

UR EXCAVATIONS  
THE KASSITE PERIOD  
AND THE PERIOD OF THE  
ASSYRIAN KINGS

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# UR EXCAVATIONS

VOLUME VIII

## THE KASSITE PERIOD AND THE PERIOD OF THE ASSYRIAN KINGS

By

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## FOREWORD

At the time of his death, the late Sir Leonard Woolley had completed in manuscript several volumes of the great publication of his discoveries. Apart from Volume IX, published in 1962, these volumes remained unpublished. As so long a period of time involving so many fresh discoveries has elapsed since they were written, some revision of the text has been found necessary. This editorial task has been carried out by Mr. T. C. Mitchell, Research Assistant in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, who also prepared Volume IX in the same way. As in that volume, the principle has been not to tamper basically with the author's text; to do so might involve a whole series of modifications and revisions which would be both unfair and unpractical. Accordingly, the author's views are placed before the reader as he wrote them, and as he interpreted his discoveries before 1939. But subdivisions within chapters have been made uniform, the spellings of names have been made to conform to modern convention, a few bibliographical notes have been added, and a certain number of extra entries have been inserted in the Catalogue of Objects. Occasionally, when statements have not been clear, or have been contradictory, notes have been added in square brackets. Every effort has been made to find the U numbers (i.e. the numbers allocated to the objects as they were recorded on the site) of the principal objects mentioned, but this has not always been possible.

The photographs of seals U.3320 and U.3321 on pl. 35 have been supplied by courtesy of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

October, 1963

F. C. FRANCIS,  
Director and Principal Librarian



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## ABBREVIATIONS

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

<i>A.f.O.</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>J.R.A.S.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>L.A.A.A.</i>	<i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
<i>S.A.K.I.</i>	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften</i>
<i>U.E.</i>	<i>Ur Excavations</i>
<i>U.E.T.</i>	<i>Ur Excavations Texts</i>
<i>U.V.B.</i>	<i>Uruk Vorläufiger Bericht</i>

## TOPOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL

AH	The large residential quarter SE of the Temenos
BC	The Mausolea of Šulgi and Amar-Suen
CLW	The NE city wall, central section
DP	E-ḫur-sag
EM	The house site on the SW side of the Temenos
G	After any site designation = Grave
KG	Kassite Grave
L	Larsa (period)
NB	Neo-Babylonian (period)
NE	The NE part of Nebuchadnezzar's Fort in the western angle of the Temenos
P	Persian (period)
PJ	The extension of the Royal Cemetery area
SM	Diqiqqeh
TW/1929/	City Wall
XNCF	The building range on the NW wall of the Temenos
YC	The house site outside the NW wall of the Temenos

## CHAPTER I

### THE KASSITE PERIOD: GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The great buildings erected by the Larsa kings survived the fall of the dynasty, for after the defeat of Rim-Sin by Hammurapi the south country surrendered to the conqueror without resistance. But in the twelfth year of his son and successor, Samsu-iluna, the Sumerian spirit seems to have revived for the last time; at any rate the south rose in revolt against their Babylonian overlord, and in the struggle Ur evidently played a leading part, for when Samsu-iluna crushed the rebellion, as he did within twelve months, the year was known not as that in which the south country was conquered but as that in which the king destroyed the walls of Ur. The boast did less than justice to the facts. Not only were the great walls of defence dismantled so that not one brick was left upon another, but the whole city was given over to fire and destruction; of its public monuments not one was left, and even the houses of the private citizens were involved in the common overthrow.

From this disaster Ur recovered but slowly, and never again did it attain its old magnificence. The first concrete evidence that we have found of attempts to make good the damage wrought by the troops of Babylon is in the E-gi-par, the temple of Nin-gal, and there it is only too clear that the means of the restorers were straitened to the last degree; the building is the poorest patch-work, there are no royal stamps upon the bricks, and old material is freely employed. It is a fair deduction to conclude that whatever was done was done by the piety of a people, or of a priesthood, weakened and impoverished, and that they had to rely upon their own resources and could obtain no help from the kings of Babylon, who had no interest in the rebirth of the rebellious city.

Naturally the site did not long remain altogether desolate. Those of the inhabitants who escaped from massacre at the hands of Samsu-iluna's soldiers returned to their ruined town and before very many years had passed the population must have been not much less than it was before the city was laid waste. This can be gathered from the facts as disclosed by excavation. Wherever we find houses of the Larsa period they have been re-used with only slight modifications and at a higher level by the citizens of the Kassite age. This means that those who returned or came to the ruined city did so before the upstanding walls had crumbled to dust, as they would have done fairly soon. They found the walls still there, though the floors were buried deeply in debris, and being poor and compelled to make lodgings for themselves as quickly and as cheaply as might be they utilised what was ready to their hand and did not clear the site or embark upon new foundations. One reason why the Kassite houses have proved of little interest is that they are in almost every case adaptations of the old. In a few places such as the site of the mausolea of the Third Dynasty kings, where the complete overthrow of a sacred building which no one cared to restore gave a free field for original work, nothing original comes to light. The standard of domestic architecture for the Kassites of Ur was set by the relics of the Larsa houses, and by the time the old ruins had all been patched and mended the standard was so far fixed that even a fresh foundation saw no departure from it. We must suppose that as the population grew many of the ancient temples were restored after a fashion; temples were necessary, revenues however reduced were still to be drawn from the temple lands, and the priests were there to encourage and to organise public action. The ruins shew two things. Since in a number of cases when buildings of the Third Dynasty

or of the Larsa age were restored in the late Kassite and in the Neo-Babylonian time they were restored faithfully upon the old lines, there must have been something to guide the restorers. It is true that they sometimes boast of their pains, telling how they excavated to discover the original ground-plans; but the sanctity of the sites had been preserved through these dark age, and it is obvious that there had been, to preserve it, buildings which kept something of the character of the old. On the other hand in no other instance than the E-gi-par have we found in the temple ruins work of which we can assert that it is later in date than Samsu-iluna and earlier than Kuri-galzu; I think the only explanation is that the work was indeed done but was of so poor a quality that when wholesale reconstruction was in view the first thing necessary was to remove all the shoddy walls which local piety had erected in the earlier Kassite period and to start afresh on the solid foundations of Larsa or Third Dynasty brickwork.

The political history of the Kassite period is surprisingly meagre compared with that of the times before and after it, and the scantiness of public records is faithfully reflected in the domestic annals of Ur. Apart from the vague generalisations which have been drawn from the character of the few building remains found by us to illustrate the earlier stages of the dynasty, and apart from certain tentative conclusions regarding changes in pottery forms and the gradual substitution of iron for copper or bronze in the manufacture of tools and weapons, we have virtually nothing to shew. For a space of over three hundred years the indifference of the Kassite kings towards the material interests of Ur persisted, and in the absence of new buildings or building-inscriptions those three centuries are a blank in history.

A change comes at last with the reign of Kuri-galzu II, 1407-1389 B.C. The whole of the Temenos, E-kiš-nu-gal, and most of the other sacred buildings of Ur were restored by him, and it is rare to find the ruins of a temple of the Third Dynasty or Larsa times on which this energetic ruler has not set his seal. It is worth noting that in his numerous inscriptions on bricks, foundation-cones and foundation-tablets Kuri-galzu seldom employs the words "built" or "founded"; nearly always the phrase runs "that which from of old had been in ruins he has renewed, its foundation he has restored".<sup>1</sup> Throughout he was doing his best to follow the traditions established long before by the native rulers of Ur, and the fact that he did so would seem to shew that his piety had a political basis, that it was a deliberate attempt to conciliate the South by honouring the monuments of her glorious past.

Upon the Ziggurat itself no trace of his work has been found, though it is inconceivable that he should not have undertaken repairs there also; but he added a new revetment to the Ziggurat terrace and entirely rebuilt the range of chambers surrounding the enclosure. Inside that he reconstructed the "kitchen" building on the NW side of the Ziggurat and on its SE side erected a temple to Nin-gal, this last being, apparently, one of his few essays in originality, for we find no definite prototype for the shrine there. The great courtyard of Nanna below the Ziggurat terrace was entirely rebuilt by him.<sup>2</sup> Below the NW wall of the Ziggurat terrace he put up the range of magazines described in Chapter VI; they really form part of the Temenos wall which, as is implied by his inscriptions, was also rebuilt by him, but no other part of it survives.<sup>3</sup> E-nun-maḥ "its ruined place he restored", enlarging it by the addition of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag; E-dub-lal-maḥ "the old house, he restored to its place", changing its character altogether and adding, or repairing, the courtyard with its surrounding buildings which continue north-eastwards along his Sacred Way; the E-gi-par of Enannatum he rebuilt,

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 153-64.

<sup>2</sup> These works have been described in *U.E.*, V, dealing with the Ziggurat and its surroundings.

<sup>3</sup> From the fact of private house ruins of Kassite date being found immediately SE of the E-gi-par (and also underneath the east corner of Nebuchadnezzar's Temenos wall), and such would necessarily have been outside the Temenos, it can be assumed that Kuri-galzu's Temenos corresponded more or less exactly to that of the Third Dynasty; *v. U.E.*, VI, Pl. 53.

partly on the old lines, partly to a design of his own. Outside the Temenos the Nin-ezen temple was restored by him and on the NE side of the City wall there are remains of a considerable work, probably of a military nature, which occupied the place of older defences and may imply that the Town Wall also was repaired by him. It is a creditable list of performances and is probably very far from complete. But it must be admitted that the king's achievements were not always, in respect of quality, on the level of his intentions. The bricks of Kuri-galzu are too often of a sandy texture and lightly fired, so that they crumble and break easily, and they are generally set in mud mortar; bitumen is throughout very sparingly used. The walls are generally stout, but are built with two skins of proper brickwork enclosing a core of rubble and earth which has no strength of its own; and there is a tendency to lay the facing-bricks as stretchers only, so that the brickwork skin has little or no bond with the core.

When the standing arch of the door of E-dub-lal-mah, first discovered by Taylor, was found again by us in 1924-5 (Pl. 49) it looked as if the Kassite ruler might have been an innovator in a most important respect, for the arch was a new feature so far as our knowledge of Mesopotamian architecture then went. Subsequent discoveries have made it abundantly clear that the invention of the arch was very much more ancient, and Kuri-galzu was here but following a tradition which can be traced back to the Early Dynastic age;<sup>1</sup> but he does seem to have made use of traditional forms in a striking manner. If our reconstruction of his Nin-gal temple<sup>2</sup> be correct, and the form of the foundations seems fully to warrant it, then he did at least anticipate in a remarkable manner the artistic canons of relatively modern times. With its arches, domes and vaults the building bears a striking resemblance to the conventional mosque of the mediaeval and modern Arab. Another architectural feature is possibly a Kassite invention, or at least was in Kassite times developed from much simpler origins of the Larsa age. We have occasionally found loose in the ruins of temples, particularly in those of E-nun-mah and E-dub-lal-mah, moulded bricks with fragments of design in high relief; these unquestionably belong to human figures of more or less life size, and with them come simpler mouldings, plain half-circles or zig-zags representing flowing water. The bricks are not stamped, but their texture and their measurements assign them to Kuri-galzu, and fortunately there is an analogy, also of Kassite date, which explains their use. At Warka the German expedition found a small temple of Innin-Ištar built by Kara-indaš<sup>3</sup> with walls decorated with human figures executed in moulded brick. There were enough fragments to make a complete restoration possible. The figures, male and female, stand holding vases from which water runs, the zig-zag streams uniting to form a sort of festoon which ties the isolated figures into a scheme; and beneath their feet is a band of just such half-circle ornament as we have represented at Ur. At Ur therefore there was in the Kassite period, and probably due to Kuri-galzu, a temple decorated in the Warka style—perhaps he re-built in this way the sanctuary of E-nun-mah. The style of the Warka figures is, I think, unmistakably Kassite and none would be inclined to seek their exact prototype in any earlier period; but it is not certain that they are a Kassite invention. In a very much ruined building of Sin-iddinam<sup>4</sup> we find *in situ* bricks moulded with the same half-circle decoration as recurs in the Warka temple. No remains of figure sculpture were discovered there, but the site was so thoroughly ruined and plundered (only a part of the ground-plan of the building could be recovered) that the negative evidence counts for but little. It may well be that even for this apparent innovation Kuri-galzu was but following an earlier precedent.

Whatever motive underlay the building activities of Kuri-galzu, which did to some

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, II, pp. 232-5 [also Seton Lloyd in C. Singer *et al.*, *A History of Technology* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 465-6].

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.*, V, Pl. 73.

<sup>3</sup> J. Jordan, *U.V.B.*, I (1930), pp. 30-8, Pls. 15-17.

<sup>4</sup> *U.E.*, VII, Chap. III G.

extent renew the old magnificence of the city, he would not seem to have singled out Ur because of its intrinsic importance at the time. The lack of Kassite tablets in the private houses cannot but reflect the stagnation of business, and tablets dated to the period are indeed remarkably few.<sup>1</sup> If the revival was political rather than economic it is not surprising that the sudden burst of energy was followed by further neglect. One sculptured *kudurru* or boundary-stone (U.2758, Pls. 26, 27) is our only monument of Kassite art, and it is of course a private and not a public monument; otherwise there is in our record a complete gap of more than two hundred years. Nabonidus states that in the course of his work on E-dub-lal-maḥ he discovered the foundation-inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I (1146–1123 B.C.) and presumably what he said was true; but no actual monument of that king has been found by us. Marduk-nadin-aḥḥe (1116–1101 B.C.) certainly did repair E-nun-maḥ, for his inscribed door-sockets were found there *in situ*. A copper cylinder discovered also *in situ* in the foundations of the “kitchen” on the NW side of the Ziggurat gives us the name of Adad-apal-iddina, 1083–1062 B.C. He calls himself “the nourisher of Ur” and claims to have “renewed E-kiš-nu-gal”,<sup>2</sup> but a fragment of brick pavement against the NE face of the Ziggurat and a patch in the pavement of the great Nanna courtyard are all that today bear witness to the truth of his boast. There was then a certain revival of interest in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. and these late Kassite kings of the “Second Dynasty of Isin” played a part in the restoration of the ancient buildings of Ur, though so far as the material remains are concerned the part was not a very important one. But they were the last of their stock to be in a position to shew favours to the south country; nor did the kings of Assyria undertake any public works at Ur until the time of Ashurbanipal in the middle of the seventh century B.C. Sin-balatsu-iqbi, whom the king had appointed as governor of Ur and Eridu, proved to be an energetic ruler who took in hand the virtual rebuilding of the ancient monuments in his charge. It is obvious that the condition of those monuments called for such action. Of the Ziggurat terrace, one of the most sacred things in the city, he says that “since long ago its great walls and its platform were in ruins, its foundation was buried; I sought for the place of its destroyed gates”. His description is borne out by the independent evidence of the priest Nabu-šum-iddina who speaks<sup>3</sup> of the “ruins of Ur” and describes how the governor had to search for the foundations of the Ziggurat platform. Much the same must have been true of the other temples, and the governor’s programme was therefore a comprehensive one.

Brick-inscriptions inform us that he “built anew E-lugal-galga-si-sa” (the name of the Ziggurat in Neo-Babylonian times) “the beloved house” of Nanna.<sup>4</sup> Nothing of his work on the Ziggurat can be identified—probably it was deliberately removed by Nabonidus—but the fact of one of his bricks being found loose, high up on the top of the Ziggurat mound, shews that he repaired its superstructure. On the SE side of the Ziggurat terrace he built a new temple of Nin-gal<sup>5</sup> on the site of that erected by Kuri-galzu. On the NW side he would seem to have re-built some of the little Kassite shrines ranged along the old Lower Terrace, and a heavy mud-brick wall to the NW of them may be a Temenos wall put up by him round the Sacred Area. On the NE his claim to have “built the retaining-wall of its platform” is justified by his extensive work on the great Nanna court, for it did in fact include the building of its SW wall, which was the retaining-wall of the terrace of the Ziggurat. He also restored and enlarged E-dub-lal-maḥ. Some scanty ruins above the site of the E-gi-par appear to be of his building, and when he claims to have “built anew E-temen-ni-guru” and calls himself “nourisher of E-kiš-nu-gal” the material record that he has left both within the Ziggurat enclosure and in the wider area of the Temenos goes far to make good the boast.

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 260–3, 306 (U.2616, 2662, 6322, 7818).

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 166–7 (U.2877, 3130).

<sup>4</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 168, 170 (U.6341, 3161).

<sup>3</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 172 (U.2757).

<sup>5</sup> This is described in *U.E.*, V, p. 60.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TEMPLES E-NUN-MAḤ AND E-MU-RI-A-NA-BA-AG

The general plan (Pl. 47) would seem to shew that Kuri-galzu's work in this area had the result of radically changing the character of the whole complex of buildings (*cf.* the older plan, *U.E.*, VI, Pls. 53, 58). Facing the SE wall of E-nun-maḥ and at a distance of ten metres from it he restored or founded (the latter is more likely as we discovered no trace of any earlier structure) a large building whose buttressed façade shews that it must have been of a religious nature. Unfortunately the whole of the interior had disappeared with the exception of some ruinous party-walls at its SW end, and there were no inscriptions of any sort to help identify it. The surviving SW part did not yield anything in the shape of a temple plan, and all that we could say was that an isolated fragment of differently orientated Kassite wall to the SE limited the depth of the building, NW by SE, to about thirty-five metres; this would give ample space at the NE end of the building for a temple as large as that of Nin-gal on the Ziggurat terrace, but whether there was such we cannot say.

The ten-metre space between this building and E-nun-maḥ now served as a Sacred Way which seems to have run between our ruined building and the (assumed) Temenos wall of the Kassite period and turned at right angles when it reached the east corner of E-nun-maḥ. From E-nun-maḥ there ran out cross-walls (which were certainly Kassite additions) to form two double-doored gateways across the *Via Sacra*. A third pylon entrance originally of Larsa (Kudur-Mabuk) foundation but rebuilt by Kuri-galzu led into the courtyard of E-dub-lal-maḥ; thence one could mount the steps to the Ziggurat terrace or passing out from the courtyard by the west corner gateway continue by the street which skirted the terrace wall between the E-gi-par and the Nin-gal Temple. However bound down he may have been by the somewhat random disposition of the ancient shrines which he was obliged to respect, Kuri-galzu does appear to have done his best to create an orderly scheme within the Temenos.

#### I. E-NUN-MAḤ (Pl. 47)

For the interior of E-nun-maḥ Kuri-galzu followed scrupulously the plan of the original builders; as is shown in the detailed account of the temple published in *U.E.*, VI (*cf.* Pl. 1*a*). The greatest change that he ventured to make was to add a cross-wall dividing what had been a single room into two. It is perhaps worth emphasising here that the innumerable fragments of *ex voto* stone vases found in the building lay immediately below the Kuri-galzu pavements; either he found them there, buried at the time of the Larsa reconstruction, and would not disturb them by deeper digging, or he himself placed here in holy ground what had been the treasures of the old temple. In either case they bear witness to his conservative piety. His innovations applied only to the setting of the shrine.

#### II. E-MU-RI-A-NA-BA-AG (Pl. 48)

In the time of the Third Dynasty the temple of E-nun-maḥ was an isolated unit surrounded by heavily buttressed walls (see the Temenos Plan, *U.E.*, VI, Pl. 53). On the SW it was separated from the great double wall which enclosed E-temen-ni-guru, the Ziggurat

terrace, by an open space; at least we have found there no traces of any sort of building of the Third Dynasty, and the area is indeed too narrow for such to have existed. It is true that we found re-used in the Kassite building a door-socket of Šu-Suen<sup>1</sup> which originally belonged to a temple called E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag and that we have on the strength of that discovery assigned the name to this particular site; but it is impossible to say whence the stone was brought, and it seems quite certain that the site was unoccupied until the time of Kuri-galzu. Whether the building erected by him really possessed this name, taken from some other building in the neighbourhood, now destroyed and replaced by the new construction, again we do not know, for the Kuri-galzu inscriptions throw no light on the question.<sup>2</sup>

When Kudur-Mabuk laid out the Sacred Way he must either have prolonged the SE wall of E-nun-maḥ to join it to his gate-pylon of E-dub-lal-maḥ or have left a small door between the two giving access to the open space which separated the buildings (as shewn in our Temenos Plan of the Larsa period, *U.E.*, VII, Pl. CXV). Kuri-galzu found E-nun-maḥ in a very sorry state and had therefore a free hand for minor alterations. He razed its SW wall to ground level and over its ruins built a thin party wall, without buttresses, which was set along the inner line of the old and so allowed of increased space to the SW; between the south corner of this and the E-dub-lal-maḥ gate tower he built a new doorway leading from the Sacred Way to his new building. That it was a makeshift is obvious. On the NE he added to the angle of E-nun-maḥ an elaborate door-jamb with the ornament of vertical grooves suitable to a temple, but on the SW there was no room for anything of the sort so the wood of the door-frame was simply embedded in the brickwork of the pylon. He then proceeded to throw cross-walls from his new E-nun-maḥ boundary-wall to the SW side of his site, i.e. for the SE part of it to his platform constructed against the wall of E-dub-lal-maḥ, and beyond that to the retaining-wall of the Ziggurat terrace. By this means he secured an entrance-lobby, a forecourt, opening out of the latter two small chambers set side by side, and beyond them, to the NW, what must have been the main part of a conventional temple. Here everything is destroyed, but the obvious reconstruction is shewn on our plan on Pl. 48; there we suggest an inner courtyard, a pronaos and a *naos*, taking us up to the NW line of E-nun-maḥ.

At first sight the building might have been no more than an enlargement of E-nun-maḥ; it is conterminous with it on NW and SE and divided from it by a wall which expressly does away with the old heavy outer wall of the main building; but there is no communication between them, and as the reconstruction which presents itself so obviously takes the form of a normal temple, complete in itself except for the lack of side chambers flanking the court,<sup>3</sup> Kuri-galzu's work must be regarded as something original and independent.

*Room 1.*<sup>4</sup> The grooved door-jamb on the NE is of Kuri-galzu bricks throughout, set in mud mortar. The foundations start at 0.60 m. above the Kudur-Mabuk pavement of the Sacred Way, shewing that levels had risen. It is bonded into the new NE wall which rests on the stumps of the old enceinte wall of E-nun-maḥ. The projecting face and buttresses of that wall, along the NE side of the chamber, are cut down flush with the new pavement and apparently incorporated in it. However the new bricks do not come quite up to the wall-line, but leave a gap of 0.80 m.<sup>5</sup> between its edge and the wall face in the recesses. The pavement, of mixed and broken bricks, merely a foundation for a clay floor, slopes down to the centre, where an open brick drain 0.30 m. wide runs from the entrance to the door of Room 2. Against the SW jamb of the entrance is a hinge-box containing a re-used door-socket of

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 80 (U.838).

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 152, 155 (U.2753).

<sup>3</sup> Which are not an essential feature; cf. the Neo-Babylonian temple of Nin-ezen.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly Room TTB 27A.

<sup>5</sup> This gap seemed to be hollowed, so as to make a rough trough along the foot of the wall; but probably this was accidental and due to our having dug too deeply into a mud floor.

Ur-Nammu; against the SW jamb of the door to Room 2 is a second hinge-box, built of re-used Ur-Nammu bricks with the stamp *U.E.T.*, I, No. 40, with the original bitumen mortar still adhering to them, and containing the Kuri-galzu socket-stone already quoted.<sup>1</sup> In the NE wall there remain eight courses of Kuri-galzu bricks set in mud mortar. The SE wall has sunk a good deal by the doorway and its eight courses rise only 0.60 m. instead of 1.00 m. above the floor. Beyond the entrance door it rests on 0.10 m. of mud brick below which come four courses of good burnt brickwork (mud mortar) with a mud-brick foundation, the NW face distinctly battered; this must be the NW wall of Kudur-Mabuk's (?) pylon entrance to E-dub-lal-mah, dismantled and rebuilt by Kuri-galzu. In the Kuri-galzu wall there are here remains of timber built into the brickwork at floor level, and in the SW wall there are similar remains between the third and fourth courses above the floor and again at 0.40 m. above the floor. The wall stands to 0.70 m.; it looks like remains of wood panelling. In the SW wall and in the NW wall between the west corner and the doorway the bricks were mixed and the work of noticeably poor quality. This may be due to there having been panelling, in which case the accuracy of the wall face would be unimportant and the whole would be, as regards material, of the nature of filling. The NW wall is all Kuri-galzu's work in spite of the admixture of bricks.

*Room 2.*<sup>2</sup> A very rough pavement of mixed bricks, probably a foundation for a clay floor; across it runs the brick drain, its covering bricks forming part of the pavement. The paving stops at 0.05 m. from the face of the SE wall, leaving a strip of mud floor or possibly a runnel. Along the SW side is a strip of rough brick packing, raised slightly above pavement level, generally 1.20 m. wide but in front of the side door of E-dub-lal-mah 1.80 m. wide. There has been bitumen over the top of it and the vertical face seems to have been plastered with bitumen; the top is however rough and would seem to have been higher than it is at present. This strip turns at the west corner and runs along the NW wall, being here 2.85 m. wide; it is broken at the door to Room 3 by the drain, and it is noticeable that the drain, instead of running direct from doorway to doorway, runs from the door of Room 1 to hit the edge of this bitumened strip immediately in front of the door to Room 3 and then turns so as to pass through that door at right angles. Evidently the strip formed an obstacle which the drain had to avoid. By the doorway there are two holes in it resembling impost-holes.

The strip may have been merely a low base, but its appearance does suggest that it was the foundation for something much higher, possibly built in mud brick, though the fact that it passes in front of the door to Room 4 with no apparent break is against that. In any case this was an open court and there is no question of a wall going up to support a roof; the limit of the court on the SW was the wall of E-dub-lal-mah to whose door there must have been some means of access in the form of a flight of steps or a ramp corresponding to the wider part of the bitumen-covered strip in front of that doorway. In front of the door to Room 3 there was in the pavement a small stand or base outlined with bricks set on edge (part of this edging is broken away) and packed with earth.

The NE wall continues to be uniform, all the bricks being of Kuri-galzu. The SE wall, standing 0.75 m.–0.90 m. high, has a mixture of brick types and is in bad condition; it returns SE to form the SW wall of Room 1, enclosing Kuri-galzu's *kisû* between it and the wall of E-dub-lal-mah, and there is no continuation to the NW.<sup>3</sup> The NW wall is ill built of mixed and often broken bricks. The reveals of the door to Room 4 are normal, but those of the door to Room 3 are 0.70 m. wide, which may indicate a greater importance for that room.

*Room 3.*<sup>4</sup> The pavement is regularly laid with bricks 0.40 m. square; it ends on the NE before coming to the buttressed face of the old wall, here flush with it, and is broken away

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 152 (U.2753).

<sup>2</sup> Formerly Room TTB 27.

<sup>3</sup> This is natural; Room 1 was roofed and therefore required a SW wall; the open court 2 had no need of such.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly Room TTB 33.

towards the south corner of the room. The drain runs across the room but its top is actually above pavement level, and it may well be an addition intended to serve a higher floor which has disappeared. The NE wall continues from Room 2 but is now much ruined. The SE wall is also ruinous, but its condition may be due to the disintegration of the bricks as much as to bad building in the first place; it stands not more than 0.50 m. high. The SW wall stands between 0.30 m. and 0.50 m. high, and contains mixed bricks, as does the NW wall.

*Room 4*<sup>1</sup> is floored with clay only, the floor level with the bottom course of burnt bricks in the NE wall, which has mud-brick foundations. The burnt bricks in that wall are mixed and broken. The SE wall is much ruined towards the south corner; it also has mud-brick foundations and from three to five courses of burnt brick standing above floor level. Both the other walls shew the same mixture of bricks.

*Room 5*<sup>2</sup> has virtually disappeared, only the NE wall, in part, and the SE wall remaining, together with a small patch of brick pavement in front of the doorway from Room 3. To the NW of this everything is ruined down below floor level.

It will be noticed that the cross-walls of the rooms described above all continue the lines of walls inside E-nun-mah; if on this analogy the NW end of the building be restored by continuing across its area the walls of E-nun-mah, which are themselves restorations but restored on reasonably good evidence, the temple plan described at the beginning of this section results automatically.

A small number of inscribed tablets and fragments (U.117, 118) were found associated with this building.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly Room TTB 35.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly Room TTB 34.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TEMPLE E-DUB-LAL-MAḤ AND ITS SURROUNDINGS FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE END OF THE KASSITE PERIOD

#### I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION (See Plate 48)

Of the buildings excavated by us at Ur this is one of the most important and boasts the longest history. The ground-plan published on Pl. 48 shews the structure as it was in the Kassite period, after the reconstruction carried out by Kuri-galzu in the fourteenth century B.C., and gives us a small two-roomed shrine facing on a courtyard surrounded by other buildings; but this is a late stage, and something of the character of the site in much earlier times can be recovered from the unusually well preserved remains.

#### A. THE SHRINE

The shrine, which obviously calls first for description, was discovered by Taylor, who cleared its two chambers, found the two side doors with their arches intact, dug through the pavement and carried off two inscribed door-sockets. He supposed it to be a private house and his report on it<sup>1</sup> is very summary. We excavated the site in 1924-5, first clearing the two chambers and then extending the work so as to lay bare the entire complex as it existed in the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>2</sup> Later the remains of the Neo-Babylonian age were gradually removed and the Kassite building exposed. It was found that Kuri-galzu's work was in the nature of a restoration of an older building of the Isin-Larsa period, the stumps of the walls of which had generally been utilised as foundations for the new; it was therefore easy to recover in its general lines the plan of the Larsa complex. Below this there were in places earlier remains, but as the level of construction had changed very little in the course of centuries these were scanty and did not warrant the wholesale destruction of the Larsa and Kassite ruins. Inside and behind the shrine, work could be done which threw light upon the earlier phases of the building without involving the destruction of the impressive Kassite walls, but no attempt was made to trace the history of the buildings surrounding the courtyard further back than the Isin period.

#### I. *The Early Periods*

A glance at the general plan of the Temenos (Pl. 47) will suffice to shew that the shrine of E-dub-lal-maḥ is intimately connected with the Ziggurat terrace. It stands at its east corner, projecting from its SE side, and the inner chamber corresponds to and seems to continue the lines of the intra-mural chambers along the NE front of the terrace. The terrace itself goes back to the Early Dynastic period (*v*, *U.E.*, V), and at the back of the shrine and below the floor of its outer chamber (i.e., outside the limits of the terrace) we found certain shapeless remains in plano-convex brick, obliterated by or incorporated in the later work, which prove that at that early stage there was a building of some sort connected with the Ziggurat enclosure.

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, XV (1855), pp. 265-7.

<sup>2</sup> Ground plan, *U.E.*, IX, Pl. 65.

## 2. *The Third Dynasty*

The tradition was followed in the Third Dynasty. The lowest courses of the walls of the inner chamber consisted of Third Dynasty mud bricks. Below the floor of the outer chamber, towards the back of it, there were scanty remains of walls with upper courses of mud brick laid over foundations of burnt brick. These burnt bricks were not stamped with any name but were large and square and bore on one side two impressed finger-marks. It is a type which elsewhere we have found associated with the stamps of Šulgi,<sup>1</sup> and since no such bricks are known to belong to any other reign the work can safely be assigned to him. The whole of the Ziggurat terrace was remodelled by Ur-Nammu, and Šulgi was associated with his father in all the work of building. It is particularly noticeable that, in the great courtyard of Nanna, the outer walls and the pavement were Ur-Nammu's, while the range of buildings surrounding the court were his son's; Šulgi finished what Ur-Nammu had begun. In the present case the enclosing walls of the Ziggurat terrace were due to Ur-Nammu. It is quite consistent that an excrescence from the main work, such as is E-dub-lal-maḥ, should bear the hall-mark of Šulgi. None the less it should be an intrinsic part of the original scheme, and that it was so is more or less proved by the ruins of the next reign.

The same fact holds good here as in various other buildings of the Third Dynasty. Ur-Nammu, striving to accomplish a great deal in a short time, built in mud brick. By the end of his son's long reign his work was falling into disrepair, and his grandson Amar-Suen restored it in burnt brick. Digging down through the hole in the pavement of the outer chamber made by Taylor we found a front wall of the shrine strongly built of burnt bricks set in bitumen and bearing the stamp of Amar-Suen, while a very badly broken return of this at its NE end gave us the approximate inner face of the NE wall; further, the pavement of the inner chamber was a mixture of burnt bricks of Amar-Suen and of Šulgi. Now the front wall stands ten courses (0.80 m.) high and is unbroken by any doorway, so that the door-sill (assuming that there was a door in the SE wall, which is virtually certain) and the floor of the outer chamber must have been at least that much above the pavement of the outer court, whose level in the Third Dynasty was more or less what it was in Kassite times. From the outer chamber a flight of steps (Pl. 8a) led up to the inner chamber, whose pavement was 2.10 m. (approximately) above that of the court and flush with the Ur-Nammu pavements of the intra-mural chambers of the Ziggurat terrace wall preserved immediately behind it to the NW. It is clear that the outer chamber must have been reached by a flight of steps from the courtyard. A second flight of steps, still preserved, led from that level to the inner chamber and through it to the terrace. Further, the ruined return of the front wall does not correspond at all to the NE wall of the later building but lines up with the NE wall of the inner chamber and with the inner face of the enceinte wall of the terrace. If the SW wall corresponded to this it follows that the outer chamber was of the same width as the inner, and the same as the intra-mural chambers; in short, the building is a double gateway of normal Third Dynasty type. When it is found that the back wall of the shrine is an addition of the Isin age and that originally there was between the existing buttresses of it a doorway leading through to the intra-mural chambers of the terrace, it becomes certain that E-dub-lal-maḥ was in the time of Amar-Suen—and therefore presumably in that of Ur-Nammu—the main entrance of the Ziggurat enclosure E-temen-ni-guru. Even though the back door was later walled up and the character of the building therefore changed, the tradition that it was essentially a gateway persisted. Šu-ilišu<sup>2</sup> in recording his restoration of it emphasises the work done on the door; Kuri-galzu in the brick inscriptions in the main entrance calls the whole

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, I (al 'Ubaid), pp. 14, 62-3. Also *U.E.*, V, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 100 (U.420, 421).

building *ká-gal-maḥ*, “the great gate”<sup>1</sup>; and Sin-balāṣu-iqbi not only devotes the greater part of his foundation-inscription to an account of the door which he built for “the oracle chamber” or “divination-house” but identifies the shrine with the “destroyed gate of E-temen-ni-guru”.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the inscriptions confirms the already satisfactory evidence of the ruins themselves to the effect that the Third Dynasty building was primarily a means of approach to the “holy ground” of the Ziggurat terrace.

But from the beginning the building played a double rôle. In Room 30, lying on the NE side of the courtyard, we found an inscribed door-socket of Amar-Suen describing his work upon the site.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the first part of the text is doubtful; it certainly speaks of the building as already ancient and in ruins, and it may imply that hitherto it had been an open enclosure which Amar-Suen was the first to roof.<sup>4</sup> But it names the building not *ká-gal-maḥ*, “the great gate”, but *dub-lal-maḥ*, “the great store-house of tablets”, or “library”, and speaks of it as “the place of the judgements of Amar-Suen, his net from which his enemy does not escape”. *Dub-lal*, or *dub-lal-maḥ*, seems to be a generic name for a law-court, for it occurs at Warka, Lagash, Larsa and Adab, and the meaning of the term is quite consistent with Amar-Suen’s description of the building, since the tablets recording the findings of the court would naturally be housed in the law-court.<sup>5</sup> Amar Suen’s building therefore, the main gateway to the principal sanctuary of Ur, was also a high court of justice. In the succeeding period, when the door at the back of it was walled up, it ceased to be a gateway and became what it was until the Neo-Babylonian period, a shrine which however retained in its name the gate tradition and in its use the function of a court, as the name E-dub-lal-maḥ implies. The explanation of the triple use is clear. From time immemorial in the East the Gate is associated with Justice—the judges sat in the gateway to give judgment—and even today the title “The Sublime Porte” recalls an ancient custom. At Ur what gate was better suited to the purpose than the great gate of the Ziggurat terrace, where the sentence of the judge would be given out in the name and with the authority of the city’s chief god? That it should also be a shrine is natural too, for the moment when one first sets foot on holy ground is the right time for sacrifice; and where sacrifice is offered a statue is bound to be put up, and the Gate becomes a Gate Shrine. It was incidental to the restoration of the building that the passage through it was blocked. It became a shrine only and no longer a gate, although the name clung to it just as the names of the gates of the City of London have long outlived their reality, and its function as a court of law, depending on that tradition, always held good.

The courtyard which lies in front of the shrine of E-dub-lal-maḥ as we have it today is virtually that of the Third Dynasty; at least its level was the same, and the only real difference was that, as in the Isin-Larsa period, it ran round on the NE side and included what was later to become the fore-court of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag. Close to the south corner of the shrine there was a large rectangular base or altar built of burnt bricks set in bitumen; the work of Ur-Nammu. At present its top is flush with the pavement and its original height is unknown. It is remarkable that the base is orientated otherwise than the shrine; it lies with its sides approximately, though not exactly, to the cardinal points of the compass, resembling in this respect one of the Third Dynasty bases in the great Nanna courtyard.<sup>6</sup> Of the buildings surrounding the courtyard no ground-plan could be evolved from actual remains dating to the Third Dynasty; but a few scanty fragments of walling and the discovery of Ib-bi-Suen

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 159 (U.3318).

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 169 (U.2674).

<sup>3</sup> A duplicate of it was found in a chamber on the SW side of the Ziggurat where it had been re-used in the Neo-Babylonian period. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 71 (U.1165, 3224).

<sup>4</sup> On this see Legrain, *U.E.T.*, III, p. 210 (No. 280).

<sup>5</sup> See Gadd’s note on the text of Šu-ilišu’s inscription, *U.E.T.*, I, No. 100.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *U.E.*, V, p. 79, Pl. 77.

tablets under the pavements of rooms in the south block would fairly imply that what we find in the Isin-Larsa period had its more or less exact prototype in the Third Dynasty.

### 3. *The Isin-Larsa Period*

Amar-Suen's E-dub-lal-maḥ shared the fate of all the Third Dynasty public buildings; it was plundered and destroyed by the Elamites. Its restoration was first undertaken by Šu-ilišu of Isin who brought back the statue of Nanna which had been carried away to Anshan, restored E-dub-lal-maḥ "his place of judgement" and set up the door—presumably the great door to which the building owed its second name.<sup>1</sup> Of the actual work of Šu-ilišu nothing at all remains; probably it was of a poorer quality than his inscription would imply, for by the time of his second successor, Išme-Dagan, all had to be done again. The whole of the lower part of the existing building is Išme-Dagan's, and for the first time we can recognise the plan in its entirety. It is still a gateway affording access to the Ziggurat terrace, and the pavements are at different levels; that of the inner chamber flush with the floors of the intra-mural rooms of the terrace wall, that of the outer chamber halfway between the former and the pavement of the courtyard in front, and steps in the two wide doorways join the different levels. The inner chamber retains its old proportions, but in the outer chamber the thickness of the NE and SW walls is reduced so as to add to the room's width, and in these thinner walls there are small doorways outside which there must have been steps down to the courtyard. The outer face of the walls was decorated with double T-shaped vertical grooves in the regular temple style; the doorway in the SE wall, 2.80 m. wide, had its jambs splayed by elaborate reveals. The floor was brick-paved, and except where it was destroyed by the hole which Taylor dug through it, the pavement is fairly well preserved. Immediately in front of the NE door there was embedded, in the pavement of 0.26 m. square Isin bricks, a single brick of Amar-Suen stamped with the inscription in *S.A.K.I.*, p. 198, d. invoking curses on anyone who might do damage to the statue he had set up and to the shrine which housed it. The presence of this isolated brick would seem to be due to no accident but to the piety of the Isin king for his predecessor and his anxiety to witness to the fact that his part had been to restore and not to destroy.

As regards the elevation of the building a great deal can be conjectured with reasonable safety. That the side doors of the outer chamber were arched in the Isin period can be argued not only from the analogy of Kuri-galzu's restoration, which in its ground-plan at least is a faithful reproduction of the Isin building, but from the fact that in private houses of the Larsa period the arch was regularly employed over doorways.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the much greater span of the main entrance and of the door between the inner and the outer chambers there is no reason why, the principle of the arch being familiar to the builders, it should not have been utilised here also. If the proportions of the arch were uniform this would mean an arc with a height of 1.05 m., so that, allowing for a height of jamb below the springers in keeping with the width of the entry, we should require a door 5 m. high, which is by no means too much considering that the height of the walls of the inner and the outer chambers would be uniform and that the pavement of the former was some 2.20 m. above the level of the court. Consequently for the SE elevation a considerable height is necessary. In the inner chamber the thickness of the walls in relation to the size of the room is striking; the proportions certainly suggest a dome, and since domical construction was known in Sumer in the Early Dynastic period, many centuries before,<sup>3</sup> and can be illustrated from remains of the Third Dynasty<sup>4</sup> there is no objection to its use in the Isin age. In the outer chamber, which was more or less

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.*, VII, Pl. XXII a, and text.

See p. 3, n.1.

<sup>4</sup> *U.E.*, V, p. 34.

square in the Third Dynasty building, internal space has been gained at the expense of the NE and SW walls which therefore, it may be argued, were not required to support any abnormal weight. I would suggest that this room was roofed with a barrel vault (for which also there are ancient precedents) with the brick rings laid NW × SE. If this be so, the building of the Isin period would have resembled very closely the reconstruction of the Kassite structure in the drawing on Pl. 51, except for the fact that it rose straight from the pavement of the courtyard and lacked the podium which Kuri-galzu added to the original plan.

The next change, so far as we know, was made by Sin-iddinam. He built a wall across the door-opening that led from the inner chamber to the intra-mural rooms of the Ziggurat terrace wall, and thereby deprived E-dub-lal-maḥ of its character as a gateway. No evidence survives of other work executed by the Larsa kings.

#### 4. *The Kassite Period*

Presumably E-dub-lal-maḥ suffered, as did most of the great buildings of Ur, when Samsu-iluna's troops entered the city after its revolt against Babylon. Presumably too that damage was to some extent repaired as soon as the city began to recover from its overthrow, for the surroundings of its most important cult centre were not likely to be left long in complete ruin. Some clumsy patchwork in the walls of the inner chamber, below the base line of Kuri-galzu's reconstruction, might date from this period. In character it is not unlike the makeshift restoration of some of the walls of the neighbouring temple of Nin-gal,<sup>1</sup> but there are no brick-stamps to identify the builder, and the use of mixed and broken bricks implies that the work was done by an impoverished local community on its own initiative rather than under the orders of a king in Babylon.

In the fourteenth century B.C. Kuri-galzu, the Kassite king of Babylon, took in hand the rebuilding of the ancient temples of Ur and amongst them that of E-dub-lal-maḥ. "E-dub-lal-maḥ, the old house which long ago had been built and was in ruins, he has built and restored to its place; he restored its foundation"; so reads the inscription upon innumerable brick-stamps visible in the still standing walls<sup>2</sup> and it is a faithful account of what the king really did. It is obvious that the shrine was standing, but the upper part of its walls was in a ruinous condition, and the lower part was no longer strong enough to bear the weight of a new superstructure. It must be remembered that the floors of the two chambers lay well above the level of the outer court, and the pressure of the solid packing had probably resulted in an outward thrust which weakened the foundations. Radical measures were therefore necessary if Kuri-galzu's usual policy was to be followed and the new building was to be in any literal sense a reconstruction.

Kuri-galzu cleared the courtyard round the building so as to expose the wall-foundations. He then razed the upper part of the standing walls leaving only the stump, about 1.35 m. high, to retain the solid mass of filling and old pavement. Against the outside of this he built a revetment which on the SE was about 2.50 m. wide, on the SW 2.10 m. and on the NE 0.70 m. wide; it consisted of a packing of the broken bricks got from the demolished upper part of the shrine walls and a face of new bricks, the latter decorated with the vertical T-shaped grooves peculiar to temple building. The top of this *kisû* or revetment was flat and on the SE and SW sides formed a platform to lead up to which a flight of steps was constructed on the SE side, towards the east angle of the old building (Pl. 4a). Presumably the facing-wall was carried up so as to form a parapet along the platform's edge. By this means that which was left of Išme-Dagan's wall was duly strengthened, and on it as a foundation rose the new

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.*, VII, Chapter III A.

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 157-8. See also Pl. 6a.

wall of Kuri-galzu. It was intended to be an exact replica of the old and was decorated with the same vertical grooves intended to coincide with the old, and its doorways were planned to correspond. Actually the walls are not in true alinement (especially on the NE, where at the NW end the new work overhangs the old by 0.10 m. and at the SE end is set back 0.25 m., so that the face of Išme-Dagan's wall had to be trimmed back (Pl. 6*b*)) and owing to the different size of bricks employed the spacing of the wall features could not be precisely the same, so that where by the destruction of the *kisû* both walls are exposed the line of junction is very clearly marked (*v*, Pl. 5*b*). The Kassite walls, stoutly built of burnt bricks set in bitumen mortar, are well preserved, standing some 2.30 m. above floor level (as measured in the outer chamber) and brick-stamps of Kuri-galzu are common. Many of them are hand-written, and there are several variations of the normal text, but in the great SE doorway the inscriptions on either jamb are quite different and refer not to the building as a whole but to the doorway in particular—"the great main gate (*ká-gal-maḥ*), the ancient one, which from of old had been in ruins, he has built for him (Nanna) and restored to its place".<sup>1</sup> The NE doorway was found by us with its arch intact (*v*, Pls. 5 and 49); a stamped brick of Kuri-galzu shewed high up in the door-jamb. The arch over the SW door, which was still standing in Taylor's time, had collapsed and only a few of the voussoirs remained in place (Pl. 7*a*). The floor of the outer chamber was of bitumen smoothly laid over brick rubble, that of the inner chamber was the old pavement re-used.

The building of the *kisû* not only changed greatly the appearance of the shrine, which now rose from a distinct podium (Pl. 7*b*) instead of resting on the pavement of the court, but it involved a change of plan in the courtyard itself. The podium in front of the shrine was prolonged to the NE to join the wall which enclosed the outer court of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag, so that there was no longer a free passage along the NE side of E-dub-lal-maḥ, and direct communication between the main court and what had been its northern annexe was cut off. The old gate-shrine now occupied one angle of a courtyard of which the opposite (south) angle was taken up by a similarly projecting official building. The prolongation of the podium made room for the flight of brick steps which led up to it from the court; instead of being central to the shrine these lie almost outside the line of its NE wall and the central space is reserved for a structure of another sort. Here, against the decorated *kisû* wall, we found a mass of brick rubble packing which appears to have been the core of an altar or platform, approached on the NE by a ramp or flight of steps; here presumably sacrifice might be made in front of the "great gate" of tradition, or from here there might have been read out the findings of the court of justice to which the name E-dub-lal-maḥ, "the house of tablets", refers. A low bench running from the raised base to the south angle of the podium might have been for offerings. In the western section of the court two brick bases were perhaps altars; close to its NE side was a brick-lined well; a rectangle of plain earth surrounded by irregular paving is difficult to explain.<sup>2</sup> Equally difficult to explain is the fact that the brick pavement is not carried up to the footings of the walls which enclose the court but ends 1.50 m. away from them, its edge neatly defined by a single row of small bricks or by ordinary bricks set on edge instead of flat; the intervening space is of plain earth. Various explanations suggest themselves, but none is satisfactory. It cannot have been an ornamental flower-bed because it runs unbroken in front of doorways whereas had it been a flower-bed there would have been here strips of paving across it to give access to the doors. Had it been a cloister with a (wooden) penthouse roof some traces of its supports would probably have been found,

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 159.

<sup>2</sup> I suggested, in *A.Š.*, V (1925), p. 389, that it might be the place where grew a sacred tree; but there is so far as I know no support for such a theory.

and in any case one would look for a better floor to a cloister than mere trodden earth; I could observe nothing on the site that would give colour to any theory.

The paved courtyard was a thoroughfare. On the NE side was an imposing double gateway (Pl. 9a), originally built by an Isin king (Išme-Dagan, judging by a broken brick found below the foundations) and restored by Kuri-galzu, opening on to the wide "Via Sacra" which skirts the SE end of E-nun-maḥ. In the SW wall, towards the west corner of the court, a similar double gateway leads to the continuation of the Sacred Way (Pls. 2b and 3a), which mounts a flight of shallow steps and runs on between the enceinte wall of the Ziggurat terrace and the Gi-par-ku (*v*, the Temenos plan on Pl. 47). In this west corner there is also a flight of steps going up to the Ziggurat terrace (*v*, Pl. 2a). From the side of E-dub-lal-maḥ, the podium of Kuri-galzu turns SW below the great terrace wall (its face decorated now with plain buttresses instead of the double T-shaped grooves) and then turns again to form a balustrade wall for the stair-flight built against the gate-tower of the Sacred Way. The existing structure is Kassite only; the six lower treads alone survive, and since the terrace wall above has been denuded away completely there is no material evidence to prove that the steps did more than lead to the top of Kuri-galzu's platform and so give a somewhat tortuous approach to the SW door of E-dub-lal-maḥ; but it is far more likely that beyond the stairhead there was a doorway in the terrace wall. When Sin-iddinam blocked the back doorway of E-dub-lal-maḥ, he must have made a new entry to the Ziggurat terrace, and that entry would naturally be from the E-dub-lal-maḥ courtyard. In Kuri-galzu's time the need for an approach was the same; his stairs almost certainly led to the Ziggurat, and although (thanks to the presence of the *kisû*) they could not be exactly on the site of an older flight they probably marked as small a departure as possible from the old plan.

##### 5. The Assyrian Period

By the time that Sin-balaṣu-iqbi took in hand the restoration of the temples of Ur a remarkable change had occurred in the appearance of E-dub-lal-maḥ. The two-roomed sanctuary was still standing very much as it had stood in Kuri-galzu's day, its walls intact and needing little repair; but the whole building complex at the SE end of the courtyard had crumbled into ruin, and the courtyard itself, re-floored time after time as rubbish accumulated above the Kassite pavements, had had its level raised to such an extent that the podium of Kuri-galzu's E-dub-lal-maḥ had been entirely submerged. The new pavement laid by Sin-balaṣu-iqbi over the courtyard was flush with the old sanctuary floor, and that building no longer dominated its surroundings as formerly; it had, of course, to be preserved, but it could be preserved in a different setting. The Assyrian governor atoned for the loss of height by horizontal extension. Building on either side of the old sanctuary new chambers which occupied the entire width of the courtyard, he turned what had been an isolated and outstanding block into the centrepiece of a uniform façade. The additions were constructed in mud brick, but by the simple expedient of covering the burnt-brick walls of Kuri-galzu with a thick coat of mud plaster to match that on his own work he disguised the difference of material, and when the whole had been freshly whitewashed Sin-balaṣu-iqbi may well have been pleased with the appearance of his transformed E-dub-lal-maḥ. Against the jamb of the SW doorway of the outer sanctuary chamber, we found *in situ* the splendid hinge-stone of the governor (it had been made from an old Kassite *kudurru* or boundary-stone), with its long inscription.<sup>1</sup> Sin-balaṣu-iqbi boastfully describes the great door that he set up in E-dub-lal-maḥ, "a door of box-wood, best wood from distant mountains, which was set on a bronze shoe; its battens were strong, its prop was of gold, its bolt of clear silver; the bands

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 169, and Pl. V (letter, not number) (U.2674).

and the hinge, of strong bronze, I inlaid with silver, that the gate of the oracle chamber might stand for ever". The door itself may have been all that he says, but his work in general was, as we have seen, of a very shoddy sort, and before long had to be restored by the Neo-Babylonian kings. There is no need to describe it here in detail; his building was taken over *in toto* by his successors, and the description given in *U.E.*, IX, of the E-dub-lal-maḤ of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus applies in all essentials to that of Sin-balaṣsu-iqbi.

#### B. THE COURTYARD AND ITS BUILDINGS (See Pls. 4-11)

The curiously irregular courtyard is surrounded by buildings on three sides. The remains of them were for the most part in bad condition and constant rebuilding had confused the evidence and made it difficult to work out their history in detail, but the plan (*v*, Pl. 48) shews the walls of the Kassite period, which were the best preserved, and explains the general character of the site. Occasionally, as in the high-standing walls of the two entrance gateways and in Room 1, upper courses ill built with mixed and broken bricks seem to be due to later restorers; even so they are but carrying up building of a uniform type which can safely be attributed to Kuri-galzu. There are no brick-stamps and no inscribed door-sockets to make the attribution certain, but the brick measurements (0.32 m. square or 0.32 m. × 0.16 m. × 0.08 m.) are the same as those of the stamped bricks in the shrine and are indeed typical of Kuri-galzu's work all over the site of Ur. They are not typical of any later ruler, and since we know that he did rebuild E-dub-lal-maḤ and there are no other remains that could be assigned to him we need not hesitate to describe this ground-plan as Kuri-galzu's. It is essentially a reconstruction. Sometimes a wall, e.g., that between Rooms 4 and 10, rests upon earth only and seems to mark a new departure, but almost always the foundations are laid along the lines of older walls and rest directly on them or (as in the case of the wall between Rooms 5-7 and 6-8) overlap them by so little as only to emphasise the general rule of sequence. These older walls are of bricks measuring 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. × 0.09 m. and are typical of the Isin-Larsa period. They are identical with those used in the restoration of the shrine by Išme-Dagan, and although here his brick-stamps are entirely lacking, his authorship of the courtyard buildings can be confidently assumed. The majority of the pavements which survive are of bricks of the same type and are contemporary with the walls. In one room, 4, the pavement, of larger bricks, is proved by a brick-stamp to be of Kudur-Mabuk, and two bricks of the same king were found loose in Room 6. Išme-Dagan's work was therefore repaired by Kudur-Mabuk, but there seems to be no reason to attribute to the latter any of the existing walls. Where the walls of 0.32 m. square bricks overhang the old work or run independently of it, their foundations are anything from 0.10 m. to 0.50 m. above the Išme-Dagan pavement, which implies the complete ruin of the Išme-Dagan building at the time when those walls were built; but the Kudur-Mabuk pavement in Room 4 is at low level (*cf.* also Room 9) and connects with the Išme-Dagan SW wall. The use of bricks of the same size by Kudur-Mabuk and by Kuri-galzu is indeed a very possible cause of error, but in the colour and texture of the bricks of the two periods there is usually sufficient difference to eliminate serious confusion.

It is clear that apart from minor modifications the ground-plan of the Isin-Larsa buildings round the court was identical with that of Kuri-galzu; it is for the earlier period that our evidence is unsatisfactory. Occasionally the walls of Isin bricks are found to rest on walls lying at a lower level and built of bricks which again measure 0.32 m. square × 0.08 m. but are identified by the occurrence here and there of the brick-stamps of Amar-Suen. These bricks come in the SW wall of Room 4, the NE wall of Room 13, the SE and SW walls of Room 16, the NW wall of Room 16, the NE wall of Room 18, and the NW wall of Room 19;

the stamps occur in Rooms 13 and 16. These prove the existence of a Third Dynasty building, which is further confirmed by our finding in the Larsa ruins quantities of Third Dynasty tablets, temple records. They cannot, however, be said to prove that the building was an exact prototype of that of Larsa; though there is at least a probability that the main lines of the Third Dynasty building were more or less what the Kuri-galzu ground-plan gives us.

On the NE side of the court, next to the wide gate-chamber through which one passed to the *Via Sacra* (Pl. 1*b*), there are two inter-communicating rooms (30, 31) one of them opening on the court, which are of the normal type of office or store chambers flanking the courtyard of a temple. The same is true of the range of rooms, 15-18, on the SE side (in 18 were found a number of weights and tablets recording issues of gold, etc.) though the small Room 15 served as a passage giving access to the long Court or Chamber 14 and probably (by means of a door in the ruined SE section of the party wall) to the similar Chamber 13. On the SW side, Room 1 is again of the normal store-chamber type. On the other hand, behind Rooms 30-31 and 15-18 there is a very large L-shaped complex of chambers (19-29) which although it appears to form part of the same scheme has no communication with the chambers giving on the court but has an independent entrance on the Sacred Way. And further, the block of Chambers 2-12 forms a separate unit which projects into the courtyard and has a character markedly different from that of the ordinary temple annexe (Pl. 9*b*).

Taking the latter complex first (Pls. 10, 11), the plan gives a virtually square building (from which Room 2 is an excrescence) divided up into relatively small rooms. A wide and shallow entrance-chamber, the drain in which is reminiscent of the drains in the lobbies of private houses of the time, leads to Rooms 2 and 4 and also to a long corridor (9) in either side of which a door leads to a suite of four rooms. One room, 4, might be a lavatory, but the drain-channels in its pavement imply rather some domestic industry; the recess in Room 7 might possibly be for a bed, but really there is nothing whereby the use of the various chambers may be established. The building was of a single storey, unlike the private house of the time, and its plan bears no resemblance to that of the private house of the Larsa age, but it has even less to do with that of any temple. The explanation may be given by the tablets of which thousands were found under the floors of Rooms 8 and 9, especially, and to a less extent under Rooms 3 and 6. They dated for the most part from the reign of Ibbi-Suen, so belonged originally to the Third Dynasty building which this of Išme-Dagan replaced, but probably the later building served the same purpose as the old. They are the business records of the temple, inventories of goods, i.e., of the rent and tithes and offerings stored in the temple magazines; receipts for the same, vouchers for their issue and also, more important, the balance-sheets of the workshops attached to the temple wherein the raw materials brought by the faithful were manufactured into finished goods by temple slaves.<sup>1</sup> Texts of the latter sort accord very well with the somewhat scanty evidence provided by the ruins. In Room 2 was found a large clay jar full of scrap copper, old nails and broken knives, etc. In Room 13 a similar jar was found, and here too there were signs of a definite industry; a small smelting-furnace built of corrugated fire-clay tiles, which contained remains of metal slag, also some lumps of specular iron ore. A drain to which led a channel in the (fragmentary) brick pavement, an essential feature of a foundry, was also uncovered. Fragments of worked stone in Room 14 suggest that it was used by masons or stone-carvers. It is indeed highly probable that some of the large rooms or courts, 13, 14, 19 and 20, were the actual workshops to which the tablets refer and that the block of Chambers 2-12 where the tablets were found formed the archive of the temple. There is nothing to shew whether the Keeper of the Archives lived there, though the Rooms 4 (which may have been a kitchen), 10, 11 and 12 would make quite

<sup>1</sup> On these tablets see Legrain in *U.E.T.*, III, and p. 27, n. 2 below.

good living quarters and Rooms 5–8 might have been his office, or *vice versa*; in any case, that the main purpose of the building was for the keeping of official records is certain.

The other complex cannot be identified in the same way. It was entered from the Sacred Way by Room 29, off which open the two long narrow chambers 28 and 27. A door in the SE wall leads into the large court, 25, which was originally brick-paved and must have been open to the sky. On the NE and SE sides this is flanked by large long rooms of which that to the SE, 22, affords access to 21 and to the rooms 19, 20, 23 and 24 which form the foot of the L-shaped block. Most of the building had suffered much from denudation and the east corner had disappeared entirely, nor was there anything found to throw light upon the use of the place. In Room 19 a rectangular brick enclosure might have been a shed in an open court, and a few tatters of thin wall also pointed to subsidiary structures. The large size of the rooms is against their having been of a domestic character, and I can only suggest that here too we have factories and workshops and that the small dark chambers, 24, 27 and 28, may have been store-rooms. Room 20 may have been used for the making and checking of weights, as tablets to that effect, and rough stones, were found in it at Third Dynasty level.

As regards the tablets found in Rooms 8 and 9, they lay on a pavement of the Third Dynasty and immediately under that of Išme-Dagan; they lay five and six deep and were closely packed one against another. The upper pavement cannot have been laid down by people ignorant of the presence of the tablets but the latter must have been put here deliberately as a packing beneath the Isin paving-bricks. It is a case of the disposal of official records which had outlived their interest. Lying where they did, the tablets, which were unbaked, had suffered greatly from damp. The water which filtered through the joints of the Isin pavement collected here and had reduced the upper layers of tablets to the consistency of soft mud; many had been chipped or broken before being laid down, and all were impregnated with organic salts. It was very difficult to move them at all and their preservation was yet more difficult. Naturally nothing could be done for those which had literally melted and had coalesced into large lumps of wet clay. Wherever a tablet retained its shape at all, however, it was lifted, if possible with the soil adhering to it, and after being dried gradually in a sand-box was fired in a kiln. After this, having been turned into terra-cotta, the tablet could be cleaned and even, if necessary, soaked to rid it of salt. While then a considerable percentage of the original hoard had been destroyed before excavation took place, of those that could still be called tablets practically every one was saved. I should like here to thank Mr. Bruce, of the Iraq Railways then stationed at Ur Junction, who, when my small home-made oven proved inadequate to the task, undertook the firing of all tablets found. The practice of firing tablets in the field, which we had begun on a small scale in 1923, has proved invaluable and has since been adopted by other expeditions with the best results.<sup>1</sup>

After the reign of Kuri-galzu there is again a long gap in our knowledge of the history of E-dub-lal-maḤ. Nabonidus, in the inscription in which he describes his restoration of the building,<sup>2</sup> says that when the appointed time came for him to open the gates "I looked and saw the old memorial inscription of Nebuchadnezzar son of Ninurta-nadin-šumi, a former king, who drew the figure of a priestess whereon were a snake, her symbols of office, her dress . . .". This would imply the finding of a door-socket(?) or stela commemorating a rebuilding of the shrine, and perhaps the dedication of the king's daughter as High Priestess, by Nebuchadnezzar I (1146–1123 B.C.); but we have found in the ruins no inscription of that

<sup>1</sup> See on this an article by P. Delougaz, "The Treatment of Clay Tablets in the Field", *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisations* No. 7, 1933 [and cf. H. J. Plenderleith, *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 320–3].

<sup>2</sup> Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions* (Y.O.S., I, 1915), No. 45. Quoted by Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, p. 239.

king nor any work that could possibly be attributed to him. From the close of the fourteenth century to the seventh century B.C. we have a complete blank.

## II. DETAILED NOTES

### A. THE COURTYARD

*Room 32.* The NE entrance from the *Via Sacra* (Pl. 1*b*). The outer threshold is raised 0.50 m. above the pavement of the Sacred Way. The NE wall shews two periods. The lower part is of bricks 0.27 m.—0.30 m. long, the upper part of mixed and broken bricks with those 0.24 m. × 0.09 m. predominating; the burnt brickwork stands to a height of 1.20 m. above floor level, with mud brick above. Below the foundations was a (broken) brick of Išme-Dagan, and the lower wall is certainly of Isin date, the upper of Kuri-galzu. The NW wall shews three periods. At the bottom is a very well-built wall of bricks 0.34 m. × 0.09 m., Third Dynasty work, which has a clean end close to the west corner of the gate-chamber and runs through beyond its north corner; it is probably the bounding-wall of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag. Over this runs a wall which is bonded with the lower section of the NE wall, whose foundations are at the same level. Over this again runs a third wall, bonded with the top section of the NW wall, in which is a doorway. Only mud mortar is used in the brickwork throughout. The SW and SE walls correspond to the NE wall. The doorway in the SW wall has its sill raised by three courses of bricks and, starting 0.15 m. above the top of the sill, two brick pillars belonging to the last period of the gate-chamber are added against the jambs to narrow the door's width. This narrowed doorway was subsequently blocked by the brickwork of a later threshold which came 0.80 m. above the old threshold. A shallow hinge-box belonging to the original threshold was empty; 1.50 m. NW of the door are three courses of projecting brickwork, perhaps belonging to a drain. The original floor was of clay, lying 0.15 m. below the top of the sill; 0.50 m. above the sill was a second floor of clay, whitewashed; but at the NW end are two patches of brick paving, two courses thick, one flush with the lower clay floor, one 0.15 m. above it, and there are two similar patches SE of the inner doorway. That the upper floor, corresponding to the narrowing of the inner door, was of Kuri-galzu's date was proved by the presence of one of his bricks in the threshold of that narrower door. On the SE side of the door is an empty hinge-box. In the chamber was found a small fragment of an inscribed statue in diorite.

*The Courtyard* (Pls. 2*a*, 4, 7*b*). There is a rough and much patched pavement of burnt bricks; no brick stamps occur. There seems to have been no change of level from the Third Dynasty period to that of Kuri-galzu. The pavement ends at 1.50 m. from the surrounding walls, and is defined by small bricks or ordinary bricks set on edge and rising slightly above pavement level; the space between this and the walls is plain earth. A small rectangular gap in the paving at the SE end may be intentional. Close to the NE wall is a square brick-lined well. NW of this is a roughly rectangular patch of paving with bricks of small size laid differently from those in the pavement generally and enclosing a square of plain earth. By the south corner of the podium, against the SW side of it, is a large rectangle, nine courses deep except on the SW where it is of five courses only, partly incorporated in the pavement and partly hidden beneath it, of Ur-Nammu bricks (0.30 m. square × 0.05–6 m.) set in bitumen. Just to the NW of it are two small raised bases of burnt brick. For the features against the SE wall of the podium, see above in the general description.

At the SE end of the court there was found at pavement level a fragment of a diorite *kudurru* and close to it a fragment of an inscription on diorite. At the NW end, between the podium and a double gateway in the SW wall, there lay scattered on the pavement quantities

of broken stone amongst which were many fragments of the great Ur-Nammu stela, U.2761 (*v*, *U.E.*, VI, Pls. 41–5) and the torso of the seated figure of Dada-ilum, U.2732 (*v*, *U.E.*, IV, Pl. 41*c*). Some fragments were inside the guard-chamber, the majority in the courtyard close to its door. In the same corner, between the SW wall and a balustrade formed by a return of the NW wall, is a flight of brick steps, of Kuri-galzu, leading up to the Ziggurat terrace (Pl. 2*a*). Close to the foot of the flight is the double gateway (Room 33) leading out to the continuation of the *Via Sacra* which runs between the SE wall of the Ziggurat terrace and the great Nin-gal temple (Pls. 2*b*, 3*a*).

