

# Notes on the Relative Chronology of Early Northern Mesopotamia\*

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The following notes supplement the newly revised relative chronology of Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup> by giving details upon which some of the general statements in that schema are based. Specifically, I deal with two topics here: the correlation of the pottery sequence revealed by the 1976 excavations at Arpachiyah with that defined by Mallowan in 1935; and the comparisons between Tepe Gawra, Telul eth Thalathat, and Qalinj Agha.

## I. Arpachiyah

In 1976 an Iraqi team led by I. Hijara undertook excavations at Arpachiyah in order to check and expand on the sequence published by Mallowan in 1935.<sup>2</sup> They dug three narrow trenches totalling more than sixty meters in length across the central part of the mound.

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The British School of Archaeology in Iraq: Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.

The Tokyo University Iraq-Iran Archaeological Expedition: figs. 5 (left), 6 (left), 7b, 8 (left), 9 (left), 10 (left).

The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania: figs. 5 (right), 6 (right), 7a, 8 (right), 9 (right), 10 (right).

For ease of reference the following abbreviations are used in the List of Illustrations:

Egami 1959 = N. Egami, *Telul eth Thalathat, the Excavation of Tell II, 1956-1957* (Tokyo, 1959).

Fukai, et al., 1970 = S. Fukai, H. Kiyoharu, T. Matsutani, *Telul eth Thalathat, The Excavation of Tell II, the Third Season (1964)* (Tokyo, 1970).

Hijara 1980 = I. Hijara, "Arpachiyah 1976," *Iraq* 42 (1980): 131-154.

Mallowan and Rose 1935 = M. E. L. Mallowan and J. C. Rose, "Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933," *Iraq* 2 (1935), i-xv, 1-178.

Tobler 1950 = A. J. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra, volume II: Levels IX-XX* (Philadelphia, 1950).

1 E. Porada, D. P. Hansen, and S. Dunham, "Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia (ca. 7000-1600 B.C.)," in R. Ehrich, ed., *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (2nd rev. ed.: Chicago, 1987).

2 M. E. L. Mallowan and J. C. Rose, "Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah, 1933," *Iraq* 2 (1935), i-xv, 1-178; I. Hijara, "Arpachiyah, 1976," *Iraq* 42 (1980), 131-54.

These trenches reached from the *tholos* area to the “outlying” area on the northwest side of the mound.<sup>3</sup>

In the *tholos* area Hijara found eleven building levels (I [top]–XI [bottom]). Levels I–V equal Mallowan’s TT 6 through TT 10. Levels VI and VII are below this while levels VIII through XI comprise a sounding made to virgin soil in the *tholos* area. Within each of these eleven building levels several stratigraphic “layers” were recognized, some of which (layers 10–21 = levels V–VII) could be followed to the “outlying” area. In the “outlying” area Hijara made another sounding to virgin soil (layers 22–42). While layers 22–42 are contemporary with levels VIII–XI in the *tholos* area, Hijara could not make more specific correlations of layers to building levels.

Mallowan defined three phases in his pottery sequence: Early (before TT 10); Middle (TT 10–7); and Late (TT 6–5).<sup>4</sup> Hijara also divides his pottery sequence into several phases, but he does not discuss its relation to Mallowan’s.<sup>5</sup> Hijara’s sequence has four phases: Phase H One (= layers 42–34); H Two (33–24); H Three (23–16); H Four (15–1); Four a (15–9); Four b (8–1). Since Hijara’s building levels I–V = layers 10–1, Mallowan’s TT 10–6 all fit into Hijara’s latest phase (H 4)—see Table I below. However, outside of the hoard of pottery found in the burnt house in TT 6, most of the Halaf pottery illustrated by Mallowan came from the “outlying” area of the mound and was assigned by him to various levels in the *tholos* area on the basis of depth below surface, “style,” and technique. Thus, most of the pottery that Mallowan considered contemporary with levels TT 10–7 was not stratigraphically connected with those levels. The few pots that were found in contexts stratigraphically linked to TT 7 (those from Graves 51 and 53 and a “votive deposit”) seem to fit well into Hijara’s Phase H Four (see figure 1):<sup>6</sup>

Mallowan and Rose	Hijara
a) fig. 53–2 (Grave 53)	= fig. 7, Form 29 (layers 15–3)
b) fig. 61–2 (Grave 51)	= fig. 7, Form 31 (layers 15–8)
c) fig. 59–2 (Grave 51)	= fig. 8, Form 44 (layers 5–4)
d) fig. 60–1 (Grave 51)	= fig. 8, Form 37 (layers 14–11)
fig. 60–6 (Grave 51)	= fig. 8, Form 37 (layer 14–11)

3 The “tholos area” is where Mallowan found the foundations of several round buildings of the Halaf period. Over these were five levels of rectangular buildings, mostly poorly preserved. All levels in this area were called “TT” by Mallowan. The round buildings he called “tholoi” because of the resemblance of their ground plans to the tholos tombs of Greece, especially in levels TT 8 and 7 where each had a long rectangular room attached. He felt that they were domed because a smaller round building in the “outlying” area of the mound had part of the springing of a low dome preserved (Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, 25–31). The term “tholos” has continued to be used by archaeologists to describe the round buildings of Halaf sites as well as sometimes for the round buildings of the Early Northern Ubaid period at Tepe Gawra, although in both cases the original shape of the roof remains unproved and the resemblance to Greek “tholoi” is purely superficial.

4 *Ibid.*, passim. This has been the standard division of the Halaf culture ever since. See A. Perkins, *The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 25 (Chicago, 1949), 17; J. Mellaart, *The Neolithic of the Near East*, (London, 1975), 156–70.

5 Hijara, *Arpachiyah 1976*. Presumably he does so in his Ph.D. dissertation (London, 1980), which is due to be published, but as yet is unavailable to this author.

6 Mallowan also noted the similarity of these pots to those of his “Late” phase (TT 6). Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, 125–26. The illustrations given in the present article are not to scale and are merely meant to help the reader follow the discussion.

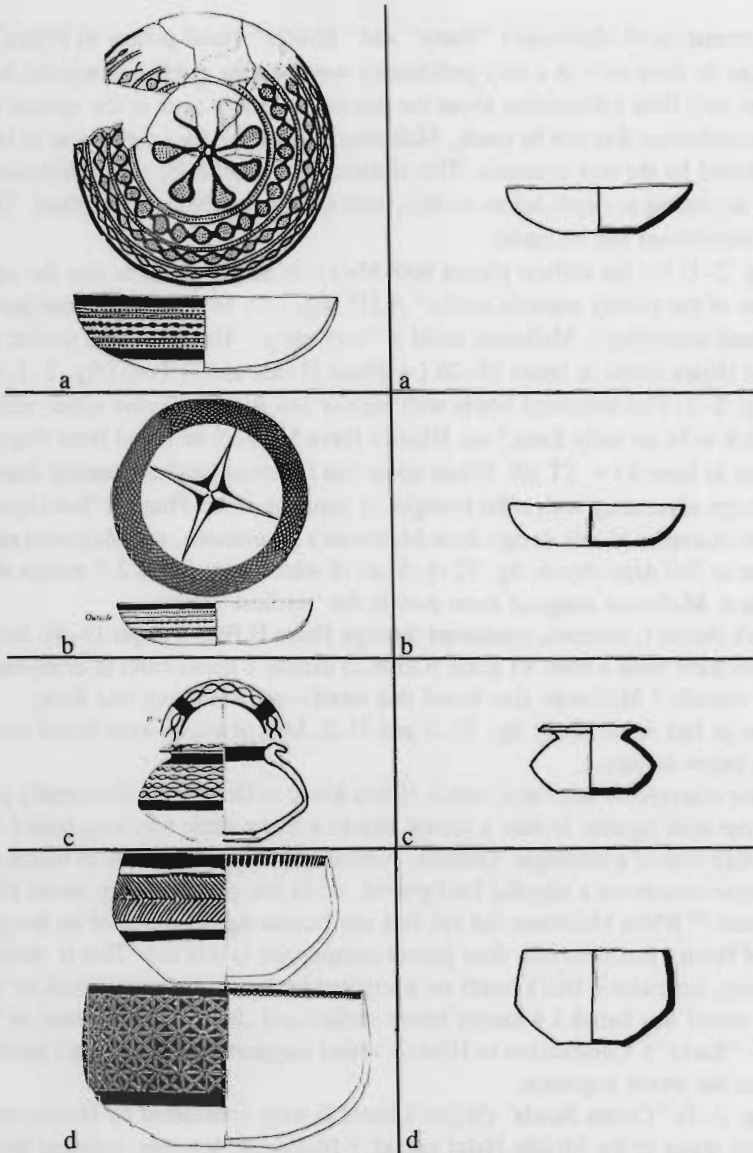


Figure 1. Arpachiyah: Pottery Comparisons

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| <p>a) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 53-2 (A.734 G53 TT 7)</p> <p>b) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 61-2 (A.732 G 51 (B)).</p> <p>c) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 59-2 (A.731 G 51)</p> <p>d) Above: Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 60-1 (A.737, "votive deposit" in TT 7)<br/>Below: Ibid., fig. 60-6 (A.733 G51 (B))</p> | <p>a) Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 29 (Layers 15-3, Phase H4)</p> <p>b) Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 31 (Layers 15-8, Phase H4)</p> <p>c) Hijara 1980: fig. 8, Form 44 (Layers 4-5, Phase H4)</p> <p>d) Hijara 1980: fig. 8, Form 37 (Layers 14-11, Phase H4)</p> |
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The correlation of Mallowan's "Early" and "Middle" Halaf pottery to Hijara's pottery sequence can be done only in a very preliminary way from the published reports, because Hijara gives very little information about the decorative motifs used in the various levels. From the correlations that can be made, Mallowan's sequence does not appear to be radically altered by the new evidence. This situation is not unlikely, since Mallowan divided his pottery according to depth below surface, with the deepest being the earliest. The following correlations can be made:

1. (Fig. 2-1) For the earliest phases both Mallowan and Hijara note that the paint and slip of some of the pottery separate easily.<sup>7</sup> A.115 (fig. 2-1, left) is a jar whose paint flakes off easily, and accordingly, Mallowan dated it "very early." This jar seems similar to the Form 4 that Hijara found in layers 35-26 (= Phase H One and H Two) (Fig. 2-1, right).

2. (Fig. 2-2) Flat-bottomed bowls with high or low flaring concave sides, which Mallowan felt to be an early form,<sup>8</sup> are Hijara's Form 1, which he found from virgin soil (layer 42) up to layer 9 (= TT 10). Hijara notes that the cross-hatched running diamond infilling design alternating with solid triangles is common in his Phase H Two (layers 33-24). For examples of this design from Mallowan's excavations, see Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, fig. 72-1-5, all of which were found 2.5 meters or more below surface. Mallowan assigned these pots to the "earliest" phase.

Hijara's Forms 1, however, continued through Phase H Four a (layer 15-9). Some bowls of this form from a level VI grave (Grave 2) display a broad band of cross-hatching around the outside.<sup>9</sup> Mallowan also found this motif—see Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, fig. 70-2 and 71-2, both of which were found less than two meters below surface.

