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セントジョン・シンプソン

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ASSYRIAN PALACES: FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION IN ANTIQUITY¹⁾

St John SIMPSON*

“I founded therein a palace of cedar, cypress, *daprānu*-juniper, boxwood, *meskannu*-wood [dalbergia], terebinth, and tamarisk as my royal residence [and] for my lordly leisure for eternity. I made [replicas of] beasts of mountains and seas in white limestone and *parūtu*-alabaster [and] stationed [them] at its doors. I decorated it in a splendid fashion; I surrounded it with knobbed nails of bronze. I hung doors of cedar, cypress, *daprānu*-juniper [and] *meskannu*-wood in its doorways. I took in great quantities and put therein silver, gold, tin, bronze, booty from the lands over which I gained dominion.” [Grayson 1991, 227–28]²⁾

“May a later prince restore its weakened [portions and] restore my inscribed name to its place. [Then] Ashur will listen to his prayers. He must not forsake my mighty palace, my royal residence, of Calah, nor abandon [it] in the face of enemies. He must not remove the doors, beams, [or] knobbed nails of bronze from it [and] put them in another city [in] another palace. He must not smash its beams. He must not tear out its drain pipes. He must not clog the outlets of its rain spouts. He must not block up its door. He must neither appropriate it for a warehouse [nor] turn it into a prison. He must not incarcerate its men or women as prisoners therein. He must not allow it to disintegrate through neglect, desertion, or lack of renovation. He must not move into another palace, either within or without the city, instead of my palace.” [Grayson 1991, 252–53]

The first Assyrian capital was at Assur, an ancient city already existing by the third millennium BC on the right bank of the river Tigris. For the Late Assyrian period, archaeologically this is the least well-known of the Assyrian capitals, but covered an area of 65 hectares, six plundered stone sarcophagi (three with the names of Late Assyrian kings) were found with the remains of a palace, and part of the residential quarter has also been excavated [Miglus 2000].

During the ninth century BC king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) decided to shift the capital to a new location and selected the site of a provincial town located 75 kilometres further north. This was situated within a fertile plain between the Tigris and the Greater Zab rivers: this spot was less vulnerable to attacks from the steppe, better connected to routes crossing northern Mesopotamia and had a richer agricultural hinterland. This new capital was named Kalhu (biblical Calah, present-day Nimrud) and covered an almost square area of 360 hectares: the old town was levelled and its mound incorporated into a massive brick platform with a ziggurat and temples at the northern end and his own palace (known today as the North-West Palace) nearby (Fig. 1). The inauguration five years later, in 879 BC, was celebrated with an immense feast for 69,574 guests, including 47,074 from Assyria, 5,000 foreign envoys, 16,000 inhabitants of the city and 1,500 courtiers “from all palaces” [Wiseman 1952, 31–32]. In the passage quoted above, it is clear what Ashurnasirpal thought his legacy to be, and over the following centuries his citadel started to fill up with other buildings as each Assyrian king added his own palace.³⁾ A series of important residences was also

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1) This is a lightly adapted English version of an essay published in the Russian-language catalogue of the exhibition ‘*I founded therein my royal palace*’. *Assyrian art from the British Museum*, held at the State Hermitage Museum from 10th December 2019 – May 2020.

2) Another version is given on p. 252.

3) It is easy to forget that with every new addition there was a transformation of how the citadel functioned, much like the platform at Persepolis was constantly modified through the Achaemenid period.

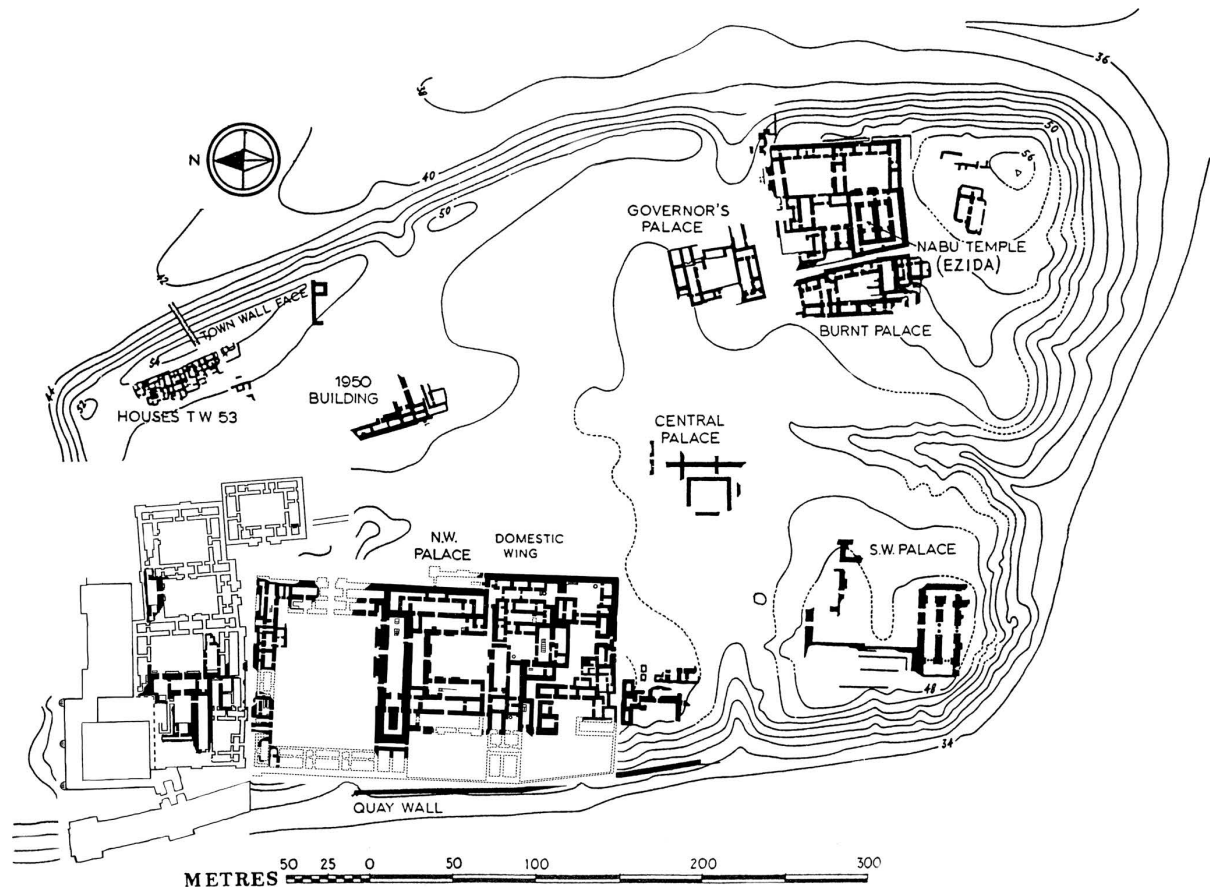


Fig. 1. Plan of the excavated palaces, temples and houses on the citadel of Nimrud [after Mallowan 1966]

built along the stretch of wall adjacent to the lower city while the centre appears to have had an open plaza containing free-standing monuments [Mallowan 1966; Reade 2002]. Large-scale excavations at Nimrud began in 1845 with the work of Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894) and continued at intervals until about 2001. At the opposite end of the city lay the palace, royal arsenal and workshops (*ekal mašarti*) of king Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC), which was partly excavated by British and Italian expeditions in 1957–1963 and 1987–1989 [Mallowan 1966, vol. II, 1–598; Oates and Oates 2001, 144–94; Curtis *et al.* 1993; Fiorina 2008]. The lower city must have contained other important buildings and temples, as well as residential and industrial quarters, but this – like the equivalent lower cities of Khorsabad and Nineveh – remains almost totally unexplored (Fig. 2).⁴⁾



Fig. 2. Aerial view of Nimrud (British Museum archive, Department of the Middle East)

In 721 BC king Sargon II (722–705 BC) decided to found a new capital at a different spot 45 kilometres further north and named it after himself: Dur-Sharrukin (“Fort Sargon”), known today

4) A topographic and archaeological survey were initiated by the Centro Scavi di Torino, under the direction of the late Dr Paolo Fiorina, but political circumstances intervened and the work was not completed.

as Khorsabad (Fig. 3). It was laid out on a similar plan to Nimrud, covered a similar area of 320 hectares and was supplied with water through a complex canal system drawing runoff from neighbouring Jebel Bashiqa through gravity flow [Reade 1978; Ur 2005; Morandi Bonacossi 2018; Ur and Reade 2015]. The city was first explored in 1843–1845 by Paul-Émile Botta (1802–1870), Victor Place (1818–1875) between 1852 and 1855, and finally by the Oriental Institute Chicago between 1928 and 1935 [Botta 1849/50; Place 1867/70; Loud and Altman 1938; Loud, Frankfort and Jacobsen 1936; Albenda 1986]. Despite the careful planning which went into the layout of the city with its symmetrical gates, the palaces on the citadel were designed as individual units rather than being conceived as parts of an entire complex. There is also evidence for construction being hurried as bricks were laid while still soft and stone chippings indicate wall slabs were carved *in situ*. Only a decade after work began, Sargon died on campaign against the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Tabal in present-day Cappadocia.

This event was considered so unlucky that his successor Sennacherib (704–681 BC) opted to switch the capital to a different location on the left bank of the river Tigris, approximately midway between Khorsabad and Nimrud. This was even larger in extent, covering about 750 hectares, with a raised citadel on top of a much older settlement at the spot now known as Tell Kuyunjik and an arsenal on top of a second mound known today as Tell Nebi Yunus [Turner 1970; Reade 2000a] (Figs 4–6). Excavations by Layard and others have revealed the partial plans of the palaces of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC) at either end of Kuyunjik with the remains of temples to Nabu, Ishtar, Sin-Shamash, Kidmuri and Adad in the centre of the citadel. Iraqi excavations and illegal tunnelling on Tell Nebi Yunus have revealed two sets of *lamassu*, reused Assyrian sculptures in Sargonid style and statues of the Egyptian Pharaoh Taharqa (c.690–664 BC) brought back as booty from Esarhaddon's (680–669 BC) invasion of Egypt and placed at one of the entrances to his palace there [Scott and MacGinnis 1990, 64–67; Reade 2017; MacGinnis 2017, figs 16.2–16.3; Anderson 2020]. The north-east part of the city was previously thought to be unoccupied and contained either royal parks and gardens or open-air markets, but new discoveries indicate more palatial construction here, and remains of a craft activity and other elite residences have been identified in the north-west corner. The area between the citadel and arsenal formed the urban core, as at Nimrud and Khorsabad, but has been largely destroyed by modern housing. Beyond the walls, the agricultural hinterland was irrigated via an unprecedented network of canals, channels, aqueducts, weirs, reservoirs and other hydraulic infrastructure bringing



Fig. 3. Drawing of the village and archaeological tell of Khorsabad (© New York Public Libraries Open Access)



Fig. 4. View of Tell Nebi Yunus taken by George Blaker (1912–2001) in the early 1930s: archaeological excavations were undertaken here in 1954 and 1986 but ended with the First Gulf War; the mosque was destroyed by Daesh in 2014 (BM 2013,6044.1.2, donated by Ms R.J. Blaker)



Fig. 5. Plan of Nineveh made by Claudius James Rich



Fig. 6. Aerial view of Kuyunjik, the citadel of Nineveh (British Museum archive, Department of the Middle East)

water from highlands in present-day Kurdistan [Reade 1978; Ur 2005; Ur and Reade 2015; Morandi Bonacossi 2018]. Rural settlement was boosted by the re-settling of deportees, all part of the imperial plan to “remake the economy and demography of Assyria” [Wilkinson *et al.* 2005, 32; cf. also Ur and Osborne 2017], and an inscribed stela of Adad-Nirari III found in the sanctuary of the temple at Tell al-Rimah refers to that king’s foundation of “a total of 331 towns [and villages] of subject peoples” [Page 1968, 151–52, pls XL–XLI].

Assyrian palaces were mostly built of sun-dried brick and, like the traditional domestic architecture of ancient and modern Mesopotamia, were generally one-storied building complexes with interconnecting suites of rooms and open courtyards. The much thicker walls of the throne-room suites imply that these were the rooms with the highest ceilings and the construction of rooms of different heights allowed ventilation as well as limited lighting. Sargon II states that his palace walls were 180 *tipki* (brick courses) in height [Luckenbill 1926/27, vol. II, 110], corresponding to 18 metres and which accords well with the excavators’ reconstruction of a collapsed wall-painting in Room 12 of Residence K at Khorsabad which shows that the ceiling must have had a minimum height of 14 metres [Loud and Altman 1938, vol. II, 20, 83, pl. 88]. All of these palaces had complex architectural and stratigraphic histories as none were completely abandoned, and it is a great pity that, despite over a century and a half of excavations, we still do not fully understand how they functioned. They varied considerably in size and shape depending on the space available on the raised citadels where they were constructed, but in one respect all shared the basic plan of two units, each centred on a main courtyard with a large forecourt and an inner court which were connected by a reception suite with a throne-room. Few palaces have been completely excavated and the best example is the North-West Palace of Ashurnasirpal II. In front of the reception suite

lay a large open courtyard, paved with plain fired bricks but also incorporating stone slabs with circular openings, perhaps for drainage, and one author has suggested the existence of rows of posts as part of screens or covered ways running across the Inner Court of the North-West Palace [Reade 1994, 277]. Behind the reception suite lay other complexes of rooms and, just as in the third/second millennium BC palace at Mari, the most private part formed the residential quarters of the royal family. It was here in the North-West Palace that queens were buried in subterranean brick-built vaulted tombs and the concept of either interring human remains below the floors of the living or leaving cranial fragments on the floors as part of the abandonment represents a millennia-old tradition which extends deep into Near Eastern prehistory [Mahmoud Hussein 2016; cf. Rollefson 1986; Watkins 1990]. The private parts of the palaces do not appear to have been heavily decorated although doubtless the floors were originally covered with carpets and rugs, and the decorated stone thresholds show repeating floral designs with tassel-like garlands of alternating lotus-and-palmettes which may imitate imported Phoenician textiles [Albenda 1978; 2005, 114–18; Curtis and Reade eds 1995, 100–101, cat. 45] (Fig. 7).

In contrast, the official parts of the palaces were decorated and in various ways, all emphasising the power of the king and his god Ashur. Ordinary houses were roofed with locally sourced poplar poles but the greater width of the palatial equivalents meant that beams of longer length needed to be sourced, and Layard describes how when he was excavating at Nimrud he found some of his workmen had made a fire using chunks of beam they had just unearthed in rooms of the Temple of Ninurta: scientific analysis of these shows they are cedar and corroborate Assyrian accounts of bringing wood from Mount Lebanon, the nearest source of this wood [Layard 1853a, 357; Simpson 2015, 11] (Fig. 8). Other types of imported wood said to have been used in construction included African blackwood (“ebony”), juniper, terebinth, cypress, oak and fir [Turner 1970, 74]. Above the beams originally there was a thick layer of earth, covered with matting and sealed with tamped earth and bitumen: when the palaces were sacked in 612 BC these layers were removed in order to strip the beams for re-use, and the discarded earth sealed the lowest portions of the wall reliefs below from the conflagrations and gradual weathering which followed (Fig. 9).

It was in these ceremonial areas of the Assyrian palaces that stone orthostats were erected along the walls, levelled on beds of soft bitumen, sand and crushed stone, and held together by iron and copper clamps.⁵⁾ Most of the slabs were about two metres high but some were even larger. They were normally carved from whitish or light grey nodular gypsum from the Lower Fars

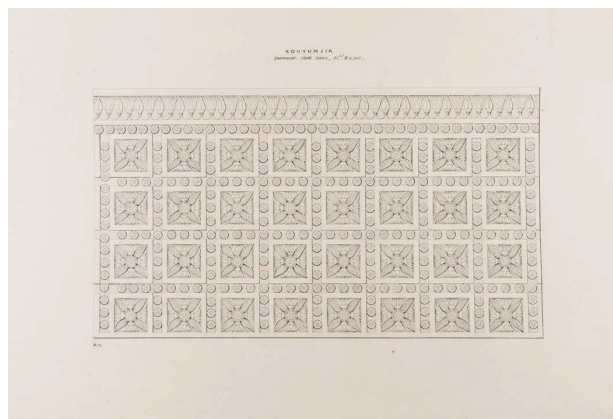


Fig. 7. Stone threshold slab carved in imitation of a carpet (British Museum, Original Drawings)



Fig. 8. Wooden beam found in the Temple of Ninurta at Nimrud

5) Layard remarks on how the stone paving in a room he excavated in the South-West Palace at Nimrud ‘had been placed upon a layer of bitumen which must have been used in a liquid state, for it had retained, with remarkable distinctness and accuracy, an impression of the characters carved upon the stone’ [1849: vol. I, 29].

Formation of the Middle Miocene period and which is common across northern Iraq (Fig. 10): this was widely used on nineteenth century town-houses in Mosul (hence its popular name of “Mosul marble”) and Erbil. Others, such as the massive Teumman series from Ashurbanipal’s South-West Palace at Nineveh, were carved from fossiliferous limestone [Mitchell and Middleton 2002; Bianchetti 2011; Bianchetti and Vigliano 2011]. All tended to be referred to as alabaster or limestone in the nineteenth century but this is incorrect. Neither of these stones are found in the immediate proximity of the Assyrian capitals and therefore must have been quarried some distance away and brought to the sites of construction. Initially, quarries south of Nineveh at Tastiata were worked but carved wall panels from the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh show the cutting and trimming of massive stone gateway figures (*lamassu*) at a place called Balatai, on the left bank of the Tigris opposite the site known today as Eski Mosul (medieval Balad), some 35 kilometres upstream from Nineveh. They also illustrate the dumping of quarry rubble to create a level road, gangs of workmen dragging the roughed-out sculptures on sledges placed on top of sets of log rollers which were collected and re-laid at intervals, the clearing of trees and the ground along the route by workers carrying two-handled iron saws, spades and picks, water channels being diverted into alternative streams using lifts, the way guarded by troops, and foremen overseeing the whole complex operation (Fig. 11). The *lamassu* are shown being transported in a roughed-out monolithic state but the finishing was carried out at the final destination, presumably when they were set upright, and a letter to Sargon from a governor of Kalhu confirms this: “We shall place the hewn colossi before the ... residence; they will trim the big ones and we shall place them before the middlemost gate” [Russell 1991, 100–16; letter quoted by Oates and Oates 2001, 52]. Layard estimates their weight as 40 to 50 tons, and the challenges of their transport are illustrated by another letter to Sargon which reported that “Ashur-shumuke’in called me to help and loaded the bull colossi on the boats, but the boats could not carry the load [and sank]. Now, although it cost me a great deal of trouble, I have hauled them up again” [Layard 1853a, 110; letter quoted by Oates and Oates 2001, 52].

Little is known about the craftsmen who quarried, transported or carved these sculptures but an epigraph on the wall-slab showing the quarrying and transport describes the scene and states that “I [Sennacherib] had men from enemy towns and the inhabitants of hidden mountain regions, conquest

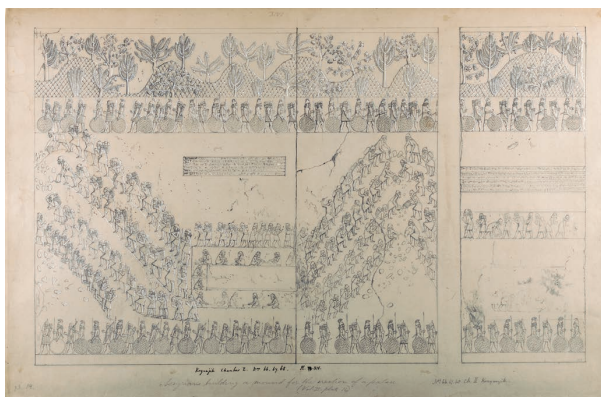


Fig. 9. The lower part of this wall slab was buried by earth removed from the roof so was protected from the calcining effect caused during the burning of the palaces



Fig. 10. Outcrop of gypsum next to the river Tigris (photograph: D. Collon)

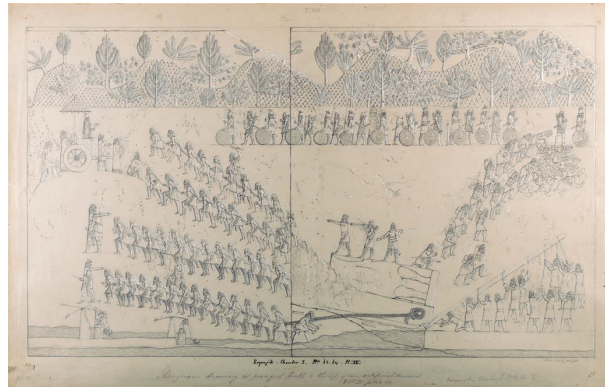


Fig. 11. Dragging a *lamassu* from the quarry (British Museum, Original Drawings)

of my hand, wield iron picks and masons' picks (?)” [Russell 1991, 260, 275]. An inscription of Ashurbanipal gives another illustration of how conquered subjects from the borders of the empire helped build the imperial centre of power:

“On Elamite wagons, which I had carried off at the command of the great gods, my lords, the people of my land brought the bricks ... The kings of Arabia, who had violated the oaths sworn to me, whom I had taken alive in the midst of battle with my [own] hands, I made to carry the basket and headpad, and to do taskwork, for the building ... Moulding its bricks, performing labour upon it, they passed their days to the accompaniment of music.” [Luckenbill 1926/27, vol. II, 835–38]

None of the reliefs were signed and, unlike the glazed bricks or later Achaemenid sculptures from Persepolis, there are no fitter's marks or masons' marks to hint at the composition or organisation of the workforce. However, like the Persepolitan sculptures, the considerable variation in detail indicates the work of many craftsmen, not all were completed and these partially unfinished sculptures illustrate some of the next stages of the *chaîne opératoire* [Layard 1849, vol. II, 78; Lippolis 2011, 43–49; Fazio 2011; cf. Roaf 1983; Sweek and Simpson 2009]. A particularly good example comes from the end of a sequence from Room R of the North Palace at Nineveh: after setting the roughed-out wall-slab in position, the design was outlined, perhaps initially with brush and ink, and then followed with a deep engraved line, after which the surrounding areas were reduced through adzes or chisels to leave the outlined figures in low relief against a lightly graduated smooth flat background. The details on the figures were gradually added with finer chisels and points, and this particular sequence indicates that the work team began by working from left to right and from top to bottom, and it was the lowermost right corner which was left unfinished (Fig. 12). This set of reliefs was placed along one side of a vaulted passage leading to a private royal postern but its completion evidently was not considered a priority [Reade 2000b, 608]

Guidelines were also used prior to carving the cuneiform inscriptions. In other cases, the details were mis-understood and sometimes corrected by re-carving, such as the erasure at Khorsabad of beards on figures intended to be eunuchs. Small details on the lion hunt reliefs of Ashurbanipal from his North Palace at Nineveh hint at another aspect as the tails of several of the lions were re-engraved, suggesting that there was signing-off process by which a court official or perhaps even the king himself checked the scene on completion and in this case exercised his importance by ordering that this minor change be made before the project could be considered complete [Reade 2000b, 609–10, fig. 2] (Fig. 13). In yet other cases larger areas or even entire slabs were re-cut, perhaps necessitated by rising floor levels or modifications to interior fittings, or because slabs

from old and largely disused palaces were intended for recycling [Reade 2000*b*, 610–12]. It might be noted that freshly quarried stone is much softer than old slabs which have dehydrated, yet this gypsum is still sufficiently soft that re-carving was feasible, and indeed some slabs were reused simply by reversing them and placing the carved face against the walls.

The idea of adding decorated stone orthostats along the lower parts of the walls was introduced into Assyria in the ninth century BC by Ashurnasirpal II, and the earliest Assyrian wall reliefs come from his palace at Kalhu. The concept was borrowed from north Syria where local Aramaean rulers had continued a much earlier Hittite tradition, originating in highland Anatolia in the second millennium BC. The north Syrian orthostat tradition, best attested from Carchemish and Guzana (Tell Halaf), used dark grey basalt and red or white limestone blocks, each carved with an individual figure. In contrast, the Assyrians made use of larger gypsum panels which were softer and easier to carve and therefore allowed much finer detail and more complex scenes to be rendered. However, the placing of the visual imagery was re-orientated and, although there are exceptions, were generally set within the interior spaces of the palaces. It is usually said that this was because the stone is water-soluble but this only applies

to situations where it is completely exposed and saturated, whereas the projecting eaves of the roofs around the courtyards would have offered sufficient protection, just as they are on more recent architecture in Mosul and Erbil [Reade 1994, 275–76] (Fig. 14). It should also be added that not all rooms contained wall slabs, nor were all slabs carved with scenes.

This was not “art for art’s sake”: these reliefs were designed to be viewed within sequences and with particular types of scene positioned in particular spots for greatest effect. The narrative scenes were visual propaganda intended to underline the omnipotency of the king as the servant of the god Ashur whereas representations of composite beings were placed as protective deities. The reliefs were a vehicle for personal propaganda for the king and, in accordance with Mesopotamian tradition, dwelt on his achievements. They show him worshipping, receiving his courtiers and tributaries, overcoming formidable natural obstacles and vanquishing enemies and wild beasts. He is shown as invincible, triumphing even in the face of adversity and personal danger. The reliefs were also integral parts of the imperial architecture which were designed to project power and order and protect the king from evil spirits who could bring ruin and disorder.

