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POLYCHROME GLAZED BRICK

FROM THE FACADE OF THE TEMPLE OF THE STORM GOD

The ground is pale blue with a yellow border; the rosettes, in low relief, have white petals and yellow centres. v. p. 169

CARCHEMISH

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT JERABLUS
ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

CONDUCTED BY

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WITH

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PART III

THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE INNER TOWN

BY

SIR LEONARD WOOLLEY

AND

THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS

BY

R. D. BARNETT

PUBLISHED BY

THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON

1952

Sold at
THE BRITISH MUSEUM
and by
H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE, *York House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2*
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, *200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1*
BERNARD QUARTICH, LTD., *11 Grafton Street, London, W. 1*
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER AND CO.
43 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1

5 8 53

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY CHARLES BATEY, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

THIS volume must be introduced by an apology, both for the long delay in its publication and for its imperfections.

The British Museum's work at Carchemish in 1911 was frankly experimental, but in 1912 a policy of long-term excavation had been established and we set to work on a systematic programme which did not aim at immediate results but at the orderly clearing of the main areas of the city. Then war interrupted our work. In 1919 the Expedition was authorized by the French High Commissioner, General Gouraud, to make a fresh start, and again we looked forward to a long succession of seasons, but in 1920 hostilities between the French occupying forces and the Turks made a renewal impossible, and with the capture of Jerablus by the Turkish National Army the whole situation was changed. The only piece of work that had been completed, that on the town's defences, was then published, but anything more than that was postponed in the hope that we might yet be able to go back and finish what we had begun. This, for military reasons—Jerablus is a strategic point on the Turkish frontier—we were never able to do, and in the meantime excavations in another field engrossed my attention, and when at last it was decided that I should take in hand the publication of such material as was available, another war forced me to lay the project aside. This much for the delay. But some at least of the shortcomings of this volume are due to the same causes. Twice, in 1914 and again in 1920, we left Carchemish at the end of a season expecting to return in a few months' time, and the antiquities and a good part of our working material remained under guard in the Expedition house, and twice war wrought havoc with our work. Thus, in June 1914 the catalogue had been brought up to date and of inscribed stone fragments alone more than two thousand had been recorded, and complete type-lists of all Early Bronze Age pottery had been drawn up; during the war the catalogue and the type-sheets were destroyed and nearly all the objects themselves were scattered or broken. In 1920 the same thing happened and my notes on the Acropolis graves were lost, together with some of the plans which, being unfinished, had not been photographed so as to provide duplicate copies. There are, therefore, unavoidable omissions for which I can only express my regret.

I had already, with the consent of the Trustees, published (in the *Liverpool Annals*) accounts of the Tell Halaf pottery and of the Iron Age graves of the Yunus cemetery; I refer to those articles but do not repeat them in this volume. The Roman remains, buildings, and inscriptions, which would be out of place here seeing that there was no historical continuity between the Hittite and the Roman periods at Carchemish, are also omitted and will be published separately. But, so far as circumstances allow, I have included all the information that we obtained about Hittite Carchemish.

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CHAPTER VIII
THE LOWER PALACE AREA

(a) THE GREAT STAIRCASE

WHEN Hogarth in 1911 started the excavations at Carchemish he could scarcely do other than begin on the Lower Palace area; as he reported to the Trustees of the British Museum, 'since it was at the foot of the Acropolis mound that important monuments and part of a broad stone stairway were found during Henderson's excavation of 1876-9, and at least one large sculptured slab could be seen actually *in situ*, I determined to make the first trials there'. On March 13, therefore, he set his men to work on Henderson's trench, in less than a week had opened up much of the staircase, and subsequently extended his operations by pits and trenches to the east, south, and west.

The great Lion relief, B. 33, and the Naked Goddess relief, B. 40, were already showing above-ground and Hogarth set to work at once to clear them. The Lion relief was finished on the first day and on the second day the main fragment of the Goddess relief was exposed; the work of clearance had been carried across the stairs; 'we got the centre of the stairs clear up to and beyond the platform and began to get the plinth on the right (East) side and two or three blocks of wall on plinth, one (B. 35*a*) with relief of two nude feet (basalt). This apparently *in situ* was accidentally shifted a little with crowbar in lunch interval.' The lower part of the big basalt relief B. 38*a* at the end of the Long Wall of Sculpture was also found on that day in position. On and close to the stairs were found several fragments of basalt sculpture which had been overlooked by Henderson, amongst them the head B. 67*c*. On March 15 the finds included the fragments of a colossal basalt statue, B. 63, and the relief B. 38*b*. In front of B. 38*a* 'more steps began to appear late in afternoon, not square with the relief or with the wall in limestone which continues this northward. Steps broader and better laid and squared than higher up and some of them in basalt, not limestone.' (N.B., these lower treads had not been exposed by Henderson's work.) 'Basalt insertions appear also in lower steps on E. part of stair (all restoration?)'. On March 18 the fine head B. 39*a* was found loose in the soil close to the stair foot and, almost in position but slipped from the top of the wall on which it originally stood, the lower right-hand corner of the Naked Goddess slab (B. 40) with the guilloche border and the feet completing the figure. On March 20 the first of the chariot slabs began to appear, and also the left-hand half of the Naked Goddess slab giving the head and upper part of the seated priestess. The great inscription, A. 1*a* (B. 43*b*) was found on April 4, upside down in front of the wall from which it had fallen, and the foot-soldier reliefs followed on the 18th of the month when the main work had long been transferred to the top of the Citadel mound.

Although he had, in this relatively short space of time, discovered the fallen reliefs of the Long Wall of Sculpture and a certain number of other important fragments, Hogarth was disappointed with his results. There was ample evidence to show that the fall of Hittite Carchemish was signaled by the wanton and systematic destruction of many of its monuments. It is true that during the following centuries, when the site lay deserted, the debris washed down from the ruined buildings on the top and side of the Acropolis buried the foot of the staircase and the lower parts of the walls adjoining it; but the upper flights remained exposed to destruction by weather, and the crumbling terraces no longer supported the buildings on them. Settlers in the Hellenistic period

plundered the old ruins for building-stone. The Romans of the second to third century, embarking on an ambitious scheme of construction, not only sank the concrete foundations of their public buildings deep into the Hittite levels, but scarped the side of the Acropolis mound and simply swept away the whole of the staircase that was not already buried beneath the talus of fallen rubbish and the whole of the Upper Palace to which the stairs led. Henderson, and his ignorant deputy Shallum, had in the nineteenth-century excavations wrought havoc with much of the lower part of the staircase that was still preserved. Lastly, both before Henderson's time and after it, this area, where basalt construction was more in evidence than on other parts of the site, had been a happy hunting-ground for the villagers who wanted, not building-stones, for their huts were of mud brick, but millstones and mortars; to such economic use quite a number of Hittite sculptures had been sacrificed.

The same series of accidents had resulted in the complete confusion of the archaeological strata in the area of the stairs, so much so that Hogarth after weeks of work was still inclined to suspect that the whole existing staircase was a Hellenistic reconstruction. He very rightly decided that conditions did not justify, in a preliminary and exploratory season, further work on the slope of the mound above stair-head; the purpose of the Trustees would be better served by testing farther afield from the foot of the stairs, by probing generally the area within the city walls and by excavation on the summit of the Acropolis. After Hogarth's departure, therefore, relatively little work was done by Campbell Thompson on the Lower Palace site, though one trench driven south-east from the stairs produced two sculptures (B. 14*a* and *b*) belonging to the Herald's Wall and the curious 'bolster' stone base on that wall line.¹ It was not till 1912 that a systematic clearing of the Lower Palace area was undertaken.²

There is no point in following closely the course of the excavations as detailed in the daily log-book, nor is it necessary to discuss the (generally unsatisfactory) chronological evidence that puzzled the excavators at the time; we now know so much more about Hittite archaeology that we can safely deal with the buildings as excavated and draw our evidence more from subsequent experience than from the confused data recorded in the early days, most of which data we recognized as unlikely to lead to any real conclusion.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Lower Palace bordered the broad road that led to the Water-Gate and the Euphrates bank. Its façade, looking approximately south, faced on but was not quite parallel with the Herald's Wall and its prolongation past the 'Hilani' to the Water-Gate, so that at the western end the distance from the Palace front to the Herald's Wall was a little more than 63 metres, a wide open space which we may imagine to have been the ceremonial centre of the town. The Palace, or the part of it which concerns us, was built in terraces up the slope of the Acropolis mound;³ but just before the Herald's Wall turned to make the King's Gate, a great wing of the Palace (the Temple) ran out over the flat ground at the mound's foot leaving between it and the Herald's Wall a roadway 15 metres wide. Against this wing the lower terrace wall of the Palace was broken by a monumental staircase which led up the slope to the building on the top of the Acropolis.

Of the eastern part of the building practically nothing remains. Even the lowest terrace wall has

¹ See Ch. X, p. 187.

² One reason for this was that the area was encumbered with spoil-heaps whose removal was impossible until a light rail-

way could be procured.

³ The main part, the Upper Palace, now totally destroyed, presumably stood upon the mound's summit.

fallen away, and its foundations could be traced only for some 15 metres from the edge of the staircase; there were disconnected remains of a similar wall discernible along the mound's foot as far as the inner side of the Water-Gate, but whether these isolated fragments of rubble foundation belonged to the Palace or not it was impossible to say. The terrace wall must have been, properly speaking, from a constructional point of view the exterior wall of the Palace, but towards the stairs certainly and possibly for most of its length it was masked by a building whose relatively thin walls of mud brick would imply that it was quite low—in fact it may have been only a court open to the sky.¹ Seen from the roadway this wall (if it really was continuous) would have looked like the Palace façade, the lowest step in the series of rising terraces, and it is possible that it was decorated with reliefs carrying on the line of the great Lion slab on the east of the staircase. Certainly there were found here, between the stairs and the Water-Gate, numerous fragments of sculpture; most of them were in the 'Water-Gate' style or in that of the Herald's Wall, so that the passage from the river to the Palace stairs may well have been adorned on either side with reliefs of the Middle Hittite period. Amongst the (very few) objects other than sculpture or inscribed fragments found here were a stone mace-head bearing the cartouche of one of the Ramessids, probably Ramses II (Pl. 71c) and part of a terra-cotta cone or cylinder inscribed in Hittite hieroglyphics (fig. 62); both would probably have come from a palace or official building.

The staircase projected 7 metres in front of the line of the terrace wall, but it was flanked by stone piers with a further projection of 4 metres; these were built with plain sides made of polished limestone slabs and their flat tops were flush with the ninth tread of the stairs. The western pier was built up against the wall of the great Temple wing; the eastern pier stood free, but against it on the side away from the stairs there was a stepped base made of heavy basalt blocks on which was a plain 'table of offerings'—a basalt square, flat-topped but with projections at the front corners—in front of the magnificent relief of two gods standing on the back of a *couchant* lion (B. 33). Next to this slab there had been, in a wall running eastward from it, a doorway leading into a gravel-floored room or court against the back wall of which (the lowest terrace wall) we found *in situ* a basalt statue-base in the form of two bulls (B. 34).

The stairs, which rose at an easy gradient of $31\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, were originally constructed in white limestone, but the treads were well worn and many had been mended with slabs of basalt. Parts of three flights remained, with landings between them. The lowest flight was the best preserved; it consisted of seventeen steps, of which the lower seven ended against the sides of the piers, beyond which the flight widened out to the side walls proper. In the western of these walls, just beyond the end of the pier, there was a doorway leading into a room or passage that lay in front of the terrace wall; there may have been a corresponding doorway on the east side, but there the destruction of the building had been too thorough for any certain evidence to survive (see below, p. 171). The passage to the west had a cobbled floor; on it lay quantities of charred wood and numerous fragments of



FIG. 62.

¹ For a masking wall of the sort we have a parallel on the opposite side of the road where the 'Hilani' lies back behind low-built annexe chambers.

glazed bricks with patterns in blue, black, yellow, and white which evidently had fallen from the terrace wall (Pl. 33). The wood seemed to be from roofing-beams.

Beyond the side door or doors the stairway narrowed down to pass through a gateway in the terrace wall, the ends of which formed the retaining-wall of the stairs and the first reveals of the gateway. The plinth or base-course of the gateway angles was of dressed limestone, its top level with the pavement of the landing which, 2 metres back from the terrace-wall face, interrupted the steps; at the actual corner, therefore, it was standing half a metre high. On the line of the top step there was a slight (0.10 m.) offset and an apparent return of rather rough foundations which, being virtually flush with the pavement, could not be traced to the back corners of what were clearly massive buttresses or jambs much heavier in construction than the terrace wall of which they formed the ends.

Beyond these buttresses there was on either side a deep recess, unpaved, lined with small plain basalt orthostats, most of them still in position. In the eastern recess, well below floor level, we found a large hinge-stone *in situ* half-way between the back wall of the recess and the edge of the passage pavement on the line of the first rise of a second flight of five steps which ended between a second pair of buttresses aligned with the first. The recesses must have contained heavy doors, each 3.75 m. wide and hinged not at the ends but 1.20 m. from the end, the part beyond the hinge serving as a counterpoise to the door proper and also closing the gap between the hinge and the back wall of the recess.¹

At the top of the five steps starting between the buttresses there was a second landing measuring from front to back 2.50 m. and then the next flight of steps. There were remains of six treads, much destroyed by Henderson's trench, and thereafter everything came to an end. The staircase here widened out, but the treads seemed to end 0.90 m. from the containing-walls, on the line of the back walls of the door-recesses between the buttresses, and on the west side at any rate there was between the wall and the ends of the treads a mass of rough stone filling, while on the east side two basalt wall blocks standing *in situ* proved that the back line gave the true wall-face. It is possible that there was in front of the wall a platform like that in the Water-Gate. Between the buttresses and the stair foot there were remains of paving on the east side and cobble-stones on the west; this may be due merely to late patching.

The Reconstruction of the Staircase. (See Pl. 29)

In spite of the ruinous condition of the staircase there are sufficient data to make its reconstruction—or at least the reconstruction of the lower part of it—a fairly simple matter.

Henderson sent back to the British Museum the Katuwas inscription A. 23; he did not indicate precisely where it was found, apart from saying that it came from the staircase area. It is of course a door-jamb. Old men of Jerablus who had worked for Henderson and Shallum were quite certain that it was found on or very near to the end of the inner buttress on the east side of the stairs—not knowing of course that it was a door-jamb. Hogarth in 1911 found a fragment belonging to it high

¹ We should certainly have expected the door to be against one or other of the buttresses, inner or outer, and not between the two. Given the existing plan of the staircase there could not have been a door between the inner jambs because the rise of the stairs both inside and outside the jambs makes that impossible. The only possible position is against the inner face of the outer buttresses, but such a door would have opened in-

wards and would therefore have been inadequate for defence; also there were no bolt-holes in the flagstones of the passage and no hinge-stone (indeed, no possibility of a hinge-stone) against the corner of the jamb. The measurements seem to make the restoration suggested in the text certain. We are of course dealing only with the latest phase of the Palace, and the original design may have been different.

up on the stairs, a fact which goes far to confirm the accuracy of the workmen's memory. Accordingly we can restore A. 23 as the eastern jamb of the inner doorway and may assume that there was on the west side a corresponding jamb also inscribed. A. 20a may be part of this.

Henderson sent to the Trustees of the British Museum the sketch reproduced on Pl. A. 21c which shows the two reliefs now in the British Museum, Nos. 125009 and 125003, as contiguous slabs standing upright and obviously *in situ*; that they were thus in their original position is hinted by a letter from Henderson to the Trustees in which he says: "The stones with these inscriptions line the two sides of a spacious stair. The greater part of the lining is missing or has been destroyed, but a very large stone covered with similar characters is lying on its face, which I can have lifted" (Feb. 5, 1879). Unfortunately neither authority gives any hint as to where that original position was,¹ and as both were removed by Henderson, or rather by his deputy Shallum, for dispatch to London it might be supposed that all evidence on the question would have disappeared. This, however, is not the case. It will be noticed that the fragments in the British Museum (A. 21a, b) have suffered a great deal since they were sketched by Boscawen and, in particular, that 125009 (A. 21a) no longer has the feet, which in 1880 were intact. Incredible as it may seem, Shallum's methods of removing archaeological treasures for the Museum were such that not only did he break off parts of the inscribed surface of 125003 (A. 21b) and leave them on the stairs for Hogarth to find, but also, having in front of him 125009 complete from waist to feet, he simply smashed off the upper part for transport and left the feet still *in situ*. Here Hogarth found them in 1911 (B. 35a). The fragment, which Hogarth recognized as belonging to the Museum relief, stood on the limestone plinth at the eastern end of the step immediately below the first landing; he judged it to be in position when found, though afterwards, in the luncheon interval, it was inadvertently shifted a little out of place with a crow-bar; that it was in position is proved by the fact that at the left-hand side of the slab, behind the figure, there is a projection of the plinth which corresponds to a 10-centimetre projection in the wall foundations on which the fragment stood. The feet, therefore, are *in situ*, and as they are the feet of A. 21a, that relief was the hindermost of the procession. Boscawen's sketch, which is reproduced on Pl. A. 21c, confirms the statement in the letter from Henderson to the effect that A. 21a and A. 21b were found standing in direct contact with one another; we therefore have two figures whose position is certain; they are facing right, advancing out of the Palace, and between them they occupy just about two-thirds of the available wall space; there is room for a third figure between that of the King (A. 21b) and the corner of the buttress.

On the east side of the staircase, at the edge of the steps but not *in situ*, Hogarth found the lower part of the a basalt orthostat showing the sandalled feet of a figure wearing a long dress (B. 35b) which would seem to correspond exactly to A. 21b. A fragment, A. 22c, sent by Henderson to the British Museum, gives the middle part of just such a figure, and although it does not actually join on to the feet, it can fairly be assigned to them. Hogarth found also, on the west side of the stairs, two fragments making up part of a figure of an offrant which was set against an inscribed background, B. 35c; it is a close parallel to A. 21a, and I should have no hesitation in restoring it as the figure following behind the King (A. 22c). The fragment B. 35d was sent home by Henderson; unquestionably

¹ It is not marked on Boscawen's plan which, not unnaturally, considering the manner in which the excavations were carried out, is altogether without value. Boscawen's written description would, if taken seriously, be positively misleading. He says: "the west wall of the corridor only is perfect,

and though traces of the eastern remain it was so covered with massive blocks of stone among which were huge blocks of basalt with inscriptions rudely effaced, that I could not follow it".

from the same series of sculptures—though the background is not inscribed—it should be the human offrant who walks in front of the King. On the west side therefore we have three figures who between them occupy, so far as we can judge, approximately the whole of the available wall space; of them, the two rear figures were accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions, like those on the east side, but the leading figure was uninscribed.

Again, on the west side of the stairs but not *in situ* Hogarth found only half of a basalt relief, B. 36*a*, discovered first by Sterrett,¹ on the same scale as those already described and representing an offrant not indeed identical with, but of the same general type as the offrant on A. 21*a*. The slab is uninscribed and the rather wide expanse of plain background contrasts somewhat markedly with the all-over decoration of the majority of the slabs, but it is difficult to dissociate it from them; influenced partly by these considerations and also by the measurements of the stone, which agreed well with the gap between the corner of the buttress and the return towards the door on the staircase leading to the west passage and the Temple court, we arbitrarily restored it here on the south face of the buttress (v. Pl. 31*a*). Support for the view that the procession did thus continue round the buttress is given by the fragment A. 26*f* sent by Henderson to the British Museum; in scale and character it agrees with the staircase slabs A. 21*a*; it is a corner block; on one face come the ends of lines of inscription, on the other, inscription and remains of a male (?) figure facing right. If it does belong to the staircase, and goes with the other figures, the only place for it is at the corner of the east buttress; in that case the third figure on the inner face of the buttress (now missing) had the same background of inscription as the other two, and the leading figure on the south face of the buttress also was inscribed. Against this it can be urged that the stone foundations against the south face of the eastern buttress, whether they were part of a door-jamb or supported a superstructure (v. below, p. 171), imply that the buttress was hidden and therefore would not be carved; and if that objection be overruled on the ground that the stones in question are certainly very late, we may hesitate to restore the uninscribed figure B. 36*a* as a pendant to the inscribed figure A. 26*f*. Perfect symmetry, however, is not characteristic of Hittite art (cf. the two lions of the gateway higher up the stairs), and from the angles of the buttresses southwards the two sides of the staircase were structurally unsymmetrical so that a difference in their ornament would be excusable. And, as I shall show later,² the uninscribed slab B. 36*a* may have been part of an older scheme of decoration re-used. In any case we have on either side of the stairs a group of three or four figures, a human personage, probably King Asadaruwas, whose name appears in the inscription, led by one or two offrants, apparently also human, and followed by another offrant who, being winged, must rank as divine. All these come out from the Palace to receive the gods who are shown on the Long Wall of Sculpture returning to the temple from which they had been exiled (v. p. 243). The short stretch of containing-wall between the buttress and the passage door on the west side of the staircase seems to have been plain—a plain basalt orthostat was found here, not indeed in position, but only just behind the plinth on which it may well have stood—and makes the logical separation between the incoming procession and the king who welcomes it.

There remain the outer buttresses. It has been pointed out that the offset on B. 35*a* corresponds to a feature in the buttress foundation; 10 centimetres inside the line of the plinth on which stood the reliefs B.M. 125003, 125009 (A. 21*a*, *b*), a definite line is given by rough wall-foundations rising just above pavement level; it could be traced to about half-way through the thickness of the buttress.

¹ *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. iv.

² Pp. 163 (note) and 242.

Inside this line are set large flat slabs which we at first took to be part of the pavement of the landing. It will be seen, however, that on either side of the landing there is incorporated (apparently) in the paving an unusually large (limestone) block 1.85 m. long laid in the opposite sense to all the other pavement slabs—i.e. these two lie at right angles to the treads instead of being parallel to them—they take up the full width of the buttresses as given by the door recesses, and they are virtually alined with but overlap by a few centimetres the faces of the inner buttresses. It is obvious that they are the foundations of the buttresses, and that they were planned to carry an unusual weight. The line of slightly raised foundations already described must mark the point at which the normal foundations for the core of the wall ended against the facing-stone;¹ that stone must in this case have been a block (or blocks) measuring over all 1.80 m. by 0.90 m. Even were no other evidence available, it would be natural to assume that the entrance here had been flanked by figures of lions, according to a familiar Hittite convention; but there is further evidence of this. When we excavated the Water-Gate we found fragments of two large lion sculptures (Pl. 14*a, b*; cf. Pl. B. 31*c*); the fragments, which were numerous, lay all close together, outside the line of the River Wall, some in the modern irrigation-ditch which skirts the site, some in the loose filling of a trench dug across that ditch by Shallum. According to Henderson's report they were found when the trench was being dug from the staircase to the river bank (it was intended to facilitate the removal of large sculptures, especially B. 33), but he does not say where; according to our old workmen who had been employed by Henderson they came from the staircase area, had been removed by Shallum for shipment, but had been left behind and subsequently broken up by villagers who wanted basalt for querns or millstones. I was quite convinced that the lions did not belong to the Water-Gate,² though I was at a loss as to where to put them; the difficulty is increased by the fact that they are not strictly speaking a pair, A. 14*a* bearing an inscription of King Luhas and the other (A. 14*b*) an inscription of Luhas's son Asatuwatimais, and, judging by the shoulders which alone supply a standard of comparison, the scale is not exactly the same and the style is very different. On the other hand, we have two lion figures both forming buttress ends, found in the same area and therefore probably coming from places not far apart (stones of this size are not likely to have been shifted very far), facing in opposite directions and therefore suited to two corresponding buttresses, and lying not far from where there are two buttresses which require lion figures of the sort. I attempted (Pl. 31*c*) a reconstruction of the Luhas lion, of which more fragments could be identified, and its measurements came to 1.80 m. × 0.90 m., exactly the size demanded by the foundations. In view of the constant alterations and adaptations of the Carchemish buildings by successive kings,³ it is not impossible that the two confronting jambs of the stairway entrance were the work of different kings, and I think that on the whole we are justified in attributing the Luhas lion to the western and the Asatuwatimais lion the eastern of the outer buttresses; certainly one or other, if not both, would be in place here.⁴ Judging by the inscription on B. 40*b* the decoration of the Long Wall of Sculpture was due to Luhas and a Luhas lion on the buttress would therefore be quite consistent.⁵

¹ We commonly find such a line of raised rubble core where the orthostats of a wall have been removed.

² Vol. ii, p. 105.

³ Compare the analysis of the King's Gate sculptures, pp. 202 ff.

⁴ Even if only one of these attributions be accepted, we have two dates for the staircase sculptures, since the reliefs on A. 21 are by Asadaruwas. This might be the explanation of a diffi-

culty already noted, the difference between the inscribed slabs on A. 21 and the unscribed slab B. 36*a*. The latter might be part of the original decoration put up by Luhas, a scene exactly like that which we have now; but Asadaruwas may have substituted for the original slabs bearing the portrait and (?) inscription of Luhas similar slabs in his own honour, while re-employing the unscribed relief.

⁵ A further argument for restoring a lion-sculpture at the

Many fragments of lions, mostly small, were found on or at the foot of the stairs, e.g. B. 70*b*, a foot which by scale might well belong to A. 14*b*, the Asatuwatimais lion; other fragments were found on the stairs above the level of the first landing and so must have come from door-jambs higher up. About those there is nothing to be said.

At the foot of the stairs Hogarth found part of a great basalt lintel carved in relief with a winged disk (B. 36*c*); on the under surface there was a reveal allowing for a wooden frame or support. The spread of the wings of the disk covered a length of about 2 metres and it is likely, though of course not certain, that the design occupied the centre of the slab only, leaving the ends plain; in that case the total length of the stone would have been not less than 3 metres. The space between the jambs of the entry is 2.80 m., so that a stone of a little more than 3 metres would span it easily.¹

The gate-tower in which was set this monumental doorway with its lion-supported jambs and carved lintel is shown by the massive thickness of its walls to have risen high above the line of the wall along the lower terrace edge; its façade² was decorated with coloured and glazed bricks. The specimens of these found on the lower stair-flight and at the foot of the wall in the western passage were too fragmentary (Pl. 33) to give any idea of the pattern-scheme as a whole. Numerous though the pieces were, they did not represent bricks enough to cover a very large area, and it is quite possible that the coloured decoration was confined to one or more horizontal bands set in a wall built for the rest of mud bricks, probably whitewashed.

That is as far as restoration can wisely go; the position of the many other sculptured fragments found in the staircase area must remain unknown. It is tempting to suggest that the gazelle (B. 61*b*), said to have been found by Henderson high up the mound in the neighbourhood of the third flight of stairs, came from the wall-face behind the 'platform' in that unusually wide section of the approach, in which case one would suspect an 'episodic' decoration such as we have in the inner court of the King's Gate (v. Pl. B. 57*a*); but there is no authority for any such suggestion.

THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE

It has already been stated that the west pier of the staircase abuts on the Long Wall of Sculpture. That wall is the eastern containing-wall of the Temple wing which here projects from the line of the lower terrace over the flat ground in front of the King's Gate (see the plan, Pl. 29). It was so named by us because it had been adorned with a continuous series of reliefs starting at the doorway on the west side of the stairs and continuing round the south-east corner of the Temple wing, a total length of at least 37 metres. In accordance with a common Hittite convention the stones on which the reliefs (or most of them) were carved were of limestone and basalt alternately, giving

buttress end is afforded by B. 35*a*. It will be remarked that the offset in the plinth has no corresponding offset on the upper part of the slab, behind the figure, but the surface of that upper part is carefully smoothed as if it were meant to be seen, although *ex hypothesi* the offset of the plinth implies a return of the wall. If the wall were merely a wall the shaping of the block would be actually detrimental; but if the adjacent block was carved in the form of a lion with the head and fore-legs in the round, then the smoothed face of the slab B. 35*a* is essential because it would be visible as the background behind the head and shoulders of the lion seen in profile.

¹ The Hittite builders would not have fought shy of using a stone of such a size; the orthostat at the end of the first

eastern pier of the South Gate measured 2.70 m. × 1.65 m. The width of the entry made me at first suspect a central column, but there was no sign of such—in fact, the evidence was definitely against it. The risk of so long a stone breaking under the stress of its own weight and that of the façade which it supported was minimized if it rested on a wooden cross-beam, as it did, and as did a similar but much smaller lintel mentioned on p. 174, no. (b).

² The glazed brick fragments were found for a little way only along the western passage and on the stairs themselves, but here in smaller numbers, and in the neighbourhood of the bull base on the eastern side; they do not seem, therefore, to have belonged to the terrace wall.

a black-and-white effect; a departure from the usual custom, however, was that in this case the reliefs stood not at ground level but on a plain base 1.35 m. high built of three courses of massive limestone masonry.

Only the lower part of the front slab was found actually *in situ* on its plinth; all the rest that survived had fallen or slipped from their places on the wall, but they lay at its foot more or less as they had fallen¹ and could therefore be replaced without any great margin of error; but many were missing. Plate B. 37 shows the wall restored as far as possible; all the reliefs found were set up and the gaps between them filled with mud brick; only one piece of doubtful restoration was attempted, namely the placing on the top of the wall of the curious round-crocketed limestone blocks found alongside the wall which I took to be decorative battlements.

From end to end of the wall the whole series of sculptures is consistent in subject: it is a procession with deities in front and human warriors in the rear which advances towards the staircase obviously in celebration of a victory won in war.² At the head of the procession, for a space corresponding almost exactly to the length of the staircase pier, come the gods. On the first slab, which is of basalt, there are two figures. A male god, identifiable as Teshup, leads the way; he holds an axe and what is probably a lituus. Behind him is a goddess carrying a pomegranate and a sistrum or ears of corn; her head is now missing but was still existing when George Smith discovered the relief—a sketch of it by him is reproduced from his note-book on Pl. 38. The lower part only of the next slab was found, fallen at the foot of the wall; it is of basalt³ and gives us the legs of a god carrying a spear point downwards at the slope B. 39b.

There is then a gap in the row of sculptures whose exact width it is impossible to state, seeing that the Naked Goddess slab on the far side of it has been replaced; but since the slab had merely slipped forward from its position on the wall, the error in its replacement cannot be of more than about 10 centimetres, and according to this the gap should be filled by a single figure carved on a slab of the same size as the fragmentary one of the god carrying the spear. Presumably it was of basalt. In view of the fact that the front slab has a divine pair, god and goddess, it is tempting to assign to this place the fine goddess's head B. 39a, so as to make a pair with the spear-bearing god; it was found near the stair-foot (but not close to the Long Wall of Sculpture), so could quite well belong to the series, and the scale is correct; the only objection is that it is accompanied by an inscription, which is not the case with the other three deities, but that need not be taken very seriously. There must have been a fourth figure here and it should have been a goddess, on the analogy of the 'Storm-god' pair; this head suits in every way and there has been found no other monument with which on grounds of scale or style it could possibly be associated.

Fortunately there is no doubt regarding the next slab, found almost *in situ* leaning against the footing of the wall from which it had slipped.

This is the great limestone relief of the Naked Goddess and the seated woman, B. 40a and b. The stone had been broken into several fragments, two of which, giving the upper part of both figures, had been found by Henderson; two more fragments giving the feet were found by Hogarth,

¹ But some fragments were found (B. 45b) in the foundations of the Roman wall immediately above the Temple area.

² Mr. Barnett notes on this: 'More exactly, I think, they [the gods] are returning to their temple from which they had been evicted. This seems to be inference from the inscription A. 1a.' But the return is manifestly the result of a victory over

the enemy by whom the gods had been evicted.

³ This departure from the normal alternation of colours was presumably intended to emphasize the unity of the group of leading deities; the contrast begins with the Naked Goddess, who, standing rigidly and full-face, is no more part of the procession than is the seated priestess next to her.

but the stone is still imperfect.¹ The winged goddess holding her breasts and with the veil hanging down behind her and framing her naked body is of course a familiar type in Cappadocian, Mesopotamian, and Syro-Hittite art.² The other figure presents certain difficulties. Hogarth described it as 'a draped male figure',³ and Hrozný⁴ also calls it 'l'effigie en relief d'un prince (?)'. This seems to me impossible, for the dress is definitely female, identical with that of the priestesses of the Processional Entry (B. 19, 20, 21), a close-fitting short-sleeved tunic above which is a shawl or veil covering the head and falling to the feet, while the front edges are brought together across the body on the line of the waist; even the bracelet worn upon the left wrist is a distinctive part of a woman's dress. What is peculiar is rather the fact that a personage taking part in this assembly of the gods has herself no obvious symbol of divinity. The goddess of the Processional Entry (B. 19*a*) has the same dress and wears no horned crown of divinity, but she is at least enthroned on a lion, whereas here we see a simple chair such as would suit a human being. On the evidence of the inscription Mr. Barnett concludes that the figure is presumably a priestess and certainly a mortal and a member of the royal family of King Lulias (v. p. 260).

The next slab is missing; it may have been a chariot-slab like those that follow, or it may have completed the array of divinities or, if the seated figure is a human woman, of the divinities and their worshippers. Immediately adjoining it, judging by the evidence of the position of the fallen stones, came the limestone chariot-slab B. 41*a*, and then there had been a row of six more similar slabs of which we found one in basalt and two in limestone complete or nearly complete and one fragment (B. 41*b*; B. 42*a, b*; B. 43*a*); these lay in a row along the wall except for the last, which was at a little distance from the wall's face and associated with a fragment of a 'demon' slab (B. 52*b*) which did not belong to the Wall series.

Beyond the fourth complete chariot lay the great limestone slab covered with a hieroglyphic inscription A. 1*a* and B. 43*b*. According to Hrozný⁵ the stone gives only the latter part of the text and there must have been another stone on the right of this containing the first part. Coming in the middle of the scenes of battle—the inscription must record the victory of the king of Carchemish over his enemies—Campbell Thompson remarked that one of the wounded enemies trampled by the chariot-horses is almost certainly an Assyrian and seems to be circumcised—'it is', wrote Hogarth, 'the first obviously historical Hittite text which has been found accompanying illustrative reliefs'.⁶

All the other slabs found (B. 44-6) were of one and the same type, showing foot-soldiers bringing in prisoners or with captives crouched before them. The series was very far from complete, only four orthostats being found, all of limestone and one of them a mere fragment;⁷ all were in poor condition with much of the surface flaked away. The last orthostat, B. 46, had a single figure carved on its narrow edge (B. 46*b*), which suggests that the military procession was continued for a certain distance at least along the south wall of the wing of the Palace.

¹ In our attempted restoration, Pl. B. 40*b*, insufficient space has been left between the two pieces of the seated figure, so that the distance from the knees to the front of the body, and the depth of the throne, have been unduly reduced.

² v. G. Contenau, *La Déesse nue babylonienne*, Paris, 1914.

³ Probably taking the extraordinarily square outline of the jaw as a side whisker.

⁴ *Les Inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, p. 236.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁶ Hrozný's attempted translation does not carry conviction any more than does his explanation of the severed hands as pointing to a 'tomb' and the severed heads as those of the 'dieux-vizirs' referred to in his text.

⁷ There must have been eight originally, to fill the whole wall-length from the great inscription to the corner. It is fairly safe to assume that the missing four were of basalt and have disappeared for that reason, having been carried off for re-use owing to the value of the stone.

A curious detail was that against the corner of the wall there was let into the cobbled floor of the court a half-ovoid block of basalt about 0.60 m. high intended to protect the angle of the masonry from damage by the wheels of vehicles; precisely similar 'guards' can be seen in London to-day.

Of the south wall of the wing very little was left. Only at the south-east corner was there more than a single course of masonry and for about half its length only the foundations remained virtually at floor-level. Fortunately a stone threshold with the lowest block of a door-jamb at its western end gave us the entrance. In front of it was a low step considerably longer than the door opening (see plan, Pl. 29); this extension might have served as the base for a relief flanking the doorway, just as the great Lion slab B. 33 comes immediately against the door-jamb of the entrance to the little room (1) on the east of the staircase.

(b) THE TEMPLE OF THE STORM-GOD

Entering this doorway one passed into a large courtyard (2) neatly floored with cobbles—variegated pebbles collected from the bed of the Euphrates—laid over gravel.¹ On the east was the boundary wall, very much destroyed, of a set of rooms lying behind the Long Wall of Sculpture;² the foundations could be traced up to a definite corner beyond which was the entrance to a cobbled passage which seems to have led, between two walls of which little more survived than the thresholds of two doors, to the small door at the end of the Long Wall of Sculpture opening on to the staircase. In the first of these rooms (3) was found the inscribed basalt altar A. 4c.

The north wall of the courtyard was preserved only for its western half, where it stood two courses high, of good ashlar masonry; here it abutted on a very finely built wall of limestone orthostats, the eastern wall of the Temple shrine. In the angle there stood undisturbed the basalt stela A. 4b bearing a winged disk and an incised inscription which mentions the 'Great King'; it should therefore go back to the time of the Later Empire of the Boğazköy Hittites. In the court was found also a semicircular basalt block, possibly a base for a statue, with three lines of linear inscription, A. 4a.

From the north-west angle of the Temple court to the south-east corner of the shrine was only 2.50 m., but beyond that the line of the east wall of the shrine was continued by two stone steps dividing the courtyard (2) from an inner court (9) whose cobbled floor lay about 30 centimetres higher. This inner court was bounded on the north by the Temple façade, which extended across its whole width, and on the west by a wall of plain limestone orthostats; in the south-east corner, against the south wall, there was a raised platform measuring 4 metres by 3 with an edging of rough stones and clay, two or three courses high, and a filling of earth mixed with ashes and showing signs of heavy burning. It was certainly an altar. In the loose soil in front of it were found broken bones of birds and small animals and numerous fragments of ivory which proved to be seven panels for inlay, probably from a piece of furniture, cut in a tree design, of which the best preserved is shown on Pl. 71f. Between the altar and the west wall of the court there was a small separate hearth. In the outer court there was a line of stones which continued that of the north edge of the 'altar', but at a lower level; it might have been a wall foundation, and that it was such is made more likely by the fact that it returns to abut on the west jamb of the entrance-door and that this section is certainly

¹ The plan shows the preservation of the cobbled surface, the dotted areas being those from which the pebbles were missing and the gravel exposed.

² The floor-level here was about a metre above the level of the courtyard outside the Long Wall of Sculpture, which served as a retaining wall for what was really a raised platform.

As a result the buildings on it were much more exposed to destruction. In the Roman foundations immediately above we found very many good facing-stones which being of the same size and character as the few still in position at the west end of the north wall of the courtyard, where it abutted on the shrine, probably came from these ruined chamber walls.

a wall foundation. In the enclosure there was no burnt earth and no ash. The structure should be restored as a room (8) whose west wall rested on the higher rubble that limits the altar on the line of the steps dividing the two courts.

Close to the ruined north wall of this enclosure there were found fragments (the head is missing) of a-basalt relief of a winged griffin (B. 48*a*) of the same type as B. 28*b*, and outside the south wall small fragments of a basalt relief identical in subject and style with B. 12. These are by their style considerably earlier than the reliefs of the Long Wall of Sculpture and contemporary with those of the Herald's Wall; that they belonged originally to the Temple court is likely, but there is no means of deciding whether they were part of the decoration of its outer wall or of its interior; in favour of the latter view it might be urged that the processional scene of the Long Wall of Sculpture continued, as is proved by the corner slab, along the southern façade.

Close to the Temple door the cobbled floor of the inner court had been patched with flat paving-stones. Near the south-west corner there was a basalt impost-stone let into the floor. Immediately in front of the Temple door and 6.50 m. from it there was a raised base which had been of, or had been edged with, cut stones; only the north edge and part of the east edge remained, but the original dimensions could be determined by the gravel floor-foundation, which ended in a straight line where the stones had been removed, as 2.70 m. × 1.40 m. By (but not on) this base was found part of the great basalt group of two bulls, B. 47*a*, *b*—it was the hind part of the left-hand bull—of which other fragments were found scattered over the Temple court area.¹ The breaking up and dispersal of this very massive block must have been deliberate and was so thoroughly done that its original site cannot be fixed with certainty. But there are few places that seem adapted to a monument of this size; the legs, the parts least likely to be moved far, were found in the inner court, and the measurements of the bull group agree remarkably well with the raised base in front of the shrine; it was accordingly restored by us in that position (see Pl. 35*b* and 36).

The bull group is a solid block of basalt having in its upper surface a rectangular depression surrounded by a slightly raised border. Except for its unusual dimensions (it is 2.40 m. long and 1.10 m. high) it is just like the group found behind the Lion slab east of the staircase, and closely resembles the double lion groups which support the statues in the King's Gate, and it would be reasonable to assume that it also is a base for a statue. So indeed it may be; but there was one argument against this obvious assumption, namely that the edges of the depression, which would have been covered had this been a mortise-hole with a statue standing on the base and tongued into it, were rounded and smooth, in places even polished as if by constant friction. The worn surface extended only just over the edge and a very little way down into the depression, the bottom of which was not well finished, being chiselled out and not ground out. We came to the conclusion that there had been some kind of shallow pan or basin, probably of metal, let into the depression, that it had held water for ceremonial purposes, ablutions, &c., and that the stone had been worn and the edges polished by the hands of people reaching over it to get at the water. In this case it would correspond to the 'brazen sea' supported by oxen in the Temple of Solomon.

It is further possible that both explanations are true. The sculpture is an early one, approximating in style to those of the Water-Gate.² It may have been designed and used as a statue-base and

¹ The front part was found between the Temple court and the King's Gate, well above the Hittite floor-level, in the Hellenistic stratum; part of the back of one bull was in room 7; the shoulder of the left-hand bull was just outside the west wall

of the Temple court.

² The use of inlay for the eyes is in the archaic tradition but survives into the latest periods.

later, when the Temple court took its present form, have been turned to a different use as a laver. The fact that the hind-quarters of the bulls are not carried round to the back of the stone (which is plain) as are the hind-quarters of the lions supporting the column-base B. 32, which was intended to be seen from all sides, may mean that the bull group was designed to stand against a wall and not in the open as it does if replaced in the Temple court. The reasons for regarding it as a statue-base are indeed strong; but since the unmistakable wearing of the stone is inconsistent with such use, the compromise that I have suggested seems the most satisfactory explanation of the conflicting evidence.

The Temple itself was built with 'bellied' limestone orthostats of unusually fine quality. Of the superstructure that rested on the orthostats nothing remained *in situ*, but on the floor in front were found numerous bricks covered with a pale blue glaze on which in slight relief were rosettes with white petals and yellow centres. These must have come from the façade.

The doorway had a raised limestone threshold and the orthostats of the two jambs were of basalt covered with inscriptions in relief (A. 2 and A. 3) by King Katuwas, the same king as was responsible for the earlier version of the King's Gate. On the inside of the doorway the hinge-stone of the door, a basalt tripod-bowl re-used for the purpose, was found *in situ* against the west jamb and against the east jamb was a flat stone with a square hole for the bolt. The doorway had narrowly escaped destruction, for the heavy rubble and concrete foundations of a Roman wall crossed the court diagonally from south-west to north-east, resting on the Hittite floor, and hit the Temple wall in the eastern angle of the door recess, almost touching the eastern basalt jamb; it then jumped the wall and continued across the Temple (Pl. 35*a*).

The inner faces of the south and east walls were virtually intact (one orthostat was missing from the latter) and were precisely like the outer faces, the stones, limestone, having the 'bellied' and polished surface which seems to be characteristic of early work, being commonly found, for example, in the Water-Gate and in the River Wall. From the western wall all the orthostats had been removed. The north wall was different. A line of foundation-blocks, rising above ground-level, abutted on the face of the last orthostat of the eastern wall (Pl. 35*a*), partly concealing it, and a second line of foundation-blocks set back from the first and at a higher level came up to the corner of the same orthostat and would therefore seem to give the true wall-line, though the character of it is very different. The lower line is probably a raised bench, originally covered with stucco or with wood, the upper should be the wall proper (the blocks plastered and the orthostats, now missing, resting on them), though its change of level implies a different character in the wall. That there was a difference is obvious. The eastern wall is 1.60 m. thick, the north wall (not including the 'bench') is 3.85 m. thick; the analogy of the 'Hilani' (v. p. 181) would appear to warrant the conclusion that it was a double wall enclosing a staircase which led to an upper chamber. We detected no material evidence of such a staircase.

The floor of the Temple had been paved with limestone flags, most of which had been pulled up. A large square block with a hole in the centre of its worked face (visible in the corner of the room in Pl. 35*a*) was found above floor-level; it was of the soft limestone normally used by Roman builders and probably does not belong to the temple. A basalt block, originally an orthostat but with a hole (secondary) in each corner of its worked face, was found lying flat with its base sunk below floor-level at a point immediately in front of the door where the paving had been destroyed; this should belong. A large basalt column-base, plain, was also at floor-level but tossed on one side and

lying on its edge; in the photograph, Pl. 35*b*, it is seen as placed by us on the square basalt block, but it has no real connexion with that stone. Part of a basalt 'table of offerings' (cf. vol. ii, fig. 27, p. 94) was found in the Temple at floor-level.

It is clear from the ground-plan that the Temple complex as we have it is the result of wholesale remodelling; the abutting of the south wall of room 7 on the east wall of the Temple and, yet more obviously, the awkward junction of the south-west corner of room 10 with the north-east corner of the Temple, could not have been designed by the original architect; the masking of its west wall by the west wall of the enceinte is further evidence of secondary construction. The shrine itself must be assigned, on grounds of style, to the same period as the south or River Wall of the Inner City which can on conclusive evidence be attributed to the Later Bronze Age or, as I have termed it in previous publications, the Middle Hittite period;¹ in other words, it is contemporary with the Hittite Empire of Bogazköy. The inscribed stela A. 4*b* with its reference to the 'Great King' must therefore be part of the furniture of the original building.² The door-jambs of Katuwas are a later addition, dating to the ninth century, and are perhaps (but not necessarily) contemporary with the general remodelling of the area. The inner face of the north wall of the shrine with its bench clumsily built up against the orthostat of the east wall may be part of the later work. Our first idea was that the thickness of the north wall merely implied great height in the building, but the analogy of 'Hilani' shrines of the Imperial age at Alalakh and of the later 'Hilani' near the Water-Gate (p. 181) more than justify the theory of a staircase leading to an upper floor; but it is possible that here, as at Alalakh,³ the upper floor was subsequently abandoned and a solid wall substituted for the double wall and staircase; that might be the explanation of the anomalous character of its inner face.

The Temple complex as we have it is definitely of the Late Hittite ('Syro-Hittite') period. I would emphasize that we set the double bull group on the stone base in the court purely on the archaeological evidence of find-spot and measurement; only after it was built up from its fragments did we remark the wearing of the edges of the depression in its top and suggest that it was used as a laver rather than as a statue-base, and not till then did we notice the curious resemblance that the complex bears to the Solomonic temple at Jerusalem. Here, too, we have an outer and an inner court, the former perhaps decorated with reliefs, amongst them the confronted pairs of eagle-headed 'cherubim' whose wings are spread one in front of and one behind the body.⁴ In the inner court (of the same width as the sanctuary) we have the altar of burnt offerings in front of the sanctuary, and between it and the sanctuary door⁵ the laver supported by oxen. The sanctuary is a small, virtually square building,⁶ its coloured brickwork taking the place of the embroidered hangings of the Hebrew temple. If our temple was true to the 'Hilani' pattern, the entrance should have been flanked by columns standing in the door recess; nothing of the sort was found *in situ*, but there was a basalt column-base loose inside the building whose dimensions would agree with the depth of the recess. There is no analogy for the use of a single column or columns *inside* a room of this sort. Considering the state of the ruins neither the displacement of one column-base nor the disappearance of the other is at all unlikely.⁷ Were there two columns at the entrance, the parallel

¹ Vol. ii, p. 48.

² It is not, of course, in its original position because the north wall of the angle in which it stands was *ex hypothesi* not built when the stela was dedicated.

³ *Alalakh*, pp. 26, 27.

⁴ B. 12. Cf. 2 Chronicles iii. 7 and 10 to 13.

⁵ Exodus xl. 7; 2 Chronicles iv. 3.

⁶ It measures 8.00 m. × 7.10 m. The Holy of Holies was 20 cubits square, possibly as little as 8.20 m.

⁷ The Roman wall-foundations (see Pl. 34*a*) came precisely

would be carried yet a stage closer to the Hebrew temple where 'he reared up the pillars before the temple, one on the right hand and the other on the left'.¹ The Phoenician architect commissioned by King Solomon to design a temple for a people whose god had never before been housed in more than a tent would necessarily be thrown back a good deal on his own professional experience; and if there was in normal use a temple type which adapted itself reasonably well to the prejudices of his clients and did not make too marked a departure from the tent of their tradition he would naturally avail himself of it; if without shocking the priesthood he could flatter the king with the assurance that the new building was altogether *à la mode* in the capitals of the north he would be certain of approval.

DETAILS

Room 1

Directly against the edge of the great Lion slab a basalt impost, 1.25 m. × 0.90 m., with mortise-hole 0.45 m. sq. × 0.14 m. deep, beside which a much-worn hinge-hole; it was in position. Just below it, loose, a broken slab of hard conglomerate, the top much worn, and two fragments of similar slabs, one 1.30 m. × 0.25 m., one 1.90 m. × 0.28 m., both with surface worn; they were apparently treads of a flight of steps. In front of them in the court area, fragments of a basalt lintel with a winged disk carved on the front; length from hinge-hole to hinge-hole 1.22 m. There was no sign of the other door-jamb. Only at the west end of the room was the pavement preserved; it was a mixture of cobblestones and broken slabs; in level it was about flush with the tenth step of the stairs. Farther west the pavement failed and the walls were denuded away; some mud-brick foundations of the east wall remained with beyond them a cobbled floor 0.85 m. lower than that of the room. The north wall was roughly built and merely abutted on the stair buttress; but that need not imply a difference of date since the buttress would almost certainly be built first and the terrace wall brought up against it. About the western wall there was much uncertainty. The two stones shown against the corner of the buttress were a late addition, for the packing between them contained chips of inscribed basalt; also they did not agree with anything on the other side of the staircase. A plain basalt orthostat was found standing against the end of the ninth stair (see Pl. 31*a*), but this was immediately opposite the door opening on the other side of the stairs, and the flat stone on which it stood showed signs of wear implying that it was a pavement slab. At the same

where an eastern base would have stood, and the ground in the western half of the recess was disturbed. The patching of the floor in front of the doorway rather suggests a paved approach

time a wall with a door corresponding to that on the other side of the stairs is unlikely because that would mean that the bull base stood right in a corner, whereas it is intended to be seen from both sides. In fact, there has been so much remodelling of the staircase, and so much destruction, that any attempt at detailed reconstruction here is hazardous. Quite possibly the whole end of the room was open.