Another example of this form, which Hijara found in Grave 2, is elaborately painted inside and out with figures. Inside, a hunter attacks a feline while two long-haired women stand on either side of a rectangle. Outside, vertical lines separate panels in which are bulls' heads, maltese crosses on a stippled background, or, in one panel, a large vessel flanked by human figures.<sup>10</sup> While Mallowan did not find any human figures depicted on his pottery, one bowl of Form 1 found by him does permit comparison to this one. This is vessel A.166.<sup>11</sup> Here, naturalistic bull's heads on a stippled background are enframed by vertical lines. This vessel was found 3.4 meters below surface and classed by Mallowan as "before TT 10" (= "Early"). Comparison to Hijara's vessel suggests that Mallowan's need not be very early in the whole sequence.

3. (Fig. 2-3) "Cream Bowls" (Hijara's Form 2) were considered by Perkins to be the characteristic shape of the Middle Halaf period.<sup>12</sup> Mallowan, however, believed the shape began in the earliest levels since he found sherds of it 5 meters below surface just above virgin soil in Square Fb.V.1.<sup>13</sup> Hijara has also found this form in the earliest settlement (layer 42). He says it almost disappears by layer 11 (level VI, Phase Four a), although

7 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, 139; Hijara, *Arpachiyah 1976*, 141.

8 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, fig. 69-1, 3, 6; 70-1-6; 71-2-3; 72-1-5.

9 Hijara, *Arpachiyah 1976*, fig. 11, 344-45.

10 *Ibid.*, fig. 10, 342a = here fig. 2-2, right, bottom.

11 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, fig. 76-2 = here fig. 2-2, left, bottom.

12 Perkins, *Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia*, 18.

13 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, 135.

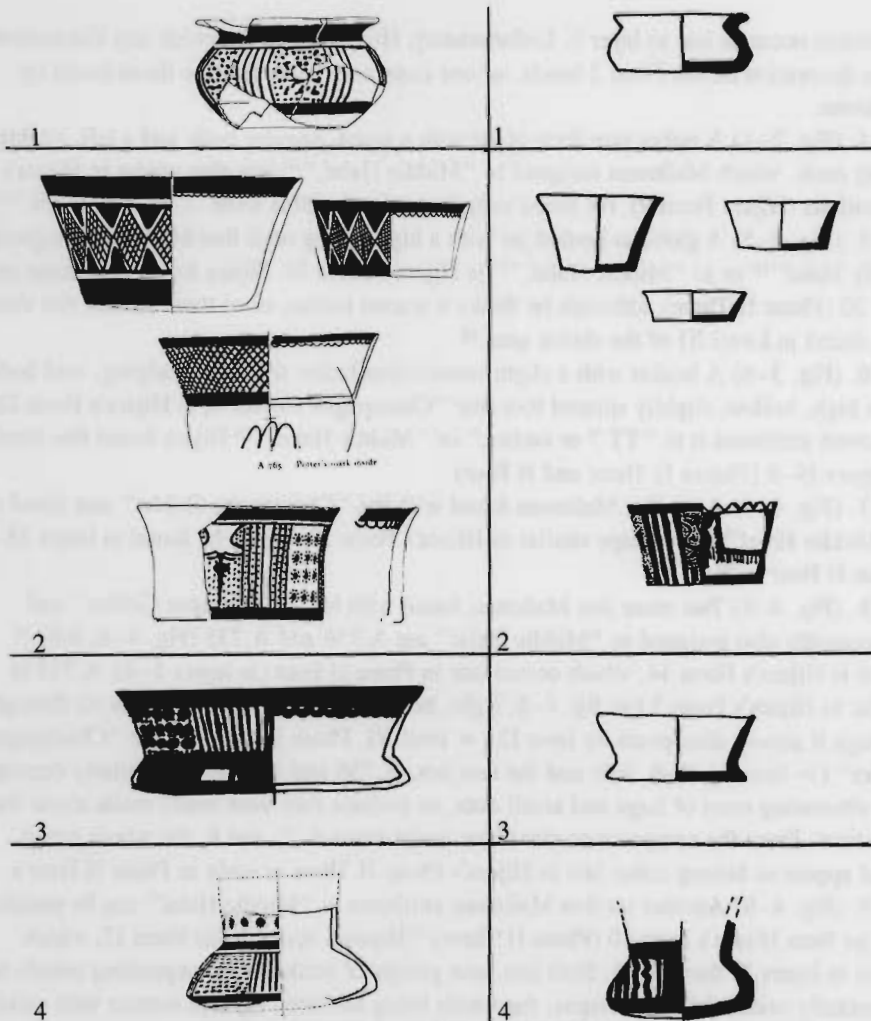


Figure 2. Arpachiyah: Pottery Comparisons.

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| <p>1) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 64-8 (A. 115, Square Fd. IV. 4, 2.5 m. below surface)</p> <p>2) Top: Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 72-3, 4 (A. 756 (B), A. 133 Square Fd IV. 4, 2.5 m. below surface)<br/>Middle: Ibid.: fig. 71-2 (A.765 Square Fe IV. 4, 1.5 m. below surface)<br/>Bottom: Ibid.: fig. 76-2 (A.166 (B) Square Fb V. 2, 3.4 m. below surface)</p> <p>3) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 62-1 (A.762 (B) Square Fb IV. 5, 2.5 m. below surface)</p> <p>4) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 65-1 (A.519 (B) Square Fb V. 1, ancient rubbish dump)</p> | <p>1) Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 4 (Layers 35-26, Phases H1-H2)</p> <p>2) Top: Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 1 (Layers 42-9, Phases H1-H4a)<br/>Bottom: Ibid.: fig. 10: 342a (Grave 2, level VI, Phase H4a)</p> <p>3) Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 2 (Layers 42-3, but almost disappears by layer 11)</p> <p>4) Hijara 1980: fig. 9, 216 (= Form 9, Layers 30-29, Phase H2)</p> |
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specimens occur as late as layer 3. Unfortunately, Hijara does not provide any illustrations of the decoration on his Form 2 bowls, so one cannot compare them to those found by Mallowan.

4. (Fig. 2–4) A rather rare form of jar with a squat, angular body and a tall, slightly flaring neck, which Mallowan assigned to “Middle Halaf,”<sup>14</sup> was also scarce in Hijara’s excavations (Hijara Form 9). He found only “one sherd of this form . . . in L30–L29).”<sup>15</sup>

5. (Fig. 3–5) A globular-bodied jar with a high flaring neck that Mallowan assigned to “Early Halaf”<sup>16</sup> or to “Middle Halaf,”<sup>17</sup> is Hijara’s Form 18. Hijara found this shape in layer 20 (Phase H Three), although he thinks it started earlier, since three similar rim sherds were found in Level XI of the *tholos* area.<sup>18</sup>

6. (Fig. 3–6) A beaker with a slight constriction below the rim; a bulging, oval body; and a high, hollow, slightly splayed foot (the “Champagne Goblet”), is Hijara’s Form 21. Mallowan attributed it to “TT 7 or earlier,” or “Middle Halaf.”<sup>19</sup> Hijara found this form in his layers 19–6 (Phases H Three and H Four).

7. (Fig. 4–7) A jar that Mallowan found with the “Champagne Goblet” and dated also to “Middle Halaf” has a shape similar to Hijara’s Form 33, which he found in layers 15–14 (Phase H Four a).<sup>20</sup>

8. (Fig. 4–8) Two more jars Mallowan found with his “Champagne Goblet” and consequently also assigned to “Middle Halaf” are A.736 and A.735 (Fig. 4–8, left).<sup>21</sup> A.736 is Hijara’s Form 44, which occurs late in Phase H Four (in layers 5–4). A.735 is similar to Hijara’s Form 3 (= fig. 4–8, right, bottom), which occurs in layers 42 through 3, although it almost disappears by layer 12 (= level VI, Phase H Four a). The “Champagne Goblet” (= here fig. 3–6, left) and the two jars, A.736 and A.735, are similarly decorated with alternating rows of large and small dots, so perhaps they were really made about the same time. From the comparisons cited here under items 6, 7, and 8, the whole group would appear to belong either late in Hijara’s Phase H Three or early in Phase H Four a.

9. (Fig. 4–9) Another jar that Mallowan attributes to “Middle Halaf” can be paralleled by a jar from Hijara’s layer 20 (Phase H Three).<sup>22</sup> Hijara’s vessel is his Form 17, which occurs in layers 21 through 13. Both jars have groups of vertical lines separating panels with horizontally oriented linear designs, the whole being bordered top and bottom with solid dark bands.

10. (Fig. 4–10) A jar with a flat base, sharp angle at the middle of its body and a high flaring neck, was dated by Mallowan to “pre-TT 10” (i.e., “Early”).<sup>23</sup> This jar is Hijara’s Form 11, which occurs in his layers 28–20 (Phases H Two and H Three).

14 Ibid., fig. 65-1 (= here 2-4, left) and p. 139; Perkins, *Comparative Archaeology of Mesopotamia*, 20.

15 Hijara, *Arpachiyah 1976*, 142 and fig. 9-210 = here fig. 2-4, right.

16 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, fig. 68-4, 65-3, 54-3, 68-1 = fig. 3-5 a-d.

17 Ibid., fig. 68-2 (= here fig. 3-5e). Mallowan assigns this to between TT 10 and TT 8 (pp. 158–63); cf.

Perkins, *Comparative Archaeology of Mesopotamia*, 17.

18 Hijara, *Arpachiyah 1976*, 142.

19 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, 165 and fig. 65-4 (= here fig. 3-6, left).

20 Ibid., fig. 59-3 (= here fig. 4-7, left); Hijara, *Arpachiyah 1976*, fig. 8-33 (= here fig. 4-7, right).

21 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, fig. 64-7 and 9.

22 Ibid., fig. 66-4 (= here fig. 4-9, left); Hijara, *Arpachiyah 1976*, fig. 9-231 (= here fig. 4-9 right).

23 Mallowan and Rose, *Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, fig. 67-2 (= here fig. 4-10, left).

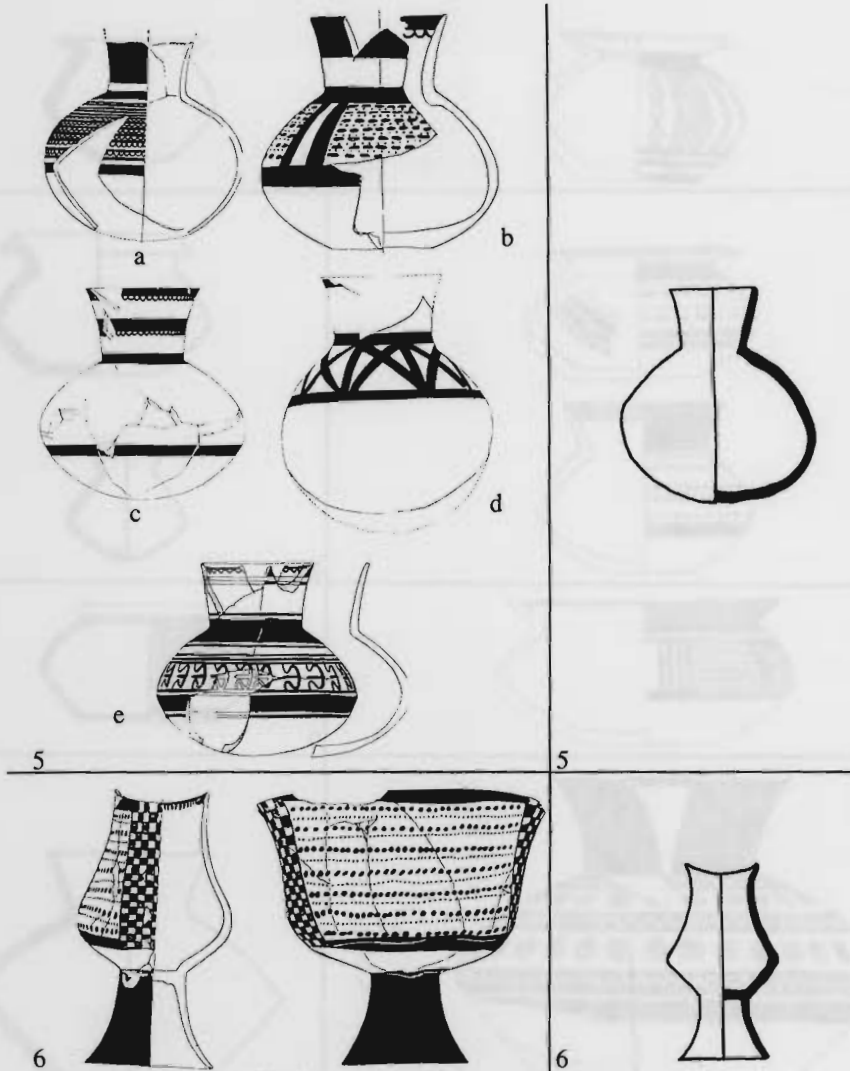


Figure 3. Arpachiyah: Pottery Comparisons.