However, Late Assyrian art was not static and there are major changes in the development of



Fig. 12. Unfinished sculpture from the North Palace at Nineveh



Fig. 13. The tip of the lion’s tail has been re-carved in antiquity

the style of the wall-panel reliefs which were carved between about 870 and 620 BC. There was also variation in quality of carving between different palaces and even different rooms. The wall-reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II are generally divided into a double register, and either read from top to bottom so that actions are represented above (such as hunting lions or fighting battles) with the consequences below (such as offering libations and overseeing booty), or as long sequences of several slabs as an extended narrative (Fig. 15). In other cases the reliefs are full-size representations, for instance of the king with his courtiers or, on the external façade, tributary figures, a narrative genre which sets a precedent for those from Sargon II's palace at Khorsabad and much later Achaemenid sculptures on the Apadana at Persepolis. The overall scheme within the throne-room was designed so that the actions emanate from the direction of the royal throne which is at the centre of a narrative which represents real Assyrian victories and illustrate Ashurnasirpal's own statement that he has "brought under one authority ferocious [and] merciless kings from east to west" [Winter 1983, 24; cf. Reade 1985]. In each case the centre is inscribed with what is known as the "Standard Inscription" of Ashurnasirpal II, repeated in slightly different versions of between 16 and 23 lines across every slab and giving an account of his reign [Paley 1976; Collins 2008, 28–61].⁶ Some wall-reliefs show supernatural guardian spirits with the body of a man and the head of a bird of prey carrying a hinged bucket in one hand and a pollinator in the other (Fig. 16). Entire rooms in the North-West Palace were lined with these so-called genie figures and in later periods they were placed at doorways, these being considered the vulnerable points of entry. All were carved in a linear style in very low relief with bold musculature and finely incised details but little concern over relative sizes or perspective. Later wall-reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BC) show varied and carefully composed compositions but are



Fig. 14. Gypsum was extensively used on external surfaces of rich town-houses on the citadel of Erbil (photograph: author, 2016)



Fig. 15. Ashurnasirpal II goes to war

6) Layard states that the wedges were highlighted with "bright copper" [Layard 1849, vol. II, 262].

much less well finished [Barnett and Falkner 1962; Collins 2008, 62–69]. Sculptures from the reign of Sargon II now include huge figures half-turned to face the viewer [Albenda 1986, pls 15, 17, figs 1–10; Collins 2008, 70–73]. This was also the point when figures typically filled entire panels rather than being placed in double registers. These sculptures were carved in higher relief than before and although the compositions and content are Assyrian they may reflect the work of north Syrian craftsmen working under close supervision. Fully frontal sculptures of priestesses holding triple-branched opium poppies and inscriptions of Esarhaddon are now attested from Tell Nebi Yunus [Ensor 2017]:⁷⁾ the male figures and genies carry similar items on the sculptures at Khorsabad [Albenda 1986, figs 16–17, 19–25] and probably correspond with those described by Sennacherib: “At their gates, I stationed apotropaic figures of alabaster [and] elephant ivory, whose folded hands hold poppies” [Grayson and Novotny 2012, 139]. Sennacherib’s self-styled “Palace without Rival” at Nineveh which he boasts he “had filled with luxuriousness to be an object of wonder for all the people” contained the largest known number of reliefs from one building [Grayson and Novotny 2012, 184]: Layard estimated that he had excavated “nearly two miles [3.2 kilometres] of bas reliefs with twenty-seven portals formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes”, although many were heavily calcined and remain in his excavation tunnels [Layard Papers, MS.39076, quoted by Barnett and Falkner 1962, xiii; cf. Russell 1991; Barnett, Bleibtreu and Turner 1998; Collins 2008, 74–95] (Fig. 17). The scale of production must have entailed industrial quarrying and there was a fall in quality judging by the variable skill of carving and shallower relief. However, the narrative scenes are complex and carefully composed so that a whole room may be devoted to a single event and the most important element of the scene, such as an attack on an enemy fortress, confronts the viewer as he enters the room and the king is shown viewing the aftermath: the siege of Lachish is one of the best examples of this and its perspective may have been deliberately depicted as seen from the site where Sennacherib sat and directed the battle [Ussishkin 2017]) (Fig. 18). The last-known large series of sculptures date to the reign of



Fig. 16. Genie with pollinator and bucket

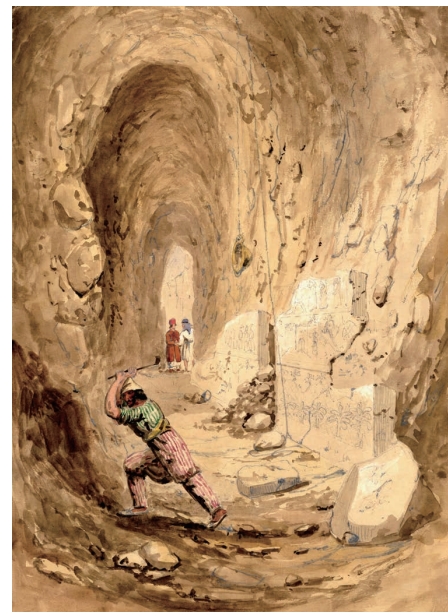


Fig. 17. Watercolour drawing by Frederick Charles Cooper showing the interior of one of Layard’s tunnels at Kuyunjik, with light and air penetrating through periodic vertical shafts

7) Judging by images published in the media, one of these had been re-used, was set upside-down, most likely with the face set against a mudbrick wall and only exposed when the later tunnelling followed the wall rather than the interior.

Ashurbanipal [Barnett 1976; Collins 2008, 96–141; Albenda 2017]. Some are divided into two or three registers but the most spectacular are either filled with detail or kept to the minimum necessary to express the key elements of the action. The first is exemplified by the battle of Til-Tuba scene which is one element in a series illustrating a successful campaign against the Elamites, and which ends with the powerful scene of Ashurbanipal feasting with his wife in an outdoor setting to the accompaniment of music while the head of his adversary hangs from a tree. The chaos of war is detailed in multiple individual scenes of death and dying, including the capture and beheading of Teumman, while parallel or sloping ground-lines create a sense of movement (Fig. 19). This contrasts with the parallel registers of Assyrian soldiers and prostrated Elamites on the opposite wall-slabs which underline the success of the Assyrian endgame and the restoration of order. The alternative narrative approach is that of his lion hunts, where the king is central to the action, larger than life and fearless as he slays lion after lion in an outdoor arena framed by an Assyrian shield-wall and baying mastiffs (Figs 20–21).

There has been much speculation as to the extent to which these wall-reliefs might have been painted. The ceremonial parts of the Assyrian palaces were burnt during their sack in 612 BC and their surfaces transformed by heat and hot ash. The lowest portions of some burnt reliefs from Khorsabad were unaffected, either because they had been protected by discarded roofing matter or by a build-up of floor levels since their construction, and infra-red imaging showed that parts of these had been highlighted with Egyptian Blue [Guralnick 2010]. The same pigment was widely applied at this site [Verri *et al.* 2009] (Fig. 22). The same colour scheme is shown on eighth century wall paintings from Tell Barsib and is the clearest illustration of the identity of approach to colour schemes regardless of media [Parrot 1961, 100–109; Albenda 2005, 33–74; Thomas ed. 2016, 286–87, cats 344–47].⁸⁾ Egyptian Blue was developed in Egypt and widely employed there yet it has not been identified on Late Assyrian wall-reliefs of any period except those belonging to Sargon II. His death was considered deeply unlucky in Assyria and the capital shifted as a direct result to Nineveh. Was it because of this that this colour scheme associated with his rule was abandoned on



Fig. 18. The defacement and amputation of the enthroned Sennacherib



Fig. 19. Teumman is beheaded on the battlefield: the Assyrian soldiers are themselves singled out for revenge mutilation after the fall of Nineveh

8) Parrot (1961, 266) thought the blue to be coloured with lapis and the red to be mercury sulphide “with the clay of the wall apparently acting as a binding mechanism” but these statements are untrue.



Fig. 20. King Ashurbanipal hunting lions: note that he and his cab-driver have been clinically blinded after the fall of Nineveh so that the blind is leading the blind



Fig. 21. Assyrian shield wall defining the perimeter of Ashurbanipal's lion hunt



Fig. 22. Painted Sargonid sculpture from Khorsabad

the wall slabs? Nineteenth century excavators' descriptions, surviving traces and scientific analyses, including imaging and analyses of pigments, show that carbon-black, red ochre and possibly yellow were used to highlight the hair, beards, eyes, personal ornaments, bows and other weapons, horse trappings, feet, sandals and genie tongues on (unburnt) ninth century BC reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II [e.g. Layard 1849: vol. I, 64, 125–27, 136] but there are no visible traces of any other colours (Fig. 23); a single occurrence of green is reported on a sculpture from Khorsabad [Guralnick 2010, 783].⁹⁾ It is possible that other pigments used a prime coat and/or organic binders which either did not survive the processes of destruction and cleaning or, perhaps more importantly, the exposure to light immediately after excavation as Layard remarked on how quickly the painted wall-plaster faded after excavation [Layard 1849, vol. I, 130]. However, in the absence of certain evidence it seems more likely that in these, as in earlier, periods a very limited colour palette was

9) The same pigments and colour palette were used on Middle Assyrian wall-paintings [Wartke 1995].

used to highlight certain details and (with the exception of the use of blue) with naturalistic colours rather than create fully polychromatic artworks.¹⁰⁾ This highlighting was particularly effective in combination with key attributes of the low-relief representations and when these were viewed with hand-held sources of light moving past the reliefs in question [Paley 1976, 14; Sou 2015]. Moreover, the cut-in lines around the figures helped create shadows not dissimilar to the thick black outlines of the figures on wall-paintings: it is possible this was even accentuated on some of the sculptures with black pigment although no evidence for this has been found. Scientific analyses show that other colours such as pink only entered the Mesopotamian repertoire during the Seleucid period, as indeed was the extensive use of yellow and green [Kakoulli 2009; Simpson *et al.* 2012]. Finally, it should be added that where the original surfaces of the reliefs are preserved, it is clear that they were carefully polished and this negates the possibility that they had been wholly painted: attempts to reconstruct Assyrian reliefs in full polychromy are a misguided concept coloured by modern conceptions [Finkel and Seymour eds 2008, 111, fig. 89; Braekmans 2017, fig. 31.2)].

These figures combined the attributes of wisdom, strength and speed and were placed as protective figures. Most were carved from huge single solid blocks and are shown being transported in a finished state on one sequence of wall reliefs from Sennacherib's palace on Kuyunjik at Nineveh: those flanking one of the excavated entrances to Esarhaddon's palace on Tell Nebi Yunus were built of limestone blocks, but a second set discovered during illegal tunnelling under the same mound was constructed in the usual manner as single orthostats [Reade 2017, 442–55]. The gates themselves were closed with tall wooden double doors attached to massive uprights turning on pivots set into the ground rather than being hung from hinges. They are shown on Assyrian reliefs, described on two building inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I from Nineveh: “I made high doors of fir, made (them) fast with bronze bands, (and) hung (them) in its gateways” [Grayson 1991, 55, 56] and on another of Ashurnasirpal II from Nimrud: “I hung doors of cedar, cypress, *daprānu*-juniper, (and) *meskannu*-wood in its doorways” [Grayson 1991, 228]. However, the best evidence for their appearance comes from the 64 hectare walled site of Imgur-Enlil (present-day Balawat), 15 kilometres north of Nimrud, where excavations in the temple of Mamu, a dream-god, revealed multiple bronze bands which originally decorated the exteriors of two such gates [Birch 1881/1903; Barnett *et al.* 2008] (Fig. 24). Each band was embossed and lightly engraved with double friezes representing real events with explanatory captions. They include scenes of the army besieging an enemy city or charging into battle and rows of prisoners laden with booty being brought to the Assyrian king, in this case Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC). Another vignette records the moment when in 852 BC an Assyrian expedition entered the point where the river Tigris debauches from a natural tunnel in the mountains in eastern Turkey, illustrating masons cutting a stele onto the rock and soldiers with torches entering the water (Fig. 25):

“I marched to the source of the Tigris, the place where the water comes out, [and] made sacrifices ... I marched to the land Nairi. I created at the source of the Tigris, on a mountain cliff



Fig. 23. Traces of paint are usually best preserved on the lowest portions of the reliefs (British Museum, Original Drawings)

10) A contrary view is taken by Gebhard *et al.* 2009.



Fig. 24. The original bronze bands from one of the gates at Balawat



Fig. 25. Assyrian expedition exploring the source of the river Tigris

where its water comes out, my royal statue. I wrote thereon praises of my power [and] my heroic deeds.” [Grayson 1996, 46–47]

The palace, temple and city gates were covered with arched brick vaults and the outer arches of these were highlighted with glazed bricks set in alternating colours, explaining how they were said to be “like the rainbow” [Turner 1970, 82]. Blue rosettes were popular at Khorsabad and were set in the gateway arches and high up on the city walls, probably below the crenellations judging by contemporary depictions of battlemented walls [Reade 1995, 228; cf. Mallowan 1966, vol. II, 462, fig. 378] (Fig. 26). Much larger glazed brick panels were installed in the throne-room suites of “Fort Shalmaneser” at Nimrud and Sargon’s palace at Khorsabad and represented the king beneath the winged disc symbol of the god Ashur and the sacred tree above, framed by a border of rows of genies, wild goats kneeling before palmettes, arcaded buds and pomegranates, and rows of scales representing mountains below [Reade 1963; 1995, 229–30; Guralnick 2010; Thomas ed. 2016, 205–207, cat. 211]. Marks on the tops of the bricks facilitated the assembly and these took the form of scratches, West Semitic (Aramaic or Phoenician) letters and pictograms [Layard 1849, vol. II, 13; Place 1867/70, vol. II, 253; Loud, Frankfort and Jacobsen 1936, 92–93; Loud and Altman 1938, 14; Reade 1963, 39; Curtis *et al.* 1993, 21–30, 35–36, figs 21–26; Curtis 2008, 62–64]. Set high into the walls were large square bronze or glazed plaques with prominent projecting central bosses (*sikkati*) and which may have served to hold coloured wall-hangings [Albenda 1981; Freestone 1991]. Above them, and immediately below the roof beams, were inserted fired clay or bronze-sheeted wooden corbels in the form of “hands of Ishtar”, and these had an apotropaic function [Curtis and Reade eds 1995, 104, cats 53–55; Soldi 2017].

This is not surprising as there are complex “Tree of Life” and geometric compositions in thirteenth century BC Middle Assyrian murals from Kar Tukulti-Ninurta, and even earlier wall-paintings from Kassite Dur Kurigalzu (modern Aqar Quf) in southern Iraq and Old Babylonian Mari, and this is probably the route of influence [Tomabechi 1983; Albenda 2005; Thomas ed. 2016, 125, cat. 116]. The best documented of the Late Assyrian wall paintings come from an eighth century BC provincial palace at Tell Barsib and show narrative scenes of court life, military victories and

apotropaic beasts, and use an identical colour palette as the Sargonid reliefs and a huge collapsed section of wall-painting found in Room 12 of Residence K at Khorsabad [Parrot 1961, 100–11; Thomas ed. 2016, 208–209, 286–87, cats 212–13, 344–47; Loud and Altman 1938, vol. II, 83–86, pls 43, 88–91; Green, Teeter and Larson eds 2012, 132–45, cat. 20; Thomas 2019]. Well-preserved paintings showing a line of life-size Assyrian royal guards walking beneath a frieze of *sikkati* framed by rosettes and lotus garlands was found in the throne-room (Room S5) and genies in fish cloaks set against Egyptian Blue backgrounds were found in another suite (Room T27) in “Fort Shalmaneser” (Mallowan 1966, vol. II, figs 307–308; Reade 1982, 108, col. pl. 7b–c).¹¹⁾ Layard records how in the North-West Palace there were other scenes painted above the wall slabs:

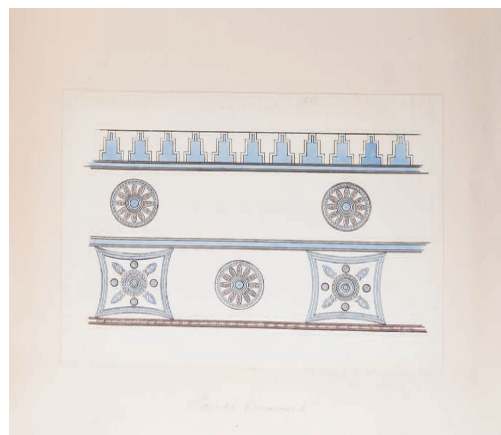


Fig. 26. Representations of Assyrian wall-paintings (British Museum, Original Drawings)

“the king, attended by his eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were enclosed in coloured borders, of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals were conspicuous amongst the ornaments.” [Layard 1849, vol. II, 262–63]¹²⁾

Smaller fragments of painted plaster found in the excavations of palaces at Khorsabad and Nineveh show guilloche designs, palmettes and circles in horizontal friezes framing scenes with trees and goats. The wall paintings therefore have the same compositions and colour schemes as the glazed brick and stone wall panels (Fig. 27). Layard thought that the ceilings of the palaces were coffered and “divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chamber, may have been gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver” [Layard 1849, vol. II, 263–64], and fallen painted plaster fragments with rosette designs and roof beam impressions on the reverse were found in the centre of the throne-room in the North-West Palace and the throne-room of Sargon’s palace at Khorsabad [es-Soof 1963, 67; Mallowan 1966, vol. I, 105; Reade 1979, 19; Loud, Frankfort and Jacobsen 1936, 9, 23, 68–71, pls II–III]. A description of the building of Esarhaddon’s palace on Tell Nebi Yunus gives a vivid illustration of the opulent appearance of the palatial interiors as it describes the doors being made of sweet-smelling cypress and decorated with silver and copper bands, and how different suites were decorated in different styles: “a wing of white limestone and suites of ivory, ebony, box/walnut(?), sissou, cedar (and) cypress” [Turner 1970, 78, 80–81].

All of the Assyrian cities were heavily defended with solid mudbrick walls with stone outer facings to deter siege engines: the walls of Nimrud required some 70 million bricks, the citadel wall alone was up to 37 metres thick, and the stone blocks used for the citadel at Khorsabad measured up to 2.7 metres long and weighed up to 23 tons each [Reade 1982, 105; Loud and Altman 1938, vol. II, 18]. Despite these efforts, the Assyrian cities were overwhelmed by a Median/Babylonian military coalition and their sacking in 612 BC was a violent and carefully planned annihilation [Miglus 2000;

11) The wall-paintings were reburied and the pigments have not been analysed; see also Mallowan 1966, vol. II, 443.

12) Cf. also es-Soof 1963, 67: “the upper part of a beardless figure carrying a sword and wearing a headband, with his right arm lifted in front and his left lowered below him ... he and the rosettes were all painted in white and red with black outlines on a sky-blue ground”.

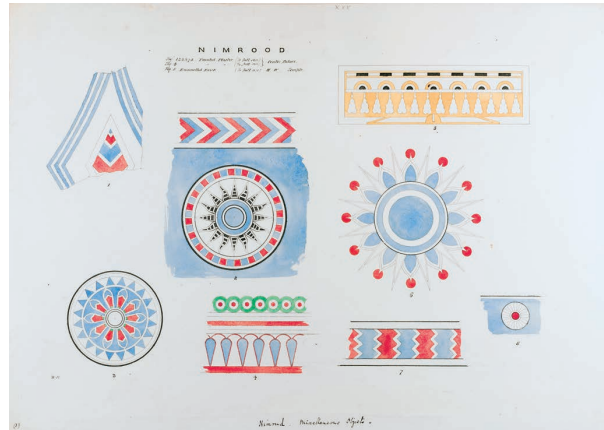


Fig. 27. Representations of fragmentary Assyrian wall-paintings (British Museum, Original Drawings)

Simpson 2015; 2020]. All of the excavated gateways at Nimrud, Khorsabad and Nineveh were found to have been bricked up from within to strengthen them, and Stronach reports that “we’ve come across ditches partially constructed, and weak positions in the walls that have been patchily repaired” [Barkho 1989], yet each of the excavated gates was found to be burnt and heaped skeletons of soldiers found within several [Barkho 1989; Stronach 1997, 318–19; Pickworth 2005; Simpson 2020]. Ashurnasipal’s wish that his palace not be turned into a warehouse and prison and then destroyed, quoted above, may have been read and violated as a direct consequence, and the large number of shackled human remains found thrown into an excavated well suggest mass execution was carried out on the citadels [Mahmoud Hussein 2008, 91; al-Fakhri 2008; Reade 2008; Simpson 2015, 5]. Little is known about what happened to the rest of the population but large numbers were probably massacred in revenge and the remainder deported to Babylonia. It is telling that the passage referring to the resettlement of deportees on the Adad-Nirari III stele found at Tell al-Rimah, mentioned above, was the portion which was systematically defaced, thus ritually undoing the closing line of the inscription: “Whoever shall blot out a single name from among these names, may the great gods fiercely destroy him” [Page 1968, 143]. The paucity of evidence for either post-Assyrian or Achaemenid occupation from the region imply that northern Iraq was largely deserted in the centuries which followed. The palaces and imperial store-rooms were thoroughly ransacked and the heavily fragmented state and lack of overlays on the furniture at “Fort Salmeser” shows how this was broken and stripped of metal and other precious overlays, leaving tiny fragments of the ivory behind. The roof beams were removed, leaving the palaces as open shells. The throne-rooms and temple sanctuaries were reserved for special treatment. Many of the carved faces of the Assyrian rulers were chiselled or pounded away, particularly where they were highlighted by their cuneiform captions or symbolically highlighted by their position behind the throne [Reade 2000b, 613, fig. 6; Porter 2009] (Fig. 28). Other sculptures and stelae were clinically defaced, torched and then



Fig. 28. Elamite revenge: the face of king Ashurbanipal has been deliberately defaced, his right arm amputated and his drinking bowl smashed

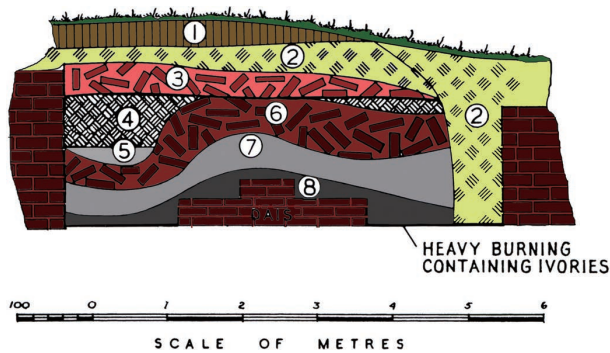


Fig. 29. Archaeological section through the throne-room in the Burnt Palace showing the thick concentration of ash over the throne-base [after Mallowan 1966]



Fig. 30. Watercolour drawing by Frederick Charles Cooper showing excavations at Nimrud

violently smashed, either across the centre or into many fragments as Loftus noted in the case of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal on Kuyunjik [cf. Barnett 1976, 18]. Judging by the relative depth of ash the throne-bases were piled high with combustible material and lit as bonfires, and tablets recording treaties between Esarhaddon and Median leaders were smashed on the base of the throne-room in the Burnt Palace as a violent act of ritual undoing and revenge [Simpson 2015; 2020] (Fig. 29). This entire process of ultra-violence with killing, desecration, demolition and asset-stripping probably took months, if not years, and must have been carefully planned and resourced.

Once abandoned, the sun-dried brick walls then will have split along the coursing and collapsed as soon as the first winter rains saturated the mud mortar along the tops of the roofless architecture. Pooling around the bottoms of the walls would have allowed salts to migrate into the brickwork and undermine the lower portions and led to further collapse. The upper parts of the wall-reliefs then gradually dissolved in the rain while the lower parts became buried in mudbrick collapse. For a few years survivors probably hid in the ruins and dug holes looking for treasure but even this stopped, Assyria became a cursed territory for centuries, and its great palaces forgotten until their rediscovery in the 1840s revealed its glories again (Fig. 30).

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**QALA'AT SHQIF ARNOUN (LIBAN-SUD).
TÉMOIGNAGE DE LA CULTURE MATÉRIELLE : LA CÉRAMIQUE**

Grace HOMSY-GOTTWALLES*

Résumé-Abstract

Cet article est un compte-rendu d'une sélection de céramiques provenant de deux sondages effectués à *Qala'at Shqif Arnoun* ou Château de Beaufort (Gouvernorat de Nabatieh, Liban-sud), ainsi qu'un lot de huit fragments de céramique prélevés des murs des deux citernes. Ce compte-rendu nous permet de discerner, à partir de l'étude des céramiques, les différentes périodes d'occupation du château, datant entre le II^e-III^e siècle jusqu'au XVIII^e siècle, reflétées ou non par les sources textuelles et par l'architecture de l'édifice.

Introduction

Le projet de restauration et de mise en valeur du château de Beaufort entre 2010 et 2011 a nécessité la réalisation de sondages archéologiques afin de permettre le dégagement des fondations des murs de l'édifice et des oculi des plafonds, ainsi que de mettre au jour des constructions enfouies sous le comblement des étages supérieurs de certaines parties du château.

Cet article est un compte-rendu d'une sélection de céramiques provenant de deux sondages situés, pour le premier, zone 0-4, au rez-de-chaussée de la citadelle, le deuxième, zone 3-1, au 3^e étage ; et d'un lot de huit fragments de céramique prélevés des murs des deux citernes se trouvant respectivement aux 4^e et 6^e étages.

Le choix de ces deux sondages était motivé, selon le fouilleur, par la grande quantité de céramique découverte dans ces deux zones ; nous avons alors procédé à une sélection par type de céramique, permettant de dresser un tableau typologique et chronologique des céramiques trouvées dans les deux sondages et de donner une idée de la vaisselle utilisée dans le château tout au long de son occupation, attestée, par les sources écrites et par l'architecture, du milieu du XII^e siècle jusqu'à l'occupation ottomane. Quant à l'étude de l'échantillonnage de céramiques prélevé des murs des citernes des 4^e et 6^e étages, celle-ci vise à tenter d'identifier la plus ancienne occupation du site qui, selon toute vraisemblance, se trouve au 6^e étage et qui nous a fourni la plus ancienne occupation correspondant au II^e-III^e siècle.

I. Les sondages des zones 0-4 et 3-1

Le premier des deux sondages pratiqués dans le château de Beaufort a été effectué au sous-sol de l'édifice, dénommé étage zéro. Cet étage est situé dans le château bas vers l'est, dont l'accès se fait par l'intérieur. La fouille archéologique a été réalisée dans la pièce 0-4 se présentant sous forme d'un rectangle de 6 m × 5,60 m. Le dégagement de cette pièce a mis au jour des tombes creusées dans le sol. Les trois uniques couches, 1, 303 et 304, du sondage, qui viennent s'appuyer sur ce sol, correspondent en effet à des contextes perturbés ou à des remblais. En effet, les contextes 1, 303 et 304 correspondent à la même couche de remblais, puisque nous avons trouvé des fragments

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de céramique collant ensemble, comme Bft.0-4.1.14 et Bft.0-4.304.97.

L'intérêt de cette pièce réside dans le fait qu'elle ne figurait pas sur les anciennes cartes et études antérieures ; elle a été véritablement découverte durant les fouilles [Badawi and Masri 2010–2011 : 188].

Le deuxième sondage a été exécuté au 3^e étage, situé également dans le château bas ; ce niveau est détruit et n'apparaissait pas non plus dans les études précédentes [Badawi and Masri 2010–2011 : 34]. Il correspond à la partie est du hall, zone 3-1. La fouille archéologique se présentait comme un rectangle de 24,50 m × 8 m. Le but de cette opération était de dégager le plafond du 2^e étage, qui vient s'appuyer sur le sol du 3^e étage et ainsi permettre à la lumière d'entrer au 4^e étage par les oculi. Malheureusement, les différentes couches ou contextes 3, 28, 32, 33, 35 et 37 qui ont fourni la céramique, correspondent également à des remblais, ce qui nous oblige à dater le matériel exhumé par comparaisons [Badawi and Masri 2010–2011: 70].

La céramique des sondages 0-4 et 3-1

L'étude de la sélection de céramiques provenant des deux zones 0-4 et 3-1 du château nous a permis de distinguer cinq phases ou périodes d'occupation et de dégager une typologie du matériel utilisé durant ces différentes périodes par les occupants du château ou de son environnement. Compte tenu des données stratigraphiques et des couches perturbées, il est difficile d'attribuer une date plus précise à chaque type, notamment pour la période ayyoubide (1190–1240) et la deuxième phase des Croisés (1240–1268). En effet, certains types de céramique peuvent être utilisés durant une période et continuer de l'être dans la suivante.

