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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NIPPUR ARCHIVE

Tim CLAYDEN*[1)]

Introduction

In 1849 and 1850 W.K. Loftus and A.H. Layard [1853, ii: 556–562] excavated at Nippur, but found little other than a few stamped bricks and a number of glazed coffin burials. The first illustration and plan of the mounds was published in 1862 by a young Indian Navy officer, W. Collingwood (Figures 1 and 2)[2)]. The Wolfe Expedition visited Nippur in January 1885 [Peters 1897, i: 326–327] and four years later excavations funded by philanthropist donors in Philadelphia opened excavations at the site under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania and direction of J.S. Peters [1897][3)].

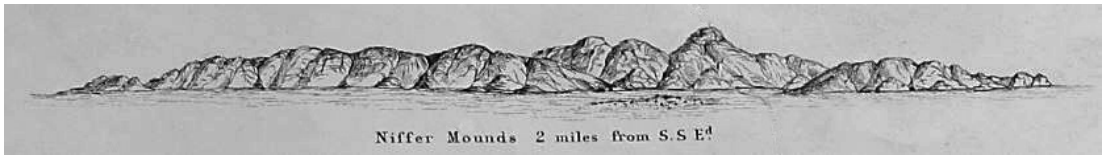

Figure 1: A view of the mounds at Nippur drawn by Collingwood in the early 1860s [after Collingwood 1862].

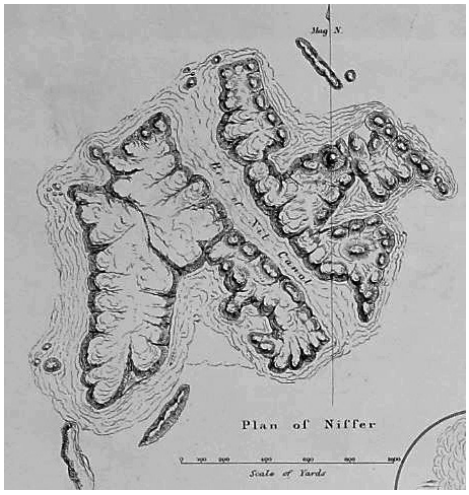

Figure 2: A relief plan of Nippur prepared in the early 1860s [after Collingwood 1862].

On Tuesday the 12th of February 1889 excavations began at Nippur on a mound to the south-east of the ziggurat and temple complex of the great Temple of Enlil, the é.kur. Two trenches were opened on either side of the northern tip of the mound. In Trench 'X', in addition to an assortment of pottery vessels, 'a few inscribed fragments of unbaked clay tablets' were found [Peters 1889: 28]. This excavation and these tablets provided the first evidence of what was to become the source of tens of thousands of tablets or tablet fragments which have made a fundamental contribution to our understanding of Mesopotamian literature and languages. It was also the source of great controversy.

In the decade that followed the 1889 season further extensive excavations were conducted on the same mound which became known variously as Mound IV (Hilprecht's publications), Mound V (Peters' publications), 'Tablet Hill' (Hilprecht and the CBS catalogue – largely completed by

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1) I am very grateful for the support Alex Pezzati at the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives (UoPMA) has given me throughout the long genesis of this paper. Figures 4, 5, 8–10 and 13–27; text of the Geere and Fisher report; and quotations from the 1889–1900 Nippur excavation archives are published by the generous courtesy of the UoPMA. I am also grateful to Dr Richard Zettler who encouraged me at the outset of this project. Professor A. Westenholz gave me trenchant comments which were needed and which considerably improved the paper even though he does not agree with some of my comments. Dr J. Peterson was very helpful in providing information on the date and type of the tablets. All the errors of fact and judgement that undoubtedly remain are my responsibility.

2) A small selection of Lt. Collingwood's personal effects including a copy of this map were sold at Sotheby's in London on 30 April 2015, L15401, Lot number 154.

3) See Kuklick 1996: 25–34 for a summary of the events leading up to the first expedition to Nippur.

Hilprecht) or the 'Temple Library' (Hilprecht's publications). In this work I use Mound V.

Peters had hoped to find a library comparable to those excavated by Layard, Rassam and Smith at Nineveh [Peters 1897, i: 107 and 109]. He was not convinced that he had done so. The distinguished Assyriologist H.V. Hilprecht (who was a member of the first expedition and adviser thereafter), however, was certain that a 'Temple Library' had been discovered, and within three months of the termination of the 1900 season of excavations he made public his view [Hilprecht 1900]. Hilprecht formally published [1903: 309, 445 and 508–32] his claim to have identified and ensured the excavation of the 'Temple Library and priest school of Nippur' [*ibid.*, 508]. He maintained that he had done so despite Peters' failings, in terms of his skills as an excavator and willingness to accept the advice of his Assyriologist – Hilprecht. He characterised the discovery as 'one of the most far reaching Assyriological discoveries of the whole last century' [*ibid.*, 508]. Peters [1903] immediately published a bitter review of Hilprecht's [1903] book. He followed this with his account of the discovery of the 'Nippur Library' [Peters 1905] and the public dispute between the two men ran until 1910 resolving nothing and ruining both their careers[4)].

The one clear point in the situation was that a large number of tablets had been excavated from the mound to the south west of the temple complex. Just how many cannot now be verified as the surviving records of the excavations of the first four seasons of work at Nippur (1889–1900) are insufficiently detailed. Further the tablets were subject to a division between the then Ottoman authorities[5)] and the University of Pennsylvania, University Museum; and others given to Hilprecht by the Ottoman administration and now housed in The University of Jena[6)]. Tinney [2010] suggests that overall between 1889 and 1900 a total of 45–50 000 tablets were excavated from various mounds at Nippur with c. 2000 excavated in Season I; c. 8000 in Season II; c. 21 000 in Season III; and c. 23 000 in Season IV. Precisely how many of these were recovered from Mound V was not recorded.

Aims

This paper has two aims. Firstly, through review of the available records of the 1889–1900 excavations on Mound V, to provide such information that is available for the archaeological contexts of the excavated tablets. This includes the first publication of the report prepared by C.S. Fisher and H.V. Geere, both present during the 1900 season of excavations at Nippur, on the 'The Temple Library'. The work completed in each relevant season of excavations is examined separately. The second aim is the presentation of a catalogue (Appendix A) of tablets based on the CBS Catalogue and published sources which were identified as coming from the 'temple Library'. Whilst both sources are suspect, they may provide pointers to material that was found in Mound V.

Sources

The record of the 1889–1900 excavations at Nippur consists of the published material [Peters 1897; Hilprecht 1903: 508–32] complemented by various dig diaries and finds catalogues for seasons I and II; letters from the excavation director for seasons III and IV and a couple of manuscripts written by C.S. Fisher and H.V. Geere including one published below. There are also a number of photographs

4) The tone of the public discussion between members of the Nippur expedition was set by Harper's [1897] review of Peters' publication of his work at Nippur [1897] in which Harper lamented the washing of expedition dirty linen in public. For a full account of the Hilprecht-Peters Dispute see Kucklick 1996: 123–40; see Hilprecht 1908 for his statement of the matter and McClellan [1908] and Radau [1908] for personal views. See also the reports in the New York Times [1900, 1902 and 1910].

5) For a summary of the material held in Istanbul, much of which remains unpublished, see Kraus [1947: 107–115]. Kraus [*ibid.*, 107] states that the Nippur tablets in the collection total circa 17000 of which 25% (4300) were Kassite [*ibid.*, 110]. Other large groups included c. 2500 school texts [*ibid.*, 112], c. 1200 literary fragments [*ibid.*, 114], c. 1100 Ur III documents [*ibid.*, 109] and 480 Neo-Babylonian texts [*ibid.*, 110].

6) See Westenholz [1975a: 1–3] for a discussion of the lack of a firm provenance, beyond Nippur, for the tablets.

taken at various times during the excavations. The material is now held at the University of Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.

Excavations at Mound V

Between 1889 and 1990 Nippur was the subject of twenty three seasons of excavations [Gibson *et al*. 1999–2001: 546–65][7]. Seasons I–IV, 1889–1900, were conducted under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania[8]. The last season of excavation was in 1990 and further work has been prevented by wars and the dangerous security conditions. Work on the results of earlier excavations has continued under the direction of McGuire Gibson [see most recently Gibson 2009].

Excavations on Mound V have been conducted in the course of five seasons of work in 1889; 1890; 1899–1900; 1948–52 and 1985 with the general results summarised by Gibson *et al*. [1998–2001: 549, 550 and 562]. This study focuses on the results of the first four seasons of work (1889, 1890 and 1889–1900) on Mound V.

Season One (1889)

Peters summarised the results of his first season of work on Mound V noting that 'Hill V (i.e. Mound V) was one of the most satisfactory hills at which we worked, and the only one from which, during the first year we took any antiquities of value. It was an almost triangular hill at the south eastern end of the mounds, opposite the temple, and at its highest point, which was toward the northern nose, fourteen metres above plain level, or the same height as the great outer wall of the temple' [Peters 1897, ii: 197] and that 'The very first trial trenches which we ran in the north western nose of this hill were a success ... In the other trench we found, quite close to the surface, fifteen tablets from the reign of Samsu-iluna, King of Babylon, Cyrus the Great, and Cambyses, as well as a round tablet of very archaic character bearing the names of four ancient kings of Nippur. In that nose of the hill we found tablets at all depths, and for the most part mixed in with graves and funeral pottery. Near the highest part of the mound we sank a well in the floor of a room of the Xerxes period down through masses of debris and rubble to plain level, which was thirteen metres beneath the surface at that point. This well was reached by a deep, open trench from the northwest, with tunnels run out at various points in the sides, and a further exit by tunnel to the southwest' [*ibid.*]. The trenches at the end of the season were plotted on a plaster cast model of the site (Figure 3).

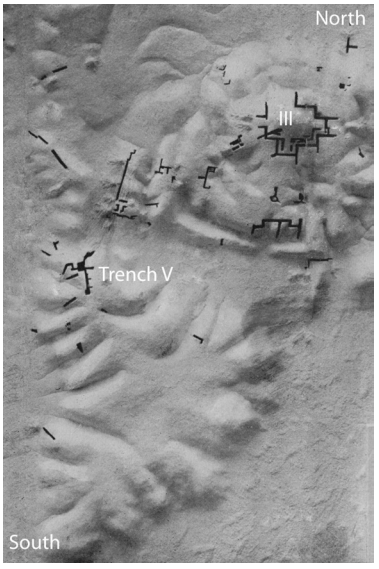

Figure 3: The published illustration of the layout of the trenches on Mound V at the end of Season I [after Peters 1897, ii: opposite 194].

Peters assigned the numbers V.A and V.X. to his first two trenches on Mound V [1889: 28]. The trenches lay on a knoll on the north western end of Mound V [*ibid.*]. The event is recorded briefly in Peters' personal diary in entries for 14th February [1897, i: 246–7] and 15th February [*ibid.*, 248] noting only that tablets had been found. A very rudimentary diagram in the dig diary [Peters 1889: 28] shows the relative locations (Figure 4.a–d). More detailed drawings of some of the trenches also appear to have been prepared in anticipation of being published, but never were and instead remain in the UoMPA and are published here for the first time (Figure 5). They show some detail, but do

7) See Bergstein *et al.* [1992] for a Nippur bibliography.

8) Seasons I-II (1889–90) were conducted under the Direction of J.P. Peters; Season III (1893–1896) directed by Peters from Philadelphia, but conducted by J. Haynes at Nippur; Season IV conducted by Haynes and directed by Hilprecht who was present at Nippur for the final two months of the excavations.

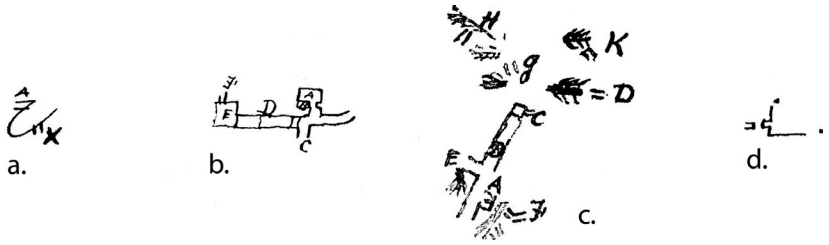

Figure 4.a-d: Rough diagrams of the trenches on Mound V recorded in Peters' dig diary [1889: 28].

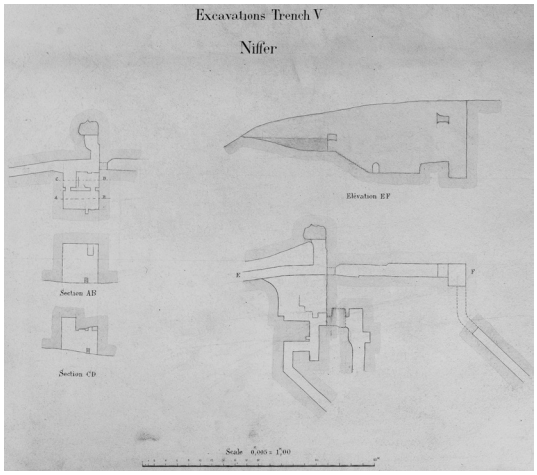

Figure 5: Excavation trenches on Mound V, Season I (UoMPA, M-21–5, no.9).

not contain much that helps understand what was excavated.

Though tablets were found first in V.X, the trench was closed on 14 February just two days after it had been opened and work concentrated in Trench V.A. Given the arguments that were later to surround the matter, it is striking that on the 13th February 1889 (i.e. the day after excavations began on the mound), Peters commented in his dig diary that the tablets found that day in Trench V.A seemed 'to show that something like archives or records had once been preserved at this point' [Peters 1889: 31]. Over the following two weeks Peters extended Trench V.A to Trenches V.B and V.C (at higher levels than V.A) and found a number of tablets and fragments in among the Parthian graves and rooms of unbaked bricks [*ibid.*, 33–4, 36–8, 45–6, 50, 53–4, 56, 59, 61–2 and 71–2]. Peters commented in his Dig Diary on 25th February that the nature of the tablet finds 'seems to show that the archives must be sought at all depths through this hill, mixed with later buildings and graves' [*ibid.*, 71].

By the end of February 1889 Peters' entries in his Dig Diary are scarce (there are no references in his personal diary) and references to excavations in Mound V become rare. However, in early March the entries become fuller. On the 2nd of March Peters recorded that in Trench V.A a structure, with doors, of unbaked brick covered in yellow stucco was found [*ibid.*, 83–4] and in one room were found some tablets [*ibid.*, 84]. Further excavations in this structure using tunnelling found further tablets [*ibid.*, 89]. A well was found in V.B and in the rubbish fill a tablet [*ibid.*]. By the 3rd of March the works in Trenches V.A, V.B and V.C had to be modified to allow the workmen an access route to dump soil [*ibid.*, 94]. Excavations continued in Trenches V.A, V.B and V.C revealing more burials of various sorts and layers of ash. By the 11th of March Trench V.A was 3–4 meters deep and burials in urns and tubs were still being uncovered [*ibid.*, 110–1], while in trench V.B. the excavations were by then 5 meters below the surface of the mound, and a double pot burial found [*ibid.*, 111–2].

Peters recorded in his personal diary entry for the 14th of March that the expedition had 'decided to increase our force by seven extra gangs on the City of the Living' (i.e. Mound V) [Peters 1897, i: 256]. Peters provides greater detail in his dig diary recording that on 13th March the excavations in Trench V were enlarged and Trenches V.D and V.E and tunnel, V.F, created [*ibid.*, 121–3; Figure 4.b]. Just above the level of the yellow stuccoed building in Trench V.A were found tablets in another room in Trench V.B. [*ibid.*, 121]. Walls of unbaked brick were found in Trench V.E [*ibid.*]. Tablets mixed with broken pottery and ash were found in rooms in Trenches V.A and V.B [*ibid.*, 122]. In Trench V.D at 140 cm below the surface a coffin was found [*ibid.*, 122–3]. The following day tablets of the Persian period were found in the same trench circa 1.5 meters below the surface [*ibid.*, 131]. Tablets were also found in a room in Trench V.A [*ibid.*, 129].

Tablets were found inside the room at Trench V.A in a 'strata' said to be 'of the same nature

as in the room itself [*ibid.*, 137]. At the same time Trench V.C was now 8–9 meters deep and a grave was found [*ibid.*, 137–8]. A week later on the 21st of March Trench V was again extended (according to Peters' personal diary 5 extra gangs were put onto the work on Mound V [Peters 1897, i: 259]) with a new area opened, Trench V.K; excavations resumed at the old trench V.X and two tunnels opened, Trenches V.G and V.H (Figure 4.c [Peters 1889: 151]). For a few days the excavations produced only Parthian tombs, but on the 26th March a large number of Old Babylonian tablets were found 3–4 meters below the surface of the mound in a small area [*ibid.*, 164] circa 12 × 9 cm [*ibid.*, 168].

On the 27th of March the Dig Diary records excavations in Trench V.L [*ibid.*, 166] which must have been opened, as well as the movement of workmen to other or higher points of Trenches V.D and V.E [*ibid.*, 167]. The Dig Diary entry for the 28th of March is largely concerned with developments in Trench V. Further tablets were coming from the small area close to the yellow stuccoed building [*ibid.*, 168]; in Trench V.J (apparently also opened) a Parthian coffin was found [*ibid.*, 169]; while in Trench V.H walls of burned brick were found (Figure 4.d [*ibid.*, 169–70]); and in Trench V.L a brick platform below a tomb was excavated [*ibid.*, 170].

On the 29th March a large number of tablets were found in Trench V.A [*ibid.*, 177] and in Trench V.K a well and 'furnace'[9] [*ibid.*, 177–8]. For the following two weeks Peters visited Telloh and no notes were taken of excavations. On his return on the 15th of April Peters recorded that a large number of very well preserved Old Babylonian tablets had been found in the 'furnace' in Trench V.K [*ibid.*, 183]. Also in Trenches V.A, V.C and V.F walls and doors had been found all 'blackened and hardened by fire and the earth for the depth of a metre was ashes and kiln debris' [*ibid.*, 184] with unbaked tablets in a lower stratum [*ibid.*]. In trench V.B circa 10 meters below the summit of the mound in a tunnel driven off the side of the trench a vase containing a group of Old Babylonian tablets was found [*ibid.*, 189]. Trench V.C was taken down to plain level at 13 meters [*ibid.*].

Peters' last entry in the 1889 Dig Diary dates to the 15th of April and reads 'the work was stopped suddenly Monday April 15th on account of the shooting by a *zaptieh* (policeman) of a thieving Arab of the es-Seid tribe' [*ibid.*, 193][10]. Though not noted in his diary, Peters took precautions to preserve the trenches on Mound V and in the early entries for the second season Peters records how the teams were set on clearing the soil that he had had backfilled into the trench.

The salient features of the first season of excavations at Mound V are that Peters conducted a relatively limited set of excavations. He concentrated work on the north western end of the mound, though the model made at the end of the First Season shows trenches, albeit minor, elsewhere (Figure 3). The upper levels were riddled with Parthian 'slipper graves' or late first millennium B.C. tub and pot graves. It would appear that in the disturbed soil surrounding the graves tablets dated from the Old Babylonian to Persian periods were found in no particular contexts. As he went deeper into the mound, Peters extended his trenches and began tunnelling into the ruins. Greater numbers of tablets were found in association with a series of buildings built of unbaked clay and consisting of rooms with doors. No plan of the rooms survives, though a photograph was published (Figure 6) giving a sense more of the excavation trench than of the building remains, and it is not possible to associate any tablets with the remains, though it would appear that the majority were Old Babylonian administrative documents.

472 tablets have recorded provenances at Mound V in Season I (Appendix A). The excavation record is relatively fulsome on detail when compared to the finds register which ceases to note even the briefest record of provenance (i.e. the mound from which the tablet came) on the 28th of February 1889. Altogether the provenances of 57 plus tablets or fragments are recorded, but in no instance

9) Probably better identified as an oven.

10) For a full account of the event see Peters [1897, i: 279–86].

is sufficient detail provided which identifies specific tablets. It is also unfortunate that there are no details on provenance which can be related to the excavation records. What does emerge is that tablets were found inside rooms and in disturbed contexts (i.e. in grave cuts and fill) in the north western area of Mound V.

A Deep Trench on Tablet Hill (V.), showing constructions of Xerxes's time above, and remains of 2000 B.C. below.

Figure 6: The published photograph of excavations on Mound V in season I [after Peters 1897, i: opposite page 250].

Season Two (1890)

Peters maintained a dig diary and finds register for Season II (1890; 1890a). These reveal better detail on the excavations and what was found, but are strangely less descriptive and informative than the notes Peters kept for Season I. It is also unfortunate that Peters did not retain the trench numbering of Season I. This makes synchronising the work done in the two seasons sometimes problematic.

Peters did not publish a plan of his excavation trenches on Mound V until 1905 (Figure 7). He did so in the midst of the public argument he was having with Hilprecht. The plan shows excavations made during later season of work as well as by Peters in Season II. Preserved in the UoPMA is a previously unpublished drawing showing the location of the Season II trenches (Figure 8). The plan is not dated so we cannot be sure that further trenches were not excavated in Season II, but the relatively similar (compared to Peters' 1905) plan of the trenching complements well the account of the excavations in Peters' records (published and unpublished) of the work on Mound V.

Excavations at Nippur began for a second season on the 14th of January 1890 and the trenches on Mound V of the first season were immediately re-opened [Peters 1890, i: 1]. The old trenches had been filled in at the end of Season I to protect them and had to be cleared out before excavation proper could begin. Peters did so in three trenches: - V.1, the 'furnace trench' (i.e. Trench V.K of season one); 'two on the corner where so many tablets were found last year (i.e. Trench V.A) ... and one on the trench which is cutting across the hill' ([*ibid.*, 1] Note: the numbering of this last trench in Season I is unclear, but can be seen on the trench map, Figure 4.c). A worked up drawing of what may be Trench 4 in Season II is held in the UoMPA (Figure 9), but it unfortunately tells us little about what was actually found.

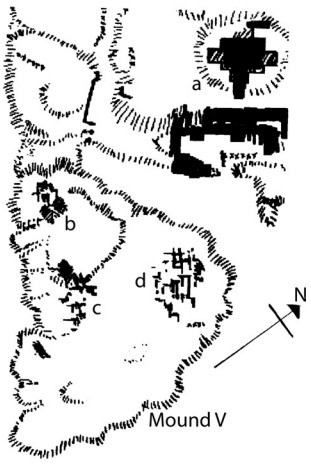

Figure 7: The excavation trenches on Mound V made during Season II [after Peters 1905: 146].

Ten days after excavations resumed on Mound V, the fill from the previous year was still being dug out from Trench V.1 above the 'furnace' from the previous year [*ibid.*, 16–7]. More slipper and tub tombs were also found and described in detail [*ibid.*, 17–8]. On the summit of the knoll excavations were opened (V.2) and immediately came down into graves and wells [*ibid.*, 20–1]. Similar remains continued to be recorded from the excavations in late January with fragments of walls also mentioned [*ibid.*, 42]. Further trenches were opened on the knoll on the 1st of February and a team moved from Mound I to supplement the work teams on Mound V [*ibid.*, 50]. On occasions the record indicates the complexity

of the stratigraphy and the lack of understanding of it the excavators had using trenches and tunnels to excavate [*ibid.*, 68]. In all the trenches tub, jar and slipper coffins were found further confusing the stratigraphy [e.g. *ibid.*, 72–4]. On many days the dig diary makes no reference to work on Mound V and instead concentrates on the work in Mound III (the ziggurat and temple complex).

On the 8th of February the work team leaders were instructed 'to hunt everywhere for tablets' [*ibid.*, 83–4] which led to walls being breached and tunnels begun. The tunnels followed wall lines [e.g. *ibid.*, 90–1]. On the 11th and 12th February heavy rain made work impossible, but on the 13th Peters initiated excavations on Mound X and immediately found tablets [*ibid.*, 92–4]. Eventually Peters' interest in Mound V would wan and excavations on Mound X expand, but for the moment work continued on Mound V and tablets continued to be found, but apparently not in great numbers. Tunnels and trenches were driven into the north western knoll of Mound V and graves and some structural remnants were found. On the 19th of February a cache of tablets was found in a room in a layer of ash and near what Peters judged may have been a furnace [*ibid.*, 106]. On the 23rd of February new trenches were cut into the knoll [*ibid.*, 117] with graves and wells found. On the 26th of February two more work gangs were put onto the excavations in Mound V [*ibid.*, 118]. On the 3rd of March Peters recorded that 'only in the vicinity of the furnace trench have any tablets of value been found' [*ibid.*, 130] and 'the men think that this room was a furnace for baking tablets' [*ibid.*, 131]. Elsewhere the brief notes for excavations on Mound V are dominated by the records of graves and their contents.

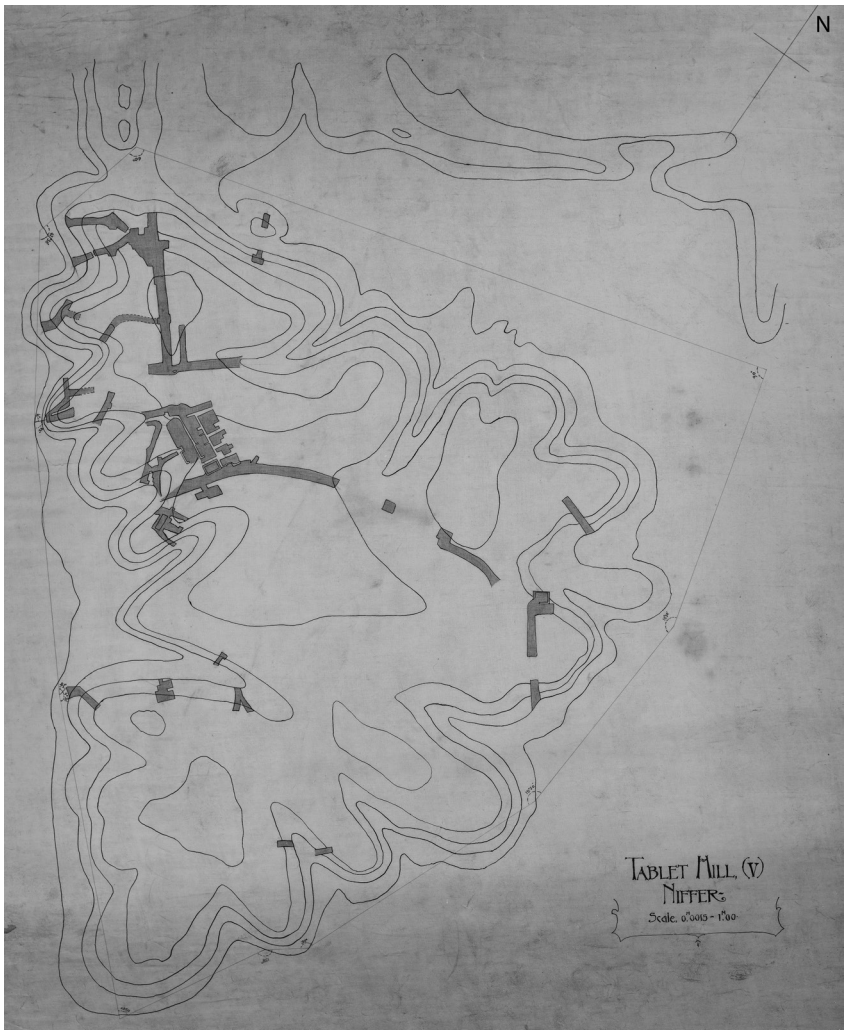

Figure 8: The previously unpublished plan of the excavation trenches on Mound V made during the Season II at Nippur (UoPMA, M-22–1, no.20).

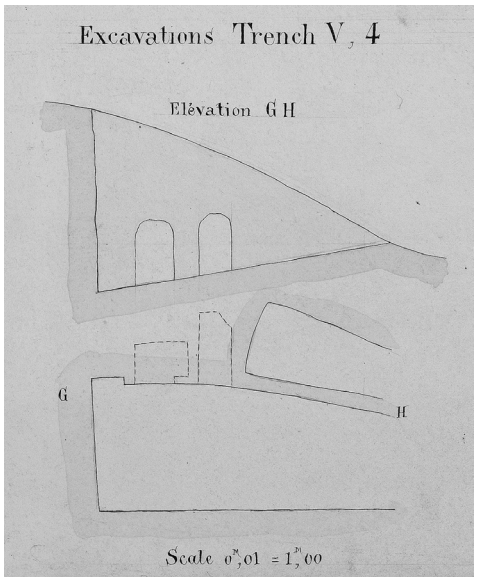

Figure 9: Trench V.4 of Season II (M-21–5, no. 8).

On the 15th of March, again after heavy rain had interrupted work, Peters decided to reopen excavations on Mound X [*ibid.*, 154]. On the 17th of March Peters recorded that 'Five gangs were taken off Tablet Hill and put on [Mound] X. The eastern side of Tablet Hill was altogether abandoned for the time being' [*ibid.*, 156]. The fact that tablets were listed in the dig finds register as having come from Mound V after that date suggests that work continued at points on the mound. On 20th March Peters wrote that [Mound V] 'seems to be pretty much nearly exhausted' [*ibid.*, 165]. Though the dig diary makes no reference to excavations on Mound V, tablets were registered from the mound in the finds register up until the 29th of March.

On the 12th of April in an isolated entry Peters records that 'We have run some seven sounding trenches at various points on this hill (i.e. Mound V), and are finding a few tablets in the gully right south of V.1' [*ibid.*, 194]. A week later on the 19th of April Peters noted makes his final note on the excavations at Mound V noting that 'After some fruitless soundings this hill (i.e. Mound V) abandoned' [Peters 1890, ii: 9]. In parallel excavations on Mound X were producing so many tablets that on the 26th of April Peters recorded that 'for four days they (i.e. tablets) were brought in by the boxfull, faster that we could handle them' [*ibid.*, 15].

The finds register lists some 367 plus tablets from Mound V. However, the CBS register, which cannot be linked to the finds register, suggests that circa 244 tablets were excavated in the second season at Mound V. Unfortunately almost nothing can be said about the contexts in which they were discovered.

Peters summarised the results of his excavations in Season II on Mound V [1897, ii: 199–203] noting that the work was conducted primarily for the purpose of securing inscribed objects, for that was naturally the constant demand of the home committee' [*ibid.*, 202]. He commented further – '... I conducted much more extensive excavations at this mound; and although the yield of tablets was by no means as large as in the hills on the other side of the canal[11)], yet about one fifth or one fourth of the whole amount was taken from Hill V (i.e. Mound V). I riddled it with trenches everywhere' [*ibid.*: 199].

Peter refers to houses of unbaked brick [*ibid.*, 200–1] (cf. Figure 10) and that only a single building seemed different having 'square half pillars at regular intervals on the outside' [*ibid.*, 202].

Figure 10: The published photograph of structures excavated on Mound V during Season II [after Peters 1897, ii, opposite page 202].

Hilprecht was not present during the Second Season at Nippur. His account of the excavations [Hilprecht 1903: 319–45] is largely an essay outlining his criticisms of Peters' work. He refers only briefly [*ibid.*, 341–2] to Mound V noting that about 2000 tablets of all sorts were recovered [*ibid.*, 341].

In reviewing the results of Season II at Mound V Peters concluded that he had not found 'the temple library' [Peters 1897, ii: 140]. Instead he judged that between the Old Babylonian and Persian periods the mound had been the site of homes of 'well-to-do

11) This is Mound X where the bulk of the Kassite texts found at Nippur were found.

citizens rather than the site of great public buildings at the city' [*ibid.*, 202]. The dig records shows that the excavations remained concentrated on the north western knoll of the mound. In doing so Peters was following on from the work of the previous season. His attention as director of excavations, however, focused on the work on the ziggurat and surrounding structures and later in the season on excavating tablets from Mound X. The record, such as it is, suggests that the excavated remains in Mound V were characterised by Parthian and first millennium B.C. tub coffins, scrappy walls and brick lined wells. In all the stratigraphy was complex and much cut by graves and wells. The excavation techniques deployed on the mound consisted of deep trenches and tunnelling with little regard paid to unravelling the complexities of the area.

Season Four (1899–1900)

At the end of the second season of excavations at Nippur, only J.H. Haynes could be persuaded to return. He did so for a remarkable three years during which time he largely worked alone[12]. His reports from the excavations were a source of frustration to his sponsors in Philadelphia as they contained such paucity of detail that no sense could be made of the progress of the work. There were no other records of Haynes' work. What was clear was that he conducted extensive excavations with little (no) heed to stratigraphy or recording of provenances. He was tasked to find tablets and objects and not stratigraphy and he obeyed his instructions as he understood them. Haynes' record [1893–96] of his work at Nippur demonstrates that he did not conduct any excavations on Mound V [see also Hilprecht 1903: 421].

In his last season, 1899–1900, at Nippur Haynes continued deploying the excavation techniques that he had used between 1893 and 1896. His dig diary entries [Haynes 1899–1900] and letters back to his sponsors in Philadelphia [1899–90a] contain almost no detail of the circumstances of the discovery of objects including tablets. Instead he made sparse notes on how he deployed his workforce or described with feeling his dealings with the Sheikhs of the local tribes and Ottoman officials. He did not present a plan of his excavations.

Haynes recorded that on the 23rd of February 1899 'Another gang on the opposite side of the Shatt en-Nil in Mound V found nothing of interest' [Haynes 1899–1900: 30]. This marks the resumption of excavations on the mound after Peters' work in 1890. This work continued for four further days until the 27th but noted that this had produced 'no marked results' [*ibid.*, 33] and consequently the work gangs were all moved to excavations on Mound I [*ibid.*, 34].

Work on Mound V was resumed again seven months later on the 25th of September 1899 and Haynes noted 'A part of our workforce was put to prospecting for tablets in the mound known as Tablet Hill and marked V ...' [*ibid.*, 129]. Haynes' intention to find tablets is clear. The scale of his excavation on the mound is made clear in Haynes' note on the 30th September – 'A larger force of 200 men was this morning added to the prospecting gang of the men on V – Tablet Hill' [*ibid.*, 129]. Excavations appear to have continued on the mound for the rest of October, though no discoveries of tablets were recorded by Haynes.

On Friday the 20th of October H.V. Geere and C.S. Fisher arrived at Nippur. Haynes records the event as follows 'Messrs Geere and Fisher arrived by boat from Hillah and look to be in good health. We (i.e. Haynes and his wife Cassandra) were very glad indeed to see and welcome them to Niffer' [*ibid.*, 137]. This event marked the beginning of what would eventually be an improved system of excavating and recording.

Fruitless, in terms of the recovery of tablets, excavations continued at Mound V through November and December 1899. On the 11th of December Haynes wrote 'By far the largest force on Tablet Hill V searching for tablets but finding coffins of various types, all levels' [*ibid.*, 150].

12) For a summary of the season see Kuklick [1996: 65–77].

Also on the 11th of December 1899 H.V. Geere prepared a plan and cross section of Trench 1 at Mound V (Figure 11). He prepared a second plan the following day for Trench 2 (Figure 12). These plans, and a number of subsequent drawings of trenches on Mound V (see below) prepared by Geere were apparently intended for a publication that did not occur. The sequence of drawings shows a systematic approach to the recording of the trenches by Geere, but without an accompanying text it is difficult to derive the intended benefit they originally had.

On 18 December Haynes noted 'A large force on tablet Hill ... An earnest endeavour is made to find tablets and while I think Hill V might produce tablets we do not yet succeed in finding them if any exist there which of course no man can fortell' [Haynes 1899–1900: 152]. It was not until 30 December (i.e. two months after the opening of renewed excavations on Mound V) that Haynes recorded the excavation of tablets from the mound – 'Twelve sound tablets and large quantity of frag[ment]s of tablets all from Tablet Hill marked V' [*ibid.*, 153]. There is no further information on the provenance of the tablets – a practice that continued in Haynes' notes.

Table I: The daily record of the numbers of tablets Haynes noted as being excavated from Mound V. Column A: tablet numbers; Column B: Date of excavation; Column C: page reference in Haynes 1899–1900.

A	B	C
20	4 January 1900	155
9	5 January 1900	155
12	6 January 1900	156
14	8 January 1900	157
11	10 January 1900	157
21	12 January 1900	158
13	13 January 1900	158
31	15 January 1900	159
30	16 January 1900	159
28	17 January 1900	159
33	18 January 1900	160
49	19 January 1900	160
43	20 January 1900	160
16	22 January 1900	161
13	23 January 1900	161
17	25 January 1900	162
19	26 January 1900	162
23	27 January 1900	162
15	29 January 1900	164
18	30 January 1900	165
21	31 January 1900	165

It was not until 4th January 1900 that a second batch of tablets was found at Mound V – '20 sound tablets and a great quantity of frag[ment]s of tablets all from tablet Hill' (*ibid.*, 155). Thereafter the recovery of tablets from the mound is recorded almost daily (Table I). Significantly it was not until 13 January 1900 that Haynes speculated on the nature of the provenance of the tablets. He commented on the tablets recovered that day as follows – 'A really fine looking lot and a very great bulk of these tablets came from a low level. There is reason to believe that we have come upon a *library* (my italics) and I trust that it will form valuable in every desirable way' [*ibid.*, 158]. Equally significant is that this is the first suggestion from Haynes that Mound V might have hosted a library. From 23 February onwards Haynes simply referred to the "Library" (his quotation marks) when listing the finds discovered each day. It is not clear, but Haynes may not have regarded the whole Mound as containing a single library. Instead he may have had in mind a particular building.

On 24 February Haynes wrote 'There remains only a corner of our room to be explored on Monday in order to complete the excavation of this so-called "Library". We hope for a few more tablets from this unexplored corner [...] can then abandon it believing that we have thoroughly examined every room of it having already obtained over *17000 tablets and fragments of tablets* (my italics) from this one "Library" so called' [*ibid.*, 181]. The following day he recorded 'Several fragmentary tablets from the Library today. This finishes the excavation of tablets upon which collection we have now spent several weeks and gathered more than 17 000 inscribed pieces' [*ibid.*, 183][13].

13) On 28 January Haynes recorded that he and his wife packed 27 boxes of tablets excavated since 21 January [Haynes 1899–1900: 163]. A further 26 similar boxes were packed a week later [*ibid.*, 168]. It is not clear that all the tablets were from Mound V (though his record does not mention tablets from any other mound), but it is an indication of the quantity of tablets Haynes was shipping to Constantinople, of which some went on to Philadelphia. It is unfortunate that the boxes were never opened systematically which would at least have preserved the association of tablets found together in Mound V.

Haynes describes the provenance of some of the tablets in only one instance and that in the 'Library' discussed above. On 16 February he noted 'A large cluster of tablets was found in one part of the rooms producing tablets in such positions, interlacing, overlapping, lying flatwise, edgewise, endwise two, three, four, deep so that the theory was forced upon me that these had been precipitated perhaps from a second story or from a rack which had perished. To all events they seemed to have fallen into a position where they were found and I incline to the opinion that they fell from a second story which judging from our house at Niffer is a more suitable place to store unburned tablets than the lower story or ground floor' [*ibid.*, 177]. These comments were made during a visit from the German scholar, Dr Meissner who saw tablets being excavated [*ibid.*]. Haynes noted that Meisner saw the 'process of recovering by very painstaking methods the tablets which came out of the tablet beds today' [*ibid.*]. While the excavation may have been careful once tablets were found, nothing else about the recovery can be described as such.

On 27 February Haynes noted [*ibid.*, 184] that the work gangs were moved from Mound V to the 'Court of Columns' on Mound I. He deployed a small force to the western edge of Mound V at a spot where Peters had previously found tablets in January and February 1890 [*ibid.*, 184]. Two days later, on 1st March 1900 Hilprecht arrived at Nippur [*ibid.*, 185]. Haynes recorded the following day (2nd March) that he 'Walked with Dr Hilprecht over the temple Area and other parts of the mounds for a general view of the whole field and a more special study of the sacred precincts of the temple of bel. Afterward I gave my attention to the Court of Columns' [*ibid.*, 185]. In his final entry recording excavation work, Haynes wrote on 3rd March that 'a small force continues [unsuccessful search for tablets along the e[ast] bank of the Shatt en-Nil in Mound V' [*ibid.*, 185]. Hilprecht later wrote that he suspended excavations on Mound V two weeks later on 19 March 1900 [Hilprecht 1903: 510].

It is interesting to note that throughout Haynes was concerned that his workmen would steal tablets – 'As usual on Saturdays the tablets are covered more deeply than at other times, lest there should be too great temptation to dig them out on Sunday' [*ibid.*, 174][14]. Similarly if rain threatened he would not proceed with excavations [e.g. *ibid.*, 169, 175].

Hilprecht was horrified at what he found at Nippur. It is hard to imagine that the attenuated briefing that Haynes gave Hilprecht on the state of the excavations would have encouraged Hilprecht to believe that scientific principles of excavation had been deployed at the site. On 16 March 1900 he wrote to Mr Clark in Philadelphia [Hilprecht 1900]. He was direct. He stated that the excavations had been run in 'the old manner which was based upon the unfortunate interpretation of your committee's orders (to get tablets and objects even at the expense of losing sight of the development and history of Nuffar)' [*ibid.*, 1]. He reviewed the work on each of the mounds. Of Mound V he wrote 'Of the general plan of the library and the quarters of the priests in connection with it and exact idea will be formulated by myself and be put on paper by the architects' [*ibid.*, 4]. He was also convinced that the 'library' had been destroyed by an invading Elamite force in the late third millennium B.C. [*ibid.*] and that its excavation would take 2–3 years [*ibid.*]. Publically Hilprecht [1903: 509] was scathing of Haynes' work. He made public his view that he 'could declare positively at the beginning of March that we had discovered the temple library of ancient Nippur, and the most important of all the earlier Babylonian schools' [*ibid.*, 510]. He went on to summarise, interpret and discuss the results of the excavations [*ibid.*, 510–32]. In doing so he acknowledges the work of Geere (Fisher is not mentioned [*ibid.*, 510]).

Hilprecht identified, on the basis of the brick sizes, the remains found in the upper levels of Mound V as Parthian (the numerous 'glazed slipper coffins' Haynes excavated support the view). In the upper twenty feet of the mound Hilprecht states [*ibid.*, 511] that 4000 tablets including several

14) Haynes never worked on a Sunday.

hundred documents dated to the neo-Assyrian, neo-Babylonian and Persians periods were found in 1899–1900, but it is not clear what his source for this statement is. It is unlikely that Haynes would have known. Hilprecht identified the tablets from the lower levels of the mound as having come from the library and scribal shool(s) of the Temple of Enlil [*ibid.*, 512].

However, Haynes' two assistants during the season, C.S. Fisher and H.V. Geere, did keep some records and the results are summarised in the report they wrote at the time and which is published here for the first time. Hilprecht, in his publication drew heavily on the Fisher/ Geere text [*ibid.*, 508–32] and published in attenuated form the plans that Fisher published more fully in 1907 [Pls. 25 and 26], but without an accompanying text. Geere also described the excavation of the 'Temple Library' [1903: 99–101]. A rough map of the associated architectural remains was made by Fisher and published by Peters [1905: 146], but it does not add much to the discussion. Some photographs of the excavation have been published[15]. An area of the north east section of the remains was published by Hilprecht [1903: facing page 509] and Geere [1903, facing page 100]. The Geere/ Fisher report complements Hilprecht's published discussion of the excavation of and finds from Mound V [1903: 508–32], but without the 'ambiguities' of some of Hilprecht's statements on specific objects and the role he played in excavation.

Text of the Geere and Fisher (1900) report on the excavations at Mound V in the IVth season[16]

Notes to accompany the preliminary plans of The Temple Library, Nippur.

The Temple Library is situated in Hill V, or 'Tablet Hill', a mound separated from 'Temple Hill' by a depression that probably marks a branch or by-water of the old Shat en-Nil.

During the operations of the first expedition Dr Hilprecht declared that in this section would most probably be found the Library of the Temple; and although the mound remained practically untouched until the last campaign (1899–1900), when it did come to be examined his prognostications were confirmed in a remarkable manner. A record find of tablets has been made on the spot, and enough of their character has already been ascertained to set at rest all doubt concerning their being actually the archives of the great Temple of Bel.

The mound is a very large one, and as yet barely half of it has been explored. The buildings so far excavated belonging to the Library period may be said to fall roughly into two groups, which for convenience will be said to fall roughly into two groups, which for convenience will be referred to the East Section and the West Section respectively, although strictly speaking they should rather be called the North-East and South-West sections. They are shown on the two drawings marked A (Figure 11) and B (Figure 12). At present between the two sections there lies an enormous barrier of earth and debris, pierced only by one large tunnel and a few branch tunnels. And here it may be useful to state briefly the manner in which the excavations on this hill were carried on, in order that a clear understanding of the reason of the present disconnected state of the work may be arrived at.

In November (18)99 Dr Haynes placed a few gangs of men to make trial diggings on the outskirts of the mound, which previous to that time had been dug only in a desultory manner in its North Western part by Doctor Peters [Peters 1897: ii, 197].

The first results of Dr Haynes' work were the discovery of a great number of burials of all classes and several periods. The majority of these burials were in slipper-shaped coffins, and they were mostly of a late period. But earlier burials – of the double jar, mouth-to-mouth, type – were also unearthed, chiefly in the Western section of the hill. In some cases groups of burials in many different varieties

15) A collection of some of the photographs taken during the IVth season may be seen online at http://digilibtext.bu.edu/sth/archon-asor/index.php?.p=collect.

16) UoPMA, Nippur, Expedition IV, Container 16, no. 9. 285.

of coffin were discovered close together. There were slipper coffins and 'bath-tub' shaped coffins, with and without lids; single jars and double jars, of all sizes and shapes, sometimes placed horizontally and sometimes perpendicularly; and tombs built with burnt bricks, some with flat covers and some with arched roofs.

As the number of workmen was increased and more earth was removed traces of crude brick walls began to appear, notably on the South side of the mound; while on the North-East was found a large chamber built in burnt brick with a corbelled roof. This latter building was very similar to that discovered at Mugheir and delineated by Taylor[17], but larger. As it was of a later period than the Library buildings it need not be further noticed here (probably to be identified with the structure drawn by Geere on 17 January 1900, see Figure 25 below).

Gradually the scattered gangs of workers were concentrated on two parts of the mounds, and two areas (now shown on sheets A and B) were cleared down to a low level. In both these areas were found remains of walls – generally very low – built of crude bricks, which as the surrounding earth was cleared away began to group themselves into a series of connected chambers. Tablets were found in considerable numbers, and in the third week in February the great find of tablets in the East section took place, which established the character of the buildings almost beyond doubt.

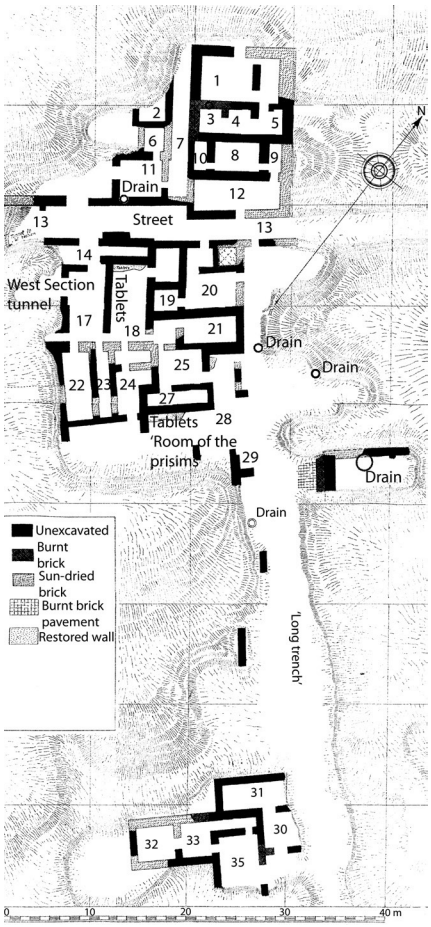

Figure 11 (left): The east section ('A') discussed by Geere and Fisher in their paper [after Fisher 1907: Pl. 25].

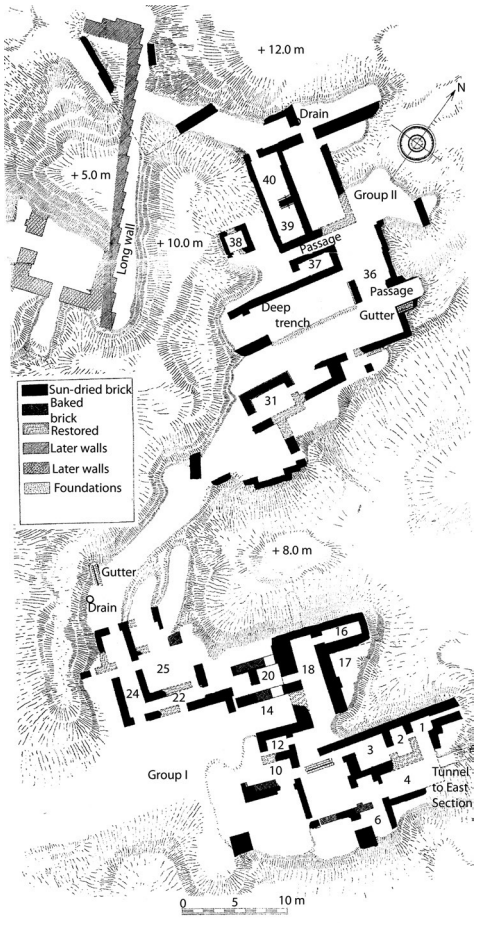

Figure 12: The west section ('B') discussed by Geere and Fisher in their paper [after Fisher 1907: Pl. 26].

17) i.e. Taylor 1855: 272–3 and figure page 273.

As the time to leave Nippur approached it became very evident that in view of the quantity of work remaining to be done on other portions of the site it would be utterly out of the question to clear away the mass of earth which lay between the two sections of the Library. Doctor Haynes therefore contented himself with driving a large tunnel under the mound in order to connect them and at the same time to see if there was a chance of any more tablets being discovered. Although the tunnel exposed traces of more burials, no tablets were found and no traces of walls could be perceived. Nevertheless – bearing in mind the difficulty of making out the presence of crude brick fragment in the earth of such tunnels when in a wet state – it is possible that after the tunnel dries out some connecting links of building may become apparent. But so far as it is possible to judge at present the two groups of buildings appear entirely independent of each other.

However as they are on the same level, are built of bricks of the same size, and present the same general characteristics it is safe to assume that they were built at about the same time. Further, they seem to be certainly the earliest buildings on – or in – this mound.

That the site was occupied for a considerable period by successive structures was made apparent by the remains of the buildings of burnt brick which were discovered above the early buildings of crude brick, in both sections, while the presence of early Mohammedan burials brings the period of its occupation down to quite a late date. In the West Section traces of important structures, built with large crude bricks (similar to those used in the later buildings on Temple Hill)[18] were also found; and in the South West and South portions of the mound many traces of different periods were discovered. But all these traces were very fragmentary and have not yet been sufficiently uncovered to make it possible to form any intelligent study of them.

The burnt brick traces are especially meagre, and it is most probable that the materials were removed for use in other, later, buildings, as was so frequently the case at Nippur. In connection with this burnt brick period of building drains of pottery were found at several points, which are marked on the plans; and diagrams showing their character accompany these notes (sketches C&D – not preserved). So far as they are exposed and fall within the scope of the plans these fragments are marked on the drawings; and a glance at the Sheets A (i.e. Figure 11) and B (i.e. Figure 12) will show how extremely small they are.

Speaking generally the remains of burnt-brick are at a slightly lower level in the West portion than those in the East, which would point to the latter section having been the more important and therefore the longest maintained and best preserved in order. This belief would also be supported by the fact that the larger number of tablets was found in the east section, and that they were of more importance generally than those that came from the West.

The only parts of the remains with which these notes will concern themselves, however, are the early strata, which indubitably represent the Temple Library.

From the photographs (nos. 179, Figure 13; and 181, Figure 14) the comparatively low character of the remains as compared with the depth of the mound can be clearly seen; and when it is considered that the walls were constructed of crude bricks laid in mud mortar it will be readily understood that it was often extremely difficult to distinguish them from the debris and to avoid injuring them or cutting them away in the course of digging operations. It must also be steadily borne in mind that there is at least a probability that subsequent excavations may result in the two sections being shown to have been linked together by other buildings of a period contemporary with themselves. So much premised we will proceed to the consideration of the remains in detail, first noticing the points which the two sections possess in common.

The buildings appear to have been erected in an erratic way, no general scheme having been followed, with the result that no balanced plan is discoverable in the work. Rooms open out from

18) The bricks are probably to be associated with the Parthian bricks characteristic of the fort structure built above the ziggurat area.

one another, rather than out of corridors or passages, and no large central hall or courtyard has as yet been discovered. Perhaps such a courtyard may lie between the sections. Then, too, it will be noticed that the builders have often failed to make the walls of chambers at right angles to one another; and in some cases extremely narrow openings are to be seen – especially is this the case in the West section – too narrowly decidedly for passages, which are almost certainly the result of the different rooms, or groups of rooms, being built without any fixed plan and in a way independent of each other. The various chambers are all of very small dimensions.

Figure 13: Structures on Mound V in Photo no. 179 discussed by Geere and Fisher in their paper.

Figure 14: Structures on Mound V in Photo no. 181 discussed by Geere and Fisher in their paper.

Nowhere were there traces to show how the rooms were originally lit, nor how they were roofed. But it is safe to assume that the roofing was by means of wooden beams, which probably supported flat roofs of matting and mud, similar to those constructed in the country at the present day. The walls are entirely too thin to have allowed of a system of brick vaulting to have been used; and moreover scarcely any brick debris was excavated from the rooms themselves, such as ought to have been looked for if they had been vaulted. Of course, it may be urged that if the rooms were vaulted in crude brick the materials would have crumbled and decayed in such a fashion as to become indistinguishable from the debris and mud which filled the rooms. But against this there is the almost insurmountable difficulty of constructing vaulting of any sort on such thin walls. Again, brick vaulting would be almost sure

to give way with a sudden fall, which would inevitably have crushed the tablets where they lay, whereas a flat, mud-coated roof would give way very gradually, commencing by leaking badly – as they may be seen to do in hundreds of cases nowadays.

The washings falling into the rooms in a stream of liquid mud would gradually coat the tablets over and cement them in to just such a mass as they were found (notably in Room 18). Thus the tablets would gradually be covered sufficiently to protect them from further damage when the roof eventually crumbled and fell in on the chambers; and the subsequent accumulation of debris would be so gradual that the tablets would not suffer by its growth.

Figure 15: A further photograph of structures on Mound V (photo no. 177). It is not discussed by Geere and Fisher, but shows more examples of the sorts of structures they recorded.

The fact that the tablets were found (in some instances at least) on ledges, evidently as arranged by the priests in charge, or librarians, rather shows, to our minds, that the decay of the building was gradual; for had it been due to sudden destruction by a conqueror would not the valuable records have been either seized or wantonly destroyed by him? If the library came to be gradually neglected and uncared for – in consequence of being 'out of date', or by the growth of a new sect or new school of learning, or from any cause whatsoever – it is quite likely that the rooms and the records which formed their contents would be allowed to fall gradually into disuse, and a gentle decay would have set in, just as seems to have been the case. Not the slightest trace of timber was found on the site, but in such a damp situation it could not be expected that wood would last; and it is moreover most probable that the roofing beams were removed for use elsewhere[19]. Then the drift slowly gathered in and over the neglected ruins would produce just such effects as were observed.

If the rooms were lit by windows at all, the openings must have been placed very high up, near the ceiling, for no signs of anything of the sort was discovered in the walling which still remained. The system of lighting the rooms by openings in the roof would have hardly been suitable for such chambers since it would expose the precious tablets too much to the action of the rain and storms. If the chambers depended upon the doorways only for their lighting they must indeed have been dark, for those openings were extremely narrow as a rule – the representative size may be taken from 0.712 × 0.787 m – and in such cases as Chambers 3 and 7 (east section) hardly any light at all can have filtered through the outer rooms. Probably artificial light was used in such parts. Or, again, the tablets may have been only stored in these rooms, and have been taken out, to the Temple or elsewhere, for use or reference, as occasion required.

In no single case was any trace of flooring observed, and it is to be presumed that the rooms were simply floored, so to speak, by the earth being well trodden in or rammed down.

We saw no traces of plastering – not even of mud plaster – in any part of the buildings, and certainly no sign of paint remaining on any of the walls; but on the ledge in Room 18 where the tablets were discovered it seemed as if there had been a coating of bitumen. Such a natural course of protecting the records from damp would certainly seem likely to have commended itself to the

19) In far drier situations at Nippur, and in parts of much more recent date than the Library (e.g. a brick vaulted tomb on temple Hill) wood has been found so far perished and decayed as to be scarcely recognizable.

priest; but we can not say positively that the substance observed was bitumen.

To turn now to Drawing A (Figure 11), which shows the East Section: – it will be observed that the rooms in the area so far excavated fall into two principal groups, the first consisting of the rooms from 1 to 28 and the second of those numbered 31 to 37. Between these two groups there are a few fragments of walling, but nothing to enable the intervening space to be filled in on plan. In all likelihood this intervening space was covered with buildings; but as the land was lower they have not been so well preserved.

The southern group presents very few points of interest. The south-east wall of Room 32 seems to have been curiously curved, and is so shown on the plan; but the remains were very indistinct at this part. Two explanations of this rounding off of the angle present themselves. The first is that the wall was broken away, or collapsed, owing to some unexplained cause, and afterwards patched up in a clumsy fashion. The second, and more probable, is that the idea was to gain more passage room on the exterior of the building, between it and some other structure of which all traces have now disappeared. Such anglings are very common in Baghdad and other Eastern cities at the present day.

The rooms all obviously formed part of a single building, since they are connected throughout; but unfortunately it is not possible to say where the main entrance to the building was situated.

In the larger group to the North (nos. 22–27) we seem to have another distinct building[20]. The parts marked 12 and 13 would appear to be an exterior passage, or alley, and the buttress-like projection on the exterior of 14 is quite in keeping with the architectural style observed in other portions of the work at Nippur (e.g. the similar projections on the latter structure shown on Sheet B i.e. Figure 12 – to the north west). Most likely a similar buttress was placed on the other side (the west, that is to say) of the doorway, and it must have been cut away in the course of the diggings. Accepting this arrangement, the narrow chamber 14 was evidently the porter or custodian's box, while 17 was the hall of the building. It will be seen that there are traces of a doorway in the North West angle of this hall, where a short tunnel has been driven. The wall between 22 and 23 may also owe its apparent peculiarity to having been unwittingly cut away in the digging operations; for very few courses of its brickwork remained.

In room 18, at the North end, was a low ledge, or *mastaba*, built up in crude bricks to a height of about half a meter from the apparent floor level, upon which a great number of tablets were discovered, as already stated. Evidently this was a shelf for the storage of some of the most valuable documents, and several of the tablets found there were of the largest size. A similar find was made on the outside of the South wall of room 27[21]. In and around this group of rooms were found thousands of tablets. In the north angle of 26 again was what seemed to be a ledge similar to that in 18, and a few tablets were found in its vicinity also.

The rooms numbered 1 and 3–5 very evidently belonged to another building, of which 1 was plainly the hall, or main room. Probably the three small chambers were used for keeping different classes of tablets or records in. Whether the parts marked 2 and 6–11 also belonged to this building, or if not how they were distributed, can hardly be said until further excavations throw more light on the subject. Judging by the size of the building on the South side of the alley (12–13) it is

20) Unless 16, 19 and 20 belong to a second part, as is suggested by the opening from 16 into the passage on the North (13).

21) In the published plan of the area [Fisher 1907: Pl. 26] it is annotated 'Room of the prisms'. In his dig notes Haynes refers to 15 complete or fragmentary prisms having been found at Mound V. The precise provenances are unclear so it is uncertain if they all came from Room 28 in the east Section. The objects found were as follows: - on 8th January 1900 ('1 fragment of a large rectangular prism'); 10th January 1900 ('2 frag[ment]s of large rectangular prism'); 15th January 1900 ('1 sound rectangular prism from lower level. ¾ in[ch] long and each face 3 ¾ in[ches] wide'); 17th January 1900 (2 prisms and half a prism also from lower level'); 25th January 1900 ('2 fragmentary rectangular prisms'); 27th January 1900 ('1 frag[ment] rectangular prism, 2 [fragments] pentagonal [prism]'); 29th January 1900 ('2 large frag[ments] of rectangular prisms'); and 15th February 1900 ('3 rectangular prisms fully inscribed').

likely that they were all part of the same house or quarter; but against this must be set the important fact that the wall bounding 1–3 certainly had all the appearance of an exterior wall.

It will be noted (at 3) that the latter building in burnt brick followed the lines of the earlier one at least in part; and it may well be that the original plan was carried on when the first buildings were abandoned.

On Drawing B (Figure 12) the rooms of the West section are shown. As will be seen from the drawing, between rooms 1 and 29–44 there is a large unexcavated area; and it should be stated here that in the latter portion especially the parts which have been exposed are often connected only by tunnels.

In this section, it will be seen, much of the buildings seem to have been lost or removed, with the result that the plan is extremely puzzling. It will be perceived at once that walls are of varying thickness; and although it must be taken only as conjecture, it would seems likely that in the East section of the part excavated there was a building enclosed by a thick wall (5ft 6 in) which may be traced as bounding the rooms from 1–12, and possibly turning North West along 15 thus including the rooms 15–18. Again at 9a and 25a there are remains of a similar large wall, but they do not appear to be in any way connected with any other portion of the buildings; and here at least it is absolutely necessary to await further developments of the excavations before advancing any theory at all.

The wall to the South East of 30 is parallel to the walls of 16 and 21, and when the space between these walls is excavated a connecting series of rooms may be confidently looked for.

At present the only chambers which look at all like central halls are Nos. 8 and 25. From 8 the series of small chambers 1–3 and 4–7 might be entered. Accepting this arrangement we should place 5 as a lobby and 11 was probably the porch. Then the South West wall of 12 may be regarded as having run through and only been cut away in the excavations. In this group Room 1 has a peculiar feature in the long and very narrow recess. This was much too narrow for a passage way, and it can only have been used as a storage place it seems.

From 25 access could be gained either directly or indirectly to the rooms numbered 19–28, and if there are more rooms to the North East – as is almost certainly the case – they will be found to belong to this group in all probability.

The L-shaped narrow opening from 20 on to 14 is puzzling, as examination of it upon the spot lead us to the belief that it was not due to the wall having been cut away at this point. It seemed rather a part of the original construction. But what purpose it served we cannot attempt to say; unless a watercourse was carried through it.

The large wall shown in the North West of the plan, with the system of recessing upon its outer surface belongs, as has been previously stated, to a period posterior to that of the Library Buildings.

With regard to the chambers numbered from 30 upwards we can offer no suggestions. They were chiefly excavated before the last campaign, and so much debris has accumulated around them that we can do no more than show them on the plan, and leave consideration of them to a future date.

In this West section of the work the tablets were found lying about in an apparently promiscuous fashion. None were discovered on ledges, as in the East section, nor were any ledges themselves found. The largest find of tablets in this section was made near the doorway of room 6.

[End of text]

The Geere/ Fisher report gives an impression only of what was excavated in the IVth season of excavations on Mound V. It provides illuminating detail on the building remains of the early second millennium B.C. housing remains in which tablets were found. The account is complemented by

Hilprecht's published comments. In particular the contexts in which the tablets were found are highlighted. While many were found in disturbed contexts, a large number of tablets were found on shelves of brick covered in bitumen or of wood. The tablets were found in groups where they had collapsed as the buildings decayed about them. The CBS catalogue records that only 250 tablets were found in Mound V in the IVth season of excavations. What is utterly lost is any possibility of identifying particular contexts to specific tablets or even groups of texts.

A set of finished drawings of the trenches and in some cases sections through them and apparently intended for publication (which did not happen) were prepared by H.V. Geere at Nippur. These drawings are now in the UoMPA (Figures 16–27 below). The drawings illustrate a number of points. Most basically they demonstrate that there were at least 37 trenches on Mound V. They also show the sheer scale of the excavations. Several list the cubic metres of earth that were excavated from each trench and many show the steps cut by the workmen to allow access to the trenches as they descended. Only one plan shows the findspots of tablets – Trench 22 (Figure 22).

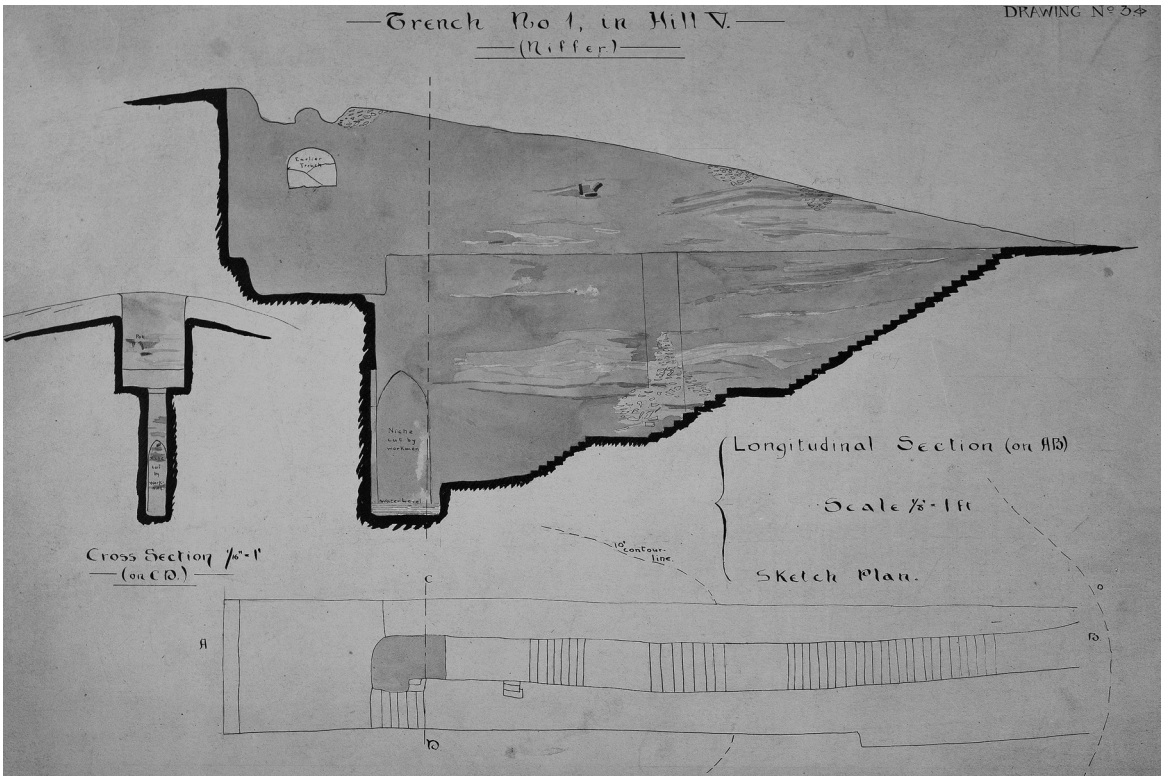

Figure 16: Trench 1, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 11 December 1899 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 9).

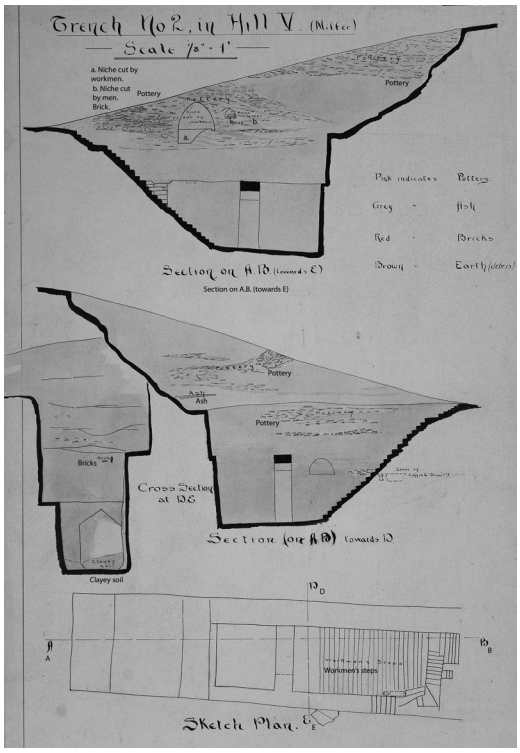

Figure 17: Trench 2, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 12 December 1899 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 12).

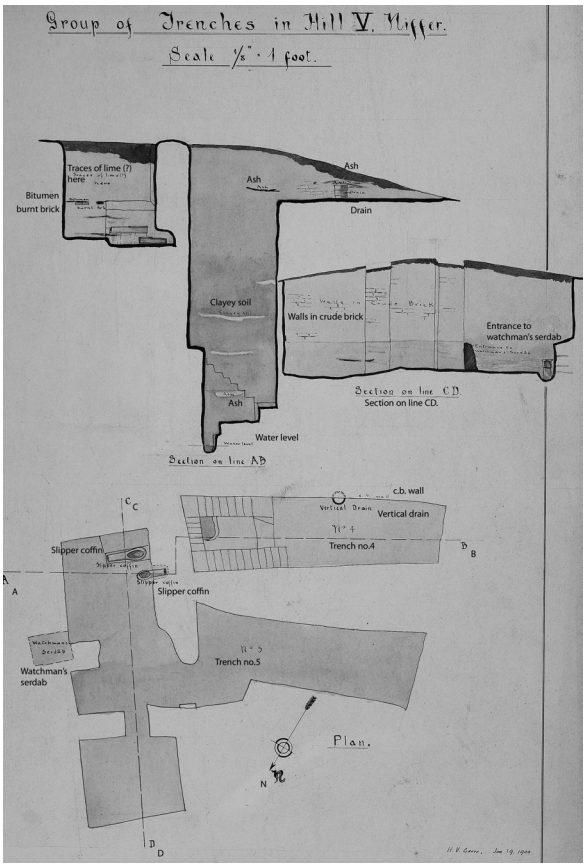

Figure 18: Trenches 4 and 5 with section, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 19th January 1900 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 26).

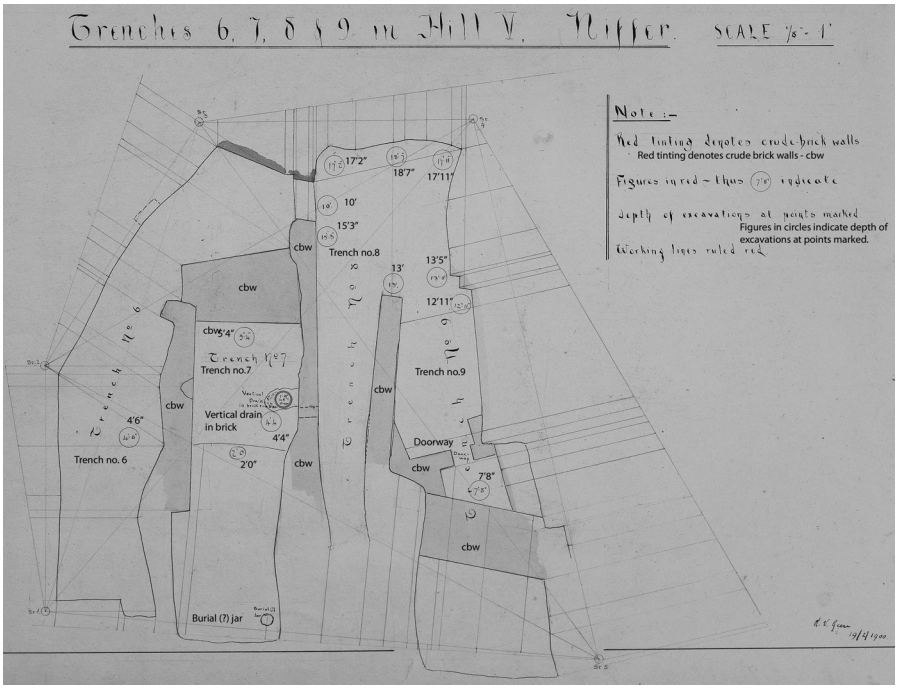

Figure 19: Trenches 6–9, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 19 February 1900 (UoPMA M-23–4, no. 10).

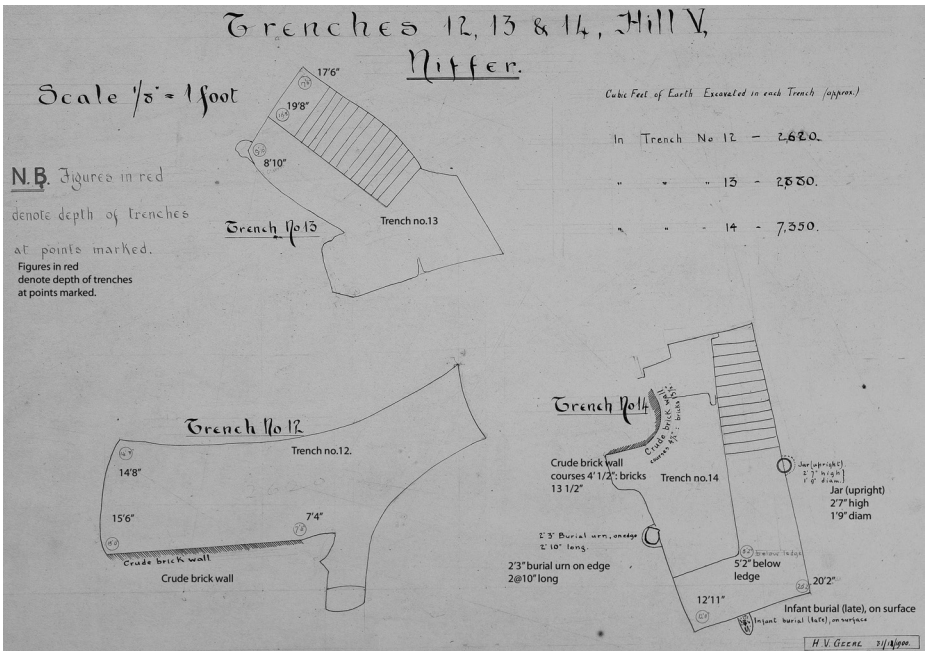

Figure 20: Trenches 12–14, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 31 January 1900 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 17).

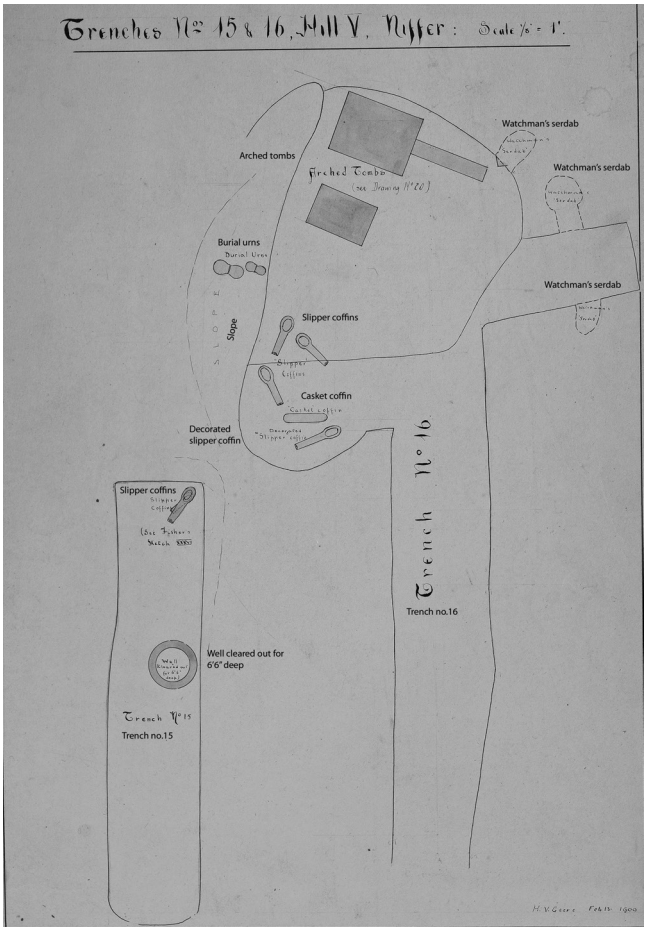

Figure 21: Trenches 15 and 16, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 13 February 1900 (UoPMA M-23–4, no. 6).

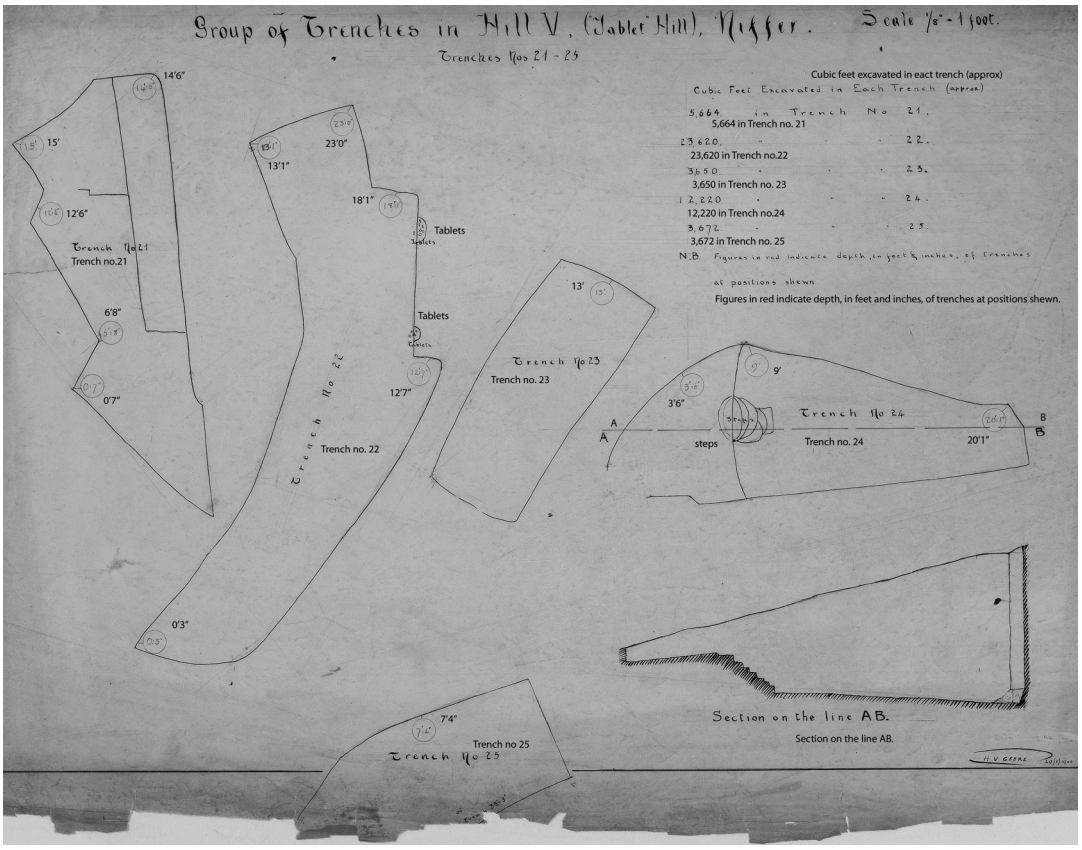

Figure 22: Trenches 21–25, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 20 January 1900 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 34).

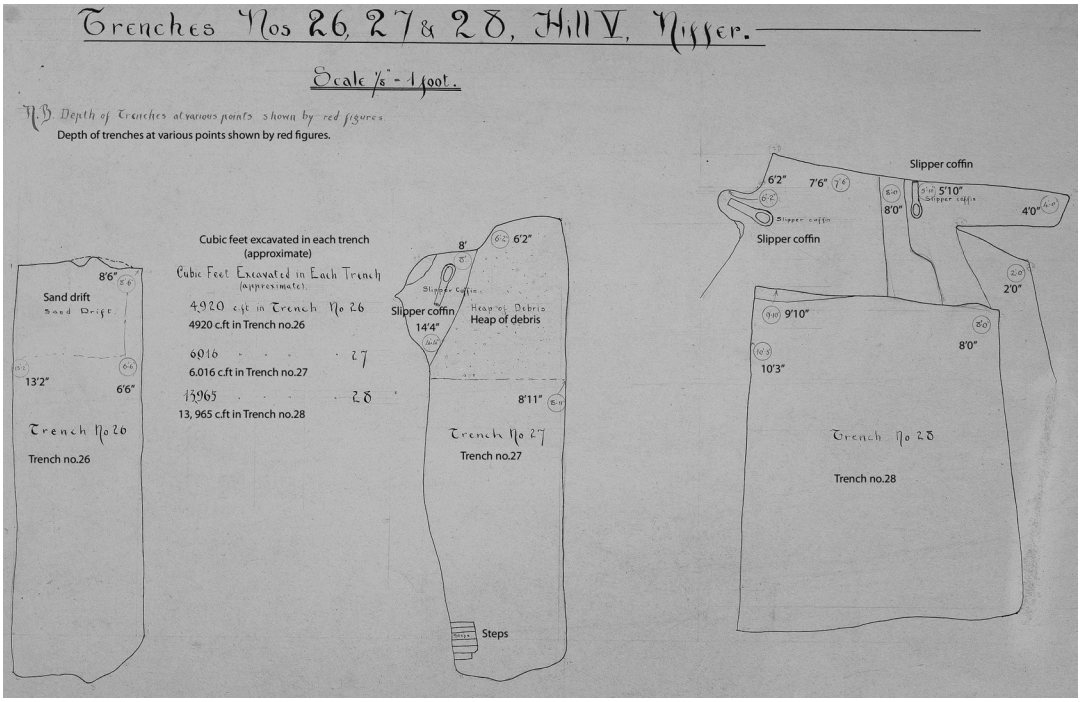

Figure 23: Trenches 26–28, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 6 February 1900 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 35).