On the Hittite floor-level outside the south wall of room 1 many glazed bricks were found, but they did not extend much beyond the south-east corner of the room; they must therefore have come either from the room itself or from the lower buttress of the stairs, above the basalt reliefs; they were of the same types as occurred inside the doorway on the other side of the stairs.

Not far from the south-east corner of room 1 there was found a fragment of a baked clay cone or cylinder inscribed with Hittite linear characters, fig. 62, p. 159. Farther to the east was part of a brick inscribed in cuneiform with the name of Sargon; the levels here were disturbed by a Roman catch-pit and it could not be said whether the fragment belonged to the destruction level or had come into it from above, as seemed more probable. Still farther to the east, well down in the clean water-laid (?) soil that normally occurs under the Hittite road-level in this area, was a human skull with a few other bones, two pierced shells, and a fragment of a stone head, certainly of the Early Bronze Age.

The Stairs

A trial pit dug 8.00 m. from the foot of the stairs showed a second cobbled floor only 0.25 m. below the first, and virgin soil but little lower down. A pit at the

between columns.

¹ 2 Chronicles iii. 17.

foot of the stairs showed a mass of cobbled flooring 0.75-1.00 m. thick, a thin lime-line in the middle of which might mean an upper and a lower floor; then soil containing early pottery and an Early Bronze Age burial, and virgin soil at 2.10 m.

A pit on the second landing found clean gravel 0.60 m. thick and just below that a fragment of Early Bronze Age pottery (rim of 'champagne-cup' with incised decoration) and the lower courses of a wall of rough stones. A pit above the highest remaining steps produced sandy gravel which was clearly the bedding for the stone steps. It follows that (1) there are no earlier Hittite buildings under the staircase; (2) the staircase was dug back into the slope of the prehistoric mound which was scarped and terraced by the Palace builders; and (3) the original staircase, however much it may have been modified and rebuilt in later days, probably goes back to an early phase in the history of Hittite Carchemish.

The last (tentative) conclusion is supported by the fact that the stairs have been much mended and patched, so much so that Hogarth queried whether they were not all a late restoration; that the courtyard at the stairs' foot has been repaved only once, the two cobbled surfaces being separated by only 0.18 m., and that two road-levels only are traceable right down to the Water-Gate (where they are rather farther apart, v. on the 'Hilani' pit, p. 176), both of which are shown by pottery fragments to have been used in the Late Hittite period, and below them there are no Hittite remains; and that these same cobbled surfaces are contemporary both with the Herald's Wall and with the Water-Gate. In this part of the site, therefore, levels remained virtually unchanged from the Middle Hittite period until the destruction of the city at the end of the seventh century B.C., and there is no reason why the stairs in their original form should not be as old as the Temple (a Middle Hittite building) in the adjoining wing of the Palace. In the form in which we have it the staircase is, of course, late; it was continuously in use and often repaired. Actually we lifted a basalt slab in the eleventh step from the bottom and found under it a fragment of inscribed basalt and a piece of Greek fourth-century black-glazed pottery; so that the upper steps must have been exposed and mended in the Hellenistic period. But patching was just

as common in the lowest steps which lay beneath the debris brought down by weather over the thickly strewn basalt chips and pieces of the destruction level, steps which in the Hellenistic period were certainly buried out of sight.

The two staircase piers, of which only the western was at all well preserved, were built of narrow limestone orthostats 1.10 m. high standing on a low base-course;¹ they were filled in solidly with earth, but there was nothing to show whether they were topped with stone.² Their shape was carefully calculated to mask the change of angle between the stairs and the Long Wall of Sculpture. In the base-course of the eastern pier there were some fragments of basalt re-used and coming from an older building; there is thus evidence of late construction, but perhaps on the lines of the old.

In each buttress the top of the limestone plinth was flush with the landing; beyond the first stone on the landing it could not be traced, but there must have been a further projection to line up with the inner faces of the buttresses north of the door recesses. The floor of the eastern (the better preserved) recess was flush with the landing, unpaved; where the steps started again, part of a stone retaining-parapet or combing survived. The hinge-stone was sunk well below floor-level. The walls of the recess had small polished orthostats 0.50 m. high above which were remains of mud brick; the bricks measured 0.38 m. sq. × 0.09 m. and some 0.50 m. × 0.38 m. × 0.09 m. As the floor concealed most of the face of the orthostats the level would seem to have been raised in the late period. The walls, especially at the north end, were discoloured and flaked by fire.

The three steps between the buttresses are of very poor patchwork and contrast unfavourably with those below the landing.

The upper buttresses had limestone plinths. A landing started half-way across them and beyond them ran the full width of the staircase, cobble-paved on the west where there were found, not in position, a basalt hinge-stone and part of a door-jamb which may have belonged to a doorway in the west wall. The centre of the upper flight of steps had been destroyed by Shallum's work in the seventies; the ends of the treads of the six steps that remained were very badly built of small and rather rough stones showing less traces of use than do those of the

¹ Their tops were flush with the eighth tread of the stairs. This is very nearly the level of the north end of the Temple court as entered by the doorway on the stairs. It is also virtually the level of the floor of room 1.

² The only analogy I can suggest is that of the piers flanking the stepped approach to Niqmepa's palace at Alalakh (15th century B.C.), which were solid but not covered in with stone.

lowest flight; they must be a reconstruction, perhaps as late as the Hellenistic period. The walls here may also be late; that on the east has two orthostats remaining, of poor quality, resting on a mixed foundation of small stones and mud with mud brick behind. The branch wall to the east is of mud brick and probably late. The slope above and to each side had been cut about by pits, and Roman debris from the Temple on the top of the Kala'at had fallen into these and lay at a metre's depth below Hittite level.

On the west side of the staircase the buildings, though rather better preserved, did not make much sense. The terrace wall which comes up against the front buttress was unmistakably part of the old construction; behind it the floors had been destroyed but, judging from the foundations of the upper walls, had been 0.80 m. above the cobble-and-mud floor at the foot of the terrace wall. Two walls run north by south; the inner has rubble on its east face and a west face of mud brick; the outer is all of mud brick; these two, together with the mud-brick return from the inner wall to the staircase, are of solid construction and apparently belong to the original plan. The slight skew wall which divides the eastern compartment is probably late, but it was an isolated fragment only, so that real evidence for its connexions is lacking. Apart from this, all trace of Hittite work above the line of the terrace wall had disappeared. An area measuring 20 by 16 metres was cleared by us and produced no wall remains whatsoever; but loose in the soil there were numerous slabs and long beams of polished basalt bearing evidence to the fact that there had been here—or just above—buildings of considerable importance.

Of the doorway leading from the stairs to the Temple court the north jamb was found *in situ* (it was broken and collapsed, but was replaced) and the orthostat adjoining it was shifted but lay alongside and was replaced by us. The south jamb was in position, though the upper part of it was broken away; next to it came the first carved orthostat of the Long Wall of Sculpture, B. 38a. Hogarth was of opinion that the orthostat did not belong here but had been taken from its place farther along the wall and erected at this point in some very late period of reconstruction, his reason being that it was 'shored up below with a rubble of small roughly squared stones and the back has been cut away probably to get material for patching the stair'. We were to learn later that the 'shoring up' of orthostats with small stones is not uncommon in Hittite architecture, and I do not

think that there is any valid reason for supposing that the relief in question ever occupied any position other than that in which it was found, or rather in which the lower part of it was found—the upper part had been broken and the head of the second figure, which was seen by Henderson, was never found by us.

None the less, there were signs of reconstruction. From the door on the stairs to the south edge of the slab with the Naked Goddess and the seated priestess (B. 40) the masonry of the podium of the Long Wall was different in quality and even (very slightly) different in line from the southern section; it looked rougher and less regular, the stones certainly were more weathered, whereas for the rest of the wall the courses were most regular (v. Pl. 37b) and the stone-dressing showed the use of an entirely different tool. Corresponding to this change of appearance was a change in the thickness of the wall; the southern section was 1.50 m. thick instead of 1.10 m. It was clear that the north section, which was intrinsic to the staircase, was the older, and that the whole of the southern stretch had been tacked on to it, presumably at the time when the sculptures were set up. This would explain the fact which misled Hogarth—the 'Teshup' orthostat was to be erected on an old wall which had not been intended to serve as a base for anything of the sort and therefore had to be levelled as best might be. The god was in his original position at the head of the long procession, but the whole procession was an innovation imposed on an earlier design.

Hogarth's report on the clearing of the approach to the stairs can be quoted here. Henderson had not disturbed this approach and indeed had not pushed his trench so far South as to uncover even the two lowest steps of the Stair. But he had sunk a cross trench irregularly across the Stair-foot from a point about three metres North-West to a point about twenty-five metres South-East. At the Western end of this cross trench he had discovered the upper part of the relief in coarse limestone representing a winged nude goddess, which has been more than once published, though never satisfactorily. It was not found *in situ*. He must have discovered also a large inscribed fragment showing a draped male [*sic*] figure seated to right, which lies immediately to left of the goddess fragment and (as we found) is part of the scene in which she figures; for this fragment also has been published (see Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscr. Hitt.* ii, pl. xv). The latter had been reburied, while the goddess fragment remained exposed in the trench but tilted forward so that no visitor to the site has been able


to get a satisfactory photograph. In clearing the approach to the Stairway we found presently another fragment of the scene, the lower part of the goddess figure. . . . 'The reason why these important fragments were not removed by their discoverers is to be sought in their condition. They are very badly cracked and the surface is rotten. In the disturbed earth at this corner of the Stair foot occurred a small 'pocket' of basalt sculptured fragments, doubtless found but neglected by Henderson. The only one of any importance showed a relief of a Griffin's head' from a slab resembling B. 12. 'The continuation of (Henderson's) trench eastwards to right of the Stairway was probably motived by the existence of the great slab showing two figures erect on the back of a crouching lion (B. 33), which has been published more than once. Since the growth of lichen proves that its upper part has been exposed for a very long time it was probably its emergence above the surface which first led to any excavations at all being undertaken on the site. But Mr. Thompson has been the first to notice groups of Hittite symbols, doubtless expressing divine names, in front of the face of each of the standing figures. I had this slab cleared on all sides but did not pursue Henderson's trench farther to the Eastward. One bit of basalt (A. 33*m*) inscribed in cuneiform of about Esarhaddon's time was picked up on the old dump heap on the south side of this trench . . . but nothing else of importance came to light. In the rubbish behind the great slab was found a much-defaced basalt bust in the round of Hittite style' (B. 67*b*).

Clearing in front of the staircase Hogarth found quantities of sculptured fragments, including parts of the 'Teshup' slab, the fine head, B. 39*a*, which should belong to the third figure in the procession, and a large fragment of an inscription, apparently from a lion, A. 30*a*.

At about 18.00 m. from the foot of the stairs there was a mass of stones lying on the Hittite ground-level; two sides of the mass were fairly straight and at right angles and the other two sides were irregular; the longest side measured 3.14 m., the other straight side rather more than 1.00 m. Hogarth wrote that 'the stones seem to have been intentionally packed together, but not to form any structure'; Thompson considered that there was more to it than this and suggested that it was the (much ruined) base of an altar or something of the sort. While this theory cannot quite be ruled out, it is more probable that we have to deal with a square-cut

rubbish-pit into which the stones, &c., had been dumped soon after the destruction of the neighbouring buildings; the shape of the pit would account for the way in which the stones lay. The stones went down below the level of the upper cobbled paving of the court (which was here 0.25 m. above the lowest paving), but their tops were flush with or above it, and they would therefore seem to lie too high to have been a foundation for any structure contemporary with that courtyard; moreover, amongst the fragments in the mass were some of which other fragments occurred elsewhere in the destruction stratum; the monuments, therefore, to which they belonged were intact up to the time of the final sack of Carchemish and parts of them could not have been used in the foundation of a structure antedating the sack.¹

In this mass of stones the most important were:

- (a) Two fragments of a seated statue in basalt giving the hand, parts of the richly decorated robe, and part of the throne, B. 64*b*. The feet were found near the Herald's Wall.
- (b) Limestone fragment with a winged disk.
- (c) Parts of a throne with lion-claw feet in basalt.
- (d) Lower part of a draped figure in relief, limestone; B. 68*c*.
- (e) Two large pieces of a long relief inscription in basalt; the two fit together but do not complete the text. A. 24*a*, 2-3.
- (f) One piece of basalt relief inscription on a slightly larger scale.
- (g) Several pieces of other relief inscriptions in very various styles, in basalt; one piece of incised inscription in green serpentine.
- (h) Large irregularly rounded block of limestone with a much-defaced linear inscription of five lines; the shape, &c., recalls the Mesopotamian *kudurru* or boundary-stone. A. 17*d*.
- (i) Long squared limestone block with rounded projection rising from its centre. Hogarth remarks that in shape it exactly recalls the rock altars of the 'Midas City' in Phrygia, and compares it with the Hittite hieroglyph . A similar stone was found near to the Naked Goddess relief. We suggested that they might be decorative architectural pieces, parts of a parapet with merlons, and placed them, tentatively, on the top of the Long Wall of Sculpture (Pl. B. 37*a*).

¹ I have laboured this point because the presence of an altar in the courtyard—which I was at first prepared to accept—

would be of great archaeological interest. Hogarth at a later time agreed that it was a rubbish-heap.

Under and between the stones were found various small objects:

- (j) A terra-cotta figurine of a couchant lion, Pl. 71*a*; the best terra-cotta found by us, very different from the normal figurines crudely moulded or in 'snow-man' technique.
- (k) A figurine of Bes in blue-glazed frit, Pl. 71*c*.
- (l) A blue paste scarab, Egyptian, the design obliterated, fairly early type, perhaps XIXth Dynasty.
- (m) A quantity of beads; one in lapis lazuli, several in opaque blue paste, many in glass, some of them large with inlaid eyes in different colours, some striped black and yellow, some with applied circle-and-dot patterns in relief, some of clear glass; some large carnelian spheroids, some pebbles, and pierced murex, cowrie, and cockle-shells. All of them might, of course, have come from a single string.

A few objects were found regarding whose original position nothing could be learned.

1. About half-way between the stairs and the Water-Gate, near the foot of the Acropolis mound, there was a hollow full of Roman and other stones. Amongst them was the very much battered piece of basalt sculpture B. 62*b*. This was a *protome*, carved in the round, the chest and front legs of a human-headed winged lion; the back part of the block was roughly squared and evidently was

intended to be built into a wall. Only the lower part of the chest of the lion and the spring of its wings and the beard and one side of the hair of the man remain. A branching channel or gutter came through the head from the back and out through the mouth of the man; the stone was therefore either a gutter or a gargoyle.

2. A large basalt block, mostly plain, on the upper part of which the beginning of a relief, apparently the tail and some of the hair of a lion, B. 69*a*. This also was on the surface on the road between the stairs and the Water-Gate.

3. In the same area was a basalt fragment showing the head of a bearded man facing right; he wears a rounded helmet and holds a spear of which only the point remains. B. 68*a*. In size and scale the relief agrees with B. 66*b*.

4. Above the top of the stairs were found fragments of a human arm and hand carved in basalt, apparently from a statue in the round of unusually large size (B. 63*b*) and part of a horned crown from a statue of a god which may have belonged to the same figure (B. 63*a*).

5. In the foundations of one of the Roman walls crossing the Lower Palace area was found the broken stela B. 66*a*, on the back and side of which was the incised inscription A. 17*b*.

6. In the rubbish behind the great Lion slab was found the fragment of the head of a god in basalt, from a statue carved in the round, B. 67*a*.

CHAPTER IX

THE 'HILANI'

FROM the foot of the Palace stairs and from the Great Wall of Sculpture there extended eastwards as far as the Water-Gate a road surface of very hard, fine gravel set in mud, about 0.25 m. thick. On this roadway were scattered numerous fragments of basalt, many of them carved or inscribed. This was the 'destruction level', and necessarily dates to the destruction of Carchemish, i.e. to 604 B.C. But the road was also contemporary with the *floruit* both of the 'Lower Palace' and of the

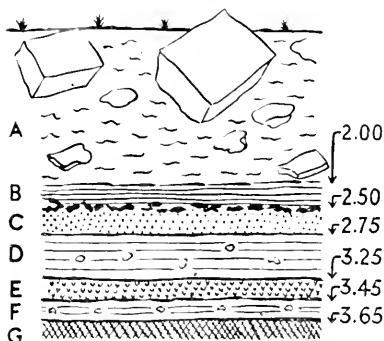


FIG. 63.

Water-Gate, at least in their present form, for the foundations of the heavy wall that continues towards the east the line of the south side of the Water-Gate lie only just below the road surface, which is, indeed, brought up against the face of that wall. A trial shaft sunk through the roadway close to the 'Hilani' (fig. 63) gave positive evidence on the point.¹ From the modern ground surface to a depth of approximately 2.00 m. there was (A) made soil containing quantities of stones, amongst which were large blocks and basalt orthostats from the north wall of the 'Hilani'. Then came a layer (B) about 0.50 m. thick of clean soil, water-laid, at the bottom of which carved and inscribed fragments of basalt formed an almost solid deposit; amongst them were many pieces from the great stela, A 12, which

presumably therefore stood originally not far from here and may have been connected with the 'Hilani' (see p. 187). The fragments lay immediately on the gravel road (C). In the gravel was a good deal of pottery, all of Late Hittite date; the admixture of potsherds with the gravel may well have resulted from repeated mending and relaying of the gravel, though at the time of excavation we detected no direct evidence of this. Below the 0.25-m. thick road-metalling (D) came half a metre of fairly clean light water-laid soil containing a few sherds and small stones. Next was a stratum (E), 0.20 m. thick, composed for the most part of fine sharp gravel but with a few larger stones and a good deal of pottery; this seems to have lain open and been used as a floor. A 0.20 m. layer (F) of comparatively clean light soil with a few stones and potsherds came next, resting on a bed (G) of large cobble-stones, very closely set, hard and apparently natural. Below this we did not dig.

The interesting point is that all the pottery, from top to bottom, was of Late Hittite type. In

¹ The identification of this building as a 'Hilani' may be considered as open to objection because very different explanations have been put forward of the precise significance to be attached to the term. At one time it was supposed to mean a building with a portico or that it was an adaptation of the plan of a Hittite gateway; the more modern view is that it means primarily a building with windows (Hebrew *halon*) with or without a portico. Mr. Barnett informs me that the hieroglyph of a gateway building with windows ends in *-nas*, and it is very

probable that it stands for *hilanas*. We first used the name for this Carchemish building in 1913. My justification for retaining it is that the building (a) has the columnar façade *in antis* which satisfies the old explanation of the word, and (b) had an upper chamber which must have been lighted by a window or windows, and therefore fulfils the later postulate. The fact that I use it between inverted commas will perhaps disarm criticism.

stratum E there were the familiar bowl forms B. 2 and B. 8¹ and in the lowest level, F, were the base of a saucer, type B. 13, of fine burnished red ware, and several fragments of cinerary kraters with painted metope designs of the normal Yunus style.

According to this evidence the buildings which will be discussed in the following sections are strictly contemporary with the road C, which was in use when Carhemish fell; the clean sand overlying the carved fragments means that there was wilful destruction of the city's monuments followed by a period during which the site was deserted. The building-blocks in the upper soil represent the gradual decay and collapse of the walls of the ruined buildings in succeeding centuries. There is no means of telling how long before the fall of the city the buildings were set up; if the road (C) really has been mended several times, it may have been a matter of several centuries. Stratum G, even if it is formed naturally, must have been an exposed surface and probably served as a road. The fact that immediately above it we have Yunus pottery proves that it belongs, as an exposed surface, to the Iron Age; so far as the evidence goes it might be of the twelfth century at the earliest. The total accretion of 1.15 m. between G and C, especially if stratum E was also a floor or road surface, is not inconsistent with a period of anything from 150 up to 500 years.

Confirmation of this view is obtained from the evidence of a test-pit dug by Hogarth at the foot of the Palace stairs. The pebble (gravel) floor of the courtyard area had a total thickness of between 0.75 m. and 1.00 m., a thickness which would certainly be due to repeated repairs. Below this came soil, and at a depth of 1.40 m. below stair-foot, at a distance of 2.00 m. from it and 0.40 m. from the Great Wall of Sculpture, there was found a pot burial of Early Bronze Age type (v. p. 234). Virgin soil and rock came at a depth of 2.10 m. It is clear that accretion was very slow, and there may even have been a cutting-down of levels preparatory to the building of the staircase, since otherwise it is difficult to explain the presence of an Early Bronze Age burial only 0.40 m. beneath the bottom of what was the floor in use at the close of the Late Hittite period.

Unfortunately it was impossible to establish the exact connexion between the Water-Gate and the Lower Palace. Where the 'Herald's Wall' broke away beyond the limestone relief of the camel-rider (v. vol. i, Pl. B. 9b) a massive wall of the Roman Forum, resting on concrete foundations nearly 2 metres deep, crossed the site to a point east of the great Lion slab at the staircase foot; it went down to Hittite level and had destroyed everything. East of it the ground had been heavily denuded, and it had in addition been honeycombed by rubbish-pits of Greek, Roman, and Arab date; a deep Greek drain ran across the area against the north-west corner of the 'Hilani', and a Greek tile-lined circular pit had been sunk into the ground a little to the west of it; and lastly there had been deliberate excavation either for building-stones or for treasure. As a result of all this, we laid bare disconnected fragments of mud-brick walls or the rubble cores of walls whose facing-stones had been carried off, or had to deduce walls from the patches of pavements or floors that happened to survive. Only one building could be traced in its entirety; this was the 'Hilani', lying about half-way between the Water-Gate and the broken end of the Herald's Wall. As has been said above in connexion with the trial-pit dug for stratification evidence, the road was here in quite good condition; it lay low, showing a very slight rise from the level of the entry between the Water-Gate buttresses; but the 'Hilani', though at no great distance to the south of it, was on a very different level—in fact some of the basalt orthostats of its south wall still *in situ* showed above ground before we began to dig. It stood upon a raised platform, but the character of the platform could

¹ References to *Liverpool Annals*, xxvi, pl. xxiii.

not be satisfactorily determined; the front of it had crumbled away and with it had gone the outer face of the north wall of the 'Hilani'.

As can be seen from the plan (Pl. 41a), a wall ran along the south side of the road westwards, more or less continuing the line of the Water-Gate. It was well built of good mud bricks on a foundation of small cobbles. Behind it were one or two parallel walls on the same level of which the innermost, which had fairly heavy foundations of rough pudding-stone, was the actual platform wall. In the intramural space there were chambers formed by cross-walls. It was certain that we had here to deal with buildings of at least two different dates; there was a slight difference of orientation between the systems, and generally it seemed that the earlier walls had cobble foundations and the later walls foundations of coarse rubble; and there were differences of level also. But the distinction

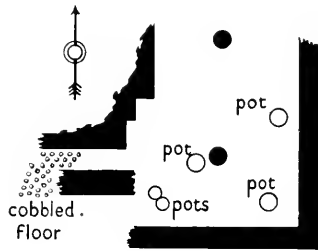


FIG. 64.



FIG. 65.



FIG. 66.

was never clearly marked, and although there was reason to think that the cross-walls were all late, the ruinous condition of the site was such that no coherent plan could be made out. It is probable, though not proved, that the older buildings had extended southwards at the same level and that later the platform had been constructed over the south part of them to serve as a podium for the 'Hilani', while the strip of space between the north wall and the terrace wall (which may have been part of the old system or may have been built specially as a retaining-wall) was divided into small chambers masking the platform front. Most of the cross-walls seemed to be of late date, but a little to the east of the 'Hilani' one such was, judging by its depth, of an earlier date re-used in the later period. Here (fig. 64) there was a small room with a cobbled floor on which, in position, were two small column-bases of soft white limestone contemporary with the south and east walls, which had rubble foundations and were certainly late. Under the floor were remains of an older building, into the floor of which were let four large store-jars, and on it was a rectangular hearth or bin of mud. On this lower floor were found two cylinder seals, one of white paste (fig. 65) and one of black steatite (fig. 66); both are of Late Hittite date, as was such pottery as was found in the room. Altogether the evidence is conclusive that none of the buildings excavated in this part of the inner town are older than the beginning of the Iron Age, that during the Iron Age there was a fairly wholesale remodelling and rebuilding of the quarter, in which, however, some elements of the old constructions were re-used, and that the 'Hilani' with its raised platform belonged to the later phase;¹ what cannot be ascertained from the archaeological evidence is the precise date in the Iron Age at which the new scheme was put into effect.

¹ The Iron Age pottery let into the floor confirms this; v. below, p. 180.

THE 'HILANI' BUILDING (Plan, Pl. 38, and Pls. 39-40)

The 'Hilani' was an almost exact square, measuring 18.00 m. either way,¹ lying close to the edge of the terrace; it contained a single chamber and a staircase and had a wide, columned entrance giving on to a cobbled court contained on the north by the retaining-wall of the platform, which sloped down gently to the level, apparently, of the open space between the Herald's Wall and the foot of the Upper Palace stairs. At 4.00 m. from the 'Hilani' front there had been a mud-brick-wall (it had been almost obliterated by rubbish-pits) which separated the forecourt proper from the sloped approach; behind it, i.e. against its east face, was a mass of rubble ballast which formed the foundation of the cobbled floor of the court and of the 'Hilani' itself. Of the north wall the inner face was preserved with its basalt orthostats in position; the outer face had gone. The retaining-wall of the platform had collapsed and only the heavy rough blocks of pudding-stone at the base of it remained, with behind them the rubble ballast filling weathered to a slope, above which came the flat stone foundations of the 'Hilani' wall; some patches of cobbled surface seemed to show that the 'Hilani' had been set back a metre or so from the edge of the platform. The orthostats, recognizable as being 1.05 m. high, had mostly slipped down to the terrace foot, but two (at the west end), though fallen, still lay on their foundations. The wall was 2.30 m. thick. The south wall was of the same thickness and was well preserved with its orthostats *in situ*. The whole of the west wall had gone to its foundations. Of the east wall the inner face was in part well preserved; of its outer face the orthostats had gone but the foundations remained.

As can be seen from the photograph, Pl. 39*a*, whereas the whole of the superstructure of the north-west and south-west corners of the building had disappeared, leaving only the rough foundations or packing, which in the north-west corner rose above floor-level, there remained virtually intact the stone paving of a wide and elaborate entry. The whole of it had originally been of very hard white limestone blocks of which the largest, central to the back of the entry, measured 3.00 m. by 2.00 m., but there had been some late patching with slabs of basalt. It was quite certain that the pavement did not extend across the whole front of the building but had been contained by massive buttress-jambs; the evidence was (*a*) the rougher foundations at either end of the front, which were clearly wall-foundations and not pavement edging; (*b*) the lumps of pudding-stone wall-core projecting above floor-level; and (*c*) marks on the paving-slabs themselves where these had been cut and trimmed down to fit a wall-face. Actually it was a simple matter to trace the outline of the two jambs with their rather complicated series of re-entrant angles, and the restoration on the plan is absolutely certain.

Similarly, the position of two column-bases could be safely fixed. At about 0.75 m. from the front edge of the pavement and towards its south end a circular depression had been made in the top of three adjacent slabs; it was very slight but well marked, as the surface had been chipped down and roughened so as to bite with the column-base, whereas outside the circle the slabs were worn and polished; the circle can be plainly seen in the photograph on Pl. 39*a*. In a corresponding position towards the north end was a second circle—less obvious because some of the slabs had been pulled up, but what was left of it was quite clear—of the same diameter, 0.95 m. Fallen down on the low ground outside the north wall we found a basalt column-base whose lower diameter was 0.95 m.,

¹ The slight discrepancies—the south wall measures 18.50 m. and the north wall 19.00 m.—are probably exaggerated by the destruction of the true outer face and may have been corrected in the superstructure.

and since no other base of so great a size was found anywhere else in the town ruins, there can be no doubt that this belongs to the 'Hilani'.

The plan therefore gives us a façade composed of two remarkably solid piers between which is a deep portico containing two unusually large columns alined on the inner entrance. That inner entrance, the real door of the building, is just over 4.00 m. wide; in the centre of the opening is the large limestone threshold block (3.00 m. × 2.00 m. × 0.66 m. thick) rising well above the normal pavement level; its front and back edges are worn down towards the middle, and across the middle is a worn depression going from front to back; at either side is a slightly raised and unworn rectangular patch measuring 1.20 m. × 0.70 m. (v. sketch, fig. 67); further, there are two small holes close together towards the south end of the back of the slab. Now the whole of the pavement is more or less polished by constant use—the basalt slab in the back row between the big slab just

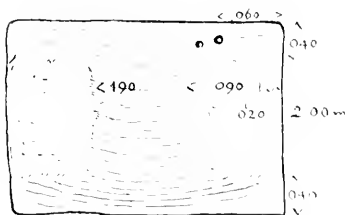


FIG. 67.

described and the south jamb was almost lustrous and the threshold slabs were particularly smooth; the big slab is hard-grained, but is a curious exception—'without being in the least polished it is certainly worn down across the middle and in front . . . and the patches are left at a distinctly higher level; it rather suggests a doorway between two pillars'. As 4 metres is an exceptional width for a doorway not having at least a central column, I felt that the evidence justified a reconstruction showing two pillars; but since the floor marks are rectangular and much longer than they are wide,

I have suggested a schème of decorative bases (lions?) which would support relatively slender uprights. As there would be passages on either side of these as well as between them, an actual door seems to be excluded; the two shallow holes at the back (which on paper look as if they might be hinge- or bolt-holes) I had decided on the spot to be accidental—along the front of the threshold and elsewhere there were similar holes too irregularly placed to be constructional,² and if they are to be disregarded,³ so, too, can those in the back slab.

The sanctuary room measured 14.00 m. × 6.50 m. The floor foundations were of very large lumps of pudding-stone; its surface had disappeared altogether. Let into the floor and with its rim about on a level with it was a large crater (diam. 0.58 m., inside depth 0.52 m.) of the common Late Hittite type (K. 3) found in the Yunus graves. It contained some animal bones and fragments of Iron Age pottery. The floor-level was satisfactorily given by an offset on the face of the foundation-blocks of the east wall (v. Pl. 40b), 0.20 m. lower than the threshold; it had been dug away, possibly by the builders of a late wall which ran east by west across the middle of the room between the central opening of the doorway and the east wall (Pl. 40b). There was loose earth under the late wall and above the old pudding-stone foundations, and a drum of a classical column of soft limestone incorporated in the wall sufficed to show that it was at least as late as the late Hellenistic period; but it went right down into the floor of the 'Hilani', and it seemed that the 'Hilani' walls had been re-used for the post-classical building. To the north of it practically the whole floor had

¹ A few of the stones, such as those between the front columns, were coarse limestone not of a nature to take a polish.

² There were also on the threshold several sets of shallow holes in rows which were gaming-boards (cf. the modern Arab

game of *mengel*). The same occurred on the floor of other buildings, e.g. the Lower Palace.

³ My first idea, that they might have been for a light balustrade, was ruled out by the uniform wearing of the threshold.

gone, even the big lumps of pudding-stone having been pulled out, and several late stones were found below floor-level; south of the cross-wall the disturbance was less marked.

In the east wall three orthostats remained in position, in the north wall six; the last of these, in the north-east corner, comes forward to a reveal with a polished face on its return. The adjoining stone, which had fallen forwards but could be replaced in position since its edge had been cut to an angle to fit the standing stone (the joint, as sometimes happens, was not vertical), completed what was obviously a door-jamb, for its east side was smooth and polished and its width corresponded to an offset of the foundation-course which thereafter set back again to the line of the north wall of the chamber. The corresponding jamb in the east wall was missing. The east wall had a total thickness of 7.00 m. Behind the standing orthostats was a filling composed of great lumps of pudding-stone which rose to the full height of the orthostats and continued to within 3.50 m. of the north wall, with lower rubble going on to within 1.50 m. of it. The door in the north-east corner, therefore, did not lead into an inner chamber. Just inside the door, close to the north wall, there were a few rough stones forming a level, presumably a floor foundation, and beyond them the wall could not be traced. There can be no doubt that this was a passage from which a flight of steps ran up in the wall thickness—such would normally be carried over a solid filling—and though no actual treads were found their disappearance in a building so ruinous is only to be expected.



FIG. 68.

The fact that there were stairs to an upper chamber helps to explain the inordinate thickness of the east wall, which, even so, seems excessive. The north and south walls are 2.50 m. thick, amply sufficient for a second floor of so small a building, but the over-all width of the west front is 5 metres. We must certainly assume a pylon entrance of considerable height—perhaps twin towers flanking the portico; but this does not explain the solidity of the back of the building, and it is tempting to suppose that this also rose up in monumental fashion above the roof of the second floor.

In the rubble filling of the staircase were found two objects: (1) a zoomorphic jug of plain clay, ht. 0.13 m., the spout and one leg missing (v. Pl. 69*b*), and (2) a pendant (?) vertically pierced, of dark blue and very light blue glass, in the form of a bunch of grapes (fig. 68).

Outside the north wall was found a basalt slab with a relief of a bull-legged deity grasping a tree; he wears the horned crown and a broad belt with hanging tassel but apparently no other garment, and is ithyphallic. The face has been deliberately obliterated (B. 49*a*).

Against the outer face of the south wall, near the south-west corner, lay a headless statue in basalt (height from feet to shoulder 0.80 m.). It represented a bearded figure seated on a throne, the hands resting on the knees; the dress consisted of a cloak over the shoulders and a long undergarment reaching almost to the ankles; on the front of the latter, from the knees downwards, and on the back, there had been a cuneiform inscription which had been deliberately and effectively defaced; only a few characters remained and the text was quite illegible (B. 48*b*).

Close by was a fragment of a lion figure in basalt.

Towards the middle of the same wall was a basalt offering-table, 0.85 m. × 0.50 m., with a raised edge, having a spout in one corner and two square compartments (fig. 69). These three objects seem to have been thrown here by the Roman builders when they laid the concrete foundations of a wall of the Forum, which ran parallel to the south wall of the 'Hilani' and only 1.45 m. from it; stone fragments of all sorts had been piled here as if for ballast; but it is none the less probable that they belonged to the 'Hilani'.

The case was quite different for a number of sculptured fragments found under the south-east gate-tower; these lay actually under the Hittite wall and had served as packing for the wall foundation. They must therefore be earlier in date than the 'Hilani'. The date of the 'Hilani' cannot be accurately fixed, but both the wearing of the stones of the threshold and the fact that the threshold had had to be patched imply that it was in existence for some considerable time; it is reasonable also to assume that the monuments from which the sculptures came had stood for some while before they were broken up; if that be so, the carvings ought to have been executed not later than the middle of the Late Hittite period, i.e. before the ninth century. This is important for the history of the development of Syro-Hittite sculpture.

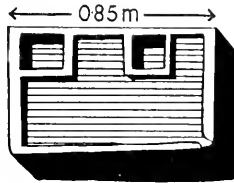


FIG. 69.



FIG. 70.

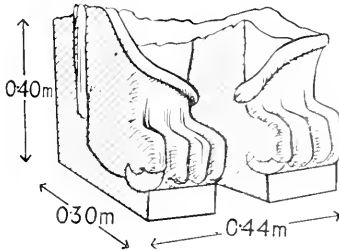


FIG. 71.

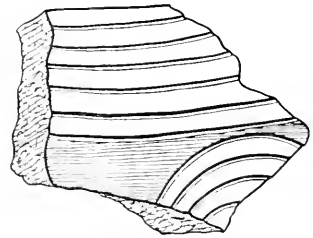


FIG. 72.

The fragments are a medley, few fitting together or belonging to the same piece.

1. The head of a demon and the top of a palm-tree (fig. 70) from a slab showing two demons with a palm-tree between them, resembling B. 52*b*. Basalt slab, three fragments fitting together; total width 0.50 m. The fragment, further, fitted on to the larger fragment B. 52*c*, which was found in 1911 on the top of the Long Wall of Sculpture, behind the (fallen) inscription A. 1. I can only suggest that the slab having been broken up in the Late Hittite period some pieces of it were used, as we have seen, in the foundations of the 'Hilani', and other pieces in the walls or foundations of another building which was destroyed after the Late Hittite period and its remains scattered, probably as a result of Roman building operations.

2. Upper part of basalt slab, width 0.44 m., ht. 0.37 m. Male figure facing left, the left hand raised in front of chest. He wears a low conical head-dress or helmet, and a cloak with deep fringe passes over his right shoulder. Pl. B. 52*a*.

3. The front feet of a lion, carved in basalt in the round—probably a *protome*, not a complete figure; width 0.44 m., ht. 0.40 m., depth 0.30 m. (fig. 71).

4. Fragment from the wing and tail of a lion (fig. 72); basalt, 0.45 m. × 0.65 m. The treatment

is in the hard 'geometrical' style of B. 29*b* and of Pl. B 68*e*. A fragment from the leg of a lion in flat relief may belong to this.

5. Two fragments from the front legs of a lion in basalt, closely resembling No. 3 in style but on a larger scale.

6. Several fragments from the body of a large basalt lion, the hair treated in scale fashion (fig. 73); they might possibly belong to No. 5, but there is no evidence for this.

It should be noted that these fragments show several points of resemblance to Water-Gate sculptures. Besides the linear treatment of wings and tail, like wood-carving, which is common to No. 4 and to B. 29*b*, the curved claws of the lions recur on B. 29*a* and *b* and on the sphinx of B. 28*b*, where, too, the scale convention for the hair of the breast resembles that of 6. The head of 2 is unlike any other found on the site, but the drapery comes fairly close to that of a figure on a corner slab (Pl. 66*b*) found a little to the north, between the Water-Gate and the Lower Palace.



FIG. 73.



FIG. 74.

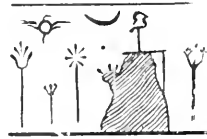


FIG. 75.



FIG. 76.

The Water-Gate area, therefore, has produced a number of pieces to which we may assign a date earlier than the Iron Age.

Two other objects should be mentioned here.

In the (late) filling against the south wall of the 'Hilani' was found a fine cylinder seal of rock crystal, 0.023 m. long, with a 'presentation' scene (fig. 74).

Outside the north wall of the 'Hilani', in front of the mud-brick buildings which masked it but above the Hittite level, was a broken cylinder seal of black steatite roughly engraved, length 0.023 m. (fig. 75).

Just west of the 'Hilani', in the ballast filling of the ramp, was a fragment of a conoid seal in white onyx inscribed in Aramaic; diameter 0.018 m. (fig. 76). None of them are necessarily associated with the building.

The prolongation westwards of the north wall of the 'Hilani' could be followed only for 5 or 6 metres, after which it was broken away by a large Syriac rubbish-pit, but enough remained to prove that it was built upon a ramp and was not itself the containing-wall of the ramp. While the cobbled pavement outside the north wall of the 'Hilani' showed that the building stood back from the platform edge, the foundations of this courtyard wall, starting slightly above the level of those of the 'Hilani', were, at 2.50 m. from it, stepped down 1.25 m., that is to the ground level of the area in front of the Herald's Wall; but these were rough foundations only and had no outer face such as must have existed had this been a retaining-wall (fig. 77). So far as it was possible to see, it definitely linked up the 'Hilani' with the Herald's Wall, for its line, if continued, led directly to a door threshold flanked by scanty remains of walling which lay 1.40 m. to the north of the Herald's Wall and 2.30 m. east of the slab with the camel-rider (B. 50*a*); it looked as if that slab had been the last of its series, and after it had come a salient in which was the doorway.

Not only was the wall destroyed but the ramp, too, had been obliterated by other pits (of Greek

date), one of which went down as much as 2.60 m. below 'Hilani' floor-level.¹ In one of the pits were found two basalt paving-slabs, much worn by use, which might be taken as an argument for a staircase joining the two buildings, but, considering the small amount of rise, a ramp (possibly paved) would seem to meet the case adequately, and certainly the small court at its head, inside the mud-brick cross-wall, was cobble-floored, whereas a stairhead would more likely have been paved.

The small size of the 'Hilani' would be surprising were one compelled to regard it as one of the public buildings of the capital city. This, however, is not necessary. Its position off the road leading up from the Water-Gate, the fact that it was masked by other buildings from that road, and the fact that it was approached from the west by a ramp behind what seems to be the enceinte wall of



FIG. 77.

A, level of floor at threshold in Herald's Wall; B, rubble foundations of courtyard wall stepped up on ramp; C, C, brick earth; D, mixed grey soil; E, ashes; F, front of 'Hilani' (NW. corner); G, broken foundation; H, gravel of Greek drain.

the building to which the Herald's Wall belongs, i.e. from inside that building, in which we are justified in recognizing a royal palace, puts it into a very different category. The 'Hilani' would seem to be part of the Palace complex; its modest proportions are understandable if it was intended not for the public but for some rite wherein the King alone took part.

A curious feature of the ruin is that whereas the orthostats are standing along nearly half the walls' length and the pavement of the wide entry is virtually intact, the whole pavement of the interior of the shrine has been pulled up. In the case of the shrine in the Temple court the walls were virtually intact and the whole pavement of the interior had been pulled up. Both buildings are adjuncts to a Palace complex—both are small, both are two-storied with a staircase in the back wall; they have therefore a certain resemblance one to another, and if both have suffered in the same way at the hands of the spoilers it must be for the same reason. There must have been something below the floor which was worth stealing. It is possible that the buildings were funerary chapels for kings of Carchemish whose ashes were buried beneath the pavement while their statues stood in the shrine in constant adoration of the god to whom the building was consecrated. It is even possible that the big clay krater embedded between the stones of the floor foundation of the 'Hilani' was the cinerary urn—it is of the type normally used in the contemporary cemetery of Yunus, and that a simple clay urn could be used even for the ashes of a king seems less unlikely if we take into consideration the burial in the North Gate described on p. 250.

¹ For the last 0.65 m. it was cut into extremely hard clean gravel, probably the 'level G' of the section given on p. 176, fig. 63, which we should expect to slope up inland from the river bank.

CHAPTER X
THE HERALD'S WALL

(Pl. B. 1, B. 9 *a* and *b*. For individual slabs, Pl. B. 10 to B. 16)

THIS long row of sculptured slabs to which the excavators gave the nickname "The Herald's Wall" forms the northern façade of the King's Gate building. It was in very bad condition. Above these orthostats no trace of the superstructure survived—indeed, the modern surface came very close to the top of the stones—and many of the slabs were out of position, many were broken, and some were missing altogether. The missing stones had been removed by later builders—the concrete foundations of the Roman Forum were responsible for the worst gap—but the curious shifting of some of the slabs from their foundations (and as the wall of which they were the front must have been very solid there can scarcely have been any lateral pressure from behind) looks as if it had resulted from an earthquake.² No work was done inside the building, so that neither its condition nor its character is known.

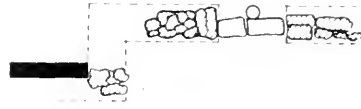


FIG. 78.

As has been stated above (p. 183), there seems to have been in the eastward prolongation of the wall a door giving on the street which leads from the Water-Gate. The actual evidence (fig. 78) was a basalt threshold 1.75 m. wide against the centre of which was a basalt column-base; on either side were the rough stone foundations for the wall, each fragment only about 1.50 m. long; the wall-face would have been 1.40 m. outside the line of the Herald's Wall. In that wall the rough stone foundations ran on for about a metre beyond the last existing orthostat and then broke away, so that there was nothing left to connect the two walls. But it is obvious that the gateway wall cannot have run on for more than another metre because had it done so it would have masked the Camel-rider's slab B 16*b* and B 50*a*, and that the Herald's Wall sculptures cannot have continued beyond the Camel-rider's slab because they would have been behind the existing gateway wall; therefore the only possible reconstruction of the actual remains is a return-wall to the corner of the Camel-rider's slab. A salient in which there was a small doorway is practically certain, though whether it was plain or ornamented with reliefs there is nothing to show.

The orthostats have an average height of 1.25 m., the slight differences between them being presumably compensated by varying the height of the foundation-course. In accordance with a regular Hittite principle of ornament the slabs were alternately of white limestone and basalt in the western section of the line, but the four contiguous slabs in the western section (Pl. B. 9*b*) are all of limestone. This departure may be due to the reuse of old material and to the fact that there were not enough basalt slabs available to allow of alternative colours along the whole wall length.

As so often happens in Hittite buildings, the subjects represented on the several panels of a continuous frieze seem to have no logical connexion with each other—if there was such it certainly

¹ The majority of the reliefs, however different their subjects, are alike in composition in that they have two figures heraldically opposed, like the supporters of a coat of arms.

² Carchemish lies in the earthquake zone, and it is only to an earthquake that we can attribute the complete overthrow of the Roman temple on the Acropolis.

escapes us; but again the explanation may be that old reliefs are here re-used purely as decoration and with no regard for their meaning.¹ They are as follows:

1. Pl. B. 16*b*. Limestone; top broken; actual ht. 1.22 m., width 1.53 m. A rider on a camel, facing right. The surface of the stone has suffered much from flaking, and the stone itself was coarse-grained and badly pitted (see Pl. B. 16*b*) and the details of the composition could only be brought out by mudding (v. Pl. B. 50*a*). The camel is naturalistically rendered. The harness consists of a breech-strap, a square-cut saddle secured by a broad girth, 'stirrups' consisting of a cord looped from the corners of the saddle, a broad collar and, apparently, a guide-rope attached to the collar. The rider sits astride;² he is a bearded man with either a helmet or a mass of hair falling down the nape of his neck; he wears a short tunic reaching to above the knee, and in his left hand he carries a bow; the right hand probably held the halter-rope.

2. Pl. B. 16*a*. Limestone; broken, but complete except for the god's hand; ht. 1.27 m., width 1.44 m. A hero and a god killing a winged bull. The god is a composite figure with human head and body; eagle's wings, lion's feet, and a scorpion's tail. The hero wears a beard, cut square, and whiskers, with the upper lip clean-shaved; his hair hangs in two long tresses curled up behind his back. The details of the scene are so clear on the photograph that further description is needless, except to remark that above the tail of the god there are marks upon the stone which seem to show that the artist originally designed the right wing in a horizontal position, and later, finding that it interfered with the tail, cut it out and carved a fresh wing at another angle, partly hidden by the arm but corresponding to the left wing and giving better balance to the figure. The relief is flat, virtually on two planes, with the edges between them rounded off; internal details are rendered by incised lines with, generally, one edge sloped back or rounded.

3. Pl. B. 15*b*. Limestone; ht. 1.24 m., width 1.44 m.; broken by an open crack from top to bottom and a triangular fragment, max. ht. 0.15 m., missing from left lower corner. Surface in fairly good condition. Two men killing a captive. Two men, upright and facing each other, hold, each by one wrist, a third figure standing between them in a semi-kneeling attitude, and plunge daggers into his head. For the sake of the symmetry of his composition the artist has made the left-hand executioner grasp his prisoner with his right hand and hold his weapon with his left. All three figures are similarly dressed and have the same beards and fashion of doing the hair;³ their daggers have lunate handles (unlike that of the god in slab No. 2) and the point of the dagger-sheath is turned up. The figure on the right wears shoes with the toes turned up; it is not clear whether the central figure has or has not the same.

4. Pl. B. 15*a*. Limestone; ht. 1.27 m., width 1.62 m. The top left corner of the stone had been broken away; the major part of it was found a little way in front of the slab and has been replaced. The stone is coarse-grained and much pitted.

Two rampant sphinxes and a winged monster. The sphinxes are identical in treatment; the hair rises in a forelock in front and falls in three tresses behind, curling tightly on the shoulder; the tail ends in a tuft in the form of a swan's head; the lion-like feet have the claws tightly tucked in;

¹ Mr. Barnett objects to this: 'There is a meaning, but its interpretation is beyond us. These figures are magical, apotropaic in their object, and we do not as yet possess the texts which would explain them. Hence they appear disconnected and without plan.'

² I originally thought that there was a pommel and that the

man's left leg was crooked over this with the foot hanging down in front. The mudding shows the camel's hump (not a pommel) and the rider's left leg hanging down behind that.

³ Except that that of the victim does not seem to have the triple row of curls; but the lack may be due to the weathering of the stone's surface.

apart from an incised line down the back of the inside of the leg there is no attempt to render muscles. The monster has a long head, a rather rounded ear set low, very stocky hind-quarters—more like those of a bull, and apparently no horns or tail at all.

At this point there comes a gap in the line of sculptures. About half a metre beyond the slab just described there lay, projecting about 0.80 m. outside the wall line, a row of five bolster-shaped basalt drums, length 1.20 m., diam. 0.54 m., neatly alined, touching each other, and rising well above ground level, at right angles to the wall; behind them were the normal rough wall foundations. The stones were not a threshold, and in any case the wall ran on unbroken behind them, and since the wall foundations continued westwards they were not, as we first thought, the foundations of a gate pier. I can only suggest that they were the solid base of a massive monument standing here against the wall. In front of the wall and only a short distance away from here was found the great inscribed block, Pl. A. 12. It had been deliberately broken up in this area, seeing that fragments of it were found on the road surface near the 'Hilani'; presumably it had stood somewhere close by. The block in question is a fragment from one of the largest monuments found at Carchemish. As it is, it measures 1.50 m. high by 0.90 m. wide; it is incomplete below, by how much there is no means of telling, and on the upper part of it there was a relief, of which there remains only a human foot of about life size. The complete stone therefore might have been up to 4 metres high; if the relief showed two figures, as is likely both by analogy and by the position of the remaining foot, it would have been perhaps 2 metres wide. Its back was not worked, so that it must have stood against a wall, and it was inscribed on one and presumably on both sides, so that it must have projected from the wall; and its great weight would have required a special foundation such as that afforded by the bolster stones. If that was indeed their function, which is possible though, of course, not proved, then, since they went back into the wall instead of being merely laid against its face, the building of the wall must be contemporary with the carving of the stela.

