

sultan<sup>61</sup>, resemble those found at Kültepe and Alişar in the late period. Apart from these, the trefoil-mouthed jugs, the teapot with its spout at right angles to the handle, the pilgrim flask, fruitstands with four handles (of which some examples without handles exist), and the two-handled jar with a round base, found in the same building level at Beycesultan, are parallel to shapes used in the Colony Period. But their technique is very different from that of Central Anatolia; it is western, that is, local. The resemblance is in shape only. On the other hand, in the pottery of Kusura, there is a resemblance in technique also. The point to be considered is this : although the shapes at Beycesultan resemble the shapes of the Colony Period, all such pottery has been found in level II, and this level is later than 1450 B. C.<sup>62</sup>. This shows that in some regions the traditions of Central Anatolia continued. So far, nothing has been published about the pottery which shows in what way this tradition continued after levels IVa-b (around the year 1900 B. C.) at Beycesultan. Nevertheless, vessels such as jugs with strainers and spouts at the sides, were known in the Lake District (the neighborhood of Isparta) from the third millennium B. C.<sup>63</sup>.

The evidence from Karahöyük<sup>64</sup> (Elbistan) and Frakdin<sup>65</sup> shows that the pottery of the Assyrian Colony Period was distributed in the mountain region, and along the road which connected this region to Central Anatolia. But the investigation of these regions is still incomplete.

The collection in the Berlin Museums and the objects found at Acemhöyük show that, especially in the late phase, influence towards Niğde and Konya was strong<sup>66</sup>. If, in the future, systematic excavations are carried out in these regions, they may show the existence of relationships in the early phase also; because it is in this

<sup>61</sup> A. St. V, Pl. II a, Fig. 13-14; Pl. V b, Fig. 13; Pl. IV, Fig. 14, 5-8; Pl. V a, Fig. 15, 3-5.

<sup>62</sup> A. St. V (1955), p. 52 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Kurt Bittel, *Zwei Frühbronzezeitliche Vasen aus Pisidien* (Festschrift für W. H. Schuchhardt, *Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 12/13, 1960. Baden-Baden) p. 17 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Nimet-Tahsin Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Karahöyük*, Ankara 1949. p. 84 ff.

<sup>65</sup> N. Özgüç,  *Finds at Frakdin*, *Bulleten* 75, p. 301 ff.

<sup>66</sup> K. Bittel, *AA* (55) p. 579; T. Özgüç, *Bulleten* 40, p. 594 ff.; Albrecht Goetze, *Kleinasien*, München 1957, Abb 5; *Bulleten* 88, p. 517-526, Fig. 1-25 (B. Tezcan).

region that the important centres mentioned in texts are being sought by linguists<sup>67</sup>. In fact, some of the surface pottery from here fits this conclusion. During the excavation of Acemhöyük, conducted by Prof. Dr. Nimet Özgüç, examples of typical pottery which are contemporary with the first and later phases of the Assyrian Colony period were found. These are very important finds from the point of view of the local characteristics of Aksaray and the distribution of the pottery of this Age.

It is now clear that, in technique and shape, there are differences between the pottery of levels IV, III, II, and Ib at the Kaniş Karum<sup>68</sup>. The differences between level IV and III, as shown above, depend upon the amount of pottery belonging to Alişar III, and also upon the fact that the wheel-made pottery known in the earlier level was more limited in quantity than in level III. This development is the result of a natural evolution. We must once more point out the absence of differences in technique and clay between the two periods. On the other hand, the differences between levels II and Ib are far greater than those observed between the other levels. The explanation for this may lie in the length of time that passed between the two levels<sup>69</sup>, and in the greatly increased influence of Northern Syria on the pottery of level Ib. Northern Syria had great influence in enlarging Kültepe's repertoire of pottery. At Gözlükule, the pottery is close to Northern Syria on one hand, and to Central Anatolia on the other; this can be explained only by its geographical position<sup>70</sup>.

The relationship of the pottery of level II with that of level III, is such that it can be considered the result of a natural evolution. The great variations seen in some types of ware can also be explained by the fact that Kültepe was a rich and very brilliant centre.

The differences between levels II and Ib cannot be explained in this way. These differences can be explained only as the result of varying factors, viz foreign influences, the passage of time, new fashions, and the gradual abandonment of the older tradition.

Ankara

Kutlu EMRE

<sup>67</sup> *Belleten* 39, p. 401 ff. (E. Bilgiç).

<sup>68</sup> Kültepe 1949, p. 212 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Kültepe 1949, p. 112, 113.

<sup>70</sup> H. Goldman, *Excavation at Gözlükule — Tarsus*, Vol. II, Princeton 1956, p. 165, 187-198.



## AN AKKADIAN ILLUSTRATION OF A CAMPAIGN IN CILICIA?

MACHTELD MELLINK

The Iraq Museum in Bagdad has two fragments of an alabaster stela discovered in the Hai district of southern Iraq about 1953. The fragments were published by F. Basmachi<sup>1</sup> who identified the subject matter, shape and style of the stela as appropriate to the Akkadian period, possibly to the reign of Naramsin. Good photographs of the principal scenes were subsequently published by M. Hirmer and E. Strommenger. Mrs. Strommenger dates the fragments to her subdivision Reichsakkadisch II-III but declines to attribute the stela to a specific ruler.<sup>2</sup>

The two preserved fragments each form part of two registers which can be aligned in restoration (Plate XXVIII). The upper register shows a row of nude captives moving to the left. The victims have their upper arms tied together behind their backs, and march with their heads inserted in a ladder-like implement which forces the prisoners to stay in strict file. This disciplinary wooden instrument has been tentatively identified by E. Gordon as the neck-stock (*shigârum*) of Akkadian texts.<sup>3</sup>

The lower register has a number of helmeted robed men facing left and carrying objects clearly obtained as booty. Mrs. Strommenger suggests, with due caution, that these men may be tribute-bearers(?). The possibility of this interpretation has to be admitted, since the figures appear in somewhat ceremonial file. They are armed and

\* This paper is an expanded version of a communication addressed to the 25th International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow, August 1960. Cf. Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists I, 1962, pp. 297-298.

<sup>1</sup> Sumer 10, 1954, pp. 116-119, pls. I-II, IM 55639 and IM 59205. For the restored form of the stela cf. Sumer 13, 1957, p. 222, figs. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien (München 1962) pls. 118-119, pp. 73-74.

<sup>3</sup> Sumer 12, 1956, pp. 80-84.

wear helmets as soldiers, however, and as such may rather be seen as members of the victorious Akkadian army.