Céramique des périodes protobyzantine/omeyyade/abbasside (VII^e–IX^e siècle)

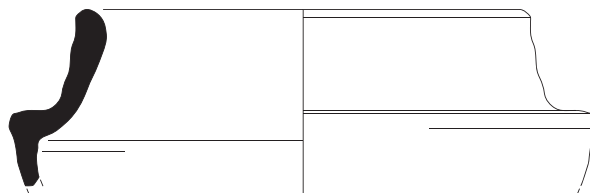
Deux types de céramique remontant au début du Moyen Âge - date généralement admise pour le début d'une occupation humaine - et non attestés, jusqu'à présent, dans le château, ont été mis au jour. Il s'agit d'une amphore-sac, ou *bag-shaped amphora*, Bft.3-1.1.7, que le fond concave, avec un décor peint en rouge, permet de dater du VIII^e-milieu IX^e siècle [Mlynarczyk 2013: 479, fig. 11 ; Pieri 2005: 122], et d'une canalisation tubulaire, Bft.0-4.1.9, datable, selon des parallèles de Bosra en Syrie, du VII^e siècle [Seeden and Wilson 1984: 145, 549] (Tableau 1 ; fig. 1).

Tableau 1 : Céramique datant des VII^e–IX^e siècles

Fig. 1 Bft.3-1.1.7	Amphore. Fragment de base concave. Pâte sableuse, avec des inclusions rouges et de rares inclusions noires. Engobe orange sur la surface externe. Décor peint de cercles rouges.
Fig. 1 Bft.0-4.1.9	Tuyau de canalisation. Fragment d'une extrémité. Pâte sableuse, avec de rares inclusions rouges.



Bft.3-1.3.7



Bft 0-4.1.9



Fig. 1 Céramiques du VII^e-milieu IX^e siècle

Céramique de la période fatimide (fin X^e–XI^e siècle)

Cette période est représentée par deux types de vaisselles de table et de cuisine produites à Beyrouth [François *et alii* 2003: 338–339 ; Homsy-Gottwalles 2009 : 99–100]. Nous trouvons : les coupes hémisphériques, Bft.3-1.3.26 et Bft.3-1.28.60, aux parois légèrement concaves se terminant par une lèvre arrondie dans le prolongement de la panse, et avec une base annulaire ; les marmites de forme globulaire à parois fines, Bft.3-1.37.4 et Bft.3-1.37.5, à lèvre triangulaire et avec des anses horizontales à section aplatie (Tableau 2 ; fig. 2). Ce type de marmite est parfois muni d'un petit tenon ; une glaçure plombifère brune couvre le fond du récipient. Il est important de préciser que les coupes hémisphériques et les marmites sont présentes au centre-ville de Beyrouth dans des couches de la fin du X^e–XI^e siècle Ces types continuent d'être utilisés aux XII^e–XIII^e siècles [Avisar and Stern 2005: 91, Type II.2.1.2 ; Homsy-Gottwalles 2009: 158, pl. LXIV, et 156, pl. XXVIII ; Masri 1997–1998: 114, fig. 4 ; Stern and Stacey 2000: 174, fig. 2.3 ; Stern 2013: 187, fig. 7-2.3].

Tableau 2 : Céramique de la fin du X^e et du XI^e siècle

Fig. 2 Bft.3-1.3.26	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne.
Fig. 2 Bft.3-1.28.60	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte sableuse avec inclusions blanches, 2.5YR 4/8 rouge. Engobe beige non soigné sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne.
Fig. 2 Bft.3-1.37.4	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/6 rouge.
Fig. 2 Bft.3-1.37.5	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/6 rouge. Traces de glaçure plombifère brune sur la lèvre.

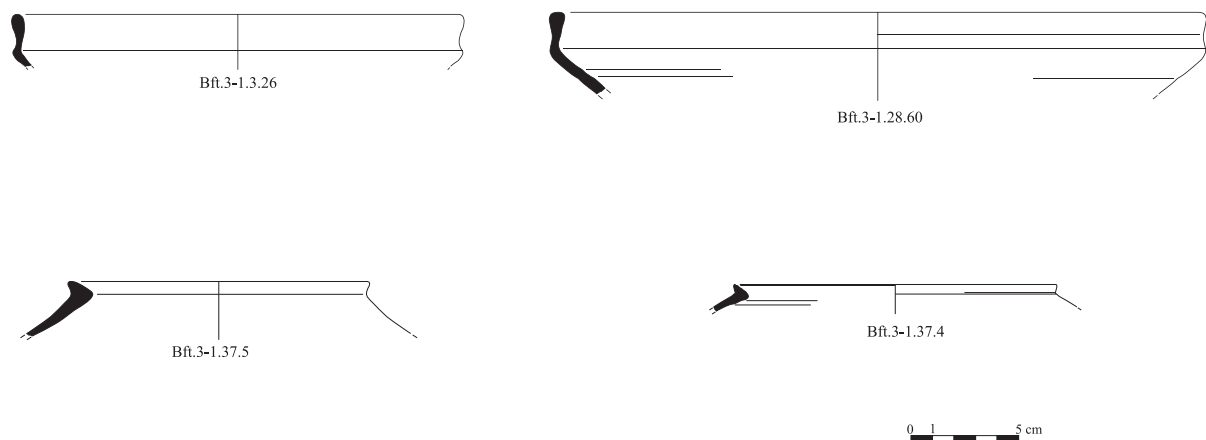


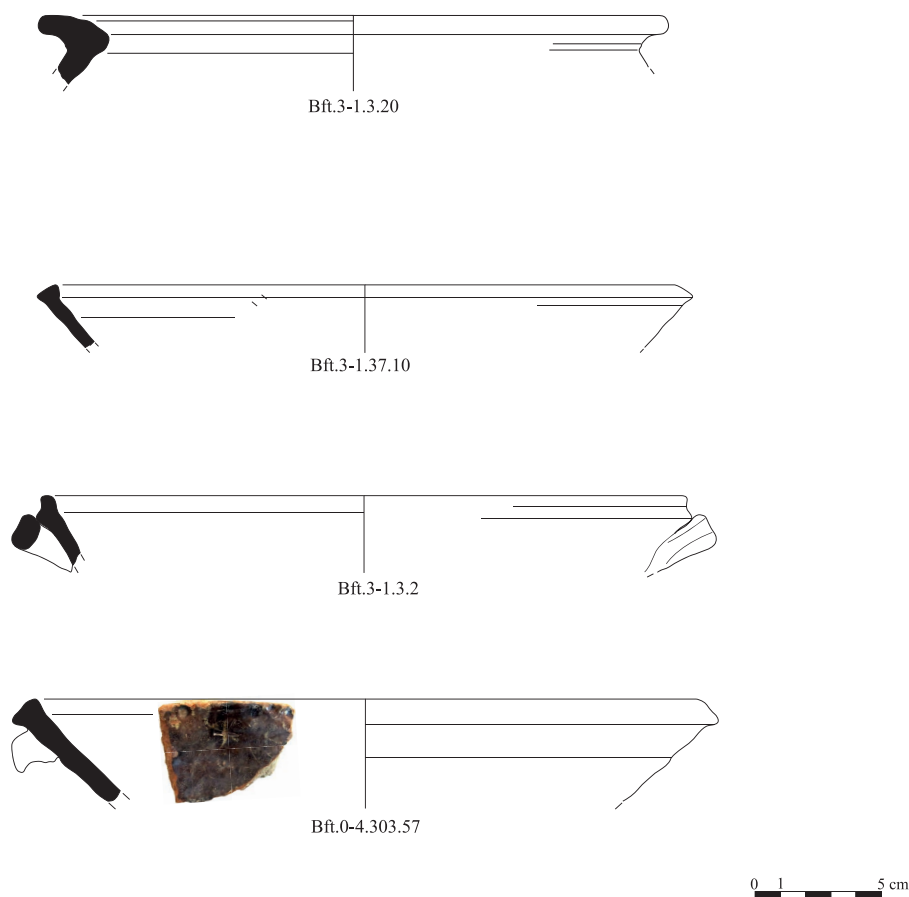
Fig. 2 Coupes et marmites de la fin du X^e–XI^e siècle

Céramique de la première phase des croisades (1139–1190)

La céramique de la première phase d'occupation des Croisés se caractérise par un type de marmite, Bft.3-1.3.20, à lèvre évasée, datant du XII^e siècle [Wartburg and Violaris 2009: 251, fig. 2.4]. De cette période, nous avons également des casseroles à parois évasées, Bft.0-4.303.57, Bft.3-1.3.2 et Bft.3-1.37.10, avec une lèvre à surface plate dans le prolongement de la panse, et une base plate (Tableau 3 ; fig. 3). Ces casseroles sont munies d'anses horizontales à section aplatie au niveau de la panse, ou d'un tenon ; une glaçure brune couvre l'intérieur. Cette vaisselle, de production beyrouthine, est à dater du milieu XII^e-début XIII^e siècle [François *et alii* 2003: 333, fig. 8.1 ; Homsy-Gottwalles 2009 : 129, pl. LXXXV–LXXXVI].

Tableau 3 : Céramique du XII^e siècle

Fig. 3 Bft.3-1.3.20	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 7/4 brun rougeâtre clair, 2.5YR 6/2 rouge pâle. Traces de glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface interne.
Fig. 3 Bft.0-4.303.57	Casserole. Fragment de lèvre avec la panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface interne.
Fig. 3 Bft.3-1.3.2	Casserole. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Traces de glaçure plombifère brune sur la lèvre et l'intérieur.
Fig. 3 Bft.3-1.37.10	Casserole. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/4 brun rougeâtre. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface interne.

Fig. 3 Marmites et casseroles du XII^e siècle

Céramique de la période ayyoubide (1190–1240)/deuxième phase des croisades (1240–1268)

Sachant que l'occupation du château par les Ayyoubides a duré seulement une cinquantaine d'années et, qu'en outre, les couches d'où provient le matériel sont des remblais, il s'avère difficile de distinguer nettement le matériel ayyoubide de celui du début de la deuxième occupation du château par les Croisés. Cette période est représentée par une coupe carénée peinte à l'engobe, de production chypriote, Bft.3-1.3.31, caractéristique des productions de l'aire byzantine et datant du XIII^e siècle [Wartburg 1997: 189, fig. 12–16].

Toujours de forme globulaire à base bombée, les marmites présentes dans le château, Bft.0-4.304.46 et Bft.3-1.37.8, montrent des parois épaisses, avec une lèvre en bourrelet extérieur. L'intérieur et la lèvre de ces marmites beyrouthines sont intégralement glaçurés (Tableau 4 ; fig. 4). Des céramiques de même type sont attestées dans des sites libanais et palestiniens, notamment à Beyrouth, Tripoli, Arqa, mais aussi à Césarée, Acre, Yoqne'am, etc. [Avisar 1996: 87–98 ;

Tableau 4 : Céramique de la fin du XII^e au milieu XIII^e siècle

Fig. 4 Bft.3-1.3.31	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge. Décor peint à l'engobe sous une glaçure plombifère transparente sur la surface interne.
Fig. 4 Bft.0-4.304.46	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 7.5YR 6/3 brun clair, 10R 5/8 rouge.
Fig. 4 Bft.3-1.37.8	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/8 rouge. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la lèvre et l'intérieur.

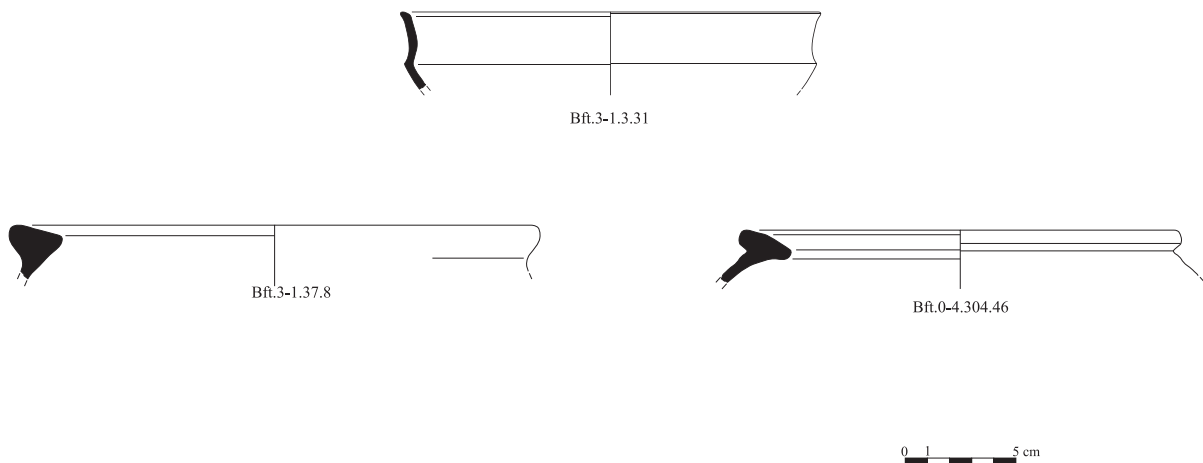


Fig. 4 Coupes et marmites du XIII^e siècle

François *et alii* 2003: 325–340 ; Pringle 1985: 171–202 ; Pringle 1997: 137–156 ; Masri 1997–1998: 103–119 ; Salamé-Sarkis 1980 ; Seeden and Masri 1999: 391–402].

Céramique de la période mamelouke (1268–1516)

L'éventail de types de céramiques exhumés dans le château de Beaufort et remontant à la période mamelouke est très varié (Tableau 5 ; fig. 5). Sont premièrement attestées les coupes hémisphériques, Bft.0-4.304.94 et Bft.3-1.37.3, à lèvre épaisse dans le prolongement de la panse et avec une base annulaire. Ce type se caractérise par un engobe blanc couvert d'une glaçure verte brillante ; il présente parfois un décor à la gouge, Bft. 0-4.304.96. Ces coupes, selon toute vraisemblance de production syrienne, sont datables du XIII^e–XIV^e siècle [Rousset 1998 : 173–174 ; Homsy-Gottwalles 2009 : pl. CVII-CVIII].

Un autre type de coupe carénée, Bft.0-4.303.39, à lèvre droite arrondie couverte d'un engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne débordant vers l'extérieur, est à dater, selon les découvertes de la citadelle de Damas, du XIV^e–XV^e siècle [François 2008 « Vaisselle de table à pâte rouge et glaçure plombifère monochrome », forme 7].

D'autres types de coupes ont été mis au jour par les sondages, comme les coupes de *Reserved Slip Painted Ware*, Bft.0-4.1.14/Bft.0-4.304.97, dont la technique consiste à couvrir partiellement la surface par un engobe blanc sous une glaçure plombifère jaune beige sur la surface interne [François 2011 : 322, fig. 5.8 et 9 ; Salamé-Sarkis 1980 : 176, pl. LIV]; ou bien la céramique peinte à l'engobe, Bft.0-4.303.33, Bft.3-1.3.19 et Bft.3-1.28.33, à base annulaire et lèvre à marli ; le décor géométrique exécuté à l'engobe sur ces coupes est couvert d'une glaçure plombifère jaune, parfois verte. Ce type, que nous trouvons dans les couches mameloukes, est à dater du XIII^e–XIV^e siècle [François 2008 « Vaisselle de table à pâte rouge, peinte à l'engobe et glaçurée au plomb »].

Un autre type de céramique, de production syrienne, le *fritware* (Tableau 6 ; fig. 6), très répandu au Levant durant la période mamelouke, est également représenté au château de Beaufort, Bft.0-

Tableau 5 : Céramique de la fin du XIII^e au début du XVI^e siècle

Fig. 5 Bft.0-4.303.39	Coupe. Fragment de panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne.
Fig. 5 Bft.0-4.304.94	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne.
Fig. 5 Bft.3-1.37.3	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 10R 5/8 rouge. Engobe rosâtre sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne débordant vers l'extérieur.
Fig. 5 Bft.0-4.1.14 Bft.0-4.304.97	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre à marli. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge.
Fig. 5 Bft.0-4.303.33	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge. Décor peint à l'engobe.
Fig. 5 Bft.3-1.3.19	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/8 rouge. Décor peint à l'engobe sous une glaçure plombifère transparente sur la surface interne.
Fig. 5 Bft.3-1.28.33	Coupe. Fragment de marli. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/4 brun rougeâtre. Décor peint à l'engobe sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne.
Fig. 5 Bft.0-4.304.96	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/8 rouge clair. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne. Décor incisé à la gouge et traces de peinture verte sur l'intérieur.

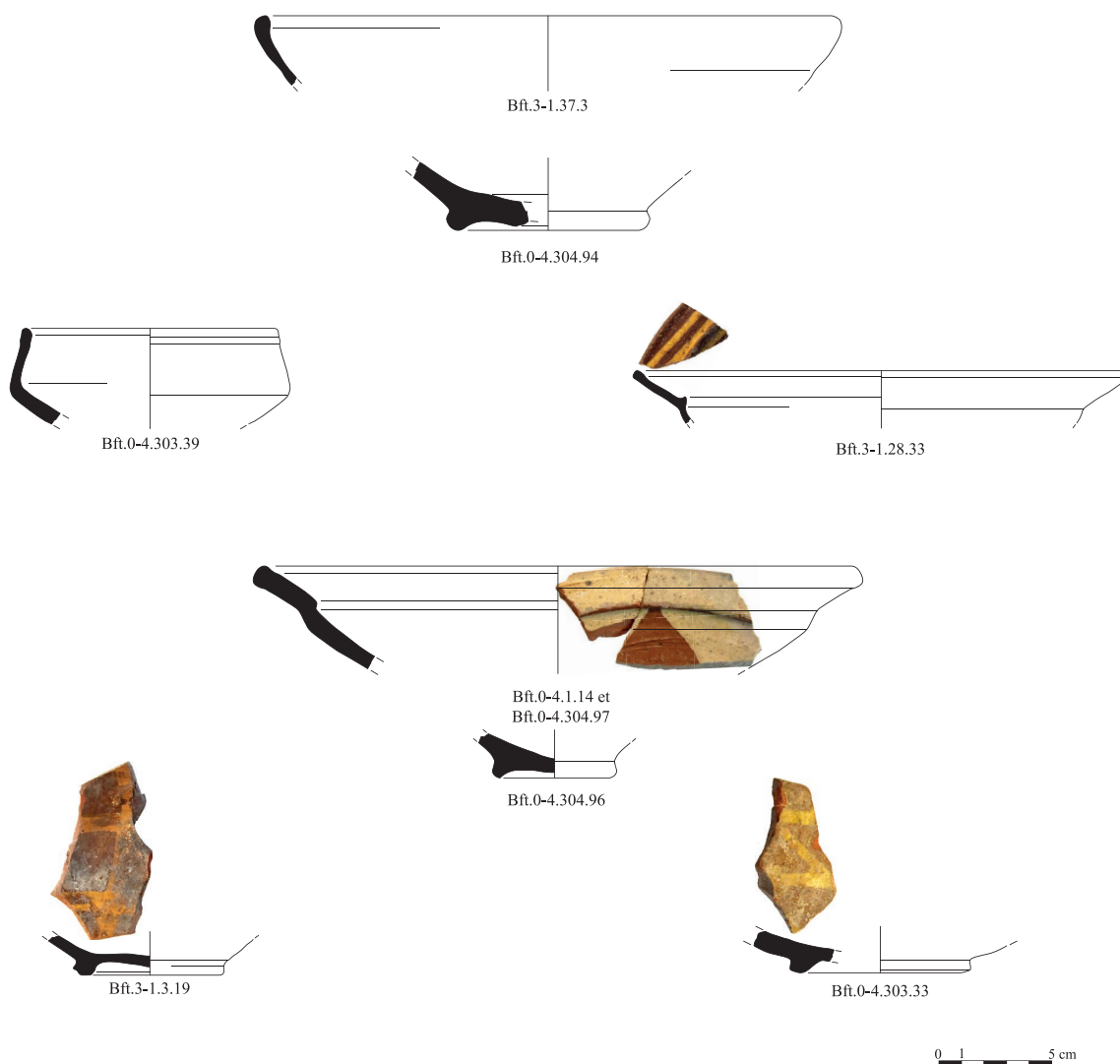
Fig. 5 Coupes de la fin du XIII^e–XV^e siècle

Tableau 6 : Les fritwares mamlouke

Fig. 6 Bft.0-4.1.12	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte siliceuse. Décor peint en bleu sous une glaçure alcaline transparente.
Fig. 6 Bft.0-4.1.23	Vase fermé. Fragment de panse. Pâte siliceuse. Décor peint en noir sous une glaçure alcaline bleue.
Fig. 6 Bft.0-4.1.29	Vase fermé. Fragment de panse. Pâte siliceuse. Décor peint en noir sous une glaçure alcaline bleue.
Fig. 6 Bft.0-4.303.1	Coupe. Fragment de panse. Pâte siliceuse, 5YR 8/1 blanc. Décor peint en bleu sur les surfaces interne et externe sous une glaçure alcaline transparente



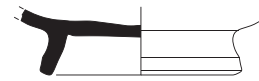
Bft.0-4.1.23



Bft.0-4.303.1



Bft.0-4.1.23



Bft.0-4.1.12



Fig. 6 Fritware de la fin du XII^e–XIII^e siècle

4.1.12, Bft.0-4.1.23, Bft.0-4.1.29 et Bft.0-4.303.1 ; il s'agit de fragments de vases fermés peints en noir sous une glaçure turquoise, et de coupes peintes en bleu sous une glaçure transparente.

D'autres types de vaisselle de table sont attribuées à cette période (Tableau 7 ; fig. 7), comme la cruche Bft.0-4.1.25, à lèvre rentrante avec un engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte, qui trouve des parallèles à la citadelle de Damas, datant de la période mamelouke [François 2008, « Cruches à bec tubulaire », forme 7] ; les jarres de table de petites dimensions Bft.0-4.303.22, Bft.0-4.304.48, Bft.0-4.304.50 et Bft.0-4.304.85, au col presque cylindrique et à lèvre bourrelet ; la base est annulaire ou rentrante, avec parfois une trace de glaçure plombifère verdâtre sur la lèvre, sont datable de la fin du XIII^e–XIV^e siècle [Hakimian et Salamé-Sarkis 1988 : 26, fig. 13.1].

La vaisselle de cuisine est représentée par une marmite globulaire, Bft.3-1.3.23, à lèvre à marli (Tableau 8 ; fig. 8). Cette forme, faiblement représentée dans les sondages de Beaufort, est à dater du XIII^e–XIV^e siècle [Avisar 1996: 137, Type 10 ; Homsy-Gottwalles 2009: 128, pl. LXII] ; également des marmites, Bft.0-4.304.49 et Bft.0-4.304.61, à panse hémisphérique et lèvre en petit bourrelet, trouvent des parallèles à la citadelle de Damas, datant du XV^e siècle [François 2011 : 319, fig. 2.7]. Les casseroles à base plate de cette période, Bft.0-4.1.13, Bft.0-4.303.58, Bft.0-4.304.15, Bft.0-4.304.34 et Bft.0-4.304.35, ont des parois évasées se terminant par une lèvre en bourrelet extérieur et sont dépourvues d'anses ou de tenon ; une glaçure plombifère brune verdâtre fine couvre le fond de ces casseroles de l'intérieur. Cette vaisselle se rapproche de celle trouvée

Tableau 7 : Les cruches de la période mamlouke

Fig. 7 Bft.0-4.1.25	Cruche. Col avec la lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface externe.
Fig. 7 Bft.0-4.303.21	Cruche. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 5YR 6/6 jaune rougeâtre. Traces de glaçure verdâtre sur la lèvre débordant vers l'intérieur et l'extérieur.
Fig. 7 Bft.0-4.303.22	Jarre de table. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 5YR 6/6 jaune rougeâtre. Traces de glaçure verdâtre sur la lèvre débordant vers l'intérieur et l'extérieur.
Fig. 7 Bft.0-4.304.48	Jarre de table. Fragment de lèvre avec le col. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la lèvre.
Fig. 7 Bft.0-4.304.50	Jarre de table. Fragment de lèvre avec le col. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la lèvre
Fig. 7 Bft.0-4.304.85	Jarre de table. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la lèvre.

Fig. 7 Cruches et jarres de la fin du XIII^e–XIV^e siècle

Tableau 8 : la vaisselle de cuisine

Fig. 8 Bft.3-1.3.23	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/8 rouge. Traces de glaçure plombifère sur la surface externe.
Fig. 8 Bft.0-4.304.49	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre avec la panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair.
Fig. 8 Bft.0-4.304.61	Marmite. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair.
Fig. 8 Bft.0-4.1.13	Casserole à profil presque complet. La base est manquante. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/4 brun rougeâtre clair. Traces de feu sur la surface externe.
Fig. 8 Bft.0-4.303.58	Casserole. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse avec des inclusions rouges, 2.5YR 6/4 brun rougeâtre clair. Traces de feu sur la surface externe.
Fig. 8 Bft.0-4.304.15	Casserole à profil complet. Pâte sableuse avec des inclusions rouges, 5YR 6/4 brun rougeâtre clair. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface interne. Traces de feu sur l'extérieur.
Fig. 8 Bft.0-4.304.34	Casserole à profil presque complet. La base plate est manquante. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Couche de feu sur la surface externe.
Fig. 8 Bft.0-4.304.35	Casserole à profil presque complet. La base plate est manquante. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Traces de glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface interne. Couche de feu sur la surface externe.
Fig. 8 Bft.3-1.28.52	Pot de chambre. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Glaçure plombifère brune verdâtre de l'intérieur.

au monastère Sainte-Marie du Mont-Carmel en Palestine/Israël où elle est datée par D. Pringle du XIII^e siècle [Pringle 1984 : 94–95]. Sachant que les fouilles de ce site, abandonné vers 1291, ont mis au jour des céramiques comme le *Hand Made Painted Pottery* et le *fritware* datant de la période mamelouke [Pringle 1984 : 94], nous proposons, de ce fait, d'étendre la période d'utilisation de ce type de casseroles aux XIV^e–XV^e siècles. La céramique sanitaire fait également partie des découvertes du château ; elle est représentée par un pot de chambre, Bft.3-1.28.52, datant du XIV^e–XV^e siècle [François, 2008 « Poteries sanitaires à pâte rouge glaçurées au plomb », fig. 8].

Les sondages réalisés dans le château ont révélé une céramique de type *Hand Made Painting Geometric Pottery* (Tableau 9 ; fig. 9), Bft.3-1.3.52, caractérisée par un engobe beige sous un motif peint en brun en demi-cercle, datable du XIII^e–XIV^e siècle [Khadija 1992: 355, 29–44 ; Porée 1993: 20, fig. H]. Ce type de céramique a connu une grande diffusion en Palestine/Israël, en Cisjordanie et en Syrie, notamment dans les sites ruraux. Les premières productions, non tournées, sont à dater du début du XII^e siècle, mais continuent jusqu'à la période moderne [Brown 1987 : 267].

Céramique de la période post médiévale (1516–1918)

Les deux sondages du château de Beaufort ont livré une variété de types de céramique datant de la période post médiévale. La vaisselle de table de cette période se caractérise par des coupes, Bft.0-4.303.37, Bft.0-4.304.70, Bft.0-4.304.72 et Bft.0-4.304.78, de grande taille, dont la base haute se termine, généralement, par un décor repoussé au doigt (Tableau 10 ; fig. 10). Un engobe beige, sous une glaçure plombifère verte ou encore brune fine, couvre la surface interne et déborde vers l'extérieur. Parfois un décor incisé se trouve sur le fond de l'intérieur, Bft.0-4.304.77, ou bien un décor peint à l'engobe, Bft.0-4.304.73. Des traces de pernettes sont visibles sur ce type de coupe qui est à dater du XVIII^e siècle [François 2011 : 327, fig. 10. 2-3]. Un autre type de coupe, Bft.0-4.304.12 et Bft.0-4.304.81, mis au jour à Beaufort, présente une panse hémisphérique et une lèvre évasée à marli, avec une base plus basse se terminant, comme le type précédent, par un décor repoussé au doigt ; un décor peint à l'engobe caractérise ce type datable du XVIII^e siècle [François 2011 : 327, fig. 10. 2–3, forme apparentée].

