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SOUNDINGS AT TELL FAKHARIYAH

By

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PREFACE

During the 1930's the Oriental Institute was involved in the excavation of a group of sites in the ʿAmuq basin of the sanjak of Alexandretta, which was destined to leave Syria and to join Turkey as the vilayet of Hatay. The work in the ʿAmuq basin proved to be of strategic importance for the understanding of a cultural nexus created by influences from the east, northwest, and south during the second millennium B.C. To clarify further the nature of these influences required additional research in adjacent areas, particularly in northern Mesopotamia. In this region no one site seemed likely to produce more information than Washukani, capital of Mitanni, which, as Baron Max von Oppenheim and others had long since suggested, was thought to be located at Tell Fakhariyah near Ras al-ʿAin in the Jazirah.

After the concession long since granted to Baron von Oppenheim had been canceled at the outbreak of World War II, the Oriental Institute received permission from the Haut Commissariat of Syria to excavate Tell Fakhariyah.[1] An expedition was therefore organized jointly by the Oriental Institute and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, with the friendly assistance of the Honorable Robert Woods Bliss of Washington, D.C., and Mr. Graham Aldis of Chicago. Dr. Bayard Dodge, then president of the American University at Beirut, and Mr. Ely E. Palmer, then American consul general at Beirut, gave generously of their time and services in acting for the expedition.

The expedition itself was named in honor of James Theodore Marriner, who was killed in 1937 by the bullet of a fanatic while serving as American consul general in Syria and who had a warm interest in the Oriental Institute's work in northern Syria. The staff consisted of Dr. and Mrs. Calvin W. McEwan, the former as director, Mr. Harold D. Hill as architect, and Abdullah Said Osman al-Sudain as superintendent of operations.

The expedition took the field early in 1940 but was able to work for only a short time. Baron von Oppenheim regarded the French cancellation of his concession as a violation of his rights to the site and, as he himself has stated,[2] registered a protest with the Vichy French Government after the German occupation of France in June of 1940. In consequence of this protest Dr. McEwan was abruptly forced to leave the site on 24-hour notice.

When he returned from the field Dr. McEwan brought with him (1) a large contour map of the entire site and (2) a set of field drawings and plans of the several soundings, all prepared by Mr. Hill, (3) an excellent photographic record of the work, and (4) a small collection of objects. Subsequently he asked colleagues of the Oriental Institute staff to provide for his published report sections dealing with certain of the objects, namely, the ivories and glyptic (H. J. Kantor), the statuettes (H. Frankfort), and the stone implements (L. S. Braidwood). Work on these materials began almost at once, but McEwan's death in 1950 left the publication an orphan. As early as 1951 plans were made to have other members of the Institute staff assume responsibility for the materials with which McEwan had expected to deal himself. The pressure of other commitments interfered with the immediate execution of these plans and necessitated their subsequent revision, but finally in the

[1] The undersigned takes full responsibility for any discrepancy between this statement and what Professor Anton Moortgat has said on the subject, at the suggestion of the undersigned, in *Archäologische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung im nördlichen Mesopotamien 1955* (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, "Abhandlung" LXII [Köln und Opladen, 1957]) p. 6.

[2] *Tell Halaf.* I. *Die praehistorischen Funde,* bearbeitet von Hubert Schmidt (Berlin, 1943) p. 10.

academic year 1954/55 it became possible to prepare the volume submitted herewith. Our thanks are due in this connection to both those who had already completed the assignments given to them by McEwan and those who later stepped in to deal with the pottery and miscellaneous objects (H. J. Kantor) and the cuneiform tablets (H. G. Güterbock). I assumed responsibility for analysis of certain structural remains, assisted by Mr. R. C. Haines, who also prepared the final drawings of the stone fortification system. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hauser, Editorial Secretary of the Oriental Institute, acted throughout as mentor for all of us, critic and co-ordinator.

CARL H. KRAELING

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
May 1955

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A+number	DELAPORTE, LOUIS. Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style orientale. II. Acquisitions (Paris, 1923).
AAA	Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Liverpool, 1908–48).
AASOR XXIV	PORADA, EDITH. Seal impressions of Nuzi (American Schools of Oriental Research. The annual XXIV [New Haven, 1947]).
AJ	The antiquaries journal (London, 1921——).
AJSL	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884–1941).
Alalakh	WOOLLEY, LEONARD. Alalakh. An account of the excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949 (Society of Antiquaries of London. Reports of the Research Committee XVIII [Oxford, 1955]).
AMI	Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (Berlin, 1929–38).
Antioch-on-the-Orontes	Antioch-on-the-Orontes. Published . . . by the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University. I. The excavations of 1932, ed. GEORGE W. ELDERKIN (1934). III. The excavations, 1937–1939, ed. RICHARD STILLWELL (1941). IV 1. Ceramics and Islamic coins, ed. FREDERICK O. WAAGÉ (1948).
AOF	Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin, 1923–42; Graz, 1944——).
BASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research. Bulletin (South Hadley, Mass., 1919——).
Berlin	MOORTGAT, ANTON. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel (Berlin, 1940).
B.M.	British Museum
BN	DELAPORTE, LOUIS. Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1910).
Brett	OSTEN, HANS HENNING VON DER. Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett (*OIP* XXXVII [1936]).
CS	FRANKFORT, H. Cylinder seals (London, 1939).
D+number	DELAPORTE, LOUIS. Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style orientale. I. Fouilles et missions (Paris, 1920).
De Clercq	Collection De Clercq. Catalogue méthodique et raisonné. Antiquités assyriennes ... Publiés par M. DE CLERCQ avec la collaboration de M. J. MENANT. I. Cylindres orientaux (Paris, 1888).
Halaf Prelim.	OPPENHEIM, BARON MAX VON. Tell Halaf. Translated by GERALD WHEELER (London and New York, 1933).
ILN	The illustrated London news (London, 1842——).
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago, 1942——).
Megiddo I	LAMON, ROBERT S., and SHIPTON, GEOFFREY M. Megiddo. I. Seasons of 1925–34. Strata I–V (*OIP* XLII [1939]).
Megiddo II	Megiddo. II. Seasons of 1935–39. By the Megiddo Expedition, GORDON LOUD, Field Director (*OIP* LXII [1948]).
Megiddo Ivories	LOUD, GORDON. The Megiddo ivories (*OIP* LII [1939]).
Megiddo Tombs	GUY, P. L. O., and ENGBERG, ROBERT M. Megiddo tombs (*OIP* XXXIII [1938]).
MJ	Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. The museum journal (Philadelphia, 1910–35).
Moore	EISEN, GUSTAVUS A. Ancient oriental cylinder and other seals, with a description of the collection of Mrs. William H. Moore (*OIP* XLVII [1940]).

Moortgat *a*	MOORTGAT, ANTON. Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts (*ZA* XLVII = n.F. XIII [1942] 50–88).
Moortgat *b*	MOORTGAT, ANTON. Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts (*ZA* XLVIII = n.F. XIV [1944] 23–44).
Morgan	Corpus of ancient Near Eastern seals in North American collections. . . . I. The collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Catalogued and edited by EDITH PORADA . . . in collaboration with BRIGGS BUCHANAN (The Bollingen series XIV [New York, 1948]).
Newell	OSTEN, HANS HENNING VON DER. Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell (*OIP* XXII [1934]).
Nuzi	STARR, RICHARD F. S. Nuzi. Report on the excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq, conducted by Harvard University in conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University Museum of Philadelphia (Cambridge, Mass., 1937–39).
OIP	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924——).
OIP XIX	SCHMIDT, ERICH F. Researches in Anatolia. IV. The Alishar Hüyük. Seasons of 1928 and 1929. Part I (1932).
OIP XXIX	OSTEN, HANS HENNING VON DER. Researches in Anatolia. VIII. The Alishar Hüyük. Seasons of 1930–32. Part II (1937).
OIP XL	LOUD, GORDON, and ALTMAN, CHARLES B. Khorsabad. II. The citadel and the town (1938).
OIP XLV	GELB, IGNACE J. Hittite hieroglyphic monuments (1939).
OIP LXXII	FRANKFORT, H. Stratified cylinder seals from the Diyala region (1955).
QDAP	Palestine. Department of Antiquities. The quarterly (Jerusalem, 1931–50).
Sendschirli V	LUSCHAN†, FELIX VON. Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli. Herausgabe und Ergänzung besorgt von WALTER ANDRAE (Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V [Berlin, 1943]).
Southesk Qc	Catalogue of the collection of antique gems formed by James Ninth Earl of Southesk K.T. Edited by his daughter LADY HELENA CARNEGIE. Vol. II (London, 1908) 86–110 and Pls. VII–VIII.
Ward	WARD, WILLIAM HAYES. The seal cylinders of western Asia (Washington, D.C., 1910).
Weber	WEBER, OTTO. Altorientalische Siegelbilder (Der alte Orient XVII–XVIII [Leipzig, 1920]).
WVDOG	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900–1941; Berlin, 1954——).
WVDOG XXIII	ANDRAE, WALTER. Die Festungswerke von Assur (1913).
WVDOG LVIII	ANDRAE, WALTER. Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur (1935).
WVDOG LXI	BITTEL, KURT, NAUMANN, RUDOLF, and OTTO, HEINZ. Yazılıkaya (1941).
WVDOG LXIV	PREUSSER, CONRAD. Die Wohnhäuser in Assur (1954).
WVDOG LXV	HALLER, ARNDT. Die Gräber und Grüfte von Assur (1954).
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie (Berlin, 1939——).

INTRODUCTION

By CARL H. KRAELING

Nature has endowed with many advantages that part of the Land of the Two Rivers that lies just to the south of the mountainous Anatolian uplands as they sweep eastward to join those of Armenia and Persia. Here, between Euphrates and Tigris after they break out of the fastnesses to the north, the contours of the land are gentle and rolling, with only occasional ranges like the Jabal ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz and the Jabal Sinjar to vary the impression of an undulating plain that slopes gently but consistently southward. Here, too, extremes of climate are less marked than they are farther to the north or south, and the perpetual drought of the middle Euphrates region is broken by rains that periodically drive in from the Mediterranean and the north. Here, finally, water is supplied by copious springs fed by subterranean channels from the distant uplands. It is obvious that under these circumstances the area was particularly favorable to east-west travel, lent itself to settlement and development as soon as the opportunities available for the support of human life began to be fully exploited, and provided a strategic emplacement for the seat of a political power.

In the very heart of this region, some 200 kilometers east of the Euphrates crossings at Carchemish and Zeugma and approximately halfway between the last outrunners of the Anatolian mountains to the north and the Jabal ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz to the south, lies a shallow basin in which the advantages of the region are brought to their fullest expression. In this basin, within the compass of but a few kilometers, there rise literally hundreds of springs, many of them creating pools and ponds, which together form the headwaters of the Khabur River, the only perennial tributary of the Euphrates in its entire Mesopotamian course. The place is therefore appropriately known in the Semitic tongue as Ras al-ᶜAin, or "fountainhead," a name that is attached today also to a village that has had a checkered history reaching back not much more than a hundred years into the period of Turkish domination.

Immediately south of the modern town of Ras al-ᶜAin lies one of the larger among the spring-fed ponds whose waters help to form the Khabur River. To the south and west of this pond is located the mound known as Tell Fakhariyah (see Pls. 13 and 86), or "mound of sherds." The mound has two lobes, each roughly rectangular in shape (see Pl. 87, in pocket at end of volume). The larger lobe, to the west, measures approximately 600 × 900 m. The smaller lobe, to the east, lying south of the western side of the pond, measures roughly 300 × 600 m. Whereas the larger lobe is relatively level, maintaining an average height of 6.00 m. above assumed zero (see p. xvii), the smaller lobe mounts steeply to an average height of 10.00 m. and has a peak of 15.00 m. The smaller lobe, since it is nearer the pond and also the higher, should be the emplacement of the oldest settlement. Between the two lobes runs a depression, well over 100 m. wide, that drains from the 5.00 m. contour level northward toward the pond. In it the contour lines recorded in Plate 87 outline two rectangular areas (in C–D VI–VII and E VI–VII), the only specifically suggestive among the physiographical features of the mound.

Certainly a site as large, as plenteously supplied with water, and as strategic in its location as Tell Fakhariyah must have played a long and important role in the history of northern Mesopotamian civilization. What one might expect to find there is suggested in part by the discoveries at the neighboring Tell Halaf and in part by a general knowledge of the history of the area. As Tell Halaf itself indicated, the area was already populated with early village settlers in Chalcolithic times.[1] Some distant influences of Sumerian culture may have penetrated into the

[1] See Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* I 107–13.

region in Early Dynastic times, incidental to the expansion of Sumerian civilization up the Tigris Valley, but this possibility is entirely conjectural. When historical records become available, the region is under the influence of the great Akkad dynasty and permanent administrative centers have been established for its control. Somewhat later it is the "Amurru" people to the west who dominate the scene, only to be replaced, as time goes on, by the forces of the Old Babylonian Empire that was extending its sway northward and westward to the Mediterranean under Hammurabi. After the decline of the Old Babylonian Empire the Hurrians seem to have established themselves in various parts of the great Khabur basin. The Hurrian immigration in turn led to the development of the Mitanni kingdom, which in the middle of the second millennium B.C. had its focus in the Khabur headwaters area and brought to that area the strongest political organization and unification it ever knew. When finally the Mitanni state deteriorated, an Aramean people took over and gave rise to the particular culture expressed in the monuments of Tell Halaf. The Arameans later bowed to the Assyrians, for whom the region was of greatest importance as the means of communication with their possessions farther to the west. Wrested from the Assyrians by the Achaemeneans, it was incorporated in the Persian system of satrapies and became a pawn in the contest between east and west as Seleucids and Parthians, Romans and Sasanians, Byzantines and Sasanians vied with each other for control of the area. The struggle did not cease until, in the middle of the 7th century of our era, it passed into the hands of the Islamic conquerors.

With such a background, almost any one of the larger mounds in the upper Khabur drainage basin could be expected to reflect in its various levels many of the different currents of political and cultural influence that had swept across the region and might be regarded as a potential source of much strategic information. The soundings of the Theodore Marriner Memorial Expedition have indeed proved Tell Fakhariyah to be such a site. It was probably first observed by Baron von Oppenheim in 1899 in the course of his exploratory visit to the Khabur basin, but it evidently did not engage his attention until the period 1911–13, while he was working on the adjacent Tell Halaf. When he returned to the field in 1927 the potentialities of Tell Fakhariyah were already clear in his mind, and by 1929 he had reached the conclusion that this mound rather than Tell Halaf should be regarded as the site of the Mitanni capital of Washukani.[2] But no excavations were made at the site until the Theodore Marriner Memorial Expedition took the field in 1940.

While working at Tell Halaf in 1929, Baron von Oppenheim instructed his architects, Dr. Felix Langenegger and Hans Lehmann, to undertake a survey of Tell Fakhariyah. A photostatic copy of the sheets of their contour map was made available to the American expedition by the Syrian Department of Antiquities. Changes in the courses of the roads and in identifiable structures on the site, coupled with the fact that none of the control points used in the Oppenheim survey could be located, made it necessary, however, for the expedition to begin anew. The fact that the expedition was forced to stop its work so soon prevented the completion of the new survey. The survey plan of the site issued as a part of this publication (Pl. 87) is therefore a compromise, based upon a new set of control points and embodying the results of the expedition's survey but completing the picture with the use of some of the materials from the earlier effort. On the preparation of this plan the following written comment was provided by the expedition's architect, the late Harold D. Hill:

> The new map was constructed with the help of a photostatic copy of the Oppenheim survey made in 1929. As none of the control points from which the latter had been made could be located in 1940, a new set of control points had to be established (Nos. 1–34), which in turn were related to the tomb (in Square D VIII), the southernmost mill (in Square G VIII), and magnetic north. The house in Square J IV of the old map was still there but was later discovered to have been rebuilt since the first survey. With these points as guides, an attempt was made to fit the new control lines and soundings of 1940 to the old map. A considerable discrepancy was found to exist in certain areas between the contours of the old map and known levels taken during the 1940 season.

[2] *Halaf Prelim.* p. 62.

In the work of 1940, assumed zero was a point on the rock at the west end of the pool in Square H VIII. The point is between two iron bands which formerly held a diving board. It was impossible to locate the zero point assumed for the old survey, but it had apparently been about .50 m. higher than the new zero. Fifty centimeters were accordingly added to the printed levels of the old survey so that they could be used on the new map. A check of contours in Squares A–C I–II was made, with results differing considerably from the old map. The new contours appear on the present map.

As the photostat showed evidence of shrinkage, its contours were traced square by square on a new sheet where the squares were of the correct dimensions, adjustments being made within each square to make up the difference. The new points and the excavations of 1940 were then drawn on this tracing, the tomb and the mill being used as guides for their location. Known levels taken during the 1940 season were adhered to, and the contour lines of the old map were adjusted to these levels. In this process, a contour interval of .50 m. was assumed for the old map. In the adjustment of the old map to the new known levels, the attempt was made to keep to the shape of the chief features as originally drawn, unless new information indicated a definite change.

The road in Square A II was found upon inquiry to have been changed since 1929, and some remodeling had taken place among the pools and inlets in Squares G–H VIII. The position of the waterwheel in Square F X had been changed, and a new aqueduct had been built up to it. This and the irrigation canal had fallen into disuse by 1940.

As no attempt was made to correct or to check the old map, except for the previously mentioned corner and where levels were taken in the course of the field work, the new map should not be considered more than a sketch map. However, the relative positions of the new survey points and the excavations of 1940 and their relation to magnetic north are correct as drawn, with the following negligible exceptions, found in checking the work:

a. The distance from point 15 to point 12 was found by remeasurement to be 499.45 m.

b. The angle between lines connecting points 12 and 15 and points 12 and 13 was read in the field at 89°40′. By trigonometric check, this indicates an error of 0.15 m. between points 7 and 12, that is, in a distance of 200.00 m.

c. The angle between lines connecting points 18 and 23 and points 18 and 15 extended was read at 35°23′. This indicates an error of 0.376 m. in 348.43 m. north from point 15 toward point 8, the east-west distances being assumed as correct.

On Tell Fakhariyah the Theodore Marriner Memorial Expedition undertook a series of clearances and made nine separate soundings in depth, referred to hereafter as Soundings I–IX (see Pl. 87). The clearances laid bare certain parts of two systems of defensive walls running in a circuit around the base of the mound. The soundings were made at strategic places in the mound as follows:

Sounding I, a step trench in Square E X, later extended southward as Sounding IA
Sounding II, in Squares D–E VII
Sounding III, in Squares E–F VI
Sounding IV, in Squares E–F VIII
Sounding V, in Square B VIII
Sounding VI, in Squares E VII–VIII
Sounding VII, in Square C IX
Sounding VIII, in Square C X
Sounding IX, in Square F IX

They are described in chapter i, written by McEwan in Chicago as part of the excavation report which he had begun to prepare for publication.

I

NOTES ON THE SOUNDINGS

By CALVIN W. MCEWAN†

SOUNDING I

This was a step trench made in Square E X (see Pl. 87). Nineteen floors were distinguished in the west end of the trench, the lowest of which was roughly at the level of the bottom of a thick *libn* wall which cut across the trench at the middle (Pl. 14 *A–B*). East of this wall no floors could be distinguished, although the excavations were not carried throughout to the level of its base (see section on Pl. 1). At the bottom of the trench (east end) we came upon a stone tower which proved to be one of the features of the stone city wall.

The average level for each floor is given on the plan of the sounding (see Pl. 1). Individual levels were taken, two to a floor wherever possible. Floor 19 consisted of fragments of baked brick. The bit of baked-brick drain shown in the plan was apparently of an occupation higher than Floor 19, for the level of the covering brick was 0.08 m.

SOUNDING IA

We made this cut (see Pl. 1) just south of the west end of Sounding I, to see whether an extension could be made in that direction at the level of the painted pottery.[1] All floors were fragmentary, and when we reached Floor 7 (corresponding to Floor 12 of the step trench) we found the walls so destroyed, and the baked-brick pavement so fragmentary, that we abandoned this sounding to concentrate on Sounding IX.

Floor 1 corresponds to Floor 2 of Sounding I.

Floor 2 corresponds to Floor 3 of Sounding I. No floor was found in the rectangular space at the east.

Floor 3 corresponds to Floor 7 of Sounding I. This was fragmentary, and the level of the stone-walled circular depression seems to indicate that it belongs to a floor corresponding to Floor 6 of Sounding I. No floors were found intervening between this and Floor 2. In the northwest corner was an oven.

Floor 4 corresponds to Floor 9 of Sounding I. In this level the circular depression had a partly destroyed wall of clay, which may have been only the foundation for the stone circle of the floor above, although a lower floor level within the circle (at 4.08 m.) indicated that the stones were of a rebuilding. In any case the depression probably does not belong to Floor 4, but it is shown on the plan because it cut through the floor. In Floor 5 it cut through a *libn* wall. The *libn* wall shown at the west edge of the sounding in Floor 4 was only one course high; the bricks measured 47 × 47 × 10 cm.

Floor 5 (Pl. 14 *C*) was interrupted at the west side of the sounding by a burial. The floor was irregular in level, possibly because it was originally paved with bits of stone as indicated by fragments found toward the center of the sounding at 4.25 m. It corresponds in level to Floor 10 of Sounding I.

Floor 6 existed only in traces along the sides of the sounding. A face and a corner of a wall (shown by white line on Pl. 1) were its only features. Its level corresponds roughly to that of Floor 11 of Sounding I.

Floor 7 was considerably higher in the northwest corner of the sounding than at the two other points where it could be traced, which were at the east end of the sounding. The levels of the bottoms of the walls, however, indicate that the floor level all along the west end of the sounding must have been about that of the trace in the northwest corner. The lower floor level, at the east, corresponds to Floor 12 of Sounding I. The *libn* walls at this level in the northeast corner of the sounding apparently had been cut into walls of a floor below. The wall which is hatched on the plan (see Pl. 1) was of

[1] [See pp. 32–34 for the Sounding I pottery, Nos. 38–46 and 56–57 being painted. See also p. 23.—ED.]

black *libn* and could be distinguished from the reddish *libn* walls of Floor 7. As the level of the top of the black wall was about a meter above that of Floor 7, it must have been left standing during that occupation and the walls of Floor 7 must have been built against it. The two small rectangles at the middle of the west side of the sounding were only one course or two courses high and may have been the bases of walls which extended west beyond the sounding.

SOUNDING II

This trench was run across the ridge which separates two rectangular spaces in Squares C–E VI–VII (see Pl. 87). Nothing definite was found to explain the ridge, except for an irregular layer of limelike material which could be traced across the trench at about the position indicated on the plan (Pl. 2 *A*). This layer did not seem to consist of disintegrated limestone; it may have been a plaster layer, but its edges were not well defined. No features were found in connection with it.

The excavation was first carried down to a general level of roughly a meter and a half below the average surface. At this level white stones indicated a wall running in the direction of the ridge, with a baked-brick paving (see Pl. 15 *A*) south of it. Other white stones, at the north end of the trench, suggested no plan and had no floor in connection with them. At the south end of the trench, at about the same level, were two fragments of a possible wall forming a doorway. They were constructed of a core of earth and small stones and faced with larger stones over which there was a layer of white plaster about 3 cm. thick.

Further excavation was confined to a small area, empty at the upper level, where we went down to a well constructed stone pavement with features suggesting a drain (see Pls. 2 *B* and 15 *A–B*). The stones of the pavement were up to a meter in length and 40–50 cm. thick. They were carefully laid and, except for an empty area at the north, seemed to be undisturbed. Two trenchlike gaps ran across the pavement. At the sides of these the heavy stones went down for at least three courses. The strip of stone separating the trenches was topped by one course of stone above the pavement level, of which only two stones were found. The upper edges of these stones were cut to form two ledges running lengthwise of the stones. Resting partly on the northern ledge and partly on the pavement, and apparently in position, was a stone pierced by two transverse slots. Supposedly the ledges were completed by the missing upper stones between the two trenches and on them, both north and south, rested a course of slotted stones similar to the one found. The slotted stone was L-shaped in section. The slots began about 20 cm. from the inner face of the stone (the part resting on the ledge) and extended to the opposite face. In the pavement in front of the slotted stone was an east-west channel. A similar channel in the pavement along the south side of the other trench turned at right angles at the west edge of the excavation. The position of the slots and the stone-lined trenches suggest that this was a battery of toilets. Professor Olmstead pointed out that the two rectangular spaces which show in the contour of the tell suggest a Roman camp and that a series of toilets such as these would be part of the equipment.

A circular hole cut in the northeast corner of the stone paving was excavated to water level. It did not seem to be secondary work.

SOUNDING III

This was cut across one of the old robber trenches which had been made on a raised part of the tell, in Squares E–F VI–VII (see Pl. 87), north of the two rectangular spaces mentioned in connection with Sounding II. Large cut black stones in the village were said to have come from these trenches. At first we excavated a trench about 4.50 m. wide, running roughly north-south, to a depth of about 5.00 m. At this depth a plaster floor (apparently formed of white lime plaster) could be traced for most of the length of the trench (Pl. 3). At the south end the floor ran up to a thin wall of soft white stone which crossed the trench running east-west. This stone was covered with a thin lime plaster, both inside and out. Projecting southward from this cross wall was a rectangular structure, the front of which was cut down to form three shelves at different levels (Pl. 16 *A*). North of the cross wall and set into the plaster floor was

a rectangle of black stones with a small hollow space in the center. About 12 m. north of the cross wall was a row of white stones also running east-west, with a single white stone of an upper course at the west end. All except the westernmost stones were badly weathered, and, with the amount of excavation done, only the north face and suggestions of the cross joints could be fixed. Just below this row, and projecting slightly northward, was another row of white stones whose north face was traced. About 4.70 m. north of this was another cross row of stones. Here the lower course, approximately at floor level, was of white stone, while a few remnants of an upper course were of black stone, much harder than the white. The plaster floor was cut along a line about 4.0 m. north of the latter row, and between and north of the cross rows it was badly broken up by modern graves.

There were traces of a second plaster floor at the north and south ends of the trench. Excavation was carried below this in a small irregular area at the south end of the trench to a stone and mosaic paving at about 3.50 m. The stones were carefully cut and laid against an east-west wall of soft stone with a plaster face. Other stones at the same level at the extreme south end of the trench may have been fragments of further paving. A fragment of worked stone was found next to these. The mosaic was composed of very irregular tesserae, carelessly laid. The design consisted of red diamonds within larger dark blue and dark brown diamonds, on a white ground (Pl. 16 *B*).

At the north end of the trench the excavation was carried down to a stone pavement at about 4.00 m. (Pl. 16 *C*). This pavement was laid around a series of stone rectangles, which were regularly spaced in an east-west line and suggested piers. These piers were followed in a narrow trench beyond the limits of our original trench (Pl. 16 *D*). From the westernmost rectangle it appeared that the piers had been built of a course of white stone at the floor, with the next course of hard black stone.

It appeared that the robber trenches had been made along the faces of walls or following colonnades of piers, probably of the building to which the piers and stone pavement of our trench belonged.

SOUNDING IV

This trench was cut across the top of the higher part of the tell in Squares E–F VIII (see Pl. 87) so that we might determine the depth of the later occupation in the higher part of the tell. It was carried down for nine floors from a surface level of about 11.00 m. to a depth of about 3.50 m. (Pl. 4). At its lower levels it was still producing late material, and, as work became increasingly difficult and dangerous, it was abandoned.

Floor 1 consisted only of floor traces which showed at the sides of the trench and had no other features. Its average level was 9.57 m.

Floor 2 had no discernible flooring, unless the regularly laid stones at 9.26 m. represented pavement. A wall running across the trench at the middle appeared to have stone paving north of it (Pl. 17 *A*).

Floor 3 was an earth floor at about 8.40 m., which disappeared toward the south end of the trench. A course of regularly laid cut stone toward the north apparently indicated a wall (Pl. 17 *B*).

Floor 4 also was an earth floor, partly broken and not to be found in the spaces inclosed by stone walls at the south end of the trench. Most of the walls were of rubble, although some regularly laid cut stones were built into the rubble wall at the south end (Pl. 17 *C*). A well which extended as far as the bottom of the excavation first appeared in this floor, whose general level was about 7.11 m.

To reach Floor 5, we confined the excavation to about 5 m. of the length of the trench. This floor had no features. The level was about 6.35 m.

Floor 6 was an earth floor and contained a poorly constructed drain running across the trench. The sides of the drain consisted of irregular stones and broken baked bricks 15–30 cm. long and standing about 12 cm. above the channel. There was no cover. A *libn* cross wall at the north end of the trench apparently belonged to this floor, although the top of its one course was at 5.01 m., that is, below the general floor level of 5.25 m. This was probably only the remaining lowest course of the wall. The bricks measured 37 × 37 × 12 cm. Just south of this wall was a roughly circular depression,

the bottom of which was 40 cm. below the level of Floor 6.

Floor 7 was very fragmentary, consisting only of a small area of paving of pebbles 3–6 cm. in diameter, at the southwest corner of the trench. Its level was 4.47 m. Floors 5, 6, and 7 were pierced by the well from above, whose position was constantly shifting toward the south.

Floor 8 was at about 3.76 m. A row of *libn* only one course high crossed the north end of the trench. A small fragment of baked-brick drain was found toward the middle of the trench (Pl. 17 *D*). This was poorly constructed of broken bricks. The depth of the channel was about 20 cm.

Floor 9 contained no features. Its level was 3.24 m. Two burials interrupted Floors 8 and 9 (see Pl. 17 *D*).

SOUNDING V

Sounding V (Pl. 5) was a trench run across a lower spur of the main lobe of the mound in Squares B VII–VIII (see Pl. 87).

Floor 1 was a layer of white plaster about 6 cm. thick, with no discernible walls. Its level was about 7.65 m.

Floor 2 was of earth in the westerly end of the trench, at 6.86 m., and of plaster (8 cm. thick) just east of the cross wall (Pl. 18 *A*), at 7.08 m. The floor was not found in the center and the easterly end of the trench. A roughly rectangular plastered patch with a rim about 20 cm. high, found at the center of the trench, apparently belonged to Floor 2.

For Floor 3 the excavation was limited to a shorter space. As a floor it was found for only about half the length of the space, at about 6.00 m. Rows of wall and pavement(?) at the westerly end of the trench probably belonged to this occupation.

Floor 4, with excavation limited to the easterly half of the reduced space, contained only fragments of low stone walls, probably foundations with actual floor only within the angle inclosed by the walls. The level of this floor was 5.55 m.

For Floor 5, only a wall fragment at the westerly end of the trench was found, with floor indications along both sides of the trench. Toward the south the level was 5.00 m., toward the north 5.33 m. The floors toward the north were not clear. Between 5.33 m. and about 4.90 m. (assumed to be Floor 6) were close ill-defined floor traces in which at least two intermediate levels could be distinguished. The closeness of floor traces and the dark color of the deposit between were peculiar to this part of the trench. Perhaps this was the edge of a street.

In Floor 6 there was only the spur of a low stone wall, projecting into the middle of the trench, with floor traces at the sides of the trench, at 4.42 m. toward the south and about 4.90 m. toward the north.

Floor 7 (Pl. 18 *B*) consisted of a patch of paving at the west corner of the trench, made up of pebbles 10–30 cm. in diameter, and an earth floor at the easterly end of the trench. The levels were 3.62 and 3.80 m. respectively. An oven and a spur of stone wall in the east corner of the trench apparently belonged to Floor 7.

SOUNDING VI

Sounding VI, in Squares E VII–VIII (see Pl. 87), was originally a trench running roughly east-west down the side of the higher part of the tell, where the slope is somewhat more gradual than elsewhere. It was later enlarged toward the north and south so that we could uncover the limits of the *libn* building exposed at the lowest level excavated. Upper floors not connected with this building were traceable at the east end of the trench (see section on Pl. 6 *A*) but contained no features. In the building proper (Pl. 19), two main levels of occupation could be traced, although these were not both found along the west side of the building, in Rooms 4–7 (see Pl. 6 *A*).[2]

[2] [There is a discrepancy between certain photographs of Sounding VI and the field catalogue in the matter of numbers assigned to floors. In his notes McEwan refers to the floors within the building by their elevations rather than by numbers, and on the field map of the sounding Hill did not number the floors which he leveled. In addition to floors contained within the walls of the building Hill gave the elevations of four "floors at (east) end of trench" (8.34, 7.44, 6.60, and 6.36 m.) and "traces of white floor" (6.99 m.) at the edge of the excavated area east of Room 1. The elevations of the existing surface preclude the preservation of these floors over much of the excavated area (see section on Pl. 6 *A*). In the field catalogue objects are registered from "surface," "floor 1," "floor 2," and, on the last entry date for the sounding, three objects from "floor 3." One entry of three pottery bowls was given the provenience "floor 2 with pot burial," and the only photographs labeled "floor 2" show a pot burial (Burial I; see p. 45) contained within the building (Pl. 20 *B–C*). However, all the other photographs of the building are labeled "floor 4." One

The plan as found (Pl. 6 *A*) suggests a grouping of rooms around a central court, Room 2, which was paved with pebbles. Whether Room 3, similarly paved, was a second court or a street could not be determined without further excavation. A small spur of wall jutting eastward from outside the northeast corner of Room 1 suggests that the building extends farther in that direction.

Room 2 had two occupations, represented by stone paving at 4.57–4.74 m. and a lower floor traceable in the doorway to Room 1, at 4.36 m. The latter was not fully uncovered. As the bottom of the wall at the east end of Room 2 was at 4.74 m., that wall could not have served for the lower occupation and there was possibly some change of plan here. In the southeast corner of the room, blocking the doorway to Room 3, a font or bin of white limestone (52 × 69 cm. and 72 cm. high) stood on the upper floor. It was hollowed out of a single stone, the interior having a depth of 57 cm. from the rim.

Room 1 had traces of an upper floor (at 5.20 m.) and a lower floor containing a patch of baked-brick paving (at 4.33 m.) at the east end. The latter corresponds to the lower floor in Room 2. The bottoms of the walls were at 4.27 m. at the east side, 4.23 m. at the south, 3.69 m. at the west, and 4.14–4.36 m. at the north.

The floor sloped down sharply into an L-shaped passage (Room 7) and its adjoining rooms. The floor at the doorway from Room 1 to the passage was at 3.94 m., or the level of the bottom of the wall at that side. This wall, separating the passage from Room 1, was thicker than normal except for the east jamb of the doorway. However, a face could be distinguished within the body of the wall, indicating a thickening by rebuilding, possibly to strengthen the wall. The extra narrow strip along the north face of the wall was founded deeper than the wall itself. The floor of the passage sloped down toward the north, sometimes to below the apparent level of the bottom of the walls. However, there was probably not originally a step from the passage into Rooms 5 and 6. Room 5 was square in plan and contained no features. The floor level at the center of the room was 3.93 m., whereas the bottoms of the walls were at 3.97 m. on the north and 4.06 m. on the east. Possibly this room had been paved and the floor as found was only an under surface prepared to receive bricks. There were no traces of bricks in place, however. Room 6 was a bathroom paved with baked bricks which measured 31 × 31 × 6 cm. The floor sloped from 4.14 m. at the doorway to 4.08 m. just east of the center of the room, where there was a hole (8 cm. in diameter) cut into the brick floor. Opposite this drain and built into the north wall of the room was a toilet (see Pl. 20 *A*). The wall was 1.10 m. thick at this point, and the toilet extended 68 cm. from the wall face into it. The toilet was of the usual baked-brick construction, 53 cm. across the front, with a slot 25 cm. wide running back 54 cm. from the front. The wall was faced along the bottom with an orthostat course of baked bricks. Room 4 had no special features. Its floor was at 4.01 m. at the center, and the bottoms of the walls were at 3.96 m. at the north, 4.07 m. at the east, and 4.09 m. at the south. Below the south wall were about 20 cm. of clay and below that more *libn*, the top of which was at 3.88 m. This wall was not investigated

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of these (Pl. 20 *D*) shows the southwest corner of Room 4, which is recognizable as the location of the pot burial (cf. Pl. 20 *C*). This photograph shows the edges of the pit which was dug to clear the burial and then filled with loose earth. It is clear, therefore, that we can equate the "floor 2" of the pot burial photographs and of the field catalogue with the "floor 4" of the photograph shown on Pl. 20 *D*.

Just why the floor of Room 4 has two different designations is puzzling, but the discrepancy can be rationalized in this way: At the time of excavation the high floors at the east end of the trench (above Room 3) were not numbered since they covered such a small area, contained no architectural features and, if our reasoning is correct, no objects. But when the objects were entered in the field catalogue, the upper and lower floors of the building were numbered 1 and 2 respectively. This reasoning would account for the fact that no objects from "floor 4" are recorded in the field catalogue. We have no suggestion as to the "floor 3" of the catalogue, for the field map of the sounding shows no evidence of digging below what McEwan calls the lower floor of the building. In preparing the material for publication the excavators may have thought it desirable to assign numbers to the fragmentary floors which are indicated above Room 3 in the section shown on Pl. 6 *A*. If so, "floor 1" would have been at 8.34 m., "floor 2" at 7.44 m., "floor 3a" at 6.60 m., and "floor 3b" at 6.36 m. Thus the upper and the lower floor of the building would have been "floor 4a" and "floor 4b" respectively. This reasoning is entirely supposition but does offer a means of correlating the records as we found them. In the present publication the proveniences given in the List of Objects (pp. 91–98) are as recorded in the field catalogue, and it is assumed that "floor 1" and "floor 2" of the field catalogue correspond to McEwan's upper and lower floors of the building.—R. C. HAINES.]

further. (The unbaked bricks[3] averaged 34 × 34 × 12 cm. and were laid in regular bond.)

The northwest and southwest corners of the building were found. Outside the south wall there was a short spur of thin wall abutting the building. Its top was at 5.66 m., and it was not considered a part of the building. The walls at the southwest corner of Room 1 were covered by walls of a later period.

SOUNDING VII

Sounding VII was begun as a trench in the flat part of the east side of the main lobe of the tell, in Square C IX (see Pl. 87). It was abandoned after two days in favor of Sounding IX. No discernible floors and no features were found (Pl. 21 *A*).

SOUNDING VIII

This was a small square sounding, in Square C X, started at the same time as Sounding VII. It also was abandoned before floors were found (Pl. 21 *B*).

SOUNDING IX

This was begun as a trench running roughly north-south down the side of the eastern lobe of the tell, at the northeast corner, in Square F IX (see Pl. 87). In the upper levels floors could be traced at the south end of the trench, but these were fragmentary and disconnected and often very uneven in level. These floors (1, 2, and 2*A*) are only schematic as shown on the section of Sounding IX (Pl. 7 *A*). There were no recognizable features connected with them, and the indications were that this area was an unoccupied refuse dump during the periods which they represent. Successive stone layers along the middle of the east side of the trench suggested that there had been a street here.

Two *libn* faces were found within Room 3 (see Pl. 6 *B*) just above Floor 3, inclosing a small patch of floor called "2*A*." The top of the west wall was at 5.86 and 5.03 m. and its bottom at 3.76–4.26 m. The other wall stood to 5.13 m. and was founded at 4.29 m. These were probably fragments of foundation for a later building.

The first definite plan came in Floor 3, which proved to represent the third and uppermost occupation of a building which we consider a palace. To uncover this building we extended the excavation eastward and westward (Pl. 22 *A*).

Floor 4 also represented a secondary occupation of the palace, and Floor 5 was the original floor. Floor 6, which was below the *libn* of the walls, was considered not an occupational floor but a compact surface under the real floor, perhaps used during construction of the building or to level the surface before the true floor was put in.

The palace in its original form is shown in the plan of Floors 4 and 5 (Pl. 7 *B*). The plan consisted of rooms around the central Room 4, assumed to have been a court. The limits of the building are not known. The treatment of the north doorway of Room 1 and the absence of cross walls in the space north of Rooms 1, 2, and 3 suggest that the north wall is the façade of the palace. But a wall stub running northward at each end of the façade indicates a court or open area, which may have had rooms at each side. However, the presence of a pivot stone on the inside at the doorway in the east wall stub indicates that the area was closed off from the east by a door which swung from the inside. These wall stubs were denuded and disappeared into the contour of the mound. As the bottom of the *libn* is below the surface at this point, possibly the foundations at least could be found by further excavation. In the doorway at the east was a row of baked bricks, evidently the bottom of a drain. According to present levels, this would have drained into the open area, but the differences in elevation are so slight as to preclude certainty. The level of these bricks (*ca.* 2.34 m.) is near enough to that of Floor 5 at the doorway to Room 1 (*ca.* 2.65 m.) for assumption that they belonged to the same occupation. If the bricks represent the bottom of a drain, the depth of a channel with covering bricks would bring the pavement level about 30 cm. higher. The floor within Room 1 was of earth, and fairly even in elevation. It came to the bottom of orthostat courses in the doorways to Rooms 4 and 3, or to 2.66 and 2.80 m. respectively.

It seems probable that Rooms 2 and 5–7 represent the eastern limit of the palace, although the outer (east) wall was fragmentary as found. Probably the building did not extend west of the west wall of Room 3, although in that case the outer wall of the palace must have had jogs in it to account for the variation in thickness. The

[3] [Presumably of the building as a whole.—ED.]

north wall of Room 3 was 2.25 m. thick, and the west wall 2.75 m.; the west wall stub south of Room 3 was 3.05 m. thick. A stub of cross wall extending westward from the west wall of Room 3 was not bonded to the *libn* of the latter where its south face was investigated. It is possible that another building abutted the palace and used its west wall. The space west of Room 4 was apparently divided by a north-south wall into two rooms. The limits of Room 4 were determined only in a small pit taken down to the southwest corner of the room. The top of the wall at this corner was found at 6.28 m., 2.50 below the surface at this point, and the wall could not be followed to any length in so small a pit. The corner does not line up with the south wall of Room 4 as found, but it was impossible to tell without further excavation whether that wall was bent through settling or whether it had an intentional jog. The corner lines up properly with the east face of the wall separating Rooms 1 and 3.

The treatment of the doorway in the north wall of Room 1 is not certain. The stone column base as found and the baked bricks shown on the plan (Pl. 7 *B*) belong to Floor 4. Also, the plaster on the jambs ended at the level of Floor 4. However, the doorway continued down in the wall, and the construction below the column base suggested that it was in secondary use as found.

The column base was cut from a single white stone, harder than that found in Soundings II and III. It consisted of a rectangular plinth (1.41 × 1.92 m.) surmounted by a molded circular base at its center (see Pl. 23 *A*). It was pierced by a hole (67 cm. in diameter) with slightly convex surface. As found, it stood on a foundation of *libn* (50 cm. deep), below which was a layer of solid earth (13 cm. thick). A rough hole tapering in toward the bottom was scooped out of the *libn* mass to a depth of 30 cm. This hole corresponded in size to the piercing in the stone and was directly below it (Pl. 8 *A*). It was found full of sand but had supposedly received a column, pertaining to Floor 4. The stone base, then, must in fact have been a collar through which the shaft projected to rest on the *libn*.

Below the solid earth layer, however, was a roughly elliptical stone, 8 cm. thick and 50 × 82 cm. on its axes, which as found was cracked. It seems probable that this stone originally took the weight of the column, during the original occupation (Floor 5), and that the stone collar was later raised to the new level (Floor 4) and the *libn* foundation built on the old supporting stone.

Orthostats ran along the jambs of the doorways from Room 1 to Rooms 3 and 4 (Pl. 23 *B–D*). They were of soft semitranslucent white stone, probably gypsum. They were roughly of the size of the baked bricks found in the palace, normally about 32 cm. square and about 6 cm. thick. The walls of Room 1 were covered with bands of colored plaster. The system of decoration here and in the other rooms is discussed below.

Room 3 had no special features during the original occupation. The floor level was somewhat higher than that of Room 1, though the floors of both rooms rose gradually toward the west. The level in Room 3 was about 2.80 m. at the doorway to Room 1 and 3.00 m. at the west end. Just west of the center of the room was a rectangle of baked brick at about 3.05 m.

Room 4 was not excavated to Floor 5, except at the doorways to Rooms 1 and 6. Rooms 2, 5, and 6 were partly destroyed. A rough mass of stone, as if for a fill for later construction, cut away their east walls and part of the wall dividing Room 4 from Room 5, and a well sunk from an upper level cut through Floor 3. In Room 6, it was possible to trace the south and east walls by excavating below floor level. A pivot stone within the doorway between Rooms 5 and 6, below Floor 5, was apparently in place, though it is difficult to see how it could have been used at the face of the jamb. The floor levels in these rooms were 2.44–2.60 m. in Room 2, about 2.56 m. in Room 5, and 2.57–2.67 m. in Room 6.

The walls of Rooms 7 and 8 were complicated by a rebuilding which took place during the latest occupation (Floor 3). In the remodeling, the east wall of Room 8 was narrowed, while the north wall was thickened. The blocking of the doorway to Room 7 was carefully done by removal of old bricks to allow for bonding. However, it was possible to determine the old wall by the color of the bricks and to find the lower face by excavation below floor level. The original north wall of both these rooms was destroyed

down to about floor level. The circulation between these rooms and the rest of the building is not clear. It is probable that a doorway exists in the unexcavated part of the south wall of Room 4. The floor level in Room 7 was about 2.66 m.

No change in plan was made during the second occupation (Floor 4). The column base or collar, as explained above, was in position for Floor 4. The two and a half baked bricks of half size which were found within the north doorway of Room 1 suggest that at least the sill was paved. The floor level in Room 1 was 3.03 m. at this doorway, 2.84 m. at the doorway to Room 4, and 2.94 m. at the doorway to Room 3. The orthostats in the doorway to Room 3 were scored horizontally at a level corresponding to Floor 4 (see Pl. 23 *C*). Floor levels in the rest of the building were 2.97–3.18 m. in Room 3, where the floor sloped up toward the west, 2.61–2.73 m. in Room 2, 2.74–2.86 m. in Room 5, 2.85–2.90 m. in Room 6, 2.78 m. in Room 7, and 2.73 m. in Room 8. A pivot stone in Room 2 at the doorway to Room 5 belonged to this occupation.

During the third occupation of the palace (Floor 3) some revision of plan was made (Pl. 6 *B*). The south doorway in Room 1 was blocked, and a new one was cut through the south wall on the axis of the main doorway. The doorway from Room 1 to Room 3 was also blocked, and a new doorway was cut through the south wall of Room 3. The rebuilding in Rooms 7 and 8 (see above) also took place during this occupation. The doorway from 7 to 8 was moved south, and 8 ceased to be a room. There was no horizontal break in any of the other walls where they stood to this level to indicate rebuilding. The blocking of the doorways of Room 1 was set in without bonding to the old work, the plaster on the jambs of the original occupation being undisturbed. A new pavement of baked brick was laid in the main doorway around the stone column base or collar at the level of the top of the plinth (Pl. 22 *B–C*). This pavement ran into Room 1 and was found in fragmentary condition across the center of the room. Baked bricks were also laid along the north face of the north wall of the building, and in front of the entrance were four paving stones cut of hard black stone to the normal dimensions of a baked brick. Probably in this period at least the borders of the open space in front of the palace were paved with baked bricks, and a walk of paving stones crossed it to the entrance. The baked bricks were uniformly 7 cm. thick but varied in the other dimensions, the examples measured being 28, 30, 32, or 33 cm. square.

In Room 1 the floor level was 3.23 m. at the north doorway and 3.33 m. at the south. These levels were on the baked-brick pavement. Other levels, taken on the earth floor upon which the pavement would have been laid, were 3.23 m. at the northeast corner, 3.33 m. at the southeast, 3.29 m. at the southwest, 3.37 m. at the blocked doorway to Room 3, and 3.42 m. at the northwest corner.

Room 4 was not excavated to floor level. An earth floor in Room 3 was at 3.44 m. in the northeast corner, 3.42 m. in the southeast, 3.61 m. in the southwest, and 3.47 m. in the northwest. The top of the *libn* within the newly cut doorway to the south was at 3.20 m.

In Rooms 2 and 5 there were two floors 30–50 cm. apart, but only the lower of these was found in Rooms 6 and 7. The lower was called "Floor 3" and the upper "Floor 3*A*," although the upper corresponded more nearly in level to Floor 3 in Room 1. In Room 2 the lower floor was at about 2.95 m. and the upper one at 3.29 m. in the north and 3.32 m. in the south. In Room 5 the lower floor was at 3.44 m. in the northwest corner, and the upper floor was at 3.06–3.11 m. Floor 3 in Room 6 was at 2.83–3.04 m. and in Room 7 at 2.94–3.03 m. The bottom of the blocking of the original doorway in the west wall of Room 7 was at 2.76 m.

The walls of all the rooms of the palace were plastered. Rooms 1 and 3 followed the same fairly complicated decorative scheme, as indicated by measurements taken wherever the plaster was sufficiently preserved to give the pattern. At the floor was a stripe of bluish gray about 22 cm. high, above which was a black stripe about 10 cm. high. The height of these two together equaled that of the orthostats along the doorjambs, so that the top of the black stripe was aligned with the top of the stones. Above this was a white stripe about 32 cm. high,

which carried across the doorjambs between Rooms 1 and 3 (Pl. 8 *B*). On the jambs, however, it was only about 22 cm. high, for there were traces just above the orthostats of a black stripe apparently of the same height as that above the bluish gray within the rooms. Above the white was a black stripe whose height seemed to vary from 74 to 85 cm. (top indefinite in places). This was carried along the jambs between Rooms 1 and 3 (Pl. 8 *B*) and between Rooms 1 and 4, but on the latter there was no white stripe below it (Pl. 8 *C*). Above this black the walls were plastered in white as high as any plaster was found. On one jamb of the doorway between Rooms 1 and 4, the white plaster was found to a height of 1.50 m. above the top of the black stripe, that is, to the top of the existing *libn*.

There were signs of replastering in Room 1 in connection with the final occupation of the palace. Traces of an extra layer of white plaster were found at the level of Floor 3, but they extended only about 10 cm. above this level, beyond which this extra layer was destroyed. There were no signs of replastering in Room 3. Presumably the new surfaces of the revised doorways were merely patched.

Three layers of plaster were found in Room 4 just west of the doorway to Room 1 and at the doorway to Room 6. At these places the excavation was carried down only to the level of Floor 3. The undercoat was all white. This was probably the original coat, corresponding to Floor 5. The middle coat was of white except for a black line about 4 cm. high (see Pl. 8 *D*) 1.20 m. above Floor 3. Supposedly this was a replastering for the second occupation (Floor 4), although, since the final coat was found to go down to Floor 4 at the northeast corner of this room (where the undercoats were not investigated), it seemed possible that both the middle coat and the undercoat belonged to Floor 5. The scheme of the middle coat is shown in the isometric reconstruction of the palace walls (Pl. 9). The final coat was black below and white above. The black extended up to 1.50 m. above Floor 4 at the northeast corner of the room and to about 1.21 m. above Floor 3, which would be about 1.60 m. above Floor 4, at the doorway to Room 1.

Room 2 showed traces of white plaster toward the tops of the east and west walls. All plaster here was badly destroyed, and there were no indications of more than one layer. There were similar scattered indications of white plaster in Room 5. These rooms are shown with white plaster throughout in the reconstruction of the palace walls (Pl. 9), although, because of the high position of the traces, it is possible that these rooms were plastered with black below and white above, particularly since black plaster was found toward the floor (Floor 5) in the adjoining Room 6. This was found in a stripe about 8 cm. high running from the north jamb of the doorway to Room 4 to the northwest corner and in traces just west of the doorway to Room 5.

In Room 7 the remnant of the original south wall, which had been cut down to a height of about 30 cm. above Floor 5, was plastered in black. The thinner wall above, belonging to the Floor 3 rebuilding, showed traces of white plaster. White traces also showed on the upper wall south of the doorway to Room 8 to a height of 50 cm. above Floor 3. There was only one coat on this wall of Floor 3.

In the reconstruction (Pl. 9) Rooms 6 and 7 are shown as black below and white above, according to the scheme of the final coat in Room 4 (Floor 4). In Room 8, the walls of the Floor 3 occupation were too badly destroyed to show plaster. If these were exterior walls, as the plan (Pl. 6 *B*) indicates, they would probably not have been plastered in color in any case. The original walls, which had in part been protected by the added thickness of the walls of Floor 3, showed one coat of white plaster from Floor 5 to 1.20 m. above that floor.

It seems clear that in the original building Rooms 1 and 3 were decorated with colored stripes as described above, with special treatment of the doorjambs. Room 4 was originally all white, but the second coat with the black stripe may have been added during the original occupation. Rooms 2 and 5 were possibly all white, certainly white toward the tops of the walls. Room 6 was definitely black at the bottoms of the walls, as was Room 7. The tops may have been white. Room 8 was all white.

No replastering seems to have been done for Floor 4 except possibly the outer coat of black

and white in Room 4, which may belong to Floor 3.

For Floor 3, Room 1 was replastered in white at least at the bottoms of the walls. Room 3 shows no evidence of replastering. The outer coat of Room 4 is doubtful, as has been said. No signs of replastering showed in Rooms 2, 5, and 6. Room 7 was replastered in white, at least at the bottoms of the walls.

The façade of the palace, that is, the north face of the north wall of Rooms 1, 2, and 3, was plastered with ordinary uncolored mud plaster.

The walls of the palace were constructed of unbaked bricks measuring roughly from 40 × 40 × 10 to 42 × 42 × 10 cm., with sizes up to 43 and 44 cm. in the west wall. The south wall of Room 3 was seven bricks thick, with the mortar and plaster making a total thickness of 3.15 m. The mortar was the usual mud mortar. The bricks were laid in regular bonding with joints carefully offset (see Pl. 23 *B*). The plaster, which was about 1 cm. thick, came down to floor level. The *libn* extended below this for a distance of 10–18 cm. Below the *libn* was a dark gray layer, unlike ordinary packed earth in color and more compact in consistency, which was 5–11 cm. thick. Beneath this was a layer of white lime 2–6 cm. thick. Below the lime was the packed earth foundation of the walls. This seemed to have been packed in layers, the uppermost 30–40 cm. thick and the next 80–95 cm. thick. Where the excavation was carried down deepest, at the south wall of Room 1, just west of the location of the Floor 3 doorway, a third layer (36 cm. thick) was found, and still another had begun to appear below this. The extent of the foundation was not determined. As far as investigated, it is known to have extended to a depth of over 1.40 m. below the white lime layer. The greatest preserved height of the *libn* was at the east jamb of the Floor 3 doorway from Room 1 to Room 4, where the top of the *libn* was at 5.58 m., or 3.00 m. above the bottom of the *libn*.

The isometric reconstruction of the palace walls (Pl. 9) shows the building in its original period, except that the middle plaster scheme is used for Room 4 (see p. 9). A doorway is reconstructed in the south wall of Room 4, to account for connection of the south rooms with the rest of the building. There may of course also have been a doorway in the east wall of Room 4. The tops of the walls in the reconstruction are at the level of 5.60 m. Thus the doorways are at least 3.00 m. high without reaching lintel or spring line, an assumption based on the fact that one jamb of the original doorway from Room 1 to Room 4 was preserved to about this height. The south wall of Room 4 is straightened out, and in places where only one face of a wall was found the other face is shown also.

Floor 6, which as explained above was not thought to have been an occupied floor, was in general 30–50 cm. below Floor 5. Typical levels for Floor 6 are as follows: in Room 1, 2.00 m. at the southeast corner, 2.17 m. at the middle of the south wall, 2.16 m. in the southwest corner, 2.13 m. in the northwest corner, 2.14 m. at the north doorway, and 2.16 m. in the northeast corner; in Room 3, 2.39 m. in the southeast corner, 2.49 m. in the southwest corner, 2.40 m. in the northwest corner, and 2.34 m. in the northeast corner; in Room 2, 2.19 m. at the south to 2.28 m. at the north; in Room 5, 2.21 m; and in Room 6, about 2.18 m.

Below Floor 6 walls of another building began to appear at a depth of about 0.95 m. in Room 3 and about 1.20 m. in Room 1 (see Pl. 7 *A*). Only the tops of the walls were uncovered, and these rooms were not fully excavated to their level. The exposed pieces do not suggest any plan, but their orientation is definitely different from that of the palace and it can be assumed that they in no way determined the plan of the latter. Apparently these lower walls were cut by the foundation of the palace.

An extension of the sounding was made northward from the north doorway of Room 1 of the palace, in a trench about 3 m. wide and 12 m. long. At the north end of this trench thin rubble walls were found inclosing three sides of an approximate rectangle (see Pl. 7 *B*). Their tops were at −0.88 m., and the bottom of the cross wall was at −1.06 m. These were probably simply foundation stones for walls. The excavation was carried to a depth of −1.45 m. along these walls. About a meter and a half south of the cross wall, at a level of −0.03 m. (locus "S" on Pl. 7), were found two painted statuettes. There was no floor in connection with them.

II

STRUCTURAL REMAINS

By CARL H. KRAELING *and* RICHARD C. HAINES

The work of the Theodore Marriner Memorial Expedition included not only the soundings in the mound itself (see chap. i) but also a series of clearances along the periphery. The latter yielded information concerning elements of two successive systems of fortification, one built of *libn* and the other of stone. Using the records of the expedition we combine here a description and analysis of these defenses with a brief treatment of the structures partially exposed in Soundings II, III, VI, and IX.

For the description of the *libn* fortification all that is available is what was recorded by McEwan in his brief statement about a *libn* wall at the foot of the mound in Sounding I (see p. 1) and what was recorded by Hill on his field drawings and on the survey plan of the site (Pl. 87, loci L 1–20), plus a few photographs. For the stone fortification there is available a set of field drawings by Hill (see Pls. 10–12, rendered by Haines) and a good photographic record.

The stone fortification was traced for a distance of some 800 m. along the eastern side of the mound (see Pl. 87, loci S 1–13). Toward the north it was followed as far as the edge of the pond in Square G VIII, while toward the south clearance proceeded only as far as Square A IX, where a modern road begins to mount the tell. Clearances were most continuous in the area of Squares F IX–X and E–D X. As revealed by the work in this area, the system consisted of two limestone walls running roughly parallel to each other (Pl. 24 *A*), of which the inner wall was clearly the more important. This main wall consisted of a series of curtains combined with projecting towers and buttresses (Pls. 10–11). Where its course changed radically the wall did not make sharp corners but followed the contours of the mound in a series of steps formed by sections of the curtains set at slight angles to one another. A change in direction frequently coincided with and was masked by an outside buttress or tower. Even along the eastern face of the mound, where the wall could conceivably have been built in a straight line, slight changes in direction were visible from point to point. Only at the extreme northern end of its observed course, in Square F VIII, did construction apparently describe an arc rather than a succession of angles. Since the section of the wall cleared was that immediately adjacent to the spring-fed pond and the stream forming the headwaters of the Khabur, no monumental gateway was expected or found; but a small water gate came to light in Square F IX at locus S 1 (see p. 13), whose relation to a similar feature in the outer wall at locus S 13 (see p. 14) in Square F X it is not possible to determine.

The construction of the curtains, the towers, and the buttresses was consistent throughout. They were made of a solid rubble core faced with limestone blocks. The blocks were heaviest and largest where special structural features were involved and were well squared and chiseled to a face on the outside but not smoothly finished. Since they were of unequal thickness and not squared toward the inside, a firmer relation to the rubble work of the core was achieved. The blocks were laid in courses and had an average height of 40–50 cm. where special structural features such as doorways to towers and stairways were involved. Length varied, but there was no regular system of interchange between headers and stretchers. In the normal run of the wall smaller stones (22–40 cm. high) were used. Courses were occasionally stepped up or down, probably because of changes in the level of the foundations. Where steps occurred in one course, they tended to be repeated in successive courses. As to binding, it would seem that the spaces between stones are often sufficiently wide to suggest the use of a mud mortar, but no evidence in support of this suggestion is available in the record.

Curtains, towers, and buttresses were set upon well built stone foundations, but at no point was the full depth of these foundations tested. Clearance extended to a depth of three foundation courses on the inside face at locus S 5. The stones used in the foundations were roughly squared but not dressed on the outside face of the wall. On the inside face only unworked foundation stones were found. Wherever they were exposed by excavation the foundations extended 15–20 cm. beyond the base course of the wall. The top of the uppermost course varied in elevation from as much as 1.72–2.50 m. below assumed zero.[1] In all probability the foundations were laid in sections and at varying levels, thus accounting for the steps that occasionally occur in the arrangement of the courses of the wall.

The curtains ranged in thickness from 3.15 to 3.35 m., with 3.30 m. the most common measurement. The base course, set in some 15–20 cm. from the foundations, was set out about 6 cm. from the upper face (see Pl. 24 *B*). At no point was the wall preserved more than about 2 m. above the foundations, and normally the points of highest preservation were along the inner face. Along the outer face the wall was preserved commonly no more than 50 cm. above the foundations. These figures imply that spoliation followed in general the gradient of the side of the tell and seem to suggest for the period of spoliation a relatively late date, after the mound had already assumed approximately its present form.

The buttresses (see Pl. 26 *D*) were rectangular in shape, varying in width between 1.70 and 1.80 m. and projecting between 2.10 and 2.30 m. from the outer face of the wall. They were built at the same time as the curtains and the towers, and their construction involved an outward extension of the rubble core of the wall around which the masonry facing was carried in regular fashion. Commonly a slight change in the direction of the wall was masked by coincidence with the emplacement of a buttress. The main functions of the buttresses, however, were to add strength to the defenses and to provide vantage points for defensive operations in the intervals between towers. As to emplacement of the buttresses, no regular system emerged from the remains observed. One guarded the little water gate at locus S 1, two were interposed between the towers of loci S 2 and S 3, three each between the towers of loci S 4 and S 5 and those of S 5 and S 6, but there was none between the towers of loci S 3 and S 4 (see Pls. 10–12). The only fact that emerges from an analysis of the relations between towers and buttresses is that the builders, having decided upon an approximate interval between a given tower and its nearest buttress, repeated that interval in determining the emplacement of the next buttress or buttresses and let the interval between the last of the series and the next tower take care of itself. Thus the spaces between tower and buttress, buttress and buttress, and buttress and tower are about 27, 28, and 25 m. respectively in the interval between S 2 and S 3, 21, 20.5, 20, and 13 m. between S 4 and S 5, and 12.5, 20, 19, and 19 m. between S 5 and S 6. The use of a consistent construction procedure but the absence of a comprehensive plan for the undertaking is indicated by these observations.

Remains of seven towers were brought to light. All had the same form, with straight sides and semicircular outer end (see Pl. 25), but distribution, length, and width varied, and only height may be assumed to have been relatively constant throughout. Intervals between towers varied from 62 to 84 m., except in one instance, namely between loci S 3 and S 4, where the smaller interval of about 35 m. was appropriate to the defense of a change in the course of the wall (see Pl. 11). The towers were 9.30–10.50 m. wide, and their over-all projection from the face of the wall varied between 8.25 and 12.50 m. As to foundations, construction, and even thickness of their walls (2.75–3.30 m.), the towers corresponded to the remainder of the fortification, leaving no doubt that they were built as integral parts of the system. Internally the towers were uniformly hollow, their walls inclosing a chamber corresponding in shape to their outer form. No evidence was found to indicate how the towers were closed at the top, whether indeed there might have been two chambers, one above the other, or even whether and at what level the chambers were floored. In one instance, namely

[1] On the assumed zero fixed for the survey of the mound see p. xvii and Pl. 87 (Square H VII). The fact that the assumed zero of the survey was *ca.* 2. m. above the level of the adjacent pond indicates that when the fortifications were built the water level was appreciably lower.

the tower in locus S 5, the top of the foundations, from which one would normally begin in calculating the floor level of the room, was 1.70 m. below the threshold of the doorway. Since no traces of floor or stairs were found here at any point or level, we must assume that the chambers were filled with earth to doorway level but had no flooring.

The chambers in the towers were approached through passageways constructed in the core of the main defense wall. The passageways were 2.40–2.80 m. wide and 2.25–4.00 m. long. Naturally they were longest where the main defense wall was thickened by the addition of staircases mounting to the *chemin de ronde* along the top of the wall. The passageways had no architectural features at their entrances, nor were there preserved any of the heavy slabs or keyed stones which must have spanned them at the top. Only the use of relatively large stones in the construction of their walls was noticeable. The passageways gave on the tower chambers through doorways with raised rabbeted stone thresholds and rabbeted jambs (see Pl. 26 *A*), but, since no traces of door sockets were found, perhaps the chambers were never really closed off. The doorways were constructed as integral elements not of the curtain walls through which the passages lead but of the projecting tower masses, being set out beyond the faces of the curtain walls. Where a tower was set at anything but a right angle to the course of the wall, the angle of the doorway approximated the declination of the tower itself.

Behind some of the towers, notably those in loci S 2, S 3, and S 6, the wall was thickened (1.60–2.10 m.) for distances ranging between 18.56 and 21.75 m. to accommodate staircases which led to the top of the defenses. In most cases where this phenomenon was observed, two staircases mounted from opposite directions presumably to a landing directly above the entrance to the tower chamber and thus to a point directly behind the top of the tower itself. In a few instances the lower steps, built into the thickened mass of the wall, were still preserved (see Pl. 26 *B*). These yielded tread averages of 30–32 cm. and rise averages of 28–32 cm. The higher rises were naturally associated with the shortest stair masses and indicate a steeper gradient. By projecting the lines of the gradients upward toward an assumed landing equal in width to the passageway that gave on the interior of the tower at ground level, we arrived at hypothetical figures for the height of the wall above assumed ground level. In connection with the stairways in loci S 2, S 3, and S 6, the figures thus calculated are 7.80, 7.89, and 8.70 m. respectively. It seems likely, therefore, that the wall was about 8 m. high, to which height presumably would have to be added that of a crenellated parapet along the outer faces of the curtain walls, buttresses, and towers and protecting the *chemin de ronde*. Whether the towers projected above the top of the wall is, of course, impossible to say.

The only aperture in the main wall exposed by the clearances was at locus S 1 (in Square F IX), a narrow passageway 1.90 m. wide and 3.35 m. long, the latter dimension being the thickness of the wall at this particular point. Its walls were preserved to a height of but two or three courses, so that its over-all height remains indeterminate. The passageway was narrowed at its outer end by jambs cut out of the stones forming the courses of the wall to produce a doorway 29 cm. in depth and 1.44 m. wide. The stones forming the doorway extended 5 cm. from the face of the curtain wall to form a trim about 42 cm. wide. The doorsill was presumably about 1.65 m. below assumed zero. Inside the threshold no indications of door sockets were found, but in the center of the passageway, about 2 m. in from the inner face of the doorjambs, a rectangular stone was imbedded in the floor at an angle to the floor. This stone had a deep trough cut into it and was clearly intended to receive the end of a timber braced diagonally against the back of the door to hold it closed. The doorway was directly east of a buttress, by which it may be said to have been defended, but the course of the fortification itself along this part of the site, particularly in relation to the adjacent ponds and stream, indicates that in reality no defense of the doorway was needed. It could not be approached by hostile forces save across the water. For this reason it is proper to speak of it as a water gate.

The outer of the two walls belonging to this system of fortification was traced only in

Squares F X and D–C X (see Pl. 87). Since its inner and outer faces were dressed with equal care, the wall was not the facing of a counterscarp but an independent second member of the defense system. In general, it ran between 8 and 9 m. outside the line of the curtains, but its curves opposite the towers were so flattened that it came within 5 m. of their outermost edges (see Pl. 12). In construction the outer wall was analogous to the inner, with projecting foundation courses and with courses of stone facing a rubble core. But the base course of the wall was not set out from its face, and the wall was not so thick as the main wall, measuring between 2.10 and 2.90 m., with an average thickness of 2.50 m. It was nowhere preserved more than 1.15 m. above the foundations, whose top was somewhat lower than that of the main wall in relation to assumed zero.

Only two architectural features worthy of particular note were uncovered in the clearance of the outer wall. The first was a small doorway at locus S 13 in Square F IX–X. What remained of this doorway was an irregular passage and part of a doorframe. Paved with black stones, the passage was located between sections of the wall that were of unequal thickness and that were set at an angle to each other. It was 1.75 m. wide at its inner end and 1.60 m. wide at the doorframe. Of the doorframe as originally constructed all that remained was the east jamb, cut out of the stones of the wall itself. Three stones formed the threshold of a doorway 1.12 m. wide (Pl. 26 *C*). The east end of the threshold abutted the east jamb, but the west end of the threshold was let into the adjacent wall in such a crude way, by the cutting away of part of one of its blocks, that the arrangement must necessarily be regarded as secondary. Directly behind the threshold at its western end was a rectangular depression (22 cm. long, 17 cm. wide, and *ca.* 4.5 cm. deep) which apparently was intended or actually used to receive a door socket. The door, if anchored at this side of the passageway, would have closed against the jamb at the other side. But to assume such an arrangement would leave unexplained a semicircular recess cut in the inside vertical face of the threshold near its eastern end (see Pl. 26 *C*).

The second feature of the outer wall briefly to be noted is a thickening along the inner and outer faces in the area just west of the doorway. Along the outer face the thickness of the wall was increased for a distance of 6.80 m., but not by an equal amount throughout. The increase amounted to 95 cm. at the westerly end and 1.85 m. at the doorway. Along the inner face of the wall the increase in thickness remained constant (*ca.* 1.75 m.) and was continued over a distance of 16 m. Precisely what this feature of the construction represents is not entirely clear. The extra depth along the inner face of the wall perhaps accommodated a staircase mounting to the top of the wall, which would be in accord with similar features of the inner wall and would be appropriate to the defense of the doorway. But 16 m. of additional thickness would not have been required to carry a staircase to the top of the wall. Should we therefore assume that the last 6.80 m. of additional thickness on the inside, taken together with the corresponding projection on the outside of the wall, represent the emplacement of a tower? If so, why should the outer line of the emplacement be oblique to the inner line? Not enough remains of the construction at this point to give satisfactory answers to these questions.

To interpret properly what the clearances have revealed about the stone system of fortification is of no small importance for our understanding of the history of the occupation of Tell Fakhariyah and for the identification of the site. The last item of information available about the fortifications is their systematic spoliation. The absence of robber trenches indicates that this did not occur in the late Turkish period. Yet what has been said above (p. 12) about the relation of spoliation to the gradient of the tell implies a relatively late date for the event. Perhaps the best choice is the ᶜAbbasid period, when the new city of Ras al-ᶜAin was built and flourished to the north of the ponds forming the headwaters of the Khabur River.[2]

In relation to their postulated period of spoliation the stone fortifications at Tell Fakhariyah represent the next earlier period in the structural development of the site, if for no other reason than that they are the outer of two successive systems of defense. It would thus seem desirable

[2] On Arabic Ras al-ᶜAin see *Halaf Prelim.* p. 75.

to find a place for them in the Byzantine or the Roman period, a suggestion that is supported by two general observations, namely, the absence of semicircular towers such as are characteristic of Islamic structures and the fact that the bitter struggle for the Euphrates-Khabur-Tigris frontier in Roman and Byzantine times is known to have led to the construction of many strongholds in the region.[3]

For a more exact dating of the fortifications it is necessary, of course, to fall back upon certain of their characteristic features. Among these, as we know the system today, the most revealing is the shape of the towers, whose straight sides and semicircular ends set them apart from towers that are rectangular or segmental in shape. In the vast array of fortifications and fortified structures known to us in eastern Palestine, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia, walls with the Fakhariyah type of tower are by no means uncommon. The best examples are those of the Roman *castella* along the Arabian-Syrian limes, at Odhruh, al-Lajjun, al-Dumir, Khan al-Manqura, al-Bakhraʾ, and Qasr al-Swab.[4] But examples also occur in the *castella* of the Mesopotamian limes near Fakhariyah, for instance at Tulul Mughayir.[5] To these must be added the towers along the southern and northeastern sections of the inner and best preserved of the defense systems of Palmyra,[6] those at certain points in the defenses of Rusafa,[7] and even those on the walls of the two Umayyad châteaux of Qasr al-Hair al-Sharqi.[8]

[3] See Antoine Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie* ("Bibliothèque archéologique et historique" XVIII [Paris, 1934]) pp. 129–64.

[4] For the first three, see Rudolf Ernst Brünnow and Alfred von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* I (Strassburg, 1904) 433–59, II (1905) 24–38, III (1909) 181–99. For Khan al-Manqura, see Alois Musil, *Palmyrena* (New York, 1928) Fig. 4, and Poidebard, *op. cit.* Pl. XXI. For al-Bakhraʾ, see Musil, *op. cit.* Fig. 38, and Theodor Wiegand, *Palmyra* (Berlin, 1932) p. 13, Fig. 18. For Qasr al-Swab, see Poidebard, *op. cit.* Pl. CVII.

[5] See Poidebard, *op. cit.* Pl. CL.

[6] See Albert Gabriel, "Recherches archéologiques à Palmyre," *Syria* VII (1926) 73–78; Wiegand, *op. cit.* pp. 37–40 and Pl. 9.

[7] See Musil, *op. cit.* Fig. 91; Harry Spanner and Samuel Guyer, *Rusâfa* (Berlin, 1926) pp. 16–17 and Pls. 1–2.

[8] See Gabriel, "Ḳaṣr el-Ḥeir," *Syria* VIII (1927) 302–29 and esp. Pls. LXXXIX and XCIV.

It will be obvious from this list of occurrences, representing only the information currently available, that the type of tower used in the defenses at Tell Fakhariyah has a long history and remained in use for a number of centuries. But it will also be clear from an examination of the evidence that in the Byzantine and Umayyad monuments of Rusafa and Qasr al-Hair the tower form represents a survival rather than a standard feature of an integrated system. The fortifications of the *castella* along the Arabian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian limes provide a better analogy for Fakhariyah's consistent use of the tower. Of these *castella*, the only one that has an exact date is that at al-Dumir, east of Damascus, which was built in A.D. 162 under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.[9] For those forming part of the fortification of the frontier of Arabia, Brünnow originally suggested a date in the reign of Trajan,[10] who organized the province in the first instance, and for the basic type a date prior to the reign of Diocletian is currently accepted on the strength of the analysis of Poidebard.[11]

If the first half of the second century of our era provides a safe date for the introduction into the Near East of the kind of defense construction represented by the walls and towers at Tell Fakhariyah, it will be well nonetheless to use this merely as a *terminus a quo*. This limitation is suggested not so much by the continued use of the characteristic straight-sided round-headed towers in the Byzantine and Islamic periods as by a distinction in the nature of the structure to which the towers were applied at Fakhariyah. As the towers appear along the Arabian-Syrian limes and elsewhere along the Mesopotamian limes they are applied to *castella*, that is, to symmetrically constructed military encampments. At Tell Fakhariyah, by contrast, they were applied to the defenses of what by nature must have been a fortified settlement or city, as is obvious from the irregular disposition of the defenses and the absence of corner towers. The closest analogy to what we find at Tell Fakhariyah is therefore provided by the fortifications of

[9] See Brünnow and Domaszewski, *op. cit.* Vol. III 315.

[10] See "Die Kastelle des arabischen Limes," *Florilegium . . . Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909) p. 77.

[11] *Op. cit.* p. 52.

Palmyra, but these are as yet imperfectly known and opinions differ widely as to their date. That they were constructed after A.D. 212 is indicated by the fact that a tomb with an inscription of that date is incorporated in the wall bodily.[12] But some scholars date the construction in the period of Zenobia herself,[13] others in that of Justinian.[14] The latter date seems excessively high, for, save for a historical occasion such as might have been furnished either in the period of Zenobia herself or in that of Diocletian, all that was needed to suggest the use of the type of tower found at both Palmyra and Fakhariyah was the existence of examples in the vicinity. Such examples were already provided by the Roman *castella* of al-Bakhra' and Qasr al-Swab.[15]

Since what can be learned from the architectural parallels confirms the general attribution of the stone fortifications at Tell Fakhariyah to the Roman or the Byzantine period but does not make possible a clear choice between them, it is natural to look to the history of the province and limes of Mesopotamia for supplementary material. In this connection it would be of no small importance if the site of Tell Fakhariyah itself could be identified. Unfortunately to date no pertinent epigraphic material is available, but two facts are made indisputable by the excavations. The first is that the site was the emplacement not of a *castellum* but of a fortified city, as indicated by the irregular course of the walls themselves. The second is provided by Sounding II and indeed by a rectangle that can be noted in Squares C–D VI–VII on the survey plan of the site (Pl. 87). The sounding, it will be recalled, produced a section of a large well built latrine (see p. 2) occupying within the rectangle the position in which such necessities presumably were also provided, for instance, in the *castellum* of al-Qastal.[16] We are dealing, therefore, with a city in one part of which was housed a Roman military detachment and which lay at the headwaters of the Khabur River. Nothing is more likely than that this city was the Roman colony of Resaina, as Oppenheim himself suggested.[17] About the history of Resaina only a few things are known. The first, representing an inference from coins, is that it was established as a Roman colony by Septimius Severus and that, for a time at least, the Third Parthian Legion was associated with it.[18] The second is that Gordian III fought a battle near the site, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 5. 17). The third, on the joint testimony of Malalas and the Edessene Chronicle, is that in A.D. 383 Theodosius is said to have "built" the city and changed its name to Theodosiupolis.[19] More can be learned, however, from the exploration of the Roman limes between Euphrates and Tigris. Here three stages in the Roman occupation of the region are to be noted. The first established a tenuous connection between widely separated and important cities in an east-westerly direction and belongs to the reign of Trajan. The second created a firm well defended frontier running north from Circesium to Thannuris and thence eastward to Singara and the Tigris, with a secondary line of defense slightly farther to the north. This belongs to the period beginning with Septimius Severus. The third, belonging to the period after the disastrous defeat of Jovian by the Sasanians in 363 and continuing in its development through the period of Justinian, shortened and changed the direction of the frontier entirely. It ran henceforth from Circesium in a northerly direction via Thannuris along the easterly branches of the Khabur and continued to Dara, its northernmost anchorage.[20]

As to Roman Resaina, it undoubtedly performed an important function in relation to the defense of the frontier, beginning with Septimius Severus, by providing through its colonial status

[12] See Daniel Schlumberger, "Études sur Palmyre," *Berytus* II (1935) 149, n. 2.

[13] So Armin von Gerkan, "Die Stadtmauer von Palmyra," *Berytus* II 28; Schlumberger, *op. cit.* p. 149; Abbé Jean Starcky, "Palmyre: Guide archéologique," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* XXIV (Beyrouth, 1941) 51.

[14] So originally Gabriel in *Syria* VII 77 and more recently Henri Seyrig in *Syria* XXVII (1950) 240–42.

[15] Certain epigraphic material suggests that the period of Diocletian was much more important in the architectural history of Palmyra than the reports of its destruction by Aurelian seem to warrant; see *Syria* XII (1931) 321–23.

[16] Brünnow and Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* II, Pl. XLIV (rooms marked "r").

[17] See *Halaf Prelim.* pp. 39 and 74.

[18] G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922) pp. 126–30.

[19] See article "Resaina" by F. H. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie.*

[20] See Poidebard, *op. cit.* pp. 129–64 and folded map.

a supply and reserve point in the line of communications eastward, but it was clearly too far to the north of the limes, with too many other fortresses between it and Thannuris, to have formed part even of the immediately secondary line of defense. In the days that began with Valens and Theodosius, however, Resaina occupied with respect to the new, shorter, north-south development of the limes an entirely different place and became a regular element of the defense in depth and thus deserved at Theodosius' hands the reconstitution and the rebuilding of which the historian and the chronicler speak. Hence it seems proper to suppose that the defense system of Tell Fakhariyah under discussion here belonged to the period of Theodosius, a suggestion which is in accord with one additional fact that has recently emerged from the study of changing policies of imperial defense. It appears that in the late 4th century, in Syria and in the Balkans alike, policy dictated the abandonment of widely scattered military strong points, save those that were used by the mobile cavalry units, and the use henceforth of larger existing cities and settlements for the main garrison troops. These cities were now heavily fortified and became in a very real sense "cities of refuge" for the population of the entire neighboring countryside, a population previously exposed to continuous danger by reason of the infiltration of marauders between the scattered *castella* of the limes.[21] What we know to date about the stone defenses of what we believe to be Resaina, particularly the way in which they envelop the entire eastern side of the mound, suggests that they were intended to adapt the city to precisely this purpose, a purpose for which its position in relation to the actual frontier and in relation to the means of survival made it extremely well suited.

The *libn* system of fortification first came to light in Sounding I, which revealed that it was the inner of two successive systems of defense (see Pl. 1). Slit trenches subsequently made along the southern, western, and northwestern parts of the mound showed that it made the circuit of the entire tell. Its course is indicated on the survey plan (Pl. 87) by loci L 1–20 (see Pl. 27).

In Sounding I the *libn* construction had a thickness of about 11.60 m. (see Pls. 1 and 14 *B*). *Libn* walls of comparable thickness have been found in Mesopotamia in the great cities of later periods, for instance at Seleucia and Dastagerd,[22] but would seem relatively inappropriate to a city of the size and remoteness of ancient Resaina. Apparently both faces of the wall were not found in any of the slit trenches, but the field map suggests a probable thickness of 3.70 m. at L 3 and L 5. It thus seems a fair inference that the *libn* construction in Sounding I represents the foundation of a tower of the circuit wall. The tower might on this assumption have been about 12 m. square.[23] The field map, as also the survey plan (Pl. 87), shows two *libn* walls at L 16 and a stone wall abutting the *libn* on the inside at L 11 and L 12. The photograph of L 11 (Pl. 27 *B*) shows unworked stones.

In the absence of more specific information, particularly about the size of the bricks used in the construction of the wall, it is difficult to assess its date. The fact that it encircles the entire mound and the fact that the space between it and the top of the mound was, so far as we know today, not developed with streets and houses both argue for a relatively late date. Perhaps the Parthian period is the most appropriate. *Libn* walls were still common at that time, as we know from Dura-Europos, Parthian Assur, and Hatra.[24] At Dura-Europos towers of approximately the dimensions inferred for those at Fakhariyah were actually found as part of the Parthian elements of the city's defenses. There too the thickness of the wall was in the neighborhood of 3 m.[25]

On the mound, structures worthy of note came to light only in Soundings II, III, VI, and

[21] On this change in policy see René Mouterde and Antoine Poidebard, *Le Limes de Chalcis* ("Bibliothèques archéologique et historique" XXXVIII [Paris, 1945]) pp. 236–38.

[22] See Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* II (Berlin, 1920) pp. 53–55 and 90–91. The base of the inner circuit wall at Seleucia had a mean thickness of 9.55 m., and the wall at Dastagerd a thickness of 16.60 m. Both are probably Sasanian in origin.

[23] The fact that the relative position corresponded to the tower of the later stone wall in locus S 5 would seem to confirm this hypothesis.

[24] On the two last mentioned, see Walter Andrae and Heinz Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur* (*WVDOG* LVII [1933]) esp. pp. 58–62, and Walter Andrae, *Hatra* II (*WVDOG* XXI, [1912]) 24–59.

[25] See Yale University, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons . . .* (New Haven, 1939) p. 27 and Figs. 14 and 17.

IX, but unfortunately no one of them was exposed in its entirety.

The section of the latrine exposed in Sounding II (see p. 2 and Pl. 2 *B*) has to be interpreted in terms of Roman military installations generally and in relation to the large rectangle whose outlines appear on the survey plan (Pl. 87) in Squares C–D VI–VII. Seen in this context the installation would seem to be part of a permanent Roman camp, one of the many *castra stativa* of the region, and thus related to the system of fortification assigned to the late Roman period. Indeed, notice has already been taken of the fact that the location of the latrine within the rectangle of the presumed camp corresponds to that of rooms that could hardly have served any other purpose in the camp at al-Qastal (see p. 16). The installation at Fakhariyah invites comparison with the latrines familiar from Pompeii, Timgad, Sabratha (Pl. 15 *C*), Philippi, and, in the Near East, Jerash.[26] All of these are public rather than military latrines, but the organization and construction are analogous throughout. The analogy extends to the shallow channel in the floor in front of the seats, the flow in which was guided ultimately to the drains, but which in its course around the floor must have provided water for ablution. Only the fact that the installation at Fakhariyah is double, providing two banks of seats approachable from opposite directions, is unusual. This feature inevitably raises the question concerning the relation between the rectangle in Squares C–D VI–VII and the somewhat larger one immediately to the north in Squares D–E VI–VII (see Pl. 87). Obviously both were kept free of normal residential encumbrances and public buildings till the end of the city's life and only on this account present relatively level surfaces. Since no part of the more northerly rectangle has been cleared, it is idle to speculate about its function and that of the low artificial east-west ridge (see p. 2) that separates it from the rectangle of the presumed camp. But it should be noted that the drop in surface level from the southerly to the northerly area (see Pl. 87) has its counterpart in the difference in level between the pavement in front of the southerly bank of seats and that in front of the northerly bank. These differences would seem to imply that the northerly bank was related to the northerly rectangle. The artificial east-west ridge could in such case represent the emplacement of a barrier between the two areas only if the area to the north had already ceased to fill its original function when the ridge was erected.

