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**ORIENTAL INSTITUTE  
DISCOVERIES IN IRAQ, 1933/34**

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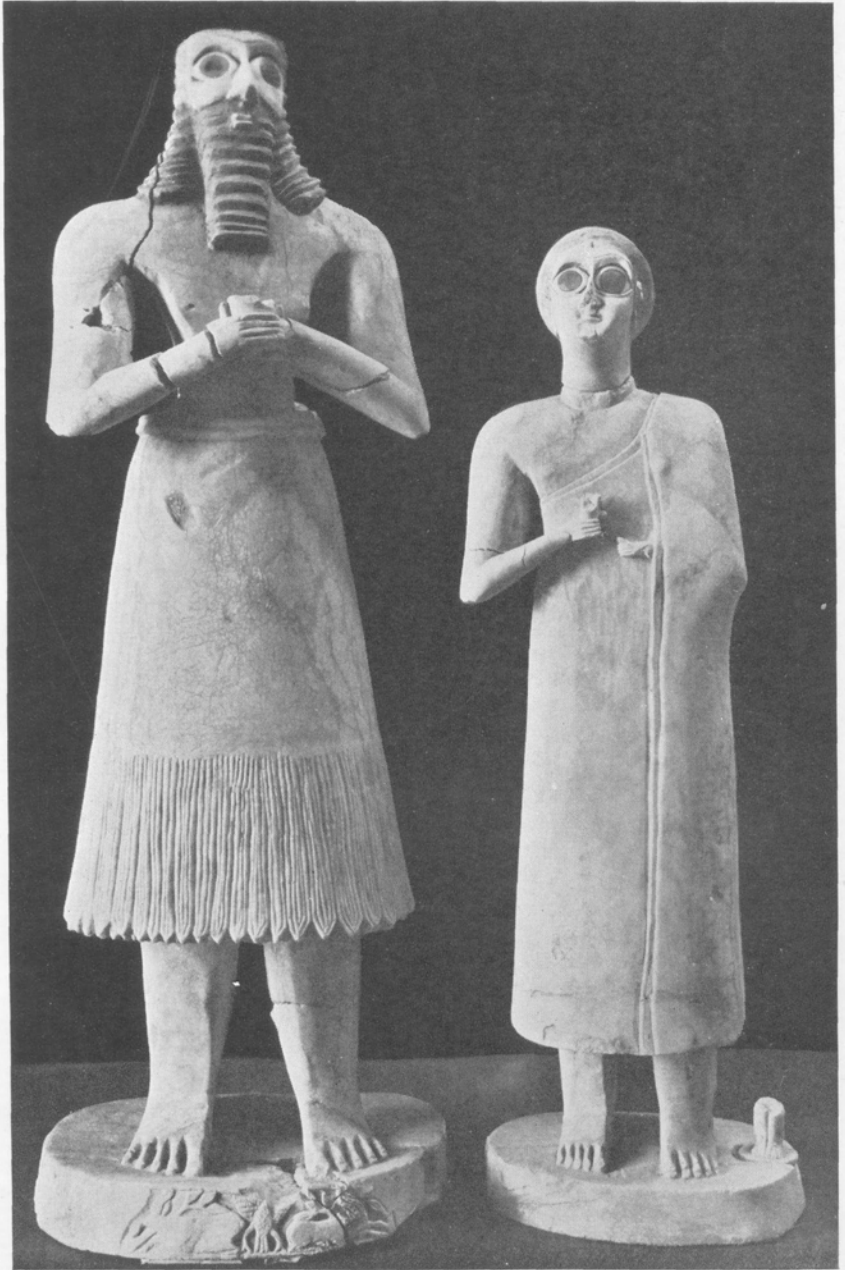
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GOD AND GODDESS. CULT STATUES FROM THE SQUARE  
TEMPLE OF ABU AT TELL ASMAR. SCALE, 1:4

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE  
DISCOVERIES IN IRAQ, 1933/34

FOURTH PRELIMINARY REPORT  
OF THE  
IRAQ EXPEDITION

*By*  
HENRI FRANKFORT

*with a chapter by*  
THORKILD JACOBSEN



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## PREFACE

In order to keep this report within reasonable limits we have described the actual progress of the work in the merest outline. It seemed more important to make known here a representative collection of the monuments discovered at our three sites, especially as it will take some years to prepare them for final publication. Moreover, it seemed unavoidable to discuss the new evidence concerning the much debated chronology of the early dynastic period.

Our staff was reduced by the appointment of Dr. C. W. McEwan as acting field director of the Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute, but the functions of the other members remained unchanged. At Tell Asmar Dr. Jacobsen, assisted by Mr. Harold D. Hill, conducted the work on the town site, and Mr. Lloyd was responsible for the excavation of the temple of Abu. Mr. Delougaz, assisted as before by Mr. Darby and also by Count Alexander zu Eltz, was in charge at Khafaje; Mr. Loud, assisted by Mr. Charles Altman, conducted the work at Khorsabad. Mrs. Jacobsen as photographer and Miss G. Rachel Levy as recorder were enabled to cope with the exceptionally numerous finds by the assistance of Mrs. Lloyd and Miss M. A. Chubb, secretary.

Work started late, about December 5, 1933, and was continued at Tell Asmar and Khafaje until March 17, at Khorsabad until April 15, 1934.

After the closing of camp in the south Dr. and Mrs. Jacobsen and Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd spent three weeks at Hines, a hamlet opposite Bavian on the Gomel River, investigating the head of Sennacherib's canal, where it branches from the river. Excavation there threw an entirely new light on the fallen sculptures at the foot of the well known inscriptions and rounded off the work of the previous season on Sennacherib's aqueduct and canal, a full account of which is in press at the time of writing.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of an isolated Hittite inscription, being unrelated to the subject of that publication, is discussed here by Dr. Jacobsen.

HENRI FRANKFORT

TELL ASMAR  
January, 1935

<sup>1</sup> [Published in May, 1935, as *OIP* Vol. XXIV.—Ed.]



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### ABBREVIATIONS

- OIC* Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
- OIC* No. 13 FRANKFORT, HENRI, JACOBSEN, THORKILD, and PREUSSER, CONRAD. Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The first season's work in Eshnunna, 1930/31 (1932).
- OIC* No. 16 FRANKFORT, HENRI. Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad. Second preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1933).
- OIC* No. 17 FRANKFORT, HENRI. Iraq excavations of the Oriental Institute, 1932/33. Third preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition (1934).
- OIP* Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).



## I

## TELL ASMAR

## WORK IN THE TOWN

Work on the private houses continued in accordance with our aim of obtaining a sequence of occupation layers from the Akkadian period into as early a period as could be reached.<sup>1</sup> But the results were disappointing. In accordance with previous observations made at al-‘Ubad, the houses built of plano-convex bricks were literally empty.

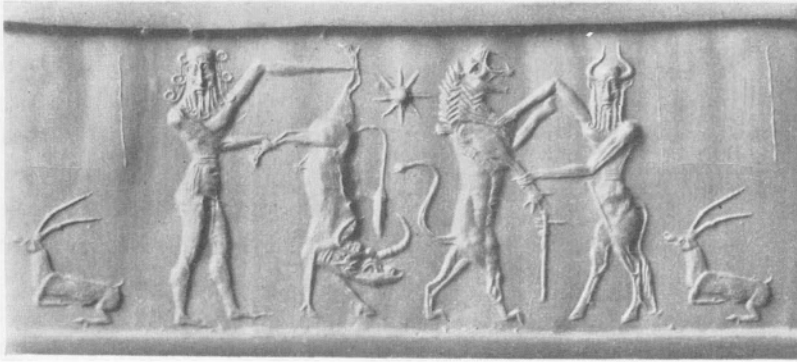


FIG. 1.—Design of an Akkadian cylinder seal from Tell Asmar. The space outlined above the antelope was intended to hold an inscription. Scale, 1:1.

We restricted the area and went down on the north side of Middle Road until we had remains of no less than five early dynastic layers of occupation, with no gain of any sort except the no doubt significant knowledge that the early dynastic people, who lavished works of art of all descriptions on their temples, seemed to live in the greatest austerity. This was in marked contrast with the mode of life in the Sargonid age. When, for example, the rounding-off of our work necessitated taking down a small Akkadian house left over from the previous season, we were at once rewarded by some pots, copper tools, and the magnificent cylinder seal of Figure 1. After several dreary

<sup>1</sup>*OIC* No. 17, pp. 1-2.

weeks had passed, it was decided to discontinue an undertaking which, though methodically sound, led to none but negative results. The work had reached a stage from which it could be resumed at any time in the future; the temple of Abu was, moreover, beginning to give evidence such as we had looked for in the houses. Consequently Dr. Jacobsen divided his one hundred and fifty men into small groups detailed to selected spots on the site in search for E-sikil, the temple of Tishpak, built by Shulgi<sup>2</sup> and rebuilt by Bilalama.<sup>3</sup>

To our astonishment this search has remained fruitless, though in the course of the season a very considerable part of the site was drawn into our network of soundings. It is a disquieting thought that the low hillocks at Tell Asmar emerge from a sea of silt and sand which is several meters deep and which may at almost any point cover ruins of which no surface indication remains. For it has now become almost impossible to maintain that E-sikil stood anywhere near the center of the town.

Our search revealed incidentally that the city extended in Akkadian times much farther south than we had expected. Of the small objects discovered in the Akkadian houses, the most interesting is probably a fragment of a clay tablet which shows on either side the carefully drawn plan of a building (Fig. 2).

Remains of the Larsa period were found north as well as south of the palace of the rulers.<sup>4</sup> A building constructed by Naramsin, son of Ibiq-Adad I, is the most notable of these remains (Figs. 3-4). It lies immediately north of the palace of the rulers and is built actually against the palace inclosure constructed by Urninmar. The three sides of the new building which stood free are elaborately ornamented with recessed niches; yet the plan does not fit a temple, though a small shrine (3 P 27) appears on the palace side. A fragment of the curved top of a commemorative stela was found in the soil; it contained part of a sun disk in relief and probably showed the god Tishpak.<sup>5</sup> The plan of the building (Fig. 3) shows several remarkable

<sup>2</sup> Thorkild Jacobsen, *Philological Notes on Eshnunna and Its Inscriptions* ("Assyriological Studies," No. 6 [Chicago, 1934]) pp. 20-28.

<sup>3</sup> *OIC* No. 13, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *OIC* No. 16, pp. 1-29.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 14 and p. 42.

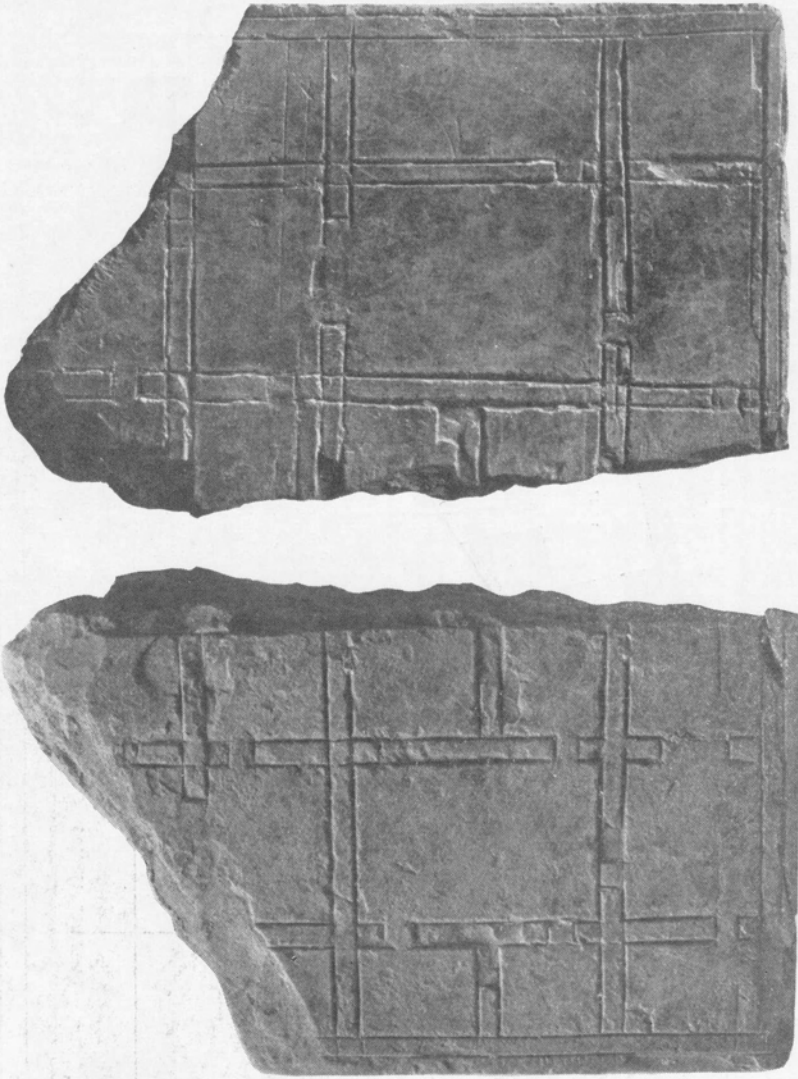


FIG. 2.—Architect's plans on an Akkadian clay tablet. Scale, 1:1

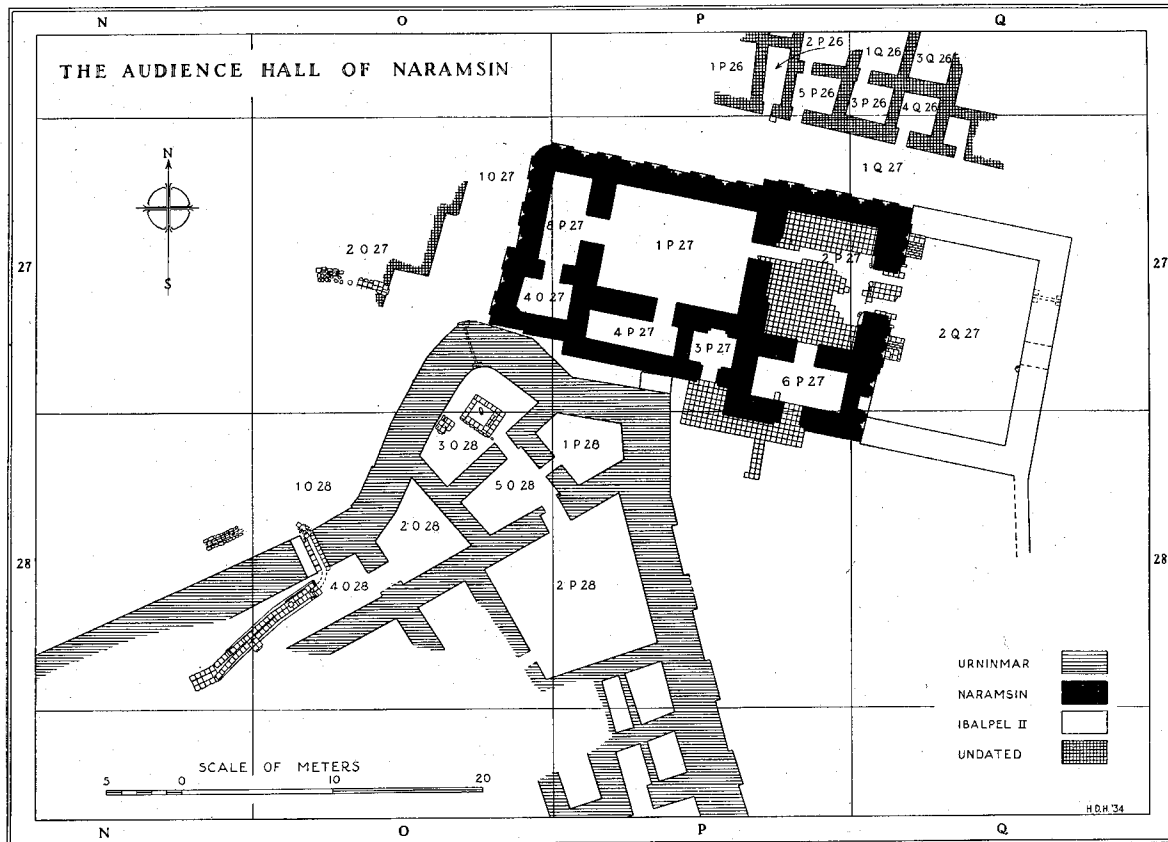


FIG. 3.—Plan of the audience hall of Naramsin and adjacent structures at Tell Asmar. Scale, 1:500

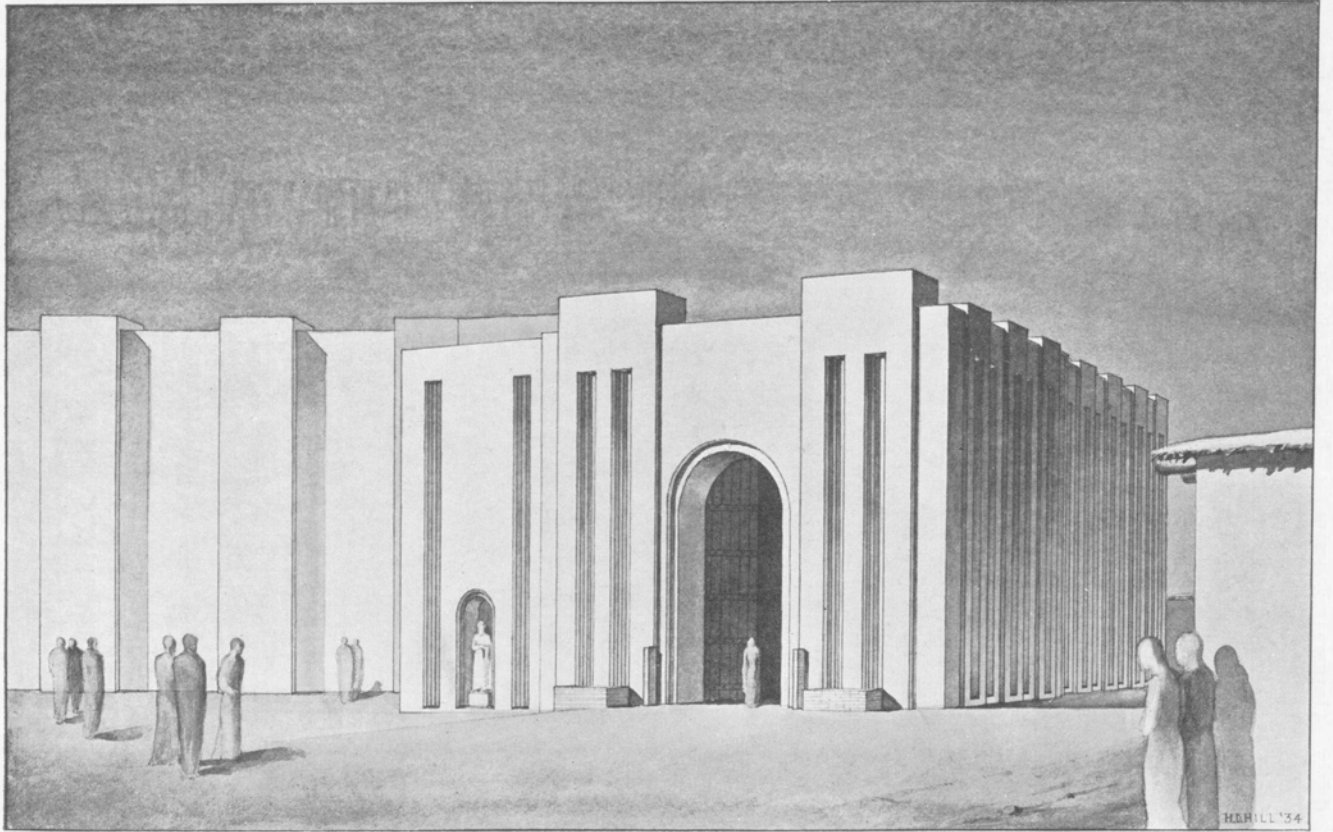


FIG. 4.—Naramsin's audience hall, as restored by Mr. Hill

features. There are two entrances, one from the palace side into 6 P 27 and a larger one from the town side into 2 P 27. The west wall of 2 P 27 contains a broad shallow niche, pierced at its northern end by a doorway. Dr. Jacobsen has suggested that 2 P 27 was an audience hall or court of justice, which the king, after preliminary prayer in the



FIG. 5.—Bronze figure of a woman, perhaps handle of a vessel. Larsa period. Scale, 1:1.

shrine 3 P 27, would enter through 6 P 27 to take his seat in the shallow niche. Then petitioners and others could be admitted through the main entrance. The rooms behind the niche perhaps served as robing chambers. In the niche at the southern end of the façade Mr. Hill has restored a statue of the king (see Fig. 4); in this connection it should be remembered that the builder, Naramsin, was deified in his lifetime.<sup>6</sup>

The most important post-Sargonid work of art (Fig. 5) so far discovered at Tell Asmar unfortunately cannot be ascribed to a definite

<sup>6</sup> *OIC* No. 13, p. 47.



context, since it turned up in surface soil. It belongs, however, almost certainly to the Larsa period. It is a squatting figure of a nude woman wearing a multiple necklace and rendered in a remarkably free asymmetrical pose. It may have served as the handle of a bronze vessel. At the back there is a horizontal ridge, and three rivets for fastening it to another object are still to be seen beneath the feet.