The gap in the sculptured wall continued for nearly 3 metres beyond the bolster-shaped drums, the next slab found in position, or nearly so, being the isolated basalt relief, No. 5, to be described later. The ground was very much disturbed. Above this part of the Hittite site ran two very heavy Roman walls, and between them were the foundations of a small octagonal building whose concrete foundations, like those of the walls, went down almost to Hittite floor-level; in the concrete were numerous Hittite building-blocks and some carved stones, which may have been encountered here by the diggers of the foundation-trenches and in any case are likely to have come from near by. They had best be described here, though the measurements of some show that they did not belong to the Herald's Wall.

(A) Pl. B. 50*b*. Limestone; ht. 1.02 m., width 0.64 m.; lower corners broken. The field is recessed, leaving a broad margin round the stone. The stone is in very bad condition and much of the design is lost. The subject is a female figure facing right with both hands raised in front to the level of the chin; she wears a long garment reaching to the ankles, all the internal detail of which is lost. Her hair falls in a rather small pigtail; she wears an elaborate head-dress consisting of three bands across the base, from which rises a high crown divided by vertical grooves into three uprights, which seem to be joined half-way up by cross-lines—it is the mural head-dress of the goddesses in the large recess at Yazilikaya, to which indeed the figure as a whole bears a striking resemblance. Behind the figure protrudes a staff which may be the end of a reversed lituus held in the right hand.

Above the hands is an object too worn to be identified; I first thought it might be a bird; but it is equally likely that it is a royal monogram. From the point of view of style and technique should be remarked the peculiar roundness of the relief, contrasting strongly with the flat two-plane style of the Herald's Wall slabs 1-4. In this it resembles the big Water-Gate relief B. 30a, and it is certainly to be associated with another relief found closer to the Water-Gate which is of the same height, has the same sunken field, and the same rounded outlines. The relief in question is:

(B) Pl. B. 51a. Limestone; ht. 1.02 m., width 0.60 m.; top left corner missing; coarse-grained stone, badly pitted, and the greater part of the surface flaked away. The subject is a figure facing left, wearing a long dress reaching to the ankles; the right hand is extended and holds a knife; the figure is apparently beardless and wears a high crown—but all detail is lost. Behind this figure, and occupying half the space of the relief, is an object too damaged to be recognizable.

Close to (A) and stylistically akin to it was:

(C) Pl. B. 51b. Limestone; fragment from the top left corner of a slab. Actual measurements: ht. 0.61 m., width 0.32 m. The carving is in a sunken panel of which the rim has been chipped away; the relief is unusually rounded. Of the subject there remain the completely obliterated head, the right shoulder, and part of the right arm of a male figure presumably facing left. A cloak with a single fringe on the upper edge and a double fringe on the lower passes over the right shoulder, crossing the body diagonally in front and hanging vertically behind; the right hand grasps a spear (?) with a strongly ribbed blade. Below the elbow is an inscription in raised hieroglyphs.

It is highly probable that these three sculptures belonged to the Water-Gate in its early phase; they agree in style with the older sculptures found there *in situ* and their height is practically identical with that of the main wall reliefs. They may have come from the north side of the gateway, of which nothing now remains. Much more doubtful is the case of the next stone, also found above the road leading past the Herald's Wall to the Water-Gate, but nearer to the latter.

(D) Pl. B. 66b. Basalt; actual ht. (top of stone chipped away) 1.00 m., actual width 0.43 m. Fragment from the right side of a slab showing a male figure advancing left; the left hand is held in front of the chest, the right (missing) is extended. The man is beardless; he wears a high crown (the top missing) with two fretted bands below, a chiton, with a broad seam at the neck, which reaches to just above the knee, and a fringed cloak which hangs behind the body, passes over the right shoulder, crosses the body in front diagonally with one corner reaching to the ankle, and has another corner draping the left shoulder and hanging to the waist so as to cover the left arm up to the wrist; the feet are apparently bare. Behind the man's shoulders are two lines in relief which may be the end of a hieroglyphic inscription in large characters.

(E) Limestone; ht. 1.25 m., width 1.20 m.; the stone is broken above and almost the whole surface has flaked away. Of the subject all that is visible is the lower half of the figure of a man advancing right; his elbows can be seen one on eachside of his body, the forearms raised. He wears a very short tunic and upturned shoes. It is impossible to judge the style of the sculpture, but on the ground of measurements the slab might have belonged to the Herald's Wall.

Returning to the Herald's Wall proper, the first slab after the gap regarding which there could be no doubt was at a distance of nearly 3 metres from the bolster-shaped drums, so that there

¹ The arrangement is, of course, quite impossible in nature; it is a schematic formula not properly understood by the artist.

must be one slab missing, presumably one of limestone. The basalt relief had been shifted somewhat on its base and was not in true alinement.

5. Pl. B. 14*b*. Basalt; ht. 1.29 m., width 1.95 m.; it had been broken into four pieces of which one, a diagonal strip from the middle of the right edge to the base, had disappeared. Subject: two guardian demons with human heads and bodies, lions' tails, and bulls' legs, stand face to face, each grasping an upright spear with both hands; behind each is a figure with lion's head and human body holding a short club. Except for damage to the faces of the two central demons the sculpture is in good condition.

Between this slab and the bolster-shaped drums, a little outside the wall line and at an angle to it, tipped up in a position into which it could not have fallen had it originally stood at this point on the wall, was another basalt slab which clearly belonged to the series. Apart from the argument of its position, the fact that it was of basalt was fairly conclusive evidence against its having been next to No. 5, since in this section of the wall all the stones *in situ* are arranged in alternate colours; we therefore set it up on the left-hand side of No. 7, choosing that position because its dimensions did not agree with the gap between 7 and 8.

Between slabs 5 and 7 there was a gap of 3 metres, and in it there had been a slight change in the direction of the wall; the angle must have come after the relief which originally stood next to 5. Otherwise there had been a short return, more or less at right angles, which could have come immediately after 5 and then, if 6 is correctly restored by us, a single large limestone slab would have filled the gap.

6. Pl. B. 14*a*. Basalt; ht. 1.13 m., width 0.98 m. A winged sphinx with two heads, one of a lion, one of a man. The stone is admirably preserved and every detail is clear in the photograph. It should be remarked that the style—especially the rendering of the feet with schematic lines, deeply engraved, representing the tightly incurved claws—is characteristic of a fairly early period, and that the very broad lower margin, which slopes up from right to left, does not accord with the other sculptures in the façade or with the ground surface; it looks as if the slab had been intended for a position on sloping ground, e.g. on a ramp, and had been re-used in the Herald's Wall.

7. Pl. B. 13*b*. Limestone; ht. 1.125 m., width 1.85 m. Two breaks in the top left corner which do not interfere with the design; coarse-grained stone a good deal pitted, but the relief is on the whole well preserved. Subject: two bulls charging each other with a sacred palm-tree between them. The treatment of the muscles by incised lines is rather more elaborate than on many of the animals in this series of reliefs.

The stone was not quite in position, half of it resting on the original rubble foundations and half projecting from the line so as to rest on soft earth; but the line as given by the rubble foundations was indisputable and the angle of the stone was corrected accordingly, as shown on the plan.

After this came another gap due to the disappearance of a single (basalt) slab.

8. Pl. B. 13*a*. Limestone; ht. 1.17 m., width 1.93 m. Coarse-grained stone badly pitted. Subject: a lion attacking a bull on whose back stands another animal. See Pl. B. 49*b*.

9. Pl. B. 12. Basalt; ht. 1.17 m., width 1.39 m.; intact and in good condition. Subject: two composite creatures with human bodies and limbs and eagle heads and wings stand facing each other with both hands uplifted as if supporting the firmament.

10. Pl. B. 11*b*. Limestone; fragment only, ht. 1.21 m., actual width 1.10 m.; surface in fair con-

dition. Part of a lion-hunt. Of the hunter there remains only part of the left arm, the hand grasping the right leg of the lion just above the paw; his lance is seen piercing the lion's chest. The lion rears up in an attitude of attack.¹

11. Pl. B. 11a. Basalt; ht. 1.11 m., width 1.41 m.; broken into three pieces of which one is missing. The stone had fallen but the main fragment was almost in position. Subject: a god and a hero killing a lioness; the god holds the beast by the right hind leg and is about to strike it with an axe; the hero grasps its tail and plunges a dagger into its rump; the lioness has her front legs on the ground with her hindquarters high in the air.

12. Pl. B. 10b. Limestone; ht. 1.07 m., width 1.52 m.; broken into many fragments of which several are missing. The stone is of good quality, but the surface has flaked somewhat. The main part of the slab with the lion's leg, the cart, and the hind legs of the horse was *in situ*; the other fragments were scattered about in front of the wall. The photograph shows the slab reconstituted as far as was possible and the missing parts made good with mud.

The subject is an attack by a lion on a man driving in a cart drawn by two horses. The vehicle is quite different from the war-chariot shown on the reliefs of the Long Wall of Sculpture; the high side with its curved top may be made of wicker-work, but nothing else of the body is visible. The double bar of which part can be seen in front of the wicker-work may be reins or a rein and a pole—it is difficult to see by what other method the beasts can have been attached to the cart, for there is no breast-strap. The head-stall is complete and a single rein is represented—it may be a proper rein coming from a bit, but may also be a halter fixed to the side of the nose-strap.

13. Pl. B. 10a. Basalt; ht. 1.17 m., width 1.69 m.; fairly fine-grained stone, in good condition except for deliberate damage done to the face of the man and to the head and forepart of the lion. The stone had fallen back somewhat into the wall-face, but was virtually *in situ*. Subject: a hero (Gilgamesh?) kneeling on one knee and facing front, holds with his left hand the horn of a bull and with his right the two hind-legs of a cheetah (?); above his left shoulder is an antlered stag; below the cheetah is a lion apparently attacking the man with both its front paws widely extended, and below that again is crouched a smaller animal, perhaps a bear. The hero appears to be 'a mighty hunter before the Lord', but his mastery of the animals seems hardly consistent with the attitude of the lion (identical with that on the lion-hunt slab from Malatya) which expresses anything rather than submission.

This slab is the last of its series; beyond it comes the return southwards to what we called 'The King's Gate'. There the line of sculptured reliefs continues, but with a marked difference. Up to this point the aim of the builder in arranging his sculptures would seem to have been decoration rather than instruction or record.² Each slab is a self-contained unit and has no apparent connexion with those on either side of it. The subjects are presumably mythological, either illustrating some passage in a religious legend or symbolizing some religious conception; their treatment is conventional and the composition is generally based on that highly sophisticated balance which is characteristic of heraldry. Of the majority of the stones at least one can say that the style of the carvings is archaic, not that of the latest phase of art at Carchemish; either the whole wall was a survival from an earlier period incorporated in the late Palace, or the individual reliefs had been

¹ The tradition persisted in north Syria up to the latter part of the nineteenth century whereby a would-be hero would challenge a lion to single combat; the weapon used was the sword, and the man's left hand and arm were wrapped in a mass

of goat's wool as a shield. These details are different from what is shown on the relief, but the latter may illustrate a similar custom in antiquity.

² But see above, p. 186, note 1.

taken from an older building and re-used. In the King's Gate, on the contrary, we have a single scene extending for more than 25 metres' length of sculptured wall. The subject is historical, not mythological; the figures are all human figures treated with varying degrees of realism. There is unmistakable evidence showing that the series is of late date. This being so, it seems better, although the Herald's Wall and the King's Gate are continuous and form part of one and the same building, to treat of them in separate sections and under different headings.

CHAPTER XI THE KING'S GATE

A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE King's Gate (see Plan, Pl. 43), coming at the west end of the Herald's Wall, is a broad approach between two not parallel but converging walls, at the far end of which is a cross-wall pierced by a wide doorway presumed to be that of the Palace. The doorway is not central but close to the eastern wall of the approach; by its western jamb was a great seated statue; in the south-west corner was a small guard-room. The doorway, which had folding doors, leads into a gate-chamber flanked by guard-rooms, and through a second door immediately behind the first one passed into an inner court of the Palace.

Between the Herald's Wall and the approach proper the wall makes a deep re-entrant angle, in the corner of which stood a statue. The orthostats of the first member of this re-entrant are of basalt and limestone alternately and are carved in relief with figures of marching soldiers (three on each limestone slab, two on each of basalt) who wear high plumed helmets of the Carian type and short tunics held in by a broad girdle, and carry round shields and spears which are held point downwards at the slope; they do not wear the up-turned shoe. The other member of the re-entrant is composed of four smaller orthostats, all basalt, together with the edge of the facing-slab of the main wall; on the four slabs are shown seven army officers with the weapons distinctive of their corps and their badges of rank. The thin stone-edge at the corner is inscribed.

The statue was a basalt figure of rather more than life size standing upright upon a double lion base. It was broken and many fragments were missing.¹ The figure, a bearded male, wore a long dress—a mere cylindrical sheath with no folds of drapery but with a fringe along the bottom of the skirt, a broad belt from which hung a long tassel, and a sword thrust through the belt; the elbows were held tightly against the sides and the forearms were extended forwards; he wears no horned crown of divinity (though the lion base is sufficient evidence of godhead) and bears no inscription. The figure (for the head see Pl. B. 54*a*) is a replica of that found at Zinjirli² and might well be the work of the same sculptor. Its title appears to be 'The Storm-god of the Lions'. (See p. 260.)

Then comes a long stretch of wall, that of the approach proper, which is, however, broken by a recess containing a flight of steps.³ The short stretch of wall (3·60 m.) between the re-entrant and the recess gives the impression of a buttress—an impression heightened by the fact that the recess being no longer occupied by a flight of steps strikes the eye more than it did when the building was intact—and we did in fact give it the name 'The Royal Buttress', which has the merit of easy reference. But, since its front is virtually continuous⁴ with that of the whole wall length as far as the gateway, 'buttress' is really an architectural misnomer. Constructionally the whole thing is a single wall;⁵ but the artist responsible for its decoration has taken advantage of the isolation of

¹ In 1914 we began to restore it and had completed it as far as the waist when our season ended; as we expected to finish it in the following autumn no photograph was taken of it at that stage. When I returned in 1919 the figure was again in fragments and a good deal of it had disappeared, including the head (B. 53*b*) which is now in the Louvre.

² *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, I, pl. vi. The Zinjirli statue

represents the god Hadad, whereas ours is 'Santas'.

³ The question of these steps is fully discussed below, p. 195.

⁴ It was actually set back 0·30 m. behind it, partly because it was slightly askew with it.

⁵ The present buttress-face is probably a reconstructed version, which would account for its not being in strict alignment; see below, p. 202.

this first short stretch; he has given to it a special character and has emphasized the structural break of the staircase for the benefit of his composition. In the first place, the 'Royal Buttress' is entirely of basalt, whereas along the rest of the wall (the 'Processional Entry') basalt and white limestone orthostats alternate. In the second place, the 'Royal Buttress' (Pl. B. 8*b*) is devoted to the representation of the King of Carchemish and his family, together with the long hieroglyphic text of the King's speech, whereas the Processional Entry is given over to a rather monotonous religious procession (Pl. B. 17*a*) of priestesses and temple servants carrying goats for the sacrifice.

In contrast to this, the west wall of the approach seems to have been perfectly plain. On the south wall there were carved slabs in the short space between the guard-room and the great seated statue (Pl. B. 25) of a god upon a throne supported by lions which a bird-headed demon keeps in check. The gateway, with its paved sill, slightly inclined, of great basalt slabs grooved for securer foothold, has basalt jambs, one of which is covered with an inscription. The side walls of the gate-chamber are unadorned, but its farther door seems to have been flanked with great reliefs of crouching lions; the inner court was decorated with a continuous series of reliefs alternately black and white. Only the north end of this court was excavated, together with the guard-rooms on either side of the gate-chamber; otherwise nothing is known of the interior of the Palace buildings.

B. CHRONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The evidence for the dating of the King's Gate is manifold and consistent.

At first sight it would appear that all the sculptures of the re-entrant, of the Royal Buttress, and of the Processional Entry form a single unit. It is true that the quality of the relief varies considerably; the principal figures, the King and his family and the captains, are most delicately worked; the modelling is much more rounded and the treatment is much more individual than in the case of the soldiers and the priestesses and *kriophoroi*, but that might well be simply because the King, his children, and his captains were much more important people; more care was taken with their effigies, and probably the work was entrusted to better artists, whereas the other sculptures are stock pieces, stone-masons' work. That the royal figures should be smaller is surprising, but none the less the composition is one, and all the elements of it hang together. Though different hands were employed, necessarily, in its execution, one's first impression is that the whole series of sculptures was designed by one man and at one time. Actually, however, that is not the case.

As regards the relation between this great set-piece and the Herald's Wall there is evidence of a difference of date which I should consider decisive. At their point of junction (see Pl. B. 42*b*) the first soldier slab of the King's Gate is simply plastered against the last slab of the Herald's Wall, so that the sculptured line of the latter ends ingloriously with a plain white band, the roughly worked edge of the limestone return. Had the two walls been designed by the same architect this edge would have been sculptured, as we see it at the corner of the Royal Buttress (Pl. B. 14), in the case of the Processional Wall by the stair recess (Pl. B. 19*a*), and again in the Long Wall of Sculpture (Pl. 37*b* and B. 46): looking at it as it is, the conclusion is inescapable that the King's Gate is a later work applied to an already existing building.

It seems to have been a principle of Hittite art that carved orthostats were merely roughed out in the workshop and finished when the block was *in situ*. Along the King's Gate, and especially in the re-entrant angle, little chips of stone and powdered basalt were found, as the sculptors had left them, lying against the base of the carved blocks. Nothing of the sort was noted along the Herald's

Wall. In the corner of the re-entrant the figures of the soldiers behind the Storm-god statue had never been finished, the legs being left in the rough.¹ The final work on the stones therefore was done when they were in position and when the base of the statue was already in place in front of them, making further work by the sculptor on the lower part of the slab impossible, but the statue itself had not been set up, so that he was able to complete the upper part of the soldiers. The erection of the statue is therefore strictly contemporary with the setting-up of the foot-soldier orthostats.

The statue certainly has an archaic look. The lions of the base, of which the heads had been broken off (but one was found in a later season (B. 53*b*)) are identical with those on the base of the seated statue of Atarluhas by the doorway (B. 54*b*) and, like them, are held in leash by a small demon figure, in this case human-headed. But the head of the statue is unlike that of Atarluhas, so much so that our first impression when we found it was that the figure was an early one re-erected when the building was being remodelled. But this archaism must be due simply to religious conservatism; the analogy of the Zinjirli figure is conclusive for a late date, and the archaeological evidence proves that the statue is contemporary with both the soldier slabs and the Atarluhas statue.

That the whole of the King's Gate was an addition, a redecoration of an older building, finds further support in the evidence for reconstruction in the stairway recess; this would seem to have been originally a passage at ground level and was only transformed into a staircase when the new façade was built.² If that be the case, the main lines of the older building must have been preserved and only the sculptured decoration was new. The same conclusion may be drawn from the survival in the end wall of an orthostat (Pl. B. 26*b*) from an older series, and from the conditions of the gateway itself.

A most important piece of dating evidence is the last slab of the Royal Buttress (Pl. B. 8). On the lower edge of the stone, left projecting as a base to the design, can be seen part of the hind-leg of a lion whose tightly incurved claws are rendered in the linear-geometrical style characteristic of reliefs in the Herald's Wall, e.g. Pl. B. 14*a*. Some marks on the base of the adjoining stone (Pl. B. 7*b*) also seem to come from an older relief. It follows therefore that for the new façade of the Palace old orthostats were trimmed down and carved afresh with new designs. It cannot, of course, be said that the old orthostats were those from the original façade, though that is possible;³ but we have here a good stylistic criterion for the relative dating of the Herald's Wall and the King's Gate.

Up to this point I have treated the King's Gate as a unit and have been concerned only to show that it is, as a whole, to be distinguished from the Herald's Wall in style and period. The next stage is to show that the King's Gate itself betrays signs of different dates and different authorships; for this we have to examine the detailed archaeological evidence for reconstruction, the stylistic evidence, and the evidence of inscriptions.

C. DETAILED NOTES

From the foot of the Great Staircase, along the Long Wall of Sculpture, and up to the south-west corner of the Royal Buttress the ground-level was uniform; then there was a step up, or two steps, and thereafter a gentle but steady rise to the gateway of the King's Gate. As

has already been remarked, the fronts of the Royal Buttress and of the Processional Wall are not in strict alignment, the south-west corner of the former being set back 0.30 m. behind the north-west corner of the latter; but this irregularity would seem to be due merely to a

¹ This does not show so clearly in the plates (Pl. B. 3*a* and *b*), but is most clear on the stones as now exhibited at Ankara.

² For the detailed evidence see below, p. 195.

³ If so, they were taken down and later replaced, for the position of the lion on Pl. B. 8*a* was at right angles to the present relief.

fault in the layout, for the line of the Processional Wall produced would hit the north-west corner of the Buttress—the two sections do not run at quite the same angle, probably because the Buttress builders did not remember to allow for the convergence of the two sides of the King's Gate. More important is the fact of the change of level. The top of the first priestess slab is 0.70 m. higher than that of the Buttress, and, since the orthostats of the Processional Wall are 7 or 8 centimetres shorter than those of the Buttress, its base is 0.77 m. higher. To some extent this is compensated for by the Processional Wall slabs standing on a rough stone base rising 0.45 m. above ground-level (it seems to have been originally plastered),¹ but even so there is a difference of ground-level of over 0.30 m. at the point where the wall is broken by the stair recess.

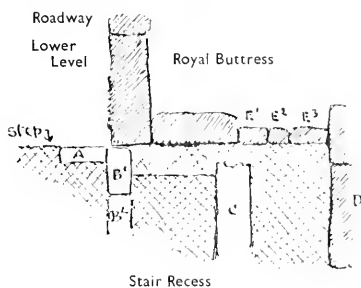


FIG. 79.

A, stones projecting into roadway; B¹ B², stones across recess opening; C, mud-brick cross-wall; D, high-level threshold; E¹, E², E³, stepped-up stones.

On the north side of the recess, against the uncarved end of B. 17*b*, stands B. 17*b*, the limestone slab of musicians and dancers, the face of which has been trimmed down so that the heads of the two taller figures have been destroyed. The slab stands at a lower level than the buttress slabs but with its top flush with them, and is of the same height as the soldier slabs in the re-entrant (1.17 m.). Beyond it are three roughly dressed stones of different sizes whose tops are flush with that of B. 17*b*, but they are stepped up below and rest on a mere rubbish filling; the last of them abuts on a mud-brick wall set back 4.00 m. from the front of the Royal Buttress, on which lies, in position, a large limestone threshold stone, well worn. (Fig. 79.)

¹ The plinth is not seen on Pl. B. 17, the photograph having been taken before we had detected that there had been a rise in the level of the floor between the dates of the building of the Processional Way and the refacing of the Royal Buttress. The

On the south side of the recess the angle was formed of the basalt slab carved with the figure of the seated goddess (Pl. B. 19*a*) on its edge and musicians (Pl. B. 18*b*) on the side facing into the recess; the shape of the stone is irregular, and since the top ran flush with that of the Processional Way its base sloped up into the recess. Next to it, but 0.17 m. lower, was the limestone relief of a sphinx (Pl. B. 18*a*), a smaller stone whose base also sloped upwards, and the figure too was small, its feet coming only 0.53 m. from the top of the slab; the feet of the musicians were at 0.90 m. from the top, so that they were 0.20 m. lower than those of the sphinx. On both sides, therefore, there is constructional evidence for a slope, either steps or ramp.

From the south-west corner of the Royal Buttress two rough stones, set in line, projected into the roadway; another line of rough stones ran from the same corner across the opening of the recess. Behind the two stones there was a platform of rammed earth and cobbles forming a step which could not be traced beyond the second stone but may once have run right across the King's Gate; as we found it, it took the form of a low ramp sloping up to the recess, and the purpose of the stones was to prevent the material of the ramp from spreading in front of the Royal Buttress. The second line of stones was the rise of the first step in the recess: it gives a height of 0.30–0.35 m.

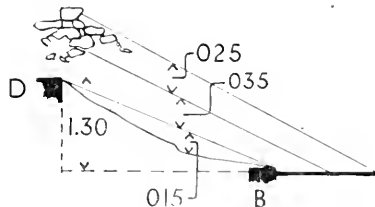


FIG. 80.

B, stones across recess opening; D, high-level threshold.

More evidence comes from the stratification (Pl. 41*a* and *b*) in the recess itself. From the front edge of the threshold to the back of the line of stones runs a sharply sloping stratum of burnt wood, maximum thickness 0.15 m. (fig. 80). Above this comes a stratum of burnt lime (clearly visible in the photograph) 0.30 m. thick at the top, where it is mixed with burnt brick, and 0.35 m.

effect of the reliefs is much enhanced by their being raised half a metre above ground-level; also, the fact that they were so raised affords an interesting parallel to the reliefs of the Long Wall of Sculpture.

thick in the middle; above this, close to the threshold, is a mass of fallen rubble, and from it a talus of broken brick burnt to a deep red colour. The whole of this rested on solid mud brick; we failed to distinguish any steps in its surface—it had the appearance rather of a ramp—but (a) mud-brick steps might easily be, much worn, and (b) the treads might have been of wood over a brick foundation. Further evidence was given by the burning on the face of the sphinx slab (Pl. 41*b*). There is a definite slope across the stone coming to the feet of the sphinx, but then there is as definite a drop to the level of the feet of the musicians; in front of the musicians slab there is a level of mud brick.

It results from the evidence that there was a low ramp projecting from the recess into the King's Gate roadway and, on the wall line, a step up, giving a rise of 0.35–40 m. above its level. At about 0.60 m. back the brick seemed to show signs of a second step, 0.25 m. high, which would agree with the level of the feet of the back musicians, and at 1.30 m. the level of the feet of the sphinx was reached; thence there had to be a rise to the threshold.

The stairs so reconstructed belong to the latest phase of the building. The photograph on Pl. 41*b* shows a mud-brick wall running across the recess which is not required by the stairs and was in fact buried in well-laid mud brickwork both in front of it and behind. It can also be seen that the limestone threshold lies partly upon the top of another mud-brick wall but partly upon a basalt slab set in an opening of that wall—possibly the threshold of an earlier doorway in the same position but on a smaller scale. Lastly there is the erasure of the heads of the taller figures on the musician slab B. 17*b*. The top of the opposite slab, B. 18*b*, is, as has been said, 0.70 m. above that of the Buttress, and the feet of the figures on it are at 0.90 m. below the top edge of the stone. On B. 17*b* the line of erasure comes at 0.20 m. below the top edge of the stone and therefore corresponds exactly with the feet of B. 18*b* as a datum for fixing the late floor-level between the slabs.

It is curious to find in the same recess two slabs, an old and a new, both with the same subject of musicians. The coincidence would be still more strange were we to suppose that B. 17*b* was brought from elsewhere and re-used here by the builders of the Royal Buttress. Also, they would scarcely have troubled to bring so large a stone, as the greater part of it was to be below ground-level, and for the continuation of the side of the recess they were content with much smaller stones having no

depth of foundation. It is more likely that the slab was already in position, that it formed part of the original recess, and that it is connected with the Herald's Wall, which it resembles in style; if so, the new reliefs of the Royal Buttress have been plastered against it precisely as the first soldier slab of the King's Gate re-entrant was plastered against the last slab of the Herald's Wall. If the stone is in its original position it is tempting to assume that the whole of the King's Gate as we have it is a late version of an earlier scheme of decoration of very similar character—the fact that in each period there had to be a 'musician' slab in the stair recess surely implies that in the early period as in the later there was a procession and possibly even a 'royal buttress' whose sculptures had in after days to be replaced by portraits of a new king.

Most of the sculptures of the King's Gate were illustrated in Vols. I and II of this series; they have so long been published and have been so much commented upon that detailed description of them is unnecessary here.

The soldier slabs, B. 2*a*, *b*, and B. 3*a*, *b*, call for no particular remark. Attention has been drawn already (p. 194) to the fact that the figures behind the Storm-god statue-base are left unfinished; in the plate B. 3*b* it can be seen that the feet and back leg of the leading soldier are scarcely suggested. The slabs are 1.30 m. high.

The seven captains, B. 4*a* and *b*, B. 5*a* and *b*, were all intact except that the left arm of the last figure but one, together with the double axe which he carried, had been chipped away. The slabs are 1.10 m. high. The carving of the figures is in the style of the Royal Buttress, not of the soldier slabs, that is, the features are rounded and modelled in a high relief contrasting with the flatness of the drapery, though even that is rounder than in the soldier slabs. The different weapons are presumably those of the different branches of the army, the captain in the centre having the round shield and heavy spear of the hoplites who follow; but the garb seems to be that of peace, not of war, for none have helmets and all wear a tunic reaching to the ankles which is unsuited for campaigning. The belts are interesting because they are identical with those generally used by young men of Jerablus as late as 1914—a broad band of thick hand-woven wool, nearly 3 metres long, plain for the greater part of its length but patterned for the last metre, which was uppermost when the belt was wrapped round the body, ending in transverse bars, after which came a triangle of open-work, the end of which developed into long cords decorated with gaudy woollen tassels; the

cords were passed over the belt and tucked through it on the left-hand side of the body so that the tassels dangled against the thigh. It is curious that whereas six of the captains have the same type of slipper—a toed sandal—the leader has the more solid shoe which again survives into modern use. The branch carried by the leader is apparently olive. The second captain, carrying three arrows and with his bow slung over his left shoulder, seems to be wearing the archer's thumb-guard on his left hand. The carving of the last two figures coming behind the lion base is not scamped, as are the soldier slabs.

It is noticeable that the ground of the relief is uneven; the fifth and sixth captains are stepping down, the three in front are walking up what is represented as a flight of shallow steps. It is possible that there were one or more steps across the King's Gate on the line of the Royal Buttress (v. p. 95) and that the steps on the relief are meant to suggest the Palace entry as the scene of the review of the King's troops.

The Royal Buttress as found by us was virtually intact; only the top corner of the inscription slab was chipped. There had been a little damage to the faces of the two figures on B. 7*a*, which, like the chipping of the Crown Prince's staff, was probably accidental and due either to heat or to the fall of rubble from the building above.¹ A (plain) corner of B. 7*b* was missing. The head of the naked infant and the bird on its staff had been much defaced.

The signs of earlier reliefs on the lower margins of B. 7*b* and of B. 8*a* are discussed above (v. p. 194).

The lute represented in the hands of the first musician on slab B. 17*b* is of a type still used by Kurds; the double pipe also survives. The attitude of the dancer is quite characteristic of the Arab *pas seul*, though the backward tilt of the head is not sufficiently emphasized. There is a striking difference between this and the later musician slab B. 18*b*; the complete change in the instruments in what seem to be corresponding scenes (v.

supra, p. 196) might reflect the introduction of a new musical mode between the time when the King's Gateway was first laid out and that when it was remodelled; if so, one would suspect some political bias to have been the motive for the change.

B. 18*a* has suffered badly from the flaking of the stone due to heat. The whole of the back part of the face, behind the sphinx, is very rough and was certainly never carved. The sphinx is of the normal type with two heads, one human and the other that of a lion.

B. 19*b*, *b**. The pitting of the limestone has obliterated much of the detail of the relief; therefore the stone was 'mudded'² so as to produce the second and clearer photograph.

In front of the steps were found two or three fragments of the jaw and claws of a basalt lion in good style, and a large 'core' of basalt that might represent a lion's body hopelessly defaced. On the threshold at the top of the stairs were found a few more small fragments of basalt lion figures. The door there may have been flanked by lions. A white steatite scarab (fig. 81) was found in



FIG. 81.

the soil opposite the Royal Buttress; it lay fairly high above ground-level but might of course have fallen with the debris from the upper building, or again it might have no connexion with the Palace at all. Two iron spear-heads and an iron dagger-blade were found together in the burnt rubbish on the ground-level in front of the second priestess slab. A few fragments of terra-cotta flooring-tiles were found in the rubbish in the upper part of the recess; they certainly did not come from the stairs and must have belonged to some room above. They are of interest in that no flooring-tiles of the sort were found in any ground-floor room and we had no

¹ The first serious damage was the breaking-off of the King's head by an Armenian soldier in the French forces in the winter of 1919. Strong disciplinary action was taken by the commanding officer, Colonel Capitrel, but the head was never recovered. More damage came after 1920, when the heads of the children in the upper row of B. 7*b* suffered.

² The process used is simple. The whole face of the block was thickly covered with finely levigated and fairly watery mud, which was rubbed well in so as to fill all holes and hollows in the stone. When the mud was dry one of the workmen was employed to rub away the mud with a piece of flat wood, rubbing until he came to the stone and following any contours that he

might detect by the sense of touch—it was better to employ an Arab workman than to do the work oneself because he, having no ideas about Hittite sculpture, would be faithfully guided by touch and would not be tempted to 'restore' imaginary details. After the work with the wood was done the final cleaning could be carried out with the ball of the thumb. This method possesses every advantage over a 'façsimile' drawing; its value is perhaps best shown by the two photographs of the fragmentary slab B. 24. If it is the case that the limestone carvings are only the groundwork of reliefs meant to be finished in plaster, then the 'mudded' slab gives a more truthful impression of the original than does the stone skeleton.

reason to suspect the use of such, but evidently they were employed in the upper stories.

The general principles of Hittite building construction, well illustrated by the King's Gateway, have been fully described in Chapter VII, in which I drew freely on the evidence afforded by this part of the site;¹ here, therefore, only a few notes are required.

The horizontal beam resting immediately upon the orthostats (Pl. 45*b*) measured 0·21 m. in depth with a vertical thickness of 0·16 m.; it was set back 0·06 m. from the edge of the stones and was bedded in clay. That the beams were not fixed to the stones was proved by the lewis-holes in the tops of the latter being filled with loam sand or lime above which the wood ash ran undisturbed. Upon the horizontal beam rested cross-beams running through the thickness of the wall; these measured 0·11 m. × 0·11–0·13 m. and occurred at intervals of about 1·20 m.² The bricks measured 0·37 m. sq. × 0·10–0·11 m. thick.³ Behind the orthostats properly laid brickwork went down apparently to ground-level—a departure from the common practice of having a mixed rubble-and-mud filling up to the level of the top of the orthostats.

Excavations at Atchana and elsewhere have shown that these constructional methods are characteristic of Hittite builders at all periods, and they persisted long after the Hittite time. On Pl. 45*a* I reproduce a photograph of the base of the outer wall of a medieval Turkish house inside the citadel of Ankara which, with its orthostats set on limestone stretchers; the horizontal beam resting on the top of the orthostats, the transverse beams resting on the latter, and the use of mud brick, is in every respect identical with its Hittite prototype.

In the mass of debris against slabs B. 22*a* and *b* there were charred pieces of poles, round in section, of a light-grained wood resembling poplar; some of them were tilted up against the wall, others lay parallel to it. These must have been roofing-poles. The quantity of burnt wood lying on the ground-level underneath the brick rubble was very great. Amongst it we were able to identify (by its smell under a burning-glass) a regular thin plank of cedar-wood. A plain brick or whitewashed wall would seem inconsistent with the rich decoration of the orthostats, but there was no sign of such glazed bricks

as are found in contemporary buildings in the Lower Palace area;⁴ it is therefore reasonable to conclude that the whole wall above the stones was panelled with cedar-wood.

Opposite slab B. 23*a* was found a piece of curved and hooked iron which was apparently part of the hinge of a door or window.

Between the last slab, B. 24, and the doorway were found numerous remains of a cedar-wood door, two bands of thin bronze, one plain, one slightly decorated with impressed circles, a heavy bronze ring, and a number of strips of iron 0·035–0·040 m. wide with nails 0·007 m. long at intervals of about 0·09 m. (Pl. 48*a*). Across the doorway ran a beam *c.* 0·09 m. sq. and (as found) 0·52 m. long; at one end was a heavy iron bar upright in the soil, at the other end a wooden upright 0·06 m. wide and 0·26 m. high (this was against the inscribed door-jamb), by which was a piece of strip-iron 0·85 m. long, with a second piece touching it (see Pl. 48*b*), and a third piece containing a right-angled bend nailed to the corner of a piece of timber; this was 1·85 m. long and 0·0455 m. wide, with nails at every 8 centimetres; all this was clearly the binding of a door built up of panels in a more solid frame.

As the door reveals show (to say nothing of the fragments of the door itself), the door was on the outside. But in this case there was a second door on the inside of the door opening. Against the back edge of the stone threshold there stood up the stumps of three wooden uprights, baulks measuring 0·17 m. × 0·11 m.; beyond this was a line of charred wood which resolved itself into the ends of similar baulks, i.e. panels 0·36 m. wide separated by ribs 0·11 m. wide and projecting 0·07 m. By them was found a piece of the usual iron binding, T-shaped, 0·60 m. long with the top bit 0·35 m. long. There was therefore an inner as well as an outer door, but for the former there were no reveals in the stone jambs and the whole door-frame must have been of wood. There were two impost-stones let into the floor against the back of the threshold, one by each jamb, and a central stone with a bolt-hole. There was no bolt-hole for the outer doors, which must have been secured by a cross-bar. The west jamb of the doorway had been splintered by heat and had fallen in fragments, but many of

¹ Vol. II, p. 148.

² Exact observation was difficult; measurements from the corner of the Processional Wall to the marks left in the mud brickwork were (1) 0·55 m., (2) 2, (3) 3·00 m., (4) 4·10 m., (5) 5·50 m.

³ One of the bricks was deeply 'frogged' and seemed to contain an unusually high proportion of chopped straw; it resembled in these respects the bricks used in Egypt for building barrel-vaults or domes.

⁴ *v. supra*, pp. 164, 170.

these were *in situ* and the stone was repaired by us; it was inscribed (Pl. A. 8 and A. 11*a*). The threshold sloped up fairly steeply and the large slabs forming it—the outer two in the outer row of basalt, the central one of limestone—and the three limestone slabs behind them were grooved to prevent slipping. The slope was not such as would be dangerous to foot-passengers, but for horses the grooving would be desirable; marks on the stones were not decisive but did suggest wheeled traffic.

To the west of the gateway, close to the door-jamb, we found *in situ* the basalt double-lion base B. 25, 26*b*. It was cracked in half across the middle of the beasts' bodies but was otherwise intact. The total length of the stone was 1.45 m., its height 0.95 m. In front of it were found lying the fragments of the statue which had been upon the base; these, to the number of sixty, were put together by us to form the figure B. 25. It was evident that the statue had been deliberately overthrown and smashed, and as a result some pieces were missing altogether or had been reduced to powder, and we had to make up the deficiencies with cement; the repairs can be clearly distinguished in the photograph. Part of the inscription round the skirt of the god's tunic is lost, but enough remains to give his name, Atarluhas. The god, seated in a chair (v. Pl. 47*a* and B. 25), holds a mace in his right hand and a double axe in his left, and he wears a low cap with a single pair of bull's horns; the head is sunk between the shoulders and the whole figure is rendered with the minimum of detail. There is no attempt to suggest a body beneath the uncompromising mass of drapery—on the contrary the artist's intention seems rather to be to avoid suggesting even drapery and to achieve an abstract geometrical pattern of a cube set against an oval-topped stela capped by a voluted finial; on that stela the beard and hands of the god combine in a pyramidal design in relief which links it with the cube and gives unity to the composition.

Behind the seated statue the wall was plain. Next to the inscribed basalt door-jamb came a limestone orthostat and then one of basalt, but after that there was a gap caused by the Roman work. Beyond the gap there still stood in position a limestone orthostat 1.14 m. long · 0.90 m. high on which was a relief of two soldiers precisely like those in the first re-entrant of the King's

Gate (B. 26*c*). The stone was in bad condition with much of the surface flaked away. In the gap, close to the lion base, were two fragments of a basalt relief (B. 26*b*) which was almost a replica of B. 12 in the Herald's Wall showing one of two composite figures with eagles' heads (but no wings) facing each other with uplifted hands; the slab was 0.90 m. high, and if the main fragment was simply tilted forward it stood practically touching the slab with the two soldiers; it was accordingly replaced there.

The south wall of the King's Gate, to which these reliefs belonged, continued to the west, but from it there ran out, next to the soldiers slab, a minor wall parallel with the main west wall of the entry; it had a footing of roughly cut limestone blocks c. 0.40 m. high over which was mud brickwork standing another 0.70 m. high but stepped back from the line of the stones sufficiently for facing-stones to have stood on the foundation-blocks. No facing-stones, if such there had ever been, remained in position. In front of the wall there were found numerous small fragments of basalt reliefs of chariots; the most important of them gives the heads, in profile, of four men riding in one car (Pl. B. 61*a*); no more of the human figures was left, but we were able to fit together numerous small pieces which gave the reins and part of the body of the car,¹ but a very small proportion remained of what had been a large slab or, more probably, several large slabs. The destruction had been deliberate and thorough. In any case, the reliefs had certainly been finer than any others found at Carchemish, late in date, showing strong Assyrian influence,² astonishingly delicate in treatment, comparable only to the fragments B. 64 found below the foot of the Great Staircase. It is tempting to assume that these chariot slabs decorated the wall at whose foot they were found, but the difficulties in the way of the assumption are, first, that they seem inconsistent with the very poor foot-soldiers slab next to which they would have come (not a vital objection in view of anomalies elsewhere); secondly, that the fragments all come from the upper parts of the reliefs, and one would have expected the lower parts to be *in situ* or at any rate not far away, whereas there was no sign of them; and thirdly, that the relief was certainly not isolated but formed part of a continuous frieze, and

¹ The work of fitting together was still in progress when we left Carchemish in 1914, and there was no photographic or other record of the unfinished work. During the war nearly all the fragments disappeared when the expedition house was cleared for military occupation.

² It would perhaps be more true to say that the reliefs are

actually Assyrian, the work of Assyrian and not of Syro-Hittite artists. The Assyrians mounted four men in one chariot from the time of Assurbampal onwards, not, apparently, before. The fragment B. 61*a* is therefore an interesting relic of the Assyrian governorship of Carchemish in the latter part of the seventh century.

the wall against which the fragments were found is not long enough to serve as the base for a frieze. The wall was undisturbed by Roman buildings, and the fragments lay on the Hittite ground-level; if, therefore, they had adorned this wall they must have been pulled out deliberately when the building was still standing and no rubble had accumulated in front of the wall, and they had been broken in the process and all the pieces except some inconsiderable fragments carried away; since some fragments did remain the destruction must have occurred in the last days of Carchemish. Such iconoclasm by a victorious enemy is understandable; but it is hard to explain why chariot-slabs should have been so systematically eradicated when the Royal Buttress just across the road was left intact. My impression that the reliefs did not belong here was supported by the fact that the wall in question was not the main wall of the King's Gate; it was that of a small guard-chamber in the corner of the Processional Way. It was rather more than 4.00 m. long and then continued for 2.50 m. as a low bench. Behind it was a little room measuring only 1.60 m. \times 2.50 m. Its back wall (the south wall of the King's Gate) had two courses of heavy limestone blocks on low stretcher foundations, total height 1.35 m., its west wall was of one course of blocks over a foundation-course, its north wall consisted of two well-worked orthostats with mud brick above; the eastern jamb consisted of a single stone 1.20 m. long running through the thickness of the east wall; in both jambs there were vertical reveals for a wooden door-frame. The mud floor was raised 0.35 m. above the level of the approach, having two steps, of which the outer was of rough stone and the inner (on the line of the door-posts) of stones which had had a wooden threshold resting on them. The prolongation of the east wall beyond the limits of the chamber may have been for a roofed loggia.

The west wall of the King's Gate had no decoration. There were rough rubble foundations on which rested very well-cut and polished basalt orthostats from 0.70 m. to 0.85 m. long and 0.60 m. high, above which came the normal brick-and-timber work. The beam above the stones could be followed for the first 2.50 m., with brick 0.40 m. high above it. The evidence for the non-structural nature of the lewis-holes was repeated here. At 5.00 m. from the guard-chamber the masonry of the west wall gave out; the Roman wall overlay it here; then the foundations only could be traced for another 16.50 m. Towards the end of this line there was found loose at

ground-level the important inscription A. 13*d*. The condition of the building being what it was it was impossible to say whether the slab belonged to it or not.

Excavation did not continue beyond this point and no return of the west wall of the King's Gate was found.

In the wide space in front of the Royal Buttress there were found two reliefs (B. 60*a* and *b*), one of basalt and one of limestone having the same subject—two men, a driver and an archer, in a chariot drawn by a single horse; they are hunters, and under the horse's belly can be seen the animal, apparently a wild boar, of which they are in chase. The style of the reliefs is exactly that of the warrior charioteers on the Long Wall of Sculpture.

The two slabs were loose in the soil, not in position, and not even on the Hittite courtyard floor but well above it; they had therefore been brought and thrown down where we found them after the destruction of the town and when rubbish had already accumulated on the Hittite floors. Since two lay close together it can be assumed that the original frieze stood not very far away, but no greater precision is possible.

The Gate-Chamber and the Inner Court. (Pl. 30)

The south-west corner of the inner wall of the Roman Forum overlay the west wall of the gate-chamber, its south wall running diagonally across the chamber just behind the threshold, and its west wall just missing the left flank of the left-hand lion of the base of the seated statue (Pl. 43*b*). Its foundations, of uncemented stone rubble, went down to Hittite floor-level and in places, e.g. on the line of the Processional Wall, below it; this accounts for the destruction of the last slab of that wall, B. 24, the fragments of which were found in the Roman masonry. In the same foundations but inside the gate-chamber towards its south-west corner was found a great lion relief (v. Pl. 47*a*), which was lying face downwards in front of the remains of the west jamb of the inner doorway.¹ The back edge of the block behind the head had a square reveal to take an upright such as a door-frame; it was most probable that it had stood flanking that door. A second and similar lion relief (Pl. B. 55*a*) was found farther along the Roman wall in the north-east corner of the gate-chamber (v. Pl. 46*a*); we restored it in a corresponding position on the east side of the inner door. This sculpture was peculiar. The relief was cut upon a large slab of rather coarse limestone and occupied the entire area of the slab, so that the beast's muzzle and front claws came directly against

¹ The negative of this relief is lost.

the edge of the adjoining basalt door-jamb,¹ while there was actually no room for the tail; the tail, therefore, was carved on the next slab, which was of basalt. The effect was very strange, and there could scarcely be stronger evidence for the fact that the reliefs were carved on the orthostats after those were in position in the wall — it is inconceivable that the artist working upon a slab in his workshop should have designed a lion without a tail.

Just behind the threshold of the outer door, in the Roman foundations, were three fragments of a basalt relief of which two more fragments turned up later, rather more to the east and higher up in the soil between the inner and the outer walls of the Forum; they gave the greater part, less the head, of a sphinx (Pl. B. 56a), which presumably had the two heads, lion and human, of B. 14a. On the line of the east wall of the gate-chamber lay, face downwards, a heavy limestone orthostat with a relief of a man carrying a gazelle in his right hand and a mace over his left shoulder; the head is missing (Pl. B. 56b); close to it was another limestone relief of a demon with human body and a lioness's (?) head carrying a gazelle head downwards in his right hand and brandishing a knife in his left (Pl. B. 55b). Near the corner of the Processional Wall was the lower part of a basalt slab on which were the legs of a demon similar to that on B. 14.

Between the inner and the outer walls of the Roman Forum were found three reliefs which were disturbed but apparently not removed from their position in the wall of the inner court west of the gateway; they had not been used by the Roman builders. The first of them, a basalt relief of a stag (Pl. B. 58b), was standing upright on the line of the wall; next to it, but fallen down backwards, yet with its base virtually on the same line, was a limestone relief of two griffins heraldically opposed (Pl. B. 58a), and in front of this, broken into two pieces, was the basalt relief of a lion pulling down a bull (Pl. B. 57b). The Roman diggers of the foundation-trench had destroyed the core of the wall immediately behind the griffins slab, which collapsed into the trench, and had missed the stag slab by 30 centimetres, leaving it in position; the lion slab must have been thrown down earlier, at the time when the Palace was destroyed and there was not yet any accumulation of debris in front of the wall. As soon as the wall's existence was proved by our finding the threshold of the inner door and the two stone door-jamb's fallen on either side of it, there could be no doubt that the three orthostats belonged to it.

Close to the west jamb were lying fragments of a limestone slab of a man shooting a stag (Pl. B. 59a); it almost certainly came from this part of the courtyard wall, and it would fit perfectly against the stag relief, B. 58b.

In the inner court, therefore, we have on the east side of the gate three sculptures which, though they were not *in situ*, could yet, if the conditions of their removal were duly assayed, be restored with a fair degree of confidence; these are, from the edge of the door-jamb, B. 55b, B. 56a, and B. 56b, giving the normal scheme of alternate limestone and basalt slabs. On the west side, from the door-jamb, we have B. 59a, B. 58b, B. 58a, and B. 57b, the first of them highly probable and the other three certain. The fragments of the slab resembling B. 14 should, by their position, belong to the east side. All these reliefs are, judging by their style, relatively old, contemporary with the Herald's Wall, and the series shows the same incongruity of subject (the fact holds good even if our order of restoration be disputed) and the same mixture of mythical or symbolic figures with naturalistic themes such as the man shooting a stag or the hunter returning home with his spoils of the chase.

Only this north end of the court was cleared. Excavation stopped on the line of the second Roman wall crossing the site. Of the gate-chamber, however, and of the small rooms flanking it something is to be said.

From the inner courtyard a drain, a stone channel roofed with flat stones, ran under the threshold of the inner doorway and across the gate-chamber, under its floor of beaten earth and gravel, under the great stones of the threshold of the outer gate, and for the whole length of the King's Gate, to empty, apparently, in the open space between the King's Gate and the Lower Palace.