The structural materials exposed in Sounding III (in Squares E–F VI) are relatively unenlightening, but the neighboring robber trenches (see Pl. 87) suggest that what was found here belonged to a large squarish structure whose walls were well constructed and therefore worth robbing in late Turkish times. The only clues to the nature of this building are a depression at the center of the area bounded by the robber trenches and the line of piers brought to light in the east and west extensions of the sounding trench (see p. 3 and Pl. 3). These suggest that the structure had a large central courtyard surrounded by arcades, an inference to which the existence of a stone pavement to the north of the line of piers gives some support. In the present state of our knowledge of the site it is quite useless to speculate about the function of the structure, but, if the two rectangular areas to the south of Sounding III really were connected with the military occupation of the site, it could be that the structure of Sounding III was a residence for the military official in charge of the region.[27]

The only other structures of which sufficient traces were found to elicit any comment are those exposed in Soundings VI and IX. The building in Sounding VI was clearly the older. The following discussion of it was provided by H. J. Kantor.

Sounding VI yielded a variety of objects noteworthy for their chronological homogeneity; the field catalogue records these objects as coming from Floors 1 and 2 of the sounding, with no mention of the building. On the basis of clues explained by Mr. Haines (p. 4, n. 2), however, it seems fully justi-

[26] See, in general, Charles Victor Daremberg and Edmund Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments* III (Paris, 1904) *s.v.* latrina. For Philippi, see *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* LIX (Paris, 1935) 288, Fig. 41. For Jerash, see *Gerasa*, ed. Carl H. Kraeling (New Haven, 1938) p. 113 and Plan XII.

[27] The analogy is to the Palace of the *Dux Ripae* at Dura-Europos; see Yale University, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season . . .*, Part III (New Haven, 1952) pp. 1–26.

fiable to equate Floors 1 and 2 with the upper and lower floors of the building as described by McEwan (pp. 4 ff.). Furthermore, the majority of the objects from Floors 1 and 2 are clearly the remains of a coherent habitation area and could hardly have come from the fragmentary floors which were traced above the building (see p. 4). Accordingly, the building is well dated by these objects. They include cuneiform tablets with the names of *limmu* officials of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I (see p. 86), bullae with typical 13th-century Assyrian seal impressions, wall nails, and frit ornaments. The nails and ornaments are of special interest, for such objects are normally found in temples and chapels (see pp. 42–45). Their presence here thus necessitated considering whether the building was a shrine rather than merely a house, as suggested by the private business documents (see chap. ix).

The excavated portion of the building consists of rooms on two sides of a pebble-paved courtyard (Room 2), from which the main room (1) was entered (see Pl. 6 *A*). We may assume that the brick "patch" at the east end of Room 1 marks its focal point and hence that it was a *Breitraum* with bent axis, the basic feature of the Assyrian *Herdhaus* predicated by Andrae.[28] When regarded in this way Room 1 is similar to the cella of the Ishtar temple at Nuzi, which is of approximately the same size and shape, has a brick platform that served as either a hearth or an altar, and was entered directly from a courtyard.[29] Furthermore, the bent-axis arrangement, though in an immensely more complicated form, is typical of the two sanctuaries of the Ishtar temple of Tukulti-Ninurta I at Assur.[30]

However, the similarity between Room 1 and the temple cellas mentioned above is probably only superficial, since some features of our building conflict with its identification as a shrine. (1) There are no traces of the niching, buttresses, or elaborate entrances normal for outer walls and doorways of temples. The north, west, and south walls all seem to be outer walls (see p. 6) and are plain. (2) Brick hearths occur at Nuzi not only in the sanctuaries of the Ishtar temple but repeatedly in private houses[31] and thus are not in themselves diagnostic of a sanctuary. The brick "patch" in Room 1, therefore, may represent nothing more than an ordinary domestic arrangement. (3) Finally, the L-shaped corridor (Room 7) which gave access to three side rooms represents a more complex arrangement than that of the subsidiary rooms flanking cellas in the approximately contemporary temples known. Normally, only single rooms, not whole complexes, were reached from a cella. Moreover, the presence of an elaborate toilet, such as that in Room 6 (see p. 5), relatively close to a cella is unknown. We would expect rather to find such a feature at a seemly distance, as, for instance, the toilet constructed in one room of the double row of rooms on the southwest side of the outer courtyard of the Assur temple at Assur.[32]

In view of these considerations the building of Sounding VI could hardly have been a free-standing temple. On the other hand, its plan does not correspond to what is known of ordinary private houses at Assur and Nuzi. The two published Middle Assyrian houses at Assur were organized as a series of *mittelachsige Breiträume* around a central courtyard, without any subordination of elements such as we find in Room 7 and the three side rooms (4–6) at Fakhariyah.[33] Nor is such an arrangement found in the ordinary houses at Nuzi, which, as at Assur, did not usually have elaborate toilets with floors of baked brick.[34] At Nuzi toilets were found almost exclusively in the palace, which was equipped with seven,[35] and in the important suburban dwellings of wealthy merchants.[36] It is these suburban houses of Nuzi, in fact, which provide the best parallels for our building. Essentially the plan consists of a courtyard giving access to a main room with bent axis from which in turn a complex of subsidiary rooms, with a toilet in one corner, was reached. This scheme occurs at Nuzi in very elaborate form in the houses of Shurki-tilla[37] and Shilwi-Teshub,[38] son of the king,

[28] *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* ("Studien zur Bauforschung" II [Berlin, 1930]) pp. 18–20; see also *WVDOG* LXIV 3.

[29] *Nuzi*, Plan 13, Room G29.

[30] *WVDOG* LVIII, Pl. 1.

[31] See *Nuzi*, Plan 13.

[32] See Arndt Haller and Walter Andrae, *Die Heiligtümer des Gottes Assur und der Sin-Šamaš-Tempel in Assur* (*WVDOG* LXVII [1955]) p. 49, Pl. 50 *b*.

[33] Cf. *WVDOG* LXIV 3 and Pls. 5–6.

[34] See *Nuzi*, p. 61.

[35] *Ibid.* pp. 61, 134, 144–45, 159–60, 163, 166, 168, Figs. 24 and 26, Pls. 13 *C* and 15 *A*, Plans 13 (L25, M78, R56, R66, R72, R96, R170) and 19 (L25). For a toilet in the private house area adjoining the palace see p. 231, Pl. 14 *B*, and Plan 13 (M9).

[36] *Ibid.* Pl. 15 *C* (Shilwi-Teshub Room 1) and Plan 30 (Tehip-tilla Room 15, Shurki-tilla Room 18). The Nuzi toilets consisted of a slit between two baked-brick platforms which formed a seat, while those at Fakhariyah and in the Assur temple forecourt consisted only of a slot without a seat.

[37] *Ibid.* pp. 335–37 and Plan 30: courtyard (6), main room (10), subsidiary rooms (13–17), toilet (18).

[38] *Ibid.* pp. 337–45 and Plan 34: courts (15 and 17), main room (4), toilet (1). The toilet was in Room 1 in the next to the last stage of the house; the absence of bathrooms and drains in the final stage is an unsolved problem (see *ibid.* pp. 343–44).

and at Fakhariyah in a simple version. The contents of the Nuzi houses are also paralleled at Fakhariyah. The great archives found in the houses of the Nuzi merchants are balanced by tablets from Fakhariyah involving Adad-shum-rabbi and his brother or brothers (see p. 87), and objects suggestive of the cult were found in the house of Shilwi-Teshub[39] as well as at Fakhariyah. The most likely conclusion, therefore, is that the building at Fakhariyah was the house of a wealthy merchant in a provincial city, a house which, though not so pretentious as those of the great merchant princes of Nuzi, did possess a paved toilet and perhaps also a private chapel.

The palace which was partially exposed in Sounding IX (see pp. 6–10 and Pls. 6 *B*–9) can be dated to the Iron Age, within the 9th to 7th centuries. Of the six sherds found in it, four (p. 39, Nos. 103–4 and 106–7) are typical of the Iron Age, and the level above the palace (Floor 2) also contained typical Iron Age material.[40] Perhaps the most significant indication of the date of the building, however, is its architecture. It is essentially a *hilani* type of structure. This type, so long a subject of controversy and discussion,[41] is here presented in a simple but clearly recognizable form. If the Assyrians spoke of this type of building as "Hittite," it was because they located the Hittites in Syria; it is typical for northern Syria. The Fakhariyah palace, with its forecourt and its column-supported entrance giving on a large transverse hall or room, is simpler than its nearest neighbor, the palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf, and lacks the sculptural embellishment that made the façade of the latter so magnificent.[42] One column set in the entrance, rather than three, supported the lintel. In this particular the closest analogies are to be found in the Upper Palace at Zincirli.[43] For the form of column base found in the entrance to the Fakhariyah palace (see p. 7) no immediate analogy seems to be known at present. It represents, clearly, a different tradition from that of the bases discovered in the *hilani* structures of Zincirli and Tell Taʿyinat in Syria.[44] The limited use of orthostats—along the jambs of two doorways (see p. 7)—and the system of wall decoration (see pp. 8–9) reveal the more modest character of the Fakhariyah palace. The orthostats lack the typical relief carving, and the traditional painted bands on the chamber walls are not elaborated with representational or pictorial material. Yet the solidity of the construction and the arrangement of the rooms, so far as the latter is known, stamp this palace as the residence of an important person and as a clear example of an extremely interesting type of building. Its discovery provides a welcome addition to what had earlier been revealed at Tell Halaf and the hypotheses concerning Tell Fakhariyah and the Mitanni civilization (see p. xvi, but also pp. 87 f.)

[39] *Ibid.* pp. 338–40 (sherds of decorated glass, limestone frog statuette, bone plaque, pottery offering-stand, green-glazed offering-table).

It should be noted that among the pottery from Floor 2 of the Fakhariyah building was an object (F 377) described in the field catalogue as a large cylindrical pot-stand(?) with two openings in the side. This may be an offering-stand comparable with that from Shilwi-Teshub's house (*ibid.* p. 339) and with those from the cella of the Ishtar temple (*ibid.* p. 91).

[40] Floor 3 of the palace yielded a small fragment of a baked brick (6 cm. thick) with traces of three wedges.

[41] See Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* ("The Pelican History of Art" Z7 [Harmondsworth etc., 1954]) esp. pp. 167–75. For earlier discussions see Franz Oelmann, "Hilani und Liwanhaus," *Bonner Jahrbücher* CXXVII (1922) 189–236, and Thomas Friedrich, "Die Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli und das *bît hilâni*," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* IV (1902) 227–78.

[42] See Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf.* II. *Die Bauwerke,* bearbeitet und ergänzt von Rudolf Naumann (Berlin, 1950) Pls. 9–11 and Plan 5.

[43] See Orient-Comité zu Berlin, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* II (Berlin, 1898) Pl. XXII.

[44] For the latter see conveniently Frankfort, *op. cit.* Pl. 154 *B*.

III

THE POTTERY[1]

By HELENE J. KANTOR

The pottery covered by this report is not abundant. Apparently many of the individual floors in the soundings yielded very little pottery. Thus there is a danger of basing conclusions on only a few sherds, some of which could possibly have been found out of context. In a number of cases it is impossible to assign a floor to a single period, because it yielded mixed material. Nevertheless, the general sequence of periods represented on the mound in so far as it was excavated is clear.[2]

The following chart correlates the periods represented at the site with levels in the various soundings.

Periods	Levels
Islamic	Sounding IV: top Sounding V: top, Floors 2 and 4
Islamic and Byzantine mixed	Sounding IV: Floors 2–4 Sounding VI: top
Byzantine and Hellenistic mixed	Sounding IV: Floors 5–6 Sounding IX: surface to 2 m.
Roman	Sounding V: Floor 5
Iron Age, i.e., "Aramaic" and Late Assyrian (*ca.* 900–600 B.C.)	Sounding I: Floors 7 and 17 Sounding IA: Floors 3 and 6 Sounding IX: Floors 1–2 (with admixture of later sherds) and 3–5 (palace)
Middle Assyrian (13th century B.C.)	Sounding VI: Floors 1–2 (building; see pp. 18 f.)
Mitannian (15th–14th centuries B.C.)	No homogeneous level excavated, but finds suggest strongly that such a stratum exists in the mound (see p. 23)
Middle Assyrian, Mitannian, and Khabur* mixed	Sounding IX: Floor 6 and below (level below Floor 6 probably a homogeneous Khabur stratum; see pp. 24 f.)

The upper levels exposed at Fakhariyah yielded Islamic, Byzantine, Roman, and Hellenistic remains, amounting in the higher part of the mound, that is, in Sounding IV, to about 5 meters in depth (see Pl. 4). These levels provided a sampling of various well known wares typical for late periods, for instance a sherd of a "Me-

[1] I wish to thank several scholars, Florence E. Day, Frances Follin Jones, Trude Krakauer-Dothan, Henry Robinson, and Homer A. and Dorothy Burr Thompson, whose suggestions were helpful in the identification of various Iron Age and later sherds from Fakhariyah. My thanks also go to Miss Suzanne E. Chapman of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston for the drawing of pottery No. 44 and to Dr. Francis C. Steele, who showed me unpublished sherds from Tell Billa in the University Museum at Philadelphia; these sherds included an important fragment which Dr. Samuel Kramer has kindly allowed me to mention. Information concerning the pertinent ʿAmuq pottery was made available through the courtesy of Dr. Robert J. Braidwood and Mr. Gustavus F. Swift, Jr.

[2] The serial numbers of the pottery catalogue provided on pp. 29–41 are used for reference in the text and are indicated in the illustrations, both photographs (Pls. 28–36) and drawings (Pls. 37–42). Hence no direct references to the illustrations are given. The photographs follow the order of the catalogue, whereas the drawings are arranged chronologically, beginning with the earliest pieces. Unless otherwise noted, the pots are shown in both photograph and drawing. Included in the pottery catalogue are two glass bowls (Nos. 6–7) and two frit sherds (Nos. 3, 59). No. 4, though catalogued with the pottery, appears actually to be a fragment of a figurine.

* The question of a name for this period is a vexatious one, and I am grateful to H. G. Güterbock and P. Delougaz for discussing it with me. "Khabur period" is used here to refer to a span of time which begins with the reign of Shamshi-Adad I and ends with the establishment of the Mitannian kingdom (*ca.* 1800–1600 B.C. on the basis of Sidney Smith's date for Hammurabi) and which can be distinguished archeologically by the presence of Khabur ware. The term is a temporary expedient allowable only until increased knowledge of the political situation in this area provides a suitable historical nomenclature. Although during much of this period the 1st dynasty of Babylon was the dominant power in western Asia, the term "Old Babylonian" is hardly appropriate for an area so far removed from Babylon proper. Neither is the term "Old

garian" bowl (No. 22), sherds of Byzantine stamped and impressed pottery (Nos. 15, 16, 19, 21, 66–68, 71, 75) and Early Islamic molded ware (Nos. 14, 17). Perhaps the most worthy of note among the sherds of the late periods are those representing a Hellenistic painted ware (Nos. 31, 74, 76, 77) and a rectangular platter with broad ledge rim (No. 60), the latter being a type of Roman and Byzantine vessel best known from finds in Egypt.

We do not have any material from the Persian period, but the gap may be accidental. There was clearly an extensive occupation in the Iron Age (*ca.* 900–600 B.C.), that is, in the "Aramaic" period, before the Assyrian conquest, and in the following period of Assyrian rule, but there is a gap corresponding to the little-known centuries from 1200 to 900 B.C. The remainder of the Fakhariyah pottery extends from the period of Assyrian domination in the 13th century back into that contemporary with the *floruit* of the 1st dynasty of Babylon in the south, that is, approximately the 18th–16th centuries B.C. on the basis of Sidney Smith's date for Hammurabi.

It is abundant testimony to McEwan's talent as an excavator that in one incomplete season he recovered evidence of periods extending from later Old Babylonian to Islamic times and, in addition, a wide variety of small objects, including Middle Assyrian tablets and glyptic as well as the first 13th-century Canaanite ivories yet discovered so far east as the Khabur Valley.

POTTERY OF THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

Since McEwan's soundings did not penetrate into the deepest parts of the mound, we do not know when the site was first settled. The earliest pottery recovered is Khabur ware and can be fitted into the ceramic sequence of the second millennium B.C. in northern Mesopotamia, a sequence which excavations in the Khabur and Balikh valleys and at Tell Billa and Nuzi have made increasingly clear.

At the time of Shamshi-Adad I, king of Assyria, there appeared a class of pottery distinctive for northern Mesopotamia. This is the now well known Khabur ware, buff or greenish in color, decorated chiefly with simple geometric patterns in dark paint on a light ground, which occurs in a characteristic series of shapes such as wine jars, open bowls, carinated bowls, and various types of beakers and goblets.[3] The development of the Khabur ware is most fully illustrated in the five occupation phases of Level I at Tell Shaghir Bazar. The ware begins in IA, a phase dated by tablets written during the reign of Shamshi-Adad I. In the three following phases, B to D, there can be observed a gradual shift from earlier types, coarse and relatively large vessels, particularly wine jars, with considerable painting, to later types, which are smaller, thinner-walled, and sparsely painted. Only the later types are found in the final phase, E. The same varieties of Khabur ware occur at Tell Billa in Level 4, in low levels of house area H.H. at Tell Brak, and in Level 4 of Tell Jidle in the Balikh Valley. A few examples of the late, thin variety even penetrated as far west as Tell ᶜAtshanah in the ᶜAmuq Plain, where they occur in Level V, and Majdaluna, some 10 kilometers northeast of Sidon.[4]

Levels in which Khabur ware is the only decorated pottery are succeeded by levels (Brak H.H. 3, Billa 3, Jidle 3) in which late varieties of it occur together with vessels decorated in light paint on a dark ground, that is, Mitannian

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Assyrian" suitable, applying as it does to rather earlier linguistic material (Cappadocian tablets) and to an area east of the Khabur Valley. The term most to be avoided, however, is "Hurrian." It has been used in Starr's Nuzi publication and elsewhere for the period of the Mitannian kingdom, a usage justifiable by the outstanding importance of Hurrian-speaking people at that time. It would lead to confusion if "Hurrian" were also used as a name for the preceding period. Actually, "Hurrian" is primarily a linguistic and an ethnic term, useful and meaningful when applied to features correlated with speakers of Hurrian but apt to be confusing as a name for one particular stage in the development of that group.

[3] See M. E. L. Mallowan in *Iraq* IV (1937) 102–4. For the stratification of Tell Shaghir Bazar see *ibid.* pp. 94 and 154 and *Iraq* IX (1947) 82–84.

[4] For Billa see E. A. Speiser in *MJ* XXIII (1932/33) 249 ff.; for Brak see Mallowan in *Iraq* IX 76–78; for Jidle see Mallowan in *Iraq* VIII (1946) 133–34; for ᶜAtshanah see *Alalakh*, Pl. LXXXVII *a;* for Majdaluna see Maurice Chéhab in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* IV (1940) 43, Fig. 6*f*. It should be emphasized that the final ᶜAtshanah publication shows that the extremely rare examples of Khabur ware found at that site represent only the latest varieties, types such as can overlap with the beginning of Mitannian ware. There are no examples from ᶜAtshanah of the standard Khabur-ware types contemporary with Hammurabi and characteristic for the early phases of Shaghir Bazar I.

ware.[5] Mitannian ware was a development of Khabur pottery, both in fabric and in the repertory of shapes. Its great innovations are the introduction of white paint and curvilinear patterns and the emphasis on representational motives. Significant of the close relationship of the two styles is the occurrence of Mitannian patterns, birds and animals, in the Khabur-ware technique of dark paint on a light ground (see below). We do not yet know how long the Khabur and Mitannian wares were in simultaneous use, but Mitannian ware had for the most part replaced its predecessor by 1500 B.C.; in Nuzi II, the earlier part of which is dated by the names of Barratarna and Saushshatar,[6] there are only two isolated survivals of Khabur ware.[7]

The pottery of the Mitannian period is best known from Nuzi II. That of the succeeding, Middle Assyrian, period is well exemplified at Assur and is known also from Billa 2, which is dated to the 13th century by the name of Shalmaneser I (1272–1243 B.C.) on tablets and bricks.[8] This period is characterized by flaring caliciform beakers with nipple-like bases (*Zitzenbecher*). The ordinary Mitannian light-on-dark ware was apparently extinct by the 13th century, except for distinctive variations in use at ᶜAtshanah and in Assyria.[9]

The sequence of periods with which the Fakhariyah pottery of the second millennium must be correlated is thus as follows: the Khabur period (18th–16th centuries; see p. 21, n.*); the Mitannian period (15th–14th centuries), including a transitional phase when both Khabur and Mitannian wares were used; and the Middle Assyrian period (13th century and after). The latest stage of the sequence is represented by No. 62, the typical nipple-based beaker well known at Assur and paralleled in Billa 2. Its appearance in Sounding VI at Fakhariyah together with 13th-century tablets and seal impressions corresponds to finds from Billa 2.

Pottery typical for the Mitannian period is represented at Fakhariyah by a few small sherds of light-on-dark ware (Nos. 32, 33, 50, 57, 80, 105), five of which were out of context in upper levels. Only No. 57, from the bottom floor (−0.56 m.) of Sounding I, was found relatively deep, and this may be the level with painted pottery of which McEwan had wished to expose a greater area (see p. 1), presumably because he suspected that it might be a Mitannian level. However, it did not prove possible to reach this depth in Sounding IA, and McEwan did not expose a homogeneous Mitannian level in any of his soundings. Nevertheless, the scattered appearance of light-on-dark sherds in Soundings I, IA, and IX suggests that an extensive Mitannian level exists at Fakhariyah. The Mitannian sherds discovered there parallel finds at Tell Halaf; some of the painted pottery described in the Halaf preliminary report under the heading "D ware" (i.e., Kapara dynasty and its Assyrian successors) is clearly Mitannian light-on-dark ware.[10]

A sherd from a face goblet (No. 109) is of particular interest since it represents a highly specialized type and has some pertinence to the question of the transition between the Khabur and Mitannian painted wares. A complete ex-

[5] See Mallowan, "White-painted Subartu pottery," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* ("Bibliothèque archéologique et historique" XXX [Paris, 1939]) II 887–94. This ware is known under many names, e.g. "Nuzu," "Subartu," "Hurrian." R. T. O'Callaghan used the term "Mitannian" in *Aram Naharaim* ("Analecta orientalia" XXVI [Roma, 1948]) pp. 72–73, a name which seems particularly appropriate since the light-on-dark decoration has close affinities with Mitannian art as known from cylinder seals and mural painting.

[6] The beginning of Nuzi II goes back to the reign of Barratarna, and the occupation must have lasted for over a century. It ended with or shortly after the capture of the city by Assyrians and covered a span of four to five generations, as indicated by the archives of the family of Tehip-tilla. See Benno Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'dunkles Zeitalter,'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* VIII (1954) 50–51, 53–55; Ignace J. Gelb, Pierre M. Purves, and Allan A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (*OIP* LVII [1943]) p. 1; Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940) p. 4; Purves, "The early scribes of Nuzi," *AJSL* LVII (1940) 162–63.

[7] *Nuzi*, Pls. 70 *B* and 73 *L*. A variant form of light-on-dark ware has been discovered at Dur Kurigalzu in the latest pavement of the palace of Level IV; this level had no written documents, but the palace itself was built by Kurigalzu, presumably the first of that name (Taha Baqir, "Iraq Government excavations at ᶜAqar Qūf" [*Iraq Supplement*, 1945] pp. 11–12 and Pl. XXIV).

[8] See *WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 2 *aa-ay*, and Speiser in *MJ* XXIII 261 and 275, Pl. LXV. It should be noted that the ovoid beaker with sharply profiled nipple base is one of the typical Late Assyrian forms at Assur (*WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 5 *d*) but appears at Billa in Level 2 (*MJ* XXIII, Pl. LXV 6).

[9] See *AJ* XVIII (1938) Pls. IX–X; *Alalakh*, Pls. CII *a* and CIII *a, f*; *AMI* VIII (1937) Pls. IV–X; *WVDOG* XXIII, Pl. LXXXIV.

[10] *Halaf Prelim.* p. 310.

ample of the type was found at Brak (see p. 39), and a third is represented by an unpublished sherd from Billa[11] with the mouth and part of the stippled beard. Their dark paint allies these goblets to vessels which in shape and many patterns are identical with the ordinary light-on-dark Mitannian ware but are decorated in the Khabur-ware technique. Although in house area H.H. at Brak and in Billa 3 transitional Khabur-Mitannian types and the ordinary Mitannian painted ware are recorded as occurring together, at ᶜAtshanah they appear in different strata, the dark-on-light in Levels VI–V and the light-on-dark in Level IV and above.[12] ᶜAtshanah IV and the earlier part of the Mitannian level at Nuzi are approximately contemporary (reigns of Barratarna and Saushshatar); it is significant that neither level yielded examples of the dark-painted ware. Clearly, at ᶜAtshanah the latter is earlier than the normal Mitannian painted pottery. The dark-painted sherds of ᶜAtshanah VI–V are strikingly comparable with those from Billa and Brak and also Jidle; they share highly characteristic features: the heavy concentrations of triangles and squares in varying arrangements, the birds, and the human figures.[13] These circumstances suggest that Billa 3 is not homogeneous but includes materials of two distinct phases which can be distinguished stratigraphically at ᶜAtshanah and perhaps also to a certain extent at Brak.[14] The dark-painted sherds cited are stylistically transitional between the Khabur and light-on-dark Mitannian wares,[15] and now the ᶜAtshanah stratification suggests strongly that it also represents a distinct chronological stage somewhat antecedent to the reign of Saushshatar. The face goblets would certainly belong to this transitional phase, as shown by their dark paint. Accordingly, it looks as though sherd 109 belongs to the earliest phase of the Mitannian period, a phase characterized by pottery transitional between the Khabur and the light-on-dark Mitannian ware.

Sherd 109 is from Floor 6 of Sounding IX. Of the other three sherds available from this floor, Nos. 111–12 are Khabur ware and No. 110 seems to be of late character and is placed together with the goblet sherd (109) in the transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase. Floor 6 also yielded various small objects (see p. 97), including ivories which on stylistic grounds must be assigned to the 13th century B.C. (see pp. 63–64). The explanation for the heterogeneous character of the finds from Floor 6 can be sought in the history of the buildings of Sounding IX. Below Floor 6 there appeared the tops of walls whose date of construction was not revealed by McEwan's excavations since he did not have the opportunity to trace them to their foundations (see p. 10). Floor 6, according to McEwan (see p. 6), was not a true building floor but a leveling undertaken in preparation for the construction of the palace, whose original floor (5) was in general 30–50 cm. above Floor 6 and whose walls were completely unrelated to those below Floor 6. Thus the material from Floor 6 represents debris of different periods which became mixed when the area was prepared for a new building.

Of the few sherds known to us from the limited excavation below Floor 6, one (No. 113) was presumably out of place, for it is a base similar to that of a Late Assyrian cup from Sounding I (No. 55). A beaker sherd (No. 114) is comparable with Khabur-ware beaker types which

[11] No. 33-4-261 in the University Museum at Philadelphia, apparently found out of context in a Billa 2 locus.

[12] See *Alalakh*, p. 347 with n. 5, for discussion of a few highly questionable cases of light-painted ware in Level V.

[13] See *Alalakh*, Pls. XCIII *l*, *m*, *r* and XCIV *a* (Level VI) and XCV, all except ATP/48/64 (Level V); *MJ* XXIII, Pls. LX 3 and LXIII (Billa 3); *Iraq* VIII 151, Fig. 11:6, 10 (Jidle 2); *Iraq* IX, Pls. LXXVII 1, 2, 5 and LXVIII 5, 12 (all Brak H.H. 3) 6–9, 11; Mallowan, "White-painted Subartu pottery," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* II, Pl. II, top (facing p. 888).

[14] The situation at Brak is not completely clear. Level 3 of house area H.H. is characterized by coarse dark-painted sherds with human figures, birds, and geometric designs like those from ᶜAtshanah VI–V and yielded less light-on-dark pottery than the levels above (*Iraq* IX 77 and 238, Pl. LXXVIII 5, 12). In H.H. 2 were found the face goblet and other goblets with designs in dark paint and also a number of light-on-dark sherds (*ibid.* p. 77 and Pl. LXXVII 1, 2, 5). No dark-painted pieces are attributed to H.H. 1, the highest level. It seems likely therefore that at Brak, too, there is some stratigraphic distinction between the two varieties of painted ware, with the coarse dark-painted examples being earlier than the bulk of the light-painted ware.

[15] The characteristic human figures of the dark-painted ware are anticipated by a demon on a sherd of Khabur ware from Billa 4, which also yielded sherds with animal figures, and the heavy rectilinear geometric patterns are directly derived from Khabur ware; note e.g. the checkerboard pattern on a Billa 4 sherd and the light-on-dark stand from Billa 3 which is decorated both with triangles interspersed with dots, a typical Khabur motive (see our Pl. 37:108, 127), and with birds of the light-on-dark type (*MJ* XXIII, Pls. LXIII and LXXII).

persist alongside Mitannian ware; it and No. 116 may well be contemporary with the goblet sherd (No. 109). The remaining pieces are either Khabur ware (Nos. 115, 117–18) or contemporary with Khabur ware (Nos. 119–20). This evidence, limited though it is, suggests that McEwan was approaching a homogeneous level characterized by Khabur ware when he began to excavate the tops of the walls below Floor 6. It is quite possible that the Khabur-ware sherds whose provenience is unknown to the present writer (see p. 41) were actually found below Floor 6.

The palace of Sounding IX had three periods of occupation, represented by Floors 5–3. It is unfortunate that very little pottery is available from these levels. From Floor 5 we have only a thick sherd of Khabur ware (No. 108) presumably representing an early stage of the fabric. Registered from Floors 3–4 are two sherds (Nos. 106–7), both assignable to a simple painted ware characteristic for the Khabur Iron Age. Floor 3 yielded a sherd of the same Iron Age painted ware (No. 104) and a roughly modeled animal-head spout (No. 103) which is dated to the Iron Age by its ware and its resemblance to the class of rough theriomorphic vases widespread throughout Palestine and Syria in this period. Floor 3 also yielded a Mitannian light-on-dark sherd (No. 105), and from Floor 4 comes a bulla with impressions of a Mitannian seal (Design XLVI; see p. 80). However, the Mitannian sherd, the bulla, and the Khabur-ware sherd from Floor 5 may be regarded as strays found above their proper levels and the few Iron Age sherds may be accepted as an indication of the date of the palace, whose architecture is characteristic of the Iron Age (see p. 20).

Despite the relatively small amount of material available from Fakhariyah as a whole and the mixed character of the pottery from the various levels of Sounding IX, McEwan's excavation has demonstrated without doubt that the site was occupied during a large part of the second millennium, in the Khabur, Mitannian, and Middle Assyrian periods. Furthermore, even though his excavation was not extensive enough to reveal stratified deposits of the successive ceramic phases of the Khabur period, his material provides samples of the earlier thick-walled (Nos. 108, 127, 134) and the thinner varieties (Nos. 111, 115, 117–18, 121, 124, 128, 130–33) of Khabur ware. In addition, there are a few modified Khabur-ware (i.e., dark-painted) sherds (Nos. 109–10, 114, 116) which in one feature or another prelude the Mitannian ware.

POTTERY OF THE IRON AGE

No material for the three centuries between 1200 and 900 B.C. has yet been found at Fakhariyah. The site may have been deserted at that time. Beginning with the 9th century, however, it was again a flourishing settlement, with pottery which provides a glimpse of the character and complexity of the ceramics of the period. The basic ware is orange-buff or light red in color, usually hard and thoroughly fired, but sometimes with a gray or brown core in thicker pieces. The grit tempering usually includes some large white particles. We can distinguish four classes of this ware on the basis of surface treatment: a plain unburnished class with or without self-slip (Nos. 34, 35, 88, and perhaps 89); a hand- or wheel-burnished variety, sometimes with rather lustrous surface (Nos. 36, 37, 90–92, 97, 125); a variety with brown or reddish paint applied to either a slightly burnished or a cream-slipped surface (see n. 21); and a variety with burnished, sometimes very lustrous, red hematite wash (Nos. 78, 94, 95).

The Fakhariyah pottery of the Iron Age must be compared with that from Tell Halaf and that from the ʿAmuq, both of which are as yet known only from preliminary and sparsely illustrated reports.[16] Comparison with the pertinent ʿAmuq pottery, which is being prepared for publica-

[16] For the pertinent Tell Halaf pottery there is as yet (1956) available only a preliminary discussion by Hubert Schmidt with two illustrations (*Halaf Prelim.* pp. 309–13, Fig. 4 and Pl. LV). The complete presentation of this material is announced for Volume IV of the final publication. A small series of ʿAmuq Iron Age pottery from Tabara al-Akrad, excavated by Sinclair Hood, is published by him in *Anatolian Studies* I (1951) 141–43 and Fig. 11. For the stratification of the ʿAmuq sites excavated by the Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute see R. J. Braidwood's charts in *American Journal of Archaeology* XLI (1937) 10–11 and in his *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch* (*OIP* XLVIII [1937]) pp. 6–7. The more recent terminology for this sequence, in which the phases are denominated by letters, appears in Table I of W. M. Krogman, "Ancient cranial types at Chatal Hüyük and Tell al-Judaidah . . . ," Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belleten* XIII (1949) 407–78. For a comparison of the Tell Halaf and ʿAmuq materials see Braidwood as quoted by R. A. Bowman in *AJSL* LVIII (1941) 364–66.

tion by G. F. Swift, Jr., has been particularly helpful for evaluating the scanty samples available from Fakhariyah.

It is clear that the pottery from Fakhariyah is completely comparable with pottery from Tell Halaf.[17] This could hardly be otherwise in view of the proximity of the two sites. Two of the three main groups of "Kapara" pottery distinguished by Hubert Schmidt, his "smaller ware painted with simple stripes" and "one-coloured red polished ware," are obviously identical with the analogous classes at Fakhariyah; Tell Halaf also provides parallels for individual pieces from Fakhariyah (see Nos. 37, 42, 49, 95).

It is also certain that much of the Iron Age pottery from Tell Halaf and Fakhariyah, which provide the only samples of Iron Age wares yet known from the Khabur Valley, is closely comparable with the ceramics of Phase O in the ʿAmuq, as Braidwood has pointed out. A dominant feature in both areas is the red burnished ware appearing in characteristic forms such as double-angled bowls, tripod bowls, bowls with three loop feet, and bowls with a cone in the interior.[18] A black burnished rim sherd from Fakhariyah (No. 47) may represent the "black-ware variant" of the normal red-slipped and burnished series mentioned by Braidwood among the features linking Tell Halaf and the ʿAmuq sites. This red burnished ceramic tradition was deeply rooted in the west, as is evident from the fact that it gave a distinctive character to the later Iron Age not only in the ʿAmuq (Phase O) but also throughout Syria and Palestine. Polished red wares were found in Stratum E at Hamah, and in Palestine orange or red burnished fabrics, of which the Samaria ware is an especially thin and luxurious variety, are characteristic for Early Iron III (*ca.* 1020–930) and Middle Iron I (*ca.* 930–720) and are closely allied to the ʿAmuq burnished wares.[19]

The similarity of the Iron Age ceramics of Syria and Palestine as a whole to that of the Khabur area is heightened by the presence in the latter area also of connections with Cyprus. Cypriote vessels with concentric-circle decoration, presumably Black-on-Red ware, seem to have been both imported into Tell Halaf and imitated there locally,[20] while proof that Fakhariyah shared in these Cypriote connections is given by our No. 101, which imitates Cypro-Geometric III one-handled jugs with concentric-circle and horizontal-line decoration. Sherd 100, though it is clearly of local origin, since it shows vertical burnishing, which is typical for the local painted ware (cf. Nos. 42–44), has a peculiar white slip and an orange design showing Cypriote affinities. Cypriote prototypes are most likely the eventual source for the concentric-circle decoration of No. 79 also.

However, not all the pottery of the Khabur Iron Age is western in type, that is, identical with or very similar to that of northern Syria. The important class of painted ware[21] which relies for its effect upon red, brown, or orange paint, occurring normally in simple groups of horizontal lines, though occasionally more complicated patterns were used (Nos. 44, 48), is quite distinct from the bichrome painting usual for Phase O in the ʿAmuq. Moreover, certain shapes are, according to our present knowledge, particularly characteristic for this ware, namely flat-based cylindrical cups, shallow bowls, and piriform vessels (see Pl. 40). One noteworthy feature of this ware is paralleled in the west, the conical projection of No. 38, which imitates metal prototypes (see p. 33). For the rest, however, the shapes used for this painted ware do not seem connected with the west, but, on the contrary, are related to the shapes of vessels current in southern Mesopotamia during the

[17] It should be remembered that the information presented on the pertinent pottery from Tell Halaf is confused in Hubert Schmidt's preliminary report by the compression of vessels ranging in date from the Khabur and Mitannian periods to the Iron Age under the one heading "palace ware," which he assigns to the Kapara dynasty and its Assyrian successors. (Cf. Mallowan's statement in *Iraq* IV 145 that the vessel of *Halaf Prelim.* Pl. LV 1 is a Khabur-ware wine jar.) Schmidt's "undecorated ware for daily use" (*Halaf Prelim.* p. 309) is not a unified class but a chaotic collection of large and small vessels and thin-walled pots, including some Assyrian pottery of types known from Nimrud and elsewhere.

[18] See *Halaf Prelim.* Fig. 4:16 and Pl. LV 2, 12 and Braidwood's list of corresponding features in *AJSL* LVIII 364.

[19] See Harald Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie (1932–1938)* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, "Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser" III 1 [København, 1940]) Pls. XXX 3–4, XXXI 2–4, and e.g. pottery of Strata V–III in *Megiddo* I.

[20] See *Halaf Prelim.* pp. 310 ff.

[21] There may actually be two painted wares involved: a fine variety with hard thin walls and tempered with small white grits (Nos. 49, 82, 83, 104) and a coarser ware with considerable straw tempering (Nos. 38–42, 48).

Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian periods. It is in the south that we find parallels for the oval or pointed bodies, the wide flaring necks and mouths, the sharp edges and ridges, and the carinated bowls of this painted ware. It is likely that we are dealing here with a local painted ware characteristic for the Khabur Valley but closely linked with the ceramic tradition of southern Mesopotamia. This apparently local northern Mesopotamian ware is distinct from the characteristic Mesopotamian types, the Late Assyrian beaker and bowl types which appear in the Khabur area and to the west in the ᶜAmuq and even in southern Palestine.

There remains the question of the absolute dates of the Fakhariyah Iron Age pottery, which depend, of course, upon the dates of the analogous materials from Tell Halaf and the ᶜAmuq. Fortunately, at Halaf the chronology of the period is now evident from the correlation of the architectural remains with Assyrian historical inscriptions and also with Assyrian tablets found at the site itself.[22] The first Assyrian reference to the Aramaic city of Guzana (modern Tell Halaf) was in 895 B.C.; the city was destroyed by the Assyrians in 808 B.C., during the reign of Adadnirari III, and was thenceforth the seat of an Assyrian governor until the end of the Assyrian Empire. It is evident from the historical circumstances that the five building levels on the citadel, the last and most ostentatious of which belonged to the time of the ruler Kapara, correspond to the period of the independent Aramaic princes, who ruled during the 9th century and imitated, to the best of their ability, the sculptures and glory of Assyrian palaces.[23] The epigraphic and archeological evidence points to the same conclusion. An altar from one of the Aramaic levels has an Aramaic inscription dated by Bowman to the second half of the 9th century or the beginning of the 8th century B.C.[24] The stylistic affinities of the Kapara reliefs date them to the same general period and show that there is no foundation for the belief that these reliefs were made before the 9th century and then reused. In addition, as Braidwood has shown, there is independent evidence from the ᶜAmuq for the absolute date of the general archeological assemblage that is typical for the Aramaic levels at Halaf. This Tell Halaf material is comparable with that from the middle and late stages of ᶜAmuq Phase O (Judaidah IV), a time represented at Tell Taᶜyinat by large buildings. Their construction is dated approximately 860 B.C. by an inscription of Kalparunda, a contemporary of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.), and by other unpublished evidence.

In the ᶜAmuq, around 745 B.C., under the rule of Tiglath-Pileser III, various Assyrian features were added to the ordinary Syrian assemblage of pottery, and this mixture of features continued until the beginning of the Persian period, around 600 B.C. At Halaf most of the Assyrian city remains unexcavated, but the Assyrian period is represented by a city temple and a governor's house, where, as in the ᶜAmuq, Assyrian ceramics—glazed pottery, eggshell-ware bowls, and dimpled beakers—appear.[25] Thus, two distinct phases of the Iron Age of the Khabur Valley can be distinguished, an Aramaic[26] one extending throughout the 9th century B.C. and an Assyrian one covering approximately the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

Both phases are represented at Fakhariyah, though there is more evidence for features known to begin in the earlier one, in the 9th century, than for the distinctively later types that were contemporary with Assyrian rule. Thus, we have at Fakhariyah two of the forms—the tripod bowl[27] and the bowl with central cone—

[22] See Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* II 376–81, 402–3; Ernst F. Weidner, "Der kulturhistorische Ertrag der Keilschrifturkunden von Tell Halaf," *AOF* Beiheft 6 (1940) pp. 1–7.

[23] On the sculptures and their affinities see Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pp. 175–80; Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*. III. *Die Bildwerke*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Anton Moortgat (Berlin, 1955) pp. 1–31.

[24] *AJSL* LVIII 364.

[25] *Halaf Prelim.* Fig. 4:3, 4, 8, 9 (eggshell ware) and 12, 17, 18 (thicker-walled sharply profiled Late Assyrian ware).

[26] The use of the term "Aramaic" for the period before the final reduction of the independent Aramaic principalities by the Assyrians seems to be legitimate as long as the term is limited to a purely historical connotation. It would be quite unjustified, however, to speak of Aramaic sculpture from Tell Halaf, since there is no evidence that that or any other style was a characteristic production of Aramaic-speaking individuals.

[27] The form also persisted after the 9th century. A variation of the type was excavated at Nimrud in the Governor's Palace, Room B, and is dated by Mallowan around 740 B.C. He states that it is a rare and unusual type, though red-slip ware was not uncommon in 8th-century Assyria (*Iraq* XII [1950] Pl. XXXII 1 and p. 183).

which are stated by Hubert Schmidt to come from graves of the Kapara period at Tell Halaf. The same forms also occur in the middle stage of ᶜAmuq Phase O. In addition, Schmidt says that pottery decorated with horizontal bands is associated with material of the Kapara period. It is clear that the Iron Age pottery of Fakhariyah begins at the same time as that from Tell Halaf, namely around the beginning of the 9th century B.C.

Proof that the later, Assyrian, phase known from Tell Halaf was represented at Fakhariyah also is present in the form of a dimpled goblet (No. 58) in the eggshell-thin ware that was first identified by Petrie as Assyrian and dated around 700 B.C. when he excavated a number of such bowl and beaker sherds at Gerar.[28] In Palestine the ware also occurs at Samaria and at Tell al-Farᶜah near Nablus.[29] Now, renewed excavation at Nimrud has definitively substantiated Petrie's brilliant identification, for at that Assyrian capital the "Palace ware" is common, ranging from at least 750 to 612 B.C. (see description of No. 58 for references.)[30] In addition to the eggshell Assyrian ware, Petrie distinguished at Gerar another, contemporary, variety of pottery, bowls possessing thicker walls and sometimes having a very markedly fatty burnished fabric (see description of No. 102 for references). This variety, which Petrie considered Assyrian also,[31] is represented at Fakhariyah by two sherds of a carinated bowl (No. 102). Furthermore, Fakhariyah yielded two relatively thick-walled goblets (Nos. 53, 63) which, as exact parallels from Assur show, are typical Assyrian forms. Thus No. 102, together with goblets 53, 58, and 63, is of great importance as proof that Fakhariyah was occupied during the period of Assyrian domination in the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

[28] See Flinders Petrie, *Gerar* (London, 1928) pp. 23–24 and Pl. LXV 1–9.

[29] *Revue biblique* LVIII (1951) 420, Fig. 12, and Pl. XV 1.

[30] As Professor D. E. McCown has kindly drawn to my attention, this eggshell ware remained in use after the end of the Assyrian Empire. It is represented among the Achaemenid materials at Nippur by characteristic types of bowls, on some of which dimpling appears.

[31] It is not certain that this identification also holds. Unmistakable parallels for the shapes and fabric of this group have not appeared among the pottery published from Nimrud.

Aside from the Late Assyrian sherds, there is one other identifiably later Iron Age sherd (No. 91) from the site. It has a ribbed rim that compares closely with Palestinian rim types belonging to the Iron Age and even persisting into the Persian period. Despite the rarity of Fakhariyah sherds attributable to the period of Assyrian domination there can be no doubt that the Iron Age levels at Fakhariyah and Tell Halaf cover the same range, that is, the 9th through the 7th centuries B.C. It seems clear also that we do not have material from Fakhariyah that can be dated to the years between 1200 and 900 B.C.; McEwan's excavation does not furnish any support for the hypothesis tentatively proposed by Naumann that the capital may have been transferred to Guzana (modern Tell Halaf) around 900 B.C. from an older Aramaic settlement at Fakhariyah, a settlement which he suggested might even have been the source from which Kapara transported older sculptures for reuse at Halaf.[32] The material so far found at Fakhariyah does not, unfortunately, fill the gap between 1200 and 900. Our complete ignorance of the archeological sequence in the Khabur Valley during those dark centuries remains an outstanding problem.

In so far as we yet know it, the Iron Age pottery of the Khabur Valley appears as a mixture of two traditions. The shapes of the indigenous painted ware testify to considerable connection with the ceramic traditions of southern Mesopotamia—a connection already existing in the 9th century—at a time when there is no evidence for the presence of Assyrian wares such as those occurring in the 8th century. In addition, it is evident that much of the Khabur Iron Age pottery is identical to that of the ᶜAmuq Plain and similar to some Palestinian Iron Age pottery. This is shown not only by the use of the same wares and forms in the ordinary local ceramics of the areas in question, but also by the importation and imitation of Cypriote pottery in the inland Khabur Valley as well as in the coastal lands of Syria and Palestine. The pronounced western influence thus manifested in the Khabur Iron Age pottery contrasts strongly with the situation in the second millennium B.C. At that time there was no such considerable identity between ᶜAmuq and Khabur fabrics. The pottery used in the Khabur

[32] See Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* II 91.

area and that used in the west were distinct,[33] with the important exceptions of the Khabur and Mitannian painted wares. These similarities testify to influence going from the Khabur area to the west, rather than in the opposite direction as in the case of so much Iron Age pottery. The appearance in the west of northern Mesopotamian painted wares, the more common of which, the Mitannian ware, is obviously a specialized luxury class, is a vivid archeological reminder that Alalakh was a vassal kingdom dependent on Mitanni. No corresponding influence was exerted by western Syrian pottery in the Khabur Valley in the second millennium. Moreover, no imported Mycenaean and Cypriote vessels, ubiquitous in western Syria and Palestine during the Late Bronze period, have yet been found in the Khabur area. All this is in strong contrast with the situation in the Iron Age. Then we do have Cypriote imports at Tell Halaf and imitations of Cypriote types at Fakhariyah. Furthermore, at that time a large bulk of the normal pottery of the Khabur area was completely western in type. This change in the pottery is accompanied by the appearance of some other features—for example, the characteristic animal style found on ivories and sculptures at Tell Halaf[34]—which migrated eastward from the Syrian littoral. Thus the Iron Age pottery of this area is a sign of an important cultural shift, the pronounced orientation of the Khabur area toward the west, in the early part of the first millennium B.C.

CATALOGUE

Sherds and complete vessels are numbered consecutively, beginning with those recorded from the "city wall" (presumably from clearances of the fortifications at the base of the mound; see p. 11) and from the soundings (IV–V) which yielded exclusively late materials; next comes the pottery from the soundings which yielded materials ranging in date from later periods back to the Khabur period. It seemed useful in a few cases to mention vessels which are recorded in the field catalogue but which are not available for study, in order to give an idea of total bulk. However, all vessels recorded in the field catalogue are included in the List of Objects (pp. 91–98).

[33] Note e.g. the dissimilarity of the pottery of ʿAtshanah IV with its characteristic red-washed ware (see *Alalakh*, pp. 324–25, Types 48 and 60, Pl. XCIX *j–l*) from that in use at the same time at such northern Mesopotamian sites as Billa (Level 3), Nuzi, and Brak.

[34] See *JNES* XV (1956) 169–70, 173–74.

City Wall

1. Islamic (perhaps 12th–13th cent.). Hard compact gray-buff fabric; wheelmade; barbotine decoration. The decoration is much coarser than that typical for the molded ware of the 8th–10th centuries (cf. Nos. 14, 17). This is perhaps a fragment of a water jar related to the class discussed by Gerald Reitlinger in *Ars Islamica* XV (1951) 11–22. See *Aṯār-é Īrān* III (1938) 213, Fig. 130 *bis*, for a molded water jug with barbotine lattice-work dated to the 12th century.
2. Early Islamic (*ca.* 8th–10th cent.). Rim sherd of bowl. Light buff with green glaze; excised geometric decoration. Bowls with vertical sides and excised decoration were common in the Early Islamic period: see Gerald M. FitzGerald, *Beth-Shan Excavations, 1921–1923: The Arab and Byzantine Levels* ("Publications of the Palestine Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania" III [Philadelphia, 1931]) p. 36 and Pls. XXVI 3, XXVII 1, XXX 8, XXXIII 20, 31; *Archaeologia* LXXXVII (1937) Pl. XVIII 1 *C*; *QDAP* X (1940–42) 83, Fig. 6:20–24, and Pl. XXI 7, 9; Friedrich Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra* (Berlin, 1925) Pl. V 7–8.
3. Islamic (*ca.* 12th–13th cent.). Soft frit (see p. 21, n. 2); decorated with blue glaze under colorless overglaze. The fabric resembles Raqqa ware. (Photograph only.)
4. Late Roman(?). Fragment of hollow figurine (see p. 21, n. 2). Gray interior; fired to reddish buff on exterior. (Photograph only.) The motive is a reclining male figure holding a kantharos in his right hand, a wreath in his left; he is presumably a banqueter, and the motive may be distantly related to the "reclining Heracles" terra cottas (for examples and bibliography see *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* I, ed. Hetty Goldman [Princeton, 1950] pp. 332–33). The figure here is clad in heavy drapery with stiff borders or scarves, a feature somewhat reminiscent of the borders on coats such as that worn by a Palmyrene on a sarcophagus of *ca.* A.D. 229 (see Ingholt in *Berytus* II 63 ff. and Pl. XXVI).
5. (F 137). One-handled jar. Red-buff fabric. (Drawing only; Pl. 42.)

SOUNDING IV

WELL

6. (F 37). Early Islamic. Cylindrical glass bowl (see p. 21, n. 2). Engraved with double-bordered lozenges inclosing circles, large lobes filling corners between lozenges (see No. 7). (Photograph only.)
7. (F 38). Early Islamic. Cylindrical glass bowl (see p. 21, n. 2). Engraved band near rim and crosshatched circle below. (Photograph only.) Parallels for the shape and decoration of Nos. 6–7 are provided by two engraved cylindrical bowls from Samarra[2], one with a double-bordered lozenge (C. J. Lamm, *Das Glas von Samarra* [Berlin, 1938] Pl. V 185, 187). Iraq apparently was the center for the making of engraved glassware in the Early Islamic period (*ibid.* pp. 49 ff.).
8. (F 40). Early Islamic (*ca.* 8th–10th cent.). Water jug. Light cream fabric; wheelmade; medium and small grits; base of neck slightly undercut. (Photograph only.) This vessel represents a standard and widely distributed class of unglazed porous water jugs, some of which have molded or barbotine decoration (cf. Nos. 14 and 17 and see Arthur Lane's discussion in *Archaeologia* LXXXVII 38–40). In shape of handle, neck, and base it resembles other jugs of its class: *ibid.* Fig. 3 *D;* Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra,* Fig. 6; Institut français de Damas, *Bulletin d'études orientales* XI (Beyrouth, 1945–46) 24, Fig. III 23, and 26, Fig. IV 13, 18, 21 (Abu Gosh, near Jerusalem).
9. Early Islamic. Fragment of molded lamp. Gray; conical knob handle; relief decoration of crescents and circles. The class of lamps with conical handle ranges from the 6th century through the 9th century (see Florence E. Day in *Berytus* VII [1942] 79; *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* I 67 and Pl. XII 1842–43 and Vol. III 67–68 and Fig. 81, Type 56, No. 175). A good parallel for the relief decoration of our No. 9 occurs at Samarra[2] (Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra,* Pl. IX 3) and suggests a probable 9th-century date for it.

FLOOR 2[35]

10. Early Islamic. Base fragment of molded lamp. Coarse brown fabric; many large grits; rough ring base with relief decoration inside. (Photograph only.) This sherd may have been part of a conical-handled lamp with round foot, a type current during the Umayyad period but probably beginning in the 6th century (*Berytus* VII 79 and Pls. IX 1, X 2; *QDAP* X, Pl. XVII 9).
11. Byzantine(?). Bowl with ledge rim decorated with imprints. Rough buff fabric; sandy and porous; handmade.
12. Byzantine(?). Bowl sherd (see n. 35). Details as for No. 11; incised triangles on base.

FLOOR 3

13. Early Islamic (*ca.* 9th cent.). Section of flat-based bowl with vertical side. Sandy buff paste; blue-green glaze on exterior and base; molded decoration: circles and sitting animals with raised forepaw on exterior, wavy band on base. This represents a type common at Samarra[2] (Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra,* pp. 31–32 and Pl. IX 10, 11, 14).
14. Early Islamic (*ca.* 8th–9th cent.). Sherds from shoulder of unglazed molded water vessel, lower edge broken at join to separately molded lower half of body. Very sandy porous brownish-buff fabric; cream slip on exterior. Cf. *QDAP* X, Pl. XX 1 (Khirbat al-Mefjer; circles on upper part of body; 8th cent.); Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra,* Text Pl. *A* 2 = Pl. IV 7, 11 (pyxis sherds with large circle with various motives, including veined leaves; also frieze of ovals); *Ars Islamica* I (1934) 64, Fig. 18 (Hira; sherds with various types of rosettes, medallions; 8th and early 9th cent.).
15. "Late Roman C" ware (Early Byzantine; *ca.* 5th–7th cent.). Base fragment of bowl. Light red; rather glossy interior; decorated with stamped cross and rouletted lines. (Photograph only.) For discussion of "Late Roman C" ware see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, pp. 51–54; see also Fig. 34.
16. "Late Roman C" ware (Early Byzantine). Base fragment of bowl. Dark red ware; slight gloss in interior. (Photograph only.) A good parallel for the stamped design, a cross with the stem longer than the arms, occurs at Antioch (see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 34).

FLOOR 4

17. Early Islamic (*ca.* 8th–9th cent.). Sherds of unglazed water vessel, broken at join to other half of jar. (Photograph only.) Porus buff fabric, now partly burned to gray. Cf. *QDAP* X, Pl. XX 2 (Khirbat al-Mefjer). For lozenge motive cf. *Archaeologia* LXXXVII, Pls. XIX 2 *C,* XX 2, top (al-Mina).
18. Middle Islamic. Sherd of molded pilgrim bottle. Rough, porous, very gritty greenish-buff fabric;

[35] The provenience of No. 12 is unknown, but it is listed here because of its similarity to No. 11.

relief decoration: pattée cross surrounded by borders with wavy tendrils. (Photograph only.) This sherd probably belongs to a vessel of a class typical for the 13–14th centuries, though most of the examples from Baalbek, Damascus, and Hamah have more complicated decoration; see Jean Sauvaget, *Poteries syro-mésopotamiennes du XIV^e siècle* (Institut français de Damas, "Documents d'études orientales" I [Paris, 1932] esp. p. 5); Florence E. Day in *Berytus* II 5–10; Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept compagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie (1932–1938)*, Pls. XLIII 4, XLIV 1–4.

FLOOR 5

19. "Late Roman C" ware (Early Byzantine). Base sherd of bowl. Light orange-red; somewhat glossy interior. (Photograph only.) For a close parallel to the stamped cross with equilateral arms see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 34.
20. Hellenistic glazed ware (*ca.* 3d–2d cent. B.C.). Sherd from base of bowl with high ring foot. Micaceous light pinkish-buff fabric; two-toned glaze as result of stacking during firing: interior brick red, exterior light to dark brown; decoration of stamped palmettes and feathered rouletted lines (cf. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule* I 153 ff., esp. pot No. 66 [p. 154 and Figs. 122, 181]). Perhaps an import.

FLOOR 6

21. "Late Roman B" ware. Hard sandy light orange-red fabric; glossy slip on interior only; very flat rouletted base; decoration of rouletted lines, cloverleaf stamp (cf. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 29:8), and pinnate leaf stamp (cf. *ibid.* Fig. 29:4, 5, 15). According to Waagé there are early, middle, and late stages of "Late Roman B" ware ranging from the 2d and 3d Christian centuries to the 6th century (*ibid.* p. 44). This sherd presumably belongs to the late (6th-century) class.
22. Hellenistic "Megarian" ware (*ca.* 3d–2d cent. B.C.). Rim sherd of bowl. Fine light orange-buff fabric; thick red slip, fired to gray in spots on exterior; dull gloss; egg-and-dart border with beading below. Cf. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Figs. 9:11 and 10:10, Pl. IV HM 13 (profile), and see p. 30 for Waagé's discussion of the chronology of Hellenistic molded bowls.
23. Hellenistic glazed ware (*ca.* 3d–2d cent. B.C.). Deep bowl sherd. Light pink-buff fabric; glazed surface mottled red to purplish brown from being stacked in kiln; decoration of reserved rouletted bands. See *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 5:17, for a possible parallel.
24. Hellenistic glazed ware (3d–2d cent. B.C.). Light cream hard sandy fabric; black glaze with metallic sheen on both surfaces. (Photograph only.) Probably from base or near rim of footed dish such as those shown in *Excavations at Gözlü Kule* I, Figs. 120:23, 178:23 *A*.

SOUNDING V

TOP

25. Early Islamic (*ca.* 8th to middle 9th cent.). Fragment of molded lamp of same general type as No. 9. Very gritty pinkish-buff fabric; dark green glaze. (Photograph only.) A glazed lamp of this type from Antioch (*Antioch-on-the-Orontes* III, Fig. 81, Type 56, No. 174) is considered almost certainly ᶜAbbasid by Florence E. Day (*Berytus* VII 72, n. 25). She has kindly informed me that good parallels for our No. 25 exist among the unpublished Islamic materials from Tarsus.

FLOOR 2

26. Early Islamic(?) (probably 9th–10th cent.). Rim sherds of bowl with slight carination. Fairly coarse buff fabric; blue-green glaze. These fragments represent that blue-green glazed ware which existed from Parthian to Early Islamic times with apparently little change in color. See *Archaeologia* LXXXVII 38 for discussion and references; see also Yale University, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus*, Final Report IV, Part 1, Fasc. 1, *The Green Glazed Pottery*, by Nicholas Toll (New Haven, 1943) pp. 71–73.

FLOOR 4

27. Early Islamic (*ca.* 9th–10th cent.). Sherd of ring-based bowl. Sandy reddish-buff fabric; interior heavily glazed with dark green and manganese splotches on yellowish-buff ground; exterior thinly and haphazardly covered with buff and green glaze. This is a coarse imitation of the fine splashed ware found at Samarraᵓ and other sites from about the end of the 8th century to the 10th century and inspired by Chinese Tang pottery (see *Archaeologia* LXXXVII 34 ff.).
28. Islamic. Part of wheelmade bowl with wide ledge rim. Greenish buff; numerous large orange or white grits; wet-smoothed; impressed decoration on rim, lower surface marked by haphazard row of punctations. The ware, though baked considerably harder, is similar to that of No. 18; No. 28 may belong to the same period, i.e., *ca.* 13th–14th centuries.

29. Byzantine or Islamic. Bread stamp(?). Clay disk, 1.7–2.1 cm. thick, with stamped decoration on upper surface; soft rough light buff fabric. (Photograph only.)

FLOOR 5

30. "Roman Pergamene" ware. Fragment of floor of dish with low ring base. Light peach-buff fabric, hard and evenly textured; bright red highly glossy glazed slip on both exterior and interior; rouletted feathering in interior. Cf. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule* I 180–83 and Fig. 193:402, 408.

Soundings I and IA

A large number of floors were traced in these soundings, which are here treated together because IA was an extension of I (see p. 1 for correlations of their floors). They yielded primarily Iron Age pottery. There are also four sherds of the Mitannian period, two being from the lowest floor (19) of Sounding I; unfortunately the latter are not sufficient to prove that a Mitannian level was reached at this point, particularly since a Late Assyrian cup was found only two floors above (on 17).

SOUNDING IA

31. Hellenistic coarse painted ware (see No. 76). Thick hard very sandy brown fabric; fired to reddish color on underside; smoothed mat slip on interior and possibly self-slip on exterior; decoration of concentric bands with various designs in brown paint, fired to red where thin. Unstratified.
32. Mitannian light-on-dark ware. Light cream fabric; brown wash; white paint. Level not recorded.

SOUNDING IA: FLOOR 2 (EQUIVALENT TO SOUNDING I: FLOOR 3)

33. Mitannian light-on-dark ware. Bands of dark brown wash with horizontal rows of volutes in white.

SOUNDING I: FLOOR 7 AND SOUNDING IA: FLOOR 3

Nos. 34–47 are from Sounding I, Nos. 48–50 from Sounding IA. All are of the Iron Age except No. 50.

34. Part of shallow bowl with upstanding rim. Red-buff fabric; large grits; orange-buff slip on exterior.
35. (F 53). Open bowl(?) with thickened flat base. Hard brick-red fabric; large white inclusions; no slip or burnish.

F 51–52 and F 54–56, which are not available for study, are described in the field catalogue in the same way as No. 35, that is, as low bowls without decoration.

36. (F 58). Part of shouldered jar with overhanging rim. Brown to orange-buff fabric; some grits; orange-buff slip on exterior, vertically burnished and rather glossy.
37. (F 57). Center of bowl with conical projection in interior. Brown core fired to orange-buff at edges; some grit and considerable straw tempering; hand-burnished to gloss on exterior; some burnishing in interior.

The distinctive feature of this sherd, the central cone, has parallels at Tell Halaf (*Halaf Prelim.* Pl. LV 12), Tabara al-Akrad in the ʿAmuq (*Anatolian Studies* I 141, Fig. 11, base *b* [described as omphalos base with internal spike, of fine drab clay with surface untreated; Iron Age wares, Surface Level I]), Taʿyinat (unpublished: T2118 [red-orange double-angled bowl with plastic ridges around spike; ʿAmuq Phase O); T3087 [red-orange-buff; slight concavity under spike; probably middle stage of ʿAmuq Phase O]), Chatal Hüyük (unpublished: b215 [shallow light red bowl of flowerpot shape; ʿAmuq Phase O]). T3087 is a hemispherical bowl and thus the closest parallel for our No. 37. Since in some cases the ware or the shape of the vessel also resembles the analogous feature of the Fakhariyah sherd, it is clear that we have here a group of closely related bowls.

In addition, the same form occurs in various painted wares from Cyprus, Rhodes, and Greece. See Einar Gjerstad *et al.*, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* II (Stockholm, 1935) 26 and Pl. XCV 9 (Amathus, Tomb 5, No. 37; White Painted IV bowl with concentric bands of paint around cone; end of Cypro-Geometric III period, *ca.* 700 B.C.); K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia* (Berlin, 1914) Pl. 44:31, 9 and p. 86 (Tomb 31; concentric painted bands and circle in relief around cone); Heinz Luschey, *Die Phiale* (Bleicherode am Harz, 1939) p. 35 and Fig. 8 (Tiryns: bothros of *ca.* 700 B.C.; also Delphi: bowl found with Geometric and Protocorinthian sherds). Luschey in a detailed discussion of these bowls indicates that the hemispherical omphalos superseded the pointed type, so that in the latter part of the 7th century B.C. the latter only persisted in Rhodes (*op. cit.* pp. 35–36). Examples of the Geometric period from Italy seem to have hemispherical omphali; see Ernst Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen* (Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg, *Bildkata-*

loge I [München, 1932]) Nos. 734–35, p. 132 and Pl. 224.

The Iron Age bowls with cones are, of course, quite unrelated to superficially similar Late Chalcolithic bowls with cones found in Palestine (see *Revue biblique* LVI [1949] 113, Fig. 1:7–9, p. 120, Fig. 6:3–4, p. 135, Fig. 13:3–4, Pl. VIII 6 [Tell al-Farᶜah, near Nablus]; R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Excavations of Gezer* [London, 1912] III, Pl. CLXXII 8).

The characteristic cone of these Iron Age bowls is copied from metal prototypes, the phialae whose history has been discussed by T. J. Dunbabin (in Humfry Payne *et al.*, *Perachora* [Oxford, 1940] pp. 148–52) and Luschey (*op. cit.* pp. 33–36). The Greek phialae, as they both indicate, were derived from the Orient, the very early examples in Greece and Etruria being Phoenician imports. In a detailed discussion Luschey traces the origins of the phialae back to second-millennium Assyrian bowls with plastic rosettes or buttons, which were succeeded by Late Assyrian (*ibid.* pp. 33–34) and Syrian bowls that were imitated in Greece. For the Syrian bowls see *AAA* VII (1914–16) Pl. XXI 4, 9 (Deve Hüyük; 6th century B.C.); *Sendschirli* V, Pl. 56 *c, e, h, i;* see also Petrie, *Beth-Pelet* I [London, 1930] Pl. XXVIII 745. Metal phialae with pointed cones are much rarer than those with hemispherical omphali. However, an example was found at Nimrud (see Austen H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [London, 1853] p. 181), and two others occur among the large number of phialae, mainly of the 6th century B.C., from the pond in the temenos of Hera Limenia at Perachora (see Dunbabin, *op. cit.* p. 151 and Pl. 55:1).

In Greece the omphalos was used as a grip, as shown in some Greek vase paintings (see Luschey, *op. cit.* p. 31 and n. 188); Petrie (*Beth-Pelet* I 10) stated that the raised centers of Egyptian and Assyrian metal bowls were used for the same purpose. It is uncertain whether the cone could have served this purpose in the case of the large pottery bowls from northern Mesopotamia and Syria.

38. Center of flat dish with central cone. Brown core fired to reddish color at edges; hand-burnished to allover gloss on exterior; haphazard crisscross burnishing in interior; light purplish-red paint.
39. (F 45). Base of bowl. Buff; grit and straw temper; hand-burnished on exterior; interior smoothed; mat brown to red paint.
40. Base of shallow rounded bowl. Buff; grits, including a few large gray and white grains, and some straw tempering; hand-burnished on interior and exterior; mat orange-pink paint.

F 43–44, F 46–48, and F 50, not available for study, are described in the field catalogue as low bowls with painted stripes running around the interior, and presumably they resemble No. 40.

41. (F 49). Low bowl with flaring rim and rounded carination at base. Granular buff fabric; some white grits and straw tempering; roughly finished; cream slip on exterior and interior; irregular hand-burnishing on exterior and interior; mat orange-brown paint, flaked in spots.
42. (F 59). Cup. Buff; white inclusions and some straw temper; buff slip on exterior(?); regular vertical burnishing on exterior; dark brown paint. A close parallel for the decoration of this cup and that of No. 43 is provided by an oval-bodied beaker from one of the Aramaic levels at Tell Halaf (*Halaf Prelim.* Pl. LV 9).
43. Fragment of cup like No. 42. Greenish buff; exterior vertically burnished, occasional narrow mat streaks; dark brown paint.

F 60–61, not available for study, are listed in the field catalogue as handleless cups with painted stripes running around and must be vessels like Nos. 42–43.

44. (F 62). Cup. Light orange; small grit and straw tempering, some white inclusions; exterior with cream to pink slip and vertical burnish done before painting; horizontal bands and "branch" decoration in chalky to orange-brown paint, thick and crackled in spots.
45. Button base. Buff; apparently wet-smoothed; orange-red paint.
46. Button base of oval-bodied vessel. Orange-buff; hand-burnished on exterior; orange-red paint.
47. Black burnished ware, highly polished; beveled rim with horizontal rib. This sherd is perhaps related to a black-ware bowl from Tell Halaf (see *Halaf Prelim.* p. 311).
48. (F 106). Fragment from center of open dish or bowl. Buff; grit and considerable straw temper; hand-burnished on exterior and probably on interior also; light red paint. The triangle-and-dot pattern is the most elaborate design so far known in this Iron Age painted ware.
49. (F 107). Part of vessel with spherical body, roughly pointed at base. Hard sandy reddish-buff fabric; marked number of white inclusions; cream-colored exterior and interior; wheel-burnished on exterior; light brownish-red paint.

The lower part of the vessel shown in *Halaf Prelim.* Pl. LV 9 provides a close parallel for the shape and decoration.

50. Mitannian light-on-dark ware. Sandy cream fabric; dark brown wash.

SOUNDING IA: FLOOR 5 (EQUIVALENT TO SOUNDING I: FLOOR 10)

51. (F 194). Iron Age. Storage jar of coarse ware. (Drawing only; Pl. 38.)
52. (F 195). Iron Age. Cup found inside No. 51. Orange-buff; very sandy with large grit inclusions; exterior roughly finished with two irregularly scored lines; small knob projecting from base in interior; wet-smoothed.

SOUNDING IA: FLOOR 6 (EQUIVALENT TO SOUNDING I: FLOOR 11)

53. (F 261). Late Assyrian. Goblet of sandy greenish-buff fabric; overfired, so that body is cracked through at base and shoulder; wet-smoothed. An almost exact duplicate was found at Assur (*WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 5 *d* [Grave 207]), and a very similar example comes from Nineveh (*AAA* XVIII [1931] Pl. XXXV 13 [Palace of Ashurnasirpal II]). See also our No. 63.

SOUNDING I: FLOOR 12

54. (F 63). Late Assyrian. Rim sherd. Coil-made and finished on wheel; rough but hard brownish-buff fabric; straw temper and many air holes; rope molding. This sherd is from a large household vessel of a type often used for burials; cf. the vat with deep rope molding of Burial I in Sounding VI (see p. 45 and Pl. 20 *B*).

SOUNDING I: FLOOR 17

55. (F 105). Late Assyrian. Sandy light buff fabric, greenish on surface. This cup, similar in general type to Late Assyrian cups from Assur (*WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 2 *bp-bq*), represents the later development of the Middle Assyrian nipple-based beaker (cf. our No. 62 and *MJ* XXIII, Pl. LXV 5).

SOUNDING I: FLOOR 19

56. Mitannian period. Gray-buff sandy fabric; greenish-cream slip polished to gloss on exterior; rather flaky dark brown paint. This sherd may possibly come from the lower part of a globular goblet similar to one found in Billa 3 (*MJ* XXIII, Pl. LX 1).
57. Mitannian light-on-dark ware. Buff fabric, polished to low gloss on exterior; brown to reddish wash; simplified guilloche pattern and dots in white paint.

SOUNDING II

Three vessels are registered from the paving of the latrine exposed in the deeper part of the sounding. Two of these (F 85–86) are not available for study.

58. (F 84). Late Assyrian. Goblet with finger indentations. Thin sandy highly fired greenish-buff ware. Excellent parallels come from Tell Halaf (*Halaf Prelim.* Pl. LV 5) and Nimrud (*Iraq* XVI [1954] Pl. XLI 1, illustrated also in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin* n.s. XIII [1954/55] 241 [ND. 1839; *ca.* 630 B.C.]). There are closely similar dimpled goblets from Assur (*WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 5 *u*) and Gerar (Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. LXV 4). Goblet 58 represents the eggshell variety of Late Assyrian pottery described by Petrie (*ibid.* p. 24), Mallowan (*Iraq* XII 170), and P. S. Rawson (*Iraq* XVI 168–72), the tradition of which is continued by dimpled bowls of the Persian period (see p. 28, n. 30).

SOUNDING VI

The 13th-century B.C. date of Floors 1–2, which are equated with the upper and lower floors of the Sounding VI building (see p. 4, n. 2), is evident from the tablets and cylinder seal impressions which they yielded. There was a relatively large amount of pottery from these floors, but most of it is not available for study.

FLOOR NOT RECORDED

59. Islamic (perhaps 12th–14th cent.). Rim sherd. Frit (see p. 21, n. 2); exterior has dark blue (cobalt?) glaze under transparent overglaze that appears alone in interior. The fabric resembles Raqqa ware. (Photograph only.)
60. "Late Roman A" ware. Hard granular bright orange-red thick fabric; glossy surface; appliquéd relief decoration: man reclining among vegetation. This sherd preserves the beginning of a corner and of the flat base of a rectangular platter with a broad ledge rim, a type of Late Roman pottery usually decorated with molded designs on the rim and sometimes on the interior also. Certain early examples of molded decoration are in a fine style probably attributable to the early 3d century; see Rudolf Pagenstecher, *Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton, Knochenschnitzereien* (Expedition Ernst von Sieglin, *Ausgrabungen in Alexandria. . . .* II. *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin . . .* III [Leipzig, 1913]) p. 112 and Fig. 122. However, the square platters with relief decoration appear to belong to the late 3d, 4th, and early 5th centuries; see *ibid.* pp. 113 ff. and Fig. 125; Alan J. B. Wace, "Late Roman

pottery and plate," Société royale d'archéologie —Alexandrie, *Bulletin* No. 37 (1948) pp. 47–57; C. C. Edgar, *Greek Vases* ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" LVI [Le Caire, 1911]) No. 32.394. The type usually has a molding at the outer edge of the rim and a rectangular raised base (see Wace, *op. cit.* Pl. III). Relief decoration is frequently placed on the corners of the platters as here. The motive of No. 60 seems to be of pagan nature, suggesting that this sherd may date to the 4th century. Because this type of "Late Roman A" ware was frequent in Egypt, Wace has suggested that Egypt may have been the principal place of its manufacture and perhaps even the original home of the rectangular platter form.

FLOOR 1 (see p. 4, n. 2)

Six vessels, not available for study, were found here (see p. 93). One of them (F 132), described in the field catalogue as a buff jug without handles and with very small base, may be a nipple-based beaker of Middle Assyrian type.

FLOOR 2 (see p. 4, n. 2)

Seventeen vessels from this floor are not available for study (see pp. 93 f.).

61. (F 371). Part of large jar. Coarse buff fabric; large grits and straw temper; wheelmade; ribbed in interior; four signs(?) in dark brown paint on exterior. (Photograph only.) Date uncertain; perhaps out of context.
62. (F 192). Middle Assyrian. Conical beaker with nipple base. Highly fired greenish-buff fabric; sand and some straw tempering; wet-smoothed(?) but not carefully finished; irregularly scored on interior. It is paralleled exactly in Billa 2 (*MJ* XXIII, Pl. LXV 5) and Assur (*WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 2 *af* [Grave 135]) and is an example of the type of nipple-based beaker diagnostic for the Middle Assyrian period. This type was sometimes painted (*WVDOG* LXV, Pls, 2 *ag*, 23 *b–d;* Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, Pl. 64).

BURIAL III (see p. 46)

63. (F 242). Late Assyrian. Globular goblet. Very sandy dark greenish-buff fabric; somewhat pitted with large white inclusions, very small amount of straw tempering; apparently wet-smoothed. Close parallels were found at Assur (*WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 5 *d* [Grave 207] and *r* [Grave 693]). The shape is typical of Late Assyrian pottery.

SOUNDING IX

WELL FROM FLOOR 2[36]

64. Islamic(?). Base of vessel decorated with excised triangles. Very sandy gray-brown fabric; wheelmade.

SURFACE TO 1 METER

65. (F 442). Byzantine. Upper part of jar with two loop handles. Rough buff fabric; large and small grits; original mat surface treated to preserve inscription. Greek inscription in red ink, kindly read by Professor Allen Wikgren, consists of the name Abraham preceded by a cross and followed by a word that is illegibly smudged.

SURFACE TO 2 METERS[37]

66. "Late Roman C" ware (Early Byzantine). Fragment of flat plate. Hard sandy light red fabric; red gloss in interior; stamped with running animal. (Photograph only.) For a somewhat similar animal see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 33, right edge, second sherd from bottom.
67. "Late Roman C" ware (Early Byzantine). Base fragment of plate (see n. 37). Hard sandy light brownish-red fabric; stamped with animal. (Photograph only.)
68. "Late Roman C" ware (Early Byzantine). Fragment of plate with low ring base and upcurving body. Light red; many small white grits; no real gloss even in interior. For an exact parallel for the stamped cross see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 34, bottom row, second sherd from left.
69. "Late Roman B" ware (Early Byzantine). Bowl sherd (see n. 37). Orange-red; glossy slip and circle of radial feather rouletting in interior (cf. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 28:11, and see pp. 44 and 51 for Waagé's discussion of "Late Roman B" ware); very low broad ring base (for possible parallel see *ibid.* Pl. X, LB 6).
70. "Late Roman B" ware (Early Byzantine). Flanged bowl (see n. 37). Light orange-red; red slip on interior and running over irregularly onto underside of flange; glossy only in interior and on rim. For the closest parallel see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Pl. X, 883m, which is one of the commonest of the later "Late Roman B" shapes (*ibid.* p. 50).

[36] Presumably the well mentioned on p. 7.

[37] Actually the provenience of Nos. 69–71 is not known, but they were stored with sherds from Sounding IX. No. 67 is from "Line 1b," which according to the field drawings extends eastward a short distance from survey control point 1 (in Square E IX; see Pl. 87); though it is not from Sounding IX, it is listed here because of its similarity to No. 66.

71. Byzantine. Light brownish-red fabric; rim tan; exterior brownish red with very low ribbed decoration somewhat scored by subsequent finishing on wheel, somewhat glossy in spots; interior darker reddish brown and rather glossy (see n. 37). Although some features resemble Waagé's "Late Roman D" ware, namely the decoration (cf. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Fig. 35, right edge, second sherd from top) and the shape (*ibid.* Pl. XI, 932 f, but with more flattened rim than our No. 71), our sherd is glossy, a rare feature in the "Late Roman D" ware according to Waagé (*ibid.* p. 52), and is probably earlier. Our sherd has parallels among the Byzantine pottery excavated by the Oriental Institute at Khirbat Kerak, as Professor Delougaz kindly informs me.

72. (F 207). Hellenistic fusiform unguentarium. Details of ware unknown. (Drawing only; Pl. 41.) This is an example of a very common class of Hellenistic pottery. The flask's well defined rim and base and its broad-shouldered body indicate that it is a relatively early type (see H. A. Thompson, "Two centuries of Hellenistic pottery," *Hesperia* III [1934] 472–74). An example from Athens (*ibid.* p. 326, Fig. 9:A64) is closer in form to the Fakhariyah flask than any of those from Tarsus (cf. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule* I, Fig. 135:234–36).

73. (F 196). Jar of coarse ware. Details of ware unknown. (Drawing only; Pl. 41.)

74. (F 260). Hellenistic. Bowl on ring base. Gray core with dark buff edges; gritty, many large and small soft white inclusions; no slip; a few wheel-burnish marks on exterior; interior with very slight traces of wheel-burnishing and irregular smoothing; paint varying from red to bright orange. See No. 76 for discussion.

FLOOR 1

75. (F 416). Early Byzantine (6th cent.). Juglet. Coarse light red fabric; some large white grits; string-cut base; irregular wide impressed grooves on shoulder. The decoration is typical for the 6th century in Palestine. Two examples from the Oriental Institute's excavation at Khirbat Kerak, one from a church dated to the early 6th century, will be published in a forthcoming report by Pinhas Delougaz *et al.;* see also J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. FitzGerald, *Excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley, Jerusalem, 1927* (Palestine Exploration Fund, "Annual" V [1929]) pp. 79 and 81–82 and esp. Pl. XV 13 (late 6th or early 7th cent.); FitzGerald, *Beth-Shan Excavations, 1921–1923,* pp. 37–38 and esp. Pl. XXXI 6; *QDAP* VIII (1939) Pl. XXX 1 *d–f* (al-Jish tomb dated by N. Makhouly to the 4th–5th cent.).

75*a*. (F 405). Sherd of coarse straw-tempered ware imprinted with scorpion design. (Photograph only.)

76. Hellenistic coarse painted ware. Section of flat dish with roll rim. Sandy buff fabric; wet-smoothed or cream slip on exterior and interior; paint varying from dark to light brown. This sherd and Nos. 31, 77, and 87 may represent a local Hellenistic ware distantly related to the more elaborate Hadra ware of Alexandria and to two unusual sherds from Antioch, parts of buff-ware plates painted in orange-red (*Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, p. 28 and Fig. 8:24–25). In their coarseness and use of dark paint on a light ground these Fakhariyah pieces seem comparable with certain decorated Hellenistic sherds from Athens and Tarsus (cf. *Hesperia* III 418, Fig. 104; *Excavations at Gözlü Kule* I 169 and Fig. 134 *A–C*, No. 218 ["kitchen ware"]). Our ring-based bowl No. 74 is identical with Nos. 31, 76, 77, and 87 in ware and paint and has a furrow on the rim like that of Nos. 76 and 77. Ring-based dish types are frequent in the Hellenistic period, though they generally appear in finer wares and do not provide parallels for No. 74. However, in the sophistication of its sharply cut beveled ring base, No. 74 is related not to Iron Age footed bowls but to Hellenistic pieces such as red-glazed dishes from Samaria (see G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, and D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910* [Cambridge, 1924] I, Fig. 185: 2 *a*, 2 *g*, 2 *i*, 7 *c*).

The decoration on these sherds consists of typical Hellenistic features: dotted festoons, intermittent-spiral floral friezes, and wavy bands —elements found in more elaborate forms on Hadra amphorae (cf. Pagenstecher, *Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton,* Figs. 42 *b*, 43 *b*, 48) and on "West Slope" ware from Athens (cf. *Hesperia* III 311 ff., Figs. 6 [A 38], 19 [B 25], 59–61, 89). Less elaborate and therefore considerably closer parallels also occur: an intermittent-spiral ivy frieze with groups of three dots in brown on the shoulder of a buff jug (Reisner *et al., op. cit.* Vol. II, Pl. 72 *d*, left) is akin to the tendril frieze in the second register of our No. 76; dotted garlands occur in white on the interior of a black-glazed bowl (*Excavations at Gözlü Kule* I, Fig. 127:134); designs of garlands with pendent rib-

bons occur at Samaria (Reisner, *et al.*, *op. cit.* Vol. I 288, No. 15 *a* = Vol. II, Pl. 73 *d* 1 [brown ware with black paint]) and at Tarsus (*Excavations at Gözlü Kule* I, Fig. 127:135 [black-glazed ware with white paint]) and closely resemble the outermost designs of No. 76.

77. Hellenistic coarse painted ware (see No. 76). Fragment of dish with out-flaring wall and beveled rim. Sandy buff fabric; large white grits; wet-smoothed; light orange-red paint.
78. Iron Age. Section of bowl with ring foot and overhanging ribbed rim. Buff core, reddish buff at edges; some grits; wheel-burnish and deep red hematite wash all over, including bottom of ring base.
79. Iron Age. Compact sandy buff fabric; unslipped; paint varying from dark to light brown according to its thickness: in the broad band below the circles the paint was thinly applied and produced a two-toned effect. There are no close parallels for this fragment, which probably comes from the upper part of a jar, but part of its decoration may perhaps be traced back to the concentric-circle pattern typical for Cyprus. At Tell Halaf this motive occurs, in some cases at least on "vessels with varnished painting" that are likely to be imported Cypriote pieces. In the ᶜAmuq rather close imitations of Cypriote shapes and concentric-circle decoration occur (e.g. b304 and b1381, unpublished bowls from Chatal Hüyük), and it is possible that there were much more debased imitations of the Cypriote concentric design in the local painted wares, as on our No. 79 and on a jar from Zincirli (*Sendschirli* V, Pl. 17:1).
80. Mitannian light-on-dark sherd with lattice pattern.

FLOOR 1?

81. Hellenistic black ware. Hard gray fabric; small white grits; poor black varnish, only semiglossy. This sherd, whose floor number has chipped off, is possibly from Floor 1, which yielded some Hellenistic sherds (Nos. 76–77).

FLOORS 1–2

82. Iron Age. Globular oval jar with ridge and flaring neck. Compact hard reddish-buff fabric; many very small white grits; cream slip on exterior, fired on one side to orange; wheel-burnish; lines of dark red paint, those in middle of body almost completely worn away. A vessel from Tell Halaf (*Halaf Prelim.* Pl. LV 6) is, despite its very wide proportions, a parallel.
83. Iron Age. Part of bowl with basal carination, similar to No. 41. Hard light red fabric; very small grits; wheel-burnished on base; light purplish-red paint.