#### THE TEMPLE OF ABU

In the previous season (1932/33) we had uncovered an Akkadian and an early dynastic version of the temple of Abu, both built on the same plan with minor differences.<sup>7</sup> This year we went down for another meter in this latest phase of the early dynastic building and found several pieces of sculpture, very much damaged but of great importance for dating purposes. Most of these were buried in the open space to the north in front of the temple, but some were found in the filling separating two successive floors of the building itself. Very instructive was the discovery of a plaque (Fig. 6), one half of which was found within the sanctuary and the other in the forecourt (note difference in state of preservation), thus enabling us to check the relationship of levels inside and outside the temple.

We call the building just discussed the "Single-Shrine Temple" to distinguish it from earlier buildings, which, however, might equally well be considered earlier stages in the history of the same sanctuary, the whole series being dedicated to Abu,<sup>7a</sup> the god of fertility. Since, however, the more important changes of plan which we can distinguish in its long history seem to correspond with changes in contemporary civilization as a whole, it is advisable to use distinctive names for the successive stages of the sanctuary. Its latest phase, the Single-Shrine Temple, existed as we have seen with minor changes from early dynastic into Akkadian times and probably up to the very end of Sargon's dynasty.

Underneath its foundations a new alignment of walls appeared (Fig. 7). This earlier stage, which we call the "Square Temple," is shown in

<sup>7</sup> *OIC* No. 17, pp. 40-46.

<sup>7a</sup> M. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'assyriologie* XXXII (1935) 150 suggests the reading Abbu.

Figures 8 and 9.<sup>8</sup> Omitting the story of how the plan was gradually recovered, we may at once turn to its arrangement. The entrance is



FIG. 6.—Stone plaque from the Single-Shrine Temple of Abu at Tell Asmar. Scale, 3:7.

from the north, as was the case with the Single-Shrine Temple, but the plan of the older building is much more complicated. The entrance lobby contains a staircase, leading to the roof, and a screen wall to hide the interior from the gaze of passers-by. The lobby gives access

<sup>8</sup> Note north at bottom in Fig. 9. The "section line" there is the same as that marked on the later temple plan in Fig. 89, where north is at top.

to a central room containing a round base of mud brick. To the left of one entering the central room is a small room paved with baked

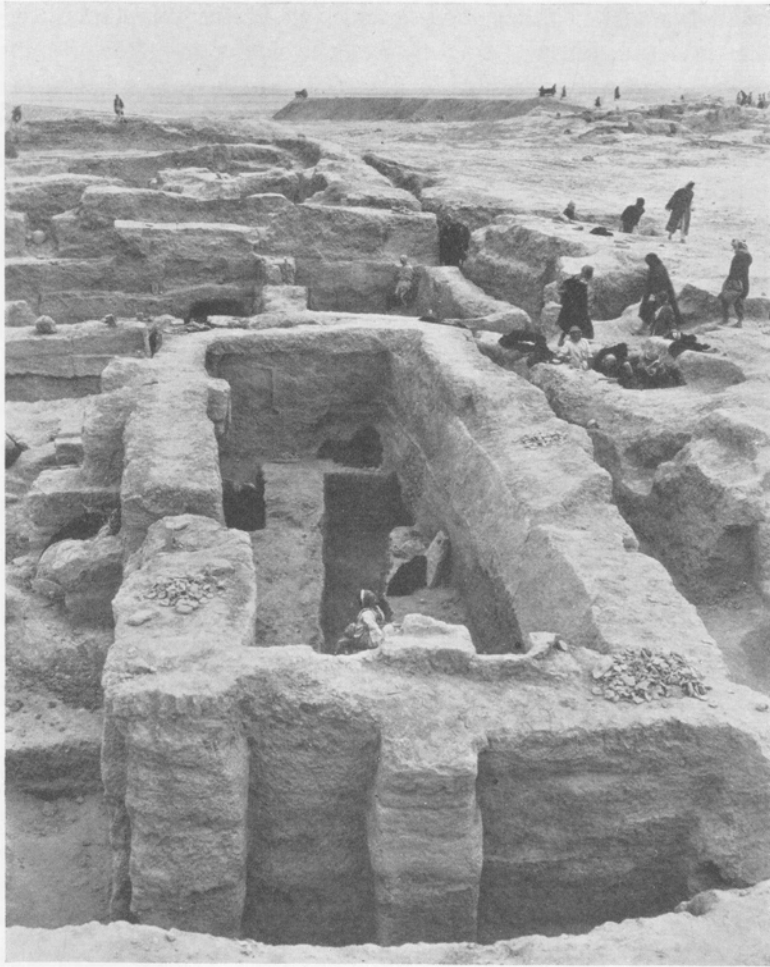


FIG. 7.—The Single-Shrine Temple from the west, with earlier walls of the Square Temple appearing below.

plano-convex bricks covered with bitumen and containing a bitumen-lined sink (Fig. 10) in the northeast corner. Bitumen trodden into the pavement of the central room forms a path across it and suggests

that the bitumen-lined room was used by worshipers for foot-washing and perhaps other ablutions before they entered the shrines.

In general layout the three shrines of the Square Temple resemble one another and also that of the later Single-Shrine Temple; but they differ in detail. Shrine I contained at one side of the altar or statue base a bitumen-lined runnel leading to a small shallow basin, also lined with bitumen, arranged in the floor. In front of the altar there was a simple mud-lined hearth built of bricks. This shrine we believe



FIG. 8.—Shrines I and II of the Square Temple of Abu at Tell Asmar

to have been dedicated to the mother goddess, since beside the altar were buried not only beads, pendants, and stone vases, but also a round copper mirror.

The remaining two shrines have a somewhat different type of altar or pedestal. In Shrine II four square brick pillars, two of which were built against the wall (see Fig. 8), were placed in front of the pedestal. They were too much damaged by later constructions to allow us to judge their termination. The idea that they supported a screen in front of the pedestal seems unlikely in view of similar features at Khafaje, two of which have retained even their plaster covering and are definitely dome-shaped at the top (see p. 36 and Fig. 38). At

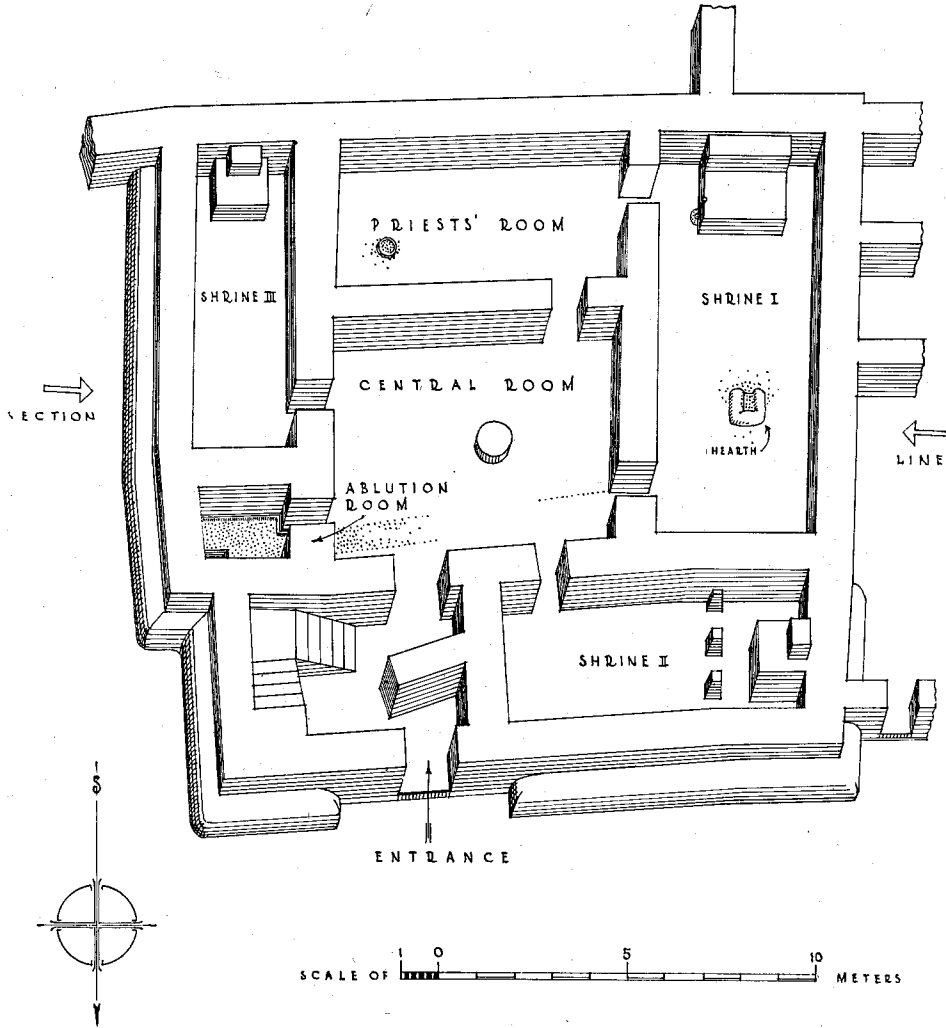


FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Temple. Scale, 1:200



FIG. 10.—Bitumen-lined sink in abluion room of the Square Temple

Khafaje, moreover, similar bases occur in the open not only in the temple oval but also in the central court of the temple of Sin (see Fig. 45). They may conceivably have served as offering-tables. In Shrine II beside the altar a hoard of twelve wonderfully preserved statues (see pp. 55-64) was found (Fig. 11). Deepest in the hole in which they had been carefully placed were one of the great mother goddess and one of the god of fertility (Fig. 12). In Shrine III only a fragmentary stone head of exceptional size (10 cm. in diameter) was found.

A remarkable feature of this Square Temple is the *kisu* or retaining wall (Figs. 9 and 13) on the east, north, and part of the west side, where it does not touch other buildings. It shows the early origin of many such devices.<sup>9</sup>

To continue our outline account of the excavations, at this point it was discovered that the Square Temple was not actually founded according to the plan we have just described. For a very short period it had existed with a single shrine, underneath Shrine I, the entrance into which from an open court (where the central room stood later) was ornamented with a pair of small buttresses. Thus the last phase of the Abu sanctuary (the Single-Shrine Temple of late early dynastic and Akkadian times) had reverted to a plan which had been in existence before the more elaborate Square Temple was founded.

Underneath the central room of the Square Temple we found remains of a yet earlier stage of the building. This again possessed one principal shrine (Fig. 14), with a pedestal built against the eastern wall, the only orientation not utilized in the later shrines. Another, smaller shrine was found in the northwest corner. This building, which we call the "Archaic Shrine," is not yet sufficiently explored to enable us to give a plan or to describe it in detail. It is, however, certain that it is built of plano-convex bricks, so that the remains of buildings of that material here reach a depth of more than 6 meters.

It is important for purposes of dating and comparison to give the reader an idea of the pottery found in the successive stages of the temple of Abu. In the Single-Shrine Temple we found besides a ritual vase with two spouts some "Rillentöpfe," such as are well known

<sup>9</sup> See *OIC* No. 16, Figs. 3 and 6.



FIG. 11.—Hoard of statues as found in Shrine II of the Square Temple





FIG. 12.—The god and goddess at the bottom of the hoard

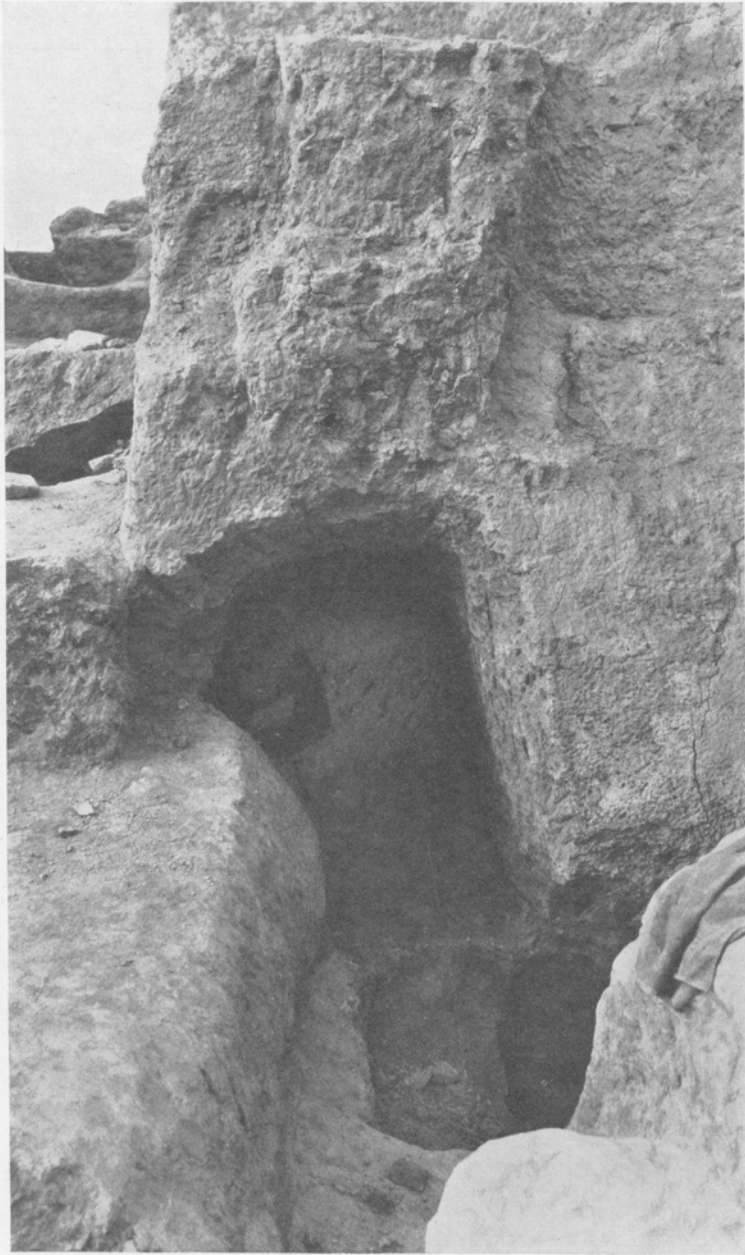


FIG. 13.—Rounded northeast corner of retaining wall of the Square Temple, traced by tunneling.



FIG. 14.—Archaic Shrine of the temple of Abu at Tell Asmar

from Fara and Assur, and an unmistakable fragment of a "fruit stand" decorated with hatched lines (Fig. 15).

In the Square Temple there appeared a number of perforated stands (Fig. 16), which provide a link with the sites just named. But the majority of the pottery consisted of goblets (Fig. 17 A) and reserved-slip ware (Fig. 17 B). Both types are well known from Ur, where they antedate in a completely unequivocal manner the royal cemetery and

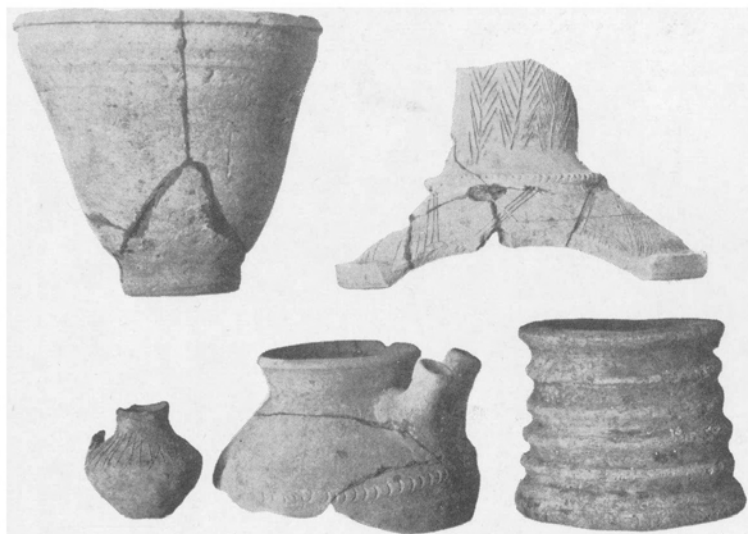


FIG. 15.—Pottery from the Single-Shrine Temple. Scale, 1:6

follow polychrome Jemdet Nasr pottery.<sup>10</sup> The goblet type is known from Kish also.<sup>11</sup>

In the Archaic Shrine goblets and reserved-slip ware were found, as well as some new, rather elaborate types of pottery (Fig. 18) and finally some very large pots with narrow necks and spouts (Fig. 19). Very occasionally a small sherd of polychrome Jemdet Nasr pottery, from a lower layer, was found in the débris.

It was obviously important to get more information about the stratification, and we therefore sank two shafts which we intended to keep at all times a few stages ahead of the slow and careful progress

<sup>10</sup> L. C. Woolley in *Antiquaries Journal* X (1930) 331 and 339.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 331.

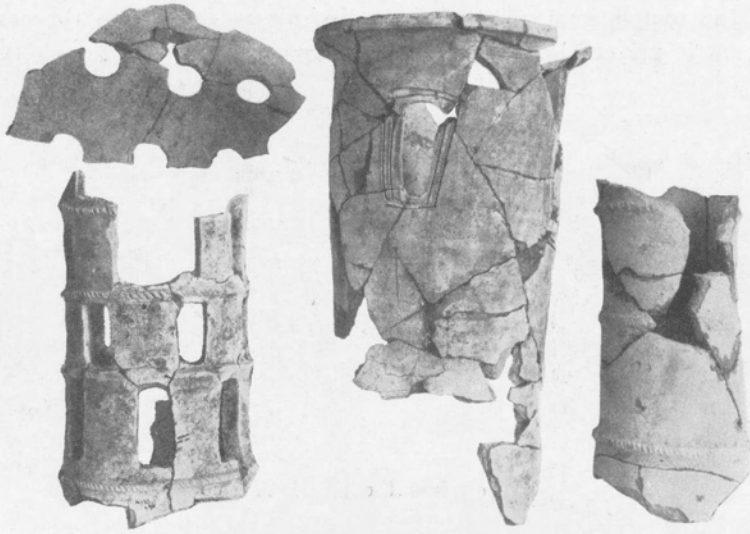


FIG. 16.—Pottery from the Square Temple. Scale, 1:6

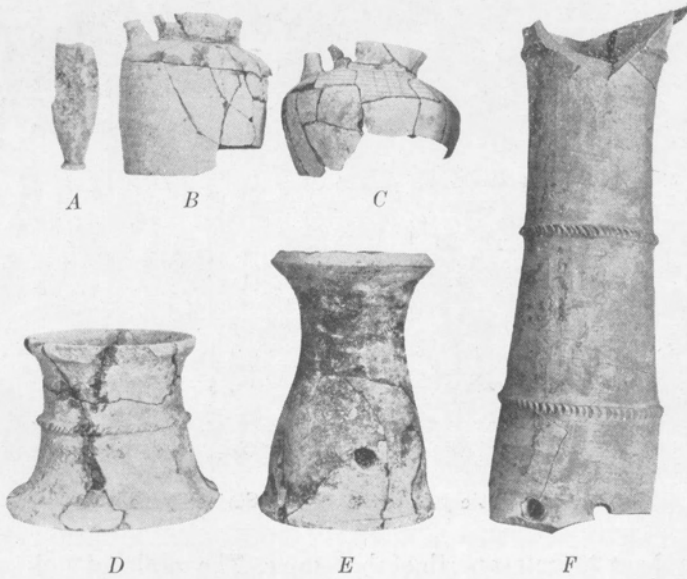


FIG. 17.—Pottery from the Square Temple. Scale, 1:8

of the temple area. One of these shafts was sunk from the early dynastic private houses about 80 meters south of the temple, the

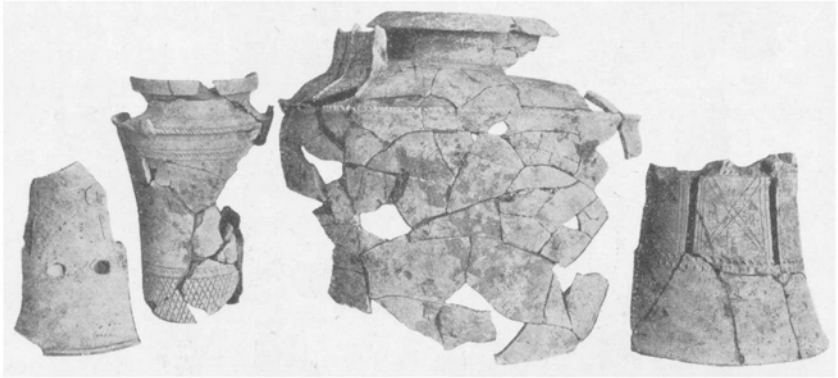


FIG. 18.—Pottery from the Archaic Shrine. Scale, 1:9



FIG. 19.—Pottery from the Archaic Shrine. Scale, 1:12

other about 20 meters north of the temple. The results of both soundings were entirely in keeping with those made at the temple—the same succession of fabrics in each layer. Moreover, we went down several

meters below the deepest level reached in the temple and found polychrome Jemdet Nasr pottery predominating.