The foremost soldier holds a dagger on a strap in his raised right hand and a two-handled cup in his left. His followers also seem to have carried daggers in their raised right hands, but none of the left hands are preserved. This frieze continues on the narrow side of the stela which preserves part of the image of a man with his left hand raised to carry some (lost) object.

The stela is uninscribed so far as preserved. Its Akkadian character is beyond doubt. The arrangement in registers corresponds to the composition used for victory stelae by Sargon's artists<sup>4</sup> following Early Dynastic prototypes. The slender proportions of the individual figures and the competent surface modelling would seem to point to a date later in the Akkadian dynasty, possibly to the rule of Naramsin. Naramsin's Louvre stela<sup>5</sup> has lost most of the fine surface detail, but the Bagdad fragments with their polished alabaster relief display a remarkable subtlety of anatomical rendering. The new stela also has a good understanding of the human profile figure. The shoulders of the victims in the 'ladder' are correctly and completely foreshortened, an improvement over the bound victims of Sargon's stela who are closer to Early Dynastic renderings.<sup>6</sup>

A closer identification of the period and the subject matter of the new stela depends upon intrinsic evidence. The 'neck-stock' although mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions, need not be confined to any particular episode or theater of Akkadian warfare. Two other aspects can be analyzed: the appearance of the nude captives, and the nature of the booty (c.q. tribute).

<sup>4</sup> Fragments of stelae found at Susa, G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale II* (Paris 1931), pp. 666-668, figs. 462-464; E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (München 1962) pls. 114-115, p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale II* (Paris 1931) pp. 675-677, fig. 469; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Pelican History of Art, 1954) p. 43, pl. 44. E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (München 1962) pls. 122-123, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> F. Basmachi aptly compares the mosaic fragments from Mari, André Parrot, *Mari, Collection des Ides Photographiques 7* (Paris 1953) fig. 70; André Parrot, *Le Temple d'Ishtar* (Mission Archéologique de Mari I, Paris 1956) pl. LVI, p. 145, fig. 86.

The poor victims, stripped of all their cloths and weapons, have but few identification marks left (Plate XXIX,I). The artist of the stela carefully rendered the detail of their hair-styles, however, which must have struck him as unusual. There are only two heads preserved, but the details of hair and beard differ. The victim in front has a mustache; his chin seems covered by a tight-fitting cheekstrap. The back of his head is damaged. There are traces of locks but no clear indications of coiffure or diadem.

The cheekstrap occurs at Mari early in the second millennium B. C., e.g. on a head of a warrior from the palace<sup>7</sup>; and perhaps at Alalakh on the head of 'Yarimlim'.<sup>8</sup> The few indications we have for this fashion point to northern Syria, although the parallels cited are quite a bit later than the Akkadian period.

The second victim has a smaller mustache and a beard of twisted curls, slightly shorter than that of the presumed Akkadian officer in the lower register. This captive is characterized by a long, wavy lock of hair descending at the back of his clean-shaven skull, and perhaps another lock in front of his right shoulder.<sup>9</sup> This odd detail again has no immediate parallel in Mesopotamian Early Dynastic or Akkadian hairstyles. A fragment of a relief vase in Paris<sup>10</sup> shows another captive of the Akkadians. He is bearded and has long hair descending in waves on his shoulders. Part of it is braided into a narrow tress in front of his ear. The rendering is as meticulous as that on the Bagdad stela, and we can only conclude that the accuracy of both representations is beyond doubt. The man on the Louvre vase represents

<sup>7</sup> André Parrot, *Le Palais* (Mission Archéologique de Mari II, 3, Paris 1959) pls. VII-VIII, pp. 11-14, fig. 9. E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (München 1962) pl. 166, p. 89.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Leonard Woolley, *Alalakh* (Oxford 1955) pls. XLI-XLII, pp. 235-237; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Pelican History of Art, 1954) pls. 137-138, p. 140. The relief lines on the cheeks of this head may be the contour of a stylized short beard; cf. the bronze figurine from Qatna, Frankfort *op. cit.* pl. 142.

<sup>9</sup> This detail is visible in pl. 118 of E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (München 1962).

<sup>10</sup> G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale II* (Paris 1931) p. 694, fig. 485; André Parrot, *Sumer. The Dawn of Art* (New York 1961) pp. 190-191, figs. 229-230. This captive is rather gruesomely restrained by a nose-ring.

a fashion clearly differentiated from that of his counterpart on the Bagdad stela.

Basmachi thinks of the Lullubi as a potential identification for the captives on the Bagdad stela. The victims of Naramsin shown under the king's feet in the rock relief at Darband-i-Gawr wear pigtails<sup>11</sup> and so do the earlier Iranian figures appearing in the relief at Kurangun<sup>12</sup>, but in neither case can we find a parallel for the partly shaven skull of the nude captive on the stela. The Kurangun figures clearly have long hair in the back in addition to their pigtails; the victims on the Darband-i-Gawr relief wear helmets over their skulls.

The unusual hairstyle of the second victim on the stela finds a remote analogy in another, much later category of carefully differentiated ethnic portraits. The Egyptian rendering of foreigners, presumably Hittites, in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb<sup>13</sup> (some one thousand years later than the Akkadian work under review) distinguished a type with long, abundant hair from one with the skull clean shaven but for a long, wavy lock at the back of the head and another in front of the ear. These Hittites are beardless and not to be compared directly to the victims on the new stela, but the Memphite reliefs prove that the fashion of partially shaving the skull, and leaving some locks in front and back, existed in Asia Minor among a group of the population in the fourteenth century B. C.

The identification of the victims cannot be made on the basis of the hairstyles so long as we have no additional evidence of approximately Akkadian date. The later parallels for checkstrap and hairlocks would seem to point to western rather than eastern affinities of

<sup>11</sup> N. C. Debevoise, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1, 1942, p. 82; H. H. Von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser* (Stuttgart 1956) pl. 9; E. Strommenger, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2, 1963, pp. 83-88, pls. 15-18, especially pl. 18b.

<sup>12</sup> N. C. Debevoise, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1, 1942, p. 78; L. Vandenberghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden 1959) pls. 85-86.

<sup>13</sup> H. T. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin 1942) fig. 729; A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (2nd edition München 1957) pl. I: 2; O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Penguin Books 1961) pl. 2b, p. 212; J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton 1954) fig. 51; cf. Alan Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39, 1953, p. 4. Some of the grooms who appear in the relief fragments in the Leyden Museum (Pritchard, *op cit.* fig. 5) wear similar hairstyles, with front and/or back-lock. These grooms are dressed as Syrians.

the conquered enemies. In any case, the Akkadian artists were meticulous in rendering the exotic characteristics of their adversaries.