FLOOR 2

84. Early Islamic (*ca.* 9th cent.). Flaring rim of hemispherical bowl. Light cream to greenish-buff fabric; white glaze. This sherd probably belongs to the class of plain white-glazed pottery which, like the splashed ware (see No. 27), imitated Chinese Tang pottery.
85. Early Islamic(?) (probably 9th–10th cent.). Rim sherd. Light buff fabric; blue-green glaze. See remarks concerning No. 26.
86. (F 521). Early Islamic. Brazier(?) fragment. Rough brown fabric; elaborately excised and pierced. For a sherd with similar deeply excised lines see *QDAP* X, Pl. XI 2.
87. Hellenistic coarse painted ware (see No. 76). Section of dish with beveled rim. Buff; large and small grits; light orange paint. Cf. Reisner *et al.*, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* I, Fig. 174:36 (= Vol. II, Pl. LXXIV *e*) for a possible parallel for the form.
88. Iron Age. Coarse brown fabric fired to reddish color on exterior; many large and small grits.
89. (F 447). Iron Age. Jug; buff. (Drawing only; Pl. 39.) This general form occurs in the ᶜAmuq during Phase O.
90. Iron Age. Base sherd of vessel with three loop feet. Rather coarse light red fabric; small white grits and some straw temper; hand-burnished to slight gloss, particularly inside. This type of base with loop feet began as early as Middle Bronze II B (*Megiddo* II, Pl. 38:11 [Stratum XI]) and continued in the Early Iron Age, when it was a common feature in Palestine (e.g. *Megiddo* II, Pls. 74:10 and 79:5 [Strata VI *B* and VI *A*]) and in the ᶜAmuq (unpublished bowls from Chatal Hüyük: a656 [early Phase O], a1447 [early or middle Phase O], e397 [early Phase O]).
91. Iron Age. Fragment of bowl with overhanging ribbed ledge rim. Coarse orange-buff fabric; grits and air holes; exterior and interior irregularly wheel-burnished to glossy orange-buff color. This ribbed bowl rim is of a standard Middle Iron Age type. There are somewhat analogous forms from the ᶜAmuq (unpublished) and very good parallels from Palestine (*Megiddo* I, Pls. 23:8 = 58:8 [Strata III–I], 25:66 = 59:66 [Strata III–II]). The Palestinian parallels indicate what the complete form of No. 91 was

like; its only unusual feature is the ridge below the rim.

92. (F 367). Iron Age. Cup. Thin orange-buff fabric; straw tempering; exterior vertically burnished; upper third of interior horizontally smoothed; neither inside nor outside smoothly finished, however.
93. Iron Age. Sherd from upper part of jar. Orange-buff; exterior with careful horizontal burnish which produced a bright orange-buff glossy surface; dark purplish-red paint.
94. Iron Age. Rim sherd, probably from bowl, of same fabric and finish as No. 78.
95. Iron Age. Fragment of body and leg from hemispherical tripod bowl. (Photograph only.) Same fabric and finish as Nos. 78 and 94. In stone this type of bowl was used as a mortar and appears as early as Middle Bronze II A (*Megiddo* II, Pl. 262:9 [Stratum XIII *A*]), continues in Late Bronze (*ibid.* Pl. 262:13 [Stratum VII *B*]; *Nuzi*, Pl. 122 *A–D* [Mitannian period]) and in the Iron Age (*Megiddo* II, Pl. 263:24 [Stratum IV]; P. J. Riis, *Les cimetières à crémation* [*Hama: Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938* II 3 (Copenhague, 1948)] Fig. 231 *D–E; Sendschirli* V, Pl. 6 *g;* unpublished examples from the ᶜAmuq). In the Iron Age this mortar form appears in red burnished pottery in the Khabur Valley itself (*Halaf Prelim.* Pl. LV 2), in the ᶜAmuq (T3408 [Taᶜyinat] and CP290 [Chatal Hüyük]; middle Phase O), and in Palestine (*Megiddo* I, Pl. 25:69 [Strata IV–III]). Thus, the pottery examples enjoyed the same widespread popularity as their compeers in stone.
96. Iron Age. Reddish-buff fabric; small white grits like those of Nos. 82 and 83; wheel-burnished on exterior; dark red paint. This sherd probably belongs to the upper part of a jar like No. 82.

ABOVE FLOOR 3[38]

97. (F 494). Iron Age. Bowl with tripod and loop legs. Gray core fired to light red close to edges; rather coarse fabric with numerous white grits and straw tempering; burnished to gloss on exterior; slight burnish on interior of rim. This bowl combines several features typical for Iron Age pottery. The vessel itself is a double-angled bowl identical with those common in Phase O of the ᶜAmuq (e.g. a2569 from Chatal Hüyük, a double-angled bowl with three loop legs [middle Phase O]). The base with its loop legs corresponds to our No. 90, but the loops are combined with tripod legs such as are found on both pottery and stone bowls (for references see No. 95). These elaborate legs are strongly reminiscent of basalt bowls supported by tripod legs with stretchers (*AAA* XXVI [1939/40] Pl. XVII *b* 3 [Carchemish, exact provenience not given]; *Syria* IX [1928] Pls. XIII P. 11 and XIV 3:11 [Qatna, Ningal sanctuary]), the closest parallel being from Zincirli (*Sendschirli* V, Pl. 5 *d* = Pl. 6 *f* [Upper Palace; simple rounded bowl, not double-angled]). So far, no other pottery bowls with exactly the same combination of features are known.

[38] There is no way of determining whether the bowl so designated in the field catalogue is to be associated with Floor 3.

UNKNOWN PROVENIENCE

Inserted here are some unmarked sherds (except No. 99) which were stored with the Sounding IX sherds and which represent Iron Age types.

98. Small sherd of same fabric as No. 93.
99. Hard sandy buff fabric; purplish-brown paint. Similar to No. 104. From Sounding IX, but no floor number given.
100. Grayish-buff core; orange-red at edges; exterior with slip varying from cream to white; bright light orange fugitive paint; vertically burnished over both slip and paint.
101. Very hard brownish-buff fabric; large white grits; cream slip on interior and exterior; vertical burnish on exterior; mat brown paint. Cypriote parallels show that this sherd comes from the upper body of a jug with ridged neck and one handle, decorated on each side with a very large group of concentric circles crossed above by a group of horizontal lines. The application of such decoration to jugs begins in and is typical for the Cypro-Geometric III period (*ca.* 850–700 B.C.) in the Bichrome III and Black-on-Red I wares (Gjerstad *et al.*, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* II, Pl. CIII 7 [Stylli, Tomb 8, No. 6], 12 [Amathus, Tomb 18, No. 5] and Vol. IV 2 [Stockholm, 1948] Fig. XXV 18 [Lapithos, Tomb 410, No. 5]). Sherd 101 represents a local imitation of a Cypriote vessel, comparable with the imitation at Megiddo of a Black-on-Red jug with the same sort of decoration (*Megiddo* I, Pl. 6:151 [Stratum V]).
102. Very hard brownish-buff fabric with a few small air holes; rim and exterior wheel-burnished to glossy orange-buff color except for a few mat streaks; interior light orange-brown with some wheel-burnish marks; incised lozenges below rim; sharp groove below carination. These two sherds represent a distinctive ware first recognized by Petrie at Gerar (see p. 28 above) and

dated by him around 700 B.C. (*Gerar*, pp. 23–24 and Pl. LXV 10–23). Some of the Gerar sherds were "warm fawn" or "dark fawn brown" and in some "the clay was a fat one which took a high polish in lines," a description which fits the Fakhariyah fragments perfectly. Exact parallels for the form of No. 102 were not found at Gerar, but its profile is related to those of the carinated bowls with overhanging rims shown *ibid.* Pls. XLVII 13, upper right, and LXV 18. The incised decoration of No. 102 is unparalleled among the Gerar sherds.

FLOOR 3

103. (F 355). Iron Age. Spout in form of animal's head. Coarse brownish-buff fabric; large grits and some straw tempering; exterior buff and roughly burnished to gloss; interior very rough with only a narrow channel (Photograph only.) This spout was probably part of a theriomorphic vessel. Vessels in animal form, frequently fairly crudely shaped, are characteristic for the Iron Age in Palestine and Syria (e.g. *Megiddo* II, Pl. 248:10 [Stratum VI]; *Megiddo* I, Pl. 8:180 [Stratum V]; *Sendschirli* V, Pl. 21; unpublished examples from the ʿAmuq).
104. Iron Age. Buff fabric; white inclusions; exterior burnished; purplish-brown paint.
105. Mitannian light-on-dark ware. Light buff; brown wash; scale pattern in white paint.

FLOORS 3–4

106. Iron Age. Rim sherd. Buff; no slip; two lines in fugitive brown paint.
107. Iron Age. Light red; white inclusions identical with those of No. 82; thin cream slip; purplish-red paint. Probably from a globular jar like No. 82.

FLOOR 5

108. Khabur ware. Thick coarse buff fabric; straw tempering; no slip; faded dark brown paint. Sherd of large vessel with decoration typical for Khabur ware. Dots between triangles occur on wine jars of the earlier stage of the ware (*Iraq* IV, Figs. 21:1 and 23:7 [Shaghir Bazar IA and IB]); series of crosshatched triangles are common, and in some cases the hatching runs over the borders of the triangles exactly as on No. 108 (see *Iraq* IV, Figs. 21:8 and 24:14 [Shaghir Bazar I, perhaps C and D]; *Iraq* IX, Pl. LXXXII 15 [Shaghir Bazar IC]).

FLOOR 6

109. Transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase. Fragment of face goblet with nose (see pp. 23 f.). Rather coarse gritty buff fabric; no slip; crackled dark brown paint. This sherd was part of a goblet which closely resembled one from a Mitannian level at Brak (*ILN*, Jan. 15, 1938, p. 95, Figs. 14–17; *Iraq* IX, Pl. XL). The Fakhariyah goblet was somewhat squattier than that from Brak, and the eyebrows run directly into the row of triangles above without an intervening unpainted band as on the Brak goblet. Our sherd has paint not only at the bottom of the nose, like the Brak piece, but also running along the nose ridge. Traces remain of the line at the bottom of the nose, which must have been part of the border around the mustache and beard, exactly as on the Brak goblet.
110. Transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase. Reddish buff; well finished with cream slip on exterior and interior; dark brown paint thinning to light brown in streaks. The cream slip, the marks left by the finishing process, and the smooth, not very flaky, paint distinguish this sherd from those of ordinary Khabur ware.
111. Khabur ware. Thin grayish fabric; buff slip inside and out; orange-brown paint; polished over paint and slip. The pattern is normal for Khabur ware (cf. *Iraq* IV, Fig. 24:14 [Shaghir Bazar ID probably]; *Iraq* IX, Pl. LXXXII 15 [Shaghir Bazar IC]) and appears here on a small vessel which is generally comparable with those characteristic for the later stages of the Khabur ware (cf. *Iraq* IX, Pl. LXXXII 6–7 and *Iraq* IV, Figs. 22:5–7, 24:2, 4, 11, 14 [all Shaghir Bazar IC–D]).
112. Khabur ware. Thick coarse fabric; sand and much straw tempering; exterior smoothed and somewhat glossy; dark brown flaked mat paint, paling to tan where thin. The fabric resembles that of No. 108 but is considerably coarser. This sherd is possibly from the neck of a very large storage jar. There is no good parallel, but few examples of large and coarse Khabur-ware vessels have been published (see No. 135).

BELOW FLOOR 6

113. Late Assyrian. Base of cup similar to No. 55. Sandy buff fabric; some large white inclusions; exterior scored from turning. Probably out of context.
114. Transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase. Reddish buff; cream slip on exterior with a few acciden tal horizontal burnish marks; brown paint thinning to very light brown at edges. Sherd of vessel with the same profile as a late Khabur-ware beaker from Billa 3 (*MJ* XXIII, Pl. LXII 7) but

with a much larger diameter. No. 114 is closely related to a characteristic class of beaker which forms a link between the Khabur and Mitannian painted wares. There are several late Khabur-ware examples from the Khabur Valley (see *Iraq* IX, Pls. LXVII 19 [Brak, house area H.H., Level 3], LXXXI 6 [Shaghir Bazar, site T.D., sub-surface; *ca.* 1450 B.C.], 7 [Shaghir Bazar ID]), and these are probably related to beakers at ᶜAtshanah which are commonest in Levels V and IV (*Alalakh*, pp. 327 and 336, Pl. CXVII, Types 94*a* [one example in Level V, eight in Level IV], 94*b* [five examples in Level V, nine in Level IV]) and which in eleven cases have horizontal bands of dark paint (*ibid.* p. 327, Pl. LXXXVIII *d* [Level IV]). Similar beakers from the ᶜAmuq are decorated in the Mitannian light-on-dark technique (*ibid.* Pls. CII *b* and CVI, ATP/47/38; Syrian Expedition, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, *Oriental Institute Bulletin* No. 1 [Chicago, 1937] back cover design [Chatal Hüyük b2854]); others, from Nuzi, are unpainted (*Nuzi*, Pl. 76 *C–D*).

On the basis of the parallels from Billa 3, Brak, and site T.D. at Shaghir Bazar, our No. 114 can be considered as a late example of Khabur ware contemporary with earlier examples of Mitannian ware. Its decoration is simple and roughly executed. The pendent lines below the carination may perhaps be a disintegration of the swag motive that appears on the beaker from Brak (*Iraq* IX, Pl. LXVII 19).

115. Khabur ware. Thin sandy buff fabric; cream-colored slip on exterior and interior; paint varying from dark to light brown. Sherd from carinated vessel similar to No. 121.
116. Transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase. Same fabric as No. 110. Sherd with most of rim broken away except for beginning of bulge; original form uncertain; possibly part of open cup or goblet somewhat similar to one from Billa 3 (*MJ* XXIII, Pl. LX 1).
117. Khabur ware. Sandy reddish-buff fabric; buff slip on exterior. Ring base similar to that of carinated vessel No. 121; No. 117 may be the base of a similar vessel; the same type of base occurs on goblets from Shaghir Bazar I (*Iraq* III, Fig. 17:4) and Billa 3 (*MJ* XXIII, Pl. LX 6).
118. Khabur ware. Dense sandy buff fabric; cream slip on exterior and interior; exterior smoothed, with some sheen. Solid disk bases occur in Khabur ware (*Iraq* III, Fig. 17:5–7 [Shaghir Bazar I]; *Iraq* IV, Fig. 23:2–3 [Shaghir Bazar IC; bases presumably solid and with profiles similar to that of our No. 118]).
119. Khabur period. Dense gray fabric; smoothed and black on exterior. Disk base like No. 118 but somewhat larger.
120. Khabur period. Gray; small white inclusions; orange-buff slip on interior and exterior; light orange-brown paint, smoothed to sheen on exterior. Unusual sherd with no close affinity to any others found below Floor 6.

TRENCH BETWEEN COLUMN BASE AND STATUETTES

121. (F 592 *a*). Khabur ware. Thin sandy hard greenish-buff fabric; exterior smoothed; dark brown paint, thick and crackled in spots. Intermediate in shape between a Shaghir Bazar IC bowl with rounded carination and tectiform decoration on the shoulder (*Iraq* IV, Fig. 24:13) and an unpainted sharply carinated ring-based bowl from Jidle 3 (*Iraq* VIII 147, Fig. 9:1). The decoration of No. 121 is normal for Khabur ware, since the usual monotonous rows of identical triangles were sometimes varied by use of different types of triangles in the same row (see *Iraq* IV, Fig. 21:11 [Shaghir Bazar IC; wine jar]; *MJ* XXIII, Pl. LIX 4 [Billa 4; wine jar]). The series of types to which No. 121 belongs ranges in date from the later part of the Khabur period (Shaghir Bazar IC and later) to the transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase. The bowl from Jidle 3 is dated by Mallowan around 1600 B.C. (*Iraq* VIII 146); both it and a related form from Tell Hammam (*ibid.* p. 147, Fig. 9:2; also dated by Mallowan *ca.* 1600) come from levels which contained Mitannian light-on-dark pottery.
122. Khabur period. Sandy gray fabric; some white inclusions; exterior smoothed and glossy. Concave base resembling Nos. 117 and 121. Perhaps from rounded goblet similar to example from Shaghir Bazar (*Iraq* IV, Fig. 24:14 [probably phase ID]).
123. Khabur period. Hard thin gray fabric; white grits; rather roughly finished on exterior with some horizontal burnishing; sharp ridge and rounded carination. A black burnished pot with shoulder ridge from a later level of the Khabur period at Shaghir Bazar provides a parallel (*Iraq* IX, Pl. LXXXI 2 [end of phase IC or phase ID]).
124. Khabur ware. Buff fabric; greenish-buff interior and exterior surface; traces of almost completely abraded brown paint. This sherd (found with

statuettes) resembles the base of No. 121 closely and perhaps was part of a similar vessel.

125. Iron Age. Rim sherd of bowl(?). Coarse orange-buff fabric; straw tempering; regular burnishing. Found with statuettes.
126. "Late Roman C" ware (Early Byzantine). Light orange-red fabric; some gloss on exterior. Found with statuettes. The form of the rim is reminiscent of that shown in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV 1, Pl. XI 941*k*.

Unknown Provenience[39]

These sherds may come from Sounding IX, since all but one of them can be dated with certainty to the Khabur period.

127. Khabur ware. Thick sandy buff fabric; dark brown paint now almost completely abraded. Sherd from neck of wine jar, a type of vessel common in early and middle phases of Shaghir Bazar I (see *Iraq* IV, Figs. 21, 23:5–13 [phases IA–C]). There are excellent parallels among the Shaghir Bazar wine jars for the painted decoration of No. 127: intermittent groups of lines on rim (*ibid.* Fig. 21:9 [phase IC]), neck with horizontal bands and upper body with crosshatched triangles and large dots (*ibid.* Fig. 23:7 [phase IB]; for other examples of triangles combined with dots see *ibid.* Fig. 21:1, 11, 12 [phases IA, C, and B]).
128. Khabur ware. Thin hard sandy reddish-buff fabric; cream slip on exterior and interior; much flaked dark brown paint. Sherd from shoulder of footed carinated bowl like No. 121. A parallel for the ridge between shoulder and neck occurs on an unpainted carinated bowl from Jidle 3 (*Iraq* VIII 147, Fig. 9:1). The union-jack design occurs on a wine jar from Shaghir Bazar IB (*Iraq* IV, Fig. 23:10).
129. Khabur ware. Orange-buff fabric; cream slip on exterior; red paint. This sherd comes from the shoulder of a carinated bowl like No. 121 and is decorated with a similar tectiform motive.
130. Khabur ware. Thin hard sandy reddish-buff fabric; cream slip on interior and exterior; worn dark brown paint on neck and top of rim. A possible parallel is the ridged neck of a wine jar from Shaghir Bazar (*Iraq* IV, Fig. 23:9 = Pl. XIX 3).
131. Khabur ware. Thin hard sandy reddish-buff fabric; fired to buff on interior and exterior; light red paint in bands on exterior and along top of rim. This sherd probably comes from a squat vessel similar to one from Shaghir Bazar IC (*Iraq* IX, Pl. LXXXII 6) except for a more carinated shoulder.
132. Khabur ware. Exactly like No. 111 in fabric and design except that interior is slightly more orange in color; it may be part of the same vessel.
133. Khabur ware. Very gritty buff fabric; either wet-smoothed or buff slip on exterior; very thick crackled dark to reddish-brown paint. Paint and design typical for Khabur ware.
134. Khabur ware. Rough porous reddish-buff fabric; grit and straw tempering; brown paint. The decoration is reminiscent of normal Khabur patterns, and this sherd may be from some form of large coarse wine jar.
135. Khabur ware. Identical to No. 112 in fabric and paint. Probably from a vat.
136. Khabur period. Gray; white grits; horizontal burnish on interior of rim and exterior.
137. Khabur(?) ware. Gritty buff fabric; crackled dark brown paint. (Photograph only.)

[39] No record of the findspots of these sherds was available to the writer.

IV

MISCELLANEOUS SMALL OBJECTS AND BURIALS

By HELENE J. KANTOR

The majority of the small objects come from Soundings VI and IX. The few from other soundings represent a miscellany of pieces, most of which cannot be dated closely.

The building exposed in Sounding VI had two main levels of occupation, as revealed by an upper and a lower floor in Rooms 1 and 2 (see p. 5). The two floors (Floors 1 and 2 of the sounding; see pp. 18 f.) were little separated from each other and yielded the same types of small objects. These include clay bullae, cuneiform tablets, ornaments of frit and other materials, and fragments of two wall nails. Most of these objects are distinctive in character and belong to the Middle Assyrian period, more precisely to the 13th century B.C., and thus date the building. The rest of the sounding yielded but few objects; three graves found in it were not richly equipped.

In Sounding IX only a few small objects, mainly beads and implements of stone and bone, are recorded from the lowest level reached, that below Floor 6 (see p. 10). The sherds from this incompletely excavated level suggest that it was characterized by Khabur ware and thus that it was contemporary with the later part of the Old Babylonian period (see pp. 24 f.). Floor 6, which was not an occupational layer (see p. 6), yielded a miscellaneous collection of objects, the most important being some fragmentary ivory carvings dated to the 13th century by their stylistic character (see chap. vii). The Iron Age palace of Floors 5–3 unfortunately produced only a few objects. These are of no very distinctive character save for some ivory and inlay fragments. The uppermost levels of Sounding IX (see p. 6) yielded only isolated objects.

Not all the small objects discovered at Fakhariyah are available for study. The coins, practically all the lamps, and various other objects are known only from brief entries in the field catalogue. Such material is accounted for in the List of Objects (pp. 91–98), but, in the absence of detailed information, is for the most part disregarded in this chapter. However, the small objects which are available provide material of considerable interest. Four categories are discussed in separate chapters: the stone implements, two statuettes, the ivories from Floor 6 of Sounding IX, and the glyptic. The others are dealt with here.[1]

SOUNDING VI

BAKED-CLAY WALL NAILS FROM FLOORS 1 AND 2

F 601. Head (Pl. 43:2). Coarse brown clay with straw tempering, red slip. Floor 1 (see pp. 18 f.).

F 151. Shaft and neck (Pl. 43:1). Coarse gray-brown clay with much straw tempering, red slip on neck and flange and a few drops accidentally smeared on shank; shank irregularly formed and with blunt end. Floor 2 (see pp. 18 f.).

These are parts of two wall nails whose complete shape is clear: a peg-shaped shank with flanged neck and knob top. Good parallels exist. Examples with short shanks come from Nuzi II,[2] a level dated to about 1500–1350 B.C. (see p. 23, n. 6), while from the Ishtar temple of Tukulti-Ninurta I at Assur a longer-shanked type is known,[3] which is more closely comparable with the Fakhariyah examples. The shank was imbedded in the brick wall up to the

[1] It should be noted that only the miscellaneous small objects are referred to by their field numbers. The pottery is numbered serially, since most of the sherds were not registered, as are the bullae and the ivories from Foor 6 of Sounding IX, which are listed in the field catalogue only in groups. The cuneiform tablets likewise are numbered serially, for convenient reference.

[2] *Nuzi*, Pls. 97 *J*, *L–N* and 98 *A–D*.

[3] *WVDOG* LVIII, Pl. 41 *l* (head only) and *r–s*. Some of the Assur nails, of various shapes, were made of frit instead of clay (*ibid.* Pl. 41 *g*, *p*, *q*, *t*, and possibly *u*).

flange. Six examples found *in situ* at Nuzi[4] show that there such nails were placed 160–90 cm. above the floor at intervals of perhaps 90 cm. At Nuzi, with one exception, and at Assur the heads were covered with green glaze, but at Fakhariyah only a red slip was used. Such a variation, however, is minor. All these pieces represent a well known class of objects, *sikkati*, whose history begins in the Protoliterate period with decorative clay cones inserted in walls of temples and continues until the Late Assyrian period.[5] During their long history many variant forms of *sikkati* developed. Thus at Nuzi simple flat-headed ones from the palace and from private house areas were contemporary with the flanged ones.[6] On the whole, however, *sikkati* are associated with royal buildings—palaces, fortifications, temples—and the heads of some types bear royal building inscriptions.[7] The flanged type represented at Fakhariyah has so far been discovered only in sacred buildings of the middle of the second millennium B.C., that is, in the Ishtar temples at Assur and Nuzi and in the palace chapel at Nuzi.[8] The discovery of the two fragments in the building of Sounding VI has raised the question as to whether it could have been a sacred building (see pp. 18–20). The wall nails are not the only features involved; other objects found in this building likewise resemble materials from temple deposits (see below).

FRIT ROSETTES FROM FLOOR 2

F 166*a*. Plain rays, knob disk, button back; disintegrated glaze, perhaps originally white, on rays; 15 mm. thick (Pl. 43:10).

F 166*b–d*. Two complete rosettes and a fragment (Pl. 44:1–3). Rays with median vein, knob disk, thin-button back; disintegrated white glaze on rays, disk white with yellow splotch on front; 8–9 mm. thick.

F 283*a*. Double (Pl. 43:5). Concave outer corolla with two-veined rays and, originally, four holes for attachment; flat single-veined inner rays, knob disk; glaze presumably originally white; 13 mm. thick.

F 283*b*. Rays with two slightly incised veins filled at many points with white glaze, cross-hatched and yellow-glazed knob disk, button back (Pl. 43:7).

F 283*c–f*. Four rosettes (Pl. 44:4–7). Rays with deeply incised median vein, knob disk, thin-button back; disintegrated white glaze on rays; yellow glaze in veins, in grooves between rays, and on disk.

F 283*g*. Plain rays, knob disk, button back (Pl. 43:8).

F 283*h–i*. Two rosettes. Simple white-glazed rays, disk rendered by splotch of black (Pl. 44:11) or yellow (Pl. 44:12) glaze, thin-button back.

F 283*j*. Crudely made (Pl. 44:15); circular face with rays indicated only by incisions, no central disk, domed button back; no apparent traces of glaze.

F 283*k–l*. Two rosettes (Pl. 44:9–10). Pointed rays covered with disintegrated white glaze, disk represented by drop of yellow glaze.

F 307*a–b*. Two double rosettes (Pl. 43:3–4). Two-veined outer rays, single-veined inner rays, flattened disk, flat back, four holes for attachment; disintegrated white glaze on rays, yellow glaze on top of disk; 13 mm. thick.

F 307*c*. Fragment (Pl. 43:9) of large rosette like F 166*a* (see Pl. 43:10). Disintegrated glaze.

F 307*d*. Disintegrated glaze in deep grooves between rays, no traces of disk, thin-button back (Pl. 44:14).

F 307*e*. Shallow incisions between rays, thin-button back (Pl. 44:13).

F 315. Fragment (Pl. 43:6) of double rosette like F 283*a* (see Pl. 43:5). Two-veined outer rays with white glaze.

F 381. Plain white-glazed rays, very slightly projecting disk with trace of yellow glaze, thin-button back (Pl. 44:8).

Frit rosettes imitating composite flowers with white rays and yellow centers are well known at Assur and Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, where most of the types found at Fakhariyah are paralleled, namely rosettes with knob disk and plain or two-veined rays, and simple rosettes without knob disk.[9] Flat double rosettes, one with cross-

[4] See *Nuzi*, pp. 150–51 (palace chapel, Rooms L8 and L5) and Fig. 21 (L5).

[5] See Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, pp. 144–45 and 217, Fig. 64, Pl. 34; *Nuzi*, pp. 407–9; *WVDOG* XXIII 6–7 and Pls. LXXIX–LXXXI; *OIP* XL 42–43 and Pl. 63:250; Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* II, Figs. 18, below (from debris above temple-palace), and 172 (from city area).

[6] See *Nuzi*, p. 59 and Pl. 97 *D–I*.

[7] See *WVDOG* XXIII, Pls. LXXXVI, LXXXVII, XCIII, XCV, CI–CIII.

[8] See *Nuzi*, pp. 59, 94–95, 150–51, and 407–9.

[9] See *WVDOG* LVIII 97 and Pl. 40 *v, u, s, p, t*.

hatched disk, also occur at Assur.[10] The only new types from Fakhariyah are the concave double variety (Pl. 43:5) and that with carefully pointed rays (Pl. 44:9–10). The chronology and character of the rosettes are made clear by those found in the Assur temple at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and in the Ishtar temple at Assur, in both cases in storerooms reached from the cella.[11] Both temples were built by Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242–1206 B.C. according to the Khorsabad king list); the first was hardly used after his reign, while the Ishtar temple was frequented until the accession of Assur-resh-ishi I (1132 B.C.). The frit rosettes, as well as a large group of associated frit objects from the deposit in Room 5 of the Ishtar temple, are typical for the 13th century, though such objects may have been used as early as the 15th or the 14th century.[12]

During the Middle Assyrian period frit rosettes were usually part of temple inventories, possibly, as Andrae suggests, ornaments—substitutes for those of gold—sewn onto robes made for statues of gods.[13]

BEADS FROM FLOORS 1–3

F 160. Flattened sphere (Pl. 44:18) like F 166*e–j* (see Pl. 44:19). Frit. Floor 1.

F 165. Lentoid (Pls. 44:25, 52:6). Frit with traces of disintegrated white glaze, incised decoration. Floor 2.

F 166*e–j*. Six flattened spheres (Pl. 44:19). Frit with white(?) glaze covering. Floor 2.

F 166*k–l*. Two flattened spheres (Pls. 44:20–21, 52:4–5). Grayish-white frit, median furrow filled with white paste; 10–12 mm. in diameter. Floor 2.

F 166*m*. Yellowish frit (Pls. 44:22, 52:3). White-filled median furrow; 5 mm. in diameter. Floor 2.

F 166*n*. Globular (Pl. 44:23). White-glazed frit; 5 mm. in diameter. Floor 2.

F 166*o*. Two shells (Pl. 44:24). One pierced, perhaps intentionally for stringing, the other plain. Floor 2.

F 168. Eleven disks cut from shell (Pl. 44:27). 4–5 mm. thick. Floor 2.

F 169. Disk of gray limestone (Pl. 44:28). Floor 2.

F 170. Ovoid (Pl. 44:26). Frit with green glaze changing to white at one end. Floor 2.

F 275. Irregular barrel of gray stone (Pl. 44:32). Floor 2.

F 279. Disk of white limestone (Pl. 44:31; cf. *WVDOG* LVIII, Pl. 27*a*, 4th row, right end). Floor 2.

F 281. Disk of black limestone (Pl. 44:30). Floor 2.

F 311. Disk of black limestone (Pl. 44:29). Floor 2.

F 312. Serpentine(?) cylinder (Pl. 44:34). Floor 2.

F 380. Irregular globular (Pl. 44:33). Banded pink, white, and gray agate(?), pierced surfaces partly smoothed. Floor 2.

F 433. Carnelian barrel (Pl. 44:35). Floor 3 (see p. 4, n. 2).

The beads, though relatively few in number, are reminiscent of the many beads which formed a votive deposit for the foundations of the Ishtar temple at Assur[14] and of those which occurred in such profusion in Temple A at Nuzi that Starr assumed them to have been garlanded from wall nail to wall nail in the cella.[15]

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS FROM FLOORS 1 AND 2

F 157. Figurine of quadruped (Pl. 44:38). Lightly fired clay. Floor 1.

F 176. Figurine of quadruped (Pl. 44:39). Lightly fired clay; three legs, tail, and ears (or horns?) broken away. Floor 1.

[10] *Ibid.* Pl. 40 *aa–ad*.

[11] See *ibid.* p. 77 and Pl. 1 (Room 5); Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, pp. 108 ff., 113, 121–25, and Fig. 42.

[12] *WVDOG* LVIII 25, 26, 97. Some of the rosettes published *ibid.* Pl. 40 have no recorded proveniences but are dated by comparison with those from the temples. It should be noted that twenty double rosettes almost identical with 13th-century examples (Pl. 40 *aa* [Room 5], *ac* and *ad* [no provenience]) occurred in Tomb 31 at Assur, which contained the remains of six burials and which is dated by pottery and tablets to the Late Assyrian period (see *WVDOG* LXV 110–11 and Pl. 23 *a*). The contents of this tomb are said to be homogeneous and typically Late Assyrian, but the presense of rosettes of Middle Assyrian type is an unexplained discrepancy unless we assume that the same type of elaborate double rosette persisted in use for centuries. Aside from these Assur rosettes, we have for the Late Assyrian period only simple rosettes with plain rays from Nimrud (see *ILN*, July 29, 1950, pp. 180 and 182, Fig. 13).

[13] See *WVDOG* LVIII 97. Applied golden ornaments have been discussed by A. Leo Oppenheim, "The golden garments of the gods," *JNES* VIII (1949) 172–93. Since the rosettes usually have button backs, it is much more likely that they were sewn onto a soft backing than that they were wall ornaments such as the stone rosettes found in the Protoliterate Eye-Temple at Brak (see *Iraq* IX 32 and Pl. V).

[14] See *WVDOG* LVIII 55 ff.

[15] *Nuzi*, pp. 92–94, 445.

F 177. Fragment of circular white-glazed frit plaque (Pl. 44:17). Design in black glaze; apparently there were two dotted "quadrants" and a depression surrounded by a border of which only the unglazed bed remains. Floor 1.

F 373. Bronze(?) shell-shaped object (Pl. 44:40). Floor 1.

F 123. Gold earring (Pl. 44:36). Decorated with three ribbed strips, one partly missing; 15 mm. long, greatest thickness 4 mm. Floor 2.

F 278. Fragment of baked-clay animal figurine. Humped cow or bull? Not available for study. Floor 2.

F 283*m*. Frit pendant in form of tubular flower with long petals (Pl. 44:16). Horizontal incisions on stem; vertical perforation; interior paste blue, exterior with disintegrated glaze now white. Floor 2.

F 429. Pendant(?) of stone (Pl. 44:37). Perforated horizontally; irregular incisions on two flat sides. Floor 2.

Like the *sikkati*, the rosettes, and the beads the floral pendant and the decorated frit plaque are paralleled in Middle Assyrian temple deposits, the first at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta[16] and the second in the Ishtar temple area at Assur.[17] Another frit plaque was found in the Ishtar temple at Nuzi.[18] The crude animal figures from Floor 1 are comparable with those found in the Nuzi temple.[19]

It is clear, then, that all the objects just discussed belong to categories found in temples or chapels at Assur, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, and Nuzi. However, despite their suggestive character, these objects cannot in themselves identify the building of Sounding VI as a temple. The final decision as to its nature must depend on its architectural character, and this, as already demonstrated (see pp. 18–20), speaks against such an identification. Rather, the building seems to have been a private house, perhaps with a little shrine for a tutelary deity.

Burial I

This was a pot burial inserted below the floor of Room 4 in its southwest corner (see p. 4, n. 2, and Pl. 20 *B–D*). There were no small objects in it, but three coarse pottery bowls (F 187–89) were found near by. Two of them are partly visible in Plate 20 *B–C;* their exact profiles are unknown. The body was placed in a flexed position within a large vat with rounded base, thick rolled rim, and rope molding. The head lay within a large bowl with heavy profiled rim, rope molding, and broken conical base (Pl. 20 *B*). This burial belongs with the Assur types classified as composite because two types of receptacles were used together to shelter the body. Two Middle Assyrian burials at Assur, Nos. 949 and 950, are good parallels for Burial I. Grave 949 is particularly close in type, with a very similar vat and a large conical bowl, simpler though similar in general shape to the bowl of Burial I. Both the Assur burials were dug down into rooms of a Middle Assyrian house after the latter's desertion but while its walls were still well preserved.[20] The same circumstances seem to have prevailed in the case of Burial I at Fakhariyah, which thus most probably belongs to the Middle Assyrian period. However, in the absence of small objects it cannot be dated with absolute certainty, for similar vats were used in the Late Assyrian period also.[21]

Burial II

This was recorded as a pot burial. It was found higher than the building apparently, in a northward extension of the sounding,[22] but its exact location is not given in the excavation records. It contained the following objects.

F 235. Two iron rings and fragments of iron. Only one slightly curved and badly corroded fragment is available for study (Pl. 45:1), but its nature is uncertain.

F 236. Necklace (Pl. 45:2): twenty-seven graduated carnelian beads (6–13 mm. in diameter); two spherical frit beads (e.g. Pl. 52:11), fluted and black-coated (10 mm. in diameter); several hundred small disks of shell (3 mm. in diameter).

[16] *WVDOG* LVIII, Pl. 39 *a–e*.

[17] *Ibid.* Pl. 39 *z* (locus eA7111).

[18] Cf. *Nuzi*, Pl. 121 *B*.

[19] Cf. *ibid.* Pl. 102 *M, N, S, Y, AA*.

[20] See *WVDOG* LXV 85–86 and Figs. 111–12; *WVDOG* LXIV 12 and Pl. 6.

[21] See *WVDOG* LXV 89 and Fig. 120 (Grave 969).

[22] The objects from this burial and from Burial III, as well as certain other objects (F 232–34), have the findspot "VIA" in the field catalogue (see p. 93).

Fluted beads are common in various periods, but very close parallels for the pair here were found in an Achaemenid grave at Assur,[23] at Khorsabad,[24] and in an Iron Age level at Megiddo.[25] Burial II, then, probably belongs to the Late Assyrian period, as suggested also by the fact that it contained iron objects.

Burial III

This burial, apparently found close to Burial II (see n. 22), is not termed a pot burial in the field catalogue. It was accompanied by a number of objects.

F 237*a–e*. Five obovate cuspidate bronze lance heads with thickened tang (Pl. 45:3–6; see Pl. 52:17 for drawing of F 237*a*), a normal Late Assyrian type (cf. Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 13 and Pl. 23:29; *Sendschirli* V, Fig. 102).

F 237*f–j*. Five oblanceolate cuspidate bronze lance heads with base of blade thickened and thin tang (Pl. 45:7–11; see Pl. 52:16 for drawing of F 237*i*). For similar types see *Sendschirli* V, Fig. 101, left; *Iraq* XIV (1952) 138, Fig. 13, left (Karmir-Blur, Armenia).

F 237*k*. Oval cuspidate bronze arrowhead with long thick tang (Pls. 45:12, 52:15).

F 237*l*. Winged bronze arrowhead with thickened tang (Pl. 45:13). Cf. *Iraq* XIV 138, Fig. 13, right (Karmir-Blur).

F 238. Bronze rod with rectangular section and bent ends (Pl. 45:14).

F 240. Iron knife blade and four iron fragments representing possibly two arrowheads and two blades (not available for study).

F 241. Fragment of crude undecorated pottery lamp (not available).

F 242. Pottery goblet (p. 35, No. 63).

F 243. Large coarse pottery jar (not available).

The distinctive objects in Burial III are the projectile points (it is frequently difficult to distinguish between lance heads and arrowheads) and the pottery goblet. These indicate without doubt that the burial belongs to the Late Assyrian period.

Top to Surface

F 95. Fragment of mosaic (Pl. 51:33). Ten red cubes and a black cube.

[23] *WVDOG* LXV 71 and Fig. 88, bottom left, middle bead (Grave 811).

[24] *OIP* XL, Pl. 60 *A–B*.

[25] *Megiddo* II, Pl. 218:135 (Stratum V A).

Surface

F 154. Crudely carved limestone head (Pl. 51:37).

Extension VIA (see n. 22)

F 232. Ring bead with thick white glaze (Pl. 51:30).

F 233. Flat round spacer bead or button of gray stone (Pl. 51:29). Two perforations.

SOUNDING IX

Below Floor 6

The most distinctive objects available from the limited excavation below Floor 6 (see pp. 10 and 97) are some carefully carved lozenge-shaped beads and a polished bone object.

F 574–77. Four lozenge-shaped beads of translucent green stone (Pl. 46:15–18); F 574 (No. 15; also Pl. 52:2) triangular on one side.

F 579. Part of bone blade(?) with one complete perforation and beginnings of two other perforations (Pl. 46:2). Found below Room 1 of palace.

F 581. Slightly lozenge-shaped bead of translucent green stone (Pl. 46:19).

F 582. Lozenge-shaped bead of mottled dark green and gray stone (Pls. 46:20, 52:1).

F 584. Ring bead of gray stone (Pl. 46:14).

F 585. Tubular bead of paste (Pl. 46:13).

F 586. Fragment of polished bone (Pl. 46:3). Circular section, incised decoration; used as handle(?).

F 587. Oval object of polished bone (Pl. 46:4). Perforation at one end, other end thickened.

F 588. Bone spatula or scraper with edges much polished by use (Pl. 46:1).

F 589. Broken pendant of translucent green stone (Pl. 46:22). One flat and one convex face.

F 590. Slightly lozenge-shaped bead of blue-green material (Pl. 46:21).

Floor 6

F 550. Bone needle with large eye (Pl. 46:6).

F 551. Bronze pin (Pl. 46:8). One end of shaft bent back and thinned to form lunette head with end knotted around shaft.

F 553. Bronze needle or knot-headed pin (Pl. 46:9). Corroded knot(?) head.

F 554. Rectangular soapstone(?) object (Pl. 46:11). One end broken away except for concave channel which may be remnant of suspension hole; median furrow and petal-shaped motives in relief on one surface.

F 556. Frit disk bead (Pl. 46:12).

F 557. Bone implement with somewhat tapering blunt ends (Pl. 46:7).

F 558. Roughly shaped hematite cylinder with small shallow drill hole at each end (Pl. 46:5). Perhaps an unfinished cylinder seal or a weight.

F 561. Black stone fragment (Pl. 46:10). Perhaps part of shallow dish with pouring channel; polished; roughly incised with diagonal lines and hatching.

Trench between Column Base and Statuettes

In the trench driven northward from the entrance to the palace two statuettes (chap. vi) were found at the spot marked "S" on Plate 7 (see p. 10). They were not associated with any floor or other architectural feature. With them were a Khabur-ware sherd (p. 40, No. 124) and a bone object (Pl. 46:25) like one found below Floor 6 (see Pl. 46:4), and in the same trench was the only fairly complete Khabur-ware vessel (No. 121) which came to light in the excavations. Even if the debris in which the statuettes occurred could be dated by these few finds, the same date would not automatically apply to the figures. One Iron Age (No. 125) and one "Late Roman C" (No. 126) sherd also found with them are warnings of probable disturbance. The statuettes could well have been inserted into earlier debris. On stylistic grounds also we would hesitate to consider them contemporary with the Old Babylonian period, for that was a time when the influence of Mesopotamian sculpture was felt as far west as Alalakh. At Fakhariyah, closer to Mesopotamian centers, stone carvings as pretentious as these could hardly have been completely unaffected by Old Babylonian work. These statuettes, of no known type, would fit much better into some stage when no strong Mesopotamian tradition influenced this area, conceivably around the 9th century B.C., when, as works from Tell Halaf show, craftsmen were struggling with the most elementary problems of sculpture, or even later, after the cessation of Assyrian influence.

WITH STATUETTES

F 552. Red stone bracelet (Pl. 46:26). Finely cut and polished; inside convex, exterior with doubly concave profile and midrib; 14 mm. wide.

F 602. Fragment of red stone bracelet (Pl. 46:24) like F 552. *Ca.* 82 mm. in diameter.

F 603. Bone object with bulge on one side and suspension hole (Pl. 46:25).

NEAR STATUETTES

F 597. Yellowish-white stone object (Pl. 46:23). Rectangular with truncated triangular section; roughly incised geometric decoration; 9–19 mm. thick. Portions of all six smoothed edges are preserved, so that the complete shape of the object is clear. The decoration is irregular, with a border of four lines along one side only; the incomplete circles along one edge were not accidentally chipped away but were truncated when the adjacent side was smoothed.

Iron Age Palace

Unfortunately the three floors (5–3) which represent the palace yielded relatively few objects, not all of them contemporary with the building. The only types of objects which were common, the flint and obsidian implements, cannot have been in place (see chap. v).

FLOOR 5

F 547. Potsherd shaped into disk for reuse (Pl. 49:1). See p. 49, F 357.

FLOOR 4

F 543. Bronze arrowhead or lance head (Pls. 49:3, 52:18). Slightly obovate blade, square tang. See C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish.* II. *The Town Defences* (London, 1921) Fig. 20*b*, for a similar, though more lanceolate, arrowhead.

F 594*a*. Convex ivory plaque with two dowels (Pl. 47:21). Original edges preserved at top, bottom, and left; extant right edge broken but probably close to original edge, for dowels and design panel are symmetrically placed; interior scored; exterior roughly incised with scale pattern bounded at right and left by vertical line; incisions filled with a now gray paste; 8 mm. thick but narrowed almost to a point at bottom left. It is remarkable that the dowels project from the decorated face, but they could have been so placed inadvertently when the plaque was mended in the field. From Room 4, east doorway.

F 594*b*. Slightly convex fragment of ivory plaque with dowel hole (Pl. 47:5). Left edge broken, the others smoothly finished; interior scored; exterior decorated by two incised scales with traces of gray paste filling; 7–2 mm. thick. From Room 4, east doorway. Since F 594*a* and F 594*b* have the same type of decoration, they were presumably parts of the same object.

The following group of objects (F 595), found in Room 4 at the doorway to Room 1, consists almost entirely of inlays and fragments of plaques into which inlays were once set.[26] Clearly a number of decorated panels are represented, some of whose designs may have included human and animal figures, but the remnants of these elaborate motives are too small to permit even hypothetical reconstruction.

F 595*a*. Fragment of ivory plaque with portion of dowel hole (Pl. 47:1). Lower surface scored; intact (upper) edge smoothed and beveled, with incised line 1 mm. from upper surface; guilloche pattern incised on upper surface to depth of 1 mm.; 4 mm. thick. Guilloche borders are common on ivories of the early first millennium B.C. (see J. W. Crowfoot & Grace M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria* [London, 1938] p. 41, Fig. 12, Pl. XXI 7; F. Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash* ["Bibliothèque archéologique et historique" XVI (Paris, 1931)] Pl. XLVII 108–11; Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st series [London, 1853] Pl. 90:17; *Iraq* XIV, Pl. XIV [Nimrud]) as also on ivories of the Late Bronze period (see *Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 278, 327–29).

F 595*b*. Fragment of ivory plaque (Pl. 47:2). Incised decoration, probably a guilloche; 4 mm. thick.

F 595*c*. Eight oval inlays of ivory (Pl. 47:4). 2–3.5 mm. thick.

F 595*d*. Four half-oval inlays of ivory (Pl. 47:6).

F 595*e*. Square bone inlay with convex surface (Pl. 47:3).

F 595*f*. Tongue-shaped convex ivory plaque with dowel hole and semicircular cutting at one end (Pl. 47:7). 3–7 mm. thick.

F 595*g*. Fragment of ivory dowel (Pl. 47:8). This dowel fits fairly well into the hole of F 595*f* and probably belongs to it.

F 595*h*. Small rectangular bar inlay of light blue paste (Pl. 47:9).

F 595*i*. Scale inlay of light blue paste (Pl. 47:10). This shape is represented by gold-foil overlays found with the ivories from Samaria (cf. J. W. & G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, Pl. XXIV 1; see Fig. 15 for the same motive decorating a plaque in pierced work), by large glazed-brick inlays from the base in front of the entrance to the temple-palace at Tell Halaf (Max von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* II, Fig. 36, Pls. 13 and Beilage II), by blue and white "enamel" inlays on a gold pectoral from Halaf (*Halaf Prelim.* color Pl. III 4), and by incised ivory fragments from Zincirli (*Sendschirli* V, Pl. 71 *r–t*, *x*). On the pectoral the scales form the mountain from which a tree grows. Such scales were for centuries the normal Mesopotamian stylization of rocky peaks.

F 595*j*. Inlay of light blue paste (Pl. 47:11). Unbroken; oval except for one concave side.

F 595*k*. Two fragments of inlays, one of light blue paste, the other of clay with thin coating of light blue paste (Pl. 47:12).

F 595*l*. Rectangular inlay with beveled edges (Pl. 47:13). Decayed white frit, probably originally blue.

F 595*m*. Two fragments of decayed frit (Pl. 47:14). Concave; possibly inlays.

F 595*n*. Shell eye inlay (Pl. 47:18). Concave; pupil filled with paste, presumably originally black. There is no means of determining whether this inlay was part of a statuette or a plaque. However, a plaque large enough to include a human figure of a size proportionate to the eye would be unusually large.

F 595*o*. Two fragments of crumpled gold overlay (Pl. 47:17).

F 595*p*. Bluish-gray limestone inlay(?) fragment (Pl. 47:16).

F 595*q*. Two small curved fragments of white marble with lobed edge (Pl. 47:15).

F 595*r–s*. Two fragments of white marble representing one plaque or two plaques (Pl. 48:1, 3). The two fragments are of identical stone, and both taper toward the edge in the same fashion. On the original pieces the broken edges can be easily distin-

[26] It should be noted that certain ivory inlays (Pl. 58:6–7) published under F 564, the group of ivories from Floor 6 of Sounding IX (see chap. vii), are identical with inlays F 595*c–d* from Floor 4 (Pl. 47:4, 6). However, the two groups F 595 and F 564 are otherwise of different character, a fact which suggests that pieces of F 595 became mixed with the F 564 ivories during packing. It is possible also that some of the undecorated ivory fragments packed with F 564 are from the higher floor (see p. 57).

guished from the carefully cut ones (marked with arrows on Pl. 48). The spaces so produced were presumably filled with inlays.

F 595*t*. Fragment of white marble plaque with beveled edge and finely polished surface (Pl. 48:2). 4 mm. thick. This piece shows carefully smoothed edges cut to receive inlays; one edge may possibly outline the back of a foreleg of a lion or sphinx rendered on a fairly large scale. Compare the forelegs of sphinxes with fetlocks on ivories from Arslan Tash; Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, Pls. XXVII 22 and XXXI 33.

F 595*u*. Corner of white marble plaque with straight edges and polished surface (Pl. 47:19). 3.5–4.5 mm. thick.

F 595*v*. Parts of two white marble inlays or frames with polished surface and very slightly beveled edges (Pl. 47:20). 2–2.5 mm. thick.

F 595*w*. Fragment of white marble plaque with deeply grooved border (Pl. 48:5). 5 mm. thick. This fragment belongs close to one corner of the plaque, for an edge of the lower grooved border remains. There is also a small part of a figure in sunk relief, perhaps intended to hold inlay; the horizontal and diagonal grooves of its lower part suggest the talon and leg of an Egyptian bird hieroglyph. However, since there is not space enough for a neck, head, and beak in profile, the only sign possible is  , the owl. I am much indebted to Professor George R. Hughes for assuring me that what remains of the figure does resemble this hieroglyph and for pointing out the changes in the depth of the cutting. The sunken area forming the presumed head slants up to the plaque surface at the top, showing that this is the original end of the figure, and the groove below is shallow, suggesting that it is a leg rather than an outline of the body of the figure. These details and the proportions which they indicate all correspond to the shape of the owl hieroglyph. Unfortunately, the fragment is too small to allow more than tentative identification. It would be of considerable interest if we could be certain that an Egyptian inscription occurred in a provincial Khabur town in the Iron Age.

F 595*x*. Bluish-gray or black limestone and bone inlays (Pl. 48:4). Scale-shaped with concave base except for one piece with straight upper edge; 1–2 mm. thick. Like the blue paste inlay F 595*i* (Pl. 47:10) these inlays were probably used to form a mountain pattern.

F 595*y*. Sections of four bar-shaped inlays of bluish-gray or black limestone (Pl. 48:7). Probably parts of borders; 1.8–6 mm. thick.

F 595*z*. Bluish-black limestone and bone inlays (Pl. 48:6). Square except for narrow rectangular bone piece (top right); 1–1.5 mm. thick. These inlays presumably formed a checkerboard pattern. Rectangular blue glass inlays from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud are somewhat similar to F 595*y* and F 595*z* (see *Iraq* XIV, Pl. XIV).

F 595*aa*. Elongated barrel bead of white frit (Pl., 47:22).

F 595*bb*. Tubular bead of soft white stone (Pl. 47:24).

F 595*cc*. Tubular bead of black stone (Pl. 47:23).

FLOOR 3

F 264. Thick disk bead of black marble (Pl. 49:9).

F 265. Large lozenge-shaped bead of translucent green stone (Pl. 49:10). This represents the same type as F 574–77 and F 582 (see Pl. 46:15–18, 20), from Floor 6 and below, and was probably out of place in the palace.

F 357. Thick sherd of large brown vessel shaped into disk for reuse (Pl. 49:2). Reshaped potsherds such as this one and F 547 from Floor 5 (Pl. 49:1) are known from Megiddo, and it is suggested that they were lids (see *Megiddo* I, Pl. 103:1–11 [Strata V and III, 10th and 8th cent. B.C., and surface]).

F 383. Black stone biconical bead (Pl. 49:11).

F 407. Compressed spherical bead of brownish-gray stone (Pl. 49:12).

F 427. Mottled black and white stone amulet (Pl. 49:7) in form of animal (cat?). Horizontally pierced.

F 448. Fragment of black stone macehead (Fig. 49:8).

F 449. Bronze arrowhead (Pls. 49:5, 52:14). Triangular and winged, somewhat similar to F 237*l* (see Pl. 45:13).

F 450. Bronze lance head (Pls. 49:4, 52:19).

Lanceolate, large midrib, rectangular tang.

F 459. Polished gray stone disk (Pl. 49:6). Conical hole in center inlaid with white frit; inlay(?); 7 mm. thick. Found 35 cm. above floor.

F 486. Spherical frit bead (Pl. 49:14).

F 539. Spherical carnelian bead (Pl. 49:13).

The only finds from the three floors of the palace which are suggestive of luxurious appointments are the fragmentary plaques and inlays from Floor 4 (F 594–95). Fragment F 595*w* is the only piece with probable foreign connections. The scale or mountain pattern incised on F 594*a* and F 594*b* allies them with the scale inlays F 595*i* and F 595*x*. Although for the most part without parallels, the decorative fragments from Floor 4 are of considerable significance. In the first place, they indicate that richly ornamented small objects were used in the building and thus might be considered supplementary to the architecture as evidence for terming the structure a palace (see p. 20). In the second place, the scraps of inlays and inlaid plaques fit in with more complete finds from other sites which show the popularity in the Iron Age of objects elaborately inlaid with materials of various colors. At near-by Tell Halaf the glazed-brick base in front of the entrance to the temple-palace is an excellent example of this technique on a large scale. At Nimrud there are small ivory and glass inlays, a chryselephantine head which was no doubt once adorned with inlays or paste, and a pair of elaborately inlaid plaques showing a lioness devouring an Ethiopian.[27] Insets of variously colored materials and gold overlays adorned many of the Samaria ivories.[28] To these examples of inlay-work can now be added the fragments from Fakhariyah.

Floor 2

F 183. Gray stone bead (Pls. 50:22, 52:7). Obovate, flattened, highly polished.

F 292. Black glass ring bead (Pl. 50:15).

F 293. Black glass barrel bead with fluting (Pl. 50:14).

F 370. Two black limestone disk beads (Pl. 50:18). Found with skeleton.

F 375. Two tubular beads, one of green and one of blue paste (Pl. 50:23).

F 434. Spherical carnelian bead (Pl. 50:16).

F 435. Barrel bead of black glass (Pls. 50:19, 52:9). Center groove filled with white paste.

F 491. Blue frit(?) tubular bead with three oval lobes (Pls. 50:20, 52:8).

F 528. Thick ring carnelian bead (Pl. 50:17).

F 532. Spherical bead of white stone (Pl. 51:2).

F 533. Ring bead of black stone with green, orange, and yellow inclusions (Pl. 51:6).

F 535. Gray steatite spindle whorl (Pl. 50:21). Truncated cone with incised borders. Such spindle whorls were common in Syria during the Iron Age, as shown by numerous unpublished examples from the ᶜAmuq. Many variations of the truncated cone, some with simple incised designs, were found at Zincirli (*Sendschirli* V, Pl. 4 *n–o*, *s–u*).

F 591. Plaque of mottled buff and gray stone forming half of mold for jewelry (Pl. 50:1). Forms with funnel-shaped channels leading into them on both faces; 10 mm. thick. The jewelry elements, latex casts of which are illustrated on Plate 50, are as follows: ear or nose rings with gadrooned or cluster pendants (Nos. 2–5); pendant formed by small gadrooned bead(?) from which hangs crescent and medallion with relief decoration of three dots and possibly running man (No. 6); disk with rosette pattern in relief (No. 7); pendant seemingly in form of human or animal head with small squared chin, mouth formed by two drill holes, nose with crescentic profile, drill-hole eyes, and hair or horns with ends projecting 3 mm. forward from face (No. 8); gadrooned spherical bead and cylindrical bead with unclear design in relief, these two elements perhaps intended to be independent beads when finished and only temporarily connected by a channel for casting (No. 9); spherical gadrooned bead (No. 10), one of several originally on complete mold as indicated by traces of second bead and parts of two channels once leading to two more beads; five small gadrooned beads (No. 11); ridged bead(?), incomplete (No. 12); convex disk (incom-

[27] See *Iraq* XIV, Pl. XIV; *Iraq* XIII (1951) Pl. VI 1–2; *ILN*, Aug. 16, 1952, Supplement I.

[28] See J. W. & G. M. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, p. 56 and frontispiece.

plete), with granulated border, attached to ridged cylindrical bead(?) (No. 13).

Such molds are typical of the Iron Age, though there is at least one example, a very small one, from a Late Bronze II level (*Megiddo* II, Pl. 269:6 [Stratum VII B, 13th cent. B.C.]). See also *Megiddo* II, Pl. 269:7 (Stratum VI, 12th cent. B.C.); *Megiddo* I, Pl. 105:6 (surface); Alan Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan. I. The Temples and Cult Objects* ("Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum . . ." II [Philadelphia, 1940]) Pl. LIII*A* 8 (Level VI, 12th cent. B.C.). Closely similar examples were found at Kuyunjik and Nimrud (see Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [London, 1853] p. 597) and at Zincirli (*Sendschirli* V 22–23 and Pl. 8 *a*) and Byblos (Maurice Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos. II. 1933–1938* [Paris, 1954] No. 8654, p. 209 and Pl. CLXXXIII). Those from Zincirli and Byblos have drill holes and forms for somewhat similar types of jewelry. In discussing the Zincirli mold and its parallels, Andrae points out that they show no traces of exposure to great heat and suggests therefore that they were used to produce wax models from which metal ornaments were made by the *cire-perdue* process.

Floor 2, though above the palace, seems also to represent the Iron Age, as indicated by the pottery (see pp. 37 f., Nos. 88–96). This dating is corroborated by the two most distinctive objects, the jewelry mold (F 591) and the spindle whorl (F 535), both typical of the Iron Age.

FLOOR 1

F 342. Three thick ring beads of blue-brown glass (Pl. 51:3).

F 343. Octagonal inlay (for ring setting?) of polished greenish-black stone (Pl. 51:7). Beveled edges.

F 415. Biconical and octagonal glass bead (Pls. 51:4, 52:10).

BURIAL IV

According to the field catalogue this burial was found "2 m. above paving," but there is no way of identifying the paving. The skeleton was on its back, with head to east and turned right, hands folded to shoulder, and knees flexed right over left. The over-all length was 105 cm. There were two earrings, one gold (F 223) and one bronze (F 219), a bracelet on the right biceps (F 218), a bronze ring on the left hand (F 224), a bead at the waist (F 222), and two bronze anklets (F 216–17). Only two of the objects registered from the burial (see pp. 94 f.) are available for study.

F 222. Spherical bead of baked clay (Pls. 50:25, 52:12). Covered with dark brown glaze; three protuberances, each with two parallel grooves filled with white paste; badly faded horizontal bands of blue pigment between protuberances; 15 mm. long.

This bead is almost identical with brown glass beads found in numbers (133) in the archaic Greek levels at Lindos in Rhodes (see Christian Blinkenberg, *Lindos: Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914. I. Les petits objets* [Berlin, 1931] No. 151, p. 94 and Pl. 10). The only difference is that at Lindos the white-filled grooves in the protuberances are spiral rather than parallel. Blinkenberg points out that such beads were distributed throughout the Aegean area and that examples from Ephesos can be dated to the 8th century B.C. He gives references for specimens from Aegina, Olympia, Sounion, Tegea, Euboea, and Italy. To the east, beads of this general type occur at Megiddo (*Megiddo* I, Pl. 92:10, 34, 40 [Strata II, *ca.* 732–520 B.C., and III, 8th cent. B.C.]).

F 223. Gold earring (Pl. 50:24).

SURFACE TO 1 METER

F 389. Spherical bead of gray stone (Pl. 51:8).

SURFACE

F 181. Head of terra-cotta female figure (Pl. 51:1). Front and back made separately; hair parted in middle, with "bun" in back; face framed by headband. The only other clay figures are three animals from Sounding VI (F 157, F 176, F 278) and the hollow fragment from the "city wall" (see p. 29, No. 4).

UNSTRATIFIED

F 322. Rounded bead of amber-colored and brown agate (Pl. 51:5). Flattened on one side, finely polished.

F 461. Squarish flattened bead of mottled green turquoise (Pl. 51:9).

SOUNDING I

F 13. Fragment of flat oval banded-onyx bead (Pl. 51:10). Found in lower part of trench.

F 72. Barrel bead (Pl. 51:17) of red stone mottled with green (porphyry?). Highly polished. Floor 17.

F 91. Disk bead of veined white stone (Pl. 51:11). Floor 19.

SOUNDING IA

F 32. Disk bead of gray stone (Pls. 51:13, 52:13). 2–3 mm. thick.

F 79–80. Two disk beads of gray stone (e.g. Pl. 51:19). Floor 2.

F 81. Disk bead of white stone (Pl. 51:14). Floor 2.

F 110. Tubular bead of purple-black limestone (Pl. 51:18). Floor 4.

F 111. Bead of black stone mottled with greenish gray (Pl. 51:12). Barrel shape with one side flattened. Floor 4.

F 113. Disk bead of black stone (Pl. 51:20). Floor 4.

F 245. Disk bead of black stone (Pl. 51:15). Floor 6.

F 246. Disk bead of white stone (Pl. 51:21). 6 mm. thick. Floor 6.

F 247. Flattened circular bead of gray-and-white-banded agate (Pl. 51:16). Floor 6.

F 297. Seven glazed beads. Four are illustrated (Pl. 51:22): one spherical, white; two spherical, white with brown; one barrel, white. Floor 6.

SOUNDING IV

F 66. Red-slipped terra-cotta pendant or amulet (Pl. 51:23) in form of leg (cf. F 127 below). Suspension hole at knee partly broken away. Found below Floor 4. Such amulets are known in the Early Iron Age from Beth Shan VI (12th cent. B.C.; see Rowe, *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* I, Pl. LIIIA 6) and Megiddo V B–V A (10th cent. B.C.; see *Megiddo* II, Pl. 206:49, 61).

F 93. Baked-clay disk (Pl. 51:25). Red with many small white grits, slightly burnished; incised design of formal plant formed by stem with fan-shaped foliage; 7 mm. thick. Floor 6.

F 114. Gray limestone barrel bead (Pl. 51:27). Floor 7.

F 115. Flattened spherical bead of red-veined white quartz (Pl. 51:28). Floor 7.

F 116. Carnelian bead (Pl. 51:26). Incised design of crossed lines with very simplified palm-like motive at each end; 9 mm. thick. Floor 7.

F 125. "Pergamene" sherd shaped into rough disk (Pl. 51:34). Floor 9.

SOUNDING V

F 3. Fragment of steatite bowl with excised and incised geometric decoration (Pl. 51:32). 52 mm. high, 9 mm. thick at base and 25 mm. at rim. From top of sounding.

F 31. Fragment of gray steatite straight-sided bowl with simple incised geometric decoration (Pl. 51:36). Floor 3.

LINE 1[29]

F 127. Leg-shaped pendant or amulet of baked clay (Pl. 51:24). Unslipped buff ware. See F 66 above.

PROVENIENCE UNKNOWN

F 604. Blue-gray limestone disk bead (Pl. 51:31).

F 605. Green-glazed limestone(?) lobe-shaped bead (Pl. 51:35). Greatest thickness 7 mm.

[29] Refers to survey control point 1 (in Square E IX; see Pl. 87).

V

STONE IMPLEMENTS

By LINDA S. BRAIDWOOD

FLINT AND OBSIDIAN ARTIFACTS

Surprisingly enough a substantial number of worked or used flint (*ca.* 1000) and obsidian (*ca.* 200) implements were found in the excavations. According to the field catalogue, most of these artifacts were found in Sounding IX; a small number come from Sounding VI (Floors 1 and 2; see pp. 18f.), and one is from Sounding IV (Floor 9).

Despite the various findspots involved, the flints all belong to the same blade industry. Only the artifacts from the deeper cuts (Floor 6 and below) and the palace (Floors 3–5) of Sounding IX are treated below.[1]

The flint implements contained in the industry include the following types. Some of the flints are patinated.

Sickle blades (32 specimens). These are slender blade sections with the characteristic sheen along one edge. The working edge is usually without retouch and merely worn by use (Pl. 53:4). In some examples there is fine irregular denticulation along the working edge made by nibbling retouch on the upper or lower face or on both faces. The back and ends are not retouched.

Projectile points (24 specimens). These are very simple. The two illustrated examples (Pl. 53:2–3) show the possible variation in size and shape. Some have marked wings as in No. 2, and the rest are similar to No. 3. There is little retouch. This consists of flat retouch on the lower face, mainly at the tip to insure a sharp point, and coarse retouch (usually on both the upper and the lower face) to shape the tang.

Worked tangs and worked tips (28 and 36 specimens respectively). These are parts of broken or presumably incomplete implements made on blades or blade sections. Some of them probably were fragments of projectile points. Some were originally the pointed secondary ends of the type of end scraper peculiar to this industry (see below). Others may have been used as borers or awls.

Borers (24 specimens). These are more obviously borers than any of the preceding group. They are made on blades or blade sections. Some of the working ends are long and spiky.

Gravers (27 specimens). There is a variety of types, but the *bec-de-flute* (Pl. 53:5), the single-blow, and the oblique-angle graver are the most usual. A few of the angle gravers would probably be better classified as single-blow gravers, for they are made by removal of a single burin facet from one side of a tang or an end scraper.

End scrapers (67 specimens). These are made on sturdy blades or blade sections with neat retouch at the working end. Almost half of them are characterized by a secondary feature: the opposing end is trimmed to a point (Pl. 53:6). The retouch is only on the under face, along both edges; it is flat, meeting at the pointed end. The edges are dull and would not be useful for cutting or scraping. The point is fairly sharp but broader than the tips of the projectile points. It seems likely that these tools served a double purpose, with each end performing a distinct function.

Flake scrapers (19 specimens). These are usually made on fairly thick flakes, with careful retouch around much of the circumference (Pl. 53:7).

Lames de dégagement (22 specimens). Some of these are handsome specimens. The edges show signs of use (Pl. 54:1).

Core tablets (3 specimens).

Blades and blade sections (198 specimens). These are mainly narrow and short. Where preserved, the striking platform is plain. The edges are used without retouch (Pl. 53:1).

[1] The descriptions of the types making up the tool kit of the industry would not be altered by inclusion of the other flints.

Core (1 specimen[2]). This is a small chunky flake core.

Miscellaneous implements (43 specimens). These are blades and blade sections with varying amounts of retouch mainly along edges.

The following obsidian types occur. Much of the retouch on the obsidian is very carefully done, sometimes with a fluting effect.

Blades and blade sections (121 specimens). There are only a few complete blades. The blades and blade sections are very narrow. The majority are used without further retouch. Quite a few have nibbling, flat, or steep retouch along one edge. Some are steeply retouched along both edges, and a few of these are splayed at one end (Pl. 54:2–3). No. 2, a piece of unknown use, is skillfully retouched along both edges, with a marked midrib where the retouch meets.

Flakes (20 specimens). These are mainly used without further retouch.

Core (1 specimen[2]). This is a very neat blade core with the flake scars indicating removal of long extremely narrow blades.

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

		Below Floor 6	Floor 6	Floor 5	Floor 4	Floor 3
Flint	Sickle blades	15	6	5		6
	Projectile points	17	6		1	
	Worked tangs	15	7	4		2
	Worked tips	10	14	5	1	6
	Borers	13	6	5		
	Gravers	14	8	1	2	2
	End scrapers	29	21	6	2	9
	Flake scrapers	16	2			1
	Lames de dégagement	16	2	1	2	1
	Core tablets	3				
	Blades and blade sections	119	36	20	2	21
	Flakes	63	7	8		18
	Core	1				
	Miscellaneous	21	12	5		5
Obsidian	Blades and blade sections	48	30	28		15
	Flakes	8	1	6		5
	Core		1			

The early village sites excavated throughout the Near East all show evidence of flourishing flint (and obsidian) industries consisting of fairly elaborate tool kits with each tool type amply represented.[3] As copper and bronze became increasingly available, the use of flint, naturally enough, tapered off. However, we find that flint industries, though more limited in tool types and quantities produced, continued to be represented in the material remains of cultures right into the beginning of historical times. By around 2000 B.C. the art of good flint-working was lost for the most part, and flint was used only for certain specific items such as sickle blades. Large crude flint sickle blades from as late as the 12th century B.C. have been excavated in northern Syria.

It was most baffling, therefore, to find evidence at Fakhariyah of a flourishing flint industry, competently worked, in association with a variety of extremely late remains. Although the Fakhariyah industry has points in common with the known industries of Near Eastern early villages (i.e., in the types of implements made), it is not closely related to any of the flint industries that have been described to date. It seemed very unlikely that the Fakhariyah flints could have been produced as late as any of the other material remains that were found in association with them, in direct opposition to the evidence from other Near Eastern sites.[4]

The only logical way to account for the flint industry at Fakhariyah was to assume that the occupational level with which the flints should be associated has not yet been uncovered. It seemed likely that later inhabitants of the site in digging trenches to found their own walls excavated considerable amounts of flint and obsidian implements, which became mixed with the earth that they used for the floors or walls of their buildings. An assumption somewhat along this line now seems fairly certain. During a short tour in the general area in January, 1955, Robert Braidwood and his Egyptian foreman, Abdullah (who assisted McEwan in the excavation of Fakhariyah), visited Fakhariyah in an attempt to solve the flint mystery. They found

[2] In general, apparently, cores and unworked flints were not saved by the excavators.

[3] Even in cases where descriptions are not published, for lack of personnel competent to cope with flints, enough flints are illustrated to show that a variety of tools were made.

[4] Since flints representing the same industry were found between foundation walls of the Sounding IX palace in an incompletely excavated level (below Floor 6) which may represent the Khabur period (see pp. 21, n. *, and 24f.) and in association with Middle Assyrian (Sounding VI, Floors 1–2) and Iron Age (Sounding IX palace) remains, we would have to account for an unbelievable continuity of identical flint production through a great many centuries.

that the deeper cuts of the excavation could no longer be examined, for they had been refilled by cave-ins. A close inspection of the standing walls of the Sounding IX palace showed a number of flints, including typical neat-tanged projectile points, imbedded in the *libn*. The material used to form the *libn* had obviously been quarried from habitational debris that contained the imbedded flints. Unfortunately in the short time at their disposal they were not able to hunt for the source of the *libn* material. Although the matter of the original context of the flints is still unsolved—whether they represent a lower level at Fakhariyah itself or come from an undiscovered site near by—our assumption that they were not manufactured during any of the time ranges indicated by the other excavated Fakhariyah artifacts seems established.

In our present inadequate state of knowledge concerning early village flints, especially in the general region of Fakhariyah, we cannot be sure in just what time range to place the makers of the Fakhariyah flints. In its use of gravers and projectile points the industry resembles the flint industries of Syro-Cilicia rather than those of the Tigris drainage area. If we go further and use Syro-Cilicia as a prop—at the same time taking into account the geographical location of Fakhariyah and the discrepancies between the industries—it would seem that the occupational level with which the Fakhariyah flints should be associated might be pre-Halafian, or possibly Halafian.

CELTS

Eight celts come from the excavations. All were found in Sounding IX, in and below the Iron Age palace. They are made of various stones, but none are of flint. The largest tools are pecked, with some grinding especially at the working edge. The smaller examples are ground and polished.

F 478. Small, chisel (Pl. 54:4). Floor 3 pavement.
F 544. Small, axlike (Pl. 54:6). Floor 4.
F 559. Large, axlike (Pl. 54:7). Floor 6.
F 560. Small, axlike. Floor 6.
F 570. Large, axlike. Below Floor 6.
F 571. Medium-sized, axlike. Below Floor 6.
F 572. Medium-sized, adzlike. Below Floor 6.
F 600. Medium-sized, adzlike (Pl. 54:5). Below Floor 6.

Celts, though found mainly with early village remains in the eastern Mediterranean area, have also been found in small numbers in excavations of historical sites. It is not certain whether the late examples are survivals or were actually manufactured at a late date. Thus it is difficult to say at present whether the Fakhariyah celts are survivals or come from contexts representing the periods of their manufacture.

VI

NOTES ON THE STATUETTES

By HENRI FRANKFORT †

The two red-painted stone figures from Sounding IX (see p. 10) were carved by an untutored sculptor, to judge by the variation in the quality of the workmanship. The crudely squared trunk of the male figure (Pls. 55 *B* and 56) is brusquely joined to the elaborately rounded buttocks, which, like the modeling of the backs of the legs, bespeaks an interest in organic forms; the thighs are rounded, the hollows of the knees are indicated, and the calves curve. The front shows no traces of such modeling; the legs are straight sticks under a flat trunk, on which a shallow groove marks either the lower edge of the thorax or the breasts. Even the loincloth appears in summary relief in front, while at the back the tied ends of a knot are carefully rendered.

The female figure (Pls. 55 *A* and 57) shows a similar heterogeneity of modeling, this time not between front and back but between the upper and lower parts. The legs and the stomach are modeled with some understanding, but the angular face and the shoulders resemble those of the male figure in treatment. It is very unusual indeed to find breasts pendulant, as they are here. The head is properly placed, while the head of the male figure is off-center to the right.

A few details deserve mention. The stone shows a shiny surface, as of marble, where the thick red paint has flaked off. At the insides of the arms of the male figure the stone is either faulty or has been worked ineptly. The eyes of both figures consist of slithers of green stone, perhaps serpentine, set in their sockets with bitumen. The ears are almost flat disks, and the mouth is an engraved oblong. There is no indication of cheekbones or chin. On both figures a line runs up the middle of the back, curving outward to left and right to mark the shoulder blades. Both figures can stand upright, the male having a four-legged base. The toes are not marked, but the fingers are indicated by shallow incisions. The feet of the female figure seem shod; remnants of bitumen appear in a gouged-out band which encircles each "ankle" and continues to the very bottom of the foot on either side of the toecap and at the heel.

The heads were originally covered either by a rendering of hair or by a headdress. Traces of bitumen remain on the dowels. One is tempted to complete these figures, like those found at Tell Brak, with a conical headdress, perhaps of gold or silver, representing the tall felt cap worn in Syria from earliest times until today. We cannot say whether the figures represent divinities or mortals; the gesture of the female may suggest the first, the absence of attributes in the hands of the male the second.

We lack all standards for comparisons. Syria did not possess an established school of sculpture in stone. There is no sculptural tradition, and such works as have been found at Tell Brak, Hamah, Tell ᶜAtshanah, and Tell Halaf are fitful starts without consequence.[1] In some cases a reflection of foreign models can be recognized and a date established; for instance, the treatment of the beard of one of the figures from Jabalat al-Baida' resembles the late Early Dynastic works from Mari.[2] But there is nowhere continuity, no style developed through successive generations in a series of related works, to suggest the date of the Fakhariyah statuettes.

[1] [See now Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pp. 134 f., 140, 145, 175 f., 249 (n. 11).—ED.]

[2] [See now *ibid.* pp. 135 f.—ED.]

VII

THE IVORIES FROM FLOOR 6 OF SOUNDING IX

By HELENE J. KANTOR

A group of ivories (F 564) was found on Floor 6 of Sounding IX, below the Iron Age palace. They are very fragmentary, as is not surprising in view of the fact that they were found in an artificial level produced in connection with the construction of the palace and containing material of heterogeneous character (see p. 24). The ivory fragments appear to have been parts of ornamental inlays for furniture or boxes. They include plain elements with polished outer surface as well as pieces carved with representational designs. These ivories, with a few exceptions, are distinct in character from those found at a higher level in Sounding IX. Nos. 6 and 7[1] are oval and half-oval inlays identical with specimens (F 595*c–d*) from the palace (see p. 48 and Pl. 47:4, 6). No. 8 is a fragment somewhat reminiscent of the shell eye inlay (F 595*n*) from the palace (see p. 48 and Pl. 47:18), and the scale pattern on No. 14 is like that of F 594*a–b* (see pp. 47 f. and Pl. 47:21, 5). These pieces create a discrepancy, since there is abundant stylistic evidence that the representational ivories from Floor 6 are earlier than the Iron Age. The simplest and most likely explanation is that a few small pieces found at the higher level were accidentally packed in the box containing the ivories from Floor 6 (see p. 48, n. 26).

THE AFFINITIES

The mediocre quality of their execution suggests that these ivories are provincial products. Many are crudely carved, showing unevenness of edges, incised lines, and borders (Nos. 16, 22, 27, 51–53, 55, 58), but some pieces are of somewhat better workmanship. For instance, a flower plaque (No. 21) is cleaner-cut than its compeers and a cut-out griffin-demon plaque (No. 57) has a better shaped beak and more carefully indicated eye and plumes than do other examples (Nos. 53 and 55).

Despite the slight variations in quality, the presence of both cut-out plaques and those with sunken backgrounds, and the variety of motives, the decorated ivories of this group clearly belong together. Their relationship is proved not only by general stylistic resemblance but also by similarity in various specific features, one of which is technical: the flowers and the "Hathor" heads were made in two halves and assembled along the median axis. The same individual details appear on different motives. The collar of the bearded man of No. 40 resembles the necklines of the griffin-demons of Nos. 53 and 57. The small floral volute of animal plaque No. 37 is similar to those of the flower plaques. The feathers of the wings of the griffin of No. 55 and of the sun disk of Nos. 51 and 52 have the same shape.

The Fakhariyah ivories are very different from the few Middle Assyrian ivory carvings known[2] and from those of the first millennium B.C. On the other hand, they show striking affinities with ivories and other products of the Canaanite school of art characteristic of Palestine and Syria in the Late Bronze Age.[3] There we can find numerous and detailed parallels for

[1] The serial numbers of the catalogue of this group of ivories (pp. 65–68) are used for reference in the text and are indicated in the illustrations (Pls. 58–63). Hence direct references to the illustrations are not given.

[2] Cf. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, Pl. 54; Conrad Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur* (*WVDOG* LXVI [1955]) Pls. 25–26; *WVDOG* LXV 135–37, Figs. 161–63, Pls. 29 and 30*a–b*.

[3] In his study "The rôle of the Canaanites in the history of civilization," American Council of Learned Societies . . . Conference of the Secretaries of Constituent Societies, *Studies in the History of Culture* (1942) p. 11, Albright suggests that the terms "Canaanite" and "Phoenician" be used to refer to different stages in the history of the people of the Syro-Palestinian littoral, "Canaanite" for the stage before the 12th century B.C. and "Phoenician" for the stage thereafter. This usage is followed here because it facilitates succinct reference to two different periods of Syro-Palestinian art. See *JNES* XV 166–68 for a classification of Canaanite ivories.

the Fakhariyah plaques representing flowers, animals, and men grasping flowering stems.

Among the plant designs in the Megiddo ivory hoard is one (Pl. 64 *B*) incised on a game board, which closely resembles our No. 29 in the shape and combination of the volutes and in the arrangement of the subsidiary elements. The pointed lobes filling the corners between volutes in both cases are particularly noteworthy, for they show agreement in a minute detail. The downcurving perianths of Nos. 16 and 21–22 are analogous to examples from Megiddo (Pl. 64 *B*, *D*), where we find even such details as the broad triangular lobe from which the volutes spring and the borders of the petals. The double and triple drops in the corners of the volutes of Nos. 16–20 are paralleled at Ras Shamra and Megiddo (Pl. 64 *C–D*), while the tripartite florets of Nos. 21–26 and 29 are merely elaborations of such corner filling. The substitution of a more complex element for the normal single drop is paralleled on a cylinder seal of the Third Syrian group from Ras Shamra, where the drops are replaced by short flowering stems.[4]

Several of the Fakhariyah flowers have bands which are evidently the beginnings of projecting tendrils (Nos. 16, 22–24, 26, 27, 29). Enough is preserved of No. 29 to show that its tendril projected upward. This feature is another link with Canaanite work. Plants with projecting stems occur on a Third Syrian cylinder seal[5] and on a gold bowl from Ras Shamra (Pl. 64 *C*). Such tendrils were imitated by Mitannian seal-cutters, who attached flowering stems to the under sides of volute flowers[6] or allowed tendrils to sprout from the upper sides of volutes.[7]

The Fakhariyah plants have been preserved only as single unrelated units, but since there exist, in addition to the flowers themselves, fragments of lateral (Nos. 31–33) and terminal (No. 30) foliage paralleled at Megiddo[8] and Delos (Pl. 64 *A*), it seems practically certain that the various elements were combined to form elaborate patterns such as that tentatively restored for Nos. 30 and 32 (see Pl. 60). Ivories from Megiddo[9] and the designs on the Syrian seals and Ras Shamra bowl mentioned above show that plants formed by two or more tiers of flowers were typical Canaanite designs.

The kneeling animals (Nos. 35–39) represent a theme which was used in the applied arts of Egypt during the New Kingdom[10] and also in contemporary Canaanite work. The closest parallels for the Fakhariyah animals are incised on a comb and on the lid of an ointment box from the Megiddo hoard (Pl. 65).[11] The Fakhariyah examples differ only in the rendering of small anatomical details. At both sites the main design of a kneeling animal was sometimes filled out with subsidiary plant elements of varying forms. It is clear that the Fakhariyah animal plaques can be considered as examples of a normal motive of the Canaanite repertory.

The theme of a long-robed man grasping a flowering stem is represented by fragments (Nos. 40–44) which comprise parts of figures facing right and one facing left. Thus these plaques, of which there were originally several examples, appear to have been decorated with compositions of antithetically posed men holding flowers which were probably attached to a plant in the center. Certain previously discovered objects of the Late Bronze Age show related motives. On a Second Syrian seal and on a Mitannian seal a pair of bull-men hold stems growing from an artificial tree.[12] On a 13th-century mold from Byblos (Pl. 66 *A*) two long-robed men touch a median plant.[13] This design is very close to that

[4] *CS*, Pl. XLV *k*.

[5] *CS*, Pl. XLV *k*.

[6] A 945; Brett, No. 99; *CS*, Fig. 90 = Ward, No. 955 (Hermitage).

[7] Kurt Bittel and Hans Gustav Güterbock, *Boğazköy: Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt* (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1935, No. 1) Pl. 30: 5 (sealing of king of Hanigalbat); *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XX (1925) 83, Fig. 11.

[8] *Megiddo Ivories*, No. 117.

[9] *Ibid.* Nos. 14, 165.

[10] See J. E. Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" XLIII [Le Caire, 1908]) Pls. XXXII–XXXIII (openwork panel in arm of chair); *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I 3 (July, 1935) p. 70, Fig. A (Louvre comb); Heinrich Schäfer and Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (3d ed.; Berlin, 1942) p. 407 (Brussels comb).

[11] A version of the same motive is carved in relief on two semicylindrical objects from this hoard (*Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 39–40).

[12] *CS*, Pl. XLII *k*, and the Metropolitan Museum seal cited in n. 5 above.

[13] This object is not dated by its context (see Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*. I. *1926–1932* [Paris, 1937–39] pp. 33–34), but there is a striking similarity between its plant and that on

of our suggested reconstruction. However, for parallels in which the men actually grasp the plant we must turn to typical Phoenician products of the 9th–6th centuries B.C. such as a scarab presumably from Curium (Pl. 66 *B*) and a silver bowl from Amathus (Pl. 66 *D*). An ivory from Nimrud (Pl. 66 *C*), though fragmentary, clearly bears the same motive, which also occurs in highly Egyptianizing versions on ivories from Arslan Tash (e.g. Pl. 66 *E*).[14] The plants on these Phoenician ivories are clearly descended from earlier Canaanite ones,[15] and now the Fakhariyah fragments indicate that the whole composition was known in the second millennium and was not a Phoenician invention.

The details of Nos. 40–44 also follow the tradition of Syro-Palestinian craftsmanship. The tendrils ending in volute flowers, the bearded face, and the costume are all Canaanite. The costume is that depicted with varying details on cylinder seals of the Second and Third Syrian groups, on bronze figurines, and also on incised ivory panels from Megiddo.[16]

The parallels cited for the three groups of Fakhariyah ivories so far discussed—the plants, the kneeling animals, and the men with flowers—show that they must all be classified as typically Canaanite works. The fact that analogous pieces from the Megiddo hoard are far finer in quality and are sometimes executed in more elaborate techniques does not invalidate this conclusion. This contrast does not place the Fakhariyah ivories in a different school, but merely indicates that they are indifferent products of provincial craftsmen. Likewise Canaanite is the braided decoration carved on No. 15. This pattern is exactly the same as that of the braided hair on a female statuette from the Megiddo hoard and on one from Helmiyah in Egypt.[17] Besides the clearly Canaanite pieces, the Fakhariyah collection includes examples of three themes of more unusual character—the "Hathor" head, the winged sun disk, and the griffin-demon.

