EXCAVATIONS AT HAFT TEPE, IRAN

FEB 20 1991
RESEARCH ARCHIVES - DIRECTOR'S LIBRARY
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EXCAVATIONS AT HAFT TEPE, IRAN

Male Clay Statue Head (**167**)

University Museum Monograph 70

EXCAVATIONS AT HAFT TEPE, IRAN

Ezat O. Negahban

Published by

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
of Archaeology and Anthropology
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia
1991

Design, editing, typesetting, production
Publications Division, The University Museum

Printing
Science Press
Ephrata, Pennsylvania

Endpapers designed by Georgianna Grentzenberg
(**326** and **483**)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Negahban, Ezat O.
Excavations at Haft Tepe, Iran / Ezat O. Negahban.
p. cm. -- (University Museum monograph ; 70)
ISBN 0-934718-89-X
1. Haft Tepe (Iran) 2. Excavations (Archaeology)--Iran.
I. Title. II. Series.
DS262.H34N44 1990
935--dc20 90-26737
CIP
r91

Copyright © 1991
THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

This book is printed on acid free paper.

In memory of my father,
Abdol Amir Negahban,
who sacrificed his life for
the development of Khuzistan Province,
his land of origin

Table of Contents

ILLUSTRATIONS xiii
COLOR PLATES xv
MAPS AND PLANS xvi
INSCRIPTIONS xvii
FIGURES xix
PLATES xxi
FOREWORD xxv
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xxvii

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. EXCAVATION STRATEGY 6
Layout of Excavation Grid 7
First through Third Seasons: The Tomb-Temple Complex of Tepti Ahar 7
Fourth through Ninth Seasons: Terrace Complex I 9
Tenth and Eleventh Seasons: Terrace Complex II 10

III. ARCHITECTURE 12
The Tomb-Temple Complex 12
Terrace Complex I 15
Terrace Complex II 19

IV. TOMBS AND BURIALS 20
Elamite Multiple Burials with Architecture 20
Elamite Burials with Pottery Containers 22
Simple Elamite Inhumation Burials 23
Post-Elamite Burials 23

V. POTTERY 24
Plain Pottery Vessels 25
Decorative Pottery Vessels 35

VI. STATUES AND FIGURINES 37
Clay Human Statue Heads 37
Molded Baked Clay Human Figurines 39
Animal Figurines 41

VII. STONE, METAL, AND BONE OBJECTS 44
Stone Objects 44
Metal Objects 45
Bone Objects 48

VIII. SEALS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS 49
Stamp Seals 49
Cylinder Seals 50
Seal Impressions 53
Haft Tepe Common Style 54
Natural Style 94
Partial Pieces 98
Clay Envelopes or Boxes 98
Jar Stoppers 99
Comments 100

IX. STELAE, INSCRIPTIONS, AND TABLETS 102
Stone Inscriptions 102
Inscribed Clay Tablets 103
Inscriptions on Decorative Objects 106
Inscribed Seals and Seal Impressions 106
King Tepti Ahar 108
Ancient Name of Haft Tepe 109
Other Geographic Names 109
Architectural Terms 109
Units of Measurement 110
Haft Tepe Deities 111
Titles and Positions 111
Calendar 111
Elamite Personal Names 112

X. DECORATIVE OBJECTS 113

XI. CONCLUSION 118
Architecture 118
Religious Beliefs 119
Inscriptions 119
Art and Technology 119

APPENDIX I
List of the Participants of Haft Tepe Excavations in Each Season 121
APPENDIX II
Summary of "Provisional English Translation of Haft Tapeh 425" [Stone Stela 1], by Elizabeth Voitlander 123
APPENDIX III
Discussion of Stone Stela 3 125
APPENDIX IV
Tablettes Administratives de Haft Tépé 127
BIBLIOGRAPHY 153
PLANS
FIGURES
PLATES

Illustrations

Illustration 1 Male Clay Mask (**168**) 38
Illustration 2 Female Clay Statue Head (**169**) 38
Illustration 3 Cylinder Seal (**237**) 51
Illustration 4 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 25* (**245**) 55
Illustration 5 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 27* (**246**) 55
Illustration 6 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 85* (**247**) 56
Illustration 7 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 261* (**251**) 57
Illustration 8 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 107* (**255**) 58
Illustration 9 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 4C* (**256**) 58
Illustration 10 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 28* (**259**) 59
Illustration 11 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 264*, *H.T.S. 10* (**260**, **261**) 60
Illustration 12 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 67* (**264**) 60
Illustration 13 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 83* (**265**) 61
Illustration 14 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 59* (**267**) 61
Illustration 15 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 123* (**268**) 61
Illustration 16 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 112* (**269**) 62
Illustration 17 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 65* (**275**) 65
Illustration 18 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 38* (**281**) 66
Illustration 19 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 29* (**282**) 67
Illustration 20 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 15* (**283**) 67
Illustration 21 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 5* (**289**) 68
Illustration 22 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 76A* (**290**) 68
Illustration 23 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 56* (**304**) 72
Illustration 24 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 77* (**306**) 72
Illustration 25 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 4A* (**310**) 73
Illustration 26 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 4B* (**314**) 73
Illustration 27 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 8* (**315**) 74
Illustration 28 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 66* (**321**) 75
Illustration 29 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 146* (**322**) 76
Illustration 30 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 14* (**325**) 77
Illustration 31 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 22* (**326**) 77
Illustration 32 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 282* (**334**) 78
Illustration 33 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 30* (**340**) 80
Illustration 34 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 23A* (**341**) 80

Illustration 35 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 9* (**344**) 81
Illustration 36 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 54* (**357**) 83
Illustration 37 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 130* (**366**) 86
Illustration 38 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 57* (**372**) 87
Illustration 39 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 24* (**387**) 90
Illustration 40 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 17*, *H.T.S. 17A* (**391**) 91
Illustration 41 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 62B* (**394**) 92
Illustration 42 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 91* (**398**) 92
Illustration 43 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 252* (**402**) 94
Illustration 44 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 259* (**411**) 95
Illustration 45 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 78* (**414**) 96
Illustration 46 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 128* (**415**) 96
Illustration 47 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 129A* (**416**) 97
Illustration 48 Bronze Plaque (**481**) 114
Illustration 49 Clay Plaque (Roundel) with Imaginary Creature (**483**) 116

Color Plates

Frontispiece Male Clay Statue Head (**167**)

Plate 1A Haft Tepe Archaeological Remains (following p. 4)

Plate 1B Haft Tepe Archaeological Remains

Plate 2A Terrace Complex II

Plate 2B Mass Burial

Plate 3A Male Clay Mask (**168**) (following p. 68)

Plate 3B Bronze Axe (**217**)

Plate 4A Black Stone Cylinder Seal (**240**)

Plate 4B Tablet *H.T. 152*

Maps and Plans

Map 1	Haft Tepe
Plan 1	Haft Tepe, Site Locality
Plan 2	General Plan of Architectural Remains and Excavation Grid
Plan 3	General Plan, Tomb-Temple Complex
Plan 4	Tomb of Tepti Ahar
Plan 5	General Plan, Terrace Complex I
Plan 6	Kiln, Terrace Complex I
Plan 7	Haft Tepe, General Plan, Terrace Complex II

Inscriptions

Clay Envelope *H.T. 12* (**368**) 104
Inscribed Spool *H.T. 151* (**492**) 106
Inscribed Pottery Jar (**474**) 106
Inscribed Bronze Axe (**217**) 106
Seal Impression on *H.T. 38* (**281**) 107
Seal Impression on *H.T. 445* 107
Seal Impression on *H.T. 60* 107
Seal Impression *H.T.S. 2* 108
Seal Impression on *H.T. 20* 108

Figures

Figure 1 Pottery (1-13)
Figure 2 Pottery (14-22)
Figure 3 Pottery (24-29, 31-34)
Figure 4 Pottery (35-43)
Figure 5 Pottery (44-62)
Figure 6 Pottery (64-68)
Figure 7 Pottery (69-73)
Figure 8 Pottery (75-83, 85-87)
Figure 9 Pottery (88-92, 94-101, 103-108)
Figure 10 Pottery (109-113, 115-121)
Figure 11 Pottery (122-132, 134-138)
Figure 12 Pottery (139-152)
Figure 13 Pottery (153-162, 164-166)

Plates

Plate 1 Introduction
- A Entrance to Haft Tepe Museum
- B Excavation team celebrating discovery of the statue heads

Plate 2 The Tomb-Temple Complex
- A Central Courtyard
- B Central Courtyard

Plate 3 The Tomb-Temple Complex
- A Central Courtyard
- B Central Courtyard

Plate 4 The Tomb-Temple Complex
- A Central Courtyard
- B Central Courtyard

Plate 5 The Tomb-Temple Complex
- A Long Portico
- B Temple Hall no. 1
- C Temple Hall no. 1

Plate 6 The Tomb-Temple Complex
- A Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar
- B Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar

Plate 7 The Tomb-Temple Complex
- A Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar
- B Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar

Plate 8 The Tomb-Temple Complex
- A Vaulted Mass Burial Tomb
- B Vaulted Mass Burial Tomb

Plate 9 Terrace Complex I
- A Central Core
- B Central Core

Plate 10 Terrace Complex I
- A Central Core
- B Hall no. 4

Plate 11 Terrace Complex I
A Passageway
B Passageway

Plate 12 Terrace Complex I
A Northwestern Courtyard
B Long Wall

Plate 13 Terrace Complex I
A Corridor
B Hall no. 6

Plate 14 Terrace Complex I
A Hall no. 6
B Hall no. 6
C Hall no. 6
D Hall no. 6

Plate 15 Terrace Complex I
A Kiln
B Kiln

Plate 16 Terrace Complex I: Kiln

Plate 17 Terrace Complex II
A Central Core
B Central Core

Plate 18 Terrace Complex II: N, O, P XXXIV Hall

Plate 19 Burials
A Elamite pottery sarcophagus
B Elamite pottery sarcophagus
C Elamite jar burials

Plate 20 Burials
A Elamite burial under an inverted pottery basin
B Single Elamite inhumation burial

Plate 21 Burials
A Elamite burial with funerary objects
B Elamite burial with funerary objects

Plate 22 Burials
A Sassanian period burial
B Detail of Sassanian burial

Plate 23 Pottery (1 uncat., **11**, **23**, **30**, **53**, **63**, **74**, **84**, **93**, **102**, 114, 133, **159**, **162-166**)

Plate 24 Figurines: Human Heads (**167-169**)

Plate 25 Figurines: Human (**170-179**)

Plate 26 Figurines: Human (**180-187**)

Plate 27 Figurines: Animal (**188-196**)
Plate 28 Stone (**197-199**)
Plate 29 Stone (**200-206**)
Plate 30 Metal (**207-213**)
Plate 31 Metal; Bone Buttons (**214-228**)
Plate 32 Stamp Seals (**229-235**)
Plate 33 Cylinder Seals (**236-242**)
Plate 34 Seal Impressions (**243-255**)
Plate 35 Seal Impressions (**256-264**)
Plate 36 Seal Impressions (**265-274**)
Plate 37 Seal Impressions (**276-290**)
Plate 38 Seal Impressions (**291**, **292**, **294-303**)
Plate 39 Seal Impressions (**304-307**, **309**, **310**)
Plate 40 Seal Impressions (**310**, **314**, **256**, **311-320**, **322-325**)
Plate 41 Seal Impressions (**326-337**)
Plate 42 Seal Impressions (**338-343**)
Plate 43 Seal Impressions (**344-356**)
Plate 44 Seal Impressions (**357-364**)
Plate 45 Seal Impressions (**365-370**)
Plate 46 Seal Impressions (**371-384**)
Plate 47 Seal Impressions (**386-400**)
Plate 48 Seal Impressions (**402**, **403**, **405**, **408**, **409**, **411-425**)
Plate 49 Seal Impressions (**426-445**)
Plate 50 Seal Impressions (**446-453**)
Plate 51 Seal Impressions (**454-462**)
Plate 52 Stone Stele (**463-465**)
Plate 53 Stone Stele (**466-468**)
Plate 54 Stone Stele (**469-472**)
Plate 55 Stone Stele (**473**, **474**)
Plate 56 Decorative Objects (**475-482**)
Plate 57 Decorative Objects (**483-492**)
Plate 58 Decorative Objects (**493-504**)

Foreword

The revolution against the Shah's government in Iran brought to an end an era of intense archaeological investigation of Iran's past—an era marked by close cooperation between the Archaeological Service of Iran, Iranian archaeologists, and foreign missions. A leader in these investigations was Professor Ezat O. Negahban, the author of this monograph. In 1959-60, while he was Associate Professor of Old World Prehistory at the University of Tehran, Dr. Negahban participated in the Oriental Institute's Prehistoric Iranian Project, which investigated the Palaeolithic and Neolithic cultures of the Kermanshah valley. Two years earlier he had founded the Institute of Archaeology at the University. He was Director of the Institute until 1979. In 1964 he became a full professor and in 1967 Chairman of the Department of Archaeology. In 1975 he became Dean of the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences at the University, a position which he held until 1978.

During this period Professor Negahban also served as Technical Director of the Iranian Archaeological Service (1960-64), Technical Advisor to the Ministry of Culture and Art (1965-78), and member of the High Executive Council of the Society for Preserving National Documents (1968-78). In 1967-68 he also served as the Director of the Iran Bastan Museum. Since 1980 he has been Visiting Guest Curator of Iranian Archaeology in the Near East Section of The University Museum.

Professor Negahban's contributions to the archaeology of Iran include survey work in Khorasan (1965), Mazanderan (1975-76), and the Qazvin Plain (1970-78). In 1961-62 he directed the excavation of the famous royal cemetery at Marlik Tepe near Rudbar in Gilan province. Following this effort he worked concurrently for nine seasons (1970-78) in the Qazvin Plain (at the sites of Zaghe, Saqzabad, and Qabrestan, which covered a time span from the Neolithic to the Iron Age in a virtually unknown archaeological area of the country) and at Haft Tepe (1966-80) in the southwestern province of Khuzistan.

Excavations at this latter site helped to illuminate the poorly known Middle Elamite period (1450-1100 B.C.) when the prosperity of Susa, the great lowland capital of Elam, had diminished. Haft Tepe proved to be the capital and burial place of Tepti Ahar, "king of Susa and Anshan," around 1375 B.C. In addition to the king's mortuary temple and burial chamber, Professor Negahban's excavations revealed other courtyards, storerooms, and workshops associated with two ziggurats. In addition, over 600 inscribed tablets and two stelae were found, for the first time providing information on the Elamite state in this period.

In 1980 work at the site came to an end and Professor Negahban found it expedient to leave Iran. He had completed a report on his work in Farsi, however, and with the help of a translation grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and support from The University Museum, he was able to undertake and English translation. Because of the importance of this work to our understanding of the history of the Elamite state and of the cultural development of southwestern Iran in general, The University Museum has undertaken to publish this work as one of its monographs. The effort has been generously supported with additional help from The Hagop Kevorkian Fund of New York City. The University Museum thanks both the Trustees of the Kevorkian Fund and the administration of the National Endowment for the Humanities for making this publication possible. Since the English edition was undertaken Professor Negahban has also been able to arrange its publication in Iran in Farsi.

Robert H. Dyson, Jr.
The Charles K. Williams II Director

Preface and Acknowledgments

Haft Tepe is located in the most fertile part of the Khuzistan plain, between the Dez and Karkheh Rivers, about 50 km. south of Andimeshk, 100 km. north of Ahwaz, and 10 km. in a direct line east and southeast of Susa (Map 1). The name Haft Tepe means in Farsi "Seven Mounds," and the site derives its name from the many mounds, at least fourteen in all, which comprise the Haft Tepe archaeological compound. In Farsi "seven" is often used simply to indicate a large number and thus the meaning of Haft Tepe is actually "Many Mounds."

The ancient remains of Haft Tepe have always stood out in the flat plain of Khuzistan and, as early as the late nineteenth century, Jean-Jacques De Morgan of the French Archaeological Mission described the site, giving the name as Haft Shoghal, which would literally mean "Seven Jackals." This apparently resulted from a misunderstanding of the name in local dialect in which it is called Haft Choga. "Choga" is the local word for an artificial mound, found in many names of the region such as Chogha Zanbil or Basket Mound, Chogha Mish, or Sheep Mound and Chogha Pahn or Broad Mound.

De Morgan records that

> Haft Shogal represents an ancient city which is located not far from the Shaour River at the bank of an ancient canal (by) which it is separated from the area of Ivan-i-Karkheh.[1] The ancient road between Ahwaz and Shush (Susa) would have passed by these ancient ruins and the army of Alexander the Great, after the destruction of the Palace of Ardeshir, must have crossed the river by boat bridge...[2]

The original name of the Haft Tepe archaeological compound still remains in question. Some scholars have suggested that it may have been Tikni, which is described as a religious center located between Susa and Chogha Zanbil, but no documents have appeared at Haft Tepe to support this theory. On several seal impressions and inscribed clay tablets discovered in the Haft Tepe excavation the name of KA-AP-NAK appears and it now seems that this may have been the original name of the Haft Tepe remains.[3]

My first contact with the archaeological remains of Haft Tepe occurred when, in 1946, as a first year student of archaeology at the University of Tehran, I saw the site from the Haft Tepe train station while on a trip to my birthplace of Ahwaz. At this time the area was quite untouched and I received a superb impression of the majesty of the site in the light and shadow of the late afternoon sun. Later, in 1959, after I had become an Associate Professor at the University of Tehran, I accompanied some of our students on an archaeological tour of southern Iran and again saw the Haft Tepe remains from a distance, this time while traveling alongside the Shaour River on the way to visit the Chogha Zanbil excavation of Roman Ghirshman. The grandeur of the vast archaeological compound captured my imagination as a possible site for future excavation.

It was not until 1965 that I was able to organize an expedition to excavate the Haft Tepe site, under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Culture and Art, of which the Iranian Archaeological Service was a part. Since, in addition to working in the Archaeological Service, I was also professor in the Department of Archaeology of the University of Tehran, I was most

1. Ivan-i-Karkheh comprises prominent archaeological remains of the Sassanian period which are located northwest of Susa, on the west bank of the Karkheh River.

2. Gaem-Maghami, Jahangir, Translation of De Morgan Travelling Notes, 1908. Tehran 1957, pp. 38, 43-44 (in Persian text).

3. Pablo Herrero, Tablettes administratives de Haft Tépé. Cahiers de la DAFI 6 (1976) 113.

anxious to involve our students in the work of the excavation. During our first season, students of the Department and Institute of Archaeology participated casually on a volunteer basis whenever they were free to do so, often for quite short periods of time. From the fourth season on, however, a program of field training in excavation technique was organized for graduate students of the Institute of Archaeology of which I was then director. Beginning with the fourth season we organized groups of graduate students each season who received training in various technical subjects while they helped in the excavation, enabling us to expand our work to a considerable extent. Along with this excavation training, we embarked on a program to survey systematically and in detail the surrounding area of Haft Tepe to a radius of about 100 km.

Since the Haft Tepe excavation was gradually becoming a tourist attraction and we were beginning to receive large groups of visitors, particularly during the New Year's holiday from March 21 to April 5, which is our biggest national festival, a volunteer two-week course was organized for the undergraduate students of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Tehran in which they would visit the excavation and, after receiving a brief orientation course, serve as guides, conducting visitors around the site. Their cooperation was extraordinarily valuable in making these visitors understand the nature of the archaeological remains and in helping them learn about the importance of protecting such sites. This program proved to be greatly to our advantage since we received much support from these visitors for the continuation of our excavation as well as for the establishment of a site museum beside the excavation to house our discoveries.

Although I had a desire to establish a site museum at Haft Tepe from the first season of work when I realized the importance of the site, it was not until the second season, during a visit from Her Imperial Majesty, Queen Farah, that I was able to propose this project, which she welcomed. With her interest and support we were able to obtain donations from the Sugar Cane Project, the Power and Water Authority of Khuzistan, the Governor General of Khuzistan, the National Iranian Oil Company, and the Ministry of Culture and Art for the building of a Haft Tepe site museum. By the end of the fourth season of excavation the introductory preparation and planning for the museum were completed, and the plans of the building drawn, although it took several more years before we witnessed the completion of the museum and its inauguration. By the seventh season, the museum building was almost completed, although we were still waiting for the installation of the facilities, and from the sixth season on the excavation team made its headquarters in the unfinished building until the time when the museum was completed. After this it became necessary to provide an excavation headquarters and its foundation was laid at the end of the sixth season. During the seventh season a simple but adequate building was constructed within a reasonable distance on the eastern side of the museum, using the leftover construction materials of the museum for the most part. This housed us comfortably until our last season.

The excavation of Haft Tepe was fortunate in that it was one of the few excavation projects in Iran which could be carried out on a national scale with an orderly consistent plan for nearly fourteen consecutive seasons, with the exception of one year. It was also unusual in that a site museum was established to house the objects discovered in the excavation so that they could be related to the architectural remains in a way which would give visitors a more complete comprehension of their cultural identity and meaning.

The commencement of the excavation, the continuity of its seasonal work over fourteen years in spite of the obstacles and problems involved, and the establishment of the museum and the other facilities all depended on the help, support, and cooperation of many individuals and organizations that were instrumental in pushing through this national project and smoothing our path during so many seasons of work. It is my sincere duty and my pleasure to express my deep gratitude for their valuable support and generosity and to wish them the best.

The Iranians and foreigners who were interested in our work and made the effort to visit the site were an invaluable source of encouragement to us and I thank them. The support and help of H.E. Mehrdad Pahlbod, Minister of Culture and Art, in the commencement of the work and its continuation in the early seasons when his interest in supporting the project had a great effect on the progress of our work is greatly appreciated, as is the valuable support of H.E. Mr. Abdorreza Ansari and H.E. Mr. Abbas Salour, Governor Generals of Khuzistan Province during our excavation. Also greatly appreciated is the cooperation received from the Power and Water Organization of Khuzistan, in particular of Dr. Ahmad Ali Ahmadi, Dr. Iraj Vahidi, and Dr. Hassan Shahmirzadi, as well as the valuable help and assistance during our many seasons of excavation from the authorities of the Haft Tepe Sugar Cane Project, especially its Directors, Dr. Nader Hakimi, Engineer Asghar Sherkat, Engineer Reza Neghabat, and Engineer Yousef Rahmani.

The authorities of the University of Tehran were also helpful in many ways, particularly in giving me the time and opportunity to conduct this project and allowing it to be used for the training in fieldwork of students of archaeology. In this respect I would like to express my sincere thanks to H.E. Dr. Ali Akbar Siassi, H.E. Dr. Abdollah Sheibani, H.E. Dr. Jahanshah Saleh, H.E. Dr. Alinaghi Alikhani, and H.E. Dr.

Houshang Nahavandi, Chancellors of the University of Tehran, and Dr. Davoud Kazemi, Dr. Shamseddin Mofidi, Dr. Pezeshkpour Mostashfi, Dr. Jamal Rezai and Dr. Jahangiri, Vice Chancellors of the University.

The gracious help of my colleagues in the Ministry of Culture and Art and in the Iranian Archaeological Service was invaluable, in particular the assistance of Mr. Abdolali Pourmand, General Director of the Archaeological Service, in providing the facilities for work each season.

Our expedition team always received any needed help and assistance from the French Archaeological Mission in Iran, whose headquarters was nearby at Susa, and for which I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Jean Perrot, Director, and Miss Genevieve Dollfus, Mr. Labrous, Mr. Pablo Herrero and Mr. Edgardo Fereira, members of the French Mission. The valuable assistance of the German Institute of Archaeology was also welcomed, especially that of Dr. Wolfram Kleiss in mapping the Haft Tepe remains. The translation of Stone Stele Nos. 1 and 3 by Professor Erica Reiner is also greatly appreciated.

In the construction of the Museum of Haft Tepe great interest was given by Her Imperial Majesty Queen Farah, and it was due to her recommendation that the National Iranian Oil Company, the Ministry of Culture and Art, and Office of the Governor General of Khuzistan, and the Haft Tepe Sugar Cane Project contributed toward its construction. The architectural planning of the museum was carried out by Engineer Mohsen Kamrani and Engineer Bahreinizadeh who succeeded beautifully in harmonizing the museum plan with the Elamite architectural remains.

The excavation of Haft Tepe was a good example of close cooperation between an executive organization of the government, the Archaeological Service of Iran, and an educational institution, the Department of Archaeology of the University of Tehran, enabling us to use this opportunity to train students at the graduate level in fieldwork. From the beginning I wanted, through this excavation, to give field training in archaeology to our students and it is worth mentioning that many Iranian archaeologists received their field training at Haft Tepe. It is my special pride that many of my students and colleagues who cooperated in the course of the excavation of Haft Tepe later became field directors in their own right, carrying out excavations in Iran and giving valuable service to our homeland. The sincere effort and cooperation of all participants in the excavation of Haft Tepe was essential to the success of the work and I wish to express my appreciation and to thank them all.[4]

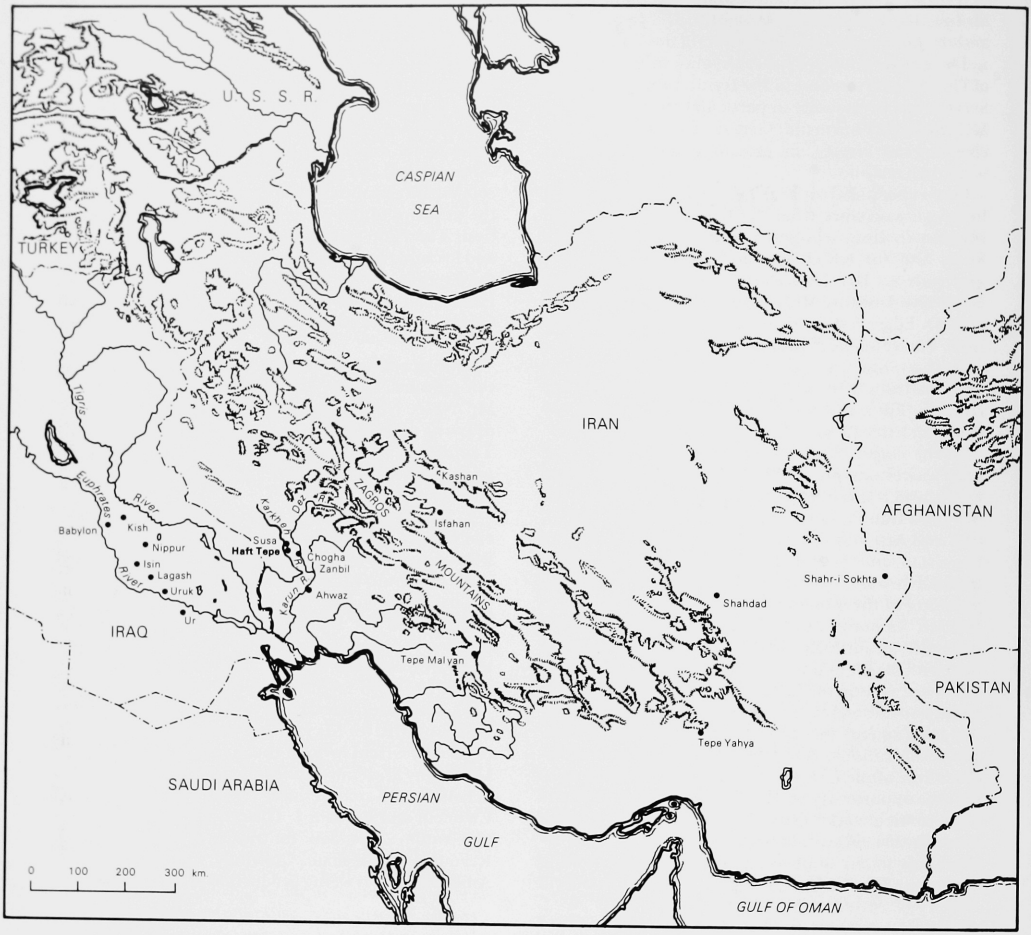
Mr. Dizaji, Mr. Malek Araghi, and Mr. Abri cooperated closely with the expedition, particularly in the printing of the pictures taken during the excavation. The Haft Tepe Museum staff were very helpful and I would like to express my gratitude particularly to the directors, Mr. Javad Ghandgar and Mr. Naser Torky Habibabadi and to the excavation guard, Mr. Atwan Chenani, who was with us from the beginning of our work.

The drawing of the bronze plaque was done through the courtesy of Professor Helene Kantor and Mr. Naser Nouruzzadeh Chegini, while most of the drawings of objects were executed by Miss Lili Taghipour, with some of the drawings of seal impressions done by Mrs. Doreen Chapman, to all of whom I am very grateful.

In the preparation and editing of this book my special thanks and appreciation go to my wife, Miriam, who patiently worked through the manuscript and made numerous valuable remarks and revisions.

The grant generously provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities for the preparation of this text is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to express my thanks to The University Museum, which provided facilities for the publication of this book, and particular thanks to its Director, Dr. Robert H. Dyson, Jr., for his valuable suggestions and alterations of the final form of the manuscript, and to The University Museum publication staff, including Helen Schenk and Karen Vellucci for editorial work, Anita Liebman and Barbara J. Hayden for layout, Irv Ross and Antonia Montague for word processing, Ms. Leah Reynolds for freehand drawings, and M. Catherine Ambrose for overseeing production of the volume.

4. See Appendix I for a complete list by field season of the participants of the excavation of Haft Tepe.



Map showing the location of Haft Tepe and other important sites in the region.

I

Introduction

The plain of Khuzistan is located in southwestern Iran, at the edge of the Iranian Plateau (Map 1). It is a broad alluvial plain, fed by a number of large rivers which flow down from the mountains dominating its northern and eastern borders. The northern part of the plain has a higher altitude which gradually slopes down to very low levels near the Persian Gulf. Until the beginning of the Christian era, some southern parts of Khuzistan were still covered by water. The mouth of the Karun river, on the Persian Gulf, was located further north than at the present time, about 27 km. south of the modern city of Ahwaz, where it poured into a large lake no longer in existence (Adams 1962). In the area extending southward from this point to the present shores of the Gulf, the only traces of settlement which can be found belong to the Sassanian and Islamic periods. These were the earliest settlements, established after the land had emerged from the water, dried out, and become suitable for habitation.

The soil of the northern, higher half of the plain is much better for cultivation than that of the lower, southern part, which is heavily salinated, and consequently the northern half of the plain has always been more fertile and more prosperous. In addition to the fertility of the soil and the availability of adequate water for irrigation, the climate of Khuzistan is rather mild, without severe winters and with enough rainfall to make the uncultivated areas good grazing land for cattle, sheep, goats, and other domesticated animals. The plain has always been extensively used by nomads from the Iranian Plateau, principally the Lur and Bakhtiari tribes with their black tents, who come here for winter pasturage when the plateau is covered with frost and snow, and then with the approach of spring move northward to the foothills of the plateau, ascending slowly in the course of the changing season.

In good years sufficient rain falls on the plain to make cultivation by rainfall feasible, turning the wide plain into a sea of wheat and barley. However, under normal climatic conditions, cultivation has always been dependent upon irrigation and, since the rivers which flow into the plain from the plateau have washed away their beds so that the level of the river is usually much lower than surrounding ground level, artificial means are necessary if the river water is to be used in the cultivation of crops.

Thus, the most important factor in the development of the Khuzistan plain has always been an artificial system of dams and canals which brings water up onto the land from the low lying rivers. Whenever the inhabitants of this region were able to provide water at ground level, they prospered. Traces of the struggle by the early prehistoric agricultural communities which settled in the plain to bring water up to the level of the land still remain in the form of ancient dams and canals which compose a network across the plain. As the early farmers built up their system of artificial waterways, they established small settlements alongside them. Archaeological mounds remaining from this early occupation are dotted across the landscape of Khuzistan, projecting noticeably above the flat horizon of the plain.

An archaeological survey of the northern half of the plain by Robert McC. Adams revealed that from the early sixth millennium to the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. the region was heavily populated (Adams 1962). Archaeological mounds containing remains of settlements from this period are found throughout the plain. The considerable height and breadth of most of these mounds point to the prosperous economy and dense population of the region at this early date. Some of these mounds cover more than two hectares in area and reflect the high degree of economic development and advanced agricul-

ture which was bringing prosperity to the whole plain and laying the groundwork for future technological and cultural progress.

Long before Adams' survey, the great alluvial plains of the ancient world, including southern Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran, had attracted the attention of some of the early pioneers of archaeology who were interested in ancient historical urban centers such as Babylon and Susa, which formed large artificial hills or archaeological mounds. Iran, which is one of the richest countries of this region in ancient monuments and archaeological remains, received its share of attention, and the country was subject to exploration and survey by various individuals and expeditions. At first, it was the great visible monuments, including such notable sites as Persepolis, the capital of the Persian Empire, Pasargadae, the seat of Cyrus the Great, Bisutun, the rock-cut inscription of Darius the Great, and Taq-i-Buston, the stone reliefs of the Sassanians, which commanded the attention of the early visitors. Descriptions of these monumental remains, along with those of Islamic religious buildings such as mosques, tombs, and shrines appear in many reports of early western travellers to Iran. The ruins of the ancient city of Susa, which form the largest mound of southwestern Iran, were studied as early as 1850 and 1884 (Dyson 1966: 111-39). In the 1891 resurvey by Prof. Jean-Jacques De Morgan pieces of extraordinary prehistoric painted pottery on the surface of the mound drew his attention. When he returned to France, he described the great importance of Susa to his colleagues, and recommended that an archaeological survey team go to Iran to investigate this mound as well as to survey the rest of the country. This suggestion met with approval and because of the political and economic confusion of the country and the naiveté of the Iranian government, the government of France was able to buy from the Shah the privilege and monopoly of all archaeological activity in Iran.

After obtaining this monopoly, the French government sent a large scientific expedition to begin work under the direction of De Morgan. This French Mission in Iran has continued its efforts for more than 80 years, making it the longest continuous archaeological mission in the Middle East. Although the French monopoly included all archaeological activity in Iran, its major activity was concentrated on the ancient mound of Susa, the site of the Mission's headquarters (Map 1).

The largest community of the plain, Susa was an urban center from the late fifth millennium B.C. to the early Islamic period, playing an important role as a commercial, industrial, and cultural center for the region (Adams 1962). Susa was a hub for commerce and the exchange of products as well as an industrial and technological center. It contained religious and social institutions which affected the whole plain as examples of progressive models of life. Supporting this major urban center was the rich economy of the plain whose agricultural products and industrial manufactures provided an income base for the establishment of important public and industrial buildings, such as the temples and palaces whose remains have been found at Susa and its surroundings.

It is highly admirable that the French Mission was able to continue its work over such a long period, particularly through the disturbed years of the First and Second World Wars. The result of their activity has been the opening up of the prehistoric and ancient historic periods of southwestern Iran. In particular, they made fundamental discoveries concerning the magnificent history and culture of Elam, an ancient kingdom which ruled in southwestern Iran for more than two thousand years, from the early third millennium to the middle of the first millennium B.C. Throughout this period Susa was the great capital of the Elamites, and it was through French eyes and French writing that its treasures were exposed to public view (see the many volumes of *Mémoires de la délégation en Perse*).

Contemporary with the archaeological activity of the French Mission in Iran centered at Susa and its environs which concentrated on ancient Elam, many archaeological expeditions from various western countries, including France, were busily involved in exploring archaeological remains on an extensive scale in the neighboring alluvial plain of southeastern Mesopotamia which had been the seat of the Sumerian culture. Through these multiple activities the civilization of Sumer was publicized throughout the world, and the Sumerians received credit for achievements which were partly the result of the activities of many cultures of the ancient world during a long process of development and adaptation from community to community and land to land (Speiser 1930; Woolley 1934).

Although the French Mission was simultaneously carrying out a tremendous volume of work in the ancient centers of Elamite culture in Khuzistan, still their activities were limited in comparison to the many expeditions working in southern Mesopotamia. Many major Elamite sites remained almost untouched, with the consequence that the cultural achievements of Elam remained undervalued in comparison with those of southern Mesopotamia.

The Law and Regulation of Antiquities and Archaeological Activity and National Monuments which was passed by the Iranian Parliament in 1930 included the cancellation of any agreement or contract made prior to its passage. Under this new law the monopoly of archaeological activity in Iran was lost to the French and excavation was opened to Iranian expeditions as well as those from other interested countries. However, for some time, archaeological activity in the province

of Khuzistan was still, to a degree, considered to be the privilege of the French Mission, respected by all archaeologists because of the great French archaeological achievements of the preceding decades.

After the Second World War, however, a growth of interest in the development of the prehistoric cultures of Iran as well as in the history of Elam, finally led to the opening of the region to non-French archaeological expeditions. At the same time the building of the great Dez Dam in northern Khuzistan and the consequent development of large scale agriculture in the area began to threaten many ancient sites with destruction, so that salvage work was necessary before their contents were irretrievably disturbed and destroyed. The Archaeological Service of Iran began to promote survey and excavation in the region and survey teams began to work to identify the archaeological remains before their eventual destruction by the vast agricultural plantation below the Dez Dam.

Prior to this new period of activity most of our knowledge of the ancient culture of Elam had been derived from the close to a century of continuous French activity in Khuzistan, concentrated on the great capital of the Elamites at Susa. In the Akkadian and Babylonian languages ELAM means "highlands," and the origins of the Elamites are said to lie in the highlands east of Mesopotamia and north of the alluvial plain of Khuzistan (Jacobsen 1939: 82-85). The Achaemenians who succeeded the Elamites called them and their land UJA or HUJA and also described their origins as deriving from the mountains north of the Susa plain. To Greek historians the Elamites were UXII (UXIER) or UZII, a term which still remains as the root word of Khuzistan, the Iranian province which contains the central core of the ancient kingdom of Elam (Hinz 1964a: 19).

Because of this association of the word 'Elam' with "highlands" in the Mesopotamian languages, the earliest scholars tried to locate the origins of the Elamites in the highlands north of the alluvial plain (Map 1). Olmstead, over thirty years ago, suggested that perhaps the Elamites were closely connected to the peoples living in the northern part of the Zagros Mountains and Luristan, including the Lulubians, the Kassites, the Gutians, and the Hindalu (Olmstead 1959: 31).

The Elamites themselves called their country HALTAMTI or HATAMTI, possibly pronounced 'Altamti', a compound word of HAL or "land" and TAMTI or "sacred gods," together meaning "Land of the Gods" or "Sacred Land," a name with no suggestion of an external origin for the Elamite people. In their inscriptions also the kings of Elam stressed their identity with the land of Elam and their pride in its development (Cameron 1936: 13, 52).

The economic prosperity and technological development which enabled the inhabitants of the Susiana plain to construct large public buildings at Susa and to carry on extensive trade and exchange eventually led to the beginnings of the development of writing as an essential tool in recording economic transactions. The prehistoric people of the Susiana plain had entered this Protoliterate period by the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. (Johnson 1973), and by the early third millennium B.C. the great historic kingdom of the Elamites was in the process of formation.

No archaeological evidence has been found to suggest any sharp break in the sequence of occupation in the Susiana plain. Such a break could have indicated an invasion of newcomers entering the plain and disturbing the already existing, highly developed pattern of life of the native population. Instead there is a smooth continuity of development from the prehistoric to the Proto-historic to the historic era. This fact suggests that the prehistoric inhabitants of the plain gradually developed political coherence to form the powerful Elamite kingdom of historic times which lasted for more than two millennia beginning in the third millennium B.C. Rather strong negative evidence supports this hypothesis of continuity of the native prehistoric population of Susiana into the historic era (when they were called Elamites), for no material has yet been found outside the plain to indicate the possibility that the Elamites came to Khuzistan from another region.

Although scholars have differences of opinion about the Elamite language, they all agree that it is neither Indo-European nor Semitic (Encyclopedia Britannica, V. 8: 106-107), but rather Japhetic (Webster New International Standard Dictionary: 1329), a different and independent language (Reiner 1969: 55-57). It seems probable that it was the language of the prehistoric inhabitants of the region, the forerunners of the Elamites, whose spoken language developed into the written Elamite language to which, through long contact with their Mesopotamian neighbors, some Semitic words were introduced.

Although our knowledge of ancient Elam has been mainly based on French research and excavation in Khuzistan, another productive source of information is found in Mesopotamian documents referring to their eastern neighbor. The first mention of Elam occurs in a Sumerian text which reports that Enmebaragisi, an early king of the First Dynasty of Kish, around the first half of the third millennium B.C., had taken a considerable amount of weapons as booty from the Elamites (Poebel 1914). Gradually, as the kingdom of Elam gained in strength and in the power to invade Mesopotamia, references became more frequent.

The plain of Khuzistan is a continuous plain with Mesopotamia, and the kingdom of Elam developed side by side with its Mesopotamian counterparts. This close geographic relationship between the Elamites and

their Mesopotamian neighbors, with no major geographic barrier between them, led to a constant exchange, both hostile and friendly, which continued throughout the long history of Elam with Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, Kassites, and Assyrians—all of whom left behind records of their contacts with the Elamites.

The Mesopotamians made military campaigns into the lands of Elam in order to gain access to such rich natural resources as timber, lead, copper, silver, stone (including marble, diorite, and semi-precious gems), as well as highly bred horses. The Elamites in turn invaded Mesopotamia to gain control of the area and collect rich booty from its well-developed cities and towns. An example of the valuable relics brought back by the Elamite kings is the diorite stele bearing the Code of Hammurabi, found at Susa by the French Mission and now in the Louvre.

During the reigns of Lugal-Panda and Dumuzi, the third and fourth kings of Uruk, in the first half of the third millennium B.C., the Elamites invaded Uruk and occupied the land (Poebel 1914: 117, 122) and it was recorded in Mesopotamian records that the kingship deserted Uruk for Awan (in Elam) (Cameron 1936: 23). During the early part of the second half of the third millennium B.C. Elam was under attack by Eannatum, ruler of Lagash, until finally in the reign of King Enentarzi an Elamite army invaded and defeated Lagash (Thureau-Dangin 1907: 139-142). It is also recorded that during the second half of the third millennium B.C. Ur was invaded by a powerful Elamite king and that later the Sumerian king of Kish was finally able to free his city from the Elamite yoke (Jacobsen 1939: 95-96).

The records mentioned exhibit the power of Elam at this early time. The text of an agreement between Naramsin, king of Akkad, and Khita, king of Elam (Scheil 1911: 1; Husing 1916: 7, no. 3), around the second half of the third millennium B.C., written in the Elamite language (Hinz 1963: 9), clearly expresses the equal respect and power held by the two rulers. Around 2005 B.C. the Elamites invaded Mesopotamia again and Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, was taken captive to Elam (Edzard 1957: 51). Much later Kidin-Hutran, the Elamite king who ruled from 1242 to 1222 B.C., attacked Sumer several times, crossing the Tigris River and invading Nippur and Isin (Cameron 1936: 105).

Concurrent with this ongoing political conflict there was also tremendous cultural exchange between these two centers of power which contributed so much to the early development of human civilization. The close relations between these two powerful neighbors in war and peace resulted in rather close and comparable patterns of life, religious belief, technology, and art. Writing was, if not first originated in Iran, developed simultaneously in Elam and Sumer. Although the Elamite language was quite different from Sumerian, some signs, logograms and ideograms are shared in both languages (Reiner 1969: 56-57).

The Sumerian sources refer only to the western part of Elam (particularly to the great capital at Susa) which was adjacent to their own land. During periods of political power, however, Elam extended over a vast area which bordered on Mesopotamia to the west, reached Zabolistan (or Sistan) near the Indus valley to the east, to the Persian Gulf and its many islands to the south, and onto the Iranian Plateau in the area of Isfahan and Kashan to the north.

The main parts of the Elamite kingdom were the Susiana plain with the capital at Susa; the province of Awan (located northwest of Susa, occupying the region between the Dez and Karkheh rivers); the province of Simash (located in the northern and northeastern parts of the alluvial plain and including most of the highlands dominating the plain); and the province of Anzan or Anshan (occupying the eastern and southeastern parts of the plain, including the area of Malamir Bakhtiari and extending to Fars). Thus, ancient Elam included the alluvial plain of southwestern Iran and its surrounding highlands (Map 1). Recent excavations at such divergent sites as Tepe Malyan in Fars province (Sumner 1975), Tepe Yahya (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970, and others) and Shahdad (Amiet 1973: 20-27; Hakemi 1975) in Kerman province, and Shahr-i Sokhta (Tosi 1968: 9-66) in Zabolistan (or Sistan) province have provided much new material about the Elamites including some proto-Elamite tablets (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1970; Tosi 1968).

Politically, the known history of Elam is fairly continuous with the exception of several gaps (Cameron 1936; Hinz 1964a). During its long history several families from different provinces ruled the country. The earliest known dynasty, the dynasty of Awan, began around 2700 B.C. The fourth king of this dynasty and the first whose name is known is Peli, who ascended the throne around the middle of the third millennium B.C. The dynasty of Awan ruled Elam from the first half to the latter part of the third millennium B.C., until around 2200 B.C.

After 2200 B.C. there is a dark period covering approximately two centuries, caused apparently by the disruptive activities in Iran and Mesopotamia of the Gutians which disturbed the development of local rulers. Between 2100 and 1850 B.C., for about three centuries, the dynasty of Simash ruled in the region of Simash and its immediate outlying areas. Then, around the middle of the nineteenth century B.C., the dynasty of Elam appeared and under it the great Elamite kingdom took form and expanded, gaining control of an extensive region and becoming a considerable force in the ancient world. At the height of its

Haft Tepe archaeological remains.

Haft Tepe archaeological remains.

Terrace Complex II.

Mass Burial Tomb.

power, Elam included Awan, Simash, Parsumash, and Anshan as well as the main alluvial plain, and had the greater part of the Iranian Plateau under its control, part of southern Mesopotamia and almost the whole region of the northern shores of the Persian Gulf, extending possibly to Baluchistan.

With the growth of Elamite territory and the development of its political, commercial, and cultural life, an organized system of administration was developed. Elamite documents record three major figures in the ruling government. First was the SUKKALMA or king, the highest position. The Sukkalma selected from his close relatives the persons who would rule Susa and the other parts of the country. The most important of these were the SUKKAL-ELAM, the ruler of the whole area of Elam, and the SUKKAL-SHUSH, the governor of the capital of Susa who would eventually become the next king or Sukkalma.

Following this system of administration various dynasties ruled in Elam. The Ebarti family, founded by Ebart or Ebert, ruled for over three centuries between 1850 and 1505 B.C. After the decline of this dynasty there was a dark period of nearly 150 years for which Susa produced little material. Fortunately, excavation at Haft Tepe has now filled this gap. About 1350 B.C. the Ige-Halki dynasty of Anzan or Anshan was established, whose most famous ruler, Untash-Gal, built the imposing ziggurat of Chogha Zanbil, about 30 km. southeast of Haft Tepe (Ghirshman 1966). After the decline of the Ige-Halki dynasty around 1210 B.C., Elam was ruled by the Shutruki family until 1110 B.C. With their disappearance comes another long gap of nearly three centuries, from 1110 to 760 B.C. After 760 B.C., with the beginning of the Neo-Elamite period, the history of Elam is again fairly clear until 640 B.C. when Elam was absorbed into the Median and Achaemenian empires. Elam became one of the most important provinces of the Achaemenian Empire and Susa one of its greatest capitals. The highly developed administrative system of the Elamites was utilized by the Achaemenians who continued to employ Elamite as one of their three major languages.

Although the broad outlines of Elamite history are fairly clear, there are several obscure periods for which little material evidence has been found. Now, with the excavation of Haft Tepe, one of these dark periods, between 1505 and 1350 B.C., has become less obscure.

II

Excavation Strategy

At the present time Haft Tepe is a large archaeological compound, containing approximately fourteen sizable mounds, which, with their extensions, cover an area more than 1.5 km. long and about 1 km. wide, approximately 950,000 square meters. The tallest mound, located opposite the Haft Tepe railroad station, is about 17 m. above the immediately surrounding ground level, which in turn is about 5 m. above the level of the plain, since erosion of the extensive archaeological remains has built up a broad plateau about 4 m. high in this area. The top of the mound of Terrace Complex I is 82.187 m. above sea level.

In the 1950s and 1960s Haft Tepe became the center of a large sugar cane plantation, and a sugar cane factory, plant headquarters, and residential area for staff were built there. To prepare the land for the planting of sugar cane, it first had to be levelled, and in the process of this levelling, some of the archaeological remains were destroyed and others exposed. In particular, the construction of the main road for the Haft Tepe Sugar Cane Project opened up and disturbed part of the archaeological remains, revealing a baked brick wall which seemed to deserve closer attention.

The managers of the Sugar Cane Project, who were interested in their history and in their national heritage, realized the importance of what was being destroyed. They decided to report the situation to the Iranian Archaeological Service, and in the meantime to try to work around rather than to destroy the major archaeological mounds. It is due to this enlightened action that some of the remains were saved for systematic excavation. In the late fall of 1965 a team led by the author was sent by the Archaeological Service to investigate the situation and to evaluate the feasibility of protecting the archaeological remains both at Haft Tepe and throughout the vast agricultural plantation below the newly built Dez Dam.

When the team arrived at Haft Tepe and began to survey the site, we were disturbed to see how much of these important archaeological remains had either been levelled for the planting of sugar cane, or occupied by the residential housing of the Sugar Cane Project (Plan 1). Although major archaeological remains covering an area about 1.5 by 1 km. were left, they were still only a part of the original site. A survey of the archaeological compound determined that it represented a single large occupational level, since the surface finds of pottery were confined almost entirely to a single cultural period of the second millennium B.C. As a result of the initial survey of this site with its many major mounds and their extensions still partly untouched, we concluded that it would be worthwhile to salvage it from the rapidly encroaching bulldozers of the sugar cane plantation.

Under the author's direction the Haft Tepe expedition was organized, sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Art with staff supplied by the Iranian Archaeological Service, a department of the ministry. We were very fortunate that our excavation was located so close to the headquarters of the Sugar Cane Project, with whom we always had close and friendly relations. As we began our work, the Sugar Cane Project provided us with living quarters and arranged for us to obtain our meals at their staff club, so that we were spared the involved housekeeping problems usually associated with setting up an archaeological excavation.

We went immediately to the villages of Shaour near Haft Tepe, and Amaleh near Susa to hire workers for the excavation. They were assigned to clean the site of dried brush and other trash, while the excavation team laid out a grid over the whole archaeological compound.

The next problem, since Haft Tepe was a single period site, was to find another mound in the vicinity

with multiple strata from which we could develop a chronology of the cultural development of the Khuzistan plain, near enough to Haft Tepe to enable us to work at the two sites simultaneously. At this time the most extensive survey of Khuzistan had been carried out by Dr. Robert McC. Adams of the University of Chicago (Adams 1962). Dr. Adams had left a copy of his survey map with us which we brought along on our first trip to Haft Tepe. This map provided the characteristics of mounds in the vicinity of Haft Tepe, but we were not able to select a particular mound immediately since there were several possibilities available. We decided to begin the excavation of Haft Tepe at once while at the same time surveying other suitable mounds with multiple strata for a second excavation later on.

As work was carried on at Haft Tepe, therefore, we continued to visit other mounds identified on Dr. Adams' map. Eventually we selected Abu Fandowa, a large conical mound with a very extensive lower platform nearly 1 km. across at the base, located about 1.5 km. northwest of Haft Tepe. A test trench on the northern slope was excavated for a period of nearly two months during the first (1965) season. Subsequently we became so occupied with the major excavation at Haft Tepe itself that work was not continued at Abu Fandowa until the final Haft Tepe seasons of 1977 and 1978.

Layout of the Excavation Grid

The great extent and importance of the Haft Tepe remains and our determination to continue the excavation as a major project for several seasons led us, from the beginning, to establish the digging in an orderly pattern for the whole site. We decided not to sink multiple test trenches to examine the different parts of the compound, but rather to begin systematic area excavations from the start.

A general grid system of 10 by 10 m. squares was established beginning from a baked brick wall which had been exposed by the bulldozers of the Sugar Cane Project as they constructed the main road from the Ahwaz-Andimeshk highway to the project headquarters (Plan 2). The exposed wall lay at the northernmost edge of what survived of the archaeological compound, since the building of the road and the levelling of the land for the plantation had destroyed any remains beyond this point. Along this baked brick wall defining the northern edge of the mound an east-west line of grid squares, grid line B, was laid out leaving one row of grid squares (line A) to the north as a security margin. A north-south grid line crossing the baked brick wall, grid line XX, was laid out nearly 200 m. east of the western edge of the site, providing 18 grid squares covering the archaeological area and two rows of additional squares for a security margin. These security margins were intended for possible extensions to trace the archaeological deposit under land already levelled and occupied by the plantation at this point. The baked brick wall itself was thus located at grid square B XX, and all squares subsequently opened followed this grid system with all excavated objects registered according to it (Plan 2).

Each grid square thus measured 10 by 10 m. with the sides oriented north-south and east-west. A 1 m. baulk between squares was kept intact as a passageway for traffic to and from the diggings. In the course of the excavation of Haft Tepe more than 150 squares were opened, each 10 by 10 m. and varying in depth from the surface according to the thickness of the archaeological remains at each point, since natural subsoil lay at the same level throughout. The ground had been well levelled before the major occupation of Haft Tepe and, in fact, in some places the original ground level was covered by a baked brick pavement.

First through Third Seasons: The Tomb-Temple Complex of Tepti Ahar

At the beginning of our work, in order to find the depth of the archaeological remains, a test trench 10 by 2 m. was dug in square A XX, next to the baked brick wall (B XX) exposed by the road building of the Sugar Cane Project. Simultaneously, the facade of this wall was cleaned. At a depth of 0.20 m. below the surface, traces of a mud brick wall appeared which proved eventually to be the outer edge of the northern surrounding wall of the Tomb-Temple Complex, of which the original exposed baked brick wall was a part (Plan 3). The mud brick wall found in the test trench was oriented diagonally to the grid and extended

throughout the east-west length of the test trench. In order to preserve this wall work was continued in the open part of the trench where, at a depth of about 0.80 m. from the surface, natural subsoil was reached. Thus, the test trench began to produce a clear picture of the depth of the archaeological remains below the surrounding ground level, and to indicate the ground level at the time of the establishment of the monumental remains of Haft Tepe.

Work began on the excavation proper in squares A XX and B XX. The northern face of the exposed baked brick wall in B XX was cleaned. On both sides were thick sun dried brick walls, which at first gave the impression that the baked brick wall had been constructed later than the much more massive sun dried brick structure. However, further excavation revealed that both types of wall had been built at the same time, with the most important part of the construction, which turned out to be the Tomb of Tepti Ahar, made of baked brick, while the more normal building material was sun dried brick (Plate 6A).

Traces of an arched vaulted roof appeared as we continued clearing the top of the wall. Part of this vaulted roof, at the northern end, had been destroyed, and its remains were missing. As work continued it became evident that the roof had remained intact until recently, when it must have been partly destroyed by the bulldozers of the Sugar Cane Project as they levelled the land for the sugar cane plantation and for road construction. These bulldozers had apparently carried away the debris of the broken part of the roof (Plate 7A).

The structure had been completely filled by fine layers of soil, each a few millimeters thick, which had gradually built up year by year as muddy water which penetrated the tomb during the rainy season dried up and left a thin layer of sediment. Bits of gypsum plaster covering the side walls and the inner side of the vaulted roof were found lying as they had fallen in these horizontal layers of mud sediment. These layers, built up gradually over a very long period of time, filled the tomb, possibly protecting and supporting the vaulted roof until it was destroyed by the action of man. Further excavation revealed that the tomb contained 21 skeletons, some laid out in an orderly manner on a platform which occupied most of the floor area, and some dumped at the southern end of the tomb inside the entrance passageway from an adjoining temple.

The similarity of this vaulted tomb to the underground tombs of Chogha Zanbil, although the latter were better constructed, gave an indication of its date. At first we were inclined to assign a date around the beginning of the last quarter of the second millennium B.C., contemporary with Chogha Zanbil, but further excavation led us to conclude that the tomb of Tepti Ahar was probably one or two centuries earlier than the tombs of Chogha Zanbil, belonging to the middle or late thirteenth century B.C., and thus representing one of the earliest examples of this type of vaulted roof construction.

At the southern end of the tomb was an opening roughly sealed by baked brick and hard gypsum mortar. This opening led to the floor of a large hall (Hall no. 1) behind the tomb. This was part of a large structure to which the vaulted tomb was attached. By the end of the first season enough information was available to indicate that we were excavating a Tomb-Temple complex, built for the most part of sun dried brick, except for some of the more important features such as the tomb itself and some of the floors and passageways exposed to wear and weather, where baked brick had been used. At the same time, during the first season, we excavated a test trench in the mound of Abu Fandowa.

During the second season (1967) we concentrated on exposing the plan of the Tomb-Temple Complex (Plan 3). Two large halls of the temple were cleared (Hall nos. 1 and 2) and about half of its underground basement was excavated. Its broad, slightly arched roof with no column supports was most unusual. The pottery found in the lower chamber consisted mostly of button-based vessels, comparable to vessels found in the halls above. Extending across the width of both of these Temple Halls was a Long Portico (in squares D XIX and XX) which in turn opened on a courtyard (in squares E-G XIX and XX). In this open courtyard was found an altar platform (Plate 4B) and a large stone stela (in square F XIX), the translation of which gave the name of King Tepti Ahar and some information about the establishment of the tomb and the temple. The extensions of the sides of the courtyard were also traced, as well as the thick eastern side wall of the Tomb-Temple Complex. Here a paved passageway was located in squares E-G XXI.

During the third season (1968) we worked in the southern and western sections of the Tomb-Temple Complex. In squares H XVIII-XX the southern extensions of this architectural unit were cleared revealing the southern and only entrance to the Tomb-Temple Complex. In uncovering the western side of this unit (in squares D-H XVIII and D-G XVII) remains of many plain, jar, and sarcophagus burials, both with and without funerary objects, were found. The area around the Tomb-Temple Complex, particularly on the western side, was clearly considered desirable for burials, apparently because of the nearby Tomb and Temple of Tepti Ahar.

Thousands of pottery sherds were recovered throughout the excavation and washed, registered, and classified. Also found throughout the excavation, but particularly in the area of the Tomb-Temple Complex, were many broken pieces of small molded nude

figurines, both male and female. Although innumerable top and bottom halves of these figurines were found, none could be reassembled to form a single complete figurine.

One of the most surprising discoveries of our third season occurred when the most northwestern corner of the Tomb-Temple Complex, in squares A and B XIX, was being excavated. The upper part of the archaeological remains here had been removed during the levelling of the land for the Sugar Cane Project, and the squares lay at the edge of the remaining part of the deposit as it sloped down to the road. Here we came upon the remains of another vaulted tomb of baked brick, similar to, but not as large nor as well made as, the Tomb of Tepti Ahar. This tomb, the Mass Burial Tomb, contained 23 skeletons packed closely together, covering the entire floor of the tomb (Plate 8B).

On the western side of the Tomb-Temple Complex, outside of the thick surrounding wall, were found the remains of a very small later Sassanian occupation of the site (in excavation squares D-F XVII and E and F XVIII) dug into the hillside after the destruction and decay of the Elamite buildings. By the end of the third season, the entire area of the Tomb-Temple Complex had been opened, and we decided that in the next season we would proceed to the nearest major mound of the Haft Tepe archaeological remains.

Fourth through Ninth Seasons: Terrace Complex I

At the beginning of the fourth season (1969), the grid system was extended to the east in order to intersect a nearby large mound along its northern edge. This mound was later designated Terrace Complex I (Plan 5). Excavation began in squares I XXIII and XXIV while the area of square I XXII was left untouched in order to provide a connecting passageway for the transportation of soil by wheelbarrows or train wagonettes. While part of the team excavated these squares, the rest of the staff was busy clearing the outer edges of the thick surrounding wall of the Tomb-Temple Complex. Squares I XXIII-XXX, J XXIV-XXX, and K XXVI-XXX were gradually opened, with some clearing in the adjacent squares. A long wide wall was uncovered, later identified as the surrounding wall of the new complex, extending diagonally in squares I XXIII-XXVIII, with the end limits not reached in this season. In square I XXVII, in a pile of refuse, were a large number of seal impressions together with many broken pottery jars (Plate 13A). Some of these seal impressions contained inscriptions in addition to the design. One carried the name of the son of Kadashman Enlil, the Kassite king of Mesopotamia, which helped relate the period of Haft Tepe to neighboring Mesopotamian history.

As excavation followed, the removal of soil in wheelbarrows to the dump on the western side of the Tomb-Temple Complex on flat ground already levelled by the Sugar Cane Project became more difficult. Therefore, the French Archaeological Mission at Susa, under its director, Dr. Jean Perrot, kindly loaned us some wagonettes and rail tracks to facilitate the work for several seasons until we were able to obtain our own equipment. This is only a single example of their helpfulness to us throughout our excavation.

During the fifth and sixth seasons (1970, 1971) of the excavation, work continued on the extension of the long, wide surrounding wall of Terrace Complex I on the northern side (Plan 5). This included squares H and I XXIX-XXXI, where the remains of a large architectural complex with thick walls, a solid central core, and surrounding large halls was located. In the area of squares J XXVI-XXVIII a wide wall and a flat area without architectural remains, which later was revealed to be part of the Northwestern Courtyard of Terrace Complex I, were opened. A large quantity of pottery vessels was found here, particularly in square K XXVI. The most important discovery of these two seasons was a collection of inscribed tablets, located in a small rectangular room in square H XXXI.

The discovery of these extensive archives of tablets in addition to the many seal impressions with inscriptions already found confronted us with the necessity of securing the services of an epigrapher in the Elamite and Babylonian languages. Since there were no experienced Iranian epigraphers available, we contacted the French Mission at Susa for help. Dr. François Vallat, the epigrapher working at Susa for many years, had always been willing to give us information and advice whenever we took an inscription to him, but now we needed a fulltime epigrapher of our own. Dr. Jean Perrot, the Director of the French Mission, undertook to investigate the problem, and the following year Dr. Pablo Herrero agreed to come to Iran to work each season at Haft Tepe. The French offered to pay his transportation expenses if we could supply living facilities. Dr. Herrero came for two and a half seasons, becoming a valued addition to our excavation team. His premature death was a shock to all his Iranian friends, and a great misfortune to the excavation.

At this time the northern extensions of Terrace Complex I with the layout of the northern part of some of its halls were excavated, but their continuation toward the main part of the mound and their connection to its solid core awaited further excavation. Part of the eastern slope of the mound was cleared, revealing in L XXXIII a wide, solid wall east of a hall, and in grid squares J XXXI and XXXII, K XXXI and XXXII, and L XXX-XXXII some of the surface of the solid foundation core. In one of the halls (Hall no. 6) which later was identified as an artisan's workshop (M XXXIII) one of the most exciting discoveries of the excavation occurred when two almost life-sized clay portrait heads (Plates 1B, 14D) together with a clay mask were unearthed (Plate 24).

In the seventh season (1972) we worked toward uncovering the southern parts of the northern halls of Terrace Complex I, in squares J XXIX-XXXI and K XXVII-XXX, which also included the eastern part of the Northwestern Courtyard and the adjacent area (Plan 5). In this Northwestern Courtyard were found a water basin (Plate 12A) connected to paths of broken pottery sherds, and an open kitchen, in square K XXIX. A number of decorative objects were found in Hall nos. 3, 4, and 5, including a pair of silver tubes (Plate 56:**480**). At the southeastern corner of Hall no. 4 walls still stood to a height of about 9 m., an indication of the monumental proportions of this construction.

Uncovering the remains of these massive mud brick monuments gradually confronted the expedition with the ever increasing problem of protecting the structures during the heavy rainy season of the Khuzistan plain. After various experiments using several different coating substances met with little success, we finally solved the problem through a continuous effort toward repair undertaken along with our excavation by a group of workers who became experienced in the task. The method used was rather simple. The exposed walls were covered by a mixture of clay and sugar cane *begasse*, providing a rather solid coat which resisted the rain for several seasons, after which it had to be strengthened by recoating.

During the eighth and ninth seasons (1973, 1974) we worked to uncover the limits of the plan of Terrace Complex I on the eastern, southeastern, western, and southwestern sides, as well as clearing the top surface of the Central Core. The complete excavation of the artisan's workshop on the eastern side of Terrace Complex I revealed, in addition to the clay portrait heads and mask already mentioned, many beautiful and interesting objects including a pile of bronze arrowheads and small tools (Plate 14C), a heap of shells,[1] two bitumen roundels (Plate 56:**482**), several pieces of jewelry including a mosaic butterfly of gold, red carnelian, and frit (Plate 56:**477**), small bone and ivory objects, and an elephant skeleton with saw marks on the bones (Plate 14B). In front of this workshop was an unusual double-winged kiln, apparently used both for firing pottery and for smelting metal.

By the end of the ninth season practically the whole of Terrace Complex I had been cleared. Very large halls with painted walls and flat timbered roofs were found to surround a solid central core or platform which showed no sign of a superstructure. As the halls of this complex were uncovered, many traces of destruction by fire were revealed, with much burnt charcoal from the roof timbers scattered on the floors.

Tenth and Eleventh Seasons: Terrace Complex II

In the tenth season (1975) we decided to direct the course of the excavation toward a second major mound, subsequently designated Terrace Complex II. We uncovered the northern slope of this mound in square T XXXIV (Plan 7). Meanwhile, one of the largest mounds of Haft Tepe, located in the eastern sector opposite the railroad station, had been partly disturbed during the off-season period. To prevent any more destruction we opened some squares on the topmost part of the mound, identified as Haft Tepe B mound (H.T. B). We also decided to resume excavation of Abu Fandowa in which a test trench had been dug during our first (1965-66) season. After a group surveyed the area around Abu Fandowa and cleaned the summit, work began. Nearly 52 large and small pottery kilns of the Protoliterate period were traced and identified on the lower terrace of the mound, and two were excavated.

During the eleventh season (1976) the team was divided into three groups, the largest of which was occupied in excavating the northern slope of Terrace Complex II, squares T XXXIII-XXXV, U XXXIII and XXXIV, V XXXII-XXXV, W XXXII-XXXV, and X XXXIV and XXXV (Plate 17B). Aside from some halls on the lower slope of the mound which were the continuation of the halls in N-P XXXIV and R and

1. The shells have been identified as a mollusk called *Thais (Purpura) hippocastaneum* Lamarck by a specialist of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

S XXXIV, architectural remains were also uncovered in squares T XXXV and U XXXIII. The squares on the higher part of the mound revealed a solid massive core of sun dried brick, somewhat similar to the solid central platform of Terrace Complex I.

The second group worked on the Haft Tepe B mound where excavations on the upper part also revealed a massive construction, with some minor traces of the corners of walls which were possibly the remains of a superstructure on the top of a central platform.

The third group worked at Abu Fandowa where it found, on the top of the mound, a graveyard which had been disturbed by the Elamite settlement. This graveyard had had two periods of use with a later graveyard dug into an earlier one, so that the later graves were deeper than the earlier ones which had been disturbed by the late Elamite remains on the top of the mound.

Because of some problems with the Ministry of Culture and Art, the twelfth season (1977) was aborted and no new work was carried out. After much effort to reinstate the excavation, and after support was received from interested persons of influence, including the Queen and the Prime Minister, the Minister of Culture and Art was forced to give way and to allow one month's work at the end of the thirteenth season (1978), which we spent entirely in repairing the exposed architectural remains and in bringing the excavation back into normal working order.

The fourteenth season (1979) turned out to be our last season at Haft Tepe because of the political disturbances in the country, and we were again forced to limit our activity to repairing the monuments. After this, as a result of the revolution, the whole project collapsed, and almost all archaeological activity ceased in Iran.

III

Architecture

In the buildings thus far excavated at Haft Tepe, confined to a single historical period lasting no longer than 100 or 150 years, great uniformity can be seen: in the constructional material used, in the size of the sun dried and baked bricks, in the plans of the buildings and in the architectural details of the roofs, walls, floors, etc.

The axis of the buildings closely approximates a direct north-south, east-west geographic axis. Judging by the layout of the buildings it can be suggested that the Tomb-Temple Complex with its thick side walls was built at the same time as the large Terrace Complex I, since the axes throughout are in accord. The axis of Terrace Complex II, which differs slightly and follows most closely the magnetic axis, was built at a later time, for at the point at which these two large complexes meet, at the southeastern corner of Terrace Complex I, the layout of the bricks shows the junction of two different constructions, with Terrace Complex I disturbed by the construction of Complex II. Although built at slightly different times, they were in use simultaneously and passageways provide connections between the two.

The uniformity of architectural detail is illustrated in the straight lines of the walls, even over 60 m. of length, the 90 degree angles of the corners, the interior decoration with paint and plaster, the vaulted roofs of baked brick and flat roofs of timber, and the beaten earth floors and baked brick pavements.

The architectural remains of Haft Tepe thus illustrate a very advanced period in the construction of large buildings when locally available materials were used to great advantage. The sophistication of the Elamite builders is best shown in their vaulted roofs, exemplified by the Tomb of Tepti Ahar, whose vaulted roof, built of baked brick with gypsum mortar, has survived for almost 3500 years.

The Tomb-Temple Complex

(A-H XVIII-XXI) (Plans 2 and 3)

THE GENERAL LAYOUT
(Plate 2A)

The Tomb-Temple Complex is entered through a small door in the western side of the southern enclosure wall of the Central Courtyard (*C.C.*). Within the wall this door leads to a small rectangular room and a second offset doorway which in turn opens into the court. Facing the Central Courtyard on the northern side is a Long Portico (*L.P.*) stretching across the front of the temple. Behind the Long Portico lie two parallel, rectangular Temple Halls. Beyond the eastern hall (Hall no. 1:H1), and at a lower level, lies the Tomb of Tepti Ahar (*T.A.*). Beyond the western hall (Hall no. 2:H2) lies the Mass Burial Tomb (*M.B.*). Both tombs are built of baked bricks (0.40 by 0.10 m.). The area of the whole complex measures about 70 m. north-south and 30 m. east-west. The plan is, in general, quite symmetrical.

Opposite the Long Portico a small doorway leads into the front enclosure wall of the Central Courtyard

to a small enclosed room. This eastern doorway balances the one on the west which leads into the courtyard from outside.

The Tomb-Temple Complex is enclosed by thick sun dried brick side walls which vary in width. On the northern end, immediately north of the tombs in squares A XVIII-XXI, most of the upper part of the wall has been shaved off and only a small stub about 4.80 m. wide is still preserved above the foundation. Along the eastern side the wall (A-H XX and XXI) increases from about 5.0 m. in width next to the temple to 6.0 m. beside the Long Portico to almost 7.0 m. alongside the Central Courtyard (Plate 2A). A passageway about 2.0 m. wide, paved with baked brick and gypsum mortar, runs along the outside of this eastern side wall (A-G XXI and XXII). South of the Central Courtyard the wall containing the main entrance to the complex is about 5.0 m. thick (H XIX-XXI).

On the western side of the Tomb-Temple Complex the surrounding wall decreases in width from about 9.0 m. along the Central Courtyard to 5.0 m. near the Mass Burial Tomb. Much of the original width along this western side wall is unclear due to disturbances from later Parthian and Sassanian constructions which lie on top of part of the wall (D-G XVII and XVIII). Apparently a small community of several families, possibly shepherds, settled here after the decay of the Elamite structures and built small houses of sun dried brick. The construction of these small houses and their drainage pits partly destroyed the original Elamite remains, particularly in square F XVIII where a drainage pit cuts deeply into the Elamite construction. Below these later communities, next to the temple walls, are more Elamite remains, less massive than the temple construction. These architectural remains, in squares G XVII and XVIII, and F and E XVII, contain some sun dried brick walls of varying widths, from 0.50 to 2 m. Unfortunately these walls were so badly disturbed by the levelling of the area for sugar cane fields that their original plan can no longer be determined. Several burials of various types were also located here (see Chapter IV).

THE CENTRAL COURTYARD
(Plates 2B-4B)

The entrance to the Tomb-Temple lies through the Central Courtyard. A passageway in the southern enclosure wall of the Tomb-Temple Complex, 1.50 m. wide and 4.40 m. long, leads from adjacent constructional units northward to the southeastern corner of a rectangular room measuring about 8.80 m. east-west and 3.30 m. north-south. From the diagonally opposite northwest corner of the room a further passage, 1.50 m. wide and 4.0 m. long, leads into the interior southwestern corner of the Central Courtyard. Balancing this entrance, in the southeastern interior corner of the courtyard, is a second passageway about 2.70 m. wide and 4.30 m. long, which leads southward into the wall to a small, almost square, enclosed room which measures about 4.0 m. east-west by 3.5 m. north-south.

The Central Courtyard itself is about 15.0 m. wide, and is 23.50 m. long on the eastern side and 24.50 m. long on the western side. This courtyard is paved with two layers of baked bricks mostly 0.35 by 0.35 by 0.06 m. with a few of larger size, all packed with gypsum mortar (Plates 2B, 3A). On one of the bricks are a few signs, possibly writing (Plate 3B). Along the northern wall of the courtyard, on each side of the entrance to the Long Portico, is a bench of baked brick, about 0.60 m. wide and 0.40 m. high, which extends to the side walls.

In the center of the courtyard are the destroyed remains of a small raised platform, possibly an altar or a stela base, measuring 5.0 m. east-west and 3.0 m. north-south. This ruined platform, about 0.40 m. high, had been built of many layers of baked brick with gypsum mortar. A hole was dug in the center of the platform through nine layers of this brick, apparently during the destruction of the temple (Plates 4A, 4B). Possibly two inscribed stone stela fragments, found broken in the courtyard, had once been installed on the top of this platform. In the northeastern corner of the courtyard is a hearth surrounded by much ash and charcoal.

THE LONG PORTICO
(Plate 5A)

Extending across the width of the Central Courtyard at the northern end is the Long Portico, about 17.0 m. east-west by 5.50 m. north-south. It is flanked by sun dried brick walls about 6 m. thick at this point, still preserved to a height of about 2.0 m. on the eastern side (Plate 5A). The walls separating the Long Portico from the Central Courtyard in front of it are about 4.5 m. thick, with an opening to the courtyard 5.50 m. wide on the inner side, narrowing to 5.0 m. wide on the courtyard side. The floor of the Long Portico is paved with baked bricks covered with a coat of gypsum, as are the walls. It is not possible to determine now whether or not the portico was roofed.

TEMPLE HALL NO. 1
(Plates 5B, 5C)

The hall immediately behind the Long Portico on the right (east) is very large, about 9.20 m. north-south and 6.0 m. east-west. Its original height is uncertain,

since the upper part of the walls is gone, but in some sections about 2 m. of the side walls are still preserved. The wall between the tomb of Tepti Ahar which lies beyond and this hall is about 1.30 m. thick. The wall which forms the eastern outside wall of the Tomb-Temple Complex is about 5.30 m. thick; the western wall which separates Hall no. 1 from adjoining parallel Hall no. 2 is about 5.0 m. thick; and the southern wall which separates Hall no. 1 from the Long Portico is about 3.90 m. thick. Hall no. 1 is entered at the southwestern corner through a doorway, 1.5 m. wide, which leads in from the portico (Plate 5B).

The floor of Hall no. 1 is extremely solid. It is made of four layers of baked bricks packed with gypsum mortar, altogether about 0.50 m. thick and arching slightly over its 6 m. of width, so that the center is about 0.45 m. higher than the edges. Apparently it forms the roof of an underlying basement room. Thus far the western half of the underlying basement has been excavated without revealing any columns or supports under the floor of Hall no. 1. Although it is not absolutely sure that this floor forms an unsupported vaulted roof over a basement room below, it is difficult to believe that the slightly arched four layers of bricks packed in gypsum mortar were intended only to form a floor. In the absence of complete excavation the function of this lower room must remain undetermined.

The walls of Temple Hall no. 1 were coated with a layer of gypsum, pieces of which were found decorated with incised geometric designs including squares, rectangles, circles, and triangles. The circles were made with a compass whose point is visible at the center of each circle.