The foreigners on the stela are not particularly barbaric in appearance, and once must have possessed sophisticated equipment, to judge by the booty in the lower register (Plate XXX). The daggers carried by at least three Akkadian soldiers are apparently valued for their utility as well as workmanship, although nothing is shown to emphasize their being of precious metal. Each dagger is suspended on a strap with looped end, a belt or shoulder strap, part of the standard equipment in this case. The attachment of the strap to the dagger is not rendered in detail. The shape of the short dagger, which is shown in its sheath, is clear: the short, pointed blade is fastened by two rivets to an angular shoulder frame which is made in one piece with the hilt. The hilt is crowned by a pommel of semicircular profile. Such daggers would have been of little avail against the long axes of the Akkadians (one of which is shown stuck in the belt of the leading officer), but the dagger was undoubtedly just an accessory of other fighting equipment not shown in complete array on this stela.

The short dagger with its pronounced pommel shape is not a typical Mesopotamian weapon. One of the gold daggers from the Royal Tombs at Ur<sup>14</sup> had a badly decayed pommel which was restored in semi-globular form. Most of the pommels of the Early Dynastic daggers at Ur are pear-shaped and elongated.

Semi-globular or convex stone pommels are fairly common in Anatolia in the third and second millennia B. C. The earliest specimens come from the context of Troy II. Schliemann found six pommels of rock crystal in Treasure L<sup>15</sup>; these offer good parallels for the profiles of the daggers illustrated on the Akkadian stela.

The dagger blades on the stela are comparable to riveted blades of Mrs. Maxwell-Hyslop's Type 5, which "seems to be an Anatolian and Syrian development"<sup>16</sup>. D. Stronach has analyzed this type in

<sup>14</sup> C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations II, The Royal Cemetery* (London and Philadelphia 1934) pls. 152 and 155, U 10014, p. 308, dagger from the tomb of Meskalamdug. Some of the Ur daggers had holes in the hilt "through which would be passed a lanyard", p. 308.

<sup>15</sup> H. Schmidt, *Heinrich Schliemann's Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer* (Berlin 1902) Nos. 6059-6064. The apocryphal treasure from Dorak (*Illustrated London News* November 28, 1959, pp. 754-I-II-III) may contain much relevant material.

<sup>16</sup> *Iraq* 8, 1946, pp. 9-10.



more detail. The pointed blade with wide, sloping or squared shoulders, and three rivets (one in the narrow tang and one in each shoulder) has a remarkable Early Bronze III distribution along the Anatolian coast, from Samos to Lycia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Ugarit.<sup>17</sup>

Since we know that there were close cultural interrelations between the Troad and the southwest coast of Anatolia in the period of Troy II, the assumption that dagger blades of the riveted Type 5 were combined with semi-globular pommels of Troy II type is not far-fetched.<sup>18</sup>

The daggers brought in as booty on the stela must have been of precious material. The Ur tombs give us a sampling of earlier wealth in daggers with silver, gold and lapis handles. The rock-crystal pommels from Troy confirm the existence of Anatolian luxury and parade weapons in the Early Bronze III period. The daggers from the so-called Dorak treasure could corroborate all this in detail.<sup>19</sup>

The Anatolian parallels for the weapons shown on the stela would seem to offer the first roughly contemporary clue to the direction from which the material booty came to the Akkadians.

The final piece of evidence for the provenience of this booty is the vessel carried by the officer leading the parade in the lower register (Plate XXX). He holds a two-handled goblet by one of its handles. The upper part of the vase is preserved and clearly rendered as a cup with strongly incurved sides and flaring rim. Two loop handles rise from the widest part of the body and curve back below the rim along the upper part of the vessel. The foot is lost, but the contour begins to taper towards what can be restored as a pedestal or a simple round base. The material of this goblet can be identified as metal, since the upper part has two bold grooves which indicate fluting.

This two-handled drinking-vessel is most noticeably of non-Mesopotamian type, as Basmachi observed. The parallels which suggest themselves come from Anatolia, whereas neither Iran nor Syria could lay claim to the production of such loop-handled goblets.

<sup>17</sup> *Anatolian Studies* 5, 1955, pp. 99-100.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the riveting shown on the Dorak dagger *Illustrated London News* November 28, 1959, pl. III fig. 18 E, with a lapis semi-globular pommel.

<sup>19</sup> *Illustrated London News* November 28, 1959, pl. III.



1

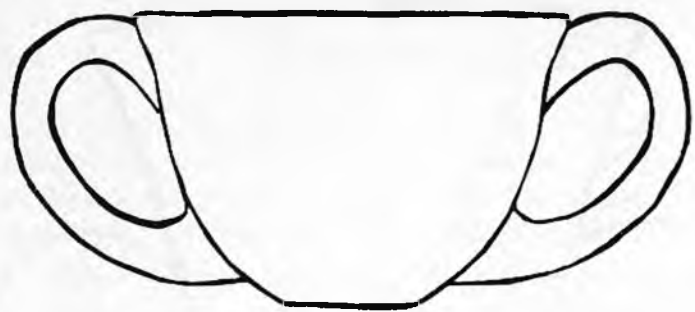


2

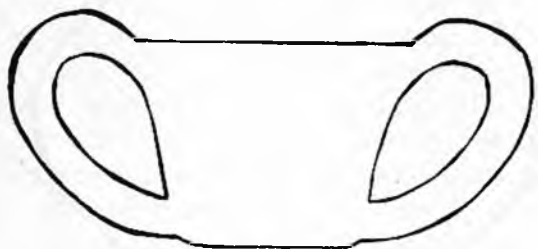


3

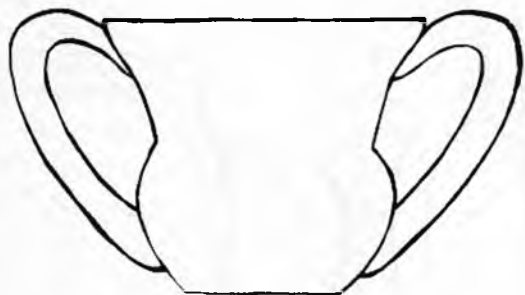
Fig. — 14



1



2



3

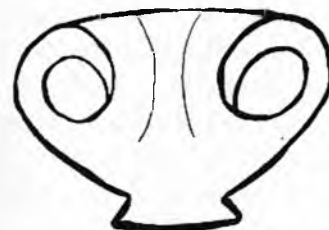
Fig. — 15



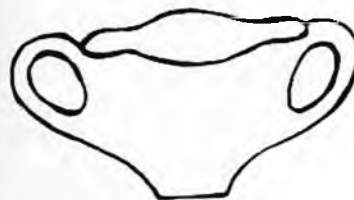
1



2



3



5



4



6

Fig. — 16



The cup shown on the stela is a relative of the Anatolian category for which Schliemann established the misnomer *depas amphikypellon*. In the second, burnt level of Troy he found abundant evidence for the popularity of tall, two-handled drinking-cups of a shape which is an exclusive hallmark of Anatolian Early Bronze III sites and their periphery.<sup>20</sup> The variants of the Trojan cup profiles are now best illustrated in the excavation reports of the Cincinnati expedition, which also established the stratigraphic range of the *depas* more precisely<sup>21</sup>.