The two female heads (Nos. 48–49) exemplify a motive whose ultimate origin goes back to Egypt. There during the Middle Kingdom a typical female coiffure consisted of two heavy curls framing the face and held in place by large disks.[18] This coiffure became traditional for the goddess Hathor and sometimes appeared when her head was used as a decorative motive; thus four examples were inlaid in the lid of a casket that belonged to princess Sit-Hathor-Yunet of the 12th dynasty, and another, carved in relief, ornaments the handle of a 12th-dynasty mirror from Kahun.[19] During the same period this coiffure became known in Syria. It appears on a group statue found at Byblos,[20] and its adoption in applied art is shown by the gold handle of a rattle, made in the form of two nude women with curling locks, from the tomb of Ibi-shemu-abi at Byblos.[21] This type of female head probably became known in Canaanite lands during the 12th dynasty rather than later. It should be noted that, since the curling locks were an ordinary Middle Kingdom style of dressing the hair, the identification of a face as that of Hathor is only likely when, in addition to the locks, cow ears are shown.

Female masks with curling locks were used as filling elements in Second Syrian cylinder seal designs[22] and, rendered in relief, as decoration on

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an ivory statuette from Helmiyah. The two objects must be contemporary, and the Helmiyah carving can be dated by comparison with Megiddo ivories (see below).

[14] See also Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, Pls. XIX 2–XXIII.

[15] As will be demonstrated in detail in a forthcoming book on plant ornament.

[16] *CS*, Pl. XLII *e–f*; *Megiddo* II, Pl. 235:23 (Strata IX–VII); Georges Contenau, *Les antiquités orientales: Monuments hittites, assyriens, phéniciens* ... (Paris, 1930) Pl. 41, right (Homs); *Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 12, 125.

[17] *Megiddo Ivories*, No. 175; Ludwig Keimer, "Plusieurs antiquités récemment trouvées," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* XXVIII (1945/46) Pl. III, and J. Leibovitch, "La statuette en ivoire de Helmiyeh," *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* XLVIII (1948) 250–51, Figs. 6–7.

[18] Hans Gerhard Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein* (München, 1929) I, Pls. LXXIII–LXXVI. See also discussion in Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916) p. 45.

[19] Winlock, *The Treasure of el Lāhūn* (New York, 1934) pp. 13–14 and Fig. 3; Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1891) Pl. XIII 9.

[20] Pierre Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* ("Bibliothèque archéologique et historique" XI [Paris, 1928–29]) Pl. XXXV 23.

[21] *Ibid.* Pl. XCIV 707 (contemporary with Amenemhet IV).

[22] *CS*, Pl. XLIV *n*; Morgan, No. 985; De Clercq, No. 281 *bis*; *Syria* VIII, Pl. XV 1 (Qatna).

other small objects (e.g. Pl. 68 *B*).[23] They are common on gold and electrum pendants representing the "nude goddess" from Ras Shamra (e.g. Pl. 68 *C*) and Tell al-ʿAjul.[24] In one important detail the masks on such Canaanite works differ from the Fakhariyah ones; the latter have cow ears, while the former, with the possible exception of a mask on an unusual Syrian cylinder seal in the Louvre,[25] have human ears. However, the cow ears of the Fakhariyah plaques are paralleled in Mitannian murals at Nuzi, which in all probability belong to a late period of the palace, around the middle of the 14th century (Pl. 68 *A*). Fresh Egyptian influence supervening upon a tradition established some centuries earlier may be the explanation for the appearance of the cow ears in these cases. If we disregard the ears, the closest parallel for the rendering of our Fakhariyah heads (see reconstructions on Pl. 62) appears on one of the electrum pendants from Ras Shamra (Pl. 68 *C*), where there is a similar contrast between the vertical strands of hair and the horizontal hair bands; the contour of the cheek and chin resembles that of our No. 48. Moreover, comparison with the Ras Shamra pendant shows that the unincised triangle at the top of each of the Fakhariyah heads represents the hair between the curling side locks.

Three plaque fragments (Nos. 50–52) are parts of winged sun disks and are the only ivory examples known from the second millennium. The history of this motive is, of course, clear from its appearance in other mediums, particularly on seals and sculpture. It spread from Egypt to Palestine and Syria and farther afield to Anatolia, Mitanni, and eventually Assyria. Throughout its peregrinations it seems to have been endowed with various symbolic meanings.[26] On Second Syrian seals it appears as a filling motive or crowning a tree or flanked by animals, bull-men, or human beings.[27] In Mitannian glyptic it is very common, occurring for example as the top of a standard suported by bull-men or as a filling motive.[28] Many of the Syrian and Mitannian sun disks and some Hittite rock carvings[29] are adorned with patterns such as stars, rosettes, and crosses. The one disk preserved at Fakhariyah (No. 52) is also patterned, but not with any simple design; instead there appears a version of an emblem considered to be a characteristic Hittite motive. Although hitherto best attested on stamp seals (Pl. 67 *E*)[30] and pottery (Pl. 67 *F*) of the Middle Bronze Age (later part of the period of the Assyrian colonies), sherds impressed with the motive from 14th- and 13th-century contexts at Boğazköy indicate that it was current during the time of the Hittite Empire.[31] The origin and meaning of this motive have been the subject of considerable debate. The old interpretation as a *signe royal* has been rejected by Bittel and Güterbock, who derive the emblem from Mesopotamian sun symbols. Frankfort opposed this view, stating that there is no close similarity between the Babylonian and the Hittite symbols and concluding that the Hittite motive was some sort of governmental emblem.[32] There are several occurrences of the emblem in Syrian contexts—on a bronze plaque (Pl. 67 *D*) from the "library" and an

[23] See also *Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 190–91, 193 (ivory heads with dowel holes); *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* I (1901) 231 ff. and Pl. III (wooden ointment dish of Syrian manufacture found in Egypt near Medinet Ghurab; ʿAmarnah period).

[24] *Syria* XIX (1938) 322, Fig. 49:2–3, 5–7 (note esp. No. 7 [= our Pl. 69 *C*], the closest parallel), and Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (London, 1939) Pl. XXIX 1; Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* IV (London, 1934) Pl. XIII, top right = Pl. XIV 9.

[25] A 937.

[26] See *CS*, pp. 275 ff.

[27] Newell, No. 308; BN, No. 495; *CS*, Pl. XLII *e, i, k; Syria* XVI (1935) Pl. XXXV, 2d column from left, bottom impression.

[28] *CS*, Pl. XLII *o* and Figs. 53 (Kirkuk), 54 (Assur).

[29] *WVDOG* LXI, Pl. 24; *OIP* XLV, Pl. LI (Karakuyu). For patterns on sun disks of Hittite seals see Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy* I (*AOF* Beiheft 5 [1949]) Nos. 4, 17–19, 36, 37, 53.

[30] See also A 968–69.

[31] Henri de Genouillac, *Céramique cappadocienne* II (Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales, "Série archéologique" II [Paris, 1926]) Pls. 24–25; *OIP* XXIX, Fig. 257, d 1628, d 2838, e 1218, e 1611, e 1251; Tahsin Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, "Yayınlarından," 5th series, No. 10 [Ankara, 1950]) Pls. XXXVIII 160, XXXIX 162*a;* Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1949* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, "Yayınlarından," 5th series, No. 12 [Ankara, 1953]) Pls. XXVI 126, XLI 308; Tahsin Özgüç, "Report on a work-shop belonging to the late phase of the colony period (Ib)," Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belletin* XIX (1955) 79 and Fig. 29. For the Late Bronze examples from Boğazköy see Bittel and Güterbock, *Boğazköy*, p. 42.

[32] See Bittel and Güterbock, *Boğazköy*, pp. 41–42; Bittel in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 74 (1936) pp. 62–63; Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, p. 250, n. 48.

ivory plaque[33] from the palace at Ras Shamra and on an ivory button from ʿAtshanah (Pl. 67 *C*). In these cases the emblem appears in a completely Hittite form. In contrast, in the Fakhariyah sun disk it is considerably modified; the arms of the cross are like individual rosette lobes, and there are no space-filling dots. The partial disintegration of the Hittite emblem at Fakhariyah suggests that its appearance there in a sun disk may not be good evidence for interpreting it as a sun symbol. We seem to have here only a secondary use of a borrowed and modified motive, which was placed in a sun disk with no more special meaning than the rosettes or crosses found in the same position in ordinary Canaanite works. Although at Fakhariyah the Hittite emblem was in the process of disintegration, a gold disk and a steatite mold from Megiddo show that the motive was still known in its original form in a Canaanite center at least as late as the beginning of the Early Iron Age.[34]

Good parallels for the incised feathers on our Nos. 51–52 occur on Megiddo ivories which are shaped like wings and probably served as lids (e.g. Pl. 67 *A–B*).[35] The sun-disk motive (Nos. 50–52) occurs in the first millennium among the Phoenician ivories from Arslan Tash and Nimrud.[36] Again, as in the case of the long-robed man grasping a flowering stem, Fakhariyah provides an antecedent for a theme used later by Phoenician craftsmen.

The last representational motive to be found among the Fakhariyah ivories is a kneeling griffin-demon with arms raised in an atlantid pose (Nos. 53–62). This type of monster, griffin-headed but with human body, first appears on cylinder seals of the First Syrian group, and, as Frankfort has indicated, was probably a Syrian invention.[37] During the 15th–13th centuries representations of griffin-demons appeared throughout western Asia. Examples, rendered in different fashions and in a variety of poses, are found on Second Syrian seals (e.g. Pl. 69 *A*),[38] on ordinary Mitannian seals,[39] on a seal of the fully developed Mitannian style now in the Ashmolean museum (Pl. 69 *D*),[40] and on Hittite stamp seals.[41] Griffin-demons with their arms raised in the pose of the Fakhariyah monsters are also to be found. The standing Mitannian demons on three Nuzi sealings (Pl. 69 *E*, *F*, *H*) do not support anything and hence appear to be excerpts torn out of some larger composition. Other Nuzi sealings (Pl. 69 *G*, *J*) and a Second Syrian seal in the De Clercq collection (Pl. 69 *K*) have more meaningful designs in which kneeling griffin-demons support a sun disk; in a similar composition from Nuzi (Pl. 69 *I*) two genii support a winged sun disk. Although the demons of Plate 69 *G* and *J–K* are shown in a kneeling position like that of the Fakhariyah monsters, their arms are not raised in atlantid fashion. To find both these features combined we must turn to two Second Syrian seals in the Morgan collection

[33] *Syria* XXXI (1954) Pl. VIII.

[34] *Megiddo Tombs*, Fig. 169 and Pl. 166:8 (Tomb 39); *Megiddo* I, Pl. 105:6 (surface).

[35] See also *Megiddo Ivories*, No. 53.

[36] Thureau-Dangin *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, Pl. XLVI 104; *Iraq* XIII, Pl. IX 2 (W. Palace). The Nimrud wing is coarser and simpler than that from Arslan Tash, but the chevron and scale patterns placed in the same locations on both of them show how closely they conform to the same general pattern.

[37] *The Annual of the British School at Athens* XXXVII (1936/37) 117–20.

[38] See also Newell, No. 311; A 915 (labeled A 916 on Pl. 96), A 918; Berlin, No. 538.

[39] BN, No. 469; Newell, No. 288; Berlin, No. 578.

[40] No. 1920.120 (purchased in Aleppo); published here with the kind permission of Mr. D. B. Harden. This seal is characterized by the smoothly rendered bodies, without any of the detailed modeling characteristic for most Second Syrian seals, by a marked predilection for curving outlines, particularly evident in the linear details, and by the skillful free-field arrangement of the "bird," the bull, and the lion. These important stylistic features make the Ashmolean seal a close parallel for a cylinder from Shaghir Bazar assigned by Frankfort to the fully grown Mitannian style (*CS*, Pl. XLIII *m* and pp. 273 ff.). In addition to the style, certain specific features—the rendering of the kneeling figures with heels marked by a triangular depression and naked except for a girdle, the curve of the griffin plumes—connect these two seals closely. However, the Ashmolean seal also has connections with Syrian glyptic which should not be overlooked. A bird with two feline heads occurs on a Morgan collection seal assigned by Miss Porada to the First Syrian group (Morgan, No. 936) and on a Second Syrian seal in the Bibliothèque nationale (BN, No. 463). A Second Syrian seal in the Morgan collection (our Pl. 69 *A*) has a kneeling armless griffin-demon, and a standing armless griffin-demon is shown on a seal of the same collection assigned by Miss Porada to the First Syrian group (Morgan, No. 932). The filling motive of three short horizontal lines also occurs on a Second Syrian seal (Morgan, No. 988).

[41] Bittel and Güterbock, *Boğazköy*, Pl. 30:6 (standing demon with two wings); Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy* II (*AOF* Beiheft 7 [1942]) 77 and Pl. VI, No. 220 (kneeling demon without wings); D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920) Fig. 77 *a* and *c* (British Museum 2551), Pl. VII 196 *c* (Ashmolean Museum).

(Pl. 69 *B–C*). Somewhat later is a seal from ᶜAtshanah which is assignable to the Third Syrian group; on it standing demons with upraised arms support the wings of a disk resting on two large flowers.[42]

Atlantid figures appear not only in Syrian and Mitannian glyptic but also in Hittite iconography, where they play an important role. In the reliefs decorating the fountain shrine of Iflatun Pinar several standing demigods hold up winged sun disks below which are enthroned a god and a goddess; there are three atlantid demons in the rock relief of İmamkulu, and two bull-men support the moon at Yazılıkaya.[43] On a small scale the motive appears on the Hittite plaque of the Megiddo hoard, where we find both standing and kneeling atlantid figures.[44] This motive perhaps may even have been developed by the Hittites. In the Hittite works just cited it assumes marked prominence, while it is relatively rare on the numerous Syrian and Mitannian seals known to us.[45] In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is premature to hazard any definite statement as to its origin.[46]

Whether or not Hittite iconography was the original source of the motive of the atlantid figure, other details of the Fakhariyah griffin-demons do connect them with Hittite traditions. Hittite, not Canaanite, works provide prototypes for the characteristic combination of features—V-shaped neckline, bare upper body, and kilt with pendent flap—marking the Fakhariyah demons. The figure on the so-called "king's gate" at Boğazköy[47] and a bronze statuette from the same site (Pl. 68 *D*) have belted kilts with overlapping flap and also pendent fringe, the latter detail not shown in the simplified rendering of the Fakhariyah demons. A slightly modified version of the same costume appears on a statuette, more Hittite than Syrian, found at Tortosa and now in the Louvre.[48] At the neck of the Boğazköy statuette is a V-shaped band, which, since the chest is bare, can hardly be a collar similar to those on a Canaanite plaque from Megiddo[49] and Fakhariyah No. 40. In fact, this curious feature of the statuette may be a linear stylization of the collarbone. On the same figure the rendering of the kneecaps by bands inclosing ovals shows that anatomical features were represented by such devices, while on the gate figure at Boğazköy the kneecaps and collarbone have the same general shapes as those on the statuette but are modeled in relief. Neither of the two works can be dated more closely than the 14th–13th centuries, but it seems likely that the small statuette would have been inspired by monumental works such as the gate relief. In any case, it appears that the costume and treatment of the bodies of the Fakhariyah demons were borrowed from Hittite prototypes. The presence of features which are not independent motives but merely specifically Hittite details makes the Fakhariyah demons strong indicators of Hittite influence.[50]

The feathering of the wings of the Fakhariyah griffin-demons resembles that of the sun disks and of the Megiddo plaques already cited. However, we do not have any close parallels for the arrangement of the four wings which, on the evidence of No. 55, we must reconstruct for some of the Fakhariyah demons (see Pl. 63). The appearance of an upper and a lower wing on certain Mitannian demons (Pl. 69 *G, J*) does suggest the possibility of some influence from that direction,

[42] *Alalakh*, Pl. LXVII 141.

[43] Helmuth Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* ("Die ältesten Kulturen des Mittelmeerkreises" [Berlin, 1942]) Nos. 526–27; *OIP* XLV, Pl. XLII; *WVDOG* LXI, Reliefs 28–29 (pp. 61–64, Fig. 16, Pl. 14:3).

[44] *Megiddo Ivories*, No. 44. See now Schaeffer *et al.*, *Ugaritica* III (Paris, 1956) Figs. 33, 35, and 69 for atlantid figures in 13th-century Hittite seal impressions.

[45] A Mitannian seal in the Hermitage (*CS*, Fig. 90 = Ward, No. 955) has an atlantid figure in a more meaningful pose than that of the demons of our Pl. 69 *F, H*.

[46] Frankfort has pointed out the popularity of atlantid figures in Assyrian art (*CS*, p. 276). Although they are typical for Assyria, there is no evidence that the motive originated there; it is apparently one of the features for which Middle Assyrian art is indebted to western prototypes.

[47] Bittel, *Boğazköy: Die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1906–1912. I. Funde hethitischer Zeit* (*WVDOG* LX [1937]) Pls. 2–3.

[48] *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* II 4 (Jan. 1937) p. 100 *A–C*.

[49] *Megiddo Ivories*, No. 2. A Hittite lapis lazuli figure from Assur seems to wear a long-sleeved garment, so that in this particular case the pointed neckline can be interpreted as a collar; Andrae, *Hettitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (*WVDOG* XLVI [1924]) Pl. 8.

[50] Similar costumes occur in "late Hittite" reliefs, though by that time the V-shaped neckline represented the collar of a garment covering the upper part of the body (Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Nos. 769, 775 [both Malatya]; Ekrem Akurgal, *Spaethethitische Bildkunst* [Ankara, 1949] Pls. III *a* [Malatya], XIX *b* [Arslan Tash], XLIV *a–b* [both Sakçagözü]).

but the similarity is not close enough to be compelling.

The comparisons cited for the Fakhariyah griffin-demons show clearly that they are intimately connected with iconographic traditions at home in Syria and Anatolia. Among the compositions typical for Syria and Mitanni is that in which a sun disk with a plant below it is flanked by two figures: human beings, demons, or animals. The Fakhariyah sun-disk, plant, and griffin-demon plaques provide all the elements necessary to form such a composition. It is conceivable that these separate pieces were once combined, as were the Middle Assyrian ivories from Assur. However, this suggestion does not seem very likely; not only do we lack parallels for such a procedure in Canaanite work, but, more important, the proportions of the various Fakhariyah plaques seem incompatible with such an arrangement. Nevertheless, the occurrence of all three elements in this one small group is important as an indication of the close relationship between these ivories and the imagery of Syrian and Mitannian cylinder seals.

THE DATING

There remains the question of the date of the ivories from Floor 6. Their discovery below the Early Iron Age palace suggests that they are, with the exception of the presumably misplaced pieces (Nos. 6–8, 14), earlier than the Iron Age, as is corroborated by their dissimilarity to North Syrian and Phoenician ivories of the first millennium. Since Floor 6 was not a homogeneous occupation level (see p. 6), it provides no exact date for the ivories. This must be deduced from the comparative materials which have just been cited. These have shown that the Fakhariyah ivories belong to an iconographic tradition which, as indicated by cylinder seals of the First Syrian group, began to develop in Syria in the late Middle Bronze Age, at a time contemporary with the 1st dynasty of Babylon. Parallels for the themes of the Fakhariyah ivories can be found on cylinders of the Second Syrian group, on a cylinder seal of the Third Syrian group from ᶜAtshanah (probably 13th century B.C.), on Mitannian sealings of the second part of the 15th century, and on a gold bowl from Ras Shamra belonging to the time of Tutᶜankhamon (*ca.* 1340 B.C.). The Hittite emblem was in use at Boğazköy during the 14th–13th centuries, and three examples from Ras Shamra and ᶜAtshanah occurred in late 14th–13th century levels. This evidence indicates the general stage of western Asiatic art to which the Fakhariyah ivories belong; a more precise date must be sought from the objects which yield parallels for specific details. Unfortunately, the statuette from Boğazköy cannot be placed more closely than the 14th–13th centuries. The most far-reaching parallels, however, come from the Megiddo hoard. In it we find the same techniques, both cut-out and incised plaques, and the same themes or stylistic details: "Hathor" heads in general similar to those from Fakhariyah, kneeling animals, plant motives, and parallels for the braided pattern of our No. 13 and for the feathering of the sun-disk and griffin-demon plaques. The ivories of both collections must have been made at approximately the same time, even though the Fakhariyah pieces are of relatively poor workmanship in contrast to most of those from Megiddo. The poorer workmanship gives no indication of the chronological range of the Fakhariyah ivories but merely shows their rather provincial character.

The ivories of the Megiddo hoard are datable by stylistic evidence, by an inscription, and by archeological context. Despite the variety of styles to be found among them, they form one chronological unit. There are no binding reasons to place any of them earlier than the 13th century. The Hittite plaque, which has been dated earlier, shares several significant features with a plaque assigned to Level II at ᶜAtshanah, which is a 13th-century level.[51] Some of the Megiddo ivories have Mycenaean affinities, with parallels among works of the Late Helladic III B period (*ca.* 1300–1230 B.C.). Other and more purely Canaanite pieces show connections with some 13th-century ivories from Temple III at Lachish and with 19th-dynasty or early 20th-dynasty

[51] Loud provisionally suggested that the Hittite plaque (*Megiddo Ivories*, No. 44) was carved between 1350 and 1300 B.C., when the temporary weakness of Egypt might have resulted in strong Hittite influence at Megiddo (*ibid.* p. 10; see also Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pp. 131–32, 156). The plaque assigned to ᶜAtshanah II (*AJ* XIX 5 and Pl. XIV 4, AT/8/204 [= *Alalakh*, Pl. LXXVII]), *ca.* 1275–1220 B.C., provides important evidence for both the date and the foreign provenience of the Megiddo piece.

Egyptian works.[52] Finally, a model pen case inscribed with the cartouche of Ramses III (1195–1164 B.C.)[53] gives an absolute date for the Megiddo hoard. The ivories were found in a "treasury" belonging to the final phase of the palace of Strata VIII–VII A. The pottery found with or near them represents typical Late Bronze II B types, as does also the pottery of Stratum VII A as a whole.[54] In fact, Loud has clearly indicated that on the basis of its pottery the end of Stratum VII A would have been dated 1200 B.C. and that the date was made later only because of the presence of the pen case bearing the name of Ramses III. In view of the fact that standard Mycenaean III B pottery could not have persisted long after the end of the 13th century, if at all, and because of the situation created by the invasion of the Sea Peoples in the eighth year of Ramses III, we may assume that the pen case was added to the Megiddo hoard relatively early in his reign.[55] In other words, both the pottery and the ivories of Megiddo VII A, culturally typical for the Late Bronze period, survived into the 12th century, but not very long into the century.[56] Aside from the pen case, and perhaps a few other pieces, apparently added to the hoard at the beginning of the 12th century during the early years of the reign of Ramses III, the ivories of the Megiddo hoard belong to the 13th century, a period in which a number of flourishing schools of ivory-carving existed in the Aegean region and in western Asia. It was at this time that the Fakhariyah ivories were carved, and they thus fall within the same general period as the 13th-century cylinder seal impressions found in Sounding VI (see p. 69).

[52] For references to and some discussion of the ivories in question see *JNES* XV 160–71.

[53] *Megiddo Ivories*, No. 377.

[54] Among the pottery found with the ivories are various unpublished sherds now in the Oriental Institute Museum (five Late Helladic III B sherds representing at least four different vessels, five Cypriote milk-bowl sherds, a wishbone handle of Cypriote Base-Ring ware, a sherd from an imitation of a Cypriote carinated cup with wishbone handle) and the upper part of a typical Late Bronze II painted vessel (*Megiddo II*, Pl. 69:13).

[55] See Loud's discussion in *Megiddo Ivories*, pp. 3–10, particularly p. 9. Although stressing that the pottery of Stratum VII A is "true Late Bronze in period," Loud does suggest a terminal date for the stratum as late as 1150 B.C., but this seems impossible, especially in view of the Cypriote and Mycenaean imports.

[56] Accordingly, it scarcely seems possible now to assign most of the Megiddo ivories to the 12th century and to classify them as of "Iron I" as does Albright in *The Archaeology of Palestine* (Harmondsworth, 1949) p. 106. On the contrary, one could hardly find objects more typical of the cosmopolitan final phase of the Late Bronze period.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IVORIES

Comparisons have shown that the homogeneous group of ivories from Floor 6 of Sounding IX belongs to the school of ivory-carving developed in Palestine and Syria in the Late Bronze Age. Despite their provincial quality and fragmentary state, they considerably enlarge our knowledge of the scope of this Canaanite school. They establish, in the first place, a wider geographic distribution for Canaanite carvings than was hitherto suspected. Previously such objects have been found mainly in the Syro-Palestinian area, with some scattered examples from Egypt,[57] but their range is now extended considerably to the east. It is not possible to prove whether the Fakhariyah ivories were imported or made on the spot. In either case it now seems likely that, as further discoveries are made, Canaanite ivories, like their Phoenician descendants, will prove to have been widely distributed and popular *objets d'art*.

In the second place, the appearance for the first time in ivory of motives—the winged sun disk and the griffin-demon—well known in Syrian glyptic illustrates the common fund of tradition used by both seal-cutters and ivory-carvers and thus testifies to the unity of Canaanite art. This unity is nonetheless real even though Canaanite art represents not a coherent artistic style but rather a synthetic iconographic tradition in which motives with widely divergent origins were adopted. As we might expect, the range of variation within this syncretistic tradition is wide. This has already been demonstrated by Frankfort, who has shown the existence of a group of Palestinian cylinder seals characterized by the predominance of Eyptian features, while the seals of the Second and Third Syrian groups show a mixture of Egyptian and Asiatic features

[57] The ivory statuette found at Helmiyah near Cairo (cited in n. 17 above); Louvre fragments (*Mélanges Gustave Glotz* [Paris, 1932] I 341–47); Matmar fragment (Guy Brunton, *British Expedition to Middle Egypt 1929–1931: Matmar* [London, 1948] Pl. XLVII 16).

with the latter usually predominating.[58] The same range of variation can be detected in the ivories. The great Megiddo hoard contains Canaanite pieces which imitate Egyptian prototypes closely—plant designs, *djed* symbols, and a Bes figure[59]—as do likewise some of the ivories from Lachish.[60] Such carvings, like the Palestinian cylinder seals, represent the Egyptianizing aspect of Canaanite crafts. It is probably not an accident due to the small size of the group that no comparable markedly Egyptian motives occur at Fakhariyah. Rather this group represents the opposite pole of Canaanite work, that in which Asiatic elements prevail, as in the greater number of Syrian cylinder seals. To be sure, the Fakhariyah repertory does include motives, such as the "Hathor" head and the unnaturalistic plants, which were originally derived from Egypt, but these had been thoroughly acclimatized in western Asia. In addition, it contains griffin-demons and winged sun disks, which are characteristic motives of Syrian and Mitannian glyptic.

Further testimony to the predominance of Asiatic traditions in the Fakhariyah ivories is given by the appearance of features borrowed from Hittite works, the kilt and neckline of the griffin-demons and the Hittite emblem. On the other hand, though these ivories were found and perhaps made in the area which a short while before had been the center of Mitanni, no definite connections with Mitannian art can be traced. The winged sun disk, the griffin-demon, and the "Hathor" head were themes used by both Syrians and Mitannians. Although certain details which are not well paralleled in Syrian works, the cow ears of the "Hathor" heads and the arrangement of the demons' wings, could conceivably have been derived from Mitannian prototypes, there is no proof for this.

Besides providing versions executed in ivory of motives previously known only in glyptic, the Fakhariyah ivories also depict a theme new to the Canaanite repertory but typical for Phoenician art of the early first millennium B.C.—long-robed men grasping flowering stems of an artificial tree. In addition, we have prototypes for the ivory winged sun disks from Arslan Tash and Nimrud. The fact that Fakhariyah ivories provide Late Bronze antecedents for Phoenician works indicates a third significant aspect of this discovery. These ivories are a thread connecting Syrian art of the second and first millenniums. Of the three Late Bronze traditions particularly important for the later art of western Asia—Syro-Palestinian (i.e., Canaanite), imperial Hittite, and Middle Assyrian—only the last enjoyed an uninterrupted continuity of development. In the coastal lands cultural evolution was disturbed by the catastrophic invasions of the Sea Peoples, and there is a hiatus in the works of art preserved to us. Moreover, cylinder seals, which were among the most important and common objects produced by Canaanite artists, seem for the most part to have gone out of use in this area. On the other hand, ivory-carving was prominent both before and after the gap, a fact which in itself suggests that this craft may have been one important medium through which older traditions were handed down to the first millennium. In order to prove this, however, specific connections between Canaanite ivories and later works of art must be established. Thus, it is significant that we have at Fakhariyah 13th-century ivories showing winged sun disks and men grasping stems, which provide antecedents for typical Phoenician motives, and atlantid griffin-demons, which can be interpreted as links between the iconography of western Asiatic glyptic in the second millennium and such diverse works of the first millennium as a "late Hittite" relief and Urartean ivories.[61]

CATALOGUE

Undecorated Pieces

1. Rectangular plaque with two dowel holes; obverse polished, reverse scored and with two grooves at one end; 2–3 mm. thick.

[58] *CS*, pp. 259 ff., 288 ff.

[59] *Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 27–31, 168–72, 26.

[60] Olga Tufnell, Charles H. Inge, and Lankester Harding, *Lachish. II. The Fosse Temple* (London, New York, Toronto, 1940) Pl. XIX 16–17.

[61] H. Th. Bossert, U. B. Alkim, H. Çambel, N. Ongunsu, and İ. Süzen, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Karatepe (Erster Vorbericht)* (Türk Tarih Kurumu, "Yayinlarından," 5th series, No. 9 [Ankara, 1950]) Pl. XIV 71; Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belleten* XVI (1952) Pl. XXXV 10 (Karatepe orthostat); *Iraq* XII, Pl. XV 1–2 (Toprak Kale). Of course, the Karatepe atlantid grifin-demon could easily have a fairly direct line of descent from imperial Hittite reliefs; on the other hand, the influence of objects of applied art can be detected in the Karatepe reliefs, for example in the floral friezes that are best paralleled on Phoenician ivories.

2. Three almost square plaques, each with dowel hole in center; one plaque complete except for missing corner; 2–3 mm. thick. Plaques of this same general size and shape, but without a dowel hole, occur in the Megiddo hoard (*Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 367–68).
3. Fragment with convex smoothed outer surface and two dowel holes; greatest thickness 4 mm.
4. Twenty-eight bars, rectangular in section, with all four surfaces smoothly cut; .5–1.5 mm. thick. Usually one surface, the front, is polished. Only the best pieces are illustrated, but they show the range in size and shape. None of the bars is complete, but five of them still retain one mitered tip, indicating that they were designed to be joined with other pieces. They differ from bars of the Megiddo hoard, which are grooved on one side and have dowels attached (*Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 309–10), but there is one Megiddo plaque with a mitered end (*ibid.* No. 342).
5. Three inlays. The complete one is scale-shaped and made of bone (3 mm. thick); the two fragments represent uncertain shapes (2–4 mm. thick).
6. Two complete oval inlays and one fragment identical with inlays from Floor 4 of Sounding IX (Pl. 47:4) and probably out of place with this group (see p. 57); 4 mm. thick.
7. Two half-oval inlays identical with those from Floor 4 (Pl. 47:6) and probably out of place with this group; 4 mm. thick.
8. Sliver from oval inlay with dowel hole in center; similar to shell eye inlay from Floor 4 (Pl. 47:18) and perhaps out of place with this group; 1 mm. thick.
9. Curved fragment; bottom (5–7 mm. thick) and right edge beveled; part of smoothly cut top edge (2 mm. thick) preserved; interior scored.
10. Seventeen small and three larger fragments of flat plaques with polished outer surface and scored inner surface; one small piece with portion of dowel hole; another with incised line filled with black paste; 3–7 mm. thick.
11. Sixteen fragments of plaques or veneer, some with one surface polished; 1–5 mm. thick. These fragments and those of No. 10 may have been parts of plaques similar to certain pieces in the Megiddo hoard (*Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 362–65).

Pieces with Geometric Decoration

12. Six plaques shaped as half of tonguelike form and incised with lines repeating general outline; 1–4 mm. thick. Complete design formed by two plaques joined along median axis (cf. Nos. 16–33 48–49).
13. Fragment with dowel hole; carved bands and small rectangles; 1.5–4 mm. thick.
14. Fragment of narrow plaque with dowel hole and slightly convex outer surface; deeply incised scale pattern; 1–4 mm. thick. Since the scale pattern is reminiscent of that on ivory inlays from Floor 4 (Pl. 47:5, 21), this piece may be out of place with this group but less certainly so than Nos. 6–7.
15. Fragment with semicircular section; 6–14 mm. thick. The large dowel hole at the back is not cut through to the outer surface, a fact suggesting that this piece was a decorative appliqué. The outer surface is carved in relief with a braided pattern (see p. 59 for parallels).

Flower Plaques

These are all cut out except No. 16, which has a sunken background. The cutting-out was sometimes done by a series of contiguous drill holes (Nos. 24–26). The designs were symmetrical; in each instance the right and left halves were made separately and then fitted together to form complete patterns in a matrix of which nothing is preserved (see p. 58 for parallels). The plaques vary in thickness from 2 to 4 mm. and occasionally taper to paper thinness along one edge.

16. Left portion of flower formed by downcurving perianth with projecting stem above and two pointed drops filling corner below.
17. Fragment of right side of perianth with three pointed drops below.
18. Small fragment of right side of perianth with parts of two drops preserved.
19–20. Fragments of three drops formerly attached to flowers as in No. 17.
21. Left half of flower with downcurving perianth growing from triangular base; tendril and half of central lobe above; tripartite floret pendent from corner of volute.
22. Same as No. 21 except that perianth is bordered and there were probably three "palmette" leaves instead of single central lobe.
23. Fragment of left side of perianth with pendent floret; tendril and portion of central lobe above.
24. Fragment of right side of perianth which curls around circle with incised center (as also in Nos. 21–22) and has pendent floret.
25. Fragment of left side of perianth with pendent floret below and tendril(?) above; edges of two dowel holes at floret tip.

26. Fragment of right side of perianth with floret and tendril; elements of upper portion unclear.
27. Fragment of compound flower like No. 29: left side of upturned volute with tendrils and corner-filling floret.
28. Fragment of left part of compound flower of same type as No. 29.
29. Right half of flower formed by combination of downcurving perianth and upturned volute; corners of volutes filled with florets, triangular lobe, and tendril.
30. Fragment with two foliage lobes in fanlike arrangement. This piece probably served as the crowning element of a plant design; reconstructed as part of No. 32 (see Pl. 60).
31. Fragment of lateral foliage.
32. Right half of lateral foliage formed by five rounded lobes. The lower edge is apparently a fracture along an incised line which suggests the presence of a downcurving calyx.
33. Fragment of lateral foliage.
34. Fragment with unidentified motive. The radiating lines suggest foliage lobes, but this is uncertain.

Openwork Animal Plaques

These plaques vary in thickness from .05 to 4 mm. (see p. 58 for parallels).

35. Fragment of kneeling animal facing right. The body is silhouetted against a sunken background, and the details are incised. The small element above the animal's head is complete except at the top; it resembles a human foot, but in Nos. 40 and 55 the ankle is rendered by a hooked line, not a pointed lobe as here.
36. Ewe kneeling on forelegs, hind leg straight, facing right; details indicated by incised lines: border along back and along back of forelegs. The animal is partly cut out and partly silhouetted against a sunken background. The straight base is the original edge, suggesting that the bottom of the plaque at least had no frame.
37. Kneeling goat with sharply twisted body, facing left. In contrast to No. 36 the hind leg is on a higher level than the forelegs. The incisions on the body are similar to those of No. 36 but somewhat more elaborate. A downcurving perianth appears below the ground line on which the animal's hind leg rests.
38. Small fragment of kneeling ewe facing left; apparently similar to No. 36 except for shape of ear. Despite slight variations in detail Nos. 35–38 probably form two pairs of animals, which could have been inlaid in antithetical fashion, perhaps with a plant in the center, to decorate some small household object—a toilet box or game board for example.
39. Small fragment, with part of left foreleg, of kneeling animal facing left.

Fragments with Robed Figure Holding Stem

The pieces are 3–4 mm. thick (see pp. 58 f. for discussion of motive).

40. Fragment of plaque with sunken background and incised details. Standing bearded man facing right and wearing long robe; right hand extended; left forearm missing; flower filling crook of left elbow. The bottom of the fragment is an original edge. The suggested reconstruction (see Pl. 61) incorporates elements of Nos. 41–44.
41. Fragment of plaque similar to No. 40. Left forearm with hand grasping flower; another bloom appears as filling in crook of elbow.
42. Fragment of plaque similar to No. 40, except with figure facing left; right hand grasping flowering stem.
43. Fragment of plaque similar to No. 40. Head of man facing right.
44. Fragment of plaque similar to No. 40. Robe and knee of man facing right (cf. No. 58 for similar incision marking knee).
45. Two small fragments incised with diagonal lines and possibly portions of patterned borders of long robes as on Nos. 40 and 44.
46. Fragment with two curving stems ending in flowers. This perhaps comes from a plaque similar to No. 40, since the flowers are unlike those of Nos. 16–27 and have horizontal lines at their bases as does the bloom on No. 40. On the other hand, the tendrils attached to the large flowers of No. 16 and 21–27 could have ended in such small flowers.
47. Small fragment with flower, different in detail from those of plaques 40–42 and 46 but possibly representing same general type of design.

"Hathor"-Head Plaques

48. Left half of female head with curling locks and cow ears; slightly curved, with convex outer surface; 2.5–6 mm. thick (see pp. 59 f.).
49. Similar to No. 48.

Winged Sun-Disk Plaques

These fragments vary in thickness from 1 to 5 mm. (see pp. 60 f.).

50. Roughly cut wing of irregular thickness; obverse polished, reverse scored.

51. Left wing with incised feathers and two dowel holes. The disk must have been made separately and fitted to the wings.
52. Right wing and over half of disk; feathers incised; disk decorated with a free rendering of Hittite emblem.

Griffin-Demon Plaques

The affinities of these plaques are discussed on pages 61–63. They vary in thickness from 2 to 5 mm.

53. Fragment of griffin-demon facing right. The technique is the same as that of the more complete No. 55, but it is not altogether certain that this demon was kneeling. The beginning of a wing visible below the beak is different in detail from the upper wing of No. 55.
54. Small fragment of griffin-demon facing right; top curl, cheek, and corner of eye.
55. Fragment of kneeling griffin-demon facing right; incised details. A considerable portion of the lower left wing and the beginning of the upper right one are preserved. The figure is silhouetted against a sunken background. The reconstruction (see Pl. 63) incorporates No. 56 as the basis for the upper wings.
56. Fragment of cut-out plaque showing raised right forearm of griffin-demon and three pointed feathers of upper right wing; reconstructed as part of No. 55 (see Pl. 63).
57. Upper part of griffin-demon facing left; incised details. The stump of the left arm has an incised border and is cut off evenly. This cut-out plaque is almost complete; the rest of the figure must have been made of separate pieces; reconstruction of kilt and kneeling leg (see Pl. 63) based on No. 58.
58. Fragment of cut-out plaque showing kilted body and part of kneeling leg of griffin-demon facing right; element of uncertain nature in angle of kilt.
59. Pendent tip from kilt of griffin-demon.
60. Fragment from wing of same type as lower wing of No. 55; part of an upper wing bordered by a raised arm.

61–62. Fragments of wings of griffin-demons.

Miscellaneous Fragments

63. Fourteen unclassified fragments.

VIII

THE GLYPTIC

By HELENE J. KANTOR

Our knowledge of the glyptic of Fakhariyah depends chiefly on fourteen groups of sealings, 116 pieces in all, from Sounding VI. Twelve of these groups are from Floors 1 and 2, the upper and lower floors of the Sounding VI building (see pp. 18f.). Another group (F 234) was found outside the building in a northward extension (VIA) of the sounding, and two bullae (F 432) are from Floor 3 and presumably occurred above the building (see p. 4, n. 2). All these groups, however, form a homogeneous collection, as indicated by the fact that in eight cases (Designs III, IX, XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XXXVI, XLIII, XLIV) impressions of the same cylinder seal occurred on both Floor 1 and Floor 2 and in three cases (VII, XX, XLIII) impressions of the same cylinder occurred on one or both of these floors as well as among the group (F 234) found outside the building. Aside from the Sounding VI sealings Fakhariyah yielded scanty evidence for glyptic: four sealings (Designs XLVI–XLVIII, LVI) from Sounding IX, eight seals (Designs II, XLV, XLIX, LII, LIV, LV, LVII) from Sounding VI and other locations, and three seal-impressed tablets (Designs X, XVI, XXI) from Floor 2 of Sounding VI.

The bullae from Sounding VI have, with a few exceptions, sealings on the outer surface. Most have string impressions on the inside (e.g. Sealings 48, 51, 79, 93, 100, 107; see Pl. 74); some have impressions of cloth (e.g. Nos. 48 and 99; see Pl. 74), and one may have stick impressions (No. 50; see Pl. 74). The bullae could have sealed small packages, bales, or perhaps in some cases jars.[1]

Ten cuneiform tablets, in addition to the bullae, were found on Floor 2 of Sounding VI (see chap. ix). One of these (Tablet 10) bears the name of a *limmu* official of Shalmaneser I (1272–1243 B.C., as shown by the Khorsabad king list) and another (Tablet 9) that of a *limmu* official of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242–1206 B.C.), thus indicating the date of the sealings from this floor. Even without written evidence, however, a 13th-century date for the glyptic from Sounding VI would be clear. The style of most of the seal designs is exactly the same as that of Middle Assyrian seal impressions on tablets from Assur dated to the 13th century B.C.[2] The collection of impressions from Fakhariyah, though far smaller than that from Assur, is of comparable character. It contains compositions characteristic in style and in theme for Assyrian glyptic of the 13th century, the century in which Assyrian art, now fully formed by the fusion and transformation of the old eastern heritage of Babylonia and the western contribution of Mitanni, reached its first great efflorescence.

The glyptic from Fakhariyah is discussed under four headings: cylinder seal designs of Middle Assyrian and peripheral types, an Old Babylonian cylinder seal, and stamp seal designs. The designs, whether known from extant seals or preserved only as impressions, have been given Roman serial numbers; the individual impressions (in many cases several impressions representing the same seal) have been given Arabic serial numbers, beginning with the group of bullae having the lowest field number (F 150). Since the designs form the basis of the discussion which follows, references are to their serial numbers in both text and illustrations. Hence there are no direct references to the illustrations, which consist of drawings of most of the designs (Pls. 70–73), based on all the pertinent sealings in each case, and photographs of actual objects

[1] See *CS*, p. 2.

[2] See Moortgat *a*. See also Frankfort's discussions of Middle Assyrian glyptic in *CS*, pp. 186–92, *OIP* LXXII 4, and *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, p. 72. A few pieces illustrated by Frankfort in 1939 among first millennium seals (*CS*, Pls. XXXIV *f*, XXXV *c*, XXXVI *a*, *b*, *h*) are really Middle Assyrian.

(Pls. 74–79).[3] The individual sealing numbers are given in the catalogue of designs which prefaces each section of the discussion. Since practically every group of sealings contains at least one plain or undecipherable fragment (see n. 3), all the serial numbers are not represented among the designs though all (except No. 42, actually a very small potsherd) are accounted for in the List of Objects (pp. 91 ff.).

MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS

Ritual Scenes

I. Sealings 94 and 101–2 (F 306). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

II. Seal F 197. Brown stone, two-thirds preserved; 31 mm. long; 12–13 mm. in diameter. Sounding VI, Floor 2.

These designs are early examples of a subject —a worshiper at an altar—that was typical for Assyria; it was widely used in Late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian glyptic.[4] Both the Fakhariyah compositions show a figure with an altar above which appear the "Ishtar star" and the "Sin crescent." Design II has also a seated figure on the right, in whose presence the invocation is made. Thirteenth-century parallels for the Fakhariyah scenes occur on four sealings and a seal from Assur discussed by Moortgat,[5] to which may be added two seals in the British Museum; one of the latter was originally published by Lajard.[6] On the Assur seal the attendant is alone with cult instruments and a ziggurat, but the other specimens show a second figure, usually seated, identified by Moortgat as a god or, in the case of the figure standing within a baldachin on one of the Assur sealings, the statue of a god. The short dagger(?) held by the seated figure on another of the Assur sealings may be an attribute of Nusku,[7] while on one of the British Museum seals (Ward, No. 722) the god is Adad, for he holds the forked-lightning symbol. By analogy with these examples we may assume that the figures of Design II and of one of the Assur sealings[8] represent gods even though they have no attributes.

Aside from the correspondence in general theme and composition, the material mentioned above also provides parallels for specific features of the Fakhariyah cult scenes. The cult implement of Design II, though only partly preserved, is undoubtedly of the same type as that on the British Museum seals; this in turn, as shown particularly by the more carefully delineated example (Ward, No. 722), represents the object identified by Moortgat as an incense burner.[9] The gesture of the attendant in Design I reproduces that of figures on two of the Assur sealings[10] but differs slightly from the actions of the men on the Assur seal and in Design II, who may both be throwing incense on the burner. The triangular projections of the incense stand of Design II are much shorter than those of the British Museum seals, but, like them, presumably represent flames. Furthermore, the crosspiece of the Fakhariyah incense stand recurs on one of the Assur impressions[11] and on the two British Museum seals. The shaggy hair and beards of the faces in Design II, as well as those on the British Museum seals, compare well with the more detailed rendering of heads on the base for a cult object from the Ishtar temple of Tukulti-Ninurta I at Assur.[12] The horizontal bands and fringe of the god's robe in Design II

[3] In cases where only one impression of a design exists the shape of the sealing itself is indicated in the drawing. The few designs which are not drawn (XLV, XLIX–LI, LIV, LV, LVII) are adequately illustrated by photographs. The photographs are all identified by the design number (Roman) and the sealing number (Arabic) or, in the case of extant seals and tablets, the field number. Pl. 74 shows the inner surfaces of two bullae (Sealings 50 and 107) whose designs are undecipherable.

[4] Morgan, Nos. 678–81, 699, 700; A 682, 684; Berlin, No. 655. Impressions on tablets of the Tiglath-Pileser I archive from Assur provide several different kinds of ritual scenes (Moortgat *b*, Figs. 35–38).

[5] Moortgat *a*, Figs. 69 (probably Tukulti-Ninurta I), 70, 72 (both Shalmaneser I), 71, 74 (= Berlin, No. 591 = *CS*, Pl. XXXIV *f*).

[6] Ward, Nos. 721, 722 (= Félix Lajard, *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident: Planches* [Paris, 1847] Pl. LIV *A* 9). Although these two seals are published only in line drawing, it is possible to see that they were cut with the realistic details typical for the Middle Assyrian style. The robed attendant on No. 721 should be compared, for example, with a similar man on the base for a cult symbol belonging to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (see *WVDOG* LVIII, Pl. 30).

[7] See Moortgat *a*, Fig. 70 and p. 82.

[8] *Ibid.* Fig. 69.

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 84 ff.

[10] *Ibid.* Figs. 70 and 72.

[11] *Ibid.* Fig. 70.

[12] *WVDOG* LVIII, Pl. 30.

resemble somewhat the costume of the god of one of the British Museum seals (Ward, No. 722).

Although Design II is an unmistakable representative of Middle Assyrian style, displaying the characteristic verve of the period in the position of the attendant's head and in his shaggy hair, it is nevertheless sketchily, even clumsily, executed. The back of the chair is badly drawn; the body of the god is awkward, as are the arms of both figures, which lack the carefully modeled musculature normal on the best Middle Assyrian seals.

HEROES AND ANIMALS

III. Sealings 1 (F 150), 5 (F 163), 25 and 52 (F 175), 69 and 71 (F 204). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2.

IV. Sealings 81–82 (F 249; these two pieces join to form one large curved sealing). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

V. Sealing 45 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1.

VI. Sealings 75–76 (F 234). Sounding VI, unstratified (VIA). The two sealings are very badly impressed, with no sharp details. Thus, it is not completely certain that they were made by the same seal. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the same group of bullae would contain two impressions showing ostriches in identical poses but made by different seals. The ostrich is seized by a man who was probably in the same pose as the hero of Design V.

VII. Sealings 8 (F 163), 74 (F 234). Sounding VI, Floor 2 and unstratified (VIA).

VIII. Sealing 95 (F 306). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

IX. Sealings 2 (F 150), 26 (F 175), 59 and 61 (F 203), 99 (F 306), 109 (F 316), 115 (F 366). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2.

In these designs, with the possible exception of IX, a hero combats a beast or a monster in various standard Middle Assyrian fashions. Design III is a new version of the archer and his prey, a theme known from the Assur impressions and a seal in the De Clercq collection.[13] On several of these examples hunter and hunted appear in a landscape formed by a tree, growing in some cases on top of a mountain peak. The same feeling of the outdoor setting in which the chase takes place is achieved in Design III by the skillful arrangement of the two small palms. In Designs IV–VI the hero faces his victim, holding it with one hand while brandishing a weapon in the other, as on seals in the Morgan and Newell collections;[14] in Design VII he seizes his prey from behind.[15] The action in Design VIII, reconstructible by analogy with a seal in the Louvre which shows a naked hero with one foot planted in the middle of a bull's back, indicates that such a pose occurred as early as the 13th century.[16] Only in Design IX is the hero's action unclear; the impressions do not reveal whether the man precedes or follows the wild sheep. He probably faces the moufflon and could conceivably be capturing it with a lasso, if that interpretation for the unclear object held in his left hand can be accepted. However, this method of hunting, so far as is known, is not exemplified on Middle Assyrian seals, and the crucial details are missing on our sealings.

Several different types of heroes occur in Designs III–IX. First we have, in III and V, what are probably ordinary hunters clad in short kilts. The two tassels usually pendent from Middle Assyrian kilts are lacking, but the same is true of a seal in Boston.[17] The details of the costume —the triangular shoulder lappets, the alternation of horizontal and vertical bands—as well as the elongated tubular arms of the hunters in Designs III and V are so very similar as to suggest the hand of the same seal-cutter.

The figures in Designs IV and IX wear long

[13] Moortgat *a*, Figs. 11–12 (Tukulti-Ninurta I), 13–14 (Shalmaneser I), 15–17 (Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I); De Clercq, No. 311 (= Moortgat *a*, Fig. 18 = Weber, No. 513).

[14] Morgan, Nos. 599 (= Moortgat *a*, Fig. 9), 596; Newell, No. 685 (= Moortgat *a*, Fig. 10). Moortgat *a*, Fig. 5, shows a hero in the same pose, but in a more elaborate composition; his victim is a small animal attacked by a lion also. The hero's short dagger in our Design IV is paralleled at Assur (see Moortgat *a*, Fig. 21*a*).

[15] Cf. Morgan, No. 600; Moortgat *a*, Fig. 7 (Tukulti-Ninurta I). Cf. also Morgan, No. 606, which is one of a group dated by Porada to the 12th–10th centuries B.C.; this date is discussed below on pp. 74 f.

[16] A 900. A 12th-century sealing from Assur has a scorpion-man in a similar position twisting two legs of a bull; Moortgat *b*, Figs. 40*a–b* (Tiglath-Pileser I archive).

[17] *CS*, Pl. XXXII *b*. Cf. the kilts with tassels in Moortgat *a*, Figs. 5, 7 (both Tukulti-Ninurta I), 8 (Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I) and on Morgan, Nos. 592, 597, 599, 600 and Newell, No. 685. This feature occurs on Mitannian seals, which may have provided the prototypes for the Middle Assyrian usage (cf. *AASOR* XXIV 18 and n. 17).

robes over their kilts, as do the heroes on two seals in the Morgan collection.[18] A flap falling behind the hunter's upraised arm is shown both in our IV and on one of the Morgan seals,[19] and only minor details such as the horizontal lower edge of the robe in IV and the apparent absence of heavily modeled border patterns distinguish the Fakhariyah robes from those on the Morgan seals. The appearance of the long-robed hero at Fakhariyah is of some importance, for he does not occur on the 13th-century Assur sealings. The absence of this motive from that material is one of Porada's principal reasons for assigning the Morgan seals with such heroes to a 12th–10th-century range.[20] The new evidence from Fakhariyah indicates that that range may be extended to the 13th century (see p. 75).

The hero with curling side locks and frontal face in Design VII is of a far less realistic character than the hunters in the other designs. Such figures occur frequently on Middle Assyrian seals,[21] the closest parallel being the hero with identically rendered powerful bulging muscles on one of the Assur tablets.[22] The figure of Design VII is, of course, none other than that mythical *en face* hero whose genealogy begins in the Protoliterate period, when he is found, naked except for a girdle, on stone vases,[23] and who is such an active participant in the strife pictured on Early Dynastic II and later cylinder seals.[24] Another rendering of this hero may have occurred in Design VIII, though the only part of the figure surviving could as well have belonged to a naked hero such as that on a seal in the British Museum.[25]

[18] Morgan, Nos. 606–7.

[19] *Ibid.* No. 606. [20] *Ibid.* p. 70.

[21] Morgan, Nos. 596–97; Weber, No. 35 (Assur sealing); Moortgat *a*, Fig. 31 (with wings); *CS*, Pl. XXXII *b* (Boston); Heinrich Fischer and Alfred Wiedemann, *Ueber babylonische "Talismane"* (*Cylinder und andere Formen*) (Stuttgart, 1881) Pl. I 2 (= Weber, No. 270).

[22] See Moortgat *a*, Figs. 21*a–c* (Adad-nirari I to beginning of reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I).

[23] Christian Zervos, *L'Art de la Mésopotamie* (Paris, 1935) Pl. 69 (B.M.; from Warka); Pinhas Delougaz and Seton Lloyd, *Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region* (*OIP* LVIII [1942]) Fig. 189, and *ILN*, Sept. 12, 1936, p. 434, Fig. 15 (both Tell Agrab, Shara Temple).

[24] *CS*, Pls. XI *m* (Early Dynastic II), XIII *a, f*, XIV *d* (all Early Dynastic III), XVI *d, f*, XVIII *a–c, f–i* (all Akkadian), XXIX *a, d, e* (all 1st dynasty of Babylon).

[25] *CS*, Pl. XXXVI *b* (= Moortgat *a*, Fig. 4).

The animals of Designs III–IX are related both in their species and by the details of their rendering to other Middle Assyrian representations of beasts. As Moortgat has pointed out, the ostrich, almost unknown in earlier glyptic, became an important and characteristic theme by the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I; the rendering of rump and large tail in VI is paralleled in better preserved designs.[26] The bull of VIII is exactly like that on a 13th-century Assur sealing[27] in his hairy chest and in the pattern of his neck and shoulder muscles, the latter occurring also on a lion[28] and on horses.[29] The elaborate patterning of the body of the ibex in Design III is somewhat reminiscent of the dappling on the deer on two Morgan seals.[30] The notched horns of the moufflon of IX are paralleled on an Assur sealing dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.[31]

There is, however, one highly unusual creature among the Fakhariyah fauna, the winged ibex with bearded human face in Design IV. The ibex-man occurs on Late Assyrian seals and becomes commoner in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid glyptic[32] but seems to be almost completely absent from earlier material. He is not found among the various sphinxes or centaurs inhabiting 13th- and 12th-century impressions. The only early parallel for the Fakhariyah ibex-man known to me appears on the 13th-century ivory statuette of Canaanite workmanship found at Helmiyah in Egypt.[33] It is very surprising that this rare creature should appear in two such widely separated contexts. As he could hardly have developed independently, he is an iconographic link between Middle Assyrian and

[26] See Moortgat *a*, pp. 54 and 65, Fig. 26; Morgan, No. 606; Fakhariyah Design XVI.

[27] Moortgat *a*, Fig. 31 (not dated by inscription, but, as Moortgat says, unquestionably of the 13th century).

[28] *Ibid.* Fig. 4 (B.M. 89.862).

[29] *Ibid.* Figs. 10 (= Newell, No. 685), 22–23 (Tukulti-Ninurta I).

[30] Morgan, Nos. 601, 603.

[31] Moortgat *a*, Fig. 11.

[32] Late Assyrian: Weber, No. 46 (= De Clercq, No. 336); A 658. Neo-Babylonian: Weber, No. 329 (= Southesk Qc, No. 25 = *CS*, Pl. XXXVI *c*); A 717. Probably Neo-Babylonian (no provenience): A 705; Berlin, No. 743. Achaemenid: A 786; D 117; Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* II (*OIP* LXIX [1957]) Pls. 5 (seal No. 13), 11 (seal No. 40), 15 (PT6 673).

[33] Keimer in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* XXVIII, Pl. III; Leibovitch in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* XLVIII, Figs. 6, 10.

Canaanite art. Since in the first millennium B.C. the ibex-man was at home in Mesopotamian and Achaemenid art, it seems likely that he was a creation of the Middle Assyrian artists, even though the Fakhariyah example is the only one yet known.

MONSTERS AND ANIMALS IN CONFLICT

X. Impressions on Tablet 6 (F 271). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XI. Sealings 83 (F 249), 90 (F 267), 96 and 104 (F 306). Sounding VI, Floor 2. This design has been restored by analogy with its closest parallel, a seal formerly in the Southesk collection,[34] on which a winged horse defends her colt from a lion. Since Sealing 96 preserves the lower feathers of the cow's wing and also, between the contestants, the tips of three feathers, there seems no doubt that the latter belong to the cow's winged calf and that the entire composition should be restored as on Pl. 71.

XII. Sealings 31 and 46 (F 175), 62 (F 203). Sounding VI, Floor 1.

XIII. Sealing 47 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1. The small fragment preserves only the forelegs of two rampant opponents and the horn of a bull. The long birdlike talons are distinct from the paws normal for Middle Assyrian lions and griffins and from the human hands of griffin-demons, but they resemble the talons of monsters on three seals in the Morgan collection.[35] We can, therefore, identify the creatures of Design XIII as examples of the leonine dragon that occurs with varying details on Middle Assyrian seals in the 14th[36] and later[37] centuries. The identity of this creature is well known; it is the leonine dragon who is ridden by or draws the chariot of a weather deity on Akkadian seals[38] and is frequent on Old Babylonian contest seals.[39]

XIV. Sealing 15 (F 163). Sounding VI, Floor 1. Hindquarters of two animals, both probably rampant. The long-tailed beast on the right was presumably a lion;[40] the other has a brushlike tail similar to that of the leonine dragons already cited and a knobby body reminiscent of that of a feline animal on a sealing from Assur.[41] In the field is a suspended crescent, the symbol of the goddess Ninhursaga.[42]

XV. Sealing 84 (F 249). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XVI. Impressions on Tablet 5 (F 270). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XVII. Sealing 33 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1.

XVIII. Sealing 32 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1. The small fragment preserves only a pair of wings.

One of the most successfully composed motives of Middle Assyrian seals is the battle between two vertical or diagonal figures, one always a ruthless predator and the other frequently a beneficent being who endeavors to protect a small and weak animal placed between the two main figures. The combatants are varied: two lions or a griffin and a griffin-demon fight over an ibex or a calf;[43] a hero defends a calf from a winged lion[44] or a mare her foal from a lion.[45] Designs X and XI now add two magnificent examples to this series. In X the griffin-demon, who in contrast to the griffin usually seems a beneficent being,[46] defends a gazelle from a powerful lion. Close parallels for the rendering of the individual figures occur. The lion is very similar to that in Design XVI (see n. 67 for parallels). Couchant ruminants are victimized on several impressions from Assur.[47] The griffin-demons flanking a palm tree on an Assur sealing

[34] Southesk Qc, No. 35 = Moortgat *a*, Fig. 25 = *CS*, Pl. XXXV *c*.

[35] Morgan, Nos. 596, 598, 607.

[36] *CS*, Figs. 56, 59.

[37] Weber, No. 35 (not published by Moortgat), occurs on a tablet whose date is not given, but the sealing is undoubtedly 13th century; Moortgat *b*, Fig. 18.

[38] *CS*, Pl. XXII *a*, *d*; Berlin, No. 240.

[39] Berlin, Nos. 395, 467–73; Morgan, Nos. 355–57, 359–64.

[40] Cf. *CS*, Pl. XXXVI *a* (= Berlin, No. 581) and *b* (B.M. 89.862).

[41] Moortgat *a*, Fig. 62.

[42] Cf. *ibid.* Figs. 23 (Tukulti-Ninurta I), 25 (= Southesk Qc, No. 35).

[43] Morgan, Nos. 605, 608. Moore, No. 71, has a variation in which two lions fight over a dead moufflon.

[44] Morgan, No. 607.

[45] Moortgat *a*, Figs. 25 (= *CS*, Pl. XXXV *c* = Southesk Qc, No. 35), 22 (Tukulti-Ninurta I). Moortgat *a*, Fig. 24, shows a horse opposing a winged lion (Tukulti-Ninurta I); although the lower part of the design is missing, it seems likely that this sealing, too, represents this theme.

[46] See *The Annual of the British School at Athens* XXXVII 120.

[47] Moortgat *a*, Figs. 12 (Tukulti-Ninurta I), 14 (Shalmaneser I), 32.

belonging to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I[48] are rendered in the same way as that of Design X except that they each have only one wing and perhaps a slightly different crest. The simple rendering of the body and dress, which characterizes also various human heroes of the Assur sealings,[49] contrasts with the patterned costume and elaborate feathering of an otherwise similar griffin-demon on a seal in the Brett collection.[50] It is possible, of course, that the Assur and Fakhariyah impressions do not preserve all the details of the original seals.

As mentioned above, Design XI is very closely paralleled by a seal showing a winged mare defending her foal from a lion, but our design is distinguished from all the other known examples of this composition in that both the protagonists are winged; this feature and the evidently diagonal position of their bodies must have resulted in a pyramidal composition of particular symmetry, with the animals' wings filling out the upper corners of the rectangle. Thirteenth-century impressions and seals provide parallels for details of XI: the curling locks of the cow,[51] the anatomy of the sphinx's wing and neck,[52] the tufts of hair on his belly.[53] However, the male sphinx himself is, so far as we know, very rare on Assyrian seals of the 13th century. Aside from this Fakhariyah example, there is only a winged sphinx who battles a lion.[54] In the 12th century, male sphinxes appear on sealings from the Tiglath-Pileser I archive at Assur[55] but are rendered less vividly and delicately than the one from Fakhariyah.

The fragments that represent Designs XIII and XIV suggest pairs of affronted inimical beasts, but it is uncertain whether they are engaged in duels such as those of X and XI. In XIII the small bull's horn pointing toward the left could be explained by analogy with the composition on two seals where two lions paw at one another over a helpless ruminant which has turned its head backward.[56]

The griffin-demon of XII was not part of a group similar to that of Design X or XI because one leg is raised; perhaps it was planted upon a captured animal, as in the case of the hero of Design VIII and his compeers, or upon the branches of a plant, as in the case of a leaf-plucking griffin-demon.[57] The traces of the element seized by our demon are unclear; they are somewhat more suggestive of twining tendrils of a plant than of a curling animal tail. Although its theme unfortunately remains unclear, Design XII is in its style of execution one of the most outstanding in the Fakhariyah collection. The powerful taut muscles of the demon are modeled in a masterful manner and resemble those of various heroes already cited as parallels for Designs VII and VIII. In fact, Design XII could be the missing part of VIII were it not for the angle of the knee and the uncertainty as to the element grasped by the demon. On the griffin-demon's neck are finely divided plumes, and his head is crowned by a minutely feathered crest. The closest analogies for the crest and the curved beak are provided by the clothed griffin-demons on two seals of the Morgan collection.[58] Formerly the best available comparisons for the latter demons were those with tall but unfeathered crests and curving beaks impressed on tablets written during the reign of Ninurta-tukul-Assur (*ca.* 1154–1153 B.C.).[59] Thus Porada dated the two Morgan seals to the 12th–10th centuries and pointed out that together with two other Morgan seals[60] they form a group characterized by the use of a few large figures without filling motives, as on the impressions of the reign of Ninurta-tukul-Assur. She suggested that such compositions may have been typical for the glyptic of the 12th century in contrast to the smaller figures surrounded by considerable space or placed in a landscape setting which are typical

[48] *Ibid.* Fig. 55.

[49] *Ibid.* Figs. 5, 7, 57 (all Tukulti-Ninurta I), 8 (Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I).

[50] Brett, No. 131.

[51] Cf. Moortgat *a*, Figs. 18 (= De Clercq, No. 311 = Weber, No. 513), 38 (Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I).

[52] Cf. *ibid.* Fig. 25 (= Southesk Qc, No. 35).

[53] Cf. *ibid.* Figs. 3, 34, 56 (all Shalmaneser I), 32.

[54] *Ibid.* Fig. 30 (= *CS*, Pl. XXXVI *a* = Berlin, No. 581).

[55] Moortgat *b*, Figs. 19–20.

[56] Morgan, No. 605; Moore, No. 71.

[57] Morgan, No. 609.

[58] *Ibid.* Nos. 608–9.

[59] *AOF* X (1935–36) 50, Figs. 5–6 (impression of seal of Rimeni, wife of Ninurta-tukul-Assur = Moortgat *b*, Fig. 29), 7–8 (impression of similar seal of same period).

[60] Morgan, Nos. 606–7.

for the 13th century.[61] However, it is not certain that this attractive distinction between the work of the 13th and that of the 12th century holds good, since Fakhariyah now provides 13th-century parallels for the long-robed heroes and griffin-demons on these Morgan seals. Furthermore, the size of the griffin-demon in XII suggests that the design originally contained but a few large figures, as on the Morgan seals. There are two other relevant factors. The hair on the belly of the griffin on one of the Morgan seals[62] is carefully rendered in the herringbone pattern, which Moortgat suggests was a typical 13th-century feature that was replaced by simpler forms in the 12th century.[63] The large heavily modeled figures on another of the Morgan group are comparable with those on a seal in the Newell collection; if we accept Moortgat's convincing assignation of the Newell seal to the 13th century, there seems no good reason to exclude the Morgan se al and its relatives.[64] All this evidenc taken together, though not entirely decisivee does suggest the likelihood of a 13th-century date for the Morgan seals, three of which have motives in common with Designs IV, VII, and XII.

The pursuit of a weaker animal by a predatory beast is shown in Designs XV–XVII. In XV the rearing ruminant seized by a dog(?) looks back at its attacker. Since the animals apparently did not fill the surface of the cylinder seal completely, the entire design may have possessed subsidiary details such as the mountains and trees in several naturalistic scenes of lions seizing their prey.[65] The plight of the ostrich and its young one is represented with vivid sympathy in Design XVI; the birds flee precipitately with open beaks, but the exuberant power of the lion leaves little hope for their escape. On one of the Morgan seals for which we have already proposed a 13th-century date there recurs the general theme of a large and a small ostrich running from a pursuer, a long-robed hero in this case.[66] Seals and sealings of the 13th century provide excellent parallels for the lion of Design XVI: for his stance, for the rendering of his head, maned neck, and shoulder muscles, and for the curve of his brush-tipped tail.[67] Design XVII seems to show a griffin leaping onto an animal, a theme of seizure paralleled on an Assur sealing dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.[68]

ANIMALS IN PEACEFUL SETTINGS

XIX. Sealing 100 (F 306). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XX. Sealings 48 (F 175), 78 (F 234). Sounding VI, Floor 1 and unstratified (VIA).

XXI. Impressions on Tablet 9 (F 269). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XXII. Sealings 12 (F 163), 28, 29, 34, and 49 (all F 175), 63–64 (F 203), 106 (F 306). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2.

XXIII. Sealings 14 (F 163), 98 (F 306). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2.

XXIV. Sealing 27 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1.

XXV. Sealing 30 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1.

XXVI. Sealings 13 (F 163), 97 (F 306). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2.

XXVII. Sealing 68 (F 204). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XXVIII. Sealing 17 (F 167). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XXIX. Sealing 77 (F 234). Sounding VI, unstratified (VIA). The two forelegs showing in the impression may have been made by the slipping of the seal as it was rolled.

XXX. Sealing 89 (F 267). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

XXXI. Sealing 70 (F 204). Sounding VI, Floor 2. The impression is very unclear. The elements on the left are interpreted as the forelegs of an animal leaping toward the back of another on the right. However, it is possible that the sealing should be turned around and that it shows traces of a single animal only.

[61] *Ibid.* pp. 67, 70 (written before Moortgat *b* on the 12th-century impressions from Assur, which show how closely 12th-century glyptic continued the traditions of the preceding century, was available).

[62] *Ibid.* No. 608.

[63] See Moortgat *b*, p. 30, and cf. Fig. 30. This specific detail which is shared with 13th-century seals perhaps outweighs the general similarity of the griffin of Morgan, No. 608, and the composition in which he occurs, to analogous features on sealings from the Tiglath-Pileser I archive (Moortgat *b*, Figs. 8, 10).

[64] Cf. Morgan, No. 607, with Newell, No. 685 (= Moortgat *a*, Fig. 10), and see Moortgat *a*, pp. 57–58.

[65] Morgan, Nos. 602–3 (in both cases the ruminant turns its head to look at its attacker as in Design XV); Moortgat *a*, Fig. 32.

[66] Morgan, No. 606.

[67] *CS*, Pls. XXXVI *b* (B.M. 89.862), XXXV *c* (= Southesk Qc, No. 35); Moortgat *a*, Figs. 2, 5 (both Tukulti-Ninurta I); Morgan, Nos. 603–5.

[68] Moortgat *a*, Fig. 19.

In contrast to the turmoil represented in the preceding group of designs, the present group shows animals in undisturbed peaceful actions. Comparable themes on the Assur impressions help us to reconstruct some of the more incomplete compositions. Thus, the size of the winged animal of XIX indicates, even though only part of the design is preserved, that we have to do with a seal whose main motive was a single large creature; in the case of XX it is less uncertain that only a single creature was involved. Two 13th-century parallels for XIX show a winged griffin(?) and a sphinx respectively,[69] accompanied by small filling motives. On the great majority of 13th-century seals thus decorated the animal is flanked by a naturalistically rendered tree, forming a landscape setting in which the normal filling motives of crescent, star, or rosette only enhance the spacious open-air atmosphere.[70] The "landscape-with-animal" represents one of the most characteristic and pleasing creations of 13th-century Assyrian artists. Fakhariyah yielded three variants of the theme: Designs XXI–XXIII, each with a prancing or rearing animal. Design XXI reflects the vivid interest of Middle Assyrian artists in natural detail, as illustrated by the tree with carefully rendered leaves and twisting trunk; parallels occur on two of the finest 13th-century seals.[71] The general habit of the tree in XXIII resembles that of trees with globular crowns and crooked trunks on Assur sealings,[72] but its leaves conform in shape to those of palms.[73] The body of the ibex in XXIII is patterned almost exactly as that in Design III, and the two seals were probably cut by the same man.

Design XXII is remarkably similar in both its composition and its sketchy unmodeled character to that of a seal from Assur.[74] The crooked trunk of the tree of XXII can be restored by analogy with the tree on the Assur seal, since in other respects the two designs are almost identical. Design XXII does, however, have one unusual feature, a lower border with what appear to be faint traces of pendent triangles. Such border patterns were common on Kassite cylinders, where they were derived from the decorative gold mountings of seals,[75] but so far are known on only two Assyrian seals, which are thought to be considerably later than the 13th century.[76] There is thus no good parallel for the use of this Kassite feature in such a typical Middle Assyrian design as XXII. Since, moreover, only faint traces of the border remain, its identification with the Kassite motive can be made only with considerable reservation.

The missing hindquarters of the kneeling animal of Design XXIV must have extended upward in a posture shown on several Middle Assyrian seals.[77] There seem to be faint traces of plant stems at the animal's left. Probably the entire composition consisted of a single kneeling animal with vegetation[78] and thus can be considered a variant of the theme shown in Designs XXI–XXIII.

Design XXVI has a different theme—two opposed cavorting animals, presumably bulls—for which no exact parallels exist. Although pairs of rampant animals occur frequently in Middle As-

[69] Moortgat *b*, Figs. 26 (Shalmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta I), 27 (= Berlin, No. 580). The theme continued in use in the 12th century as shown by sealings from the Tiglath-Pileser I archive (*ibid.* Figs. 21, 24, 25).

[70] Moortgat *a*, Figs. 38–39 (Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I), 40, 42 (both Shalmaneser I), 41 (Tukulti-Ninurta I), 43, 46 (seal of Assur-remanni = BN, No. 307 = *CS*, Pl. XXXI *j*).

[71] *Ibid.* Figs. 45 (= Berlin, No. 586) and 46 (seal of Assur-remanni = BN, No. 307).

[72] *Ibid.* Figs. 47, 48, 61 (Shalmaneser I), 56 (probably Shalmaneser I).

[73] Cf. *ibid.* Figs. 55 (Tukulti-Ninurta I), 73.

[74] *Ibid.* Fig. 44 (= Berlin, No. 588); for other examples of such twiggy trees see Figs. 42 (Shalmaneser I), 53 (Adad-nirari I).

[75] *CS*, pp. 7 and 182; Berlin, Nos. 561 (Warka), 563 (= *CS*, Pl. XXX *i*; from Babylon), 688 (Babylon), 560 (= *CS*, Pl. XXXII *c*; bought); *AMI* VIII 113, Fig. 18 (Philadelphia 599; from Abu Hatab), 133, Fig. 67 (Nippur); Albert T. Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers* (University of Pennsylvania Babylonian Expedition, "Series A: Cuneiform Texts" XIV [Philadelphia, 1906]) Pls. XIV 39 (Shagarakti-Shurash), 40–42, 47 (all Nazi-Marattash), XV 48.3 (Kurigalzu), 48.11; Morgan, Nos. 580, 591; Moore, No. 72; Newell, No. 417; A 692; BN, No. 305; *CS*, Pl. XXXII *a* (Iraq Museum 19053). Actual examples of such mountings, said to have been found in a pot with gold jewelry and to date from the Isin-Larsa period, were in the F. Hahn Collection in Berlin (see *AMI* VIII 110, n. 1, and IX [1938] Pl. XII [facing p. 48], zu n. 13).

[76] Newell, No. 416 (= *CS*, Fig. 65); *CS*, Pl. XXXII *i*.

[77] Morgan, Nos. 601, 604 (= Moortgat *a*, Fig. 28); Moortgat *a*, Figs. 27, 54 (Tukulti-Ninurta I).

[78] As on Morgan, No. 601. Another possibility is that there were two animals in attendance upon a median "sacred tree," a motive known from Moortgat *a*, Fig. 54 (Tukulti-Ninurta I), but this seems unlikely; as preserved, the proportions of the design do not seem to allow room for more than one animal.

syrian art, the two usually are either inimical, one at least being a carnivore as in Designs XI and XIII, or else they flank a central plant.[79] The latter theme apparently was rendered by Designs XXVIII and XXX. In XXVIII parts of the bending plant stems are visible, while XXX is, despite its very poor preservation, closely reminiscent of compositions showing rearing ibexes facing one another across a rocky peak with a tree.[80] The very fragmentary remains of XXVII and XXIX could form parts of compositions showing either antithetical animals as on XXVI or beasts flanking a tree as presumably on XXVIII and XXX.

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTARY DESIGNS

XXXII. Sealing 35 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1. The branches at the upper left come from a second rolling of the seal.
XXXIII. Sealing 36 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1.
XXXIV. Sealing 116 (F 432). Sounding VI, Floor 3 (see p. 4, n. 2).
XXXV. Sealing 117 (F 432). Sounding VI, Floor 3 (see p. 4, n. 2).
XXXVI. Sealings 56 (F 203), 114 (F 316). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2.
XXXVII. Sealing 87 (F 267). Sounding VI, Floor 2.
XXXVIII. Sealing 88 (F 267). Sounding VI, Floor 2.
XXXIX. Sealing 113 (F 316). Sounding VI, Floor 2.
XL. Sealing 60 (F 203). Sounding VI, Floor 1.
XLI. Sealing 21 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1.
XLII. Sealing 37 (F 175). Sounding VI, Floor 1.

The impressions are too incomplete to permit any speculation as to the complete composition of the designs which they represent. Nevertheless, some of them preserve details of typical Middle Assyrian character. Thus Designs XXXII and XXXIII show trees—one with pinnate-leaved branches and the other with curving trunks ending in globular heads—which are paralleled on 13th-century seals;[81] apparently Designs XXI–XXIII were not the only landscape scenes of the Fakhariyah group. A straight-trunked tree and perhaps the forelegs of a leaping animal appear in Design XXXV. In the tree of XXXIV a small oblong segment binds together the slender trunk and the bud-tipped branches to form an artificial plant analogous to one on an Assur impression and to much more elaborate designs found on ivory inlays from Assur.[82]

Design XXXVI seems to be unusual and, moreover, includes an inscription, so that it is particularly unfortunate that the impression is fragmentary. Only a palm tree is almost complete.[83] It is surrounded by drill holes and "stems," which are clear in the impression but whose meaning is obscure. The inscription is too badly destroyed to be legible with certainty. Professor Benno Landsberger has kindly told me that it appears to conform to the ordinary type of 13th-century seal inscription, which reads "seal of NN, son of NN," but no names are clear.[84]

Little can be said concerning the remaining fragments. Design XXXVII seems to show a long-robed man reaching into the stems of a plant. The upper body of a human figure may perhaps appear in XXXVIII. The scanty remains in XXXIX—the star, the symbol of Ninhursaga (upside down if the drawing is correctly oriented), and a thin arm—are typical Middle Assyrian elements. The three last fragments are quite obscure. Design XL perhaps shows part of a human figure, partially repeated in the rolling; a human leg may appear in XLI; in XLII even the correct orientation is uncertain.

PERIPHERAL CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS

XLIII. Sealings 6 and 9–10 (F 163), 20, 22, 24, 44, and 51 (all F 175), 55 and 57–58 (F 203), 73 (F 234), 80 (F 249), 85 (F 267). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2 and unstratified (VIA).
XLIV. Sealings 7 (F 163), 23 (F 175), 54 and 65 (F 203), 79 (F 249), 86 (F 267), 92–93

[79] Moortgat *a*, Figs. 49 (Tukulti-Ninurta I), 50 (Shalmaneser I), 53 (Adad-nirari I); A 712.

[80] *Ibid.* Figs. 47, 48, 52 (= Southesk Qc, No. 11).

[81] *Ibid.* Fig. 43; *CS*, Pl. XXXI *l* (= Southesk Qc, No. 10).

[82] Moortgat *a*, Fig. 51 (Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I); Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, Pl. 54. Cf. also the palm trees mixed with artificial elements on a sealing from Assur (Moortgat *a*, Fig. 11 [Tukulti-Ninurta I]) and on Morgan, No. 596.

[83] The palms of Moortgat *a*, Figs. 49, 55, 73, are rendered somewhat differently.

[84] The two wedges at the top of the right-hand column are the remains of the sign for "seal." With restoration of a number of wedges, the next three signs could be read as *ni-is-qi*. In the second column the determinative DINGIR is clear and presumably precedes the name of the father of the seal-owner.

(F 306), 110–12 (F 316). Sounding VI, Floors 1 and 2.

XLV. Seal F 385. Carnelian. Sounding IX, unstratified.

XLVI. Sealing 120 (F 542). Sounding IX, Floor 4.

XLVII. Sealing 119 (F 490). Sounding IX, west of palace at level of Floor 3.

XLVIII. Sealing 118 (F 451). Sounding IX, outside palace at level of Floor 3.

XLIX. Seal F 186. Stone. Sounding IX, under paving of Floor 2.

L. Tag(?) with Sealing 91 (F 302). Sounding VI, Floor 2.

LI. Seal F 121. Stone. Sounding VI, Floor 2.

Of the designs found in Sounding VI, XLIII is represented by the greatest number of impressions (14). From these it is possible to reconstruct the complete composition. Two men mildly grasp a rampant lion; the action of the two other figures—one seemingly rendered with face in front view, the other with griffin head—is not clear; as filling motives a simple plant and a seated female(?) figure appear. Unfortunately the badly worn impressions show very few sharp details. There was apparently no elaborate modeling, but also very little use of the drill, since traces of drill holes survive only in the base of the plant and in the human feet. Lack of preserved detail is one reason why Design XLIII is difficult to identify with certainty, but another, perhaps more important, factor is that the seal itself apparently was either unusual or representative of a variety of glyptic not well recognized. General parallels for the rendering of the feet, for the simple plant, and for the playful thin-bodied lion can be found in Mitannian glyptic.[85] The rampant lion fighting a hero on a seal of typical late 15th-century Mitannian style[86] provides a very good parallel for the lion in Design XLIII. What evidence there is, then, indicates that XLIII should be classified as Mitannian. Its impressions are considerably more common than those of any of the Middle Assyrian designs from Sounding VI, an interesting indication for the survival of a peripheral style at Fakhariyah in the face of the conquering Middle Assyrian fashion.

Design XLIV is that of the second most commonly represented cylinder seal in the Sounding VI material; eleven impressions are preserved, each having perhaps sealed a separate object. The design can be almost completely reconstructed, and many more details are observable than in the case of XLIII. Though the composition may not fall at first glance within any well defined class of seal designs, examination of its details shows that it is closely related to Mitannian glyptic. The main group of figures, a seated woman or goddess and a standing god who both grasp the same bird-topped standard, occurs on sealings from Nuzi.[87] The unusual bird-standard, also found on two other Nuzi sealings,[88] has been discussed by Porada; she suggests very tentatively[89] that it may be related to the columns topped by birds which occur on First Syrian seals.[90] In any case, whether or not the bird-standard has a Syrian background, its use seems, as far as we now know, limited to Mitannian glyptic. In addition to providing prototypes for the main theme of XLIV, Nuzi sealings also yield parallels for certain details: the general outline of the seated figure's body, with long lap and abrupt right-angled contour,[91] as well as the vertical lines on her robe and her rounded cap.[92] She sits on a squarish chair with well defined frame and stretcher, a type favored on Mitannian seals[93] in contrast to the usual "one-piece" Syrian throne.[94] The method of rendering the

[85] Feet: *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 434, 448, 455, 492; lion: *ibid.* Nos. 434, 438, 499; plant: *ibid.* No. 13 (taller than plant in XLIII). Many of the ordinary leafy branches of the Nuzi sealings, though usually taller and with prominent drill-hole foliage, have drill holes at the base and the crown of the stem (*ibid.* Nos. 120, 125, 129–32, 244, 296).

Vague parallels for the figure with raised arm in Design XLIII, particularly in the shortness of the arm, can be seen on sealings from Nuzi (*ibid.* Nos. 462, 467) and on a seal from a refuse pit attributed to Temple III at Lachish (Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish* II, Pl. XXXIII 46 [Late Bronze II B; late 13th century]) decorated with several identical figures. Although Design XLIII also gives the general effect of several vertical figures standing close together, each personage differs from the others.

[86] A 951.

[87] *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 16–17.

[88] *Ibid.* Nos. 2, 52.

[89] *Ibid.* pp. 102, 115.

[90] Moore, No. 132; Morgan, Nos. 911–12; A 894.

[91] Cf. *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 17–19.

[92] Cf. *ibid.* Nos. 8 (standing figure), 561, 618 (both seated).

[93] *Ibid.* Nos. 19, 219; A 917; Morgan, Nos. 1026, 1028–29.

[94] First Syrian seals: Morgan, Nos. 910–13; Second Syrian seals: Morgan, Nos. 938, 947–48, 987, 996. Examples of the "stretcher" type of chair in Syrian glyptic are Morgan, No. 920 (First Syrian), and BN, No. 451 (Second Syrian).

face with long nose and drill-hole eye, common on Nuzi sealings and on extant Mitannian seals, recurs in more refined fashion in our design. The god conforms closely in his posture and horizontally ribbed kilt to the weather-god Teshup, who is common on Second Syrian seals[95] and found occasionally on Mitannian seals.[96] However, instead of the spiked helmet normally worn by the weather-god on Syrian seals, our design has a knobbed one, as seen on some figures of the Nuzi sealings.[97] An even more distinctive feature is the attachment of three tassels to the kilt of both the god and the attendant griffin-demon. Again, parallels occur only on Mitannian seals.[98] For the griffin-demon itself only general analogies can be cited; such creatures are common in Mitannian glyptic.[99] Though there is one Mitannian griffin-demon attendant upon a seated deity,[100] it is not a very close parallel for the Fakhariyah demon, who holds a bird(?)-headed staff in one hand and a vessel in the other. Nor is there a good parallel for the small woman(?) of Design XLIV, who differs from the normal female figures that occur as filling elements on Mitannian seals.

When all these comparisons are taken together, the Mitannian background of Design XLIV is beyond doubt. It is, on the other hand, not closely similar in specific appearance and modeling to the normal types of Mitannian seal designs. There does exist, however, one seal with a design completely comparable in style and in many specific details, a hematite cylinder bought in Cyprus in 1900 and now in the British Museum.[101] On it appear exactly the same features that characterize our design: the well fed, almost puffy, figures; the three knobbed tassels; the long lock of the god falling from the back of his head behind his upraised arm but not ending in the curl customary for Teshup figures; the knobbed helmet interrupting the upper border of the design; and the detailed rendering of the bird's feathers. The thickness and solidity of the modeling and the elaborate details of Design XLIV and its compeer in the British Museum distinguish them from the mass of ordinary popular Mitannian seals, which are marked by extensive use of the drill. The same features distinguish certain thickly modeled and often intricately composed designs considered by Frankfort to be examples of a fully-grown Mitannian style, that is, the more elaborate works produced by the same tradition that was responsible for the far commoner and simpler popular Mitannian seals.[102] Although in style and execution Design XLIV and the British Museum seal are comparable with fully-grown Mitannian seals, they are simpler in composition. This fact, together with the 13th-century context in which the impressions of XLIV occurred, indicates that it and its British Museum compeer should be classified as late examples of the fully-grown Mitannian style. Design XLIV, then, is a welcome addition to the relatively small number of examples of this style known and, more important, extends the chronological range of the class to the 13th century.