From the shaft in the house area we obtained, moreover, one sherd (Fig. 20) of an intrusive northern fabric, called "Ninevite 5" by Malloyan in his work at Nineveh<sup>12</sup> and "chalice ware" by Speiser in his work at Tepe Gawra and Tell Billah.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately the head of the goat is lost, but the design and the glossy mauve paint are unmistak-

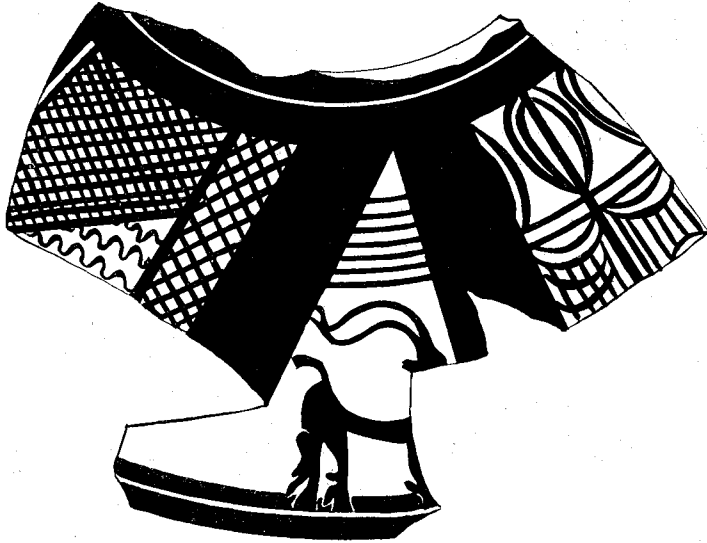


FIG. 20.—A sherd of "Ninevite 5" ware. Scale, 1:2

able. It is interesting to find this sherd in a context of known southern wares such as the reserved-slip ware and the goblets. Immediately underneath we get a predominance of Jemdet Nasr pottery and a little lower still a semi-pictographic tablet, so that "Ninevite 5" seems to be contemporaneous with the earliest part of the early dynastic period.

The shaft north of the temple produced two objects worth mentioning at the level of our Square Temple. One is a bowl of pinkish white, close-grained limestone (Fig. 21), with a design for which I do not know a parallel. The other (Fig. 22) is an exceptionally fine amulet

<sup>12</sup> *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XX (1933) 127-33 and 170-75.

<sup>13</sup> *Museum Journal* XXIII (1933) 265-67.





FIG. 21.—Pinkish white limestone bowl from the level of the Square Temple. Scale, 3:5.



FIG. 22.—Translucent serpentine amulet ("stamp seal") from the level of the Square Temple. Scale, 1:1.



of translucent serpentine, cut in the shape of a lion's head and engraved on the underside with a remarkably free design of an antelope and a flowering twig. On the narrow side is a scorpion, while a goat's head is cut on the lion's cheek.

#### OBJECTS OTHER THAN STATUES FROM THE SQUARE TEMPLE

One plaque (Fig. 6) had been found in the Single-Shrine Temple. Some coarsely carved fragments of a second plaque (Fig. 23) turned

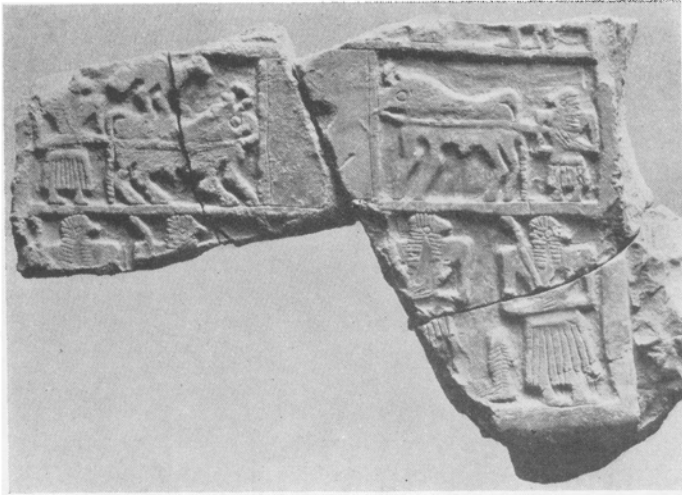


FIG. 23.—Coarsely carved plaque from the Square Temple. Scale, 2:5

up in the Square Temple. The traces of the top row show remains of a seated figure. There is no hole in the center, though such holes are usual in the later part of the early dynastic period. In the second row one of the two bulls which men are holding by ropes is surmounted by a bird. A row of bearded figures carrying staves fills the bottom row. The relief on fragments of a third plaque (Fig. 24) is but little less coarse; but, lest it be thought that quality can serve as an indication of date, we shall turn to the several deposits of objects found in Shrine I. Some of these objects were found buried on the western side of the pedestal, others east of it in front of the doorway from the space which in Figure 9 is labeled "priests' room" for want of a better

designation. Moreover, some were found actually inside the brickwork of the upper part of the pedestal, suggesting that all these objects were discarded when the Square Temple, some time after its foundation, was renovated.

A group of mother-of-pearl inlays (Fig. 25) differs from those known from Kish, Ur, and Abu Kemal in the way in which the men's hair is dressed. The long lock of the left-hand figure and the hair and

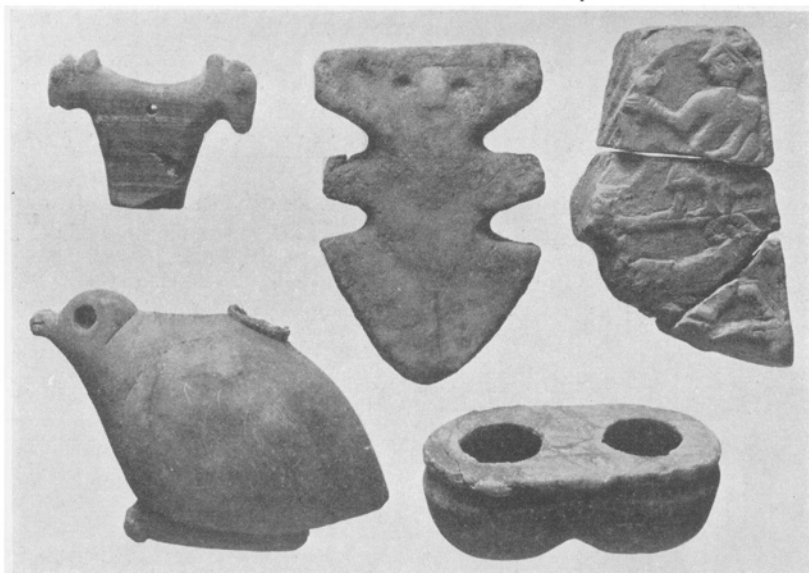


FIG. 24.—Objects from the Square Temple. Scale, about 1:2

beard of his neighbor were no doubt picked out with bitumen, the material that also served presumably to fasten the figures onto a background of dark stone.<sup>14</sup> The upper right-hand figure is cut from shell and is curved; it can therefore only have served to ornament a vase. Here again the eyes had been inlaid.

The vivid effect which can be obtained by inlaying is well shown by the stone forepart of a bull (Fig. 26) which once served as terminal to an arm rest of a throne. A square dowel hole at the back cannot be seen in our figure, but the transverse hole through which a fastening

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 72.

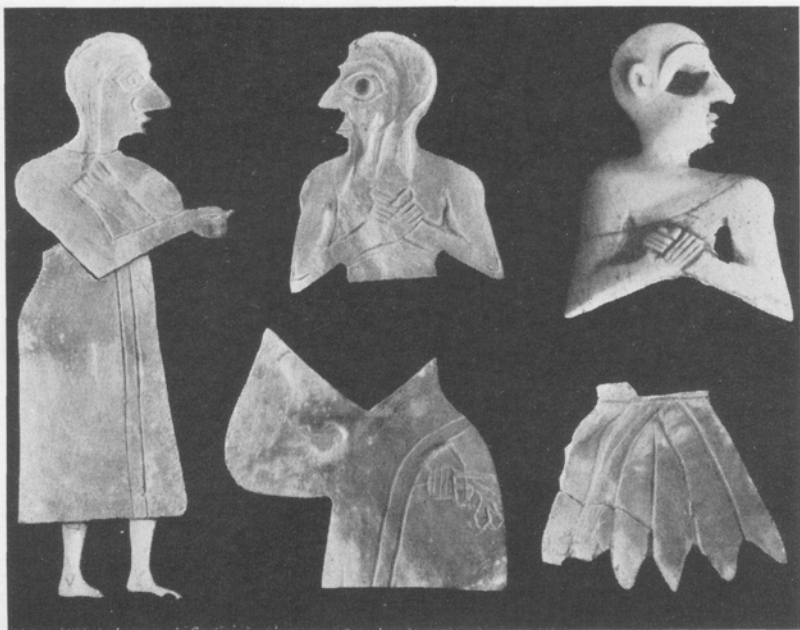


FIG. 25.—Mother-of-pearl inlays from the Square Temple. Scale, 4:5



FIG. 26.—Arm rest in shape of a bull, from the Square Temple. Scale, 4:5

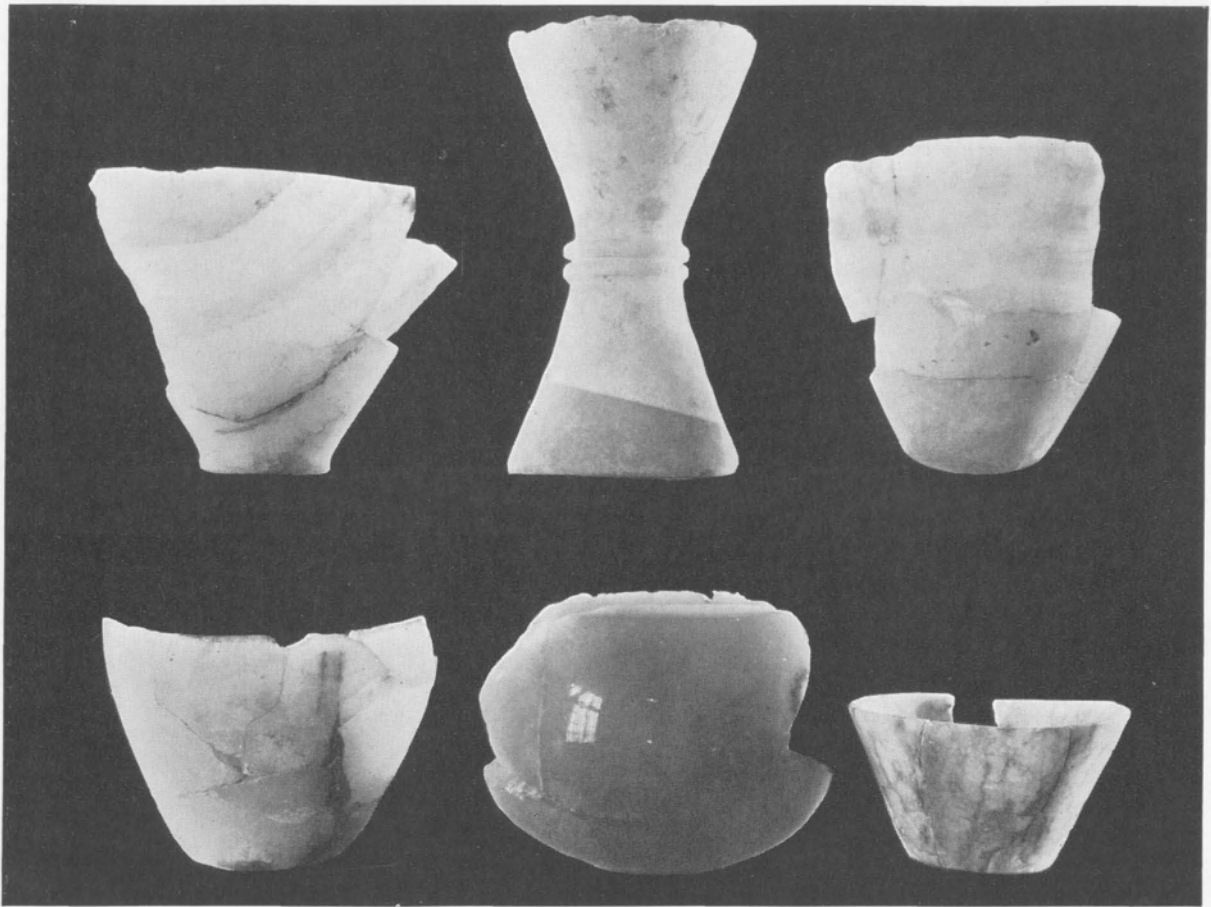


FIG. 27.—Stone vessels from the Square Temple. Scale, 2:7

peg could be driven shows clearly. Very remarkable is the triangular piece of inlay on the forehead, since it recalls the marking of the Apis bull in Egypt. Other stonework in the round consists of numerous fragmentary bowls of alabaster, serpentine, and other stones. The magnificence of this collection can hardly be rendered in black and white, although Figure 27 may suggest it to some degree. A double vase and a bird-shaped vase (Fig. 24) are interesting as links with the preceding as well as with the succeeding period. A very interesting

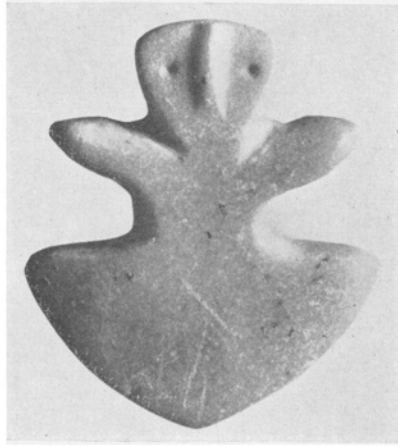


FIG. 28.—Mother-goddess statuette from the Square Temple. Scale, 1:1

amulet with two antithetical calf heads (Fig. 24, upper left-hand corner) is paralleled, as Professor Speiser informs me, among the finds at Tepe Gawra and Tell Billah.

In the middle of Figure 24 is a coarse statuette of the mother goddess, and a better worked example of the type is seen in Figure 28. In the previous season we had obtained one at Khafaje, and in publishing it I pointed out its northern—namely Anatolian, Caucasian, and Cycladic—connections.<sup>15</sup> Now the Khafaje figurine and the better worked of the Tell Asmar figures found this year are both made of a bluish white marble not used otherwise at our sites, while the coarse figurine is made in the common yellow “alabaster.” Surely this is best explained by assuming the latter to be a local imitation of sacred

<sup>15</sup> *OIC* No. 17, pp. 71 and 73 and Fig. 63.

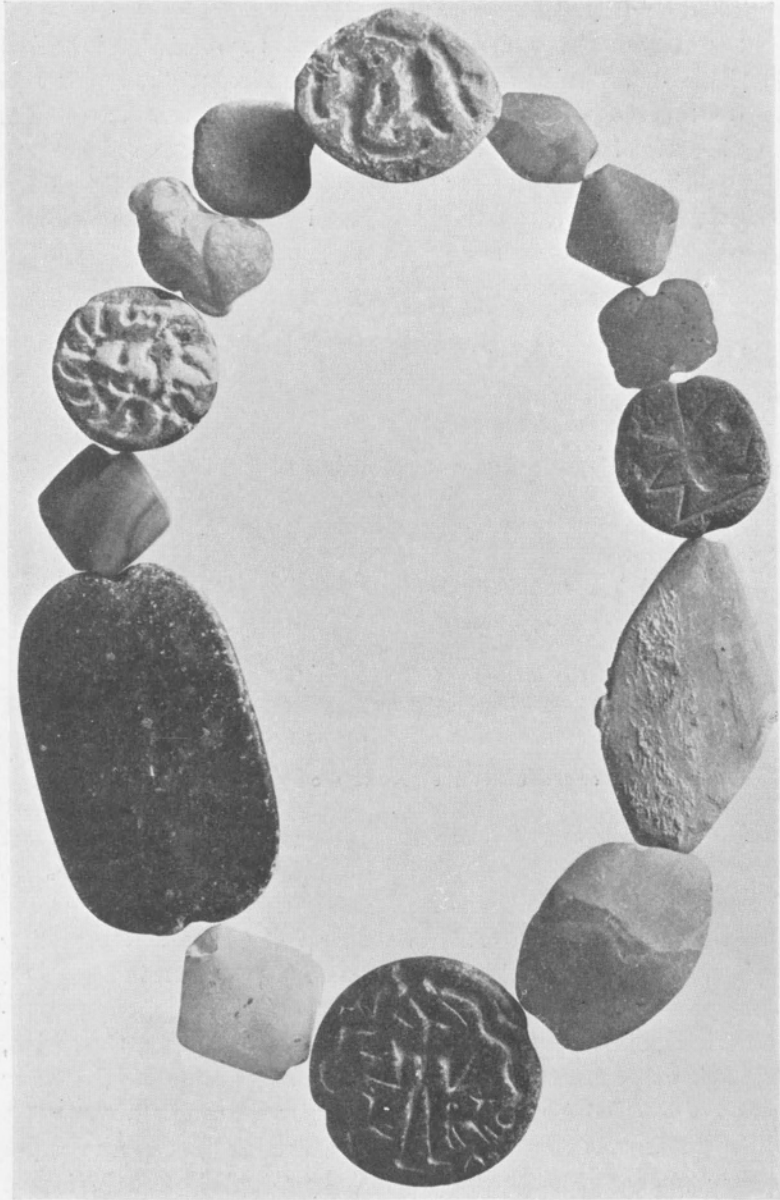


FIG. 29.—Beads and pectoral from the Square Temple. Scale, 1:2

objects imported from abroad. In publishing the Khafaje example I stated that the type was "not otherwise known in Mesopotamia."<sup>16</sup> This seems to hold good for southern Mesopotamia but not for the north. Professor Speiser and Mr. R. F. S. Starr have kindly written to me that similar figurines occur at Tepe Gawra, Tell Billah, and Nuzi; these specimens are not yet published. The fact that at those three intermediate stations on the road which leads from the Armenian



FIG. 30.—Impression of pectoral from the Square Temple. Scale, 1:1.



FIG. 31.—White stone amulet from Tell Gomel. Scale, 1:1.

mountains to Eshnunna figurines of this type have been found lends substance to the suggestion of a northern connection.

Behind this connection looms the larger problem whether mere trade suffices to explain the presence of these figurines or whether the close relationships with the Highland Zone existing in historical times<sup>17</sup> are also to be assumed for the early period with which we are now dealing. The question is of paramount importance, since its answer will decide to what extent our discoveries may be labeled "Sumerian." Another object bears on the same problem. It is a pectoral of mottled green and black stone, shown in Figure 29 with the objects among which it was found. An impression of it is given in

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 71.

<sup>17</sup> *OIC* No. 13, pp. 25-41.



Figure 30. The style of the figures portrayed on it, especially the pointed head of the man and the attitude of the dogs, and the comb-shaped ornaments in the field recall strongly designs on bowls from Susa I. The comparison would be gratuitous (since such bowls are many centuries older than the early dynastic period in Mesopotamia) if it were not certain that the Iranian Highland culture of which they are but the best known exponents survived in Persia down to early dynastic times.<sup>18</sup>



FIG. 32.—Impression of "stamp seal" at right in Figure 29. Scale, 1:1.

Likewise pertinent to our discus-



FIG. 33.—Impressions of cylinder seals from the Square Temple. Scale, 2:3

sion is a lentoid amulet of white stone (Fig. 31) which we obtained on the Gomel River, at Tell Gomel, when exploring that region in connection with Sennacherib's canal in the foothills of the Kurdish mountains.<sup>19</sup> Its style of drawing, especially in the figure of the man

<sup>18</sup> Cf. H. Frankfort, *Archeology and the Sumerian Problem* ("Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 4 [Chicago, 1932]) pp. 71-72.

<sup>19</sup> See Jacobsen and Lloyd, *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan* (*OIP XXIV* [1935]), esp. map on p. 32.



with pointed head, is very similar to that of the pectoral. Purely Mesopotamian in character, however, are most of the objects with which the pectoral was found (i.e., the beads, two of the so-called "stamp seals," and the alabaster pendant of a bearded bull, all in Fig. 29). Only the "stamp seal" at the right in Figure 29 is somewhat unusual. Its impression is shown in Figure 32.

The cylinder seals illustrated in Figure 33, also from Shrine I of the Square Temple, are purely Mesopotamian. The fragment in the lower right-hand corner calls for comment.<sup>20</sup> The central figure, which grasps



FIG. 34.—Bone figure of Imdugud. Scale, 1:1

an animal with either claw, seems to be none other than the lion-headed eagle Imdugud,<sup>21</sup> provided, however, with human legs draped with a kilt, such as appears in inlays from Kish, tucked into the girle to free the legs. There are two other occurrences of Imdugud in the Square Temple. He is engraved on a statue base (see Fig. 64) and is rendered in the round, with outstretched wings, in the interesting bone amulet of Figure 34.<sup>22</sup>

Where not otherwise stated, the foregoing objects come from Shrine I, which we have provisionally ascribed to the service of the mother goddess.