- 5) a) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 68-4 (A.760 Square Fe IV. 4, 2.5 m. below surface)  
 b) Ibid.: fig. 65-3 (A.160 Square Fd IV. 5 2.5 m. below surface)  
 c) Ibid., fig.: 54-3 (No excavation number, said to be from "deep levels," p. 150)  
 d) Ibid.: fig. 68-1 (A.292 Square GaIV. 4, 3 m. below surface, in "grain silo")  
 e) Ibid.: fig. 68-2 (A.725 Square Fd IV.4, 2 m. below surface)
- 5) Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 18 (Layer 20, Phase H3)
- 6) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 65-4 (A.730 (B), Square Fc V. 1, 1.7 m. below surface)
- 6) Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 21 (Layers 19-6, Phases H3-H4)

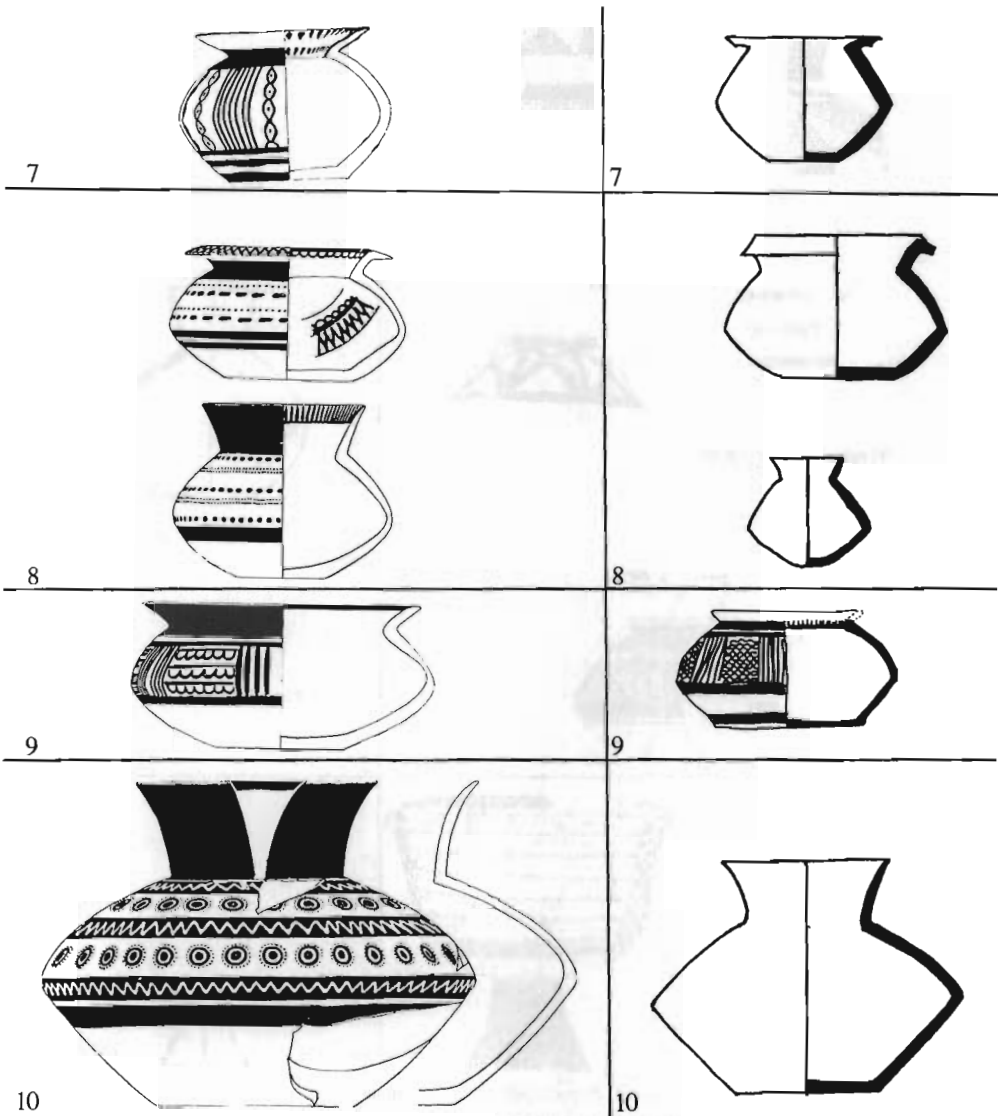


Figure 4. Arpachiyah Pottery Comparisons.

- 7) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 59-3 (A.285, Square Fb IV. 1, 1.6 m. below surface)  
 8) Top: Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 64-7 (A.736, Square Fc V. 1, 1.7 m. below surface)  
 Bottom: Ibid.: fig. 64-9 (A.735 (B) Square Fc V. 1, 1.7 m. below surface)  
 9) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 66-4 (A.158 (B) Square Fb IV. 4, 2 m. below surface)  
 10) Mallowan and Rose 1935: fig. 67-2 (A.117 (B), Square Fd IV. 4, 2.5 m. below surface)

- 7) Hijara 1980: fig. 8, Form 33 (Layers 15-4, Phase H4)  
 8) Top: Hijara 1980: fig. 8, Form 44 (Layers 5-4, Phase H4)  
 Bottom: Ibid.: fig. 7, Form 3 (Layers 42-3, but almost disappears by layer 12)  
 9) Hijara 1980: fig. 9, 231 (Layer 20; Form 17, Layers 20-13, Phases H3-H4)  
 10) Hijara 1980: fig. 7, Form 11 (Layers 28-20, Phases H2-H3)

To sum up, one can see that the two ends of Mallowan's and Hijara's sequences agree. The characteristics of "Late Halaf" pottery are clear; and what Mallowan classed as "very early" is also early in Hijara's sequence. However, in between these extremes, closer correlations have to be worked out in detail. From the above comparisons, one is tempted to suggest that what Mallowan considered "Early" falls generally into Hijara's Phases H One and H Two and possibly early H Three (items 2, 3, 5, and 10 above), while what Mallowan considered "Middle Halaf" fits into Hijara's Phases H Three and early Phase Four (items 6, 7, 8, and 9 above). Unfortunately, we may only state such generalizations with great caution, because some shapes have a long duration (Forms 1, 2, and 3 of Hijara's sequence). Hijara gives practically no information on how the decoration changes through his sequence; and Mallowan's unreliable criteria for dating (depth below surface, "style," and technique) have sometimes resulted in quite a different date from Hijara's (item 4 above). These correlations and uncertainties are summed up in Table I.

## II. *Tepe Gawra, Telul eth Thalathat and Qalinj Agha*

For the periods following that of the Halaf culture in Northern Mesopotamia—i.e., the Northern Ubaid Period and the Gawra Period—the excavations at Tepe Gawra have yielded the most information.<sup>24</sup> However, published material from the sites of Telul eth Thalathat (mound II) near Mosul and Qalinj Agha in Erbil supplement the picture at Gawra.

### *Early Northern Ubaid Period*

For the Early Northern Ubaid period, mound II of Telul eth Thalathat provides the most striking comparisons to Tepe Gawra. At Thalathat levels XIII and XIV are probably contemporary with Gawra XVII and XVIII. This suggestion is based on ceramic comparisons, but the architecture and small finds are also consistent with such a dating.

The similarities of pottery and shapes and decorations between Thalathat and Gawra are listed in Table II (illustrated in figures 5 and 6). The decorative motifs in Thalathat levels XIII and XIV include very few Halaf-like motifs and the one or two that do occur<sup>25</sup> are those that survive into the later levels of Gawra as well.<sup>26</sup> For this reason Thalathat XIII and XIV would seem to be later than Gawra XIX, where Halaf motifs are still frequent. The most prevalent motif at Thalathat in levels XIII and XIV bears one or more scalloped lines (e.g., here fig. 7a) between horizontal bands, placed on the shoulder of the vessel or near the rim.<sup>27</sup> This motif is not very common at Gawra, but its most numerous occurrences seem to be in levels XVIII and XVII.<sup>28</sup> Some of the most striking comparisons between the

24 E. A. Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra, Volume I: Levels I–VIII* (Philadelphia, 1935); A. J. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra, Volume II: Levels IX–XI* (Philadelphia, 1950).

25 E.g., "scale pattern"—S. Fukai, H. Kiyoharu and T. Matsutani, *Telul eth Thalathat, the Excavations of Tell II, the Third Season (1964)*, Tokyo University Iraq-Iran Archaeological Expedition, Report 11 (Tokyo, 1970), pl. XLVI-1:15 (level XIV).

26 Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. LXXVII-b:3 (level XVI).

27 Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, pl. XLV-2:11–16; XLVI-1:1–10; cf. p. 100, table 24, motif #5a.

28 Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. LXX-b; LXXI-b; LXXII-b (= here fig. 7a); LXXXIV-b.

TABLE I  
CORRELATIONS OF MALLOWAN'S AND HIJARA'S  
EXCAVATIONS AT ARPACHIYAH

Levels			Pottery Phases	
Mallowan	Hijara Building Levels	Layers	Hijara	Mallowan
TT 6	I	1—5	H4b (8—1)	Late Halaf
TT 7	II	6		
TT 8	III	7		
TT 9	IV	8		
TT 10	V	9—10	H4a (15—9)	Middle Halaf
Pre-TT 10	VI	11—13		
	VII	14—21	H3 (23—16)	?
	VIII	22	H2 (33—24)	?
	IX		H1 (42—34)	Early Halaf
	X			
	XI			
virgin soil	virgin soil	42		

two sites are: bell-shaped bowls (Table II, f and h); jars with constricted necks and hatched decoration on the shoulder (d); rows of chevrons separated by horizontal lines (g); hemispherical bowls with scalloped lines near the rim (c) or with hatched triangles near the rim (i); and bowls with inturned rims (j). Many of the comparisons of level XIV are with Gawra XIX and XVIII, while those of XIII seem to be with Gawra XVII, and in a few instances XVI (k, l). A type found often in Thalathat XIV is a large globular-bodied jar with a very short neck and a ledge inside the rim (e.g., fig. 7b). The ledge is often perforated in four places. This type of jar also occurs in levels XIII and XII, though less frequently.<sup>29</sup> It is a rare type at Gawra, but sherds were found in levels XIX, XVIII and XVII.<sup>30</sup> However, this type of vessel occurs at Eridu beginning in XVIII (where there is only one), and lasting until VIII.<sup>31</sup> Most examples were found in Eridu XI. Similar jars are reported from Tepe Sabz, Iran, in the "Mehmeh Phase," as well as from Tepe Jowi in Susiana c levels, Hajji Muhammed, and Ras al Amiya.<sup>32</sup> The occurrences at Eridu seem to parallel the situation with the so-called "tortoise jars," and provide another link with the South.<sup>33</sup> No "tortoise jars" are reported from Thalathat.