The south end of a passageway leading down to the adjoining Tomb of Tepti Ahar joins the northeastern corner of Hall no. 1 where it forms a depressed floor area 2.0 m. east-west by 0.55 m. north-south, which was covered by slabs of stone (Plate 5C). At the opposite (northern) end at the entrance to the tomb the passageway was blocked by a rough filling wall of baked brick and gypsum.

TEMPLE HALL NO. 2

Temple Hall no. 2 to the left (west) and parallel to Hall no. 1 possibly was the same size as that hall but, unfortunately, the western wall had been removed down to the floor and, therefore, its exact measurements could not be established. The part of the eastern floor of the hall which remains is paved with baked bricks coated with gypsum. The entrance to the hall from the Long Portico cannot be determined, but probably was located symmetrically beside the entrance of Temple Hall no. 1.

THE TOMB OF TEPTI AHAR

(Plan 4) (Plates 6A-7A)

The larger of the two tombs, attributed to Tepti Ahar, is a rectangular baked brick chamber with a vaulted roof. The structure occupies an area of about 12.90 m. north-south and 5.80 m. east-west. The north-south side walls, about 1.30 m. thick, are slightly narrower than the east-west end walls which are about 1.40 m. thick. The tomb has an arched vaulted roof resting on a ledge in the wide side walls which rise on the outside to a height above the top of the vault, effectively enclosing and protecting it (Plate 6A). The height from the floor to the beginning of the vault is about 1.40 m. and to the top of the vault 3.75 m. The vaulted roof itself is about 3.20 m. wide and 2.35 m. high. The outside walls of the tomb are about 4.30 m. high, projecting above the top of the vaulted roof. The tomb was apparently built in this way to absorb the pressure of the vaulting and to strengthen the construction, an example of the highly sophisticated building techniques employed at Haft Tepe. Each row of brick in the arched vaulted roof is laid in a diagonal line with the opposing diagonals meeting at the top of the vault and pointing to the north (cf. Plate 7B). This arrangement carries the pressure of the roof to the northern end wall which is supported by a massive sun dried brick enclosure wall, at this point nearly 4 m. wide.

The tomb is constructed of baked bricks 0.38 by 0.38 by 0.08 m., and half bricks 0.38 by 0.19 by 0.08 m. Slightly smaller baked bricks, 0.35 by 0.35 by 0.06 m., are found in the vaulted roof. Gypsum mortar is used between the bricks. All the interior surfaces of the tomb, the surface of the burial platform and the curb and inner partition walls of the platform are covered by a coat of gypsum about 0.02 m. thick. The outer surface of the vaulted roof and the top of the side walls are also covered by a very thick coat of gypsum, in some places about 0.10 m. deep, apparently laid to strengthen the roof and thus help preserve it (Plate 7A). The strength of this vaulted roof was such that it remained intact until recent times, when it was partially disturbed by the equipment levelling the sugar cane fields several years before excavation began.

The inner dimensions of this tomb are 10 by 3.25 by 3.75 m. (high). It contains a baked brick burial platform, about 8.10 m. long, 2.90 m. wide and 0.40 m. high, joined to the northern and western walls, altogether occupying about seven-eighths of the floor area (Plan 4). A small curb wall about 0.15 m. high and 0.15 m. thick runs along the edge of this platform which is divided into three sections by two low inner partition walls about 0.20 m. thick. None of the sections is exactly rectangular, the northern section being about 3.25 m. by 2.75 m.; the middle section 2.75 m. by 1.20 m.; and the southern section 3.25 m. by 2.75 m.

Drainage holes about 0.10 m. across pierce the outer curb wall; three holes occur in the southern section, one in the central section, and two in the northern section (Plate 6B).

This large burial platform covers most of the floor of the tomb, leaving a long narrow passageway, about 8.10 m. long and 0.40 m. wide along the eastern wall, and an open floor area at the southern end of the tomb adjacent to the temple about 3.25 m. long and 1.85 m. wide. In the southern end wall of the tomb is an entrance to a passageway which connects the tomb to Temple Hall no. 1 just south of it. Beginning about 0.60 m. above the floor of the tomb the entrance is about 1.40 m. high and 0.90 m. wide. The tomb end of this passage was blocked by an irregular wall of baked brick while the temple hall end, located below the floor of Hall no. 1, was covered by long slabs of stone set flush with the hall floor (Plate 5C).

When the tomb was excavated it contained possibly 21 skeletons: seven lying on the northern section of the platform, none in the middle, and at least two skeletons together with an elongated pottery vessel in the southern section. Twelve more skeletons had been carelessly dumped inside the southern entrance which led into the tomb from adjoining Temple Hall no. 1.

THE MASS BURIAL TOMB
(Plates 7B, 8B) (Color Plate 2)

Located at the northwestern corner of the Tomb-Temple Complex, west of and parallel to the Tomb of Tepti Ahar and behind Temple Hall no. 2, is a second slightly smaller baked brick tomb, which also originally had an arched vaulted roof. Between these two tombs are two walls of sun dried brick, the first belonging to the Tomb of Tepti Ahar (about 4.80 m. thick) and the second, alongside the first, belonging to the Mass Burial Tomb, 1.0 m. thick. Although they are side by side, they must be considered as separate walls since the bricks are not bonded.

This Mass Burial Tomb, covering an area 5.20 m. from north to south and 2.65 m. from east to west, with side walls about 0.40 m. thick, is also built of baked brick with gypsum mortar. Most of the bricks are square, 0.38 by 0.38 by 0.08 m. Smaller bricks 0.35 by 0.35 by 0.06 m. are also found, mostly in the vaulted roof.

The inner dimensions of this tomb are 4.80 m. by 1.85 m. while the inner height of the side walls is preserved to only about 0.30 m. An arched vaulted roof, constructed in much the same way as that of the Tomb of Tepti Ahar but more carelessly, has collapsed, so that its exact measurements are not known, but the height from the floor to the top of the vault must have been about 1.65 m. (Plate 7B). This vaulted roof seems to have been destroyed by the levelling activities of the sugar cane plantation. The missing sections were not found inside the tomb, but had apparently been bulldozed off the top.

This tomb has no constructed entrance. After the burial ceremony took place the southern end adjoining Temple Hall no. 2, which had originally been left open, was roughly blocked by an unorganized fill of baked bricks. The attention and care given to the construction of the Tomb of Tepti Ahar are not evident in this tomb, which apparently was not of the first importance and may have been subsidiary to the tomb of Tepti Ahar.

When opened this tomb contained 23 skeletons, 14 of them laid side by side, face toward the north and head toward the west, with the bodies extended. Nine more skeletons, for whom there was no floor space, had been dumped over the lower limbs of the first 14 (Plates 8A, 8B).

Around this tomb is a narrow open passage surrounded by a wall of sun dried bricks, 5.0 m. thick on the northern and western sides, which formed part of the enclosure wall of the Tomb-Temple Complex.

Terrace Complex I
(H-O XXIV-XXXIV) (Plans 2 and 5)

THE GENERAL LAYOUT

A large mound east of the Tomb-Temple Complex contained the second large architectural complex uncovered at Haft Tepe, which consisted of a massive solid Central Core or High Terrace surrounded by halls and courtyards. The area occupied by this Central Core and its connected halls, excluding the surrounding walls which are not yet completely excavated, measures about 75 m. north-south by 60 m. east-west, a total area of about 4,500 m^2. The great bulk of this construction is of sun dried brick, with baked brick used only for a few floors and the pavement of the Northwestern Courtyard.

The remaining height of the Central Core of this Terrace Complex reaches 14.50 m. in some places. If a structure was originally located on top of this massive central brick mass, it has completely disappeared. Surrounding this Central Core are large halls and open courtyards. The original height of these surrounding halls cannot be determined, since the upper parts of the construction have collapsed, but walls still remaining *in situ* reach a height of 9 m. All the open spaces up to this height are now filled with debris fallen from the upper parts of the complex, leading to the conclusion that the original construction on the Central Core may have been more than 30 m. high.

The immense bulk of the solid construction by itself indicates the importance of this massive building complex, which seems comparable to temples and ziggurats common to this part of the Near East. This complex may actually have been a ziggurat, although since any original construction on top of the Central Core has completely disappeared, its original purpose cannot now be determined by direct evidence. There is a slight possibility that the High Terrace was built for open air ceremonies of a religious nature, although since no such structures have been found elsewhere in the region this does not seem very likely.

THE CENTRAL CORE OR HIGH TERRACE
(Plates 9A-10A)

This is a many-sided construction without a definite geometric shape, about 44 m. east-west by 40 m. north-south (Plate 9A). The whole volume of this sun dried brick core is solid, with no trace of any inner rooms. The core is built in sections, averaging 2.50 m. in width, with the section lines crossing one another with no bonding of bricks between them. Although the reason for this type of modular construction is unclear, it may have been intended to minimize damage due to settling and changes in temperature.

Since the core is built only of sun dried brick, the upper part and the sides have gradually washed away through the centuries. During excavation the original brick was preserved whenever it appeared, so that now the core has a stepped appearance which it did not originally possess. These steps reveal the foundation layers, not the original plan. No traces remain of any building situated on top of the core or terrace, and no indication of any stairway leading to its upper parts was found during excavation. The most likely spots for ascending the terrace are located at the northeastern corner where there is an attached wall about 10 m. thick which could have supported a staircase (Plate 9B), and at the southwestern corner where a roof may have been located over a narrow passageway from which the ascent to the top of the terrace could have been made (Plate 10A).

Surrounding this Central Core are halls (*H1-H6*) and smaller rooms of various sizes as well as three courtyards: the Northwestern Courtyard (*N.W.C.*), the Eastern Courtyard (*E.C.*), and the Southern Courtyard (*S.C.*). Most of the large halls connected to Terrace Complex I are located on the northern side of the Central Core. From the traces of large burnt beams found on the floors during excavation it is apparent that these halls had flat roofs supported by timbers. The floors are usually beaten earth with a few exceptions such as the Northwestern Courtyard, which is paved with large baked bricks. Many of the walls of the various rooms had been plastered with gypsum painted with polychrome designs. Fragments of these painted walls were found on the floors of some of the rooms.

HALL NOS. 1-4 NORTHWEST OF THE CENTRAL CORE

Hall nos. 1 to 4 lie in the area between the northwestern face of the Central Core and the Long Wall which encloses Terrace Complex I along the northern side. The distance between the core and the enclosure wall measures about 35 m. An entrance through this wall leads into Hall no. 4. From here it is possible to enter Hall no. 2 and then Hall no. 1 or to pass through Hall no. 3 into the Northwestern Courtyard.

HALL NO. 4 (Plate 10B)

The entrance from the north through the Long Wall leads into Hall no. 4, the largest and longest in this part of Terrace Complex I. It is about 35.10 m. long from north to south and 5.80 m. wide from east to west at its southern end. At the northern end it is about 5.88 m. wide, a difference of 0.08 m. which may be due to the collapse of the coating of the walls which were originally plastered and painted with polychrome designs, fragments of which were found on the floor. On the western side the joint wall with Hall no. 3 is about 3.0 m. thick; on the northern side the hall is bounded by the outer Long Wall, about 4.30 m. thick; on the eastern side the wall between Hall nos. 4 and 5 is about 10.50 m. thick. On the southern side Hall no. 4 ends at the face of the Central Core, here preserved to a height of 9.0 m. (Plate 10B). This southern end of Hall no. 4 penetrates about 2 m. further into the Central Core than does adjoining Hall no. 3. The narrow doorways which lead to Hall nos. 2 and 3 from Hall no. 4 are located in its western wall.

HALL NO. 2

West of Hall no. 4 lies Hall no. 2, about 9.30 m. in length from north to south and 5.50 m. from east to west. Its northern wall, part of the outer Long Wall, is about 4.30 m. thick; its eastern wall, shared with Hall no. 4, is about 3.0 m. thick; and its southern wall, shared with Hall no. 3, is about 5.0 m. thick. A narrow entrance provides entry from the northwestern corner of Hall no. 4 into the northeastern corner of Hall no. 2; in the southwestern corner of the hall a second passageway leads into Hall no. 1, which has no outlet.

HALL NO. 1

Hall no. 1 is formed in the shape of a reversed L, with its longest north-south length (on the east) about 10.50 m. and its width (along the south wall) about 7.50 m. Its northern wall, part of the outer Long Wall of the complex, is about 4.30 m. thick; its western wall is in part 3.0 m. thick and in part 7.0 m. thick; its eastern wall (shared with Hall no. 2) is 3.0 m. thick; and its southern end wall which separates it from the adjoining Northwestern Courtyard is about 3.80 m. thick. A doorway 2.65 m. wide through the eastern wall connects Hall no. 1 to Hall no. 2. A narrow partition wall, 3.0 m. long and 0.50 m. wide, projecting from the south end wall, prevents those entering the hall through the doorway from immediately receiving a complete view of its interior.

HALL NO. 3

Hall no. 3 lies parallel to Hall no. 4 on its western side. It is rather large, with a north-south length of about 17.80 m. and an east-west width at the southern end of 5.32 m. and at the northern end of 5.38 m. Its western wall which faces the Northwestern Courtyard is about 3.0 m. thick; its northern wall is about 5.0 m. thick; its eastern wall, a joint wall with the adjoining large Hall no. 4, is about 3.0 m. thick; its southern end is formed by the northern face of the Central Core, here still preserved to a height of 7 m.

In the northwestern corner of Hall no. 3 a small doorway 1.2 m. wide leads westward through the wall into the Northwestern Courtyard. On the north side of this narrow passageway lies a small room measuring 3.0 m. east-west and 4.3 m. north-south. The small room faces the side wall of the passageway, which is also 3.0 m. wide, being formed by the northern end of the west wall of Hall no. 3. Thus, anyone coming in from, or going out into, the Northwestern Courtyard had to pass by this small room, possibly a guard room, when entering or leaving Hall no. 3. Almost directly opposite this guard room and entryway, in the northeastern wall of Hall no. 3 is a narrow doorway which leads into Hall no. 4 from Hall no. 3.

THE NORTHWESTERN COURTYARD

(Plates 11A-13A)

On the northwestern side of the Central Core and west of Hall nos. 1-4 is a large open courtyard of which thus far only the northern and eastern parts have been excavated. The southeastern part of this courtyard (near the Central Core) is paved with large baked bricks, measuring about 0.38-0.40 by 0.38-0.40 by 0.08-0.10 m. At the southern end of the Northwestern Courtyard is a passageway to the Southern Courtyard, 8.80 m. in length and 1.20 m. in width. This passageway is bisected by an open water channel 0.30 m. wide made of baked brick and crossed at each end by a small bridge formed of a large baked brick supported in the middle by a vertical half brick (Plates 11A, 11B). In the center of the Northwestern Courtyard is a basin built of baked bricks, of various sizes up to 0.50 by 0.50 by 0.05 m., put together with gypsum and natural bitumen mortar. This basin, whose sides slope outwards, is about 1 m. long and 0.70 m. wide at the base and 1.40 by 1 m. at the rim. To the southern and western sides of the basin an area is paved with broken pieces of pottery to a depth of about 0.20 m., apparently to provide drainage and prevent the ground from becoming muddy (Plate 12A). Many pottery vessels of various types and several hearths were found in the courtyard. At its southeastern corner, where an open kitchen apparently was located, several large pottery jars and grinding stones lay near one of the hearths. A small portion of the Southern Courtyard on the southern side of the Central Core has been excavated but contains no particular constructional remains.

On the northern side of Hall nos. 1, 2, and 4 and the Northwestern Courtyard is an outer Long Wall about 4.30 m. thick, running southwest to northeast, of which over 60 m. has already been excavated without either end being uncovered (Plate 12B). Along the south face of this Long Wall, parallel to the Northwestern Courtyard is a long hall or Corridor, about 38.60 m. long from east to west and 7.30 m. wide from north to south. Its southern wall, which encloses the northern side of the Northwestern Courtyard, is about 4.20 m. thick. If this Corridor was originally roofed, it would be the largest hall of the complex yet excavated. However, it would not have been easy to cover an area more than 7 m. wide with timbers, none of which were found during excavation.

The entrance to this long hall or open Corridor is from the Northwestern Courtyard through a major doorway about 5.90 m. wide. At the northwestern

corner of the Corridor a small passageway about 1.50 m. wide and 3.50 m. long connects with a second room not yet completely excavated. At the Corridor's eastern end a pile of rubbish contained many pottery jars with large open mouths and very small button bases together with many seal impressions (Plate 13A).

HALL NO. 5

Northeast of the Central Core lies another partially excavated open court area—the Eastern Courtyard. The western side of this area is flanked on the northern two-thirds by a pair of parallel long halls. The easternmost hall is poorly preserved. The western hall, Hall no. 5, runs parallel to Hall no. 4 from which it is separated by a wall about 10.50 m. thick which stands to a height of about 5.60 m. at its southern end and to 2.0 m. at the northern end (Plate 9B). Hall no. 5 has a north-south length of about 28.90 m., and an east-west width of about 5.00 m. at the southern end and 4.90 m. at the northern end. The northern end wall is not yet fully excavated. The eastern wall shared with the adjoining room is about 2.60 m. thick. The southern end abuts a thick wall which separates Hall no. 5 and Hall no. 6 and which joins the Central Core on the west.

At its southeastern corner a doorway about 1.20 m. wide and 2.60 m. deep connects Hall no. 5 to a small enclosed room, 5.00 by 3.65 m., possibly a room for storage or other special use. Another nearly square enclosed room, about 3.10 by 3.00 m., is located at the northwestern corner of Hall no. 5, and entered through an opening 1.40 m. wide in a narrow partition wall.

HALL NO. 6 ("WORKSHOP")
(Plates 13B-14D)

A large room on the eastern side of the Central Core was apparently a workshop or artist's studio. It is 11.20 m. long north-south and 6.30 m. wide east-west (Plate 13B). An extension penetrating into the northern wall, 5.0 m. long north-south and 4.40 m. east-west, is separated from the main room by a later thin partition wall (Plate 14A). On the northern side the outer wall of the hall is about 5.40 m. thick; on the eastern side 4.30 m. thick; on the southern side it has been disturbed from ancient times; and on the western side it is connected to the Central Core, here remaining to a height of 5.40 to 6.40 m. from north to south.

This workshop is divided into several rooms with each room apparently devoted to a particular task or craft. In addition to the extension to the north which is divided from the main room by a partition wall, another area to the northeast of the main room next to the entrance, 2.60 m. wide and 6.30 m. long, is separated by a partition wall 0.60 m. thick with an opening 0.80 m. wide. At the southeastern corner of the workshop, connected by a narrow passage, is a small storage space, 1.80 m. on each side. A narrow entrance in the eastern wall opens onto the Eastern Courtyard.

Bowls containing dried paint, sawn elephant bones (Plate 14B), a mass of bronze arrowpoints (Plate 14C), bronze tools, two large painted clay portrait heads (Plate 14D), small fragments of mosaic, a pile of shells, and a gold butterfly pin are some of the objects found in various parts of the workroom, concrete evidence of the wide variety of crafts practiced there.

THE EASTERN COURTYARD AND KILN
(Plan 6) (Plates 15A-16)

On the northeastern side of Terrace Complex I, in front of Hall nos. 6 and 5, in the Eastern Courtyard is a very large kiln (Plan 6). This clay kiln, 8.40 m. long and 2.60 m. wide on the outside, with an inside width at the base of 1.70 m., has two compartments with a firing chamber between. Each compartment has a chimney at one end. Since the lower part of the kiln roof, which is still *in situ*, curves slightly inward, it evidently had a vaulted roof, although the top of the vault is now caved in. The height of the kiln from the floor to the beginning of the vault is about 1.80 m. (Plate 15A).

Each of the two compartments is divided into eight 0.40 m. wide sections by partition walls 0.40 m. thick, for the placement of objects to be fired. This type of kiln with multiple sections was used for pottery making and its prototype can be traced back to much earlier times. A pottery kiln with many segments in a similar pattern was found at Mari outside the Grand Palace (Parrot 1939: 17, pl. XI). At the end of each compartment is a chimney about 0.40 m. in diameter opening to the kiln through a vent 0.24 m. in diameter. Between the compartments the firing chamber is 2.60 m. long and 1.00 m. wide. However, the roof has not yet been excavated. The openings in the firing chamber begin 0.54 m. above the floor and extend upward to the vaulted roof; they measure 0.65 m. in diameter at the base and narrow to 0.45 m. at the broad arched top.

Apparently the northern compartment of the kiln, which contained pottery sherds and pieces of clay, was used for baking pottery and tablets (Plates 15B, 16), while the southern compartment, which contained metallic slag, was used for casting bronze. Around the kiln, especially in squares J and K XXXIII, there are small sections of wall and here tablets and clay for tablet making were found.

Terrace Complex II

(M-X XXXIII-XXXV) (Plans 2 and 7) (Plates 17A-18) (Color Plate 2)

The remains of a second, much higher Terrace Complex are located south and southeast of Terrace Complex I (Plates 9A, 17A). Here excavation has only begun. The area of Terrace Complex II falls mainly in the squares in rows XXXIII to XXXV and contains architectural elements similar in character to those of Terrace Complex I. The axis of this second constructional complex differs by about 15 degrees from that of Terrace Complex I and lies almost directly north-south and east-west. Its constructional material is the same, sun dried brick used with mud mortar and baked brick with gypsum mortar. Of the baked bricks, however, little has thus far been found. Only a small area on the northern slope of the mound where the surface was cleaned and uncovered has produced a room paved with baked bricks, 0.36-0.38 by 0.36-0.38 by 0.06-0.08 m.

Although all this mound is not yet excavated, its plan evidently is similar to that of Terrace Complex I with a Central Core or High Terrace (V-X XXXIV and XXXV), constructed in segments, linked to halls of various sizes to the north. About 17 m. of the original height of this Central Core is still preserved (Plate 17B). However, no part of any original construction on top of the terrace remains except for two large steps remaining possibly from a large staircase. The halls of this second terrace complex reach the southeastern corner of Terrace Complex I, and, in fact, slightly disturb it (M and N XXXIII and XXXIV).

In squares N-P XXXIV a large hall has been opened with a north-south length of about 22.00 m. and an east-west width of about 5.50 m. The side walls of this hall are about 3.00 m. thick on the north, 5.50 m. thick on the west and 7.00 m. thick on the south. The eastern wall is not yet completely excavated. An entrance to the hall is located in the eastern wall through an opening about 1.70 m. wide which is blocked near the hall side making a smaller door about 0.60 m. wide. The walls of this hall had been covered with gypsum plaster, partly remaining near the floor, covered with polychrome painting now badly burned. Remains of the burned timbers of the roof together with baked clay holding reed and matting impressions lay on the floor (Plate 18).

IV

Tombs and Burials

One group of burials found at Haft Tepe was made during the period of Elamite rule, that is, contemporary with the single major occupation level which comprises the archaeological site. These tombs and graves, which are found mainly in the area of the Tomb-Temple Complex, are both single and multiple burials, carried out with an organized burial procedure including some construction or other protective measure for the deceased.

A second group of burials belongs to a later time, after Haft Tepe was no longer an active and living community, but had subsided into artificial mounds of archaeological debris which were used occasionally for a limited number of burials scattered over the area with no particular order or preferred location and found at varying depths.

Elamite Multiple Burials with Architecture

The first group of burials, contemporary with the Haft Tepe architectural remains, includes two multiple burials with architecture, the Tomb of Tepti Ahar and the Mass Burial Tomb, both part of the Tomb-Temple Complex (Plan 3). The Tomb of Tepti Ahar was apparently the central focus around which the Tomb-Temple Complex was built, with the priests of the temple given the duty of caring for the tomb. The Mass Burial Tomb was most probably subsidiary to the Tomb of Tepti Ahar, placed to be near to that tomb and its adjacent temple (Hall no. 1).

BURIALS IN THE TOMB OF TEPTI AHAR
(Plan 4)

Located in squares A and B XX is the large baked brick tomb of Tepti Ahar with its vaulted roof, lying behind the temple hall which served it.

A number of skeletons were found in this tomb, some carefully arranged and others apparently carelessly dumped. Most of the floor area of the tomb is covered by a large platform surrounded by low walls which divide it into three sections (Plate 6B). The northern section of the platform held seven skeletons, the middle section none, and the southern section two. In addition a number of skeletons lay on the floor of the tomb at its southern end, next to a passageway leading into the tomb from the adjoining temple (Hall no. 1). Most of the skeletons were partly disintegrated and powdery when uncovered, with some parts having disappeared totally. Others retained their shape, although all were in a very bad state of preservation. The skeletons located in the northern section of the platform were the best preserved, while, of the two skeletons in the southern section, only part of the skulls remained, with the rest of the bodies completely gone.

The skeletons had been laid out on the platform in an orderly manner with careful attention given to details of the burial procedure. The seven skeletons in the northern section of the platform lay parallel to one another, on their right sides with their heads placed next to the western wall, their faces toward the south, their legs contracted and their feet toward the eastern

wall. The middle section held no skeletons. In the southern section, only traces of bone remained, and the burial procedure could not be determined. However, a small pottery jar had been placed next to the skeletons, the only funerary object found in the entire tomb. Drainage holes were located in the shallow wall which bordered the eastern and southern edges of the platform. Apparently the sacred water which was used to wash and purify the body after it was laid on the platform would drain through these holes to a canal along the eastern side of the tomb (Plan 4). Remains of red ochre were found on the platform and on the skeletons still remaining, indicating that after the ritual washing the bodies were covered by a rather thick layer of this pigment.

At the southern end of the tomb, next to a passageway from the adjoining temple, many skeletons lay on the floor with little order in their arrangement. The skulls of most of these skeletons lay next to the southern and western walls of the tomb and the face of the platform, while the bodies were heaped together on the floor. No traces of red ochre could be seen on these skeletons. The difference in the way these bodies had been placed in the tomb suggests either that they had differing rank or importance or that they were buried under different conditions. The bodies buried on the platform in an orderly arrangement are likely to be those of the owner of the tomb and possibly his close relatives or entourage. The two skeletons in the southern section may be King Tepti Ahar accompanied by his queen or favorite serving girl. The bodies laid unceremoniously on the floor may be servants or staff who would provide special services to their master in the world hereafter.

Another possible explanation for the heap of skeletons haphazardly dumped on the floor is related to the passageway near which they were found. Located in the southeastern corner of the tomb, this passageway is carefully built and roofed with long slabs of stone. It leads into the tomb from an opening in the floor of adjacent Temple Hall no. 1 which is covered by a very long slab of stone, similar to the roof slabs (Plan 3). The passageway had been very solidly blocked by a fill of baked brick with gypsum mortar, laid in a rather careless way as though done in haste, or by untrained persons. The careful construction of the passageway into the tomb from the temple suggests that after the original burials the entrance to the tomb was open and easily accessible by raising the stone slab in the floor of the temple hall, until, for some reason, the passageway was filled and the heavy slab of stone was covered by a coat of gypsum to hide it forever. This may have been done because all the planned inhabitants of the tomb had been buried or because the priests wanted to protect the tomb and its inhabitants. If the latter, it is possible that at the downfall of the central power, when the priests of the temple were no longer able to carry on their religious duties, the deceased were simply carried into the tomb and dumped, after which the passageway was filled and sealed.

In the Central Courtyard of the Tomb-Temple Complex was found an inscribed stela of the Elamite ruler Tepti Ahar which states that 'in this place he built his home house or tomb for himself and his favorite girl servant, and next to it he established a chapel or temple and assigned in it priests, servants and guards to serve and protect his tomb' (Reiner 1973: 95). In the text of this stela he donates salary and allowance for each month of the year to the priests and guardians of the tomb and also designates donations to carry on their sacrifices at religious feasts and ceremonies.

The two skeletons in the southern section of the platform, laid out with the small pottery jar, may be the remains of the king and his favorite girl servant. An inscribed tablet of Tepti Ahar, supposedly found at Malamir, states that every evening several girl servants, selected as guards to protect the tomb, would enter the tomb and after their entrance the door of the tomb or tomb temple would be locked behind them. In the morning the door would be opened again and these servant girl guards would come out of the tomb. In order to prevent any of the valuable contents of the tomb, including a gold cover, from being stolen, the girl guards were to wear tight dresses in which they could not hide anything, and which could be easily searched by the priest guardians each morning (Reiner 1973: 95).

The procedure described here suggests that the passageway from the tomb to the temple may have been open after the main burial, so that every night the guard girls could enter the tomb or tomb-temple complex. Later, possibly because of danger of invasion or for other reasons, the passageway was sealed to protect the tomb. Another possibility is that the house or tomb mentioned in the tablets represented the whole Tomb-Temple Complex, rather than the tomb itself, and the girl guards would be left in the temple each night with the door locked behind them, so that valuable objects would not be stolen from the temple. No objects of value were found in the tomb, and in fact, the only object of any sort associated with the burials is the single small pottery jar in the southern section of the platform with the two skeletons.

THE MASS BURIAL TOMB

In Square B XIX, located at the northwestern corner of the Tomb-Temple Complex, next to the Tomb of Tepti Ahar, a second tomb was uncovered (Plan 3). Although not as large as the Tomb of Tepti Ahar, it is constructed in a similar fashion, of baked brick with a

RESEARCH ARCHIVES - DIRECTOR'S LIBRARY
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

vaulted roof. The discovery of this tomb confronted us with many questions about its purpose and the identity of the persons buried there.

As we slowly worked down from the broken arched roof to the floor of the structure, remains of skeletons gradually emerged. As excavation continued still more skeletons appeared, laid side by side. The badly deteriorated state of the bones made progress slower and slower, as we tried to preserve the remains, until at last the entire tomb was opened and an extraordinary scene was revealed.

Twenty-three skeletons lay buried in this tomb. Fourteen lay on the floor, packed closely, side by side, with the heads toward the west and their bodies stretched out toward the east (Plate 8B). The first four skeletons at the southern end near the entrance of the tomb seemed to have a particular relation to each other, forming a close group with one skeleton laid on top of the second skeleton on the ground. Apparently since there was not enough space on the floor, the last bodies placed in the tomb had been laid at right angles across the lower extremities of the first 14, parallel to the eastern wall of the tomb. The only objects found in this tomb were a small conical pottery bowl with a circular flat base and a simple metal ring which was on the finger of one of the skeletons.

We do not know whether there was any difference in rank or social position between the skeletons which were carefully laid out side by side across the width of the tomb, 14 on the floor with one laid over another, and the eight skeletons deposited across the lower extremities of the first group. It is, however, clear that the burials were all made at one time. There is no constructed entranceway to the tomb. Instead, the eastern, northern and western walls were first constructed and the tomb was prepared for the burials. After the 23 bodies had been placed inside, the southern wall was roughly built, sealing the tomb. There is no bonding of the bricks of the southern wall with those of the eastern and western walls of the tomb.

Many questions arise concerning the purpose of this Mass Burial Tomb. The condition of the skeletons and their poor state of preservation make it impossible to identify their sex, or to tell whether there had been some damage to the bodies before they were placed in the tomb. The only clear point to be discerned in relation to the skeletons is that some of the lower jaws of the deceased were pushed much further down toward the neck and chest than was normal. The teeth of the skeletons are for the most part complete, indicating that they were not very old when they were buried.

Some possible hypotheses for this Mass Burial Tomb are that the deceased were killed in battle or perished from an epidemic, but the depositing of the skeletons all at the same time, and the subsequent sealing of the tomb make the second suggestion, at least, seem unlikely. It seems most probable that the Mass Burial Tomb was a subsidiary tomb to the Tomb of Tepti Ahar, holding staff, servants, or wives of the great king.

Elamite Burials within Pottery Containers

In another group of Elamite burials a protective object such as a large jar or sarcophagus safeguarded the body. These burials are mostly located in the area of the Tomb-Temple Complex, probably because of its religious significance.

Underneath the remains of a small Sassanian community at the western edge of the Tomb-Temple Complex, in the area of square D XVII, at the rather considerable depth of nearly two meters from the surface, an interesting pottery sarcophagus was uncovered (Plates 19A, 19B). This pottery sarcophagus is 0.47 m. high and oval; it measures 1.55 by 0.59 m. at the rim, and 1.32 by 0.55 m. at the base. Encircling the sarcophagus are large horizontal grooves in which traces of a very thick rope made of palm fiber soaked in natural bitumen, apparently used to reinforce and strengthen the sarcophagus, still remain. The lid had broken from the pressure of the earth and caved into the container which held a skeleton in a contracted position.

In another type of burial a simple large pottery jar held the body. In one example of this type of burial fairly large pottery jars were found laid on one side with a skeleton inside. These jars were apparently only large enough to be used for very young children. In some instances the pottery jar was surrounded by a sun dried brick wall (Plate 19C).

In another type of jar burial the body was laid on the ground on one side in a contracted position, and a very large pottery jar was inverted over it, enclosing the body within the broad open mouth of the jar. When the body proved to be too large, the head sometimes projected beyond the rim of the jar (Plate 20A).

Simple Elamite Inhumation Burials

Burials with neither associated construction nor pottery cover were also found in the area of the Tomb-Temple Complex. In these cases a grave was dug into the ground with no covering or protective container. The skeletons in these graves were positioned on one side with contracted legs and bent knees, taking up a rather small space (Plate 20B). In some of these graves funerary objects including pottery vessels, metal daggers, and other items were found with the skeleton (Plates 21A, 21B).

Post-Elamite Burials

A group of burials at Haft Tepe do not belong to the Elamite period, but were dug later into the hilly remains of the ruined site, after it had already fallen into disuse. These graves occur at various depths and belong to different periods. The skeletons were laid out in a variety of positions according to the funerary custom which prevailed at the time of the burial. Although these graves do not belong to the Elamite remains of Haft Tepe, several of the more interesting ones will be described since they were uncovered in the course of the excavation.

About 0.20 m. below the surface in the area of square E XX a grave was uncovered which, from the position of the body, seems to belong to a period before Islam, most probably the Sassanian period. The skeleton was laid on its right side with its legs stretched straight in front at a right angle, a most unusual burial position (Plates 22A, 22B).

In another type of grave one or two bricks were placed vertically above the head of the skeleton. Several examples of these burials (which seem to belong to the Achaemenian period) were found in the excavations, much higher than the floor levels of the Elamite remains.

In addition to these two types of burial which can be classified as Sassanian and Achaemenian respectively, a few graves were found which cannot be dated although they belong to a period later than the Elamite remains. In these graves vertical bricks were laid diagonally side by side to make a roof over the deceased.

V

Pottery

By the time of the establishment of Haft Tepe in the middle of the second millennium B.C., the beautiful painted pottery of earlier periods had completely disappeared. The pottery of Haft Tepe was made in a period when plain unpainted pottery was being mass produced in simple shapes to supply the needs of daily life. The pottery workshops had become manufacturing centers. Because of the economic prosperity and the increase in population, pottery workshops had to produce large quantities of vessels on which little time and effort were expended to sustain artistic quality. By this time pottery had for the most part lost its decorative purpose, and more creative artists applied their talents to intrinsically valuable materials such as gold, silver, ivory, glass, etc. However, although mass production had brought about a degeneration in the quality of most of the pottery produced, nevertheless some elaborate pottery vessels were still being made for special purposes on which designs might be incised, impressed, or applied in high relief.

In addition to the major bulk of the pottery which stems from the period when Haft Tepe was a living Elamite community, very limited numbers of pottery sherds were found which date from later periods. These were left at Haft Tepe by the small temporary communities which settled there after the destruction and decay of the Elamite structures. In comparison to the great bulk of Elamite pottery, the number of these later sherds is so small that it is obvious that they cannot represent any sizable settlement. These later small temporary occupations left only minor traces of their existence and did not, to any considerable extent, disturb the Elamite remains which lay buried beneath the surface of the mound.

In addition to the many pottery sherds of the middle of the second millennium B.C. and the much smaller number of sherds belonging to later periods, an extremely limited number of painted pottery sherds of the prehistoric, Protoliterate, and Proto-historic periods were found, which altogether would not compare in volume to a single complete vessel. It is possible that these painted pottery sherds are indigenous to Haft Tepe and that, under the extensive Elamite remains, in some small area, there are traces of a very minor community of the prehistoric period. Another possibility is that some of the Elamite inhabitants, perhaps the children, in visiting such nearby prehistoric mounds as Mahi Tepe or Abu Fandowa, gathered up and brought home a few pieces of the interesting and beautiful prehistoric painted pottery found there, keeping them for their appealing and colorful designs.

The Elamite pottery of Haft Tepe, which includes many complete vessels and millions of pottery sherds, can be divided into two groups. The first group, consisting of plain unpainted pottery vessels, makes up the major bulk of Haft Tepe pottery. It is found in various shades of buff, from pinkish to the light greenish buff which is the most common shade of the Haft Tepe pottery. Also included in this group of unpainted pottery is a very limited amount of plain gray pottery.

A second and much smaller group of Elamite vessels includes a few buff-colored pots which are painted with simple geometric designs in light brown, dark brown, or reddish brown. These painted vessels are so crudely made that they cannot be mistaken for the much finer prehistoric painted pottery. The crudely painted pottery vessels and sherds, found on the floors in the context of the Elamite period, are so few in number that they cannot be considered to represent a major common pottery group of this period, but must be seen as occasional items, possibly made for pleasure.

Plain Pottery Vessels

The plain pottery vessels which comprise almost all of the pottery of Haft Tepe are, for the most part, wheelmade, but a few handmade pieces also occur. This pottery, which is well mixed and grit-tempered, is very hard. In section, the color of the fabric may include tones of buff, brick red, and rarely, gray, depending on the temperature of firing and the ventilation of the kiln. The slip varies in color from pinkish buff to a light greenish buff. The vessels are simple in shape and usually do not have handles. They may be decorated with simple incised or impressed designs, but most are plain.

The plain pottery vessels have been divided into two major groups—jars and bowls (for examples, see **11** and uncatalogued bowl: Plate 23)—which in turn have been subdivided according to the general shape of body, rim, and base.

JARS

JARS WITH A ROUND OR POINTED BASE

These jars cannot stand alone but need to be supported on a separate stand or set in sand to remain upright.

TYPE I (**1 - 5**)

Type I consists of well proportioned pottery jars, including an elaborate type of decorative vessel in which the rim is larger or narrower according to its use. These jars have a conical body with a pointed base, and they cannot stand upright without support. All of these jars are similar in shape, with a mouth which may be larger or smaller, but some variations do, of course, occur.

One open mouth vessel has an outward turned bevel rim (**2**). This particular vessel has two symmetrically placed pierced handles. Other vessels have a narrow neck and slightly outward curved rim (**3**). On one vessel of this type the inner part of the rim slants diagonally downward (**4**), while on another the short neck is vertical (**5**).

1
Fig. 1 I XXVII
W., 0.094; H., 0.170 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

2
Fig. 1 H XVIII
W., 0.114; H., 0.145; D. rim, 0.070 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

3
Fig. 1 W XXXII
W., 0.090; H., 0.138; D. rim, 0.045 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

4
Fig. 1 P XXXIV
W., 0.100; H., 0.144; D. rim, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

5
Fig. 1 K XXVII
W., 0.106; H., 0.146; D. rim, 0.045 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

TYPE II (**6 - 10**)

Type II includes small vessels with an oval body and a small rounded base. These vessels also cannot stand alone. Some vessels of this type have a rather narrow small mouth with a rim bent slightly outward (**6**), while others have a narrow rim turned inward (**7**). One of these vessels has a convex body with an almost pointed base, a short neck, and an outward turned rim (**8**). Other vessels have a globular body with a large mouth and rim (**9**), and one example has a round pointed base (**10**).

6
Fig. 1 J XXXIV
W., 0.100; H., 0.140; D. rim, 0.035 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

7
Fig. 1 H XX
W., 0.090; H., 0.110; D. rim, 0.020 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light cream slip

8
Fig. 1 L XXVIII
W., 0.080; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.030 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

9
Fig. 1 I XXIX
W., 0.054; H., 0.060; D. rim, 0.030 m.
Gray ware, grit temper

10
Fig. 1 J XXIX
W., 0.048; H., 0.056; D. rim, 0.030 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; pink orange slip

TYPE III (**11 - 13**)

Type III includes vessels with a rounded convex body and a rounded base which cannot stand upright without support. One vessel of this type has a large mouth with an outward bevel rim (**11**), while another, also with an outward rim, has a short narrow neck (**12**).

11
Fig. 1; Plate 23 J XXXIV
W., 0.145; H., 0.280; D. rim, 0.120 m.
Brick red ware, grit temper; pink buff slip

12
Fig. 1 P XXXI
W., 0.102; H., 0.135; D. rim, 0.030 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

13
Fig. 1 L XXVIII
W., 0.070; H., 0.074; D. rim, 0.030 m.
Light gray ware, grit and a little straw

TYPE IV (**14, 15**)

Type IV includes rather tall jars with an elongated oval body and a rounded base that cannot stand upright without support. One example of this type is a well-proportioned jar with a rather short neck and an outward turned rim (**14**), while another has a rather shorter convex body and a narrow neck (**15**). The clay of these vessels is heavily mixed with grit.

14
Fig. 2 I XXXI
W., 0.140; H., 0.360; D. rim, 0.080 m.
Green buff ware, grit and sand temper

15
Fig. 2 J XXVII
W., 0.160; H., 0.240; D. rim, 0.060 m.
Brown buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

JARS WITH A BUTTON BASE

These jars have a distinctive small button-shaped base. The vessels can stand on their small base, but they are not very stable and may easily fall over.

TYPE V (**16 - 23**)

Type V includes jars in which the largest diameter is often in the middle of the body. The neck is usually cylindrical, often gradually turning outward toward the rim in a curving line (**23**). In some examples the neck has a straight diagonal line (**21**); in others the neck joins the body at a rather sharp angle and on still others there is a curving junction between neck and body (**16, 18, 19**). All the vessels have a button base, and there may be a projection in the middle of the inner base (**16, 17, 19, 20**).

16
Fig. 2 T XXXIV
W., 0.115; H., 0.170; D. rim, 0.075 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

17
Fig. 2 G XIX
W., 0.100; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.085 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; pink buff slip

18
Fig. 2 G XIX
W., 0.100; H., 0.155; D. rim, 0.065 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; greenish buff slip

19
Fig. 2 K XXVI
W., 0.092; H., 0.110; D. rim, 0.058; D. base, 0.030 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

20
Fig. 2 J XXV
W., 0.087; H., 0.108; D. rim, 0.055; D. base, 0.025 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

21
Fig. 2 C XX
W., 0.075; H., 0.095; D. rim, 0.050; D. base, 0.025 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

22
Fig. 2 O XXXII
W., 0.070; H., 0.095; D. rim, 0.053; D. base, 0.025 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

23
Plate 23 J XXVIII
W., 0.145; H., 0.185; D. rim, 0.090; D. base, 0.050 m.
Yellowish buff ware

TYPE VI (**24 - 26**)

Type VI includes well proportioned jars, somewhat chalice-like, which often have the largest diameter near the shoulder. The body is onion shaped with an almost straight vertical neck and simple rim. The junction of neck and body is angular on the outside, but curving inside (**24**). On some examples the body joins the base in a gentle curve (**25**), while on others the curve is much more pronounced (**26**). These vessels have a well-distinguished button base. At the junction of neck and shoulder, they may be decorated by horizontal incised lines (**25, 26**), or by two bands of parallel impressed lines which produce a protecting band.

24
Fig. 3 J XXXIX
W., 0.080; H., 0.110; D. rim, 0.050; D. base, 0.027 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; pink green slip

25
Fig. 3 P XXXI
W., 0.072; H., 0.100; D. rim, 0.045; D. base, 0.020 m.
Brown buff ware, grit temper

26
Fig. 3 H XIX
W., 0.070; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.035; D. base, 0.020 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; pink buff slip

TYPE VII (**27 - 30**)

Type VII includes elaborate small jars made of very fine clay in a very light buff color. The convex body of

the vessel reaches the neck in a gentle curve. The neck turns in a concave curve to an outward rim which often has a flat wide top with a thin edge. Some examples are more convex in the body and more strongly curved toward the button base (**30**) which may be flat or concave. The neck may be decorated by projecting wide bands (**27**).

27
Fig. 3 K XXIX
W., 0.072; H., 0.100; D. rim, 0.035; D. base, 0.025 m.
White buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

28
Fig. 3 I XXXIV
W., 0.076; H., 0.100; D. rim, 0.035; D. base, 0.028 m.
White buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

29
Fig. 3 M XXXIII
W., 0.065; H., 0.103; D. rim, 0.032; D. base, 0.025 m.
White buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

30
Plate 23 D XX
W., 0.075; H., 0.100; D. rim, 0.038; D. base, 0.025 m.
Light buff ware

TYPE VIII (**31** - **34**)

Type VIII includes rather tall pottery chalices or jars with a narrow convex body, with a strong curve near the middle (**33**) or at the shoulder (**31**) giving an almost carinated shape. Often the neck slants outward, gradually opening toward the rim which is straight on some examples (**33**) or has a slight concave (**32**) or convex (**34**) curve on others. In some examples the neck is very tall (**34**) while in others the neck is shorter (**31**). The junction of shoulder and neck may be angular (**33**) or it may be a gentle curve (**32**). The vessels have a flat button base and on the inside of the base there may be a rather large projection (**31**, **32**). On one example an incised line encircles the neck as it joins the body (**32**).

31
Fig. 3 K XXX
W., 0.180; H., 0.250; D. rim, 0.105; D. base, 0.060 m.
Buff ware, mixed grit and straw temper; buff slip

32
Fig. 3 G XVIII
W., 0.175; H., 0.300; D. rim, 0.100; D. base, 0.055 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

33
Fig. 3 F XVIII
W., 0.170; H., 0.209; D. rim, 0.075; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light cream slip

34
Fig. 3 J XXXIII
W., 0.125; H., 0.200; D. rim, 0.085; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

TYPE IX (**35** - **39**)

Type IX includes rather large convex jars with a strong curve in the middle of the body. They may have straight vertical necks which slant outwards (**36**) or necks that are concave with an outward rim (**38**). Although the body usually turns to the base in a gentle curve, on one example there is an angular bend near the base (**38**). The jars have a flat (**39**) or concave (**36**, **38**) button base, with on some examples a projecting knob at the center of the inner base (**37**). Some jars have impressed lines near the shoulder and base (**38**) and in more decorative examples of this type the surface is covered by variable projecting fine lines which form an irregular network over the surface, an unusual decoration.

35
Fig. 4 I XXXIV
W., 0.160; H., 0.215; D. rim, 0.095; D. base, 0.030 m.
Brown buff ware, grit temper

36
Fig. 4 I XXIV
W., 0.155; H., 0.225; D. rim, 0.092; D. base, 0.030 m.
Brown buff ware, grit temper

37
Fig. 4 M XXVIII
W., 0.130; H., 0.185; D. rim, 0.080; D. base, 0.030 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

38
Fig. 4 D XX
W., 0.110; H., 0.170; D. rim, 0.075; D. base, 0.035 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

39
Fig. 4 I XXVII
W., 0.105; H., 0.170; D. rim, 0.072; D. base, 0.030 m.
Orange buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

TYPE X (**40** - **43**)

Type X includes convex jars in which the curve near the base and at the shoulder is more pronounced than in the rest of the body, a shape which is more noticeable on some examples than in others. These vessels may have a straight vertical neck (**42**), a neck which turns in a straight diagonal line outward toward the rim, a neck which has a straight diagonal turn inward toward the rim (**43**) or a neck which is concave with an outward turned rim (**41**). Some of these vessels have a curve at the junction of the body and a flat button base (**43**) and they may have a projecting knob on the inner base (**41**). An impressed line (**40**) or a projecting line (**41**) may encircle the junction of the shoulder and neck.

40
Fig. 4 J XXXII
W., 0.135; H., 0.190; D. rim, 0.080; D. base, 0.040 m.
Buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

41
Fig. 4 K XXVI
W., 0.110; H., 0.180; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.036 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

42
Fig. 4 J XXVIII
W., 0.085; H., 0.135; D. rim, 0.065; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; greenish buff slip

43
Fig. 4 I XXXIII
W., 0.090; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.055; D. base, 0.030 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; greenish buff slip

TYPE XI (44 - 54)

Type XI includes jars and chalices with a rather long neck and a body which may be globular (**48**) or oval (**50**). The oval body may be particularly narrow with a very tall neck (**52**, **54**). Some vessels have a strong curve at the junction of shoulder and neck and of body and base (**47**). The long neck may be vertical, slightly diagonal outward (**50**) or vertical and turned outward near the rim (**46**). The body may turn to the base in a gentle curve or with a sharper angle (**51**) which gives a more distinctive profile to the vessel. There is a flat or occasionally concave button base (**50**) and on the inner base there may be a projecting knob (**45**) or a cavity (**48**). The outer surface may be rather uneven. The inside surface is usually smooth, but a few examples have projecting bands due to careless workmanship (**46**). Some vessels are decorated with projecting parallel lines around the shoulder (**51**) and others have impressed or incised lines (**50**).

44
Fig. 5 P XXXII
W., 0.100; H., 0.180; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.028 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

45
Fig. 5 J XXXIV
W., 0.105; H., 0.170; D. rim, 0.065; D. base, 0.035 m.
Non-compact buff ware, grit and straw temper

46
Fig. 5 J XXXIII
W., 0.090; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.065; D. base, 0.040 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

47
Fig. 5 K XXXIV
W., 0.092; H., 0.155; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.035 m.
Non-compact buff ware, grit and straw temper

48
Fig. 5 L XXVIII
W., 0.100; H., 0.145; D. rim, 0.065; D. base, 0.040 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; light greenish (?) slip

49
Fig. 5 C XX
W., 0.090; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.035 m.
Buff ware, grit temper

50
Fig. 5 K XXX
W., 0.070; H., 0.140; D. rim, 0.045; D. base, 0.030 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; greenish buff slip

51
Fig. 5 G XX
W., 0.065; H., 0.115; D. rim, 0.035; D. base, 0.020 m.
Orange buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

52
Fig. 5 J XXXIV
W., 0.070; H., 0.180; D. rim, 0.064; D. base, 0.032 m.
Red ware, grit temper; greenish buff slip

53
Plate 23; Fig. 5 B XX
W., 0.072; H., 0.180; D. rim, 0.068; D. base, 0.036 m.
Red ware, grit temper; greenish buff slip

54
Fig. 5 I XXVIII
W., 0.068; H., 0.164; D. rim, 0.054; D. base, 0.022 m.
Red ware, grit temper; brown buff slip

TYPE XII (55 - 63)

Type XII includes some of the most beautifully proportioned pottery vessels found at Haft Tepe, with a smoothly curving oval (**55**) or in some cases spherical (**61**) body, a wide neck and a button base (**63**). In some examples the neck is vertical (**55**) while in others it is diagonal, flaring outward toward the rim (**61**), or slightly concave with an outward turned rim (**62**). The junction of neck and shoulder may be curving or angular (**61**). The button base joins the body in a gentle (**61**) or more pronounced curve (**56**). Some vessels have a projecting knob on the inner base (**61**) while in others the inner base is concave (**57**). The inner surface may be smooth (**60**) or ribbed (**58**). Some vessels of this type are decorated at the neck by parallel projecting bands (**57**).

55
Fig. 5 E XIX
W., 0.085; H., 0.200; D. rim, 0.048; D. base, 0.028 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

56
Fig. 5 H XVIII
W., 0.110; H., 0.160; D. rim, 0.055; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

57
Fig. 5 L XXVIII
W., 0.110; H., 0.140; D. rim, 0.080; D. base, 0.040 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

58
Fig. 5 J XXV
W., 0.100; H., 0.140; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

59
Fig. 5 I XXXI
W., 0.100; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.050; D. base, 0.035 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

60
Fig. 5 H XX
W., 0.090; H., 0.130; D. rim, 0.055; D. base, 0.030 m.
Pink buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

61
Fig. 5 T XXXIV
W., 0.090; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.050; D. base, 0.035 m.
Buff ware, grit temper

62
Fig. 5 U XXXIII
W., 0.080; H., 0.160; D. rim, 0.045; D. base, 0.030 m.
Buff ware, grit temper

63
Plate 23 J XXXIV
W., 0.105; H., 0.210; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.035 m.
Pink buff ware

*TYPE XIII (**64 - 68**)*

Type XIII includes rather tall jars with a large body and a very small base which makes it difficult and in some cases impossible for them to stand upright. When these vessels were found many had broken pieces of clay securing the mouth with seal impressions on one side and traces of cord on the other. Apparently cord was first wrapped around the mouth of the vessel which was then covered with clay and impressed with a seal one or more times. These large vessels were used as containers in which to transport material important enough that the sender placed it inside the jar, wrapped and sealed the mouth and stamped it with his seal, as a sealed envelope or parcel is sent today. Most of these vessels were found in trash dumps along with broken pieces of clay containing seal impressions. When the jar or container reached its destination, the recipient would break open the impressed clay stopping of the mouth to take out the contents, discarding the pieces of broken clay and the container vessel. Today these broken pieces of clay with their seal impressions are very useful in precisely identifying the strata in which they are found.

The jars of Type XIII have a rather smooth surface on some examples (**64**) and an uneven surface on others (**66**). The neck may be straight (**68**), diagonal with an outward rim (**65**) or concave with an outward rim (**64**). The junction between neck and shoulder and between body and button base may be angular (**64**). The sides of the button base are curved on some examples (**67**) and angular on others (**66**). The inner surface of the vessel may be smooth (**68**) or have a ribbing of parallel impressed bands (**67**). There may be a projecting knob on the inner base (**64**) or a cavity (**65**). The junction of neck and shoulder may be decorated with parallel projecting bands (**64**) or with a parallel impressed band of one (**67**) or more (**65**) lines.

64
Fig. 6 I XXVII
W., 0.160; H., 0.430; D. rim, 0.115; D. base, 0.060 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; green buff slip

65
Fig. 6 I XXVII
W., 0.140; H., 0.380; D. rim, 0.125; D. base, 0.035 m.
Brown buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

66
Fig. 6 J XXXIV
W., 0.140; H., 0.340; D. rim, 0.085; D. base, 0.035 m.
Green buff ware, grit and sand temper; buff slip

67
Fig. 6 J XXXIV
W., 0.125; H., 0.320; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.40 m.
Green buff ware, grit and sand temper

68
Fig. 6 I XXVII
W., 0.145; H., 0.310; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; green buff slip

*TYPE XIV (**69 - 74**)*

Type XIV, like Type XIII, includes vessels which were used as containers, but these have a larger body and a more globular shape with a stronger curve near the shoulder or base (**74**). In some examples the degree of curvature is less (**69**) and in others more (**70**). The sides of some vessels are almost vertical with a slight enlargement of the vessel toward the top (**73**) while in one example the lower part of the body is particularly large (**71**). The neck may be straight (**71**) or concave with an outward rim (**70**). The junction of shoulder and neck is angular in some examples (**71**) and curved in others (**73**). All the jars of this type have a flat button base, and in some examples there is a projecting knob in the middle of the inner base (**73**) while in others there is a cavity (**69**). The inner surface may be smooth (**72**) or ribbed with parallel projecting bands (**70**).

69
Fig. 7 J XXXIII
W., 0.180; H., 0.360; D. rim, 0.085; D. base, 0.035 m.
Buff ware, grit and sand temper; buff slip

70
Fig. 7 I XXVII
W., 0.140; H., 0.280; D. rim, 0.075; D. base, 0.040 m.
Green buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

71
Fig. 7 J XXVII
W., 0.110; H., 0.320; D. rim, 0.045; D. base, 0.030 m.
Green buff ware, grit temper

72
Fig. 7 K XXXIV
W., 0.190; H., 0.270; D. rim, 0.125; D. base, 0.075 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; dark cream slip

73
Fig. 7 H XXXIII
W., 0.130; H., 0.290; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.045 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; dark cream slip

74
Plate 23 I XXVII
W., 0.155; H., 0.430; D. rim, 0.080; D. base, 0.040 m.
Yellowish buff ware

JARS WITH A FLAT BASE

TYPE XV (**75, 76**)

Type XV, of which only a limited number were found, includes small jars with a flat base. They have a globular body and a neck which is sometimes vertical (**76**) and sometimes slightly diagonal outward toward the rim (**75**). The junction between shoulder and neck is almost angular and may be decorated by a simple incised line (**76**). The body may turn to the flat base in a curved edge (**75**) or in a more angular convex line (**76**). The outer and inner surfaces are smooth.

75
Fig. 8 J XXXII
W., 0.110; H., 0.140; D. rim, 0.065; D. base, 0.050 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

76
Fig. 8 K XXXI
W., 0.060; H., 0.085; D. rim, 0.035; D. base, 0.030 m.
Buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

TYPE XVI (**77 - 84**)

Type XVI includes pottery jars with a large open mouth and flat base (**84**). Most of these vessels have a straight body which may enlarge toward the upper (**77**) or lower (**82**) body with some carination at the shoulder and near the base. In some vessels this carination is rather angular (**81**) and in others curved (**80**). The neck usually has a concave curve with an outward turned rim and the junction of shoulder and neck is also curved. The vessel may have an angular (**81**) or curved (**80**) edge at the flat base. The inner surface may be smooth (**83**) or ribbed with parallel projecting bands (**79**). The inner base is often flat (**82**) but exceptions with a projecting knob (**79**) or cavity (**83**) occur. On some vessels parallel impressed lines decorate the surface of the body (**77, 81, 82**).

77
Fig. 8 J XXXIV
W., 0.120; H., 0.160; D. rim, 0.100; D. base, 0.045 m.
Green buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

78
Fig. 8 K XXX
W., 0.120; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.095; D. base, 0.050 m.
Green buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

79
Fig. 8 J XXXIV
W., 0.120; H., 0.145; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.045 m.
Dark buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

80
Fig. 8 I XXXIII
W., 0.125; H., 0.160; D. base, 0.045 m.
Red buff ware, grit and sand temper; buff slip

81
Fig. 8 P XXXII
W., 0.115; H., 0.150; D. base, 0.050 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

82
Fig. 8 K XXIX
W., 0.100; H., 0.150; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.045 m.
Green buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

83
Fig. 8 F XX
W., 0.065; H., 0.110; D. base, 0.030

84
Plate 23 I XXXIV
W., 0.120; H., 0.200; D. rim, 0.100; D. base, 0.060 m.
Green buff ware

BOWLS

TYPE XVII (**85 - 87**)

Type XVII includes open mouth bowls which vary in size and height. Only a few examples were found. Apparently they are not a common pottery type of this period, and it is possible that they were transferred accidentally to Haft Tepe from some other location. The body wall of these bowls is diagonal, spreading outward toward the rim and joining the flat base in a gentle curve. On some examples the junction of body and base is angular (**86**) while others have a projecting edge at this junction (**87**). The shape of one of these vessels is rather characteristic of an older type of pottery. It is a bevel rim bowl with a flat base similar to the bevel rim bowls of the Protoliterate period (**85**).

85
Fig. 8 H XXI
H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.160; D. base, 0.080 m.
Brownish gray ware, grit temper

86
Fig. 8 K XXVII
H., 0.090; D. rim, 0.160; D. base, 0.065 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper

87
Fig. 8 J XXXIII
H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.140; D. base, 0.060 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper

TYPE XVIII (**88 - 93**)

Type XVIII includes rather small chalice-like vessels with a small button base, curving body and very open mouth, which could have been used either as a lid or reversed to make a small saucer or plate (**93**). Some examples have an inward rim (**90**) while others have an outward rim (**88**). These vessels are rather thin and elegant and, assuming a function as a saucer, would have a rather fine concave button base which may be shorter (**89**) or taller (**92**). Although the body is usually very thin (**88**), exceptions with a thick body (**91**) are also found. The fact that only a limited number of vessels of this type were found in the excavation may point to the likelihood of their use as a separate small saucer, rather than as a lid.

88
Fig. 9 D XIX
H., 0.040; D. rim, 0.095; D. base, 0.020 m.
Buff ware, sand temper; wet smoothed

89
Fig. 9 H XVIII
H., 0.040; D. rim, 0.090; D. base, 0.020 m.
Buff ware, sand temper; wet smoothed

90
Fig. 9 K XXIX
H., 0.040; D. rim, 0.080; D. base, 0.025 m.
Buff ware, sand temper; wet smoothed

91
Fig. 9 P XXXI
H., 0.035; D. rim, 0.050; D. base, 0.015 m.
Buff ware, sand temper; wet smoothed

92
Fig. 9 H XXXI
H., 0.035; D. rim, 0.050; D. base, 0.015 m.
Buff ware, sand temper; wet smoothed

93
Plate 23 K XXIX
H., 0.045; D. rim, 0.102
Pink buff ware

TYPE XIX (**94 - 98**)

Type XIX includes rather deep small bowls with a flat button base. Some examples have a straight diagonal body, flaring outward toward the rim (**95**), while others have a convex body (**94**). The walls have an even thickness throughout from base to rim. The vessel may have a definite button base (**96**) or it may have a base which is concave with diagonal sides (**97**), slightly different from the normal button base. The inner surface is ribbed with undulating parallel bands (**95**) and there may be a projecting knob in the middle of the inner base (**95, 97, 98**).

94
Fig. 9 E XVII
W., 0.105; H., 0.140; D. base, 0.045 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

95
Fig. 9 A XXII
W., 0.120; H., 0.140; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; light cream slip

96
Fig. 9 P XXIX
H., 0.100; D. base, 0.035 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

97
Fig. 9 H XXX
W., 0.060; H., 0.055; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.040 m.
Dark buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

98
Fig. 9 O XXXIV
H., 0.060; D. base, 0.040 m.
Green buff ware, grit and sand temper

TYPE XX (**99 - 102**)

Type XX includes small deep bowls made in a simple common shape, proportionately much taller than their diameter (**102**). The side walls are usually diagonal with a gradual increase in the diameter of the vessel toward the rim (**99**) which may be bent outward (**101**). The vessels have a flat button base with a cavity in the center of the inner base (**99-101**). The inner surface is usually smooth, but one example has a projecting band near the base (**101**).

99
Fig. 9 I XXVIII
W., 0.070; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.030 m.
Red buff ware, grit and sand temper; wet smoothed

100
Fig. 9 O XXVIII
W., 0.065; H., 0.085; D. rim, 0.065; D. base, 0.025 m.
Red buff ware, grit and sand temper; wet smoothed

101
Fig. 9 J XXV
W., 0.070; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.030 m.
Buff ware, some straw; wet smoothed

102
Plate 23 K XXVIII
H., 0.108; D. rim, 0.070; D. base, 0.030 m.
Buff ware

*TYPE XXI (***103 - 105***)*

Type XXI includes small bowls with concave sides, an outward turned rim and a rounded base. The walls may have an even thickness or the base may be much thicker (**105**). In one vessel decorative bands of parallel straight lines encircle the bowl at the rim and near the base (**103**).

103
Fig. 9 C XIX
W., 0.070; H., 0.055; D. rim, 0.070 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

104
Fig. 9 T XXXV
W., 0.055; H., 0.050; D. rim, 0.065 m.
Brown buff ware, some straw; cream slip

105
Fig. 9 K XXVI
W., 0.060; H., 0.048; D. rim, 0.058 m.
Brown buff ware, some straw; cream slip

*TYPE XXII (***106 - 108***)*

Type XXII includes small vessels with a barrel shaped body, which varies in size, and a flat base. The body may be more oval (**108**) or more globular (**107**). The walls may be almost even throughout (**106**) or thicker at the shoulder (**108**) and the rim may be flat (**108**) or the inner edge of the rim may slant inward (**106, 107**). In one example the outline of the body is concave-convex near the base, adding to the beauty of the vessel (**106**). An incised straight line encircles the rim of one vessel (**108**).

106
Fig. 9 G XXXIV
W., 0.080; H., 0.082; D. rim, 0.055; D. base, 0.030 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

107
Fig. 9 J XXIV
W., 0.078; H., 0.072; D. rim, 0.045; D. base, 0.026 m.
Gray buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

108
Fig. 9 L XXVIII
W., 0.068; H., 0.075; D. rim, 0.045; D. base, 0.025 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

*TYPE XXIII (***109 - 114***)*

Type XXIII includes common bowls with a round body and a flat base (**114**), which may be of almost even thickness throughout (**110**), thicker near the base (**109**), or much thinner near the rim (**112**). The walls may follow the line of the body to the rim (**111**) or they may turn inward at the rim (**109, 110**). The junction of body and base may have a gentle curve (**110, 112**) or there may be a projecting curved band (**109, 113**). The inner surface is usually smooth (**110, 113**) but exceptions with an undulating surface occur (**112**). There is usually a slight projection at the center of the inner base (**109, 110**).

109
Fig. 10 I XX
W., 0.140; H., 0.090; D. rim, 0.140; D. base, 0.068 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

110
Fig. 10 F XVIII
W., 0.105; H., 0.068; D. rim, 0.105; D. base, 0.037 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

111
Fig. 10 J XXV
W., 0.080; H., 0.070; D. rim, 0.080; D. base, 0.030 m.
Brown buff ware, grit and some straw temper; buff slip

112
Fig. 10 O XXXI
W., 0.140; H., 0.100; D. rim, 0.140; D. base, 0.060 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

113
Fig. 10 P XXIX
W., 0.150; H., 0.110; D. rim, 0.150; D. base, 0.065 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

114
Plate 23 J XXXIV
H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.145; D. base 0.058 m.
Yellow buff ware

*TYPE XXIV (***115 - 121***)*

Type XXIV includes bowls with diagonal side walls, a large wide open mouth, and a flat base. In some examples the side walls are in a straight diagonal line (**115**), while in others there is a slight curve (**117, 118**). The rim is often a continuation of the side walls (**116**) or it may be slightly turned inward (**117**). The thickness of the walls may be equal throughout (**120**), thinner near the rim (**117**), or noticeably thicker near the base (**115**). The body turns to the flat base in a gentle curve, while in the inner base there may be a slight cavity (**119**) or a projection (**120**). On some examples undulation is noticeable on the inner surface near the base (**118**).

115
Fig. 10 K XXVII
W., 0.200; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.200; D. base, 0.065 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; hard fired

116
Fig. 10 J XXVI
W., 0.180; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.180; D. base, 0.065 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; hard fired

117
Fig. 10 H XX
W., 0.160; H., 0.070; D. rim, 0.160; D. base, 0.062 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; hard fired

118
Fig. 10 J XXXIV
W., 0.145; H., 0.060; D. rim, 0.145; D. base, 0.050 m.
Gray ware, grit temper

119
Fig. 10 L XXVIII
W., 0.140; H., 0.065; D. rim, 0.140; D. base, 0.050 m.
Gray ware, grit temper

120
Fig. 10 Q XXXIII
W., 0.135; H., 0.070; D. rim, 0.135; D. base, 0.050 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

121
Fig. 10 P XXXIV
W., 0.105; H., 0.050; D. rim, 0.105; D. base, 0.050 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

TYPE XXV (**122 - 133**)

Type XXV includes common simple bowls with a slightly convex body (**125**) which may be of equal thickness throughout (**122**) or thicker toward the bottom (**128**). The rim may be a continuation of the side walls (**131**), turned inward (top of the side wall **129**) or decorated with a projecting band on the inner part (**132**). The body often turns to the base in a gentle curve (**127**) but sometimes it is more angular (**131**). The outer base is often flat, but some undulation may appear on the inner base (**127**). The outer surface may be smooth (**124**), undulated (**123**) or decorated with simple parallel incised lines (**122**). The inner surface may be even (**125**) or sometimes undulated (**130**).

122
Fig. 11 V XXXIV
W., 0.160; H., 0.095; D. rim, 0.150; D. base, 0.070 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

123
Fig. 11 U XXXIII
W., 0.145; H., 0.075; D. rim, 0.140; D. base, 0.050 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

124
Fig. 11 I XXX
W., 0.130; H., 0.085; D. rim, 0.125; D. base, 0.060 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

125
Fig. 11 D XIX
W., 0.140; H., 0.060; D. rim, 0.135; D. base, 0.050 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

126
Fig. 11 F XVII
W., 0.130; H., 0.072; D. rim, 0.125; D. base, 0.050 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

127
Fig. 11 C XIX
W., 0.135; H., 0.065; D. base, 0.055 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

128
Fig. 11 H XXX
W., 0.100; H., 0.050; D. rim, 0.095; D. base, 0.045 m.
Brown buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

129
Fig. 11 2M XXVII
W., 0.095; H., 0.050; D. rim, 0.090; D. base, 0.040 m.
Brown buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

130
Fig. 11 P XXX
W., 0.103; H., 0.048; D. rim, 0.100; D. base, 0.045 m.
Buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

131
Fig. 11 K XXIX
W., 0.100; H., 0.050; D. rim, 0.098; D. base, 0.045 m.
Green buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

132
Fig. 11 R XXXIV
W., 0.085; H., 0.055; D. rim, 0.080; D. base, 0.040 m.
Green buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip

133
Plate 23 I XXXIV
H., 0.040; D. rim, 0.085; D. base, 0.035 m.
Buff ware

TYPE XXVI (**134 - 138**)

Type XXVI includes pottery bowls with a noticeable outward flare of the upper part of the body and a flat base. The rim is usually turned outward in varying degrees (**134, 135**). The body turns to the flat base in a gentle curve. The inner surface may be smooth (**137**) or undulated (**134**) and the inner base may have a projecting knob in the center (**138**).

134
Fig. 11 J XXXIV
W., 0.120; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.120; D. base, 0.052 m.
Brown buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

135
Fig. 11 K XXX
W., 0.110; H., 0.070; D. rim, 0.105; D. base, 0.050 m.
Buff ware, grit and sand temper; cream slip

136
Fig. 11 I XXVIII
W., 0.125; H., 0.072; D. rim, 0.120; D. base, 0.053 m.
Buff ware, grit and sand temper; cream slip

137
Fig. 11 O XXXII
W., 0.100; H., 0.050; D. rim, 0.097; D. base, 0.040 m.
Gray ware, grit temper

138
Fig. 11 V XXXIII
W., 0.100; H., 0.052; D. rim, 0.092; D. base, 0.040 m.
Gray ware, grit and straw temper

TYPE XXVII (**139 - 145**)

Type XXVII includes larger bowls with diagonal walls and a flat base. The walls are not of even thickness, but often thicker near the lower part of the base (**140, 141**). The rim may be quite simple (**142**), curved beveled (**143**), or have an additional projecting band (**139**). The body may turn to the base in a gentle curve (**139, 144**) or in a more angular shape (**140, 141**). Some undulation can be seen on the inner base (**140, 141**). One not very large bowl of this type has a pouring spout at the rim.

139
Fig. 12 K XXX
W., 0.190; H., 0.130; D. rim, 0.180; D. base, 0.070 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; hard fired

140
Fig. 12 J XXX
W., 0.190; H., 0.085; D. rim, 0.180; D. base, 0.140 m.
Brown buff ware, grit and straw temper; cream slip

141
Fig. 12 K XXVIII
W., 0.170; H., 0.100; D. rim, 0.160; D. base, 0.068 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

142
Fig. 12 J XXVI
W., 0.165; H., 0.060; D. rim, 0.160; D. base, 0.090 m.
Buff ware, grit and straw temper; cream slip

143
Fig. 12 L XXXIII
W., 0.150; H., 0.060; D. rim, 0.140; D. base, 0.100 m.
Buff ware, grit and straw temper; cream slip

144
Fig. 12 M XXXIII
W., 0.088; H., 0.065; D. rim, 0.075; D. base, 0.040 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; green buff slip

145
Fig. 12 J XXV
W., 0.080; H., 0.062; D. rim, 0.075; D. base, 0.035 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; green buff slip

TYPE XXVIII (**146 - 148**)

Type XXVIII includes pottery bowls with more or less vertical side walls and a flat or concave (**146**) base. The walls may be quite straight (**146**) or have a slight convex curve (**147**). The rim may be simple (**148**) or flat with a downward edge (**147**). The body may turn to the base in a curve (**146, 148**) or in an almost angular shape (**147**). The inner base may be undulated (**147**). One vessel in this group is a very small or miniature bowl with a round inner body and base (**148**).

146
Fig. 12 L XXXIV
W., 0.165; H., 0.075 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; hard fired

147
Fig. 12 K XXXIV
W., 0.160; H., 0.090; D. rim, 0.145; D. base, 0.140 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; hard fired

148
Fig. 12 L XXXIV
W., 0.040; H., 0.020; D. rim, 0.035; D. base, 0.035 m.
Brown ware, grit and straw temper; wet smoothed

TYPE XXIX (**149 - 152**)

Type XXIX includes simple deep bowls with rather straight sides and a flat or concave base (**149**). The side walls may be almost vertical (**152**) or have a slightly convex curve (**151**). In some examples the rim is a thick flat horizontal surface (**150, 152**) and in others turns in a downward slant (**149**). The body may turn to the base in a curve or at a greater angle. In one example the base is very thick (**151**).

149
Fig. 12 J XXX
W., 0.090; H., 0.120; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.085 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

150
Fig. 12 E XIX
W., 0.075; H., 0.090; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.087 m.
Brown buff ware, straw and sand temper; wet smoothed

151
Fig. 12 L XXVIII
W., 0.070; H., 0.110; D. rim, 0.056; D. base, 0.060 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; buff slip

152
Fig. 12 N XXXIII
W., 0.072; H., 0.090; D. rim, 0.060; D. base, 0.060 m.
Buff ware, straw and grit temper; wet smoothed

Decorative Pottery Vessels

A second and minor group of pottery vessels includes rare and unusual shapes which were found in very limited numbers. Most of them seem to have a decorative purpose, and a number are very small or miniature in size.

PAINTED POTTERY

Only a few examples of painted pottery vessels were found, all of them rather crudely made in comparison with the beautiful prehistoric painted pottery of the fifth and fourth millennia B.C. These painted pottery vessels of Haft Tepe occur in a variety of shapes and have very simple geometric designs which are not very carefully made. All of these pots are broken and most are incomplete.

153 Globular Vessel
Fig. 13 L XXVIII
W., 0.090 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; pink buff slip, red brick paint

This globular vessel, of which the lower part is broken and missing, has a very short narrow neck. Concentric brick red bands encircle the vessel at the shoulder.

154 Painted Jar
Fig. 13 I XXXIV
W., 0.090; H., 0.120; D. base, 0.035 m.
Buff ware, straw and grit temper; buff washed slip, dark brown paint

This oval jar with a flat projecting ring base and slightly convex vertical neck has an almost even curvature of body from top to bottom. A wide dark brown band of paint encircles the lower part of the neck and the upper part of the shoulder, with, below it, narrower concentric bands. None of these bands is carefully drawn and the unevenness is noticeable.

155 Painted Pot
Fig. 13 K XXIX
D. rim, 0.120 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; pink buff slip, brown paint

The upper part of this vessel has been assembled from several broken pieces, revealing a globular pot with a short concave neck and outward rim thickening at the edge. The vessel can be held by flat vertically projecting pierced knobs at the shoulder, of which only one remains. A reddish brown band encircles the neck below the rim, while a wider band covers the lower part of the neck and the upper part of the shoulder. Below this are two parallel bands of crosses encircling the shoulder, bordered below by two plain parallel bands.

156 Painted Pot
Fig. 13 J XXIX
W., 0.160; H., 0.190; D. rim, 0.100 m.
Red buff ware, grit temper; pink buff slip, brown paint

This vessel, which is largely complete, is a globular pot with a concave neck turned outward at the rim and a flat base. Two pierced suspension knobs are located opposite each other at the shoulder. Two parallel bands cover the junction of neck and shoulder, bordering a decorative parallel zigzag band around the shoulder. Below this zigzag band are two plain bands around the body of the pot.

157 Painted Bowl
Fig. 13 H.T. B
H., 0.190; D. rim, 0.210; D. base, 0.080 m.
Brown buff ware, grit and straw temper; buff slip, dark gray paint

This large deep bowl, which was found at H.T. B mound, is nearly complete with only a few pieces missing around the rim. It has curved convex sides extending to an outward thin rim and a ring base. A dark gray band surrounds the inner side of the rim, while a more decorative band encircles the outside of the bowl below the rim, formed of two rows of opposing triangles bordered above and below by plain bands. The lower half of the bowl is painted solid dark gray.