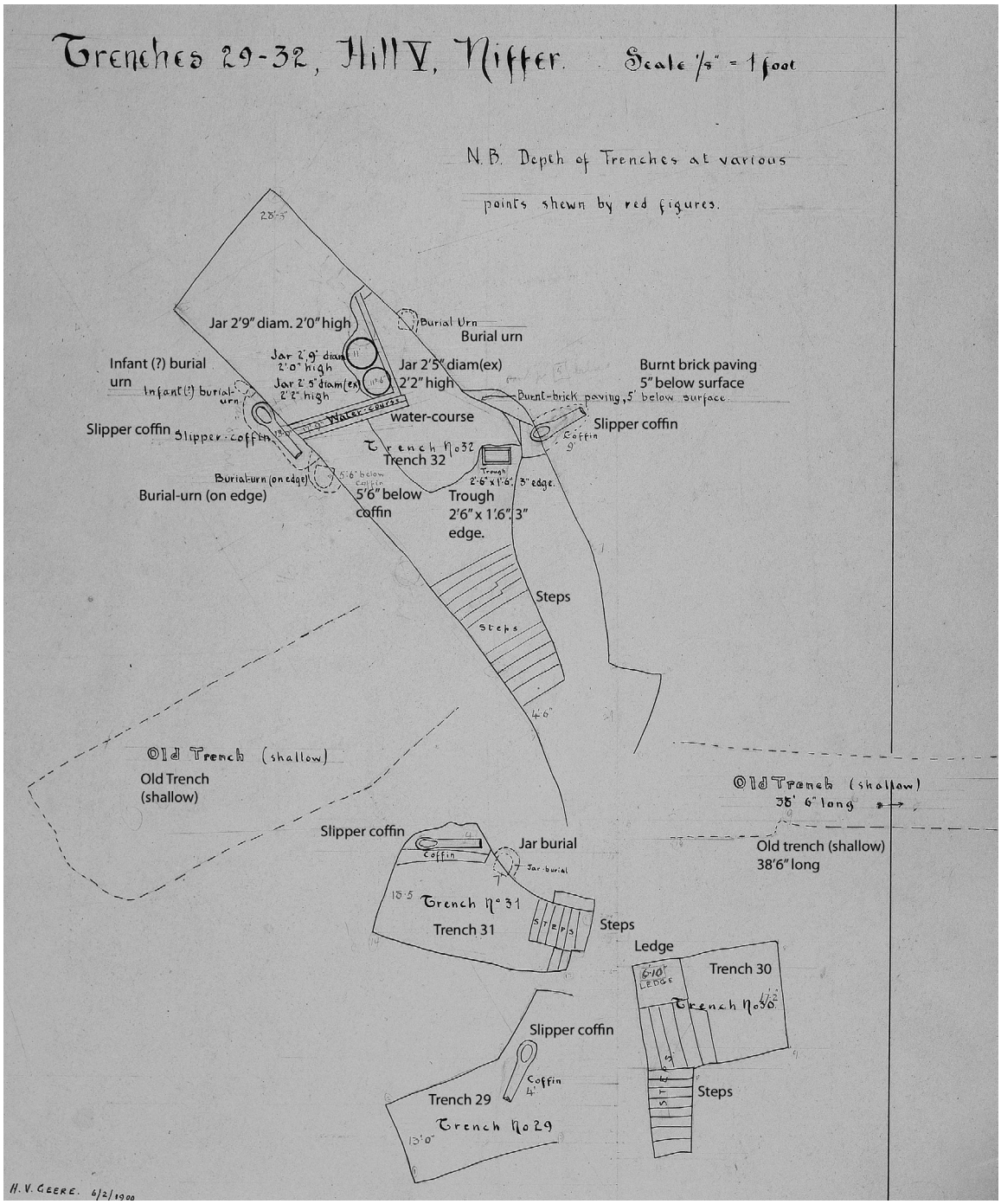

Figure 24: Trenches 29–32, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 6 February 1900 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 36).

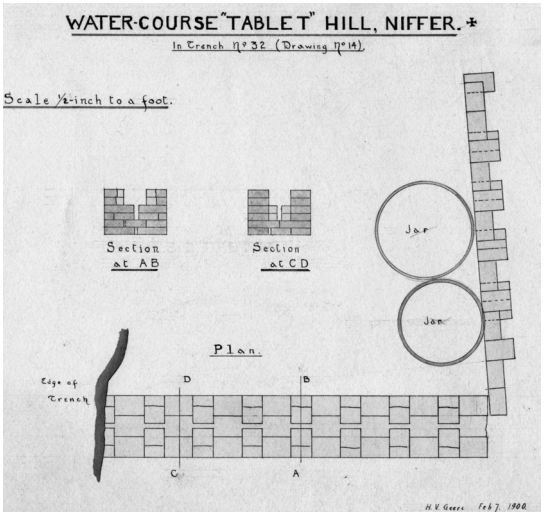

Figure 25: A water course in Trench no. 32, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 7 February 1900 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 38).

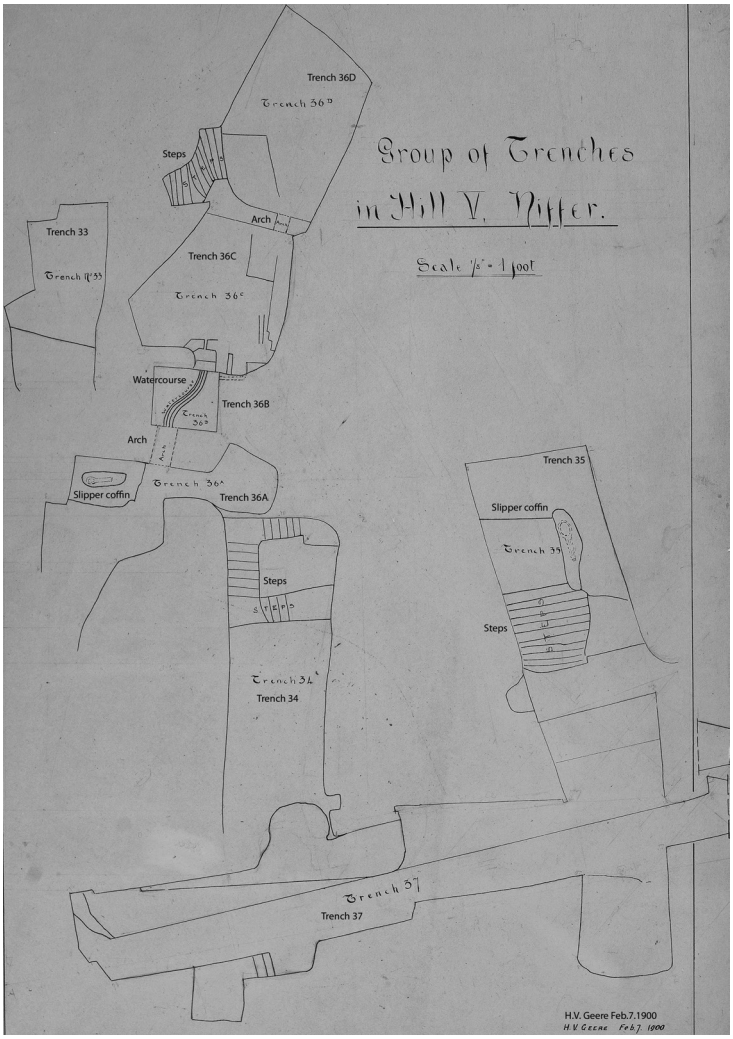

Figure 26: Trenches 33–37, Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 7 February 1900 (UoPMA M-23–4, no. 1).

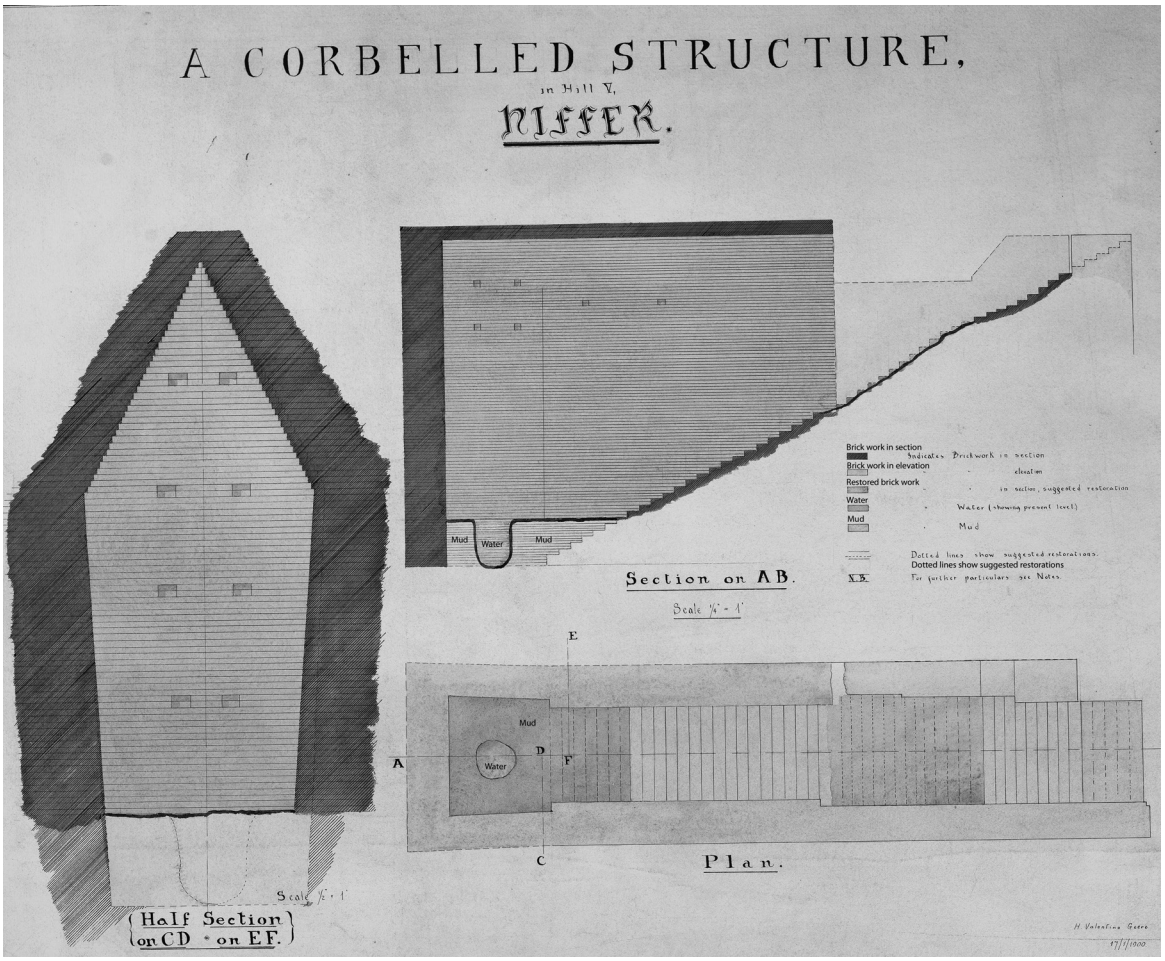

Figure 27: A corbel tomb on Mound V, Season IV. Drawn by H.V. Geere 17 January 1900 (UoPMA M-23–3, no. 24).

Subsequent excavations on Mound V

With the unfortunate Peters/ Hilprecht argument running, interest in further excavations at Nippur disappeared. However, visitors did travel to the site. In 1904 Edgar J. Banks, on his way back from his season at Bismaya (Adab) visited Nippur. He described the site. He wrote that while 'The sandstorms at Bismaya would fill our deepest trenches in a single night, but at Nippur the trenches were as empty and as clean as they had been left years before. The court of columns (i.e. Trench I) seemed as if it had just been excavated' [Banks 1912: 358]. Hall saw Nippur in 1919 and was struck by the scale of the remains [1930: 63–4]. He was equally struck by the evidence of the excavation techniques that had been used at Nippur. He wrote that the excavated remains of the temple gave 'a good idea of the complicated type of excavation followed by the American diggers, with its undercut mining-galleries, its corridors and tunnels, its earth-cut steps for the workmen, its arches to support higher strata that it was desired to preserve, and so forth. It looks rather like a cross between a Kimberley diamond mine and a fantastic gnome's castle of Sime's[22] devising' [*ibid.*, 64].

An aerial photograph of Nippur taken by an RAF pilot in 1930, 30 years after the excavations closed at Nippur, shows the area of the main excavations in the east and west sections on Mound V (Figure 26). The disturbed area in which the excavations of Seasons One and Two took place on the north western knoll of Mound V can also be seen.

22) Sidney Sime (1867–1941) was an illustrator famous for his drawings on fantastic themes.

Figure 28: An RAF aerial view of Mound V to the south and Mound III (Temple Mound) to the north, taken 5 December 1930 (Published by courtesy of the University College London).

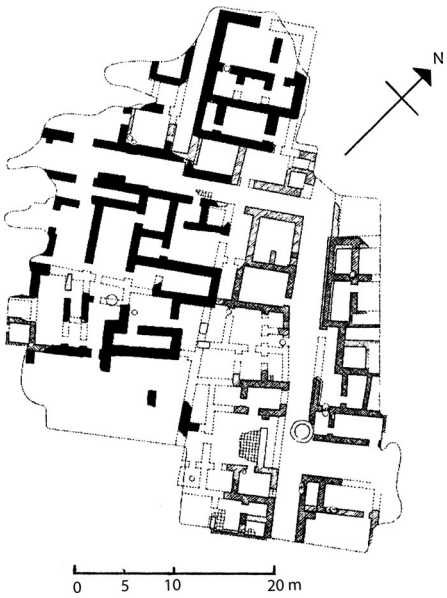

Figure 29: A composite plan of the housing remains excavated in 1900 in the 'East Section' and Area TB in 1953/4 [after McCown et al. 1967: Pl. 64].

Four further seasons of excavations have been conducted on Mound V. Between 1948 and 1952 the Joint Expedition to Nippur of The University Museum of Philadelphia and The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago excavated at Nippur. In the course of the work they re-opened the East Section trench of the Third Season, renaming the trench Area TB [McCown *et al*. 1967: 34]. They also opened a new trench nearer the centre of the mound naming it Area TA [*ibid.*]. Both areas suffered from disturbed stratigraphy caused by University of Pennsylvania trenches and tunnels. Both, however, revealed a series of levels of housing in which tablets were found [*ibid.*, 34–149]. The sequence in area TA ran from the late Ur III to the neo-Babylonian/ Achaemenid periods. In area TB it ran from the Akkadian to Old Babylonian. The relatively low grade quality of the buildings [*ibid.*, 34–40] reflects the domestic nature of the structures and echoes the comments made by the earlier Pennsylvania excavators. Indeed in area TB the TB Levels E and D, dated to the Old Babylonian period, were linked by the excavators [*ibid.*, 62–3 and Pl. 64, Figure 27] to the plans published for the east section by Fisher (Figure 11 above). In their conclusions, McCown *et al*. [1967: 148–9] suggested that the area was a 'Scribal Quarter' where scribes lived and acted as teachers for those seeking to learn to read and write cuneiform.

In a major re-evaluation of the evidence from areas TA and TB, Stone [1987] demonstrated on the basis of the provenanced tablets from the 1948–52 seasons that during the Old Babylonian period there were differences between the inhabitants of the two areas. Area TA, Stone argued [*ibid.*, 71–4], was home to 'small property owners [*ibid.*, 71], while Area TB was occupied by 'landless administrators [*ibid.*, 101] and showed how the 'Ur III bureaucracy was transformed in the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods' [*ibid.*, 103]. Administrative activities shifted from buildings in which no other activity took place to residential structures in which administrators lived and work, but which were owned by the institutions involved in the businesses whose activities are recorded in the texts. Then as the economic crisis of Samsu-iluna's reign took effect, the division between landowners and administrators broke down and the latter were able to buy the properties in which they lived and worked [*ibid.*, 103].

More recently Robson [2001] has demonstrated how an individual house (House F) dated to the Old Babylonian Period in Area TA was used as a scribal school. She has also illustrated in detail how property inheritance operated at that time using House F as a well documented example [*ibid.*].

Mound V was investigated for a fifth time in the XVIth season of excavations at Nippur, under Gibson's direction, when Trench TC was opened in the middle of Mound V [Gibson 1985: 23–27; Armstrong 1989: 47–53 and 258–68, Figures 13–23; Gibson 1994]. The trench was opened adjacent to area TA with the objective of evaluating and refining the pottery sequence developed on the basis of the TA results and to link the Kassite pottery found in WC to the general sequence [Gibson 1985: 23–27; Armstrong 1989: 48; Gibson 1994]. The architectural remains the two areas were found to be linked in TC VII/ TA VII, TC VI/ TA VII, TC V/ TA VI, TC IV/ TA V and TC IV/ TA IV [Armstrong 1989: 52–3 and 264–8]. Some tablets were recovered, but not in great quantities.

Provenances for tablets in Seasons I–IV

Unfortunately the records are such that it is not possible to link any tablet to a specific provenance. The descriptions are either too sparse to be of much help (e.g. in the finds register, dig record or Haynes' letters) or generic as seen in the Geere/ Fisher manuscript above.

The generic description of find spots was continued in the published accounts of the excavations. Hilprecht and Geere commented on the general provenances of the tablets excavated in Mound V. Hilprecht wrote 'The tablets occurred in a stratum from one foot to four feet thick at an average depth of twenty to twenty-four feet below the surface. They frequently were badly mutilated and chipped off, and lay in all possible positions on the floor of the ruined chambers, upon low fragmentary clay ledges extending along the walls, and in the rubbish that filled the corridors and open courts of the vast building. In some of the rooms which produced especially large numbers of tablets, they were found in clusters, 'interlacing, overlapping, lying flatwise, edgewise, endwise, two, three, four deep', so that it was very apparent that they had been stored upon wooden shelves, whence they were precipitated when the roof collapsed and the walls cracked and fell" [Hilprecht 1903: 513–4]. He added that 'The 'books' required for instruction, reference and general reading as a rule were unbaked clay tablets stored on shelves, or sometimes deposited in jars. The shelves were made either of wood, – as ordinarily was the case also in the business houses on the western side of the Chebar, – or of clay, for which rooms Nos 1–3 ... [in] the northeast portion of the temple Library offer appropriate examples. These clay ledges were built up in crude bricks to a height of nearly twenty inches from the apparent floor level, and on average were about one and a half feet wide. Two of the rooms (Nos. 1 and 3) yielded tablets and fragments by the thousands, and are among the largest thus far excavated in 'Tablet Hill'. To preserve the fragile 'books' from dampness, the clay shelves were probably covered with matting or with a coating of bitumen' [*ibid.*, 522–3].

Geere [1903: 100–1] published a summary of the provenances of the tablets writing that 'The majority of the tablets were unbaked, and therefore remarkably perishable. To keep them from damp, they were stored either upon wooden shelves or on ledges of brickwork which were coated with bitumen. Of the shelves no traces remained, but a few of the benches were discovered with tablets still in position upon them' [Geere 1903: 100–1].

The evidence for the physical storage of the tablets in the private houses of Mound V is slight, but extant. Veenhof [1986: 4–11] and Pedersén [1998: 241–4] have summarised the manner in which tablets were kept. These include being stacked on wooden shelves or on mud benches; in mud brick niches or even just in baskets on the floor. All these methods of storage were practised at Nippur and evidence for most excavated in Seasons I–IV.

Sources for the provenances of the tablets

On 4 April 1888 CBS 1, a pottery vessel, was the first object registered in the CBS Catalogue. In a comment to the entry Hilprecht has noted that the pot had been 'Bought by Mrs H.V. Hilprecht from an Arab and presented to the U[niversity] of Pe[nnsylvania] as the first object in the Baby[lonian] Museum'. Thereafter objects and tablets formally excavated at Nippur or less formally at sites visited

by members of the Nippur excavation team; and tablets and objects bought by various persons were entered into the register. The vast majority of the objects came from Nippur with a large batch from Ur. In all twenty thousand items were registered.

The list of tablets (Appendix A) with recorded provenances at Mound V has been compiled using the data in the CBS catalogue complemented by statements made when some of the tablets were published. The result is a list of just over 1000 tablets of which c. 45% have been published. This is, of course, a fraction of the actual number of tablets excavated from Mound V. However, records were not kept of the tablet provenances or if they were they were lost when the boxes in which they were shipped to Philadelphia were opened. The provenances of the tablets in Istanbul are not known. The list also records tablet joins as well as any marginalia or substantive comments written in the CBS catalogue. A bibliography of each tablet is given, but does not claim to be exhaustive though I have tried to record the CTSL and CDLI reference numbers as far as possible.

The CBS Catalogue is a deeply flawed document and not to be trusted absolutely. Westenholz (e-mail 9 October 2013) comments that 'the CBS Catalogue is so unreliable that nothing much can be built on that'. He adds that 'In cases where information [on the provenance of an excavated object] is available the CBS [Catalogue] is wrong in about one out of three' [*ibid.*][23]. The majority of the entries for written materials were made by Hilprecht who used the catalogue to foster his version of events and to continue his criticisms of Peters. This is particularly apparent in the entries for the more spectacular items. Run of the mill tablets are treated less partially. Overall the CBS catalogue has to be read critically, but it does provide a source, flawed though it is, for information on the provenance of the objects found at Nippur. At the very least it provides an insight into what Hilprecht judged were the tablets that were found in the infamous 'library'. It is ironic that despite the claims made for the scale of the 'library' and the bitterness of the arguments surrounding it so few tablets were identified as having come from it.

Hilprecht made many of the early entries (up until 1910 when Hilprecht left his post) in his distinctive fine hand identified by an autographed explanation on the format of the catalogue on its front page. The identities of those making other entries before 1910 and after 1910 cannot be discerned. Many of the earlier entries have a Ni. Number recorded and in a small set the numbers assigned by Harper during the first season are also listed. The season of excavation is noted in many instances. Crucially in the context of this discussion an attempt to record the provenances of a proportion of the tablets is noted. This is no more specific than 'Tablet Hill' or 'Temple Library' often with the qualifier – 'East side of Shatt-en-Nil'. Occasionally there is additional comment – 'upper stratum' or 'western side'. In addition in the publication of some of the tablets, comments are made on their provenance which is not always reflected in the CBS Catalogue. We can only assume that this information was the product of discussion with the excavator. Tablets with provenances listed for Mound V either in the CBS Catalogue or in publications are listed in Appendix A.

Discussion

The terms 'library' and 'archive' have been loosely used in Mesopotamian studies [Veenhof 1986: 4–11; Pedersén 1998: 2–5; Robson 2013: 38–41]. This is certainly true of the Mound V tablets from Seasons I–IV. In the event it is probable that both libraries and archives were found in the mound, but that neither were directly linked to the Nippur temple complex. The libraries, almost exclusively Old Babylonian in date, consisted of tablets used in the teaching of trainee scribes[24]. The archives,

23) An example is CBS 3874 which Haynes reported on 1 November 1896 was found in Mound III, contrary to the CBS entry which suggests that it was found in the IVth Season of excavations.

24) Waetzoldt *et al.* [2009: 299–305] discusses the genre of texts used in Old Babylonian schools.

which were primarily Old Babylonian with smaller numbers of neo-Babylonian and Persian documents, consisted of letters and associated records linked to business activities. Both could co-exist in a single property. This has been well illustrated by Robson [2001] who analysed the close detail of one of the houses in area TA, House F. In the building nearly 1500 tablets were found. The burden of the documents were the literary texts [718, *ibid.*, 50–9] followed by the school scripts [591, *ibid.*, 45–50] with just under 200 non-school or unidentified tablets [*ibid.*, 43, Fig. 7]. The building, like other school institutions[25)], had recycling bins [*ibid.*, 44] for used tablets. To a lesser extent (in terms of sheer numbers) a similar mix of school and business documents was found in Old Babylonian houses at Sippar [Al-Rawi *et al.*: 2000: 5–7]. The nature of the excavations and record keeping in the 1889–1900 seasons at Nippur, means that it is not possible to identify documents from specific contexts and thus removes the possibility of defining specific libraries. Further it makes the work of identifying discrete business archives (usually on the basis of prosopographical evidence) very difficult. There is absolutely no route towards identifying possible co-locations of specific libraries and archives.

Conclusions

The 1889–1900 seasons of excavations at Mound V, Nippur uncovered a huge quantity of tablets. However, such were the poor standards of record keeping that of the several thousand tablets found scarcely a thousand may now be said with some certainty to have come from the mound. In addition beyond a general view that the tablets were found in private houses in a variety of contexts including on wooden shelves or mud-brick benches, little may be said of the original contexts. The Geere/ Fisher report provides the best sense of where tablets were found and as such is a useful document.

It has been said before, but is worth stating again. It is clear that evidence for a 'Temple Library' has not been found at Mound V, Nippur. What was excavated was a remarkable collection of documents dated largely to the Old Babylonian period, but including some of the neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. School texts are perhaps the most important documents from Mound V preserving Old Babylonian learning and literature, but the business archives reveal some of the daily concerns of some of the inhabitants of Mound V. The Kassite period is notable for its absence, though of course features heavily on Mound X on the other side of the Shat en-Nil.

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25) See Lucas [1979] for a description of what may have been the daily grind at a Babylonian scribal school.

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Notes on Appendix A

The following conventions are followed in Appendix A:

Column 2: CBS tablet number.
Column 3: Harper number if known.
Column 4: Ni did number if known.
Column 5: Excavation season.
Column 6: Tablet joins (the entries for those tablets joined to an earlier one in the sequence are noted in italics).
Column 7: Date of accession (B.E.F. – Babylonian Exploration Fund; HVH – Hermann V. Hilprecht).
Column 8: Details of the provenance as provided by the CBS catalogue.
Column 9: A limited bibliography.
Column 10: The date of the tablet (Ach. – Achaemenid; ED. – Early Dynastic; e.OB. – early Old Babylonian; MB. – Middle Babylonian; n.Bab. – neo-Babylonian; n/k. – Not Known; OB. – Old Babylonian).
Column 11: The type of tablet (Acct. – Accounting; Adm. – Administrative; Inc. – Incantation; Leg. – Legal; Lex. – Lexical; Lit. – Literary; Math. – Mathematical; Met. – Metrical; Mon. – Monumental; Pray. – Prayer; Roy. – Royal; Sch. – School; Sci. – Scientific).
Column 12: Various comments including those found in the CBS catalogue and noted in quotation marks.

Throughout, to avoid repetition any comment duplicated in a subsequent CBS Catalogue entry is referred back to the CBS number at which the original comment first appears.

Appendix A: List of the tablets (with joins) listed in the CBS catalogue as having come from Tablet Hill. The list includes a summary bibliography for each tablet.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
1	1205		253	I	CBS 1837 + 1839 + 2161 + 2166 + 2347 + N 839 + 3033 + 3037 + HS 1603.	B.E.F. 16:03:95.	No details.	Radau 1911: 86–7, Text 6 and 8, Pls. 10 and 13; van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 14, T and 15, G1; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.2; CDLI P258539.	OB.	Lit.	Provenance by join.
2	*1837*			*I*	*CBS 1205.*	*HVH. 24:10:92.*					*CBS Catalogue annotated 'bought by Professor Hilprecht in Hillah and Baghdad 1889 and said to have come from Abu Habba but possibly or [...] some came from Nippur'.*
3	1838			I	CBS 9197	CBS 1837.	No details.	Heimpel 1981: 73, Text U, Pls. XIV-V; ECTSL 2006: 4.14.1; CDLI P259142.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 1837. The provenance is through the join to CBS 9197.
4	*1839*			*I*	*CBS 1205.*	*CBS 1837*					*CBS 1837.*
5	2133		39	I		B.E.F. 12:11:07.	Upper stratum of Tablet Hill. E[ast]. side of Shatt en-Nil.	CDLI P259216.	nB.	n/k.	
6	2134		40	I		B.E.F. 14:11:07.	CBS 2133.	CDLI P259217.	nB.	n/k.	
7	2135		41	I	CBS 19829 (+) 6429.	CBS 2134.	East of Shatt-[en-Nil], exact place unknown.	Chiera 1929: 7 and 118, no. 236; Reiner 1976: 96. Z1; Sjöberg 1973: 1, no. 4; ETCSL 2006: 2.6.2.1; CDLI 229337 and CDLI P259218.	OB.	Lit/ Lex.	
8	2136		42	I	CBS 12644.	CBS 2134.	Tablet Hill, E[ast]. side of Shatt en-Nil.	Landsberger *et al.* 1967: 66; Pobel 1914: no. 139, Pl. LXX; CDLI P227865.	OB.	Lex.	CBS Catalogue annotated in Hilprecht's hand - 'Dr Peters in going over the tablets with me after his return from the second expedition informed me, that the lot beginning with 2136 ff. Was excavated by the first expedition during the last few (...) days'.
9	2137		43	I		CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	CDLI P227866.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 2136.
10	2138		44	I		CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	CDLI P227867.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 2136.
11	2139		45	I		CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	CDLI P259219.	OB.	Lex..	CBS 2136.
12	2141		47	I		CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	Chiera 1916: 81, no. 11; CDLI P227868.	OB.	Lex.	
13	2142		48	I	CBS 11097a and b.	CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	Hilprecht 1906: 62, no. 24, Pl. 14; Landsberger *et al.* 1967: 122–3, III; Civil 1979: 88, M; Neugebauer 1935: 12, no. 20 and 53, no. 114; CDLI P230029.	e.OB.	Lex.	
14	2143		49	I	CBS 2247 + 2275 + 9870.	CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	Civil 1969: 192, Y; Civil 1971: 13, L; CDLI P227869.	OB.	Lex.	
15	2144		50	I		CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	CDLI P230280.	OB.	Sch.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
16	2145		51	I	CBS 2252 + 2273 + 2276 + UM 29-13-721 + 29-15-369 + 29-15-529.	CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	Poebel 1914: no. 146, Pl. LXXXV; Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 100, no. 206; Civil 1969: 176, Q; Civil 1971: 40, A; CDLI P227870.	OB.	Lex.	
17	2146		52	I		CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	Chiera 1929: 14; Civil 1969: 200, D'; Civil 1971: 16, Y2; CDLI P227871.	OB.	Lex.	
18	2147		53	I	CBS 9848 + N 4856.	CBS 2134.	CBS 2136.	Landsberger *et al*. 1967: 51 S8 and 66 B12; CDLI P227872.	OB.	Lex.	
19	2148		54	I	CBS 2190.	B.E.F. 15:11:07.	CBS 2136.	Peterson 2011b: 254, no. 231.	OB.	Lex.	No CDLI registration.
20	2149		55	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2136.				No CDLI registration.
21	2150		56	I	Ni 4529.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2136.	Radau 1909: 448-8, no. 9, Pl. 11; Kramer 1976: 12 and 29 (Ni. 4529), Lev. 40; ETSL 2006: 1.8.2.3; Cohen 1973: 63, V; Mittermayer 2009: 104, no. Sn, Taf. XVII; CDLI P259221.	OB.	Lit.	
22	2151		57	I	N 4306.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2136.	ECTSL 2006: 5.3.1; CDLI P259222.	OB.	Lit.	
23	2152	58, 3-5-89.	58	I		CBS 1205.	Mound V (?).	Clay 1908: 74, Text 5, Pl. 4; CDLI P259223.	n.Bab.	Leg.	See Clay (1908: 1 and 74) for a discussion of the provenance.
24	2154		60	I	N 2524.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2136.	Langdon 1919: 345, no. 6; Michalowski 1989: 28, B; ETCSL 2006: c.2.2.3; CDLI P259225.	e.OB.	Lit.	
25	2155		61	I	CBS 12690 + N 3204.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2136.	Chiera 1934a: 6 and 8, no. 83, Pl. 85; ETCSL 2006: 1.1.4; Peterson 2011b: 24, No. 9; CDLI P259226.	OB.	Lit.	
26	2156				CBS 2156a + 2250 + 2340.	CBS 2148.	No details.	Chiera 1934: 1 and 8, Pls. 4-5; Alster 1978: 102--112; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.07; CDLI P231619.	OB.	Lex.	Provenance by join.
27	*2156a*				*CBS 2156.*	Nil.	No details.				
28	2157		63	IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 15:11:07.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 9, no. 8; Landsberger 1957: 6 S17; Peterson 2008: 46; CDLI P227873.	OB.	Lex.	
29	2158		64	IV		CBS 2148.	Tablet Hill, E[ast] side of Shatt [en-Nil].	Civil 1965: 1, J and 9-10; CDLI P259227.	e.OB.	Leg.	
30	2159		65	IV	CBS 2176 + 2200 + 2236 + 11000 + 11068 + 11073 + 19810 + N 4111 + UM 29-15-366.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Chiera 1916: 167, no. 1; CDLI P227882.	e.OB.	Lex.	
31	2160		66	IV	N 5487.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Alster 1972: 46, n2, Pl. XI; ETCSL 2006: 1.4.3; CDLI P259228.	e.OB.	Lit.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
32	*2161*		*67*	*I*	*CBS 1205.*	*CBS 2148.*	*Tablet Hill, E[ast] side of Shatt[en-Nil].*				
33	2162		68	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.				No CDLI registration.
34	2163		69	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Sigrist 1980: 105, fn. 4 and 112; CDLI P259230.	e.OB.	Lex.	
35	2164		70	I	CBS 2188 + 2207 + 2215.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Chiera 1934: 4 and 8, no. 58, Pl. 64; CDLI P259231.	e.OB.	Lit.	
36	2165		71	I	CBS 2174 + 2212 + 2346 + 2355 + N 5445.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Civil 1969: 175, B; CDLI P227874.	e.OB.	Lex.	
37	*2166*		*72*	*I*	*CBS 1205.*	*CBS 2148.*	*CBS 2161.*				
38	2167		73	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	al-Fouadi 1969: 55, EE; ETCSL 2006: 1.1.4; CDLI P259233.	e.OB.	Lit.	
39	2168		74	I	CBS 2202 + 11327 + 12738 + 13386 + N 1889.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Myhrman 1911: 10, no. 4; Langdon 1919: 345, no. 14; Chiera 1934a: 7 and 8, no. 116, Pl. 109; Benito 1969: 20, A; ECTSL 2006: 1.1.2; Lambert 2013: 335, a, Pls. 57–9; CDLI P259234.	e.OB.	Lit.	
40	2169		75	I	CBS 3879.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	CDLI P259235.	e.OB.	Lit.	
41	2170		76	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	CDLI P259236.	e.OB.	Lit.	
42	2171		77	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Zgoll 1997: 196–7 and 569; ETCSL 2006: 4.07.2; CDLI P227875.	e.OB.	Lit.	
43	2172		78	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.				No CDLI registration.
44	2173		79	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Westenholz 1975: vi; CDLI P221633.	ED IIIb.	Adm?	
45	*2174*		*80*	*I*	*CBS 2165.*	*CBS 2148.*	*CBS 2158.*				
46	2175		81	I	CBS 11018.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Chiera 1929: 7, Pls. 117–8, nos. 233–4; Landsberger *et al.* 1970: 54, V6 and 144, F; CDLI P227876.	OB.	Lex.	
47	*2176*		*82*	*I*	*CBS 2159.*	*CBS 2148.*	*CBS 2158.*				
48	2177		83	I		CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	CDLI P227878.	e.OB.	Lex.	
49	2178		84	I	CBS 2258 + N 5491 (+) CBS 9802 + N 1866 + 4131 + 5280 + 5464.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 29, no. 37 and 4, Pls. 36–7, no.46; Landsberger *et al.* 1960: 82, V42 and V52; Landsberger *et al.* 1967: 41, V1 and V19; CDLI P227892.	e.OB.	Lex.	
50	2179		85	I	N 4312 + 4317.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Landsberger *et al.* 1967: 66, B09; CDLI P227879.	e.OB.	Lex.	
51	2180		86	I	CBS 19795 + N 3062.	CBS 2148.	CBS 2158.	Chiera 1934: 6 and 8, no. 81, Pl. 88; Sjöberg 1975: 165, F; ETCSL 2006: 4.07.3; CDLI P259238.	n/k.	Sci.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
52	2181		87	I	CBS 2229 + 2255 + UM 29-13-720.	B.E.F. 18:11:07.	CBS 2158.	Civil 1969: 30, U' and 176, M; CDLI P227880.	e.OB.	Lex.	
53	2182		88	I	UM 29-15-458 + N 5764.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 59, no. 118; Peterson 2009b: 93-100, Pl. XXV; CDLI P227881.	e.OB.	Lex.	
54	2183		89	I	CBS 2199.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	CDLI P259239.	e.OB.	Lit.	
55	2184		90	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.		OB.	n/k.	No CDLI registration.
56	2185		91	I	CBS 9862.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Edzard *et al*. 1976: 141; ETCSL 2006: 4.06.1; CDLI P265165.	e.OB.	Lit.	
57	2186		92	I	CBS 2331.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Sjöberg 1972: 108-9 and 118, no. 2, Pl. 4; ECTSL 2006: 5.4.11; CDLI P259241.	e.OB.	Lit.	
58	2187		93	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	CDLI P 259242.	MB.	n/k.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) notes that the ductus and script are not MB.
59	*2188*		*94*	*I*	*CBS 2164.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2158.*				
60	2189		95	I	CBS 2277 + 2297a.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Radau 1913: 65, no. 10, Pl. 17; CDLI P259244.	OB.	Lit.	Radau (1913: 65, no. 10) notes that the tablet was from 'Tablet Hill.'
61	*2190*		*96*	*I*	*CBS 2148.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2158.*				
62	2191		97	I	UM 29-16-789 (+) CBS 2329.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	ECTSL 2006: 2.2.2; Samet 2010; Peterson 2011b: 122-3, No. 103; CDLI P259246.	e.OB.	Lit.	
63	2192		98	I	N 2709 + 7892 + UM 29-13-687.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	ECTSL 2006: 5.3.1; CDLI P259247.	e.OB.	Lit.	
64	2193		99	I	CBS 2238 + 11401.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Radau 1909: 446, no. 2, pls. 1-3; ETCSL 2006:.2.5.3.1; CDLI P259248.	e.OB.	Lit.	
65	2194		100	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Benito 1969: 83, Q; ETCSL 2006: 1.1.3; CDLI P259249.	e.OB.	Lit.	
66	2195		101	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	ETCSL 2006: 4.80.2; CDLI P259250.	e.OB.	Lit.	
67	2196		102	I	CBS 2205 + 2293.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Radau 1911: 87, Text 13: Pls. 15 and VI; van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 17, Z2 and 19, W4; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.2 and 2.4.2.02; CDLI P259251.	e.OB.	Lit.	
68	2197		103	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	CDLI P259252.	e.OB.	n/k.	
69	2198		104	I	CBS 9800 + Ist Ni 368.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2158.	Chiera 1924: 37-9, no. 53, Pls. LXXI-II; Kramer 1951: 1; Sladek 1974: 100, C2; CDLI P345344.	OB.	Lit.	
70	*2199*		*105*	*I*	*CBS 2183.*		*CBS 2158.*				
71	*2200*		*106*	*I*	*CBS 2159.*	*CBS 2148.*	*CBS 2158.*				
72	2201		107	I	N 3075 + 3129.	CBS 2181.	Tablet Hill, E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil.	CDLI P259256.	e.OB.	Lit.	
73	*2202*		*108*	*I*	*CBS 2168.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
74	2203		109	I	CBS 13107.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 105, no. 126; Alster 2005: 49, C2; ECTSL 2006: 5.6.1; CDLI P259258.	e.OB.	Lit.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
75	2204		110	I/ IV	CBS 2270 + 2302 + 19751 + N 3144.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Radau 1909: 455–6, no. 20, Pl. XIV; Barton 1918: 67, no. 6; ETCSL 2006: 2.2.2; CDLI P259259.	e.OB.	Lit.	
76	*2205*		*111*	*I*	*CBS 2196.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
77	2206		112	I	UM 29-15-341.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Ali 1964: 92–8; Alster 1987; ETCSL 2006: 3.3.03; Kleinerman 2011: xx; CDLI P259261.	e.OB.	Lit.	
78	*2207*		*113*	*I*	*CBS 2164.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
79	2208		114	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P230725.	n/k.	Lex.	
80	2209		115	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Berlin 1979: 34, CC; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.2.4; CDLI P259263.	e.OB.	Lit.	
81	2210		116	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Peterson 2011b: 17–8, No. 1; CDLI P259264.	e.OB.	Lit.	
82	2211		117	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P227883.	e.OB.	Lex.	
83	*2212*		*118*	*I*	*CBS 2165.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
84	2213		119	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Cooper 1983: 68, D; ETCSL 2006: 2.1.5; CDLI P259266.	e.OB.	Lit.	
85	2214		120	I	CBS 2284.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Chiera 1934a: 6 and 8, no. 94, Pl. 93; ETCSL 2006: 1.5.1; CDLI P259267.	e.OB.	Lit.	
86	*2215*		*121*	*I*	*CBS 2164.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
87	2216		122	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	ETCSL 2006: 1.1.4; CDLI P259269.	e.OB.	Lit.	
88	2217		123	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.		n/k.	n/k.	No CDLI registration.
89	2218		124	I	CBS 2334 + N 3335 + 3369 + 4226.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P259270.	e.OB.	Lit.	
90	2219		125	I	UM 29-13-591 + 29-15-362.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P259271.	e.OB.	Lit.	
91	2220		126	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Alster 1997, i: 165, B, Pl. 52; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.08; CDLI P231621.	OB.	Lex.	
92	2221		127	I	N 3201.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P259272.	OB.	n/k.	
93	2222		128	I	CBS 2279.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Poebel 1914: no. 20, Pl. XI; Chiera 1934: 3 and 8, no. 31, Pl. 33; Michalowski 1989: 28, C; ETCSL 2006: 2.2.3; CDLI P259273.	OB.	Lit.	
94	2223		129	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Radau 1909: 449, no. 10, pl. 12; Sjöberg 1973a: 28, L; ECTSL 2006: 4.28.1; CDLI P259274.	OB.	Lit.	
95	2224		130	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 99, no. 104; Sjöberg *et al*. 1969: 14, Ja; ETCSL 2006: 4.80.1; CDLI P259275.	OB.	Lit.	
96	2225		131	I	N 3333 + 3542.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Barton 1918: 67, no. 12; ETCSL 2006: 4.13.b; CDLI P259276.	OB.	Lit.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
97	2226		132	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Radau 1909: 448, no. 7, pl. 9; Benito 1969: 83, M; ETCSL 2006: 1.1.3; CDLI P259277.	e.OB.	Lit.	
98	*2227*		*133*	*I*	*CBS 2189.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
99	2228		134	I	N 3022.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Radau 1909: 448, no. 6, pl. 8; ECTSL 2006: 5.3.2; CDLI P259279.	OB.	Lit.	
100	*2229*		*135*	*I*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
101	2230		136	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Stone 1976: 5, no. 45; CDLI P259281.	OB.	Leg.	
102	2231		137	I	UM 29-15-384.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Poebel 1914: no. 65, Pl. XXVIII; Ali 1964: 113-6; Michalowski 1976: 243-251; Sjöberg 1992: 71, a-ga-bal; Frayne 1992; ECTSL 2006: 3.2.03, 5.4.11 and 5.7.A; Kleinerman 2011: xxi, no. 35; CDLI P230798.	n/k.	Lex.	
103	2232		138	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P259282.	e.OB.	n/k.	
104	2233		139	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P259283.	e.OB.	n/k.	
105	2234		140	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	CDLI P227884.	e.OB.	Lex.	
106	2235		141	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Veldhuis 1997: 318, Ni II-265; CDLI P227885.	OB.	Lex.	
107	*2236*		*142*	*I*	*CBS 2159.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
108	2237		143	I		CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Radau 1911: 87, Text 10: Pls. 14 and VI; van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 17, Y2; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.2; CDLI P259285.	e.OB.	Lit.	
109	*2238*		*144*	*I*	*CBS 2193.*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2201.*				
110	2240		146	I	CBS 7070 + N 3678.	CBS 2181.	CBS 2201.	Castellino 1972: 28, Q; ECTSL 2006: 2.4.2.02; CDLI P259288.	e.OB.	Lit.	
111	2241		147	I	CBS 9850 + 9851 + 11394 + N 4631 + 5222.	B.E.F., 19:11:07.	CBS 2201.	Langdon 1917: 39, no. 9; Cheira 1929: 5, no. 102: Pl. 55; Civil 1969: 28, A; CDLI P227886.	e.OB.	Lex.	
112	2242		148	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2201.	Alster 1997, i: 144, Pl. 39; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02.			No CDLI registration.
113	2243		149	I	CBS 11072 + N 3093.	CBS 2241.	CBS 2201.	Cavigneaux 2007: 172; CDLI P231387.	OB.	Lex.	
114	2244		150	I	UM 29-15-420 + N 3081.	CBS 2241.	CBS 2201.	Ferrara 1973: 36, D; Chiera 1934a: 6 and 8, no. 99, Pl. 97; ETCSL 2006: 1.5.1; Peterson 2011b: 59-60, No. 42; CDLI P259289.	OB.	Lit.	
115	2246		152	I		CBS 2241.	E[ast]. side of Shatt en-Nil, Tablet Hill.	CDLI P259291.	e.OB.	Sch.	
116	*2247*		*153*	*I*	*CBS 2143.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2246.*				
117	2248		154	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2246.	CDLI P259293.	e.OB.	Lit.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
118	2249		155	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2246.	Radau 1909: 449–50, no. 13, pls. 16 and X; CDLI P259294.	e.OB.	Lit.	
119	*2250*		*156*	*I*	*CBS 2156.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2246.*				
120	2251		157	I	CBS 2274.	CBS 2241.	Tablet Hill, E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil.	CDLI P227888.	e.OB.	Lex.	
121	*2252*		*158*	*I*	*CBS 2145.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
122	2253		159	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259297.	e.OB.	Lit.	
123	2254		160	I	CBS 2361 + 3871 + 19792 + UM 29-13-590.	CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Poebel 1914: no. 147, Pl. LXXV; Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 52, no. 100; Civil 1969: 29, Kp, 31 I" and 191, W; CDLI P227889.	e.OB.	Lex.	
124	*2255*		*161*	*I*	*CBS 2181.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
125	2256		162	I	(+) CBS 2305 + N 4546	CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 6, no. 5; Civil 1969: 30, B', 192, X; CDLI P227890.	e.OB.	Lex.	
126	2257		163	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P227891.	e.OB.	Lex.	
127	*2258*		*164*	*I*	*CBS 2178.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
128	2259		165	I	CBS 2341 + 11069 + N 1835 + 4576 + 5178.	CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Poebel 1914: no. 153, Pl. LXXXII; Civil 1971: 13, M; CDLI P227893.	e.OB.	Lex.	
129	2260		166	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1929: 14; Veldhuis 1997: 293, Ni II-020; CDLI P227894.	OB.	Lex.	
130	2261		167	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Civil 1971: 15, J2; Veldhius 1997: 298, Ni II-020; CDLI P227895.	OB.	Lex.	
131	2262		168	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Peterson 2011a: 260; CDLI P227896.	e.OB.	Lex.	
132	2263		169	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Veldhuis 1997: 313, Ni II-217; CDLI P227897.	OB.	Lex.	
133	2264		170	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 85, no. 176; Veldhius 1997: 305, Ni II-098; CDLI P227898.	e.OB.	Lex.	
134	2265		171	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P227899.	e.OB.	Lex.	
135	2266		172	I	CBS 2301 + 8803 + 8803a + 11300 + N 921.	CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Poebel 1914: no. 132, Pl.s. LXIV and CXVII; CDLI P259300.	n.Bab.	Lex/ Lit.	Information on type courtesy of Dr. J. Peterson, October 2014.
136	2267		173	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P227900.	e.OB.	Lex.	
137	2268		174	I	CBS 2277 + 2300.	CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Legrain 1922: 80, No. 45: Pl. XVIII; Green 1984: 255, D and L; ETCSL 2006: 2.2.5; CDLI P259301.	OB.	Lit.	
138	2269		175	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Stone 1976: 6, no. 63; CDLI P259302.	OB.	Leg.	
139	*2270*		*176*	*I*	*CBS 2204.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
140	2271		177	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1914: 109, no. 88; CDLI P259304.	e.OB.	Adm.	
141	2272		178	I		CBS 2241.	CBS 2251.	Legrain 1922: 30, No. 9: Pl. IV; Michalowski 1976: 243–251; ETCSL 2006: 3.1.17; Michalowski 2011: 416–32, no. 21, N2; CDLI P259305.	e.OB.	Lit.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
142	*2273*		*179*	*I*	*CBS 2145.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
143	*2274*		*180*	*I*	*CBS 2251.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
144	*2275*		*181*	*I*	*CBS 2143.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
145	*2276*		*182*	*I*	*CBS 2145.*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 2251.*				
146	*2277*		*183*	*I*	*CBS 2268.*	*B.E.F. 21:11: 07.*	*CBS 2251.*				
147	2278		184	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1934: 5, Pl. 77, no. 67; Tinney 1996: 92, N16; ECTSL 2006: 2.2.4; CDLI P259311.	e.OB.	Lit.	
148	*2279*		*185*	*I*	*CBS 2222.*	*CBS 2277.*	*CBS 2251.*				
149	2280		186	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259313.	e.OB.	n/k.	
150	2281	5a, 3−19 −89.	187	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Radau 1909: 450, no. 14, pl. 17; CDLI P259314.	e.OB.	Lit.	
151	2282		188	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P227901.	OB.	Lex.	
152	2283		189	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259315.	OB.	Adm.	
153	*2284*		*190*	*I*	*CBS 2214.*	*CBS 2277.*	*CBS 2251.*				
154	2287		193	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259319.	OB.	Leg.	
155	2288		194	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259230.	OB.	Adm.	
156	2289		195	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1914: 108, no. 84; CDLI P259321.	OB.	n/k.	
157	2290		196	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259322.	OB.	Adm.	
158	2291		197	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Cohen 1973: 63, W; Mittermayer 2009: 105, no. Tn, Taf. XI; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.2.3; CDLI P259323.	OB.	Lit.	
159	2292		198	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	ETCSL 2006: 2.5.4.01; CDLI P259324.	OB.	Lit.	
160	*2293*		*199*	*I*	*CBS 2196.*	*CBS 2277.*	*CBS 2251.*				
161	2294		200	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259326.	OB.	Adm.	
162	2295		201	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Stone 1976: 5, no. 53; CDLI P259327.	OB.	Leg.	
163	2297		203	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259330.	Ach.	Adm.	
164	*2297a*				*CBS 2189.*	*CBS 2277.*					
165	2298		204	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P230726.	n/k.	Lex.	
166	2299		205	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259331.	e.OB.	n/k.	
167	*2300*		*206*	*I*	*CBS 2268.*	*CBS 2277.*	*CBS 2251.*				
168	*2301*		*207*	*I*	*CBS 2266.*	*CBS 2277.*	*CBS 2251.*				
169	*2302*		*208*	*I*	*CBS 2204.*	*CBS 2277.*	*CBS 2251.*				
170	2303		209	I	CBS 13395 + N 3217.	CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1934: 5 and 8, no. 126, Pl. 105; Tinney 1996: 90, N2; ETCSL 2006: 2.2.4; CDLI P268475.	OB.	Lit.	
171	2304		210	I	CBS 9860.	CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1919: 272, no. 30, Pl. 85; Peterson 2011a: 270; CDLI P227902.	e.OB.	Lex.	
172	*2305*		*211*	*I*	*CBS 2256.*	*CBS 2277.*	*CBS 2251.*				
173	2306		212	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P227903.	e.OB.	Lex.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
174	2307		213	I	CBS 9204 + 9878 + N 2430.	CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1934a: 6 and 8, nos. 95 and 96, Pl. 94; Michalowski 1989: 28, D; ETCSL 2006: 2.2.3; CDLI P259336.	e.OB.	Lit.	
175	2314		220	I		CBS 2277.	CBS 2251.		n/k.	n/k.	No CDLI registration.
176	2328		234	I		B.E.F. 02:12:07.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259337.	MB.	Acct.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) identified the type of text.
177	*2329*		*235*	*I*	*CBS 2191.*	*B.E.F. 22:11:07.*	*CBS 2251.*				
178	2330		236	I		CBS 2329.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259339.	?	n/k.	Difficult to date (pers comm Dr J. Peterson, October 2014).
179	*2331*		*237*	*I*	*CBS 2186.*	*CBS 2329.*	*CBS 2251.*				
180	2332		238	I	(+) CBS 11404 (+) N7688.	B.E.F., 02:12:07.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1916: 169, no.s 25 and 27; Peterson 2011a: 264; CDLI P227677 and P227904.	e.OB.	Lex.	
181	2333		239	I		CBS 2332.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259341.	e.OB.	n/k.	
182	*2334*		*240*	*I*	*CBS 2218.*	*CBS 2332.*	*CBS 2251.*				
183	2335		241	I		CBS 2332.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259343.	MB.	Acct.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) identified the type of text.
184	2336		242	I	N 4638.	CBS 2332.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P227905.	e.OB.	Lex.	
185	2337		243	I		CBS 2332.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259344.	e.OB.	Lit.	
186	2338		244	I		CBS 2332.	CBS 2251.	CDLI P259345.	e.OB.	n/k.	
187	2339		245	I		CBS 2332.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1916: 167, no. 3; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P227906.	e.OB.	Lex.	
188	*2340*		*246*	*I*	*CBS 2156.*	*CBS 2332.*	*CBS 2251.*				
189	*2341*		*247*	*I*	*CBS 2259.*	*CBS 2332.*	*CBS 2251.*				
190	2342		248	I		CBS 2332.	CBS 2251.	Chiera 1916: 167, no. 2; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P227907.	e.OB.	Lex.	
191	2343		249	I		B.E.F. 03:12:07.	CBS 2251.	Sjöberg 1977: 29–32 and 45, no. 7; ETCSL 2006: 2.5.4.04; CDLI P259348.	e.OB.	Lit.	
192	2344		250	I	(+) CBS 14547 + N 3539.	CBS 2343.	CBS 2251.	Poebel 1914a: 209–15, nos. 36 and 37, Pls. XXIII and XXIV; Michalowski 1980: 233, 237–8, 243 and 245, I; Frayne 1993: 55–7, E.2.1.2.7, 95–9, E2.1.4.3 and 103–8, E2.1.4.6; CDLI P227513.	OB.	Mon.	
193	2345		251	I	CBS 2354 + 7071.	CBS 2343.	CBS 2251.	Castellino 1972: 27, B: Pls. I-VI; ECTSL 2006: 2.4.2.02; CDLI P259350.	e.OB.	Lit.	
194	*2346*		*252*	*I*	*CBS 2165.*	*CBS 2343.*	*CBS 2251.*				
195	*2347*		*253*	*I*	*CBS 1205.*	*CBS 2343.*	*CBS 2251.*				
196	*2354*		*260*	*I*	*CBS 2345.*	*CBS 2343.*	*E[ast] side of Shatt-en-Nil.*				
197	*2355*		*261*	*I*	*CBS 2165.*	*CBS 2343.*	*CBS 2354.*				
198	2356		262	I		CBS 2343.	CBS 2354.	Chiera 1914: 109, no. 94, Pls. XLIV-V; CDLI P259361.	e.OB.	Adm.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
199	2357		263	I		CBS 2343.	CBS 2354.	Radau 1909: 451, no. 20, pls. 24–5; Sjöberg 1975: 166, Q; ETCSL 2006: 4.07.3; CDLI P259362.	e.OB.	Lit.	
200	2358		264	I		CBS 2343.	CBS 2354.	Radau 1913: 63, Text 3: Pls. 5–6. and I-II; Alster 1972: 46, w; ETCSL 2006: 1.4.3; CDLI P259363.	e.OB.	Lit.	Radau (1913: 63, no. 3) notes that the tablet was from 'Tablet Hill'.
201	2359		265	I		CBS 2343.	CBS 2354.	Langdon 1917a: 202, no. 19; Michalowski 1989: 28, E; ETCSL 2006: 2.2.3; CDLI P259364.	e.OB.	Lit.	
202	*2361*		*267*	*I*	*CBS 2254*	*CBS 2343.*	*CBS 2354.*				
203	3375		1281	II		B.E.F., 02:03:95.	CBS 2354.	Ungnad 1915: 46, no. 12, Pl. IX; CDLI 259748.	OB.	Let.	
204	3384		1290	II		CBS 3375.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 146–7, no. 13, Pl. 7; CDLI P259757.	OB.	Let.	Poebel (1909: 1) noted that it was found in the south west area of 'Mound IV'.
205	3385	Harper	1291	II		CBS 3375.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI 259758.	e.OB.	Sch.	
206	3402		1308	II		B.E.F., 07:03:07.	Tablet Hill (East side of Shatt en-nil).	CDLI 259775.	OB.	Sch.	The CBS entry is annotated 'older Temple Library' and 'First half of Peters' campaign'.
207	3425		1331	I		B.E.F., 04:11:99.	E[ast] side of Shatt [en-Nil].	Poebel 1909: 46–9 and 146, no. 10, pl. 5; CDLI 259799.	OB.	Leg.	Poebel (1909: 1) states that it was found in the south west area of Mound IV (i.e. Mound V).
208	3426		1332	I	CBS 3426a.	CBS 3425.	CBS 3425.	Poebel 1909: 49–50 and 147, no. 14, Pl. 7; CDLI 259800.	OB.	Leg.	Letter and envelope.
209	*3426a.*				*CBS 3426.*						
210	3430		1336	II		CBS 3425.		Poebel 1909: 20 and 150, no. 44, Pl. 6; CDLI 259804.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 3425.
211	3558		1464	I	Ni 4557 + 9696.	CBS 3425.	Tablet Hill.	Ellis 1979: 217 and 226, no. 7; Peterson 2011b: 192–4, No. 170; Cig *et al.* 1969: 23 and 52 (Ni 9696), p. 109; CDLI 270460.	MB.	Lit.	CDLI reflects Ellis' dating rather than Peterson. Brinkman (pers comm 1999) did not identify the tablet as MB.
212	3585		1491	I		B.E.F., 06:11:99.	No details.	Clay 1908: 80, Text 87: Pl. 36; CDLI 259958.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 80) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
213	3586		1492	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 75, Text 28: Pl. 11; CDLI 259959.	NB.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 75) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
214	3588		1494	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 82, Text 120: Pl. 53; CDLI 259961.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 82) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
215	3590	50, 3–14, 89	1496	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 79, Text 73: Pl. 30; CDLI 259963.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 79) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
216	3591		1497	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 79, Text 77: Pl. 32; CDLI 259964.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 79) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
217	3595		1501	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 79, Text 69: Pl. 29; CDLI 259968.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 79) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V. Harper's mark illegible.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
218	3596	10, 3-14-89	1502	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 80, Text 95: Pl. 39; CDLI 259969.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 80) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
219	3597	10, 2-13-89	1503	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 77, Text 55: Pl. 23; CDLI 259970.	NB.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 77) notes that the tablet may have been from Mound V.
220	3599		1505	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 80, Text 86: Pl. 35; CDLI 259972.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 80) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V. Harper's mark No. 32.
221	3600	17, 2-13-89	1506	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 80, Text 88: Pl. 35; CDLI 259973.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 80) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
222	3601	13, 2-13-89	1507	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 81, Text 71: Pl. 30; CDLI P259974.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 81) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
223	3602		1508	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 79, Text 80: Pl. 33; CDLI 259975.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 79) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
224	3603	51, 13-14-89.	1509	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 80, Text 84: Pl. 34; CDLI 259976.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 80) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V.
225	3604	x, 3-12-89	1510	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 78, Text 66: Pl. 29; CDLI 259977.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 78) notes that the tablet may have been from Mound V.
226	3606		1512	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 81, Text 100: Pl. 41; CDLI 259979.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 81) notes that the tablet may have been from Mound V.
227	3610		1516	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 80, Text 94: Pl. 38; CDLI 259983.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 80) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V. Harper's mark: 9, 2-16-89.
228	3620		1526	I		CBS 3585	No details.	Clay 1908: 78, Text 60: Pl. 25; CDLI 259993.	Ach.	Leg.	See Clay (1908: 1 and 78) for a discussion of the possible provenance on Mound V. Harper's mark: - 14, 2-...-89.
229	3624		1530	I		B.E.F., 07:11:99.	No details.	Clay 1908: 79, Text 78: Pl. 32; CDLI 259997.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 79) notes that the tablet may have been from Mound V. Harper's mark: - 18, 2-12-89.
230	3625		1531	I		CBS 3624.		Clay 1908: 84, Text 146: Pl. 65; CDLI 259998.	NB.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 84) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V. Harper's mark: - 24, 2-1-89.
231	3630		1536	I		CBS 3624.		Clay 1908: 79: Text 76: Pl. 31; CDLI 260003.	Ach.	Leg.	Clay (1908: 79) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V. Harper's mark: - 11, 2-13-89.
232	3656		1562	II		B.E.F., 29:01:07.		Myhrman 1911: 10, no. 5; Pls. 8-9 and XL; Radau 1913: 45 and 63, Text 2: Pls. 3-4; CDLI 260028.	MB.	Lit.	Radau (1913: 63, no. 2) notes that the tablet was from 'Tablet Hill.' The CBS catalogue states that the tablet was from the West side of the Shat-en-Nil. Brinkman (pers comm 1999) did not identify the tablet as MB.
233	3803		1709	I		B.E.F., 18:02:07.	E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil.	Poebel 1909: 40 and 147, no. 16, Pl. 8; CDLI P260176.	OB.	Leg,	Poebel (1909: 1) states that it came from the south west area of 'Mound IV' (i.e Mound V).

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
234	3804		1710	II		B.E.F., 19:02:07.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill.	Gordon 1959: 164, DD; Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; Alster 1997, i: 41, DD; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; CDLI 231516.	OB.	Lex	Round tablet. CBS annotated 'According to slip written by Dr Clay concerning these tablets "Niffer, First Year, Round Tablets; the following tablets are from first campaign's result (....) correct. (They came from 'Tablet Hill'; above (....) found exclusively in Ist year. But No. 3804 bears on top traces in ink of No. 568 made by Peters himself - a distinctive feature of many of the tablets of 2nd campaign, (....) Dr Peters as (.....) and marking. Therefore I personally feel positively somewhat that Nos. 3804–3811 + 3820 form part of Dr Peters' 2nd campaign. Accordingly I have classified them as such'.
235	3805		1711	II		CBS 3804.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; Alster 1997, i: 256–7 and 1997, ii: 489; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.21; CDLI 231681.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3804.
236	3806		1712	II		CBS 3804.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; CDLI 260177.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 3804.
237	3807		1713	II		CBS 3804.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; Peterson 2011a: 270; CDLI 260178.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 3804.
238	3808		1714	II		CBS 3804.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1919: 273, no. 45, Pl. 91; Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; CDLI 260179.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 3804.
239	3810		1716	II		CBS 3804.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill. Peters Mound V.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 47, no. 78; Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; CDLI 260181.	OB.	Lex (?).	CBS 3804.
240	3811		1717	II		CBS 3804.	Temple Library.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; Alster 1997, i: 119, E; ECTSL 2006: 6.2.1; CDLI 231599.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3804.
241	3832		1738	I		B.E.F., 09:03:07.	E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil. Tablet Hill.	Ellis 1979: 217 and 225, no. 5; CDLI 260202.	MB (?)	Lit.	Date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
242	3833		1739	I	CBS 3835.	CBS 3832.	E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil. Tablet Hill. Temple Library.	Petersen 2013: 1; CDLI 260203.	OB.	Pray./ Inc.	
243	*3835*		*1741*	*I*		*CBS 3832.*	*CBS 3832.*				
244	3842		1748	IV	N 3755 + UM 29–16–225.	Mrs Hilprecht, 09:03:07.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 46, no. 76; Landsberger *et al*. 1970: 54, V10 and 119, A; Veldhuis 2004: 188–90, 8.2.2.1; CDLI 227909.	OB.	Lex.	CBS annotated - 'Older temple library, presented by H.V.H., box opened in 1905 in presence of witnesses'.
245	3843		1749	IV		CBS 3842.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1909: no. 17, pl. 21; Berlin 1979: 34, V; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.2.4; CDLI 260212.	n/k.	Lit.	CBS 3842.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
246	3844		1750	IV		CBS 3842.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 57, no. 110; Civil 1969: 29, P; Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; CDLI 229517.	OB.	Sch.	Round tablet. CBS 3842.
247	3845		1751	IV	N 3785 + 5093.	CBS 3842.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916: 83, no. 41, Pl. 21; Peterson 2011a: 263; CDLI P228992.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3842.
248	3846		1752	IV		CBS 3842.	Tablet Hill.		n/k.	n/k.	CBS 3842. No CDLI registration.
249	3847		1753	IV		CBS 3842.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI 260213.	n/k.	Math.	CBS 3842.
250	3848		1754	IV	(+) CBS 7829 + 7836 + N 1645.	CBS 3842.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1919: 270, no. 3, Pl. 71; Peterson 2011a: 266; CDLI P 230290.	OB.	Lex.	Prism. CBS 3842.
251	3849		1755	IV		CBS 3842.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916: 83, no. 34, Pl. 18; Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 77, no. 147; Veldhius 1997: 301, Ni II-52; Peterson 2011a: 260; CDLI 227910.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3842.
252	3854		1760	IV		Mrs Hilprecht 13:12:09.	Tablet Hill.	Civil 1979: 108, no. 12; CDLI 227912.	OB.	Lex.	CBS annotated 'box opened for trial, box 10'.
253	3855		1761	IV	UM 29-16-243 + N 5901.	Mrs Hilprecht 15:01:09.	E[ast] side of Shatt [en-Nil], Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 109, no. 102, Pl. 51; CDLI 230718.	OB.	Lex.	
254	3856		1762	IV		Mrs Hilprecht 13:12:09.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI 260217.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 'box opened for trial'.
255	3857		1763	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 14; Veldhius 1997: 298, Ni II-024; CDLI 227913.	OB.	Lex.	
256	3858		1764	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 48, no. 83; Landsberger 1959: 177, V5; CDLI 227914.	OB.	Lex.	
257	3859		1765	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 14; CDLI 260218.	e.OB.	Math.	
258	3860		1766	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227915.	e.OB.	Lex.	
259	3861		1767	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934a: 7 and 8, no. 106, Pl. 102; ETCSL 2006: 1.3.2; CDLI P260219.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 'box opened for trial, box 40'.
260	3864		1770	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 14; CDLI 227916.	n.Bab.	Lex.	CBS 3861.
261	3865		1771	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.		OB.	Metr.	CBS 3861. No CDLI registration. Date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
262	3866		1772	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P260222.	OB.	Math.	CBS 3861.
263	3867		1773	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P230728.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 3861. Date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
264	3868		1774	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 14; Reiner 1974: 94, N; Falkowitz 1983/4: 23; CDLI P227917.	e.OB.	Lex.	Round tablet. CBS 3861.
265	*3871*		1777	*I*	*CBS 2254.*	*BEF 05:12:07.*	*E[ast] side of Shatt [en-Nil], Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 3861.*
266	3872		1778	I		CBS 3871.	CBS 3871.	CDLI P227918.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3861. Dr J. Peterson suggests that the text may be MB and a list of omens (pers comm October 2014).

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
267	3874		1780	IV	CBS 3877.	CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Westenholz 1975a: vi; CDLI P010533.	ED IIIa.	Lit.	CBS annotated 'box opened for trial'. The CBS catalogue records the provenance on Mound V, but Haynes' report of 1st November 1896 states that it was found in Mound III.
268	3875		1781	IV	N 4873.	CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916a: 171, no. 50, Pl. 62; Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 81, no. 168; Veldhuis 1997: 306, Ni-151; Peterson 2011a: 264; CDLI P227919.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3874.
269	3876		1782	IV		CBS 3856.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P260227.	n.Bab.	Leg.	CBS 3874.
270	*3877*		*1783*	*IV*	*CBS 3874.*	*CBS 3856.*	*Tablet Hill.*				CBS 3874.
271	3878		1784	IV	CBS 6889 + 6905 + N 6378 + 6843 + 7021 + 7269 (+) 3878 + 3901 + 3916 + 3927 + 11078 + 19827 (+) CBS 13402c.	Mrs Hilprecht 14:12:9.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934: 1–2, Pl. 25, no. 22; ETCSL 2006: 2.2.2; Samet 2010; Peterson 2011a: 261; Peterson 2011b: 121, No. 101; CDLI P264318.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS annotated 'box 40 same as above' (i.e. opened for trial).
272	*3879*		*1785*	*IV*	*CBS 2169.*	*CBS 3878.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 3874.*
273	3880		1786	IV		CBS 3878.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916a: 168, no. 18, Pl. 49; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P230292.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3874.
274	3881		1787	IV		CBS 3878.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227921.	e.OB.	Lex.	*CBS 3874.*
275	3882		1788	IV	CBS 19758 (+) N 3852.	CBS 3878.	Tablet Hill.	ECTSL 2006: 6.1.08.	OB.	n/k.	CBS 3881. No CDLI registration.
276	3883		1789	IV		CBS 3878.	Tablet Hill.		OB.	Lex.	CBS 3881. No CDLI registration. Date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
277	3884		1790	IV		CBS 3878.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P260230.	e.OB.	Sch.	CBS 3881.
278	3885		1791	IV		CBS 3878.	Tablet Hill upper stratum	CDLI P260231.	n.Bab.	Leg.	CBS 3881.
279	3886		1792	IV	CBS 3910.	CBS 3878.	Tablet Hill upper level.	CDLI P260232.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
280	3887		1793	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3886.	CDLI P260233.	e.OB.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
281	3888		1794	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3886.	CDLI P260234.	e.OB.	Sch.	CBS 3881.
282	3889		1795	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3886.	CDLI P260235.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
283	3890		1796	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3886.	CDLI P260236.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
284	3891		1797	IV	CBS 3896 + 3899 + 3911.	CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260237.	n.Bab.	Leg.	CBS 3881.
285	3892		1798	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260238.	n.Bab.	Leg.	CBS 3881.
286	3893		1799	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260239.	n.Bab.	Let.	CBS 3881.
287	3894		1800	IV	CBS 3897 + 3898.	CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260240.	n.Bab.	Leg.	CBS 3881.
288	3895		1801	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260241.	n.Bab.	Leg.	CBS 3881.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
289	*3896*		*1802*	*IV*	*CBS 3891.*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 3885.*				CBS 3881.
290	*3897*		*1803*	*IV*	*CBS 3894.*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 3885.*				*CBS 3881.*
291	*3898*		*1804*	*IV*	*CBS 3894.*	*CBS 3878.*	CBS 3885.				*CBS 3881.*
292	*3899*		*1805*	*IV*	*CBS 3891.*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 3885.*				*CBS 3881.*
293	3900		1806	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260246.	n.Bab.	Leg.	CBS 3881.
294	*3901*		*1807*	*IV*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 3885.*				*As for CBS 3881.*
295	3902		1808	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260248.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 3881.
296	3903		1809	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P227922.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3881.
297	3904		1810	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P227923.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3881.
298	3905		1811	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260249	e.OB.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
299	3906		1812	IV		CBS 3878.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260250.	e.OB.	Lex (?).	CBS 3881.
300	3907		1813	IV		Mrs Hilprecht 15:12:09.	CBS 3885.	Landsberger 1957: 150; Alster 2005: 353, K; CDLI P260251.	n.Bab.	Lex (?).	CBS 3881.
301	3908		1814	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260252.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
302	3909		1815	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260253.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
303	*3910*		*1816*	*IV*	*CBS 3886.*	*CBS 3907.*	*CBS 3885.*				*As for CBS 3881.*
304	*3911*		*1817*	*IV*	*CBS 3891.*	*CBS 3907.*	*CBS 3885.*				*As for CBS 3881.*
305	3912		1818	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260256.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
306	3913		1819	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P227924.	n/k.	Lex.	CBS 3881.
307	3914		1820	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260257.	n.Bab.	Lex.	CBS 3881.
308	3915		1821	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3885.	CDLI P260258.	n.Bab.	Lex.	CBS 3881.
309	*3916*		*1822*	*IV*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 3885.*				*As for CBS 3881.*
310	3917		1823	IV		CBS 3907.	Tablet Hill.		n/k.	n/k.	CBS 3881. No CDLI registration.
311	3918		1824	IV	CBS 3928.	CBS 3907.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pls. 12–3, no. 12; Reiner 1974: 110, A; CDLI P227925.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 'Box 29'.
312	3921		1827	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P260262.	e.OB.	Math.	CBS 3881.
313	3922		1828	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P260263.	e.OB.	Sci.	CBS 3881.
314	3923		1829	IV	N 3629 + 3636 + 3648.	CBS 3907.	CBS 3917.	Poebel 1914: no. 27, Pl. XVIII; Cavigneaux *et al.*: 1993: 101, Ni; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.1.2; CDLI P260264.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 3881.
315	3924		1830	IV		CBS 3907.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P260265.	e.OB.	n/k.	CBS 3881.
316	3925		1831	IV	(+) CBS 10065 + 11075 (+) UM 29-15-564 (+) N 1848.	CBS 3907.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1916: 84, no. 46, Pl. 24 and 85, no. 62, Pl. 33: Peterson 2011a: 263; CDLI P 231608 and 229011.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3881.
317	3926		1832	IV	CBS 3931	CBS 3907.	*CBS 3917.*	Clay 1906: 66, no. 66; Cavigneaux *et al.* 2002: 16–17, no. C; Peterson 2013: 1; CDLI P260266.	MB.	Adm.	CBS 3881. Not listed in Brinkamn (1976) despite the dating to Nazi-marrutash year 15.
318	*3927*		*1833*	*IV*	*CBS 3878.*	*Mrs Hilprecht 14:12:09.*	*CBS 3917.*				*CBS 3881.*

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
319	*3928*		*1834*	*IV*	*CBS 3918.*	*CBS 3907.*	*CBS 3917.*				*CBS 3881.*
320	3930		1836	IV	CBS 12503 (+ ?) 12735 + 12736.	CBS 3907.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P227926.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918. Details of join courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
321	*3931*		*1837*	*IV*	*CBS 3926.*	*Mrs Hilprecht 16:12:09.*	*CBS 3917.*				*CBS 3918.*
322	3932		1838	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	Reiner 1974: 112, B1; CDLI 227927.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918.
323	3933		1839	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 227928.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918.
324	3934		1840	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 227929.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918.
325	3935		1841	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1929: 14; Veldhuis 1997: 293, Ni II-025; CDLI 227930.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918.
326	3936		1842	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P260270.	e.OB	Lit.	CBS 3918. Type of text courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
327	3937		1843	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	Alster 1997, i: 4, NN; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.01.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918. No CDLI entry.
328	3938		1844	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260271.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS 3918.
329	3939		1845	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.		OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918. No CDLI entry. Date and text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
330	3940		1846	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260272.	n.Bab.	Roy/ Mon.	CBS 3918.
331	3941		1847	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1929: 7, Pl. 124, no. 246; Civil 1971: 65, G and 83, G; CDLI 227932.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918.
332	3942		1848	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260273.	e.OB.	Math.	CBS 3918.
333	3943		1849	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1919: 270, no. 9, Pl. 73; Peterson 2011a: 266; CDLI 227933.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918.
334	3944		1850	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	Veldhuis 1997: 326, Ni U-13; CDLI P230295.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918.
335	3945		1851	IV		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260274.	e.OB.	Roy/ Mon.	CBS 3918.
336	3946		1852	I		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260275.	e.OB.	Sch.	CBS 3918.
337	3947		1853	I		CBS 3931.	CBS 3917.		OB.	Lex.	CBS 3918. No CDLI entry. Date and text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
338	3954		1860	I		B.E.F. 17:12:09.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260282.	e.OB.	Lit.	
339	3956		1862	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 101, no. 112; Civil 1983: 47, C1; CDLI 260284.	e.OB.	Lit.	CDLI incorrectly notes that the ECTSL edition is 1.2.2.
340	3957		1863	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	Cooper 1983: 70, F4, Pl. 24; ETCSL 2006: 2.1.5; CDLI 260285.	e.OB.	Lit.	
341	3958		1864	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	ETCSL 2006: 1.2.2; CDLI P260286.	e.OB.	Lit.	
342	3959		1865	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1916: 86; Chiera 1929: 14; Peterson 2011a: 260; CDLI 227934.	e.OB.	Lex.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
343	3960		1866	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260287.	e.OB.	Let.	
344	3961		1867	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 227935.	e.OB.	Lex.	
345	3962		1868	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	Hilprecht 1906: 60, no 18: Pl. 9; CDLI P227936.	e.OB.	Lex.	Hilprecht (1906: 60, no. 18) records the Museum number as MIO Ist. Ni. 1868, found on Mound V in season IV.
346	3963		1869	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 227937.	e.OB.	Lex.	
347	3964		1870	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.		n/k.	n/k.	No CDLI entry.
348	3965		1871	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	Civil 1979: 22–3, Ez; CDLI 227938.	e.OB.	Lex.	
349	3966		1872	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260288.	e.OB.	Lex.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
350	3967		1873	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	Peterson 2011b: 43, No. 26; CDLI P260289.	e.OB.	Lit.	
351	3968		1874	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 227939.	e.OB.	Lex.	
352	3969		1875	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 100, no. 109; ETCSL 2006: 1.3.2; CDLI 260290.	e.OB.	Lit.	
353	3970		1876	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P260291.	e.OB.	n/k.	
354	3971		1877	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.		OB.	Math.	No CDLI entry. Date and text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
355	3972		1878	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 227940.	e.OB.	Lex.	
356	3973		1879	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI 260292.	e.OB.	Lex?	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
357	3974		1880	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.		OB.	Lit.	No CDLI entry.
358	3975		1881	I		CBS 3954.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P260293.	e.OB.	n/k.	
359	3976		1882	I		B.E.F. 18:12:09.	CBS 3917.	CDLI P260294.	e.OB.	Math?	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
360	3977		1883	I		CBS 3976.	CBS 3917.	Ungnad 1915: Pl. XIV, no. 18; Stol 1986: 12–13, no. 18; CDLI 260295.	OB.	Lit.	
361	4502			-		B.E.F. 17:03:05.	Temple Library. Tablet Hill.	Langdon 1917: 39, no. 11, Pl. 15–7; CDLI 230301.	MB.	Lex.	CBS annotated 'according to Dr Peters from Tablet Hill, shelf 70, B.27'. 'Box 29'.
362	4503	7, 2–18–89.		I		CBS 4502.	CBS 4502.	ETCSL 2006: 2.8.2.4, 2.8.2.5 and 2.8.2.6; CDLI 260817.	OB.	Lit.	CBS annotated 'Tablet Hill'.
363	4504			II		CBS 4502.	CBS 4502.	CDLI 260818.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS annotated 'according to Dr Peters from tablet Hill, Shelf 72B 27 and 31'.
364	4505			II		CBS 4502.	CBS 4502.	Hilprecht 1906: 64, no. 33: Pl. 22; CDLI 230043.	OB.	Lex.	CBS annotated 'Temple Library: shelf 66. Hilprecht (1906: 64, no. 33) notes that the tablet was from 'Ni. V' and found in season II. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
365	4506			I		CBS 4502.	CBS 3917.	Langdon 1917: 39, no. 7, Pl. 8–11; Landsberger *et al*. 1967: 5, S1; CDLI 260819.	n.Bab.	Lex?	CBS annotated 'Temple Library; no slip to indicate anything'.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
366	4507			I		CBS 4502.	CBS 3917.	Lutz 1919: 65–8, no. 116 and 129, no. 116; CDLI 260821.	n.Bab.	Sci.	CBS 4506.
367	4563				CBS 6900 + 6902 + 11005 + N 1904 + 6829 + 7535.	B.E.F. 16:10:16.	No details.	Langdon 1917a: 143–9, Pls. 29–32; Langdon 1919: 344, no. 2; Pl. LXXV; Chiera 1934: 5–6, nos 69 and 70, Pls. 77, no. 69 and 78, no. 70; ETCSL 2006: 2.5.4.01; Peterson 2011b: 187, No. 166; CDLI 260877.	e.OB.	Lit.	Provenance by join.
368	4804				(+) CBS 19811.	B.E.F. 23.11.17.	No details.	Chiera 1929: 5 and 51, no. 95, and and 16; Landsberger 1959: 179, V32; CDLI P227954.	OB.	Lex.	Provenance by join.
369	6043			I		B.E.F. 12:04:05.	Temple Library (school).	CDLI 264415.	n/k.	lex?	CBS annotated 'Temple Library (school). Results of first expedition (shelf 65)'.
370	6044			I		CBS 6043.	Temple Library.	CDLI 264416.	OB.	Leg.	CBS annotated 'W[est] side of Temple Library (business school). Results of first expedition (shelf 65)'.
371	6047			II		CBS 6043.	CBS 4502.	CDLI 264419.	OB.	Sch.	CBS annotated 'School exercise from Temple Library, Results of 2nd expedition; shelf 65, box 20)'.
372	6048			II		CBS 6043.	CBS 4502.	CDLI 231444; DCCLT OB Nippur Ura 03.	OB.	lex.	CBS annotated 'Temple Library, results of 2nd expedition (shelf 47, Tablet Hill)'.
373	6049			II		CBS 6043.	CBS 4502.	CDLI 264420.	n/k.	Lex?	CBS annotated 'Temple Library, results of 2nd expedition (shelf 47, Tablet Hill)'.
374	6050a				(+) CBS 12745 + N4633.	B.E.F. 12.04.05.	CBS 6044.	Civil 1979: 88 L; Poebel 1914: no. 107, Pl. LIV; CDLI P228022.	OB.	Lex.	
375	6054			II		CBS 6043.	From Temple Library (mound east of canal)'.	CDLI 264426.	n/k.	Lex?	
376	6061			II		B.E.F. 31:10:05.	Temple Libr[ary]. (Tablet Hill).	Langdon 1917: 42, no. 54, Pl. 55; CDLI 263856.	n.Bab	Lex.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
377	6065			II		B.E.F. 17:11:05.	Tablet Hill. Temple Library.		n.Bab	Lex.	No CDLI entry. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
378	6110			I		B.E.F. 16:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI 263885.	e.OB.	Lex.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
379	6429			IV	CBS 2135.	B.E.F. 16.03.15.	No details.	Chiera 1929: 7 and 118, no. 236; Reiner 1974: 96, Z1; CDLI P229337.	OB.	Lex.	Provenance by join.
380	*6889*			*IV (?)*	*CBS 3878.*	*B.E.F. 22:11:16.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
381	*6900*				*CBS 4563.*	*B.E.F. 23:11:16.*	*No details.*				
382	*6902*				*CBS 4563.*	*CBS 4563.*	*No details.*				
383	*6905*			*IV (?)*	*CBS 3878.*	*B.E.F. 23:11:16.*					*CBS 6889.*