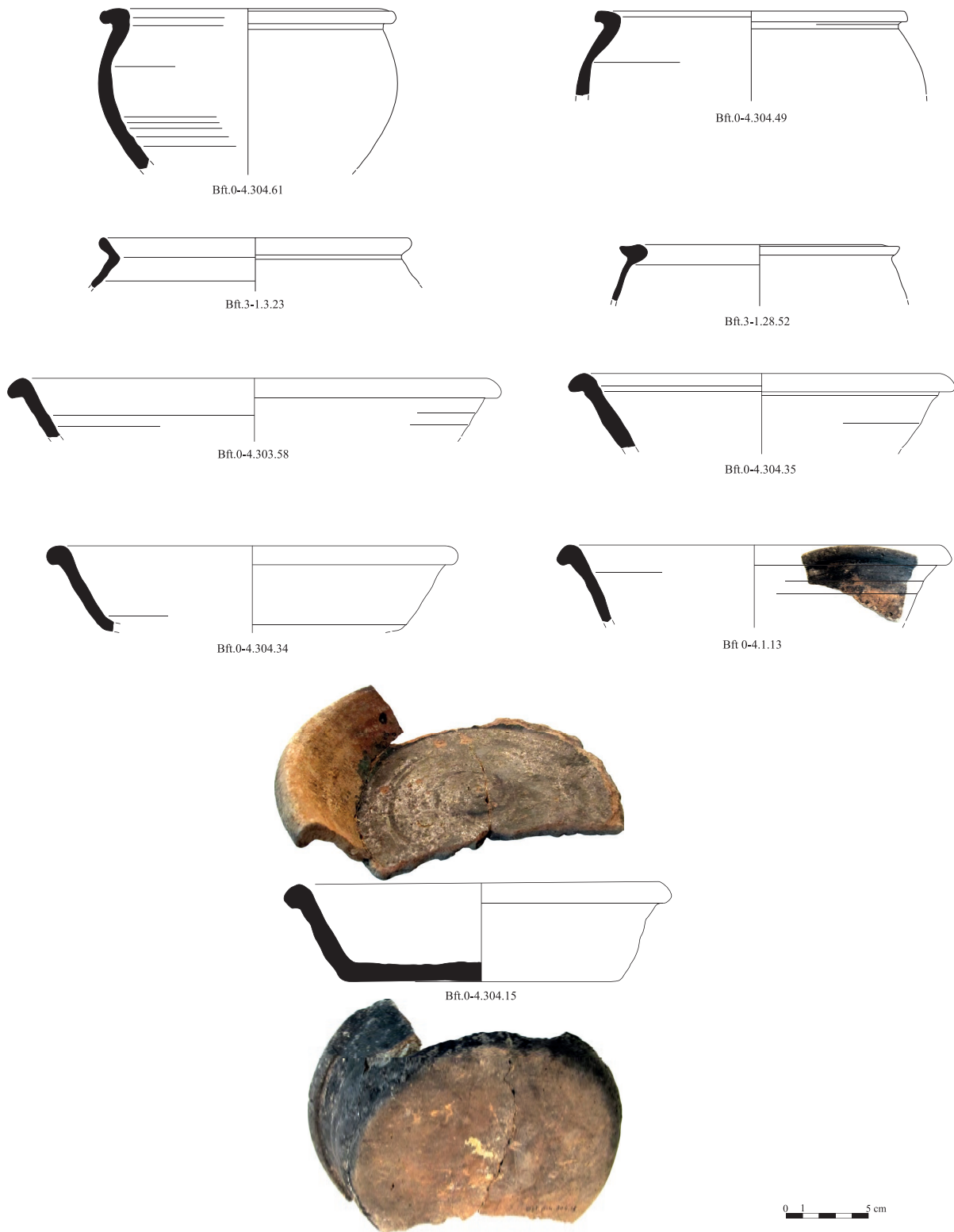


Fig. 8 Vaisselle de cuisine et céramique sanitaire de la fin du XIII^e–XV^e siècle

Le matériel le plus important quantitativement découverte au Beaufort est la céramique produite vraisemblablement à Rachaya el-Foukhar, village situé dans la mohafaza de Nabatieh, à 150 km au sud-est de Beyrouth. Ce village est connu depuis au moins le milieu du XIX^e siècle pour sa production de vaisselles en terre cuite. En effet, des explorateurs, archéologues et géographes ont

Tableau 9 : Vaisselle de type “Hand Made Painting Geometric Pottery”

Fig. 9 Bft.3-1.3.52	Cruche. Fragment d'une panse. Pâte argileuse avec des inclusions calcaires, 5YR 6/4 brun rougeâtre clair. Engobe beige sur la surface externe. Décor peint en brun sur l'extérieur.
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Bft.3-1.3.52

Fig. 9 Cruche de type Hand Made Geometric Pottery

Tableau 10 : Coupes de la période post médiévale

Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.303.37	Coupe. Base annulaire. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne. Traces de pernettes sur l'intérieur.
Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.304.70	Coupe. Base annulaire. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne.
Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.304.72	Coupe. Base annulaire. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne.
Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.304.12	Coupe à profil complet. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Décor peint à l'engobe.
Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.304.73	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Décor peint à l'engobe, coulures vertes sur la surface interne.
Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.304.77	Coupe. Base annulaire. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge, 2.5YR 4/2 rouge faible. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère brune jaunâtre sur la surface interne. Décor incisé sur l'intérieur.
Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.304.78	Coupe. Base annulaire. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne.
Fig. 10 Bft.0-4.304.81	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Décor peint à l'engobe sur la surface interne.

témoigné de cet artisanat local. La plus ancienne description est fournie par le bibliste E. Robinson qui, en 1852, passe par Rachaya el-Foukhar :

« The village is celebrated for its pottery; for the manufacture of which it is one of the chief seats. There are many large dome-shaped furnaces for burning of ware; and many specimens were standing outside of the houses; such as furnaces (tannûr), tall jars, and the like. This pottery is sent around to all the fairs of the country, and far into the Hauran; as also to Hums and Hamah » [Robinson 1856: 416].

Dans les années 1850, l'archéologue et géographe français V. Guérin, qui traverse également le village de Rachaya el-Foukhar, écrit que ce dernier tire son nom de l'activité de ses habitants qui sont habiles dans la fabrication des ustensiles en terre cuite [Guérin 1880 : 284-285.]. En effet, le terme fokhar signifie « poterie » en arabe. Au cours des années 1870, le cartographe, archéologue et géographe anglais Ch. W. Wilson visite la même localité. Dans son ouvrage intitulé *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt*, l'auteur donne beaucoup plus de précisions sur la fabrication des poteries de Rachaya que les voyageurs précédents. Il écrit que le village est très connu pour son argile ; ses fours sont à coupole et peuvent contenir de grandes jarres. Le potier, assis sur un siège

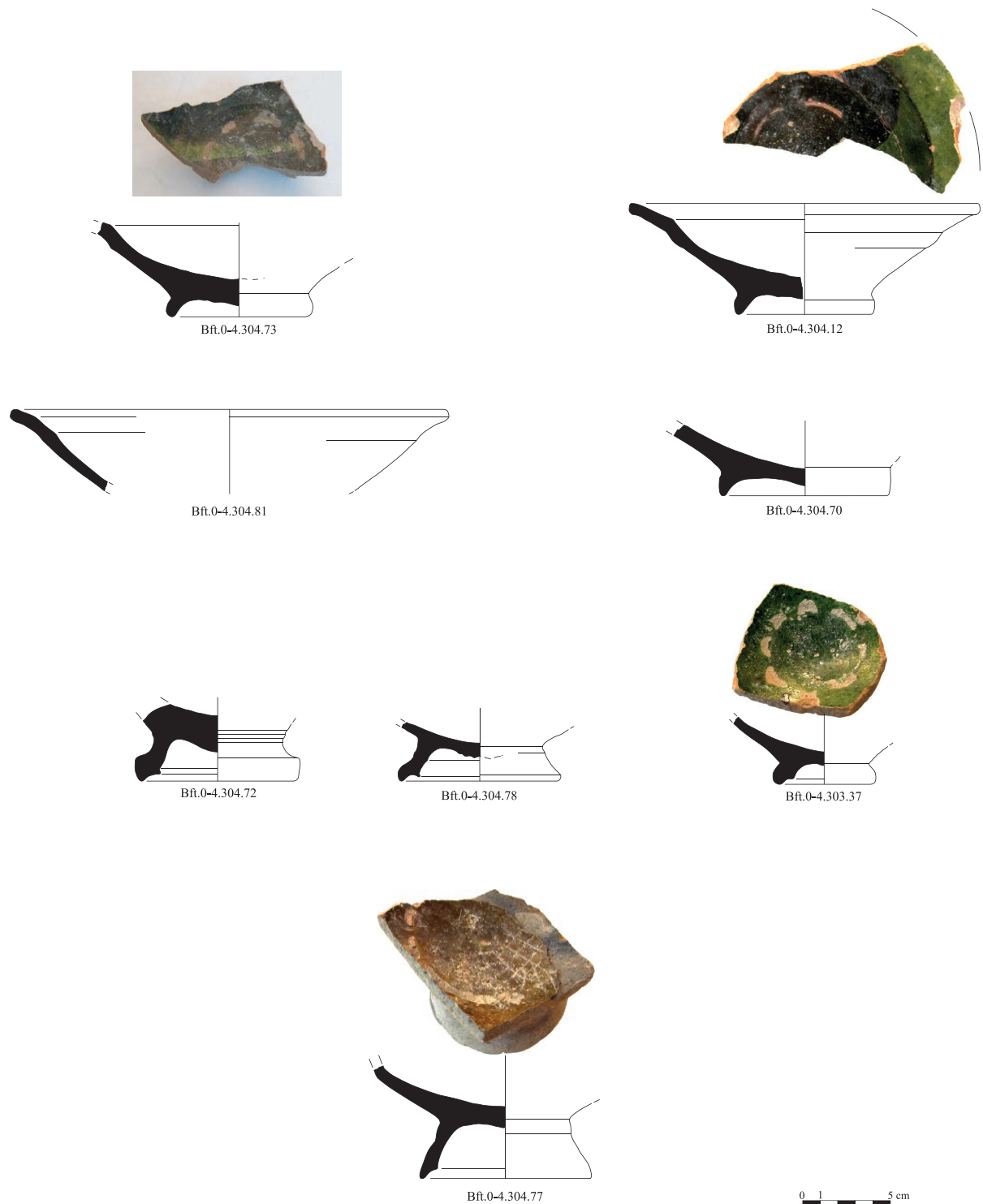


Fig. 10 Coupes du XVIII^e siècle

haut, fait fonctionner le tour à l'aide de son pied et façonne l'argile avec ses mains...[Wilson 1881: 125]. Il ajoute :

« (...) is a village of considerable size called Rasheyet el-Fukhir. The potteries of this place are celebrated throughout Syria. The pottery is carried south into Palestine, east into the Haurin and the markets of Damascus, north to Hums (Emessa) and Hamah (Hamath), and west to the cities



Fig. 11 Atelier de potier de Rachaya el-Foukhar au XIX^e siècle (©Wilson 1881: 125)

of the sea-coast. All kinds of household vessels are made here, and some of the articles are highly ornamented. Considering how remote in the mountains this village is, and the unusually rugged and difficult paths which connect it with any possible market, and also the fact that all this fragile stuff has to be transported on the backs of mules and donkeys, it is a wonder that any of it ever reaches its destination in a perfect state. A foreigner visiting the different cities of Syria is surprised at the amount of ware of this kind that is exposed for sale, and also at the remarkable variety in the size and shape of the various articles. The trade of the potter in Palestine is always good, because what he produces is always in demand. Were these articles costly, the case might be different; but, on the contrary, the necessary ones are within the means of the poorest person. Four small water-coolers can be bought for a penny » [Wilson 1881 : 126] (fig. 11).

Un type particulier de vaisselle de table de production libanaise de Rachayya el-Foukhar, village du gouvernorat de Nabatieh (Tableau 11 ; fig. 12), à savoir des coupes, cruches et petites jarres, ont reçu un engobe noir grisâtre sur une pâte rougeâtre. Ce type de vaisselle a été mis au jour dans la citadelle de Damas dans des couches du XVIII^e siècle [François 2011 : 307, fig. 9. 1–3].

Une quantité importante de céramiques peintes de Rachayya el-Foukhar (Tableau 12 ; figs 13–14), rappelant les *Hand Made Geometric Pottery*, ont été découvertes au château de Beaufort, mais ces coupes, cruches et jarres sont tournées. La surface de cette vaisselle est couverte d'un engobe beige ou orange sur lequel des dessins géométriques sont peints en brun, rouge, orange ou blanc, avec des traces de glaçure plombifère. La variété des motifs est limitée à des lignes, hachures, points, parfois des motifs végétaux. Nous n'avons pas trouvé de parallèles à ce type de céramique¹⁾, cependant, dans les niveaux archéologiques des XVIII^e–XX^e siècles de la citadelle de Damas, un type de céramique présente une technique s'apparentant à celle de Beaufort [François 2008, « Céramique à pâte rouge, engobée en rouge »], également en Galilée [Smithline 2015: 129–130, fig. 7] et le plateau du Golan [Tsioni 2010: 228–236] en Palestine/Israël, et à Bourj el-Chémali

1) De façon générale, peu d'études ont porté une attention particulière sur la céramique de la période post médiévale découverte dans la région, excepté la céramique fine ou de luxe.

Tableau 11 : La vaisselle de Rachayya el-Foukhar

Fig. 11 Bft.0-4.1.16	Jarre. Fragment de lèvre avec le col. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Engobe noir sur les surfaces interne et externe.
Fig. 11 Bft.0-4.1.10/17	Jarre. Fragments de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Engobe noir sur les surfaces interne et externe.
Fig. 11 Bft.0-4.304.14	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre avec la panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge. Engobe noir sur les surfaces interne et externe.
Fig. 11 Bft.3-1.3.1	Jarre. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Traces de glaçure plombifère transparente sur la lèvre de l'intérieur
Fig. 11 Bft.3-1.28.16	Cruche. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe brun noirâtre sur les surfaces interne et externe.
Fig. 11 Bft.3-1.32.5	Cruche. Fragment de rebord. Pâte sableuse, 10R 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe noir grisâtre sur les surfaces interne et externe.
Fig. 11 Bft.3-1.37.9	Jarre. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/4 brun rougeâtre.

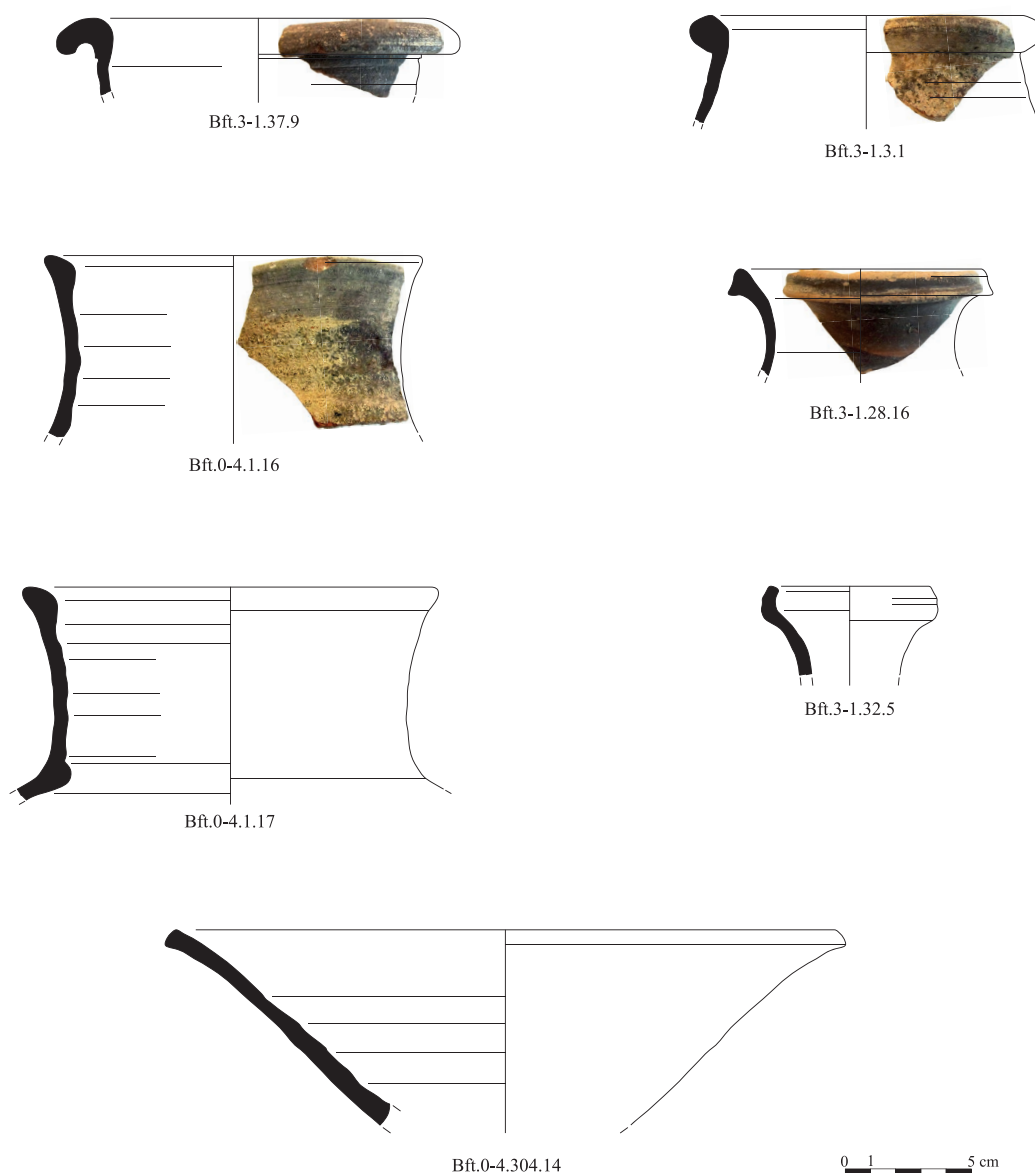
Fig. 12 Vaisselle de table et de stockage engobée en noir du XVIII^e siècle

Tableau 12 : Céramiques de Rachayya el-Foukhar

Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.1.5	Jarre. Fragment de base. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/8 rouge clair. Décor peint en brun sur la surface externe.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.1.6	Cruche. Col avec la lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/8 rouge clair. Décor peint en brun, avec des taches de glaçure plombifère sur l'extérieur.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.303.7	Coupe. Base annulaire. Pâte sableuse, 10R 5/8 rouge. Décor géométrique peint en brun, rouge et blanc sur la surface interne.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.303.9	Jarre. Fragment de panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge, 2.5YR 5/1 gris rougeâtre. Décor géométrique peint en brun et rouge sous un engobe beige sur la surface externe.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.303.41	Cruche. Col et lèvre avec l'anse. Pâte sableuse avec des inclusions rouges, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Décor peint en brun sous engobe beige sur la surface externe.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.304.18	Cruche. Fragment de col avec la lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 10YR 5/3 brun, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Décor peint en brun et rouge sur la surface externe, avec des incisions au niveau du col et de l'épaule.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.304.19	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/8 rouge. Engobe beige rosâtre sous un décor peint en brun sur l'intérieur.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.304.32	Coupe. Base annulaire. Pâte sableuse, 5YR 6/6 jaune rougeâtre. Engobe beige sur la surface interne débordant vers l'extérieur. Décor peint en brun sur l'intérieur.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.304.53	Cruche. Col avec la lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Décor peint en brun sur la surface externe.
Fig. 12 Bft.0-4.304.63	Coupe. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Engobe beige partiel sur la surface interne débordant vers l'extérieur. Traces de peinture brune sur l'intérieur.
Fig. 13 Bft.0-4.303.11	Jarre. Fragment de col, épaule avec les deux anses. Pâte sableuse, 5YR 6/4 brun rougeâtre clair. Décor peint en blanc, rouge et brun.
Fig. 13 Bft.0-4.304.27	Jarre. Fragment de col avec lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 10YR 5/3 brun, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Décor peint en brun sur la surface externe.
Fig. 13 Bft.3-1.3.45	Cruche. Fragment de panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Décor peint en brun monochrome avec traces de glaçure plombifère sur la surface externe.
Fig. 13 Bft.3-1.28.9	Jarre. Fragments de panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/8 rouge clair. Engobe orangé sous un décor peint en rouge, blanc et brun sur la surface externe. Traces de glaçure plombifère brune verdâtre sur l'extérieur.
Fig. 13 Bft.3-1.28.11	Jarre. Fragments de panse. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/8 rouge clair. Engobe orangé sous un décor peint en rouge, blanc et brun sur la surface externe.
Fig. 13 Bft.3-1.28.35	Jarre. Fragment de col avec la lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/8 rouge clair. Traces de glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface externe débordant vers l'intérieur. Décor peint en brun sur l'extérieur.
Fig. 13 Bft.3-1.28.43	Jarre. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/8 rouge. Décor peint en brun sur la surface externe. Traces de glaçure plombifère sur la lèvre.

(à l'est de Tyr) [Homsy-Gottwalles forthcoming (b)]. Toutefois, ce type tourné, datable de la période ottomane, trouve ses origines vers la fin de la période mamelouke comme, par exemple, la coupe Bft.0-4.304.32, ou la cruche Bft.0-4.303.41 qui date plutôt de la période mamelouke [François 2011 : 321, fig. 4.4].

La céramique d'Iznik (ancienne Nicée, Turquie), céramique de luxe rare sur les sites levantins, est très faiblement présente au château de Beaufort (Tableau 13 ; fig. 15) : une coupe, Bft.0-4.303.352, à base annulaire et à décor floral, est datable du XVI^e siècle. Nous trouvons également de la vaisselle de type *Marble Ware*, Bft.3-1.39, à base annulaire ; le décor à l'engobe marbré sous une glaçure plombifère donne ainsi l'effet du marbre. Ce type, fort probablement une production des ateliers de la Grèce du Nord, date de la fin du XVIII^e-début du XIX^e siècle [Amouric, Richez and Vallauri 1999 : 156 ; Wartburg 2001 : 376, fig. 10.24].

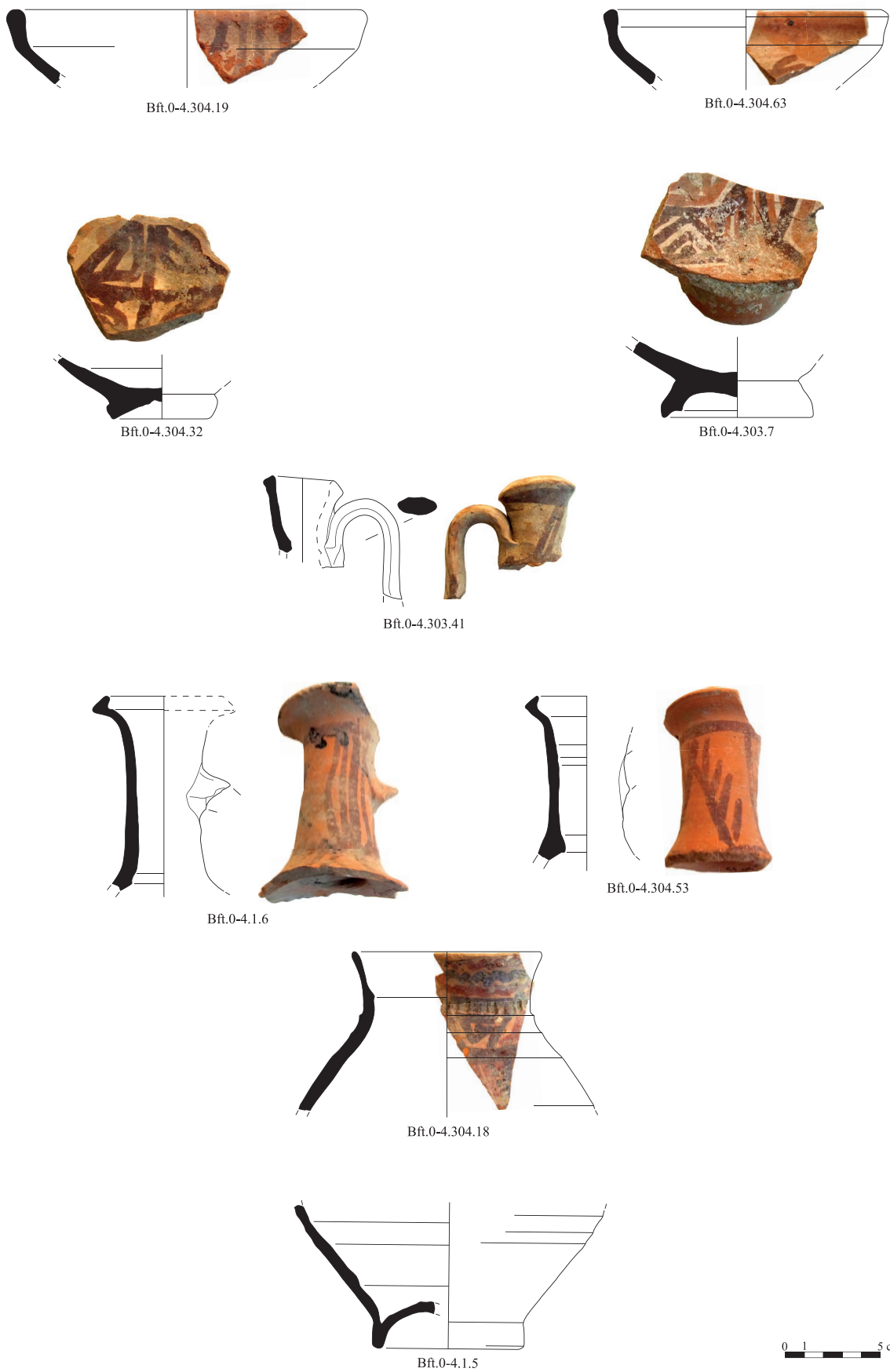


Fig. 13 Coupes et cruches peintes de la période post médiévale

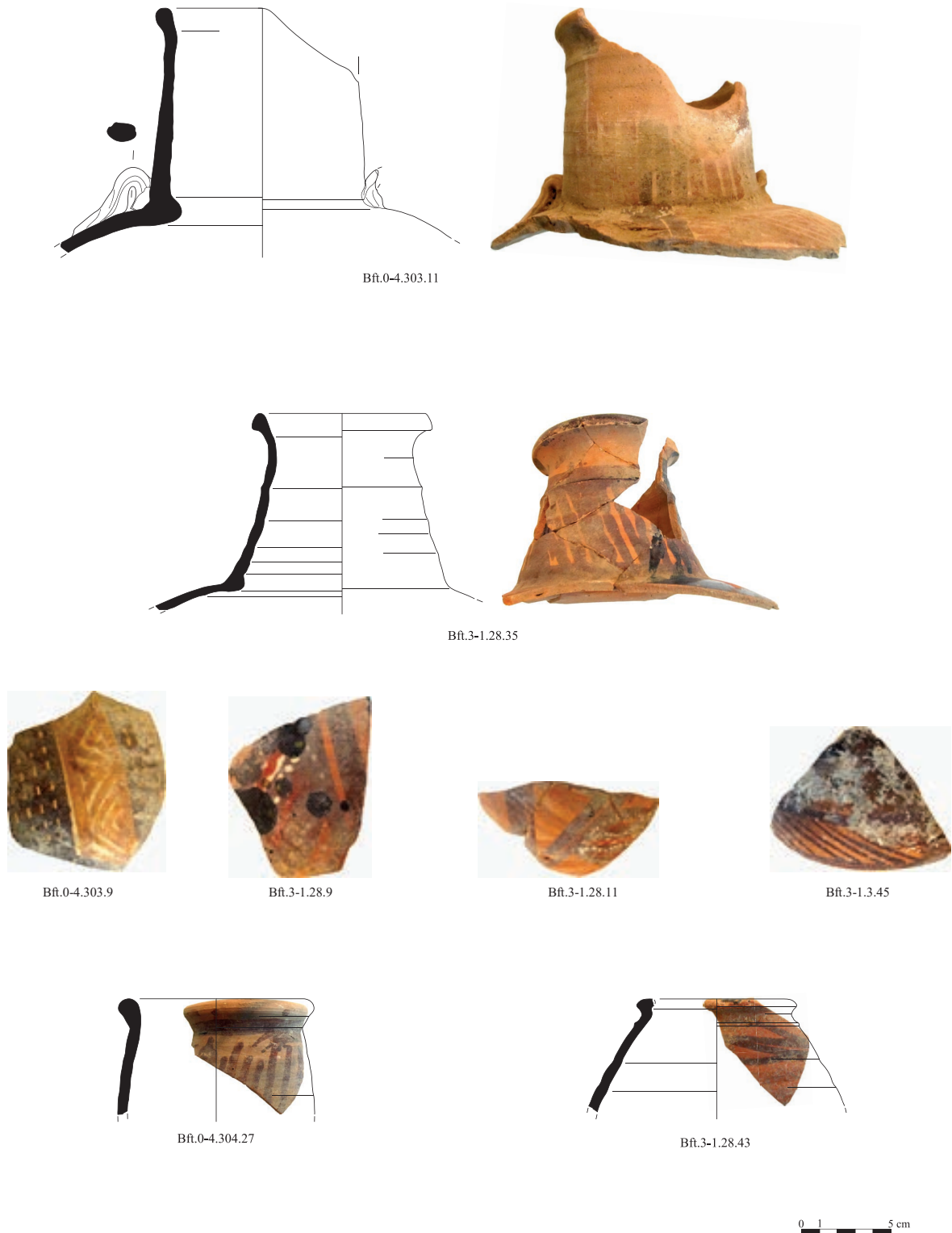


Fig. 14 Jarres peintes de la période post médiévale

Tableau 13 : Vaisselle de table importée

Fig. 14 Bft.0-4.303.352	Coupe. Fragment de base annulaire. Pâte siliceuse. Engobe blanc sous une glaçure alcalino-plombifère transparente. Décor peint sur la surface interne.
Fig. 14 Bft.3-1.3.9	Coupe. Fragment de base. Pâte argileuse. Décor peint à l'engobe sous une glaçure plombifère.