DECORATIVE SMALL VESSELS

A few small decorative vessels in unique shapes were found which probably were used for small quantities of valuable substances such as perfume or other cosmetics.

158 Small Cosmetic Jar
Fig. 13 E XIX
W., 0.070; H., 0.120; D. rim, 0.028 m.
White buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

This complete small jar has an oval body with a sharp curve at the middle and a pointed base. It is made of a whitish substance, possibly a mixture of lime or gypsum, and has a light buff or nearly white slip. An angular bend at the shoulder accentuates its graceful shape.

159 Small Cosmetic Jar
Plate 23; Fig. 13 H XX or F XVII
W., 0.045; H., 0.090; D. rim, 0.032; D. base, 0.020 m.
White buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

This small cosmetic jar, carinated at the lower part of the body, has a wide flat rim and flat base. It is made from a whitish substance, possibly gypsum or lime mixed with clay.

160 Small Cosmetic Jar
Fig. 13 I XXX
W., 0.045; H., 0.085; D. rim, 0.030; D. base, 0.020 m.
White buff ware, grit temper; light buff slip

This small jar is very similar to **159**, and is made from a similar material. However, the carination of the body is positioned higher than in that vessel.

161 Globular Cosmetic Jar
Fig. 13 L XXVIII
W., 0.090; H., 0.100; D. rim, 0.035 m.
Friable, brownish gray ware, grit and straw temper; burnished interior and exterior

This small jar has a globular body, a narrow short neck with an outturned rim, and a rounded base. The pottery is brownish gray with a somewhat coarse texture and is rather friable.

162 Oval Jar with Suspension Knobs
Plate 23; Fig. 13 I XXXIV
W., 0.090; H., 0.120; D. rim, 0.035; D. base, 0.020 m.
Brown buff ware, grit temper; cream slip

This small oval jar has a very small base and diagonal inward slanting neck of which the upper part is broken and missing. Two pierced knobs are located opposite each other at the shoulder. This is a very unusual shape for the Haft Tepe pottery.

163 Pot with High Relief Decoration
Plate 23 I XXXIV
No measurements available
Brownish buff ware

Only part of the shoulder, short neck, and bevel rim of this large pot remains. Parallel lines of impressed designs decorate the vessel below the junction of neck and shoulder and around the shoulder. On the shoulder is a relief design of a bird with open wings which may have been repeated around the body of the vessel. This stylized bird design is most unusual on the Haft Tepe pottery.

164 Tall Chalice
Plate 23; Fig. 13 I XXXIII or I XXXIV
H., 0.090; D. rim, 0.060; D. base 0.050 m.
Red buff ware, grit and sand temper; cream slip

This tall chalice has a rather thick solid stem and a flat base with a cavity in the center. The profile of the vessel has an elongated S shape.

165 Small Pot
Plate 23; Fig. 13 B XX
W., 0.075; H., 0.080; D. rim, 0.047; D. base, 0.030 m.
Green buff ware

This small pot has an onion-shaped body with a short outward slanting neck, a flat shoulder, and a narrow high base. This is a rare shape at Haft Tepe.

166 Vessel with Decorative Stem
Plate 23; Fig. 13 J XXXIV
D. base, 0.060 m.
Red buff ware

This vessel has remaining only a decorative stem and a small amount of the bowl. The base is flat and the tall stem has a parallel horizontal rib decoration.

VI

Statues and Figurines

Clay Human Statue Heads

Figurines and statue heads of various types, materials, sizes, and workmanship were found at Haft Tepe.

Two large portrait heads and a mask were found in the artist's workshop on the eastern side of Terrace Complex I (Plan 5) in association with many other beautifully made and crafted objects. Included are the portrait head of a man, possibly King Tepti Ahar (**167**), the portrait head of a woman who may be his queen (**169**), and a mask of a man (**168**), possibly also Tepti Ahar since the facial features of the mask are similar to those of the male head.

167 Male Clay Statue Head
Plate 24; Frontispiece M XXXIII
H., 0.280; circumference of neck, 0.360 m.

This solid clay statue head was found in the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I. The head is made of a very fine soft brick red clay which has a smooth plasticity. Some oil or natural bitumen may have been added to the clay to help produce the smooth texture. After modeling and before painting the portrait head may have been exposed slightly to heat to strengthen and solidify it. If this was done, the heat was very low and affected only the surface, with the inner clay remaining unfired. After the surface was burnished and polished, it was inlaid with additional materials and painted. Because the head was underground in moist surroundings for such a long time, the lower part of the face and chin have become deformed, losing a little of the original symmetry. The head when discovered contained a number of cracks and scratches which have been filled and restored with lighter colored clay which also was used to repair some parts. After this the head was resolidified by injecting glue.

This portrait head shows a man with a round full face with his hair pulled back under an elaborate forehead band. He has a cleft chin and a medium-sized mouth with a long, thick upper lip and thinner lower lip. His nose is large, straight, and prominent. His eyes are oval and pointed at the outer ends. In the center they are covered by a thick white material like gypsum which is decayed in some parts, and the pupil is round and black. Long crescent shaped eyebrows extend across the forehead. The ears are covered by the elaborate arrangement of hair. Long earlocks frame the face, and the rest of the hair, carefully detailed with parallel wavy lines, is swept back in a chignon ending in a braided tail at the nape. The hair is held in place by a semi-cap formed of a band which crosses the forehead and joins another band covering the top of the head. These bands are adorned with projecting circular bosses with concentric impressed circles, which originally were covered by bronze buttons, several of which were found *in situ*. Very short straight vertical lines edge the head bands.

The neck is encircled by a wide necklace formed of four parallel rounded bands each of which is divided into many sections by sets of three parallel vertical lines. Some of these sections are covered by three parallel horizontal lines and some are plain. The lower end of the neck is smoothly finished. In the center of the neck is a round hole by which the head could be mounted on the body of the statue or on a stand. No trace of a statue body was found in the vicinity of the

artist's workshop where the head was uncovered, nor has it turned up in many seasons of work in the area of Terrace Complex I, and it seems most likely that the head was meant to be separately mounted on some sort of stand or support.

In the decoration of this statue head various colors of paint were used. The entire surface of the head is covered by a brownish substance. A heavy coat of gypsum fills the white part of the eyes and the pupils are painted black, as is the hair. The head bands are painted a light brown, like the color of leather, and around the projecting bosses is a thick bluish substance.

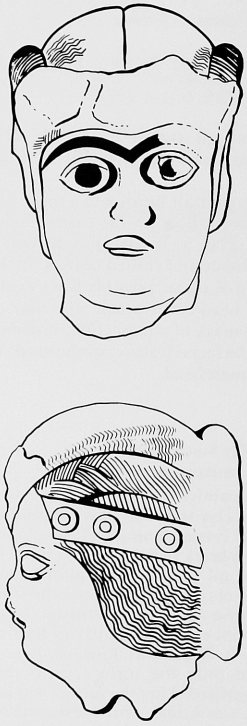
168 Male Clay Mask
Plate 24; Color Plate 3A; Ill. 1 M XXXIII
W., 0.150; H., 0.200; Th., 0.010 m.

This clay mask was found in the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I. It is made of very well mixed fine clay, the same material used for the statue head already described (**167**). The style and workmanship of this clay mask is very similar to that of the statue head which was found in the same area, and the general appearance of the face of the mask is also very similar to that of the statue head. Possibly both are portraits of the same man, King Tepti Ahar, who was responsible for the building of the monumental architectural remains of Haft Tepe.

Ill. 1

The mask covers the entire face from the middle of the forehead to the top of the neck and to the temples on each side. The face shown is rather plump and smooth with no wrinkles to indicate age. The small round chin has a dimple and a slight cleft. The mouth is rather small with a long upper lip and a shorter, plumper lower lip. The nose is large with a strong straight line. The eyes are almond shaped with elongated pointed ends, and the area around the eyes is covered by a filling band of a white substance, while traces of black pigment can be seen in the center of the eyes. Projecting crescent eyebrows almost connect at the bridge of the nose. A wide flat projecting border surrounds the mask on the sides and across the top where it repeats the crescent shape of the eyebrows.

The back of the mask is smooth and concave. Three holes are almost equally spaced along each side through which cords could be strung for fastening the mask. Since there are no eyeholes, the mask would seem either to have been used as a funerary mask, or exhibited on a stand or similar support. The wide finished border makes it unlikely that it was part of a complete head.



Ill. 2

169 Female Clay Statue Head
Plate 24; Ill. 2[1] L XXXIII
W., 0.180; H., 0.240; circumference of neck, 0.360 m.

This female clay statue head was found in the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I. Because of earth pressure the face is broken a little in the area of the nose where a few small pieces are missing, and the lower lip is somewhat deformed. Since the head was not badly damaged, no repair or restoration has been done except for some glue injection to strengthen the head and solidify the surface.

The face is rather round and fleshy. The small round chin has a dimple in the center. The mouth is small with the upper lip thicker than the lower lip which is slightly deformed. The nose is damaged. The large eyes are almond shaped, extending to points at the outside. The white of the eye is covered by a thick coat of gypsum, while the central pupil is painted black. The eyebrows are elongated connected crescents. The hair, which is very elaborately arranged, covers the ears and is held in place by a forehead band. It is parted in the middle with symmetrical waves indicated by parallel lines on each side. A thick braid of hair extends back from under the forehead band at each side of the temple while a wavy fall of hair at each side covers the ears. The wide forehead band, something like a tiara, contains traces of a very thick blue substance which originally covered it. Spaced at intervals on the band are circular bosses painted white with a round black core. Only a little of the upper neck is included, now slightly broken and cracked but ending in a well finished flat base with a round hole in the center by which the head could be mounted.

The back of the head is flat, with no detail of the hair as on the male head (**167**), seeming to indicate that the female head was intended to be placed against a wall or stand where the back would not be seen. On this flat back a piece of reed about 0.15 m. long is cemented, and there are several holes by which something could have been attached.

Molded Baked Clay Human Figurines

Baked clay human figurines, both male and female, single or in pairs, some of them musicians playing their instruments, were found in considerable numbers. They had been made in a mold and then fired in a kiln. In the excavation of Haft Tepe we have not yet found any of these molds, but the workmanship makes it clear that they were mold manufactured. These figurines are all broken with parts missing. From the many hundreds of these broken figurines found, we were not able to assemble a single whole figurine. It seems most likely that these figurines were brought to the temple where in some ritual they were sacrificed and broken, with one piece left at the temple and the other taken away. Similar practices are still carried out in Iran.[2] Certainly our inability to make one complete figurine from the many broken pieces indicates that they must have been broken for a particular reason and part of the broken figurine taken away.

MALE FIGURINES

The male figurines are usually rather coarsely and crudely made with little care given to details (in contrast to the female figurines which are much more carefully and expressively made). These male figurines appear in a variety of forms of which a few examples will be described.

170 Male Figurine
Plate 25 N XXVIII
W., 0.060; H., 0.085 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

A broken male figurine was found in the passageway between the Northwestern and Southern Courtyards of Terrace Complex I. It consists of the upper torso of a man. The face is round with a short small nose and a depression for the mouth. The eyes are projecting disks which seem to have been separately made and added. The eyebrows are well distinguished in the general projection of the forehead. The ears, directed forward in uplifted points rather like the ears of an animal, are positioned very high. A rounded band encircles the neck, representing a scarf or other decoration. An impressed line separates the base of the neck from the body, and apparently the head and body were separately made and joined here. The arms extend in a circular curve toward the front of the body, each arm ending in a hand of a different unusual shape. The right arm ends in a circular pointed hand while the left arm ends in a flat, almost rectangular hand. The figurine is broken off above the waist.

---

1. Drawing by Miss Lili Taghipour.
2. Even today in some religious shrines in Iran pilgrims bring a lock and key. At the shrine they leave the lock, representing their wish, and take away the key, often keeping it until the wish is granted after which they throw away the key wherever they happen to be. A similar custom may have been practiced at Haft Tepe. The figurine was broken and one part left at the temple while the other was taken away until the wish was granted. When these figurines are found in residential areas they can often be reassembled even if they are in several pieces, in contrast to the situation at the religious center.

171 Male Figurine
Plate 25 C XXI
Max. W., 0.072; H., 0.060 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

A male figurine, broken and incomplete, was found in the passageway at the eastern side of the Tomb-Temple Complex. The upper part of the chest and shoulders with the head and neck are all that remain of this highly stylized figure. The head and neck together are conical, the head being an extension of the neck with a vertical projection in the middle of the face apparently representing nose, mouth, and chin together. Circular disk-shaped eyes were separately made and added. The conical head and neck continue to the very broad shoulders which extend to stretched out elbows. The overall stylized character of the figurine with the position of the elbows bent out and hands reaching in toward the chest combine to give an impression of strong physical power to this male figurine.

172a-c Male Figurines
Plate 25
Baked yellow buff clay

A number of pieces of male figurines contain only the lower part of the body. They consist of sketchy legs bent outward at the knees, with the male organ down between them.

FEMALE FIGURINES

The female figurines are usually better made than the male figurines, but they also are for the most part broken with parts missing (see **173a-d**), probably for the same reason. Most of the female figurines are nude, with their hands in front of their bodies, clasping their conspicuous breasts (**174**). They seem to represent a goddess of fertility, possibly the goddess Ishtar (**175**).

These nude female figurines have thin lower legs which swell, above the knees, to fat, well developed thighs (**176**). The toes are often clearly shown and some of the figurines stand on a staged pedestal (**177**). Although nude, they often wear decorative jewelry. Some of the figurines have a wide belt encircling the waist, shown by parallel bands of projecting small knobs (**178**), a band of elongated parallel projecting knobs (**179**), or a band of parallel chevrons (**180**). Various types of necklaces may also encircle the neck ending in a large pendant hanging between the breasts (**178 180**). Some of the figurines also have bracelets around their wrists (**181**) or ankles (**177**). The hair may be done in a variety of styles, the most common of which is a pile of hair on top of the head and on the back held in place by a decorative forehead band (**182a-d**). Exceptions to this common style occur, however. In one example the hair is divided down the middle into two bunches which extend down with a curl at the end (**183**).

A few of these female figurines apparently do not represent the fertility goddess since their hands do not clasp their breasts but are joined in front of the body in a dignified manner. One figurine is clothed in a long decorated garment similar to traditional Elamite dress[3] (**184**). This long garment, which covers the breasts and reaches to the ground, has an overall pattern of projecting knobs, similar to fish scale decoration. It falls to the feet in graceful folds, and is bordered by a decorative band of semi-circles, with the edges on each side overlapping.

173a-d Female Figurines
Plate 25
Yellow buff baked clay

174 Female Figurine
Plate 25 L XXX

175 Female Figurine in Molded Technique
Plate 25 L XXX
W., 0.055; H., 0.100 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

176 Female Figurine in Molded Technique
Plate 25 I XXI
W., 0.060; H., 0.112 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

177 Female Figurine Legs
Plate 25
Yellow buff baked clay

178 Female Figurine with Nude Belt Design
Plate 25 I XXVI
W., 0.050; H., 0.060 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

179 Female Figurine with Nude Belt Design
Plate 25 C XXI
W., 0.050; H., 0.060 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

180 Female Figurine with Nude Belt Design
Plate 26 D XX
W., 0.050; H., 0.060 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

181 Female Figurine with Bracelet
Plate 26 I XXVII
W., 0.050; H., 0.085 m.
Yellow buff baked clay

---

3. A somewhat similar garment with fish scale decoration is worn by the Elamite queen on a silver beaker found in the Marv-Dasht plain of Persepolis, dated to the third millennium B.C. (Vanden Berghe 1968b: Fig. 46, pp. 22, 32).

182a-d Female Figurine Heads
Plate 26

183 Female Figurine
Plate 26 H XXXIII
Baked clay

184 Clothed Female Figurine
Plate 26 F XX
W., 0.038; H., 0.060 m.

FIGURINES OF MUSICIANS

Some of the male figurines are musicians. They have the same general composition and workmanship as the other male figurines, and like them are also broken with part missing. These musicians hold a stringed musical instrument apparently similar to the tar or setar which is found in present day Iran (**185a, b**).

185a, b Male Musician Figurines
Plate 26 **a**: H XX
W., 0.060; H., 0.079 m.
b: G XX
W., 0.050; H., 0.035 m.

a: This figurine of a musician is nearly complete, with part of the lower legs missing. He has a round face which is beardless with almost no chin and has a large mouth with a thick upper lip and a short nose. His eyes are oval with thick eyelids. His head is covered by a cap which extends down over his ears, and a rather thick forehead band which extends to the sides. He holds a stringed instrument diagonally across his chest. His lower torso is thin, with legs bent outward at the knee, and the male organ dangling down between them.

b: This figurine is the upper torso of a bearded musician. He has a round face with average nose and lips. His large eyes are oval with pointed ends and above them eyelids and eyebrows are indicated by projecting crescent bands. Prominent large ears stick outward. He has a long wavy broad beard which reaches to his chest. The figure is holding a stringed instrument to his chest with his right hand while the handle which extends diagonally past his shoulder is held in his left hand. Two parallel projecting bands attached to the end of the handle may represent a hanging decoration.

HEADS OF FIGURINES

A large group of fragments consists of the broken off heads of figurines both male and female. They have a variety of hair arrangements, on some similar to a crown.

186a, b Male Figurine Heads
Plate 26 **a:** H XXXIII
W., 0.042; H., 0.035 m.
b: I XXXIII

a: The head of a baby appears above the shoulder of a bearded man wearing a forehead band with a large decorative head in the center.

187 Molded Head Male Figurine
Plate 26 I XXVII
W., 0.060; H., 0.045 m.
Gypsum

This head is flat on the back and seems to have been made in a mold. The chin is broken. The mouth is well pronounced with a clearly indicated mustache above the upper lip. The nose is straight and bony. The eyes are oval with pointed ends, with eyelids indicated by an encircling band. The eyebrows form a projecting band more prominent near the bridge of the nose and tapering out toward the temples. The ears are oval depressions with earlobes slightly projecting. A rather decorative head cover or crown is formed of several thick projecting bands which cover the front of the head including the forehead.

Animal Figurines

A few animal figurines of baked clay were found at Haft Tepe as well as numerous decorative heads made of a variety of materials including bone, stone, ivory, and Egyptian blue.

188 Bull Figurine
Plate 27 O XXI (Abu Fandowa)
L., 0.070; H., 0.080 m.

A well fired solid baked clay figurine of a humped bull is highly stylized, with a round head with circular holes for eyes and a large rounded muzzle. Very thick conical horns spring forward from the forehead. The animal has a strong thick neck with a large conical hump, rounded on top, set at the back of the neck above the shoulder. The body is quite slim and cylindrical, ending in a small rump with a projecting tail knob. The short thick legs are conical, the forelegs pushed forward and the hind legs slanting backward. Overall the front part of the body and hump are much emphasized, characterizing the power and strength of the animal.

The general form of this bull figurine is very similar to the pottery and particularly to the bronze humped bulls found at Marlik Tepe in Gilan province of northern Iran, which show the same stylized form with the exaggeration of the forequarters and hump.[4]

189 Horse Figurine
Plate 27 K XXVIII
A pottery fragment contains part of a horse including the head and upper part of the neck. It has a rather small head, round projecting knob eyes, a narrow long muzzle, and a thick strong neck. Leather reins and harness are indicated by broad projecting bands of parallel short impressed thick lines.

ANIMAL HEADS

The most commonly found animal head at Haft Tepe is a duck head.

190 White Stone Duck Head
Plate 27 L XXXIII
L., 0.039; Max. W., 0.022 m.
White stone, highly polished surface
The beak is straight, with the upper beak rounded at the end and much larger than the lower beak. Above the nostrils an angular band extends to the forehead. Round eyes are formed of a bluish substance set in the center of an inlaid metal ring. A projecting band encircles the neck edge which has a flat finished end. A hole pierces the neck from side to side, probably for fastening the duck head to a handle of some sort. This beautifully made duck head illustrates the high quality of the work of the Haft Tepe craftsmen.

191 Frit Duck Head
Plate 27 M XXXIII
L., 0.045; Max. W., 0.025 m.
Frit
This duck head is not in a good state of preservation. The surface glaze is badly disintegrated and some pieces are missing, particularly at the edge of the beak. The head has smoothly rounded surfaces with no sharp or angular edges. The upper and lower beak are smoothly rounded. The eyes, which are circular holes, may originally have been filled with some material of which no trace remains. Two parallel smooth rings encircle and border the finished flat neck end. A hole pierces the neck from side to side, and another hole is located in the center of the flat neck end.

192 White Stone Connected Double Duck Heads
Plate 27 C XX
L., 0.080; W., 0.025 m.
White stone
An unusual object found at Haft Tepe is this set of double duck heads. The stone surface is very well polished. The heads are nearly symmetrical except for a slight difference in size. Each head is almost triangular with large grooves on each side of the central nose line and an angular flat beak end. The round eyes are formed of an inlaid ring of bronze, now completely corroded, filled in the center with a bluish substance. A smoothly rounded groove encircles the junction of the two heads. The workmanship of these double duck heads is extremely fine.

193 Frit Horse Head
Plate 27 L XXXIII
L., 0.035; Max. W., 0.016 m.
Frit
The surface of the frit is, for the most part, well preserved. The head is long with a rectangular muzzle rather flat at the end. The mouth is also rectangular with upper and lower lips in a gentle curve at each side. At the nostrils is a depression with the edges upraised, and a smooth gentle groove separates the end of the muzzle from the rest of the head. The eyes are almond shaped with a deeper depression near the nose which may have been inlaid with some substance now gone. Short ears point forward from the forehead. A projecting band of muscle surrounds the head, fading out across the forehead. The neck is cylindrical with a flat finished end in which a large hole, about 0.010 m. across, is centered. Holes are also located on both sides of the neck.

194 Ivory Horse Head
Plate 27 M XXXIII
L., 0.035; Max. W., 0.020 m.
Ivory
The well polished ivory has turned a dark brown from the fire which apparently destroyed Terrace Complex I. The various parts of the head are characterized by smooth curves. The horse head has a rather triangular shape with a rounded crescent muzzle, and a sharp edge cut separating the upper and lower lips. The central nose bone is slightly rounded with round holes for nostrils inlaid with a bronze or copper ring. The area around the eyes projects smoothly with a central round hole in which a circular bronze ring is inlaid. The center of this ring may have been filled with some perishable substance. Projecting upward from the forehead are flat triangular ears. The forehead is separated from the muscular neck by a very sharp vertical cut, producing an impression of strength. The rather heavy strong neck is cylindrical with a sharp groove running down the nape from the forehead to the edge of the neck, in which a mane of some perishable material would have been set. The flat finished

4. Negahban 1964: Fig. 91, Pl. XIV, pp. 24-5.

neck end has a large hole, about 0.011 m. across, in the center. There is also a hole on each side of the neck near the finished end.

195 Frit Monkey
Plate 27 U XXXIII
W., 0.030; H., 0.070 m.
Frit

This small frit monkey was found in Terrace Complex II. The surface of this small figurine is very badly disintegrated with parts broken and missing. The various parts of the body are shown by gentle projections and depressions, while the face exhibits more detailed workmanship. The monkey sits with its hands toward its chest. The head is rounded with a projecting forehead below which the eyes are large cavities. The nose is rounded with a large mouth cut out below it.

196a, b Cow Heads
Plate 27 I XXX
Each 0.050 m. long
Bluish substance, possibly Egyptian blue

A pair of cow heads is made from a bluish substance, possibly Egyptian blue. A heavy coat of sediment covers most of the surface and cracks appear on some parts. All of the features are smoothly rounded with no angular projections. Each rounded thick head has a rather large muzzle with a slightly projecting central nose bone on each side of which are nostrils indicated by a projecting circular knob surrounded by a projecting ring. The eyes are round holes with a projecting ring inlaid around a central dark-colored substance. The horns are indicated by open ended circular projecting rings from the top of the head to the nose line. The short necks are edged by angular projecting bands at the finished flat ends in which there is a large central hole. Other holes are located on each side of the neck.

VII

Stone, Metal, and Bone Objects

Stone Objects

Although by the middle of the second millennium B.C. metal tools were commonly used, some stone tools and equipment were also found at Haft Tepe in rather small numbers except for stone maceheads which were fairly numerous. The few stone blades, tools, and other equipment that were found were located in a limited area, trenches P XXXIV and T XXXIV between Terrace Complexes I and II. Since this area serves as a channel for the rainfall drainage of a large area of the Haft Tepe compound, the stone utensils may have been carried here in flood waters from their original location. Another possibility is that by the middle of the second millennium B.C. stone tools were used only in some particular craft and these few remains represent the last stages of their use at Haft Tepe.

On the fringes of the northern side of the Haft Tepe archaeological compound is a small prehistoric mound known as Mahi Tepe, located near the sugar cane drainage canal. Here a very small test trench excavated over a period of two weeks revealed remains of painted pottery of the late fifth and first half of the fourth millennium B.C. together with stone tools and equipment. Thus a prehistoric community existed in the Haft Tepe area, and remains of the prehistoric cultures may still have been there at the time of the full development of the Haft Tepe community, serving as the source of the stone tools and equipment found in the Haft Tepe excavation.

Finely made stone blades and drills of various sizes and shapes (Plate 28: **197**) were found in squares P XXXIV and T XXXIV, located between Terrace Complex I and II. Some decorative stone loops, rings, buttons, and pendants were also found in very limited numbers (Plate 28: **198**).

199a-l Weight Stones
Plate 28

Many weight stones of various sizes were found. The most common shape is double conic, connected at the base of the cones, similar to weight stones found at other excavations. There are also some round weight stones, usually with cross grooves for suspension. These weight stones seem to represent a nearly complete set as follows (**a** is at the top of the photograph; **b-l** from left to right in the two rows below it):

g	Smallest double conic stone	15 gr.
h	Smallest round stone	25 gr.
b	Double conic stone	85 gr.
i	Round stone	90 gr.
j	Round stone	115 gr.
k	Round stone	215 gr.
l	Round stone	220 gr.
c	Round stone	220 gr.
d	Round stone	290 gr.
e	Round stone	320 gr.
f	Round stone	2275 gr.
a	Largest double conic stone (broken)	4355 gr.

Although these individual stones may not represent a complete series of weights in accordance with a particular unit of measurement, they do indicate some units which may help establish the system used in weighing materials.

STONE MACEHEADS

A large number of stone maceheads, mostly broken, were found at Haft Tepe. None can be assembled into complete maceheads, indicating that, as with the

human figurines, the maceheads were broken for some unknown reason and part taken away. Possibly these stone maceheads decorated the ends of ceremonial staffs used in religious ceremonies.

The maceheads are made of a variety of stones in different sizes and shapes. Most frequently they are pear shaped, although there are some exceptions. A few of the most complete and well preserved maceheads will be described here.

200 Pear-shaped Macehead
Plate 29
H., 0.085; Max. D., 0.060 m.
White stone with grayish brown streaks

The macehead has a projecting smooth ring surrounding the edge of the base. A hole at the center of the flat base penetrates the length of the macehead by which a handle could be inserted.

201 Pear-shaped Macehead
Plate 29
H., 0.090; Max. D., 0.065 m.
Limestone

The surface is much damaged and decayed, by weathering or by accident. Parallel vertical grooves, shallower at each end and deeper in the middle, run lengthwise around the macehead. The flat base has a hole in the center extending through the length of the macehead, by which a handle could be inserted.

202 Globular Macehead
Plate 29
H., 0.060; Max. D., 0.050 m.
White stone spotted with patches of dark gray

A pronounced projecting edge surrounds the base end which is partly damaged and broken. In the center of the flat base end is a hole which runs the length of the macehead.

STONE VESSELS

A number of stone vessels were found at Haft Tepe of very fine workmanship, carefully polished and finished, some with relief or incised decoration.

203 Stone Vessel
Plate 29

A large white stone vessel was found during the levelling of the land for sugar cane plantation and was brought to our excavation headquarters. Since it was not found in the excavation, it may not represent the Haft Tepe period. This large vessel, with a highly polished surface, has a rounded body with an angular inward turn at the shoulder which reaches the neck in a gentle curve. The wide flat rim turns outward. An inverted elongated triangle in relief is located on each side of the body at the shoulder.

204 Stone Vessel
Plate 29 P XXXIV
H., 0.032; D. rim, 0.086 m.
Cream colored stone with streaks of white

A wide depressed groove encircles the body below the broad rim whose gentle convex top gradually extends to a rounded edge.

In addition to these rather plain stone vessels are two more decorative ones which, although they were found in the Haft Tepe excavation, do not seem to represent the Haft Tepe period, but rather to belong to a much earlier time. Most probably they were brought to Haft Tepe from a neighboring earlier site.[1]

205 Fragments of Stone Vessel
Plate 29
Light gray stone

The fragments of this highly decorated vessel are covered with geometric designs including circles, hatching, and cross-hatching.

206 Stone Vessel
Plate 29 I XXXIV
H., 0.063; D. rim, 0.106; D. base, 0.098 m.
Brownish stone

This deep bowl is broken with parts missing. The cylindrical vessel has near vertical sides, a flat base, and a rounded rim turned slightly inward. Two parallel incised bands decorate the lower edge of the body near the base and two more surround the vessel below the rim. Between these incised bands at the rim and base, the entire surface is covered by a checkered relief design in diagonal segments, each decorated by parallel lines, forming an all over beehive pattern.

Metal Objects

Metal objects were limited in number at Haft Tepe, possibly because the site had been sacked before its destruction by fire. Only in the area of the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I where, in the court-

1. This often happens with the more attractive remains of earlier periods that are collected and kept by later inhabitants of the same area. Objects made of imperishable materials such as stone are particularly likely to survive. This seems to have happened at Haft Tepe with the few pieces of early pottery, stone tools, and stone vessels.

yard in front, there was a large double kiln, one wing of which was used for smelting metal, was a mass of bronze weapons and tools found (Plate 30: **208**).

207a-c Bronze Ingots
Plate 30 L XXXIII
Average inner D., 0.120 m.

Several bronze ingots were found, each weighing several kilograms. Bronze was stored in this form, ready to be fashioned into articles or to be kept as a sign of wealth and property.[2] These ingots were covered by a thick coat of corrosion mixed with rough particles of soil sediment.

Several shapes and sizes of cast bronze arrowpoints were found. Aside from a limited number found throughout the excavation, a large quantity of arrowpoints, solidified in a bundle, were found in the artist's workshop, in the corner of a walled section of square L XXXIII, near an elephant skeleton (Plate 14C). This solidified pile of bronze arrowpoints, tools, and equipment, was transferred to the Haft Tepe Museum for exhibition (Plate 30: **208**). The arrowpoints are heavily rusted in some parts with a great deal of soil sediment.

209a-d Bronze Arrowpoints
Plate 30 M XXXIII
a, c, d Type 1

Shaped like the leaf of an olive or willow tree, narrow with a length of from 0.020 to 0.030 m. These arrowpoints have a tang rounded or rectangular in section, often strengthened by a round projecting midrib.

b Type 2

Characterized by a triangular point with elongated side corners.

210a-i Bronze Chisels and Splitters
Plate 30
L., 0.150-0.070; W., 0.010-0.005 m.

In the area of the artist's workshop, and particularly in the solidified bundle of bronze arrowpoints, tools, and equipment (Plate 30: **208**), a number of chisels, splitters, and pointers were found. These bronze tools are heavily corroded with granulation mixed with soil sediment. They are characterized by a finely worked cutting edge with a sharp elongated point and tangs which are either tapered in rounded sections toward a rounded end (**f, h, i**) or have a rectangular rounded section toward a rounded end (**c-e, g**). On two larger examples the tang has a many-sided section which does not taper (**a, b**). A small elongated conic awl or pointer has a very sharp point (**i**).

211a-d Bronze Awls and Needles
Plate 30
L., 0.150-0.070 m.

Awls and needles were found in different sizes, usually showing the same simple pattern of construction. The hole or eye was formed by turning the narrowed end, bending it around in an oval and attaching it back to the main stem. A variety of sizes of needles were found, all heavily corroded with much soil sediment. Awls with rounded knobs at the end were also found (**c**).

212a-d Bronze Buttons
Plate 30 L XXXIII
W., 0.020-0.010 m.

Bronze buttons, most often round with a convex top, were found in various sizes. These buttons are heavily covered by a coat of corrosion and granulation mixed with soil sediment. One group of round buttons has a rounded top and a loop on the back by which they could be attached (**a, d**). A second group has a boss in the center with a flat rim around it (**b**). These are often pierced with two holes on each side of the rim for attachment. This latter type of button also decorates the forehead bands of the life-size clay statue head of a man (Plate 24: **167**).

213 Bronze Spearhead
Plate 30 F XVIII

A bronze spearhead was found in a grave just outside the thick western wall of the Tomb Temple Complex, under superimposed minor Sassanian remains. This spearhead, heavily corroded and mixed with a thick coat of granulation on some parts, is broken at the point and the top is missing. The spearhead has a rather thin blade in an elongated tapering triangular shape with slightly concave side, and a rounded projecting midrib extending toward the point. The tang is rather flat with a nail hole at the end.

Small bronze tools including a hook, loop nail, and rod were found in front of the artist's workshop. The hook is S shaped, while the nail has a rather solid conical head. Bronze handles which must have been made for rather large vessels have holes at each end with the nail still *in situ*.

A rather interesting saw, about 0.180 m. long (not illustrated), was found also in the area of the artist's workshop. It has a flat blade which is straight on the back and neatly indented on the front. The top of the saw is broken and partly missing. The tang, which is narrow and short, was apparently set into a wooden handle. The discovery of this saw at the workshop suggests that it may have been used there, for sawing objects such as the bones of the elephant skeleton on which some saw marks can be seen.

---

2. Metal ingots have been found in tombs, as valuable property for the future life. The tombs of Marlik, in northern Iran, produced many bronze ingots (Negahban 1983:90).

214 Bronze Dagger
Plate 31 K XXXI
L., 0.600; Max. W. 0.050; Th. of hilt, 0.020 m.

Although few weapons were found at Haft Tepe, probably because it had been sacked before its destruction, a dagger or sword with a decorative handle was found on the floor near the eastern wall of the large Hall no. 4. The dagger is partly damaged and deformed, with a corroded surface. Its blade has an elongated tapering triangular shape with a sharp point strengthened by a rounded slightly projecting midrib. It may have been cast in one piece with the hilt, or may have been made separately and connected by heat and pressing. This blade is protected by a crescent-shaped penannular guard. The pommel is also crescent shaped and extends into a flat hilt with raised edges providing space for further filling and decoration. The areas between the raised edges of the hilt and the middle part of the guard, which is also protected by raised edges, are filled by decorative colored material and shell in a checkered pattern.

In Persian Talish a number of similar daggers have been found which are classified by Schaeffer to Talyche Recent 2, around 1450-1350 B.C., including several daggers found at Tchila-Khane very close in shape and detailed workmanship to this one (Schaeffer 1948: Pl. IX, Fig. 219 No. 1, 179, p. 415), a similar example found at Hassan Zamani (Schaeffer 1948: Pl. LVIII, second from right), and a similar dagger with some additional parallel blood channels on both sides of the midrib of the blade, found at Agha Evlar (Schaeffer 1948: Fig. 217 No. 3, 165, 168, pp. 407, 413).

Many bronze daggers which are very similar in general shape, with slight differences in the joint between blade and guard were found at Marlik, in Gilan province of northern Iran (Negahban 1964: Fig. 47). An example very similar in shape and detail, from Veri in Russian Talish, is classified by Schaeffer to Talyche Recent 2-3, with a suggested date of 1450-1200 B.C. (Schaeffer 1948: Fig. 227 No.2, 178, pp. 422-23). Other examples very comparable except for varied detail in the blade midrib and pommel, also from Veri, are described by Hutchinson as being from Bronze Age III graves with a suggested date of 1500-1200 B.C. (Hutchinson 1934: Pl. XXII a, p, p. 168). A dagger of similar technique and shape, found at Chagoula-Derre in Persian Talish, is classified by Schaeffer to Talyche Recent 3, around 1350-1200 B.C. (Schaeffer 1948: Fig. 231 No. 1, 185, pp. 429-30). A dagger of unknown provenance in the possession of K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, of similar shape and technique is classified by her as comparable to northwestern Persian daggers (Maxwell-Hyslop 1964: Pl. XII 3, Fig. 1, 10, p. 52), while a similar dagger in the Museum für Vor- und Fruhgeschichte in Berlin is classified by Nagel as being Talyche type with a suggested date of about thirteenth to tenth century B.C. (Nagel 1963: Taf. V No. 11, p. 40).

A similar dagger with minor differences in the shape of the shoulder of the blade was found at Ghalekuti II in Dailaman (Fukai and Ikeda 1971: Pl. XXVIII No. 3, p. 14). A bronze dirk in the Ashmolean Museum, closely similar in form and detail except that it has a rather low midrib of rectangular section, is classified by Moorey as a Persian dagger of northern origin (Moorey 1971: Fig. 13 No. 49, pp. 72-73), and a similar broken dagger in The University Museum is dated by Dyson around 1000-900 B.C. (Dyson 1964: Pl. IX 5, pp. 40-41).

Two daggers, one gold and one bronze, with similarities in shape of blade, midrib, and penannular guard were found at Kalardasht in Mazandaran (Samadi 1959: Figs. 10, 18; Vanden Berghe 1959: Pl. I, p. 5; Ghirshman 1964: Fig. 129, pp. 97, 424), in association with the gold bowl of Karaldasht, which is dated by Porada to the twelfth to eleventh century B.C. (Porada 1965: Fig. 61, p. 94). A similar bronze dagger from Khurvin is classified by Vanden Berghe to late second to early first millennium B.C. (Vanden Berghe 1964: Pl. XXXIV, No. 227, pp. 39, 45, 65). Finally, a dagger similar in hilt, pommel, penannular guard, and blade with a pronounced midrib can be seen in the narrative scene of the Hasanlu gold bowl, dated by Porada to the twelfth to tenth century B.C. (Porada 1962: Fig. 60, middle, p. 86), and by Mellink to the twelfth or eleventh century B.C. (Mellink 1966: Text Fig. Ib, p. 74).

The large number of examples of this type of dagger, found particularly in northern and western Iran and neighboring regions, in addition to other examples less closely similar but related in the shape of the midrib and in the penannular guard found in neighboring regions especially in Luristan, point to the widespread use of this type of dagger which must have been produced for a long period during the second half of the second millennium B.C. and been in common use for the last quarter of the second millennium, possibly continuing to the early part of the first millennium B.C.

215 Bronze Dagger
Plate 31 J XXIX
L., 0.410; W., 0.035 m.

A second bronze dagger found at Haft Tepe has a round pommel, a narrow hilt which had been adorned with some perishable material, a horseshoe-shaped guard, and an elongated tapering triangular blade with parallel projecting blood channels along its midrib.

A group of metal tools found at Haft Tepe includes axes of bronze and copper with one iron example, usually one-sided with a handle hold at one end. Most of these axes are in a very bad state of preservation with the metal severely affected by rusting and corrosion.

216a-c Bronze Axes
Plate 31 K XXIX
a: L. at top, 0.140; L. at bottom, 0.135; W., 0.023; D. of handle hole, 0.031 m.

b: A type of axe, rather small in size, which has a blade similar to the flat end of a pick.

c: This axe has a hook shaped loop on the back of the handle socket. The metal is so badly disintegrated in the area of the handle hole that it is disconnected at this point.

217 Bronze Axe
Plate 31; Color Plate 3A I XXXIV
L., 0.170; Max. W., 0.065 m.

The best preserved axe found at Haft Tepe has excellent proportions and balance. There is only a little corrosion and granulation near the sharp end of the blade and the lower part of the handle socket. This axe has an elongated triangular blade with the cutting edge at the broad base of the triangle. The blade tapers back to the handle socket, which is parallel to the blade edge. Two well-pronounced projecting bands extend from the blade around the upper edge of the handle socket, turn downward at the back of the handle socket and then turn again to encircle the lower edge of the socket. The central band on the back is much thicker than the ones on both sides, continuing onto the upper and lower edges of the socket.

An inscription is engraved on the axe blade, an Elamite name composed of two parts, possibly that of the owner. The first part, HI-TE-EN of which the first letter can also be read SE or KI in some cases, means trusted or reliable. The second part, KU-TE-ER, is a common personal name with no special meaning which is also found in the names of Elamite royalty such as Kuter-Nahunte.[3]

(Ki?)-te-en - ku-te-er

Bone Objects

Bone objects found at Haft Tepe are mostly small decorative items such as buttons and rings. The buttons are commonly plano-convex, decorated on the convex side. A few flat disk buttons were also found. The designs on these buttons are usually incised and sometimes a darker substance fills the incised design, greatly emphasizing it.

218 - 227 Bone Buttons
Plate 31

A pair of bone buttons in a flat disk shape with a triangular handle on the upper side found in square J XXXIII are very similar to each other except for a slight difference in size, the larger being about 0.028 m. in diameter with a hole about 0.006 m. in the center (**218**, **222**). Four incised circles with an incised hole in the center are equidistantly spaced around the perimeter of each button. A bronze or copper pin with a projecting round head could have attached the button to a background material (**222**).

Plano-convex bone buttons, averaging about 0.030 m. in diameter, are decorated with a four-petalled geometric flower which divides the surface of the button into four sections (**223a**, **b**). The incised designs may be filled by a darker substance. These buttons also usually have a round hole in the center by which they could have been attached to a background material.

Among other buttons are a flat ring type (**224**), a round ring type (**225**), a flat circular type (**226**) and a plain plano-convex type (**227**).

228 Bone Decorative Element
Plate 31 J XXX
L., 0.050; W., 0.025 m.

Many small broken pieces of bone with incised designs were found on the floor of Hall no. 4 of Terrace Complex I, near the entrance to Hall no. 3, scattered in a direct line between a pair of silver tubes (see below, **480**). Apparently these broken pieces of decorated bone had covered a long stick edged at each end by the silver tubes. The designs on the bone are parallel bands of incised concentric circles, each with a hole in the center, bordered below by two straight lines. See also chapter X.

---

3. The transcription and translation are by Pablo Herrero who studied the cunieform tablets and inscribed objects of Haft Tepe.

VIII

Seals and Seal Impressions

The use of seals is related to a desire to identify oneself with one's belongings and property. Seals reached their most elaborate form with the development of the cylinder seal, during the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. Cylinder seals continued in use for nearly three thousand years until the second half of the first millennium B.C. when their production died out completely at the end of the Achaemenian period.

Seals and seal impressions are valuable to the archaeologist because they are documentary objects whose identification and dating are well developed. During the excavation of Haft Tepe a few seals and a large number of seal impressions were found: the seals were scattered throughout the site, while the seal impressions were concentrated for the most part in piles of trash in the areas of grid squares I XXVII and XXVIII, and H-J XXXIII and XXXIV.[1]

Stamp Seals

The stamp seals of Haft Tepe are made of materials including stone, frit, and fired clay in a variety of designs.

DRILL HOLE TECHNIQUE

One group of stamp seals is distinguished by the use of the drill to accent different parts of the design. Some of these designs are quite old and can be compared with seal designs dating to the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. In this category are two stamp seals very similar to seals of the Protoliterate period (Plate 32: **229**, **230**). These may be seals older than the Haft Tepe period which were found elsewhere and carried to Haft Tepe. They could have been found in the vicinity in some of the ancient Protoliterate remains which are scattered across the plain. Another possibility is that a type of seal similar to earlier stamp seals was still produced at Haft Tepe, although this seems unlikely.

229 Stamp Seal
Plate 32
White stone with light gray streaks
Plano-convex button shape; broken with part missing on one side

The design, engraved on the flat side, consists of rather stylized kittens chasing each other around the seal. In the center is a clover design with a small point at the far side of each circular element. The design is made in drill hole technique with various features indicated by shallow drill holes of different sizes.

Stamp seals in drill hole techniques with the same design of kittens chasing each other around a circle have been found at Susa, classified by Amiet to the Proto-Urban period (Amiet 1972: V.II, Pl. 56 Nos. 366, 370, Pl.59 No.434; V. I, pp. 59, 64). Stamp seals found

1. Since many of the figures on these seals and seal impressions may be either male or female, for the sake of convenience they are all referred to in masculine terms, except in the case of the figures of nude females.

at Brak and Chagar Bazar with similar designs are classified to the Jemdet Nasr Period by Mallowan (Mallowan 1947: Pl. XIII 3b, Pl. XIX 11, 12).

230 Stamp Seal
Plate 32
Grayish stone
Plano-convex button shape
Design in drill hole technique of two animals chasing each other, with two round drill holes between them.

Many stamp seals with a similar type of design in comparable technique have been found at Susa, classified by Amiet to the Protoliterate period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 54 Nos. 303, 309, Pl. 55 No. 369, Pl. 58 Nos. 425, 426, Pl. 59 Nos. 431, 432, 437; V. I, pp. 54-64).

231 Stamp Seal
Plate 32 M XXXIII
L., 0.025 m.
Cream colored stone
Shape of a profile lion head with an open mouth; the other side flat

On the flat side a design in drill hole technique of two animals, possibly cats, running in opposite directions, either chasing each other or running after balls shown as two circular drill holes between them.

The technique and design on this seal are similar to those of **229** and **230** above, with some minor differences which may indicate that **231** was not made in the same period, but at a later time, in imitation of the older techniques and designs.

GEOMETRIC DESIGN

232 Stamp Seal
Plate 32
Dark gray stone
The design is of four parallel straight lines.

233 Stamp Seal
Plate 32
The seal is divided by straight lines into four sections.

A very closely similar seal in shape as well as design was found at Susa, classified by Amiet with seals of the Ancient Proto-Urban period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 48 No. 201, Pl. 52 No. 246; V. I, pp. 39, 46). Finding this type of seal at Haft Tepe again raises the question of whether they were accidentally transferred there from an older site, or whether this style continued in use at Haft Tepe up to the middle of the second millennium B.C. A button-shaped stone stamp seal with a similar geometric design was also found at Sialk, Period III, 1 (Ghirshman 1933, 1934, 1937: V. 1, Pl. LXXXVI No. S.417, p. 142). Designs of some of these geometric stamp seals are also comparable to designs on bronze stamp seals from Marlik in northern Iran (Negahban 1977: Figs. 26, 27, pp. 101-102).

FIRED CLAY

Only two examples of stamp seals of fired clay were found.

234 Stamp Seal
Plate 32
Very well fired clay
Round or rounded seal of which part remains

An impressed or incised line encircles the border edge. The remaining fragment contains triangle and cross designs with curved bands in thick incised lines.

235 Stamp Seal
Plate 32
Very well fired clay
Fragmentary

The design contains animals with long necks, similar to camels, with other elements not clearly identifiable. On this seal the design seems to have been separately made and attached to the surface before firing.

Cylinder Seals

The cylinder seals found at Haft Tepe are made of stone or frit in a variety of designs and styles of workmanship.

GEOMETRIC DESIGN

236 Cylinder Seal
Plate 33
L., 0.029; D., 0.012 m.
Frit

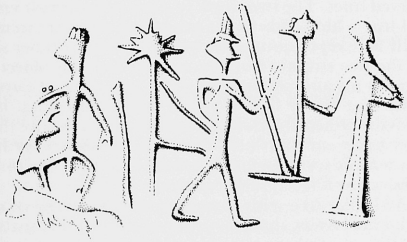
The seal is divided into vertical bands by projecting lines having a rather thick triangular top similar in appearance to an elongated cuneiform character. Each band contains a different geometric design formed of elongated parallel triangular shapes in simple diagonal, horizontal, and chevron patterns. One vertical band possibly contains some writing, but is so badly damaged and worn that it is not clear. Two lines encircle and border the seal at each end.

The design on this seal contains parallel bands that are quite similar to the characters used in cuneiform writing, although their repetition indicates that they do not carry any meaning. Nevertheless it seems that the maker of the seal must have used the same sort of tool used in printing to produce this unusual seal design. Possibly an illiterate seal cutter tried to copy the appearance of a cuneiform inscription.

SIMPLE LINEAR DESIGN

237 Cylinder Seal
Plate 33; Ill. 3
L., 0.022; D., 0.011 m.
Dark gray stone

This seal has a simple linear design, part of which is worn and unclear, containing several standing figures. The main figure, head in profile with a large cap and body in front view, extends his hands diagonally downward away from his body. Next to his left hand is an object like a long diagonal stick while in his right hand is another object, not very clear, like an upright animal or carcass. His legs are bent outward at the knees with a prominent male organ dangling down between them. This figure is standing on something which may be the body of an animal. On the left, another figure, in profile, wearing a long garment, is standing with his left arm bent at the elbow with his hand on his waist, while in his right hand he holds a long vertical standard or cane with a very large decorative head. This standard is connected at its base by a horizontal projecting band to the end of a long stick held in the left hand of a third figure, wearing a well defined crown, who is walking, in profile, with his right hand on his waist, confronting the second figure. Behind this third figure is a chair or throne with an elaborate decoration of a many pointed star at the back. Some additional lines representing objects under and behind the throne are not very clear.



Ill. 3

238 Cylinder Seal
Plate 33
L., 0.019; Preserved D., 0.010 m.
Frit; partly broken

Although the remaining design is not very clear, it seems to have a figure standing in the center of the scene, shoulders in front view and lower body in profile, whose arms are away from his body, with, in his left hand, two wavy lines like ropes which are tied to the feet of an animal or bird, while in his right hand is a diagonal object like a stick. The rest of the scene is unclear.

239 Cylinder Seal
Plate 33
L., 0.021; D., 0.010 m.
Dark gray stone; partly broken at the edges

The scene on this seal is comparable to other seals of this group (**237**, **238**) in technique and workmanship, and is similar in composition. On the right a man with a decorative cap or crown, with lower body missing but shoulders in front view, points with his right hand toward the middle of the scene. Above his hand is a crescent possibly representing the moon goddess Sin. Confronting him on his right hand is another figure, head and lower body in profile and shoulders in front view, with a long beard and long hair hanging behind his head, whose left hand points toward the crescent moon, almost touching the hand of the first figure. With his right hand he holds the left hand of a third figure whom he seems to be bringing to introduce to the central figure. The third figure, being introduced, in profile with shoulders in front view, walks with his right leg forward. Behind him are some unclear lines similar to a snake.

This type of introductory scene is a traditional design. It seems that the person behind being pulled forward by the hand may be a crown prince or governor who is being introduced to the main figure, possibly a deity, in the presence of the moon goddess as witness. This scene had a long history in the ancient world much before the time of Haft Tepe and continued to be used up to the Sassanian period, about the sixth century A.D.

DRILL HOLE TECHNIQUE

In this group of seals drill holes are used to form some design elements such as flowers, plants, or parts of the body.

240 Cylinder Seal
Plate 33; Color Plate 4A
L., 0.020; D., 0.080 m.
Black stone

Design divided into two sections, a scene on the right side and three lines of cuneiform inscription on the left. The scene on the right contains two main figures standing in front of each other with a smaller nude figure standing on the back of the right hand figure. The figure on the left, head in profile, shoulders emphasized by drill holes, in front view and the lower body partly in front view, wears a decorative cap or crown projecting upward in two parallel bands with an uplifted brim in front and a diagonal line pointing down at the back which may be part of the cap brim or hair. His right arm, bent at the elbow, touches his waist while his left hand holds, vertically in front of himself,

a cane-like standard which is bent near the top with a head like the open mouth of a snake, while the end is divided into two parts. He wears a short skirt reaching a little below the knee and stands with his left leg bent at the knee and placed on the back of a recumbent animal, in profile, probably a goat or deer. A second figure, standing in front of the first, with a long beard and a cap or crown, wears a long garment overlapped in front with projecting edges. It covers his entire body to just above the ankles. His arms are bent at the elbow and his hands are joined in front of his body in a position of prayer. His feet point forward. A much smaller completely nude female figure, shown in total front view, stands behind the figure in the long garment with her head facing the back of his head. Her hair is pushed forward from her forehead and hangs at the back to her shoulders. Her hands come forward, clasping each other or her breasts. Her waist is very narrow and her hips and thighs emphasized while her shins are long and thin, ending in feet pointing front. A round drill hole above the scene and between the two main figures fills the empty space near the top of the cane and may represent the solar disk.

This scene may represent Ishtar in warlike aspect with emblem and one foot on a goat, and in love aspect as the nude figure (Eisen 1940: pp. 48, 70). Sacrificial scenes with a figure, possibly a man, with his foot on a goat and the tool for sacrifice in his hand, are traditional patterns. A seal from Susa with a similar scene on the left hand side is classified by De Mecquenem around the thirteenth century B.C. (De Mecquenem 1943: Fig. 49, No. 8, p. 59). Another seal with a similar scene, in the Louvre, has a deity identified by Legrain as Ishtar standing with one foot on an animal. Legrain assigns the seal to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Legrain 1921: Pl. XVIII No. 277, p. 57). Another seal with a very close similarity of scene, including a worshipper facing a god with a crook who has one foot on a recumbent goat in a field, also with an inscription on one side, is classified by Buchanan to Old Babylonian Period (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 34 No. 498, p. 90), as are several other seals with similar composition and workmanship (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 34 Nos. 485, 486, 490, Pl. 35 Nos. 501, 509). Cylinder seals and seal impressions with a similar scene of a deity standing with one leg bent at the knee and placed on an animal are classified by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V.I, Pl. 160 No. 1738, Pl. 162 Nos. 1756-60, 1769, 1770). A similar scene except that the nude figure is standing on the other side of the scene and there is no animal appears on a seal classified by Contenau as a Syro-Hittite seal of the Second Period, Transitional Time, with a suggested date of the sixteenth to ninth century B.C. (Contenau 1922: Pl. XVII, Figs. 124, 126, p. 211). Similar scene composition with slight differences in arrangement appears on seals in the Newell collection, described by Von Der Osten as Babylonian type (Von Der Osten 1934:Pl. XIX, 251, 254, 255, p. 12). A very similar scene with similar figures also appears on a seal in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XVI, p. 222).

The second section of the design on this seal, on the left hand side, contains three vertical lines of cuneiform writing. Both ends of the lines are slightly worn and unclear. The first line, of which the beginning and end are not very clear, contains the name of a god, of which the legible part is MARTU which means Amuru. The second line also has the name of a god, of which the legible part is NA. In the third line the legible part is ELLAMA, possibly a personal Elamite name or country, except that usually the name of the country, Elame, is written with only one L.

The writing on this seal is compatible with the writing on inscriptions found at Haft Tepe, and the scene and composition with standing figures is also comparable to the seal impressions of Haft Tepe.

241 Cylinder Seal
Plate 33
L., 0.026; D., 0.012 m.
Frit

The design is in linear technique with drill holes used for flowers and other details. On the left a figure with head in profile and shoulders and lower body in front view is walking toward a decorative tree at the center of the scene. His right hand is on his waist while his left hand points to the tree trunk. One leg, bent at the knee, extends forward while the other stretches behind in a diagonal line. The seal is worn in the area of his head and is not very clear, but a drill hole above and behind his head possibly represents the solar disk or sun deity, Shamash. The decorative tree in the center has symmetrical flowers or fruits also indicated by drill holes, connected to the tree trunk by very narrow curved lines. The tree trunk is also a very narrow vertical line which ends in the ground in a larger circular drill hole representing the tree root. On the other side of the tree straight horizontal lines form an object or part of an animal. Behind them two parallel curved lines may be the legs of a bird with a horizontal line above representing its body, and other lines above that, very badly worn, its head and neck. A worn wavy line borders the scene on top, but there is no trace of a lower border line if it originally existed.

A similar tree with flowers or fruits formed of circular drill holes appears on one of the cylinder seals of Marlik, in northern Iran (Negahban 1977: Fig. 1, p. 82), and on a cylinder seal from Tepe Giyan, Level II, with a man in similar attitude holding the tree on one side and two stylized animals confronting each other on the other. Schaeffer, comparing this with seals of Kerkouk, Ras Shamra, and Talyche, suggests a date of 1450-1350 B.C. for this type of seal (Schaeffer 1948: Fig. 243, No.73 197, pp. 457-59). A similar tree in drill hole technique appears on seals in the Ashmolean Museum, classified by Buchanan to Mitannean style (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 57 Nos. 918, 924, 926-30, pp. 182-83), as are other seals with drill holes and concentric circles representing animal heads and flowers (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 58 Nos. 937, 939-43, 946, 949, 950). A similar tree in similar technique appears on a seal from Susa which, with other seals with concentric circles for animal heads or

plant parts, are classified by Amiet to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 178 Nos. 2046, 2048, 2049; V. I, p. 263). Seals with this type or tree or with this use of concentric circles are described by Frankfort as Mitannean type, dated to about 1500-1350 B.C. (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLII c-k, pp. 273-74). Several seal impressions from Nuzi with a similar tree, in technique as well as composition of the scene, are classified by Porada to Groups III and IV, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pls. XII-XIV Nos. 202-42, pp. 11, 17-24). A cylinder seal with a rather simlar tree, from Yorgan Tepe I, Nuzi, is compared by Schaeffer to seals of Talyche, Khabour, North Syria, Tel Atchana and Ras Shamra, with a suggested date of 1550-1350 B.C. (Schaeffer 1948: Fig. 312, No. 2 235, p. 573). The same technique of concentric circles appears on a seal ascribed by Wiseman to Mitannean style (Wiseman 1958: 50), while a similar type of scene composition with different workmanship appears on a seal in the Morgan Library, dated by Ward to about 1500-1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXIV No. 168, p. 79).

242 Cylinder Seal
Plate 33
L., 0.027; D., 0.013 m.
Light cream frit
Partly deteriorated on the surface

The design includes animal and human bodies made with smooth rounded surface, with drill holes forming some design elements. At the center of the scene is a decorative tree with a trunk formed of two large drill holes above each other, connected in a vertical line with below a vertical line extending to the main root, represented by another drill hole. Between the trunk and the root are four parallel straight horizontal lines which may represent side roots or parts of the trunk. Five branches sprout from the trunk, one in the center completely vertical, with the other four, two on each side, diagonal. At the top of each branch is a rounded drill hole representing flowers or fruits. On the left side of the tree a bearded man is standing, head in profile, wearing a round cap with an oval decoration at the front and another behind possibly representing hair. His right hand points upward toward the tree, almost reaching the top of the circular tree trunk. On the other side of the tree, although the design is not very clear, there seem to be three animals lined up in different directions. The details of their bodies are not distinguishable because of damage on the surface but their heads and other details are indicated by concentric circles while the main part of their bodies have rather smooth flat surfaces. The scene is bordered by a band at the top and bottom.

Similar seals in drill hole technique with concentric circles were found at Marlik (Negahban 1977: Figs. 1, 2, 3, 6, pp. 82, 85-86, 89). This type of seal, described as Mitannean style, was common in the second half of the second millennium B.C., and examples have been found in excavations from the eastern Mediterranean to Iran.

Seal Impressions

In contrast to the rather limited number of seals found at Haft Tepe is the large quantity of seal impressions, containing a great variety of scenes. These seals are mostly found on jar stoppers used to seal the tops of container jars. The container jar was filled, the mouth wrapped by cord and then covered by clay on which a seal would be impressed. At the destination the stopper was broken, the valuable contents taken out, and the clay jar stoppers, most of them with marks of the cord or jar rim on the back and a seal impression on the front, were thrown into the refuse heap along with the container jar (Plate 13A). Often in addition to the seal design there are cuneiform inscriptions which may identify the owner of the seal and sometimes also contain information about his title and position. These broken pieces of jar stoppers with seal impressions, which were not then considered of any importance, now represent one of the most useful categories of objects found in any excavation because of their documentary value. Many seal impressions are also found at the bottom of inscribed tablets, as a signature.

Since so many of the seal impressions are found on the stoppers of container jars, they may not all be local: seal impressions from outside the area of Haft Tepe are also likely to be well represented. At Haft Tepe many seal impressions were found in the courtyard near the kiln in front of the artisan's workshop of Terrace Complex I. These seal impressions are likely to be a local product of the site and to be native to the region and culture. They apparently indicate that in addition to producing many other types of objects, this workshop was also a seal or tablet workshop in which seals were used on the bottom of texts whose wasters were discarded in the refuse there. It is also possible that materials were carried into the workshop in jars sealed by jar stoppers with seal impressions.

During the excavation of Haft Tepe, primarily in three locations (grid squares I XXVII and XXVIII;

H-K XXXIII and XXXIV; and H.T. B), nearly three hundred seal impressions containing both complete and partial designs were found, most of them cylinder seal impressions, although a few had been made by stamp seals. Since it is not possible to include a description of all these seal impressions here, a selection has been made to represent each category and the rest must await separate publication.

Haft Tepe Common Style

The seal impressions in this group constitute the major bulk of seal impressions found at Haft Tepe. The scenes and designs follow particular traditional patterns which are usually depicted in a distinctive technique in which the figures have smooth rounded surfaces overall with some emphasis in pronouncing the joints and muscles of bodies, and in which parts of the bodies of both humans and animals are sometimes not quite connected. On the whole, because of the characteristic way in which different parts of the body are emphasized, these seal impressions are somewhat clearer than other types. They contain a variety of scenes which can be divided by subject into several groups.

OFFERING SCENES

This group of seal impressions in the Haft Tepe Common Style contains an offering ceremony in which an animal, most probably a goat or deer, is offered to a deity who is usually seated but may be standing. At this offering ceremony varying numbers of attendants or witnesses appear. The animal offering is usually presented by a human, but in some examples it is presented by an imaginary combined creature with a human upper body and an equine or bovine lower body.

243 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 20*
Plate 34
Offering scene
Found at ground level in the garden in front of the headquarters, at the edge of the Haft Tepe archaeological site in soil previously disturbed by road construction

This rectangular seal impression, made by imprinting the same seal on all four sides, contains an offering scene in which the main deity, in profile, is seated at one side on a simple bench. He has a large crown decorated in horizontal stages and wears a very long flounced garment reaching to the ground with a thick fringe at the lower edge. His left arm is bent at the elbow with his left hand touching his waist while in his right hand he holds vertically a long stick or standard. In front of this seated diety a standing figure with head in profile, shoulders almost in front view and the lower body partly in profile, offers an animal at waist level. This figure has a cap or headdress whose details are not clear and wears a long garment with pronounced folds at the bottom. Between the seated deity and the figure in front, on the upper part of the scene higher than the animal head, are some projecting lines or knobs which are not very clear but may represent the sun disk or moon crescent. On the lower part of the scene, between the two figures, a very small kneeling person wearing a cap with a rather large brim, whose head and shoulder are in front view and body more in profile, holds his hands toward the seated deity in a respectful or supplicatory manner. One leg, bent at the knee, extends forward, while the other leg behind him is on the ground. A third normal-sized person behind this offering figure turns his head back looking at the figure behind him, with his upper body in front view and his lower body following the procession toward the seated deity. He wears a long garment with vertical folds on the front of the skirt. A fourth full-sized figure is a nude male, walking in profile.

The form of this offering ceremony suggests that it is an introductory scene in which the nude male figure is being introduced to the seated deity by the other two figures. This was a common scene for several centuries during the second millennium B.C. Scenes of offering and introduction or intercession in similar composition appear on seals of different periods from Susa, classified by Amiet to the Simashki (Amiet 1972: V. I, Pl. 157 Nos. 1682, 1684, 1686; V. II, pp. 217-18) and Sukkalmahhu (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 162 No. 1757, Pl. 163 No. 1777; V. I, pp. 230, 233) periods and also to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 195 No. 2332; V. I, p. 294). Seals with similar offering scenes are classified by Frankfort to the First Babylonian Dynasty (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVII a-d), while a seal from Susa with a similar scene of an animal being offered to a seated deity is ascribed by De Mecquenem to the period contemporary with the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty and the Third Dynasty of Ur (De Mecquenem 1943: Fig. 95 No. 2, p. 129). A seal impression with an offering scene, in the Ashmolean Museum, found at Atchana, possibly in level IV, is classified by Buchanan to seals contemporary to the Old Babylonian Period (Buchanan 1966: Fig. 550, p. 99, Pl. 37 No. 551a), while he describes another seal in this collection with a similar scene as an Akkadian scene with Neo-Assyrian attendants and Old Babylonian details (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 67 No. 1108, p. 220). A similar scene of offering an animal also appears on a seal impression from Nuzi, classified by Porada to Group XVI and dated to the second half of the fifteenth

century B.C. with a suggestion that this type of scene originated at Susa (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXX 613, pp. 11, 42).

244 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 19*
Plate 34
Offering scene
Mostly complete

On one side the main figure, possibly a deity, wearing a decorative headdress or crown, is standing with profile head and mostly front view shoulders, wearing a long garment. One of his arms stretches behind him holding a long stick which reaches to the ground while the other arm, bent at the elbow, extends in front holding a straight vertical long object like a spear. A second standing figure is carrying an animal to be presented to the main deity. His head is in profile, with a decorative headdress with a conical center and an addition in front similar to a snake head. The lower part of his body is not very clear in front, but behind he seems to be either an imaginary combined creature with a horse-like body, or to be mounted or standing behind a horse, or possibly a bull. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, a small figure is standing, possibly with hands held upward in prayer. A third figure of normal size, wearing a long garment is also standing, in profile, looking away from the main scene. Between the figure holding the animal and the third figure is a small nude female on the upper part of the scene with her body in front view and her head in profile, looking away from the main scene toward the third standing figure. This nude female has a rather large headdress or cap with a hanging part behind and seems to be holding her breasts with her hands, although this is not very clear.

245 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 25*
Plate 34; Ill. 4
Offering scene
Incomplete with the upper part mostly missing

The main figure is a deity seated on a rather simple bench, head in profile and shoulders in three-quarter view, wearing a long tiered and pleated garment. One hand touches his waist while the other holds a long straight standard or plant vertically in front of himself. In front of this seated deity is an imaginary combined creature wearing a cap with horns and having a long tail, with an upper human torso and the lower body of a horse, with a prominent male organ, holding an animal to be offered to the deity. Three other figures on the scene, located behind this imaginary creature, wearing long garments with decorative edges, are incomplete, with the upper parts of their bodies missing. They appear in profile, and from the position of the feet of two of them, seem to be facing the seated deity. Other small figures or objects fill the empty spaces, but they are not clear enough to identify.

Scenes of objects, particular animals, being offered to a seated deity are very common in Near and Middle Eastern seals over a long period of time, but the offering of an animal by an imaginary combined creature is rather rare, and seems to be a special design of Haft Tepe.

Ill. 4

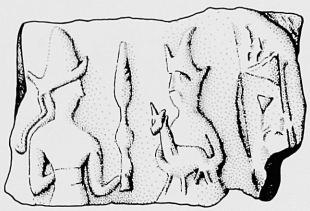
Ill. 5

246 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 27*
Plate 34; Ill. 5
Offering scene
Incomplete

The main figure is a standing deity with a cap wearing a long garment open in front with one leg extended. In one hand he holds vertically in front of himself a rather thick straight standard with a round disk or emblem on top, while his other hand rests on his waist. A second standing figure with a short flat cap wearing a long garment holds an animal as an offering to the deity. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, is a recumbent mountain goat. Be-

hind the second figure offering the animal are two more objects, the upper part of a fish with head downward and below this an upright animal with the lower body missing at the broken edge of the impression. Vertical columns of inscription behind the main deity are badly disturbed and unclear.

A similar scene composition appears on a seal in the Moore collection, described by Eisen as a First Dynasty of Babylon seal representing Ishtar in warlike aspect (Eisen 1940: Pl. VII No. 56, pp. 48, 70). Other seals with similar offering scenes, in the Walters Art Gallery, are classified by Gordon also to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Gordon 1939: Pl. III Nos. 15, 17, 18, p. 6). Offering scenes of similar composition appear on several seals in the Ashmolean, classified by Buchanan to the Old Babylonian Period (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 34 No. 489, Pl.35 Nos. 504, 506, pp. 89-92). Animal offering scenes with standing figures and small elements around and between appear on seal impressions from Susa, ascribed by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 161 Nos. 1746, 1750; V. I, pp. 229-30). Offering scenes of similar composition also appear on several seals in the Musée Guimet (Delaporte 1909: Pl. IV Nos. 56-60) and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XIII Nos. 158-74).



Ill. 6

247 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 85*
Plate 34; Ill. 6
Offering scene

The main figure is a deity with profile head and three-quarter shoulders with a conical cap with a decorative top and horns on each side in front and back and long hair hanging at the nape ending in a spiral curl. He has a narrow waist and tight wide belt, with one hand touching it while the other holds vertically in front of himself an object which seems to be a spear or a plant. The spear is the symbol of Marduk in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times (Von Der Osten 1934: 145), but the emblem here looks more like a plant with side branches and a small root at the end, such as a cyprus. In front of the deity is a figure, head in profile and body in three-quarter view, with a round cap with three decorative curved horns, a medium-sized one in front, a very tall one on top and a short one at the back. This type of headdress which is rather unusual seems to be special to Haft Tepe. This figure holds an animal in front of his chest as an offering to the deity. Behind him are parts of vertical lines of inscription.

Seals and seal impressions with animal offering scenes are common. This type of pattern was used for a long time, especially during the second millennium B.C., from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to Iran, but each region and each period had characteristic local details. The combination on this particular seal impression of a deity holding a tree, and a worshipper with elevated three-branched long horns on his cap offering an animal is rather unusual, although each element appears separately on other seals. A deity holding a similar tree appears on a seal from Susa, attributed by Amiet to the Sukkalamahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 161 No. 1749; V. I, p. 230). Several seals with a general similarity of offering an animal to a deity holding a tree in his hand, in the Cugnin collection, are ascribed by Legrain to the First Babylonian Period of the earlier part of the second millennium B.C. (Legrain 1911: Pl. IV 45, 57, Pl. V 52, p. 1). Another generally similar offering scene in different technique appears on a seal described by Contenau as a Syro-Hittite seal of the Late Second Period, with a suggested date of about 1550-1100 B.C. (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XXI No. 155, pp. 215-16). A similar offering scene to a deity holding an object like a tree can be seen on a seal in the Ashmolean Museum, attributed by Buchanan to the Old Babylonian Period (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 36 No. 527, p. 94). Although the general pattern and composition of the scene on the Haft Tepe seal is similar to the seals described above, the details are different. In particular the headdress worn by the figure presenting the animal is rather special to Haft Tepe and it seems that this particular seal may be considered to represent a Haft Tepe pattern and style of seal design.

248 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 214*
Plate 34
Offering scene

A seated deity, in profile, wearing a long tiered garment sits on a plain bench and holds in one hand an object which is not very clear. A figure standing in front of the seated deity, also wearing a long garment, is offering an animal in his arms. Behind this figure is a long vertical emblem with a star on top and next to it a nude female with a large round cap, her hands clasping her waist, who has an unusual lower body formed of rounded hips and legs united in a column.

A similar offering scene with a star pointed emblem and a nude with geometricized rounded hips appears on a seal in the Musée Guimet in Paris (Delaporte 1909: Pl. VI No. 93, p. 67), classified by Contenau to the Second Period Syro-Hittite seals, with a suggested date of the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XVIII No. 135, p. 211), while another similar nude figure and star pointed emblem appear on a seal in the Cugnin collection, described by Legrain as

a Babylonian seal with outside influence (Legrain 1911: Pl. V No. 56, pp. 11, 38-39). A seal impression from Nuzi with a similar figure with geometricized lower body with two parallel lines for hips, is assigned by Porada to Group II, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. III Nos. 46-47).

249 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 202*
Plate 34
Offering scene
See also **294**, which is on the same clay fragment

Similar to **248**. A deity, in profile with a decorative headdress whose details are not clear, wearing a long garment with horizontal folds, holds vertically in front of himself an emblem with a star on top. A second standing figure, in profile, wearing a long garment and looking toward the seated deity, is holding an animal as an offering. Between these two figures part of the head of a small nude female with a staged cap appears, in front view, at the lower part of the scene, clasping her breasts. Her lower body is geometricized with parallel horizontal lines ending in circular knobs for hips and parallel vertical lines for legs.

250 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 50*
Plate 34
Offering scene
Incomplete; enough remaining to show the general design

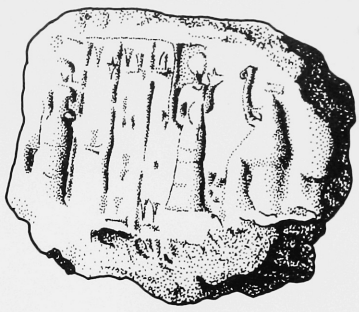
A deity in a long horizontal folded garment is seated on a bench, holding an emblem vertically in front of himself. A worshipper, wearing a long garment, is offering an animal to this deity. Behind this worshipper, on the lower part of the scene, is a very small figure in profile with a round staged cap, holding his hands upward. Behind this small figure a standing figure in profile, wearing a long garment, holds his hands diagonally upright in a position of prayer. The scene is emphasized by thick bands of clear lines in a style rather special to Haft Tepe and not found on seals from other sites.

251 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 261*
Plate 34; Ill. 7
Offering scene

An animal is being presented to a seated deity by a standing worshipper wearing a long garment.

252 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 2*
Plate 34
Offering scene

This seal impression contains, on two sides, different parts of an offering scene to a deity, in profile with a large conical headdress, partly missing, with side horns and lines indicating a star-like object on top. His hair hangs below his shoulders, and he wears a long garment, as he sits on a simple bench. The seated deity is confronted by an imaginary combined creature, in profile with a conical staged headdress with an additional upright horn or other part in front and a horizontal brim in back. This creature has a human upper body with a narrow waist with a small round rosette at the back and a lower body like a walking horse with a long tail reaching the ground.



Ill. 7

Behind the seated deity is a standing worshipper in profile, in a long garment with a staged skirt reaching the ankles, whose feet, in profile, are directed toward the deity and whose upright hands are joined in prayer. Behind this praying figure are three columns of cuneiform writing.

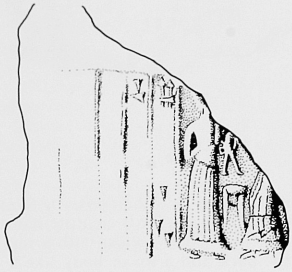
253 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 262*
Plate 34
Offering scene

The seated deity, of whom only part of the upper body remains, seems to follow the general pattern of the seated deity of Haft Tepe Common Style. Behind this deity a second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment, looks toward the back of the seated deity. He holds his hands upward from the elbow offering something which looks like a large animal or bird. Below his elbow is a rectangular object which may be connected to this bird. Behind this figure are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription, and between the deity and this figure, on the lower part of the scene, is a plant with many branches.

254 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 263*
Plate 34
Offering scene

The deity here, head in profile with shoulders in three-quarter view, sits on a rather high throne placed on an animal with straight horns, such as a mountain goat, whose lower body, at the edge of the seal impression, is partly missing. The deity, wearing a long staged garment with vertical folds or pleats on each tier, holds an emblem with a round top on a triangular

stand. A second figure is a standing worshipper with a large head, wearing a long garment, who offers an animal, possibly a deer or mountain goat, to the seated deity. Behind this second figure is a vertical emblem with two ovals over each other at the top. In between the seated deity and the second figure, on the lower part of the scene, are several lines which seem to represent a small kneeling human figure, although the design is not very clear.



Ill. 8

255 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 107*
Plate 34; Ill. 8
Offering scene
Incomplete

In this unusual scene only part of the seated deity's staged garment with vertical folds within the stages appears at the edge of the impression. A second standing figure, head in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment with vertical folds along the length of the skirt and a belt set diagonally at the waist with diagonal pleating below, is holding a small human figure, in the manner of a baby, in front of his chest, presenting it to the seated deity. Between the seated deity and the standing figure, on the lower part of the scene, is a table-like stand. Behind the offering figure are columns of cuneiform inscription.