<sup>20</sup> There is a parallel for this seal in Ernst Heinrich, *Fara* (Berlin, 1931) Pl. 54 f.

<sup>21</sup> The name was formerly read as *Imgi*.

<sup>22</sup> For similar figures see Mrs E. Douglas Van Buren, "A problem of early Sumerian art," *Archiv für Orientforschung* X (1935) 237-51, esp. pp. 238-40.

## II

## KHAFAJE

## THE TEMPLE OVAL

In this, our fourth season, the investigation of the Temple Oval<sup>1</sup> was concluded, and we now possess such detailed information that a complete reconstruction containing very little hypothetical matter has been drawn by Mr. Darby. It will appear in the final publication, which is being prepared for press at the time of writing. We summarize the results below.

The Oval is founded on a thick bed of sand; we descended over 8 meters below the surface in two shafts without reaching its lower limit. Yet there is no question of a natural deposit, since at no point where we penetrated to this depth outside the Oval was sand found, and in fact the huge pit excavated by the ancient builders had cut through older walls of plano-convex bricks, the remains of which are still extant. Thus we found that the site had been prepared for the construction of the sanctuary by truly gigantic labors. The Oval covers an area of more than three-quarters of an acre, so that the excavation and the filling of clean sandy soil subsequently brought there represent a volume of not less than 64,000 cubic meters, the equivalent of 6½ million basket loads as soil is carried nowadays. The plan of the foundations built upon this sand conformed almost entirely to that of the walls which they supported, but the space inclosed by the foundations was filled to a height of about 1.20 meters with lumps of clay and crude plano-convex bricks to form an artificial platform.

The plan appears at all times to have comprised two inclosure walls and also House D, the latter having originally been accessible from the court between the outer and inner gates of the Oval. Later this entrance was blocked and a new one made, accessible from the town.

The outer inclosure wall was found to have been originally a comparatively thin wall without buttresses (Fig. 35). These appear in the

<sup>1</sup> *OIC* No. 16, pp. 62 ff.



FIG. 35.—Outer inclosure wall of the Khafaje Temple Oval. Northern part, from northwest

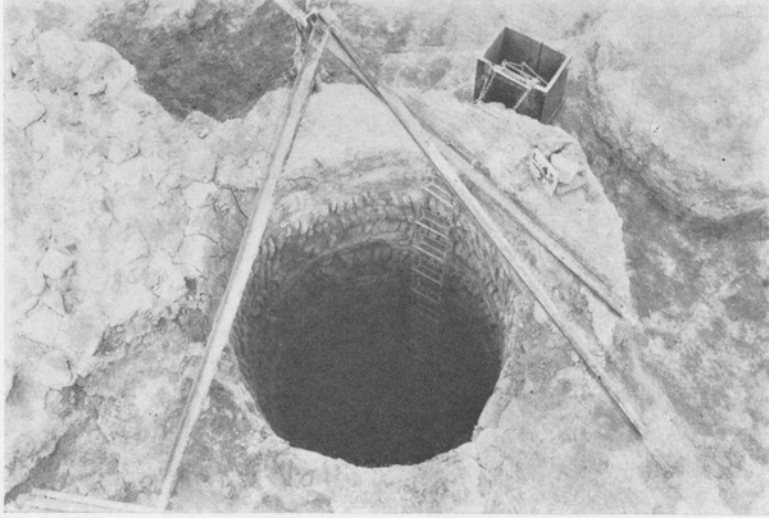


FIG. 36.—Deep well of baked plano-convex bricks in court of the Temple Oval



FIG. 37.—Ancient footprints in court of the Temple Oval

next period, while the third and last period, scantily preserved, is represented by the "straightened" wall.<sup>2</sup> In the courtyard in front of

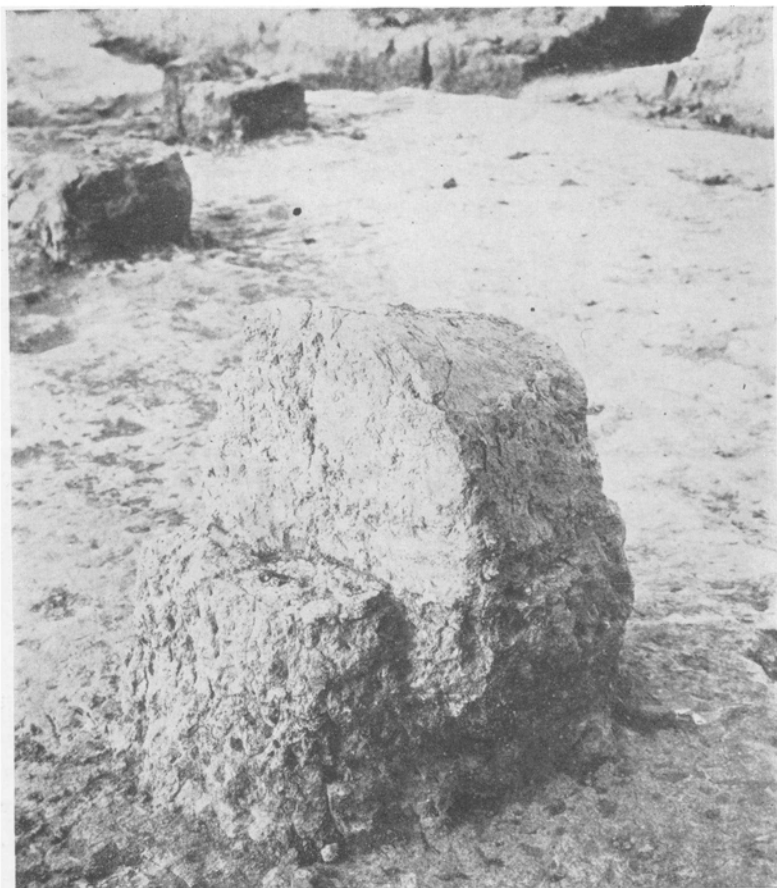


FIG. 38.—Brick constructions in court of the Temple Oval. The domed top of that in foreground is still coated with its original mud plaster.

the temple platform, which seemed to consist of two parts differing in date, a number of structures existed at all periods.<sup>3</sup> One interesting feature is a deep well of baked plano-convex bricks (Fig. 36). The part of the courtyard immediately in front of the temple platform had

<sup>2</sup> See *OIC* No. 16, pp. 72-73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 40.

been trampled by sheep and men in wet weather some five thousand years ago, and our now highly trained workmen were able to clear away the superimposed débris, leaving exposed large areas of dried mud, where footprints of men and beasts were clearly discernible (Fig. 37). There can be no doubt that this court was open to the sky. It also seems probable that the square brick pillars found in it were offering-tables, especially since the domed shape of the two pillars (one shown in Fig. 38) which have retained their original plaster and must therefore be complete excludes assumption that these pillars

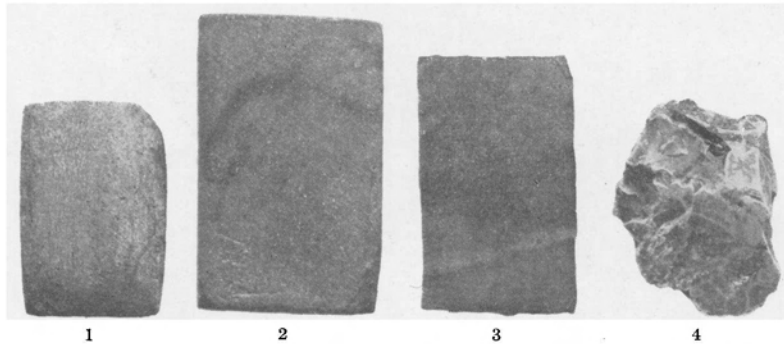


FIG. 39.—Foundation deposit of lapis lazuli and limestone model bricks, gold foil, and a stone. Scale, 1:1.

served as supports for poles or the like. Against the platform was an open-air altar.<sup>4</sup> Underneath the northern and western corners of the later platform, foundation deposits were found. One (Fig. 39) contained two model plano-convex bricks, one of lapis lazuli (1) and the other of gray limestone (2), a piece of gold foil (3), and a stone (4). The other deposit contained a flat piece of copper instead of a stone.

A very curious find was made near the gateway of the inner wall. In a room of the earliest structure appeared a large pot (Fig. 40) of a shape well known from Tepe Musyan and elsewhere and, like examples from those sites, painted in the very elaborate Jemdet Nasr style. Since the whole building is constructed of plano-convex bricks, this pot must already have been an antiquity when the Oval was

<sup>4</sup> This interpretation follows from a re-examination and is confirmed by an analogous arrangement in the temple of Sin. In *OIC* No. 16, pp. 64-65, we had supposed it to be the foundation of a later stairway to the temple platform.

founded. But the fragile nature of both vessel and decoration goes to show that the Jemdet Nasr period was not much earlier than that which we are discussing. We shall probably be able, at the edge of the sand foundation, to investigate the strata which preceded the Oval.



FIG. 40.—Painted pot of Jemdet Nasr style from the earliest period of the Temple Oval. Scale, 1:5.

#### SOUNDINGS

In the course of the season several soundings were made. One led to the discovery of a large building of the Larsa period, well toward the southwest of the main settlement. A second sounding was begun northwest of the Oval when Mr. Delougaz noticed after a heavy rain a wide strip of ground which differed from the surrounding soil by the way in which the rain was absorbed. Here he marked the outer edges of what he suspected to be a wall 6 meters wide (cf. the car tracks in



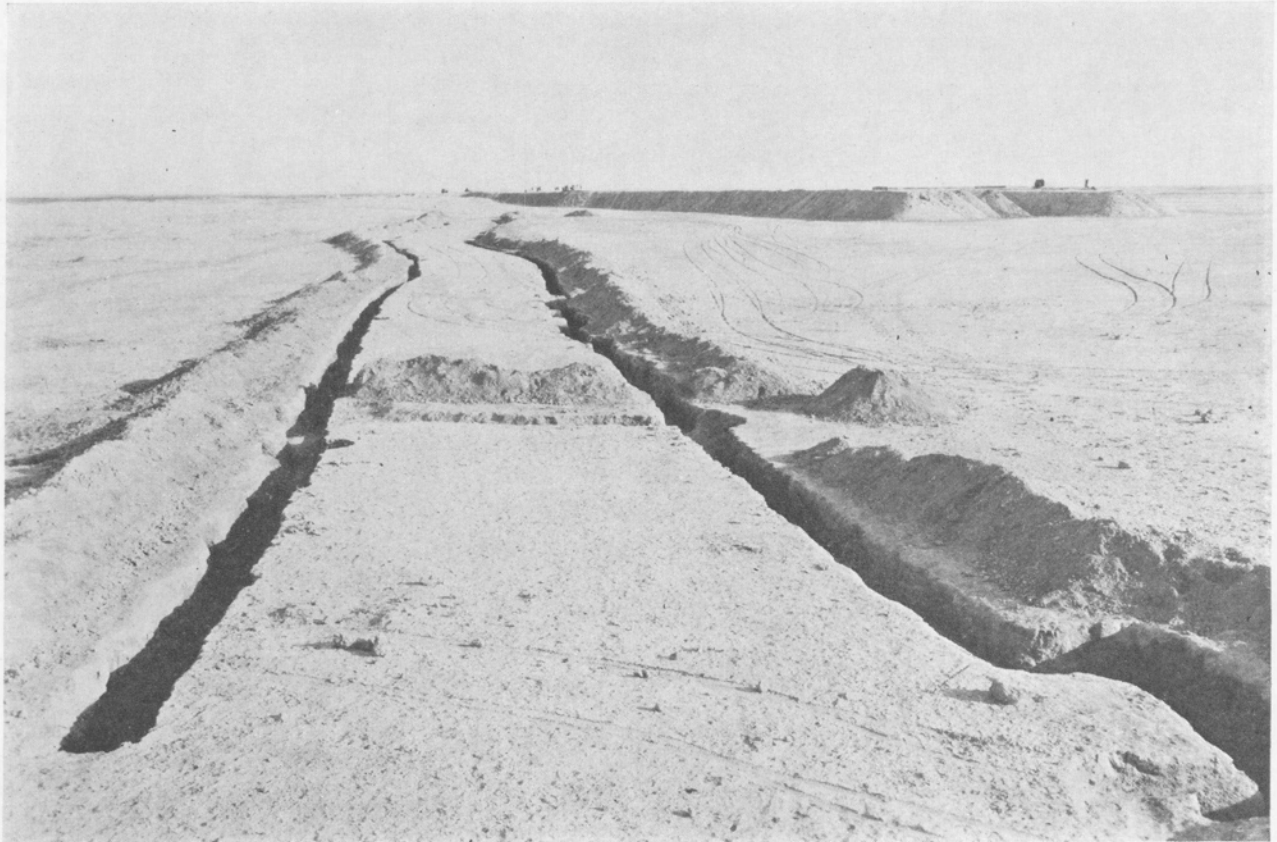


FIG. 41.—The town wall at Khafaje, extending southeastward. Behind the dumps in the background is the Temple Oval. In the prolongation of the town wall, the car is seen as a black spot standing near a newly discovered building, a temple dedicated to the moon-god Sin. This picture gives at least some impression of the extent and size of the ruins at Khafaje.



Fig. 41), and subsequent excavations duly confirmed his supposition. This is no doubt the town wall; like all the ruins so far excavated at Khafaje, it is built of plano-convex bricks.

#### THE TEMPLE OF SIN

In the previous season we had found a stout wall inclosing small houses and just outside it the buttressed outer shell of a temple almost completely destroyed by Arab antiquity robbers.<sup>5</sup> The work carried

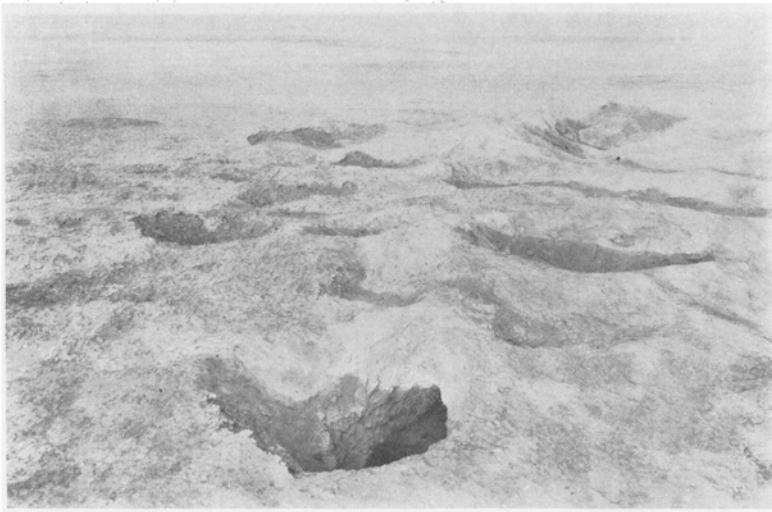


FIG. 42.—The temple of Sin at Khafaje as left by robbers

out in this area during 1933/34 can best be appreciated by a glance at Figures 42–44, all taken from about the same spot, looking due southeast. Here in the temple of Sin, as in the temple of Abu at Tell Asmar, we have been able to distinguish three successive stages. As often, the lowest and earliest building, being better preserved, elucidated the damaged remains of the higher levels. Figure 45 shows the plan of the intermediate building period.

Whereas in the Temple Oval nothing of the sanctuary itself is preserved, here we can analyze the arrangements in detail. The entrance,

<sup>5</sup> *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 60, P 42–Q 43.

roughly from the north as in the Oval and in the temple of Abu at Tell Asmar, leads between two towers into a lobby (1 R 42) which opens into a court (3 Q 42), where a basin with bitumen-lined drain reminds



FIG. 43.—The temple of Sin after all the loose earth had been cleared from the robbers' holes.



FIG. 44.—The temple of Sin after excavation

one of similar constructions in the temple court of the Oval and in the ablution room of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar.

Built against the southern wall of the court is a pedestal with square pillars, which we consider were offering-tables, around it (cf.

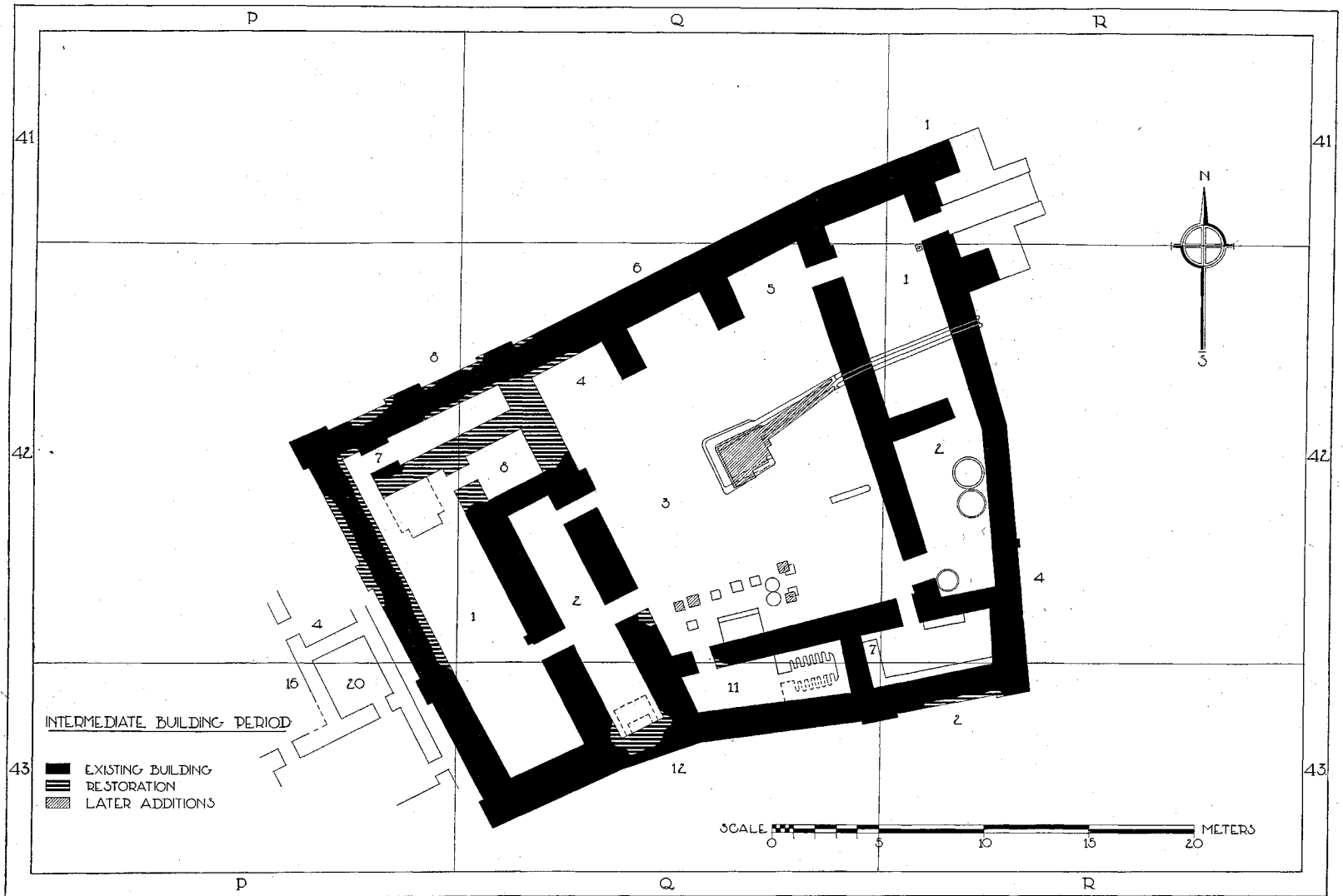


FIG. 45.—The temple of Sin. Plan of the intermediate building level. Scale, 1:300

Fig. 44). Southwest of the courtyard there are two sanctuaries (1 and 2 Q 42), one behind the other, each with a platform against one of its shorter walls as at Tell Asmar. In 11 Q 43 stood a kiln or bread oven, and in 7 Q 42 there was a whitewashed bench upon which presu-



FIG. 46.—Bronze libation vessel from 2 R 42 at Khafaje. Scale, 2:5

ably had once stood the statues which we found lying on the floor (see pp. 64-78). A room (2 R 42) east of the courtyard contained enormous waterpots and also a bronze libation vessel (Fig. 46). Here also we found the extraordinary object shown in Figures 47-49. There was not enough left of the original bowl on the top to make restoration possible, so a similar one was substituted. The wheels



FIG. 47.—Terra-cotta cult object from 2 R 42, as found. The piece of pottery at the right does not belong with it.