It makes its appearance in Troy level IIc and is most characteristic of the various phases of II, the greatest epoch in the life of Troy. Three chief types can be distinguished: the tankard, a wide and large vase with a globular body and flaring, offset rim (Fig. 14,1);<sup>22</sup> the *depas* proper, a tall and slender goblet of unbroken profile (Fig. 14,2)<sup>23</sup>; and the footed or pedestalled *depas*, with a developed and articulate base (Fig. 14,3)<sup>24</sup>. The first two types are earliest. The profiled *depas* appears in IIg; it is a development of the simple type and tends to merge into cup shapes which continue into the period of Troy III and IV.<sup>25</sup>

The same basic variants of the *depas* shape are familiar in Cilicia in the Early Bronze III period. Tarsus enriches the repertoire with a tankard variant consisting of a shallow, rounded cup without a break in the profile (Fig. 15,1)<sup>26</sup>; the simple *depas* here may have

<sup>20</sup> For the chronological subdivision of the Early Bronze period in Anatolia, see the forthcoming second edition of Robert W. Ehrich, ed., *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago 1965).

<sup>21</sup> Carl W. Blegen et al., *Troy I* (Princeton 1950) figs. 379-382.

<sup>22</sup> Blegen, *op. cit.*, fig. 380.

<sup>23</sup> Blegen, *op. cit.* figs. 381-382.

<sup>24</sup> Blegen, *op. cit.* fig. 379, 35.426.

<sup>25</sup> H. Schmidt, Heinrich Schliemann's *Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer* (Berlin 1902) Nos. 1418, 1419; C. W. Blegen et al., *Troy II* (Princeton 1951) fig. 160, 36. 717, tankard from Troy IVc.

<sup>26</sup> Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus II* (Princeton 1956) fig. 266, Nos. 488-489. This variant also occurs in grey marble at Lerna in Greece, probably from the House of Tiles, in Early Helladic II context (here Fig. 15,2), to be correlated with Anatolian Early Bronze IIIa, *Hesperia* 25, 1956, p. 164, fig. 4. The Lerna specimen is one of the occasional Aegean imitations of the Anatolian shape; cf. a grey-bluish marble tankard from Knossos, found out of context in a

a strongly flaring contour<sup>27</sup>; and the pedestalled version of the depas also has its own fashions in Cilicia where it slowly merges with Syrian goblet types.<sup>28</sup>

The Anatolian depas and its variants are most characteristic of the two areas mentioned: Troy and Cilicia. The synchronism of Troy II and Cilician Early Bronze IIIa is clearly established.<sup>29</sup> Contemporary sites on the Anatolian plateau contain depas-vessels of the straightforward type as well as some regional variants, but apparently in much smaller quantities than the coastal sites.<sup>30</sup> The pedestalled form is not yet known from central Anatolian sites in levels corresponding to Cilician Early Bronze III. Some depas specimens of coastal Anatolian manufacture found their way to the Aegean, but here we clearly have a peripheral, receptive trading zone rather than an active production center of such goblets.<sup>31</sup>

The goblet shown on the Akkadian stela belongs to the Anatolian family just described. Its profile is of the tankard variety with a break in the contour, close to the Trojan and Cilician tankards with flaring rim (Fig. 16,1). The doubt about the form of its base does not detract from the validity of the morphological parallels. If the "Akkadian" goblet had a rounded base, it parallels the simple tank-

Late Minoan I stratum, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 6, 1899-1900, p. 75, Nils Åberg, *Bronzezeitliche und Früheisenzeitliche Chronologie IV, Griechenland* (Stockholm 1933) p. 89, fig. 174; here Fig. 15,3. The piece is restored but the shape is beyond doubt, and of Early Bronze III type.

<sup>27</sup> Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus II* (Princeton 1956) fig. 266, No. 507.

<sup>28</sup> Hetty Goldman, *op. cit.* fig. 266, Nos. 508, 511, 512.

<sup>29</sup> Hetty Goldman, *op. cit.* p. 61; and the forthcoming second edition of Robert W. Ehrich, ed., *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago 1965.)

<sup>30</sup> For a fundamental discussion of the two-handled Trojan cups and their distribution cf. K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Istanbuler Mitteilungen 5, Istanbul 1962) pp. 132-135 and *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1944-45, cols. 58-59. More specimens have been excavated since, notably at Kültepe, *Belleten XXI*, 81, 1957, p. 79, figs. 28, 29, 48; at Polath, *Anatolian Studies I*, 1951, pp. 45-46, fig. 10: 24 and pl. IVa; at Beycesultan, Seton Lloyd and James Mellaart, *Beycesultan I* (London 1962) p. 205, levels XIIa, XI, fig. P. 47: 60-61; p. 233, pl. XXVII, 1-3 (painted depas level VIa). Cf. Winfried Orthmann, *Die Keramik der Frühen Bronzezeit aus Inneranatolien* (Istanbuler Forschungen 24, Berlin 1963) under the various site headings.

<sup>31</sup> K. Bittel, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Istanbuler Mitteilungen 5, Istanbul 1942) p. 133; cf. note 26 *supra* for marble tankards from the Aegean area.

ards, if it had a profiled base, it is related to the more developed part of the Early Bronze III series exemplified at Tarsus in clay (Fig. 16,2-3).

The Akkadian stela illustrates a metal goblet. The precious counterparts of the Anatolian clay goblets were not wanting in ancient times and are not entirely wanting now. Schliemann found a number of related pieces among the precious tableware from the treasures of Troy II. The well known gold cup with double trough-spout<sup>32</sup> is a hybrid of the *depas* and the Early Helladic II sauceboat. Its handles are typically Anatolian. The large silver vase from the same treasure A is of tankard shape (Fig. 16,4)<sup>33</sup>. It so happens that neither of these two Trojan metal vases is fluted, whereas the Akkadian stela explicitly renders this decorative trait. Cilicia, though it has not yet produced precious metal vessels of this period, undoubtedly knew fluted goblets. An imitation of a deeply fluted silver *depas* was found in a grey polished clay version at Tarsus<sup>34</sup> (Plate XXXI,I).