PRAYING SCENES

Another group of seal impressions contains praying scenes with varying numbers of attendants and sometimes with other elements including small human figures. Most are made in the Common Style of Haft Tepe, with rather smooth body surfaces, and contain figures wearing similar types of dress, except for the first seal impression described below (**256**), in which the garments worn by the attendants are much more detailed.

Ill. 9

256 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 4C*
Plates 35, 40; Ill. 9
Praying scene
See also **310** and **314**, which are on the same clay fragment

This seal impression is one of three different imprints which appear on a large piece of jar stopper. Although the imprints were made at the same time, one of them shows a slight difference in style. The scene discussed here is from the lower register of the stopper and shows a deity, head in profile with details of feature indicated by well-pronounced straight lines with angular connections and shoulders in three-quarter view. He sits on a bench decorated by parallel vertical bands. He has a large round headdress with horn decoration at the edge extending toward the front and continuing to the upper part of the cap with hair behind reaching to his shoulders, and wears a long garment which is plain on top with tiers formed of parallel rectangles. He has one hand on his chest while the other holds an emblem of which the upper part is smeared and unclear. In front of this deity is a standing worshipper, in complete profile even in shoulder area, with a rather low round cap with simple parallel lines at the edge and hair hanging to his nape ending in a circular curl. His hands, bent from the elbows, are joined in an upright position of prayer. He wears a garment covering his entire body from shoulder to ground, with a staged checkered decoration similar to that on the garment worn by the seated deity. Between these two large figures is a smaller standing figure with a round cap with projecting brim, wearing a long garment with the same checkered design, who holds in front of himself an object like a jar as an offering to the seated deity. At the sides are vertical columns of inscription.

Most of the praying scenes have three or more figurines and this composition with only two figures is rare. A praying scene with two figures—a seated deity and a worshipper—similar in composition but not in

details, appears on a seal impression from Nuzi, classified by Porada to Group XIX, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXIV No. 684, pp. 11, 54-56) while another similar praying scene with a seated deity and a worshipper with hands held diagonally upright toward the deity, with a small figure or object which is not very clear on the lower part of the scene between the two figures, appears on a seal from Susa which is assigned by Amiet to the Simashki period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 154 No. 1661; V. I, p. 214).

257 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 76*
Plate 35
Praying scene

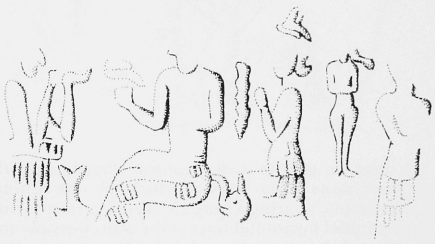
A deity in profile with a round staged headdress or cap, partly damaged and unclear, sits on a throne with a vertical back around which something similar to a snake is twisted. He wears a long flounced garment and holds vertically in front of himself a decorative emblem with a circular knob at the base, several round knobs on the stem, and a large star on top. A second figure, in profile behind and facing the seated deity, holds his hands vertically upright from the elbow in prayer. Between the worshipper and the seated deity is an upright animal on its hind legs.

A third figure with a round cap, in profile, wearing a long garment, confronts the deity with his hands reaching toward the star-topped emblem. Behind this intercessor is a fourth figure, standing in profile facing the seated deity, with a conical cap with a pronounced thick brim, whose hands hang down alongside his body. Behind him is another vertical emblem with globular knobs along its length and a star on top.

A praying figure behind a seated deity appears on a seal attributed by Contenau to the Second Syro-Hittite period, with suggested date of the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XXI No. 153, p. 211). Another scene with a worshipper behind a seated deity appears on a seal impression of Nuzi, classified by Porada to Group XVI, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXX No. 614, pp. 11, 42, 44-45). This scene with a worshipper holding both hands upright in prayer behind and facing a seated deity is not very common on seals from other sites, except for the two examples mentioned which are contemporary with the Haft Tepe period. This scene occurs frequently on the Haft Tepe seal impressions and seems to have been a special pattern of the seal cutters of Haft Tepe. There may be a particular religious belief related to the praying figure behind the seated deity in contrast to the strong protective and heroic figure which appears on seals with a similar scene from earlier times.

258 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 73*
Plate 35
Praying scene
Almost complete

A deity, wearing a long garment, sits on a throne decorated at the top by an object with many small knobs which may be a plant, emblem, or animal head, and holds in his hand in front of himself a small object which is either an emblem or a human figure. A second standing figure, wearing a long staged and pleated garment faces and directs his hands toward the seated deity. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, is a small standing figure, with a third large figure, wearing a long garment, standing and facing behind the seated deity, holding both hands vertically upwards from the elbow in prayer.



Ill. 10

259 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 28*
Plate 35; Ill. 10
Praying scene
Partly missing at the bottom

A deity, in profile wearing a long checkered garment, sits on a throne decorated at the top with an animal head or horns, with one hand on the waist and the other extended forward, possibly holding an object with a star on top. A second figure, in profile wearing a long garment with vertical folds on the skirt, looks toward the seated deity, holding both hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, is an object similar to the tail of a fish or a stand. A third figure, in profile, with a round cap with an uplifted front and downturned back brim and pigtails of hair hanging in a curl at the nape, wearing a long garment with vertical folds on the skirt, holds his hands vertically up from the elbow in prayer. Behind this figure, looking toward the seated deity, is a small standing nude female, with her head missing, but part of her hair hanging in a curl at one side indicating that the head is in profile, and her body in front view, with her hands on her breasts. At the broken edge of the scene, next to this nude figure, is a small part of the body of a fourth figure.

260, 261 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 264, H.T.S. 10*
Plate 35; Ill. 11
Praying scene
Two seal impressions made by the same seal, one more complete than the other

Ill. 11

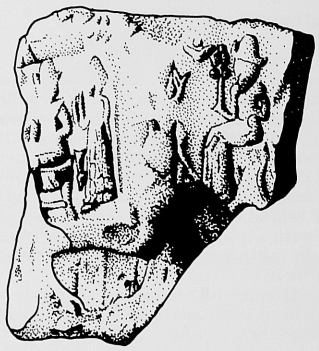
A deity, in profile with a conical staged cap with uplifted horns at the sides of which the one behind only remains, wearing a long checkered garment with three parallel horizontal lines at the waist possibly indicating a belt, is seated on a bench. One hand rests on his waist while the other holds a plant in front of himself. A second figure, facing behind the seated deity, is squatting with arms uplifted in prayer. He has a cap with an unusual decoration of branches shooting outward. Behind the praying figure is cuneiform writing. On the whole this scene with the squatting worshipper is rather unusual.

262 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 226*
Plate 35
Praying scene
A seated deity, with head in profile and three-quarter shoulders, wears a conical staged crown with a thick brim. Behind him is a second figure, in profile with a conical staged cap with a thick brim, wearing a long checkered tiered garment who faces toward the back of the seated deity, holding his hands vertically upright from the elbow in prayer. Behind this figure are vertical lines of inscriptions.

263 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 201*, *H.T.S. 201A*
Plate 35
Praying scene
One side of this clay fragment (*H.T.S. 201*, Plate 35) contains the upper part of a praying figure with three columns of inscription behind. Next to the inscription is an imaginary figure with the upper part human and the lower part horse, confronting another figure of which only the lower part of the garment remains.

The other side of the same clay fragment (*H.T.S. 201A*, not illustrated) contains the upper part of a praying scene with a deity, possibly seated, in profile with a round cap with a border line and a pigtail of hair hanging behind ending in a small spiral curl, who follows the standard pattern of holding one hand forward with some object or emblem, but the impression is broken and unclear at this point. Behind the deity is a second standing figure, in profile with hair hanging at the nape, wearing a long garment, with hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer. Vertical columns of inscription are behind this praying figure.

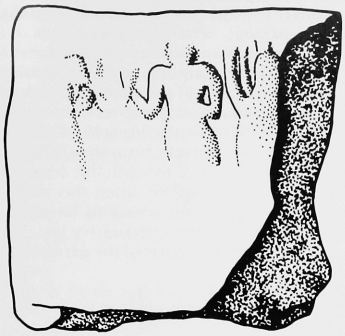
252 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 2*
Plate 34
Praying scene
Already discussed above as an offering scene



Ill. 12

264 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 67*
Plate 35; Ill. 12
Praying scene
This seal impression contains sections which are possibly parts of the same praying scene. A bearded deity, in profile, with a long conical crown with a rounded top and horns on each side, wearing a long garment, is seated on a throne decorated by diagonal cross hatching which produces a checkered lozenge pattern with a dentation of triangular bands at the top edge of an additional projection which may be an animal head. He holds in front of himself a geometricized plant or emblem with a vertical stem and circular flowers or fruits. A second figure, standing in front of the seated deity, with head in profile and shoulders in three-quarter view, has a round cap with a projecting brim in front, and wears a long skirt tied at the waist by a belt or shawl. This figure holds vertically an emblem or tree branch with a star on top, possibly to be presented to the seated deity. Between these two figures, on the upper part of the scene, is a crescent moon with a round knob in the center, which may represent the moon god Sin. A third figure, standing in profile behind and facing the seated deity, with a conical cap with a round top and hair hanging behind,

wearing a long staged garment with an elongated checkered design, holds his hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer.



Ill. 13

265 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 83*
Plate 36; Ill. 13
Praying scene

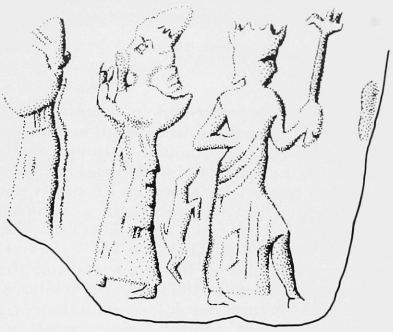
Only the upper part of this scene is preserved, with a seated deity, in profile, holding something in front of himself which is not clear. A second figure in front of the deity is also not clear. A third rather heavy figure holds his arms upright in a position of prayer. This seal impression in general is obscure and the workmanship seems to be rather careless.

266 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 121*
Plate 36
Praying scene

In the standard pattern of the Haft Tepe Common Style, the deity, wearing a staged garment, is seated on a throne which either is decorated at the back of the seat in the shape of an animal head, or is covered by an animal skin with the head hanging behind the throne. A second figure, standing in profile behind the seated deity, who wears a long staged garment with parallel vertical hatching, holds his hands upright in prayer. Behind this figure is part of an inscribed column.

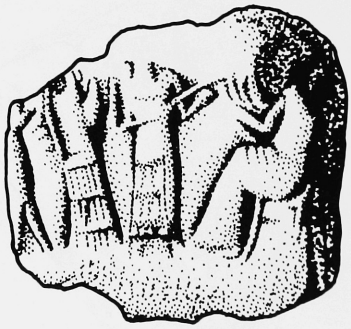
267 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 59*
Plate 36; Ill. 14
Praying scene

A standing deity, in profile with a rather conical headdress with festoons on the upper front edge and elongated curved points at the sides and top, like an animal skin cap, wearing a beautifully pleated long garment which covers one shoulder and reaches to the ankles with an open front, extends one leg forward. A second figure, standing in profile behind and facing away from the deity, has a long conical cap with a



Ill. 14

round top and dentation at the brim and wears a long staged skirted garment with parallel vertical pleats on each stage. He has a bundle, possibly a quiver, behind his shoulder and holds his hands upright in a position of prayer. Between the deity and this worshipper a doglike animal stands on its hind legs leaning toward the deity. A third heavier figure, standing in profile, with a headdress with a very thick staged brim and hair hanging behind, wearing a long garment, holds his hands upright in prayer. The marching of these two praying figures away from the standing deity may indicate that another more important deity completed the



Ill. 15

scene, and, in fact, at the edge of the impression in front of the standing deity is a projecting form which may be part of the arm and shoulders of a seated deity.

268 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 123*
Plate 36; Ill. 15
Praying scene

The incompletely preserved deity in profile, possibly wearing a long staged garment, holds an emblem or mace vertically in front of himself. In front of this deity a standing figure, in profile wearing a long garment with vertical parallel folds, extends his hands toward the deity. Behind him is another figure wearing a long garment in staged sections with parallel vertical folds on each section and parallel horizontal lines at the lower edge who holds his hands upright from the elbows in prayer. A parallel thick line which follows the shape of his body from shoulder to ground may represent a snake. Part of a fourth figure appears at the broken edge of the scene.

269 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 112*
Plate 36; Ill. 16
This clay fragment carries traces of two separate seals both with intercession scenes

The lower impression is the more complete of the two and contains an intercession scene with a praying figure. A deity, in profile, with a tall conical staged crown with horns or uplifted curved brim on each side and hair hanging behind, wearing a long garment with vertical folds at the bottom, sits on a throne with some decoration at its top front corner and holds vertically a straight emblem similar to a decorative tree with circular fruit or flowers which is partly smeared away. A second figure, standing in three-quarter view with his legs more separated than usual, with a round cap with a small conical uplifted center, wearing a long checkered garment, who holds his hands diagonally upward toward the seated deity seems to be an intercessant. A third figure, standing in profile behind the intercessant, with a conical truncated flat top cap with a projecting brim and hair hanging behind, wearing a long garment with vertical folds below the waist, holds his hands vertically upright from the elbows in a position of prayer, directed toward the seated diety. A fourth figure is incomplete since the impression is broken at this point, but seems to be standing and holding an emblem with a decorative top. The upper scene contains the lower parts of the garments of the attendants.

Ill. 16

270 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 90*
Plate 36
Praying scene
Incomplete

One figure may be either a seated or standing deity, since only the uplifted hands and part of a checkered garment appear at the edge of the impression. In the center of the scene is a rather tall vertical plant with a pronounced round root and a plain stem from which several branches sprout diagonally at the sides and straight up at the top. Each branch is crowned by a circular flower or fruit. This plant is shown in a natural form in accordance with Haft Tepe Common Style. A second figure, with a large headdress decorated with concentric circles and hair hanging at the nape, is a standing worshipper in profile, wearing a long garment, who faces the plant with his hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer.

A similar seal impression with a plant in the center and a group of worshippers with arms uplifted vertically from the elbows on each side, from Susa, is classified by Amiet to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pls. 194, 195 No. 2331, p. 294), while a seal impression from Nuzi with a rather closely similar scene of a praying figure with hands uplifted in front of a very similar plant is classified by Porada to Group III, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. VII No. 110, p. 10).

271 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 195*
Plate 36
Praying scene
Incomplete

A deity with a conical staged crown with horns on each side, wearing a long pleated garment with parallel horizontal lines on the lower skirt sits on a throne decorated with vertical and horizontal hatching. He has a branch, possibly of a palm tree, on his lap and projecting thorn-like sticks sprout from his shoulders. Behind him is a smaller figure with a staged conical cap with uplifted brim and very long hair hanging be-

hind to the hips, wearing a long garment, whose hands are held vertically up from the elbow in a position of prayer.

272 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 60*
Plate 36
Praying scene
Incomplete
A seated deity, in profile, wears a round crown with uplifted horns on each side. A second figure behind the deity holds hands uplifted vertically from the elbows in prayer. Other figures on the impression are not very clear.

273 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 105*
Plate 36
Praying scene
Fragmentary
A standing figure, in profile, wearing a long garment, holds both hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer. Columns of vertical inscription appear behind the worshipper.

274 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 72*
Plate 36
Praying scene
A standing deity wears a long garment with pronounced vertical folds. His upper body is smeared and unclear. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a vertical pleated garment, holds both hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer. The head of this worshipper is also smeared and unclear. A third figure, also in a position of prayer, is not very clear.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

The praying scene, a traditional one used over a long period in the Near and Middle East, consists of worshippers praying to a deity with two, three, or more figures as intercessors or witnesses, and sometimes additional signs symbolizing gods or goddesses or other elements. Although this pattern was followed, in a general way, in different cultures and regions of the ancient world from the third to the first millennium B.C., each culture had a particular style with its own characteristics of detail and workmanship.

Several seals from Susa with a generally similar praying scene are assigned by De Mecquenem to 2300-1800 B.C. (De Mecquenem 1943: Fig. 95 Nos. 3, 7, 10, p. 129). Seals with a scene of a seated deity, an intercessor or introducer, and a worshipper with hands held vertically upright in prayer, from Susa, are attributed by Amiet to the Neo-Sumerian or Shimashki period and to the dynasties of Anshan and Susa (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 33, 153 Nos. 1645, 1677, Pl. 34, 156-58 Nos. 1676, 1680, 1683, 1686, 1689, 1692-94; V. I, pp. 213-19). Several seals with a praying scene in front of a standing god and another attendant with a worshipper with vertically uplifted hands and an inscription, in the British Museum, the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and the De Clerq collection in Paris are assigned to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXV c, e, j, Pl. XXXI, pp. 144-46) while others are attributed to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVI e, i, j, Pl. XXVII a, b, d-g, i, Pl. XXVIII b, h, i, j, Pl. XXIX j). A seal in the Louvre with a praying scene with a standing deity and an intercessant is classified by Frankfort to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXX d, p. 153).

Seals with praying scenes, in the Walters Art Gallery, are attributed by Gordon to the Third Dynasty of Ur and the First Dynasty of Babylon (Gordon 1939: Pl. III Nos. 11, 13-15, Pl. IV Nos. 26, 27, p. 6). Seals with praying scenes in the Newell collection are classified by Von Der Osten to the Sumer-Akkadian (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XV Nos. 173, 174, 177-79, p. 12), Babylonian (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XV Nos. 180, 182, Pl. XVI No. 206, Pl. XVII Nos. 214, 215, Pl. XVIII Nos. 230-35, 237, 242, 246, Pl. XIX Nos. 247, 254), Kassite (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XIX Nos. 260, 262, 263), and Hittite (Cappadocian) periods (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XXII Nos. 297-301, 303). Cylinder seals with praying scenes in the Pierpont Morgan Library are classified by Ward to various Babylonian periods of the late third and second millennium B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. X Nos. 62-67, pp. 44-45, Pl. XI Nos. 74, 75, pp. 477-78, Pl. XIV Nos. 91, 93, 99, pp. 54-55, Pl. XXV Nos. 102, 103, 108, 109, pp. 58, 60, Pl. XVI Nos. 110-12, 115, pp. 61-62).

Seals with a praying scene in which a worshipper has both hands vertically uplifted, in the Brett collection, are classified by Von Der Osten to the Sumer-Akkadian (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VI Nos. 45-47, 51, 53, 54, 56-58, pp. 1, 7-9), Babylonian (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VII Nos. 59-65, 67, 73, Pl. VIII Nos. 74-79, pp. 1, 10-12), and Cappadocian (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VIII No. 85, pp. 1, 13). Seals in the Moore collection with praying scenes in which a worshipper holds both hands vertically upright are classified by Eisen to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Eisen 1940: Pl. VII Nos. 52-54, p. 27), the First Dynasty of Babylon (Eisen 1940: Pl. VII Nos. 56-58, 62, 64-66, p. 28), and the First Syrian Group (Eisen 1940: Pl. XIII Nos. 129, 130, p. 34).

Several seals in the Pierpont Morgan Library with praying scenes are classified by Porada to the First Dynasty of Babylon, with a suggested date of 1700-1530 B.C. (Porada 1947a: Figs. 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, pp. 44-47). A seal in the collection of Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio in Jerusalem with a similar pattern of a worshipper in front of an inscription is classified by Porada to the Ammurru Dynasty (Porada 1938: Pl. I No. 9, p. 7 No. 9). Praying figures appear on seals classified by Frankfort as First Group of Syrian Seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLI b, i, j-l), Second Group of Syrian Seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLII d, g, j), and also Mitannean Seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIII b).

Seals from Susa with a pattern of standing deities with two other figures, one as an intercessor or introducer and the other as a worshipper with hands held vertically upright from the elbow in prayer, sometimes with more figures and elements, are classified by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 34, 160-65 Nos. 1736, 1737, 1740, 1743, 1744, 1747, 1757-60, pp. 228-33) as are other seals with a praying scene with two figures, one a standing deity and other a worshipper with upright hands in a position of prayer, often with a vertical column of cuneiform inscription at one side and sometimes with additional small or imaginary figures and sign elements (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 164 Nos. 1792, 1794, 1795, 1797-1802, 1806, 1807; V. I, pp. 235-36). Seals with praying scenes from Susa are also classified by Lambert to the Sukkalmahhu Period (Lambert 1966: Pl. VII 5, Pl. VIII 6-8, 10, 12, pp. 40-42).

Seals with praying figures described by Contenau as Syro-Hittite seals of various periods include, in the Louvre, one seal classified as Cappadocian Group (2400-1600 B.C.) (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. IV No. 11, p. 211), two seals as Second Period Syro-Hittite (sixteenth to eleventh century B.C.) (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XXIII No. 168, Pl. XXV No. 176, p. 211), one seal as Second Period from Kirkouk or Gezer (sixteenth to eleventh century B.C.) (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XVIII No. 138, Pl. XXI No. 156, p. 211); in the British Museum, two seals classified as Second Period of Assur (sixteenth to eleventh century B.C.) (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XXXIX No. 300, Pl. XLI No. 307, p. 211); and, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, two seals classified as Second Period from Kirkouk and Gezer (sixteenth to eleventh century B.C.) (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XXXVII Nos. 275, 283, p. 211) and one seal from Cyprus classified as a Syro-Hittite seal of Second Cypriote Period (sixteenth to eleventh century B.C.) (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XXX No. 205, p. 211).

A large group of seal impressions from Nuzi contain praying scenes with varying numbers of attendants around a seated deity, a standing deity, a plant symbolizing a deity, or emblems, animal heads, and inscriptions also symbolizing deities. Worshippers with both hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer may be among the attendants, behind an intercessant, alone in front of the deity or elements symbolizing the diety, or symmetrically located on both sides of a deity or symbol of deity. These seal impressions, assigned by Porada to various groups, are described as Mitannean seal impressions, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (1947b: Pl. II Nos. 90, 94, 95, 98, Pl. VII No. 100, Pl. XI No. 178, Pl. XII Nos. 193, 197-99A, Pl. XVII No. 316, Pl. XXI No. 414, Pl. XXII Nos. 434, 436, 444, Pl. XXIV Nos. 477, 478, 492, Pl. XXV No. 498, Pl. XXVI Nos. 521, 522, 524, 525, Pl. XXVII Nos. 537, 538, 545-47, Pl. XXVIII Nos. 555, 559, Pl. XXX Nos. 604-09, 614, Pl. XXXI Nos. 626, 627, 629-31, Pl. XXXIII Nos. 656, 657, 659, 669, 674, Pl. XXXIV Nos. 684, 686-88, 694, Pl. XLVII No. 966, Pl. XLIX Nos. 993-95, Pl. L No. 1001, pp. 11-12).

Although many seals found throughout a large area of the ancient world, from the Mediterranean Sea to western Iran, contain praying scenes with general similarities to the Haft Tepe seal impressions, they also reveal differences of detail, style, and workmanship. Among the comparable seals those with the closest similarities to the Haft Tepe seal impressions with praying scenes include the Nuzi seal impressions, Susa seal impressions of the Sukkalmahhu period, and seals in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, although the latter collection is not restricted to a particular site or region.

Some particular details can be noticed in the praying scene on the Haft Tepe seal impressions. The figure in praying position has both hands almost vertically rather than diagonally uplifted from the elbows. Also, in the Haft Tepe seal impressions with a seated deity as the main figure, the worshipper standing with both arms vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer is behind the seated deity. The composition with a standing worshipper behind a seated deity is almost completely lacking in other seals and seal impressions except for one, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXIX No. 428), classified by Frankfort to First Syrian Group with suggested date of 1900-1700 B.C. (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLI b, pp. 253-257), and a second from Nuzi, classified by Porada to Mitannean Style of Group XVI, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXX No. 614, pp. 11, 44).

The frequency of this scene on seal impressions of Haft Tepe seems to indicate that the composition of a praying figure behind a seated deity should be considered characteristic of the Haft Tepe seals of the middle of the second millennium, between 1505 and 1350 B.C. The absence of this type of praying scene on seals and seal impressions from Susa supports the suggestion that this particular scene composition should be considered distinctive to Haft Tepe.

SEATED DEITY WITH PLANT EMBLEM

This group of seal impressions contains a ceremonial scene of one or more attendants in audience with a seated deity who holds in his hand, as an emblem, a plant which may be natural in form or rather stylized and geometricized. On a few seal impressions a vertical geometricized plant appears alone rather than in the hand of a seated deity.

SEATED DEITY WITH NATURAL PLANTS

275 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 65*
Ill. 17
Audience scene

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment with vertical folds on the upper part and pleated stages on the skirt, holds diagonally in front of himself a plant with a natural shape of root, stem, and leaves with a flower on top. A second figure, of which only a small part of the body and hands remains, directs both hands diagonally upward toward the plant. Behind the seated deity a worshipper, in profile, wearing a long pleated garment, holds both hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer. Behind the worshipper are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

Ill. 17

276 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 267*
Plate 37
Audience scene

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wears a long garment with two parallel thick bands at the waist indicating a belt. The area of his head is smeared and unclear. He holds vertically in front of himself a plant of natural shape with a straight stem and branches sprouting diagonally upward on each side, with what may be a round flower or fruit on top of some of the branches. The lower part of the scene is missing. A second figure, of whom only the upper body remains, holds both hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer.

277 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 268*
Plate 37
Audience scene
Fragment only preserved

A seated deity, only partly remaining, with a cap with a rather thick brim, of which the upper part is missing, wearing a long folded garment with cross hatching on the skirt, sits on a throne also decorated by diagonal cross hatching. This deity holds vertically in front of himself a clearly detailed plant with a prominent round root and straight stem with leafy branches sprouting symmetrically from each side, converging toward the top of the plant. Some unclear marks on the lower part of the scene may represent an object or an animal.

278 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 269*
Plate 37
Fragment only preserved

A plant with a thick vertical straight stem and parallel branches symmetrically sprouting on each side is held by a seated deity whose hands appear on each side of the stem.

279 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 133*
Plate 37
Audience scene
Nearly complete; on part of an envelope which possibly also contains an inscription

The deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a conical staged crown with a large brim at the back, wears a long garment. His nose and eyes are indicated by straight emphasized lines; he sits on a throne whose upper frame line extends back to a hook shaped top, and holds an unclear object similar to a plant with a thick vertical stem and branches at the top or a vertical fish. A second figure with similar representation of nose and eyes, wearing a long garment and a large round hat, stands with one hand on his waist and the other directed toward the plantlike emblem. Behind the seated deity is an object like an upright fish. Next to the fish and behind the seated deity is a third figure, a standing deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with the same treatment of eye and nose, wearing an open skirt with one leg extended with the foot placed on a projection. He holds a vertical tree with a thick straight trunk and branches on top, rather similar to a palm tree, or two vertical fish alternating head and tail. On the upper part of the scene behind this standing deity is a small kneeling human figure. Whether the main figure is the standing deity or the seated deity is not clear.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

Scenes containing a seated deity holding a plant can be seen on other published seals and seal impressions. Ward suggests that this seated deity is the Agricultural Goddess and the plant is possibly wheat (Ward 1910: p. 375, Fig. 10 a, 11). Several seals from Susa with a natural plant or tree which may be a palm are classified by De Mecquenem to about the twenty-third century B.C. (De Mecquenem 1934: Fig. 62 No. 2, Fig. 82 No. 2) and to 2000-1500 B.C. (De Mecquenem 1943: Fig. 96 Nos. 7-12, pp. 129-31), while Susa seals with a natural plant or tree are classified by Amiet to the Akkadian and Post Akkadian Periods (Amiet 1972: V. II, Nos.

1609, 1610, 1624; V. I, p. 204) and to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Nos. 2330-32; V. I, pp. 294, 297). De Miroshedji classifies a seal with a seated deity holding a branch of a plant to the eighteenth to seventeenth century B.C. (De Miroshedji 1981: Pl. II 4). A seal with a natural appearing tree in the Moore collections is assigned by Eisen to the Kassite Period (Eisen 1940: Pl. VIII No. 67, p. 50). A group of seals and seal impressions in the Ashmolean Museum with a natural tree are attributed by Buchanan to the Akkadian (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 28 Nos. 360-65, p. 67), Kassite (the emblem is identified as a trident rather than a plant) (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 38 No. 559, pp. 101-02), Middle Assyrian (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 38 Nos. 571, 572, p. 104), Neo-Assyrian (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 39 Nos. 581, 585, 586, 591, 592, 596, 600, 609, pp. 108-11), and Syrian (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 54 Nos. 839, 875, pp. 160, 162, 171) Periods.

Other seals with a natural tree or plant are classified by Frankfort to the Dynasty of Akkad (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXIV), Late Kassite Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXI g) and Middle Assyrian Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXI h-l). A large group of seal impressions from Nuzi with a natural plant or tree either held by a seated diety or appearing separately are classified by Porada to Groups I and II, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. I Nos. 1, 11, 12, 17, 19, Pl. II Nos. 21, 21b, 23, 25-30, Pl. III Nos. 35, 35a, 43, 46, pp. 11, 13, 16). Syro-Hittite seals with a natural plant or tree are described by Contenau as Cappodocian seals of the Second Period, with a suggested date of the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. XVII, p. 211, Pl. XXVIII 196, Pl. XXXIII 221, 224-26). Seals in the Morgan collection with natural trees are dated by Ward to around 1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XIX 132, 133, p. 68). Seals with natural plants or trees also appear in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delaporte 1910: Pl. II 21, Pl. IV 41, Pl. VI 57, 59, Pl. IX 79-82, Pl. XXI 304, 307, Pl. XXV 381, Pl. XXVI 377, Pl. XXXIII 503) and in the Newell collection (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XIV 153, 159).

Designs of plants and trees were used on cylinder seals from the earliest time of their production in the fourth millennium B.C. to the last examples made in the second half of the first millennium B.C., in a great variety of styles, often rather stylized or geometricized rather than natural in appearance. There are not many examples comparable to the Haft Tepe seal impressions containing a natural appearing plant or tree, and most of the comparable examples occur on seals or seal impressions belonging to the first half or more specifically to the middle of the second millennium B.C. Apparently the traditional pattern of the Sukkalmahhu period in the Susa Plain continued to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries at Haft Tepe where this traditional scene composition, in conjunction with cross-cultural influences particularly of Mitannean pattern as represented in the rich collection of seal impressions from Nuzi, together with the genuine local elements at Haft Tepe came together to produce this Haft Tepe style.

SEATED DEITY WITH CYPRUS-LIKE PLANTS

In this group of seal impressions the plant resembles a conical tree like a cyprus or an evergreen found in Iran called 'sarv'.

280 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 238*
Plate 37; Ill. 18
Audience or prayer scene
At end of cuneiform tablet *H.T. 28*
Complete

A deity in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a long conical staged crown with large upward pointing horns in front and a projecting curved line at the back ending in a knob like a snake head, wears a long flounced garment and sits on a simple frame throne. This deity holds vertically in front of himself a tree with an elongated conical shape in five stages, similar to an elaborate cyprus grown in Iran called 'sarv'. A second figure, a standing worshipper in profile, with a round headdress with a high staged conical center and hair hanging behind the nape, wearing a long flounced garment, holds both hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer.

281 Seal Impression on *H.T. 38*
Plate 37; Ill. 18
Audience or prayer scene
At end of inscribed tablet *H.T. 38*
281 and *H.T.S. 38* (**472**) transcribed and translated below, Chapter IX

The same seal made both this impression (**281**) and **280**.

Ill. 18

Ill. 19

Ill. 20

SEATED DEITY WITH STAGED EMBLEM

282 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 29*
Plate 37; Ill. 19
Audience scene
Partial

A seated deity, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment decorated at the top by horizontal parallel bands holds vertically in front of himself an emblem consisting of a straight rod along which a parallel staged decoration is equally spaced. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment with parallel vertical folds, holds a human baby or animal of which only the legs remain. Behind the seated deity on the upper part of the scene are two small human figures.

A similar emblem with staged branches appears on a seal from Susa, classified by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 161 No. 1755; V. I, p. 230). This type of staged rod emblem seems to be local to the Susa plain and Haft Tepe and does not occur on seals from other areas.

SEATED DEITY HOLDING PLANTS WITH GLOBULAR FRUIT OR FLOWERS

This group of seal impressions contains a seated deity holding a rather geometricized plant with circular fruit or flowers.

283 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 15*
Plate 37; Ill. 20
Offering scene
Rather complete

A deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a decorative crown with two uplifted branches on top and two circular knobs on the back brim, wearing a long garment, sits on a decorative throne with circular joints, holding in front of himself a tree with thick straight trunk and circular fruit or flowers. In front of this seated deity is an imaginary combined creature in a double staged round cap with two connected large knobs on top, with a human upper body and horse-like lower body with a tail, who holds a mountain goat or deer as an offering. Behind the imaginary creature is a standing figure with a round cap with thick brim, wearing a long garment, who faces away from the seated deity toward another emblem possibly held by another deity wearing an open skirt with one leg extended forward. Behind the seated deity is a fourth figure, a worshipper, wearing a long garment, who holds both hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer. Marks of other objects on the scene are not clear.

284 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 104*
Plate 37
Audience scene

A seated deity holds an emblem similar to a tree with circular flowers. A second figure, wearing a long garment, is standing and facing the seated deity. Behind the worshipper are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription and on the other side of the inscription is another standing figure.

285 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 25A*
Plate 37
Audience scene

This seal impression contains a deity in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long flounced garment, who sits on a simple throne and holds in front of himself an emblem similar to a decorative plant with a thick straight stem and circular fruit or flowers. A second figure facing the seated deity is a combined imaginary creature with human upper body and animal lower body who holds a mountain goat as an offering. A third figure is a standing worshipper, in profile, wearing a long garment, who faces away from the seated deity, while a fourth figure is a standing deity wearing an open skirt with one leg extended forward.

286 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 88*
Plate 37
Audience scene
Incomplete

A deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a conical crown with rounded top and uplifted horns

on each side, sits on a simple frame throne, and holds vertically in front of himself an emblem with a thick straight stem or handle, similar to a plant with circular fruit or flowers, which is partly smeared and unclear. The seated deity is confronted by another figure whose hand only appears, reaching toward the emblem.

287 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 134*
Plate 37
Audience scene

The deity, in standard profile view with three-quarter shoulders, wears a long flounced garment and a headdress which is unclear. He sits on a throne with decorative features which also are not clear. The deity holds vertically in front of himself a plant with a rather pronounced circular root, a straight thick stem, and circular flowers. A second figure, standing in front of the seated deity, wearing a long garment with a vertical projection similar to an extended leg, holds his hands upward in a position of prayer.

269 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 112*
Plate 36; Ill. 16
Audience scene with seated deity holding plant emblem
Two separate seals on one piece of clay; already discussed above as a praying scene

288 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 270*
Plate 37
Audience scene

A seated deity, in profile, holds an emblem vertically which resembles a decorative plant with symmetrical round flowers or fruit on top of each side. A second figure is a standing worshipper who faces the deity, directing both hands toward the plant. Round marks behind the deity and worshipper are possibly parts of some emblems or other objects.

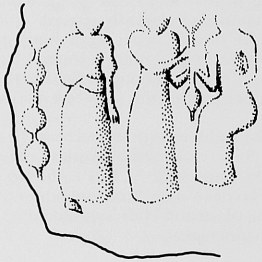
Ill. 21

289 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 5*
Plate 37; Ill. 21
Audience scene

Of the main figure, which may be a seated deity, only an arm and hand remain, holding vertically an emblem similar to a decorative plant with a round root, thick stem, and horizontal branches at the top ending in circular flowers or fruit, partly smeared away. A second figure, standing in profile in a large headdress with a large brim on each side, wearing a long garment with diagonal folds on one side of the skirt, faces the plant emblem with one hand uplifted parallel to it. Next to this figure is another standing figure, wearing a long garment with the front part of his body unclear, who faces away from the main group. On this same fragment is an incomplete scene with the lower parts of the bodies of some figures.

290 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 76A*
Plate 37; Ill. 22
Audience scene

A seated deity in profile with three-quarter shoulders holds vertically an emblem like a tree with a circular root, straight trunk, and the upper part unclear. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment, directs both hands toward the plant. Behind the second figure is a third figure, also standing, wearing a long garment with a wide belt, who faces the seated deity. Behind this third figure is a vertical tree or emblem, extending from the lower to upper edge of the scene, with large knobs spaced along the trunk.

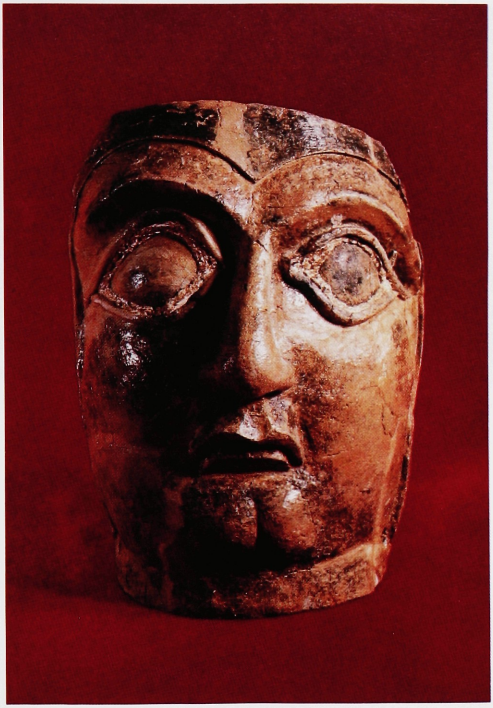


Ill. 22

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

This type of decorative plant with circular fruit or flowers appears on other seals and seal impressions. Ward describes this geometricized plant with circular flowers as the emblem of Stability, and suggests that it may be carried in the hand of a god such as Shamash (Ward 1910: pp. 513, 379).

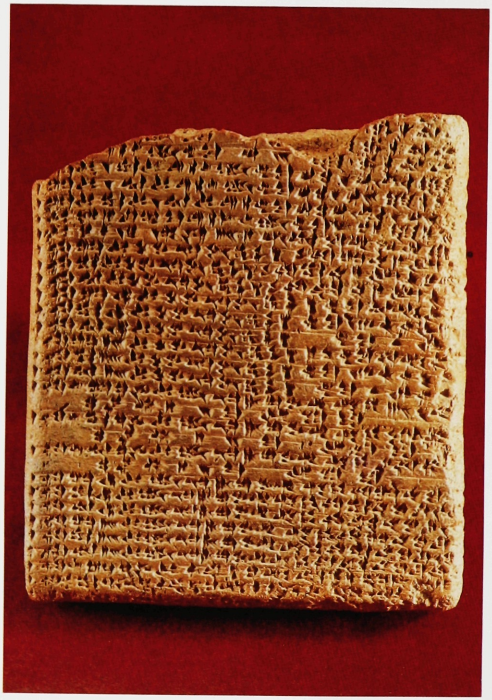
A seal in the Ashmolean Musum with somewhat similar geometricized circular fruit or flowers is attibuted by Buchanan to the Old Babylonian Period (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 37 548, p. 98). Several seals from Susa with decorative plants with circular flowers or fruit, comparable to the plants on the Haft Tepe seal impressions, are classified by Amiet to the periods of



168 Male Clay Mask.

217 Bronze Axe.

240 Black Stone Cylinder Seal made using Drill Hole Technique.



473 Tablet *H.T. 152*. For translation of select lines, see pp. 105-106.

the kings of Anshan and Susa (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 158 No. 1690; V. I, p. 218), to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 162 No. 1762, Pl. 164 No. 1790; V. I, pp. 231, 234), and to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 175 No. 2019). Seals with a similar type of decorative plant with circular flowers or fruit are classified by Frankfort to the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXX c, d) and to the Mitannean Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXI e). Other seals with a similar type of plant are described by Ward as Syro-Hittite seals (Ward 1910: 513, 379). A similar type of geometricized plant with circular flowers appears on seal impressions from Nuzi which are classified by Porada to Group XVI, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (1947b: Pl. XXX 618, Pls. XIII-XXIV, pp. 11, 42, 45), except that these are more natural in appearance and more comparable to the Haft Tepe seal impressions in Drill Hole Technique, which form a separate group.

A seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library with a similar decorative plant is attributed by Porada to Mitannean (North Mesopotamian) seal, with a suggested date of about 1500-1400 B.C. (Porada 1947a: Fig. 58, p. 50). Another seal in the Pierpont Morgan collection with a similar type of decorative tree with circular fruit or flowers is attributed by Ward to the vicinity of Assyria, with a suggested date of 1000-500 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXXII 242, p. 106), while this same seal is classified by Contenau as a Syro-Hittite seal of the Second Period with a suggested date of about the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: V. II, Fig. 155, p. 211). Two seals with a geometricized plant with circular flowers are classified by Contenau as Syro-Hittite seals of the Second Period from Kirkouk or Gezer, with a suggested date of about the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: Figs. 275, 276, p. 211). Several seals in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris also contain similar plants (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XII 148, Pl. XIII 154, Pl. XXX 439).

The comparable seals and seal impressions with a similar geometricized plant with circular fruit or flowers are attributed either to the first half or more often to the middle of the second millennium B.C. It seems that the geometricized plant with circular fruit or flowers of this time gradually developed into the more natural pattern in drill hole technique which was the predominant type of the second half of the second millennium B.C.

SEATED OR STANDING DEITY WITH STAR EMBLEM

291 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 58*
Plate 38
Audience scene

A seated deity, in profile, with a conical crown with horns or uplifted brim on each side, wears a long flounced garment. The deity sits on a simple frame throne and holds vertically an emblem with a rather thick straight handle crowned by a star on top. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment, brings one of his hands to the emblem at the point at which it is connected to the hand of the deity. Behind the seated deity are vertical lines of inscription.

292 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 97A*
Plate 38
Praying scene
Two seal impressions of the same seal on one piece of inscribed cuneiform tablet; *H.T.S. 97* is not illustrated here

Details are not very clear, but a deity, in profile, sits on a throne holding an emblem with a pointed star on top. A second figure, in profile, wearing a long garment, holds his hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer.

257 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 76*
Plate 35
Already discussed above as a praying scene; the deity holds a star emblem

293 Seal Impression *H.T.S 271*
not illustrated
Audience scene

A deity, in profile, wears a long garment with dentation at the edge and a belt indicated by parallel horizontal lines at the waist, and sits on a simple frame throne holding an emblem with a thick vertical handle and a cross-pointed star on top. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment with a headdress with short pointed branches, touches the emblem with one hand while the other hand is at his waist.

294 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 202*
Plate 38
See also **249**, which is on the same clay frament
Incomplete

The upper part of a figure in three-quarter view may be a deity. He holds in front of himself a vertical emblem with a straight handle and a cross-pointed star on top.

295 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 244*
Plate 38
Audience scene
Incomplete, disturbed at the center

Several figures with rounded caps with thin brims are standing in profile. A long vertical emblem with a thick straight handle extends almost from the lower to the upper edges of the scene where it is crowned by a cross-pointed star. Further decoration of globular knobs and horizontal small straight lines appears at and around the base of the emblem.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

The star has been interpreted as the sign of the goddess Ishtar. Ward suggests that the star represents the goddess of the planet Venus, or Ishtar, although in earlier cylinder seals it may represent the sun (Ward 1910: 395). The sign on the seal impressions of Haft Tepe is in the form of a simple cross rather than a star with separated points and thus may be intended to represent a cross. A rather decorative cross is described by Ward as a sign found on Kassite seals (Ward 1910: 394).

A seal with a rather more decorative emblem with a star-pointed top is classified by Frankfort to the Dynasty of Akkad (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXI b). Seals with similar emblems with star-pointed tops in the Ashmolean Museum are classified by Buchanan to the Akkadian (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 28 No. 348, p. 65) and Old Babylonian Periods (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 37 No. 551c, p. 99). A seal in the Cugnin collection with a similar emblem with a star on top is classified by Legrain to Syro-Hittite seals with foreign influence (Legrain 1911: Pl. V 51, pp. 38-39). Seals with a star emblem from Susa are assigned by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu Period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 166 No. 1821; V. I, p. 231) and to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 178 No. 2052; V. I, p. 264). Seal impressions with a similar star-pointed emblem, from Nuzi, are described by Porada as Mitannean seals of Group I (Porada 1947b: Pl. I No. 10, pp. 13-14), Group II (Porada 1947b: Pl. III Nos. 35, 35A, 37-40, 42, 42A, Pl. IV No. 66, pp. 17-18), Group XVI (Porada 1947b: Pls. XXX, LII No. 613, p. 44), and Group XVII (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXII No. 648, p. 50), dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: p. 11). A seal with a more decorative emblem with a star on top is assigned by Ward to Cypriote or Syrian seals with Egyptian style, with a suggested date of about 1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXVI No. 190, p. 87). A similar type of emblem with a shorter handle appears on a seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XVI 218).

The largest number of closely similar examples to the Haft Tepe star-pointed emblem are found in the seal impressions of Nuzi, attesting to the close cross-cultural connections between Mitannean Nuzi and Elamite Haft Tepe in the middle of the second millennium B.C.

DEITY WITH MACE

This group of seal impressions contains a deity holding a mace who is usually seated but, rarely, may be standing. A seated deity holding a club-like scepter is identified as the seated goddess of Bau-Gula'l by Ward (1910: 376-77), who says that in earlier periods the seated goddess Ishtar also appeared with several different types of clubs on her shoulders (1910: 377). Among the seal impressions of Haft Tepe several contain a seated deity holding a club-like scepter.

296 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 23*
Plate 38
Audience scene

A deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a large conical headdress with a horn in front with the back broken and missing, wearing a long two-staged garment, sits on a throne holding a club-like mace with two projecting heads above each other on top of a straight vertical handle. A second figure with a round headdress or hairdo, wearing a long flounced garment, stands facing the seated deity with hands directed toward the mace. Behind this figure are vertical columns of inscription.

297 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 48*
Plate 38
Audience scene

The workmanship does not accord with the Common Style of Haft Tepe and seems to have been produced by an inexperienced seal cutter. A deity, with a large conical headdress, wearing a long garment, sits on a throne with cross twisted legs. This deity, whose body is not well proportioned, holds a rather thick mace which tapers to a sharp point at the bottom while the top is enlarged. A second figure, in three-quarter view, not very clear in detail, with a large headdress, wearing a vertically folded long garment, faces the seated deity with his hand directed toward the club-like scepter. A third figure, standing in profile, who also seems to be a deity, does not have a large headdress and in fact apparently is without much hair. He wears a long vertically folded garment with an open front through which one leg extends forward, and holds an emblem or plant of which not enough remains to be identified. This seal is not well made, and may not be a product of Haft Tepe.

298 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 135*
Plate 38
Audience scene
Incomplete

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with long hair hanging behind to the elbows, wearing a long flounced garment, holds vertically a mace with a straight handle and an oval knob on top. The deity is confronted by a standing attendant, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, who directs both hands toward the mace. Behind the seated deity are vertical columns of inscription.

299 Seal Inscription *H.T.S. 63*
Plate 38
Audience scene
Incomplete

A deity, part of whose body is missing, in profile, wearing a flounced garment, sits on a throne decorated with what looks like an animal head. A standing deity, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment with an open skirt with one leg extended forward and the foot placed on a stand-like object which may symbolize a mountain, holds a mace vertically in front of himself. A third figure, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, faces the standing deity with hands directed toward the mace. Behind the standing deity is a tall vertical standard with decorated top which extends from the lower to upper edges of the scene.

300 Seal Impression *H.T.S 61*
Plate 38
Several imprints of the same seal, none complete
Fragmentary

A bearded deity, in profile, with a conical crown with horns on each side, wearing a long flounced garment, sits on a decorative throne in the shape of an animal body with the animal head projecting to form a rather high back. This deity holds vertically in front of himself a mace with a straight handle and two oval knobs above each other on top. Behind the seated deity is part of a nude standing figure in back view. In front of the deity are several standing figures, of a deity and worshippers, which are not clear in detail.

301 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 114*
Plate 38
Upper part of the scene only preserved

The most complete of the figures, which may be a deity, in profile, with a conical cap with large uplifted brim, wearing a long garment with vertical folds on the skirt, stands and holds vertically a mace with an oval top. In front of this standing deity is another standing figure, with a large cap, who carries on his shoulder a scepter or club-like object with a long handle and directs one hand toward the mace held by the deity. Behind is a figure facing in the opposite direction whose head only remains clear, wearing a conical headdress with horns on each side. Only part of the shoulder and head of a fourth figure remains, in profile, with a decorative hat with zigzag dentation on top.

302 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 272*
Plate 38
Fragmentary

A seated deity, in profile, wearing a long garment with crosshatching on the skirt and a diagonal thick band across the chest, sits either on a throne or on an animal similar to an elephant, which is not very clear. This deity holds vertically in front of himself a mace with a globular top. In front of him is a standing figure whose details are not clear.

303 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 273*
Plate 38
Fragmentary

The scene is not clear, but includes two standards with club-like maceheads on top of a straight handle. The larger standard has a tall, straight handle crowned by a circle and an oval. Small lines and globular knobs appear around the large macehead.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

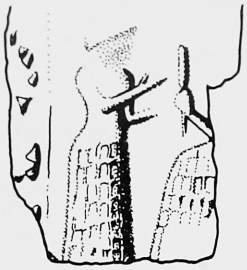
A seal with a seated deity holding a mace, in the Ashmolean Museum, is classified by Buchanan to the Akkadian Period (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 29 No. 381, p. 69), while seals containing a macehead in the hand of a deity are also classified by Frankfort to the Dynasty of Akkad (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXI i, p. 121). Seals from Susa with a club or mace in the hand of a deity are classified by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu Period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 162 No. 1756, 1758, Pl. 166 No. 1824; V. I, pp. 230, 238) and to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 175 Nos. 2020, 2028, Pl. 194 No. 2332; V. I, pp. 260-61). Several seal impressions from Nuzi containing a deity with a mace in his hand are ascribed by Porada to Mitannean Seals of Group I (Porada 1947b: Pl. I Nos 1, 6, 7, pp. 13-14) and Group III (Porada 1947b: Pl. VIII No. 130, p. 19). A seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library with a mace in the hand of a deity is attributed by Porada to Mitannean (North Mesopotamian) cylinder seals, with a suggested date of 1500-1400 B.C. (Porada 1947a: Fig. 58, p. 50). Other seals in the Morgan library with a mace or a club are described by Ward as Syro-Hittite seals of 1800-1400 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXVII 197, p. 90) and Babylonian seals of 1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XV 101, p. 58). Seals with a mace also appear in the collections of the Musée Guimet (Delaporte 1909: Pl. VI 91) and Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XII 149, Pl. XXIX 434, Pl. XXX 442, 444).

SEATED DEITY WITH STICK OR SPEAR EMBLEM

This group of seal impressions contains a seated deity holding an emblem which may be either a plain straight stick or a spear with an elongated triangular head.

304 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 56*
Plate 39; Ill. 23
Audience scene
Incomplete

A seated deity, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, holds vertically in his hand an emblem with a narrow bottom and thicker upper part, possibly part of a spear head, of which the top is damaged and unclear. A second figure, in profile with shoulders in three-quarter view, with a round headdress which has a

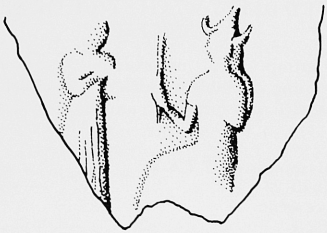


Ill. 23

noticeable brim, wearing a long flounced garment, faces the seated deity and directs his hands towards him in a respectful manner. Behind this standing figure is part of a vertical column of cuneiform inscription.

305 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 142*
Plate 39
Audience scene
At the end of a cuneiform text

A seated deity in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a tall conical staged crown which has an uplifted brim or horns at the sides, decorated at the edge by short straight parallel lines giving the effect of dentation, has long hair hanging behind the shoulders nearly to the level of the elbows. He wears a long flounced garment with short sleeves and holds vertically in front of himself a straight tall stick. Facing him is a combined creature with a lower body like a horse or bull, with a long tail and male organ, and a human upper body, holding a mountain goat as an offering to the deity. The area of the head of the deity and the imaginary creature is not clear. Behind the imaginary creature are vertical columns of inscription.



Ill. 24

306 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 77*
Plate 39; Ill. 24
Audience scene
Incomplete

The scene is similar in composition to **305** above. A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a tall conical staged crown with an uplifted brim or horns on the sides and long hair hanging nearly to the elbows, wearing a long garment, holds a plain stick vertically in front of himself. A second figure, in three-quarter view with a round cap which is not very clear, wearing a long flounced garment, faces the seated deity with hands directed forward in a respectful gesture.

307 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 274*
Plate 39
Audience scene
Complete

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a round two-staged hat, wearing a long flounced garment, holds in front of himself a spear with an elongated triangular head. A second figure, wearing a long garment, stands and faces the seated deity. The detail of this figure is not very clear. Behind the figures are vertical columns of inscription.

308 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 275*
not illustrated
Audience scene
Incomplete

A seated bearded deity, in profile, with a round crown with a pronounced thick brim, wearing a long garment with a checkered skirt, holds diagonally in front of himself a tall plain stick. A second bearded figure is a standing worshipper, in profile with three-quarter shoulders with a round cap with a thick brim, wearing a long garment with parallel folds on the skirt, facing the seated deity.

309 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 276*
Plate 39
Small portion of scene, repeated several times

A deity with a tall conical staged crown with horns at the sides sits on a well made throne with double framework, holding a plain stick vertically in front of himself. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

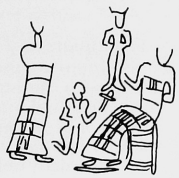
COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

Among published seals and seal impressions, a seated deity holding vertically a plain straight stick or spear is rather rare. This seems to be a local design of Haft Tepe.

SEATED DEITY HOLDING A SMALL HUMAN FIGURE

This group of seal impressions contains an audience scene with a seated deity who is associated with a small human figure, represented in a variety of attitudes. A small figure may be kneeling on the ground in front of

a seated deity who holds another small standing human figure in his hand; a small standing human figure may be on the ground next to a seated deity; or a small figure may be running or kneeling on the upper part of the scene, often above the hand of the seated deity.



Ill. 25

310 Seal Impression *H.T.S.* 4A
Plates 39, 40; Ill. 25
See also **256** and **314**, which are on the same clay fragment

This seal impression is one of three different imprints which appear on a large piece of jar stopper. Although the imprints were made at the same time, one of them shows a slight difference in style. The scene discussed here is from the top register of the stopper, and shows a seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long flounced garment, sitting on a simple frame throne and holding in one hand in front of himself a small standing human with a large angular cornered headdress, in front view with hands at waist and feet in opposing directions. In front of the seated deity in the lower part of the scene is another small human figure on both knees with one hand on his waist and the other directed toward the seated deity. A second normal-sized figure, standing in profile, wearing a long staged garment, faces the seated deity.

311 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 217*
Plate 40
Audience scene
Incomplete

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a round headdress behind his head, wearing a long flounced garment with a belt, with the lower part of his body missing, sits on a throne. A second figure, with a round cap, most of whose body is also missing, has one hand directed toward his waist and the other crossing his chest, resting on the opposite shoulder. Between these two figures, in the upper part of the scene, is a small figure resting on one knee with one hand on his waist while the other is directed upward, in an overall swastika position. Behind the seated deity are inscriptions.

312 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 277*
Plate 40
Praying scene

A seated deity holds in his extended hand a small running human figure. Details of the body and garment of the deity are partly smeared and unclear. A second figure, a standing worshipper in profile, with a tall staged elongated conical cap extending to a sharp point and pigtails hanging behind to the shoulders, wearing a long flounced garment, faces the seated deity with hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer. Behind this figure are several vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

313 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 241*
Plate 40
Audience scene
Incomplete

A seated deity, in profile, with a round headdress with hair hanging to the shoulder where in ends in circular curls, wearing a long garment with circles on it, rests one hand on his waist while the other is uplifted from the elbow in front of himself. He is confronted by another figure, of whom only a hand remains, directed diagonally upward toward the deity. Above the hand of this second figure, on the upper part of the scene, is a small kneeling nude human resting on one knee with his hands on his waist. Behind the seated deity part of a boat can be seen, containing a seated figure facing the deity. What seems to be part of the leg of a small kneeling nude human appears in front of the seated figure in the boat.

Ill. 26

314 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 4B*
Plate 40; Ill. 26
Audience scene
See also **256** and **310**, which are on the same clay fragment

This seal impression is one of three different imprints which appear on a large piece of jar stopper. Although the imprints were made at the same time, one of them shows a slight difference in style. The scene discussed here is the middle register of the stopper and features a large-scale seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a cylindrical crown with thick brim uplifted in front and turned down at back where

it extends down along with a hair curl. He wears a long flounced garment, and sits on a simple frame throne, with one hand at his waist and the other extended forward. A smaller second figure, standing in profile, with a round hairdress with hair hanging behind ending in a round curl, wearing a long garment with vertical pleated folds, faces the seated deity with one hand on his waist and the other lifted diagonally upward. Between these two figures, the one larger and the other smaller, is a much smaller human figure in profile on the upper part of the scene, facing away from the seated deity, with a cap with a horizontal brim, kneeling on one knee with one hand on his waist and the other directed forward, in an overall swastika position. A fourth figure, in the smallest scale, at ground level some distance below the standing figure, shown in three-quarter front view, is squatting with his hands embracing his contracted legs, looking upward toward the seated deity (not included in Ill. 26). Behind the deity are several vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

Ill. 27

315 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 8*
Plate 40; Ill. 27
Audience scene

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a decorative hairdress with hair bands and several large curls on top of the head and hair hanging behind, ending in a large spiral curl at the nape, sits on a throne whose shape is not clear because the impression is broken at this point, and clasps one hand toward his chest while the other is directed forward, holding a small figure. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment on which details are not clear, with a flower over one breast, rests one hand on his stomach while the other is held diagonally upward toward the deity. On the upper part of the scene above the hand of the seated deity are two figures, a small kneeling female in swastika position, resting on one knee and one foot with a hand on her breast, and a second figure with a very decorative arrangement of hair bands in three large locks on top of the head, holding a scepter like a small mace. Behind the seated deity are several vertical columns of inscription. On the lower part of the impression part of an audience scene with a seated deity appears which may repeat the same scene.

The nude kneeling female on this scene is somewhat similar in composition to the kneeling nude female on the bronze plaque of Haft Tepe (**481**: Plate 56).

316 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 104B*
Plate 40
Audience scene

This seal impression appears on a fragment of clay with several other impressions around it, all different. A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders wearing a long garment details of which are not clear, sits on a throne in the shape of an animal with a head and horns, fore and hind legs and tail, similar to a mountain goat or deer. This deity holds one hand forward on which there is a small standing human figure. A second figure, of which details are not clear, is standing in profile, wearing a long garment, facing the seated deity. On the lower part of the scene is a small kneeling human figure with hands directed toweard the deity. Behind this standing figure are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

317 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 106*
Plate 40
Incomplete

A male figure, with the head in profile and shoulders in three-quarter view, with pronounced lines indicating his features, wearing a long garment with vertically pleated skirt, holds vertically in one hand a long standard with an oval pointed knob on top while he extends his other hand forward, holding a small standing human figure, in front view, of which the upper body is smeared and missing at the bent edge of the inscription. Several vertical columns of inscription appear on both sides of the scene.

318 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 55*
Plate 40
Fragmentary
Three seal impressions, none of which are complete

One of the seal impressions is an audience scene with a deity, in profile, wearing a long garment, who sits on a throne, holding one hand on his chest while the other supports vertically a small standing nude female whose hands clasp her breasts. In front of the seated deity are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

319 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 278*
Plate 40
Audience scene
Partial

A very small portion of a seated deity, in profile, wearing a long garment, remains. A standing worshipper, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, directs both hands forward in a respectful manner. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene,

a nude female with an emphasized lower body holds her breast in one hand while the other is directed toward the seated deity.

320 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 119*
Plate 40
Audience scene
Partial

A deity, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, sits on a decorative throne. A second figure, of whom only a small part remains, is a standing worshipper, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, a small human figure, in three-quarter front view, with a round cap, is standing with one leg extended forward and one hand on his breast.

Ill. 28

321 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 66*
Ill. 28
Fragment contains two impressions of rather similar scenes

A deity, in profile, with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment, sitting on a decorative throne, holds in front of himself an emblem which is not clear. In front of the deity, on the lower part of the scene, is a small standing human figure, in front view, with a round cap with a large brim, holding one hand on his breast while the other is uplifted. Behind this figure are several vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

A similar type of scene with small humans as secondary figures or sign elements of a deity, both nude and clothed and in a variety of attitudes, appears on a number of published seals and seal impressions.

Seals from Susa with small humans are classified by Amiet to the period of the Anshan rulers of Susa (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 159 No. 1708; V. I, p. 221), the Sukkalmahhu Period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 162 Nos. 1762, 1769, 1770, Pl. 164 No. 1795, Pl. 166 Nos. 1820, 1821, 1824; V. I, pp. 231-32, 235, 237-38), and the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 175 No. 2020; V. I, p. 260). A seal in the Cugnin collection with a small human is dated by Legrain to the early part of the second millennium B.C. (Legrain 1911: Pl. IV No. 48, p. 1). Comparable seals with small humans in the Newell collection are classified by Von Der Osten to Sumer-Akkadian (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XV 177, p. 12) and Babylonian Periods (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XVI 206, Pl. XVII 217, Pl. XVIII 234, 246, p. 12). Seals in the Ashmolean with small secondary human figures are classified by Buchanan to the Old Babylonian Period (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 35 No. 503, p. 91) and the late second millennium B.C. (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 38 No. 561, p. 102). Seals in the Brett collection with comparable small human figures are attributed by Von Der Osten to the Babylonian (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VI 54, Pl. VII 62, 65, 71, 72, p. 1), Cappadocian (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VIII 85, p. 1), and Hittite (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VIII 86, Pl. IX 90, p. 1) periods.

Seals in the Moore collection with comparable designs are described by Eisen as Akkadian (Eisen 1940: Pl. VI 40-42, p. 27), First Syrian Group (Eisen 1940: Pl. XIII 130, p. 34), and Second Syrian Group (Eisen 1940: Pl. XIV 150, p.30). Some seals with small secondary human figures are attributed by Frankfort to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXV e), the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVI k, Pl. XXVII j, Pl. XXVIII k, Pl. XXXIX l, m, Pl. XXX c, d), the Late Kassite Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXI b), and the First Syrian Group (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLI b, k). Among Syro-Hittite seals are many with this pattern classified by Contenau as Cappadocian seals of the First Period (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. IV 13, 14, Pl. V 16, 17, Pl. VI 21, 22, Pl. VII 24, 25, Pl. IX 34, 35, p. 211) with a suggested date before the sixteenth century B.C., as seals of Transitional Type (Contenau 1922: Pl. XVII 129, 130, Pl. XVIII 132, 134, 137), and as Syro-Hittite (Contenau 1922: Pl. XXI 153), Kirkouk and Gezar (Contenau 1922: Pl. XXXVIII 285), and Assur (Contenau 1922: Pl. XL 305) seals of the Second Period, with a suggested date between the sixteenth and eleventh centuries B.C. (Contenau 1922: p. 211). Seals in the Franziskkanerklosters Flagellatio in Jerusalem

with small secondary human figures are assigned by Porada to the Amurru Dynasty (Porada 1938: Figs. 5a, 5, pp. 5-6). Some seal impressions from Nuzi with small scale secondary human figures comparable to the Haft Tepe pattern, are classified by Porada as Mitannean seals, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXI 629 A, Pl. XXXII 650, Pl. XXXIII 651, Pl. XLIX 987, p. 11). Seals with a similar pattern of small scale human figures in the Pierpont Morgan Library are assigned by Ward to 1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. IX 58, p. 42), 1500-1800 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XVI 114, 115, p. 62), to Syro-Hittite and Syro-Egyptian seals of 1800-1200 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXXII 243, 245, pp. 106-107), and to Hittite seals of 1500-1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXXIII 252, pl. 109); while Porada classifies these seals to the First Dynasty of Babylon (1750-1530 B.C.) (Porada 1947a: Fig. 51, p. 47), to the Kassite Period (1530-1180 B.C.) (Porada 1947a: Fig. 54, p. 48), and to Syrian seals of 1900-1200 B.C. (Porada 1947a: Fig. 102, p. 77). The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris also has seals with a comparable pattern of small human figures (Delaporte 1910: Pl. X 102, 108, Pl. XI 117, Pl. XIII 166, Pl. XV 205, 206, Pl. XVI 219, 220, 229, Pl. XVII 232, 241, 248, Pl. XIX 275, Pl. XXIX 428, 434).

SEATED DEITY WITH ANIMAL IN FRONT OF KNEE

Ill. 29

322 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 146*
Plate 40; Ill. 29
Audience scene
Partial

A seated deity, in profile, with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long staged garment, sits on a throne and holds vertically in front of himself a plant or emblem with a round end or root. A second figure, in profile, is a standing worshipper who faces the seated deity. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, an animal similar to a dog or turtle is climbing on the knee of the seated deity. At the side of the impression are columns of cuneiform inscription.

323 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 279*
Plate 40
Fragmentary

This fragment contains the lower part of a scene with a seated, or possibly a standing, deity whose lower body only remains, wearing a skirt with parallel vertical folds. A small part of the lower front skirt of a figure facing the deity remains. Between these two figures, in the lower part of the scene, an animal similar to a goat is climbing on the knee of the seated deity.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

Seals with similar scenes, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, are classified by Ward to different periods of the late third millennium B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. X 62-64, p. 44), and to 1800-1200 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XIV 98, p. 57); while some of these seals are attributed by Porada to the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1700-1530 B.C. (Porada 1947a: Fig. 46, pp. 44, 47). A seal in the Brett collection with a comparable scene is described by Von Der Osten as a Sumero-Akkadian seal (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VI 46, A1). Seals with a similar pattern of an animal climbing in front of the knee of a seated deity are also found in the Newell collection (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XII 130). Other seals with an animal before the knee of a seated deity are classified by Frankfort to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XVII g) and as Syrian Seals of the First Group (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLI o). A similar scene appears on a seal in the Walters Art Gallery, classified by Gordon to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Gordon 1939: Pl. III 12, p. 6). Seals with a comparable pattern are described by Contenau as First Period Cappadocian seals, with a suggested date before the sixteenth century B.C. (Contenau 1922: V. II, Pl. VII 2, 4, p. 211) and Syro-Hittite seals of the Second Period, around the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: Pl. XLI 310, p. 211), while a seal with a similar pattern, from Susa, is classified by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu Period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 166 No. 1832, Pl. 168 No. 1868; V. I, pp. 243-46). A seal in the Musée Guimet (Delaporte 1909: Pl. IV 43) and several seals in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XI 113-15, Pl. XIII 151, Pl. XIX 432-33) contain comparable scenes with an animal in front of the knee of a seated deity.

SEATED DEITY WITH ROD AND RING EMBLEM

These seal impressions contain a seated deity holding a rod and ring, which have been interpreted as sym-

bols of Majesty and Power (Ward 1910: 413). In later periods the ring seems to have represented a sign of Alliance and Friendship.[2]

324 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 280*
Plate 40
Audience scene

A seated deity, head in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a tall conical crown which has a rod attached diagonally at the back, wearing a long flounced garment, sits on a throne which seems to be decorated with a human head at the top back corner, holding vertically in front of himself a rod and ring emblem. A second figure is a standing worshipper, in three-quarter view, wearing a long flounced garment who faces the seated deity with hands directed toward the deity and emblem. At the sides of the scene are remains of vertical columns of inscription.

Ill. 30

325 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 14*
Plate 40; Ill. 30
Audience scene
Fragment containing two impressions of parts of the scene

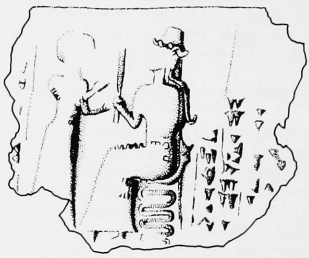
Part of the flounced skirt of a seated deity remains, together with part of a hand holding a rod and ring emblem. A second figure is a standing worshipper, in profile, facing the seated deity, wearing a long flounced skirt with a wide belt indicated by three parallel horizontal bands at the waist, who directs his hands toward the rod and ring. Behind the worshipper are vertical columns of inscription.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

A seal with a similar rod and ring emblem in the Brett collection is classified by Von Der Osten to Sumero-Akkadian or Babylonian seals (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. XII 164, p. 1). Comparable seals with a seated deity holding a rod and ring, from Susa, are classified by De Miroschedji to the nineteenth to seventeenth century B.C. (De Miroschedji 1981: Pl. 1 Nos. 2, 3, 5) and eighteenth to seventeenth century B.C. (De Miroschedji 1981: Pl. 2 No. 5), while other comparable seals from Susa are attributed by Amiet to the Simashki (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 34 No. 1676; V. I, p. 216) and Sukkalmahhu Periods (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 162 Nos. 1758, 1759; V. I, pp. 230-31). Seals with a seated deity holding a rod and ring are classified by Frankfort to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVI k, Pl. XXX a) and to First Group Syrian seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLI b). Seals with a similar pattern also appear in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delaporte 1910: Pl. IX 90, Pl. XII 131, 132, Pl. XIII 155, Pl. XVII 237, Pl. XIX 428, 430, Pl. XXX 442).

SEATED DEITY ON SERPENT THRONE

This group of seal impressions contains a scene with a deity sitting on a throne formed of a coiled snake which ends at the back either in a serpent or human head. If there is a human head on the snake body it may be either in front or profile view, and usually has a cap. De Miroschedji suggests that this deity on a snake throne was the God of Serpents and the Springs of Water (De Miroschedji 1981: 1-25). Among the Haft Tepe seal impressions of this type are several belonging to Tepti Ahar, the Elamite king responsible for the establishment of Haft Tepe.



Ill. 31

326 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 22*
Plate 41; Ill. 31
Audience scene

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a tall conical crown with a zigzag dented brim wears a long flounced garment which reaches the ankles and has dentation on the lap at the edges of the garment. This deity who sits on a throne formed of a serpent with a human head which has a conical cap with an uplifted brim, holds vertically in

2. It seems to be used in this sense in a rock relief of the Achaemenian and Sassanian Periods.

front of himself a stick or spear. A second figure is a standing worshipper, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment, who faces the seated deity and holds both hands toward the emblem. Behind the deity are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription. This impression, which occurs at the base of a cuneiform text, carries the name of King Tepti Ahar and is used as his signature.

327 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 31*
Plate 41
Partial

This seal impression contains part of a scene with a seated deity on a snake throne. Only part of the skirt of the deity remains, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment reaching to the ankles, sitting on a serpent throne. Behind the seated deity are vertical columns of inscription.

328 Seal Impression on Tablet *H.T. 40*
Plate 41
Audience scene
Impression at the bottom of a cuneiform tablet

This impression of a seated deity on a serpent throne is very similar to seal impression **326**, and may have been made by the same seal. A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a tall staged conical headdress and hanging hair ending in a curl, wearing a flounced garment, sits on a throne made of a coiled serpent with a human head on which is a conical cap. This deity holds a straight thick stick vertically in front of himself. A second figure, standing in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment, faces the seated deity and directs his hands toward the emblem. On both sides of the scene are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

329 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 158* on Tablet *H.T. 60*
Plate 41

This seal impression at the end of a cuneiform tablet contains part of a scene with a deity in front view with three-quarter shoulders, with a crown which is overrun by the inscription and unclear, hanging hair, wearing a long garment, who sits on a snake throne topped by a human head with a conical stepped hat. This deity holds an emblem with rounded molding knobs on a rather thick rod or stick. Several vertical columns of cuneiform inscription behind the seated deity contain the name of Tepti Ahar. This together with the inscribed columns on *H.T. 445*, *H.T. 20*, *H.T. 60*, and **252**, all containing a similar text, constitute an inscription. For transcription and translation, see below, Chapter IX.

330 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 281*
Plate 41

A deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a tall conical staged crown with horns at the sides and back, and hair hanging down behind to the elbows, wearing a long flounced garment who holds a spear vertically in front of himself, sits on a serpent throne which ends in a profile human head with a staged conical cap with uplifted front brim. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

331 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 210*
Plate 41

This seal impression contains a small part of a scene with a seated deity on a serpent throne, very similar to **329**. Part of the deity, in profile, remains, sitting on a snake throne which ends in a human head with a conical cap. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

332 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 163*
Plate 41
Audience scene
Fragmentary impression on the back of tablet *H.T. 114*

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with hair hanging behind, wearing a long flounced garment, sits on a serpent throne which may end in a human head, although the seal impression is damaged at this point. The deity holds vertically in front of himself a rod and ring, of which most of the ring alone remains. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

333 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 89*
Plate 41

A deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with long hair hanging behind the elbows, wearing a long flounced garment, sits on a throne formed of a snake which ends in a profile human head with a conical cap with uplifted front brim. The deity holds vertically in front of himself an emblem like a mace or spear which is not clear since the seal impression is broken at this point. A second figure is a standing worshipper, possibly a king, in profile, wearing a long garment, who faces the deity and directs his hands toward the emblem. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

Ill. 32

334 Seal Impression *H.T.S.282*
Plate 41; Ill. 32
Audience scene

A deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a tall cylindrical crown with a staged center in front and lower at the back with uplifted sides, with hair hanging behind to the elbows where it ends in a hook shaped curl, wearing a long flounced garment with an elongated checkered pattern, sits on a throne formed of a snake which ends in a profile human head with a staged conical cap with uplifted front brim. Behind the deity is a column of inscription.

335 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 283*
Plate 41
Found on the back of a cuneiform tablet at the end of the text
Fragmentary

All that remains of the scene is a small part of the lower section of a flounced garment of a deity sitting on a serpent throne. Behind the throne are traces of cuneiform inscription.

336 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 229*
Plate 41
On back of a cuneiform tablet at the end of the text

Only a small fragment of the scene survives, including part of the lower section of the flounced garment of a deity sitting on a serpent throne. Behind the throne are traces of cuneiform inscription.

337 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 229A*
Plate 41
Broken in half, upper part missing

A deity, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, sits on a serpent throne which ends at the back in a human head. A standing figure, wearing a long flounced garment, faces the deity. Behind this figure are several columns of inscription.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

Early seals with a combined human and serpent, similar only in general idea, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, are classified by Ward around 3000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XIII 86, 87, p. 52). Other seals with an early pattern of an imaginary combined figure with the upper body of a human and lower body of a snake, from Susa, are classified by De Mecquenem to the twenty-fifth to twenty-third century B.C. (De Mecquenem 1943: Fig. 49, p. 57), and the twenty-third to twentieth century B.C. (De Mecquenem 1934: Fig. 82 No. 5); and by Amiet to Akkadian and Post-Akkadian Periods (Amiet 1972: V. II,Pl. 150 Nos. 1591-95; V. I, p. 203). Examples of a combined imaginary deity with human upper body and snake-like lower body, on seals in the Ashmolean, are classified by Buchanan to the Akkadian Period (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 27 Nos. 342-44, pp. 64-65). Frankfort also classifies seals with this design to the Akkadian Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXI b, f). A seal in the Musée Guimet also has a deity with human upper body and snake-like lower body (Delaporte 1909: Pl. III 30, p. 30).

A scene of a seated deity on a serpent throne with a human or bird head, from Susa, is assigned by De Miroschedji to the nineteenth to seventeenth century B.C. (De Miroschedji 1981: Pl. I Nos. 1-6) and the eighteenth to seventeenth century B.C. (De Miroshedji 1981: Pl. II Nos. 4, 5, Pl. III). Seals whose pattern is more similar to the Haft Tepe seal impressions, with a serpent throne with human head, from Susa, are classified by Amiet to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 35, 176 Nos. 2015-17, Pl. 194 No. 2330; V. I, pp. 259-60, 297). This sign also appears in traces of an Elamite rock-cut relief of the seventeenth century B.C., damaged by a relief of the Sassanian King Bahram II (De Miroschedji 1981: Pl. V), in the Kurangan relief of the seventeenth century B.C. (De Miroshedji 1981: Pl. VI), and in a stela of Untash-Napirisha of the eighteenth century B.C. (De Miroshedji 1981: Pl. VIII, Pl. IX).