FIG. 48



FIG. 49

FIGS. 48-49.—The carriage of Figure 47 after treatment in the laboratory by Mr. Delougaz, with missing parts replaced by substitutes. Scale, 1:4.



FIG. 50.—Stone vases from the temple of Sin. Scale, 2:5



FIG. 51.—Double vase from the temple of Sin. Scale, 4:5



also, though antique themselves, do not belong to the original; and the fragment with the ram (at left in Fig. 48) could not be proved to fit, though it was found with the other fragments. Nevertheless it is clear that the main features of the carriage are unequivocal. The vessel types are known separately, and the idea embodied in the carriage



FIG. 52.—Fragment of an engraved limestone cup. Scale, 1:1

which combines them is clearly indicated. It is a house with a window; a ladder is placed against the outside, while under the eaves birds are perched upon the projecting ends of the roof beams. We are at once reminded of the altars in the shape of houses which were found by Andrae in the early dynastic temple of layers H and G at Assur and which are depicted on several cylinder seals as supporting gifts before the god. Mr. E. B. Reilly, a student at the Oriental Institute, draws my attention to the duties of one of the officials whom Gudea caused to take their stand with the god Ningirsu, namely to consecrate water,



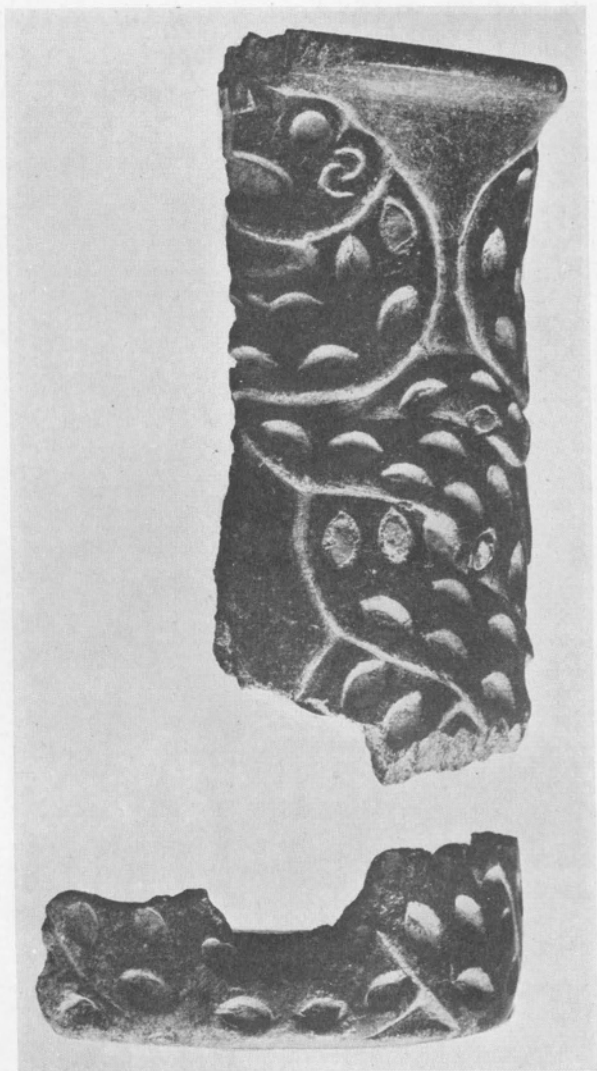


FIG. 53.—Green stone vase with inlays of red, white, and yellow paste. Scale, 1:1. Temple of Sin

grain, and oil.<sup>6</sup> Small quantities of these materials could be put in the receptacles of the carriage and brought before the god. I am attracted by another explanation, and should tentatively suggest that the car-



FIG. 54

FIG. 55

FIG. 54.—Fragment of a green stone vase from the temple of Sin. Scale, 2:5

FIG. 55.—Adjoining fragment of same vase, obtained by robbers in 1929. Now in Oriental Institute Museum. Scale, 2:5.

riage is a contrivance used in eliciting that particular class of omen in which the divine will becomes manifest in the figures formed by drops of oil floating on water. This would actually happen in the bowl, while the two vessels below would contain the consecrated ingredients, oil and water. It is true that lecanomancy has not been

<sup>6</sup> Cylinder B ix 6-14.



FIG. 56.—Incised stone vase from the temple of Sin, showing primitive wickerwork motive. Scale, 1:1.

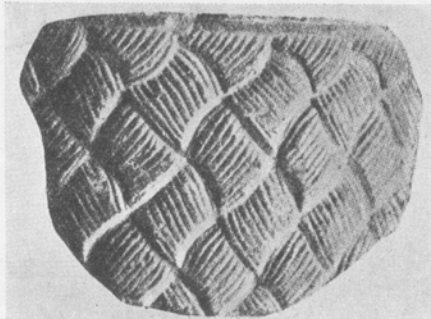


FIG. 57.—Fragment of an incised steatite vessel from Mohenjo Daro. Reproduced through the courtesy of Dr. Ernest Mackay.

proved to exist in early Sumerian times; but, since so much of the later usage is known to have a long ancestry, the objection loses much of its force.

Among the stone vases found in the temple of Sin there are several of special importance. One in Figure 50 represents the hour-glass type



FIG. 58.—Relief plaque from the temple of Sin. Scale, 2:5

found at Tell Asmar also. The curious double vase of Figure 51 shows the bodies of two rams with necks and heads worked separately. Another piece, perhaps a lid, was fixed in the middle but is now lost. A limestone cup fragment (Fig. 52) shows a most unusual type of headdress. A type of vase fragmentary specimens of which are preserved in the museums of Istanbul and Paris is now dated for the first time by an engraved example (Fig. 53). Some of the hollows cut in



FIG. 59.—Fragment of a plaque from the temple of Sin. Scale, 3:5

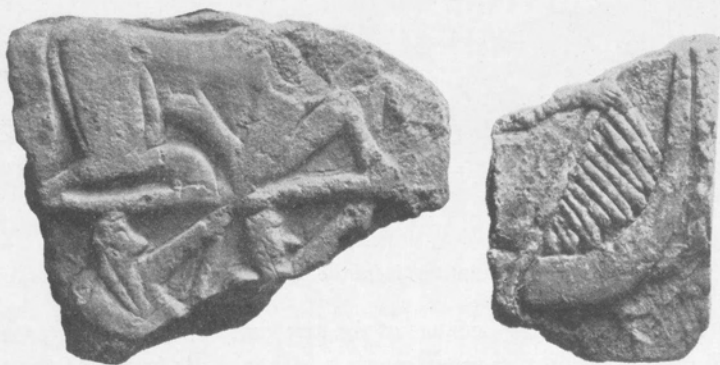


FIG. 60.—Plaque fragments with boating scenes, from the temple of Sin. Scale, 1:2.

the snakes' bodies preserve inlays of red, white, and yellow paste. Unfortunately the complete design cannot be reconstructed.

The rather barbarous design on the dark green vase fragment of

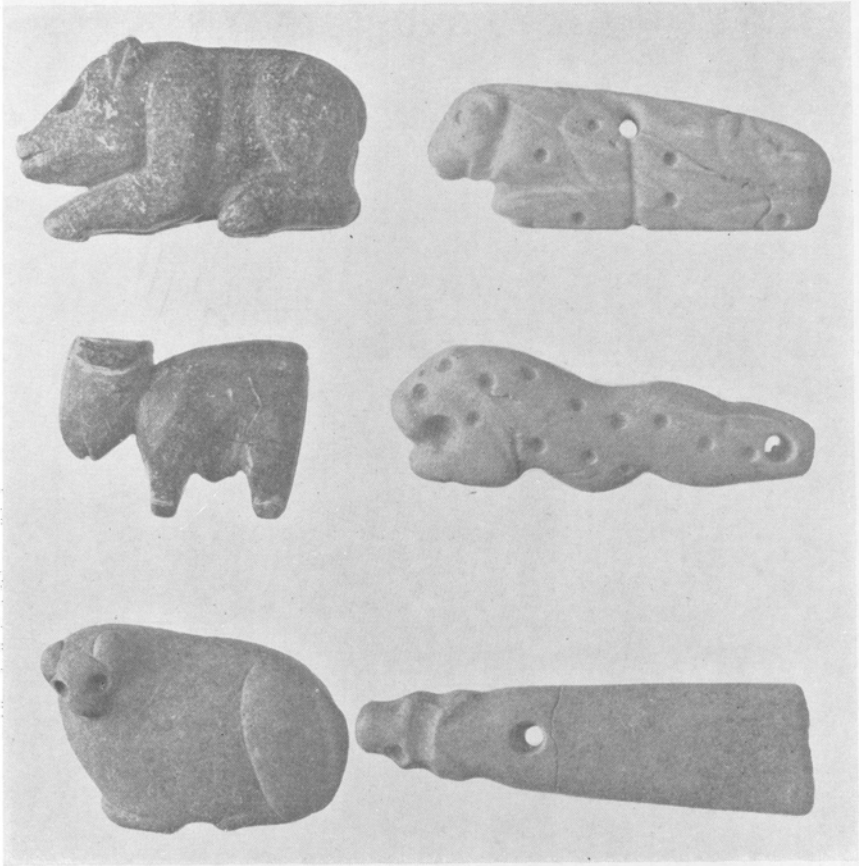


FIG. 61.—Animal sculptures from the temple of Sin. Scale, 9:10

Figure 54 is interesting because of the appearance of stock motives of the Sumerian decorative repertoire in a rather crude form. At the top we see a bull-man struggling with two lions, and on the right an eagle grasping an antelope in each claw. A piece of this same vase (Fig. 55), giving part of the latter group, had fallen into the hands of native robbers and was bought by us in London in the summer of 1933, that

is, before the fragment shown in Figure 54 had been discovered. A second type of bull-man, known from cylinder seals, here appears grasping a bull by a horn; above, an apparently human figure dressed in a Sumerian sheepskin kilt grasps unidentifiable objects. It is possible that he has the short curly locks which distinguish some figures of cylinder engravings.

The complete cylindrical vase of Figure 56 is important not only because it shows in rather unusual detail the primitive type of wicker-

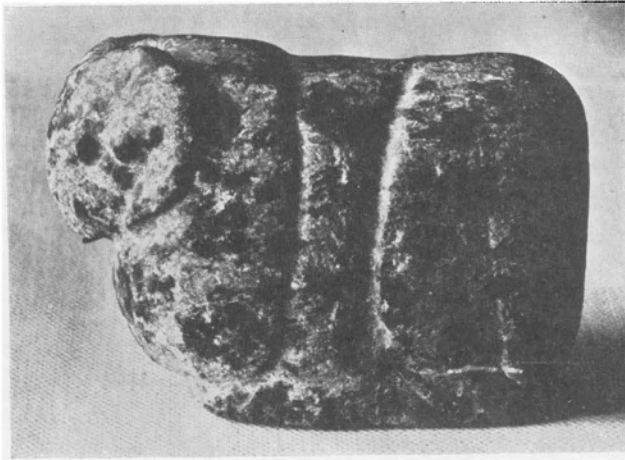


FIG. 62.—Animal sculpture from the temple of Sin. Scale, 9:10

work or reed and matting of the primeval Mesopotamian house, which appears in Figures 54–55 also, but moreover because its triangle design connects it with a piece of a similar vase (Fig. 57) found by Ernest Mackay at Mohenjo Daro.<sup>7</sup> This proves the connection between India and Mesopotamia to have existed already in the period preceding that to which relevant discoveries at Tell Asmar belong.<sup>8</sup>

Relief plaques also were well represented in the temple of Sin. The most important (Fig. 58) gives the usual festive scene with several unusual details. Though the main personages and their attendants appear in conventional attitudes in the top row, below we find the

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* LXXXII (1934) 214 and Fig. E 2.

<sup>8</sup> *OIC* No. 16, pp. 50–51.



bringing of food and drink rendered more realistically; one of the bearers of a large vessel containing wine or beer carries a straw ring upon which the pointed vessel is to stand. Other figures follow with a kid, a pile of loaves, and a basket of fruit or vegetables, perhaps onions. In the bottom register a figure with crossed arms executes a kind of "hornpipe" to the tune of a lute or harp. One wonders whether the missing lower right-hand corner showed further festivities or a chariot scene such as is depicted on a plaque found in our first season at Khafaje,<sup>9</sup> also on a fragment from Ur,<sup>10</sup> and now again on a fragment from the temple of Sin (Fig. 59). Two other relief fragments (Fig. 60) are important because their boating scenes recur on fragments from Fara.<sup>11</sup>

Finally attention must be drawn to a number of small objects, pierced for the most part, the purpose of which is not clear, but which excel in the vigorous characterization of animals, represented in bold simplified forms (Figs. 61-62).

<sup>9</sup> *OIC* No. 13, Fig. 44.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 45.

<sup>11</sup> Heinrich, *Fara*, Pl. 21.



## III

SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND FROM  
TELL ASMAR AND KHAFAJE

In this preliminary report we can in no way do justice to the importance of the early dynastic sculptures discovered during the season of 1933/34. They outnumber the total of all previously known contemporaneous works. Moreover, the Tell Asmar hoard of twelve excellently preserved statues (Fig. 63; cf. Figs. 64-72) contains the first cult statues found in Mesopotamian excavations (front.).<sup>1</sup> When the statues were taken out of service and hidden under the floor of the Square Temple (see p. 13), the two cult statues, as the most important, were put into the hole first (see Fig. 12), and the others were carefully piled upon them.

The largest statue (Fig. 64) is identified by the emblems on its base as the god of fertility, whose several epithets and manifold guises we have described in a previous report<sup>1a</sup> on the evidence supplied by our cylinder seals and other monuments. We may therefore confine ourselves here to stressing the support which our argument receives now that we find the lion-headed eagle Imdugud, symbol of Ningirsu-Ninurta, appearing together with the animals and plants which belong to the lord of the sheepfolds and the lord of vegetation in a temple which we know, in its higher layers, to be a sanctuary of Abu. The other cult statue also (Fig. 65) is identified by an addition to its base, this time the figure (only the legs preserved) of the son of the mother goddess, fixed in position with bitumen. That same material

<sup>1</sup> I agree with L. Legrain (in *Revue d'assyriologie* XXXII 118 ff.) that the female figure recently found near Abu Kemal cannot be considered a representation of Ishtar, but that the two cult figures from Tell Asmar are in a class by themselves, possessing a number of exceptional features which can only be explained on the assumption that they render gods. This matter will be fully discussed in the author's forthcoming *OIP* entitled *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafaje*. See also his contribution to the Deimel *Festschrift* (*Analecta orientalia*, No. 12 [Roma, 1935]).

<sup>1a</sup> *OIC* No. 17, pp. 47-55.



FIG. 63.—Statues from Shrine II of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar. Scale, 1:6



FIG. 64.—Statue of the god of fertility. Back view, 1:6; details, 1:2



FIG. 65.—Statue of the mother goddess. Scale, about 1:3

was used in these statues to color the beard and hair; the stone itself is a kind of veined gypsum which is certainly found in the hills near Tuz Khurmatli, less than 100 miles north of Tell Asmar, and probably nearer by in the eastern foothills.

These cult statues are distinguished from the rest, which represent worshipers, not only by the indications of their identity already described, but also by the exceptional size of their eyes, which consist of disks of black limestone set with bitumen into eyeballs cut from shell. The childish effect of this convention which the photographs may suggest is not felt in the presence of the originals. The statue of the god is especially impressive, carved with a religious fervor which finds its aesthetic correlation in the tautness of the surfaces and the tense composition of the sharply articulated masses. It is true, however, that a similar expressiveness is found in the statue of a priest (Fig. 66), whose devout expectancy is imitated but not equaled by some of the lay worshipers (Figs. 67-69). The well known gesture of clasped hands with which the Sumerian appeared before his god is in some cases modified. The worshiper in Figure 68 holds a cup, as do the god and goddess (see front.). This reminds one of the plaques (Figs. 6 and 58) and, on the other hand, of the Gudea texts, according to which the union of the god and goddess took place on New Year's Day<sup>2</sup> and was followed by a great feast.<sup>3</sup>

An entirely different type of figure, made of golden alabaster, is shown in Figure 70. It is the only one of which parts were missing; the right half of the body and the hands were modeled by Miss Chubb for the purpose of photography. The fact that it had anciently been broken and repaired explains the awkward line of the side view, since the parts do not fit well; but the back view especially shows the exceptional quality of the modeling. This figure, nude but for a multiple girdle and wearing a heavy turban, formed some piece of temple furniture. The headdress is hollow (resembling in fact a modern candlestick), and at the back of the girdle are inserted two small copper loops by which the statue could be fastened. It seems to represent one of those semidivine beings which are pictured on cylinder seals struggling with beasts; and it would be understandable that utensils placed before the gods might be differentiated from figures of worshipers by

<sup>2</sup> Statue G iii 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cylinder B v 11 ff. and xvii 1 ff.

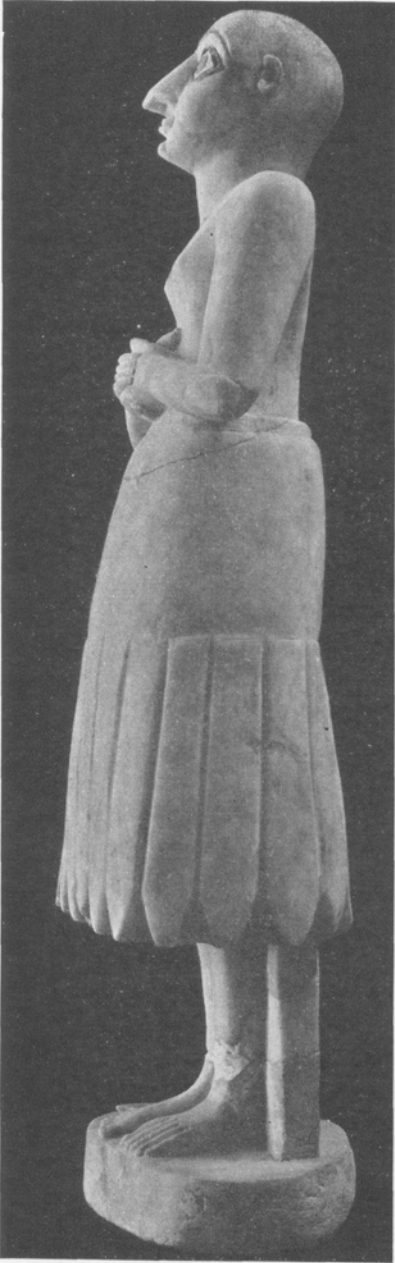


FIG. 66.—Statue of a priest. Scale, about 1:3.

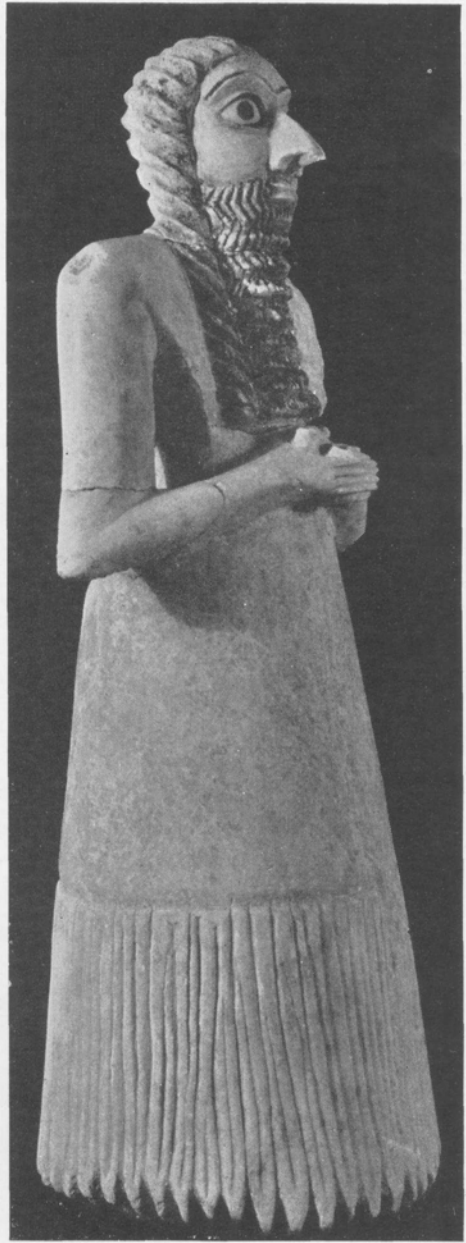


FIG. 67.—Statue of a worshiper. Scale, 1:2





FIG. 68.—Statue of a worshiper. Scale, about 1:3.