Although the evidence is somewhat circumstantial, all these relatives of the goblet on the Akkadian stela point to the conclusion that the fluted metal vessel carried by the leading officer is of Anatolian type and datable to the period of Troy II (-IV) and Cilician Early Bronze III.

A word may be added here on the further evolution of two-handled metal goblets in Anatolia. At first sight, the Akkadian relief might seem to illustrate a goblet of a later, Middle Bronze Age type. The early second millennium knows a goblet with quatrefoil rim and a clearly profiled base, mostly of pedestal form. This new shape is again known to us indirectly through clay imitations. It is usually referred to by the incongruous Greek name of *kantharos*. Its occurrences in level Ib of the Karum at Kültepe provide the basic variants in shape (with a short and flat, Fig. 16,5, or stemmed and profiled

<sup>32</sup> H. Schmidt, Heinrich Schliemann's *Sammlung Trojanischer Altertümer* (Berlin 1902) No. 5863; F. Matz, *Kreta, Mykene, Troja* (Stuttgart 1956) pl. 5b.

<sup>33</sup> H. Schmidt, *op. cit.* No. 5873.

<sup>34</sup> Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlu Kule, Tarsus II* (Princeton 1956) fig. 285 No. 722, p. 162. I do not know of any other example of such pronounced vertical fluting on clay *depas* imitations. An example from Eğret köy in the Afyon Museum (inv. 2454) has only slight vertical grooves. The illustration of a fluted *depas* *Illustrated London News*, November 28, 1959, pl. II, fig. 14 shows less bold fluting than the Tarsus piece, and the handles are flimsy.

base, fig. 16,6) and give us a chronological correlation.<sup>35</sup> The date of the Karum Ib level is historically fixed as the period of Šamši-Adad I, which gives us an absolute range from c. 1850 to 1750 B.C., depending upon the chronology followed. The kantharos represented at Kültepe in good chronological context also occurs at Alishar, Alaca-hüyük, Boğazköy and Karahüyük near Konya, mostly in levels to be equated with the Kültepe finds but occasionally in Late Bronze context, suggesting that the metal originals of such kantharoi remained popular in the later part of the second millennium.<sup>36</sup> They are again traded to the Aegean area, where Crete has Middle Minoan counterparts of the clay kantharoi. A small silver vase from Gournia is of related shape.<sup>37</sup> The chronological correlation of the East Cretan and Anatolian material is of interest, as is the continuity of trade in metal vessels with the concomitant phenomenon of imitations in clay.

The essential differences between the depas-family of the third millennium and the kantharoi of the second should remain clear, however.<sup>38</sup> The 'Akkadian' goblet is of the depas category. It has the following typical depas features :

<sup>35</sup> Tahsin Özgüç and Nimet Özgüç, Kültepe Kazısı Raporu 1949 (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V. Seri No. 12, Ankara 1953) p. 171, pl. XXXI: Nos. 196-202; *Belleten* 73, XIX, 1955, p. 67 fig. 12.

<sup>36</sup> Alishar: H. H. Von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32, part II* (Oriental Institute Publications XXIX, Chicago 1937) pl. VI, b1670, c2734; b1676, presumably all Middle Bronze. Alaca Hüyük: H. Z. Koşay, *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük 1936* (Ankara 1944) p. 42, pl. XXVI; *American Journal of Archaeology* 51, 1947, pl. 37c, p. 156; Alaca Höyük Kazısı 1937-39 (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V. Seri No. 5, Ankara 1951) pl. LVII, 1, p. 125: all from the 'Hittite' level and not specifically assigned to Middle or Late Bronze. Boğazköy: K. Bittel, *Boğazköy, Die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1906-1912* (WVDOG 60, Leipzig 1937) p. 47, pl. 32: 26, pl. 40, 15; K. Bittel and R. Naumann, *Boğazköy-Hattuša 1931-1939* (WVDOG 63, Stuttgart 1952) p. 106, fig. 28: 2 (18th-16th century B.C.); *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 91 (1958) p. 43, fig. 44, level 3 lower city (Old Hittite). Karahüyük near Konya: *American Journal of Archaeology* 68, 1964, p. 153, pl. 50: 9.

<sup>37</sup> H. Boyd Hawes, *Gournia 1901-1904* (Philadelphia 1908) p. 56, p. 60, fig. 40: 5, pl. C: 1; for discussions of the Cretan kantharoi cf. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos I* (London 1921) pp. 191-193; V. Milojević, *Chronologie der jüngeren Steinzeit Mittel-und Südosteuropas* (Berlin 1949) p. 30; K. Bittel, *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 72, 1933, pp. 30-31.

<sup>38</sup> Pace M.S.F. Hood, "The Early Bronze Age Chronology of the Aegean Area with special reference to Troy" in: *Bericht über den V. Internationalen Kon-*



1. the loop handles do not swing out above the rim; they emerge from the middle of the goblet, curve up and around to run parallel to the contours of the upper goblet in great harmony of forms;
2. the greatest lateral projection of the loop handles comes at mid-height of the upper part of the goblet, not at the top of the handles;
3. the maximum width of the goblet measured with the loop handles is more than twice that of the body of the goblet measured at the same level.

The Middle Bronze Age kantharos type does not match these proportions of the Akkadian goblet. The Kültepe kantharoi, e.g., have handles with a higher and narrower projection than the Akkadian example, their 'swing' is different. The same applies to the specimens from Alişar and Boğazköy, whereas the Cretan examples have ribbon handles which project above the rim.

The type of handles so carefully rendered on the Akkadian stela is paralleled best, it would seem, on the simple clay goblets from Tarsus (Fig. 15,1; Plate XXXI,2,) whose handles merge with the contours of the body and rim and project furthest at about the middle of their height. These simple goblets differ in the upper handle attachment from the majority of Trojan tankards and goblets, whose rim rises well above the level of the handles. The low bulge of the Cilician handles is akin to the Akkadian illustration. The parallel attachment of the loop handles along the upper body of the cup is characteristic of many Cilician specimens also (tankards of the type of Plate XXIX,2).<sup>39</sup> Significantly, the silver tankard from treasure A at Troy has handles very similar to those of the Akkadian goblet, with the curve of the loop handles prolonged along the rim of the vessel (Fig. 16,4).