A seated female figurine from Thalathat XIV is similar to some objects from Gawra

29 Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), p. 40; pls. LXXII:2, 5; LXXV:3, 5, 6, 7, 11; LXXVIII:13, 14; LXXVII:14, 15.

30 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 136; pl. CXXII-107; LXXIV-a.

31 S. Lloyd and F. Safar, "Eridu, a Preliminary Communication on the Second Season's Excavations 1947-1948," *Sumer* 4 (1948), pl. III, type 23.

32 F. Hole, K. Flannery, and J. Neely, *Prehistory and Human Ecology of the Deh Luran Plain*, Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 1 (Ann Arbor, 1969), 150 and references cited there.

33 E. Porada, "The Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia: Part I. Seals and Trade," in R. W. Ehrich, ed., *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago, 1965), 150.

TABLE II  
SIMILARITIES IN POTTERY SHAPES AND DECORATIONS  
BETWEEN THALATHAT XIII, XIV, AND GAWRA

Motif or Shape	Fukai, et al., <i>Thalathat 1964</i>		Tobler, <i>Gawra II</i>	
	Plate	Level	Plate	Level
a) Triangles alternating above and below a line	XLVII-1 + 2	XIV	LXIX-b:16 LXXI-b:17 LXX-b:12	XIX XVIII XVIII
b) Zig-zag hatched with parallel lines	XLVII-2:5	XIII/XIV	LXXI-a:1 -b:21	XVIII XVIII
c) Hemispherical bowls with scalloped and horizontal lines near rim	XLII-6 XLII-3	XIV XIII	LXXII-a:2	XIX
d) Jar with constricted neck and hatched decoration on shoulder	XXXVIII-6	XIV	LXXII-c	XVIII
e) Jar with flaring neck with zig-zag lines separated by horizontal lines on shoulder	XXXVIII-5	XIV	CXXII-106	Below XVII
f) Bell-shaped bowls with hatching between solid lines near rim	XLII-2	XIV	CXX-87	XVIII
g) Rows of chevrons separated by horizontal lines	XLVI-2:7 LXXII-18	XIV XIII	LXXIV-a:21 LXXIV-b:17 LXXVII-b:2	XVII XVII XVI
h) Small bell-shaped bowls	LXXI-13	XIII	CXX-83, 84	XVII
i) Hemispherical bowl with hatched triangles near rim	LXXVII-16	XIV	CXXI-96	XVII
j) Bowl with inturned rim	XLIV-1 -2	XIII XII	CXXI-100	XVII
k) Thick zig-zag between horizontal lines	LXXI-19	XIII	LXXVII-b:18	XVI
l) Hemispherical bowl with bold curvilinear design near rim	XLIII-3	XIII	CXXIV-130	XVI

XVII, XVIII and XIX.<sup>34</sup> A fragment of a stone bowl from Thalathat XIV can be compared to ones from Gawra XVIII and XIX.<sup>35</sup> "Clay nails" (or "nail-shaped mullers") occur both in the lowest levels at Gawra and in XIII and XIV at Thalathat, but at both sites they are extremely rare in these levels.<sup>36</sup>

The architecture of Thalathat levels XIII and XIV compares in some quite general ways with that of Gawra, but there are not many distinctive similarities. The building material

34 Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, pl. LXI-4; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. LXX-b, d.

35 Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, pl. LXXXVII-11; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CLXXX-75, 80.

36 *Ibid.*, 169; Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*—in the catalogue of finds two are listed for levels XIII and XIV.

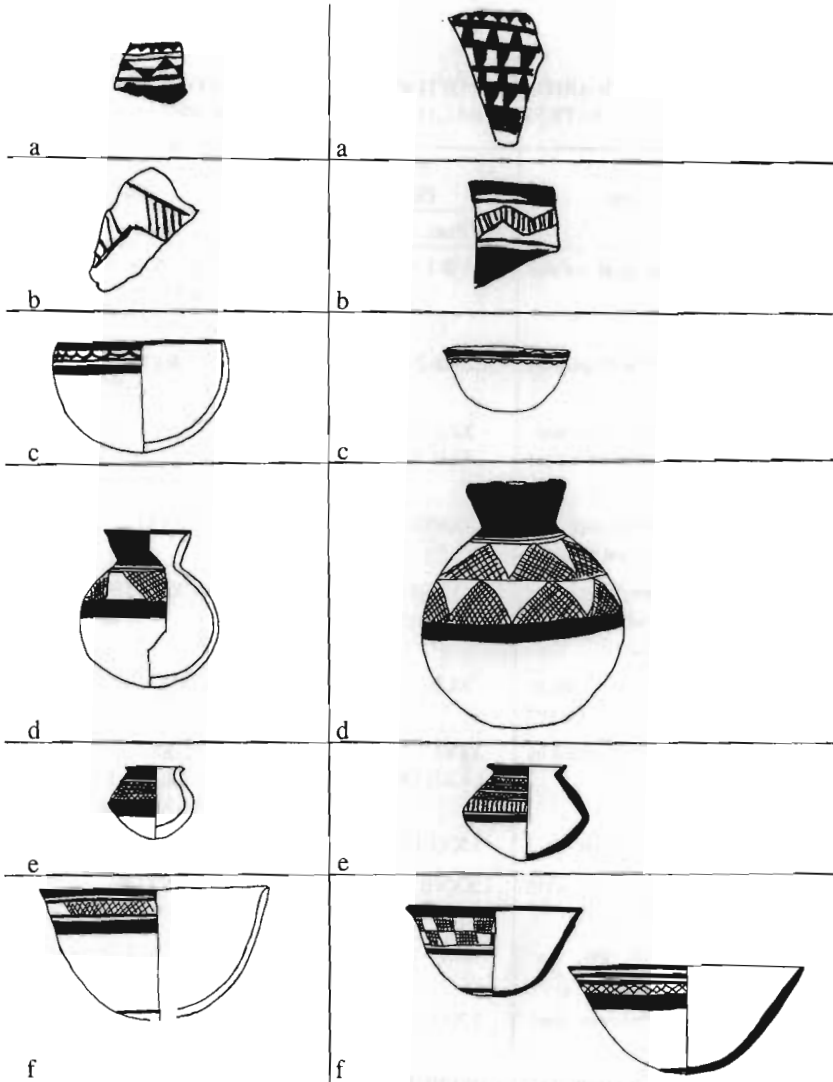


Figure 5. Tepe Gawra and Telul eth Thalathat: Pottery Comparisons listed in Table II.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. XLVII-1-1 (Level XIV)                  | a) Tobler 1950: pl. LXXI-b-17 (Level XVIII)      |
| b) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. XLVII-2-5 (Level XIII)                 | b) Tobler 1950: pl. LXXI-b-22 (Level XVIII)      |
| c) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXXVI-22 (= pl. XLII-6)(Level XIV)    | c) Tobler 1950: pl. LXXXII-a-2 (Level XIX)       |
| d) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXXIII-2 (= pl. XXXVIII6)(Level XIV)  | d) Tobler 1950: pl. LXXXII-c (Level XVIII)       |
| e) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXXII-21 (= pl. XXXVIII-5)(Level XIV) | e) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXII-106 (Below Level XVII) |
| f) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXIV-17 (= pl. XLII-2)(Level XIV)     | f) Tobler 1950: pl. CXX-87 + 88 (Level XVIII)    |

was sun dried mud bricks, which, in some instances, seem to have been very large: 54 x 21.5 x 6 cm. (level XIII); 55 x 30 cm. (level XIV); 70 x 10–30 x 5–6 cm. (XIV).<sup>37</sup> In level XIV one building had a rather thick wall with buttresses, a feature that is also seen in Gawra XVIII.<sup>38</sup> In level XIII a man-made ditch two meters wide and 1.8 meters deep was traced for about forty meters, but what its purpose was is uncertain.<sup>39</sup> Part of a round building with internal buttresses and rooms arranged radially around it was discovered in the first season's excavations and later attributed to level XIII.<sup>40</sup> This building could be compared to the round building in Gawra XVII.<sup>41</sup> Another round building, with internal buttresses, excavated at Thalathat in the first season, is probably also to be attributed to level XIII.<sup>42</sup>

At the site of Qalinj Agha, within the city limits of Erbil, material similar to that found at Thalathat was found. However, the Ubaid levels were only tested in small soundings. Sounding I, at the summit of the mound, had twelve levels, the top five of which were clearly "Uruk" in date (= "Gawra Period").<sup>43</sup> From level VI down to XII (the lowest level tested), Ubaid sherds increase in quantity and are predominant in levels VII–XII. In level X a cylindrical spout from a "tortoise jar," and a sherd of a rim with an inside ledge like the type discussed above, occur. A few small Halaf painted sherds are reported from levels XI and XII.<sup>44</sup> A sounding that was made in 1970 reached Ubaid levels, but it has been published only in Arabic so far.<sup>45</sup> This sounding had twelve levels lettered A (top) through L.<sup>46</sup> Not much pottery is illustrated from each of these levels, and due to the fragmentary nature of the sherds that are drawn, the shape of each vessel is sometimes difficult to ascertain. What appear to be "bell-shaped" bowls are illustrated for levels J and F.<sup>47</sup> A bowl from level G<sup>48</sup> has a shape similar to one from Gawra level XVIII,<sup>49</sup> and a motif on the inside of the rim is similar to that on a jar from Thalathat XIV.<sup>50</sup> The bowl from Gawra is a rare type at that site but is said to persist into later levels.<sup>51</sup> A sherd from level E might be the globular-bodied jar with interior pierced ridge that was discussed above.<sup>52</sup> Two bowls, one from level J and one from K, are of a shape not paralleled at Gawra, but have vertically oriented decoration reminiscent of the early Gawra levels.<sup>53</sup> While no definite

37 *Ibid.*, 9, 14, 18.

38 Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. XIX.

39 Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, p. 10–11; pl. XLV.

40 N. Egami, *Telul eth Thalathat, the Excavations of Tell II, 1956–1957*, Tokyo University Iraq-Iran Archaeological Expedition, Report 1 (Tokyo, 1954), 3 and fig. 9; Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, 9.

41 Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. XVI.

42 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–57*, p. 3 and fig. 10; pertinent pottery on fig. 12 ("Ubaid Ia", Strata 10–13); see Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, 41 for the attribution to levels XIII/XIV.

43 B. Al-Soof, "Short Sounding at Tell Qalinj Agha (Erbil)," *Sumer* 22 (1966), 78f.

44 Al-Soof, and S. Es-Siwani, "More Soundings at Tell Qalinj Agha (Erbil)," *Sumer* 23 (1967), 69–71.

45 I. Hijara, "Excavations at Tell Qalinj Agha (Erbil) Fourth Season 1970," *Sumer* 29 (1973), 13–34 (Arabic section).

46 *Ibid.*, pl. 122.