FIG. 69.—Statue of a worshiper. Detail. Scale, 1:1

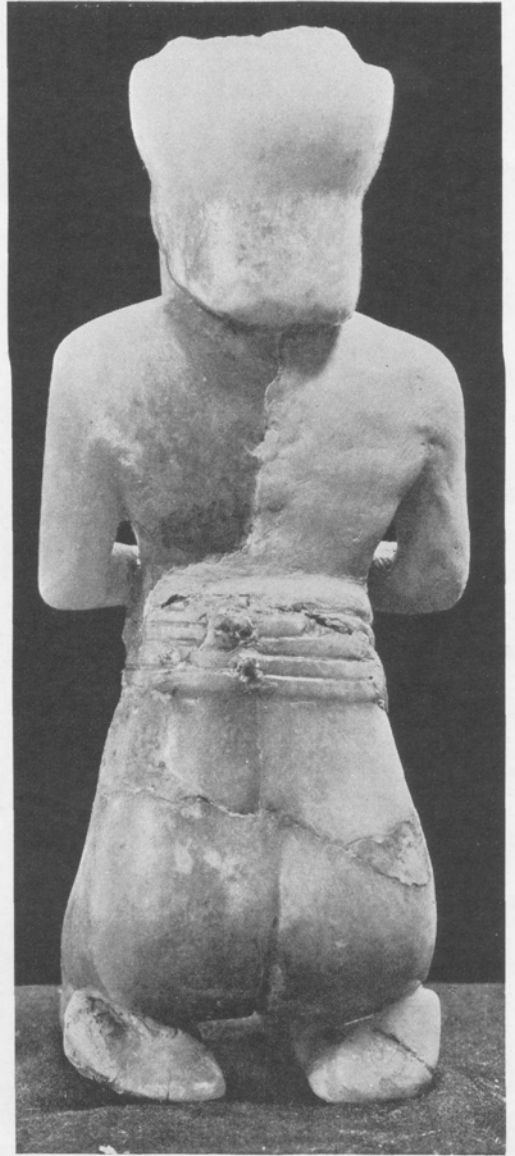
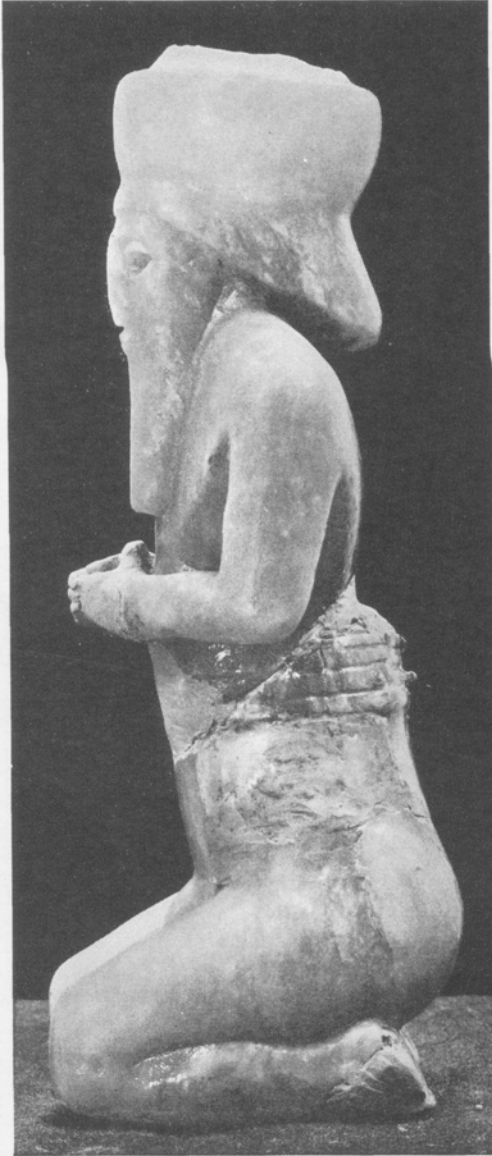


FIG. 70.—Broken alabaster statue (restored). Scale, more than 2:3





FIG. 71.—Limestone statue showing impression of kilt of a superimposed statue. Scale, 1:2.

being shaped as demons rather than as men. The same interpretation would apply to the three copper statues found in our first season at Khafaje.<sup>4</sup> Since all the evidence goes to show that priests shaved the head and face completely, our earlier interpretation<sup>5</sup> does not hold good.

The other statues were not seriously damaged when they were put away, and the breaks which they have sustained are due entirely to

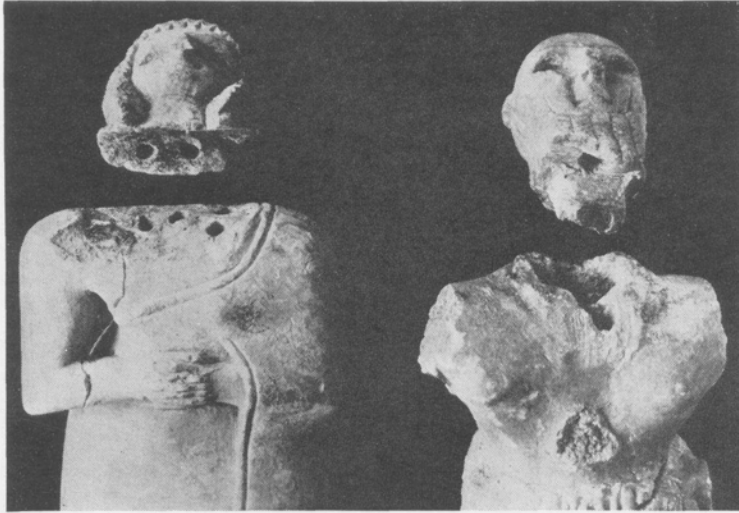


FIG. 72.—Khafaje statues put together from separately worked parts. Scale, 2:5.

pressure of superimposed earth through a period of five thousand years. The effect of such prolonged pressure is illustrated by Figure 71, where the pattern of an adjoining statue has actually been pressed into the hard limestone of the kilt. It illustrates at the same time a very unusual version of this much discussed garment, two large double tassels(?) being tucked through the girdle on either side. The god's statue (Fig. 64) shows, for the first time to my knowledge, loops with which the vertical slit of the kilt could be closed.

The variation in quality of the works contained in this one group is

<sup>4</sup> *OIC* No. 13, Figs. 32-33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 78. For a full discussion see the forthcoming *OIP* mentioned on p. 55, n. 1.



FIG. 73.—Statue from Khafaje. Scale, 2:3

most striking. Yet we find a boldness in handling the material which is most unexpected. The arms are always cut free from the sides, and the legs as well are often free. Sometimes there is even no back pillar, so that the ankles have to be thickened disproportionately to support the body (e.g. Fig. 65). On the other hand, especially at Khafaje, we find that the Sumerian sculptor did not hesitate to patch his work when his boldness had brought about disaster, and he saw nothing

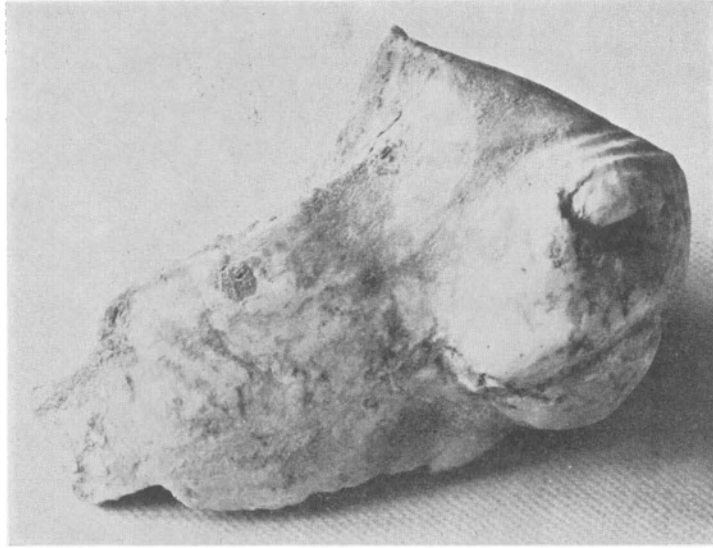


FIG. 74.—Fragment of animal sculpture from Khafaje. Scale, 1:1

against assembling a statue from separately worked parts (Fig. 72). It is remarkable that these early works show already the preference for cylindrical and conical shapes which remains typical throughout the history of Mesopotamian art and presents such a contrast with that of Egypt, where cubic forms prevail.<sup>6</sup>

Independent of the prevalence of geometric forms in the general composition and outline of these statues, there is a noticeable prevalence of geometric renderings of detail, which seems peculiar to this very early stage of Sumerian sculpture. In fact, this characteristic

<sup>6</sup> A somewhat more detailed formal analysis of these works is given in the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1935, pp. 110-21, with 4 plates.



FIG. 75.—Female statues from Khafaje. Scale, about 1:2



FIG. 76.—Heads of female statues from Khafaje. Scale, about 1:3



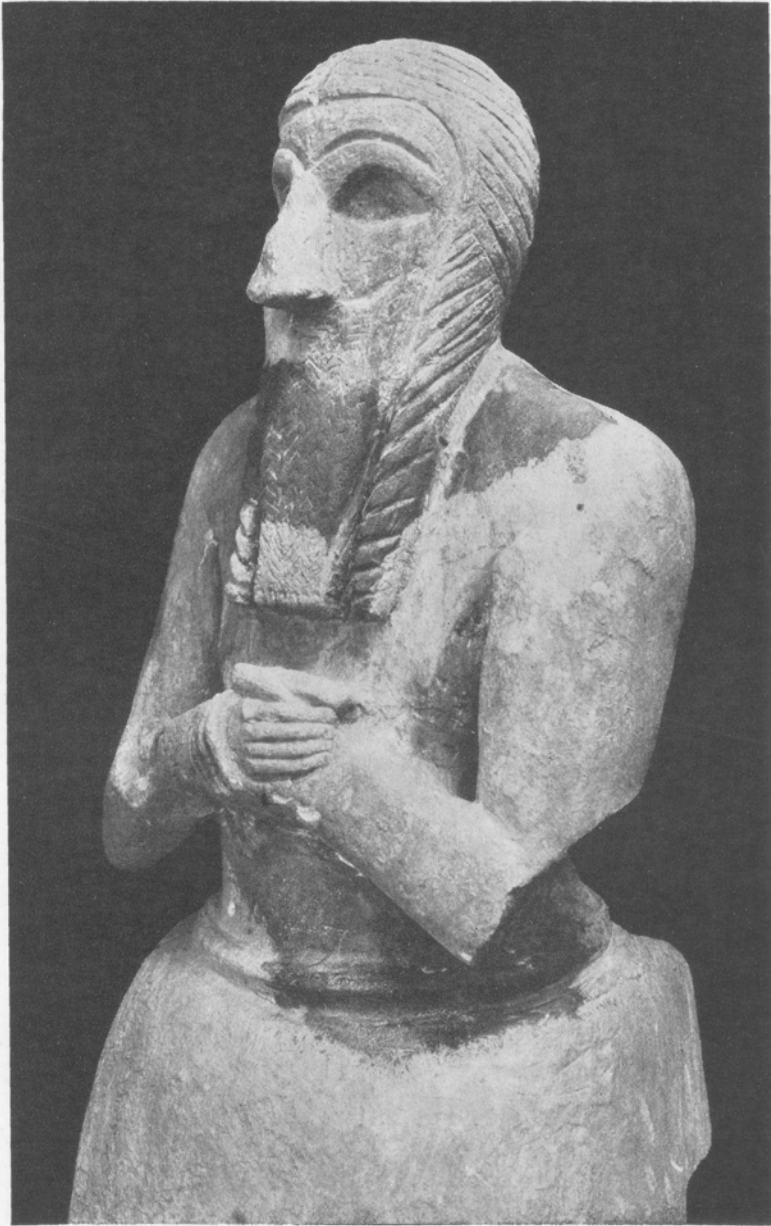


FIG. 77.—Statue from Khafaje. Scale, 1:4



FIG. 78.—Statue head from Khafaje. Scale, 1:2.



FIG. 79.—Statue head from Khafaje. Scale, 1:2.



FIG. 80.—Elaborately sculptured statue from Khafaje. Scale, 3:10





FIG. 81.—Statue from Khafaje showing transitional style. Scale, about 1:2



FIG. 82.—Statue from Khafaje showing transitional style. Scale, 1:3

distinguishes the statues found in the Square Temple at Tell Asmar from the majority of those found at Khafaje. In the one case we find that the human body is ruthlessly reduced to abstract plastic form; in the other there is great subtlety and differentiation in the surface modeling.

The geometric stylization of the Tell Asmar group is exemplified by the treatment of the cheeks in Figure 64, the parallelism of the surfaces of face and neck in Figure 69, and, in the same figure, the remarkable succession of triangles formed by the nose, lips, and beard. Less conspicuous but equally original are the geometric forms into which such details as chest muscles are translated in the statues of the god (see front.) and the priest (see Fig. 66), perhaps the most perfect work in this style.

The majority of the sculptors whose work was preserved at Khafaje show an entirely different attitude toward the human form. Far from translating organic characteristics into geometric shapes, they seem fascinated by the physical nature of their models. The treatment of collarbones, pectoral

muscles, and nipples in Figure 73 offers good examples of the more realistic style. Comparison of Figure 74, the beautifully sensitive muzzle of a calf, with Figures 61 and 62 shows that animal sculpture underwent the same change. The figures of women, however, stand somewhat apart (Figs. 75-76). They are affected by the development, but there are among them no outstanding examples of either style. They are often charming *bibelots*, but are never treated as a serious sculptural problem.

We have objective stratigraphic evidence that the more realistic style is later than the geometric style, since fragmentary but unmistakable examples of the former were found in the Single-Shrine Temple

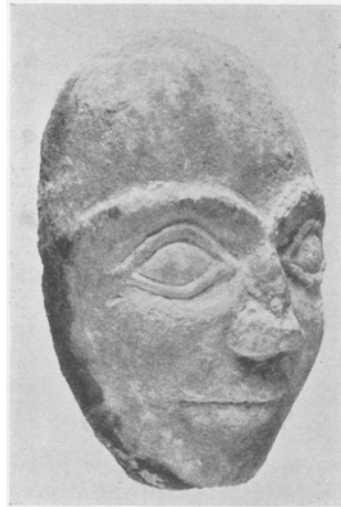


FIG. 83.—Statue head from Khafaje showing realistic style. Scale, 1:1.



FIG. 84.—Statue of Urkisal from the second stage of the temple of Sin at Khafaje, showing realistic style. Scale, 1:4.

at Tell Asmar. On the other hand, there is enough material from Khafaje to prove that the geometric style was not confined to Tell Asmar. Figure 77, showing the upper part of a large statue (80 cm.



FIG. 85.—Two busts from Khafaje showing differences of style. Scale, 1:1

high), and Figures 78 and 79 give examples of the geometric style at Khafaje.

Figure 80, with its elaborately rendered kilt and sculptured back pillar, and also Figures 81 and 82 represent a stage of transition into the realistic style of Figures 73, 83, and 84. In Figure 85 a bust in



FIG. 86.—Seated figure from Khafaje. Scale, 1:2



geometric style appears below an example of the transitional rendering of the same subject. Both were found at Khafaje. Though the realism of the upper figure is not as pronounced as that of the works just mentioned (e.g., difference in substance between flesh and bone is not expressed), there is a striking change of form if we compare it with the



FIG. 87.—Fragments of seated statuettes from Khafaje. Scale, 5:7

more archaic type figured below it. In the front view, the older figure's face and beard appear like an inverted triangle framed between its vertical locks, and the profile shows how the rendering of the hair is merely decorative. The other profile, however, shows an entirely changed relationship between the masses of the face and skull, while the front view betrays similarly an increase of realism at the expense of abstract form. It is interesting to note how the softening of surface treatment and the dissolution of abstract geometric form result

in an enlivening of the contour; compare, for instance, the compact rigidity of the kilt of Figure 64 with the graceful bell shape in Figures 81 and 82 and the springy attitude of the body in Figure 84. We shall see in the next chapter that the distinction of an earlier and a later style of Sumerian sculpture is of some importance for the chronology of the early dynastic period; here, however, we have been concerned with the artistic development of early Sumerian sculpture as such.



FIG. 88.—Statuette of a figure seated on a fagot, from Tell Asmar. Scale, 1:2

It remains to mention a few seated figures. Most remarkable is a large one from Khafaje (Fig. 86), unfortunately rather damaged. Three broken pieces from Khafaje (Fig. 87) give details of seats and provide one of the few examples of groups of more than one figure. One from Tell Asmar (Fig. 88), showing a person seated on a fagot, is important because it provides a parallel for the otherwise unique attitude assumed by a fine statue in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen<sup>7</sup> and therefore once and for all disqualifies doubt as to the authenticity of that important piece.

<sup>7</sup> Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (London, 1928) Pl. IV, opp. p. 13.



## IV

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY  
DYNASTIC PERIOD

If we exclude the uppermost layer of the temple of Abu at Tell Asmar, all our discoveries belong to the early dynastic period. It remains, then, to consider to what extent the subdivisions which appear to exist in the history of our buildings have any general historical significance. In the temple of Abu we have descended through twenty levels of occupation, which fall naturally into three groups: the Archaic Shrine, the Square Temple, and the Single-Shrine Temple (see Fig. 89<sup>1</sup> and folding plate at end). While the successive floor levels or levels of occupation mark the regular and periodical overhauls and reconstructions which all buildings of sun-dried brick require, the three phases to which we have given names are each distinguished by a complete change of plan. This did not alter the character of the worship to which the sanctuary was dedicated, for we have pointed out already (pp. 7 ff.) the similarity in the appointments of the successive shrines and the unchanged identity of the object of worship, the god of fertility, as revealed by the monuments. But for this very reason one is inclined to attribute the changes of plan to general causes affecting contemporary civilization as a whole. And the changes in plan coincide in fact with the changes in style of a good proportion of the objects found in the buildings.

The Archaic Shrine we must leave out of account in the present report, since it is not yet completely excavated. At the other end of the series, it is difficult to date the foundation of the Single-Shrine Temple built of flat rectangular bricks. We know that the highest floor level but one falls within the dynasty of Akkad, because of some pottery and the Hydra seal<sup>2</sup> found there. On the floor below was found an unusual plaque<sup>3</sup> which may be either Akkadian or early dynastic.

<sup>1</sup> The period represented in this key plan is that of the Akkadian Single-Shrine Temple; cf. *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 39.

Since at Lagash flat bricks displaced plano-convex bricks in the reign of Entemena, some eighty years before Sargon's accession, it is impossible to say at present whether the Single-Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar was rebuilt of flat bricks in Akkadian or in late early dynastic

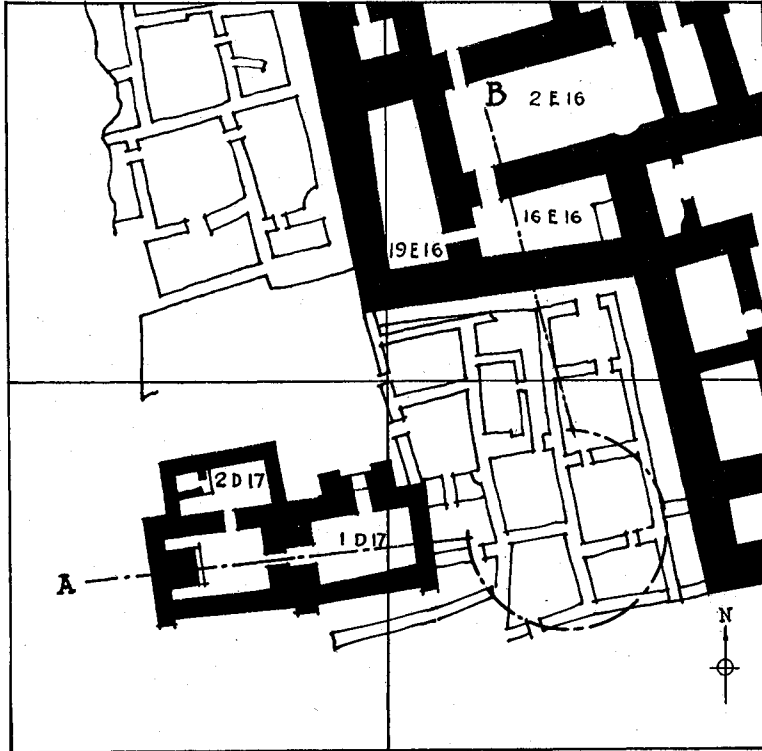


FIG. 89.—Key plan showing location of section through temple of Abu and palace at Tell Asmar as given in folding plate at end. Scale, 1:400.

times. Were it not for the evidence from Lagash, however, we should judge the introduction of flat bricks to coincide with the advent of Sargon's dynasty. For in the private houses we find plano-convex bricks used throughout Stratum V, which contains early dynastic objects, while the deepest stratum with rectangular bricks, IVb, produced consistently seals, pottery, etc. of Sargonid type.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.* pp. 2-4.

But with the plano-convex section of the Single-Shrine Temple we reach firmer ground. It is certainly approximately contemporaneous with the royal cemetery at Ur, whereas the Square Temple underneath it belongs to an earlier part of the early dynastic period which is not properly represented at Ur at all; for during this time there accumulated the rubbish heaps into which the royal tombs were subsequently dug. This is shown by the presence in the Square Temple of reserved-slip ware such as is, in Mr. Woolley's words, "strange to the cemetery" at Ur, but appears in the rubbish layers underneath, and of goblets (see p. 18) such as occur at Ur in a still earlier stratum. Moreover, a hoard of copper objects<sup>5</sup> found under the Akkadian palace at Tell Asmar and containing the same types as occur in the tombs at Ur belongs certainly to the period of the Single-Shrine Temple (cf. folding plate at end).