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
384	7070			?	CBS 2240.	B.E.F., 08:12:16.					Provenance by join.
385	7071		X	I	CBS 2345.	B.E.F., 03.12.07	No details.				
386	7802			?	CBS 13625 + 13683 + N 3098.	B.E.F., 25:03:17.		Chiera 1934a: 7 and 8, 108, Pl. 103; Gragg 1969: 165, G; Peterson 2011b: 242, No. 217; ECTSL 2006: 4.80.2; CDLI P262810.	e.OB.	Lit.	Provenance join.
387	*7829*			*?*	*CBS 3868.*	*B.E.F., 25.03.17*	*No details.*				
388	*7836*			*?*	*CBS 3848.*	*B.E.F., 25.03.17*	*No details.*				
389	7843			IV (?)	CBS 7853 + 19826 + Ni. 4092 + 4243 + 4262.	B.E.F. 25:03:17.		Kramer 1976: 10 and 18 (Ni 4092), Lev. 84; ECTSL 2006: 5.1.3; CDLI P230446.	OB.	Lit.	Prism.
390	*7853*			*IV (?)*	*CBS 7843.*	*CBS 7843.*					
391	8541			II		CBS 8538.	Temple Library.	Landsberger 1957: 88, S7 and 148, S8; CDLI P120867.	n.Bab.	Sch.	
392	8801			II		B.E.F. 18:04:05.	Temple Library. East side of Shatt en-Nil.	CDLI P263622.	n.Bab.	Lex.	
393	8802			II		B.E.F. 19:04:05.	CBS 8801.	Langdon 1917: 39, no. 6, Pl. 6–7; Landsberger *et al*. 1970: 3, S2; CDLI P263623.	n.Bab.	Lex.	
394	*8803*			*II*	*CBS 2266.*	*B.E.F., 03:03:05.*	*Temple Library. East side of Shatt en-Nil.*				
395	*8803a*			*?*	*CBS 2266.*	*?*	*?*				*Provenance by join.*
396	8804			?	CBS 12573 (+) N 4030.	B.E.F. 26:10:16,	No details.	Poebel 1914: Pl. LXV, no. 133; Landsberger 1957: 84, J*; CDLI P263626.	OB.	Lex.	Provenance by join.
397	9191			II		H.V.H. 02:02:09.	East side of Shatt-en-Nil, Tablet Hill.	CDLI P264584.	OB.	Adm.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
398	9192			II		CBS 9191.	East side of Shatt-en-Nil, Tablet Hill.	CDLI P264585.	OB.	n/k.	Tablet and envelope.
399	9196			II	CBS 10995 + N 1889 + 4551.	B.E.F. 03:03:09.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 143–4, pls. LXXIII-LXXIV; Chiera 1929: 7, Pls. 121–2, no. 240; Civil 1969: 30, H' and 175, K; CDLI P228066.	e.OB.	Lex.	
400	*9197*			*II*	*CBS 1838*	*CBS 9196.*	*CBS 9196.*				
401	9200			II		CBS 9196.	Tablet Hill (E[ast] of Shatt[-en-Nil])'.	Zgoll 1997: 580; ETCSL 2006: 4.07.2; CDLI P264592.	e.OB.	Lit.	
402	9201			I		CBS 9196.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P264593.	OB.	Adm.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
403	9203			I		CBS 9196.	CBS 9196.		MB ?	Sch.	No CDLI entry. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
404	*9204*			*I*	*CBS 2307.*	*CBS 9196.*	*CBS 9196.*				

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
405	9205			I		CBS 9196.	CBS 9196.	Radau 1909: 454–5, pls. 17–8 and XI-XII; Barton 1918: 67, no. 4; Behrens 1978: 8, a; CDLI P264596.	e.OB.	Lit.	CDLI incorrectly notes that the ECTSL edition is 1.2.1.
406	9232			II		B.E.F. 17:03:09.	CBS 9196.	Radau 1911: 66–74, 85–6, Text 2: Pls. 3–4 and III; van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 15, H1 and LXXXIV; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.2; CDLI P264622.	e.OB.	Lit.	
407	9233			II		CBS 9232.	CBS 9196.	Legrain 1922: 77–8, No. 43: Pl. XVII; Cooper 1983: 68, J; ETCSL 2006: 2.1.5; CDLI P264623.	e.OB.	Lit.	
408	9237			II	CBS 9248.	No details.	No details.	CDLI P264627.	e.OB.	Roy/ Mon.	Provenance by join.
409	9238			II		CBS 9232.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P264628.	OB.	Leg.	
410	9245			I	CBS 13112.	CBS 9232.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1934: 2 and 8, no. 28, Pl. 30; Michalowski 1989: 29, I; CDLI P264635.	e.OB.	Lit.	
411	*9248*			*II*	*CBS 9237.*	*CBS 9232.*	*CBS 9196.*				
412	*9800*			*III*	*CBS 2198.*		*No details.*				
413	*9802*			*I*	*CBS 2178.*	*B.E.F. 02:03:09.*	*East side of Shatt en-Nil.*				
414	9804			I	UM 29-13-189 + UM 29-15-35 + UM 29-15-74.	CBS 9802.	CBS 9196.	Ferrara 1973: 39, P; Chiera 1934a: 6 and 8, no. 98, Pl. 96; ETCSL 2006: 1.5.1; CDLI P265118.	e.OB.	Lit.	
415	9824			II		CBS 9802.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265138.	n/k.	n/k.	
416	9834			II		CBS 9802.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265147.	OB.	n/k.	
417	9843			II		CBS 9802.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265156.	OB.	n/k.	Tablet and envelope.
418	9844			II		CBS 9802.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265157.	OB.	n/k.	Tablet and envelope.
419	9847			II	(+) CBS 12516 + 12744.	B.E.F. 03:03:09.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 16; Veldhuis 1997: 292, Ni II-015; CDLI P228068.	e.OB.	Lex.	
420	*9848*			*II*	*CBS 2147.*	*B.E.F. 04:03:09.*	*CBS 9196.*				
421	9849			II		CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 47, no. 77; CDLI P228069.	e.OB.	Lex.	
422	*9850*			*II*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 9848.*	*CBS 9196.*				
423	*9851*			*I*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 9848.*	*CBS 9196.*				
424	9852			I	CBS 9867 + 9872 + 13379.	CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P230749	n/k.	Lex.	
425	9856			I		CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	ECTSL 2006: 5.5.4; CDLI P230024.	OB.	Lex.	
426	9857			I		CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	Legrain 1922: 74–7, No. 42: Pl. XVI; CDLI P265164.	e.OB.	Lit.	
427	9858			I		CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	Poebel 1914: 138, Pls. LXIX and CXX; Landsberger *et al.* 1967: 66, B6; Civil 1971: 16, Z2; CDLI P228072.	e.OB.	Lex.	
428	9859			I		CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P228073.	e.OB.	Lex.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
429	*9860*			*I*	*CBS 2304.*	*CBS 9848.*	*CBS 9196.*				
430	9861			I	N 4121 + 5579 (+) UM 29-13-2 + 29-16-148 + N 3747 + 4151 (+) N 6004.	CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	Peterson 2011a: 267; CDLI P228075.	e.OB.	Lex.	
431	*9862*			*I*	*CBS 2185.*	*CBS 9848.*	*CBS 9196.*				
432	9863			I		CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	CDLI 265166.	e.OB.	Lit.	
433	9864			I		CBS 9848.	CBS 9196.	Civil 1971: 65, H; CDLI P229615.	OB.	Lex.	
434	9866			II		B.E.F., 12:03:09.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 94, no. 192; Landsberger 1959: 209 V3; CDLI P228076.	e.OB.	Lex.	
435	*9867*			*II*	*CBS 9852.*	*CBS 9866.*	*CBS 9196.*				
436	9868			II	CBS 12741.	CBS 9866.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 94, no. 193; Landsberger 1959: 211, V18; Alster 1997, i: 42, KKK; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; Peterson 2011b: 268, No. 246; CDLI P228951.	OB.	Lex.	
437	9869			II		CBS 9866.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1934a: 2 and 8, no. 22, Pls. 29-30; Shaffer 1963: 46, O; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.1.4; Gadotti 2014: 135, N19; CDLI P265169.	e.OB.	Lit.	
438	*9870*			*II*	*CBS 2143.*	*CBS 9866.*	*CBS 9196.*				
439	9871			II	CBS 11339 + N 4759 + 5517.	CBS 9866.	CBS 9196.	Civil 1971: 14 and 40, Z; CDLI P228077.	e.OB.	Lex.	
440	*9872*			*II*	*CBS 9852.*	*CBS 9866.*	*CBS 9196.*				
441	9873			II		CBS 9866.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 16; Reiner 1974: 93, B; CDLI P228078.	e.OB.	Lex.	
442	9874			II		CBS 9866.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P228079.	e.OB.	Lex.	
443	9875			II		CBS 9866.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P228080.	MB.	Lex.	
444	9876			II		B.E.F. 13:03:09.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 3, Pl. 14, no. 13; Landsberger 1959: 180, V34, 197 V1 and 211 V21; CDLI P228081.	e.OB.	Lex.	
445	9877			II		CBS 9876.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1914: 35-6, no. 91 and 109, no. 91, Pl. 41; CDLI P265172.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
446	*9878*			*II*	*CBS 2307.*	*CBS 9876.*	*CBS 9196.*				
447	9879			II		CBS 9876.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265174	e.OB.	n/k.	
448	9886			II		CBS 9876.	CBS 9196.	CDLI 265181.	e.OB.	Sch.	
449	9887			II	CBS 11783.	CBS 9876.	CBS 9196.	Sjöberg 1972: 107, No. 1; ECTSL 2006: 5.4.12; CDLI P265182.	OB.	Lex.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
450	10051			I		B.E.F. 07:04:09.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265325.	e.OB.	Math.	
451	10052			I		CBS 10051.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265326.	e.OB.	Math.	
452	10053			I		CBS 10051.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265327.	OB.	Math.	
453	10054			I		CBS 10051.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265328.	OB.	Math.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
454	10055			I		CBS 10051.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 16; Landsberger *et al*. 1970: 16, 54, V12; CDLI P231766.	e.OB.	Lex.	
455	10056			II		CBS 10051.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265329.	EDIIIb.	Adm?	
456	10060			I		B.E.F. 08:04:09.	W[est] side of Tablet Hill'.	CDLI P265333.	MB.	Acct?	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) tentatively identified the tablet as an account.
457	10061			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P231767.	e.OB.	Lex.	
458	10062			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P231768.	e.OB.	Lex.	
459	10063			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265334.	MB.	Adm.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
460	10064			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 41, no. 63; Veldhuis 2004: 170, Ni U-02; CDLI P231769.	e.OB.	Lex.	
461	*10065*			*II*	*CBS 3925.*	*CBS 10060.*	*CBS 9196.*				
462	10066			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	Alster 1997, i: 144, Pl. 42; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; CDLI P231608.	OB.	Lex.	
463	10067			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 31, no. 41; Landsberger 1959: 212 V31 and 230 V12; CDLI P231771.	e.OB.	Lex.	
464	10068			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P265335.	e.OB.	Sch.	
465	10069			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	Michalowski 2011: 305–24, no. 4, N10; Kleinerman 2011: xxi, no. 46; Peterson 2011b: 215, No. 190; CDLI P265336.	e.OB.	Lit.	
466	10071			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	Veldhuis 1997: 258–9 and 327–8, Ni U-28; CDLI P230183.	MB.	Lex.	
467	10072			II		CBS 10060.	CBS 9196.	CDLI P231712.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
468	10079			II		B.E.F. 19:04:09.	Tablet Hill. Temple School.	ETCSL 2006: 1.1.4; CDLI P265344.	e.OB.	Lit.	
469	10080			II		CBS 10079.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P265345.	e.OB.	n/k.	
470	10081			II		B.E.F. 14:04:09.	Scrap from Temple school.	CDLI P265346.	n/k.	Sch.	
471	10082			II		CBS 10081.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P265347.	n/k.	Math.	
472	10083			II		CBS 10081.	Tablet Hill.		OB.	Lex.	No CDLI entry. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
473	10084			II	UM 29-13-690.	CBS 10081.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1913: 64–5, Text 7, Pl. 12; CDLI P265348.	e.OB.	Lit.	Join courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
474	10085			II		CBS 10081.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1913: 65, Text 11: Pl. 18; CDLI P265349.	OB.	Lit.	Radau (1913: 65, no. 11) states that it was from 'Tablet Hill.'
475	10086					CBS 10081.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 98, no. 103; ETCSL 2006: 1.3.2; CDLI P265350.	e.OB.	Lit.	
476	10087					CBS 10081.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P265351.	e.OB.	Sch.	CDLI text date and type. Dr J. Peterson notes that the tablet is almost entirely blank so the date and type is unclear (pers comm, October 2014).

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
477	10180			III	CBS 10202 + 19786.	BEF 14:10:04.	Temple Library.	Civil 1969: 212, F'; CDLI P265430.	e.OB.	Lex.	Provenance by join. CBS 19786 is recorded as having been found in Season IV.
478	10181			III	CBS 10207 + Ni. 10135.	CBS 10180.	Temple Library.	Hilprecht 1906: 65, no. 38: Pl. 38; CDLI P230163.	OB.	Lex/ Math.	Provenance by join.
479	10201			III		H.V.H., 18.10.04.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill.	Hilprecht 1906: 62, no. 25: Pl. 15; Neugebauer 1935: 24, no. 4; CDLI P230036.	OB.	Lex/ Math.	Hilprecht (1906: 62, no. 25) notes that the tablet was found in 'Ni.V'. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
480	*10202*			*III*	*CBS 10180.*	*CBS 10201.*	*Temple Library, Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 19786 is recorded as having been found in Season IV.*
481	10205			III		CBS 10201.	Temple Library, Tablet Hill.	CDLI P265448.	OB.	Lex.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014. CDLI date and type - Old Akk./ Adm?
482	*10207*			*III*	*CBS 10181.*	*CBS 10201.*	*CBS 10205.*				*Hilprecht (1906: 65, no. 38) notes that the tablet was from 'Ni.V'.*
483	10218			III		H.V.H. 21:10:04.	Tablet Hill.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 28; CDLI P265459.	OB.	Sch.	Round tablet.
484	10502				CBS 11067 + 11397.	HVH 07:11:04.		Poebel 1914: Pl. LXXIV, no. 145; Civil 1969: 175, G; CDLI P229548.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 10502 is listed as unprovenanced and as 'Presented to H.V. Hilprecht by Sultan for organising the Semitic section of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, Const[antinople]. Box 5. CBS 11067 and 11397 from Tablet Hill.
485	10803			III		H.V.H. 19:04:05.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 16; Landsberger 1959: 198; Falkowitz 1983/4: 29; CDLI P227637.	OB.	Lex.	Round tablet.
486	10882			I		B.E.F. 14:12:05.	From the w[est] slope of Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 146, no. 5, Pl. 2; CDLI P266075.	e.OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
487	10883			I		B.E.F. 11:12:05.	CBS 10882.	Poebel 1909: 148, no. 30, Pl. 16; CDLI P266076.	e.OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
488	10884			I		CBS 10883.	CBS 10882.	Stone 1976: 5, no. 46; CDLI P313233.	OB.	Leg.	Tablet and envelope.
489	10885	x-3-4, 89.		I		CBS 10883.	CBS 10882.	Radau 1909: 436-44 and 447, no. 3, pls. 4 and V; CDLI P266078.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
490	10886			I		CBS 10883.	Taken from the kiln in Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 151, no. 53, Pl. 33 and IV; CDLI P266079.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
491	10887	70-4-3, 89.		I		CBS 10883.	[Taken from the kiln in Tablet Hill].	Poebel 1909: 151, no. 52, Pl. 32; CDLI P266080.	OB.	Leg.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
492	10888	28-2-10, 89.		I		CBS 10883.	From the w[est] slope of Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 109, no. 92, Pl. 42; CDLI P266081.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
493	10889			I		CBS 10883.	From the w[est] slope of Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 149-150, no. 38, Pl. 21; CDLI P266082.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
494	10890			I		CBS 10883.	From the kiln in w[est] slope of Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 43-4 and 148, no. 29, Pls. 16 and V; CDLI P266083.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
495	10891			I		CBS 10883.	From the kiln [from w[est] slope of Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 27–9 and 148, no. 24, Pls. 12 and III; Roth 1979: 189; CDLI P266084.	OB.	Leg.	
496	10892			I		CBS 10883.	From the kiln [from w[est] slope of Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 152, no. 54, Pl. 34; CDLI P266085.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
497	10893			I		CBS 10883.	From the w[est] slope of Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266086.	OB.	Adm.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
498	10894	x–2–10, 89.		I		CBS 10883.	CBS 10893.	Chiera 1914: 54–5, no. 16 and 105, no. 16, pl. 10; CDLI P266087.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
499	10900			II	Ist Ni 13227.	B.E.F. 12:12:05.	CBS 10893.	Cig *et al*. 1969; 27 and 57 (Ni 13227), Pl. 151; Klein 1976: 274, E1; ECTSL 2006: 2.4.2.15; CDLI P266093.	MB.	Lit.	
500	10972			II	N 3877 + 3920 + 5820.	B.E.F. 14:12:05.	Tablet Hill, East side of Shatt-en-Nil.	Chiera 1919: 272, no. 27, pl. 84; Alster 1997, i: 42, BBB; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; CDLI P229709.	OB.	Lex.	
501	10973			II		CBS 10972.	Tablet Hill, East side of Shatt-en-Nil.	Brinkman 1976: 233, Q.2.115.34; Sassmannshausen 2001: 370–1, no. 301; CDLI P266165.	MB.	Acct.	
502	10974			II		As for CBS 10972.	Tablet Hill, East side of Shatt-en-Nil.	Clay 1906: 62, no. 18; Pl. 10; Torczyner 1913: 15–6, no. 1; Brinkman 1976: 234, Q.2.115.56; CDLI P266166.	MB.	Acct.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) identified the tablet as an account.
503	10975			II		As for CBS 10972.	Tablet Hill, East side of Shatt-en-Nil.	Brinkman 1976: 29, V.2.10.1497; CDLI P266167.	MB.	Acct.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) identified the tablet as an account.
504	10983			I		B.E.F. 15:12:05.	East [side of Shatt en-Nil], (Tablet Hill).	Radau 1908: 162, no. 28, Pl. 21; CDLI P266175.	MB.	Let.	
505	10984			II		B.E.F. 18:12:05.	East [side of Shatt en-Nil], Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 1, no. 1; Civil 1971: 94, A2; CDLI P227639.	OB.	Lex.	
506	10985			I	N 5324.	CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Chiera 1916a: 168, no. 10, Pl. 47; Chiera 1919: 271, no. 16, Pl. 75; Peterson 2011a: 267 and 268; CDLI P227640.	OB.	Lex.	CDLI dates as UR III, but Peterson dates to OB.
507	10986			I		CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Sjöberg 1974: 158, 161–3 and 174–5; Wasserman 2003: 197, No. 79; ETCSL 2006: 4.02.1; CDLI P266176.	OB.	Lit.	
508	10987			I		CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Chiera 1914: 109, no. 101, Pl. 50; CDLI P230719.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
509	10988			I		CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Poebel 1914: no. 110, pl. LXII; Civil 1979: 87, J; ETCSL 2006: 2.5.5.1; CDLI P227644.	OB.	Lex.	
510	10989			I		CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Poebel 1914: no. 104, Pl. XLIX; Civil 1979: 173, E; CDLI P230475.	MB.	Lex	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
511	10990			II	CBS 19757 + 19815.	CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Hilprecht 1906: 63, no. 29: Pls. 17–9.; CDLI P230040.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
512	10992			I	CBS 19759 + 19883 + N 5070.	CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Chiera 1919: 272, no. 38, Pls. 88–9; Peterson 2011a: 270; CDLI P227641.	OB.	Lex.	
513	10993			II	N 2478 + 2482.	CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Myhrman 1911: 10, no. 7, Pls. 12–3; Klein 1981: 182, C; ETCSL 2006: 2.4.2.01; Peterson 2011b: 151, No. 129; CDLI P266178.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
514	10994			II		CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Chiera 1916a: 169 and 174, no. 23, Pl. 52; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P227642.	OB.	Lex.	CDLI dates as UR III, but Peterson dates to OB.
515	*10995*			*II*	*CBS 9196.*	*CBS 10984.*	*CBS 10984.*				
516	10997			II	CBS 11016.	CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Chiera 1919: 272, no. 31, Pl. 85; Peterson 2011a: 270; CDLI P227643.	OB.	Lex.	CDLI dates as UR III, but Peterson dates to OB.
517	10998			II		CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.		n/k.	n/k.	No CDLI registration.
518	10999			II		CBS 10984.	CBS 10984.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 29; CDLI P266180.	OB.	Lex.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
519	*11000*			*II*	*CBS 2159.*	*CBS 10984.*	*CBS 10984.*				
520	11001			I	CBS 11050 + Ni. 1141 + 2203 (+) N 6666.	B.E.F. 19:12:05.	CBS 10984.	Poebel 1914: 102, Pls. XLVII - XLVII; Civil 1979: 87, A; CDLI P229723.	OB.	Lex.	
521	11002			I		CBS 11001.	East side of Shatt-en-Nil. Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227645.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
522	11003			I		CBS 11001.	CBS 11002.	CDLI P266182.	OB ?	Adm.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, November 2014.
523	11004			I		CBS 11001.	CBS 11002.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 29; CDLI P266183.	OB.	Sch.	Round tablet.
524	*11005*			*I*	*CBS 4563.*	*CBS 11001.*	*CBS 11002.*				
525	11006			I		CBS 11001.	East side of Shatt-en-Nil. Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934a: 4 and 8, no. 45, Pl. 53; van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 14, V and LXXXIII; ECTSL 2006: 1.6.2; CDLI P266186.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
526	11007			I		CBS 11001.	CBS 11006.	Langdon 1917: 38, no. 4, Pls. 3–4; Civil 1971: 13, N; CDLI P227646.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
527	11008			I		CBS 11001.	CBS 11006.	CDLI P266187.	Ur III.	Sch?	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
528	*11009*			*I*	*CBS 2259.*	*CBS 11001.*	*CBS 11006.*				
529	11010			I		CBS 11001.	CBS 11006.	Chiera 1916a: 167, no. 5, Pl. 42; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P227647.	OB.	Lex.	
530	11011			I		CBS 11001.	East side of Shatt-en-Nil. Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266189.	OB.	Lex.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
531	11014			I		B.E.F. 21:12:05.	E[ast] side of Shatt-en-Nil. Tablet Hill.	Legrain 1922: 97–9, No. 69: Pl. XXVII; Brinkman 1976: 282, U.2.25; CDLI P266192.	MB.	Roy/ Mon.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) tentatively dates the fragment as n.Bab.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
532	*11015*			*I*		*CBS 11014.*	*CBS 11014*	*CDLI P266193.*	*Ur III ?*	*Sch.*	
533	11016			I	*CBS 10997.*	CBS 11014.	CBS 11014	Chiera 1919: 272, no. 33, Pl. 86; CDLI P227648.	OB.	Lex.	
534	*11018*			*I*	*CBS 2175.*	*CBS 11014.*	*East side [of Shatt-en-Nil]. T[ablet] H[ill].*				
535	11019			I		CBS 11014.	CBS 11018.	Sachs 1947: 69–70; CDLI P266196.	n.Bab.	Math.	
536	11020			I		CBS 11014.	East side [of Shatt-en-Nil]. T[ablet] H[ill].	CDLI P227649.	OB.	Lex.	
537	11026			I	N 2996.	B.E.F. 22:12:05.	E[ast] side of canal, Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 70, Pls. XXXI and CII; Lieberman 1982; CDLI P266202.	e.OB.	Roy/ Mon.	
538	11034			I		As for CBS 11026.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 104, no. 213; Reiner 1974: 93 H; CDLI P227650.	OB.	Lex.	Prism.
539	*11050*			*I*	*CBS 11001.*	*As for CBS 11026.*	*W[est side] of Shat en-Nil*				
540	11053					B.E.F. 27:12:05.	Tablet Hill, East side [of Shatt-en-Nil]'.	CDLI P227651.	OB ?	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
541	11054					CBS 11053.	CBS 11053.	Falkowitz 1983/4; 29; CDLI P266228.	OB.	Lex?	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
542	11055					CBS 11053.	CBS 11053.	Landsberger *et al*. 1970: 120, K; CDLI P227652.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
543	11057				N 4644.	CBS 11053.	CBS 11053.	Peterson 2011a: 270; CDLI P266230.	OB.	Lex.	CDLI dates as UR III and as administrative, but Peterson dates to OB and as a lexical text..
544	11059					CBS 11053.	CBS 11053.	CDLI P266233.	n.Bab	Sci.	
545	11061					CBS 11053.	CBS 11053.	CDLI P266235.	OB.	Sch.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
546	11062				CBS 11076.	CBS 11053.	CBS 11053.	CDLI P266236.	n.Bab	Lit.	Join courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
547	11064				CBS 11088.	CBS 11053.	W[est side] from [Tablet Hill].	Poebel 1914: Pl. XIV, no. 23; Langdon 1916: 180; Sladek 1974: 101, K; ETCSL 2006: 1.4.1; CDLI P266238.	OB.	Lit.	The provenance of this fragment is as noted here, but the join is with a fragment recorded as having been found at Mound V. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
548	11065			II	CBS 3925.	B.E.F., 12.12.05	W[est] side of Tablet Hill'.				
549	11066			II	(+) UM 29-15-351.	CBS 11053.	E[ast] side of Shatt [en-nil], Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1919: 271, no. 19, Pl. 77–8; Peterson 2011a: 267 and 268; CDLI P227653.	OB.	Lex.	
550	*11067*			*II*	*CBS 10502*	*CBS 11053.*	*CBS 11067.*				*The join is to an unprovenanced piece.*

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
551	*11068*			*II*	*CBS 2159.*	*CBS 11053.*	*CBS 11067.*				
552	*11069*			*II*	*CBS 2259.*	*CBS 11053.*	*CBS 11067.*				
553	11070			II		CBS 11053.	CBS 11067.	Chiera 1916: 87; Peterson 2011a: 261; CDLI P229027.	OB.	Lex.	
554	11071			II		CBS 11053.	CBS 11067.	CDLI P266242.	OB.	Lex.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
555	*11072*			*II*	*CBS 2243.*	*CBS 11053.*	*CBS 11067.*				
556	11073			II	CBS 2159.	CBS 11053.	CBS 11067.				
557	11074			II	CBS 12518.	CBS 11053.	CBS 11067.	Legrain 1922: 107–8, No. 84: Pl. XXXIII; CDLI P266244.	n.Bab	Roy/ Mon.	
558	*11075*			*II*	*CBS 3925.*	*CBS 11053.*	CBS 11067.				
559	11076			*I*	*CBS 11062.*	B.E.F. 29:12:05.	CBS 11067.				No CDLI registration.
560	11077			I		CBS 11076.	CBS 11067.	CDLI P227656.	n.Bab	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
561	*11078*			*II*	*CBS 3878.*	*CBS 11076.*	*CBS 11067.*				
562	11079			II		CBS 11076.	CBS 11067.	CDLI P266247.	OB.	Sch.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
563	11080			II	CBS 19816 + 19825 + 19832.	CBS 11076.	CBS 11067.	Alster 1997, i: 41, II; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; CDLI P229707.	OB.	Lex.	
564	11081			II		CBS 11076.	CBS 11067.	CDLI P266248.	OB?	n/k.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
565	11083			II		CBS 11076.	CBS 11067.		n/k.	n/k.	No CDLI registration.
566	11087			II		CBS 11076.	E[ast side of Shatt en-Nil].	Radau 1911: 86, Text 7: Pls. 11–2; van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 16, C2 and LXXXVI; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.2; CDLI P266252.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
567	*11088*			*II*	*CBS 11064.*	*CBS 11076.*	*CBS 11087.*				
568	11089			II		CBS 11076.	CBS 11087.	Veldhuis 2000: ASJ 22, 239–40; CDLI P227659.	Ur III.	Lex.	Brockman Collection. Information courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
569	*11097 a + b.*			*II*	*CBS 2142.*	CBS 11076.	CBS 11087.				
570	11141			I		B.E.F. 08:01:06.	East side of Shatt en-Nil.	Poebel 1914; no. 106, Pls. LII-LIII; Civil 2004: 166, A; CDLI P266302.	MB.	Lex.	
571	11142			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11141.	CDLI P266303.	MB.	Acct.	
572	11143			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11141.	CDLI P266304.	MB.	Acct.	
573	11144			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11141.	Brinkman 1976: 267, U.2.24.21; Sassmannshausen 2001: 300–1, no. 121; CDLI P266305.	MB.	Acct.	
574	11145			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11141.	CDLI P266306.	MB.	Acct.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) identifies the text as an account.
575	11146			I		CBS 11141.	E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil.	CDLI P266307.	MB.	Acct.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
576	11147			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11146.	Brinkman 1976: 239, Q.2.115.158; Sassmannshausen 2001: 249, no. 58; CDLI P266308.	MB.	Acct.	Brinkman (pers comm 1999) identifies the text as an account.
577	11151	22, 2–10–89.		I		CBS 11141.	E[ast] side, Tablet Hill.	Radau 1913: 65, Text 9: Pls. 15–6 and V-VI; CDLI P266312.	OB.	Lit.	Radau (1913: 65) notes that the tablet was from Tablet Hill.
578	11152			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11151.	Poebel 1909: 31–2 and 145, no. 4, Pl. 2; CDLI P266313.	e.OB.	Leg.	Poebel (1909: 1) states that the tablet was from the 'South west area of Mound IV'. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
579	11153			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11151.	Viano 2012; CDLI P280051.	MB.	Lit.	
580	11156			I		CBS 11141.	CBS 11152.	CDLI P266317.	MB.	n/k.	
581	11167			I		B.E.F. 11:01:06.	E[ast side of Shatt en-Nil], Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266328.	MB.	n/k.	
582	11168	24, 2–16, 89.		I		CBS 11167.	(Tablet Hill).	ECTSL 2006: 2.4.5.4; CDLI P266329.	OB.	Lit.	CBS note by Hilprecht 'Nos 11168–11202 accroding to Dr Peters' statement part of first year's excavations. But he horribly mixed results of first and second years, for ..., some bear Dr harper's signature of first year (Nos. 11168, 11169, 70, 73, 75, 79, 91) the characteristic features of the second year's campaign were a large number of tablets dated in the reigns of the kings of the Second Dyn of Ur. I saw ... a few of them as the result of first year's excavations. Those bearing Harper's mark (I year) came from Tablet Hill E. side of Shatt'. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
583	11169	x, 3–8, 89.		I		CBS 11167.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266330.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 11168. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
584	11170	2, 2–11, 89.		I		CBS 11167.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266331.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS 11168.
585	11173	41, 2–16, 89.		I		CBS 11167.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 29–30 and 148, no. 28, Pl. 15; CDLI P266334.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 11168. Poebel (1909: 1) records that it was found in the 'south west area of Mound IV' (= Mound V).
586	11175	27, 2–16, 89.		I		CBS 11167.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1909: 445–6, no. 1, pl. 1; CDLI P266336.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 11168. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
587	11179	21, 2–16, 89.		I		CBS 11167.	(Tablet Hill).	Radau 1911: 80–4, 86, Text 5: Pls. 9 and V; CDLI P266340.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 11168. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
588	11191	12, 2–18, 89.		I		CBS 11167.	(Tablet Hill).	Poebel 1909: 153, no. 69a; Chiera 1914: 105, no. 23, Pl. 15; CDLI P266352.	e.OB.	Leg.	The 1889 excavation register has no tablets listed for 18 February. CBS 11168. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
589	11226	21, 2–14, 89.		I		B.E.F. 13:01:06.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266388.	OB.	Adm.	The 1889 register lists 9 tablets found on 14 February - 'No. 34. [Mound] V. tablette en terre cuite 5 x4 Ni. 4; No. 35. [Mound] V. Huit tablettes une brisé, brique cru'. CBS 11168. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
590	11228	31, 2–14(?), [89].		I		CBS 11226.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266390.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 11226. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
591	11237	1, 2–14, 89.		I		CBS 11226.	(Tablet Hill).	Poebel 1909: 145, no. 2, Pl. 1; CDLI P266399.	OB.	Leg.	Poebel (1909: 1) states that the tablet was found in the south west area of Mound IV (= Mound V). CBS 11226. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
592	11238			I		CBS 11226.	Tablet Hill, First year.	CDLI P266400.	MB?	n/k.	CBS 11226. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
593	11261	12, 2–13(?), 89.		I		B.E.F. 15:01:06.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266424.	n.Bab.	n/k.	CBS 11226.
594	11266	23, 2–14, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266429.	n.Bab.	n/k.	The 1889 register lists 9 tablets found on 14 February - 'No. 34. [Mound] V. tablette en terre cuite 5 x4 Ni. 4; No. 35. [Mound] V. Huit tablettes une brisé, brique cru'. CBS 11226.
595	11270	x, 2–26, 89		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266433.	Ach.	n/k.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). The 1889 register lists two tablets found on 26 February - 'No. 96, [Mound] V. Deux tablettes brisée'. CBS 11226.
596	11271	20, 2–14, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266434.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS 'Surely (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). The 1889 register lists 9 tablets found on 14 February - 'No. 34. [Mound] V. tablette en terre cuite 5 x4 Ni. 4; No. 35. [Mound] V. Huit tablettes une brisé, brique cru'. CBS 11226.
597	11273	22, 2–14, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266436.	n/k.	n/k.	The 1889 register lists 9 tablets found on 14 February - 'No. 34. [Mound] V. tablette en terre cuite 5 x4 Ni. 4; No. 35. [Mound] V. Huit tablettes une brisé, brique cru'. CBS 11226.
598	11275	16, 2–13, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266438.	Ach.	Leg.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). The 1889 register lists 16 tablets found on 13 February - 'No. 32. [Mound] V. Quinze tablettes, briques crues; No. 33. [Mound] V. Tablette en terre cuite, Ni. 4'. CBS 11226.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
599	11277	15, 2–13 –89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266440.	Ach.	n/k.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). The 1889 register lists 16 tablets found on 13 February - 'No. 32. [Mound] V. Quinze tablettes, briques crues; No. 33. [Mound] V. Tablette en terre cuite, Ni. 4'. CBS 11226.
600	11278	17, 2–13, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	Clay 1908: 79, Text 70: Pl. 30; CDLI P266441.	Ach.	Leg.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). Clay (1908: 79) notes that the tablet may have been found at Mound V. CBS 11226.
601	11279	16, 2–11, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266442.	Ach.	n/k.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). The 1889 register lists no tablets found on 11 February. CBS 11226.
602	11281	x, 3–15, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).		n/k.	n/k.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226. No CDLI registration.
603	11282	x–3–16, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).		n/k.	n/k.	No CDLI entry. CBS annotated 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226.
604	11285	18–3–16, [89].		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).		n/k.	n/k.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226. No CDLI registration.
605	11287	x–18–3, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).		n/k.	n/k.	No CDLI entry. CBS annotated 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226.
606	11299	56, 2–26, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).		n/k.	n/k.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). The 1889 register lists two tablets found in Mound V on 26 February, no. 96. CBS 11226. No CDLI registration.
607	*11300*			*I*	*CBS 2266.*	*CBS 11261.*					Provenance by join.
608	11302	68, 3–x, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	Landsberger 1959: 5, S16; CDLI P266465.	n.Bab.	Lex.	CBS 'Surely' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226.
609	11304	83, 3–5, 89.		I		CBS 11261.	(Tablet Hill).	Ellis 1979: 216, no. 1 and 218–9; CDLI P266467.	n.Bab.	Pray/ Inc.	CBS 'Positively (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226.
610	11315	57–3–2, 89.		I		B.E.F. 18:01:06.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266477.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS 'Positively (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226.
611	11316	38(?)–2–14, 89.		I		CBS 11315.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266478.	MB.	Adm.	CBS 'Positively (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
612	11317			I		CBS 11315.	No details.	Peterson 2011; CDLI P266479.	e.OB.	Lit.	
613	11318	65–3–5, 89.		I		CBS 11315.	(Tablet Hill).	Neugebauer *et al.* 1984: 246, No. 3, 247, No. 3 and 251; CDLI P254478.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS 'Positively' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226.
614	11319	51–2–18, 89.		I	N 3337 + 4926.	CBS 11315.	(Tablet Hill).	Sjöberg 1993; CDLI P225766.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 'Positively' (i.e. Ist Expedition, Tablet Hill). CBS 11226.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
615	11321			I	CBS 11329 + N 3325 + 3328.	B.E.F. 19:01:06.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266481.	OB.	Adm.	CBS 'Surely from Tablet Hill. Text date, type and joins courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
616	11322			I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 75, no. 141; Veldhuis 1997: 301, Ni II-110; CDLI P229187.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 11321.
617	11323			I	CBS 12715.	CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 98, no. 202; Landsberger 1959: 177, V2 and 230, V7; CDLI P229046.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 11321.
618	11324	44-2-1[6?], 89.		I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Klein *et al*. 2007; CDLI P230716.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 11321.
619	11325			I	CBS 11348 + 11362 + 11367 + 11388 + N 3357.	CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Radau 1911: 44-63 and 85, Text 1: Pls. 1-2 and I-II; Myrhman 1911: 11, no. 9, Pls. 16-7; Sjoberg 1976: 411, A; ECTSL 2006: 2.4.2.20; 2.4.4.4; and 4.27.04; Peterson 2011b: 302-3, No. 272; CDLI P266482.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 11321. Provenance by join.
620	11326	50-2-19, 89.		I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Myrhman 1911: 11, no. 10, Pls. 18-9 and XLII; Radau 1913: 64, Text 5: Pl. 9; CDLI P266483.	OB.	Lit.	Radau (1913: 64, no. 5) notes that the tablet was from 'Tablet Hill.'
621	*11327*			*I*	*CBS 2168.*	*CBS 11321.*	*(Tablet Hill).*				
622	11328			I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Black 1987 42.	OB.	Lex.	
623	11329	5-2-13, 89.		I	*CBS 11321.*	CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266486.			
624	11330			II		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Radau 1913: 64, Text 6: Pls. 10-1; Radau 1909: 456, 21-2; CDLI P266487.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
625	11331			I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Falkowitz 1983/4: 29; CDLI P266488.	OB.	Sch.	
626	11332			I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P266489.	Ur III.	Adm.	
627	11333			I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	CDLI P227663.	NB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
628	11334			I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Chiera 1916a: 172, no. 62, Pl. 65; Black 1987: 73; CDLI P266490.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
629	11335			I		CBS 11321.	(Tablet Hill).	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 91, No. 189; Landsberger 1959: 210, V15; Gordon 1960: 126; Alster 1997, i: Pls. 42-3; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; CDLI P229077.	OB.	Lex.	
630	11337	x-3-x, 89.		I		CBS 11321.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916a: 169, no. 22, Pl. 51; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P227664.	OB.	Lex.	CDLI dates as UR III, but Peterson dates to OB.
631	11338			I		CBS 11321.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 134, Pl. LXVI; Landsberger 1957: 84, K*; CDLI P266492.	n.Bab.	Lex.	CDLI incorrectly states Landsberger 1957; 84, N.
632	*11339*			*I*	*CBS 9871.*	*CBS 11321.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
633	11340			I	CBS 11402 + UM 29-16-752.	B.E.F. 22:01:06.	Tablet Hill.	Hilprecht 1906: 60-1, no. 20: Pls. 10-1; Neugebauer 1935: 12, no.s 21-3 and 54, no. 118; CDLI P230019.	OB.	Lex/ Math.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
634	11341			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Myrhman 1911: 11, no. 11, Pls. 20–1, XLIII-XLIV; CDLI P266494.	Ur III.	Roy/ Mon.	
635	11342			I	CBS 12714 (+) CBS 12514.	CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 95, no. 194; Landsberger 1959: 212, V28; Veldhuis 1997: 291, Ni II-002; CDLI P227665.	OB.	Lex.	
636	11343			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227666.	Ur III.	Lex.	
637	11344	37–2–14, 89.		I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1909: 450, no. 15, pls. 18–9; Zimmern 1917/18: 111; CDLI P266495.	OB.	Lit.	
638	11345			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 9, Pl. VI; Berlin 1979: 33, K; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.2.4; CDLI P266496.	Ur III.	Lit.	
639	11346			I	CBS 13961 + 15207 + HS 1472 + Ni 4174.	CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 100, no. 108; Kramer 1976: 10 and 18 (Ni. 4174), Pl. 88; ETCSL 2006: 1.7.8; CDLI P268959.	OB.	Lit.	
640	*11347*			*I*	*CBS 11317.*	*CBS 11340.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
641	*11348*	*6–2–16, 89.*		*I*	*CBS 11325.*	*CBS 11340.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
642	11349			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934: 3, Pl. 32, no. 30; Black 1987 53, 73; CDLI P266500.	OB.	Lit.	
643	11350			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934a: 3 and 8, no. 26, Pl. 33; Cavigneaux *et al*. 1993: 101, Nj; CDLI P266501.	OB.	lit.	CDLI lists ECTSL 2006 1.8.1.02 as an edition of the text. This is not correct. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
644	11351			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266502.	OB.	Math.	
645	11352			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266503.	OB.	Leg.	CDLI lists this with no joins. ECTSL 2006: 2.5.7.1 lists it as joined to CBS 11348 + 11362 + 11367. This would appear to be incorrect and should be listed as joined to CBS 11325 no 11352. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson.
646	11353			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Alster 1971; ECTSL 2006: 2.4.2.14; Peterson 2011b: 171–2, No. 149; CDLI P266504.	e.OB.	Lit.	
647	11354			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1919: 270, No. 8, Pl. 72; Peterson 2011a: 267; CDLI P227667.	OB.	Lex.	CDLI dates as UR III, but Peterson dates to OB.
648	11355			I		CBS 11340.	(Tablet Hill).	Chiera 1916a: 169, no. 21, Pl. 50; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P227668.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
649	11356	31, 2–16, 89.		I	N 4187.	CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	ECTSL 2006: 5.3.6; CDLI P266505.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
650	11357	52, x–x, 89.		I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266506.	OB.	Sch.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
651	11358	39, 2–16, 89.		I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266507.	Ur III.	Adm.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
652	11359			I		CBS 11340.	**Tablet Hill.**	Myrhman 1911: 11, no. 8, Pls. 14–5; CDLI P266508.	OB.	Lit.	
653	11360			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Peterson 2011a: 261; CDLI P266509.	OB.	Sch.	
654	11361			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266510.	OB.	Lex.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
655	*11362*			*I*	*CBS 11325.*	*CBS 11340.*	Tablet Hill.				
656	11363	31, 2–14, 89 and 39, 2–16, 89.		I	CBS 12672 + 12701 + N 3317 + 3382 + 3525 + 6891.	CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1911: 87, Text 12: Pls. 15 and VI; Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 104, no. 124; ETCSL 2006: 4.13.06; Peterson 2011b: 317–31, No. 283; CDLI P266512.	OB.	Lit.	
657	11364			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266513.	Ur III.	Adm.	
658	11365			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266514.	OB.	Lex?	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
659	11366	26, 2–16, 89.		I	CBS 11400.	CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 76, Pl. XXXVI; Peterson 2009b: 65; Peterson 2013: 1; CDLI P266515.	OB.	Pray/ Inc.	
660	*11367*	*3–2–x, 89.*		*I*	*CBS 11325.*	*CBS 11340.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
661	11368			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Hilprecht 1906: 61, no. 21: Pl. 10; CDLI P230021.	e.OB.	Lex.	
662	11369			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266517.	OB.	n/k.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
663	11370			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227669.	n/k.	n/k.	
664	11371			I	CBS 11419 + N 3361 + 3392 + 6471a + 7668 + 7716.	CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266518.	OB.	Lit.	Text date and type and joins courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
665	11372			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 29; Alster 1997, i: 304, Pl. 109; ECTSL 2006: 6.2.1; CDLI P227670.	OB.	Lex.	Round tablet.
666	11373			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	P266519.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
667	11374			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	Falkowitz 1983/4: 29; CDLI P266520.	OB.	Lex.	Round tablet. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
668	11375			I		CBS 11340.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266521.	Ur III.	Sch?	Round tablet.
669	11376			I		B.E.F. 23:01:06.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266522.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
670	11377			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266523.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
671	11378			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266524.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
672	11379			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266525.	n.Bab	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
673	11380			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266526	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
674	11381			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266527.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
675	11382			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266528.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
676	11383			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266529.	OB?	Sch.	Text date and type courtsey of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
677	11384			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266530.	Ur III.	Sch.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
678	11385			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266531.	n/k.	n/k.	This is a cache of small fragments so the tablet date and type is unclear. Information courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
679	11386			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266532.	OB.	Lit.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
680	11387			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Langdon 1917: 43, no. 55, Pls. 56–7; Landsberger 1951: pls. 7–8; Civil 1979: 21, De; CDLI P227671.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
681	11388			I	*CBS 11325.*	CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.				
682	11389			I	CBS 11393.	CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1913: 60–2 and 63, Text 1: Pls. 1–2; CDLI P 266534 and 266536.	OB.	Lit.	Text date, type and join courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
683	11390			I	CBS 19818.	CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 6, no. 4; Civil 1969: 191 V; CDLI P227672.	OB.	Lex.	
684	11391			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1909: 453–4, Pls 7 and IV; Reisman 1973: 185, F; ETCSL 2006: 2.5.3.1; CDLI P266535.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
685	11392			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Landsberger 1959: 209, V1; Landsberger *et al*. 1967; 66; CDLI P227673.	OB.	Lex.	
686	11393			I	CBS 11389.	CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1913: 60–2 and 63, Text 1: Pls. 1–2; CDLI P266536.	OB.	Lit.	
687	*11394*			*I*	*CBS 2241.*	*CBS 11376.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
688	11395			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Civil 1971: 95, E2; CDLI P227674.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
689	11396			I		CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227675.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
690	*11397*			*I*	*CBS 10502.*	*CBS 11376.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
691	11398			I	UM 29-15-257.	CBS 11376.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916a: 168, no. 9, Pl. 46; Chiera 1919: 271, no. 17, Pl. 76; Peterson 2011a: 267 and 268; CDLI P227676.	OB.	Lex.	
692	11399			I		B.E.F. 25:01:06.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266538.	OB.	n/k.	The text may be a model contract and is dated to the OB. Information courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
693	*11400*			*I*	*CBS 11366.*	*CBS 11399.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
694	*11401*			*I*	*CBS 2193.*	*CBS 11399.*	*Tablet Hill. W[est] side of Tablet Hill.*				
695	*11402*			*I*	*CBS 11340.*	*CBS 11399.*	*CBS 11401.*				
696	11404			I	CBS 2332.	CBS 11399.	East side of canal, Tablet Hill.		OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
697	11415			I		CBS 11399.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1919: 273, no. 40, Pl. 89; CDLI P227679.	OB.	Lex.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
698	11416			I		CBS 11399.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266552.	n/k.	n/k.	
699	11417			I		CBS 11399.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266553.	n.Bab	n/k.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
700	11419			I	*CBS 11371.*	CBS 11399.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266560.			
701	11499			II		B.E.F. 03:02:06.	Tablet Hill?	Poebel 1909: 145, no. 1, Pl. 1; CDLI P266641.	OB.	Leg.	South west area of Mound IV (i.e. Mound V, Poebel 1909: 1). Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
702	11556			II		B.E.F. 09:02:06.	East side of canal, Tablet Hill.	Myrhman 1911: 10, no. 3, Pls. 5 and XXXIX; Civil 1976: 86, B; ECTSL 2006: 5.5.5; CDLI P266698.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
703	11558			II		B.E.F. 09:02:06.	Probably Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 149, no. 34, Pls. 18 and IX; CDLI P266700.	OB.	Leg.	South west area of Mound IV (i.e. Mound V, Poebel 1909: 1). Tablet and envelope.
704	11560	2, 2–29, 89.		I		CBS 11558.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 105, no. 21; Pl. 14; Poebel 1909: 153, no. 69b; CDLI P266702.	OB.	Leg.	Text datae and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
705	11561			II		CBS 11558.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 152, no. 58, Pl. 36; CDLI P266703.	OB.	n/k.	Poebel (1909: 1) states that the tablet was found in the south west area of Mound IV (i.e. Mound V)'.
706	11562			II	Case to CBS 11660.	CBS 11558.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P266704.	OB.	Leg.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
707	11563			II		CBS 11558.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 153, no. 63, Pl. 39; CDLI P266705.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 11561. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
708	11564			II		CBS 11558.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 104, no. 9; Pl. 6; CDLI P266706.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 11561. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
709	11565			II		CBS 11558.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1909: 15–6 and 150, no. 39, Pl. 22; CDLI P266707.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 11561. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
710	11596			II				Poebel 1909: 147, no. 20, Pl. 10; CDLI P266738.	OB.	Leg.	Poebel (1909: 1) states that the tablet was found in the south west area of Mound IV (i.e. Mound V). However, CBS records that the provenance is uncertain. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
711	11601			II		B.E.F. 12:02:06.	Tablet Hill.	Robson 2000: 26–7, no. 9; CDLI P266742.	OB?	Math.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
712	11640			I		CBS 11601.	East side of canal.	Poebel 1909: 146, no. 9, Pl. 4; CDLI P266781.	e.OB.	Leg.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
713	*11660*			*II*	*Case = CBS 11562.*			*CDLI P266801.*			
714	11715			II		B.E.F. 16:02:06.		Poebel 1909: 147, no. 19, Pl. 9; CDLI P266855.	OB.	Adm.	i.e. Mound V, Poebel (1909: 1) states that the tablet was from the South west area of Mound IV.
715	*11783*			*II*	*CBS 9887.*	*B.E.F. 20:02:06.*					*Provenance by join. CBS annotated 'Peters, Box 28'.*
716	11902			II		B.E.F. 23:02:06.		Hilprecht 1906: 61, no. 22: Pl. 12; Neugebauer 1935: 10, no. 7 and 51, no. 107; CDLI P230022.	e.OB.	Lex./ Math.	Hilprecht (1906: 61, no. 21) notes that the tablet was found in 'Ni.V' on Season IV. But CBS does not say with clarity which is correct and notes that the tablet came from Box 28.
717	12486			II		B.E.F. 13:03:06.	East side of Shatt en-Nil.	Veldhuis 1997: 288, Ni P-04; CDLI P230167.	OB.	Lex.	Prism.
718	12488			II		B.E.F. 03:04:06.	East side of Shatt en-Nil.	Chiera 1919: 277; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P230514.	OB.	Lex.	Prism.
719	12502			IV		Mrs H.V. H.15:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	Civil 1979: 22, Ev; CDLI P227682.	e.OB.	Lex.	
720	12503			II	*CBS 3930.*	CBS 12502.	Tablet Hill.	ETCSL 2006: 2.4.2.05.			No CDLI registration.
721	12509			II		CBS 12503.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P267154.	n/k.	n/k.	Surface is not preserved so dating and typing is impossible. Information courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
722	12510			II		CBS 12503.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P267155.	n.Bab	Sch.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
723	12511			II		B.E.F. 16:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 76, no. 144; Veldhuis 1997: 306, Ni II-153; CDLI P227683.	e.OB.	Lex.	
724	12512			II		CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	ETCSL 2006: 2.2.2; CDLI P267156.	e.OB.	Lit.	
725	12513			II	CBS 12521(?)	CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227684.	e.OB.	Lex.	
726	*12514*			*II*	*CBS 11342.*	*CBS 12511.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
727	12515			II		CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 16; Civil 1969: 32, U"; Veldhuis 1997: 292, Ni II-018; CDLI P227685.	e.OB.	Lex.	
728	*12516*			*II*	*CBS 9847.*	*CBS 12511.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
729	12517			II		CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P267158.	e.OB.	Lex.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
730	*12518*			*II*	*CBS 11074.*	*CBS 12511.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
731	12519			II	BM 22695 + N 3166 + 3220 + UM 29-15-356,	CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 19, Pls. X and XCIII; Langdon 1923: 1-10; Chiera 1934a: 1 and 8, no. 5, Pl. 11; Witzel 1933: 28; ECTSL 1.8.2.2; CDLI P278220.	OB.	Lit	
732	12520			II	CBS 12682 + 12720 + N 5068.	CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916: 87; Peterson 2011a: 262; CDLI P227687.	e.OB.	Lex.	
733	*12521*			*II*	*CBS 12513.*	*CBS 12511.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
734	12522			II		CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P267162.	e.OB.	Lit.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
735	12523			II		CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 122, Pl. LIX; Civil 1979: 26, Ic; CDLI P2229474.	OB.	Lex.	
736	12524			II		CBS 12511.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1919: 277; Peterson 2011a: 269; CDLI P267163.	OB.	Lex.	
737	12527			I		B.E.F. 20:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	Ungnad 1915: 47, no. 27: Pl. XIX; Stoll 1986: 16–7, no. 27; CDLI P267166.	OB.	Let.	
738	12569			III		B.E.F. 13:03:06.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P267207.	Ur III.	Adm.	
739	*12573*			*III*	*CBS 8804.*	*CBS 12569.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
740	12574			III		CBS 12569.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P267212.	n.Bab.	n/k.	
741	12578			III		B.E.F. 15:03:06.	East side of Shatt en-Nil. Tablet Hill.	Leichty 1990; CDLI P267216.	n.Bab.	Sci.	
742	12602			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 29:03:06.	East side of canal.	Radau 1909: 452, no. 22, pl. 28; Veldhuis 2004: 123, Ni2–01, Pls. 13–4; ETCSL 2006: 4.14.3; CDLI P267240.	OB.	Lit.	Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
743	12638			II	CBS 12684 + 12685 + 12686+ 12702 + 12752.	B.E.F., 02:04:06.	Nil.	Chiera 1934a: 4 and 8, no. 50, Pl. 58; Sladek 1974: 100, A; Kramer 1951: 1; ETCSL 2006: 1.4.1; CDLI P267276.	OB.	Lit.	Provenance by join.
744	12643			II		B.E.F., 02:04:06.	Temple Library or school. East side of Shatt en-Nil.	CDLI P267281.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 'Box 28'. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
745	12644			II	CBS 2136.	CBS 12643.	CBS 12643.				CBS 12643.
746	12645			II	CBS 9868.	CBS 12643.	CBS 12643.	CDLI P267283.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
747	12646			II		CBS 12643.	CBS 12643.	CDLI P267284	OB.	n/k.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
748	12647			II		CBS 12643.	CBS 12643.	CDLI P267285.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
749	12649			II		CBS 12643.	Temple Library. East side of Shatt en-Nil.	CDLI P267286.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
750	12650	CBS 986		II		CBS 12643.	CBS 12643.	CDLI P267287.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
751	12655			II		CBS 12643.	Temple Library.	Veldhuis 1997: 319, Ni II-274; CDLI P230057.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643. No CDLI registration.
752	12656			II		B.E.F., 03:04:06.	Temple School.	CDLI P267290.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
753	12657			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12656.	Nil.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. No CDLI registration. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
754	12658			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12656.	CDLI P267291.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
755	12659			II		CBS 12656.	Temple Library.	Chiera 1916a: 174; Peterson 2011a: 268; CDLI P227690.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
756	12660			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12659.	CDLI P267292.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
757	12661			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12659.	CDLI P267293.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
758	12662			II		CBS 12656.	Temple Library or School.	Peterson 2011b: 255–6, No. 232; CDLI P267294.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 12643. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
759	12663			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12662.	CDLI P267295.	Ur III.	Adm.	CBS 12643.
760	12664			II		CBS 12656.	Temple Library.	CDLI P267296.	OB.	Sch/ Lex?	CBS 12643. Tablet is minimally preserved. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
761	12665			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12664.	CDLI P267297.	OB.	Sch/ Lex.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
762	12666			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12664.	Chiera 1929: 16; Veldhuis 1997: 293, Ni II-019; ECTSL 2006: 6.2.1; Peterson 2009a; CDLI P227691.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
763	12667			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12664.	Chiera 1916: 82, no. 28: Pl. 16; Peterson 2011a: 261; CDLI P228980.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643. No CDLI registration.
764	12668			II		CBS 12656.	Temple Library or School.	CDLI P267298.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
765	12669			II	N 4649 (+) CBS 12681 + 12711.	CBS 12656.	Temple Library.	Chiera 1919: 271, no. 18, Pl. LXXVII; Civil 1971: 65, I1 and 83, I1; Peterson 2011a: 267 and 268; CDLI P227692.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643.
766	12670			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	Peterson 2011b: 37–8, No. 21; CDLI P267299.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 12643.
767	12672			II	*CBS 11363.*	CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.				CBS 12643.
768	12673			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	CDLI P227694.	OB?	n/k.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
769	12674			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	CDLI P267302.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
770	12675			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	CDLI P267303.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
771	12676			II		CBS 12656.	Temple School.	CDLI P267304.	OB.	Sch/ Lex ?	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
772	12677			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	CDLI P267305.	OB.	n/k.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
773	12678			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	CDLI P267306.	OB.	Sch/ Lex?	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
774	12679			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	CDLI P267307.	OB?	Math/ Adm.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
775	12680			II		CBS 12656.	CBS 12669.	Chiera 1919: 277; Peterson 2011a: 270; CDLI P227695.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
776	*12681*			*II*	*CBS 12669.*	*CBS 12656.*	*Temple School or Library.*				*CBS 12643.*
777	*12682*			*II*	*CBS 12520.*	*CBS 12656.*	*CBS 12681.*				*CBS 12643.*
778	12683			II		CBS 12656.	As for CBS 12681.	CDLI P267309.	OB.	Adm.	CBS 12643.
779	*12684*			*II*	*CBS 12638.*	*CBS 12656.*	*Temple Library.*				*CBS 12643.*
780	*12685*			*II*	*CBS 12638.*	*CBS 12656.*	*CBS 12684.*				*CBS 12643.*
781	*12686*			*II*	*CBS 12638.*	*CBS 12656.*					*CBS 'Box 28'. Provenance by join.*
782	12688			II		CBS 12656.	Temple School.	CDLI P267314.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 12643. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
783	*12690*			*II*	*CBS 2155.*	*CBS 12656.*	*No details.*				*CBS 12643.*
784	12693			II		B.E.F., 05:04:06.	Temple Library. East of Shatt-en-Nil.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 51, no. 97; Landsberger 1959: 178 V8; Falkowitz 1983/4: 29; CDLI P227696.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 12643.
785	12694			II	*CBS 12663.*	As for CBS 12693.	As for CBS 12693.	Poebel 1914: no. 68, pl. XXX; Frayne 1990: 66–8, E4.1.6.2; Frayne 1997; 313, E3/2.1.4.6; CDLI P227070.	OB.	Roy/ Mon.	Frayne (1990: 66, E4.1.6.2) states that it was found in Expedition III in 'a later structure on the south-east side of the ziqqurat'. This is not compatible with the CBS catalogue entry.
786	*12701*			*II*	*CBS 11363.*	*B.E.F., 26:11:06.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
787	*12702*			*II*	*CBS 12638.*	*CBS 12701.*	*No details.*				
788	12704			II		CBS 12701.	Temple Library.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 40, no. 57; Landsberger 1960: 82, V 48; CDLI P227697.	OB.	Lex.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
789	12705			II		CBS 12701.	CBS 12704.	Chiera 1929: 16; Veldhuis 1997: 301, Ni II-105; CDLI P227698.	OB.	Lex.	
790	12706			1		CBS 12701.	CBS 12704.	Chiera 1929: 16; Veldhuis 1997: 301, Ni II-103; CDLI P227699.	OB.	Lex.	
791	12707			II		CBS 12701.	CBS 12704.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 88, no. 180; Veldhuis 1997: 300, Ni II-102; CDLI P227700.	OB.	Lex.	
792	12708			II		CBS 12701.	CBS 12704.	Landsberger *et al*. 1967: 66, B8; Nemet-Nejat *et al*.: 1994: 82, note 12; Poebel 1914: Pl. LXVIII, no. 137; CDLI P229724.	OB.	Sch.	
793	*12711*			*II*	*CBS 12669.*	*CBS 12701.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
794	*12714*			*II*	*CBS 11342.*	*CBS 12701.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
795	*12715*			*II*	*CBS 11323.*	*CBS 12701.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
796	*12720*			*II*	*CBS 12520.*	*B.E.F. 27:11:06.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
797	12735			II	*CBS 12736 (+?) CBS 3930*	B.E.F., 11:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	Legrain 1922: 55–60, No. 23: Pl. IX.	OB.		No CDLI registration. Prism.
798	*12736*			*II*	*CBS 17735 (+) 3930.*	*CBS 12735.*	*CBS 12735.*				

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
799	12737			I		B.E.F., 05:11:07.	Place of discovery unknown, probably Temple Library east of Shatt en-Nil'.	Peterson 2009a; CDLI P267348.	e.OB.	Lit.	
800	*12738*			*I*	*CBS 2168.*	*CBS 12737.*	*CBS 12737.*				
801	12739			I		CBS 12737.	CBS 12737.	CDLI P227709.	e.OB.	Lex.	
802	12740			I		CBS 12737.	CBS 12737.	CDLI P267350.	OB.	Lex/ Sch.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
803	*12741*			*II*	*CBS 9868.*	*B.E.F., 05:11:09.*	*Temple Library. East side of Shatt[-en-Nil].*				*Provenance by join.*
804	12742			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12741.	CDLI P227710.	OB.	Lit.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
805	12743			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12741.	CDLI P267352.	OB.	Lex/ Sch.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
806	*12744*			*II*	*CBS 9847.*	*CBS 12741.*	*CBS 12741.*				
807	*12745*			*II*	*(+) CBS 6050a.*	*CBS 12741.*	*CBS 12741.*				
808	12746			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12741.	CDLI P267354.	e.OB.	Sch/ Lex.	Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson, October 2014.
809	12747			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12741.				No CDLI registration.
810	12748			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12741.	Veldhuis 1997: 306, Ni II-150; CDLI P230523.	OB.	Lex.	
811	12749			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12741.	CDLI P230759	OB.	Lit.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
812	12750			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12741.	CDLI P267355.	OB.	Math.	
813	12751			II	CBS 12751a.	CBS 12741.	East side of Shatt[en-Nil]. Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 103, Pl. XLVII; Civil 1979: 88, Q; CDLI P227712.	OB.	Lex.	
814	*12751a*			*II*		*CBS 12741.*					
815	*12752*			*II*	*CBS 12638.*	*CBS 12741.*	*CBS 12751.*				
816	12753			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12751.	CDLI P267357.	OB.	Lex/ Sch.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
817	12754			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12751.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 59, no. 119; Veldhuis 1997: 291, Ni II-004; CDLI P227714.	OB.	Lex.	
818	12755			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12751.	CDLI P227715.	e.OB.	Lex.	
819	12756			II	N 5301.	CBS 12741.	East side of Shat[en-Nil].	Peterson 2011a: 264; CDLI P267358.	OB.	Lex.	
820	12757			II		CBS 12741.	CBS 12756.	Sladek 1974: 101, G, Figure II; ECTSL 2006: 1.4.1; CDLI P267359.	OB.	Lit.	
821	12787			II		B.E.F., 11:11:09.	Tablet Hill	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 105, no. 127; CDLI P267389.	e.OB.	Lit.	

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
822	12789			I		CBS 12787.	Tablet Hill	CDLI P227716.	e.OB.	Lex.	
823	13103			II		Mrs Hilprecht, 11:01:09.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1911: 87, no. 11; Pls. 14 and V; van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 14, C1 and LXXXIII; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.2; CDLI P268188.	e.OB.	Lit.	
824	13106			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 30:12:08.	CBS 13103.	Radau 1909: 451, no. 19, pl. 23; ECTSL 2006: 5.1.3; CDLI P268191.	e.OB.	Lit.	
825	*13107*			*II*	*CBS 2203.*	*B.E.F., 09:11:09.*	*Temple archives west side of Shat en-Nil.*				*Provenace by join.*
826	13110			II		CBS 13106.	Tablet Hill. E[ast] side of Shatt [en-Nil].	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 109, no. 135; Cooper 1983: 68, K; Falkenstein 1965: 44, no. AA; ETCSL 2006: 2.1.5; CDLI P268196.	e.OB.	Lit.	
827	*13112*			*II*	*CBS 9245.*	*CBS 13106.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
828	13113			II		CBS 13106.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 109, no. 93, Pl. XLIII; CDLI P268199.	e.OB.	Leg.	
829	13114			II	N 3351.	CBS 13106.	Tablet Hill.	van Dijk 1983: Volume II, 18, I4; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.2; CDLI P268200.	e.OB.	Lit.	
830	13115			II		CBS 13106.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268201.	e.OB.	Adm.	
831	13116			II	CBS 15360	CBS 13106.	E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil.	Radau 1909: 449, no. 11, pls. 13–4; Shaffer 1963: 47, DD; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.1.4; Gadotti 2014: 135, N22; CDLI P268202.	e.OB.	Lit.	
832	13121			II	N 3137.	CBS 13106.	CBS 13116.		e.OB.	Lit.	
833	13122			II		CBS 13106.	CBS 13116.	Chiera 1934a: 3 and 8, no. 39, Pl. 47; ECTSL 2006: 5.5.4; CDLI P268208.	e.OB.	Lit.	
834	13246			IV	UM 29-13-237.	Mrs Hilprecht, 01:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	Poebel 1914: no. 151, Pl. LXXVII; Civil 1971: 93, F; CDLI P227717.	e.OB.	Lex.	
835	13256			II		B.E.F., 02:11:09.	CBS 13246.	Chiera 1934: 1, Pl. 10, no. 10; Peterson 2013: 2; CDLI P268338.	e.OB.	Pray./ Inc.	
836	13291			II		B.E.F., 03:11:09.	CBS 13246.	ETCSL 2006: 4.80.1; CDLI P268372.	e.OB.	Lit	
837	13293			II	CBS 13484.	CBS 13291.	CBS 13246.	Poebel 1914: no. 4, Pl. III; Hallo 1963: 54–5; ETCSL 2006: 2.1.1; CDLI P268374.	e.OB.	Roy./ Mon.	
838	13297			IV		CBS 13291.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1934a: 4–5, no. 62; pl. 71; Witzel 1944: 306–7; CDLI P268378.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 'Box 160'.
839	13298			IV	CBS 15130 + N 960 + 2879.	CBS 13297.	CBS 13297.	Chiera 1934: 5, Pl. 78, no. 71; ETCSL 2006: 2.4.2.05; Peterson 2011b: 164–5, No. 139; CDLI P268379.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 13297.
840	13299			IV		CBS 13297.	CS 13297.	Chiera 1934a: 2 and 8, no. 27, Pl. 33; Kramer 1947: 7, J; ETCSL 2006: 1.8.1.5; CDLI P268380.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 13297.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
841	13300			IV	N 3300 + UM 29-16-213 + Ist Ni 9638 + 9728 + 9837.	CBS 13297.	CBS 13297.	Chiera 1934: 7, Pl. 96, no. 95; Cig *et al.* 1969: 22 and 51 (Ni. 9638), Pl. 120; Kramer 1976: 15 and 23 (Ni. 9728), Pl. 76; Veldhuis 2004: 124, Ni2-02, Pls 1 and 15-19; CDLI P268381.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 13297.
842	13301			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 16:02:10.	Tablet Hill.	Radau 1911: 64-72, 87, Text 9; Pl. 13; Radau 1910: 61-65; Cooper 1978: 53, C; ETCSL 2006: 1.6.1; CDLI P268382.	e.OB.	Lit.	
843	*13379*				*CBS 9852.*	*B.E.F., 22:08:17.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
844	*13386*			*?*	*CBS 2168.*	*B.E.F., 22:08:17.*	*No details.*				
845	*13395*				*CBS 2303.*	*CBS 13386.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
846	*13402c*				*CBS 3878.*	*B.E.F., 01:09:17.*					
847	13457			II		B.E.F., 04:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227721.	e.OB.	Lex.	
848	*13484*			*II*	*CBS 13293.*	*B.E.F., 06:11:09.*	*W[est] side of Shatt-en-Nil.*				*Joined to a tablet from Mound V, but listed as from Mound X.*
849	13486			IV		B.E.F., 06:11:09.	E[ast] side of Shatt en-Nil. Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227722.	MB.	Adm.	Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
850	13493			I		CBS 13486.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 25, no. 24; Green 1984a; CDLI P227723.	e.OB.	Lex.	
851	13518			IV	CBS 13521 + 13523 + 13526 + 13531 + 13535.	Mrs Hilprecht, 13:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227724.	e.OB.	Lex.	
852	13519			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 28:01:16.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 16; Veldhuis 1997: 295, Ni II-042; CDLI P227725.	e.OB.	Lex.	
853	13520			IV		CBS 13519.	Tablet Hill.	Veldhuis 1997: 311, Ni II-201; CDLI P227726.	OB.	Lex.	
854	*13521*			*IV*	*CBS 13518.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 30:11:09.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
855	13522			IV		CBS 13519.	Tablet Hill.	Veldhuis 1997: 326, Ni U-11; CDLI P227727.	e.OB.	Lex.	
856	*13523*			*IV*	*CBS 13518.*	*CBS 13521.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
857	13524			IV		CBS 13519.	Tablet Hill.	Veldhuis 1997: 329; CDLI P227728.	e.OB.	Lex.	
858	13525			IV	CBS 13527 + 13527a + 13528 + 13570 + 13577 + 13621a.	CBS 13519.	Tablet Hill.	Veldhuis 1997: 300, Ni II-095; CDLI P227729.	e.OB.	Lex.	
859	*13526*			*IV*	*CBS 13518.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 30:11:09.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
860	*13527*			*IV*	*CBS 13525.*	*CBS 13519.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
861	*13527a*			*IV*	*CBS 13525.*	*CBS 13524.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
862	*13528*			*IV*	*CBS 13525.*	*CBS 13524.*	*Tablet Hill.*				

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
863	13529			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 30:11:09.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268562.	e.OB.	n/k.	
864	13530			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 28:01:10.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268563.	OB.	Math.	
865	*13531*			*IV*	*CBS 13518.*	*CBS 13529.*	*Tablet Hill.*				
866	13532			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 25:01:09.	Tablet Hill.	Hilprecht 1910: 48–65, pls. i-ii; Lambert *et al*. 1969: 126; CDLI P268565.	MB.	Lit.	CBS 'Box opened for the Committee in Trial, but not unpacked'. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
867	13533			IV		CBS 13532.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268566.	n.Bab	Sch?	CBS 13532. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
868	13534			IV		CBS 13532.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268567.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 13532. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
869	*13535*			*IV*	*CBS 13518.*	*CBS 13532.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13532.*
870	13561			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 02:12:09.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 61–2 and 108, no. 82: Pl. 36; CDLI P268594.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 'Box 15'.
871	13562			IV		CBS 13561.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 59–60 and 108, no. 81: Pl. 35; CDLI P268595.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 13561.
872	13563			IV	CBS 13587 + 13603 + 13612 + 13650.	Mrs Hilprecht, 01:12:09.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268596.	n/k.	Roy./ Mon.	CBS 13561.
873	13564			IV		CBS 13561.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268597.	OB.	Math.	CBS 13561.
874	13565			IV	& CBS 13773 + 13776 + 13783 + 13785 + 13787 + 13790.	As for CBS 13564.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1914: 109, no. 86: Pl. 38; CDLI P268598.	OB.	Leg.	CBS 13561. The item is a case with tablet.
875	13566			IV	CBS 13581 + 13598 + 13640 + 13649 + 13675.	Mrs Hilprecht, 03:12:09.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916: 85, no. 60: Pl.s. 30–1; Peterson 2011a: 261 and 267; CDLI P227730.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
876	13567			IV	CBS 13574 + 13579 + 13582 + 13591 + 13595 + 13599 + 13606 + 13613 + 13616 + 13626 + 19933.	Mrs Hilprecht, 21:01:10.	Tablet Hill.	Landsberger *et al.* 1967: 41, V 8; CDLI P229119.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
877	13568			IV	CBS 13575 + 13576 + 13583 + 13588 + 13592 + 13596 + 13601 + 13614.	Mrs Hilprecht, 24:01:10.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916a: 172, no. 67: Pl. 68; Veldhuis 1997: 292, Ni II-013; CDLI P227731.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561. Chiera (1916a: 172, no. 67) lists the tablet as having been excavated in the IIIrd season, but the CBS Catalogue is clear that it was the IVth.
878	13569			IV		Mrs Hilprecht 26:01:10.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268599.	e.OB.	Math.	CBS 13561.
879	*13570*			*IV*	*CBS 13525.*	*CBS 13569.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
880	13571			IV	CBS 13602 + 13617 + 13620 + 13623 + 13629 + N 3276 + 4838.	Mrs Hilprecht, 07:02:10.	Tablet Hill.	Myrhman 1911: 9, no. 1: Pls. 1–2 and XXXV-VI; Faber-Flugge 1973: 1; ECTSL 2006: 1.3.1; Peterson 2011b: 31–2, No. 16; CDLI P268601.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 13561.
881	13572			IV		CBS 13571.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227733.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
882	13573			IV	CBS 13578 + 13586 + 13604 + 13622 + 13630 + 13639 + 13641 + 13648 + 13674.	Mrs Hilprecht, 08:02:10.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916: 80, no. 6: Pls. 6–7; Peterson 2011a: 261 and 262; CDLI P227734.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561. Text type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
883	*13574*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
884	*13575*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*CBS 13568.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
885	*13576*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 26:01:10.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
886	*13577*			*IV*	*CBS 13525.*	*CBS 13569.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
887	*13578*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*CBS 13573.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
888	*13579*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
889	13580			IV	CBS 13597 + 13600 + 13620.	Mrs Hilprecht, 01:12:09.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268608.	Lagash II.	Roy./ Mon.	CBS 13561.
890	*13581*			*IV*	*CBS 13566.*	*CBS 13566.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
891	*13582*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				CBS 13561.
892	*13583*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*CBS 13568.*	*Tablet Hill.*				CBS 13561.
893	13584			IV	CBS 13590.	Mrs Hilprecht, 14:02:10.	Tablet Hill.		OB.	Sch/ Lex.	CBS 13561. No CDLI registration. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
894	13585			IV	CBS 13607.	CBS 13584.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1916a: 169, no. 30: Pl. 56; Peterson 2011a: 265; CDLI P227735.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
895	*13586*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*CBS 13573.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
896	*13587*			*IV*	*CBS 13563.*	*CBS 13563.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
897	*13588*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*CBS 13568.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
898	13589			IV		CBS 13584.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227736.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
899	*13590*			*IV*	*CBS 13584 (?)*	*CBS 13589.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
900	*13591*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
901	*13592*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*CBS 13568.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
902	13593			IV	CBS 13605 + 13624 + 13630 + 13631 + 13638.	Mrs Hilprecht, 14:02:10.	Tablet Hill.	ETCSL 2006: 2.2.2; CDLI P268618.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 13561.
903	*13594*			*IV*		*CBS 13593.*	*Tablet Hill.*		*e.OB.*	*Lex.*	*CBS 13561.*
904	*13595*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
905	*13596*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*CBS 13568.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
906	*13597*			*IV*	*CBS 13580.*	*CBS 13580.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
907	*13598*			*IV*	*CBS 13566.*	*CBS 13566.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
908	*13599*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
909	*13600*			*IV*	*CBS 13580.*	*CBS 13580.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
910	*13601*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*CBS 13568.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
911	*13602*			*IV*	*CBS 13571.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 07:02:10.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
912	*13603*			*IV*	*CBS 13563.*	*CBS 13563.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
913	*13604*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
914	*13605*			*IV*	*CBS 13593.*	*CBS 13593.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
915	*13606*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
916	*13607*			*IV*	*CBS 13585.*	*CBS 13585.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
917	13608			IV		Mrs Hilprecht.	Tablet Hill.	Sjoberg *et al.* 1969: 15, S; ETCSL 2006: 4.80.1; CDLI P268632.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 13561. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
918	13609			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 01:04:10.	Tablet Hill.	ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; CDLI P229711.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 13561.
919	13610			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 07:04:10.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1929: 5, Pl. 48, no. 84; Landsberger 1959: 180, V37 and 197, V3; CDLI P227738.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
920	13611			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 15:05:15.	Tablet Hill.	Chiera 1919: 270, no. 7: Pl. 72; Veldhuis 1997: 313, Ni II-219; Peterson 2011a: 267; CDLI P227739.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
921	*13612*			*IV*	*CBS 13563.*	*CBS 13563.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
922	*13613*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13567.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
923	*13614*			*IV*	*CBS 13568.*	*CBS 13568.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
924	13615			IV		Mrs Hilprecht.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268636.	MB?	Adm.	CBS 13561. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
925	*13616*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*CBS 13614.*	*Tablet Hill.*				CBS 13561.
926	*13617*			*IV*	*CBS 13571.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 07:02:10.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
927	13618			IV	CBS 13642 + N 7003.	As for CBS 13617.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268639.	MB.	n/k.	CBS 13561.
928	13619			IV		Mrs Hilprecht.	Tablet Hill.	Landsberger *et al.* 1970: 54, V34; Veldhuis 1997: 319, Ni II-279; CDLI P227740.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 13561.
929	*13620*			*IV*	*CBS 13580.*	*CBS 13580.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
930	*13620 bis*			*IV*	*CBS 13571.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 01:12:09.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
931	*13621a*			*IV*	*CBS 13525.*	*CBS 13569.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
932	*13622*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*CBS 13621.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
933	*13623*			*IV*	*CBS 13571.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 07:02:10.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
934	*13624*			*IV*	*CBS 13593.*	*CBS 13593.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
935	*13625*			*IV*	*CBS 7802.*	*B.E.F., 22:11:16.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
936	*13626*			*IV*	*CBS 13567.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 22:01:10.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
937	*13629*				*CBS 13571.*	*Mrs Hilprecht 07:02:10.*	*No details.*				
938	*13630*				*CBS 13573.*	*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
939	*13631*			*IV*	*CBS 13593.*	*CBS 13593.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
940	*13636*			*IV*		*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*Tablet Hill.*		*OB.*	*Math.*	Provenance by join. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
941	*13638*			*IV*	*CBS 13593.*	*CBS 13593.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
942	*13639*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
943	*13640*			*IV*	*CBS 13566.*	*CBS 13566.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
944	*13641*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
945	*13642*			*IV*	*CBS 13618.*	*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13561.*
946	*13648*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
947	*13649*			*IV*	*CBS 13566.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 21:01:10.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
948	*13650*			*IV*	*CBS 13563.*	*CBS 13563.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
949	13671			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 00:11:16 (?).	Tablet Hill.		n.Bab	Lex.	No CDLI registration. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
950	13672			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 06:12:16.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227743.	e.OB.	Lex.	
951	13673			IV		CBS 13671.	Tablet Hill.		OB.	Lex.	No CDLI registration. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
952	*13674*			*IV*	*CBS 13573.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 08:02:10.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
953	*13675*			*IV*	*CBS 13566.*	*Mrs Hilprecht.*	*No details.*				*Provenance by join.*
954	*13683*				*CBS 7802.*	*Details not given.*					*Provenance by join.*
955	13761			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 14:03:10.	Tablet Hill, East side of Shatt [en-Nil].	CDLI P268774.	MB.	Sch.	CBS 'Box 10'.
956	*13773*			*IV*	*CBS 13565.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 16:02:10.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 'Box 60'.*
957	13775			IV		CBS 13773.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P227744.	e.OB	Lex.	PBS 08/1, 086 incorrectly suggests that CBS 13775 is part of an envelope, probably typo for CBS 13773
958	*13776*			*IV*	*CBS 13565.*	*CBS 13773.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 'Box 160'.*
959	13777			IV		CBS 13773.	Tablet Hill.	Alster 2005: 266, Pls. 32–3; CDLI P268789.	e.OB.	Lit.	CBS 'Box 10'.
960	13780			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 17:02:10.	Tablet Hill.	CDLI P268791.	e.OB.	Sch.	CBS 13777.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
961	*13783*			*IV*	*CBS 13565.*	*CBS 13773.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13776.*
962	*13785*			*IV*	*CBS 13565.*	*CBS 13773.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13776.*
963	*13787*			*IV*	*CBS 13565.*	*CBS 13773.*	*CBS 13773.*				*CBS 13776.*
964	*13790*			*IV*	*CBS 13565.*	*Mrs Hilprecht 17:02:10.*	*Tablet Hill.*				*CBS 13776.*
965	13820			IV		Mrs Hilprecht, 22:04:10.	Tablet Hill, [east] side of Shatt-[en-nil].	CDLI P268830.	n.Bab	Sch?	CBS 13777. The remaining items from Box appear to be from Mound X. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
966	13821			IV		CBS 13820.	CBS 13820.	CDLI P268831.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS 13820. Too poorly damaged to date or type - information courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
967	*13961*			-	*CBS 11346.*	*B.E.F. 06:12:16.*	*No details.*				
968	*14547*				*CBS 2344.*		*No details.*				
969	*15130*				*CBS 13298.*		*No details.*				
970	*15207*			-	*CBS 11346.*	*B.E.F. 24:04:17.*	*No details.*				
971	*19751*			*IV*	*CBS 2204.*	*Mrs Hilprecht, 14:04:05.*	*From the Temple Library [Mound] IV'.*				*CBS ' from Box 40, opened in the presence of Mr Witte (?), unpacked/ released for the greater part on April 8 1905. Box 40 evidently from upper layers'.*
972	19752			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 8, no. 7; Civil 1969: 200, B'; CDLI P227851.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19751.
973	19753			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	Chiera 1929: 16; Landsberger *et al.* 1967: 66 B1; Veldhuis 1997: 302, Ni II-118; CDLI P227852.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19751.
974	19754			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P270371. Chiera OIP 15 117.	MB.	Lit.	CBS 19751.
975	19755			IV		Mrs Hilprecht 20:11:02.	CBS 19751. Further annotated 'probably from the Temple School'.	CDLI P230528.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19751. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
976	19756			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	Civil 1969: 31, W'; CDLI P227853.	OB.	Lex.	CBS ' from Box 40'.
977	*19757*			*IV*	*CBS 10990.*	*CBS 19751.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19756.*
978	*19758*			*IV*	*CBS 3882*	*CBS 19751.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19756.*
979	19759			IV	*CBS 10992.*	CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P227854.	n/k.	Lex.	CBS 19756.
980	19760			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	Hilprecht 1906: pl. VIII, no. 9; Chiera 1929: 4, Pl. 9, no. 9; Civil 1969: 175 I; CDLI P229550.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 19756.
981	19761			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	Robson 2000: 36–9, no. 16; CDLI P269999.	MB.	Math.	CBS 19756.
982	19762			IV		Mrs Hilprecht 20:11:02.	CBS 19751.	Nil.	OB.	Lex/ Sch.	CBS 19756. Further annotated 'brought from Constantinople in fall 1902'. No CDLI registration. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
983	19763			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P270374.	OB.	Adm.	CBS 19756. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
984	19764			IV		CBS 19751.	CBS 19751.	Radau 1908: 171, no. 89, Pl. 62; CDLI P270375.	MB.	Let.	CBS 19756.
985	*19786*			*IV*	*CBS 10180.*	*CBS 19762.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 'Specimens brought home by H.V.H. in the fall of 1902 to illustrate the contents of the Temple Library'.*
986	19788			IV		CBS 19762.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P227855.	MB?	Lex.	CBS 19786. Text date courtesy of Dr J Peterson October 2014.
987	19789			IV		CBS 19762.	CBS 19751.	Chiera 1929: 6, Pl. 91, no. 189; Landsberger 1959: 209 V4; Gordon 1960: 126; Alster 1997, i: 144, Pls. 46–7; ECTSL 2006: 6.1.02; CDLI P229072.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19786.
988	19790			IV		CBS 19762.	CBS 19751.	Hilprecht 1906: 61, no. 23: Pls. 13 and 9.			CBS 19786. No CDLI registration.
989	19791			IV		CBS 19762.	CBS 19751.	Poebel 1914: no. 152, Pl.s LXXVIII-LXXXII; Poebel 1914b: 29–41, no. 152; Hallock *et al.* 1956: 47 B; CDLI P227856.	OB.	Gram.	CBS 19786.
990	*19792*			*IV*	*CBS 2254.*	*CBS 19762.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19786.*
991	19794			IV		CBS 19762.	CBS 19751.	Lutz 1919: 128, no. 92: Pl. CII; Falkenstein 1950: 327–8, no. 129; Ali 1964: 120–3; Cohen 1976: 272, D; Kleinerman 2011: xxi, no. 65; ECTSL 2006: 3.3.07; CDLI P270395.	OB.	Lit.	CBS 19786. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
992	*19795*			*IV*	*CBS 2180.*	*CBS 19762.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19786.*
993	19797			IV		CBS 19762.	CBS 19751.	Hilprecht 1906: 67, no. 47: Pl. 30; Poebel 1914: no. 5, Pl. IV; ECTSL 2006: 2.1.1; CDLI P269973.	OB.	Roy./ Mon.	CBS 19786. Hilprecht (1906: 67) notes that the tablet was probably from 'Ni.V'.
994	19801			IV		Mrs Hilprecht 18:04:05.	CBS 19751.	Civil 1974: 338; CDLI P270002.	MB.	Sci.	CBS 'forming part of Box 40, opened April 8 1905.
995	19802			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P230529.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19801. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
996	19803			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	Veldhuis 1997: 302, Ni II-116; CDLI P229249.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19801.
997	19804			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P230530.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19801.
998	19805			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P230531.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19801.
999	19806			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P227857.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 'Box 40'.
1000	19807			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P270398.	OB.	Sch.	CBS 19806. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
1001	19808			IV	CBS 19822.	CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	Civil 1969: 29, F; CDLI P227858.	OB.	Lex	CBS 19806.
1002	19809			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.		OB.	Sch.	CBS 19806. No CDLI registration. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.