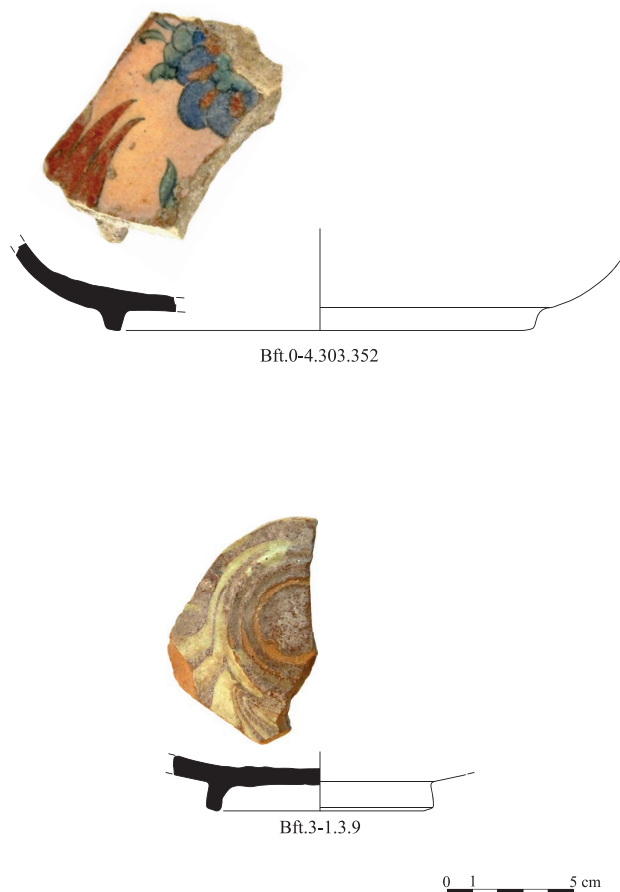


Fig. 15 Céramique d'Iznik et Marble Ware de la période post médiévale

Tableau 14 : Les bassins du XVIII^e siècle

Fig. 15 Bft.0-4.303.42	Bassin. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 6/6 rouge clair. Glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne.
Fig. 15 Bft.0-4.304.16	Bassin à profil complet. Pâte sableuse avec des inclusions rouges, 10R 5/8 rouge. Glaçure plombifère verte sur la surface interne.
Fig. 15 Bft.0-4.304.25	Bassin. Fragment de lèvre avec le début de la panse. Pâte sableuse, 7.5YR 6/3 brun clair, 10R 5/8 rouge. Engobe brun sur la surface externe. Glaçure plombifère brune verdâtre sur la surface interne.
Fig. 15 Bft.3-1.3.5	Bassin. Fragment de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 7/6 rouge clair. Traces de glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface interne.

Les bassins, récipients qui servaient aux préparations culinaires, sont également présents au château (Tableau 14 ; fig. 16) : les exemplaires Bft.0-4.303.42, Bft.0-4.304.16, Bft.0-4.304.25 et Bft.3-1.3.5 offrent une base légèrement concave, une panse hémisphérique et une lèvre rentrante en bandeau ; une couche fine de glaçure brune ou verte couvre la surface interne. Ce type de bassin est à dater du XVIII^e siècle [François 2001–2002 : 163, fig. 1.9].

Les pipes en terre cuite sont présentes dans les contextes de la période post médiévale ottomane de presque toutes les fouilles ; elles constituent souvent un marqueur de cette occupation pour les archéologues. Les sondages du château de Beaufort ne font pas exception puisqu'une grande quantité de pipes y a été exhumée. Ces pipes, datables de la fin du XVI^e siècle-milieu du XIX^e siècle, montrent l'évolution des types et techniques de cet objet tout au long de la période ottomane

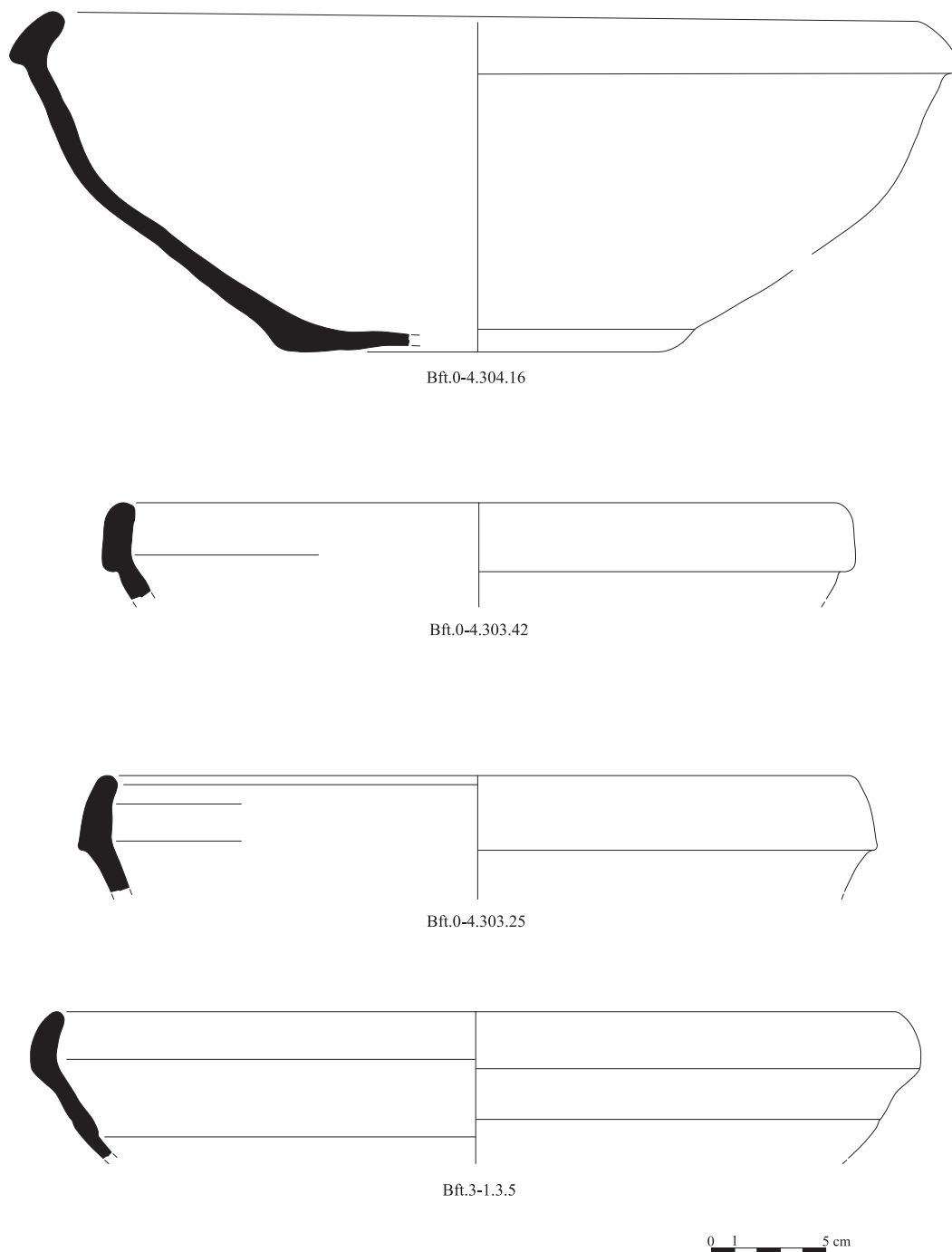


Fig. 16 Bassins du XVIII^e siècle

jusqu'à 1860, date à laquelle la cigarette remplace lesdites pipes [Bavay 2010 : 26]. Un des types les plus anciens est présent au château comme l'illustre l'exemplaire Bft.3-1.37 [325], à pâte beige, à longue tige et petit fourneau arrondi, remontant à la fin du XVII^e siècle [François 2008 : « Pipes à pâte claire »] (Tableau 15 ; fig. 17).

II. Les citernes

Les 4^e et 6^e étages sont situés dans le château haut. Les photos anciennes montrent que, déjà bien

Tableau 15 : Les pipes à tabac

Fig. 16 Bft.3-1.37 (325)	Pipe à pâte sableuse, 10YR 6/1 gris.
Fig. 16 Bft.3-1.28 (322)	Pipe à pâte sableuse, 10YR 6/1 gris. Engobe orange sur l'extérieur.
Fig. 16 Bft.3-1.3 (15)	Pipe à pâte sableuse, 7.5YR 6/1 gris
Fig. 16 Bft.0-4.303 (676)	Pipe à pâte sableuse, 10YR 6/1 gris.
Fig. 16 Bft.0-4.304 (704)	Pipe à pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 4/6 rouge. Engobe rouge sur l'extérieur.
Fig. 16 Bft.0-4.303 (664)	Pipe à pâte sableuse. 5YR 4/6 rouge. Engobe rouge sur l'extérieur.



Fig. 17 Pipes de la période post médiévale

avant la guerre de 1975, les étages 5 et 6 ont probablement été démolis par le tremblement de terre de 1837, ayant notamment causé la destruction des superstructures [Yasmine 2009 : 234]. En 1782 également, à la suite de la prise du château par les Ottomans sous la direction d'Al-Jazzar, gouverneur d'Acre, les parties supérieures du château ont été détruites [Yasmine 2009 : 234]. Une grande partie du 4^e étage a été fouillée et nettoyée. Les vestiges de cet étage comprennent, entre autres, une citerne d'eau. Un échantillonnage de six fragments de céramique a été prélevé de l'un des murs de cette citerne. Le 6^e étage, aujourd'hui détruit, comprend le donjon carré, partie la plus ancienne du château, datant du XII^e siècle et reconstruite par les Ayyoubides [Yasmine 2009 : 238]. Un lot de quatre céramiques a été retiré du mur de la citerne.

Céramique de la citerne du 4^e étage (Tableau 16 ; fig. 18)

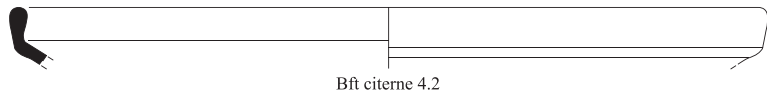
Deux coupes, Bft.citerne.4.2 et Bft.citerne 4.3, proviennent du mur de la citerne du 4^e étage. Ce type de vaisselle de table se caractérise par une forme hémisphérique, des bords à inflexion interne, une lèvre arrondie et une base annulaire, et est couvert d'une couche d'engobe beige sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne ; un décor incisé est appliqué sur l'intérieur. De production beyrouthine, ce type date du XI^e–XII^e siècle et apparaît très répandu dans les sites du Levant [François *et alii* 2003: 330, fig. 4.8 ; Stern and Stacey 2000: 174, fig. 2.3]. La coupe Bft.citerne.4.2 (3 fragments) trouve une forme identique à Césarée dont le type rappelle la céramique de Serçe Limani, datée du milieu du XI^e siècle [Pringle 1985 : 189, fig. 10.54].

Tableau 16 : Céramique de la citerne du 4^e étage

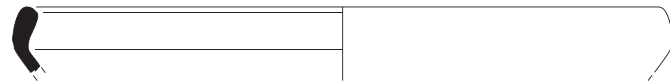
Fig. 17 Bft.citerne.4.1	Amphore. Fragment de panse. Pâte sableuse avec de nombreuses inclusions blanches ; 5YR 6/4 brun rougeâtre clair.
Fig. 17 Bft.citerne.4.2	Coupe. Fragments de lèvre (1) et de panse (2). Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge. Engobe beige rosâtre sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne. Décor incisé sur l'intérieur.
Fig. 17 Bft.citerne.4.3	Coupe. Fragments de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge. Engobe beige rosâtre fin sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne. Décor incisé sur l'intérieur.
Fig. 17 Bft.citerne.4.4	Casserole à profil presque complet. Le fond est manquant. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR2.5/3 rouge très brunâtre. Glaçure plombifère brune sur la surface interne. Traces de feu.



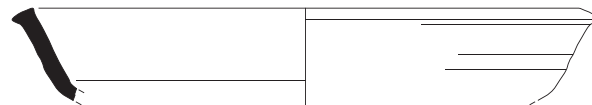
Bft.citerne.4.1



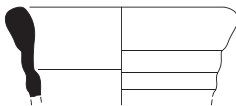
Bft.citerne.4.2



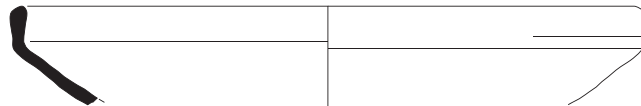
Bft.citerne.4.3



Bft.citerne.4.4



Bft.citerne.6.3



Bft.citerne.6.4



Bft.citerne.6.1



Bft.citerne.6.2



Fig. 18 Céramiques provenant des murs des citernes des 4^e et 6^e étages

Tableau 17 : Céramique de la citerne du 6^e étage

Fig. 17 Bft.citerne.6.1 et Bft.citerne.6.2	Bft.citerne.6.1 et Bft.citerne.6.2 Amphore ou marmite. Fragments de panse. Pâte sableuse très fine, avec de rares inclusions blanches ; 2.5YR 4/6 rouge.
Fig. 17 Bft.citerne.6.3	Amphore. Fragment de lèvre en bourrelet légèrement évasé. Pâte sableuse avec de très rares inclusions blanches, rouges et noires ; 10YR 8/3 brun très pâle.
Fig. 17 Bft.citerne.6.4	Coupe. Fragments de lèvre. Pâte sableuse, 2.5YR 5/6 rouge. Engobe beige rosâtre sous une glaçure plombifère jaune sur la surface interne.

La casserole très usée Bft.citerne.4.4, de production beyrouthine également, est peu profonde, caractérisée par une base aplatie, une paroi légèrement rectiligne évasée et une lèvre droite. Il est difficile de savoir si elle est munie ou non d'un tenon et/ou d'anses horizontales ; la glaçure couvre la totalité de l'intérieur de la casserole. Ce type, daté de la fin du X^e-XI^e siècle, trouve des parallèles au Liban et en Palestine/Israël [Masri 1997-1998: 114, fig. 4.1-2 ; Homsy-Gottwalles 2009: 128, pl. LXXXIII, Bey.111.1332]. Il est très important de signaler, en outre, la découverte d'un fragment amorphe d'amphore, Bft.citerne.4.1 ; bien qu'il soit difficile d'en identifier la forme et la date exactes, il paraît évident que ce récipient est antérieur à la période médiévale, voire qu'il date de la période romano-byzantine.

Céramique de la citerne du 6^e étage (Tableau 17 ; fig. 18)

L'échantillonnage prélevé du mur de la citerne du 6^e étage comprend une coupe, Bft. citerne.6.4, identique à la coupe Bft.citerne.4.2 et donc datable du XII^e siècle. Les trois autres fragments de l'échantillonnage ont livré des informations très importantes quant à leur chronologie. Le fragment de lèvre Bft.citerne.6.3 correspond à une amphore africaine Keay V, datant de la fin du II^e-fin du III^e siècle et qui servait au transport de l'huile ou du vin [Ventura and Donat 2010: 574, fig. 2.8]. Des parallèles sont connus à Beyrouth [Reynolds 1997-1998 : 208]. Les deux derniers fragments amorphes, Bft.citerne.6.1 et Bft.citerne.6.2, correspondent au même récipient : il s'agit d'une amphore (*table amphora*) ou bien d'une marmite à cannelure datable du II^e-III^e siècle. Cette datation s'appuie, d'après examen du fragment, sur l'épaisseur des parois et la cannelure s'affinant à la période protobyzantine.

Conclusion

L'éventail de catégories de matériel céramique mis au jour dans les sondages du château de Beaufort, qui reste évidemment à enrichir par l'étude de la totalité dudit matériel, permet d'engager une réflexion socio-économique non seulement sur la vie quotidienne du site, mais aussi et plus largement sur celle de la région, aux périodes médiévale et ottomane.

Bien que les découvertes du château proviennent de remblais, excepté les échantillons des murs des citernes, ceci n'enlève rien à leur importance. En effet, ce compte-rendu nous a permis, d'une part, de dresser un premier tableau typologique de céramiques utilisées durant une longue période et, d'autre part, de constater que ce corpus est davantage à comparer avec des céramiques issues d'autres sites de Palestine/Israël, Jordanie et Syrie, qu'avec celles de la côte libanaise. Par ailleurs, si les études consacrées aux céramiques médiévale et ottomane au Liban ont, jusqu'à présent, essentiellement porté sur des sites côtiers comme Beyrouth, Anfeh, Balamnd, Saïda, Tyr ou bien Tripoli [Homsy-Gottwalles 2009 ; 2010; 2011; 2016; In process Sidon and Tyre; forthcoming (a); Hakimian and Salamé-Sarkis 1988], il s'agit ici de la première étude traitant de vaisselle provenant d'un site - en l'occurrence une forteresse - situé dans l'arrière-pays.

Sans toutefois préciser sa source, P. Deschamps, dans son ouvrage sur *Les châteaux des*

Croisés en Terre Sainte, mentionne que Shihâb ad-Dîn Mahmûd ibn Bûrî, atabeg de Damas, a donné le château de Beaufort au roi de Jérusalem Foulques V d'Anjou en 1139 [Deschamps 1939 : 178, note 1] ; cette « information », ainsi que la présence de structures antérieures à la première phase des Croisés dans le château [Yasmine 2009 : 233, 240] et, surtout, la découverte de céramiques datant des périodes romaine, omeyyade et fatimide, donc antérieures à 1139, viennent confirmer une occupation bien plus ancienne du site, non attestée jusqu'ici par les sources écrites ou par l'architecture.

Enfin, il est important de signaler qu'il ne s'agit que de premiers résultats partiels et provisoires des découvertes de Beaufort. Des milliers de fragments de céramique ont été exhumés lors des travaux de restauration du château ; une étude complète et approfondie de la totalité du mobilier céramique est nécessaire pour en dresser un tableau chrono-typologique qui permettra d'enrichir notre connaissance de cette région, encore peu exploitée, du Liban, mais aussi de vérifier la présence d'une occupation du site de Beaufort dès l'époque antique.

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RESTORATION OF A UNIQUE NEOLITHIC CLAY FEMALE FIGURINE FROM TELL SEKER AL-AHEIMAR, NORTHEAST SYRIA

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1. INTRODUCTION

Tell Seker al-Aheimar is a Neolithic site situated in the Upper Khabur Valley, about 45 km northwest of Hassake, Northeast Syria (Fig. 1). This large mound, occupying an area of approximately 300 m by 150 m with a height of 11 m from the surrounding field (Figs. 2 and 3), was extensively excavated by a University of Tokyo team between 2000 and 2010, which produced a series of new discoveries that contribute to our better understanding of the Neolithisation processes of this part of the Fertile Crescent [Nishiaki 2016, 2018]. The most important is the full documentation of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) human occupations, which was practically the first one in the Upper Khabur basin. Moreover, its transitional process to the Pottery Neolithic, represented by the Pre-Proto-Hassuna and the Proto-Hassuna stages, was also revealed [Nishiaki and Le Mière 2005, 2008, 2017]. These findings provided us with a valuable opportunity to understand the developments of the PPNB communities in the crucial period the Neolithisations, which had been poorly known in Upper Mesopotamia.

This paper refers to one of the remarkable discoveries from the PPNB levels, a unique clay female figurine made of unbaked clay, discovered in 2004. It is unique, first of all, because of the large size, about 14 cm high, which is unparalleled by the figurines of this time period thus far



Fig. 1 Map showing the location of Tell Seker al-Aheimar

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Fig. 2 General view of Tell Seker al-Aheimar

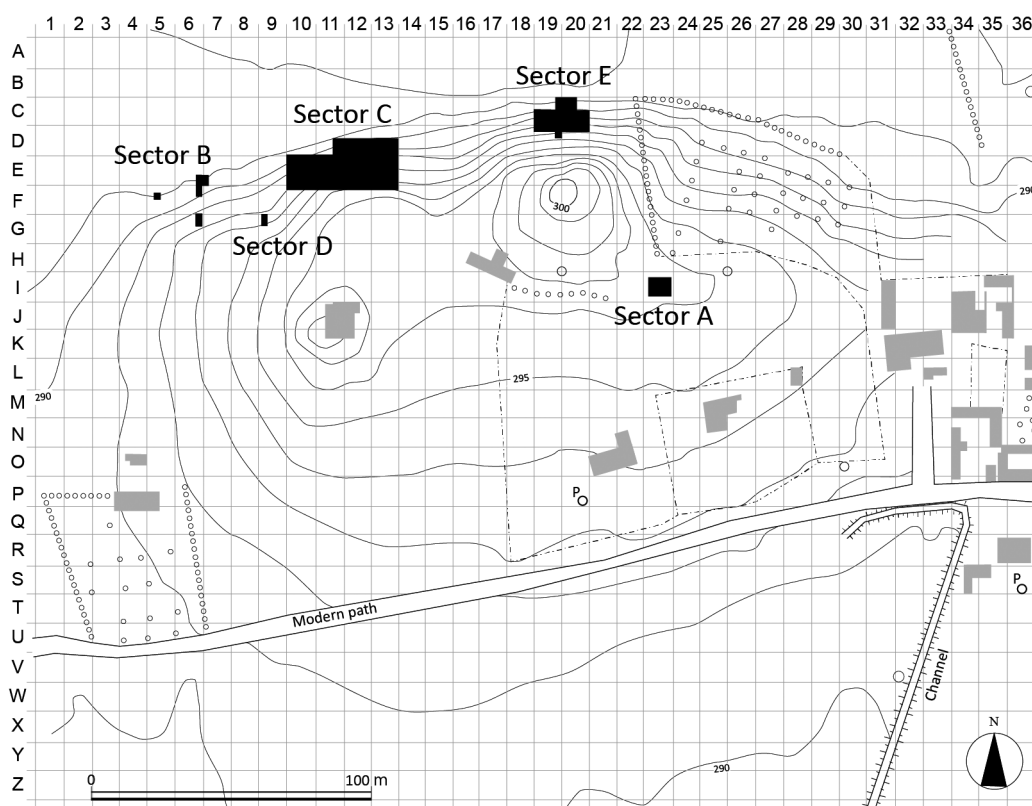


Fig. 3 Plan and the distribution of excavations squares of Tell Seker al-Aheimar

known in Upper Mesopotamia and beyond. In addition, the figurine was manufactured to depict details of the head, body, arms and legs, employing black and red paintings to represent hairs, tattoos, and even clothes (Fig. 4) [Nishiaki 2007, 2008]. Comparable figurines may be found in the Pottery Neolithic and later especially of the Anatolian plateau, like at Çatal Höyük [Hodder 2006] and Hacilar [Mellart 1970], but none from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic context either from Anatolia or other regions of Southwest Asia. These preliminary observations indicated an obvious significance of this figurine for the research of Neolithic cultural processes and variability.

This figurine was not discovered as seen nowadays (Fig. 4). It was recovered in fragile clay fragments covered with much sandy sediments. Accordingly, when discovered, the excavation team immediately recognized a need of conservation/restoration using proper chemical materials

by a specialist team. Otherwise it was thought that it would have deteriorated soon to lose its scientific value as well as artistic quality. Under that circumstance, the excavation team from the University Museum, the University of Tokyo, and the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums, Syria, built up a joint project for collaboration in conservation/ restoration work of the figurine. The agreement was successfully made for two years between 2006 and 2008. The figurine was sent to the University Museum, the University of Tokyo, and then subjected immediately to adequate work.

While the project was completed more than a decade ago, we thought it also useful to document details of the restoration/conservation processes to help further study of this unique figurine. Accordingly, this paper describes how this figurine was discovered, restored, and conserved.