The Akkadian palace is seen to rest partly on the walls of an earlier palace of plano-convex bricks, partly on a thin layer of ashes which marks a fire that occurred in the last part of the early dynastic occupation but affected only the northern and northwestern part of the building. To the main occupation level of this earlier palace belongs the large pot which contained the copper hoard. That earlier palace level corresponds with the main occupation level in the plano-convex section of the Single-Shrine Temple, though when expressed in meters above sea-level there is a considerable difference between the two; but occupation levels run rarely, if ever, horizontal. In fact, we know that the temple stood at that time higher than the surrounding houses and palaces. The difference in elevation at the time of the change from plano-convex to rectangular bricks was about a meter (see plate at end). It would have complicated our section to give in full the slope through the intervening space, occupied by small and often-renewed subsidiary buildings. Figure 90 serves the same purpose more effectively. We are there looking from the west toward the outer corner of room 19 E 16 (see Fig. 89). The men in the foreground are descending through the foundations of the Square Temple into the Archaic Shrine.<sup>6</sup> Higher up, the man who is looking to the right is

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 37-39 and Figs. 31-32 and 34-35.

<sup>6</sup> The Square Temple extends farther north than does the Single-Shrine Temple shown in Fig. 89.

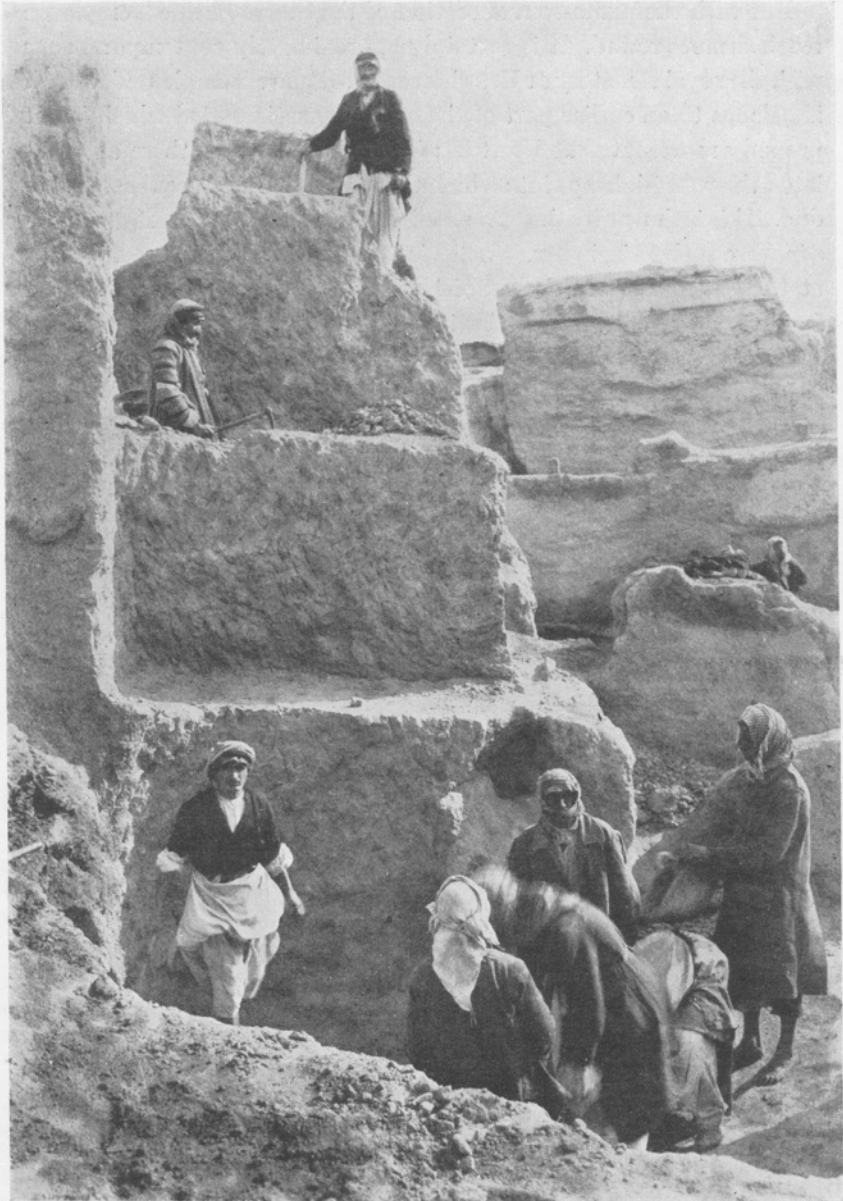


FIG. 90.—Remains extending from Akkadian to Archaic Shrine levels at Tell Asmar

actually standing on the floor of the room (below the level of 19 E 16)<sup>7</sup> where the copper hoard was found. At the top of the picture, a man is standing on an Akkadian floor, resting his pick against a wall of the third dynasty of Ur (stippled in plate, toward the right).

As indicated on page 81, we can distinguish in the early dynastic period at least an earlier and a later phase. To the latter belong the royal cemetery at Ur and our Single-Shrine Temple, to the earlier our Square Temple with its remarkable statues. Not only does the pottery confirm this division, but the same can be said of the beads (see Fig. 29 and p. 31) found in Shrine I of the Square Temple. Such beads do not seem to occur at Ur at all, but at Khafaje some turned up in a tomb in the Temple Oval.<sup>8</sup> And since we have also found at Khafaje certain statues resembling those buried in the Square Temple at Tell Asmar, we must consider the stratigraphy of our other site somewhat more in detail.

At Khafaje we have to take into account three groups of remains: the Temple Oval; private houses and tombs dug into their ruins north and east of the Oval;<sup>9</sup> and finally the temple of Sin, which is situated east of the Oval. Of the houses we know only two or three of the uppermost strata; the Temple Oval and the temple of Sin are each known to us in three successive stages of their existence. Though we do not know whether we have yet struck the deepest layers of the temple of Sin, we have actually excavated the Oval down to its foundations. We have seen (p. 37) that the period in which it was founded cannot have been very far removed from the Jemdet Nasr period. Unfortunately hardly any objects were found in these deepest layers.

To the middle period of the Oval belong several sculptures in the realistic style which we have found at Tell Asmar associated with the Single-Shrine Temple. In the temple of Sin also most of the sculpture belongs to the second stage of its existence; but there we find, as we have seen (pp. 75 ff.), reminders of the earlier geometric style as well as examples of the later realistic type of work. One may surmise that the only reason why the earlier type is not represented in the Oval is because of the total absence of all stonework in its earliest layers, and

<sup>7</sup> *OIC* No. 17, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> *OIC* No. 16, Fig. 48.

<sup>9</sup> *OIC* No. 13, pp. 105-12; *OIC* No. 17, pp. 63-73.

we may tentatively synchronize the three stages of the Oval with those of the temple of Sin. The sculptures would then suggest that the second stage of both the temple of Sin and the Oval fell within the later phase of the early dynastic period, as represented by the Single-Shrine Temple at Tell Asmar. This correlation is confirmed by the circumstances in which the beads resembling those from the (earlier) Square Temple of Tell Asmar (see Fig. 29) occurred at Khafaje. They were found in a grave dug after the first stage of the Oval was completed but before the next building period. They would thus synchronize the end of the first stage of the Khafaje Oval with the period of the Square Temple at Tell Asmar.

Since the two parts of the early dynastic period which we can distinguish by means of the stratification at Tell Asmar each lasted for a considerable time, we can reach a little more precision by taking into account material found elsewhere. Unfortunately there is not sufficient stratigraphic evidence to make the discoveries at Lagash and Fara useful from this point of view; and the excavators at Warka have purposely avoided entanglements with early dynastic remains, since the still earlier layers, easily accessible, presented in themselves sufficiently difficult problems. At Kish an unbroken sequence of remains has been found,<sup>10</sup> but no detailed publication of the observations made there is available.

Mr. Woolley's invaluable work at Ur, however, provides good material for comparison. From the first we have been struck by the close resemblances between our discoveries at Khafaje and those at Ur. It is now, however, necessary to specify the stratigraphic positions of objects which show such resemblances. A Khafaje plaque which may be counted as a duplicate of one anciently used at Ur<sup>11</sup> stands quite apart; for our fragment need not be contemporary with the royal cemetery, since its counterpart at Ur was found loose in the soil and not in a grave.<sup>12</sup> We must assume on the strength of our own evidence that the fragment from Ur belongs to the rubbish heaps of a period

<sup>10</sup> S. Langdon in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1930, pp. 602 ff. and esp. Pl. VII; L. Ch. Watelin in *L'Anthropologie* XLI (1931) 265-72 and table.

<sup>11</sup> *OIC* No. 13, Figs. 44-45.

<sup>12</sup> C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations II: The Royal Cemetery* (London, 1934) pp 377 and 535, No. U. 8557.

earlier than the royal cemetery, for all the other objects from Khafaje which resemble those from Ur<sup>13</sup>—pottery, beads, tools, weapons, and seals—were found in the houses and tombs which surround the Oval. Now these houses are contemporaneous with the latest (third) period of the Temple Oval, or are even later. Just as they postdate the second stage of the Oval, they also postdate certainly the second stage of the temple of Sin, whence most of our statues from that building derive (cf. p. 42). Moreover, even the statues of the sculptor's workshop,<sup>14</sup> which certainly belong to the late (realistic) style of sculpture, were found in a layer *underneath* those in which amulets and pottery resembling specimens from Ur occurred.

We may summarize our results in the following table:

TELL ASMAR	KHAFAJE	UR
SARGON OF AKKAD		
Single-Shrine Temple	Third Oval, houses, and graves	Royal cemetery
Square Temple	Second Oval	Accumulation of rubbish into which the cemetery was dug
Archaic Shrine	First Oval	
JEMDET NASR PERIOD		

It is interesting to note how well the epigraphic evidence tallies with this result. High up in the Single-Shrine Temple, at level 35.50 (see plate), we found a fragment of an inscribed alabaster statue (As. 32-700) which Dr. Jacobsen pronounces to be certainly later than Ur-Nanshe and probably later than Eannatum, since it uses grammatical endings. On the other hand the statue of Urkisal (Fig. 84), found in the second stage of the temple of Sin, certainly antedates Eannatum. And the inscriptions on two of the three statues from Abu Kemal

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. *OIC* No. 13, Figs. 51-53.

<sup>14</sup> See *OIC* No. 17, p. 73 and Figs. 64-66.

(ancient Mari), where a civilization exactly similar to that of Khafaje in the early dynastic period was discovered in the winter of 1933/34 by Parrot,<sup>15</sup> are pronounced by Thureau-Dangin to be older than those of Ur-Nanshe and those from Ur.<sup>16</sup>

It is only natural that we want to translate this relative chronology into absolute dates, and we believed for some time that this was possible. On the western edge of the temple of Abu, above the pedestal of the latest shrine, remain some walls which are made of post-Sargonid square bricks (stippled in plate, at upper left). Their level corresponds with that of similar walls (stippled in plate, at upper right) found above the Akkadian palace, where we found on the corresponding floor a tablet dated to the 38th year of Shulgi.<sup>17</sup> Now the Akkadian palace was destroyed probably by the Guti, most likely under Shudurul, the very last king of Sargon's dynasty; for seal impressions with his name were found by us in the private houses. Ashes and rubbish, in places more than a meter thick, from the destruction of the palace cover the whole site up to but not including the walls of the temple of Abu. This suggests that the latter continued to be used, or at least was not destroyed, when the Guti sacked the seat of the secular government, the palace. But since there is no reason to assume that the use of plano-convex bricks was continued at Tell Asmar after it stopped at Lagash under Entemena (p. 80), we have no right to identify the first use of rectangular bricks at Tell Asmar with Sargon's accession and thus cannot use the known duration of Sargon's dynasty as a basis of calculation; hence we, like others, have to be satisfied with guesses. It seems, then, if we take into account the Archaic Shrine as well as the Square Temple and the Single-Shrine Temple, that the early dynastic period went through three stages, each of which lasted at least as long as the dynasty of Sargon and probably a little longer.<sup>18</sup>

If we place Sargon's accession at 2550 B.C., we should date the

<sup>15</sup> H. Frankfort and A. Parrot, "Mari et Opis," *Revue d'assyriologie* XXXI (1934) 173-89.

<sup>16</sup> *Revue d'assyriologie* XXXI 143.

<sup>17</sup> Higher up in the mound appeared houses of the Larsa period, in which temple bricks of Shulgi had been re-used (see *OIC* No. 16, Fig. 35). There is therefore no inconsistency in the appearance of Shulgi's name at more than one level.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. depths of deposits shown in plate at end.



Single-Shrine Temple of plano-convex bricks from 2800 to 2550, the tombs of Ur falling in the latter half of this period and the second Temple Oval at Khafaje and the temple at Mari toward its beginning. The Square Temple would fall between 3000 and 2800 B.C., the Archaic Shrine between 3200 and 3000, and the Jemdet Nasr period before 3200. These figures, however, may well be too low, and in any case they remain hypothetical.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> In the winter of 1934/35 virgin soil was reached at Tell Asmar in the temple of Abu and at other points, and a detailed and well corroborated scheme of relative chronology for the early dynastic period could then be drawn up. This scheme, first presented by the writer to the 19th International Congress of Orientalists, which met at Rome in September, 1935, will be incorporated in the fifth preliminary report of the Iraq Expedition, which is soon to be ready for press. The conclusions reached in the present chapter remain valid, except that we are now sure that the Archaic Shrine at Tell Asmar represents the earliest phase of the early dynastic period and is to be dated between the first stage of the Oval at Khafaje and the Jemdet Nasr period.



*Royal Air Force Official*

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FIG. 91.—Air view of the Nabu temple and vicinity at Khorsabad after the excavations of 1933/34.

## V

## KHORSABAD

## THE TEMPLE OF NABU

A comparison of Figure 91 with the air photograph of the previous year<sup>1</sup> shows the extent of work during the season of 1933/34. The forecourt of the Nabu temple was excavated and its outer wall (Fig. 92) traced all around, largely by tunneling. The second court was



FIG. 92.—Portion of outer wall of the Nabu temple

trenched through (Fig. 93), and a square brick altar was discovered in front of the gateway which gives access to the shrine proper. The sanctuary itself was completely cleared (Fig. 94), as were most of the subsidiary rooms. Parallel with the main cella and antecella runs (to the right of them in Fig. 91) a similar suite, also devoted to Nabu. On either side of the steps leading into the holy of holies there are horizontal slabs of stone inscribed with prayers to the god.

Some bronze bands for poles were found, finely embossed with

<sup>1</sup> *OIC* No. 17, Fig. 75.

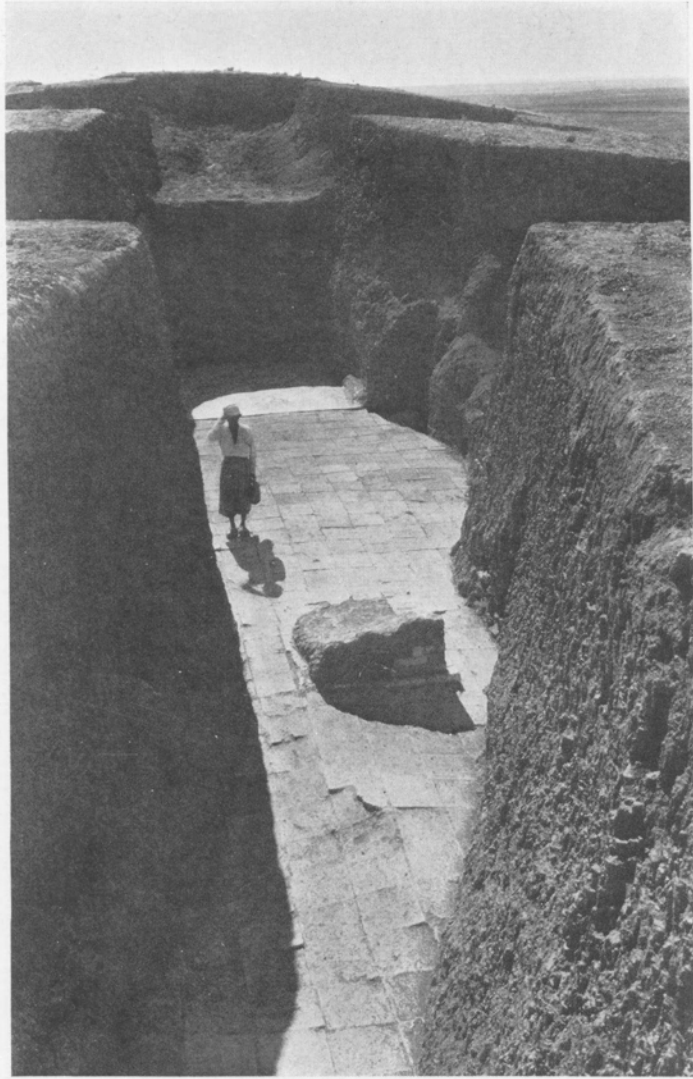


FIG. 93.—Trench through second court of the Nabu temple



FIG. 94.—Sanctuary of the Nabu temple, completely cleared

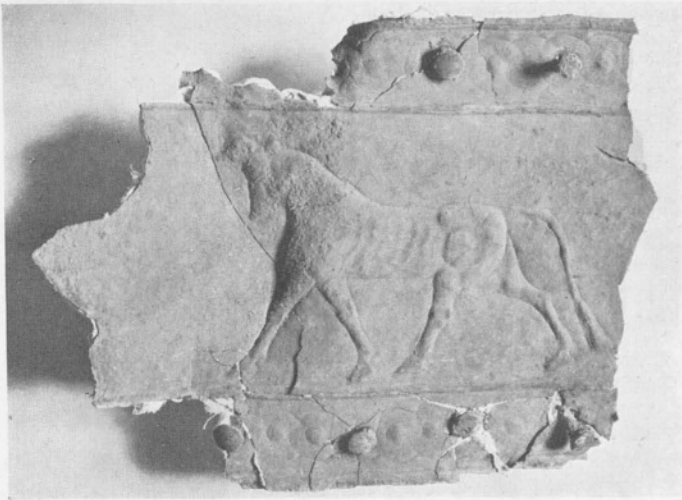


FIG. 95.—Bronze band for a pole, embossed with figure of a bull, from the Nabu temple. Scale, 1:4.

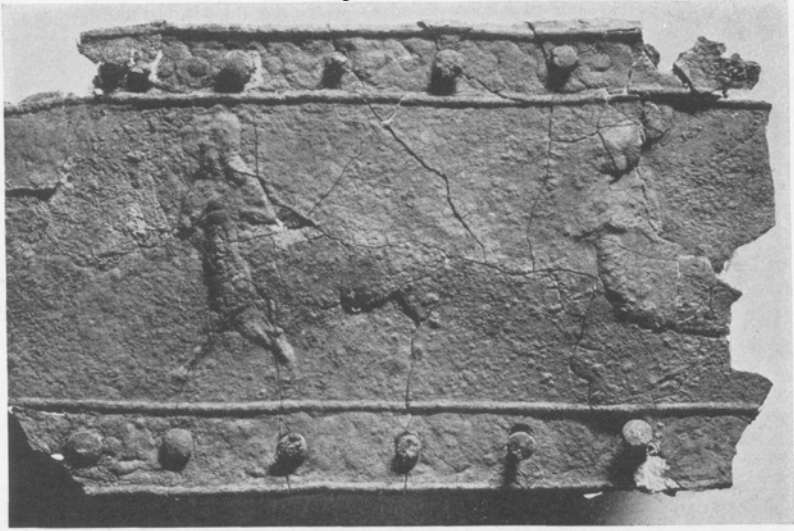


FIG. 96.—Bronze band for a pole, embossed with figures of a centaur and a merman, from the Nabu temple. Scale, 1:4.