In contrast to XLIV, Designs XLV and XLVI, on a seal and a bulla from Sounding IX, both found out of their original context, are unmistakable representatives of the popular Mitannian style.[103] The sure rendering, primarily by lines and drill holes, of simple motives in XLV and the motives themselves are typical of a number of popular Mitannian seals.[104] Such

[95] Morgan, Nos. 964, 968; A 913–18; BN, Nos. 494–95, 497; Newell, No. 303.

[96] Morgan, Nos. 1024–25; Newell, No. 326.

[97] *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 637–38, 663. The miters on Nos. 726–28, 781, and 810 are similar save that the horns project in front only; for No. 726 see our Pl. 69 *I*.

[98] *Ibid.* Nos. 659, 728 (with knobbed ends and worn by figures with knobbed helmets); BN, No. 440 (= *CS*, Pl. XLIII *i*). Mitannian kilts with only two tassels also occur: Morgan, No. 1031; *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 257, 512, 517 (see also p. 18 and n. 17).

[99] See e.g. *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 793–95, 798, 863–65.

[100] A 917.

[101] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum* (London, 1926) Pl. III 109.

[102] *CS*, pp. 273–83.

[103] The class of seals referred to by Frankfort as "popular" is divided by Porada into two classes: her "common" style, engraved with a few simple motives in a coarse drill-hole technique, and her "elaborate" style, carefully engraved with relatively small drill holes and with a very large number of motives. However, Porada's "elaborate" style includes a few pieces (notably *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 726–28) which belong to Frankfort's fully-grown style. Our Design XLV and probably also XLVI would fall into Porada's "elaborate" class.

[104] Griffin-demon: Morgan, No. 1055; Newell, Nos. 362–63. Scorpion: A 941; Morgan, Nos. 1042, 1059, 1061, 1063–64. Hand: BN, No. 468; A 941, 944; Morgan, Nos. 1043, 1065.

seals also provide parallels for the considerable blank areas left in XLV,[105] a feature which combined with the simplicity of the motives gives a kind of abbreviated character to this group of seals.

The bulla (Design XLVI) bears two fragmentary impressions which, though no portions of them overlap, suggest the reconstruction shown in Plate 73. Such pairs of rearing lions with a filling motive between them are well known on popular Mitannian seals.[106] The rendering of the lions is easily matched on Nuzi impressions,[107] while the element between the lions is the bearded human head frequent on Nuzi sealings either as an isolated filling motive or arranged in rows.[108] Below the lions there seems to be the back of a couchant bull with lowered head, another normal Mitannian element.[109] The indistinct figure at the right may be one of the interceding goddesses common on Mitannian seals.[110] Despite its partial preservation, Design XLVI is thus easily classified as Mitannian. On the other hand, what remains of the motives of Design XLVII—a standing figure with long robe, the foot of a demon or rampant animal, and the hindquarters of a couchant animal[111]—is not distinctive enough to prove a Mitannian origin, though this seems likely.

Another seal impression from Sounding IX apparently shows a human figure next to two rampant animals, perhaps a lion and a bull (Design XLVIII). Not only is the impression itself unclear, but it was made by a very crude and stylistically undefinable provincial seal. The same is even more true of the extant cylinder with the barbaric Design XLIX, which defies analysis. It is not even certain whether the element at the right is intended to be a standing, perhaps winged, figure. This design, like XLVIII, illustrates the kind of styleless cylinder which occurred sporadically outside Mesopotamia, particularly during periods when no flourishing peripheral classes of cylinder seals existed. Such a period is the Iron Age, in which their find-spots place both the pieces in question.

Two other designs of a styleless character can be attributed to the 13th century since they were found on Floor 2 of Sounding VI. Design L is seemingly geometric, apparently a horizontal line bisecting a series of crosses.[112] The other (LI) shows a man attacking a winged quadruped from behind. The rendering is without any of the verve of such popular Mitannian designs as XLV. The clumsiness of LI is particularly striking if it is contrasted with the contemporary glyptic of Middle Assyrian style, in which analogous motives occur. Design LI is the product of an unskilled, completely provincial, workman.

AN OLD BABYLONIAN CYLINDER SEAL

LII. Seal F 122. Hematite; 18 mm. long, 8–9 mm. in diameter, Sounding VI, Floor 2.

This seal is older than the 13th-century context in which it was found. It is made of hematite, a material very commonly used for seals during the Old Babylonian period, and bears motives, almost completely abraded, typical of the glyptic style of that period. The main figures are, from left to right, the god with mace facing an interceding goddess[113] and the god with a crook.[114] The identifiable filling motives are a winged lion-monster and a ball-staff, placed behind the god with mace and upside down in relation to the main figures, and a debased rendering of the lion-scimitar between the god with mace and the goddess.[115]

[105] Morgan, Nos. 1061, 1064.

[106] *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 174–79; No. 293 has lions reversing their heads.

[107] *Ibid.* Nos. 118, 422, 455, 575, 792, 926. Lions with toothed paws are clearly shown *ibid.* Nos. 160, 274 and in *CS*, Pl. XLII *a* (sealing of Saushshatar).

[108] *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 141, 188, 200, 265, 547 (with two projections on front cap, as in Design XLVI), 558, 939 (cross of four heads).

[109] See *ibid.* Nos. 94, 111, 419, 422; Newell, No. 360.

[110] Cf. e.g. A 951.

[111] The foot is very vaguely reminiscent of those of a destroyed demon on a sealing of a king of Hanigalbat (*CS*, Fig. 88), while the hindquarters somewhat resemble couchant beasts on Nuzi sealings (*AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 145, 575, 578).

[112] There seems to be no evident connection between this design and Porada's "grill-pattern" (see *AASOR* XXIV 15, with n. 15).

[113] Cf. Morgan, Pls. LXI–LXIV; for a parallel to the double border of the god's robe on our seal see Pl. LXIV 458.

[114] Cf. *ibid.* Pl. LXXI; the crook is turned inward toward the god in Nos. 518–19, as on the Fakhariyah seal; in No. 522 there is a squatting monkey below the outstretched arm of the god, and it is possible that the indistinct lines in the same position on our seal were originally part of such a motive.

[115] For lion-monster cf. *ibid.* Pls. LII–LIII. For ball-staff and lion-scimitar cf. *ibid.* e.g. Nos. 315–16, 384, 451, 494, 499; Newell, No. 139 and Fig. 25:187, 230, 248.

STAMP SEAL DESIGNS

LIII. Sealing 66 (F 203). Sounding VI, Floor 1.
LIV. Seal F 88. Black stone, perforated. Sounding IA, Floor 2.
LV. Seal F 441. White frit. Sounding IX, outside palace at level of Floor 3.
LVI. Sealing 121 (F 439). Sounding IX, Floor 2.
LVII. Seal F 94. White frit scaraboid. Sounding V, Floor 7.

Of the few stamp seal designs from Fakhariyah only one (LIII) comes from Sounding VI. Its motive, a stem with pomegranate-tipped branches on each side, is, despite its simplicity, decidedly Middle Assyrian in character. The general effect of a many-branched tree, such as is common in naturalistic scenes, was obtained in more formalized decorative designs by the attachment of slim twigs to a central, unnaturalistic trunk. Elaborate examples occur on cylinder seals and ivory inlays from Assur.[116] From the artificial trunks on the inlays sprout twigs ending in veined leaves or pomegranates, the same motive that tips the plant stems of Design LIII. Another and somewhat simpler analogy for the plant of LIII is the cluster of leaf-tipped stems on a lead plaque from the Ishtar temple of Tukulti-Ninurta I at Assur.[117] Although the plant of LIII is much simpler than any of those cited as analogies, it must be associated with them as an example of a graceful, seemingly naturalistic plant consisting of a trunk and branching stems. It is a significant indication of the coherence of the Middle Assyrian style that we find designs of similar character on objects of such different types as ivory inlays, lead plaques, and various types of seals.

Design LIV shows a horned animal, which was cut with considerable sureness and delicacy; the composition is completed by a flowering stem, whose diagonal arrangement gives a pleasing naturalistic air to the whole scene. The seal was found in a level (Sounding IA, Floor 2) which as far as we know yielded only one potsherd (No. 33); the sherd is Mitannian (see p. 32) and must have been out of place, for some of the pottery (pp. 33 f., Nos. 48, 49, 53) from the lower floors of Sounding IA is typical of the Iron Age, the period to which the seal probably belongs.

Design LV, of linear execution, shows a lion(?) surrounded by branches and a frame. The seal was found in Sounding IX at the level of Floor 3 of the Iron Age palace.

Finally, there is an extant scaraboid (Design LVII) as well as a bulla bearing impressions of a scarab or scaraboid (Design LVI). The latter is from Floor 2 of Sounding IX. Professor John A. Wilson has kindly contributed the following remarks concerning it. "The impressions, oval in shape, seem to have a slightly blunted head at the left and a more rounded tail at the right. The three elements of the design are purely Egyptian, forming not a name but merely a pattern consisting of a *kheper* beetle flanked by two balanced blobs which have a general resemblance to the 'feather of truth.' " The scaraboid has a back furrowed around the edge and on its base a simple pattern of crossing lines, which is very similar to that on one of a group of scaraboids from a Late Assyrian grave at Assur.[118] Designs LVI and LVII both represent scaraboids like those from Assur and are typical for the Iron Age.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The few seals and impressions found individually in scattered locations illustrate some of the simple types of peripheral glyptic possible at various periods, but the impressions and seals from Sounding VI have a wider significance. In addition to the Old Babylonian cylinder seal (Design LII), Middle Assyrian impressions (I, III–XLII), and the Middle Assyrian cylinder seal (II), the Sounding VI material includes impressions of two Mitannian seals (XLIII, XLIV). Thus, it not only yields some new information concerning Middle Assyrian glyptic but also, because of the association of Assyrian and peripheral designs, casts light on different cultural traditions present in northern Mesopotamia during the 13th century B.C.

Despite the small size of the Fakhariyah collection as compared with that from Assur, it contains examples of many of the main themes of

[116] *CS*, Pls. XXXII *b* (Boston), XXXI *l* (= Southesk Qc, No. 10); Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, Pl. 54 (found at the foot of a terrace west of the large square, *tarbaṣ nišê*, and assigned by Andrae to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I or a little earlier).

[117] *WVDOG* LVIII 106, Fig. 84, Pl. 47 *p*.

[118] *WVDOG* LXV, Pl. 11 *b*.

Middle Assyrian glyptic. We have cult scenes (Designs I, II) and a varied array of hunting scenes and hunters: the archer in a landscape (III), the hunter in a long robe or short kilt attacking his victim from the front or the back (IV–VI), the mythological hero with curling locks (VII), and an athletic naked hero (VIII). Monster and animal or two animals confront one another in a contest (X, XI, XIII, XIV). An animal appears alone in a landscape (XXI–XXIII) or flees from a predatory beast (XV–XVII). Two rearing beasts cavort (XXVI) or, presumably, flank a central plant (XXX). Furthermore, the Middle Assyrian sealings from Fakhariyah correspond to previously known seals of this style not only in their themes but also in the details of their rendering, as the parallels cited have shown.

Within the limits of the Middle Assyrian style there is a wide range of variation in the manner and quality of execution. This range is well illustrated at Fakhariyah. There are, first of all, seals of fairly awkward sketchy workmanship, without detailed modeling, exemplified by Designs II and XXII. Then there are more carefully worked seals, with figures vigorously, even tautly, outlined, but with the emphasis on bold clear rendering of details of costume or pelts rather than on subtleties of modeling (Designs III, V, XXIII; probably made by the same seal-cutter). Finally, there is the very elaborately and fully modeled type of seal, represented at Fakhariyah by Designs IV, VII–XII, and XVI.

In addition to providing further examples of previously known types of 13th-century Assyrian seal designs, the Fakhariyah material adds several new elements to the repertory. Designs IV, VIII, and XII show that three themes already documented for 12th-century glyptic—the hero in a long robe, the naked hero with one foot planted on a rearing bull, and a large muscular griffin-demon—actually go back to the preceding century. Furthermore, we have in Design IV the human-headed ibex, a creature so far almost completely unknown in the second millennium B.C., though relatively common in Late Assyrian and Achaemenid Persian art. Aside from these additions to the repertory of motives on 13th-century cylinder seals, one of the sealings from Sounding VI makes a contribution important in a wider context. It gives us a stamp seal design (LIII), and stamp seals, as far as we know, were not widely used in Mesopotamia until Late Assyrian times. In fact, they were so uncommon during the second millennium that the origin of Late Assyrian stamp seals has been attributed to Syrian or Palestinian influences.[119] However, Design LIII, showing a typical Middle Assyrian motive, is proof that stamp seals were made during the 13th century and hence that there must have existed some Assyrian precedent for their use later on. Even so, it is possible of course that western influences stimulated their frequent appearance in Late Assyrian times.

The two Mitannian designs from Sounding VI are pertinent to the question of the range of Mitannian glyptic. It has been indicated by Porada that the life of Mitannian glyptic was conterminous with that of the Mitannian kingdom, ending around 1350 B.C.[120] This view is not consonant with the evidence, some of it cited by Frankfort and Mallowan, for the wide use of Mitannian seals throughout the 13th century in such southern Canaanite cities of the west as Beth Shan, Tell Abu Hawwam, and Lachish.[121] This discrepancy would be easily explained if it

[119] Morgan, p. 96.

[120] *Ibid.* p. 139. The few datable Mitannian seals from Mesopotamian sites other than Nuzi all belong to the same general period as the Nuzi sealings, i.e., 15th–14th centuries. Tell Brak: *Iraq* IX, Pls. XXII, LXIV; Nineveh: *AAA* XVIII, Pl. XXII 7; Khafajah: *BASOR*, No. 68 (Dec. 1937) p. 12, Fig. 5 = *OIP* LXXII, No. 427. Similar Mitannian seals have been found as far afield as Tepe Giyan (G. Contenau and R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles du Tépé-Giyan près de Néhavend, 1931 et 1932* [Paris, 1935] Pl. 38:1, 2, 4) and in dolmens in the Talish Mountains along the Caspian (Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale (III^e et II^e millénaires)* I [London, 1948] Fig. 30:1 [Hassan Zamini], 2–3 [Agha Evlar]).

[121] *CS*, pp. 279 ff.; *Iraq* IX 136–39, 141. The date and distribution of Mitannian seals is also discussed by Schaeffer, *op. cit.* pp. 409–11, but he does not take into consideration the late, 13th-century, date of Tell Abu Hawwam V and Temple III at Lachish. For the mass of Mitannian seals from Palestine see Barbara Parker, "Cylinder seals from Palestine," *Iraq* XI (1949) 1–43. In all the works quoted the excavators' dates for the Beth Shan stratification are used, but these must now be considerably lowered (see Kathleen M. Kenyon in *Antiquity* XXIV [1950] 198).

The general chronological limits of Mitannian glyptic can be considered as established by the studies quoted; the problem now is to distinguish more stringently between its subclasses and their chronology, so as to reconstruct the detailed history of the style.

could be shown that the 13th-century Mitannian seals from the west represent a provincial class living on there after the death of Mitannian glyptic proper in its homeland. This is a possibility to be considered, since many of the seals from the west do possess a specific and impoverished character. Their repertory of motives is depleted, and only a few elements, enlarged and simplified, are used on a single seal. All traces of free field composition are lost; representational motives are ranged side by side, usually in only one register, or replaced by geometric and plant designs. There are only a relatively few such designs among the Nuzi impressions, and they definitely belong to the two later of the four Nuzi generations.[122] However, the circumstances cited still do not prove the "depleted" class to be primarily a western group, since we also have in the west a number of cylinders corresponding to typical popular Mitannian seal designs from Nuzi and since the chronological distribution of the two classes is not the same. Thus, the Mitannian seals occurring in Late Bronze II A levels in Palestine,[123] that is, in levels contemporary with the later part of the 18th and the early 19th dynasty in Egypt, are almost exclusively types comparable with normal Nuzi seals. Moreover, the contemporary levels at Ras Shamra apparently and at ᶜAtshanah certainly have yielded a large quantity of such seals.[124] In contrast, the "depleted" class is rare before the 13th century,[125] but then, in Late Bronze II B, it forms the bulk of the Mitannian glyptic in Palestine.[126]

[122] *AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 52* (late 3d generation), 53* (4th), 87* (late 3d or 4th), 158 (3d or later), 163 (3d), 164* (4th), 204* (3d or later), 212 (4th), 219 (3d), perhaps 222* (4th), 234 (3d), 235 (4th), 236 (4th), 237* (4th), 629 (4th), 933 (3d), 935 (2d; this, the only earlier impression of the lot, though very crude, is not closely similar to normal "depleted" seals). The sealings marked with an asterisk are those on tablets probably written outside Nuzi. Note also that 11 of the 17 examples cited belong either certainly or possibly to the 4th generation. This group of sealings is definitely a later development at Nuzi, which fits in with what we know of the history of the class in the west.

[123] *Iraq* XI 13 ff., Nos. 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 48 (all Beth Shan IX = Thutmose III level), 36 (Megiddo VIII, Tomb 3016 = *Megiddo* II, Pl. 160:9), 135 (Megiddo VIII = *Megiddo* II, Pl. 160:8). A seal found at Gezer (*ibid.* No. 59) with a scarab of Amenhotep III perhaps belongs to Late Bronze II A, though scarabs are notorious for their persistence.

It is unfortunate that the dates of several seals closely comparable with the Nuzi sealings are unknown, either because they were found in early, not fully recorded, excavations (*ibid.* Nos. 86 [Tell Zakariyah], 94 [Gezer]) or because they were unstratified (*ibid.* Nos. 128 [= *Megiddo Tombs*, Pl. 176:3], 183–84 [Lachish]).

[124] Schaeffer, *op. cit.* p. 409, states that such seals occur commonly in Late Ugarit 2, a level which also yielded cuneiform tablets dated to the reign of Niqmadu II, a contemporary of Suppiluliuma. Schaeffer's date, 1365 B.C., for the end of Late Ugarit 2 depends partly upon the identification of the burnt layer topping it with a fire at Ugarit mentioned in one of the ᶜAmarnah letters. This identification is no more than an assumption and does not fit well with the evidence given in the stratigraphic section to which he refers (*ibid.* Pl. VIII). Among the objects from a house occupied throughout Late Ugarit 2 (see *ibid.*) are two Mitannian seals and a Mycenaean amphoroid krater with chariots (illustrated also in Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II ["Bibliothèque archéologique et historique" XLVII (Paris, 1949)] Figs. 89–90:3–4, Pl. XXXV), which belongs to the later part of the Late Helladic III A period and is thus contemporary with the early part of the 19th dynasty. It seems likely that Late Ugarit 2 is fully equivalent to Late Bronze II A in Palestine and lasted until the beginning of the reign of Ramses II and the appearance of Late Helladic III B pottery.

Aside from the two seals sketched in Pl. VIII of Schaeffer's *Stratigraphie comparée* I, the only definitely dated examples of Mitannian glyptic from Ras Shamra yet illustrated are a fine sealing on a tablet from a level of the 15th–14th centuries (Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, Pl. XXVI 1; see also *Syria* XVIII [1937] 135), one element on a seal of Late Ugarit 2 (Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée* I, Fig. 30:6), and sealings on tablets of the 14th–13th centuries from a palace archive (Schaeffer *et al.*, *Ugaritica* III, Figs. 45, 81, 107). The other Nuzi type seals so far illustrated do not have very clearly dated contexts (*Syria* XII, Pl. III 1, top [Minet al-Baidaʾ]; *Syria* XVI, Pl. XXXV, left end, top and bottom impressions). No examples of the "depleted" types known from Palestine have so far been illustrated, though the seal in *Syria* XVI, Pl. XXXV, right end, 2d impression from bottom, is somewhat similar. Schaeffer (*Stratigraphie comparée* I 409) notes that certain rare Mitannian cylinders with rather degenerate engraving occur in Late Ugarit 3; it remains to be seen whether these are examples of the "depleted" class.

ᶜAtshanah Level IV, dated by the palace of Niqmepa, vassal of Saushshatar, yielded ten Mitannian seals and sealings of the more elaborate types (*Alalakh*, Pls. LXII 51, LXIII 52–60) and only two of the "depleted" type (*ibid.* Pls. LXIII 61, LXIV 84). In Level III there were two popular Mitannian seals (*ibid.* Pls. LXIV 90, LXV 91) and three "depleted" ones (*ibid.* Pl. LXV 93, 94, 98). In Level II, belonging to Late Bronze II B, approximately contemporary with the reign of Ramses II, there were noticeably fewer seals than in Level IV and they are mostly of poor quality (*ibid.* p. 261). Four "depleted" Mitannian seals occur in Level II (*ibid.* Pl. LXV 99, 106, 108, 113) and two with more complicated compositions but with roughly cut figures (*ibid.* Pl. LXV 102, 104).

[125] *Iraq* XI 13 ff., Nos. 42, 44, 49 (all Beth Shan IX = Late Bronze II A); Nos. 31 (Beth Shan Xb) and 40 (Beth Shan Xa or Xb) were perhaps out of context.

[126] *Ibid.* Nos. 50, 52, 53 (all Beth Shan VIII = pre-Amenhotep III level), 57 (Beth Shan VIII or VII), 60, 62–65, 69–73, 75–85 (all Beth Shan VII = Amenhotep III–Harmhab level); *QDAP* IV (1935) Pl. XXXVIII 406–8, 410 (Tell Abu Hawwam V); Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish* II, Pl. XXXIII 51 (Pit 176, attributed to Temple III), 43 (Room D, Temple III), 50 (Room

Thus, it looks as though we are dealing not so much with a geographical distinction as with a chronological one between two types of Mitannian glyptic, an earlier stage represented by most of the Nuzi sealings and a "depleted" stage which, though beginning earlier, flourished throughout the 13th century.[127] There remains the question of what happened to Mitannian glyptic in northern Mesopotamia itself during the 13th century. Were Mitannian seals still in common use and, if so, was the "depleted" class as common there as in southern Canaanite sites?

Unfortunately there are almost no seals from 13th-century contexts in northern Mesopotamia to compare with finds in the west. Among the ten published Mitannian seals from Assur only one can be assigned to the "depleted" class, but its exact provenience and date are not given.[128] On the 13th-century tablets from Assur there are but five Mitannian sealings; these, as Moortgat says, are from earlier seals corresponding closely to the sealings from Nuzi.[129] Apparently at Assur, then, there was only a rather negligible persistence of Mitannian seals, for the most part reused earlier pieces. In contrast to the situation at Assur, at Fakhariyah the most frequently used seals, judging by the numbers of impressions found, were those represented by Designs XLIII and XLIV. They belong neither to the well known classes of Mitannian seals of the 15th–14th centuries nor to the "depleted" class common in the west, but yet they are Mitannian in character. We suggest that these two designs are examples of a continued development of earlier Mitannian glyptic. The thickly modeled Design XLIV and its compeer from Cyprus (see p. 79) can be explained as descendants of the fully-grown Mitannian style. Apparently in the 13th century there still existed in northern Mesopotamia certain thickly modeled seals continuing the fully-grown Mitannian style of earlier centuries.[130] The existence of such a developed type at this time suggests that the Mitannian tradition of glyptic lived on in northern Mesopotamia after the destruction of the Mitannian kingdom and that the "depleted" style common in the west was not the only 13th-century offshoot of that tradition. It would certainly be rash to claim that the absence of examples of the "depleted" style among the 13th-century materials from Fakhariyah is any indication that it was, after all, popular mainly in the west. We need a considerably larger sample of the glyptic used in the Khabur area during the 13th century before this question can be settled. However, it begins to look as though Mitannian glyptic can be divided into successive categories: the fully-grown and popular groups that flourished at the same time as the Mitannian kingdom giving rise to "thickly modeled" and "depleted" classes that remained in use during the 13th century B.C.

If we assume that the Fakhariyah bullae did

E, Temple III); *Megiddo* II, Pl. 161:12–13 (Stratum VII), 14, 16 (both Stratum VII A, which continues into the first part of the Early Iron Age).

As is to be expected, some seals of normal Mitannian type persist in Late Bronze II B: *Iraq* XI 13 ff., Nos. 56 (Beth Shan VIII), 61, 67, 68, 74, 93 (all Beth Shan VII); *Megiddo* II, Pl. 161:10 (Stratum VII B), 11 (Stratum VII). Examples perhaps intermediate between the two types: *Iraq* XI 13 ff., No. 51 (Beth Shan VIII); *Megiddo* II, Pl. 161:15 (Stratum VII A).

[127] The fact that some Mitannian seals occur even later, in the Iron Age, is not surprising since seals commonly persisted for considerable periods after they were made. Early Iron I (*ca.* 1190–1150): *Iraq* XI 13 ff., Nos. 81–84, 112, 114–15 (Beth Shan VI); Early Iron II (*ca.* 1150–1020): *Megiddo* II, Pl. 161:19 (Stratum VI); Early Iron I–II: *Iraq* XI 13 ff., No. 123 (Beth Shemesh III); Early Iron III (*ca.* 1020–920): *Iraq* XI 13 ff., Nos. 120–21 (Beth Shan V); Middle Iron: *Iraq* XI 13 ff., No. 126 (Beth Shemesh II).

[128] Berlin, No. 572. It has only a few large motives, but the fashion in which they are fitted together is unlike the ordinary paratactic composition of normal "depleted" seals in the west.

[129] Moortgat *a*, Figs. 76–78. Sealing 76 is a very well executed specimen corresponding to a class of Nuzi sealing characterized by a combination of Old Babylonian and ancillary Syrian motives (*AASOR* XXIV 47–52, Nos. 634–62). Assur sealing 77 is closely related to a seal in the Louvre (A 951).

[130] The seal bearing Design XLV belongs to quite a different class of Mitannian glyptic than do Designs XLIII and XLIV. Although most seals with such abbreviated designs are without dated archeological context, one from Lachish belongs to the 13th century and suggests that the Fakhariyah seal may be equally late (see Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish* II, Pl. XXXIII 49 [Pit 176, attributed to Temple III]). It is possible that our seal remained in use even later as did presumably the "abbreviated" Mitannian seal found at Hamah among the debris in the area of the Early Iron Age cremation cemetery (Riis, *Les cimetières à crémation*, Fig. 189 *B*). It is conceivable that, like the thickly modeled designs, the abbreviated types are later developments of a class of 15th–14th century Mitannian seals, in this case those characterized by the free arrangement of a number of motives, none of which assumes a predominant role in the composition (*AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 586–87 and 589–91 [all belonging to Porada's Group XV: sealings intermediate between her "common" and "elaborate" styles], 916). However, there is certainly not yet sufficient material to test such a hypothesis.

not reach the site in shipments from Assyria proper and that the glyptic from Sounding VI, despite the small area excavated, does give a true cross section of the glyptic used in the Khabur Valley in the 13th century, then it is significant that the bulk of the material is Assyrian. This contrasts with the finds at Canaanite sites where as many as thirty Mitannian seals could appear in a single level.[131] It seems possible that in the west Mitannian seals still continued to be made in considerable numbers when they had almost ceased to be made in their homeland. Apparently Middle Assyrian glyptic, which in the 14th century borrowed so much of the Mitannian heritage, had by the 13th century for the most part displaced Mitannian seals in the Khabur area, except for individual representatives of the older style, which in the cases of Designs XLIII and XLIV were in frequent use. Some of the Middle Assyrian sealings from Fakhariyah are of a quality unsurpassed by the finest examples from Assur, even though they were found, not in one of the capitals in the heart of Assyria, but in a provincial town located in what had been the center of Mitanni. The discovery of an extant cylinder (Design II) indicates that Middle Assyrian seals were used at Fakhariyah, and it seems unnecessary to assume that the Middle Assyrian bullae reached the town from Assyria proper. The glyptic from Sounding VI can be interpreted as an indication that a town on the western periphery of Assyria shared fully in one of the outstanding cultural developments of the Middle Assyrian period.

This strong connection with the art typical of the Assyrian capitals is only one manifestation of the expansion of the Assyrian state and culture that began with the fall of Mitanni. Fakhariyah and the area in which it lies were absorbed within the boundaries of Assyria, as is emphasized by the Fakhariyah tablets, some of which are dated by the names of Assyrian *limmu* officials and all of which contain only Assyrian proper names (see chap. ix). Although the Assyrianization of the Khabur Valley in the 13th century could have been one foundation for the claims of overlordship asserted in the area by Assyria in the first millennium, there is yet a great contrast between the situation in the 13th century, when the latest achievements of Assyrian glyptic art were shared by Fakhariyah, and that prevailing in the 9th century. During the dark and disturbed centuries between 1200 and 900 B.C. the Khabur area fell again outside the orbit of the Assyrian kingdom and culture. There was in the 9th century no question of its sharing fully in the development of the art of Assyria, but rather only crude attempts, as shown by the Tell Halaf sculptures, to copy at a great remove certain Assyrian motives, attempts made by sculptors sometimes hardly yet able to produce form from stone. Thus carvings, large and small, illustrate the alternating fortunes of Fakhariyah and the Khabur area, at times absorbed within Assyria, at times falling again outside its orbit.

Notwithstanding the entrenchment of Assyrian culture at Fakhariyah in the 13th century, there were continuous cross currents of cultural influences in this town on the periphery of the Assyrian domain. Thus Fakhariyah, though so far little excavated, has yielded a collection of Canaanite ivories without parallel in Assur. Despite our incomplete knowledge of the culture of the 13th-century town, the contrast between the western ivories and the Assyrian glyptic, which were in use at the same time, does suggest how such a border city could have been a cultural intermediary. The appearance at Megiddo, for example, of two ivories whose decoration is completely Assyrian in style[132] is more understandable when we remember the existence of towns like Fakhariyah, lying on the borders of two cultural provinces and forming a bridge between them.

[131] Beth Shan VII = Late Bronze II B (see e.g. *Iraq* XI 13 ff., Nos. 58, 60–85, 88, 90, 93).

[132] *Megiddo Ivories*, Nos. 123–24. These pieces will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming study on plant ornament in the ancient Near East.

A Middle Assyrian seal from Hamah, showing a bull beside a three-branched tree, cannot be cited in this connection, since we do not know when it reached Syria; it was found in a cremation burial of the Early Iron Age (Riis, *op. cit.* Fig. 190 *B*). A second Iron Age burial at Hamah yielded two seals, one certainly and the other possibly Kassite (*ibid.* Figs. 188–89 *A*). A seal considered by Riis as Middle Assyrian was found in still another Hamah burial (*ibid.* Fig. 190 *A*). Such seals may have been heirlooms that were buried a long time after their importation. A Kassite seal from Megiddo was found unfortunately in a badly disturbed tomb chamber without dated context (*Megiddo Tombs*, Pl. 90:8; see p. 31, Tomb 217 A).

IX

THE CUNEIFORM TABLETS

By HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

Of the twelve tablets and tablet fragments (Pls. 81–85) found at Fakhariyah by the Theodore Marriner Memorial Expedition, four are letters (Nos. 1–4) and eight are legal-economic documents (Nos. 5–12). It is stated in the field catalogue that the letters and one of the documents (No. 12) were unbaked when they were discovered. No statement of this kind is made concerning the other legal-economic documents. Since all the tablets have been baked or rebaked in the meantime, it is impossible now to ascertain whether the remaining documents were baked in antiquity. In favor of such an assumption one may adduce, first, that the express statement "unbaked" is found only with the letters and one document and, second, that one of the other documents (No. 11) shows the round holes which are considered characteristic of baked tablets. Against the assumption is the fact that two such holes occur in one of the letters (No. 3) also and the fact that document No. 12 was unbaked when it was found. The holes were made after completion of the writing and destroyed a number of signs.

Ten of the tablets (Nos. 2–11) are from Floor 2 of Sounding VI, that is, presumably from the lower floor of the building exposed in that sounding (see pp. 18 f.), and five of these (Nos. 5–9) were found together. Since some documents from Floor 2 are dated, it is possible to assign this occupation level to the Middle Assyrian period (see below on eponyms). Only two fragments were found elsewhere. No. 1 (F 164) is a small piece of a letter, which comes from Floor 1 of Sounding VI, that is, presumably from the upper floor of the building (see pp. 18 f.). The handwriting seems to be slightly different from that of the other texts, but the fragment is too small to allow for any exact dating. No. 12 (F 593) was found in the Iron Age palace of Sounding IX, in Room 4, east doorway, Floor 4. In spite of the date assigned to the palace (see p. 20), the fragment looks very much like a Middle Assyrian document. It is heavily sealed, but unfortunately the seal impressions are not clear enough for reconstruction. This piece, a list of food provisions, may be considered intrusive.

DATES

The following *limmu* dates occur, all on legal documents from Floor 2 of Sounding VI; among these, the first three dates are on the five tablets which were found together (Nos. 5–9).

1. Mudammiq-Nusku (^{m}*mu*-SIG$_5$-^{d}PA.KU), 5:27 and 6:28. The two documents were drawn up on the same date, for the same persons and in front of the same witnesses. Traces between the determinative and *mu* in No. 5 have to be considered as erased.

2. Ina-pî-Aššur-balāṭu (^{m}*ina-pi-*^{d}*a-šur*-DIN), 7:rev. 3; ([^{m}*i*]-*na-pi-*^{d}[*a-š*]*ur*[- . . .]), 8:rev. 2.

3. Aššur-nādin-apli ([$^{m.d}$]*a-šur*-SUM.DUMU.NITA), 9:11.

4. Mušabšiu-Sibitti (^{m}*mu-šab-ši-ú-*^{d}[. . .]), 10:13; more damaged in line 3. The plural form in *-ú* makes the restoration of the plural divine name Sibitti (^{d}IMIN.BI) certain. The second sign is clearly *šab* (PA + IB), not *ši-ib*, on our tablet.

Of these four eponyms, two are known and datable. *Limmu* 3[1] belongs to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I according to Weidner.[2] *Limmu* 4 is found on a royal inscription of Shalmaneser I[3] and also occurs at Tell Billa[4] in a text of the same period.

[1] See Ungnad in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, hrsg. von Erich Ebeling und Bruno Meissner, II (Berlin und Leipzig, 1938) 444, and Weidner in *AOF* XIII (1939–41) 313.

[2] *AOF* XIII 113, No. 6.

[3] Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 451, quoting *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* II, hrsg. von Otto Schroeder (*WVDOG* XXXVII [1922]) No. 41.

[4] Text 3:27 according to Finkelstein, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* VII (1953) 123, 143; quoted as Bi 6:27 by Speiser in *Symbolae . . . Koschaker* ("Studia et documenta . . ." II [Leiden, 1939]) p. 143. For the reading cf. Speiser, *loc. cit.*

The two other *limmu* dates (Nos. 1–2) are not to be found in Ungnad's and Weidner's lists and seem, therefore, to be new. The fact that their names appear on four documents (Nos. 5–8) which were found together with the one dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (No. 9, *limmu* 3) may be taken as indication that the eponyms 1 and 2 held office at a period not too remote from this king, or even during his reign. Weidner[5] states that of the 47 years of Tukulti-Ninurta I the names of 25 or 26 eponyms are known, so that from this point of view there would be no difficulty in assigning the two new eponyms to his reign, too.

Thus we have one document from the reign of Shalmaneser I (1272–1243 B.C.) and one certainly, four others possibly, from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242–1206 B.C.). If we assume that the region of Fakhariyah belonged to Hanigalbat, this date fits the information that Hanigalbat was conquered by Adad-nirari I (1304–1273 B.C.)[6] and reconquered by his son Shalmaneser I[7] and thus our documents date from a time after the latter conquest. The very fact that the documents are dated according to the Assyrian system, that is, by *limmu* dates, and after the Old Assyrian calendar[8] shows that Fakhariyah must have been under Assyrian rule.

PERSONAL NAMES

The names of persons mentioned in the Fakhariyah tablets are without exception Assyrian (see p. 90), a fact which indicates that Assyrian individuals lived at the site after the conquest of the region by the Assyrian kings. One would, of course, expect that there was a local, presumably Hurrian, population also, and both the size of the areas excavated and the number of tablets found in this one campaign are too small to allow for an *argumentum ex silentio*. As things stand now, however, documents of the Hurrian or Mitannian inhabitants of the place still await discovery. It is worth noting in this connection that even the serfs mentioned in No. 6 bear Assyrian names: Adallal, Aḫassu, Tibnu-uṣur, Ištar-šum-ēriš, a woman Aḫat-aḫḫī, and a man Ummušu.

None of the individuals has a title or an indication of his profession or rank, so that it is not possible to say whether the Assyrians were living there as officials of the Assyrian administration, as members of an Assyrian garrison, or as private settlers. No. 10 seems to be a document of the central administration—a list of rations given to officials(?) whose titles, with determinative LÚ, are lost. Other documents, however, especially Nos. 5 and 6, dealing with division of movable property, and the letters are of private nature. Therefore we can say that, whether or not the presence of these Assyrians had anything to do with the administration or a garrison, they lived and acted as individuals.

It is not possible from the texts found in Sounding VI to determine the owner of the building, presumably a house (see pp. 18–20). The main agents of the transactions Nos. 5 and 6 are two sons of Kube-ēriš—Adad-šum-rabbi and Kidin-Šuriḫa—and Adad-šallim, who, although called "son of Ubru," is treated like a brother of the other two (see 5:2–12). These three divided the property of Kube-ēriš. On the other hand, the person who is most frequently mentioned is Aššur-iddin, who transacted the deal of No. 9, whose yeoman (*ālik urki*) is among the addressees of letter No. 4, and who possibly wrote letter No. 3 (where only [. . .]-iddin remains of the writer's name); but his name does not occur in the above-mentioned family documents.

PLACE NAMES

Only two place names are preserved. Dunnu is mentioned in letter No. 2: *a-na* ^{uru}*du-ni al-la-ka*, "I shall come to Dunnu," and a possible Karmuša-Ištar in 11:6–8: (so and so much barley and bread) (6) *ša qāti* $^{m.d}$*Sin-ašarid* (7) *i-na* ^{uru}*Karme* (8) *ša Ištar*. There is no hint in this text as to identity of this "Mound of Ištar."

Dunnu is probably short for one of the numerous place names of the type *Dunnu-ša*-NN, "Stronghold of NN."[9] Since the writer of letter No. 2 informs the addressee that he is coming to

[5] *AOF* XIII 118.

[6] See Weidner in *AOF* V (1928–29) 89 ff. and VI (1930–31) 21 f.

[7] See Ebeling, Meissner, and Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (Leipzig, 1926) No. XXI, 1 ii 16–iii 7, pp. 116–19.

[8] Month names attested are *kuzallu*, 10:12; *allanāte*, 5:26 and 6:27: *muḫur-ilāni*, 9:9; *ḫibur*, 8:rev. 1; *ṣippu*, 7:rev. 2.

[9] See Ebeling, *Die Eigennamen der mittelassyrischen Rechts- und Geschäftsurkunden* ("Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft" XIII 1 [1939]) p. 96.

Dunnu and orders him to prepare for a banquet, Dunnu is obviously the place where the addressee lived. Furthermore, if the letter was actually found at the residence of the addressee—that is, if No. 2 is not a copy kept by the sender—it would follow that Fakhariyah is Dunnu. This possibility—at present it is no more—has to be kept in mind in any further discussion of the old hypothesis that Fakhariyah is the site of Washukani, the capital of the kingdom of Mitanni.

TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Only the seven better preserved texts are given in this section,[10] but hand copies of all twelve are included on Plates 81–85.

LETTERS

No. 2 (F 198)

a-na ^{m}*nu*(?)-*ú-li*(?)
2. *qí-bi-ma*
um-ma ^{m}*ni-nu-a-ia-ú-ma*

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4. *a-na* ^{uru}*du-ni al-la-ka*
[U]D.MEŠ-*te ma-da-te*
6. *ú*-x-x *a-na* 10-*ú*
a-na UGU-*ia il-lu-ku-ni*
8. *bi-il-lu lu ma*(!)-*ad*
li(eras.)-*ib-lu-lu*
10. *mi-im-ma*
la-áš-šu-x[11]
12. *la ta-pa-la-ni*
13. UD.25.KÁM

To Nūlu(?) speak: Thus says Ninuayau:

I shall come to Dunnu. For many days . . .s, by the tens(?), will come to me. Let *billu*-beer be plentiful! Let them prepare it! Do not answer me "There is none"!

(Date) The 25th.

No. 3 (F 364)

[*a-na* . . . .-]x-*ri*-x-*ia*
2. [*qí-bi*]- *ma*
[*um-ma* $^{m.d}$*a-šur*(?)]-*i-din-ma*

(4–13 fragmentary)

14. *šúm-ma mi-im-ma*! (text: *šu*!)
la-áš-šu-x[12]
16. *ta-ta-pa-al-šu*
ù ar-ḫi-iš
18. *la-a ta-ta-na-áš-šu*
a-na UGU *du-a-ki*
20. *te-el-li*
iš-tu ta-at-ta-na-šu-ni
22. x-x *a-na* UGU-*ia*
[*a*]*l-ka ṭé-e-ma*
24. [*q*]*i-bi-a*

[To . . .] . .-ri-. .-ya [speak: Thus says Aššur(?)]-iddin:

(First part of letter too fragmentary to be read)

(14) If you answer him "There is none" and (if) you do not give it to him at once, you will meet death! As soon as you have given it to him, come . . . . to me (and) bring me word!

No. 4 (F 365)

a-na ^{m}U-*mu-šab-ši*
2. ^{m}ÌR.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*
$^{m.d}$AG.KAR-*ni*
4. *ù a-lik ur-ki*
[*š*]*a* $^{m.d}$*a-šur-i-din*
6. *qí-bi-ma*
[*u*]*m-ma* $^{m.d}$30-*ú*-TI.LA[13]

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8. [*i-n*]*a* UD.16.KÁM
[*a-n*]*a tu-ar* DINGIR
10. [LUG]AL(?) *it-ta-ṣa*
[*i-na*(?)] UD.20.KÁM
(12–20 fragmentary)
21. [*lu*] *ṭà-ab*
22. *la-a ta-na-ak*[-*ku-d*]*a*

UD.22.KÁM

To Adad-mušabši, Arad-ilāni, Nabû-šūzibanni, and the yeoman of Aššur-iddin speak: Thus says Sinuballiṭ:

On the 16th day, at the return of the god, [the ki]ng(?) has left. On the 20th day, ... (12–20 fragmentary) [May your hearts] (21) be glad! Do not worry!

(Date) The 22d.

(It is unfortunate that this letter is so fragmentary. We do not know what is meant by "the return of the god," nor is the reading "[ki]ng" certain. Assuming that it is correct, the question arises what king is

[10] I wish to express my sincere thanks to Benno Landsberger, who helped acquaint me with Middle Assyrian texts and spared no effort in going through the Fakhariyah texts with me and discussing difficult passages over and over again.

[11] Sign like *ta*, but cf. 3:15, where it lacks one vertical, thereby rather looking like *iš*. In both places it seems to be a particle indicating quoted speech, but we cannot adduce any other occurrence.

[12] Sign here like *iš*, but cf. 2:11, where it rather looks like *ta*. For possible meaning see n. 11.

[13] Small trace of sign on right edge, belonging rather here than to line 21, but not *-ma*!

meant and whether the letter refers to happenings at Fakhariyah or in the capital Assur, whence the letter may, of course, have been sent.)

Two Documents Dealing with Division of Movable Property

No. 5 (F 270)

[KIŠIB ^{m}Šú-^{d}*šu-r*]*i-ḫa* ^{m}U-*šal-lim*
2. 2 ANŠE 50 (SÌLA) *še-um*
i-na UGU ^{m}Šú-^{d}*šu-ri-ḫa*
4. 2 ANŠE 50 (SÌLA) *še-um*
i-na UGU ^{m}U-*šal-lim* DUMU *ub-ri*
6. ŠU.NIGÍN 5 ANŠE *še-um*
ku-mu zu-bu-ul-la-a-e
8. *ša a-na* É *e-me-šu-nu*
iz-bi-lu-ni
10. ^{m}U.MU-*ra-bi*
ŠEŠ-(eras.)*šu-nu*
12. *la iz-bi-lu-ni*
i-na ad-ra-te
14. *a-na* ^{m}U.MU-*ra-bi*
DUMU *ku-be-*KAM *i-ma-du-du*
16. *ù tup-pu-šu-nu i-ḫap*(!)*-pi-ú*
šúm-ma i-na ad-ra-te
18. *la i-ta-nu še-um*
a-na MÁŠ *i-lak*

---

20. IGI ^{m}*ma-da-ša*(?)-U
DUMU Ì.GÁL.DINGIR
22. [IGI ^{m}X-X-]^{d}AMAR.UD
[DUMU ^{d}A]MAR.UD-*ki-na-i-šam-me*
24. [IGI ^{m}X-*š*]*a* DUB.SAR
[DUMU U.M]U-*li-šír*
26. [IT]U *al-la-na-tu* UD.10.KÁM
[*l*]*i-mu* ^{m}(eras.)*mu*-SIG$_5$-^{d}PA.KU

[Seal of Kidin-Šur]iḫa (and) Adad-šallim.

Two *emāru* fifty *qû* of barley, the debt of Kidin-Šuriḫa; two *emāru* fifty *qû* of barley, the debt of Adad-šallim, son of Ubru: total five *emāru* of barley, to make up for the bridal gift which they had carried to the house of their fathers-in-law (but) which their brother Adad-šum-rabbi had not carried, they shall mete out to Adad-šum-rabbi, son of Kube-ēriš, at the grain-storing season, and their tablet they will break. (But) if they do not pay in the grain-storing season, the barley will carry interest.

(Witnesses) Mada-ša(?)-Adad, son of Ibašši-ilu; [Dayānu(?)]-Marduk, son of Marduk-kīna-išamme; [Pu-š]a(?), the scribe, son of Adad-šum-līšir.

(Date) 10th of Allanātu, eponymate of Mudammiq-Nusku.

(Apparently the situation is the following: Two brothers received from their father, during his lifetime, the amount of barley needed as *zubullû* at their weddings. Now, at the time of division of their father's property [cf. No. 6], they have to recompense the one brother who had not received such provision in the past.)

No. 6 (F 271)

KIŠIB ^{m}U.MU-*ra-bi*
2. ^{m}*a-da-lal* ^{m}*a-ḫa-su*
^{m}*ti-ib-nu-u-ṣur*
4. $^{m.d}$U+DAR.MU.KAM
^{f}*a-ḫa-at-aḫ-ḫi*
6. ^{m}*um-mu-šu*
ŠU.NIGÍN 6 ERÉN.MEŠ *zi-it-tu*
8. *ša iš-tu* ^{m}U-*šal-lim* DUMU *ub-ri*
ù ^{m}U.MU-*ra-bi* DUMU *ku-be-*KAM
10. ^{m}Šú-^{d}*šu-ri-ḫa* DUMU *ku-be-*KAM-*ma*
il-te-šu-nu
12. *i-zu-zu-ú-ni*
iš-tu a-ḫa-iš
14. *zi-e*[*-zu*]
za-ku-ú
16. [*š*]*a di-na ù da*[*-ba-b*]*a*[14]
[*i-na*] *be-ru-šu-nu* (over eras.)
18. *ub-ta-a*^{2}*-ú-ni*
i-na [*z*]*i-it-ti* É *a-bi-šu*
20. *qa-su te-el-li*
IGI ^{m}*ma-da-ša*(?)-^{d}⟨I⟩M(!)
22. DUMU Ì.GÁL.DINGIR
IGI ^{m}[X-]X-^{d}AMAR.UD
24. DU[MU ^{d}A]MAR.UD-*ki-na-i-šam-me*
IGI ^{m}[*p*]*u*(?)-*ša* DUB[.SAR]
26. DUMU U . MU-*li-šír*
ITU *al-la-na-tu* UD.10.KÁM
28. *li-mu* ^{m}*mu*-SIG$_5$-^{d}PA.KU

Seal of Adad-šum-rabbi.

Adallal, Aḫassu, Tibnu-uṣur, Ištar-šum-ēriš, (woman) Aḫat-aḫḫī, Ummušu:

(7) Total: six persons, the share which by division with Adad-šallim, son of Ubru, and Adad-šum-rabbi, son of Kube-ēriš, Kidin-Šuriḫa, likewise a son of Kube-ēriš, has received.

(13) Among themselves they have made division and are even. Who among them seeks legal action shall forfeit (his) share of their father's estate.

(Witnesses) (21) Mada-ša(?)-Adad, son of Ibašši-ilu; [Dayānu(?)]-Marduk, son of Marduk-kīna-išamme; [P]u(?)-ša, the scr[ibe], son of Adad-šum-līšir.

(Date) 10th of Allanātu, eponymate of Mudammiq-Nusku.

[14] For an occurrence of this phrase in the Middle Assyrian period, see VAT 8722:21 f. (Weidner, *AOF* XIII, Pl. VII; reference from the files of the Oriental Institute's *Assyrian Dictionary*).

RECORDS OF DELIVERIES
No. 10 (F 273)

iš-tu ITU [. . . . . .]
2. UD.1.KÁM [*a-n*]*a* U[D.X.KÁM *li-me*]
^{m}*mu-šab-ši*[-*ú*-^{d}7.BI]
4. 2 SÌLA x x x [. . . . .]
½ SÌLA x x [. . . . . .]
6. 1½ SÌLA LÚ[. . . . . .]
1½ SÌLA LÚ[. . . . . .]
8. 1 SÌLA LÚ[. . . . . .]
ŠU.NIGÍN 5[+1½ SÌLA . . .]
10. *ša i-na* [. . . . . .]
il-qi-[*ú-ni*]

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12. ITU *ku-zal-lu* UD 20[+X.KÁM *li-mu*]
^{m}*mu-šab-ši-ú*-^{d}[7.BI]

From the first to the [. . .th of (month) . . . . , eponymate of] Mušabšiu-[Sibitti]:
(4) two *qû* . . . [for . . . .],
one-half *qû* [for . . . .],
(6) one and one-half *qû* for the (man) [. . . .],
one and one-half *qû* for the (man) [. . . .],
(8) one *qû* for the (man) [. . . .]:
Total si[x and one-half *qû* . . .] which in [. . . .] they have received.

(Date) 20[+x]th of Kuzallu, eponymate of Mušabšiu-Sibitti.

No. 11 (F 274)

top broken
x+1. [. . . . . .]x x 3 SÌLA ŠE
2. [x AN]ŠE 30 (SÌLA) NINDA
[*ša* Š]U ^{m}*nu-il*(?)-x(?)-*ia-e*
4. 70 ANŠE ŠE
12 ANŠE 5 SÌLA NINDA
6. *ša* ŠU $^{m.d}$30.SAG
i-na ^{uru}*kar-me*
8. *ša* U+DAR

Of the date formula, only [. . . . . U]D.X.KÁM [*li-m*]*u* is preserved.

. . . and three *qû* of barley, [x] *emāru* and thirty *qû* of bread from Nuil. . .yau(?); seventy *emāru* of barley, twelve *emāru* and five *qû* of bread from Sin-ašarid in Karmu-ša-Ištar.

(Date illegible).

LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES

I. Eponyms: see p. 86.
II. Serfs: all in 6:2–6 (see p. 87).
III. Other individuals:
Adad-mušabši (^{m}U-*mu-šab-ši*): 4:1, first addressee of letter.
Adad-šallim (^{m}U-*šal-lim*), son of Ubru: 5:1 (seal), 5:5, 6:8.
Adad-šum-lišir (U.MU-*li-šir*), father of scribe [P]u(?)-ša: 5:25, 6:26.
Adad-šum-li[-. . .] (U.MU-*l*[*i*- . . .]), father of Bulu(?): 9:4.
Adad-šum-rabbi (^{m}U.MU-*ra-bi*), son of Kube-ēriš: 5:10, 5:14, 6:1 (seal), 6:9.
Aḫu-illika (^{m}ŠEŠ.DU-*ka*): 7:2.
Arad-ilāni (^{m}ÌR.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni*): 4:2, co-addressee of letter.
Aššur-iddin ($^{m.d}$*a-šur-i-din*): 9:2; *ù a-lik ur-ki ša* $^{m.d}$*a-šur-i-din*: 4:4 f., among addressees; [. . . .]-*i-din*: 3:3, sender of letter.
Bulu? (^{m}*bu-li*[?], gen.), son of Adad-šum-li[-. . .]: 9:3.
^{m}*Da-be-ia*: 1:3.[15]
[Dayānu(?)]-Marduk (^{m}[x-]x-^{d}AMAR.UD; long horizontal taken as end of [DI.KU]D), son of Marduk-kīna-išamme, witness: 5:22, 6:23.
Ibašši-ilu (Ì.GÁL.DINGIR), father of witness Mada-ša(?)-Adad: 5:21, 6:22.
Kidin-Šuriḫa (^{m}Šú-^{d}*šu-ri-ḫa*), son of Kube-ēriš: 5:1 (seal), 5:3, 6:10.
Kidin-[. . . .] (^{m}*ki-din*[-. . . .]): 9:5.
Kube-ēriš (*ku-be*-KAM), father of Adad-šum-rabbi: 5:15, 6:9; father of Kidin-Šuriḫa: 6:10.
Mada-ša(?)-Adad, son of Ibašši-ilu, witness: ^{m}*ma-da-ša*(?)-U, 5:20; [^{m}]*ma-da-ša*(?)-^{d}⟨I⟩M(!), 6:21.
Marduk-kīna-išamme (^{d}AMAR.UD-*ki-na-i-šam-me*), father of witness [Dayānu(?)]-Marduk: 5:23, 6:24.
Nabû-šūzibanni ($^{m.d}$AG.KAR-*ni*): 4:3, co-addressee of letter.
Ninuayau (^{m}*ni-nu-a-ia-ú*): 2:3, sender of letter.
^{m}*Nu-il*(?)-x(?)-*ia-e* (gen.): 11:3.
Nūlu? (^{m}*nu*[?]-*ú-li*, gen.): 2:1, addressee of letter.
^{m}[*P*]*u*(?)-*ša*, son of Adad-šum-lišir, scribe: 5:24, 6:25.
Sin-ašarid ($^{m.d}$30.SAG): 11:6.
Sin-uballiṭ ($^{m.d}$30-*ú*-TI.LA): 4:7, sender of letter.
Ubru (*ub-ri*, gen.), father of Adad-šallim: 5:5, 6:8.
[. . . .-]x-*ri*-x-*ia*: 3:1, addressee of letter.

[15] The reader is reminded that No. 1 (F 164) is the one tablet which comes from Floor 1 of Sounding VI (see p. 86).

LIST OF OBJECTS ACCORDING TO FINDSPOTS

Sherds which are not recorded in the field catalogue are listed by their serial numbers as given in the pottery catalogue (pp. 29–41) and on Plates 28–42. All other objects are listed by their field numbers. Italicized field numbers refer to objects known only from notations in the field catalogue. For other entries, except flint and obsidian artifacts, references to illustrations or catalogue numbers in the present volume are given. Since the flint and obsidian artifacts are not described individually (chap. v), there are references for the illustrated specimens only. Proveniences are given as they are recorded in the field catalogue, but in certain cases interpretation is involved in the pertinent chapters of the text. Where no floor or other designation appears, the field catalogue records only the sounding number.

CITY WALL

Pottery 1–5 (No. 3=frit)
F 21, complete bronze bell without clapper
F 22, glass bottle neck with applied decoration
F 23, decorated pottery lamp fragment
F 24, decorated carved stone fragment
F 25, stone ball (weight?)
F 26, egg-shaped weight(?) of stone
F 27–28, glass fragments with applied blue strips
F 90, complete decorated pottery lamp
F 137, complete red-buff jug with handle

LINE 1[1]

F 126, potsherd with decorated blue-green glaze and handle
F 127, amulet (Pl. 51:24)

LINE 1a[1]

F 149, 28 small bronze coins

LINE 1b[1]

Pottery 67
F 148, decorated pottery lamp fragment, inscribed

SOUNDING I

Lower floor — *F 1*, seal impression on pottery

Lower part (no floor) — F 13, bead (Pl. 51:10)
F 14, ostrich egg fragment
F 15, small triangular pyramid of white stone
F 20, bone plaque with two perforations

Floor 7 — Pottery 34, 38, 40, 43, 45–47
F 43–44, low bowls with painted stripes around inside (see Pottery 40)
F 45, Pottery 39
F 46–48, low bowls with painted stripes around inside (see Pottery 40)
F 49, Pottery 41
F 50, low bowl with painted stripes around inside (see Pottery 40)
F 51–52, low bowls without decoration (see Pottery 35)
F 53, Pottery 35
F 54–56, low bowls without decoration (see Pottery 35)
F 57, Pottery 37
F 58, Pottery 36
F 59, Pottery 42
F 60–61, handleless cups with painted stripes running around (see Pottery 42)
F 62, Pottery 44

Floor 12 — F 63, Pottery 54
F 64, large coarse buff jar

Floor 17 — F 72, bead (Pl. 51:17)
F 105, Pottery 55

Floor 19 — Pottery 56–57
F 91, bead (Pl. 51:11)

SOUNDING IA

Pottery 32
F 32, bead (Pls. 51:13, 52:13)
F 67, baked-clay ram's head with perforation

Unstratified — Pottery 31
F 104, bronze ring set with two stones

Floor 2 — Pottery 33
F 77, bronze coin
F 78, bronze ring
F 79, bead (cf. Pl. 51:19)
F 80–81, beads (Pl. 51:19, 14)
F 88, stamp seal (Design LIV)
F 89, carved bone pin(?) fragment

Floor 3 — Pottery 50
F 106–7, Pottery 48–49
F 108–9, small unpainted pots with incised bands around shoulder

[1] Refers to survey control point 1 (in Square E IX; see Pl. 87).

Floor 4	F 110–11, beads (Pl. 51:18, 12) *F 112*, cylindrical black stone weight F 113, bead (Pl. 51:20)
Floor 5	F 194–95, Pottery 51–52 *F 296*, large group of blue, white, yellow, and gray frit and shell beads, poor condition
Floor 6	F 244, flint F 245–47, beads (Pl. 51:15, 21, 16) F 261, Pottery 53 F 297, 7 beads (e.g. Pl. 51:22) *F 298*, gray-green whetstone fragment

SOUNDING II

	F 68, fragment of architectural ornament of carved stone *F 74*, 5 bronze coins *F 133*, decorated buff bowl *F 134*, buff pot, handle missing *F 135*, large buff jar with three handles and blob decoration *F 136*, two-handled buff jug
Stone floor	*F 97*, pottery lamp fragment *F 98*, perforated fragment of polished horn *F 99*, 2 large bronze coins *F 100*, small undecorated green stone spindle whorl *F 101*, perforated tool sharpener(?) of stone *F 102*, small crudely made pottery vase or bottle *F 103*, small undecorated greenish jug(?) with handle
Floor 2[2]	*F 73*, large bone point fragment F 84, Pottery 58 *F 85*, small undecorated pot *F 86*, rim and shoulder of small undecorated pot
Toilet	*F 118*, complete pottery lamp decorated with Roman numerals

SOUNDING IV

Well	Pottery 9 F 37–38, glass bowls (Pottery 6–7) *F 39*, glazed bowl fragment F 40, pottery 8 *F 41*, two-handled buff pot *F 42*, decorated pottery lamp(?) fragment *F 69*, buff pot without handle *F 70*, buff pot with handle
Floor 2 (below Floor 1)	*F 5*, limestone fragment with carved leaves or flowers *F 6*, limestone fragment carved with two human figures *F 7*, complete pottery lamp with inscribed base *F 8*, half of decorated stone spindle whorl
Floor 2	Pottery 10–11
Below Floor 2	*F 33*, complete rectangular object of bone decorated with concentric circles *F 34*, complete bronze fibula *F 35*, complete inscribed and decorated pottery lamp *F 36*, small glass bottle fragment
Floor 3	Pottery 13–16 *F 4*, black bone handle fragment with incised decoration
Floor 4	Pottery 17–18 *F 10–12*, decorated pottery lamp fragments *F 16–19*, decorated (cross) pottery lamp fragments *F 139*, small red double-angled bowl
Below Floor 4	F 66, pendant or amulet (Pl. 51:23) *F 71*, complete bone pin or needle with two perforations in head
Floor 5	Pottery 19–20 *F 87*, undecorated pottery fragment
Floor 6	Pottery 21–24 *F 82–83*, small undecorated pots F 93, disk (Pl. 51:25)
Floor 7	F 114–16, beads (Pl. 51:27, 28, 26)
Floor 8	*F 173*, bronze tweezers *F 174*, bronze earring
Floor 9	F 124, flint F 125, potsherd disk (Pl. 51:34)

SOUNDING V

Top	Pottery 25 *F 2*, glass goblet base fragment F 3, steatite bowl fragment (Pl. 51:32)
Floor 2	Pottery 26
Floor 3	*F 29–30*, complete decorated pottery lamps F 31, steatite bowl fragment (Pl. 51:36) *F 65*, animal head(?) of white stone
Below Floor 3	*F 9*, complete decorated pottery lamp *F 75*, 8 bronze coins
Floor 4	Pottery 27–29

[2] "Floor 2" is not mentioned in McEwan's description of Sounding II. Presumably the designation as used in the field catalogue refers to the stone floor associated with the toilet (see p. 2).

Floor 5
Pottery 30
F 76, 2 bronze coins
F 92, large seal impression(?) on clay
F 138, undecorated red-buff pot-stand

Floor 7
F 94, scaraboid stamp seal (Design LVII)
F 117, blue glass bottle fragment
F 128, weight(?) of black stone

Floor 9
F 146, bone pinhead fragment
F 147, three-pronged iron arrowhead

SOUNDING VI

Pottery 59–60 (No. 59 = frit)

Surface
F 120, decorated alabaster disk fragment
F 154, stone head (Pl. 51:37)
F 308, small box cover(?) of white alabaster(?)
F 309, worked white stone without decoration
F 310, ball-shaped (end of baton?) lead fragment

Top to surface
F 95, mosaic fragment (Pl. 51:33)
F 96, bone spindle(?) fragment

VIA (see p. 45, n. 22)
F 232, bead (Pl. 51:30)
F 233, spacer bead or button (Pl. 51:29)
F 234, Sealings 73–78 (Designs VI, VII, XX, XXIX, XLIII)

VIA (pot burial[3])
F 235, 2 iron rings (bracelets?) and fragments of iron (e.g. Pl. 45:1)
F 236, beads (Pls. 45:2, 52:11)

VIA (burial[4])
F 237*a–l*, projectile points (Pls. 45:3–13, 52:15–17)
F 238, rod (Pl. 45:14)
F 239, unworked clay lump
F 240, iron knife blade and 4 (2 arrowheads and 2 blades?) iron fragments
F 241, crude undecorated pottery lamp fragment
F 242, Pottery 63
F 243, large coarse jar without handles or decoration

Floor 1 (see pp. 18 f.)
F 130, two-handled reddish pot
F 131, two-handled buff jug
F 132, buff jug with very small base and no handles (see p. 35)
F 155, white stone spindle whorl without decoration
F 156, worked shell with perforation
F 157, figurine (Pl. 44:38)
F 158, decorated baked-clay knob
F 159, frit hemisphere with incised line decoration
F 160, bead (Pl. 44:18)
F 161, gray stone disk bead
F 162, 4 flint and 3 obsidian artifacts
F 163, Sealings 5–10, 12–15 (Designs III, VII, XIV, XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XLIII, XLIV), 11, 16 (designs undecipherable)
F 164, Tablet 1
F 175, Sealings 10–37, 44–49, 51–52 (Designs III, V, IX, XII, XIII, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXXII, XXXIII, XLI–XLIV), 38–41, 43, 50, 53 (designs not identified)
F 176, figurine (Pl. 44:39)
F 177, plaque fragment (Pl. 44:17)
F 178, 3 flints and an obsidian artifact
F 202, bronze ring
F 203, Sealings 54–66 (Designs IX, XII, XXII, XXXVI, XL, XLIII, XLIV, LIII) and 67 (design undecipherable)
F 299–300, small undecorated buff bowls
F 301, larger undecorated buff bowl
F 372, small bronze coin
F 373, bronze(?) object (Pl. 44:40)
F 378, seal(?) impression on clay
F 601, wall nail fragment (Pl. 43:2)

Floor 2 (see pp. 18 f.)
F 121–22, cylinder seals (designs LI–LII)
F 123, earring (Pl. 44:36)
F 140, small gray-buff bowl
F 141, gray-buff bowl
F 150, Sealings 1–2 (Designs III, IX) and 3–4 (designs undecipherable)
F 151, wall nail fragment (Pl. 43:1)
F 152–53, complete small undecorated buff bowls
F 165, bead (Pls. 44:25, 52:6)
F 166*a–d*, rosettes (Pls. 43:10, 44:1–3)
F 166*e–o*, beads (Pls. 44:19–24, 52:3–5)
F 167, Sealing 17 (Design XXVIII) and 18–19 (designs undecipherable)
F 168–70, beads (Pl. 44:27, 28, 26)
F 171, decorated white frit bead fragment
F 172, complete bronze needle
F 187–89, coarse buff bowls (with pot burial[5])
F 190–91, small buff bowls
F 192, Pottery 62
F 193, large coarse reddish bowl
F 197, cylinder seal (Design II)
F 198, Tablet 2
F 199, fragment of stamp seal impression on clay (found with F 198)
F 200, bronze arrow point
F 201, bronze ring
F 204, Sealings 68–71 (Designs III, XXVII, XXXI) and 72 (design undecipherable)
F 248, obsidian artifact

[3] Burial II (see pp. 45 f.).

[4] Burial III (see p. 46).

[5] Burial I (see p. 4, n. 2, p. 45, and Pl. 20 *B–D*).

F 249, Sealings 79–84 (Designs IV, XI, XV, XLIII, XLIV)
F 266, 4 flints
F 267, Sealings 85–90 (Designs XI, XXX, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XLIII, XLIV)
F 268, very large bead(?) of white stone
F 269, Tablet 9 (bearing seal Design XXI)
F 270–71, Tablets 5–6 (bearing seal Designs XVI and X respectively)
F 272*a–b*, Tablets 7–8
F 273–74, Tablets 10–11
F 275, bead (Pl. 44:32)
F 276, red mottled stone object(?)
F 277, bronze blade
F 278, baked-clay figurine fragment (humped cow or bull?)
F 279, bead (Pl. 44:31)
F 280, 48 small white shells, pierced for beads
F 281, bead (Pl. 44:30)
F 282, bronze arrow point
F 283*a–l*, rosettes (Pls. 43:5, 7, 8 and 44:4–7, 9–12, 15)
F 283*m*, pendant (Pl. 44:16)
F 284, small coarse bowl (reused base of larger pot?)
F 285, coarse pot without handles or decoration
F 302, Sealing 91 (Design L)
F 303–4, 2 flints
F 305, bone disk, perforated in center
F 306, Sealings 92–102, 104, 106 (Designs I, VIII, IX, XI, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXVI, XLIV), 103, 105, 107–8 (designs undecipherable)
F 307*a–e*, rosettes (Pls. 43:3–4 and 9, 44:13–14)
F 311–12, beads (Pl. 44:29, 34)
F 313, lead needle
F 314, obsidian artifact
F 315, rosette (Pl. 43:6)
F 316, Sealings 109–14 (Designs IX, XXXVI, XXXIX, XLIV)
F 317, small pot without handles or decoration
F 318, small undecorated bowl
F 364–65, Tablets 3–4
F 366, Sealing 115 (Design IX)
F 369, undecorated reddish bowl
F 371, Pottery 61
F 376, small undecorated buff bowl
F 377, large pot-stand(?), cylindrical with two openings in side (see p. 20, n. 39)
F 379, obsidian artifact
F 380, bead (Pl. 44:33)
F 381, rosette (Pl. 44:8)
F 429, pendant? (Pl. 44:37)
F 430, flint

Floor 3 (see p. 4, n. 2)
F 431, bone pin fragment with traces of red paint in incised lines
F 432, Sealings 116–17 (Designs XXXIV–XXXV)
F 433, bead (Pl. 44:35)

SOUNDING VII

F 119, complete decorated pottery lamp (from surface)
F 142, small complete undecorated bone spindle whorl
F 143, head of large bone needle(?) with two perforations
F 144, decorated pottery lamp fragment
F 145, 2 bronze coins

SOUNDING IX

Pottery 99

Unstratified
F 319, small glass bottle
F 320, blue glass bottle fragment
F 321, bronze coin
F 322, bead (Pl. 51:5)
F 323, 12 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 323*a*, polished black stone rectangular fragment (*ca.* 30 [up to break] × 40 mm. and 7 mm. thick) with three unbroken edges beveled
F 324–28, decorated pottery lamps
F 329, decorated pottery lamp fragment with two wick holes
F 330, small bowl with piecrust edge
F 331, large flask with small neck and two handles
F 332, painted jug with one handle
F 333, pitcher with one handle and no decoration
F 334, one-handled jug elongated into piecrust edge
F 335, decorated round lid with lug in center
F 336, bronze pot
F 337, large bronze lid
F 338–39, anklets(?) of bronze
F 385, cylinder seal (Design XLV)
F 408, flint
F 409, bone amulet with two perforations, human arm and hand
F 454, iron projectile point
F 455, decorated pottery lamp fragment
F 456, 4 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 461, bead (Pl. 51:9)
F 462, flint

Surface
F 129, three-pronged iron arrowhead
F 181, figurine head (Pl. 51:1)

Burial 2 m. above paving[6]
F 216–17, bronze anklets, three bands
F 218, bronze bracelet

[6] Burial IV (see p. 51). There is no way of identifying the paving.

F 219, bronze earring
F 220, shell bead(?), perforated
F 221, fluted black frit bead
F 222, bead (Pls. 50:25, 52:12)
F 223, earring (Pl. 50:24)
F 224, very small bronze ring
F 225, small white frit pendant
F 226, cylindrical bead of white shell
F 227, cylindrical bead of tan frit with incised decoration
F 228, decorated square bead of white frit
F 229, fluted tan frit bead
F 230, irregular white frit bead
F 231, half of large white frit bead

Outside east wall
F 386, 17 flint and obsidian artifacts

Surface to 1 m.
F 387, 33 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 388, small blue glass bottle fragment
F 389, bead (Pl. 51:8)
F 390, lead cylinder with iron adhesions
F 391–400, decorated pottery lamps
F 401, complete undecorated pottery lamp
F 442, Pottery 65
F 463–64, decorated pottery lamp fragments
F 465, decorated white stone fragment

Surface to 2 m.
Pottery 66, 68
F 196, Pottery 73
F 205–6, decorated pottery lamps
F 207, Pottery 72
F 208, large coarse cup(?) with lug and perforation
F 209, crude black stone mortar and pestle
F 210, large bronze coin
F 211, bronze ring
F 212–14, three-pronged iron arrow points
F 215, 9 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 251, crude undecorated pottery lamp fragment
F 252, decorated pottery lamp fragment
F 253, pottery lamp fragment decorated with Roman numerals
F 254, undecorated stone spindle whorl
F 255, 4 three-pronged iron arrow points
F 256, bronze ring with small bar attached
F 257, large stone sphere, rubbed in spots
F 258, worked stone fragment (whetstone?)
F 259, 22 flints
F 260, Pottery 74
F 262, 124 flint and obsidian artifacts

Floor 1
Pottery 76–80 and possibly 81
F 179, 12 flints (above paving)
F 180, large coarse red potsherd decorated with incised circles (on paving)
F 341, 30 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 342, 3 beads (Pl. 51:3)
F 343, inlay (Pl. 51:7)
F 344, small glazed pot with no handles (burned)
F 345, small buff pot fragment with perforation and no handles
F 368, buff bowl with red wash or paint and no decoration
F 374, coarse perforated baked-clay sphere (macehead?)
F 402, bone handle decorated with incised circles and lines, traces of red paint
F 403, bone spindle whorl with incised lines
F 404, bone fragment with incised circles
F 405, Pottery 75*a*
F 410, complete decorated pottery lamp
F 411, bone disk with incised lines and perforated center
F 412, undecorated bone wand fragment
F 413, bone handle fragment
F 414, bronze coin
F 415, bead (Pls. 51:4, 52:10)
F 416, Pottery 75
F 417, door handle(?) of bronze
F 418–20, glass fragments
F 457, small bronze coin
F 458, 7 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 477, decorated pottery lid fragment
F 495, decorated pottery lamp, inscribed
F 496, decorated pottery lamp
F 497, decorated pottery lamp, inscribed
F 498, decorated pottery lamp fragment
F 499, small undecorated spindle whorl of black stone
F 500–505, decorated pottery lamps
F 506, decorated pottery lamp, inscribed
F 507, undecorated buff jug with handle
F 508, undecorated red-buff bowl
F 509, bronze fibula bow
F 510, small undecorated rectangular box(?) of white stone
F 511, baked-clay fragment with rectangular indentation
F 512, bronze fragment
F 513, flint
F 514, clay disk with large perforation in center
F 515, large white stone object with crudely carved Byzantine cross
F 516, undecorated buff pot with knob base and no handles

F 517, undecorated reddish-buff pot with no handles
F 518, undecorated reddish-buff jug with handle
F 592b, bronze coin

Below Floor 1 — *F 487*, complete decorated pottery lamp

Floors 1–2 — Pottery 82–83

Floor 2 — Pottery 84–88, 90–91, 93–96
F 182, 25 flint and obsidian artifacts (on paving)
F 183, bead (Pls. 50:22, 52:7)
F 184, flint (on paving)
F 185, small lead disk (on paving)
F 250, lead fragment
F 251, 6 flints and 3 obsidian artifacts
F 286, coarse undecorated buff pot with no handles, round (1 m. above paving)
F 287, bronze fibula fragment, pin missing
F 288, large bronze wire hook
F 289, mother-of-pearl petal-shaped inlay
F 290, small pot with no handles or decoration
F 291, 113 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 292–93, beads (Pl. 50:15, 14)
F 346, 125 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 347, decorated pottery lamp fragment
F 348, small crude three-legged stone bowl
F 349, bone spindle whorl with incised lines running around
F 350, weight(?) of black stone
F 351, small blue frit fluted bead
F 352, bronze finger ring
F 353, bead or small buckle(?) of stone
F 354, 6 small bronze coins
F 359–60, undecorated narrow-necked buff flasks with two handles
F 361–62, small narrow-necked pots with pointed base and no handles (F 361 burned)
F 363, small flat-based pot with no handles
F 367, Pottery 92
F 370, 2 beads (Pl. 50:18; with skeleton)
F 375, 2 beads (Pl. 50:23)
F 384, large coarse undecorated jar with lid and no handles, containing bones
F 421, glass fragment
F 422, small bronze coin
F 423–24, three-pronged iron arrowheads
F 425, one flint and one obsidian artifact
F 426, decorated bronze fragment, stamped
F 434, bead (Pl. 50:16)
F 435, bead (Pls. 50:19, 52:9)
F 436, 18 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 437, 2 bronze coins
F 438, 8 flints (on floor with F 437)
F 439, Sealing 121 (Design LVI; on floor with F 437)
F 443, large bone pin or needle fragment
F 444–46, 3 flints
F 447, Pottery 89
F 466–67, 2 flints
F 468, undecorated stone spindle whorl
F 469, polished cone-shaped stone object
F 470, decorated pot lid(?) fragment
F 472–73, 2 flints
F 474, molded pottery fragment
F 480, 10 flints
F 481, potsherd (with writing in ink?)
F 482, small diamond-shaped piece of bronze
F 491, bead (Pls. 50:20, 52:8)
F 492, fluted green frit bead fragment
F 519, decorated pottery lamp
F 520, decorated pottery lamp, inscribed
F 521, potsherd with incised decoration and perforations
F 522, globular baked-clay weight(?) with center perforation
F 523, 6 small bronze coins
F 524, bronze bracelet
F 525, bone pin fragment
F 526, small undecorated gray stone spindle whorl
F 527, white stone disk with one concave face
F 528, bead (Pl. 50:17)
F 529, perforated fragment of worked white stone
F 530, 8 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 531, 4½ bronze coins
F 532–33, beads (Pl. 51:2, 6)
F 534, undecorated buff pot with no handles
F 535, spindle whorl (Pl. 50:21)
F 536, bronze pin or needle shaft
F 537, clay spindle whorl
F 538, clay bottle stopper
F 591, jewelry mold (Pl. 50:1)

Well from Floor 2 — Pottery 64
F 475, decorated bone spindle whorl fragment
F 476, stone disk, perforated at edge
F 483, decorated pottery lamp fragment
F 484, decorated bone spindle whorl

Under Floor 2 — F 186, cylinder seal (Design XLIX; under paving)
F 488, basalt weight or pestle

Above Floor 3 — F 459, inlay? (Pl. 49:6; 35 cm. above floor)
F 460, basalt fragment representing toes? (35 cm. above floor)
F 494, Pottery 97

Floor 3
Pottery 104–5
F 263, 25 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 264–65, beads (Pl. 49:9–10)
F 294, 4 fragments of animal horns (or tusks?)
F 295, 7 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 340, 13 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 355, Pottery 103 (at north edge)
F 356, 4 flint and obsidian artifacts (at north edge)
F 357, potsherd disk (Pl. 49:2)
F 358, 20 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 382, 17 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 383, bead (Pl. 49:11)
F 406, flint
F 407, bead (Pl. 49:12)
F 427, amulet (Pl. 49:7)
F 428, 7 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 440, 4 flints (outside palace)
F 441, stamp seal (Design LV; outside palace)
F 448, macehead fragment (Pl. 49:8; on baked brick)
F 449, arrowhead (Pls. 49:5, 52:14; on baked brick)
F 450, lance head (Pls. 49:4, 52:19; on baked brick)
F 451, Sealing 118 (Design XLVIII; outside palace)
F 452–53, 2 flints (outside palace)
F 471, flint (outside palace)
F 478, celt (Pl. 54:4; on paved floor)
F 479, flint (on paved floor)
F 485, bone handle fragment with two perforations
F 486, bead (Pl. 49:14)
F 489, 16 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 490, Sealing 119 (Design XLVII; west of palace)
F 493, small bronze projectile point
F 539, bead (Pl. 49:13)
F 540, petrified wood(?) fragment
F 541, 6 flint and obsidian artifacts

Floors 3–4
Pottery 106–7

Floor 4
F 542, Sealing 120 (Design XLVI)
F 543, projectile point (Pls. 49:3, 52:18)
F 544, celt (Pl. 54:6)
F 545, 10 flints
F 593, Tablet 12 (Room 4, east doorway)
F 594*a–b*, plaques (Pl. 47:21, 5; Room 4, east doorway)
F 595*a–x*, decorative elements (Pls. 47: 1–4, 6–20 and 48:1–7; Room 4, doorway to Room 1)
F 595*aa–cc*, beads (Pl. 47:22, 24, 23)
F 596, small undecorated gold earring (Room 4, doorway to Room 1)

Floor 5
Pottery 108
F 546, 94 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 547, potsherd disk (Pl. 49:1)
F 548, weight(?) or rubbing stone(?) of basalt

Floor 6
Pottery 109–12
F 549, 162 flint and obsidian artifacts (e.g. Pl. 53:3, 6)
F 550, needle (Pl. 46:6)
F 551, pin (Pl. 46:8)
F 553, needle or pin (Pl. 46:9)
F 554, rectangular object (Pl. 46:11)
F 555, 8 worked globular stones
F 556, bead (Pl. 46:12)
F 557, bone implement (Pl. 46:7)
F 558, cylinder (Pl. 46:5)
F 559, celt (Pl. 54:7)
F 560, celt (p. 55)
F 561, dish(?) fragment (Pl. 46:10)
F 562, small undecorated buff pot with no handles
F 563, undecorated buff jar with no handles
F 564, Ivories 1–63 (chap. vii)

Below Floor 6
F 573, 39 flint (e.g. Pl. 54:1) and obsidian artifacts (Room E)
F 574, bead (Pls. 46:15, 52:2; Room E)
F 575–77, beads (Pl. 46:16–18; Room E)
F 578, 34 flint and obsidian artifacts (Room 1)
F 579, blade? (Pl. 46:2; Room 1)
F 580, 39 flint and obsidian artifacts (Room 1)
F 599, 36 flint and obsidian artifacts (Room 1)
F 600, celt (Pl. 54:5; Room 1)

Between Floors 6 and 7[7]
Pottery 113–20
F 565, 11 flint and obsidian (e.g. Pls. 53:2, 4 and 54:2) artifacts
F 566, 4 small worked globular stones
F 567, 54 flint and obsidian (e.g. Pls. 53:1, 54:3) artifacts

Floor 7[7]
F 568, 129 flint and obsidian artifacts
F 569, small stone globe
F 570–72, celts (p. 55)
F 581, bead (Pl. 46:19)
F 582, bead (Pls. 46:20, 52:1)
F 583, bead or pendant of same material as F 582
F 584–85, beads (Pl. 46:14, 13)

[7] There is no mention of "Floor 7" in McEwan's description of Sounding IX. Presumably the designation as used in the field catalogue refers to the deposit associated with the walls whose tops were exposed below Floor 6 (see p. 10), but work was stopped before "Floor 7" itself was reached.