	CBS		Ni	Ss	Join	Accession	Provenance	Bibliography	Date	Type	Comments
1003	*19810*			*IV*	*CBS 2159.*	*CBS 19801.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1004	*19811*			*IV*	*(+) CBS 4804.*	*CBS 19801.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 'probably from school rooms' and 'Box 40'.*
1005	19812			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P230533	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19811. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
1006	19813			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	Hilprecht 1906: 62, no. 27: Pls. 16 and X; Neugebauer 1935: 68, no. 14; CDLI P230039.	e.OB.	Lex.	CBS 'Box 40'. Hilprecht (1906: 62) states that it was found on 'Ni. V'.
1007	19814			IV			CBS 19751.	Hilprecht 1906: 64–5, no. 35: Pl. 22; CDLI P230045.	OB.	Math.	CBS 19806. Text date and type courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
1008	*19815*			*IV*	*CBS 10990.*	*CBS 19801.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1009	*19816*			*IV*	*CBS 11080.*	*CBS 19801.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1010	19817			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P227859.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19806. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
1011	*19818*			*IV*	*CBS 11390.*	*CBS 19801.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1012	19819			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P227861.	NB?	Lex.	CBS 19806. Text date courtesy of Dr J. Peterson October 2014.
1013	19820			IV		CBS 19801.	CBS 19751.	Hilprecht 1906: 64, no. 34: Pl. 22; CDLI P230044.	n/k.	Lex.	CBS 19806. Hilprecht (1906: 64) notes that the tablet was found on 'Ni.V' in season IV.
1014	19821			IV		Mrs Hilprecht 19:04:05.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P250532.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19806.
1015	*19822*			*IV*	*CBS 19808.*	*As CBS 19821.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1016	19823			IV		As CBS 19821.	CBS 19751.	CDLI P270403.	n/k.	n/k.	CBS 19806.
1017	*19825*			*IV*	*CBS 11080.*	*As CBS 19821.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1018	*19826*			*IV*	*CBS 7843.*	*As CBS 19821.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1019	*19827*				*CBS 3878.*	*As CBS 19821.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1020	*19828*			*IV*	*(+) CBS 6429.*	*As CBS 19821.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1021	19829			IV	CBS 2135.	As CBS 19821.	CBS 19751.				CBS 19806.
1022	19830			IV	CBS 19821.	*As CBS 19821.*	CBS 19751.				CBS 19806.
1023	19831			IV		*As CBS 19821.*	CBS 19751.	Veldhuis 2000: 76 and 91; CDLI P270408.	MB.	Sch.	CBS 19806.
1024	*19832*			*IV*	*CBS 11080.*	*As CBS 19821.*	*CBS 19751.*				*CBS 19806.*
1025	19833			IV		*As CBS 19821.*	CBS 19751.	CDLI P227862.	n/k.	Lex.	CBS 19806.
1026	19834			IV		*As CBS 19821.*	CBS 19751.	CDLI P227863.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19806.
1027	19835			IV		*As CBS 19821.*	CBS 19751.	CDLI P231728.	OB.	Lex.	CBS 19806.
1028	*19883*				*CBS 10992.*		*No details.*				
1029	19933			IV	CBS 13567.	Mrs Hilprecht 10:02:08.	Temple Library.				CBS 'Box 15'.

EXCAVATIONS AT QALAT SAID AHMADAN, QALADIZAH, IRAQ-KURDISTAN: SECOND INTERIM REPORT (2015 SEASON)

Akira TSUNEKI*, Kamal RASHEED**, Saber Ahmed SABER**, Shin'ichi NISHIYAMA***, Nobuya WATANABE***, Tina GREENFIELD****, Barzan Baiz ISMAIL**, Yuki TATSUMI* and Masayo MINAMI*****

1. INTRODUCTION

The Slemani Antiquities Directorate and the University of Tsukuba started a new archaeological project in Slemani in 2014. The purpose of this project is to investigate the neolithization and urbanization processes in Slemani, one of the most promising areas for these studies. We conducted our first field survey in March 2014 for detecting suitable archaeological sites for our studies. Then, thanks to the kind consideration and permission of the Directorate General of Antiquities (DGA) and the Slemani Directorate of Antiquities, we were able to conduct our first season's excavations at Qalat Said Ahmadan, near Qaladizah, in the summer of 2014. We have already published the preliminary results of the first investigation [Tsuneki *et al.* 2015]. The most important results of our first season's investigation are: 1) The acquisition of materials for research on the development of early farming societies in Iraq-Kurdistan; 2) the discovery of large Iron Age stone architecture; and 3) the acquisition of materials for establishing a long local chronology.

Following the results of this first investigation, we planned to make a second season's investigations at Qalat Said Ahmadan. At the same time, we also planned to make a general survey at two other sites (Logrdan and Yasin Tepe) in Slemani to deepen our knowledge of Kurdistan archaeology, especially for the establishment of a local chronology in each area (Fig. 1.1). We conducted these two operations between August 26 and September 23, 2015.

Excavations at Qalat Said Ahmadan

Qalat Said Ahmadan is a tell-type site located on the foothill of a mountain and just to the south of Said Ahmadan village, about 3.5 km north of Qaladizah city in the Pshdar Plain (Fig. 1.2). The site has a trapezoidal profile and a steep side slope. In 2015 season, we measured the tell again by UAV and made a more detailed topographic map (Fig. 2.1). A compass direction of the map was changed from magnetic north to true north. The altitude of the top of the tell was also measured by submeter GPS, and it provided a revised figure of 725 m.a.s.l., with the skirt of the tell measuring 703 m. The tell has an oval plan, measuring 160 m × 170 m, and it is 22 m higher than the surrounding plain.

For the first season, we chose the southern slope of Qalat Said Ahmadan for our excavations. We set the Bench Mark 0 (BM 0) on the southern edge of the flat summit of the tell. The piles of BM 20, 40, and 60 were set at 20, 40, and 60 m south of this BM 0, and three 2 m × 10 m and one 2 m × 4 m trenches (we called them Operations A, B, D, and C) were excavated. We discovered an intermittent prehistoric cultural sequence in Operations B and C, and Iron Age large stone structures

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**** University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3T 2N2, Canada
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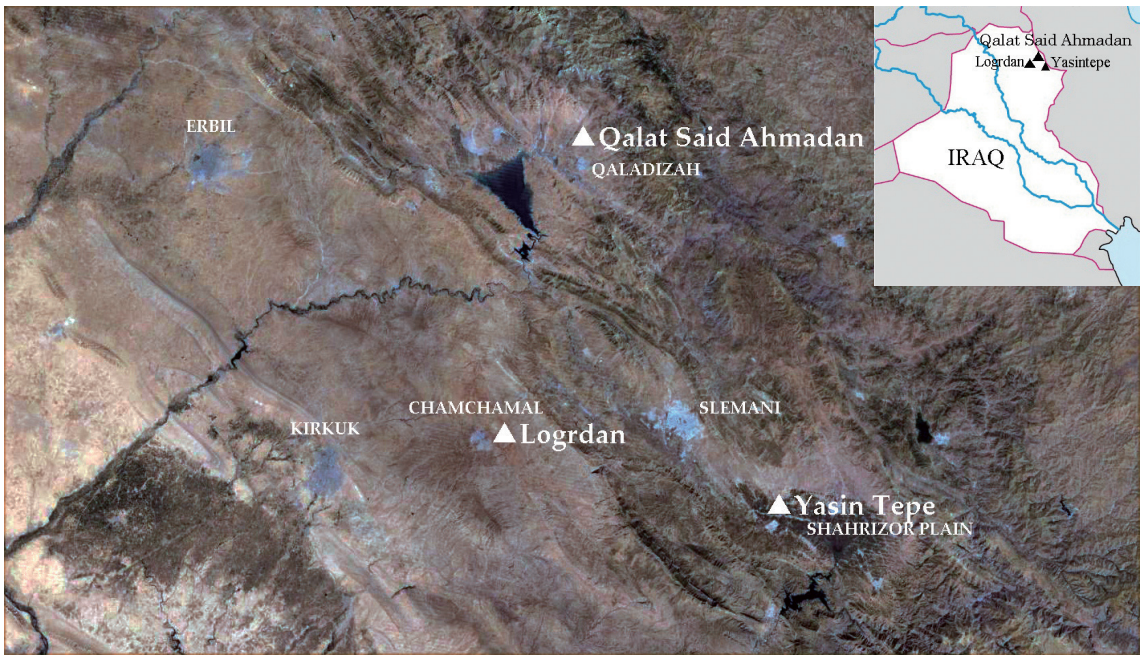


Fig. 1.1 Locations of three investigated sites in 2015 (Based on a Google Earth image).

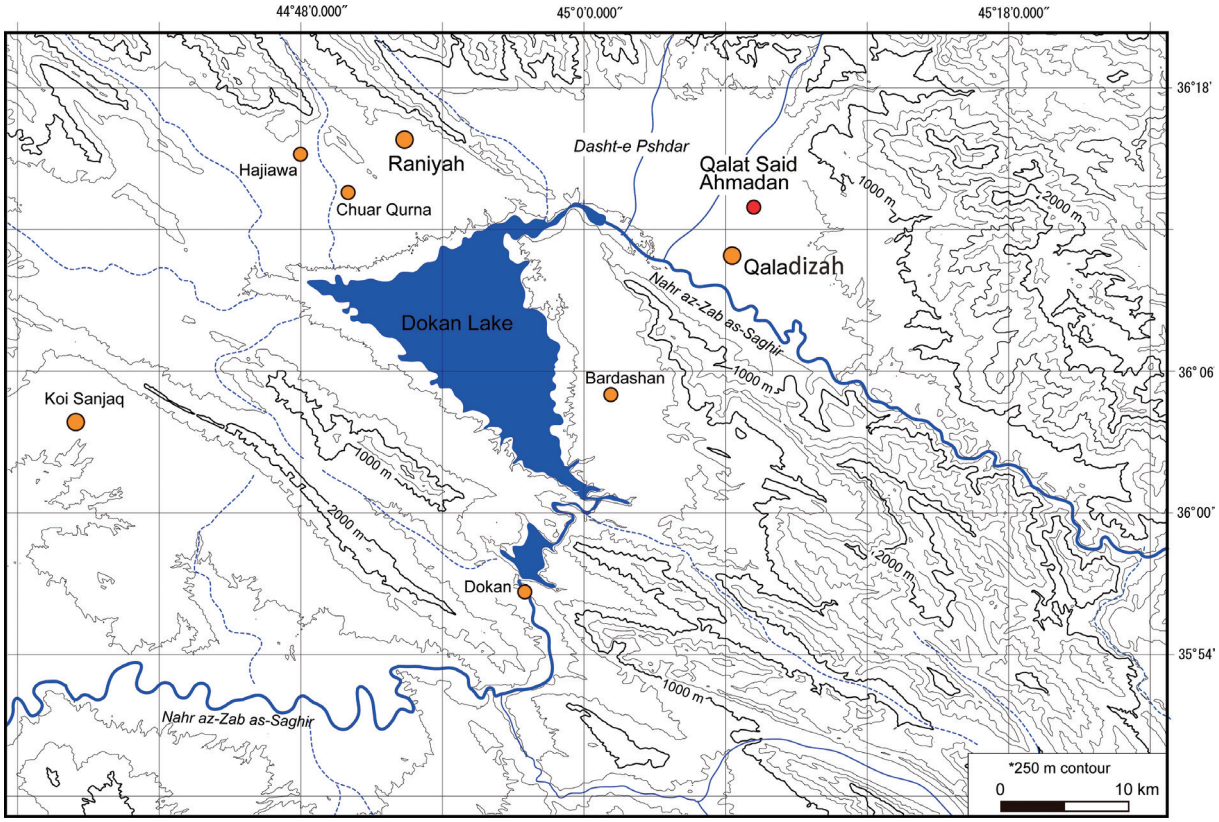


Fig. 1.2 Location of Qalat Said Ahmadan in the Raparin area.

in Operations A and D.

The purposes of the second season's excavation at Qalat Said Ahmadan were: 1) to understand the post-Neolithic cultural sequence and 2) to detect the characteristics of the large Iron Age structures, whose existence was indicated by GPR in the last season on the hilltop. For these purposes, we fixed the 4 m × 4 m trench (Operation E) east of Operation C of the last season and the 35 m × 2 m long trench (Operation F) on the hilltop (Fig. 2.1). The second archaeological investigation at Qalat Said Ahmadan was conducted from August 31 to September 14, 2015. The results of the excavations will be discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Short surveys at Logrdan and Yasin Tepe

In order to promote further historical studies of the Slemani region, we would like to investigate two more tell sites in different areas in Slemani. Based on the excavations at Qalat Said Ahmadan, we may be able to establish a local chronology in the Raparin area, north of Slemani. It is believed that the investigations at Logrdan have given us the cultural sequence of the Halaf, the Bronze and the Iron Age periods in the Chamchamal area and that those at Yasin Tepe have given us the long cultural sequence in the Shahrizor area, south of Slemani.

We visited Logrdan on August 28 and September 16 to make a topographic map by UAV and to carry out a surface collection of the mound surface. Yasin Tepe was visited on September 17 and 18, and systematic general surveys and measuring by UAV were carried out. The results of each investigation will be discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

(Akira Tsuneki, Kamal Rasheed and Saber Ahmed Saber)

2. OPERATION E: INVESTIGATION FOR THE PREHISTORIC PERIODS

The last season of excavations (2014) at Qalat Said Ahmadan revealed an intermittent sequence of the Neolithic period, ranging from the late Pre-Pottery Neolithic to the Samarra period. We suggest that the first people came to this site in the 8th millennium BC; it was then re-occupied in the late 7th millennium BC. The chronological sequence from Operation B on the southern slope of the tell is considered to be as follows:

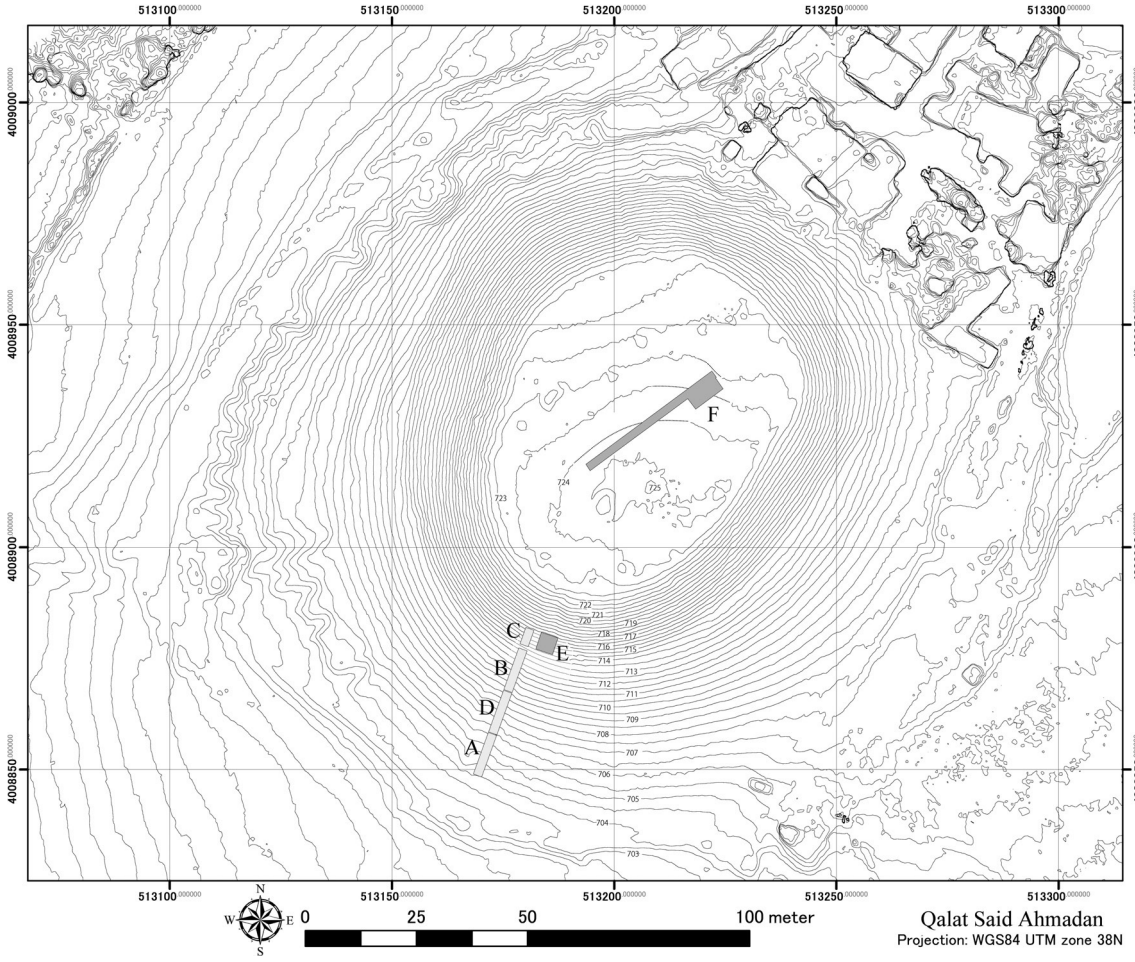
Layer 1: Samarra period (Samarra painted sub-phase)
Layer 2: Hassuna period (Hassuna painted sub-phase)
Layer 3: Hassuna period (Hassuna incised sub-phase)
Layer 4: Hassuna period (Hassuna incised sub-phase mixed with Proto-Hassuna materials)
Layer 5–6: Pre-Pottery Neolithic period

Though Operation B yielded a relatively good sequence of Neolithic periods, the succeeding chronological layers could not be detected clearly in Operation C, located just north of Operating B. Therefore, we laid out a 4 × 4 m square (Operation E) in order to excavate and identify post-Neolithic chronological layers (Fig. 2.1). Operation E was located just one meter east of Operation C, on the steep slope of the mound. We followed the stratigraphy of Operation C, cautiously excavating cultural deposits to a depth of 3.35 m at the northern edge of the trench.

Stratigraphy

The stratigraphy of Operation E was based on building phases, and may be summarized as follows. All layers were compared and verified with those of Operation C (Fig. 2.2). The sub-layers of each building layer were classified alphabetically using lower case letters.

Surface layer: Grayish yellow brown (10YR 6/2) soft soil.



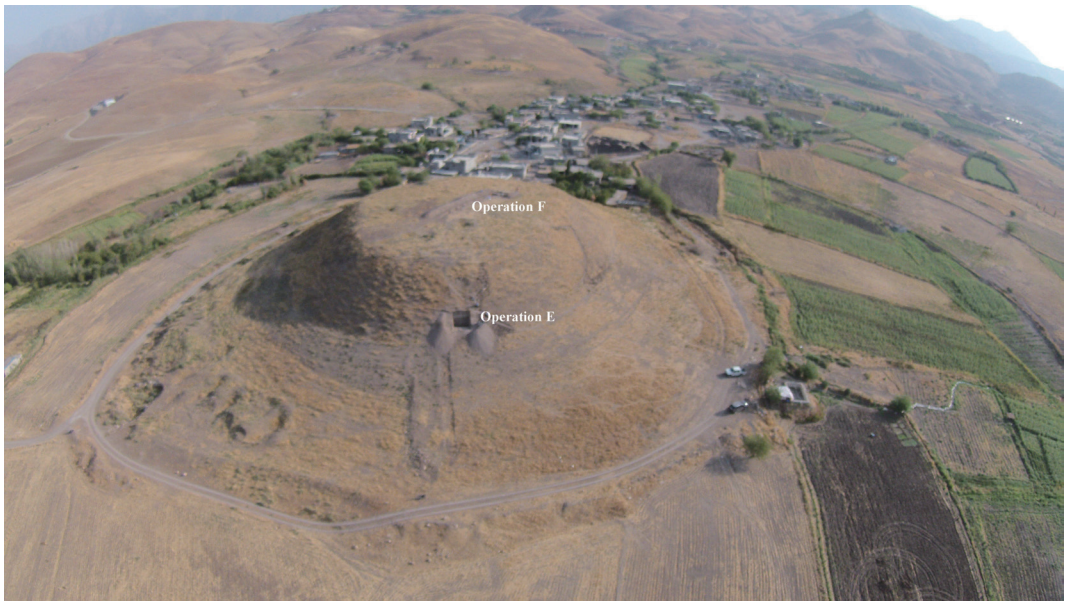
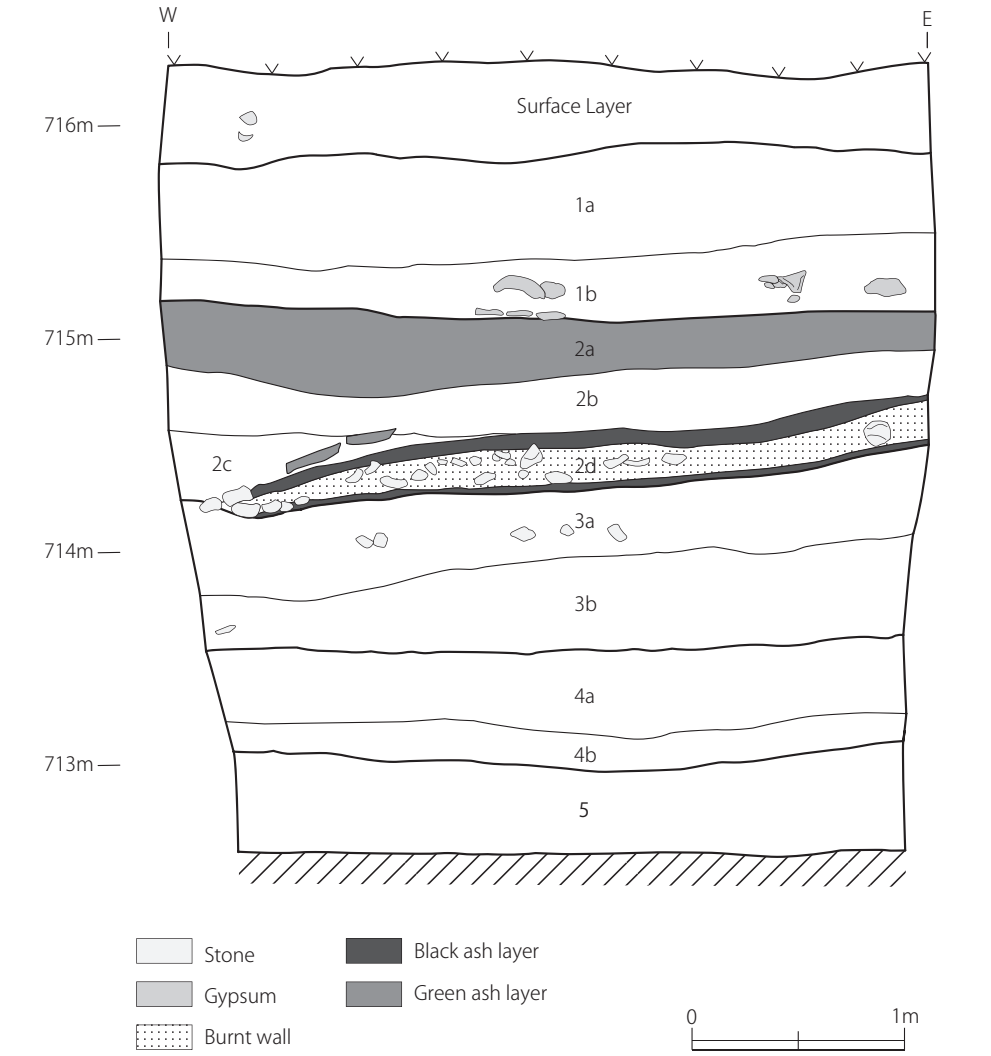


Fig. 2.1 Locations of the Operations E and F.



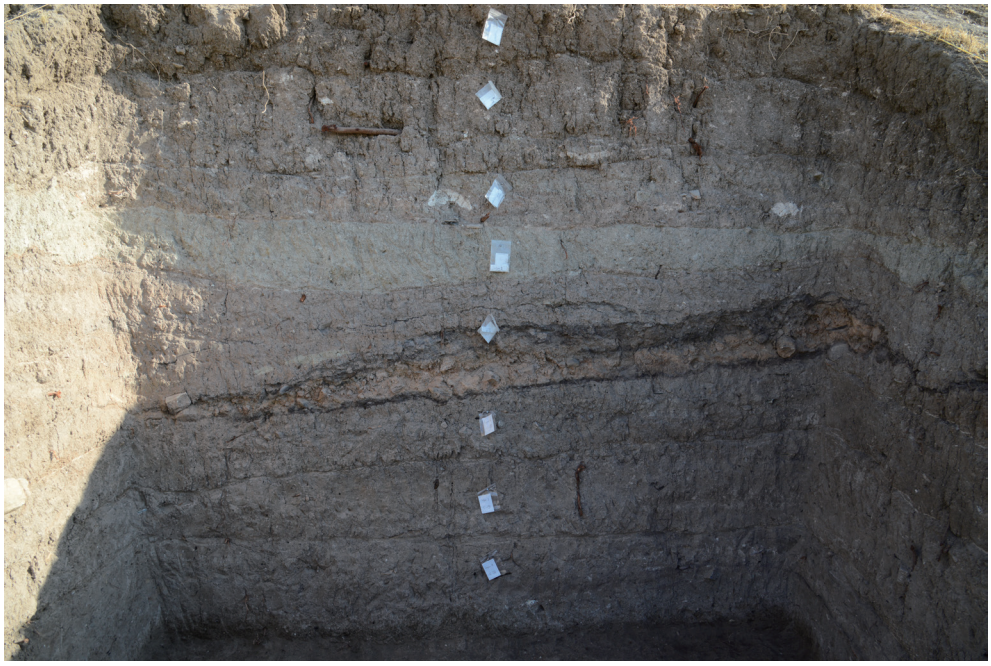


Fig. 2.2 The North wall section, Operation E.

Layer 1a: Grayish yellow (2.5Y 7/2) soft soil, containing many white particles.
Layer 1b: Dull orange (7.5YR 7/4) soil, containing some white gypsum and carbon.
Layer 2a: Light greenish gray (10GY 2/1) ash deposits without any large particles and carbon.
Layer 2b: Dull yellow orange (10YR 7/2) soft soil, containing white particles.
Layer 2c: Dull brown (7.5YR 6/3) soil, containing greenish gray ash.
Layer 2d (burnt deposits): Light yellow orange (7.5YR 8/6) burnt soil, containing burnt stones, and sandwiched by black ash layers. These deposits were discovered at the northern end of the trench, and they seem to be part of a burnt building (Str. 4). This burnt soil has never been observed in Operation C.
Layer 3a: Dull yellow orange (7.5YR 8/6) hard soil, containing many potsherds and stones.
Layer 3b: Grayish yellow (2.5YR 7/2) hard soil.
Layer 4a: Light gray (5Y 7/2) soil, containing much carbon.
Layer 4b: Light gray (5Y 7/2) soil, containing much carbon and ash.
Layer 5: Dull yellow orange (10YR 7/4) hard soil, containing many white particles.

Structures

Layer 1 did not yield any structures. A thick greenish gray ash layer (layer 2a) was deposited toward the base of this layer, and was distributed all over Operation E. The same ash layer was also observed in Operation C, indicating that this uniform ash layer extended over a large area on the southern slope. Structures began to appear below this ash layer. In layer 2b, a trace of a white plastered patch, measuring about 0.8 m × 0.5 m was visible at the northern end of the trench. A series of three *tandors* (Strs. 1–3) was discovered just below this patch in the same layer (Figs. 2.3, 2.4). They are round in plan, measuring 0.8–0.5 m in diameter. They are not well preserved, and the height of the *tandor* remnants was just 0.25 m at the most.

The most fascinating structure is a burnt wall (Str. 4) discovered at the northern edge of the trench at the bottom of layer 2 (layer 2d) (Figs. 2.3, 2.5). The wall is at least 3.8 m long and 0.5 m wide. However, as most of its parts were beyond the excavated area, we could not obtain an estimate of its plan and character. This burnt wall was 0.2–0.3 m thick and sandwiched by thin black ash layers. Many small stones were mixed in the burnt clay of the wall.

Below the burnt wall, a shallow pit, measuring c. 0.8 m in diameter and containing stones and a flint blade (Str. 5) was discovered in layer 3a (Figs. 2.3, 2.6). In layer 3b, a cluster consisting of stones and Halaf painted and plain potsherds (Str. 6) was discovered north of the trench (Figs. 2.3, 2.7). A complete stone axe was also discovered at the northeastern corner of the trench at the same level (Fig. 2.8). At the bottom of layer 3b, a series of *tandors* (Strs. 7–9) was discovered. One *tandor* (Str. 7), 0.7 m in diameter, was discovered in the northern part of the trench, and two other destroyed *tandors* (Strs. 8 and 9), measuring about 0.9 m in diameter each, were located in the southwestern part of the trench (Fig. 2.3).

Underlying layer 3, we reduced the size of the excavation trench by half. The northern half of the trench was excavated into layers 4 and 5. In layer 4, no solid structures were found within the trench. However, at the base of the trench, in layer 5, we observed a plaster wall (Str. 10), running northeast and southwest (Fig. 2.3, Fig. 2.9). It is about 0.3 m wide and 0.2 m in height. The wall appears to comprise pisé mixed with gypsum plaster. The direction and level of this structure are similar to those of the pisé walls discovered in layer 3 of Operation B of the first season. Based on the excavated potsherds, both structures belong to the Hassuna painted sub-phase. Owing to time constraints, we stopped excavating this level in Operation E. It is presumed that thick Neolithic layers should continue below layer 5.

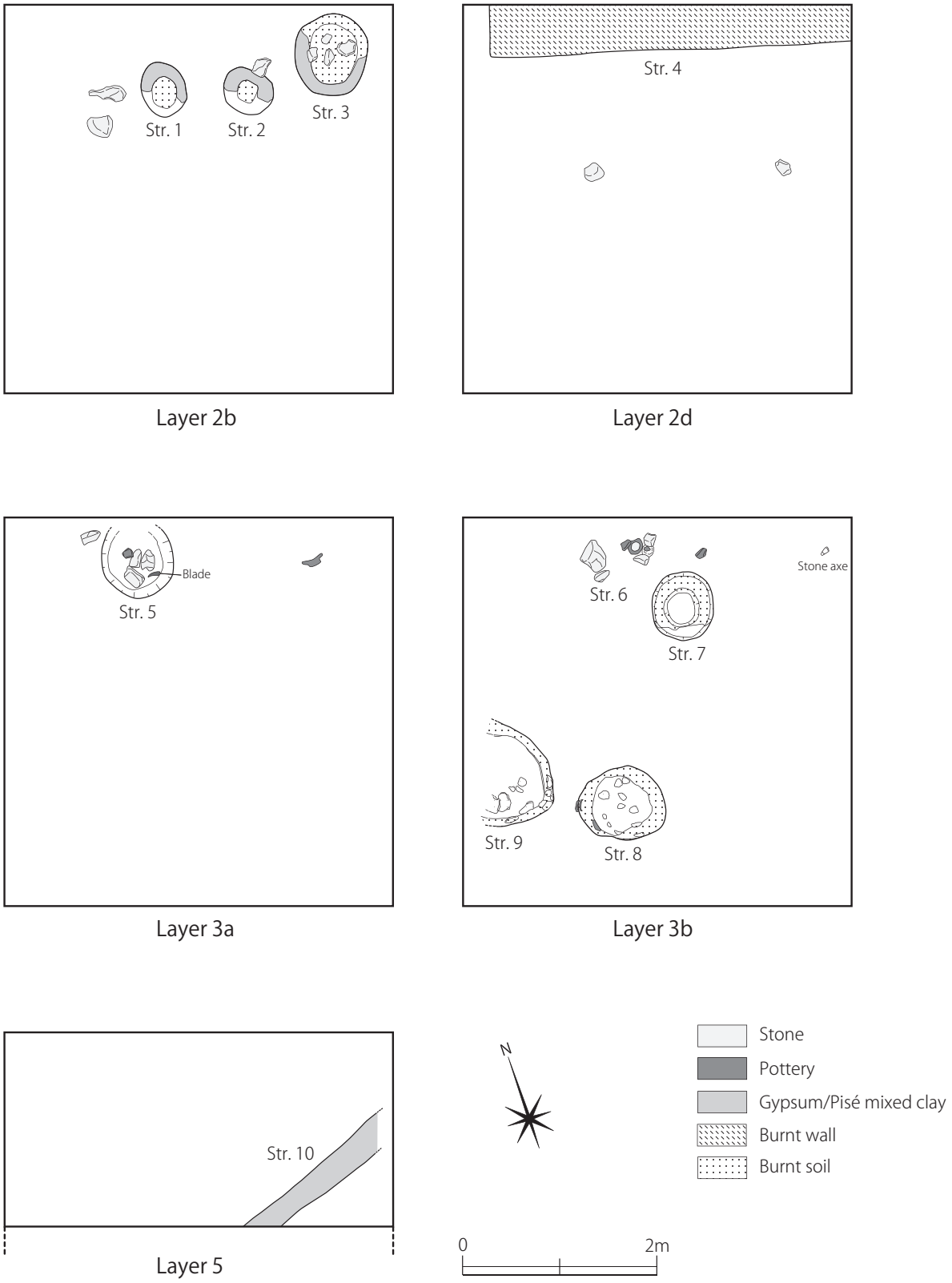


Fig. 2.3 Structures in each layer, Operation E.

Fig. 2.4 Str. 1–Str. 3 (*tandors*) in layer 2b, Operation E.

Fig. 2.5 Str. 4 (burnt wall) in layer 2d, Operation E.

Fig. 2.6 Str. 5 (A shallow pit including stones), in layer 3a, Operation E.

Fig. 2.7 Str. 6 (A cluster consisting of stones and Halal potsherds) in layer 3b, Operation E.

Fig. 2.8 Stone axe found in layer 3b, Operation E.

Artifacts

The most abundant artifacts from Operation E comprise potsherds. A total of 4,512 potsherds were obtained from excavations from the surface to layer 5. However, the majority of potsherds are fine or coarse plain body sherds that are difficult to classify as per cultural phases. Here, we discuss the overall characteristics of the pottery in each layer, based on 595 diagnostic potsherds.

Layer 1 produced some amounts of Late Chalcolithic potsherds, including beveled rim bowls and short-necked jars (Fig. 2.10:1), that were sometimes red-washed (Fig. 2.10:2) and with a horizontal incision on the neck (Fig. 2.10:3). These ceramics are generally chaff and grit tempered in light yellow paste, and have buff colored and smoothed surface, sometimes with red-wash or white slip. However, the majority of potsherds from layer 1 are Ubaid, followed by Halaf varieties with a few Neolithic types.

The pottery assemblage of layer 2 resembles that of layer 1. The Ubaid potsherds are most remarkable amongst the diagnostic sherds, and we may conclude that layers 1 and 2 belong to the Ubaid period. Most Ubaid pottery has black colored designs on a greenish buff colored surface. The grit tempering is customary but sometimes, a little chaff tempering was added. Open straight-sided bowls (Fig. 2.10:4,13) and carinated bowls (Fig. 2.10:6,9, Fig. 2.12:1–2) are notable forms with other shallow rounded bowls (Fig. 2.10:5). Some negative motifs, such as zig-zag motifs (Fig. 2.10:7,9), are also notable amongst the painted designs. For making a negative motif, the painting was usually used to block the background, so that the remaining patterns stood out as a reserved design. However, in the case of Fig. 2.10:9 (Fig. 2.12:2), fine white color zig-zag design was painted on dark-brown slip. Based on the forms and painting designs, Ubaid layers at Qalat Said Ahmadan appear to belong to the Tepe Gawra XIII period [Tobler 1950]. However, we must investigate this carefully, in order to obtain and exact chronological position for these horizons.

In layer 3, Halaf and Neolithic pottery became the most numerous pottery varieties. The Halaf variety pottery refers to potsherds decorated with reddish colored painted designs on orange/orange-buff surface and having comparatively well-levigated paste with few inclusions. Their paining designs are sometimes lustrous (Fig. 2.12:3–5). This category of potsherds comprise over one third of the diagnostic potsherds found from layer 3, with the majority from Layer 3a. This ware was

Fig. 2.9 Str. 10 (plaster wall) in layer 5, Operation E.

predominantly decorated with simple horizontal parallel lines on hemispherical open bowls (Fig. 2.11:4–5). Simple vertical lines (Fig. 2.11:1), zig-zag designs (Fig. 2.11:2–3), combination designs (Fig. 2.11:6) and panel ones (Fig. 2.11:7) are also noted. On the other hand, the lack of typical Halaf pottery designs, such as the bukranium, and typical Halaf pottery forms, such as cream bowls and *trichterrandbecher*, are notable. Most of our painted pottery fabrics are not so good as those of well-levigated Halaf painted pottery. The surface treatment was generally very rough. Lustrous paint, the most characteristic in Halaf painted pottery, was not always applied. Therefore, the "Halaf pottery" from Qalat Said Ahmadan must be classified as a local variety of this ware, or as local painted

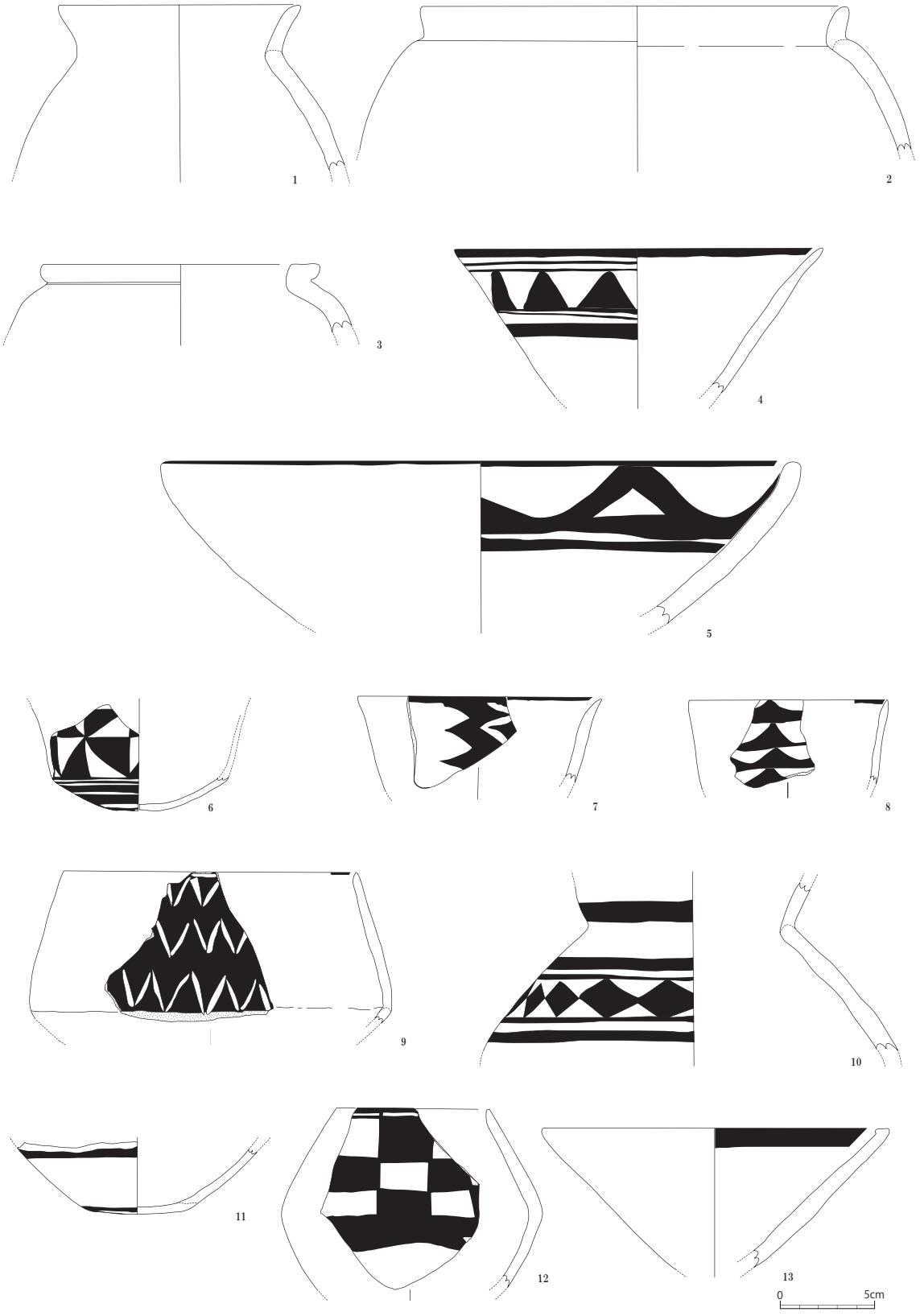


Fig. 2.10 Pottery from layers 1–2, Operation E.
(1–6: layer 1, 7–10: layer 2a, 11, 12: layer 2b, 13: layer 3a)

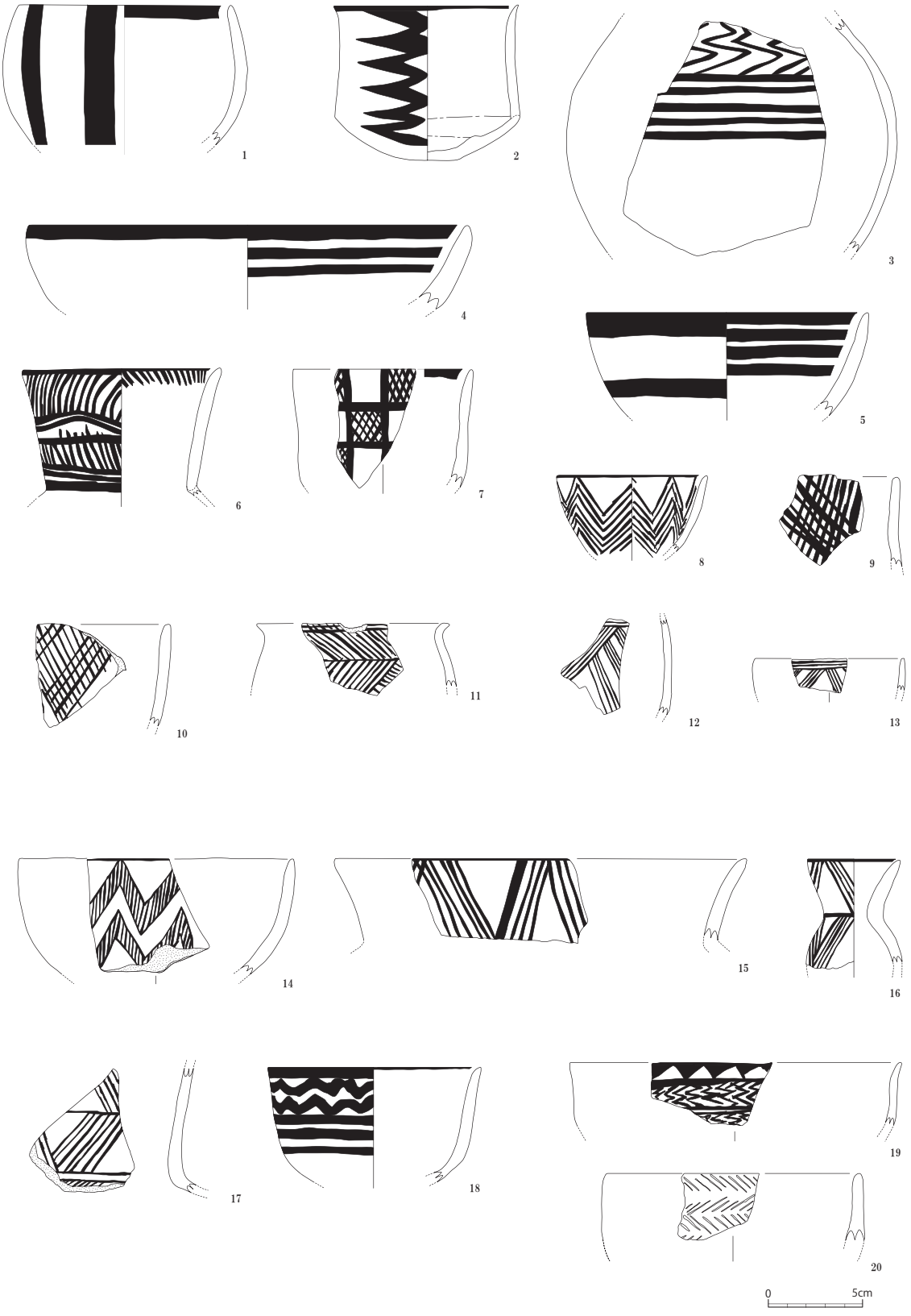


Fig. 2.11 Pottery from layers 3–4, Operation E.
(1–3: layer 3a, 4–13: layer 3b, 14–20: layer 4)

Fig. 2.12 Painted pottery from layers 1–4, Operation E.
(1: layer 1, 2: layer 2, 3–5: layer 3, 6–7: layer 4)

pottery that was strongly influenced by Halaf pottery. Further studies on the exact chronological position of the local Halaf ware need to be conducted [e.g. Tsuneki 2004]. From layer 3 and below, the proportion of Neolithic pottery increased considerably. In layer 3b, almost all potsherds are Samarra and Hassuna varieties (Fig. 2.11:10–11), that can be compared with those from Operation B of Qalat Said Ahmadan [Tsuneki *et al.* 2015] and Tell Shimshara in the neighboring Raniya plain [Mortensen 1970]. In particular, in layer 4, only Neolithic pottery, mainly consisting of Samarra and Hassuna varieties (Fig. 2.11:17–20, Fig. 2.12:6), were discovered. Samarra pottery (Samarra Painted Fine Ware and Samarra Painted Standard Ware in Shimshara report) tend to have characteristic fine black painted designs on greenish buff color surface. The paste is generally grit-tempered and a few some chaff tempering was occasionally added. Hassuna pottery, however, generally has chaff tempering, and its painted designs are rougher and cruder compared with Samarra pottery. In addition to the painted designs (Hassuna Painted Standard Ware in Shimshara report), painted-and-incised and incised decorations (Hassuna Painted-and-Incised Standard Ware and Hassuna Incised Ware in Shimshara report) (Fig. 2.11:20) were also remarkable amongst the Hassuna pottery.

Besides the alleged Samarra and Hassuna pottery, we found another type of painted pottery in layers 3b and 4. The most remarkable characteristics of this group of pottery are chevron decorations with very fine parallel lines (Fig. 2.11:8, 12–17, Fig. 2.12:7). The painted color includes black and red on cream to orange surfaces. I suggest that this group of pottery is related to those of the Iranian Zagros Neolithic sites, such as Hajji Firuz Tepe [Voight 1976, 1983].

Layer 5 produced Hassuna potsherd varieties. Like layer 4, Hassuna painted pottery is the main type amongst the diagnostic potsherds. The excavations at Operation B at Qalat Said Ahmadan in 2014 revealed that incised decorations were preferred during the early stage of the Hassuna period. Therefore, we can conclude that Operation E was not excavated in the earlier stage of Hassuna (Hassuna incised sub-phase) during this year.

Chipped stone artifacts mainly consists of flint blades, scrapers, and sickle elements. Some blade cores and core reduction fragments imply that lithic production took place within the prehistoric village of Qalat Said Ahmadan.

Other objects and small finds included stone axes, spindle whorls, grinding stones, stone bangles, clay and stone rings, bone tools such as awls and pins, and clay figurines.

Remarks

Investigations at the prehistoric site of Qalat Said Ahmadan during this season were on a small scale, owing to limited manpower and time. However, we could reveal a good sequence succeeding the Neolithic. Based on analysis of the pottery (Fig. 2.13) and the results of ^{14}C dating [Minami and Tomiyama 2015] (see also an appendix of this report), we may propose the following prehistoric chronology:

Operation B Layers 6–5:	Pre-Pottery Neolithic period	7600–7300 BC
Operation B Layers 4–3:	Hassuna period (Hassuna incised sub-phase)	6300–5900 BC
Operation B Layer 2:	Hassuna period (Hassuna painted sub-phase)	6200–5900 BC
Operation E Layer 5:	Hassuna period (Hassuna painted sub-phase)	6200–5900 BC
Operation B Layer 1:	Samarra period (Samarra painted sub-phase)	6100–5900 BC
Operation E Layers 4–3b:	Samarra period (Samarra painted sub-phase)	6100–5900 BC
Operation C Layer 3:	Halaf period	5500–5300 BC
Operation E Layer 3a:	Halaf period	5000–4700 BC
Operation E Layers 2–1:	Ubaid period	5000–4800 BC
Operation C Layer 1:	Ubaid period	5000–4800 BC

This season's investigation contributes towards further studies to establish the later prehistory from

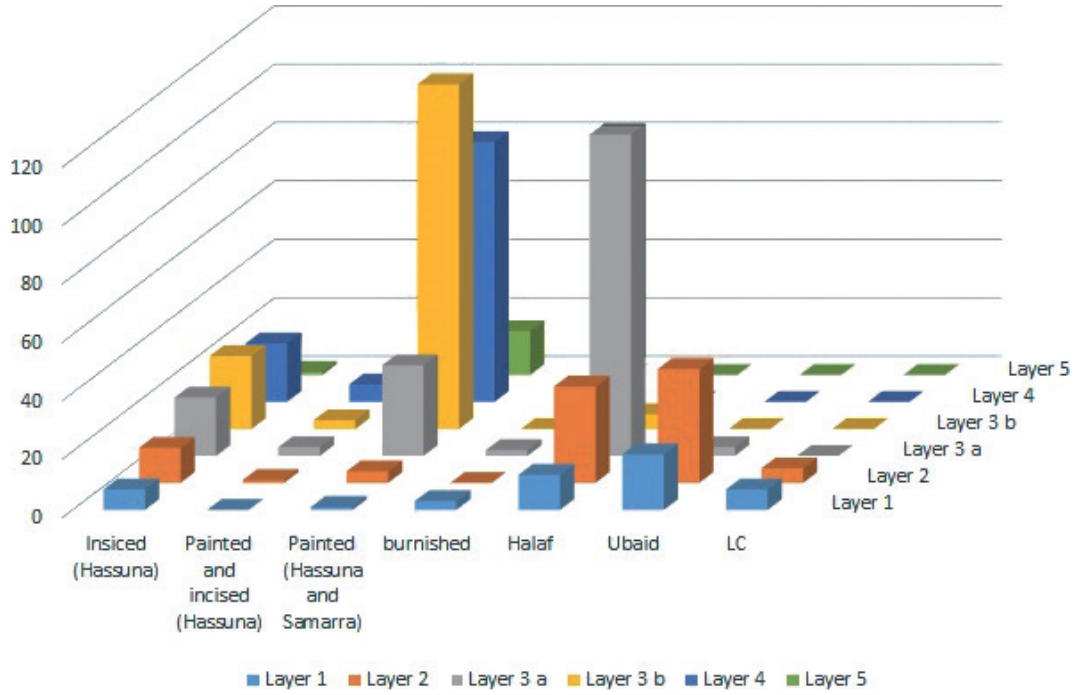


Fig. 2.13 Transition of pottery varieties in layers 1–5, Operation E.

the Hassuna to the Ubaid period. During the Hassuna and Samarra periods, Qalat Said Ahmadan people had some cultural contacts not only with northern Mesopotamia but also with the Iranian Zagros. In the succeeding Halaf phase, their pottery does not show any direct affiliation with the Halaf culture, but suggests strong local characteristics. During the Ubaid period, they had definite contacts again with northern Mesopotamia. However, in order to establish the local chronology in Slemani/Kurdistan, and for further studies on the relationship between Kurdistan and other areas in prehistory, we have to continue research and data collection in the Kurdistan region.

(Akira Tsuneki)

3. OPERATION F: HILLTOP INVESTIGATION

The main aim of Operation F was to investigate a large structure on the hilltop, whose presence was suggested by a geophysical survey conducted in the 2014 season [Tatsumi 2015: 40–46]. This structure appeared to be at least 20 m along the NS axis and located perpendicular to the Iron Age stone fortification revealed in the lower part of the mound. According to the GPR survey, the structure lies ca. 0.5 to 1.0 m below the surface and has a large niche-like dent (probably the main entrance) on the southwest side. The structure was considered to date to the Iron Age, but this required confirmation by exposing the feature and investigating the character of the building. The excavation in Operation F was conducted between 31 August and 14 September 2015.

Excavation

The trench of Operation F measured ca. 35 m in length and ca. 2 m in width. It was set approximately along the NE-SW axis perpendicular to the dent mentioned above (Fig. 2. 1 and Fig. 3.1). Later, we extended the northern part of the trench ca. 3 m towards the east and ca. 7.8 m north-south. The depth of the trench reached ca. 1.4 m from the surface at the deepest point. The stratigraphy of the trench is understood as follows (Fig. 3.2).

Fig. 3.1 An aerial view of Operation F: Northern part (the north is to the right).

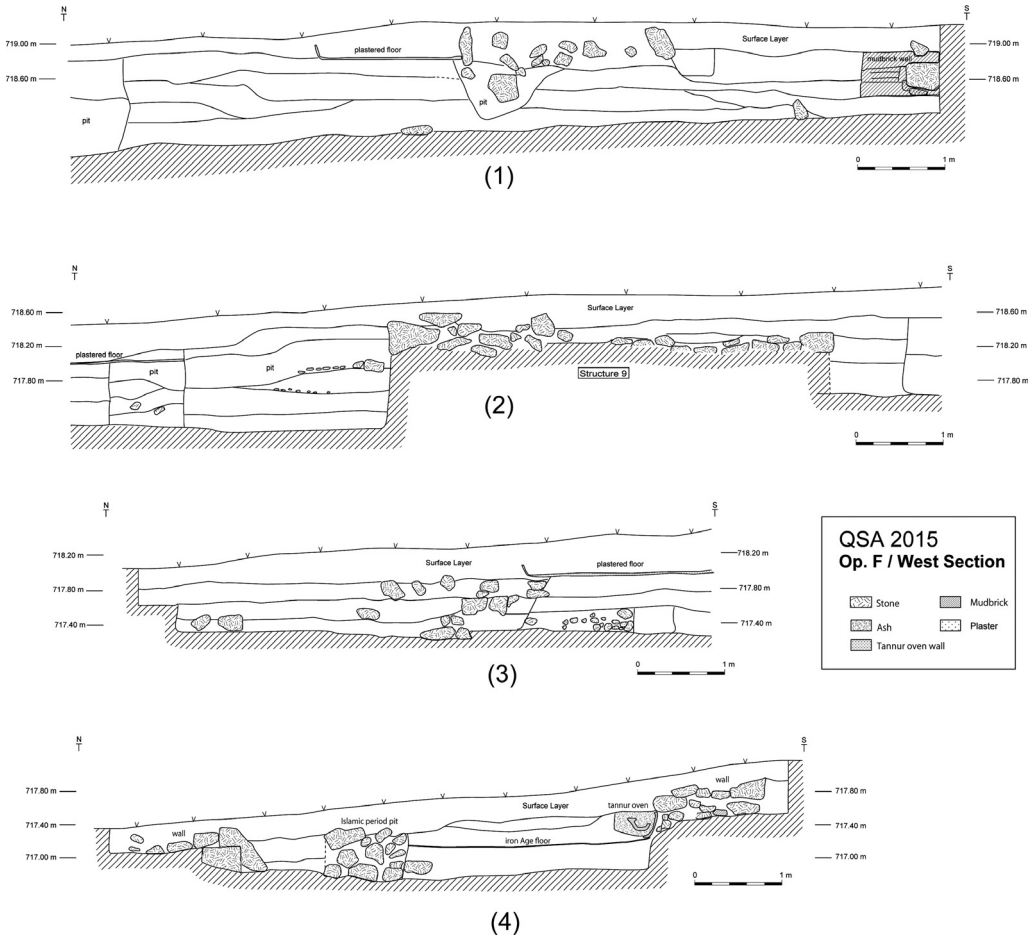


Fig. 3.2 The West section of Operation F.

Surface layer: Loose dark brown soil containing abundant pebbles and potsherds. Considerably disturbed by modern cultivation, and bunker constructions.
Layer 1: Slightly packed light grey soil containing pebbles, potsherds, charcoal, and some brick fragments. This layer is probably dated to the Middle Islamic period (ca. AD 10–13th century) and was identified mainly in the southern part of the trench. Abundant pits were dug into this layer as well as into Layers 2 and 3.
Layer 2: Packed light grey soil containing abundant pebbles, sand, charcoal, and potsherds. The layer can be dated to the Iron Age (ca. 8–7th century BC) with large stone-built foundation walls which were mostly located perpendicular to the NS axis.
Layer 3: Packed dark yellowish-grey soil containing sand and potsherds. The layer can also be dated to the Iron Age.

Islamic Period

As mentioned above, there was a substantial layer dated to the Islamic period located at the southern part of the trench. Many pits dug from Layer 1 penetrated into Layers 2 and 3 and can also be dated to the same period. The dating is tentative, but comparative examples of pottery come from Tell Basmusian [al-Soof 1970]. Thus, it can be dated to the Abbasid dynasty (AD 10–13th century). In addition, some Ottoman period clay pipes were found indicating the presence of minor occupation of the Late Islamic period.

The pottery of Layer 1 consists mainly of greenish buff color wares with an extremely light fabric. Various incised decorations (the most common was the horizontal and wavy lines) were applied on the exterior of the pottery. No glazed wares or porcelain was found. Glass bracelets in both simple (black in color) and twisted styles were found.

A small plaster-made *tandor* oven (ca. 0.4 m in diameter) was unearthed in the southern part of the trench. Some fragmentary walls built by using cobbles were identified also in the southern part of the trench. A brick structure with a circular plan was unearthed in the southeast corner of the trench. The function of the structure is unknown.

In addition, at least two floor levels were identified in the southern part of the trench (Fig. 3.2). These floors were found at the bottom of the top layer or just above Layer 1. Both floors were plastered and one had a deposit of thin yellow soil on the plaster. In the southern part of the hilltop the ground is slightly elevated. This may suggest that there might be a thicker Islamic period occupation in this part of the hilltop.

Iron Age

The Iron Age occupation layers were revealed below Layer 1 in the southern part of the trench. On the other hand, in the northern part of the trench, the Iron Age was encountered immediately below the surface layer.

Among the Iron Age structures, the most noteworthy feature was one room found in the northern end of the trench (Room 2: Str. Nos. 2 and 14) (Fig. 3.3). It was surrounded by two parallel dry stoned walls: one in the north (W1) and the other in the south (W2). The eastern part of the northern wall (ca. 1 m wide) was badly damaged by Islamic period pits. On the other hand, the southern wall (ca. 1.3 m wide) was well preserved. The walls were constructed from large (ca. 0.8 × 0.4 m) and smaller stones (ca. 0.3 × 0.4 m). These stones constitute the outer face of the wall, and far smaller filling stones (ca. 0.2 × 0.1 m) were placed between the two facing outer walls.

Between the walls, i.e. inside the room, clusters of complete and semi-complete pottery were unearthed. These pottery were encountered just below the surface layer. Some parts of the room were damaged by Islamic period pits, but the layer comprising pottery clusters belongs to the Iron Age. We decided to extend the trench, 3 m to the east to reveal the plan of the room. However,

Fig. 3.3 Room 2 with pottery clusters and a sunken jar, Operation F (from the west).

we probably could not identify the wall running in a NS direction in the extended area. Thus, the room was more than 6 m in width (NE-SW) and ca. 4 m in length (NW-SE).

The pottery recovered from the room includes large storage jars, middle-sized jars, cooking pots, carinated bowls with everted rim, and short-necked jar with button base. The latter two types parallels "Neo-Assyrian style" pottery and can be dated from the 8 to 7th century BC. Similar types can be found in North Mesopotamia, especially from Nimrud, Ashur, and the sites in the Eski Mosul archaeological project area [Oates 1954: pl. XXXVII, 4–5, 10 1959:132, pls. XXXV-XXXVI; Haller 1954: pls. 3 & 6; Cutis 1989: Figs. 7–9, 24–25; Curtis and Green 1997:89–90, Fig. 36:138–146, Fig. 40–177; cf. Green 1999; Hausleiter 2010]. The pottery can be considered to comprise one of the most eastern groups of Neo-Assyrian pottery. A question to be considered in the future is as to how one may interpret the presence of such pottery in this region.

Although we found at least 7 complete or semi-complete pottery, it was difficult to identify the floor level. The floor seems to be of beaten mud but was damaged by later pits (mainly belong to the Islamic period). A *tandor* oven was encountered just to the north of W2 (in the east section) (Fig. 3.2). There was a large Islamic period pit (ca. 1 × 1 m) in the eastern edge of the trench. Some collapsed stones were unearthed within the rooms, probably coming from the Iron Age walls.

Finds within the room mainly consist of pottery but also include agate beads (spherical, cylindrical, and ovoid in shape), iron arrowheads (leaf and tripartite shapes), iron slag, and spindle whorls (clay and re-used potsherds). Two distinctive pottery types can be mentioned. One is a carinated bowl with an everted rim made of red fabric. The rim and the body part below the carination were highly burnished in a horizontal direction. A parallel can be found in Gird-i Bazar [personal communication September 2015 with the German mission working at the site], and probably in the neighboring sites around Qaladizah. The other comprises pottery with incised and circular-stamped decoration (Fig. 3.4). This category may have a wide variety in shapes, but mostly have jar and bowl forms. Some circular-stamps have double concentric circular motifs (Fig. 3.5). Such a decorative pattern is known from the Middle Bronze Age (Old Babylonian period) level at Tell Basmusian [Al-Soof 1970] and similar circular motifs can also be observed in the Haditha Dam archaeological project area [Oguchi 1997]. Nevertheless, the Iron Age specimens discovered at QSA

Fig. 3.4 Pottery with incised and circular-stamped decorations from Operation F.

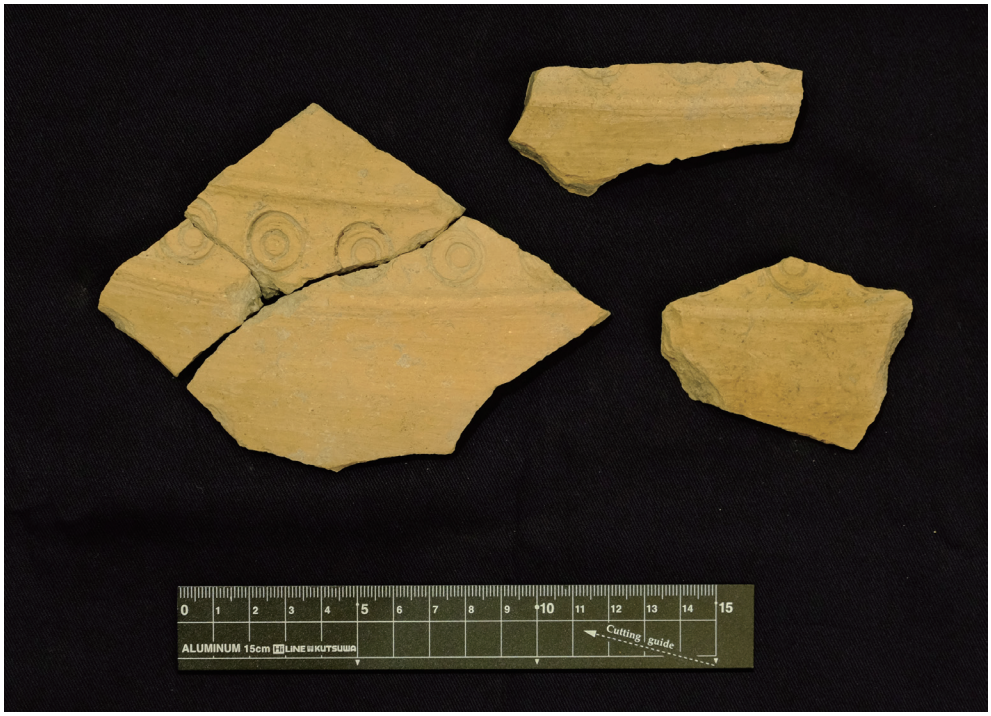


Fig. 3.5 Pottery with double concentric circular-stamped decorations from Operation F.

largely consists of orange to reddish brown colored fabric. Some specimens have beige, dark grey or cooking pot ware fabric, i.e. containing abundant sand and minerals. The burnishing was limited to mainly bowls, and painted decorations were rare, although some red slip was identified on varieties of bowls.

Two objects are noteworthy and can be related to cult activities. One is the clay cult stand with a pedestal made of very soft and crude fabric (Fig. 3.6). Unfortunately, the upper part of the vessels was destroyed, but they probably had a small jar-like form. The fabric color is orange and contained abundant white grit. The other is a corner fragment of terracotta "house model," with opened windows on each side. It was unearthed in the southern part of the room. The surface is decorated with an applique design and with single circular stamped motifs (Fig. 3.7).

To the west of the room, a sunken jar was unearthed. The jar had a rectangular flat shaped rim with a rounded base, similar to the one noted in the clustered pottery. It was difficult to identify the floor level around the sunken jar, but it seems that this was 0.2–0.3 m below the rim. The assumed height of the sunken jar was ca. 1 m and 0.7 m in diameter. We have conducted water-flotation of the inner soil of the jar, but other than a few potsherds and a bone (probably of an animal) no plant remains were recovered.

To the south of the room, there was an area with many remains of fragmentary walls. The majority of the walls had two stone rows (ca. 0.6–0.8 m), thus these were much thinner compared to the walls surrounding the Iron Age room mentioned above (Room 2). In addition, the direction is along the East-West axis and thus different from the Iron Age walls. It can be assumed that these walls were constructed later, perhaps by reusing the debris of the larger walls. We have unearthed a kiln and a pit containing small rubble (ca. 0.2 × 0.1 m). The kiln had a square shape

Fig. 3.6 Clay cult stand from Operation F.

Fig. 3.7 Terracotta "house model" from Room 2, Operation F.

and was probably contemporary with the fragmentary walls.

There was also a larger walled structure in the middle part of the trench (Str. 9) (Fig. 3.8). The thickness of the wall measured ca. 1.3 m, which is similar to the walls surrounding Room 2, though the angle of the wall is slightly different. The walled structure seems to be a part of the large structure that appears to have had an entrance on the southern side. There was a cluster of small rubble stones (ca. 0.2–0.3 m) scattered on the outside of the entrance. Within the structure, several floor levels were identified. Each floor consists of a thin layer of charcoal accumulation. A pit was identified in a space close to the northern wall. This pit contained abundant charcoal and burnt soil, i.e. it was probably a hearth.

Because the angle of the walled structure is slightly different from that of Room 2, there is a possibility that each structure belongs to different buildings. Nevertheless, despite the difference in angle, if the two structures were the parts of the same complex, it may indicate the construction of a substantial building during the Iron Age, on the summit of mound. In addition, the location of the walls of Room 2 and Str. 9 seems to match the walls suggested by the 2014 GPR survey (see further evaluation in chapter 5 of this report). Further investigation is requited to identify the characteristics of the entire structure. However, if the two structures are part of the same building, this measures ca. 20 m in length along the NS axis and probably contained a courtyard.

In the southern end of the trench, below the Islamic layer (Layer 1), a burnt brick structure was identified in Layer 3. It was difficult to identify the unit of the brick, but it seems to be some sort of an entrance structure (only the western part was identified in the trench. If there is another part, this must be located to the east of the trench). If this is confirmed, the feature would suggest a gateway to the stone built structure to the north (Str. 9 and Room 2). Other than this structure, no mud brick structures or remains of mud brick were identified.

In addition to the above, the amount of iron slag from the trench is noteworthy. There are around 15–20 samples collected from the excavation (size varies from 5 cm to 15 cm). It may indicate that iron-smithing was conducted on-site. Unfortunately, no remains of furnace or metallurgical tools were identified. As regards iron tools, other than iron arrowheads, fragments of blade (probably knife?), and nails (two specimens) were unearthed.

Fig. 3.8 Str. 9: dry stone structure, Operation F (from the southeast).

Conclusion

The excavation of the hilltop at Qalat Said Ahmadan has revealed dry stone walls, which were obviously identified by the 2014 geophysical survey. The thickness of the wall (ca. 1.3 m) may indicate that the structure was not domestic in character, but rather had a more public function. If the stone walls found in the trench belong to a single structure, they suggest presence of a large structure (ca. 20 m in length) constructed on the summit of the mound. The angle of the structure is apparently perpendicular to the Iron Age wall that was found in the 2014 season at the foot of the mound. In addition, Neo-Assyrian pottery found in Room 2 suggests a date of around 8–7th century BC. Thus, it is highly possible that the two structures were contemporary.

If the structures on the hilltop and the lower terrace of Qalat Said Ahmadan were contemporary, the next issue is the function or characteristics of the former. Unfortunately, we do not yet have concrete evidence to determine its function. Two hypotheses can be put forward at the moment. One is related to its military function. Qalat Said Ahmadan is located in the foothill of the mountain (Māman Dağ) on a small plateau surrounded by the *wadi* valleys on the east and the west sides. We can view the gorge of Darband-i Ramkin and the mound of Tell Qaladizah from the hilltop. It is a strategic point to watch out for enemies coming from the mountainous area and from the Darband-i Ramkin. If the structure exposed last season was a fortification wall to defend the structure on the hilltop, the latter exposed this season may have been a fortress or watchtower.

Another hypothesis is that of its function in connection with a cult. The stone wall surrounding the mound was not constructed for military purposes, but to distinguish between sacred and secular areas. On the southern slope of the mound, which is the area between the Iron Age wall and the hilltop, was sparsely altered by the Iron Age inhabitants for around 5,000 years (see chapter 2 of this report for the prehistoric remains on the southern slope of the site). Thus, the structure found on the hilltop appears to have more of a religious character. Unfortunately, we did not encounter any decisive evidence to determine the function of the structure on the hilltop. Nevertheless, it is now clear that a distinctive public structure is located on the hilltop of Qalat Said Ahmadan. Determination of its function may have to wait for future seasons.

(Shin'ichi Nishiyama)

4. QALAT SAID AHMADAN: PRELIMINARY ZOOARCHAEOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

A preliminary inspection on the faunal remains (animal bones, and teeth) retrieved during the 2015 field season of excavation at Qalat Said Ahmadan was carried out at the very end of the campaign. The material originated from 2 discrete excavation units in Operations E located on the southern slope of the tell and F located on the hilltop. The frequency of the faunal assemblage is fairly high by comparison to length and amount of excavation that occurred during the short season of two weeks. That being said, any amount of faunal material that is recovered from this region is incredibly important since there is a dearth of information on bioarchaeological samples in general, and specifically faunal remains. It is hoped that the investigation of zooarchaeological remains over time from Qalat Said Ahmadan will reveal information on the ecology and economy of the site and also the general region within the Raparin District.

The Assemblage

Due to logistical issues, the samples were available to the faunal specialist very late in the season and as a result, only a very preliminary investigation of the remains, in particular the Iron Age (Neo-Assyrian) specimens were observed. A more detailed and full identification of the specimens from 2015 will be completed at the beginning of the 2016 field season. The following report is based primarily only on the Iron Age remains unless otherwise noted. The faunal samples from both the Iron Age and the prehistoric periods were hand collected in sample bags for each individual context. The assemblage was clearly delineated according to discrete time period and temporal location on the site. Prehistoric remains were primarily recovered from Operation E, while the majority of the Iron Age samples (Neo-Assyrian), came from Operation F.

Sample size

The prehistoric sample is almost double in size compared to the Iron Age assemblage (c. 1000 and c. 700 respectively). Within the Iron Age assemblage, it appears that the sample sizes are relatively similar between each of the individual contexts, whereas with the prehistoric assemblage some deposits with much higher frequency of bones than others.

Taphonomy

The preservation of the entire assemblage was extremely high and allowed easy identification of each of the bones. Further, it was possible to spot taphonomic processes (post-deposition activities that affect a bone's composition) that are often difficult to identify if the bones have been exposed to the elements of weather, or have been in depositional contexts that are not conducive to bones and lead to a degraded specimen (such as high levels of soil acidity). Often categories such as weathering, gnawing, and demineralization can inform on the depositional context of the bones [Lyman 1994]. For example, if bones have a high level of weathering this is generally the result of them being left of the surface of a site for an extended period of time; this result then provides an understanding that the site, building, context etc. was possibly abandoned after use. Gnaw marks can also indicate that the bones are not lying in their original location of deposit and were possibly moved by other animals such as dogs, wolves and foxes [Atici 2006; Payne and Munson 1985]. Each of these taphonomic indicators allows the zooarchaeologist to piece together the behaviours and activities that occurred at the site post deposition.

Gnaw marks

Canine (dog) puncture marks were observed on some of the specimens. Generally, marks of this kind can indicate the potential movement of the specimen from their original deposits. Additionally,

the presence of canine marks can signify that the specimen was at some point in time exposed to the elements and not necessarily immediately buried after use, since canines were able to retrieve them. Identifying taphonomic processes on specimens helps in the understanding of depositional activities processes across a site [Greenfield 2014; Lyman 1994]. To date there has not been any rodent gnawing present on the bones, however, further analysis is necessary to confirm this preliminary observation.

Taxonomic diversity

For the relatively small sample size (>1000 specimens) there is an impressive array of different taxa from this time period that allows for greater representation of the Iron Age assemblage. A very generalized breakdown of the taxa indicates a high frequency of domestic animals with caprines (sheep and goat) dominating the assemblage. Large bovids (such as cattle), domestic pig and various species of cervids (deer) directly follow caprines in frequency. Exploitation of the environment was evident from the presence of herded and terrestrial animals, wild species, in addition to migratory, and aquatic birds. A preliminary list of the taxa present in the Iron Age deposits is as follows:

- Both wild and domestic *Sus scrofa* (pig)
- Both wild and domestic *Ovis aries/Capra hircus* (sheep/goat)
- *Domestic Bos taurus* (domestic cattle)
- Pisces sp. (various species of fish)
- Cervids (deer sp.) including: *Dama dama mesopotamica*, *Cervus elaphus* (red deer), *Gazella gazella* (gazelle), *Capreolus capreolus* (roe deer)
- *Equus caballus* (horse) and *Equus Asinus* (donkey)
- Aves sp. (various species of bird)

The variety of taxa is potentially unique for such a modest assemblage; however, it proves insightful for understanding diet, species preference, consumption patterns and overall animal exploitation strategies during the Iron Age period.

It will be interesting to compare the wild and domestic percentages from the Iron Age assemblage to that of the prehistoric specimens. It is assumed on a preliminary account, that there will be a much higher frequency of wild species in the prehistoric assemblage over the Iron Age samples based on the very different exploitation strategies of the two periods.

Cultural modifications

Evidence from an initial examination of the Iron Age assemblage indicates there were moderate cultural modifications to many of the bones. Modifications can include changing the shape, size, or surface of the bones. Generally, the most common types of modification are the result of butchering activities as part of food processing activities, polishing or smoothing of a bones surface for the purpose of making a tool or ornament, and the burning of bones due to cooking activities generally reserved for the consumption of meat [Greenfield and Beattie 2015; Greenfield 2014]. The following modifications have been identified in the Qalat Said Ahmadan assemblage.

Tools/ornaments

Evidence of polish on some of the specimens was evident as a result of tool making practices. The percentages appear to be low in relation to the entire assemblage and further identification must be made to better understand the reason for modification of this sub-sample.

Butchering

The exceptional preservation allowed for the identification of several specimens (from most of all the contexts) with butchering marks (slices and cuts from knives/axes). These butchering marks

can easily be further identified from dental molds taken of the slices [Greenfield 1999; 2013].

Burning

Differential burning of specimens is evident throughout the assemblage as a whole and also within the same deposits and suggest evidence of cooking/heating of the specimens and is indicative of them being placed in different distances from the direct source of heat [Shipman *et al.* 1984]. In addition, there is clear evidence of differential burning of the animal bones (between the contexts and within contexts) and generally considered a good indicator of deliberate food preparation activities.

Preliminary observations

For the Iron Age period the diverse exploitation of resources from the surrounding landscape would have included herded animals and wild species from further afield. Domestic herds could have easily been supported on the rich alluvial plain and mountain pastures. Seasonal transhumance activities would have been logical given the close proximity to the foothills of the Zagros Mountains and Lower Zab river bed located within and around the plain.

Future objectives

In general, it will be important to establish a sequence of changes to exploitation strategies over time both within the prehistoric period (from Neolithic to Chalcolithic) and between the prehistoric and the Iron Age period. Questions related to management strategies and economy will be investigated through the traditional methods of zooarchaeological analysis that include the identification of species, sexing and ageing, cultural modifications, taphonomic indicators. In addition, a higher level of sophisticated scientific analyses will be incorporated on individual faunal specimens such as Stable Isotope studies to answer questions of mobility and diet, and also SEM work on the butchering marks to identify tools used (i.e. metal vs. stone) for food processing.

For the prehistoric period, the Neolithic period in particular, questions related to animal domestication, exploitation, and management of animals, and the use of metallurgy in this region will be explored. For the Iron Age (Neo-Assyrian) period, issues related to the effects of imperialism and standardization, and specifically the political economy directly linked to the production, consumption and distribution of animals will be examined in subsequent field season analyses. In addition, information gained from comparative faunal material from other archaeological sites in the region, will be integrated with help to build more complete picture of the economy, diet, and lifestyle of the inhabitants at Qalat Said Ahmadan, a settlement on the edge of the empire.

(Tina Greenfield)

5. A NEW INTERPRETATION OF GPR RESULTS BASED ON EXCAVATIONS AT QALAT SAID AHMADAN

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and magnetometric surveys were conducted as part of an archaeological research project at Qalat Said Ahmadan in 2014. Results suggest that some Iron Age buildings occur on the surface of the site [Tatsumi 2014: 40–46].

Based on these studies, in 2015, the excavation area was demarcated and various archaeological structures were discovered (in this report). This investigation allowed us to verify most of our presumptions, and to compare GPR results with archaeological features.

Fig. 5.1 shows a slice map at a depth of approximately at 0.4–0.8 m, as per the GPR reflection (showed in black) and the positions of wall structures belonging to the Iron-Post Iron Age on the surface of the site. Some structures belonging to the Islamic period were also excavated at a depth

of around 30 cm below the surface, but are not depicted in this map. A comparison of the GPR reflections with wall structures excavated in 2015 indicates that our assumptions that reflections forming black lines or rectangular plans indicate structures did have a close correspondence to excavated walls.