*Room 33.* The chamber is paved with bricks 0.32 m. square and in front of the outer doorway there is left a patch of later pavement, 0.35 m. above the old, of bricks of the same dimensions; the lower pavement was 0.10 m. above the level of the court. To reach the late pavement level steps had been contrived in the thickness of the inner doorway giving a rise of 0.45 m. In the outer doorway the original threshold is intact and from it there had been a step down to the clay floor at the beginning of the Sacred Way; over this had been built a new stepped threshold 0.50 m. high to reach the late floor. Against either jamb of the inner doorway is an empty hinge-box. Against the SE jamb of the outer door are remains apparently of a hinge-box connected with the later pavement. Against the SW wall, towards its SE end, is a raised brick base belonging to the earlier period. On the pavement, towards the west corner of the gate-chamber, there were found three clay vases of Type 31 and others of a squat variant of Type 28; with them were fragments of bone.

## B. THE SHRINE (Pls. 4–8)

### 1. *The Third Dynasty*

In the outer chamber the foundations of the SE wall survive, one course of reddish mud brick whereon ten courses of burnt bricks 0.31–3 m. square, many of them bearing the stamp of Amar-Suen, are set in bitumen. Against the inner face (which projects 0.40 m. inside the face of the Larsa wall) there is a hinge-box built of Amar-Suen bricks corresponding to the NE jamb of the later wall, and corresponding to the SW jamb a hole whence the hinge-box and stone (?) had been removed by Taylor. This shews that there had been a doorway through the wall proper although the wall-foundation was continuous. On the level of the fourth course of bricks from the bottom there runs across the room a layer of brick rubbish with clean brick-earth packing below, and on it a packing of reddish mud bricks 0.32 m. × 0.17–0.18 m. The top of it is 0.85 m. above the base of the Amar-Suen hinge-box, and it can be traced running over the top of the Amar-Suen wall. As the hinge-box stands 0.75 m. high, as high as the wall, the Amar-Suen pavement must have been higher still. By the hinge-box was a mass of brickwork, bricks mixed, 0.36 m. long, 0.30 m. × 0.21 m. or 0.18 m., 0.23 m. × 0.14 m. × 0.08 m., all apparently bearing on the under side the double finger-mark frog which seems to be peculiar to Šulgi. The mass was two to three courses thick and the face of it had been destroyed by Taylor's trench; it was probably the original NE wall of the building and its inner face was alined with the inner face of the Išme-Dagan door-jamb so that the hinge-box occupied an angle of the structure. It is also probable that the reddish mud bricks on which the Išme-Dagan pavement rests belong to Amar-Suen and are the packing below his (destroyed) brick pavement; they could scarcely have been laid by Išme-Dagan without destroying the hinge-box, and the fact that there is sometimes rubbish between them and Išme-Dagan's pavement implies that he was re-using earlier work.

In the inner chamber, below the fragmentary pavement of Larsa bricks, is a Third Dynasty pavement of bricks bearing the stamps of Amar-Suen and of Ur-Nammu. This pavement is five courses thick, set in and overlaid with bitumen, and it lies high. It is

approached from the outer chamber by a flight of shallow steps (Pl. 8a) which occupy the door passage and project beyond it into the outer chamber; the corners of the projecting steps are neatly rounded off. The floor runs on under the existing NW wall. Beyond this wall lie two chambers, intra-mural chambers of the double wall enclosing the Ziggurat terrace, whose pavements are of Ur-Nammu bricks and are on the same level as that of the inner chamber of E-dub-lal-mah. The original wall separating the intra-mural chambers was of mud bricks 0.23 m. × 0.16 m. × 0.075 m. (Ur-Nammu) and had been patched with a wall of mud bricks resting on a foundation of burnt bricks 0.37 m., 0.32 m., 0.28 m. and 0.26 m. long, for the laying of which the builders had hacked away the west end of Sin-iddinam's back wall of E-dub-lal-mah; it is probably due to Kuri-galzu. The walls of the inner chamber shew on the inside a curious patchwork. Under the NE wall there is mud brick, rising just above pavement level, which returns at the SE end and runs for 0.50 m., when it ends abruptly. Under the SW wall there is the same mud brick which at the west corner runs straight on behind the end of the NW wall and at the south corner returns and runs for 0.60 m. after which the burnt brickwork of the jamb face goes down to pavement level. In the outer chamber no mud brick is visible except in the NW wall; here, from the west corner to the edge of the Third Dynasty steps there is a continuous course of mud brick. On the other side of the steps there is a break of bond in the burnt brickwork at the edge of the lowest step, and at 0.50 m. from the step there is a break 0.45 m. long in the burnt-brick wall of Išme-Dagan coming one course above the pavement and rising three courses high. This is filled with mud which might be merely mud but might be decomposed mud brick. The Išme-Dagan brickwork then continues a further 1.05 m. to the north corner of the chamber. Here we certainly have relics of the Third Dynasty walls of the inner chamber, built in mud brick. There is no back wall, and the original doorway between the first and the second chamber was as wide as the lowest stair (4 m.) on the outside, decreased by reveals to 3.50 m. on the inside. Digging from behind into the core of the west corner of the building we found that the NW wall of Larsa date abuts on a solid mass of mud brickwork of which the upper part is of bricks which, judging by their dimensions, are of Ur-Nammu while the lower part is of plano-convex bricks. As the plan shews, it is the inner NE boundary wall of the Ziggurat terrace which was built in Early Dynastic times and restored by Ur-Nammu.

## 2. *The Isin-Larsa and Kassite Periods*

The sanctuary was reconstructed by Išme-Dagan; his walls stand on an average 1.30 m. high, and are decorated with double T-shaped vertical niches. Above this level the walls are those of Kuri-galzu.

*The Outer Chamber.* This was excavated by Taylor, who pulled up the pavement and dug a deep hole below it just inside the main entrance, ruining the two hinge-boxes and removing the hinge-stones. At 0.35 m. below the Neo-Babylonian pavement there is a floor with a good surface of bitumen laid over brick rubble. This is the Kassite floor, agreeing with the Kuri-galzu threshold of the NE doorway.

In the doorway to the inner chamber are four shallow steps leading upward, with a total rise of 0.25 m. The threshold of the NE door had been raised by a sill of two brick courses, one brick with the stamp of Nabonidus, and in the SW door a mud-brick step 0.30 m. high rises to give access to the Neo-Babylonian levels beyond, resting on the Kuri-galzu threshold. By the SW door was a hinge-box containing Sin-balaṣu-iqbi's socket-stone, U.2674 (*U.E.T.*, I, 169), by the NE door a box with diorite socket-stone uninscribed. The main doorway (Pl. 8a) has a threshold of nine courses of Kuri-galzu burnt brick 0.37–0.38 m. square, resting on a single course of 0.31 m. square tiles above mud brick, which would seem

to be Išme-Dagan's threshold, lying 0.20 m. below his brick pavement. Above Kuri-galzu's threshold is one of Nabonidus of bricks 0.32 m. square, giving a rise of 0.42 m., a total of 1.25 m. above that of Išme-Dagan. The existing pavement is that of Nabonidus.

The floor of Kuri-galzu was of bitumen spread over a foundation of brick rubble (it is possible that above this there was a proper pavement which has been removed) and lay 0.30 m. below the Neo-Babylonian. The brick pavement of Išme-Dagan is fairly well preserved except in front of the entry where it was destroyed by Taylor. Embedded in it, immediately in front of the NE door, was an Amar-Suen brick with the inscription *S.A.K.I.*, p. 198, d; it lay 0.82 m. below the Neo-Babylonian. The Kuri-galzu walls go down some 0.35–0.40 m. below the threshold level and rest on the Išme-Dagan walls which go down to 1.70 m. below it. The top of the Amar-Suen wall (see above) is 0.50 m. below the Išme-Dagan threshold.

The average height of the walls is 2.30 m. above Neo-Babylonian floor level; all are of burnt bricks set in bitumen. Kuri-galzu brick-stamps were numerous; in the jambs of the great SE door *U.E.T.*, I, 159, and elsewhere *U.E.T.*, I, 157–8. In the jambs of the main entry and of the door to the inner chamber are holes for timber, attachments for the wooden door-frames or perhaps for the cross-bars which secured the doors. The side doors are arched. In the (intact) NE door (Pls. 5, 7a, 49) the jambs are twenty courses (1.75 m.) high, the arch 0.30 m. high by 0.80 m. across, the bricks voussoir-shaped with a thickness increasing from 0.05 m. to 0.07 m., measurements 0.27 m. × 0.17 m., and the other bricks 0.32 m. square × 0.075–0.09 m. An inscribed brick occurs 0.60 m. up in the NW jamb. At 0.95 m. up in the SE jamb and 0.33 m. from its inner corner is a hole in the brickwork 0.25 m. × 0.20 m.; as the hinge-stone for the door is on the opposite side this is probably a catch for the cross-bar. The small SW doorway was found by Taylor with its arch complete. This has since fallen and on the SE side only two (at one point three) voussoirs are left and the NW jamb has been ruined down to 1.15 m.; the springers start at 1.80 m. (Pl. 7a).

The inner face of the NE jamb of the main entrance has been so heavily burnt that some of the bricks are actually vitrified; this must have been due to the burning of the great door.

*The Inner Chamber.* There are scanty remains of the brick pavement of Nabonidus (bricks 0.33 m. square), below this is a fairly well preserved pavement of two courses of bricks 0.26 m. square, and immediately below this again comes the Third Dynasty pavement with stamped bricks of Šulgi and Amar-Suen. The walls stand to a height of c. 2.30 m. at the north, east and south corners and to 1.60 m. at the west corner. The NE wall has a slight inward bulge and all the central part of its face has been destroyed, perhaps by Taylor's workmen. The lowest courses are of bricks 0.26–0.27 m. long (Išme-Dagan type) laid in mud mortar. Towards the north corner is a bit of rough patching 0.80 m. long × 0.40 m. high starting at 3 m. up, made of mixed bricks (one with the stamp of Išme-Dagan) in mud mortar, and above it bricks 0.32 m. × 0.075 m. in bitumen. At 1.55 m. there is a slight set-back above which comes Kuri-galzu's wall of bricks 0.32–0.33 m. × 0.085 m. set in bitumen. The SE wall consists merely of the two jambs of the wide doorway. The SW jamb is consistently of bricks 0.37 m. × 0.35 m. (or 0.37 m. square) × 0.08 m. The NE jamb has its outer angle much ruined and in the passage entry shows patching from floor level upwards. Most of the bricks are 0.37 m. square, some of 0.30 m. × 0.09 m., and there are half-bricks and broken bricks set in mud mortar up to a height of 0.70 m., above which is more regular building with bricks 0.32 m. square × 0.09 m. set in bitumen. The SW wall has its face destroyed down to 0.80 m. and has sagged badly in the middle; the bricks are mixed and include 0.37 m. × 0.06 m., 0.30 m. × 0.085 m. and 0.26 m. × 0.09 m. The NW wall is the most interesting; it consists of three sections, two shallow buttresses and a central recess, and these are not homogeneous. The

NW buttress is uniformly of bricks 0.32 m. square  $\times$  0.08 m. and half-bricks 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. set in bitumen. In the SW buttress, however, the lower part is of bricks 0.37 m.  $\times$  0.35 m.  $\times$  0.08 m., standing to 0.80 m. above floor level, and has been trimmed back to an artificial face. The new walling above is flush with this face and is of half-bricks 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.15 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. of which one bears the stamp of Kuri-galzu. The buttresses are not bonded into the wall of the central recess. The face of the recess wall shews, up to 0.75 m., good building with bricks 0.37 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. in bitumen, the latter economically used for bedding only, with mud in the vertical joints—a most unusual practice. Above this is poorer-quality work, with bricks of mixed types, including titles 0.42 m. square  $\times$  0.065 m., irregularly coursed, but from 1.30 m. upwards there is again good building with bricks uniformly 0.33 m. square  $\times$  0.08 m. set in bitumen. The whole of this wall was in reality only a skin of burnt brick masking a mud-brick wall, and it started only at floor level. Below it is another construction, a wall or block composed of two skins of burnt brickwork 0.55 m. thick, bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., many with the stamp of Sin-iddinam or with the impressed double crescent which is peculiar to him, enclosing a core of mud bricks of the same size. The total thickness of the wall is 3 m.; it has been cut away at its NE end. This “wall” is a blocking of the intra-mural passage in the Ziggurat terrace wall into which the inner chamber of E-dub-lal-maḥ originally opened, but there was probably a cross-wall here with a doorway through it (i.e., the opening was not of the entire width of the intra-mural chamber), for below the NE end of Sin-iddinam’s wall we found mud brickwork of an earlier type, bricks 0.23 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.075 m., plano-convex, laid with four courses of horizontal bricks, four courses of herring-bone pattern, four courses of horizontal, etc. This goes down for 1.35 m., and was evidently a buttress of the old enceinte wall of the Ziggurat terrace. Where the NE end of the Sin-iddinam wall was cut away, the remains of the plano-convex work are carried up in mud bricks of the Neo-Babylonian type, 0.34 m. square  $\times$  0.11 m. Some of the old mud brickwork rises above the level at which Sin-iddinam’s builders started work and was simply refaced by them with burnt brick. The pavement of the intra-mural chamber, of Ur-Nammu bricks overlaid with bitumen, curves down on the SE (owing to the sinking of the wall foundations) against the Sin-iddinam wall, proving that the latter reproduces a wall existing in Ur-Nammu’s time. The whole sequence is (1) archaic plano-convex building with intra-mural chambers, (2) the paving of the chambers (and repairs to the walls?) by Ur-Nammu, (3) Amar-Suen’s paving of the inner chamber of E-dub-lal-maḥ as an approach to the terrace, (4) Išme-Dagan’s repair to Amar-Suen’s building, (5) Sin-iddinam’s blocking of the passage between the two. At some time the outer west corner of the building was destroyed and there was added to it a *kisû* or revetment consisting of a burnt-brick face with a core of mud brick; this seems to be due to Kuri-galzu. An independent *kisû* was added at the back of Sin-iddinam’s blocking wall, which was also largely rebuilt. When Nabonidus undertook his repairs he rebuilt on the old lines the outer enceinte wall of the Ziggurat terrace, the end of which came against the back of the NE section of the NW wall of the shrine, which, however, is not a true face but has been cut back on the line of a T-shaped groove. Probably he rebuilt in the same way the inner enceinte wall, bringing its end up against the back of Kuri-galzu’s *kisû* (but owing to the denudation of the upper levels we found no trace of Neo-Babylonian brickwork here), and did certainly add yet another *kisû* to the blocking-wall of Sin-iddinam, as was shewn by his bricks overlying the Ur-Nammu pavement of the intra-mural chamber. Where the original NE wall of the shrine has been cut short (by Nabonidus) for the new mud-brick wall to abut on it, the composite character of the building is obvious. For 0.10 m. back there is a clean face, the edge of a wall-groove, and then comes roughly cut brickwork in the lower part of which are mixed bricks in length 0.35 m., 0.32 m.

(one stamped Išme-Dagan), 0.30 m. and 0.27 m. Above, there is a somewhat different-looking wall of bricks 0.37 m. × 0.10 m. and 0.28 m. × 0.085 m., and above this again a wall of bricks 0.37–0.40 m. square, all in bitumen mortar.

The outer face of the NE wall shews something of the reconstruction. The Išme-Dagan wall stands 1.30 m. high. The Kuri-galzu wall rests on this but does not aline exactly with it; at the NW end it projects beyond it by 0.10 m., at the SE end it is set back from it by 0.25 m. Where it is set back the projecting face of the old wall has been trimmed back to the plane given by the middle reveals of the T-shaped grooves. Further, while the grooves of the new wall reproduce those of the old, they do not coincide exactly with them (see photograph, Pl. 5*b*) but come a little to one side or the other, the irregularity being due to the slightly different size of brick used in the two constructions.

Against the partially trimmed face of the NE wall of Išme-Dagan and against the SE and SW walls (Pl. 6*b*) is the *kisû* of Kuri-galzu; the facing-bricks set in bitumen are of Kuri-galzu, the interior mostly of broken bricks with mud mortar is of Išme-Dagan. The *kisû* is standing in places to its full height of 1.30 m. although the enclosing wall of it (which presumably rose somewhat higher as a breast-work) has generally been much destroyed—more so than is obvious from the photographs (Pls. 4, 7*b*), because where the brickwork was missing my workmen cut the earth filling to a straight face with grooves carrying up the decoration given by the footings. On the NE side it survived in three patches only, but rubble filling in the Išme-Dagan niches proved that it had been continuous. The whole face of the *kisû* was proofed with bitumen. On the NE side the *kisû* is narrow instead of being a wide platform as on the SE and SW sides. Between it and the SW wall of Room 1 of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag a passage was left, the floor of which is heavily plastered with bitumen, the latter ending on the NE in a narrow runnel which continues along the edge of the brick pavement of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag Room 2. At the SE end the passage is blocked by the prolongation of the podium to meet the angle of the wall of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag Room 1. Looking at the plan it is clearly seen that the building of the podium by Kuri-galzu involved a distinct change of plan. The E-dub-lal-maḥ of Išme-Dagan had been isolated and the “passage” along its NE side was originally an element of that unpaved strip which surrounded the shrine on three sides and was continued round the whole of the courtyard. With the building of the *kisû* that element is cut off and the frontage of the shrine is joined up with E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag. Since the bitumen-covered floor, no longer enclosed between walls but now open on one side, continues to the corner of E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag Room 2 (at a slightly higher level than the brick pavement of that room) and then turns NE in front of the decorated façade of the E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag shrine, the courtyards of that building and of E-dub-lal-maḥ must originally have opened one out of the other. Išme-Dagan’s door-threshold is 0.80 m. above the level of the E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag court and must have been approached by steps of which no trace remains. Kuri-galzu’s threshold is 1.60 m. above the level of the court (which seems not to have changed in the interval) and his *kisû* here stands only 0.90 m. high, about 0.30 m. below the first course of Kuri-galzu bricks in the shrine wall, but the top of it is rough and broken and there is a mass of brickwork projecting 0.60 m. beyond the *kisû* face which may well be the foundation of a flight of steps leading up to the doorway.

On the SE side the *kisû* is much destroyed in the centre but well preserved at either end. At the NE end of it the stairs stand six treads (1.10 m.) high, with balustrade walls on either side (v. Pl. 4*a*). From the front corner of the NE jamb a line of well-laid bricks runs across to the NE wall of the court, and the area thus enclosed against the staircase is paved with brick 0.20 m. higher than courtyard level, but beyond the line of the NE edge of the court pavement, it is of earth flush with the pavement. From the south corner of the *kisû* a

low brick bench runs against the face to the line of the inner face of the SW jamb of the shrine doorway. From this point to the line of the balustrade wall of the staircase there is a line of rather roughly laid bricks along the pavement edge and between that and the podium face a mass of brick rubble closely packed and 0.30 m. high which forms a rectangle in front of the shrine door and is prolonged to the NE by a narrower strip of the same rubble, standing not quite so high. Nowhere has this mass a proper brickwork face nor is there any properly laid brickwork concealed inside it; we dug through it and found it to be consistent throughout. At the same time it was evidently not accidental. The only conclusion was that it was the interior packing of a structure whose case had been of some perishable material such as wood or valuable material which at a later date had been removed. Judging from its shape it seems to have been a raised base or altar approached by a ramp or flight of steps on the NE side, the foot of which steps would have come close to the foot of those leading up on to the *kisû* of the shrine. This theory is strengthened by the fact that in the courtyard as remodelled in the Neo-Babylonian period an altar (though of a different form) stood in precisely the same position.

On the SW side, part of the *kisû* was destroyed to foundation level, just to the SE of the side doorway (Pl. 7b). In the Išme-Dagan wall of the shrine the vertical grooves begin at 0.40 m. above the bottom of the foundations, the lowest part of the wall being straight. The existing top of Kuri-galzu's *kisû* is at 1.25 m. above the old foundation level, but, the Išme-Dagan wall having been irregularly razed, the Kassite brickwork of the shrine begins at a height varying from 1.30 m. to 1.55 m. above that level. The new work and the old are virtually flush, but the vertical grooves do not coincide exactly and the doors are 0.15 m. out. The Išme-Dagan threshold is 0.60 m., that of Kuri-galzu 1.40 m. and the Neo-Babylonian 2 m. above the level of the Larsa foundations.

#### C. THE ROOMS SURROUNDING THE COURTYARD (Pls. 9, 10, 11)

*Room 1* only has a clay floor. Against the SE jamb of the door is a stone door-socket, uninscribed. All the walls are poorly built with mixed and broken bricks, the burnt brickwork standing as much as 1.20 m. high (at the east corner) with no signs of mud brick above. All the walls are bonded together, but the bonding is partial and irregular. Tablet U.3009.

*Room 2.* The floor is of mud, in bad condition. From floor-level upwards the NE wall has been rebuilt (four courses) with mixed bricks including those of Kuri-galzu and Išme-Dagan; the foundations are of better quality. The SE door-jamb is largely of mud brick. The SE wall shews two periods in the four courses of its burnt-brick construction. The SW wall has seven courses of burnt brick on its outer face and one course only inside; it is badly built of mixed bricks. The NW wall has a maximum of six burnt-brick courses of the same character; in it is a (broken) brick of Išme-Dagan. A clay pot full of scrap copper was found in the filling of the room.

*Room 3.* A pavement of bricks, 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. × 0.09 m. (Isin-Larsa type), is preserved over the SW end of the room. It lies high and is approached from the courtyard by four steep steps in the door thickness. At the SW end the pavement slopes down to the inlet of a pottery drain close to the SE wall. The NE wall (three courses) is constructed above a floor level of mixed and broken bricks, below which is the Larsa building. The SE wall is broken away in the middle. At the NE end are three courses of burnt brick on mud brick, and at the SW end four courses and below them, separated by earth, two courses projecting slightly beyond the upper wall line. The upper part is of Kuri-galzu date. The NW wall has two courses of Kuri-galzu bricks SW of the door and four courses NE of it for a short distance, after which come two or three courses of inferior work.

*Room 4.* A brick pavement is preserved except at the NE end and in the south corner. The bricks are 0.32 m. square, one bearing the stamp of Kudur-Mabuk. The pavement is sloped down to a drain-inlet close to the NW wall. Across the room and along the SE wall are two runnels of which the sides are of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., and the bottom is of mud bricks. At the NE end are traces of an earlier and lower pavement. The NE wall, 1 m. high on the outside, rises only two courses above floor level, these two courses being badly built with mixed bricks. The SE wall has four courses shewing above floor level, of which the top one is badly laid with broken bricks, and the lower three courses are of good work with bricks 0.32 m. square  $\times$  0.08 m. It does not bond in with the NE wall. The 0.32 m. square bricks form the door threshold and serve as a foundation to the SW door-jamb, which is part of the SW wall. The SW wall is formed of two skins of bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., with earth filling between. There are only two courses, with earth below, but below the earth are the remains of an older wall with 0.32 m. square bricks. The NW wall, from one to four courses high, is of 0.32 m. square bricks with earth below.

*Room 5.* The existing pavement is of (Larsa) bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. On the SW it stops short 0.10 m. from the wall face. On the NE it runs up against the remains of a wall of the same 0.27 m. bricks which is earlier than the NE wall of the room and serves as its foundation but projects so as to form a low bench along its foot. From this bench there projects over the pavement a T-shaped patch formed of a piece of brick 0.25 m.  $\times$  0.15 m. and two complete bricks 0.33 m. square; possibly this is merely a survival from a later pavement. By the SE door-jamb is a square pit partly brick-lined which is presumably a hinge-box. The NE wall has four courses of burnt brick with mud brick above. The upper two courses are badly built with mixed and broken bricks, the lower two of bricks 0.32 m. square, evenly laid, which rest on the older wall of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m. bricks. The wall does not continue beyond the doorway to Room 8; the SE jamb has been destroyed and is represented only by the old wall. The SE wall is based partly on the old Larsa wall, partly on earth. Its lowest course is 0.15 m. above pavement level, and from one to five courses of bricks 0.32–0.33 m. square  $\times$  0.08 m. remain (the face is preserved for one course only). It overhangs the old wall by 0.15 m. and does not bond in with the SW wall. The SW wall has its inner face of half-bricks (0.15 m.  $\times$  0.07 m.) laid as stretchers, four courses standing, the bricks well laid; there is no outer face because owing to the rise in ground level to the SW this was a containing wall and up to this point was below the ground surface. The NW wall is of 0.32 m. square bricks, well laid, of which up to four courses are preserved. It is bonded in with the NE wall. A clay pot full of scrap copper and some copper ingots were found in the room.

*Room 6.* This is paved with bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., and on it, but not necessarily contemporary with it, were two bricks of Kudur-Mabuk. Against the SW wall there is a projection two courses high of bricks of the same size which runs under the SW wall and may be a return of the Larsa wall on which that is built. The NE wall is of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. which goes below and is contemporary with the pavement. It stands two courses high and consists of two brick skins with earth filling. The SE wall is of two periods. Below are three courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks going below the pavement and bonded with the NE wall (these form also the threshold of the door). Above are four courses of bricks 0.32 m. square  $\times$  0.08 m. set back 0.10 m. from the older wall face. The SW wall starts 0.15–0.50 m. above the pavement and rests on earth and bricks, some broken, 0.32 m. square; it bonds in with the NW wall. The NW wall, four courses high, rests on earth and starts 0.15 m. above the pavement. It is of bricks 0.32 m. square except in the top course where are mixed and broken bricks. It breaks off 0.40 m. from the north corner.

The tablets found in this room include U.2926, 2940-62, 2964, 2968, 2997-9, 3004-5, 3010-11, 3016-18.

*Room 7.* There is a pavement of bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., laid as shewn in the plan (Pl. 48). In the east corner there lies over it a rectangle of bricks, 0.32 m. square, two to three courses high which runs under the (existing) NE and SE walls and partly across the doorway to Room 8. The NE wall is a continuation of that of Room 5; below are two courses of bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. (mostly headers), and above, set back from the old line, three courses of 0.32 m. square bricks and one of mixed and broken bricks. The lower wall extends across the doorway to Room 8 and under the raised base. At the north corner both walls are bonded in with their respective elements in the NW wall, and here there are remains of a bitumen wash on the older wall face. At the east corner the upper wall rests on the brickwork of the raised base or is of one construction with it. The SE wall is of bricks 0.32 m. square and is bonded at either end; up to six courses remain. The SW wall is of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., with two courses visible, and at the west corner there are signs of bond with the lower NW wall. There is a slight salient about halfway along the room. Above this, at the SE end, a course of bricks 0.32 m. square which bonds with the SE wall and, lining up with the projecting part of the old wall, keeps the same line throughout and towards the NW end rests partly on earth. The NW wall has four courses of 0.32 m. square bricks resting on two courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m. bricks (which were not visible in Room 5, the late wall being wider than the old); the west corner is broken away. The lower wall goes down below the pavement and on its face are remains of a bitumen coating. Tablets U.2815, 2816 and 2992 were found in this room.

*Room 8.* There is a pavement of bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., originally coated with bitumen. In the north corner stands a bench 0.30 m. high and 0.80 m. wide, built of bricks of the same type, and coming out as far as the jamb of the door to Room 6. It had been bitumen-coated, and against its SE side is a patch of the same size raised very slightly above pavement level. Below the pavement was a large collection of tablets (mostly Ibbi-Suen) resting on a lower pavement of bricks 0.32 m. square thickly covered with bitumen. In the middle of the room, a little to the NW of the doorway to Room 7, there lies on the pavement a patch of later paving, of 0.32 m. square bricks. The NE wall is of bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., in two courses, the lower of stretchers, the upper of headers, forming two skins of brick with a central filling of earth. The SE wall starts 0.10 m. above pavement level and is of bricks 0.32 m. square; it bonds with the SW wall. The upper part of the SW wall (see Room 7) is of 0.32 m. square bricks, which overhang the old wall by 0.40 m. (the overhanging bricks rest on earth only) and start 0.10 m. above the pavement. The lower three courses are good and above them are two courses with mixed and broken bricks. It is bonded at the west corner. The NW wall is of 0.32 m. square bricks above, separated by a thin layer of earth from the older wall of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks. A large collection of unbaked clay tablets, mostly of Third Dynasty date, were found below the floor of this room.<sup>1</sup> These include U.2860, 3033-6, 3042, 3091, 3095-101, 3204, and most of 3400-4953.<sup>2</sup>

*Room 9.* Preserved at the SE end of the room only is an upper pavement of bricks 0.27 m. square which lies higher than the existing tops of the NE and SW walls. Below it is a pavement of bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. (two courses thick) extending as far as the

<sup>1</sup> See *A. J.*, V (1925), p. 392, and Pl. XLII.2.

<sup>2</sup> See *U.E.T.*, III [and the review of this volume by T. Jacobsen in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 57 (1953), pp. 125-8, where it is suggested that the Ur III tablets found under the pavement of Room 8 (the "Registrar's Office") were placed there as filling in the Kassite period, and originally formed part of the archive from *E-kišib-ba lugal(.ak)*, "the storehouse of the king". It may be that some of the tablets U.3091, 3095-3101, and 3204 came from below Room 9, since the dig cards list them as from "E.S.B. 8/9" (E.S.B. = E-dub-lal-mah)].

door to Room 10. The NE wall is of two periods; below, one course above pavement level, there are bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., set in bitumen running from 1 m. from the north corner to the door to Room 10, beyond which there are two courses; and above there are two courses of bricks 0.32 m. square set back 0.05 m. from the lower wall. The projection in the wall SE of the door to Room 10 belongs to the upper wall only. The SE wall is destroyed to floor level (see Room 14). The SW wall has one course of the 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks and no later work. It bonds into the NW wall of which again only one course of the early bricks survives. At the SE end of the room a number of tablets were found on the lower pavement. These include U.3045, 3046, 3049, 3050, 3054, 3073, 3080, 3087, 3089 and 3090.<sup>1</sup>

*Room 10.* Here there is a pavement of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., and in the west corner the remains of a second pavement of similar bricks at a higher level. The NE wall shews two and a half courses of mud brick on two courses of burnt brick rising above pavement level; the bricks were well laid but mixed and broken. The SE wall was of similar character but with six to seven courses of burnt brick (and no mud brick) rising above pavement level; it was not bonded at either end. The SW wall had one course of 0.32 m. square bricks at 0.35 m. above pavement level resting on earth, below which were four courses of burnt brick like that in the NE and SE walls set back 0.15 m. from the line of the upper wall. The upper wall is 0.15 m. above the high pavement in the west corner of the room. The face of the NW wall shews one course of 0.32 m. square bricks, evenly laid, at 0.20 m. above the pavement, and on it two courses of mixed and broken bricks. The bottom course forms the threshold of the door to Room 4; it bonds with the SW wall but abuts only on the NE wall.

*Room 11.* There is a pavement of bricks 0.27 m. square. The NE wall is of four courses of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., above which is one course of bricks 0.32 m. square. It bonds with the NW wall but abuts only on the SE wall. The SE wall starts 0.15 m. above the pavement, resting on earth, and has four courses of 0.32 m. square bricks rather poorly laid. The SW wall has one course of 0.32 m. square bricks, 0.10 m. above the pavement. The face of the NW wall shews six courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks below and 0.32 m. square bricks above.

*Room 12.* There are remains of a pavement of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. (preserved in east and south corners). The NE wall of mixed bricks stands two courses above floor level. The SE wall has four courses of 0.32 m. square bricks, starting 0.20 m. above the pavement. The SW wall has six courses (one and a half courses below the level of the pavement) of which the lower three are of the 0.27 m. bricks and the upper of the 0.32 m. bricks. The NW wall shews five courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks (one below and four above pavement level), most of them laid as headers; it is not bonded in with the NE wall.

*Room 13.* This was probably an open courtyard. The NW wall (the back of the SE wall of Rooms 7 and 8) has four to five courses of bricks 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. and shews no signs of earlier work. The NE wall has one to two courses of bricks 0.32 m. square of which two bear the stamp of Amar-Suen. Above this course (a mere fragment, shewn on the plan), set back 0.35 m. from it and separated from it by 0.05 m. of earth, are two courses of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., the lower of headers, the upper of stretchers, well laid. Resting immediately on this is a course of 0.32 m. square bricks, preserved only for a length of 2.30 m. The SE wall has disappeared. The SW wall has, below, four courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks alternating as headers and stretchers, and, above, two to four courses of 0.32 m. square bricks projecting 0.05 m. outside the line of the earlier wall. It breaks away just before the west corner and is not bonded in with the NW wall, which runs across its end.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 27, n. 2.

Towards the centre of the room is a drain of clay jars with their bottoms pierced and set one above the other. Between it and the remains of the Amar-Suen wall on the NE are traces of a brick pavement. Just before the NE wall breaks away there is, close to it, a rectangular piece of pavement, of bricks 0.32 m. square, in which is a drain channel perhaps originally connected with the vertical pot drain to the NW. To the SW of the pavement is a small square furnace with walls of deeply ribbed fire-bricks; it contained metal slag. Close to it was found a small collection of lumps of specular iron ore together with a number of tablets of the reign of Ibbi-Suen referring to transactions in copper.

*Room 14.* In one part of the room there are remains of a pavement of big (0.35 m. square) bricks at a low level, but no pavement of the Larsa or Kassite periods. A number of white limestone door-sockets, unscribed, belong to this early period and were perhaps brought here to have inscriptions engraved on them. The NW wall, of one to four courses, is entirely of bricks 0.32 m. square, as is the NW jamb of the door in the NE wall leading to Room 15. The SE jamb of that door is of the same character and is a mere block built up against an angle of a two-course wall of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., with stretchers below and headers above, which runs for the whole length of the room and here returns to form the SE wall of Room 15. The SE wall has been destroyed by the Neo-Babylonian foundations. The SW wall has one to two courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks throughout its length and in the middle the remains of an upper wall of 0.32 m. square bricks.

*Room 15* has no pavement. The NE wall is of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., but SE of the doorway to Room 16 it is divided into two sections, a lower of two courses and an upper of two to three courses overhanging the lower by 0.08–0.15 m. The SE wall has two courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks below and two courses above in which these are mixed with half-bricks 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. The SW wall is all of bricks 0.32 m. square or half-bricks 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. resting on earth, and standing to three courses. The NW wall is of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks of which three courses were cleared, but it appeared to go down deeper; it bonds with the NE wall but not with the SW, returning NW along the side of the courtyard.

*Room 16* has no pavement. The floor lay high, 1 m., above the paving of the courtyard, and was reached by four brick steps in the door passage. The NE wall has four courses of brick. At the NW end all are of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m.; SE of the door to Room 17 the lowest only is of that type and the upper three shew a mixture of them and of 0.32 m. square and 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.16 m. bricks; at the east corner there are two courses of Larsa bricks which return in the SE wall. The SE wall has at the bottom two courses of 0.32 m. square bricks, a third of these mixed with bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., and then three to four courses of the latter with a few 0.32 m. square bricks in the top courses, which are very badly laid. The SW wall has a bottom course of 0.32 m. square bricks, which runs across the doorway to Room 15 making a threshold lower than that exposed on the other side. One of the threshold bricks bears the stamp of Amar-Suen. Above this are up to five courses of bricks, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., but at the door-jambes these are patched with 0.32 m. square and 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.16 m. bricks. The NW wall goes down deeper than the others. In the lowest three courses the bricks are broken and measurements were uncertain, but the fourth is of bricks 0.32 m. square and above it come three courses of 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. bricks patched in the jambes of the courtyard door with bricks 0.32 m. square. All the walls shew traces of mud plaster. In the west corner is a drain of terra-cotta rings, the top missing.

*Room 17* has no pavement. Close to the SE wall was a roughly made three-sided enclosure of bricks, apparently a fireplace, of doubtful date. The NE wall is not bonded with the SE wall. The NW jamb of the door has four courses of the 0.27 m. bricks, and from the

door to the east corner are six to nine courses of badly laid mixed bricks. The SE wall is badly built with bricks mostly of the 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. type, eight to ten courses high, and is contemporary with the fireplace of which one side is bonded into it. It does not bond with the SW wall but runs on across its end. The SW wall has from two to seven courses, all of 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. bricks except in the door-jambes where there is patching with bricks 0.32 m. square. It is bonded into the NW wall. The NW wall shews as many as eight courses, mostly of 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. bricks, but with patching of 0.32 m. bricks, especially on each side of the courtyard doorway, in which there are three steps going down to court level. The fifth course has two bricks 0.40 m. apart which project 0.05 m. from the wall-face, as if to support a small shelf. The wall is bonded at the north corner.

*Room 18* has no pavement. The NE wall is a continuation of the NE wall of the courtyard and the NW wall merely abuts on it. The lowest course visible has 0.32 m. square bricks, then five courses of bricks 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. (in rather bad condition) which bond in with the SE wall. The SE wall is also irregularly built (or has suffered in course of time) and has up to nine courses all of 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. bricks. The SW wall starts 0.10 m. from the south corner with two courses rising to seven at the doorway. The foundations are one course lower than those of the SE wall. The bricks are of the 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. type and rest on mud brick. Beyond the door the top course is of 0.32 m. bricks. The NW wall (of which only four courses were cleared) is of 0.32 m. square bricks and half-bricks and bonds in with the top courses of the SW wall. Against the SW wall of mud brick and beneath it was a series of weights and a number of tablets recording issues of gold and other metal and of food to temple servants, also a clay model of a chariot-wheel, fragments of ostrich-shell, bits of copper and some beads.

*Room 19* has no pavement. The NE wall has seven courses of burnt bricks, mostly of the 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. type, but with patches of 0.32 m. bricks especially in the upper courses. The threshold of the wide doorway also shews mixed bricks, where the SE wall should have come the wall-face is non-existent, and beyond this point the line is continued by the mud-brick foundations only. The SE wall has disappeared altogether at its NE end, then mud-brick foundations shew, and from halfway along the room one course of burnt bricks 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. × 0.09 m. survives. This is brought forward 0.75 m. near the south corner and has two well-laid courses to the end. The SW wall, bonded into the last, has two courses of 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. bricks on a mud-brick foundation; at the west corner all burnt brick has disappeared. The NW wall has a bottom course of bricks 0.32 m. square with a few 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. bricks interpolated, then courses of unmixed 0.27 m. bricks and in the sixth and seventh courses 0.32 m. and 0.32 m. × 0.16 m. bricks. At the SW end of the chamber is a three-sided enclosure, open on the NW, built with three courses of bricks 0.27 m. × 0.18 m., of headers and stretchers alternately, resting on earth. The wall-ends are neatly squared as if for door-openings and the SW wall ends in a form of reveal.

*Room 20* has no pavement. Under the middle of the room were remains of a wall of plano-convex mud bricks, running NW × SE. Also below floor level were three drains of terra-cotta rings, fragments of a stone vase, some beads, a number of rough stones, perhaps weights, and tablets of Third Dynasty date recording the checking of weights. In a breach in the SE wall, cut down from above, was a broken limestone cist (coffin?), what is left of it measuring 0.50 m. high, 0.95 m. wide and 1.25 m. long. Close to it was a fragment of limestone with part of a Neo-Babylonian inscription. Of the NE wall only the mud-brick foundations remain, at most 0.40 m. high. The SE wall also has only mud brick, two courses high. Of the SW wall there remain the mud-brick foundations at the SE end and one course of 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. bricks further towards the NW. The NW wall has two courses of 0.27 m. ×

0.18 m. bricks, stretchers below and headers above, resting on mud brick. In the NE half of the room only the mud brick is left.

*Room 21.* Very little of the room is left, and it presents no features of interest; only the mud-brick foundations can be partly traced.

*Room 22.* In the NW wall there are bricks 0.39 m. square. The other walls are ruined down to the mud brick.

*Room 23.* The SW wall has bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m. with some 0.32 m. bricks above. The NW wall has bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m. resting on a single course of 0.32 m. square bricks.

*Room 24.* The brickwork of the walls is well laid but the actual bricks are of mixed types throughout and give no stratification.

*Room 25* is clearly an open court. There are traces of brick paving of bricks 0.39 m. square, but nearly all of it has been pulled up. The walls are of mixed bricks.

*Room 26* was almost completely denuded and could be traced only by the merest foundations of the NE, SE and NW walls.

*Rooms 27, 28* have no pavements. The walls are of five courses of mixed bricks above which come, on the wall between the two rooms, ten courses of mud brick. All the walls are bonded. Kuri-galzu bricks predominate and the building seems to be of his time.

*Room 29* has no pavement. All the doorways have raised brick thresholds in which, as in the walls, the bricks are of mixed types. The burnt brickwork stands six courses high with mud brick above, but the wall faces have suffered severely. By the entrance-door from the Sacred Way there is *in situ* a stamped brick of Kuri-galzu.

*Room 30.* This room has no pavement, but there is evidence of re-flooring, for while the original threshold is only just above court level a stepped threshold 0.60 m. high has been built above it. On the NW side of the door was a (re-used) door-socket with the inscription of Amar-Suen referring to E-dub-lal-mah.<sup>1</sup> The walls were throughout of mixed and broken bricks. The NW wall was not part of the original building, which seems to have run further to the NW and to have been cut short to allow of the construction of the double gateway at the end of the *Via Sacra*; therefore the building cannot be later in date than Kuri-galzu. The NW wall has nine courses of poor work, the NE and SE walls each four courses with mud brick above.

*Room 31* is also constructed with mixed and broken bricks, the NE and SW walls having three to four courses of burnt brick in very bad condition. Judging from the character of the brickwork this building was of secondary importance; neither the quality of the material nor the care in bricklaying is what we normally find in a religious structure but all is cheap and makeshift.

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 71 (U.1165).

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GI-PAR-KU OF KURI-GALZU, TEMPLE OF NIN-GAL

#### I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

(Pls. 12, 52)

##### A. THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON

The magnificent temple of Nin-gal built by the High Priestess Enannatum, daughter of Išme-Dagan of Isin, on the foundations laid by Amar-Suen<sup>1</sup> was completely destroyed by the Babylonian troops of Samsu-iluna, but was not allowed to remain long in ruins. Over the greater part of the site it was possible to distinguish signs of rebuilding which clearly had taken place fairly soon after the destruction of the original temple. There were no brick-stamps or inscriptions whereby the builder could be identified, nor was the work of the quality which one would associate with a royal patron; it seemed most probable that the local government or the local priesthood had undertaken such repairs as could be financed out of the temple revenues or by the piety of an impoverished population.

One feature of the new building, recognisable in spite of the scantiness of its remains, witnessed to the makeshift character of the restoration. Enannatum's building had included two distinct temples, one at the NW end and one at the SE; between them was a central area (the rooms marked "B" on *U.E.*, VII, Pl. CXVII) where the chambers were small and the heavy walls therefore more close to one another. When the place was overthrown the spacious courts of the two temples would have been easily recognisable as the amount of debris from the fallen walls would have been relatively small; but in the central part the mass of fallen and crumbled brickwork would have buried deeply the little rooms and have obliterated much of the plan. We actually find that the builders of the First Babylonian period cleared the main courts of the two temples and wherever they built there a new wall it is on the old ground level, and the original pavements were still used by them; but in the central portion they did not go to the trouble of removing the debris but built on the top of it, so that the centre of the new building was at a higher level than the two ends. In one place, in Room 38 of the late plan, there seems to be evidence for an initial work of reconstruction which did follow the original ground-plan, for a Larsa wall which has no place in the First Babylonian building as given by other remains has been patched with later mud brick, after it had been breached by Samsu-iluna's soldiery; but generally speaking the First Babylonian edition of the central section is a definite departure from the original and so important a feature as the shrine of Amar-Suen with its surrounding corridors disappears and store-chambers take its place.

Because the outlines of the two temples were more or less retained it is the more difficult to identify the First Babylonian work there; it is only in wall-patching or in deliberate modifications that their brickwork stands out from the Larsa. Thus in the NW temple the façade of the sanctuary was simplified, the old solid piers with their grooved faces razed to the ground and a plain wall built to replace them; and the NE end of the courtyard of the same temple was changed. The old sanctuary with its ante-chambers, however, remained, as did the rooms surrounding the court. In the SE temple again the sanctuary and its approaches and the main courtyard were unaltered (the division of one of the side chapels

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, VII, Chapter III A., and the ground plan, Pl. CXVII.

by a flimsy screen wall was the only recognisable First Babylonian addition) but the whole SE wall of the court was rebuilt and the doorways in it were altered. There was not enough left to make a consistent plan except on the assumption that wherever no fresh departure could be traced the Larsa walls were re-used (even although no sign of re-use survived) and the Larsa plan followed. To publish a plan wherein conjecture would have played so large a part would have been without value, and it has seemed better to confine the account, such as it is, of the First Babylonian building, to notes of the evidence incorporated in the detailed account of the Kassite ruins. This is the more justified in that the Kassite building did on the whole approximate fairly closely to the First Babylonian.

#### B. KURI-GALZU (PL. 52)

The shoddy building which replaced that of Enannatum must have been restored and patched a number of times before the fourteenth century B.C., but the wholesale reconstruction undertaken by Kuri-galzu is the first of which considerable remains are preserved. Either the temple was at that time in ruins or else its walls were in so bad a state that the most economical thing to do was to raze them to floor level and to rebuild *ab initio*. Whichever was the case, what had happened at the time of the overthrow by Samsu-iluna was now accentuated and while the ground level over the whole site was raised, the central and SE parts of it rose out of all proportion to the NW part. A glance at the section on Pl. CXVII of *U.E.*, VII, will make it clear that whereas the rise in the NW, in the old NW temple court, is but 0.50 m., in the central part it is as much as 1.50 m., and in some rooms not shewn on the section (e.g., Room 57) it was 1.75 m., while on the extreme SE it was from 0.75 m. to 1.30 m. For the proportionately greater rise on the SE the reason is evident. Kuri-galzu was restoring the ancient temple of Nin-gal, but at the same time he built on the opposite side of the *Via Sacra*, at the SE limits of the Ziggurat platform, a temple of Nin-gal for which there seems to have been no exact historical precedent<sup>1</sup>; consequently he was able to discard part of the original plan of the Gi-par-ku which the First Babylonians had retained and to suppress the second of the two temples within its walls. He restored the NW shrine, but on the rest of the site he put up a building which was altogether a new departure.

The outline of the site remained the same. A new wall was built round it, much less massive than the old and consisting of mud brick only, except on the NW side, the façade of the building, where a revetment in burnt brick was added to the face of the old wall. Its material, and the buttresses which adorned it, were more suitable to the dignity of the Sacred Way, and the old entrance was modified to harmonise better with that of the new Nin-gal temple which directly faced it (*v.* Pl. 47). By this addition the original NW wall would have attained an unreasonable thickness, so Kuri-galzu razed the old construction and built over it a row of chambers (Rooms 5 and 7-10) which opened on a partitioned corridor (Rooms 4 and 6) entered from the double gateway of the Gi-par-ku. For internal walls (with only two or three exceptions) Kuri-galzu used mud brick over shallow foundations of burnt brick or, where he was following the lines of the Larsa building and its ruins survived to any height, rested his mud brick immediately on the burnt-brick walls of Enannatum; but in nearly every case the new walls were very much thinner than the old, and by this economy he gained considerably in space and was able to contrive rooms where the solid masonry of the Larsa building would not have allowed of such. This row of chambers on the thickness of the original enceinte wall is the first case in point.

To the SE of the corridor there re-appears the Nin-gal temple of Enannatum much as it had been left by the builders of the First Babylonian Dynasty. Apart from the great

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, V, pp. 53-8 and Pl. 73.

court, very little of the Kassite work survives, but as in many cases the Larsa walls are standing above the level of the Kassite pavements they must have been re-used and the plan must therefore have been identical. The whole of the NE end has disappeared completely and even in the forecourt (Rooms 11-15) it is quite likely that the Kuri-galzu walls were thinner than the foundations shewn on our plan, which are in fact the Larsa walls. Thus on the SE side of the main court we find rooms (39 and 40) which correspond roughly to the old but lie as much over old walls as over old chambers. So far as the remains shew the SW end of the temple, the sanctuary and its surrounding offices was little changed, but the rooms SE of the sanctuary were now cut off from it and formed part of the next complex. The temple remains, but it loses somewhat in extent just as it loses enormously in splendour; it is a poor and shoddy building which none the less preserves the tradition of Ur-Nammu, of Amar-Suen and of Enannatum.

But to the SE of the temple everything is changed. From the east corner of the temple court (16) a door leads into another large paved courtyard (37) lying at the same level and surrounded by chambers which on the NE and SE are also low-lying but on the SW are 1.20 m. higher and are approached by a flight of steps. This group of a court and its chambers seems to be characteristic. In so far as the ruins admit of restoration and interpretation, the whole remaining area within the enceinte wall is made up of units of this sort, a courtyard surrounded by chambers arranged one or two deep, with communicating doors; Rooms 26, 31, 37, 42, 61, 63 and 70 are such courtyards, and since the plan is characteristically domestic we must conclude that the greater part of the Gi-par-ku of Kuri-galzu was residential. In the Larsa building a single block (Rooms B9-B16 on *U.E.*, VII, Pl. CXVII)<sup>1</sup> was taken to be of a residential nature and it was tempting to suppose that it was the living quarters of the High Priestess.<sup>2</sup> In the Kassite building there is accommodation for a number of priests for whom the temple at the NW end might serve as a private chapel. If the site was abandoned in the Neo-Babylonian time and a new E-gi-par was built by Nabonidus to the NE of it, that may be not only because the Kassite structure had fallen into ruins but because its temple was too poor and its living quarters too cramped and overcrowded to be adequate for the royal princess who was to assume the priesthood. The kings of Babylon did not follow the ancient precedent of giving their daughters to the service of Nanna at Ur, and Kuri-galzu seems to have provided accommodation for a whole hierarchy of priests rather than for one High Priestess of royal standing. Consequently he extended the residential part of the building over the ruins of the SE temple which the First Dynasty of Babylon had conserved but his own new foundation had made unnecessary.

The above generalisation is to some extent arbitrary, for, as the plan shews, the whole south corner of the building has been destroyed and another part (Rooms 57-70) is so ruinous that the form of the rooms is largely conjectural; but it accords with all the evidence that does survive. The only exception is given by the long narrow chambers (45, 71, 80, 81 and 82) which lie between the "residential" blocks and the enceinte wall; these would seem to have been store-chambers and may perhaps have served the priestly community in general.

In themselves the rooms of the Gi-par-ku are of little interest. The walls are poorly built—or at least in their present ruinous state seem to be so—and the floors are either of mud or of mixed and broken bricks. In work which is undoubtedly the original work of Kuri-galzu, shewn to be such by the uniform measurements of the bricks in the wall faces, old material is used for the wall core. One cannot therefore assume that a patched pavement is necessarily the work of a later restorer and that Kuri-galzu's builders would have hesitated

<sup>1</sup> Formerly Rooms B15, 16, 18, 19 and 23-6, *v. A. J.*, VI (1926), Pl. XLIV.

<sup>2</sup> It was indeed built for the priest; *cf. U.E.T.*, I, No. 106.

to use any old material that lay ready to their hand; that there was later patching is indisputable, but the original work appears to have been none too good. In very few of the rooms were there any subsidiary features such as benches or fireplaces which might have identified their use, and virtually no objects were found. The main argument against the residential character of the complex is the relative absence of seepage-drains to serve as latrines. There was one in Room 43, one in Room 53 and one in Room 65, there were several in the destroyed area, which might or might not have belonged to the Kassite building, and there was part of a brick conduit preserved running across Room 70. The number is small compared with what is usually found in private houses and seems inadequate for the present building if its use was what I have suggested.

### C. THE POST KURI-GALZU PERIOD (PL. 53)

Kuri-galzu's building must have lasted for a long time, and it underwent minor changes of which the signs are fairly numerous. In several cases doors have been walled up or new doorways opened; new floors have been laid down at a higher level. On the top of Kuri-galzu's walls we find later walling in which mixed and broken bricks are normally used for the foundation-courses or the mud brick has no burnt-brick foundations at all. The change of floor level need not connote any great lapse of time, but the rebuilding of walls on the same lines as the old does imply a relatively long interval. The time came when new builders, obviously concerned with a building of the same nature as the old, found that the old walls no longer served as a guide (presumably because they were completely ruined) and built a construction similar indeed but not directly related to that which had gone before. Thus in the eastern angle of the Gi-par-ku, one of the parts where the Kassite work has suffered most severely (Rooms 63-74), there is another building overlying it which incorporates some fragments of the Kuri-galzu walls but in other cases departs from them and produces walls which are not only of new foundation but differ from the old in position and even in alinement (see the plan, Pl. 53, and the detailed notes, pp. 41-2). Here we have, most definitely, a living-house with its central court and surrounding chambers, but it seems none the less to have formed part of the late edition of that great building which is the Gi-par-ku; quite possibly it is contemporary with some of the minor changes noted in other rooms. It is much later than the Kuri-galzu foundation, but it yet falls within the Kassite period. Immediately to the north of it an angle of very heavy mud-brick wall, at a slightly higher level, belongs to an independent building which must have replaced the Gi-par-ku altogether and the construction of which has involved the cutting-away of the walls of this Late Kassite edition of it.<sup>1</sup> To the west there are very scanty remains of another mud-brick building which also cuts across the Gi-par-ku site and is orientated in quite a different fashion. The remains are indeed very slight; we found what appears to have been the NE corner (the building lies practically north by south), and further to the south pavements of burnt brick at the edges of which vague traces of mud-brick walls could sometimes be distinguished. The chief interest of the building was in the *papsukkal* figures found under its pavements, on which see pp. 93-4.

This north-by-south building may be contemporary with or may be later than the other mud-brick building, orientated NE × SW, already mentioned as having cut away the walls of the last edition of the Gi-par-ku; it is probably later. The north-by-south building is itself cut in half by the Temenos wall of Nebuchadnezzar. The use of the *papsukkal* figures derives from the North and comes in with the Assyrian domination of Babylon. The measurements both of the burnt bricks in the pavements and of the mud bricks in the walls of the building agree with those characteristic of Sin-balaṣu-iqbi (c. 650 B.C.) who rebuilt the

<sup>1</sup> See also *U.E.*, IX, p. 11.

Nin-gal temple on the other side of the *Via Sacra*. It is natural therefore to assign to him the authorship of the building. By his time then the old Gi-par-ku had disappeared, and if the other mud-brick building be older than his time the Gi-par-ku had disappeared earlier still. The latest edition of it might date to the tenth century B.C. but might come down as late as the eighth or seventh centuries B.C.—that is, it might belong to any one of the dynasties which succeeded that of the Kassites properly so called.

## II. DETAILED NOTES

*The NW front.* The NW wall had been re-built by Kuri-galzu. His wall front was taken in a straight line from the west corner to the entrance, masking the Larsa recess and running over the top of the Third Dynasty cisterns (*v. plan, U.E., VII, Pl. CXVII*). The bricks measure 0.35 m.  $\times$  0.20 m. with a few old bricks (0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.) mixed in; the wall face is vertical with no batter; mud mortar is used, and the burnt bricks form a mere skin with mud brick behind. The *kisû* filling in the recess is an afterthought and is not bonded into the main wall or into that of the gateway recess. The whole of the gateway recess and the buttress to the NE of it is new. The Larsa walls have been razed and their tops incorporated in the Kassite pavement—a change apparently made first by the builders of the First Babylonian Dynasty, three courses of whose bricks can be detected below the NE buttress, while more work of the same type (bricks 0.30–0.31 m.  $\times$  0.18–0.19 m.) lies behind the Kuri-galzu front on the SW side of the gateway. Along the top of the old Larsa wall, from the west corner, the new building shews a mixture of bricks with 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m. predominating and others of 0.36 m. and 0.34 m. At a later period the whole wall length was strengthened by a mud-brick revetment; it may be late Kassite. The pavement level was unchanged from Larsa times.

*Room 1.* Against the NE door-jamb was a re-used door-socket of Šu-Suen. The SW wall is late, the door-jamb is not bonded with the walls, and the SE wall is late also. The area into which the SW door led is peculiar. The NW or enclosing wall is thin, resting not on the original Larsa wall but on the Kassite *kisû*. The top of the Larsa wall is levelled to form a floor, and a wall runs more or less along its SE edge and with cross-walls transforms the old wall into a series of rooms giving on to a long passage (4 and 6) of which the SE wall is the old inner enceinte wall restored. Brick measurements are, SE wall, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., the Larsa type; cross-walls, 0.31–0.35 m.  $\times$  0.22 m.  $\times$  0.075 m., i.e., varieties of Larsa types; NW wall, 0.28 m. bricks below and 0.33 m.  $\times$  0.22 m. bricks above; the SE wall of Room 3, 0.27 m. and 0.33 m. bricks mixed; the NW jamb of the NE door of Room 3, 0.27 m., 0.30 m. and 0.35 m. bricks mixed, the largest being the lowest down. The NW and central walls lie high, but the SE wall goes five courses deeper; the cross-walls and the NW wall are not bonded together. In the doorway of Room 7 was a (re-used) brick of Šilli-Adad, 0.325 m. square. (*v. also p. 33.*)

In *Rooms 11–15* there is no sign of late work; it is impossible to say for certain therefore whether the new plan is the same as the old, but as the old walls are standing well above late floor level it seems probable that they were re-used both in the First Babylonian and in the Kassite buildings.

*Room 16.* The old NE wall was re-used, but with modifications. It is partly Larsa and partly Third Dynasty (bricks 0.27 m. and 0.32 m. respectively). The SE doorway was re-faced (First Babylonian) and then re-modelled by the addition of a mass of brickwork (bricks 0.33 m., 0.35 m., 0.31 m. and 0.27 m. mixed) which narrowed its passage and added a new reveal and a buttress (*v. the plan, Pl. 52*). A similar mass of brickwork closes the NW door in the same wall and masks the old opening by a solid buttress. The NW wall is new and

poorly built with mixed bricks, the foundations lying above the Larsa pavement. The SE wall is of the same character and appears to be contemporary with the blocking of the NW gate in the NE wall; its south corner is broken away by an intrusive pot burial. The SW wall has been entirely remodelled. The whole of the massive decorated façade of the Larsa shrine has been razed and its upper surviving bricks incorporated in the courtyard pavement. In its place the First Babylonians built a simple straight wall with two doorways, as originally, leading into the two antechambers, and Kuri-galzu restored the First Babylonian work; the bricks are mixed, 0.35 m., 0.32 m., 0.30 m. and 0.27 m. The pavement is also of mixed bricks, 0.37 m. square, 0.35 m. square, 0.34 m. square, 0.32 m. square and 0.26 m. square. The Kassite pavement lies 0.30 m. above the old, but the surrounding rooms are at a slightly higher level and are approached by raised thresholds.

Kuri-galzu's SW wall of the court has three doorways instead of the old two. To the SW of them enough remains to shew that the back walls of the old anterooms were used by him as foundations for a new and thinner wall, so that, although the positions of the cross-walls were changed, it seems safe to assume, where none of his work at all survives, that he retained the general arrangement of the shrine.

*Room 21.* The Kassite pavement, of broken bricks, lies 0.55 m. above that of Larsa. The walls stand four to eight courses above pavement level. In the NE wall, only Kuri-galzu's work is visible, but the foundations are necessarily Larsa. The SE wall, First Babylonian with Kassite above, has a doorway from which a ramp (25), paved with broken bricks, leads up to the high-lying rooms to the SE. The SW wall shews Larsa building below, then First Babylonian, then Kassite; the NW wall is Kuri-galzu only and masks the remains of the older wall further to the NW; it does not bond in with the other walls.

*Rooms 26-34* seem to reproduce the previous ground-plan more or less faithfully. The First Babylonian floors lie about 0.70 m. above the Larsa pavement, the Kuri-galzu floors in some cases as much as 1.20 m. above it. Of the later walls very little remains, but they appear to follow the old lines, and the edges of the late pavements agree with them. As is shewn by the presence of the ramp (25)<sup>1</sup> and by the flight of brick steps in the doorway of Room 35, the rooms of the Kassite building are not all at the same level. In some parts of the site, e.g., the courts 16 and 37, there was very little change from the Larsa age, but the quarter SE and SW of the latter court was considerably raised and to the SW of the long row of chambers 33 to 55 there is yet another rise of floor level. This is probably the result of accident; the Larsa rooms here had been small, and the collapse of the walls caused a proportionately greater accumulation of debris, which the subsequent builders did not trouble to clear away. The rooms therefore lay high, and as the walls were of mud brick, only their foundations as a rule being of burnt brick, they were peculiarly exposed to destruction. Over the whole area from the west corner of the building (Room 10) to Rooms 31 and 36 we encountered, immediately below the surface sand, a very heavy bed of ashes, usually more than a metre thick. There had been buildings of a later (Neo-Babylonian) date, but their foundations are in the upper part of the ash stratum, and the latter therefore can be attributed to the overthrow of the Kassite building. In the ashes were found many objects which must be of Kassite date<sup>2</sup>; these were:

the gold mount of a scarab, the scarab missing, U.6778B  
a number of gold nail-tops

<sup>1</sup> The ramp as seen on the plan seems to make little sense in that it does not lead to any doorway. The fact is that the top of the ramp, i.e., its SE end, has been denuded away. It was higher, and the doors also were at a level higher than the existing ruins. Thus there are no doorways shewn to Rooms 38 and 39, nor any from the ramp to Room 34, though such must obviously have existed.

<sup>2</sup> [See, however, *U.E.*, IX, pp. 112-14, and Pls. 23, 24, 35 where many of these objects are treated as of Neo-Babylonian or Persian date. Since, however, Sir Leonard Woolley also included them in his manuscript of this volume, they have been left without change, in accordance with the principles explained in the Foreword.]

small stud of white steatite and gold  
 another stud or pommel of white steatite set in gold, U.6777  
 a silver dish, mesomphalic, with lotus design in relief, U.6638, Pl. 35  
 a dish of plain silver, U.6654C, Pl. 37  
 a convex disk of silver, diam. 0.035 m., broken  
 a silver situla, U.6644, Pl. 35  
 ten pole-ends, or feet for furniture, of silver, U.6639  
 a handled bowl of base silver, U.6656, Pl. 35  
 large fragments of thin bronze, possibly greaves (?), U.6645  
 remains of a bronze quiver containing iron arrow-heads and calcined reeds,  
 U.6655  
 fourteen bronze shoes for staves (or furniture?), U.6658  
 a curved bronze object, probably part of a bow, U.6642  
 bronze hasps or handles, U.6657, Pl. 36, a ring of copper wire, and a quantity  
 of fragments of sheet copper  
 two rectangular whetstones  
 an oolite bowl, U.6763, Pl. 35  
 an iron dagger, U.6659  
 remains of a wooden staff bound with silver rings and rings of coiled copper  
 wire alternately  
 a number of small mushroom-shaped studs in bone.

*Room 32.* Under the corner foundations was a clay vase of Type 4.

*Room 35.* The NE wall has the Larsa wall as its base, and the First Babylonian is set back 0.75 m. from the face of the former. The steps in the doorway are bonded into the wall, which is of mixed bricks, 0.35 m., 0.29 m., 0.24 m.; at 0.90 m. above the Larsa pavement the burnt brick of the later walls gives place to mud brick, only the SE jamb being carried up higher in burnt brick—it stand to 1.25 m. The NW wall shews no Larsa building; for 0.60 m. from the north corner there is a return of the First Babylonian wall, then over it and over the rubbish beyond it comes the Kuri-galzu wall with its foundations 1 m. above the Larsa pavement; it consists of three to eight courses of mixed burnt bricks 0.37 m., 0.35 m., 0.32 m., 0.29 m. and 0.27 m. The First Babylonian pavement lies 0.70 m. above the old; it is roughly made of bricks 0.30 m. × 0.20 m. laid in rows of headers and stretchers alternately. Connected with it is an uninscribed hinge-stone by the door of the courtyard (37). The SE wall of the First Babylonian room was of mud brick and lies almost directly below the Kuri-galzu wall. The Kuri-galzu pavement of badly laid mixed bricks lies 1.03 m. above that of Larsa. The burnt-brick foundations of the SE wall are virtually at pavement level.

*Room 36.* The NW wall has from two to five courses of burnt brick standing, and the SW wall has four courses only with mud brick above. The SE wall has disappeared altogether and its line was only given by the edge of the brick pavement—it was apparently of mud brick only or else its foundations went no deeper than the pavement. The doorway here is filled by a flight of four burnt-brick steps leading up to the floor level of Room 58, a rise of 0.55 m. The pavement is of re-used Larsa bricks 0.27 m. × 0.18 m.

*Room 37.* The only pavement found was that of the Larsa period, very much patched and to some extent relaid. The level of it, as is shown by the steps in the doorways, must have remained practically the same into the Kassite age. The original walls have been razed and used as foundations for the later, where required. The NW wall is of bricks 0.32 m. × 0.15 m. × 0.09 m. laid over the older courses of 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. × 0.09 m. bricks which

go down three courses below the pavement. The NE wall is late; the NW reveal of the door is part of the NW wall, but the remainder is of mud bricks 0.25 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. resting on shallow foundations of mixed burnt bricks 0.29 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. and 0.25 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.08 m., a type not found elsewhere in the room, but the relation of the wall to the NW reveal shews that it is in plan contemporary. The pavement in front of the wall is particularly patchy. The SE wall is of bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. with a few of 0.32 m. above; it stands five courses high above the pavement, and at the south end it has been cut for the SW wall to abut on it. The SW wall has bricks 0.35 m.  $\times$  0.23 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. with a few of other types, 0.37 m., 0.33 m., 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.30 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. and Larsa bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m. To build it, the ends of both the NW and the SE walls have been cut back, and the stairs are bonded into the jambs of the door. This wall must be of the First Babylonian Dynasty. Against the SE wall were a number of clay pots, Type 66, and saucers, Type 4.