F 586, handle? (Pl. 46:3)
F 587, bone object (Pl. 46:4)
F 588, spatula or scraper (Pl. 46:1)
F 589, pendant fragment (Pl. 46:22)
F 590, bead (Pl. 46:21)

Trench between column base and statuettes (see p. 10)

Pottery 122–26 (Nos. 124–26 with statuettes)
F 552, bracelet (Pl. 46:26; with statuettes)
F 592*a*, pottery 121
F 597, stone object (Pl. 46:23; near statuettes)
F 598, obsidian artifact (near statuettes)
F 602, bracelet fragment (Pl. 46:24; with statuettes)
F 603, bone object (Pl. 46:25; with statuettes)

PROVENIENCE UNKNOWN

Pottery 12, 69–71, 98, 100–102, 127–37
F 604–5, beads (Pl. 51:31, 35)

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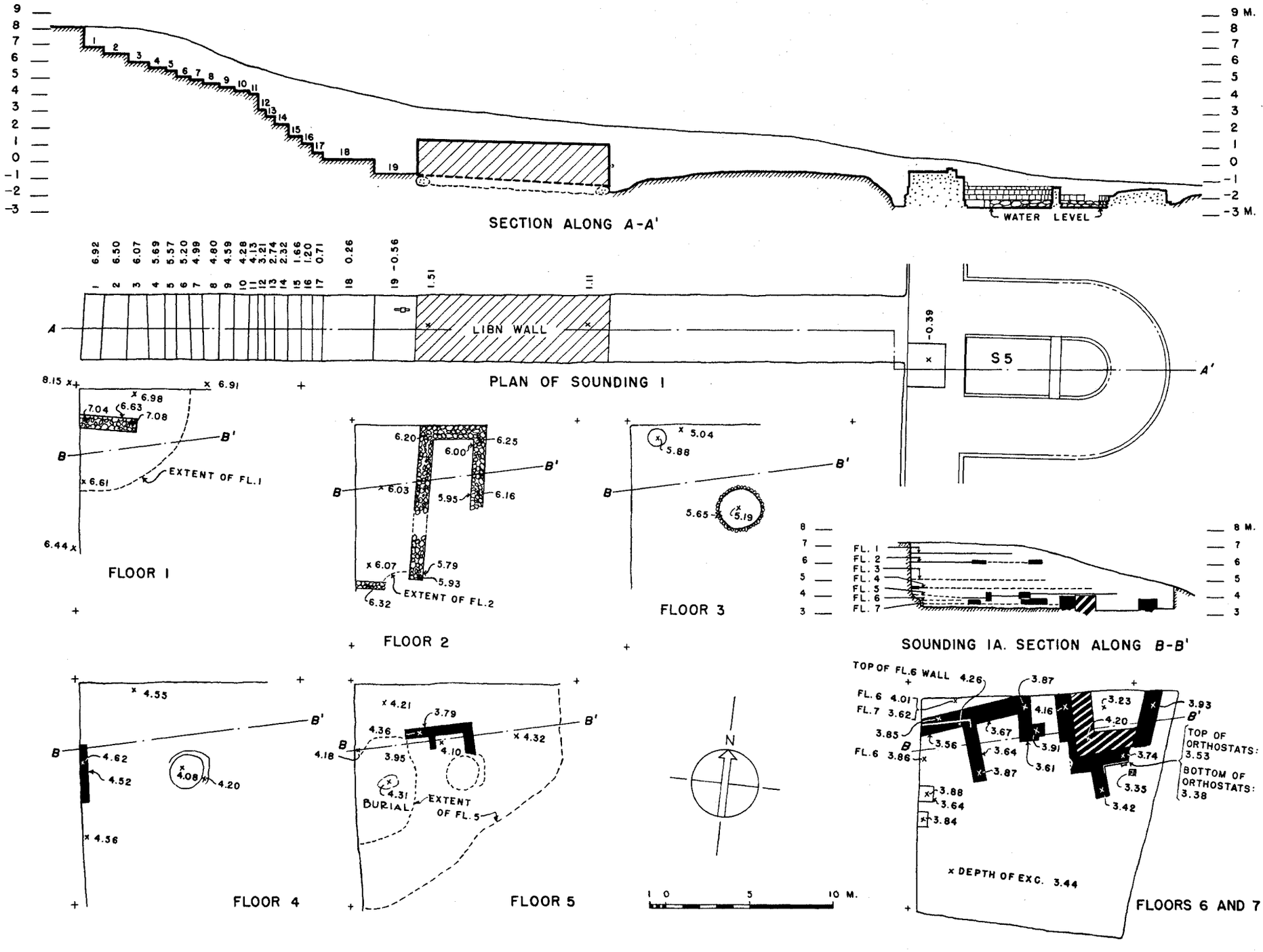
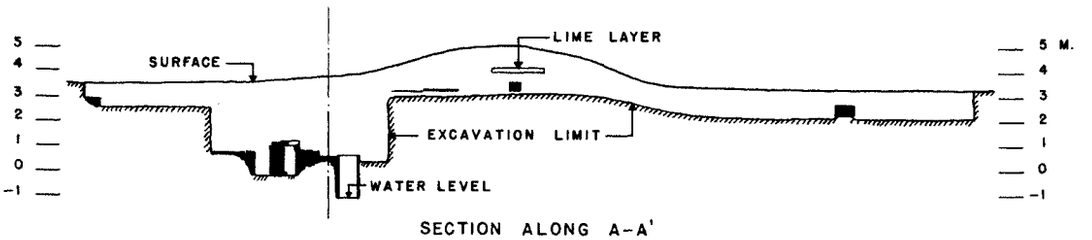
PLATES

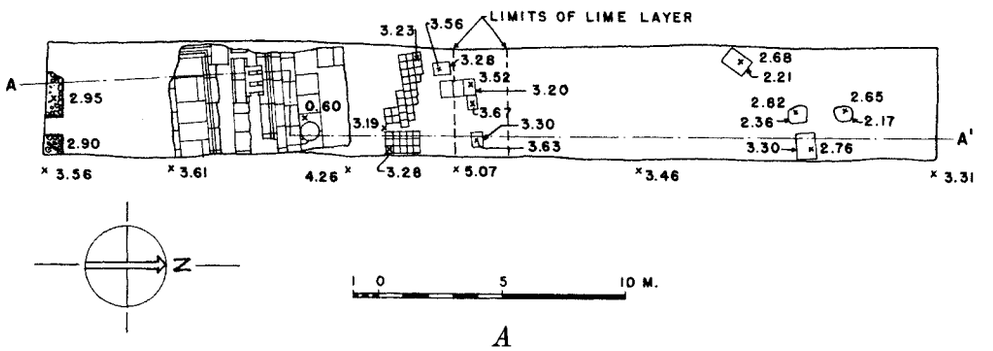


PLAN AND SECTION (A–A') OF SOUNDING I, PLANS (FLOORS 1–7) AND SECTION (B–B') OF SOUNDING IA. SCALE, 1:300

PLATE 1

PLATE 2





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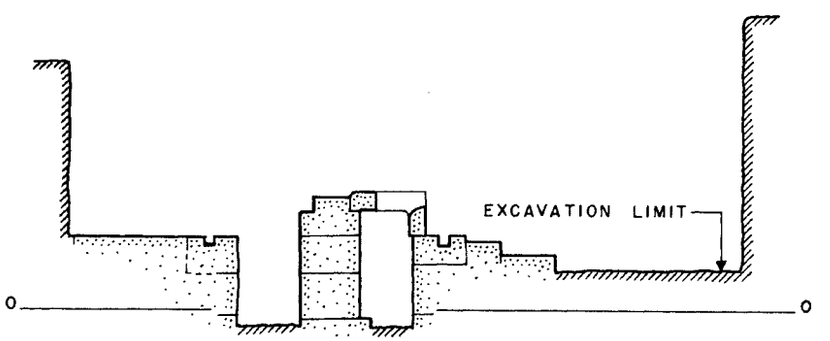
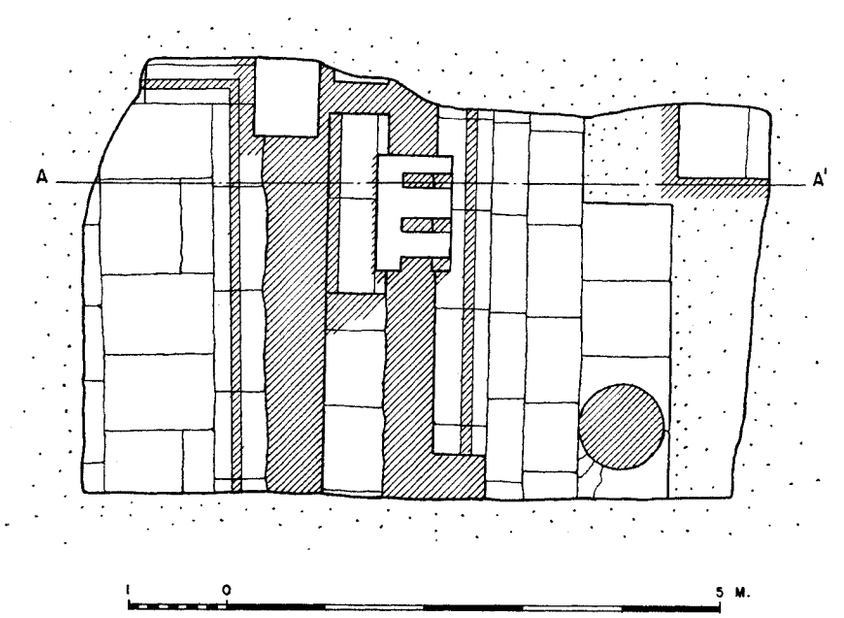
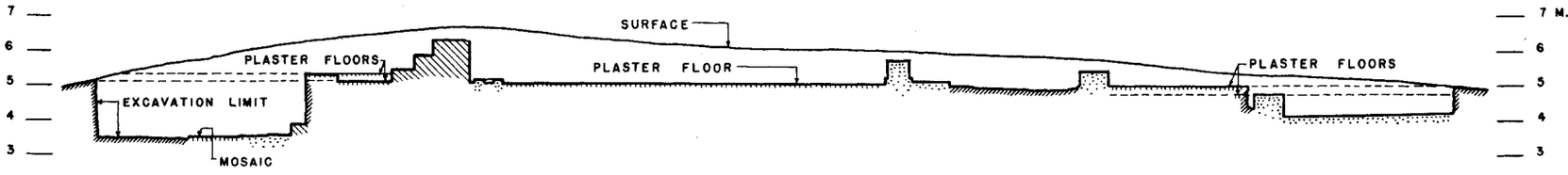


SECTION ALONG A-A'

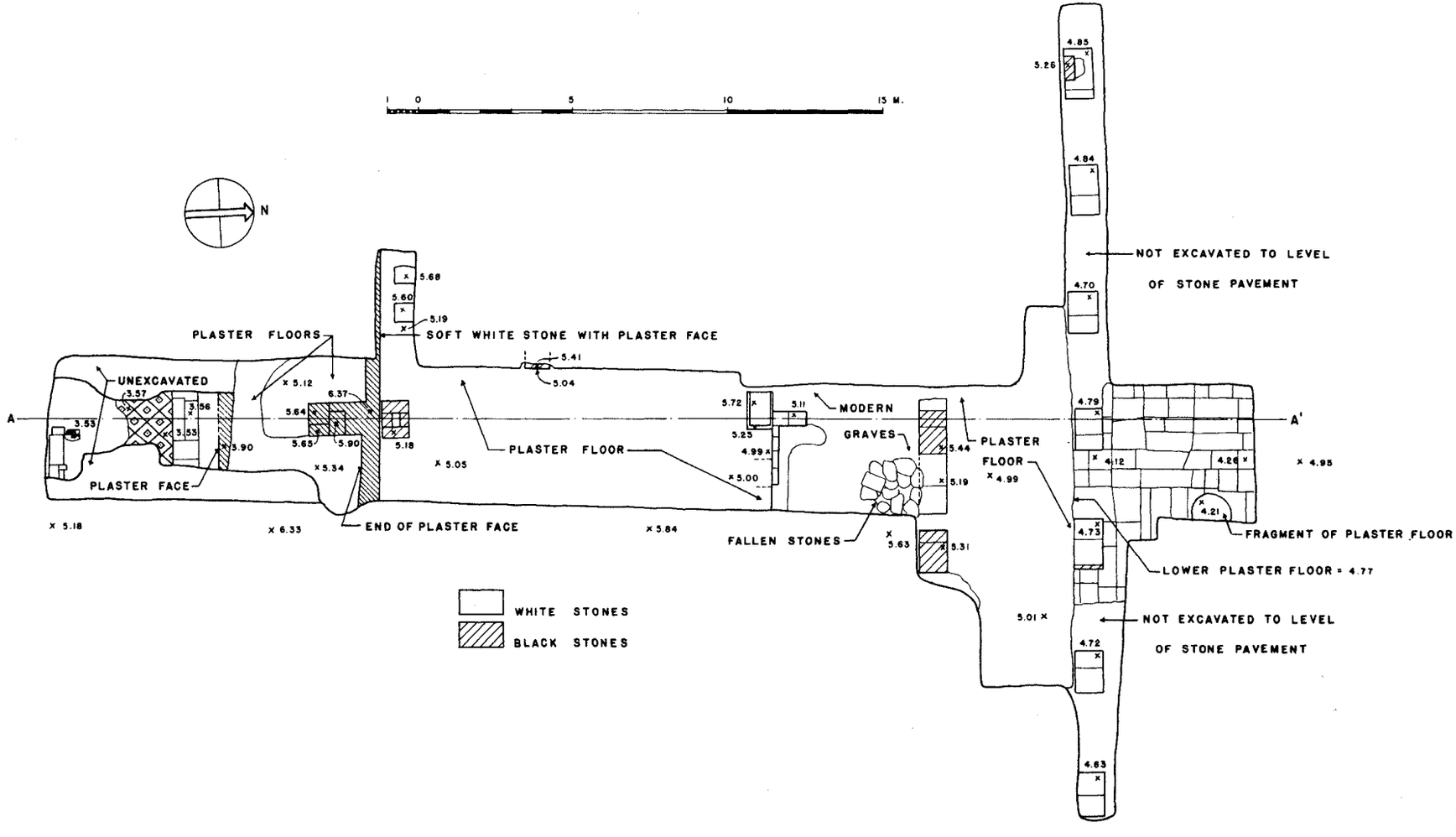


B

SOUNDING II. *A*. PLAN AND SECTION. SCALE, 1:300. *B*. PLAN AND SECTION OF LATRINE. SCALE, 1:75



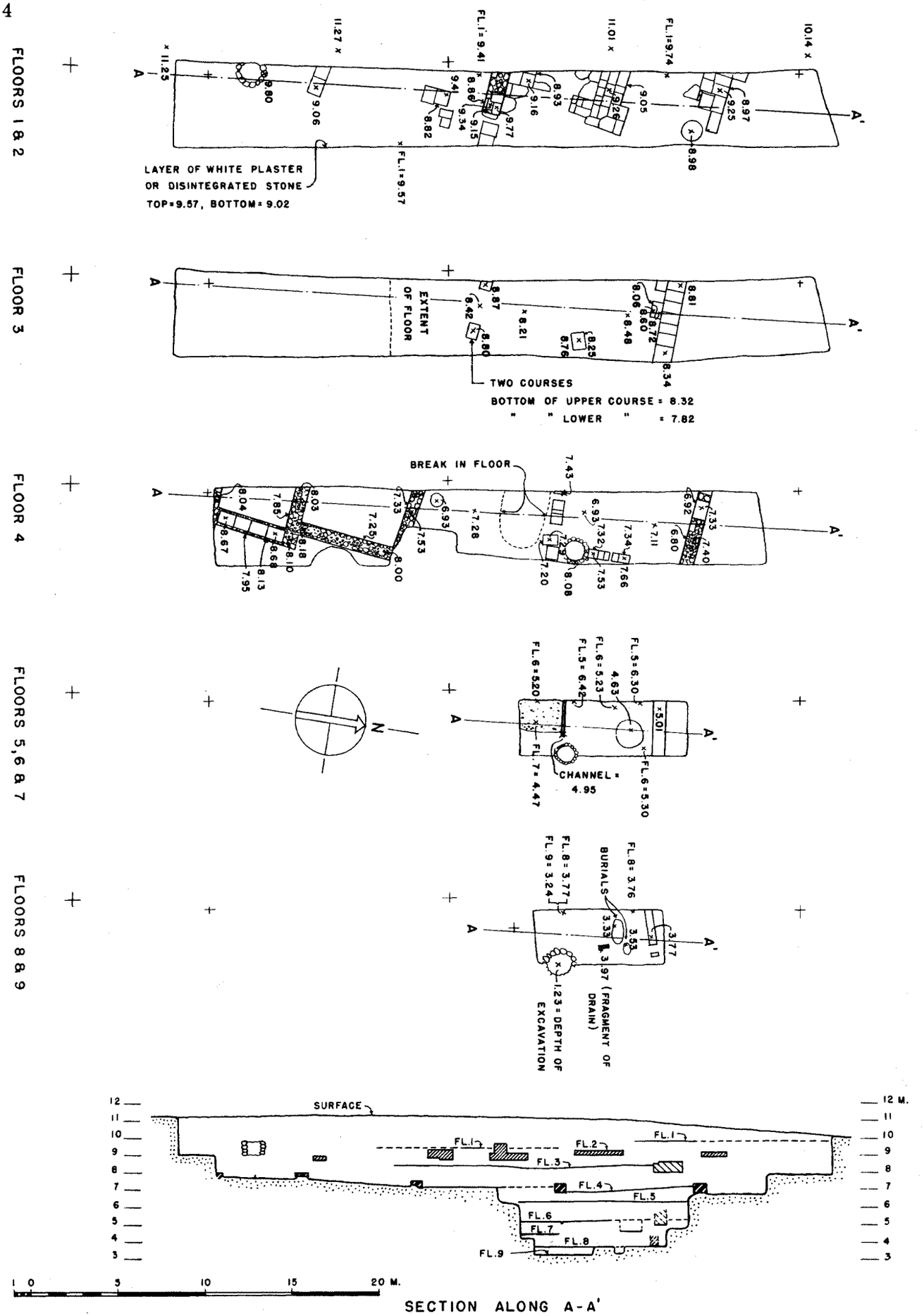
SECTION ALONG A-A'



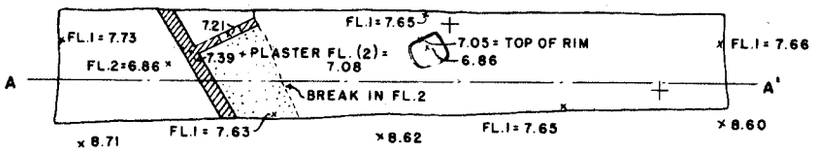
PLAN AND SECTION OF SOUNDING III. SCALE, 1:200

PLATE 3

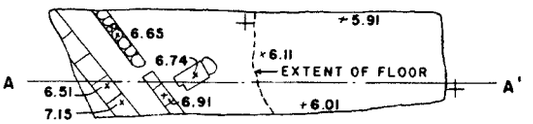
PLATE 4



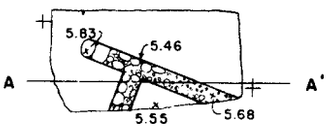
PLANS AND SECTION OF SOUNDING IV. SCALE, 1:300



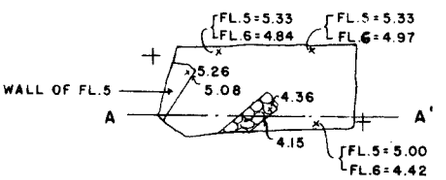
FLOORS 1 & 2



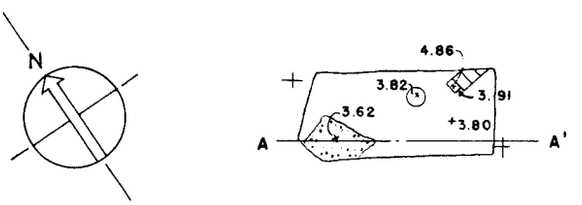
FLOOR 3



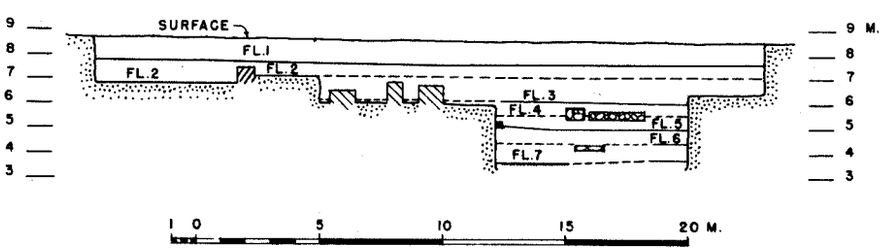
FLOOR 4



FLOORS 5 & 6



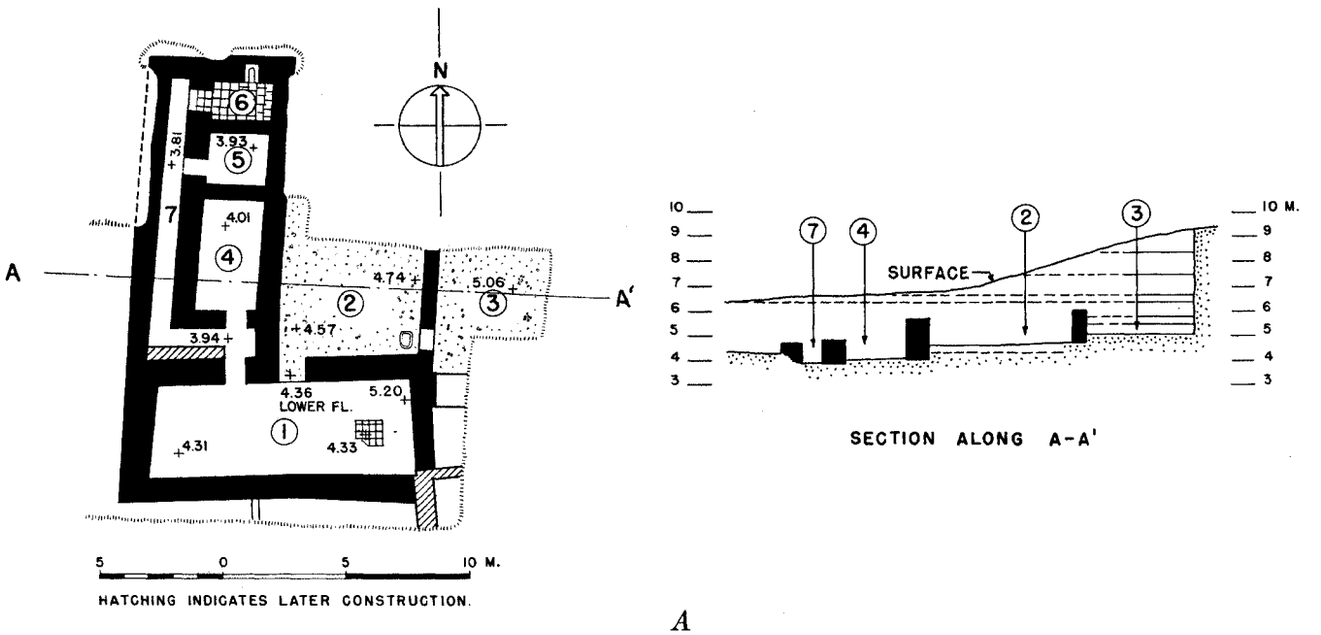
FLOOR 7



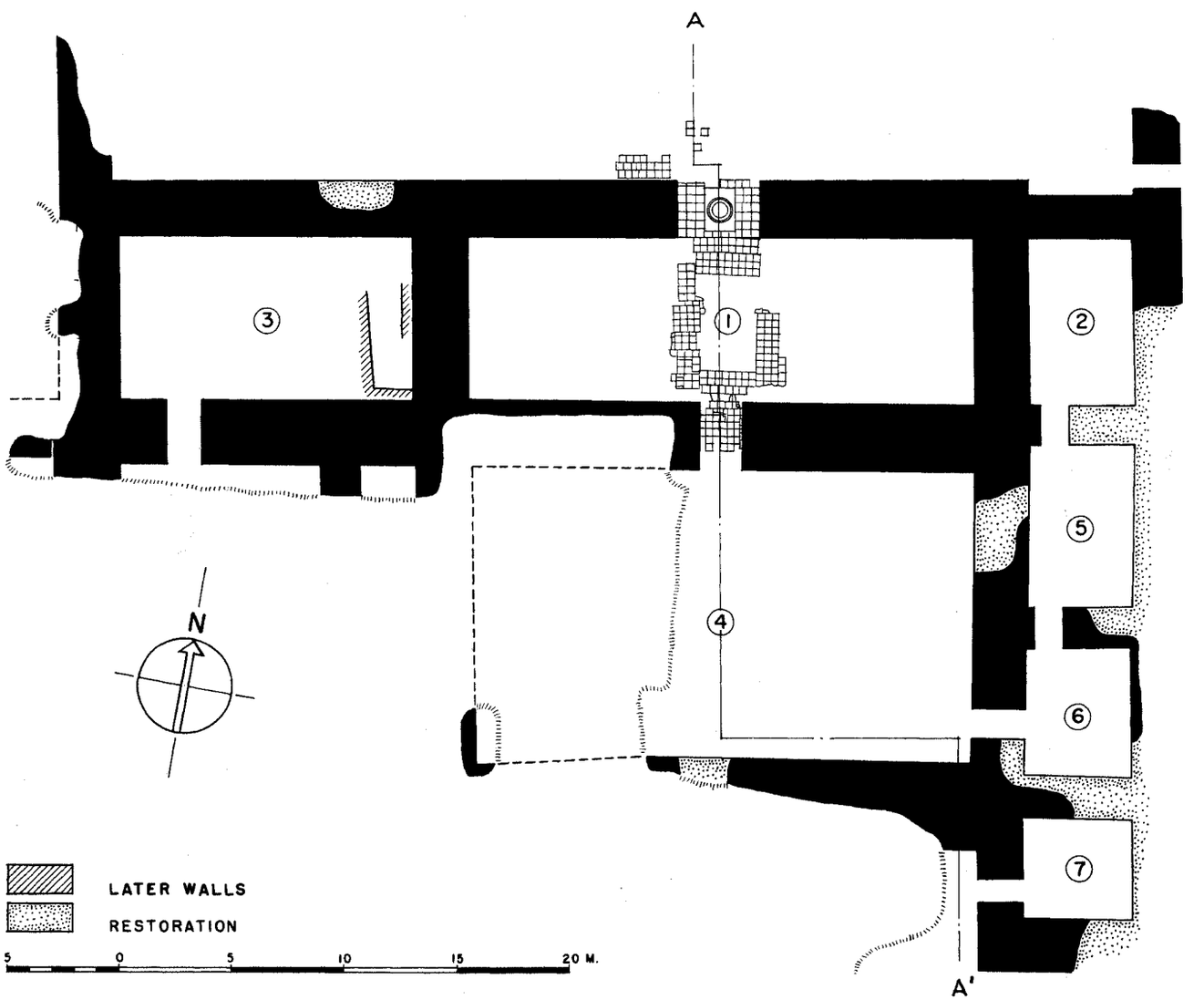
SECTION ALONG A-A'

PLANS AND SECTION OF SOUNDING V. SCALE, 1:300

PLATE 6

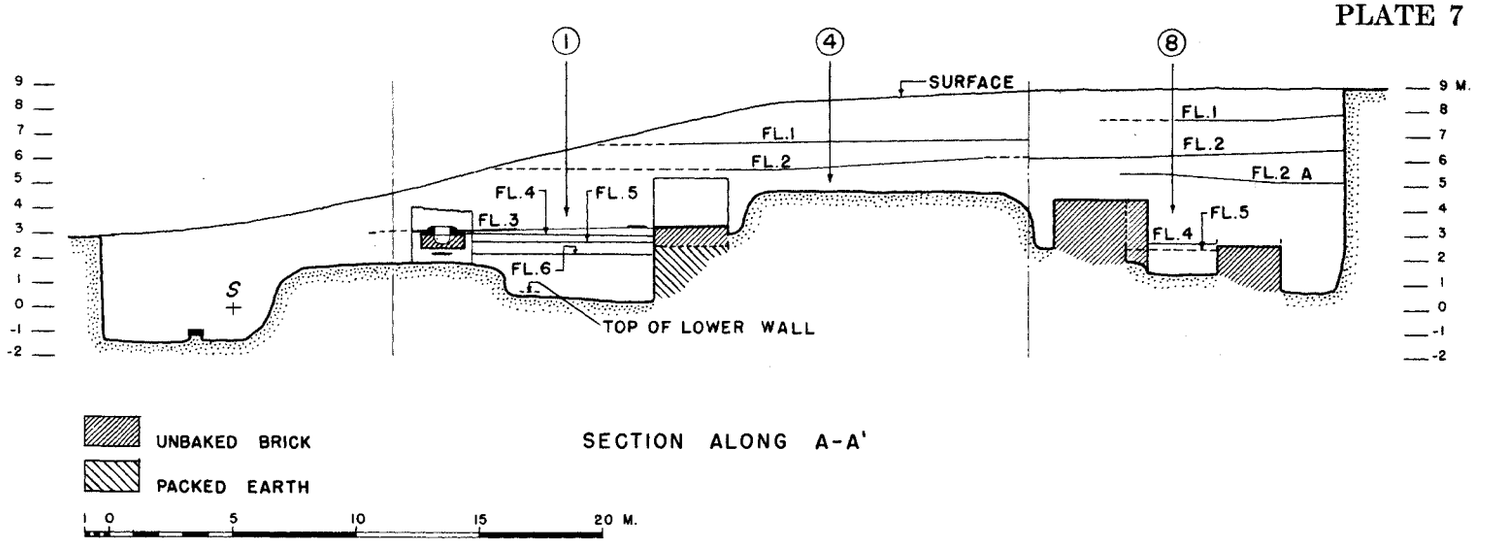


A

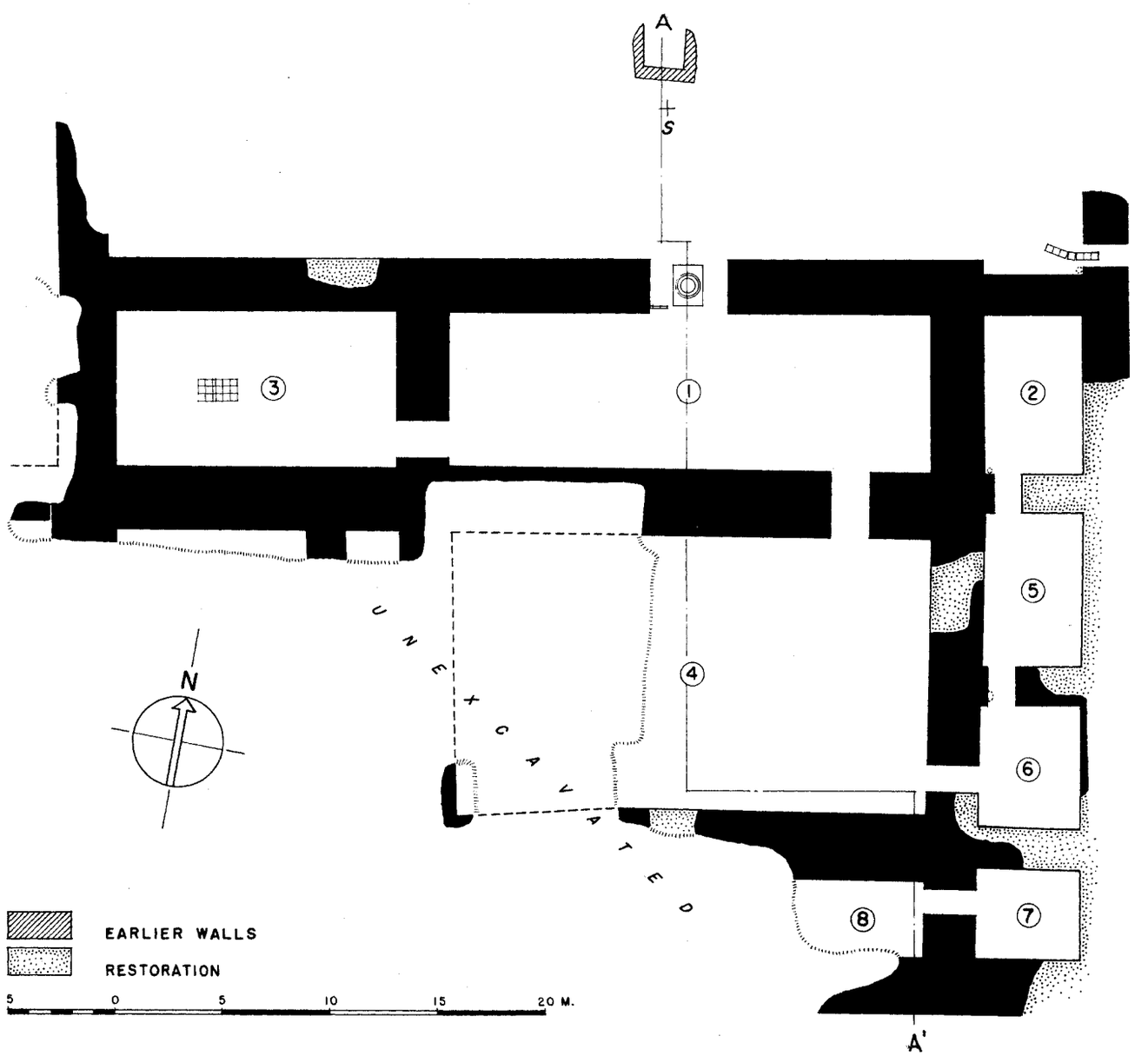


B

A. Plan and Section of Building in Sounding VI. Scale, 1:300. *B*. Plan of Sounding IX Palace, Floor 3. Scale, 1:300



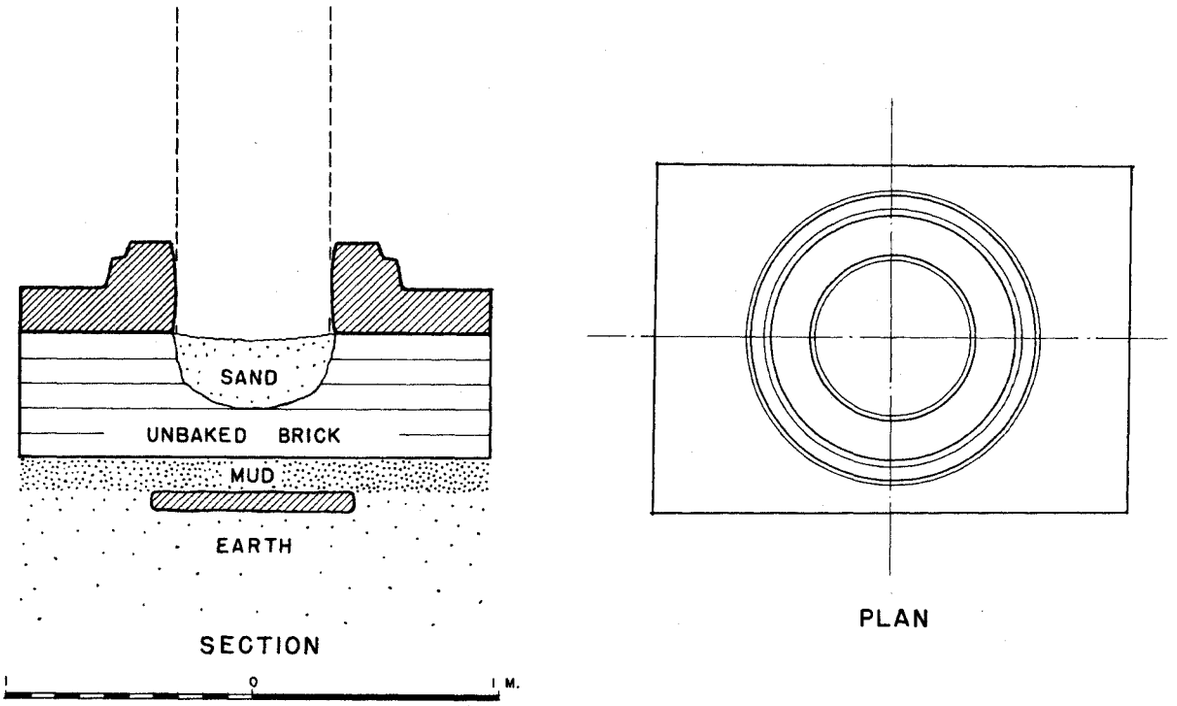
A



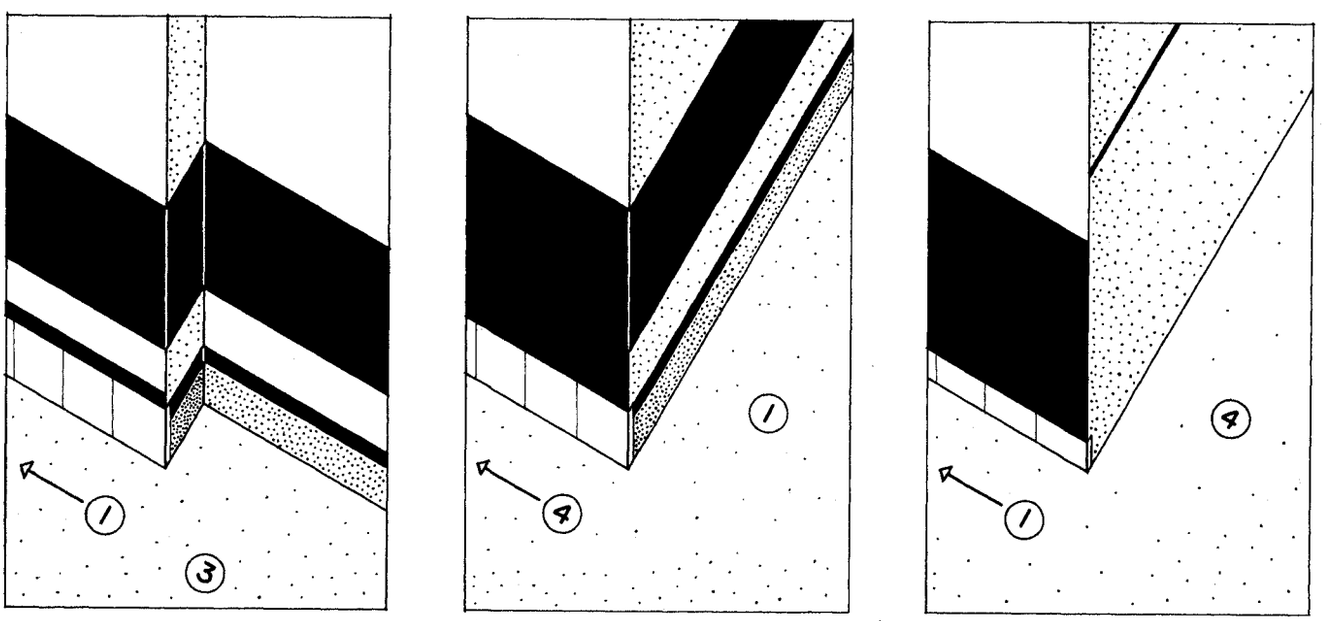
B

SOUNDING IX. SCALE, 1:300. *A*. SECTION. *B*. PLAN OF PALACE, FLOORS 4–5

PLATE 8

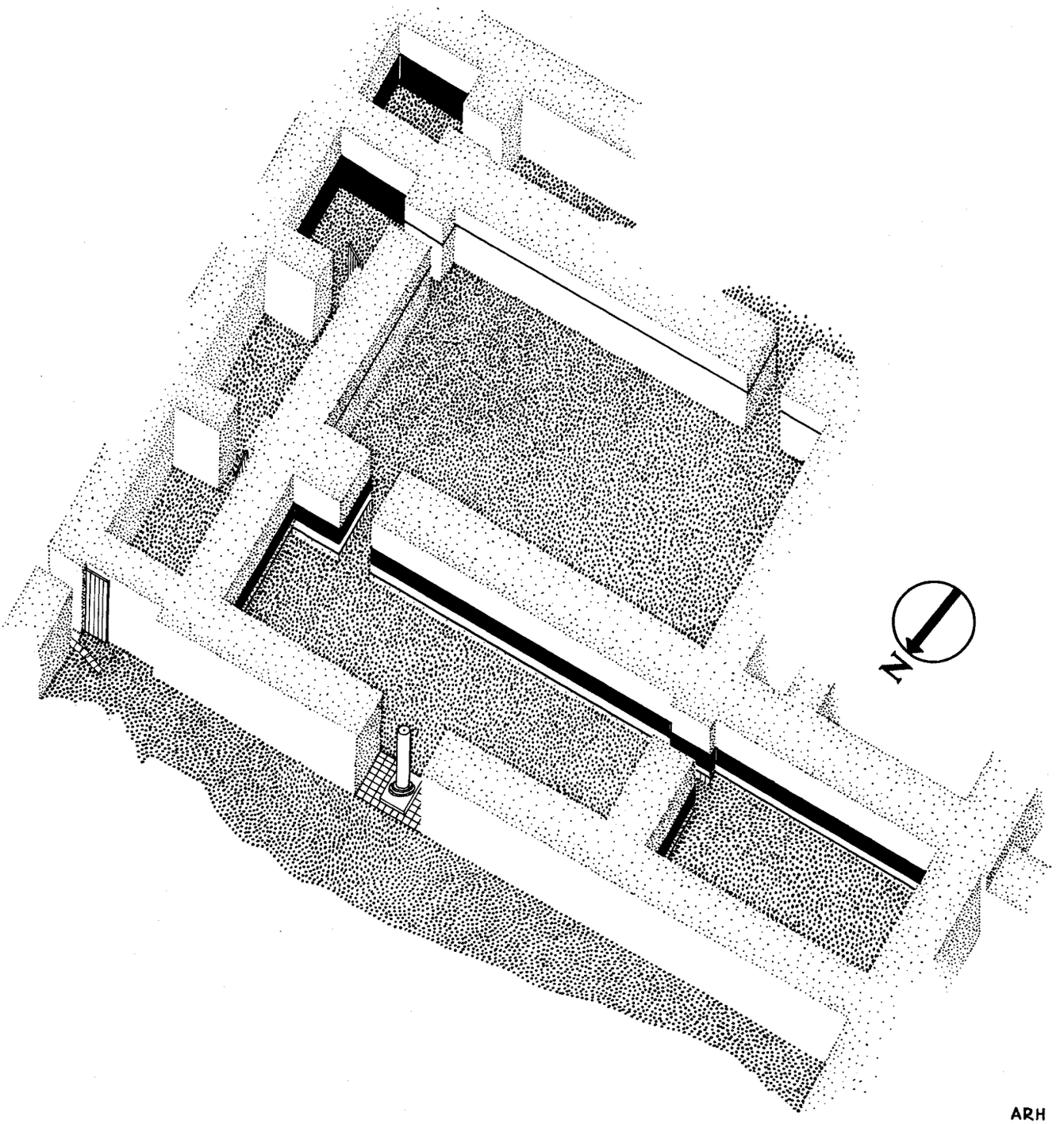


A



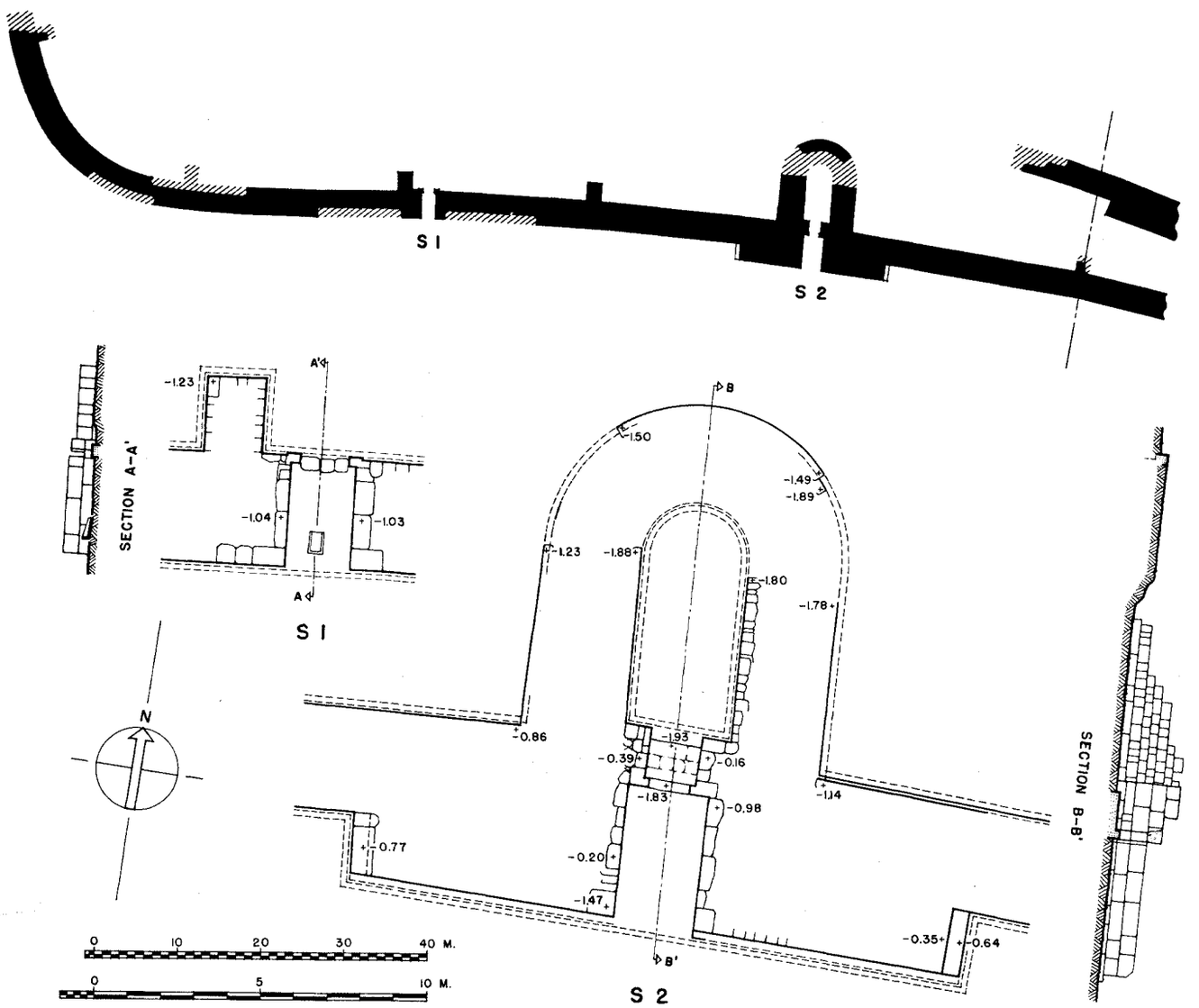
B *C* *D*

SOUNDING IX PALACE. *A*. PLAN AND SECTION OF COLUMN BASE IN ENTRANCE. SCALE, 1:30
B–D. DECORATIVE TREATMENT OF WALLS AND DOORJAMBS. SCALE, 1:40

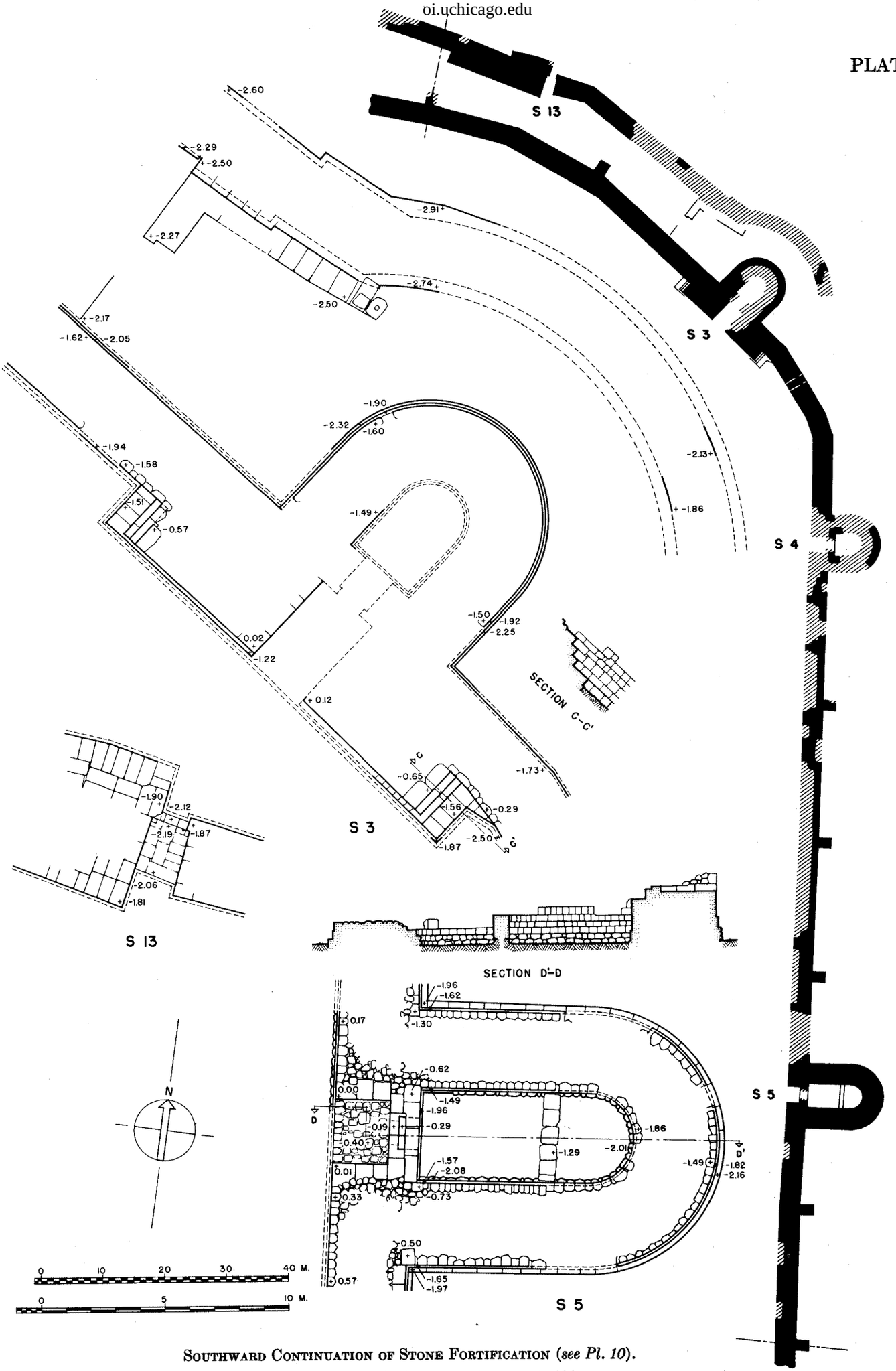


ISOMETRIC RECONSTRUCTION OF WALLS OF SOUNDING IX PALACE. SCALE, 1:300

PLATE 10

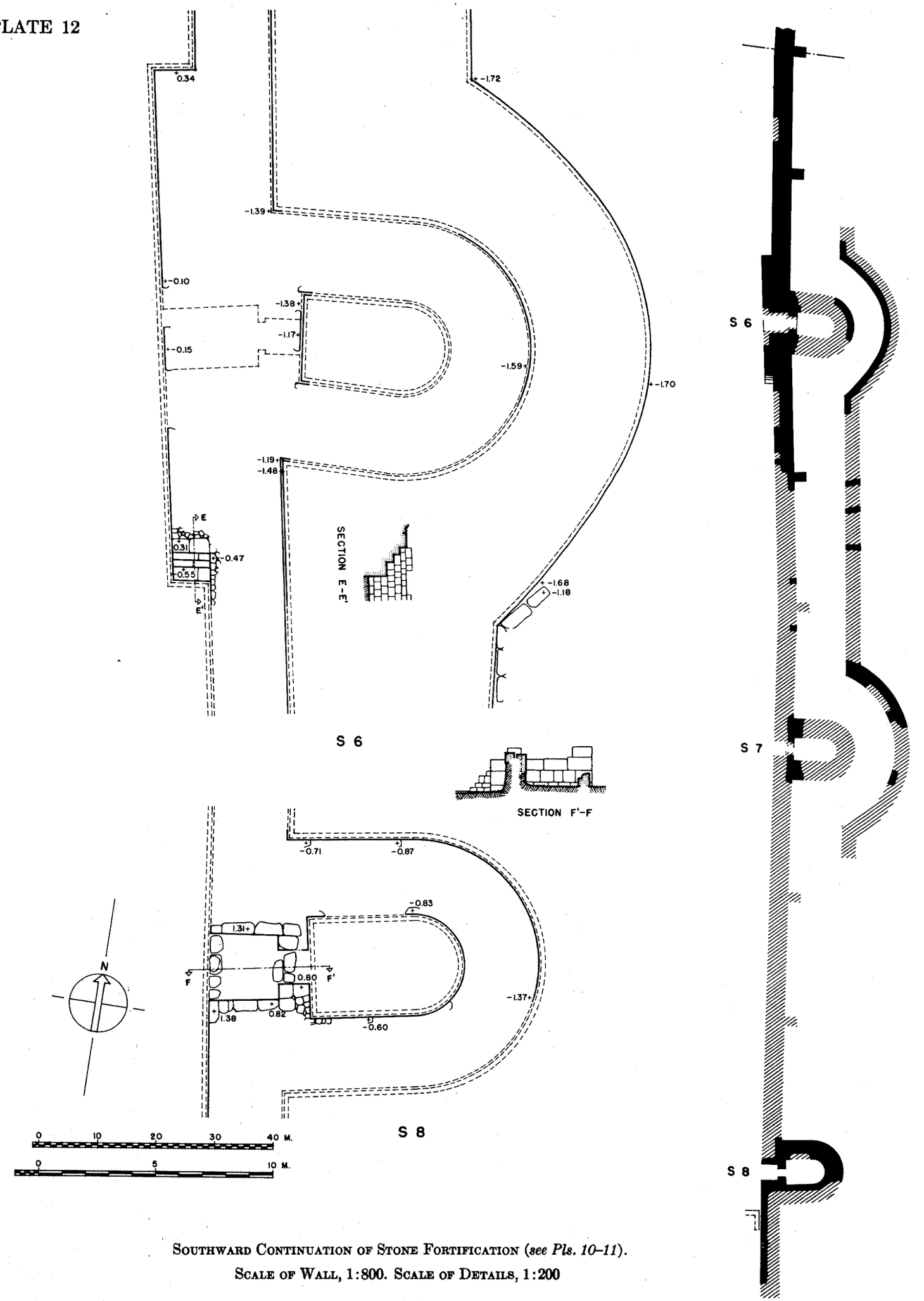


STONE FORTIFICATION AT BASE OF MOUND (*see Pls. 11–12 for continuation*). SCALE OF WALL, 1:800. SCALE OF DETAILS, 1:200



SOUTHWARD CONTINUATION OF STONE FORTIFICATION (*see Pl. 10*).
SCALE OF WALL, 1:800. SCALE OF DETAILS, 1:200

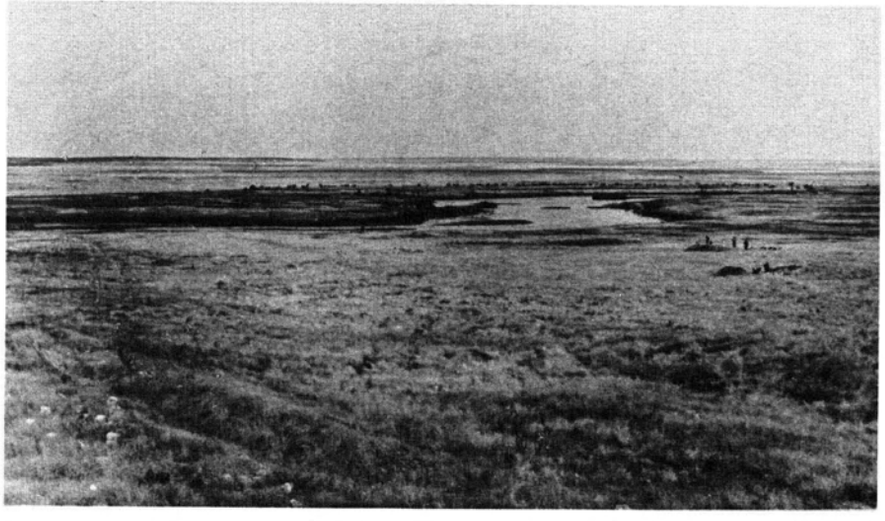
PLATE 12



SOUTHWARD CONTINUATION OF STONE FORTIFICATION (*see Pls. 10–11*).
SCALE OF WALL, 1:800. SCALE OF DETAILS, 1:200

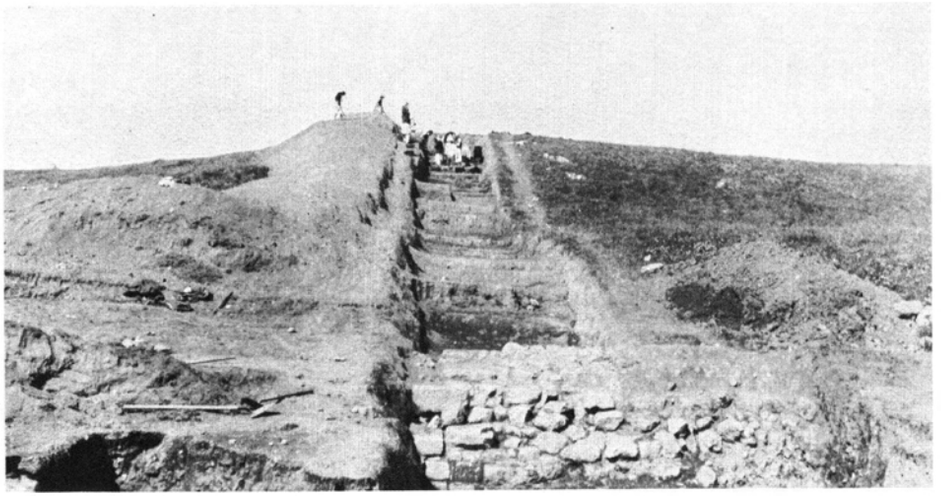
A

B



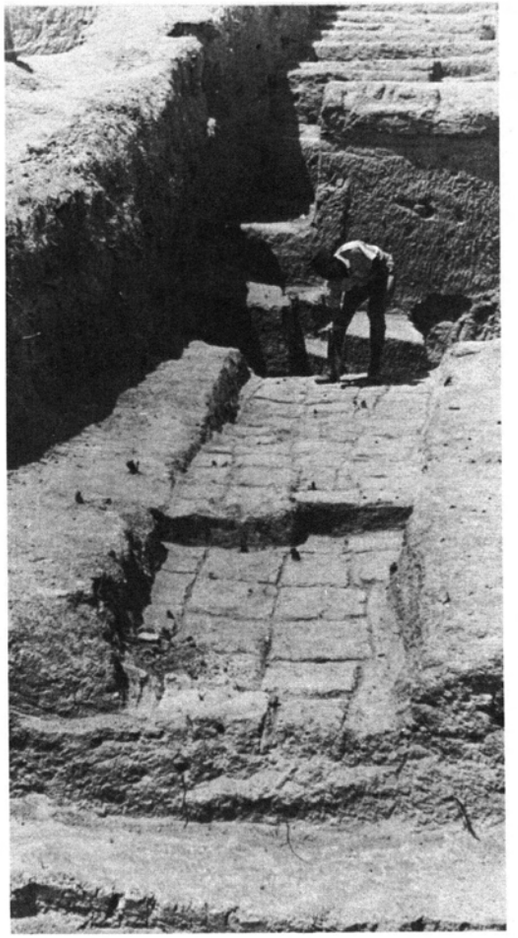
C

A. Panorama along Side of Mound, Looking Northeast over Sounding IX. *B*. General View toward North, Showing Soundings VI and IV. *C*. General View, Looking East from Tomb



A

C

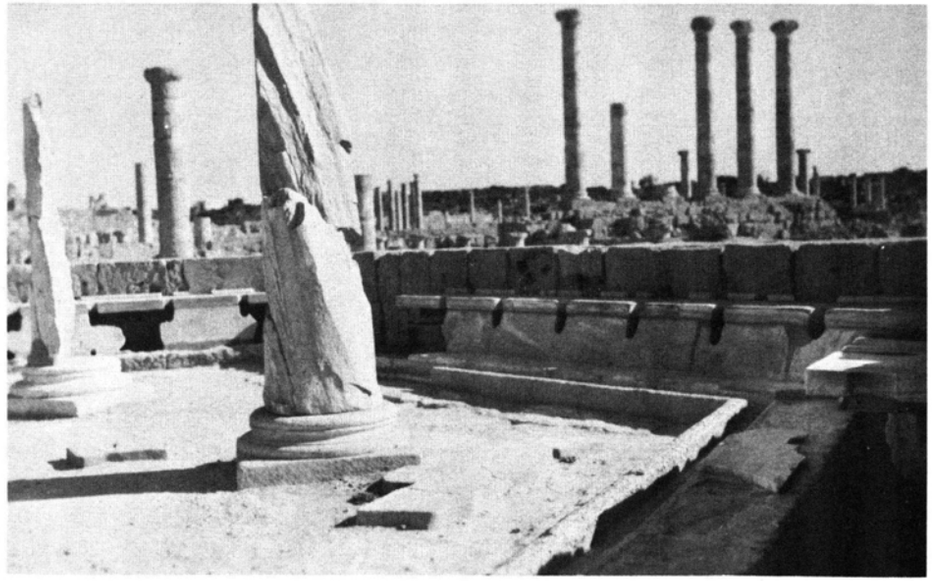


B

A. Sounding I Step Trench, Looking West from Base of Mound. *B*. *Libn* Fortification Wall at Foot of Step Trench, Looking West. *C*. Floor 5 of Sounding IA, Looking Northeast

A

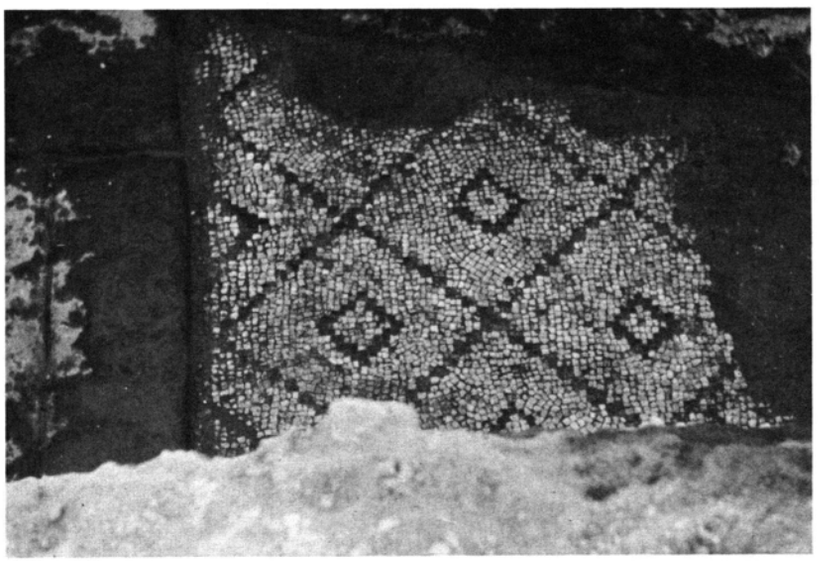
B



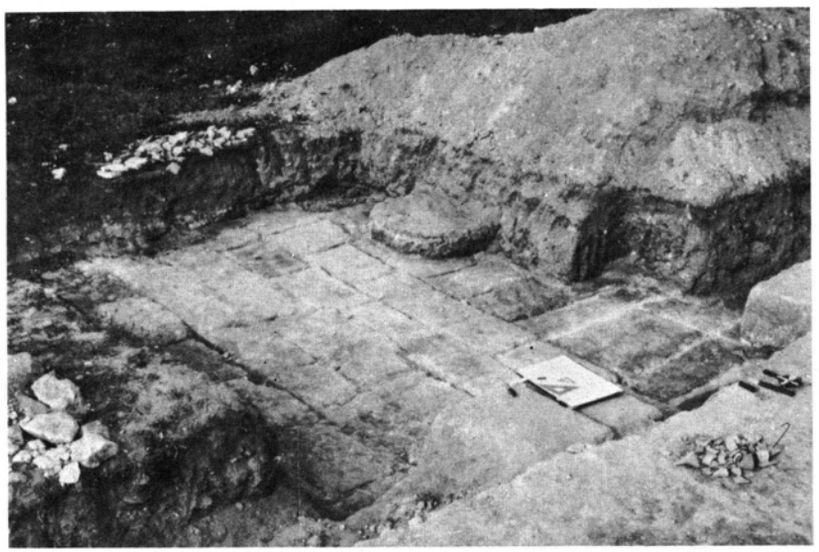
C

A. Brick Pavement (in foreground) of Sounding II and Partially Exposed Latrine at Lower Level. *B*. Seats in Position over North Bank of Toilets. *C*. Public Latrine at Sabratha in Libya
(*Photograph of C by courtesy of Elsie D. Kraeling*)

A



B

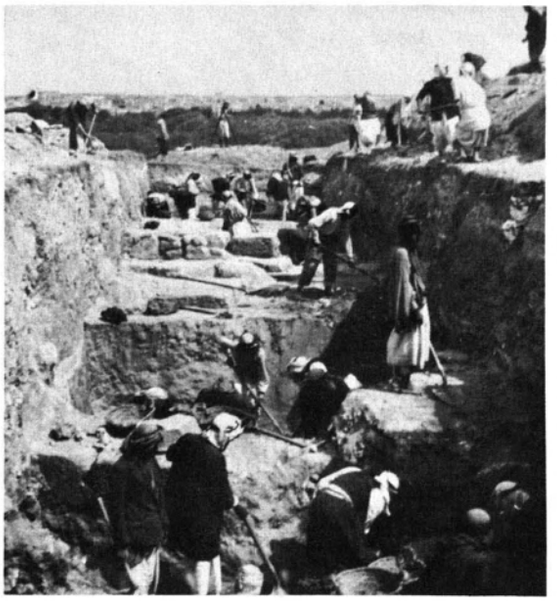


C

D

SOUNDING III. *A*. STEPLIKE PROJECTION FROM SOUTHERN FACE OF CROSS WALL NEAR SOUTH END OF TRENCH. *B*. MOSAIC FLOOR. *C*. STONE PAVING AT NORTH END. *D*. LINE OF PIERS, LOOKING EAST

A

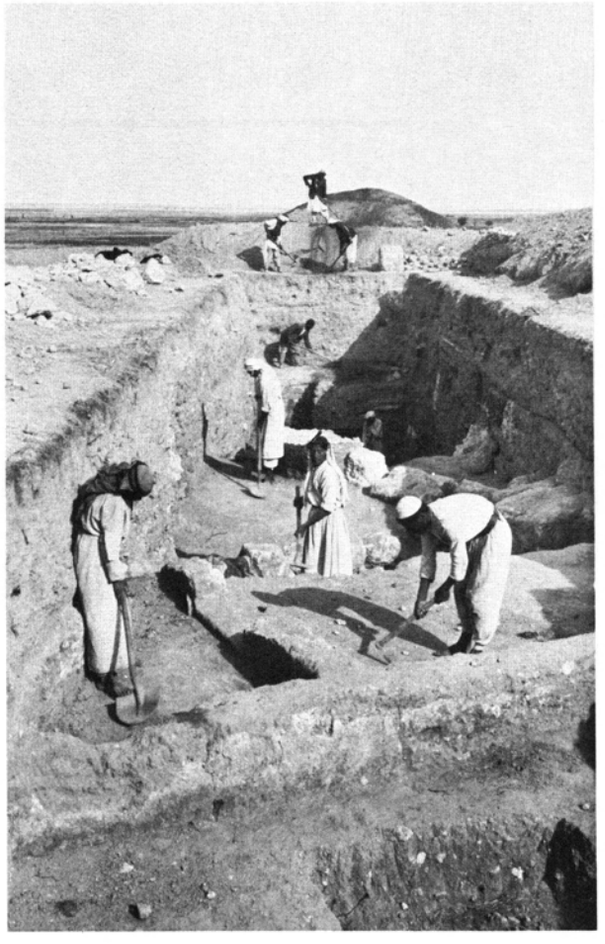


B

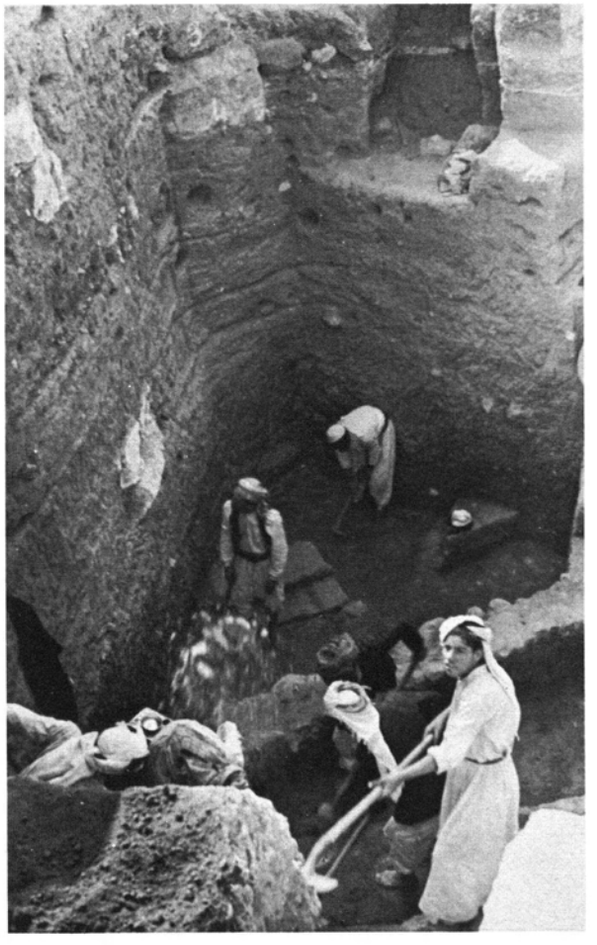
C

D

Sounding IV, Looking North. *A*. Floors 1–2. *B*. Floor 3. *C*. Floor 4. *D*. Floor 8, with Course of *Libn* in Foreground and Fragment of Baked-Brick Drain Beyond (burials intrusive)



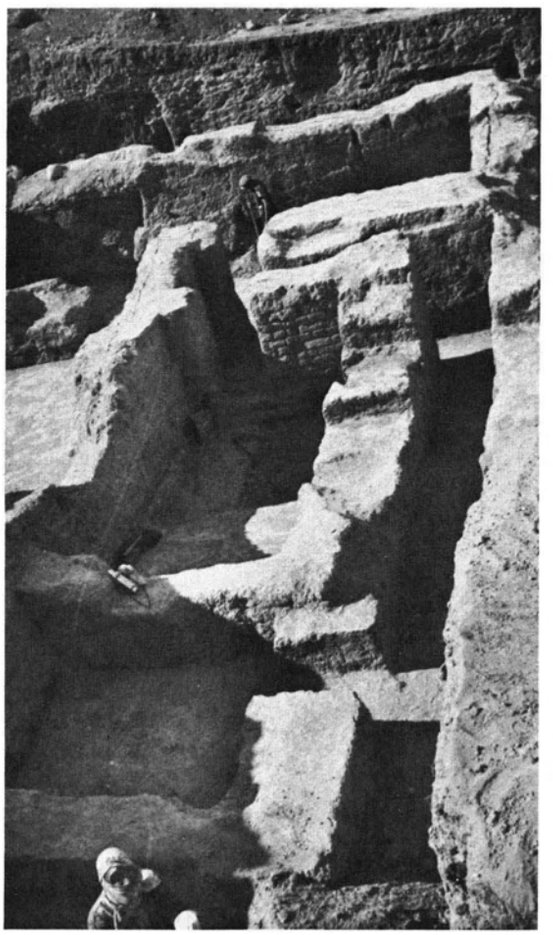
A



B

SOUNDING V, LOOKING SOUTHEAST. *A*. FLOORS 1–2. *B*. FLOOR 7

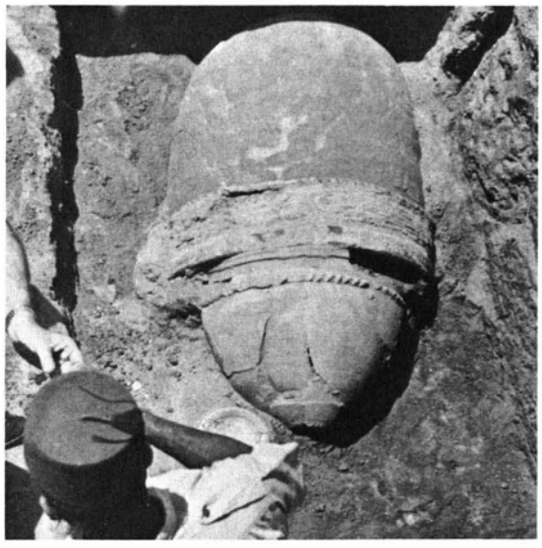
A



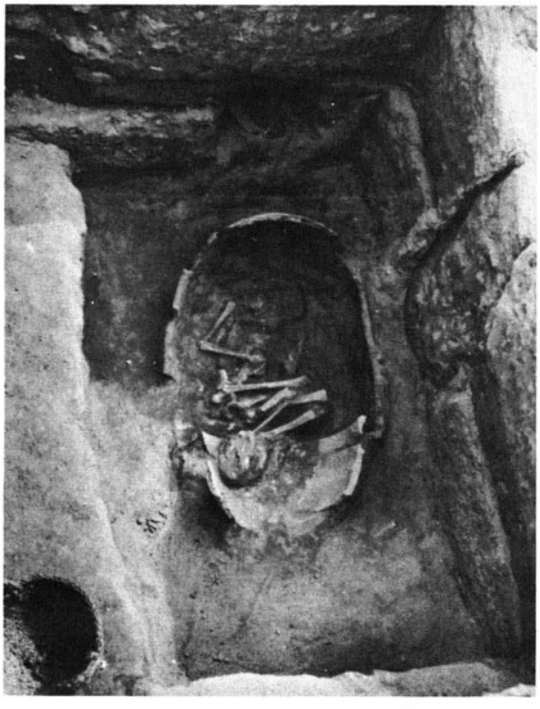
B

BUILDING IN SOUNDING VI, LOOKING (*A*) NORTHWEST AND (*B*) SOUTH

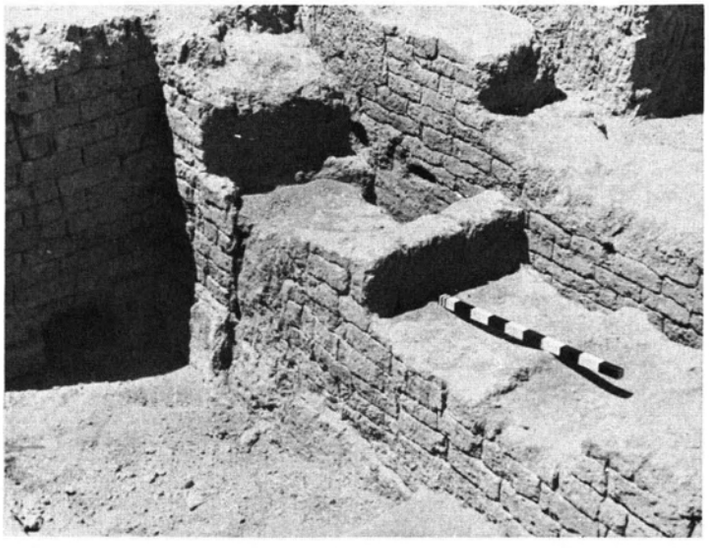
A



B

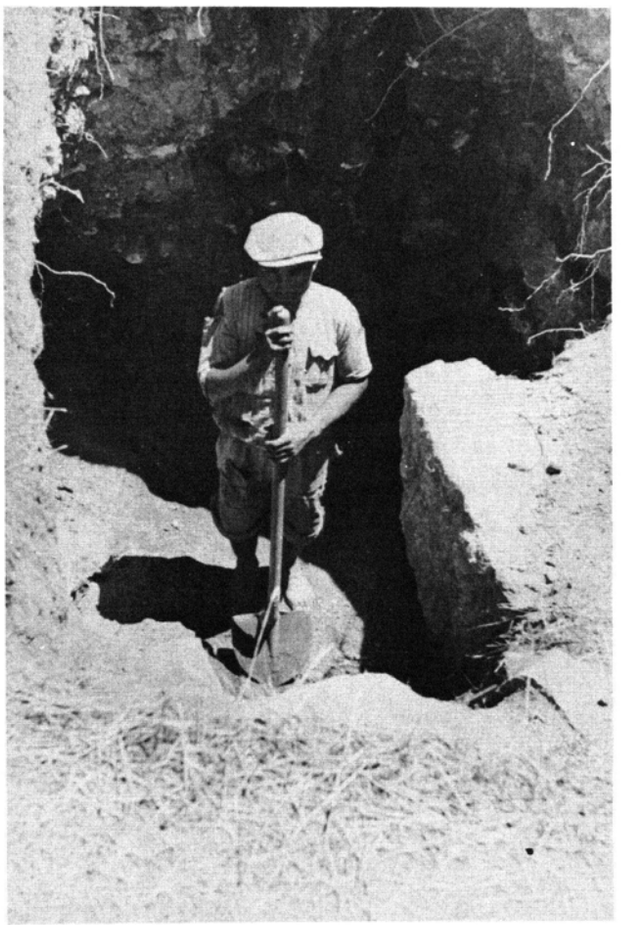


C



D

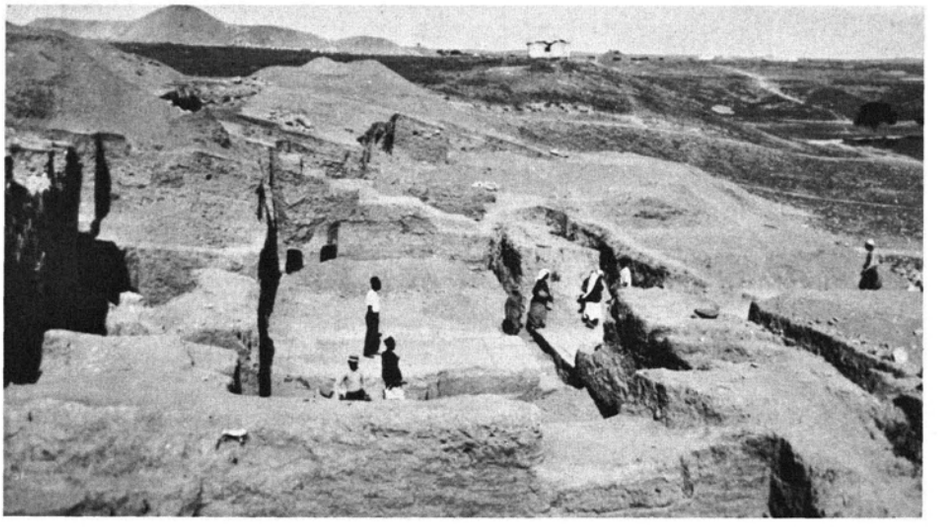
Building in Sounding VI. *A*. View of Rooms 5–7 from South, Showing Toilet in North Wall of Room 6 *B–C*. Burial I. *D*. Southwest Corner of Room 4, with Pit Dug To Clear Burial I Filled In (*cf*. *C*)



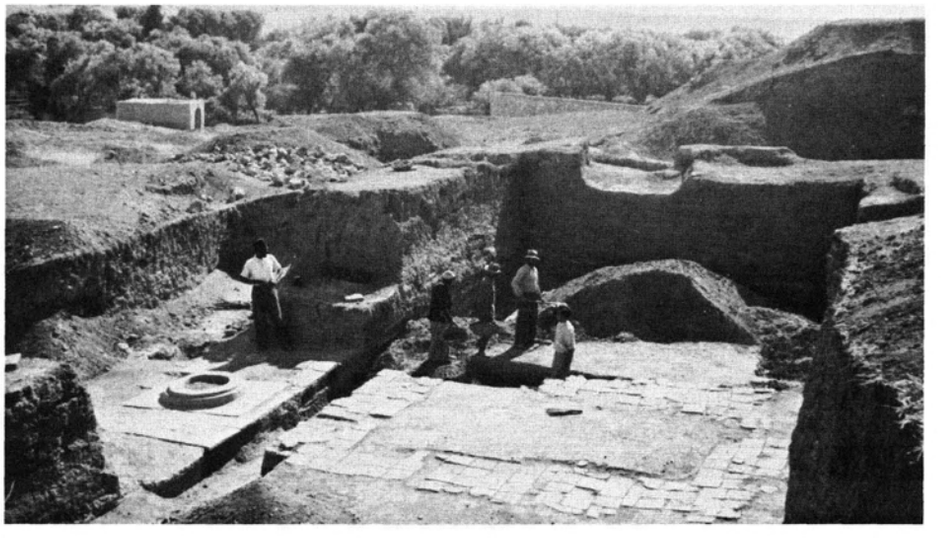
A

B

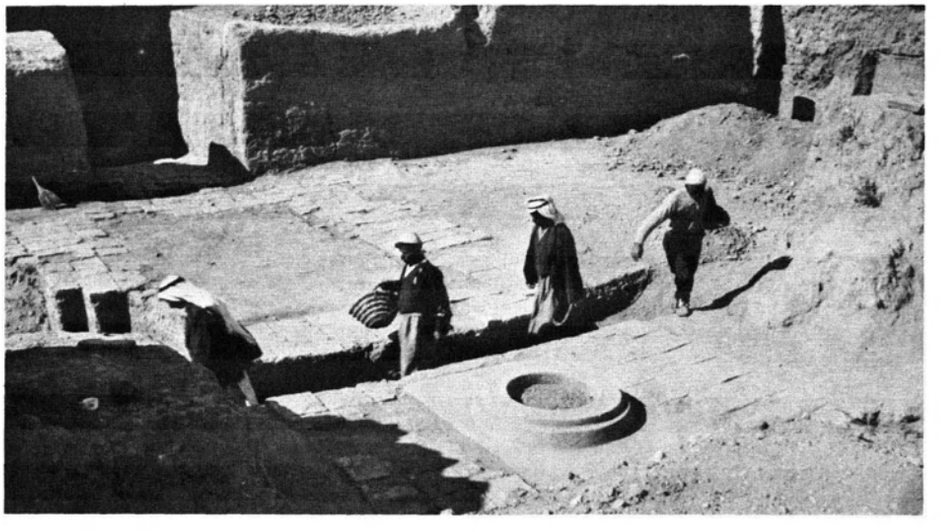
A. Sounding VII. *B*. Sounding VIII



A



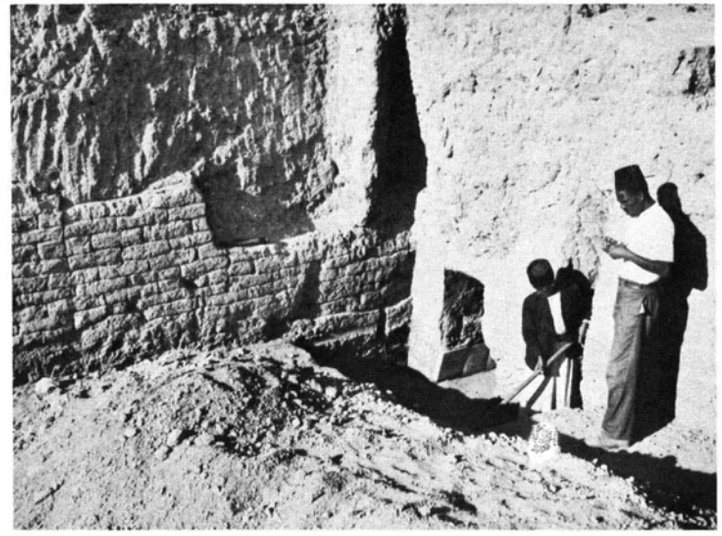
B



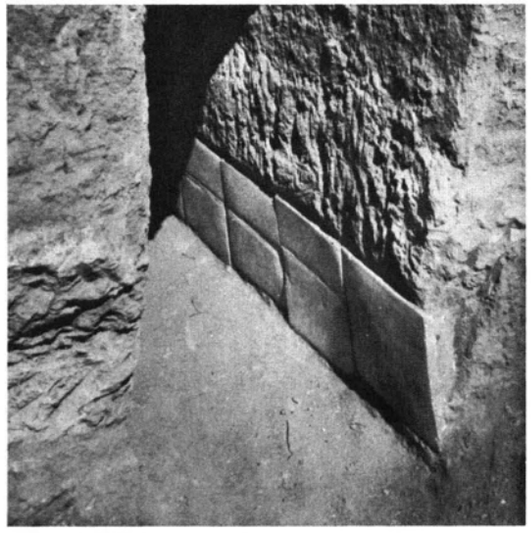
C

SOUNDING IX PALACE, FLOOR 3. *A*. GENERAL VIEW, LOOKING WEST. *B–C*. ROOM 1 WITH COLUMN BASE IMBEDDED IN PAVEMENT

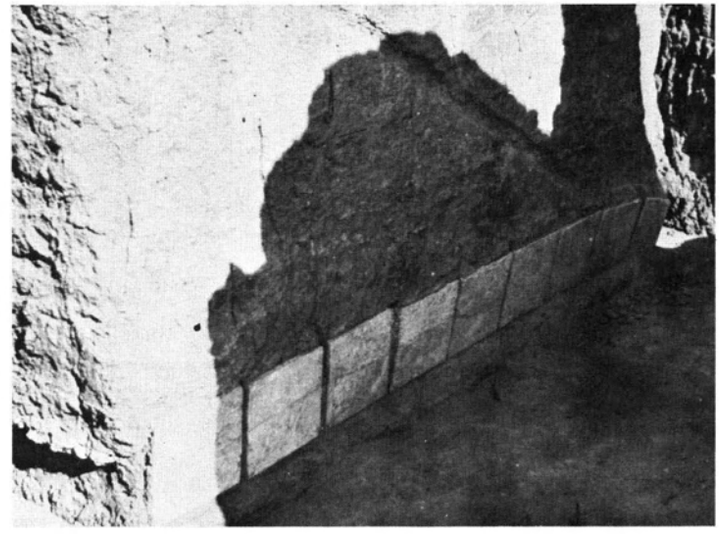
A



B



C



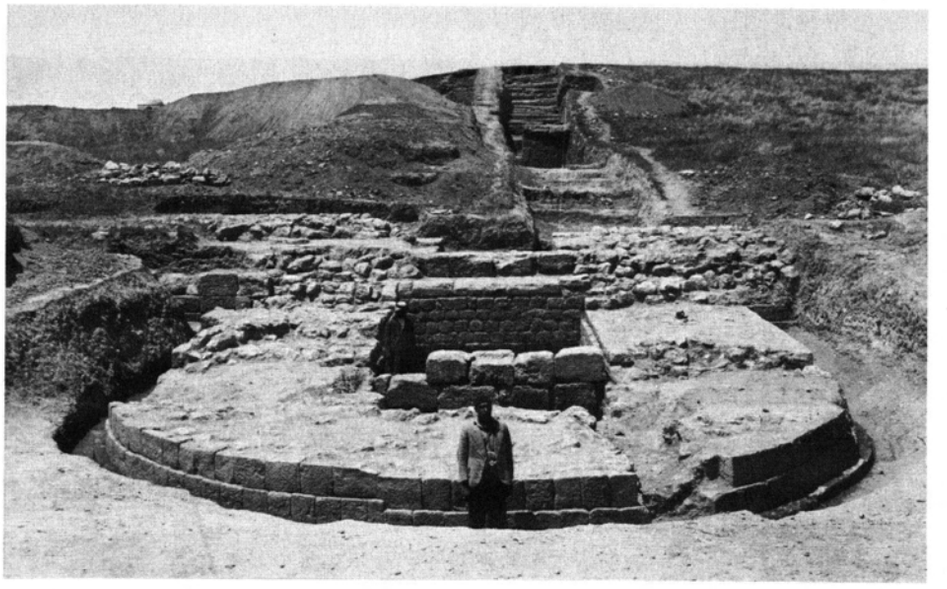
D

SOUNDING IX PALACE. *A*. COLUMN BASE IN ENTRANCE (FLOOR 3). *B*. SOUTHWEST CORNER OF ROOM 1, SHOWING *Libn* CONSTRUCTION AND ORTHOSTATS IN DOORWAY TO ROOM 3 (WORKMEN STANDING ON FLOORS 5 AND 4). *C*. NORTH JAMB OF DOORWAY BETWEEN ROOMS 1 AND 3 (FLOOR 5). *D*. EAST JAMB OF DOORWAY BETWEEN ROOMS 1 AND 4