Further, in the vertical sections of the GPR reflection along two lines (X = 36 and 53) where wall structures remain (Fig. 5.2), reflections forming clear hyperbolas (Y = 35–37 on the line of X = 36; and Y = 46 and 51 on X = 53) entirely correspond to walls. However, the reflection at Y = 46 on the line of X = 53 is not showed in the slice map because of its weakness relative to the others. If we show this relatively small reflection on the slice map, we would need to amplify received radar waves; while on the other hand, the map indicates considerable noise. Such reflections

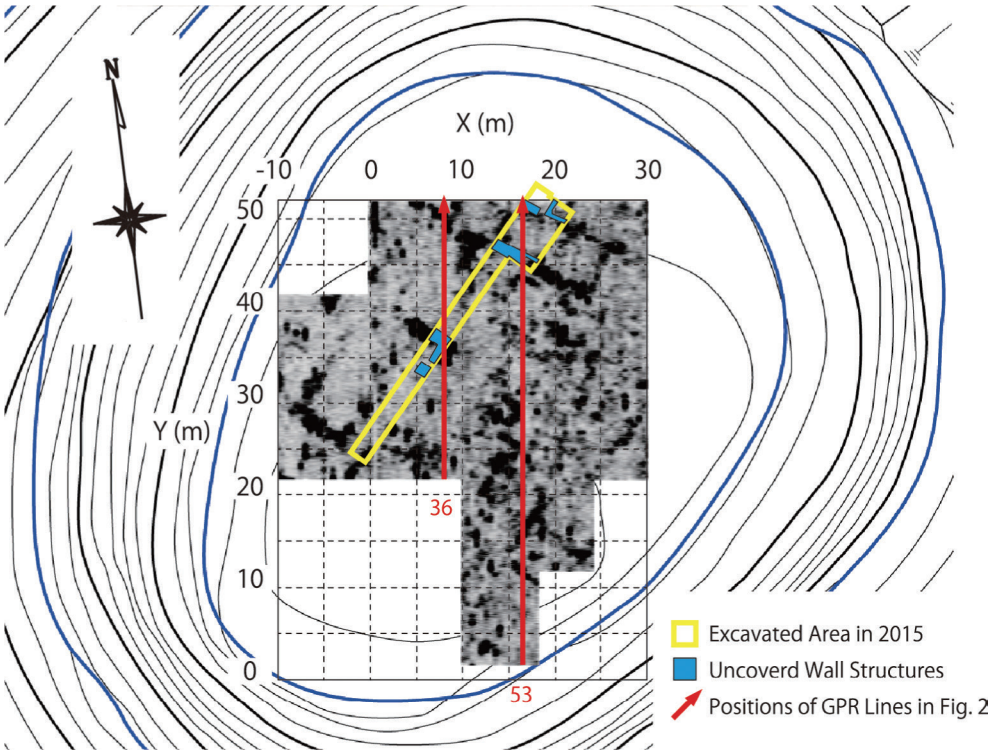


Fig. 5.1 GPR reflection with wall structures uncovered in 2015 (based on Tatsumi 2015).

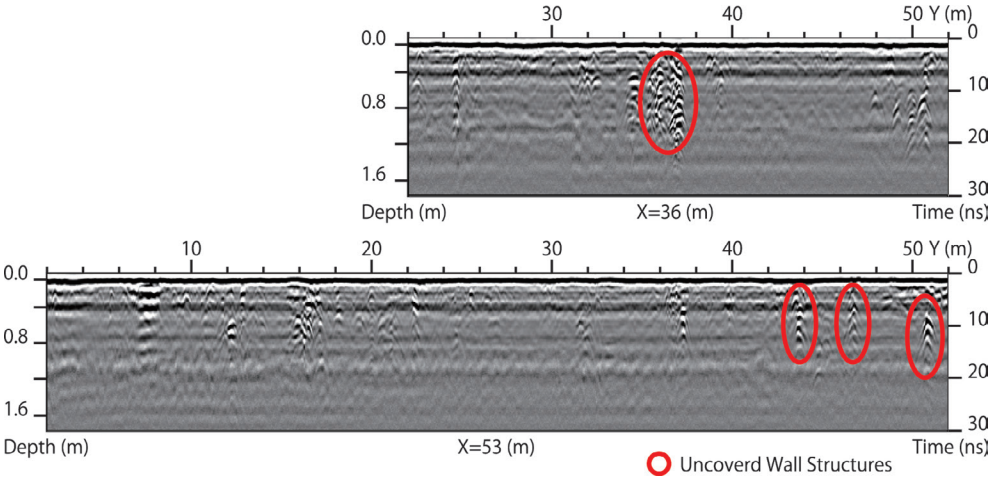


Fig. 5.2 GPR lines on X = 36 and 53.

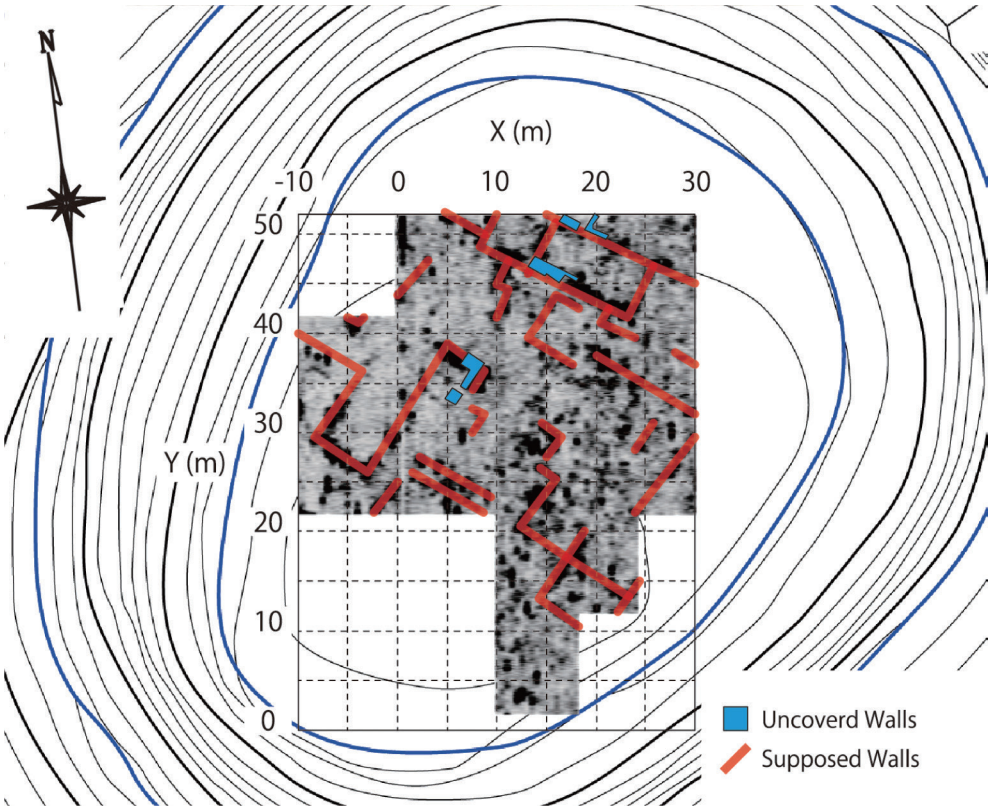


Fig. 5.3 Supposed structure based on GPR and excavation.

forming clear hyperbolas correspond to a wall whether it is shown on a slice map or not. Thus, we selected such reflections below depths of 30 cm from the surface, in order to eliminate the possibility of other stone structures such as those of the modern or Islamic period. We can then presume that structures on the surface of the site are far larger than what we assumed in 2014 (Fig. 5.3). This presumed building appears to extend to the edge of the flat surface and its thick walls measure around 1.5 m in width. This building possibly occupies almost the whole surface of the site. Solely based on the interpretation of the GPR result, we cannot determine the nature or character of this building. However, the presence of such a huge building defended by triple barriers, suggests that the site of Qalat Said Ahmadan, must have had a unique and unprecedented function.

(Yuki Tatsumi)

6. THE MEASUREMENT AND THE DETAILED TOPOGRAPHIC MAPPING OF TELL SITES USING AN UNMANNED AERIAL VEHICLE (UAV) AND STRUCTURE FROM MOTION (SfM) TECHNIQUE

Overview

The mapping of tell sites using an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) and its integration with a GPS-supported survey is reported here. The measurement and detailed mapping of tell sites was achieved using a combination of an UAV (the so-called drone) and an image-based measurement technique "Structure from Motion" (SfM). Recent improvements in the model of UAVs and photogrammetric techniques have tremendously reduced the difficulties involved in aerial photography and in the computation of the ortho-rectified photograph (orthophoto).

It is also noteworthy that not only an orthophoto, but also a detailed Digital Elevation Model

(DEM) can be computed through a rectification procedure. A DEM is one of the most fundamental data in GIS and is used for generating contour and analyzing topographic features (e.g. slope, aspects, convergence index, etc.). Until the arrival of UAVs, detailed topographic mapping of scales of the order 1/1000–1/5000 was a time consuming process. Using high-resolution satellites, currently with the best available resolution of 31 cm (Worldview-3), is one possible option for performing topographic mapping, but it is expensive and lacks the resolution needed when we consider within-site-level environments.

Hence, an orthophoto from a low-altitude UAV is considered the most effective information on this spatial scale. An orthophoto of this scale is capable of comparing the relation between microtopography and the within-site archaeological information (e.g. scattering of artifacts collected by GPS).

Two UAVs were used during the excavation to photograph Qalat Said Ahmadan, Logrdan, Grd-i Tle, and Yasin Tepe. The photograph was processed by Photoscan Professional edition (Agisoft) to generate both the orthophoto and the DEM. The main aim was to obtain a large-scale base map of the tell sites. Nevertheless, we conducted a DEM-based topographic analysis and an interpretation of the orthophoto. Another attempt was the quantitative evaluation of the survey. This evaluation was made during the survey of Yasin Tepe. The locations of the found artifacts and tracklogs were recorded using GPS. A comparison was made between the interpreted microtopography and the distribution of the finds, while also tabulating the result of the survey.

Aerial photography and the devices used

Presently, there are many low-cost and ready-made UAVs available in the market; these are mainly used to take videos with a wide-angle action camera. However, high-resolution vertical photography with autonomous flight is preferable in aerial photogrammetry. Most of the ready-made UAVs, which are neither autonomous nor capable of taking vertical still photographs, are not satisfactory in their performance.

Therefore, two autonomous UAVs were built using the DJI F450 (four propellers) and the F550 (six propellers) as a frame, and Pixhawk as a UAV controller for this survey. Compact cameras Nikon P340 and Ricoh GR were attached to the UAVs to take photographs. The F450 has a flight time of about 9 minutes while the F550's flight time is around 15 minutes or more. These flight times enable the shooting of approximately 20 ha (F450) or 35 ha (F550) in the course of one flight (although it changes with the flying height). We found the F550 to be especially convenient since it can cover almost an entire average-sized tell in one flight (Fig. 6.1).

1) Qalat Said Ahmadan

Measuring the Ground Control Points (GCPs)

A GCP is used to control the rectification procedure and it is a point whose exact location and coordinates (i.e. XYZ) are known. Several GCPs are required for processing orthophotos and for adding absolute coordinates. Post processing D-GPS, MobileMapper Pro (Magellan), which can provide sub-meter accuracy, was used to collect the GCPs. Half a day was used for GPS measurement to collect 5 GCPs in Qalat Said Ahmadan; at least 10 minutes to a maximum of one hour was used to take the measurements for each GCP. A post processing software was then used to calculate the average and fixed position from the recorded data for each GCP. However, owing to the limited time, a satisfactory survey was possible only at Qalat Said Ahmadan and Logrdan. GCPs for the other sites were collected from Google Earth, whose accuracy is unknown but is assumed to be around 3–5 m according to the accuracy of the recent high-resolution satellites.

Fig. 6.1 Controlling the F550 at the site.

Generating the ortho-rectified photograph (orthophoto)

Many archaeological surveys require topographic maps or orthophotos in an appropriate scale as basic spatial information. The ultra-high resolution images obtained from the UAV have the necessary scale required in excavation when compared to other aerial images (such as those taken from an airplane or a satellite). Fig. 6.2 (this figure and Fig. 6.5 have a resolution of 5 cm) shows that the details of both the tell and its surrounding environment can be well observed. New features can be added to the map by tracing this image since the geometry is orthogonal. Furthermore, the UAV-based mapping has an advantage in terms of its flexibility of scale. It can cover a grid-level map to a whole site-level map by simply changing its flying height.

Utilization of the 3D model

Several attempts were made to visualize Qalat Said Ahmadan in a more comprehensive manner (Fig. 6.3). Using 3D CG can be one of the solutions to provide a better understanding of the sites. Fig. 6.3 shows the difference in shape of Qalat Said Ahmadan when the viewpoint is changed. Moreover, profiles of the site can be easily depicted using the 3D model or the DEM as can be seen in Fig. 6.4. The 3D model for computer graphics and 3D printing can be exported in various formats including PDF(3D), STL, and OBJ, which are supported by many free softwares.

Comparison with Google Earth

The orthophoto is compared with the image derived from Google Earth, one of the most popular sources for high-resolution satellite image interpretation in archaeology (Fig. 6.5). It is known that Google Earth uses different types of images with different resolutions. For example, most urban areas are covered using sub-meter resolution images while remote areas are covered using resolutions sometimes even larger than 5 m.

In case of Qalat Said Ahmadan, the shape of the tell is easily recognizable on Google Earth (presumably Spot 6 or 7, which are of 1.5 m resolution) but the details are difficult to observe, while in the UAV-derived image one can easily observe the large-sized stones and structures. Certainly, Google Earth has a great number of advantages when it comes to observing and mapping

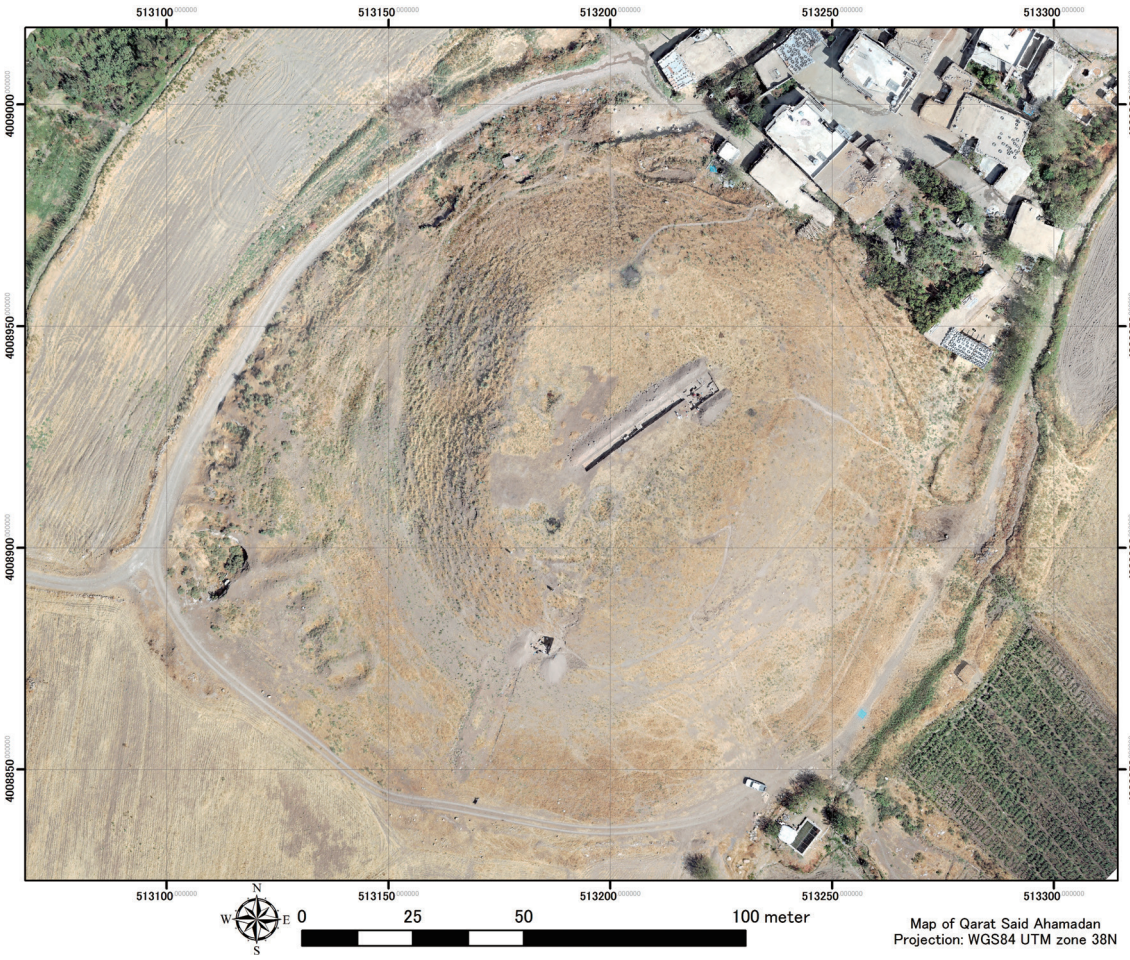


Fig. 6.2 Orthophoto of Qalat Said Ahmadan (scale 1:1100).

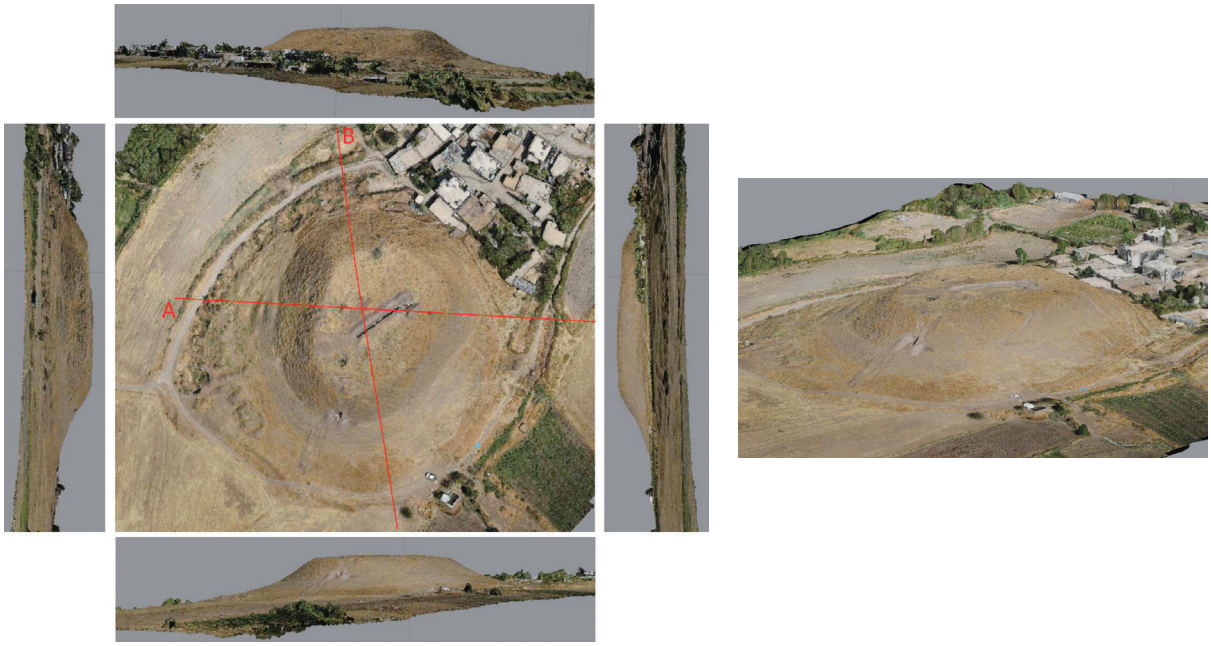


Fig. 6.3 Visualization examples of Qalat Said Ahmadan. Left: Looking the site from various viewpoints (Top: North; Left: West; Bottom: South; Right: East). Right: Bird's eye view of the site.

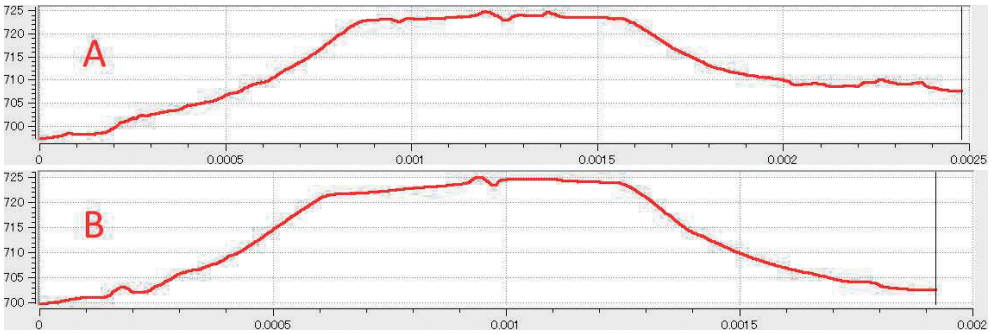


Fig. 6.4 Profiles of the Qalat Said Ahmadan (see Fig.6.3 for location of A,B).

Fig. 6.5 Comparison of images from Google Earth and the UAV orthophotograph.

a wider area. The images derived using the UAV appear to complement the high-resolution satellite images.

Detailed topographic map

The orthophoto lacks elevation information. A 50 cm contour was calculated from the generated DEM. Some of the contours include undesirable objects like cars and housing. This should be taken into account when interpreting the contour map. These errors can be checked by overlaying the contour with the orthophoto. However, an automatic elimination of errors is not possible.

Interpretation of topography of Qalat Said Ahmadan

DEM is one of the fundamental data in digital topographic analysis. When observing the view from the top of Qalat Said Ahmadan from the contour map and the 3DCG (Figs. 6.3 and 6.6), we are able to point out that its elevation is higher in the southern part. Perhaps this is due to underground structures. Fig. 6.7 shows the examples of "relief" calculated from the DEM (10 cm resolution). The surface roughness and microtopography can be well observed from the "relief." In this example, the piled-up soil and a narrow path is clearly visible.

In the "slope" map, the change in the gradient is strengthened and can be easily observed (Fig. 6.8). There seem to be four interesting features: (1) A and (2) B: clear change in gradient, (3) C: three small bumps, and (4) D: a little elevated area that continues to the west). C and D may have been formed during a later period, perhaps in modern times, but it may be worth mentioning.

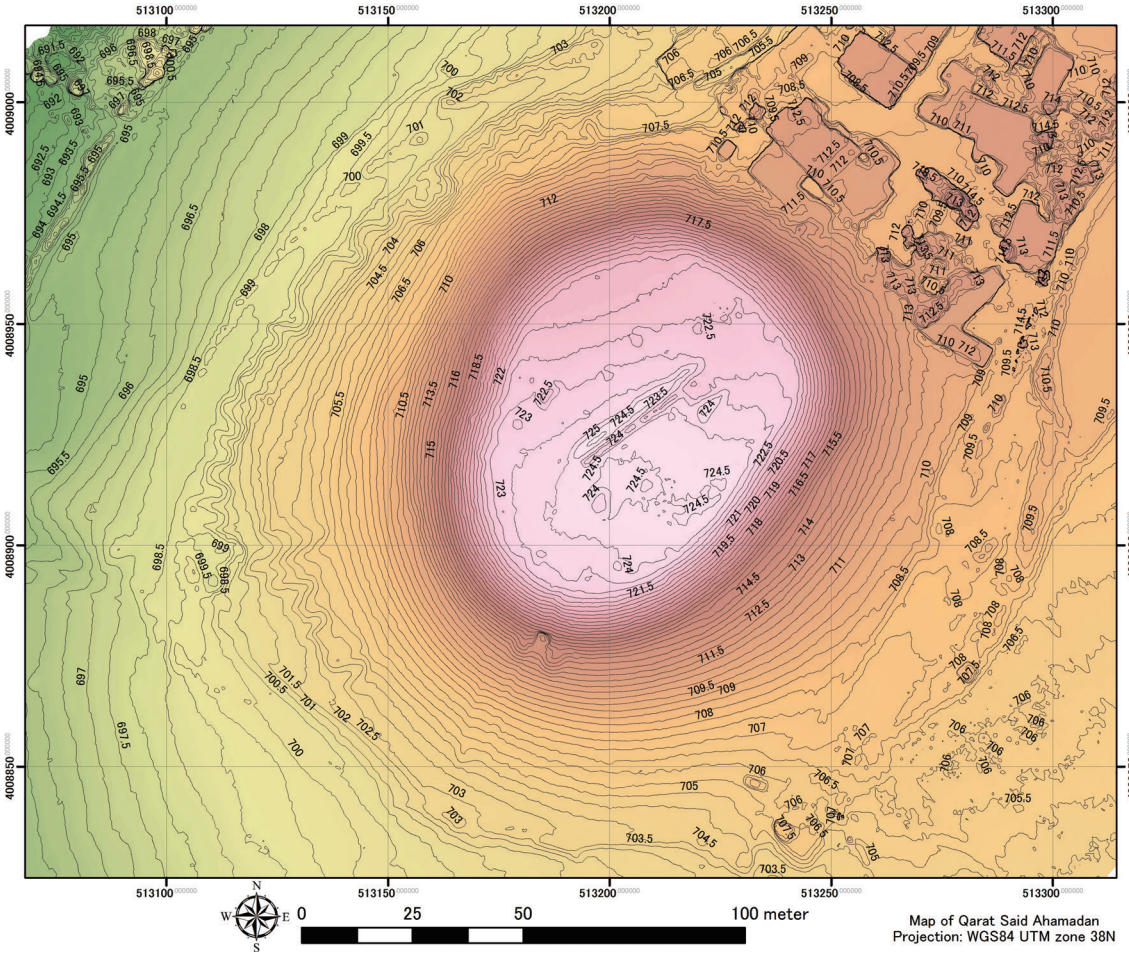


Fig. 6.6 Contour and DEM of the Qalat Said Ahmadan.

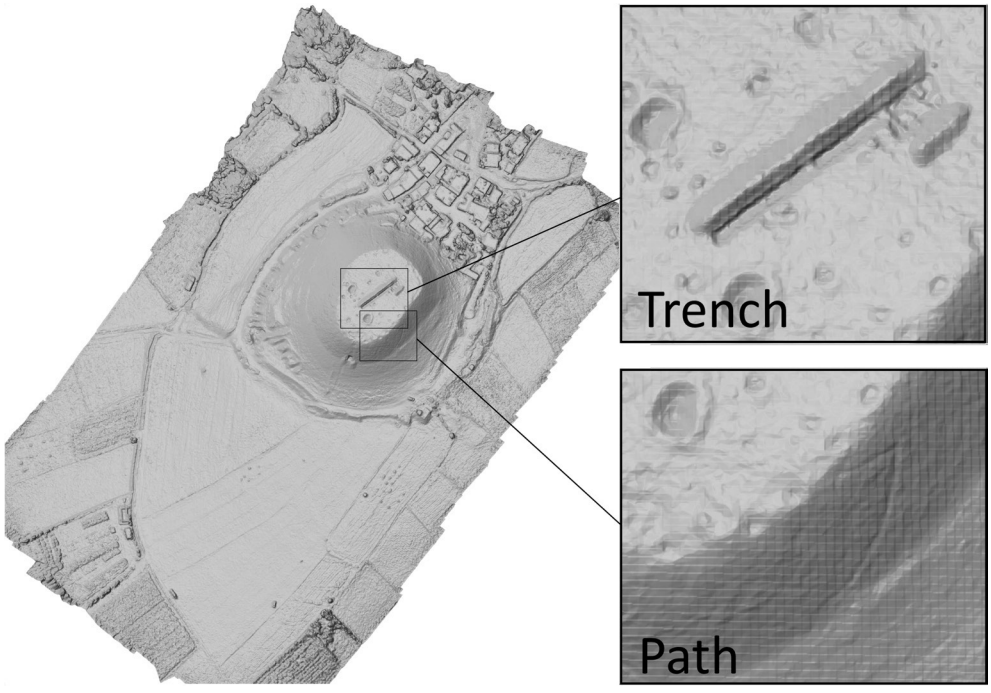


Fig. 6.7 Relief map of Qalat Said Ahmadan.

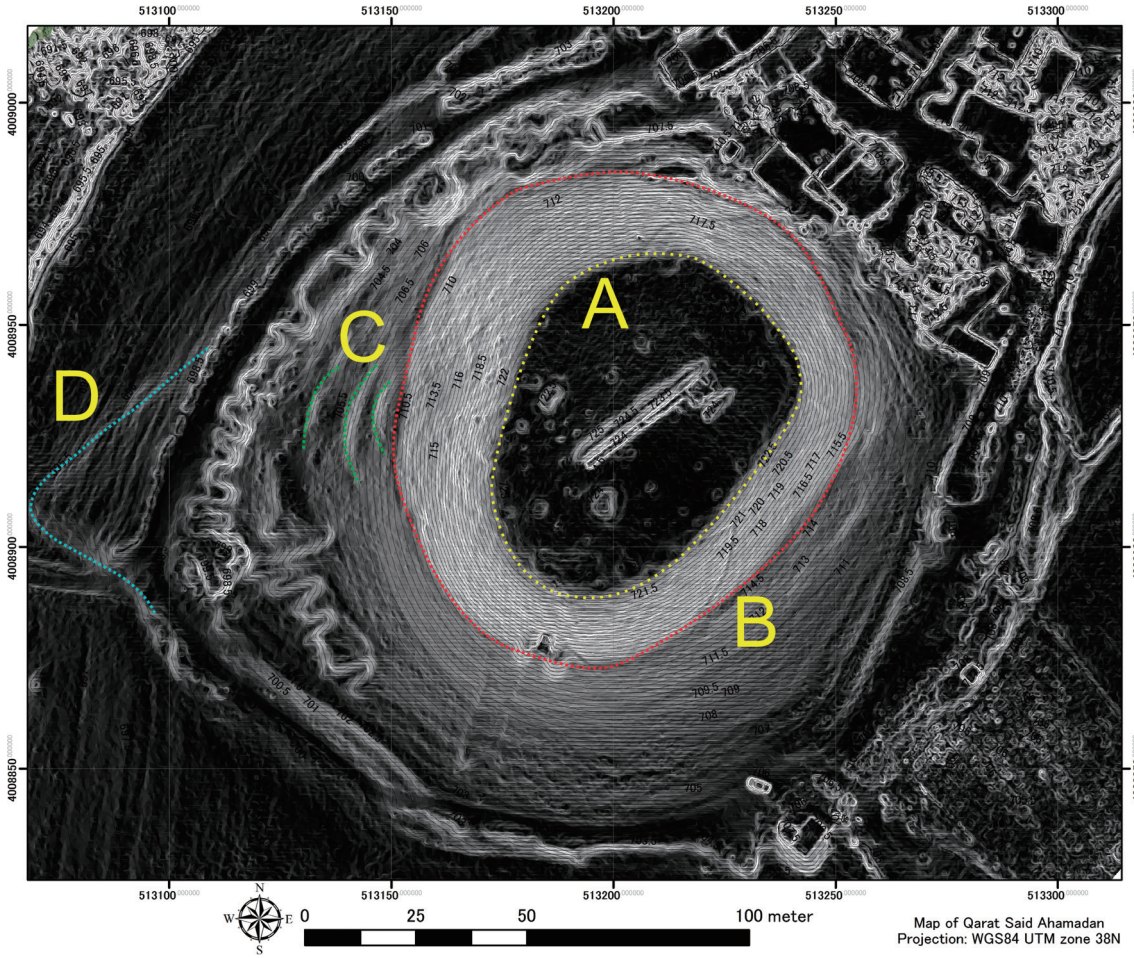


Fig. 6.8 Characteristic features observed from microtopography of Qalat Said Ahmadan.

2) Grd-i Tle and Logrdan

Grd-i Tle and Logrdan were photographed on 2015/9/11 and 2015/9/16, respectively. The results of the mapping are as follows (Fig. 6.9). The number of photographs used for each map are 240 (Grd-i Tle) and 250 (Logrdan), which were processed and prepared as maps during our fieldwork.

3) Yasin Tepe

Yasin Tepe was the largest tell photographed this season. Two drones, the F450 and the F550, were used for taking the aerial photographs. However, few photographs taken using the F450 were overexposed and those shots could not be used for interpretation (Fig. 6.10). More than 1,500 photographs were taken. Since the amount was excessive for processing, orthophoto could not be processed during our fieldwork.

As mentioned in chapter 8 of this report, Yasin Tepe had already been photographed once in May 2015. Therefore, a comparison was possible using photographs of two phases. The seasonal differences in Yasin Tepe were clearly visible in this comparison, which was more than expected. Bare ground is visible in most of the areas in the images taken during September, while almost the entire area is covered by vegetation in the images taken during May. This result strongly suggests that aerial photographs of this region must be taken after the harvesting season.

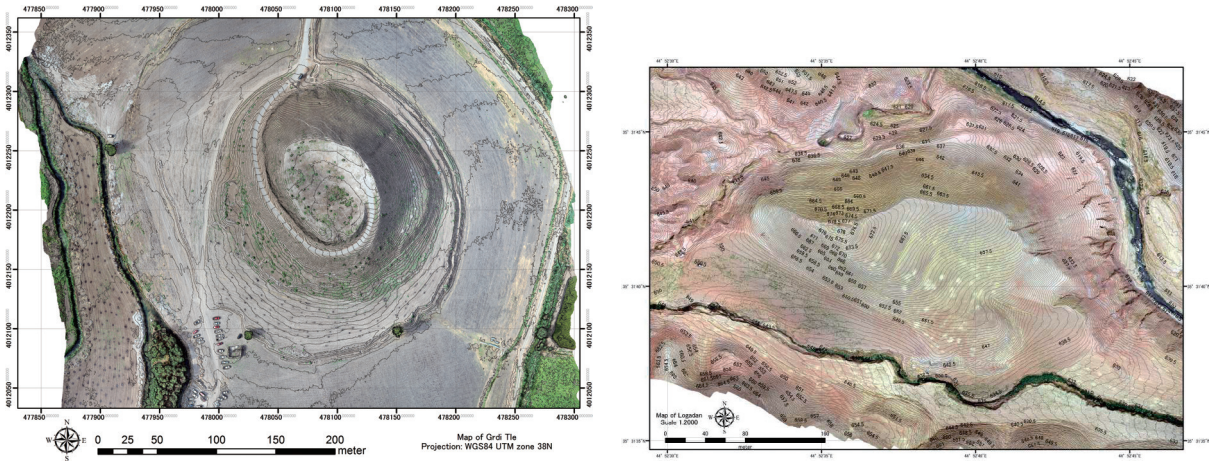


Fig. 6.9 Left: Grd-i Tle, Right: Logrdan.

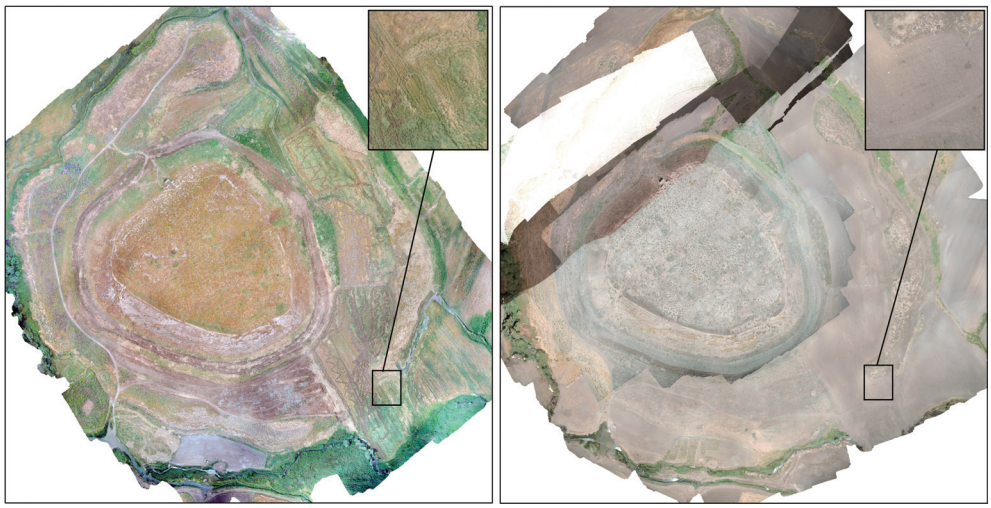


Fig. 6.10 Comparison between the images taken during the two seasons (Left: May 2015; Right: September 2015).

Recording and evaluating the survey using GPS

Mapping the distribution of artifacts

The survey around Yasin Tepe was conducted by three surveyors, each carrying a digital camera and a handy GPS with a 2-second interval of logging. The time stamp of each digital camera was synchronized with the GPS time so that the photograph can be geo-tagged later. The idea was to record the location of the artifacts by photographing them as and when we found them. The track log, which can be used later to show the visited (as well as un-visited) locations, was recorded at the same time. Indeed, there are better methods to record the location more precisely, such as by taking each measurement carefully or by using D-GPS instruments. However, when considering the fact that most of the surface artifacts are dislocated from their original position, and taking the huge size of the Yasin Tepe into account, surveying a much wider area with lower accuracy in same amount of time was presumed to be more informative.

A preliminary attempt at quantitative evaluation was made for the survey conducted on 2015/9/17. Location of potsherds and bricks found during the survey are plotted and then summarized into the "10 m × 10 m grid," which covers the whole of Yasin Tepe (Figs. 6.11, 6.12, 6.13 left). Hence, each grid holds the number of "potsherds, "bricks, and "tracklog points." It is, however, better to classify the types and periods of the artifacts in the photograph for more detailed analyses.

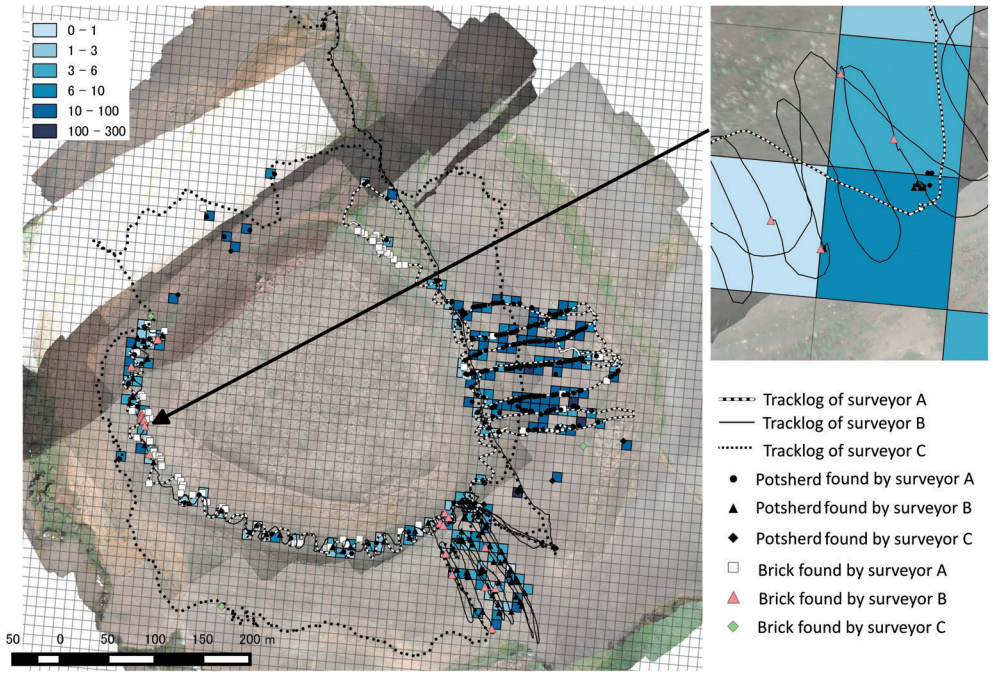


Fig. 6.11 Points summarized into grid (example of potsherds).

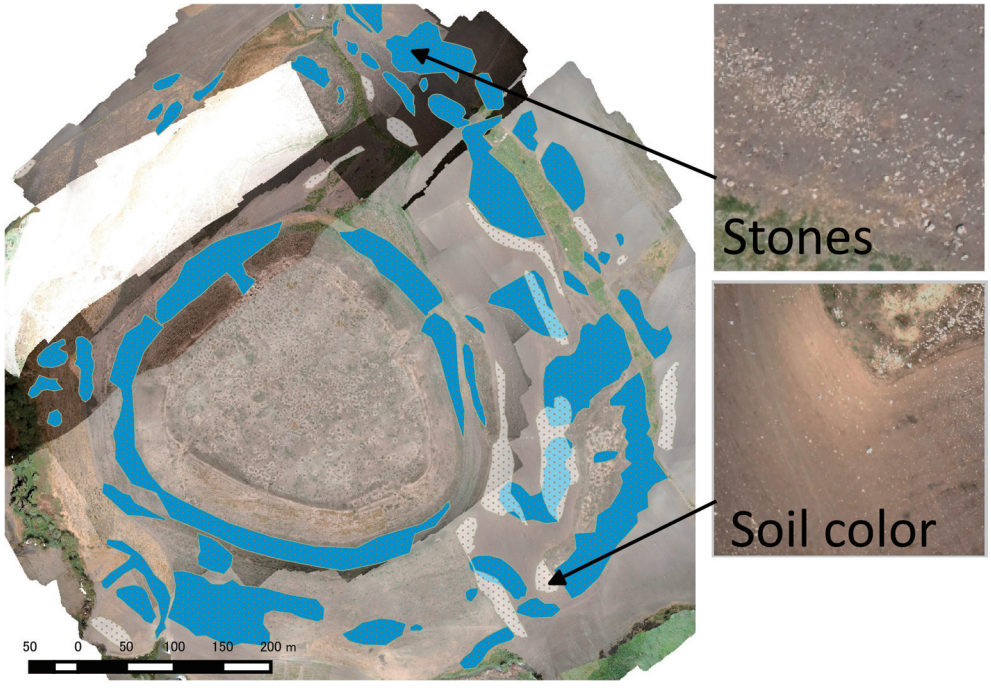


Fig. 6.12 Results of the photo interpretation and the plot of the GPS log.

Interpretation from the orthophoto

Identifying the archaeological features from an aerial photograph is the most basic approach in remote sensing for archaeological excavations. In Yasin Tepe, interpretation was carried out only for the surveyed area, which is the area surrounding the center of the tell. Existence of an archaeological structure can be estimated from the patterns of surface scatters (stones and bricks), and difference in soil color. The extent of these two features were extracted and mapped as GIS data (Fig. 6.12). The results show that both the “pile/scatter of stones” and “differences in the color of the soil” are

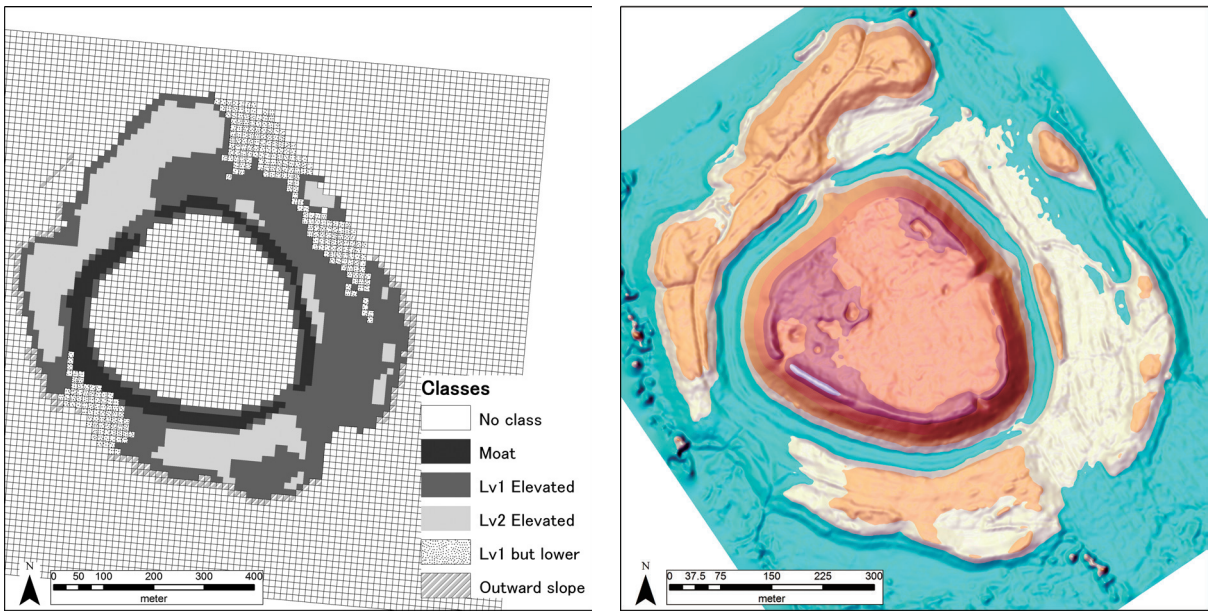


Fig. 6.13 Left: Classified grid (10 m × 10 m) based on terrain relief. Right: Terrain relief derived from DSM.

spatially biased toward the eastern and the southwestern side of Yasin Tepe. This trend may be attributed to cultivation, since the eastern area seems to be have been used intensively for agriculture. In fact, the trail of combine harvester is observed in the photograph of May (Fig. 6.10 right) and elevation is lower in the eastern area (Fig. 6.13 right). It is probable that cultivation during later periods disturbed the eastern dike, which ended up in the scattering of stones and exposure of the soils. On comparing this analysis with the GPS tracklog, we also came to know that several areas with different soil colors were not visited during this survey.

Classification of the tell and evaluation of the survey

A difference in microtopography is related to the utility of the land, or at least to the detection rate of artifacts during the survey. It is not always easy to classify the survey area into several units of topography with an appropriate index. However, the difference between the topographical units was comparatively clear in the case of Yasin Tepe (Fig. 6.13 right). Thus, the area was divided into five classes: (1) the moat; (2) elevated land (Level 1); (3) land with a higher elevation (Level 2); (4) basically an area on the elevated land (Level 1) but lower (perhaps the cultivated portion); and (5) the outward slope based on the terrain relief map. These classes are stored into the grid for cross tabulation (Table 6.1). There is still need for further discussion to conclude whether a topographical unit is the best solution for classification in the case of Yasin Tepe.

Table 6.1 shows that the survey has covered almost 30% of the entire targeted region. Most areas of the moat and 16% to 30% of each “elevated land” are covered. Perhaps the survey was too intensively conducted within the moat when considering its proportion. Instead, Lv2 elevated area should have been surveyed more. However, when considering the discovery rate of potsherds and bricks, the moat has the highest rate, which is only natural since it is narrowly sandwiched between the main tell and the elevated land. Artifacts may have rolled down from both classes. Elevated land LV1 possesses the second highest percentage of potsherds. It is not certain whether these stem from the archaeological context or from the disturbances of a later period (i.e. cultivation). These possibilities will be taken into account for future surveying.

Table 6.1 Statistics of the survey results as per classes.

Site	Photographed date	Number of flight	Flight time	Flight height	Photographed area
Qalat Said Ahmadan	9/12/2015	2	10 min each	80 m/90 m	18.8 ha each
		2	5 min each (Free flight)	20–30 m	0.1 ha
Grd-i Tle	9/11/2015	1	11 min	100 m	20 ha
Logrdan	9/16/2015	2	10 min each	80 m/90 m	24 ha each
Yasin Tepe	9/17/2015	4	49 min: F550 (15 min; 16 min), F450 (9 min; 9 min)	80 m	73.7 ha
Yasin Tepe south	9/18/2015	1	10 min	60 m	13 ha

Table 6.2 Summary of the UAV photographing.

Class	Grid with artifacts (% per class)	Grid with bricks (% per class)	Artifact per walked (grid per grid)	Bricks per walked (grid per grid)
Moat	59 (29%)	37 (51%)	37%	23%
Level1: elevated land	115 (57%)	29 (40%)	35%	9%
Level2: elevated land	15 (7%)	5 (7%)	16%	6%
Basically on Level1 but lower	12 (6%)	1 (1%)	24%	2%
Outward slope	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0%	13%
Whole	201 (100%)	73 (100%)	32%	12%

Conclusion

It is almost surprising that detailed topographic maps for three tell sites were made in less than a week. However, the map of the Yasin Tepe could not be processed within that time because of its massive size. Taking photographs of the sites took 10–50 minutes each, depending on the size of the tell sites. The GPS survey took about half a day for Qalat Said Ahmadan and Logrdan, while coordinates for Grd-i Tle and Yasin Tepe were taken from Google Earth. Basic computation took up a day or two for an ordinal sized tell, and an additional day or so was required for completing the whole mapping.

This method was quite successful in mapping the tell sites. It can be a perfect solution for obtaining maps and 3D models of tell-site-like structures in detail. This method apparently offers a realistic solution in comparatively short times for cataloguing the tell sites spread over a wide area. The recording and evaluation of the survey were also attempted using a handy GPS and the orthophoto interpretation. The interpretation of the orthophoto provided a view of the microtopography and the possibility of a disturbance in the eastern dike. This information was useful when drawing conclusions from the results of the survey (shown in the plot map and statistics).

The combination of using UAV measurement and a GPS logging survey appears to be quite an effective method for supporting archaeological excavation. However, the method needs to be refined further by improving mapping accuracy, segregating land into appropriate classes, grouping potsherds into further categories (e.g., based on period, type, size, etc.), just to name a few (Table 6.2).

(Nobuya Watanabe)

7. LOGRDAN: TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY AND SURFACE COLLECTION

Logrdan is a small tell-type settlement located at c. 3 km east of the city of Chamchamal (Fig. 7.1). The site was built on a natural hill near the junction of two small tributaries. We investigated the site on August 28 and September 16 in 2015 for purposes of preparing a topographic map by UAV and for conducting a surface collection.

The natural hill where the site was built is triangular in plan, measuring c. 400 × 240 m, and at a height of c. 30 m above the surrounding plain (Figs. 7.2, 7.3). Although considerable potsherds, including Halaf, Bronze, and Iron Ages material, can be collected from all over the hill surface, cultural deposits on the slope seem to be very thin. We suggest that the human habitation area was limited to the hilltop and its eastern slope and terrace. Therefore, the site area with cultural deposits is much smaller than its superficial appearance as a natural hill.

Surface collection

We divided the hill surface into seven areas and collected potsherds from each area (Fig. 7.2). Considerable potsherds were scattered all over the hill, especially on its southern and eastern slopes and terraces.

Numerous Halaf potsherds were collected from Areas A, B, and F (Fig. 7.4: 1–3). Most of them are typical later Halaf pottery, containing some polychrome painting varieties. The hilltop (Area B) and the upper southern slope (Area A) have dense deposits of Halaf pottery, and the natural hill surface was exposed in Area F. It is suggested that the Middle/Late Halaf settlement or cemetery was located on the hilltop and its cultural material was redeposited on the southern slope of the hill.

Late Uruk and Early Bronze Age material was also collected, mainly in Areas A and B (Fig. 7.4: 4–6). This also indicates that a small Late Uruk or EB settlement or outpost was constructed on the hilltop, and reworked after its abandonment.

Though the number of potsherds on the eastern slopes and terraces are not numerous, we could collect Bronze and Iron Age potsherds (Fig. 7.4: 7). This suggests a small or temporal habitation area during these periods.

The northern slope of the hill was too steep for cultural layers to have been deposited.

Fig. 7.1 Location of Logrdan (Based on a Google Earth image).

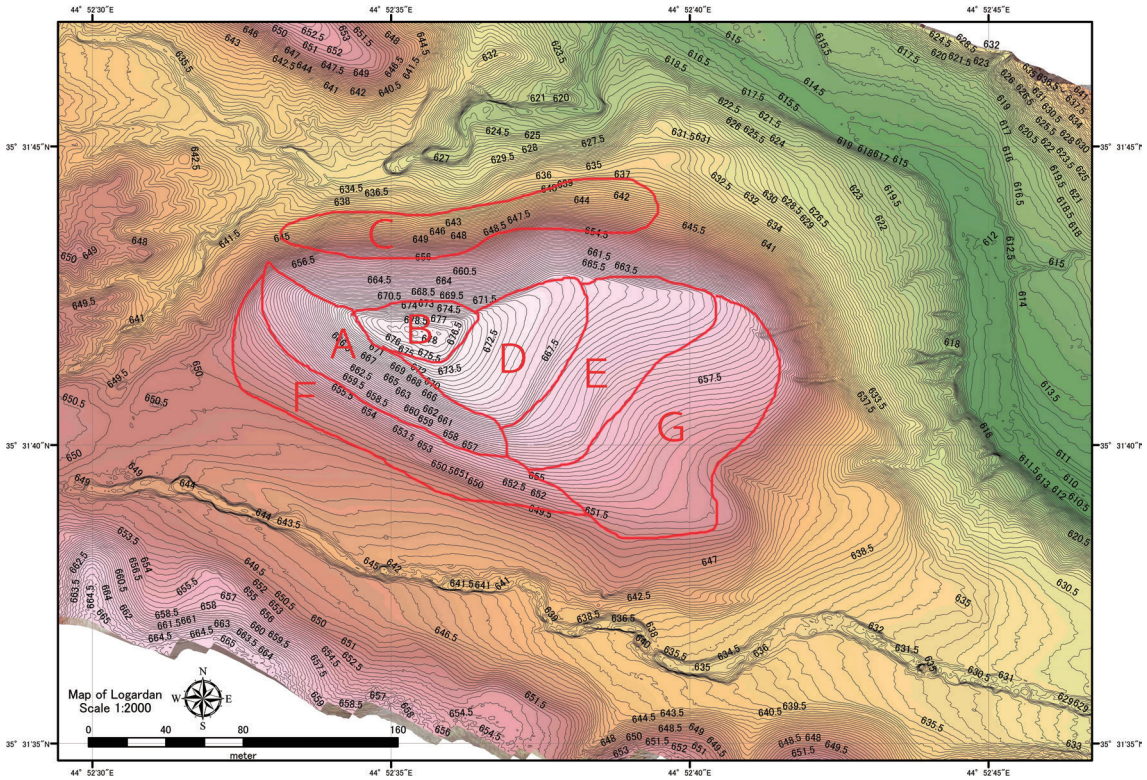


Fig. 7.2 Topograhic map of Logrdan and the the division of surface areas for collecting the materials (Measured by UAV in September 2015 and produced by Nobuya Watanabe).

Fig. 7.3 An aerial view of Logrdan (Photo by UAV).

Some remarks

Tell Logrdan is one of the few sites yielding typical Halaf materials in the Slemani region. The fabric and painting designs of Halaf pottery at Logrdan are more sophisticated and resemble the real Halaf varieties in northern Mesopotamia, in contrast with Halaf pottery from Qalat Said Ahmadan (in this report). We do not know the reasons for the appearance of such differences, in particular as to whether this is owing to chronological or regional variation, or to other factors.

1. Halaf potsherds collected from Area A.

2. Halaf potsherds collected from Area B.

3. Halaf potsherds collected from Area F.

4. LC potsherds collected from Area A.

5. Bronze Age potsherds collected from Area A.

6. LC and Bronze Age potsherds collected from Area B.

7. Iron Age potsherds collected from Area G.

Fig. 7.4 Potsherds collected from various areas of Logrdan.

It is suggested that there was a small settlement, cemetery, or outpost during the Middle/Late Halaf, Uruk, or Early Bronze Age on the hilltop of Logrdan. To clarify the characteristics of this hilltop site, we require further investigations. However, it is certain that Logrdan will provide good material for the study of chronology in the Chamchamal area of the Slemani region.

(Akira Tsuneki and Saber Ahmed Saber)

8. YASIN TEPE: TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY AND SURFACE COLLECTION

Yasin Tepe is one of the largest tell sites in the Shahrizor Plain, which is located ca. 45 km southeast of Slemani city. Archaeological investigations of the site were conducted by Iraqi and Kurdish archaeologists in 1975 and 1999 [Hijara 1975, Marouf 1999]. Despite its distinctive size and historical importance, however, no topographic plan was produced and no investigation conducted on the period before the Islamic period.

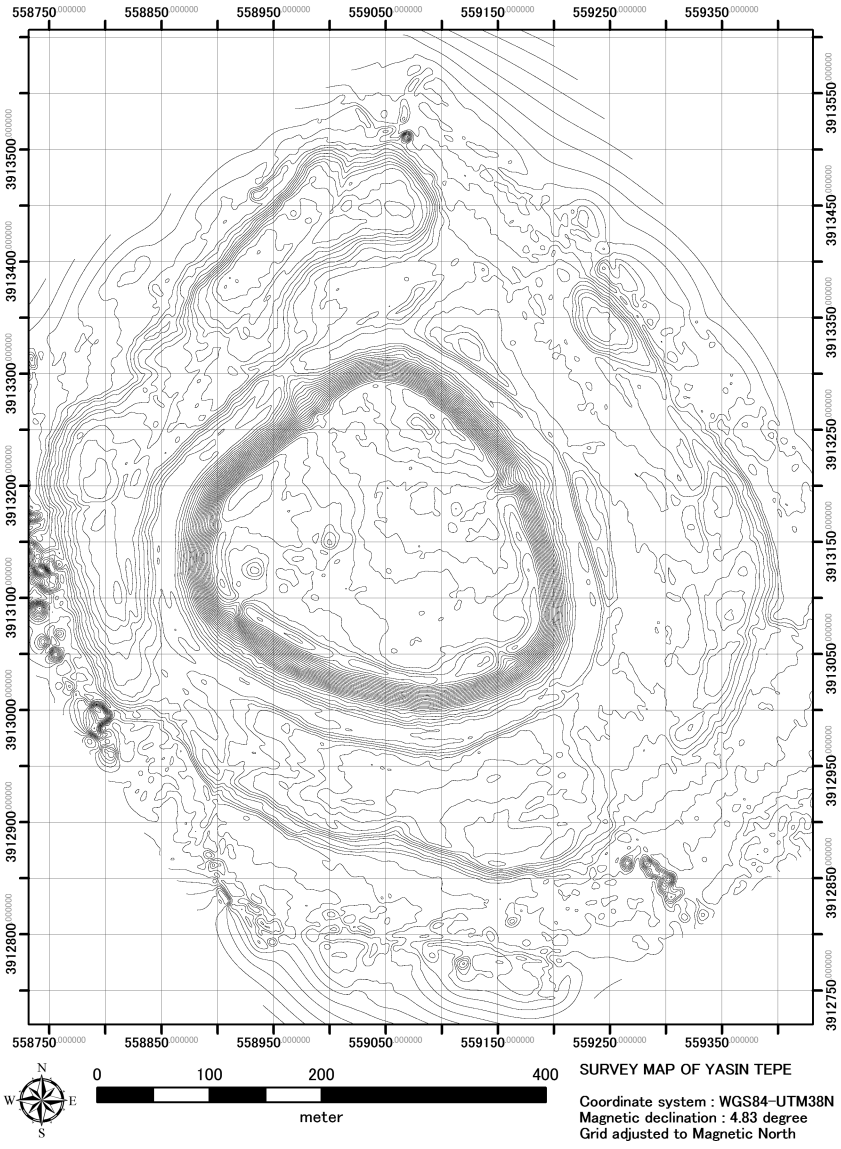


Fig. 8.1 Topographic plan of Yasin Tepe (measured by UAV in May 2015 and produced by Nobuya Watanabe).

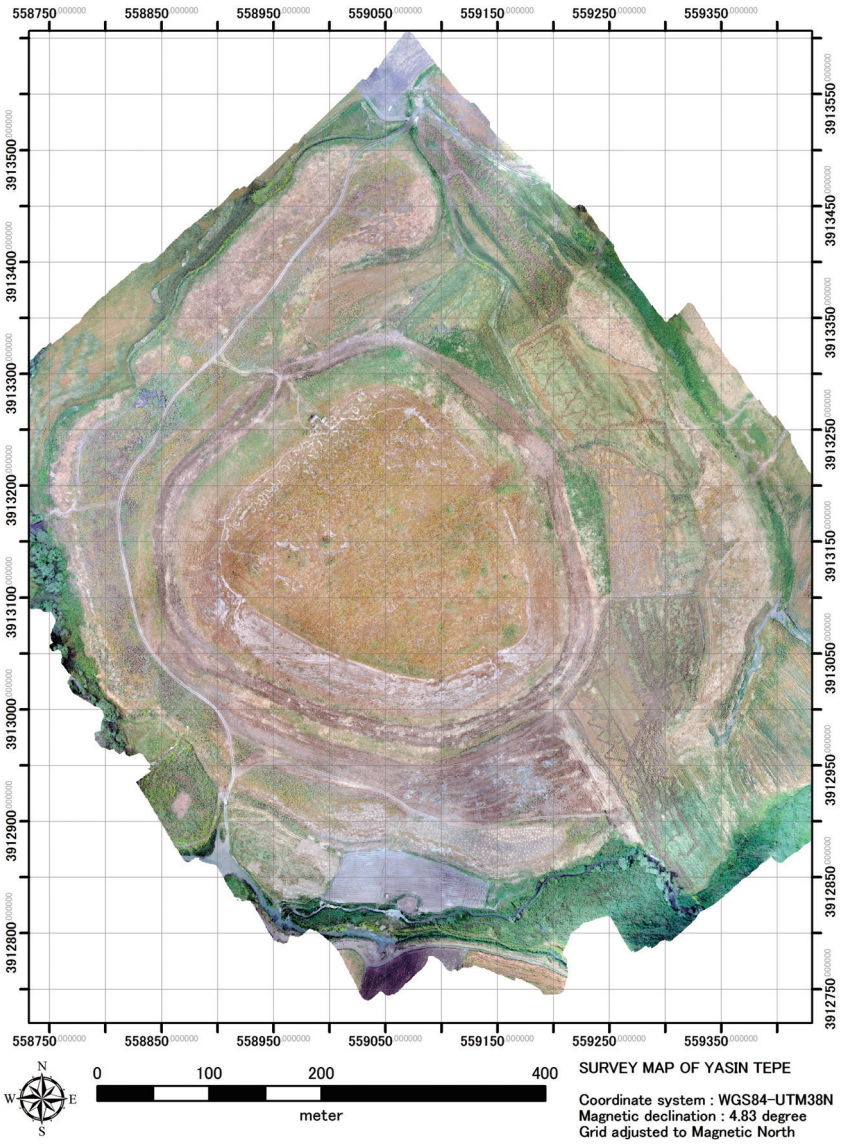


Fig. 8.2 Orthophoto plan of Yasin Tepe (measured by UAV in May 2015 and produced by Nobuya Watanabe).

In May 2015, we conducted a reconnaissance of the lower town and performed a topographic survey, creating the basic topographic plan of the site (Figs. 8.1, 8.2). We were also able to create a 3D model and topographic plan of the entire site. The data was collected by using UAV that were specially made for these purposes (see chapter 6 of this report).

In September 2015, we conducted a short season involving another topographical survey using UAV and performed a surface collection in the lower town area, concentrating on the south and east parts. By using UAV, we again photographed the entire site, including the lower town. This data will be compared to the photographic data obtained in May 2015. Because the soil condition differs drastically between May and September, we may be able to observe different features on the surface.

The surface collection was executed in the southern and eastern parts of the lower town (Fig. 8.3). The surface condition was exceptionally good with hardly any vegetation. We also used UAV to observe the surface in high-resolution (flight altitude ca. 60 m). In several areas, we encountered the scatters of baked bricks (ca. 32 × 31 × 6 cm). According to the potsherds recovered on the surface,

Fig. 8.3 Southern lower town of Yasin Tepe (from the northwest); notice the difference in soil color.

mudbrick structures at this site can be dated to the Iron Age. In the area where the bricks are concentrated, the color of the soil was brown and may indicate the presence of mudbrick structures. Based on our preliminary analysis of the surface potsherds, which was collected this season, the lower town area of the southern part of the site largely belongs to the Iron Age. We conducted both random and transect surveys to collect surface artifacts, which mainly consist of potsherds.

Overall, the southern and eastern parts of the lower town are suitable for investigating the Iron and Bronze Age structures, as few Islamic period remains were identified. Considering the presence of baked bricks, there is a high possibility that the public building(s) are located in this part of the lower town.

(Shin'ichi Nishiyama)

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In spite of the short fieldwork season some important results for reconstructing the prehistory and Iron Age of the Raparin and Slemani regions of Kurdistan were obtained.

At Qalat Said Ahmadan, we found a good prehistoric cultural sequence of post Neolithic through to the Ubaid period. The first season's investigation (2014) revealed a sequence from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic to the Samarra period and this second season's investigation produced a sequence from the Hassuna through to the Samarra, Halaf, and Ubaid periods. As evidence of Uruk potsherds were also recovered, the prehistoric cultural sequence at Qalat Said Ahmadan could provide information on a timespan from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic to the Chalcolithic periods in Kurdistan. This means further investigation at Qalat Said Ahmadan may provide good material for the study of neolithization and urbanization in this region.

Iron Age investigations at the summit of Qalat Said Ahmadan revealed large communal structures, which might be contemporaneous with the large Iron Age stone architecture surrounding the southern foothill of Qalat Said Ahmadan. If both structures were used simultaneously, the presence

of a large communal institution during the Iron Age at Qalat Said Ahmadan is inferred. Though the exact purpose of these large structures has not been determined, initial analysis suggests a relationship with Neo-Assyria and / or the Media.

Archaeological surveys at Logrdan and Yasin Tepe provided evidence for reconsidering the different historical processes among these three regions in Kurdistan. For example, Halaf pottery obtained from Qalat Said Ahmadan and Logrdan show quite different characteristics, and the pottery assemblages might reflect the different regions where the sites were located. This kind of regionality may indicate specific characteristics of the Kurdistan region during its prehistory and history.

New technologies such as UAV and SfM were actively utilized for excavations, mapping sites and surface collections this season (see chapter 6 in this report). These technologies are time effective and facilitate more precise investigation during archaeological fieldwork. We believe that new technologies will contribute to the progress of Kurdistan archaeology in the near future.

(Akira Tsuneki and Kamal Rasheed)

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For the conducting of the archaeological research campaign in Raparin and Slemani of Kurdistan, we are deeply grateful to Mr. Abubaker Othman Zendin, the General Director of Antiquities at the Ministry of Municipality and Tourism, Kurdistan Regional Government – Iraq. He kindly gave us permission to carry out our work in Kurdistan. We also express our special gratitude to the staff of DGA, especially Mr. Kaifi Mustafa Ali, the Director of Legal Affairs. We express our special thanks to Mr. Hashim Hama Abdulla, Director of the Slemani Museum, for his kind consideration of our work and his hospitality. We express our thanks to the staff of Slemani Antiquities Directorate and Slemani Museum, especially Mr. Sami Jamil Aziz, Mr. Akam Omar, Mr. Bahzad Taib, Mr. Salh Mhedin, and Mr. Aziz Sharif Maulwd. Mr. Othman Tawfeeq, an assistant lecturer at Slemani University, also extended his hospitality to us during our stay in Slemani. We also wish to express our special thanks to the people of the village of Said Ahmadan for their inestimable support of our research as workers and for their hospitality. At last but not least, we are grateful to Dr. Jessica Giraud, researcher of ifpo, Erbil. She kindly gave us an important information for the prehistoric sites in the Raparin area, including Qalat Said Ahmadan.

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APPENDIX
RADIOCARBON DATING OF CHARCOAL REMAINS EXCAVATED FROM QALAT SAID AHMADAN (OPERATION E)

Masayo MINAMI*

Abstract

Radiocarbon (^{14}C) dating of eight samples of charcoal remains from layer 1 to layer 5 of Operation E located in Qalat Said Ahmadan (QSA), Iraq-Kurdistan, was performed to reveal the succeeding chronology after the Neolithic Period, from the Hassuna to Ubaid periods. The calibrated ^{14}C dates were 6084–5986 cal BC for layer 5 (Hassuna); 5986–5900 cal BC for layers 3b, 4a, and 4b (Samarra); 4946–4747 cal BC for layer 3a (Halaf); and 4992–4846 cal BC for layers 1b and 2d (Ubaid). The ^{14}C dates of the Hassuna and Samarra layers correspond well with the ^{14}C dates of layers 2 (Hassuna) and 1 (Samarra) for Operation B during the 2014 season's excavation. The ^{14}C results reveal a sequential transition from the Hassuna to Samarra periods with their boundary at around 6000 cal BC, and the possibility of long transition of 500–1000 years from the Samarra to Halaf periods.

1. Charcoal samples

Nine charcoal remains (E1–E9) were collected from layers 1–5 of the north section of Operation E (Fig. 1). Operation E, which had a 4 × 4 m digging square and a depth of 3.35 m, was located just 1 m east of Operation C, which took place during the 2014 season's excavation [Tsuneki *et al.* 2015]. Unfortunately, Operation C, located 1 m to the north of Operation B (which had a good sequence of the Neolithic Period), did not produce a clear chronological sequence. As a result, in the 2015 season's excavation, Operation E was dug to detect the succeeding chronological layers after the Neolithic Period. The charcoal samples were pretreated using the acid-base-acid (ABA) treatment to measure ^{14}C.

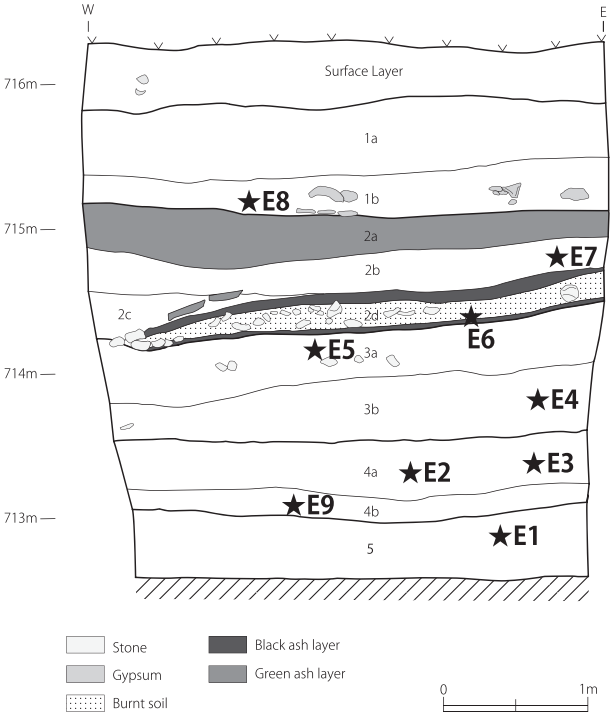

Fig. 1 North wall section, Operation E. Sampling points (★) of charcoal remains E1–E9.

2. Analytical method

The charcoal samples were ultrasonicated in Milli-Q water to mechanically remove contaminants such as roots and soil from the sample surface, and then treated several times with 1.0 M HCl (acid) at 60°C for 12 h to remove foreign carbonates and fulvic acid. Next, the samples were treated with 1.0 M NaOH solution (base) at 60°C for 1 h to remove humic acid. After the base treatment, the samples were treated again with 1.0 M HCl (acid) at 60°C for 12 h, rinsed with Milli-Q water to remove the acid completely, and then dried at 80°C.

The ABA-treated samples were vacuum-sealed in a quartz tube with CuO, Cu, and Ag and combusted by stepwise heating at 600°C for 2 h and at 900°C for 3 h [Minami *et al.* 2013]. The

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CO_2 gas produced from the combustion of the samples was purified cryogenically and then reduced to graphite by H_2 with a Fe catalyst at 620°C for 6 h in a sealed quartz tube. The graphite was loaded into an aluminum cathode, and ^{14}C-dated with the Tandetron accelerator mass spectrometer (HVEE Tandetron AMS) at the Institute for Space-Earth Environmental Research, Nagoya University. Sample E7 was not ^{14}C-dated due to its small CO_2. For ^{14}C dating, the isotope ratio of the sample carbon was standardized against the $^{14}C/^{12}C$ ratio of the reference sample oxalic acid (NIST SRM 4990C). The reference sample had been corrected using the blank sample Aso-3, which consists of charred wood fragments in pyroclastic flow deposits derived from the Aso-3 caldera (120 ka) in Kyushu, Japan. The Aso-3 blank sample was pretreated using the ABA method, following the same protocol as that used for the samples. Furthermore, correction of carbon isotopic fractionation was performed using the $\delta^{13}C_{vPDB}$ value measured by AMS. The obtained ^{14}C ages were calibrated using OxCal v4.2.4 [Bronk Ramsey 2009; Bronk Ramsey and Lee 2013] based on the calibration curve data of INTCAL13 [Reimer *et al.* 2013].

3. Results and discussion

The results from the charcoal samples are shown in Table 1. The data of charcoal samples collected during the 2014 season's excavation [Minami and Tomiyama 2015] are also shown in Table 1, though some data of samples with low carbon contents were excluded. All the charcoal samples collected during the 2015 season's excavation showed a carbon content of more than 50%, and hence, they could be used to generate reliable ^{14}C dating results [Rebollo *et al.* 2011]. The $\delta^{13}C_{vPDB}$ values of the samples, ranging from –29 to –25‰, indicate that the charcoal samples were originated from plant C3 and can show reliable ^{14}C dates.

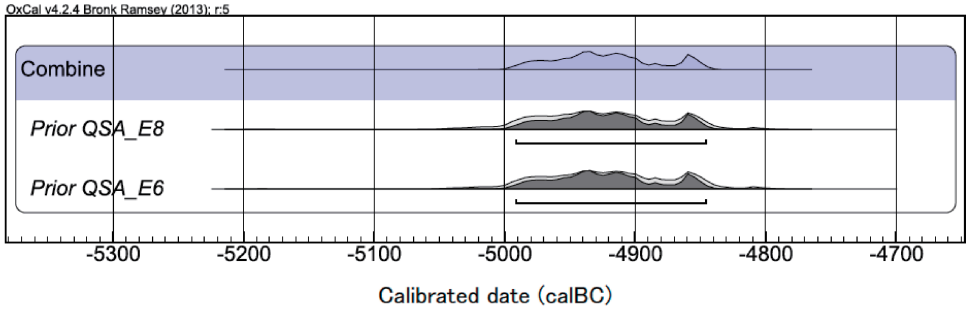
The charcoal samples found at layers 1b and 2d that contain the Ubaid pottery showed calibrated ^{14}C dates of 5019–4838 cal BC and 5014–4835 cal BC, respectively. These two ^{14}C results can be merged using the "Combine" function of OxCal v4.2.4 to give a combined date of 4992–4846 cal BC (A_{comb}: 116.1%), as shown in Fig. 2a. The charcoal sample found at layer 3a that contains the Halaf pottery showed calibrated ^{14}C dates of 4946–4747 cal BC. The calibrated ^{14}C date for the Halaf phase overlaps with the date of the Ubaid phase. On the other hand, three charcoal samples collected at Operation C layer 3, which could belong to Halaf period [Tsuneki, personal communication], showed 5470–5325 cal BC, 5475–5340 cal BC, and 6000–5890 cal BC, all of which are older than the Ubaid period. If the layer 3 is assigned to the Halaf period, it leads to the possibility

Table 1 ^{14}C dates of charcoal samples from Operation E of Qalat Said Ahmadan, Kurdistan.

Sample		Supposed period[1)]	%C	$\delta^{13}C_{vPDB}$[2)] ‰	^{14}C age ±1σ, BP	Calibrated age[3)] ±2σ, cal BC	Lab. No. NUTA2-
E8	layer 1b	Ubaid	54.8	–26	6032 ± 33	5019–4838	23739
E6	layer 2d (bottom)	Ubaid	62.3	–28	6029 ± 33	5014–4835	23738
E5	layer 3a (upper)	Halaf	60.8	–25	5970 ± 33	4946–4747	23737
E4	layer 3b (lower)	Samarra	59.9	–25	7021 ± 34	5992–5837	23736
E3	layer 4a (upper)	Samarra	63.4	–26	7097 ± 35	6033–5900	23735
E2	layer 4a (upper)	Samarra	64.0	–27	7016 ± 34	5990–5812	23732
E9	layer 4b (lower)	Samarra	61.6	–29	7071 ± 34	6016–5890	23740
E1	layer 5	Hassuna	62.0	–29	7166 ± 35	6084–5986	23731

1) They are based on pottery types.
2) The $\delta^{13}C_{vPDB}$ values were measured by a Tandetron AMS, with one sigma errors of 1‰.
3) The calibrated ages were calculated using the calibration program OxCal v4.2.4 [Bronk Ramsey 2009] and the INTCAL13 data set [Reimer *et al*. 2013], with two sigma errors.

(a) Ubaid phase



(b) Samarra phase

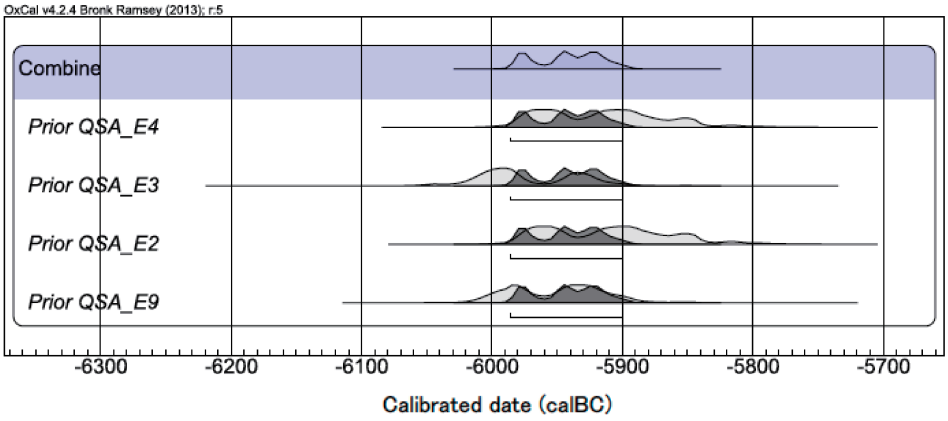


Fig. 2 Combined ^{14}C dates of charcoal samples of (a) Ubaid and (b) Samarra layers.

of long transition of 500–1000 years from the Samarra to Halaf periods.

The charcoal samples found at layers 3b, 4a, and 4b that contain the Samarra pottery showed calibrated ^{14}C dates of 6033–5812 cal BC. These four ^{14}C results give a combined date of 5986–5900 cal BC (A_{comb}: 86.4%), as shown in Fig. 2b. The ^{14}C date of the Samarra phase is consistent with the ^{14}C date (6065–5930 cal BC) [Minami and Tomiyama 2015] obtained from layer 1 of Operation B performed during the 2014 season's excavation. The charcoal sample found at layer 5 that contains the Hassuna pottery showed calibrated ^{14}C dates of 6084–5986 cal BC. These results indicate the possibility of a sequential transition from the Hassuna to the Samarra period in the Kurdistan region, occurring the boundary at around 6000 cal BC.

Based on the ^{14}C results of charcoal remains from various layers of Operations B, C, and E during the 2014 and 2015 season's excavations, a long chronology from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic through the Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, to Ubaid periods in the Kurdistan region was established. However, further study is needed to make a more detailed chronology, especially for the Halaf phase, by further pottery and ^{14}C analyses.

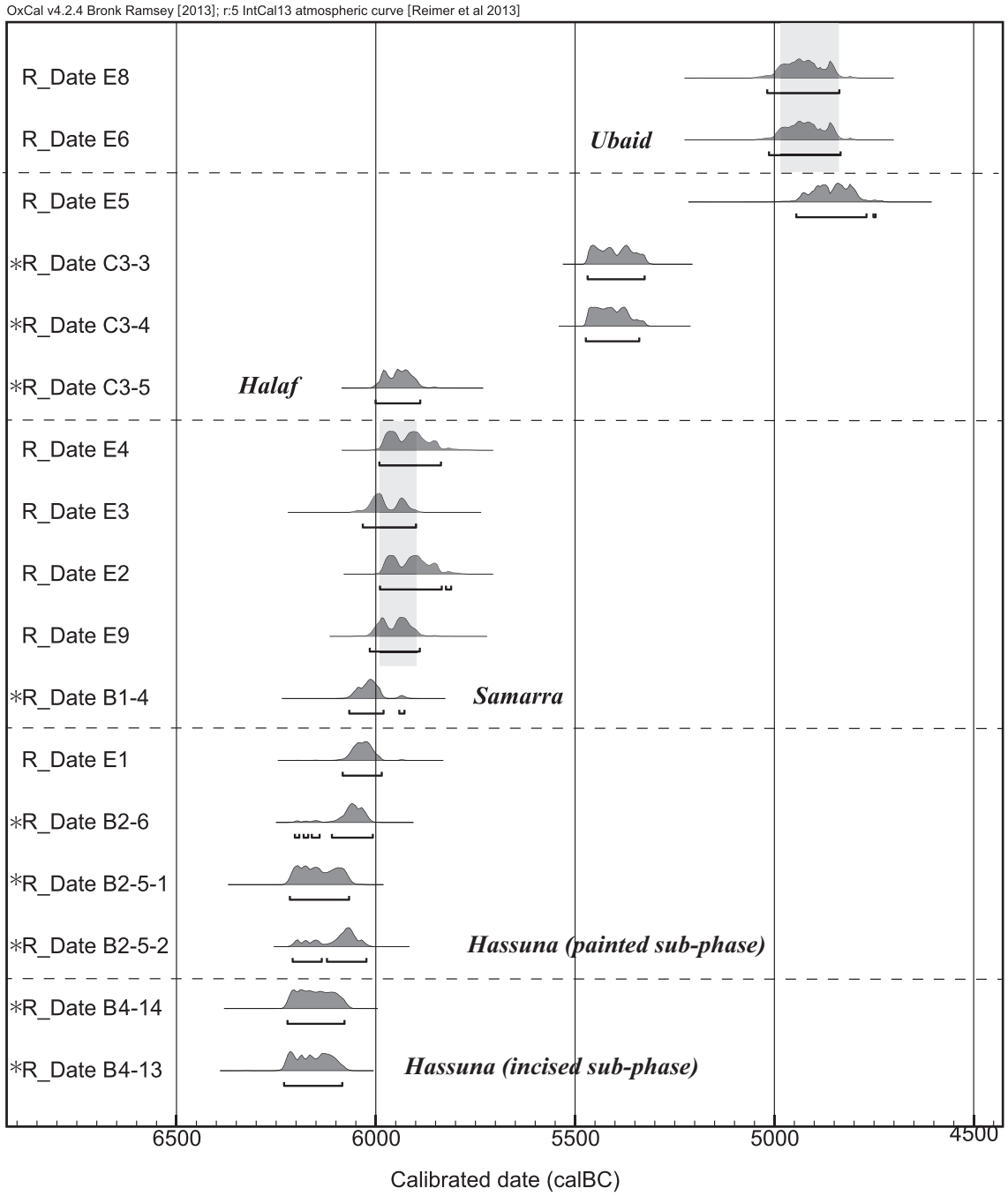


Fig. 3 ^{14}C dates of charcoal samples of the Qalat Said Ahmaden sequence. For the Ubaid and Samarra samples, the combined data (see the text) are also shown as gray ranges. The data with asterisks are from Minami and Tomiyama [2015].