The walls of the gate-chamber had suffered severely at the hands of the Roman builders. The north wall was plain, with small polished but undecorated orthostats, as was proved by the section east of the outer door (the western section was ruined), and the side walls were similar; in the photograph on Pl. 47a it can be seen that the stones, though not tall, are unusually thick and solid; above them was mud brick. The corner of the west wall by the side door was broken away, but part of the door-jamb survived, as did the south jamb — the base remaining *in situ* while the upper part, all splintered by fire, lay in fragments before it. Of the corresponding east wall only one facing-stone remained in position, but

¹ This had fallen and was in fragments, but was restored by us as shown on B. 55a.

that one, worked on two faces, established the existence of a doorway in this wall also. In the western door there was an outside threshold projecting from the wall line into the gate-chamber, a single slab of rather soft white limestone, and two fitted stones projecting on the other side, with earth only between the faces of the jambs; probably there was here a raised wooden sill. The position and width of the south or inner doorway was fixed in the first place by the threshold of six stone slabs and secondly by the door-jambs, fallen, but removed very little from their places. East of the south doorway the whole of the south wall and the south-east corner of the chamber had been razed in Roman times.

The small chamber west of the gate-chamber had walls whose base was of small but solid and well-worked basalt blocks surmounted by mud brickwork. It presented no special features. In its west wall was an opening leading into what seemed to be a narrow passage; but our excavations really stopped at this point and anything shown on the plan beyond this is based on superficial indications or is guesswork. Similarly, on the east side of the gate-chamber the inner room is little more than a surmise, no true wall-faces having been traced. The long wall running north behind the Processional Wall was at a higher level and is not necessarily part of the Palace, although its relation to the threshold at the top of the stairs by the Royal Buttress gives it a certain probability.

The purely archaeological evidence might be summed up now as follows:

The Herald's Wall is earlier than the King's Gate but was incorporated in the late building. The sculptures of the inner court are contemporary with the Herald's Wall and they also are re-used in the late building. The stair recess shows signs of three distinct building periods; the limestone 'musician' slab belongs stylistically to the Herald's Wall and is probably in its original position, and is associated with the first of the three building-periods of the stair recess. It would therefore seem that the latest building does not differ greatly from the earliest in ground-plan or, to put it conversely, that in the Herald's Wall period there was a King's Gate and a Processional Entry whose general layout was much the same as that of the existing building, but its decoration was very different.

Next we must note that in the King's Gate there are orthostats of four different sizes: the soldier slabs of the re-entrant are 1.30 m. high, the slabs of the Royal Buttress are 1.10 m. high, those of the Processional Entry

are 1.00-1.05 m. high, and the soldier slab of the south wall (B. 26c) is only 0.82 m. high. Stylistically the soldier slabs, both from the re-entrant and from the south wall, and the whole Processional Entry series—including necessarily the basalt 'musician' slab B. 18b—form a single unit; they present a sharp contrast to the Royal Buttress.

It has been pointed out already (p. 193) that the Storm-god statue and the soldier slabs of the re-entrant are strictly contemporary, the final touches not having been put to the latter in so far as they were hidden by the statue-base. This is not true, however, of the hindermost captain, though he, too, was scarcely visible. Both by composition and by style the captains are inseparable from the royal family portraits of the front of the Buttress; but as regards the soldier slabs the whole of the Royal Buttress is on a smaller scale (and this in spite of the captains being so much more important than the common soldiers) and that it is an afterthought is proved by the clumsy way in which the last captain slab is abutted against the first soldier slab (v. Pl. B. 3b) so as to touch the man's wrist—the brick wall of the buttress rising flush with the captain orthostats would have cut off the left hand of the leading spearman. Just as the series of soldier slabs seems to have been applied to the (possibly truncated) end of the Herald's Wall, so the Royal Buttress has been applied to the soldier series with that *insouciance* which is curiously typical of Hittite innovators.

As regards the authorship of the Royal Buttress we are left in no doubt whatsoever; he is named both in the long inscription B. 6 and on his portrait on B. 7a. The name is Araras; he was a king of Carchemish who seems to have owed his throne not to royal descent, for he makes no claim to such, but to successes in war, which are duly celebrated in the inscription.

In the gateway at the end of the Processional Entry the western jamb bears a long inscription in hieroglyphic characters in relief (A. 8; v. also Pl. 47a) which gives the name of the ruler and builder, Katuwas son of Luhas and grandson of Asatuwatimais, King of Carchemish. Now the gateway is almost certainly to be associated with the Processional Entry and with the setting up of the seated god statue beside the gate; we have a strong *prima facie* case for assigning the older version of the King's Gate to Katuwas. A further discovery which we confidently expected to yield yet more precise dating tends on the contrary to confuse the issue. The front of the threshold between the door-jambs was

composed of three large slabs, the outer two of basalt (Pl. 47a). When cleaning these we noticed characters in relief on the edge of one of them, and on lifting them found that the two basalt slabs were old door-jambs, both inscribed (A. 9 and A. 10); it seemed safe to assume that they were the original jambs of this door and, at the time of the remodelling of the King's Gate, had simply been laid down in front of where they had stood, to serve as a threshold, while new jambs had been substituted for them with an inscription giving due credit to the king responsible for the new work. Unfortunately for this theory the text of the old inscription begins with the same characters as that of the new, and both alike are dedications by King Katuwas. The contents of the two inscriptions as tentatively translated (the pair of old jambs bear one continuous text) are not so different as to make it likely that Katuwas himself substituted the new stones for the old.¹ The old stones were not thus dishonourably used by an enemy anxious to obliterate the memorials of Katuwas, because the standing door-jamb bearing his dedication was left undisturbed. We must, I think, conclude that the old jambs did not come from this doorway, but belonged to another building which was swept away simply to make room for something new; the fact that they were not separated would imply that their original position had been not far away. It is perhaps worth while to remark that the stairway next to the Royal Buttress had been remodelled by King Araras and that before his reconstruction it had ended with an important doorway of which part of the basalt threshold remains *in situ*; the two jambs may have belonged to this door. It might also be pointed out that some time must have elapsed between Katuwas and Araras, since the threshold of the former's gate—which would almost certainly have been of basalt—stood in need of repair when Araras put up his Royal Buttress.² There is no doubt that King Katuwas was responsible for a great deal of work in this area. At the north end of the west side of the King's Gate we found the inscription A. 13d, also by Katuwas;³ to the same king belong the fragmentary stela A. 12 found between the Great Staircase and the Herald's Wall, a door-jamb from the

Great Staircase itself,⁴ and the two door-jambs of the Lower Palace Shrine. We have therefore seven important inscriptions by Katuwas, and they include the dedications of four different doorways (i.e. different buildings) in the Palace area; it is evident that he must have been the author of an extensive rebuilding scheme. The re-use of one and probably of two of his monuments shows that he did not belong to the latest phase of Hittite building at Carchemish.

Fortunately one of the Katuwas inscriptions, A. 13d, has its initial sign, the human figure, enlarged to the full height of the orthostat, and therein we have a valuable criterion for style. The figure is markedly different from that of Araras on the Royal Buttress and from those of the seven captains on the side of the same buttress. In the quality of its relief it comes much more close to the soldier slabs in the re-entrant of the King's Gate and in the south wall behind the seated god statue, and it resembles, too, the *kriophoroi* of the Processional Entry; on the other hand, it shows an art somewhat more sophisticated than the Herald's Wall. While it is perhaps hazardous to compare a relief with sculptures in the round, one cannot but recognize that in the treatment of the face and hair the Katuwas figure of the inscription has a certain similarity to the Storm-god statue in the re-entrant and even to the seated god B. 25. All these facts corroborate the *prima facie* evidence of the standing door-jamb in the King's Gate for the part played by Katuwas in the remodelling of the Palace façade.

It would appear, therefore, that the King's Gate in its present form is the result of successive building-periods whose contributions may be resolved as follows:

Period I. The general layout was much the same. Of the decoration there remain the Herald's Wall, the musicians slab B. 17b, the inner court, possibly the sphinx, B. 18a, and probably the fragmentary slab B. 20b. The two lion reliefs flanking the inner door of the gate-chamber probably belong to this period; the treatment of claws and leg muscles is not quite that of the Herald's Wall, but is not far removed from it; certainly it is more archaic than we see on

¹ This involved a major building operation. The orthostats were not merely applied to the wall-face, as were the Assyrian alabaster relief-slabs (c. Vol. II, p. 153), but were constructionally a part of the wall. The substitution of new door-jambs meant the dismantling and rebuilding of the whole gateway.

² Mr. Barnett makes the interval about a century, c. p. 240.

³ The text is incomplete, the whole of the left side being

missing. It may have continued on an adjacent orthostat (as Hrozný supposes to have been the case with the long inscription A. 10), but it is equally likely that the block has been cut down for re-use in a later building, i.e. that it was treated in much the same way as the door-jambs in the threshold.

⁴ Now in the British Museum. Messerschmidt, *Corpus III*, ix. (here Pl. V, 23).

the Water-Gate lion B. 31c which is the work of Luhas, Katuwas's father. On archaeological grounds it can be argued that as the lions are constructionally part of a not very thick wall they must be contemporary with the other face of that wall, and therefore with the Period I reliefs which adorn it on the inner court side.

Period II. King Katuwas refaces the whole of the entry and sets up statues in it, leaving undisturbed the Herald's Wall and the inner court. He added the soldier slabs of the re-entrant, presumably a 'royal buttress' now disappeared, and the Processional Entry series of reliefs, including the musicians slab B. 18b. The Storm-god statue and the seated god statue are his, and of course the outer door-jambs. In the south wall the soldier slab B. 26c is

his, and he seems to have re-used B. 26b, taken from the old building.

Period III. Araras was responsible only for the Royal Buttress, i.e. for the seven captains and for the portraits of himself and his family. In order to do this his workmen had to demolish the greater part of the old buttress and in reconstructing it (isolated as it was by the stair recess) they failed to align the front with the long wall of the Processional Entry.

Period IV. None of the standing buildings are later than the time of Araras; but if the fragments of fine sculpture B. 61a come from this area, i.e. from a building on the west side of the King's Gate, then there must have been some monument added after Araras's time, for the fragments in question must belong to the final phase of art at Carchemish.

CHAPTER XII
THE ACROPOLIS MOUND

KALAYAT TOP

THE Kala'at or Acropolis mound of Carchemish is a long mound divided by a shallow *col* into two peaks, the south-east and the north-west; the north-east face of the mound rises almost precipitously from the River Euphrates (fig. 82). Even before excavation began it was obvious that

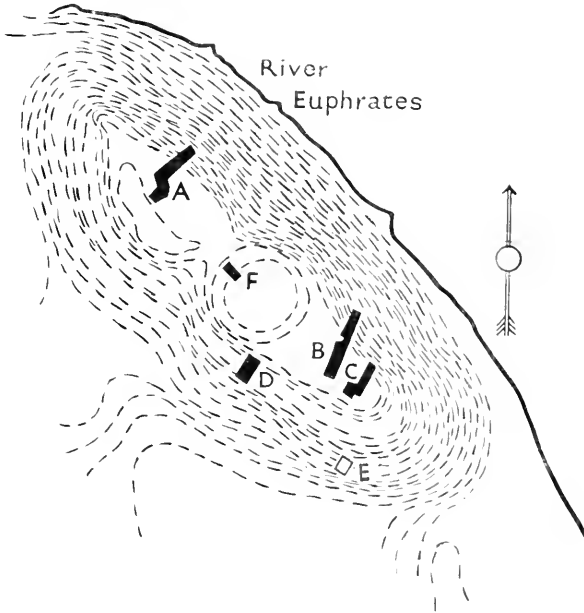


FIG. 82. Sketch-plan of Acropolis Mound, after Campbell Thompson.

A, North-west Trench; B, North-east Trench; C, Summit Pit; D, E, Abandoned Trenches

the two separate peaks would be characterized, if indeed they had not been created, by separate buildings with an open space between them, and excavation soon showed that this superficial appearance corresponded to facts, at least so far as the historical levels were concerned. The citadel mound therefore formed two distinct sites, and the work done on them must be described in distinct sections. Since the more important results were obtained from the south-eastern I shall deal first with it.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN MOUND

The Great Staircase lies at the foot of the south-eastern mound and climbs up its slope; obviously it was the approach to an 'Upper Palace' crowning the mound's summit. Naturally, therefore,

Hogarth in 1911 decided to test the site. In his report to the Trustees of the British Museum he describes his operations.

'Since on general grounds it was extremely desirable to know of what a typical Syrian mound is composed, and on particular grounds it appeared probable that, if there exist any fairly well-preserved remains of a Hittite Palace at Jerablus they are hidden in this Mound, I determined to try to penetrate it. To effect this end, I made both headings in the flanks and sinkings in the summit. An attempt to drive a heading into the South flank, just East of the line of the stairway and at contour level 18.30, was abandoned, after two weeks' work, because of the too great number and size of the fallen blocks and pieces of concrete Roman foundations met with. As the NE. flank appeared less encumbered, a second heading was begun from that side about at the middle of the south-eastern part of the Mound, and this was carried by parties working at different levels from contour 17.50 right up to the summit (contour 33).¹ It was not hindered by blocks, for the Roman buildings which once stood on the Mound top seem to have fallen down the other face; but we were prevented from penetrating below contour 26 by solid adobe brickwork, which seems to constitute the core of this part of the Mound. On the lowest level of the heading (below contour 18) were found several prehistoric objects as soon as we had penetrated through the mere superficial talus on the face, which was naturally full of late things. These objects were numerous flakes and cores of obsidian—the semi-transparent Caucasian variety—worked flints, sherds of black pebble-polished ware sometimes decorated with whitened incisions, sherds of primitive painted wares, e.g. buff with black or brown cross-hatching, red linear ornament on lighter red &c., rude stone implements, crystal beads and some finely-worked buttons or reels in variegated marble and steatite. It seems that a thick bed of early débris lies on the rock under the Great Mound, and that the latter has been built up in late historic times over all, or part of, an early settlement on the river bank.

'Both in this heading and in another driven to East of it near the end of the Mound² we found that Romano-Syrian foundations had been sunk right down to the top of the brick mass, which lies about 6.00 m. below the summit. If this brick mass is solid there is therefore no further hope of making discoveries on this Eastern half of the Mound which would repay the great cost and labour of clearing away more than six metres of débris from its summit. But it is not certain that it is solid. In a shaft sunk from the summit between the two NE. headings no brick had been struck when a depth of 7.65 m. had been reached, and the shaft was abandoned because of the risk of collapse. . . . In this shaft we found concrete foundations going down to 3.65 m. . . . ; below this other stone foundations were met with trending at a different angle, and the base of these had not been reached when the shaft had to be abandoned.

'In the Easternmost of the two NE. headings we followed the top of the brick mass one third of the way through the thickness of the Mound and found it solid. But it is possible that we were following a broad wall returning south-west and that farther West it may be found that the brickwork which stopped the lower part of our westernmost heading is a massive wall, behind which it may be possible to get down to Hittite things. To ascertain whether this is so or not I began to cut away the summit above our western heading for a breadth of six metres.'

This decisive trial had to be left to Campbell Thompson to complete, but Hogarth, after his own disappointing experiences, had small hopes of any great success. He gives a very summary account

¹ In discussing the excavations on the top of the mound I have followed the Hogarth-Thompson system of contour-reckoning, i.e. dead reckoning from water-level. I must, however, point out that the system, while it has a certain convenience and is most valuable for the reconstruction of a section, is apt to be very misleading. The sides of the mound must always have been to some extent terraced, so that a floor 5 metres above water-level on the edge of the mound might be contemporary with one 25 metres above water-level on its summit; but in addition to this one cannot suppose that on the summit all the hutments of the early settlement were on one uniform surface—we can, in fact, prove that they were not. Contour-measurements therefore, even in a single trench, are not by themselves positive evidence for dating individual

objects, though where all the facts are known they may be made to serve for general conclusions.

² In this trench Hogarth found, besides great quantities of worked limestone from the Roman temple, two small fragments of basalt with cuneiform inscription (loose in the upper soil) and a 'pocket of beads, both glass and coloured glaze paste, pieces of Egyptian or Phoenician glazed ware (Pl. 71*d*), figurines, a serpentine bulla seal (fig. 22) and the fine fragment of a steatite pyxis, Pl. 28*i*. He found also fragments of glazed bricks like those from the western passage leading from the staircase.



FIG. 83.

of the cist graves which he had been the first to discover, but finds in them only further cause for discomfort :

'These poor burials', he says, 'can hardly be later than Hittite times—partly because they contain bronze implements only, partly because one of them at least lies under the foundations of a Hellenistic wall. But if they are Hittite, they prove that the Mound was almost as high as at present in late Hittite times and augur ill for the existence of any well-preserved Hittite stratum in the lower part of the Mound.'

Hogarth's work at Carchemish lasted only from March 12 to April 20, 1911; his purpose was to test the site as a whole, not to excavate any particular part of it, and Hittite archaeology was so far in its infancy that his doubt regarding the first graves to be discovered was no more than prudent. If I have quoted at some length from a report which was professedly but tentative, I have done so not only to explain the initial stages of the work at Carchemish but because the conclusions at which Hogarth arrived, based though they were on scanty data, were eminently sound and were amplified but not upset by the evidence gained in later operations.

Most of that later work was done by Campbell Thompson and Lawrence, my own part being little more than the enlargement of Thompson's trenches and the cutting of a stepped heading into the river face of the mound in 1920. As Hogarth anticipated, the results were, so far as Hittite buildings were concerned, largely negative, but the chronological evidence obtained, especially from the graves, was important. Before dealing with the latter an account of the stratification will be necessary.

In the surface soil there was a tangle of shallow, slight, and irregular wall-foundations of small rubble with traces of mud brick, the superimposed ruins of hutments dating from quite recent Arab times¹ back to the late Byzantine period; they presented no features of interest. At about 2 metres down came the Roman ruins. On the top of the mound there had been erected, in the late second or third century, a large and imposing temple, probably dedicated to the Sun god, executed in the style of the Ba'albec temples but in a softer and coarser limestone; fragments of this, richly decorated, were scattered over the south-west slope of the mound. The Temple had been deliberately² destroyed, so systematically that of the walls proper not more than a single course of masonry anywhere survived; but the blocks, 0.60 m. in height, rested on foundations of extraordinary solidity. The top of the foundations consisted of a single course of ashlar masonry; below this was concrete with an average depth of 3.50 m.; the width of these foundations was anything up to 5.00 m. The Temple builders had begun by levelling the top of the mound, which they did not by filling up hollows but by cutting down to a fixed datum, thereby sweeping away the upper Hittite strata. To make the foundations they dug trenches considerably wider than was required for the concrete, which was poured into plank caissons,³ not directly into the trenches, so that the width of the latter was even greater than appeared at first sight. The result was that within the Temple area, which covered most of the top of the mound, there were only small disconnected pockets in which the stratification of the historical Hittite periods survived; under the Roman foundations we were

¹ Less than a century ago; cf. vol. i, p. 24.

² It is quite likely that the building was first overthrown by an earthquake; this would account for the great number of sculptured blocks, many of them from ceilings or the upper parts of walls, which lay fallen all over the landward slope of the mound. But an earthquake would not have razed all the walls to one consistent level nor shaken the lowest blocks from

their concrete foundations, which were much wider than the walls they supported. It is certain that the final destruction was deliberate and due to human agency; one must explain it as due to the plundering of the ruined site for building material.

³ The marks of the planks were clearly visible on the sides of the concrete mass.

already in prehistoric times. Such data as we could get were obtained from these pockets and, more especially, from headings driven into the river face of the mound beyond the limits of the Roman building; but these were so disconnected that it was difficult to make much sense out of them.

On the river side of the mound Thompson found remains of a heavy stone wall running parallel to the mound's face, with foundations going down to contour 28·50; this he concluded to be of historic Hittite period; it was fairly well preserved up to contour 31·50 and there were traces of stonework above it rising to the top of the scarp; just inland from it was a single course of a wall of limestone ashlar which could be assigned to the Byzantine period; the tops of these stones were flush with the present ground surface. If Thompson was right—as he undoubtedly was—in assigning the lower wall to the (late) Hittite age, then, it being the girdle wall of the Citadel, it confirms what has already been said about the destruction wrought by the Roman Temple builders, for the ground-level which it contained would have been higher than the tops of the Roman foundations and every structure resting on that level must have been swept away by them.

Over a large part of the site (so far as it could then be tested) there was at about contour 29 a thick level of unburnt brick which seems to result from the destruction of a great building necessarily earlier than the stone girdle wall. Thompson reports:

'This building appears to mark the separation of the prehistoric from the historic evidences, though it may well be that the Hittite occupation began a long time before it was built. The occupants of the mound prior to this built their houses and walls with pieces of rough limestone not mortared but fastened together with mud, with a single or double row of stones. The floors were formed of river pebbles beaten in. Besides this, unburnt brick was used. . . . Flint knives and flakes were common, with obsidian chips. Bronze was first found in contour 24·40. As low as contour 20 (where one of the ancient mound-levels was found) flint flakes and burnished black ware occurred. This mound level varied from 18 to 21 metre contour, marked by ashes, broken pottery, obsidian &c.'¹

Actually the conditions found at this low level (contour 20) were repeated fairly uniformly up to the mass of mud brickwork at contour 29. Thus at contour 26·20 Thompson came upon the tops of rubble foundations (6), apparently parts of two houses, which he describes as follows:

'Here the walls are of double or single rows of rough pieces of limestone, even three rows in one place, and the remains vary from one to five courses (the maximum height being 1·50 m.); it is the top courses of these walls which are on the same level almost everywhere, the lower courses making the variation in depth.² On the same level, approximately, we found unburnt brick. Almost a metre below the bottom of these walls we found a small point of a bronze needle (7). The stratum level with the top course shows obsidians, flints, traces of much fire ash and a coarse pan. Pot burials [shown on the section, 5·5] were below and above (one was against the wall and at floor level); flint knives all round. One pot burial was below this contour, 5·00 m. below the top of the walls, on the edge of the mound.'

In October 1913 I enlarged Thompson's work by clearing the area between the two headings which he had driven into the river face of the mound, hoping to get results both in front of and behind the heavy Roman foundations that ran across my site. Behind those foundations, which proved to be even more massive than I had suspected, nothing was to be found, but outside them

¹ The field notes amplify this: 'On 20 contour, a floor-level of pebbles, above which a layer of charred stuff containing many broken obsidian blades and flints, two 'bobbins' (? ear-studs) of variegated marble and one of greenish steatite, a clay object like a sling-bolt, a black burnished sherd, black incised ware with white filling, a little hand-made ware, the

rest plain red unburnished.'

² i.e. the bottom of the foundation-trenches was carelessly dug, the tops were level to take the mud-brick courses, and the floor-level must have been not lower than half-way down the highest stone course.

evidence was secured which carried Thompson's conclusions a stage farther. After the period of the 'champagne' graves the Acropolis was remodelled; the upper part of the river face was cut back in a series of steps to take the foundations of a mud-brick wall (8, 8), 8 metres thick at its base, which rose abruptly from the lower slope of the mound and seems to have linked up with the stone wall (4) found by Thompson. The mud-brick wall is certainly Middle Hittite. The stone wall, so far as the evidence then went, could have been contemporary or, as Thompson rightly supposed, a Late Hittite defence wall built over the old one. When the mud-brick wall was built, the level of the mound enclosed by it was raised considerably, for the walls of the buildings of the immediately preceding period were found standing to a considerable height; as a result, the Roman levelling of

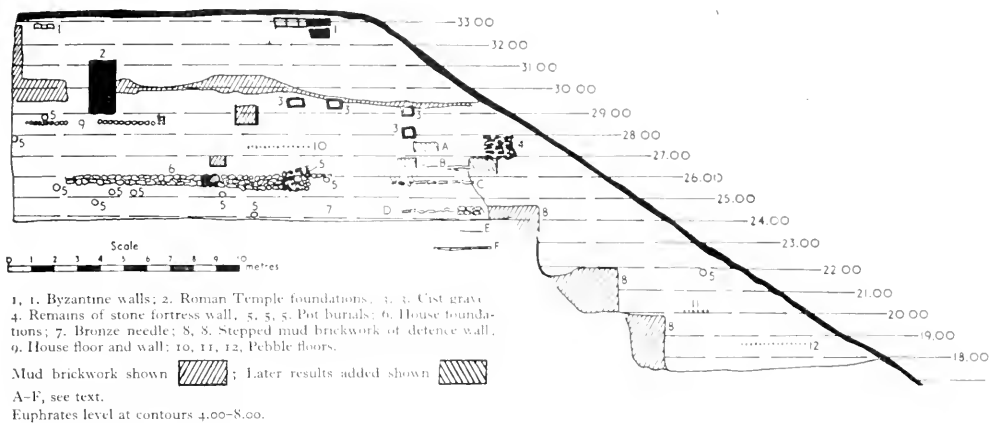


FIG. 84. Section on the river front of the SE. mound of the Citadel: Campbell-Thompson's section.

the site swept away not only the Late Hittite but also all the Middle Hittite structures. The Early Hittite walls were of mud brick, well preserved; they seemed to be part of an important building, but we were unable to follow them up owing to the great mass of superimposed ruins.¹

In 1920 several cuts made into the upper slope of the mound on its river face laid bare remains of a heavy wall of mud brick² running parallel to the mound's face. This was the same wall as we had found in 1913, and the fresh evidence obtained confirmed that it was the Acropolis wall of Middle Hittite date, and antedated the stone wall found by Thompson although it lay at very much the same level.³ From it branch walls ran back into the interior, standing 0.50 m. high with a white plaster facing, and cross-walls made chambers. Overlying this system (level B) traces were found of a later period (A) probably connected with Thompson's stone wall. Rubbish filled the B-level chambers and formed a thin layer over the tops of the ruined walls, and on that layer were walls of mud brick with no stone foundations, rather roughly built with bricks of a different sort.⁴ Under the

¹ The field notes dealing with this work are lost, and I can quote only the summary description given in my report to the Trustees.

² Brick measurements, 0.48 0.51 0.19 0.21 0.095 m. Bricks red in colour, mortar grey; the end joints of very heavy mortar, 0.08 0.11 m. thick; bonding good; courses in pairs, two of headers and then two of stretchers.

³ Thompson's wall ran outside this mud-brick wall and its

foundations were necessarily stepped farther down the slope of the mound, though the ground-level which it contained was higher than that contained by the brick wall. Nearly everywhere Thompson's wall had disappeared, falling into the river with the denudation of the mound's edge, whereas the brick wall, being farther from that edge, was more often preserved.

⁴ They were red in colour with grey mortar but measured

enceinte wall system came a very thick destruction-layer in which were (level C) a few traces of mud-brick walling on stone foundations and a pavement of limestone slabs at about contour 25.70. The bricks were grey and the walls ran approximately parallel to the mound's edge. The next level, D, was of rubbish above and brick earth below, with stone wall foundations at a very different angle (roughly N.×S.) and a fairly definite floor-level; on this was found a cylinder seal of yellowish paste (?) crudely engraved with three rows of fish (?) (Pl. 25 b 2). Between 24.20 and 23.70 there were remains of two building phases, E and F, above foundations of fairly heavy boulders, running at the same angle as the walls in the preceding level, and rather lighter stone foundations passing below them. Then came brick rubbish down to 22.70 contour, where there was apparently a mud floor (level F). In this rubbish flint implements occurred freely and most of the pottery was hand-made, though there were a few wheel-made sherds which were not necessarily due to infiltration; the level, if not actually neolithic, was certainly on the verge of the neolithic.

The total results may be summed up as follows:

In the chalcolithic period (as presumably in the neolithic period) Carchemish was an open village. With the accumulated ruins of many generations of builders the mound rose in time to a height of about 29.00 m. above the level of the river, its sloping sides cut into shallow terraces on which the huts stood. When the 'champagne' people arrived they built a strong fort on the summit of the mound, but this was surrounded by houses, stepped down to the water. At a later period, about the time of the transition from the 'champagne' to the Amarna (late Bronze) Age, the houses were largely swept away, a mud-brick wall was built round the upper part of the mound, and the fort was pulled down, the debris of it being used to fill up the pocket between the new wall and the hill-side,¹ and even the top of the mound was cut down so as to level the enclosed area. In the Late Hittite period this process was repeated; a new defence wall was built, this time of stone or with stone foundations, somewhat farther out on the slope so as to enlarge the area of the summit, and the ground within it was again levelled to accommodate the new buildings. The Romans finally cut down the top of the hill and into the level so created sank the massive concrete foundations of their temple.

II. THE NORTH-WEST MOUND

The excavation on the north-west mound of the Citadel was begun by Thompson and carried on by me. Thompson cut a trench from about the middle of the mound to its north-east edge, and in it found nearly everything of interest that the site produced; my own work was on a considerably

0.41-0.46 × 0.25-0.32 × 0.09 m., and there were half-bricks only 0.10 m. wide. The laying was irregular, e.g. a 0.10 m. half-brick between two of 0.43 m. and 0.46 m. respectively.

¹ This is the explanation of Thompson's 'layer of mud-brick spread over a large part of the mound's area'. With this brick wall we must connect the curious vaulted passage described in vol. ii, p. 40 and Pl. 17b, which was still in use at a time when Hittite civilization was fully developed, as is shown by the objects found in it, viz.:

Fragments of two carved steatite boxes, Pl. 28. 3 and 4.

Steatite goldsmith's mould for ear-rings, Pl. 25. 7.

A carnelian bead.

Three fragments of blue-glazed frit bowl with pattern in relief.

Fragment of thick tile-like pottery with yellowish-green glaze on both sides.

Fragment of basalt carving, the hair of a lion.

A stone duck-weight.

A paste (?) spheroid bead covered with gold foil.

Two carnelian spheroid beads.

Fragment of a 'hand' libation-bowl in steatite (Pl. 71g).

Fragment of a glazed bowl with lotus pattern in greenish-blue and yellow.

Fragment of a crystal disk.

Fragment of a Cypriote vase with black bars on red.

The fact that there was a cist grave (KCG. 3) above the vault of the passage proves that the latter, together with the ring wall, must have been built in the transition period. The cylinder seal Pl. 25i was found underneath the ring wall but must belong not to the period of it but to that of one of the earlier house levels, i.e. to the pot-burial time.

larger scale, but proved very disappointing as regards both objects and buildings, and I had to abandon the site before I had cleared even all those rooms whose walls had been exposed. The building discovered by Thompson was of late date; only in one place did I penetrate below its floor-level, and Thompson's trench went down below that level only on the river face of the mound and was therefore not conclusive for what lay underneath the building itself: none the less were we driven to the conclusion that the site was unlikely to repay the cost of excavation. The upper levels to a depth of about 4 metres yielded a maze of very indifferent walls of mud brick or rubble masonry, closely superimposed, constantly patched and rebuilt, representing a fairly continuous occupation going back from the nineteenth-century Arab through the medieval Arab and the Byzantine to the Hellenistic; the levels could be approximately dated by their pottery contents, but apart from the pottery there was little to distinguish one level from another, for the buildings, all of a purely domestic sort, had no particular character and contained no objects of interest. All the walls were of the same flimsy type, and there were here none of the massive Roman foundations which hampered our work on the south-east mound; this was in itself encouraging, and when Thompson came, at 4.20 m. below ground-level, on a heavy mud-brick wall faced with large polished basalt orthostats, he had every reason to be pleased, the more so when on the wall line he found the fine double lion base B. 32 and the inscribed altar A. 5*a*. Towards the edge of the slope, at a level actually lower than that of the building but not underneath it,¹ he found a hearth in which was re-used a brick bearing the inscription 'Palace of Sargon King of Nations, King of Assyria'. It is not possible to affirm that the brick came from the building. In the surviving walls no such inscribed bricks were found, and on the other hand many fragments of similar bricks were found on and in front of the Great Staircase and along the line between the staircase and the Water-Gate; a single brick could very well have been brought from some distance away by the man who was collecting material for his hearth, and although we naturally began by calling the building 'Sargon's Palace' and indeed continued to do so, I do not think that the term was in any way justified by the evidence.

It is true that the Roman Temple was built upon the south-east mound; but the major buildings of Carchemish had been in ruins and the site as a whole had lain desolate for so long that the Romans were not likely to be bound by any tradition and probably were not even aware of any. That the Hittite Palace was on the south-eastern mound is, on the scanty evidence available, likely, and in favour of the north-west mound being the site of the Hittite Temple of Kubaba we have the facts that the Kubaba statue was found on the north-west slope of that mound, high up, implying that it came from above, and that the altar found by Thompson, which must have come from a temple, is a heavy stone not likely to have been carried very far if wanted for re-use—and as it was *not* re-used there can have been no temptation to carry it any distance at all. If the Kubaba Temple did always stand on the north-west mound, then the building which we excavated ought to have been a (perhaps late) version of it, and in calling it 'Sargon's Palace' we were following a false scent laid by a single brick whose presence in the neighbourhood was purely accidental. This, I think, is the case, and I should prefer to disassociate the name of Sargon from the existing building and assume that we have here the Temple of Kubaba in its latest form. The view receives a measure of support from the fragmentary tablet of glazed faience shown on Pl. A. 33*a*; this was found in the ruins, about on the level of the tops of the standing walls, so it does not necessarily belong to the building, though it might have come from an upper floor of it; it implies that the temple was still standing and had

¹ As the slope had been terraced this does not mean 'earlier than the building'; it was almost certainly later.

been redecorated at a date which, judging by the character of the Phoenician script, might be as late as the sixth century B.C. Again, the evidence is not conclusive, for the tablet, like the brick, might have been brought here from another site; but it does link up with the altar inscription and establish at least a probability that our building is the Kubaba Temple.

-A further argument to the same end is that no earlier Hittite building occupied the site. Excavation below the floor produced only cist graves (KCG. 11) and pot burials (Graves 14, 15) like those in the south-east mound, and these lay at no great depth below the floor. It is quite certain that here, as on the south-east, the top of the mound existing in the Early Hittite period had been cut down and levelled; on the south-east mound this was done at the beginning of the Middle Hittite period, and the levelling was connected with the construction of the great wall on the riverside slope which served as retaining-wall for the new platform. On the north-west mound we have the same levelling, and the north-east part of the existing building has fallen into the river with the erosion of the mound's face, that is, it was built on a platform supported by a river wall whose foundations lay well down the slope. The parallel between the two mounds cannot be disregarded. I do not mean to suggest that our building is of Middle Hittite date, but only that it occupies a platform built for the Middle Hittite Temple. Of the latter there were found no traces at all, but experience on other parts of the city site has shown that the rise in ground-level during the Hittite period was never great and might be negligible; thus, in front of the lowest treads of the Great Staircase, which was in use until the final fall of Carchemish, there was a pot burial only 1.40 m. lower down, with no remains of anything of intermediate date, and at the Water-Gate the level of the roadway scarcely changed in a thousand years. It is perfectly reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the platform was constructed early in the Middle Hittite period to accommodate the Temple of Kubaba, and that the building found by us is a Kubaba Temple, on the same site, though itself probably of much later foundation and containing perhaps none of the material of the original. The basalt orthostats are of excellent quality; the lion column-base, assuming that it came from the building, might be taken as evidence for a date as late as Kamanas, who dedicated the statue of Kubaba, and as it is the base of a column and not of a statue,¹ it should be contemporary with the foundation or with the rebuilding of the Temple. Our building is Late Hittite and was built in the Late Hittite period from the ground upwards, anything that preceded it having been swept away altogether. We know from Katuwas's records that Carchemish had been 'destroyed', and its principal temple is likely to have suffered more than any other building at the hands of a victorious enemy, and the gods were rendered homeless. I imagine that what we have are the ruins of the new Kubaba Temple probably refounded by Katuwas and redecorated by Kamanas. If that be so, it is all the more disappointing that we should have found so little.²

The building (see the plan, Pl. 49 and Pl. 50*b*) consisted of two parts separated by a passage running south-east by north-west, with an open court to the south-east. The walls were of mud brick, but the facade fronting on the court and the side walls of the passage for a distance of 2 metres were faced with finely cut and polished basalt orthostats (Pl. 50*b*). The floors of the rooms had been raised nearly a metre above the level of the outer court, so that the interior had suffered more than the appearance of the facade would suggest; if there had been pavements in any of those rooms they had

¹ The Hittite column-base is flat on the top, the wooden shaft merely resting on it; the statue-base is socketed.

² It must be remembered that we cleared only a small part

of the building; other parts of it might prove much more remunerative.

been pulled up, and so thorough was the destruction that even the thickness of the outer walls could not be ascertained. The foundations of the Hellenistic walls had been sunk below Late Hittite floor-level, and it was only under the Hellenistic rooms that any of the Hittite mud brickwork survived. The basalt lion base B. 32 was found (see Pl. 50*a*) close to the façade but above floor-level; the altar (A. 5*a*) was at the back of the façade wall and probably on the top of it; both stones, as also a third fragment B. 70*c*, had been re-used in the foundations of a Hellenistic wall, so that their exact position is fortuitous and without importance; what is important is the probability that both belonged to the Temple. A number of the basalt orthostats from the façade had been removed, presumably by the same Hellenistic builders, but the limestone foundations remained.

Of the part of the building lying north-east of the passage most had fallen away into the river owing to the collapse of the platform wall (v. Pl. 50*b*) and there was nothing to be found.

In the south-west block destruction immediately behind the façade wall had been very thorough, and most of the walls shown on the plan are more or less conjectural; but farther back, in the middle of a large room, there was preserved a mud-brick structure whose form was undoubted but its meaning far from certain. I noted it as a shrine—a shallow three-sided compartment across the front of which lay a long, low, brick bench (a table of offerings?); in the compartment a series of mud steps going down to a square depression in which was set a mud base or altar; at the end of each of the side walls of the compartment, between the wall's end and the 'table of offerings', a gap affording access to the 'altar', its floor raised above that of the outer room to the level of the top of the mud steps.¹ The whole thing was on a very small scale—the width of the compartment containing the stepped altar-base was a little less than 2 metres, and from the back of the compartment to the 'table of offerings' was only a metre and a half. While this curious structure might be explained as something purely domestic, such as the base for an oil press, its prominent position just behind the façade of an important building seems to be against any such suggestion, and if I am right in identifying the building as the Temple of Kubaba, then this structure must have a religious character, and the explanation of it as a sanctuary should hold good even though no parallel arrangement can be cited from elsewhere.

The whole area excavated by us measured only about 26 metres by 20, and in spite of the erosion of the mound there must be a great deal more of the Temple yet to be explored. That it should have been so left is indeed regrettable, but in the circumstances not surprising. In April 1912 I reported to the Trustees that much heavy work had been done 'without any adequate result', but that I had decided 'to continue work for the present both for the sake of the plan and also in the hopes of such a chance discovery as was made in the comparatively small cutting of last season'. Though in my field notes I called the stepped compartment a shrine, I had not at all realized that the building might be the principal temple of Carchemish, but was content to regard it as a fortress built by Sargon of Assyria. On May 30 I reported that early in the month I had decided 'that the excavations upon the top of the Kala'at had gone far enough for the present season. The whole of the Sargonid fortress [*sic*] will eventually have to be cleared and the levels underlying it examined; but that work

¹ The photograph on Pl. 51*b* is in some respects misleading and needs to be compared with the plan. The curved depression in the brickwork behind the 'shrine' is due to a rubbish-pit sunk from a higher level, and another rubbish-pit accounts in part for the irregular gap in the passage wall. In the 'shrine' the near wall of the compartment seems to show features not given in the plan; the fact is that the face of the mud brick-

work was so decayed that our workmen cut for some distance into the wall before they could detect that it really was walling; similarly, the floor at the foot of the same wall-end has been wrongly cut down almost to the level of the floor of the outer room, and at the end of the far wall of the compartment half of the corresponding raised patch of flooring has been removed.

can be done in a leisurely manner, and at the moment it is obviously necessary to continue on a larger scale and more regularly the digging upon the Lower Palace site.' If I did not carry out a programme whose necessity I acknowledged, it is because all our plans for the long-term excavation of Carchemish came to an untimely end.

CHALCOLITHIC AND EARLY BRONZE AGE GRAVES

The excavations on the Acropolis, and particularly those on the south-east mound, where work was carried to a greater depth over a much larger area, were of interest chiefly because of the discovery of numerous graves underlying the buildings. It is unnecessary and would be invidious to discuss here the views of the original excavators regarding them because such were purely provisional and, though they were often confirmed, had in many respects to be modified in the light of later discoveries. In 1911 nothing whatever was known about Hittite pottery and Hittite burial customs, but during the course of the Carchemish excavations the British Museum Expedition was able to secure information on the subject covering the entire course of Hittite history. Most of this information has already been published, at least in summary form.

Chalcolithic Period. Interments in large clay jars; found on the Acropolis. The description follows.

Early Bronze Age. Interments in stone cists; found on the Acropolis. The description follows.

Later Bronze Age. A few (irregular) interments of the period were found in the compartments of the Inner Town wall and have been published in vol. ii, p. 133. Much more informative was the outlying cemetery at the village of Amarna, eight miles south of Jerablus, where a rich haul of pottery and bronze objects was made by Arab plunderers. The account of the cemetery together with a description of a limited number of graves from other sites which are intermediate between the Acropolis graves and those of Amarna has been published in *Liverpool Annals*, vol. vi, No. 3, p. 87. For Amarna I suggest a date of *circa* 1700-1200 B.C.¹

Early Iron Age. To this period belong the cremation burials of the Yunus cemetery immediately north of the walls of Carchemish, excavated by us in 1913 and published in *Liverpool Annals*, vol. xxvi, No. 1, p. 11. They represent the period 1200-600 B.C. One burial of the sort, found inside the city, is described below, p. 250.

Later Iron Age. For the period 600-400 B.C. we have the cemetery of Deve Huyuk, a small mound in the Sajur valley which was exploited by Arab plunderers; it is published in *Liverpool Annals*, vol. vii, No. 4, p. 115.

Post-Classical. A few late Roman and Byzantine chamber-tombs were cleared by the Expedition in the rocky outcrop above the village of Jerablus and in the stream-bank below the Yunus cemetery.

Having at our disposal all this information, and much more, too, derived from the results of other expeditions, we can disregard the conclusions and content ourselves with the observations of the first finders of Hittite tombs.

The graves are of two types, viz.

- i. Pot burials; the body, tightly contracted, is placed in a large clay jar covered by a saucer, a potsherd, or a flat piece of stone.

¹ Thureau-Dangin (*Til Barsip*, p. 112) would make the Amarna period end not later than the middle of the 14th century, B.C. If he is right, we have no graves representing the period from the 14th century to 1200 B.C., which is certainly the

terminus post quem of the Yunus cemetery. On the town site at Carchemish there is found no group of pottery types that could be intermediate between Amarna and Yunus, but the latter seems to follow directly on the former.

- ii. Cist graves; at the bottom of the tomb-shaft is constructed a rectangular cist with sides and roof of large, rough slabs of limestone, and the body is laid in it in a contracted position, together with the necessary objects of tomb furniture.

CHALCOLITHIC GRAVES

The pot burials occur between contours 24.50 and 28.90;¹ the cist graves begin only at contour 28; thus the stratification shows a real difference in depth on the whole, and also a certain overlap affecting a few burials. Moreover, the pot burials themselves fall into two groups distinguished both by stratification and by other features. The lower group (Nos. 1-8 and 10) lie between contours 24.50 (for No. 10 see previous note) and 25.70; the upper group between contours 27.00 and 29.50. In the lower group the burial jar contains nothing except the body—there are no vessels of offering, no weapons or ornaments, and if a bowl or the fragments of a bowl are found inside, this is merely the cover of the jar forced down by the pressure of the soil. In the upper group (except in the case of Nos. 9 and 11, which are children's graves and therefore not subject to the ordinary rules) personal possessions such as beads and bronze weapons are put with the body, and one or more clay vessels are placed either inside the jar or by the side of it.

The relative depth of the two groups of burials is perfectly good chronological evidence. We have ample proof that the graves were dug beneath the floors of houses. The greater height of the second group implies a raising of floor-levels by about 2 metres, and since the buildings are not contiguous but directly superimposed, this means a time interval. All the objects found in the upper (later) burials are identical with objects found in the cist graves, and the time relation which this fact suggests is established by the discovery in 1912 of four graves lying under the floor of a single well-preserved room against the foundation-courses of the walls; two of them were pot burials, Nos. 16 and 17, and two were cist graves, KCG. 1 and 2. The two types, therefore, where they overlap stratigraphically, are contemporary in time; and that even the lower (older) group is not unrelated to the cist graves is shown by the fact that the cover of No. 3 is the cup of a broken 'champagne vase', and the same may have been true of others whose covers were too fragmentary for identification.

Hogarth and Thompson in 1911 found eleven pot burials, and in the detailed description that follows I have quoted their field notes verbatim. In subsequent seasons I found perhaps twenty more, but the field notes dealing with about half of them are lost, so that only twenty graves in all are properly recorded.

GRAVES: DETAILED ACCOUNT

Grave 1. Contour 24. A few small stones were placed round the bulge of the neck of the urn. Pot wheel-turned and fired, greatest diameter 0.41 m.; top all gone. Body not adult, small, thin skull-bone, but teeth well grown. The skull appeared first, on one side of the pot, but top of cranium uppermost.

Grave 2. Contour 25.20. Ordinary large wheel-turned pot containing two large bones (which had not been broken, though one was incomplete).

Grave 3. Contour 25.40. Pot upright, ht. c. 0.40 m., diam. 0.33 m. Inside, bones with skull on top, and two or three fragments of another pot (? cover).

Grave 4. Contour 25.40. Pot upright, ht. 0.37 m., diam. 0.37 m.; apparently covered by two pots now broken. Inside, skull on top as usual with bones under and about the same level as the skull on the NW. side; apparently a full-grown body.

Grave 5. Contour 25.00. Pot lying on its side, tilted at

¹ One, No. 10, found in 1911, was at contour 22, but this was close to the face of the slope and therefore should not count as an exception; allowing for the shape of the primitive

mound and for its terracing, the burial need not be any earlier in date than those lying well back in the mound at contour 24 or 25.

angle 68°. Coarse ware, wheel-turned, ht. 0.53 m., diam. 0.49 m.; the mouth covered with the bowl of a broken 'champagne pot'. The skull was on top as usual, lying on its right side with the eyes towards the west. Nothing else inside.

Grave 6. Contour 25.60. The top of the pot was missing, but in it were pieces of a second pot of another kind (? the cover). The body was that of a full-grown man with the skull on top, right way up, then the ribs and other bones. No traces of cannibalism or fire. Nothing else in the grave.

Grave 7. Contour 25.70. Pot of coarse clay, wheel-turned, top missing, ht. as broken 0.16 m., diam. 0.30 m. No traces of a lid found, but such may have been removed before inspection. Child's burial, skull on top, remainder of skeleton inside. No traces of cutting on bones, of cannibalism, or fire.

Grave 8. Pot burial on the pebble floor of prehistoric house; base set in floor against inside face of wall. Pot wheel-turned, black clay. The skull as usual appeared first, turned somewhat towards the west side of the pot.

To these graves, found in 1911, should be added:

Grave 9. About contour 27. A shallow grave-pit had been closed by a few stones; in it a pot of rough red clay, hand-made and ill fired, ht. 0.20 m., diam. 0.33 m., on which, as lid, a broken bowl, wheel-made, of 'champagne' type. In the pot the body of a very young child apparently crouched on its right side.

Grave 10. Low down in the slope of the mound, contour 22, 4.00 m. from the face. Pot of coarse red clay, hand-made, ht. 0.70 m., diam. 0.70 m., much broken. In it an adult skeleton contracted on its left side, head almost due east. No objects. Judging by the stratification, the top of the pot was only 0.20 m. below the contemporary habitation-level.

Grave 11. Contour 28. Pot of different type from the normal, being marmite-shaped (like that of grave 9), ht. 0.11 m., diam. 0.30 m.; of coarse black clay, wheel-turned. Lying on the bottom of it pieces of another pot (? cover) and a layer of small bones of a child. No objects. (Found in 1911.)

It should be noted that Nos. 9 and 11, both lying relatively high and neither containing objects, were both graves of young children. There are plenty of analogies for child burials having no furniture at a time when grave furniture is normal.

The following graves belong to the upper stratum:

Grave 12. Contour 27.70. Pot, diam. 0.43 m., diam. of mouth 0.18 m., tilted SE. at an angle of 45°. The

mouth covered by the bowl of a 'champagne vase'. Touching the pot on the outside was a small cup of greenish pottery with lug ears, depth 0.06 m., diam. 0.08 m. (Pl. 58 b 1). Inside, the bones were very rotten and almost non-existent, but the skull appeared to be on the east, above the body. With the bones were beads of frit, once glazed, tubular with a spiral twist, and one crystal lentoid bead. (1911.)

Grave 13. Contour 28.90. Rimmed pot, top broken, present ht. 0.35 m., diam. 0.61 m. Body adult, skull on top, the remainder of the bones curled up underneath. Inside the pot a basin of coarse clay (? cover). Just outside the pot, to the SW., a small drinking-pot, apparently type 57 c. 2, of coarse wheel-turned ware, top broken, ht. c. 0.19 m. Close by to the south was a large limestone slab, and protected by it and almost immediately below the burial pot was a bowl, ht. 0.07 m., diam. 0.10 m., type 58 b 3. (1911.)

Grave 14. Pot burial under the floor of the mud-paved court in front of the façade of the Kubaba Temple on the NW. mound, surrounded by rough stones which served also as foundation for the floor. Pot, much broken, stood upright in a shallow pit. In it a body of, apparently, an elderly man, contracted on its left side with the right arm across the body and the hand under the left cheek. With it were four pots, removed by our workmen before inspection; 'champagne vase' with incised zigzag decoration below rim, ht. 0.21 m.; 'champagne vase', coarse, with incised rings round stem, ht. 0.39 m.; low-stemmed 'champagne cup', ht. 0.195 m.; pot of reddish-drab clay, ht. 0.17 m. See photograph, Pl. 57a.