FIG. 97.—Fragments of ivory casket decoration. Scale, 4:5





FIG. 98.—Fragments of ivory casket decoration. Scale, 9:10



FIG. 99.—Fragments of ivory casket decoration. Scale, 9:10

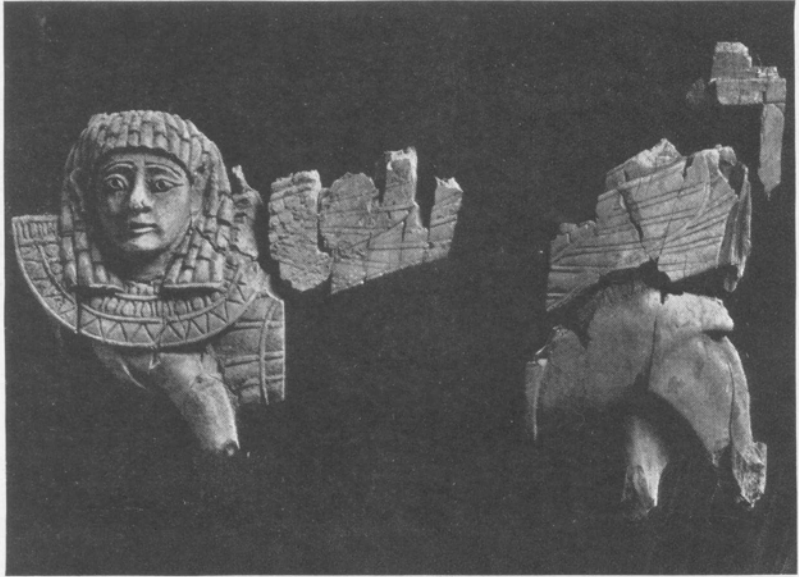


FIG. 100.—Fragments of ivory casket decoration. Scale, 4:5

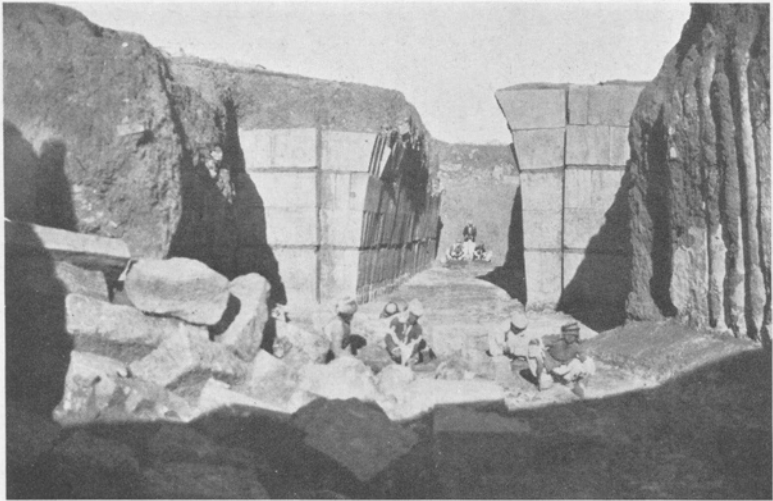


FIG. 101.—Stone viaduct connecting palace hill and Nabu temple



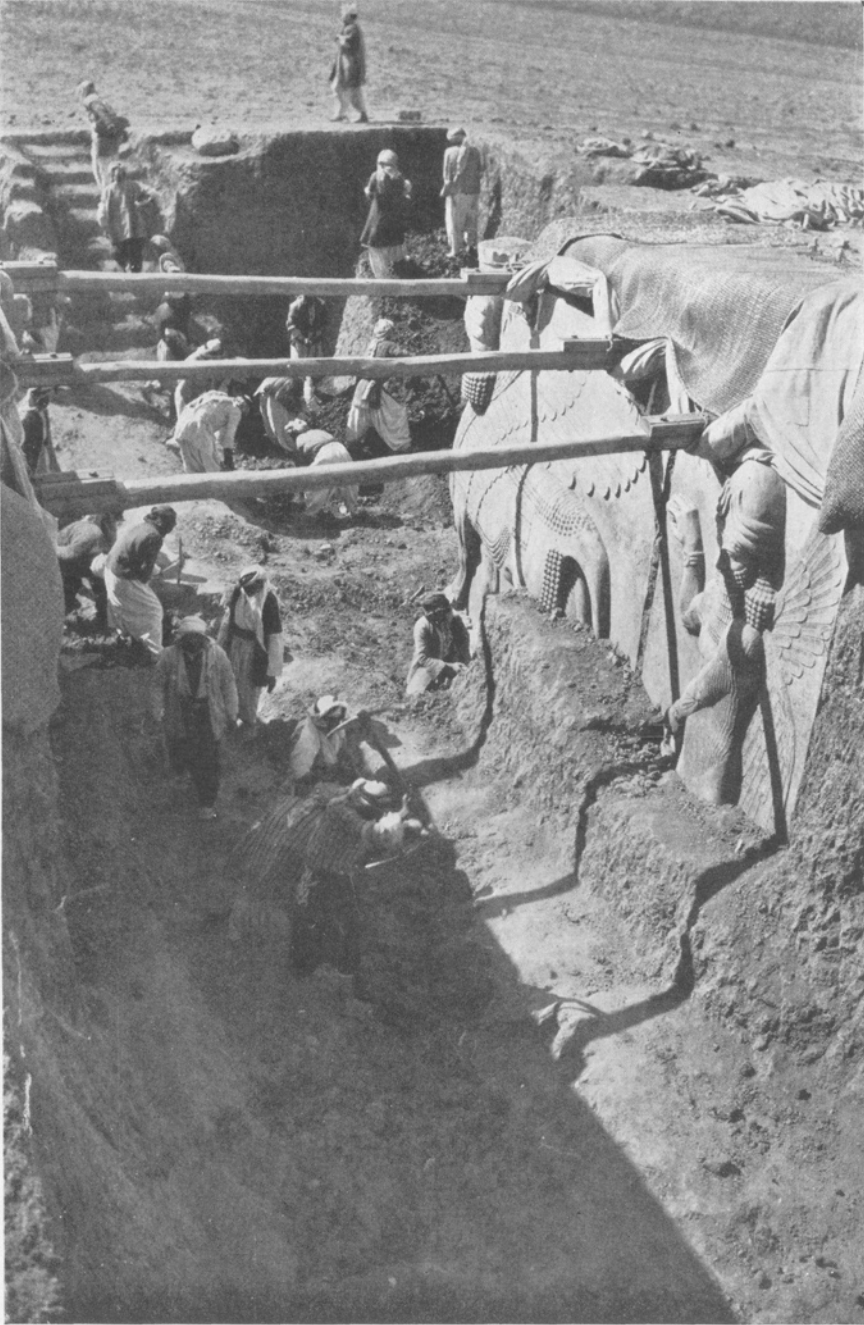


FIG. 102.—Winged bull and genius in the citadel gateway at Khorsabad

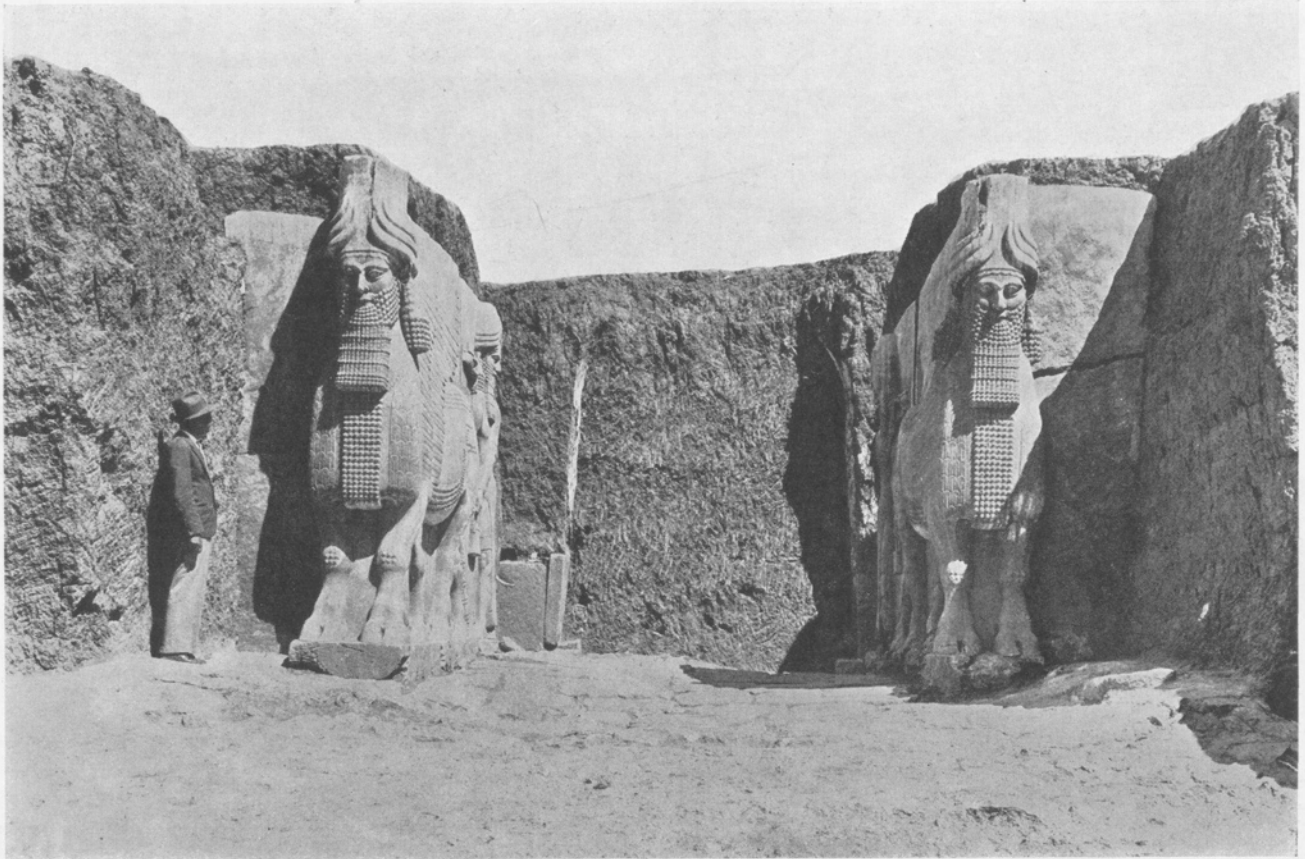


FIG. 103.—Winged bulls in the citadel gateway

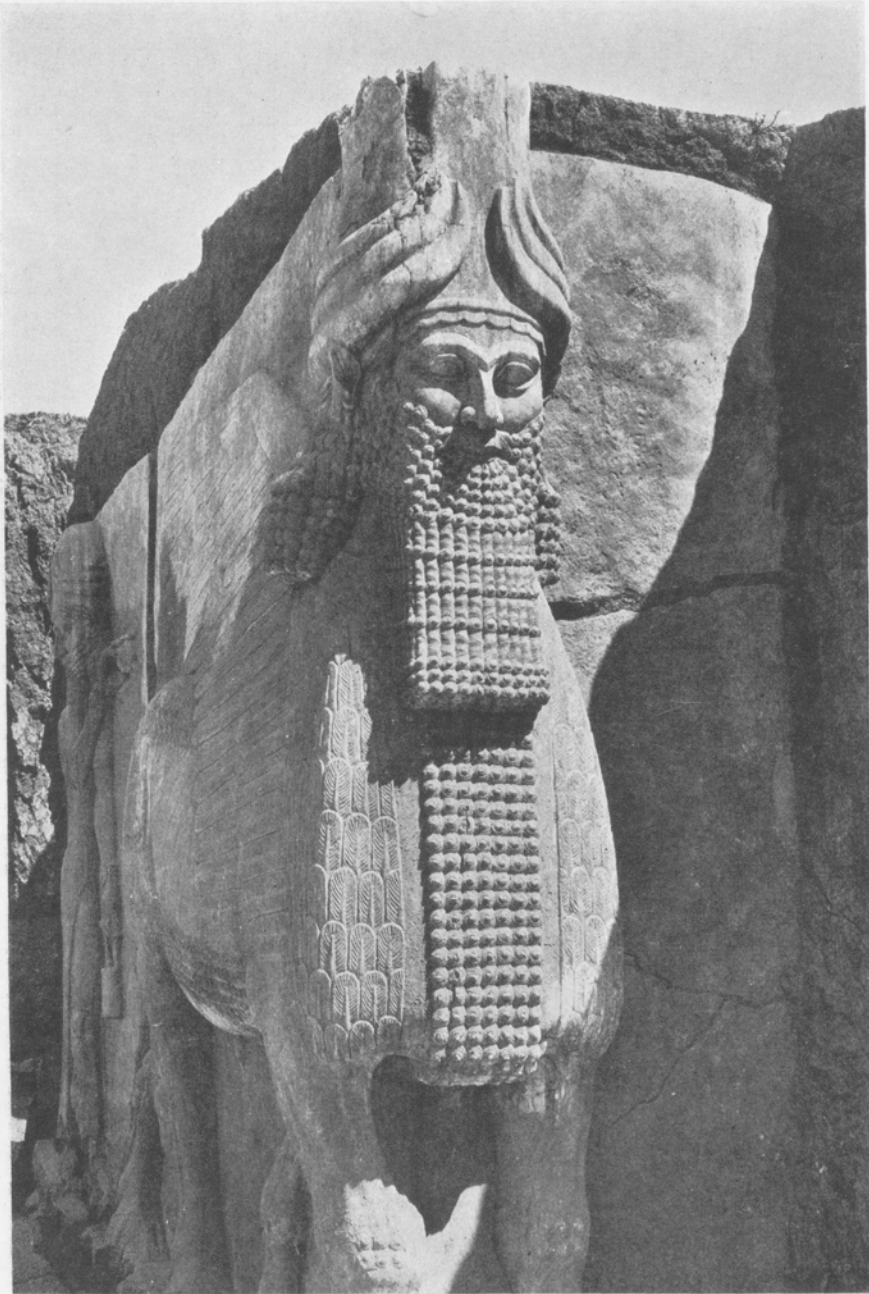


FIG. 104.—Winged bull in the citadel gateway



FIG. 105.—Genius in the citadel gateway

figures of men and bulls (e.g. Fig. 95) and with centaurs and mermen (e.g. Fig. 96); also a number of fine ivory decorations for caskets (Figs. 97-100). These have to be built up from hundreds of fragments, a work under way at the moment in the laboratory of the Baghdad Museum previous to their division, so that there will be no risk of separating parts which belong together.



FIG. 106.—Ramp leading from the citadel gateway up to the palace hill

#### THE CITADEL

Most important, however, was the discovery that our earlier expectations<sup>2</sup> were well founded. The palace and the Nabu temple were surrounded by a special fortified wall and thus formed a citadel within the city. The close connection between the palace hill (lower right-hand corner in Fig. 91) and the Nabu temple became apparent early in the season when a magnificent stone viaduct (Fig. 101) connecting the two was discovered. The air photograph (Fig. 91) shows

<sup>2</sup> *OIC* No. 16, p. 89.



the fortifications as now revealed; on the left the "battlemented" pattern formed by this wall and its towers is seen running upward and then to the right to join the town wall, beyond which lies a stream (in upper right-hand corner), an affluent of the Khosr River.

In the citadel wall, just at left of the modern Mosul road which lies between it and the river, was discovered a gateway ornamented with perfectly preserved winged bulls and genii (Figs. 102-5). No impression gained in a museum can convey the magnificence and majesty of these sculptures as they appear in the setting for which they were destined; the Iraq Government is attempting to raise funds for a complete reconstruction of this gateway in its original form. Figure 103 shows at the back the whitewash on the inside of the arch of the inner gateway. This led to a road which passed underneath the stone viaduct connecting the palace and the Nabu temple; access to the temple hill could be gained at the same spot by means of a ramp (Fig. 106). The limestone wall behind the ramp is the retaining wall of the palace hill.

## VI

A HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTION  
FROM HINES

The inscription in Hittite hieroglyphic shown in Figure 107 was one of the first things to attract our attention on arrival at the mukhtar's house in Hines, which was to serve as our quarters during a ten

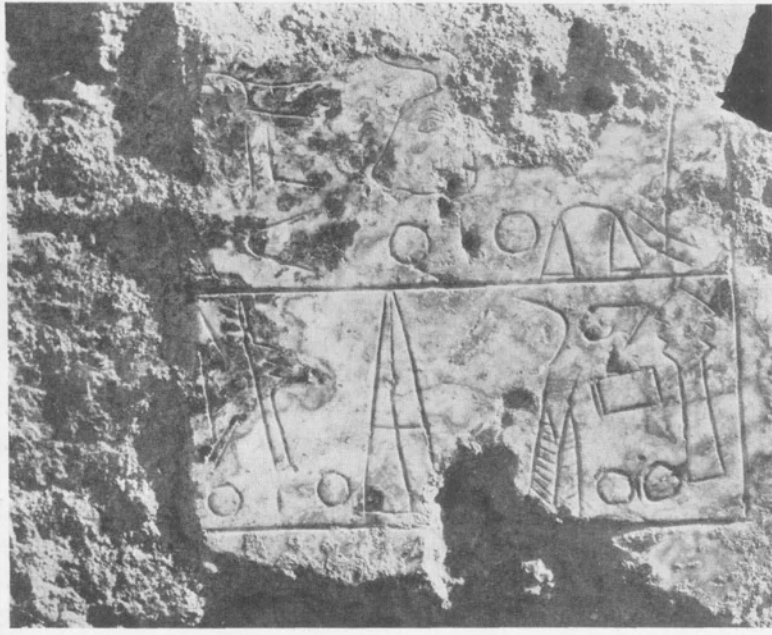


FIG. 107.—Hittite hieroglyphic inscription on a block of stone found at Hines

days' exploration of Sennacherib's canal head at Bavian. The stone on which the inscription is engraved was lying on a low bench in the court and had, so we were told, recently been found in the small square outside the house, a few inches under the surface. It is obviously a building-stone, for it is cut to a regular shape and has on one side a square hole for a dowel. Since the village of Hines, identical with

Ḫanusa of Sennacherib's Jerwan inscription, is situated on the top of an ancient tell, the stone may well have belonged to some ancient building now hidden below the spot where it appeared.

The side on which the inscription occurs is neatly polished; the signs themselves are uneven in form and spacing. Only the end of one line and the beginning of the next are preserved. Following Hrozný's readings of the signs, we may transliterate:

[ "son"-*na-mu-va-ia-s*  
*a-ma-tu-va-na* "land" "king" *e-va ia-* ]

These lines are duplicated almost exactly in the inscriptions of Hamath and of Restan south of Hamath. We may accordingly restore in the first line [*amu-me ur-hi-li-na é(?)-ta-s*] and translate: "[I am Urḫilina,] son [of Etas(?)], king of the land of Hamath. When thi[s . . . ]."<sup>1</sup> Instead of "Urḫilina, son of Etas(?)," we might—from the other Hamath inscriptions—restore "Irtames(?), son of Urḫilinas"; but our inscription corresponds more closely to the inscriptions of Urḫilina than to those of his son. It will be noted that this reconstruction enables us to judge the original length of the inscription. The second line, as may be seen from the photograph, was the last line of the inscription, which covered only the one block; and of the first line only some nine signs seem to be missing. The inscription therefore contained in all probability only the name and genealogy and title of the king, followed by some reference to the monument to which the block belonged.

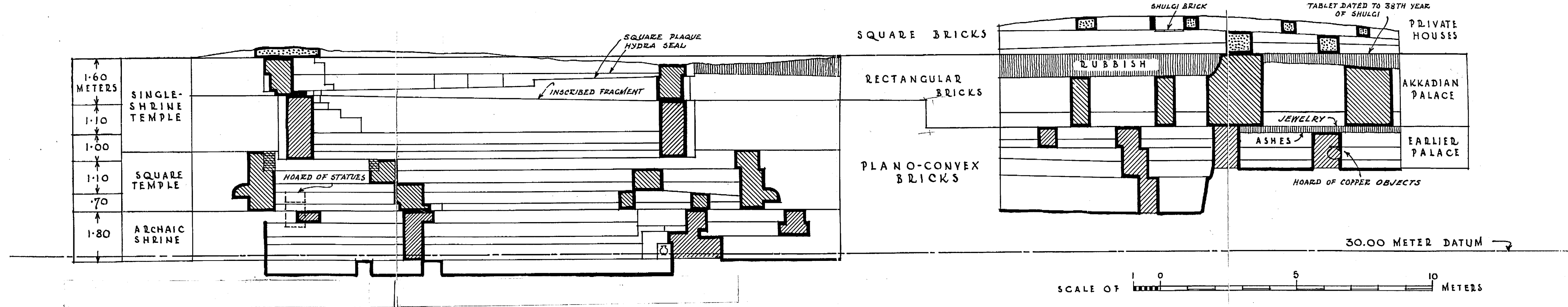
The occurrence at Ḫines of an inscription of a ruler of Hamath presents a problem. The known Hamath inscriptions date from somewhat before 800 B.C., and even if our block should belong neither to Urḫilina nor to his son, it must in any case be dated approximately to their period. In that period, however, a domination by the rulers of Hamath over the region around Ḫines is absolutely out of the question on general historical grounds. The alternative, that our stone was brought to Ḫines in later times from Hamath, is, however, hardly more probable; for it seems highly unlikely that anybody, least of all

<sup>1</sup> See the parallels in B. Hrozný, *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, 2. livr. (Praha, 1934) pp. 301-2.



an inhabitant of the poor village of Hines, should have transported a stone of its size and weight all the way across the Syrian desert. In addition, the Hamath inscriptions were cut in basalt, whereas our stone is of reddish hue and resembles red granite. We noticed stone of this kind in the mountains near Hines. It would seem, therefore, that our inscription was made locally.





SECTION THROUGH THE TEMPLE OF ABU AND THE PALACE AT TELL ASMAR