*Room 38.* In the First Babylonian period the original walls were re-used and the passages of the Amar-Suen shrine served as store-rooms (at a higher level), the bases of large jars being found *in situ* let into a rough floor of brick fragments. The evidence is extremely confused. A heavy wall of mud bricks, 0.28 m.  $\times$  0.10 m., with mixed burnt bricks above, later in date than the Larsa building, runs across Room 38 from NE to SW and has been cut away at each end, by the First Babylonian wall at the NE and by the Kuri-galzu wall at the SW. Its foundations could be traced below pavement level into Room 37. The NW wall was of the First Babylonian period and the room behind it, 39, overlies the ruins of the Larsa wall of the NW temple court, of which a short section survives to the SW of it; the SW wall was Kassite. The date of this intermediate mud-brick wall could not be determined, but it suggests more stages of repair or rebuilding than are evidenced by the rest of the ruins. Its burnt-brick courses start 0.65 m. above the Larsa pavement, suggesting a (mud?) floor at that level, for the mud-brick courses must be a foundation only. It is perhaps an attempt to rebuild on the original lines part of the Amar-Suen shrine belonging to the Larsa temple; for the mud-brick wall is on the line of and actually fills a breach in the old wall. In that case it might be of a very early date in the First Babylonian period. The wholly new walls may belong also to that period but represent a more radical rebuilding at a slightly later time, while the Kuri-galzu walls are a modification of that later Babylonian plan. Both Rooms 38 and 39 were paved with bricks 0.29 m. and 0.265 m. square.

*Rooms 42-5.* Of Rooms 42 and 44, only the NE wall is Kassite, the other walls following the lines of the Larsa building. Rooms 42 and 43 are brick-paved, and 44 has a mud floor only. To the NE of this group nearly everything has been destroyed and all the cross-walls of chambers have disappeared, leaving only the lower courses of the enceinte wall. This wall (Room 45) is interesting in that it illustrates the practice of reinforcing mud-brick construction with transverse timbers. The area over which the timber was found measures 12 m.  $\times$  6.80 m., so that not only the wall but part of the floor was strengthened, the wall itself being only 2 m. thick and the logs not going through to its outer face. On the mud-brick courses already laid, rough logs about 0.25 m. in diameter were placed at intervals of about 3 m., at right angles to the direction of the wall. Rows of mud bricks were laid between them, one or two courses high, the interstices were liberally filled with mud, and then bricks were leaned at a slant against the sides of each log (*v.* Fig. 1). At the north end of the patch there are signs of a tie-beam having been laid at right angles to the other logs close to the inner face of the wall. The remains do not stand high enough to shew whether the timbering was confined to a single course or had risen to any height. The reason for it may have been the existence of the old (and by this time ruined and plundered) graves which lie below this part of the Larsa building; the ground may have been in such a condition as to call for reinforcement.

On the other hand similar timber-work is found in Room 75 (not under a wall, but in the floor) where there were no ancient graves; perhaps it was used where some heavy weight had to be supported. The wood of the logs has perished, but the brickwork is found in good condition and in the round holes the imprint of the grain of the timber is perfectly preserved in the mud casing.

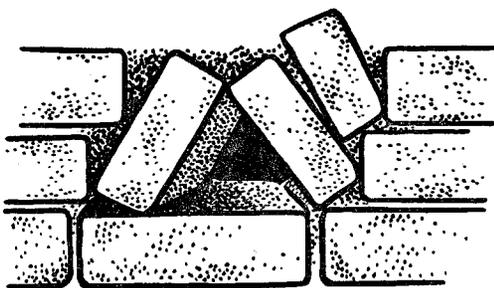


Fig. 1. Gi-par-ku: Detail of brickwork

Room 46 is paved, its floor only half a brick above that of the court 37. In its SE doorway is a flight of steps going up to Room 51, a rise of 1 m. Against the NE wall there have been bases of mud brick flanking the door to Room 47.

Room 47, like all the Rooms 48, 49 and 50, is at a low level, the pavement flush with the courtyard 37. The walls are preserved to a maximum height of 1.10 m. and are of mud brick over burnt brick foundations, all of Kassite date. There is a drain in the middle of the floor. Against the NW jamb of the door to Room 48 there was part of a wooden frame with panels filled with parallel reed-stems, originally covered with bitumen (v. Fig. 2); it was part of the light door between the two rooms.

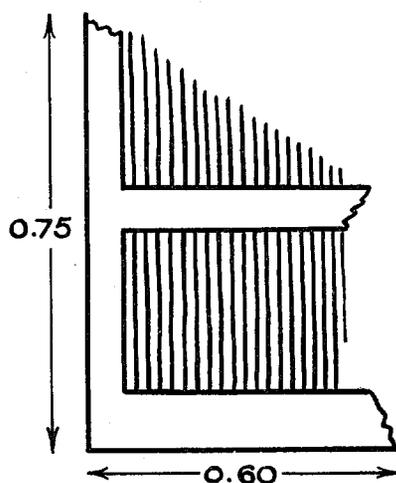


Fig. 2. Gi-par-ku, Room 47: Wood frame with reed stems

Room 51. The pavement, 1.25 m. above the Larsa level, is yet about 0.50 m. below that of the adjoining rooms on the SE; it is of mixed bricks, 0.30 m. square or 0.30 m.  $\times$  0.15 m. and 0.24 m.  $\times$  0.17 m. The south corner is completely ruined but in the east corner the burnt brick shews seven courses above floor level. In the doorway to Room 52 there are two steps up.

Room 52 is paved with mixed and broken bricks. In each of the doors in the SE wall there are two steps up. Against the door of Room 51 was found a white limestone door-socket

(U.6703), evidently re-used, since there are two different pivot holes. It bears an inscription of En-men-an-na, the name of the daughter of Naram-Suen as priestess of Nanna.<sup>1</sup> As the stone is not in its original position, it cannot be used as evidence for the nature of the building. The face of the NE and NW walls has suffered badly; in the SE wall there are mixed bricks 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. and some of 0.37 m., taken from Ur-Nammu's city wall; the SW wall has two and a half courses of burnt brick above floor level and on it mud brick, plastered, standing 0.70 m. high. The NE jamb of the door to Room 56 was an addition, the original wall face running through from the north angle of 56. Below the Kuri-galzu pavement and on the level of a broken pavement of the First Babylonian Dynasty were found two unengraved cylinders, one of amethyst and one of crystal, and a cylinder of red-and-white marble with copper caps; these cannot be Kassite.

*Room 53.* The pavement lies 1.20 m. above that of Room 49 but the steps from one to the other have been destroyed together with the doorway. The foundations of the NW wall, and those of the SE wall, are 0.55 m. and 1 m. respectively deeper on the NW than on the SE face, according with the change in level of the Rooms 49 and 66-8 from that of 53.

*Room 56* is paved with bricks 0.34 m. × 0.32 m. It belongs to the highest range of rooms, the pavement being 1.60 m. above that of the Larsa building, a level which continues as far as the SE wall of the Larsa SE shrine. Owing to the high level, the rooms in this SE part of the building were particularly ruinous and of many of them there is nothing to be said.

*Room 63.* Apparently this was a very large open court used for industrial purposes. The walls are all of late date (mud bricks 0.29 m. long) but are for the most part ruined down to floor level. The floor is of mud. The SE wall seems to shew signs of later re-building, where it rises above floor level. The SW wall towards the south corner has been completely destroyed by intrusive Persian burials. Across the court, 0.70 m. from the SW wall, is a bin built of mixed and broken bricks, divided into four compartments. That at the west corner is rough inside (there is no true face but the broken ends of bricks sticking out in all directions) and was full of date-stones. The second, standing 0.60 m. high, is much more neatly made, it is smooth inside and was perhaps lined with bitumen, though of this not enough remains to constitute proof; in front of it, as in front of the first, is a brick step on which a man could stand when using the bin. The third compartment is ruinous; in front of it is a patch of burnt-brick paving, possibly a relic of a pavement that once extended over the whole room. Of the fourth only the base is left. Towards the east corner is a circular brick-lined pit, diameter 0.90 m., shewing signs of heavy burning. Against the SE wall, at the east end, there is a burnt-brick bench, preserved up to six courses in height, which may have had a return along the SW wall, but all here was broken away by the Persian burials. Along the NE wall there is a single line of burnt bricks rising a little above floor level. Projecting from the NW wall, between the two doors is a brick fireplace (the bricks heavily burnt) with a flat hob in front of it. Beyond the door to Room 58 there projects from the wall a short length of burnt brick-work, three courses high, which was possibly part of a second bin running across the court.

Close to the fireplace and below the level of the foundations of the NW wall of Kuri-galzu were found:

- a white calcite vase, U.6356 (Pl. 37), with dedication to Nin-gal<sup>2</sup>
- fragments of a large white calcite vase with a dedication by Išme-Dagan;  
U.6358<sup>3</sup>; this lay under the doorway of Room 57
- fragments of a similar stone vase, height 0.16 m., with an inscription by an  
Isin king

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 69. [Cf. E. Sollberger, *A.f.O.*, XVII (1954-6), pp. 26-8.]

<sup>2</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 98.

<sup>3</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 102.

fragment of a seal-impression of a keeper of archives in the reign of Samsuiluna; U.6360<sup>1</sup>

a clay pot, Type 55, height 0.19 m., light greenish drab clay

a clay pot, Type 6, height 0.18 m., light drab clay.

The first-named objects clearly belonged to the Larsa temple in the upper filling of which they lay, and the clay vases also should be of the same date.

*Room 65.* The floor is a step higher than that of Room 66 to the NW. All the walls are of Kassite date but below the NE and NW walls are burnt-brick foundations of the First Babylonian Dynasty. Apparently connected with the latter is a drain near the north corner (it did not rise so high as the Kuri-galzu foundations) composed of vase-shaped pipes, 0.55 m. high and 0.25 m. in diameter, which rested on a ring-stand forming the base of a shallow seepage drain.

*Room 66.* The pavement had been entirely destroyed; the walls shew up to five courses of burnt brick with mud brick above. In the NE wall a door to Room 67 had existed but had later been blocked with mud brickwork. Of *Rooms 67 and 68* virtually nothing remains and the site is much complicated by later building. Of *Room 69* there is left only part of the NE wall with the paved threshold of a door leading to Room 71.

*Room 70* is a large open court, originally paved with mixed and broken bricks. Across it there runs under the pavement a brick conduit of the Kassite period; it lies under the (undisturbed) brick threshold of the door to Room 69. Of the NE wall only a short length is preserved; it was built up against a pier of the Larsa building which thereafter served as the foundation of the Kassite work at a higher level, which has now disappeared. The SE wall rests on a Larsa wall; originally thin, it has been thickened by a revetment of mixed burnt bricks and mud bricks (0.35 m. square and 0.34 m. square respectively, the *kisû* being 0.35 m. wide). The SW wall is ruined completely and has been restored on the plan on the strength of the broken end of the wall dividing Rooms 66 and 67 and of the late Kassite wall on this line. The NW wall also has completely disappeared.

The conduit slopes downwards from NE to SW; its sides are two courses high with a single cover-brick; internal height, 0.15 m., width 0.17 m.; bricks 0.29–0.30 m. × 0.19–0.20 m. × 0.075 m.

*Room 71* is paved with mixed and broken bricks, but most of the pavement is now destroyed. The NE wall is the containing-wall of the building; and just NW of where the conduit passes through it there is a niche made of mud bricks leaned against one another (*cf.* Fig. 1) which carries on the timber reinforcement described in Room 45. The SE wall is of Larsa date, re-used. The SW wall is Kassite, with late Kassite mud brickwork above. Close to the NE wall there is a tomb<sup>2</sup> of unusual type; it is built of brick, mud bricks on the outside, burnt bricks inside, and had a roof, apparently arched, in which there was a very large proportion of bitumen; at the NW end was a door with an arched opening. By the door was a copper bowl and a clay larnax, broken and plundered, as was the brick tomb. Its date is uncertain.

*Room 72.* The walls are all of Kassite date with no trace of the First Babylonian Dynasty; all were re-used in the late Kassite period. The floor is of mud, and lies against the fourth course of Kassite mud brick. The burnt-brick foundations of the SW wall start at 0.40 m. above the Larsa pavement; the SE wall rests on the Larsa remains, and there is Larsa brickwork below the mud floor also.

*Rooms 76–7.* This is really one room partly divided by a thin screen of burnt bricks

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 149.

<sup>2</sup> [Labelled "tank" on Pl. 52.]

(0.37 m.  $\times$  0.35 m. and 0.35 m. square, re-used) which leaves a passage 0.80 m. wide at its NW end. To the NE of it is a pavement of re-used bricks (0.36 m. square or half-bricks 0.36 m.  $\times$  0.18 m., and a few 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m., one with the stamp of Nur-Adad), which ends 0.80 m. from the face of the NE wall to which had been applied a mud revetment of that width. SW of the screen there is over half the remainder of the room a pavement of bricks 0.325 m. square, with some half-bricks 0.325 m.  $\times$  0.165 m. The SE and NW walls are both Larsa walls re-used; their eastern ends have been cut away 0.80 m. from the true line of the Kassite containing-wall (the NE wall of the room) and it was apparently for that reason that the mud revetment was added to the face of the NE wall (and continued along in Room 71) to mask the clumsy join. The SE wall also has a mud plaster 0.30 m. thick. Against the SW jamb of the doorway to Room 78 was a hinge-box of bricks set on edge, empty. Close to the SW edge of the pavement, and just below its level, was found a female head in copper, height 0.045 m., no number. Pl. 28.

*Room 78.* The NE wall does not bond into the NW wall or into the SE wall proper, but was contemporary with the mud revetment covering the latter. It has mud-brick foundations only, but these go down five courses below the level of the brick threshold and are only 0.25 m. above the Larsa pavement. It is definitely of Kuri-galzu's time but was re-used in the late Kassite period, when the doorway from Room 77 was abandoned. The SE wall is of Larsa date, re-used and carried up in mud brick; the SW wall like the NE has no burnt-brick foundations but the mud brick rests on rubbish 0.35 m. above the Larsa pavement. The NW wall to the east of the door from Room 74 has four foundation-courses of burnt brick resting on the (much thicker) Larsa burnt-brick wall, and west of the door its mud brick rests directly on the Larsa work, here preserved to a higher level. The mud floor is 0.75 m. above the Larsa pavement.

Of *Room 79* the SW end has gone and there is here only a late Kassite wall of mud brick, as is the case in Room 75. The mud plaster on the SE wall is of normal thickness and not a revetment as in Rooms 77 and 78. Against the NE wall was a Persian coffin which, like a drain perhaps of the same date which crossed the site here, had much damaged the Kassite remains. Most of *Room 80* also had been destroyed by a circular brick granary which was dug down into the SE wall; also in the room was a rectangular pit apparently of late date.

*Room 81* shews Kuri-galzu construction throughout. In the north corner is a patch of burnt brickwork one course high which does not seem to be paving, as the rest of the room is mud-floored, and is probably a bench. At the SW end of the room there is mud brick and timber construction running across the chamber. The actual timbers are at Kuri-galzu floor level and the mud brick goes down below it. Here there is no weakness of foundation due to the presence of old tomb-chambers, and the reason for such reinforcement (under a floor, not a wall) is difficult to understand except on the supposition that it was intended to support some very heavy weight.

*Room 82.* On the NE side the Larsa wall has been razed and its flat top used partly as a foundation for the narrower Kassite containing-wall and partly as a bench along its foot, rising 0.10 m. above the mud floor. The SE wall is Kassite only above floor level but rests on the Larsa work; the SW wall is Kuri-galzu with late Kassite above; the NW wall is a patchwork of Kassite building incorporating earlier remains.

## CHAPTER V

### THE NIN-GIZ-ZID-DA TEMPLE

The site lies on the SE line of the City wall (in squares U-V 59-60 on the general plan published in *U.E.*, VII, Pl. CXV). There had been here a Third Dynasty temple, above which was one built by Rim-Sin in the Larsa period, described in *U.E.*, VII, Chapter III C. The Larsa building, according to the inscriptions found,<sup>1</sup> was dedicated to Nin-giz-zid-da<sup>2</sup> and, perhaps, to Nin-a-zu, the father of that god. It was a double sanctuary, and an earlier inscription (of Naram-Suen) suggests that it was the temple of Nin-ezen also.<sup>3</sup> In Kuri-galzu's inscription<sup>4</sup> only Nin-ezen is named, but again the sanctuary seems to have been a double one and it is probable enough that it was shared between the two gods; in order to emphasise the continuity of the building tradition I have preferred to keep for the Kassite version the name properly belonging to that of Larsa. There are in fact two Kassite versions, one built by order of Kuri-galzu and another of later date and nameless authorship but, judging by the character of its brickwork, set up prior to the Assyrian period.

#### THE KURI-GALZU TEMPLE (Pls. 13a, 54)

The building which we identify with the temple built for Nin-ezen by Kuri-galzu is of an entirely different plan from that of its predecessor; it was very much larger, but it was so ruined that its arrangement can be only conjectured. The position of the outer SW wall was fixed by the line of the town defences; there remains of it only a short stretch of its inner face. Of the SE wall an unusually solid mass of brickwork seems to give the line and implies a pylon entrance; most of it had been completely destroyed. The NE wall is in better case and from the east corner (owing to the greater depth of its foundations on the made soil) part of its outer face and system of shallow buttresses is preserved. Further to the NW, however, the wall-face is found to be plain and there are cross-walls running out from it, with doorways through them, to connect with an almost equally heavy wall 3.50 m. to the NE. Here then the original wall ceased to be external and there was something in the nature of a projecting wing of the building; to effect the necessary transition a cross-wall had to be suggested in that part where both NW × SE walls are destroyed. The NW outer wall has completely vanished and can only be restored on the theory that there were narrow chambers running along the back of the building.

From the fact that the reveals of the inner doors face to the SE it is clear that the main entrance was in this side, where the pylon gateway has been suggested, though in the mere foundation-courses which alone remain we could find no trace of the vertical grooves which such a pylon would require. A number of flimsily built walls, all very fragmentary and not rising to floor level (there were no remains of the pavement), suggest a central courtyard entered between and flanked by service chambers. On the NW side of this a fragment of wall shews the double reveals of an important doorway situated towards the north corner of the court; all the rest of the wall has gone. Behind it is a room with a second important doorway on the same axis as the first. Behind that is a third wall with a door which, however,

<sup>1</sup> U.15070, 15652, 15662. [To be published by E. Sollberger in *U.E.T.*, VIII.]

<sup>2</sup> [For this reading see E. Sollberger, *Le système verbal dans les inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagas* (Geneva, 1952), p. 16 and n. 3.]

<sup>3</sup> U.16002. [E. Sollberger, *A.f.O.*, XVII (1954-6), pp. 27-8.]

<sup>4</sup> [It has not been possible to trace this brick.]

is not alined with the first two. In each of the two rooms thus defined the SW wall has a doorway communicating with what would seem to be corresponding rooms to the SW, and the two back walls continue as if to prove this and end with door-jambs more or less corresponding to those of the doors in the NE rooms. As the wall dividing the two sets of rooms is nearly central to the building the parallel given by the doorways in the two back walls can be taken as the basis for a reconstruction, in the missing front wall, of a doorway which reveals corresponding with that on the NE, of which one jamb was found, and the result so obtained is reasonably symmetrical. We have, opening out of the courtyard, two doors each affording access to a pair of wide and shallow chambers beyond which lies a considerable area in which no building remains were found and beyond that what appears to be a row of very shallow chambers—a partitioned passage—against the back wall of the temple. This is consistent with the double purpose served by the building which this was intended to replace. We have no proof that in Kuri-galzu's temple any deity other than Nin-ezen was worshipped, but tradition is strong and the probability that two cults were practised in the same building may go to support the reconstruction of a double sanctuary which the very fragmentary ruins suggest.

The attribution of the building to Kuri-galzu depends upon a single brick, bearing his dedication of the Nin-ezen temple, found *in situ* in the inner face of the jamb of the doorway leading from the main court to the sanctuary at its NW end. The brick measures 0.32 m. square  $\times$  0.09 m., and in the same jamb there are other bricks of the same dimensions but also some measuring 0.35 m. square and 0.28 m.  $\times$  0.20 m. The NE side of the jamb has been cut away for four courses leaving only one course which comes to a fairly straight edge and then stops short before coming to the NE wall of the court (see plan). Further, the NE wall of the court also breaks away before arriving at the line given by the cross-wall containing the jamb, and the only two courses of burnt brick which remain to it lie 0.90 m. below the level of the jamb foundation. There is therefore a difficulty of level as well as a lack of definite connection between the two elements in the building, and there is the possibility of rebuilding to be considered before the attribution of the whole to Kuri-galzu can be justified.

The NE wall being a retaining-wall built on made soil, whereas the SW side of the temple rests on the mud-brick glacis of the town wall, the difference of level is less serious than it might be. The inner walls bonded into the NE wall start 0.30 m. higher than it, and the thin wall on the SW side of the court is 0.90 m. higher; actually the walls NW of the jamb lie some three courses higher than it. The level of the jamb is not inconsistent with its association with the NE wall. It is also quite possible that the sanctuary of the temple lay somewhat higher than its main court, and in that case the level of the door-jamb needs no explanation.

As regards connection, the jamb itself is isolated, but the back wall of the chamber is definitely associated with the NE wall by being bonded into it (the wall of the later Kassite building runs along the top of it but is set back 0.45 m. and is not truly alined with it), and since it gives at its SW end a doorway exactly corresponding to that of the signed jamb we can safely assert that that jamb also belongs to the same ground plan. It was re-used in the later building, but only half of it was then needed and half was cut away; the connection (see ground plan, Pl. 54) was so awkward that it is obvious that the jamb originally belonged to the older building.

Can we then trust the brick inscription, or is it a case of an old brick being re-used? The fact that different qualities of bricks are found in the jamb is not decisive, for in the great NE wall and in the NW and SW walls of this chamber the same mixture of bricks occurs. It could be Kuri-galzu's workmen using old material together with the new, or it could be later

workmen using old bricks of Kuri-galzu. Judging by the Naram-Suen inscription there was anciently a Nin-ezen shrine on the site. Kuri-galzu's Nin-ezen temple therefore ought to have stood here, and if these are not the ruins of it we must assume that it was so completely destroyed that not a single scrap of its walls remains; that is not the common fate of Kuri-galzu's buildings. If this is post-Kuri-galzu, we have to fit in this building, the later building (Period 2), and a third of which very little remains, before 600 B.C., the date of the Nebuchadnezzar temple, and the time seems unduly short. Conditions would be better satisfied if this be Kuri-galzu's temple. One would naturally desire better evidence than that of a single brick which might not be in its true setting, but there is really very little reason for distrusting its authenticity.

#### THE LATER KASSITE TEMPLE (Pl. 55)

This is a new building, not a reconstruction. It is true that at the NW end, where the level of Kuri-galzu's building had been higher, a few of the old walls are re-used or made to serve as foundations, but even here where the outline of a Kuri-galzu room is preserved it is re-floored at a level 0.60 m. above the old. In the SE, and over the greater part of the building, however, all the walls are new and do not follow the original plan.

The walls were formed, in regular Kassite fashion, of two skins of brick with rubble filling between them, and this filling shows a remarkable mixture of material. There are bricks with stamps of Amar-Suen (*S.A.K.I.*, p. 196, *b* and *c*) and other bricks of Third Dynasty measurements, 0.375 m.  $\times$  0.175–0.19 m.  $\times$  0.065–0.085 m., bricks 0.35 m., 0.31 m. in length, and bricks of Larsa measurements, 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.075 m., and 0.255 m.  $\times$  0.175 m.  $\times$  0.065 m., and 0.24 m.  $\times$  0.165 m.  $\times$  0.065 m. and 0.23 m. square  $\times$  0.06 m. In internal walls there are one or two foundation-courses of mud bricks 0.30 m. square  $\times$  0.10 m., then four courses of burnt brick rising to floor level and above the pavement the walls were carried up in mud brick. It is clearly late work, but the actual bricklaying is good and there is careful bonding at all corners. In the pavement of the central court were two bricks of Šulgi with the E-*hur-sag* text; but from brick inscriptions and from the character of the bricks there was nothing to be learnt regarding the authorship of the building, nor were there any other inscriptions to throw light upon the question.

The ground plan was ambitious and imposing but, as can be seen from Pl. 55, only the middle part of it remains. The whole of the western corner of the building has vanished and no trace was found of the NW outer wall, which means that the sanctuary itself has gone. At the SE end even the mud-brick foundations have been destroyed by a water-course which has swept across this part of the City site, cutting a deep bed down as low as the foundations of the Larsa temple; consequently all this section of the building can be only hypothetically restored. On the whole, however, it is possible to establish the general lines of the structure, partly by analogy with Kuri-galzu's temple. The entrance was from the SE, as was the case with the former building, and apparently three forecourts, of which two only remain, led to the central courtyard. This was flanked by service-chambers and at the NW end were two doorways leading to two sets of sanctuaries, one larger than the other, from which again doors in the back walls opened on rooms which have now vanished but may well have been wide and shallow passage-like chambers such as we have at the back of the older Nin-ezen temple. Again therefore the building seems to have been devoted to a double cult.

The façade has disappeared, but it certainly projected beyond the frontage of the ranges of side chambers, for the south angle of the latter is preserved and shews a clean return. The very narrow room in the east corner is curious, especially if it is correct to give it a door to the outside—there seems no possibility of any other door; but perhaps, in view of the unusual

thickness of its NW wall, it is to be regarded as a staircase of which the door may have been in the SW wall but at a level above that to which the wall is now preserved.

While the entrance to the temple is central to the exterior of the façade it is not so to the small entrance-courts, for on the NE part of these is cut off to make a narrow passage leading directly to the inner or central court; this is an unusual feature. It is improbable that the passage came out through the façade, and it has therefore been given a door into the first court of entry. The whole façade is a restoration, but the position of the door is given by the axis of the inner doorways and is then found to be central to a frontage which includes the passage, as it surely should do in view of the wall thicknesses.

In the third entrance-court a few patches of burnt-brick pavement are left. The door in the NE wall, originally very wide, had been narrowed by an addition to its SE jamb. The two piers forming the jambs of the door to the central court are of burnt brick throughout, above pavement level, and this extra strength should imply that they were carried up to a considerable height. In the central court, against the SW pier, there is a gap in the pavement and a single line of bricks, set in many cases at a slope, outlines a semicircular pit 2 m. across and the same amount from base to apex. From the bricks the sides of the pit, cut simply in the soil, slope to a bitumen-paved bottom 1.20 m. below pavement level. The pit was empty, and it is impossible to say whether it was original to the building or due to later workers. What remains of the antechambers leading to the sanctuary is a relic of the older building re-used, the later brickwork overlying the old; it follows therefore the original lines. One may imagine that the same was true of the continuation of the building to the NW, but nothing of it survives.

It is not worth while to describe in detail the condition of the walls since that is adequately shown on the plan. In the courtyard there was found a fragment of the head of a male statue carved in white limestone, and scattered about the ruins there were seven fragmentary terra-cottas, nude female figures either standing and holding their breasts or seated and suckling an infant; but the stratification of the site was so disturbed that the association of the figurines with the temple is quite uncertain.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE BUILDINGS ALONG THE NW WALL OF THE TEMENOS

#### I. THE OLDER BUILDINGS (Pl. 56)

##### A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The high-walled terrace on which the Ziggurat stands is set in the west corner of the Temenos enclosure. On the SW it is right up against the edge of the Temenos, so that the terrace wall and the Temenos wall, with their line of chambers, coincide; the buildings here have been described in *U.E.*, V, pp. 51-3, Pl. 74*a*. On the NW between the terrace and the Temenos wall there intervened a fairly wide space (narrowed towards the NE by the projection of the great Nanna courtyard) which from the time of the Third Dynasty onwards was occupied by buildings. Down to the time of Kuri-galzu the general character of these buildings seems to have been more or less consistently maintained, but the existing remains are so scanty and so confused that they only become intelligible if they are treated together. As the Kassite ruins are the best preserved the treatment of the entire series has been deferred until now. For the terrace wall itself the work done by the successive dynasties has been fully described in *U.E.*, V, but little or nothing has yet been said about the buildings at its foot, i.e., the Temenos wall as built by Ur-Nammu and rebuilt by his successors, and the buildings on and behind that wall. The general plan of what is left of those appears on Pl. 56, and for the sake of clarity in description is divided into Sections A, B, C and D.

In Rooms D<sub>1</sub> and D<sub>3</sub> there is found the back face of the Third Dynasty Temenos wall; the denuded top of the wall forms the present floor of the rooms, and the walls dividing D<sub>3</sub> from D<sub>4</sub> and D<sub>1</sub> from D<sub>3</sub>-D<sub>4</sub>, are founded directly upon it (*v.* Pl. 13*b*). The mud bricks are of the regular Ur-Nammu type, 0.23 m. × 0.15 m. × 0.09 m. and the method of brick-laying gives one course of horizontal bricks, one of headers set on edge, one horizontal, one of headers set on edge and then six consecutive courses of horizontal bricks. A similar method is employed in the core of the Ziggurat,<sup>1</sup> as also in the Ziggurat at Warka.<sup>2</sup> This back face aligns exactly with the back of the burnt-brick superstructure wall of the Larsa building in Section C. In Room C<sub>7</sub> the NE wall for a distance of 2.40 m. from the east angle of the room is based on the same mass of Third Dynasty mud brick; then the mud brick has been trimmed back to a vertical face and the burnt-brick Larsa wall is stepped down to ground level. Inside the room the face of the old mud-brick mass is sloped to a batter which may represent original construction but may be simply cut back; the foot of it is at about 0.40 m. inside the Larsa NW wall. We have therefore a Third Dynasty mud-brick rampart at least 9 m. wide. That this was originally faced with burnt brick is proved by remains at the NE face of Section D where the lowest courses are of a Third Dynasty type of brick (*v.* Pl. 17), but along the NW all the burnt brickwork has been removed and the mud-brick core has been cut, or weathered, to an irregular frontage-line. At the back of the B and C sections of the Larsa range, however, this core is still standing to a considerable height and the Larsa walls, starting at ground level on the NW, either abut on the old mud brick (Pl. 15*a*) or are stepped up its slope. Consequently in the Larsa period the NW wall was a retaining-wall and the floor level of the chambers was that of the lower terrace of the Ziggurat. The Larsa pavements rested on the Third Dynasty mud brick where that was preserved at the SE end and at the NW end on an earth

<sup>1</sup> *v.* *U.E.*, V, p. 99 and Fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup> J. Jordan, *U.V.B.*, I (1930), p. 23.

and rubble filling put in to make a uniform surface from the sloped face of the mud brickwork to the back of the NW containing-wall. The Larsa pavement is about 3.40 m. above the ground level outside to the NW.

Against the back face of the mud-brick rampart under Room D<sub>1</sub> was found a cone of Ur-Nammu of the normal Ziggurat terrace-wall type, and here too, in the filling just above the surface of the mud brick, were two inscribed burnt bricks of Amar-Suen which may be taken as evidence of Third Dynasty work in burnt brick running along the top of the rampart, either a solid wall or, as is more likely in view of the later plan, a series of chambers making the equivalent of a heavy wall.

B. DETAILED NOTES

*Section A*

Very little was preserved.

*Section B*

The SW wall is well preserved (Pl. 14*b*). The foundation with double offset is plain-fronted, and is stepped up at the SE end, resting on the Third Dynasty mud brick, while at the NW end it goes down to ground level. On it was built the superstructure wall, relieved by buttresses 2 m. wide, 0.15 m. deep and 2.75 m. apart. The west buttress runs through to the corner and the NW wall of section A merely abuts on it, proving that the two sections are separate structural entities. The wall is of typical Larsa bricks (0.25–0.26 m. × 0.17 m. × 0.075 m.) laid in mud mortar. It has been cut, or weathered, away into a slope such that at the NW end only the foundation courses survive, whereas at 5 m. back (*v.* Pl. 15*b*) it is capped by Kuri-galzu's brickwork weathered to the same slope. The Kuri-galzu work was a reconstruction on the same lines but is not relieved by buttresses (*v.* Pl. 16*b*). On the NE face of the wall the line of division between the two constructions is marked by a narrow band of debris; on the SW face the Kuri-galzu wall runs flush with the fronts of the Larsa buttresses and therefore overhangs the true Larsa wall face. Above the Kuri-galzu wall runs a later Kassite wall dating from the restoration of Kuri-galzu's magazine range on the Temenos wall line; this later construction again is weathered to a slope uniform with that of the earlier buildings, as can clearly be seen in the photographs on Pls. 14*b* and 16*b*. The facts show that the destruction of the terrace edge (*i.e.*, of the Temenos wall) must fall late in the Kassite period. The SW wall foundations, ten courses high at the west corner, are bonded into those of the NW wall and the latter again into the intermediate and NE walls, although the cutting back of these has left but little evidence of the fact. Of the NW wall only the foundations of the Larsa period remain, up to the wall footing, and they are bonded with the NW × SE walls. Above this level the intermediate walls were cut back—obviously by the builders who were clearing the ground for the reconstruction of the NW wall—and shew no connection with the later brickwork of the NW wall. In all three rooms, B<sub>1</sub>, 2 and 3, this upper brickwork of the NW wall has no true face; it shews only broken brick rubble laid in courses (Pl. 14*a*), and it evidently was built simultaneously with a backing of mud brick which was resting on the offset afforded by the greater width of the Larsa foundations. The intermediate walls between Rooms B<sub>1</sub> and 2 and between B<sub>2</sub> and 3 have on each face a single offset foundation of ten courses, the top of which is flush with that of the NW wall. The brickwork remaining above this comes right up against the rubble back of the NW wall and is embedded in the mud-brick lining of it, the ends cut and shewing no attempt at bond. These walls are only 3.05 m. and 2.65 m. long respectively; then they end, bonded into mud brick of very poor quality (Pl. 15*a*). Mud brick can be traced across the chambers on the line of the wall ends.

In front of it comes a very definite but irregular surface of yellow brick-dust and clay, roughly corresponding to the level of the tops of the wall offsets but sloping down to the NW so that here it comes against the sixth brick course below the offset and in the west corner to the ninth course. On the SE it gives a straight line in the centre but is recessed against either side wall as if the mud-brick wall (whose front it is impossible to follow accurately) had projecting corner buttresses. Behind the remains of the mud-brick wall is solid earth packing in which no brickwork can be distinguished. It is obvious that these are the foundations, deep-set at the NW end and therefore surviving there, of Larsa walls which originally continued to the SE, resting on the mud brick and earth packing. No trace of any such continuation remains, but the fact that in each case we find at a higher level fragments of Kuri-galzu walls following the same lines (one of them is visible in Pl. 15*a*) confirms what the nature of the site implies. It will be noticed that the line given by the SE ends of the intermediate walls here, and by the scanty remains of mud brick between them, agrees very well with the back line of Ur-Nammu's mud-brick Temenos wall core as found in Room D1. The irregular surface to the NW of the line is therefore merely the surface cleared by the Larsa builders and the mud brick (whose character I could not ascertain) is either that of Ur-Nammu or a patching of the Ur-Nammu core effected by the Larsa restorers.

The north corner of Room B3 shews a curious patchwork. The NE wall of the room is the outer or SW wall of Section C and is constructionally independent. The foundation, provided with a double offset, is as usual plain and is stepped down from SE to NW. The SE end, resting on the Third Dynasty mud brick, consists of a single course, then come two courses, then seven, then nine and then fourteen (see Pl. 18*a*); above this the face of the wall is relieved by the normal shallow buttresses. There can be little doubt that originally this external wall made a proper west corner and returned to the NE and that the NW wall of Section B turned SE and merely abutted on it, just as the NW wall of Section A abuts on B; but as it is, the NW half of the end buttress has been cut away and from this point to the corner of the room there runs a piece of wall set at a slightly different angle and composed of different bricks. Towards the corner this wall has itself broken down, there is a second break in bond and a third at the angle itself. Between the two there is a rough block of brickwork projecting about 0.50 m. from the NE wall and 0.80 m. from the NW wall; of it there remain only four courses of which the lowest is ten courses below the level of the offset of the NE wall and so should be contemporary with it. The partial destruction of the buttress is explained by the plan. The new piece is of Kuri-galzu workmanship and is the end of the NW wall of Section C. For the reconstruction of that wall the Kassite builders cut through what remained of the old work so as to secure a better join. A break in bond at the actual corner shews that they built their NW wall of Section B to a straight end, without allowing for the return, but a fragment of the Larsa wall (six courses high on the outside) was left between the two wall-ends, and the Kuri-galzu brickwork, as seen from the outside, runs over this and is bonded into the NW wall. The low-lying brickwork in the angle I take to be an internal buttress of the original Larsa construction.

### *Section C*

The footings of the NW and SW walls are bonded and are of Larsa date. The SW wall above the footings and the NE wall down to its foundation have been cut back to facilitate the rebuilding of the NW wall; both are still standing, up to the point of junction, nine courses high above their foundation-offsets. The NW wall has been destroyed to the level of the top of the footing, and the regularity of the destruction shews that it was done by restorers who needed a base for their own work. The foundations are well laid and have a true face on the

inside; above this line Larsa bricks are common, but though the courses are well laid there is no true face and the burnt-brick wall is evidently only a facing to one of mud brick, and old material (many of the bricks are broken) was used where it would not shew. On the outer face the bricks of this part of the wall are those of Kuri-galzu (0.34 m. square). Against the face has been added a *kisû* or revetment of bricks of mixed types, 0.50 m. thick, with its foundation five courses (0.50 m.) above those of Kuri-galzu. It must also be Kassite though of later date, and proves that until late in the Kassite period the frontage of the Temenos here remained unchanged though the ground-level outside had risen. The reason for the *kisû* was that after a point 2 m. from the return of the outer wall of Section B the face of the Kuri-galzu wall of Section C had been destroyed (the *kisû* itself runs on for 5.20 m. from the return and then fails completely; it could never have been very strong), and probably at the same time the damage to the filling of the gap in the re-entrant angle between the NW walls of Sections B and C was made good. It should be noted that the free use of Larsa bricks in the back of the Kuri-galzu wall implies the violent destruction of the Larsa building; either this had been done previously and there were Larsa bricks lying loose upon the site, or the Kassite builders demolished as a preparation for re-building. The use of Kuri-galzu and other bricks in the late Kassite *kisû* involves the same alternatives. Where that *kisû* breaks away there is no brick debris in front of it, and its destruction has not involved that of the Kuri-galzu wall behind it. Its bricks have been removed for re-use elsewhere, and this would seem to imply that the site was not neglected and at the mercy of brick-seekers. It marks the last phase of the Temenos as constituted by Ur-Nammu. All the remains described have been weathered away to the same uniform slope and on the surface of the slope lies a heavy bed of ashes and burnt wood (Fig. 3) resulting, certainly, from the burning of the magazines which stood between the Temenos wall and the wall of the Ziggurat terrace. Along the SE, this black belt comes over or against the highest standing courses of the Kassite walls. Then, towards the NW, between the ashes and the shelving wall-tops, there comes a talus of decomposed mud brick which thickens gradually until on the line of the outer (NW) wall the ashes are separated by 1.20 m. of earth from the tops of the Late Kassite walls (and at the NE end 1.70 m. above the foundations). The mud brick, presumably that of the upper parts of the magazine walls whose foundations only were of burnt brick, disintegrated and fell before the fire took place which caused the ash stratum; and since there is in front of the NW wall no such mass of burnt-brick debris as would necessarily result from the violent destruction of the building, all the phenomena must be attributed to slow decay due to neglect.

*Room C1.* The outer SW wall was built throughout of burnt bricks, 0.25-0.26 m. × 0.17 m. × 0.07-0.075 m., laid in mud mortar. The SE wall is for most of its length of mud bricks, of the same size, and only for a space of 1.40 m. at the south corner is it of burnt bricks, used here to secure a stronger bond with the SW wall. Similarly the NE wall is, for

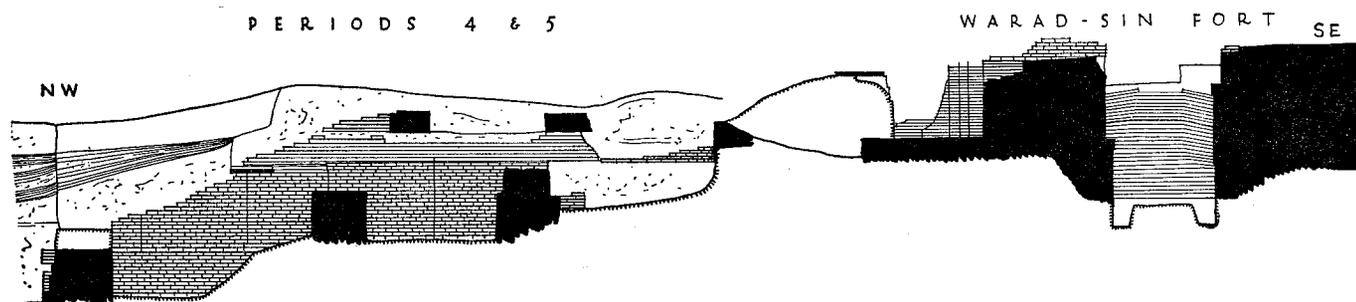


Fig. 3. NW Temenos Wall: Cross section NW × SE through Section B and the tower of Warad-Sin

2.10 m. from the north corner, of burnt bricks bonded into the NW wall, but for the rest of its length of mud brick. Above this Larsa construction there is along the SE and part of the SW walls a reconstructed wall of bricks 0.33–0.44 m. square  $\times$  0.085 m., Kuri-galzu's work. In the east corner of the room there was against the NE wall a coarse limestone door-socket, its top 0.35 m. below the bottom of the burnt bricks (Kuri-galzu) at this point. A few bricks of the hinge-box left round it are of Larsa type, but the stone may well belong to the later period. It proves a doorway in the NE wall, close to the east corner, and probably the position of the door was the same in both periods. The floor level is flush with that of the lower Ziggurat terrace.

*Room C2.* The SW wall is of burnt bricks, 0.25–0.26 m.  $\times$  0.17 m.  $\times$  0.075 m., of a greenish yellow colour and rather soft; the SE and NW walls are both of mud bricks 0.25 m.  $\times$  0.17 m.  $\times$  0.075 m., but to secure a bond with the SW wall their south and west ends respectively are of burnt brick for a distance of 1.20 m. and 0.80 m.; the NE wall is of mud brick. The mud bricks were laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers, and the foundations were cut down into the solid mass of Third Dynasty mud bricks (0.24–0.25 m.  $\times$  0.17 m.  $\times$  0.07 m.) which filled the room up to floor level; all walls were bonded at the angles.

Over the ruins of the SE Larsa wall lies a thin layer of rubbish 0.10–0.15 m. thick, and on this are laid Kassite foundations of mud bricks 0.26 m.  $\times$  0.17 m.  $\times$  0.075 m., giving a height of 0.50 m. On this (and elsewhere directly on the old mud brickwork) rest the burnt-brick Kassite walls of 0.34 m. square bricks. There remain of the SE wall three to five courses, of the SW wall none, of the NW wall four courses in the centre (none at the ends) and of the NE wall three courses. In the north corner was an inscribed door-socket of Šu-Suen (U.18300), re-used. It evidently belonged to the Kassite reconstruction and at that time the door had been in the NE wall (the top of the stone was flush with the bottom course of Kassite bricks); probably the same is true of the Larsa period. In the middle of the room there was embedded in the (Third Dynasty) mud brickwork a large clay bowl of Kassite, Type 71 (height 0.44 m., diameter 0.48 m.), its rim flush with the lowest course of the Kuri-galzu brickwork; the only thing in it was the base of a broken clay vase. These must have belonged to the Kassite room.

*Room C3.* The NW wall has, as usual, an outer face of Kuri-galzu burnt brick but on the inside no true face at all but coursed rubble (broken Larsa bricks) which clearly had been backed by mud brick; it rests on the deeper Larsa foundations. The NE wall was cut away at its north end by the Kassite builders; at the junction it had been of burnt bricks, but it was of mud bricks for the remainder of its length. The SE end of the room was filled to a high level with the Third Dynasty mud-brick mass. A wide gap, presumably a doorway, leads from the room to Room C4. The Kuri-galzu reconstruction had followed the same lines; of the SE wall there remain five courses of his 0.34 m. square burnt bricks resting on those of the Larsa wall, of the SW wall there are five courses at the south end, and of the NE wall none.

*Room C4.* Over the whole room, to within 1 m. of the NW wall, extends the mass of the Third Dynasty mud-brick rampart, cut away irregularly on the NW. The NW wall is the usual Kassite wall, its inner face rough and built with broken Larsa bricks against mud brick, with Larsa foundations below. The NE wall is of mud brick except for *c.* 1.50 m. at the north end where there are burnt bricks for bonding with the NW wall; five courses remain of bricks 0.25 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.075 m. The actual end was cut back for the building of the Kassite NW wall. The SE wall is of mud bricks 0.25 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.075 m. (eight courses preserved) which rest on but overhang considerably a lower wall of mud bricks 0.24 m.  $\times$  0.15 m.  $\times$  0.085 m.; this should be the Third Dynasty. In the north corner there is a terracotta ring-drain which has been destroyed down to the level of the Larsa wall foundations.

It must belong either to the Larsa or to the Third Dynasty period. Of the Kuri-galzu reconstruction relatively little remains. Along the SE wall there are up to four courses of burnt bricks of the 0.32 m. square type but on the other walls nothing. In the east corner there is a small fragment of the Kassite pavement, two bricks thick, the top flush with the top of the bottom course of burnt brick in the SE wall.

*Room C5.* The SE wall is of mud bricks except near the east corner where there are five courses of burnt bricks (0.26 m.  $\times$  0.17 m.  $\times$  0.075 m.) resting on the mud brick. There is a break in the bricklaying and the lowest course seems to be of different work from the upper courses. The NE wall is of burnt brick throughout, being the outer wall of the section, but the four top existing courses overhang the lower and mark a break in construction; the break corresponds with that in the SE wall. The NW wall is of mud brick except at the north corner where four courses of burnt brick bond with the top four courses of the NE wall. The SW wall is of mud brick only. The highest standing brick is four courses below the foundations of the Kuri-galzu wall SE of Room C4; everything therefore is Larsa and nothing Kassite. Whether the break in construction really means a stage of repair during the Larsa period, subsequent to Warad-Sin, or whether it simply marks the line of distinction between substructure and superstructure it is impossible to say, but the latter is perhaps the more likely.

*Room C6.* The NE wall is of burnt brick throughout with an offset ten courses below its present top. The other walls are of mud brick but there are two burnt bricks in the NW wall and in the SE wall there are at the east corner two to three courses of burnt bricks which are bonded with the bricks in the upper part of the NE wall above the constructional break (*cf.* Room C5). There are no remains of the Kassite building.

*Room C7.* The SE wall is of mud brick throughout except for a single burnt brick bonding with the NE wall; the SW wall is of mud brick and is much ruined at its NW end; the NE wall slopes down to the NW and where the late NW wall abuts on it twelve of its courses have been cut back and only the bottom (thirteenth) course comes forward to bond with the NW wall foundations. In this NE wall there is a definite break in construction. On the level of the top of the Third Dynasty mud brick on which the SE end of the wall rests the upper courses overhang by nearly 0.10 m., but above and below this the bricks are absolutely uniform in type (0.25 m.  $\times$  0.16–0.17 m.  $\times$  0.075–0.08 m.) and the break does not imply a reconstruction but only a modification of the line by the original builders when they started on a complete wall-length. The NW end of the NE wall is interesting. It has been cut—in the ragged end there are bricks actually cut in half—but cut back further than was necessary for the building of the Kassite NW wall. The back of the latter, which is as usual rough and contains Larsa and probably Third Dynasty bricks, is stepped back in a rough solid block to meet the broken end of the NE wall. The cutting of the latter therefore would seem to be the work not of the Kassite builders, who would have made a better job of it, but by people who were purposely destroying the Temenos defences.

In the west corner there is a sump-pit, diameter 0.70 m., lined with Larsa bricks, many of them broken; it is cut down into the Third Dynasty mud brick and is over 2 m. deep. Whether it was Larsa or Kassite is uncertain.

#### *Section D*

The NW front of this section has been completely destroyed, but the north corner shews that, allowing for a corner buttress, it continues the line of Section C. It is, however, about 3.50 m. deeper. A short length of new wall was added to the east corner of Section C, prolonging its NE side, and this returns NE to make a new back wall. As is proved by the

remains of the outer wall at the NE end, the section is part of the original Temenos wall design. It is indeed built on the top of Ur-Nammu's mud brickwork, but a clean sweep has been made of all the Larsa interior buildings (whose foundations, resting on the mud brickwork, were necessarily shallow) and everything that remains is of Kassite date.

*Room D1.* The SW wall is the buttressed outer wall of Section C, constructed of Larsa bricks. The prolongation of this wall to the SE is of Kassite bricks 0.32 m. square. This is bonded with the SE wall in which there are five courses of Kassite burnt bricks resting on mud bricks 0.24 m.  $\times$  0.15–0.16 m.  $\times$  0.085 m. In the NE wall there is a foundation of similar mud bricks and on them three to four courses (nine at the north corner) of Kassite burnt bricks. On the top of this but set back so as to leave an offset 0.15 m. wide is a later wall also of Kassite burnt bricks, standing up to six courses. The NW wall has eleven courses of burnt brick on mud brick foundations. Near the middle of the room is a circular pit 1.35 m. diameter and 1.90 m. deep, cut into the Third Dynasty mud brick; it is probably a grain-store, but its date is uncertain. Between the SE wall of the room and the back face of the Third Dynasty wall there was found a clay cone, U.18227, of Warad-Sin, a fragmentary example, not *in situ*. (Cf. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 131.)

*Room D2.* The NE and SE walls are of Kuri-galzu burnt brick resting on mud brick foundations (on the NE wall very little of the burnt brick survives). The SW wall seems to be formed of a solid mass of Kuri-galzu brickwork built up against the buttressed Larsa wall, but whether it was itself a wall or a base against the wall it is impossible to say. The NW wall shews the usual rough back face of broken brick, so that on this section also it must be regarded as a containing-wall which, below the level of the room floors, was built as a facing against a wall of mud brick or a filling of mud brick and earth. The outer face of the NW wall could not be found; it has been completely destroyed, and only the core of the wall remains on the inner side. A later Kassite (house?) wall runs almost upon the same line, its foundation 1.10 m. above that of the old Temenos wall. It is of mixed bricks (nine courses standing) and the steeply sloped bed of burnt wood and ashes which marks the destruction of the Ziggurat terrace buildings and of the Temenos wall runs up against the fifth course of bricks of this wall, which was therefore built before the fire took place but after the collapse of the outer wall of the Temenos. It is the outer (SE) wall of a building more or less contemporary with and presumably resembling those which overlie Section E; the building was not excavated by us.

*Room D3.* The NW wall, resting on the Third Dynasty mud brick rampart (Pl. 13b), has six courses of burnt-brick foundation and a wall proper set slightly back from that; the foundation bricks measure 0.32 m. square, those of the wall 0.33–0.34 m. square. The SW wall has a mud-brick foundation, bricks 0.25–0.26 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.075 m., on this a wall of burnt bricks 0.32 m. square, and above an offset more burnt bricks 0.33–0.34 m. square. The SE wall has similar mud-brick foundations and a double offset in the burnt brickwork, which is set back 0.05 m. from the line of the mud brick. Here too there are two types of burnt brick employed, both offsets being of the 0.32 m. square type and the wall proper (of which a single course remains) of 0.33–0.34 m. bricks. The NE wall has disappeared altogether and is represented by a tumbled mass of bricks only; the lower part of the outer face of this wall will be described hereafter. In the upper filling, flush with the Kassite foundations, was found another clay cone, U.18228, of Warad-Sin.

*Room D4.* The NW and SE walls are not quite parallel, and a slight setback towards the north end of the NW wall may be intended to correct the irregularity. The SE wall has an offset one brick deep, the bottom course resting on mud brick, and this offset is carried round the SW and NW walls but in those there are seven and eight courses respectively below the offset. The bricks below and above the offset are identical in measurement (0.32 m. square)

but below the offset they are uniformly red in colour whereas above it light-coloured bricks are more common. The NE wall is destroyed below floor level.

*Rooms D5 and D6.* The NW wall, running below the late wall described above, was not excavated. Most of the SW wall of Room D5 has been ruined away. The SE wall in Room D5 is consistently of 0.32 m. square bricks, but in Room D6 it has, above this work, four courses of mixed bricks, some 0.32 m. square, some 0.30–0.31 m. square, some broken. It is badly built and clearly points to a reconstruction. The late brickwork reproduces the buttress in the old wall of Room D6 but on a smaller scale and to the NE of the angle the wall is set back from the old and not exactly in line with it. The NE wall, not standing so high, shews only the old 0.32 m. square burnt brick construction. Of the NW wall, the five lowest courses of the outer face were found at only one point; they were roughly laid and gave an approximate line only.

Section D forms the NE end of the great salient from the Temenos wall line which from here continues the line of the back wall of Room D3. The outer face of the NE wall of the salient is interesting (*v. Pl. 17*). The floor level of the chambers in the salient is *c.* 3 m. above the level of the ground outside, and therefore, whereas the former has been much denuded, the lower part of the containing-wall in the recess is relatively well preserved.

The foundation consists of five or six courses of burnt bricks laid in a straight line (the lowest two or three courses give a very slight offset) and then comes the wall proper, three courses set in a straight line and above that a face set back 0.17 m. and relieved by buttresses 1.75 m. wide, whose face is flush with the straight walling below; it is preserved for two courses only. The bricks measure 0.32–0.33 m. square  $\times$  0.08 m. and are set in mud mortar. On the top of this, sometimes resting directly upon it, sometimes separated from it by 0.05 m. of rubbish, there is a later buttressed wall whose buttresses instead of corresponding to those of the old reverse their order, coming just where the intra-buttress spaces had been. The bricks of this wall measure 0.33–0.34 m. (mostly 0.34 m.) square  $\times$  0.085 m. and the lower seven courses are set in bitumen. Above the seventh course there is mud mortar, and the general character of the wall deteriorates. There is a slight departure from the line of the lower construction and in the same course there may be bricks of different types, lengths shewing 0.18–0.19 m., 0.22–0.23 m., 0.25–0.27 m. and 0.34 m. At the NW end there is a very definite gap between the two sections and for a height of 0.60–0.70 m. above the line of division the face of the bricks is much destroyed by salt action, implying that there was a surface here and that the lower seven courses had been buried by the time the upper courses were built. Here therefore we have to deal with a third period.

The return wall in the south corner, the face of Section E of the NW Temenos wall, abuts with a very rough joint on the face of the wall of the salient (*v. Pl. 17a*). It has a straight foundation (seven courses deep in the corner) which projects 0.25 m., and has buttresses 2.25 m. wide, 3.35 m. apart and 0.18 m. deep. Beyond the first buttress the foundation is reduced to a single course and beyond the second buttress fails altogether. The wall is preserved up to the height of four courses above the offset; bricks measure 0.34 m. square (with half-bricks 0.34 m.  $\times$  0.17 m.)  $\times$  0.085 m. and there is a good deal of bitumen used with the mud mortar. Above that line the bricks overhang slightly, only mud mortar is used, and the bricks are mixed and include a number of fragments. Beyond the second buttress the old wall has suffered more severely and only two of its courses remain, all the rest being secondary. Where the wall is best preserved, in the first corner buttress, the face is 1.25 m. high from the offset and then there is a set-back of 0.08 m. and on this course there are three courses of bricks either stepped forwards or irregularly pushed outwards; it is certainly a new (third) period.

The oldest part of this Temenos wall, abutting on the salient, is necessarily later than it in date, i.e., later than both the first and the second periods of the salient. The third wall of the salient, however, is bonded with the upper part of the NE  $\times$  SW wall. At the same time, the lower part of the Temenos wall is in character very much like the second part of the salient wall and need not be much later than it—the failure to bond may be merely due to bad construction.

A deep cut made behind the (late) Temenos wall gave the following facts. The wall of the salient was found running back behind the line of the late Temenos wall. It has a true face for 0.60 m. behind the back of that wall and then for the last 1 m. its face above the four foundation courses is rough, bricks being set back from 0.05 m. to 0.10 m., i.e., so little that the addition of a single brick would mean not a flush face but the projection of the start of a wall running NE  $\times$  SW. Here then, although none of its brickwork remains, is evidence of an older Temenos wall which had been razed and replaced by that now existing. The old wall ends against a solid mass of earth and rubble. In the third period of the present Temenos wall the end of the salient where it bonded with the Temenos wall was carried back for 0.80 m. (at its base, for 0.65 m. higher up) so that the angle might be keyed into the filling at the back. Of the Temenos wall the lowest part (that not bonded with the salient) has a rough face evidently built up against the filling. The upper (bonded) part is 0.70 m. thicker, the extra width resting on tumbled rubble foundations, and is narrowed above by a succession of small set-backs.

Behind the uppermost part of the existing Temenos wall there is a filling of mud bricks 0.30 m.  $\times$  0.27–0.28 m.  $\times$  0.09 m. laid in courses on edge and sloping forwards to the NW, actually not quite horizontal, but with each brick tilted slightly on to one corner. The first line of bricks has been leant against the back of the retaining-wall and successive lines leant against these. This peculiar packing, which rose higher as it was traced back, was continued nearly up to the NW wall of the great Nanna courtyard and formed the terrace which ran between that wall and the front of the Temenos. The character of the bricks suggests that they are of Assyrian date (Sin-balatsu-iqbi). At the back, they overlie a floor of mud bricks laid flat which connects with the Kuri-galzu wall of the great courtyard but itself may be of Larsa date. The sloping bricks conceal the lower part of the Kuri-galzu wall and must in any case therefore be later than his time.

The original buttressed wall of the salient is apparently of the Third Dynasty. It comes right up against the Third Dynasty mud-brick rampart and its burnt bricks closely resemble those of Ur-Nammu found in the lining of his well on the Ziggurat platform. There is no trace of Larsa work. The second period in this wall closely resembles in its brickwork the revetment of Kuri-galzu (proved by brick stamps) added to the decorated bastion of Warad-Sin on the terrace above, and there too there is the same use of bitumen mixed with mud mortar. The third period must also be Kassite. The walls of the rooms in Section D correspond precisely to the two phases, the second and the third, in the outer face of the NE wall; the lower work is Kuri-galzu's and the upper that of some nameless Kassite restorer. We shall find the same thing in the long magazines at the SW end of the terrace.

The late Temenos wall was followed (mostly by tunnelling) to its north corner. Most of it is in very bad condition, only one or two courses being left. At the actual corner it stands eleven courses high, but 2 m. to the SW there are only five courses *in situ* and the upper part of the wall had been thrust out from behind. The first five courses are of bricks 0.25 m. and 0.21 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.08 m. and one of the bricks pushed out from the wall bore the stamp of Warad-Sin.<sup>1</sup> The upper courses are of bricks 0.34 m. square (with a few of the Larsa type

<sup>1</sup> Apparently identical with *S.A.K.I.*, p. 210, a; part of 1.9 is broken away. [This refers to a brick of Kudur-Mabuk so the reference may be a mistake for p. 212, b. The brick cannot now be traced.]

mixed with them) and are clearly those of Kuri-galzu. Against the corner, enveloping it on two sides, is a *kisû* or revetment projecting 0.55 m. from the NW wall and over 3 m. from the NE wall. Its corner is missing and it stands only five to eight courses high, one course above the top of the old wall foundations. It is not bonded with the wall, and it was built with bricks 0.27 m. × 0.18 m. × 0.09 m., a Larsa type, so that it would seem to have been an early reinforcing of Warad-Sin's work.

*Summary*

From the mass of detail given above there result the following general conclusions.

The Third Dynasty 9 m. thick mud-brick Temenos wall, with its buttressed front faced with burnt brick, was completely destroyed by the Elamites, its casing removed and its core hacked back into a slope which made it useless for purposes of defence. It was rebuilt in the Larsa period, the earliest surviving ruins which can be identified being those of the work of Warad-Sin. Probably this work repeated the plan of Ur-Nammu.

From the re-entrant angle forming the west corner of the Temenos the battered burnt-brick wall ran in a straight line for about 86 m. Behind it were chambers of which the foundations remain in some cases, heavy walls running back from the front line, stepped up on the ruins of Ur-Nammu's mud-brick rampart. The chambers were filled in solid up to the level of the Temenos platform and the walling that we find was all originally below floor level. Judging from their position along the wall, and from the analogy of the Kassite buildings which replaced them, the chambers should be magazines.

Where the frontage-line is set back, in front of the north corner of the decorated bastion of Warad-Sin attached to the Ziggurat terrace,<sup>1</sup> buttresses on the SW face of the wall running NW × SE (see Pl. 14*b*) shew that this is an external wall. A corresponding wall with buttresses on its NE face is found 30 m. away to the NE, though the frontage-line continues the same for another 20 m. Then there is a set-back of 13 m. beyond which the Temenos wall runs on straight to the north corner of the enclosure. The side walls of the central block would not have been buttressed unless they were external walls, but the magazines do in fact abut on them. This can be explained only on the supposition that the magazines were of one storey only (which indeed is natural) whereas the central block rose above them as a tower at least two storeys high dominating the rest. This of itself would suggest that the central block, i.e., Section B, was a gate-tower corresponding to the entrance to the Ziggurat terrace through Warad-Sin's bastion, and although there is nothing left to prove that it was such, yet its ground plan is not inconsistent with such a purpose. Room B2, running right through the building, might perfectly well have been an entrance passage with guardrooms (B1 and B3) on either side of it. It must be admitted that this is not the normal plan of a Larsa doorway, but for a fortress entry we have no analogy at all, and to cite the doorway of a temple might be misleading. The real objection is that the rooms were filled in at least to the height of the top of the Third Dynasty mud brickwork preserved inside the rooms in the SE half of the building, so that their floors were more or less level with the floor of the Temenos terrace behind, and very much higher than the ground outside to the NW; nor, at the level of that ground, is there any sign of a doorway in the foundations of the NW wall. The only explanation would be that here, as in the case of Warad-Sin's bastion in the Ziggurat terrace wall, the actual doorway was high up in the wall face and could be reached only by a flight of (wooden) steps removable in the event of danger threatening the place.

Warad-Sin's elaborate defences did not last long. They were utterly overthrown by the troops of Samsu-iluna after Ur's unsuccessful revolt against Babylon. It is quite possible

<sup>1</sup> Described in *U.E.*, V, p. 42.

that the rebuilding of a work so essentially military in character would have been for a long time forbidden by the Babylonian overlords and that the site lay in ruins even over a period of centuries. Certain it is that the first serious repairs of which material evidence survives are those undertaken by Kuri-galzu in the fourteenth century B.C.

## II. THE KURI-GALZU RECONSTRUCTION (LEVEL 4) (Pl. 57)

### A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

For a pious restorer of ancient monuments the first task to be taken in hand was the repair and refacing of the wall of the Ziggurat terrace; Kuri-galzu's work on this has been fully described in *U.E.*, V, and can be briefly summarised here. The revetment of Warad-Sin was badly breached and the brickwork that remained was crumbling but it still served its purpose as a retaining-wall for the platform above. Kuri-galzu built against its face a new revetment or *kisû* of burnt brick which faithfully reproduced the features of the old, with its shallow buttresses and wide recessed panels, except that now the face was less battered but tended more to the vertical. It is worth remarking that the new work was none too good in quality: the *kisû*, 1.40 m. thick, is not bonded in any way into the old face but simply leans against it; the core (*v*, Pl. 19*b*) is of broken bricks and only the outer face of whole bricks, but they are not of the best quality, being too lightly fired, and they are set not in bitumen but in mud mortar.<sup>1</sup> For this, local contractors may have been to blame, for the king's intentions seem to have been excellent. When he came to the great tower-salient of Warad-Sin he not only rebuilt it but with specially moulded bricks reproduced along its façade the elaborate half-column decoration of the Larsa king. To the NE of the tower (the interior of which also Kuri-galzu restored on the original lines) the wall of his reconstructed Court of Nanna bounded on the SE the area with which we are concerned<sup>2</sup> while on the NW the set-back of the Temenos wall reduced the area's width to some 15 m. We do not know of any buildings along this relatively narrow strip, but from the set-back to the west corner of the Temenos, a distance of 150 m., the lower terrace, 25 m. wide on the average, is taken up by constructions which begin with Kuri-galzu and have after his time a long and complicated history.

The floor of the lower terrace (i.e., of the Temenos) lay 4 m. below that of the Ziggurat platform to the SE and 3.25 m. above the level of the ground outside to the NW. On the foundations of the old Larsa Temenos wall Kuri-galzu built in burnt brick the retaining-wall of his terrace, filling in with rubble and earth the space between his new brick skin and the weathered slope of mud brick left from the core of the old work. Of his brickwork so little is left that it is impossible to say whether it was provided along its entire length with buttresses (only three remain in front of the Larsa tower) or whether its face was battered or vertical; it rose to the height of 3.25 m. and thereafter began the wall of the superstructure. Of the latter only the inner face survives, and that only for a stretch of less than 6 m., so its original thickness is unknown. Possibly the retaining-wall below was battered and an extremely heavy upper wall rose directly from it, which would well befit a defensive work, or possibly there was at the top of the retaining-wall a ledge, wide or narrow according to the batter of that wall and the thickness of the wall above. In any case there was along the edge of the Temenos a range of buildings of which enough remains to give their character. From the west corner to the salient of the restored Warad-Sin tower we have two rows of chambers separated by a central corridor divided at intervals by cross-walls. Where the tower narrows the space at the builder's

<sup>1</sup> This is of course a weakness in itself; it has the further disadvantage that burnt bricks set in mud mortar can easily be removed without breaking, and are therefore a temptation to those in search of building material.

<sup>2</sup> See *U.E.*, V, pp. 88-94 and Pl. 78.

disposal, the inner row of chambers is omitted and the passage and the outer chambers run on to the north angle of the tower. At this point there is a slight change of direction and the remaining stretch is taken up by a building of a different sort consisting of a central court with long narrow flanking chambers. The condition of the whole is shewn by the plan on Pl. 57 and by the detailed notes added to this chapter.