47 *Ibid.*, pls. 29-J-2, 3; 27-F-1, 5(?).

48 *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

49 Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXI-99.

50 Fukai et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, pl. LXXII-6 = here fig. 7b, right.

51 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 135.

52 Hijara, *Qalinj Agha Fourth Season*, pl. 27-E-3.

53 *Ibid.*, pl. 29-J-1 and K-1; cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXI-89–92.

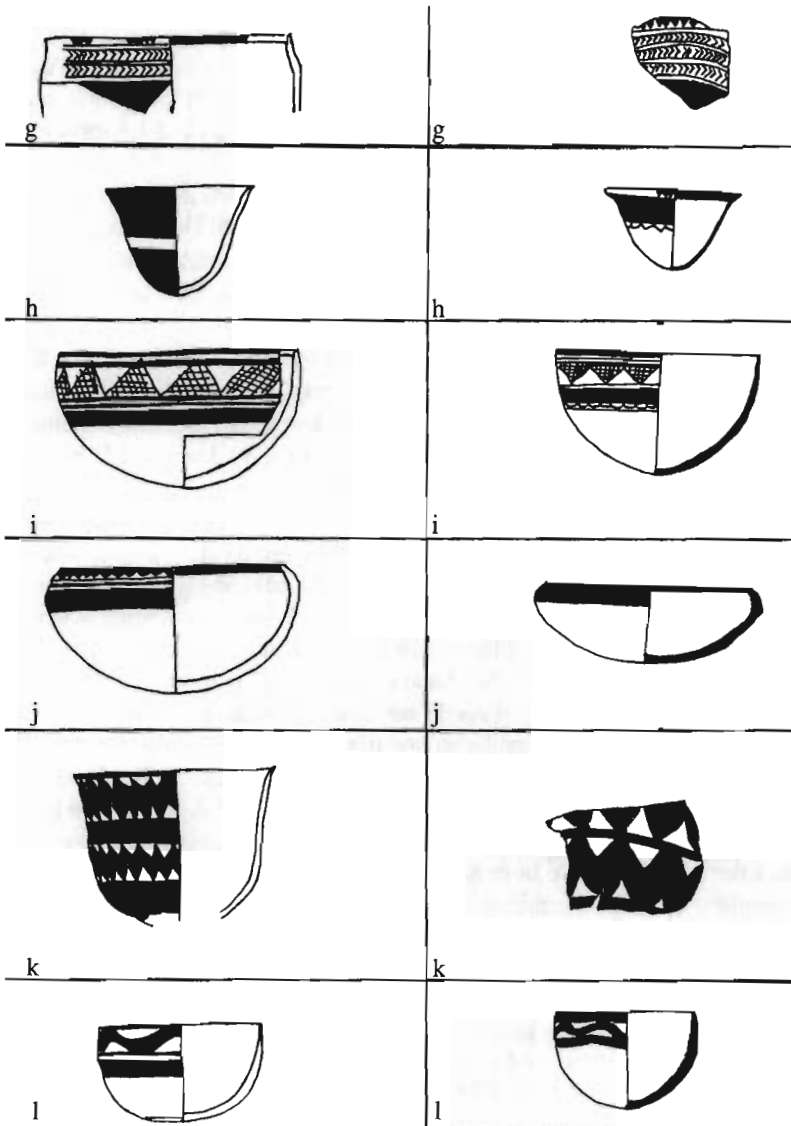


Figure 6. Tepe Gawra and Telul eth Thalathat: Pottery Comparisons listed in Table II.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| g) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXII-18 (Level XIII)                | g) Tobler 1950: pl. LXXIV-b-17 (Level XVII) |
| h) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXI-13 (Level XIII)                 | h) Tobler 1950: pl. CXX-84 (Level XVII)     |
| i) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXVII-16 (= pl. XLII-4) (Level XIV) | i) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXI-96 (Level XVIII)   |
| j) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXII-19 (= pl. XLIV-1) (Level XIII) | j) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXI-100 (Level XVII)   |
| k) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXI-19 (Level XIII)                 | k) Tobler 1950: pl. LXXVII-b-18 (Level XVI) |
| l) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXI-14 (= pl. XLIII-3) (Level XIII) | l) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXIV-130 (Level XVI)   |

conclusions can be reached from small soundings, these comparisons seem to suggest that Qalinj Agha was settled as early as Gawra.

### *Late Northern Ubaid Period*

While the sequence at Qalinj Agha must also cover this period, the published material from Thalathat remains the most extensive addition to the information from Gawra. Unfortunately, at Thalathat the levels between the early Ubaid (XIII and XIV) and the Gawra periods (levels VIIa-I) are very unclearly published. Levels XII-X were excavated mainly in the first season.<sup>54</sup> Very little is said about them in the brief English summary except that they were poor in architectural remains and contained "Ubaid type" pottery.<sup>55</sup> The very few finds that are published from Thalathat XII suggest it to be very similar to level XIII.<sup>56</sup> As was noted above, level XIII had some comparisons to Gawra XVI-XV, and finds illustrated from XII hint that perhaps level XII should also be approximately contemporary with these levels: hemispherical bowl with thick wavy line near the rim,<sup>57</sup> bowl with inturned rim and interrupted decoration at the rim,<sup>58</sup> scalloped line motif.<sup>59</sup> Even less is published about levels XI and X. The few finds illustrated from these levels suggest that they date to the late Ubaid period: A type of stone bowl found in XI and X is comparable to a type from Gawra XIII,<sup>60</sup> and a small sherd illustrated from Thalathat X shows a motif that can be paralleled in Gawra XIII.<sup>61</sup>

More information is available from Thalathat IX-VIIIb. Level VIII contained only a fragmentary stone foundation, and no finds seem to have been attributed to this level.

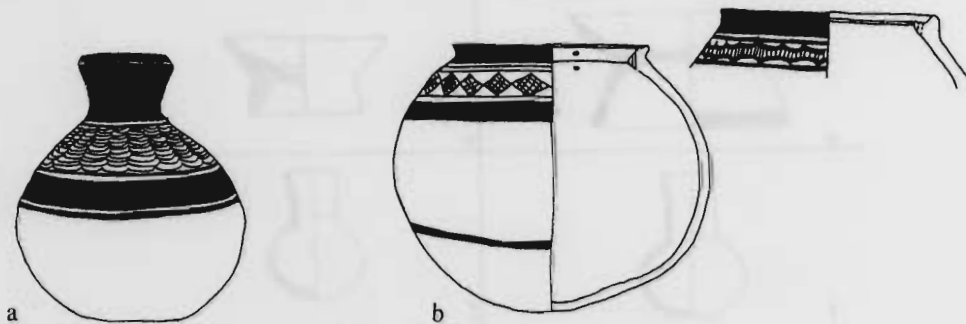


Figure 7.

- a) Tepe Gawra: Tobler 1950: pl. LXXIIb (Level XVIII)    b) Telet eth Thalathat: Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. LXXII-5+6 (Level XIV)

54 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*; a little more work was done on level XII in the next season—see Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), 4.

55 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, 6 and fig. 45; see also Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), 4, 8-9, 23f.

56 Ibid., pl. XXVI-3 (level XII) and pl. XLVII-1-23; XLIV-2 (XII) and 1 (XIII); XLV-1-7 (XII).

57 Ibid., pl. XLV-1:6; cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXIV-130.

58 Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), pl. XLIV-2.

59 Ibid., pl. XLV-1:7; cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. LXXVI-b:18 (XVI).

60 Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), pl. LXXXVII-5 (XI) and 1 (X); cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CLXXXI-86.

61 Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), pl. XLVI-2:3; cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CL-463, 479.

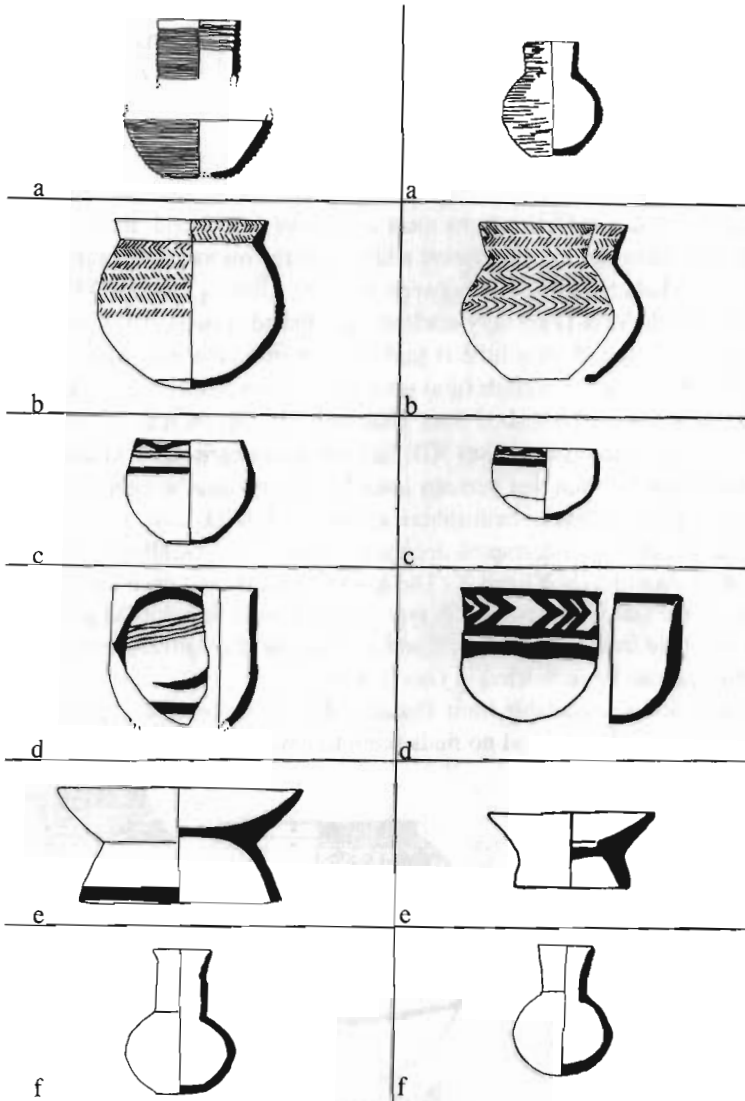


Figure 8. Tepe Gawra and Telul eth Thalathat:  
Late Northern Ubaid Levels. Pottery Comparisons.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| a) Egami 1959: fig. 54-10 (Level IX)  | a) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXI-220 (Level XIII)  |
| b) Egami 1959: fig. 53-3 (Level VIIb) | b) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXI-217 (Level XIII)  |
| c) Egami 1959: fig. 54-1 (Level VIIb) | c) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXVII-172 (Level XIII) |
| d) Egami 1959: fig. 54-2 (Level VIIb) | d) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXX-207 (Level XIII)   |
| e) Egami 1959: fig. 53-3 (Level VIIb) | e) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXV-271 (Level XII)   |
| f) Egami 1959: fig. 53-4 (Level VIIb) | f) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXI-219 (Level XIII)  |