A

B

STONE FORTIFICATION AT BASE OF MOUND. *A*. LOOKING NORTHWEST FROM LOCUS S 3, WITH MAIN WALL AT LEFT AND OUTER WALL AT RIGHT. *B*. OUTER FACE OF MAIN WALL OPPOSITE LOCUS S 13, LOOKING WEST

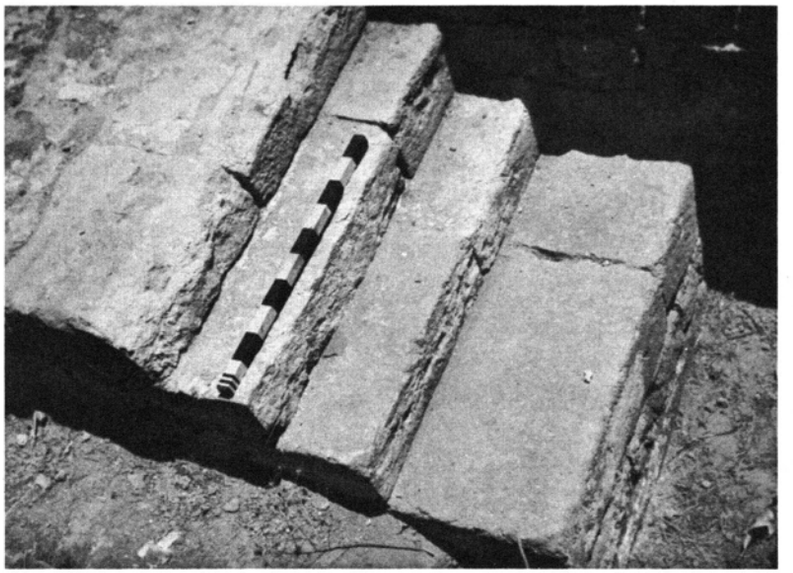


A

B

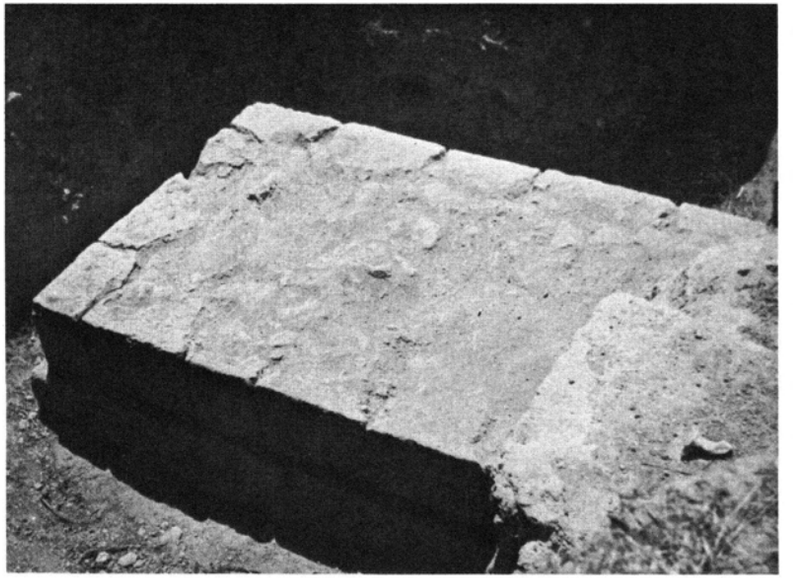
TOWER AT LOCUS S 5 OF STONE FORTIFICATION, LOOKING (*A*) WEST, WITH SOUNDING I STEP TRENCH IN BACKGROUND, AND (*B*) EAST (MASONRY CROSS WALL WITHIN TOWER CHAMBER IS SECONDARY CONSTRUCTION)

A



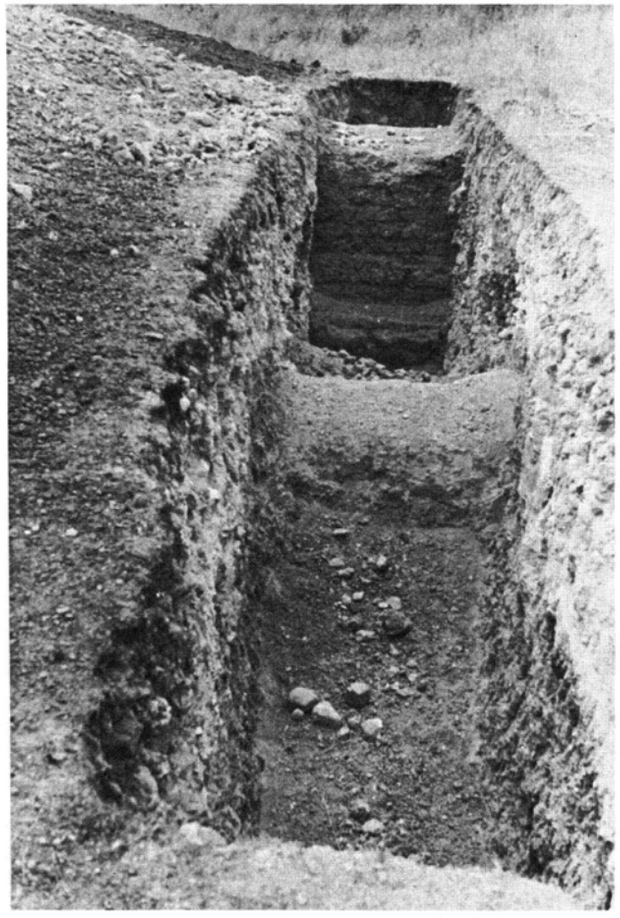
B

C

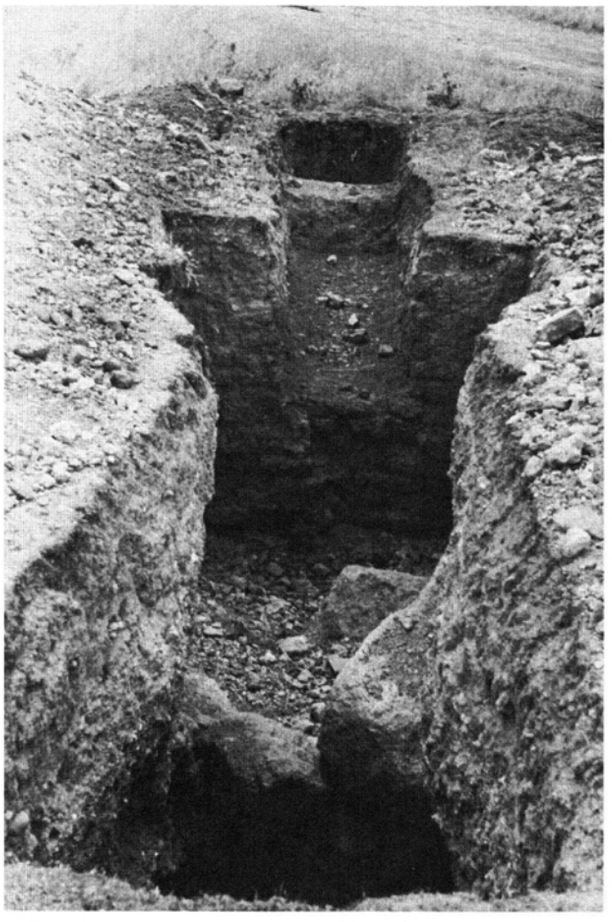


D

Stone Fortification. *A*. Tower Chamber at Locus S 2, Looking South. *B*. Stairway Built into Thickened Mass of Wall at Locus S 6, Looking North. *C*. Doorway at Locus S 13, Looking North. *D*. First Buttress South of Locus S 5



A



B

CLEARANCES OF *Libn* FORTIFICATION, LOCI L 10 (*A*) AND L 11 (*B*)

PLATE 28

1

2

4

3

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

Islamic (1–2, 8–10) and Byzantine? (11–12) Pottery, Islamic Frit Sherd (3) and Glass Bowls (6–7), Late Roman(?) Figurine Fragment (4). Scales, 1:1 (3) and 1:2


13


14


15


16


17


18


19


20

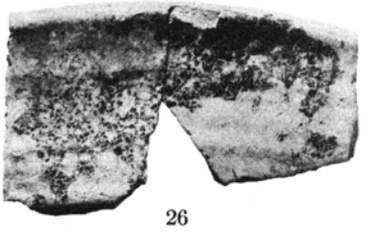

21


22

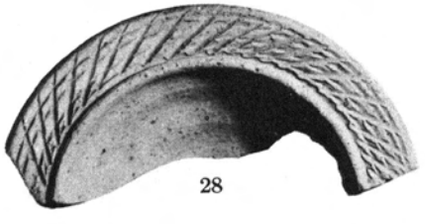

23


24


25


26

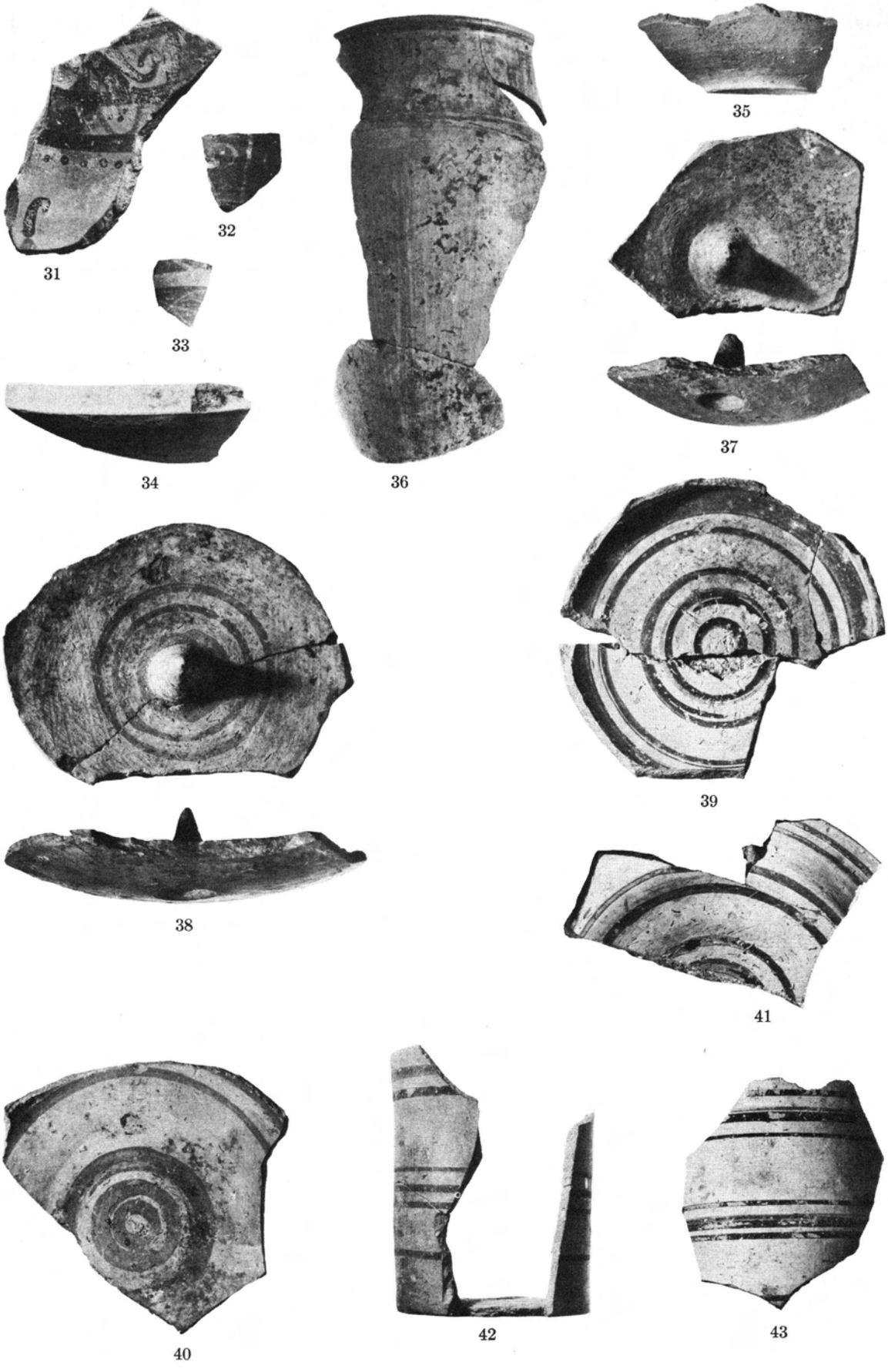

27


28


29


30

Islamic (13, 14, 17, 18, 25, 26[?], 27, 28), Byzantine (15, 16, 19, 21), "Roman Pergamene" (30), and Hellenistic (20, 22–24) Pottery, Byzantine or Islamic Bread Stamp? (29). Scales, 1:2 and *ca.* 2:5 (28–29)



Hellenistic (31), Iron Age (34–43), and Mitannian (32–33) Pottery. Scale, 1:2

46

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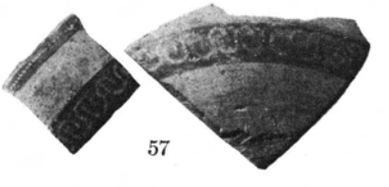
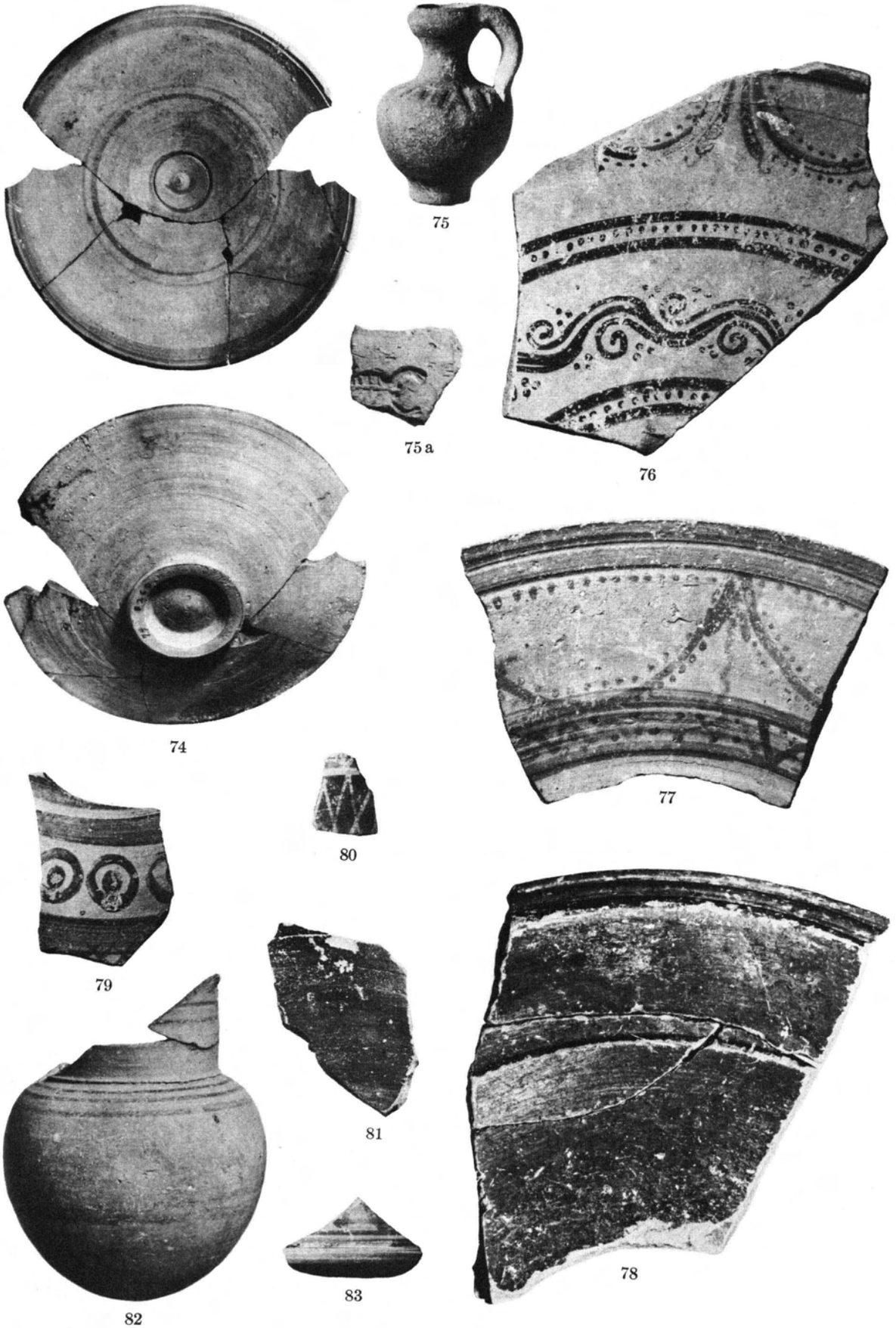


57

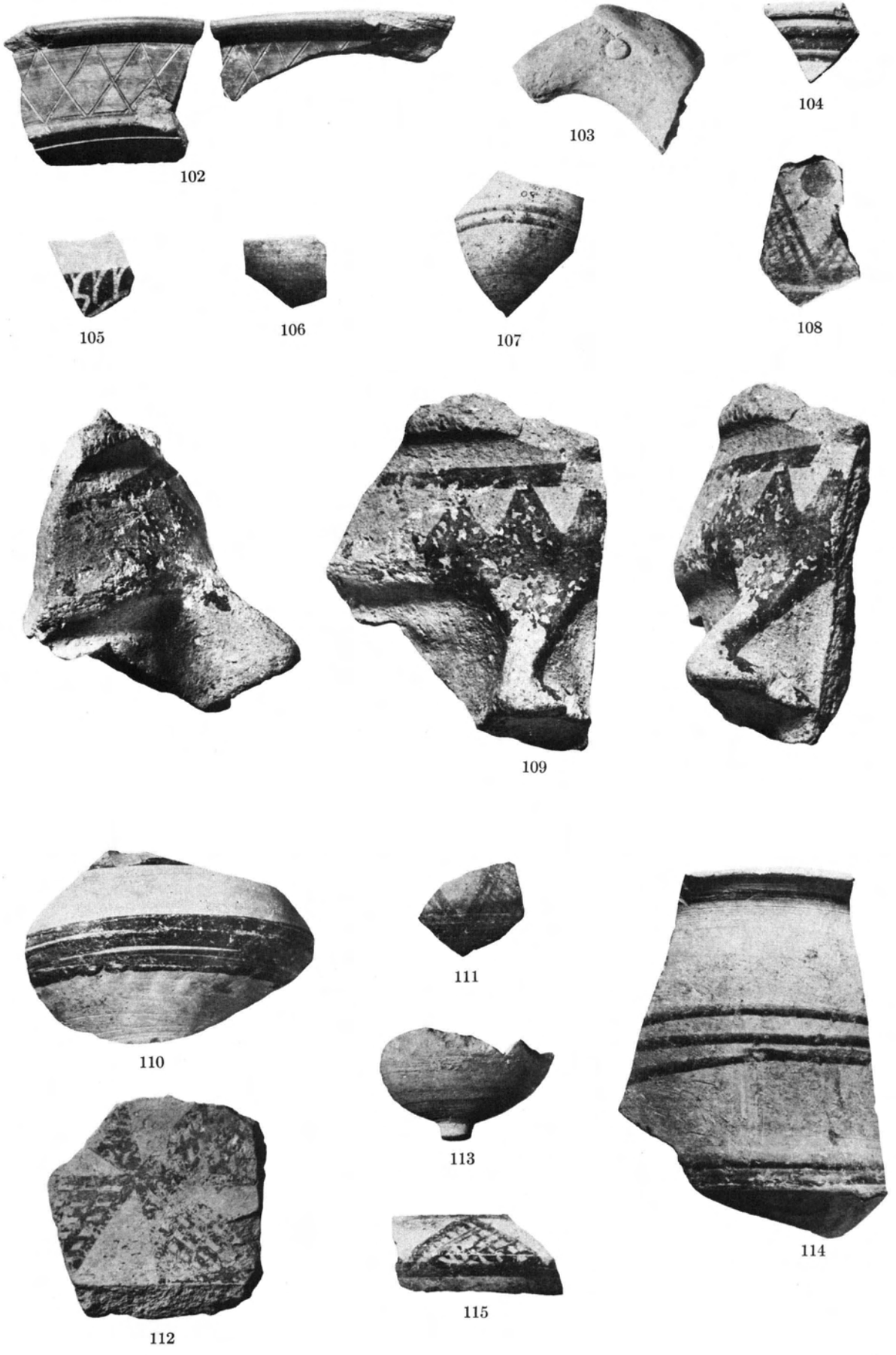
Pottery of the Iron Age (44–49, 52–55) and the Mitannian Period (50, 56, 57)
Scales, 1:2, 2:5 (52, 53, 55), and 1:4 (54)

Islamic? (64), Byzantine (65–71), Late Roman (60), Late (58, 63) and Middle (62) Assyrian Pottery, Islamic Frit Sherd (59). Scales, 1:2, 2:5 (58, 62, 63, 65), and 1:4 (61)



Byzantine (75), Hellenistic (74, 76, 77, 81), Iron Age (78–79, 82–83), Mitannian (80), and Undated (75*a*) Pottery. Scales, 1:2 and 1:4 (74)

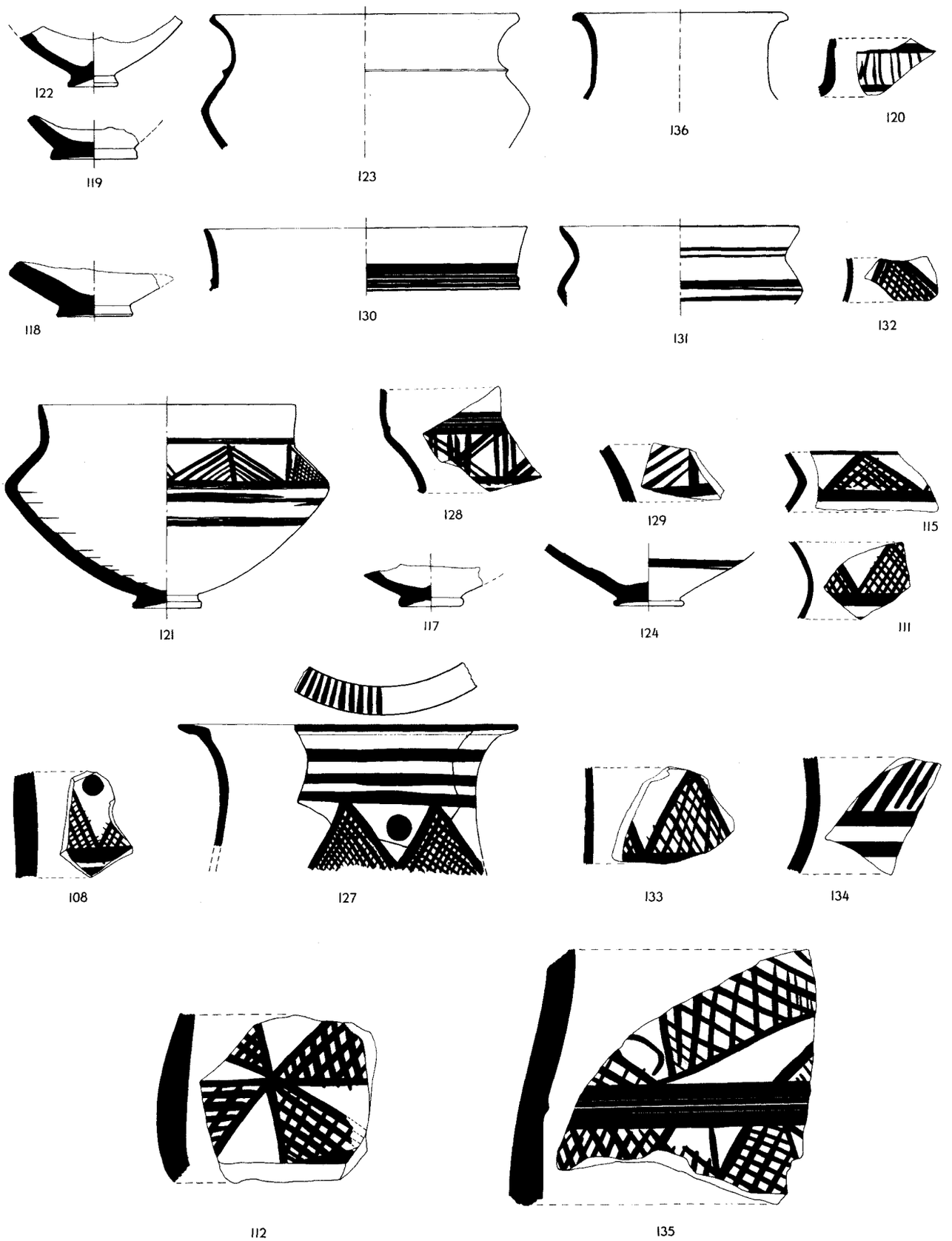
Islamic (84, 85[?], 86), Hellenistic (87), and Iron Age (88, 90–101) Pottery. Scale, 1:2



Iron Age (102–4, 106–7, 113), Mitannian (105), Transitional Khabur-Mitannian (109–10, 114), and Khabur (108, 111–12, 115) Pottery. Scales, 1:1 (109) and 1:2

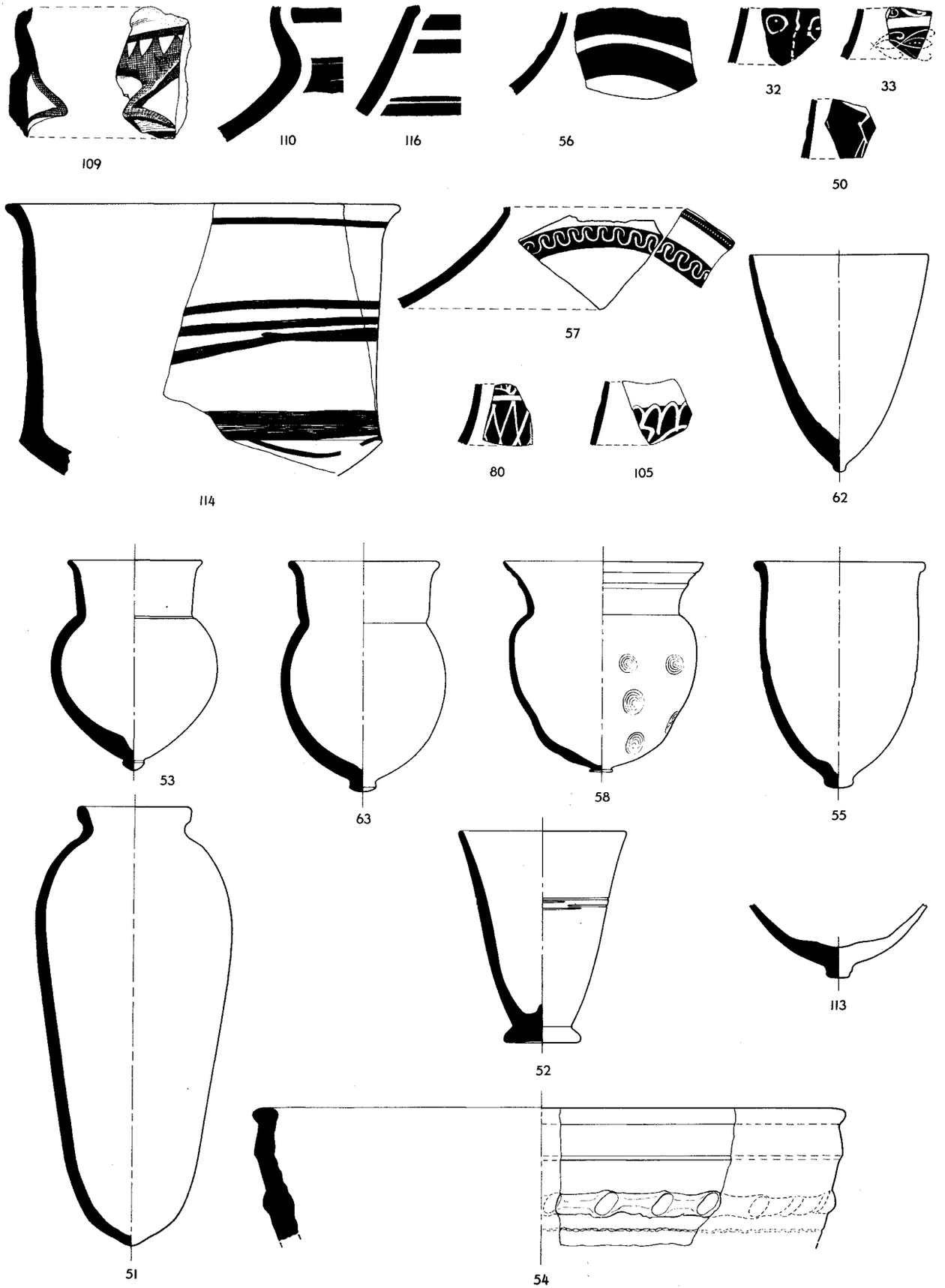
PLATE 36

Byzantine (126), Iron Age (125), Transitional Khabur-Mitannian (116), and Khabur-Period (117–24, 127–37) Pottery. Scale, 1:2

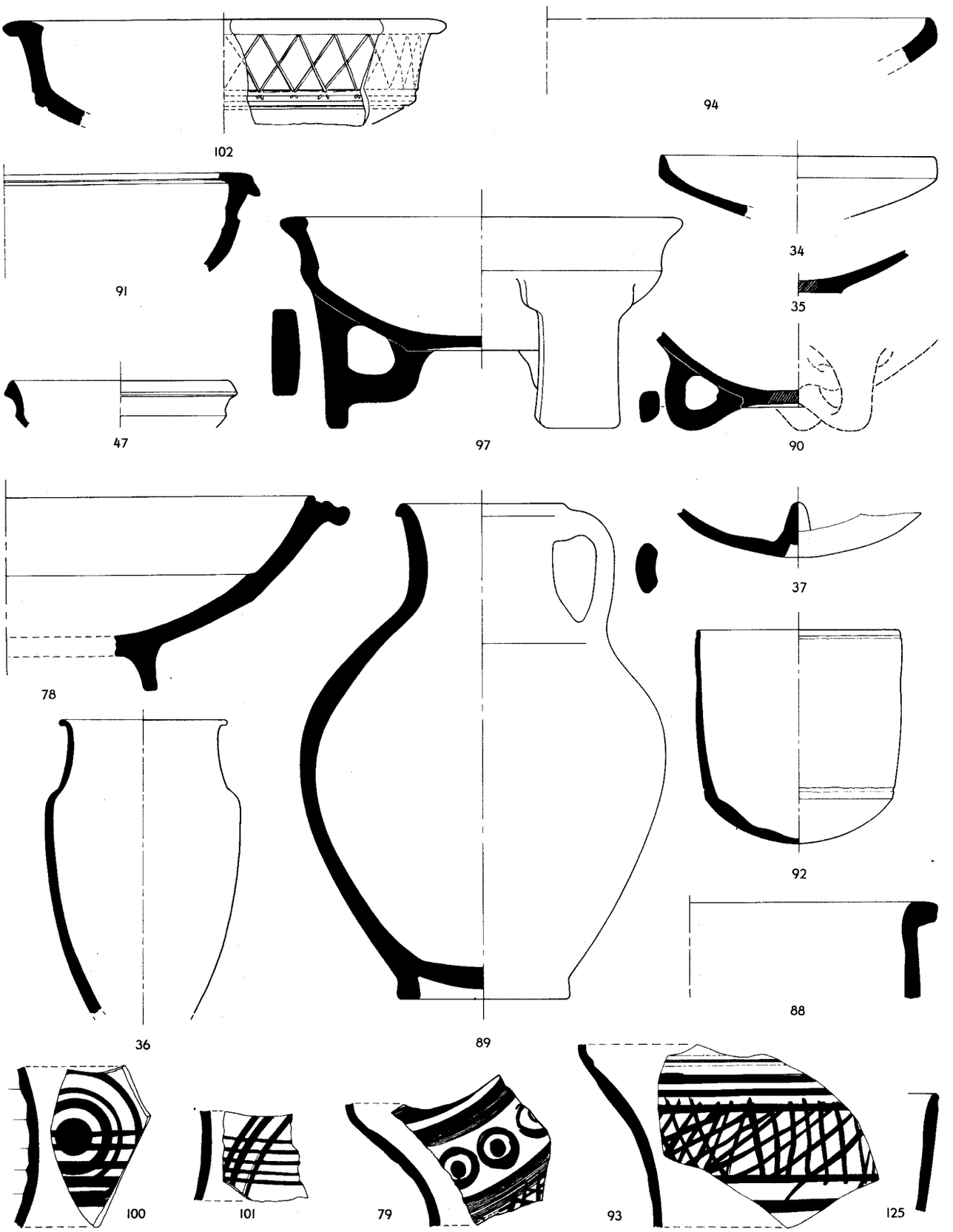


POTTERY OF THE KHABUR PERIOD. SCALE, 2:5

PLATE 38

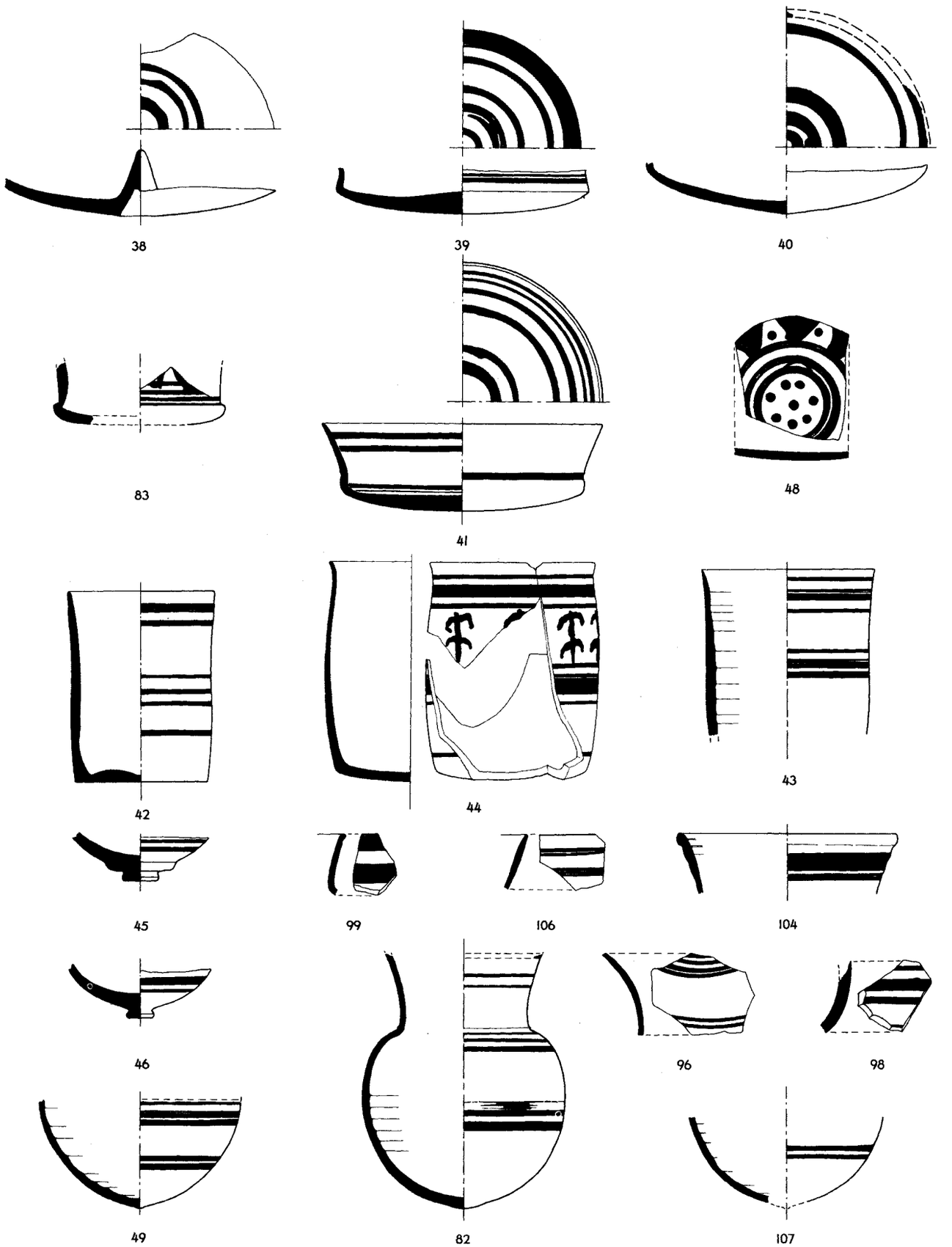


Transitional Khabur-Mitannian (109–10, 114, 116), Mitannian-Period (32, 33, 50, 56, 57, 80, 105), Middle Assyrian (62), and Iron Age (51–55, 58, 63, 113) Pottery. Scale, 2:5

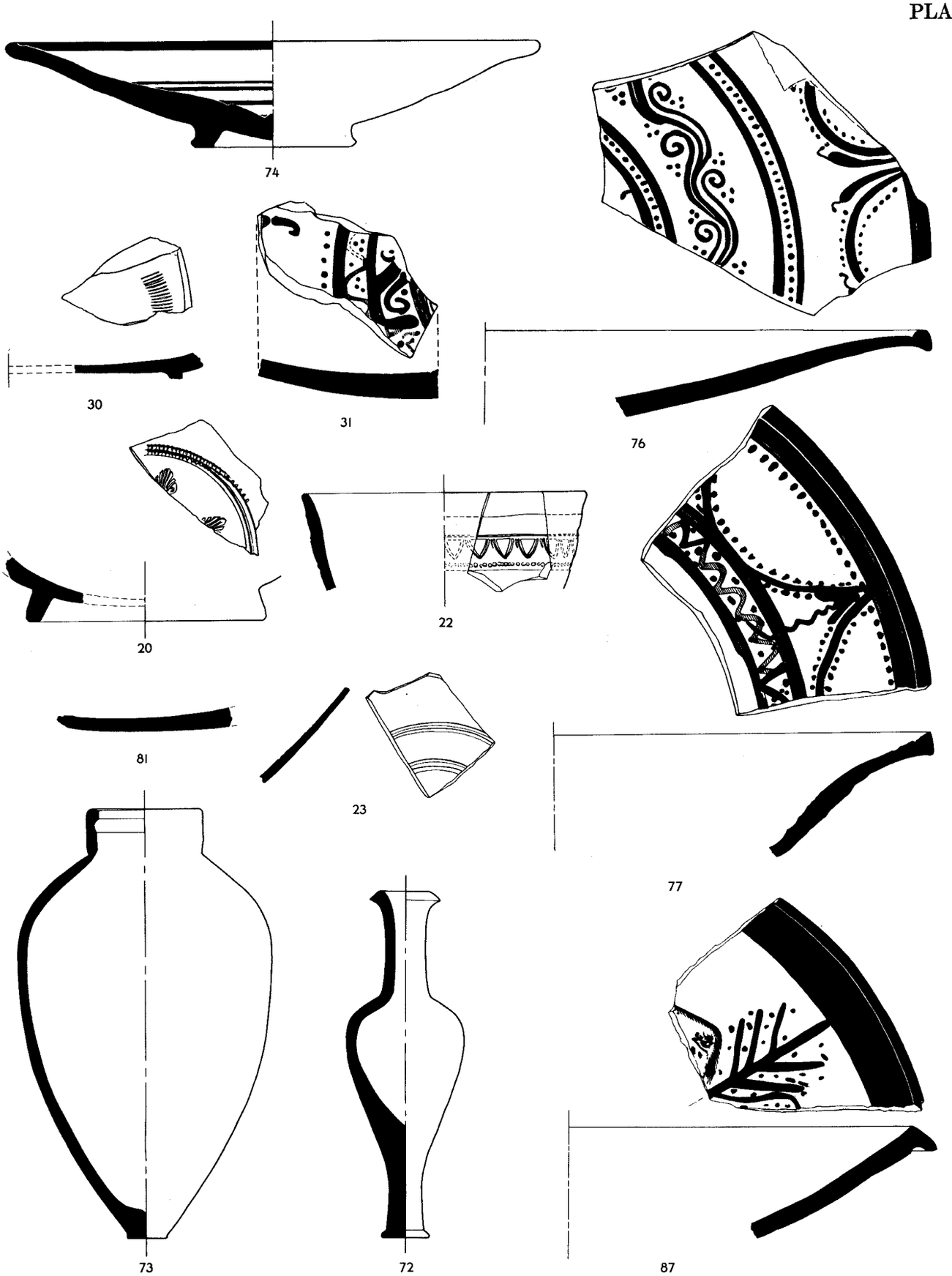


PLAIN (34, 35, 88, 89[?]), BURNISHED (36, 37, 47, 90–92, 97, 102, 125), RED BURNISHED (78, 94), AND PAINTED (79, 93, 100, 101) POTTERY OF THE IRON AGE. SCALE, 2:5

PLATE 40

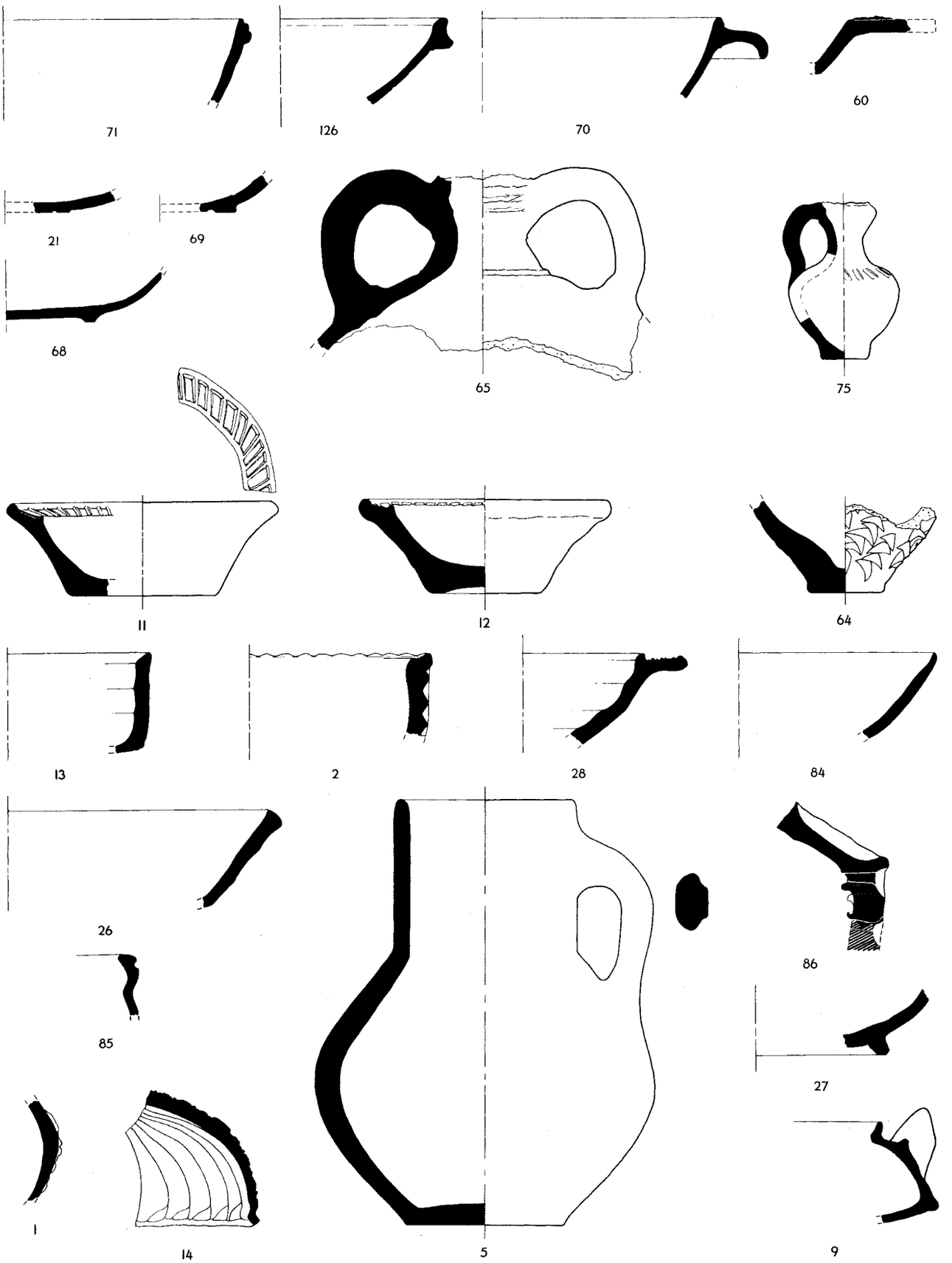


IRON AGE PAINTED POTTERY. SCALE, 2:5

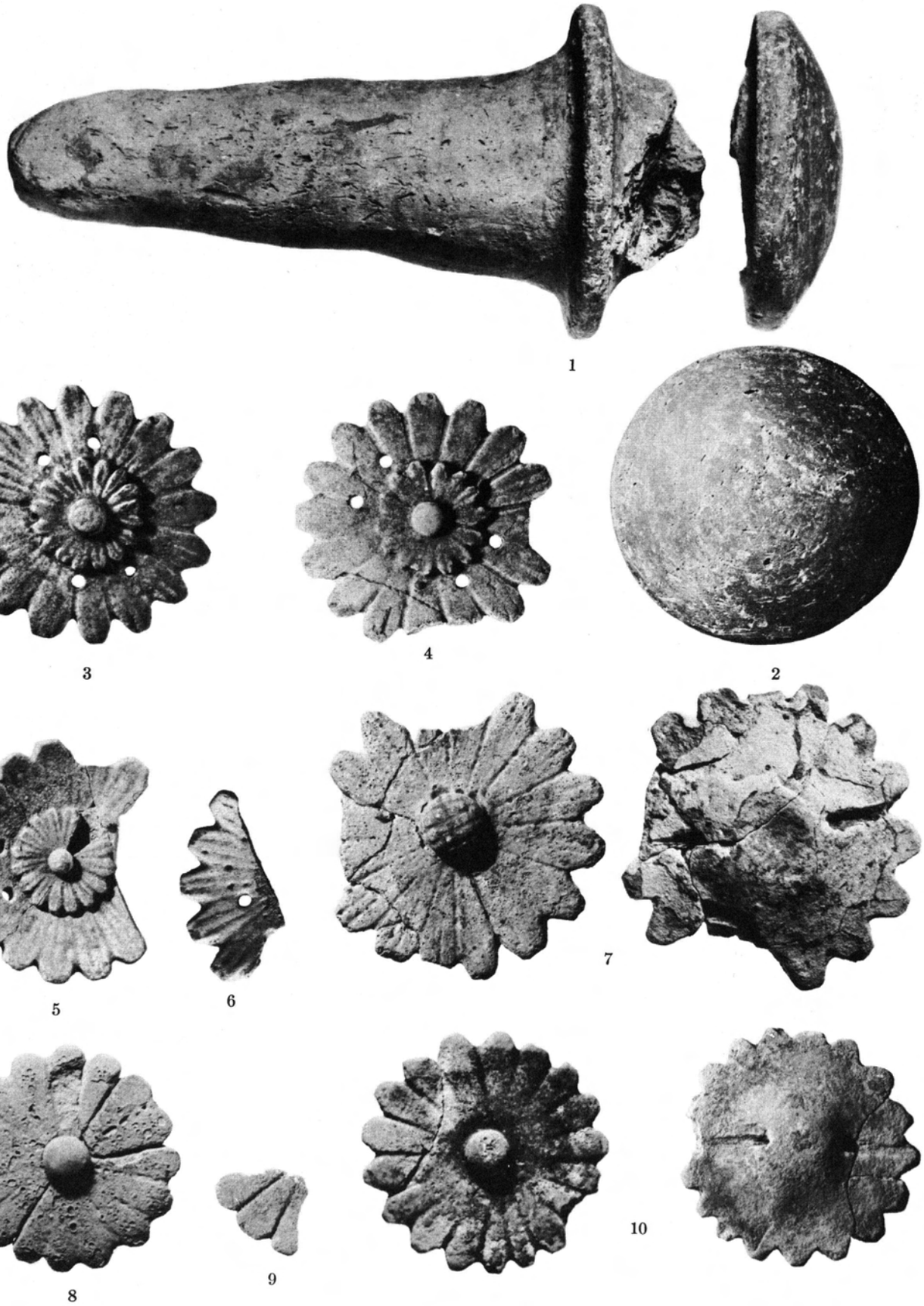


HELLENISTIC POTTERY, EXCEPT A "ROMAN PERGAMENE" SHERD (30) AND AN UNDATED JAR (73). SCALE, 2:5

PLATE 42

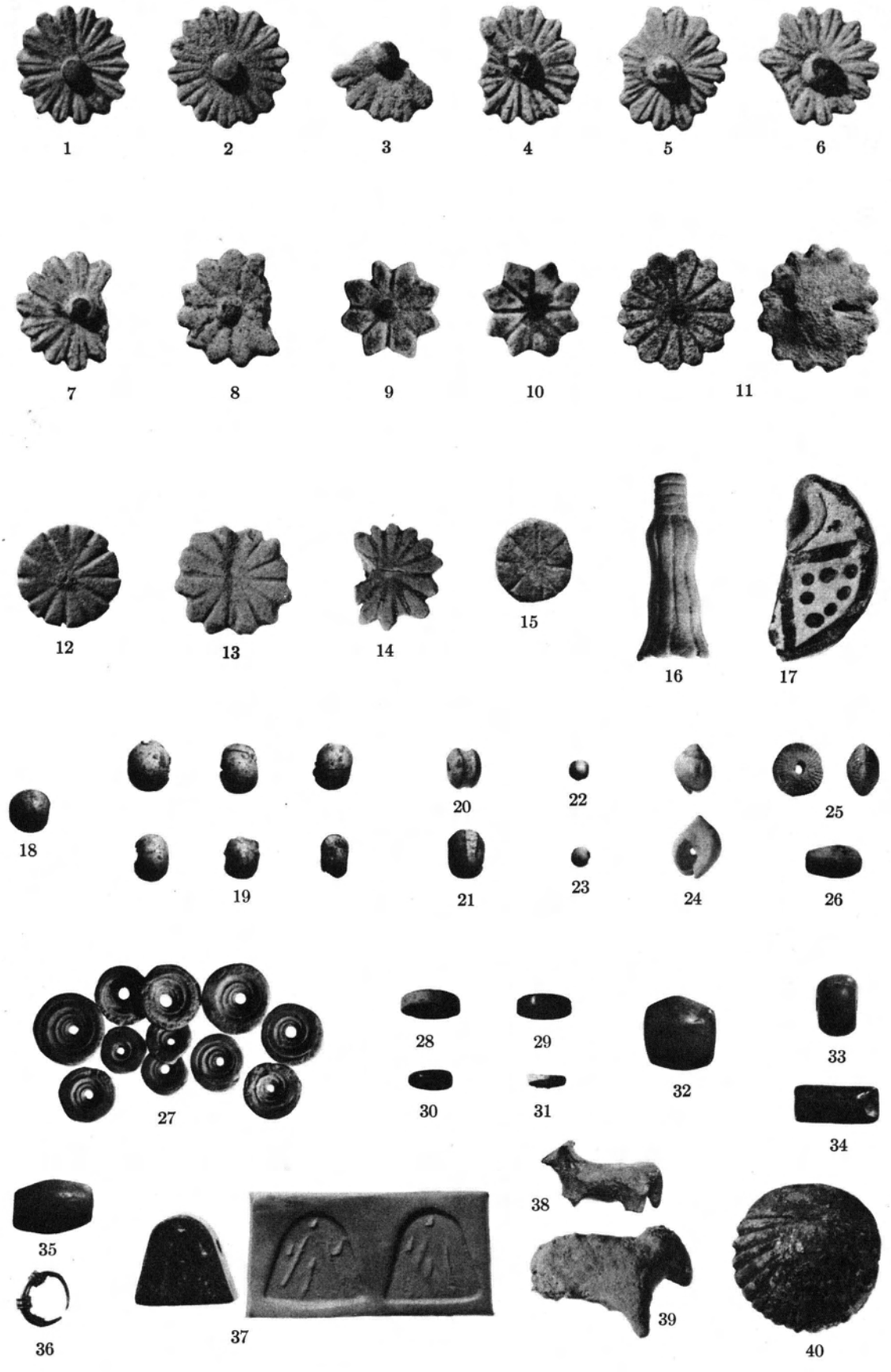


LATE ROMAN (60), BYZANTINE (11–12[?], 21, 65, 68–71, 75, 126), ISLAMIC (1, 2, 9, 13, 14, 26[?], 27, 28, 64[?], 84, 85[?], 86), AND UNDATED (5) POTTERY. SCALE, 2:5

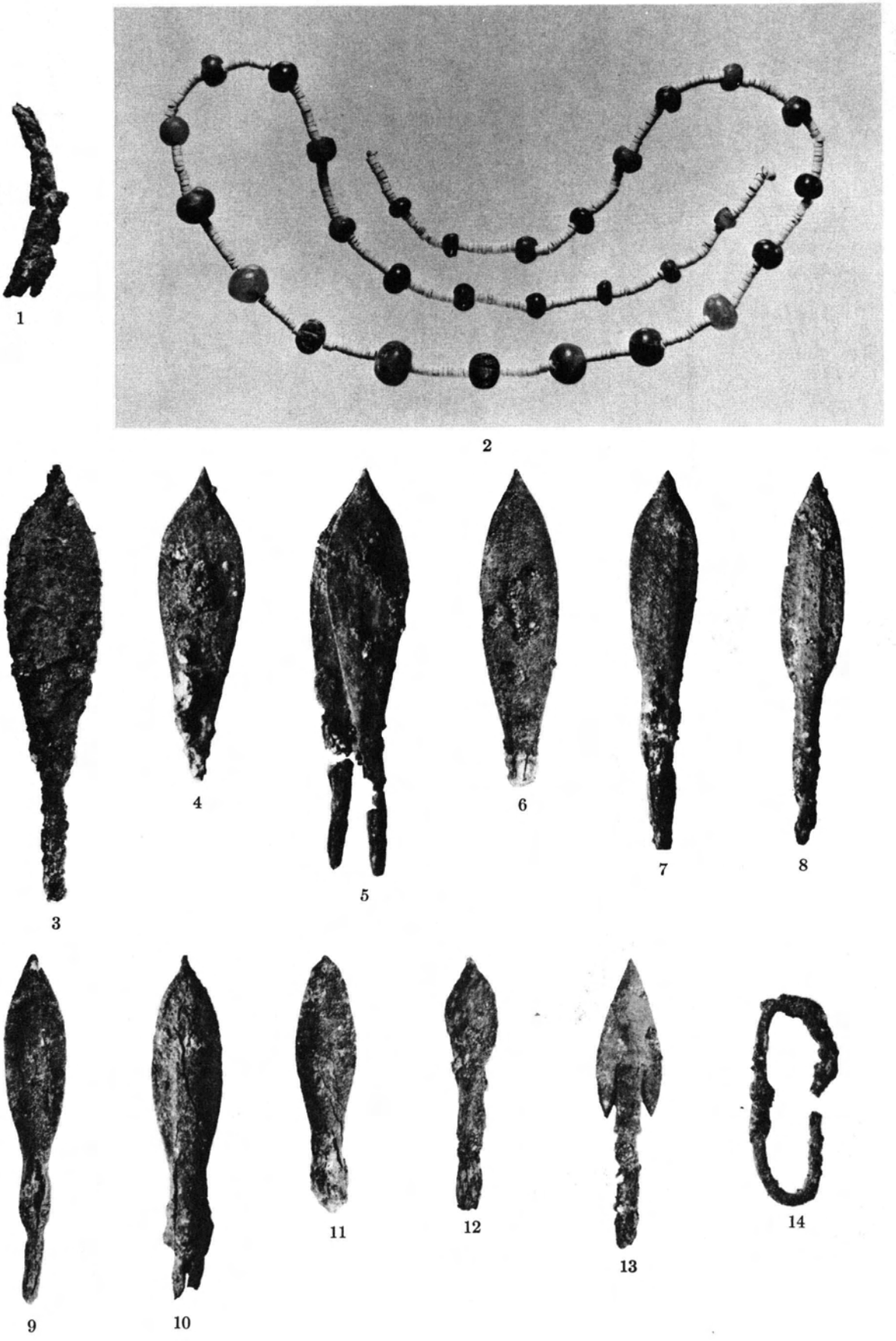


SOUNDING VI. BAKED-CLAY WALL NAILS AND FRIT ROSETTES FROM FLOORS 1 AND 2 (*see pp. 42–44*). SCALE, 2:3

PLATE 44

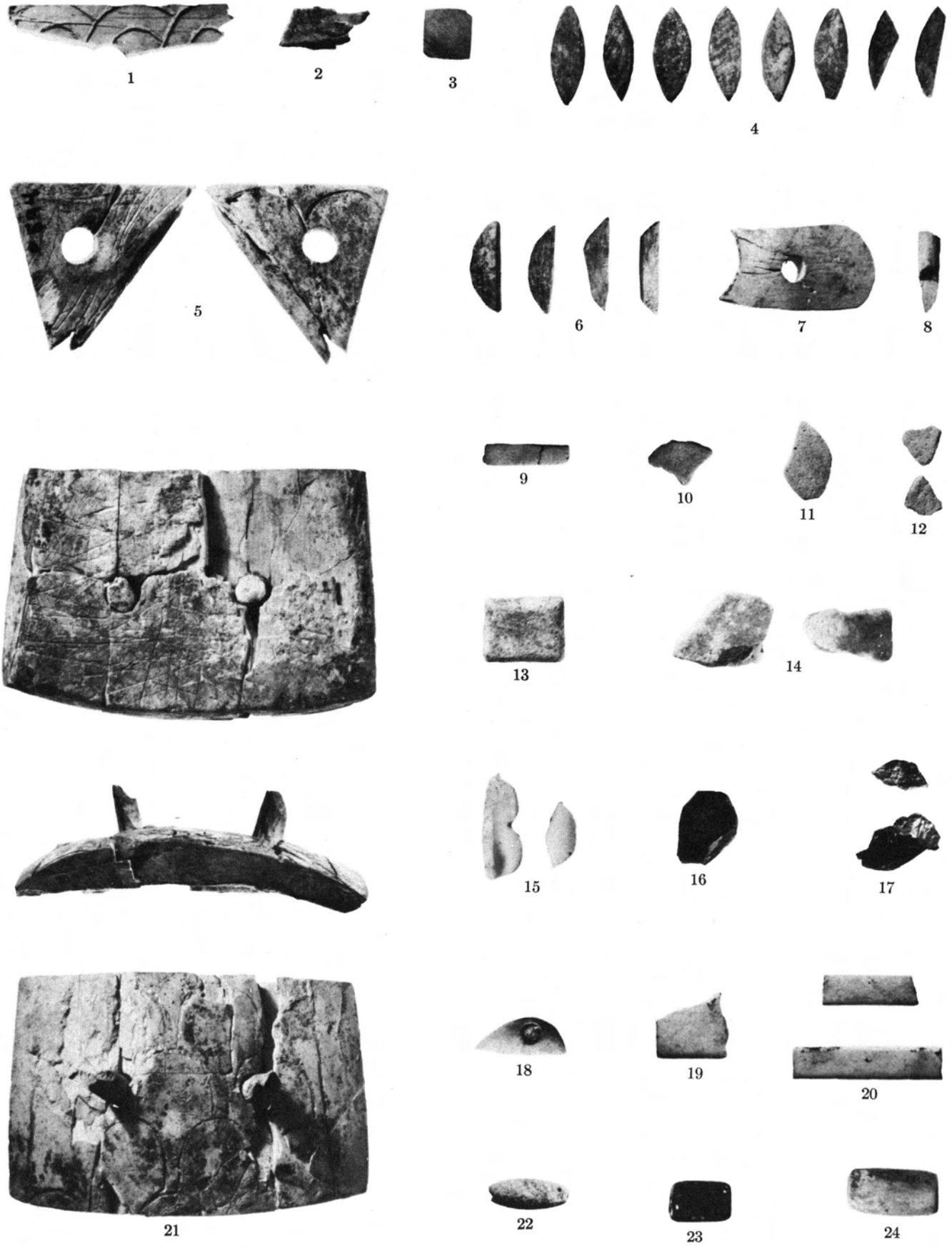


Sounding VI. Frit Rosettes, Beads, and Other Objects from Floors 1, 2, and 3 (*see pp. 43–45*). Scale, 2:3



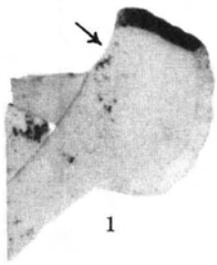
SOUNDING VI. IRON FRAGMENT (1) AND BEADS FROM BURIAL II, BRONZE PROJECTILE POINTS AND ROD (14) FROM BURIAL III (*see pp. 45–46*). SCALE, 2:3

Sounding IX. Objects from Floor 6 and Below (1–22; *see pp. 46–47*) and from Northward Extension (23–26; *see p. 47*). Scale, 2:3

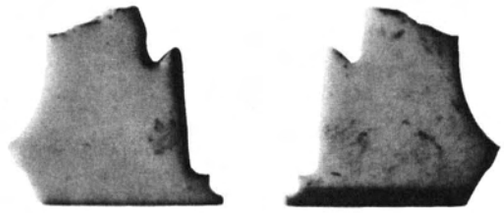


Sounding IX. Decorative Fragments (1–21) and Beads (22–24) from Floor 4 of Iron Age Palace (*see pp. 47–49*). Actual Size

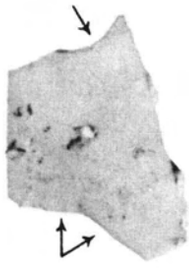
PLATE 48



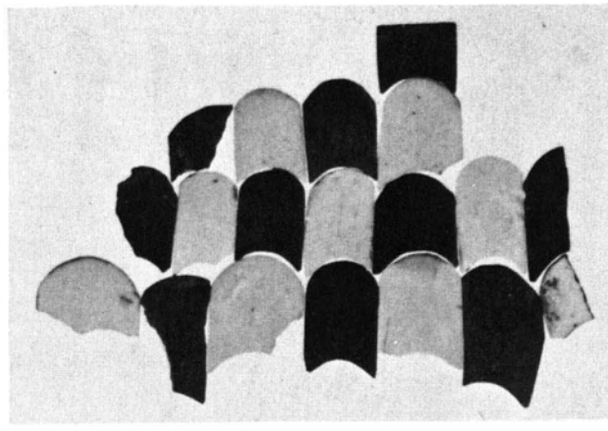
1



2

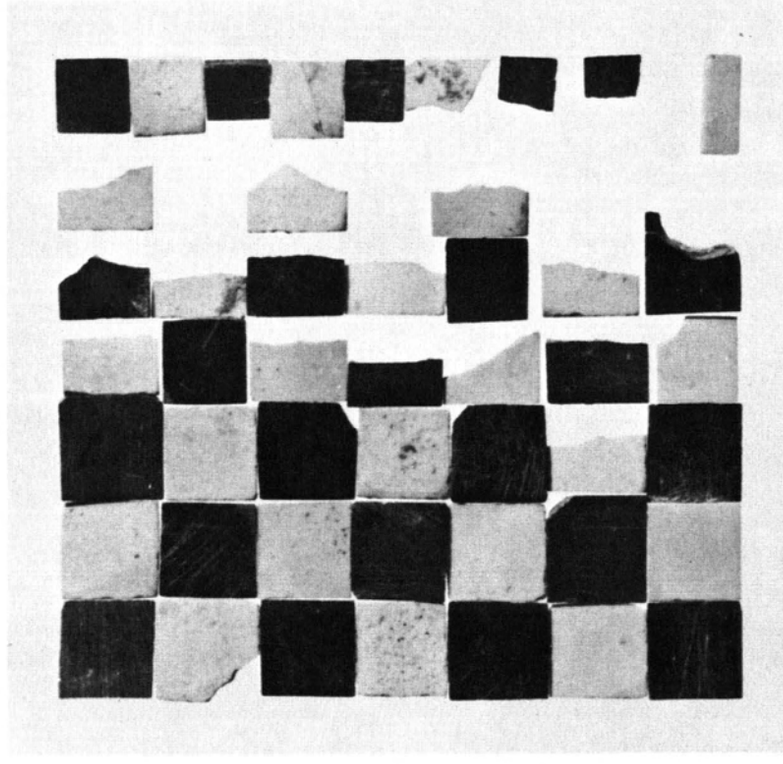


3

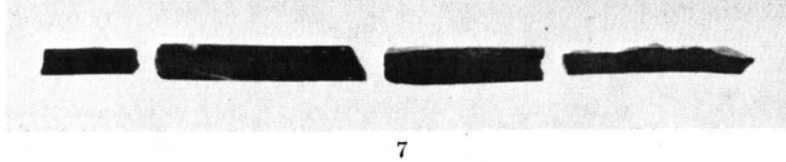


4

5



6



7

Sounding IX. Plaque Fragments and Inlays from Floor 4 of Iron Age Palace (*see pp. 48–50*). Actual Size

1

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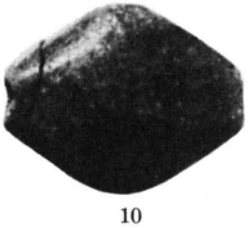

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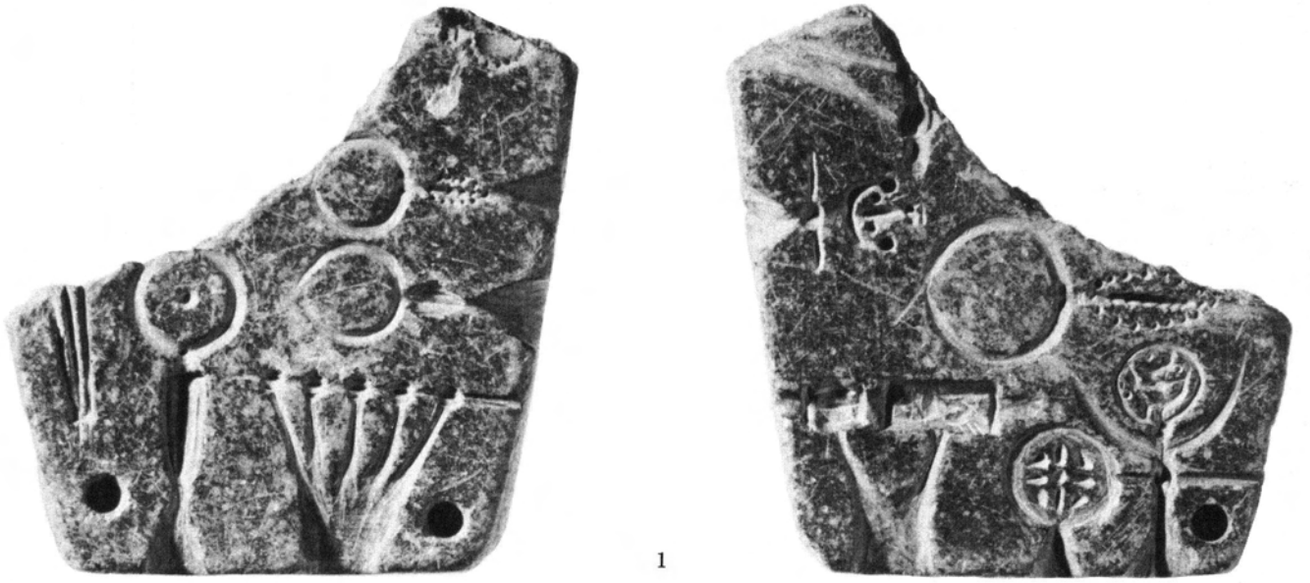
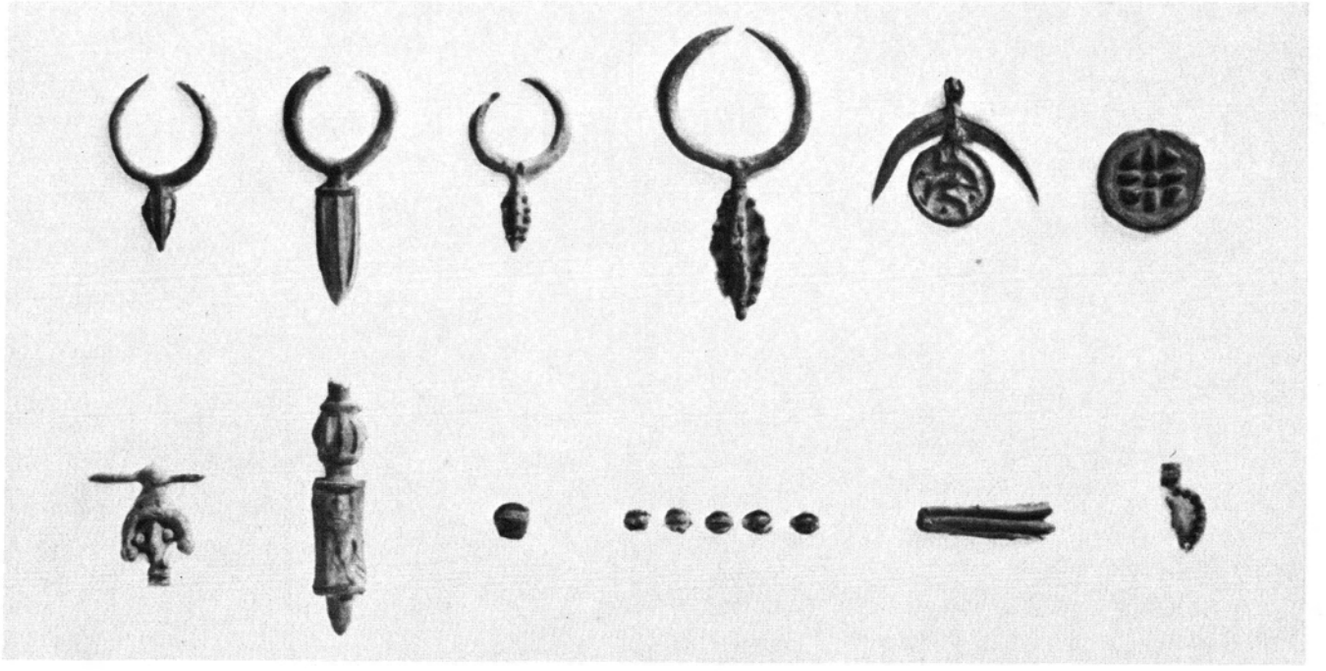
Sounding IX. Objects from Floors 5 (1), 4 (3), and 3 of Iron Age Palace (*see pp. 47, 49 f.*). Actual Size

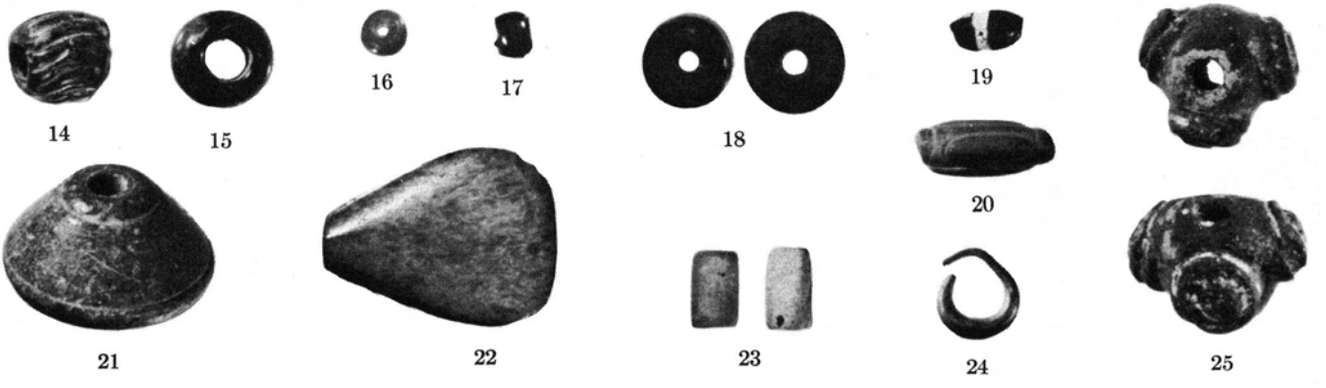


1



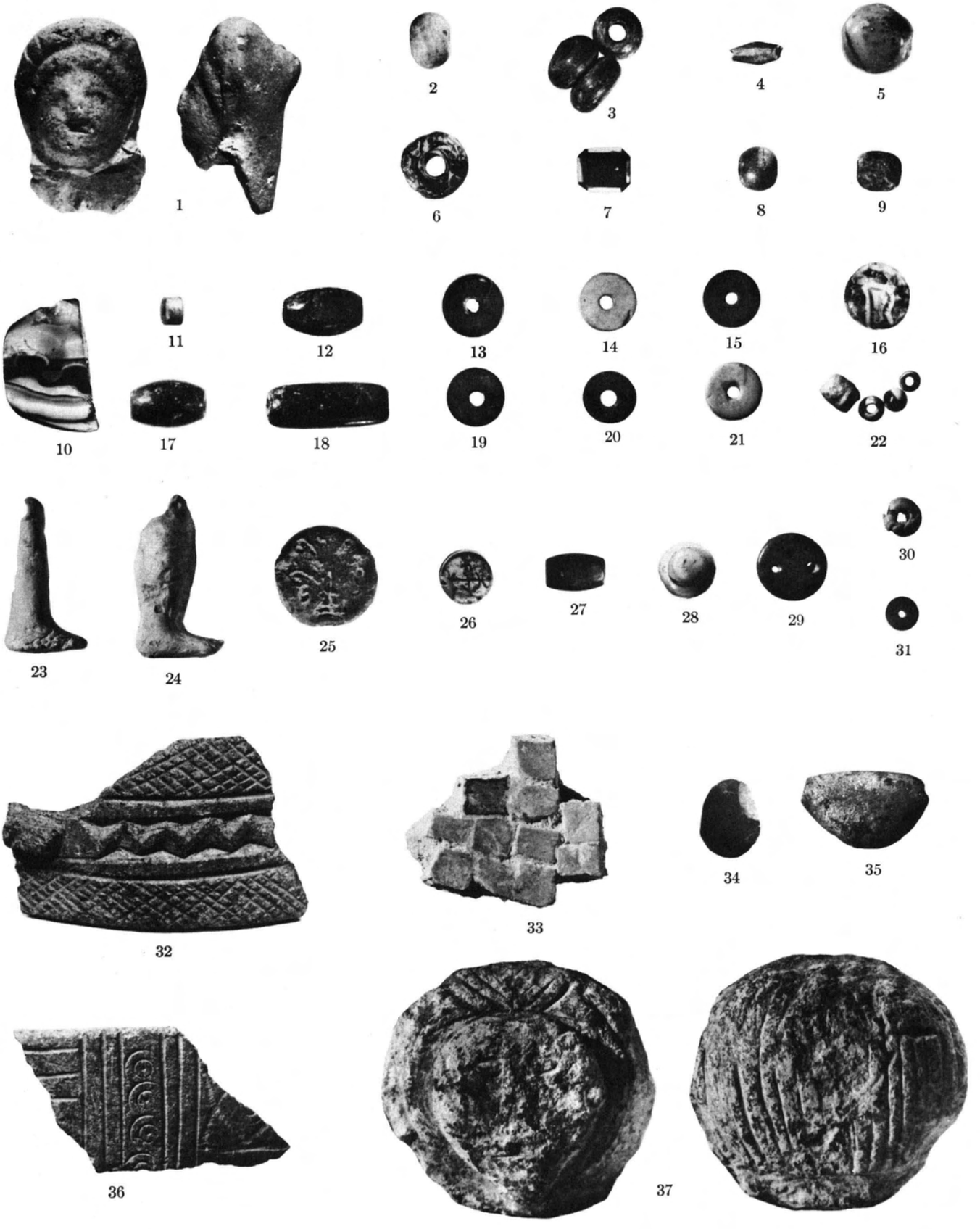
2 3 4 5 6 7

8 9 10 11 12 13



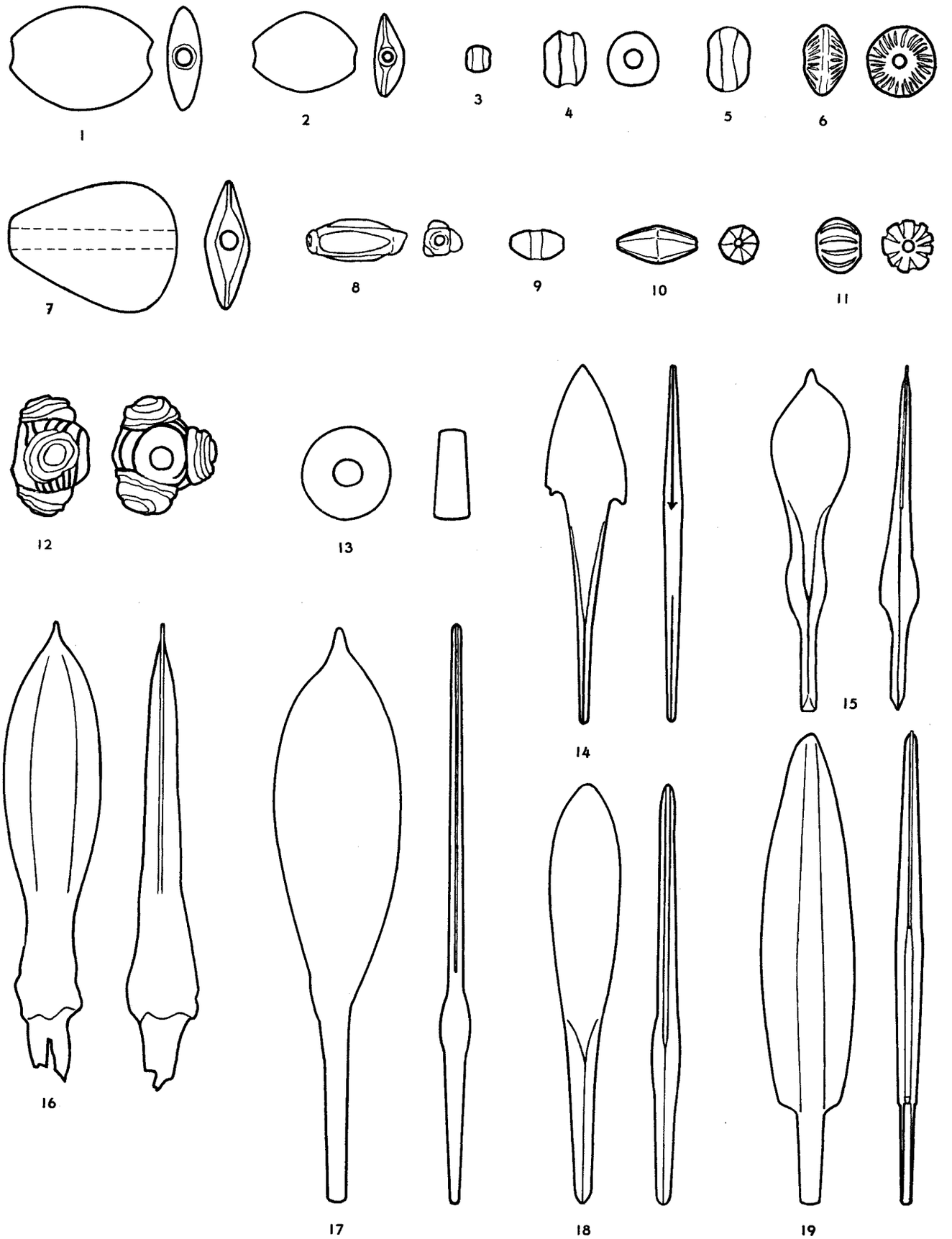
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

Sounding IX. Jewelry Mold and Latex Casts Therefrom (1–13), Spindle Whorl (21), and Beads (14–20, 22–23) from Floor 2, Earring (24) and Bead (25) from Burial IV (*see pp. 50–51*). Actual Size



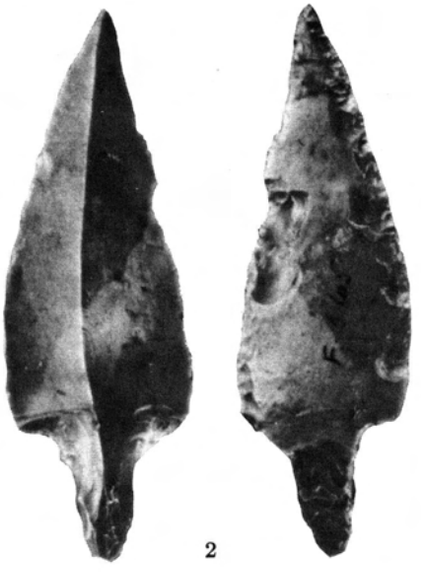
Objects from Soundings IX (1–9), I and IA (10–22), IV (23, 25–28, 34), V (32, 36), and VI (29, 30, 33, 37), Amulet (24) from Line 1, Beads (31, 35) of Unknown Provenience (*see pp. 46 and 50–52*). Scale, 2:3

PLATE 52

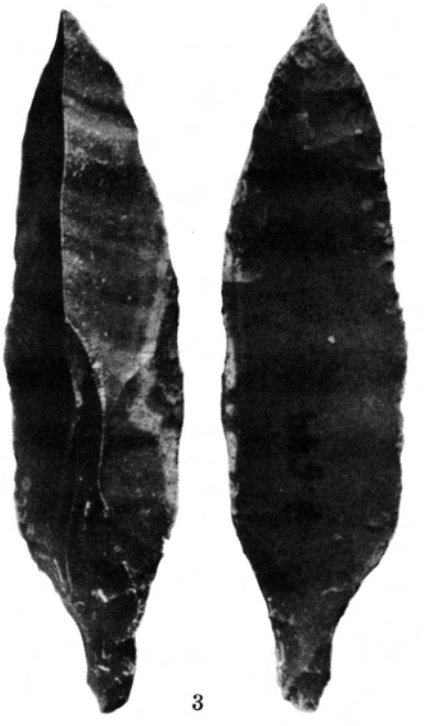


OBJECTS FROM SOUNDINGS IA (13; *see p. 52*), VI (3–6, 11, 15–17; *see pp. 44–46*), AND IX (1, 2, 7–10, 12, 14, 18, 19; *see pp. 46, 47, 49–51*). ACTUAL SIZE

1



2



3

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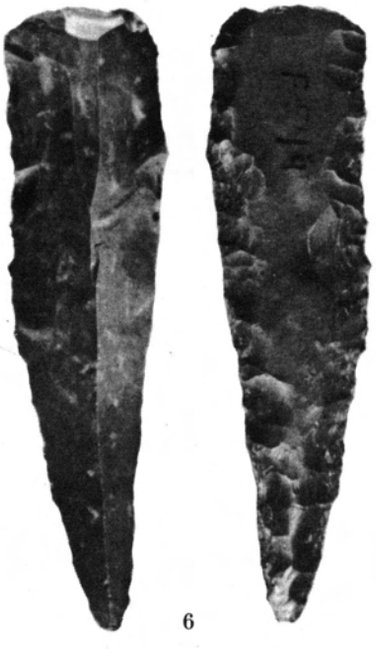
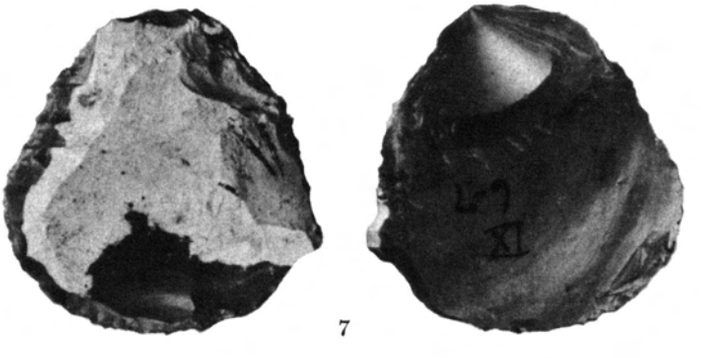
5