2. THE DISCOVERY CONTEXTS

The figurine was discovered on September 22, 2004, during the excavations of Sector C, one of the five major excavation areas of Tell Seker al-Aheimar (Fig. 3). The sector comprises four 10 m × 10 m squares and an adjacent trench of 4 m 22 m, covering a total of about 500 square meters. Below the eroded Chalcolithic layers, a ca. 7-m-thick sequence of the Pre-Pottery and Pottery Neolithic occupation levels was discovered [Nishiaki 2016, 2018]. It consists of at least three phases. The latest is the Proto-Hassuna of the Pottery Neolithic (Level 1), overlying the Pre-Proto-Hassuna of the Pottery Neolithic (Levels 2–8), beneath which the Late PPNB levels extend downwards until virgin soil (Levels 9–20).

The figurine was recovered from an aceramic Neolithic level, Level 12 of Square E10, assigned to the end of the Late PPNB. Two radiocarbon dates from this level are 7940 ± 45 BP and 7990 ± 45 BP, or approximately 9000 years ago when calibrated [Nishiaki 2007]. This level yielded several mud-brick walled-buildings. The figurine was found beneath the floor in one of a rectangular building consisting of at least four rooms, about 2.5 m on each side. When the floor, a part of which was plastered with gypsum, was removed, a homogeneous deposit made of compact reddish-brown mud was revealed. This deposit seemed to have been laid as the foundation of the building. The figurine laid within this packed mud. No pit was identifiable during the excavation. The body and the head were found separately but close to each other.

3. CLEANING, CONSERVATION, AND RESTORATION

After the discovery of the figurine, it was kept at the Damascus National Museum. Then, with the official approval and the necessary documents, the figurine was transported to the University Museum, the University of Tokyo, in 2006. In the following, the practical procedures and observations made by us are presented.

3.1 Condition before cleaning

Before restoration, the body measures ca. 10 cm in height and weighs ca. 658 g (Fig. 5), and the



Fig. 4 The unique female figurine from Tell Seker al-Aheimar

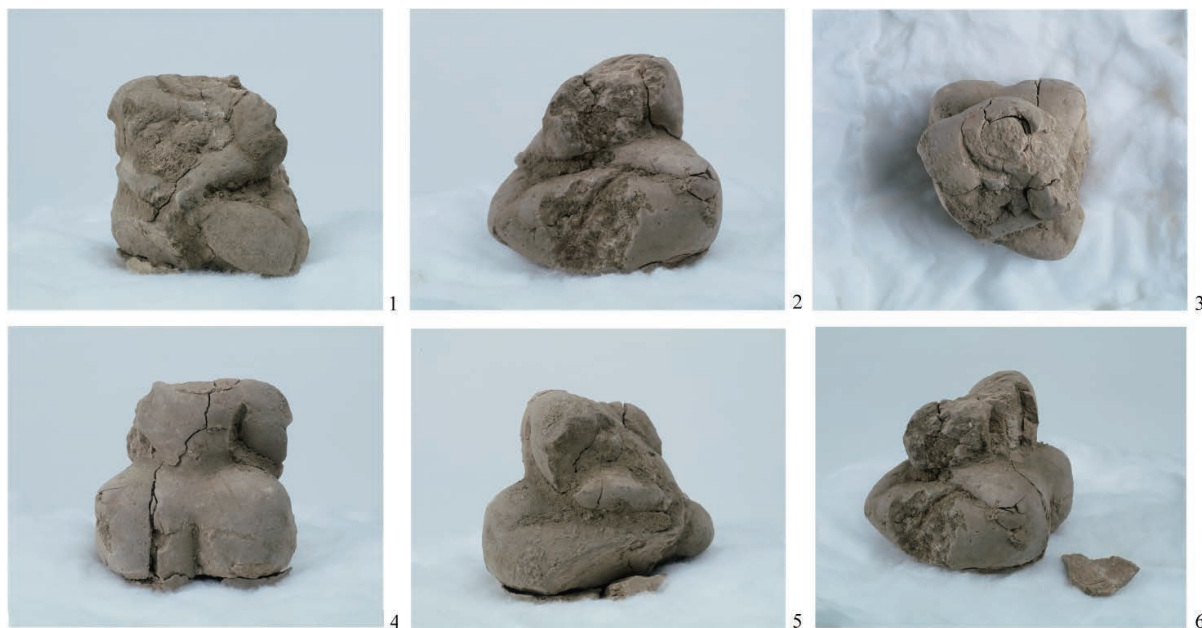


Fig. 5 Body before restoration

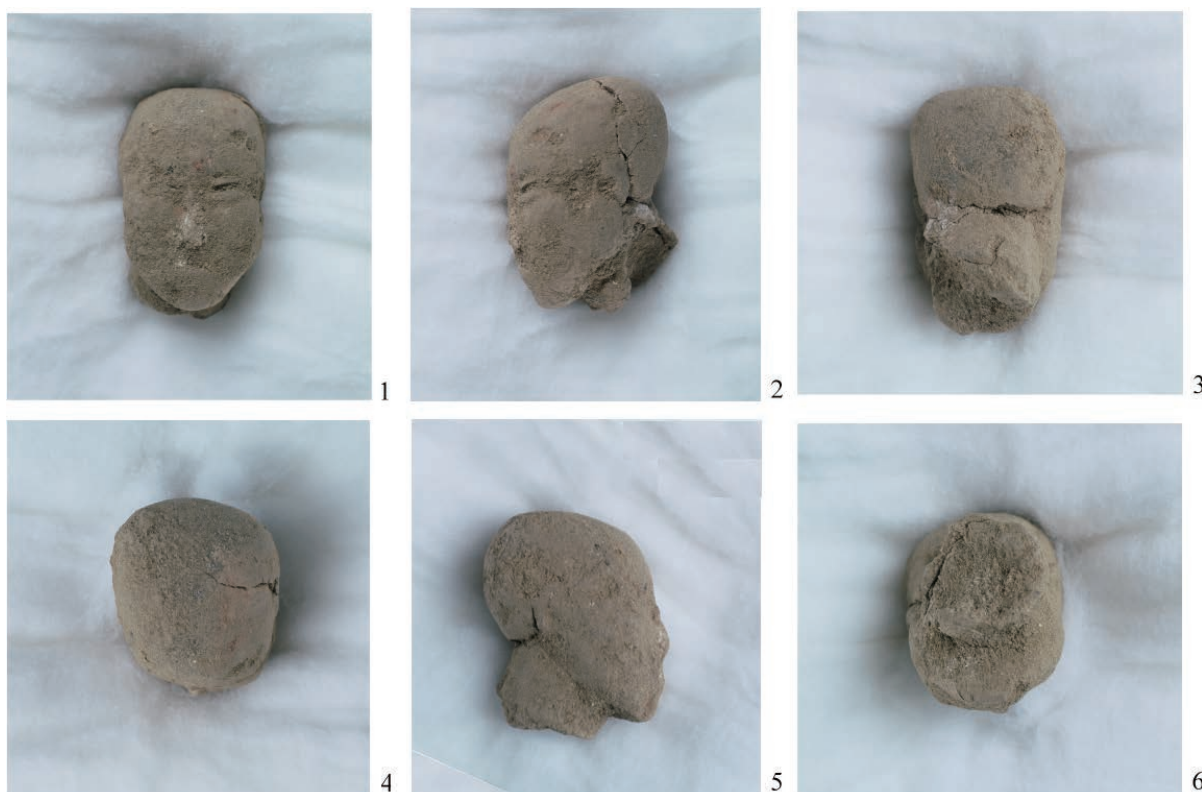


Fig. 6 Head before restoration

head, ca. 4.5 cm in height, and 38.25 g in weight (Figs. 6 and 7). It was in a friable condition with large cracks. In addition, a large part of the neck, the left shoulder, the right elbow, and the right leg were originally missing. Also broken were the left back and the buttock. A large crack was observed in the front side, from the left shoulder to the left leg. In the dorsal surface, another large crack was located from the neck to the left buttock. All over the surface was covered with



Fig. 7 Head temporarily put on the body before restoration

sediments, obscuring the features of the face and the body. However, faint traces of red and black paints were observable in some parts.

White deposits, or white crystals, were observed at broken surfaces and cracks (Fig. 8). The deposition of crystals is probably related to the production technique of the figurine, which is made by attaching clay to a clay cone. Because the attached surfaces of clay are not completely sealed, it is probable that water came in and out of the voids, resulting in the deposition of white mineral crystals. The growth of minerals pushed clay, causing cracks and flaking during the deposition of the figurine in archaeological deposits. The center of the broken surfaces of the left shoulder and at the areas near the chest and the belly were covered with thick sediments (Fig. 9). The sediments were coarse-grained and loose, clearly different from the clay used as raw material for the figurine. Those remaining in some parts were concretized, and did not come off only by brushing (Fig. 10).

3.2 Cleaning

First of all, sediments on the surfaces of the figurine were physically removed by using a scalpel and a needle because unbaked clay objects disintegrate in water. We used a stereomicroscope to achieve careful cleaning, particularly not to remove paints on the figurine (Fig. 11).



Fig. 8 White crystals on the surfaces



Fig. 9 Sediments filling the center of the left shoulder break (1) and covering the abdomen (2)



Fig. 10 Sediments covering the surface of the figurine



Fig. 11 Cleaning the head



Fig. 12 Body under cleaning



Fig. 13 Paints visible on different parts of the body (I)

During the course of cleaning of the body, its surfaces were protected with soft stretch bandage, leaving parts to be cleaned only (Fig. 12). This is because the body had the large crack were friable. The use of soft bandage for the body not only prevented it from disintegration, but also helped us to manipulate the body with the ease under the microscope for cleaning. The cleaning revealed the details of red and black paints (Figs. 13, 14, and 15). Red points were observable both on the head and body. On the head, they were present at the left side near the top of the head, the center of

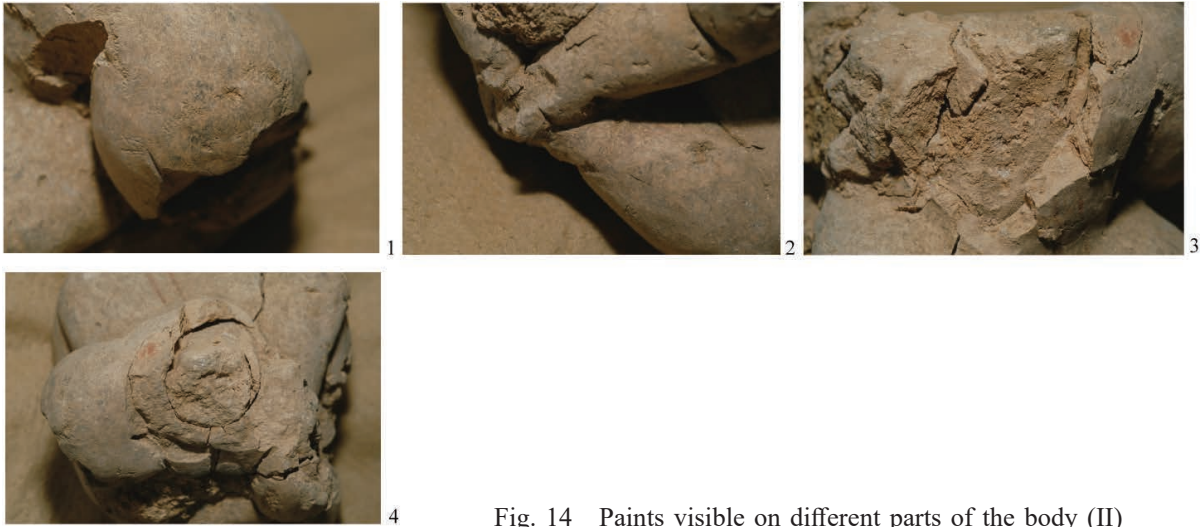


Fig. 14 Paints visible on different parts of the body (II)

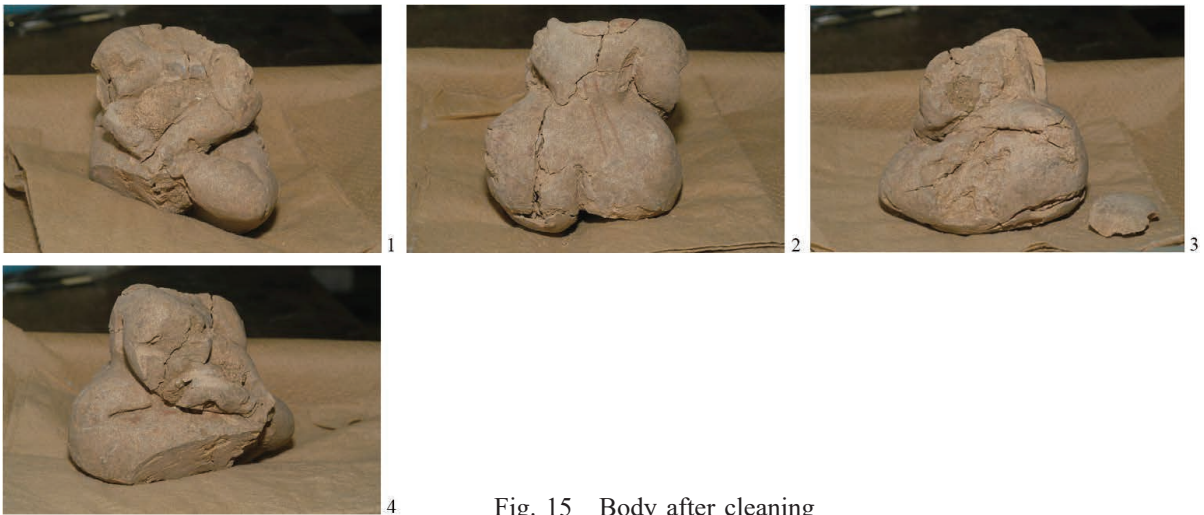


Fig. 15 Body after cleaning

forehead, eyelids, the areas under eyes, the area under the nose, and the area between the mouth and the chin. On the body, red points show two lines at the back, dots at the lower back and on the folded legs, and at the back of the neck. The black paints were also visible on the head, at the eyebrows, the breasts, the right buttock, the left thigh, the right shoulder, and the left side of the back.

As mentioned above, sediments remaining at the broken left shoulder, the chest and the belly of the figurine, were clearly different from the clay of the figurine (Fig. 16). They were evidently coarser and looser. At the first glance, it was assumed that the figurine held some objects on chest, but our CT scanning indicated that there was nothing on the chest but a layer of sediments filling a hole, probably made by root penetrating from the left shoulder to the chest.



Fig. 16 Body before (1) and in the course of removal of the later sediments covering the abdomen (2)



Fig. 17 Consolidation of the head with SS101 mixed with catalyst C 1%

Therefore, the sediments in question were removed to reveal the chest and the belly.

3.3 Consolidation

Although Paraloid B-72 (ethyl methacrylate co-polymer) is generally used for consolidation in Syria, it often causes the change of the original colors. Accordingly, Paraloid B-44 (methyl methacrylate copolymer) was selected for the consolidation of the present figurine. Paraloid B-44 is less infiltrative than Paraloid B72. However, even Paraloid B-72 does not infiltrate significantly deeper into clay. In addition, the strong burnishing of the surfaces with fine-grained clay of the figurine by Neolithic people makes it difficult to infiltrate Paraloid B-44 into the figure. Considering these, SS101 resin (methyl methoxy siloxane) was used with 5% Paraloid B-44 in xylene.

First, SS101 mixed with catalyst C 1% was infiltrated into the figurine using a dropper (Fig. 17). We took a special care to turn the figurine so that the working surface always faced up to help resin infiltrate downwards. After drying, 5%



Fig. 18 Consolidation of the head with 5% Paraloid B-44 in xylene

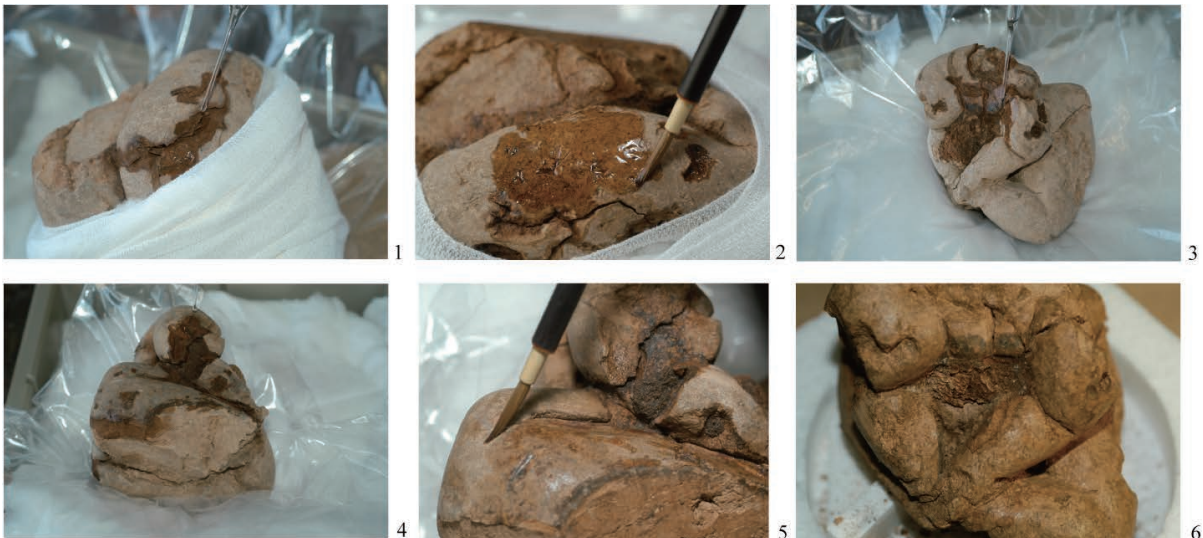


Fig. 19 Consolidation of the body

Paraloid B-44 in xylene was applied to the figurine using a brush (Fig. 18). With the aid of SS101 already infiltrated, Paraloid B-44 in xylene was easily infiltrated into the figurine. Consolidation was done with much attention not to change the original color and texture of the figurine. The body of the figurine was so fragile. Therefore the body was bound with a bandage during consolidation works (Fig. 19).

3.4 Refitting and filing

The fragments of the body were refitted using 50% Paraloid B-72 in acetone (Fig. 20). Filling was put into cracks to stop more breakages. Filling consisted of 25% acrylic emulsion primal AC2235 in 10 g of distilled water, 2% methylcellulose (aldrich 40000 cps) in 1g of distilled water, 27 g of sediments from the site, 1.5 g of glass micro balloon, 1.5 g of diatomite, 0.015 g of red iron oxide. Filling was applied to the cracks on the left part of the head, the bottom of the hip, the right leg and the back (Fig. 21). Before refitting the head to the body, the broken surfaces of the head were consolidated with 10% Paraloid B-44 in xylene (Fig. 22). There was a big gap between the head

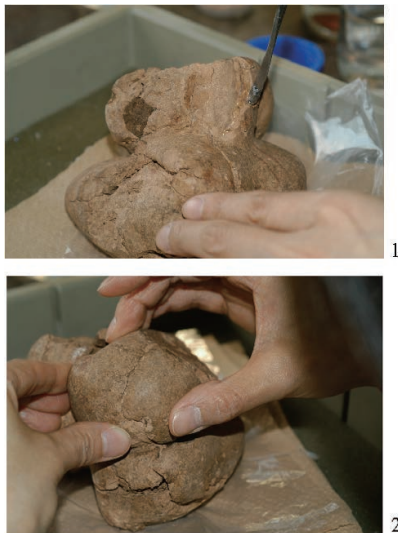


Fig. 20 Refitting the body fragments



Fig. 21 Restoration of the body with filling



Fig. 22 10% Paraloid B-44 in xylene on the neck break



Fig. 23 Filling of the gap in the neck

and body even if they could be joined.

Therefore, filling was put into the gap (Fig. 23). The filling was banded to the head using 50% Paraloid B-72 in acetone. After drying the filling, the head and body were carefully refitted with 50% Paraloid B-72 in acetone (Figs. 24 and 25). After drying the glue, the missing part of the neck was modeled with filling. The original shape of the lower part of the neck was unclear. Therefore, the part was not restored. This part looked unnaturally depressed, but it represents the core of the neck. When sufficiently dried up, 5% Paraloid B-44 in xylene was painted with a brush to make colors similar to other parts of the figurine.

4. THE RESTORED FIGURINE

The conservation and restoration work was undertaken from November 2006 to May 2007. The restored figurine currently measures 14 cm in height, 718.6 g in weight, 10 cm in the shoulder height, 9 cm in width, and 10.2 cm in thickness, revealing its gigantic size for figurines of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period (Fig. 26). Due to the consolidation, which changed the original color and weight of the figurine to a negligible extent only, detailed examination of this large female figurine becomes possible.

The unique features of the Tell Seker al-Aheimar figurine can be summarized as follows [Nishiaki 2007, 2008]. First, it shows a realistic depiction of the human figure. The PPNB female figurines discovered to date in Syria and the neighboring countries are generally stylized or schematic, with an emphasis on female features like the breasts, buttocks and thick bellies. As known at the contemporaneous sites of Tell Bouqras [Weiss 1985] and Tell Sabi Abyad II [Verhoeven 2000], for example, there have been known no figurines with such depictions to date, particularly for the head. The uniqueness of the Tell Seker al-Aheimar is easily understood. Similar representations can be found only among the female figurine fragments from Jarmo, northern Iraq, although the details having remained to be published [Braidwood 1983]. Second, the figurine represents a curious posture. While the seated figurines are common at the PPNB sites, our figurine shows a distinct posture, her left leg bent across the body (Figs. 4 and 26), hardly seen at any other coeval sites in Syria. Rather, the figurines showing the same posture have been known in the Samarran context of the Pottery Neolithic of Iraq. Figurines from Tell es-Sawwan and Choga Mami, made of baked clay, represent the best parallels [Oates 1966, 1968] to our figurine, dated from several centuries earlier than these. Given also the similarity in the representations of the head, such as seen in coffee-bean type eyes, tattoos, and hair cover, the link with the Samarra culture seems evident [Nishiaki 2007]. Thirdly, the restoration confirmed the large size of the present figurine. The common heights of PPNB female figurines are less than 5 cm at most, far smaller than the Seker al-Aheimar figurine. The large size suggests an important role of this figurine for the public ritual rather than the household one, because of its appealing power to a wider audience [see Verhoeven 2004]. Indeed, the late PPNB is regarded as a transitional period



Fig. 24 The figurine under drying



Fig. 25 Head and body refitted



Fig. 26 Restored figurine

from the community ritual to household one: the production and use of large figurines up to life size, such as known at Nevala Cori [Morsch 2013] and Ain Ghazal [Rollefeson 2008], rapidly became uncommon in this period, and was replaced by the prevalent use of smaller stylized figurines in the ritual in this period and later. The Tell Seker al-Aheimar example seems to fit in this general trajectory, demarking one of the oldest examples of this changing trend of the ritual traditions.

5. CONCLUSION

Our restoration project allowed it to study the large female figurine of Tell Seker al-Aheimar from a variety of view-points. Its sophisticated modeling, the detailed expression of the features, the complicated posture of sitting, and the large size all indicate a special status to this figurine among the late PPNB community of Northeast Syria. At the same time, we would like to underscore that it is one of the masterpieces from the Neolithic art of Syria.

For this fruitful restoration project, we would like to appreciate all the authorities and colleagues who have involved with this project. First, we wish to express our sincerest gratitude to the Syrian authorities for their most generous approval of export of the figurine to Japan. Among a number of others who contributed, we wish to mention the following individuals in particular, without whose help our successful work would have never been realized: Dr. Bassam Jamous, Dr. Michelle Maqdissi, Dr. Ahmad Serriyeh, and Mr. Ahmad Diab, then at Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums; Prof. Shigeo Aoki, then at the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo. Financial support for this project was provided with by the Japan Society for Promotion of Sciences.

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DOOLPERD CEMETERY: A REFLECTION OF IRON AGE III IN WESTERN IRAN

Amir SAED MUCHESHI*, Ali BEHNIA** and Farhad RAHIMI***

Introduction

The solemn studies conducted on the Iron Age in Kurdistan Province in western Iran were initiated by the early 1960s with the identification and assemblage of exquisite objects of Tepe Ziwiye. Right after the accidental discovery of numerous such delicate items and their gradual transfer to the National Museum of Iran, the stylistic study of antiquities began. The following years were archaeologically significant as a substantial number of excavations and studies were carried out on various sites of the region [Godard 1950; Barnett 1956; Kantor 1960; Motamedi 1997; Muscarella 1977].

Most of these researches indicate to the homogeneity of cultural materials including ceramic assemblage in parts of Iran during the Iron Age III (800–600 BCE). Several archaeological studies on Iron Age cemeteries have been conducted in the past few decades in Kurdistan province of Iran. The majority of these cemeteries are already in a ruined state now and it is the need of the hour to preserve as much as possible before they fade away entirely. In this regard, the present research endeavors to analyze the obtained information from the Doolperd Cemetery and expects to do justice to the cemetery that has unfortunately been destroyed.

Research Background

Handful settlement sites and graveyards dated to the Iron Age III (around 800–600 B.C) have duly been explored and excavated in the Kurdistan province in western Iran. These researches, though quantitatively limited, bring about certain crucial details of the mentioned period which indeed is a promising start in this regard. For the analysis of the material remains from these sites, especially pottery, one can refer to Tepe Ziwiye [Young 1965], the cemeteries of Kul Tarike [Rezvani and Roustaei 2007] and Mala Mcha [Amelirad *et al.* 2017] and the archaeological study of the northeast of this province [Swiney 1975]. Apart from these sites, Tepe Hasanlu in northwestern Iran [Young 1965] and Tepe Godin [Young 1969], Bistun [Alizadeh 2004], Tepe Nush-i Jan [Stronach 1978] and Tepe Baba Jan [Goff 1968 and 1978] in the western region too have yielded cultural materials belonging to the Iron Age III.

The first two Iron Age cultures (i.e. Iron Age I and II), showcase two separate horizons of pottery named for convenience as (a) the Early Western Grey Ware Period and (b) the Late Western Grey Ware Period. The third period (i.e. Iron Age III) on the other hand introduces an entirely distinct pottery type and vis-à-vis horizon – the Late Buff Ware Period [Young 1965; Levine 1987; Dyson 1965]. The criticism concerning this period [see Danti 2013a and 2013b] shall not be addressed in the current paper.

The archaeological sites of Kurdistan province, not unlike the previously noted sites, show an almost uniform tradition. The resemblance can also be extended to the northern Mesopotamia region [Lumsden 1999] and the northern central plateau [Madjidzadeh 2010].

The pottery collected from the Doolperd Cemetery typically belongs to the Late Buff Ware

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period – a horizon that is also referred to as the Median period. This cemetery was first identified by Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization of Kurdistan Province and in early 2020 it was surveyed by authors of the current paper once again.

The Doolperd Graveyard

The Doolperd graveyard ($36^{\circ} 8.710'N$; $47^{\circ} 3.127'E$; 1965 AMSL) is situated in Divandarreh County



Fig. 1 General location of Doolperd in relation with the other archaeological sites.