This range of buildings is the original work of Kuri-galzu. There are no stamped bricks in its walls and no inscribed door-sockets, but its authorship is certain. The range is separated from the wall of the Ziggurat platform by a long paved lane. Most of the pavement has disappeared, but by Room B3 and again at the turn against the SW side of the tower salient it is well preserved, and the paving-bricks come right up against either wall and in each case against the second course of bricks from the bottom. The two walls and the pavement are contemporary, and as the *kisû* of the Ziggurat platform is built with bricks bearing the Kuri-galzu stamp the buildings running parallel to it and thus connected with it must also be his.

The range follows the line of the Larsa Temenos wall and is therefore not exactly parallel to the wall of the Ziggurat terrace. The Kassite builders seem to have been acutely aware of this and to have taken pains to conceal it. The SE wall of the range is relieved by shallow buttresses, but there are in addition (at the south corners of Rooms B2, B3 and B4) salients, corresponding to the buttresses, which correct the line and more or less equalise the width of the lane. The SE chambers thereby gain in width from SW to NE, for the walls of the central corridor run straight from end to end of the building. As to the nature of the structure there can be little doubt. The absence of inscriptions implies that it is not properly speaking a religious foundation and its position lying along the Temenos wall suggests a military purpose. There was probably an entrance to the central corridor at its SW end, though definite evidence for such is lacking; only one room (B5) gives on the lane, and otherwise the rooms open only to the inside. This is the obvious plan for magazines in which would be kept either foodstuffs or military supplies such as might be required for the defence of the wall. We must imagine flat-roofed chambers (there was in the ruins no such accumulation as would result from the collapse of a vaulted roof), with no outer windows, giving on to a central passage which may have been lighted by a low clerestory (*v.* the restored section on Pl. 57). A solidly constructed building of the sort, rising sheer from the Temenos wall, would form a splendid rampart, and its flat roof would be a vantage-point for the defending troops.

The original Kuri-galzu range seems to have ended with Room A6, in a line with the SW door-jamb of the entrance to Warad-Sin's fortress, which was the means of access to the Ziggurat terrace. Very soon after his time and perhaps even in his time, further rooms were added which linked up the range of magazines (and therefore the wall rampart) to the building on the NE. It is tempting to suppose that through this there was a gateway connecting the terrace with the town and that the building itself was a gate-tower, but the evidence is against that and in the inner wall which alone survives there is no sign of a break. The theory is not impossible, but there is nothing to prove it.

#### B. DETAILED NOTES

##### *The Lane* (Pl. 20a)

From the SW corner to opposite Room B3 the whole face of Kuri-galzu's *kisû* has been pulled away, to ground level, and only the broken bricks of the core are left; it is badly breached again near the tower salient. The bricks measure 0.33 m. square  $\times$  0.07–0.075 m. The pavement of similar bricks, unstamped, lies against the second course of bricks in the *kisû* and against the same course in the NW wall. A patch is preserved outside Room B3 and

another at the angle of the salient, and there are remains of paving in other places, especially towards the NE end where beyond the limits of the good pavement there is a rough pavement of broken bricks. Elsewhere there is a clay level which was the foundation of the burnt-brick pavement. The lane was partly blocked by masses of brickwork which had fallen forwards from the NW wall and lay as lumps of masonry with the bricks still adhering together. The reason for this is clear. The burnt-brick foundations of the Kuri-galzu wall are only three to five courses high and above them comes mud brick. This wall has been razed and a new wall of burnt brick built on the stump of it. An examination of the wall face shews that generally between the third and fourth courses (sometimes between the fifth and sixth) there is either a single course of mud brick or a thin layer of rubbish. The same is true of the inner face where the existing wall rests on a foundation of broken brick which projects beyond the wall line, e.g., in Room B2 this is the case and the top of the broken brick foundation is flush with the top of the lower brickwork (here five courses high) in the outer face of the same wall. The original wall of Kuri-galzu therefore has been destroyed and rebuilt; it is the horizontal joint of mud brick or rubbish that has proved the weak spot in the construction and is responsible for the wall's collapse. A further blocking of the lane was due to the presence of piles of mud bricks regularly laid with two courses on edge and one course of flat bricks above. They rested on rubbish 0.40 m. above the level of the lane's pavement, so belonged to a later date. They looked like piles of building-material which had been intended for the reconstruction of the building but never used, and had been buried under the raised level of the lane.

Against the east corner of Room B7 there has been put a reinforcement in the shape of a diagonal buttress of burnt brick. It starts 0.40 m. above the lane pavement and therefore belongs to the secondary period. A third period of construction is shewn by a fresh foundation of four courses of burnt bricks which overlie, but also overhang by 0.20 m., the wall of the second phase and start at 0.70 m. above pavement level. This continues round the NE side of Room B7 but breaks away at 2.10 m. from the corner. From the east corner (external) of Room A5 a late wall, its foundations 0.35 m. above the pavement, ran across the lane to the angle of the Warad-Sin fort. It too gives evidence for at least two reconstructions of the magazine range which modified some of its details but did not radically alter its ground plan: but it is clear that by the time of the second reconstruction the lane as such had fallen into disuse or else its level had been so far raised that the blocking of it up to a height of 0.50 m. made no difference.

#### *The Magazine Building*

The area at the extreme SW end is divided into three rooms by walls later than the original Kuri-galzu building. The walls shew two courses of regularly laid bricks over a foundation of three irregular courses. A few bricks witness to a pavement in *Room A1*, but in *Room A2* no pavement remains, and the NW jamb of the door to Room A3 has disappeared.

*Room A3.* The NW wall has two courses of burnt brick above floor level and over them, distinguished by an offset, three courses of later brick. The NE wall has four courses. The SE wall has four courses of burnt brick (of which three are above floor level) resting on an older wall, consisting of three courses of mud brick and one of burnt brick, all below floor level. The floor was of broken bricks overlaid with clay (Pl. 20b).

*Room A4.* Two steps in the doorway lead up from Room A3 to Room A4, the secondary floor of which is of clay over broken brick; later a fresh floor of the same type was laid over the first. Below this, the room is paved. In the north corner there is an L-shaped bench against the wall, of four courses of burnt brick with mud brick above, and against the NW

wall is a long raised platform of two to three courses of burnt brick, laid directly on the pavement (Pl. 21a).

The door to Room B5 has been blocked with brickwork (three courses) which starts 0.80 m. above pavement level; on either side there projects from the mud brickwork of the wall a line of burnt bricks which seem to be the edge of a pavement laid 1 m. above the original. At 1.30 m. up in the SE wall there is a fresh foundation of three to four courses of burnt brick (with mud brick above) laid along the top of the mud brick of the older (second) wall which has been trimmed flat for the purpose.

*Rooms A5 and A6* present no features of interest; in each, a brick pavement, in bad condition, has later been overlaid with a clay floor (Pl. 21b).

*Room B1.* Very little of it is left. The floor is of clay over broken brick. The SE wall has four courses of brick over earlier foundations of broken bricks. In the NW wall a break in bond may mean a doorway into Room A2, but such must have been at a higher level. All the walls are of secondary date; the SW end of the room was destroyed.

*Room B2.* The pavement is of bricks, flush with the top of the third course of bricks in the NW wall, i.e., two courses higher than that of Room A3 and therefore perhaps secondary. In the middle of the room a few bricks were found at a lower level, below the pavement, and may belong to an earlier pavement flush with the single burnt-brick course beneath the mud brick of the NW wall. The NE wall has six regular courses, the SE courses over foundations of broken brick the top of which is level with the horizontal break in the wall's outer face.

*Room B3.* The floor is of clay over broken brick, but the centre of it has been destroyed by the collapse of a mass of burnt brickwork from the NE wall (which had been carried up in burnt brick). In the north corner, against the NE wall, is a rectangular brick base rising three courses above floor level. The SE wall shews two courses of burnt brick above which is mud brick; the upper course of the foundations is blackened and the mud brick scorched red by fire, and a number of burnt roofing poles were found in the room.

*Room B4.* The original pavement of burnt bricks is preserved over most of the room. The walls all shew four courses of burnt brick above this level and rise in mud brick to a total height of 1 m.; there are marks of heavy burning on the walls. In the middle of the room a single brick had been laid on the pavement as a base. The east corner has been cut off by a quarter-circle partition made of broken bricks and clay which rests on the pavement and is therefore later than it; it can never have been of any height and shews no marks of burning though a few lumps of charcoal and carbonised reeds or matting were found. On the pavement was a clay cup of Type 4, height 0.065 m., and let into the floor against the SW wall a large pot of light drab clay. Flush with the top of the first course of burnt brick in the walls there had been a secondary floor of clay, which was thickly overlaid with ashes; a third (clay) floor had lain flush with the top of the burnt brickwork.

*Room B5.* The walls shew above pavement level four good courses of burnt brick which in the case of the internal walls rest on foundations of broken brick. As elsewhere in the building these foundations are properly laid but have no face and it would appear that they are part of an earlier and thicker wall which has been roughly trimmed back to suit the builders of the existing walls. Above the burnt brick the walls rise in mud brick to a maximum height (on the NW) of 1.40 m. The original floor was of broken bricks overlaid by clay and comes flush with the top of the lowest course of burnt brick in the walls. The south corner seems to have been partitioned off by a low brick screen of which only one side is left abutting on the SE wall. In the middle of the room, just above floor level, were found a quantity of bitumen and a big lump of pebble conglomerate lying on matting, and a lava rubbing-stone; they perhaps belong to the second floor. The SE door has been blocked with bricks up to

about the height of the burnt brickwork in the walls; this may be merely a raising of the threshold to suit a rise in floor level. Against the SW jamb of the door is a door-socket (uninscribed) whose top is flush with the existing floor, so that it too probably belongs to a higher floor level. The NW door has been definitely blocked; the lower part of the opening is filled with debris and mud brick above, and at 0.55 m. above the original floor is burnt brick, regularly laid, which goes up for nine courses. On the SE wall a line of plaster suggests a floor 0.50 m. above the original. All walls shew signs of burning.

*Room B6.* The floor is of clay over a rough brick paving. Marks on the walls seem to indicate a later mud floor 0.30–0.40 m. above the first, and in the east corner a few bricks lying flat and a rubbing-stone, making a layer 0.30 m. above the floor might have been a packing for that second level. The SE wall shews three and the other walls five courses of burnt brick above floor level, with mud brick above. On the bricks are plentiful marks of burning and there was much ash against the walls on the level of the top of the burnt brick courses. The doorway in the NW wall had been damaged, bricks being knocked out of its SW jamb, and had then been blocked with five courses of bricks (perhaps merely a raising of the threshold to agree with the higher floor level). In the west corner a few broken bricks make with the room walls a small compartment which may have been a pot-stand but was more probably a hinge-box connected with the later floor.

*Room B7.*<sup>1</sup>

*Room C1.* Practically nothing of it is left, all having been destroyed by the NW wall of the level above.

*Room C2* has a floor of clay over broken brick. The same is the case in *Room C3*.

*Room C4* has a floor of clay over broken brick. In the east corner there is a brick door-socket for the door in the NE wall.

*Room C5* has a floor of clay over broken brick. The threshold of the SE door has been raised (or the door blocked?); against its NE jamb is a brick door-socket.

*Room C6* has a clay floor. In the east corner was found a re-used stone door-socket of Amar-Suen. There may have been a door in the NE wall, but the evidence is lacking.

*Room C7* has a clay floor.

*Room C8* has a clay floor over rough brick paving. *Room C9* has the same type of floor. A rough stone door-socket was found *in situ*.

*Room C10* is an addition, there being no bond at the east and west corners. Its foundations are, however, at about the same level and the floor, of clay over broken brick, is also on the same level as in the other rooms of the range.

The NW wall of the range has gone; it must have stood on the edge of the terrace, of which remains of the outer wall were found at the NE end of the range. The face of it has been pulled away, but in the exposed core can be seen nine courses of burnt brick with mud brick above, the whole standing to 1.30 m. The core, 1.10 m. thick, consists of broken bricks (0.34 m. square  $\times$  0.08–0.09 m.), but in appearance they resemble those of Kuri-galzu. There seems to have been a batter to the face, but this cannot be properly estimated. Beyond the retaining-wall is an open space, 9.50 m. wide, after which we came on the outer walls of private houses.

### III. THE LATER KASSITE BUILDINGS (Pls. 58–60)

#### A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Throughout the whole range of buildings described above, both in the existing walls and in the cut and broken foundations on which they rest, the prevailing type of brick measures

<sup>1</sup> [No notes are given on this room in the author's typescript.]

0.33 m. square  $\times$  0.07–0.075 m. It is the normal measurement of Kuri-galzu's bricks, and if it is the same in the added and in the reconstructed walls, that must be because the latter are not so very different in date. The magazine range has passed through at least three phases, all of which come within the Kassite period. Since it can be shown that the upper buildings on the same site, i.e., those of Levels 3, 2 and 2 *bis*, also fall all within the Kassite period the lapse of time allowed for the life of the magazine range must be reduced to a very few centuries.

During the latter stages in the existence of the magazine building, one important change was made. The Temenos wall built by Kuri-galzu to retain the terrace collapsed and was never rebuilt even though the buildings above continued in use (which fact might be evidence for the buildings having stood well back from the terrace edge). The mud-brick core of the terrace front gradually weathered to a slope which hid what remained of the footings of the wall and stretched beyond them over part of the open space, the level of which also rose not a little. In the last stage of the magazines the face of this slope was smoothed and plastered with clay and whitewashed. The section (Fig. 3) shows its angle; this was marked not only by the whitewashed clay, which by dint of weathering had become pitted and irregular, but by the very heavy layer of burnt wood and ashes which overlay it. This destruction-layer could be traced along the whole front of the terrace to its north corner. There is no known historical fact with which we can connect the destruction of the range; presumably it was due to some accident. The marks of burning on the standing walls as well as the level of the burnt layer show that it was the latest in date of the buildings that was thus destroyed. By this time the magazines seem to have outlived their use, for they were not rebuilt; the area was needed for a different purpose.

#### *Level 3* (Pl. 58)

When a change did come it was complete. In Level 3, which overlies the magazines, the majority of the buildings have been swept away and no trace of them survives, but at the SW end they are relatively well preserved, at least so far as to prove that they have no connection whatsoever with their predecessors.

Already the *kisû* built by Kuri-galzu against the Ziggurat terrace wall had been pulled away by seekers after building material. What little remains of its core is buried under the now much raised ground level and the exposed face of the Larsa *kisû*, of which a few courses show, serves as foundation for a mud-brick wall which encloses the area on the SE. In front of it extends a court (which takes the place of the old lane) and facing upon this are twin shrines separated by a narrow chamber; very likely there were more shrines to the NE, as there were in a later period, but of them all evidence has disappeared.

The clay-floored court (1–2), of which the SW wall was not found, is half-closed at the NE end by two rectangles of burnt brickwork which are apparently bases or altars. There are remains of a mud-brick wall (perhaps of later date), 0.40 m. behind them, but all their faces are neatly plastered, and the spaces between them and between them and the side walls are wide enough to serve as passages. They line up with the buttress against the NE jamb of the door of the NE shrine (Room 3) and it is possible that they formed with that buttress a triple doorway.

The building throughout is extremely poor. All the walls are of mud brick, the burnt-brick foundations being of three to four courses in the outer walls and of two only in the interior walls, and where the mud brickwork survives (which is seldom, since Level 2 was directly superimposed and most of the Level 3 walls had been cut down to floor level) it is of such bad quality that the individual bricks cannot be recognised. Nearly all the floors are of clay laid over a bedding of broken brick—one of those in Room 3 bore the Kuri-galzu

stamp. In Room 4 there is a pavement of complete bricks, but these are of mixed types; in the walls the 0.33 m. square  $\times$  0.07–0.075 m. bricks predominate. In the wall-foundations of Room 3 was found a brick moulded with a design in high relief, apparently the top of the head of a human figure; it must have come from a Kassite building decorated with brick sculptures like the temple of Innin-Ištar at Warka.<sup>1</sup> The two shrines each consist of two chambers, 3–4 and 5–6 respectively, and while they are not identical, the proportions being slightly different, they are strictly of the same type, the entrance-chamber giving by an unusually wide doorway on the inner sanctuary. The NE shrine had double folding doors—there are two hinge-boxes and in one the socket-stone, uninscribed, was found *in situ*. The inner room is almost entirely taken up by a raised brick base; it stands now only one course high but must have been higher originally; it was presumably a statue base. Between it and the SW jamb of the communicating door there lay a number of mixed beads (U.17852) and the shell eye of a statue; just outside the door, in Room 3, there was a much-battered head, in terra-cotta, of a god wearing a horned head-dress and the hindquarters and tail of an animal hand-modelled in clay. Against the NE jamb of the door were the head of a terra-cotta bull (U.17854, Pl. 32a, No. 27), another head of a ram (U.17855, Pl. 32a, No. 26) and a fragment of a white limestone slab with remains of inscription (U.17853). In Room 4, on the NE side of the base, under the pavement and under the foundations of the NE wall (but on the top of the remains of the older wall of Level 4 which runs under the shrine) there were found heaped together a number of miniature models of plano-convex bricks and of shallow basins (U.17873) apparently for mixing bitumen. It was a votive deposit or a dedication deposit, and the form it takes is interesting; it shews a reverence for the primitive type of building brick which is paralleled by the Neo-Babylonian custom of enclosing the *papsukkal* figures buried below house floors in boxes of plano-convex bricks,<sup>2</sup> and it was perhaps for the same reason that on this same site in Level 2 *bis* the floor of a later courtyard was paved with plano-convex bricks and with the bricks of Šulgi (Pl. 24b). These objects are sufficient evidence to establish the religious character of the building, even if its plan were not already proof enough.

The SW shrine (Rooms 5–7) is very similar to but rather wider than the first. The reason for this is given by the inner chamber where there are two statue bases set side by side instead of the single base in Room 4. Like the walls of the room, the bases are much ruined, and no objects were found here. From the outer chamber a door in the NE wall leads to Room 6, a long and narrow chamber which may have been a store-room, but there was nothing to indicate its use.

Certain changes implied for the little shrines a reasonably long life. Across the outer court a mud-brick wall was built, dividing it into two rooms, 1 and 2, which communicate by a door towards the SE end. In Room 6 there was built an L-shaped wall of mud brick on shallow burnt-brick foundations which blocks the doorway from Room 5 in an incomprehensible fashion, there being now no access to either part of the room. The changes seem to have been made very shortly before the shrines fell into disuse.

#### *Level 2* (Pl. 59)

The small and simple shrines of Level 3 were in time destroyed and on the terrace, now raised higher by their debris, a new range of buildings was constructed which was like its predecessor in that it consisted of a row of shrines but differed from it in every other respect. The shrines of Level 3 were orientated NW  $\times$  SE; their doors were at the SE end and they opened on a long court (or series of courts) lying immediately below the retaining-wall of the Ziggurat

<sup>1</sup> *U.V.B.*, I (1930), Pls. 15–17. For loose bricks from a similar decoration at Ur see p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 93–4.

platform. In Level 2 the shrines are orientated NE  $\times$  SW, they face each on its own separate courtyard lying to the NE, and they are entered from the NW side. By this time the level of the residential quarter to the NW had risen so as to obliterate even the moderate slope which distinguished it from the Temenos terrace in the last days of the magazine range, and the Temenos was separated from the town by a wall, but not by any difference in height; consequently it was now possible, as it had not been before, for the access to the terrace buildings to be from the NW.

Along the greater part of the area there are indeed traces sufficient to shew that the buildings were continuous, but the disconnected tatters of walling can yield no ground plan, and it is only by the analogy of the reconstruction-period Level 2 *bis* that we can assert that the one surviving shrine was reduplicated along the terrace. At the extreme SW end one does survive, however, in reasonably good condition; its SW wall has for the most part disappeared, its NE part is ruined down to pavement level, but in the centre the walls are standing to a fair height and the character of the building at least is certain.

The building is a self-contained unit. Surrounded by a wall, its interior is to all intents and purposes a square measuring 20 m. either way, that space being divided into ten rooms or courts. Almost every vestige of the NW wall has gone, but the position of the main (and only) entrance is certain. In Room 1 the brick pavement, instead of being laid parallel to the walls, has its bricks set at an angle; it is quite clear that the paving started with a causeway which from the SE door ran diagonally across the room, and only after that was finished were the north and south corners of the room paved, the bricks following the lines already laid down and being fitted awkwardly enough against the wall faces. The only possible reason for this is that the causeway led from one door to another, and in this way the position and width of the missing door can be fixed. The pavement breaks away altogether before the wall line is reached, but a few remains in Room 3 shew where it must have come, and the restoration is inevitable.

From Room 1, the entrance-chamber, one passes into a large paved courtyard (2). The NE wall was built with a succession of set-backs intended to reconcile the need of keeping it parallel to the façade of the shrine with that of following the outline of the ground-plot. The pavement was found by us curiously waved (see the photographs, Pls. 22, 23) owing to the existence below it of the ruins of Level 3—it had sunk into the chambers and was held up by the wall-stumps to such an extent that it was almost possible to plan the building underneath without excavating it. The front of the building which faced on the court was of burnt brick and was duly decorated with vertical T-shaped grooves. A wide door in the centre was flanked by two smaller doors and against the jambs of the central and the SE door were brick bases (Pl. 23*b*). In front of the central door, towards the far side of the court, was an altar formed of two parallel lines of bricks, and nearly in front of the SE door was another rectangular altar. In the east corner of the court there was against the SE wall a double niche containing a raised base, and in front of this another but much smaller altar (Pl. 23*a*). The central door led into a fair-sized room (5) of which the pavement, if there had been such, had disappeared, and in the back wall of it a very wide doorway gave on what must have been the sanctuary. In the NW wall of the antechamber a door led into a side room, 4, which was entered from the court also, by the NW door. From the sanctuary (8) doors on either side led to the flanking chambers 7 and 9. Room 6, which was paved and had a long bench against its back wall and a square base in its west corner, was entered from the courtyard only. In the south corner of the court an awkwardly contrived doorway led into a long and narrow passage of which the first 4 m. were paved and after that neither pavement nor walls survived; judging from its shape it was probably a staircase, for it was a passage, not a room, and it

led to nothing on the ground floor. Corresponding to it on the NW was a long chamber (3) of which very little remained; it had a bench along its SE wall.

*Level 2 bis* (Pl. 60)

The shrines of which a single example was preserved in Level 2 fell into ruin and were rebuilt, the new work incorporating much of the old but modifying some of its details and starting, as usual, at a higher level. By this time the accumulation of debris on the Temenos terrace had risen to such an extent that the old distinction between it and the Ziggurat platform to the SE had been obliterated. The pavements of the courtyards of the new shrines actually ran on over the top of the buttressed retaining-wall of Kudur-Mabuk (*v*, Pl. 25*a*) and a mud-brick wall set back from that separated the Temenos, E-kiš-nu-gal, from the inner enclosure E-temen-ni-guru.

*Shrine A.* The SW shrine was to all intents and purposes a reconstruction of that in Level 2, but with certain modifications in the ground plan. The long narrow passage or staircase on the SE side was suppressed and its old door was found bricked up to a regular angle and a neat mud plaster hid all signs of an opening having been there. On the NW a new enclosing wall was built inside the old, which does away with Rooms 1 and 3 of the Level 2 shrine. In the courtyard a new brick pavement was laid down 0.50–0.70 m. above the old; not much of it is left, but a patch in the north corner and a larger patch from the door-jamb of Room 2 to just beyond the door of Room 3 proved its existence. Similarly a few bricks in the south corner of Room 3 shewed that this too had been paved. Another difference was that the front wall of the shrine was now plain, the wall face not having those T-shaped grooves which had decorated the original façade. The NW wall of the old Rooms 4 and 7 having now been made the outer NW wall of the building, its outer face seems to have been carried in a straight line to the courtyard entrance, so that the door of the court now passed through a wall which by the help of a small internal offset attained the thickness of 2.25 m. If its height was at all in proportion the building possessed a monumental gateway of an imposing character. It would appear that from the courtyard there was access to Shrine B; a doorway is suggested on the plan leading to Room B4 and set in a line with the NE door of that room. It must be stated, however, that the doorway is conjectural; there was here a breach in the wall the position of which certainly suggested a door, as did the thickening of the wall to the SE (which may have been to equalise the jambs, but was actually a feature of the old wall of Level 2) but no trace of a jamb survived, and although three bricks lying in a row on the line of the NE face of the wall looked like the remains of a threshold, they may have been merely part of the wall itself.

*Shrine B* (Pl. 25*a*). The site was a little shallower from NW to SE owing to the fact of the NW wall not being parallel with the side of the Ziggurat terrace, so that the SE boundary-line had to be set forward. An entry from the NW led into a paved courtyard occupying the NE half of the site while on the SW, facing on the court, was a shrine consisting of two rooms (2 and 3) and next to it a single large room, 4, the possible doorway from which to the courtyard of Shrine A has already been mentioned. The only part of the building that was at all well preserved was the courtyard (1) and of it only the brick pavement remained, most of the walls being destroyed down to floor level. The pavement bricks were re-used, some of Šulgi being identifiable. The shrine itself was of the normal type, distinguished by the heaviness of its façade wall and by the width of the doorway between the antechamber and the sanctuary, but it was the simplest and smallest of the shrines in this range. Very little of the pavement remained in the two chambers, and much of the SE wall had gone; below pavement level in Room 3 were found some gold leaf (U.17896) and some beads (U.17898).

In Room 4 all the SE and all but one little bit of the NE walls had perished; against the surviving fragment of the NE wall were four bricks to witness to an original pavement. Below this level were found a white limestone mace-head (U.17892); a copper nail with gold-plated head (U.17896); a copper weight (U.17897), and a small bone stopper (?), these coming in a layer of rubbish 0.30 m. thick which went down from pavement level to a smooth clay floor below which was a 0.10 m. layer of burnt ashes and then a second clay floor. In the filling of the room was found the curious granite stela of Ur-Nanše published in *U.E.*, IV, Pl. 39*d*, U.17829.

*Shrine C* (Pl. 25*b*). The SE wall of the building is a continuation of that of Shrine B but the NW wall, which was completely destroyed by the succeeding building, lay further out, forming a salient from the general wall line. The entrance lay towards the NE end of this wall and led through a small presumably open court into the main court which, as usual, was at the NE end of the site with the shrine facing on to it at the SW.

Of Room 1, the entrance-lobby, only part of the pavement was left and the SE wall, which alone survived, was ruined down to floor level; as in the case of the other shrines the door through this wall was very wide (1.95 m.). The courtyard (2), was also much ruined. Of the NE wall there remained only part of the mud core and one or two facing-bricks—it was traced for the most part by the pavement edge. The SE wall which had also had a burnt-brick face and mud-brick core was little better preserved. On the SW the wall was preserved from the south corner to the SE jamb of the shrine door and beyond that could be defined only by the pavement. Close to the south corner there was a simple square buttress. The shrine door was flanked by solid jambs forming a gate-tower, the front of which was decorated with vertical T-shaped grooves constructed in the burnt brick. The pavement shewed a great mixture of bricks. Along the edge, as a footing to the walls, and across the recess of the gate-tower were bricks 0.33–0.35 m. square  $\times$  0.16 m., and a fair number of similar type occurred in the rest of the pavement; five of them bore the stamp of Šulgi. Towards the SE end was a patch of slightly larger bricks (0.35–0.37 m.  $\times$  0.16–0.20 m.), one of which had the Šulgi stamp and the majority the double finger-print which is characteristic of Šulgi's (earlier?) bricks (Pl. 24*b*). In the recess between the square buttress of the SW wall and the gate-tower, and at intervals elsewhere, were bricks 0.30 m. square or 0.30 m.  $\times$  0.15 m., two of which had the stamp of Ur-Nammu. Towards the east corner were plano-convex bricks 0.24–0.25 m.  $\times$  0.15–0.16 m. The facing-bricks in the SW wall were also mixed, some being 0.30 m.  $\times$  0.27 m., others 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., while many were broken fragments. Immediately below the pavement, at the SE end, there were found one brick of Kuri-galzu and one with the stamp of Šilli-Adad.<sup>1</sup> This use of ancient bricks in a late building may of course have been due merely to the economical employment of material found in the course of excavations, but in view of the Neo-Babylonian practice of using plano-convex bricks for *papsukkal* boxes and of the finding of model plano-convex bricks placed below walls as a foundation-deposit (see above, p. 64) it may reasonably be held that this pavement, formed exclusively of very ancient materials, was deliberately intended to suggest the historical continuity of the site as well as to give it a greater sanctity.

Directly in front of the shrine door were the remains of a brick altar. A double row of bricks set upon the pavement and two more bricks behind one end of the row were all that survived; but at what may have been the north corner of the rectangle there was in the pavement a brick through which a hole had been cut as if to take a wooden upright. All the pavement was in waves due to the presence of ruins underneath.

Room 3. Except for a narrow strip along the NW, SW and SE walls all the brick

<sup>1</sup> *U.E.T.*, I, No. 121.

pavement had gone. These remaining bricks survived because they rested on the broad projecting footings of the foundation, which was wider than the wall superstructure. On the NE the wall, thicker than the others, rose flush with the foundation-line, and no pavement remained. The threshold from the court had two courses of burnt brick; against the SE jamb was a hinge-box, empty, but the width of the doorway means that there must have been a second against the NW jamb which has disappeared together with the pavement.

Room 4. The remains of the pavement lay about 0.30 m. above that of the court, so there must have been a stepped threshold to the sanctuary, which has disappeared. Against the SW wall, facing the entrance, there was an attached base of mud brick and possible remains of a bench between it and the south corner.

Room 5. The pavement was well preserved over much of the room, but the whole of the NW wall and the paving along it had gone, and the south corner also. In the room were found some beads, two plain limestone mace-heads (U.17893), and a shell cylinder seal (U.17895). The doorway to Room 6 is largely conjectural, only the one jamb being left. Of the walls only the SW and a patch of the SE remained, and one brick of the pavement.

Room 7. The doorway from Room 3 is a restoration, the wall being razed to floor level and the threshold gone. A good deal of the pavement remained, but part had been destroyed by a late (Persian?) circular grain silo; it lay at the same high level as that of Rooms 4 and 8. Of Room 8 the walls were much destroyed, so much so that it was impossible to say whether or no there had been communication with the court of Shrine B, but this is perhaps improbable. Of the door to Room 7 the NW jamb is narrower than the dividing wall, and since the west corner of the latter was destroyed a reveal here has been conjecturally restored. The pavement remained in the north corner of the room and lay 0.30 m. above that of the court of Shrine B and rather less above the court of Shrine C.

*Shrine D.* The range originally continued towards the NE, but the remains of the building were too scanty to give any intelligible plan.

#### *Later Levels*

The levels of the later buildings on the site were so confused (see Pl. 19a) that it was impossible to say whether in the succeeding stage (Pl. 61) the shrines were altogether suppressed or parts of them incorporated. If the latter was the case they were certainly changed very considerably. Immediately outside the NW wall of the shrine range, at a level about 0.50 m. above pavement level, but in places descending virtually to the pavement, is a heavy wall of mud brick, its internal face irregularly buttressed, from which a return at the SW end cuts right across Shrine A (at floor level) and obliterates its Rooms 5, 6 and 7. The mud bricks of it measure 0.33 m. square, with half-bricks 0.33 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.  $\times$  0.12–0.15 m. thick, the same measurements as are found in the burnt bricks in a patch of the paving of the Court C2, but the same also as are found in a late high pavement of Room A4. Between the latest stage of the original shrine buildings and this new work there is therefore a definite link in the nature of the material employed. The wall is quite distinct from that of Nebuchadnezzar, which on the SW side was constructed directly above it (flush with the face of its buttresses and overhanging its recesses by 0.20 m.), for the Nebuchadnezzar mud bricks measure 0.33–0.35 m. square  $\times$  0.11 m. and are of a reddish tint contrasting to the grey of the lower work. This wall was later modified again, partly by the addition of a very thick mud plaster which hides its internal buttresses (Pl. 19a) and partly (in Room 2 of Shrine A) by the addition of a mud-brick *kisû*. In this second stage the mud bricks measure 0.29 m. square  $\times$  0.12–0.14 m. and a pavement connected with it in Rooms 3 and 4 of Shrine A gives burnt bricks 0.29 m. square. These later measurements would agree fairly well with those of Sin-balašsu-iqbi, and the level

of the work, immediately below that of Nebuchadnezzar, would agree also. Although the state of the ruins is such that the ground-plan and precise nature of his work must remain doubtful, the possible attribution is important, for it helps us to give approximate dates to the buildings.

### *Dating*

In our excavations at Ur the general rule has been that whereas the signed work of Kuri-galzu makes its appearance on most of the principal religious sites there is nothing to fill the gap between the fourteenth century B.C. and the revival under Ashurbanipal in the seventh century B.C. Apart from a doubtful reference by Nabonidus to Nebuchadnezzar I and a few pavement bricks of Adad-apal-iddina (1080-58 B.C.) there might have been a complete cessation of building activity at Ur so far as its public monuments are concerned. The NW terrace of the Ziggurat proves that the lack of inscriptions must not be interpreted so literally.

In the fourteenth century Kuri-galzu builds his long range of magazines, and these are twice restored, or rather, rebuilt, in succeeding periods.

An unknown authority changes the entire scheme of the work, demolishes the magazine range and builds in their place a series of shrines which we find in Level 3. These exist long enough for certain minor changes to be made in them.

The scheme is again completely changed by another nameless builder who preserves the religious character of the site but erects a new row of shrines differently planned and differently orientated; Level 2.

The shrines are re-built at a higher level, with modifications, but apparently on the same plan; Level 2 *bis*.

A new building, probably incorporating part of the old shrines but obliterating some important features of them, is erected at a period which judging by the dimensions of the mud bricks employed should come close to the Neo-Babylonian.

The walls so built are incorporated in the re-building scheme of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. It is impossible to say to what extent he followed the tradition of the shrine buildings.

Nebuchadnezzar finally does away with the shrines and runs his line of defence, the great Temenos wall, right across the ruins of the old buildings.

Here we have a full and definite sequence in the history of the upkeep of a religious site. New work is undertaken at various intervals of time and the nameless builders have sufficient originality to put up works for which the middle Kassite period had set no precedent. Possibly the interpretation which we should set upon the facts is this, that whereas the kings of Babylon were little interested in the maintenance of the temples of Ur, now a provincial city, the local governors, or the private citizens and the temple priests, were ready to come forward and to finance not only the restoration of the old buildings but also the construction of new public monuments. Such were likely to be small in scale and would necessarily perhaps bear no royal name, but at least the religious life of the city went on and its temples were kept in repair by local piety.

It is unfortunate that the absence of inscriptions makes it impossible to identify the deities to whom the shrines on the NW terrace were dedicated. One would imagine that they would be minor gods connected with Nanna, members of his particular retinue for whom a place had to be found in the vicinity of the Ziggurat. We know that the building on the NW side of the Ziggurat platform was, in the time of Nur-Adad and again in that of Marduk-nadin-ahhe,<sup>1</sup> a kitchen in which was prepared the food for "all the gods" associated with

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, V, p. 38; also *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 112, 124. The copper cylinders of Nur-Adad, found *in situ*, have a duplicate text to that of the foundation-cones; the text of his cylinders is reproduced by that of Marduk-nadin-ahhe found with them. (U.17626 A-B, U.17627 A-B.)

Nanna and his Ziggurat temple. Again, from Sin-balatsu-iqbi's temple on the SE side of the Ziggurat platform, we have dedications to nine minor deities<sup>1</sup> who also had their place there, presumably as members of the retinue of Nin-gal.<sup>2</sup> The row of shrines<sup>3</sup> lying along the lower terrace would seem peculiarly appropriate to such lesser members of the divine court as we find named by Sin-balatsu-iqbi, and they illustrate at least one aspect of the ritual observances of the traditional religion.

#### B. DETAILED NOTES

##### *Level 3* (Pl. 58)

*Rooms 1-2* have clay floors, mostly destroyed. In Room 2, against the (late) mud-brick wall dividing it from Room 1, a patch remains, 0.35 m. below the floor of Level 2, which agrees with the footings of the façade wall and of the square pillars at the NE end of the court and would run just over the top of the remaining core of the Kuri-galzu *kisû* to the SE. The mud-brick wall across the court has its foundations at this level; only one course of its bricks remain for the greater part of the wall's length. The two pillars at the NE end have three courses of burnt brick with mud brick above, smoothly plastered all round. At 0.40 m. to the NE of them are remains of a mud-brick wall (no face left) built at much the same level, its date is perhaps but not certainly the same. The two buttresses of the NW wall flanking the door of Room 3 are not bonded into the wall but independent. They have burnt-brick foundations with mud brick above and seem to have been really buttresses and not bases. In the middle of the wall of Room 6 there is a break in bond and another at the south corner of that room. Between them comes the end of the L-shaped late wall; but there does not seem to have been an original doorway here (the wall-face on the SW is not true) and it is rather a breach which the wall-end has filled. The meaning of the real break in bond on the NE is not clear. In Room 1 was found a fragment of a hand-modelled terra-cotta head of an animal—part of the upper jaw only (*v.* Pl. 37, U.20201), and a fragment of an inscribed building-cone.

*Room 3.* The pavement is very rough. The walls (two courses of burnt brick, mud brick above) are much ruined, and in the NE wall many bricks are displaced. Of the NW wall only the inner face survives. Two hinge-boxes and one un-inscribed diorite door-socket were found.

*Room 4* has a fairly good pavement; bricks measure 0.40 m. square, 0.32 m. square, 0.30 m. square and 0.26 m. square. Of the raised base only the two front angles are left, one course high, with a filling of broken bricks behind.

*Room 5* has a raised brick threshold, and a floor of clay over broken brick. Most of the walls are destroyed, the SW wall (two courses of burnt brick on the inner face, three on the outer) having been used as a foundation for the wall of Level 2.

*Room 7.* The NE jamb of the door from Room 5 has been cut away to let into the ground the large pot belonging to Level 2 (*q.v.*); only one projecting brick remains. The two pedestals have one base course on which, set back so as to leave a footing, are two courses of burnt brick enclosing a filling of mud brick or earth. If there was mud brick above, it has disappeared.

##### *Level 2* (Pl. 59)

The wall-construction is throughout very poor.

*Room 1.* The NE wall is destroyed to below pavement level at the SE end and towards

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, V, p. 33, and *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 173-82. (U.3148, 3250, 3296-3301, 3326.)

<sup>2</sup> [See *U.E.T.*, I, p. 56.]

<sup>3</sup> Which might be compared with those that flanked the approach to the First Dynasty Ziggurat; *v.* *U.E.*, V, pp. 17-19.

the north corner has disappeared completely together with the whole of the NW wall. The pavement of good bricks was laid diagonally (see the plan) from the SE door to a (vanished) door in the NW wall whose position is fixed thereby. The patching against the walls is awkwardly done, and it is clear that the five-brick wide track from door to door was laid first. There is no drain below the floor (which might have accounted for the angle of the pavement bricks; cf. E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag, Room 2, p. 7 above), and the only explanation is that it was desired to lay the bricks at right angles to the direction taken by the users of the pavement. Against the SW wall is a bench 0.30 m. high of two courses of burnt brick with mud plaster above, and from it extends a narrower bench along the SE wall for 1.30 m. In the angle of the two benches was a ring-stand of light drab clay, Type 98, height 0.15 m. Of the doorway to Room 3 the face of the NW jamb is destroyed and only two rows of bricks of the threshold remain, but a hinge-box against the NW edge of the pavement inside the doorway (in Room 3) shews that the door was no wider than this. In the filling of the room was found a limestone statue-head with inlaid eyes (U.17865, Pl. 28) as well as a fragment from the head of an animal hand-modelled in terra-cotta. Immediately below the pavement was a pot of drab clay, Type, 49, height 0.35 m., set upright with a clay disk stopper over its mouth; except for a little black sediment of vegetable matter it was empty.

*Room 3.* Nearly all of it is destroyed. A patch of paving just inside the door and two bricks a little further to the SW give the line of the NW wall, otherwise represented only by a little shapeless mud-brick core. Just inside the SE jamb is a line of burnt bricks set on edge, against which come the broken bricks of the pavement; behind them is mud brick of which part at least is the SE wall, but the front part was probably a bench along that wall's foot.

*The Court (Room 2).* The pavement is well preserved but has been rendered uneven by sinkages. It was made with mixed bricks and half a dozen of the larger type bore the stamp of Šulgi; all were probably re-used bricks taken from older buildings. The NE wall is ruined nearly down to pavement level except at the east corner; in that corner, against the SE wall, is a brick base 0.35 m. high. The top of it is divided into two parts by a thin mud partition 0.50 m. high faced with bitumen, and against the NE wall is a corresponding buttress of clay and bitumen; in front of it is a base formed of a single large brick set on the pavement. To the SW of this is a high rectangular base of mud brick and a gap in the brick pavement seems to witness to a second: against the NE wall, a brick and a half make yet another small base. The threshold of Room 5 and the pavement in front of it were thickly coated with bitumen (there were marks on this as if heavy objects had stood on it, but their shape could not be determined). One of the exposed bricks in the threshold had an abacus scratched on it.<sup>1</sup> In front of the door the large altar consists of two short lengths of walling, parallel to each other and 0.40 m. apart, of which one course only is preserved, laid on the pavement bricks. The SW wall is of mud brick on burnt-brick foundations; the vertical grooves above are contrived in the very thick wall-plaster 0.30 m. thick, and are coated with bitumen. The brick bases flanking the door of Room 6 (five courses high) are built against the face of the mud brick and the plaster is brought down to rest upon them. The bases (now three courses high) flanking the door of Room 5 are built against the face of the plaster, which had already been applied to the wall; both sets, however, seem to be contemporary with the brick pavement and the difference in their relation to the wall may be merely an accident of construction.<sup>2</sup> Below and in front of the niches is a low bench of burnt brick.

*Room 4* is brick-paved. Just inside the doorway from the court, 0.25 m. below the

<sup>1</sup> Of the normal rectangular form with 10 × 6 squares.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the bases was a re-used brick with the stamp of Išme-Dagan (*S.A.K.I.*, p. 206, 5, lacking line 8); it has no significance.

pavement, was a large jar of light drab clay, Type 71, height 0.80 m., set upright in the soil; it was empty.

*Room 5* has had its original doorway narrowed by a block of mud brickwork, 0.55 m. thick, added to the face of the NW jamb. This addition runs over the brick threshold, it disregards the symmetry of the thick plaster on the inner face of the wall, itself an addition, and it does not accord with the central position of the altar in the court. On all accounts therefore it must be very late, but it does belong to the period when the shrine was in use. The floor as found is of clay, but possibly an original brick pavement has been removed. On the face of the NE wall is a thick mud plaster (0.15 m. thick) which stops above the present floor level and implies the existence of a higher floor of which we found no other trace. The change was not great, but it does denote a stage of repairs.

*Room 6* has a paved floor, wherein was one stamped brick of Šulgi. In the west corner is a rectangular base of mud brick, solid, of which the original height is unknown. The NE wall had been covered with a thick coat of plaster and the SW wall has a similar coat 0.40 m. thick, which comes down to pavement level. This brings the thickness of the SW wall up to what it is in Rooms 5 and 4 and the plastering may possibly date not from the time when the shrine was in use but from that when its ruin was used as a foundation for walls at a higher level—one such wall ran on this line right across the shrine. The plaster on the NE wall does belong to the later stages of the existing building, for on the pavement, in the north corner, there is built against it a fireplace of mixed burnt and mud bricks, and the faces of the two walls above are blackened with smoke.

*Room 7* presents no special features. *Room 8* is mud-floored only. *Room 9* is really non-existent, for all the walls have disappeared and as there is no pavement it has to be assumed in order to complete the plan.

*Room 10* has its doorway curiously placed in the corner of the court; a reveal in the east jamb helps to ease its narrowness. There is a brick pavement which runs for 7.50 m., but after that all pavement and walls disappear. The dimensions of the room suggest a staircase, and a rise of the stairs would explain the pavement's stopping short abruptly in a straight line. The walls shew marks of heavy burning, which would agree with the theory of wooden stairs.

#### *Level 2 bis (Pl. 60)*

*Shrine A.* See p. 66 above.

*Shrine B.* In Room 2 the threshold of the courtyard door is covered with bitumen. The front wall on the courtyard side shews only one course of burnt brick but in the door-passage three courses remain and in the angle between the façade and the SW door-jamb of the court there are four courses covered with bitumen. The front wall of the shrine seems therefore to have been carried up in burnt brick. In Rooms 2 and 3 what pavement remains is generally along the wall footings and owes its preservation to the fact that the wall foundations are 0.40 m. thicker than the walls and give a ledge 0.20 m. wide along the foot of the wall proper. On this ledge burnt-brick stretchers were laid to form the edging of the room pavement and since these are well supported, and may too have been partly hidden by wall plaster, they sometimes were left when the rest of the pavement was pulled up. In Room 3 a large clay jar had been let into the floor, its rim flush with the pavement. See also pp. 66–67 above.

*Shrine C.* See pp. 67–68 above.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE NORTH-EAST FORT

(Pl. 62)

In *U.E.* VII it has been said that the great wall of the city built by Ur-Nammu and overthrown by the Elamites was, in the Larsa period, replaced by the continuous walls of private houses ranged along the top of the old mud-brick rampart. The same is true of the Kassite period. Owing to the exposed position of such houses the remains of them are very scanty—for the most part they have been weathered away altogether—only at one point, towards the NE corner of the town, was anything much left. The houses here, shewn on Pl. 62, were not, properly speaking, Kassite; all were of Larsa foundation, but they had been patched, restored and rebuilt times without number, and generally more or less according to the original plan. Some of the graves within their walls were definitely of Kassite date, but it would be a mistake to assume that the houses illustrate in any way Kassite domestic architecture. No description of the ruins is therefore called for here. But the mere fact that the old layout was so carefully followed is important in that it proves that the old system of town defence was still in use; the outer walls of these houses did constitute the city wall. If further evidence of this were needed it is afforded by the building immediately to the SE, a building for which we did not find any precedent of Larsa or Third Dynasty date and which would be meaningless except as part of a defence system. It necessarily implies a town wall, and the only possible wall is that composed of the frontages of the houses.

The straight line of the old mud-brick rampart is interrupted here by a rectangular salient projecting into the bed of the canal which ran along at the rampart's foot. On the salient is an extremely massive structure in burnt brick. The outer walls had a thickness of 6.50 m.; the building measured 45 m.  $\times$  33 m. but contained only two rooms, one very large, the other only 4.25 m. wide. It was obvious that it could not be a temple (and the plain walls were against this too). The solidity of the walls suggested that they had risen to a considerable height and the presence of a door-socket in the south corner, where in the SE wall (here thickened by a buttress) there is a hollow compartment 4 m.  $\times$  2 m. in the thickness of the masonry, might be regarded as implying a staircase to an upper floor. We found no inscriptions of any sort, nor any object that could throw light on the date and character of the building. As regards the date, however, there could be no real doubt; the bricks, though unstamped, were of the measurements normal to Kuri-galzu's work and really peculiar to him, and the style of building, with walls formed of two skins of well-laid bricks enclosing a core of mixed rubble, was also characteristically Kassite. A strong and presumably lofty building projecting from the line of the city's ramparts, definitely not religious in character, could only be military, and we had no hesitation in calling it a Kassite fort. Inland from it, and masked to some extent by the burnt-brick-faced wall with recurrent angles shewn on the plan, there was a mass of solid mud-brick foundations occupying the entire width of the rampart. They were only sub-soil foundations, and fragmentary at that. We had much difficulty in following them and such lines as we could determine made no real sense for the most part, but at the NW end, alined differently from the rest, there was what seemed to be a passage leading to the front of the rampart. There was a doorway on the town side, then a double doorway built with Kuri-galzu bricks, and although after that all traces of walling

were lost yet one can justifiably assume another gateway giving on the canal. I would suggest that we have here a water-gate and that the mud-brick foundations to the SE are those of a military building wherein would be housed the military guard which would man both the gateway and the adjoining fort. If that be so the fort is a sound piece of military planning in that it secures a flanking fire against an enemy attacking the town gate.

To the SE of the fort the line of houses along the rampart begins again. The contrast between them and the massive buildings described above is most striking and is best explained by the theory of a water-gate although the actual evidence is far from conclusive. Such as it is, it is supported by the analogy of Aššur, but again, the difference of date must weaken the argument.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE KASSITE PRIVATE HOUSES

#### I. THE YC AND XNCF SITES (Pl. 56)

Remains of Kassite houses were found occupying the recessed angle at the NE end of the NW wall of the Kassite Temenos. One set, XNCF, overlay in part Kuri-galzu's wall-line and must therefore be later in date than his reign, but since there ran over the ruins a heavy mud-brick wall which, although isolated, could reasonably be attributed to Sin-balatsu-iqbi, they must fall within the Kassite period. The buildings were fragmentary and in themselves of little interest; they are of importance less for their character than for their position, which does throw light upon the vicissitudes of the Temenos. But they do tend to shew that even in the late Kassite period domestic architecture followed the Larsa tradition and that the spacious Neo-Babylonian house-plan had not yet been introduced at Ur.

The other set, YC, lie to the NE of the XNCF site, extending NW from the NW Temenos wall.

##### A. THE YC SITE (Pl. 56)

The building was not of any particular importance. Its main interest consists in the fact that whereas it was distinctly older than the Neo-Babylonian and Persian graves dug down into it from a house-level which has been denuded away, and whereas part of it is buried beneath Nebuchadnezzar's Temenos wall, yet its south corner overlies the Temenos wall restored by Kuri-galzu, which proves that already in the later Kassite period that wall had been destroyed to its present level and the Temenos was being encroached on by private builders. It lies on irregular ground; at the time of its construction the ruins of the Temenos wall actually formed a hollow from which the ground rose to the north over the remains of ancient houses and heaps of debris. Thus whereas against the SE wall of the main block of the house the start of its southern wing has only four courses of burnt-brick foundation, its wall is stepped down the slope to such an extent that what was the lowest course of bricks becomes the thirteenth from the bottom. Just short of the corner made with the main front there is a horizontal terra-cotta drain running at floor level through the wall of the wing, and from its mouth a bed of sewage slopes away to the SW. Clearly therefore there was here a street or open space into which the house latrine drained after the fashion of modern Arab towns; a second drain came through the main wall close to the front door.

The building was a patchwork which had been altered and added to more than once. The whole of the NW part (Rooms 10, 11 and 12) was an addition. The foundations have only four courses of burnt brick as against nine in the older part SE of the front door, and the jamb of the inner door of Room 1 is not bonded into the wall but plastered against it, and has only four courses of burnt brick, so that obviously it was added to match the jamb on the new NW wall.

YC 1. Room 1 was the entrance-lobby. Against its south jamb was a brick box for a hinge-stone or perhaps for the beam of the door frame. It led into a courtyard (2) of which only part remains; it was probably paved, but only two bricks remain in position against the SW wall. At a later period a large part of the court's area was taken up by a furnace of which

the substructure is left, built of fireclay with holes through its flat top. What we have is clearly the stoke-hole, lying very little above the level of the court, with ashes and burnt bricks piled around higher than it. From the court a door in the SW wall leads to Room 3 which has a clay floor, the burnt-brick courses of the walls shewing two to four courses above it and carrying up in mud brick to a present height of 0.90 m. The walls are heavily mud-plastered with several coats of plaster, bespeaking constant repairs. The drain already mentioned is above floor level and seems to belong to a later phase of the building. Room 4 has a mud floor 1 m. above the level of the ground outside to the SW but flush with that of Room 3. The SE wall of the Court (2) was an older wall re-used, its foundations being 0.80 m. deeper than those of the SW wall, with which it is not bonded. The position of the door to Room 5 is doubtful but seems to be given by a few bricks in the much-ruined wall face. A door at the SE end of Room 5 leads into Room 6 which is unusually long, mud-floored, with a small cupboard-like compartment at the end further from the door. It looks like one of the chapels of the Larsa houses, but there are no furnishings to support such a view nor are there tombs beneath it. The NE wall of Rooms 5 and 6, which is badly built and shews marks of heavy burning, has no branch walls on the NE and seems to have been the limit of the building in this direction, but the courtyard (2) did continue further to the NE, though since the whole NE part of the house has been razed there is no evidence for its extent. The door on the NW side of the court communicating with Room 9 is missing as is the NE wall of the room. The room was originally paved with burnt brick above which two and a half courses of burnt brick shew in the walls with mud brick above rising to a total height of 1.10 m. The little Room 8 presents no features of interest. In Room 7 was found a clay incense burner, U.18273.

YC 2. Built up against the NW wall of YC 1 was a long narrow building which seems to have had no communication with it. Only two rooms (10 and 11) and part of a third (12) are preserved. The walls consist of five courses of burnt brick laid over mud-brick foundations and carried up in mud brick. The floors are of mud. Probably the little SW room (11) was a shop and the long chambers behind it with the wide doorway between them were magazines, resembling the shops of the Larsa period in the EM and AH house groups.<sup>1</sup>

All the NE end of the buildings has been deliberately cut away and across the line of them there has been erected a solid rampart of mud and mud brick resting on the rubble. It rises sharply with a rough battered face to a height of 2 m. and extends to the NE for 16 m., to a frontage which we had previously identified as that of the rampart of the city.<sup>2</sup> It is evidently a very late reconstruction of the defences of Ur. It replaced houses which must belong to the close of the Kassite period and was itself covered with late houses. Of them very few traces are left, but the rampart is riddled with Persian burials lying from 1.60 m. to 2 m. above the level of the courtyard of YC 1, and in the middle of the rampart area there was a broken terra-cotta ring drain whose existing top stood 3 m. above that floor, so that the mound must have been higher yet. The rampart is roughly and evidently hastily made, and considering the limits of time within which it must fall it is scarcely rash to connect it with the fall of Nabonidus and to assume that a hasty attempt was made to put Ur into a state of defence against the threat of Persian attack—an attack which was obviated by the surrender of the whole country to Cyrus.

#### B. THE XNCF SITE (Pl. 56)

To the SW of YC 1 extended a long range of contemporary buildings which was discovered by us, when we were following the course of the early Temenos wall, and partly excavated. The NW part of the range was not cleared and the plans are therefore incomplete. What

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, VII.

<sup>2</sup> See *U.E.*, VI.

there is gives us the SE part of a building which may or may not have been continued to the NW. It was a patchwork of walls, not all of one date, and the original building had been added to and subsequently rebuilt at a somewhat higher level but on virtually the same lines. Both its south and its east angles overlay the ruined Temenos wall, and the site was later occupied by houses of the Neo-Babylonian period, so that it is strictly contemporary with YC 1. The approximate date is confirmed by a collection of tablets, U.18296, found in Room 9,<sup>1</sup> against the wall foundations and therefore belonging to the earlier phase of occupation.

The entrance was on the SW, a door leading into a small chamber (1) which is the lobby. This lay in the west corner of the original building but later the SW wall was continued by a new stretch simply abutting on the angle; this part to the NW was not excavated. Room 2 had a mud floor and walls consisting of four to five courses of burnt brick with mud brick above. Room 3 had a pavement of mixed bricks level with the top of the burnt brickwork of the walls; it may therefore have been an open court. The house seems originally to have ended here, but a new wall has been built against the NE end of Room 9 (with only three courses of burnt bricks in the foundation) and four chambers added to the house. The ground plan shews how this was done. In Room 4 the SE and SW walls, the old outer walls, have a projecting footing of three courses and the wall-face proper, with five to six courses of burnt brick, is set back; only the lowest 0.50 m. of all the walls belongs to the original period, the upper part being mud brick of the time of reconstruction. Room 5 was brick-paved. Room 6 was originally two rooms divided by a wall running NE × SW, which was later pulled down to throw the two into one; it was mud-floored. The mud bricks of the walls measure 0.29 m. in length.

Room 7 was mud-floored. Beneath the floor was a corbel-vaulted brick tomb, plundered, above which was a layer of wood ash containing masses of fish bones. The walls were extremely badly built of mixed bricks, and the courses were laid at a slant decided by the original slope of the surface soil from north to south and then rose again to rest on the ruins of the Temenos wall; this is not due to sinkage but is original. The whole was rebuilt in the second phase of occupation, the walls being on the same lines but thicker and of mud brick only. Various additions were made at a late period to this room and to Room 1, abutting walls going off to SW and to NW; but they were too ruinous to afford any plan, and they had nothing to do with the original building. Rooms 8 and 9 have the appearance of the Larsa chapels, but no features corresponding. Room 9 was mud-floored and in the middle of it, towards the SW end, there was a rectangular basin 0.95 m. × 0.75 m. with burnt-brick floor and sides of burnt bricks set on edge. In this room were found the tablets already mentioned (U.18296).<sup>2</sup> Room 10 had its clay floor nearly 1 m. higher than that of Room 9 and its SW wall was built against the NE wall of that room, but the communications through rooms 3, 4 and 5 shew that at one time at least the separate buildings formed parts of one house.

## II. THE AH SITE

The Larsa houses excavated on the AH site in the SE quarter of the city were rebuilt after the destruction wrought by Samsu-iluna's troops and for a very long period the general plans of them underwent little change. It is only at a level some 2.80 m. above the Larsa floors that we find evidence of buildings which disregard the lines of the old and are in any way original. Unfortunately, owing to the denudation of the soil, very little of them was left; disconnected fragments of walls and occasional patches of brick paving. The best example was given above No. 11 Paternoster Row, where there were remains of one or two rooms and

<sup>1</sup> [The dig card of this collection gives the find spot as Room 5. (See n. 1.)]

pavements of burnt brick; the former were on new lines altogether and the latter ran unbroken over the old street. Immediately above this were the foundations of a wall in mud brick of the typical Neo-Babylonian size (0.32 m. square  $\times$  0.12–0.14 m.) with burnt-brick pavements associated with it, while both Persian and Neo-Babylonian graves cut down through the intermediate pavement confirmed its Kassite date. Just below the pavement level and embedded in the brickwork of the wall foundations were found a copper knife-blade, U.16785 (Pl. 36), and a small bottle of variegated "Phoenician" glass, U.17062 (Pl. 28), together with a number of beads. Associated with another pavement of bricks, 0.255 m.  $\times$  0.16–0.17 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., was a vase of blue glass paste, U.17064, and fragments of a large figure of a lion in terra-cotta and of a terra-cotta hand of a man, life-size. There was nothing here from which architectural evidence could be obtained.

### III. THE EM SITE

(Pl. 63A)

Above the group of houses of the Larsa period excavated on the SW side of the city (the "EM" site, cf. *U.E.* VII) there were various later remains from which partial plans of the Kassite period could be disentangled. One of these, *Hill House*, lay high on a slope facing west and some of its walls had been retaining-walls of the terraces into which the slope was cut. Not much of it remained. The ground plan (Pl. 63A) shews a courtyard (1) lying NW  $\times$  SE. On either side of it are two rooms of which the further limits have disappeared, and there were further rooms to the NW and probably to the SE also. The walls are of burnt bricks, fairly well built, 0.60 m. thick and still standing in places up to a height of eighteen courses of which thirteen are above floor level. The floors are normally of mud only, but in Room 2 there are remains of a brick pavement which is at a higher level than the mud floors but may yet be original. The wall bricks shew a mixture of types, 0.36 m. square (a single example), 0.30 m.  $\times$  0.19 m. (a few), 0.28 m.  $\times$  0.175 m., 0.26 m.  $\times$  0.16 m. and 0.24 m.  $\times$  0.15 m. The entrance to the building is lost, and the existing walls are not all of quite the same date but pointed to an original plan which was subsequently modified. For example, the SE wall of Room 5 merely abuts on the SW wall and a wide door in the SW wall has been narrowed by a clumsy blocking. Under the central court was found the grave KG/49, and in a broken jar against the wall was a small set of gold and carnelian ball beads. Under the floor of Room 2 was a vaulted brick tomb of the Larsa period. The building would seem to be of fairly early Kassite date.

Adjoining it on the NE was *High House*. The walls, rather roughly built with faces of burnt brick and a mud and rubble core, stand up to thirteen courses high. Most of the rooms are brick-paved. The bricks are uniform in type, measuring 0.24–0.25 m.  $\times$  0.16–0.17 m.  $\times$  0.075 m. On the SE an outbuilding, much destroyed by later walls and by a brick conduit, may have belonged to the building, but its connection cannot be proved. Below its floor was a brick vault, plundered and empty. The main entrance is by a door in the SW wall into a large court (1) having only a clay floor. On the floor were found a pair of silver ear-rings, U.7532 (Pl. 36),<sup>1</sup> a number of mixed beads, U.7505,<sup>2</sup> and some iron arrow-heads, U.7526 (Pl. 36).<sup>3</sup> Below the floor were three graves, one an intrusive Persian grave but two, KG/17 and KG/51,<sup>4</sup> which may have belonged to the house. The door into Room 2 has disappeared, all the walls being ruined away and restored only on the evidence of the brick pavement outlines. Room 3 is paved; its SE wall of burnt brick has been pulled down and replaced by

<sup>1</sup> [See however pp. 87, 105, which give the locus as KG/11.]

<sup>2</sup> [See however p. 105, which gives the locus as a grave.]

<sup>3</sup> [See however pp. 87, 105, which give the locus as KG/11.]

<sup>4</sup> [G.4 on plan.]

a mud-brick wall. The SW wall is peculiarly thick; it had been partly destroyed by an intrusive pot-grave. Room 6 has a pavement higher than that of the court, and in its doorway, as in the doorway further to the SW in the same NW wall of the court, there is a raised sill corresponding to the heightening of the floor level. On the pavement of Room 6, in the north corner, there were three clay vases, of Types K8 and K42, and a broken jar has been let into the pavement.<sup>1</sup>

A number of tablets were found in the neighbourhood of these two houses and at the same level.<sup>2</sup> They belonged to buildings which had disappeared or were at least so much ruined that no ground plan of them could be made out. Many of the business documents were dated to the time of the later Kassite kings, ranging from Kadašman-Enlil to Marduk-apal-iddina, and, since the whole quarter represented by the two better-preserved buildings Hill House and High House and by the meaningless fragments of walls with which the tablets were more directly associated is likely to have been more or less contemporary in its occupation if not in the foundation of its individual houses, the two buildings described can fairly be assigned to a period falling within the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.

#### IV. THE KPS SITE (Pl. 63B)

Close to the Nebuchadnezzar Gate of the Temenos, lying on either side of the Temenos wall, whose foundations had cut through them, was a small group of Kassite houses. They were incomplete, and had been so often patched and altered that they cannot be said to illustrate well the domestic architecture of any period.

The NE houses of the group, A, B and C, lay on the NE slope of the archaic terrace on which was built the 40-tab-ba<sup>3</sup> temple of Šulgi, and the foundations of their NE × SW walls, and the floor levels of the rooms, were stepped sharply down to suit the gradient of the slope. While therefore the highest rooms at the SW end had suffered severely from later building on the same site, the difference of level between neighbouring rooms made it very difficult to correlate the successive building phases which they exhibited.

Houses A and C form the SE side of a street on the other side of which is House B. Originally there had been a second lane between A and C, but this was later enclosed and became part of House C.

##### HOUSE A

The original entrance to House A was from the street on the NW by a door which led into a long and rather narrow room (*Room A1*) with doorways in its longer walls leading to Rooms A2 and A3; it was brick-paved. The walls were of mixed and broken burnt bricks (0.35 m. and 0.27 m. long). At a later period the front door was bricked up and over the whole of the SW wall, which must have been ruined, a new wall of mud brick was built with a doorway to Room A3 in the same place as formerly, but with a return to the NE which divided Room A1 into two rooms communicating by a narrow door against the NE wall. In the new cross-wall there was a hatch or window 0.50 m. high × 0.25 m. wide, topped by a single burnt brick,

<sup>1</sup> [See also the fluted piriform bottle of blue and brown glass (BM.120659) published in *U.E.*, IX, Pl. 29a, p. 131, which was found on the EM site and originally dated to the Kassite period by the excavator (*A.ŷ.*, VIII (1927), p. 387). The Kassite dating is upheld by D. Barag in *Journal of Glass Studies*, IV (1962), p. 18, where the number is wrongly quoted as 120658. A glass rod (U.7593) was also found on this site.]

<sup>2</sup> [It has not been possible to trace the U. numbers of the tablets here referred to.]

<sup>3</sup> [The reading of this name is uncertain, see *U.E.T.*, I, p. 13, *O.L.Z.*, XXXIV (1931), col. 133. It has been variously quoted as Dim-tab-ba (*A.ŷ.*, VI (1926), pp. 392-3; *Excavations at Ur* (1954), p. 108), Nimin-tabba (*U.E.*, II, pp. 12-13; *U.E.*, IV, pp. 40-1, 45, 80), Dimin-tabba (*U.E.*, V, p. 78), and Nin-tabba (*U.E.*, IX, p. 3).]

and against it was a base or buttress of burnt bricks 0.36 m.  $\times$  0.18 m. At this time a mud floor took the place of the old pavement, and a large part of the NE wall was cut away so as to throw Rooms A1 and A2 into one.

*Room A2* is a large open court, roughly paved with broken bricks, the pavement a little lower than that of Room A1. Its walls are of similar character. In the SE wall there were two doors with steps up to Room A8, of which the NE door was later blocked. The NE wall is a complete ruin; it is of burnt brick running along the top of a much more solid wall of mud brick and in the short length of burnt brickwork which remains there are traces of a door leading to a room on the NE now vanished but perhaps to be restored on the lines of what is left of the old mud-brick wall. In that case there would have been a range of narrow rooms flanking the court on the NE. As it is, the wall has been dismantled and rebuilt more than once. The wall stands back on the mud brick and the pavement goes only up to the latter; on the top of the mud brickwork against the late wall face there was a semicircular fireplace. At the SE end the mud brick rises above floor level and seems to have been utilised for the existing room, and there is no trace of burnt brick at all.