Levels IX and VIIb both contained some rectangular mud brick rooms that seemed to be for domestic use.<sup>62</sup> Illustrations of pottery from each of these levels are published, but no descriptions are available except in Japanese. The excavators say that the pottery of level VIIb is characterized by "the bluish yellow color" of its surface and its "painted figures of Ubaid type."<sup>63</sup> A series of bowls with very sharply bent-in rims from level IX do not seem to have any exact parallels at Gawra,<sup>64</sup> although bowls with inturned rims occur at Gawra as early as level XVIII and persist into later levels.<sup>65</sup> Pottery comparisons between Thalathat IX and VIIb and Gawra cluster around Gawra XIII, with a few similarities to Gawra XII. The most striking comparisons are: (fig. 8) a) corrugated jar with flat base, round body and high cylindrical neck;<sup>66</sup> b) plain globular jar with incised herring bone pattern on body and inside rim;<sup>67</sup> c) deep bowl with wavy line decoration at rim;<sup>68</sup> d) a deep U-shaped bowl from level VIIb that might be compared in its shape and use of wide, bold line decoration with a bowl of similar shape from Gawra;<sup>69</sup> e) a pedestal-footed bowl from Thalathat VIIb that is similar to one from Gawra XII;<sup>70</sup> f) a plain jar with a high cylindrical neck from Thalathat level VIIb that is almost identical in shape to one from Gawra XIII.<sup>71</sup> A pottery cylindrical object with perforated triangles from level IX at Thalathat might be compared to the incense burner from Gawra XIII,<sup>72</sup> but its shape seems more similar to one from Gawra XI.<sup>73</sup> A clay object found near the Thalathat example has a thickened base, rounded rectangular form, and two round holes near its top. This is very likely related to the "hut symbols" found in Gawra XII-IX.<sup>74</sup> An object of the same form as the Thalathat one was found at Gawra, unfortunately not stratified.<sup>75</sup> However, "hut symbols" of a simple rounded form, with two circular holes in them, were found in Gawra XII and XI.<sup>76</sup> A very distinctive goblet with two ledges around the body, a ring base, and linear decoration from level VIIb at Thalathat has no parallel at Gawra.<sup>77</sup>

### *The Gawra Period*

For this period the information from Gawra can now be supplemented by both Thalathat and Qalinj Agha. Unfortunately, exact correlations, level by level, of these two

62 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, 4-6, pl. XXIX, figs. 42, 45.

63 *Ibid.*, 7.

64 *Ibid.*, 7 and fig. 55.

65 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 135.

66 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 54-10 (fragments, level IX); Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXI-218, 220 (level XIII). This type is also found in Gawra level XII, see *ibid.*, p. 147.

67 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 53-3 (level VIIb); Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXI-217 (level XIII).

68 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 53-3 (level IX), 54-1 (level VIIb); Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXVII-172 (level XIII).

69 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 54-2; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXX-207.

70 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 53-8; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXV-271.

71 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 53-4; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXI-219.

72 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 54-8; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXII-228.

73 *Ibid.*, pl. CXLIII-435.

74 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, pl. XXIX-2; fig. 54-7 (level IX); Tobler, *Gawra II*, 171.

75 *Ibid.*, pl. CLVII-66 and p. 244.

76 *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXVI-a.5, 7.

77 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, fig. 53-3

sites are very difficult. This is because the Thalathat excavations are published mainly in Japanese, with only a brief summary in English, while those of Qalinj Agha are published in preliminary reports, with only generalized descriptions of the pottery in English.

At Thalathat the remains of the Gawra period were found in Trench M (laid across the shortest diameter of the mound) and Trench IX (laid across the longest diameter of the mound).<sup>78</sup> In both trenches were found several levels of mud brick architecture in various degrees of preservation. In the second report the correlation of the various building levels and strata between these two trenches is given in Table I on page 99.<sup>79</sup> In Trench M the levels are labeled with letters —A, B, C, etc., while in Trench IX Roman numerals are used. Hence, level VIIa = “C-Period Layer” = (part of) Stratum 4b. In Trench IX level VIIa was actually only the later phase of a building whose earlier phase (VIIb) has been shown to be approximately contemporary with Gawra XIII (probable late XIII). Thus, level VIIa should date not long after this. Indeed, the comparisons possible from the published information seem to confirm this. The pottery from level VIIa is said to be mostly of reddish or greenish brown ware.<sup>80</sup> This can be compared to Tobler’s statement that in the pottery of Gawra XII, “green wares are the most common, but some light brown and reddish brown fabrics persist.”<sup>81</sup> At Thalathat, wide mouthed globular vessels with a spout near the rim are similar to those from Gawra XII–XII-A.<sup>82</sup> Deep U-shaped vessels from the “C-Period Layer” at Thalathat parallel the U-shaped vessels characteristic of Gawra XII.<sup>83</sup> Large globular jars with wide mouths and short flaring rims from Thalathat level VIIa and the “C-Period Layer” compare well with similar jars from Gawra XII.<sup>84</sup> At both sites these served as burial urns. A bowl with slightly inturned rim and a decoration of vertical scalloped lines on either side of a straight line from Thalathat VIIa can be compared to one from Gawra XII of similar shape and decoration with the same motif.<sup>85</sup> In the first report on Thalathat, some pottery published as coming from “Strata 4b and 10b” appears to be “sprig ware,” characterized by its branch-like decoration.<sup>86</sup> At Gawra, the main occurrences of this ware seem to be in level XII, although a single specimen was found in level XIII, and a few fragments were discovered in XI-A.<sup>87</sup> “Stratum 4b” at Thalathat includes both the “C-Period Layer” (= VIIa) and “B-Period Layer” (= VI). If we consider “C-Period Layer” approximately contemporary with Gawra XII, then “B-Period Layer” should correlate somewhat with Gawra XI-A–XI. Since very few finds are illustrated as coming specifically from “B-Period Layer”, this suggestion is difficult to confirm. A double-mouth pot from this level can be compared to one from Gawra XI-A.<sup>88</sup>

78 Ibid., 2 and the main section and site plan at the end of the book.

79 Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), 99, Table I.

80 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–1957*, 7.

81 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 147.

82 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–1957*, pl. LIX, fig. 52-3; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXVIII-297, 299; see here fig.

9a.

83 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–1957*, pl. LXIII-2; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXVI-274, 277.

84 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–1957*, fig. 51-14 and pl. LXIII-1; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXVII-291, 293; see here fig. 9b.

85 Fukai et al., *Thalathat* (1964), pl. XLIII-4; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXIV-57; see here fig. 9c.

86 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–1957*, fig. 20:13-21 and p. 3.

87 Tobler, *Gawra II*, p. 147 and plates cited there.

88 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–1957*, pl. LX-1; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXLIII-356; and see discussion below.

The correlation also seems supported by the discovery in a courtyard of the "B-Period Layer" of hoards of clay sling balls and a double horned clay object. In Gawra XI-A and XI no less than nine separate caches of sling balls were found, two of which were associated with "horned" clay objects.<sup>89</sup>

The pottery from the upper six levels of Thalathat is described as having a greenish brown or yellowish brown surface, and as being rarely painted, except sometimes in a red color.<sup>90</sup> Very few finds are illustrated as coming from a specific level. A large globular jar with a constricted mouth and flaring rim from level III seems to continue the tradition of that seen in Gawra XII, XI-A, and X-A.<sup>91</sup> A bowl with an inwardly beveled rim from level I of Thalathat is similar to a type from Gawra X-A.<sup>92</sup> An important form from these upper layers is the double-mouthed pot. As mentioned above, one came from the "B-Period Layer" (= level VI). Another was found in level II,<sup>93</sup> while an example with clay pellets ("knobs") applied to the body came from level I.<sup>94</sup> At Gawra, plain double-mouthed pots occur in levels XIII (well), XI-A, and XI through IX.<sup>95</sup> Tobler states that the type seems to have been most popular in XI-A and XI, where numerous examples were found, while only one sherd each was found in XIII, X-A, X, and IX. He also notes some changes in the position of the mouths. In the example from level XIII, the mouths are smaller and have more space between them than they do on the example from XI-A.<sup>96</sup> The examples from level IX show a tendency to bring the necks closer together and set them more vertically on the vessel. Double-mouthed pots from Gawra VIII show yet different variations in form.<sup>97</sup> The examples from Thalathat seem closest in form to those from Gawra XI-A. Double-mouthed jars with clay pellets applied to the body are found at Nuzi. One jar from Nuzi, level IX in Sounding L-4, is just like the one from Thalathat level I.<sup>98</sup> At Nuzi, such pots were not numerous, but fragments occurred from level XII through VIII of the sounding. Level XII is apparently late Ubaid,<sup>99</sup> while levels IX and VIII contained beveled rim bowls. At Qalinj Agha, level VI of Sounding I contained a fragment of a plain double-mouthed pot and a body sherd with clay pellets applied to it. Level VI appears to belong right at the borderline between the Uruk and Ubaid periods.<sup>100</sup> Double-mouthed pots have also been found in level III of this site. None of these pots from Qalinj Agha are illustrated, so we cannot compare their form to those of Gawra. Double-mouthed jars are also reported from "Early Uruk" levels at Eridu. Again, no illustrations are available.<sup>101</sup> Lloyd suggests

89 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, 4; Tobler, *Gawra II*, 173 and pl. LXXXVII: a + b.

90 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, 7.

91 *Ibid.*, pl. LVI-5; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXVIII-303 (level XII); CXLII-351 (level XI-A); CXLVIII-431 (level X-A).

92 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, pl. LIV-4 + fig. 50-4; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXLIV-375; see here fig. 10a.

93 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, pl. LX-4 and fig. 50-5; here fig. 10b, left.

94 *Ibid.*, pl. LX-2 and fig. 50-8.

95 Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXI-221, CXLII-356 (= here fig. 10b, right), and CXLVIII-434.

96 *Ibid.*, 159.

97 Speiser, *Gawra I*, pl. LXIII-38.

98 R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi, Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq . . . 1927-1931* (Cambridge, MA, 1939), 598, pl. 42-P.

99 Perkins, *Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia*, 56.

100 Al-Soof, *Short Sounding at Qalinj Agha*, 79.

101 Al-Soof, "Uruk Pottery from Eridu, Ur and Al-Ubaid," *Sumer* 29 (1973), 18; S. Lloyd, "Uruk Pottery," *Sumer* 4 (1948), 50.