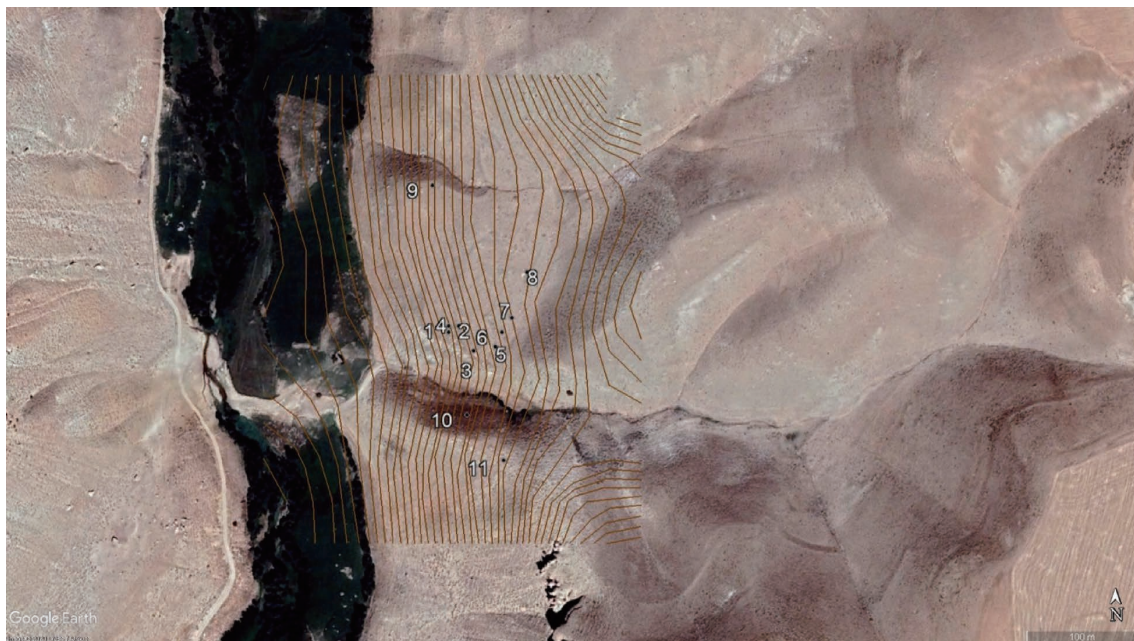


Fig. 2 Aerial image and topography of Doolperd with the location of tombs.



Fig. 3 General view of Doolperd; viewed from the northeast.

in the centre of Kurdistan province. This cemetery falls 1800 meters north to the Bashgheshlagh village and on the eastern terrace of the northern mountains of the village (Fig. 2). There is a river as well as a spring on the western side of the cemetery that falls in the north-south direction (Fig. 3). The cemetery is 250 meters long and 120 meters wide. The length and breadth of the graveyard are calculated based on the distribution of ancient potsherds. Throughout the survey, only one intact grave could be observed. Rest of the ten are unfortunately in their ruined states owing to human vandalism. However, potsherds were recovered from most of them. A detailed account of the bodily remains along with the ceramics is provided in the paper.

The architecture of the graves

The ten graves which have presumably been destroyed by smugglers were located in the central location of the Doolperd cemetery (Figs. 4 and 5). The tombs were constructed of stone without using mortar or even dry masonry. Huge boulders have used the cover and protect the inner chambers. However, the tombs are so massively destroyed that both inner and outer measurements seem impossible. The fourth tomb, which is somewhat in a better condition than the others, is covered with a 20 Centimeters thick boulder. The grave is 150 centimetres wide and located in the western part of the cemetery (Fig. 4: tomb no. 4). Superficially tomb no. 7 appears to be intact (Fig. 5: tomb No. 7). It is measurably 2 meters wide and 3 meters long. The tomb is covered with irregular fold stones in the upper part, which in this respect is similar to the excavated graves mentioned above in Kurdistan province and Luristan region [Overlaet 2003].



Fig. 4 Graves in the Doolperd cemetery (tomb number 1 to 6).

Pottery variation

Throughout the survey, 152 potsherds were collected from the Doolperd Cemetery. Based on texture, these sherds can broadly be classified into three categories – (a) fine-grained, (b) regular or common, and (c) coarse-grained pottery (Table. 1).

(a) The Fine Wares

Nine percent of the total collected potsherds from the Doolperd graveyard was narrowed down as the fine ware variety. It includes fourteen individual pieces – all collected from the surface of the cemetery. This fine variety could further be divided into two separate categories on the ground of fabric – buff and brown. The buff ware variety covers a wide range of pottery from pure buff to

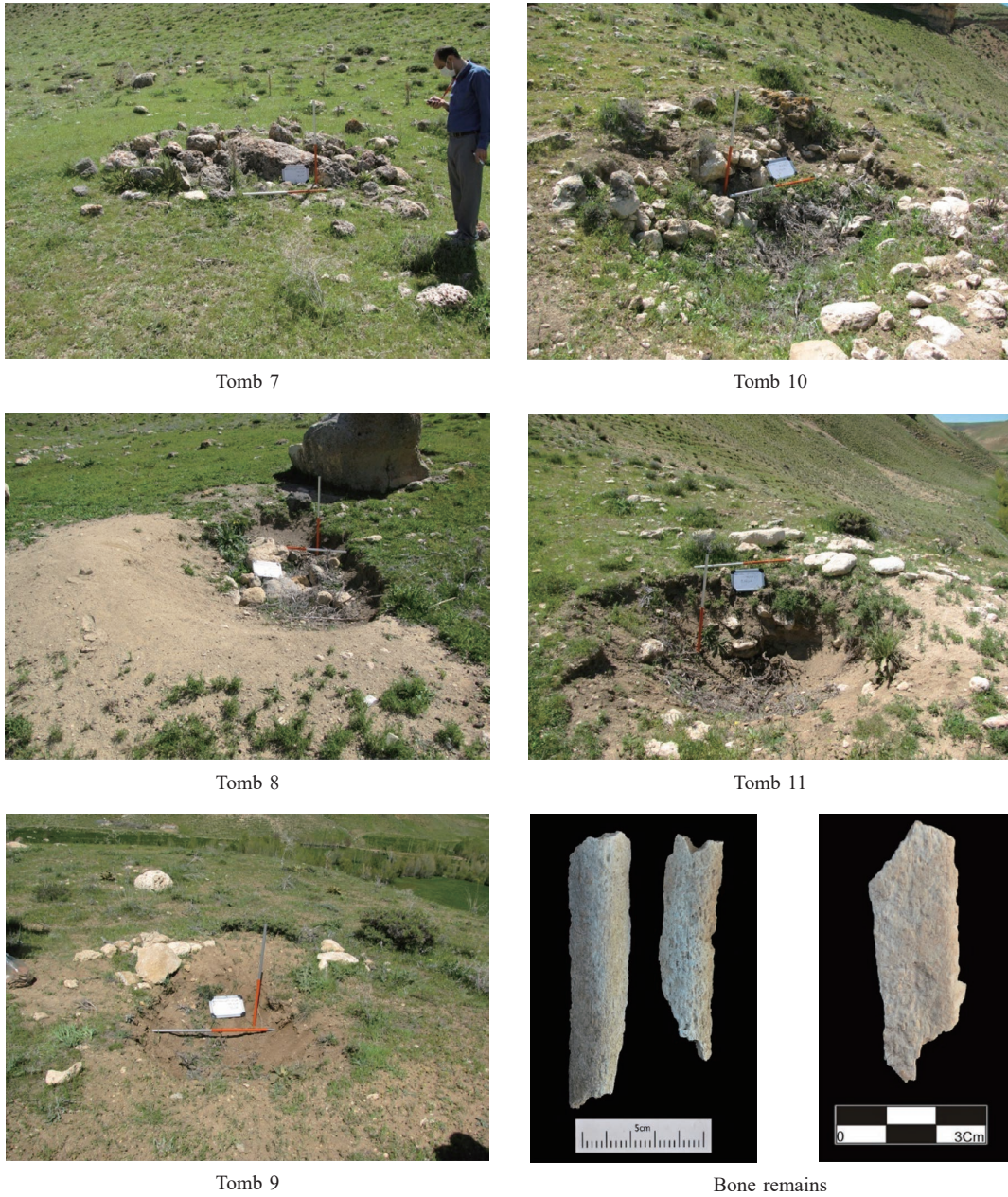


Fig. 5 Graves in Doolperd (tomb number 7 to 11) and the bone remains (to the bottom right).

Table 1: Identified potsherds from Doolperd graveyard.

The survived locations	Fine Wares	Common Wares	Coarse Wares	Total
Survey of the cemetery	14	51	30	95
Tomb No. 2	—	3	2	5
Tomb No. 3	—	2	—	2
Tomb No. 6	—	5	—	5
Tomb No. 9	—	—	35	35
Tomb No. 10	—	1	2	3
Tomb No. 11	—	6	1	7
Total	14	68	70	152

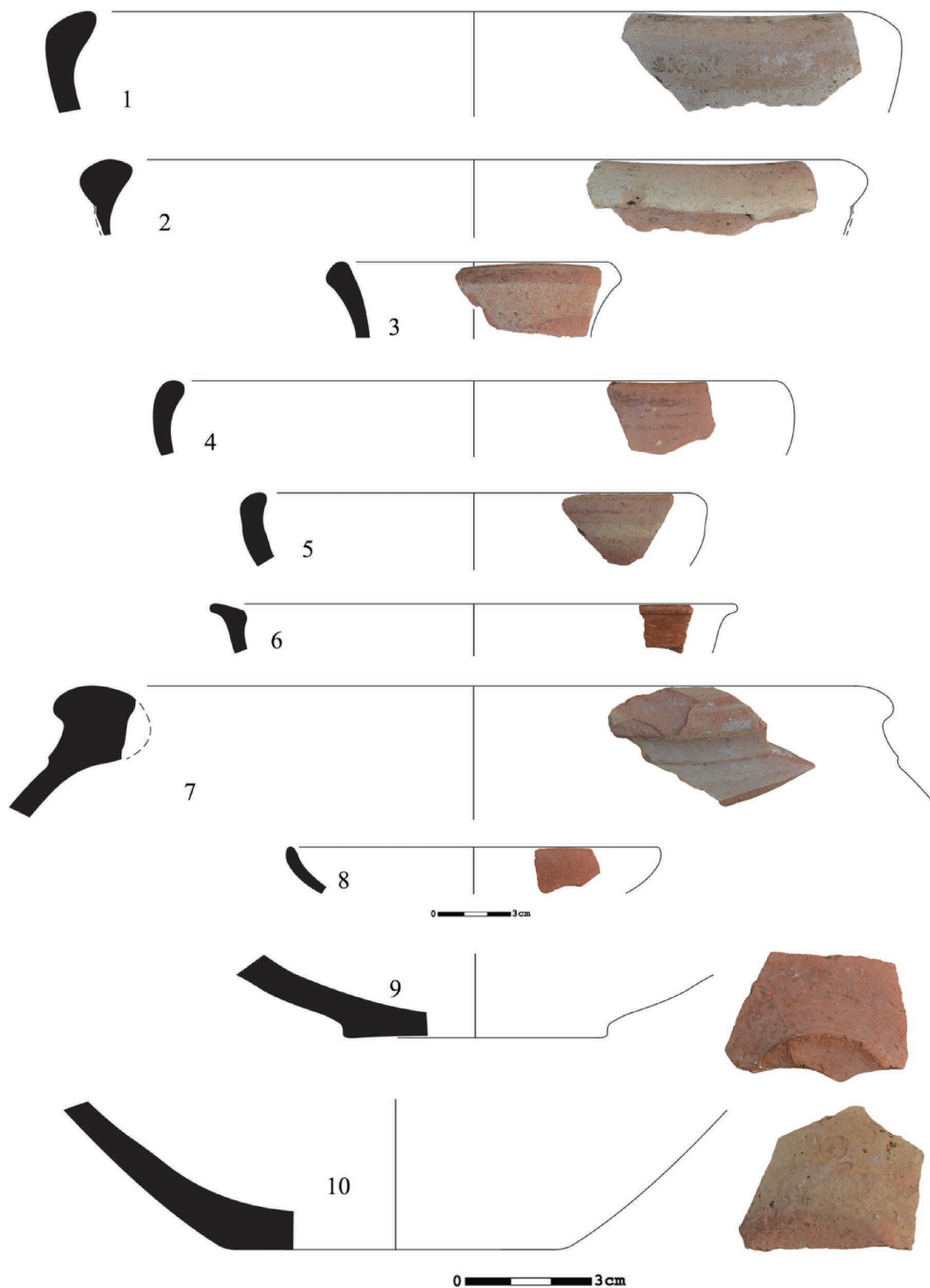


Fig. 6 Fine wares.

orange spectra. The slip that was used on these potteries were somewhat different from the fabric. The slip is often cream in colour with an occasional variation that includes orange, buff and brown.

Each one of the collected sherds is well-fired. They are evidently wheel-made and their temper is fine grit. Six of the samples have a smooth surface and five are even burnished. The fine-grained pottery collected from Doolperd have a close resemblance with those collected from the sites of the northwest, west of Iran, north of the central plateau of Iran and north of Mesopotamia (Fig. 6 and Table. 2).

Table 2: Fine pottery shapes and similar samples (All samples were obtained from a survey of the cemetery).

Pottery No.	Shape	parallels
1	bowls with an inverted and thickened rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 7/42]; Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 74/15]; ZarBolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 10/20]; TepeYalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G3]; Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 10/20]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 6/9, 13]; Bistun [Alizadeh 2004: pl. 2/6, 7]
2	bowl with an inverted and thickened rim	Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 78/18]; Tepe Godin II [Young 1969: Fig 44/13]; Tepe Godin II [Young 1969: fig 42/14]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017: Fig 4/G11]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 6/27];
3	jar with an inverted rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 7/36]; Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 96/2]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: Fig 4/G11]; Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 13/4]; Qalaichi [Mollazadeh 2008: pl. 7/1]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 8/5, 8, 9].
4	plain closed bowl with a plain rim	TepeOzbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 73/10]; ZarBolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 12/2]; MoushTepe [Mohammadifar <i>et al.</i> 2015: pl. 10]; Ziweye [Young 1965: Fig 3/1]; TepeNushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 6/2]; Babajan A [Goff 1968: Fig 10/12].
5	plain closed bowl with a plain rim	Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 71/3]; Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 12/4]; TepeYalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G1]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 6/3].
6	bowl with an everted rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 5/15-17]; Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 84/12]; Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 10/6, 8, 9]; Tepe Godin II [Young 1969: fig 44/2]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G9]; MoushTepe [Mohammadifar <i>et al.</i> 2015: pl. 11a]; Ziweye [Young 1965: Fig 3/2]; Hasanlu III [Young 1965: fig 2/15]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 6/15, 16]; Babajan A [Goff 1968: Fig 10/5].
7	pot with short or no neck and a thickened rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 7/40-41]; Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 76/12]; Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 14/5].
8	simple bowl with a plain rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 4/1]; Tepe Godin II [Young 1969: fig 43/2]; Qalaichi [Mollazadeh 2008: pl. 7/9]; Kul Tarikheh [Rezvani and Roustaei 2007: pl. 22/10].
9	bowl with a ring base	Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 96/19]; Moush Tepe [Mohammadifar <i>et al.</i> 2015: pl. 11b].
10	bowl with a flat base	Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 96/18]; Moush Tepe [Mohammadifar <i>et al.</i> 2015: pl. 11b].

(b) The Common Wares

A total of seventy-one potsherds could be included in the common variety of pottery that constitutes 46.7% of the entire collection. The term common ware here stands to denote the middle grained ceramic variety, which is alternatively known as the regular-grained pottery. The texture of this pottery group, as the name suggests is unlike the fine-grained sherds, not considerable smooth.

This variety of pottery comes in three fabrics – buff, brown and grey. The buff variety roughly includes 24 pieces pure buff sherds and 27 slightly orange sherds. 18 pieces of brown and 2 pieces of grey pottery were also collected. The buff variety of pottery has either buff, or orange or cream slips on those; the orange ones have buff, orange or light brown slips; and the brown ones have a brown slip in general, but occasional use of deep orange slip could also be observed.

Approximately two-thirds of these sherds belong to the well-fired group of pottery with twenty-



Fig. 7 Common ware.

Table 3: Common pottery shapes and similar samples (All samples were obtained from a survey of the cemetery).

Pottery No.	Shape	parallels
11	jar with everted rim carinated bowl with an everted rim,	Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 95/21]; Tepe Godin II [Young 1969: Fig 44/11]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G11]
12	deep, wide-mouthed vase and thickened rim	Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 14/5]; Qalaichi [Mollazadeh 2008: pl. 10/7]
13	bowls with an inverted and thickened rim	Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 74/15]; Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 10/15] Tepe Godin II [Young 1969 Fig: 43/5]; Tepe Yalfan 8 [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G3]; Qalaichi [Mollazadeh 2008: pl. pl 10/9]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 7/1].
14	deep pot with a hole mouthed and thickened rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 7/39]; Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 85/24]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G3]; Qalaichi [Mollazadeh 2008: pl. pl. 10/11].
15	bowl with a flat base	Moush Tepe [Mohammadifar <i>et al.</i> 2015: pl. 11b].
16	wide-mouthed bowl	Qalaichi [Mollazadeh 2008: pl. 8/26].
17	jar with an everted rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 7/54] Tepe Ozbaki [Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 88/11]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G14].
18	Grey ware potsherd	Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017: Fig 8].

two (30.9%) exceptional samples that showcase under-firing. Thirteen (18.3%) pottery samples have a thick coating, whereas the rest have a very thin coat on them. Small to medium-sized sand was used as tempering material for the manufacture of this variety. 20 samples (31%) have a smooth surface, whereas 21 pieces (32.8%) have a burnished surface. A comparative analogy could be drawn from other Iron Age III sites in Iran (Fig. 7 and Table 3).

(c) The Coarse Wares

A total of seventy pottery samples constituting 46% of the collection are categorised into coarse

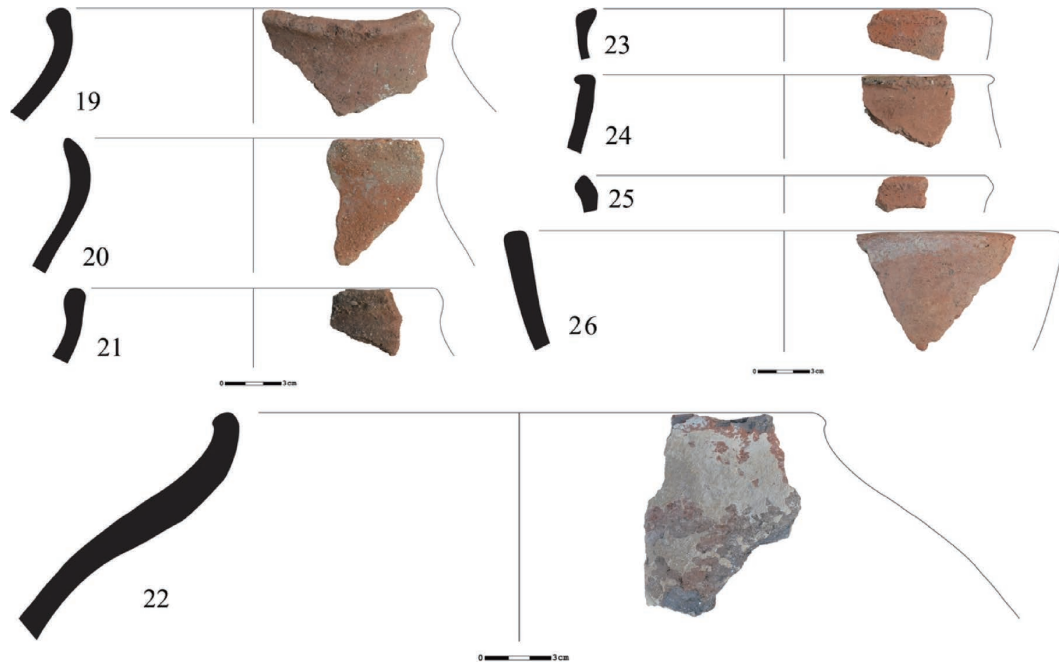


Fig. 8 Coarse ware.

Table 4: Coarse pottery shapes and similar samples

(Numbers 19 to 21 are obtained from tomb number 9 and other pottery belongs to the surface survey).

Pottery No.	Shape	parallels
19	jar with a thickened and everted rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 6/25-7; Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 85/11]; Zar Bolagh [Malekzadeh <i>et al.</i> 2014; pl. 12/15]; Tepe Godin II [Young 1969: Fig 43/6];
20	jar with an everted rim	Hasanlu III (Young 1965: Fig 1/10);
21	simple jar with a thickened flared rim	Nimrud [Lumdsen 1999: Fig 6/24; Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 84/12]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G9]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 9/20];
22	jar with a thickened and everted rim	
23	bowls with an inverted and thickened rim	[Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 73/15]; Tepe Yalfan [Almasi <i>et al.</i> 2017 Fig: 4/G3]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 7/1];
24	Deep, wide-mouthed vase	[Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 96/6]; Tepe Godin II [Young 1969: Fig 43/6]; Tepe Nushijan [Stronach 1978: Fig 9/17];
25	wide-mouthed bowl	[Madjidzadeh 2010: pl. 87/5];
26	large bowl	

pottery type and surprisingly 50% of such pottery was collected solely from grave number 9, the grave which seemed to have just been destroyed.

The coarse ware obtained from the graveyard were essentially handmade. All the pottery belonging to this group are brown and mostly un-slipped. The large grits used as temper material are visible on the surface of the sherds. In two pieces, along with sand temper, fine straw has also been used. Only 8 pieces (11.4%) of the sherds have a smooth outer surface, whereas barely 4 samples (5.7%) have burnished surface.

Nearly two-thirds of the pottery samples (48 pieces constituting 68.5%) are well-fired and the rest are under-fired. Several potsherds have darker or smoky outer surfaces testifying their potential practical usage in the kitchen. The variation in shapes and their parallels are provided in the following section (Fig. 8 and Table 4).

Human bone: Two pieces of human bone were obtained from grave number 3 (Fig. 5; bottom right).

Conclusion

Centred on the information obtained from the survey of Doolperd Cemetery, an area of 3 hectares was identified. Regrettably, owing to intentional human vandalism, theft and illegal and unscientific excavations, the majority of the graves are wrecked and shattered. The architecture of the stone tombs and the ceramic samples collected from this burial site witness close similitude with those belonging to the Iron Age III sites in the west, northwest and north of the central plateau of Iran and north of Mesopotamia. The two major fabric of pottery in Doolperd were identified as buff and brown, similarly as in other Pottery variations of the Median period. Iron Age III pottery, which is also known as the pottery of the Median period, has been obtained from the settlement sites of TepeNush-I Jan, Tepe Godin, Tepe Ziwiye, Tepe Yalfan, Moush Tepe, Tepe Ozbaki, Baba Jan, Tepe Hasanlu in Iran and Nineveh in Iraq.

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Pottery catalogue

Fine Wares

- 1- Color: core buff; surface creamy; temper: fine grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 2- Color: core buff; surface creamy; temper: fine grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 3- Color: orange; surface creamy; temper: fine grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 4- Color: core orange; surface orange; temper: fine grit; surface finish: burnished; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 5- Color: core orange; surface buff; temper: fine grit; surface finish: burnished; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 6- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: fine grit; surface finish: burnished; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 7- Color: core buff-orange; surface creamy; temper: fine grit; surface finish: smoothed and applied cordon decoration; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 8- Color: core orange; surface orange; temper: fine grit; surface finish: burnished; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 9- Color: core orange; surface orange; temper: fine grit; surface finish: burnished; wheel-made; well-fired.
- 10- Color: core buff; surface buff; temper: fine grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.

Common wares

- 11- Color: core orange; surface orange; temper: grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.
 12- Color: core orange; surface orange; temper: grit; surface finish: burnished; wheel-made; well-fired.
 13- Color: core buff; surface buff; temper: grit; surface finish: burnished; wheel-made; well-fired.
 14- Color: core buff; surface buff; temper: grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.
 15- Color: core orange; surface buff; temper: grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.
 16- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; hand-made; well-fired.
 17- Color: core buff; surface buff; temper: grit; surface finish: smoothed; wheel-made; well-fired.
 18- Color: core grey; surface grey; temper: grit; wheel-made; well-fired.

Coarse wares

- 19- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; surface finish: thin slipped; surface finish interior: without slip; hand-made; well-fired.
 20- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; surface finish: thin slipped; surface finish interior: without slip; hand-made; well-fired.
 21- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; surface finish: thin slipped; surface finish interior: without slip; hand-made; well-fired.
 22- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; surface finish: thick burnished slip; hand-made; under-fired.
 23- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; wheel-made; well-fired.
 24- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; surface finish: smoothed; hand-made; under-fired.
 25- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; hand-made; well-fired.
 26- Color: core brown; surface brown; temper: large grit; surface finish: smoothed; hand-made; well-fired.

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RECONSIDERING THE DATE OF RIFFA TYPE BURIAL MOUNDS IN THE EARLY DILMUN PERIOD: NEW RADIOCARBON DATA FROM WADI AL-SAIL, BAHRAIN

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the date of Riffa type burial mounds of the Early Dilmun period by introducing new radiocarbon data from Wadi al-Sail in Bahrain.

Wadi al-Sail is a *wadi* on the inland plateau of Bahrain. Hundreds of Riffa type burial mounds are scattered along the *wadi*. The authors have been excavating Wadi al-Sail since 2015.

Previous studies suggest that construction of Riffa type burial mounds began around 2200 or 2250 BCE. In our excavations, nine twig charcoal samples were collected and radiocarbon dated. The new data suggest that the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds at Wadi al-Sail could date back to around 2300 BCE or much earlier. The new data are very important not only for dating burial mounds in Bahrain but also for the study of Dilmun's history.

1. Introduction

The fourth millennium BCE saw the rise of urban societies in southern Iraq (southern Mesopotamia). However, being a vast alluvial plain created by the Tigris and Euphrates, southern Mesopotamia lacked important resources necessary for sustaining urban life, such as metals, woods, precious stones, and so on. This made it important to acquire these resources from neighboring regions [e. g. Algaze 1993, 2008].

This is where Dilmun merchants played an important role. They dominated the maritime trade, linking Mesopotamia, Oman and Indus from 2000 to 1700 BCE. They transported a variety of goods, including copper from Oman, gold, ivories, carnelian and woods from Indus, lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, and pearls, tortoise shells, and corals from Dilmun to Mesopotamia. The island of modern Bahrain is identified with Dilmun (Figure 1) [Crawford 1998; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017; Magee 2014; Potts 2009; Rice 1983].

Innumerable burial mounds in Bahrain reflect the flourish of Dilmun (Figure 5). Bahrain has the largest and densest burial mound fields in the world. While there are several hypotheses regarding the total number of burial mounds, recent studies by S. T. Laursen show that approximately 75,000 burial mounds were constructed in Bahrain in the Early Dilmun period (2250 BCE~1700 BCE) [Laursen 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017].

Early Dilmun burial mounds can be divided into two types: Riffa type and Barbar type [Lowe 1986]. Unlike Barbar type burial mounds, very little information is available on Riffa type burial mounds. As for the radiocarbon dating, only one radiocarbon dating was undertaken on Riffa type burial mounds as discussed below. This paper introduces new radiocarbon data from Wadi al-Sail in Bahrain and reconsiders the date of Riffa type burial mounds.