*Room A3* lies at a high level, the foundations of the NE wall being on this side 1.40 m. above what they are in Room A1. The floor is of mud. The NW wall is of burnt bricks 0.35 m.  $\times$  0.25 m. and 0.23 m.  $\times$  0.17 m., and mud bricks 0.35 m.  $\times$  0.32 m. The SE wall is a mixture of bricks of all sorts including many broken pieces, the SW wall, of which the foundations are shallow, is of mud brick. The mud floor runs over remains of earlier building. Close to the middle of the NE wall was a terra-cotta drain the top of which was flush with the mud floor. It consisted of five pierced and collared rings resting on a rectangular terra-cotta tray, set at a slope, from the lowest corner of which there ran off a series of trumpet-mouthed drain-pipes fitted one into another. The joints of the pipes and the junction of the vertical rings with the tray were shielded against infiltration of soil by rough bits of broken pottery. A second drain close to this on the SE was of later date, coming from a higher level; remains of a mud floor to which it may have belonged were found. Two clay sealings of Ibbi-Suen (U.6342-3) were found in this room.

*Room A4* had been destroyed by the Temenos wall. Against the NW door-jamb was an impost-hole, and against the NW wall a projecting base (?) of burnt brickwork, the bricks mixed as in the wall itself. *Rooms A6 and A7* were an addition to the original plan; the walls are flimsy and do not bond into the main NW wall, and their foundations are very shallow, 0.50 m. above those of the main NW wall. Room A6 has a mud floor in which were remains of a circular bin (?) constructed in burnt brick, and by it was a large clay jar sunk in the floor. A very narrow door at the east corner leads into Room A7 which is roughly paved. Its NE wall is on the edge of a slope of the old terrace here sharper than usual—it is marked by a sudden step down in the foundations of the SE wall of House B exactly opposite this point—and there are remains of a mud-brick wall joining the external north angle of the room to the wall of House B, perhaps a retaining-wall for the soil of the ramp which the street here became. It was under the pavement of this room, in the core of the archaic terrace, that there was found the hoard of First Dynasty objects, beads, silver work, limestone rams and calcite plaque, described in *U.E.*, IV, pp. 42-3.

*Room A8* is approached by two steps from the courtyard, Room A2. It did have a brick pavement which survived in the north corner and in front of the door to Room A9. At a later time a mud floor was laid down at a higher level, and the "blocking" of the door in the north corner may have been the raising of its sill to correspond with the new floor; there are signs of the stepped doorway having been blocked at this time, which would mean that the higher floor in Room A8 was contemporary with a considerable rise in the floor level of

Room A2. The walls are a jumble of bricks of many sorts, those 0.25 m. × 0.17 m. predominating. A square fireplace of burnt brick set in the middle of the room belongs to the late mud floor; a drain of terra-cotta rings, between the fireplace and the door, belongs to the early brick pavement but may have been still in use in the mud-floor period. A second similar drain close to the SE wall belongs to the early period exclusively. A number of frit beads were found close to the NE door. The very small *Room A9* has its floor more than 0.30 m. above that of Room A8 but the step which must have bridged the gap has disappeared. The foundations of the NW and SE walls are stepped up to match the gradient of the ground-slope, and the SW wall below floor level is a rough retaining-wall for the high ground beyond it. Above floor level it is set back from its foundation-line and is much better built. *Room A10*, entered only from Room A3, has a rough brick pavement 0.50 m. above the second mud floor of that room. Out of it opens *Room A11* across whose mud floor runs a shoddy partition, perhaps to form a bin.

The original plan of House A is fairly clear and seems characteristically Kassite. An entrance-passage (A1) leads into a large paved court (A2) at the SE end of which is the big audience-chamber (A8) having its little retiring-room (A9) at one end. Probably there were chambers along the NE side of the court. From the entrance-passage again a door on the right leads to what was probably the more domestic quarter, a second courtyard (A3) with rooms along its SE and SW sides, of which those on the SE (A10 and A11) are the living-rooms, corresponding to A8 and A9 in the public half of the house, and those on the SW (A4 and A5), whose limits are not known, might be offices for servants.

#### HOUSE B

House B is too incomplete for any argument to be based on its ground plan. There remains merely a row of chambers along the street front, and everything behind that has disappeared. It was much better built than was House A. The walls, up to the height to which they were found standing, are of burnt bricks (mostly 0.25 m. × 0.175 m., but with other types mixed with these, including a stamped 0.32 m. square brick of Amar-Suen) and are smoothly coated with mud plaster. In the NE wall of Room B1 there are signs of rebuilding, the two lowest courses being earlier than those above and not alined exactly with them. The mud floors also have been re-laid, the new being about 0.40 m. above the old. In Room B3 there were found on the lower floor level, close to the door, clay tablets and labels of the period of the Third Dynasty, U.6345-51. In Room B4 in the north corner was found a tablet dated to Nergal-ušeizib (693 B.C.), U.6322, and a Sumerian hymn, U.6321. They lay actually below the level of the upper mud floor, but the floor itself had been destroyed here and the tablets seem to date from the time of its destruction—certainly they do not belong to the lower level. On the lower floor level were tablets of the Third Dynasty. The tablet of 693 B.C. must give the latest date for the occupation (not for the building) of the house. In Room B6, loose in the filling there were found two stamped bricks of Kuri-galzu and a white limestone head of a clean-shaven priest, the eyes inlaid, U.6417, for which *v. U.E.*, IV, Pl. 42. Over the area marked on the plan as B2, about 2 m. above its floor level, there were chambers of mud brick<sup>1</sup> in which were school tablets and syllabaries of Neo-Babylonian date, and as the building in question was destroyed for the erection of Nebuchadnezzar's Temenos wall it must date well back in the seventh century B.C. Here then we have further dating evidence for the house group, but it cannot be considered altogether satisfactory. The *terminus ante quem* is indeed fixed; houses A and B were still in existence and occupied in 693 B.C. and must have been destroyed very shortly after that, to give place to the seventh-century mud-brick buildings.

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. 53.

On the other hand it is difficult to believe that the Third Dynasty tablets can be accepted as evidence for a *terminus post quem* except in the vaguest sense; their presence in the building and on the floor of the building is indisputable, but that is very far from proving that the building is contemporary with the tablets, for the hoarding of ancient records was as common in Mesopotamia as it is in Europe today. The Kuri-galzu bricks are more to the point; they are not in place and even assuming that they came from the upper part of the wall yet being stamped bricks they were made not for a private house but for a public building which must have been destroyed before its material could be taken over for private use. They ought, therefore, to shew that the house is in its foundation much later than the time of Kuri-galzu. Against the fact that there are far fewer signs of rebuilding in House B than in House A may be set the better quality of its walls, which might be expected to have lasted much longer but for neither building should too long a *floruit* be assumed and the tenth century B.C. is perhaps the earliest date to be assigned to the foundation of either.

This conclusion seems to be supported by such evidence as was forthcoming on the other side of the Temenos wall. Here, just below the modern ground surface, there were remains of buildings whose walls had foundations of four courses of mud brick (mixed types) above which were mud bricks of the regular Neo-Babylonian measurement 0.32 m. square  $\times$  0.12 m., laid with very wide vertical joints. The buildings ran parallel with the Temenos wall of Nebuchadnezzar, close to it, and their foundations lay about 0.60 m. above those of the wall. They were therefore erected to conform with the wall and were either later than or contemporary with it. At 1.50 m. below the foundations of these buildings (of which very little remained) came the paved floor of the second stratum. This building had walls of burnt brick (up to the height to which they were preserved) standing on mud-brick foundations; the outer NE wall had thirteen courses of burnt bricks, the inner walls seven to eight, of which five or six shewed above floor level; the bricks were of mixed types. The Temenos wall had cut right through this building, which was therefore earlier than it. Two periods are represented by the building, with floor levels about 0.50 m. apart; the second of them has been further modified by a rebuilding which in part overlies the older work of that period and therefore implies a certain lapse of time between the two phases. The mud-brick foundations of the walls (the mud bricks measure 0.24 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.) rest upon made soil, and at 0.80 m. below them come the tops of other mud-brick walls the bricks in which (0.27 m.  $\times$  0.18 m.  $\times$  0.09 m.) shew them to be of Larsa date. The accumulation of 0.80 m. of rubbish with apparently no walls in the rubbish stratum should mean a considerable interval between the Larsa buildings (which of course may have been in use long after the Larsa period properly speaking) and the foundation of these new buildings. For the two main periods and sub-phases of the Kassite buildings we need not allow any longer time than that suggested for the NE part of the area, and the tenth century would be the latest likely *terminus post quem*.

*Room B1.* The walls are smoothly mud-plastered. The NW door has a high threshold and leads into an open space which was probably a courtyard (*Room B2*). In *Room B3* the wall plaster goes down only to an upper mud floor 0.40 m. above the original. In the floor is a large drain of terra-cotta pipes of which the cover is missing, so that it must belong to the upper floor level or even to a later building.

*Room B4* has two mud floors 0.25 m. apart, the plaster on the walls being best preserved down to the upper only. The floor itself remains in the west corner of the room only. The ring-drain belongs to the earlier floor. *Room B5* had along its SE wall a footing of burnt brick the top of which was 0.20 m. below the level of the threshold from *Room B4*. Along the west and NW part of the room are remains of a rough brick pavement at the same level, but the rest of the room seems to have been mud-floored. Above this there was a second mud floor

flush with the brick threshold, i.e., 0.20 m. above the old; the plaster on the walls is connected with this later floor. The NE wall was an addition, a thin screen not bonded at either end. In it, at 0.45 m. above the floor, is a hatch 0.40 m. wide, its top gone so its height uncertain; in front of it is a small rectangular brick fireplace. In the room, above floor level, were several pounding and rubbing stones and a saddle-quern of coarse gritty conglomerate. The tablets of the Third Dynasty were found near the edge of the brick pavement and below its level, and others were against the footing of the SE wall; they therefore belonged to the earlier phase of the building, or antedated it. Against the NE wall, at the same level, was a cup of white marble with knuckle-bone handle. In the filling of the little cupboard-like *Room B6* were found the limestone head, U.6417, and two Kuri-galzu bricks.

#### HOUSE C

The scanty remains seem to be those of the SW part of a large courtyard house. Its SW wall has two lower courses (projecting) of burnt bricks 0.27 m.  $\times$  0.155 m., above which are mud bricks 0.31 m. square  $\times$  0.10 m. It returns NE on the street line, and four branch walls shew on its NE side, but on the SW there are no branches, so that it must be the exterior wall of the building. Between it and the (now destroyed) NE wall of the original House A was a narrow lane. In the second period a wall of mud bricks 0.31 m. square was built along the top of the old wall but a doorway (partly cut down into the old wall) was contrived giving access to Room C2, with brick threshold and a drain below it. The hinge-stone was found by us *in situ*. The new wall has, on the line of the street, a return to the SW, blocking the lane, and a second return (which breaks away after 1 m.) parallel with the main stretch. The lane was therefore incorporated in the house and became a mud-paved court. Two small brick-lined drains and a brick fireplace belong to this stage, as do also some bins with flimsy burnt-brick walls built over the ruins of the old mud-brick wall on the NE side of House A. Possibly by now the rooms along the NE side of the court of House A had been abandoned, or possibly the bins belonged to that house and not to House B. Further to the SE there are scraps of later cross-walls of which nothing can be made. A third period is given by a mud floor 0.70 m. above the old and by a badly built wall of mixed burnt and mud bricks which on the street line joins up the frontages of Houses A and B, running over the tops of the earlier walls.

#### V. THE TOWN WALL SITE

(Pl. 62)

For the houses on the town wall, see above pp. 73, 74.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE GRAVES

The two sites, XNCF and YC, together with an adjoining area where there had been less denudation and the Kassite buildings were overlaid with the ruins of Neo-Babylonian and of Persian houses,<sup>1</sup> produced a vast number of graves of all sorts, supplementing the evidence afforded by the big residential site AH by means of a stratification more obvious than that of the AH site. Since we had no criteria at all for dating Kassite graves on internal evidence this stratification was of great value. The evidence was by no means infallible, but if all doubtful cases were eliminated there remained a considerable number of graves whose position and relation to buildings gave a sure basis for chronology. Broadly speaking, the evidence was as follows.

In the upper soil, from less than 1 m. below the surface as it is today to just over 2 m., there are found numbers of clay coffins with one rounded and one flat end which we know to be a Persian type. The highest of them should be associated with the topmost pavements and the lowest with the clay floors of the uppermost (Period I) walls, the bases of which are between 1.30 m. and 1.80 m. below the surface. In one place, outside the excavated area shewn in the plan, there was found immediately underneath a brick pavement lying 0.85 m. below the surface a clay pot containing Persian tablets, U.18123, which were probably put deliberately under a pavement in use at the time.

The next graves consist of bodies put inside two large clay pots laid on their sides mouth to mouth. The highest of these was found a little more than 1 m. below the surface, the lowest at rather more than 4 m. below the datum line, 0.70 m. below the floor of Period III.

Burials in clay coffins rounded at both ends were not numerous but occurred throughout a stratum roughly between 3 m. and 4 m. below the datum line, several of them being below the floors of Period III and others a little above those floors.

Since all graves were placed beneath house floors and seem seldom to have been much more than a metre under those floors, the graves of Persian type with the oval flat-ended coffins must be associated with the two levels attributed to Period I. The double-pot burial is characteristic of the Neo-Babylonian age; most of the examples of it occur sufficiently deep below the foundations of Period I to belong to Period II, especially if we admit the possibility that Period II may have had higher floor levels which have been replaced by the Period I buildings. But some of them may equally well have belonged to Period III in its later phases. The oval-ended coffins mostly belong to Period III, and it is likely that their number would have been increased and their association with the Period III walls more certainly established if our excavations had been carried deeper, for on the whole we scarcely touched the stratum in which graves belonging to the first phase of the period are to be expected.

We have here something in the nature of a sequence, but it does not carry us very far. There is no strict correlation between the burial types and the historic periods—themselves vague enough—known as Persian, Neo-Babylonian and Kassite. The “Persian” coffins are the latest that are found at Ur<sup>2</sup> and it can be proved that they do belong to the Persian period; but it is hazardous to say that they were only introduced at the time of Cyrus, and it is

<sup>1</sup> Here our excavation was carried down into the Kassite level, but not thoroughly; the buildings that were cleared are published in *U.E.*, IX.

<sup>2</sup> There is at Ur no Parthian period with its glazed slipper coffins.

impossible, indeed it would be demonstrably false, to say that they supplanted immediately and without exception burial customs of an older sort; the double-pot burial did persist after 530 B.C.

By the close of the Neo-Babylonian period, with the defeat of Nabonidus, the double-pot burial was certainly the commonest type and may have been universal; but round-ended coffins were certainly used into that period, and there was again no sudden exchange of one method of burial for another. The round-ended coffin inverted over the corpse was common throughout very many centuries and the round-ended coffin used right way up and covered with a wooden lid goes back to Early Dynastic times. The former is indeed specially characteristic of the Larsa period, where it is contemporary with the vaulted brick tomb. In the early Kassite period the brick tomb is still found under many house floors and the clay coffin is normal for poorer burials, and in the late Kassite time it was probably almost universal. But such a coffin must be dated, if dated at all, by its contents rather than by its mere shape—its *floruit* is too long for it to be a criterion of age. When therefore we find coffins of the sort apparently prevalent in our Period III, we may surmise that the houses belong to the Kassite rather than to the Neo-Babylonian age, but cannot particularise further. Incidentally we must remember that the corresponding floor levels in different houses need not be of anything like the same date; mere depth is deceptive, and one house well kept may have seen its neighbours remodelled two or three times. All generalisations based on such evidence must needs be of the vaguest description.

None the less certain facts stand out clearly. As in so many other respects, the Kassite period has in its burial customs no exclusive peculiarity but merely represents one phase of a continuous history.

The two types characteristic of the Larsa period (*v. U.E.*, VII), the brick-built tomb-chamber with its corbelled or barrel-vaulted roof, and the inverted clay larnax, continued in use in and throughout the Kassite period. In a number of cases the chamber tomb was modified, but this would seem to have been due to poverty rather than to any ritual change; thus, two low brick walls, instead of being carried up to a brick vault, might be roofed by the simple expedient of laying an inverted larnax over them, or even tiled with large piece of broken clay jars (KG/32 and KG/38). A new type of burial was urn burial, a large clay jar being inverted over the (contracted) body, taking the place of the larnax proper, or, more often, laid on its side with the body pushed up into it (Fig. 4). In the later part of the Kassite period the double-pot burial becomes common. Two large clay jars are set upon their sides, mouth to mouth, with the body half in one and half in the other. A variant of this, perhaps reminiscent of the built tomb-chamber, is seen when the two jars, instead of being in contact, are set well apart with brickwork between them, two short parallel walls carried up to a

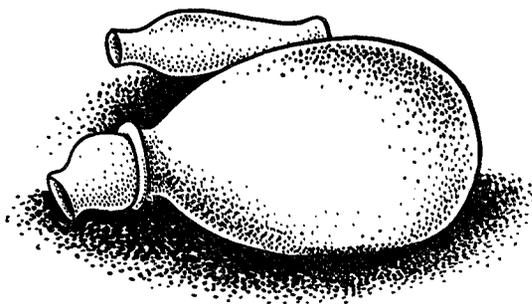


Fig. 4. KG/9

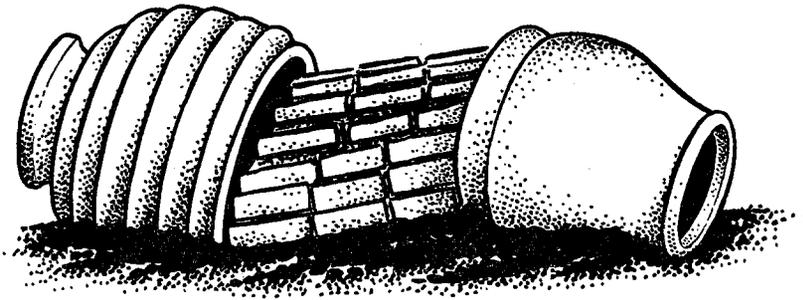


Fig. 5. KG/49

corbelled vault (Fig. 5). Finally we have cases of plain inhumation; I strongly suspect that the bodies were wrapped in or covered with reed matting, but we failed to note any surviving traces of such, and can assert only that there was no tomb-chamber and no larnax or urn.

The graves were poor, offerings being reduced to the bare minimum—one or more clay vessels and such purely personal objects, beads and ear-rings, finger-rings and seals, as natural sentiment would hesitate to remove from the dead body; two copper bowls and a “Phoenician” glass bottle were the only tomb-offerings of intrinsic value. It must of course be remembered that the vast majority of the graves had been disturbed in antiquity, and what we know about ancient tomb robbers might suggest that all the worth-while tombs had been plundered and those which we found intact had been deliberately passed over as unremunerative. In that case the graves recorded here fail to give a true picture of Kassite burial customs. As it was, only fifty-five of the recorded graves contained objects worthy of mention, and even so the majority were of interest only as affording evidence for the dating of plain pottery types. The tabular analysis which follows does full justice to our material.

TABULAR ANALYSIS OF GRAVES  
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The original field numbers of the graves, shown in the last column, are recorded in order to facilitate the identification of objects from the graves, now in museums, which would bear those numbers. The numbers further show that the majority of the published graves were found in AH, the main residential area SE of the Temenos, or in EM, the smaller residential area just outside the SW wall of the Temenos. Those two sites produced the better burials. The perhaps equally numerous graves in the X Cemetery NW of the Temenos and on the line of the town wall were probably poorer and nearly all of them had been disturbed.

ANALYSIS OF KASSITE GRAVES

GRAVE NUMBER KG	CHARACTER	SEALS	BEADS AND AMULETS	METAL OBJECTS	POTTERY TYPES	VARIA	ORIGINAL FIELD NUMBER
1	Inverted clay larnax	U.18724 (U.E., X, No. 243)	Frog amulet U.18725		10, 24, 33, 50	Clay object U.18727	PJG/11
2	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb				7, 12, 55, 74, 75		AHG/65
3	Inverted clay larnax, child's burial		U.18836	Copper wire bangle	68, 74, 83		PJG/17
4	Simple inhumation under Kassite building			Copper ring	14, 48		TW/1929/ D
5	Inverted clay larnax				51		AHG/74
6	Urn burial (urn on its side)				86		EMG/38
7	Body missing, leaving only a group of pots in the Kassite stratum rather more than 1 m. above the Larsa floor				17, 27, 40, 56, 80		EM/F
8	Urn burial: An urn on its side, resting on the Larsa floor				6, 50, 57		AHG/267
9	Infant burial in a jar laid on its side		Duck beads		43, 87	See Fig. 4	EMG/2
10	Urn burial: An urn on its side, just above the Larsa pavement			Copper bracelet, silver ear-ring	1, 34, 56, 57		EMG/14
11	Simple inhumation against the wall of a corbel-vaulted brick tomb. Disturbed			Ear-rings, U.7532 (Pl. 36) Arrowheads, U.7526 (Pl. 36)	40, 82		EMG/A
12	Urn buried; urn on its side, resting on an (early) Kassite pavement				43, 56		EMG/B
13	Body missing: a group of pots left lying above the Larsa floor level				2, 8, 38, 42, 49, 67		EMG/C
14	Simple inhumation; 0.30 m. above Larsa pavement, 1 m. beneath late Kassite wall foundations		U.7572		14, 40, 42	"Phoenician" glass bottle, U.7660	EMG/48
15	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb		Very small rings of glazed frit	2 copper rings	42	2 shell finger-rings	EMG/49

## ANALYSIS OF KASSITE GRAVES

GRAVE NUMBER KG	CHARACTER	SEALS	BEADS AND AMULETS	METAL OBJECTS	POTTERY TYPES	VARIA	ORIGINAL FIELD NUMBER
16	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb				24, 87, 95		
17	Barrel-vaulted brick tomb		A few beads		88	Shell ring	EMG/5
18	Brick tomb, broken and plundered; bones of 4 bodies				40		EMG/E
19	Interment (?). Body missing; pots, etc., low down in Kassite stratum	Cylinder seal much worn			23, 42, 58		SM/A
20	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb. Probably very late Kassite, in view of the glazed vessels, but position and depth are against its being NB				20 (glazed), 23 (glazed), 43, 74		CLWG/76
21	Urn burial below Kassite pavement		U.16188		22	Shell rings, U.16187 (Pl. 36)	AHG/21
22	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb				16		AHG/61
23	Interment (?). Body missing. Group of pots resting on early Kassite pavement				15, 34, 54		AH/RC
24	Simple inhumation				21, 34, 56		EMG/D
25	Corbel-vaulted tomb of Kassite brickwork				16		AHG/20
26	Urn burial below the line of a late Kassite wall				16		AHG/27
27	Corbel-vaulted tomb of Kassite brickwork		U.16196 (Pl. 36)		16		AHG/30
28	Urn burial under Kassite floor, on the level of the wall foundations				3, 87		AHG/39
29	Corbel-vaulted brick tomb 0.75 m. above Larsa pavement: ruined. 4 skulls	Scaraboids	U.17223 (Pl. 28)		16 (seven examples)	Shell ring	AHG/89
30	Brick-built tomb (wrecked) resting on Larsa floor			Copper anklet and hook	34, 56		AHG/130
31	Inhumation, just under Kassite wall foundation		U.16698 (Pl. 36)				AHG/146
32	Clay larnax inverted over a brick-built tomb chamber as substitute for a vault. Body on back, head NE, head resting on a brick, hands meeting below chin, knees raised			3 bronze spearheads (v. Pl. 36) lying outside the grave. Bronze bowl (decayed; Pl. 37)	31, 57 (two examples)		AHG/248
33	Inhumation grave; plundered: body missing: below Kassite pavement				29, 34		AH/A
34	Urn burial, resting on an early Kassite pavement				71		AH/B

TABULAR ANALYSIS

ANALYSIS OF KASSITE GRAVES

GRAVE NUMBER KG	CHARACTER	SEALS	BEADS AND AMULETS	METAL OBJECTS	POTTERY TYPES	VARIA	ORIGINAL FIELD NUMBER
35	Barrel-vaulted tomb of Larsa bricks but lying above the Larsa level. Body outside, flexed, head NE		U.16724 U.16725 U.16727	Gold ear-ring, U.16728	61		AHG/175
36	Inverted clay larnax				34		AHG/203
37	Inverted clay larnax				4		AHG/249
38	Body covered with large sherds of pottery				34		AHG/254
39	Urn burial: a heavily ribbed bowl inverted over the body				34, 52	A diorite duck-weight outside the urn	AHG/263
40	Urn burial				15		AHG/270
41	The secret foundation chamber (?) in the wall of the Amar-Suen mausoleum (v. <i>U.E.</i> , VI) used as a tomb: it underlay a Kassite house	U.16220 ( <i>U.E.</i> , X, No. 632)		Copper bowl	48 (five examples), 49. One of the vases of Type 48 had on its shoulder a mark roughly painted in bitumen 	Haematite weight	BC Room 2
42	Inhumation (?): body missing: the pots in a group, set against a Kassite wall				3, 19, 26, 30, 62, 64, 69, 76, 93		
43	Much ruined brick tomb containing at least 3 bodies	U.16365	U.16375 U.16385		16	Steatite pendant, U.17223; shell ring, U.16386	AHG/87a
44	Double-pot burial, 1.30 m. below the floor of "Hill House", body ♂ on rt. side, flexed: pelvis bones grown together because of arthritis				72		EMG/59
45	Double-pot burial	U.17401 ( <i>U.E.</i> , X, No. 543)					AHG/45
46	Double-pot burial against the NW face of the Temenos wall				77		TWG/G
47	Double-pot burial: body contracted, wearing a shirt (?) of very fine linen, over which a woollen cloak				87		AHG/112
48	Double-pot burial: between the mouths of the pots a gap filled by short walls supporting a corbelled arch. Body flexed, head in one pot, legs in the other				16		AHG/88

## ANALYSIS OF KASSITE GRAVES

GRAVE NUMBER KG	CHARACTER	SEALS	BEADS AND AMULETS	METAL OBJECTS	POTTERY TYPES	VARIA	ORIGINAL FIELD NUMBER
49	Double-pot burial but with brick arch between the pots: <i>cf.</i> KG/48. See p. 78		A few gold and carnelian beads	Small pendant made of 4 coils and gold wire	42	See Fig. 5	DP/11
50	Double-pot burial under (ruined) Kassite house NE of "High House", 0.50 m. above the Larsa floor. Body on rt. side, head NNW				42		EMG/34
51	Double-pot burial: body on l. side, strongly contracted, head E	U.7524 ( <i>U.E.</i> , X, No. 498) at the neck		Gold crescent ear-ring			EMG/4
52	Double-pot burial under the floor of "Hill House". Body on rt. side, head N				22, 40. The former was of glazed ware bleached white		DP/17
53	Double-pot burial, in the west corner of Room 5, XNCF, House 1, upper level	U.18151 ( <i>U.E.</i> , X, No. 505)	U.18152 U.18166	Silver ear-rings, U.18152 (Pl. 36), U.18166 (Pl. 36)			NE/2
54	Double-pot burial in the same room and at the same level as KG/53	Stamp seal U.18153	U.18153	Copper bracelets, U.18154	Fragments of a glazed bottle		NE/3
55	Inhumation under wall of "High House"	Cylinder (unnumbered; Fig. 10, p. 97)			43, 48, 85		EMG/10
56	Double-pot burial. Body on rt. side, head NE		Beads	Gold ring	59		DP/8
57	Inhumation, about 1 m. below the Kassite floor at House 2 on the EM Site		U.7575	Silver bangle, U.7623 Copper bowl, U.7624 (Pl. 37) Copper ring U.7567 (Pl. 36)			EMG/60

## CHAPTER X

### THE SMALL OBJECTS

#### I. TERRA-COTTAS

To the study of Kassite terra-cottas our excavations have contributed practically nothing. As the foregoing description of the buildings has shewn the remains were generally scanty and particularly so in the case of the private houses. Terra-cottas are very seldom found in the temples of any period, and those of the Kassite age produced none; they do not occur in tombs. We should expect to get the majority from the private houses, but the houses were so ruined that no evidence of stratification associated with them such figurines as were found loose in the soil. Dr. L. Legrain, in his very careful study of the entire collection of terra-cottas from Ur, did attribute a fair number to the Kassite period, but in doing so he had to rely upon stylistic arguments only. The bulk of them came from Diquqqeh, a completely unstratified site which produced objects of every age from the Third Dynasty of Ur to the Persian period, but little if any of the Kassite period, and there was no external evidence to assist classification. In Dr. Legrain's "Kassite" group there are included some figurines which, or exact parallels to which, were found at Ur in conditions justifying their being assigned to the Larsa or to the Neo-Babylonian period. In such cases I have preferred the archaeological to the aesthetic argument and have not included them. The rest, figured on Pls. 29-32, have been reduced to a minimum, types being illustrated rather than individuals, but even so it must be emphasised that they are dated on purely internal evidence or by the analogy of dated examples from other sites, so that they cannot themselves safely be used as criteria for judging others. Not indeed that they form an adequate basis for judgment. There do not seem to be any striking innovations in the Kassite terra-cottas; for the most part they continue with little change the types familiar in the Larsa period. Legrain remarks that details of foreign origin, Kassite, Assyrian, Egyptian and Syrian may be traced amongst the many examples of the traditional "servant of love", represented as nude with her hands either clasped or pressing her breasts or carrying her infant. Some draped figures, standing or seated, may be goddesses. Characteristic of the period, in Legrain's view, are feathered or turreted head-dresses such as we have on the Ishtar-Kititum of Ishchali, and so is the shrined goddess holding two bottles; but he can make no further generalisations. That the terra-cottas should lack interest is not surprising. In almost every respect the Kassite age fails to shew any originality or powers of invention<sup>1</sup> and since the figurines were cast from moulds which could remain in use for a long time and could always be reproduced by taking an impression from an existing figurine, the easiest and the cheapest course was the mechanical repetition of Larsa models. In so far as the terra-cottas have a religious character, and religion is essentially conservative, the potter's unimaginative adherence to the old Larsa tradition would rather tend to recommend his goods to his clients.

Crude hand-modelled figures of animals—generally assumed to be children's toys—were quite common in the Larsa period and occur again in Neo-Babylonian levels. No examples were found in conditions such as would date them necessarily to the Kassite age and therefore none are catalogued or figured in this volume; but their omission does not mean none are Kassite. Probably they were just as freely current then as in earlier and later times,

<sup>1</sup> The one exception is in architectural decoration; *v.* p. 3.

but there was no distinctive Kassite model and they could tell us nothing about the art of the period.

CATALOGUE of the terra-cottas figured on Pls. 29–32.

1. Nude votaress, apparently holding her breasts. The moulded figure has been finished with hand work in the "snow-man" technique. U.18042. Diqdiqqeh. 0.07 m. × 0.063 m.
2. Nude votaress, apparently holding cones below her breasts. In the same mixed technique as No. 1. The pellet eyes, side curls and incised line below the necklace are to be noted. U.16497. Diqdiqqeh. 0.07 m. × 0.072 m.
3. Nude votaress, upper part only, forming an oval medallion. The head and the body are struck from different moulds. U.16481 B. Diqdiqqeh. 0.058 m. × 0.039 m.
4. Nude votaress with clasped hands. Diqdiqqeh. 0.064 m. × 0.048 m.
5. Nude votaress with clasped hands; the background cut away. The style approaches the Neo-Babylonian. U.16110. Diqdiqqeh. 0.063 m. × 0.025 m.
6. Nude votaress with clasped hands. Slender type derived from Larsa. She wears hair-band, necklaces and bracelets but no girdle. U.16438 K. Diqdiqqeh. 0.13 m. × 0.06 m.
7. Nude votaress with clasped hands. Diqdiqqeh. 0.087 m. × 0.054 m.
8. Nude votaress with clasped hands. The figure is definitely of Larsa type but was found immediately below the Neo-Babylonian Temenos wall and may therefore itself be of Kassite date. U.16223. 0.067 m. × 0.06 m.
9. Nude votaress holding her breasts. A clumsy figure in mixed moulding and "snow-man" technique. U.18306. Diqdiqqeh. 0.085 m. × 0.04 m.
10. Nude votaress holding a cone between her breasts with the left hand, the right hand extended and holding a saucer (?). A moulded figure retouched by hand (the eye pellets are added). U.16922. Diqdiqqeh. 0.065 m. × 0.05 m.
11. Nude votaress with clasped hands. This is one of the very few examples of a figurine being attached as an ornament in relief to a vase; combed lines and stamped circles decorated the pot before the figure was applied. The fragment was brought in from Abu Kumbarah, a site which produced objects of Larsa and Kassite date. U.1593. Ht. of figure 0.048 m.
12. Nude votaress holding small cones to her breasts. A coarse example of a type found in the Larsa period. U.16964. Diqdiqqeh. 0.10 m. × 0.052 m.
13. Nude votaress with clasped hands, the breasts unusually high. U.18053. Diqdiqqeh. 0.08 m. × 0.045 m.
14. Nude votaress with clasped hands. The treatment of the hair is unusually simple. Diqdiqqeh. 0.082 m. × 0.038 m.
15. Nude votaress with clasped hands; a rather coarser version of a definitely Larsa terra-cotta, Type 39 (U.7054), *U.E.*, VII, Pl. LXVIII. U.18048. Diqdiqqeh. 0.048 m. × 0.04 m.
16. A seated goddess. She does not wear the horned crown or flounced robe but a fillet in her hair and a tightly fitting dress with short sleeves, ear-rings, necklace and bracelets; but the stars and crescents in the background bespeak her a goddess. U.16916. Diqdiqqeh. 0.057 m. × 0.058 m.
17. A seated goddess, similar to the last but from a very different mould. U.1103. Diqdiqqeh. 0.047 m. × 0.04 m.
18. A seated goddess; another version of the same general type. U.1531. Diqdiqqeh. 0.055 m. × 0.04 m.
19. A seated goddess (?). A very similar figure but holding an alabastron in both hands, and wearing the flounced garment generally worn by deities; *cf.* Nos. 22 and 23. U.17173. Diqdiqqeh. Ht. 0.09 m.
20. A seated goddess (?). A very small figure with flounced robe and elaborate head-dress, but no horned crown. After moulding it has been bent so as to allow it to sit in a chair. U.1216. Diqdiqqeh. 0.056 × m. 0.03 m.
21. A seated goddess wearing the flounced robe. On either side of her was a subsidiary figure now broken away. U.18067. Diqdiqqeh. 0.075 × m. 0.07 m.
22. A seated goddess wearing the horned crown and flounced dress. U.7539. Diqdiqqeh. 0.095 m. × 0.04 m.
23. A seated goddess with the horned crown and flounced dress. U.19163. Diqdiqqeh. Ht. 0.09 m.
24. A goddess standing in a shrine, holding two bottles; she wears the battlemented crown and flounced dress; rosettes decorate the background. U.1013. Diqdiqqeh. Ht. 0.075 m.

- 25. A goddess with battlemented crown and flounced dress holding two bottles below her breasts; large rosettes decorate the dress. U.18043 B. Diqiqqeh. Ht. 0.10 m.
- 26. The head of a ram (or sheep), hand-modelled; extreme l., 0.15 m. From the Kassite level of the NW terrace range of buildings, in Room 3 of the Level 2 Shrine. U.17855.
- 27. The head of a bull (?), hand-modelled; extreme l., 0.11 m. Found with No. 26. U.17854.

These last two, which can with reasonable assurance be attributed to the Kassite period, are crude figures which on stylistic grounds might be assigned to any period—actually they were listed by Legrain as of the al 'Ubaid-Jamdat Nasr age. They are of interest mainly as shewing that hand-modelled animal figures are common to all times and should be dated, if at all, only by external evidence.

On Pls. 32-4 are illustrated the prophylactic figures of unbaked clay, commonly called "Papsukkal" figures, which are now known from various Mesopotamian sites. They are characteristic of the later historical periods, but since the best examples found at Ur occur in connection with the building activities of Sin-balatsu-iqbi they are dealt with in the present volume rather than in *U.E.*, IX. A full account of them, supplemented by the literary evidence collected, translated and annotated by Dr. Sidney Smith, was published by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1926), pp. 689-713, and in *Iraq*, XVI (1954), pp. 85-92, Professor M. E. L. Mallowan has described and discussed an earlier group found at Nimrud; Dr. O. R. Gurney also has published a full account—"Babylonian prophylactic figures and their rituals" in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XXII (1935), pp. 31-96. Here, therefore, a brief report only is required.

The figures are found buried under the floors of rooms, close to the walls or against the jambs of the doors (Fig. 6). Our Sin-balatsu-iqbi examples were set in "sentry-boxes"

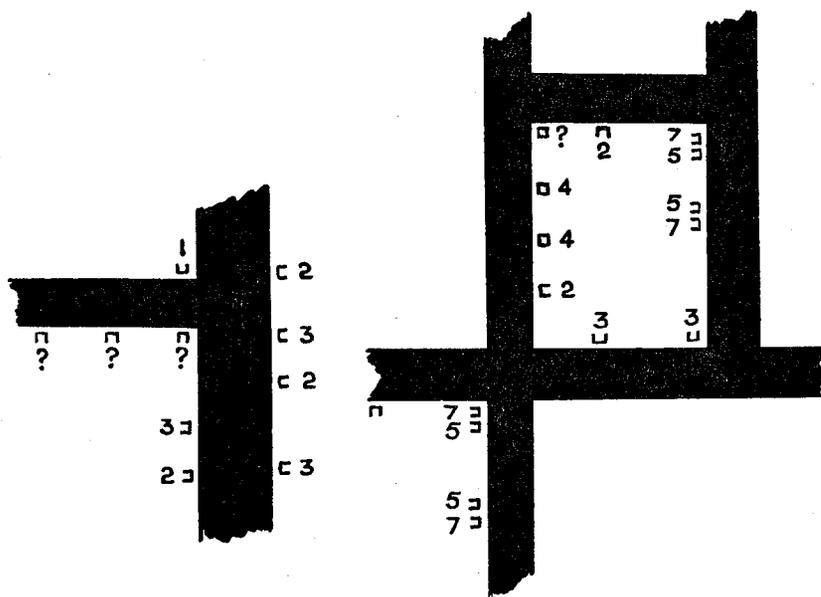


Fig. 6. Gi-par-ku Site: Remains of a building of Sin-balatsu-iqbi shewing the positions of "papsukkal" figures

composed of three plano-convex bricks (which must have been obtained for the purpose by excavation on early sites) roofed by a brick which formed part of the room's pavement. In each box there were remains of foodstuffs such as grain and the bones of doves or other small birds and, generally, a potsherd, representing a ritual sacrifice. The figures were for the most part single, but those of the types of U.6768 and of the figure with a fish cloak might be seven

in a box, and the snake figures (U.6771) were put in boxes separate from but touching those which contained the small naked figures U.6773-4. There seems to have been a definite order in the arrangement of the figures; either they are in pairs, two of a sort coming next to each other, or two of one sort alternate with two of another. The animal figures, on the other hand, were not placed in brick boxes but were simply set in the earth beneath the pavement, as is seen on Pl. 32*b*. They are always dogs, and the clay figures shew the dog standing (*v.* Pl. 34, U.6769-70) but the same purpose seems to have been served by copper figures of seated dogs, e.g., U.2853, Pl. 28, one of which, U.3372, was found by us *in situ*, under a floor of Sin-balatsu-iqbi.

The figures were cast from moulds and were covered with a coat of white lime on which the details of feature, dress and ritual decoration were painted in black (generally) or other colours. Unfortunately the lime coat always detached itself from the clay and adhered to the surrounding soil, so that it could never be preserved; and only too often the figures themselves were impregnated with salts the crystallisation of which had resulted in their distortion or destruction. In rare cases there was a greater elaboration and the clay figure (e.g., U.17075, Pl. 34) was embellished with a copper belt, baldric, sword and staff or weapon.

The principal types are as follows:

1. The human figure wearing a fish robe, the head forming a high pointed cap, the fish's body a robe which falls down to the ground behind. Two sets of seven figures of this type were found, but were in too bad condition to be preserved.
2. U.6767 A-G. Pls. 33 and 34. A male figure wearing a horned head-dress and a long garment reaching to the feet; the beard is long and carefully curled, the hands, brought across the breast, hold an attribute, generally a vase, sometimes apparently a weapon. Wavy black lines painted on the white ground of the garment represent water.
3. U.6768 A-D. Draped human figures with bestial heads; they wear a sheath-like garment reaching to the feet, the left hand is held against the breast, the right hand is raised and holds a clay club; they seem to have been painted black all over. A (Pl. 33) and B have cat-like heads; C (Pl. 33) has a head more like a bear's, but is much distorted by salt; in this case possibly only the details were in black. D (Pl. 34) is of a somewhat different type in that the left arm hangs against the side, the hand holding a situla, while the right hand is raised to the breast; the head is a bird's head, and wings stand out on either side.
4. U.6769-70. Pl. 34. Standing figures of dogs (or possibly dragons with dogs' bodies and snakes' heads).
5. U.6771. Pl. 34. Snake, roughly modelled by hand.
6. U.6772. Pl. 33. Nude male figure wearing a high (apparently horned) head-dress with long hair falling over the shoulders and a curled beard; the hands hold a vase against the breast; one of our examples, if not all, has a tail; and the legs are bull's legs grossly enlarged.
7. U.6773-4. Pl. 33. Nude male figure much like the last except that the legs and feet are human, though one has a tail.
8. U.6775. Pl. 33. A figure, human down to the waist, with high horned cap and curled beard, the body nude, the right arm fully extended, the left held forward; below the waist are the legs and feet of an eagle.
9. U.16159. Pl. 32. Five figures of squatting dogs in unbaked clay, one bearing traces of red paint, the others plain; ht. 0.048 m.-0.059 m. Apotropaic figures found in a "papsukkal" box against the SE jamb of the entrance doorway to Room 4 of the En-nig-al-di-Nanna<sup>1</sup> palace, *v. U.E.*, IX, Pl. 70 and p. 42, n. 1.
10. U.16160. Four figures of squatting dogs in unbaked clay, three of them bearing traces of red, blue and green paint respectively; ht. 0.05 m. Found in a "papsukkal" box against the NW jamb of the same doorway as U.16159.
11. U.17075. Pl. 34. Draped male figure with horned cap and curled beard; the right arm is raised above the head and held a weapon, the left swings free way from the body. The belt, etc., are added and consist of thin strips of copper.

<sup>1</sup> [For this reading in place of Bel-šatli-Nanna, see B. Landsberger, *O.L.Z.*, XXXIV (1931), col. 129.]

## II. SEALS

In the case of seals, as of other small objects, the Kassite period was disappointing. On the house sites the stratification was so confused that it was seldom safe to attribute any small antiquity to a definite level; the graves, numerous though they were, produced only five seals in all. Dr. Legrain, who in Volume X of this series classifies the seals on the basis of style, attributes only half a dozen to the Kassite age and can say no more about them than that they come closer to the Assyrian than to the Babylonian tradition.

By far the most important evidence for dating is given by the group of four cylinder seals forming the foundation deposit under the gate-tower of the great Nanna courtyard as rebuilt by Kuri-galzu.<sup>1</sup> They are large seals, all moulded in frit or glass paste. U.12688 is 0.055 m. long and bears a long inscription unfortunately not in good condition (Pl. 35); Dr. C. J. Gadd has kindly supplied the following note on it.

Single figure facing left, raising right hand and holding a small vessel against his breast in his left hand; a foliate cross and some other uncertain object in the space before him. Inscription of 7 lines, in Akkadian

1. . . . . . du lim-nu-ú
2. . . . . . gal-lé-e BU-ma
3. gap(?)—šu(?) gal-lé-e kit-mu-ru ri-di-i
4. i-na qi-bit (d)šamši ili-ia
5. . . . . . lim-ni sa-NI-NI lí-qal-lil(?)
6. lí-is-sa-pí-iḫ gal-lé-e
7. lí-iṣ-ša-bit ri-di-i

1, 2. . . . . . (?) 3. the demons are mighty (?), my pursuer is oppressive. 4. By the command of Šamaš, my god, 5. . . . . . (?), 6. may the demons be scattered, 7. may my pursuer be arrested.

Lists of Kassite seals with single figures and emblems only are given by Mrs. E. D. Van Buren in *Orientalia*, 23 (1954), pp. 15, n.3; 16, n.1.

U.12689 (*U.E.*, X, No. 577) also bore an inscription, of which there survives only the end of one (probably the only) line, . . . a-ni. U.12690 and U.12691 (*U.E.*, X, Nos. 608, 607, wrongly put by Legrain amongst the Assyrian seals) are purely pictorial.

It should be remarked that these four dated seals, like the six attributed by Legrain to the same date on stylistic grounds, U.12689, U.16126, U.16127, U.16794, U.16805, U.17761 (*U.E.*, X, Nos. 574-9), and U.19870 (*U.E.*, X, No. 619) which was dated to the Kassite period by its find-spot, are of glazed frit cast in moulds. This technique can be taken as typical of the Kassite period even if it does not strictly synchronise with it. The evidence from other sites is in full agreement with this; at Ras Shamra the moulded frit cylinders seem to be confined to a period between c. 1450 and 1350 B.C.<sup>2</sup>; Professor Mallowan, arguing from the examples found at Brak and elsewhere, gives to the type a longer *floruit*, from 1500 B.C. or a little earlier to a date between 1300 and 1200 B.C.<sup>3</sup>; this longer *floruit* is confirmed by my own evidence from Atchana,<sup>4</sup> but in any case it does not seem to extend beyond the Kassite period. From the point of view of glyptic art the moulded cylinders are obviously much inferior to those cut by hand, and it would seem that the Kassite stone-cutter had for the time being lost his skill. This was certainly the case if we are to judge from one of the rare examples of a dated Kassite stone cylinder, U.17401 (*U.E.*, X, No. 543), found in grave KG/45, which is about as crude as a cylinder can be. Another example, from grave KG/1, U. 18724 (*U.E.*, X, No. 243), is classed by Legrain as Sargonid, and the attribution is beyond

<sup>1</sup> U.12688-91. See *U.E.*, V, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie occidentale*, p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> In *Iraq*, IX (1947), p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh* (London, 1955), pp. 259-60.

question; it is therefore a survival in the Kassite period, a case—such are not uncommon—of a seal being used and valued as an antiquity.

One seal, U.16220 (*U.E.*, X, No. 632), has peculiar historical interest. It was found in Grave 41, a compartment in the thickness of the wall of Šulgi's mausoleum (probably intended for a foundation deposit) which had been opened and re-used as a tomb-chamber by the inhabitants of a Kassite house eventually built over the ruins.<sup>1</sup> Although cylindrical in form it belongs unmistakably to the Indus Valley group, and it is the latest in date of that group found at Ur, the earliest of which goes back to the time of Sargon of Akkad. We have no grounds for assuming that it was re-used but in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we are at liberty to date the tomb and the seal to the early (pre-Kuri-galzu) part of the Kassite period, perhaps a little—but not much—before 1500 B.C. The importance of this lies in its bearing on the date of the Aryan invasion of India and the overthrow of Mohenjodaro and the other great cities of the Indus Valley. The seals found in Mesopotamia supply the evidence for the earliest dating of the Indus culture and this particular seal may mark its end and perhaps relate that end with the Kassite invasion of Mesopotamia. Another Indus Valley seal, U.16747, Pl. 35, this time of the normal stamp type, was found in the filling above the Larsa houses of the AH site, in the Kassite stratum. It would be hazardous to rely over-much on the evidence of a small object loose in mixed soil, but for what it is worth it does support the witness of U.16220 to the duration of the Indus Valley-Mesopotamia connection.

The following seals, definitely or presumably of Kassite date, are cited in this volume. Many of them are published in *U.E.*, X, and for those only a cross-reference is necessary.

- U.1487. Pl. 35. From the Kassite stratum of the great Nanna courtyard; *v. U.E.*, V, p. 94. Steatite. On stylistic grounds it might be assigned to the latter part of the Kassite period.
- U.3320. Pl. 35 and Fig. 9. Moulded in clay. L. 0.024 m. From the great Nanna courtyard, Kassite level.
- U.3321. Pl. 35 and Fig. 7. Moulded in clay. L. 0.04 m. From the great Nanna courtyard, Kassite level.
- U.3322. Pl. 35. Steatite; l. 0.028 m. From the great Nanna courtyard, Kassite level.
- U.7518. Glass paste, bleached white. L. 0.034 m. Geometric design, lozenges and criss-cross in four panels. Found with mace-heads (U.7516, 7517) on the EM site.
- U.7524. *U.E.*, X, No. 498. KG/51. Haematite. Wrongly ascribed in *U.E.*, X, to the Larsa period.
- U.7556. Fig. 8. Black steatite; l. 0.018 m. Introduction scene, worn, with illegible inscription.

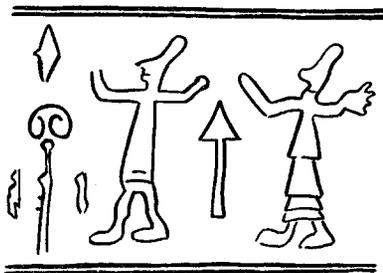


Fig. 7. U.3321



Fig. 8. U.7556

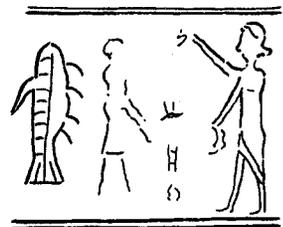


Fig. 9. U.3320

- U.12688. Pl. 35. Blue paste. From the foundation-deposit of Kuri-galzu in the great Nanna courtyard; *v. U.E.*, V, p. 90. See Mr. Gadd's description above, p. 95.
- U.12689. *U.E.*, X, No. 577. Glazed frit.
- U.12690. *U.E.*, X, No. 608. Glazed frit.
- U.12691. *U.E.*, X, No. 607. Shell.
- U.16126. *U.E.*, X, No. 575. Clay.
- U.16127. *U.E.*, X, No. 578. Green paste.
- U.16220. *U.E.*, X, No. 632. KG/41. White steatite.
- U.16365. KG/43. Haematite. Presentation scene with three figures. L. 0.022 m.

<sup>1</sup> See *U.E.*, VI.

- U.16747. Pl. 35, and *U.E.*, X, No. 628. Grey steatite.  
 U.16794. *U.E.*, X, No. 579. Glazed frit.  
 U.17401. *U.E.*, X, No. 543. KG/45. Steatite.  
 U.17761. *U.E.*, X, No. 574. Glazed frit.  
 U.18151. *U.E.*, X, No. 505. KG/53. Crystal.  
 U.18153. Circular stamp seal, glazed frit, with simple criss-cross pattern. KG/54.  
 U.18346. *U.E.*, X, No. 581. Glazed frit. From Sin-balatsu-iqbi's Nin-gal temple.  
 U.18724. *U.E.*, X, No. 243. KG/1. Steatite.  
 U.19870. *U.E.*, X, No. 619. Glazed frit.  
 U.19871. *U.E.*, X, No. 342. In *U.E.*, X, it is wrongly ascribed to the Third Dynasty period. It was found in a late, almost certainly Kassite, grave on the line of the Temenos wall. Steatite.  
 Unnumbered. Fig. 10. Cylinder seal from KG/55.



Fig. 10. Cylinder seal (unnumbered)  
from KG/55

### III. THE POTTERY

On Pls. 38-46 there are figured a hundred types of pottery assigned to the Kassite period. In view of the little that is known about the arts of this long historical period it would seem that we have here valuable material for the chronological sequence which archaeology aims at establishing; but unfortunately Kassite pottery is shewn to be so far from distinctive that for dating purposes its evidential value is small.

The list includes all those types which on archaeological grounds, i.e., by find-spot, stratification or association, could be attributed to the Kassite period. Where the find-spot was a grave, the attribution can be accepted as correct, for many graves could be dated with certainty by their relation to dated buildings, and unless that relation was indisputable the grave was not considered as evidence; thus far then we are upon safe ground. Dates based upon stratification were less dependable. Very often the walls of Larsa houses, patched and raised, were still in use in the Kassite period, and although successive floor levels might be clearly marked it was not possible to decide at which precise level the transition between Larsa and Kassite was to be placed, for there was nothing in the nature of a "destruction-level" to signalise the political change. In the case therefore of a clay vessel found as much as 2 m. or even 3 m. above the original floor of a private house it was still largely a matter of guesswork as to whether it was late Larsa or early Kassite. Again, although the typical Neo-Babylonian house was built upon a plan entirely different from that of the Kassite period, in many parts of the site denudation by weather had resulted in the complete disappearance of the Neo-Babylonian walls and floors, while the pottery belonging to them of course remained, now in a wholly wrong horizon. In denuded areas therefore the contents of the upper part of the Kassite stratum had no evidential value. In the case of temples or government buildings, where there might be successive pavements of burnt brick, or the re-use of walls was made evident by the occurrence of brick-stamps bearing the name of the restorer, the witness was more trustworthy and objects found actually on a floor level could be dated with confidence. Unfortunately only a few pots were found in such conditions. As regards the argument from association, which is normally legitimate, so many Kassite types were not peculiar to the period

that no argument could be based upon them and in most instances association has been invoked only to corroborate the evidence of stratification.

Of the hundred listed types no less than nineteen are "doubtful", i.e., the probabilities are in favour of their being Kassite in date, but definite proof is lacking. Of the others, all of which are represented by examples definitely belonging to the Kassite period, nineteen are also Larsa and were merely inherited by the Kassites from the earlier age, eight are common to the Larsa and to the Neo-Babylonian periods, these being for the most part the simple forms such as Types 1, 3, 4, 6 and 7, which are not likely to be peculiar to any one historical phase, and thirty-two are carried over into the Neo-Babylonian and even into the Persian periods. Only a quarter of the whole number therefore is specifically Kassite, and it must be remembered that this exclusive character is based on the accidents of discovery. Further excavation might well find some of these twenty-five types represented by examples securely dated to Larsa or Neo-Babylonian times. In any case, for the practical purpose of dating levels by pottery types, our Kassite type-lists are sadly inadequate.

Taken as a whole, Kassite pottery is uninteresting. It is altogether utilitarian and possesses the technical merits of utilitarian ware, being well turned, very evenly fired, and with a surface adequate to its purpose, rough, water-smoothed or with a plain engobage (true slip does not seem to be used); but the shapes are uninspired, and there is no attempt at decoration of any sort. Two examples of glazed pottery (of Types 20 and 22) came from a certainly Kassite grave (KG/20), and in two cases the characteristically late glazed bottle (Type 81) seemed to be dated by stratification to the Kassite period. It was only after 700 B.C. that glazed earthenware became common, and earlier examples of a technique that was still a trade secret are so rare that an isolated occurrence such as we have in KG/20 cannot be taken as illustrating contemporary practice. The bowl presumably came from a northern (Nineveh) workshop. What matters is that in the local ware there is no instance of painting, no incised or appliqué decoration, no slip, and no proper burnishing; the refinements of the potter's craft are all lacking. The colour range runs from drab or buff through drab pink to red, the last being more or less peculiar to the rougher ware in which the body clay is exposed, the lighter tints resulting from the water-smoothing of the surface and the action of heat on the finer clay thus produced. The colours, in fact, are due to the natural process of firing so are accidental, and not deliberately aimed at by the potter. In the Kassite period we find no instances of grey or black ware, the production of which requires a special type of furnace.

The evidence on which the types are assigned to the Kassite period is given in the following summary; in it the abbreviations used are: KG/- = Kassite grave (*v.* the tabular analysis on pp. 87-90); L = Larsa; NB = Neo-Babylonian; P = Persian.

*Type*

1. KG/10; also L, NB. and P.
2. KG/13. Other examples associated with pot-types K.27, 40, 43.
3. KG/28, KG/42. Also L.
4. KG/37. Examples from Room 36 of the Gi-par-ku of Kuri-galzu and from Room 5 in the Kassite range on the NW terrace; a common type (eight examples from Diqdiqqeh, undated), also L.
5. Dated by stratification only; doubtful.
6. KG/8. An example from under the floor of Room 64 of the Gi-par-ku of Kuri-galzu is probably L, but might be early Kassite; also NB.
7. KG/2. Also L.
8. KG/13.
9. Three examples, dated by stratification only; associations uncertain; doubtful.
10. KG/1; also L and NB.
11. Dated by stratification only; doubtful.

12. KG/2; also NB. and P.
13. Dated by stratification only; doubtful.
14. KG/4, KG/14; one NB. example.
15. KG/23, KG/40; also P.
16. KG/22, KG/25, KG/26, KG/27, KG/29, KG/43; several others in graves of uncertain date (Kassite or NB) but one certainly L.
17. KG/7; also NB.
18. KG/42; examples from Diqdiqqeh (undated); also P.
19. KG/42; an example, U.3184, was found in the doorway leading from the courtyard into Room 17 of Kuri-galzu's southern annexe to E-dub-lal-maḥ. Also L.
20. KG/20; this example, U.14418, is of glazed earthenware, but is certainly Kassite; in other cases the Kassite date is supported by associated types.
21. KG/24.
22. KG/20, KG/21, KG/52; also P. The KG/20 example is glazed.
23. KG/19; also L.
24. KG/1; also NB.
25. Five examples found; two dated by stratification only; three are associated with K Types 16 and 27, but also with two NB types; doubtful.
26. KG/42; also L and earlier.
27. KG/7; also P.
28. KG/20. A squat and rather curvilinear variant in E-dub-lal-maḥ courtyard.
29. KG/33.
30. KG/42; also NB.
31. KG/32; three examples from E-dub-lal-maḥ, Kassite level; but one, U.3268, from Room 21 of Kuri-galzu's southern annexe, was below floor level and might therefore be L, and was associated with an L pot not in the Kassite list.
32. Two examples from the Gi-par-ku of Kuri-galzu, presumably Kassite, and another from a mud-brick building at the west side of the Gi-par-ku should be earlier; two from a grave on the town wall, perhaps Kassite; several from NB. levels.
33. KG/1; also L.
34. KG/10, KG/16, KG/23, KG/24, KG/30, KG/33, KG/36, KG/38, KG/39; many undated examples. The type goes back to L and even to the Sargonid period.
35. Doubtful; in the field notes was attributed to K on grounds of stratification, but associations do not confirm this.
36. Dated by stratification only; doubtful.
37. Doubtful; one example from floor level in the court of Kuri-galzu's Gi-par-ku, but another, from a grave, was associated with two NB pot types.
38. KG/13; an example came from a grave (AHG/220) in the main Larsa house site, and another from a grave near the "Cyrus" gate of the Temenos, both probably NB; also three undated examples.
39. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
40. KG/7, KG/11, KG/15, KG/19, KG/49, KG/50; also L variants merge into Type 43, *q.v.*
41. Dated by stratification only; doubtful.
42. KG/13, KG/14, KG/15, KG/19, KG/49, KG/50; another from a grave under "Hill House (DPG/17) and eight more from the EM house site, all at Kassite level, one being from the filling of a late Kassite drain; one from the Kuri-galzu level of the Gi-par-ku. Associated types are 2, 12, 16, 22, 27, 34, 42, 46, 56.
43. KG/9, KG/12, KG/20, KG/55; also L.
44. Dated by stratification only; doubtful.
45. Dated by stratification only; doubtful.
46. Two examples (U.1138, 1139) came from the graves NW of the Temenos wall, which are probably Kassite.
47. A fair number of examples were found; levels and associations in some cases favour a Kassite date, in others NB.
48. KG/4, KG/41, KG/55, also L.
49. KG/13, one example from Room 1 of the NW terrace range, Level 2 (late Kassite).
50. KG/1, KG/8, KG/32; one example (from AHG/73, a grave in the main Larsa house area) is almost certainly L; another is NB.

51. KG/5; also NB.
52. KG/39; also L.
53. Doubtful. Two examples found in the Gi-par-ku, one against a Kassite wall, the other on a Kassite floor; one in the SW buildings of the great Nanna courtyard was at L level; one from a grave near the "Cyrus" gate was associated with two pots, neither of Kassite types. Probably Kassite and NB.
54. KG/23; also L.
55. KG/2. An example from below the floor of Room 64 in Kuri-galzu's Gi-par-ku was almost certainly L; others were NB.
56. KG/7, KG/10, KG/12, KG/24, KG/30; also L.
57. KG/8, KG/10, KG/32.
58. KG/19; also NB.
59. KG/41; also NB.
60. Several examples in Room 36 of Kuri-galzu's Gi-par-ku, on the floor.
61. KG/19, KG/35; also P.
62. KG/42.
63. Doubtful. An example from a grave on the town wall (TWG/B) which was probably Kassite (late) but might have been NB.
64. KG/42; also NB.
65. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
66. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
67. KG/13.
68. KG/3; also NB.
69. KG/42. Associations shew L; the type goes back at least to the Sargonid period.
70. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
71. KG/34; an example from Room 2 in the NW terrace range, level C.<sup>1</sup>
72. KG/44.
73. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
74. KG/2, KG/3, KG/20; also NB.
75. KG/2; also NB. A glazed example, U.657, is probably P.
76. KG/42; also NB-P.
77. Three examples; two of them from the graves NW of the Temenos, almost certainly Kassite; one, from a grave on the town wall (KG/46) probably NB.
78. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
79. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
80. KG/7. A glazed example from a pot grave dug into a NB wall, is definitely P.
81. Doubtful; dated by stratification only; glazed examples NB and P.
82. KG/11; also NB.
83. KG/3; also NB.
84. Doubtful. An example from a larnax grave in the SE gateway of the Temenos, older than the Temenos wall, may be Kassite.
85. KG/55; also NB.
86. KG/6.
87. KG/9, KG/16, KG/28, KG/47.
88. KG/17.
89. Probably Kassite; example from a double pot burial (KG/56) associated with Kassite types 65, 76, 90.
90. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
91. Doubtful; dated by stratification only.
92. KG/16.
93. KG/42; other examples associated with non-Kassite types, later; the type goes back to the Sargonid period.
94. Three examples from graves whose date could not be determined by external evidence, but other pots were of the Kassite types 34 and 84.
- 95-100. Dated by stratification only.

<sup>1</sup> [So the author's typescript. This is probably a mistake for "Section C, Room 2, in the NW terrace range".]

## CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS

[All objects of Kassite or Assyrian date referred to in the text or illustrated in the plates are here recorded with page and plate references, and a number of objects possessing interest in themselves or in their associations, which are not otherwise described in the text, are included. Some objects of earlier or later date are also included if their find-spots are described, or if they form an important link in the argument.

Where possible the present whereabouts of each object is indicated with its museum number, in round brackets with the following abbreviations: B. = Baghdad, *IM.* = Iraq Museum, L. = London, *BM.* = British Museum, P. = Philadelphia, *CBS.* = Catalogue of the Babylonian Section.]

- U.117. Collection of tablets and fragments found in E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag. P. 8.  
 U.118. Tablet found with hoard in E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag. P. 8.  
 U.420. Inscribed gate-socket of Šu-ilišu. L. 0.50 × ht. 0.22 m. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 100. From E-nun-maḥ, Room 7. Pp. 10, 11, 12. (P. *CBS.* 15324.)  
 U.421. Inscribed gate-socket of Šu-ilišu. L. 0.58 × ht. 0.28 m. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 100. From E-nun-maḥ, Room 19, NW door. Pp. 10, 11, 12. (B. *IM.* 373.)  
 U.838. Inscribed door-socket of Šu-Suen. L. 0.47 × w. 0.44 × ht. 0.23 m. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 80. Found in brick door box in W corner of E-nun-maḥ, Room 31. Reused in the Kassite period. P. 6. (L. *BM.* 116416.)  
 U.1013. Terra-cotta, Type 24. Pl. 31, p. 92. (P. *CBS.* 15188.)  
 U.1103. Terra-cotta, Type 17. Pl. 31, p. 92. (P. *CBS.* 15678.)  
 U.1165. Inscribed gate-socket of Amar-Suen, reused. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 71. Pp. 11, 31. (P. *CBS.* 15885.)  
 U.1216. Terra-cotta, Type 20. Pl. 31, p. 92. (P. *CBS.* 15636.)  
 U.1353. Fragment of gold inlay; the leg of a bull (?) silhouetted in thin gold leaf; ht. 0.016 m. From the Kassite level in the great Nanna courtyard. See *U.E.*, V, p. 93. Pl. 36. (B. *IM.* 669.)  
 U.1359. Shell amulet in the form of a clenched left hand; pierced at the wrist for suspension. L. 0.015 m. From the Kassite level in the great Nanna courtyard. See *U.E.*, V, p. 93. Pl. 36. (B. *IM.* 674.)  
 U.1404. Fragment of a vase of variegated glass with combed pattern in blue-grey and white. From the Kassite level in the great Nanna courtyard; see *U.E.*, V, p. 94. Pl. 37. (B. *IM.* 689.)  
 U.1487. Cylinder seal. Pl. 35, p. 96. (B. *IM.* 728.)  
 U.1531. Terra-cotta, Type 18. Pl. 31, p. 92. (P. *CBS.* 15655.)  
 U.1593. Terra-cotta, Type 11. Pl. 30, p. 92. (P. *CBS.* 15658.)  
 U.2605. Fragment of a vessel of buff clay on which is an incised drawing of a seated lion (?), the head missing. From the great Nanna courtyard, Kassite level; v. *U.E.*, V, p. 94, but the date is not certain. Pl. 37. (B. *IM.* 899.)  
 U.2616. Tablet dated to 22nd year of Marduk-apal-iddina *mar-ridutu*. Courtyard of Nanna. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 261; *U.E.T.*, IV, No. 206 and p. 2. P. 4.  
 U.2618. Copper ingot, l. 0.13 m., greatest diam. 0.04 m. From the Kassite level in the great Nanna courtyard. Pl. 36 (L. *BM.* 119100.)  
 U.2662. Clay label dated to the 10th year of Marduk-apal-iddina. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 262. From E-dub-lal-maḥ. P. 4.  
 U.2674. Inscribed hinge stone of Sin-balaṣu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 169. From E-dub-lal-maḥ. Pp. 11, 15, 21. (L. *BM.* 119065.)  
 U.2753. Inscribed hinge socket of Kuri-galzu. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 152. From E-nun-maḥ, Room 27. Pp. 6, 7. (B. *IM.* 932.)