Grave 15. The burial pot (Pl. 55a), 0.82 m. high, rested on rough stones; it had been broken into from above and the contents disturbed anciently; only the rib-bones and clavicles remained and the larger bones and the skull had gone (Pl. 54b). In confusion in the pot were some fragments of pottery (? cover), a clay bowl (Pl. 55b) which had been broken and riveted in antiquity, two mud spinning-whorls, two bronze bracelets, and some beads (Pl. 62 a. 6). Against the side of the pot, in the soil and not belonging to the grave, was a large iron nail; it was definitely below the level of the soil disturbed by the plunderers of the grave, but it must have come here by infiltration. This grave was on the NW. mound of the Acropolis in a tangle of wall foundations, the upper parts of which seem to have been razed by the builders of the structure immediately below the Kubaba Temple.

Graves 16 and 17. These two graves are of special importance because, in the first place, they were immediately below the floor of a well-preserved room and were definitely contemporary with it; they therefore establish the fact of the pot burials having been dug under the houses in which people lived. In the second place they prove that the upper pot burials were contemporary with the cist graves, because two cist graves, KCG. 1 and 2, were found under the floor of the same room and associated with it.

Grave 16. The burial urn, very much broken, was of the usual form, of light red clay with buff surface. It lay against the stone foundations of the room wall, almost underneath it (Pl. 53*a*), and was carefully ringed round with stone slabs. It had a cover made of a large flat bowl all of whose rim was missing. Inside was a body, contracted, the bones much decayed, lying on its left side, the head almost due east; with it two small rough spheroid beads of blue-glazed frit. In front of the stones and embedded between them were three vases, all broken—a small 'champagne vase', a bowl like No. 6 on Pl. 58*b*, of greenish-drab ware, thin-walled and well potted on the wheel, diam. c. 0.11 m., and a small bottle of coarse reddish-drab clay, fragmentary, with more or less globular body and short neck; there was also a fragment of a large coarsely made pot of red clay, hand-made, with 3 lines of rope-pattern in relief.

Grave 17. The urn, much crushed, was inverted over the body, the bones of which lay in the bowl of a 'champagne vase'; they were those of a child well-grown but not adult; the head was to the east. By one wrist were some very small spheroid beads of glazed frit, bleached white. There was some lime with the body. There was one 'champagne vase' of greenish-drab clay set upright inside the urn. By the side of the urn lay fragments of

two 'champagne vases' of drab clay and a vase apparently of the type of No. 1 on Pl. 58*c*, ht. without the rim (which was missing) 0.15 m., of red clay with yellowish-drab surface decorated with two horizontal bands and two bands of oblique strokes with dots between in reserved slip technique. The urn was set in rough mud brickwork, in a corner of the room and 0.30 m. below its floor. The house to which it belongs had above it the remains of another mud-brick house which lay below the level of mud-brick debris representing the Middle Hittite Acropolis buildings; it should therefore be relatively early in the Early Hittite period.

Grave 18. (In north cut.) Large urn, broken, but rim complete, with cover of a broken 'champagne cup' (Pl. 55*c*). Inside it, bones and a bronze pin. Beside the urn a 'champagne cup', a vase of red clay, ht. 0.09 m., and two other small vases.

Grave 19. (In north cut.) Urn, top missing, originally covered by broken 'champagne cup'; a large stone placed over all. Inside, bones only.

Grave 20. See Pl. 54*a*. In the face of the slope of the mound, where contour measurements cease to count, a large pot of grey-drab ware, much crushed, beside which a small red clay vase, ht. 0.12 m. In the main vessel were fragments of charcoal (probably infiltrated, like the many fragments of mud brick which filled the urn), a few remains of bones, the rest having perished through damp, and five small horns of goats (?). These may have been put with the body into the urn, or, possibly, this is not a grave but a sacrificial deposit.

Grave 21. On Pl. 53 *b* and *c* are photographs of a pot burial the field notes regarding which are lost, showing the burial jar lying on its side with small vessels placed above it, and the same burial with the subsidiary vessels and the upper part of the burial jar removed so as to expose the skeletal remains.

At various levels between contours 25 and 28¹ there were found quantities of hand-made bowls (Pl. 52*b*). They measure 0.15–0.19 m. in diameter and 0.08–0.10 m. in height; Lawrence describes them as 'all of grey to red clay, straight sides, smooth inside except on the bottom, where there are strong finger furrows. The outsides are rough and look as though made of imperfectly worked clay, being granulated.' To this should be added that the rims are peculiarly angular, as if trimmed with a knife at a sharply everted angle.² Occasionally the bowl is set upright; in one instance two,

¹ One occurred at contour 20.20, but this was close to the face of the mound's slope, where contour-reckoning no longer holds good. Cf. above, on pot burial No. 10.

² Precisely similar bowls were found 'in great numbers' in level K at Hama; the level is provisionally dated to the early part of the third millennium. Harald Ingholt, 'Rapport préliminaire de sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie' in

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Archæologisk-kunst-historisk Meddelelse, m. 1. At Ur similar rough clay bowls with straight sides and knife-trimmed rims occur very freely in the Uruk period and continue into the early part of the Jenet Nasr period, i.e. they belong to the fourth millennium B.C. Elsewhere in Mesopotamia the same rough hand-made votive bowl with bevelled rim occurs freely, in association with

nested one inside the other, lay on their sides, but by far the greater number were inverted, and in that case there would be found under them traces of organic matter—'unpleasant earth of a decayed body, a large vertebra and two bones', to quote Lawrence's description of one of them. The bowls were sometimes single, sometimes (Pl. 52*a*) in groups of as many as twelve; no other vases of any sort, nor any objects of funeral furniture, were ever associated with them. Although their general horizon coincides with that of the pot burials, they lie, as Thompson was careful to note, 'at distinct intervals' from them, which rather disinclined him to associate them with those burials, but that they were so associated I have no doubt at all. The inverted bowls covered offerings of food, the bowls set upright contained drink-offerings; they were placed not at the bottom of the grave-pit with the jar containing the body but either in the filling of the pit or more probably on the ground level after the pit was filled in, and even then not necessarily immediately above the pit. Since they were not found above contour 28 they were not connected with the cist graves, which begin only at that level; and since of the upper group of pot burials some are above contour 28 and none deeper than contour 27, only a very few of them at most can have had bowls associated with them; the majority of the bowls go with the older group of pot burials, the lowest of which are only half a metre below the lowest bowl. This fact is the final piece of evidence needed to prove the character of the bowls as offerings to the dead. The oldest pot burials contain no objects because the necessary offerings were by custom deposited not in but above the grave. As time went on and under foreign influence¹ the practice was introduced of placing the offerings in the grave with the dead; there was no longer any need for the offerings outside the grave-pit, and the old bowls of food and drink went out of fashion. A transition period could find no clearer illustration than these two changes, of which one is a corollary of the other, in the conservative ritual of burial.

EARLY BRONZE AGE

The Cist Graves. In the south-east mound, where nearly all the cist graves were found, they occur between contours 28.00 and 29.50. In the north-west mound the highest was at contour 29.10, i.e. 2.60 m. below the floor level of the Kubaba Temple.

The cist was built at the bottom of a rectangular pit, its walls and roof being of large unworked slabs of limestone, its floor the natural earth. The size varied greatly, the largest being 2.40 × 1.32 m. and the smallest 0.90 × 0.65 m. All were dug under the floors of houses. In the cist the body was laid on its side in the contracted position² but with no regard to any rule of orientation.

normal wheel-made pottery, in the later Uruk and in the Jemdet Nasr periods, i.e. in the last centuries of the fourth millennium B.C. The evidence is summarized by Seton Lloyd in *Sumer*, vol. iv, No. 1 (1948), p. 49.

¹ This, of course, is proved by the adoption of cist-grave furniture for the later pot burials.

² In making this unqualified assertion I am disregarding the record made by my predecessors on the site. Since this is a matter not of opinions, which may always be upset by later evidence, but of observation, I feel bound to quote their statements and give my reasons for opposing them. In 1911 the excavators gave a very different account of the bodies. In the case of KCG. 7 Lawrence speaks of 'three bodies of which the bones are all heaped together and laid across the tomb heads to north', but Hogarth explicitly questions the fact of there being more than one body; in KCG. 9 'the bones lay all over the place, in disorder but unbroken, but rotted at once; the

skull had been laid on a flat stone'; in KCG. 6 'the bones were too rotten to make anything of, except that the bodies had evidently been cut before burial; the bones were not usually broken (though some were) but were scattered about all over the grave mixed up with the pottery and stones. Only one skull was noticed.' This evidence I must dispute. Where a body has been contracted and the bones are badly decayed and some of them have disappeared altogether it is very difficult for the observer, especially if he is not prepared for the contracted position, to detect any order in the remains. The description of the bones in KCG. 7 as laid across the grave with the heads to the north certainly does not give the impression of their being scattered at random; the argument for KCG. 9 is weakened by the fact that the bones 'lying all over the place' occupied an area measuring no more than 1.40 × 1.30 m., which is not at all too much for a contracted body; the condition of the bones in KCG. 6 was admittedly such

On the body were such personal ornaments as beads, necklaces, and bracelets; by it were put, if it was a man, his bronze spears, axe, or knife; and the invariable occurrence of pins must mean that the dead were buried in the garments which they wore in their lifetime. There were also placed in the tomb clay vessels, but while there might be one or two bowls or cups or bottles such as one would expect to take the normal offerings of food and drink, the vast majority—and in some cases all—were the tall stemmed vases shaped like the modern champagne glass which gave rise to the names 'champagne-glass tombs' and 'champagne-glass period'.

In reproducing here the field notes on the individual tombs I quote verbatim the accounts given by the 1911 excavators of those found by them (KCG. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12), together with such of my own field notes as survive.

CIST GRAVES

KCG. 1. A small stone-lined cist against the east wall of the room below which were found the pot burials 16 and 17. The roof-slabs were at the same level as the base of the urn of pot burial 17. Cist measurements (internal) 0.90 × 0.65 m. lying NE. - SW. Inside (see Pl. 56*e*) the bones of a child, much decayed, contracted, on its left side, the head SW. By the body, four 'champagne vases', three having ribbed stems, a bottle, type Pl. 57*c*. 1, ht. 0.15 m., of reddish-drab clay, rough, and the surface perished, and a bowl of thick red ware, type as No. 3 on Pl. 58*b*, two bronze spear-heads, l. 0.29 m. (Pl. 61*b*), and two bronze pins with ball heads, the necks slightly grooved, the shafts not pierced.

KCG. 2. (fig. 85). A small stone-lined cist grave, internal measurements 0.40 m. deep, sides 1.20 × 0.70 m., NW. - SE., lying under the same room as KCG. 1. The body, that of a young child, contracted, lay on its left side, head NW. By the neck were numerous crystal and carnelian ring heads, and masses of small beads, frit, and other spheroids round the pelvis, apparently from a belt or from the embroidery of a skirt (Pl. 62*b*). A 'champagne vase', type as Pl. 59*b*. 3, ht. 0.265 m., with ribbed stem; another, similar, but with haematite wash, ht. 0.23 m.; another, as Pl. 57*b*. 5, broken; a fourth, similar; a stemmed bowl, type Pl. 57*c*. 5, ht. 0.15 m.; a tumbler (type Pl. 58*a*. 1) of greenish-drab clay, ht. 0.09 m.; a bowl (type Pl. 58*b*. 6) of plain red clay, ht. 0.055 m., diam. 0.105 m.; and a bottle, type as Pl. 57*c*. 1, of greenish-drab clay, ht. 0.15 m. In front of the

face were a bronze pin, l. 0.40 m., the shaft not pierced, neck ribbed, hemispheroid fluted head, above which two wild goats' (*agrimi*) heads (Pl. 60*b*. 3), and four much-decayed bronze pins having ball heads and the shafts



FIG. 85. KCG. 2.

not pierced. By the hands (?) was a bronze object (see Pl. 60*b*. 2), a short cylinder with a twisted loop handle at one end flanked by two minute doves. Below it were numerous small pieces of wood, apparently flat and more or less square, though some seemed to have curved outlines; all were completely decayed.

that observation might well be mistaken, and Lawrence adds in his notes, 'as it was my first grave it was not very well done'. In the graves which I excavated the bones were decayed and many had decayed away; some may have slipped from their proper place and some were broken, as decayed bones do generally break, but there was ample evidence to prove (a) that the bodies had been laid in the graves whole and not dismembered, and (b) that they had been laid on their sides in the

contracted position. I cannot believe that in tombs otherwise exactly similar there should have been at the same period two practices so much at variance as burial intact and ritual dismemberment, and that all graves dug by myself were of one type and those dug by others exclusively of the other. I can only conclude that the excavators of 1911 were very excusably mistaken.

KCG. 3. The grave was actually dug into the mud-brick vault of the 'sally-port', its base being 3.00 m. above the passage floor (v. Pl. 17*b*).

Three sides of the grave were simply cut into the brickwork and only one side (the north) was of stone; the covering-stones had been removed and the grave plundered in early times, and what remained of its furniture was in disorder; a few pots seemed to be in position, but all the bones had vanished, and the east end of the grave had come away with the denudation of the mound's slope.

At the broken east end there were found:

- (1), (2), (3) 'Champagne vases', all broken, ranging from 0.20 m. to 0.245 m. in height; type as Pl. 57*b*. 5.
 - (4) Vase of greenish-drab clay, ht. 0.14 m.; type as No. 3 on Pl. 57*c*. Also one leg of a tripod bowl.
- Farther into the grave, in a heap, were:
- (5), (6), (7), (8), (9) 'Champagne vases' of red or drab clay, four of them broken. Also another leg of a tripod bowl of red clay.
 - (10) Pot of drab clay, ht. 0.06 m.; type as Pl. 57*a*. 4, but without the everted rim.
 - (11) Stemmed bowl of red clay, ht. 0.12 m., diam. 0.07 m.; type like No. 5 in Pl. 57*c*; broken.
 - (12) Bowl of drab clay, ht. 0.05 m., diam. 0.10 m.; type like No. 3 in Pl. 58*b*; broken.

Farther into the grave were:

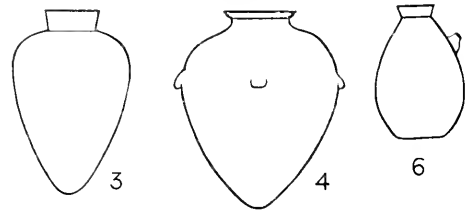
- (13) Pot of plain red ware, ht. *c.* 0.15 m.; type like No. 4 in Pl. 57*a*; broken.
- (14) Bowl of greenish clay, much distorted and badly broken; apparently type like No. 5 in Pl. 58*b*.
- (15) 'Champagne vase', unusually thick and clumsy, of rough red clay, ht. 0.16 m., diam. 0.12 m.; type as Pl. 57*a*. 1.
- (16) to (24) Remains of nine more 'champagne vases', all badly broken.

KCG. 4. Cist grave lying roughly N. - S., stone lined except at the north end; it lay under the floor of a room of the same archaeological stratum as that to which KCG. 3 belonged and should be about contemporary with that grave. The roof-stones had fallen in and all the vases were in fragments; no bones could be seen. At the north end were fragments of nine 'champagne vases', all of the same type, with deeply carinated rims (type Pl. 57*b*. 5), of green, drab, or red clay, heights up to 0.33 m.; no paint or other ornament.

KCG. 5. Cist grave lying N. - S., the south end broken and roof fallen in. It was dug into a floor below that

into which the last grave (KCG. 4) was cut, and must be earlier in time than that grave by one archaeological stratum, that is, it belongs to the middle rather than to the end of the Early Bronze Age settlement. No bones could be traced. The following vases were found:

- (1) Fragments of a large jar, perhaps 0.25 m. high, hand-made of thick red ware; shape doubtful.
- (2) Fragments of a small pot of black ware (black-brown in section), very soft and shaling, with very good bone-and-rag-polished surface; shape uncertain.
- (3) Vase, wheel-made, of reddish clay with haematite wash; ht. 0.12 m. (fig. 86).



KCG 5 = 3, 4 & 6

FIG. 86.

- (4) Jar, wheel-made, of brick-red clay, ht. *c.* 0.13 m., diam. 0.10 m., with thin sides and rudimentary drop handles in relief (fig. 86, approximate).
- (5) Fragments of a large open-mouthed pot, wheel-made, of drab clay, with heavily incised combing decoration on the shoulder.
- (6) Fragments of a spouted pot of drab clay with greenish creamy surface; top missing; type (approximate) fig. 86.

KCG. 6. (The account of this and the following three graves is taken from Lawrence's notes of the 1911 season.) On contour 28.90, a stone-lined cist grave, 2.00 : 1.20 : 0.65 m. deep. 'Inside it contained pottery buried in the soft granular earth of decayed flesh. The few bones were too rotten to make anything of, except that the bodies had evidently been cut before burial.¹ The bones were not usually broken (though some were), but were scattered about all over the grave, mixed up with the pottery and stones. Only one skull was noticed, but as it was my first tomb it was not very well done. The skull was lying between some loose-placed stones, with the arm-bones and two or three ribs; with it some beads of whitish-green paste (Pl. 62*a*. 1),

¹ This observation was mistaken. L.W. See p. 218, n. 2.

and 4 bronze pins: they were thus in a rough enclosure of their own, with the pottery around them. The square of stones was nearly in the centre of the grave. For the objects in the tomb, the most were . . . "Champagne" pots. The reasonably whole ones were kept and those imperfect, if of normal pattern, thrown away. The body of the pottery, which is all exceptionally well made and fired, is brown-grey or red, and the bowl and foot were turned independently, only to be joined later by the long (usually hand-shaped) stem or neck. This stem was often smoothed down by hand, almost like a very coarse pebble polish. The pots ran of all sizes, from large ones of 0.30 m. (from ground to rim) and of 0.24 m. in diam. of rim, down to little ones 0.10 m. high and 0.07 m. wide. There were others still smaller, called "cups", but which were to all intents and purposes only small "champagners". There were five varieties of shape in this first tomb. Type 57 *b.* 5 'is the stock variety. This was a small grave and only about 18 had been put in: they were all of this pattern, with variants of short or long stems, large or small feet and bowls. The stem of one was pierced with four large triangular scotches (Pl. 59 *b.* 1). There were three examples of Type 57 *c.* 7; one of Type 58 *a.* 5, thin-walled in grey clay, and two, in red clay, of Type 59 *a.* 19. There was no surface decoration, unless the lines round the stem of Type 57 *c.* 5, a shape a little unlike the ordinary mushroom, be taken as such. They prove that this particular stem was moulded on the wheel.¹ They are usually hollow-stemmed, a large hole going right up to the base: but some were solid. There was only one (imperfect) of Type 57 *c.* 5. 'None of them of any interest as pottery.'

KCG. 7. Stone-lined cist grave in the NE. cut, close to *KCG.* 6; measurements not recorded. 'In it were three bodies at least,² scarified, with about 40 pots (Pl. 59*a.*), nearly all of Type 59 *c.* 2, large and small, long and short. There were four pieces painted in dull red, the colour quite faint (59 *a.* 10, 11, 13, 17). There were remains of a string of beads and other scattered beads, a bronze axe-blade, two daggers and some pins and nails.' Hogarth, who cleared the grave, notes that the beads were white ribbed tubular and red stone and crystal spheroids and records three pins; see Pl. 62 *a.* 2.

KCG. 8. The grave lay wholly inside the cutting and was therefore completely cleared. Contour 29.50. Dimensions 1.60 m. x 0.80 m. and about 0.50 m. high.

In it were two skulls and a few bronze pins (Pl. 62 *a.* 3) with many stones, enough almost to make a rough floor, though the pottery, &c., was as much under the stones as over.³ It contained about 19 champagne pots and types 57 *c.* 3, 57 *c.* 6, 59 *c.* 3. None were painted or decorated in any way.

KCG. 9. In the NE. cut, close to *KCG.* 7 and 8. 'The largest and richest' cist grave; 2.40 m. x 1.32 m. x 0.75 m. deep, sides and roof (which had fallen) of large rough slabs of stone. Only one skull to be seen. The bones lay all over the place, in disorder, but unbroken; rotted through at once; stone had fallen on skull, so impossible to get it out. Skull had been laid on flat stone.

'There were about 60 pots altogether in the tomb (Pl. 56*d.*). Of these, five champagne-pots had red-painted rims in zigzag or engraved pattern: two were broken. There were no small pots. One jug (no handle, of course) of type Pl. 59 *c.* 3, one broad shallow basin too broken to photograph (type 59 *a.* 19); all the rest were champagne-cups, one, of grey clay, with incised chevron pattern. There was as well a flat smooth stone about 0.10 m. x 0.055 m. x 0.025 m., ? a bone.

'Much bronze (Pl. 60*c.*); two axes of good shape, a chisel (a screwdriver-like piece of bronze) and four spears, one round in section and a little longer than the other three square-section ones. Besides these a very good dagger, very thin and flat-forged with short tang; also a few pins. As well was a string of beads, white-green paste, 1.59 m. long (i.e. about 720 beads), another of red stone, perhaps serpentine, 0.17 m. long, and one of white stone 0.31 m. long.' For these, threaded together, and for the bronzes, v. Pl. 62 *a.* 4. 'The fall of the roof had disturbed all these: apparently they had been lying on a flat stone by the skull.'

KCG. 10. On contour 29.50, under the stratum of mud-brick rubble. Similar to *KCG.* 7. It contained 19 vases, 2 bronze pins, and 2 flint knife-cores. (Hogarth's notes.) Hogarth further records in the NE. cut 'Two Arab [*sic*] graves, (1) two small champagne vases, (2) several broken ditto.' He also notes the finding of a cist grave in the NW. cut but gives no details.

KCG. 11. In NW. mound, apparently about contour 25. Cist grave 1.31 m. x 0.55 m. x 0.60 m. deep. Roof fallen, and it was impossible to get good measurements. Direction practically direct N. and S.; the head was due E. The floor and sides were paved and lined with rotten

¹ This was in fact universal. L.W.

² Hogarth in his notes queries this

³ So Lawrence's note. I query this.

⁴ Certainly the fallen roof, not a floor. L.W.

limestone; the roof had fallen in. The skull was broken, but was on E. of tomb. A champagne cup (broken) stood about $\frac{2}{3}$ way through, wedged in by the debris of the roof. A bronze pin rested near the head and many beads of pottery [*sic*] and crystal (Pl. 62 *a. 5*) lay as though under the neck. The bones fell to pieces. Altogether there were three champagne cups, 2 in the far S. end and the other not far from them. The top of the grave is 1.50 m. under the bottom of the mud-brick wall which supports the base of the wall of the Kubaba Temple.'

KCG. 12. Cist grave, lying high in the mound, 2.10 m. x 0.80 m., containing 17 complete champagne-cups and remains of about 10 more; none were painted, a few had plain grooves round the stem; also a bronze pin and a necklace of beads, v. Pl. 62 *a. 5*.

KCG. 13. Cist grave on the SE. mound between Thompson's two trenches (Pl. 56*b*). It contained a silver eyeleted pin and a fine series of bronze pins and weapons, the latter including a solid mace-head of new type (all illustrated on Pl. 61*a*) and amongst the pottery two examples of the very rare reserved slip ware (Pl. 58*c*) and a number of small beads in grey and white steatite. Judging by the pottery this should be about the

latest in date of the cist graves, coming very close to the Amarna period.

The detailed field notes for *KCG. 13* and the following graves found in 1913 are lost, but since they were better documented by photographs than were the graves found earlier in the excavations, some of the photographs are reproduced here to illustrate the general character of the cist burials.

KCG. 14, Pl. 56*a* was the only cist grave that could be photographed before opening—all the surrounding soil was removed and the cist of rough limestone rubble blocks is shown isolated. It should be compared with *KCG. 13*, Pl. 56*b*, showing the interior of a similar grave after the removal of the cover-slabs.

KCG. 14, Pl. 60*a* was very rich in bronze objects; the long leaf-shaped blade with guard-plate and bent tang was unique in the cemetery whereas the other types are all familiar.

KCG. 15, Pl. 61*c* was interesting in that the 'poker' spear characteristic of the cist graves generally is here associated with a leaf-shaped type which otherwise occurred only in *KCG. 1* (Pl. 61*b*) in which the 'poker' spear was lacking.

From the facts at his disposal Thompson drew the following historical conclusions concerning the periods after that of the neolithic users of Tell Halaf pottery:

'Far back into prehistoric times a race using pot burials and flint implements inhabited the mound. . . they seem to have made little advance during their occupation; they had some small knowledge of working bronze but the metal occurs only sporadically; their flint and obsidian implements continue until the end. A second race, using cist graves and bronze implements, crystal and glazed frit beads, took possession of the mound, and their ornaments were borrowed by the first race, who lived side by side with their conquerors for a short time. It seems very probable that this second conquering race was the Hittites from the North. The Hittite hordes knew how to work bronze excellently; the pottery of their early period shows an enormous improvement in taste, method of making and design. . . This much appears to be certain. Both races, in their wish to preserve the bones of their ancestors from disturbance, buried them actually in or near to their places of abode.'

Later discoveries have largely confirmed and have further amplified Thompson's interpretation.

The succession of walls and floor-levels belonging to the pot-burial period shows that the mound was not a cemetery as such but an inhabited area and that the graves were placed under the floors of the houses. That the pot burials belong to those houses and are not intrusive from a higher level and a later period is proved by their being found underneath undisturbed walls of the later but still prehistoric settlement. The pot burials belong culturally to the latest phase of the chalcolithic period which succeeded to the Tell Halaf period, but in point of actual time they came within the beginnings of the Early Bronze Age.

Dating evidence. The cist graves all come underneath the heavy stratum of mud-brick debris which represents, more or less, the ground-level connected with the building of the first (mud-brick) fortification-wall round the Acropolis. One of them, *KCG. 3*, was definitely later than the 'sally-

port' on the river face of the mound which unquestionably belongs to the Bronze Age¹ and is part of the fortifications. Others lie so high that the ground-level from which their shafts were dug must have been cut away by the levellers of a later time, while some would from their position normally be referred to the mud-brick debris stratum if not to an earlier period. This evidence is not conflicting but corroborative. The cist graves must be associated with the earliest fortification of the mound and the erection on it of official buildings. That there are so few of them must be interpreted to mean that they belong to the initial stages only of that period (assuming that the period itself was of some considerable duration). They were dug beneath house-floors; as the top of the Acropolis was more and more taken over by official buildings there would be fewer houses and therefore fewer graves dug, and before very long there would be no grave-digging at all on the Acropolis. It would not be surprising that with the transformation of the mound from a primitive village to a fortress or a palace or temple people should be compelled to abandon the ancient practice of burying their dead under the floor of their houses and to begin using regular cemeteries outside the inhabited area; something of the sort certainly seems to have been true of Carchemish. The Bronze Age fortifications of the Citadel must have been in use for a very long time; had all the dead of that period been buried *in situ* the graves would have been vastly more numerous than they were. The graves which we did find, which were few in relation to the area excavated, limited though that was, are to be assigned, on stratigraphical evidence, to an early phase of the fortification period—some might be actually earlier and none need be much later than its inception²—the stratigraphical evidence therefore concurs with logical evidence based on the number of graves. We have not found an Early Bronze Age cemetery outside the walls of Carchemish, so that our conclusion remains hypothetical. But, on the other hand, we do know of a Late Bronze Age cemetery at Amarna.³ Three characteristic graves of the Late Bronze Age were found in compartments of the River Wall of the Inner City (Vol. II, p. 133), but nearly forty pits dug by Campbell Thompson broadcast over the area of the Inner City failed to produce a single Bronze Age grave under a house-floor. Again, the Early Iron Age graves of Carchemish were, with one single exception, in a regular cemetery outside the city walls. There was therefore a change in burial customs during the Bronze Age; the originators of that Age, the 'second conquering race' which Thompson identified with the Hittites, did at the outset follow the custom of the primitive inhabitants and bury their dead inside the inhabited area, and allowed the survivors of the primitive population, who lived side by side with them, to do the same. But when the new polity was once firmly established and the open village developed into a walled stronghold,⁴ they started the practice which was to last throughout the rest of the history of Carchemish.

The argument is of interest because if it holds good we have in the cist graves of the mound a record of the culture introduced by the new race when first they settled on the Euphrates.⁵ For the

¹ See above, p. 210, note 1, and Vol. II, p. 40. This tunnel, of which only the entrance has been excavated, is of course much lower down in the mound than the ring wall of its period—it was a subterranean approach with, presumably, a flight of steps in it leading up to the ground surface. It is quite possible that it was not a sally-port at all but a sewer, though the use of mud brick for its walls is against that explanation and induced me to describe it as a sally-port.

² One, KCG. 3, is, as we have seen, definitely post-fortification. The lowest graves might be either pre-fortification or contemporary. The highest graves, dug originally from a surface which has been cut away by the fortress builders, are

necessarily older than that part of the fortress.

³ See my 'Hittite Burial Customs' in *Liverpool Annals*, vi (1914).

⁴ The fortification of the mound would certainly antedate the building of the walls of the Inner City, which would result from the growth of population and perhaps from the ousting of the pre-Hittite element from the Acropolis.

⁵ This is confirmed by the presence of pot burials side by side with the cist graves and by the fact that the later pot burials prove the borrowing by the old inhabitants of the grave-furniture, ornaments, &c., of the new-comers.

purposes of comparative anthropology and for establishing the racial connexions of the new people these graves furnish a criterion very much more valuable than can be got from the more developed culture of the Amarna cemetery.

There is no evidence to show for how long the 'champagne-vase' phase of culture persisted at Carchemish and when it gave place to the more advanced phase of the Amarna graves; in view of the small number of the 'champagne-graves' found it might be tempting to assume that the change came not very long after the arrival of the 'new race', but that is a dangerous argument. Nor can we say when they first arrived. The metal objects in the cist graves, the 'poker' spears, the fine tanged spears with ribbed blades, the eyeleted toggle-pins, &c.,¹ show unmistakable analogies with the Sumerian of the Early Dynastic period; the flat, hammered dagger-blades, on the other hand, resemble rather those of the Sargonid Age in Mesopotamia. It would seem, therefore, that the new-comers to Carchemish, while they inherited a culture which elsewhere goes back to the early part of the third millennium, had already reached the stage at which that old culture had been modified by the introduction of new 'Sargonid' types. If it were safe to argue from one part of Asia to another, from one people to another, we should date the cist graves to about 2600 B.C.; but I should hesitate to push too far the analogies, undoubted though they be, that exist between the Carchemish and the Mesopotamian material. Traditions may have persisted amongst one people long after another had outlived them, and the same influences from one and the same source may have been brought to bear upon different areas at very different dates. The 'champagne cup' itself survived at Carchemish for ritual purposes until the latter part of the Syro-Hittite period, as is proved by its representation in the sculptures of the Processional Entry (B. 19); it would therefore be hazardous to stress its occurrence at Chagar Bazar,² where it belongs to level V (c. 3200 B.C.), and at Atchana,³ in the second half of the third and the first half of the second millennium. In the great tomb at Tell Ahmar⁴ there were ninety-six specimens of 'champagne cups'; Dunand attributes this to the first part of the second millennium. At Meshrife tomb 1, which contained a champagne cup, is assigned by Du Mesnil du Buisson⁵ to the beginning of the second millennium. The graves at Hammam⁶ remain the best evidence for the dating of the 'champagne-cup' period, giving its *terminus ante quem* as not much before 1750 B.C. The *terminus post quem* must for the present be left vague; all that can safely be said is that at some date before the end of the third millennium the 'new race' overran the chalcolithic villagers of the Carchemish mound and introduced there the Early Bronze Age culture. It is further probable that our cist graves belong to the early phase of the new occupation; the burials of the later phase down to 1750 B.C. and the beginning of the Amarna period must be sought elsewhere than on the Citadel mound.⁷

The Late Bronze Age, illustrated by the Amarna graves, lasts from about 1750 until the destruction of Carchemish by the Peoples of the Sea at the beginning of the twelfth century. During that period Carchemish was within the orbit of the New Empire of Bogazköy and for part of it was the capital of a sub-kingdom ruled by a member of the Bogazköy royal house; it is perfectly proper,

¹ Cf. also the shafted axe from a nearly contemporary tomb at Hammam. *Liverpool Annals*, vol. vi, pl. xxix.

² M. E. L. Mallowan in *Iraq*, iv, 2, fig. 25.

³ It is only of rare occurrence; generally speaking the pottery of Atchana has curiously little in common with that of Carchemish.

⁴ Thureau-Dangin et Dunand, *Tel Barsip*, pp. 96 sqq. Many of the clay vessels found in this tomb were in striking

contrast with anything in the Carchemish cist graves, but the 'champagne cups' set the relation beyond doubt.

⁵ *Syria*, 1927, pp. 15-32, and 1930, p. 159. Dussaud's attempt in *Syria*, 1928, pp. 132 sqq., to bring its date down to the 15th century B.C. is based on a misjudgement of Du Mesnil du Buisson's painted jug No. 61.

⁶ *Liverpool Annals*, vi, No. 3, p. 90.

⁷ But see KCG. 13, above.

therefore, to call this a Hittite period. The term need not imply that the bulk of the inhabitants of the city were racially identical with those of Bogazköy or indeed with any other of the heterogeneous peoples joined in the Hittite confederacy; the fact remains that Carchemish was one of the great Hittite cities. Campbell Thompson, as we have seen, went much further than this and held the view that the incomers who brought the Bronze Age to Carchemish were Hittites from the north, and though not fully accepting that view I have currently used the expressions 'Middle Hittite' for the Later Bronze Age and 'Early Hittite' for the Early Bronze Age; is there for that any justification at all?

The main argument is that of cultural continuity. The archaeological evidence is not continuous—it illustrates the Early Bronze Age and it gives us the Amarna cemetery, but not the age of transition; but nothing could be more clear than the direct relation between the two. Amarna cist graves are the lineal descendants of the Carchemish cist graves; the differences are due merely to development and the parentage is beyond question. If we apply the term 'Hittite' in any other than a political sense to the Carchemish of 1400 B.C. it is scarcely logical to refuse it to the Carchemish of 2000 B.C. It would be difficult indeed to decide where to draw the line. If, however, we class the cist graves as Hittite we are at once open to the objection that the Anatolian Hittites of the second millennium B.C. practised cremation—the ritual of a royal burning is fully described in a text discovered at Bogazköy.¹ But at Carchemish cremation was not practised in the Late Bronze Age, which we must consider Hittite, nor indeed until after 1200 B.C. in the Syro-Hittite period to which by many authorities the name 'Hittite' is denied. Moreover, the 'Royal Graves' of Alacahöyük, the earliest graves in Anatolia to which the name 'Hittite' can be applied, contain unburnt bodies; indeed, so far as we know, cremation was rare in Anatolia generally, and, although at Hissarlik it is characteristic of Troy VI, it does not even there occur before the fourteenth century. Granted that the kings of Bogazköy were cremated, it does not follow that such was the uniform custom, any more than it was in classical Rome, and uniformity in burial rites can hardly be looked for in a confederacy whose members had not even a common language. I cannot agree that the practice of inhumation is a serious argument against the use of the term 'Hittite' for Carchemish of the Early Bronze Age. This is, however, very far from saying, as Thompson did, that the Early Bronze Age was introduced by 'Hittite hordes from the north'. We have no archaeological evidence in support of a theory of an invasion of North Syria by Hittites of the Halys basin in the third millennium B.C. The evidence points, if anything, in the opposite direction; it is possible that it was by way of North Syria that some at least of the tribes who were to found the Hittite power in Anatolia made their way northwards, and that there was thus, from the beginning, a racial and cultural kinship between those who ultimately settled in the valley of the Halys and those who tired of the trek and remained behind in north Syria.

Rather than set up, by a change of name, an entirely false distinction between the cist graves of Carchemish and the cist graves of Amarna, with which go the burials in the River Wall of Carchemish,² I prefer to keep Thompson's nomenclature, and I cannot think that it unduly begs the question of origins. The 'Early Hittite period', then, is that which begins with the incoming of the Bronze Age people to take possession of the chalcolithic village on the Carchemish mound; throughout it there was, probably, little or no contact between them and the kindred tribes who had pressed on into the north. About 1750 B.C. the southward expansion of what had now developed into the

¹ *M.D.O.G.* 1937, and Bittel, 'Hittische Bestattungs-gebräuche', *M.D.O.G.* 1939 — *Carchemish*, Vol. II, p. 153.

Hittite kingdom in Anatolia brought the two peoples once more into close relation and emphasized the 'Hittite' character of Carchemish which became the capital of a sub-kingdom ruled by a son of the Great King. This is the 'Middle Hittite' period, and it lasts until the overthrow of the city by the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea. Carchemish, however, recovered from the blow which finally destroyed Bogazköy and, its old Hittite traditions reinforced by the influx—here, as at Malatia—of refugees from the Halys basin, was largely responsible for that renaissance which is commonly called 'Syro-Hittite'. This Late Hittite period, during the last century of which Carchemish was reduced by Sargon's conquests to the status of an Assyrian province, ended in 604 B.C. when Nebuchadnezzar razed the rebellious city to the ground.

CHAPTER XIII THE POTTERY SEQUENCE

OUR excavations at Carchemish never penetrated to the levels of the earliest settlement there. In the Lower City we were concerned only with the historic Hittite periods, and where we did dig down below the Hittite foundations there seemed to be but little to find. Only on the Acropolis mound could we expect archaeological stratification going back to primitive times, and regarding this Hogarth in his report to the Trustees frankly admitted that 'the difficulty of piercing to the bottom by mere hand labour a hill of such magnitude, composed in its upper portion of massive debris of late date, seemed so great that I would gladly have left it alone in the preliminary campaign'. In spite of this hesitation he made the experiment, but results were not such as to encourage me in the following seasons to embark upon a task which would have crippled our work on the monumental parts of the site. Hogarth continues:

'A heading from the North side was begun about at the centre of the Eastern part of the Mound, and this was carried by parties working at different levels from contour 17.50 right up to the summit (contour 33) . . . but we were prevented from penetrating below contour 26 by solid adobe brick-work which seems to constitute the core of this part of the Mound. On the lowest level of the heading (below contour 28) were found several prehistoric objects as soon as we had penetrated through the mere superficial talus on the face, which was naturally full of late things. These objects were numerous flakes and cores of obsidian—the semi-transparent Caucasian variety (Pl. 65*b*), worked flints (Pl. 65*a*), sherds of black pebble-polished ware, sometimes decorated with whitened incisions, sherds of primitive painted wares, e.g. buff with black or brown cross-hatching, red linear ornament on lighter red &c. (Pl. 66*c*), rude stone implements, crystal beads and some finely-worked buttons or reels on variegated marbles and steatite. It seems that a thick bed of early debris lies on the rock under the Great Mound, and that the latter has been built up in late historic times over all or part of an early settlement on the river bank.'

While we do not know how high above water-level was the rocky headland whereon the early settlement was founded, it is evident that Hogarth's heading at contour 17.50 above water-level could have tapped only the upper strata of 'the thick bed of early debris'. But of the strata below it we have no knowledge, for my own work in this area went scarcely any deeper.

The painted pottery to which Hogarth refers is illustrated on Pl. 66*c*. Hand-made or turned on the slow wheel,¹ it is quite evidently a degenerate version of the pottery found in the kilns by Yunus, just north of the walls of Carchemish,² i.e. is of Tell Halaf ware. At the same level, or half a metre lower down in the same trench, I found further examples of the ware, figured on Pl. 66*b*. Lawrence's notes on the 1911 pieces shown in the photograph, Pl. 66*c* (actually they were collected from various levels between 17.50 and 20 contours), run as follows:

(1) Buff body, criss-cross pattern in black. (2) Brown body, triangular design in broad black strokes. (3) Buff body, lines and smears of brown-purple paint; rim plain. (4) Buff body, shapeless paint decoration. (5) Oval or ellipse of clay, the edges ground and shaped for some purpose. Plain. (6) Buff, brown brush-lines of paint. (7) Buff; reddish-brown paint outside and inside at rim. (8) Like (7) outside; inside has loops of fairly bright crimson paint. (9) Two brown lines on a green body. (10) A clay horn, the bottom scored with a lattice of cuts. (11) Buff; brown scratches of

¹ As a rule it is hand-made, but a few examples have been so regularly turned that the use of a slow wheel is at least probable. Certainly wheel-made pottery comes in at approximately this level, and the painting technique may well have survived into

the wheel-using period. At Yunus all the pottery is hand-made. Cf. A. 'The Prehistoric Pottery of Carchemish', *Bull.* vol. 1, part 2, 1934.

paint. (12) Light green with brown cross-lines of paint. (13) and (14) Shapeless masses of paint. (15) Very good and hard pebble polish. (16) Is green-surfaced, very hard and rough; inside the fracture looks like basalt and is nearly as hard and brittle. (17) Red-brown pebble polish. (18) Rude brown polished ware with sharply incurved rim. (19) Light brown pebble polish. (20) Very fine black polish. (21) A very curious piece of bright red pebble polish, mottled and lined with black; the red is of the same colour as the great pot (on Pl. 66a).

The 'great pot' in question was the finest example found of red pebble-burnished ware; it was covered with a wash of haematite of a rich plum colour with a brilliant polish produced by burnishing, horizontal on the shoulders and vertical below; it was wheel-made and came from the north-east cut about contour 22 or 23. Lawrence remarks on examples of black pebble-burnished ware



FIG. 87.

from contour 22 which were polished 'to a wonderful extent, so that they look like black marble'; these also were wheel-made. Of the black incised ware mentioned by Hogarth in his report I can find no record in field notes dealing with the lowest strata (contour 17-18), but from contour 23 comes a fragment, the upper part of a large wheel-made jar (fig. 87), which Lawrence describes as of 'fine pottery, thin, light and well-baked, with a good polish on it, with incised decoration in chevrons all round the body'. It is safe to say that above

contour 20 at least all the pottery is wheel-made with the exception of the open straight-sided bowls which I have described as offering-bowls (v. *supra*, p. 217) and a few large urns used for burials. The lowest level at which a bronze object was recorded was contour 24, which is below the pot burials but very much higher than the level of transition from hand-made to wheel-made pottery; but the area excavated was so small that the negative evidence of metal not occurring lower down cannot be regarded as decisive; it is quite possible that the wheel was introduced at the beginning of the chalcolithic period. So far as we know the Yunus (Tell Halaf) pottery is neolithic. It disappears and is replaced by wheel-made wares on which painted design is very rare and very rough, but an all-over haematite wash is used and further decoration is either by incision or by burnishing; both wash and burnish lent themselves in time to refinements of a very high order. During this period metal is introduced, but it remains a luxury, for objects of personal adornment, and stone implements continue in general use; towards the close of the period we have the pot burials under house-floors, and then a fresh cultural break occurs with the invasion of the Early Bronze Age race.

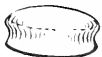
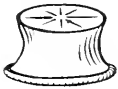


FIG. 88.

One object on Pl. 66c deserves comment. The clay 'horn', of which I later found a number of examples at the same level, is curiously reminiscent of the clay 'nails' of the Al 'Ubaid period in southern Mesopotamia, and equally difficult to explain. The 'bobbins', 'buttons', or 'reels' mentioned by Hogarth are exactly like the ear-studs of the same culture in Mesopotamia (fig. 88); both the clay 'nails' and the ear-studs are found up to about contour 21 but fail in the higher levels.

Fairly high up in what may be called the chalcolithic deposit, at about contour 26—and therefore well below the bottom of the cist graves, but in the levels at which the hand-made open bowls of offering begin to occur—the evolution of certain types of pottery is well marked. While a few coarse fragments seem to have been made either by hand or on the slow wheel, wheel-turning has been perfected to produce deep ribbing and occasionally the comb is used for horizontal striation of a purely decorative type. Both rag and pebble burnish continue, but the latter is now varied for effect—we get ring and spiral burnish, diagonal burnishing and scabbled burnishing,

alike on the natural clay and on a haematitic wash. Now, too, we get an early and sometimes elaborate form of 'reserved slip' ware, in the technique illustrated by complete examples on Pl. 58c, and by various fragments:

- (a) Neck and shoulder of wheel-made vase of red clay. Round base of neck two bands of diagonal scoring. On shoulder a white wash applied and then partly removed in diagonal strips. (Fig. 89.)
- (b) Fragment of large coarse pot, apparently hand-made. The clay is dark reddish-purple, on which was spread a thick cream-coloured slip which was then wiped off in horizontal bands with the result that cream-coloured bands alternate with purple bands on which are minute streaks of white. The slip stands out in relief. The technique comes close to sgraffiato work.
- (c) Fragment of thin wheel-made ware, red clay with yellow slip treated similarly to the last but with vertical lines pendant from a horizontal band.



FIG. 89.



FIG. 90.



FIG. 91.



FIG. 92.

- (d) Fragment of large coarse pot, red clay, apparently hand-made or turned on the slow wheel. The yellow slip has been left in broad bands and on those dark spots have been made by removing the slip with a rag or with the tip of the finger. (Fig. 90.)
- (e) Fragment of thin wheel-made ware, dark clay with creamy-white slip; the slip is thin, and most of it has been wiped away so as to leave a rather complicated rectilinear pattern of light on dark. (Fig. 91.)

These fragments were found associated with large cylindrical beads of baked clay (fig. 92), length 0.055 m., diameter, 0.02 m., and with a few flint knives.

Incised decoration continues; an example is recorded with a double horizontal band from which hang cross-hatched triangles; a somewhat later example is given on fig. 93, A. 8, where the peculiarly rough pattern looking almost like script is incised on the carinated rim of a bowl—possibly the bowl of a champagne cup.² Another form of decoration is the rope-pattern in relief, sometimes applied, more often made by pinching up the wet clay or by moulding on the wheel a raised band which was then scored diagonally; it is generally found on vessels of large size.

Owing to the disturbance of the soil the evidence was seldom satisfactory. The most detailed record (on which the above summary is largely based) deals with the extension, in 1912, of the north-east cutting on the river slope of the Citadel mound. I give it here in full.

A. Rubble foundations of house walls were found just

above the average level of five stone cist graves lying close by to the south; the building, which contained a button seal with simple tree-pattern, must have been earlier than the cist graves, which would have been dug from a higher ground-level. At about 1.50 m. below the foundations the mixed soil gave place to a stratum of

¹ This technique, which is never very common, persists into both the Early and the Late Bronze Age. In the latter period the Amarna potters obtained the same effect by the use not of an applied slip but of an engobe worked up by prolonged friction from the body clay. When this was wiped off the different quality of surface was equivalent to a difference of colour.

² The fragment, like the others shown on fig. 93, came from just above contour 28; it lay therefore below the level from which the cist graves were dug, about 1.50 m. beneath the foundations of the wall of a room with which some of the cist graves were connected, in a stratum of broken mud brick from an earlier building.

broken and decomposed mud brick containing much pottery, including very many fragments of the hand-made offering-bowls and of horns—which two types therefore should be contemporary. With them were the following types (fig. 93):

1. Bowl, wheel-made, plain red clay, well lefigated.
2. Bowl, wheel-made, shallow, plain red clay.
3. Bowl, wheel-made, light red clay, inverted rim.
4. Large platter, wheel-made, coarse red clay, ribbed on the outside.

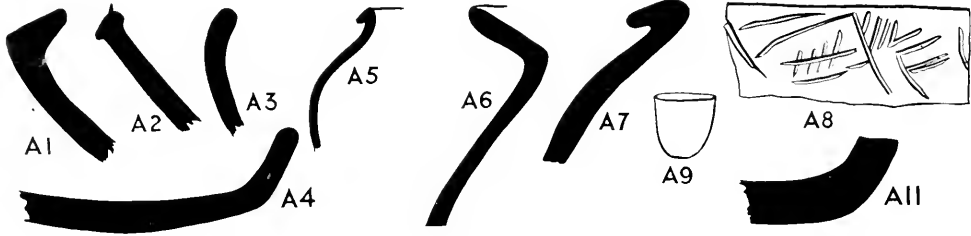


FIG. 93.

5. Pot, wheel-made, light red clay.
6. Pot, wheel-made, drab clay, with incised bands round shoulder; it might well be an Amarna type.
7. Pot, wheel-made, buff clay, the body below the shoulder closely ridged.
8. Upright rim (possibly from a champagne pot), wheel-made, with incised decoration.
9. Straight-sided cup, wheel-made, reddish drab clay.
10. Bowl, wheel-made, shallow, flat-based with inverted rim, light red clay.
11. Platter, wheel-made, very coarse lightly fired reddish clay.

Below these came a good floor of large stones on which were two flints.

Close by and in the same stratum came:

12. A fragment of coarse hand-made ware burnt throughout its section to a uniform blackish-brown (hearth-fired?) with on the surface bands of black and drab colour produced by reserved slip process.
13. Pot, wheel-made, red clay, with herring-bone band scored round the neck: on the shoulder a white slip had been laid on and wiped off in diagonal strips.
14. Large open pot, wheel-made, red clay with

creamy surface wash, the flat out-turned rim widened to form a lug handle the top surface of which is roughly incised in cross-hatching.

B. Farther to the north, well below the cist graves, there was a stratum of broken mud brick probably contemporary with that described above: it contained much pottery, amongst which were:

1. Fragment of a small vase (? champagne pot), wheel-made, light buff clay, with a band of simple cross-hatching in red paint.

2. Large pot, wheel-made, coarse light red clay; round the shoulder a double incised band from which hangs a cross-hatched triangle.
3. Fragment, wheel-made, red clay; a grooved band whereon diagonal notches roughly impressed with a stick.
4. Fragment, hand-made; patchy haematitic surface lightly pebble-burnished in diagonal lines, with shallow grooved notches on the reverse diagonal forming a band round the shoulder.
5. Fragment of large pot, drab clay, with band of roughly pinched rope-pattern.
6. Flat plate, wheel-made, black ware lightly burnished, with band of rope pattern well modelled in relief.

N.B. The above do not give rim-sections but sections of the ten following fragments are reproduced on fig. 94.

7. Bowl, or cup, wheel-made, fine black ware, well pebble-burnished on both faces, inside in broad horizontal bands.
8. Bowl, wheel-made, fine grey smother-kiln ware, the nearly vertical sides deeply grooved.
9. Bowl, wheel-made, red clay, lightly scabbled with pebble burnish.
10. Bowl, wheel-made, good haematite-faced ware with light pebble-burnish in horizontal lines:

fragments of the same type and ware occur with scabbled burnish.