Most of these published examples are not really closely similar to the pattern of the Haft Tepe seal impressions, except for a few seals from Susa which are dated by Amiet around the middle of the second millennium B.C. Apparently the serpent throne was a pattern developed by the Elamites who used it during the Haft Tepe period, around the fourteenth century B.C. Most of the seal impressions from Haft Tepe with this pattern are closely similar in workmanship, style, and details and probably represent the same workshop. This may be a special design used exclusively by King Tepti Ahar whose name appears on some of the inscriptions of these seal impressions.

DEITY IN AUDIENCE WITH IMAGINARY OR HEROIC CREATURE

This group of seal impressions contains audience scenes with seated or standing deity in the presence of an imaginary combined creature or heroic figure, alone or paired. A large number of seal impressions were found with this scene composition, most of them in the Common Style of Haft Tepe, except for a few made in a very simple and rather crude style. Several seal impressions with a combined imaginary creature have already been described since other elements in the design led to their inclusion in other groups. Among these seal impressions are **252** (Plate 34), **283** (Plate 37; Ill. 20), **305** (Plate 39), and **245** (Plate 34; Ill. 4) and **285** (Plate 37).

338 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 87*
Plate 42

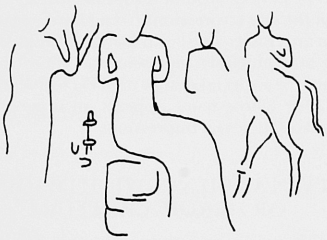
A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a conical crown with a horn in front

and hair hanging to the shoulders, wearing a long flounced staged garment, holds vertically in front of himself an emblem or a plant. A combined imaginary creature with the lower body of a horse or bull, with a long tail, and the upper body of a human, faces and advances toward the seated deity, holding a mountain goat as an offering. A standing figure wearing a long flounced garment holds hands upright in prayer behind the seated deity. Behind the imaginary creature are vertical columns of inscription.

339 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 46*
Plate 42
Fragment contains two impressions of the same seal, enough to illustrate the whole scene

In the upper impression a seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long flounced garment, holds an object in front of himself. A standing worshipper, wearing a long flounced garment, is behind the seated deity, holding his hands in a position of prayer. Between these figures is a small standing figure.

In the lower impression a combined imaginary creature, in profile, with a lower body like a horse or bull, with a long tail, and a human upper body with three-quarter shoulders, a cap and long hair hanging behind his shoulders, holds vertically a long straight thick emblem like a stick or spear which extends from the lower to the upper edges of the scene.



Ill. 33

340 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 30*
Plate 42; Ill. 33

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long flounced garment, has both hands on his chest. A combined imaginary creature with the lower body, in profile, of a horse or bull, with a long tail, and the upper body of a human with three-quarter shoulders, faces the seated deity, holding an animal as an offering. A standing worshipper, in profile, with hands held vertically in a position of prayer, faces the back of the seated deity. Behind the imaginary creature are vertical columns of inscription.

Ill. 34

341 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 23A*
Plate 42; Ill. 34

A standing deity, with head in profile and shoulders almost in front view, with a round crown and a bundle of hair at the nape, wearing a long garment with vertical folds in the center of the bottom, holds a long slightly curved stick in one hand behind and another shorter stick diagonally in front, pointing toward a standing figure in front view, wearing a long garment who has a hand on his stomach. Between the two figures, on the lower part of the scene, is a small nude female in front view, with hands clasping her breasts. Next to the standing figure is the lower body of a combined imaginary creature like a horse or bull, with a long tail, at the edge of the impression. Behind the standing deity is another standing figure in a long garment.

342 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 110*
Plate 42

The seated deity, in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, holds an incomplete emblem. A combined imaginary creature with the lower body, in three-quarter view, of a horse or bull, with a long tail and male organ, and a human upper body, holds a mountain goat as an offering. Behind him are vertical columns of inscription.

343 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 284*
Plate 42

Only the lower part of a seated deity wearing a long garment remains, with the lower body of an imaginary creature like a horse or bull, with a long tail. On the other side of the impression is a standing worshipper, with long hair hanging behind the back, wearing a long garment, with hands vertically uplifted from the elbows in prayer. Behind the worshipper and imaginary creature are vertical columns of inscription.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

Combined imaginary creatures are found in seal designs much before the Haft Tepe period. An earlier

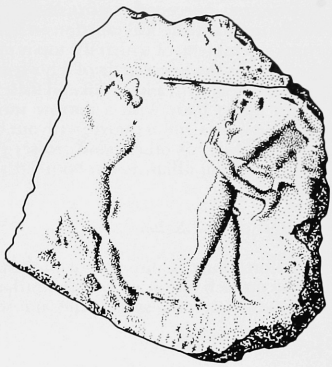
type, similar in conception but not in style, from Susa, is attributed by Amiet to the Akkadian and Post Akkadian Periods (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 144 Nos. 1530-32, Pl. 145 Nos. 1535-51; V. I, pp. 196-97), while he assigns more comparable examples to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 160 No. 1734, Pl. 163 No. 1789; V. I, pp. 228-34). A seal with a combined imaginary creature holding vertically a long emblem is classified by Frankfort to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVI k), a seal with somewhat similar imaginary creatures to the Kassite Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXX h), and another seal with a similar combined figure, not in an offering scene, to Second Group Syrian Seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXIII k, pp. 268-69), with a suggested date of 1700-1200 B.C. Several seals with combined imaginary figures are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delaporte 1910: Pl. III Nos. 28, 29, Pl. IV No. 36, Pl. V No. 48, Pl. XV Nos. 210, 211), the Musée Guimet (Delaporte 1909: Pl. II No. 162) and the Pierpont Morgan Library (Porada 1947a: Fig 47, p. 44), the latter assigned by Porada to the First Dynasty of Babylon, around 1700-1530 B.C. Seal impressions from Nuzi with a combined imaginary creature are dated by Porada to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXIX Nos. 777-80, 783, 785, Pl. XXXIII Nos. 661, 676, 677, Pl. XXXIX Nos. 777, 777A, 780, 783, Pl. XL No. 795, pp. 70, 73). A seal in the Newell collection contains a combined imaginary creature with a human upper body and animal lower body offering an animal to a deity, identified as Engidu (Van Der Osten 1934: Pl. XVII No. 225, pp. 87-88).

This combined imaginary creature with the lower body of an animal, usually a bull, and the upper body of a human is found in different periods and different regions of the ancient world, as the few examples above illustrate. A human-headed bull in Babylonian art is considered by some scholars to be Erbani, closely associated with Gilgamesh with whom he is often shown fighting or wrestling, but Ward suggests that that creature differs from Erbani in that it has the forelegs of a bull rather than human arms (Ward 1910: 278). The Haft Tepe examples are unusual in that this imaginary creature appears in a peaceful attitude, holding an animal as an offering to a seated deity. This imaginary creature holding an animal as an offering may have some connection with Ish as a master of animals whose name is engraved on a limestone spool of Haft Tepe (**492**: Plate 54). This new and apparently unique attitude for this creature is found only in the Haft Tepe seal impressions.

SCENE WITH HEROES

344 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 9*
Plate 43; Ill. 35

This seal impression contains part of a heroic wrestling scene with an imaginary combined creature. A nude standing hero, in profile with full face, with a round cap and hair hanging around his face, with a male organ, holds an animal upside down by the legs. A second figure is the imaginary combined creature of the Haft Tepe seal impressions, with the lower body of a horse or bull and a human upper body, who holds a mountain goat as an offering.



Ill. 35

345 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 285*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of a scene with a nude hero, lower body in profile and upper body in front view, with sticks on his shoulders, whose hands are at his waist. Next to this hero is a standing figure wearing a long open fronted garment with one leg extended. On the other side of the hero is part of a tree or a vertical emblem.

346, 347 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 207, H.T.S. 207A*
Plate 43
Seal impression on the cover of a cuneiform tablet, with part of the imprint of the same seal on the other side

Two heroes stand in an antithetical position on both sides of a tree. Each of the heroes is an imaginary creature with the lower body, in profile, of a horse or bull, with a long tail, and the upper body of a human with three-quarter shoulders and hair hanging to the nape, who holds the central tree by one hand while reaching across the tree to the opposite hero with the other. This central tree has a rather thick trunk and geometrically arranged circular flowers or fruit on top. Behind the heroes are vertical columns of inscription.

348 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 209*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of an alliance scene of heroes in an antithetical position on both sides of a tree trunk or emblem, of which the top is missing. Each hero, who has the lower body of a horse or bull, in three-quarter view, with a long tail and male organ, and a human upper body with a narrow waist and three-quarter shoulders, holds the tree with one hand at the same point while his other hand crosses the tree joining in a gesture of alliance. On both sides of the scene are inscriptions.

349 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 206*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of an antithetical scene of heroes on each side of a tree, very similar to **346** and **347**, and may be an impression of the same seal.

350 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 120*
Plate 43

Impression is on part of the cover of a tablet which contains two impressions of the same seal on each side

Antithetical heroes are disposed on each side of a vertical emblem with a base in the shape of an arrowhead. In composition and details the scene is very similar to **348**. On the tablet cover are vertical columns of inscription.

351 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 149*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of a scene with a heroic creature in rather simple and crude workmanship which does not correspond to the Common Style of Haft Tepe. A standing imaginary creature has the lower body of an animal with a long tail. Next to this heroic creature is a smaller figure, standing in front view. The upper part of the scene is broken and missing.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

A scene of heroes wrestling with animals, in a composition known as "master of animals" or Gilgamesh, is found quite often on seals of the Near and Middle East. These heroes are usually shown subjugating animals in a symmetrical antithetical group or in free form wrestling, and much less frequently found in the alliance scene of the Haft Tepe seal impressions.

An alliance scene of symmetrical antithetical heroes, very similar in composition to the Haft Tepe seal impressions, is seen on a seal classified by Frankfort to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXX h). Scenes of imaginary heroes, alone or wrestling with a bull, appear on seals in the Pierpont Morgan Library, classified by Porada to the First Dynasty of Babylon, with a suggested date of 1700-1530 B.C. (Porada 1947a: Figs. 47, 48, pp. 46-47). A comparable hero appears on a seal in the Brett collection, classified by Von Der Osten to Babylonian seals (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VII 61, p. 1) and on a seal in the Moore collection, classified by Eisen to First Syrian Group (Eisen 1940: Pl. XIII 129, p. 34). Seals with comparable scenes from Susa are classified by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 160 Nos. 1731-34, Pl. 162 Nos. 1782, 1788, 1789; V. I, pp. 228, 233-34), while seals with similar scenes are classified by Frankfort to First Syrian Group (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLI g), Kassite period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLI r), Second Syrian Group (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLII i, j, k, Pl. XLIV j, m), and Mitannian seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLII o). Among the seal impressions of Nuzi are scenes of an Antithetical Alliance of Heroes (Porada 1947b: Pl. VI 88, Pl. XXVI 517, Pl. XXXIII 661, 678, Pl. XXXIX 777, 777A, 780), a Single Hero (Porada 1947b: Pl. VII 100, 101, Pl. XXXI 619, Pl. XXXVIII 762), and a Hero Wrestling with Animal (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXVI 713, 714), described by Porada as Mitannean seals, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: p. 11). Seals in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris also contain scenes of an Alliance of Heroes in almost antithetical pattern (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XXII 143, Pl. XIV 170, 189, Pl. XV 210, 211), a Single Hero (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XIV 172), and Hero Offering Animal (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XXIX 430).

STANDING DEITY WITH THUNDERBOLT EMBLEM

352 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 62*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of an audience scene with a standing deity, in three-quarter front view, wearing a skirt, who holds in one hand uplifted behind him an object similar to a mace and in the other hand, in front of himself, a two pronged zigzag thunderbolt emblem. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long flounced garment, faces the thunderbolt deity. Behind the deity is part of the body of a hero. The rest of the scene is missing.

353 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 62A*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of an audience scene with a standing deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long skirt open in front with one leg extended, who holds vertically in front of himself a two pronged zigzag thunderbolt emblem. A second standing figure wears a long garment with parallel vertical folds.

354 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 100*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of a scene with a thunderbolt deity. A standing figure, in three-quarter

front view, who does not seem to be the main figure, wearing a long garment with an elongated checkered design, extends both hands toward the two pronged zigzag thunderbolt emblem, which extends from the bottom nearly to the top of the scene. Other figures are not very clear.

355 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 129*
Plate 43

This seal impression contains part of an audience scene with a standing deity, wearing a long garment, who holds or reaches toward a tall emblem with a thick stem and zigzag prongs, or a plant in this form as the design is not very clear. A second figure, wearing a long garment, is a standing worshipper who faces the deity. Behind the deity are two more figures in long garments.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

Seals in the Ashmolean Museum with a similar zigzag emblem are classified by Buchanan as Old Babylonian seals (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 34 486, 487, 489-91, 498, Pl. 35 515, Pl. 36 516, 517, 521-24, Pl. 37 555, 556, pp. 88-90, 93-94, 100). Seals with a zigzag emblem of a two or three pronged thunderbolt are also attributed by Frankfort to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVII c, h, i, j, l), as is a seal with similar thunderbolt lightning in the Walters Art Gallery which is assigned by Gordon to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Gordon 1939: Pl. IV No. 24, p. 6) and a seal in the Brett collection with a deity on an animal holding a zigzag thunderbolt emblem which is described by Von Der Osten as Babylonian (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VII 70, 71, Pl. XV 184, Pl. XVII 220, 225). A seal in the Cugnin collection with a thunderbolt emblem on the back of an animal is dated by Legrain to 2000-1761 B.C. (Legrain 1911: Pl. IV 48, p. 1), while seals in the Pierpont Morgan Library with a three pronged zigzag emblem are dated by Ward to 2500-2000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XII 76, pp.48-49) and 1500-1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XIV 96, 97, 99, 100, pp. 57-58, Pl. XVI 115, p. 62, Pl. XVII 118, p. 63-64). A seal with a zigzag thunderbolt emblem on the back of an animal, from Susa, is classified by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu Period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 164 No.1798, Pl. 165 No. 1808). Seals with a thunderbolt emblem on the back of an animal are classified by Contenau as Syro-Hittite seals of Transitional Group, with a suggested date of the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: Pl. XVIII 132, p. 211) and as Kirkouk and Gezer seals of the same date (Contenau 1922: Pl. XXXVII 275, p. 211). Seal impressions from Nuzi also contain representations of this zigzag thunderbolt emblem (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXVII 738). Seals with thunderbolt emblems are also found in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XIV 181, Pl. XVIII 253-55, Pl. XXXII 487).

STANDING DEITY WITH UPSIDE DOWN FIGURE

356 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 70*
Plate 43; Fig. 20
Audience scene
Found at bottom of cuneiform text

A standing deity, in three-quarter view, wearing a long garment, holds in front of himself a rather thick tree similar to a palm which reaches from the lower to upper part of the scene. A second figure, standing in three-quarter view, wearing a long garment, is upside down, holding to the bottom end of the tree. Behind the main figure an object similar to a bird or animal is on the ground. Cuneiform writing from the text appears on the lower part of the seal impression.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

Seals with upside down human figures are classified by Frankfort to the First Dynasty of Babylon and to Peripheral Regions of about 2800-1800 B.C. (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXIX p, Pl. XXVI f), while a seal with an upside down figure is classified by Weber to Old Babylonian Type of Cult Scene (Weber 1920: Abb. 451, pp. 114-15). A seal with a human figure upside down is described by Contenau as Cappadocian, with a suggested date before the sixteenth century B.C. (Contenau 1922: Pl. VIII 32, p. 211). An early example with an upside down figure, from Susa, is classified by Amiet to the Pre-Sargonid period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 133 No. 1422; V. I, p. 180) and later examples to the Sukkalmahhu period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 172 No. 1946, Pl. 174 Nos. 1977, 1978; V. I, pp. 252-54).

STANDING DEITY WITH NUDE HUMAN FIGURE

This group of seal impressions contains scenes which include a nude human figure who may represent an Elamite Deity. On most of the seal impressions the nude is a female but, exceptionally, on one seal a nude male appears. Ward suggests that the nude female is Zirbanit, wife of Marduk, who often appears in association with other gods in addition to Marduk, such as Raman, Shamash, and Adad (Ward 1910: 161-62, 380).

357 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 54*
Plate 44; Ill. 36
Audience scene

Ill. 36

Numerous impressions of the same seal on the cover of a box of an inscribed tablet

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with the area of the headdress unclear except for a forehead band and long hair hanging behind to the shoulders, wears a long flounced garment, and sits on a throne decorated by crosshatching, holding a simple stick or emblem vertically in front of himself. A second figure, in profile, with a round staged cap, wearing a long flounced garment, is a worshipper who faces the seated deity with both hands directed toward the emblem. A projecting parallel line which follows his body from the shoulder nearly to the ground may represent a snake, although the area of its head is not clear in any of the imprints. Behind the seated deity a third figure, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long flounced skirt with open front through which one leg is extended forward, faces the seated deity, holding a bow in front of himself with one hand while the other extends straight downward parallel to his body. Behind him is a fourth figure, a nude goddess, standing in front view with hands clasping her breasts, and hips emphasized.

358 Seal Impression *H.T.S.286*
Plate 44
Audience scene

A standing deity, in profile with shoulders in three-quarter front view, with a round cap with a conical center and a bundle of hair behind the neck, wearing a long garment, has a long curved scimitar or stick extending downward along the body nearly to the ground behind him and holds in one hand some unclear object in front of himself. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment, faces the seated deity, holding a mountain goat as an offering. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, is a small nude female in front view with profile head and emphasized hips who clasps her breasts with her hands. Behind the standing deity is another figure, in profile, wearing a long garment. Behind the offering figure is the lower part of an imaginary combined creature with the body of a bull or horse, who may be part of an antithetical group.

359 Seal Impression *H. T. S. 246*
Plate 44
Audience scene

A seated deity, part of whose knee only remains, holds a long thick emblem vertically in front of himself. A standing figure, in profile, faces the seated deity with hands directed toward the emblem and deity. Behind him is a nude female in front view with hands clasping her breasts. Next to the nude female is part of another figure, standing with long open fronted garment with one leg extended forward.

360 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 103*
Plate 44
Audience scene

A standing deity, in profile, wears a long vertically folded garment with a decorative lower edge. Behind the standing deity is a nude female in front view, with emphasized buttocks, holding her breasts. Another similar nude female appears next to the first, while a third nude female is in front of the standing deity.

361 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 227*
Plate 44
Seal is in Drill Hole Style, see discussion below

This seal impression contains a rather small part of a scene with the lower body of a nude female of rather elegant proportions, in front view, with one hand covering her pubic triangle and the other hand extended upward, at which point the impression is broken. Three circular projecting large knobs are set in a diagonal line parallel to the leg of the nude.

362 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 287*
Plate 44

This seal impression contains a fragment of a scene with a nude female which is not very clear for the most part except for part of a female body in front view with emphasized hips and upper thighs, whose hands clasp her breasts. Next to her is an object similar to a ladder in an upright, slightly diagonal position.

363 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 231*
Plate 44
On part of a box or container envelope
Incomplete with upper part missing

Standing figures represent nude females, not exactly in the Common Style of Haft Tepe. One of the figures, in front view with emphasized fat hips, has one hand on her breast and the other directed toward an emblem beside her. The other nude female, more symmetrically positioned in front view, with rounded hips and narrow parallel column-like legs with the feet pointing in opposite directions, clasps her breasts with both hands.

364 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 118*
Plate 44
Audience scene
Located at the side edge of a cuneiform text

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wears a long garment. The front part of this scene is smeared and unclear, but the rest is connected behind in a continuation of the cylinder roll. Behind the seated deity is a nude male, with penis, standing in profile, with both hands directed forward to the back of another standing worshipper, in profile, wearing a long garment, who holds both hands uplifted from the elbow in prayer. More standing human figures, in profile and in front view, appear at the edge of the scene, which is not very clear. This seal impression is rather unusual among the seal impressions of Haft Tepe in its representation of a nude male.

259 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 28*
Plate 35; Ill. 10
Already discussed above as a praying scene

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

A nude female appears on seals classified by Buchanan to the Old Babylonian (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 34 Nos. 475b-80, 486, 489, pp. 87-89, Pl. 35 No. 512, p. 92) and Old Syrian Periods (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 55 Nos. 880-83, pp. 172-73). A comparable seal in the Moore collection is attributed by Eisen to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Eisen 1940: Pl. VII 57), while comparable seals in the Newell and Brett collections, with standing nude females, are considered by Von Der Osten to be Babylonian (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XVIII 243, 244, 246, Pl. XIX 247, 254-58, p. 12; 1936: Pl. VII 60-62). Comparable seals in the Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio are attributed by Porada to the Amurru Dynasty (Porada 1938: Fig. 6, p. 5, Fig. 7, p. 6). Seals with nude females in the Cugnin collection are dated by Legrain to 2060-1761 B.C. (Legrain 1911: Pl. IV 38, 44, 49, p. 10) and 1700-1200 B.C. (Legrain 1911: Pl. V 56, p. 11). Comparable seals in the Pierpont Morgan Library are classified by Porada to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Porada 1947a: Fig. 52, p. 47) and to the Kassite Period (Porada 1947a: Fig. 54, p. 48). Frankfort also attributes comparable seals with nude females to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVIII b, i, Pl. XXIX k) and the late Kassite Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXXI b).

Seals from Susa with nude figures are attributed by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu Period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 162 Nos. 1761, 1762; V. I, p. 231). Seals with a standing nude female are described by Contenau as Syro-Hittite seals of the Transitional Period, with a suggested date of the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: Pl. XVII 124-26, 130, 131, Pl. XVIII 132, 134-36, Pl. XXI 156, Pl. XXXIII 165, p. 211). Ward dates seals with standing nude females in the Pierpont Morgan Library to 1500-1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XVI 113, 114, p. 62) and to Hittite seals of 1500-1200 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXX 229, Pl. XXXI 237, Pl. XXXII 244, p. 100). Seal impressions from Nuzi with comparable nude females are described by Porada as Mitannean seals of Group I (Porada 1947b: Pl. I 1, 13, p. 13), Group XVI (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXX 603, p. 42-43) and Group XVII (Porada 1947b: Pl. XLIX 995, 997, 999, p. 90-96), with a suggested date of about the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. for all (Porada 1947b: p. 11). Seals with comparable standing nude females are also found in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XIV 186, Pl. XVI 222, Pl. XXX 452) and the Musée Guimet (Delaporte 1909: Pl. IV 60, Pl. V 79, Pl. VI 91, 93).

STANDING DEITY SMASHING SMALL FIGURE

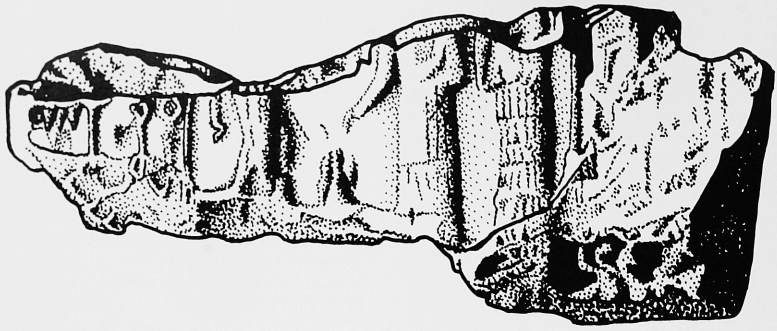
This group of seal impressions contains a scene in audience with a standing deity in which a small human figure, who may represent a defeated enemy, is smashed, beaten, or executed. The deity, standing with one leg pushed forward, is identified by Ward as Marduk when he holds a scimitar or as Ramman-Martu when he holds a wand (Ward 1910: 379-80). This figure on the Haft Tepe seal impressions, in a similar position walking in profile with one leg extended, probably represents a comparable deity in the Elamite religious pantheon.

365 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 18* on *H.T. 12*
Plate 45
On the back of an inscribed tablet

The scene contains three large standing figures and one small kneeling figure. The main personage seems to be a figure, walking in profile, with a round cap with a brim, wearing a short skirt, who stretches one hand downward behind himself while he places the other hand near his waist. A second standing figure, in three-quarter front view, with a conical hat with a wide brim and earrings, wearing a long flounced garment, is an intercessant, with one hand placed at the waist and the other pointing downward toward a small kneeling figure. A third figure, in profile, with a conical staged headdress, wearing a long flounced garment, is a worshipper who faces the deity, holding both hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer. On the side of the scene are vertical columns of inscription.

366 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 130*
Plate 45; Ill. 37
On the cover of a container envelope
Upper part broken and missing

The main figure, of which only the lower part remains, seems to be the walking deity described on



Ill. 37

seal impression **365**, and carries in his hand extended behind him a scimitar whose top only remains. Standing figures with long flounced garments, in front of him, are similar to those on seal impression **365**, and this may be an imprint of the same seal. On the lower part of the scene, in front of the deity, is a small kneeling figure. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

367 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 80*
Plate 45
Audience scene
Partial

A standing deity, in profile, wearing a short skirt directed forward, with one leg extended, has one hand stretched down behind himself holding an object which may be a scimitar, although this part is not clear. This deity is smashing or executing a small kneeling figure before him, whose hands are possibly tied behind his back and whose head is smashed or cut, with streams of blood squirting out. A second figure, also standing in three-quarter front view, wearing a long flounced garment with a rather decorative jacket or blouse, has one hand directed toward the small kneeling figure. Behind the second figure a standing worshipper, in profile, wearing a long garment, faces the deity with both hands uplifted from the elbow in prayer. Behind the standing deity are vertical columns of inscription.

368 Seal Impression *H.T. 452*
Plate 45
On a large fragment of a clay envelope; traces of the same seal on both sides

A standing deity, in profile, wearing a short skirt, walks forward with one leg extended. He has a crown or headdress decorated by bull horns which curve in a spiral at the top. One hand is placed on his waist while the other is stretched downward behind himself, holding a scimitar with a large curved crescent at the point. In front of this deity a small figure is kneeling on the ground with his hands behind him and his head cut off, with blood squirting from the neck. A second figure, standing in three-quarter front view, with a large-brimmed conical hat, wearing a flounced garment, holds both hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

369 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 153*
Plate 45
Audience scene
Similar to seal impression **368** already described.

370 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 288*
Plate 45
Audience scene
Similar to seal impression **368** already described.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

A somewhat similar scene in general composition, with a deity with a scimitar held upward rather than downward and a small kneeling figure is classified by Frankfort to the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXX c). Seals in the Newell collection with a general similarity of scene, with a standing deity and a small human figure, are classified by Von Der Osten to Babylonian (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XVIII 234, p. 12) and Kassite (Van Der Osten 1934: Pl. XX 266, p. 12) seals. A seal with a small human figure held upside down and beaten by a lion-headed deity, in the Pierpont Morgan Library is dated around 1500 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XIV 95, p. 56, Pl. XV 104-105, p. 59) by Ward. Among the seal impressions of Nuzi are some containing a standing deity with a scimitar or wand

with a small figure, which are assigned by Porada to Mitannean seals of Group XVI (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXX 604, 607, 608), Group XVII (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXII 650-52) and Group XIX (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXV 704), with a suggested date of about the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: p. 11). Seals with a general similarity of scene are also in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XV 206, Pl. XVI 219, 224).

The comparable examples mentioned above represent a similar type of scene which is not, however, closely similar to the scene of the Haft Tepe seal impressions containing a small kneeling figure with hands behind his back, head cut off and irregular lines radiating outward to suggest blood squirting from the neck after execution, which seems to be almost unique.

STANDING DEITY WEARING OPEN SKIRT WITH ONE LEG EXTENDED

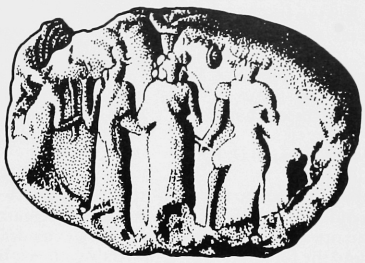
This group of seal impressions contains audience scenes with a standing deity, wearing a long garment with an open skirt through which one leg is extended with the foot often placed on an object or a projection. This deity is identified by Ward as Shamash appearing in the style of the Middle Empire (Ward 1910: 379).

371 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 57A*
Plate 46
Audience scene
On the base of a triangular clay cone; contains another imprint of the same seal on the other side

A standing deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment with a tight belt which is open in front, has one leg extended forward and partly lifted on a projecting object. The deity has one hand on his waist while the other stretches downward, holding a stick, possibly the handle of a wand or sword. In front of his face, above the scene, is the sun disk, well pronounced and projected, probably identifying him as the sun god Shamash. A second figure is standing, body in front view with head in profile, with a headdress with a tall dentation similar to a crown, wearing a long garment, looking away from the deity with one hand on his back. A third figure next to him is also standing, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a conical hat with a pronounced brim, wearing a long garment, with one hand on his waist and the other directed forward toward a fourth standing figure at the edge of the scene.

372 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 57*
Plate 46; Ill. 38
On the other side of the triangular cone of clay as **371**
Less complete impression of audience scene

A standing deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment with an open skirt has one leg extended forward and the foot placed on a stool or other projecting object. The deity has one hand at his waist and the other directed forward, possibly holding something. A second figure, a worshipper or intercessant, is standing in front view, wearing a long garment, with the area of the head unclear. A third figure, wearing a long garment, is also standing, while a fourth standing figure in a long garment is behind the deity.



Ill. 38

373 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 289*
Plate 46
Audience scene

A deity stands with one leg extended forward and the foot raised and possibly placed on a stool. It is very similar in general composition to seal impression **267** (Plate 36; Ill. 14) described above, except for small differences in detail. The main deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment with parallel vertical folds, open in front with the leg extended forward, holds before himself an emblem or tree of which the part below his fist only remains. A second figure behind him is a standing worshipper, in profile, wearing a long garment with parallel vertical zigzag lines, who faces away from the deity with both hands uplifted from the elbow in prayer. Between these two figures an animal, possibly a dog, is jumping up on his hind legs.

374 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 82*
Plate 46
Audience scene

A standing deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment with an open skirt has one leg extended forward and the foot placed on a stool or projection. The deity has one hand uplifted behind his head with which he seems to be threatening or beating something in front of himself while the other hand is directed diagonally downward in front. An object in front of the deity is not clear but looks as though it may be the head of a large animal with tall horns. A second figure is a standing nude male hero with lower body in profile and upper body in front view, with

both hands symmetrically placed at each side of his waist. Next to this hero is a tall emblem of which part only remains.

279 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 133*
Plate 37
Already discussed above

375 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 64*
Plate 46
Scene disturbed at top by cuneiform inscription

A standing deity, in profile, wearing a long garment with an open fronted skirt, with one leg extended forward and the foot placed on a projecting object, holds vertically in front of himself an emblem or plant with a thick stem and round base. A second figure is an intercessant, in three-quarter view, wearing a long garment, who faces the standing deity with hands directed toward the emblem. Between these two figures a very small narrow object which may be a miniature human stands on the ground. A third figure, also standing in profile, faces away from the deity.

376 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 290*
Plate 46
Audience scene

The scene is of a standing deity, very similar in scene composition to **375** just described, with the only differences a very well emphasized circular knee joint for the standing deity, and the extended foot resting on an object similar to a recumbent animal with its head on the ground between the deity and the second figure on the scene.

377, 378 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 150, H.T.S. 150A*
Plate 46
Clay fragment contains two impressions, one on each facade

On one side is an audience scene with a standing deity with one leg pushed forward. The standing deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a round cap with a circular decoration around the upper brim, wearing a long open fronted skirt through which one leg is extended forward, places one hand at his waist while with the other he holds vertically in front of himself an emblem or plant with a round base. Behind him is part of the body of a standing figure wearing a long skirt. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, is a small object like a narrow pole with two circular knobs above each other at the top, which may represent a stylized figure or an emblem.

On the other face of this clay fragment is part of an audience scene with a seated deity of which a small portion of the hand and the complete throne remain. Two standing figures, in profile, wearing long flounced garments, face behind the seated deity. Between these two figures is a tall narrow pole with a round top.

379 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 230*
Plate 46
Audience scene
Seal is in Drill Hole Style, see below

A deity in half kneeling position, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a round crown with thick brim and hair hanging behind his neck, wearing a long open fronted skirt, has one leg extended forward and the foot placed on a projecting object. The deity has one hand at his waist while the other holds a rather thick tall object which seems to be a tree or emblem with a round root and circular flower or fruit that extends from the ground up to the broken edge of the impression. On the ground behind him a recumbent mountain goat with crescent horns turns his head backward. Another recumbent animal is located vertically on the upper part of the scene.

380 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 291*
Plate 46
Audience scene
On the side of an inscribed tablet

A standing deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wears a long garment with an open fronted skirt through which one leg is extended. The deity has one hand at his waist and the other holding some unclear object in front of himself. Part of another figure, wearing a long garment, is standing in front of the deity. Between these two figures, on the lower part of the scene, is an upright fish.

381 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 292*
Plate 46
Audience scene

Similar in scene composition to **380** but made in rather different workmanship which does not quite fit with the Common Style of Haft Tepe. A standing deity, in profile with sharp angular three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long open front skirt, extends one leg forward, bent with a sharp angle at the knee. The deity holds vertically in one hand in front of himself a decorative tree or emblem with geometrically arranged horizontal branches ending in circular fruit or flowers. Facing the deity is a second figure, in three-quarter front view, wearing a long garment, who holds one hand uplifted fron the elbow. Part of the body of another figure is next to him at the broken edge of the impression.

382 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 293*
Plate 46
Middle section of an audience scene

A standing deity, in profile, in the conventional pattern of the Haft Tepe seal impressions, wears a long open fronted skirt through which one leg is pushed forward with the foot on a stool or other projecting object. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment, faces the deity. Behind the deity are vertical columns of inscription.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

There are many published seals and seal impressions with a comparable pattern. A seal from Susa with a standing deity placing his foot on the back of a recumbent animal is described by Legrain as an Elamite seal contemporary to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Legrain 1921: Pl. XVIII No. 277, p. 57), while other comparable seals also from Susa are dated by De Mecquenem to the twenty-fifth to twenty-third century B.C. (De Mecquenem 1943: Fig. 49 Nos. 8, 9, p. 59). Comparable seals in the Ashmolean are ascribed by Buchanan to the Old Babylonian Period (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 34 Nos. 480-86, 488, 490, 491, 494 b, Pl. 35 Nos. 501-10 a, pp. 87-89, 91-92). Seals with a comparable standing deity with long open fronted skirt with one leg extended forward and the foot placed on an animal or on other objects, in the Cugnin collection, are dated by Legrain to 2060-1760 B.C. (Legrain 1911: Pl. IV 47-50, Pl. V 53, pp. 1, 32-36). Seals with a similar pattern, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, are classified by Porada to the First Dynasty of Babylon, with a suggested date of 1700-1530 B.C. (Porada 1947a: Figs. 49-51, pp. 44-47) and dated by Ward to 2000-1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XIV 93, 96, pp. 55-57). Seals with a similar scene in the Walters Art Gallery are classified by Gordon to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Gordon 1939: Pl. III Nos. 13-15, 17-19, p. 6). Comparable seals in the Newell collection are attributed by Von Der Osten to the Babylonian Period (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XVI 193, 196, 198, 205-207, Pl. XVII 213-21, 224-25, p. 12) while comparable seals in the Moore collection are attributed by Eisen to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Eisen 1940: Pl. VII 56, 58, 59, 62, p. 28) and comparable seals in the Brett collection are also attributed by Von Der Osten to the Babylonian Period (Von Der Osten 1936: Pl. VI, 53-55, p. 1). Comparable seals with a standing deity are classified by Frankfort to the First Dynasty of Babylon (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVI f, i, j, l, Pl. XXVII d, Pl. XXVIII a, f, Pl. XXX g) and the Kassite Period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXX m). Seals from Susa with a comparable standing deity are assigned by Amiet to the Sukkalmahhu Period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pls. 160-62 Nos. 1736-63; V. I, pp. 228-31) and to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pls. 194-95 No. 2332; V.I, p. 294). Comparable scenes also appear on seal impressions from Nuzi, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. by Porada (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXXIII 663, 668, 671, Pl. XXIV 710-13, Pl. XLVII 966, Pl. XLVIII 968). Seals with similar scenes also can be seen in the Musée Guimet (Delaporte 1909: Pl. IV 5, 55-61, Pl. V 70, 74, Pl. VIII 120) and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Delaporte 1910: Pl. XII 137-43, 148, 149, Pl. XIII 155, 159-62, 169, 170, Pl. XIV 171-76,190, 191, Pl. XVI 226-29, Pl. XVII 231-34, 236-40, Pl. XVIII 253).

STANDING DEITY WITH ANIMALS

This group of seal impressions contains a standing deity with animals which are often located between the figures on the scene.

383 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 81*
Plate 46

This seal impression contains part of a scene with two standing figures, wearing long garments, who face each other, with one figure holding his hands upright from the elbows. At the bottom of the scene, between these two figures, is an animal with long well balanced horns, a mountain goat or deer, standing upright on its hind legs.

384 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 44*
Plate 46

This seal impression contains the upper half of a scene with a standing figure, head in profile and body in almost front view, with a cylindrical cap with rounded brim, wearing a long garment with a broad vertical fold in front, who holds one hand on his waist while the other is stretched down in front of himself, at which point the seal impression is broken. A second figure, next to the first, is a standing nude female in front view with one hand on her breast and the other stretching toward an object, possibly an animal, located between the figures on the lower part of the scene. Next to the nude female are vertical columns of inscription. The workmanship of this seal is a little different than the Common Style of Haft Tepe.

279 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 133*
Plate 37
Already discussed above

385 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 294*
not illustrated
Fragment contains two impressions
Audience scene

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, sits on a bench throne with one hand on his waist and the other holding vertically in front of himself a thick stick. A second figure, standing in profile, wearing a long garment, faces the seated deity and directs one hand toward the stick. Between these two figures as well as behind the standing figure, on the lower part of the scene, are objects similar to tables or animals. Behind the seated deity another figure is standing, wearing a long garment, who faces away from the deity. Between the seated deity and this figure as well as in front of this figure, on the lower part of the scene, are objects similar to animals, with, above them, something like a crown.

DEITY ON PEDESTAL OR PLATFORM (JUDGE)

These seal impressions contain a deity standing on a pedestal or platform. The complete scene is rather elaborate, with a complex emblem in front of the standing figure.

386 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 167* on *H.T. 21*
Plate 47
Occurs at the end of a large cuneiform tablet
Broken

A large scale figure is standing on a platform in front of an elaborate emblem composed of a seated deity on a serpent throne on the top of a pedestal formed of twisted serpents supported by two heroes. The large standing figure, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, with a conical crown with a tall center decorated by several parallel horns above each other with some space between and a large uplifted brim, wearing a long garment with parallel vertical folds in front and an outward curve at the lower edge, cinched in by a tight wide belt formed of three parallel vertical horizontal lines, has one hand on his chest while the other is directed toward the seated deity in the elaborate emblem. This large standing figure is located above a horizontal platform supported by parallel vertical columns. The seated deity towards which he extends his hand, in profile, with three-quarter shoulders, with a conical crown with uplifted brim or horns in front and hair hanging behind the shoulder ending in a hook shaped curl near the elbows, wearing a long garment, sits on a throne made of a wavy serpent with a human head in a conical cap with an uplifted front brim. He has one hand on his chest while the other, holding some object which may be a rod and ring, points toward the large standing figure. The throne of this deity is on a platform supported by two snakes whose entwined bodies form a vertical twisted column ending in a rather large globular base. This twisted serpentine column is supported in turn by two heroes kneeling in a swastika position, forming an antithetical group symmetrically located on each side of the column. The ground below the heroes is indicated by semi-circles alternately above each other producing a fish scale pattern. Behind the large standing figure, who may be an important personage, are vertical columns of cuneiform inscription.

387 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 24*
Plate 47; Ill. 39

This seal impression contains part of a scene of a standing figure in front of an elaborate emblem symbolizing a deity. The portion of the scene in this seal impression is closely similar to **386**, and, in fact, may be an imprint of the same seal. The inscription on this impression, which is rather clear, reads:[3]

Ill. 39

1. i s me-ka-ra-ab
2. u-Su-Su-im

Column 1 contains the name ISMEKARAB, while column 2 reads Susa and An.... It seems that Ismekarab may have been an important figure who was a judge, governor, or even king, and column 2 identifies the place of his position which seems to be Susa and Anzan (Anshan), the two place names which are often used after the name of the kings of Elam in inscriptions.

388 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 295*
Plate 47

This seal impression also contains part of a scene with a standing figure in front of a deity on a serpent throne, similar to seal impression **386**. A large standing figure, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, stands on a decorative pedestal. In front of him is part of a decorative emblem consisting of a snake seated deity with an antithetical pair of heroes supporting a twisted serpentine column.

389 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 296*
Plate 47

This seal impression contains part of a scene with a large standing figure, very similar to **386**. A standing figure, in profile, wearing a long garment with vertical folds in front and an outward curved lower edge, stands on a decorative platform. In the lower part of the scene are part of an antithetical pair of heroes and part of a twisted serpentine pole. On the scene also are columns of inscription.

390 Clay Plaque
Plate 47

This piece of projecting relief design contains part of a standing figure similar to the standing figure on **386**, in profile, wearing a long garment with a decorative band at the lower edge.

---

3. Transcription and translation by Dr. Pablo Herrero.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

An impression of this same seal was found at Susa, described as belonging to the Judge Ishmekarab-Ilu (De Miroschedji 1981: Pl. II 5, pp. 3-4). This is a unique scene very representative of Elamite tradition, for which there are no comparable examples from other regions. Apparently this pattern was used only at Susa and Haft Tepe, which are very close to each other, around the middle of the second millennium B.C.

CONNECTED PIECES STYLE

These seal impressions are made in a particular type of workmanship in which the different parts of the body are simplified, often to the shape of long sticks placed next to each other; it is here called Connected Pieces Style. Although the style in which the seal impressions are made is different from the Common Style of Haft Tepe, the scene compositions follow the same traditional patterns except that the design elements are not so well balanced and coordinated.

Ill. 40

391 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 17*, *H.T.S. 17A*
Plate 47; Ill. 40
Offering scene
Fragment contains several imprints of the same seal; together they form an almost complete composition.

A seated deity, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, in a hat with a large thick brim, places one hand on his breast and holds a flower or emblem with a star point in the other. A standing figure, in three-quarter view, wearing a long garment with parallel vertical folds and a thick horizontal band at the hem, facing the deity, holds to his chest a mountain goat or deer, with straight horns, as an offering. A third figure, in profile with three-quarter shoulders, wearing a long garment with vertical parallel folds and a decorative banded hem, is standing behind the offerer, facing him and the seated deity and directing his hands diagonally toward the deity in a position of respect or prayer. A fourth figure, with body in front view, in a hat with a very large horizontal brim, has hands on breast and waist. Breasts, hips, and legs are highly stylized in Connected Pieces Style.

On the other side of the clay fragment is another imprint *H.T.S. 17A*, containing a more complete rendering of part of the scene already described.

392 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 144*
Plate 47

This seal impression contains part of a scene with several standing figures which is very similar to the offering scene of **391**, in both style and composition. Two figures in long garments with vertical parallel folds and a decorative band at the hem are standing, one with both hands directed diagonally toward one side. Beside them is a standing nude female, in profile, with hands clasping her breasts.

393 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 297*
Plate 47

A seated deity, in profile, sits on a simple bench throne, in a style closely similar to **391**, and, in fact, may be part of an impression of the same seal.

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

A seal in the Musée Guimet in somewhat similar connected style is classified by Contenau to Syro-Hittite seals of Transitional Period, with a suggested date of the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922: Pl. XVIII No. 135, p. 211).

This Connected Pieces Style appears to be rather unique to Haft Tepe, with only the seal in the Musée Guimet showing some similarity to this type of workmanship. Since the scene composition follows closely the traditional pattern used in impressions in the Common Style of Haft Tepe, while the details are made in this different style, it seems that a new rather simplified technique may have been introduced which, at first, was applied within the traditional order of scene composition.

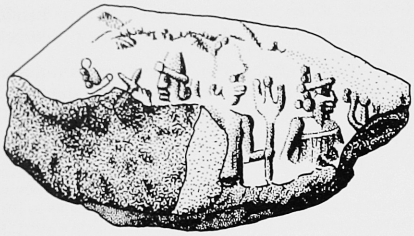
DRILL HOLE STYLE

In these seal impressions drill holes have been used to represent the joints on the bodies of animals and parts of plants such as fruit or flowers. The scenes in this group are also more simplified in composition than those in Haft Tepe Common Style, and many of the figures and elements are stylized.

394 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 62B*
Plate 47; Ill. 41
Offering scene

The lower section of the impression is missing so that it is not clear whether the figures are standing or seated. The main figure, in profile with three-quarter

RESEARCH ARCHIVES - DIRECTOR'S LIBRARY
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE



Ill. 41

shoulders, has a conical crown with a thick rim and a band of circular knobs on each side and a bundle of hair behind the head ending in circular drill hole curls, and wears a long garment with a decorative top with vertical parallel bands or folds covering one shoulder and crossing under the opposite arm. He holds a decorative pronged emblem with circles along the top of the prongs. Behind him a second figure, standing in profile, with a conical hat with a circular band of knobs along the sides, and hair hanging behind ending in curls at the nape, wearing a long garment with vertical folds, faces the deity, holding in front of himself a tall emblem with a straight thick handle and three parallel prongs on top which end in circles. A third figure, in profile, whose head only remains, has a simple tall conical hat with a pronounced brim. In front of him is the topmost part of a mountain goat head with straight horns which he is evidently holding as an offering to another side figure who seems to be a deity, of whom only the top part of a crown with circular knobs remains.

395 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 243*
Plate 47
Fragment contains several impressions of the same seal which is carelessly made in poor workmanship

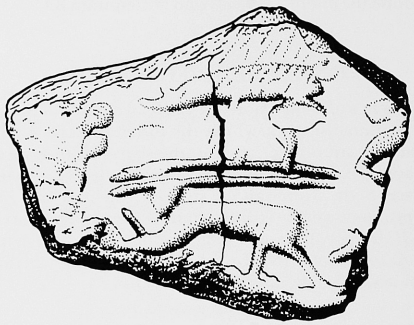
Two standing figures, in front view, with round caps, wearing long garments, face each other with hands vertically uplifted from the elbow in prayer, toward a large circular knob above their hands which may represent the solar disk or sun. More circular knobs appear on the scene between and behind these figures.

396 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 298*
Plate 47

This seal impression contains part of an unclear scene with either part of a seated deity with a fine throne, or a mountain deer with her fawn. Many circular knobs appear in the scene.

397 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 39*
Plate 47

This seal impression contains part of an obscure scene of a field with flora and fauna. The clearest item is a tree with a straight trunk and five branches on top, each crowned by a circular drill hole knob representing fruit or flowers. At the left side of the tree is a standing figure, in profile, with a round cap with a pronounced double overlapped brim. On the other side of the tree is an animal which looks like a fallen goat or bull. Beside it is another animal which is jumping with its head turned back toward its upright tail. Behind this animal are more circular knobs.



Ill. 42

398 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 91*
Plate 47; Ill. 42

This seal impression contains part of a scene of wild life, divided partly into two registers which are separated by parallel horizontal bands. On each register an animal, naturally depicted and similar to a mountain deer, is grazing with its head down toward the ground. In front of the two sections is a rather large tree with circular fruit or flowers.

361 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 227*
Plate 44
Already discussed above

399 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 245*
Plate 47

This seal impression contains part of a natural scene of birds and plants, apparently divided into several sections. In one section two birds are marching one behind the other on the ground. In front of the birds a vertical band is covered with cross lines in sections. Beside it is another decorative band with geometricized plants with circles and drill hole flowers. A band also forms the upper border, and the panels are separated by straight bands.

400 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 51*
Plate 47

This fragment of a seal impression contains recumbent mountain goats in an antithetical pattern. The

animals are next to a tree, in a recumbent position, with the head turned away from the tree. The bodies of the animals are in a smooth rounded style, while the joints, head, and eyes are indicated by drill hole knobs.

379 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 230*
Plate 46
Already discussed above

COMMENTS AND COMPARISONS

The drill hole technique used for the representation of plants, flowers, and animal joints, with concentric circles for the face and eyes, is quite common on seals belonging to the second half of the second millennium B.C. and it represents the dominant style of cylinder seals in the last quarter of the second millennium for the whole region of the Near and Middle East from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean to Iran.

Similar seals in drill hole technique are described by Frankfort as Mitannean seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIII e-j). Seals in the Ashmolean with similar drill hole technique as well as recumbent animals are classified by Buchanan also to Mitannean style (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 57 Nos. 910-50, pp. 180-85). Seals comparable in technique in the Pierpont Morgan Library are classified by Porada to Mitannean (North Mesopotamian) seals (Porada 1947a: Figs. 58-63, p. 50) and dated by Ward to 1500-1000 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXIV 168, p. 79). Contenau has included comparable seals with similar workmanship with Syro-Hittite seals of Kirkouk and Gezer, with a suggested date of the sixteenth to eleventh century B.C. (Contenau 1922; V. I, Pl. XXXV 259-74, p. 211). There are numerous seal impressions from Nuzi in drill hole technique with concentric circles and antithetical groups classified by Porada to Mitannean Period, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: p. 11). Seals in similar drill hole technique with concentric circles, in the Newell collection, are classified by Von Der Osten to Kirkouk and Hittite seals (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XXI 289-93, p. 12). Comparable seals with drill holes and concentric circles, from Susa, are dated by Amiet to the middle of the second millennium B.C. and also to the Middle Elamite period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 178 Nos. 2046-54; V. I, pp. 263-67).

In addition to the examples mentioned above in comparable drill hole technique, there are other seals with both a similar style of drill holes and concentric circles and a composition of a recumbent animal, including seals from Tepe Giyan, dated by Contenau to 1400-1000 B.C. (Contenau 1935: Pl. 38 No. 1)[4]; a seal from Chogha Zanbil, dated to the thirteenth century B.C. (Erlenmeyer 1965: Tafel VI 33, p. 10); seals from Abu-Hawan (Nougayrol 1939: Pl. I A.H.I, Pl. XXVI, p. 13) and Tell Beth Shan (Nougayrol 1939: Pl. VII R.B.4 (I VI), p. 26, LVI), with a suggested date of between 1600-1200 B.C. (Nougayrol 1939: Pl. III F.G.18 (II), p. 24, LI); a seal from Norsun Tepe, identified by Hauptman as a Mitannean seal (Von Der Osten 1934: Pl. XXI 289-93, pp. 2, 12); a similar seal from Tell-el-Hesy, dated about 1300-1000 B.C. (Nougayrol 1939: Pl. XI T.H.4, p. 29, LXIV) and a seal from Tell Far'a, dated near the beginning of the first millennium B.C. (Nougayrol 1939: Pl. X T.F.7, p. 24, LII). A seal of comparable technique and style was also found with bronze and iron objects in Charchemish, dated by Woolley to the late and post-Hittite Period (Woolley 1921: p. 80-81). A comparable design of a recumbent mountain goat in similar style occurs on seals classified by Wiseman as Mitannean (Wiseman 1962: Pl. 50). The excavation of Marlik in northern Iran also produced several cylinder seals with a comparable recumbent mountain goat in drill hole technique, dated to the late second millennium B.C. (Negahban 1977: Figs. 1-3, 5-6, pp. 82-89).

The similarity of style, workmanship and, on some seals, composition, of this group of Haft Tepe seal impressions to numerous seals and seal impressions found in many excavations throughout the Near and Middle East which are usually described as Mitannean in style, seems to indicate that this particular style was also used by the Elamite seal cutters. Since only a few seals and seal impressions in drill hole style were found at Haft Tepe in comparison to the bulk of seal impressions which are in the Common Style of Haft Tepe, it seems probable that during the latter part of the Haft Tepe period, this Drill Hole Style was gradually introduced, and some seals using this technique were made.

GEOMETRIC DESIGNS

401 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 251*
not illustrated

A stamp seal impression contains an almost square maltese cross pattern. Although the seal impression is broken at the border edge, enough remains to disclose the complete design. Two lines running diagonally from corner to corner divide the seal into four triangular sections. Parallel lines on each side of the main lines do not cross, but join at right angles to form a smaller triangle inside each large triangular section.

4. This seal is dated by McCown to the late second millennium B.C., and in Ehrich 1954, p. 65 a little later, to around the early first millennium B.C.

A similar maltese cross design occurs on a stamp seal in the Ashmolean Museum, classified by Buchanan to the Jemdet Nasr Peripheral Style (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 48 No. 741 b, pp. 134-35), while other seals in the Ashmolean with a similar maltese cross are classified by Hogarth to Class II b, Group 5, with a suggested date of the Middle Hittite Period, before the middle of the Syrian Bronze Age and prior to the Amarna period, or around the middle of the second millennium B.C., 1600-1400 B.C. (Hogarth 1920: Pl. V Nos. 124-31, pp. 61-95). Hogarth assigns later examples to Class III b, Group 4, with a suggested date around the late second millennium B.C. (Hogarth 1920: Pl. VII Nos. 214-17, pp. 77, 95, 98). Similar examples from Susa are classified by Amiet to the Early Installation in Susa (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 46 No. 157, Pl. 42 Nos. 72-87; Vol. I, pp. 15, 25) and other later examples to the Proto-Urban period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 52 Nos. 246-48, 253, 262). A similar simple geometric design on a button-shaped stamp seal found at Chogha Zanbil is dated by Ghirshman to the middle of the thirteenth century B.C. (Ghirshman 1966: V. I, Pl. LXV No. G.T.Z. 370). This type of simple geometric design is found on seals belonging to various times from the Proto-Urban period to the late second millennium B.C. in different regions of the ancient world, and it is not surprising to find this design used at Haft Tepe so late as the middle of the second millennium B.C.

402 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 252*
Plate 48

A fragmentary part of a broken stamp seal or seal impression contains a design which might be considered as either geometric or a stylized natural form, resembling two snake heads at the center with their bodies curling around in an orderly parallel position at almost equal distance from each other. The rest of the design is broken and missing.

Natural Style

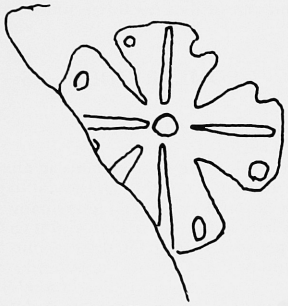
This natural style which developed in the middle of the second millennium B.C. was commonly used in most of the ancient world from the Eastern Mediterranean shores to Iran is sometimes identified as Mitannean style.

FLOWERS AND PLANTS

403 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 253*
Plate 48

This seal impression contains a four petaled flower with the oval petals equally spaced around a central core, and a simple line bordering the design.

404 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 254*
Ill. 43



Ill. 43

This seal impression, partly broken, also contains a four petaled flower. The petals, which are almost equally spaced, are rather triangular with rounded corners which may be notched and a straight spine down the middle. There are circular knobs at some of the outer corners.

405 Seal Impression *H.T. 218*
Plate 48

This seal impression has a rather unclear design which seems to be a tree at the center with several oval flowers or fruits whose pointed ends connect to the main trunk. Next to this tree there seems to be a bird sitting on a tree stand.

406, 407 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 255, H.T.S. 257*
not illustrated

Two broken seal impressions, made in linear projecting lines, contain parts of scenes that are not very clear, but may be part of a decorative band design.

A similar type of design composition appears on a seal classified by Buchanan to Peripheral Jemdet Nasr Style (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 48 No. 741 a, c, pp. 134-35) and on a seal from Ur classified by Wiseman also to Jemdet Nasr Period (Wiseman 1962: Pl. 9 No. J 119202, p. 10). Seals with similar designs from Susa are classified by Amiet to the Proto-Elamite Period (Amiet 1972: Vol. II, Pls. 116-17 Nos. 1099-1134, Pl. 94 Nos. 832-3, Pl. 96 Nos. 886, 888; V. I, pp. 121-22, 125, 151-52). This type of common design was used for a long

range of time from the fourth to the late second millennium B.C. (De Mecquenem 1934: Fig. 26, p. 192, Fig. 63 No. 1, p. 217; 1943: Fig. 16 Nos. 8, 9).

408 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 52*
Plate 48

An incomplete seal impression contains part of a plant with a straight stem from which branches sprout diagonally, ending in rounded oval flowers or fruits. The upper part of this plant is smeared away.

A similar type of tree with circular flowers or fruit appears on many seal impressions of Nuzi, classified by Porada as Mitannean seals dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XII 203, Pl. XVIII 340, 349, Pl. XXIII 467, 468, 472, 474, p. 11).

409 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 47*
Plate 48

This broken seal impression contains part of a tree with some other unclear designs which may be animals. The tree has a plain straight trunk with three branches, with circular flowers or fruit at the ends of the side branches, while the central branch is smeared and unclear.

A somewhat similar type of tree appears as a common design on many seal impressions of Nuzi, classified by Porada as Mitannean, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pls. VIII-XIX, p. 11).

ANIMALS

410 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 258*
Not illustrated

This seal impression contains part of a scene with two deer, one much more complete than the other. The animal has a rather smoothly delineated body with gentle curves. Its neck is long and its head is turned back toward the second deer so that their muzzles almost touch, while its thick body is covered by parallel straight horizontal lines extending to the rump which ends in a short tail. Only one of its hind legs remains. The second deer, of which the head only appears, is much smaller and may be a fawn.

Ill. 44

411 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 259*
Plate 48; Ill. 44

This seal impression contains part of a scene with a rather large animal, probably a cow or possibly a boar, which is not well proportioned. Its head is triangular with a pointed muzzle whose muscles are indicated by three parallel thick horizontal bands; its small eye is almond shaped and its ears are elongated and triangular. Straight horns spring diagonally upward from the head. The heavy thick body is entirely covered by parallel vertical bands, and its forelegs are very small and thin. The top of a plant or flower appears on the ground.

GENERAL SCENES

412 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 126*
Plate 48

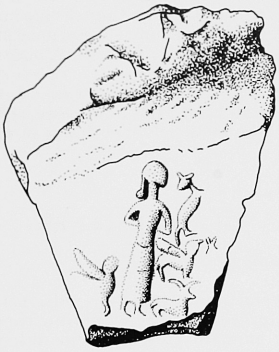
Another seal impression in this rather natural style, partly disturbed by a later imprint, contains two recumbent animals positioned some distance above each other. The upper animal, whose head is rolled out by the later impression, has a smooth rounded body, a short tail and legs extended forward. It may be a dog or some type of game animal. The lower animal has a smooth rounded body with its fore and hind legs folded under, toward each other, and seems to be a mountain goat. The head of this animal is also smeared away. Behind the back of the upper animal a third creature appears which may be a scorpion or turtle. It is positioned vertically upside down, with an oval head pointing downward, fore and hind legs at each side, and an emphasized tail.

413 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 42*
Plate 48

Another incomplete seal impression contains either a scene of hunting or the protection of the herd against predators. The scene is divided into upper and lower parts by two well prounounced parallel bands, possibly ropes, which are connected at each side of the scene to the elbow of a very strong large male figure shown standing in back view. Since these male figures are located at the edges of the seal impression, part of their bodies is missing, but the figure on the right side is more complete. He has a very strong neck formed of a thick straight line as wide as his head, broad shoulders and a strong arm, a narrow waist and thick strong hips and legs. A male organ or tail appears between his legs, and since it looks more like a tail, this may be the imaginary creature with a human torso and lower body of a bull which appears on many seal impressions of Haft Tepe. Above the band held by the two male figures there seem to be wild beasts, while of a herd of animals below the band only horns can be seen.

A similar gate of parallel horizontal straight lines with a shorter distance between the figures at each end appears on a seal impression from Susa, classified by

Amiet to the first flourishing urban civilization of Susa (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 17 No. 676, Pl. 83 Nos. 674-76; V. I, p. 105).

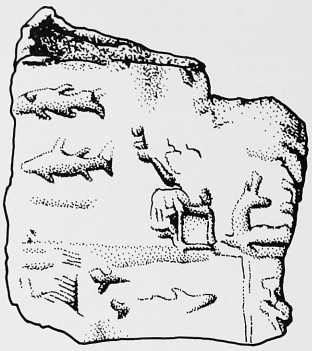


Ill. 45

414 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 78*
Plate 48; Ill. 45

This broken seal impression contains a major part of a scene of a field with natural and imaginary animals gathered around a figure at the center with hair in a braid hanging on one side of his head ending in a rounded bundle above the shoulder, wearing a long garment with a plain top and folded skirt, whose arms are bent with hands clasping his waist. On one side only one animal appears clearly, a sphinx with a combined animal body, with a large wing and possibly human head. On the other side are several animals above each other. At the top an upright animal with a long tail may be a fox. Below is another creature similar to the sphinx on the other side, with a wing but with a bird, not human, head. Below this is a mountain goat with horns forming a double crescent. The scene is bordered below by a decorative fringe of connected inverted triangles. The top of a tree or plant appears at the broken edge of the side.

Although imaginary creatures appear in this scene, the overall composition is rather natural. Some seals with a general similarity of scene and details, in the Ashmolean, are described by Buchanan as Old Syrian Style, around 1850-1600 B.C. (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 55 Nos. 875, 876, pp. 167, 172). Another similar scene with a figure between animals and imaginary sphinxes appears on a seal in the Moore collection, classified by Eisen to Second Syrian Group (Eisen 1940: Pl. XV 163, p. 37). Several similar scenes and design elements appear on seal impressions from Nuzi, classified by Porada to Group III and XXVI, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. IX Nos. 139, 151, Pl. X No. 152, Pl. XLIV, No. 917), while a similar type of scene with similar figures and workmanship appears on a seal grouped by Frankfort with Popular Mitannean seals (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XLIV c-h, p. 274).



Ill. 46

415 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 128*
Plate 48; Ill. 46

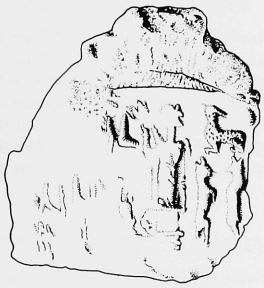
This seal impression is incomplete, but the remaining part contains a figure, possibly a deity, at the center, with head smeared and unclear, wearing a long garment with vertical folded skirt, seated on a simple bench with one arm bent at the elbow and the hand touching his waist while the other is extended, holding some object. In front of this seated figure, are two large fish above each other, with some distance between, with clearly detailed eyes, fins, and tails. Behind the seated deity, at ground level as shown by a horizontal band, is a recumbent animal, possibly a mountain goat, with straight horns sprouting from the head which is turned backward. Behind this recumbent goat part of a tree with rounded flowers or fruit appears at the border edge of the broken side. Two more fish appear below the ground lines, similar in shape and details to those in front of the seated deity. Other incomplete parts of objects appear on panels divided by straight vertical lines under the seated figure.

Fish are rather unusual in seal designs, but they do sometimes appear. An early representation of fish appears on two seals in the Ashmolean Museum, classified by Buchanan to the Proto-historic art of the Jemdet Nasr period (Buchanan 1966: V. I, Pl. 4 Nos. 49, 50, pp. 13-14), while he assigns another seal with a fish design to Early Egyptian cylinder seals with a suggested attribution of the Proto-historic period for which, he adds, there is evidence of a connection of some sort with the Proto-historic of southern Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 64 No. 1053, pp. 210-11). More seals with fish designs, in the British Museum, are classified by

Wiseman as Jemdat Nasr-Early Dynastic I Period (Wiseman 1962: Pl. 1 a, d, pp. 15-16) and other seals with fish designs are also classified to Jemdat Nasr Period by Frankfort (Frankfort 1939: Pl. VII c, Pl. VIII a).

Some seals with fish designs are described by Legrain as Elamite (Legrain 1921: Pl. III Nos. 50, 51, 53, pp. 19, 45, Pl. XXIII No. 334, p. 59), while more seals with fish designs from Susa are attributed by Pezard to the native and indigenous art of Elam (Pezard 1911: Pl. I Nos. 142, 143, pp. 125-26, 334, 59). One group of seals with fish designs from Susa is attributed by Amiet to the Proto-Elamite period (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pl. 20 Nos. 766-68, 777, Pl. 92 Nos. 769-94, Pl. 126 Nos. 1315, 1318; V.I, pp. 117-19, 166), and another group to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: Pl. 178 Nos. 2050, 2052, pp. 263-64) and to the Medeo-Elamite period (Amiet 1972: Pl. 178 No. 2054, p. 267), while one example is described as a seal of the early first millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: Pl. 186 No. 2160). Two seals in the Ashmolean are described by Buchanan as Mitannean style (Buchanan 1966: Pl. 58 Nos. 951, 952) as are many seal impressions with fish designs from Nuzi which are classified by Porada with Group XXVI of Elaborate Mitannean Style, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XLIV Nos. 896, 903, 905, pp. 11, 82-90). A cylinder seal with a fish design, in the Morgan collection, is described by Ward as perhaps an Assyrian cylinder seal of the Syro-Hittite region, with a suggested date of around 1000-500 B.C. (Ward 1909: Pl. XXI No. 144, p. 72).

These comparable examples with fish designs belong to different periods, and it seems that the design of a fish was not limited to a single time, but appears in various periods from the Proto-historic to the Late Elamite Period.



Ill. 47

416 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 129A*
Plate 48; Ill. 47

This seal impression contains a scene with animals around a figure standing in the center, possibly on the back of an animal. This figure, who has a cap or crown and wears a long garment which covers the body to the ground, holds his hands forward. In front of him are a few rather large triangular upright objects set on a stand, possibly representing a construction or an altar. Behind this central figure are three animals, two of them a pair which seem to be goats, standing upright almost symmetrically in front of each other. The third animal is recumbent, located above the first two, and in overall attitude resembles a dog. On the other side of the scene are several objects not clearly identifiable.

A similar type of scene composition appears on seal impressions from Nuzi, classified by Porada as Mitannean, with a suggested date of the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XII 195, Pl. XXII 434, Pl. XXVII 738).

417 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 223*
Plate 48

This seal impression contains only a small part of a scene of standing figures next to each other with a thick band connecting them.

A similar scene of a file of marching figures from Nuzi is assigned by Porada to Group IX, with a suggested date of around the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pl. XXI 409, p. 11, 28-29).

418 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 235*
Plate 48

This incomplete seal impression contains part of a scene with the upper bodies of three persons behind each other with some distance between. Their profile heads are round and set on rather long necks. Some objects are located between these figures on the lower part of the scene, which is missing, but not enough remains to identify them.

A similar scene of a file of marching figures occurs on many seal impressions from Nuzi, classified by Porada to Groups VIII and IX, dated to the second half of the fifteenth century B.C. (Porada 1947b: Pls. XIX-XXI Nos. 352-413, pp. 11, 28-29).

419 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 74*
Plate 48

A fragment of seal impression, not very clear, contains on the upper central part a standing figure wearing a long garment which is open in front with one leg extended and an arm held straight downward. In front of this figure the lower part of the body of an upright animal appears along with more incomplete designs which cannot be identified. Behind the standing figure is a recumbent animal, possibly a mountain goat. More indistinct designs appear on the remaining part of the impression.

420 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 93*
Plate 48

This small part of a scene contains only part of the body of an animal, nicely illustrated in full gallop.

421 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 148*
Plate 48
This seal impression contains the corner part of a natural landscape with a standing mountain goat with curving horns and slim, smoothly rendered body. Below the hind legs of this animal is a circular object which may be a flower or fruit.

422 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 221*
Plate 48
This seal impression, of which the design is not very clear, contains part of a scene of animals, some of them recumbent, in a field.

FENCE OR NET DESIGNS

423-425 Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 240*, *H.T.S. 260*, *H.T.S. 75*
Plate 48
Designs are very natural and simple on these clay impressions. Examples of this type of scene, from Susa, are described by Amiet as seals of the middle of the second millennium B.C. (Amiet 1972: V. II, Pls. 184-86; V. I, pp. 258, 264).

Partial Pieces

Many small broken pieces of seal impressions contain only fragments of a scene which cannot be assigned to the detailed categories used in the chapter. They have been divided into three groups: Seated and Standing Figures Together, Seated Figures, and Standing Figures, with a few examples of each group given. Since all these partial pieces conform to the categories already discussed in style, workmanship, and scene composition, they are simply illustrated here, with no detailed description. Some very fragmentary pieces of seal impressions which repeat the types and styles already described are not included.

SEATED AND STANDING FIGURES TOGETHER

426 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 76B* (Plate 49)
427 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 113* (Plate 49)
428 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 81A* (Plate 49)
429 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 84* (Plate 49)
430 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 299* (Plate 49)
431 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 300* (Plate 49)

SEATED FIGURES

432 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 86* (Plate 49)
433 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 212* (Plate 49)
434 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 71* (Plate 40)
435 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 127* (Plate 49)
436 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 108* (Plate 49)
437 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 219* (Plate 49)
438 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 307* (Plate 49)

STANDING FIGURES

439 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 94* (Plate 49)
440 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 151* (Plate 49)
441 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 152* (Plate 49)
442 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 95* (Plate 49)
443 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 308* (Plate 49)
444 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 309* (Plate 49)
445 Seal Impression *H.T.S. 124* (Plate 49)

Clay Envelopes or Boxes

When inscribed tablets were dispatched to a recipient, they were often enclosed in a clay envelope or box on which a seal would be impressed as the signature of the sender. These envelopes would be discarded once the tablet reached its destination, and as a consequence many pieces of these container envelopes can be found in refuse heaps and trash pits. They are illustrated here to show their shape and function without any detailed description given of the seal impressions found on them.

446 Clay Envelope
Plate 50
Has a tablet attached which is covered by a jacket carrying seal impression 357 (Plate 44; Ill. 36), discussed above.

447 Clay Envelope
Plate 50
Partial
Holds traces of the text of the enclosed tablet with its seal imprint at the end, **368** (Plate 45), discussed above.

448 Clay Envelope with Seal Impression *H.T.S. 25B*
Plate 50
Partial
An offering scene by a combined imaginary creature to a seated deity. On the other side is a more complete version of the same scene in impression **245** (Plate 34; Ill. 4), discussed above.

449 Clay Envelope with Seal Impression *H.T.S. 201B*
Plate 50
This piece of a clay envelope contains on an inner corner traces of a scene design from the enclosed tablet. On the outside of this clay envelope is seal impression **263** (Plate 35), discussed above.

450 Clay Envelope
Plate 50
This corner piece contains traces of some unclear design. On the other side it has seal impression **349** (Plate 43), discussed above.

451 Clay Envelope
Plate 50
On the other side of this corner piece is an imprint of a cuneiform text, *H.T. 554* (not catalogued).

452 Clay Envelope
Plate 50
This corner piece has an impression of the tablet enclosed in it, *H.T.S. 228* (not catalogued).

453 Clay Envelope
Plate 50
On the reverse of this corner piece are seal impressions **346** and **347** (Plate 43), discussed above.

454 Clay Envelope
Plate 51
Contains seal impression **363** (Plate 44), discussed above.

455 Clay Envelope
Plate 51
Contains on its face cuneiform text *H.T.S. 213* (not catalogued).

456 Clay Envelope
Plate 51
Contains seal impression *H.T.S. 209A* (not catalogued). Another face contains seal impression **348** (Plate 43), discussed above.

457 Clay Envelope
Plate 51
This corner fragment contains a seal impression, *H.T.S. 236* (not catalogued), with several standing figures which are connected by a twisted rope, with other small figures between them in a scene which is not very clear.

Many other small pieces of clay with minor designs repeat the style and workmanship of imprints already described. Other fragments of clay envelopes contain impressions of textiles or irregular lines (see **423-425** on Plate 48).

Jar Stoppers

A group of clay fragments are parts of jar stoppers, used to seal container jars. These have on their back traces of the cord wrapped around the mouth of the jar or traces of the jar rim, while on the front are remains of seal impressions identifying the sender.

458 Jar Stopper
Plate 51
Shows marks of the jar rim. On the other side is seal impression **412** (Plate 48), discussed above.

459 Jar Stopper
Plate 51
Shows marks of twisted cord. On the other side is seal impression **361** (Plate 44), discussed above.

460 Jar Stopper
Plate 51
Shows marks of jar rim and twisted cord. On the other side is seal impression **433** (Plate 49), discussed above.

461 Jar Stopper
Plate 51
Has traces of some marks similar to a textile imprint with part of a seal impression, **423** (Plate 48), with a fence or net design. On the other side are marks of the jar rim.

462 Jar Stopper
Plate 51
Shows marks of the jar rim. On the other side is seal impression **379** (Plate 46), discussed above.

Comments

The seal impressions found at Haft Tepe have been divided into several groups according to the style in which they were made, with the largest groups subdivided according to their scene composition. These seal impressions, constituting the major part of the complete collection of Haft Tepe seal impressions, have been arranged so that every style, pattern, and scene composition is represented, and a full picture of their variety provided.

A comparison with the seals and seal impressions found elsewhere in the Near and Middle East reveals that the Haft Tepe seal impressions follow traditional patterns of composition, style, and workmanship, carried out, however, with individual and local variations and characteristics. Aside from a few exceptional seals and seal impressions which seem to belong to rather earlier periods and may have been brought to the site by happenstance, the major bulk of the seal impressions of Haft Tepe seem to represent the period of the middle of the second millennium B.C., or the early centuries of the second half of the second millennium.

By far the largest group of seal impressions is made in Haft Tepe Common Style. These, with the few exceptions mentioned above, are the earliest seal impressions of Haft Tepe. The seals from which these impressions were made had a smooth and rounded cutting of the design so that the seal impressions exhibit a rather smooth soft projection of the design elements. The bodies of the human figures as well as of animals and plants are softly formed in relief with gentle, rather than angular, corners and curves. Since the designs were not very deeply cut into the seals, the impressions show a rather low relief, exhibiting only gently projecting areas.

A great variety of scenes appear in the seal impressions of Haft Tepe Common Style, which are divided into nearly twenty groups according to their subject matter. Although some groups are represented by only a few examples, others contain a large number of characteristic impressions. Among these are several scenes or scene elements which have been little found in seals and seal impressions of other regions, and therefore may be considered to be local or specific to Haft Tepe at this period.

Among these special design elements are:

1. A standing figure holding his hands vertically upright from the elbows in prayer behind a seated deity. A large number of seal impressions of Haft Tepe contain this figure as an element in the scene composition.

2. A combined imaginary creature with a human upper body and an equine or bovine lower body offering an animal similar to a goat to a deity. This figure often wears a headdress with horns or similar decoration. Although this combined imaginary creature occurs on seals and seal impressions from other areas, his representation in a peaceful attitude making an offering to a deity is rather unique to Haft Tepe.

3. A deity smashing a small figure. In this scene composition of which a few examples were found, a rather small figure, possibly an enemy, kneeling on the ground, is being smashed or having his head cut off by a strong and active deity, with possibly blood squirting out from the cut neck. This is an unusual scene of which the most characteristic example appears in **366** (Plate 45; Ill. 37).

4. A deity holding a straight stick vertically in front of himself. On many seal impressions in the Common Style of Haft Tepe a deity is holding an object vertically in front of himself, and in some this appears to be a straight stick or possibly a spear.

5. An elaborate serpent throne. Many of the Haft Tepe seal impressions contain a serpent throne, usually with a human head. One particularly unusual scene contains a deity on a serpent throne supported symmetrically on both sides near the base by antithetical heroes, with a standing figure (judge) in front of the throne. A parallel to this scene has only been found at Susa, and this seems to be a unique composition of Susa and Haft Tepe.

In general the scene compositions of the Haft Tepe Common Style have much in common with the seals and seal impressions, found mostly at Susa, attributed to the Sukkalmahhu period. Although the style of the Haft Tepe impressions differs to a considerable degree from the Sukkalmahhu style in that it is more rounded, soft, and simple, the scene compositions of the Sukkalmahhu period seem to have had a direct influence on the seal impressions of Haft Tepe which represent the following period of the middle and latter part of the second millennium B.C.