- U.2757. Inscribed clay pedestal of Sin-balaṣu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 172; *U.E.*, IX, Pl. 29, pp. 17, 111. Found in the Museum of En-nig-al-di-Nanna (See p. 94 n). P. 4. (L. *BM.* 119014.)
- U.2758. A Kassite *kudurru* or boundary stone of black diorite; at the top a snake and a row of symbols of the chief gods carved in relief and on the sides an inscription (damaged) giving title deeds of landed property and elaborate curses on anyone who might tamper with it. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 165. This is one of the antiquities preserved in the school museum attached to the E-gi-par of Nabonidus, *v. U.E.*, IX, p. 17. Pls. 26, 27, p. 4. (B.)
- U.2815. Tablet fragment containing syllabary. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 7. P. 27.
- U.2816. Tablet fragment containing syllabary. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 7. P. 27.
- U.2853. Copper figurine of a squatting dog, ht. 0.03 m. Found on the pavement of the E-dub-lal-maḥ courtyard NW of the Kuri-galzu southern range. Pl. 28.
- U.2860. Twenty archaic tablets. Probably from E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 8. *U.E.T.*, II, Supplement, Nos. 13, 15, 17, 33, 35-50. P. 27. (B. *IM.* 49699, 49738, 49772, 49817-19; L. *BM.* 128974, 128977.)
- U.2870. Bronze dagger, l. 0.367 m. × w. 0.035 m. Found under the upper pavement of Room 1 of the courtyard buildings of E-dub-lal-maḥ; perhaps late Kassite, but date uncertain. Pl. 35. (L. *BM.* 119116.)
- U.2877. Inscribed brick of Adad-apal-iddina. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 167. (P. *CBS.* 16482.)
- U.2926. Tablet, Neo-Babylonian. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. P. 27.
- U.2940-61. Tablets. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. Some published in *U.E.T.*, III, *cf.* p. 280. P. 27. (2941 = P. 47-29-358; 2943 = P. 47-29-49; 2944 = P. 47-29-203; 2945 = L. *BM.* 130404; 2947 = L. *BM.* 130499; 2956 = P. 47-29-57.)
- U.2962. Tablet. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 203. P. 27.
- U.2964. Tablet. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. P. 27.
- U.2968. Tablet. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. *U.E.T.*, III, No. 866. P. 27. (L. *BM.* 130309.)
- U.2992. Tablet. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 7. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 208; *U.E.T.*, III, No. 1040. P. 27. (B.)
- U.2997-9. Tablets. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. P. 27.
- U.3004-5. Inscribed clay labels. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. P. 27.
- U.3009. Neo-Babylonian school tablet. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 1. P. 25.
- U.3010-11. Tablets. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. P. 27.
- U.3016-18. Tablets. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 6. P. 27.
- U.3019. Foundation tablet of white limestone, recording the building by Kuri-galzu of the temple of Nin-ezen. Found in the ruins of the Nin-gal temple. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 164; *v. U.E.*, V, p. 63. Pl. 28. (B. *IM.* 1002.)
- U.3022. Foundation tablet of copper, duplicate of U.3019, and found in same place. Pl. 28. (B. *IM.* 1003.)
- U.3033. Tablet. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 8. P. 27. (P. 47-29-174.)
- U.3034. Tablet. *U.E.T.*, III, No. 746. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 8. P. 27. (P. 47-29-140.)
- U.3035. " " " " 1452 " " " " " (P. 47-29-393.)
- U.3036. " " " " 1582 " " " " " (L. *BM.* 130481.)
- U.3042. " " " " 7 " " " " " (B.)
- U.3045. " " " " 749 " " " " 9 " 28 (B.)
- U.3046. " " " " " " " " " " " (B.)
- U.3049. " " " " 1379 " " " " " " (B.)
- U.3050. " " " " 1193 " " " " " " (P. 47-29-193.)
- U.3054. " " " " 207 " " " " " " (B.)
- U.3073. " " " " 1049 " " " " " " (P. 47-29-176.)
- U.3080. Tablet with seal impression. *U.E.T.*, III, No. 1554; *U.E.*, X, No. 473. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 9. P. 28. (B.)
- U.3087. Tablet. *U.E.T.*, III, No. 1110. From E-dub-lal-maḥ, Room 9. P. 28.
- U.3089. " " " " 1066 " " " " " " (B.)
- U.3090. " " " " 1581 " " " " " " (B.)
- U.3091. " " " " 1139. From E.S.B. 8/9. See p. 27, n. 2. (B.)
- U.3095. " " " " 1047 " " " " " " (L. *BM.* 130353.)
- U.3096. " " " " " " " " " " " (B.)
- U.3097. " " " " " " " " " " " (B.)
- U.3098. " " " " 1288 " " " " " " (P. 47-29-3699.)
- U.3099. " " " " 1655 " " " " " " (B.)

- U.3100. Tablet. *U.E.T.*, III, No. 1660. From E.S.B., 8/9. See p. 57, n. 2. (B.)
- U.3101. " " " " 1073 " " " " " " (L. *BM.* 130358.)
- U.3130. Fragment of an inscribed brick of Adad-apal-iddina. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 166. From the great court of Nanna. P. 4. (B. *IM.* 1038.)
- U.3148. Fragment of an inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 182. From the great court of Nanna. P. 70. (L. *BM.* 119277; P. *CBS.* 16559.)
- U.3161. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 170. From the temple of Nin-gal. (B.)
- U.3202. Inscribed brick of Kuri-galzu. From E-dub-lal-mah, surface.
- U.3204. Tablet. *U.E.T.*, III, No. 1505. From E.S.B. 8/9. See p. 57 and n.2. (P. 47-29-229.)
- U.3224. P. 11.
- U.3250. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, Nos. 173-4. From the "Wall Room left of Sanctuary" of the Nin-gal Temple. P. 70. (P. *CBS.* 16483.)
- U.3296. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 176. From the Well in the Temple of Nin-gal, *U.E.*, V, pp. 32-3. P. 70. (P. *CBS.* 16485.)
- U.3297. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 177. From same place as U.3296. P. 70. (B. *IM.* 1101, 1102; L. *BM.* 119279; P. *CBS.* 16486, 16556.)
- U.3298. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, No. 178. From same place as U.3296. P. 70. (B. *IM.* 1103; L. *BM.* 119271; P. *CBS.* 16487, 16557.)
- U.3299. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 179. From same place as U.3296. P. 70. (L. *BM.* 119274; P. *CBS.* 16488, 16558.)
- U.3300. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 180. From same place as U.3296. P. 70. (P. *CBS.* 16489.)
- U.3301. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 181. From same place as U.3296. P. 70. (P. *CBS.* 16490.)
- U.3304. Faience jar, miniature; cylindrical, ht. 0.03 m., diam. 0.022 m. with two holes for a handle, on opposite sides close to the rim; the glaze much perished. Found in the brickwork of the altar of Kuri-galzu's Nin-gal temple; v. *U.E.*, V, p. 57. Pl. 37. (L. *BM.* 119132.)
- U.3305. Silver tumbler, ht. 0.048 m., diam. 0.048 m. plain of base silver alloyed with copper. Found with U.3304. Pl. 37. (L. *BM.* 119118.)
- U.3306. Gold disk, plain, of thin metal, diam. 0.06 m. Found with U.3304. (L. *BM.* 119230.)
- U.3307. Leaf gold, plain; found with U.3304. (L. *BM.* 119229.)
- U.3308. Gold crescent, plain, width 0.03 m., thin metal. Found with U.3304. (L. *BM.* 119236.)
- U.3309-13. Gold wire and fragments of leaf gold, some plain, some curved with border of dots in relief and some with traces of relief (perhaps the casing of a cylinder seal?). Found with U.3304. (L. *BM.* 119231-3.)
- U.3314 A. Small faience vase, the glaze perished, ht. 0.052m. Pl. 37. (L. *BM.* 119192.)
- U.3314 B. Small faience base or stand, ht. 0.014 m., diam. 0.021 m. Found with U.3304. Pl. 37. (L. *BM.* 119135.)
- U.3318. Inscribed brick of Kuri-galzu. 0.32 × 0.32 × 0.08 m. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 159. Built into the inside and outside of the walls of the sanctuary of E-dub-lal-mah. Pp. 10-11, 22. (P. *CBS.* 16479.)
- U.3320. Cylinder seal. Pl. 35, Fig. 9, p. 96. (B. *IM.* 1107.)
- U.3321. Cylinder seal. Pl. 35, Fig. 7, p. 96. (B. *IM.* 1108.)
- U.3322. Cylinder seal. Pl. 35, p. 96. (B. *IM.* 1109.)
- U.3326. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, 175. From same place as U.3296. P. 70. (P. *CBS.* 16484.)
- U.3372. Copper figurine of a seated dog. Much decayed. Found *in situ* under the floor of Room 7 of Sin-balatsu-iqbi's Nin-gal temple. See *U.E.*, V, p. 64. Cf. U.2853, Pl. 28.
- U.3400-4953. Tablets. [Mostly published in *U.E.T.*, III (v. pp. 280-3). These were not assigned U numbers until after the close of the (third) excavation season, so that dig cards do not exist for them (the last number of the third season is U.3374 and the first of the fourth season U.6001). They may all be presumed however to have come from E-dub-lal-mah, Room 8.] See p. 27 and n. 2.
- U.6321. P. 81.
- U.6322. Tablet dated to the reign of Nergal-ušezib. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 263; *U.E.T.*, IV, No. 204 and p. 2. From the K.P.S. Site, House B, Room B 4. Pp. 4, 81. (P. 52-30-56.)
- U.6341. Inscribed brick of Sin-balatsu-iqbi. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 168. Found loose in soil south of Gi-par-ku. (L. *BM.* 119278; P. *CBS.* 16554.)

- U.6345-51. Tablets. Mostly published in *U.E.T.*, III (v. p. 282). From the K.P.S. Site, House B, Room B 3. P. 81. (U.6349 = P. 47-29-264; others = B.)
- U.6356. Vase of stalagmitic calcite, ht. 0.16 m. inscribed "The property of Nin-gal." *U.E.T.*, I, No. 98. Found in Room 63 of the Gi-par-ku. Probably the vase belonged to the temple treasury and was older than the Kassite building. Pl. 37, p. 41. (B. *IM.* 1171.)
- U.6358. P. 41. (P. *CBS.* 16206.)
- U.6360. P. 42.
- U.6417. Pp. 81, 83. (L. *BM.* 118563.)
- U.6615 B. Bronze dagger-blade, the point missing; l. 0.08 m. From below the burnt-brick foundations of the SE wall of the Gi-par-ku of Kuri-galzu. Pl. 36. (B. *IM.* 1361.)
- U.6638. Silver bowl, umbilical, with lotus-leaf pattern in repoussé work. D. 0.175 m., ht. 0.05 m. From the ash stratum over Rooms 26-34 of the Gi-par-ku. Kassite level. Pl. 35, p. 38. [See however *U.E.*, IX, pl. 23, p. 112; and p. 37, n. 2. above.] (P. *CBS.* 16399.)
- U.6639. Group of silver staff-heads or terminals for furniture; metal cylinders with solid ends ranging in diameter from 0.025 m. to 0.045 m. and in length from 0.04 m. to 0.075 m. All found together in the Kassite level of the Gi-par-ku. In most of them there were remains of wood. [Subsequent analysis has shown this to be reed.] P. 38. [See however *U.E.*, IX, pl. 23, p. 1113; and p. 37, n. 2. above.] (L. *BM.* 118600, 121672, 1927-5-27, 78-82; P. *CBS.* 16396-8.)
- U.6642. Fragment of a bronze bow. From same place as U.6638. P. 38. [See however *U.E.*, IX, p. 113; and p. 37, n. 2. above.] (P. 31-17-265.)
- U.6644. Silver situla, with handle hinged on the rim; ht. 0.145 m. From the Kassite level of the Gi-par-ku. Pl. 35 (restored), p. 38. [See however *U.E.*, IX, pl. 23, p. 113; and p. 37, n. 2. above.] (L. *BM.* 118598.)
- U.6645. Fragments of thin bronze, possibly greaves. From same place as U.6638. P. 38. [See however *U.E.*, IX, p. 113; and p. 37, n. 2. above.]
- U.6650. Frog amulet, marble; l. 0.011 m. From the Kassite level of the Gi-par-ku. Pl. 36. [See however *U.E.*, IX, p. 113; and p. 37, n. 2. above.] (L. *BM.* 118653.)
- U.6654 C. Silver bowl, decayed, but the form recognisable. Mistaken on discovery for copper. Ht. 0.075 m., diam. 0.30 m., base diam. 0.235 m. From same place as U.6638. Pl. 37, p. 38.
- U.6655. A copper quiver, fragmentary, with remains of the wooden arrow-shafts inside it. L. 0.35 m. From same place as U.6638. P. 38.
- U.6656. A bowl of base silver, with single loop handle; diam. 0.285 m., ht. 0.04 m. From same place as U.6638. Pl. 35, p. 38.
- U.6657. Two copper handles (?), A, B. Ht. 0.09 m.  $\times$  0.055 m. and 0.10 m.  $\times$  0.055 m. From the Gi-par-ku, Kassite level. Pl. 36, p. 38 and *cf.* p. 37, n. 2. (A = L. *BM.* 118628.)
- U.6658. Two copper (?) objects, much corroded; a metal loop with a welded cross-piece, 0.06 m.  $\times$  0.05 m. From the Gi-par-ku, Kassite level. Pl. 36, p. 38 and *cf.* p. 37, n. 2.
- U.6659. Iron dagger, in poor condition. L. 0.20 m., breadth 0.04 m. From same place as U.6638. P. 38. (L. *BM.* 118631.)
- U.6703. Inscribed gate-socket of En-men-an-na, the daughter of Naram-Suen. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 69. Found reused in the Gi-par-ku, Room 52. Pp. 40-1. (B. *IM.* 1131.)
- U.6763. Bowl of mottled oolite, rim diam. 0.19 m., ht. 0.05 m. From same place as U.6638. Pl. 35, p. 38. (P. *CBS.* 16221.)
- U.6767. Prophylactic figurines, Type 2. Average l. 0.13 m. Pls. 33-4, p. 94. (P. *CBS.* 16270.)
- U.6768. Prophylactic figurines, Type 3. Average l. 0.14 m. Pls. 33-4, p. 94. (P. *CBS.* 16271; L. *BM.* 118714.)
- U.6769. Prophylactic figurine, Type 4. L. 0.117 m.  $\times$  ht. 0.085 m. Pl. 34, p. 94. (P. *CBS.* 16272.)
- U.6770. Prophylactic figurines, Type 4. L. 0.12 m.  $\times$  ht. 0.85 m. Pl. 34, p. 94. (P. *CBS.* 16274.)
- U.6771. Prophylactic figurines, Type 5. Lengths from 0.035 to 0.10 m. Pl. 34, p. 94. (P. *CBS.* 16275.)
- U.6772. Prophylactic figurine, Type 6. L. 0.18 m. Pl. 33, p. 94. (L. *BM.* 118712.)
- U.6773. Prophylactic figurine, Type 7. L. 0.125 m. Pl. 33, p. 94.
- U.6774. Prophylactic figurine, Type 7. L. 0.115 m. Pl. 33, p. 94. (P. *CBS.* 16273.)
- U.6775. Prophylactic figurine, Type 8. L. 0.15 m. Pl. 33, p. 94. (L. *BM.* 118713.)
- U.6777. Stud of white steatite set in gold. D. 0.025 m.  $\times$  ht. 0.02 m. From the ash stratum over Rooms 26-34 of the Gi-par-ku. P. 38 and *cf.* p. 37, n. 2. (P. *CBS.* 16371.)
- U.6778 B. Scarab mount of gold; the scarab missing. From same place as U.6777. P. 37. (L. *BM.* 118596.)
- U.6927. Bronze socketed adze, l. 0.16 m. Found in the core of the burnt-brick wall of the Kuri-galzu range of rooms on the SW side of the Ziggurat; v. *U.E.*, V, Pl. 72. The type is very much older than

- the Kassite period, and as the weapon was deliberately embedded in the masonry one may suppose (a) that it was a dedication and (b) that its antiquity recommended it for the purpose. Pl. 36. (P. *CBS.* 16432.)
- U.7505. Bracelet of 133 beads; two six-holed bone spacers, two three-holed lapis-lazuli spacers, and small beads of lapis, carnelian, crystal and white paste. From a ruined inhumation grave of Kassite date in the EM house site (EMG/6). [See however p. 78 where the locus is given as "High House," floor of Court 1.] (B. *IM.* 3464.)
- U.7506. Gold ear-ring; hollow crescent of thin metal, diam. 0.015 m. Found with U.7505. Pl. 36. (L. *BM.* 120674.)
- U.7507. 12 duck-beads of white (bleached?) paste, each pierced for two strings. From the EM house site. Pl. 36. (P. *CBS.* 16826.)
- U.7516. Granite mace-head, ht. 0.045 m. Found with U.7517 and a glass cylinder seal U.7518, 2 m. above the Larsa level of Gay Street in the EM site; probably Kassite. Pl. 37.
- U.7517. Mace-head of black marble, ht. 0.045 m. Found with U.7516. Pl. 37. (B. *IM.* 3467.)
- U.7518. Cylinder seal. Found with U.7516. P. 96. (B. *IM.* 3468.)
- U.7524. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 498. P. 96. (B. *IM.* 3471.)
- U.7526. 6 arrow-heads, iron, l. 0.09 m.–0.10 m., some with parts of the wooden shafts adhering. From KG/11. [See however p. 78 where the locus is given as "High House", floor of Court 1.] Pl. 36, pp. 78, 87. (L. *BM.* 120757; P. *CBS.* 17431–3.)
- U.7532. Silver ear-rings, a pair, l. 0.027 m. From KG/11. [See however p. 78 where the locus is given as "High House", floor of Court 1.] Pl. 36, pp. 78, 87. (B. *IM.* 3475.)
- U.7539. Terra-cotta, Type 22. Pl. 31, p. 92. (B. *IM.* 3478.)
- U.7556. Cylinder seal. Scene of minor deity introducing worshipper to Nanna before whom stands a crescent moon on a staff. Fig. 8, p. 96. (P. *CBS.* 16886.)
- U.7565. Iron bar, rectangular in section, looped at the top and tapered below; the thick end is hollowed to a depth of 0.01 m. Length 0.33 m. thickness 0.02 m., tapered to 0.01 m. From the Kassite level of the EM house site. (L. *BM.* 121642.)
- U.7567. Copper finger-ring, of flat metal widened to make a (plain) bezel. From KG/57. Pl. 36, p. 90. (B. *IM.* 3497.)
- U.7572. Bead necklace, restrung in original order. Rings, lentoids, bugles and double conoids of carnelian, blueish crystal, yellow stone and one lapis-lazuli; 34 beads in all. From KG/14. P. 87. (P. *CBS.* 16810.)
- U.7575. Beads, 85 in all, ring-beads of glass paste now bleached white. From KG/57. P. 90.
- U.7593. A rod, 0.003 m. thick, composed of nine filaments of drawn black glass; one end is flattened by the pincers in which it had been held when in a semi-melted state; the other end broken. The fragment affords definite proof that variegated glass vessels of "Phoenician" type, made by winding glass threads round a clay core, were actually manufactured at Ur. It was found high up (but loose in the soil) over the EM house site and must be dated to the Kassite period. P. 79, n. 1. (L. *BM.* 128415.)
- U.7623. Silver bangle, much decayed; a plain hoop, diam. 0.06 m. KG/57. P. 90. (B. *IM.* 3525.)
- U.7624. Copper bowl, ht. 0.04 m., diam. 0.125 m. KG/57. Pl. 37, p. 90. (P. *CBS.* 17405.)
- U.7660. Bottle of variegated glass resembling U.17062, see Pl. 28; the body ribbed, with waved pattern in blue and black. KG/14. P. 87.
- U.7818. Four inscribed gate-sockets of Marduk-nadin-ahḫe. *U.E.T.*, I, No. 306. From the doors of the sanctuary entrance and the three SW rooms of E-nun-mah. P. 4. (P. *CBS.* 17244.)
- U.12183. Copper figurine of a seated dog, perforated at the back of the neck for suspension; the dog wears a collar, and on the top of the head there is an upstanding copper band. Ht. 0.045 m. Cf. U.2853, Pl. 28. Found underneath the sloped mud apron of the interior wall of the great Nanna courtyard of Sin-balaṣu-iqbi; v. *U.E.*, V, p. 95.
- U.12688. Cylinder seal. L. 0.053 m. × d. 0.018 m. See *U.E.*, V, p. 90. Pl. 35, pp. 95, 96. (L. *BM.* 122553.)
- U.12689. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 577. From same place as U.12688, v. *U.E.*, V, p. 90. Pp. 95, 96. (L. *BM.* 122539.)
- U.12690. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 608. From same place as U.12688. Pp. 95, 96. (P. 30–12–47.)
- U.12691. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 607. From same place as U.12688. Pp. 95, 96. (P. 30–12–46.)
- U.15070. P. 44, n. 1.
- U.15652. P. 44, n. 1.
- U.15662. P. 44, n. 1. (L. *BM.* 122870.)

- U.16002. P. 44, and n. 3. (L. *BM.* 122935.)
- U.16110. Terra-cotta, Type 5. Pl. 29, p. 92.
- U.16126. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 575. P. 95. (L. *BM.* 122989.)
- U.16127. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 578. P. 95. (B. *IM.* 14473.)
- U.16159 A-E. Prophylactic figurines, Type 9. Pl. 32, p. 94. (P. 31-43-488-9.)
- U.16160 A-D. Prophylactic figurines, Type 10. P. 94.
- U.16187. Finger-ring of engraved shell, diam. 0.023 m. KG/21. Pl. 36, p. 88.
- U.16188. Beads, balls, barrels and bugles, of glass paste. KG/21. P. 88. (P. 31-43-169.)
- U.16196. Beads; ribbed rings of yellow glass paste, blue paste bugles, and two-holed spacers of green paste. From KG/27. Pl. 36, p. 88. (P. 31-43-130.)
- U.16215. Three copper fish-hooks. They were found together low in the filling of the Amar-Suen mausoleum and should belong to the early part of the Kassite period. Pl. 36.
- U.16220. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, IV, p. 185; *U.E.*, X, No. 632. Pp. 89, 96, 97. (L. *BM.* 122947.)
- U.16223. Terra-cotta, Type 8. Pl. 30, p. 92. (P. 31-43-381.)
- U.16365. Cylinder seal. Pp. 89, 97. (L. *BM.* 122956.)
- U.16375. Beads; a necklace of mixed beads, balls, rings and barrels of glass paste, some plain, some variegated of white and yellow, and one rectangular haematite bead. From KG/43. P. 89.
- U.16385. Ring beads of glass. KG/43. P. 89. (P. 31-43-134.)
- U.16386. Finger ring of shell. P. 89.
- U.16438 A-M. Terra-cotta, Type 6. Pl. 29, p. 92. (L. *BM.* 1931-10-10, 453, 455; P. 31-43-388, 390, 392.)
- U.16481. Terra-cotta, Type 3. Pl. 29, p. 92. (P. 31-43-382.)
- U.16497. Terra-cotta, Type 2. Pl. 29, p. 92.
- U.16698. Beads; carnelian bugles and flattened double conoids, a steatite bugle, a fluted bead of glass paste (Pl. 36) and a green quartzite barrel. From a ruined Kassite grave (KG/31) over the AH house site. P. 88.
- U.16717. Beads; 8 carnelian balls, 1 carnelian barrel, 1 oblong agate pendant (Pl. 36), 1 fluted gold bead. AHG/170.
- U.16724. Beads; a string of carnelian balls and one of blue glass paste fluted double conoids. From a ruined Kassite grave (KG/35) over the AH house site. P. 89.
- U.16725. Beads; ball beads of black glass with white and yellow bands. From the same grave as U.16724. P. 89.
- U.16727. Beads; a mixed string of carnelian, quartz, agate and lapis-lazuli rings, bugles, lentoids and double conoids, and 3 lapis frog amulets. From the same grave as U.16724. P. 89. (L. *BM.* 1931-10-10, 219.)
- U.16728. Gold ear-ring; a hollow bag-like lunate pendant. From the same grave as U.16724. Cf. U.7506, Pl. 36. P. 89.
- U.16747. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, IV, p. 185; *U.E.*, X, No. 628. Pl. 35, pp. 96, 97. (P. 31-43-75.)
- U.16785. Bronze (?) knife, original l. 0.16 m., broken and imperfect found embedded in the brickwork of a Kuri-galzu wall on the AH site, together with U.17062. Pl. 36, p. 78. (P. 31-43-494.)
- U.16794. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 579. Pp. 95, 97.
- U.16805. Stamp seal. *U.E.*, IX, Pl. 30, p. 122; *U.E.*, X, No. 576. P. 95. (L. *BM.* 123006.)
- U.16916. Terra-cotta, Type 16. Pl. 31, p. 92. (P. 31-43-418.)
- U.16922. Terra-cotta, Type 10. Pl. 30, p. 92. (L. *BM.* 1931-10-10, 400.)
- U.16964. Terra-cotta, Type 12. Pl. 30, p. 92. (P. 31-43-403.)
- U.17062. Bottle of variegated glass, "Phoenician" type, of blue glass with combed pattern in white. Ht. 0.10 m. Found, with U. 16785, embedded in Kuri-galzu brickwork. Pl. 28, p. 78. (P. 31-43-231.)
- U.17064. Miniature glass two-handled bottle, ht. 0.038 m. Found in the Kassite level above the AH house site. P. 78.
- U.17075. Prophylactic figurine, Type 11. Ht. 0.125 m. × shoulder w. 0.045 m. Pl. 34, p. 94. (P. 31-43-490.)
- U.17173. Terra-cotta, Type 19. Pl. 31, p. 92.
- U.17223 A. Steatite charm; a flat rectangular pendant having on the one side a Phoenician inscription and on the other a roughly incised figure of a demon. 0.043 m. × 0.033 m. KG/43. Pl. 28, p. 89. (P. *CBS.* 32-40-304.)
- U.17223 B. Beads; red paste scaraboids, black and green paste rings strung alternately, and one crystal ball. From KG/29. P. 88.
- U.17401. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 543. Pp. 89, 95, 97.

- U.17627 A. Copper cylinder of Marduk-nadin-ahhe. See *U.E.*, V, p. 38. [The text to be published in *U.E.T.*, VIII.] P. 69, n. 1. (L. *BM.* 123124.)
- U.17761. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 574. Pp. 95, 97. (B. *IM.* 14500.)
- U.17829. P. 67.
- U.17852. Beads. Mixed collection of carnelian, sard and agate lentoids and bugles, carnelian rings, lapis paste lentoids, glazed frit fluted ball, lapis ball, quartz lentoid, amethyst lentoid, pebble lentoid, two unshaped but pierced rock crystal lumps, and a steatite cylinder seal completely defaced. Found in the late Kassite building on the NW Temenos wall, Level 3, between the brick pedestal and the SW door-jamb of Room 4. P. 64. (B.)
- U.17853. A fragment of limestone flaked off from a curved drum, bearing the almost complete inscription "To Amurru/his god/ (For) life/Warad-Sin/King of Larsa." It was found by the door-jamb of Room 3 in the Kuri-galzu range on the NW terrace, but its presence there is of course not significant. P. 64. (P. 32-40-435.)
- U.17854. Terra-cotta, Type 27. Pl. 32, pp. 64, 93. (B.)
- U.17855. Terra-cotta, Type 26. Pl. 32, pp. 64, 93. (L. *BM.* 123241.)
- U.17865. Head of a statue in white limestone; a female head, very coarse and ugly work. The eyes are inlaid; the hair—or head-dress—was in a different material and was fixed by a copper peg part of which remains in its hole in the crown; the ears are pierced to take ear-rings. Enough of the shoulders is left to show that the figure was draped. The statue was broken in antiquity and mended with bitumen. Ht. from chin to top of head, 0.07 m.; width across shoulders, 0.17 m. Found under the pavement of Room 3, Level 2, in the Kuri-galzu range on the NW terrace. Pl. 28, p. 71. (B.)
- U.17873. Model bricks. Baked clay miniatures of plano-convex bricks with incised crescents, stars, squares and other symbols ( $\cup$ ,  $*$ ,  $\square$ ,  $\perp$ ,  $\wedge$ ,  $\parallel$ ), 0.039  $\times$  0.023  $\times$  0.019 m. and 0.043  $\times$  0.028  $\times$  0.015 m. Miniatures of flat topped bricks with long curved frog, 0.05  $\times$  0.03  $\times$  0.012 m. and of conical bricks with round top and long frog, and of others with one straight and one curved side and a rise on top with a double-curved frog; also square and circular bowls containing lump of bitumen mixed with earth. Found in the late Kassite building on the NW Temenos wall, Level 3, Room 4, under the pavement to the NE side of the brick pedestal and under the foundations of the NE wall. P. 64. (P. 32-40-60-68.)
- U.17892. Mace-head of white limestone, ht. 0.05 m. From Room 10 of the (late Kassite) Level 2 range of buildings along the NW Temenos wall. Pl. 37, p. 67.
- U.17893. Two mace-heads of white limestone, poorly shaped but of the same form, hts. 0.075 m. and 0.065 m. From the (late Kassite) Level 3 range of buildings along the NW Temenos wall. Pl. 37, p. 68.
- U.17895. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 167. P. 68. (B. *IM.* 14503.)
- U.17896. Copper nail with gilt head, and scraps of gold foil, from Level 2 in the range of buildings along the NW terrace on the floor of Shrine B of the (later) Kassite period. P. 67.
- U.17897. Copper weight (?) in the form of a rod, round in section, and tapering slightly at the ends. L. 0.10  $\times$  max. diam. 0.013 m. From XNCF site, Level 2 *bis*. P. 67. (B.)
- U.17898. Beads, a mixed collection found on the floor of Shrine B in the later Kassite range on the NW terrace. Shapes include ring, ball, cylinder, rhomboid, diamond, date-shaped, elliptical, polygonal, double conoid, poppy-seed, miniature chisel, a pear-shaped pendant and a miniature celt; materials include carnelian, steatite, marble, calcite, quartz, sard, agate, amethyst, mother-of-pearl, shell, limestone, granite, haematite and crystal. P. 66.
- U.18042. Terra-cotta, Type 1. Pl. 29, p. 92. (B.)
- U.18043 A. Terra-cotta fragment of seated goddess in shrine. Lower part missing. Face reduced to a blob; turreted crown; big rosettes on shoulders and background; hands before waist. Ht. 0.06  $\times$  width 0.055 m. From Diqdiqqeh. (P. 32-40-32.)
- U.18043 B. Terra-cotta, Type 25. Pl. 31, p. 93. (B.)
- U.18048. Terra-cotta, Type 15. Pl. 30, p. 92. Two fragments, A and B. (P. 32-40-33; B.)
- U.18053. Terra-cotta, Type 13. Pl. 30, p. 92. (B.)
- U.18067. Terra-cotta, Type 21. Pl. 31, p. 92. (B.)
- U.18108. Clay head (of a negro?); hand-modelled; good work but much damaged; broken off at the base of the neck. Ht. 0.035 m. Loose in the Kassite level of the NW terrace range. (P. 32-40-36.)
- U.18151. Cylinder seal *U.E.*, X, No. 505. Pp. 90, 97. (B. *IM.* 14506.)
- U.18152. Beads; carnelian tubular and date-shaped alternating with lapis-lazuli date-shaped and discoid;

- one discoid of yellow stone. With them, a pair of silver ear-rings, both broken. Pl. 36. From a ruined grave (KG/53) in Room 5 of House 1 in the XNCF site. P. 90.
- U.18153. Beads; date-shaped beads of carnelian, quartz, lapis-lazuli and glazed frit, bugles of lapis and balls of carnelian together with a circular handled stamp seal of glazed frit with a simple criss-cross pattern below. From KG/54. Pp. 90, 97. (P. 32-40-259.)
- U.18154. Eight copper bracelets, plain penannular rings of square-section metal. From the same grave as U.18153. Four were worn on each arm. P. 90.
- U.18166. Beads; very small date-shaped and ring and double conoid carnelians and one or two of lapis-lazuli strung as a finger-ring; also a pair of silver ear-rings, both broken, Pl. 36. From the same grave as U.18152. P. 90. (P. 32-40-253 (beads), P. 32-40-451-453 (ear-rings).)
- U.18227. Inscribed clay cone of Warad-Sin. P. 54. (B.)
- U.18228. Inscribed clay cone of Warad-Sin. P. 54. (P. 33-35-192.)
- U.18296. Tablets; one complete and fragments of at least two others; unbaked. Also two fragments of a baked tablet. [Dig card gives "XNCF/32. Found on the floor of the 2nd level building of the NE range, Room 5", *cf.* however p. 77, which give the provenance as Room 9.]
- U.18300. Inscribed door-socket of Šu-Suen found reused in Room C 2 of the older buildings on the NW Temenos wall. P. 52. (B.)
- U.18306. Terra-cotta, Type 9. Pl. 30, p. 92. (P. 33-35-15.)
- U.18346. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 581. P. 97. (L. *BM.* 124402.)
- U.18628. Copper statuette, ht. 0.074 m., of a woman standing with hands raised in the attitude of prayer: her hair is done in a heavy chignon, and she wears a long flounced dress. Found immediately below the brickwork of the NW altar in the Nin-gal temple of Kuri-galzu. Pl. 28.
- U.18724. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 243. Pp. 87, 95-6, 97. (B. *IM.* 18986.)
- U.18725. Frog amulet of dark steatite. L. 0.046 × width 0.037 m. KG/1. P. 87. (B.)
- U.18727. Object of unbaked clay; a flat oval base, 0.13 m. × 0.08 m., and incurved sides rising to a flat top (ht. 0.07 m.) in the middle of which is an oval depression; close to the rim of the depression is a large carnelian bead impressed into the clay; in the side below this there is impressed in the clay a cowrie shell of which only part of the base shows, giving the effect of a crescent. From KG/1. Pl. 37, p. 87.
- U.18836. Beads; small natural shells pierced for stringing, carnelian cylinders and rings, marble diamond, steatite discoid, chert (?) date-shaped, double conoid, white frit frog amulet; a very poor lot. *U.E.*, IV, p. 195. KG/3. P. 87. (B. *IM.* 20376.)
- U.19163. Terra-cotta, Type 23. Pl. 31, p. 92. (B.)
- U.19870. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 619. Pp. 95, 97. (B. *IM.* 18902.)
- U.19871. Cylinder seal. *U.E.*, X, No. 342. P. 97. (B. *IM.* 18898.)
- U.20201. Fragment of a terra-cotta head of a wolf (?). The fragment is hand-modelled with unusual delicacy and is of interest as giving an unexpectedly good impression of Kassite art. Found in Room 3 of the Level 3 range of buildings along the NW wall of the Temenos. Pl. 37 (drawing 1/1), p. 70.

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a. E-nun-mah ; general view showing the Kuri-galzu walls



b. The *Via Sacra*, passing E-nun-mah and E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag



a. View across courtyard of E-dub-lal-mah showing the steps to the Ziggurat terrace and the gateway of the continuation of the *Via Sacra*.



b. The gateway of the continuation of the *Via Sacra*, looking back to E-dub-lal-mah.



a. The *Via Sacra*, looking back from the gateway of the Gi-par-ku



b. E-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ag, Room 2, showing the curved drain-cover in the pavement



a. Front view, showing the steps to the *podium* ; on the left Sin-balaṣu-iqbi's walls and *kisū* are still *in situ*.



b. Front view across the courtyard.

E-DUB-LAL-MAḪ



a. The NE side, before the removal of Sin-balašsu-iqbi's mud-brick additions



b. The NE side in course of clearance, showing the Larsa walls underlying those of Kuri-galzu.

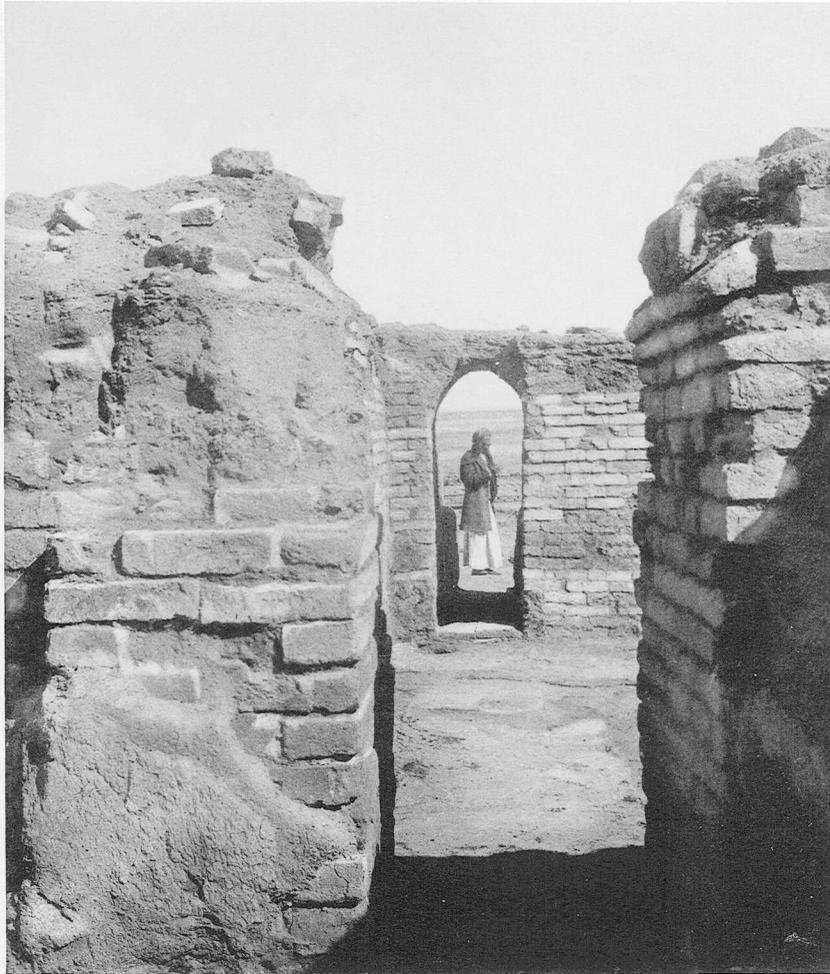
E-DUB-LAL-MAH



a. The SW side; Sin-balatsu-iqbi's mud plaster removed, exposing a brick-stamp of Kuri-galzu



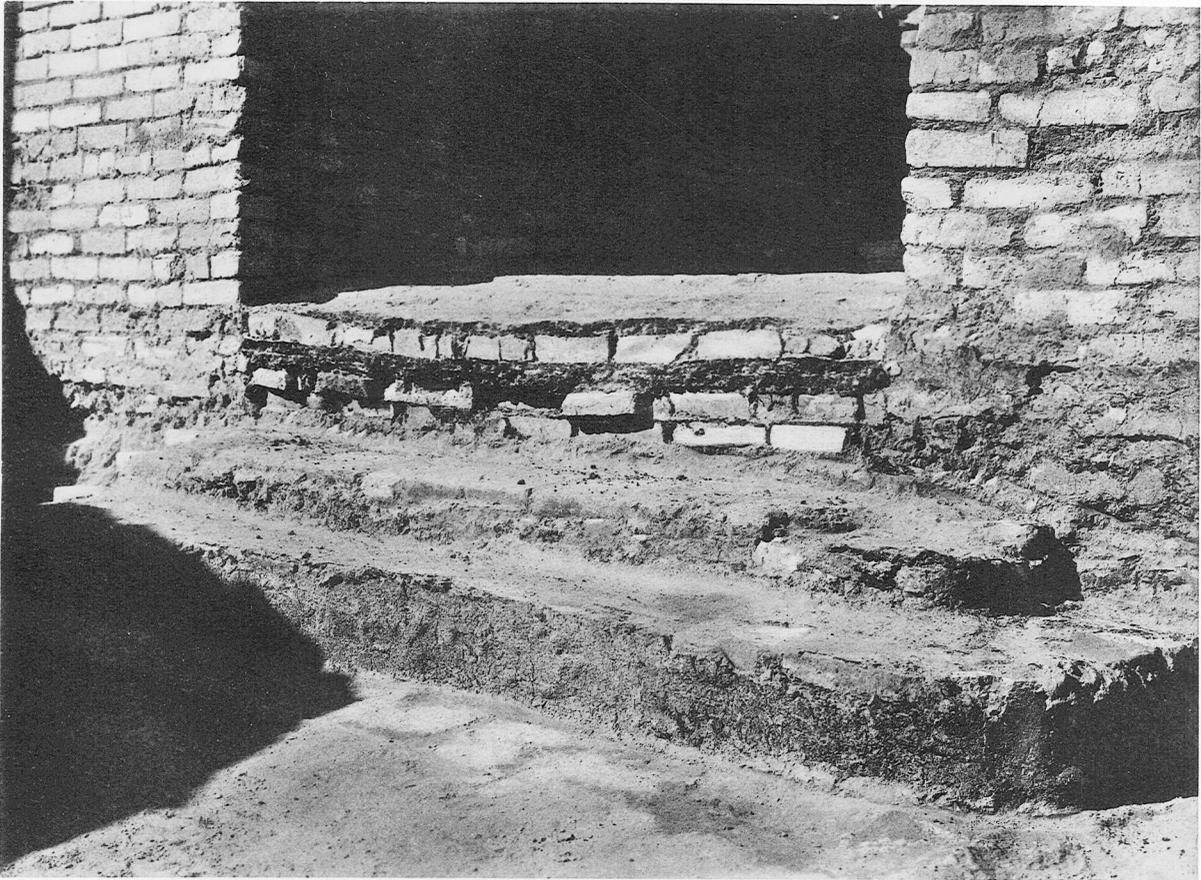
b. The SW side; the outer part of Išme-Dagan's buttressed wall trimmed back to receive the *kisû* of Kuri-galzu



a. View north eastwards across the outer chamber, from the fallen to the standing arch



b. General view from the South, after final clearing



a. The doorway of the inner chamber, showing under the Kassite threshold Isme-Dagan's steps leading up to the Ziggurat terrace.



b. The great outer doorway seen from inside, showing the five brick courses of the Nabonidus pavement overlying the Kuri-galzu threshold, below which is that of Ishme-Dagan.



a. The pylon doorway from the courtyard to Room 32, on the *Via Sacra*.



b. General view of the southern block with Room 3 and the main entrance-door in the foreground.

E-DUB-LAL-MAH



a. The southern block. View showing Rooms 4 - 10



b The southern block. View showing Rooms 5, 6, 7, and 8



a. The southern block. Rooms 10, 11 and 12.



b. The southern block. Rooms 13 - 20, looking NE from Room 13.

E-DUB-LAL-MAH



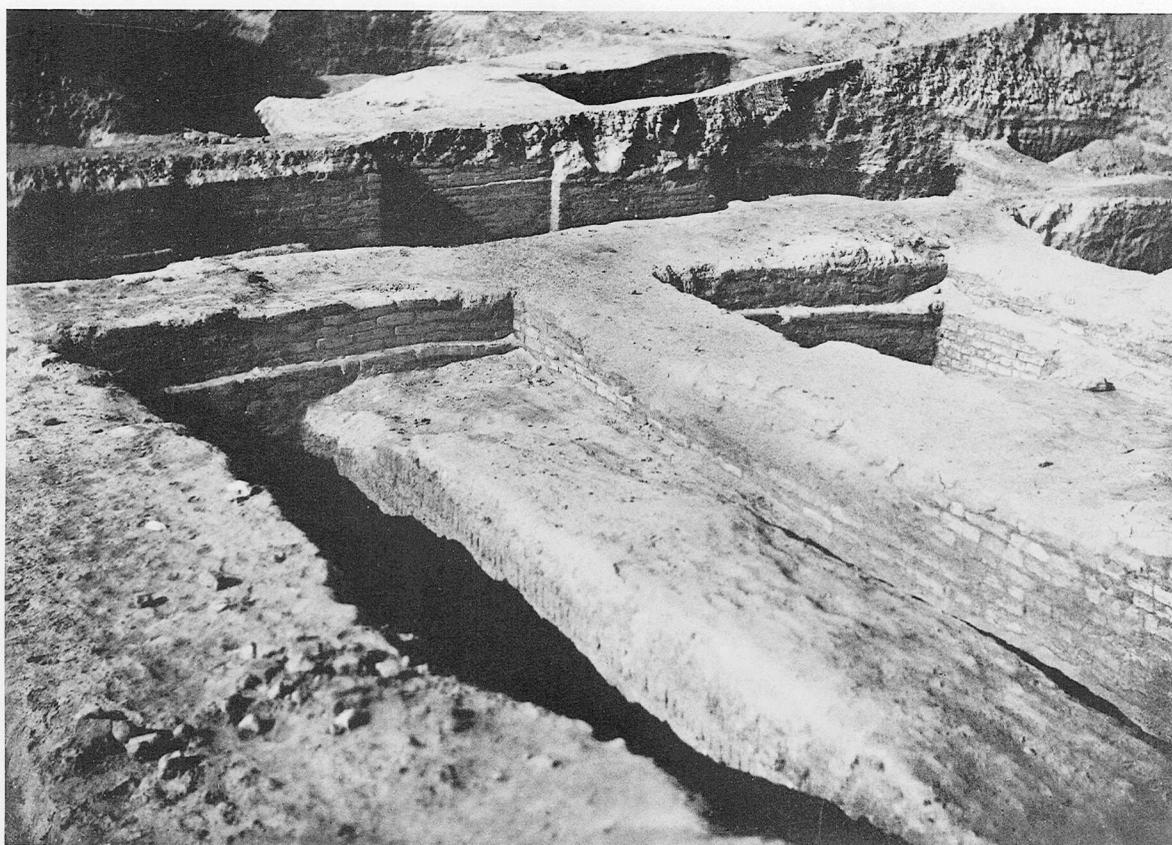
a. The Gi-par-ku, general view from Ziggurat terrace



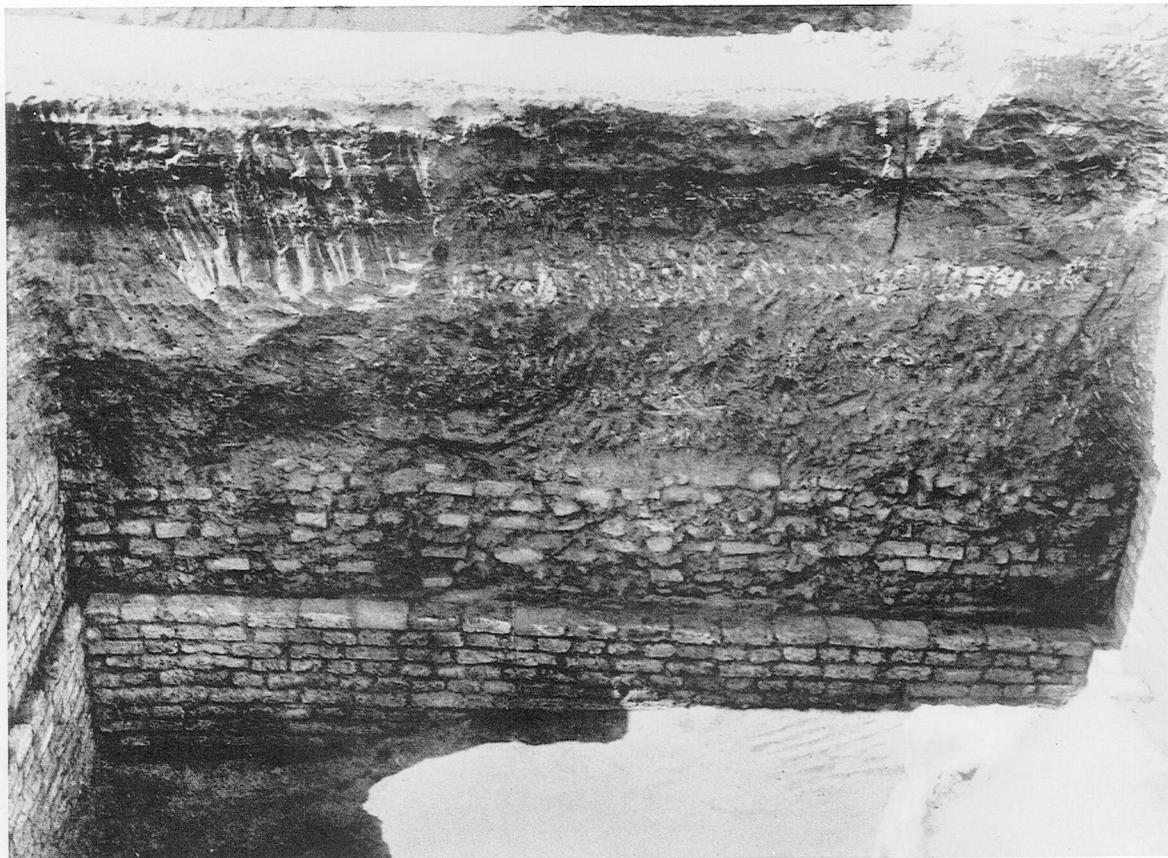
b. The Gi-par-ku of Kuri-galzu ; looking from Room 11  
through the doorway of Room 12



a. The Nin-giz-zid-da Temple of Kuri-galzu ; central area, showing the ruined state of the building.  
The floor and column-base in the background belong to the Third Dynasty building.



b. The NW end of the Temenos. Room D.3 of the range, showing Ur-Nammu's mud-brick Temenos wall underlying the Kassite burnt brickwork.



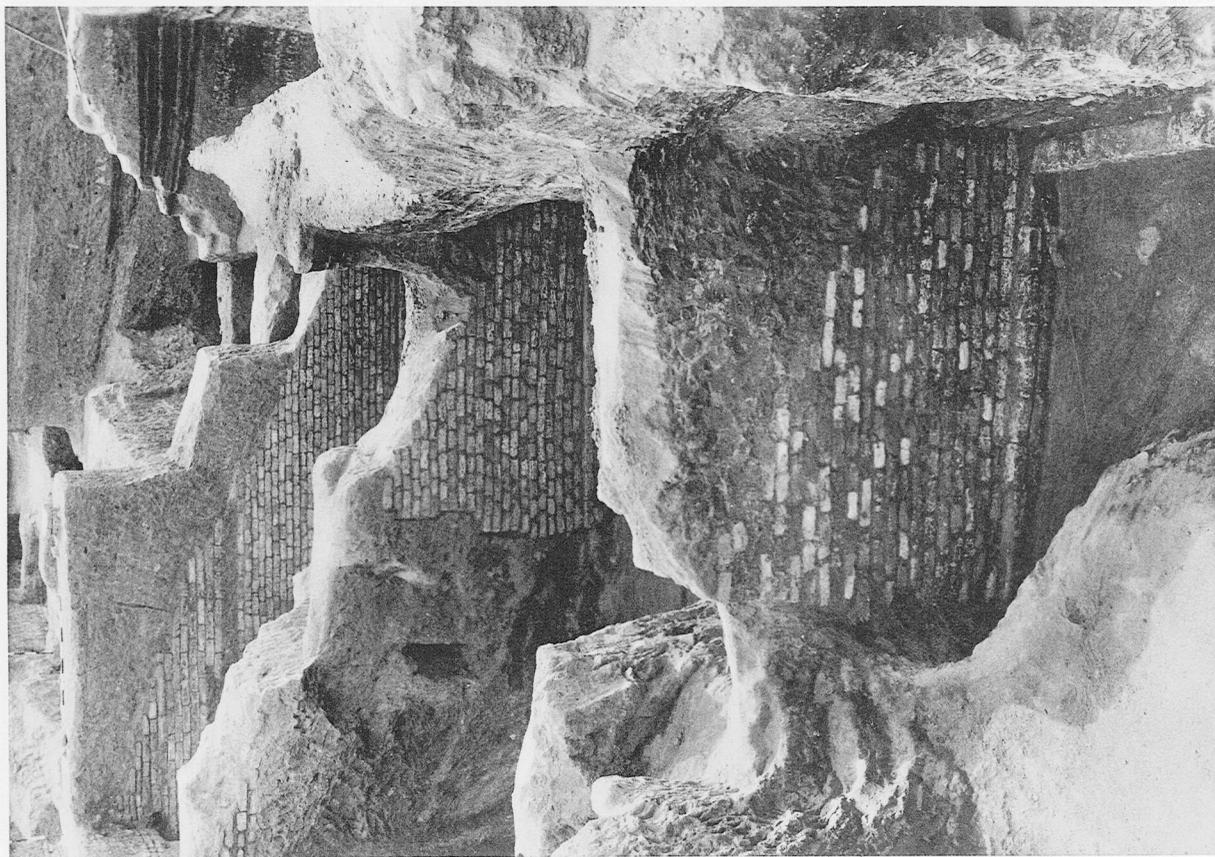
a. The NW (outer) wall seen from the inside (Room B. 2). The mud brick has been removed so as to expose the coursed brick rubble construction of the back of the later wall.



b. View from Room A. 3, looking NE across the B chambers on the lower terrace.



b. View looking SE along the outer (SW) wall of the B range.

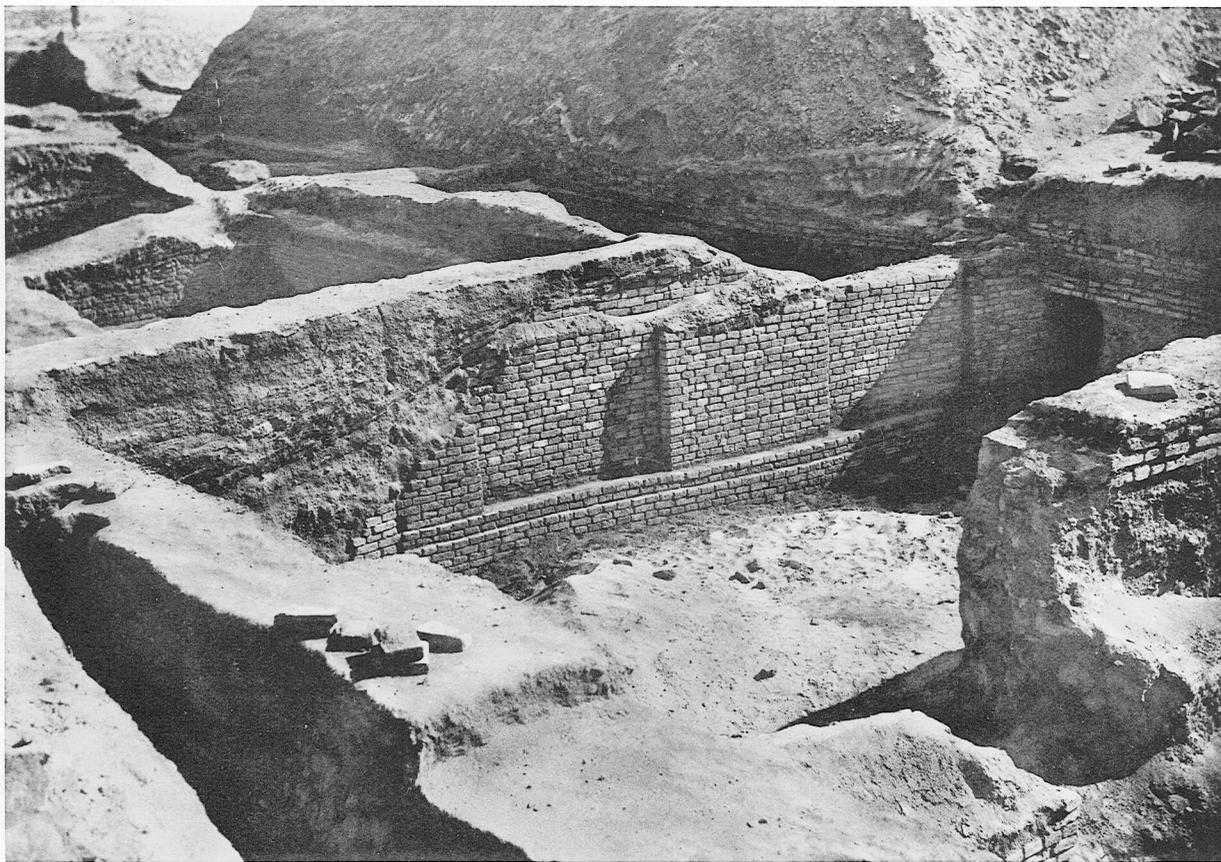


a. View across the B range of chambers, looking SW.

THE BUILDINGS ON THE NW TEMENOS WALL



a. Section B, seen from the NW.

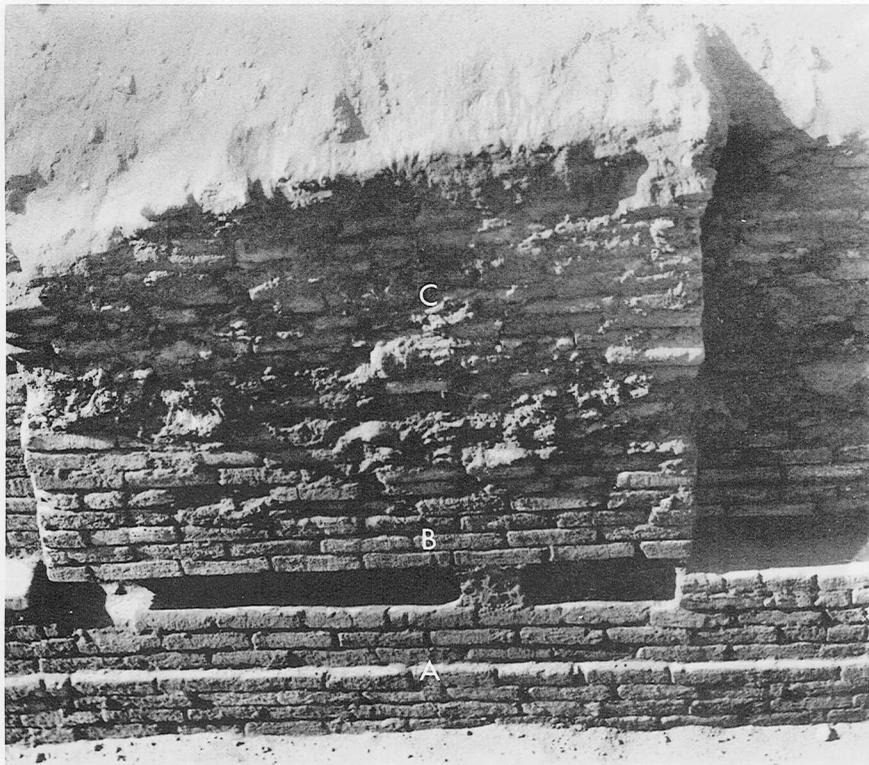


b. Section B seen from the west, showing the outer wall of Warad-Sin's bastion.

THE BUILDINGS ON THE NW TEMENOS WALL



a. The NE face of the salient.  
A. Brickwork of Ur-Nammu  
B. Brickwork of Kuri-galzu  
C. Later Kassite brickwork.

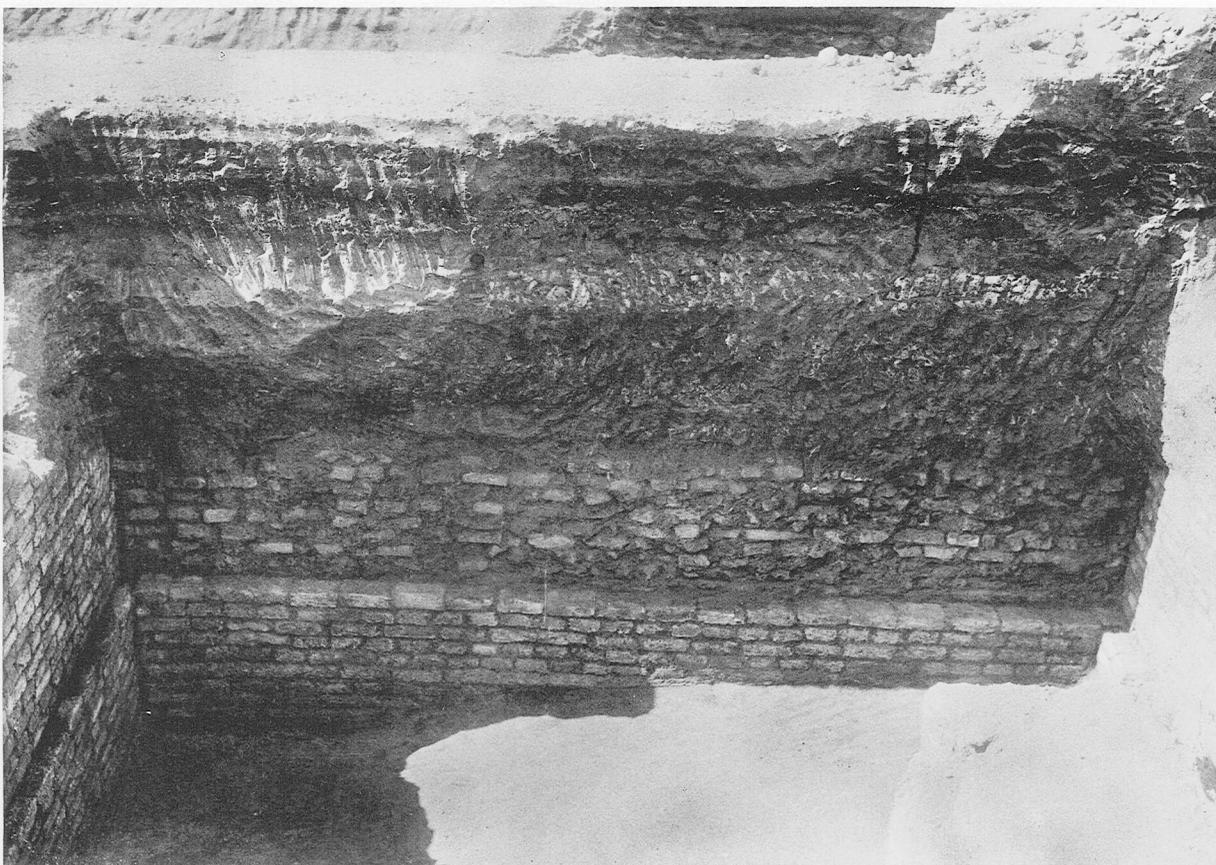


b. Buttress in the NE face of the salient.  
A. Brickwork of Ur-Nammu  
B. Brickwork of Kuri-galzu  
C. Later Kassite brickwork.

THE BUILDINGS ON THE NW TEMENOS WALL



a. The outer face of the butressed wall dividing sections B and C.



b. Room B 2, showing the construction of the NW wall.

THE BUILDINGS ON THE NW TEMENOS WALL



- a. Room A 5 of Level 2 bis, shewing stratification.
- A. The Corner Fort of Nebuchadnezzar.
  - B. This mud wall-plaster of Level 2 bis repaired.
  - C. Mud-brick wall of Level 2 bis.
  - D. Floor of Level 2 bis.
  - E. Mud-brick wall of Level 2.
  - G. Burnt-brick wall and floor of Level 3
  - H. Doorway in the NW wall of Level 2
  - I, J. Burnt-brick walls of Level 4 (Kuri-galzu).



b. The retaining-wall of the Ziggurat platform, showing Kuri-galzu's revetment of the Kudur-Mabuk frontage

THE NW TEMENOS AREA



a. View looking NE along the range. On the left, Rooms B 3—7; in the centre, the street with piles of mud bricks; on the right, Kuri-galzu's revetment of the Ziggurat platform's retaining wall.



b. View looking SE across Room A 3 into Room B 2.

THE KURI-GALZU RANGE AGAINST THE ZIGGURAT PLATFORM



a. View looking NE along the row of B rooms ; the A rooms are on the left.



b. View along the central corridor from Room A. 6, looking SE.

THE KURI-GALZU RANGE AGAINST THE ZIGGURAT PLATFORM



a. Level 2 ; Room 2 in course of excavation. The pavement is that of level 2, the walls are those of Nebuchadnezzar's corner fort ; against the near wall on the right is a strip of the Level 2 *bis* pavement.



b. Level 2 ; Room 2, after clearing. In the (east) corner is the recessed niche and brick altar.

THE LATER KASSITE BUILDINGS ON THE NW TERRACE



a. Level 2, Room 2 ; the same view as the last but with part of the pavement removed to show the walls and pavement of Level 3.



b. Level 2, Room 2. On the right are the remains of the sanctuary facade with its wall niches, and brick bases against it. The bricks on the left are the remains of an altar.



a. View looking from Room 6 into Room 2. Level 2.



b. Level 2 *bis*. Room C 2. A pavement made of bricks bearing the double finger mark characteristic of Sulgi; an extreme example of the re-use of old material.