11. Bowl, wheel-made, very fine light-red ware resembling Amarna types.
12. Bowl, wheel-made, rather coarse red clay.
13. Pot, wheel-made, red clay, haematite-faced and lightly burnished.

16. Fragment of pot, drab clay, with heavy hole-spout.

C. The reserve-slip examples *b, c, d, e* (on p. 229) were found together in another part of the cutting 2.66 m. below the foundations of the walls of the room under whose floor lay two cist-graves and two pot burials (graves 16 and 17); the group is therefore earlier than

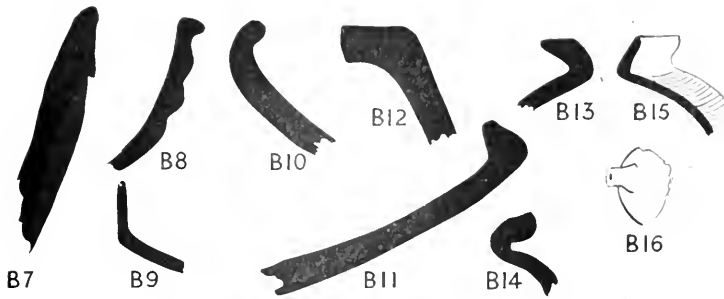


FIG. 94.

14. Pot, wheel-made, drab clay with light creamy wash surface.
15. Pot, wheel-made, drab clay, the body horizontally situated.

groups A and B, and earlier than those pot burials at any rate which can be said to overlap the cist-grave period. The big terra-cotta beads (fig. 92) and a few flints were found with them.

Since the early pot burials have no furniture and the later contain only borrowed Bronze Age types, our knowledge of the pottery of the period must depend on fragments. Only one complete pot was found. This was in (apparently) the corner of a room in level C on the top of the south-east mound of the Acropolis, the second building-level beneath the destruction layer which marks the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. The pot (fig. 95) was of greenish clay, wheel-made, standing 0.26 m. high with ring base; the rim was pinched in and there was a short spout leading from a hole in the neck. None the less, the sections of bowls and jars on figs. 93 and 94 show that there was a good deal of continuity in the succeeding periods and therefore give some idea at least of the shapes in use towards the end of the chalcolithic age.

For the Early Bronze Age the tomb furniture of the cist graves on the Acropolis mound presents a wearisome repetition of a small number of pottery types, mostly variants of the 'champagne cups' which seem to have been indispensable to the beliefs and burial customs of the invading race; but for the later phase the cist graves of Amarna have yielded a much richer variety, and here we can see not a few parallels with the chalcolithic pottery of the site. As we know from the overlapping of the pot burials with the cist graves in the Acropolis, the 'new race' did not exterminate the old inhabitants though, presumably, as a conquering aristocracy, they held them in subjection. The minor handicrafts therefore would still be practised by the old stock on the old lines. The conquerors would scarcely

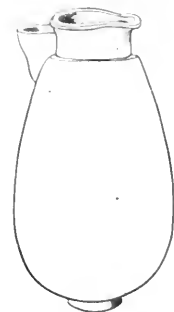


FIG. 95.

bring in their own potters—such sedentary workers would have formed no part of the invading horde of fighting men—but would depend on the local industry. They might well insist on the manufacture of certain forms of vase to which they attached a ritual importance, but on the whole the potter's output would be affected little, and but gradually, by foreign conquest, and his native traditions would persist—as we find in fact they did persist—for a very long period of time.¹

So far as the stratification of Hittite pottery is concerned the headings on the north slope of the Acropolis mound produced nothing later than the cist graves, so confused are its upper levels by the drastic measures of later builders. In 1911 Hogarth sank a pit into the southern slope of the mound, just above the highest remaining treads of the great stairs, to a depth of over 5 metres, and a careful analysis was made of the pottery from each successive metre. The results were not so good as might have been hoped. At 4.35 m. below the level of the highest step there was found a pebble floor running up against a rubble wall. The very numerous potsherds collected from the soil between this floor and the surface shows no appreciable development sequence; I imagine that the soil in question is all of one period, the artificial filling put in as a foundation for the flight of stairs when that was first built in its present shape; at most then the pottery may give us an idea of when that was;² at least it presents us with a fairly wide range of contemporary wares and shapes. Lawrence thought that a distinction could be drawn between the pottery resting immediately on the pavement and that higher up; 'the wares', he says, 'are generally finer and thinner though the rims remain rude and plain. There is no incised ornament whatsoever. . . . There are seven pieces of black pottery and . . . a number of ornamented pieces, ring-polished, and two painted—the paint is simply a broad ring. There is no attempt at slip.' The excavation was carried down below the cobbled floor and at 5.50 m. the excavators decided that they had reached virgin soil. The pottery from below floor-level was again, in Lawrence's opinion, 'finer as a whole than any previous lot, thin and hard-baked, with some pieces of exceptionally fine fabric'; the proportion of pebble-burnished ware was much higher, about one in twelve, most of it thick ware of a brownish colour, and there were quantities of line- and ring-burnished pieces, nearly all of red pottery, and one example of vertical line-burnish. There were one piece of very coarse combing and four pieces of incised ware.

The distinction between the strata above floor-level seems to me over-subtle; the differences could be and probably are merely accidental; but between them and the stratum beneath the floor there is a real difference, even if it is one of degree only. I give the substance of Lawrence's notes in the order of stratification which he observed, but should myself regard the material of the upper strata as homogeneous.³

A pit, *circa* 3.00 m. x 1.60 m. sq., was sunk at the head of the flight of stairs. For the first two metres, while the foundations of the staircase walls persisted, the pottery was neglected. A basketful of sherds was collected from between 2.00 m. and 3.00 m., another from between 3.00 m. and 4.00 m., and another from between 4.00 m. and a cobbled floor connected with a fragment of rough stone wall which was at 4.35 m.; but the sherds found actually on

¹ This might perhaps explain the 'chalcolithic' vases found in the Early Bronze Age 'Royal Tombs' of Alacahöyük (Remzi Oğuz Arık, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük*, pl. XI, &c.). The traditional pottery was still being made by the indigenous potter long after a higher culture had been introduced by the conquering invaders. The prominent position in the tomb furniture accorded to specimens of the primitive craft is symbolic—it is the alien victor's claim to the allegiance of the

native subject.

² It cannot, of course, be assumed that the deposit marks the first building of *any* staircase. The pebble floor might have been that of a landing in an older flight which was submerged when the layout of the building was remodelled.

³ Hogarth in his report to the Trustees said: 'Down to the top of the lowest foundations the sherds were all of very common quality and showed little variety.'

this floor were kept separate from those in the mixed soil above. A further collection was made between the floor and virgin soil (5.50 m.).

'Level 2.00 m.-3.00 m. (Pl. 67*a*).¹ Pottery nearly all very coarse, heavy red bodies predominating. There is a little of the greenish ware so marked all over the site, (colour probably due to some trick of the clay), the green very light in tone, sometimes extending right through the pot, sometimes only superficial. There are half-a-dozen pieces of black cooking-pots, probably only grey clay blackened by burning; of the red wares about 10%, are very pale in colour, of finer clay better potted and fired, the improvement extending to the moulding of their rims.

'There is no applied ornament except for a few pieces of big store jars with roped or thumbled band round them. But there is much combed and incised ornament, mostly in straight lines or waved, but a very elaborate piece is shown on Pl. 67*a*, No. 7.

'Level 3.00 m.-4.00 m. (Pl. 67*b*). Wares as coarse as ever; there is not a single piece of fine ware, though the paler wares are, as before, rather better than the deep red. The green and pale wares are proportionately more numerous than in the level above. There was only one piece of black cooking-pot. There is combed ornament, as before (13 examples) in the same patterns, and one piece with heavy incisions (No. 9), and examples of a hatched band in relief, not applied but worked up from the body of the pot (No. 11). There are two handles, one a stump only (No. 6), the other (No. 1) applied. There was also a terra-cotta figurine of a horse.

'Level 4.00 m.-4.30 m. The deep red ware still predominates, being twice as common as the green and seven times as common as the pale pinkish-white. One piece of a black cooking-pot. There was no applied ornament or relief work but three incised or combed pieces. For the first time there were several examples of ring-burnished ware, both grey and red, and there was one painted fragment with vertical and horizontal stripes in dark purplish-red on a light-red ground. There was a hollow spout-like handle and one spatula-shaped with incised scoring on its upper surface.

'Floor Level (Pl. 67*c*). The deep red and the pale pinkish-white or drab wares are now about equal in number; three or four pieces of green. The wares are generally finer and thinner, hard and well-fired. There were seven pieces of black cooking-pots. There was no incised or combed ornament, but two ribbed examples; the ring-burnished wares continued and there were two painted pieces. One pot had a ledge handle (No. 3) and one (No. 4) an applied loop handle.

'Below Floor Level (Pl. 67*d*). The pottery was as a whole much finer and some really splendid pieces turned up. The clay was well levigated and fired, and the body thin and the surface smooth. There was a great deal of all-over pebble-burnished ware, usually thick and of a yellow-brown colour though some are smoke- and kiln-stained, probably intentionally. Line-burnished decoration is very plentiful; the burnish lines are sometimes much wider than is the case in the higher levels, and they are not always horizontal but vertical and even criss-cross (Nos. 3 and 2). There is one piece of coarse combing (No. 6) quite unlike the 3.00 m. level work, and one (No. 6) with a band of red paint; there was no incised ornament, but several cases of ribbing, one of them unusually pronounced. Two pots of light burnished ware had flat rims broadened on each side to form a ledge handle (No. 10); a spindle-shaped pedestal-base of solid clay, apparently the base of an open bowl or cup, might be reminiscent of cist-grave types.'

What results from this careful analysis is that the pottery from below the Palace stairs down to the pre-Palace pebble floor is, as a whole, the pottery familiar to us from the Amarna graves. The pottery from below the floor could perfectly well belong to the latter part of the chalcolithic period. It might belong to the Early Bronze Age during which the earlier pottery was *ex hypothesi* still in use; but there is an absence of anything distinctive of the cist graves, and although our real knowledge of the pottery of that age is limited to tomb furniture and we cannot affirm that the funerary types were never used for domestic purposes, yet their absence is a strong if not a conclusive argument.

It has been explained earlier in this volume that the long road from the Water-Gate to the foot

¹ The object No. 3 is a dark grey stone, 6.10 m. long, found with the pottery. Lawrence notes that, while the shape resembles an axe, the 'cutting edge' and the longer sides are apparently natural, and though the neck may conceivably have been ground it also is probably natural. A second example, longer and ruder, was found at the same depth.

of the Palace stairs had two paving strata, both of cobbles and gravel; the lower was associated with the older version of the Water-Gate and adjoining buildings, the upper, contemporary with the Late Hittite Palace, was the road surface at the time of the city's destruction. Eastwards, in front of the Herald's Wall, the two road surfaces were separated by 0.90 m. depth of mixed soil; at the stairs' foot they came together, forming a solid bed of gravel demarcated only by a thin medial band of lime. Hogarth, digging at the foot of the stairs, found a late chalcolithic pot burial only 1.40 m. below the latest Hittite road-level. A pit sunk in front and a little to the east of the great Lion slab at the foot of the stairs, near the doorway to room 1, found, immediately below the destruction level, a number of sherds of the painted ware found in the Yunus graves and of 'Cypriote' Iron Age pottery (such as occurs also in the Yunus cemetery) and a single example of the fine ring-burnished buff ware and a few pieces of coarser fabric but of Amarna character (the stratum was not a very clean one, but no pottery of these types occurred at any higher level in the cutting). Some distance in front of the stairs, in a part of the open court not disturbed by Roman foundations, there were found, under the clean water-borne soil overlying the destruction level, in which latter were fragments of carved basalt and glazed bricks, two painted sherds from kraters of the normal Yunus grave type; with them was an example of the tall 'baluster' ampullae not recorded at Yunus but common in the post-Hittite period.

The pottery from the house sites of the outer town is instructive as illustrating the domestic wares in use at the end of the seventh century B.C. (v. Pl. 20c and d). It does include the 'baluster' vase *d. 8*. Generally speaking the types are not those of the Yunus graves, though *c. 1* and *3* are fairly common there, and in the eight houses—or rather, parts of houses—dug by us no example of the painted Yunus pottery occurred. We cannot conclude from this that the painted vases were made solely for tomb furniture, for fragments of such were found fairly plentifully both in the Lower Palace area and on the Acropolis. It is quite true that the range of types in the tombs is very limited and that of them only two were normally painted and they were used always in a specific way, one as the cinerary urn and the other as the container in which the urn was set; and it is also true that the range of domestic wares is likely to be very much wider, since there are so many more uses to be subserved. If the painted vases are not found in the houses but are found where the ruins are those of Palace or Temple, the probable explanation is either that they were expensive objects which would not be in daily use in a poor man's house (but House D was not that of a poor man), although even the poor would do their best to supply them in honour of the dead, or else that as objects of daily use they had passed out of fashion and were retained only for the conservative customs of burial or as things dedicated in a temple. We have here an argument, not amounting to proof, for the Yunus graves, and the painted pottery in particular, going well back in the Late Hittite period.

In the West Gate of the Inner Town¹ there was found a cache of pottery fragments dating to the time of the last repairs to the gateway, possibly somewhere about 700 B.C.; it included some of the best-known Amarna types, fragments of typical painted urns and kraters of the Yunus ware, one fragment of curious highly burnished black ware (rag burnished) not found elsewhere, part of a bowl with fine rag-burnished creamy engobage over light clay, also new, and fragments of ring-burnished ware. The whole deposit *may* have been put here as rubbish collected from different sources and the different wares therefore cannot be claimed as necessarily contemporary, but it is

¹ See Vol. II, pp. 79–80.

more probable that they are contemporary and prove at least a prolonged overlap of Amarna and Yunus types.

On the cobbled pavement of the Temple courtyard (contemporary, of course, with the upper road-level outside) there were found several late Mycenaean sherds and a piece of Cypriote Iron Age ware with concentric circles (Pl. 68a). These must have come from the Temple Treasury, where they had been preserved for many generations. I have no record of Mycenaean pottery being found elsewhere.

'On the actual level of the Late Hittite courtyard near the great Lion slab (B. 33) was found one piece of a bowl with inturned rim of regular Amarna type'.¹

On the upper level of the street leading to the Water-Gate there were found fragments of Cypriote Iron Age pottery together with some pieces of black ring-burnished ware.² At a point nearly opposite the 'Hilani' a trial-pit was sunk through the road surface which gave the section shown on fig. 63 (p.176). In the gravel of the upper road surface (C) were embedded a good many fragments of pottery, described in the field notes as 'all of Late Hittite date'. In the second gravel stratum (E)³ the pottery was again 'Late Hittite', including such well-defined forms as bowls of buff clay with rims as on fig. 96; but below these again, on the surface of stratum (G), there were fragments of painted funerary kraters of the Yunus type, part of the base of a bowl of fine red burnished ware, type Yunus B. 12, a bowl-rim as Yunus B. 3, and the trefoil mouth of a jug, Yunus J. 8. Now the level (C) was not only the road surface at the time of the destruction of the city, but also the road surface at the time when the 'Hilani' took its latest form, for the rubble foundations of the north wall of the 'Hilani' complex go down only just below this surface. The gravel stratum (E) might have been an earlier surface (though it did not seem to be such) and the stratum (G) must be a great deal earlier—presumably contemporary with the original buildings of the Water-Gate (Middle Hittite), it would have been in use up to the time of the remodelling of the buildings in this area after the sacking of the city in 1190 B.C. The conclusion is that the Yunus Cemetery pottery, and its most distinctive varieties, the painted kraters and urns, came into use at the beginning of the Iron Age, when it at first was associated with and later took the place of the Amarna pottery, and continued in use until the fall of Carchemish. It should be remarked that immediately over the destruction level with its litter of broken basalt comes the clean water-laid deposit, sandy in character, which was due to the weathering of the abandoned site over a term of years. Directly above this is mixed soil containing quantities of pottery, but it is all Hellenistic—the commonest and the most typical is the dark-faced ware with white paint and sgraffiato decoration (see Pl. 68d)—and there is no vestige of the Hittite Iron Age fabrics.⁴



Hilani Roadway

FIG. 96

¹ From a report on the pottery by T. E. Lawrence.

² We must allow for the possibility of earlier sherds being washed down on to the roadway from the ruined terraces on the side of the mound.

³ 'A thin stratum of water-laid stuff, mostly fine sharp gravel but with a fair amount of larger stones.'

⁴ In the courtyard close to the Long Wall of Sculpture the stratification was as follows: On the Late Hittite gravel floor were thickly scattered the fragments of limestone and basalt (largely sculptured or inscribed) of the 'destruction level'. Between and over these fragments was perfectly clean sandy

soil, a mixture of wind-blown sand and decomposed mud brick and soil washed down by water from the mound, this formed a level surface about 1.10 m. above the courtyard floor. Over this was a heavy layer, in part 0.85 m. thick, full of what the excavators termed 'Post-Palace pottery', which included the Hellenistic dark-faced ware with scratched and painted floral patterns (Pl. 68d) and wares with red paint 'trickle' ornament. Above this came a second layer of clean sandy soil topped by a 5-centimetric bed of pebbles over which came Roman pottery of the late Imperial age and sherds of subsequent periods down to medieval Arab.

The sequence of pottery is therefore clear. At the beginning we have the Tell Halaf ware, found sparsely in the lowest strata of the Acropolis mound tapped by our excavations and freely in the kilns near Yunus; it would seem to be neolithic. It is superseded by the plain pottery of the pot-burial period, wheel-made and sometimes finely burnished, covered with a haematitic wash or fired black in a smother-kiln, occasionally decorated with white-filled incisions. This is the pottery of the chalcolithic age. Then comes the Bronze Age pottery, distinguished into two phases, the first that of the 'champagne vase' cist-burials on the Acropolis, the second that of the Amarna cemetery, represented at Carchemish by a few graves in the river wall and by the pit at stair-head as well as by casual finds all over the site. The Iron Age pottery is that of the Yunus graves.

The neolithic people belonged to a cultural group which spread over northern Mesopotamia as far as Nineveh; it had no connexions with the south, neither with southern Mesopotamia¹ nor with south Syria and Palestine; it is definitely a northern culture. The change to the chalcolithic culture is apparently sudden and certainly complete—there is no gradual evolution but, in the pottery at least, an entirely new technique, new shapes, and new methods of manufacture. The pebble-burnished red and black wares are not unlike the Uruk wares of Sumer, due also to the incoming of a new racial stock; where a process is so simple and so widespread it is dangerous to take it as proof of interrelations—an independent origin cannot be ruled out as impossible—but on the other hand a common source is by no means unlikely. There is nothing to show at what date the chalcolithic age at Carchemish began, nor indeed when it ended, but to correlate it in time with the Uruk period would give to the 'champagne cup' period a longevity not warranted by any evidence yet produced. We know, in fact, so little about the chalcolithic period that we can predicate nothing of it apart from its existence.

For the Bronze Age we are much better documented, and especially for its later phase, the pottery of which is richly illustrated by Amarna. That the Bronze Age people were incomers of a different stock from the chalcolithic population cannot be doubted—a completely new range of pottery shapes and new technique appear side by side with a thoroughly evolved tradition of metal-working and with burial customs that have no precedent on the site. It is equally clear that the later phase of the Bronze Age is a natural development of the earlier, with no sudden break in continuity; I have suggested, on evidence obtained from outlying sites, that the change took place somewhere about 1750 B.C. and it is probable that it was brought about by the establishment about that time of closer relations between the people of Carchemish and their kinsmen farther north. It is curious that whereas the metal weapons of the earlier phase find close parallels in Mesopotamia, e.g. in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, and those of the later phase present analogies with the wrought-metal weapons of the Sargonid and following periods in Mesopotamia, the pottery has virtually nothing in common. It is curious too that the pottery bears very slight relation to that of a North Syrian site no farther removed than is Atchana. The characteristic ware of Atchana up to the eighteenth century is painted, with zonal bands and metope decoration including geometrical, bird, and animal motives; towards the end of that period and in the eighteenth century there is a little black burnished pottery and there are a few examples of 'champagne cups', but the bulk of the pottery is not like that of Carchemish; after that there is a recrudescence of the painted ware, a remarkable black or grey burnished ware with white-filled impressed patterns; in the sixteenth and fifteenth

¹ The clay 'nails' found in the transition level might belong to the early part of the chalcolithic period; if they belong to the neolithic they seem to contradict the evidence of the pottery.

centuries together with red-washed ring-burnished platters, a mass of 'Cypriote' white slip and base-ring pottery and in the fourteenth the painted Nuzu ware.

None of these types occur at Carchemish in the corresponding period, with the sole exception of the ring-burnished red ware, and even here both the fabric and the treatment are so different that the resemblance is more apparent in the description than real. Carchemish again does not produce a single example of the 'Tell el Yahudiyeh' incised black-ware juglets which are common on all Syrian sites as far north as Ras Shamra (but do not occur at Atchana), nor do we find there any of the 'Nuzu' painted ware which in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries spread across north Mesopotamia from Atchana to east of the Tigris. Unaffected by so many currents of fashion that pervaded the countries east, south, and west, Carchemish would seem to have been rather the outpost of some northern ceramic school, and it is the case that on the whole the pottery of the Bronze Age finds its closest analogies in that of the Halys basin—the preference for bowl types with strongly carinated rims, the use of burnish, and the employment of the smother-kiln are all points in common. The Carchemish pottery is far from being identical with that of Mishar or of Macahöyük, but there is no identity in Anatolian Hittite wares, nor should we expect such cultural uniformity in view of the disparate elements that made up the Hittite confederacy; it is, however, sufficiently like to be accounted Hittite pottery, the pottery of an outlying and rather isolated province of imperial Hatti. It was probably because the Carchemish potter was at such pains to remain uncontaminated by any of the alien fashions in vogue in the non-Hittite countries around him that his own product tends to be so static and monotonous.

There is no monotony in the pottery of the Iron Age. The painted kraters and urns show an astonishing variety of decoration, generally geometric but occasionally with bird or animal motives introduced;¹ they are quite definitely related to the Iron Age pottery of Cyprus, and the relation is emphasized by the 'Cypriote' aryballoi with concentric circles in black on a red ground; but even the aryballoi are not necessarily of Cypriote manufacture, and some are without doubt made locally, as was found to be the case with the similar vases found at Al Mina on the north Syrian coast,² while Cyprus cannot match exactly the kraters of the Yunus graves. It is not necessary to assume that the Carchemish potters were imitating imported Cypriote vessels or were indeed under any debt to the island; there is evidence to show that the Iron Age pottery of Cyprus, like its Bronze Age pottery, was derived from Asia and that the types adopted and perpetuated by the island potters continued to be produced on the mainland by the kinsmen of those who had migrated to Cyprus. The painted decoration of the Yunus cemetery vases seems to be related, on the one hand, to the 'Khabur' painted wares of the Bronze Age and, on the other, to early wares from eastern Anatolia where the concentric circle motive occurs on hand-made pottery.³

¹ The best example of such is illustrated on Pl. 68c; it was omitted from my publication of *The Iron-Age Graves of Carchemish* (v. footnote on p. 12 of that article).

Antiquaries Journal, xvii. 1, pp. 9-10.
v. *Liverpool Annals*, ix. 1, p. 53.

CHAPTER XIV THE SCULPTURE

IN the preface to the first volume of *Carchemish*, issued as long ago as 1914, Sir Frederic Kenyon explained that the immediate publication of plates of inscription and sculpture in advance of any commentary or description was in accordance with the established policy of the Trustees of the British Museum, which was to place their discoveries at the disposal of scholars in general at as early a date as possible rather than reserve them for complete working out by their own officers. The second volume, issued in 1921, contained a further instalment of inscriptions and sculptures to which there was no reference in the text. Consequently the bulk of the more important stone carvings found in the course of the Carchemish excavations has long been familiar to students and there is now a considerable bibliography on the subject; but all who have dealt with it have alike laboured under the disadvantage of not knowing those facts of discovery which might have modified their views or strengthened their conclusions. Any attempt to put the monuments in their historical setting was necessarily based for the most part either on their style or on analogies with monuments from other North Syrian sites; but stylistic arguments are dangerously subjective, and the monuments from other sites can themselves very seldom be dated on grounds other than style and even when other evidence is available comparison between the two sites may be misleading—Carchemish, the capital city, might well have its own canons of art and would certainly command the services of the best artists, whereas the masons employed to decorate the palace of a provincial sheikh, as at Tell Halaf, might still be bound by traditions elsewhere long outmoded and their technique would be very far behind that of their contemporaries in the great cities. The judgements expressed by different scholars have therefore differed widely. It was generally recognized that a great many of the monuments of Carchemish were, as the city's history would lead one to suspect, of late date, i.e. belonged to the 'Syro-Hittite' period, and even within the limits of that period they were not supposed to be early but rather to date from the ninth century B.C. onwards. Some authorities were inclined to class all, without exception, as Syro-Hittite; no North Syrian sculptures were known to antedate the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea, so that no artistic criteria were available for that period, nor could we assume that any school of Hittite or allied sculpture had developed in North Syria before 1200 B.C. Others agreed that a limited number of reliefs ought to be referred to the second millennium and in this they had archaeological support, for in *Carchemish II* I had shown that the Water-Gate, with which a number of reliefs are associated, belongs to the Middle Hittite period.¹ But within the group which by common consent was assigned to the Syro-Hittite period there was no agreed sequence, i.e. no relative dating, and *a fortiori* no positive date.

If I do not examine in detail the published views of other writers on the subject, it is not because I undervalue their efforts but because such discussion would be outside my province. I have certainly benefited from those views; but my duty here is to bring forward the archaeological evidence which has been lacking hitherto, and to make the necessary deductions from it. Where my conclusions differ from those of my predecessors controversy would be ungracious on my part, seeing that I am arguing from new material; where we agree I feel that I am confirmed by their support.

¹ The argument as I put it forward is not necessarily conclusive for the sculpture, since we must always allow for the

possibility of a building being redecorated with new reliefs by a later ruler; but see below, p. 246.

The new evidence is of three kinds:

1. *The Evidence of Discovery.* The evidence given by field archaeology has been discussed in detail in the preceding chapters dealing with individual sites; here I shall draw the conclusions from the facts there recorded with the minimum of repetition. Perhaps I ought once more to apologize for having withheld the information for so long.

2. *The Literary Evidence.* The decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic texts has now made sufficient progress for scholars to identify and transliterate proper names and, in the case of the kings, to establish their family relations.¹ This is invaluable for the study of the Carchemish monuments, so many of which bear, or are associated with, royal inscriptions.

3. *Comparative Evidence.* A great difference has been made by the discoveries at Acheana-Alalakh. Acheana lies at the western edge of the Aleppo steppe whereof Carchemish is an eastern outpost, and therefore the two cities were to a certain extent open to the same influences, though the pottery shows basic cultural traditions which contrast fairly strongly one with another, and both passed, in the second half of the second millennium, under the control of the Hittites of Anatolia. Alalakh has given us a specimen of portrait sculpture of the eighteenth century which is unmistakably Hittite but has no analogy with anything yet known to us from the Halys area. What is more to the point is that for a later period, the fourteenth century B.C., it has produced a series of architectural figures of lions, figures which are clearly the prototypes of many lions of Syro-Hittite art, one relief which is definitely of the Bogazköy school, and one statue in the round, of the late fifteenth century, which is as definitely local; for the first time we can call in evidence dated North Syrian sculptures of the time of the Later Hittite Empire.

The evidence of discovery applies theoretically to all the monuments found, but it is in only a certain number of cases that it has value—where a relief, for instance, was found embedded in Roman concrete or lying loose in the top soil the fact does not help us to establish its date. On the other hand, the field notes enable us in some cases to associate monuments which, judged on internal evidence, might be assigned to disparate periods, or in some cases prove that monuments which appear at first sight to be part of a single whole are in reality of different dates and that their physical association is misleading.

The literary evidence covers the period from the early tenth to the middle of the eighth century B.C.; we have no inscription of Pisisir, the last king of Carchemish, and, naturally, no hieroglyphic text of the time after Sargon (in 716 B.C.) had reduced Carchemish to the position of an Assyrian colony. Because the evidence of the inscriptions is indisputable I propose to deal first with those monuments which are themselves inscribed or must be associated with inscriptions, and to leave the residue for examination in the light of archaeological and comparative evidence. But there is one monument at least which is demonstrably later than any of the texts, and should therefore be given priority.

In the description of the King's Gate (p. 199) I have already spoken of one fragmentary relief, B. 61a, which must be later in date than any other sculpture from that area. The attribution is based not merely on stylistic grounds—the piece is purely Assyrian in style and contrasts strongly with Syro-Hittite work—but also on its subject; it is a chariot scene with four men mounted on the chariot, and until the time of Assurbanipal the Assyrian chariot carried two men only. This relief, therefore, must have been carved not earlier than about 660 B.C.; its deliberate destruction should be

¹ While the above was being written the news reached me of a long bilingual inscription in Old Semitic and Hittite hieroglyphic discovered by the Turkish Expedition at Karatepe of a

connected either with Necho's Syrian conquests of 609 B.C. or, perhaps more probably, with the intrigues which we know were carried on between Carchemish and Psamtik I ten years or more before:¹ on either of those occasions the pro-Egyptian faction in the city would have found reason to destroy a monument witnessing to the Assyrian suzerainty.

- Granted its subject the chariot relief cannot have been isolated; it was part of a frieze occupying a considerable area. The fact is important because it implies that there was in this late period, after 660 B.C., a phase of building activity which involved the redecoration with sculpture of at least one and as likely as not of more than one public monument.

On grounds of style we cannot but associate with the chariot relief the two fragmentary figures B. 64*a* and *b* found in the late destruction level at the foot of the Great Staircase. Here we have elaboration of ornament, especially remarkable in the treatment of the essentially Assyrian embroidery of the garments, the same minute finish, and the same *morbidessa* in the treatment of the muscles; also the all-over rosette decoration is typically Assyrian; in any case we should have assigned the monument to a very late date, but in view of its resemblance to the chariot slab should define that date more closely as being about 650 B.C.²

I am indebted to Mr. Barnett for the following list of the kings of Carchemish whose names occur in the inscriptions:

King	Date	Monuments
Pa-wa-Šarruma (? grandson of Šubbiluliuma)	c. 1300 B.C.	A. 18 <i>d</i> .
GREAT-pa, son of Pa-ī-da (possibly Luhas I).	? c. 1000 B.C.	A. 4 <i>b</i> .
Luhas I	c. 960 B.C.	A. 14 <i>a</i> lion found near the Water-Gate. Mentioned in A. 1 <i>b</i> , but this may be Luhas II.
Asatuwatimais (son of Luhas I)	c. 940 B.C.	A. 14 <i>b</i> (lion found near the Water-Gate; B. 31 <i>c</i>).
Luhas II (son of Asatuwatimais)	c. 920 B.C.	? A. 1 <i>b</i> (see Luhas I).
Katuwas (son of Luhas II)	c. 900 B.C. (certainly before 873 B.C.)	A. 2, A. 3; the Temple door-jambs. A. 8; door-jamb of King's Gate. A. 9, A. 10; door-jambs re-used in pavement of King's Gate. A. 13 <i>d</i> ; royal portrait relief found near the King's Gate. A. 23; door-jamb from inner buttress of the Palace staircase.
Sangara	c. 873-850 B.C.	? A. 1 <i>a</i> ; from the Long Wall of Sculpture. Nil.
Asadaruwas	c. 820 B.C.	A. 20 <i>b</i> ; door-jamb, possibly from the staircase. A. 21; reliefs from east side of staircase.
? Son of Asadaruwas	c. 800 B.C.	A. 27 <i>c</i> ; mentioning his father.
Araras	c. 780 B.C.	A. 6, A. 7 (B. 6, 7, 8); the Royal Buttress. A. 15 <i>b</i> . A. 24 (4 and 5).
Kamanas (son of Araras)	Down to 760 B.C.	A. 31 (statue of Kubaba). He is mentioned also on A. 6, A. 7 (see under Araras) and on A. 4 <i>a</i> , A. 5 <i>a</i> (found in the Sargonid building on the top of the NW. mound), A. 17 <i>b</i> (= B. 66 <i>a</i>) and A. 25 <i>b</i> (the last not found at Carchemish).
Pisiris	750 to 716 B.C.	Nil.

¹ *Carchemish*, vol. II, p. 126.

² The fibulae occur throughout the Late Hittite period, in the Yunus graves, v. *Liverpool Annals*, xxvi, pl. xix *c*.

Mr. Barnett, dissenting from my view, points out that the mirror and big chain are exactly like those in the Kubaba figure by Kamanas, B. 62*a*, and that the fragment B. 64*c*, probably from the same sculpture, shows two large fibulae similar to those worn, for example, by King Urpalla at Bor and Ivriz; those figures are known to belong to the latter part of the eighth century and similar fibulae were discovered in

the graves at Gordion. 'There can, therefore, be little doubt that this is a broken cult figure of Kubaba, probably not later than the time of Kamanas.' The parallels cited by Mr. Barnett are of course indisputable, but do not in my opinion necessarily supersede the argument based on style, because whereas styles in art may change rapidly and possess marked characteristics with each succeeding phase, religious conservatism is not so ready to admit changes in the traditional dress of a cult figure, and dress is in consequence not decisive evidence for age. Such fibulae also occur in Early Iron Age Yunus graves.

We thus have a certain number of stone carvings whose date is fixed within the limits of a single reign by inscriptions on the stones themselves, but the archaeological evidence for the association of these stones with others will add considerably to the list. Because of the practice so common with the rulers of Carchemish of refashioning the decoration of a building in their own honour while retaining so much of the original as would fit in with the new design, it is best to work out the problems of authorship for the Syro-Hittite period in historical order, beginning with Luhas I, although my general argument will follow the reverse order, from the well-documented late period to the earlier times for which we have no literary evidence.

Luhas I

There is good reason to suppose (v. p. 163) that the Water-Gate lion bearing Luhas's name came from the outer buttress on the east side of the staircase, facing that which bore the name of his son Asatuwatimais. It is unlikely that they were put up at the same time, for, judging by the fragments that exist, they were very different in style, and the Luhas lion is more schematic than the other, though, if the feet B. 70*b* belong to it, it had not the dry angularity of what we can call archaic art (cf. B. 70*c*, *d*). Either the staircase building was incomplete when Luhas died and was finished by his son, or else it was completed but Asatuwatimais, in order to claim credit for himself, substituted an up-to-date lion of his own for one of those set up by his father. However that may be, the assumption that Luhas worked on the staircase accords very well with the occurrence of his name on the Long Wall of Sculpture, which is the natural pendant of the staircase, and the coincidence goes far towards proving that the Luhas of the inscription (B. 40) is Luhas I and not his grandson Luhas II. This does not mean that Luhas I was responsible for all the sculptures of the Long Wall. I have already pointed out¹ that the wall on which the reliefs stand is in two parts of different dates; Luhas's slab with the Naked Goddess and the seated priestess (? the king's daughter) stands on the end of the older section and everything to the south of it is later. And it is true not of the sub-structure only. The Long Wall, as we have it, shows a procession—in front the gods return to their temple, behind come the warriors whose victory has made the return possible. But the whole composition is upset by this one slab whereon there is a goddess standing full-face and a priestess seated—neither taking any part in the forward movement of all the rest. Again, whereas the soldiers in the procession are carved on alternate slabs of limestone and basalt, according to the familiar Hittite 'black and white' convention, the slabs at the head of the procession, showing the four deities, are all of basalt, the departure from the norm emphasizing the distinction of godhead; but Luhas's slab is incongruously white. The Naked Goddess is an isolated relic of an older scheme of decoration; very likely it always stood in the place on the wall from which it had slipped when Henderson unearthed it, for it can hardly have been moved from elsewhere to be set up where it harmonizes so ill with its neighbours; but the Four Gods were inserted later² and the rest of the Long Wall was also an addition by another hand.

To these two (more or less) certain works of Luhas I, I should feel inclined to add, on grounds of style, the great relief of two gods on a lion, B. 33. It does not belong to the same series as the Naked Goddess, for its scale is different and it has no guilloche border, but it is remarkably similar in character, the drapery is alike, and the drawing of the wings is identical. The lion is not like that

¹ pp. 166, 173.

² See above, p. 173. Hogarth's observation of the fact was absolutely correct, though he dated the change unduly late.

found near the Water-Gate, but a relief may well differ from a sculpture in the round, and while the carving as a whole looks early compared with most of the Syro-Hittite sculptures, it owes too much to Assyrian influence (which we see also in the Naked Goddess) for it to be earlier than the tenth century B.C.

Asatuwatimais

The gateway lion of Asatuwatimais (B. 31c) also betrays Assyrian influence both in the treatment of the muscles and in the elaborately formal rendering of the hair, while the rosette ornament on the plinth which the figure supports¹ is in the Assyrian tradition. So far as one can see, however, it marks a considerable advance on the work of Luhas.

Katuwas

For the first half of the ninth century we have the numerous works of King Katuwas. Only one of his inscriptions, A. 13d, is on the same block as a pictorial relief, but the enlarged initial which, as Mr. Barnett points out (p. 261), must be an actual portrait of the king, is a very valuable witness to the style of the period; the other inscriptions enable us to assign to this energetic builder a number of extant works of art.

A. 23 was the eastern jamb of the inner doorway of the staircase, and it states that Katuwas dedicated a temple to the goddess Kubaba. Judging from the position of the stone, on the stairs leading to the top of the Citadel mound, the Temple ought to have been on the mound,² presumably associated with the royal palace which for purposes of defence must have occupied the same commanding height. That the stairs led both to the Palace and to the Temple would explain the religious character of the reliefs on either side of them, the scheme of which seems to have persisted throughout all the changes wrought by different builders. I have suggested that one slab, B. 36a, may be older than the Asadaruwas reliefs associated with it (v. p. 162) and it is possible, though not likely, that it is a survival of the staircase decoration done to the order of Katuwas. But the decoration of the staircase is essentially connected with that of the Long Wall of Sculpture—the staircase figures are welcoming the procession represented on the Long Wall. The inscription on that wall, A. 1a (= B. 43b) does not give us a legible name, but Mr. Barnett assigns it to about this period, and the contents describing the destruction of a temple and its subsequent restoration by the King harmonize well with A. 11b, which states that Carchemish had been destroyed and afterwards rebuilt by Katuwas. In A. 2, A. 3, the door-jambs of the Temple (v. p. 169), he describes himself as the founder of that temple—the Temple of the Storm-god; it would seem to be a case not of repair of a damaged building but of a new foundation. I have explained above that the whole stretch of the Long Wall of Sculpture from the Naked Goddess slab to the south-east corner is a later addition to the original building; and the addition obviously was made in order to enclose the small Temple which we now know was refounded by Katuwas.³ In that case all the chariot- and foot-soldier slabs must be assigned to Katuwas. So too must the basalt reliefs, B. 38 and B. 39, of the deities who head the procession, reliefs which, as we have seen, were not part of the original decoration of

¹ It is to this figure that the cuneiform inscription A. 35 i. 1–11 belonged (it was written on the plinth above the back of the lion).

² On this see below, p. 245, under Kamanas.

³ I have given reasons (v. above, p. 170) for thinking that the

actual shrine in the Temple complex was a foundation of Middle Hittite date; but the whole of its surroundings are Late Hittite. In view of the magnitude of the changes made Katuwas could quite fairly claim to be the 'founder' of the Late Hittite temple of the Storm-god, even though the nucleus of it was old.

the wall but were inserted at a later date; in style they agree with the portrait relief A. 13*d*, and they are, of course, inseparable from the procession of warriors.¹

From the door-jambs of the King's Gate (A. 8, 9, 10) we learn that Katuwas built 'the gate-house' and installed in it the statue of the god Atarluhas which, as Mr. Barnett points out, cannot be other than the statue of Atarluhas found by us by the door of the King's Gate (B. 25). He built also the 'Temple of the Storm-god of the Lions', which would seem to be not the same as the 'Temple of the Storm-god' behind the Long Wall of Sculpture but a building connected with the King's Gate, perhaps that entered by the doorway next to the Royal Buttress, from which the jambs A. 9, A. 10 may have come. The fact of A. 8 being found *in situ* in the main doorway proves that the general layout of the King's Gate goes back at least to the time of Katuwas.

The King's Gate as a whole is later than the Herald's Wall and it is itself a composite monument (v. above, pp. 193, 202-4). The Royal Buttress representing the officers and family of King Araras is demonstrably later in date than the procession of foot-soldiers (B. 1, 2, and 3) and than the statue on the lion base (B. 53 and 54*a*) which is contemporary with the foot-soldiers. Now the soldier slabs are identical in every respect—in accoutrement, in drawing, and in style—with those on the Long Wall of Sculpture, and in view both of this resemblance and of their date in relation to Araras (as well as of the definite claim made in the door-jamb inscription) they must be assigned to Katuwas; our 'Hadad' statue is probably, as Mr. Barnett suggests, the 'Storm-god of the Lions' of which the inscription speaks. With the soldier slabs go all the reliefs of the Processional Entry (B. 17*a*, B. 18*b*, B. 19-24) together with the slab B. 26*c*, a reproduction on a smaller scale of the soldier slabs of the Long Wall and of the King's Gate. It is tempting to assume (though there are no grounds for so doing) that the portrait slab A. 13*d* formed part of Katuwas's 'Royal Buttress', the King himself advancing at the head of his troops *into* the temple which he has restored (A. 9-10) for the institution of the sacrifices; he would then correspond to the statue of the goddess shown at the head of a long line of priestesses and ministrants bringing the victims for the sacrifice.

To Katuwas we must assign also the two reliefs of men hunting from chariots (B. 60*a*, *b*); in composition and in style they are indistinguishable from the chariot slabs of the Long Wall of Sculpture and may well have been carved by the same artist.

Asadaruwas

King Sangara, the vassal and tributary of Assurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III, has left us no inscribed monuments of what cannot have been a glorious reign, but in the last decades of the ninth century Asadaruwas not only was independent but could assume the title of King of Hatti, i.e. overlord of all the Late Hittite towns of North Syria.² He remodelled the staircase, and the reliefs that bordered the lowest flight are, for the most part at least, almost certainly his work. It is interest-

¹ Lugas's relief of the Naked Goddess had apparently survived the disaster which had overtaken the city and was piously left in position (or replaced in its position) by Katuwas. If we accept these attributions of authorship, we can perhaps explain away the incongruity of the static figures on B. 40 interrupting the procession. The Great Staircase served several purposes; it led presumably to the Upper Palace; it led to the Kubaba Temple on the mound's top, and the side door on the first flight led into a courtyard of the Temple of the Storm-god founded by Katuwas. Now the Kubaba Temple was an old foundation and Lugas's relief belonged to it—the Naked God-

dess can be taken as one of the forms of the Great Goddess of the city; as a result of his victory in war Katuwas restored it, and also built his new temple at the mound's foot. The Storm-god, heading the procession, has just reached the doorway leading off to his shrine which he will enter for the first time; the static character of the goddess slab is proper because she has always been there; she too must figure in the procession because it is Katuwas's victory that has brought back the *status quo*, but the re-use of the old relief emphasises her permanence.

² See Barnett on p. 261.

ing to note that the ministrants, especially the semi-human winged figure behind that of the King, are in their general character, in their dress, and even in the details of the baskets which they carry, strongly reminiscent of Assyria, and in all the slabs except B. 36a Assyrian influence may be traced in the delicacy of the carving and in the convention whereby the whole of the background is covered with inscription; but the high relief of the figures and the roundness of their modelling owes nothing to the art of Assurnasirpal. If we compare the monuments of Asadaruwas with those of Katuwas we can see that the vassalage of Sangara had not been without its effect on the artists of Carchemish. That is a point which bears upon the vexed question of the uninscribed slab B. 36a which seems to have belonged to the staircase (see above, p. 162). Because by its lack of inscription and slightly lower relief it contrasts with the Asadaruwas series which it otherwise resembles, I have suggested that it might be a survival from an older series of similar character and was re-used by Asadaruwas; and since Katuwas worked on the staircase it would seem natural to attribute it to him. But B. 36a is in its conception, and in the dress and details of the figure, no less Assyrian than are the inscribed slabs and in what we possess of the art of Katuwas there is no parallel for such direct borrowing from Assyria;¹ one cannot rule out the possibility that under Sangara the approach to the Palace and main temple of the city had been decorated with Assyrian reliefs as a compliment to his overlord. In any case, whether we attribute it to Sangara or to Asadaruwas, the slab belongs to the second half of the ninth century and is of the same interest as showing the subservience of the art of Carchemish to that of Nineveh at the time.

Araras

The reign of the nameless son of Asadaruwas implies a certain length of time between the reign of that king and the accession to power of the usurper Araras; moreover, the outstanding monument of his that we possess was executed not at the beginning of his reign but at a time when he was already thinking of his son's succession. There had been time therefore for that artistic development which distinguishes the Royal Buttress from the staircase reliefs. The *horror vacui* which covers the background of a relief with inscription, the text impinging on the figures themselves, no longer operates; where an inscription seems to be required it is reduced to a minimum, is distinguished by being enclosed in a sunken panel, and is kept away from the contours of the relief. The individual figures are more vivacious and naturalistic and the composition as a whole is much more free, and it avoids altogether the mechanical repetition of the priestesses and *kriophoroi* of the Processional Entry. Whatever it may have borrowed from the Hittite past or from Assyria, the art of Araras's time has assimilated its borrowings and achieved a new form peculiar to itself.

Though the Royal Buttress is the only authenticated work of Araras that survives intact, we have other evidence of his activities. The fragments on A. 24, which give his name, and the important fragment A. 12 which can safely be attributed to him, come from large blocks with a long inscription below and a large-scale relief above which are by far the biggest monolithic monuments that we know of at Carchemish. The fragments of a colossal statue of a god, B. 63, found at the top of the staircase, might be adjudged to him on the ground of its scale alone, and so far as one can tell from the little that remains the style also is his; on the grounds of style I should not hesitate to assign to him the remarkable head B. 67e, perhaps the finest piece of sculpture found on the site.

¹ There is Assyrian influence in the art of Luhas I, but again not such frank imitation. Moreover, the slab is not much like Luhas's work, and its subject would not have fitted Luhas's staircase which *ex hypothesi* did not have a processional scene.

Kamanas

Of the work of Kamanas, Araras's son and successor, we have two examples, the basalt relief B. 66*a*, which is too fragmentary and defaced to be informative, and the statue of the goddess Kubaba B. 62*a*. The statue was found by Henderson high up on the north-west slope of the Citadel mound; fragments of the inscription A. 4*a* were found high up in the staircase area and the altar A. 5*a* dedicated by a courtier in Kamanas's honour was found in the ruins of the building at the north-west end of the mound's summit. It is clear that Kamanas had much to do with the Kubaba Temple, and it is equally clear that the Temple must have occupied the north-west end of the mound, though it was approached—presumably through the Palace—by the stairs on the south-east sector. Hittite artists were never interested in drapery as such: the clothes of their statues are always an envelope, a mere outline which betrays nothing of the nature of the material or of the body beneath it—and the fully draped Kubaba statue, lacking a head and with its hands defaced, is a disappointing illustration of the art of Kamanas's time. It is possible, though any assertion would be hazardous, that we have a better illustration in the double lion column-base B. 32, which comes from the building at the north-west end of the mound and therefore presumably from the Kubaba Temple with which Kamanas was so concerned. That temple was an ancient building and its furniture might have been of any date, but this is almost certainly a late piece—later, in my opinion, than the lion-bases of Katuwas (B. 25, B. 53, B. 54*b*).

There are two other important monuments definitely belonging to the Late Hittite period for which a specific attribution is impossible. The great double bull base or laver (B. 47) in the courtyard of the Temple (the Temple of the Storm-god?) may be the work of Katuwas, the Temple's founder, but though it is likely that it belongs to the Temple it is not certain (see above, p. 168). As regards the smaller double bull base B. 34 found *in situ* against the terrace wall behind the great 'Lion Slab' B. 33, there is absolutely no external evidence for its date; in both cases the fact that the eyes were inlaid after the Sumerian fashion might be thought to indicate an early period, but as the Hadad statue from Zinjirli has inlaid eyes and was dedicated by Panammu I not earlier than 790 B.C.—virtually the end of the period of creative art at Carchemish—it does not help us in other than a negative way.

Another 'doubtful' monument which has the same feature of inlaid eyes is the very remarkable fragment of a male head carved in the round, B. 67*d*. The figure had beard and moustache, but, as Mr. Barnett has pointed out (p. 261), the presence or absence of a beard is not safe evidence for date. The modelling of the cheek is unusually delicate and the shape of the deep-set eye is in striking contrast to the eye of Katuwas's Storm-god statue. The convention for the hair of the whiskers is the same as on the Assyrian chariot-relief fragment B. 61*a*, and I am inclined to put this piece to the same late date, but feel no assurance in so doing.

For the Late Hittite period we can thus, on written evidence, fix within fifty years or less the date of a considerable number of stone carvings, and can with reasonable probability assign equally close dates to half a dozen more. The chronological sequence is as follows:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Sculptures definitely of that date</i>	<i>Sculptures probably of that date</i>
1000-950 B.C.	A. 14 <i>a</i> ; B. 40	B. 33; B. 38
950-900 B.C.	A. 14 <i>b</i> (B. 31 <i>c</i>)	
900-850 B.C.	A. 13 <i>d</i> ; B. 2-3; B. 17 <i>a</i> ; B. 18 <i>b</i> ; B. 19-25; B. 26; B. 38; B. 39 <i>a</i> ; B. 39 <i>b</i> ; B. 41-61; B. 53; B. 54	B. 60 <i>a, b</i>
850-800 B.C.	A. 21; B. 35 <i>a, c</i>	B. 36 <i>a</i>
800-750 B.C.	B. 4; 5, 6, 7, 8; B. 62 <i>a</i> ; B. 66 <i>a</i>	B. 63; B. 67
650-620 B.C.	B. 61 <i>a</i>	B. 64 <i>a, b</i> ; B. 67 <i>c</i>

In the description of the Water-Gate (Vol. II, p. 110) the sculptures that decorated its walls were on archaeological grounds definitely assigned to the Middle Hittite period, before 1200 B.C. Some of the stones were *in situ*, others had been re-used without regard to their original positions by the rebuilders of the gate when it was repaired after its destruction by the Peoples of the Sea; but all belonged to the gateway which was an intrinsic part of the Middle Hittite defences of Carchemish.