Also of close relationship to the Haft Tepe seal impressions are the seals of Susa attributed to the middle of the second millennium B.C., and it seems that the larger Susa plain, forming the center of Elamite culture, of which Haft Tepe was a part, contained a very coherent artistic style.

While the similarity of scene composition between the seals of the Sukkalmahhu period at Susa and the Haft Tepe material is apparent, stylistically the two groups are not as close. The Common Style of Haft Tepe represents an individual character and style of workmanship little found at Susa which is, on the other hand, more comparable to other contemporary cultures, reinforcing other evidence that the period covered by the Haft Tepe establishment is not much

represented at Susa, only ten km. away. During this period it seems that Haft Tepe, rather than Susa, was the cultural center of Elam.

Strong and close similarities, particularly of scene composition, can also be seen between the seals of the larger Susa plain including Susa and Haft Tepe and those of Mesopotamia, particularly of the First Dynasty of Babylon, pointing to the associated religious beliefs and cultural relationships between southern Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran at this time which is logically to be expected since there are no geographic barriers between the two areas. The traditional scene compositions of the region are used on the Haft Tepe seals, although the style of seal cutting at Haft Tepe gradually became simpler and closer to natural forms.

After the seals and seal impressions of the Susa plain, the next most closely comparable group of seal impressions is found at Nuzi, described as Mitannean in style. Although the seal impressions of the two excavations of Haft Tepe and Nuzi contain many similarities, there are also some differences in the majority of scene compositions indicating that other regional and cultural influences were involved. For instance, the most common figure on the Haft Tepe seal impressions is the seated deity, while the majority of the seal impressions of Nuzi contain standing rather than seated deities. Another important element in the scene composition of Haft Tepe seal impressions as well as throughout the Susa plain is that behind the seated deity there is often a praying figure with hands vertically raised from the elbows. This composition is very rare and exceptional in the Nuzi seal impressions and in seals or seal impressions from other areas. Although there are also similarities between the Haft Tepe seal impressions and those from other locations they are not as great as those, firstly with the Susa plain, particularly with the Sukkalmahhu seals in scene composition, and secondly with the Nuzi seal impressions in general.

Toward the end of the Haft Tepe period a new simplified technique was developed in which the traditional scenes were rendered in a style in which the different parts of the body are simplified, often to the shape of long sticks placed next to each other to form the body, termed here Connected Pieces Style. This new simplified style is rarely found in other sites and may be considered a unique development at Haft Tepe. At first this new Connected Pieces Style was used for the same traditional scene compositions found in the seal impressions in the Common Style of Haft Tepe, but gradually the simplified style led to a simplification of the scene compositions as well. This Connected Pieces Style at Haft Tepe seems to represent a transitional style between the older Common Style of Haft Tepe and the later Drill Hole Style which appears during the latter part of the second millennium B.C. all over the Near and Middle East.

A third group of seal impressions, as well as several of the seals, are made in Drill Hole Style, also termed Mitannean style, with drill holes used to indicate plants, flowers, and the joints of animal bodies and concentric circles used for the heads and eyes. The seal impressions in this style found at Haft Tepe are closely related to Mitannean, Syrian, and Hittite seals of the second half of the second millennium B.C. The style was used throughout Iran, in Khuzistan, the Iranian Plateau, the Zagros Range, and the Caspian Zone, as well as northern Mesopotamia and as far as Anatolia and the Mediterranean shores. This wide range of comparability during the second half of the second millennium B.C. points to the close cultural exchange being carried on between the main cultural zones at that time.

The final group of seal impressions from Haft Tepe, termed Natural Style, are comparable in scene composition and design elements to Mitannean and Syrian style, mostly belonging to the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C. They seem to represent a later development at Haft Tepe when the strong traditional patterns were gradually giving way to newer compositions and style having more in common with neighboring cultures.

IX

Stele, Inscriptions, and Tablets

During the excavation many clay, stone, metal, and pottery objects with cuneiform inscriptions were found. The considerable bulk of inscribed material found at Haft Tepe suggests that writing was an important means of communication in daily life, in commerce and trade, and in administration. Three large stone inscriptions, many seal impressions with writing, inscribed objects, and several thousand inscribed tablets with complete or partial texts together present a broad picture of trade and commercial exchange, of religious beliefs, and of administration and government of the Elamites during the middle and latter part of the second millennium B.C.

Since among the inscribed materials found at Haft Tepe texts in Babylonian as well as in Elamite are represented, it appears that the Elamite scribes were acquainted with and used Babylonian commonly in ordinary writings, a reflection of the great economic and cultural exchange between the Elamites and the Babylonians and of the value of Babylonian as a developed and practical language in extensive application.[1]

There were many words and signs, particularly those connected with religious beliefs and ideology that, due to close relations between cultures in the ancient world during the second millennium B.C., were used in similar patterns in different types of writing, in different languages and regions. The development of cuneiform writing during the course of two or three millennia also followed a similar pattern throughout the region, from the pictographic origins which were similar because they followed the natural shape of each object. Close trade and commercial relations, military occupation, and administration of a given territory by different rulers all reinforced this common use of cuneiform writing.

Stone Inscriptions

Two very large and one smaller stone inscription were found at Haft Tepe, in addition to many small broken pieces of inscribed stone.

463 Stone Stela I
Plate 52 E XIX
Max. W., 0.49; H., 1.10; Th., 0.14 m.
Broken diagonally, incomplete

This stone stela was found in the open courtyard of the Tomb-Temple Complex. The surface of the stone is well levelled and smoothed and a straight borderline is engraved along the left side of the stone, from 0.012 m. to 0.018 m. from the left edge, averaging 0.015 m. The quality of the engraving is very clear and it is in a good state of preservation. Only occasionally does it seem that a mistake was made and the sign erased and written again, resulting in engraving slightly deeper

1. The utilization of a language because of its advanced development and practical use by outside groups has occurred frequently, mainly because a particular language was well adapted for certain purposes, or because it was understood by important minorities. The trilingual inscriptions often found in archaeological remains, repeating the same text in several languages, reflect this situation. The use of Elamite in Achaemenian administrative patterns also illustrates the extensive and practical use of a language. All the tablets found at Persepolis containing daily administrative and economic texts are in the Elamite language, the common language of the writers (Cameron 1948).

than normal. The text is engraved in straight lines along the width of the stone from left to right, with a distance between the lines of 0.012 to 0.016 m. Each line begins next to the engraved border line except for line 14 which begins a little to the left of the borderline and overruns it. The topmost part of the stone, although it is well levelled with a smooth surface, has nothing engraved on it, possibly indicating that the text did not begin on this stone, but may have been continued from another stone slab that was either removed or has not yet been excavated. Because of the diagonal break across the stone no complete line of the inscription remains, but the topmost line is the longest, placed about 0.32 m. below the top edge of the stone and continuing for 0.47 m. to the point at which the stone is broken. The lines become shorter as the text continues, with line 10 about 0.435 m. long, line 20 about 0.395 m., line 30 about 0.34 m., line 40 about 0.275 m., line 50 about 0.13 m. and line 55 the shortest remaining line. Below line 55 the broken edge reaches the left side of the inscription, with only traces of the topmost part of line 56 remaining at the lower broken edge.

A transcription and complete picture of this inscription were sent to Prof. Erica Reiner of the University of Chicago for translation.[2] While she was working on this text, Mrs. Elizabeth Voitlander made a summary translation of the text (Voitlander 1977; see Appendix II).

464 Stone Stela 2
Plate 52 F XIX
Broken in two pieces: H. of upper broken piece, 1.81; H. of lower piece, 0.90; total H., 2.71; Max. W. of upper piece, 0.63; W. of lower piece at base, 0.48; Th. of upper piece, 0.22; Th. of lower piece, 0.185 m.

This stone stela was also discovered in the central courtyard of the Tomb-Temple Complex, about 3 m. northwest of the platform on which possibly Stele 1 and 2 were installed. Although the inscription seems to represent a similar type of writing and arrangement of the text as Stone Stela 1, except that some of the lines continue to the side of Stone Stela 2, the writing on this stela is very badly damaged, with the central portion from top to bottom almost destroyed. Only a very small part of the end of the lines in some places remains, making translation very difficult. The major fragments of inscription remaining include 9 incomplete lines on the lower part of the left side and 16 fragmentary lines on the right. On the upper part also there are 14 incomplete lines on the left and 15 on the right. The only spot in the center of the stela in which a few fragmentary lines remain is near the breaking point at the lower part, starting about 1.61 m. from the top edge (Plate 52).

465 Stone Stela 3
Plate 52 L XXXIV
W., 0.24; H., 0.257; Th., 0.06 m.

This stone inscription is part of a large stone stela which may also have been installed in the open courtyard of the Tomb-Temple Complex. It was discovered about 150 m. distant from the courtyard, having apparently been discarded there in ancient times after being broken. The inscription on this stone (see Appendix III), which is broken all around, seems to be from the middle part of a stela since there is no border edge, and the cuneiform text covers the entire surface. The whole surface from left to right and top to bottom is covered by 17 incomplete lines of cuneiform text of which the longest remaining line, on the upper part, is about 0.24 m. and the shortest, at the bottom, about 0.10 m. The quality of the engraving is good, the lines are orderly, and the writing remains clear and in a good state of preservation.

Inscribed Clay Tablets

Several thousand complete and fragmentary clay tablets were found at Haft Tepe, many of them located together in large groups: in trench H XXXI, in the courtyard in front of the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I, and in Haft Tepe B mound opposite the railroad station. These tablets were usually made from a fine, well levigated clay which might have been mixed with a small portion of natural bitumen or other additive which changed its color to a reddish brown and in some cases to an even darker brown. These ingredients were kneaded to make a flexible patty which was usually formed into a rectangular tablet (for example, **466** on Plate 53) although disk-shaped tablets have also been found (for example, **467** on Plate 53). Whether rectangular or disk-shaped the middle of the tablet is generally thicker than the edges. The tablets vary in size according to the needs of the text which they contain, and no particular standard dimensions seem to have been followed.

After the tablet was formed, the cuneiform characters were impressed on the soft surface. The pens used to impress the soft surface of the clay were made of

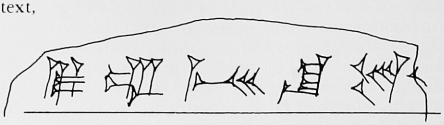
2. For the complete transliteration and translation by Erica Reiner, see "Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 24 (1973) 87-102.

various materials. Those made of perishable material have disappeared, but some pens made of more durable materials such as bronze and stone remain. On these pens the point is an elongated triangle in section, tapering to the end. When the pen was pressed in the clay it made the shape of the cuneiform character. Pens with different sizes of writing points have been found, by which characters of varying size could be made. On some tablets the characters are large, clear, and well organized in an orderly pattern, while on others the characters are small and fine (see, for example, **468** on Plate 53). Usually the text covers both sides of the tablet. Sometimes the scribe has made a straight even edging for the text at the beginning of the lines on the left hand side, while on other tablets there is no organized edging, with the lines reaching from one edge to the other and even continuing around to the side and extending onto the top and bottom surfaces, as on **469** (Plate 54).

After these tablets had been inscribed, they were usually slightly fired or left to dry. However, there are some unfired tablets as well as very well fired examples. When the tablet was found the surface was often covered by a solid soil sediment which had to be carefully cleaned away before the tablet could be read. In order to prevent damage to the text during the cleaning process, it was necessary to solidify the body of the tablet, particularly those tablets which had only been sun dried, by firing them before cleaning. Often during the excavation a group of tablets would be found which had become compacted with soil sediment. These would be put together as excavated into the kiln and after firing they could be easily separated.

If the original tablet was not usable because of some mistake or defect, the clay might be recycled as the filling of a new tablet. This can be seen at the broken edge of a tablet which has defective or deformed tablet material in its core (see **470** on Plate 54). Large chunks of this clay tablet material along with defective and deformed tablets were found on the northeastern side of Terrace Complex I in the open courtyard next to the double kiln, in trenches K and J XXXIV, where many pieces of tablets, particularly school tablets, and seal impressions were also found, pointing to the probability that at the workshop activity related to the production of tablets and the training of scribes was carried out.

Imprinted on some of these tablets is a seal impression, most likely that of the person issuing the text. Some of these seal impressions contain simple designs, but others have a detailed scene with perhaps several columns of inscription, identifying the owner of the seal. Tablets of particular importance were placed inside a clay envelope or box on which the seal of the sender was often impressed and, in some cases, a cuneiform text added. On some of these clay envelopes an acknowledgment of receipt appears, as in **368** (Plate 45), the envelope of tablet *H.T. 12*, which contains the text,



This is translated as "Recei[ved] to [L]ummessu" by Pablo Herrero (Herrero 1976: 110-111).

If the clay envelope had been freshly made and was not yet completely dried, an imprint of the enclosed tablet might be formed on the inside surface of the container, as on **471** (Plate 54).

Only a small percentage of the clay tablets are complete. Most are broken with smaller or larger pieces missing, so that the text is incomplete. Fortunately, the text is sometimes repeated on several tablets, and even more frequently the seal impressions with inscriptions are repeated, so that the total text may be put together from several sources. As an example, one of the seal impressions repeatedly appearing at the end of the texts is an impression carrying the name of Tepti Ahar, the king of Elam responsible for the establishment of Haft Tepe. Although most impressions of this seal are not complete, its appearance on tablets *H.T. 1*, *H.T. 16*, *H.T. 20*, *H.T. 40*, *H.T. 60*, and *H.T. 445* (see **328**, **329**) allows the reconstruction of the complete text (Herrero 1976: 104, 105, Fig. 20).

After being fired and cleaned, the Haft Tepe tablets were studied by Dr. Pablo Herrero who, during three seasons at the excavation, completely translated more than 30 of the tablets and transcribed and partly translated over 600 more. These tablets provide much information about Haft Tepe and its place in Elamite history. Unfortunately, Dr. Herrero passed away before he could begin his fourth season at Haft Tepe, but a complete translation by him of nearly ten tablets was published after his death (Herrero 1976; see Appendix IV for a reprint of his article).

The inscribed tablets of Haft Tepe fall into various categories according to their text. Examples of each of these categories are described and translated below.

LETTERS

Some tablets are ordinary letters in which orders for various types of work or for similar transactions are explained.

466 Tablet *H.T. 2*
Plate 53
Translation
Line 1 - Avilu speaks, suggests

Line 2 - to Sin Remeni
Line 3 - Gate keeper and young scribes
Line 4 - and Guards of the 'House'
Line 5 - Say (Let) grand Chariot
Line 6 - with Gold Zaru
Line 7 - Let Temtu Hapu (who brings this letter)
Line 8 - Take that
Line 9 - and bring it to me

To sin Remeni and to young scribes and to the guards of the House (EDUA). Let Temtuhapu who brings this letter take the Chariot with gold Zaru and bring it to me (after Herrero 1976: 106).

ECONOMIC TEXTS

These tablets contain texts which deal with daily business life such as the payment of allowances for jobs being handled.

472 Tablet *H.T. 38*
Plate 54

Transcription
2 5/6 MA.NA 4 GÍN KÙ. BABBAR
mu-ut-tu-ù šà Ta-aš-ri-ti
4 1/3 MA.NA KU. BABBAR
5/6 MA.NA 2[GÍN] KÙ.GI
5 mu-ut-tu-ù ša mDa-da-ar
ŠU.NÍGIN 8 MA.NA 14 GÍN KU.GI
Tr. 5/6 MA.NA 2 GIN KU.GI
mu-ut-tu-ù
Rev. sa Ta-mi-[šà]-ak
10 ITU A-bi 2[...]UD is-su
uh

empreinte
MU EŠŠANA KÁ-da-aš-ma-an-
d KUR.GAL
ú-sà-aḫ-ḫi-ru

Traduction
2 mines 5/6 (et) 4 sicles d'argent:
somme destinee à Tašrìtu.
4 mines 1/3 d'argent,
5/6 de mine (et) 2 sickles d'or:
5 somme destinée à Dadār
Total: 8 mines (et) 14 sicles d'argent
Tr. (et) 5/6 de mine (et) 2 sicles d'or:
somme
Rev. a la charge de Tami[s] ak
10 mois d'Abu, le 2 [...] eme. jour écoulé.

empreinte
Année où le roi
expulsa Kadašman-Enlil
(Herrero 1976: 102)

For transcription and translation of seal impression **281** at the end of this tablet, see below, p. 107.

SCHOOL TEXTS

School texts were used in training of students and scribes. They are most often disk shaped, with a thick center tapering to a thinner edge all around, although some rectangular school texts have also been found. These texts contain such information as the definition of comparable terms and words in other languages and served the function of a dictionary. On this type of tablet, the surface is often divided into several vertical columns with a word in the left hand column and its comparable word placed opposite in the next column.

467 Tablet *H.T. 158*
Plate 53
This tablet is an example of this type of school text.

TEXTS OF EXTISPICIN, AUGURIES, AND OMENS

The study of auguries and omens was very important in the ancient world, related to religious beliefs, in order to foretell future events and prevent unpleasant consequences. One method of foretelling the future was concerned with the interpretation of the lines, marks, and tracks on the liver of a sheep sacrificed by the individual seeking information. The discipline of this ancient science, known as Extispicin, was very well developed.

473 Tablet *H.T. 152*
Plate 55; Color Plate 4B
This rather large tablet is inscribed on both faces, on one side edge, and on the bottom edge. One face is very clear and in a good state of preservation, while the opposite surface is partly worn and erased. The well preserved face, clearly written in an orderly manner with a straight left hand border, includes 31 lines, plus 4 on the bottom edge, forming altogether 35 lines of inscription. The back of the tablet, although it contains an equal volume of text, is not so easily decipherable, while the text on the side edge is partly clear and partly damaged and the text on the bottom edge is partly damaged and erased.

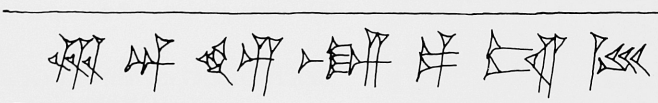
Translation of select lines

Line 1 - If on the upper part of 'Naplastu'[3]
broken-missing
God Shamash will help my army.
Line 2 - If on the middle of 'Naplastu'....
Goddess Ishtar will help my army.

3. 'Naplastu' is the term for a small section of the liver.

Line 3 - If on the lower part of 'Naplastu'....
Goddess Sin will help my army.
Line 24 - If on the right side of upper part of
'Naplastu' there is an additional projecting piece of
tissue similar to...., it means that at the beginning of the
year some problems will develop in my army.
Line 25 - If on the right side of the middle part of
'Naplastu' an additional projecting piece similar
to....exists, it means that during the middle part of the
year problems will develop in my army.
Line 26 - If on the right side of the lower part of
'Naplastu' an additional projecting piece of tissue similar
to....exists, it means that during the last part of the year
problems will develop in my army.
Line 30 - If on the upper part of 'Usurtu'[4] in
'Naplastu' there is a cross sign, it means that fire will
eat the main gate of my city.
Line 31 - If on the middle of 'Usurtu' in 'Naplastu'
there is a cross sign, it means that fire will eat the gate
of my palace.
Line 32 - If on the lower part of 'Usurtu' in 'Naplastu'
there is a cross sign, it means that fire will eat the gate
of my temple.

Inscriptions on Decorative Objects



H.T. 151

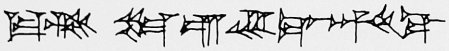
Some objects carry an inscription, usually identifying the owner and his position. Many of these objects, made from different materials, are rather decorative in form.

492 Inscribed Spool *H.T. 151*
This spool made from white stone carries the following inscription:

Transcription
Šad-im-Uru-Pa-iš-Meš

Translation
Belongs to Adad Arash Ish (Ish is a title meaning head of shepherds or head of herdsmen).

474 Inscribed Pottery Jar
Plate 55

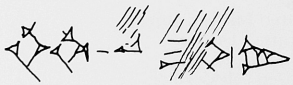


This pottery jar, made in one of the most common shapes of Haft Tepe pottery, carries the following inscription:

Transcription
Ku-si-tu-u Sa Gal dKur.Gal

Translation
An object (a garment) belong to Great God Enlil

217 Inscribed Bronze Axe
Plate 31
See above, Chapter VII, for discussion



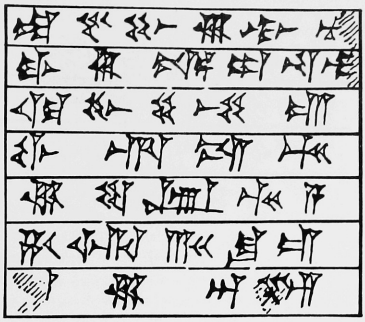
Transcription
Hi(?) te-en Ku-te-er [An Elamite personal name]

Inscribed Seals and Seal Impressions

Some of the cuneiform tablets are signed or sealed at the end by an imprint of a cylinder seal which may contain a few columns of cuneiform inscription identifying the owner of the seal.

281 Seal Impression on Tablet *H.T. 38*
Plate 37; Ill. 18
See above, **472**, for text of *H.T. 38*

4. 'Usurtu' is a part of 'Naplastu' whose exact location is not clear.



H.T. 38

See above, Chapter VIII, for description of scene on seal impression **281**

Transcription

At-ḫi-bu ša-ak-nu
GAL ša Ka-ab-na-a[k]
qí-pu še-mu-ú
pi-ri-iš-ti
5 šà Te-ep-ṭi-a-
ha-ar EŠŠANA ŠU-ší
[ARA]D sa dIM

Translation

Athibu, grand gouverneur
de Kabnak,
administrateur
(et) homme de confiance
5 de Tepti-aḫar,
roi de Suse
(et) [servi]teur du dieu IM.
(Herrero 1976: 102)

Tablets *H.T. 1, H.T. 16, H.T. 20, H.T. 40, H.T. 60, H.T. 445, H.T.S. 2*

See Chapter VIII, **326**, **328**, **329** (Plate 41; Ill. 31) for discussion of scene on seal impression

This seal impression which appears on a number of tablets is the seal of King Tepti Ahar. The partial impressions considered together provide the complete text of this seal.

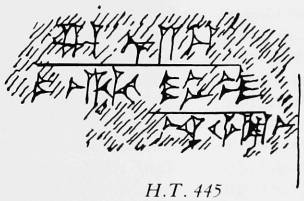
Transcription

Te-ep-ti -a-[ḫa-ar]
EŠŠANA Šu-ší u An-za-[an]
[ARA]D šà dKi-ir-wa-ší-ir
šà dMÍM. ERIN EN bal (!?)-tú (?)
5 [i]-na mi-ig-ra-at
[S]Á-šu-ni li-id-dù-u-šu

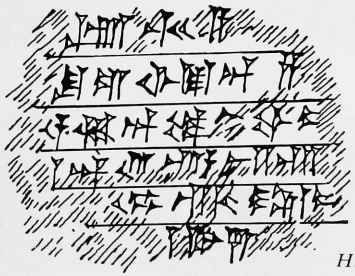
Translation

Tepti-a[har],
roi de Suse et d'Anz[an]
[servit]eur de Kirwašir
(et) d'Inšušinak. Puissent-ils
5 dans la bonne grace de leur coeur
le reconnaître aussi longtemps qu'il vivra (?)
(Herrero 1976: 104)

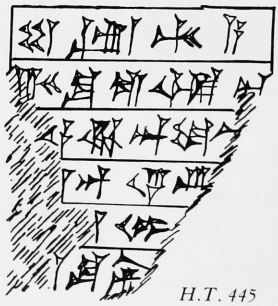
Some information of interest has been obtained from the Haft Tepe tablets thus far translated.



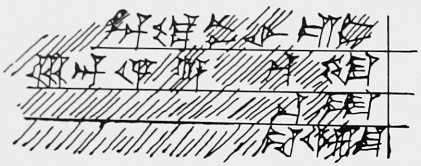
H.T. 445
côté gauche?



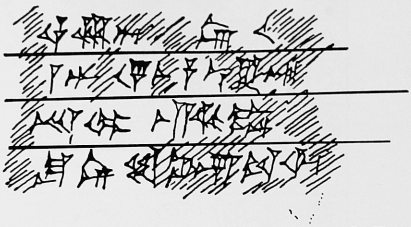
H.T. 60



H.T. 445



H.T.S. 2



H.T. 20

King Tepti Ahar

The name of King Tepti Ahar, who apparently was responsible for the major establishment of Haft Tepe, appears on Stone Stela 1 and on a number of tablets and seal impressions.[5] TEPTI is an Elamite word meaning Guard, Guardian, or Watchman. Although the meaning of AHAR is not absolutely clear, it may have indicated the head of a family or tribe.[6] On his personal seal Tepti Ahar describes himself as King of Susa and Anzan (that is, King of Elam) and the servant of the god Kirwashir and the god Inshushinak, and begs for their support and protection in the progress of his work.

Of help in establishing the date of the Haft Tepe remains is tablet *H.T. 38* (**472**), in which the name of Kadashman-Enlil is mentioned, with the impression of the seal of King Tepti Ahar at the end of the text. From this it is obvious that Tepti Ahar, King of Elam, was a contemporary of Kadashman Enlil, the Kassite king of Mesopotamia. Since there were two Kadashman Enlils in the Kassite dynasty, it is necessary to determine which one was a contemporary of King Tepti Ahar of Elam. Kadashman Enlil I ruled in Mesopotamia before the reign of Burnaburiash III, who began his rule around 1375 B.C. (Brinkman 1972: 272, 275), while Kadashman Enlil II ruled in Mesopotamia from 1279-1265 B.C. The history of Elam is clear during the reign in Mesopotamia of Kadashman Enlil II. We know that Humban Numena ruled Elam from 1300-1275 B.C. and Untash-Napirisha from 1275-1240 B.C.[7] Since the possibility that Tepti Ahar of Elam was contemporary with Kadashman Enlil II of Mesopotamia is ruled out, it seems that he must have been a contemporary of Kadashman Enlil I, who reigned immediately before 1375 B.C. Thus it seems that Tepti Ahar was King of Elam at some point during the period from 1505 to 1350 B.C., after the reign of the Sukkalmahhu dynasty and before the appearance of the Iga-Halki dynasty, a period which has been until recently a dark period in Elamite history. For this period at Susa there are few archaeological remains, and it is possible that for a short time Haft Tepe may have replaced Susa as the main Elamite administrative center. The excavation of Haft Tepe is only now beginning to throw some light on this previously obscure period.

Other texts support the contemporaneity of the reign of Tepti Ahar with the Kassite kings of Mesopotamia. On two tablets from Haft Tepe the name KA-RA-AN-DU-NI-I-A-AS (Karanduniash) is given for Babylon.[8] According to our existing knowledge, this term for Babylon was used only during the period of Kassite rule, from about the fifteenth to thirteenth century B.C. Although the exact dates and length of the reign of Tepti Ahar are not yet clear, the existence of such considerable monumental architectural remains, to which Tepti Ahar refers with great pride, would lead us to conclude that he ruled for a fairly long time and that he must have enjoyed a considerable power and political stability to be able to carry out this massive construction.

5. The name of Tepti Ahar appears on Stone Stela 1, line 27; on Tablets *H.T. 1*, on the back in the seal impression; *H.T. 21*, line 1; *H.T. 30*, back of tablet, line 3; *H.T. 38*, back of tablet, lines 5-7 (**281**); *H.T. 60*, back of tablet in seal impression, line 1 (**329**); *H.T. 74*, line 6; *H.T. 192*, back of tablet, line 11; *H.T. 445*, seal impression at end of text, line 1; *H.T. 449*, lines 1, 4; *H.T. 450*, seal impression at end of text, line 1; and on Seal Impressions *H.T.S. 1*, lines 1 and 2; *H.T.S. 2*, at beginning of text, broken part (**252**).

6. In the Malamir tablets Ahar is translated as the Head of Meramurti. M.D.P. V.XXII, p. 163. V. (Scheil 1930:tablet no. 163, pp. 172-173.)

7. According to Hinz 1964: 151. The chronology and dating of the Elamite kings varies slightly according to different scholars. Herrero suggests that Attar Kitah and Humban-Numena reigned during the period contemporary with Kadashman Enlil II (Herrero 1976: 112).

8. Tablets *H.T. 28*, line 3; *H.T. 129*, line 5.

Ancient Name of Haft Tepe

Another important reference in the Haft Tepe tablets is to the geographic name KAPNAK,[9] which may refer to Haft Tepe itself. Seal impressions at the end of more than seven tablets found at Haft Tepe contain the name ATKHIBU as owner of the seal, who is addressed as the Great Governor of KAPNAK.[10] ATKHIBU describes himself as a person trusted by Tepti Ahar, a fact of which he is very proud. The repeated occurrence of this name joined with the title Great Governor of Kapnak certainly suggests a connection between Kapnak and the archaeological remains of Haft Tepe.

Many centuries after the reign of Tepti Ahar a report of the military campaign of Ashur Banipal (668-627 B.C.) against the Elamites mentions the names of many towns around Susa which he defeated and destroyed before the final attack on Susa. Among these neighboring towns is KA-PI-IN-AK. Haft Tepe is only about 9 km. from Susa in a direct line and the similarity of this name with the name KAPNAK on the Haft Tepe tablets suggests some connection as to identity. Certainly the passage of time from just after the middle of the second millennium B.C. to the seventh century B.C. would have allowed the slight shift from KAPNAK to KA-PI-IN-AK.

Before the excavation of Haft Tepe some scholars thought its remains might represent a religious center between Susa and Chogha Zanbil (Dur Untash) referred to as TIKNI in an inscription of Shutruk-Nahunte, an Elamite king (Cameron 1936: 107). Our present knowledge of the Haft Tepe documents seems instead to point to KAPNAK as the ancient name of Haft Tepe.

Other Geographic Names

A number of geographic names are found in the texts of the Haft Tepe tablets thus far translated, some of them known and their location identified, while the exact location of others is not yet clear. Included in this list are KUR-ELAM-MA-KI[11] which is ancient Elam; SU-SI[12] which is the ancient city of Susa, near modern Shush which preserves the name with little difference of pronounciation; ANZAN[13] which is an Elamite province that with the recent excavation of Malyan seems to have been identified; KARADUNIAS[14] which is the name of Babylon under Kassite rule; URI-KI[15] which is Akkad; and KI-EN-GI[16] which is Sumer. Among those geographic names whose location is not certain is HUHNURU,[17] ASANA,[18] and HAL-IS-NA-TI?[19]

Architectural Terms

Several architectural terms found in the tablets seem to relate to the construction at Haft Tepe. One such term is E-DU-A, meaning House, which appears on Tablets *H.T. 2* (**466**) and *H.T. 4*, while the term E-DU-A GAL, which means Great House, also appears on several tablets. On the back of Tablet *H.T. 1*, line 4, is

---

9. Tablets *H.T. 38*, back of tablet, seal impression, lines 1 and 2 (**281**); *H.T. 191*, line 4.
10. Athibu appears on Tablets *H.T. 6*, line 6; *H.T. 30*, back of tablet, line 4; *H.T. 38*, back of tablet, seal impression, line 1 (**281**); *H.T. 44*, line 5; *H.T. 83*, line 4; *H.T. 114*, line 3; *H.T. 132*, line 6.
11. KUR-EL AM-MA-KI appears on Tablet H.T. 43, lines 7, 8.
12. SU-SI appears on Tablets *H.T. 1*, line 2; *H.T. 20*, line 2; *H.T. 38*, back of tablet, seal impression, line 6 (**281**); *H.T. 60*, back of tablet, line 2; *H.T.S. 2*, line 2 (**252**); *H.T. 445*, line 2.
13. ANZAN appears on Tablets *H.T. 1*, line 2; *H.T. 60*, back of tablet, line 2 (**329**); *H.T.S. 2*, line 2 (**252**).
14. KARDUNIAS appears on Tablets *H.T. 28*, line 13; *H.T. 114*, back of tablet, lines 3, 4; *H.T. 129*, line 5.
15. URI-KI appears on Tablet *H.T. 43*, lines 1-3.
16. KI-EN-GI appears on Tablet *H.T. 43*, lines 4-7.
17. HU-UH-NU-RE appears on Tablets *H.T. 29*, line 6; *H.T. 30*, line 9 and on the back of tablet, line 16; *H.T. 73*, line 4. According to Hinz HUHNURU falls in Bakhtiari territory, possibly near Ize and Malamir. Repeated mention of this name indicates that it was in close relation to Haft Tepe.
18. ASANA appears on Tablet *H.T. 30*, line 9. This name was not mentioned before in any other text.
19. HAL-IS-NA-TI? appears on Tablet *H.T. 29*, line 5, which is broken at the end of this word so that it is not clear whether the name is complete.

written 'at the time that by the order of the king the Great House (E-DU-A GAL) was building'; while on *H.T. 12* is written 'at the time that the king built (or surrounded) the Great House (E-DU-A GAL) with clay', possibly meaning surrounded with a sun dried brick wall.

The word E-DU-A can mean either a living house or a tomb (Reiner 1973: 94), and thus may refer to the large baked brick tomb of Tepti Ahar in the Tomb-Temple Complex (Map VI). In the Malamir tablets obtained almost half a century ago by the French Archaeological Mission, it is written that

> Tepti Ahar, King of Susa, made? a statue of himself and of his servant girls to whom he is gracious and interceding female figures who would intercede for him and for his servant girls to whom he is gracious; he built a house (E-DU-A) of baked brick.[20]

Here the word E-DU-A seems to be used to mean tomb, the Tomb of Tepti Ahar, which with its neighboring Mass Burial Tomb, Temple, Portico, and Open Courtyard with thick surrounding walls were all built together at the same time (Herrero 1976: 93).

Also mentioned in the tablets is the E-DU-A GAL or Great House. In the text of *H.T. 1*, it is written 'This Great House is built by the order of the king' and at the end of the text the seal impression of Tepti Ahar appears, indicating that the Great House was built by Tepti Ahar. In the text of *H.T. 12* is written 'At the time that the King built the surrounding wall of the Great House', indicating that this Great House was surrounded by a sizable wall. In grid squares I XXII to I XXVII, a very thick large wall of sun dried brick extends diagonally. Nearly 90 m. of this wall has been uncovered, with neither the beginning nor the end located. If this wall is considered to be the surrounding wall of the Great House or E-DU-A GAL mentioned in *H.T. 12*, then Terrace Complex I may represent the Great House itself, which the long wall borders on the northern side.

Another architectural term mentioned in the tablets is U-ZI-RI-GAL, whose meaning is not clear.[21] In Tablet *H.T. 27* mention is made of the repair of the staircase of U-ZI-RI-GAL. The word UZIRI is not clear in either Elamite or Babylonian, but the word GAL which means Great would indicate that it is a large unit. In the excavation thus far, the only architectural feature yet uncovered which could be considered to be part of a staircase are two long large steps in trench U XXXIV (Plan 7), on the northeastern part of Terrace Complex II. Since the lower part of these steps is destroyed and their base is not clear, it is very difficult to be certain of their identity and their relation to the staircase mentioned in *H.T. 27*, but the location of these two large long steps above each other, and nearly 3 m. above ground or floor level of this huge construction, which is almost as large as Terrace Complex I, with the remaining debris even higher, certainly indicates that these two steps might belong to a large staircase which would start from ground level and continue above the present level to the higher part of Terrace Complex II. Thus there is a very tentative identification of these steps with the staircase of UZIRI-GAL, the only such possibility yet revealed in the Haft Tepe excavation.

Units of Measurement

A large group of tablets deals with various aspects of trade and the economy, including payment and allowances for work. In this type of tablet measurements of weight and volume are sometimes given.

MEASUREMENTS OF WEIGHT

Elamite	Babylonian		
Gu^2 (GU^2UN)	biltu	60 MINAS	(about 28.30 kg.)
MA-NA	manu	60 SHEKELS	(about 480 gm.)
SHEKEL GIN^2	siglu		(8 gm.)

Gold and Silver MANA and SHEKELS were used as a standard of currency.

MEASUREMENTS OF SPACE AND VOLUME

Elamite	Babylonian	
GUR-KURRU	200 qu	nearly 250 liters
PI	parsiktu	1/5 GUR
BAN^2	sutu	division of PI
STIA	qu	0.842 liter

These units were often used to measure wheat, barley, flour, and beer.

---

20. Reiner 1973: 96, 101, footnotes. The Malamir tablets, now in the Louvre, were attributed to Malamir by the dealer from whom they were obtained, but it now seems clear that they must have come from Haft Tepe.

21. The term Uzirigal appears on Tablets *H.T. 27*, line 12; *H.T. 53*, line 4; *H.T. 64*, line 10.

Haft Tepe Deities

The names of the gods and goddesses are given repeatedly in different texts, and the order of their listing indicates their importance at a particular time. In the text of Stone Stela 1 the names and festivals of various gods including ABU, KIRWASIR, and TASHRITU are mentioned before the god INSHUSHINAK. Also on clay tablets *H.T. 5* and *H.T. 445* King Tepti Ahar addresses himself first as a servant of the god Kirwashir and after that to the god Inshushinak. This order of the deities in the texts of Haft Tepe indicates that, although the god Inshushinak was worshipped at this time, he was not considered the preeminent deity which he became in the Ige-Halki dynasty (late fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C.) when he overshadows all other gods. During the reign of Tepti Ahar the supreme god is Kirwashir who comes first in all texts. In the next dynasty and particularly during the reign of Untash-Gal (between 1265 and 1245 B.C.), the most powerful ruler of this dynasty who built the monumental ziggurat of Chogha Zanbil and its surrounding establishment, Inshushinak became the supreme god of the Elamites, with his name always appearing first in the list of gods.

Among the names of the deities mentioned in the Haft Tepe texts, Babylonian gods and goddesses appear, indicating that these deities were worshipped in Elam as well as in Mesopotamia. Since some of these deities symbolized the power of the natural elements and natural phenomena they were shared and worshipped by many peoples of the ancient world. In the text of Stone Stela 1, found in the open courtyard of the Tomb-Temple Complex, the festivals for each different deity are listed with directions for obtaining their support by the sacrifice of various goods and animals, and the donation of different materials.

Titles and Positions

Various terms indicating titles and positions are found associated with personal names in the texts.

ESSANA means King, who ruled the entire country.

SAKNU means Governor of a city or region.

QIPU means Supervisor, Director, Head of an office, and administrative position.

IS means Head of Shepherds or Stables, Owner of Animals, who controlled all matters dealing with animal husbandry (equal to Babylonian KIZU).

ARAD means Servant or Employee, a worker.

E-RI-BU-NI is a term found both in Haft Tepe texts and in texts found at Susa contemporary with the Haft Tepe period, and seems to indicate a person who dealt with or worked metal, in other words a Metalsmith. A connection of this title may be suggested with the person who operated the Haft Tepe artist's workshop which included metal working. It seems probable that Eribuni refers to the master artist in charge of the workshop who was responsible for the fine work found there, including many metal objects.

PU-HU-TE-EP-PI-I[22] means Scribes or Young Writers. It is a compound Elamite term, used only in the Elamite language. Considered in conjunction with the many school tablets found next to the artist's workshop, it points to the existence of a training school for young scribes at Haft Tepe.

Calendar

In the text of Stone Stela 1, the names of the Elamite months are given. Before the discovery of this stone stela, the names of the months were known, but their order and arrangement in the calendar were not clear. Now, Erica Reiner, with the help of the text of this stone stela, after comparing the Elamite months to their Babylonian equivalents according to suggestions by Walthur Hinz, has arranged and partly revised the order of the Elamite months as follows:

I. ITU, ADARI
II. ITU, ŠE-ER-IŠÀ E-SE-DI
III. ITU, PI-IT BĀBI
IV. ITU, DINGIR MAḪ
V. ITU, A-BI

22. PU-HU-TE-EP-PI-I is found on Tablet *H.T. 2*, line 3 (**466**).

VI. ITU, LA-LU-BI-E
VII. ITU, SI-BU-TU (ŠE-BU-TI)
VIII. ITU, ŠE-ER-IŠÀ-E-RE-ŠI (and variants)
IX. ITU, TAM-ḪI-RI
X. ITU, SI-LI-LI-TI
XI. ITU, ḪU-UL-TU-UP-PI-E (and variants)
XII. ITU, ŠÀ-BA-TI

Elamite Personal Names

Many personal names are given on these tablets including ATḪIBU,[23] ATTA-METEN,[24] IGI-METEN,[25] KUK-ALATU,[26] KUK-IŠME-KARAB,[27] KUK-MANSAT,[28] KUK-TEPTU,[29] KUK-EŠRU,[30] KUTE-RUHURATER,[31] KUTER-RAPIR,[32] SIMUT-WARTASH,[33] SIMUT-AS,[34] TEMTU-ḪAḪPU,[35] AGUNANNU,[36] LALUBU,[37] LALUMMESU,[38] ḪUPPIT,[39] KIDINNU,[40] PARSU,[41] and TEMTU-ḪALKU.[42]

23. ATḪIBU appears on Tablets *H.T. 6*, line 6; *H.T. 30*, back of tablet, line 4; *H.T. 38*, back of tablet, seal impression, line 1 (**281**); *H.T. 44*, line 5; *H.T. 83*, line 4; *H.T. 114*, line 3; *H.T. 132*, line 6.
24. ATTA-METEN appears on Stone Stela 1, lines 5, 9, 15, 30, 32; Tablet *H.T. 35*, line 1.
25. IGI-METEN appears on Tablets *H.T. 177*, line 6; *H.T. 191*, line 5; *H.T. 207*, line 21; *H.T. 243*, back of tablet, line 4.
26. KUK-ALATU appears on Stone Stela 1, lines 2, 7, 14, 29, 31, 47; and on Tablets *H.T. 30*, line 3 and back of tablet, line 11; *H.T. 97*, line 5; *H.T. 267*, line 2.
27. KUK-IŠME-KARAB appears on Tablet *H.T. 74*, line 1.
28. KUK-MANSAT appears on Tablets *H.T. 324*, line 2; *H.T. 434*, line 3.
29. KUK-TEPTU appears on Tablet *H.T. 84*, line 7.
30. KUK-EŠRU appears on Stone Stela 1, lines 8, 14, 29, 32, 47.
31. KUTE-RUHURATER appears on Tablet *H.T. 28*, line 3.
32. KUTER-RAPIR appears on Tablet *H.T. 324*, line 3.
33. SIMUT-WARTASH appears on Tablets *H.T. 3*, line 3; *H.T. 30*, lines 3, 17 and back of tablet, line 12; *H.T. 83*, line 2.
34. SIMUT-AS appears on Tablets *H.T. 30*, line 17; *H.T. 44*, line 9; *H.T. 45*, line 11.
35. TEMTU-ḪAḪPU appears on Tablets *H.T. 2*, line 7 (**466**); *H.T. 317*, line 1.
36. AGUNANNU appears on Stone Stela 1, lines 9, 15, 32, 47.
37. LALUBU appears on Stone Stela 1, line 3.
38. LALUMMESU appears on Clay Envelope *H.T. 452*, line above seal impression.
39. ḪUPPIT appears on Tablet *H.T. 37*, line 2.
40. KIDINNU appears on Tablets *H.T. 33*, line 1; *H.T. 47*, line 2.
41. PARSU appears on Tablet *H.T. 76*, lines 3 and 10.
42. TEMTU-ḪALKU appears on Tablet *H.T. 30*, line 3.

X

Decorative Objects

A number of decorative objects of various kinds were found at Haft Tepe, many of them in or near the artist's workshop on the eastern side of Terrace Complex I.

475a-c Necklaces
Plate 56

Several necklaces were found, made of semi-precious stones and other materials including agate, red carnelian, Egyptian blue, frit, limestone, and gypsum. On one necklace the center bead, about 0.020 m. long, is a squirrel-shaped animal and, although very small, is carefully detailed, showing an alert animal with its tail curled up over its back. Another larger bead is shaped like a fly, while the remaining beads are bi-conic, barrel-shaped, disk-shaped, and cubic. A second necklace has beads mostly of red carnelian in a variety of shapes, cylindrical, bi-conic, oval, cubic, and globular. A third necklace has three large flat disk shaped beads, two rounded, and the central bead pear-shaped, interspersed with smaller beads which are cylindrical, globular, and ring shaped.

476a, b Buttons
Plate 56

A pair of plano-convex round buttons are made of frit, with the surface partly broken and decayed. In the center of each button is an inlaid geometric rosette whose framework is made of bronze, filled in with green stone and blue and white pigment.

477 Butterfly
Plate 56 J XXXIII
L. of body, 0.025; W. of wings, 0.100 m.

Among the more elaborate objects found at Haft Tepe is a decorative butterfly of gold, red carnelian, and frit. This was found in the courtyard in front of the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I. The body, made of light blue frit, is oval with a flat base and a projecting knob-shaped head. The body has two holes, one on each side, by which the butterfly could be suspended. The widespread wings, symmetrically made and balanced, represent a masterful fusion of art and technology. Each wing is filled with nearly fifty alternating zigzag shaped pieces of gold and red carnelian, larger at the wing tip and decreasing in size toward the body. The red carnelian varies in color from lighter to darker shades of reddish brown. The sides of the wings are bordered by a slightly curving band of gold which fastens and holds the gold and red carnelian pieces, providing strength to the assembled wing. The precise workmanship applied to this decorative butterfly is representative of the developed technology of the Elamites.

478, 479 Mosaic Pieces
Plate 56
478: L., 0.030; W., 0.018 m.

In the area of the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I and the courtyard in front of it, a number of pieces of colorful mosaic were found, of two types. **478** is representative of the first type, rather simple in construction, made by placing different colored pigments next to each other according to a mosaic pattern. The colors used are red, blue, yellow, brick red, and brown.

The fragments of the decorative bowl or beaker (**479**) are representative of the second type, which is more sophisticated in pattern and represents a more complex technology. In these mosaic pieces, the framework of the pattern is made of bronze, with the sections filled by various materials including colored pigments and colored frit of white, cream, blue and red, with shell and lapis lazuli. The geometric patterns include circles, lozenges, triangles, petals, and rosettes.

480 Silver Tubes
Plate 56 J XXX
Both measure as follows: D. of mouth, 0.065; D. of base, 0.085 m. One is 0.164, the other 0.155 m. long.

These tubes were discovered on the floor in front of the entrance door in the western wall of Hall no. 4 of Terrace Complex I. The tubes are closely similar in

shape. Each tube has a reinforcing band around the base with a flat rim and two holes, one above the other on one side, by which they could be fastened to a handle. The two silver tubes were found lying in a straight line about 1.5 m. apart, and from their position and their relation to each other could have been set on each end of a thick wooden handle, emblem, or standard now vanished, which apparently was decorated on the surface by bone and ivory ornamentation of which pieces were found on the ground in a line between the tubes. These pieces of bone and ivory are engraved with geometric designs (see above, **228**).

481 Bronze Plaque
Plate 56, Ill. 48
L., 0.100; W., 0.075 m.

A bronze plaque made of a thin sheet of metal was found on the ground before the entrance door of Hall No. 2 of Terrace Complex I, in association with a long mountain goat horn. Although there was no attachment between the plaque and the horn, they may both have been installed above the entrance gate. The plaque is badly deformed and covered by a thick coat of corrosion so that part of the design, particularly at the edges, is not clear. It contains an elaborate scene in high relief and repoussé which has close ties to the traditional religious beliefs of the time. A deity, possibly the god Nergal, is standing on the back of a lion with a nude female kneeling in front of him and a praying figure behind him.

Ill. 48

The lion is standing in profile, braced to bear the weight of the figures he is supporting, the deity on his back, the nude female on his head and the worshipper on his curved and bent tail. Details of the lion's body are indicated by simple lines. He has a rather square muzzle with a wide open mouth, the upper lip shown by parallel lines. His eye is oval with a pointed end and the eyebrow a single line, and his ear points backward, outlined by concentric circular lines. His mane is formed of pointed ovals, and the muscles of shoulder and foreleg are outlined by a band of double lines. The hair of his body and back is indicated by wavy lines and fine projecting dots, more pronounced around the shoulder. The forelegs are thicker and heavier than the hind legs, adding to the impression of strength given by the thick neck and heavy mane. On the shoulder is a large circular rosette with six dividing lines radiating outward from a central point, dividing the circle into six segments.

The largest figure is a deity who stands on the back of the lion in the center of the design. This figure is executed in repoussé which projects on some parts almost 0.0020 m. outward from the background. The deity is full-faced with a cleft chin. His mouth is a short line with grooves on each side; his nose is simple and straight and his eyes are pointed ovals with connected eyebrows above. He has a round head cover or helmet with an upward curving animal horn on one side and an oval pointing horizontal ear flap on each side below the horn. The rest of the head cover or helmet is not clear, except for a band of double lines on each side which connects it to the shoulders and a partial decorative edge in front formed of reversed triangles. Projecting above and behind the right shoulder is a very large rectangular object divided into sections by parallel lines and bordered by a parallel band which seems to be the upper part of a quiver on the back of the deity. The area of the top of this quiver is very heavily corroded and unclear. The deity wears a close fitting upper garment with a necklace at the throat formed of a band of double parallel lines ending in a cross pendant, and with a decorative crosshatched band at the edge of the garment, from the upper arms to the waist. On his left shoulder and chest are two four-pointed stars. His left arm is uplifted diagonally from the elbow, holding almost vertically a large bow. This eyebrow-shaped bow has each end turned over to provide a fastening for the tightly strung cord. The lower extension of the quiver appears behind the body of the deity and the lower part of the bow. The right arm of the deity, stretched downward alongside his body, holds a horizontal battle axe or scimitar with a straight handle which turns in an angular curve to the upward pointing curved blade. His forearm is covered by several armlets and bracelets indicated by bands of double parallel lines, and diagonal bands extend from the forearm to the body in the area of the elbow. A tight wide belt encircles his waistline. On his lower body is a long skirt covered with parallel vertical wavy folds which is open in front at the left side to reveal tight pants to the knee, also covered by wavy folds. On his left leg which extends out of the open skirt is a protective circular kneelet strapped around the leg by a band of two parallel lines. From the knee down his leg is bare with a similar but

smaller protective covering fastened at the ankle. His feet with some type of covering are shown in profile, pointing toward the lion's head.

In front of this deity a nude female is kneeling with her right knee uplifted and her left knee on the head of the lion. Her head is in profile, her upper body in three-quarter front view and her lower legs in profile. She has a small receding chin, an open mouth, a prominent nose extending from her forehead in a straight diagonal line, and a small round eye with a long crescent eyebrow. Long hair hangs down over the shoulder with side locks to her chest in front. Around her neck is a pendant on a simple chain. Her right forearm is uplifted from the elbow and directed diagonally toward the diety with her forefinger pointing upward. Her left arm is bent at the elbow with her left hand clasping her left breast which is squeezed into an oval shape while her right breast is round with a dot for the nipple in the exact center. At her navel is a geometric four-pointed star. Her pubic triangle is covered by dots representing hair and by a covering whose borders are banded by two parallel lines. Her hips and thighs are broad and full fleshed.

Behind the deity is a standing figure, shown in profile with forearms vertically uplifted from the elbow in a position of prayer or worship. This figure, who seems to be a priest or priest king, wears a long flounced garment which covers the entire body from neck to ankles and has long sleeves extending below the elbows. He has a round cap with decorative bands dividing it into sections and long hair turning to a large curl at the neck. His features are shown clearly by simple lines. He has a receding chin, an open mouth, a small nose and a large oval eye with a long crescent eyebrow, and a large ear. At his wrists are bracelets indicated by three parallel lines.

Ornaments such as the rosette on the shoulder of the lion, appearing on the shoulder or rump of animals, are rather common in the decorative art of a large region of western Asia including Egypt, the eastern Mediterranean shores, Mesopotamia, and Iran, as early as the third millennium B.C. (Kantor 1947: Pls. X-XI, pp. 250-74). Such shoulder or leg ornaments appear on gold and silver bowls of Kalardasht (Vanden Berghe 1959: Pl. 22, p. 5), Hasanlu (Porada 1962: Fig. 62, p. 93), and Marlik (Negahban 1964), and comparable designs can be seen on Luristan bronze objects (Potratz 1952: Taf. IV No. 11, p. 20; 1941/42: S. 210, Abb. 63).

482 Bitumen Roundel
Plate 56 L XXXIV
D., 0.10 m.

Two pieces, forming almost half of a bitumen roundel, were found in the courtyard in front of the artist's workshop on the eastern side of Terrace Complex I. This roundel, made of natural bitumen mixed and levigated thoroughly with fine clay, retains no trace of its original metal cover. At the center of the roundel is a sixteen-petalled rosette consisting of a projecting circular core with numerous incised rays radiating outward, surrounded by a thick raised band of parallel incised straight lines encircled by petals. A rather thick projecting band of parallel incised straight hatching lines separates this central rosette from a broad row of six recumbent rams or mouflon, all facing in the same direction. Crescent horns intersected with straight lines are positioned symmetrically on each side of profiled heads with oval eyes pointed at the ends and oval ears. Various parts of the animal are distinguished by simple lines and wool is indicated by impressed dots which cover the whole body. The legs are folded under, with the hooves of the fore and hind feet positioned against each other. Surrounding this row of recumbent rams is a rather thick double band of parallel incised straight hatching lines which alternate in direction to form a herringbone pattern. The flat rim of the roundel has an angular edge and is encircled by a band of incised leaf shapes in connecting chevrons with spaces between the leaves filled by fine incised dots.

See comparanda below under **482a**.

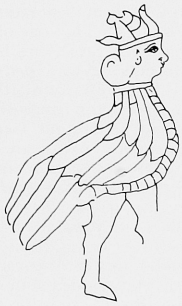
482a Bitumen Roundel
not illustrated L XXXIV
D., 0.085 m.

A second roundel, consisting of only three small cracked fragments without a metal cover, was also found in the courtyard in front of the artist's workshop on the eastern side of Terrace Complex I. These three pieces contain the design of the outer part of a roundel similar to, although not identical with, **482**. A double projecting band with incised herringbone patterns surrounds the missing center. Around the herringbone band is a broad row of recumbent rams, very similar in detail to the rams of **482**. The edge of this roundel is bordered by a rounded projecting band of parallel hatching which forms a coil or twisted cable.

Several other bitumen roundels with a close similarity of design elements, composition, and details of workmanship have been found. Two bitumen roundels with a similar central rosette and band of recumbent rams or mouflon, both closely similar to the Haft Tepe roundels, were found at Susa (Amiet 1977a: Fig. 4, p. 65; Fig. 5 a, b, pp. 64-65). Several more bitumen roundels of unknown or questionable provenance can be seen in various collections and museums. A bitumen roundel with a gold and silver cover, with a central design of the head of a bearded man surrounded by a wide band of recumbent mouflon, is in the Herramanek Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum. This roundel has been dated around 1400-1200 B.C. by Moorey, relying on its similarity to the Haft Tepe roundels (Moorey 1981: No. 608, p. 105). A bitumen roundel with fragments of a gold and silver cover, in the Norbert Schimmel collection, with a central figure of the head of a bearded man, surrounded by a wide band of seven recumbent mouflon, closely similar to the mouflon of the Haft Tepe roundels, has been dated by Prudence Oliver Harper to the late second millennium B.C. (Muscarella 1974: Fig. 151). Two bitumen roundels with electrum (?) sheet covers, in the Pierre Amandry collection, one with the head of a bearded man at the center, and the other with a

geometric rosette, both surrounded by a row of recumbent rams closely similar to the rams of the Haft Tepe roundels, are described by Amandry as having Scythian characteristics and attributed to Gilan province in northern Iran (Amandry 1965: Pl. XXVIII 1, p. 152, Pl. XXXVII 1, Pl. XXVIII 2, i, p. 152). A bitumen roundel with a gold and silver foil cover, in the Rogers Fund, with a geometric rosette at the center surrounded by a row of recumbent mouflon, closely similar to the Haft Tepe roundels, is attributed by Wilkinson to the Sefid Rud region of northern Iran and dated to the late second and early first millennium B.C. (Wilkinson 1965: Fig. 10, p. 108). A bitumen roundel with a thin metal cover, in the Tehran Archaeological Museum, with the head of a bearded man surrounded by a band of recumbent mouflon, is also described by Amandry as containing characteristic elements of Scythian art and attributed to Gilan in northern Iran (Amandry 1965: 152). Finally, two bitumen roundels with metal covers, in the Louvre Museum, both with a central design of the head of a bearded man surrounded by a row of animals, are grouped by Amiet with other Iranian roundels (Amiet 1977a: Figs. 1-3, pp. 63-64).

Since the only bitumen roundels of this type found in actual excavations were found at Haft Tepe and Susa, it now seems clear that they are a product of the Elamite culture of the middle of the second millennium B.C., although some roundels of unknown origin have been mistakenly attributed to northern Iranian and Scythian art (Negahban 1984: Pl. I 3, 4).



Ill. 49

483 Clay Plaque (Roundel) with Imaginary Creature
Plate 57; Ill. 49 J XXXIII
D., 0.100 m.

This plaque, made from fine textured, levigated clay, broken in some parts, has an engraved design of an imaginary combined creature with a human head. The head, in profile, wearing a decorative crown, is of a human female with features clearly detailed. She has a small mouth and chin, a prominent nose, a large pointed oval eye with crescent eyebrow, and hair ending in a bundle of curls behind the neck. On her head is a crown formed of wavy branches on the sides, with staged segments above each other in the center and an edge of two parallel lines. A rather wide band on the lower part of the neck separates this human head from the bird body which is covered by three broad rows of feathers with triangular pointed tips, the last row forming a slightly drooping tail. The row of feathers edging the breast and lower body are decorated by short parallel lines. The legs of this creature belong to an animal similar to a horse or bull, with a hock and hoof. The lower part of one leg is broken off and missing. This imaginary combined creature, which is beautifully detailed with a great economy of line, probably represents a traditional Elamite deity.

Imaginary combined creatures with a human head, a bird body, and animal legs occur frequently in the art of the ancient Near and Middle East, particularly during the second half of the second millennium B.C.

484 Pottery Bowl with Human Face
Plate 57 Temple Complex II
H., 0.128; D. of mouth, 0.067; D. of base, 0.045 m.

This bowl has a carinated shape with a flat base and an inward turning, almost rimless, mouth. On one side is a face whose features are indicated by a combination of projecting and impressed lines. It has a small nose and lips formed by projecting parts and small slit eyes surmounted by large curving eyebrows impressed with short diagonal lines.

485 Pottery Funnel or Flute
Plate 57
H., 0.180; D. of mouth, 0.050 m.

One of the most unusual objects found at Haft Tepe has the form of a pottery jar with a long neck and an additional attached bone piece at its base. It has an almost ovoid globular body, a tall neck with an open mouth, and a button base with a pierced hole in which a bone pipe has been inserted and made air and water tight by layers of textile fabric soaked in natural bitumen. These layers of fabric and bitumen have solidified to the bone attachment which has dried out and become separated from the pottery body. When this object was excavated, it was thought to be a pottery funnel which would rest on its side and on its tapered conical base, although this complicated workmanship would seem to be unnecessary for such a simple function. Some scholars have since suggested that this may be an early type of wind instrument which was blown through the bone pipe, and, in fact, a similar type of wind instrument called 'fiegh' is still used in this area by local musicians, while another similar wind instrument called 'sorna' is used by nomads.

486 Pottery Lantern
Plate 57
Overall H., 0.256; D. of top, 0.142; D. of base, 0.205; H. of stand, 0.080; D. of base of stand, 0.082; L. of burner,

0.070; D. of rim of burner, 0.020; D. of base of burner, 0.015 m.

A pottery lantern was found, composed of an oil burner, stand, and shade. The oil burner has a container for keeping burning oil and a long spout to hold the wick and transfer oil from the container. The pottery stand is a solid cylinder encircled by impressed or molding bands. The most unusual part of the lantern is its conical shade with a flat closed top. Three pierced openings in the shape of a large triangular arrowpoint with an elongated triangular tang are equally spaced around the circumference of the shade. These pierced openings allow light to be given out and at the same time provide protection for the flame from wind, promoting continuous burning. The rim which sits on the ground is flat to provide a solid base.

A similar type of pottery lantern with shape was found at Marlik Tepe in northern Iran.

487a-d Pottery Oil Burners and Stands
Plate 57

488 Frit Vessel
Plate 57 I XXXIV
H., 0.120 m.

The vessel has a rounded oval body with a pointed base, a very narrow neck, and an outward rim at the mouth. The surface is decayed and damaged on some parts.

489 Glass Vessel
Plate 57 I XXXV
H., 0.078; D. of mouth, 0.057 m.

A rather squat glass vessel was found in the area of Terrace Complex II. It has a carinated body, a round base, a shoulder tapering in a straight diagonal line to a rather short neck, and a mouth with an outward rim with a curved edge. The surface of this vessel is decayed and damaged on some parts.

490 Glass Vessel
Plate 57 I XXXIII
H., 0.065; D. of mouth, 0.045 m.

This vessel has a body and neck rather similar to **489**, but it is smaller in size.

491 Glass Vessel
Plate 57 J XXX
H., 0.080; D. of rim, 0.035 m.

This small glass jar has a pear shaped body with a short neck and narrow rim at the mouth.

492 Inscribed White Stone Spool
Plate 57
H., 0.045; D., 0.066; D. of central hole, 0.017 m.

This spool may have been used on a chariot harness, to pass the leather straps. On the edge of this spool is a line of cuneiform writing which translates 'Belongs to Adad Arash Ish'. Adad Arash is a personal name while Ish is a title meaning Head of Shepherds or Head of Herdsmen.

493 Decorative Bed with Geometric Designs
Plate 58 K XXIX
L., 0.130; W., 0.072; H., 0.026 m.

In addition to this one, other complete and broken pieces of decorative beds with various high relief scenes on top were found in different trenches. Another round bed with circular designs (not illustrated) is about 0.090 m. in diameter and 0.030 m. high.

494 Textile Impression
Plate 58

Traces and impressions of textile with fine workmanship were found on clay fragments, as here, but no actual pieces of textile were discovered.

495a-d, 496-499 Decorative Spools
Plate 58

Several types of decorative spools made of frit and baked clay were found in the courtyard in front of the artist's workshop of Terrace Complex I. These were probably used on chariot harness.

500 Pottery Rattle
Plate 58 K XXVIII
D., 0.080; Th., 0.030 m.

A round pottery rattle was found with dentation decoration.

501, 502 Pottery Objects
Plate 58

These enigmatic objects, possibly some sort of tool, were found in the courtyard of Terrace Complex I.

503 Pottery Object
Plate 58 K XXVII
H., 0.045; L., 0.070; W., 0.050 m.

Similar to the body of a bird.

504 Pottery Fragment
Plate 58

A broken piece of pottery, possibly the inner base of a vessel, has an incised decoration.

XI

Conclusion

Comments and conclusions are found at the end of each chapter. They will not be repeated here, but rather these remarks will be confined to a brief statement of particular points which are a special contribution of the Haft Tepe excavation to our knowledge of the history and culture of Elam.

As has already been mentioned, the time contemporary with the archaeological remains of Haft Tepe, prior to our excavation, was considered by scholars in Elamite culture and history to be a period for which little material had appeared in previous excavations of Elamite sites. This period, between the end of the Sukkalmahhu dynasty in 1505 B.C and the beginning of the Middle Elamite period, about the thirteenth century B.C., was considered to be a dark period or a gap in Elamite history because of this lack of concrete information. Little was known about the continuity of cultural, artistic, and architectural achievements of the Elamites at this time.

Although our motive in beginning the excavation of Haft Tepe was the desire to collect more information about Elamite culture and history, in no way did we have pre-information that this would produce such a great volume of material on this particular dark period. Although we are still very far away from being able to make any preliminary structure for this period of Elamite history for which many more contributions by future excavations must be added, nevertheless there is some solid ground produced by the Haft Tepe excavations which will provide a base for future research and development. The monumental architectural remains uncovered together with the artifacts help to provide a picture of this culture, religion, governmental structure, art, and technology of the Elamites at this period.

Architecture

The architectural materials used by the Elamite builders include sun dried molded bricks with clay mortar for massive constructional units which were built in precisely straight lines. In some parts up to 40 m. of wall survive to a maximum height of nearly nine m. These walls are made in 90 degree angles, for which the builders must have used special tools and equipment. The bricks are interlocked to provide strength both horizontally and vertically. This massive solid construction of sun dried brick was built segment by segment in order to prevent diagonal cracks in the walls caused by settling. The face of the massive sun dried construction in the interior walls was levelled and smoothed by a coat of fine clay mixed with fine particles of straw, and decorated by painting in a variety of colors. The roofs of the buildings were made with thick timbers supporting reed matting and branches with clay on top.

A second type of construction utilized baked brick with either gypsum or bitumen mortar. This is much stronger than the sun dried brick construction and was used for more important parts of the building, or in places exposed to much use and weathering. It was used for the construction of the major tombs, for a

water basin, waterways, and floors exposed to the weather. Since this building with baked brick required much more effort to supply fuel and other raw materials not available in the area, such as lime and gypsum, its use was confined to special and limited places. Although in general pattern the building with baked brick follows the pattern of sun dried brick construction, in certain details such as roofing it is quite different. The quality of the baked brick and the gypsum mortar was very high, making possible the construction of arched oval roofs of great strength, for which the Elamite architects were able to control the pressure in different directions by providing buttresses and weights.

The use of natural bitumen as a mortar between baked bricks in water basins and waterways is evidence of the Elamites' knowledge of its qualities. The facades of baked brick construction were usually covered by a thick coat of gypsum, greatly strengthening it.

The extensive remains of Haft Tepe well suggest the power and financial stability of the government which constructed it.

Religious Beliefs

Inscriptions on tablets and seal impressions indicate that the Elamites worshipped different deities of the natural elements as well as more abstract gods. The most important and supreme deity at this time was Kirwashir, whose name precedes that of all other deities, including that of Inshushinak who became the supreme deity in the following period. The seals and seal impressions contain a variety of scenes which suggest the worship of various gods. The traditional pattern of the Sukkalmahhu period religious beliefs continues strongly in the Haft Tepe period with scenes of praying and offering to the Serpent god, the Mountain god, Nergal, Adad, God with palm tree, Shamash, Idadu, Thunderbolt deity, Martu, Shala, Min-Shubur, and others. The Elamites followed an elaborate system of sacrifice to their deities, at festivals assigned to them, in order to obtain their support.

The graves uncovered at Haft Tepe well illustrate the burial customs of the Elamites. The variety of types of graves and tombs indicates that there was no single pattern for burial. Rather, the mode of burial would vary according to the wealth and status of the deceased, from burial in elaborate baked brick tombs to sarcophagus, jar, and plain burials without any construction. No objects accompanied the burial except occasionally a simple jar. Of special interest is the mass inhumation with 23 skeletons in a single tomb, all buried at one time, which gives rise to speculation about the Elamites' belief in the life hereafter, and the possible need for companions and servants.

Inscriptions

The most important findings of the Haft Tepe excavation are the many clay tablets, several stone inscriptions, and inscribed seal impressions which were uncovered, and may together produce much new information about the history and daily life of the Elamites during this period.

The bulk of writing on the numerous clay tablets deals with various aspects of daily life, including trade, commercial transactions, and administrative activity as well as social, religious, economic, and political aspects of Elamite life. The stone inscriptions of Haft Tepe detail the endowments set by Tepti Ahar to provide protection and worship during different religious festivals, and in the course of so doing reveal a calendar for the Elamite year in its sequential order which was not previously known.

Art and Technology

The tools, equipment, and artifacts found at Haft Tepe, although comparable to the products of neighboring countries in this period, nevertheless suggest that the Elamites in this period were following and improving upon their traditional patterns, and produced art of a very high quality. Some outstanding objects found at Haft Tepe include the two portrait heads and the clay mask, bitumen roundels, the bronze plaque,

and the red carnelian butterfly. The double purpose kiln found outside the artist's workshop illustrates their sophisticated technology.

The large and extensive archaeological compound of Haft Tepe, which at the present time covers an area of nearly one and one-half square km., containing fourteen large mounds, represents a major center of the Elamites during the time of Tepti Ahar, around the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. The massive architectural remains of tombs, temple, and terrace complexes with large halls all point to the stability of his government, and its political and economic power. Excavation of this extensive site is beginning to clarify the dark period produced by the lack of material for this period at Susa. The complete translation of the documents found at Haft Tepe, as well as further excavation, should do much to throw light on this obscure period.

Appendix I

List of the Participants of Haft Tepe Excavations in Each Season

FIRST SEASON, 1965-1966

Assistant Director: Mr. Saifollah Kambakhshfard; Staff Members: Mr. Yahya Kosari, Mr. Jahangir Yasi; Students: Mr. Masud Azarnoush, Mr. Kamran Ehsanipour, Mr. Ardeshir Farzanegan, Mr. Mohammad Hajiha, Mr. Mir Abedin Kaboli, Mr. Ahmad Khalesi.

SECOND SEASON, Jan.-May 1967

Visiting Scholar: D. Parviz Varjavand; Assistant Director: Mr. Ali Akbar Sarfaraz; Staff Members: Mr. Yahya Kosari, Mr. Mohammad Rahim Sarraf; Epigrapher: Mr. De Meyer; Student: Mr. Masud Azarnoush.

THIRD SEASON, Jan.-March 1968

Visiting Scholar: Dr. Wolfram Kleiss; Assistant Director: Mr. Ali Akbar Sarfaraz; Staff Members: Mr. Yahya Kosari, Mr. Jahangir Yasi; Senior Students: Miss Fakhrossadat Daneshpour Parvar, Mr. Mohammad Rahim Sarraf, Mr. Esamil Yaghmai; Volunteer: Mrs. Pollet Khodabandeh; Students: Mr. Masud Azarnoush, Mr. Ali Esfandi, Mr. Mohammad Taghi Jand, Mr. Mirabedin Kaboli, Mrs. Khadijeh Rastegar Moghadam, Mr. Mehdi Rahber, Mr. Ali Valinouri.

FOURTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1969

Visiting Scholar: Mr. Labrous; Assistant Director: Mr. Ali Akbar Sarfaraz; Epigrapher: Mrs. Frederich Voitlander; Staff Members: Mr. Ardeshir Farzanegan, Mr. Yahya Kosari, Mr. Esmail Nafisi, Mr. Gholamali Shamlou, Mr. Esmail Yaghmai; Senior Student: Mr. Masud Azarnoushi; Students: Mr. Hossein Bakhtiari, Mr. Mirabedin Kaboli, Mr. Ali Valinouri, Mr. Shahriar Zargham.

FIFTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1970

Associate Director: Mr. Sagegh Malek Shahmirzadi; Assistant Director: Mr. Yahya Kosari; Staff Members: Mr. Mohammad Hossain Khoshabi, Mr. Esmail Nafisi, Mr. Javad Babak Rad; Visiting Expert: Mr. Edgardo Fereiro; Bone Specialist: Mr. Ali Sarvari; Senior Students: Miss Fakhrossadat Daneshpour Rarvar, Mr. Erick De Waele; Students: Mr. Enayatollah Amirlou, Mr. Mir Danesh, Mr. Ali Asghar Mir Fattah, Miss Mahvash Gharavi, Mr. Jamshid Harirchi, Miss Zahra Jafar Mohammadi, Mr. Ali Palangi, Mr. Mousa Darvish Rohani, Mr. Ali Valinouri, Mr. Shahriar Zargham.

SIXTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1971

Associate Director: Mr. Sadegh Malek Shahmirzadi; Assistant Director: Mr. Esmail Nafisi; Staff Member: Mr. Ardesghir Farzanegan; Bone Specialist: Mr. Ali Sarvari; Senior Student: Miss Zahra Jafar Mohammadi; Students: Mr. Jamalleddin Ansari, Miss Monir Arbabi, Miss Elaheh Marzieh Askari, Miss Homa Ehsani, Mr. Javad Ghandgar, Mr. Siavoush Ghandi, Miss Mahvash Gharavi, Mr. Ahmad Saberi Ghomi, Mr. Jamshid Harirchi, Mr. Ahmad Kabiri Hendi, Mr. Alimohammad Khalilian, Miss Amin Kharazi, Miss Zahra Khunbani, Miss Mahboubeh Levani, Miss Nahid Najmi Naini, Miss Tahereh Najaran, Mr. Hasan Natanzi, Mr. Yaghoub Bohluli Oskui, Miss Shahindokht Shahin, Miss Evelen Terhovanesian.

SEVENTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1972

Associate Director: Mr. Sadegh Malek Shahmirzani; Assistant Director: Mr. Ardeshir Farzanegan; Bone Specialist: Mr. Ali Sarvari; Senior Students: Miss Mahvash Gharavi, Miss Zahra Jafar Mohammadi; Students: Mr. Enayatollah Amirlou, Mr. Javad Ghandgar, Mr. Nosratollah Motamedi, Mrs. Nahid Najmi Naini, Mr. Mohammad Saleh Salehi, Mr. Hamid Khatib Shahidi, Mr. Hassan Talai.

EIGHTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1973

Visiting Scholar: Mr. Wolfram Kleiss; Associate Director: Mr. Sadegh Malek Shahmirzani; Assistant Director: Mr. Ardeshir Farzanegan; Staff Member: Mr. Masud Azarnoush; Volunteer Specialist: Mrs. Doreen Chapman; Director of the Haft Tepe Museum: Mr. Javad Ghandgar; Bone Specialist: Mr. Ali Sarvari; Students: Mr. Ahmad Amiri, Miss Hamideh Chubak, Mr. Yazdan Kushanfar, Miss Jila Moazami, Miss Shirin Pirouzi, Mr. Jilaleddin Rafifar, Mr. Mohammad Saleh Salehi, Mr. Hamid Khatib Shihidi, Mr. Hassan Talai, Miss Rohanieh Zamani.

NINTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1974

Assistant Director: Mr. Nosratollah Motamedi; Epigrapher: Mr. Pablo Herrero; Visiting Expert for Restoration and PreservationL Mr. Edgardo Fereira; Visiting Expert: Mrs. Edgardo Fereira; Director of the Haft Tepe Museum: Mr. Javad Ghandgar; Bone Specialist: Mr. Ali Sarvari; Senior Students: Miss Hamideh Choubak, Mr. Yazdan Kushanfar, Mr. Mohammad Hossain Malekzadeh, Miss Jila Moazami, Mr. Jalaleddin Rafifar, Mr. Mohammad Saleh Salehi, Miss Rohanieh Zamani; Students: Miss Parvin Kazempour Esmati, Miss Mahshideh Farahbakhsh, Mr. Javad Ganjalikhani, Mr. Gholi Ghahremanpour, Mr. Jalil Golshan, Miss Fatemeh Pajouhandeh, Miss Zarrintag Sheibani.

TENTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1975

Assistant Director: Mr. Nosratollah Motamedi; Epigrapher: Mr. Pablo Herrero; Director of the Haft Tepe Museum: Mr. Javad Ghandgar; Bone Specialist: Mr. Ali Sarvari; Senior Students: Mr. Naser Nouruzzadeh Chegini, Mr. Alimohammad Khalilian; Survey Team: Miss Parvin Kazimpour Esmati, Mr. Rajabali Labaf Khaniki, Mr. Ahmad Tehrani Moghaddam, Miss Manijeh Sayyar; Students: Mr. Naser Torky Habibabaki, Miss Fatemeh Jazayery, Mr. Mir Kamalleddin Kazzazi, Mr. Hassan Razaghi, Mr. Saeed Roumi, Mr. Mohammad Mehdi Sadeghieh, Mr. Nouruzali Samani.

ELEVENTH SEASON, Jan.-March 1976

Assistant Director: Mr. Nosratollah Motamedi; Director of the Haft Tepe Museum: Mr. Javad Ghandgar; Epigrapher: Mr. Pablo Herrero; Students: Mr. Jamal Ansari, Mr. Hassan Aslani, Miss Shahin Atefi, Miss Elaheh Faramarzi, Miss Masumeh Hatami, Mr. Khalil Homan, Mr. Mirkamalleddin Kazzazi, Miss Helene Aliakbarzadeh Korde Mahini, Mr. Ali Akbar Mostaghimi, Miss Fatemeh Pajouhandeh, Mr. Mahmoud Reshad, Miss Zarrintaj Sheibani.