The tentative conclusion on the strength of this analysis is, then, that some features of the metal booty illustrated on the Akkadian stela point to an Anatolian, more specifically, Trojan or Cilician provenance. A Syrian origin would seem unlikely, since the cultural

gress für Vor-und Frühgeschichte Hamburg 1958 (Berlin 1961) pp. 398-403, especially p. 402.

<sup>39</sup> Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlu Kule, Tarsus II* (Princeton 1956) fig. 265: 472, 480; cf. fig. 266, 476; to a slighter degree on fig. 266: 488, 489. Cf. C. W. Blegen et al., *Troy I* (Princeton 1950) fig. 380, 35. 415, 11g tankard.

province of coastal Anatolia does not extend into Northern Syria in the Early Bronze III phase. Objects such as precious metal goblets may occasionally have been exported to the Amuq region, trade with which is attested by various ceramic cross-connections.<sup>40</sup> A clay depas of pedestalled Troy IV type, found at Tell Tainat, is clearly of Anatolian manufacture.<sup>41</sup> But it seems improbable that either the daggers or the metal vessels discussed here were of frequent occurrence beyond the borders of Anatolia.

The chronological aspects of the Anatolian correlation proposed here for the Akkadian stela are of some importance to the detailed study of third millennium synchronisms. The Anatolian Early Bronze Age sequence can best be coordinated via the Cilician material. At Tarsus, the Early Bronze II period contains a clear synchronism with Dynasty IV in Egypt.<sup>42</sup> Early Bronze III of Cilicia is closely correlated with Troy II-IV on the one hand, and at least commercially with Amuq phases I and J. The entire coastal complex of Anatolian Early Bronze III would seem to have lasted from some time in the Fifth Dynasty of Egypt into the first intermediate period, after which Middle Bronze synchronisms come into play. On the Mesopotamian side of the equations, the Amuq I-J correlation leads to links with the latter part of Early Dynastic III, Akkadian and Ur III.<sup>43</sup>

Chronologically and stratigraphically, therefore, the hypothesis that the Akkadian stela alludes to Anatolian material of the Early Bronze III period is in harmony with the present state of our information. It remains to consider the geographical and historical feasibility of the interpretation proposed.

The contact between the conquering Akkadian kings and the land of Anatolia is probable only when we consider the easternmost of the Anatolian provinces discussed so far, viz. Cilicia. The parallels

<sup>40</sup> R. J. Braidwood and L. S. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I* (Oriental Institute Publications LXI, 1960) pp. 520-523; cf. my review in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 19, 1962, pp. 224-226.

<sup>41</sup> R. J. Braidwood and L. S. Braidwood, *op. cit.* p. 450, fig. 349.

<sup>42</sup> Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus II* (Princeton 1956) 1956) p. 60.

<sup>43</sup> R. J. Braidwood and L. S. Braidwood, *op. cit.* pp. 520-523; cf. the forthcoming edition of Robert W. Ehrich, ed., *Relative Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (Chicago 1965).

from the Troad merely serve to supplement the cultural pattern to be reconstructed for Early Bronze III. The geographical proximity of Cilicia to Northern Mesopotamia had in prehistoric times often led to the formation of close cultural ties. The 'Chalcolithic' phases of Tarsus and Mersin, e.g., are easily seen as local offshoots of North Mesopotamian material patterns. Close contact was also maintained with the Amuq plain. The routes of Mesopotamian communication with Cilicia were twofold: the direct road approximately via Harran, Carchemish and Zincirli; or the indirect contact via the plain of Antioch, with the Amanus passes functioning as friendly entrances to the Cilician plain. At the beginning of the Cilician Early Bronze Age the freedom of contact was hampered by Anatolian interference from the West. In the Early Bronze III phase Cilicia clearly was a rich and prosperous country, profiting by trade which ranged from the Troad to the Syrian coast, but its culture was independent of North Mesopotamia or the Amuq region. It must have held promise for an invader or trader from the East. Its control of minerals and timber supplies from the Taurus mountains gave it a powerful economic position.

The archaeological evidence and its implications can be stretched no further. Historical speculation can go beyond this point. Sargon and Naramsin in their own records claim to have approached, and possibly penetrated Anatolia. How far their ambitious conquests extended into the upper lands and the West is not known yet; the interpretation of such geographical terms as the 'silver mountains' is disputed.<sup>44</sup> The penetration from upper Mesopotamia would naturally first have affected Cilicia. The later traditions about the exploits of Akkadian kings in Anatolia, Sargon's expedition in aid of Akkadian merchants in Anatolia, and Naramsin's war against an alliance of seventeen Anatolian kings, are being considered with less historical scepticism now than before.<sup>45</sup> They suggest that the Akkadian inroads affected the plateau as well as the coastal areas.

<sup>44</sup> A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (2nd edition, München 1957) pp. 64-66; C. J. Gadd, *The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian invasion* (Cambridge Ancient History 2nd edition, volume I, chapter XIX, Cambridge 1963) pp. 10-12.

<sup>45</sup> C. J. Gadd, *op. cit.* pp. 12-16 (Sargon), 27-29 (Naramsin). H. G. Güterbock, "Sargon of Akkad mentioned by Hattusili I of Hatti", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 18, 1964, pp. 1-6.

The new stela in the Bagdad Museum, if the above archaeological comparisons and deductions are correct, would lend new support to the credibility of pseudo-historical claims for the Akkadians to have taken their armies into Anatolia. The booty obtained in this case seems to point to Cilicia rather than to the plateau, and the nature of the campaign illustrated is that of a raid conducted against people of material wealth. The coastal towns of Cilicia would fulfil the requirements of the situation.

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Machteld MELLINK

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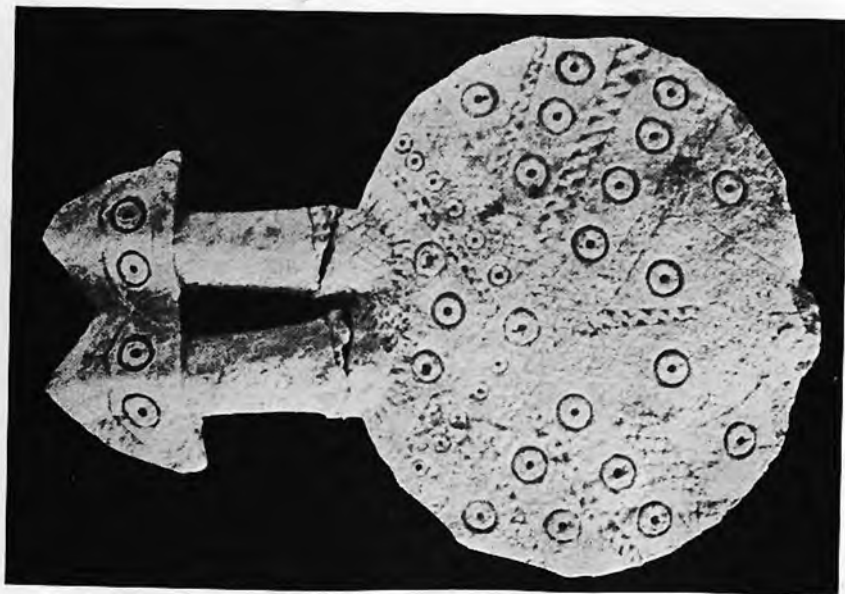