In describing the King's Gate (v. above, p. 193) I have emphasized (what is clearly visible in the photograph B. 1a) that Katuwas's procession of soldiers is merely plastered against the end of the Herald's Wall, the untrimmed edge of its first slab making a very crude finish for the line of sculptures, and that the Herald's Wall is obviously of earlier date. In describing the inner court behind the King's Gate I stated that the sculptures of the inner court are contemporary with the Herald's Wall and are re-used in the later building. This statement was made, admittedly, on grounds of style. It seemed to me quite clear that the Herald's Wall and the inner court were two parts of the same building—a much older building—which had been left undisturbed¹ when the part between them was remodelled. Actually Katuwas in his inscription (A. 11a, on which see Mr. Barnett p. 260) limits his claim to the building of a gate—i.e. the King's Gate—in which he has installed the statue of Atarluhas; he does not refer to, rather he seems tacitly to exclude, the rest of the structure, such as the façade, which is the Herald's Wall, and the inner court which lies well behind the Atarluhas statue and beyond the inscription in which he records the building of the gate. The text amply confirms our interpretation of the ruins.

We have then three groups of sculptures which are demonstrably older than Luhas I, and if we compare them with the whole group of Late Hittite sculptures listed above, certain broad lines of distinction become clear at once.

a. Composition. The Late Hittite scheme of decoration is continuous. Each slab is complete in itself in that it shows one or more complete figures, but it does not give a complete subject. The figures are part of a single scene and only have meaning when the slabs are in proper juxtaposition. The Middle Hittite decoration is episodic. Each slab bears a subject complete in itself. Whether the order in which the slabs were arranged is governed by any principle at all we do not know, but in appearance the order seems to be arbitrary and meaningless.²

b. Subject. The individual figures represented on Late Hittite reliefs are either human beings or gods or, sometimes, the semi-human beings of Assyrian mythology; together they compose an historical scene taken from real life except in so far as the gods may appear in concrete form. Middle Hittite art also gives us gods and men, sometimes in scenes taken from life such as B. 30a and b, but it has a strong predilection for animals and even more for fantastic animals or for animals represented fantastically. Its inspiration is not so much history as mythology; and while it can be realistic enough when it is merely representational, when it is allegorical it tends to bring its subject into the form of a balanced pattern.

c. Affiliations. The only foreign influence which is actively present in Late Hittite sculpture is that of Assyria. This was the inevitable result of the political history of the time, and the vicissitudes of the political relations between Carchemish and the King of Assyria are clearly reflected in the varying degrees to which the Hittite artists of successive generations adopt or rebel against

¹ Though I do not mean to exclude the possibility that some of the slabs may have been replaced not strictly in their original order.

² See above, p. 186, note (1).

the canons of Assyrian art. For the rest they are true to the traditions of their own Hittite forebears. Middle Hittite art is in no small degree ultimately derived from the ancient Sumerian but not directly. Mr. Sidney Smith has pointed out that the fantastic scenes with composite animals are native to the art of the Mitanni, through whom the Sumerian tradition, inherited long before, was transmitted to the Hittites.

These differences are so marked, and so uniform, that they establish a criterion by which we can safely assign to the Middle Hittite period a number of sculptures for which there is no archaeological evidence of date. As illustrations of the art of that age we have therefore B. 10*a* and *b*; B. 11*a* and *b*; B. 12; B. 13*a* and *b*; B. 14*a* and *b*; B. 15*a* and *b*; B. 16*a* and *b* (i.e. all the Herald's Gate sculptures); B. 17*b*; B. 18*a*; B. 26*b*; B. 27*b* (this as a constructional part of the South Gate, which is of Middle Hittite date); B. 28*a* and *b*; B. 29*a* and *b*; B. 30*a* and *b*; B. 31*a*, *b*, and *c* (i.e. all the Water-Gate sculpture); B. 48*a*; B. 49*a*; (B. 49*b*, B. 50*a*; see above, B. 13*a* and B. 16*b*); B. 50*b*; B. 51*a* and *b*; B. 52*a*, *b*, and *c*; B. 55*a* and *b*; B. 56*a* and *b*; B. 57*b*; B. 58*a*, *b*; B. 59; B. 61*b*; B. 65*a*; B. 66*b*; B. 68*a*; B. 68*b*; B. 68*f*; B. 70*c*, *d*.

There are no inscriptions attached to any of the Middle Hittite sculptures and it is therefore impossible to date them with the accuracy secured for the Late Hittite sculptures.

Since the subjects of the Middle Hittite reliefs have not the personal and historical character of the Late Hittite there was no temptation for an early ruler to substitute, in a wall decorated with stone carvings, a new slab for one set up by his predecessors, and in the buildings of the second millennium therefore the chance of adjoining orthostats being of different dates is very small and need not indeed be considered. On the other hand, different buildings need not be of the same date. The material at our disposal (and the list of monuments is a long one) ought to embrace the works of different periods.

Any argument on the relative dating will gain strength by being based on the study not of single sculptures but of groups or series. Fortunately this is possible. The Water-Gate reliefs together with B. 27*b* from the South Gate² form a group necessarily contemporary. The Herald's Wall reliefs and those of the inner court *could*, of course, be of different dates, for one part of the inside of the building might have been constructed or redecorated at any time after the façade was erected, and vice versa; but there are no grounds for assuming that such was the case here and the general character of the sculptures (compare B. 9*a* and *b* with B. 57*a*) is definitely against the assumption. But it is intrinsically probable that the whole group Herald's Wall *plus* inner court is later than the Water-Gate group, for the city wall is almost certain to antedate the State buildings inside it. Conditions in North Syria in the second millennium were scarcely such that the people of Carchemish would erect a large and lavishly adorned building in an undefended town.

This logical time-differentiation of the two groups is in accord with the internal evidence of style.

The Water-Gate sculptures are all worked in limestone; consequently there is not in this *ex hypothesi* earlier period the convention so noticeable in the later groups, as usually in the Late Hittite buildings also, of alternate black and white slabs.

The Water-Gate sculptures are softer in modelling. Not only is the relief generally rather higher, but from the outline of the figure the surface is carefully rounded in a curve which in any case

¹ See, for example, Pottier, 'L'Art Hittite', in *Syria*, 1, p. 277.

though it comes from the South Gate because it is a movable piece which could have been set up at any time, and like the lion B. 27*b* which is part of the masonry of the gate.

² The great bust B. 27*a* is not included in the argument.

carries on well towards the centre of the relief, so much so as even to give in the case of a relatively narrow feature such as an arm or a leg the effect of carving in the quarter-round. In the later group the tendency is to reduce relief to two planes separated by a slightly curved outline; this is less noticeable in the limestone slabs, which still retain something of the softness of the older style, but in the basalt slabs is very marked. The contrast between such examples as the fragments from the Water-Gate on Pl. B. 28 and the basalt reliefs from the Herald's Wall, Pl. B. 14*a* and *b*, shows that we have to deal with two schools of art which might well be separated by a considerable lapse of time.¹

The defences of the inner town are likely to have been taken in hand fairly soon after the beginning of the Middle Hittite period. If I am right in assuming a date approximating to 1750 B.C. for the start of the Amarna period with which the building of the town wall may be connected,² then the Water-Gate sculptures should be of the eighteenth century B.C. This is a date a good deal earlier than has hitherto been suggested by the many authorities who have written on the subject, and it would indeed have been difficult to justify. But now the excavations at Alalakh-Atchana have proved that in the eighteenth century B.C. a Hittite ruler in North Syria could have admirable artists in his employ, and the portrait head of Yarim-Lim's time³ shows, in a major degree, the strong Sumerian influence which some at least of the Carchemish sculptures (e.g. B. 306) would lead us to expect. In view of that discovery it is no longer impossible to attribute the Water-Gate group of reliefs to so early a date, and it is only by so doing that we can avoid other and yet more improbable hypotheses. If it be admitted that the sculptures are strictly contemporary with the gate but urged that the gate itself might belong to the latter part of the Middle Hittite period, this is directly opposed to the archaeological evidence which is, I consider, conclusively in favour of an early date for the town defences. If it be admitted that the gate is early but suggested that the sculptures are a later embellishment of it, two difficulties arise: the reliefs are not on mere facing-slabs which could be plastered against the existing wall at any time; B. 28 is a massive corner-stone which could only have been inserted at the cost of demolishing the whole gateway front; and precisely the same is true of the lion B. 27 from the South Gate, so that we should have to assume two major operations for which there is no evidence whatsoever. Both the archaeological evidence and the comparative evidence favour a date in or but little after the eighteenth century.

For the Herald's Wall group Hogarth⁴ suggested the fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C., and Pottier⁵ agreed with him, but other writers have attributed individual reliefs of the series to a much more recent date and to the Late Hittite school of art. Hogarth's view is certainly supported by the evidence which has accrued since the time at which he wrote.

¹ The change may have been in part due to the growing use of basalt as a material. Its uniform dark colour would tend to obliterate the finer curves, whereas the sharper outlines give the maximum of high lights and deep shadows to distinguish the upper plane of the relief from the background—this is very obvious in Pl. 14*b*. The development of a new technique may have influenced the treatment of limestone also, although there contrast seems to have been obtained by the use of colour (v. Vol. II, p. 150), which would make for conservatism in stone-cutting.

² Vol. II, p. 102; the Amarna burials were necessarily later than the wall itself, for they lay inside compartments of the wall, but the pottery (Pl. 27) is of a well-developed type. The expansion of Carchemish from the original mound into the plain seems to fall within the 'Champagne' period (v. above, p. 223), but the fortification of the new quarter need not have

followed immediately. It is therefore possible as well as logical to connect the building of the wall with the transition from the 'Champagne' to the Amarna age.

³ See the *Illustrated London News* for October 28, 1947.

⁴ 'Hittite Problems', in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1911, p. 371. Hogarth from the outset insisted on the resemblance of the older sculptures to the Cappadocian; in a report in *The Times* of July 24, 1912, he compares the Water-Gate reliefs with those of the Palace at Alacahöyük, and makes the point that in both cases we have a scene of sacrifice to a bull and a banquet scene on either side of the entry respectively. I would add that while the basalt reliefs of the Herald's Wall share with those of Alacahöyük the flat two-plane technique, the rounder and more modelled reliefs of the Water-Gate find an analogy in the relief of the King on the gateway of Bogazköy.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Syria*, ii, p. 286.

It has been remarked that in the Herald's Wall group there is a predilection for subjects derived from Mitanni mythology¹ and a tendency to reduce relief to two parallel planes. Now the Mitanni influence would result from, or at least be reinforced by, the active part played by the Mitanni under Shaushshatar and his immediate successors between 1450 and 1375 B.C. Following on that, Subbilu-luma's conquest of North Syria brought new influences to bear. At Alalakh there was found a basalt relief of Dudkhalia which is a silhouette in flat two-plane relief technically not unlike the orthostats of Eyuk—a style peculiar to the Anatolian Hittites. The North Syrian artist therefore did not lack models for the art fashions of his overlords, and a series of lion sculptures from Alalakh proves that in the fourteenth century there were North Syrian artists at work who might well profit by the imported models. The latter part of the fourteenth century is then just the time at which we might expect to find a Mitanni tradition for the subject of sculpture combined with a technique derived from the northern Hittites. I have remarked above (p. 246) the contrast between the reliefs of the Herald's Wall group and those of the Late Hittite school; it is so profound that it would seem to demand a long period of time; three or four centuries is not too much to account for what amounts to a revolution in an art essentially conservative.

Naturally there must be among the fragments of sculpture found divorced from their historical setting—loose in the soil or embedded in Roman foundations—some which cannot well be assigned to either of the two groups which I have isolated as belonging to the eighteenth and fourteenth to thirteenth centuries respectively; there must be pieces belonging to the intermediate period or to that between the Herald's Wall period and the destruction of Carchemish about 1190. Any pieces judged doubtful in this way will not invalidate the arguments put forward but may illustrate the continuity and development of Hittite art. In the lions of Alalakh we can recognize the prototypes of many such that were to enrich and guard the gates of later Hittite palaces in Syria; from first to last, from the dynasty of Niqmepa to Kamanas, though receptive of new ideas from foreign sources, the Hittite artist assimilates them without breaking away from old tradition. At times indeed during the Late Hittite period Assyrian political predominance imposed Assyrian canons and threatened to denationalize Hittite art; but always there seems to have been opposition and the next generation saw a reversion to type. Two contrasting facts illustrate the struggle between conservatism and innovation. The sculptor who carved the family of King Araras on the Royal Buttress used for one slab (B. 8a) a relief of the time of the Herald's Wall; he ruthlessly cut away the old work, leaving on the plinth of his new design the leg and foot of a sphinx identical in style with B. 14a. He had the modernist's contempt for the Old Masters. But throughout all the later history of Carchemish, down to its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in 604 B.C., in spite of all the ebb and flow of fashion, the sculptures of the Herald's Wall were jealously preserved and in the Water-Gate, remodelled though it had been, there were still to be seen some of the carvings that had adorned it in the eighteenth century. Such a survival should not surprise us; it is no more anomalous than that of the *Maison carrée* at Nîmes or the Roman walls of York; nor is the appreciation of historic monuments, alike for their artistic and their symbolic value, which incorporated the sculpture of the Royal Gate of Bogazköy in the plinth of the statue of Atatürk, a thing peculiar to the modern world.

¹ Such subjects are not unknown in the earlier group, e.g. with B. 13a; but they are not characteristic of this group as they are of the Herald's Wall
 B. 28b, supposing this to be a sphinx like B. 14a, but it may be, judging from the tail, a lion like B. 20b; and compare B. 20a

CHAPTER XV
SMALL OBJECTS

(a) 'THE GOLD TOMB'

AN important grave of the Iron Age, the only one found within the city walls,¹ yielded the finest small objects that came to light during the whole expedition. It lay in the North-West Fort (*Carchemish*, Vol. II, p. 68 and Pl. 8) in room E, which dated from the fourth, i.e. the latest constructional level. Immediately below one of the walls of a Roman third-century bath building, which overlay the fort, was a circular pit, 0.75 m. in diameter, sunk through the floor of the room to a depth of a little over a metre, its bottom coming just below the level of an adjacent cobbled pavement belonging to the third constructional level; in the pit was a cremation burial.

The urn, a plain roughly made pot (Pl. 63*a*), not the normal urn, stood in the large krater shown alongside in the photograph, which also was unpainted, with four handles and below them a row of crude bosses; there were punctured lines on the handles and dotted bands from the rim of the vessel to its shoulder; covering the urn was a plain handleless bell-krater which fitted tightly to its rim. The pottery was noticeably poorer than that used in the Yunus graves.

Inside the urn were the calcined bones, a plain handle of lapis lazuli, and the four gold tassels shown on Pl. 63*b*; there were no other objects. At the bottom of the grave pit, round and over the top of the krater, was a mass of wood ash; in this we found numerous lumps of bronze melted and made shapeless by fire; fragments of ivory from furniture, also burnt; a great number of minute gold beads; gold nail-heads; a plain disk of gold; fragments of a larger disk cut with a design of human and animal figures *à jour*; and a set of small figures carved in relief in lapis lazuli or in steatite set in gold cloisons (or the gold cloisons for such figures where the stone had perished), and one figure of gold with incised details. Many, but not all, of these objects had suffered from fire; the little steatite figures were always blanchéd white, several were so swollen that the details of the carving were blurred or obliterated, and some had been reduced to powder; the open-work disk was twisted and broken and a large part of it had melted, and great numbers of the beads were either fused together or reduced to shapeless lumps. On the other hand, a number of the objects were intact. It was evident that just as the gold tassels had not been burnt with the body but had been placed with its ashes in the urn, so, too, the other objects found with the burnt wood from the pyre had not all been burnt on the pyre. The bronze, all of which had melted, probably represented the weapons of the dead man which had been burnt with him; and the ivory also must have been on the pyre, for it was completely calcined—perhaps it was the mounting of his sword-hilt. But the other objects, far more easily destructible, yet whose condition was so capriciously varied, must have suffered more accidentally. It would seem that after the body was consumed the bones were collected and put into the urn together with the gold tassels and lapis handle; then the ashes of the pyre, still hot, were gathered and poured into the pit in which the urn had already been placed (and with the wood-ash came the bronze that had been the dead man's arms) and at the same time his golden ornaments were thrown into the pit. In the ashes there were lumps of wood still retaining

¹ The child's burial in the West Gate (*Carchemish*, Vol. II, p. 80) was irregular in that the body was not cremated but simply pushed into a hole.

enough heat to melt or partly melt objects of thin gold that came in direct contact with them, and so some of the treasures suffered while others, in the cooler ash, were unaffected. Only thus can we explain the facts.

The custom of cremation was introduced at Carchemish early in the Late Hittite period, but this particular cremation burial is proved by its relation to the building levels to belong to the very latest phase of the city's existence. Clearly the person buried here was a person of importance, for no grave in the Yunus cemetery contained such riches; but the pottery vessels are not of the normal burial types and are much rougher and coarser than usual. Whereas the regular place of burial in the Late Hittite period was in cemeteries outside the town,¹ this grave is inside the walls, and actually inside one of the wall forts. We have therefore to explain several anomalies—why the burning took place, as it must have done since the ashes were still hot when they were put into the grave, inside the town; why the normal burial-furniture was not available when an important man had to be buried; why they laid him where they did instead of carrying him out to the cemetery only a hundred metres or so away. I would suggest that the burial dates from the last siege of Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, when access to the cemetery was cut off by the besiegers, that the dead man was perhaps a prince of the house of Pisiris, to whom jewellery of the peculiar sort we have here would be a proper tribute, and probably in command of the troops holding the fort, that the rite of cremation took place in the stronghold which he was attempting to defend and was carried out in haste, his men using the ordinary domestic vessels that they had ready to hand instead of the finer wares suited to a grave which, being straitly shut up, they had no chance of fetching from the town. In that case the grave dates to 604 B.C.

The principal objects are as follows:

The Tassels (Pl. 63b)

Length 0.047 m. 0.058 m. Each consists of a tube with a rim edge at the top, expanding below into a tassel beaten up from thin sheet metal; round the tube is a broad gold ring, loose so that it can be shifted up and down the tube. They might have been strung as finials on a thick cord, or have been fitted on to the ends of wooden rods.

The Nails (Pl. 63b)

There were six of these, made of bronze with hemispherical heads overlaid with thin sheet gold, and also three minute nails with heads and stems alike made of gold.

The Beads (Pl. 63b)

These were amazingly minute, as many as twenty-five going to a centimetre—single beads were almost invisible. In some cases (see the photograph) a quantity of them were lightly fused together and their arrangement thus preserved; it is clear that they had been strung on extremely fine threads and the strings of beads then used as the weft, with a warp of plain thread, for weaving what was literally a 'cloth of gold'. Judging from the number of the beads² the area of the 'cloth of gold' had

¹ We excavated the Yunus cemetery outside the north wall of the city, but there were other cemeteries also; excavation for the line of the Baghdad Railway brought to light Late Hittite graves beyond the west gate of the Outer Town.

days, and although some beads may have been overlooked, since they were so difficult to see, those found must represent the bulk of what had been in the grave. All together they weighed 300 grammes.

² All the ashes were washed, a process occupying several

not been very large, and I would suggest that the original fabric was for the most part plain with a pattern only in solid gold—possibly stripes as on the back and shoulder of the modern *abayeh*.

The Gold Roundel (Pl. 63b)

-A disk of fairly thick sheet gold, 0.065 m. This had been broken and many of the pieces had been melted into shapeless lumps; the attempted restoration on Pl. 64a utilizes all such fragments as remain. In that restoration figures for which there is definite evidence are shown in solid black, whereas figures in outline are arbitrarily inserted to explain the composition. The design is in two concentric circles. The outer circle is composed of a row of winged gryphons in pairs confronting each other on either side of a palm-tree. The inner circle was of human figures, possibly also in pairs facing each other,¹ one human figure coming under each gryphon. Only parts of the outlines of three figures remain, and as the gold is cut *à jour* there is, of course, no inner detail to show whether they are gods or men and women. The centre of the design is lost. The edge of the roundel is bent over, so that it was fixed to a solid base, and this, of whatever material it was, would be seen through the holes cut in the metal.

The Gold Binding (Pls. 63b, 64b)

This had been a metal strip 0.035 m. wide, the edges bent over to fix it to a base, cut *à jour* in the same technique as the roundel. The design consists of two rows of figures, those in the upper row being larger, and those in the lower row, advancing in the contrary direction, separated from each other by a sort of fleur-de-lys motive and by triangular dots, whereas in the upper row there are dots only. Very little survives; but there is enough to show that the leading figure on the left of the upper row carried a crook over his shoulder and that the second had the curved lituus; the third figure was a spear-man.

It is obvious that in the case both of the disk and of the binding the gold, which is all that we possess, was merely the background of the figures, and for these to show they must have been carved in relief so as to project through the silhouette-holes in the metal. The design must have been drawn first and the outlines of it transferred to the gold and the figures, &c., cut away. Then the gold was laid on the flat surface of the disk or strip, probably of ivory, lapis lazuli, or steatite, in which the artist was to work; a wash of rather dry colour would transfer the design to the underlying material, and then the gold would be lifted off and the uncoloured part of the material cut down to a lower plane, leaving the coloured parts standing up sharply. When the gold was put back, every hole in it was filled by the upstanding stone or ivory, which could then be carved in detail just as the little figures intended for the gold cloisons were carved, though they were separate free figures whereas in the case of the disk and the binding the figures were in relief; but as background they had sheet gold instead of the surface of the block on which they were cut.


The Figurines (Pl. 64c)

Thirty-nine of these were found, more or less complete. They were carved in lapis lazuli or in steatite and were set in gold. The stone figure was first cut out in silhouette from a flat bar of stone,

¹ This is not suggested in the reconstruction, but the reconstruction, by giving what must be approximately the correct spacing of the figures, shows that the suggestion made above is

possible, and their correspondence to the gryphons in spacing makes a further correspondence in the relation of the figures to each other most likely.

the edges of the figure being sharply vertical; then the details were carved in low relief on the upper surface. Then a strip of sheet gold (its width practically the same as the thickness of the stone) was bent round the figure, carefully adjusted to its outline, the upper edge of the strip coming just where the relief on the surface of the stone began; the ends of the strip were soldered together and its lower edge was soldered to a shaped base of sheet gold so as to make a caisson. In some cases details external to the stone—e.g. a spear held free of the body (No. 18)—were added by soldering to the caisson further pieces of gold strip bent into the required shape, the thickness of the strip being sufficient to produce the effect; in others, where the addition was of a more elaborate nature, e.g. the wings of No. 6 or the winged disk above the head of No. 15, the gold, silhouetted and chased, is fixed horizontally to the caisson. The gold base often projects very slightly beyond the caisson; sometimes it disregards the more intricate contours, e.g. in No. 3, showing between the legs; this is not due to carelessness but has a definite purpose. Whatever it was that the figurines adorned, they did not stand out from it as they stand out in the photograph now that they have been detached; they were set in a flat surface made of some kind of paste. A paste filling is actually preserved in the knapsack (or shield?) of No. 9; it is now a whitish paste, but what its original colour was it is impossible to say; but the fact that a paste was used is illuminating. The separate figures must have been arranged on a flat surface which had raised borders of the same height as the figures and then the paste must have been poured in between them up to the level of the edges of the gold caissons; presumably it was trimmed and polished after it had solidified. The slight projections of the bases of the figurines would effectively key them in to the setting. The result would exactly resemble cloisonné enamel, although the technical process employed was very different—the edges of the gold strip would show, outlining the figures and, where necessary, adding details in plain line, and would greatly enhance the contrast between inset figures and the presumably different-coloured background; and the Hittite process had the advantage as against cloisonné enamel that the design was not merely in the flat but in three-dimensional relief. While it is natural to compare this Hittite work with the Egyptian cloisonné work set with hard stones (which might themselves be worked), it must be remembered that in the latter the cloisons are one with the background and the stones are cut to the appropriate shape and let in, whereas here the cloisons are made round the stones and are only attached to the background afterwards, so that again the technical process is quite different. I do not know of an exact parallel.

The one exception to the general rule that the figures are carved in stone and set in gold cloisons is the central figure in the top row in the photograph; this is of sheet gold, silhouetted with the details rendered by incised lines; it is also considerably larger than the other figures, standing as it does to a height of 0.0175 m. He is a god, wearing on his head the winged disk with cruciform rays and the long tunic and cloak one end of which passes over the left shoulder to fall down in front of the body while the other end covers the right arm to below the elbow; both tunic and cloak are heavily fringed. The god is beardless. He faces right; in his right hand he holds the curved lituus; his left hand is advanced and holds an object rather like an *ankh*, .

No. 2. Lapis lazuli, ht. 0.012 m. A female figure facing left. She wears a dress with long sleeves and pleated skirt; no head-dress. Her left hand is raised to her forehead, her right extended from the elbow.

No. 3. Lapis lazuli. Male figure advancing left. He wears a helmet with check-pieces and a short tunic reaching to the knees, and upturned shoes.

No. 4. Steatite, burnt and in poor condition. Female (?) figure advancing left. She wears a close-fitting round-topped cap—or no head-dress at all and a long-skirted garment; her right hand is raised in front of her face, her left on the level of her breast.

No. 5. Grey steatite. The body from the waist downwards is missing. Female figure facing left. She has wings and wears a pointed head-dress and a long-skirted garment. Her right hand is advanced, the left comes under her breast.

No. 6. Lapis lazuli; only the lower part remains in the caisson. Male figure advancing left; he wears a high straight-sided cap with conical top, a short tunic, and upturned shoes. He is winged, the wings being of gold only, not carved in the stone. His right arm is advanced, the hand holding an eyeletted double axe Φ , cf. *Ur Excavations*, Vol. II, Pl. 156; the left is against his breast.

No. 7. Lapis lazuli; ht. 0.009 m.; the head is missing. Small squat figure (male?) wearing a short tunic; he is advancing left with the knees bent under him as if running and both hands held out in front on the level of the breast; for the attitude cf. Pl. B. 53*a*, and also the two small demon figures in the large recess at Yazilikaya.

No. 8. Lapis lazuli; imperfect, the left leg and left lower arm missing. Male figure advancing right. He wears a pointed helmet with cheek-pieces and short tunic and upturned shoes. Behind his back the gold caisson extends beyond the stone in a square projection like a knapsack (cf. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 18, 22, 24), possibly a shield slung on the shoulder. The right hand is by the breast, the left extended and holding an object.

No. 9. Dark steatite, ht. 0.016 m., a rather taller figure than the average. Male figure advancing right. He wears a head-dress topped by two rings, a short tunic, and upturned shoes; his left hand is extended in front of the shoulder, his right is by the breast. Behind the shoulder is the same square projection of the caisson as in No. 8, but in this case it is filled with a paste-like substance distinct from the stone.

No. 10. Dark steatite; both the stone and the caisson imperfect. Male figure advancing right. He wears a short tunic and upturned shoes and behind his shoulders is the knapsack-like projection of the caisson as in No. 8.

No. 11. Dark steatite; the surface of the upper part of the stone in bad condition. Male figure advancing right, very similar to No. 10.

No. 12. Steatite, in poor condition, the stone burnt white and blistered. Female figure advancing right. She wears a low wide-brimmed hat and long skirt and has wings which are worked in the gold only. Her right hand is below the breast, the left extended.

No. 13. Steatite, the stone burnt and in very bad condition, all details of the figure lost. A small figure exactly like No. 7 but facing in the opposite direction.

No. 14. Lapis lazuli. Figure of a god facing right. He wears a high helmet with a neck-guard falling to the shoulders and the long cloak which passes over the left shoulder and leaves the advanced left leg bare. Over his right shoulder is a gold caduceus and in his extended left hand (which is missing) he held an elaborate symbol, also worked in the gold only, \mathfrak{H} .

No. 15. Lapis lazuli. A king facing left. He wears a low conical cap above which rises a winged disk worked in the gold only, and a long-skirted dress, not pleated, over which is a cloak concealing the left arm to the wrist. His left hand is against his breast, his right, extended, holds a symbol like an *ankh* (the hand and symbol are broken off and are represented only by the caisson).

No. 16. Only the gold caisson survives with traces of burnt steatite in it. Figure of a god advancing

left. He wore a high conical cap, short tunic, and upturned shoes, and he carried a caduceus over his left shoulder and in his extended right hand an object apparently like an *ankh*.

No. 17. Gold caisson only. Female figure facing left. She wore no head-dress but was winged and had a long-skirted garment; the hands were extended, holding some object.

No. 18. Gold caisson only. Male figure advancing left. The extended right hand grasps a spear; the caisson projects behind the shoulders like a knapsack (v. No. 8).

No. 19. Steatite, in very bad condition, the stone burnt and blistered and all detail lost. Figure advancing left.

No. 20. Gold caisson only. Figure advancing left; apparently a pair to No. 19. See also No. 25.

No. 21. Gold caisson only. A god advancing right. He wears the tall conical head-dress with rings and a short tunic; the right arm is raised behind the head and the hand holds a mace or axe; the left hand, advanced, holds a three-forked thunderbolt.

No. 22. Gold caisson only. Male figure advancing right. He wears a tall conical head-dress and upturned shoes, and there is behind his back the knapsack-like projecting compartment of the caisson which was filled with a different material. He holds his left hand to his mouth.

No. 23. Gold caisson only. Male figure advancing right. He wore a low head-dress with peak (or turban) and upturned shoes; his left hand is advanced and carries a spear worked in the gold only.

No. 24. Dark steatite. The head missing. Male figure advancing right; he wore a conical cap and has a short tunic and upturned shoes. His right hand is against his breast, the left, advanced, holds a spear worked in the gold only. Behind his shoulders is the knapsack-like projection of the caisson.

No. 25. Steatite; imperfect, the head missing. Male figure advancing right, the left hand extended, the right by his breast. He wears a short tunic but no head-dress, and the shoes do not appear to be upturned. It might well be a companion figure to No. 20.

No. 26. Grey steatite; the stone only; the caisson is missing. A god advancing left. He wears a conical cap with a high brim and a short tunic over which is a long cloak open in front so as to expose the right leg. The right hand is extended, the left by his breast. The right hand and right foot are missing.

No. 27. Gold caisson only, with some traces of burnt steatite. A figure advancing left with the right hand extended. Judging by the outline this is a companion figure to No. 3.

No. 28. Gold caisson only. Figure advancing right with the left hand extended. There was no head-dress and the shoes do not appear to have been upturned.

No. 29. Gold caisson only. Figure advancing right with the left hand raised to the mouth. There was no head-dress and the shoes do not appear to have been upturned.

Nos. 30, 31. Two gold caissons only. Small figures facing, one right, the other left, with the legs bent as if running. They must have been very like Nos. 7 and 13, but No. 31 has its raised right hand in a somewhat different position.

Nos. 32, 33. Steatite; No. 32 burnt and in bad condition. Two tree palmettes.

Nos. 34-9. Gold caissons only, with traces of burnt steatite. Small palmettes.

These little figures are the jeweller's reproduction in miniature of the great rock-cut reliefs of Yazılıkaya. Not only is the general subject the same—a long array of gods, royalties, and soldiers—but the individual figures are identical in type, in attitude, in attribute, and in dress. The central figure wearing a long cloak, with the winged disk above his head, grasping a reversed lituus; the figure with conical head-dress, open kilt, and caduceus-like staff; the female figure with the pleated

skirt reaching to the feet; the soldiers with their pointed helmets, short kilts, and upturned shoes—all are derived directly from Yazilikaya; even the two much-damaged dwarf figures might well find a parallel in the pair of animal-legged demons in the large recess of the rock sanctuary, and only the purely decorative palmettes, reminiscent rather of Assyrian art, have no counterpart in Anatolia.

The close relation between the rock carvings and the Carchemish jewellery cannot be mistaken. The difficulty is in the first place one of date; the carvings are of the thirteenth century B.C. and the grave is of the last years of the seventh century. Either then the jewels are themselves much older than the grave in which they were found and had been handed down as heirlooms through very many generations, or they are relatively late in date and of Syrian manufacture (the Hittites of Anatolia having disappeared hundreds of years before) but preserve unbroken the old Hittite tradition. It must be admitted that the 'heirloom' theory is far-fetched in view of the fact that Carchemish is far removed from Hattusas and any family continuity bridging that gulf of space and time is most improbable. The alternative theory is inconsistent with the view strongly maintained by some authorities and, I believe, generally accepted, that the so-called 'Syro-Hittite' civilization of North Syria which flourished from the tenth to the seventh century B.C. was not in any sense a lineal descendant of the Hittite civilization of imperial Hattusas and had indeed but little in common with it. But recent discoveries tend to undermine that negative position and make possible a reading of history which could scarcely be recommended did the Carchemish jewels stand alone as evidence. In the fourteenth century B.C. North Syria was, admittedly, under the political control of Bogazköy, so that it need not surprise us to find at Alalakh inscribed tablets of the true Bogazköy type; and at Alalakh we have one royal Hittite relief of Dudkhalia and, in a temple destroyed about 1200 B.C., a ritual dagger which recalls the 'Dagger God' of the Yazilikaya reliefs; there was ample opportunity for the subjects and the canons of Hittite art to be established in the vassal states of North Syria. But the lion sculptures of Alalakh, though they date from the fourteenth or thirteenth century, i.e. from the time of vassalage, are not of Bogazköy type but are definitely the stylistic forebears of the 'Syro-Hittite' lions of Carchemish and other Syrian towns. At Carchemish the continuity of art is yet more clearly proved; not only can we attribute whole series of reliefs to the Middle Hittite period (which is that of Bogazköy predominance), but in so doing we assign to that period a number of sculptures which had been regarded as 'Syro-Hittite' and therefore had helped to form our ideas of Syro-Hittite art. Those sculptures are not in the Bogazköy style; therefore what they prove, in themselves, is not that the Late Hittites inherited the Bogazköy traditions, but simply that Late Hittite art in North Syria is a natural development of Middle Hittite art in the same area; yet that does not exclude the possibility that in other spheres, or in other works of art, the Hattusas influence which was undoubted in the Middle Hittite period may have persisted also into the Late Hittite. The invasion by the Peoples of the Sea finally destroyed Alalakh; Carchemish recovered from it. There were cultural changes, of which the greatest were the introduction of iron to supersede bronze and, perhaps more important because it indicates the arrival of a new element in the population, the substitution of cremation for interment; but even more than sculpture the architecture and building methods show the unbroken tradition that linked the 'Syro-Hittites' with their predecessors who had lived under the suzerainty of Bogazköy. And it is in this late age that the old Hittite script of Bogazköy has its widest vogue, which would be unaccountable if it had merely been imposed by alien conquerors on a subject people; it can have survived only because it was something deep-rooted in Syrian soil. It was not for nothing that the Assyrians of the ninth

century could apply the title 'Great King of Hatti' to a ruler in Malatya or Carchemish. Undoubtedly there had been an influx into North Syria of displaced peoples from the north, driven from their Anatolian homes by the great invasion,¹ and we may assume that by their coming the Hittite element in the North Syrian population was reinforced; but such immigrants could hardly have been responsible for the Hittite renaissance had they been the sole bearers of Hittite culture. We know in fact that there was no revolution but on the contrary a marked continuity; if the Bogazköy tradition is now emphasized, as it is in the matter of the script, it should be because the exiles were welcomed by a race having affinities with the Bogazköy Hittites but settled in North Syria perhaps even before Bogazköy became Hittite.

There is of course no need to assume that the Carchemish jewels were made to the order of the man with whom they were buried, made, that is, in the last decades of the seventh century. But if the arguments which I have urged are at all sound there is equally no need to assume that they had been imported from Bogazköy seven centuries before. They might have been made at Carchemish, and at any time from the twelfth century onwards. They are not copied from the Yazilikaya reliefs but, I would suggest, they and the reliefs alike are versions of a religious and artistic theme common to both countries and jealously preserved by that which survived the longer.

(b) TERRA-COTTAS (Pl. 70)

The terra-cotta figurines, which were very numerous, seem to have been confined to the upper levels—that was certainly my experience—and I cannot discover from the excavators' notes of 1911 that theirs was at all different. Hogarth remarks that two figurines, one male and one female (Pl. 70 *d.* 2), were found on the surface of the courtyard at the foot of the Great Staircase; others were found in the loose soil on the stairs (these included a horse's head with elaborate trappings; cf. Pl. 70 *f.* 10); three more came in the upper soil close to the third chariot relief of the Long Wall of Sculpture, one on the floor of the passage west of the staircase, &c. On the summit of the Acropolis mound (NE. trench) the first terra-cotta, a torso of a female figure, came in the same level as Arab glazed ware, but none are recorded in connexion with the cist graves or any level below them. Thompson, who in the course of digging nearly forty trial pits all over the Inner City generally came upon some remains of Late Hittite houses, remarks on the great number of animal figurines found in them; a single house produced nine horses, and generally they were so numerous that he decided that they could not have any religious significance but must be toys or 'pieces' in some sort of game. The goddess type did occur, but was much less common in the house ruins.

My own experience in digging house sites was much the same, though in House A of the outer town there was a complete goddess figure (v. Pl. 20 *b.* 1). Since these houses belong to the latest phase in the history of Carchemish (they were destroyed in 604 B.C.) the terra-cottas from them, illustrated on Pl. 20, are of particular interest for the dating of the terra-cottas in general. This does not of course mean that all of them originated in the seventh century— from Achanah we have conclusive proof that identical terra-cottas could in point of time be separated by as much as 500 years—but simply that they are Late Hittite. The examples from the houses show that the main types were popular up to the very end, but they are the last examples of a long-lived tradition. The

¹ The introduction of cremation is enough to prove this.

Yunus graves are not all of one date and some of the Yunus terra-cottas may in fact antedate the house specimens by some centuries, though in appearance they are indistinguishable from them.

All the figurines, animal and human alike, were in 'snow-man' technique; none were cast from moulds. No moulded terra-cottas are found at Carchemish¹ prior to the Hellenistic period—a single example of the Persian horseman type (bearded and wearing the 'Phrygian' cap) is probably of Hellenistic date, and the rest are frankly classical.

There is only one exception to the rule, the lion figure on Pl. 71*a*, and that is not moulded but modelled. It comes from the destruction level, from the 'pocket' or rubbish-dump in front of the Long Wall of Sculpture, and is presumably of late date (seventh century?), although a scarab found with it was tentatively dated by Hogarth to the XIXth Dynasty (see above, p. 175). It is an extraordinarily fine piece of work.

Whether any are older than 1200 B.C. we cannot positively affirm or deny. In a cache of broken pottery found in the West Gate of the Inner Town (see above, pp. 80 and 234), which was definitely of Late Hittite date, there were several fragments of terra-cottas, both horses and 'goddesses' 'of the usual Late Hittite type', as was recorded in the notes made at the time; the comment is at least useful in showing what was the general impression that we had gained from our experience in the course of the excavations.

The range of types is not large, and many, though not all, were represented in the Late Hittite graves of the Yunus cemetery. It would be most rash to assert that no terra-cottas are earlier than the Late Hittite period because in the first place the Middle and Late Hittite levels can seldom be distinguished and in the second place crudely modelled figures such as those on Pl. 70*b*. 1 and 2 could have been made at almost any time; but it is safe to assert that the terra-cottas are characteristic of the Late Hittite period and most at any rate of the examples found actually belonged to it.

Plate 70 gives a very fair idea of the terra-cottas in general; they scarcely call for individual description and for the majority the find-spot, if recorded, has no scientific interest other than its suggestion of a relatively late date. All were fragmentary; for complete examples see my publication of the Yunus graves, *Liverpool Annals*, xxvi, no. 1, Pl. xviii.

¹ I am not speaking, of course, of imported objects such as the figure of Bes moulded in glazed frit (Pl. 71*e*. 2) which is a Phoenician work in Egyptian style, or the curious fragmentary figures, Pl. 71*d*, also in polychrome glazed frit, which are more likely to be Assyrian, or the similar snake's head, Pl. 71*e*. 3.

CHAPTER XVI THE INSCRIPTIONS

I. HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS

THIS collection of inscriptions from Carchemish has proved of the greatest importance in the study and decipherment of this script. Whatever the reasons may be, the Carchemish texts equal or exceed both in number and importance those from all other sites. It certainly seems that at least in the first millennium B.C. the metropolis of the hieroglyphs was Carchemish.

To attempt here detailed translations of the Carchemish inscriptions would, in view of the present state of our knowledge, carry us much too far into the realms of controversy.¹ It is hoped to publish translations at a later date elsewhere.

We must be satisfied here merely to survey in summary form the contents of the Carchemish collection of texts as far as they can be made out, and to extract from them what we safely can of their contribution to ancient history.

The Oldest Inscriptions

There is ample proof that in the second millennium B.C. the Hittite hieroglyphs were as much in use at Carchemish as elsewhere in north-west Syria or south-west Asia Minor. At Bogazköy a hieroglyphic seal impression was found belonging to a king of Carchemish whose name cannot be certainly read, but seems to have ended in *-me-Tešub*.² Whether any of the inscriptions of Carchemish itself are as early as the Hittite Empire cannot yet be proved, though there is nothing unlikely in the suggestion. The oldest texts are evidently A. 4b and A. 16c, as can be judged by the appearance of the script. A. 16c contains the name of its dedicator, 𐎲𐎠𐎼𐎿 ,³ the value of which is uncertain.⁴ The author of A. 4b (or, it may be, the king to whom the stone is dedicated) also bears a name not known elsewhere: GREAT-*pa*, son of *Pa-i-da*. Both he and his father like the king of A. 16c describe themselves as 'Great King' in addition to the title of ruler of Carchemish. But the title of 'Great King' is an important rank which the king of Carchemish was hardly likely to have claimed so long as the hegemony of the Hittites lasted at Bogazköy. It is far more likely that the kings of Carchemish assumed it during the dark age which followed the overthrow of Hattusas. Perhaps, too, this event has some connexion with the equally high-sounding name of 'Great Hatti' by which, *circa* 1000 B.C., Tiglathpileser I refers to the North Syrian confederacy, the centre of which appears then to have lain in Malatia.⁵ The last two lines of the stela A. 4b appear to state that it was dedicated to the goddess Kubaba by Luhas, son of

The name of a king perhaps to be read as Pawa-Šarruma appears on the lion fragment A. 18d. This may be the king of Carchemish, (xx)-šarma, grandson of Šubbiluliuma, known from cuneiform sources.⁶

¹ Hrozný, *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hieroglyphiques*, Prague, 1933, provides a valuable corpus of copies and transcriptions. The translations are ambitious and to be treated with much caution.

² Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy*, I, no. 110, see p. 27.

³ Bossert, *Asia*, p. 74, would read it as Dudhaha, apparently a king of Carchemish in the time of Muršiliš II (Friedrich, *Der Alte Orient*, 1925, vol. XXIV, 3, pp. 20-1), but this is hardly justified as the *tu* sign is apparently wanting.

⁴ It may mean a mountain. See Güterbock, *op. cit.*

⁵ Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, 306, 307.

⁶ Götzke, *Annals of Muršiliš*, 48 (*M.F.T.G.*, XXVIII, 1933), p. 124; see Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 104. The uncertainty in reading here Pawa-Šarruma is because the first two syllables cannot be certainly proved to be part of the name, but might be enclitic particles attached to a preceding word.

(Another inscription which appears (from its script) to belong to this or an even earlier period is the statue- or stela-base A. 30*h*; but this would seem to be the dedication of a private person.)

The House of Luhas

The great majority of the royal inscriptions belong to a single dynasty, the House of Luhas. It has been suggested¹ that the founder of the dynasty is no other than the Luhas who dedicates the stela A. 4*b*. This is quite possible but not proved. We shall discuss below this and other arguments involving dating.

The sequence of the kings of the House of Luhas is supplied in the form of a pedigree by the inscriptions of Katuwas, apparently the last of the line. Thus we have with their titles: Luhas (I) 'prince'—Asatuwatimais 'ruler of the land'—Luhas (II) 'ruler of the land'—Katuwas 'prince, ruler of the land'. Their inscriptions being in several cases attached to buildings clearly have much to tell us about the date of those buildings. Thus Luhas—whether Luhas I or his grandson of the same name—apparently constructed the innermost gateway to the citadel, if Sir Leonard Woolley is right in thinking the lions bearing his and his son's name (A. 14*a, b*) were moved thence to the Water-Gate in modern times (see above, p. 163); while Luhas's queen (?)² is associated with the row of sculptures representing deities approaching the staircase in the Citadel or entering into the shrine of the Storm-god³ immediately below it.

Asatuwatimais is apparently associated with the gateway built by his father (?) Luhas, by the dedication of a lion (A. 14*b*), which presumably formed a pair with that of his father. His son, Luhas II, is apparently the author of the damaged relief found by Hogarth at Sher'a (Kellekli), 15 km. north of Carchemish.³

Katuwas describes himself on the door-jambs of the Temple of the Storm-god (A. 2*a*, A. 3*a*) as its founder. He also built the gateways at either end of the 'Processional Way' (A. 11*a, b, c*, A. 23). For some reason, perhaps because of damage they appear to have sustained, A. 11*b* and *c* were not used as door-jambs but as paving-slabs, with the inscriptions turned face downwards so that they could not be seen by human eyes. In the first of these inscriptions Katuwas refers to his enthronement, then tells how he has built a gate-house (or *hilani*) which he illustrates by a pictogram.⁴ He states that he installed in it the god Atarluhas (perhaps to be identified with a god *Asari-lu-hi*⁵, a form of Marduk admitted into the Hittite pantheon at Hattusas), and built the Temple of the 'Storm-god of the Lions'. He concludes with the string of curses on any who should alter his arrangements, as is 'common form' in the royal decrees of ancient western Asia. The god Atarluhas is of course the statue of a seated god actually found just inside the gateway, and inscribed with his name (B. 25, A. 4*d*). Katuwas's temple is most likely the Temple of the Storm-god excavated behind the wall of the sculptures mentioned above; while the 'Storm-god of the Lions' is very probably the figure found in fragments, whose base in the form of twin lions faced the same temple (B. 1*b* and above, Ch. XI, p. 192).

A. 11*b*, continued on *c*, contains more historical matter. Carchemish, Katuwas says, had been destroyed. He then describes his building works 'for the sons of GREAT-Santas',⁶ tells of building (?)

¹ Meriggi, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, 1937, p. 168.

² A. 1*b*.

³ *Liverpool Annals*, ii, 1900, p. 173.

⁴ The word used is GATE-HOUSE-*la-na-(sas)* and its reading was plausibly completed as (*hi*)-*lana* (by Bossert, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, ix, 127). [The Karatepe bilingual now makes it clear that Katuwas says he built the upper part of the gate-

house for his blessed wife Anas.]

⁵ E. Laroche, 'Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites', *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, vii, 1946-7, p. 120; *K.U.B.* xxix, 58. III. 4. [This identification has been proposed by Steinherr, *Oriens*, 1949, i, pp. 9 ff.]

⁶ The actual name which should be read for this group of

the city of Abanasa and the city of Mu-i-ka¹-a, says that he removed the warriors (?) of the Mu-sa-ka (Mosehoi, Phrygians), then describes the restoration of a temple and the institution of sacrifices to the gods Karhulba, Kubaba, and Liku and the male gods.

From another doorway jamb (A. 23) found in the staircase at the opposite end of the 'Processional Way' we learn that Katuwas also dedicated a Temple of the goddess Kubaba, 'Great Queen of Carchemish'. No other reference to a temple of this goddess has been noticed except on A. 32, which may come from it (see below, p. 277).² It was in any event probably not far away. It is tempting to identify it with the building called by the excavators 'Sargon's Palace' (see above, p. 213).

A damaged slab (A. 13*d*), found out of its true place, adds little new except that the initial pictogram, representing the word 'I', normally represented by a sign depicting a man pointing to his head, has been enlarged to form, so to speak, a portrait of the author. We see in Katuwas a bearded and mature man wearing a round cap, long hair, a long fringed tunic bound with a broad belt, and holding a staff. This contrasts markedly with the apparently contemporary sculptured procession scenes (B. 22-4), which show youthful or priestly figures who are beardless and short-kilted in the older manner of the Hittite Empire.³ The figure of Katuwas resembles the Hadad statue on a twin lion-pedestal from Zinjirli, usually ascribed to the ninth century B.C.

An important historical text of about this period is inscribed on A. 1*a*, but is excessively obscure. The name of the king who dedicates it is apparently wanting. It seems to describe how when some person (name illegible) was king, he hewed down the Weather-god of the city of Siparga (?) and burnt (?) the gods. But it seems that the cult of the gods was restored, and it is they who are seen on the adjoining slabs returning to their temple (B. 38*a*).

The House of Asadaruwas

As a result of new material presented for the first time in this volume, we now have to insert a third family between that already mentioned, the House of Katuwas and that of Āraras⁴ shortly to be described. It is possible though not demonstrable that this new family formed part of the House of Luhas. Asadaruwas appears on fragments A. 27*e**¹ (in this case apparently an inscription of his son or other descendant) and A. 20*b*. 1 and A. 27*mm*. In two cases and perhaps in all three the name is shortened to Asadarūs. From the resemblance in the style of lettering which A. 21*b* bears to A. 20*b* it also appears that the figure on A. 21*b* may be a portrait of that ruler. A. 21*b* gives his titles but not his name, which we must suppose to have been written on the adjacent slab, as in fact it is on A. 20*b*. 1. For the first time we meet the title 'Lord of the Land of CALF'S HEAD'. This is probably rightly connected with the place CALF'S HEAD + LEG which occurs in the titles of the kings of Malatia. It is usually taken to represent the word 'Malatia', but it would be more satisfactory to take it as Hatti, the only appellation which the contemporary Assyrian texts ever apply in common to both districts.⁵

The relation of this dynasty to that which followed is precisely stated. In a sinister phrase A. 15*b***², line 3, Āraras, telling how he installed his son Kamanas, says: 'I led down my lords the sons of Asadaruwas.'

signs representing a Storm-god is much disputed. These persons are also mentioned in A. 11*c*. See also p. 263 *infra*, n. 12.