TWELFTH SEASON, March 1977

Work was stopped due to problems with the Ministry of Culture.

THIRTEENTH SEASON, March 1978

Restoration work on the monuments only was carried out.

FOURTEENTH SEASON, March 1979

Only small scale work and restoration was carried out.

Appendix II

Summary of "Provisional English Translation of Haft Tapeh 425" [Stone Stela 1], *by Elizabeth Voitlander*[1]

The stela contains fifty-five unfinished cuneiform lines, of which the maximum length in the extant text is 43 cm. The original width can be estimated to have been about 70 cm., and therefore the longest extant lines supply only about 90% of the text. This ratio diminishes to zero below line 55. The space between the lines is about 13 mm. The signs are neatly and uniformly engraved and evenly spaced on the left edge of the inscription.

I. Brief description of the inscription:

Line 1-6: A list of offerings to be given by the six guardians of the tomb (and one or two others?), each for a two month period.

Line 6 (end): Total donations of the guardians for eleven months and a further assessment for the twelfth month with total.

Line 11-13: Sacrifices to be offered at the Abu festival.

Line 14-15: Total of the temple offerings for twelve months supplied by the six guardians and a list of the guardians.

Line 16-20: Further sacrifices to be made at the Abu festival and their total.

Line 21-27: List of sacrifices for a number of other festivals.

Line 28-29: The total of the sacrifices to this point and a list of festivals.

Line 29 (end): From this point to the end of the extant portion of the inscription, the text is concerned with the rites of the festivals. The first is the *kispu* ceremony, a yearly renewing of sacrifices to the dead, probably the Abu festival of the preceeding lines. This description runs at least as far as line 41, and possibly through line 51.

Line 53-55: These lines probably begin the description of the second festival listed in line 29, that of the goddess (?) Kirwisir. The brief text preserved suggests a sacred marriage with the Nabui, or his Elamite counterpart.

II. Discussion of the meaning of the name Tepti-Ahar, the Elamite king mentioned in the inscription.

"*Tepti* is an element in Elamite names, meaning 'protector'. I have not been able to find an interpretation of *ahar*. It occurs twice in the Tchoga-Zanbil documents in a religious context, but the glossary offers no translation. It also occurs in Malamir 5.... 'ahar of the head of the family of Meramurti'. To my knowledge there are four occurrences of the name....

1) MDP 23, 248, 1.18. A commercial document. Lines 17-19 read: 'May Insusinak live forever, may Tepti-ahar....prosper', an Elamite oath formula.

1. This summary previously appeared in *A Guide to the Haft Tepe Excavation and Museum*. (Persian text, 1973, English text, 1977), pp. 32-35. Tehran.

2) MDP 22, 76 (=MDP 4, p. 191, Malamir 15). A sale of field and building. Lines 15-16 read: 'The oath (by) Tepti-ahar and Insusinak', another Elamite oath formula. In both 1 and 2 Tepti-ahar's name is coupled with the chief god of Susa, in one case preceeding it....

3) The Tepti-ahar brick inscription (MDP 4, p. 167)....Here Tepti-ahar is called 'king of Susa'. Lines 2-3 state that he has built a temple of kiln-fired bricks and dedicated it to Insusinak. Four women of the guardians of the temple are to sleep in the temple at night.... In H-T 425, l. 47-48, the guardians are to provide women from their households for some service or other. Since a sacrifice to Insusinak is specified in H-T 425, l. 25, there is a possibility that the temple of the brick inscription stood at Haft Tapeh.

4) H-T 425. I now believe, on the basis of certain linguistic evidence (spelling and usage) and the mention of carts and chariots as cult objects (a practice attested in Babylonia from the Sumerian through to the Kadasman-Enlil II period), as well as the evidence cited under 2, that this inscription should probably be assigned to the mid-second millennium B.C."

III. Mrs. Voitlander concludes that the following structures are implied in the Haft Tepe inscription.

"1. A tomb or tombs containing 22 bodies. *Cf.* l. 12 and 22 where 22 portions are to be prepared for the *Abu-kispu* ceremonies
2. A base for the cart of Insusinak (l. 25)
3. Possibly a temple to Insusinak (brick inscription)
4. A base for the chariot of Tepti-ahar (l. 27)
5. A chapel or temple to Kirwisir (l. 29)
6. A *giparu*, residences and offices of the *entu* (l. 45)
7. A chapel or temple to Nabu (l. 53)"

Appendix III

The information in this appendix is taken from a personal communication from Dr. Erica Reiner, dated October 11, 1983.

In the absence of photographs of the new fragment [Stone Stela 1] or the possibility of comparison of the physical objects, it is impossible to bring proof that the two fragments [Stone Stele 1 and 3] belong to the same stela. The likelihood of such an assumption is, however, suggested not only by the content by also by the script of the two pieces.

The latter part of Stone Stela 1, lines 43ff., deals with penalties for neglect of duties, including a reference to an *ākil karṣi* 'accuser' or 'denouncer'; similar penalties are the subject of the new fragment when it sets in, with a reference to a 'man or woman who has accused'. In addition, some of the proper names are common to both pieces: AN Pa-di-i (possibly a divine name) and a person Ilum-bani. The latter occurs in the large fragment in broken context (line 30); in Stone Stela 3 (line 13) his name is followed by the title *ib-bi šà* ŠU-*ší*, whereas in Stone Stela 1 the title *ib-bu šà* ŠU-*ší* occurs without a personal name, and so it cannot be decided whether Ilum-bāni was indeed the *ippu* of Susa.

An additional name—common at Susa—Ninsubursemi, a *kutimmu*, 'silversmith', occurs in lines 4 and 16 (compare the references cited CAD s.v. kutimmu, especially sub usage b).

It seems therefore certain that both fragments refer to the same É.DÙ.A, the building the endowment of which by King Tepti-ahar is described in the previously published large fragment.[1] Note also that other texts found at Haft Tepe also deal with the É.DÙ.A and its guards (*maṣṣaru*), see Herrero, DAFI 6 (1976) 106 No. 8 (HT 2) and commentary ibid. 114 (see Appendix IV).

Text

1' traces
2'] su-úr²-ta šà É. ⌜DÙ.A⌝ x x x li-iš- ⌜x⌝ -[
3' x].TA.A UDU.NITÁ li-ki-mu-šu-nu-ti-i-ma i-na ⌜É⌝ [
4' ^{d}Ni]n-šubur-še-mi ku-ut-ti-im-mu a-na šu-ku-u[l-ti
5' l]i-im-ha-ṣú-ú-šu ù 1 (BÁN) ZI.DA 1 (BÁN) bi-i[l-la-tu
6' z]i-ka-ru ù SAL šà ka-ar-si i-ku-lu ⌜x⌝ [
7'] ⌜x⌝ -li-hu- ù-ul ú-še-eš-še-e-ru ù-u[l²
8' i]-na-an-di-nu šà a-ka-la la ba-na-a ù [
9' UDU].NITÁ li-ki-mu-šu-ma a-na É.DÙ.A AN PA-di-i [
10'] lu ba aš² li-še-e-lu-ma i-na zi-ka-ri [
11'] ni i-ma-ah-ha-ru-šu-ú-ma li-šà-ab- ⌜ti-x⌝ [
12'] ⌜ù²⌝ -ul i-pa-ar-ra-as ù 40 Z[I².DA²
13' ana² I-lu-u]m-ba-ni ib-bi šà Šu-ší ù AN [
14' l]i²-še-er-re-e-bu-ú-ma 20 me ⌜x⌝ [
15'] a a-na É.DÙ.A ù-ul GIŠ ⌜x⌝ [
16' ^{d}Nin-šu]bur-sé-mi ku-ut-ti-im-mu a² —[
17']-i li-id-di-nu-ú-m[a
18'] ⌜a²⌝ - ⌜na²⌝ e ti ù šà-ah- ⌜x⌝ [
break

1. E. Reiner, "Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb," *Archiv für Orientforshung* 24 (1973) 87-102; see also Appendix II.

Translation

1' broken
2']..... of the "house" ..... they should [
3' ....] they should take away from them [x] sheep and in? [...
4' Ni]nšubur-šēmi, the silversmith, for food [
5'] they should "hit" him and one seah of flour, one seah of beer [
6'] male or female, who has accused [
7' will (not)]...., will not sweep?, not [
8'] will give, he who [...] bread which is not good and [
9'] they should take away from him [...] sheep, to the "house" of? Pa-di-i [
10'] .... they should remove and from the males [
11'] .... they will receive (from) him and they should .....* [
12'] will not be interrupted and four seahs of f[lour? ...
13' Ilu[m-bani, ippu of Susa and [
14'] they should make enter and 20? .... [
15'] to the "house" not .... [
16' Ninšu]bur-šēmi, the silversmith [
17'] ... they should give and [
18' .....

*11' *possibly lišapṭir[u]

Appendix IV

Appendix IV contains a reprint of an article on the administrative tablets from Haft Tepe, "Tablettes Administratives de Haft Tépé" by Pablo Herrero, originally published in Cahiers de la DAFI, volume 6, 1976, and reprinted here by permission of the editors. For further information on these tablets, see above, pp. 103-106.

TABLETTES ADMINISTRATIVES DE HAFT-TÉPÉ

Pablo Herrero

Les tablettes dont nous présentons le texte ci-dessous proviennent de Haft-Tépé, à une vingtaine de kilomètres au sud-ouest de Suse. Nous avons pu les copier grâce à l'obligeance du Dr. Ezat O. Negahban qui, depuis plus de dix ans, dirige les fouilles de cet important site archéologique.

Ces documents remontent à une période précise de l'époque cassite et montrent que, tout au moins à ce moment, il existait des relations, sans doute économiques et probablement militaires, entre la Babylonie et l'Elam.

En effet, nous y trouvons le mot *Karduniaš* (écrit *Ka-ra-AN-du-ni-i-a-aš :* cf. par exemple n° 1, 14) ainsi que le nom de *Kadašman-Enlil* (écrit *Ka-da-aš-ma-an-*^{d}*KUR.GAL :* n° 6, 12-13) qui pourrait être l'un deux rois cassites de ce nom.

S'il en est ainsi, comme nous le supposons, le roi élamite contemporain de ce *Kadašman-Enlil* serait *Tepti-aḫar* (cf. n° 6 où ces deux souverains sont mentionnés). Ce dernier roi se dit non seulement *ÉŠŠANA Šu-ši ù An-za-an* « roi de Suse et d'Anzan » (n° 7, 2), mais à la fin d'un document (n° 6, 14) il se vante d'avoir repoussé (= *usaḫḫir*) *Kadašman-Enlil.*

A part ce synchronisme avec la Babylonie cassite, nos documents nous offrent d'autres indications intéressantes. Ainsi, par exemple, nous retiendrons la mention de *Kabnak* (n° 6 empreinte, 2), ville dont le gouverneur était un nommé *Aṯibu*, administrateur et homme de confiance du roi *Tepti-aḫar* (= *qīpu šēmû pirišti ša Tepti-aḫar*).

Il n'est pas moins intéressant de constater que nos textes mentionnent deux grands bâtiments de l'ancienne Haft-Tépé : l'*É.DÙ.A* (n° 8, 4), probablement la chapelle attenante à la grande tombe exhumée il y a quelques années par le Dr. Ezat O. Negahban, et l'*É.DÙ.A GAL* (n° 9, 12 et n° 10, 4), peut-être le temple.

Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, la plupart des noms propres sont élamites. Nous relevons deux noms de divinité : *Kirwašir* (n° 7, 3) et *Inšušinak* (écrit ^{d}*MÍM.ERIN :* n° 7, 4) ; un nom de roi : *Tepti-aḫar* (n° 6 empreinte, 5-6 et n° 7, 1) et plusieurs noms de personne : *Temtu-ḫalṣu* (n° 8, 7), *Kute-Ruḫurater* (n° 1, 3), etc.

Il en est de même pour les noms de mois qui s'inscrivent parfaitement dans le calendrier élamite : *ITU Lullubû* (n° 1, 10), *ITU Sililītu* (n° 3, 5 ; n° 4, 2' ; n° 9, 8), *ITU Šabātu* (n° 10, 3) (1).

Dans un document enfin (n° 8, 3) nous trouvons un nom commun élamite : *puḫu-leppi*, probablement « apprenti scribe », déjà plusieurs fois attesté en contexte accadien (cf. commentaire ci-dessous).

L'écriture, d'une inspiration générale babylonienne, et surtout l'orthographe, sans prétendre au titre de critère chronologique, confirment le caractère « élamite » de nos textes. Nous constatons ainsi l'emploi privilégié du signe *šà* à la place de *ša* ou *šá*, de *šì* à la place de *ši*, de *sí* à la place de *si*, de *tù* à la place de *tu*, etc. (2).

A ces particularités de graphie, bien connues par ailleurs, il faut ajouter enfin certains termes, voire certaines expressions insolites, qui s'accordent fort bien avec le caractère périphérique des textes.

(1) Pour l'étude du calendrier élamite, cf. Hinz, 1963 : 12-18 et plus récemment Reiner, 1973 : 97-102.

(2) L'orthographe des textes babyloniens de Suse a été étudiée par Salonen, 1962 : 47-77.

N° 1. Transcription

ša DUMU.SAL Ru-ru še-me-ru ša ŠU
1 MA.NA 9 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR e-lu Ì.LÁ
ša DUMU.SAL Ku-te-^{d}Ru-ḫu-ra-te-er
še-me-ru ša ŠU 1 MA.NA 16 GÍN Ì.LÁ
ša Um-ma-šu-nu še-me-ru ša ŠU
5/6 MA.NA 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ⌜e-⌝ [lu Ì.LÁ]
ù 6 UDU. [SAL id-di-in] (?)
Rev . ŠU.NIGÍN 3 [MA.NA 22 GÍN]
KÙ .BAB [BAR] e-[lu-ù (?)]
10 6(!?) [UDU (?)] .SAL ITU La-al-lu-u-bi-e
14
MU ESSANA ⌜i⌝ -na ku-tal-li
^{m}Pir-i-^{d}MAR.TU DUMU sí-ip(!)-ri
Tr ša Ka-ra-AN-du-ni-i-aš

Traduction

(Un) bracelet pour la fille de Ruru;
il a payé 1 mine (et) 9 sicles d' argent pur.
(Un) bracelet pour la fille de Kute-Ruḫurater;
il a payé 1 mine (et) 16 sicles.
5 (Un) bracelet pour Ummasunu;
[elle a payé] 5/6 de mine (et) 7 sicles d' argent p[ur]
et [a donné] (?) 6 bre[bis] (?).
Rev . Total: 3 [mines (et) 22 sicles]
d' ar[gent] p[ur et (?)]
10 6(!?) [bre]bis(?). Mois de Lullubû ,
14.
Année où le roi ⟨a renvoyé⟩ (?)
Pir'i-Amurru , messager
Tr . de Babylonie.

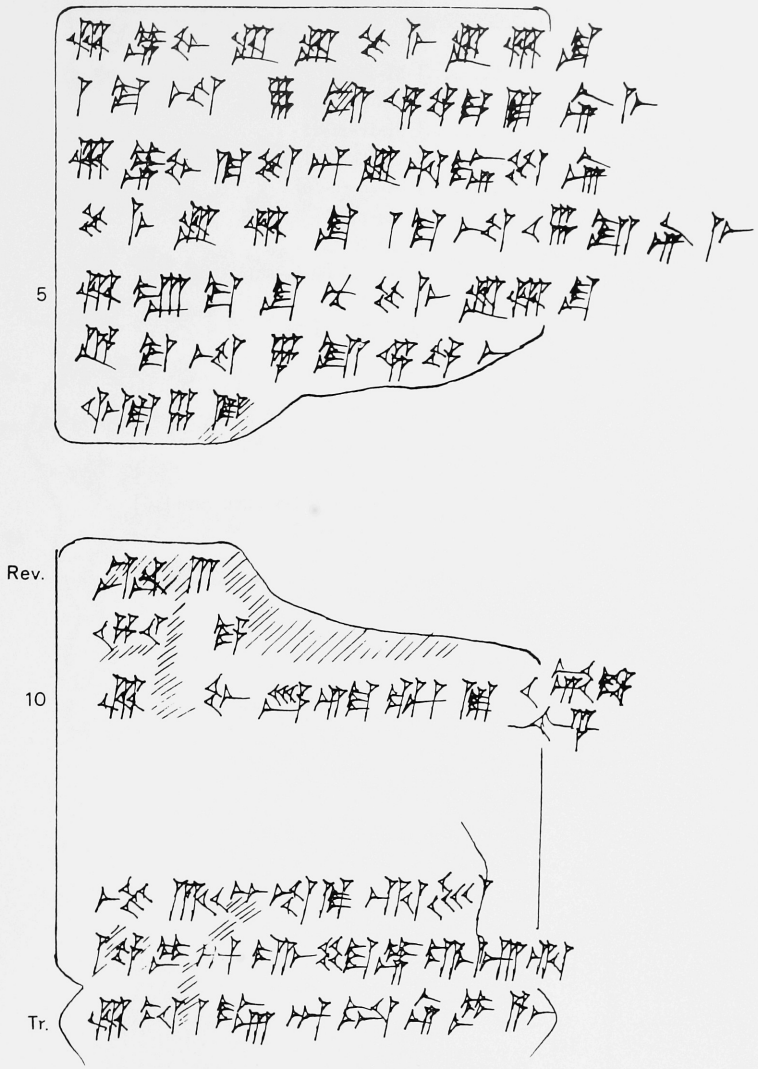


Fig. 16. Haft Tépé. N° 1 (H.T. 28) 5,1 × 7,9 × 2,4 cm

N° 2. Transcription

[.....] SÍ-ik-ki
[.....] GÍN KÙ.GI Ì.LÁ-šu
[.....] SÍ-ir-ri-ti
[.....] GÍN KÙ.GI Ì.LÁ-šu
5 [.....] ma-aḫ-ru-ʳúʾ
[.....] -da-ri
Tr. [.....] ud im tar
Rev. [ITU SÍ-li-li]-ti 23 UD is-sú(!)-[uḫ]
[MU X u]š-tu
10 [Ka-ra-AN-du-ni]-ia -aš il-
li-ka

Traduction

1-7 .....
Rev. [Mois de Silili]tu, le 23ème.jour écou[lé]
[Année où X] est venu [d]e
10 [Babylo]nie

N° 3. Transcription

[....] X X [T]e-em-t[ù]- ʳḫaʾ-aḫ-pu
[....] a a
[...i]d
[....] X li
5 [ITU Si]-li-li-ti
[X UD i]s-sú-uḫ
Tr. [MU Ì-lí]-ʳbarʾ-na uš-tu
[Ka-ra-AN]-du-ni-ia-[aš]
Rev. [il-li]-ka

Traduction

1-4 .....
5 [Mois de Si]lilitu
[le Xème. jour é] coulé.
Tr. [Année où Ili]-barna
Rev. [est ve]nu de
[Baby]lonie.

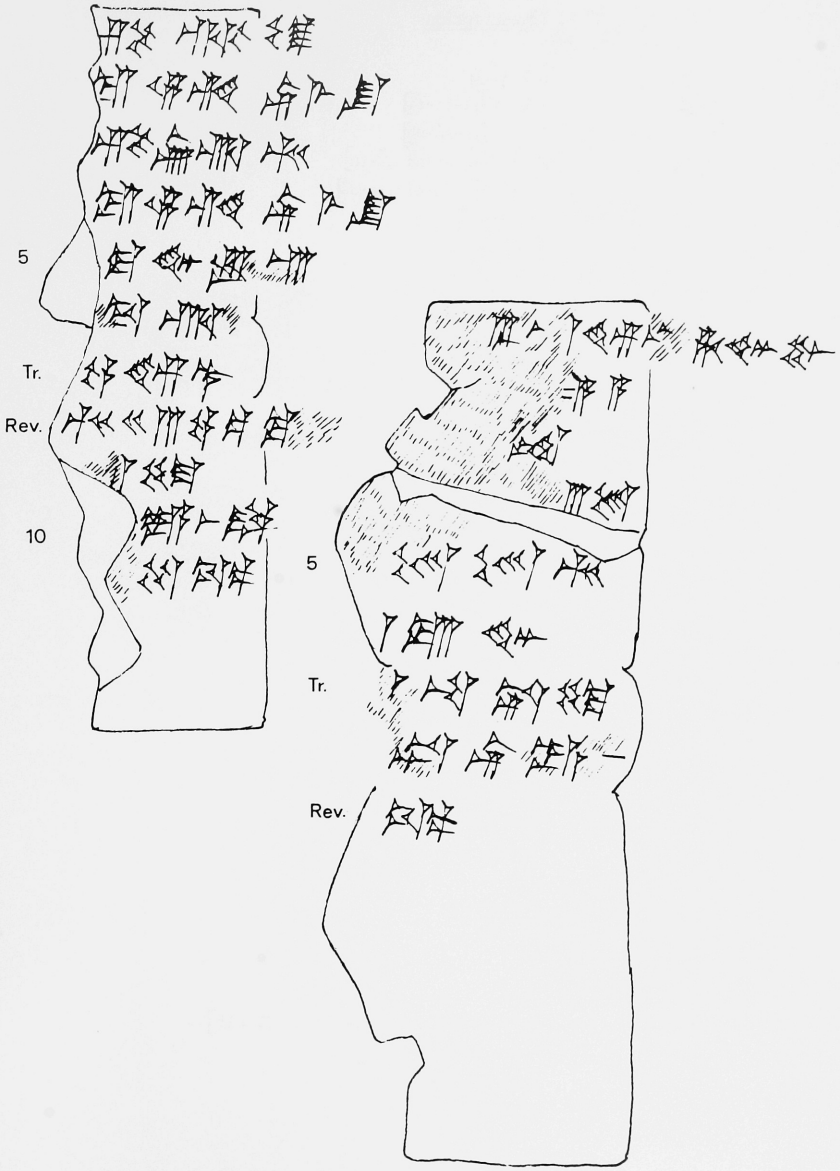


Fig. 17a. Haft Tépé. N° 2 (H.T. 443) 3,7 × 3,0 × 2,1 cm
Fig. 17b. Haft Tépé. N° 3 (H.T. 317) 4,4 × 4,3 × 2,1 cm

N° 4. Transcription

ù X [...]
ITU Si-[li-li-ti]
16 UD [is-sú-uḫ]
Tr. MU Ì-lí-[bar-na uš-tu]
5' Ka-ra-A[N-du-ni-i-a-aš]
il-l[i-ka]

Traduction

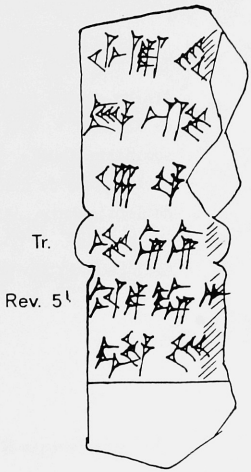
.....
Mois de Si[lilītu],
le 16 ème jour [écoulé].
Tr. Année où Ili-[barna]
Rév. est ve[nu de]
5' Baby[lonie].

N° 5. Transcription

72 [...]
2 ARAD X [...]
šà At-ḫi-b[i ...]
1 ARAD pi X [...]
5 ŠU. NIGÍN 85 [...]
ŠU. NIGÍN 9I (?) [...]
.....
Rev. ITU A-bi [X UD is-sú-uḫ]
MU At-ta- [...]
Tr. a-na K[a-ra-AN-du-ni]-
i-a-aš [il-li-ku].

Traduction

1-6 .....
.....
Rev. Mois d' Abu, le[Xème. jour écoulé] .
Année où Atta- [...]
[est allé] en
B[abylo]nie.



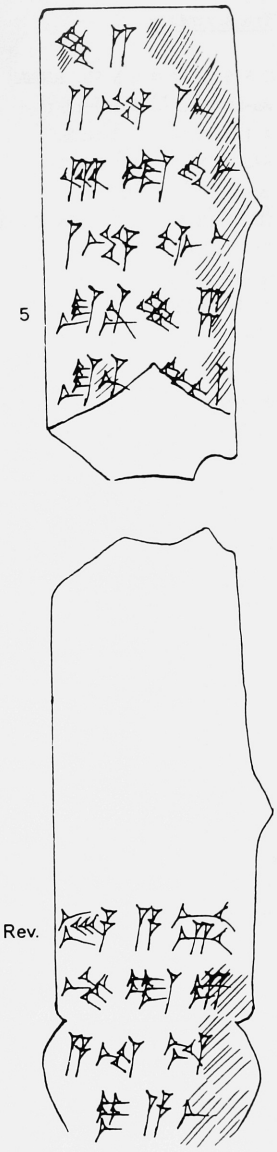


Fig. 18a. Haft Tépé. N° 4 (H.T. 129) 2,6 × 2,7 × 2,1 cm
Fig. 18b. Haft Tépé. N° 5 (H.T. 114) 5,2 × 3,7 × 2,3 cm

N° 6. Transcription

2 5/6 MA.NA 4 GÍN KÙ. BABBAR
mu-ut-tu-ù šà Ta-aš-ri-ti
4 1/3 MA.NA KÙ. BABBAR
5/6 MA.NA 2 ⌜GÍN⌝ KÙ.GI
mu-ut-tu-ù šà ^{m}Da-da-ar
ŠU.NIGÍN 8 MA.NA 14 GÍN KÙ. BABBAR
Tr. 5/6 MA.NA 2 GÍN KÙ.GI
mu-ut-tu-⌜ù⌝
Rev. šà Ta-mi-[šà]-ak
ITU A-bi 2 [...] UD is-su
uḫ

empreinte
MU EŠŠANA KA-da-aš-ma-an-
^{d}KUR.GAL
ú-sà-aḫ-ḫi-ru

Traduction

2 mines 5/6 (et) 4 sicles d' argent:
somme destinée à Tašrītu.
4 mines 1/3 d' argent,
5/6 de mine (et) 2 sicles d' or:
somme destinée à Dadār
Total: 8 mines (et) 14 sicles d' argent
Tr. (et) 5/6 de mine (et)2 sicles d' or:
somme
Rev. à la charge de Tami[š]ak
Mois d' Abu, le 2[...]ème . jour écoulé.

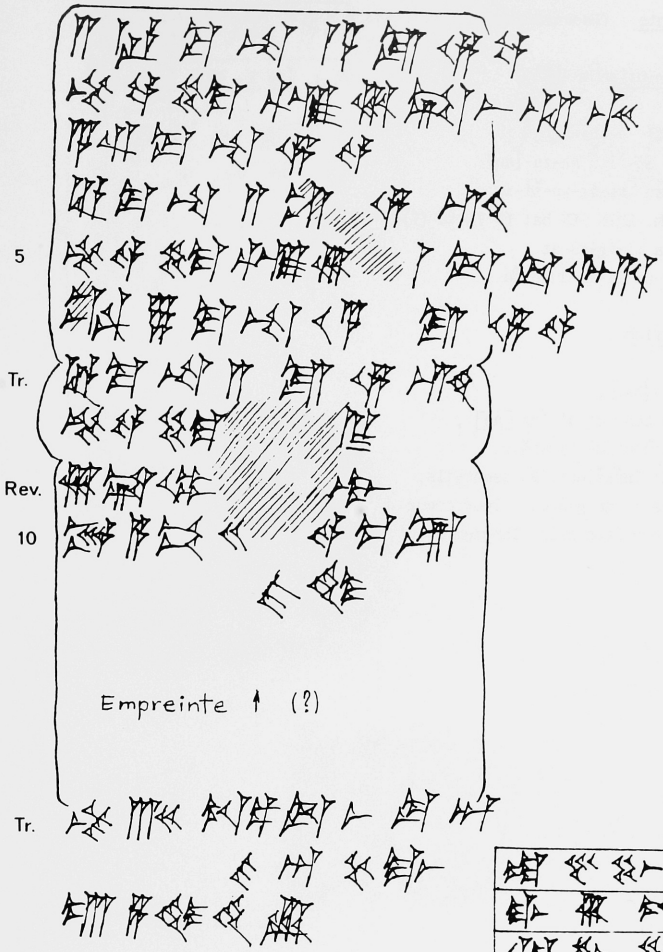
empreinte
Année où le roi
expulsa Kadašman-Enlil

N° 6. Empreinte. Transcription

At-ḫi-bu šà-ak-nu
GAL šà Ka-ab-na-a[k]
qí-pu še-mu-ú
pi-ri-iš-ti
šà Te-ep-ti-a-
ḫa-ar EŠŠANA ŠU-ší
[ARA]D šà ^{d}IM

Traduction

Atḫibu, grand gouverneur
de Kabnak,
administrateur
(et) homme de confiance
de Tepti-aḫar,
roi de Suse
(et) [servi]teur du dieu IM.



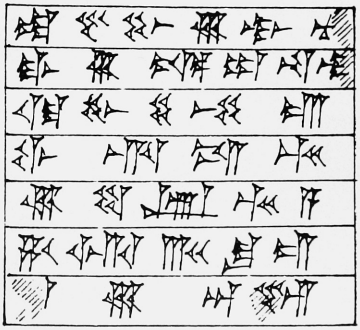


Fig. 19a. Haft Tépé. N° 6 (H.T. 38) 5,3 × 7,9 × 2,7 cm
Fig. 19b. Haft Tépé. N° 6 (H.T. 38) empreinte

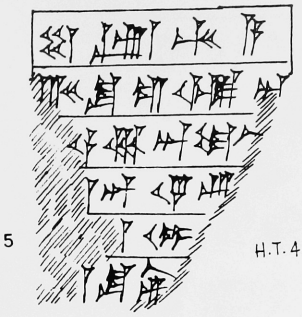
N° 7. Empreinte *(Reconstitution : H.T. 445 + H.T.60 + H.T.20 + H.T.s.2)*

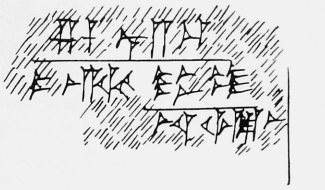
Transcription

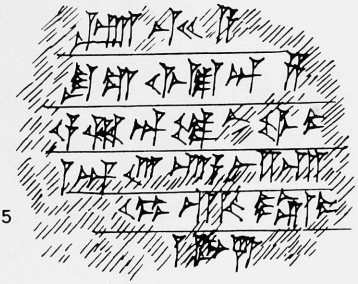
Te-ep-ti -a-[ḫa-ar]
EŠŠANA Šu-ší ù An-za-[an]
[ARA] D šà ^{d}Ki-ir-wa-ší-ir
šà ^{d}MÍM. ERIN EN bal (! ?)-ṭú (?)
[i] -na mi-ig-ra-at
[Š]À-šu-ni li-id-dù-u-šu

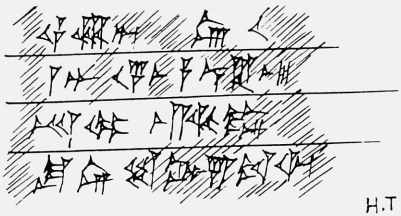
Traduction

Tepti-a[ḫar] ,
roi de Suse et d' Anz [an] ,
[servit]eur de Kirwašir
(et) d' Inšušinak. Puissent-ils,
dans la bonne grâce de leur coeur
le reconnaître aussi longtemps qu' il vivra (?)









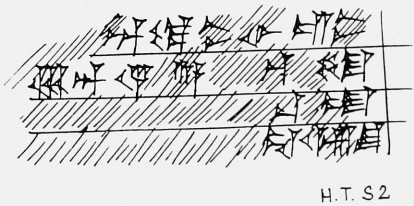


Fig. 20a. Haft Tépé. N° 7 (H.T. 445) 5,0 × 4,3 × 4,2 cm
Fig. 20b. Haft Tépé. N° 7 (H.T. 445) côté gauche ?
Fig. 20c. Haft Tépé. N° 7 (H.T. 60) empreinte
Fig. 20d. Haft Tépé. N° 7 (H.T. 20) empreinte
Fig. 20e. Haft Tépé. N° 7 (H.T. S.2) empreinte

N° 8. Transcription

Um-ma A-wi-lu-um-ma
a-na ^{d}Sin-ri-me-ni
a-tu-ʾ -e pu-ḫu-te-ep-pi-i
ù ma-aṣ-ṣa-ru É.DÙ.A
5 qí-bi-ma GIŠ.GIGIR GAL
šà za-ru-ú-šà ⌜2⌝ šà KÙ- GI
Tr. [m]Te-em-tu-ḫa-aḫ-pu
[l]i-iš-šà-[a] m-ma
Rev. li-ib-la

Traduction

Ainsi parle Awīlu:
à Sin- rimēni,
le portier , au(x) scribe(s)
et aux gardiens de la " Maison"
5 dis ceci : le grand char
dont les ⌜2⌝ zaru sont en or ,
Tr. que Temtu-ḫaḫpu
(le) prenne (lit. : l' enlève) et
Rev. me (l') apporte .

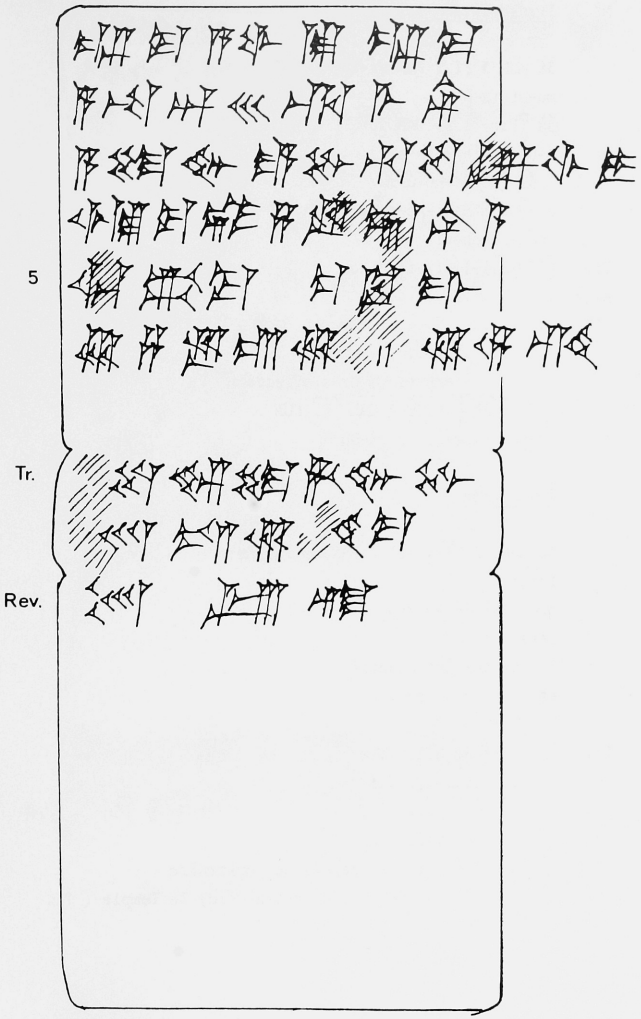


Fig. 21. Haft Tépé. N° 8 (H.T. 2) 5,7 × 8,4 × 2,5 cm

N° 9. Transcription

38 GUR 3 PI 2 BÁN sí-ku
mu-ut-tu-ú
šà ^{m}Pir-⌜i⌝- ^{d}MAR.TU
a-ba-ra-[a]k-ka-a-ti
ú-šà-[ad]-da-nu-ú-ma
a-na ÉŠŠANA i-na-an-di-nu
⌜ne⌝-re-eb-ti
Tr. [ITU S]i-li-li-t[i]
Rev. .....
10 .....
.....
- empreinte très effacée n° 7-
[MU ÉŠŠANA] É.DÙ.A GAL ⌜É⌝.KUR
Tr. [a-n]a e-pe-ší iq-ri-bu

Traduction

38 GUR, 3 PI (et) 2 BÁN de farine:
total
que Pir' i- Amurru
fera
5 livrer aux intendantes
et donnera au roi.
[Dé]but
Tr. [du mois de S]ililītu
Rev. .....
10 .....
empreinte
Année où le roi a entrepris de construire
Tr. la " Grande Maison" , (c' est-à-dire) le Temple (?).

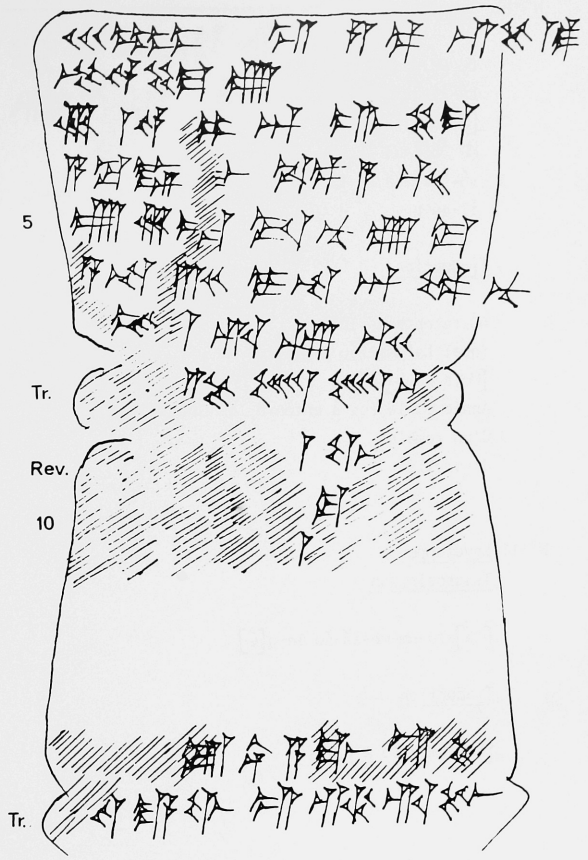


Fig. 22. Haft Tépé. N° 9 (H.T. 1) 5,4×8×2,5 cm

N° 10. Transcription

60 GÚ.UN šà SÍG
La-[lu]-um-me-eš-šu le-q[é]
[ITU Šà]-ba-ɛ-ti
MU ⌜EŠŠANA⌝ É.⌜DÙ⌝.A GAL
sú-⌜uk⌝-ka šà ṭí-it-ṭì
il-bu-u

Traduction

60 talents de laine
(que) Lalummeššu a pri[s].
[Mois de Ša]bātu
Année où le roi a entouré la "Grande Maison"
d'un remblai
d' argile

N° 11. Enveloppe
Transcription

[La]-lu-um-me-eš-šu le-q[é]

Traduction

[La]lummessu a pri[s].

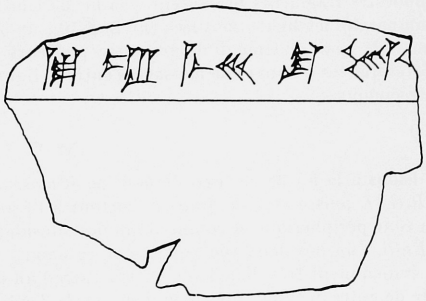


Fig. 23a. Haft Tépé. N° 10 (H.T. 12) 4,7 × 8,9 × 2,7 cm. Revers, empreinte illisible
Fig. 23b. Haft Tépé. N° 11 (H.T. 452) fragment d'enveloppe, 4,7 × 8,9 × 2,5 cm

COMMENTAIRE

N° 1

L. 12-14. — Contrairement aux contrats susiens, publiés dans *MDP* XXII-XXIV, les documents de Haft-Tépé ont souvent le souci de mentionner des événements éponymiques qui jalonnaient annuellement le règne du suzerain. C'est ici notre cas. Malheureusement il nous est impossible de donner un sens cohérent à ces trois dernières lignes. Il est très probable que le scribe ait oublié ou sous-entendu un verbe à la fin de la phrase. Ce verbe, vraisemblablement de mouvement, pourrait être *ṭarādu* « expulser, renvoyer », employé parfois dans les formules éponymiques (cf. par exemple, *CAD* s.v. *Amurru*, 94, c), ou bien une forme *Št* de *naḫāsu*, « repousser » (cf. *AHw* s.v.), souvent employé avec l'expression adverbiale *i/ana kutalli* « en arrière » (cf. *CAD* s.v. *kutallu*, 606, 4d et *AHw idem*, 518, 4b). Le personnage « repoussé » étant *Pir'i-Amurru*, « messager de Babylonie », il est à remarquer que notre tablette porte sur son revers la même empreinte que le document n° 6 (cf. ci-dessous) à la fin duquel le roi affirme avoir « repoussé » aussi un nommé *Kadašman-^{d}KUR.GAL*. Tout porte donc à croire que les relations entre la Babylonie et l'Elam étaient à ce moment fort difficiles.

L'attention est attirée par la graphie *Ka-ra-AN-du-ni-i-a-aš* dont la transcription usuelle est *Kar-^{d}duniaš*. Ce terme a donné lieu autrefois à maints débats. Rappelons que pour K. Balkan (3) *kar(a/u)* est le premier élément de noms de personne et d'appellatifs cassites et *duniaš* l'épithète d'une divinité cassite inconnue. D'après cet auteur, l'orthographe *Kar-AN-duniaš*, souvent attestée, ne doit pas être interprétée *Kar-^{d}duniaš*, mais *Karanduniaš*, le *n* étant la marque d'une finale nasalisée ou bien un élément de la construction génitivale (4).

N° 2-5

Ces modestes fragments présentent à la fin de leur texte une formule à peu près analogue. En comparant les lignes mutilées (n° 2, 8-10 ; n° 3, 5-9 ; n° 4, 3'-6' et n° 5 rev., 1'-4'), il est possible non seulement de restituer plusieurs fois le mot *Kara-AN-duniaš*, mais de constater que les échanges de messagers entre la Babylonie cassite et l'Elam étaient fréquents à cette époque.

N° 6

Nous lisons à la fin de ce texte le nom de *Kadašman-^{d}KUR.GAL*. Bien que l'idéogramme ^{d}*KUR.GAL* puisse être lu *Amurru*, surtout à l'époque cassite, nous supposons qu'il s'agit ici, en zone périphérique et compte tenu des allusions répétées à *Kara-AN-duniaš*, de *Kadašman-Enlil*, l'un des deux rois cassites de ce nom.

Il est évidemment très difficile de choisir entre l'un ou l'autre de ces deux souverains. L'empreinte de notre document porte la mention de *Tepti-aḫar*, roi de Suse, ce qui semble prouver que ce roi était contemporain d'un *Kadašman-Enlil*. Or, nous savons que *Kadašman-Enlil II* (1279-1265) était contemporain des rois élamites *Attar-kitaḫ* (1280-1275) et *Humbannumena* (1275-1255), grand-père et père d'*Untaš-DINGIR.GAL* (*Untaš-napiriša*).

Tout nous porte à croire que le *Kadašman-Enlil* cité dans notre texte est le premier de ce nom et non le deuxième. Le matériel archéologique (communication personnelle de Mlle. E. Carter) et l'étude de la glyptique (communication personnelle de Mr. P. Amiet) nous invitent aussi à choisir cette hypothèse.

---

(3) Balkan, 1954 : 95 ss.

(4) Balkan, 1954 : 221-222.

L. 2, 5 et 8. — Le terme *multû* reste mystérieux. Il pourrait s'agir de *mu⁾untu* « alimentation, subsistance », attesté cependant à une époque bien postérieure à celle de nos textes (cf. *AHw* s.v.). Nous préférons donc voir dans ce mot une forme dérivée de *mâdu* « être nombreux, en quantité » (cf. par exemple, *AHw* s.v. *mu⁾(ud⁾dû)* et le traduire par « quantité, compte, somme » et, d'une façon plus large, par « total ».

L. 10. — La formule *ITU X X UD issuḫ* « mois de X, le Xème jour écoulé », connue par ailleurs (5), constitue un véritable stéréotype dans les dates figurant à la fin des documents de Haft-Tépé.

N° 6. EMPREINTE

L. 2. — Il serait tentant de penser que *Kabnak* est l'ancien nom de Haft-Tépé. Dans un document de même provenance — que nous envisageons de publier dans un proche avenir — cette ville est mentionnée tout de suite après Suse, ce qui invite à croire que les deux villes avaient des relations étroites et qu'elles n'étaient peut-être pas très éloignées l'une de l'autre. D'autre part, dans une chronique postérieure de plusieurs siècles, les Annales d'Assurbanipal, ce roi cite, avant le récit bien connu de la prise de la capitale élamite, une série de villes avoisinantes qu'il a mises à sac. Parmi ces villes, toutes de l'autre côté du fleuve *Idid* (peut-être le Hudhud, bras du Karun), nous relevons la ville de *Kabinak : URU Ka-bi-in-ak âl šarrūti-šu akšud* « je conquis *Kabinak*, sa ville royale » (6).
Si l'équation *Kabnak* = *Kabinak* est juste, il n'est pas déraisonnable de faire le rapprochement entre cette ville et Haft-Tépé qui se trouve aussi dans le voisinage de Suse. Cette hypothèse pourrait être renforcée par le fait que le personnage nommé *Aṯḫibu*, « grand gouverneur de *Kabnak* », est très souvent cité dans les archives de Haft-Tépé.

N° 7

L. 1. — Le roi élamite *Tepti-aḫar* ne nous était pas inconnu. W. Hinz (7) parle d'un certain *Tempt-aḫar*, connu d'après une inscription akkadienne sur brique, qu'il situe entre 1500 et 1350 av. J.-C. Cette brique, en réalité trois fragments reproduisant le même texte — publiés jadis par V. Scheil — a été traduite et publiée tout récemment par E. Reiner (8).
D'autres documents mentionnent le nom de ce roi : un texte faisant partie du lot de tablettes dites de Malamir (9), un document qui, d'après le ductus général de l'écriture et l'emploi de certains idéogrammes, pourrait ne pas provenir de Suse (10) et enfin une stèle trouvée à Haft-Tépé il y a une dizaine d'années (11).
Il est évidemment possible que ces différentes sources nous rapportent le nom de plusieurs souverains du même nom. Nous pensons cependant, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, qu'il s'agit du même personnage.

L. 4-6. — La traduction de ces trois dernières lignes reste hypothétique à cause de la lecture contestable *EN bal(!?)-tù(?)*. L'optatif *liddû-šu* est probablement une forme D du verbe *idû* (cf. *CAD* s.v. 30, 4 ss.) que nous traduisons par « reconnaître ».
Il est enfin à remarquer la graphie archaïsante *ŠÀ-šu-ni* (12).

---

(5) Cf. Bottero et Finet, 1952 : 196-197 s.v. *BA.ZAL (-ma)* et *AHw* s.v. *nasāḫu*, 751, 23.

(6) Aynard, 1957 : 50, 40.

(7) Hinz, 1964 : 53.

(8) Reiner, 1973 : 95 ss.

(9) Scheil, 1930 : 76, 15.

(10) Scheil, 1932 : 248, 18.

(11) Reiner, 1973 : 94 ss. Il serait tentant de supposer que, de même que cette stèle où *Tepti-aḫar* est mentionné, les textes dits de Malamir proviennent de Haft-Tépé. L'étude ultérieure des documents trouvés dans le site nous permettra peut-être d'accepter ou de rejeter cette hypothèse.

(12) Pour l'emploi du suffixe — *šuni* à la place de — *šunu*, cf. von Soden, 1952 : 42 i et Gelb, 1952 : 173 ss.

N° 8

L. 3. — Le terme *atu'u* est enregistré dans *CAD* séparément du mot *atû* « portier ». Le sens que ce dictionnaire lui donne « personne de basse condition sociale » semble cependant mal s'appliquer à notre contexte où les personnages, destinataires de la lettre, jouissent apparemment d'une certaine autorité. A notre avis, *atu'u* et *atû* pourraient être un seul et même mot.
Le terme élamite *puḫu-teppi* était déjà plusieurs fois attesté en contexte accadien (écrit *pu-ḫu te-pi*) (13). On peut supposer que *puḫu* signifiant « garçon » et *teppi (r)* pouvant signifier « scribe », les deux mots assemblés désignent un « apprenti scribe » ou quelque chose d'approchant (14).

L. 4-5. — Les *maṣṣāru É.DÙ.A* « gardiens de la Maison » nous étaient connus grâce à la stèle trouvée à Haft-Tépé et publiée par E. Reiner (15). Il est à remarquer que dans cette stèle un char votif est plusieurs fois mentionné : *eriqqi ili* « char du dieu », *saparri ša Tepti-ahar* « char-*saparru* de *Tepti-ahar* » (16). Dans notre texte aussi nous retrouvons un « grand char » : *GIŠ.GIGIR GAL*, probablement votif puisque certaines de ses parties sont en or. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il est impossible de donner un sens précis à *É.DÙ.A* « la Maison ». Il s'agit sans doute d'un bâtiment important, avec un personnel nombreux, hommes et femmes d'après la stèle citée ci-dessus. Nous savons qu'on y faisait des offrandes funéraires : *kispa ikassipū* (17) et ce fait nous inclinerait à penser que l'*É.DÙ.A* était une sorte de chapelle attenante peut-être à la grande tombe voûtée exhumée à Haft-Tépé. Espérons que de nouvelles fouilles et de nouveaux documents pourront bientôt éclaircir ce point.

L. 6. — D'après A. Salonen (18), le mot *zarû* désigne le timon d'un char. *CAD* s.v. le définit comme « pole (of a vehicle, or a part thereof) ». C'est parce que les *zarû*, dans notre texte, sont probablement au nombre de deux (19) que nous avons préféré n'y voir que des parties indéterminées du char.

N° 9

Cette tablette porte sur son revers la même empreinte, très effacée, que le n° 7, ci-dessus.

L. 1. — Comme dans la stèle, déjà plusieurs fois citée, l'unité de capacité pour mesurer la farine est dans notre texte le *GUR* (= *kurru*) et ses subdivisions *PI* (= *parsiktu*) et *BÁN* (= *sūtu*). La farine en revanche — s'il s'agit bien ici de farine — est désignée par le terme *sīku* (*sâku* « piler ») contrairement à *ZI.DA* dans la stèle.

L. 12. — Les signes *É.KUR* sont effacés et leur lecture est par conséquent incertaine. Si notre lecture est juste, le complément du verbe *epēšu* est constitué par deux termes en apposition : « la Grande Maison, (c'est-à-dire) le Temple ».

L. 13. — L'expression *ana epēši iqribū*, peu fréquente, est enregistrée dans *AHw* s.v. *qerēbu*, 916, II, 6 : « (an Arbeit) herangehen, drangehen ».

---

(13) Cf. Scheil, 1939 : 437, 5 et 504, 2 où un certain *Nūr-Sin* porte ce titre.
(14) Nous remercions Mlle E. Reiner qui a bien voulu nous donner son avis à ce sujet.
(15) Reiner, 1973 : 88, 15 ; 89, 31 ; 90, 39.
(16) Reiner, 1973 : 89, 26 ; 27.
(17) Reiner, 1973 : 89, 31 ; 34.
(18) Salonen, 1951 : 124-125.
(19) Cf. aussi Gautier, 1908 : 66, 3 : 3 *za-ru-ú* (parmi différentes parties d'un char).

N° 10

L. 1. — Le dernier signe de cette ligne semble aberrant. Sans en être formellement convaincu, nous pensons qu'il s'agit de *SÍG* (= *šipālu*) « laine ».

L. 4. — *É.DÙ.A GAL* désigne sans doute un grand bâtiment, peut-être un temple, de l'ancienne Haft-Tépé (cf. n° 9, 12). Nous ne croyons pas qu'il s'agisse de « la Maison » (= *É. DÙ.A*) mentionnée au n° 8, 4.

L. 5. — Le terme *sukku* enfin ne peut pas signifier « sanctuaire » dans ce contexte (cf. *AHw* s.v.). Nous préférons donc comprendre « remblai, talus, terrassement » (cf. *CAD* s.v. *banû*, 85, 1).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Aynard, J. M.
1957 *Le Prisme du Louvre AO 19.939*. Paris : H. Champion.

Balkan, K.
1954 Kassitenstudien. *AOS* 37.

Bottero, J. et Finet, A.
1952 *ARM. Répertoire analytique des tomes I à V*. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale.

Gautier, J. E.
1908 *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat*. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Gelb, I. J.
1952 *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press.

Hinz, W.
1963 Der altelamische Kalender. *Or. NS* 32 : 12-18.
1964 *Das Reich Elam*. Stuttgart : W. Kolhammer Verlag.

Reiner, E.
1973 Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb. *AfO* 24 : 87-102.

Salonen, A.
1951 Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien. *AASF* 72.

Salonen, E.
1962 Untersuchungen zur Schrift und Sprache des Altbabylonischen von Susa. *StOr* 27, 1 : 47-77.

Scheil, V.
1930 Actes juridiques susiens. *MDP* XXII. Paris : E. Leroux.
1932 Actes juridiques susiens. *MDP* XXIII. Paris : E. Leroux.
1939 Mélanges épigraphiques. *MDP* XXVIII. Paris : E. Leroux.

Soden, W. von
1952 Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik. *AnOr* 33.

ABRÉVIATIONS

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae (Helsinki).
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin, puis Graz).
AHw	Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (= W. von SODEN : Wiesbaden, 1959 ss.).
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia (Roma).
AOS	American Oriental Series (New Haven).
ARM	Archives royales de Mari (Paris).
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago- Glückstadt, 1956 ss.).
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago).
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Perse (Paris).
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig).
Or. NS	Orientalia, Nova Series (Roma)
StOr	Studia Orientalia (Helsinki).

Bibliography

Adams, R. McC.

1962 Agriculture and Urban Life in Early South Western Iran. Science 136: 109-122.

Amandry, Pierre

1965 Un motif "scythe" en Iran et en Grèce. Journal of Near Eastern Studies 24 (1, 2):149-160.

Amiet, Pierre

1966 Elam. Guvers-sur-Oise: Archée.

1972 Glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses Achéménides. Cachets, sceaux cylindres et empreintes antiques découverts à Suse de 1913-1967, Vols. 1, 2. Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran, Mission de Susiane, Vol. 43. Paris.

1973 En Iran Centrale, la civilisation du désert de Lut. Archéologia 60:21-27.

1977a Appliqués iraniennes. La Revue du Louvre 27:63-69.

1977b L'art antique du Proche-Orient. Paris: Mazenod.

Baqir, Taha

1945 Iraq Government Excavations at Aqar Quf: Second Interim Report 1943-1944. Iraq Supplement.

Börker Klahn, Jutta

1970 Untersuchung zur altelamischen Archäologie. Berlin: Freie Universität.

Brinkman, J.A.

1964 Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period. *In* Ancient Mesopotamia: A Portrait of a Dead Civilization. A. Leo Oppenheim, ed., pp. 335-348. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1972 Foreign Relations of Babylonia from 1600 to 625 B.C. American Journal of Archaeology 76:271-276.

Buchanan, Briggs

1966 Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, Vol. 1, Cylinder Seals. Oxford: University Press.

Calmeyer, Peter

1969 Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanshah. Berlin: Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie Bd. 5.

Calvet, Y., Charpin, D., Cleuziou, S., and J. D. Forest

1976 Larsa, rapport préliminaire sur la sixième campagne de fouilles. Syria 53:1-46.

Cameron, George G.

1936 History of Early Iran. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1948 Persepolis Treasury Tablets. Oriental Institute Publications, No. 65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Carter, Elizabeth

1971 Elam in the Second Millennium B.C. Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.

Contenau, Georges

1922 La glyptique syro-hittite, Vol. 2. Paris: Bibliothèque Archeologique et Historique.

Contenau, Georges, and Roman Ghirshman

1935 Fouilles de Tépé-Giyan près de Néhavend, 1931-32. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Culican, William

1965 The Medes and Persians. London: Thames and Hudson.

Dalton, O. M.

1905 The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work. (2d ed. 1926) London: British Museum Trustees.

David-Weill, D.

1972 Collection D. David-Weill: Bronzes antiques de steppes et de l'Iran: Ordos, Caucase, Asie Central, Louristan. Paris: Hotel Drouot.

Delaporte, Louis

1909 Catalogue de Musée Guimet, cylindres orientaux. Annales du Musée Guimet 33. Paris.

1910 Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perse et syro-capadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris.

Dollfus, G.
1971 Djaffarabad 1969-1970. Rapport préliminaire sur les deux premières campagnes de fouilles. Syria 48(1-2):61-84.

Dyson, Jr., Robert. H.
1964 Notes on Weapons and Chronology in Northern Iran around 1000 B.C. *In* Dark Ages and Nomads c. 1000 B.C., Studies in Iranian and Anatolian Archaeology, No. 18. M. J. Mellink, ed., pp. 32-45. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.
1966 Excavations on the Acropolis at Susa and Problems of Susa A, B, and C. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Edzard, D.O.
1957 Die zweite Zwischenzeit Babylonians Expedition. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz.

Eisen, Gustavus A.
1940 Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore. Oriental Institute Publication, No. 47. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1972 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 8, pp. 106-107. s.v. "Elam."

Erlenmeyer, M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer
1965 Frühiranische Stempelsiegel, II. Iranica Antiqua 5(1):1-17.

Frankfort, H.
1939 Cylinder Seals. London: Macmillan and Company.

Fukai, Shinzi, and Jiro Ikeda
1971 Dailaman IV, The Excavations at Ghalekuti II and I, 1964. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.

Ghaem-Maghami, Jahangir
1957 Translation of De Morgan, Travelling Notes, 1908. (In Persian). Tehran.

Ghirshman, Roman
1938-
1939 Fouilles de Sialk près de Kashan 1933, 1934, 1937, Vols. 1, 2. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
1961 Exposition sept mille ans d'art en Iran. Paris: Petit Palais.
1964 Persia from the Origins to Alexander the Great. Translated by S. Gilbert, J. Emmons. London: Thames and Hudson.
1966 Travaux de la délégation archéologique en Iran, hiver 1965-1966. Comptes-Rendus de la l'-Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Paris (July-October).
1966-
1968 Tchoga Zanbil (Dûr Untash), Vols. 1-3. Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran, Nos. 39-41. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Godard, A.
1931 Les bronzes du Luristan. Ars Asiatica, No. 17. Paris.
1962 L'art de l'Iran. Paris: Arthaud.

Godard Y., and A. Godard
1954 Bronzes du Luristan, Collection E. Graeffe. Paris: Éditions L.J.C. Boucher.

Gordon, Cyrus H.
1939 Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery. Iraq 6:3-34.

Hakemi, A.
1975 Description of a Statue and a Cylinder Seal from Shahdad. (In Persian). *In* IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran, 1974. F. Bagherzadeh, ed., pp. 12-18. Tehran: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research.

Herrero, Pablo
1976 Tablettes administratives de Haft Tépé. Cahiers de la DAFI 6:93-116.

Hinz, Walther
1963 Persia c. 2400-1800 B.C. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 1, Part 2, Chapter 23, Fasicule 19. Cambridge: University Press.
1964a Das Reich Elam. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
1964b Persia c. 1800-1550 B.C. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 2, Part 1, Chapter 7, Fasicule 21. Cambridge: University Press.

Hogarth, D. G.
1920 Hittite Seals with Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hole, Frank, and K. V. Flannery
1962 Excavation at Ali Kosh, Iran, 1961. Iranica Antiqua. 2:97-148.

Hüsing, George
1916 Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams, Vol. I. Altelamische Texte. Assyriologische Bibliothek 24.1. Leipzig.

Hutchinson, R. W.
1934 Two Mesopotamian Daggers and their Relatives. Iraq 1:163-170.

Jacobsen, T.
1939 The Sumerian King List. The Oriental Institute for Assyriological Studies, No. 11. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Johnson, G. A.
1973 Local Exchange and Early State Development in Southwestern Iran. University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor, No. 51.

Kantor, Helene J.
1947 The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions. Journal of Near Eastern Studies 6(4):250-267.

Kouros, Gholamreza
Technique of Irrigation in Ancient Iran. (In Persian). AB Va Fan-i-Abyari dar Iran-i-Bastan, pp. 104-107. Tehran.

Labat, R.
1963 Elam c. 1600-1200 B.C. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 2, Part 2, Chapter 29, Fasicule 16. Cambridge: University Press.

Lamberg-Karlovsky, C. C.
1970 Excavation at Tepe Yahya, Iran, 1967-1969. Cambridge and Shiraz: American School of Oriental Research and The Asia Institute of Pahlavi University.

Lambert, Maurice
1966 Cylindres de Suse des premiers temps des Sukalmah. Iranica Antiqua 6:34-42.

Legrain, Leon
1911 Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la collection Louis Cugnin. Paris: Champion.
1921 Empreintes de cachets élamites. Mémoires de la délégation en Perse 16.

Mallowan, Max
1947 Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar. Iraq 9:1-259.

McCown, Donald E.
1954 The Relative Stratigraphy and Chronology of Iran. *In* Relative Chronologies in Old World Archeology. R. W. Ehrich, ed., pp. 56-68. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mecquenem, R. de
1934 Fouilles de Suse, 1929-1933. Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Perse 25:177-237.
1943 Fouilles des Suse, 1933-1939. Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran 29:3-161.

Mellink, M. H.
1966 The Hasanlu Bowl in Anatolian Perspective. Iranica Antiqua 6:72-87.

Miroschedji, P. de
1981 La dieu élamite au serpent et aux eaux jaillissantes. Iranica Antiqua 16:1-25.

Moorey, P. R. S.
1966 Antiquities from the Bomford Collection, Exhibition of Ancient Persian Bronzes, Ashmolean Museum. Oxford: Clarendon.
1971 Catalogue of the Ancient Persian Bronzes in the Ashmolean Museum. Oxford: Clarendon.
1981 The Art of Ancient Iran. *In* Ancient Bronzes, Ceramics and Seals, The Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection of Ancient Near Eastern, Central Asiatic and European Art, pp. 13-138. Los Angeles: County Museum of Art.

Muscarella, Oscar White
1972 A Bronze Vase from Iran and its Greek Connections. Metropolitan Museum Journal 5:25-50.
1974 Ancient Art in the Norbert Schimmel Collection. Mainz: Philip von Zabern.

Nagel, Wolfram
1963 Altorientalisches Kunsthandwerk. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Negahban, Ezat O.
1964 Preliminary Report on Marlik Excavation Rudbar 1961-62. Tehran: Iranian Archaeological Service and Institute of Archaeology at the University of Tehran.
1984 Haft Tepe Roundels: An Example of Middle Elamite Art. American Journal of Archaeology 88(1):3-10.
1977 The Seals of Marlik Tepe. Journal of Near Eastern Studies. 36(2):81-102.

Nissen, Hans Jorg
1966 Zur Daitierung des Königsfriedhofes von Ur. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

Nougayrol, J.
1939 Cylindres-Sceaux et empreintes de cylindres, trouvés en Palestine. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Olmstead, A. T.
1948,
1959 History of the Persian Empire. 1st and 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Parrot, A.
1939 Les fouilles de Mari, cinquième campagne. Syria 20:1-22.

Pézard, Maurice
1911 Études sur les intailles susiennes. Mémoires de la délégation en Perse 12:79-122.

Poebel, A.
1914 Historical Texts. Publications of Babylonian Section 4(1). Philadelphia: The University Museum.
1931-
1932 The Name of Elam in Sumerian, Akkadian and Hebrew. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures 48:20-26.

Porada, Edith
1938 Die Siegel aus der Sammlung des Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio in Jerusalem. Berytus 5:1-26.
1947a Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals of the Pierpont Morgan Library. The Bollingen Series 14. New York: Pantheon Books.
1947b Seal Impressions of Nuzi. The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research, No. 24 (1944-1945). New Haven.
1962 Alt Iran, die Kunst in Vorislamischer Zeit, Kunst der Welt. Baden-Baden: Holle.
1965 Ancient Iran, the Art of Pre-Islamic Times. London: Methuen.

Potratz, Hanns
1945-
1951 Scheibenkopfnadeln aus Luristan. Archiv für Orientforschung 15(1-6):38-54.

1952 Des "Kampfmotiv" in der Luristankunst. Orientalia n.s. 21:(1):13-36.

Reiner, Erica

1969 The Elamite Language, *In* Altkleinasiatische Sprache, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Vol. 1, Abt. 2. B. Spuler, ed., pp. 54-118.

1973 Inscription from a Royal Elamite Tomb. Archiv für Orientforschung 24: 87-102.

Samadi, H.

1955a Ganjineh Kalardasht. Gozreshhaye Bastanshenasi 3 (1344). Tehran.

1955b Les découvertes fortuites Kalar Dasht, Garmabak, Emam et Tomadjan (Mazanderan et Guilan). Tehran.

Schaeffer, C. F. A.

1948 Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale. London: Oxford University Press.

Scheil, V.

1911 Textes elamites-anzanites, quatrieme séries. Mémoires de la délégation en Perse 11.

Speiser, Ephraim A.

1930 Mesopotamian Origins, the Basic Population of the Near East. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Sumner, W.

1975 Excavations at Tal-e Malyan: A Summary of Three Season's Results, pp. 157-162. IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran. Tehran.

Thureau-Dangin, F.

1907 Une incursion elamite en territoire sumerien. Revue d'Assyriologie 6:139-142.

Tosi, Maurizio

1968 Excavation at Shahr-i-Sokhta, A Chalcolithic Settlement in Iranian Sistan, Preliminary Report on the First Campaign, October-December, 1967. East and West n.s. 18(1-2):9-66.

Vanden Berghe, Louis

1959 L'archéologie de l'Iran ancien. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

1968a Les bronzes des pasteurs et des cavaliers du Luristan. Archaeologia Viva 1:13-123.

1968b Het archeologisch onderzoek naar de bronskultuur van Luristan. Brussels: Paleis der academiën.

Voitlander, Elizabeth

1973/

1977 Summary of Provisional English Translation of Haft Tepe 425. *In* A Guide to the Haft Tepe Excavation and Museum, pp. 32-35. (Persian text, 1973, English text, 1977). Tehran.

Von Der Osten, Hans Hening

1934 Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell. Oriental Institute Publications, No. 22. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1936 Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett. Oriental Institute Publications, No. 37. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ward, William Hayes

1909 Cylinders and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan. New York: privately printed.

1910 The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia. Washington: Carnegie Institute.

Weber, Otto

1920 Altorientalische Siegelbilder. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft 17 und 18. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

—

Webster New International Standard Dictionary, 2nd edition, New York, p. 1329. s.v. "Japhetic."

Wilkinson, Charles K.

1965 Art of Marlik Culture. Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin. November:101-109.

Wiseman, D.J.

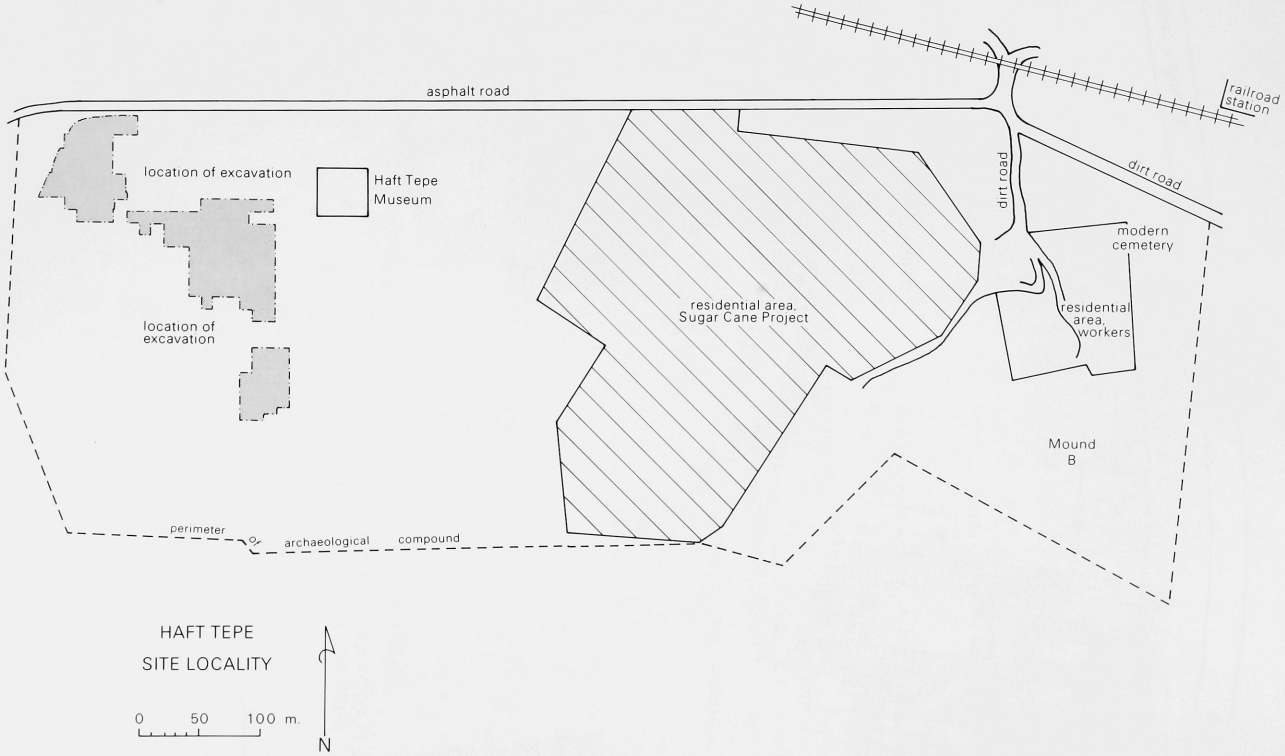
1958 Götter und Menschen in Rollsiegel Westasiens. Prague: Artia.

1962 Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Cylinder Seals of the Uruk-Early Dynastic Periods. London: Trustees of the British Museum.

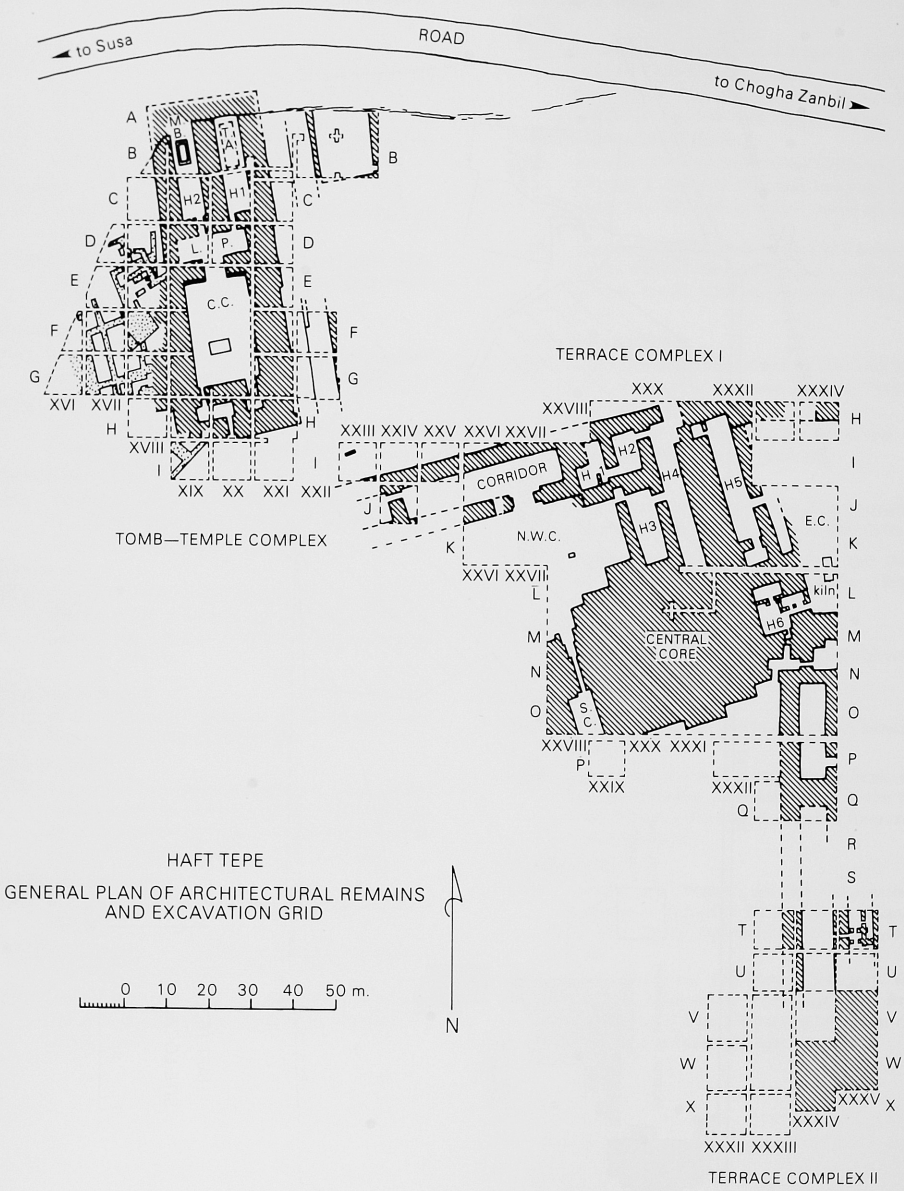
Woolley, C.L.

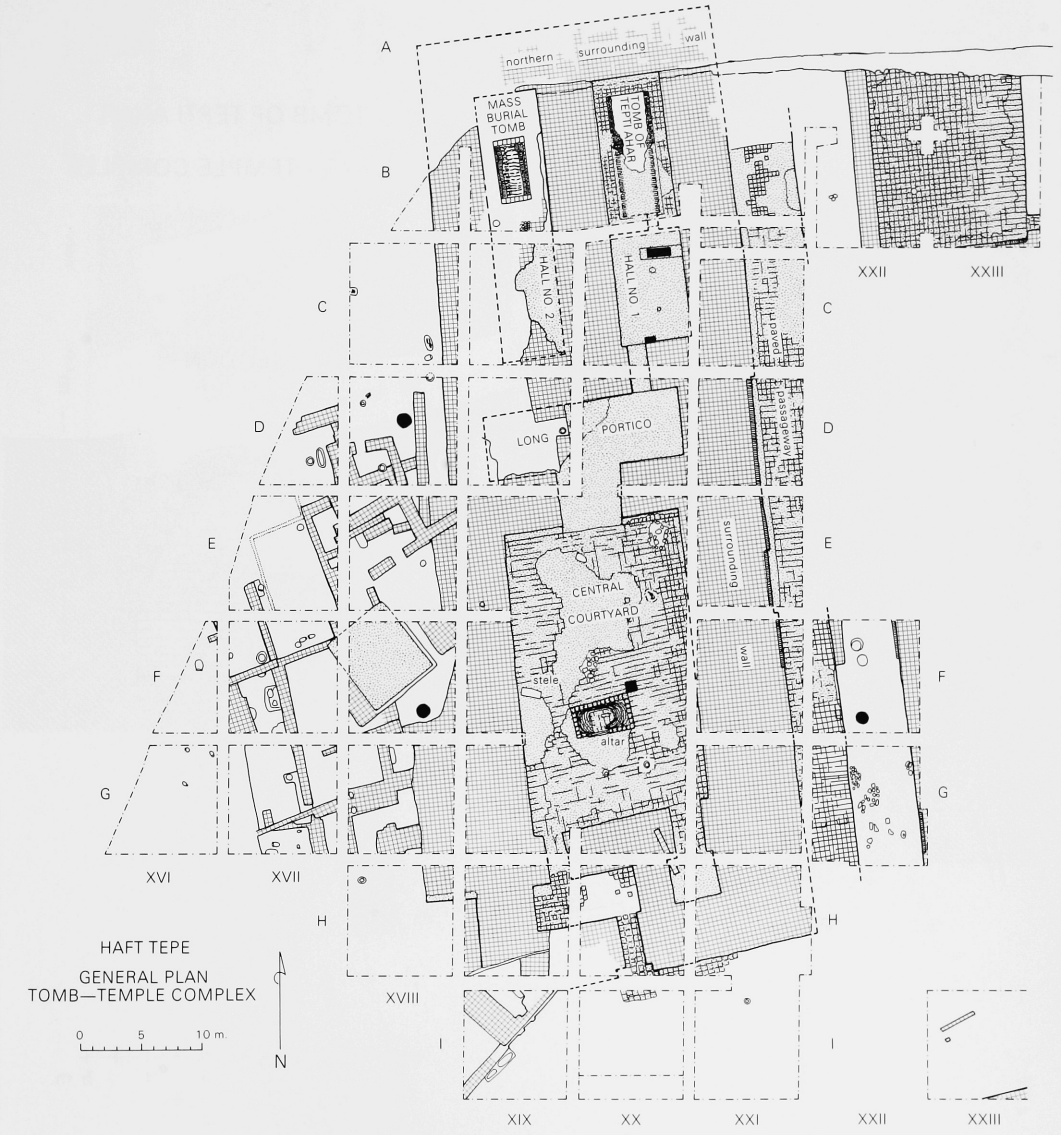
1921 Carchemish, Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum, Part II, The Town Defences. Oxford: University Press.