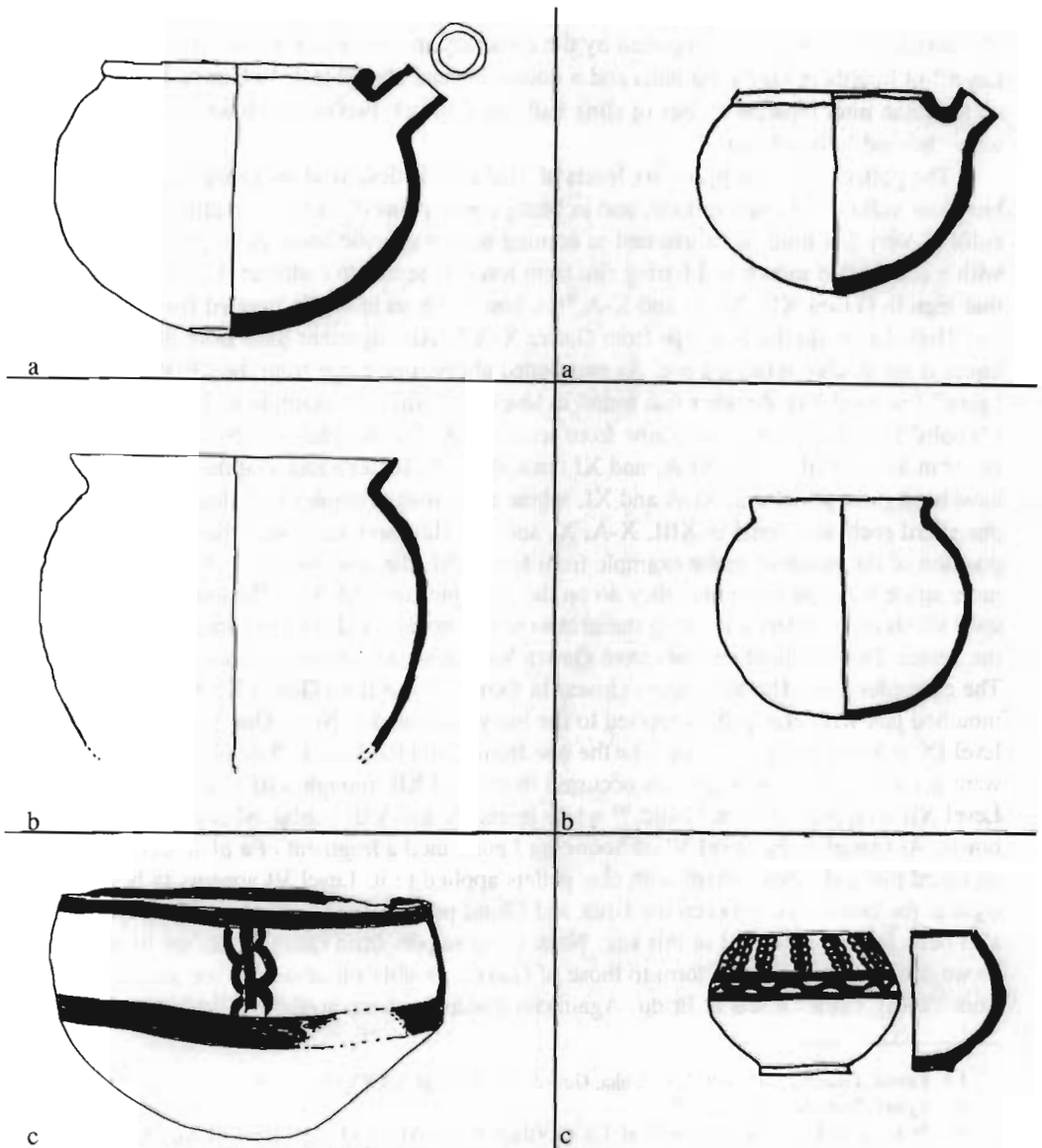


Figure 9. Tepe Gawra and Telul eth Thalathat. Gawra Period Levels. Pottery Comparisons.

a) Egami 1959: fig. 52-3 (Level VIIa)

b) Egami 1959: fig. 51-14 (Level VIIa)

c) Fukai, et al. 1970: pl. XLIII-4 (Level VIIa)

a) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXVIII-297 (Below Level XII)

b) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXVIII-293 (Level XII)

c) Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXIV-257 (Below Level XII)

these "Early Uruk" levels are contemporary with Warka Eanna XII-VI.<sup>102</sup> This is consistent with Porada's suggestion, on the basis of the stamp seal evidence, that Level XI

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 51.

at Gawra is contemporary with Warka XII.<sup>103</sup> From all these comparisons, levels V–I at Thalathat would seem not to be later than levels XI–IX at Gawra, and indeed, perhaps not later than X.

At Qalinj Agha only the four topmost levels have been excavated over a wide area, although deeper levels also belonging to the “Gawra Period” were tested in three soundings.<sup>104</sup> The top two levels (I–II) yielded only fragmentary buildings and were much disturbed, while the third and fourth levels revealed several quite well preserved plans. The pottery and small finds from the top four levels seem fairly homogeneous.<sup>105</sup> Al-Soof says that plain buff ware was by far the most common type of pottery, although several examples of both red and gray ware were present. The most prevalent form is a flat-based dish with flaring sides, either buff or reddish in color, and of coarse or semi-coarse ware, which

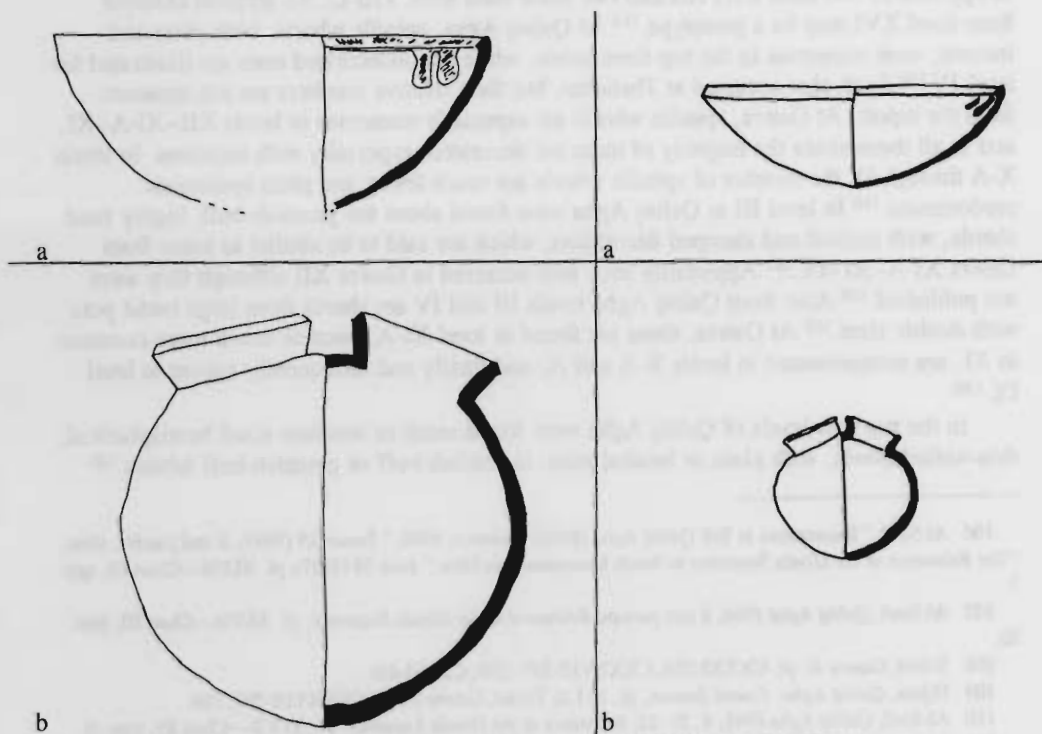


Figure 10. Tepe Gawra and Telul eth Thalathat. Gawra Period Levels. Pottery Comparisons.

- a) Egami 1959: fig. 50-4 (Level I)  
 b) Egami 1959: fig. 50-5 (Level II)

- a) Tobler 1950: pl. CXLIV-375 (Level X-A)  
 b) Tobler 1950: pl. CXLIII-356 (Level XI-A)

103 Porada, *Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia, Part I*, 147.

104 Al-Soof and Es-Siwwani, *More Soundings at Qalinj Agha*; Hijara, *Qalinj Agha, Fourth Season*.

105 This statement is based on the reports that are published in English (Al-Soof, *Short Sounding at Qalinj Agha*; Al-Soof and Es-Siwwani, *More Soundings at Qalinj Agha*), and the published illustrations of the Arabic report. The comparative references that are published with the pottery illustrations in the Arabic report will not be repeated here—see Hijara, *Qalinj Agha, Fourth Season*, pls. 14 through 21.

occurs in Gawra XI-A-IX.<sup>106</sup> Large hemispherical-spouted pots occur in all four levels. Al-Soof compares those in the top three levels to a type from Gawra VIII-A,<sup>107</sup> but no adequate illustration is given to indicate how they might compare in form with the spouted vessels of Gawra XIII, XII, and XI.<sup>108</sup> A type illustrated for level IV is similar to some from Gawra XII.<sup>109</sup> Al-Soof suggests that some handle fragments from Qalinj Agha (one specifically reported for level III) probably belonged to handled cups such as appeared in Nineveh IV.<sup>110</sup> Clay sling pellets were present in all levels, although only for level I is a cache of them reported.<sup>111</sup> Double horned clay objects also occurred in the top three levels—two in level I, two in level II, and three in level III. None are illustrated for level IV. At Gawra, double-horned clay objects are found in levels XII (two), XI-A (two), and IX.<sup>112</sup> Clay “hut symbols” are also found in all four levels of Qalinj Agha.<sup>113</sup> At Gawra, these objects occur mainly in levels XI-A-IX. Twenty-four were found in these four strata, as opposed to two from level XII and two stone ones from VIII-C. An atypical example from level XVI may be a prototype.<sup>114</sup> At Qalinj Agha, spindle whorls, both plain and incised, were numerous in the top three levels, while six undecorated ones are illustrated for level IV.<sup>115</sup> Such also occurred at Thalathat, but their relative numbers are not apparent from the report. At Gawra, spindle whorls are especially numerous in levels XII-XI-A-XI, and in all these strata the majority of them are decorated, especially with incisions. In levels X-A through IX the number of spindle whorls are much fewer, and plain specimens predominate.<sup>116</sup> In level III at Qalinj Agha were found about ten greenish-buff, highly fired sherds, with incised and stamped decoration, which are said to be similar to some from Gawra XI-A-XI-IX.<sup>117</sup> Apparently such also occurred in Gawra XII although they were not published.<sup>118</sup> Also from Qalinj Agha levels III and IV are sherds from large ovoid pots with double rims.<sup>119</sup> At Gawra, these are found in level XI-A, become much more common in XI, are unrepresented in levels X-A and X, and finally and infrequently appear in level IX.<sup>120</sup>

In the top four levels of Qalinj Agha were found small or medium-sized hemispherical, thin-walled bowls, with plain or beaded rims, in reddish-buff or greenish-buff fabrics.<sup>121</sup>

106 Al-Soof, “Excavations at Tell Qalinj Agha (Erbil), Summer, 1968,” *Sumer* 25 (1969), 8 and passim; idem, “The Relevance of the Diyala Sequence to South Mesopotamian Sites,” *Iraq* 29 (1967), pl. XLVII—Chart III, type 7.

107 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 8 and passim; *Relevance of the Diyala Sequence*, pl. XLVII—Chart III, type 20.

108 Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXI-224; CXXXVIII-297-299; CXLVI-410.

109 Hijara, *Qalinj Agha, Fourth Season*, pl. 18:1,2; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXVIII-297, 299.

110 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 8, 21-22; *Relevance of the Diyala Sequence*, pl. XLVII—Chart III, type 16.

111 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 4.

112 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 173.

113 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, pl. XI; Hijara, *Qalinj Agha, Fourth Season*, pl. 12.

114 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 171 and pl. LXXXVI-a.

115 Hijara, *Qalinj Agha, Fourth Season*, pl. 10.

116 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 168-69.

117 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 22.32; Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. LXXIX: a-d; LXXX-a.

118 Porada, *Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia, Part I*, 145.

119 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 25; idem, *Relevance of the Diyala Sequence*, pl. XLVII, Chart III, type 28; Hijara, *Qalinj Agha, Fourth Season*, pl. 21-2,3,4.

120 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 158; pl. CXLII-346, CXLVI-405-7.