6

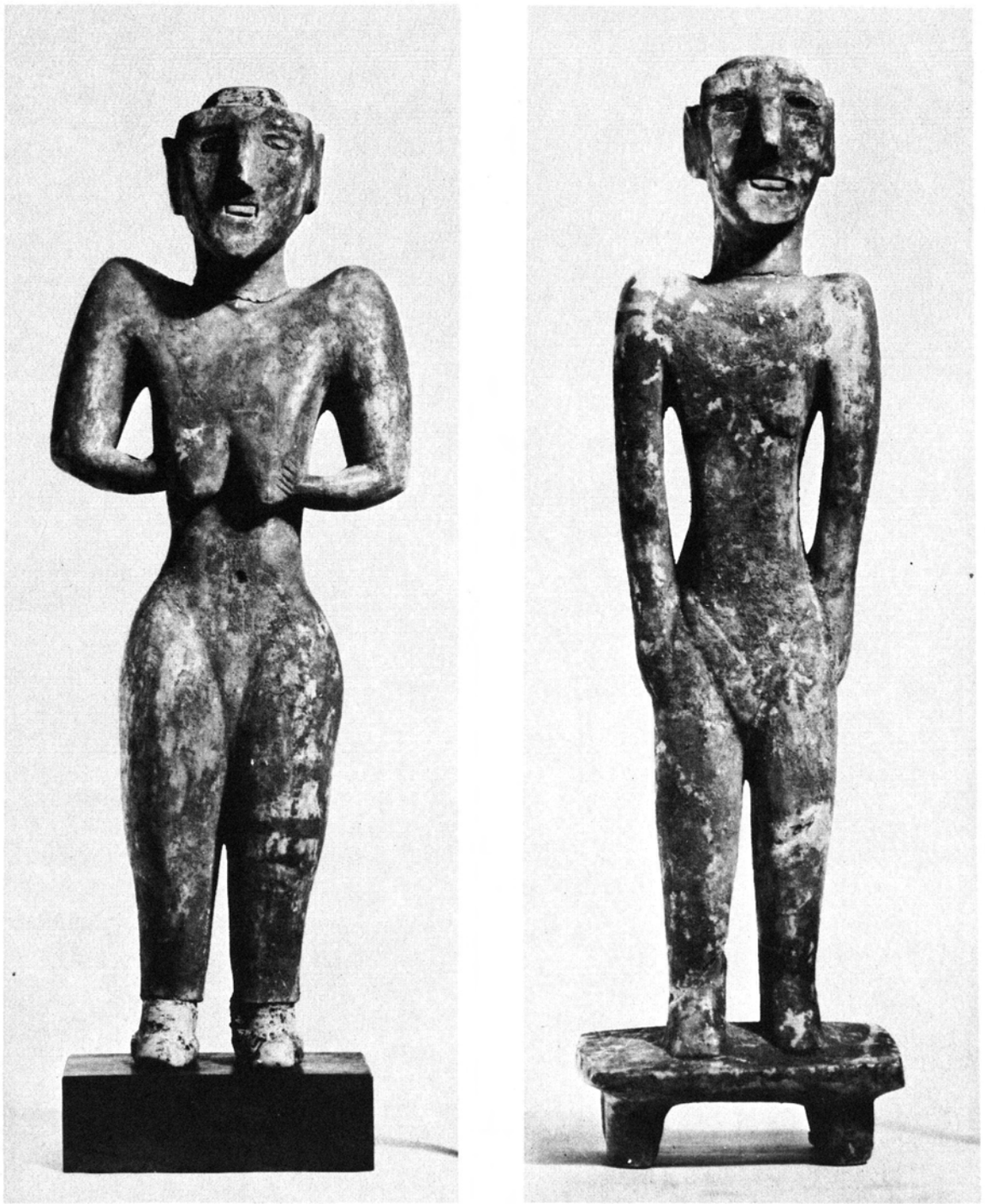


7

FLINTS FOUND BELOW IRON AGE PALACE IN SOUNDING IX. ACTUAL SIZE

PLATE 54

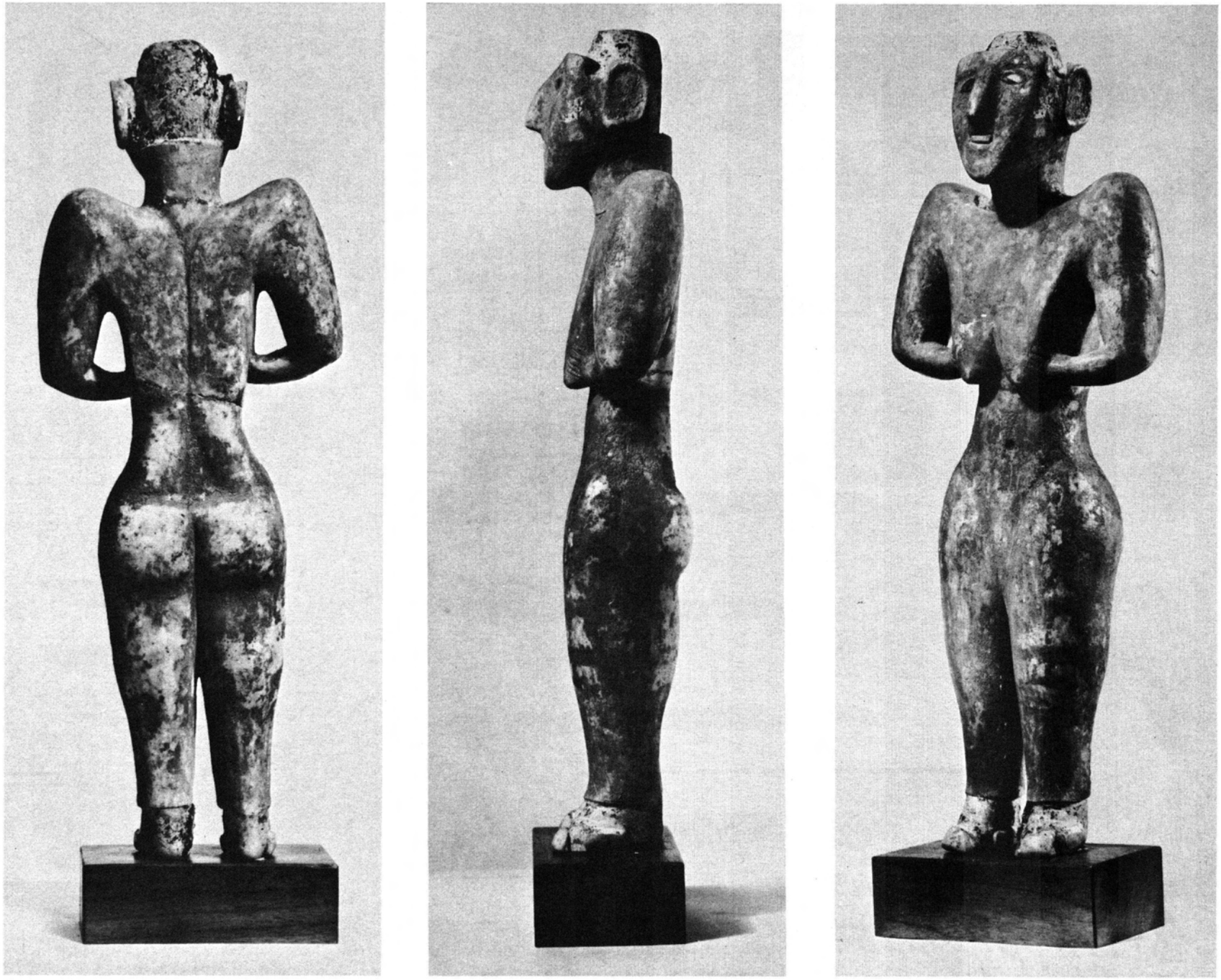
Lame de dégagement (1) AND OBSIDIAN BLADES (2–3) FOUND BELOW PALACE, CELTS (4–7) FROM PALACE AND BELOW
ACTUAL SIZE



A *B*

PAINTED STATUETTES FROM SOUNDING IX. *A*. FEMALE FIGURE. *B*. MALE FIGURE. SCALE, 1:2

MALE STATUETTE FROM SOUNDING IX. SCALE, 1:2



FEMALE STATUETTE FROM SOUNDING IX. SCALE, 1:2

UNDECORATED IVORIES. ACTUAL SIZE

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PLAIN IVORIES (10–11) AND PIECES WITH GEOMETRIC DECORATION (12–15). ACTUAL SIZE

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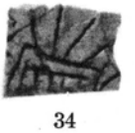
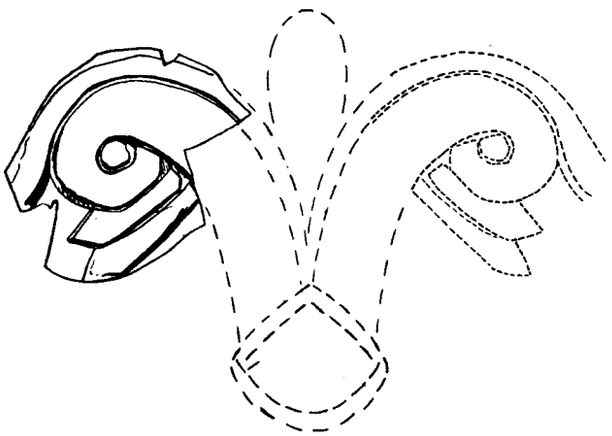
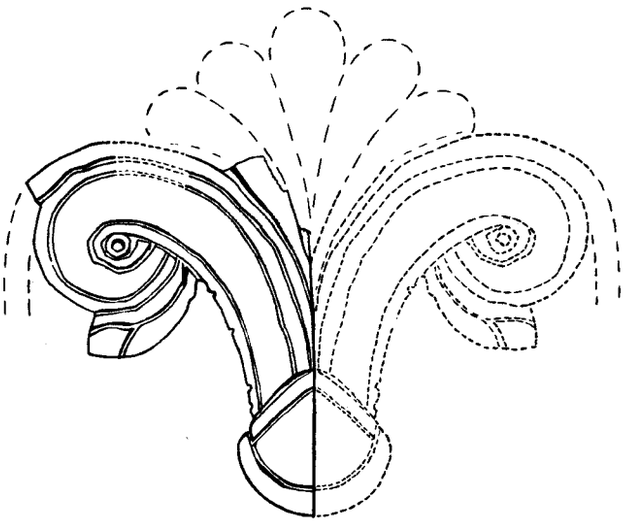


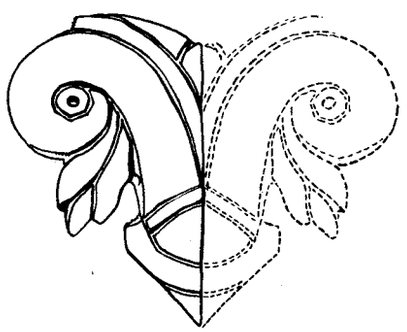
34



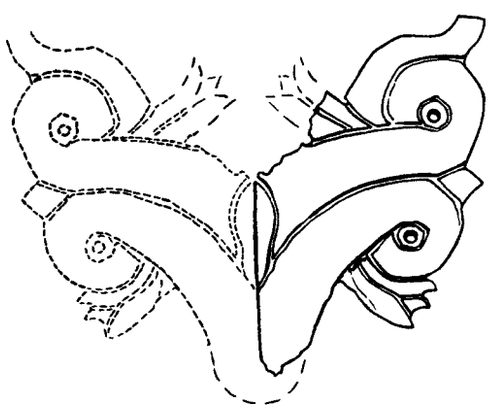
16



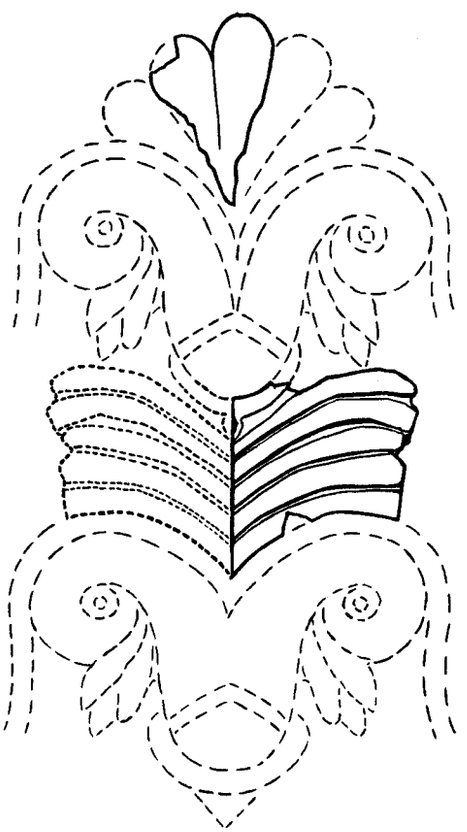
22



21



29



30 + 32

HJK

FLOWER PLAQUES AND SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTIONS. ACTUAL SIZE

35

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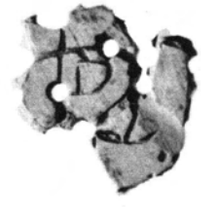

47

44

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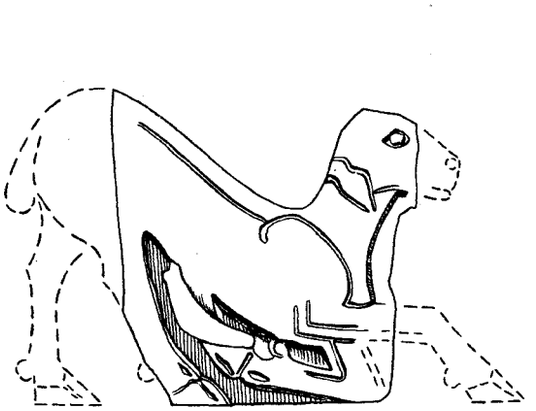
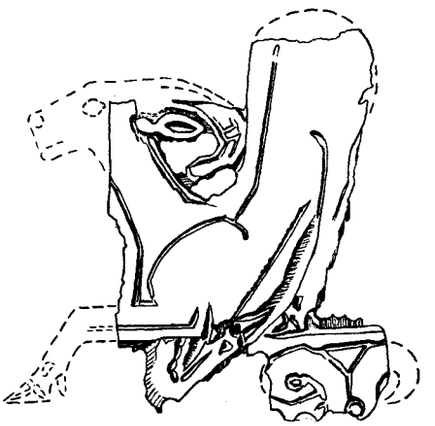
46



36



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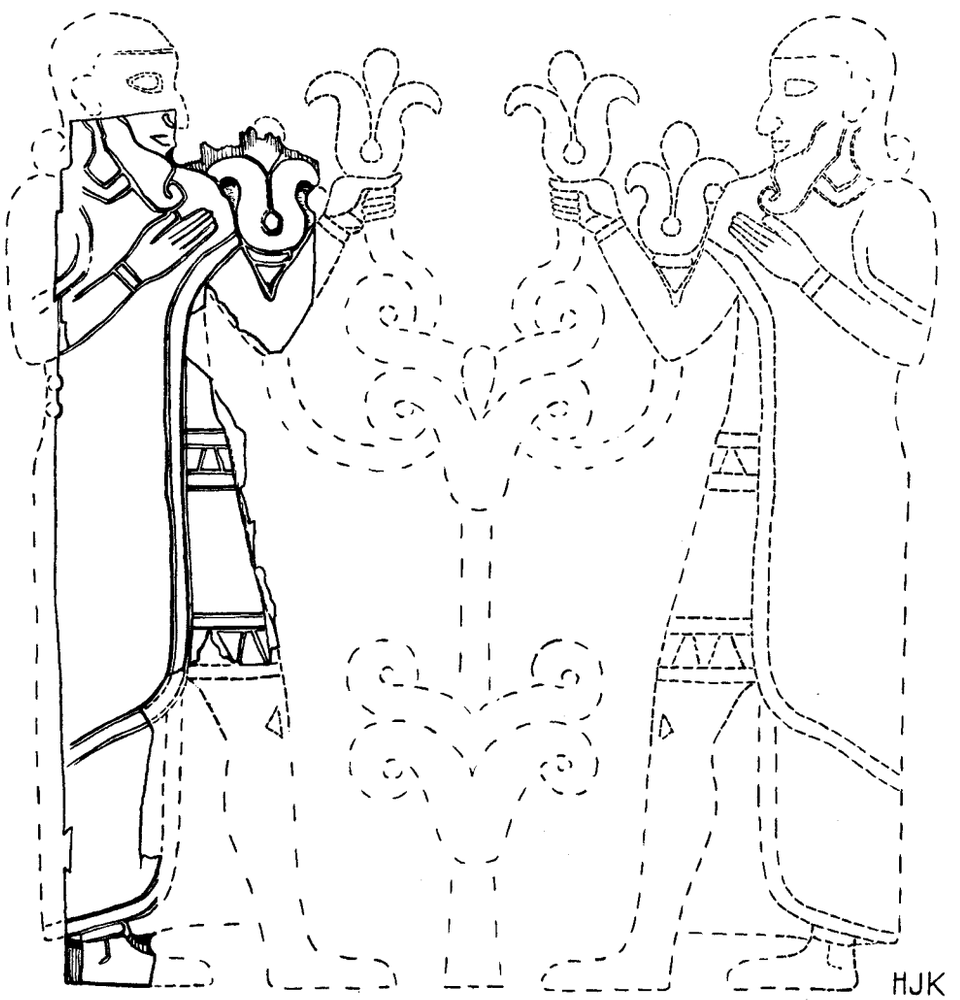
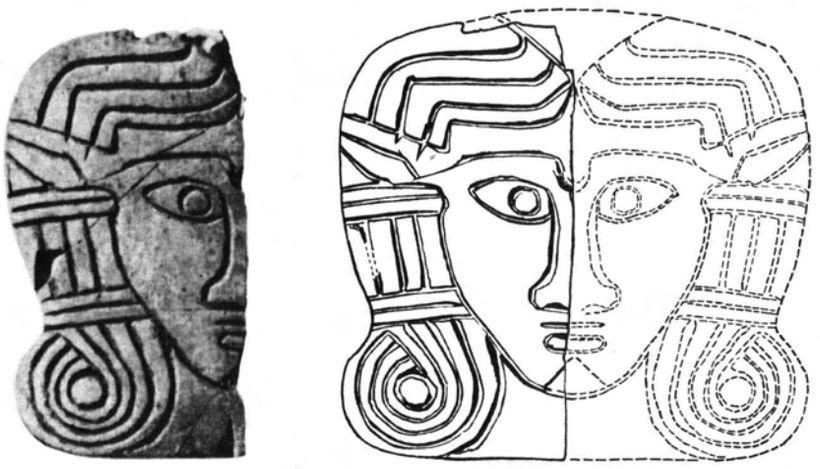
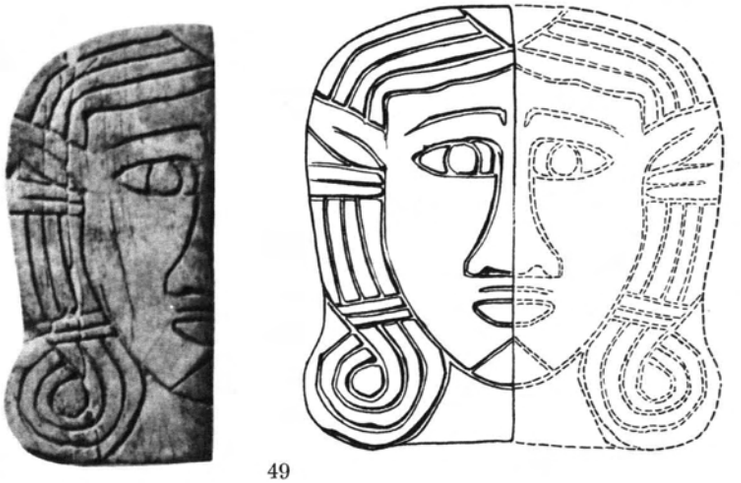


40

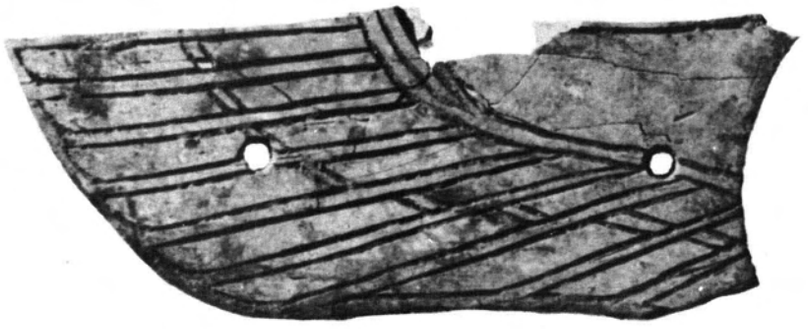
FRAGMENTS OF OPENWORK ANIMAL PLAQUES AND OF PLAQUES WITH ROBED FIGURES, WITH SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTIONS. ACTUAL SIZE



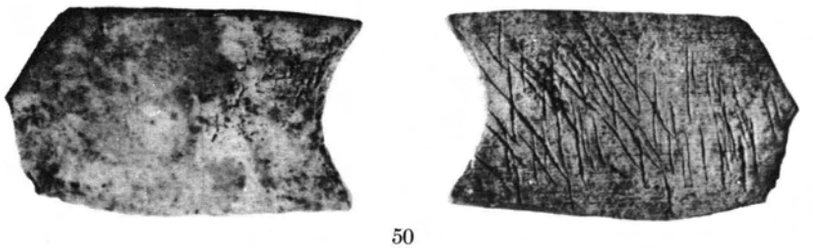
48



49

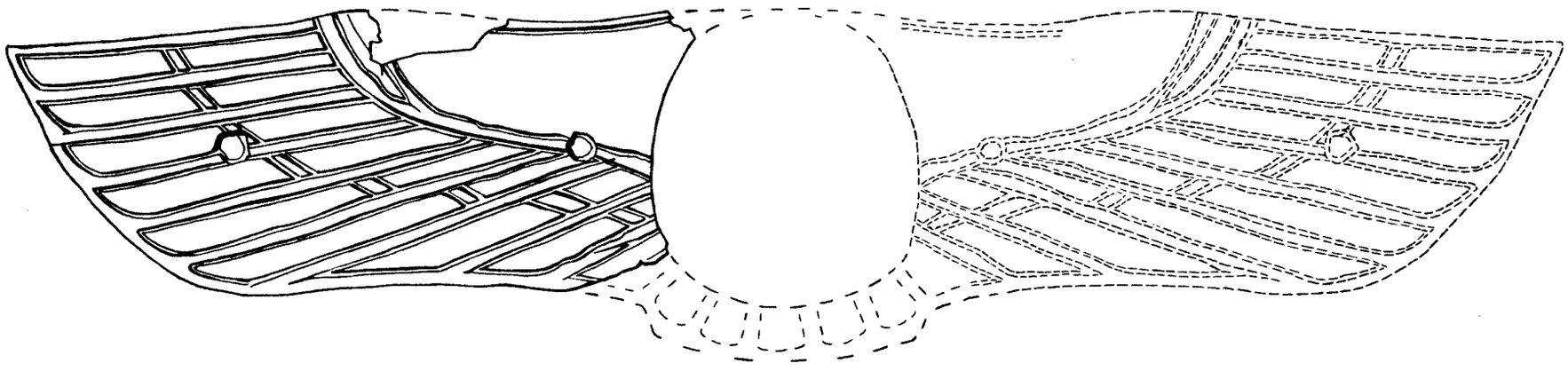


51

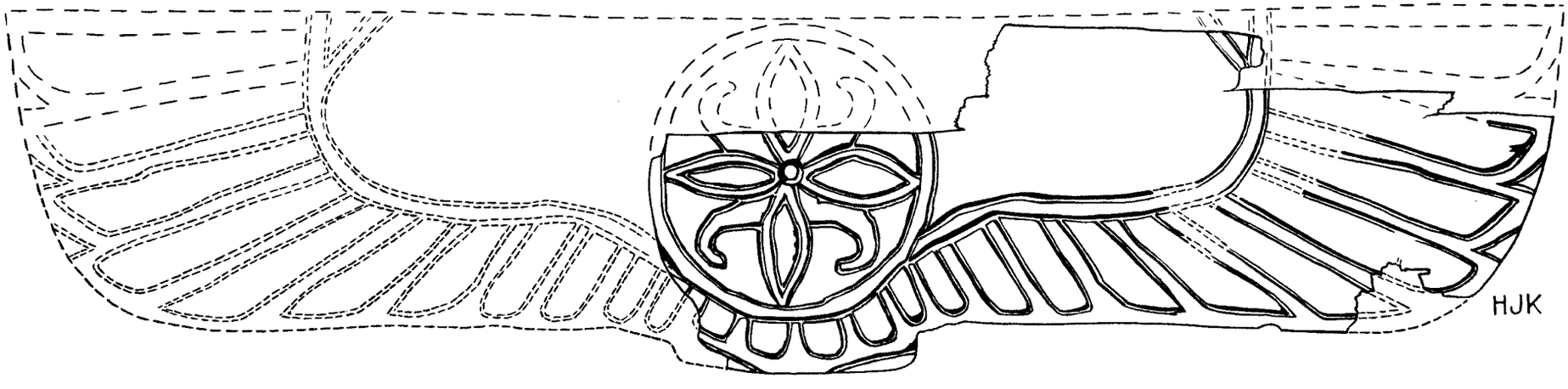


50

52



51



52

"Hathor"-Head and Winged Sun-Disk Plaques, with Suggested Reconstructions. Actual Size

53

54

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56

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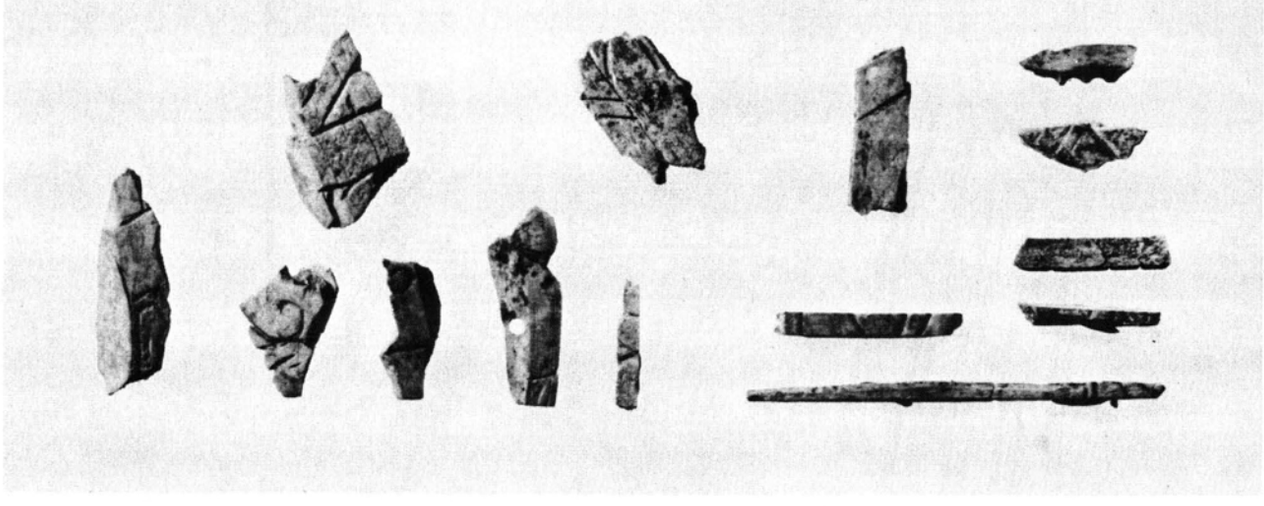
62

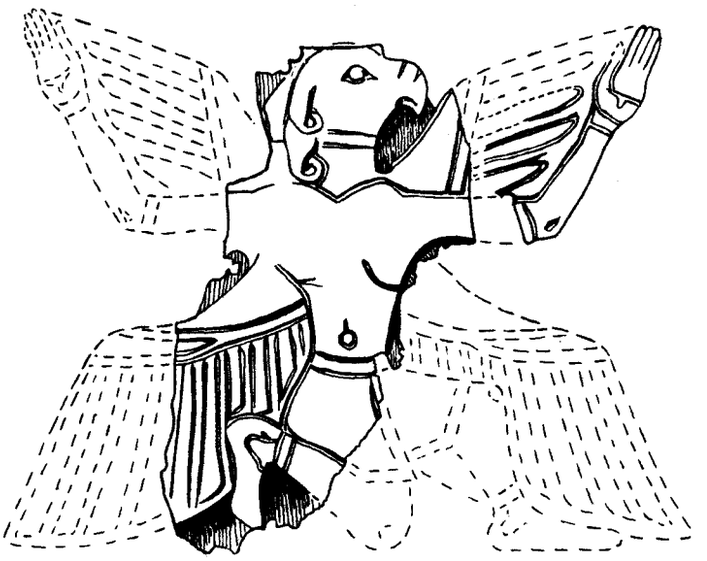
57

58

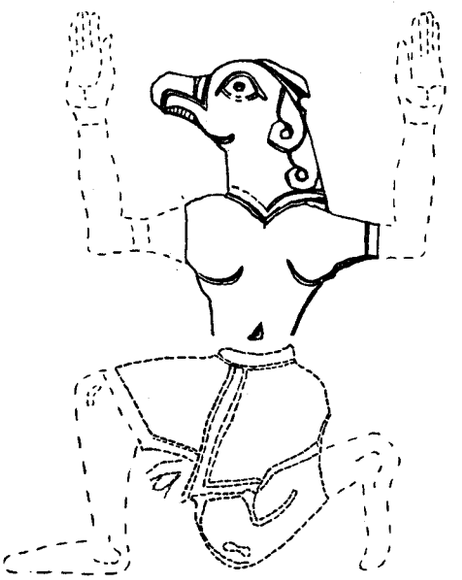
59



63



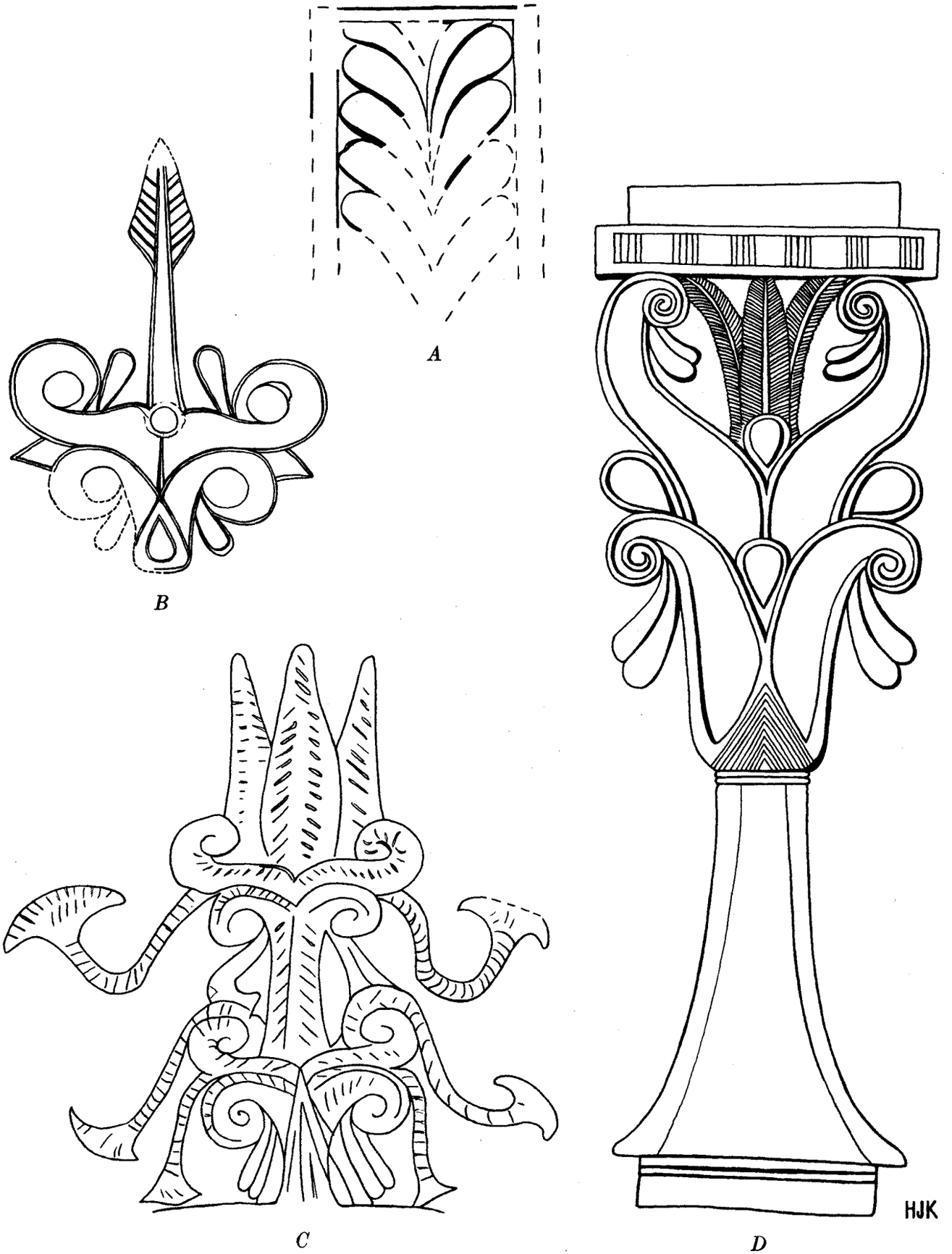
55 + 56



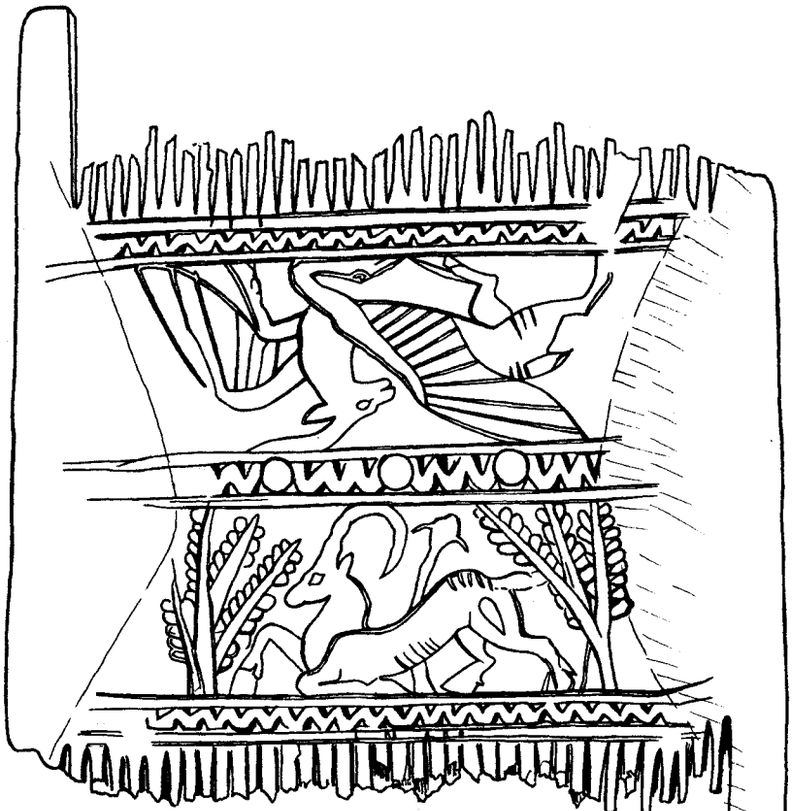
HJK

57

FRAGMENTS OF GRIFFIN-DEMON PLAQUES (53–62), WITH SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTIONS, AND MISCELLANEOUS IVORY FRAGMENTS (63). ACTUAL SIZE



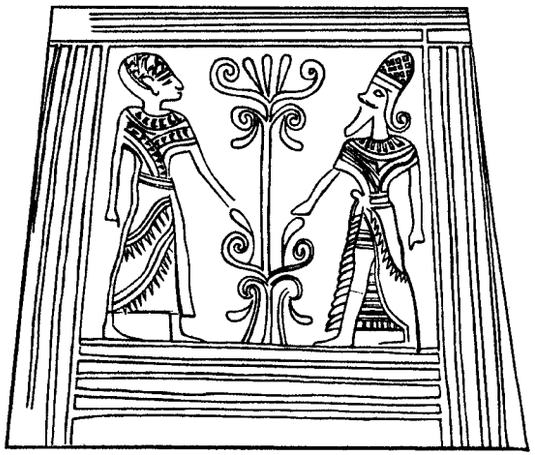
CANAANITE PLANT DESIGNS. *A*. FROM DELOS (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* LXXI–LXXII [1947–48] PL. XXVIII 5). *B*. *Megiddo Ivories*, NO. 223. *C*. FROM RAS SHAMRA (SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica* II, PLS. II–V, VIII). *D*. *Megiddo Ivories*, NO. 167



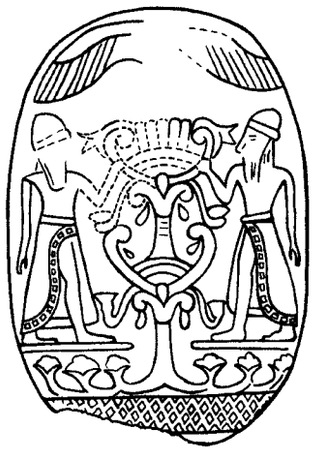
A

B

KNEELING ANIMALS ON CANAANITE IVORIES (*Megiddo Ivories*, NOS. 113 AND 54; DRAWN FROM ORIGINALS)

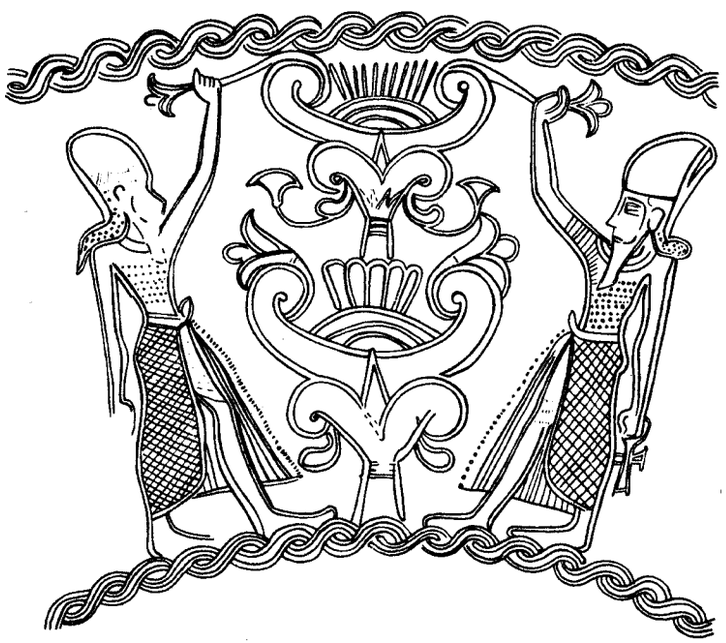


A

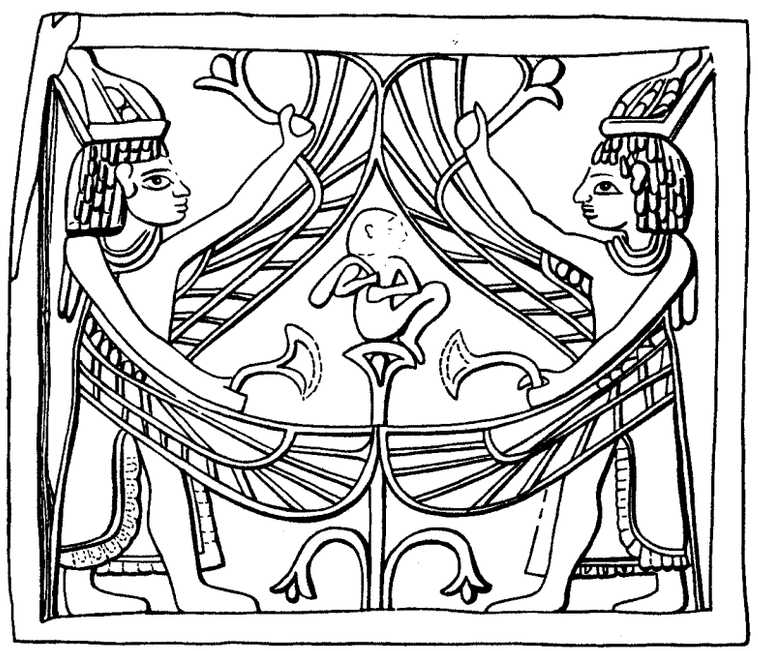


B

C



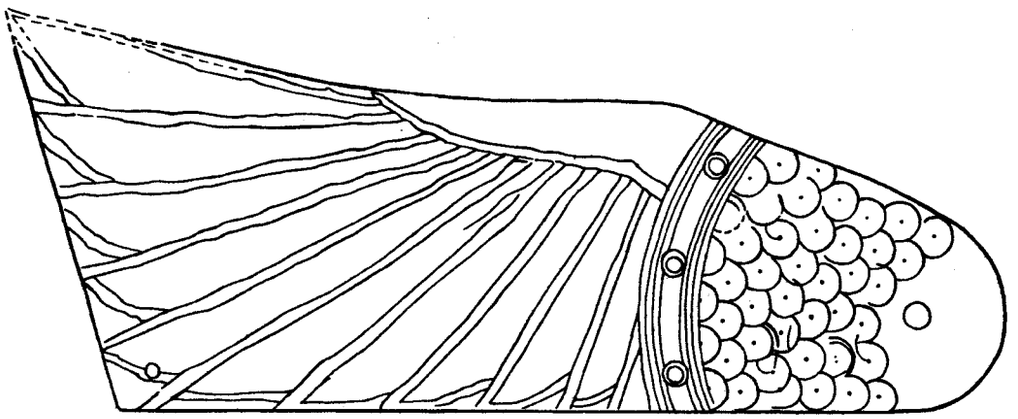
D



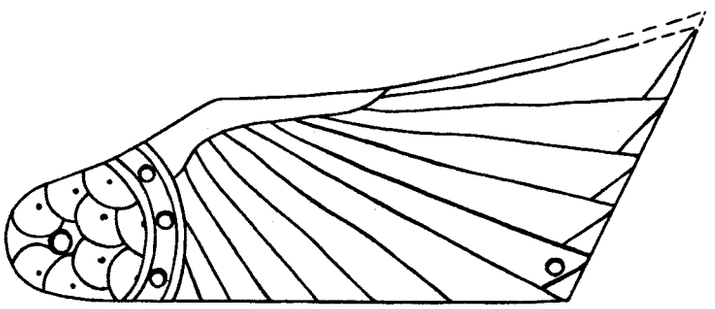
E

HJK

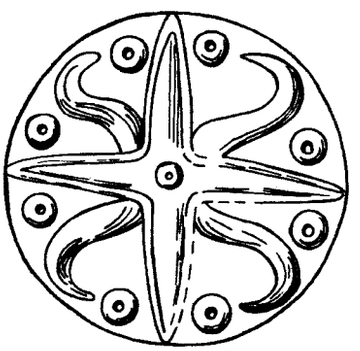
LONG-ROBED MEN FLANKING TREE IN CANAANITE (*A*) AND PHOENICIAN (*B–E*) ART. *A*. DUNAND, *Fouilles de Byblos* I, PL. CVII 1148. *B*. FROM CURIUM (*Cesnola, Cyprus*, PL. XXXVI *a*), DRAWN AFTER PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY SUPPLIED BY THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. *C*. FROM NIMRUD (*Iraq* XIII, PL. I 5). *D*. FROM AMATHUS (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* LIII [1933] PL. I). *E*. THUREAU-DANGIN *et al.*, *Arslan-Tash*, PL. XIX 1



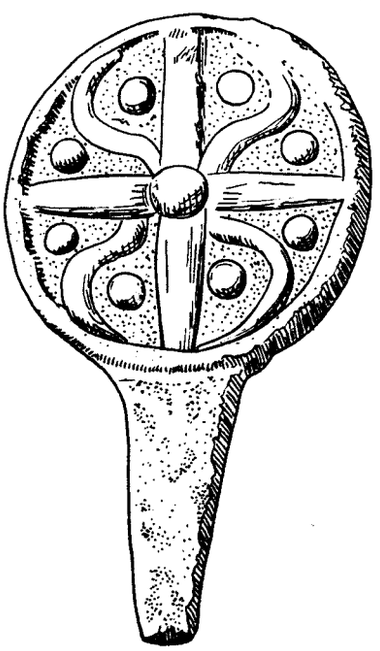
A



B



C



D

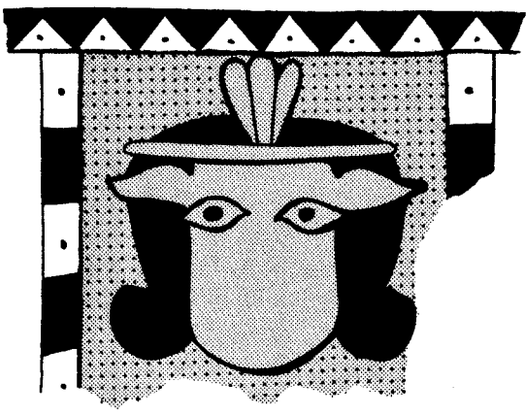
E

F

HJK

CANAANITE IVORY WINGS AND HITTITE EMBLEM. *A–B. Megiddo Ivories*, NOS. 46 AND 45. *C.* FROM ʿATSHANAH (*AJ* XIX, PL. XIV 4). *D.* FROM RAS SHAMRA (*Syria* XII, PL. XIII 4). *E–F.* FROM ALISHAR (*OIP* XXIX, FIG. 251, d 1906, AND *OIP* XIX, FIG. 184, b 2175)

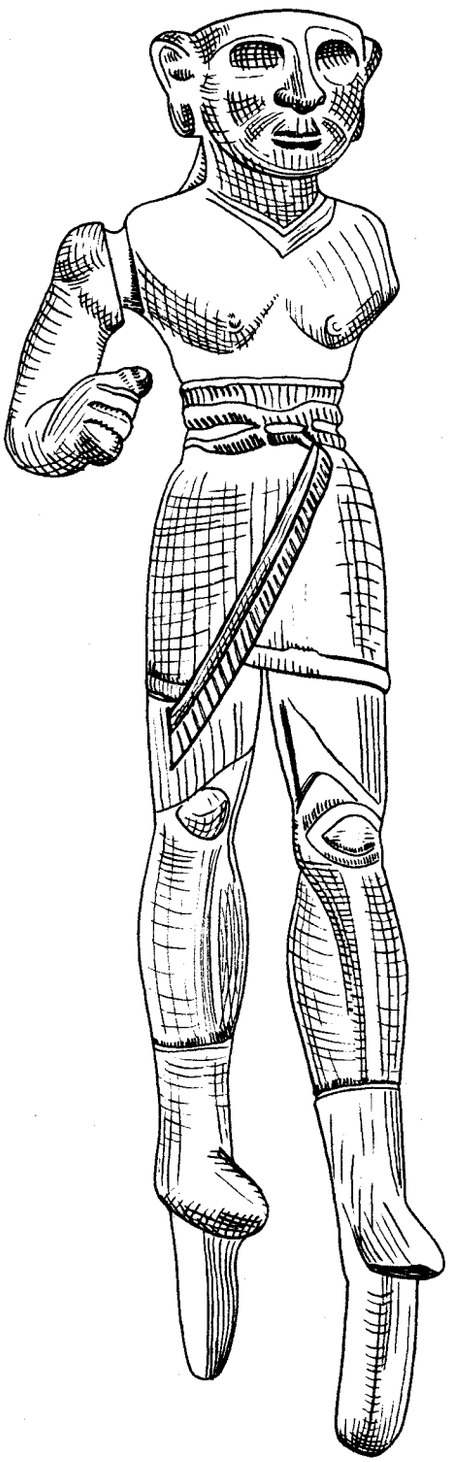
PLATE 68



A

B

C



D

HJK

FEMALE HEADS AND HITTITE FIGURE. *A. Nuzi*, PL. 128 *H. B. Megiddo Ivories*, NO. 192. *C.* FROM RAS SHAMRA (*Syria* XIX 322, FIG. 49:7). *D.* FROM BOĞAZKÖY (SCHÄFER AND ANDRAE, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* [3D ED.] P. 591, VA 485)

A

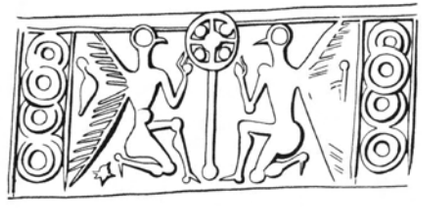
B

C

D

E

F

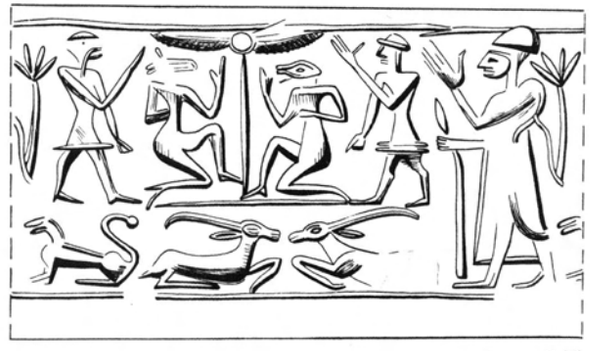


G

H

I

J

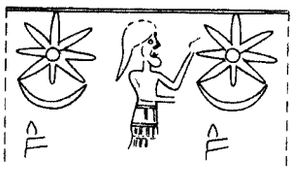


HJK

K

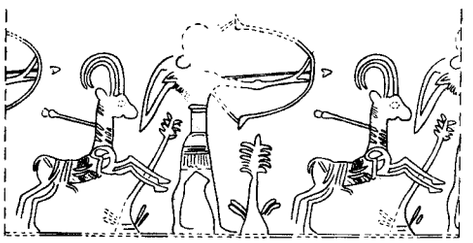
Griffin-Demons and Winged Genii (*I*) in Mitannian (*D–J*) and Syrian (*A–C*, *K*) Cylinder Seal Designs. Photographs by courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library (Morgan, Nos. 941, 983–84 [*B*, *C*, *A*]) and the Ashmolean Museum (*D*); Nuzi impressions (*AASOR* XXIV, Nos. 726, 793, 795, 803, 805, 825 [*I*, *E*, *F*, *J*, *G*, *H*]) drawn from originals; drawing of *K* after De Clercq, No. 289

PLATE 70

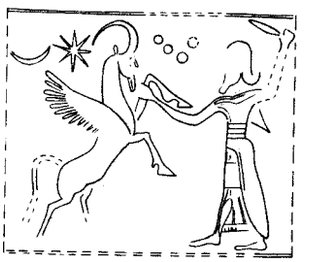


I

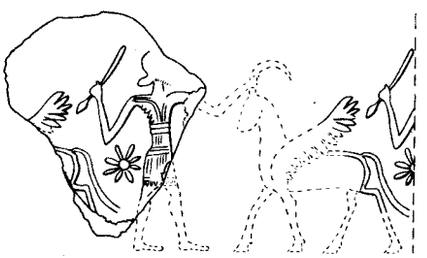
II



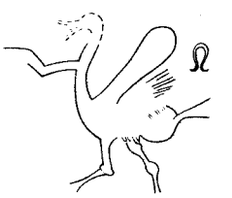
III



IV

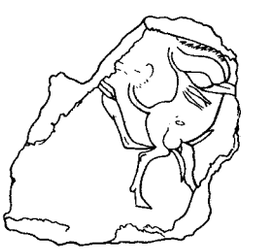


V

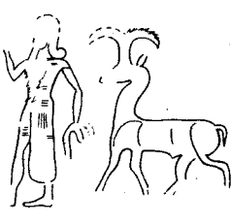


VI

VII



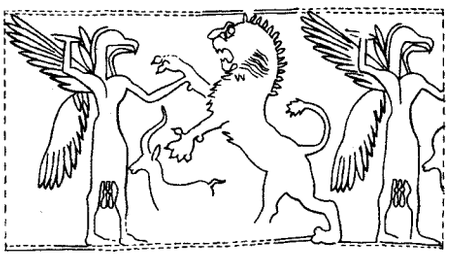
VIII



IX

HJK

MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS. ACTUAL SIZE



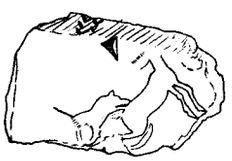
X

XI

XII

XIII

XIV

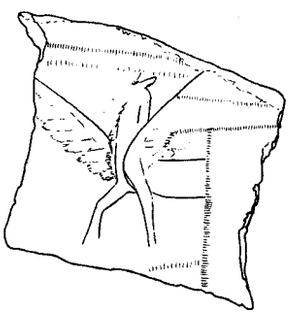


XV

XVI

XVII

XVIII



XIX

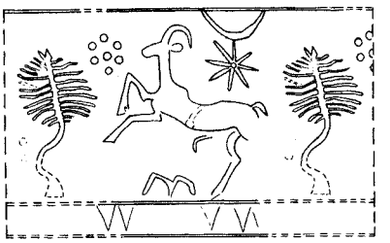
XX

HJK

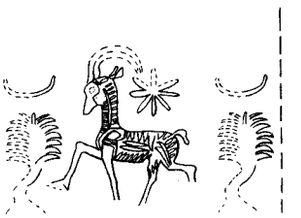
MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS. ACTUAL SIZE

PLATE 72

XXI



XXII

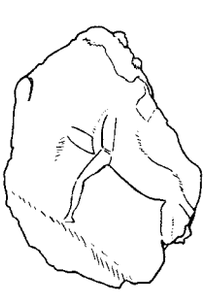


XXIII

XXIV

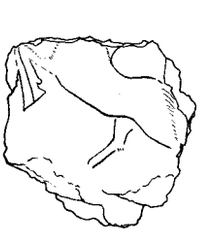
XXV

XXVI

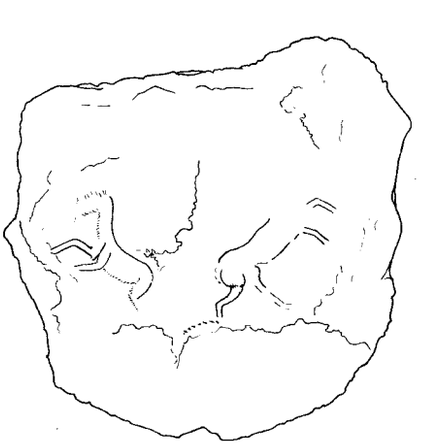


XXVII

XXVIII



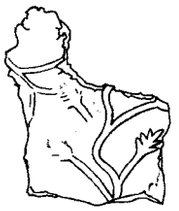
XXIX



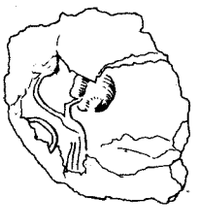
XXX

XXXI

MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS. ACTUAL SIZE

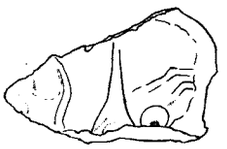


XXXII

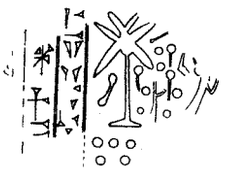


XXXIII

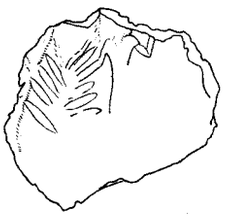
XXXIV



XXXV



XXXVI



XXXVII

XXXVIII

XXXIX

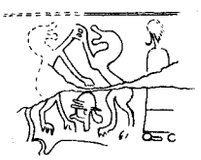
XL

XLI

XLII

XLIII

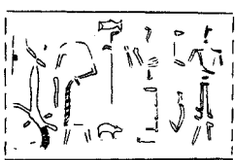
XLIV



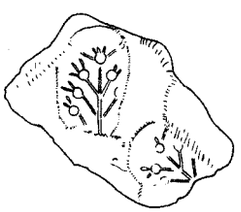
XLVI

XLVII

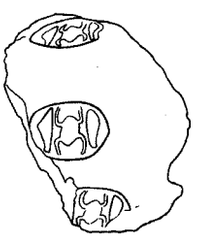
XLVIII



LII



LIII



LVI

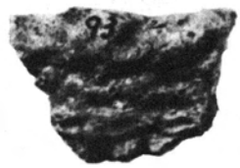
HJK

Middle Assyrian (XXXII–XLII), Mitannian (XLIII, XLIV, XLVI, XLVII[?]), Unidentified Peripheral (XLVIII), and Old Babylonian (LII) Cylinder Seal Designs, Middle Assyrian Stamp Seal (LIII) and Scarab (LVI) Designs. Actual Size

51

107

100



93

I

48

79

50

99

I

94

101

F 197

I

II

25

5

69

III

Bullae and a Cylinder Seal from Sounding VI. Middle Assyrian Cylinder Seal Designs. The First and Second Rows Show the Inner Surfaces of Bullae To Illustrate String, Cloth, and Stick(?) Impressions. Actual Size

82

IV

81

45

V

46

XII

95

VIII

96

83

XI

BULLAE FROM SOUNDING VI. MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CYLINDER SEAL DESIGNS. SCALES, 2:1 (46, 83, 95, 96) AND 1:1 (45, 81, 82)

F 270

XVI

F 271

X

Obverse and Reverse of Tablet 5 (F 270) and Reverse of Tablet 6 (F 271). Middle Assyrian Cylinder Seal Designs. Scale, 3:2

75

VI

76

8

VII

74

109

26

IX

115

99

47

XIII

15

XIV

84

XV

33

XVII

32

XVIII

100

XIX

48

78

XX

Bullae from Sounding VI. Middle Assyrian Cylinder Seal Designs. Actual Size

PLATE 78

F 269

XXI

14

XXIII

63

49

28

12

98

XXIII

XXII

27

XXIV

30

XXV

13

XXVI

97

68

XXVII

17

XXVIII

77

XXIX

89

XXX

70

XXXI

Reverse of Tablet 9 (F 269) and Bullae from Sounding VI. Middle Assyrian Cylinder Seal Designs
Scales, 3:2 (F 269), 2:1 (14), and 1:1

35

XXXII

36

XXXIII

116

XXXIV

117

XXXV

56

XXXVI

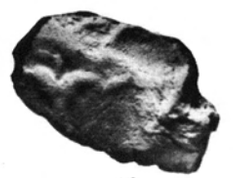
56

114

XXXVI

87

XXXVII



88

XXXVIII

113

XXXIX

60

XL

21

XLI

37

XLII

55

6

XLIII

57

58

80

73

XLIII

93

65

7

86

XLIV

Bullae from Sounding VI. Middle Assyrian (XXXII–XLII) and Mitannian (XLIII–XLIV) Cylinder Seal Designs. Actual Size

F 385

XLV

120

XLVI

119

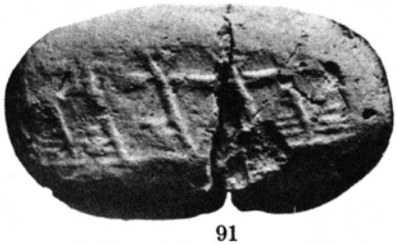
XLVII

118

XLVIII

F 186

XLIX



91

L

F 121

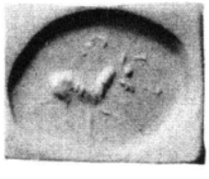
LI

F 122

LII

66

LIII



F 88

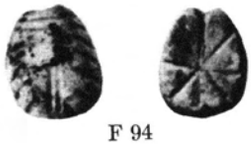
LIV

F 441

LV

121

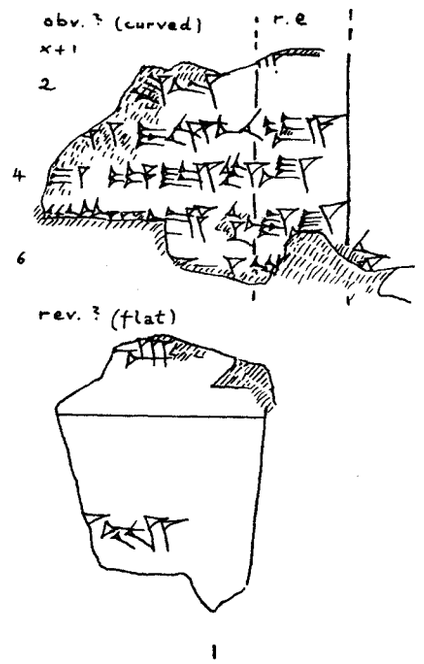
LVI



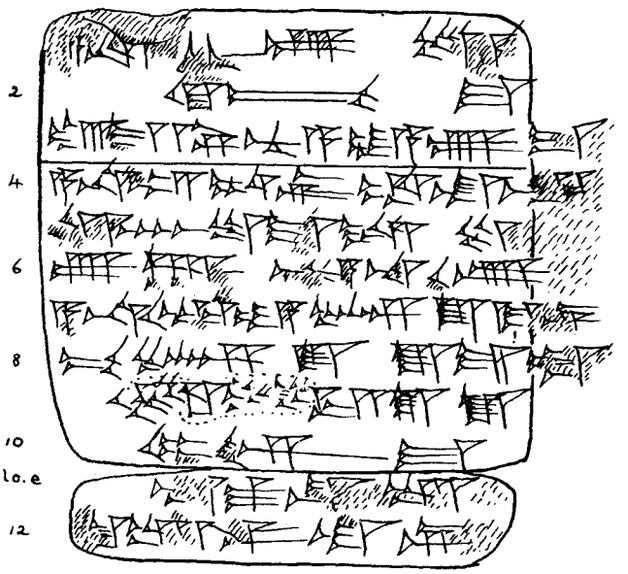
F 94

LVII

Bullae and Seals from Soundings IA (F 88), V (F 94), VI (66, 91, F 121–22), and IX (118–21, 186, F 385, F 441). Mitannian (XLV, XLVI, XLVII[?]), Unidentified Peripheral (XLVIII–LI), and Old Babylonian (LII) Cylinder Seal Designs, Middle Assyrian (LIII) and Perhaps Iron Age (LIV–LV) Stamp Seal Designs, Scarab Designs (LVI–LVII). Actual Size

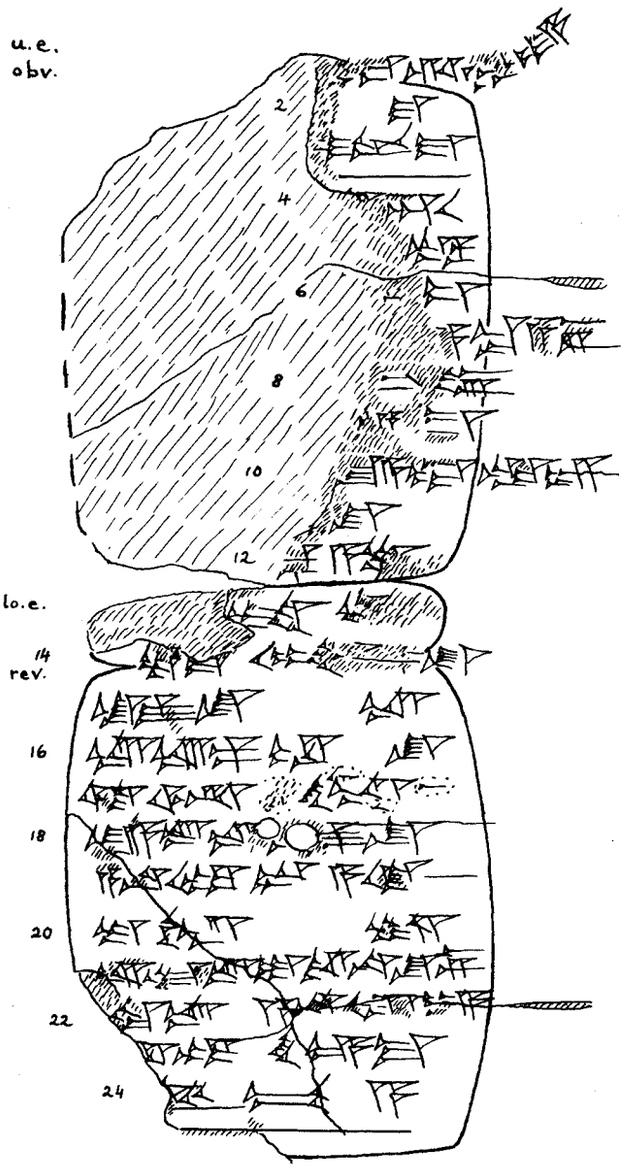


1

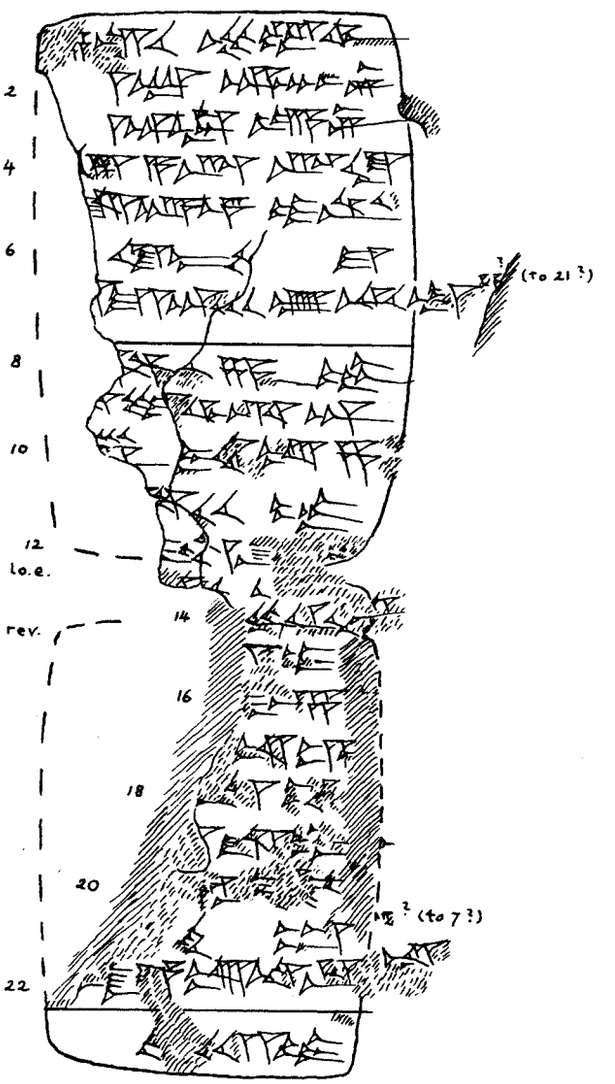


rev. uninscribed except for one line at bottom

2



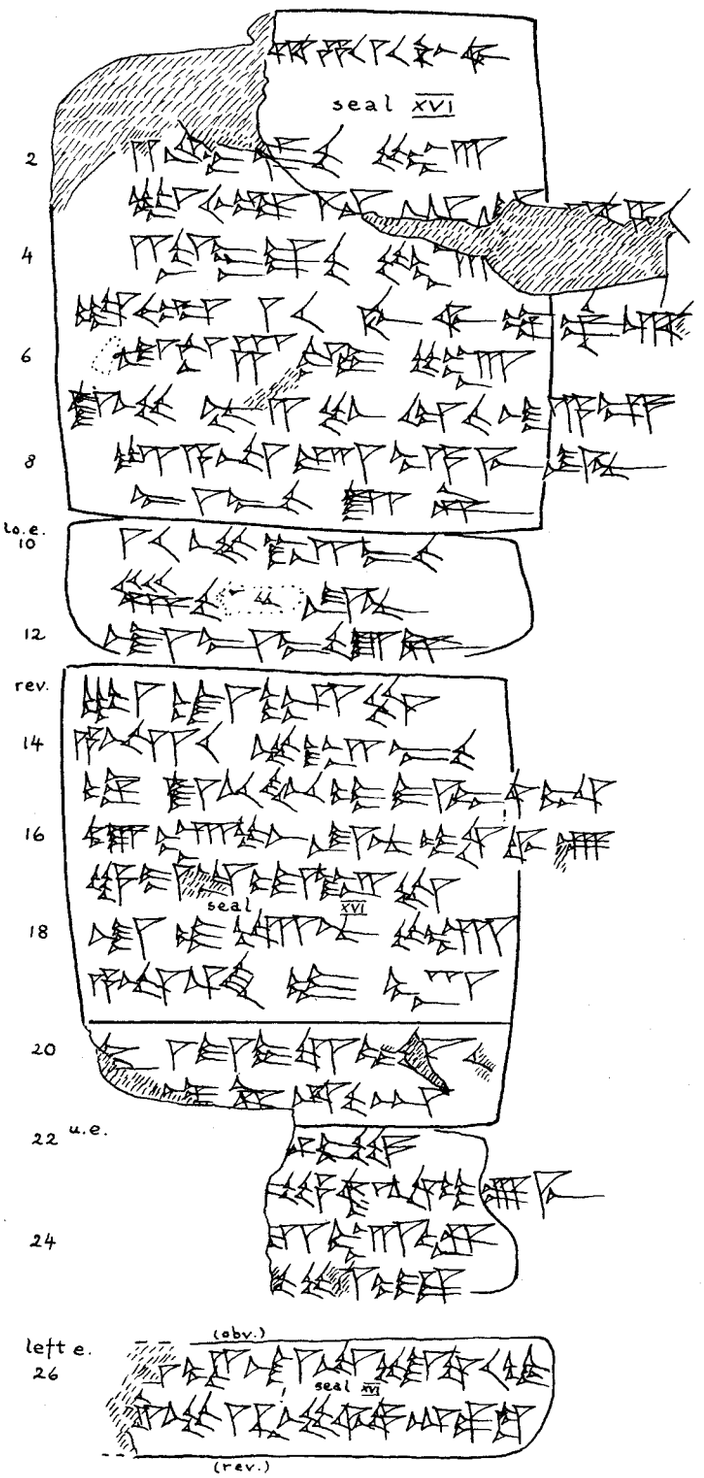
3



4

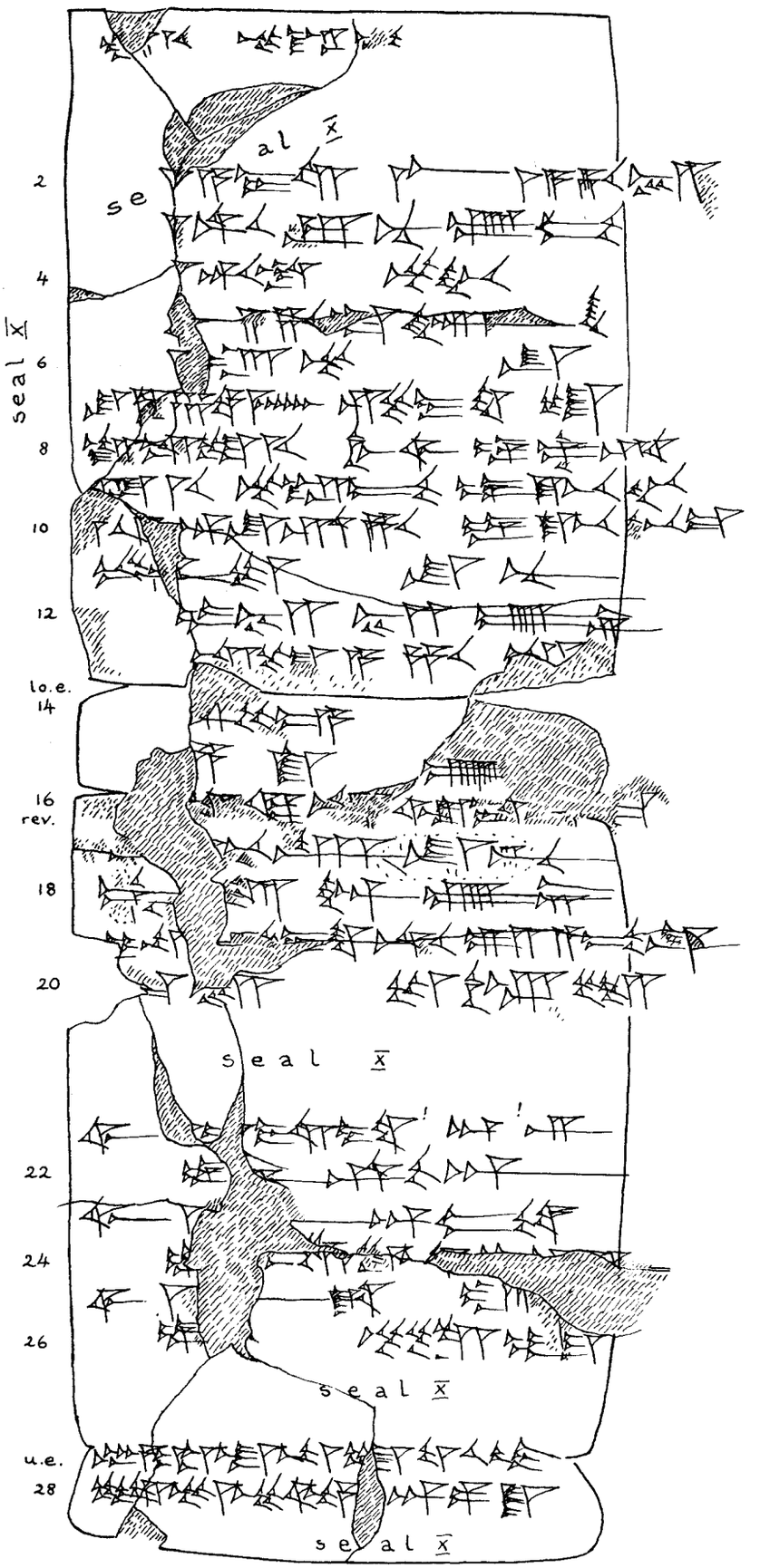
CUNEIFORM TABLETS (LETTERS) FROM FLOORS 1 (1) AND 2 (2–4) OF SOUNDING VI

PLATE 82



5

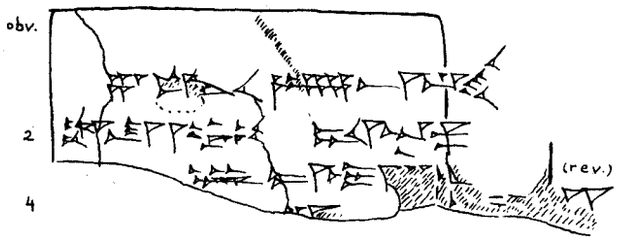
TABLET 5 (*see Pl. 76 for photographs*), FROM FLOOR 2 OF SOUNDING VI



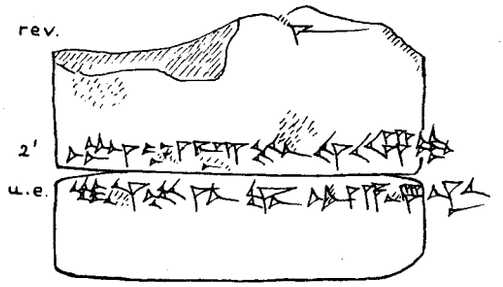
6

TABLET 6 (*see Pl. 76 for photograph of rev.*), FROM FLOOR 2 OF SOUNDING VI

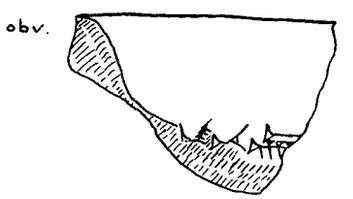
PLATE 84

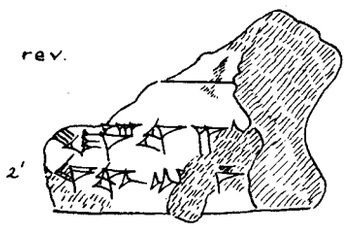


trace of seal on left edge

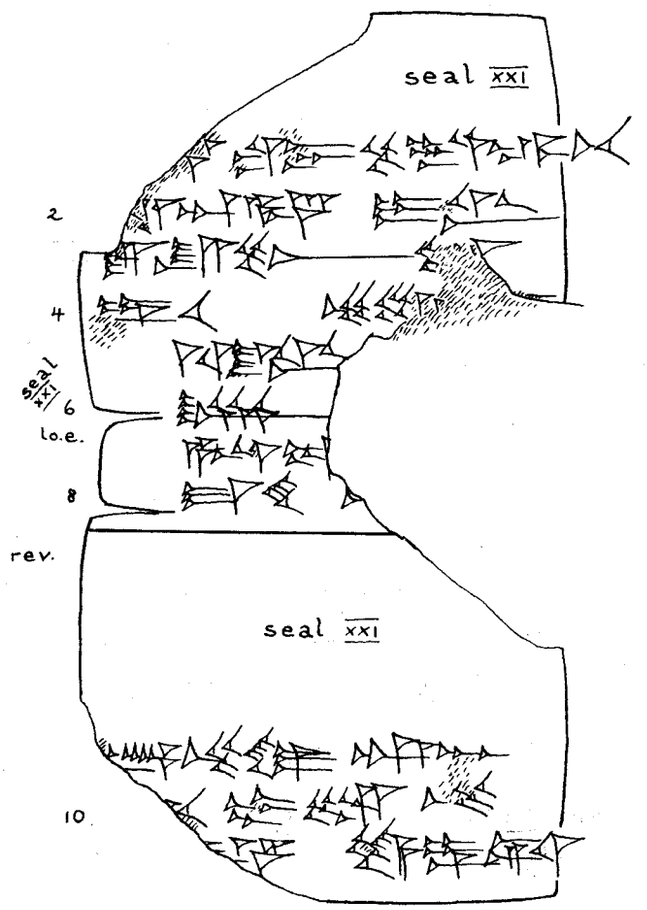


7



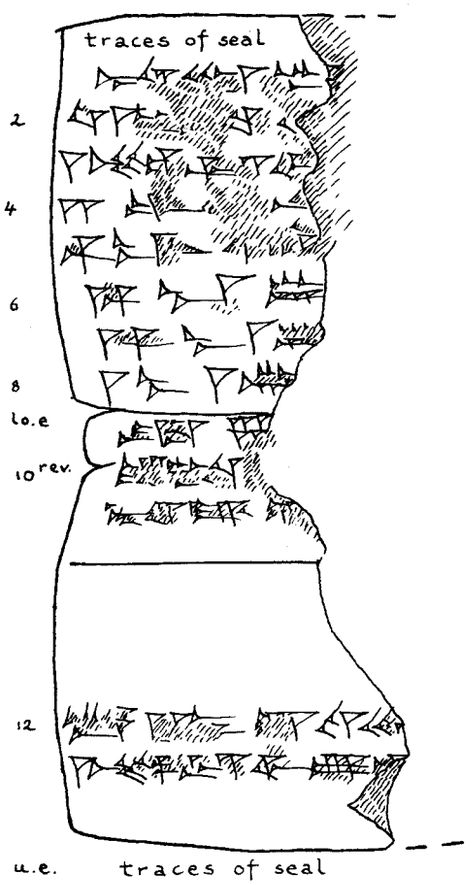


8

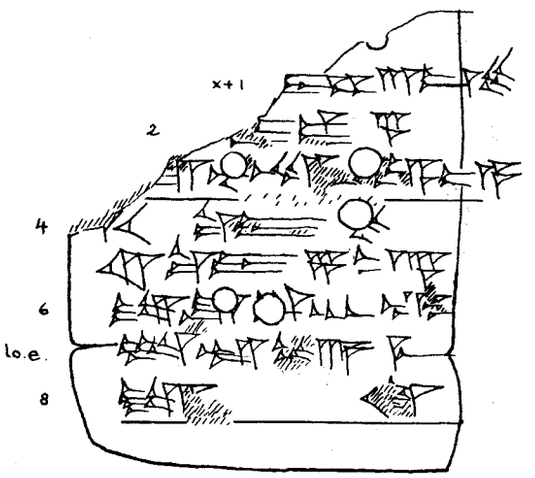


9

TABLETS 7–9 (F 272*a–b*, F 269), FROM FLOOR 2 OF SOUNDING VI (*see Pl. 78 for photograph of Tablet 9 rev.*)



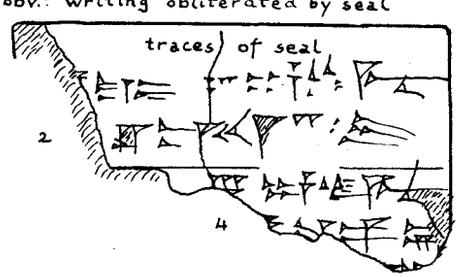
10



rev.: upper part uninscribed, surface damaged; then: illegible traces of two lines (date)

11

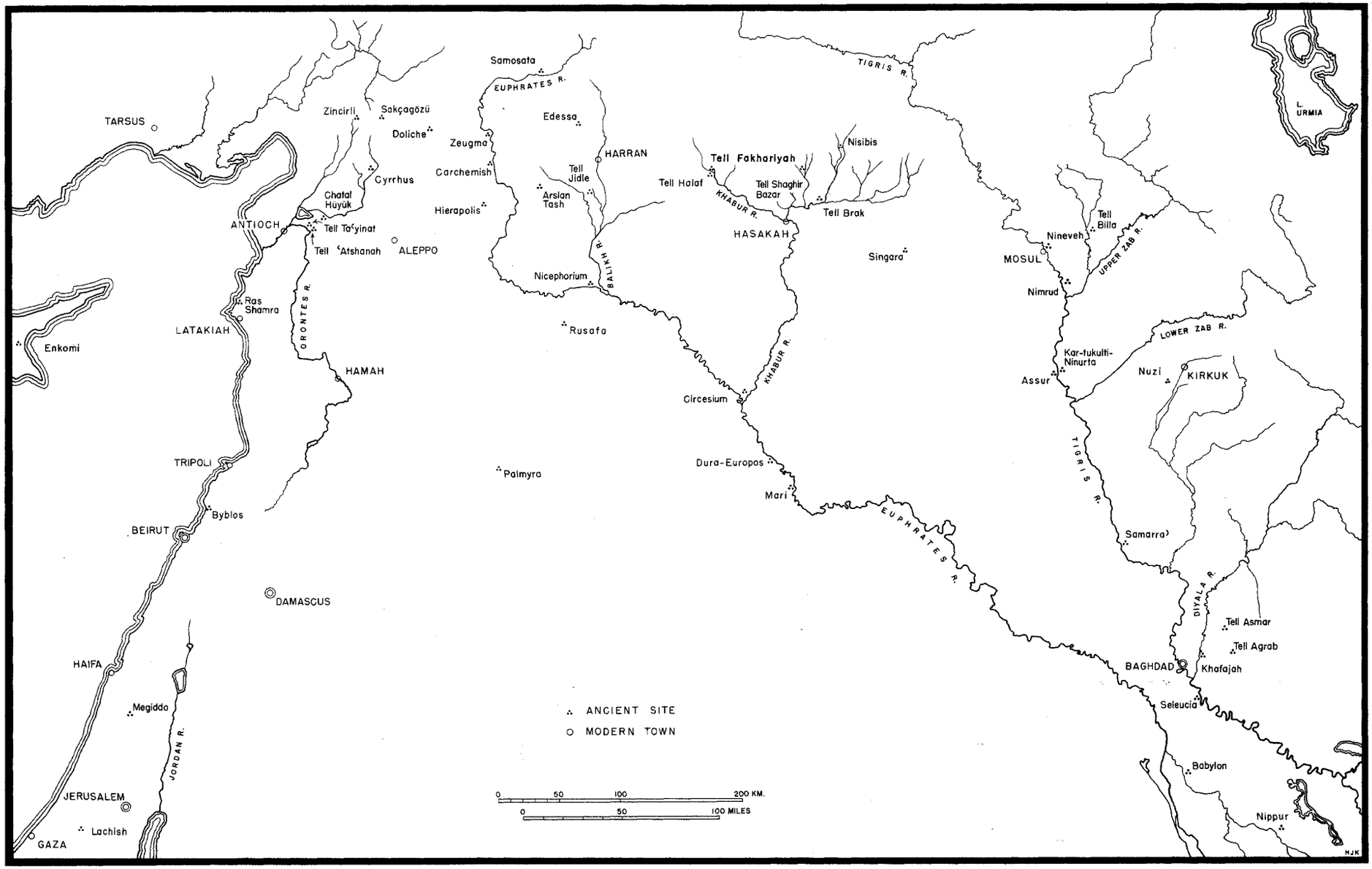
u.e.: traces of seal.
obv.: writing obliterated by seal



rev.: destroyed

12

CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM FLOOR 2 OF SOUNDING VI (10–11) AND FLOOR 4 OF SOUNDING IX IRON AGE PALACE (12)



SKETCH MAP OF SYRIA AND ADJOINING AREAS

TELL FAKHARIYAH

TOPOGRAPHIC MAP SHOWING
EXCAVATIONS OF 1940 AND SURVEY POINTS

10 0 50 100
SCALE IN METERS

CONTOUR INTERVAL = 50 CMS.

NOTE: THIS MAP IS BASED ON THAT MADE BY THE VON OPPENHEIM EXPEDITION IN 1929. CORRECTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE WHERE TRUE LEVELS ARE KNOWN, AND ADJUSTED TO OLD CONTOURS, WHICH WERE OTHERWISE FOLLOWED. IN THIS WORK A REGULAR CONTOUR INTERVAL OF 50 CMS. ON OLD MAP WAS ASSUMED.
THE RESULT IS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED AN ACCURATE TOPOGRAPHIC MAP OF THE TELL.

LEVELS IN PARENTHESES ARE FROM OLD MAP, 50 CMS. HAVING BEEN ADDED BECAUSE OF NEW LOCATION OF ASSUMED ZERO.

GRID SYSTEM IS THAT OF OLD MAP.

NEW SURVEY CONTROL POINTS ARE INDICATED BY NUMBERS IN CIRCLES.

Survey Plan of Tell Fakhariyah. Scale, 1:1600