THE LATER KASSITE BUILDINGS ON THE NW TERRACE



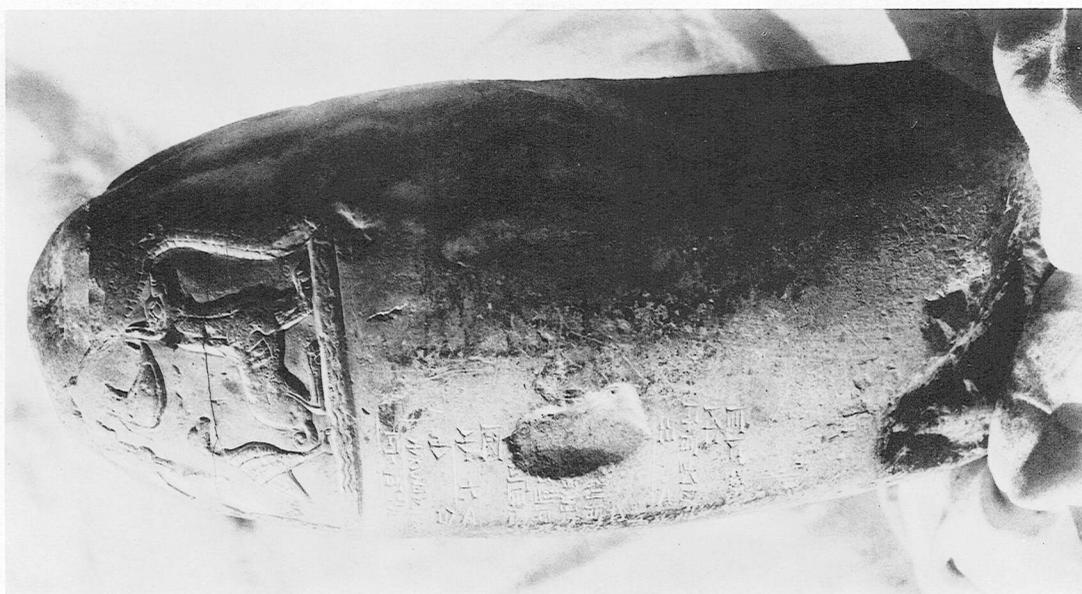
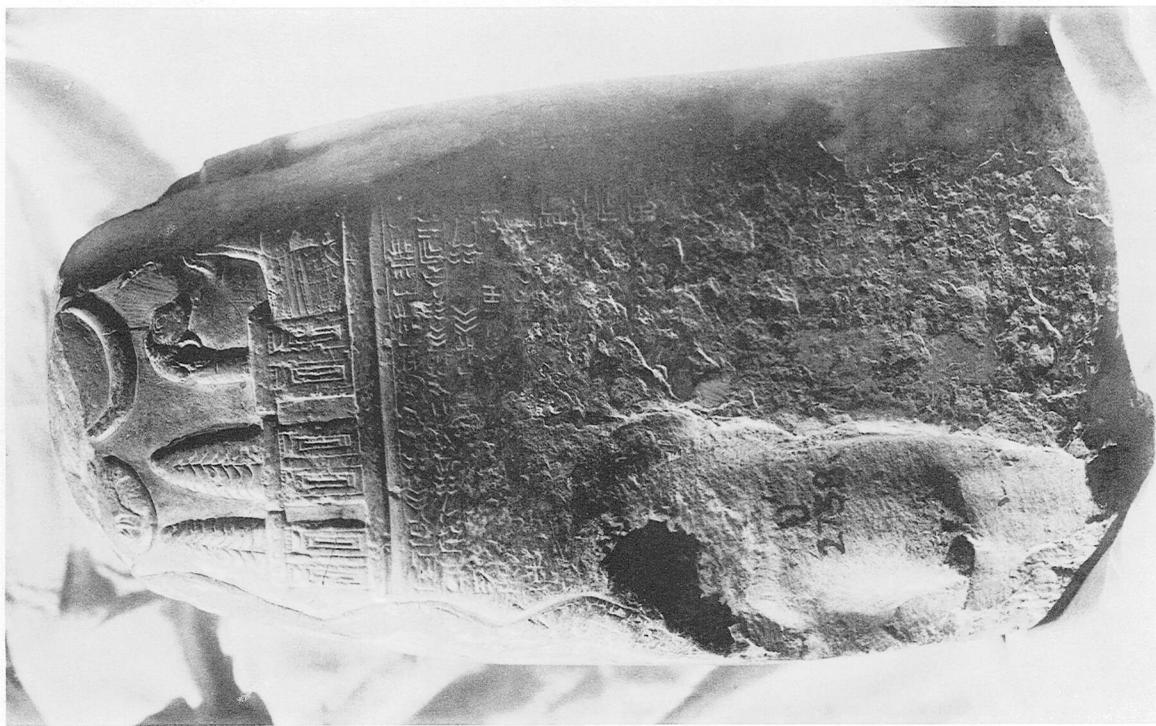
*a* Level 2 *bis*. General view from Room B 2 across the courtyard (B 1.) In the background there is a gap in the pavement through which can be seen, below floor level, the retaining-wall of the Ziggurat terrace with the revetments of Kudur-Mabuk and Kuri-galzu.



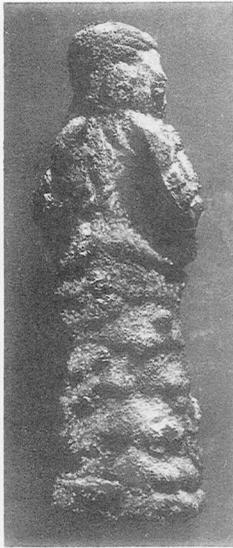
*b* Level 2 *bis*. The façade of the Shrine C 2, seen from the courtyard (C 1.). The pavements on the left belong to Rooms C 6 and C 7.



U.2758. A Kassite boundary-stone; two of the sides.



U. 2758. Kassite boundary-stone, the other two sides



U.18628



U.17062



P.43



U.2853



U.3019



U.17223A



U.3022



U.17865



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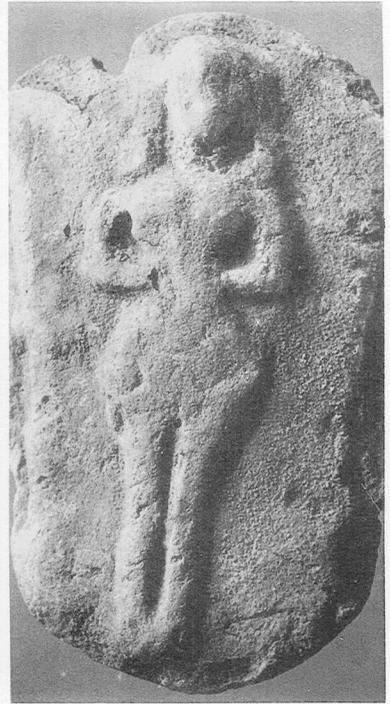
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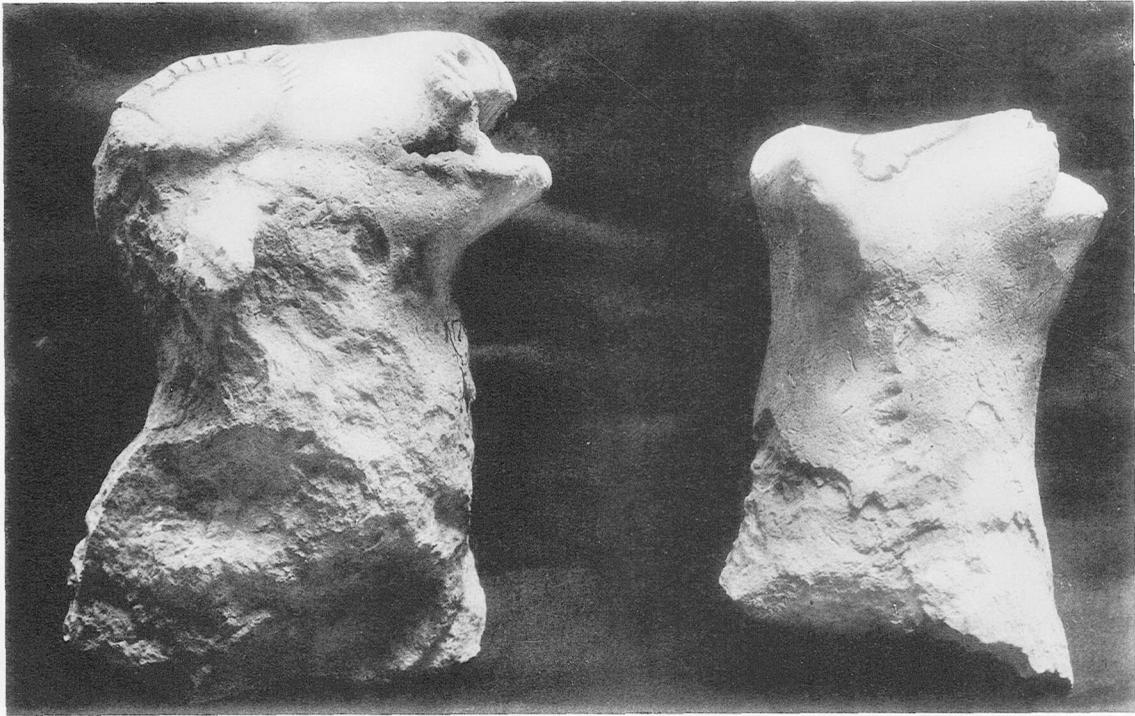
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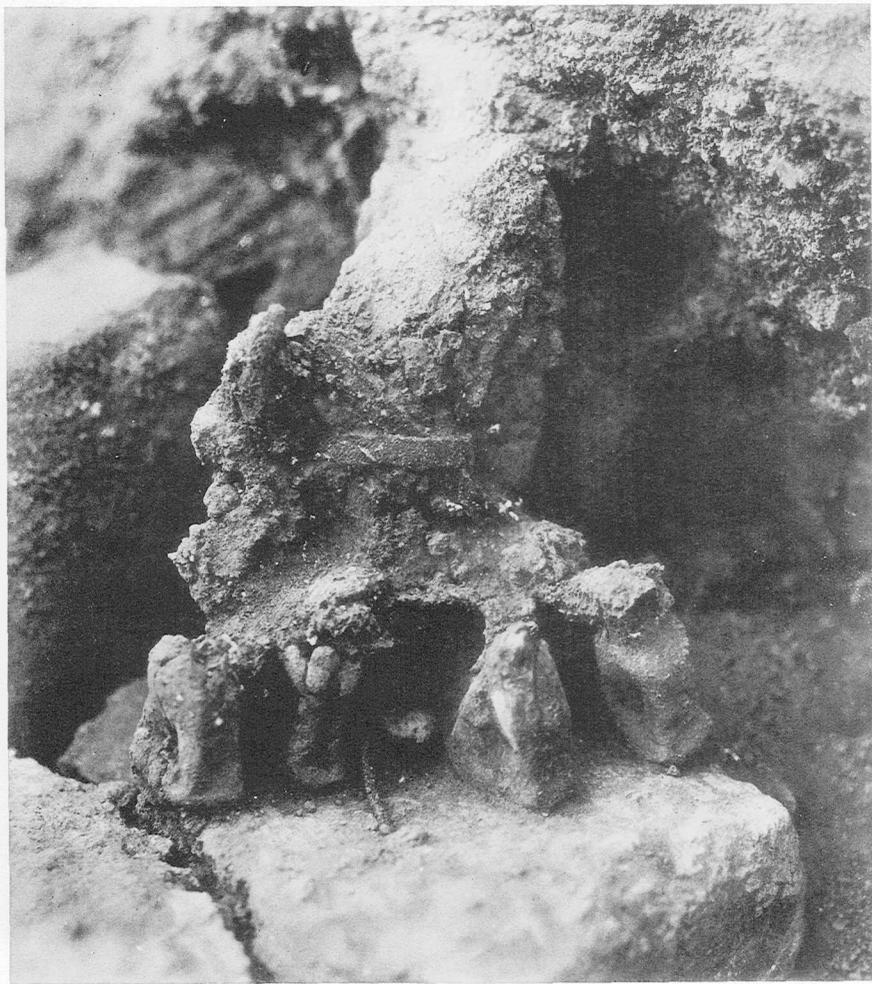


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26

27



Clay figures of dogs, set under a room floor (U.16159)



U.6767E

U.6767C



U.6767A

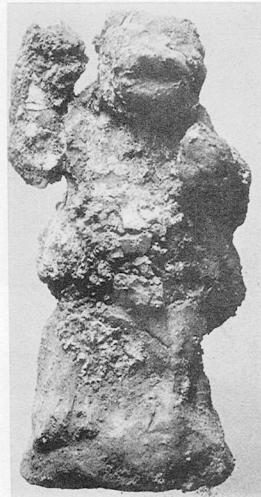


U.6767B

U.6767D



U.6768A



U.6768C



U.6769



U.6772



U.6773

U.6774



U.6775

CLAY APOTROPAIC FIGURES



U.6768D



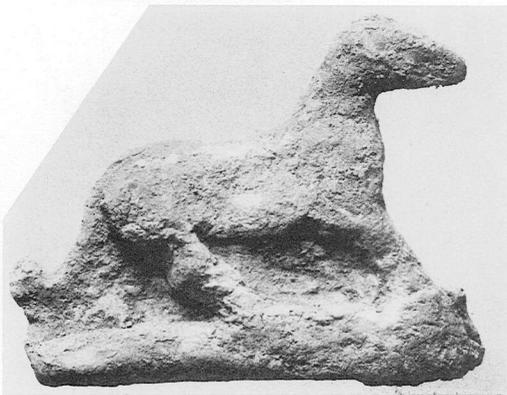
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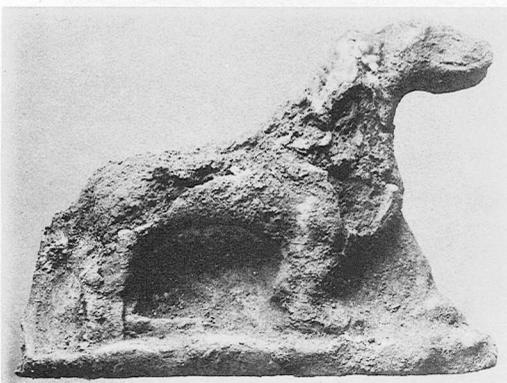
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U.6771



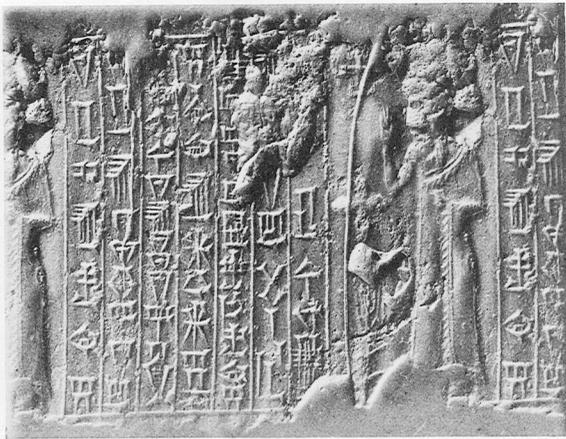
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U.6769



U.17075



U.12688



U.3321



U.3320



U.3322

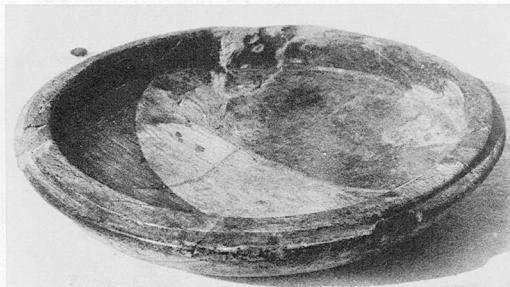


U.16747

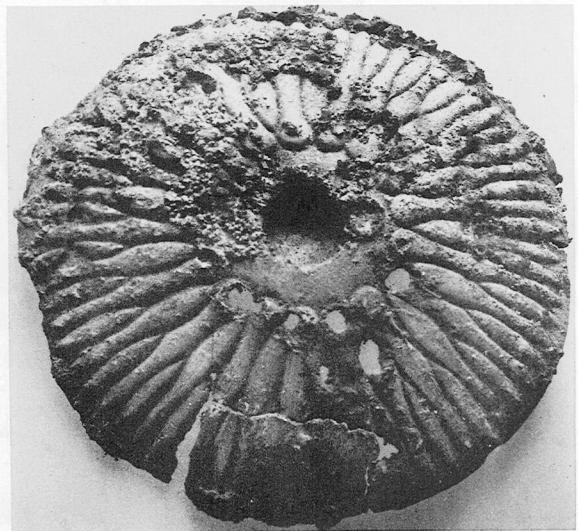
Seals



U.1487



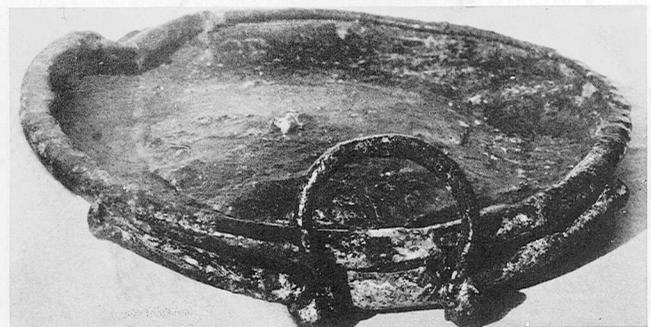
U.6763  
Stone



U.6638



U.6644 (Restored)



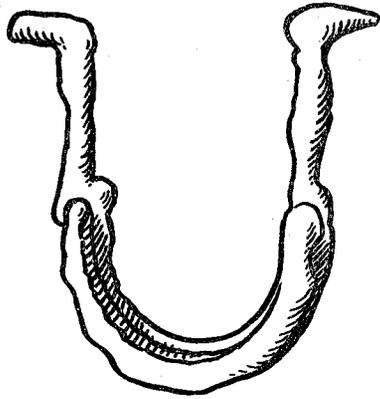
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U.2870  
Metal objects



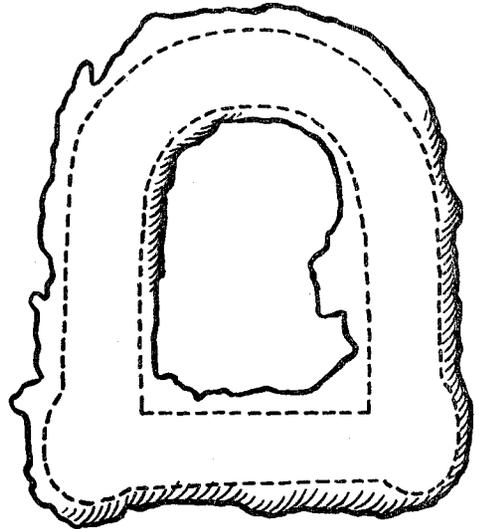
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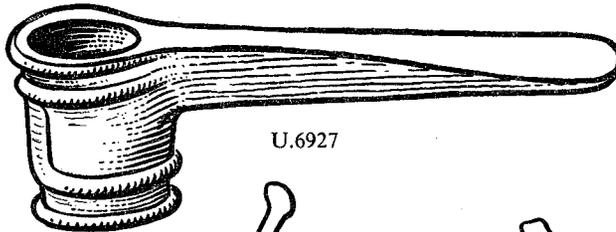
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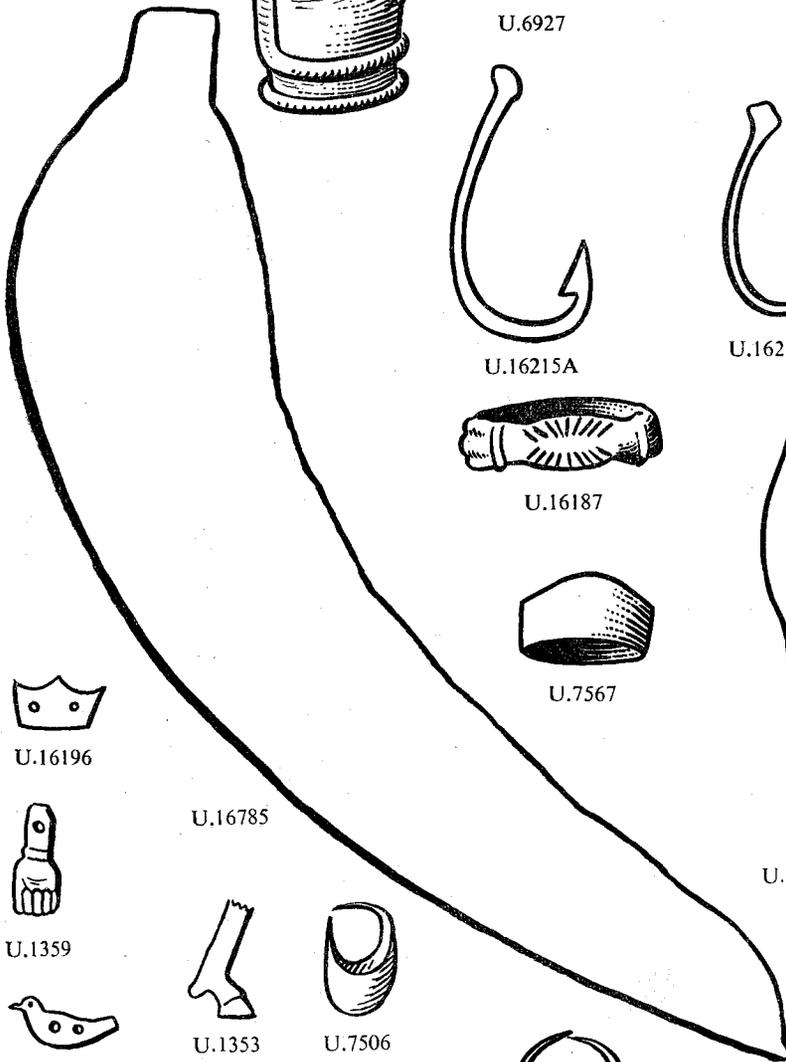
U.6657B



U.6658



U.6927



U.16215A



U.16215C



U.16187



U.7567



U.16196



U.1359



U.1353



U.7506



U.7507



U.6650



U.16717



U.16698



U.7532A



U.7532B



U.7526



U.6615B



KG/32



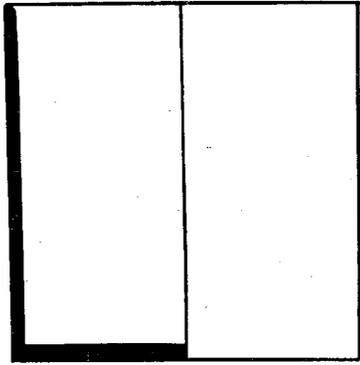
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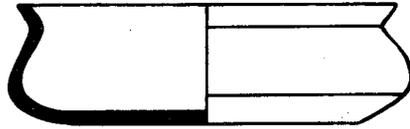
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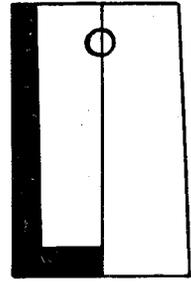
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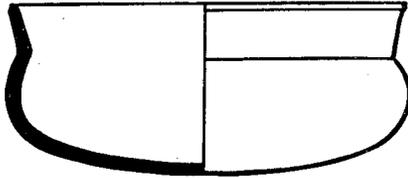
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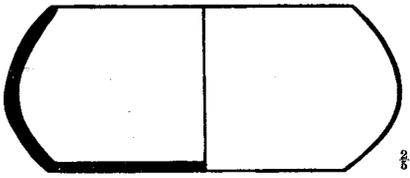
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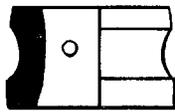
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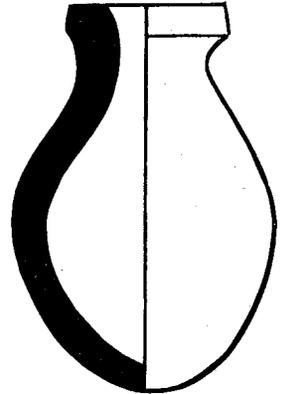
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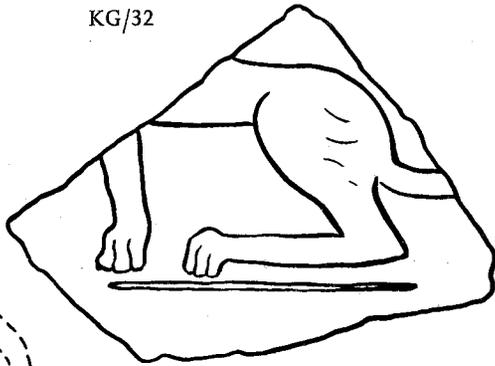
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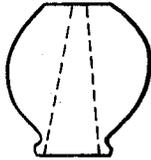
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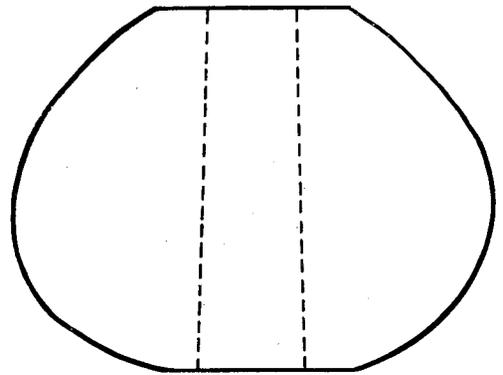
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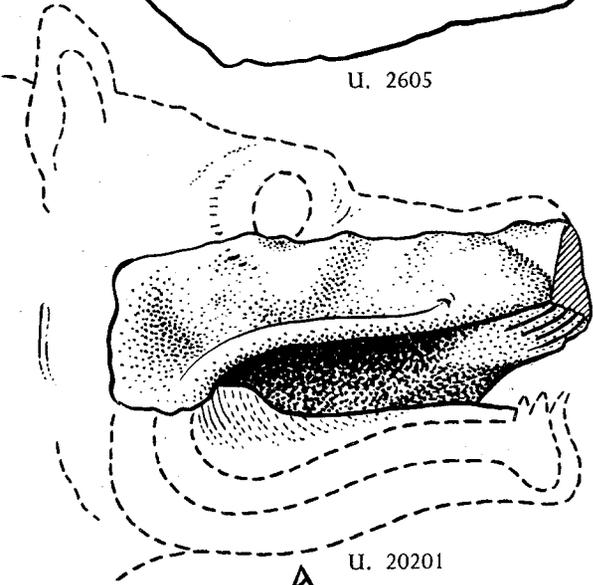
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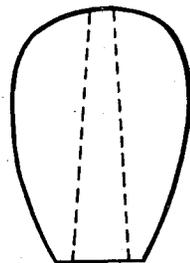
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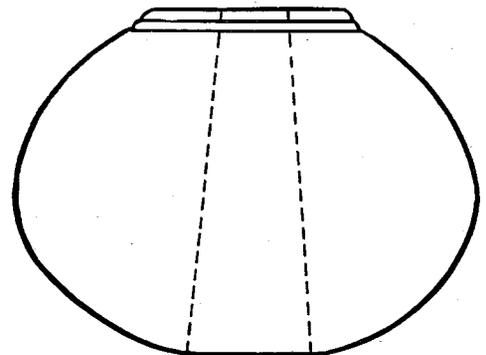
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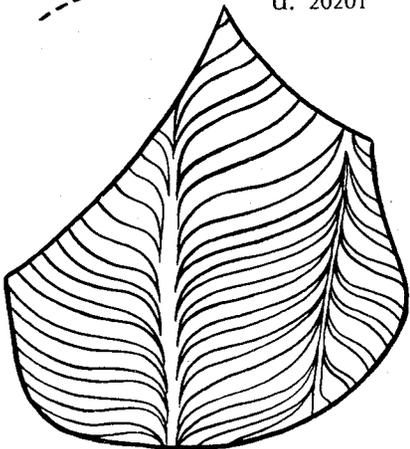
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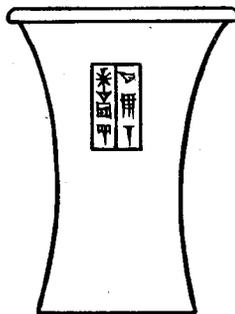
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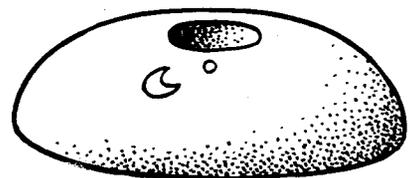
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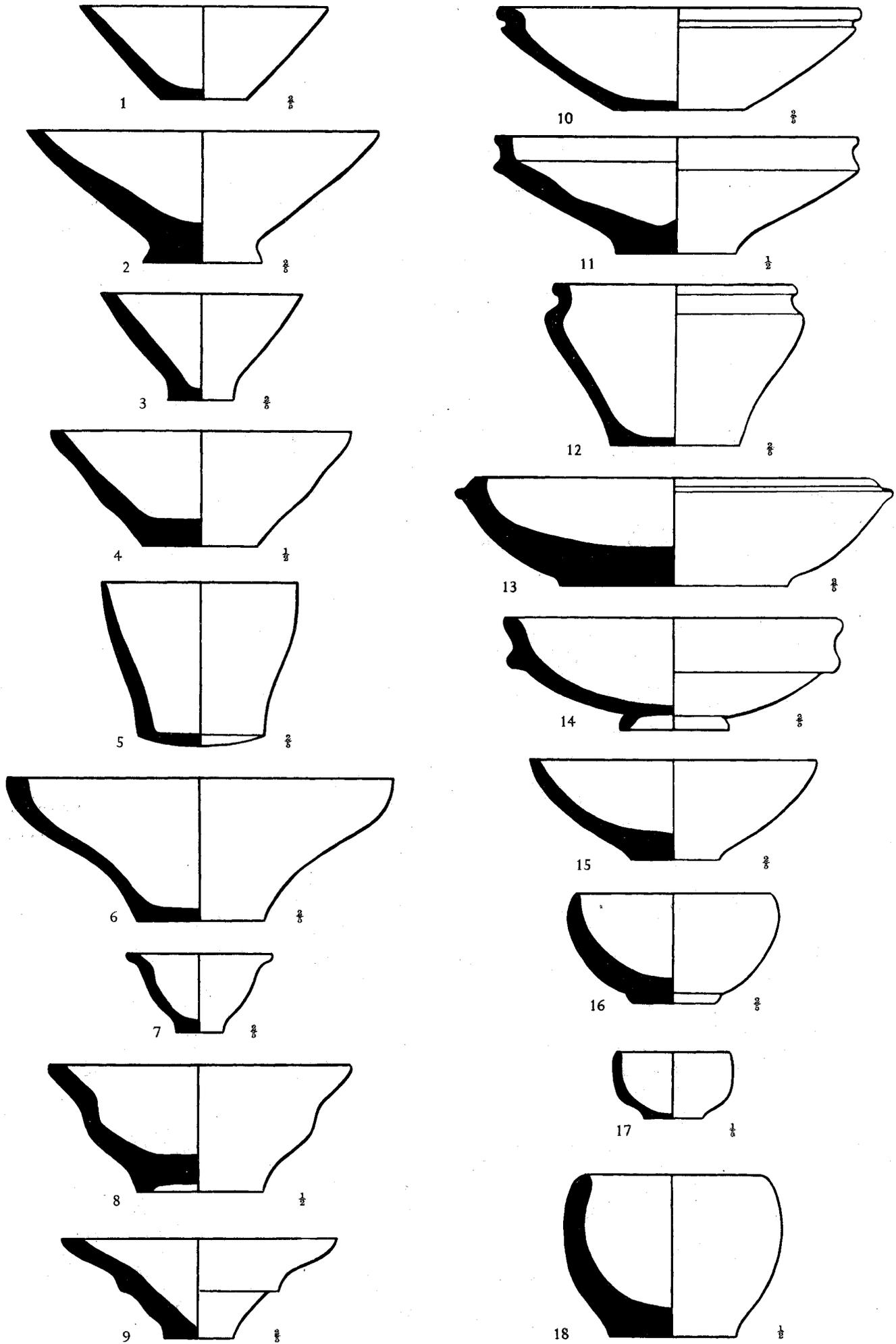


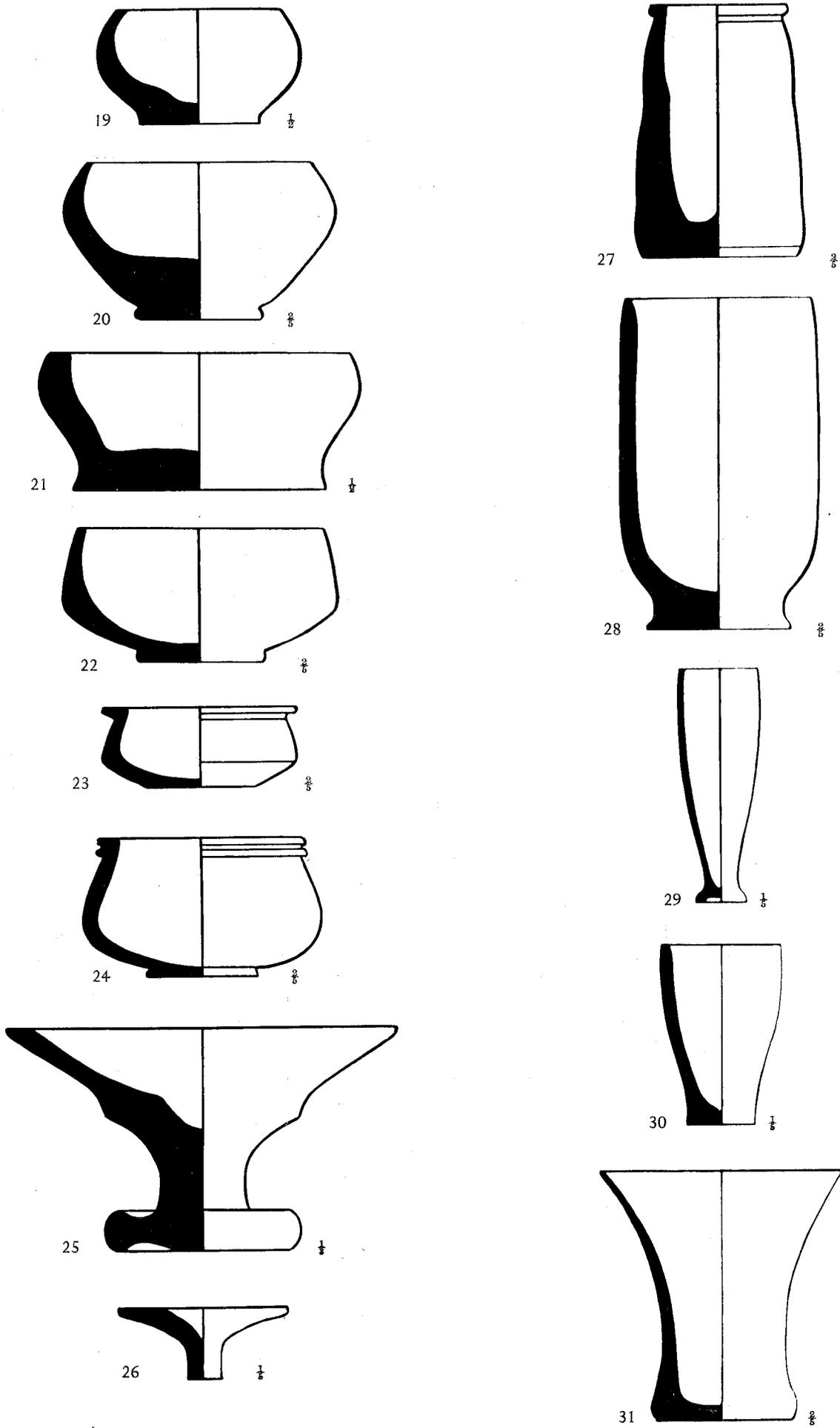
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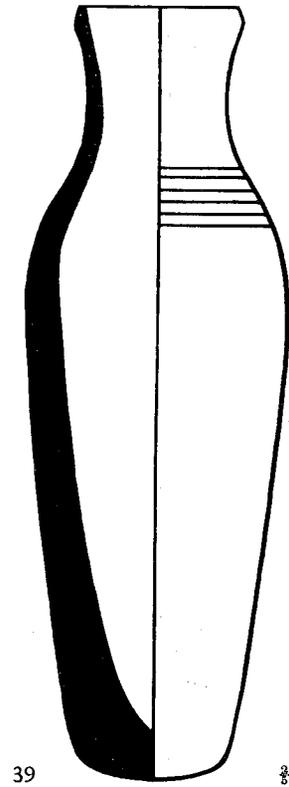
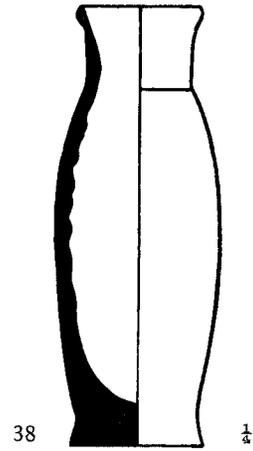
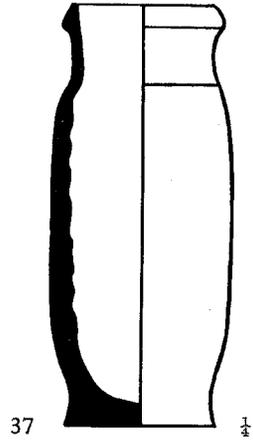
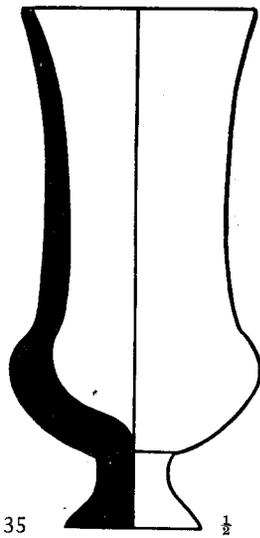
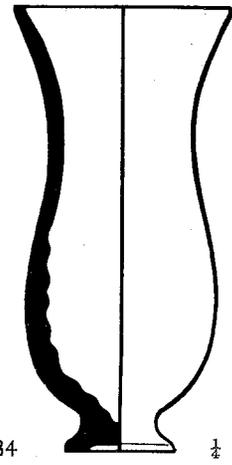
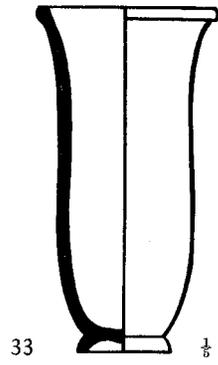
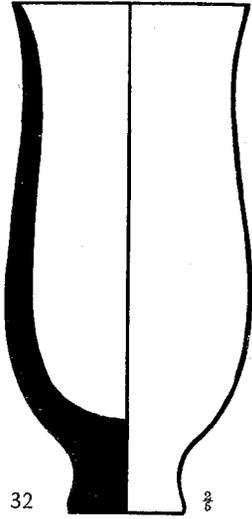


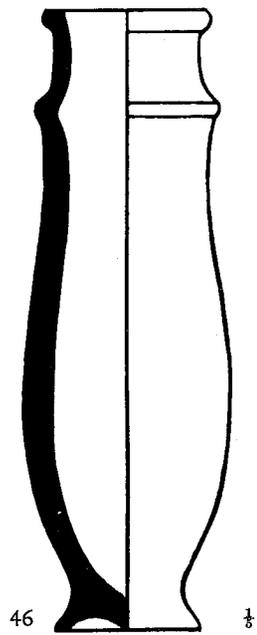
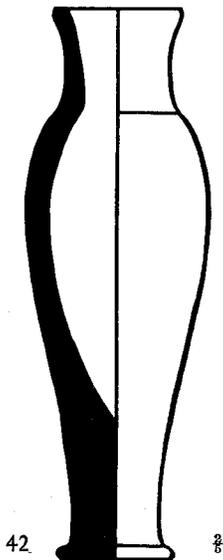
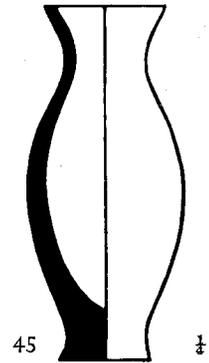
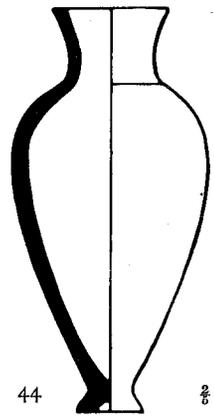
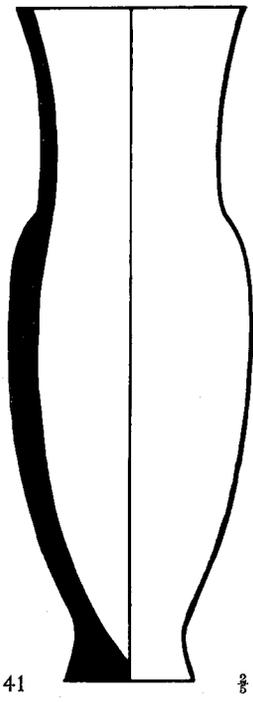
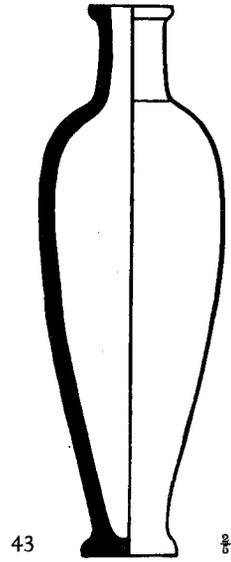
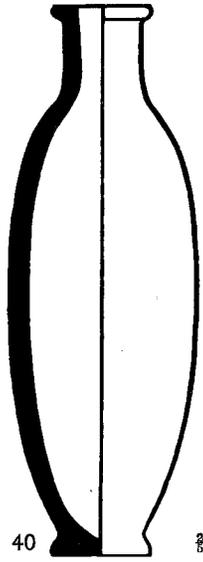
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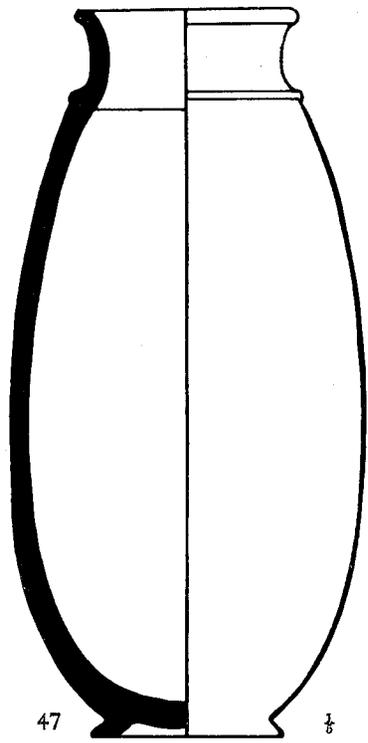
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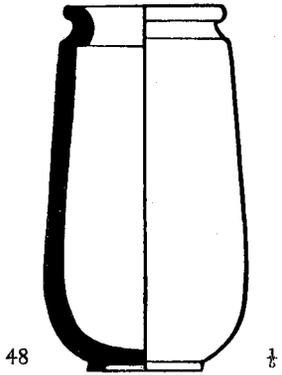






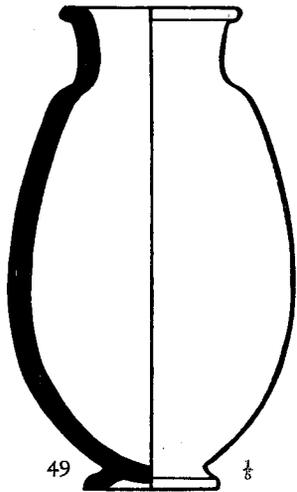
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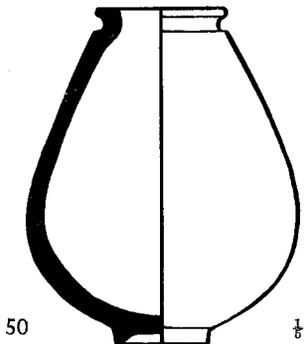
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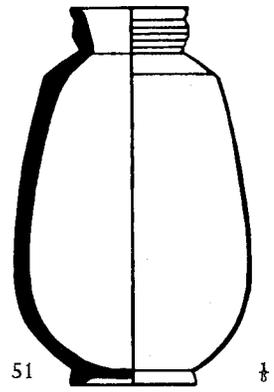
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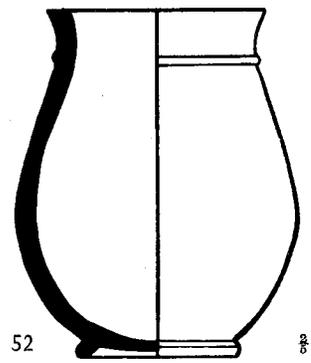
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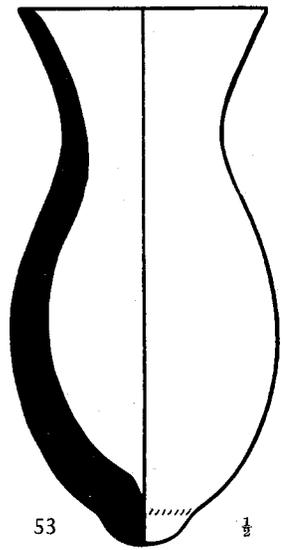
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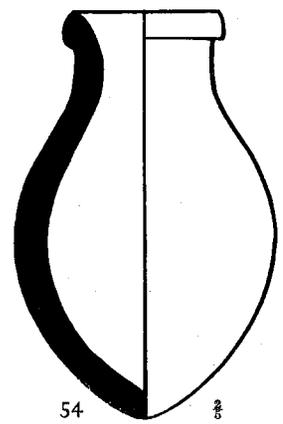
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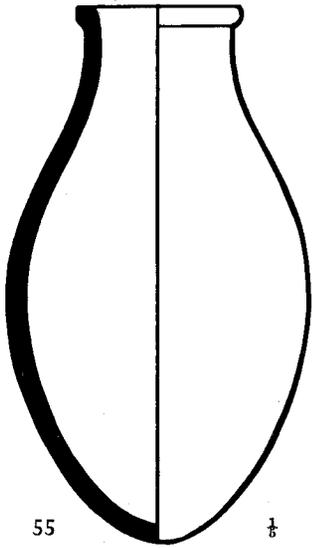
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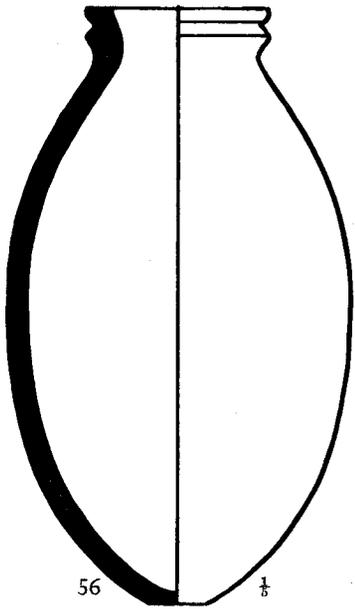
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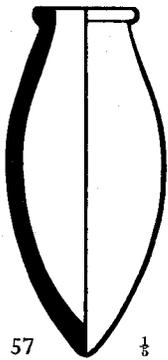
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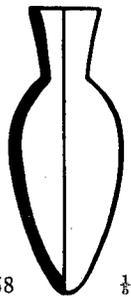
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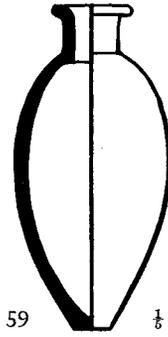
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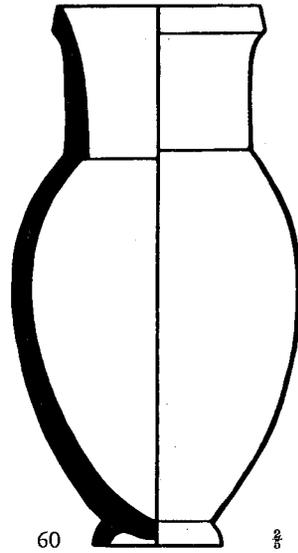
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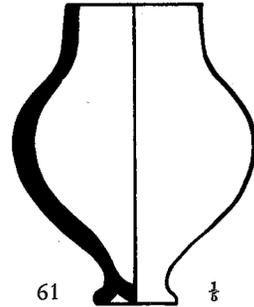
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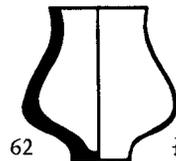
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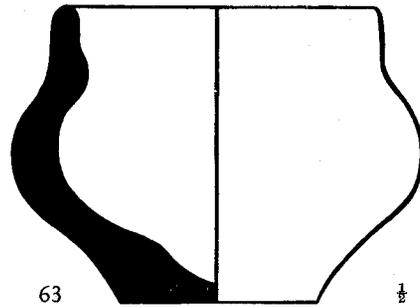
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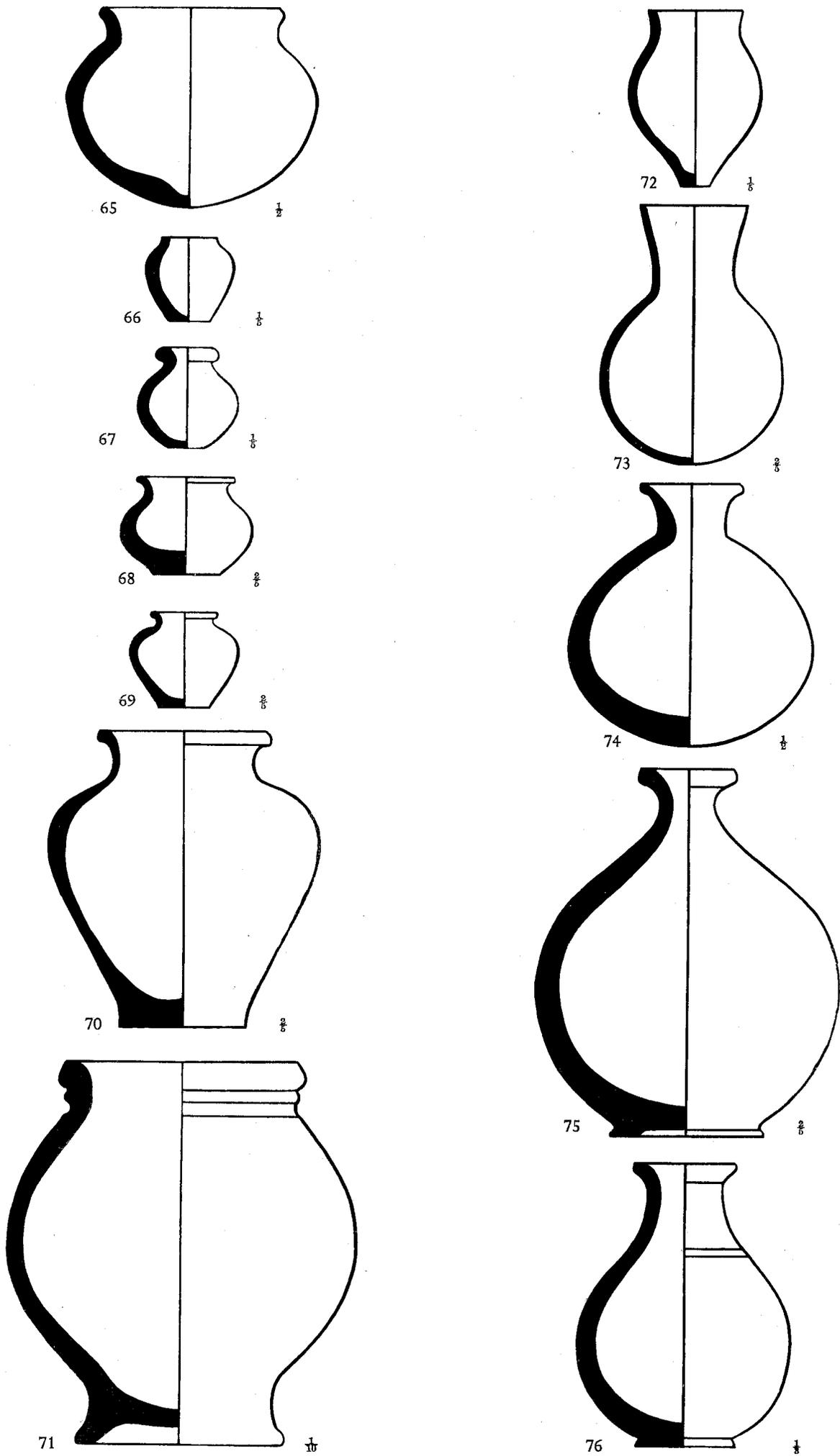
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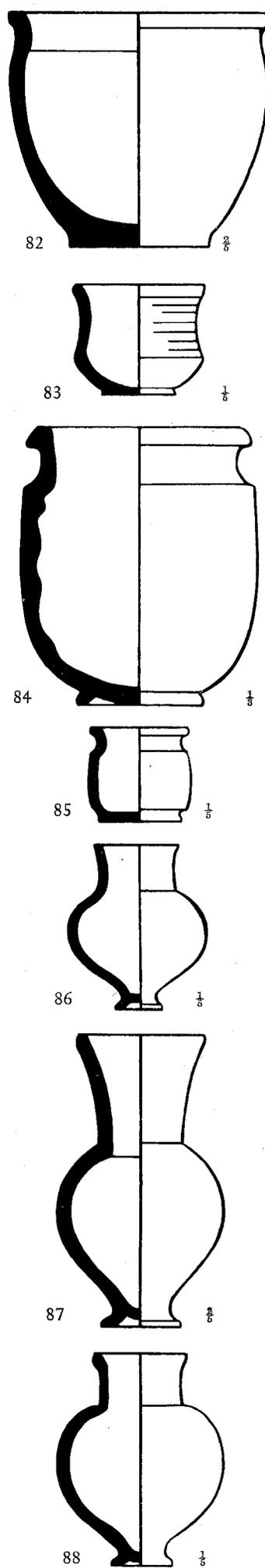
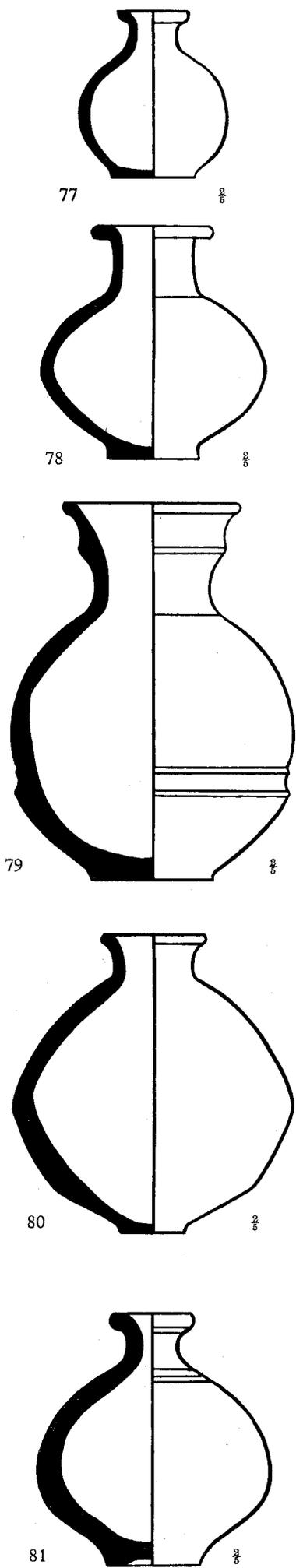
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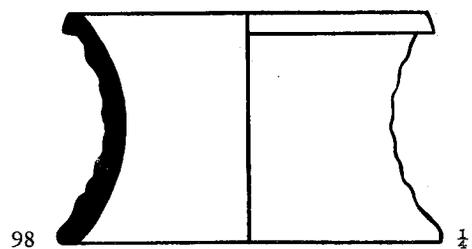
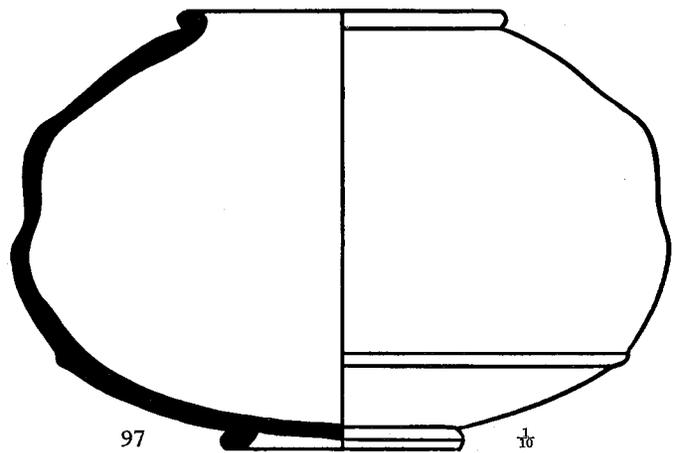
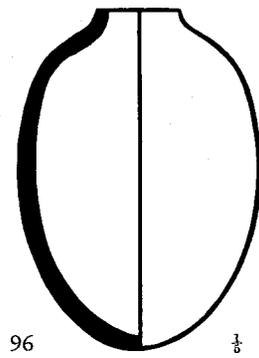
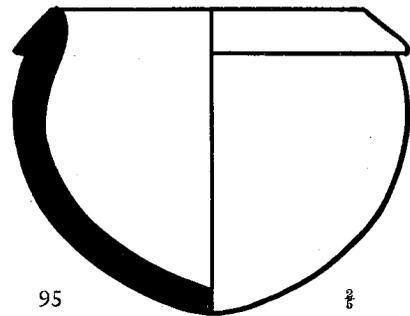
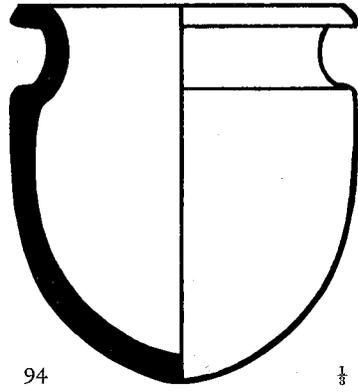
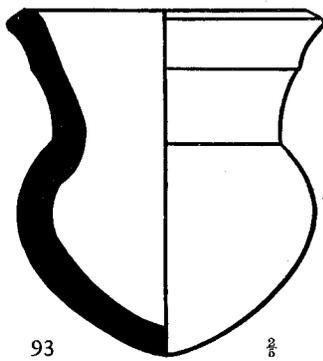
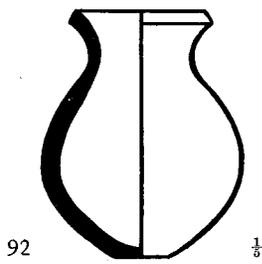
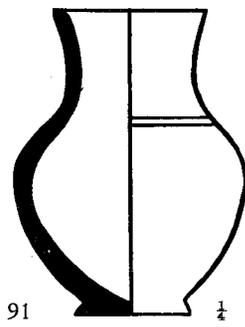
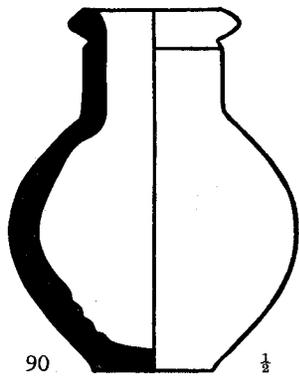
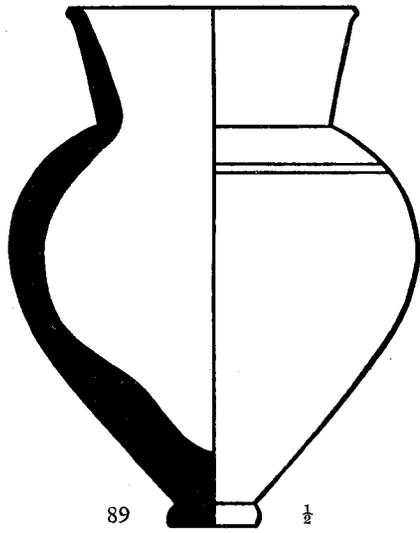


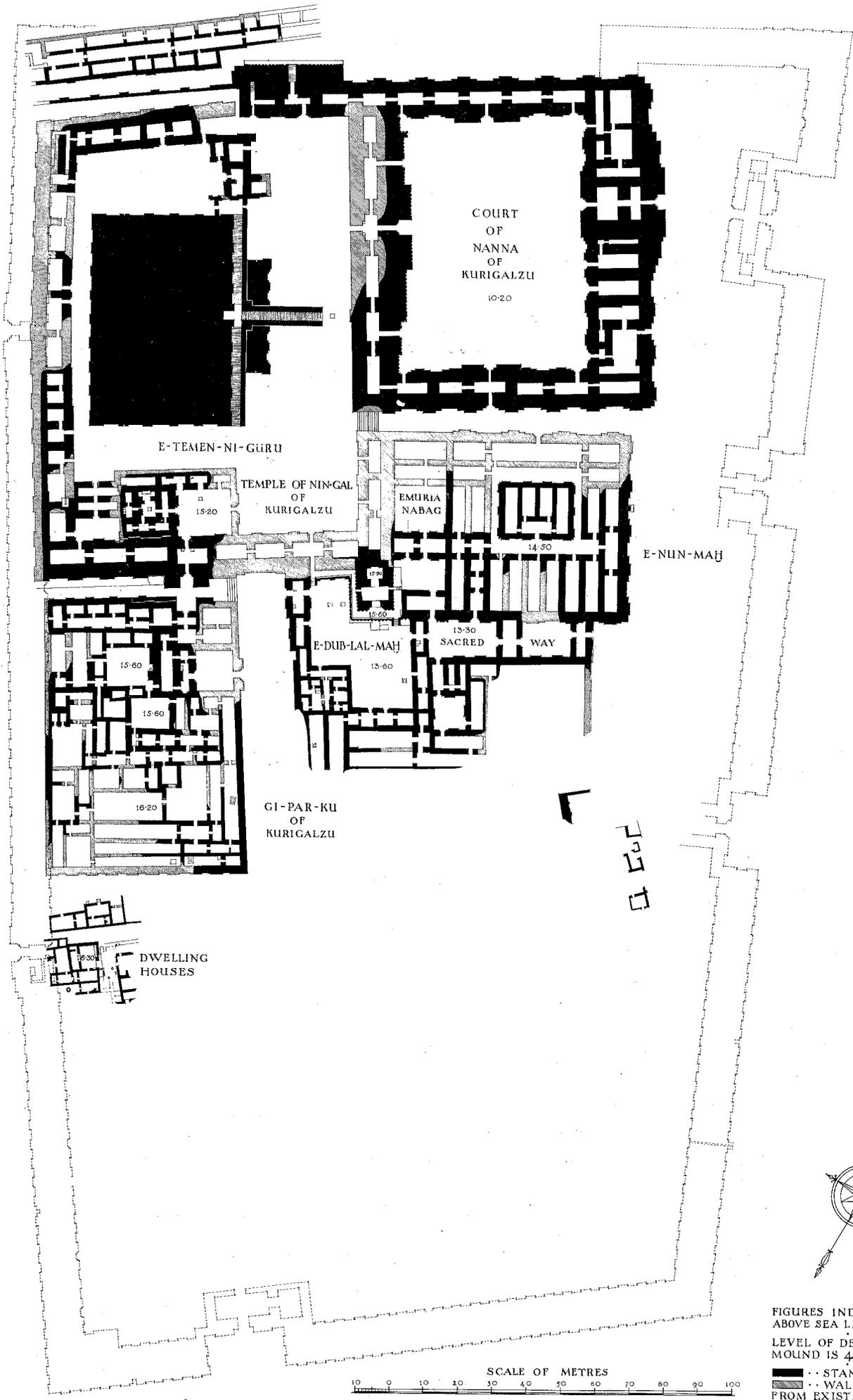
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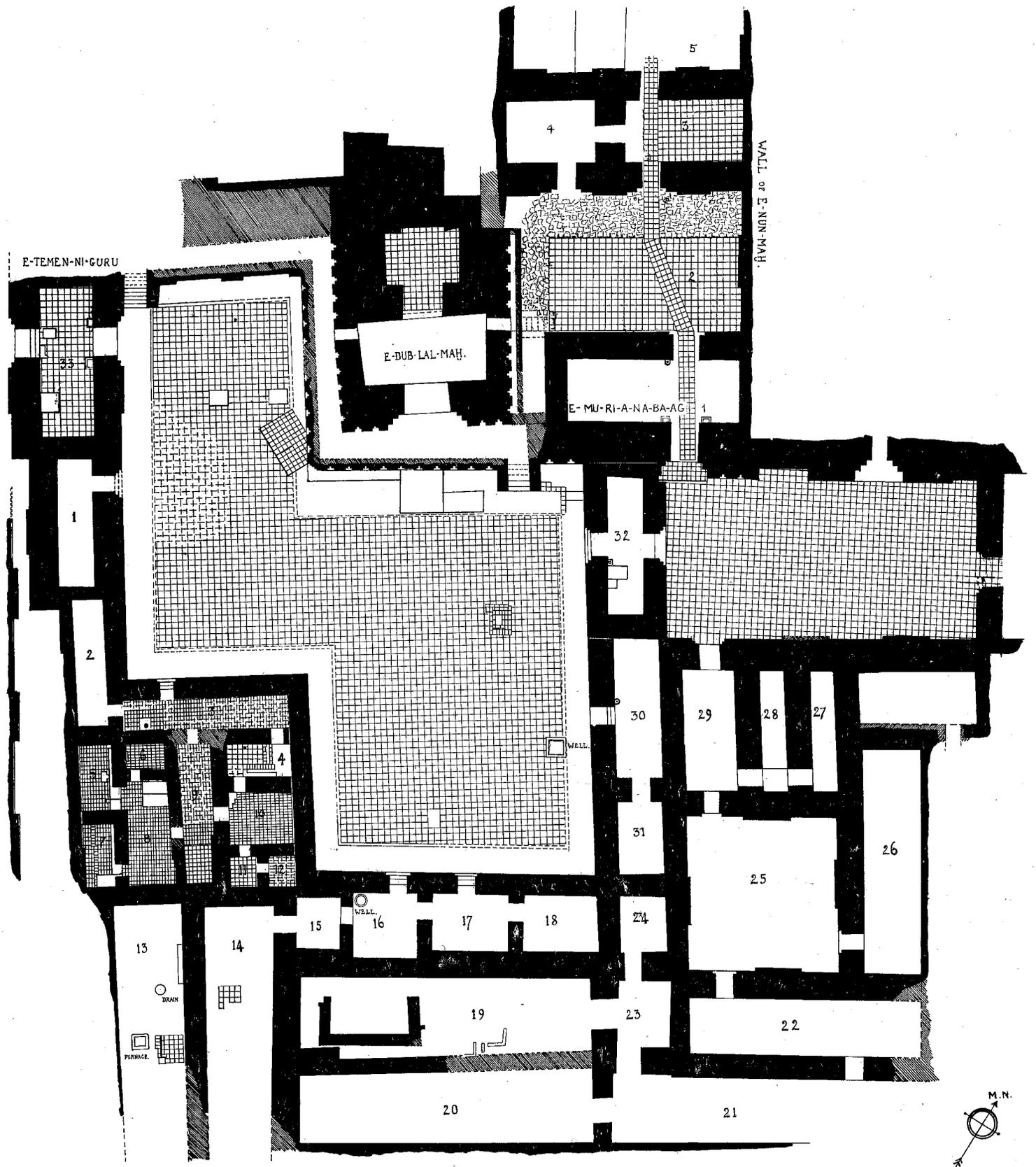






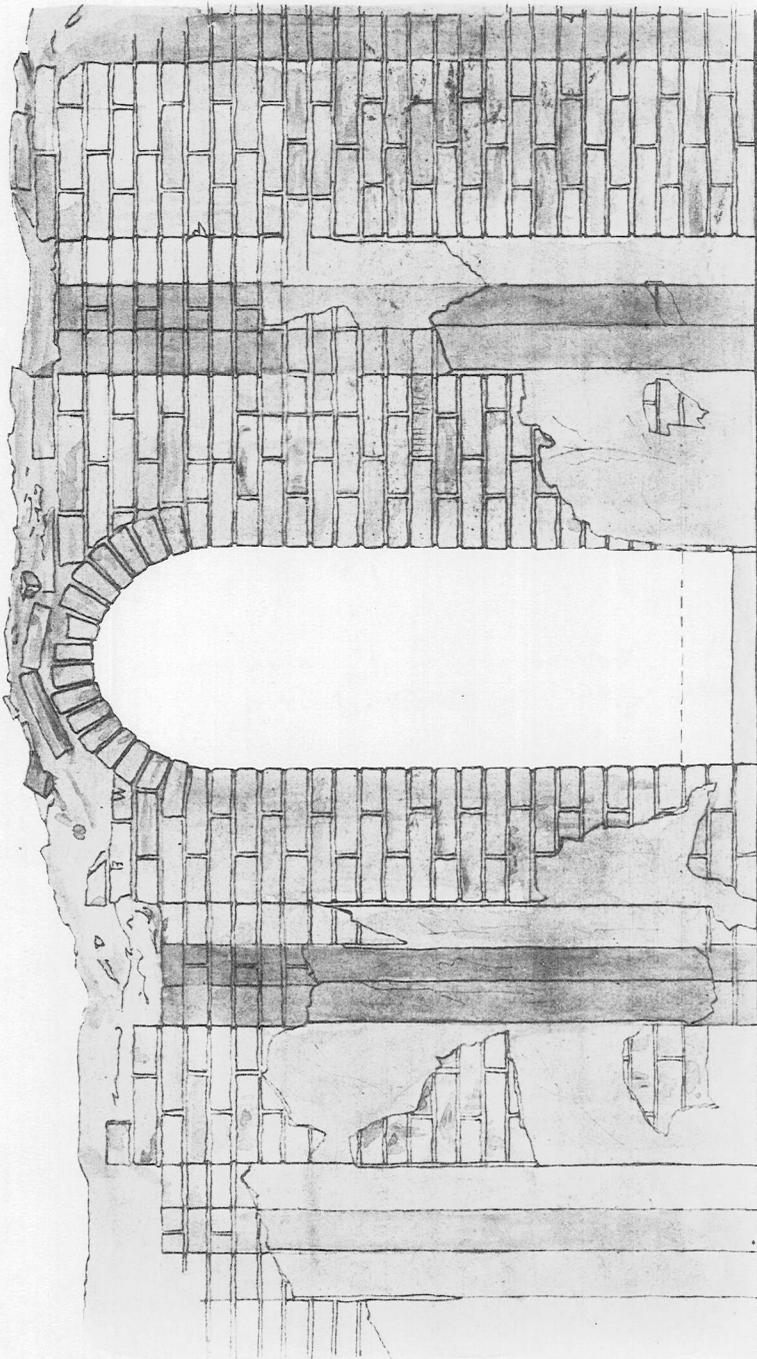
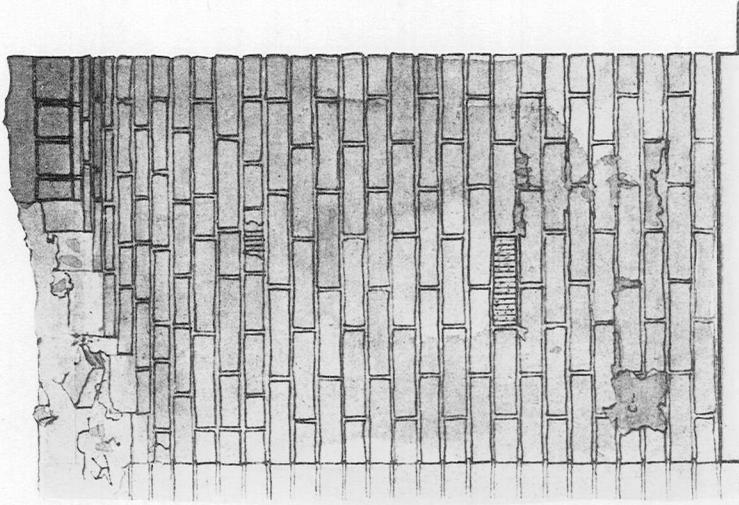
FIGURES INDICATE HEIGHTS ABOVE SEA LEVEL IN METRES  
 LEVEL OF DESERT AROUND MOUND IS 4.00 METRES.  
 ———— STANDING WALLS  
 - - - - - WALLS RESTORED FROM EXISTING EVIDENCE

THE TEMENOS OF UR IN THE TIME OF KURI-GALZU



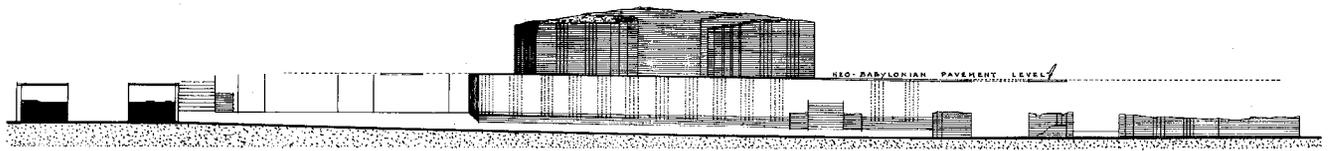
SCALE 0 5 10 15 METRES.