1934 Ur Excavations, The Royal Cemetery. Vol. 2. Oxford: University Press for The British Museum and The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.


asphalt road
railroad station
location of excavation
Haft Tepe Museum
location of excavation
dirt road
dirt road
modern cemetery
residential area, Sugar Cane Project
residential area, workers
Mound B
perimeter
archaeological compound
HAFT TEPE
SITE LOCALITY
0 50 100 m.
N

PLAN 1


to Susa
ROAD
to Chogha Zanbil
TOMB—TEMPLE COMPLEX
TERRACE COMPLEX I
TERRACE COMPLEX II
CORRIDOR
CENTRAL CORE
N.W.C.
E.C.
S.C.
kiln
HAFT TEPE
GENERAL PLAN OF ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AND EXCAVATION GRID
0 10 20 30 40 50 m.
N

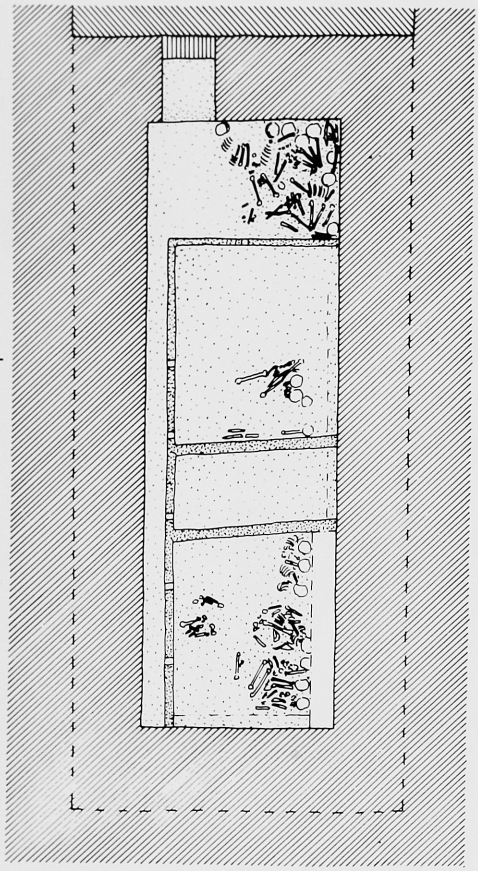


HAFT TEPE

GENERAL PLAN
TOMB—TEMPLE COMPLEX

0 5 10 m.

N



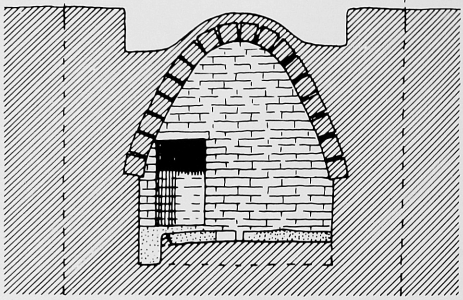
PLAN

N

TOMB OF TEPTI AHAR

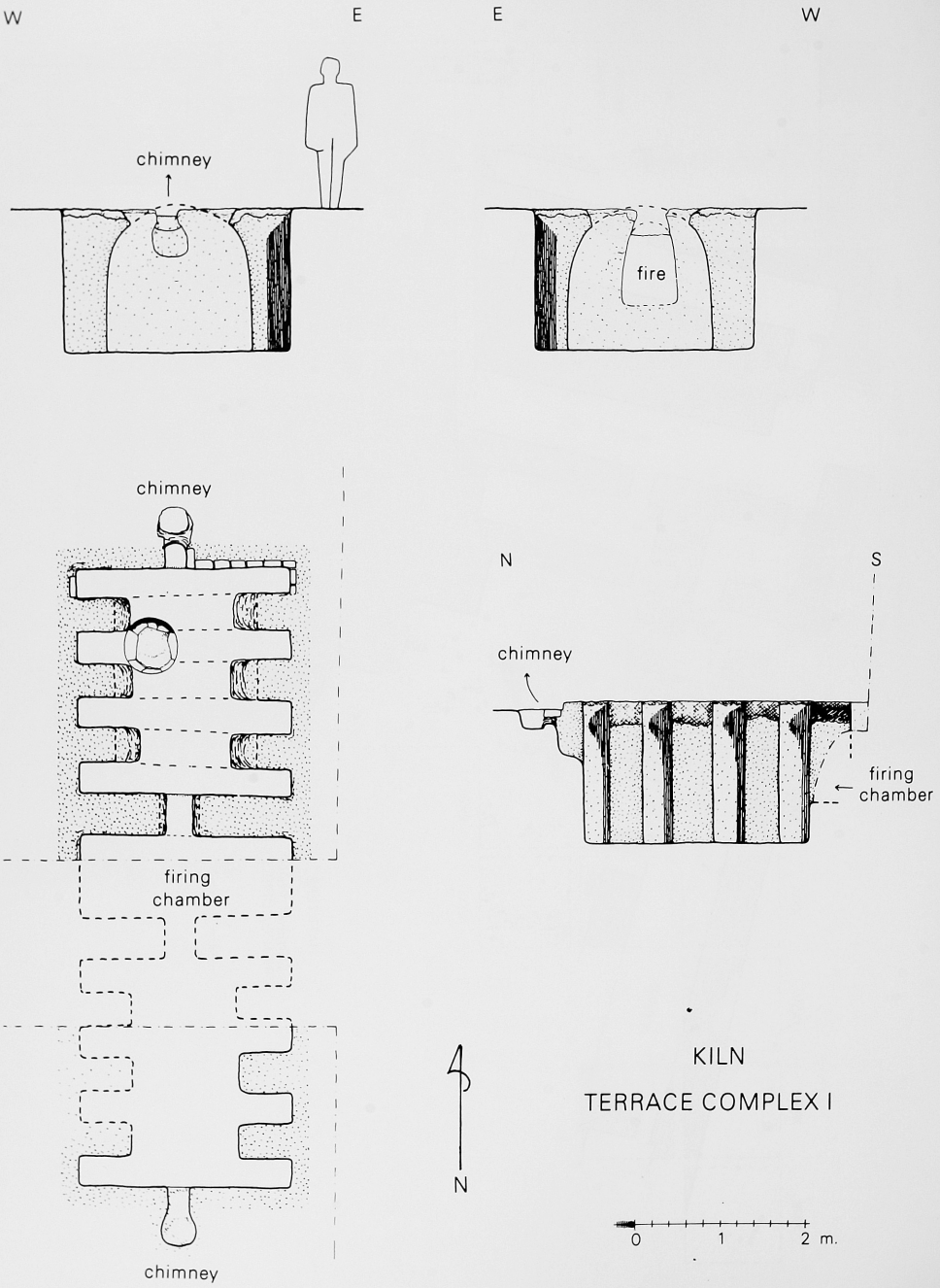
TOMB—TEMPLE COMPLEX

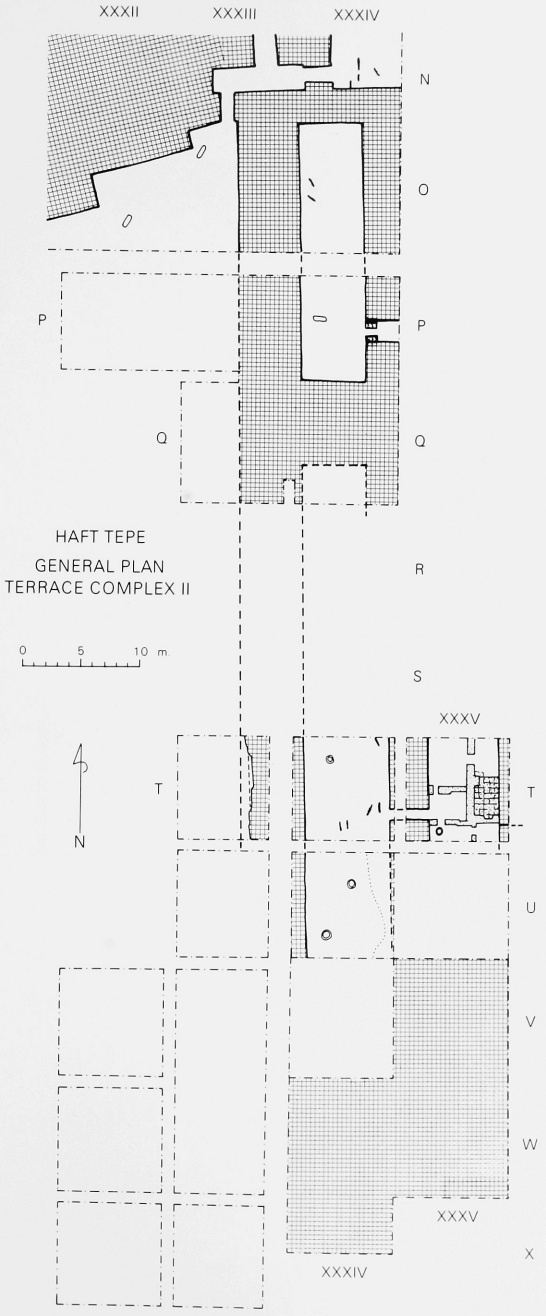
SECTION



0 1 2 3 4 5 m.

HAFT TEPE
GENERAL PLAN
TERRACE COMPLEX I


W
E
chimney
E
W
fire
chimney
firing
chamber
chimney
N
S
chimney
firing
chamber
N
KILN
TERRACE COMPLEX I
0
1
2 m.

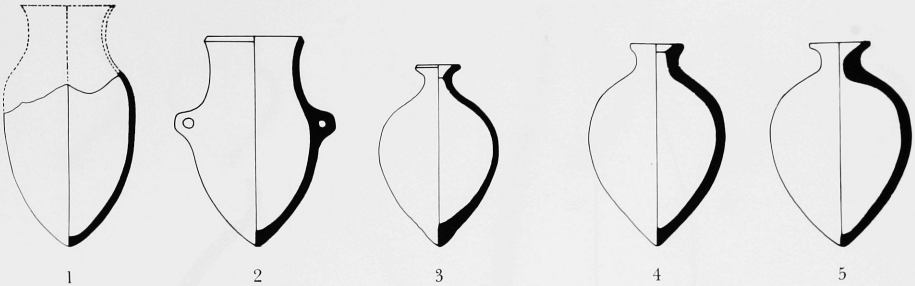


HAFT TEPE

GENERAL PLAN

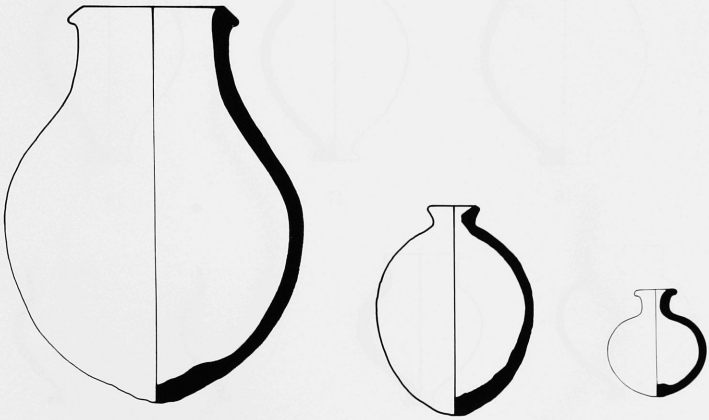
TERRACE COMPLEX II

Figures and Plates

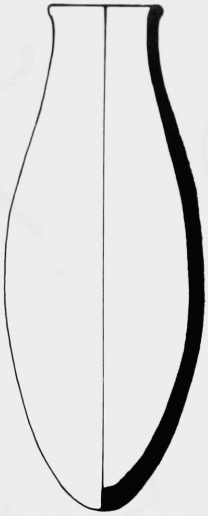


1 2 3 4 5

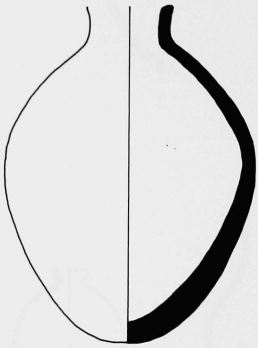
6 7 8 9 10



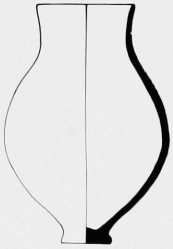
11 12 13



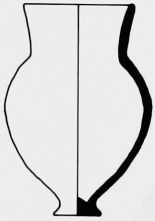
14



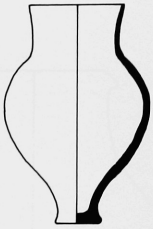
15



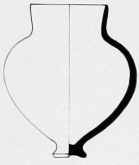
16



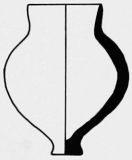
17



18



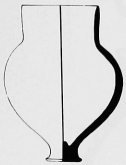
19



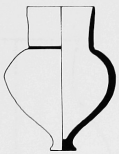
20

21

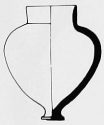
22



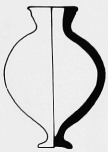
24



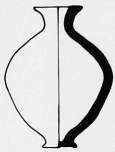
25



26

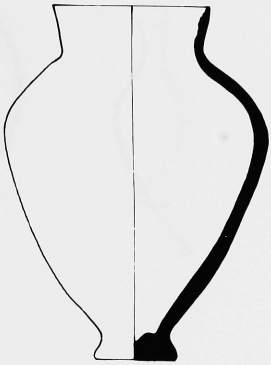


27

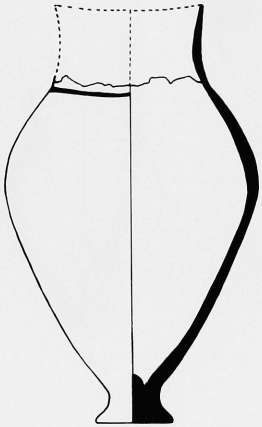


28

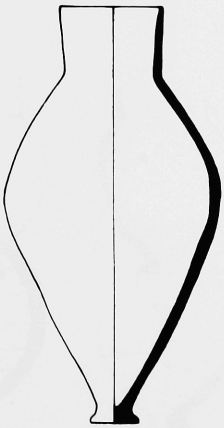
29



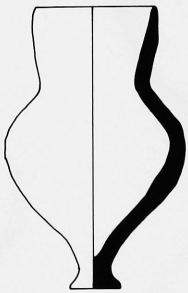
31



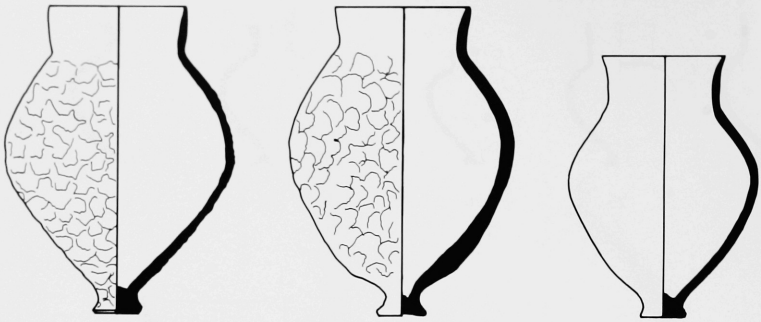
32



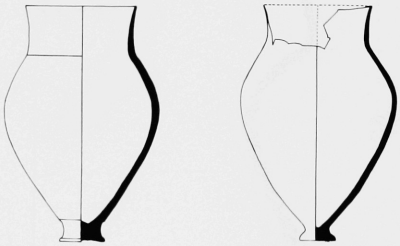
33



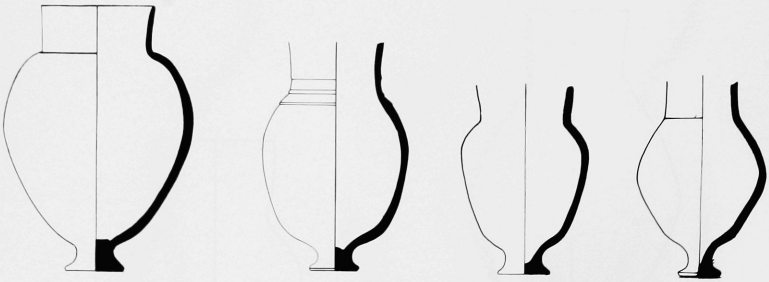
34



35 36 37



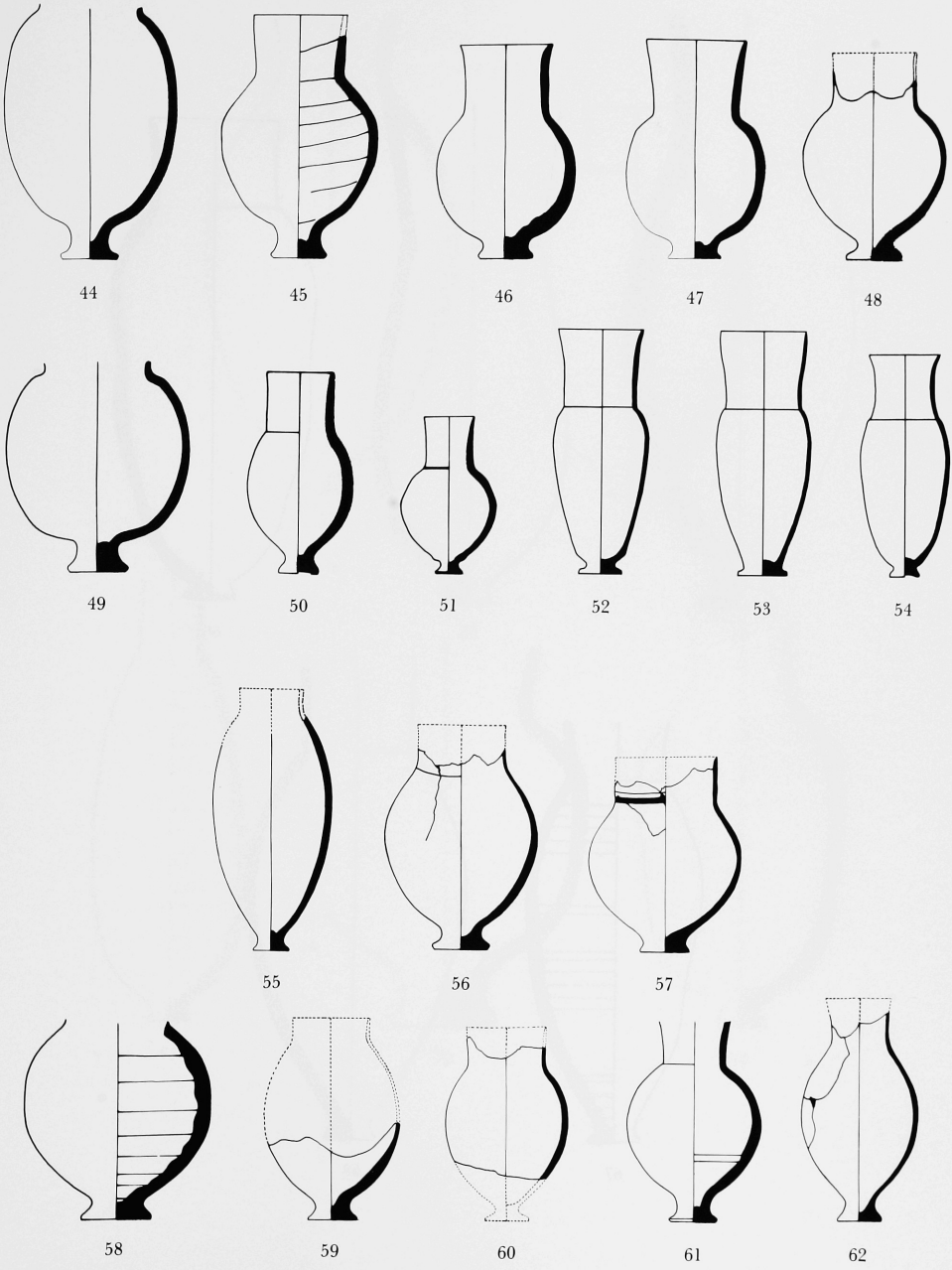
38 39



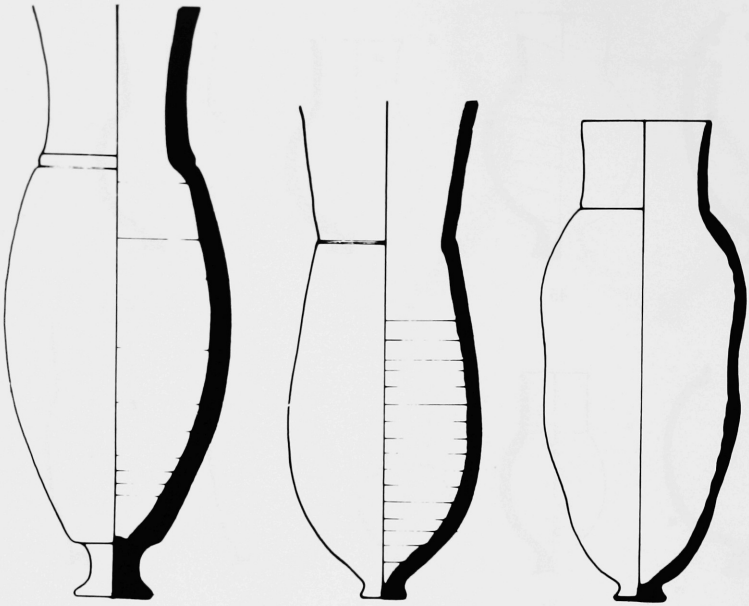
40 41 42 43

1:4

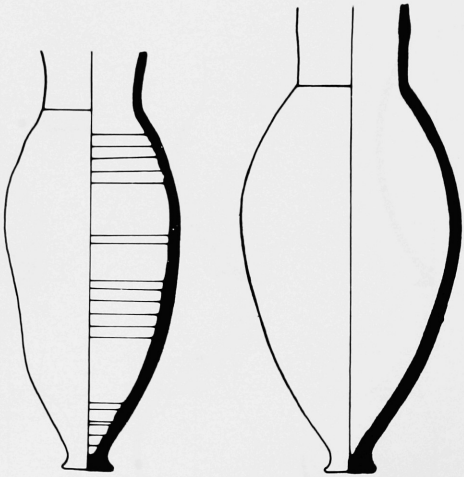
FIGURE 5



1:4



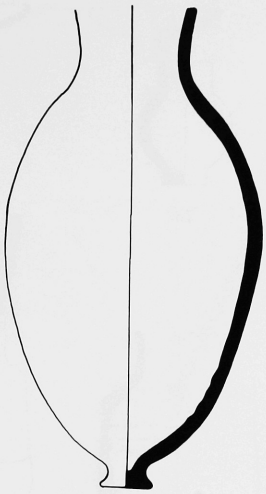
64 65 66



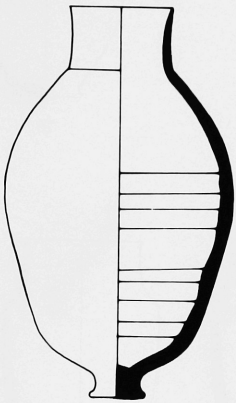
67 68

1:4

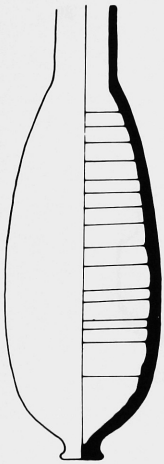
FIGURE 7



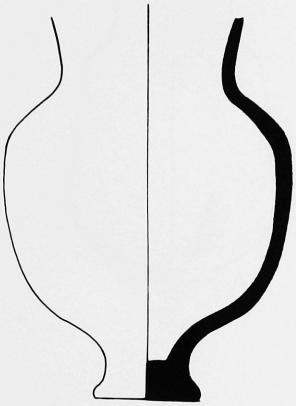
69



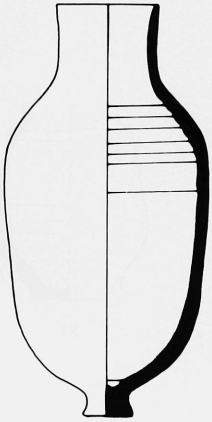
70



71

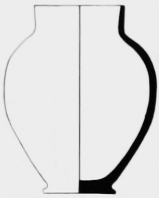


72



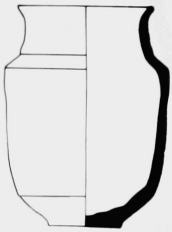
73

1:4

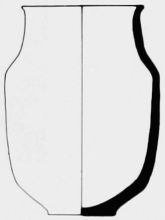


75

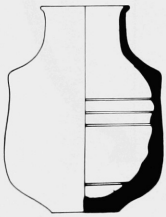
76



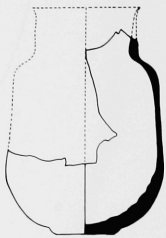
77



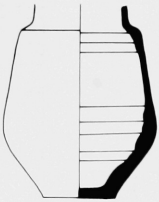
78



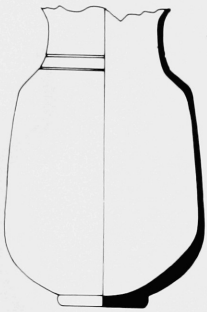
79



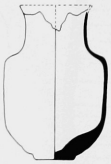
80



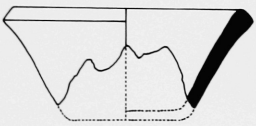
81



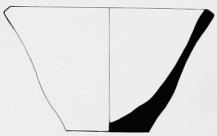
82



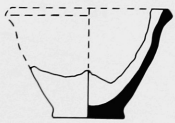
83



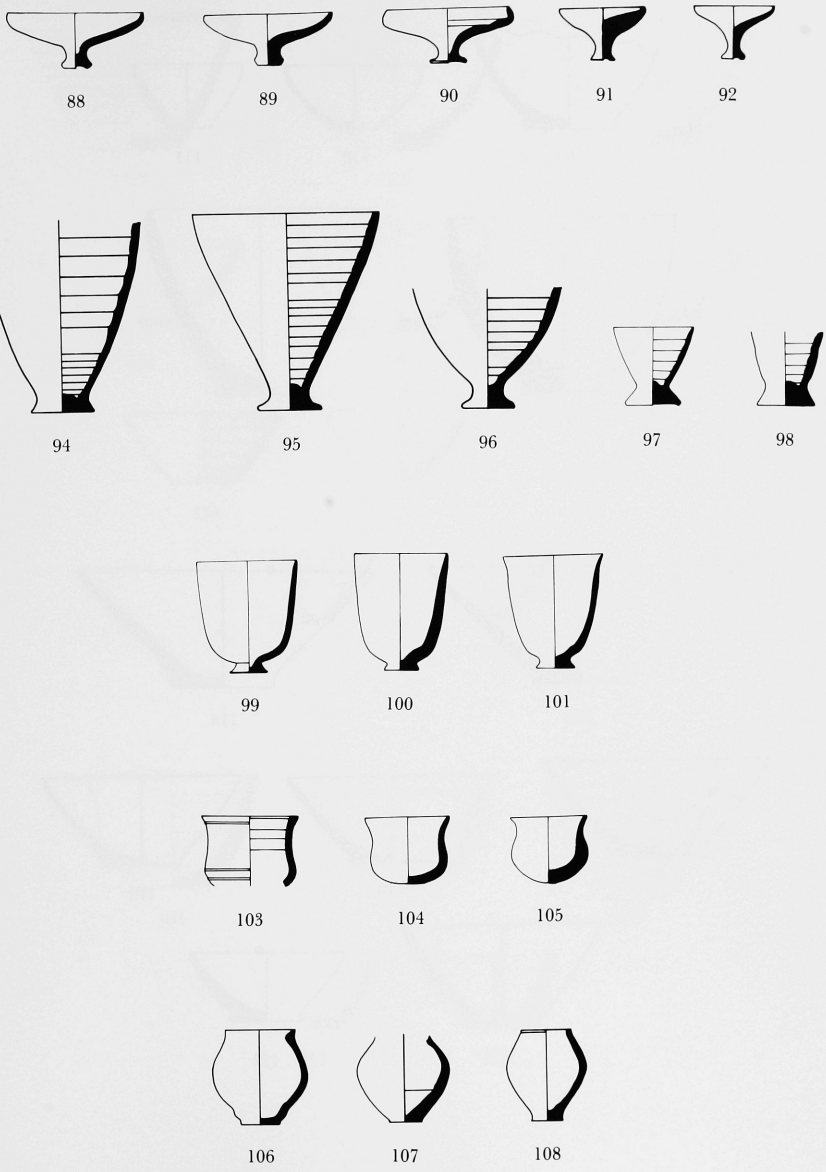
85

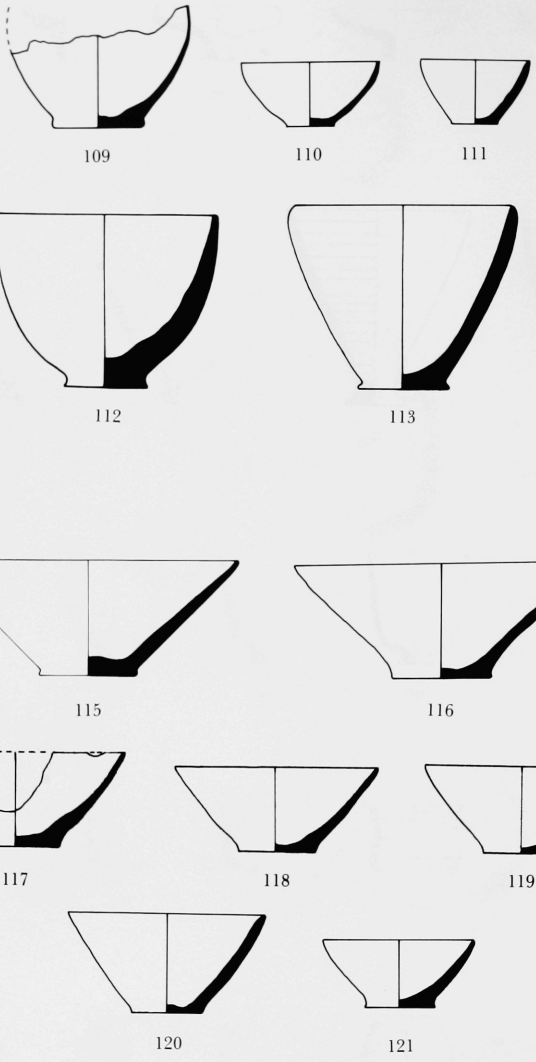


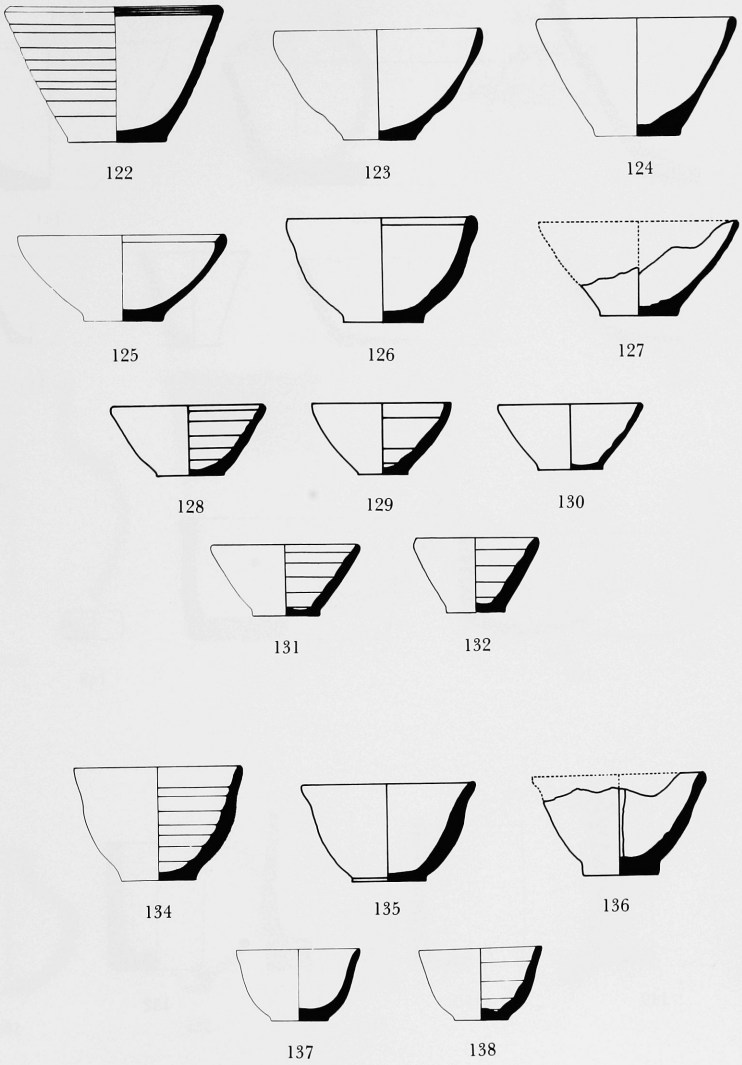
86

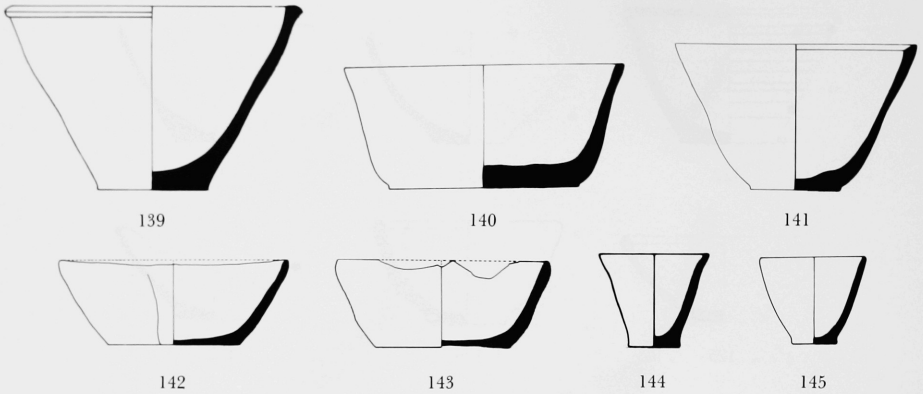


87


88
89
90
91
92
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
103
104
105
106
107
108


109
110
111
112
113
115
116
117
118
119
120
121


122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
134
135
136
137
138



139 140 141

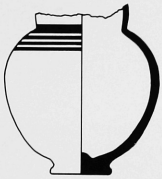
142 143 144 145

146 147 148

149 150 151 152

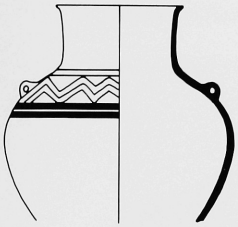
FIGURE 13

153

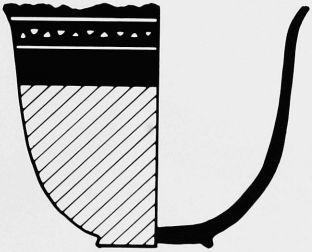


154

155



156

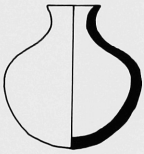


157

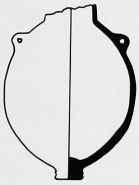
158

159

160

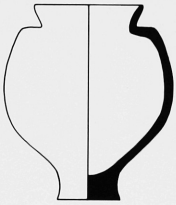


161

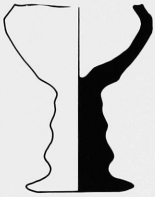


162

164



165



166

A. Entrance to the Haft Tepe Museum.

B. Excavation team celebrating the discovery of the statue heads. *Kneeling (left to right):* Ardeshir Farzanegan, Ali Valinduri. *Front Row (left to right):* Zahra Jafarmohammadi, Ali Palangi, Mohammad Hossein Khoshabi, Ezat O. Negahban, Mahvash Gharavi, Aliasghar Mirfattah, Enayatolla Amirlou, Yahya Kosari. *Back Row (left to right):* Erick DeWaele, Shahriar Zargham, Atwan Chenani, Jamshid Harirchian, Edgardo Fereiro, Mousa Darvish-rohani.

A. Central Courtyard: southeast wall, looking west in E XXI.

B. Central Courtyard: looking northwest, showing two stone stela fragments (left center), ruined platform (center), and brick paving in E, F, G XIX-XX.

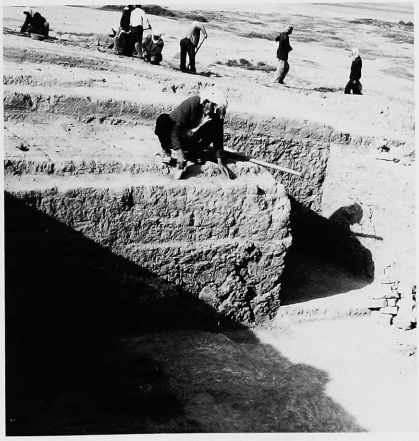
A. Central Courtyard: looking south toward main entrance (upper right behind two stone stela fragments). Ruined platform in left center. E, F, G XX.

B. Central Courtyard: signs on a paving brick from F XIX.

A. Central Courtyard: ruined platform (foreground), looking northwest across two stone stela fragments in F XX.

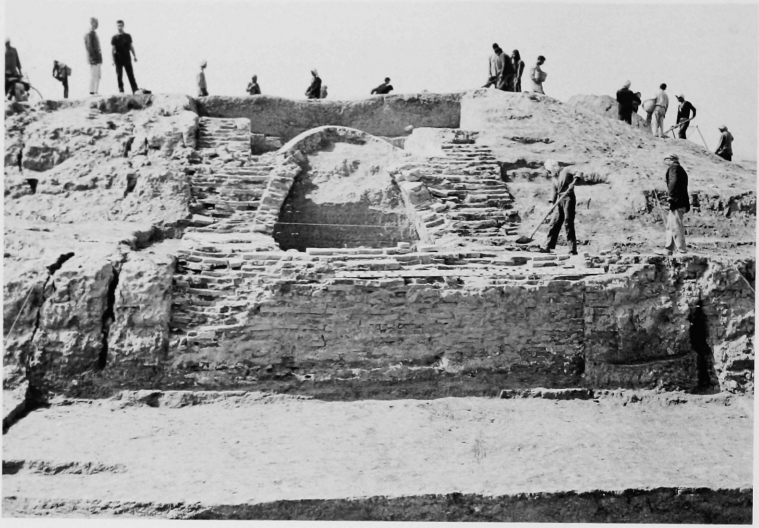
B. Central Courtyard: ruined platform (center), looking northwest in F XX.

A. Long Portico: looking east in D XX. Doorway to Hall no. 1 at left.

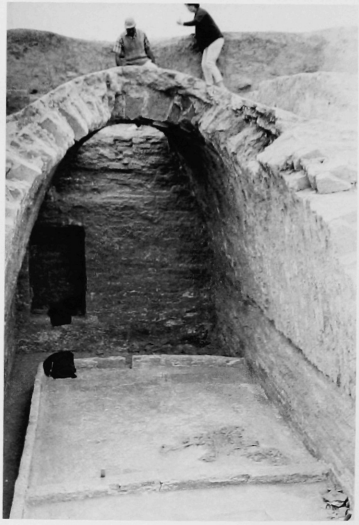


B. Temple Hall no. 1: looking south in C XX at doorway to the long portico.

C. Temple Hall no. 1: partly opened covered passageway leading down to the Tepti Ahar tomb chamber at the north end of the hall, looking east in B, C XX.



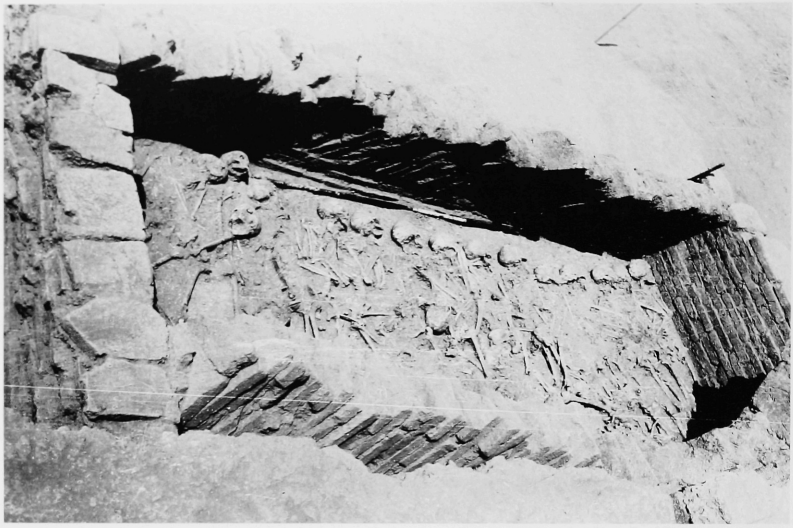
A. Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar: north end showing back wall, remaining brick vault and side wall in A, B XX.



B. Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar: south end of tomb chamber showing passage to Hall no. 1, remaining vault, and burial platform in B XX.

A. Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar: looking over remaining vault at north wall of the tomb in B XX.

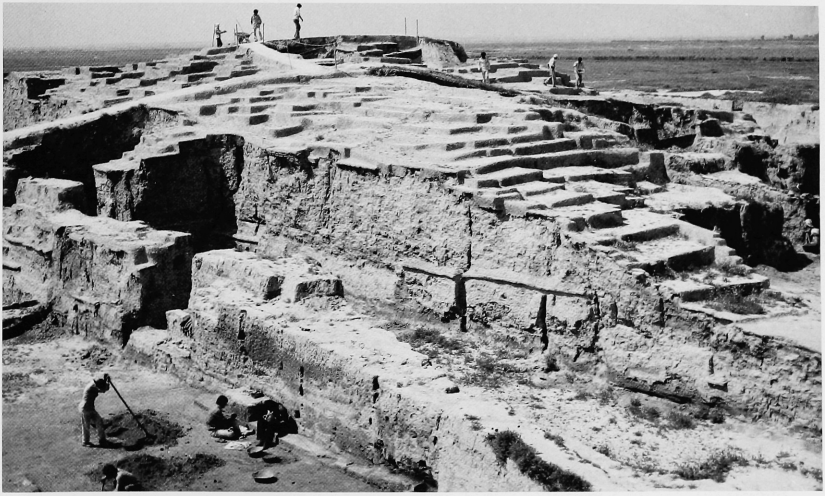
B. Vaulted Tomb of Tepti Ahar: looking at the vault structure on the west side and the north end wall, in B XIX.



A. Vaulted Mass Burial Tomb: general view looking north showing remaining vaulting, north end wall (top), entrance blocking (bottom), and *in situ* burials in B XIX.

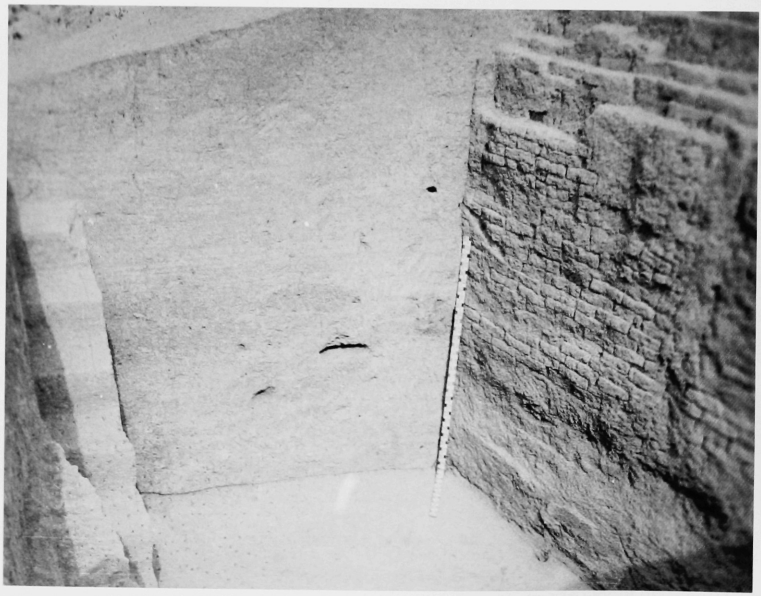
B. Vaulted Mass Burial Tomb: detail of skeletons arranged along the east side of the tomb facing north in B XIX.

A. Central Core: seen from the south and showing excavated squares connecting Terrace Complex I with Terrace Complex II (foreground). Squares lie in N-U XXXIV.



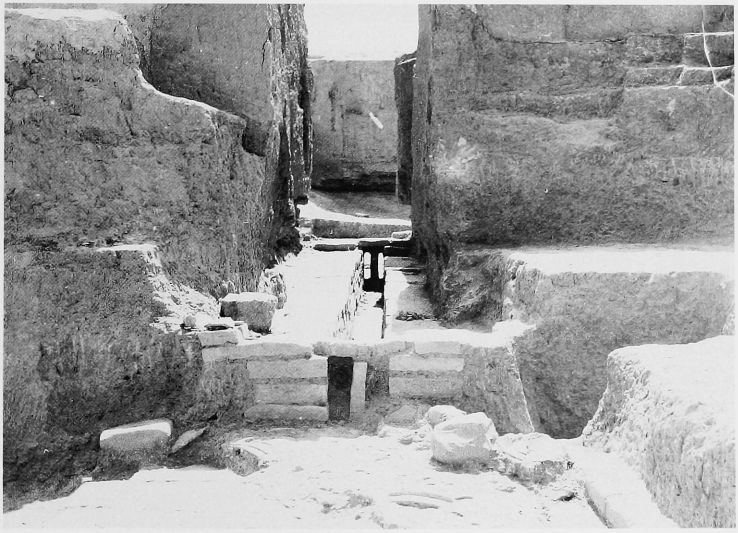
B. Central Core: seen from the northeast showing Hall no. 5 and its entrance (lower left) in J XXXII.

A. Central Core: cleaned brickwork looking slightly to the northeast across L-O XXVIII -XXXII.



B. Hall no. 4: brick side wall and southern end of the hall in K XXXI.

A. Passageway: from the northwest courtyard to the southern courtyard looking south at the entrance with its brick drain in M XXVIII.



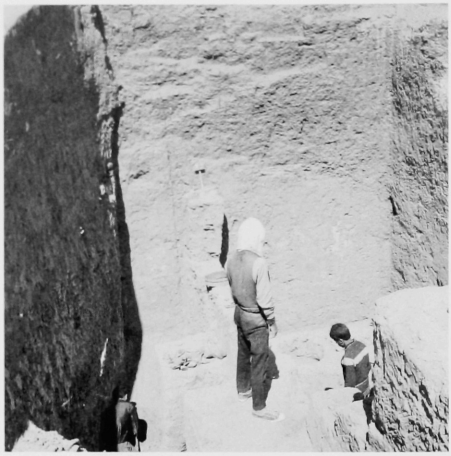
B. Passageway: from the northwest courtyard to the southern courtyard looking southeast and showing the brick drain in M, N, O XXVIII.

A. Northwestern Courtyard: basin and sherd fill looking southeast in K XXVIII.

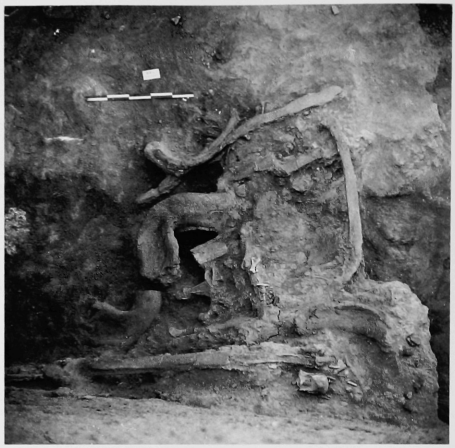
B. Long Wall: north side of the north wall of the corridor in I XXIV-XXVII. Excavation squares of Terrace Complex I in the background.

A. Corridor: pottery jars in fill at the eastern end of the corridor in I XXVII.

B. Hall no. 6 (the "Workshop"): excavating the northwest corner (left) of the main room of Hall no. 6 and the north extension (center) in L XXXIII.



A. Hall no. 6: a thin partition wall separating the main room from its northern extension. Looking west in L XXVII.

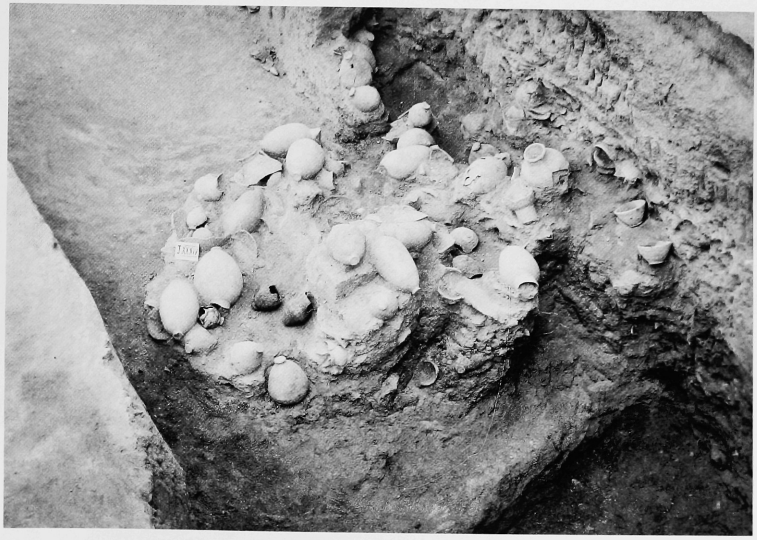


B. Hall no. 6: bones of an elephant partially excavated in the northwest corner of the northeast room of Hall no. 6 in L XXXIII.

C. Hall no. 6: pile of bronze arrowpoints in northwest corner of the northeast room in L XXXIII.

D. Hall no. 6: statue head *in situ* in the northwest corner of the main room of Hall no. 6, in L XXXIII.

A. Kiln: northern compartment; in the Eastern Courtyard just north of Hall no. 6 in K XXXIV. Chimney (lower right); firing chamber (top left).

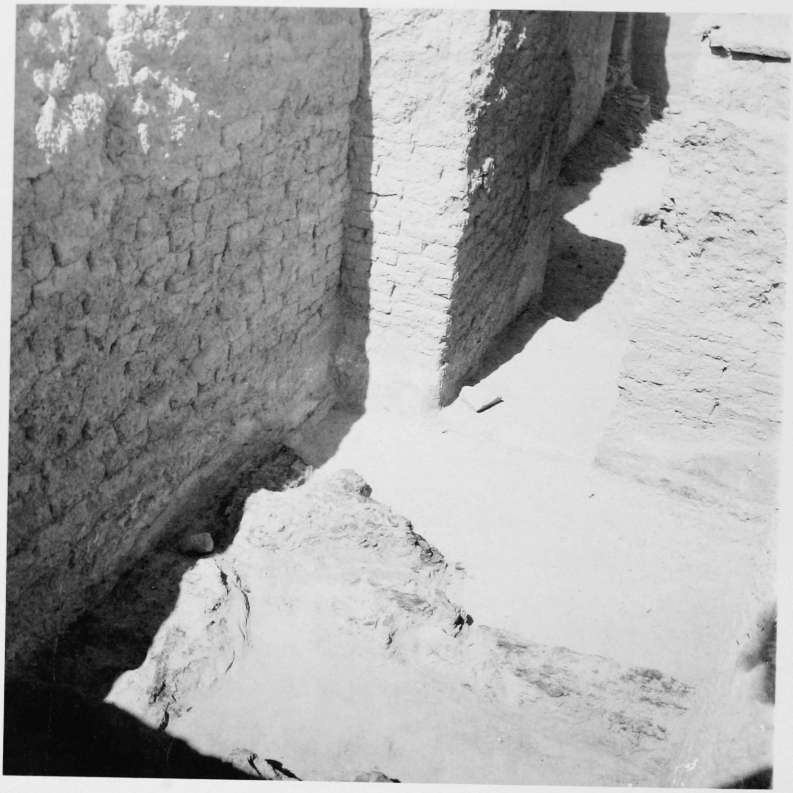


B. Kiln: pottery found north of the kiln in the Eastern Courtyard in J XXXIV.

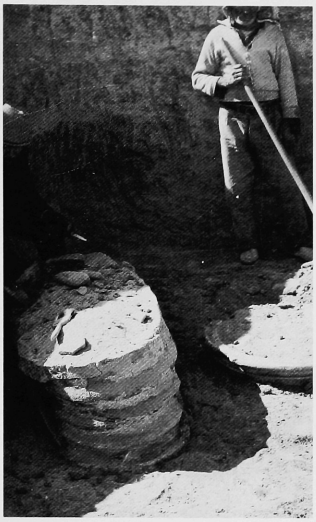
Kiln: pottery found north of the kiln in the Eastern Courtyard in J XXXIV.

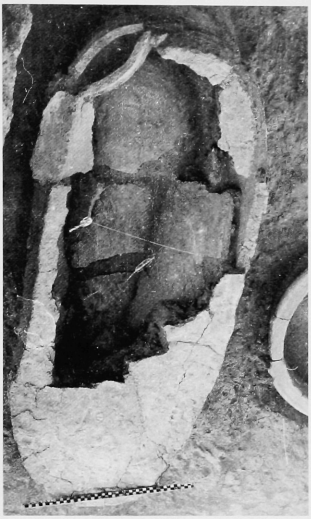
A. Central Core: general view from Terrace Complex I looking southeast.

B. Central Core: excavations looking south from P-Q XXXII-XXXIII.

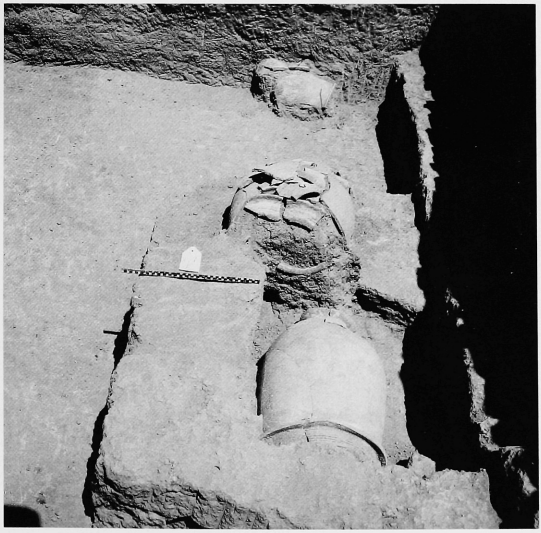


N, O, P XXXIV Hall: burned roof timbers on the floor at the south end in P XXXIV.

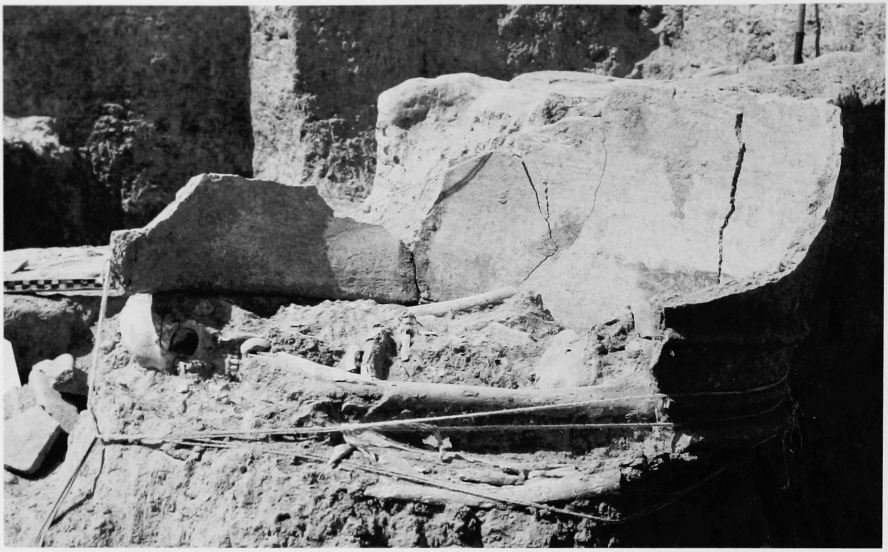




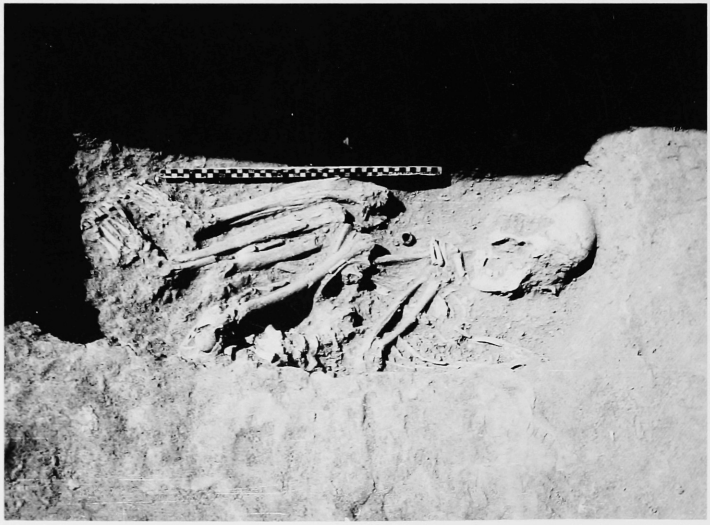
A, B Elamite pottery sarcophagus in D XVII west of the Tomb-Temple Complex. A. side view. B. top view.



C. Elamite jar burials in E XVII west of the Tomb-Temple Complex.

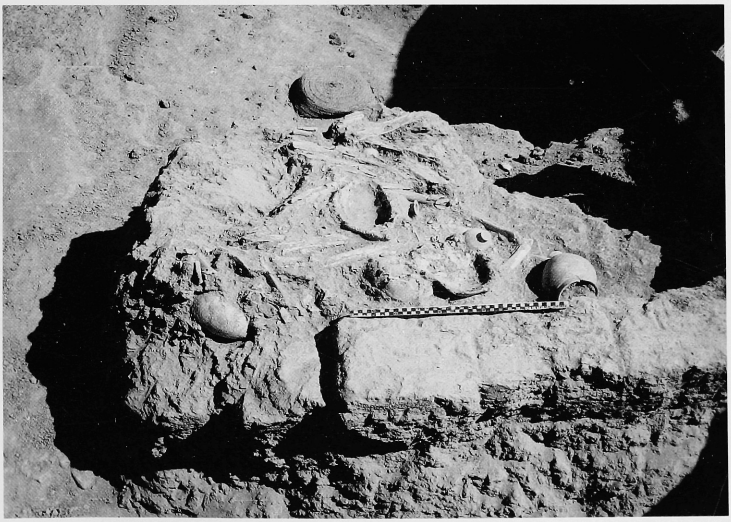


A. Elamite burial under an inverted pottery basin in FXVII west of the Tomb-Temple Complex.



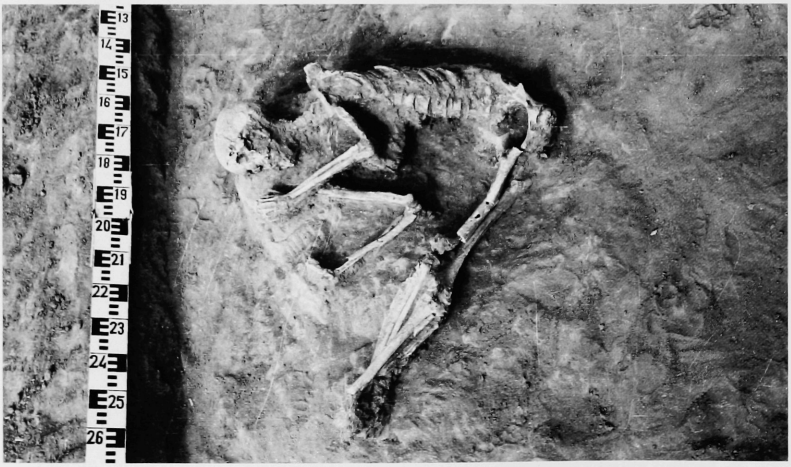
B. Single Elamite inhumation burial in E XVII west of the Tomb-Temple Complex.

A. Elamite burial with funerary objects in F XVIII west of the Tomb-Temple Complex.



B. Elamite burial with funerary objects in G XVIII west of the Tomb-Temple Complex.

A. Sassanian period burial in F XX overlying the Central Courtyard of the Tomb-Temple Complex.



B. Detail of Sassanian burial.

uncat.

11

23

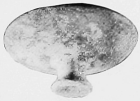
30

53

63

74

84


93

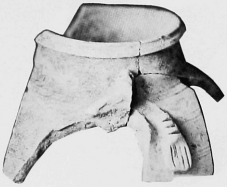
102

114

133

159

162


163

164

165

166

1:5

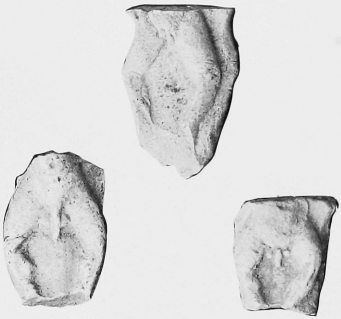
167

168

169

170

171



172

173

174

175

176

177

178

179

Not to scale

180

181

182

183

184

185

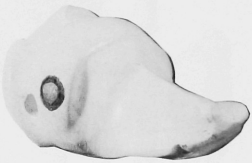
186

187

Not to scale

188

189

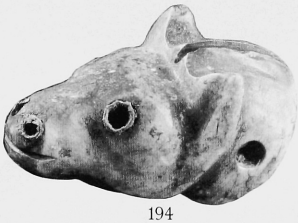


190

191

192

193

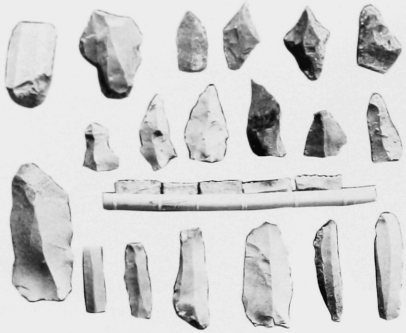


194

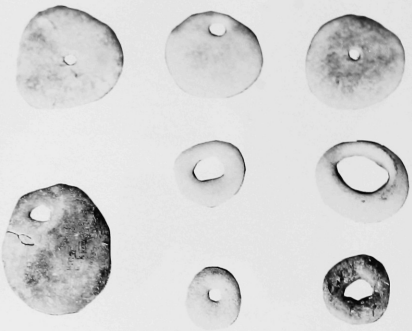
195

196

Not to scale



197



198

199

Not to scale

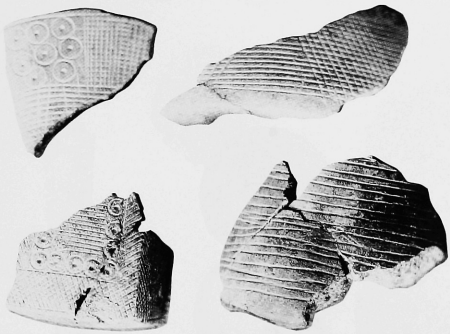
200

201

202

203

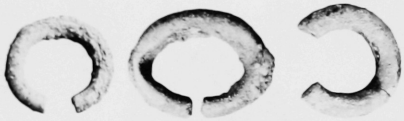
204



205

206

Not to scale



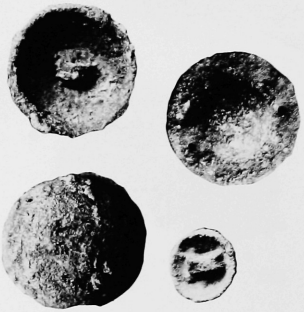
207

208

209

210

211



212

213

Not to scale

214

215

216

217

218

219

220

221

222

223

224

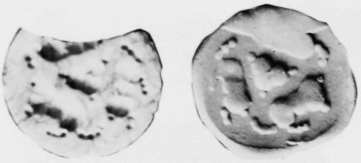
225

226

227

228

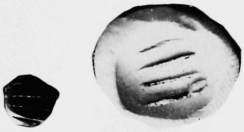
Not to scale



229

230

231



232

233

234 235

Not to scale

236

237

238

239

240

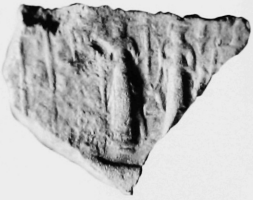
241

242

243

244

245



246

247

248

249

250

251

253

252

254

255

Not to scale

256

257

258

259

260

261

262

263

264

Not to scale

265

266

267

268

269

270

271

272

273

274

Not to scale

276

277

278

279

280

281

282

283

284

285

286

287

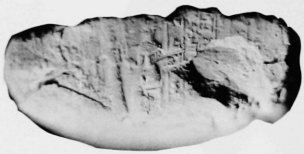
288

289

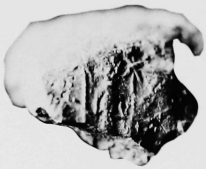
290

Not to scale

291



292



294

295

296

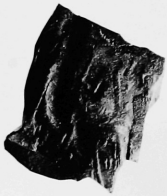
297

298

299

300

301



302

303

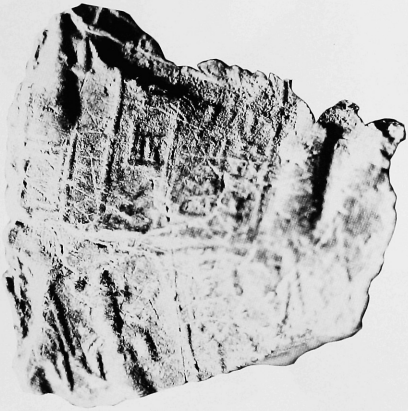
Not to scale

304

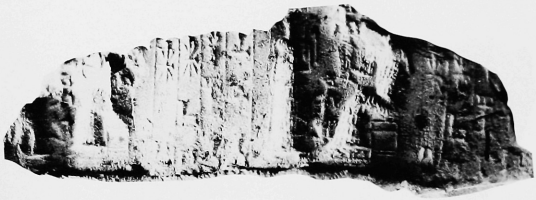
305

306

307



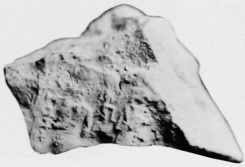
309



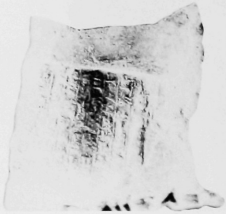
310

Not to scale

310, 314, 256



311



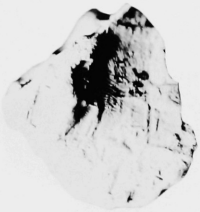
312

313

314

315

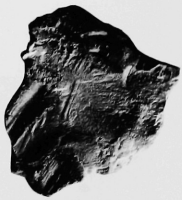
316



317

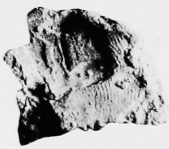
318

319

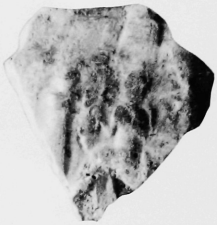


320

322



323

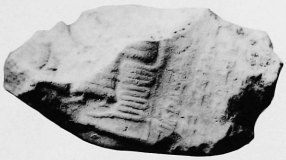


324

325

Not to scale

326



327

328

329

330

331

332

333

334

335

336

337

Not to scale

338

339

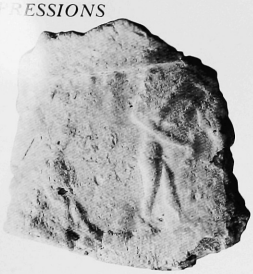
340

341

342

343

Not to scale

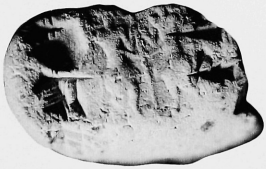


344

345

346

347



348

349

350

351

352

353

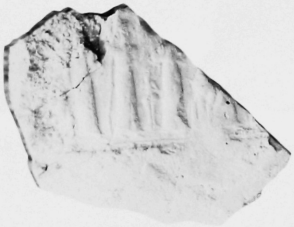
354

355

356

Not to scale

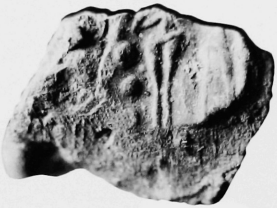
357



358

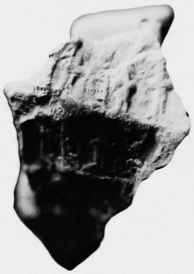
359

360



361

362



363

364

Not to scale

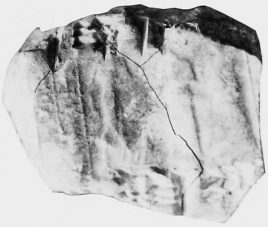
365

366

367

368

369



370

Not to scale

371

372

373

374

375

376

377

378

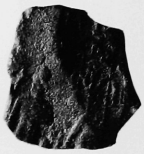
379

380

381

382

383



384

Not to scale

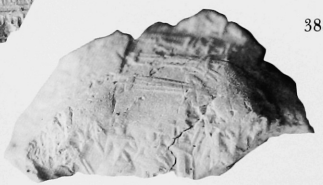
386

387

388

389

390



391

391A

392

393

394

395

396

397

398

399

400

Not to scale

402

403

405

408

409

411

412

413

414

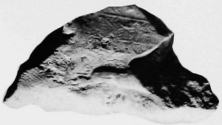
415

416

417

418

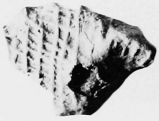
419



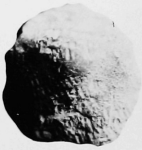
420

421

422



423



424

425

Not to scale

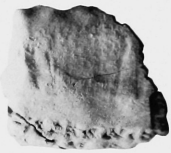
426

427

428

429

430



431

432

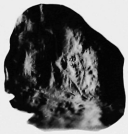
433

434

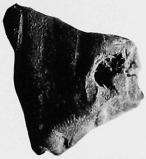
435

436

437



438



439

440

441

442

443

444

445

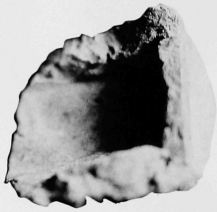
Not to scale

446

447

448

449



450

451

452

453

Not to scale

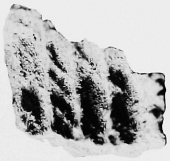
454

455

456

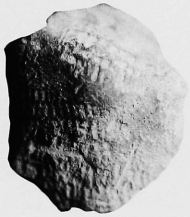
457

458

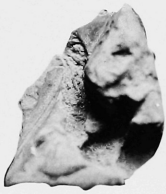


459

460



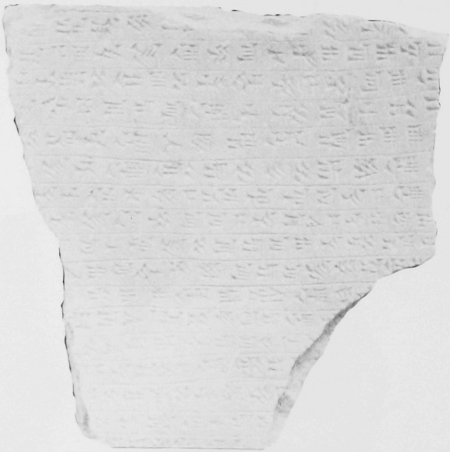
461



462

Not to scale

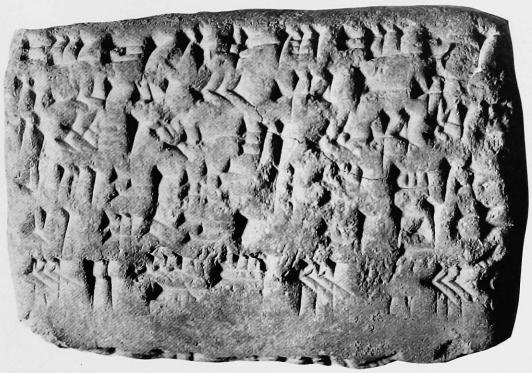
463



465

464

Not to scale



466

467

468

Not to scale

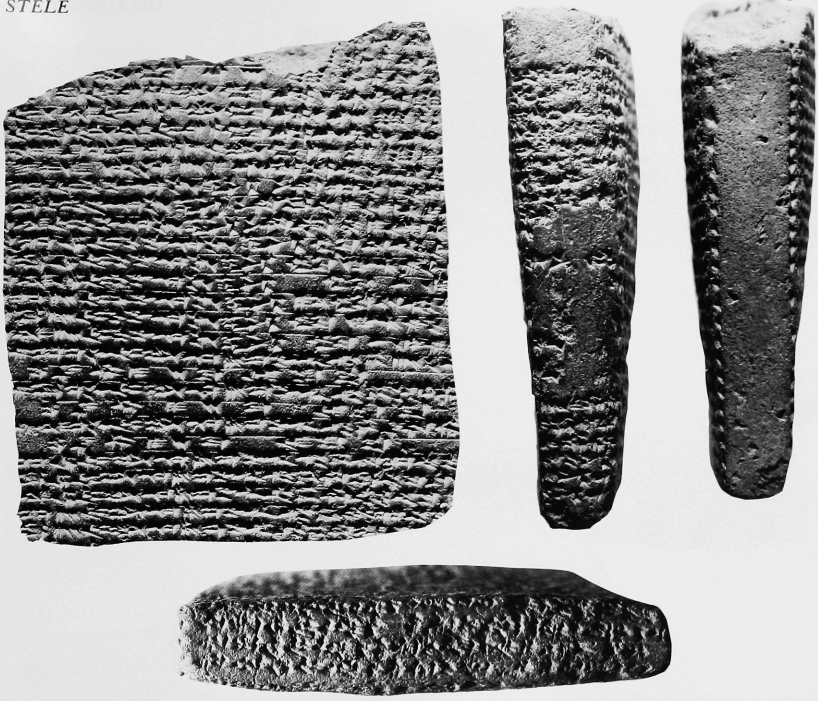
469

470

471

472

Not to scale



473

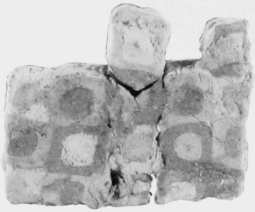
474

Not to scale

475

476

477



478

479

480

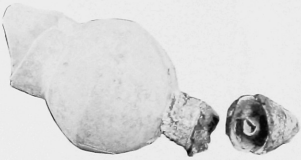
481

482

Not to scale

483

484



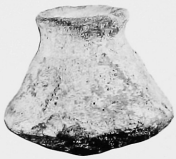
485

486

487

488

489



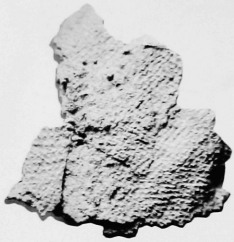
490

491

492

Not to scale

493



494

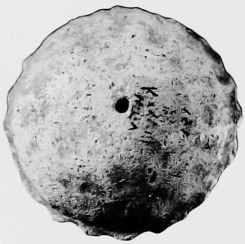
495

496

497

498

499



500

501

502

503

504

Not to scale

ISBN 0-934718-89-X