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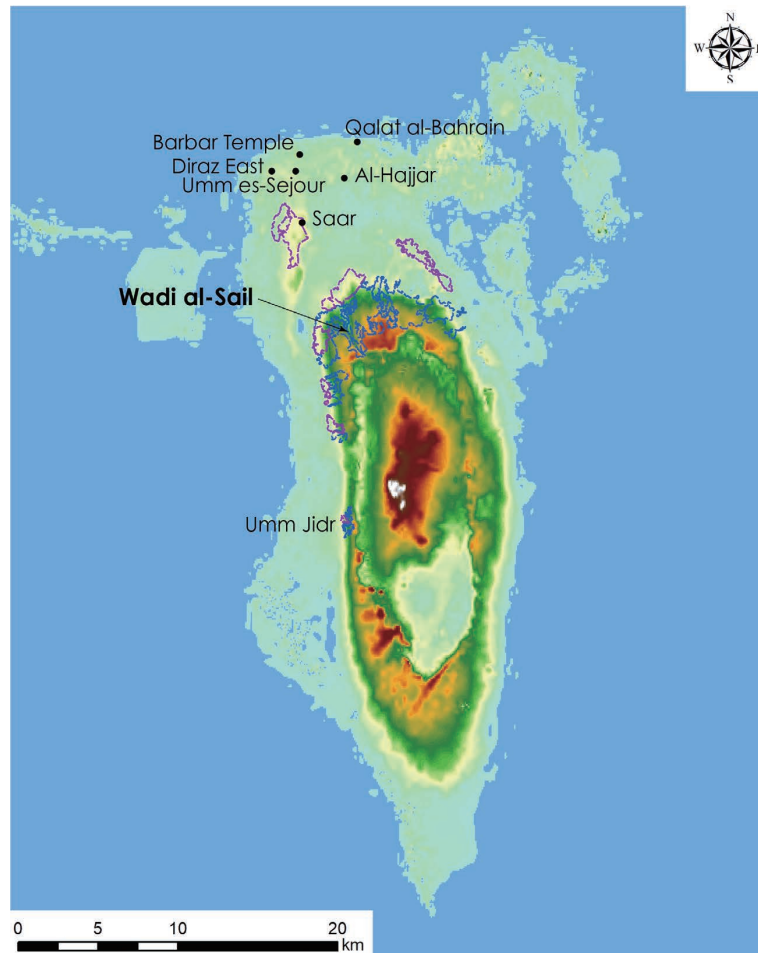


Fig. 1 Dilmun-related sites in Bahrain (Pink lines show the distribution of Barbar type burial mounds and blue lines show the distribution of Riffa type burial mounds)

2. Riffa type and Barbar type burial mounds

In the 1940s, P. B. Cornwall already pointed out that Early Dilmun burial mounds can be divided into two types: cairns and earthen mounds [Cornwall 1943]. In 1986, A. Lowe named the former, “Riffa type” and the latter, “Barbar type” [Lowe 1986]. In the same year, B. Frohlich named the former, “the Early type” and the latter, “the Late type” because he thought the cairns were older than the earthen mounds [Frohlich 1986].

This paper uses Lowe’s terms instead of Frohlich’s because the publication by Lowe is earlier. The differences between Riffa and Barbar type burial mounds are as follows.

Riffa type burial mounds are cairns built of stones (Figure 2). First, a rectangular or oval stone chamber and an outer wall were constructed. Then the space between them was filled with cobbles. These mounds are usually low. Even the biggest one is less than a metre tall. Their diameter is from five to seven metres on an average. The stone chamber has no cap stones [Cornwall 1943; Larsen 1983; Lowe 1986; Frohlich 1986; Højlund 2007; Laursen 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017].

In contrast, Barbar type burial mounds are earthen mounds rather than cairns (Figure 3). After constructing a stone chamber and outer wall, an earthen mound was created. These mounds are much taller than Riffa type burial mounds: from two to three metres on an average. However, their average diameter is from five to eight metres, not hugely different from Riffa type burial mounds.



Fig. 2 Riffa type burial mound (WS06, Wadi al-Sail)



Fig. 3 Barbar type burial mound (Janabiyah)



Fig. 4 Riffa type burial mounds showing low density (Wadi al-Sail)



Fig. 5 Barbar type burial mounds showing high density (Karzakan)

The stone chamber is usually covered with cap stones [Cornwall 1943, Larsen 1983, Lowe 1986, Frohlich 1986, Højlund 2007; Laursen 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017].

Riffa and Barbar type burial mounds are also different in density and location. The former are thinly scattered while the latter have a high density (Figures 4 and 5). The former are located on the inland plateau in Bahrain while the latter on the edge of the inland plateau (Figure 1). Their dates are also different. The previous studies revealed that Riffa type burial mounds are older than Barbar type burial mounds and correspond to City I period of Qal'at al Bahrain, while Barbar type burial mounds correspond to City II period [Cornwall 1943, Larsen 1983, Lowe 1986, Frohlich 1986, Højlund 2007; Laursen 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017].

Recently Laursen counted the number of burial mounds in Bahrain using aerial photos taken in the 1950s by the British air force. According to him, there were 28,045 Riffa type burial mounds and 47,824 Barbar type burial mounds in Bahrain in the 1950s [Laursen 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017].

3. Previous dating of Riffa type burial mounds

The dating of burial mounds in Bahrain was mainly undertaken by two Danish archaeologists, F. Højlund and Laursen. They dated Riffa type burial mounds based on Mesopotamian and Umm an-Nar pottery excavated from these burial mounds and a radiocarbon date from a burial mound at Wadi al-Sail [Højlund 2007; Højlund *et al.* 2008; Laursen 2008, 2009, 2011, 2017; Laursen and

Steinkeller 2017].

Mesopotamian jars with distinctive shapes were excavated from Riffa type burial mounds (Figure 6). It is argued that they originally contained perfumed oil. Similar jars were excavated from several Mesopotamian sites, such as Nippur, Kish, Uruk, Ur, Eshununna, Girsu and so on. In Mesopotamia, the jars are usually excavated from late Akkadian and Ur III layers and are dated back to the period between 2200 and 2000 BCE [Laursen 2011].

Moreover Riffa type burial mounds also yield Umm an-Nar jars imported from Oman (Figure 6). The jars excavated from Riffa type burial mounds are mostly late Umm an-Nar pottery, dating back to the period between 2200 and 2000 BCE [Laursen 2009].

Based on these Mesopotamian and Umm an-Nar jars, Højlund and Laursen initially dated Riffa type burial mounds between 2200 and 2050 BCE¹⁾. They dated the end of construction of Riffa type burial mounds to around 2050 BCE, rather than 2000 BCE. This is because these mounds never yielded Gulf type stamp seals. Such seals appeared around 2050 BCE in the Gulf [Højlund 2007; Højlund *et al.* 2008; Laursen 2008, 2009, 2011, 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017].

They initially dated the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds to around 2200 BCE. However, after 2009, they changed this to around 2250 BCE (Table 1). The reasons are not clearly mentioned in their papers, but this is probably because of a radiocarbon date from Wadi al-Sail. In 2007, they excavated two burial mounds at Wadi al-Sail and a charcoal sample from one of the mounds (BBM20907) was dated to 2234–2110 cal BC (2σ : 62.0%). This date signifies the

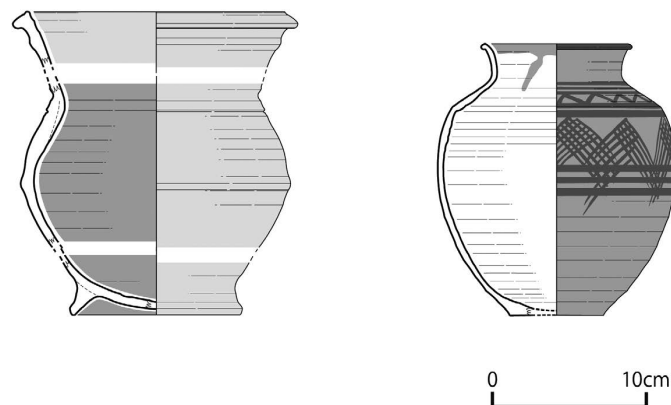


Fig. 6 Mesopotamian and Umm an-Nar jars excavated from Riffa type burial mounds (Left: Mesopotamian jar, Right: Umm an-Nar jar)

Table 1 Dating of Riffa and Barbar type burial mounds by Højlund and Laursen (Blue shows the date of Riffa type burial mounds, while green shows the date of Barbar type burial mounds)

	2200BCE	2100BCE	2000BCE	1900BCE	1800BCE	1700BCE
Højlund 2007						
Højlund et al. 2008						
Laursen 2008						
Laursen 2009, 2011						
Laursen 2017						

1) They date Barbar type burial mounds to the period between 2050 and 1700 BCE (Table 1).

possibility of the burial mound dating back to 2250 BCE (Table 1). Probably owing to this, they currently date Riffa type burial mounds to the period between 2250 to 2050 BCE [Højlund 2007; Højlund *et al.* 2008; Laursen 2008, 2009, 2011, 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017].

4. New radiocarbon data from Wadi as Sail

Since 2015, the authors have been excavating the burial mound field of Wadi al-Sail [Gotoh *et al.* 2020], which is a four kilometre long *wadi* running from southeast to northwest on the inland plateau of Bahrain. Along three kilometres upper stream of the *wadi*, hundreds of Riffa type burial mounds are scattered on both slopes of the wadi (Figures 1 and 7). Although Riffa type burial mounds were originally scattered extensively on the inland plateau around Riffa in Bahrain, most of them were lost due to urban developments. Currently, Riffa type burial mounds remain only around Wadi al-Sail.

Through our excavations, we noticed some problems in the previous dating of Riffa type burial mounds. Though they were dated mainly based on the Mesopotamian and Umm an-Nar jars excavated from the mounds, they rarely yield these jars. Some of the burial mounds do not contain any artefacts at all. Our excavations also imply the possibility that burial goods were not placed in older burial mounds; Mesopotamian and Umm an-Nar jars were placed only in newer burial mounds at Wadi al-Sail. Therefore if Riffa type burial mounds are dated only based on the pottery, the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds might have been misdated.

In the 1980s, over 1000 Riffa type burial mounds in Bahrain were excavated by Bahraini teams due to large-scale urban developments [Laursen 2017; Laursen and Steinkeller 2017]. Despite

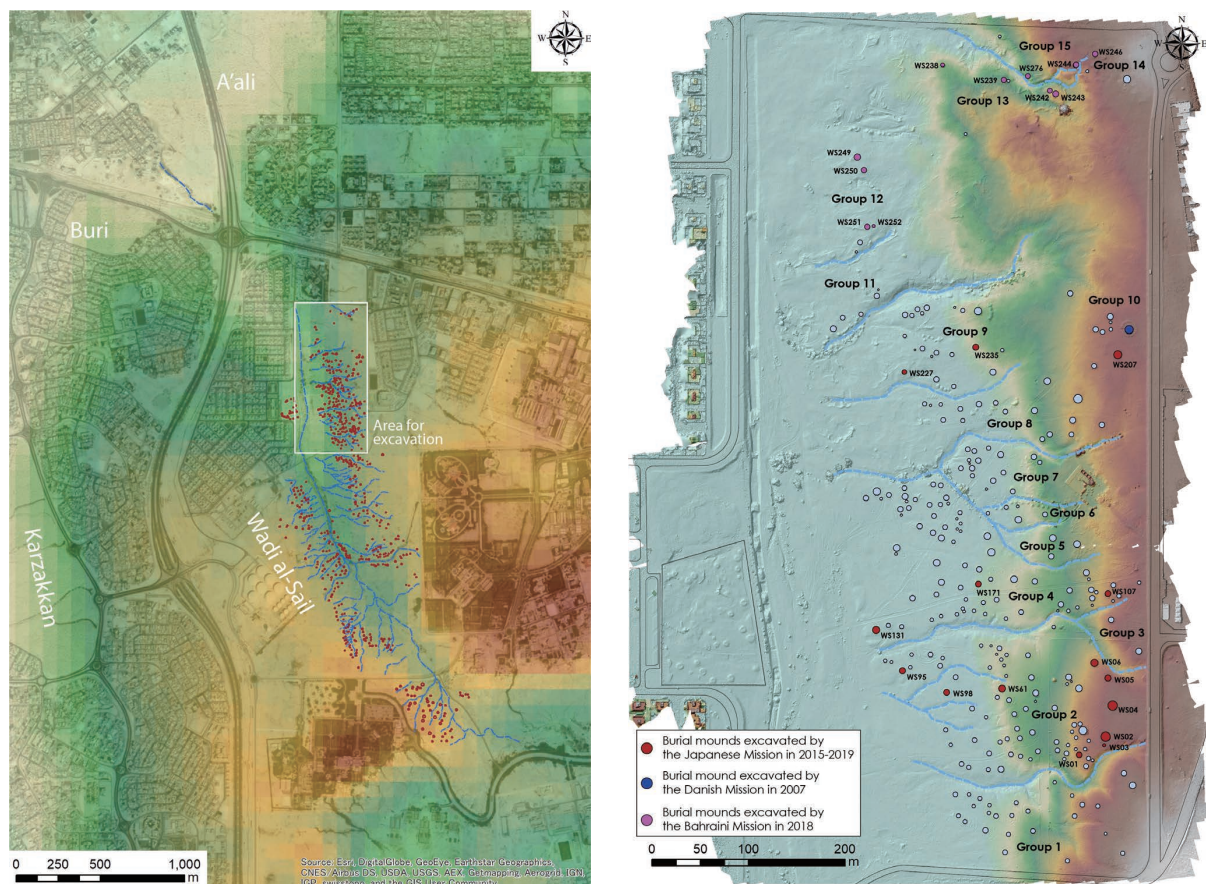


Fig. 7 The burial mound field of Wadi al-Sail

excavating such a large number of mounds, only one radiocarbon dating was undertaken on Riffa type burial mounds as aforementioned [Højlund *et al.* 2008].

However, this does not mean that Riffa type burial mounds rarely yield charcoals. Our excavations show that most of these yield small amounts of twig charcoals. At Wadi al-Sail, sheep/goat's bones are usually discovered with human bones inside the chamber (Figures 8 and 9) and are usually sooted. This strongly suggests grilled sheep/goat's meat was placed in the chamber. During the burial ceremony, sheep/goats were probably grilled and placed in the burial mound. Twig charcoals are usually scattered around the sheep/goat's bones. The twig charcoals discovered in the chamber were probably used as fuel to grill the meat, were attached to it, and accidentally placed into the chamber along with it (Figure 10). Although the human bones are badly preserved at Wadi al-Sail, probably unsuitable for radiocarbon dating, the twig charcoals serve as good material to date the burial mounds.

Since the burial mound field of Wadi al-Sail is vast and three kilometres long, our research focuses on its northeastern part (Figure 7). In this research area, a total of 15 burial mounds were excavated from 2015 to 2019. From nine burial mounds, nine twig charcoal samples were collected and radiocarbon dated (Table 2).

However, as for the charcoal sample from WS131 burial mound, its value of $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ was heavier than the other samples (Table 2). This is probably due to isotope fractionation during the sample preparation. The radiocarbon date from WS131 is probably erroneous and this paper does not use this date.



Fig. 8 Human and animal bones excavated from a Riffa type burial mound (WS207, Wadi al Sail)



Fig. 9 Sheep/goat bones excavated from a Riffa type burial mound (WS207, Wadi al-Sail)



Fig. 10 Twig charcoals excavated from a Riffa type burial mound (WS01, Wadi al-Sail)

Table 2 Results of radiocarbon dating

Sample	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	Conventional Radiocarbon Age (not rounded) (yrBP $\pm 1\sigma$)	Conventional Radiocarbon Age (Rounded) (yrBP $\pm 1\sigma$)	Calibrated Dates	
				1 σ	2 σ
PLD-38125 WS131	-18.13 \pm 0.22	3326 \pm 22	3325 \pm 20	1642–1607 cal BC (41.5%) 1583–1558 cal BC (22.2%) 1553–1546 cal BC (4.6%)	1682–1676 cal BC (1.1%) 1666–1530 cal BC (94.3%)
PLD-37611 WS107	-23.29 \pm 0.22	3602 \pm 19	3600 \pm 20	2011–2000 cal BC (10.6%) 1978–1927 cal BC (57.6%)	2023–1900 cal BC (95.4%)
PLD-37609 WS06	-21.76 \pm 0.25	3722 \pm 19	3720 \pm 20	2192–2179 cal BC (11.1%) 2143–2128 cal BC (14.3%) 2089–2047 cal BC (42.8%)	2199–2163 cal BC (20.0%) 2152–2112 cal BC (23.6%) 2103–2037 cal BC (51.8%)
PLD-37608 WS04	-21.97 \pm 0.22	3736 \pm 20	3735 \pm 20	2198–2166 cal BC (33.8%) 2150–2133 cal BC (16.8%) 2082–2060 cal BC (17.7%)	2203–2121 cal BC (64.9%) 2094–2041 cal BC (30.5%)
PLD-37610 WS61	-21.31 \pm 0.22	3760 \pm 19	3760 \pm 20	2202–2189 cal BC (15.1%) 2182–2142 cal BC (53.1%)	2278–2252 cal BC (7.3%) 2229–2223 cal BC (0.8%) 2211–2132 cal BC (83.5%) 2082–2060 cal BC (3.8%)
PLD-37665 WS95	-24.21 \pm 0.35	3760 \pm 22	3760 \pm 20	2202–2141 cal BC (68.2%)	2280–2249 cal BC (9.5%) 2231–2219 cal BC (2.0%) 2213–2131 cal BC (78.0%) 2085–2057 cal BC (6.0%)
PLD-37612 WS207	-21.03 \pm 0.21	3783 \pm 19	3785 \pm 20	2277–2252 cal BC (24.1%) 2228–2223 cal BC (4.1%) 2210–2196 cal BC (15.1%) 2171–2146 cal BC (25.0%)	2286–2189 cal BC (63.0%) 2182–2141 cal BC (32.4%)
PLD-29457 WS01	-23.86 \pm 0.14	3813 \pm 23	3815 \pm 25	2287–2270 cal BC (16.5%) 2260–2206 cal BC (51.7%)	2340–2196 cal BC (91.1%) 2171–2148 cal BC (4.3%)
PLD-38124 WS171	-23.15 \pm 0.21	3822 \pm 24	3820 \pm 25	2294–2267 cal BC (21.2%) 2261–2206 cal BC (47.0%)	2400–2384 cal BC (1.7%) 2348–2197 cal BC (91.9%) 2166–2151 cal BC (1.9%)

Figure 11 shows the other eight radiocarbon data. These data are calibrated using the OxCal v4.3.2 calibration programme for the northern hemisphere. This table indicates the possibility that the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds could be earlier (currently thought to be 2200 or 2250 BCE), and dating back to 2300 BCE.

However there are several points to note. The first is the old wood effect. However, since the analysed charcoal samples were derived from twigs, the old wood effect does not pose a problem.

The second is the geographical location of Bahrain. The C^{14} concentration in the air in the northern hemisphere is different from that in the southern hemisphere. Hence, the calibration programme for the southern hemisphere is also developed. Since Bahrain is located in the south of the Near East, the air mass seasonally flows to Bahrain from the southern hemisphere. This affects dating. If we simply use the calibration programme for the northern hemisphere, the calibrated date would be a little older than the real one.

Therefore, we also calibrated the data using the calibration programme for the southern hemisphere (Figure 12). The grey portions indicate the data calibrated by calibration programme for the northern hemisphere, while the green portions indicate the data calibrated by calibration programme for the southern hemisphere. The former shows the oldest estimated date and the latter the newest estimated date. The real date would be between these two.

Even if we note only the calibrated date using the calibration programme for the southern hemisphere, it shows the possibility of the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds

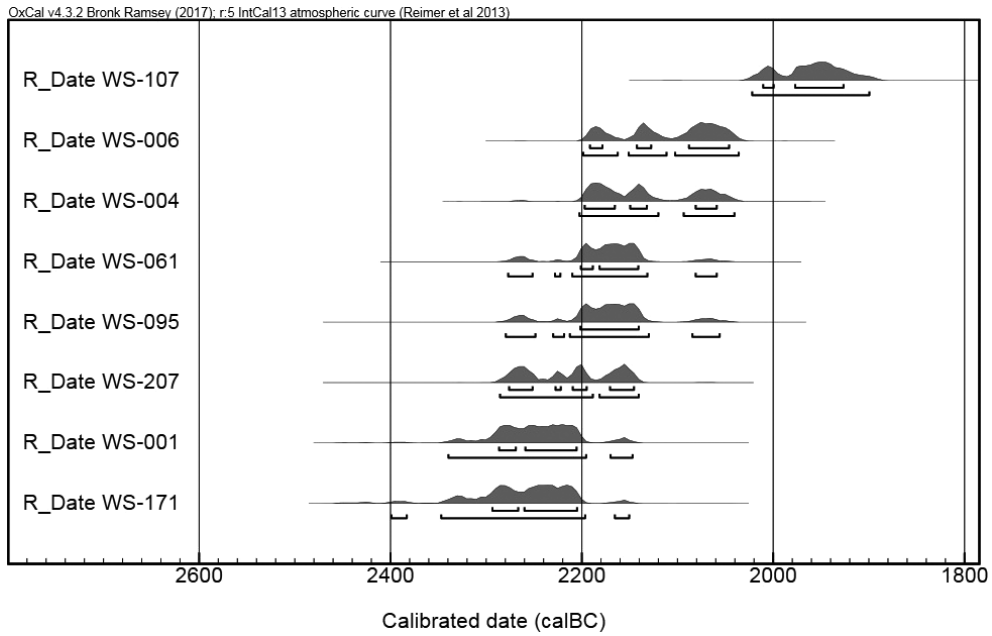


Fig. 11 Calibrated date using the calibration programme for the northern hemisphere

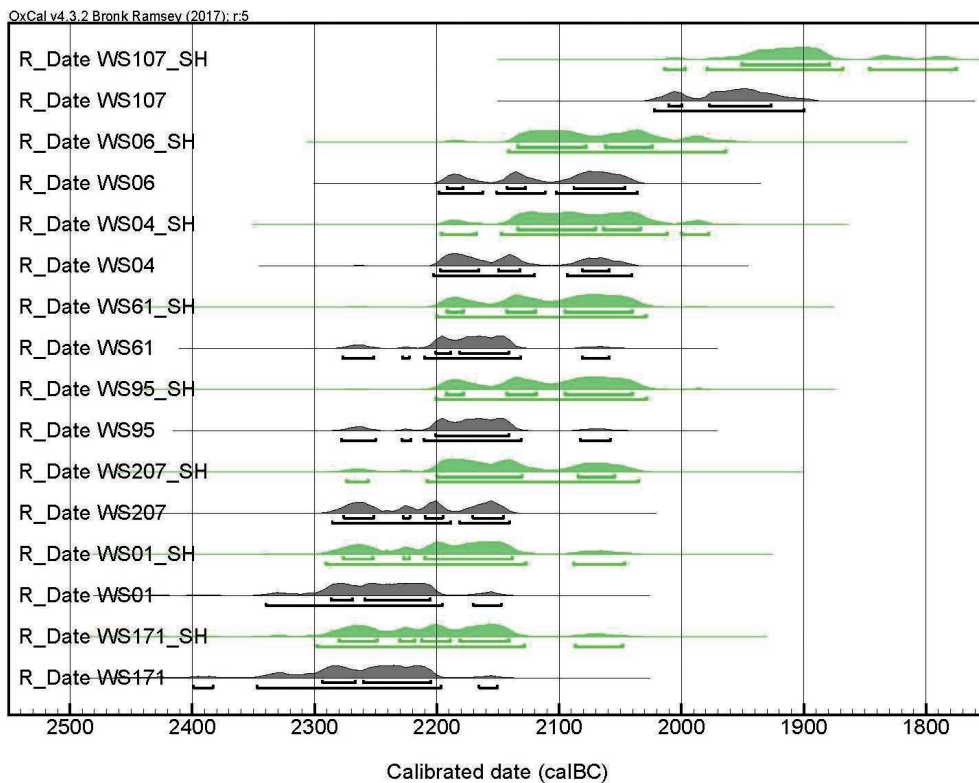


Fig. 12 Calibrated date using calibration programme for the northern and southern hemispheres

dating back to around 2300 BCE.

Thus, the new radiocarbon data from our excavations at Wadi al-Sail suggest that the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds are probably earlier than previously suggested (2200 BCE or 2250 BCE), possibly dating back to 2300 BCE.

Some archaeological evidence also support this. Umm an-Nar pottery, dated back to the period

between 2400 BCE and 2200 BCE were also excavated from Riffa type burial mounds although they are not common [Laurson 2009].

Further, our research area is located in the northeastern part of Wadi al-Sail (Figure 7). A number of burial mounds are scattered in the area to the south of our research area. It is argued that the southern burial mounds are older than the northern ones at Wadi al-Sail. Hence, there is the possibility that burial mounds in the area to the south of our research area are much older than 2300 BCE. There is a modern royal place at the southern end of Wadi al-Sail. Therefore, it is difficult to excavate and know the date of the oldest burial mounds at Wadi al-Sail.

The date from WS107 is also noteworthy (Figure 11). The date is much later than other samples and shows the possibility that Riffa type burial mounds were still constructed in the 20th century BCE. The date does not fit the chronological scheme proposed by the Danish team. But the sample might have been contaminated. More radiocarbon dating is needed to access this date.

5. Significance of the new radiocarbon data from Wadi al-Sail

The new radiocarbon data from Wadi al-Sail suggest that the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds could date back to approximately 2300 BCE or even earlier.

This is very important not only for dating burial mounds in Bahrain but also for the history of Dilmun.

Before Riffa type burial mounds were constructed in Bahrain, there was little evidence of human occupation in Bahrain. Therefore, it was suggested that a large-scale immigration into Bahrain took place around 2200 BCE, immigrants started constructing burial mounds, and this immigration was probably caused by the 4.2 ka event that was a pan-global abrupt cooling and drying event occurred between 2200 and 1900 BCE [Laurson 2013, 2017; Laurson and Steinkeller 2017; Olijdam 2016]. However, the new radiocarbon data from Wadi al-Sail suggest that this immigration into Bahrain occurred much earlier than the 4.2 ka event and was unrelated to the event.

Additionally, Sargon boasted that ships from Dilmun, Magan and Melluha moored at his city. If we suppose that construction of Riffa type burial mounds began around 2200 BCE, it implies that Bahrain was uninhabited during Sargon's era. Hence, the location of Dilmun during Sargon's era has been debated. Our new data suggest that Bahrain could have already been inhabited during Sargon's era and that the ships were sent from Bahrain.

6. Conclusions

Previous studies suggest that construction of Riffa type burial mounds began around 2200 or 2250 BCE. This time, nine twig charcoal samples collected from Wadi al-Sail were radiocarbon dated. The new data suggest that the beginning of construction of Riffa type burial mounds at Wadi al-Sail could date back to around 2300 BCE or much earlier. This is very significant for the history of Dilmun. We are continuing excavating Wadi al-Sail and plan to undertake more radiocarbon dating in the near future.

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(K. O.)

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