THE TEMPLES E-DUB-LAL-MAH AND E-MU-RI-A-NA-BA-AG



KURI-GALZU'S ARCH IN E-DUB-LAL-MAU

ELEVATIONS AND SECTIONS.

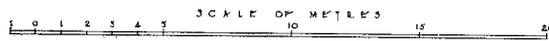


ELEVATION TO COURTYARD.

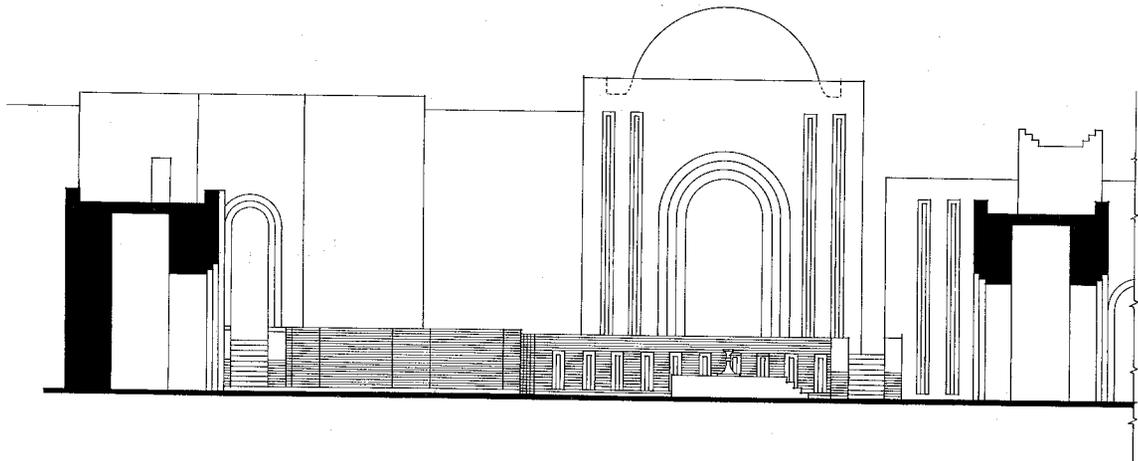


CROSS SECTION TO N-E.

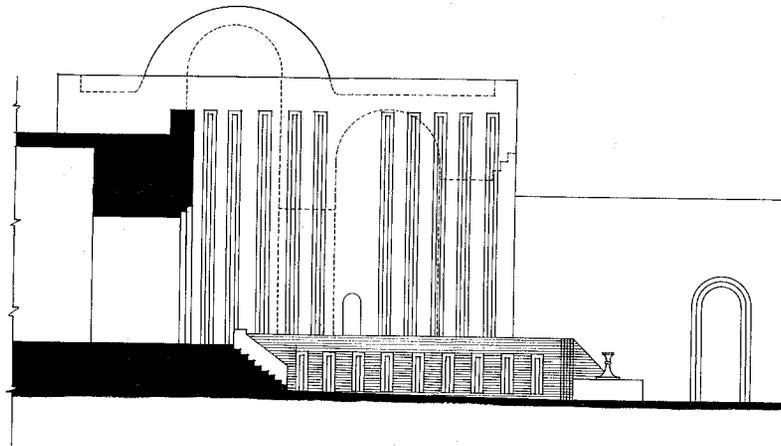
CROSS SECTION TO N-W.



RESTORATION OF S-E & S-W SIDES.

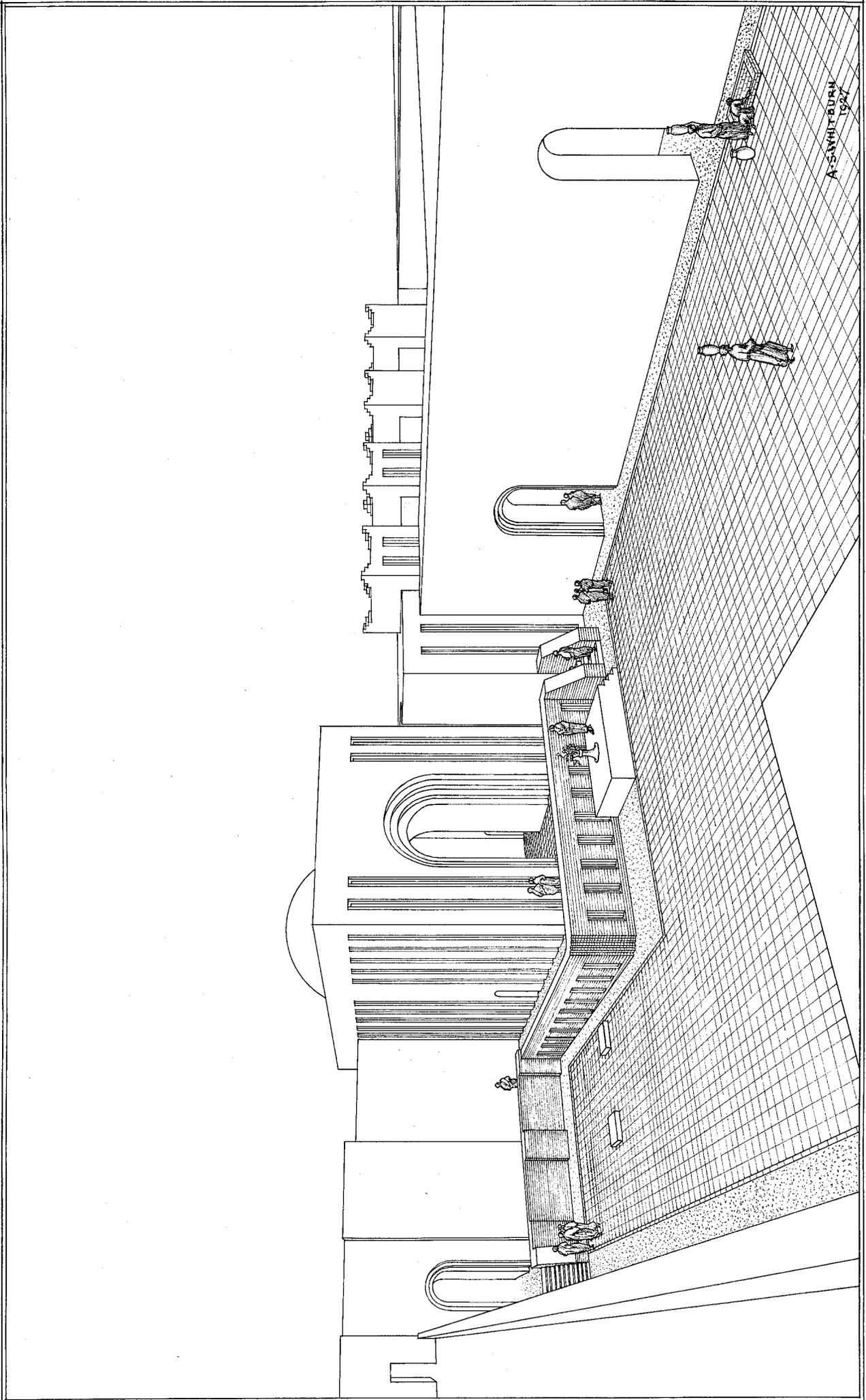


ELEVATION TO COURTYARD

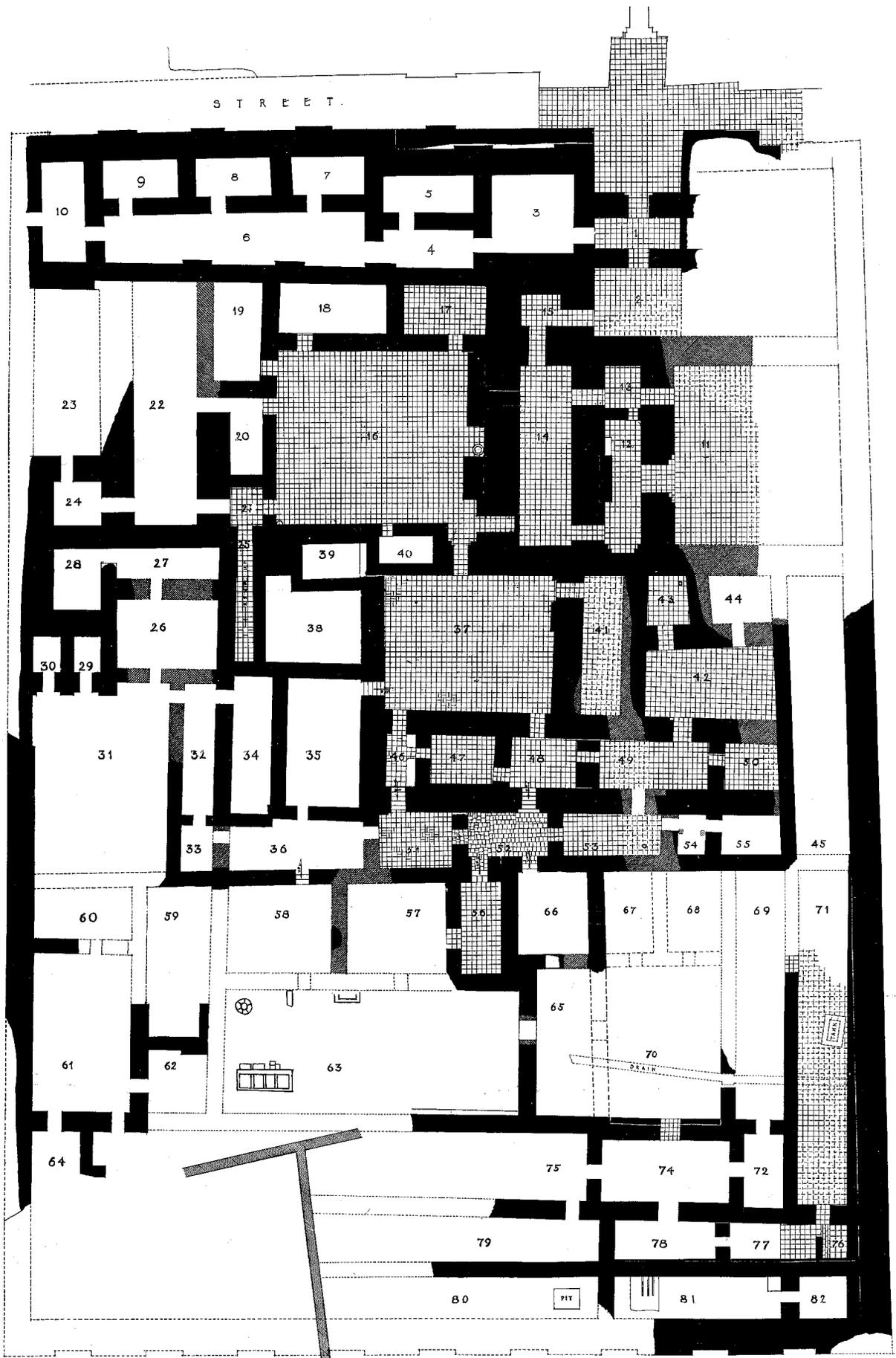


SIDE ELEVATION.





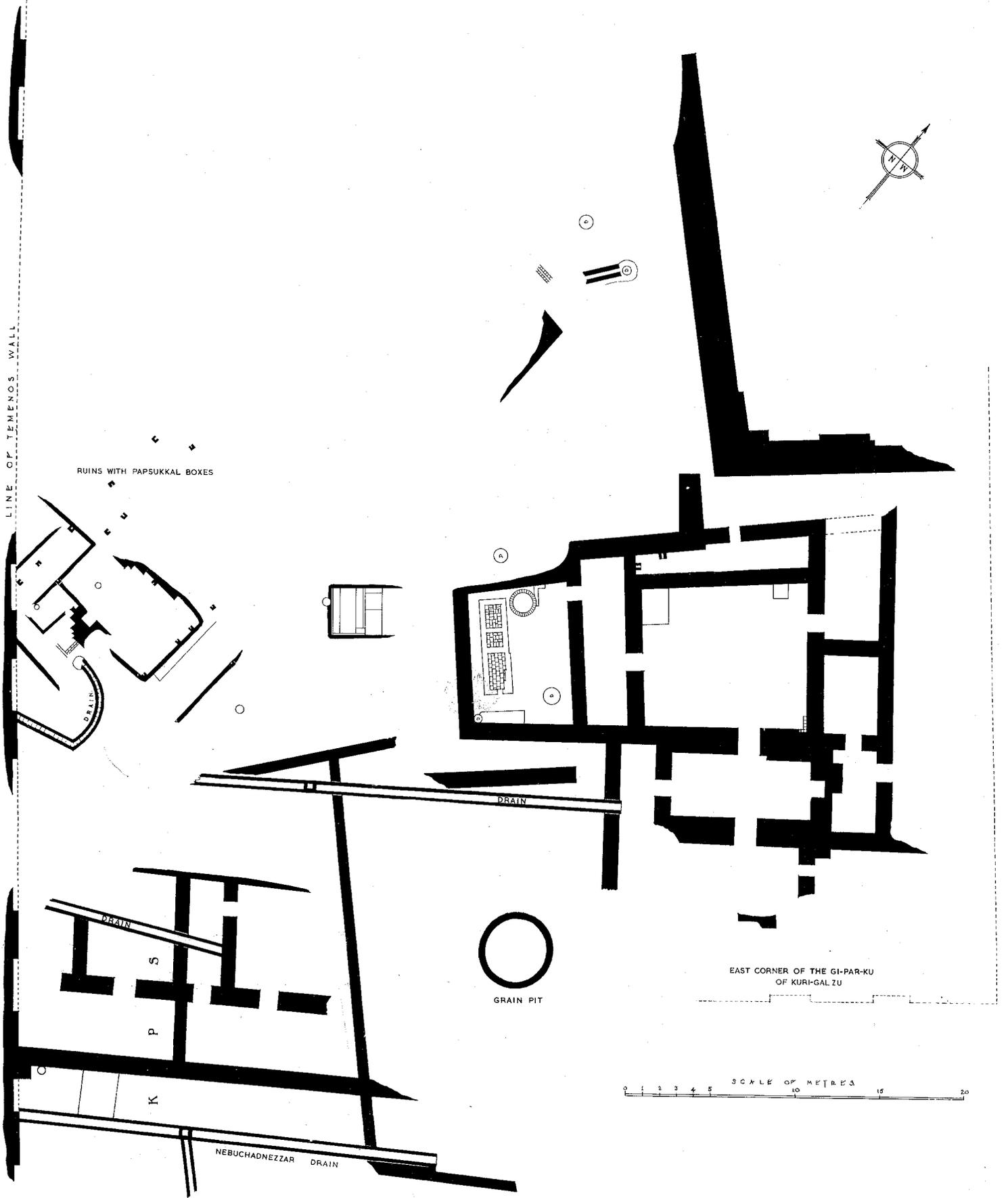
E-DUB-LAL-MAH :  
RESTORED DRAWING OF THE COURTYARD



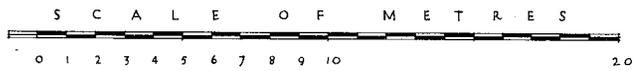
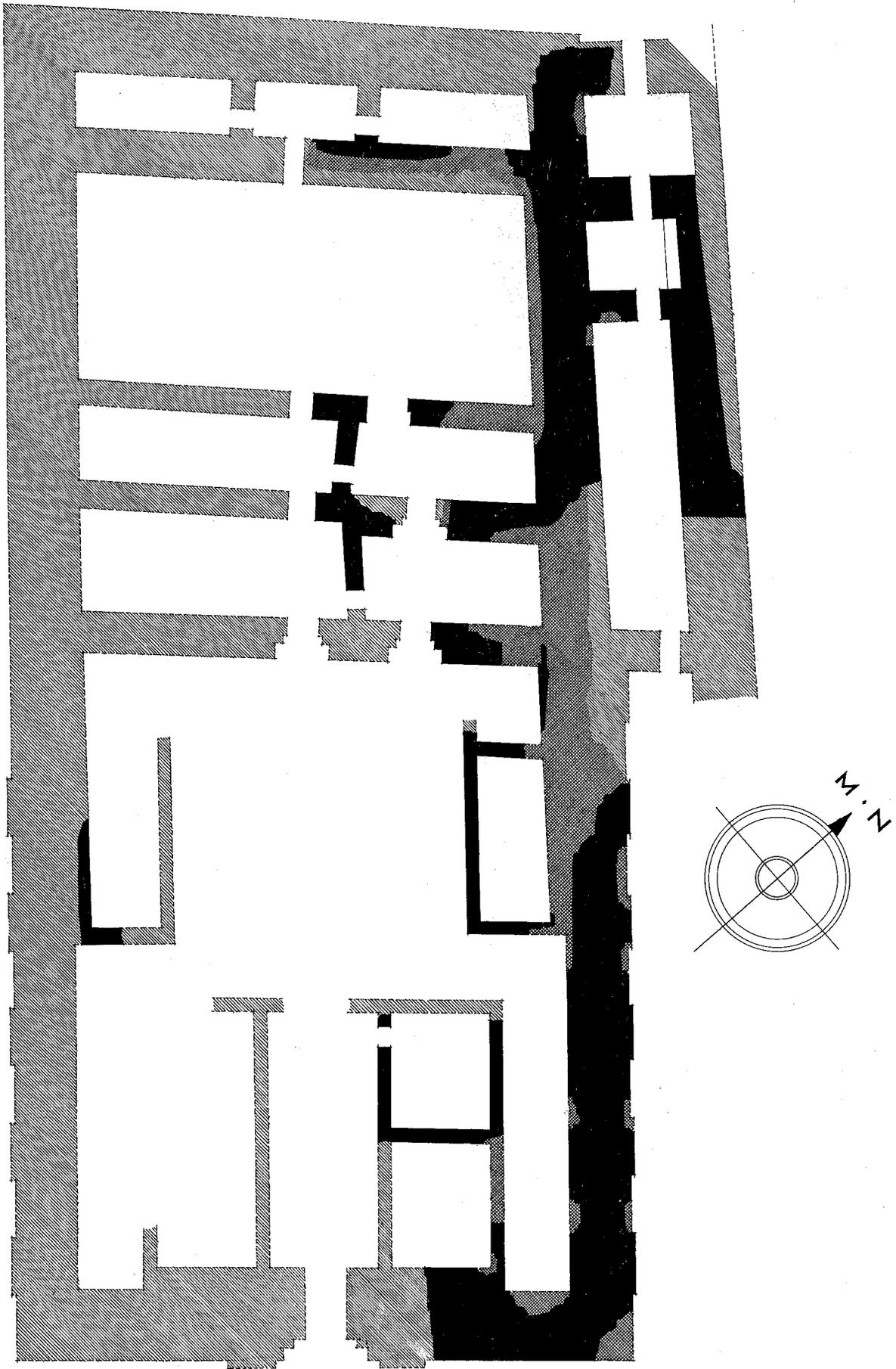
EXISTING WALLS MUD AND BURN'T BRICK.  
WALLS NOT FOUND BUT CONSIDERED CERTAIN.  
CONJECTURAL WALLS.

SCALE OF METRES. 0 5 10 15 20

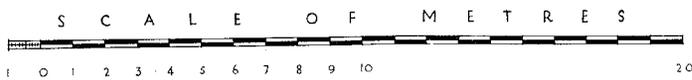
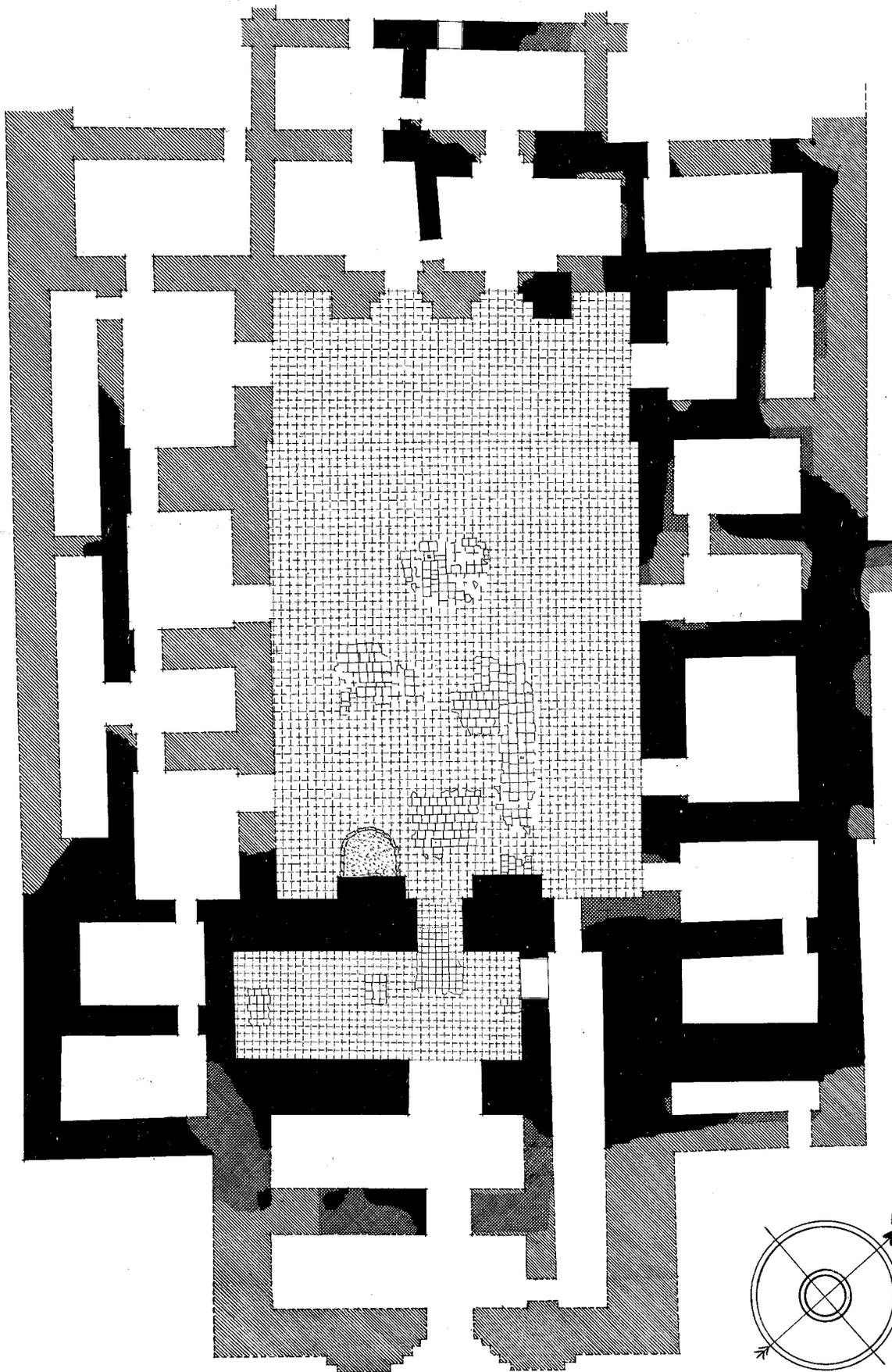
THE GI-PAR-KU OF KURI-GALZU



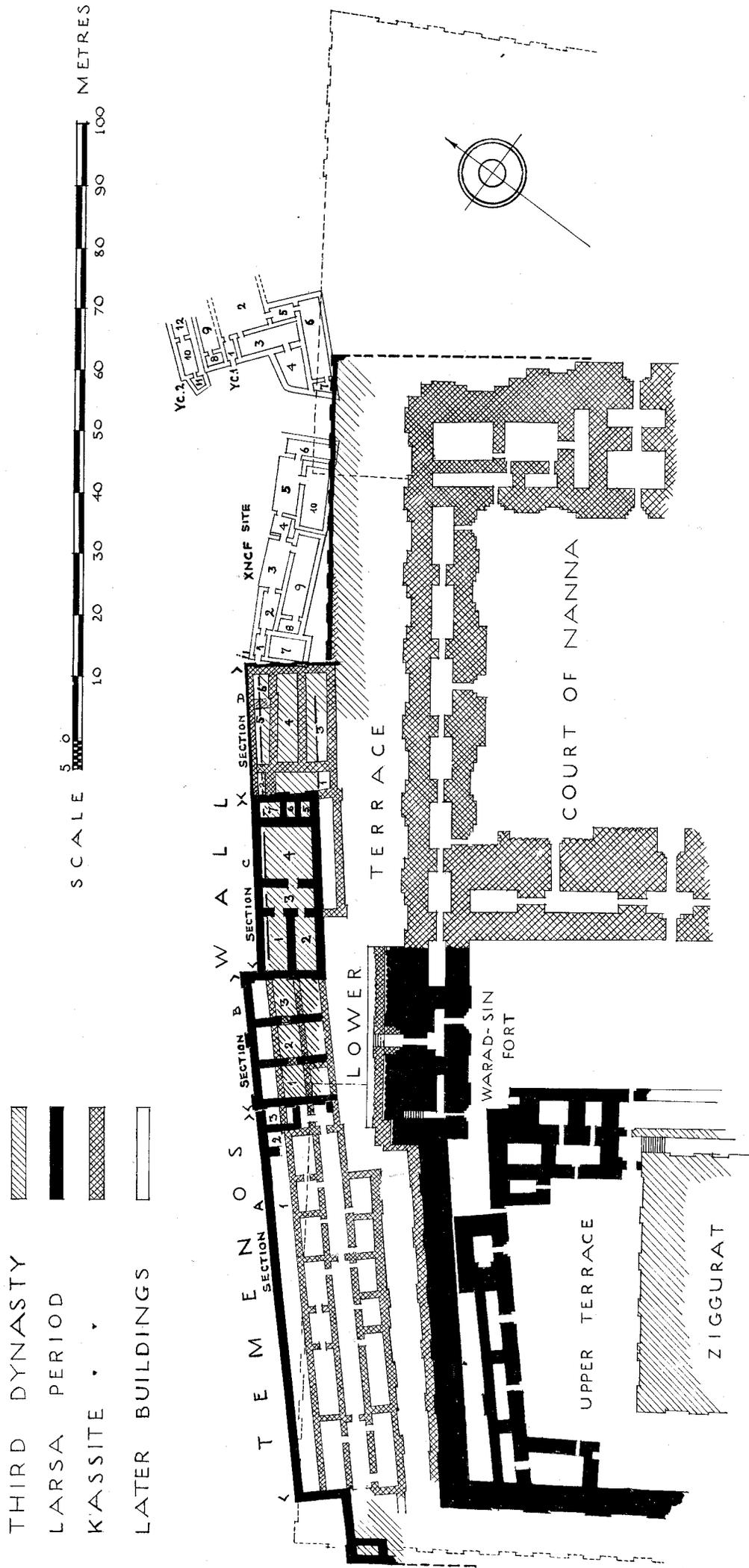
THE LATER BUILDINGS ON THE GI-PAR-KU SITE



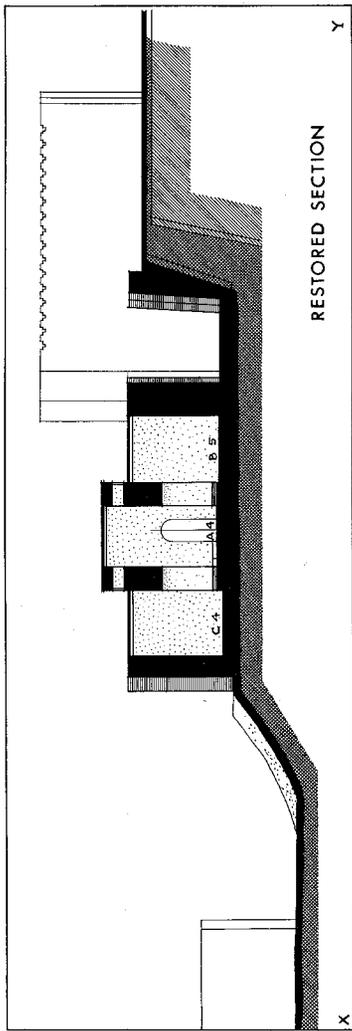
THE NIN-GIZ-ZID-DA TEMPLE OF KURI-GALZU



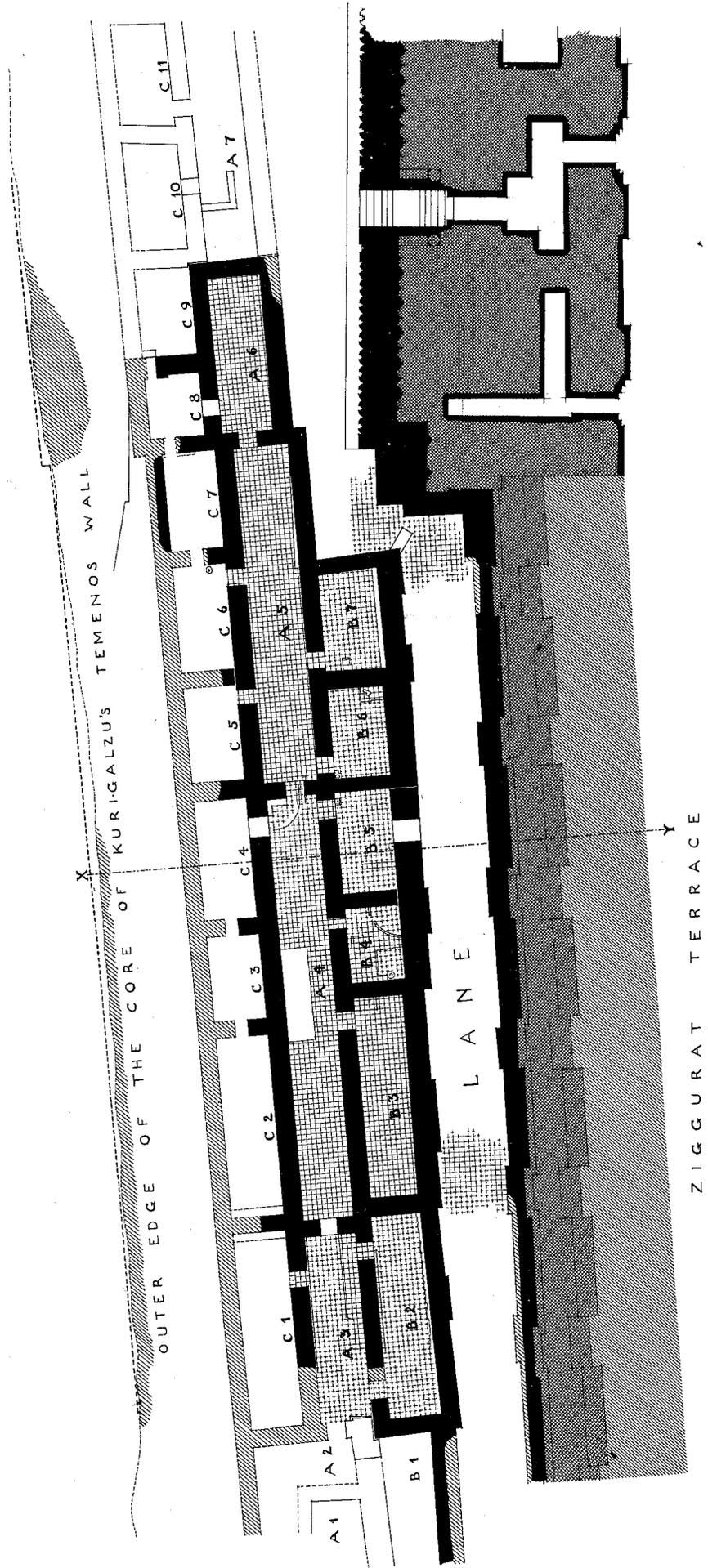
THE LATER KASSITE TEMPLE OF NIN-GIZ-ZID-DA



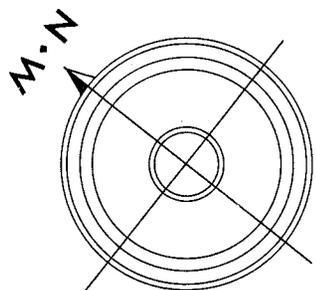
THE EARLY BUILDINGS ALONG THE NW WALL OF THE TEMENOS



- CONVENTIONS.**
- KURIGALZU
    - WALLS EXISTING
    - PAVEMENTS
    - WALLS RESTORED
    - PAVEMENTS
  - ADDITIONS AFTER KURIGALZU
    - WALLS EXISTING
  - WARAD-SIN
    - WALLS EXISTING
  - THIRD DYNASTY OF UR
    - WALLS EXISTING



KURIGALZU'S BUILDINGS ALONG THE NW WALL OF THE TEMENOS (LEVEL 4)



NEBUCHADNEZZAR  
CORNER FORT

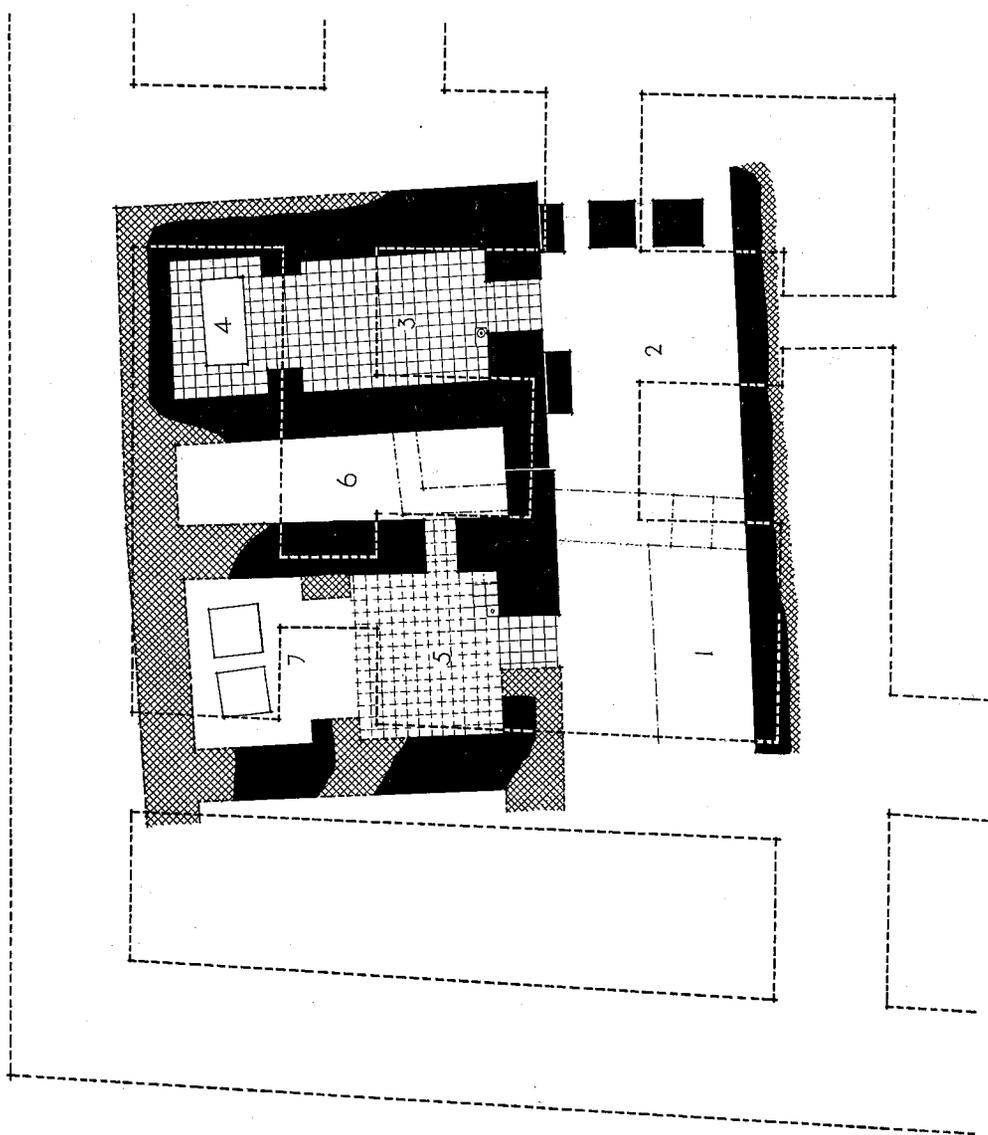


LEVEL 3

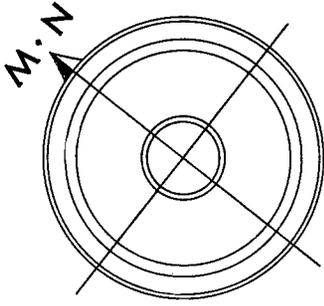
WALLS EXISTING  
WALLS RESTORED



LATER  
ADDITIONS



THE BUILDINGS ALONG THE NW WALL OF THE TEMENOS;  
LEVEL 3, THE POST-KURI-GALZU RANGE



NEBUCHADNEZZAR  
CORNER FORT



LEVEL 2

WALLS EXISTING



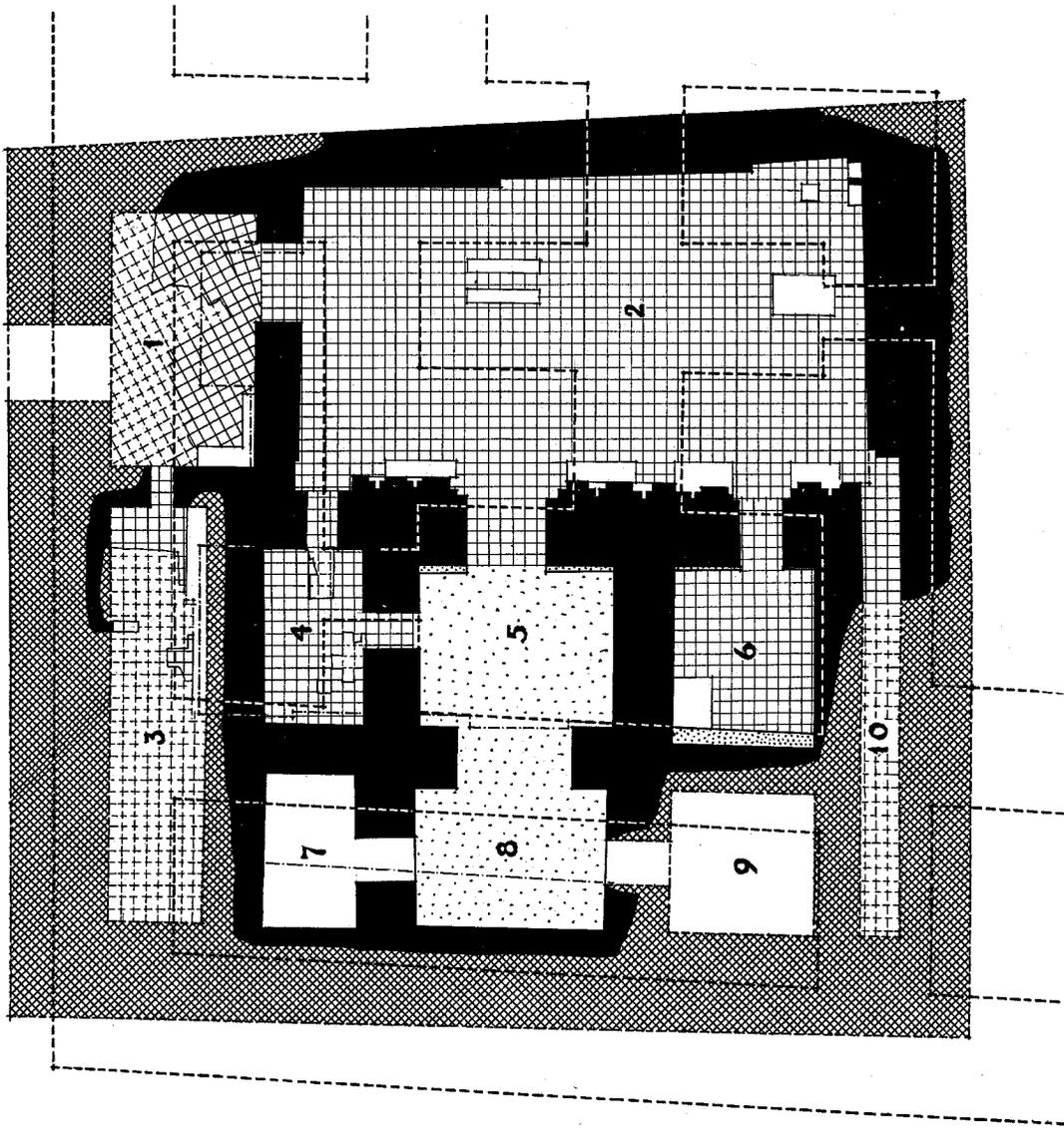
WALLS RESTORED



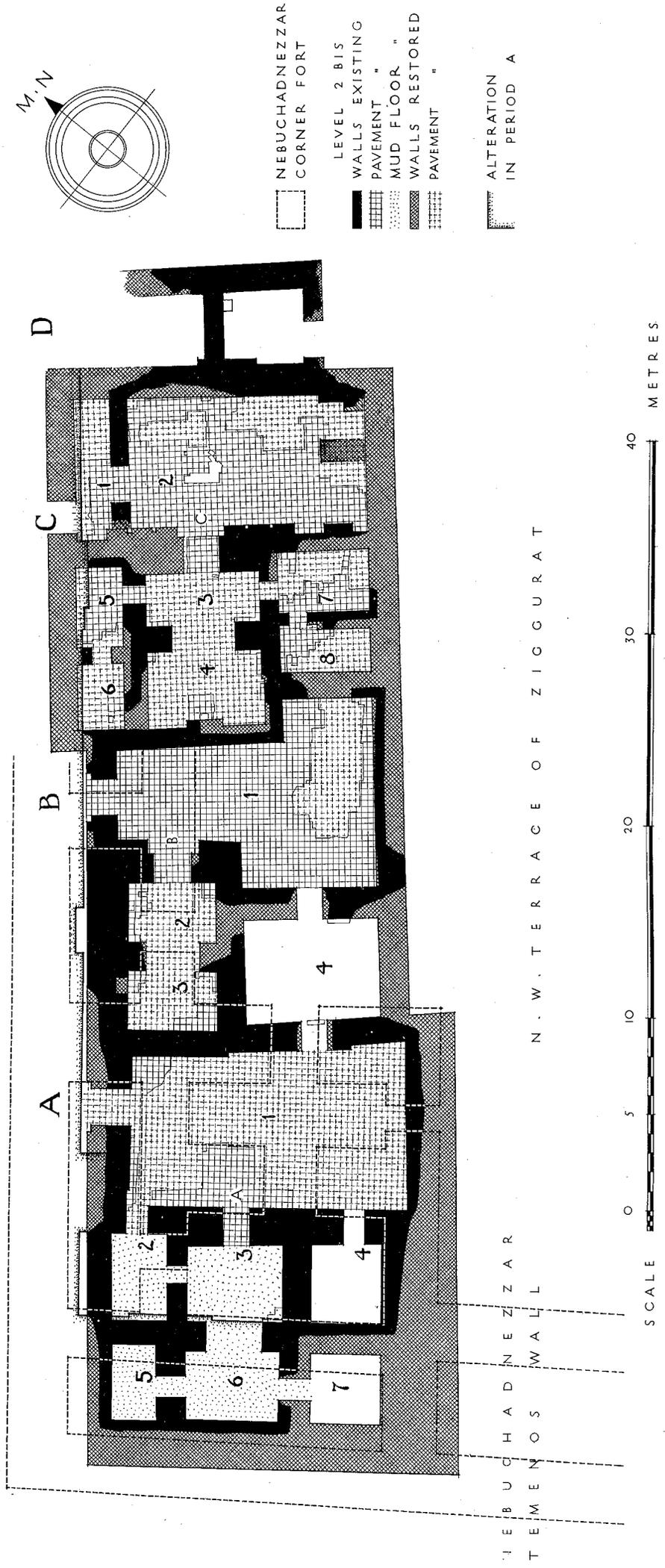
ALTERATIONS IN



PERIODS A & B



THE BUILDINGS ALONG THE NW WALL OF THE TEMENOS  
LEVEL 2, THE LATER KASSITE RANGE

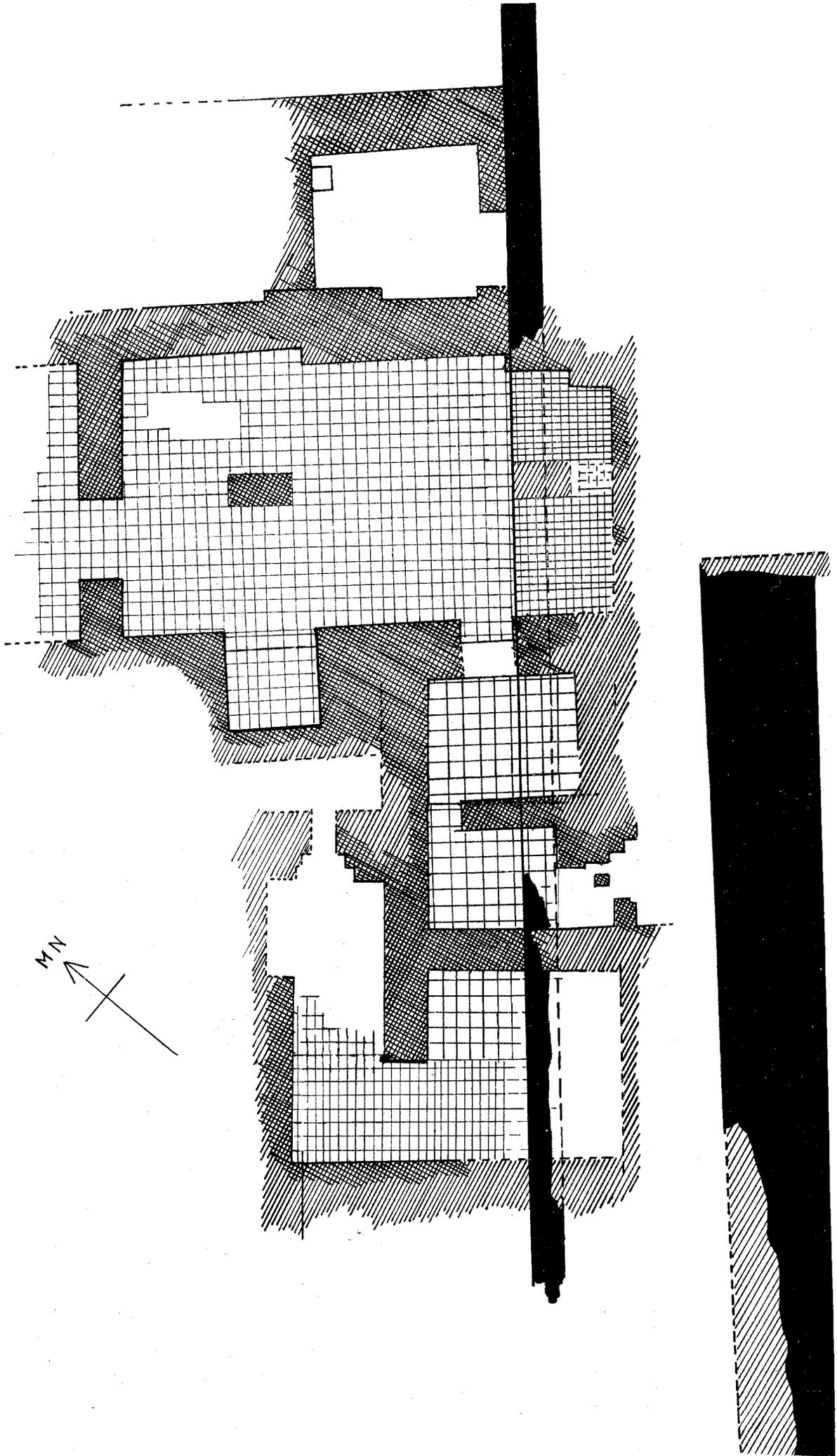


THE BUILDINGS ALONG THE NW WALL OF THE TEMENOS ;  
 LEVEL 2 bis, THE LATEST KASSITE RANGE

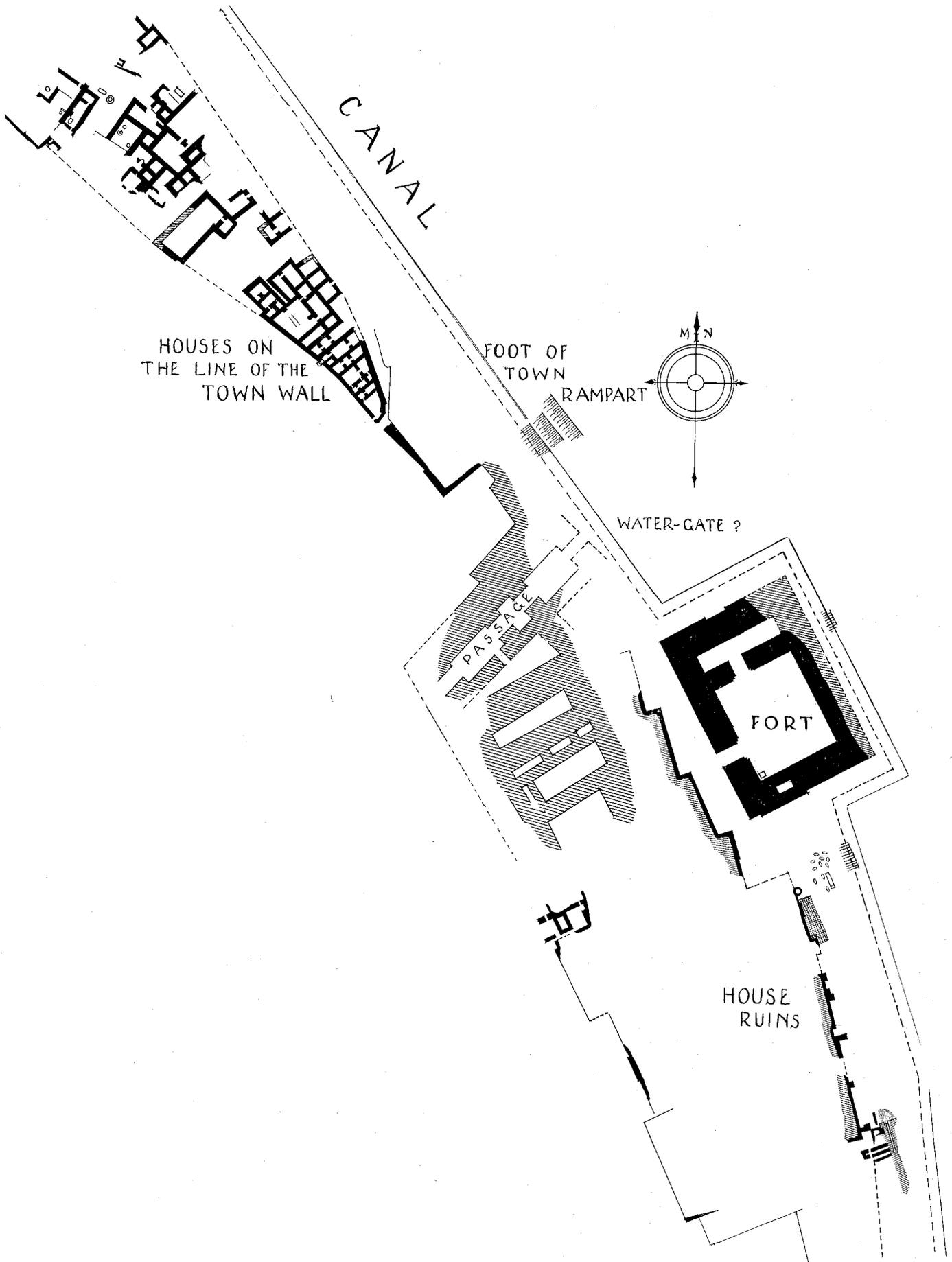
D

C

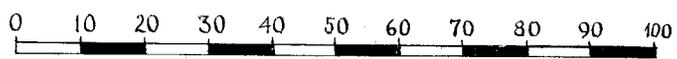
B



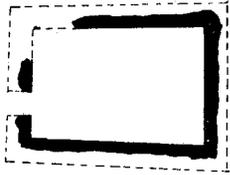
THE BUILDINGS ALONG THE NW WALL OF THE TEMENOS ;  
THE LAST REBUILDING, ATTRIBUTED TO SIN-BALATSU-IQBI



SCALE IN METRES

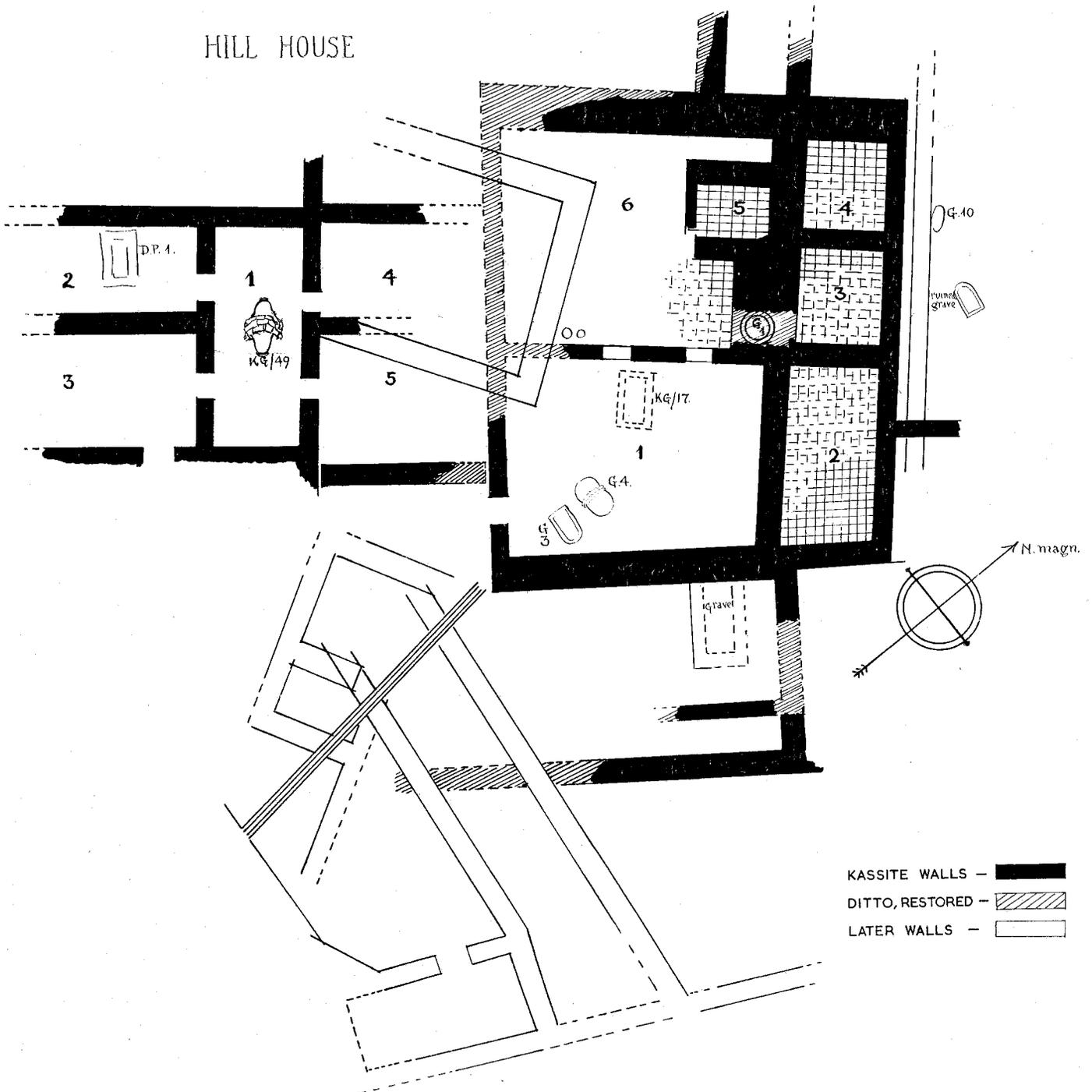


THE KASSITE FORT AND HOUSES ON THE NE WALL OF THE CITY

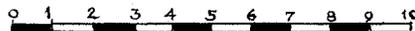


HIGH HOUSE

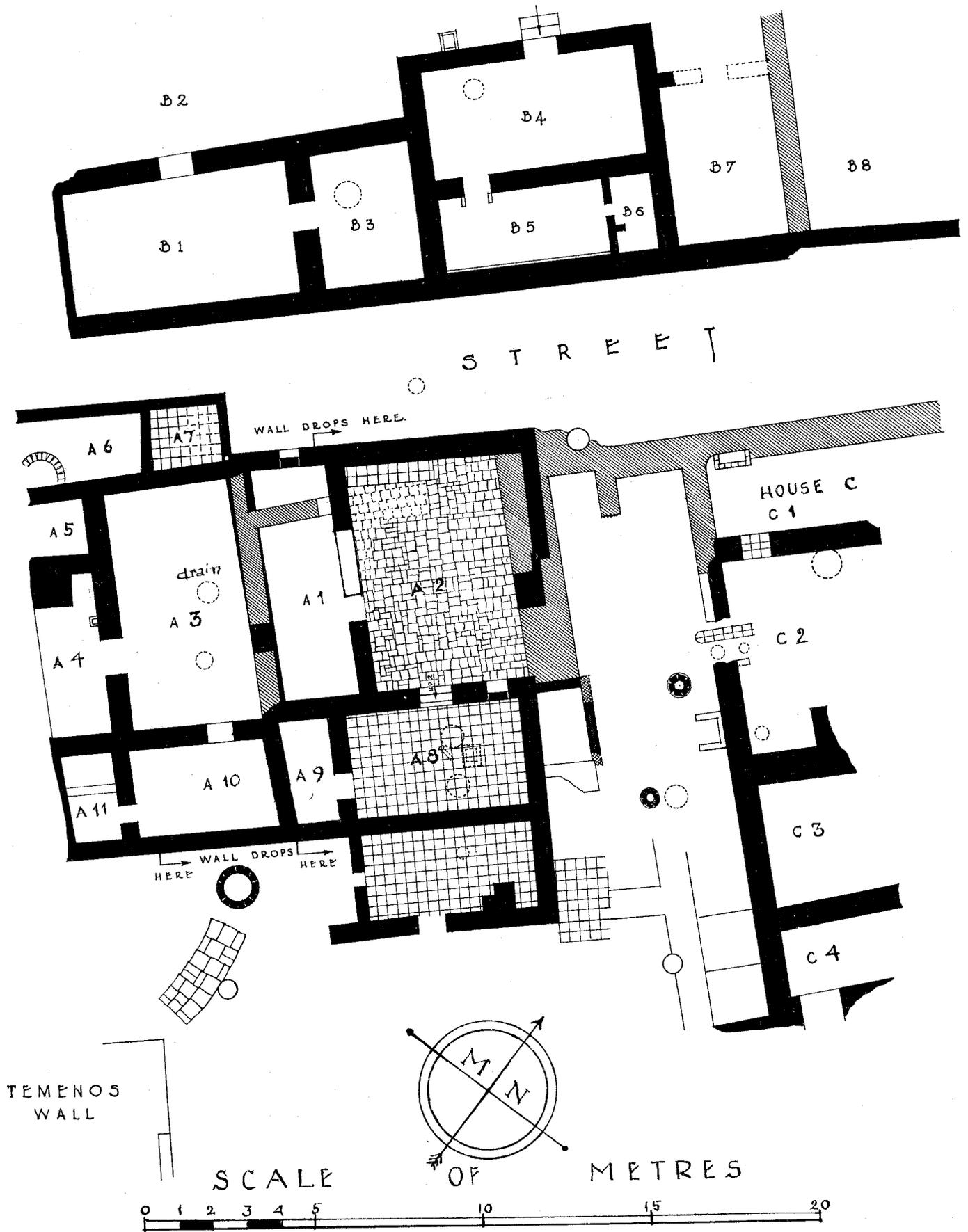
HILL HOUSE



scale in metres



KASSITE PRIVATE HOUSES  
a. ON THE EM SITE



KASSITE PRIVATE HOUSES  
b. THE KPS GROUP NEAR THE NEBUCHADNEZZAR GATE