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پێشنیارکراوی دیوارەکە (کە بەلایەنی کەمەوە ٢٠م) ئەوە دەرئەخات کە تایبەت نەبووە، بەڵکو زیاتر بۆ کاری گشتیی بووە. پێئەچێ ئەم دیوارە بۆ سەردەمی ئاسن بگەڕێتەوە کە پەیوەندی بەهەمان ئەو دیوارەوە هەیە لە وەرزی ٢٠١٤ دا لە دامێنی گردەکەدا ڕووە و باشوور. لەمەوە بۆ مان دەرئەکەوێت کە هەردوو دیوارەکە هاوکاتن لەگەڵ سەردەمی ئاسن. بەم شێوەیەبێ، ئێستا ئاشکرایە کە ئەو دیوارە بەردینە گەورانەی لە گردی سەید ئەحمەدان هەبووە لە سەردەمی ئاسندا ئەگەر چی ئەوە دەرئەخەن کە پێئەچێ بۆ مەبەستی سەربازی بووبێ، لەگەڵ ئەمەشدا وا باشترە چاوەڕێی وەرزی داهاتوو بکەین.
هاوکات لەگەڵ ئیشی هەڵکۆڵیندا، هەستاین بە پێوانەکردنی ڕووبەری گردەکە و هەڵگرتنەوەی نەخشەی تۆپۆگرافی، بە سوود وەرگرتن لە UAV و فۆتۆگرامیتری، ئەمەش بووە هۆی دەستخستنی زنجیرەیەک وێنەی گونجاوی گردەکە " ٣D Model " و دەستخستنی نەخشەیەکی تۆپۆگرافی چڕوپڕی گردی سەید ئەحمەدان بۆ لێکۆڵینەوەی زیاتر.

٢- ڕووپێویکردنی هەردوو گردی شوێنەواری لۆگردان و یاسین تەپە:

بۆ لێکۆڵینەوەی زیاتری لایەنی مێژووی ناوچەی سلێمانی، پشکنینمان لە دوو گرد یا زیاتردا کرد، هەر یەک لە ناوچەی جیاواز لە پارێزگای سلێمانی، وەک لە سەرەوە باسمانکرد کنەوپشکنینی گردی سەید ئەحمەدان پێئەچێ کۆنۆلۆجییەکی ناوچەیی " لۆکاڵی" بنیاد بنێ لە ناوچەی ڕاپەڕین "قەڵادزێ و ڕانیە" باکووری پارێزگای سلێمانی. پێئەچێ پشکنین و ڕووپێویی کردنی گردی لۆگردان زانیاری زۆر باشمان بداتێ سەبارەت بە ڕیزبەندی کولتووری سەردمی خەڵەف و سەردەمی برۆنز لە ناوچەی چەمچەماڵ و پشکنینی یاسین تەپە ڕیزبەندیەکی دڕێژی کولتووریمان بداتێ سەبارەت بە ناوچەی شارەزوور، باشووری سلێمانی.
ئێمە لە ٢٨ ئاب و ١٦ ئەیلول سەردانی گردی شوێنەواری لۆگردانمان کرد بەمەبەستی هەڵگرتنەوەی نەخشەی تۆپۆگرافی بە UAV وە هەڵگرتنەوەی ئەو پارچە گڵێنانەی کە لەسەر ڕووکاری دەرەوەی زەییەکەدان " Surface survey " . لە ڕۆژی ١٧ و ١٨ ئەیلولدا سەردانی گردی شوێنەواری یاسین تەپەمان کرد، بە مەبەستی ئەنجامدانی ڕووپێوییەکی سیستماتیک و هەڵگرتنەوەی نەخشەی تۆپۆگرافی بە UAV ، لە بەرنامەماندایە کە دوو نەخشەی تۆپۆگرافی زۆرباش بۆ هەر دوو گردەکە دروست بکەین و بە بەدەستهێنانی زانیاری چڕوپڕتر لەسەر ڕیزبەندی کولتووری هەر دوو گردەکە بۆ لێکۆڵینەوەی زیاتر کارەکەمان دەوڵەمەند بکەین.

Kurdish Summary by Saber Ahmed Saber

بیرۆکە و مەبەستی کارکردن

گردی سەید ئەحمەدان، کوردستانی عیراق: ڕاپۆرتی دووەمی وەرزی دووەم " ٢٠١٥"

ئەکیرا تسونیکی، کەمال ڕەشید، سابر ئەحمەد، شین نیشییاما، نابویا وەتەنەبی، یوکی تاسومی و بەرزان ئیسماعیل

سوپاس بۆ هاوکاری و بایەخی بەڕێوەبەرێتیی گشتیی شوێنەواری کوردستانی عیراق، بەڕێوەبەرێتیی شوێنەواری سلێمانی، کە مۆڵەتیاندا بە ئێمە وەك نێردەی شوێنەواری زانکۆی تسوکوبای ژاپۆنی تا دووەمین وەرزی کارکردنمان " کنەو پشکنین و لێکۆڵینەوە" ڕابەڕێنین لە ناوچەکانی پارێزگای سلێمانی، کوردستانی عیراقی "باشوری کوردستان" لە ٢٦ ئاب _ ٢٣ ئەیلول ٢٠١٥ . مەبەستی پرۆژەکە بۆ پشکنین و خستنە بەرچاوی پرۆسەی شارستانیەتی و سەردەمی نیولیسیکە " سەردەمی بەردینی نوێ " لە ناوچەی سلێمانیدا کە یەکێکە لە ناوچە بەنرخەکان بۆ لێکۆڵینەوە لەو بوارەدا.

بە دوای ئەنجامەکانی پشکنینی وەرزی یەکەمدا (ئەکیرا تسونیکی، کەمال ڕەشید، سابر ئەحمەد، شین نیشییاما، ئاڕ. ئەنما، بەرزان بایز ئیسماعیل، ئەی. هاشیگاوە، یوکی تاتسومی، وای. میاچی، ساری جەمۆ, ماریکۆ ماکینۆ, وای. کیدۆ، ڕاپۆرتی سەرەتایی وەرزی یەکەم "٢٠١٤" الرافیدین (١–١٥: ٣٦) بەردەوام بووین لە هەڵکۆڵین لە گردی سەید ئەحمەدان لە باکووری قەڵادزی. لە هەمان کاتدا ڕووپێوییەکی گشتیمان ئەنجامدا لە چەند گردێکی شوێنەواری ناوچەکانی پارێزگای سلێمانیدا (لۆگردان لە خۆرهەڵاتی چەمچەماڵ و یاسین تەپە لە شارەزوور) بۆ تەواوکردنی زانیارییەکان سەبارەت بە مێژووی کوردستان، بە تایبەتی بۆ بنیادنانی کۆرنۆلۆجی ناوچەیی " لۆکاڵی" لەم وەرزی ئیشکردنەدا.

١– کاری کنەوپشکنین لە گردی سەید ئەحمەدان:

گردی شوێنەواری " قەڵاتی سەید ئەحمەدان" سەید ئەحمەدان ئەکەوێتە دامێنی چیاکانی باکووری قەڵادزێ، لە باشووری گوندی سەید ئەحمەدان، نزیکەی سێ "٣" کیلۆمەتر لە باکووری قەڵادزێ (ئەم ناوچەیە دەشتی پشدەریشی پێ ئەڵێن). گردەکە شێوەی هێلکەییە، ڕووبەرەکەی ١٦٠× ١٧٠ م ، وە بەرزییەکەی ٢٢م. لە بەشیBدا, پیزبەندییەکی زۆرباشی کولتووری نیۆلیسیك" سەردەمی بەردینی نوێ " دۆزرایەوە و لە بەشی A و Dدا، دیواریکی سەردەمی ئاسن کە بە بەردی گەورە دروست کراوە دەرکەوت (ibidTsuneki et al.)

مەبەستی وەرزی دووهەمی هەڵکۆڵین، یەکەم: بۆ دۆزینەوەی پیزبەندی کولتووری دوای سەردەمی نیۆلیسیك. دووەم: بۆ دۆزینەوەی تایبەتمەندییەکانی بیناسازی سەردەمی ئاسن لە سەر گردەکە، کە وەرزی یەکەم "٢٠١٤" لە دامێنی گردەکەدا ڕووەو باشوور بوو. هەربۆیە چوارگۆشەیەکی ٤ ×٤م دەستمانکرد بە هەڵکۆڵین " Operation E“ ڕۆژهەڵاتی ئۆپەراسیۆنی C کە وەرزی ٢١٠٤ ئیشمان تێداکردبوو و دروستکردنی ٣٥×٢م " Operation F " لەسەر گردەکە.

ئۆپەراسیۆنی E : دوا بە دوای ستراتیگرافی ئۆپەراسیۆنی C، دوای هەڵکۆڵینی زەوییەکە بە قوواڵیی ٣,٣٥م زۆربە وریاییەوە چینەکانی زەوییەکەمان یەك لە دوای یەك هەڵدایەوە، کە بەرەو قەراغی بەشی باکووری چاڵەکە بەرەو قوواڵیی ڕۆیشتین، ئەم ئۆپەراسیۆنە ڕیگە خۆشکەر بوو لە دۆزینەوەی دەورەی کۆتایی پێش مێژوو لە سەردەمی سامەڕاوە بۆ سەردەمی عوبەید. دۆزینەوە گلێنەی پەیوەندار بە هەر دوو سەردەمی سامەڕاو حەلەف کە زۆر گرنگە، لەبەر ئەوەی ئەشێ بتوانین ئەو سەردەمی گوێزانەوە دوورودرێژە بدۆزینەوە کە لەنێوان هەردوو سەردەمی سامەڕاوە بۆ حەلەف هەبووە، لە کوردستان. بە دڵنیاییەوە ئەمە گوزارشتێکە بۆ دەرکەوتنی کولتووری سەردەمی حەلەف و ئاوابوونی کولتووری سەردەمی سامەڕا.

ئۆپەراسیۆنی F: لاکێشەیەکی درێژ لە لەسەر گردەکە بە قوواڵیی نزیکەی ١,٤م. دەرکەوتنی دیواریکی گەورەی بەردین، کە پێشتر لە بەهۆی ڕووپێوی جیۆفیزیکەوە ناسێنرابوون لە وەرزی ٢٠١٤ دا. ئەستووری دیوارەکە (نزیکە ١,٣م) وە درێژیی

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT GRD-I TLE IN THE RANYA PLAIN, IRAQI KURDISTAN

Atsunori HASEGAWA*, Shigeo YAMADA* and Barzan Baiz ISMAIL**

Introduction

The archaeological investigation of Grd-i Tle, reported here, was planned and undertaken as a part of the ongoing project "Historical-Archaeological Study of the Northeastern Area of Mesopotamia" (representative: Hirotoshi Numoto, Kokushikan University)[1]. This project has followed the excavation of the major site of Tell Taban (Hassake, Syria) in 1997–1999 and 2005–2010, which brought to light a large number of cuneiform-inscribed sources from the Middle Assyrian and Old Babylonian periods while shedding new light on the history and culture of the region [Numoto *et al*., 2013]. After the excavations at Tell Taban ceased due to the turmoil prevailing in Syria since 2010, the project team now aims to investigate archaeological sites in Iraqi Kurdistan in the hope of finding further archaeological data on the second millennium BC from the northern part of Mesopotamia, hopefully including cuneiform documents. Grd-i Tle has been chosen for the site of our reconnaissance visit because of its size and location, which suggest a center of some importance in the region through the ages[2].

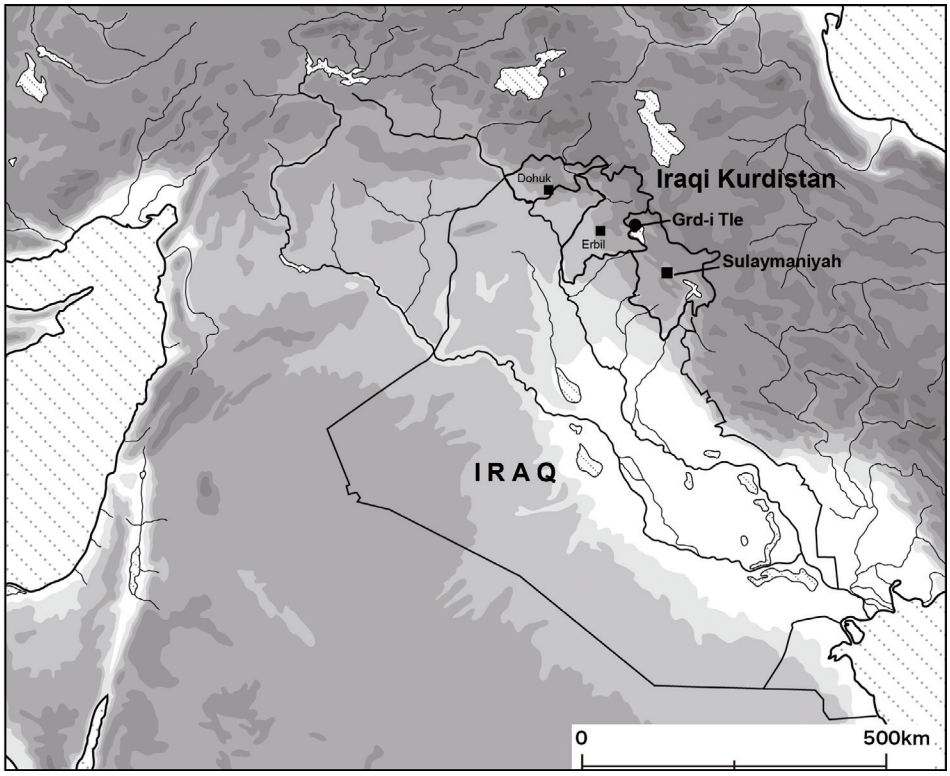

Fig. 1 Location of Iraqi Kurdistan and Sulaymaniyah Province (Produced based on Tsuneki *et al*. 2015: Fig. 2.1).

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1) The project is sponsored through funding by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) Kakenhi, Grant number 23401030 (representative: Hirotoshi Numoto).

2) The importance of Grd-i Tle was first suggested by Kazuya Shimogama in our internal meetings.

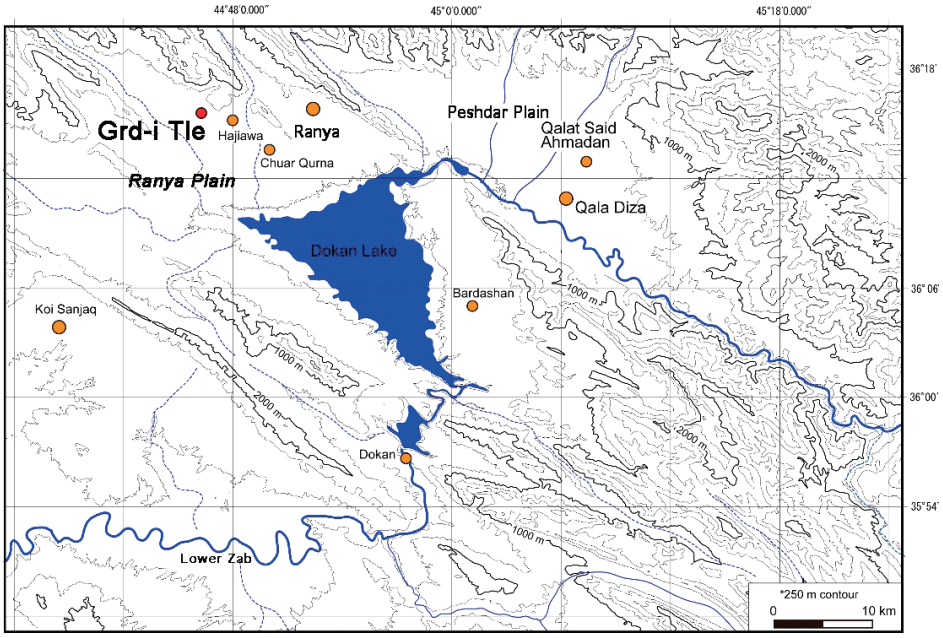

Fig. 2 Location of Grd-i Tle in the Ranya Plain (Produced based on Tsuneki *et al*. 2015: Fig. 2.4).

The site of Grd-i Tle (36°26′18″ N, 44°45′22″ E) is located in the Ranya Plain, northwest of Dokan Lake, about 2.5 km northwest of the town of Hajiawa in the Ranya district, Sulaymaniyah Province, in the Kurdish Autonomous Region of Iraq (Figs. 1, 2). The Ranya Plain connects the Zagros highlands and upper Mesopotamia, and the Lower Zab flows through the plain before it joins the Tigris. In the 1950s, several sites, including Tell Basmusian, Tell Shimshara, Tell Kamarian, Tell Qarashina, and Tell ed-Dem, were excavated as part of the salvage projects prior to the construction of the dams and reservoirs at Dokan [Ingholt 1957; Laessøe 1959; Soof 1970], but few excavations were undertaken in Iraqi Kurdistan after the 1960s due to the political instability of the region. Only after 2010, with the improvement of political stability, many archaeological missions began in Iraqi Kurdistan [Kopanias *et al*. 2015]. Apart from the archaeological survey conducted by Giraud (Institut français du Proche-Orient at Erbil) over the entire area of Sulaymaniyah Province and the Ranya Plain Survey project of the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO, Leiden) and the University of Copenhagen [Kopanias *et al*. 2015: 38–39], a number of archaeological sites have been excavated. For example, in the Ranya Plain, the major site of Tell Shimshara has been re-excavated by NINO and the University of Reading [Eidem 2012], and Bab-u Kur was excavated by the University of Copenhagen [Kopanias *et al*. 2015: 38 and 39]. In the Peshdar Plain, adjacent to the Ranya Plain to the east, Qalat Said Ahmadan [Tsuneki 2015] and Grd-i Bazar [cf. Radner 2015] have been excavated by the University of Tsukuba and the University of Munich, respectively. Following this trend of new archaeological works, we carried out a reconnaissance survey of Grd-i Tle (Fig. 3) over a short period, between 14 and 15 September, 2015.

Purpose of the investigations

Grd-i Tle has never been excavated before. According to online satellite imagery (Google Earth, accessed on 10 September 2015), the site looked like a tell-type mound with a flat top, and parts of its slopes look as if they have been scraped by the construction of a modern road. The aim of our visit at the site was to obtain more topographical and archaeological data on the site, which appears conspicuous in the northern part of the Ranya Plain, where no other larger mounds are to be found. The central purposes were to observe and document the current condition of the mound, and to roughly

Fig. 3 General view of Grd-i Tle (from the east).

estimate the date of its occupation by examining the potshards found on the surface.

Topography of Grd-i Tle

Preceding our visit to the site, a topographic map of Grd-i Tle was kindly prepared by Nobuya Watanabe and Shin'ichi Nishiyama (both of Chubu University), who were working on the nearby site of Qalat Said Ahmadan. They processed the map using Image Structure from Motion (SfM) software on the basis of aerial photographs taken by a model unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV)[3]. According to the topographical map (Fig. 4), Grd-i Tle has an oval plan, measuring about 325 m north to south and about 265 m west to east, with a trapezoidal profile. The height of the mound is 584 m.a.s.l. at the top and 558 m.a.s.l. at the base. Therefore, the mound rises 26 m above the surrounding plain.

The mound is dissected by the modern road, which approaches it from the northern end, passes the western and southern slopes, and arrives at the flat top area (Fig. 5). The dissected section at the northwest part of the mound (Fig. 6) measures more than 5 m high, and some archaeological remains, for example, stone rows and burnt soil, are exposed (Fig. 7). In this area, it is possible to identify more than five cultural layers, which reach the level of the surrounding plain, although the natural ground is not exposed.

The southern part of the hilltop has a depression or shallow gully just above the dissected belt (Fig. 8), and large stone structures are visible on its section (Fig. 9). These features are possibly the remains of a town-wall gate.

3) The ortho-rectified photograph (ortho photo) and digital elevation model (DEM) were processed with SfM software, Photoscan Pro, after photographing was done by an autonomous UAV model. The GCPs (Ground Control Points) used to add the coordinates to the ortho photo were collected from Google Earth. Hence, its absolute coordinates may contain an error of around 5 m, which is sometimes the case with high resolution satellite imagery. However, the RMSE of the model is 0.18 m, and the relative accuracy is expected to be sub-meter. At the least, the overlaying of the ortho photo with high resolution satellite imagery shows a satisfying match. The absolute sea level of the DEM and the derived contour have the same problem (i.e. errors for absolute sea level may amount to several meters, while relative elevations are expected to be sub-meter) [N. Watanabe].

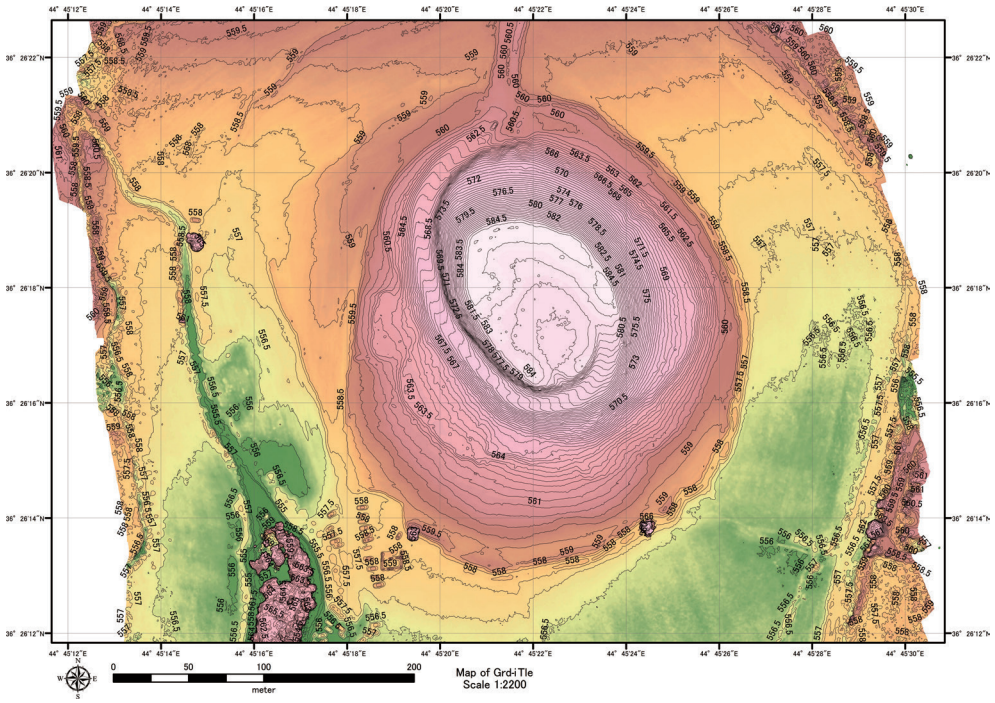

Fig. 4 Topographical map of Grd-i Tle.

Fig. 5 The eastern slope, dissected by the modern road.

Fig. 6 The dissected section at northwest part of the mound.

Fig. 7 Some archaeological remains at the eastern slope.

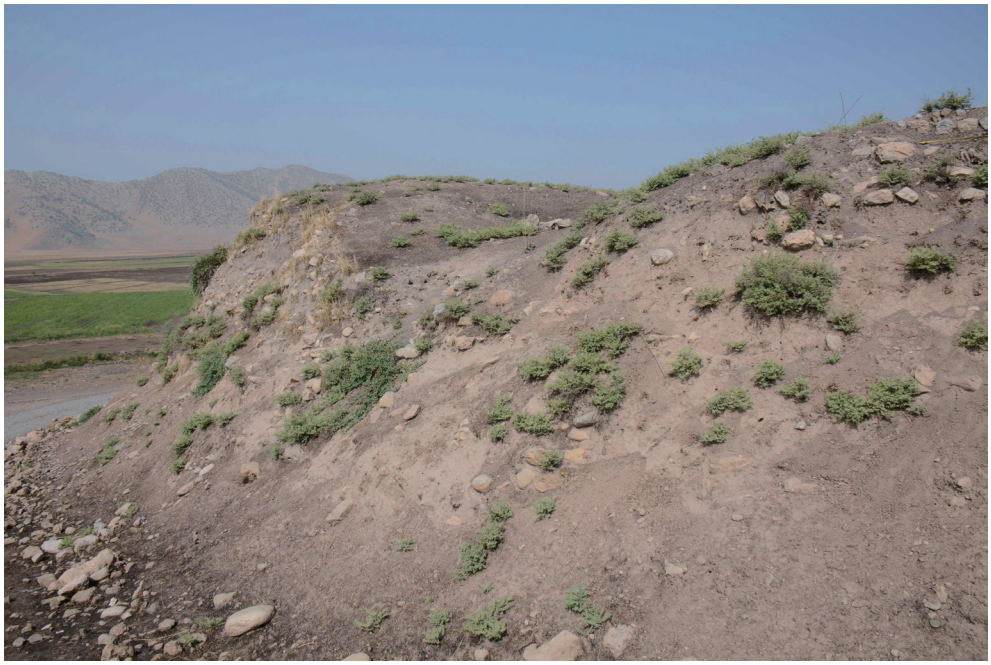

Fig. 8 The depressed surface, southern part of the hilltop.

Fig. 9 The large stone structures, southern part of the hilltop.

Material remains

A large number of potsherds were collected across the elevated mound areas. Because the artifacts have not been studied in detail, the descriptions and interpretation given below should be regarded as provisional. Most potsherds seem to date from the Iron Age, but materials from the Late Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Bronze Age, and Islamic periods were also collected. Among the painted sherds are those that belong to the Halaf and Ubaid periods. The former are decorated with horizontal bands and wavy lines on a buff surface (Figs. 10.1, 10.2). These decorations are applied on both the interior and exterior of the vessel wall. Their fabric is not fine, though some similarity is observed with the Halaf-painted wares excavated from Qalat Said Ahmadan [Tsuneki 2015, and pers. comm.].

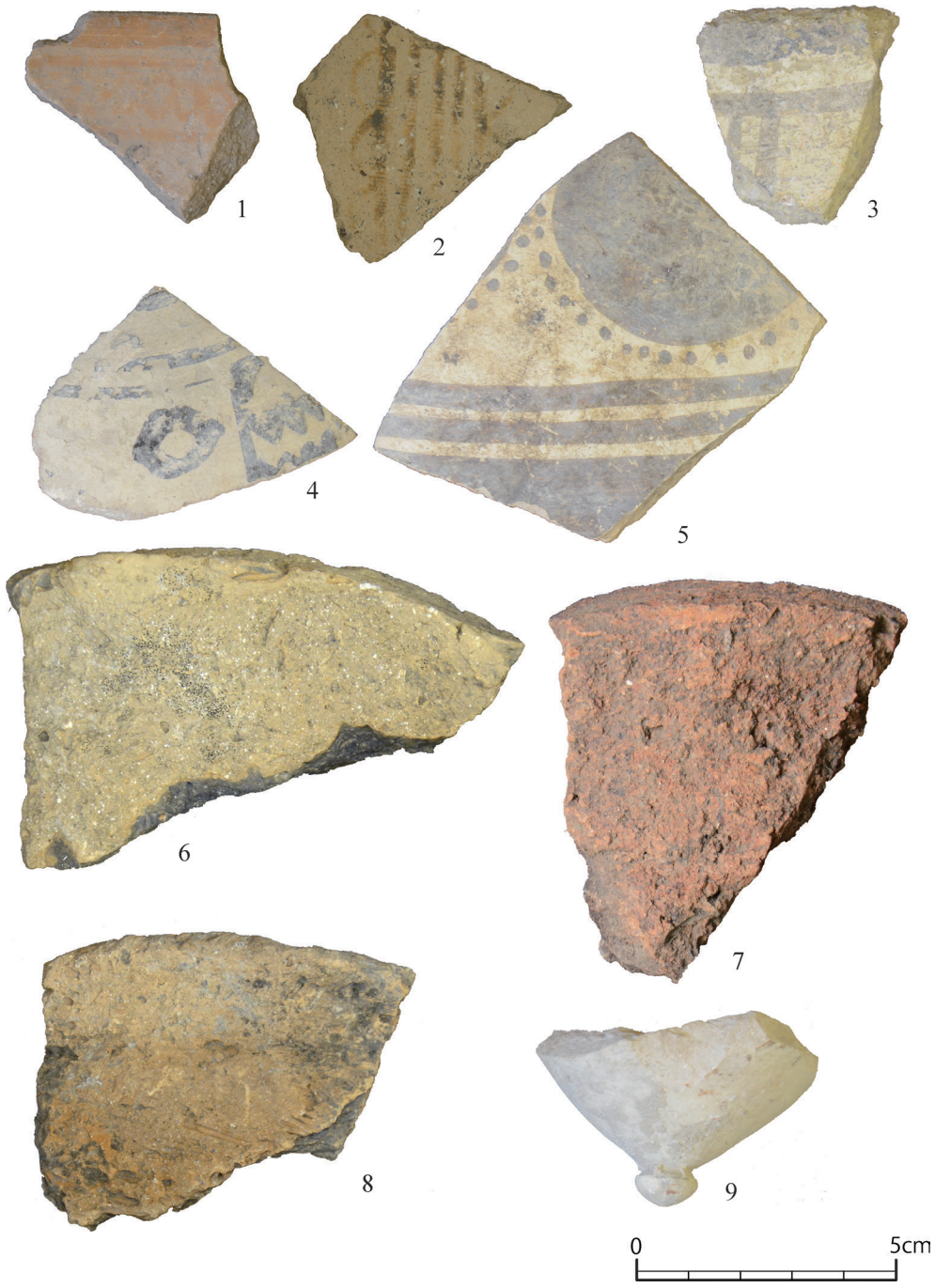

Fig. 10 Photos of surface collection from the site.

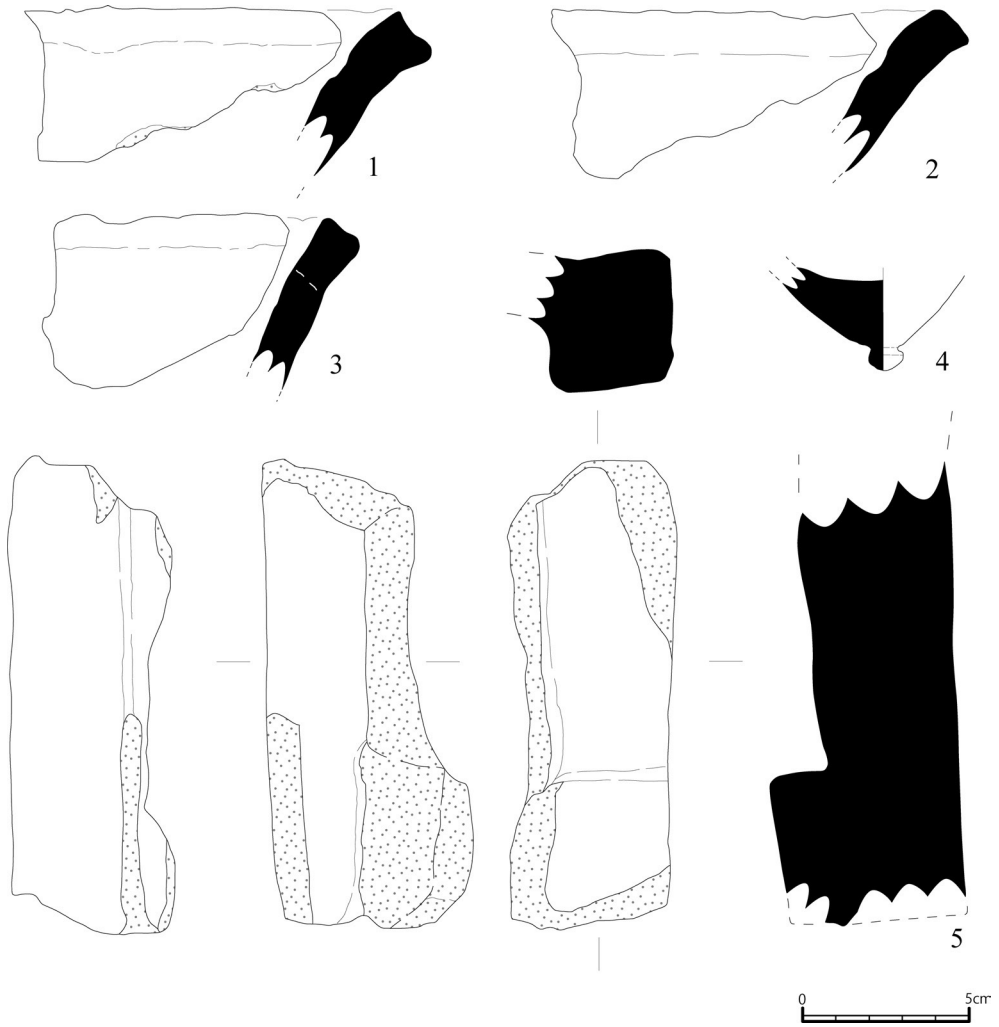

Fig. 11 Figures of surface collection from the site.

The shards, which are probably from the Ubaid period, are painted in a dark color on a cream-slipped or greenish buff-colored surface [Fig. 10.3, cf. Jasim 1985: Fig. 184; Fig. 10.4, cf. Jasim 1985: Fig. 136: 13; Fig. 10.5, cf. Jasim 1985: Fig. 149: 16]. Diagnostic sherds from the Uruk period were also found. They are coarse plain sherds with an everted rim, so-called 'bevelled rim bowls' (Fig. 10.6 = Fig. 11.1; Fig. 10.7 = Fig. 11.2; Fig. 10.8 = Fig. 11.3). Another notable sherd possibly from the Bronze Age has a nipple base made by scraping. This resembles nipple-based beakers that are known from the Middle Assyrian period [Fig.10.9 = Fig. 11.4; cf. for example, Pfälzner 1995: Taf. 169 d (Tell Brak); Numoto *et al*. 2013: Fig. 4 (Tell Taban)]. Some sherds with a red slip possibly belong to the Iron Age. No parallel types have so far been recovered from the surrounding regions, but some similar examples are known from the Iron Age in Northern Mesopotamia [cf. Hausleiter and Reicihe 1999]. In addition to potsherds, we found fragment of a clay house model (Fig. 11.5) and some mud brick fragments.

Conclusion

Grd-i Tle is a tell site, with an oval plan measuring about 325 m × 265 m. Almost all of the potsherds recovered are likely to be dated to the Bronze, Iron, and post Iron Ages. In addition, some sherds belong to the Half, Ubaid, and Uruk periods, although the quantity of the collected samples are not large. Based on the observation of the dissected section of the mound, the building layers continue

from just below the surface of the hilltop to the base of the mound without interruption. It is thus believed that Grd-i Tle has a good chronological sequence, ranging from the prehistoric to the historical periods.

Grd-i Tle is located between the Lower Zab, now largely submerged under Dokan Lake, and the mountainous area of Bitwata, where the rock relief of Iddi(n)-Sin, a king of Simurrum from the early Old Babylonian period, was discovered. While a number of tell-type sites have been located and are now partly submerged in the Dokan dam salvage area along the Lower Zab, there are no conspicuous tell-type sites in the northern part of the Ranya Plain except for Grd-i Tle. Given the unique geographical location of Grd-i Tle, the site seems to have been strategically important through the ages.

In the Ranya Plain, several sites in the Dokan Lake region have been excavated, as mentioned, and further archaeological data on those sites are expected to be published in the near future. However, for the purpose of establishing a long local chronology of the Ranya Plain as a whole, the unique site of Grd-i Tle, located in the northern area of the plain and apparently continuously occupied from the Neolithic period until the Iron Age or later, seems to be of significant value in terms of further archaeological investigations.

Acknowledgements

We received very warm support from the Board of Antiquities and Heritage of Sulaymaniyah (BAHS), directed by Mr. Kamal Rasheed, and the Archaeological Museum of Sulaymaniyah, directed by Mr. Hashim Hama Abdulla, in countless ways. In the Ranya region, the mission was generously assisted by the Board of Antiquities and Heritage of Raparin. The mission was also significantly assisted by Mr. Saber Ahmad Saber (BAHS), who also accompanied part of the missions in both the Ranya-Peshdar and the Shahrizor plains. Our driver, Mr. Bahzard, transported us to all the places we visited, always offering kind and unfailing support. We would like to express our sincere gratitude to all of them. Their help was indispensable to our work. Our deep appreciation also goes to Hirotoshi Numoto (Kokushikan University), Daisuke Shibata (University of Tsukuba), Shogo Kume (National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo), Takahiro Odaka (Tokyo University), and Kazuya Shimogama (Ancient Orient Museum), who collectively planned the survey reported here and gave us various useful advice. We are most grateful to Akira Tsuneki (University of Tsukuba), Shin'ichi Nishiyama, and Nobuya Watanabe (both of Chubu University), who most generously provided us with important assistance in the Sulaymaniyah Province, scenically and logistically, with their knowledge and equipment.

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THE ORIGIN OF NUZI WARE: BETWEEN THE RE-EVALUATION OF DIFFERENT OPINIONS AND SUBMITTING A NEW VIEWPOINT

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"Nuzi Ware, on account of its high technical quality and the absence of obvious precursors for its distinctive white-painted decoration, was likewise regarded as intrusive in north Mesopotamia later in the mi-second millennium B.C. Similarities between Nuzi Ware and the younger Khabur Ware have been mentioned, but the many parallels between the painted designs of Nuzi Ware and various forms of decoration in Egypt, the Levant, and the Aegean encouraged some scholars to propose a western origin for it." [Stein 1984: p. 4].

In our quest to re-examine the origins of some ceramic types from Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C., which is under consideration of archaeological research. We started our project with an article about the origin of Khabur ware published in *Al-Rāfidān* [Polis 2014], and in this article we have decided to re-study the origin of Nuzi ware through the re-evaluation of all the evidence submitted through the archaeological excavations and the views so far put forward by archaeologists to get to a certain result illustrated in the following pages; and, on the other hand, we have strengthened our view with new evidence.

Nuzi ware has been associated in most academic studies and scientific researches with Hurrian-Mitannian presence[1)], and the archaeological excavations have shown at Nuzi (modern Yorgan Tepe) and Tell Brak that this ceramic type occurred together with the tablets of Mitannian king Šauštatar [Speiser 1933–34: p. 48; Matthews 1997: p. 49]. Nuzi ware has been associated with late Khabur ware due to the presence of overlapping layers, in addition to contemporaneousness and similarity between them. This matter causes differences between the researchers who attempt to assign a number of vessels to one of these two types. These vessels divide into two types: the first is a group of straight/concave-side beaker type painted vessels, also called "grain measures", which Mallowan counted them as late specimens of Khabur ware [Mallowan 1947: p. 78] (see Pl. I), while the second includes three types of Hrouda's "*jüngere*" Khabur ware, which are: the band-painted "eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cup" type (see Pl. II: 13–18), the band-painted "tall-necked shoulder cup" type (see Pl. II: 7–12) and the band-painted "open-form goblet" type (in particular with a small footed pedestal base) (see Pl. II: 1–6) [Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2; Hrouda 1957: p. 24]. However, confusion occurred in Hrouda's classification of Khabur ware, especially the "younger" Khabur ware contemporary with Nuzi ware. He depended in his classification on technique evolution of the Khabur

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1) The term "Nuzi (Nuzu) ware" was proposed by Max Mallowan [Mallowan 1946: p. 132], but before then it was called "Hurrian ware" by Ephraim Speiser [Speiser 1933: pp. 274–275]. To avoid a racial nomenclature, Mallowan used the term "Subartu pottery" to indicate white-painted ware [Mallowan 1939: p. 887ff.]. However, this racial nomenclature has a geographic designation contained in cuneiform texts since the Akkadian period, which refers to a geographical area confined between the Zagros and the Lebanese mountains and which is a region where this type of ceramic spread. Nevertheless, the history of use of this term is not commensurate with the history of use of Nuzi ware in the mid-second millennium B.C. [Stein 1984: p. 4]. There are also two terms similar to the racial nomenclature of Speiser, the first of which is the term "Mitannian ware" proposed by O'Callaghan [O'Callaghan 1948: p. 72] and the second of which is the term "Hurrian-Mitannian ware" used by Al-Najjar in the form of merging two nomenclatures (Hurrian and Mitannian) into one [Al-Najjar 2012]. It is worth mentioning that the association of Nuzi ware with these racial nomenclatures may be confronted with utter rejection, because of the fact that the appearance of Nuzi ware came after a long time after the stability the Hurrians-Mitannians in Mesopotamia [Stein 1984: p. 30].

ware that came from graves at Aššur, without reference to the level sequence, so that his proposal was much speculative. This matter has encouraged Helene Kantor to find a transitional phase between them, the "transitional Khabur-Mitannian phase", showing through it that Nuzi ware developed from Khabur ware due to the similarity between them, especially in respect of their decorations and their quality. Precisely speaking, bird and animal motifs are applied in dark paint on Khabur ware, while they are painted in white/light-on-dark on Nuzi ware, which are often drawn by curved lines with straight geometric patterns derived from Khabur ware. These show the close relationship between the two types according to the opinion of Kantor [Kantor 1958: p. 23]. In her study, Kantor depended on the results of the excavations at Tell Fakhariyah (Floor 6 of Sounding IX), Tell Billa (level 3), Tell Jidle (levels 2 and 3) and Alalah (levels 5 and 6). What is regarded by Kantor as the transitional style is a group of vessels with dark-painted decoration which overlap with Nuzi ware at the sites referred to above. However, Kantor's concept about the transitional phase and Hrouda's concept about the younger Khabur ware remain subjects of controversy and discussion[2]. This matter led Diana Stein to attribute the vessels with dark-painted decoration to Nuzi ware, in particular those contemporary with Nuzi ware instead of Khabur ware [Stein 1984: pp. 18–19]. According to Stein, Nuzi ware is defined firstly as white-on-dark painted ware and secondly as such uniform forms as open-form goblets with small footed pedestal bases and shoulder cups (see Pl. II), not only because of similar forms but also because of the arranging of decoration similar to a large extent. The point added to these is that the shoulder cups do not have antecedents in northern Mesopotamia. She also identified the younger Khabur ware more accurately as smaller and possibly more refined vessels having antecedents in respect of both form and decoration in a group of the older Khabur ware vessels, such as the vessels that were discovered in phase C of level 1 at Tell Chagar Bazar [Stein 1984: p. 12 and p. 23].

The opinion of Stein has now been refused by David and Joan Oates absolutely, because it raises further confusion. They prefer retaining the conventional concept of Nuzi ware, which is defined as white-on-dark painted vessels only without involving the forms of vessels referred to above. Irrespective of vessels forms, band-painted vessels are thus classified as Khabur ware on the basis of evidence from the excavations at Tell Brak and Tell Rimah, which proved that these vessels belong to the category of Khabur ware, which appeared in layers that precede the occurrence of Nuzi ware[3] [Postgate *et al*. 1997; Oates *et al*. 1997].

On the other hand, some researchers submitted another viewpoint: "Nuzi ware, on account of its high technical quality and the absence of obvious precursors for its distinctive white painted decoration, was likewise regarded as intrusive in north Mesopotamia later in the mid-second millennium B.C. Similarities between Nuzi ware and the younger Khabur ware have been mentioned, but the many parallels between the painted designs of Nuzi ware and various forms of decoration in Egypt, the Levant, and the Aegean encouraged some scholars to propose a western origin for it" [Stein 1984: pp. 4–5]. This thing is not conclusive evidence for attributing the origin of Nuzi ware to these areas, and the matter is not exceed the existence of a kind of simple influence of some ceramic styles on Nuzi ware, such as Aegean pottery [Starr 1938: p. 397; Cecchini 1965: pp. 46–47], Palestinian bichrome ware [Mallowan 1947: p. 246] and Egyptian frescoes of the 12th Dynasty[4] [Mallowan 1939: p. 894, n. 2]. In respect of the geographical distribution of Nuzi ware and cultural connection, they do not reach to a grade for attributing the origin of Nuzi ware to these areas; but

2) Sebastiano Soldi re-examines the question of transitional phase again in research recently published [Soldi 2008].

3) Moreover they suggested the new division of phases of Khabur ware: "Old Babylonian Khabur ware", "Late Old Babylonian Khabur ware" and "Mitanni Khabur ware" [Oates *et al.* 1997].

4) We can never forget the mural paintings of the second millennium B.C. which were discovered in the palace of king Zimri-Lim at Mari and which had affected Nuzi ware, as mentioned by Mallowan; in the Mari mural paintings, there are interlocking spirals painted in white color [Mallowan 1947: p. 241]. For more information on these mural paintings, see Parrot: 1958.

the origin of Nuzi ware reverts to the upper Mesopotamia and can be considered with confidence as part of the last phase of Khabur ware because of the great similarities between them. With regard to the influence of previous ceramic styles of Mesopotamia on Nuzi ware as is the case with Khabur ware, we will try in the following pages to provide evidence to reinforce this viewpoint.

The comparative study:

A- The History:

The archaeological excavations confirmed in many sites that the appearance of Nuzi ware was in the middle of the sixteenth century B.C. At Tell Brak, Nuzi ware clearly occurred in level 6 of area HH, which is dated to this period [Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 68]. At Tell Chagar Bazar, phase E yielded one sherd of white-painted Nuzi ware, which is dated by Mallowan to ca. 1550 B.C. [Mallowan 1947: pp. 83–84]. This date is the beginning of the fourth and last phase of Khabur ware (Khabur ware period 4) according to the viewpoint of Oguchi regarding the sequence of Khabur ware[5].

As for its end, it has been identified by the destruction of the second layer of Nuzi, which also refers to the end of the Mitannian kingdom in the fourteenth century B.C.[6] [Stein 1984: p. 25], Therefore Nuzi ware was contemporaneous with Khabur ware, i.e., Hrouda's younger Khabur ware prevalent during the last two centuries of the sequence of Khabur ware, Khabur ware period 4 according to Oguchi [Polis 2011: p. 150].

B- The geographical distribution and the stratigraphic sequence:

The distribution of Nuzi ware extends from the Zap valley east of the Tigris river to the Amuq plain and the Orontes valley in the west [Stein 1984: p. 24], which is almost the same geographical area in which Khabur ware spreads[7]. Nuzi ware also occurs in a different area such as 'Aqar Quf (ancient Dur-Kurigalzu), the Kassite fortress-site west of Baghdad [Oguchi 2014: p. 223]. The Sinjar-Tell 'Afar plain, the Jazira region (extending inside of the Iraqi border and of the Syrian border) and the upper Khabur basin can be considered the main distribution zone (see Fig. 1). Stein has said that the distribution area of white-painted Nuzi ware overlaps with the distribution area of dark-painted vessels attributed by Stein to Nuzi ware [Stein 1984: p. 24], which are indeed vessels of Khabur ware contemporary with Nuzi ware.

We can also confirm the geographical distribution and the stratigraphic sequence for these two ceramic types via a table that shows a stratigraphic sequence at every site in which the two types appear (see Table 1). In the table, whether they have been found in the same layer or in successive layers can be confirmed.

In this regard we got an important piece of evidence from Tell Barri, located about 10 km north of Tell Brak. Through the excavations at this site, the archaeologists of the Italian Mission of the University of Florence have noted the absence of any interruption in the occupation in area

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5) It is worth mentioning here that with regard to the sequence of Khabur ware, Oguchi subdivides it into four phases, i.e., Khabur Ware Periods 1–4. We have adopted his subdivision in our article. For more information, see Oguchi 1997, 2000 and 2006.

6) In a recent study presented by Oguchi, which dealt with the distribution of Nuzi ware and its implication, he discusses the date of appearance and disappearance of Nuzi ware depending on the results of excavations in three important sites where this ceramic style occurs. The sites are Alalah, Nuzi and Tell Brak: at Alalah the use of Nuzi ware is dated between the end of the 15th century B.C. and the beginning of the 13th century B.C., at Nuzi the occurrence of Nuzi ware may fall between the beginning of the 15th and the mid-14th century B.C., while at Tell Brak the use of Nuzi ware spans the duration of ca. 1550 B.C. to ca. 1270–1250 B.C. [Oguchi 2014: pp. 217–221]. From this it follows that with regard to the subject of our article, we suggest the possibility of attributing the origin of Nuzi ware to upper Mesopotamia. Further, we take into consideration the opinion of Oguchi above, and we are to assign the end of Khabur ware period 4 to 1270–1250 B.C., and are to suggest the duration of ca. 1550 B.C. to ca. 1270–1250 B.C. for Khabur ware period 4 instead of that of ca. 1550 B.C. to ca. 1400 B.C.

7) For the distribution of Khabur ware, see Oguchi 1997: pp. 212–216 and Polis 2011: pp. 33–88.

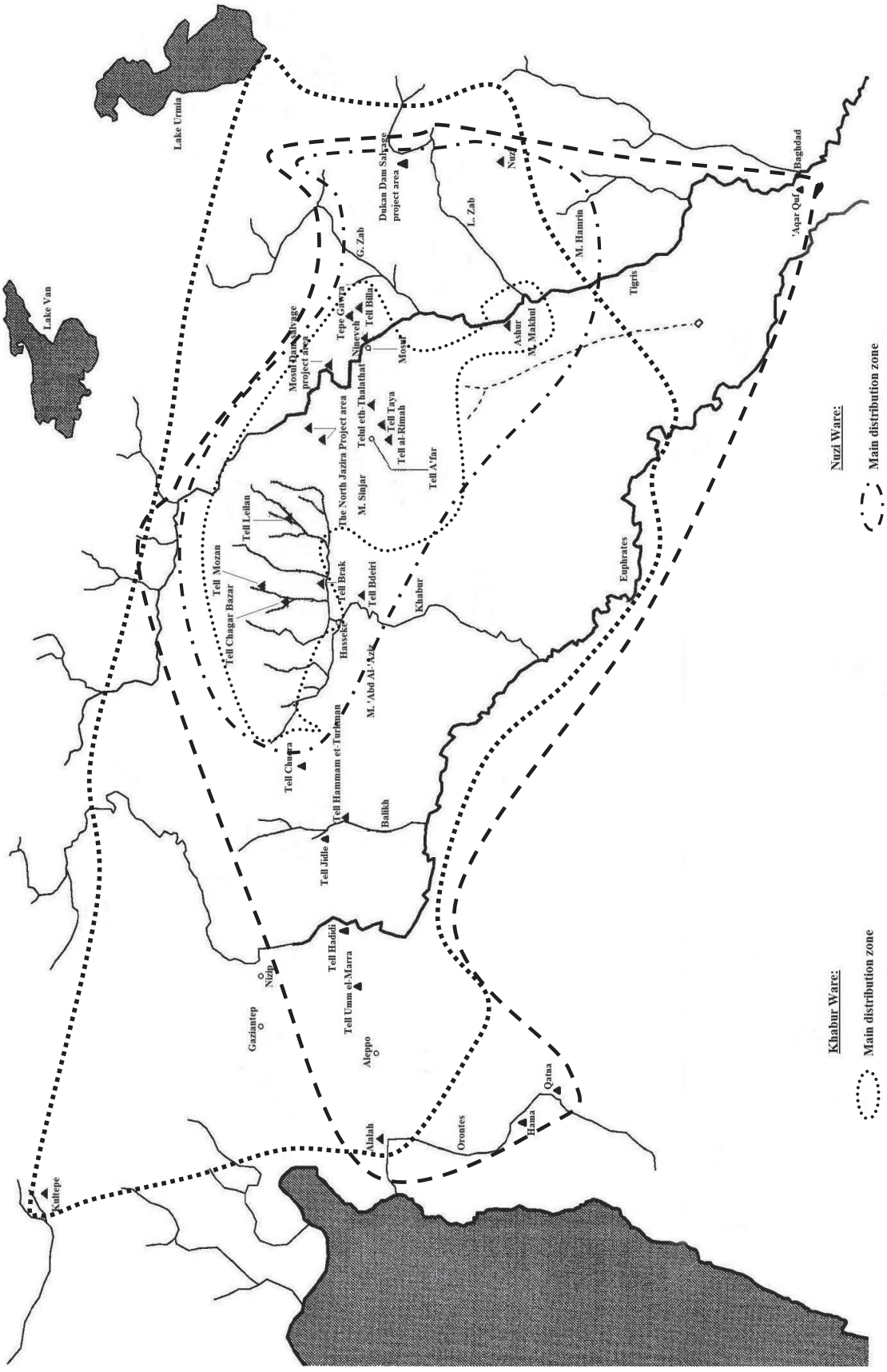

Fig. 1 Distribution of Khabur ware and Nuzi ware.

Table 1 List of sites yeilding Khabur ware and Nuzi ware.

No.	The Site	The levels	The Reference
- Iraq			
1.	Ashur	Kh. Ware: Tombs, level III.	Nashef 1992: pp. 308–311; Matthews and Wilkinson 1991: p. 173; Matthews and Wilkinson 1989: p. 253; Dittmann 1990: p. 157.
		N. Ware: Tombs.	Al-Najjar 2012: p. 67.
2.	Nuzi	Kh. Ware: Levels IV (city wall and related building) and V (northwestern ridge).	Starr 1937: Pl. 70: B and Pl. 75: N; Starr 1939: pp. 202–203, p. 324 and pp. 389–391.
		N. Ware: Levels II–III (northwestern ridge).	Starr 1937: Pl.78: P–X and Pl.79. Starr 1939: p. 202ff.
3.	Tell Basmusian (Dokan Dam)	Kh. Ware: Level IV.	Abu al-Soof 1970: p. 68 and Pl. 33: 2–3, 9, 11, 13–14.
		N. Ware: Level III.	Abu al-Soof 1970: p. 68.
4.	Tell Billa	Kh. Ware: Levels III-IV.	Speiser 1933: pp. 270–273 and 276.
		N. Ware: Level III.	Speiser 1933: p. 273ff.
5.	Tell Rimah	Kh. Ware: Site A: Levels IV–II. Site C: Levels VII–V.	Postgate 1997.
		N. Ware: Site A: Level II. Site C: Level V. Site D: Level IV.	Postgate 1997.
6.	Tell Abu Dhahir (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Levels III–IV (Iraqi Excavations). Trenches I1, K1–3 and M (British Excavations).	Abboud 1981: pp. 85–86; Yunis 1981: pp. 101ff. Simpson 2007: pp. 71–78.
		Surface sherds (British Excavations).	Ball 1987: p. 79.
7.	Tell Jigan (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Area A: Levels II–IV. Area B: pit 1. Area C: Trench G-3: Level IV. Trench G-1: Levels I–III. Trench G-4: Levels I–III.	Fujii 1987: pp. 62ff. Ii 1987: pp. 40–42; Ii and Kawamata 1984–85: pp. 178–207. Ii 1987: pp. 34ff.
		N. Ware: Area B: pit 1. Area C: Trench G-1: Level I.	Ii and Kawamata 1984–85: Fig. 28:12. Ii 1987: pp. 34ff.
8.	Tell Shabu (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Levels II–IV.	Husain 1987: pp. 110–114.
		N. Ware: Level I.	Husain 1987: pp. 110–114.
9.	Tell Jelluqeh (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Levels II–III.	Thennun 1987: p. 117ff.
		N. Ware: Level II.	Thennun 1987: pp. 118–122.
10.	Tell Shaligia (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Trench A.	Ball and Pagan 2003: p. 155.
		N. Ware: Surface Finds.	Ball and Pagan 2003: p. 155.
11.	Khirbat Kar Hasan (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Level V.	Polis 2011: p. 85.
		N. Ware: Surface sherds.	Al-Najjar 2012: p. 78.
12.	Karhol Al-Sufla (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Levels II–III.	Bashir 1987: p. 64ff.
		N. Ware: Levels II–III and three Graves.	Bashir 1987: p. 64ff.
13.	Tell Jambur (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Levels III–IV.	Yusif 1987a: p. 10ff.
		N. Ware: Levels II–IV.	Yusif 1987a: p. 10ff.
14.	Tell Baqaq 1 (Mosul Dam)	Kh. Ware: Levels IV–VI.	Yusif 1987b: p. 26ff.
		N. Ware: Level III.	Yusif 1987b: p. 26ff.
15.	Tell Hamida (The North Jazirah Salvage Project).	Kh. Ware: operation 1.	Zimansky 1995: pp. 79–83.
		N. Ware: operation 1.	Zimansky 1995: pp. 79–83.
16.	Tell Fiesal Al-Mish'an 1 (The North Jazirah Salvage Project).	Kh. Ware: Trench 1: Levels I–II. Trench 2: Levels I–II.	Al-Taweel 2007: pp. 123–125.
		N. Ware: Trench 1: Levels I–II. Trench 2: Levels I–II.	Al-Taweel 2007: pp. 123–125.
17.	Tell Der Hall	Kh. Ware: Levels III–IV.	Matsumoto and Yagi 1987: p. 54ff.
		N. Ware: Level II.	Matsumoto and Yagi 1987: p. 54ff.

18.	Tell Fisna	Kh. Ware: Level IV.	Numoto 1988: Fig. 25: 224–234, Fig. 26: 239–242, 252 and 258 and Fig. 27: 262–273.
		N. Ware: Level III.	Numoto 1988: Fig. 31: 317–319.
19.	Tell Jessary	Kh. Ware: Trench A: levels I–IV (Some sherds of Khabur wares are mixed in the levels I–III). Trench D: level I.	Numoto 1990: p. 205ff.
		N. Ware: Trench A: Levels I–III.	Numoto 1990: p. 205ff.
- Syria			
20.	Tell Chagar Bazar	Kh. Ware: Level I.	Mallowan 1936: pp. 9–11; Mallowan 1947: pp. 83–84.
		N. Ware: Level I.	Mallowan 1936: pp. 9–13; Mallowan 1937: pp. 102–104.
21.	Tell Brak	Kh. Ware: Area HH: Levels III–X. Area TW. Area AL. Area HN.	Oates 1985: pp. 166–168. Oates 1982: p. 195ff. Oates and Oates 1994: p. 171. Matthews *et al.* 1994: p. 188; Matthews 1995: pp. 98–99.
		N. Ware: Area HH: Levels II–VI.	Oates 1985: p. 168; Oates 1987: p. 180.
22.	Tell Atchana (Alalakh)	Kh. Ware: Levels V–VI and VIII.	Woolley 1955; Gates 1981.
		N. Ware: Levels II–IV.	Woolley 1955.
23.	Tell Jidle	Kh. Ware: Levels III–IV.	Mallowan 1946: pp. 129–134.
		N. Ware: Level II–III.	Mallowan 1946: pp. 129–136.
24.	Tell Hammam et-Turkman	Kh. Ware: period VII: Strata 1–2 (Squares J–K 23 of the western part of the mound). Stratum: 5 (Trench O 16–18 of north slope of the mound).	Oguchi 1998: p. 125.
		N. Ware: Levels II–III.	Mallowan 1946: pp. 136–138.
25.	Tell Mozan	Kh. Ware: Level V.	Buccellati and Kelly-Buccelllati 1997: p. 79; Buccellati and Kelly-Buccelllati: 2000: p. 146ff; Pfälzner and Pfälzner 2001: p. 105ff.
		N. Ware: Urkish palace, Areas BH and AS.	Al-Najjar 2012: p. 84.
26.	Tell Arbit	Kh. Ware: Sectors M, SA and SR. Graves 13,14,16.	Kołiński 2007: p. 73ff.
		N. Ware: Sectors A and SA. Two Graves in Sector SA.	Kołiński 2007: p. 94.
27.	Tell Fakhariyah	Kh. Ware: Sounding IX: Floors 5, 6, Below Floor 6 and Trench between column base and statuettes, .	Kantor 1958: p. 21ff.
		N. Ware: Sounding I: Floor 19. Sounding IA: Floors 2 and 3. Sounding IX: Floors 1 and 3.	Kantor 1958: p. 21ff.
28.	Tell Sahlan	Kh. Ware: Stone wall.	Mallowan 1946: p. 138.
		N. Ware: Level III.	Mallowan 1946: p. 139.
29.	Tell Barri	Kh. Ware: Levels XXX–XXXII.	Pecorella 1998b: p. 183ff.
		N. Ware: Area G.	Al-Najjar 2012: p. 92.
30.	Tell Al-Hamidiya	Kh. Ware: Polis 2011: p. 73.	
		N. Ware: Wäfler 1998: p. 201; Al-Najjar 2012: p. 93.	
31.	Tell Mohammed Diyab	Kh. Ware: Area 1: Level V. Area 6GS: Level II. Area 8: Level VIII (Graves).	Nicolle and Durand 1998: p. 229, Nicolle 2008: p. 159f.
		N. Ware: Area B6 (Graves).	Nicolle 2008: p. 163.
32.	Tell Bderi	Kh. Ware: The Southern Area: Levels IV–VII.	Pfälzner 1986–1987: p. 276ff.
		N. Ware: The Southern Area: Levels IV–V.	Pfälzner 1986–1987: p. 276ff.
33.	Tell Taban	Kh. Ware: Trench 4: levels VIII–IX (Season of Summer 2005).	Numoto 2007: p. 8.
		N. Ware: Trench 1 and 2: levels X–XIII (Season of 1997 and 1998).	Ohnuma *et al.* 1999: pp. 11–12; 2000: p. 7.

G between the Old Babylonian and the Mitannian period, where the buildings seem to maintain the same function and the same building technique [Pecorella 1998a: p. 83]. The excavations have confirmed the existence of cultural continuity, not only in terms of ceramic types but also in different cultural aspects.

On the contrary, Nuzi ware does not appear in several regions, which are the areas that were subordinate to the Mitanni kingdom, like Cilicia (ancient Kizzuwatna) and an area south of the Murat river, i.e., the land of Išuwa [Oguchi 2014: p. 224], where Nuzi ware bears no relation with the Mitannian kingdom[8].

C- The form and decoration:

The archaeological excavations at many sites have shown that there is continuity in ceramic forms and decorative patterns, not only in the case of Khabur ware but also in the case of Ur III ware and Isin-Larsa ware [Stein 1984: p. 26]. At Tell Brak, for example, David and Joan Oates noted the survival of the same ceramic features, indicating that there is no gap between the layers of Khabur ware and Nuzi ware in terms of material culture [Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 67]. The previous traditional forms of "grain measures" (compare Pl. III: 1 with Pl. I: 2) and "open-form goblets" (compare Pl. III: 2–3 with 4–8 and Pl. II: 1–2) continued in use [Oguchi 2014: p. 216]. Speiser indicates the same thing at Tell Billa, where there is continuity of traditional forms since the first settlement at the site down to the 3rd level [Speiser 1933: p. 15]. This is confirmed by Stein too, especially between the levels 4 and 3 [Stein 1984: p. 16]; and this is not limited to vessel forms but to decorations. Whatever the great similarity between Khabur ware and Nuzi ware, the distinction between these two types can be made through the presence or absence of white-on-dark painted decoration [Oguchi 2014: p. 216].

The most distinguishing feature of Nuzi ware is white-on-dark painted decoration. We can now say that the coloring in white is not the distinctive feature of this period, and can be traced back to earlier periods. The excavations at Nuzi provided us many pieces of evidence in this regard. There were found grey-burnished incised and white-filled bowls which occur in the same period at Nuzi; and they appear to be of southern Mesopotamian origin [Stein 1984: p. 13]. Woolley points out that white-on-dark paint produces the same effect as the incised and white-filled technique on a dark burnished surface [Woolley 1955: p. 349]; and the two forms of decoration are further represented by the common use of certain design: stippled triangles, zigzags between horizontal bands, and diamond patterns [Stein 1984: p. 13]. The incised and white-filled technique is used a lot on Larsa ware, especially from the Diyala region and southern Mesopotamia [Stein 1984: p. 10 and p. 13]. Another piece of evidence relevant to this came from Tell Atchana (Alalah). At this site, black-impressed ware is prevalent in level V; it is conceivable that it was introduced from southern Mesopotamia and the Diyala region where the same technique of design was prevalent during the Larsa period. In level IV, black-impressed ware disappears, and Nuzi ware appears for the first time at this site, which may perhaps indicate that the white-painted technique of Nuzi ware was influenced by black-impressed technique [Stein 1984: p. 21]. Stein explains the link between these two techniques of decoration by the fact that the white-painted style originated in northern Mesopotamia, where it was no doubt influenced by the Babylonian black-impressed ware contemporary with it [Stein 1984: p. 21].

In this context, a new area added to the main distribution zone of Nuzi ware is of the North

8) Oguchi explains the absence of Nuzi ware in these regions as follows: "Kizzuwatna was a place over which Šauštatar gained political supremacy; but, not long after the reign of Šauštatar, it was liberated from the domination of Mitanni, instead approaching the Hittite kingdom. In fact Mitannian control over this area was ephemeral. As for the land of Išuwa, Mitannian control may have perhaps been not so strong as control over other Mitannian-dominated regions. It seems that these account for the absence of Nuzi ware in the two regions." [Oguchi 2014: p. 224].

Jazira Salvage Project. In the 1980's the excavations at sites in this project area provided evidence supporting for the view that "the white painted style originated in northern Mesopotamia"; and the most important site is Tell Hamida, excavated by Paul Zimansky, who supports Stein's conclusion that "Nuzi ware evolved locally in northern Iraq and Syria", and reports that "in some cases this was a white horizontal band flanked by thicker black bands" [Zimansky 1995: p. 83]. There were many instances where white spots were applied on dark red bands. There were also a few "Union Jack" patterns of thin white diagonal lines on a black background. However, the really ornate vessels of Nuzi ware decorated with floral patterns, rolling spirals, etc. was not found in operation I [Zimansky 1995: p. 82]. He also adds to his words: "The white paint, the vessel forms, the bird decorations, can all be seen in operation 1, but not the fully developed style, which is found elsewhere on the site" [Zimansky 1995: p. 82]. We can now consider what is meant by his words, which may be regarded as an important piece of evidence for the first appearance of Nuzi ware in upper Mesopotamia and its association with Khabur ware.

The archaeological excavations at sites of upper Mesopotamia including the Khabur basin have shown that many decorative elements emerging significantly in dark paint are re-implemented in white paint. For example, one of the geometric patterns found painted on Nuzi ware is a row of triangles with hatches (compare Pl. III: 3 with Pl. IV: 7). There are cases where each triangle forming a row is filled by smaller triangles (compare Pl. IV: 1 with 8), or is a solid triangle (compare Pl. IV: 2 with 9), or is composed of two triangles arranged in the opposite direction, forming a rhombus (compare Pl. IV: 3 with 10), all of which are similar to those seen on Khabur ware. The resemblance in decoration is also seen in some of lines intersecting with each other (compare Pl. IV: 4 with 11), in the form of the character "X" (compare Pl. IV: 5 with 12), or in zigzag lines (compare Pl. IV: 6 with 9). There is a common element of decoration used significantly on Nuzi ware. There is decoration little used on Khabur ware, such as a big circle surrounded by small circles, which may represent the sun [Polis 2011: p. 153] (compare Pl. IV: 6 with 13).

Moving to another topic, we discuss natural scenes represented by animals, especially birds. Bird designs often appear on Nuzi ware. The bird has spots on the body. Such bird designs are not found on Khabur ware, on which birds are solid in dark paint [Polis 2011: p. 153] (compare Pl. V: 1 with 2). The decorative technique of using spots is seen on Halaf pottery and Ubaid pottery; and it is also seen on the mural paintings[9] of one of the temples at Tell Uqair (80 km south of Baghdad) (compare Pl. V: 3–15 with 1 and 16–19).

We also find that the potters of Nuzi ware had greater willingness to make the drawings of animals with quadruped legs as compared with those of Khabur ware. On Khabur ware we find the drawings of goats and deer, while on Nuzi ware we find bulls with spotted bodies, arranged in a queue [Polis 2011: pp. 153–154] (compare Pl. V: 20 with 21). We would like to point out in this paragraph an important matter. The point is that what can be said with emphasis is the occurrence of floral elements on Nuzi ware at Alalah. Postgate attributes them to Aegean influence, and points out that in the northern part of distribution zone of Nuzi ware including Tell Brak, Tell al-Rimah and Tell Billa, Nuzi ware has geometric patterns besides floral patterns [Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 55]. It should be noted that the floral elements which are adopted frequently on Nuzi ware are "chamomile flowers" just used as a herb, which grow in the spring season widely in upper Mesopotamia. We find such elements significantly on Halaf pottery and Ubaid pottery (compare Pl. VI: 1–2 with Pl. IV: 2 and Pl. VI: 5–6). This kind of flower can be seen as a decorative element in Assyrian ornaments, as demonstrated by the Assyrian sculpture from the Neo-Assyrian period that represents a bracelet decorated with a chamomile flower (compare Pl. VI: 3–4 with Pl. IV: 2 and Pl. VI: 5–6). Chamomile

9) It is worth mentioning that these mural paintings are applied on a white ground [Safar 1945: p. 29].

comes into bloom in important places in the city of Mosul[10], and has been used since ancient times as herbal medicine for treatment for seasonal disease such as a cough.

It is worth saying that many beakers of Khabur ware decorated with dark-painted designs continued in use alongside of white-painted Nuzi ware [Stein 1984: p. 18] (see Pl. VI: 7). Sometimes on the same vessel, dark painting on a light background and white painting on a dark background are combined. This is exemplified by a sample from Tell al-Rimah, which is painted both in red-brown on a light background and in white on a dark background (see Pl. VI: 8) [Soldi 2008: p. 247]. This may be an indication that the new white-on-dark painted technique of Nuzi ware was derived from the dark-on-light painted technique of Khabur ware. We consider that no cultural interruption exists from the early second to the mid-second millennium B.C., and that Nuzi ware appears as a consequence of the gradual development of Khabur ware. We may thus conclude that the white paint of Nuzi ware was produced through a local tradition in upper Mesopotamia.

It is important to mention here that Nuzi ware does not occur at any site. The possession of Nuzi ware may have symbolized the status of the owner. In this sense, it must have been a luxury commodity used at court and by the affluent possibly including wealthy traders. This product was for the "elites" who worked in official residences and for their families who lived in private dwellings. So it is uncommon in household commodities. It is said that the French survey in the Qamishli region in Syria has confirmed the presence of only three Nuzi ware sherds among a large quantity of surface sherds collected [Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 54]. The British survey in an area around Tell al-Hawa (1986–1990) has confirmed only one sherd of Nuzi ware [Ball *et al*. 1989: p. 18]. Through the excavations at Tell Bderi, located on the Khabur river and 15 km south of the city of Hasseke, only ten Nuzi ware sherds have been recovered [Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 54].

In conclusion, though stated repeatedly, the strong impression is given to us that white-painted Nuzi ware is part of the ceramic group that is assigned to the last phase of Khabur ware (Khabur ware period 4) alongside of dark-on-light painted vessels.

Conclusions:

Within our quest to re-examine the origins of ceramic types of the second millennium B.C., we decided to research the origin of Nuzi ware. As a result, we can suggest the possibility that Nuzi ware originated in upper Mesopotamia from a new viewpoint. There is no doubt that white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware is a constituent of the ceramic assemblage of Khabur ware period 4, a Khabur ware phase proposed by Oguchi. On the basis of several pieces of evidence, we have reviewed in the above pages the most important similarities between Khabur ware and Nuzi ware not only in terms of form and decoration but also in terms of their dates. Thus the geographical distribution of Nuzi ware and the stratigraphic sequence of Nuzi ware at each site selected for effective discussion have been reviewed. It is worth mentioning that our attempt to ascribe the origin of Nuzi ware to upper Mesopotamia has been made not only by comparison with Khabur ware but also by comparison with pottery preceding Khabur ware, like Halaf pottery, Ubaid pottery and Isin-Larsa ware. We have re-evaluated the views put forward by the prominent scholars, M.E.L Mallowan, Helene Kantor, Diana Stein, and David and Joan Oates, further examining evidence from such important sites as Tell al-Rimah, Nuzi, Tell Brak, Tell Chagar Bazar and Tell Billa, which has been supplemented by information from sites in the Mosul Dam Salvage Project and the North Jazira Salvage Project area.

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10) The Mosul city was Nineveh, one of the four capitals of Assyria, and is now the second important city of Iraq.

information, and for his continuous support and encouragement for publishing this article in *Al-Rāfidān*. Being in a difficult situation as a refugee from the Mosul city occupied by ISIS, I could not have brought this article to completion without his encouragement.

Finally, it is a pleasure to dedicate this article to all the Iraqi people displaced by unfortunate events and to all who make every effort for liberation.

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The References of the Plates

Plate I		
No.	**The Site**	**The Reference**
1	Tell Brak	Mallowan 1947: Pl. 67: 19.
2	Tell Billa	Speiser 1933: Pl. 62: 7.

Plate II		
No.	**The Site**	**The Reference**
1	Tell Brak	Mallowan1947: Pl. 77: 2.
2	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p.189, Fig.194: 332.
3	Nuzi	Starr 1937: Pl. 77: Q.
4	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 17.
5	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 18.
6	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 19.
7	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 7.
8	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 8.
9	Tell Brak	Mallowan 1947: Pl. 67: 15.
10	Tell Aqrah	El-Amin and Mallowan 1950: Pl. 9: 8.
11	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 11.
12	Tell Hammam et-Turkman	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 12.
13	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 1.
14	Tell Billa	Speiser 1933: Pl. 60: 6.
15	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 3.
16	Aššur	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 4.
17	Tell Leilan	Weiss 1985: p. 13.
18	Kültepe	Oguchi 2000: p. 106, Fig. 2: 6.

Plate III		
No.	**The Site**	**The Reference**
1	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p.195, Fig.197: 410.
2	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p.193, Fig.196: 390.
3	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 189, Pl. 69: 687.
4	Ur	Stein 1984: Pl. 1: 25.
5	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 203, Pl. 76: 821.
6	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 199, Pl. 74: 801.
7	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 199, Pl. 74: 793.
8	Tell Billa	Speiser 1933: Pl. 60: 1.

Plate IV		
No.	**The Site**	**The Reference**
1	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 189, Pl. 69: 688.
2	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 193, Pl. 71: 718.
3	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 189, Pl. 69: 685.
4	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 191, Pl. 70: 699.

5	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 193, Fig. 196: 391.
6	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 197, Fig. 198: 444.
7	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1937: Fig. 23: 5.
8	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1936: Fig. 17: 11.
9	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 207, Pl. 78: 875.
10	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 183, Fig. 191: 275.
11	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1937: Fig. 21: 5.
12	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1937: Fig. 23: 10.
13	Tell Leilan	Weiss 1985: p. 13.

Plate V		
No.	**The Site**	**The Reference**
1	Tell Billa	Speiser 1933: Pl. 61: 5.
2	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 201, Fig. 200: 457.
3	Tell Brak	Mallowan 1947: Pl. 80: 11.
4	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1936: Fig. 25: 4.
5	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1936: Fig. 26: 3.
6	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1936: Fig. 26: 9.
7	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1936: Fig. 27: 1.
8	Tell Chagar Bazar	Mallowan 1936: Fig. 27: 14.
9	Tell Abada (Hamrin Region)	Jasim 1985: Fig. 115: a.
10	Tell Abada (Hamrin Region)	Jasim 1985: Fig. 115: e.
11	Tell Abada (Hamrin Region)	Jasim 1985: Fig. 198: c.
12	Tell Abada (Hamrin Region)	Jasim 1985: Fig. 203: a.
13	Tell Rashid (Hamrin Region)	Jasim 1985: Fig. 233: c.
14	Tell Uqair	Lloyd 1943: Pl. 10.
15	Tell Uqair	Lloyd 1943: Pl. 11.
16	Tell Billa	Speiser 1933: Pl. 61: 4.
17	Tell Brak	Mallowan 1947: Pl. 76: 17.
18	Tell Brak	Mallowan 1947: Pl. 76: 21.
19	Tell Brak	Mallowan 1947: Pl. 76: 22.
20	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 193, Fig. 196: 402.
21	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p. 201, Fig. 200: 456.

Plate VI		
No.	**The Site**	**The Reference**
1	Tell Arpachiyah	Mallowan and Rose 1935: Pl. 15.
2	Tell Arpachiyah	Mallowan and Rose 1935: Fig. 37: 5.
3	Nimrud	Porter 1993: p. 136, Fig. 4.
4	Nimrud	Mallowan 1954: Pl. 15: 2.
5	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p.195, Fig.197: 421.
6	Tell Brak	Oates *et al*. 1997: p.197, Fig.198: 433.
7	Tell Brak	Mallowan 1947: Pl. 77: 3.
8	Tell Rimah	Postgate *et al*. 1997: p. 233, Pl. 91: 1055.