121 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 8; idem, *Short Sounding at Qalinj Agha*, pl. IV, V; Hijara, *Qalinj Agha, Fourth Season*, pl. 14, 15.

When these are of greenish-buff fabric and have beaded rims, Al-Soof often refers to them as "proto-Ninevite V."<sup>122</sup> At Gawra, levels XI–IX are said to contain some "green or greenish tinted" wares that are thin and hard. These are said to occur mostly in levels XI–X-A, and to be "cups" or "beakers."<sup>123</sup> A hemispherical bowl of "hard green ware" and having a ring base is illustrated from Gawra XI, while a carinated bowl with ring base from Gawra IX is said to be "wheel-made, greenish gray ware."<sup>124</sup> Due to the nature of the Thalathat report, it is impossible to tell whether anything comparable was found there. Al-Soof also lists two or three sherds of "painted Ninevite V ware" as coming from level III at Qalinj Agha. Unfortunately, there are no adequate illustrations. At Thalathat, mound II, some incised Ninevite V sherds were found, but they appear to be from strata that could have been associated with levels that had eroded away.<sup>125</sup> Mound V at Thalathat has a Ninevite V occupation, and a radiocarbon determination from it gives as approximate date in the early third millennium, when calibrated: TK-25 4200 ± 90 b.p.—2980–2665 B.C.<sup>126</sup> At Tepe Gawra, Ninevite V does not occur until level VII.<sup>127</sup> At Tell Leilan, Syria, there is a very long sequence of Ninevite V, the levels of which are dated by radiocarbon (calibrated) from the second half of the fourth millennium to the mid-third.<sup>128</sup> This evidence suggests Ninevite V might reach back to the late Uruk period, but whether it begins earlier, as the few sherds at Qalinj Agha might imply, is uncertain.

Few seals or seal impressions were found at either Thalathat or Qalinj Agha, in contrast to the many found at Gawra. The few illustrated from Thalathat are either too simple for comparison, or cannot be ascribed with certainty to any of the levels discussed here. At Qalinj Agha, five seals are illustrated from level III.<sup>129</sup> Three seals that are illustrated can be paralleled in Gawra XI-A or XI.<sup>130</sup> A clay stamp seal with a star pattern cannot be exactly paralleled at Gawra, but is similar to some of the impressed motifs on sherds from level XI.<sup>131</sup> A stamp seal impression from Qalinj Agha, level III, shows a horned, bearded goat-like animal among filling motifs, and might reasonably be compared to an impression from Gawra XI-A.<sup>132</sup>

At both Thalathat and Qalinj Agha was found a type of building of tripartite plan in which smaller rooms of various sizes and plans were arranged along the two sides of a large, central rectangular room.<sup>133</sup> Two were found at Thalathat. One, in the "C-Period

122 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 9–33 and passim.

123 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 154.

124 Ibid., pl. CXLIV-382, 381.

125 Egami, *Thalathat 1956–1957*, 3 and fig. 15 and see position of strata 15 and 16 on the master section of "Trench M" at the end of the book.

126 Porada, et al., *Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia (ca. 7000–1600 B.C.)*.

127 Speiser, *Gawra I*; M. E. L. Mallowan, "Ninevite 5," in *Vorderasiatische Archäologie Studien und Aufsätze, Festschrift Moortgat*, K. Bittel, ed., (Berlin, 1964), 149.

128 H. Weiss, "Tell Lēlan," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1981/1982), 226–29; idem, "Excavations at Tell Leilan and the Origins of North Mesopotamian Cities in the Third Millennium B.C." *Palēorient* 9/2 (1983), 39–52.

129 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, pl. XX.

130 Ibid., pl. XX-top left—cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CLXI-60, 59; Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, pl. XX-bottom left and center—cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CLX-36.

131 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, pl. XX-bottom—cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. LXXIX-c.

132 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, pl. XX-top right—cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CLXX-174.

133 This type of plan is also known from earlier levels at Gawra (XIX, XVIII, XV) and early and late Ubaid sites in the Hamrin Basin (Kheit Qasim III, Tell Maddhur). See Porada, et al., *Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia (ca. 7000–1600 B.C.)*.

Layer," had walls one brick thick of bricks measuring 56 x 25 x 11 cm.<sup>134</sup> The central room was called a "courtyard" by the excavators and had two phases, the upper belonging to the "B-Period Layer." Whether the "courtyard" could be entered directly from the outside, or only from the subsidiary rooms on its long sides is not clear from the plan or the report. Such features as a buttress in the southern wall of the courtyard, a brick pavement in the room leading to the outside at the northeast corner, the hoard of clay sling pellets and clay horned object from the upper phase of the courtyard, and the building's large size (the courtyard was ca. 7 x 3.3 m.), mark the building as something more important than a private dwelling.<sup>135</sup> A second building of similar plan was found in "Trench IX" but was not assigned by the excavators to any one of their building levels, except to say it was of "Uruk date."<sup>136</sup> This building is of similar size to the "C-Period Layer" building (here the central room—also called a courtyard by the excavators—measured 7 x 3 meters), but its plan is more compact and less sprawling than the "C-Period building." The bricks used are the same size (56 x 25 x 11 cm. and 56 x 16 x 11 cm.),<sup>137</sup> but the walls are two bricks thick instead of one. Originally, the courtyard could be entered directly from the outside, but this was later blocked up so that access was only through the room at the south corner. The size of this building, its well-built structure, and such details as an altar-like mud-brick pier at the south end of the courtyard (and near the subsidiary room leading to the outside), a small room on the west side in which there were thick layers of ash, and the lack of any hearths such as were usually found in houses at Thalathat, allowed the excavators to suggest that this was a temple. The few illustrated finds that can be clearly linked to the "temple" suggest it was not much later than the "C-Period Building": a pottery pedestal stand,<sup>138</sup> an incised spindle whorl,<sup>139</sup> a globular jar with a tapering neck and four lugs.<sup>140</sup> The similarity of the brick sizes between the buildings also suggest their closeness in time.

At Qalinj Agha levels IV and III both contained buildings of the tripartite plan. One of those of level IV has a T-shaped middle room similar to that at the earlier site of Kheit Qasim III.<sup>141</sup> The other building of level IV is similar to those in level III, which are comparable to the "C-Period Building" and the "Temple" of Thalathat. The buildings in level III are the "Eastern Temple" and the "Western Temple."<sup>142</sup> In both these buildings there is a large central rectangular room of comparable size to those at Thalathat (ca. 6 x 3 meters in the "Eastern Temple" and ca. 6.5 x 3.9 meters in the "Western Temple"), which is accessible from the outside only through one of the subsidiary rooms on its long sides. The "Western Temple" was larger than the "Eastern" one and had thicker walls. Its central room had two rectangular mud brick stumps that could have been the remains of columns, and was plastered white. In addition, traces of a painted frieze, 60 x 110 cm., which showed

134 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, 4-5 and fig. 25.

135 *Ibid.*, 5.

136 *Ibid.*, 6-7 and figs. 45 and 47.

137 Fukai, et al., *Thalathat (1964)*, 9.

138 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, pl. LXI-3—cf. Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXXXV-270 (level XII).

139 Egami, *Thalathat 1956-1957*, pl. LXIV-1:10. Incised spindle whorls were especially common in levels XII-XI at Gawra.

140 *Ibid.*, pl. LVI-3. Compare a jar with tapering neck, without lugs from Gawra XI (Tobler, *Gawra II*, pl. CXLVIII-442).

141 C. Forest-Foucault, "Report sur les fouilles de Kheit Qasim III, Hamrin," *Paléorient* 6 (1980), 221-24.

142 Al-Sooif, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 5-7, pl. IV-VI.

red and black geometrical ornaments, was found on the temple's eastern wall. On the south (short) wall, there was a niche near the southwest corner (near the entrance to the subsidiary room leading to the outside). The bricks used at Qalinj Agha (44–47 x 23–30 x 9–10 cm.)<sup>143</sup> are somewhat smaller than those at Thalathat, but are quite comparable to those from Gawra level XII (48 x 24–25 x 6–10 cm.).<sup>144</sup>

Indeed, the closest comparisons to the level III Qalinj Agha buildings come from Gawra XII. These are the “White Room Building” and Rooms 25–31.<sup>145</sup> In both of these there are smaller rooms arranged along the long sides of a larger rectangular room. The “White Room” was plastered white, but was quite a bit larger (ca. 12.3 x 11.75 meters) than the rooms at Thalathat or Qalinj Agha. Two doors in the southwest (short) wall gave access to the “White Room” directly from the outside. Two niches in the opposite northwest (short) wall were in line with these doors. The other building (Rooms 25–31) is smaller, and the main room (26) is not accessible directly from the outside. Room 26 is not plastered, but it does have the two niches in its northwest (short) wall, and it is oriented exactly like the White Room.

From the foregoing discussion of pottery and other finds, the “C-Period Layer” and level VIIa at Thalathat seem to correlate with Gawra XII. However, all the comparisons from Qalinj Agha point to Gawra XI-A or later, except for the architecture. This situation seems to support the strong continuity between Gawra XII and XI-A–XI that was already suggested by Porada.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, at Qalinj Agha in level III, Al-Soof found part of a curved wall that he (tentatively) suggested could have belonged to a building like the “Round House” of Gawra XI-A.<sup>147</sup> The Gawra temples of level IX and later, which Al-Soof compares to his “Eastern Temple” at Qalinj Agha, might be a later development of which the scanty remains of Qalinj Agha, levels I and II, give us no clue. Another consideration might be the different functions of the sites. Gawra seems to have been quite a rich, important place, as evidenced by its numerous large public/sacred building, great quantities of seals, impressions and other objects, and its far-flung trade relations.<sup>148</sup> Thalathat and Qalinj Agha may have been smaller, more local centers—perhaps a reason why so few seals were found at them.

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143 *Ibid.*, 6.

144 Tobler, *Gawra II*, 35.

145 *Ibid.*, pl. VIII.

146 Porada, *Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia, Part I*, 146. In his recent study of Gawra tombs and burials, J. D. Forest has suggested that level XI-A has two phases, the earlier of which is really part of level XII, while the later part (which includes the “Round House”, “temple” and “watch tower”) belongs to an early phase of XI/X-A. (J. D. Forest, *Les Pratiques Funeraires en Mesopotamie de cinquième millenaire as debut du Troisième*, Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, Memoire 19 (Paris, 1983), 24–28).

147 Al-Soof, *Qalinj Agha 1968*, 7 and pl. VIII-4.

148 D. H. Caldwell, “The Early Glyptic of Gawra, Giyan and Susa and the Development of Long Distance Trade,” *Orientalia* 45 (1976), 227–44.

TABLE III

SUGGESTED CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TEPE GAWRA,  
TELUL ETH THALATHAT AND QALINJ AGHA

Period	Tepe Gawra	Telul eth Thalathat	Qalinj Agha
Gawra Period	VIII-A		?
	-B		↑
	-C		↑
	IX	I	I/II
	X	↓	↓
	X-A		III
	XI		IV
	XI-A	V/VI	↑ ?
	XII	VIIa	“B-Period” “C-Period”
	XII-A		(Soundings)
Late Northern Ubaid	XIII	VIIb	↓
	XIV	VIII	↓
		IX	↓
Early Northern Ubaid	XV	X—XII?	↓
	XVI	↓	↓
	XVII	XIII	↓
	XVIII	XIV	↓
	XIX		↓ ?