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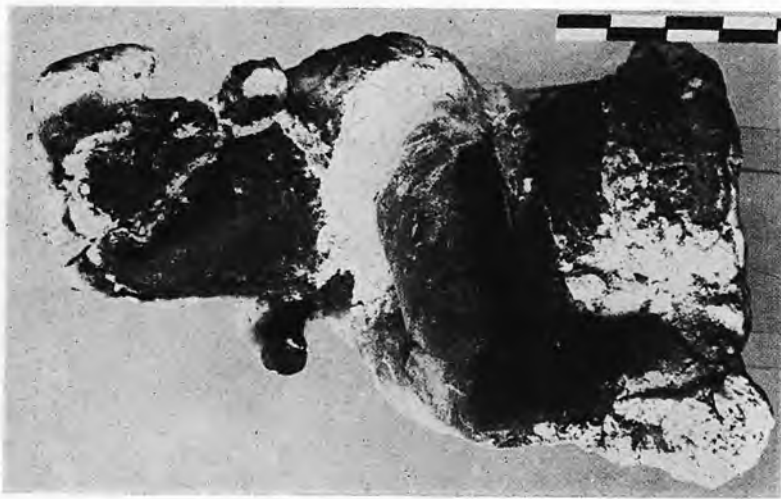
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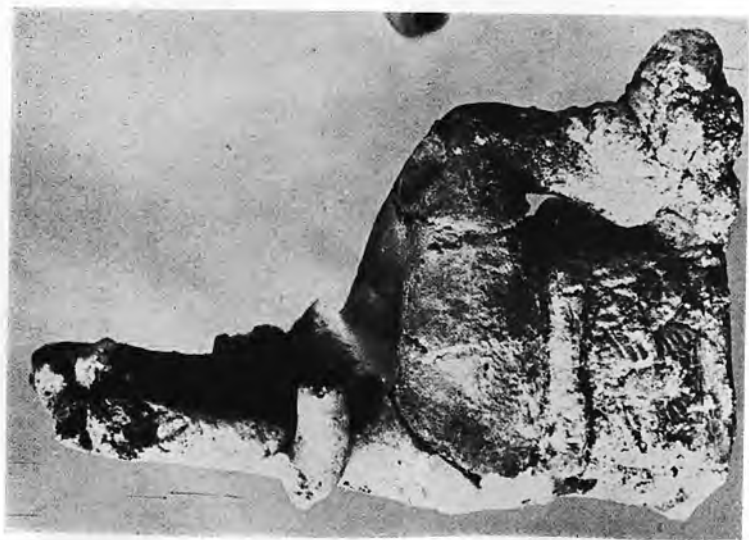
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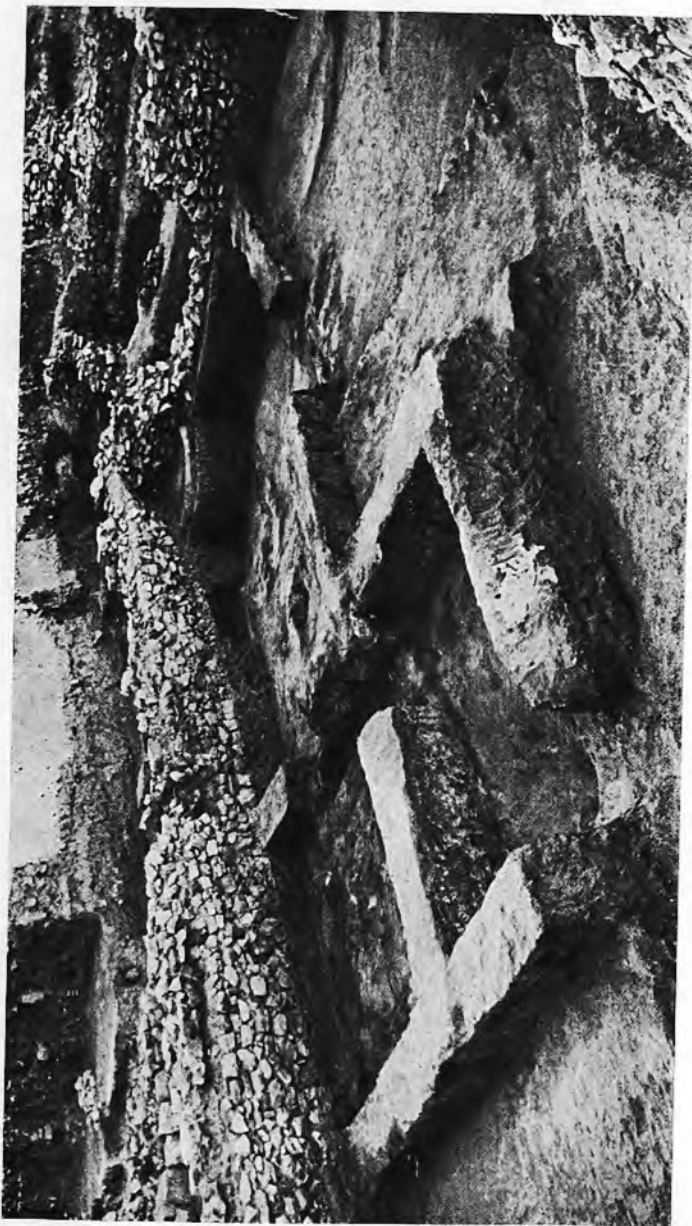