Plate I

(1)

(Scale 1:4 cm)

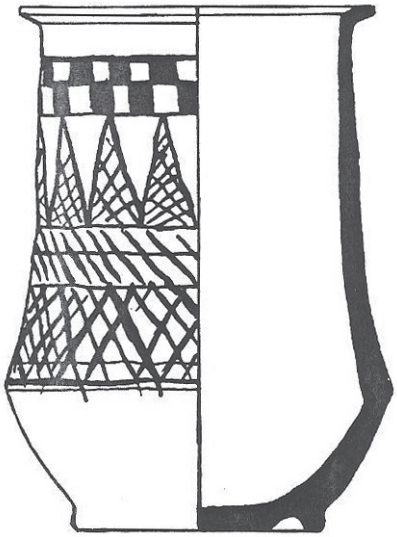

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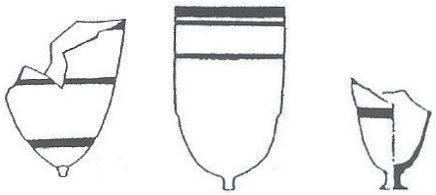
Plate II



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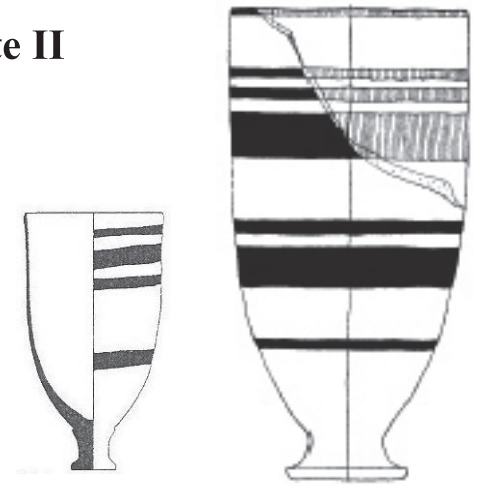

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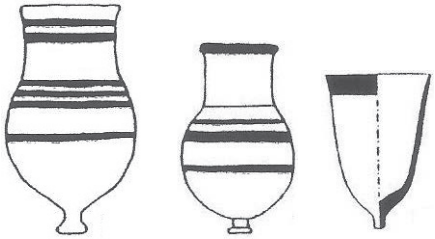

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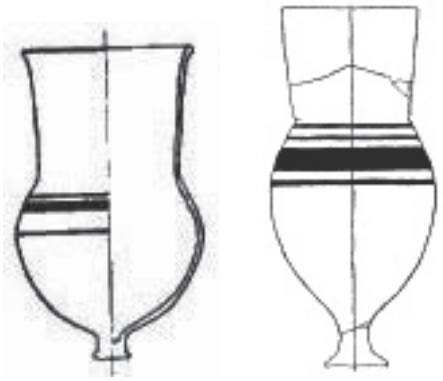

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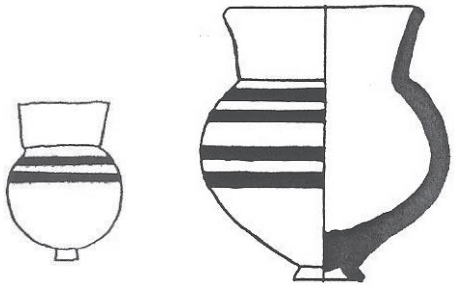

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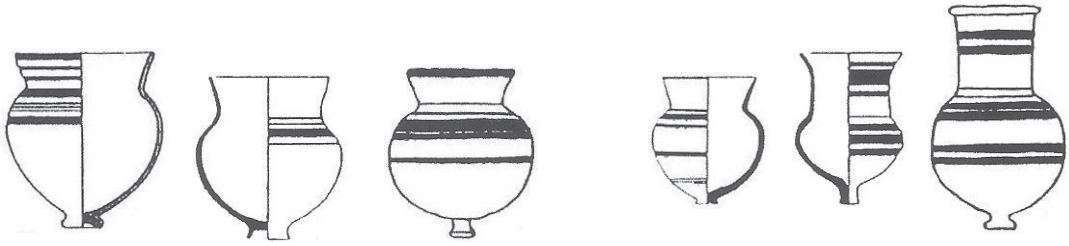

(18) (17) (16) (13) (12) (11)
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Plate III

Nuzi ware

(1)
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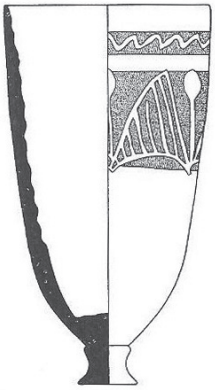
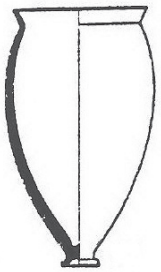
(2)
(Scale 1:4 cm)



(3)

Isin-Larsa ware



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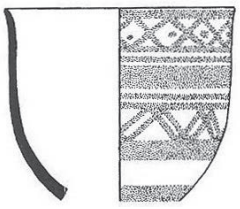
Khabur ware



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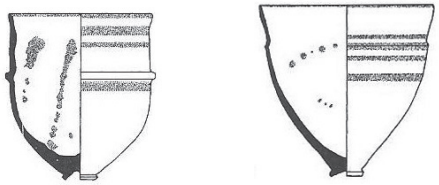

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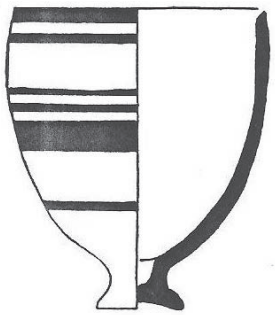

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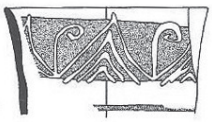
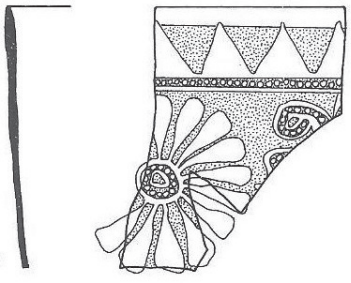
Plate IV

Nuzi ware



(1)



(2)

Khabur ware

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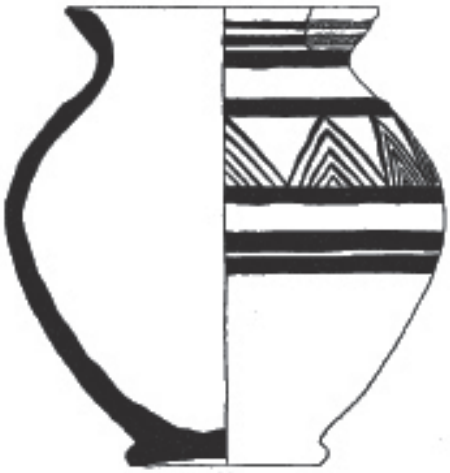

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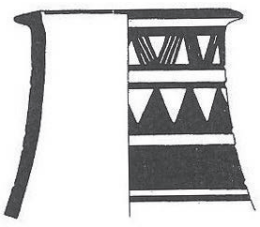
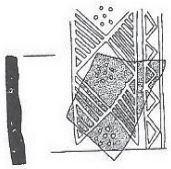


(9)

Plate IV

Nuzi ware



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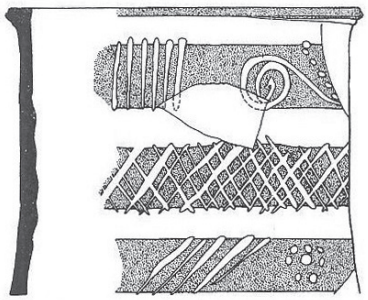

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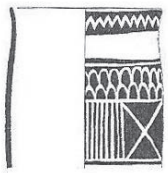

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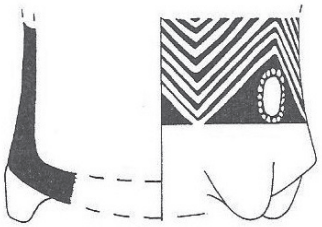
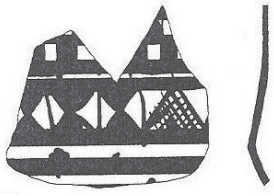


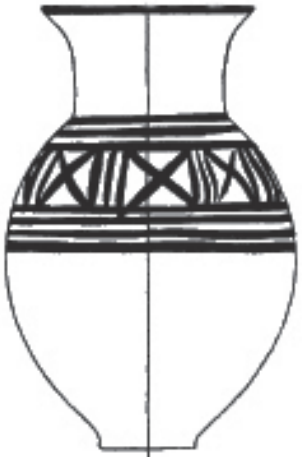
(6)
(Scale 1:2 cm)

Khabur ware



(10)
(Scale 1:4 cm)

(11)
(Scale 1:5 cm)



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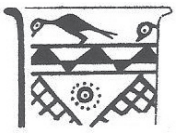
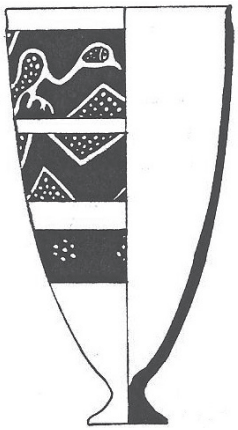


(13)
(Scale 1:5 cm)

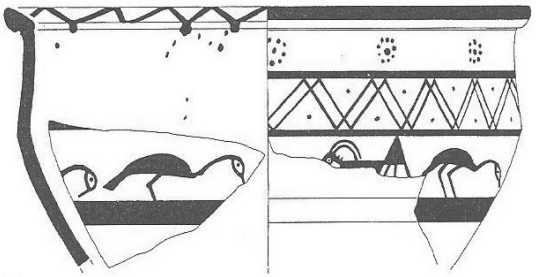
Plate V

Nuzi ware



(1)
(Scale 2:5 cm)

Khabur ware



(2)
(Scale 1:4 cm)

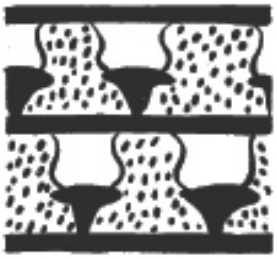
Halaf ware

(3)

(4)

(Scale 2:5 cm)

(5)(*)



(6)(*)

(7)

(8)

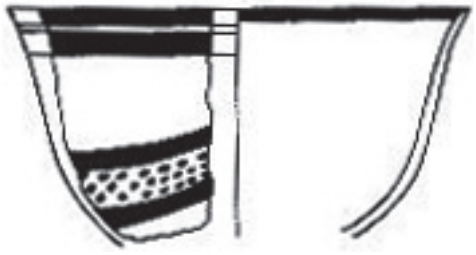
(Scale 2:5 cm)

(*) The scale of which is uncertain.

Plate V

Ubaid ware

(9)



(10)

(Scale 1:2 cm)

(11)

(12)

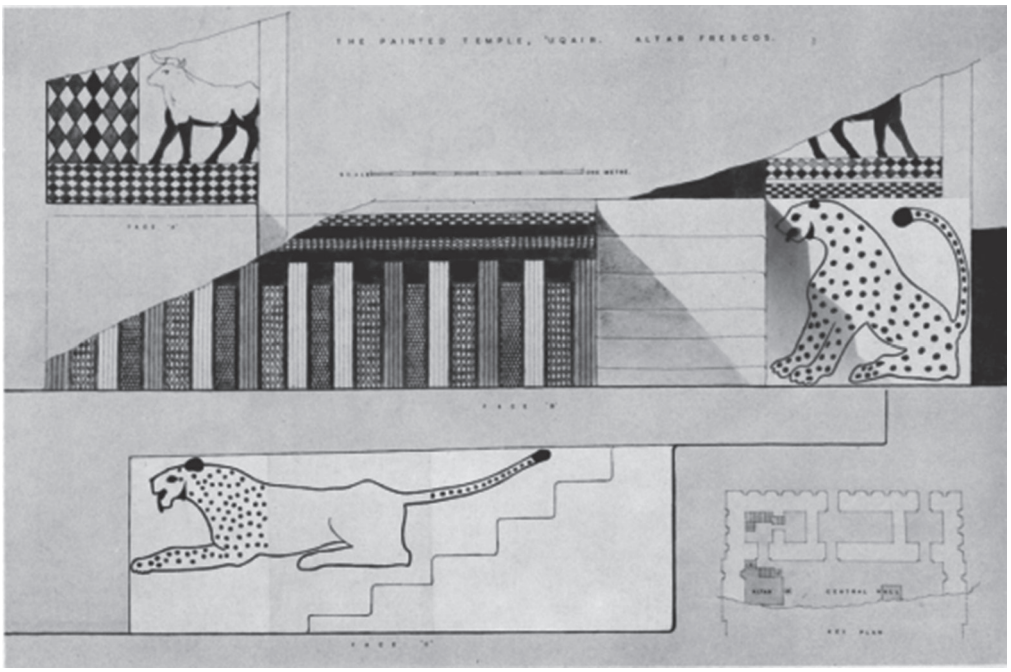
(Scale 2:5 cm)

(13)

(Scale 2:5 cm)

Plate V

Mural paintings of Tell Uqair



(14)

(15)

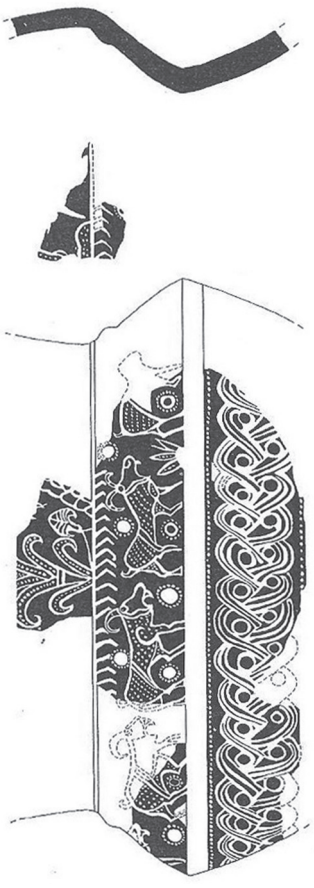
Plate V

Nuzi ware

(16)
(Scale 2:5 cm)

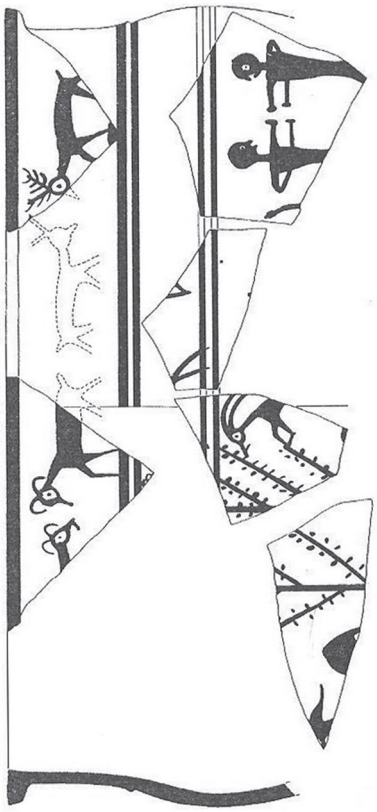
(17) (18) (19)
(Scale 1:2 cm)

Nuzi ware



(20)
(Scale 1:4cm)

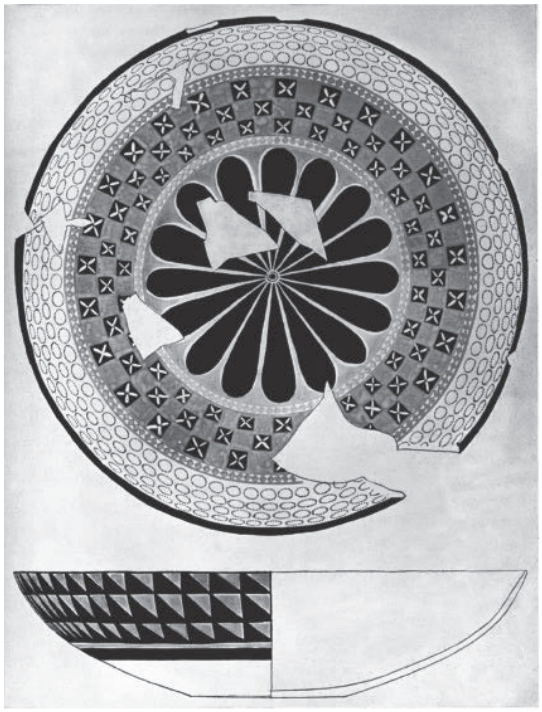
Khabur ware



(21)
(Scale 1:4cm)

Plate VI

Halaf ware



(1)
(Scale 1:4 cm)

Ubaid ware

(2)
(Scale 2:5 cm)

Pl. VIb

Assyrian sculptures

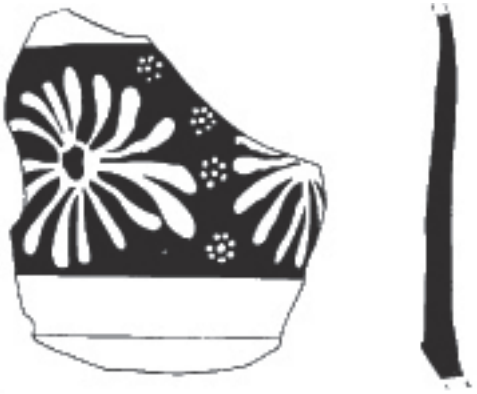
(3)

(4)

Plate VI

Nuzi ware

(5)
(Scale 1:4 cm)



(6)
(Scale 1:2 cm)

(7)
(Scale 2:5 cm)

(8)

ETUDE DES COUPES DANS LES SCÈNES DE BANQUET PALMYRÉNIENNES: À PROPOS DE L'INTRODUCTION À PALMYRE DES COUPES À DEUX ANSES EN ANNEAU AVEC REPOSE-POUCE

Saeko MIYASHITA*

Avant-propos

L'auteure étudie depuis plusieurs années les diverses formes de coupe qui figurent dans les scènes de banquet palmyréniennes ainsi que leurs spécimens [Miyashita 2012: pp. 141–156, 2013: pp. 71–75, 2014: in print].

Le présent document constitue un compte-rendu à mi-parcours des recherches récentes effectuées par l'auteure au sujet de l'introduction à Palmyre des coupes à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce.

Modèles de coupes à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce

Les modèles de coupes à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce qui figurent dans les scènes de banquet palmyréniennes peuvent être classées en trois catégories selon les matériaux qui les composent.

1- Coupes sans motif (image 1) : métal, verre, poterie vernissée, terre cuite.
2- Coupes cannelées (image 2) : métal.
3- Coupes à motif végétal (image 3) : verre, métal, poterie vernissée, terre cuite.

Ce récipient (image 4), appelé *skyphos*, est un gobelet qui était utilisé dans la Grèce antique. Le skyphos était un vase à boire et à libation en forme de bol, doté de deux anses horizontales s'appuyant sous la lèvre. Les coupes qui apparaissent dans les scènes de banquet palmyréniennes ci-dessus sont munies d'anneaux fixés verticalement sur le côté et dont la partie supérieure est plate. Ces modèles se distinguent des skyphos dans leur forme originelle par la fonction attribuée aux anses. En effet, on portait vraisemblablement un skyphos en le tenant à la main par ses anses horizontales. En revanche, les coupes que l'on aperçoit dans les scènes de banquet palmyréniennes étaient probablement portées soit en les posant simplement sur la paume de la main, soit comme on peut le voir dans les images 1, 2 et 3, en insérant un doigt dans un anneau et en posant le pouce sur sa partie supérieure plate.

A quelle époque sont apparus ces types de coupe ?

Cliché rapproché de la coupe.

Image 1 : scène de banquet de la tombe d'Ashtor, Musée de Palmyre.

* Musée de l'Orient ancien, 3–1–4 Higashi Ikebukuro, Tokyo, 170-8630, Japon

Cliché rapproché de la coupe.

Image 2 : scène de banquet de la tombe de TYBL, 3ème siècle, zone funéraire du sud-est de Palmyre.

Cliché rapproché de la coupe.

Image 3 : scène de banquet de la tombe de Yarhai, 3ème siècle, Musée de Damas.

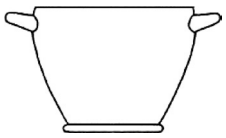


Image 4 : schéma d'un skyphos.

Origine des coupes à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce

Tout d'abord, on note que les gobelets à anses apparaissent d'abord dans la région méditerranéenne, antérieurement aux civilisations de l'Egypte et de la Mésopotamie ancienne (image 5) [Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971: p. 62, pl.773].

Image 5 : gobelet à anses de couleur rouge, Tsani Magoula (nord de la Grèce) datant d'environ 2600–2500 ans avant JC.

Si l'on ignore l'origine exacte de ce phénomène, nous savons que par la suite, divers types de récipients à anses continuèrent à être fabriqués dans cette région. Ainsi, on observe des exemples de récipients en terre cuite (image 6) et en métal (image 7) s'inspirant de la forme des skyphos et qui datent de la première moitié du 7ème siècle avant JC.

Les gobelets, dotés de deux anses en forme d'anneaux fixés verticalement sous le bord, apparaissent dans les illustrations de poteries de l'Attique de la seconde moitié du 7ème siècle avant JC (image 8) [Becatti 1968: p. 31, pl.19]. Des spécimens qui datent approximativement de la seconde moitié du 5ème siècle avant JC ont également été découverts dans une vaste zone comprenant Chypre et la Grèce (image 9) [Aoyagi 1980: p. 56, pl.196].

Image 6 : skyphos, environ 7ème siècle. avant J.-C., Musée national de Tarquinia.

Image 7 : skyphos d'argent, fouilles de Salerno, environ -675 avant J.-C., Musée national d'Agro Picentino, N.inv. 16758.

Image 8 : coupe à anses figurant dans une illustration de récipient en terre cuite, fouilles d'Eleusis, vers -610 avant J.-C., Musée national archéologique d'Athènes.

Image 9 : coupe à anses en terre cuite, Grèce, seconde moitié du 5ème siècle avant J.-C., Musée National des Antiquités de Leiden.

Si de nombreuses coupes munies d'anses verticales semblables à celles que l'on trouve aujourd'hui, pourvues d'une partie supérieure plus ou moins plate et d'une sorte d'ergot faisant saillie subsistent aujourd'hui dans leur version en terre cuite et ornées de motifs sur le côté, aucun exemplaire en métal n'a encore été découvert à ce jour. Toutefois, comme les coupes grecques en terre cuite étaient fabriquées sur le modèle des coupes en métal, il est fort probable que ces dernières ont été conçues à une époque antérieure aux coupes en terre cuite. De nombreux exemplaires en verre [Egami 1991: p. 79, no.66] (image 10) ou en poterie vernissée (image 11) furent également fabriqués selon ce même procédé dans la Rome antique.

Sur les vestiges de Pompéï, ville qui jouissait de la prospérité de l'Empire romain, des fouilles ont permis de découvrir un grand nombre de coupes - à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce - en argent (image 12), en poterie vernissée ou en verre [Pedicini 1989: ps.204–205, 208–207, 212–213, 228–229]. Par ailleurs, de nombreuses coupes, probablement en verre ou en argent, sont représentées sur les peintures murales de riches demeures [Pedicini: 1989] (image 13). En effet, l'utilisation de ces coupes en verre ou en argent comme éléments décoratifs de peintures murales était très en vogue à l'époque. En outre, si l'on a retrouvé de nombreuses coupes en poterie vernissée,

Image 10 : coupe à anses en verre, Krasnodar, kurugan 5, tombe 5, 2ème -1er siècle, avant J.-C., Musée d'histoire et d'archéologie de Krasnodar.

Image 11 : coupe à anses en poterie vernissée verte, fouilles à l'est du bassin méditerrannéen, 2ème-3ème siècle, Musée de l'Orient ancien AOM1923.

Image 12 : série de coupes d'argent provenant des fouilles de Pompéï, Musée archéologique national de Naples.

Image 13 : coupes à anses figurant sur des fresques murales provenant des fouilles de Pompéï, 1er siècle.

aucune figure de couleur vive n'a encore été découverte à ce jour sur des peintures murales. Sans doute parce que produites en masse, elles étaient moins recherchées comme éléments décoratifs des fresques murales des villas que les coupes en verre ou en métaux précieux, de forme identique mais plus difficiles à fabriquer et plus onéreuses.

Introduction à Palmyre des coupes à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce

On peut facilement concevoir que la mode qui prévalait à l'époque au cœur de l'Empire romain se soit étendue jusqu'en Syrie, province qui lui était rattachée. Le musée national de Damas expose des coupes en verre à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce dégagées des fouilles des vestiges de Khisfeen sur le plateau du Golan [Al-'Ush *et al*. 1976: p. 106], ainsi que des exemplaires en poterie vernissée dont la provenance demeure inconnue. Des coupes à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce en poterie vernissée verte ont également été présentées lors de l'exposition organisée au Japon sur la civilisation syrienne antique [The Tokyo National Museum 1977: no.194; NHK 1988–1990: no.186].

Ainsi, il ne serait pas surprenant que l'on découvre à l'avenir de telles coupes à Palmyre. Lors de récentes fouilles d'habitations menées par l'Université de Vienne, des fragments de poteries vernissées [Schmidt-Colinet 2013: pp. 182–183, Abbs.129–132] ont été découverts et les chercheurs ont indiqué qu'il s'agissait sans doute de fragments de coupes à deux anses en anneau avec repose-pouce. A supposer que cela soit le cas, aucun exemplaire en verre ou en métal n'a encore été découvert à ce jour à Palmyre. En raison de l'état peu avancé des fouilles d'habitations sur ce site, beaucoup de questions concernant les objets de la vie quotidienne restent en suspens. Toutefois, comment se fait-il que l'on n'ait encore trouvé aucune coupe de ce type à Palmyre ? On peut avancer les hypothèses suivantes :

1. A l'origine, ce type de coupe n'était pas utilisé à Palmyre. Des artisans imaginèrent de faire figurer ce type de récipient à la mode dans les scènes de banquet.
2. D'onéreuses coupes en verre ou en métal étaient réellement utilisées. Toutefois, suite aux guerres, elles furent pillées, détruites ou fondues.
3. Les modèles en terre cuite et en poterie vernissée qui étaient produits en masse dans le monde méditérannéen n'arrivèrent pas jusqu'à Palmyre.

La première hypothèse est peu probable étant donné que de nombreuses exemples de ce type de coupe figurent dans les représentations de scènes de banquet.

La seconde hypothèse est en revanche très vraisemblable. Comme mentionné précédemment, les nombreuses représentations de ce type de coupes dans les scènes de banquet suggèrent que les personnes aisées de l'époque en faisaient un usage réel.

Quant à la troisième hypothèse, bien que ce qui suit pourrait être remis en cause par d'éventuelles fouilles menées à l'avenir, il est vraisemblable que les poteries vernissées, produites en masse et servant de substitut aux coupes en métaux précieux, n'étaient pas conservées. Nous avons indiqué auparavant que ce type de coupes ne figuraient pas sur les fresques murales de Pompéï. Dans les vestiges de Pompéï, on a souvent découvert des modèles en argent ou en bronze dans les buffets ou dans les salles de banquet des riches demeures, aux côtés de leur maître, alors que des exemplaires en poterie vernissée et en terre cuite se trouvaient dans les buffets dédiés aux récipients de la vie quotidienne.

On peut donc penser que les objets d'outre-mer ainsi que les objets qui étaient à la mode à Rome ne furent pas acheminés en grande quantité jusqu'à Palmyre.

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エジプト社会におけるキリスト教化
―古代末期におけるアコリス遺跡の変遷を中心に―

辻　村　純　代*

Christianization in Egyptian Society
—Change of the Akoris Temple in Late Antiquity—

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Abstract

There are two opinions concerning the period of Christianization in Egypt. One is that Christianity acted as a substitute for the traditional pagan cult was declining rapidly in the first half of the 3rd century, altering the existing social structure centering on a city society to a rural community. The other is that it survived and coexisted with the pagan cult to the 4th–5th century. In the present paper, the author studied the western temple at the site of Akoris to reexamine the above-mentioned opinions. The temple worshipping Ammon and Souchos (Sobek), controlling navigation on the Nile was supported strong, Roman imperial demand for steady supply of stones and a strongpoint in the long distance commerce in the 1st and 2nd centuries. Certainly, no stele dedicated by Roman emperors has been found in the temple, likewise temples at other sites after that time. However, amongst the 13 graffiti of the Nile hymn preserved on walls in the hypostyle hall, the 2 graffiti were written at the end of the 4th century. In addition, the court of the temple was reconstructed on a large scale after the end of the 3rd century. This reconstruction was probably executed by Diocletianus who is known as a persecutor of Christians. Furthermore, just under Dioscuri and a goddess carved on the cliff on the south side of the crag, on the opposite side of the temple, a rock-cut stairs on which many animal bones were scattered and charcoal for sacrifices were found. Judging from pottery and lamps, the pagan rite accompanied with burning is supposed to have been performed from the 1st century to the 4th century. It thus appears that pagan temple had kept peoples' loyal up to the 4th century. The temple area proceeded to suffer from disfiguration by olive oil presses, grind stones of a flour mill and houses after the 5th century. If destruction of idols inscribed on ostraca was linked with subversive activities led by Apa Shenoute in the White Monastery, monks may have taken this opportunity to begin living in the temple area They had fishing right besides managing the olive estate and workshops for making oil. According to other papyrus, a riot which dragged in all of the residents participated happened in 698. It was probably the riot that heralded a rash of riots to protest high taxes in the next century. As a result of the riots, residents became impoverished and at last at the beginning of the 8th century Akoris was abandoned.

は　じ　め　に

エジプトにおける古代末期は一般にコプト時代と呼ばれ，王朝時代の伝統的な神々とギリシア・ローマ世界の神々とを習合した多神教を脱して，キリスト教世界への転換を果たして以降，イスラーム勢力の支配を受けるまでの時代を指している。ローマ型都市の中心的な役割を担っていた神殿に替わってキリスト教会や禁欲的生活を

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実践する修道院が人々の信仰の拠り所になり，都市そのものが衰退していく背景には，ローマ本国におけるキリスト教化政策に従った結果ということに止まらない，人々の「心性」の変化があった。P. ブラウンによって切り開かれたこの新たな視点はその後の研究を牽引し，この時代の精神を生き生きと描き出した。そのいっぽう，文字資料や考古資料を使ってエジプト社会の構造的変化を捉えようとする試みも進んでいる。

しかし，エジプト社会にキリスト教が普及，定着する時期については 3 世紀前半とする説と 4，5 世紀まで遅れるとみる説があり，未だ定まってはいない[1)]。当然ながら，キリスト教化の指標とする事象の違いや，取り上げる地方によって時期差が生じることは予測される。そこで，本稿では私たちが長期に発掘を継続している中エジプトの小都市・アコリス[2)] の神殿を取り上げ，その変遷を辿りながら中エジプトにおけるキリスト教化の過程を検証してみたいと思う。

アコリス遺跡と西方神殿

カイロから南へ約 250 km，中エジプトの中核都市・ミニアはナイルの西岸に位置する。西岸は氾濫原が広く，オキシリンコス，ヘルモポリスといった古代都市が西方砂漠との境界近くに点在するのに対して，東岸は氾濫原が狭く，東方に広がる岩山砂漠との境界にはナイルと平行する河岸段丘が断続的に連なっている。都市遺跡の多くはこの段丘上に営まれている。ミニアの対岸から北へ約 15 km，アコリスもそうした都市の一つで，際立っているのは遺跡の西側中央に聳え立つ巨岩の存在である。巨岩の北麓には西方神殿の多柱室や，北に向かってなだらかに下降する段丘上に林立する泥レンガの壁をアコリスに向かう車窓からも眺めることができる。

都市の規模は南北 700 m×東西 300 m，周囲は厚い泥レンガの壁で囲まれている。そして都市の西側中央に位置する西方神殿は，巨岩を穿って造られた 3 つの部屋からなる岩窟部と，その前面の多柱室，2 つの中庭，中門と北門とで構成され，神殿域は南北 70 m×東西 40 m の矩形を呈するレンガ壁で囲まれている（Figs. 1, 2）。多柱室周辺からは第21王朝ピノジェムⅠ世と第23王朝オソルコンⅢ世の奉献碑，プトレマイオス朝の王妃ベレニケのカルトゥーシュを有する石材が発見され，この神殿が第 3 中間期から政権と深く結びついていたことがわかる[3)]。

ローマ皇帝による奉献碑も少なくない[4)]。西方神殿に祀られたアモン神とスーコス（ソベク）神に捧げられた奉献碑のみならず，多柱室にはファラオの姿に描かれたネロ帝の浮彫とカルトゥーシュ，北門柱にアントニヌス・ピウス帝（138–161）とコンモドス帝（180–192）の銘が残る。2 人の名前が刻まれているのは，コンモドス帝の時に彫りなおされたからである。アレクサンドリア在の 3 段櫂船船長の奉献碑も出土した。ローマの軍団が常駐し，プトレマイオス朝以来，良質な石灰岩の供給地としての重要性が知られていたこともあるが，神殿に祀られたワニの姿をもつソベクがナイル航行を司る神であることから，奉献の主たる目的は船の安全な航行にあったと考えられる。大都市アレクサンドリアとの物資輸送だけでなく，地中海からナイルを経由して紅海，そしてインド洋に至る長距離交易[5)] にとって，何よりも交易路の安全確保は不可欠で，そのためにソベク神への奉献が行わ

1） Bowman や Bagnall が神殿の廃絶を根拠に比較的早くキリスト教の普及時期を想定するのに対して，Atiya と Brown はキリスト教の普及後も伝統宗教は根強く保持され，両者の対立が続く点を重視する。
2） 王朝時代にはメル・ネフェル，タ・デテネトの名で呼ばれたが，プトレマイオス朝時代以降は遺跡西側の磨崖碑に残るハコリスが転化したアコリスの名称が用いられる［Kawanishi 1995, 周藤 2014］。
3） Kawanishi（ed.）1995.
4） Lefebre 1903, Bernand 1988, Kawnishi（ed.）1995.
5） 村川 1948.

れていたのだろう。しかし，ローマ皇帝による奉献碑はカラカラ帝（211–217）を最後に途絶える。紅海沿岸の交易都市・ベレニケも3世紀になると遺物の出土がみられなくなるので，ローマ本国における政治的混乱により長距離交易そのものを中断せざるを得なくなったと考えられる。

西方神殿に最後の大規模な修復の手が加えられたのは300年前後と推定される。というのは，中庭に敷かれた石の下層から3世紀末の土器が出土したからである。また，多柱室に残るグラフィティによれば，ナイルの増水をアモン，スーコス，ヘルメス，ヘラの神々に感謝する祝祭の記録は284年に始まり，305年まで続いている[6]。そこには祝祭を執り行った神官の名前も記載され，この時期の神殿の活況を示している。その頃になると，ベレニケにも往時の賑わいが戻ってくる[7]。これらのことを勘案すると，298年にエジプトを訪れたディオクレティアヌス帝（284–305）がファイユーム盆地の西端に位置するディオニュシアスやエジプト最南端のフェラエ島の城塞を再建[8]しただけでなく，遠距離交易復活のために中継地として航海の安全に寄与したアコリスの神々を祀る神殿の再建にも尽力した可能性は大きい。

ディオクレティアヌス帝はエジプトを訪れた最後のローマ皇帝であり，財政立て直しのための政策はエジプト人に厳しいものであったが，それよりも彼の名は残酷な宗教的迫害者として，とりわけエジプトのキリスト教徒には忘れがたい記憶と共に脳裏に刻まれている。ローマ伝統の神々への犠牲式の強要や告訴なしでキリスト教徒を拷問にかけられるようにしたのが治世の終盤で唐突の感は否めないが，退位の後も東方で副帝の地位にあったマクシミヌス＝ダイア（307–324）による，キリスト教徒へのいっそう過酷な弾圧が続いた。そのため，ディオクレティアヌス帝の即位の日である284年8月4日を元年とするコプト暦が生まれ，「殉教者年代」と呼ばれている[9]。

ディオクレティアヌスの政策からの大転換を図ったのは，306年に登位したコンスタンティヌスⅠ世（306–337）である。「ミラノ勅令」が発布され，キリスト教が公認されることとなった。同帝に必ずしも伝統宗教を廃絶する意図があったわけではないが，キリスト教の聖職者には公務と納税を免除するという優遇策は大いに人心を揺すぶったに違いない。優遇策は息子であるコンスタンティウスⅡ世（337–361）によって聖職者のみならず，教会の使用人にまでその対象が拡大され，伝統宗教に対しては公式祭儀とそれに伴う燔祭，偶像崇拝が禁止される。神殿閉鎖命令も出されるのだが，徹底されることはなかった。注意したいのは，崩れた神殿の石材ならば転用を許可したが，神殿や神像の破壊までは認めておらず，それまでのローマ帝国の精神を完全に払拭することには躊躇いもあったのだろう。ここに至ってキリスト教は伝統宗教に取って代わったかに見えるのだが，ユリアヌス帝（361–363）によって再びコンスタンティヌス帝時代の政策，すなわちあらゆる宗教の存在を認めることになる。教会への寄付や聖職者への非課税は廃止され，伝統宗教に対しては神殿の再建，神殿が所有していた土地の返還だけでなく，公式祭儀の復活も許されたのである。

しかし，ユリアヌスは余りにも短命で，急死したのち彼が出した法令は悉く覆されてしまう。そして，アンブロシウスに操られるかのように，テオドシウス帝（379–395）は伝統宗教に対して容赦のない法令を出し，遂にキ

6） IG AKORIS, 40–41 with Bernand, 1988.
7） Sidebotham and Wendrich 1998.
8） *P. Beatty Panop.* Ⅰ，ディオクレティアヌスはその4年後にアレクサンドリアを再訪し，その直後にキリスト者への弾圧が始まる。
9） 紀元48年にマルコがエジプトにキリスト教を伝えたと言われている。エジプトのキリスト教は初めからユダヤ教的，禁欲主義的，グノーシス主義的要素を有していたため，教義論争が長く続いたが，遂に451年にカルケドンで開かれた世界主教会議で異端とされた。その後，独自の道を歩むことになったエジプトのキリスト教徒にとって，ディオクレティアヌスの迫害はエジプト・ナショナリズムを大いに高揚させる事件であった［荒井 1982］。

リスト教を国教としたのである。すべての神殿を教会に転化し，使われていない神殿の破壊や偶像破壊も認め，公的・私的を問わず一切の燔祭を禁止するという法典の成立がキリスト教徒を勢いづかせたのは間違いない。エジプトでは早速，アレクサンドリアの司教テオフィロスがディオニュソス神殿を教会に改装しようとして異教徒の暴動を誘発した（391年）。

こうして，4世紀末には神殿を廃してキリスト教世界への転換を図る法的整備が完了すると，それに呼応するかのように，305年以降，途絶えていたアコリスの西方神殿に記されたナイル賛歌は4世紀末に2例のグラフィティが加えられただけで5世紀以降の記録はない[10]。そして，それまで神官によってナイル・フェスティバルが執り行われ，世俗的要素を排除する聖性が保たれていた神殿域には，やがて作業場や一般住居が建てられるようになり，その聖性が失われることになったのである。

ほぼ時期を同じくして，巨岩の南側では，崖に刻まれたローマの双子神・ディオスクロイに捧げられた祭祀も途絶えてしまう。ディオスクロイはゼウスを父にもつ双子の息子たちで，戦場の守り神であると共にソベク神と同じく航海安全の神でもある。中央には馬と女神も描かれている（Fig. 3）。このレリーフの直下，岩山を掘り込んで造られた階段の周辺からはウシ，ブタ，ヒツジ，ヤギなどの家畜を中心に鳥や魚など多数の動物骨が炭と一緒に出土した。これらの動物を供犠として燔祭が行われた跡とみて間違いない[11]。共伴したランプ35点はその形式から2－4世紀と推定され，5世紀以降のランプは含まれていない。このような伝統宗教に伴う祭祀もテオドシウス法典で禁止されたものの一つであり，アコリスではこれを機に廃止されたと考えられる[12]。このように，4世紀末から5世紀初頭にかけてアコリス社会には大きな宗教的変化がもたらされ，その後，神殿は直接的な危害を受けることになる。

西方神殿の破壊

5世紀代になると，神殿域には一般住居だけでなく，オリーブの搾油施設，製粉施設，窯なども造られるようになり，また大量のコプト織が出土するなど各種の手工業生産が盛んに行われるようになる[13]。特に，オリーブ搾油施設は神殿域内から4基が発見されており，域外に放置されているものを含めると9基にのぼる。近在の遺跡では同形の搾油施設がヘルモポリスで1基，アコリスから約20 km南のザゥィト・エル・アムワットで5基が確認されているのと比べると格段に多い[14]。南に遠く離れたパノポリスでも4世紀にオリーブ油が生産されていたことがパピルス文書に残っている[15]。プトレマイオス朝以来，1－2世紀におけるオリーブ油生産はもっぱらファイユーム地方が中心であったが，3世紀までにカラニスやテアドルフィアなど都市と農村とを問わず急激な

10） Bagnallは3世紀後半にルクソールの神殿が城塞に改変され，また，ヘラクレオポリスやカラニスの神殿が3世紀中葉には廃絶することから，伝統的宗教の終焉をこの時期に当てている。アコリスの西方神殿でナイル賛歌が295年まで残っているのは例外として挙げている［Bagnall 1993: 264］が，実際は4世紀末の賛歌も残っている。

11） Kawanishi（ed.）2004.

12） 共伴するランプはPre frog type及びFrog type lampに限られている［Tsujimura 1995: 268–273］。バーボタインの土器が含まれていることも踏まえると，祭祀は1，2世紀から4世紀まで継続されていたと考えられる。4世紀に行われた動物供犠の例としては，アコリスでの例のほか，ヘルモンティスの鉄器製作者の集団が324－357年にかけてデール・エル・バハリの廃絶された神殿でロバを犠牲として祭儀を行ったことが報告されている［Lajtar 1991］。

13） ワイン造りは農村で行われるのに対して，油製造は都市で行われた（Examples: P. Oxy. LI 3639 , P. Panop. 15）。また，穀類については脱穀作業を農村で行い，その後，都市にある製粉所に持ち込まれた［Bagnall 1993: 79］。

14） 辻村 1993, Tsujimura 1995.

15） *P. Panop*. 1–10，これらの文書は298－341年，都市の周辺についての記載である。

人口の減少がみられ，それと共にオリーブ油も生産されなくなった[16]。そうだとすれば，それから約１世紀の時を経て，ファイユーム地方からはかなり南に離れた地域にある諸都市でオリーブ油生産が始まったことになる。

搾油の工程は破砕と圧搾に２段階に分かれ，アコリスや周辺の都市遺跡から発見されているのは，いずれも長さ２m，幅１m，高さ１m の直方体をなす大型の石灰岩製圧搾機である[17]。上面中央には溝で仕切った円盤とその左右に方形の孔がある。この方形の孔は木製の柱を固定するためのもので，２本の柱に横木を渡して圧搾用のスクリューが取り付けられる。破砕したオリーブの実を包んだ袋を円盤の上に重ねて置き，上からスクリューを下げていくのである。絞り出された油は円盤の周囲の溝に流れ，片方に伸びた注ぎ口に向かう。これと同じ形式の圧搾機はパレスティナやイスラエルから出土している[18]。現在の中エジプトではごく稀にしか見ることのないオリーブの木だが，アコリス出土のパピルスにはオリーブの木といった単語がみられるので，かつては都市周辺の農地には多くのオリーブが植えられていたのだろう。

興味深いのは，神殿域から発見されたこれらの搾油施設が都市の廃絶に伴って放置されるのではなく，２個は確実に６世紀後半－７世紀の住居の床下に埋設されていたことである。つまり，オリーブ油の生産は都市が衰退する以前に操業を停止していたのである。これがもしアコリスだけでなく，中エジプト全体で起きたとすれば，商品流通システムに何らかの問題が起きたことが想像される。これに対して，粉挽施設に再利用されたハトホル女神のレリーフを有する柱頭やドラム式円柱を割った石材はそのまま残っており，オリーブ油の生産と違って，粉挽き作業は都市が廃絶するまで継続されたようである。

ところで，石材の再利用はオリーブ搾油や粉挽き施設に限らず，この時代の住居には神殿に使われていた部材が少なくない。再利用石材の研究を行った森川によれば，柱廊を構成していたコーニス，フリーズ，アーキトレーブ，柱頭，柱身，礎盤の再利用が確認されるものの，同じ部位を一箇所に集中して利用する傾向はみられないと指摘している[19]。もし再利用目的で破壊されたのなら，むしろ同一部位は集中する傾向を示すのではなかろうか。

神殿部材が再利用された時期はある程度の推測ができるが，供給先である神殿の破壊の時期を直接に記した資料は見つかっていない。ただし，神殿破壊が行われたことを伝える文字資料はある。それは神殿域内から出土したオストラカ２例で，神殿破壊が石材入手のためではなく，明らかにキリスト教徒が異教を抹殺するという意図をもって破壊したことがわかる内容である。アコリス出土の文字資料の解読にあたった J. ジャリによれば，この神殿破壊は“白の僧院”の修道院長であったシュヌーテ（350–c. 466）の影響を受けた修道士たちによって行われた組織的な行動だった可能性があるという[20]。もし，そうであるとすれば，破壊は５世紀前半に行われたとみるのが妥当であろう。そして氏の推定どおりであるなら，破壊から再利用の時期までにはかなりの期間を要したことになる。その期間が長ければ，部材の集積や移動などによって各種の部材が混合されることは自然であり，森川の先の指摘とも合致する。多くの住民に伝統宗教，神々への畏れの気持ちが未だ強く残っていた時期に行われ

16）ファイユーム地方で急激な人口減少をもたらした理由に疫病が挙げられる。“アントニウスの疫病”と呼ばれる悪疫が166／７年にエジプトで再流行したからである。ルキウス　ウェルス帝（在位 161–169）の軍隊によってエジプトに持ち込まれ，デルタのメンデス州で人口の急減が起こり，ファイユームのアルシノエでは149／50年と170’年代の間で，人口は３分の１にまで減少し，近くの村では179. 年にたった１か月のうちに神官の数が３分の１にまで減ったことが知られている。また，Rathbone によると，ファイユームの西端に位置するテアドルフィアでさえ急減するのは，疫病による死亡というよりも，疫病を避けて逃げ出した可能性があるという［Bowman 1986: 142–147, Rothbone 1990: 114–119, Sharp 1999: 185］。

17）円筒形の破砕機はアコリス調査隊が実施しているニューミニアの石切り場で発見されている。

18）Frankel 1999: 122–137. イスラエルの類例については Yeivin 1982, 1984を参照。同書ではエジプトの採油やワイン製造，及びそれぞれの施設については触れられていない。

19）森川 2012: 59–74.

20）Jarry 1995: 363–373（Ostraca Nos. 21, 22）.

た破壊行為であったために，その直後に住居の基礎や壁に再利用することを躊躇わせたのだろうか。しかし，時を経て再利用する際には，神の頭部を有する石材のことごとくを逆位に置いており，伝統宗教に対する明確な拒絶を表しているかのようにみえる。

キリスト教の国教化への経緯をみてみると，神殿の破壊は神殿石材の教会建築のための再利用という目的と強く結びついている印象を受ける。シュヌーテの修道院に建つ教会にも神殿石材が使われており，エジプトでもこうしたスポリア研究の進展が待たれるのだが，アコリスではこれまでのところ，教会や修道院とみられる建築物は発見されていない。その意味で注目されるのは，西方神殿の岩窟部周辺の遺構群である（Fig. 4）。岩を削って造られた大人ひとりが入れるほどの幾つかの狭い空間と，床に掘られ食べあるいは水を蓄えたかにみえる円錐形の穴の並びである。この狭い空間が修道の場所，すなわち僧坊であるなら，神殿破壊の目的は一層鮮明になるからである。

5 世紀の中エジプト

アコリスの神殿破壊に大きな影響を与えたとみられるシュヌーテとは，どのような人物だったのだろうか。初期の禁欲的単性主義者として知られるアントニウス（250–355）やパコミウス（292？–346？）が世俗を嫌って砂漠のなかで修業生活を送ったのに対して，彼らよりも約半世紀後に生まれたシュヌーテが修道院長として様々な社会的事件に遭遇し，その時々に果敢な行動力をもって異教と異端に立ち向かったエピソードは少なくない。

彼の修道院には2, 200人の男と1, 800人の女がそれぞれに分かれて厳しい規則の下で暮らしていた。ある時，遊牧民のブレンミュス族の襲撃から逃れてきた 2 万人にも及ぶ避難民が救いを求めて修道院に押し寄せてきた。後を追ってきたブレンミュスは避難民を保護したシュヌーテを捕えて殺そうとするが，シュヌーテは彼らの腕を枯れ木のように動かなくさせてしまう。驚いたブレンミュスの王は部下たちの腕を元に戻すように懇願し，代わりに彼の要求を聞き入れた，と伝えられている[21)]。このエピソードは，奇跡を起こしたか否かは措くとして，彼が世俗を離れて教義論争にのめり込むタイプの人間ではなく，勇猛な遊牧民にも立ち向かう行動派であったことをよく示している。

そうした姿勢は遊牧民に対してだけでなく，近在の異教徒にも向けられる。修道院の対岸に位置するパノポリスは 4 世紀には住民の 5 %が神官であったと言われ，5 世紀のなっても伝統宗教を守る人々が少なくなかったようである[22)]。シュヌーテは他の修道士たちと諮ってその町にあるパン神を祀る神殿を襲い，呪術関係の本を奪った罪で神官から訴追されたことがある。また，パノポリスに住む異教徒の地主の家を襲うこともあった[23)]。これらのエピソードは 5 世紀前半の都市には活動を続けていた神殿が存在し，それを支える異教徒の存在を明らかにしているが，いっぽうで神殿とはいえ最早かつてのような公的祭儀の場としてではなくなり，伝統宗教は呪術という極めて私的な信仰へ軸足を移していたことも判明する。

また，5 世紀代にはキリスト教徒化されていない遊牧民がしばしばナイル河岸の住民を襲い，教会や修道院とも事件を引き起こしたけれども，彼らにとって相手がキリスト教徒であるか否かはそれほど問題ではなかった印象を受ける。

21） *WChr.* 6（425/50）Corpus Scriptor Christianorun Orientalium Vol. 42 §22: 69, Sidebotham, Hense and Nouman 2008: 368.
22） Borkowski 1975: 43.
23） Bowman 1986: 192.

遊牧民との抗争

有力な遊牧民としては，シュヌーテのエピソードに登場するブレンミュス族の他にノバダエ族が知られており，彼らは上エジプトのナイル河岸から東砂漠にかけて広く活動していた[24]。東砂漠は良質な石材や金・エメラルドなどの貴重な鉱物資源に恵まれており，特にブレンミュスは古くからエメラルドの採掘に従事していた。いっぽう，ローマにとっても東砂漠はナイルと紅海とをつなぐ交易路であるだけでなく，コンスタンティヌスの母ヘレナと娘のコンスタンツィアの石棺に使われるほどに美しい紫斑岩を産出するモン・ポルフィリテや片麻岩を産出するモン・クラウデヌスという大規模な採石場を有する重要な地域であった[25]。5 世紀に操業を停止するまで東砂漠ではローマ軍との大きな争いは発生していないが，ナイル河岸ではノバダエを巻き込んだ大きな争いが発生する[26]。

ノバダエは289年，ヌビアの都市を攻略するためにローマ軍に招聘されて以降，国境最南端のこの地の防衛に就いていたのであるが，テオドシウス帝がフィラエ島のイシス神殿を閉鎖すると，ブレンミュスと共同して上エジプトを攻撃し，島にあるイシス神殿を占拠する事態となり，占拠は長期に及んだ。452年，ローマの将軍マクシミヌスによって追い出されたのちは南のヌビアで異教世界を守ったが，6 世紀中葉にはキリスト教を受け入れ，ノバダエが支配するヌビアでは神殿の多くが教会に改築された。

また，彼らとは別に，リビア砂漠では 4 世紀から修道院が営まれていたデルタの西砂漠ワディ・ナトロンに襲撃を繰り返していた遊牧民，ベルベル族が活動していた。彼らが独自の太陽信仰を捨てキリスト教に改宗するのは，ブレンミュスやノバダエに比べると 1 世紀ほど遅れる。631年，彼らがオキシリンコスの西方，カラムンの修道院にいた証聖者サムエル（596–695）を誘拐し，サムエルを彼らの村に連れ去るという事件が起こる[27]。伝承によると，彼らはそこで執拗にサムエルに棄教を迫るが，彼は決して信仰を捨てることはなかった。ある日，部族長の妻が病に倒れて太陽神に祈るも効果がないのでサムエルが呼ばれる。キリスト教の神の力で無事，妻の病気は治癒し，彼は 3 年に亘った拘束から漸く解放されてカラムンの修道院に戻ることができた。子どもができなかった族長夫婦にさらに請われてサムエルが祈ると男の子が生まれ，これらの奇跡がベルベル族の改宗を決意させた，という。ここでもシュヌーテの場合と同じく，キリストの奇跡がテーマとなっているのだが，重要な点はリビア砂漠の遊牧民が改宗するのはブレンミュスやノバタエ族よりもかなり後だったということである。

アコリス出土のパピルス

アコリス・西方神殿域出土のパピルスには，教義に関することや農業関係のほか，当時起こった事件についても記録されており，遊牧民に関連する資料が少なくない。パピルス90例のうち，西側中門付近から出土している63例についてはそれ程大きな年代の隔たりがないとすれば，7 世紀後半と推定される。その中で，次に挙げる遊牧民を巡る事例はその後のアコリスの廃絶につながる可能性がある事例よりも時期的には早い。

それは遊牧あるいは半遊牧的な暮らしをしている一族とアコリスの修道院と間に起きた事件をあつかっている[28]。

24） Sidebotham, Hense and Nouman 2008.
25） Peacock and Maxfield（eds.）2001 and 2007.
26） Sidebotham, Hense and Nowman 2008: 368.
27） Alcock 1972: 17–22.
28） Jarry 1995, Papyrus No. 61.

発端は，北に移動中の一族がアコリスの近傍にさしかかった辺りで，そのなかの若者が魚と保存されていたイチジクを盗んだことだった。投網による密漁は，すぐに漁撈権を有している修道院に知らされたが，彼はまだ逮捕されるに至っておらず，示談によって解決が図られようとしている。彼が未だ若かったためか，一族の長が交渉相手である。要求したのは盗んだイチジクの返還に加え，貨幣による弁償と彼らが連れているブタ，馬，ロバだった。ブタが含まれているので，彼らはイスラーム教徒ではなく，キリスト教徒だろうと J. ジャリは指摘しているが，ベルベル族のように独自の信仰をもっていた可能性もある。出土パピルスに灌漑施設や農産物に関する例がみられるので，アコリス修道院が都市の周辺にかなりの農地を所有していたことは確実であるが，この資料によって漁撈権も有していたことは確実である[29]。そして，この盗難事件については禁を犯した者に対して公権力が表に出ず，片方の当事者である修道院が事件の解決にあたっていることが注目される[30]。

アコリスに起きたもう一つの事件は，密漁事件に比べるとはるかに重大，かつ深刻であった。アマレサイトというアラブの一族の名前が複数のパピルスに現れる[31]。小片なので仔細はつかめないのだが，687年と記した資料には，アラブとアコリス住民との衝突により住民複数人が捕えられ，うち一人が死罪となった事件を記している[32]。そして 2 年後の689年，おそらくこの事件に関係した大規模な暴動が発生する。修道士や大地主を中心としたアコリス住人たちと，ジャイフールという名の首領に率いられたアラブとの戦いで，多数の住民が犠牲となった，と公務員とおぼしきイスラーム教徒・アンタルが手紙に書き残している。また，あまりの重刑に怒りを露わにした修道士の手紙も残っている。

アムル＝イブン・アル・アスに率いられたアラブ軍によってエジプトが征服され，フスタートに新都が建設されるのが642年なので，この事件はイスラーム政権下で起きた暴動である。しかし，征服当初，アラブの多くはフスタートやアレクサンドリアに定住し，彼らが農村地帯に広がって居住するようになるのはヒジュラ暦 1 世紀以降，8 世紀前半以後であるから，彼らと在地のコプト農民が直接にぶつかり，抗争事件に発展するとは考えにくい。しかし，コプト農民に対する徴税が過酷であったために，8 世紀になると各地で抗租反乱が繰り返され，その鎮圧に当たった政府軍による大規模な殺戮は村落破壊を招いたと言われている。そうであれば，アコリスで起きた暴動はその先駆けとも取れる。そして，8 世紀初頭の陶器片が出土するとはいえ，少量にとどまることからすると，7 世紀末に起きたこの暴動事件と事後の処罰の厳しさがアコリス廃絶の理由として浮かび上がってくるのである。しかし，それが住民の意志であったか，行政処分によるものであったかは不明である。

ま と め

それまでの伝統宗教を捨てキリスト教を中心とした社会を形成した古代末期のエジプトの実相を明らかにするために，本稿では中エジプトの小都市アコリスを中心に検討した。カラニスやテブテュニスといったファイユーム地方の諸都市でみられる急激な人口減少と都市の放棄は既に 2 世紀後半からみられ，カラニスにあった 2 つの

29） 5 世紀になると，教会，修道院，中級官僚が新たに地主として台頭してくる［Banaji 1999: 203］。土地の所有権，水利権のほかに，アコリスのように漁業権も所有していた可能性がある例としてバウィート修道院が挙げられる。そこではワイン造りのほかに魚の酢漬けを作っていたからである［Bagnall and Rothbone（eds.）2004: 177］。

30） 公権力の低下はアナスタシウス帝（在位491–518）が行った徴税業務の改革に伴って急速に進む。パガーチと呼ばれる徴税人が地主達に私的に雇われ，6 世紀代のエジプトは中央政府の統制がきかない社会であったとリーベンシュッツは推定する［Liebenshuetz, 1973: 38–46］。

31） Jarry 1995: 343, Papyrus No. 53, 57. ジャリはこの部族はイスーラム教に改宗した東砂漠の遊牧民と推定している。

32） Jarry 1995, Papyrus Nos. 38, 46 recto and verso, 54, 55, 70, 73.

神殿はどちらも 3 世紀末以前に放棄される[33]。加えて，ヘラクレオポリスの神殿に使われている石材の持ち出しやルクソール神殿内に残るグラフィティが示す伝統宗教の衰退などはいずれも 3 世紀に認められることから，これまで比較的早期にキリスト教的社会に転換したかのように語られてきた。しかしながら，アコリスでは 3 世紀に遠距離交易の中断によって衰退期を迎えながらも 4 世紀になって神殿が修復され，神殿を中心にナイルフェスティバルが催され，また燔祭を伴う公的祭儀も継続されている。こうした例は決して少なくないと推察される。

アコリスの西方神殿における宗教上の大きな変化は 4 世紀初頭ではなく，むしろ 5 世紀代に認められる。一つは神殿での偶像破壊であり，他方は神殿域内への一般住居の進出，及びそこでのオリーブ油の生産をはじめとする手工業生産の開始である。どれも神殿のもつ聖性を否定する行為であり，それは都市におけるキリスト教の受容を意味している。シュヌーテと彼に導かれた修道士たちが神殿を襲ったエピソードは非キリスト教徒の存在を示してはいるけれども，当時，伝統宗教が既に呪術的な性格に変質してしまっているとしたら，アコリスにおける神殿や神像の破壊はキリスト教徒による象徴的な行為というよりも，僧坊の新設という具体的な目的をもって行われた可能性がある。

アコリスだけにとどまらず，5 世紀になると他の都市でも変化が認められる。ナイル西岸の大都市，ヘルモポリスの中心に配置されたローマ的建造物の一つであるバシリカ内部に教会が造られ，そこから南西 28 km 離れた砂漠には天使，キリストを抱くマリアや弟子たちを描いたフレスコ画で知られるバウィート修道院が創設されている。さらに，アンティノポリスにも教会と，その南方にアブー・ヒンネス修道院が創設され，中エジプトの様相は一変する。しかし，それはバグナールが描いたような農村共同体への移行とはならなかったのである。なぜなら，アコリスは以前と変わらぬ規模を保持し，都市の内部は家屋が密集する都市的景観を維持していたからである。もし，そのなかに陰りを見出すとすれば，都市的産業であったオリーブ油の製造が放棄されたことであろう。都市としての廃絶は 8 世紀初頭，アコリスだけでなく，大都市であったヘルモポリスも突然に放棄される。その理由については，これまで地震説[34]や内因説[35]などが提案されたが，確証は得られていない。本稿で取り上げたパピルス資料が示す暴動を含めて再検討を行う必要があろう。

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33）ミシガン大学の発掘調査によると，南神殿は250年，北神殿は 3 世紀末以前にそれぞれ廃棄された，と推察されている［Boak 1993: 16 and 21］。
34）Bailey 1991.
35）川西は地震による壊滅の可能性を否定はしないが，再建する動きがみられないことから都市という多消費型社会の活力が残されていなかったことに重点を置く［Kawanishi（ed.）1995: 473–483］。

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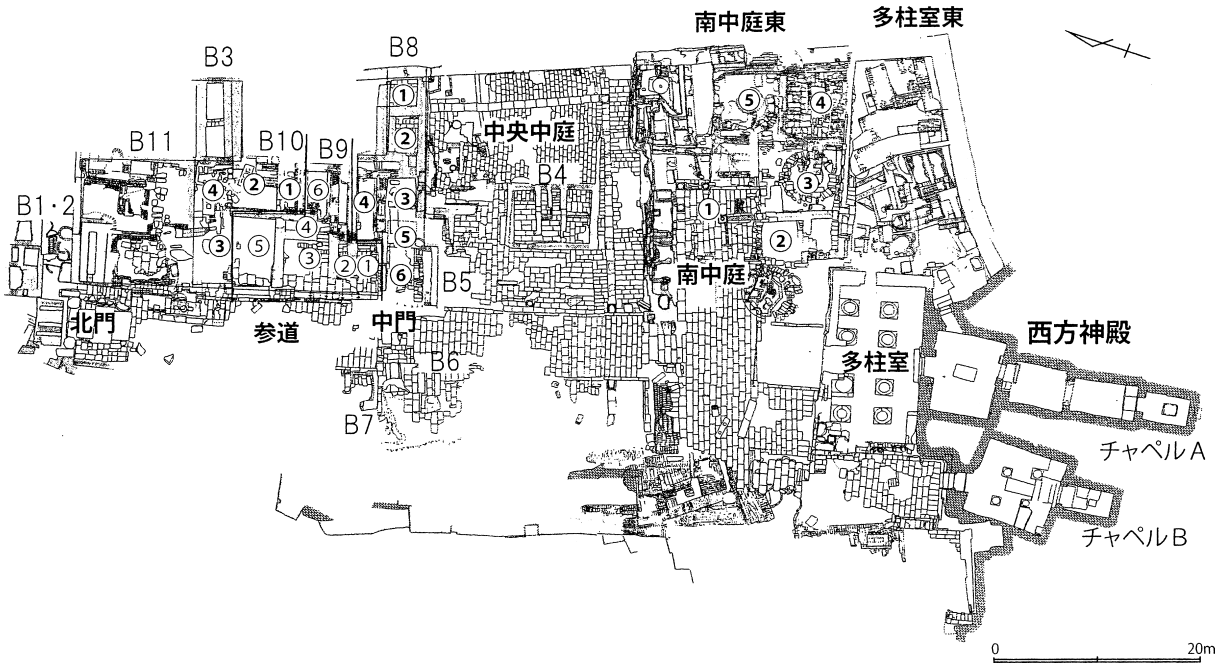

Fig. 1 西方神殿全体図（Kawanishi and Tsujimura 1995を基に森川が遺構名称を日本語に変換）

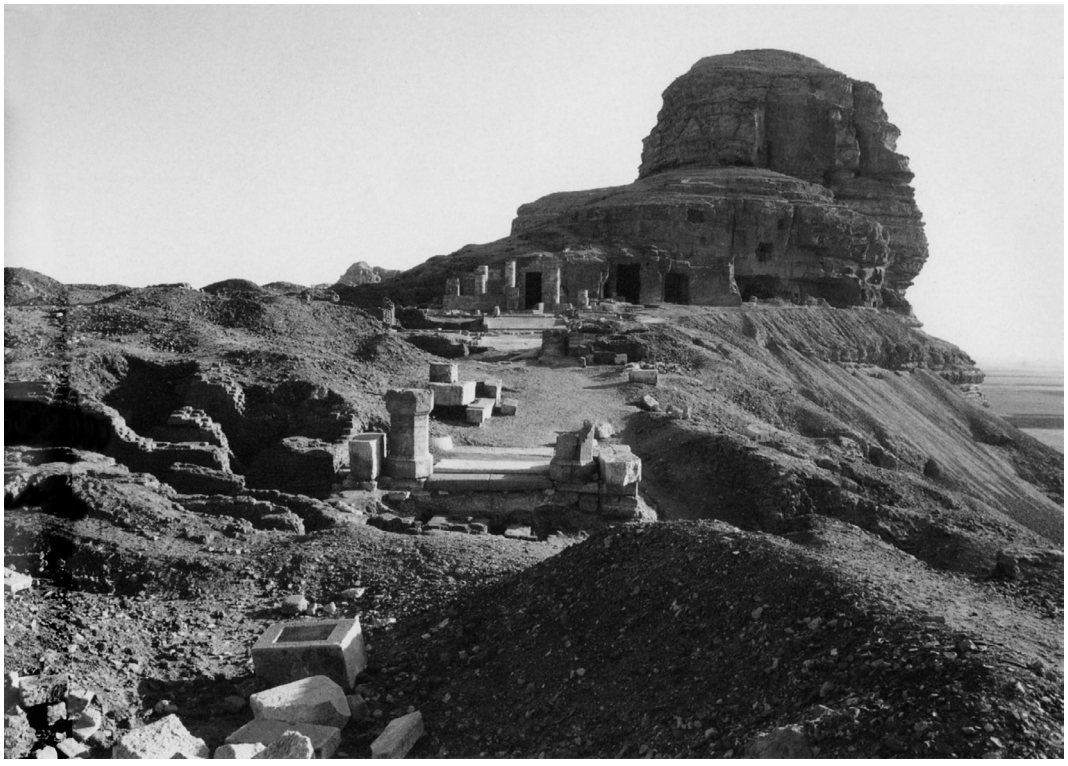

Fig. 2 西方神殿（北から）

Fig. 3　ディオスクロイのレリーフ

Fig. 4　修道士の僧房

レウクトラの戦い以降のアルカディアにおける政治不安とフィガリアの囲壁築造
―イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式の考案―

勝　又　俊　雄*

Building the Refuge-Walls in Phigaleia on the Arcadian Politics after the Battle of Leuctra in Ancient Greece
―The Invention of the Ithome/Phigaleia Masonry Style―

Toshio KATSUMATA*

Abstract

Pausanias excluded too much common things like theatre and Temple of Athena Polias and Zeus from his descriptions as well as did in other poleis.　For Pausanias the city walls had also been counted as common things.

They enclose the site of Phigaleia, extending over 6 km. and its towers and gates still nowadays remain to be there.　The wall had been built, based on a masonry called the Ithome/Phigaleia Style by the author, using rectangular trapezoidal stone materials.　The masonry for the walls was invented and developed in Arcadian poleis on the first half of the 4th cent. B.C.

After the defeat of Sparta the Pax Spartana had been lost.　The Arcadian poleis began to sense vague danger around them, and therefore, to build their own city wall at once, and prepared forthcoming political or military crisis.

For dealing with such reasons, the Arcadians invented a method, simple and economical, of masonry for city walls that were also adopted to the enclosing wall of the parts of Phigaleia.

The author, in the article, aims to make clear when, how and why the Phigaleians built its own wall enclosing parts of the city.　For this purpose, it is discussed, first, what the features of the Ithome/Phigaleia masonry style are, and second, how common its masonry style spreads on city-walls in the nearby poleis from Arcadia and in the neighboring areas like Triphilia and Messenia.　Thereby, the facts drawn from the preceding discussions, are compared with political developments with Thebes as a new leader and the first introduction to Greece of new military devices as siege-machine and catapult brought from Sicily on the first half of the 4th cent. B.C.

The facts are drawn from the preceding seven chapters as below:

It is made clear, in the chapter 1, what the features of the Ithome/Phigaleia masonry style are.　As a result, a distinguished trapezoidal masonry method called the Ithome/Phigaleia Masonry Style is used for the city-wall of Phigaleia where two methods of masonry are observed such as the isodomic course putting horizontally rectangular stones (“Isodomic Trapezoidal (C5 variant & C6 variant)” after R.L. Scranton’s terminology) cut in almost same size, and the irregular course putting stones cut in irregular size (“Irregular Trapezoidal (C1)” after the same terminology).

It is discussed in the chapter 2 how long the Phigaleians needed to build their own city-walls using the Ithome/Phigaleia Masonry Style.　This Masonry Style was only simple building method that could make the Phigaleians build their city-wall in a short term and thereby had brought so economical effect for the polis treasury if compared with other masonries like the Lesbian or the polygonal.　Therefore the Phigaleians could escape quickly while in danger in the politically unstable time for all of the poleis in Arcadia and its neighboring areas.

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The chapter 3 deals with the Phigaleian city-wall and its relations with the first introduction to Greece of new siege devices as siege-tower and catapult brought from Sicily on the first half of the 4th cent. B.C.

It was clear, as a result, that the Phigaleian city-walls would have been built in certain years since the loss of the Pax Spartana after the Battle of Leuctra (371B.C.) on the second quarter of the 4th cent. B.C.. since the city-walls had nothing to cope with the introducing the new strong devices to city-siege operations.

Relating to the loss of the Spartan hegemony, mentioned in the preceding chapter, the chapter 4 examines how the Phigaleians had taken parts of some political movements from the time on in Arcadia. First, they had supposedly played an unimportant role in the Arcadian League during the post- Spartan periods as their city-state was found in the mountainous western Arcadia. On the other hand, according to Polybius (Book IV and V), they had committed the plots to Megalopolis and Messene undertaken by the Aetolian League and had caused the Civic War. In these periods, their polis became one of the most adequate strongholds due to its un-accessible location for the new siege devices. It is supposed, therefore, that the Phigaleians had been continually exposed itself to menace and anxiety whether or not they had remained independent or avoided to fall into ruin from 371 B.C to 217 B.C.

The chapter 5 dealt with what the Phigaleian city-wall had enclosed in the territory of the city-state. It had been resulted that the city-wall had not enclosed the whole of the territory from the polis, but had been a refuge, 'Fluchtburgen' after the terminology of E. Kirsten, for its citizens together with their flock to escape from coming danger. Furthermore, the spread of the refuge-wall in the polis depended on its available numbers of garrison.

The chapter 6 discussed when the Phigaleian refuge-walls had been built. As a result, they could be raised since the Battle of Leuktra in 371 B.C. to the Battle of Caironeia in 338 B.C., to say more precisely, from the re-settlement on the summit of Mt. Ithome of Messene in 370 B.C. down to the Battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C. just before the introducing the new siege devices to Greece.

The chapter 7 compared the Ithome/Phigaleia Masonry Style with the other refuge-walls, still traced in the ruins of ancient poleis from Arcadia, Triphilia and Messenia poleis. The walls of the 20 poleis were examined for this purpose. Excluding both poleis of Stymphalos and Lepreon, the walls from the remaining 18 poleis are commonly characterized by two methods or a single one of masonries such as the isodomic course putting horizontally rectangular stones cut in almost same size, and the irregular course putting stones cut in irregular size. Moreover the 16 poleis from Arcadia occupied the whole of the central area that had played important role in the geopolitics of the 4th cent. B.C.

In conclusion, a distinguished trapezoidal masonry method had been contrived, and had simultaneously appeared both in Phigaleia and the summit of the Mt. Ithome in the very short term from 370 B.C. to 362 B.C. Therefore, its masonry method could call the Ithome/Phigaleia Masonry Style. Then, if there is a wall characterized by the same feature as this style, it has to have been built, influenced by this style, with the same aim, and to be also dated to this term. Thereby constructions for refuge-walls could have occurred in the same time, by the same style and in the extensively wide area in and around Arcadia, and was very unparalleled in the history of ancient Greece.

序　　論

パウサニアスは，フィガリアおいても他のポリスにおけると同様に「劇場」および「アテナ・ポリアス及び安泰加護のゼウス神の両神殿」そして多数の神像のような彼にとってあまりに普遍的すぎる文物をその記述から除外した[1]（図１）。これらの文物の中には，ポリスの囲僥する壁および市門が含まれている。その囲壁は，ポリスの周囲を約６キロにわたって囲僥し，所々に塔および門を設ける（図２）。囲壁自体は，四角形の石材を使い，それらを「台形様式」の石組みに積み上げ築かれている[2]。四角形の石材を「台形様式」で石組みする壁の工法は，前五世紀後半から前四世紀前半にいたる時期つまり美術史／考古学用語では後期クラシック時代にペロポネソス半島の中央に位置するアルカディアの諸ポリスで発達した[3]。

図１　ペロポネソスの地図（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

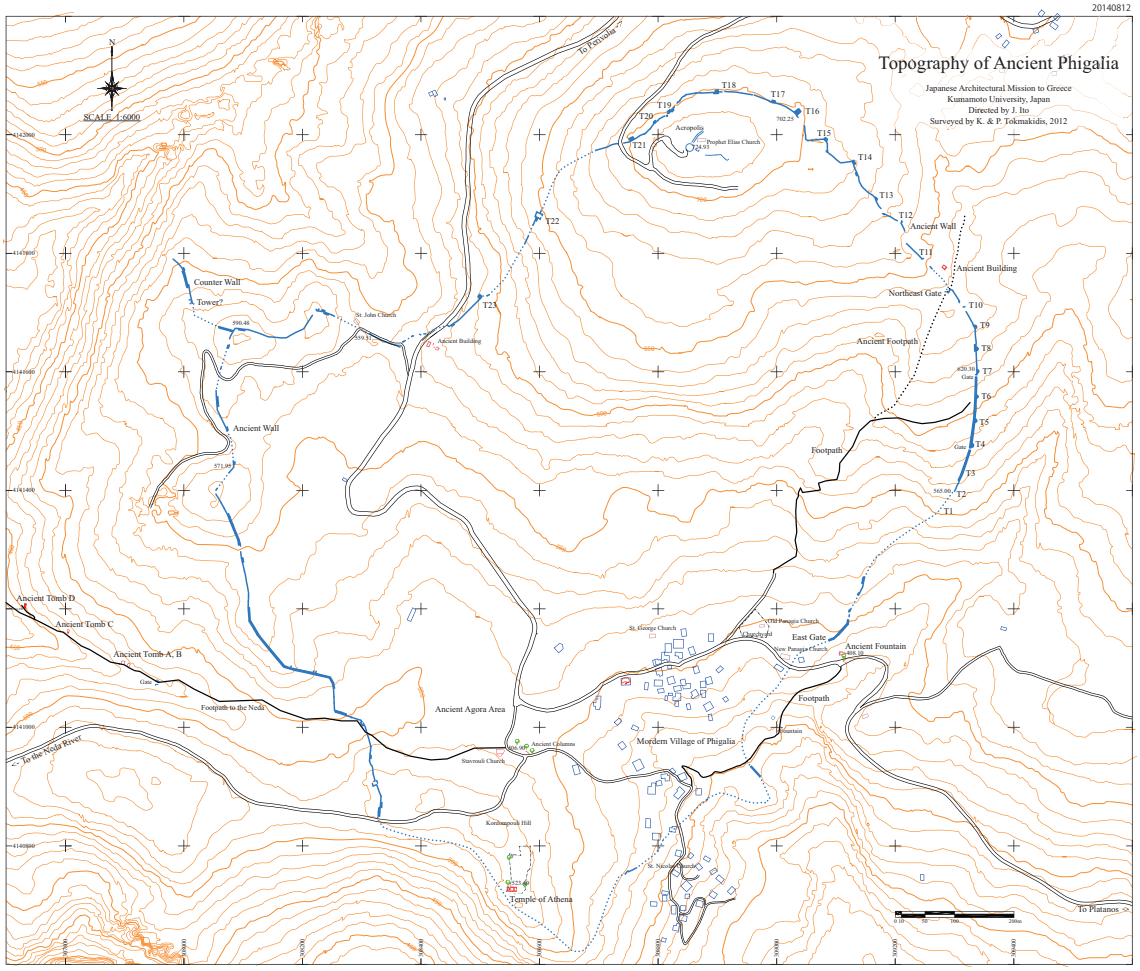

図２　フィガリアの地図（同上）

1）　勝又俊雄，2012年，「フィガリアのパウサニアス，ギリシア語話者の眼差し」『ラーフィダーン』（国士舘大学イラク古代文化研究所）第 XXXIII 巻（以下，勝又 2012と略記），38～39，56～57，60～62ページ。

2）　*Pauly's Real –Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswiessenschaft*, 1938, p. 2065ff.

3）　ウィンターが「多角様式」はペロポネソスとその影響の及ぶ周辺地域で前五世紀初頭に発達した石積みであることを示唆していることは，興味深い［F.E. Winter, 1971, *Greek Fortifications*, California（以下，Winter 1971と略記）, p. 88］。なぜならばその代替様式が「台形様式」であったからである。

一方，前371年のレウクトラの戦いの敗戦後つまり前四世紀の第二の四半世紀においてギリシア最強のポリス，スパルタが音を立て崩壊し，ペロポネソス同盟の名の元に強固な結束で養われてきた「スパルタの平和」は失われる。スパルタの覇権なきペロポネソス半島，なかでもアルカディアの諸ポリスは，一斉に囲壁を築造し，危機に備えたように思われる。すなわち諸ポリスが庇護なき世界において共に感じた漠然とした不安あるいは域外からの政治的かつ軍事的な脅威に財政的に負担を最小限に抑制しながら対処するために，ある特定の石組みによる囲壁が考案されたと筆者は考える。筆者は，それを「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」と名付けたい。しかもその様式が同じアルカディアの一ポリスであるフィガリアそしてメッセニアのメッセネのアクロポリスであるイトーメ山頂の囲壁に最初に採用されたであろうと推測する。

そこで本稿では筆者は，最初にフィガリアの囲壁の石組みの特徴をより具体的に特定し，それを同じアルカディアそしてその近隣地域であるトリフュリアそしてメッセニアの諸ポリスの囲壁の石組みの特徴と比較することによって囲壁築造のための「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」から浮かび上がる事実を前四世紀前半の政治の展開そして軍事上の新機軸の登場と照らし合わせることによって，その年代，その様式そしてその理由を明らかにしたい。

1. フィガリアの囲壁の石組みの特徴

アメリア人の建築史家ロベルト・L. スクラントンは，多辺形と矩形という石材の形状を基に，それらを築きあげていくための型式学的な四つの分類，つまり「レスボス式」，「多角石」，「台形」そして「切石」，を1941年にパイオニア的偉業として発表した[4]。スクラントンは，壁を築造するための石材を「多辺形」（Multilateral）と「矩形」（Quadrilateral）に分類した。さらに，前者を用いて築造する工法を「レスボス様式」（Lesbian）および「多角形」（Polygonal）の二つに分類した。一方，後者を用いて築造する工法を「台形様式」（Trapezoidal）および「切石様式」（Ashlar）の二つに分類している[5]。

スクラントンは，自らの形式学的分類にしたがい，ドイツ考古学研究所が撮影した写真を基に，フィガリアの囲壁の石組みを前後する二つの形式的分類によって識別した[6]。ひとつは，「多角様式」（前490年頃），そして他は，不規則「切石様式」（前450年頃）である。しかも，それぞれは規則「多角様式」による石組みそして規則「切石様式」による石組みを含むと補足した[7]。

それにもかかわらず，筆者と熊本大学の調査の成果にしたがうならば，スクラントンの形式学的分類がフィガリアの囲壁の石組みには適合し難いように思われる。まず，フィガリアの「切石様式」の石組みには，ポリス・フィガリアの一部を囲繞する壁には存在しないように思われる。このポリスにおいて「切石様式」が用いられている場所は，東門（「パウサニアス門」）外の「泉」址の古代建築跡においてのみである[8]。

4） Robert L. Scranton, 1941, *Greek Walls*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press（以下，Scranton 1941と略記），pp. 16–12 以下 Ch. 2, 3, 4, 5 の各章。また，スクラントンの四つの石組みの工法が年代的に連なると見る見解は，ウィンターによって痛烈に批判された。それらは並列していることが多いからである。それについては，Winter 1971, pp. 80–85を参照。

5） 同上，pp. 23–24。

6） 同上，p. 164, no. 38, p. 175, no. 6。

7） 同上。

8） 「泉水場」については，N.D. Papachadzis, 1980, *Pausaniou Ellados Periegesis*, IV, Athina（in Greek）（以下，Papachadzis 1980と略記），ss. 352–353あるいは勝又 2012，35ページを参照。もっとも「アテナ・ポリアス及び安泰加護のゼウス両神

フィガリアのポリスの一部を囲繞する壁は，どのような石組みで築造されているのか。それは，例えば，南西および北東の囲壁を取りあげて見てみる。まず，その囲壁の南西部では，四角形の石材，スクラントンの用語を使えば「台形」（Trapezoidal），を用い（図３），ほぼ同形の石材を水平（coursed）に流れるように設置していくイソドミック（isodomic）か，あるいは不規則な台形の石材を非水平（uncoursed）に設置していく不規則（irregular）かの二つの「台形様式」が見られる（図４，５，６）[9]。さらに，イソドミックの場合には，石材の長手を手前に並べる際に，さらにその上に置くやはり長手の石材の継ぎ目を下の層の石材の中央に当たる箇所に並べ，石材の継ぎ目が上下で重ならないようにする。また，それらの石材は，矩体のへりを真中に向かい僅かに盛り上がらせるように斜角が設けられ，そこに，再びスクラントンの用語に準拠すると，切出し面（Quarry Face）かあるいはつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）かのいずれかの表面上の仕上げが施される[10]。

一方，その囲壁の北東部では（図７，８），不規則な「台形」の石材をほぼ水平に流れるように設置していくイソドミック（図９）か，あるいは同じ不規則な石材を非水平に積み上げていく不規則か（図10），あるいはより粗石を無造作に積み上げる「割りぐり」（Dry Rubble Masonry）かの石組みの方法が見られる（図11）[11]。「割りぐり」の石組みでは，より小振りの石材が用いられ，台形の様式の石組みによる壁面の崩壊部を補修するために用いられたように思われる。また，同じ理由の元に台形の様式の石組みによる壁面に用いられた「割りぐり」の石組みも解釈されることができる[12]。

さらに，北東部の石材は，南西部の囲壁の石材と同様に，切出し面（Quarry Face）（図12）かあるいはつち仕

殿」址はスクラントンの時代には未だ発掘されていなかった。それについては，X. Arapojannis, 2001, ‘Anaskaphes stin Phigalia’ (in Greek), *Forschungen in der Peloponess*, Sondreschriften Band 38, ss. 299–305，勝又 2012，56～57ページを参照。

9) スクラントンの用語については，Scranton 1941, pp. 170–173を参照。前者は C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）あるいは C6 のヴァリアントに当たるつち仕上げそして後者は C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）にあたる。したがって，前者を C5v あるいは C6v と表記する。また，小口／長手の石材の表面の仕上げの程度差の表現については，Scranton 1941, p. 24を参照。

一方，R. マルティンは，大きさの異なる台形の石材を整然と並べ積み上げることが「台形積み」ではなく，それは石材を均等化し石積みのラインに嵌め込むことであると説く［R. Martin, 1965, *Manuel d'architecture grecque, T.I, Matériaux et techniques*, Paris（以下，Martin 1965と略記), p. 382］。

さらに，その工具については，Thansis Poravos, 2015, *Lithodomi sto chthes kai simera*, Athina, 2015（in Greek）（以下，Poravos 2015と略記), s. 21を参照。

10) スクラントンの用語については，Scranton 1941, s. 24を参照。石材の表面の仕上げの工法には，主にここに観察される二つ以外に工具仕上げ（Tooled Work）がある。スクラントンが列記する他の四つの工法はいずれも稀であるが，なかでも錐仕上げ（Broached Work）とみぞ仕上げ（Furrowed Work）は極端に少ない［Winter 1971, p. 91］。

石材の表面を斜めに切り取る斜角面取りについては，Roland Martin, s.d., *Greece*, Architecture of the World, Ed. H. Stierlin, s.l（以下，Martin と略記), p. 52および Martin 1965, p. 381を参照。そこで R. マルティンは，また斜角が石材に光による影を生み出す効果があると指摘する。さらに，その光と影の交錯につち（Hammer）も貢献していると［cf. Martin, ch. 7, n. 74］。マルティンは，同じようにつち仕上げの矩形の石材が同じ高さで並列され，壁が立ち上がる様子を自然により近く，田舎風（rustica）の印象を付与することになると本文のコンテクストから突然逸脱し唐突に美学的観点からの見解を展開する［Martin 1965. p. 356］。同じ主張は，同じマルティンの別の書物でも繰り返される［*ibidem*, p. 381］。壁の美学は「直線目地の巨石積み」のうねりにあり，それこそが後に続いた台形の様式や「切り石様式」が席巻した後もそれを残存させた理由であると。さらに，それは，スクラントンの ‘coursed polygonal’（B4）へと収斂されていくと。

類似した見解は，ウィンターからも提示されている［Winter 1971, p. 91］。そこで彼は，「台形様式」が「多角様式」のごつごつとした不規則な特徴の何がしかを整層積みで再現しようとした本来の目的のヴァリアントに過ぎないと。「レスボス様式」から「多角様式」を経て「台形様式」にいたる過程における美学的な観点から分析は，筆者の後の課題である。

11) スクラントンの用語については，同上，pp. 145–148, pp. 184–185を参照。R. マルティンは，これを「有り合わせ」と呼んでいる［Martin 1965, p. 373］。

また，マルティンは，フィガリアの囲壁では巨石積みの部分と台形の様式の石積みが混在し，しかも一方から他方への移行が滑らかであると指摘している［*ibidem*, p. 380］。しかもそれを工匠たちの「凝り」と表現している。この指摘は，筆者には恐らく北東壁の東端の辺りを指しているように思われる。

12) 囲壁の補修された箇所が敵による地下掘削の結果とする解釈は興味深いが，学問的に証明することは出来ない。スクラントンの用語については，Scranton 1941, pp. 145–148, pp. 184–185を参照。

上げ（Hammer Work）（図13）かのいずれかを表面上の仕上げの特徴とする[13]。また，半円形の塔が囲壁から突出する箇所では，塔のみならずまたその周囲の壁面は，不規則な「台形」の石材ながらも，その表面の仕上げは，道具によって平坦に仕上げられる道具仕上げ（Tooled Work）を特徴とする[14]。

他方，南西および北東の両所における囲壁の内側と外側に挟まれた内部に関して，南西部では，囲壁の内部に向かうにつれ先細りに削られ，囲壁の内側の積み石と立体的に組み合わせられるように削られた「半切石」を使って石材は積み上げられる（図14, 15）[15]。一方，北東部では，囲壁の内側と外側に「切石」を単に積み上げていく工法にしたがい，その間に「割りぐり」が詰め込まれる（図16）[16]。

フィガリアの囲壁の縄張りは，古代ギリシアの囲壁に伝統的な「手すり状壁」（Geländermauer）の配置にしたがっている[17]。それは，メッセネにおいてはほぼ五角形を形成するかのように左右相称に設置されている（図17）。五つの角には塔が設けられ，それらの間に幕壁が築造される。その幕壁は，一重に石材を積み上げていくかあるいはその背後にパロドス（parodos）（武者走り）を設け，補強するかである（図18）[18]。さらに，幕壁の上には，胸壁が設けられる（図19）。他方，フィガリアでは囲壁の上端が破損しているので，胸壁の存在は推測する以外に手だてはないが，パロドスはもうけられていない[19]。

2. フィガリアの囲壁の築造の期間

前章では，フィガリアの囲壁の南西部では，「台形」の石材を用い，ほぼ同形のそれを水平に流れるように設置しいていくイソドミックか，あるいは不規則なそれを非水平に設置していく不規則かの二つの「台形様式」が見られ，一方，その囲壁の北東部では，不規則な「台形」の石材をほぼ水平に流れるように設置していくイソドミックか，あるいは多角形の石材を不規則に積み上げていく「多角様式」か，あるいはより粗石を無造作に積み上げる「割りぐり」の石組みの方法が見られることを述べた。したがって，フィガリアの囲壁は，石積みにおいてイソドミックかあるいは不規則かの違いはあるものの，「台形様式」を基本としていることを示しているように思われる。

F.E. ウィンターは，スクラントンの壁の形式学的分類の最初期を形成する「レスボス様式」および「多角様式」が石材の組み合わせるためにより多くの作業と時間そしてそれに伴うより大きな出費を強いることになると指摘する[20]。しかもウィンターは，つづけてこれらニつの様式で壁を築造するには時間と財政上の余裕を必要とする，言わば贅沢な構築作業であるとも説く[21]。一方，それとは正反対に，同じスクラントンの壁の形式学的分類のより後期を形成する「台形様式」および「切石様式」が石塊を単に同じ形状に整形するだけに留まる故に，作業と

13） スクラントンの用語については，Scranton 1941, pp. 170–173を参照。
14） 同上。
15） その石材の形態については，Poravos 2015, s. 21, schima 3. 1. を参照。マルティンは，それをウィトルウィウスから取った言葉「エンプレクトン」（emplekton）（II, 8. 7.）で表現している［Martin 1965, p. 374］。
16） 同上。囲壁と「エンプレクトン」に関しては，Martin 1965, p. 375を参照。
17） その平面図については，F. Krischen, *Die griechische Stadt*, Berlin, 1938（以下，Krischen 1938と略記）, S. 425, Abb. 117および Winter 1971, p. 112, fig. 86を参照。
18） Winter 1971, pp. 138–140.
19） ウィンターは木製のパロドスが設置された可能性を，ゴルティスの南の砦の引き合いに出し完全に否定する［Winter 1971, pp. 146–147］。しかし，筆者は，フィガリアではこの可能性を簡単に放棄することは出来ないと考える。
20） Winter 1971, p. 86.
21） 同上，p. 88。

時間をより短縮でき，しかも当然より少ない出費でまかなうことが出来ることをウィンターは指摘する[22)]。

ウィンターの理に叶った指摘は，フィガリアの囲壁に次のことを示唆してくれる。つまりフィガリア人たちが自らのポリスの囲壁をあまり時間を掛けずに必要としていたと。そのために，フィガリア人たちは，自らのポリスに危機が到来した際に逃げ込むために自らの市域の一部を囲む壁を構築する工法として「台形様式」を採用したであろうと推測される。

したがって，短い工期で構築できるこの石組み法は，フィガリア人たちがある時期にこれまでとは異なり，市域の一部を石壁で囲こみ，自らのポリスの急に備えざるを得なかった政治的に不安定な時期に差し掛かっていたであろうことを意味している。

3.　フィガリアの囲壁と新攻城法

ペロポネソス戦争以前つまり前五世紀半ば以前の戦闘は，複数勢力が野において会戦を行い，雌雄を決することが戦局の核心であった。ところがペロポネソス戦争の過程において会戦は元より，攻城と籠城も新たな戦局となることが多くなる[23)]。この戦闘形式の変化は，ペロポネソス戦争後の戦闘へも受け継がれる。

一方，敵対勢力が籠城する要塞あるいは壁で囲われた都市を攻略する方法は，前五世紀以降に普及した羊の頭部（krios）を象った衝角そして地下トンネル掘削であった[24)]。前者は，主門や壁を打ち壊すために，そして後者は，亀甲部隊に守られながら囲壁の下にトンネルを掘削し，壁を崩壊させる方法であった。

さらに，ペロポネソス戦争後の籠城／攻城の戦闘に大きな転換をもたらし戦法が，前409年にシチリア島のセリヌンテを攻撃したカルタゴ軍の攻城機であった[25)]。オリエントで一般的であった攻城機は，カルタゴ人たちが初めてギリシア世界にもたらした。その圧倒的な効果に驚いたシュラクサイの僭主ディオニュシオス一世は，それを自軍に採用し，それによってそれは瞬く間にギリシア本土に伝播し，直ぐさま攻城戦に新たな水平を切り拓く新兵器として投入されることになる。この攻城機とは，可動式の攻城用の塔（helepoleis）の意味し，囲壁の高さに合わせて造られ，同じ高さで囲壁に攻撃を仕掛けることが出来た。また，それは，地面での衝角による壁の破壊の，そして地下トンネルの掘削工事の，それぞれ防御も担うことができた[26)]。

さらに，恐るべき攻城兵器は，前398／397年にまたシュラクサイからギリシアにもたらされた。それは，シュラクサイ人が発明した投石用カタパルト（petrobolos）であった[27)]。これを使うことによって大きな岩塊を遠くまで投げることが可能となり，それが引き起こす壁や塔への破壊力は絶大であった。

22）同上，p. 86, p. 91。ウィンターは，「台形様式」よりも「切石様式」がさらに経済効率に優れていると指摘する［同上，p. 91］。もっとも R. マルティンは，この見解とは正反対に，「多角様式」の石積みが技術と時間をより必要とするが，石材が手近にあるならばより経済的であると指摘する［Martin, p. 52］。

23）Winter 1971, pp. 112–113.

