Pl.XXIII, type J; bronze grater (?) or strainer, Pl.XXII, 26; three bronze belt-studs; a pendant of green glass; an inscribed glass cylinder with silver pin and cap (broken); iron spearhead, length 0.295 m, Pl.XXV, type A; rough clay pot, ginger-jar shape, orange

brown clay blackened around rim; a small plain amphora (broken).

Catalogue nos.: 63; 79; 130; 158; 167; 341; 459 (London)

14. Bronze bowl, plain, type 3, Pl.XXI; two iron spearheads and fragments of iron sword; b.f. Attic lecythus in form of woman's head, face dull brick-red, hair and spout black varnish.

Catalogue nos: 108; perhaps 176-7 (Cambridge)

15. Small bronze bowl (diameter 0.12 m) of unusual type, a godrooned base being soldered on to an already complete vessel of type 2, giving effect of type 1, Pl.XXI; two small bronze aryballoi (broken), Pl.XXII, 1; a bronze kohl-stick; a small bronze bell, complete with clapper, Pl. XXII, 27; several bronze bracelets, plain; a silver bracelet and a decorated pin, type Pl.XXII, 13; a few beads of mosaic glass; a ram's head in glass of different colours, Pl.XXIX, 1; five small plain clay vases, viz., a feeder (Pl.XXVII, 13), an aryballos, and two oenochoae (Pl.XXVII, 9).

Catalogue nos: 34-38; 111; 117-8; 240-3; 265; 373; 393; 509; 510.

Also attributed: 164; 196-7; 312; 336. (Oxford)

16. Bronze bowl with godrooned ornament, rather of type 5, Pl.XXI; fibula of very angular type, cf. type A, Pl.XXIII; bronze kohlpot and kohlsticks, as Pl.XXII, 29, but broken; some large bronze bugle beads; a quantity of small hemispherical bronze spangles; pierced at the crown for sewing on to cloth; a plain bronze bracelet.

Catalogue nos: 93; 286; 350; 395; 413-5; 421-2; (Liverpool)

17. Plain bronze bowl, type 4, Pl.XXI; four small fibulae, type D, Pl. XXIII; finger-ring of twisted bronze wire; bronze penannular ring; two silver earrings (broken), Pl.XXIII, 5; green glazed scarab; pendant in form of grotesque human head in polychrome glass, Pl.XXIX, 2; beads, a few of plain blue glass, polychrome glass eyed beads, green glazed 'dad' beads, stone bugles and shells, Pl.XXIX, 17.

18. Plain bronze bowl, type 7, Pl.XXI; bronze spindle and spindle-whorl, Pl.XXII, 23; bronze pin with rolled head, Pl.XXII, 17; bronze pin glazed (?); two eye amulets of Egyptian green and black glaze; a green glazed conoid seal engraved with a seated goat and an Egyptian sign Pl.XXIXA, 10; a white paste pendant and a few large yellow, blue and white glass eye beads, Pl.XXIX, 13; and a bronze finger-ring with flat bezel.

Catalogue nos: 78; 323; 355; 377; 399; 511-12. 475 (Oxford)

19. Plain bronze bowl, type 2, Pl.XXI; a plain bronze bracelet; a pair of base silver ear-rings, Pl.XXIII, 8; a small bronze pendant; two ear-rings made of shells, pierced and hung on bronze wire; a small dark steatite jar, hemispherical, Pl.XXVI, 9; large green glaze eye amulet; some cowries and coarse beads.  
 Catalogue nos: 113; 138; 244; 301-2; 508; 513-15. (Oxford)
20. Plain bronze bowl, type 2, Pl.XXI; fragments of second bronze bowl, apparently a patera; large bronze spoon, Pl.XXII, 8; large fibula, type G, Pl.XXIII; three bronze rings, corroded together; plain bronze anklet; small bronze bell, cf. Pl.XXII, 27; bent bronze rod; three plain bronze kohlsticks; two plain bronze rings; a bronze pin; iron spearhead, type E, pl.XXV; silver earring (broken) with granouillé work; steatite spindle-whorl; a few mixed beads; the lower part of an Attic b.f. lecythus, with design of cross hatching and vine wreath in black on a white ground; a black cylinder, engraved; a plain scaraboid.  
 Catalogue nos: 106; 129; 180; 260; 293; 304; 318-19; 353; 360; 374; 410-12; 447; 497; 553. (Liverpool)
21. Godrooned bronze bowl, type 5, Pl.XXI; plain bronze bowl, type 5, pl.XXI; two fibulae, pl.XXIII, M, and type G; a plain ring of bronze wire; a glazed 'marguerite' button; a dozen mixed beads.  
 Catalogue nos: 338-9 (Cambridge)
22. Godrooned bronze bowl, diameter 0.167 m. as type 5, pl.XXI; bronze ring with engraved bezel (a lion?); bronze staff-head with lily design, Pl.XXII, 4.  
 Catalogue no: 181 (Cambridge)
23. Silver coin of Athens, 5th century B.C., Pl.XXIII, 4; blue glass cylinder seal, with the device of the  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\theta\eta\rho\omega\acute{\nu}$ ; bronze bezel of ring, engraved (?); blue glaze amulet; large glass nasturtium-seed bead.  
 Catalogue nos: 324; 458; 516-7; 548 (Oxford)
24. Plain bronze bowl, type 3, Pl.XXI; glazed scarab, rev. man and seated lion; green glazed amulets, eye, fly, and Taurt; a dozen mixed beads; a stone amulet marked out like a chessboard.  
 Catalogue nos: 105; 496; 518-22 (Liverpool)
25. Plain bronze bowl, type 4, Pl.XXI; pair of heavy bronze anklets with dog's head ends, cf. Pl.XXII, 10 and 12; pair of plain bronze bracelets; small fibula, type G, pl.XXIII; small plain bronze ring; bronze ear-ring, plain; scaraboid, paste, rev. man and snake, poor; a few mixed beads.  
 Catalogue nos: 102; 493; 523 (Cambridge)

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