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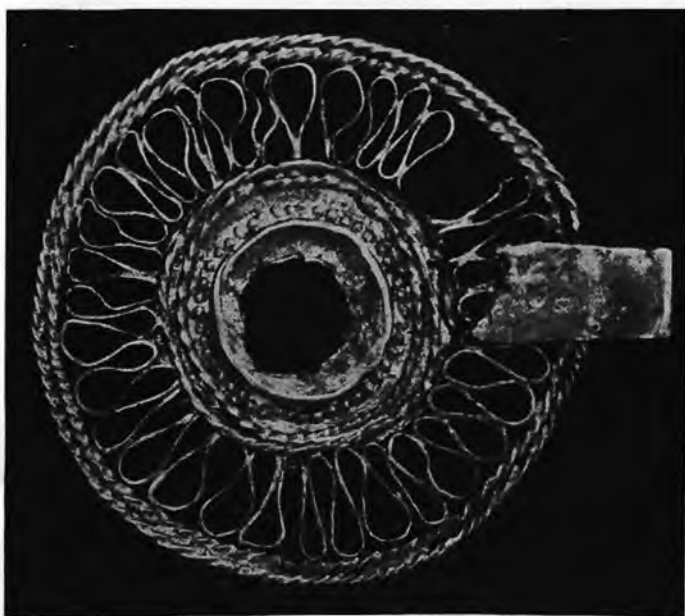








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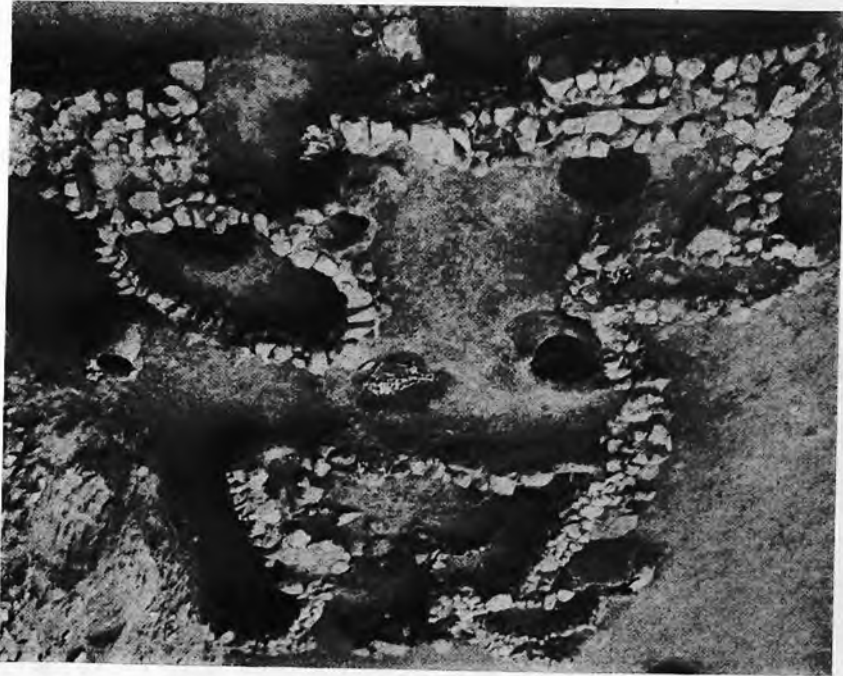


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*Plate VIII*



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*Plate X*



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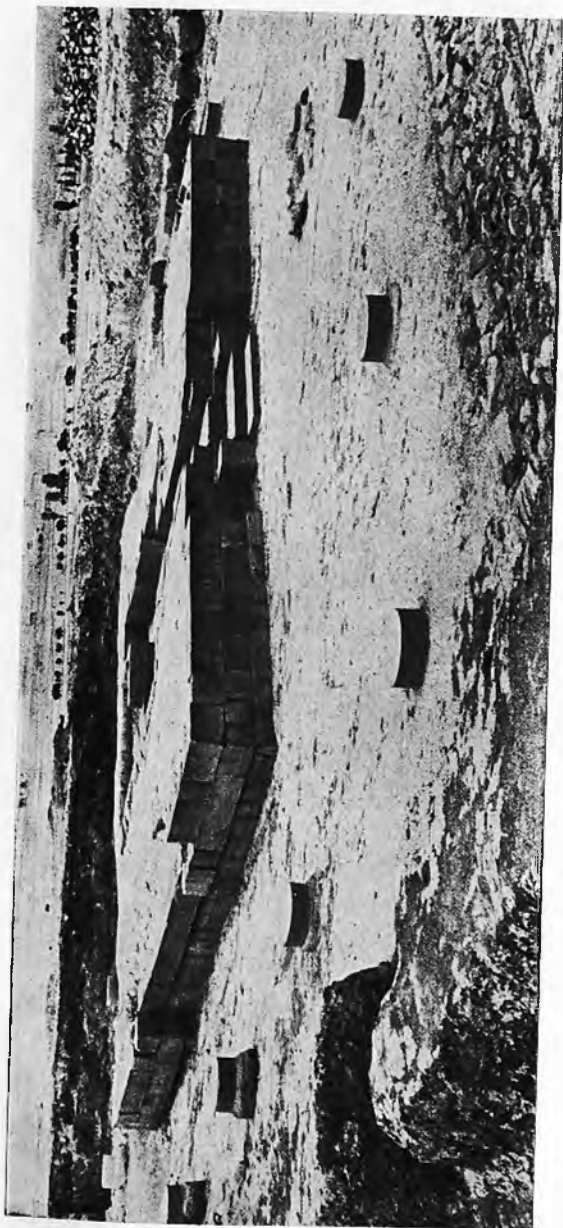


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*Plate XIV*



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*Plate XVI*

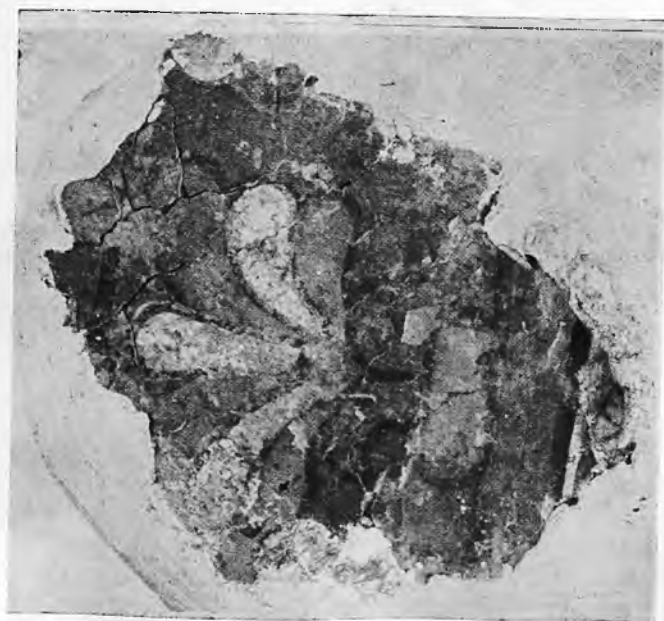




*Plate XVIII*



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*Plate XXII*



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or



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Plate XXIV



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Plate XXV



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Plate XXVIII







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