24）同上，p. 85。なかでも衝角による攻撃は，ペリクレスによるサモス攻囲から始まったとシチリアのディオドロス（12. 28）は伝えている。それについては，同上，p. 85および同ページの n. 44を参照。

25）同上，p. 311。その際に，カルタゴ人たちは，セリヌンテの囲壁の六ヶ所に対して同時に攻城用の塔を投入し攻撃を開始した。同時に，六ヶ所で衝角による囲壁の破壊を敢行した［同上］。

26）カタパルトと攻城塔のギリシア本土への導入が前四世紀の第二四半世紀以前に遡らないことをウィンターは強調する［Winter 1971, p. 309］。

　また，セリヌンテに続くヒメラの攻囲では，ギリシア人たちが知りながら長く使ってこなかった囲壁の地下の掘削を大胆に行った［同上，p. 312］。

　地下トンネル掘削の攻城の歴史上の記録については，プルタルコス，英雄伝第 6 巻，「スッラ」第14節［河野与一訳，1954年『プルタルコス 英雄伝』，岩波文庫，177ページ］。

27）Winter 1971, p. 220, p. 317.

これらは，莫大な機材とその運搬そして多数の熟練した技術者を必要とした。これらを総て賄いながら攻城戦を行うにことは，それ相当の規模の財政力をもつポリスにだけ可能であった。そこで前四世紀に頭角を表した新興マケドニア王国がこれらを一気に採用し実戦に投入した。彼らは，大軍勢で籠城するポリスや要塞に攻めかかり，しかも複数の箇所で攻城用の塔である可動式の機械を使って攻めよせる戦法を確立した[28)]。それらが実践において使用される様子は，ポリュビオスよってマケドニア国王フィリッポス二世がザキュントス島を望むパレ市を攻めた攻城がポリュビオスよってよって具体的に記述されている[29)]。フィリッポス二世は，その際に当時の標準的な攻城戦法を披露した。まず，守備兵を撃退するために，複数の投石機を適所に配置し，弾丸（oxibelis/veli）を放ち守備兵たちが怯んだ機に乗じ，複数の攻城機を囲壁に近づけ，囲壁上の守備兵たちと戦闘に入る。その間に，攻城機の下の安全な場所で，囲壁の下を掘削し，最終的にそれを宙に浮かせ，木製の支柱で一時的支え，囲壁が風前の灯であると籠城側に知らせた上で，その威嚇のもとで講和を求める。それが拒否されると，木製の支柱に火を放ち，徐々に囲壁を崩壊させる。

マケドニア人たちは，実戦で攻城用の塔と投石用カタパルトを使いながら，それらの改良とその技術の修得に励んだ。その結果，彼らはようやくフィリップ二世の治世にいたって，従来の衝角，地下トンネル掘削のような古い攻城方法も併せて用いる総合的な攻城技術を完成させる[30)]。

この攻城戦の戦法を前面に押し出しながらアレクサンダー大王は，アジア遠征に乗り出していく。その後，これはデメトリオス・ポリオルケーティスそしてフィリップ五世のような都市の攻略への意欲と攻城戦にずば抜けた能力を発揮する国王に多用されていく。

一方，マケドニア人たちは，新たな攻城のシステムを完成させた後，今度は逆に攻略済みのポリスや要塞を防御し現状維持を目的とするために，囲壁への改良を図り，攻められにくくそしてまた防御しやすい普請を始める[31)]。それに触発され，ギリシア人たちも囲壁の改良に着手するようになる。まず，「手すり状壁」の配置を基本とする縄張りを，そのままにしながら，塔と塔の間の長い幕壁により多くの塔を設置し，これまで固い土台だけから成り立っていた塔の地階を部屋とし，そこに突撃門を設け，敵を遊撃する可能性を高める[32)]（図20）。

さらに，主門を二重とし，前後に小さな空間を設け，衝角を携える敵を挟撃することを可能とした[33)]。また，主門以外の門は，壁を回り込ませて長い衝角の使用を不可能とした[34)]。

一方，攻城機に対処するために，壁は，より高くそしてより固く築造されるようになり，その強度の補強に控え壁（バットレス）が配される[35)]。それに加え，壁の石組みにも改良がなされ，投石によって破壊されても，あ

28） 同上，pp. 112–113。

29） ポリュビオスの当該箇所については，F.W. Walbank and Chr. Habicht, 2010, *Polybius, Book5*, *The Histories III, Book5*, Loeb Classical Library（以下，*Polybius, Book5* と略記），4，6 –9を参照。
　また，その英訳および邦訳については，*Polybius, Book5* , pp. 12–13そして城江良和，2007年『ポリュビオス 歴史２』西洋古典叢書，京都大学学術出版会（以下，ポリュビオス「歴史２」と略記），138～139ページを参照。

30） Winter 1971, p. 112, pp. 318–322. そのもっとも完成した形態は，サラミスとロードスに対しデメトリオス・ポリオルケーティスが行った攻囲戦であったと言われている（同上，p. 322, cf. Diod. Sic., 20. 48 ff, 20. 82–8, 91–9）。

31） Winter 1971, p. 310. ウィンターは，囲壁のための四つの普請の改善点を列挙する。それらは，「台形様式」と「切り石様式」の普及，壁体の堅牢化，塔と突撃門の多数配置，塔の一階部の空洞／部屋化である。

32） Winter 1971, p. 162, figs. 140–141, p. 246, fig. 266, p. 311.

33） 同上，p. 222。ウィンターは，門を二つの形式に分類する。「タイプ I」は，周囲の壁と並行に設置される。一方，他は，「タイプ II」で，壁を回り込ませる機構をもつ（以下注34参照）。

34） 同上，pp. 222–223。ウィンターの形式の「タイプ II」に相当する（上記注33）。

35） 同上，p. 141, fig. 116。メッセネのイトメ山頂においてラコニア門から山頂を見上げた山腹に壁があり，そこに控え壁のような普請が見られる。

るいは衝角で突かれても，あるいは地下トンネルの掘削によって地盤が崩落しても，それらによる破損を部分的に留めるために，区分法（‘compartment’）壁および「小口／長手様式」の壁が考えだされた[36]。前者は，壁の石組み全体を大きな板石で区分し，そこに切石を積み上げる工法である[37]。他方，後者は，切り石された石材を小口と長手を交互に入れ替え積み上げる工法である[38]。

さらに，投石から守備兵の身を守るために，旧来の胸壁に代わり，胸壁の上に長い石の壁を設け，胸壁自体を窓に置き換えるエパルクシス（epalxis）（窓）の工法も導入された[39]。

このような攻城そして籠城の双方における大きな変化の知見に照らし合わせ，フィガリアの囲壁を論議してみよう。フィガリアのそれは，「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」で石組みされ，ヴァッサイに向けられた主門である北東門に回り込ませる重畳式が採用され，衝角の攻撃を不可能にしている（図21）。幕壁には，胸壁の存在は確認できないが，数多くの突撃門が穿たれ，もっとも攻撃を受け易い北面には，複数の塔が配置される。さらに，北東面には円塔も一基配置される。

一方，囲壁は，約 2 m 強の幅と厚みがあるが，囲壁の強度を上げるパロドスは設けられていない。

脆弱な箇所を補強するための塔の設置そして衝角の攻撃を困難にするための回り込ませる重畳式にしたがった北東門に見られるようなフィガリアの囲壁の特徴は，ペロポネソス戦争とその後における攻城戦の変化に対応するものであることは確かである。一方，前四世紀後半に攻城戦に導入された二つ新しい工夫，つまり攻城機と投石機に対しフィガリアの囲壁がまったく対処していないことは明らかである[40]。

したがって，フィガリアの囲壁は，「スパルタの平和」の崩壊の喪失（前371年）以降の前四世紀第二四半世紀（前375年～前350年）に築造されたであろうことを意味しているように思われる。

4.　フィガリアと「スパルタの平和」の崩壊

フィガリア人たちに自らのポリスの一部を囲壁で囲わざるを得なくさせた脅威が何であったのか。それは，前四世紀初めから顕著になってきたギリシアのポリス社会におけるポリス間の戦争状態と北方の新興勢力のマケドニアであったことを推測することは困難ではない。前五世紀においてペロポネソス半島のほとんどのポリスは，軍事強国であったラコニアのスパルタによってペロポネソス同盟を通して支配されると同時に守護も甘受していた[41]。

しかし，ペロポネソス戦争（前431～前404年）でアテネが没落し，スパルタが覇権を唱える[42]。一方，スパルタは，レウクトラの戦い（前371年）で，突如頭角を表したテーベに敗北し凋落に向かう。その勝利の後，テーベもスパルタのペロポネソス半島の支配を完全に終わらせたマンティネイアの戦い（前362年）で勝利したものの，有

36）Winter 1971, p. 310, p. 323.
37）同上，p. 80, fig. 60, p. 88。
38）同上，p. 137, fig. 110。
39）同上，p. 140, p. 323。その図版については，p. 139, fig. 113, p. 140, fig. 114を参照。
40）ウィンターは，前四世紀を通してポリスの守備が相変わらずポリス自体の位置と規模による攻め辛さに専ら頼っていたことに注目する［同上，p. 323］。
41）以下の歴史記述は，*The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VI, Cambridge, 1953（以下，CAH vol. VI と略記）および *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VII, Cambridge, 1954（以下，CAH vol. VII と略記）に準拠し進める。また，邦文文献は乏しく，しかもややオールド・スタイルながらも，堀川武夫，1975年『ギリシャ国際政治』広島大学政経学部政治研究所，同所双書第12冊（以下，堀川 1975と略記）を参照。CAH vol. VI, ch. II そして堀川 1975，第 4 章および第 8 章。
42）CAH vol. VI, ch. IV そして堀川 1975，第 8 章および第 9 章。

能な指導者エパミノンダスを失い，再びギリシアのポリスは混迷の時代を迎える。前四世紀後半にはこれらのポリスは，慢性的な戦争状態を出来し，いずれも疲弊し，まさに共倒れのような状態を呈し始めた。ちょうどその頃に，マケドニアではフィリポス二世が前359年に国王に即位するや否や早速彼の主導のもと，アンフィポリスを占領し（前357年），第三次神聖戦争（前356～46年）でフォーキスを支援し，ギリシアのポリス社会に介入を始める。ついに，フォーキスのエラタイアを占領（前339年）し，それを皮切り南ギリシアに南下を始め，その20年にも及ぶ用意周到な南下政策の締めくくりに前338年カイロネイアでアテネ・テーベ連合軍を破り，ギリシアを統一することに成功する[43]。

このような古代ギリシアにおける前五世紀末から前四世紀半ば過ぎにいたる歴史を簡潔に概観した後で，アルカディアの山間のポリス・フィガリアにとってなにが自らの存続に対する不安や脅威であったのかを推測することは可能であろう。つまりアルカディアおよびフィガリアが位置するペロポネス半島には，スパルタという強力且つ支配的なポリスが何世紀にもわたって主導的であったお陰で，一種の「スパルタの平和」が実現していた。ところが，前371年レウクトラの戦いでスパルタが敗北した後，それ以降，エパミノンダスが率いるテーベは，前370／369年，前369／368年そして前367／366年の三次にわたってペロポネソス半島に侵入した。

スパルタが弱体化して以来，ペロポネソス半島はもはや安全な地ではなくなり，毎年のようにテーベの侵入を被るようになる。しかもテーベの最初のペロポネソス半島侵入では，有史以来，初めてスパルタの母国ラコニアも蹂躙される。その際に，エパミノンダスは，スパルタによって前660年に一旦は消滅させられ，イタリアのメッシーナに避難していた住民たちが再びメッセネの地にポリスを再建することを前370年に命じる。また，同じように，アルカディアでも小ポリスが集住し新ポリス，メガローポリスが創建されるにいたる。そうなればフィガリアの足下にあたるメッセニアのメッセネそして同じアルカディアにもテーベの影響力が及んだことを示している。それは，アルカディア同盟がテーベの援助と指導のもとで前370年に成立したことによって象徴されている。その結果，アルゴスからマンティネイア，テゲア，メガローポリス，アルカディア西部の山岳地帯の諸ポリスそしてメッセネを結ぶ，反スパルタの一大防衛ラインが完成するにいたる[44]。

そのようなポリス間の政治状勢を考慮するならば，フィガリアがいかに山岳地帯のアルカディア南西部にあり，そしてスパルタの軍事力の凋落がスパルタからの自由を被支配下の群小ポリスにもたらしたとはいえ，ペロポネソス半島にはもはや安全な地がないという漠然としているが，大きな政治的な不安をフィガリア人たちにもたらしたことは想像に難くない。

一方，マケドニアのギリシア覇権そしてそれを継承し発展させたアレクサンドロスによる東方遠征，さらにアレクサンドロスの死後（前336年）とその後の彼の大帝国の後継者を巡るディアドコイ戦争（前336年～前280年）を経て，分裂したギリシアは，再びマケドニア王国との長い支配権争いに巻き込まれる。その結果，群小ポリスは，前四世紀後半にアイトリア同盟をそして前280年にアカイア同盟をそれぞれ結成するにいたる。しかし，反目する両同盟の関係は，アカイア同盟がマケドニア王国のフィリッポス五世に助けを求め，アイトリア同盟都市そしてスパルタへの軍事介入を誘発するいわゆる同盟市戦争（前220年～前217年）を引き起こす[45]。

その後，アカイア同盟の諸都市は，マケドニアに代わったローマと対峙することになる。しかし，前168年のピュ

43） CAH vol. VI, ch. IV そして堀川 1975，第 9 章。
44） 同上。
45） CAH vol. VII, ch. XXIII，そして堀川 1975，第11章。

ドナの敗北の結果，前167年にはローマはマケドニアを四分し，アカイア同盟の約千人にものぼる有力者をローマに連行し，さらに前146年には同盟の最後の領袖コリントスを地峡イストモスで破り，それを破壊しその結果同盟を解体する[46]。

以上，ギリシア統一以降の古代ギリシアの歴史を手短に概観してきた。このような激動する古代ギリシアの歴史の中で，フィガリアは，どのようにポリスの独立を保ち，そのためにどのように行動したのかを見てみよう。

フィガリアは，前三世紀にペロポネソス半島西部を巡る同盟間の勢力争いにおいて顕著な役割を果たす。前三世紀初頭に，フィガリアは，西と北からメガローポリスに侵入しようとするアイトリア同盟の拠点となる[47]。前270年頃以降，碑文によれば同同盟の総領事に任ぜられる[48]。さらに，ポリュビオスによれば，前240年にはフィガリアは，アルカディアにありながらもアイトリア同盟の盟邦として見なされるようになる。また，前220年には反メッセネの敵対行動をとるためにアイトリア同盟軍の駐屯基地の役割も担ったとポリュビオスは伝えている[49]。さらに，おなじ年にはその軍勢がメガローポリス域内の小ポリス，メトドリオンに奇襲を仕掛けるまでにいたる[50]。そしてそこからメガローポリス全体に攻撃を仕掛けようとした。それがアカイア同盟にマケドニアのフィッリプ五世に救援を求めさせる契機となったのである。

ところが，同盟市戦争の最中に，フィガリアは，これまでの親アイトリア政策を一変させる出来事に接する。まず，アイトリア軍の傭兵が守備していたアリペイラがピリッポス五世によって陥落させられる。アイトリア同盟軍はその構成員であるトリフュリア地域のテュパネアイに駐屯していたにも拘らず，援軍を送るどころか撤退を決め，それに際し，テュパネアイを略奪した上に，無防備のままし，フィリッポス五世に明け渡し，隣接するヒュパナも見捨て，ついには安全なレプレオンに引き上げる。フィガリア人たちは，アリペイラとトリフュリアからのこの驚くような報に接する[51]。最後に，アイトリアとの同盟関係に反感を募らせたフィガリア人たちは，武器を手にポリス内のアイトリア同盟軍の司令部を占拠し，アイトリア人たちを追放し，フィリッポス五世に市民もポリスも委ねるにいたる[52]。今まで，アルカディアにおけるアイトリア同盟の急進的とも言える先兵であったフィガリアは，これで目が覚めたかのように，アイトリア同盟との関係を断ち，メッセニアへの野心もメガローポリスへの領土欲も捨去り，アカイア同盟に参加する。それを証拠に，それまでフィガリアから腹背を突かれることを案じていたメッセネが安心してフィリッポス五世と共にパレの攻城に参加することになったからである[53]。

46） 同上。
47） アイトリア同盟については，CAH vol. VII, ch. XXIII, そして堀川 1975, 第 9 章を参照。
48） その碑文については，*Inscriptiones Graecae. Consilio et Auctoritate Arcademiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis Editae*. Berlin 1873, 8, I2, 13, 1. 19を参照。
49） ポリュビオスについては，W.R. Paton, 1923, *Polybius, The Histories II, Book4*, Loeb Classical Library（以下，Polybius, Book4 と略記）, 3, 5–8; 6, 10–11を参照［cf. R. Martin, 1947–48, 'Les Enceintes de Gortys d' Arcadie', *B.C.H.* 71–72（以下，Martin 1947– 8 と略記）, p. 146, n. 2］。原典とその英訳については，Polybius, Book4, pp. 330–333および pp. 340–343を参照。また，その邦訳については，ポリュビオス「歴史 2 」2007，7〜8，12〜13ページを参照。
50） ポリュビオスについては，Polybius, Book4, 10, 10を参照（cf. Martin 1947–8, p. 146, n. 2）。その原典と英訳については，Polybius, Book4, pp. 354–355を参照。また，その邦訳については，ポリュビオス「歴史 2 」2007，18〜19ページを参照。
51） ポリュビオスについては，Polybius, Book4, 79を参照。その原典と英訳については，Polybius, Book4, pp. 534–535を参照。また，その邦訳については，ポリュビオス「歴史 2 」2007, 118ページを参照。
52） 同上。ポリュビオスについては，Polybius, Book5, 4, 4–5を参照。その原典と英訳については，Polybius, Book5, pp. 12–13を参照。また，その邦訳については，ポリュビオス「歴史 2 」2007, 137〜138ページを参照。そこには，「容易に取り除かれた」（poleos eksairetheisis aprophasistos）（in Greek）フィガリアと記されている。
53） ポリュビオスについては，Polybius, Book5, 4, 4–5を参照。その原典と英訳については，Polybius, Book5, pp. 12–13を参照。また，その邦訳については，ポリュビオス「歴史 2 」2007, 137〜138ページを参照。
さらに，メッセニアがアイトリア同盟との開戦に踏み切れない最大の理由である国境を接する敵フィガリアについて

その結果，アルカディアのフィガリアのような小ポリスが前四世紀から前二世紀半ばにいたる大凡150年ほどの期間に存亡に対する現実的な不安と脅威に晒されていたであろうと容易に推測される。

5. フィガリアの囲壁の規模

エルンスト・キルステンは，メッセニアの囲壁が典型的な「避難用囲壁」（Fluchtburgen）であり，しかもヘレニズム時代に相応しいと述べる[54]。「避難用囲壁」は，軍事目的に特化した要塞ではなく，ポリスに迫り来る脅威から市民の生命を守るためにある。したがって，それがポリスの市域全体を囲う必要はない。それこそまさにイギリス人のウイッチャリーが古くからその書の中で「都市が立っている枠組みではない」といみじくも述べたことに相当する[55]。

一方，ウィンターが指摘する通り，その中に公共建築や市民の家々が満ちているかどうかは重要ではない[56]。それよりもむしろより重要なことは，市域に散らばり住む市民をそのライフストック共々収容できるか，あるいはそれを守ることができるような十分な守備兵を確保できるかという観点で囲壁を見る必要があると指摘する。つまり守備のための兵員数がポリスの囲壁の規模を決める主たる要因である。したがって，ポリスの市域を囲繞する市壁と「逃避用囲壁」との間の区分は，兵員数の過多に大きく負うのである。

他方，フィガリアは，その囲壁の囲いの中の山頂にいわゆる「アクロポリス」をもっている。これをどのように理解すればよいのであろうか。ウィンターが言うように，それは市壁の中の逃避用のアクリポリスではなく，フィガリアのような高地にあるポリスは，すでにアクリポリスのような役割を果たしている。そのアクロポリスのようなポリスのなかのアクリポリスは，まさにそのミニュチアに過ぎないのであろう[57]。ウィンターはその理由を挙げていないが，言うまでもなくフィガリアの市域の一部が壁で囲繞され，その縄張りの流れが壁の域内にある山頂「アクロポリス」を囲っているに過ぎないからである[58]。

は，Polybius, Book4, 31, 1–2を参照。その原典と英訳については，Polybius, Book4, pp. 410–411を参照。また，その邦訳については，ポリュビオス「歴史２」2007，49ページを参照。

54） Ernst Kirsten, 1964 ‘Die Entstehung der griechischen Stadt’, A.A. 1964, SS. 892–910（以下，Kirsten 1964と略記）, S. 909および Krischen 1938, S. 422.

55） R.E. Wycherley, 1962, *How the Greeks Built Cities*, s.l. p. 39.

56） Winter 1971, n. 23 on p. 111.

57） 同上，p. 31。

58） 同上，p. 32。ウィンターはその最上の例としてアルカディアのカリーテナおよびテウティス（現ディミツァーナ）を列挙している。

一方，アルカディアのポリスのなかにフィガリアの囲壁とアクロポリスの関係と似た特徴をもつゴルティスのようなポリスがある。アギオス・ニコーラオスの丘を中心に形成されたゴルティスには，壮大な壁に囲繞されたより大きな北の囲みそしてやはり壁で囲われたより小規模の南の囲みが配される（その配置図については，Martin 1947–8, Pl. XIII，Jost 1985, Pl. 55そして Papachadzis 1980, s. 296, eik. 283を参照）。これらのふたつの北と南のふたつの囲みは，いずれもゴルティスのポリスの市域とは無関係に，西の平野に向け，しかもディミツァーナ（古代名ゴルティニオス）川の険しい崖を背に構えている。マルティンは，「南の囲み」を近隣のアスクレピオスの神域を守護し，付近の市民たちに避難場所を提供するために前二世紀に北の囲みの石材を再利用し建設された小さな要塞であるとみなす［Martin 1947–8, pp. 118–119, p. 129］。その理由は，楼閣の内部構造が建築として空間を備える，要塞の壁の強度を補強する新たな建築方法にしたがい建設されたからと［同上，p. 147, Fig. 16, Pl. XVIII］。もっとも壁は薄く僅かに 1. 25 m を数えるに過ぎない［cf. Winter 1971, p. 147］。

一方，パパハッジースは，これらのふたつの囲みを前360年のメガロポリスの創設の頃に年代付けている［Papachadzis 1980, s. 297, eik. 284］。

また，その四角形の楼閣 3 を前四世紀末かあるいは前二世紀初頭にマケドニア人たちの改良工事の結果と解釈している［同上］。北の囲みでは，B 門の付近では大きな石材がふんだんに，しかも分厚く積み上げられ，訪問者に，青銅器時代のミュケーネ文明の城塞に使われた「キュクロプス様式」を想起させるほど強大な印象を与える（「キュクロプス様式」の壁の作例と図版については，Sp. Marinotos-M. Hirmer, 1986, *Kreta, Thera und Das Mykenische Hellas*, Munchen, S.

ここでもう一度メッセニアのメッセネにおける囲壁とイトーメ山頂の関係を考察してみよう。先にメッセニアが囲壁を備えることを述べたが，イトーメ山頂もまた囲壁で囲われている。それは，先に言及したフィガリアと概ね相似する特徴と言える。この節の冒頭で触れたように，キルステンは，メッセニアの囲壁がヘレニズム時代に典型的な「避難用囲壁」であると主張する。これに続けて，キルステンは，メッセネのポリス建設が前四世紀半ばにイトーメ山頂の周囲にのみ行われ，その山麓の囲壁が前三世紀のヘレニズム時代のメッセネの全盛時代に築造されたものであると主張する[59)]。

それとは正反対に，ウィンターは，メッセニア人たちが前四世紀半ばに最初にイトーメ山頂に壁で囲われた逃避用囲壁を築造し，その後ほぼ十年以上の間隔をおいてその山麓の囲壁を着工し，前四世紀と前三世紀の境目に完成させ，前三世紀にメッセネが繁栄を誇った結果，囲壁内の空地が建築物で占められるにいたったと考える[60)]。

以上の論議を斟酌するならば，フィガリアの囲壁がポリスの市域の全域を囲い込むものではなく，市民の難事にその生命とライフストックを収容するために，動員することが可能な兵員の数にしたがってその一部を囲い込んだものであることは概ね意見の一致を見ているように思われる[61)]。

160, Taf. 163–4を参照。

また，パパハッジースも同じ印象を隠さない［Papachadzis 1980, s. 296, eik. 282］。

さらに，西に向かい緩斜面にあたるその南西部には，「第 4 区画」の約 4 m の厚さの囲壁そして間隔を詰めた三基の大きな円塔を設け，手厚い防御を施している（約 22〜23 m に及ぶ円塔間の距離については，Martin 1947–8, pp. 88–89および Papachadzis 1980, s. 296, eik. 283を参照。また，塔の規模については，Martin 1947– 8 , p. 88を参照。その図版については，Martin 1947–8, Figs. 4–5, 17–19, Pls. XIV, XVII を参照。

一方，攻撃を受けにくい東面の囲壁については，「割りぐり」のような荒々しい工法も用いられている［同上，Figs. 22–23］。

また，西壁には，A 門に加えて，三カ所により小さな突撃門が開かれている。例えば第二突撃門の図版については，Martin 1947–8, p. 91, Fig. 6参照。

さらに，南西の「第 6 区画」の囲壁に幕壁に四カ所も角度を設け，壁面の強度を図っている。

R. マルティンは，ゴルティスの遺跡のふたつの囲壁に関する意を尽くした論文の中で，北の囲みをもっぱら軍事的使用を目的とした要塞と見なしている［Martin 1947–8, pp. 81–147］。

とくに，同上，p. 138。ウィンターは，これには些か懐疑的であるように見える［Winter 1971, n. 63 on p. 31］。さきに概観してきたように，西に向かう北の囲みの独立性と南西部を厳重に固めたその強固な囲壁そしてその要所に効果的に配された塔および楼閣の存在は，マルティンの解釈を正当化する根拠となるであろう。それにも拘らず，マルティンは，キュヌリアの諸ポリスが統合することによって前380年に創設されたメガローポリスにゴルティスも参加したことを重視し，ゴルティスの北の囲みを盆地の中央に位置する新ポリスを防衛するために前375〜360年に建設された要塞であったであろうと判断したのである［Martin 1947–8, p. 146］。同じ石組みがマンティネアおよびメッセネの北のアクロポリスの囲壁にも観察できるとマルティンは，興味深い指摘をする［同上］。これは，恐らく矩形の石材を高さを揃えて積み上げる「台形様式」を意味しているようである。

また，マルティンは，二つの囲みで多数のメガローポリスの貨幣が数多く発掘されたと付記している［同上，p. 138］。その貨幣については，筆者は傍証を得ることはできなかった。

59） Ernst Kirsten und Wilhelm Kraiker, 1967, *Griechenlandkunde, Ein Fuhrer Zu Klassischen Statten*, Heiderberg 1967, S. 422［cf. Winter 1971, n. 23 on p. 111］.

60） Winter 1971, n. 23 on p. 111. ウィンターは，「避難用囲壁」が前四世紀においてもヘレニズム時代におけると同様に相応しいと手厳しくキルステンに反論する。確かに，ウィンターの批判の通りに，メッセネの山麓の囲壁が前三世紀以前に存在しなかったことを示す事実が皆無である。ペロポネソス半島のみならず全古代ギリシア世界においてポリスを囲む囲壁とその中のアクロポリスが数多見られるからである。しかも前三世紀に強敵スパルタは凋落の一途で，前四世紀におけるほどメッセネは囲壁を焦眉の急としてはいなかった。

61） さらに，同じアルカディアのゴルテュスの北の囲みは，マルティンによれば前370年〜前365年，つまりメガローポリスの創設の頃に建設されたと推測されている［Martin 1947–8, pp. 145–147］。ギリシア人の古典学者パパハッジースは，それらが同時に建設されたと見なしている。しかし，ゴルテュスにおいては，前四世紀の第二四半世紀に最初にメガローポリスの防御目的で北の囲いが建設される。メガローポリスは，テーベのエパミノンダスの命で創設された以上，囲壁の備えをもたない。ゴルテュスの強大な北の囲みは，メガローポリスを防衛するために創建された。それならばその目的は，フィガリアのような漠然たる脅威への不安に端を発したものではないことは明らかである。したがって，フィガリアそしてメッセネの二重の囲みとはまったく意味がことなるであろう。しかも北の囲みが廃墟になっていた前二世紀に南の囲いがアスクレピオスの神域と付近の市民たちの避難用として建設されたであろうと推測される以上，ゴルテュスの囲壁は，他のふたつのポリスのそれと同列に論じることできない［同上］。

6. フィガリアの囲壁の年代

フィガリアの囲壁の築造活動がより焦眉の急であったように推測される時期は，大きく二つあったように思われる。つまり第一期は，前371年から338年にいたる時期そして第二期は，前280年から前146年にいたる時期であったと考えられる[62)]。

まず，フィガリアの危機の第二期について検討してみよう。その時期は，フィガリア自体がアイトリア同盟そして後にアカイア同盟の一員であった時代である。先に歴史を概観した際にも言及したように，前三世紀初頭からフィガリアがアイトリア同盟の重要な一員としてペロポネソス半島内で精力的に活動した。しかもメガローポリスへ進出するための同盟の軍勢までフィガリアに駐屯していた。

フィガリアは，アルカディアのポリスでありながら，なぜ離れたアイトリア同盟に協力的で，その一員になったのであろうか。それは，スパルタに代わる後ろ楯をフィガリアが欲しがったからと推測することは困難ではないだろう。そうすることによって，「スパルタの平和」を喪失した後の漠然たる脅威への不安を払拭することが出来るであろうとフィガリアが考えたのであろう。

さらに，集住からポリスが創建されて間もないメガローポリスは，一体意識が薄く，比較的容易に支配下に収めることが可能である。しかもメガローポリスを支配すれば，アルカディアの南のメッセニアへの進出も十分に可能性があるとフィガリアとアイトリア同盟は目論んだように思われる。

以上，前三世紀における危機の第二期に，フィガリアが野心的に活動していたことをみた。しかもフィガリア人たちにそのような行動に走らせた原因は，フィガリア自体にあったはずである。それは，高地に位置する天然の要害であるフィガリアに留まり，そして囲壁に籠れば，自らが安全であるとの確信である。

その確信は，ペロポネソス戦争の戦闘の実践が攻城と籠城という新たな戦局と関連している。それに適応するように，前四世紀にシチリア島から新たにもたらされた攻城機および投石機は，それが機能するためには重くてしかも多くの機械と機材を必要とする故に，峻厳な高地に位置するフィガリアにそれら新機器を使用することは難しい。したがって，フィガリア人たちは，たとえ自らのポリスが攻城機をはじめとする新しい戦法に対応していない古いタイプの囲壁によって囲われているとは言え，天然の要害の故に，難攻不落であるだろうと考えたであろう。

フィガリア人たちのこのような確信は，ペロポネソス半島に橋頭堡を確保し，そこからメガローポリスを狙うアイトリア同盟軍の野心と領土欲と一致した。

したがって，フィガリア人たちが急ぎ囲壁の外で放牧を営む市民たちをライフストックと共に収容するための囲壁の本来の役割は，フィガリアの危機の第二期には失われていたように思われる。

一方，フィガリアの危機の第一期は，第二期とはまったく逆に，ポリスが壁で囲まれていることがより重要であったと考えられる。その時期に「スパルタの平和」が喪失し，その庇護を甘受出来なくなるや否や新たな覇者テーベが毎年スパルタの勢力の基盤を無に帰すためにペロポネソス半島北東部に侵攻する結果となって早くも危機は現実のものとなった。それのみならずテーベの主導で否応なくアルカディア同盟が結成され，アルゴスから

62) ウィンターは，ギリシア・ポリスの囲壁の築造史における重要な時期を三期に分類した［Winter 1971, p. 289ff.］。その第三期に当たる「前四世紀後期からヘレニズム時代末まで」は，我々のフィガリアの危機第一期および第二期を合わせた時代とちょうど重なる［同上］。したがって，ウィンターの時期区分は大き過ぎてフィガリアの囲壁研究には有効とは言い難い。

アルカディアの南部を経て，その西部の山岳地帯を結びメッセネにいたる，反スパルタの防衛ラインの重要な一角をフィガリアは担わせられるにいたる。

さらに，ペロポネソス戦争の戦闘実践の過程で，複数の勢力間の戦闘に会戦のみならず攻城と籠城という新たな戦局が生じ，戦争自体が長期化する結果を招いた。このようなペロポネソス戦争後の戦闘の形態の変化にともない，たとえ攻城機や投石機が導入される以前とは言え，ペロポネソス半島北西部のポリスも攻城と籠城に素早く対応するために囲壁の建設が焦眉の急となったと考えられる。

それ故に，それぞれのポリスが自らの財政の許す範囲でその総力を傾注し囲壁の築造に邁進したであろうと推測される[63]。その場合に，衝角と地下トンネル掘削のような攻城戦法に意を払いながらも，短期間に囲壁を築造するために，石切り場でほぼ同じ大きさに切り出された矩形の石材の高さを揃えて，それらを一気に積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」が開発されたであろうと推測することが出来る。

それならばフィガリアの囲壁が築造された年代が前371年のレウクトラの戦いから前338年のカイロネイアの戦いにいたる時期，なかでも前370年のイトーメ山頂へのメッセネ再建から攻城塔および投石機のような新兵器が発達する前の前362年のマンティネアの戦いまでの八年間であろうと結論することが可能であろう[64]。

7.　フィガリアの囲壁と他のアルカディアのポリスの囲壁

フィガリアの囲壁と他のポリスの囲壁について，最初に考察した研究者は，キルステンであった。キルステンは，フィガリアとメッセネの囲壁の類似性に注目し，メッセネの囲壁をヘレニズム時代の前三世紀半ばに年代付ける[65]。しかし，メッセニアの囲壁がフィガリアのそれと類似するという指摘が事実であるとしても，キルステンがヘレニズム時代へフィガリアの囲壁を年代において引き下げることを受け入れることは不可能である。なぜならばメッセネの囲壁が前三世紀にメッセネが平和と繁栄を謳歌した時期であったという事実が広く支持されているからである。

一方，ウィンターは，前四世紀半ばに当たる前375年～前350年頃にメッセネを年代付けている[66]。その理由は，ウィンターにしたがえば，塔と突撃門の多さ，大きな塔，胸壁の多用がその囲壁を特徴付け，さらに，ヘレニズム時代の囲壁を特徴付ける攻城機に対する備えがまったくなされていないからであると[67]。したがって，メッセネの囲壁を前四世紀半ば以降に年代付けることは不可能であると。さらに，同じことはフィガリアのそれにも当てはまることを指摘する[68]。

また，ウィンターもまたキルステンと同様に，メッセニアとフィガリアの両囲壁が類似することを指摘する[69]。

事実，メッセネの北に位置するアルカディア門から南西のラコニア門にいたるイトーメ山の稜線および山頂には，台形の石材の高さを揃えながら積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」石積みによって構築された囲壁が

63）フィガリアの囲壁築造活動がヴァッサイのアポロン神殿の建立の中止と関連していることが推測される。
64）メッセネが「スパルタの平和」の傘下にあった前五世紀半ばにわざわざ囲壁を築造する政治的あるいは外交的な切迫した理由がなかったことからもスクラントンの年代［Scranton 1941, p. 23, p. 109］がたとえ議論されたとしても正当性を得ることはない。
65）Kirsten 1964, S. 909.
66）Winter 1971, n. 23 on p. 111.
67）同上，n. 23 on p. 111。
68）同上。
69）同上，n. 23 on p. 111。

見られる。なかでもリュカイオン山のゼウスの神域を遥か彼方に遠望することが出来るイトーメ山頂付近の擁壁が興味深いことに，前370年のエパミノンダスによるメッセネ再建の命の後に最初に構築されたと考えられている。その擁壁には，つち仕上げを丁寧に施された台形の石材を高さを揃えて積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」にしたがう石組みが顕著に見られる（図22）[70]。

一方，そこには不規則な大きさの石材を高さを揃えずに積み上げる「台形様式」の石積みによって構築された囲壁が共に見られる（図23）[71]。つまりイトーメ山頂付近の擁壁は，フィガリアと囲壁と同様に，二つの台形の様式にしたがい築造されたと言える。

したがって，フィガリアの囲壁を築きあげた二つの台形の様式の石組みは，メッセネのイトーメ山頂付近の擁壁を築いた石組みと同じであること意味している。しかもその事実は，より興味深い推測にわれわれを導いてくれる。つまり石積みのための工法が最初にイトーメ山頂付近の囲壁と擁壁で開発され，その後間髪入れずに隣接するフィガリアの囲壁の築造にも適用されたであろうと。それならばわれわれはこの新たな石積みの様式をスクラントンの用語である「台形様式」から解き放ち，新たに「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」と差し支えないように思われる。

つぎに，メッセネだけではなく視野をフィガリアの周辺のアルカディアのみならず近隣のトリフィリアの地域のポリスの囲壁に大きく広げてみよう。前四世紀半ばにおいてフィガリアの「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」による囲壁の築造は，その近隣の他のポリスの囲壁にもみられるのであろうか。

アルカディアから始めよう。フィガリアの北のアリフェイラ（Alipheira）では，そのアクロポリスに囲壁および擁壁が見られる。それらは，不規則な形状の石材を高さを揃え積み上げられる（図24）[72]。その表面はつち仕上げが施されている。また，同じ形と仕上げを特徴とする石材を高さを揃えず積み上げる箇所も並存する（図25）。さらに，擁壁には同様の特徴を備える石材が使われ，高さを揃えて積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」が用いられている[73]。したがって，このポリスのアクロポリスでは，二つの工法が並存する。

アリフェイラに属するヴレストス（Vrestos）（現ガルディキ）では，そのアクロポリスの緩斜面に少なくとも五基の矩形の楼閣が守る囲壁が残存している。そこに用いられた石材はその大きさの異なるものの，その表面はつち仕上げされ，高さを揃え積み上げられる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」に従っている（図26）。また，それらの中には，石材のへりの斜角をより緩やかにし，その結果，縁取りのような感が生まれ，さらに，その中央を切り石仕上げで盛り上げるような新たな美観を創出しようとする手法も用いられている[74]。一方，不規則な大きさの石材を非水平に積み上げる石組みも散見される。

フィガリアの北東のテイソア（Theisoa）（現ラヴダ）では，リュカイオン山に連なる独立峰に位置するそのア

70） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）である［Scranton 1941, Chapter. IV, および本稿の注9を参照］。

71） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。その図版については，Martin 1947–48, p. 133, fig. 24。

72） スクラントンの分類では，C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）［Scranton 1941, Chapter. IV, pp. 67–68］。

73） スクラントンの分類では，前者を C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアントのつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。その図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 287, eik. 275を参照。

74） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。このポリスの古代名は未だに不詳である［*Temple of Epicurean Apollo, Guide to the Epicurean Apollo and Region*, Prefecture of Ilia, s.l. & s.d., p. 133］。また，へりの縁取りを大きくした石材における光と影の効果については，Martin, p. 52を参照（cf. 本稿の注10）。それならば，これは，古典主義建築の「ルスティカ」（rustica）壁面を想起させる［cf. Winter 1971, p. 95, fig. 71］。

クロポリスに不規則な形状の石材を使い，それらを高さを揃えずに積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」が顕著に見られる（図27）[75]。一方，石材の高さを揃える方法も共に並存している（図28）[76]。

また，アルカディアのフィガリアの北東のゴルテュス（Gortys）は，ゴルティニオス川を見下ろす崖の上にあり，アルカディア北西部のフィガリアやアリフェイラへ睨みを利かせる北の囲みの B 門付近の囲壁には斜面の土圧に耐えるために巨大な石材が使用されている（図29）[77]。しかし，それらはほぼ同じ大きさに切られ，整った高さで積み上げられる。一方，北から西に至る囲壁には多くの塔が設けられる。その石材の大きさは，より小規模になりながらも東壁と同じように高さを揃え積み上げられる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」にしたがっている（図30）[78]。一方，同じ様式でありながらも石材の高さを揃えない石組みも見られる[79]。また，部分的には「多角様式」そして「割りぐり」も用いられている[80]。

次に，フィガリアの同じく北東にあり，ゴルテュスと同じ川の上流に位置するテウティス（Teuthis）（現ディミツァーナ Dimitsana）では，やはりそのアクロポリスの門の片側が残存している。それは，大きさの異なる矩形の石材を高さを揃え積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」で囲壁が築造されている（図31）[81]。さらに，その表面は，つち仕上げが施されている。

フィガリアの北東のヴッファーギオン（Bouphagion）（現パレオカストロ Paleokastro）は，ヘーライア市に属し，先に言及したティソアとアルフェイオス川を挟んで対峙し，しかもリュカイオン山を見上げることが出来る。そのアクロポリスに二重の囲壁の址が残り，厳重に防御されていたことが分かる[82]。なかでも外側の囲壁の主門の付近の囲壁跡（地図上の地点 C10）では，大きさが異なるもののある程度大きさが揃えられ，しかも丁寧につち仕上げを施された矩形の石材が高さを揃え積み上げられ，「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」がその工法に用いられている（図32）[83]。また，最上部の囲壁の奥には不規則な台形の石材を積み上げた箇所も見られる[84]。

一方，主門の石組みは，「割りぐり」積みの上に大きさのかなり異なる矩形の石材がかろうじて高さを揃え積み

75） スクラントンの分類では，C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 349, eik. 359を参照。

76） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 346, eik. 356を参照。

77） B 門の辺りの高さの揃った石材は驚くべき大きさで，アルカディアではそれに比肩する石材はない。マルティンは，それを文字通り「粗雑な巨石積み」と呼んでいる［Martin 1965, pp. 377–381］。
それは，むしろ青銅器文明のミュケーネ時代のミュケナイのライオン門にいたる辺りの巨大な石材による壁の築造法つまり「キュクロプス様式」と似通っている。その図版について，本稿の注60を参照。しかし，マルティンは，「キュクロプス様式」を粗野な「自然石の壁」（リソイ・アルゴイ）に分類している［Martin 1965, p. 372］。
同様に，マルティンの定義を使えば，ゴルテュスの B 門付近の壁は，囲壁ではなく擁壁「アナレンマ」となる［Martin 1965, p. 374］。

78） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。

79） スクラントンの分類では，C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。

80） 「多角様式」は，主に北の囲みでは，東面，B 門，「第 6 区画」［Martin 1947–48, p. 133, Figs. 19, 21, 23］，そして南の囲みでは，楼閣 3 の周囲の壁［同上，fig. 15］に見られる。一方，「割りぐり」については，A 門付近の東面の壁（本稿の注61）に観察される。

81） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 301, eik. 290, s. 302, eik. 293, s. 303, eik. 294–95を参照。

82） Pierre Charneux et Rene Ginouves, 1956, ‘Reconnaissances en Arcadie, Fortifications de Palaiocastro, Saint Nicola et Hellenico’, *B.C.H.* 80（以下，Charneux-Ginouves 1956と略記），p. 524, fig. 3 . さらに，外側の囲壁の北と北東の斜面には，部分的に囲壁と塔の痕跡（C13–14, T10 : C12）が窺える。しかも二重の囲壁の間には，丘の斜面を固定するための一連の擁壁（M）も構築されていたように思われる。

83） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。その地図と図版については，Charneux-Ginouves 1956, fig. 6および Papachadzis 1980, s. 289, eik. 277–78を参照。

84） スクラントンの分類では C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。

上げられ，「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」が荒々しく展開されている[85]。

さらに，アルカディアの北部のポリスの囲壁を検証してみよう。最初に，北西部のプソピス（Psophis）では，アクロポリスを囲む壁のうちエリマンテス川側の囲壁は大半は失われている。それにも拘らず，それを見下ろす「エレニコ」（Helleniko）と呼ばれる楼閣の壁の一部が残存している。それは，表面を錐で仕上げられた台形の石材を使い，それらを高さを揃えて積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」に従っている（図33）[86]。

同じプソピスに属するパオス（Paos）では，そのアクロポリスの囲壁が残存している[87]。その囲壁は，荒々しい「割りぐり」積みを特徴的とする[88]。しかし，丁寧に石材の表面を錐で仕上げ，それらを高さを揃えて積み上げる箇所も存在する（図34）[89]。

アルカディアの北部のクレイトール（Kleitor）では，そのアクロポリスに囲壁および楼閣や塔が残存している[90]。その楼閣の一部は，つち仕上げを丁寧に施された石材を使い，それらを高さを揃え積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」に基づき築造されている（図35）[91]。

アルカディアの北東部のスティンファロス（Stymphalos）では，同名の湖を見下ろす高みにあるそのアクロポリスの塔に「多角様式」による囲壁が見られる（図36）[92]。その石材の表面は，主につち仕上げがなされれている。したがって，ここには「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」は見られない。

次に，アルカディアの東部のポリスの囲壁を検証してみよう。アルカディアの東端のアレーア（Alea）では，トラヒー山麓の小丘に置かれたそのアクロポリスを囲む囲壁の一部が見られる。それは，表面を錐で仕上げられた台形の石材を使い積み上げられる（図37）[93]。

同じ東部では，アレーアの西隣に当たるオルコメノース（Orchomenos）のアクロポリスの囲壁跡がある[94]。その壁は，つち仕上げを施された石材を使い，それらを高さを揃えて積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」に基づき築造されている（図38）[95]。

アルカディアの西部の平野の中央に位置するマンティネイア（Mantineia）のポリスの囲壁を見てみよう。それは，ほぼ円形の囲壁で，そのほとんどは三段から四段の高さに積み上げられた壁が残るに過ぎない。それは，つち仕上げを施された台形の石材を高さを揃えて丁寧に積み上げられ，明らかに「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」を示している（図39）[96]。

85） 図版については，Charneux-Ginouves 1956, p. 530, fig. 11を参照。
86） スクラントンの分類では，C6（Isodomic Trapezoidal）の錐仕上げ。また，地図と図版については，M. Jost, 1985, *Sanctuaires et Cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris（以下，Jost 1985と略記）, Pl. 6–1および Pl. 7–2をそれぞれ参照。
87） 図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 269, eik. 260を参照。
88） スクラントンの分類では，E（Dry Rubble Masonry）［Scranton 1941, Chapter. IV, pp. 146–148］。
89） スクラントンの分類では，C6（Isodomic Trapezoidal）の錐仕上げ。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, eik. 258–59を参照。
90） 図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 254, eik. 231を参照。
91） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, eik. 232を参照。
92） スクラントンの分類では，B2（Polygonal Quarry to Hammer Face）［Scranton 1941, Chapter. III］。また，図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 260–61, eik. 245と247を参照。
93） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）そして C6（Isodomic Trapezoidal）の錐仕上げ。また，地図と図版については，Jost 1985, Pl. 26–2～3および Papachadzis 1980, s. 265, eik. 255を参照。
94） 地図については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 224, eik. 191を参照。
95） 図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 226, eik. 194を参照。
96） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。Papachadzis 1980, s. 196–97, eik. 152–53を参照。

マンティネイアの近隣にコフィナス山麓のネスターニ（Nestani）と呼ばれる丘に城砦跡がある。それを囲繞する壁の一部と門の跡が残存している。それは，つち仕上げを施された台形の石材を使い，それを高さを揃え積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」に基づいている（図40）[97]。一方，そこには同じつち仕上げを施されるが大きさの異なる石材を高さを揃えずに積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」もとくに門付近に集中している（図41）[98]。

最後に，アルカディアの南部のポリスの囲壁を検証してみよう。メガローポリスに隣接するアセーア（Asea）では，独立した台地の上にアクロポリスに唯一一カ所囲壁の一部が残存している[99]。その囲壁は，かなり大きめの石材によって築造されている。しかもそれらは，その大きさの異なるものの，その表面を丁寧につち仕上げされている。さらに，それらは，台形の石材を高さを揃え積み上げるか，あるいは高さを揃えずに積み上げるかのそれぞれ相異なる二通りの「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」で築造されている（図42）[100]。また，その囲壁の一部に「多角様式」による石組みが巧みに用いられている。

リュカイオン山麓のリュコスラでは，囲壁の一部が残っている。それは，錐仕上げを施された石材を高さを揃えて積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」に基本的に基づいているが（図43），一部に不規則な形状の石材を高さを揃えずに積み上げる箇所もある[101]。

次に，アルカディアを離れ，フィガリアの北西に隣接するトリフュリアのポリスの囲壁を検証してみよう。まず，プラーティアナ（Platiana）は，恐らくポリュビオスが言及する古代のテュパネアイ Typaneai のアクロポリスと見なされる[102]。それは，眼下に沃野を見下ろし，しかもリュカイオンのゼウスの高峰を遠望することが出来る標高 605 m の独立峰の山頂にあり，劇場や小神殿やその祭壇の遺構を残している。しかもそれは，気宇壮大な囲壁によって囲まれている。丘の上を囲繞する壁は，フィガリアよりもより形状を揃えられ，しかもその表面を丁寧につち仕上げされた矩形の石材を「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」で積み上げ築造されている（図44）[103]。

同じトリフィリアのレプレオン（Lepreon）では，アルカディアの高峰に連なる小峰の斜面にそのアクリポリスがある。そこに複数の段状の囲壁が連なる[104]。それらを構築する石材については，つち仕上げによって表面を綺

97） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。また，地図と図版については，Jost, Pl. 35–3P および Papachadzis 1980, s. 191, eik. 147。

98） スクラントンの分類では，C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 193–194, eik. 149–151を参照。

99） 地図については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 377, eik. 408を参照。

100） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。そして C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 378, eik. 410, s. 379, eik. 411–12を参照。

101） スクラントンの分類では，C6（Isodomic Trapezoidal）の錐仕上げおよび C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。図版については，Papachadzis 1980, s. 342–43, eik. 345–49を参照。

102） オリンピア・ヴィカトゥ［Epicurean Apollo, p. 137］は，二つのポリス，テュパネアイ（Typaneae）とヒュパナ（Hypana）のいずれかであるだろうと指摘する。一方，*Blue Guide Greece*（the 6th edition, 1995,London/NY）のような高級な旅行案内書の著者 R. Barber は，プラーティアナを言下にテュパネアイと同定している［p. 307］。確かに，アイトリア軍が陣を張り，ピッリポス五世の出方を窺うには堅固な囲壁で守られたポリスを必要としていたことは想像に難くない。その必要性を満たすトリフィリアの近隣のポリスはプーラティアナ以外にあり得なかったように思われる。因みに，その際に，同じようにアイトリア軍に見放された，近隣の小ポリス，グレッカス（Grekas），そしてそのまた近隣に，トリフィリアのポリスとして言及されるに留まるポリス，アイピオン（Aipion）があると同じ Barber は明快に特定している。
また，プラーティアナの囲壁の図版については，Epicurean Apollo, pp. 137–138を参照。

103） スクラントンの分類では C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）あるいは C6 のそれぞれのヴァリアント C5v および C6v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）そして部分的に C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。

104） その図版については，Epicurean Apollo, pp. 139–140を参照。また，ポリュビオスは，レプレオンの市民たちもフィガリアと同様にアイトリア軍，つまりエリス兵，アイトリア兵と同地の盗賊，傭兵そしてスパルタ兵など総勢2, 700名を相手にアクロポリスと市域から退去するように要求し，両者が一触即発のなかフィガリアからの報とピリッポス五世軍の接近を前に，アイトリア関連軍は総勢レプレオンを退去したと生々しく伝えている［Polybius, Book4, IV. 80］。また，その

麗に整えられた切石が使用され，しかもそれらを高さを揃え積み上げる「切石様式」が特徴的である（図45）[105]。他方，不規則な石材を非水平に積み上げる箇所も散見する。

さらに，古代のサミーア（Samia）（現カトーサミコン Kato-Samikon）のアクロポリスは，アルカディアを下ったトリフィリアとエリスの境の平野の小峰に位置し，眼下の広大な平野とイオニア海を見下ろす戦略上の要衝である[106]。その囲壁の連なりは，緩斜面を登れば登るほど見事に残存し，より上部にある囲壁は部分的に壁の上端まで残こり，その偉観は訪問者にピクチャレスクな印象を圧倒的に付与するに余りある。

その囲壁に不規則な形状の石材をその高さを揃えずに積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」が用いられている（図46）[107]。それと同時に，表面につち仕上げを施した石材を高さを揃えながら積み上げる「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」も特徴的である（図47）[108]。

その石材の大きさは，斜面を下れば下るほどより大きくなるように思われる（図48）。石材に関するその量感は，先に言及したゴルテュスおよびアセーアの囲壁と共通の感覚で捉えられるかもしれない[109]。

さらに，この囲壁の南東部には所々に「多角様式」が顕著に多用される[110]。しかもこの「多角様式」に携わった石工には構造において意味がないにも拘らずあえて三角形の石材を単独で置いたりあるいは並列させる箇所がたびたび見られる（図49白線部）。なかでも三角形の石材が三つ並列する箇所は，ヨハン・ホイジンガが指摘するような単に遊び心から生まれた「多角様式」の見事なヴァリアントであり，まさに「ホモ・ルーデンス」による「マニエリズム」と思わず評したくなるほどである[111]。

最後に，アルカディアとトリフィリアそしてメッセニアにおける20を数えるポリスに備わる囲壁を検証してきた（表）。それらの中で，僅かにスティンファロスとレプレオンの二つのポリスを除けば，残りの18を数えるポリスの囲壁は，フィガリアのそれにおけると同様に，石積みにおいてその高さを揃えるかあるいは揃えないかの違いはあるものの，いずれも「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」を基本としていることを示しているように解釈される。

しかもアルカディアにおいて総数で16を数えるポリスの市域の内で，九つの重要な地政学的な位置を占める市域において二つの「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」に基づく囲壁が築造されている。それは，アルカディアでもその周縁の市域を除くほぼその中央域の全域に亘って顕著な囲壁築造の工法となっている（地図）。

それならば他の事実も浮上してくるであろう。フィガリアとメッセネのイトーメ山頂付近の囲壁がほぼ同時に前370年～前362年の僅か八年ほどの間に築造されたことが明らかになった以上，もしそれら二つのポリスの囲壁

平面図については，Blouet, A. et A. Ravoisie, *et al*. 1831–38, *Expédition Scietifique de Morée ordonnée par le gouvernement français*, II, vol. 3, Paris（以下，ESM 1831～38と略記），関連図を参照。

105） スクラントンの分類では，D3（Isodomic Ashlar Quarry to Hammer）［Scranton 1941, Chapter. V］。

106） ポリュビオスによれば，同盟市戦争の最後に，サミアが登場する。サミーアは，アイトリア関連軍が最後に逃げ込んだ城砦と形容されたポリスである。そこをピリッポス五世は攻囲し，戦わずして明け渡させることに成功したと［Polybius, Book4, 6–13］。また，その平面図については，ESM 1831～38, 関連図，J.P. Adam, *L'architecture militaire*, Figs. 108, 30および Winter 1971, p. 235, Fig. 246を参照。

107） スクラントンの分類では C1（Irregular Trapezoidal）。

108） スクラントンの分類では，C5（Isodomic Trapezoidal）のヴァリアント C5v のつち仕上げ（Hammer Work）。

109） この辺りの石材の巨大化は，マルティンも同意見で，「直線目地の巨石積み」に分類している［Martin 1965, p. 380］。

110） スクラントンの分類では B2，B3，B4（Polygonal Quarry to Hammer Face or Tooled Face or Coursed Polygonal）。

111） 筆者は，この工匠を 'B2 Polygonal Master' と命名する。彼は，かつての「レスボス様式」への一種の郷愁から生じたアナクロニズムにしたがって「擬レスボス様式」とも言える石組みをしたにかもしれない。残念ながら，アテネのアクロポリスのエレクティオンの銘文に名を残した工匠のようには彼は振る舞わなかった［cf. Martin 1965, p. 371］。
また，ホイジンガについては，「ホモ・ルーデンス」，高橋英夫訳，中公文庫，1973年を参照。

と同じ特徴を備える囲壁があるとすれならば，それはいずれもこの年代に築かれたことを示すことになる[112)]。

結　　論

これまで七章では，大凡以下の事実を明らかになった：

1. ではフィガリアの囲壁の石組みの特徴を特定した。つまりフィガリアの囲壁の南西部では，四角形の石材，スクラントンの用語を使えば「台形」(Trapezoidal)，を用い，ほぼ同形の矩形の石材を水平（coursed）に流れるように設置しいていくイソドミック（Isodomic）か，あるいは不規則な台形の石材を非水平（uncoursed）に設置していく不規則（Irregular）かの二つの「台形様式」が見られる。

2. では，フィガリアの囲壁の築造の期間が検討された結果，この石組み法はフィガリア人たちがある時期にこれまでとは異なり，短期間に市域の一部を石壁で囲こみ，自らのポリスの急に備えざるを得なかった政治的に不安定な時期に差し掛かっていたであろうことを意味している。

3. では，フィガリアの囲壁と新らしい攻城法との関係が論じられた結果，フィガリアの囲壁は，「スパルタの平和」の崩壊（前371年）以降の前四世紀第二四半世紀（前375年～前350年）に築造されたであろうことを意味しているように思われる。

4. では，「スパルタの平和」が崩壊した後の時代におけるフィガリアの政治的立場が検討された結果，アルカディアのフィガリアのような小ポリスが前四世紀から前二世紀半ばにいたる大凡二世紀半ほどの期間にポリスが存続するか否かの現実的な不安と脅威に晒されていた。

5. では，フィガリアの囲壁の築造の理由が検討された結果，フィガリアの囲壁がポリスの市域の全域を囲い込むものではなく，市民の難事にその生命とライフストックを収容するために，動員することが可能な兵員の数にしたがってその一部を囲い込んだものである。

6. では，フィガリアの囲壁の年代が論議された結果，フィガリアの囲壁が築造された年代が前371年のレウクトラの戦いから前338年のカイロネイアの戦いにいたる時期，なかでも前370年のイトーメ山頂へのメッセネ再建から攻城塔および投石機のような新兵器が発達する前の前362年のマンティネアの戦いまでの八年間であろうと結論付けられた。

7. では，フィガリアの囲壁と他のアルカディアのポリスの囲壁の特徴が比較された結果，スティンファロスとレプレオンの二つのポリスを除けば，残りの18を数えるポリスの囲壁は，フィガリアのそれにおけると同様に，石積みにおいてその高さを揃えるかあるいは揃えないかの違いはあるものの，いずれも「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」を基本としている。それは，アルカディアでもその周縁の市域を除くほぼその中央域の全域に亘って顕著な囲壁築造の工法となっている。

したがって，フィガリアとメッセネのイトーメ山頂付近の囲壁がほぼ同時に前370年～前362年の僅か八年ほどの間に築造され，そこに「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」が誕生していたことが明らかになった。それならば，

112）なぜイトーメ（メッセネ）とフィガリアで同じ時期に同じ囲壁様式が考案されたのか。それは両者が宿敵同志だったからであるように考えられる。
　マルティンは，自らの分類である「不規則な台形積み」が前４世紀のペロポネソス半島およびスーニオンとラムヌスのようなアッティカの囲壁を特徴付けるとし，それは，前５世紀末の10年間に出現したと述べる［Martin 1965, pp. 382–383］。さらに，同じ箇所で，彼は続く前４世紀のペロポネソス半島およびギリシア中部の擁壁や城壁が同じ特徴を備える石積みで構築されていると。いずれにせよ碩学マルティンは，スクラントンと同様に細分しすぎた。

もしそれら二つのポリスの囲壁と同じ特徴を備える囲壁があるとするならば，それはいずれもこの年代にそしてこの様式に影響されながら築かれたことを示すことになる。それ故に，ギリシア史上，類を見ないポリスの囲壁の同時的かつ同形式もしくは準同形式に基づく築造運動がアルカディアとその周辺地域で起こったことをいみじくもフィガリアの囲壁は，アルカディアの山中で今もわれわれに示している。

表　イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式と他の様式のポリスにおける使用頻度一覧

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Ithome		C1	C5v			
Phigaleia		C1	C5v	C6v		
Alipheira		C1	C5v			
Vresto		C1	C5v			
Thisoa		C1	C5v			
Gortys		C1	C5v			
Teuthis			C5v			
Bouphagion			C5v			
Psophis				C6v		
Paos				C6v		E
Kleitor			C5v			
Stymphalos	B2					
Alea			C5v			
Orchomenos			C5v			
Nestani		C1	C5v			
Mantineia			C5v			
Asea		C1	C5v			
Lykosoura		C1				
Platiana			C5v	C6v		
Lepreon		C1			D	
Samia	B2, 3, 4	C1	C5v			

※この表の記号は，いずれもスクラントンの分類とそのヴァリアントに従い，それらを基に筆者の見解に従って独自に作成したものである。

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図 3　フィガリアの南西部の囲壁

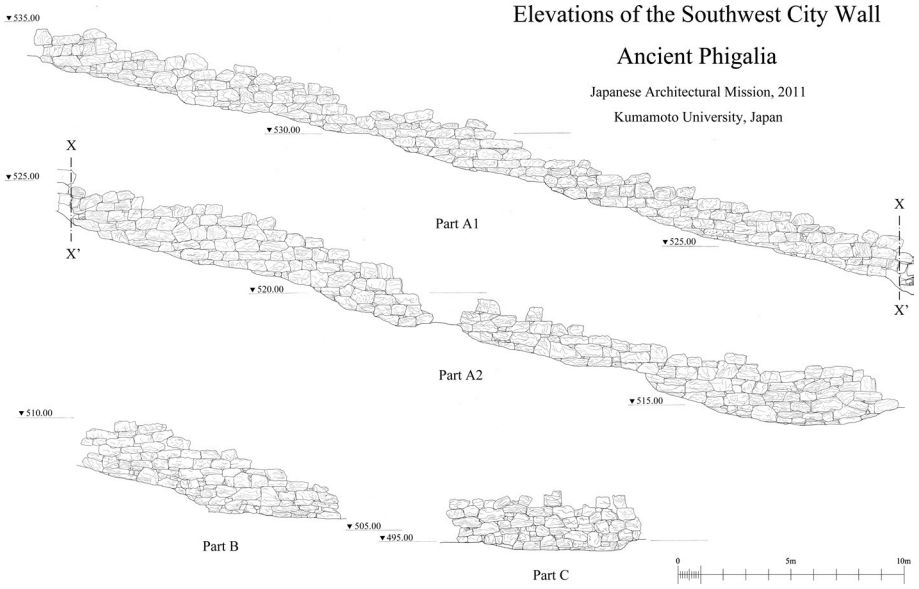

図 4　フィガリアの南西部の囲壁のエレヴェーション（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

図 5　フィガリアの南部の囲壁

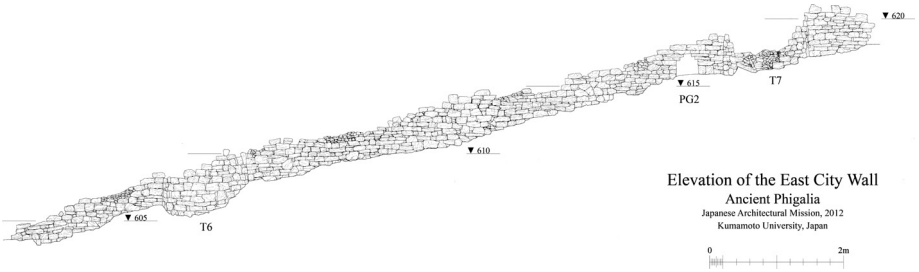

図 8　フィガリアの北東部の囲壁のエレヴェーション（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

図 6　同上

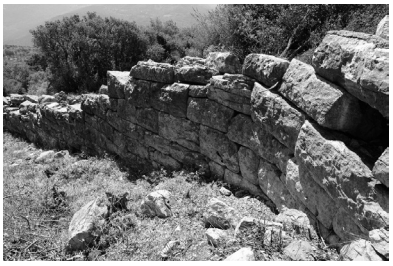

図 9　フィガリアの北東部の整層積みの囲壁（同上）

図10　同左の非整層積みの囲壁（同左）

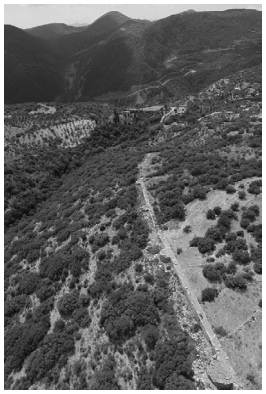

図 7　フィガリアの北東部の囲壁の遠望（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

図11　フィガリアの北東部の「割りぐり」の石積み

図12　フィガリアの北東部の「切り出し仕上げ」の石材による囲壁（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

図13 フィガリアの北東部の「つち仕上げ」の石材による囲壁

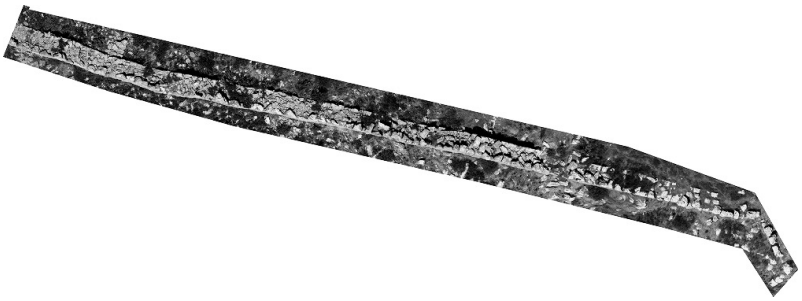

図14 フィガリアの南西部の囲壁の内外石材の組み合わせ（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

図15 フィガリアの北東部の囲壁の内外石材の組み合わせ（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

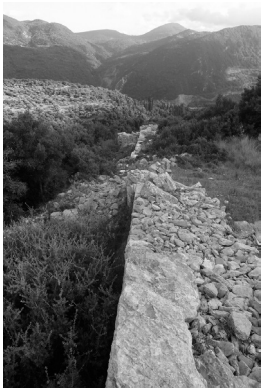

図16 同上の「割りぐり」詰め

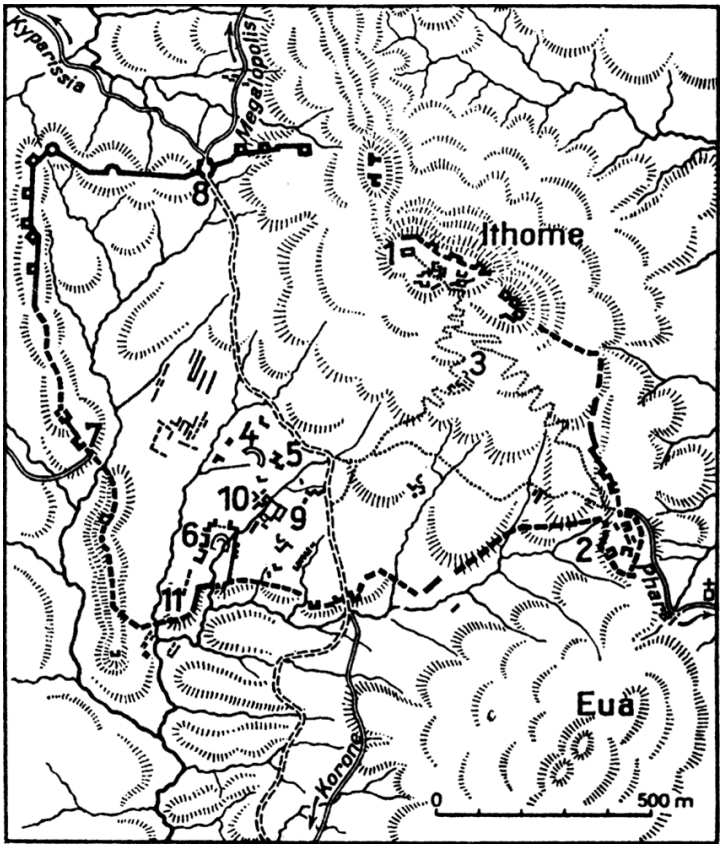

図17 メッセネの囲壁の縄張り［Krischen 1938, Abb. 117］

図18 メッセネの北東部の囲壁のパロドス

図19 同左の塔上の胸壁

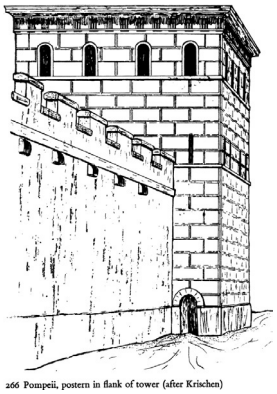

図20 ポンペイの塔の一階の遊撃門［Winter 1971, Fig. 266］

図21　フィガリアの北東門の重畳（熊本大学メッセネ・フィガリア調査隊）

図22　メッセネのイトーメ山頂の整層積みの擁壁

図23　同左の非整層積みの囲壁

図24　アリフェイラの囲壁

図25　同左

図26　ヴレストの囲壁

図27　ティソーアの非整層積みの囲壁

図28　同左の整層積みの囲壁

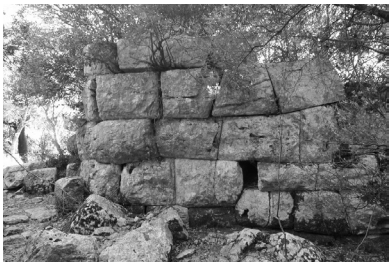

図29　ゴルテュスの東壁と B 門

図30　ゴルテュスの西壁と塔

図31　テウティスのアクロポリスへの門と囲壁

図32　ヴッファーギオンの主門付近の囲壁

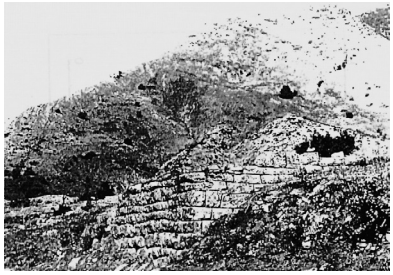

図33　プソピスの「エレニコ」の楼閣の壁［Jost 1985, Pl. 7–2］

図34　パオスの囲壁［Papachadzis 1980, eik. 258～59］

図35　クレイトールのアクロポリスの楼閣の壁［同左，*op.cit.* eik. 232］

図36 スティンファロスのアクロポリスの塔の壁［Papachadzis 1980, eik. 245, 247］

図37 アレーアのアクロポリスの囲壁［Jost 1985, Pl. 26–2～3］

図38 オルコメノースのアクロポリスの囲壁［Papachadzis 1980, eik. 194］

図39 マンティネイアの囲壁［Papachadzis 1980, eik. 152～53］

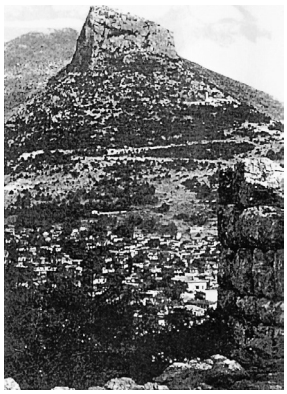

図40 ネスターニの囲壁［Jost 1985, Pl. 35–3P］

図41 同左の門とその付近の囲壁［Papachadzis 1980, eik. 149～151］

図42 アセーアの囲壁

図43 リュコスラの囲壁［Papachadzis 1980, eik. 345～49］

図44 プラティアーナ（テュパネアイ）の囲壁

図45 レプレオンの囲壁

図46 サミーアの南西の囲壁

図47 同左

図**48**　サミーアの北東の囲壁

図**49**　サミーアの南西の囲壁の細部

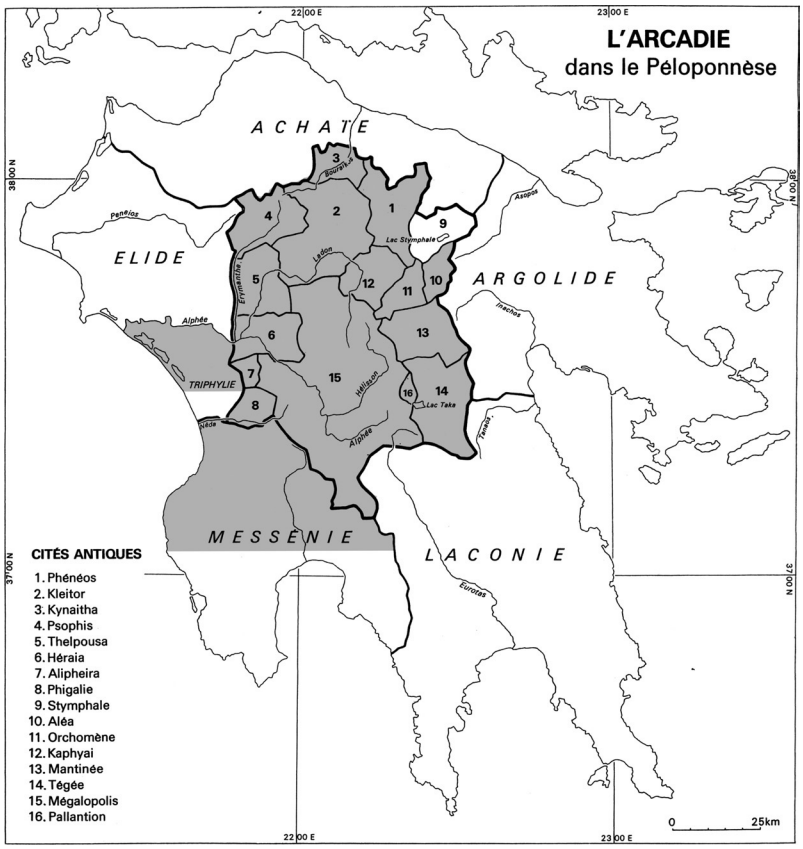

図**50**　地図「イトーメ／フィガリア囲壁様式」と他のポリスの囲壁の様式に関する一覧（Jost 1985に掲載の地図を元に制作）

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   例）〔松井 1960: 30–135〕
   〔大岡 1987: fig. 12; Naharagha 1981: 45ff〕
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This journal is of an annual issue, designed to cover various studies of ancient Western Asia. It is an institute journal, but any external contributor will be welcome. The adoption of article shall be left to the discretion of the editorial board. The deadline for submission is the end of October.

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3. Please be sure to prepare necessary drawings and tables as digital files in the computer disc, or on separate papers one by one (less than 23.5×16.0 cm each in size of completion of printing), with explanations and consecutive numbers respectively, and compile them aside from the text. In addition, designate, on the margin of the text, where each one should be inserted.
4. The drawings which were inked over should be covered by a tracing paper. Photo typesetting of letters, numbers, etc. in illustrations can be done by the editorial board.
5. As for photograph, digital file is preferable. Positive films and clearly printed photo-papers are acceptable. They shall also require explanations, consecutive numbers, etc. mentioned in item 3.
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   [Childe 1956: 30–32]
   [Annahar 1943: 123; Agha 1946: pl. 15]

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8. Put all the references that have been quoted in the text and notes, and write them as follows: (1) The writers' names are to be listed in alphabetical order. The names of Japanese, Arabs, etc. must be arranged among the European names based on the supposition of their having been rewritten in Latin. (2) The writer's name, issue year, title, volume name, volume number, issue number and publisher's name (place) are to be filled in the references in regular sequence. The title of journals or independent publications should be specified, with underline or by the use of Italic letters.
9. As a rule, the first proofreading shall be done by the original author.

[Editorial postscript]

We are delighted to mention here that an article and two excavation reports concerned with the archaeology of Iraq have appeared in this volume. The article, dealing with the south Mesopotamian site of Nippur, has been contributed by Dr. Clayden; and the excavation reports have been contributed separately by two teams of the University of Tsukuba excavating at present in Kurdistan.

We are also pleased that a contribution has been made from an Iraqi archaeologist, Mr. Polis, who is a refugee from the city of Mosul occupied by ISIS. Despite his being entangled in an awful and sad affair, he wrote up an article on Nuzi ware. His efforts made in such a difficult situation deserve to be praised.

Finally, we are grateful to all the contributors to this volume of *al-Rāfidān*.

[News]

Professor Dr. Katsuhiko Ohnuma retired from Kokushikan University at the end of March 2015. He was honoured with the title Professor Emeritus for his great contributions not only to our Institute but also to the University itself. Though retired, he is still active in his work and will keep on playing a leading role in the field of Near Eastern archaeology, in particular in Japan.

(H. Oguchi)

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