¹ This value for the sign Meriggi 214 is given by the inscription on a seal, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, v, pl. 47, 1, which must be read *Ba-ra-ku a-ba-s*. Barrekub or Bartrakab.

² The fragment A. 26*a*, too, mentions Kubaba and a temple.

³ On the risk of inferring too much from beards and their

absence see below, p. 262.

⁴ Written *A-ar-ar-as*. The new Karatepe bilingual, however, now shows that this name can also be read *A-arr-ur-as*, *A-ar-arr-ur-as*, or *A-arr-ur-ur-as*.

⁵ This assertion is argued more fully in my article on the Jekke inscription, in *Iraq*, 1948, pt. II, and a forthcoming article in *Anatolian Studies*, vol. II. R. D. B.

The House of Araras

As has frequently been remarked, the sculptures of the 'Royal Buttress' abruptly interrupt those of the 'Herald's Wall' and 'King's Gate'. They differ from them markedly in style, and have clearly been grafted on to them at a later date. They depict the ruler Āraras in procession with his seven chief officials, introducing his son Kamanas and his family into the presence of the Storm-god who evidently stood near by, sculptured in the round on the lion-base. Unlike the House of Luhas, Āraras and his court are all clean-shaven, and wear their hair in curls in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Assyrian sculptures. What this difference in beards implies is not very clear. The illustration of Sangara, King of Carchemish c. 850 B.C., much earlier than Āraras, on the 'Balawat Gates'¹ shows him as beardless, while his emissaries are bearded. On the other hand, the series of sculptures of Sulumel at Malatia show him now bearded, now beardless, perhaps in different rituals.² Priests in the Later Hittite sculptures are all clean-shaven; so is the ideogram representing 'man' in the hieroglyphs. It is apparent that with Āraras we have the emergence of a priestly dynasty.³

More important is the fact that although (as Forrer pointed out) the pride of an Oriental is in his ancestry, yet Āraras is completely silent about his pedigree, and, what is more, never calls himself King of Carchemish. He must have been a 'son of nobody', as upstarts are called in the Assyrian annals, who seized power in Carchemish with help from outside at the price of sacrificing his independence; and he seems at pains in A. 15b** and A. 7 to legitimate his claims and those of his son to the succession in the eyes of god and man. In this unusual form of propaganda he emphasizes the steps he has taken to earn the divine approval.

The following are the inscriptions of the House of Āraras:

Āraras: A. 15b*, b**, A. 6, A. 7, A. 24.

Kamanas: A. 7, Jekke inscription, A. 17b?

Mentioning Kamanas but probably set up by other persons: A. 4a, A. 5a, A. 25b, perhaps A. 17b.

The long text A. 6 contains the charter of Kamanas's installation in some official position, that of chief judge and priest, and the establishment of a festival.⁴ The same or a similar subject is treated on A. 15b**. On A. 17b the introducing figure appears to be no longer Āraras but the god. A special point of interest attaches to A. 6. This is the surprising resemblance it seems to bear in tenor, phraseology, and subject-matter to the much later but evidently archaistic Greek inscription of Antiochus of Commagene at Nimrud Dağ, a version of which was discovered not far from Carchemish at Selik, near Samosata.⁵

Two other inscriptions of Kamanas remain. B. 62a, a headless figure of a richly attired woman, represents the goddess Kubaba 'Queen of Carchemish, goddess of 100 (?) Temples', whose cult Kamanas has renewed (A. 31, 32).

In the inscription found at Jekke,⁶ near Azzaz, north-east of Aleppo, Kamanas revives the titles

¹ King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, pl. XXIV.

² Bossert, *Altanatolien*, figs. 770-5.

³ With the aid of the new bilingual from Karatepe, which has placed the study of the hieroglyphs on an entirely new level, we now find that in fact Āraras describes himself as 'the man beloved by Kubaba, Karhuhas and the Sun-god', who have placed him over Carchemish (A. 15b** l. 1).

⁴ This must be the force of the ideogram CHAIR+TABLE,

Cols. III, VII, VIII.

⁵ Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, p. 368, fig. 52. This stela shows Antiochus I greeted by Heracles and contains an abridged version of the edict of Antiochus as inscribed at Nimrud Dağ and Gerger, in which the king decrees a monthly festival to commemorate his coronation (see Jalabert and Mouterde, *Inscr. grecques et latines de la Syrie*, no. 51, for full text).

⁶ See p. 261, note 5. This inscription is most interesting in

and style proper to the House of Luhas and Asadaruwas. Kamanas is now 'King of the Land of Carchemish and Lord of the land of CALÉ'S HEAD - YASÉ'. CALÉ'S HEAD, as I have suggested above, seems to be most likely an ideogram for Hatti, a title claimed otherwise only by the kings of Malatía. The text describes the foundation (?) of a city which Kamanas names after himself.

Chronology

What is the date of this material, and what are the historical conclusions which these discoveries yield? The fixed points of any framework of North Syrian history must be supplied by the Assyrian records. Various Assyrian kings of the second millennium B.C. claim to have raided as far as Carchemish, but tell us little more. Thus Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I approached it c. 1300 B.C.¹ to repulse the armies of Hanigalbat. Tiglath-pileser I defeated the Muški in nearby Kummuh in his first year, about 1100, crossed the Euphrates in his fourth year and captured six cities.² Adad-nirari II did much the same.³ But Aššur-našir-pal receives tribute from Sangara of Carchemish, king of the land of Uatte, from his tenth year (874),⁴ and Shalmaneser III still received it in the sixth year of his reign (852 B.C.)⁵ and Sangara is still mentioned as the sender. In 849-848 B.C. Shalmaneser was inconclusively at war with Sangara.⁶ We hear little more of Carchemish until 743, when Pisiris pays tribute to Tiglath-pileser III.⁷ In the fifth year of Sargon (716) Pisiris revolted. Sargon marched against him, defeated and perhaps slew him, setting up 'an official' over Carchemish in his stead.⁸ Into the framework of these facts our three dynasties of Carchemish have to be fitted.

We turn to the two stelae from Tell Ahmar (the ancient Til Barsip the capital of Bit-Adini). Both these are inscribed with hieroglyphs and carved with a figure of the Storm-god mounted on a bull. The stela called B by Hrozný (but A by Dunand)⁹ is dedicated by one Ham(c)atas, son of Maluwaras. This man may be the same as Hamatai, the pro-Assyrian governor of Suru in Bit-Ḥaluppi on the Habur, who was murdered in 884 B.C. by Arameans hostile to Assyria from Bit-Adini.¹⁰ In any event, the Tell Ahmar inscriptions must be dated prior to 856 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem*, since in that year Shalmaneser took Til Barsip and converted it into an Assyrian colony.¹¹ Now the style in which the Storm-god is carved on stela B of Hrozný is precisely the same as that of the figure of Katuwas on A. 13d; indeed the same man might have done both. It is therefore clear that Katuwas's father lived before, and Katuwas during, the lifetime of Hamatai. That is to say, they preceded Sangara before 874 B.C. If we allow twenty-five years for a reign, this will place the start of the House of Luhas at about 975 B.C.¹²

Similarly, the House of Asadaruwas and that of Āraras, which followed closely on it, are to be dated partly on stylistic grounds, partly on grounds of general historic probability. Comparison between the stela of Kamanas from Jekke (*Iraq*, x, 1948, pl. XIX), showing the Storm-god on the bull, with the stelae from Tell Ahmar, showing the same subject, leaves no doubt whatever that the stela of Jekke is the more advanced and hence later in date, and that it stands in the same showing the extent to which the State of Carchemish expanded under this ruler.

¹ Luckenbill, *Ancient Records: Annals of Assyria*, i, 73, 110.

² *Ibid.* 221.

³ *Ibid.* 389.

⁴ *Ibid.* 507.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 610.

⁶ *Ibid.* 651, 653.

⁷ *Ibid.* 709.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 8, 137.

⁹ Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til Barsip*, pl. 1.

¹⁰ Luckenbill, i, 443. But another (?) Ham(c)atas is also mentioned in the other stela from Tell Ahmar (Hrozný A. Dunand B, side A, l. 4) perhaps as a son of the dedicant. The dedicant, whose name is lost, is the son of A-a-hu-nass, son

of Ha-pa-da-las. This as Hrozný saw, must be Ahum, king of Bit-Adini c. 885-856 B.C.

¹¹ Luckenbill, iii, 935.

¹² This is partly recommended by a somewhat plausible, though not completely proved, clue from another quarter. In the chronology of the kings of Malatía established by Bossert (*Festschr. Arkiv*, ii, 1947, 86-121, fig. 16) we find dated about 980 B.C. GAB VI-santas, son of Sulumel I (Dardené inscription - Gelly, *Hittite Hierogl. Mon.* XXXV). Grandsons of a person of this name appear in the text of Katuwas, A. 11 b, and c 5. But the sequence of the kings of Malatía is still far too unclear to be safely used as evidence.

relation to the Tell Ahmar sculptures as the Royal Buttress sculptures of Āraras to the earlier sculptures of the 'King's Gate' in which they are incorporated. Again, the sculptures¹ and inscriptions² of the staircase associated with Asadaruwas show Assyrian influence in general style and in details of dress (e.g. the ear-ring, B. 35*d*; the basket bearer, A. 21*a*; the star-crowned figure, B. 36*a*) which in sensitive modelling and in fineness of detail is well paralleled in Assyrian art of the ninth to eighth century B.C.³ It is clear that these sculptures belong to a period of prosperity in Carchemish; and history suggests that the overlords under whose auspices Āraras established his usurpation, since they were certainly not the kings of Assyria, who never mention him, may well have been the kings of Urartu, who precisely in that period are found extending their authority across Malatia to the Orontes.

A further light upon the episode of Āraras is shed by an inscription (at Kōtūka) mentioning Hilarunda, king of Malatia about 750 B.C.,⁴ in which he is described as 'Great King', that is to say, suzerain of Carchemish and the other Hittite States, presumably all under general overlordship of Urartu. Asadaruwas, therefore, must have fallen sometime about 800, and the reigns of Āraras and Kamanas, which preceded that of Pisiris, must have occurred between 800 and 750 B.C. In due course Kamanas, the son of Āraras, growing stronger, could lay claim to a title not claimed by his predecessors, and establish his sway southward as far as the Sajur valley and south-westwards nearly to Aleppo. It is probable that under Pisiris this expansion reached its climax; we know, however, only that with him the Hittite kingdom of Carchemish ended.

General

As stated, the following arrangement of the many fragments has been adopted in the catalogue to facilitate the joining of fragments as opportunity may offer: (i) corrections to Plates A. 1-18 (Vols. I and II); (ii) fragments with incised writing, A. 19; (iii) fragments with inscriptions in relief (*a*) on flat surfaces, A. 20-9, (*b*) on curved surfaces, A. 30-2, 34; (iv) details, A. 33. In this way it has already proved possible to unite on paper in two cases fragments which are in fact geographically very far apart. These are A. 21*b* (London) with A. 20 *b*. 4 (Ankara) and A. 26 *a*. 1 (Ankara) with A. 26 *a*. 2 (London).

A single fragment of a baked clay cylinder bearing incised hieroglyphs was found at the bottom of the staircase in front of the great Lion slab (fig. 62, p. 159). This discovery once more confirms that the hieroglyphs were a script of everyday life, not merely a monumental writing. Another example from Carchemish is the inscription on a funeral urn (Woolley, 'Hittite Burial Customs', *Liverpool Annals*, vi, fig. p. 97). There are other examples from Alişar, Atchana, and Nineveh.⁵

On Pl. A. 33 are selected those signs which appear for the first time in the present texts or which present unusual forms there. On the same plate are collected the names or symbols of deities or semi-divine figures. Such are *a**, *e**, *f**, and probably A. 20 *b*. 4. Others, such as A. 33*b**, *g**, and *d** appear beside divine or semi-divine or human figures but need not be their names. A. 33*a**, third sign from right, is possibly not quite correctly copied, but there is now no means of verification as it is not known where the original is. A. 33*c** occurs in the Topada and Suvasa inscriptions and in

¹ B. 35-6*a*.

² A. 22-3.

³ So, too, the winged sun-disk with tendrils depending from it which appears on the inscription A. 21 (A. 20 *b*. 4) has its closest parallel in the sculptures of the palace of Saka-

gözü belonging almost certainly to the eighth century.

⁴ Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, LXI. See Bossert, loc. cit.

⁵ Bossert, *Altanatolien*, figs. 669-71, and Barnett, *Antiquaries' Journal*, xix, 1939, pp. 33-5.

personal names on seals.¹ It is associated here like a label with a male figure of whose name it may perhaps form part.

THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

The fragmentary inscription A. 33i* is thought by Sir Leonard Woolley to have formed part of the plinth which rested on the shoulders of the lion A. 14b. One fragment of this inscription (No. 4) was found by R. C. Thompson in 1911, the remaining pieces were recovered by Woolley at the excavations of the Water-Gate in 1912.

It seems almost impossible to reconstruct the text from these tantalizing fragments, which presumably formed part of a sort of bilingual. It clearly begins "Aš . . . šar . . . šar Gar-ga(mi-iš),"² 'Aš . . . King . . . , king of Carchemish'. Now A. 14b is an inscription of Asatuwatemais, son of Luhas, yet the surviving trace of the next sign after Aš . . . in the cuneiform is certainly not *tu*, which should here be written in the form shown in fragment 6. It might have conceivably formed part of *sa*. Little else can be made out save *tap-pa-* (? *ar*) which might well be the Hittite title ^{1c}*taparius*, though this word is usually written with but one *p*. The inscriptions A. 33k and l likewise contain personal names presumably of the dedicators; all three include mention of a king. It is natural to assume that the dedicator was the king himself. If A. 33i* is not part of A. 14b, we may have a new name to add to the kings of Carchemish in the early first millennium B.C. beginning Aš—. But we must also bear in mind the possibility that these dedicants might be not kings, but private persons described in the inscription as 'servant' or son of a king of Carchemish unnamed. The presumed king . . . *tul-lim* servant (?) of the god *Ami*, mentioned in A. 33k, is not otherwise known, but the god *Ami* occurs in the name of a king of Carchemish *Iatar-^dAmi* a contemporary of Hammurabi, who is mentioned at Mari.²

A. 33m does not correspond exactly with the text of any known Assyrian triumphal record. But on general historical grounds it seems likely that it is a monument of Sargon.

A brick bearing the legend in cuneiform 'Palace of Sargon King of Nations, King of Assyria', was found in a late lime-kiln in the north-west half of the mound, on the site of the Kubaba Temple (see p. 211). The building from which it was removed is not identified. Fragments of other similar bricks were found in the Lower Palace area³ and along the road to the Water-Gate. Boscawen mentions finding on the surface of the mound a brick with a similar inscription.⁴

THE KINGS OF CARCHEMISH

Table showing Proposed Datings

c. 1750	<i>Aplahanda</i> ⁵ and <i>Iatar-^dAmi</i> .
14th. cent.	<i>Biyaššili</i> , son of Šubbiluliuma (1395-1355). ⁶
	<i>Šarri-Kušuh</i> , son of Šubbiluliuma. ⁶
	<i>xx-Šarma</i> , son of last (? Pawa-Šarruma, A. 18d). ⁶
c. 1330	<i>Tudhalia</i> . ⁷
c. 1250	<i>Imi-Tešub</i> . ⁸

¹ See Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, ii, p. 27. [The Karatepe bilingual, line ix, has now shown that this group is an ideogram, used in the word IDEOGRAM-*la-i-s*, meaning 'shield'. The references to, and latest discussions of, this group are in Alp, *Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen auf den Hieroglyphen-Hittischen Siegel und Inschriften*, pp. 30-1, and Steinert, 'Zu einer neuen hieroglyphen Studie', *Orientalia*, 1951, pp. 116-17.]

² G. Dossin, *Syria*, 1939, xx, p. 109.

³ See above, p. 171.

⁴ Boscawen, *Jordan* (Report No. 1 on the site of Carchemish now in the British Museum).

⁵ From the Mari letters, *Syria*, 1939, p. 109. Names in italics are known from cuneiform sources.

⁶ See Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, i, p. 27.

⁷ See p. 259, n. 3.

⁸ See Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, i, p. 27.

before 1200	... me-Tešub.
c. 1000	Pa-i-da, Great King.
c. 980	GREAT-pa, Great King, son of last.
c. 960	Luhās.
c. 940	Asatuwatemais, son of last.
c. 920	Luhās, son of last.
c. 900	Katuwas, son of last.
c. 880-848	<i>Sangara</i> .
c. 820	Asadaruwas.
c. 800, son of last.
c. 780	Āraras.
c. 760	Kamanas, son of last.
c. 745-716	<i>Pisiris</i> .

INDEX SHOWING PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF MONUMENTS, WHERE KNOWN

A. 1a	Ankara (i.e. Bedesten Museum)	10067	A. 17c	Ankara	10962
b	Ankara	10075	A. 18e	"	10963
A. 2	"	82	g (= A. 4a)	"	10912
A. 3	"	81	h	"	10092
A. 4a	Central	144	j	"	10911
	lower right-hand piece (= A. 18g)	10912	A. 19i	"	10902
b*	"	34	j	"	10905
d*	(small part)	1000l	n* 182	"	10902
A. 5a	"	10102	o*	"	10901
b	"	10961	r	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	
A. 6	except for top right-hand figure now lost	90	s	Ankara*	10903
A. 7a	(= B. 7a)	91	A. 20 a. 1, 2	"	130
b	(")	91	b. 1, 3	Ankara	10876, 64a
c	(= B. 7b)	92c	2	Hove Museum, Sussex	
d	(") central part	92b	A. 21a	(= A. 22a)	British Museum 125009
e	(") one letter only	92c	b	(= A. 22b) except fragment (at Ankara 10875) from left centre	" " 125003
f	(") top letters only	92f	A. 22c	"	" 125011
g	(") right-hand letters only	92g	A. 23a	"	" 125002
h	(") " " " "	92a	A. 24a	(fragment 1)	Ankara 111 (1183)
i	(") " " " "	92a	(" 2)	"	" 131
j	(") " " " "	93	(" 3)	"	" 140
A. 8a, b	(= A. 11a) fragments only	10000a-i	(" 4)	"	" 20
"	fragment of middle of line 3	British Museum	(" 11)	"	" 10895
A. 9a-c	(= A. 11b)	Ankara 113	(" 13)	"	" 10891
A. 10a-c	(= A. 11c)	99	(" 19)	"	" 10892
A. 12	"	106	A. 25 a. 1.	Ankara	137
A. 13a-c	(left-hand portion and centre of a)	10960	b	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	
d	"	89	A. 26 a. 2.	British Museum	125000d
A. 14a	(principal fragments)	60	f	"	125005
b	(upper corners missing)	69	A. 27j	Ankara	
A. 15a	"	39	k*	"	10877
b	"	100	o	"	"
c	"	88	r	"	(2017)
A. 16a*	(part of fragment 1, and fragments 3, 5, and 9)	10898a-d	t	"	"
c	(upper part of fragment 1, part of fragment 2)	2 & 10910	cc	"	"
d	(right half)	10897	ff. 2	"	10881
e	(fragment 1 only)	10896	ii	"	"
A. 17a	"	146	mm	"	10888
b	"	134	oo	"	"
			A. 28a	British Museum	125000 b, c
			b	"	" e

A. 28 <i>d</i>	British Museum 125001 <i>a</i>	B. 25, 26 <i>a</i> (B. 54 <i>b</i>)	Ankara 6 (base and small fragments of seated figure); head of right-hand lion	British Museum 118183
<i>e</i>	" " " <i>b</i>	B. 20 <i>b</i>	Ankara	9652
<i>f</i>	" " " <i>c</i>	" <i>c</i>	"	9651
<i>g</i>	" " " <i>f</i>	B. 27 <i>a</i>	"	No number
<i>h</i>	" " " <i>g</i>	" <i>b</i>	"	No number
<i>i</i>	" " " <i>h</i>	B. 28 <i>a, b</i>	"	9660
<i>j</i>	" " " <i>i</i>	B. 29 <i>a</i>	"	Jerablus
<i>k</i>	" " " <i>k</i>	" <i>b</i>	"	Ankara 9659
<i>l</i>	" " " 125000 <i>a</i>	B. 30 <i>a</i>	"	Jerablus
<i>m</i>	" " " <i>h</i>	" <i>b</i>	"	Ankara 123
<i>n</i>	" " " <i>c</i>	B. 31 <i>a</i>	"	Jerablus
A. 29 <i>a. 2</i>	Ankara	" <i>b</i>	"	"
6	"	B. 31 <i>a</i>	"	"
<i>d</i>	"	" <i>b</i>	"	"
<i>f</i>	"	B. 32	"	Ankara 125
A. 30 <i>h</i>	British Museum 125013	B. 33	"	"
A. 31	" " 125008	B. 34	Ankara 124; bulls' heads: British Museum 118068, 118090	
A. 33 <i>g</i> *1 (= B. 39 <i>b</i>)		B. 35 <i>d</i>	British Museum 125010	
B. 2 <i>a</i>	Ankara 115	B. 36 <i>a</i>	Ankara 57	147
<i>b</i>	" 116	B. 38 <i>a, b</i>	"	104
B. 3 <i>a</i>	" 117	B. 39 <i>a</i>	"	145
<i>b</i>	" 9664	" <i>b</i>	"	103
B. 4 <i>a</i>	" 86	B. 40 <i>a, b</i> (A. 1 <i>b</i>)	"	"
<i>b</i>	" 111	B. 41 <i>a</i>	"	"
B. 5 <i>a</i>	" 87	" <i>b</i>	"	"
<i>b</i>	" 9663	B. 42 <i>a</i>	"	94
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B. 7 <i>a</i>	" 91	" <i>b</i> (A. 1 <i>a</i>)	"	"
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g. Fragment of steatite libation-bowl with a human hand in relief.

SERIES A—HIEROGLYPHIC AND CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

Since the first two volumes of this publication were issued, on the one hand much new hieroglyphic material has been collected, and on the other the Carchemish and other texts have been assiduously studied. The hieroglyphic signs and their forms are thus now better known, and it has therefore proved worth while to re-examine the original squeezes from which the publication of the Carchemish inscriptions was prepared. Some improved readings on the texts A. 1-18 have been established and where possible collated with the originals. Many are but slight changes already suggested by scholars elsewhere as conjectures. But many readings still remain very dubious, usually on account of the worn condition of the stones. Where no alteration to the readings has been submitted, it is not implied that the reading was correct, but that there was nothing better to offer. The content of the inscriptions in general is discussed in Chapter XVI. Other information and bibliographical notes are given under each item. A list showing (as far as is known) where each stone now is, is given above.¹

- AA., A. 1a*.** From the sculptured wall showing the series of chariot-scenes; for photograph, see B. 43b.
Text edited: Hrozný, *Les Inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, ii, pp. 195-203, 1934. See above, p. 166.
It is possible that the text was continued on another slab on the left, now lost.
- AA., A. 1b*.** From the same sculptured wall. See above, Ch. XVI, p. 260; for photograph, see B. 40b.
This slab, discovered in the excavations of 1879, was sketched *in situ* by Boscawen in a drawing which apparently shows that an additional fragment, now lost, bearing hieroglyphics once existed on the right-hand side but where is not clear.
Text published Messerschmidt, *C.I.H.* ii, pl. xv B (*M.F.A.G.* 1900). See Bossert, *Archiv für Orientalforschung*: ix. 115, f. 15. 7. See pp. 165, 260 above.
- [**A. 2, A. 3.** Inscriptions on basalt door-jamb, from doorway of the Temple of the Storm-god. (v. sketch plan following p. 29 in Part I, and Ch. VIII, p. 170 and p. 260, *supra*).
Forrer, *Die Hethitische Bilderschrift*, pp. 52 ff.; Meriggi, *Revue hittite et asiatique*, xi. 113 ff.; idem, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xl. 249, xli. 17 ff.; Hrozný, *op. cit.* 203 f.]
- AB., A. 4a, a*** = A. 18g. The largest part of this inscription was found in the flour-mill, north of the Citadel.
- AB., A. 4b*.** From northern wall of courtyard of the Temple of the Storm-god. (See sketch plan, *loc. cit.*, and Ch. VIII, p. 170 and p. 259, *supra*).
- [**A. 4c.** Altar. From Temple of Storm-god (See sketch plan, following p. 29, Part. I, and Ch. VIII, p. 167, *supra*)].
- AB., A. 4d*.** Inscription on skirt of god seated on lions, Vol. II, B. 25.
Text edited: Hrozný, *op. cit.* 247. See Meriggi, *M.F.A.G.* xxxix. 47.
- AB., A. 5a*.** Text: Meriggi, *H.Z.K.M.* xl. 271; Hrozný, *op. cit.* 229. See also p. 262.
- [**A. 6.** Inscribed corner block. For original position see sketch plan, *loc. cit.* For photograph see B. 6.
In the middle of l. 6 is a lacuna, not shown in the black-and-white copy.
Text edited: Hrozný, *op. cit.* 183-91.]
- [**A. 7a-j.** Text: Meriggi, *H.Z.K.M.* xli. 36; Hrozný, *op. cit.* 191 ff.]
- [**A. 8a, b.** (= **A. 11a**). Western door-jamb of 'King's Gate' at south end of 'Processional Way'. Text edited: Meriggi, *M.F.A.G.* xxxix. 19; Hrozný, *op. cit.* 156 ff. See above, pp. 199 & 260.]

¹ The illustrations of the inscriptions have been arranged in the plates as follows: A. 1-18, revisions and corrections; A. 19, incised fragments; A. 20-8, fragments with raised script on flat surfaces; A. 29-302, ditto on curved surfaces; A. 30h-A. 32, complete texts; A. 33, cuneiform, Phoenician and Aramaic fragments and details of hieroglyphic signs. As far as possible, fragments have been placed on the plates relatively

to their original positions, e.g. top-line fragments at the top, left edge at the left, right edge at the right of the plate. This is intended to facilitate study and where possible the recognition of 'joms'.

I have to acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of Dr. I. Gelb who allowed me to use and reproduce several of his photographs of those fragments now at Ankara.

- [A. 9a-c (= A. 11b). Inscribed door-jamb, found re-used as threshold in 'King's Gate'. Text edited; Meriggi, op. cit. 37; Hrozný, op. cit. 165. See above, pp. 193, 202-3, 206.]
- [A. 10a-c (= A. 11c). Found in same place as last.
Text edited; Meriggi, op. cit. 50; Hrozný, op. cit. 171.]
- [A. 12. Part of a pedestal for a relief. Found in front of the great Lion slab at the foot of the staircase (pl. B. 33a).
On the possible position of this pedestal in the 'Herald's Wall', see Ch. X, p. 187, *supra*.
Text edited; Hrozný, op. cit. 222 f. *Vide* Bossert, *J. f. O.* ix. 111; Meriggi, *Revue hittite et asiatique* xxvii. 76.]
- [A. 13a-c. Inscription on base of the great seated figure (Pl. B. 27a) from South Gate (see Part II, p. 92).
For text, see Meriggi, *M.F.I.G.* xxxix. 71.]
- [A. 13d. Found low down beside west wall of 'Processional Entry'.
Text edited; Hrozný, op. cit. 218 ff. See pp. 203, 261 above.]
- AC., A. 14*. Inscribed portions of a great lion, from below Water-Gate. Restored drawing; Pl. B. 31c.
Text edited; Hrozný, op. cit. 231 ff. See Meriggi, *M.F.I.G.*, op. cit. 26.
- [A. 15b. Statue base.
Text edited (front only); Hrozný, op. cit. 176. See above, p. 262.]
- AC., A. 15c, c*. Part of a relief showing heavily draped figure wearing ornament walking to left.
Found in Yunus cemetery.
- AC., A. 16a. Partly edited; Meriggi, *W.Z.K.M.* li. 25.
- [A. 16b. Edited Hrozný, op. cit. 247. See Meriggi, *M.F.I.G.* xxxix. 54.]
- AC., A. 17b*. Inscribed stela; on front, two figures walking to right.
— Pl. B. 66a. For discovery, see Ch. VIII, 'Details', p. 175, *supra*.
- [A. 17d. Inscribed block. From pit near the stairs. See Ch. VIII, 'Details', p. 174, *supra*.]
- AC., A. 18d. Part of an inscribed lion.
Photograph of left half.
- [A. 18e. Text edited; Hrozný, op. cit., Meriggi, *M.F.I.G.* xxxix. 71.]
- AC., A. 18f. Part of an altar.
From Merj Hamis.
- [A. 18g. Forms part of A. 4a.]
- AC., A. 18h. Altar.
- A. 19a*. Fragment, sharply incised letters.
Hard white limestone. 0.15 m. × 0.13 m.
- A. 19b*. Fragment from an inscription, showing bottom left-hand corner. Incised letters.
Basalt. 0.14 m. × 0.12 m.
From the Yunus cemetery, on the surface.
- A. 19c*. Part of a circular or semicircular drum with linear inscription; characters roughly incised.
Basalt. Diameter of drum, c. 0.90 m. Size of fragment, 0.28 m. × 0.14 m.
- A. 19d*, 1, 16, d². Fragments of an incised inscription on a curved surface, probably a large drum. Characters rough. (The arrangement of fragments illustrated is simply for convenience of reproduction.)
Basalt. Diameter of drum, 0.90 m. Length of fragment 1, 0.40 m.
- A. 19e*. Corner fragment from the lower part of a small 'boundary stela'. Very rough letters.
Basalt. 0.15 m. × 0.09 m.
- A. 19f*. Fragment of lower part of a small conical-shaped stone.
Basalt. Diameter at base, 0.14 m.; height, 0.12 m.
- A. 19g*. Fragment of semi-columnar stone, roughly incised letters.
On the reverse are traces of an object in relief, perhaps a scorpion's tail.
Original diameter about 0.28 m. Inscribed surface 0.18 × 0.11 m.

- A. 19h***. Fragments of incised inscriptions on curved surfaces. They do not join; but it is possible some belong to *c* or *d*.
Basalt.
- A. 19i, i***. Fragment of a circular or semicircular base, with deeply incised inscription.
Basalt. Height 18 cm.
- A. 19j, j***. Two pieces of an inscription perhaps accompanying a relief to left. Deeply incised characters with sloping edges. Fragment 1 is the top left-hand corner of inscription. First character of line 3, very deeply cut, in a hollow as if replacing a previous character. The inscription on the larger piece mentions an unrecorded god's name beginning with a new ideogram.
Fragment 1 inscribed area, 0.17 m. × 0.13 m.; fragment 2 height 10 cm.
Hard smooth-grained black stone recalling slate.
- A. 19k***. From fragment of a relief showing central part of a human figure, moving right to right of figure, remains of incised lettering, much weathered.
Basalt. 0.20 m. × 0.10 m.
- A. 19l***. Fragment. Basalt. 0.15 m. × 0.13 m.
- A. 19m***. Fragment of inscription with part of two bottom lines.
Basalt. 0.165 m. × 0.13 m.
- A. 19n***, 1-8; n. 2. Eight fragments of an inscription. The fragments do not join. The surface of the stone polished.
Basalt. Fragment 1 = 0.155 m. × 0.11 m.
- A. 19o, o***. Fragment showing right-hand edge of inscription; part of three lines.
Basalt. 0.07 m. × 0.18 m.; height of register, 0.07 m.
- A. 19p, p***. Fragment of inscription showing part of four lines.
Limestone.
- A. 19q***. Fragment of inscription, with three signs of top line.
Basalt. 0.17 m. × 0.05 m.
- A. 19r, r***. Fragment of an inscription showing part of three lines. Size 0.52 m. × 0.15 m.
Basalt. From Çiftlik, Sajur Valley.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)
- [Reference to another inscription in incised characters may be included here, as it is said to have been found at Carchemish. But there is no record of it among the excavators' catalogues or notes and it is probable that it came to light independently of the excavations, if indeed it comes from Carchemish at all:
Two fragments of a stela inscribed with incised characters on three sides.
Basalt. Sizes: A, 0.37 m. × 0.33 m.; B, 0.35 m. × 0.46 m.; C, 0.33 m. × 20 m.
(Now at Ankara.)
Text edited: Hrozný, *op. cit.* 344 S, where, however, some lines are given in an incorrect order. This should be as they appear in Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, pl. XXIII, no. 9 (A1, B1, C1, C2, B2, A2, A3, B3, C3), q.v.]
- A. 19s**. Fragment of inscription in two lines.
- A. 20 a. 1; a* 1**. Fragment of top right-hand edge of door-jamb, inscribed on two adjacent faces and shaped to form a re-entrant; cf. A. 9 *a, b*, and pl. 47.
Basalt (reddish tinted).
Found beside the Great Staircase; from its shape must have occupied position to right of door on entering. This slab may have stood near to A. 23*a*; the forms of letters are the same. Text of fragments 1 and 2 published: Hrozný, *op. cit.* 348; Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, 11.
*a*³, *a**³, inscribed on two adjacent faces, probably is a part of the same. From the Great Staircase.
- A. 20 b. 1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 13; b***, 1-13. Fragments of inscriptions, evidently from the finely inscribed series of sculptures flanking the Great Staircase (v. *supra*, Ch. VIII, pp. 160-1), see A. 21, 22.
Fragment *b** 6 very likely joins A. 22*c*. Fragment 4 (now in Ankara) joins B.M. 125003 and in pl. A. 21

is shown in a composite photograph in its correct position. Fragment 9, copied from Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. XII. 2, is not, as there stated, in the British Museum but at Hove Museum. Messerschmidt apparently believed it to be part of A. 21*b*.

For fragments 11, 12 vide Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII. 1 and 8.

Basalt. Fragments 9, 11, 12 from the excavations of 1879-80.

- A. 21*a* = A. 22*a*.** Sculptured and inscribed relief, showing lower part of winged and semi-human figure wearing long trailing garment moving to right evidently to 'anoint' the figure of the King on A. 21*b*. For similar figure cf. Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til Barsip*, pl. XI. 3. For very similar compositions in Assyrian art see sculptured slabs from Nimrud, *British Museum Guide to Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (1922), pl. XVI.

The details of dress and wings, &c., are carved with delicacy, and show that the bucket or basket has attachments in the form of winged creatures found especially on vessels of bronze from Assyria and Urartu; see Kunze, *Die Kretische Bronzereliefs*, pp. 236 ff. Boscawen's drawing (A. 21*c*) suggests that in 1879 this sculpture was more completely preserved. On this see Ch. VIII, p. 161.

Wright, *op. cit.*, pl. XI. 3, 4; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, pl. XII. 1. Height 0.75 m. 0.65 m.

Basalt. From the excavations of 1879-80.

- A. 21*b* and A. 22*b*.** Sculptured and inscribed relief from the Great Staircase (with A. 20*b*. 4) (see *supra*, Ch. VIII, p. 161), showing a king moving to right holding two wands.

Basalt. Height 117 cm.; breadth 64.5 cm.

Rylands, *Transactions of Society of Biblical Antiquaries*, vii; Wright, *Empire of the Hittites*, pl. IX; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, pl. X.

Boscawen's sketch suggests that in 1880 the inscription may have been more complete (see below, A. 21*c*). Height 117 cm. 64.5 cm. Basalt.

Now B.M. 125003, except for fragment at left side of ll. 5-6, which is, as stated above, in Ankara.

- A. 21*c*.** Copy of sketch by W. St. C. Boscawen; in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, showing A. 21*a* and *b* in their original positions (confirmed in a letter from Consul Henderson to the Trustees, 1879).

A. 22*a = A. 21*a*.**

A. 22*b = A. 21*b*.**

- A. 22*c*, c*.** Sculptured and inscribed relief, similar to A. 21*b*, but showing a figure moving to left. For the probable restoration of the figure's head, see A. 20*b** 6.

Wright, *op. cit.*, pl. VII; Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, pl. XIV. 7.

Basalt. From the excavations of 1879-80.

- A. 23*a*. a*.** Inscribed door-jamb. Basalt. Height 99 cm.

Text published: Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. IX. Edited: Meriggi, *H.Z.K.M.* XI; Hrozný, *loc. cit.* 227. From the excavations of 1879.

- A. 24*a*. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21; a*, 1-22.** Fragments of an inscription containing an historical text and originally accompanying a sculptured relief showing a figure or figures of which one foot survives on fragment 4 above a cable pattern. Like A. 12, which it closely resembles, it appears to have been inscribed on more than one face. The letters are small and neat. At the bottom is a herring-bone pattern. It is possible that A. 27*mm* and A. 33*c* are from the same monument.

Fragments 1 and 2: Text edited: Hrozný, *op. cit.* 339-44; see Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments*, p. 26 and plate XXIV. 10 ('Carchemish H'). For discovery, see *supra*, p. 174.

Basalt. Combined size of fragments 2 and 3: 0.46 m. 0.58 m.

Height of registers: 0.08 0.09 m.

- A. 25*a*. 1, 2, 3, 4; a*, 1, 2, 3, 4.** Fragments of an inscription. Nos. 1, 3, and 4 join. Size of fragments 3 and 4 0.33 0.49. Text of fragment 1 published: Gelb, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV. 12.

Basalt. From the Lower Palace area.

- A. 25 *b*. 1, 2; *b**. 1, 2. Slab inscribed on two faces with raised letters. Upper part broken away.
H. 0.42 · 0.23 · 0.15 m. Basalt.
Published: Sayce, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, vii, 185.
From Çiftlik, Sajar Valley.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)
- A. 26 *a*. 1, 2; *a**. 1, 2. Two fragments from the corner of a block, perhaps a door-jamb inscribed on two faces.
The fragments join.
Fragment 1 is from the excavations of 1911-14, and is now apparently lost; fragment 2 is from the excavations of 1879-80 and is now in the British Museum (B.M. 125000*d*). It is published by Rylands, loc. cit., and Messerschmidt, loc. cit., pl. xii, 3 and 4. Basalt. Fragment 2 left side, 0.15 · 0.39 m.; right side 0.20 · 0.39 m.
- b**. Fragment from corner of a block, inscribed on two sides.
Basalt.
- c**. Fragment from corner of block similar to last. Characters in rather flat relief.
Size: left side, 0.12 · 0.07; right side 0.15 · 0.07 m.
Basalt.
- d**. Fragment similar to *b**.
Basalt. Size: left side, 0.13 · 0.10; right side, 0.6 · 0.10 m.
- e*, *e**. Fragment similar to *b**: basalt. Size of inscribed surfaces (i) 0.10 m. · 0.07 m. (ii) 0.12 m. · 10 m.
Perhaps from same sculpture as A. 27*a*.
- A. 26 *f* and *f**. Sculptured and inscribed relief, showing a male figure moving to right, similar to A. 21*b*.
Inscribed on two faces. Much damaged. Evidently the door-jamb of a gateway.
Size: left side, 0.22 · 0.30 m.; right, 0.62 · 0.44 m.
Basalt. From the excavations of 1879-80.
Wright, op. cit., pl. xxii; Messerschmidt, loc. cit., pl. xv.
- A. 27*a**. Fragment of an inscribed block, probably a door-jamb, from the left-hand corner of the inscription where it is shaped to form an internal and external right angle (cf. A. 10). See also A. 26*e*.
Basalt.
- b**. Fragment of inscription.
Basalt. Size, 0.13 · 0.9 m.
- c**. Fragment from top line of an inscription, characters rather flat.
Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.19 m. · 0.16 m.
- d**. 1. Fragments of an inscription from the top line.
The upper surface of the slab is smoothly polished.
Basalt.
- e**. 1, 2, 3. Three fragments, two from the top and one from bottom of an inscription.
Basalt. Size of *e** 3 (inscribed surface), 0.31 m. · 0.31 m.
- f**. Fragment of an inscription.
Size of inscribed surface, 0.13 m. · 0.09 m.
- g**. Part of left-hand edge of an inscription.
Basalt. Size 0.24 h. · 0.14 b.
- h*, *h**. Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.11 m. · 0.14 m.
- j**. " " " " " " 0.18 m. · 0.11 m.
- j*, *j**. " " " " " " 0.19 m. · 0.27 m.
- k**. " " " " " " 0.20 m. · 0.13 m.
- l**. " " " " " " 0.12 m. · 0.13 m.
- m*, *m**. " " " " " " 0.20 m. · 0.8 m.
- n**. " " " " " " 0.12 m. · 0.12 m.


- A. 29 *f* 1, 2; *f**. 1, 2. Inscribed drum and irregularly shaped stone, inscribed on two faces; perhaps parts of mushroom-shaped altar like that from Eski Kışla, Hrozny, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVIII.
Basalt. Height of register, 0.105 m. Size of fragment 1, 0.24 m. × 0.17 m.
Size of fragment 2 face (*a*), 0.08 m. × 0.15 m.; (*b*) 0.09 m. × 0.26 m.
- g**. Basalt. Size of inscribed area, 0.40 m. × 0.16 m. From left-hand edge of text. 'The slab was more or less flat but with rounded corners, and inscribed on at least two faces.' (Excavation record.)
- h*. 1, 2; *h**. 1-7. Seven fragments from an inscription or more than one similar inscription. Basalt.
- i*, *i**. Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.37 m. × 0.105 m.
- j*. 1; *j**. 1-3. Three fragments from an inscription in bad preservation.
Basalt. Size of inscribed surfaces, fragment 1, 0.17 m. × 0.09 m.; fragment 2, 0.12 m. × 0.11 m.; fragment 3, 0.25 m. × 0.13 m.
- k*, *k**. Basalt. Size of inscribed surface, 0.19 m. × 0.15 m.
- l* *l**. " " " " " 0.10 m. × 0.09 m.
- m**. " " " " " 0.14 m. × 0.07 m.
- n*. 1, 2, 3; *n**. 1-4. Four fragments of an inscription. Basalt.
Size of inscribed areas: fragment 1, 0.13 m. × 0.07 m.; fragment 2, 0.22 m. × 0.14 m.; fragment 3, 0.16 m. × 0.16 m.; fragment 4, 0.17 m. × 0.08 m.
- o**. 1-4. Four fragments of an inscription on a convex surface. Basalt.
Size of inscribed surface, fragment 4, 0.13 m. × 0.09 m.
- p*. 1, 2; *p**. 1-3. Three fragments of an inscription. Size of fragment 2, 0.14 m. × 0.20 m.; fragment 3, 0.20 m. × 0.15 m. Basalt.
- q*. 1, 2; *q**. 1-2. Two fragments of an inscription. Basalt.
Size of fragment 1, 0.12 m. × 0.32 m.; size of fragment 2, 0.13 m. × 0.26 m.
- A. 30 *a*. 1, 2, 3; *a**. 1-6. Six fragments from an inscription on flank of a very large lion. Basalt.
Lower Palace area.
- b*; *b**. 1-3. Three fragments which join, from the right-hand edge of an inscription on a convex surface. On the face cut at right angles to the text 'is a rope pattern ornament, and behind this the stone is cut away as if to receive an impost' (excavation notes).
Basalt.
Size of overall areas: (1) 0.23 m. × 0.13 m.; (2) 0.26 m. × 0.15 m.; (3) 0.18 m. × 0.12 m. Height of register, 0.11 m.
- c*. Fragment from an inscription on a semicircular or circular surface.
Basalt. From the excavations of 1879-80.
Size: 0.24 × 0.28 m.
Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, pl. xiv. 3.
- d*. 1, 2, *e*, *f*, *g*. Fragments inscribed in relief. No information concerning them is now available to me.
- h*, *h**. Rectangular base for a statue or stela, to hold which a cutting was made in the top face. Inscribed on front and right side in archaic characters. On the left side is a rayed star or sun. Found by T. E. Lawrence at Yusuf Beg, 7 miles south-west of Carchemish. Basalt.
Size, 0.82 × 0.27 m.
- A. 31, 32. Semi-columnar stone, showing on its axis a figure in relief representing a goddess in frontal view, the head lost. She is wearing a long-sleeved crinkly dress,¹ the neck, cuff, and sleeves of which are decorated with a band of rectangular patterns. She appears to wear a cloak or veil, the fringes of which,

¹ Cf. the dress of seated figure, B. 64*b*. The dress of the present goddess corresponds closely with that of Ishtar as described in the epic of her descent into the Underworld.

also ornamented with rectangular patterns, are visible on either side of her skirt, and a belt. She carries an enormous breast ornament or chain, adorned with pendants, and holds in her right hand a mirror. Beneath her feet is a cable pattern. On curved rear face of stone is an inscription.

Basalt. Height 162.5 cm.; breadth, 76 cm.; breadth of inscription, 102.5 cm. According to Boscawen, it was found half-way down the west face of the mound. See p. 211.

Text published: Messerschmidt, *loc. cit.*, pl. XI. Edited: Meriggi *M.F.L.G.* xxix, 66; Hrozný, *loc. cit.* 239. For an illustration of the figure, *z.* Vol. I, p. 5, fig. 3, and this Vol., pl. B. 62a.

- A. 33a*. On a fragment of a sculptured relief slab (not illustrated) 'showing the square head-dress of a very large figure carved in low relief. Head-dress thus: . Inscription (complete) cut between this and top edge of stone.' (Excavation notes.) Size of inscribed area, 0.30 × 0.18 m. Basalt.
- b*. On a fragment of a block (not illustrated) 'having on front a relief apparently of a soldier and on the side an inscription in relief. Only 6 characters, the end of a register, remain'. (Excavation notes.) Basalt. Height of register, 0.14 m.
- c, c*. Fragment of a relief showing a male figure moving left, wearing a belt and sword. To left of belt is an inscription of two signs.
Size of relief, 0.02 m. high. Size of inscribed area, 0.18 m. × 0.10 m. Basalt, see A. 24, p. 274.
- d*. Inscription on a sculptured relief showing a man in a fringed garment holding a spear moving to left. See B. 51b.
- e*, f*. Inscriptions accompanying figures representing the sun and moon god on sculptured relief. See B. 33 a, b.
- g* 1, 2. Inscription accompanying head of goddess with high head-dress on sculptured relief. See B. 39b.
- h*. The Tell Ahmar Inscription now at Aleppo called Stela A by Hrozný, (*op. cit.*, pl. XII), but B by Dunand and Thureau-Dangin,¹ was discovered by Hogarth during the preliminary reconnaissances of the excavations at Carchemish.² While Hrozný's publication is in general satisfactory, the inscription appears by his time to have lost some signs at the beginning of fragment B, line 1, which were visible to Hogarth and are reproduced here from the squeeze in the British Museum as confirmation.

Fragments of cuneiform inscriptions³

- i*. 1-11. Ten fragments of an inscription, of which 1 and 5 represent right and left edges respectively, and 8-10 show the bottom.

It begins with a personal name: *As* . . . ; fragment 2 reads *-sar*; fragment 3, *-tap-pa-[ar?]*. Fragment 4, *šar Gar-ga-[mi-is]*; fragment 5, *KI*. Fragment 3, l. 2 may be *mal-ku*. Fragment 6, upper line, *šar-ru?*; lower line, *-ši?-tu*. Fragment 10, *IM-ha?-hal?*. The text is perhaps a dedication of 'Aš . . . king of Carchemish' with his pedigree. For the possibility that the name is that of *Aštuwate-mais*, see above, p. 265.

Basalt. Height of register, 0.047 m.

The script of this inscription appears to be that of the early first millennium B.C. See above, p. 265.

- j*. 1-3. Three fragments of an inscription of four or more lines. Illegible.

- k, k*. Part of a circular base or column? with slightly expanding base inscribed vertically with four lines of inscription, mentioning l. 1 a name ending in *-tul-li-im*, in l. 2 a god's name ^{pl.} A. MI and l. 3 *Ka-ka-mi-is*. Probably to be restored as *...-tul(?) . . .-lam*, [servant of the] god A. MI, (king of) Carchemish'. Basalt. Size, 0.16 m. × 0.14 m. See above, p. 265.

¹ *Til Barsip*, pls. III-VI.

² D. G. Hogarth, *Liverpool Annals* . . . II, pls. XXXVIII-XI.

³ I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Gadd for the readings of *i*, *l*, and for information in notes. The squeezes of cuneiform

texts here reproduced were made by the excavators (unfortunately unacquainted with cuneiform) for the purpose of purely provisional records. As now the originals are lost, they are published as they are.

- A. 33^f*. Fragment of an inscription in three or more lines. Line 2 reads ^{du} IM, 'Storm-god'; l. 3 *šarru* 'king'.
*m, m**. Corner fragment of an inscribed stone, perhaps an obelisk, inscribed on two faces.

Text:

... *lu-u e-sir-šū ma-da-ta-šū kaspu* . . . 'I shut him up, his tribute, silver . . .'.
 . . . *me-at* ¹³ *ni-ri lu am-hur martu* . . . 'a hundred wooden yokes (?) I received, his daughter . . .'.
 . . . *lu a-qur-ma NU-MU-S.A-pu-u-rat-ti*^{K1} . . . 'I demolished and the city of Almat-puratti . . .'.
 . . . *ana še-me-e qi-bit bi-šu ana mit* (?)*gu*(?)*-ur*(?) . . . 'to hear the command of his mouth and obey . . .'.
 . . . *nuḫṣu tuḫ-du hi-iṣ-ba hegalla* . . . 'abundance, richness, wealth, plenty . . .'.

This is evidently from an obelisk erected as a trophy by an Assyrian king; but the text does not correspond exactly with any of those known.

l. 3. ¹³ *niru* is translated here as (wooden) 'yokes', but it must be admitted that so strange an article is not mentioned elsewhere in Assyrian records as forming an item of tribute, though it may have been thought appropriate as a symbol of submission. Another possibility, however, is that we should translate *niru* not as 'yokes' but as representing *n'aru* 'papyrus' which is occasionally mentioned as an article of tribute. See Martin, *Tribut und Tributleistung bei den Assyriern*, p. 41, but the determinative ^{G1} is used, in the examples quoted there.

l. 4. *NU-MU-S.A-pu-u-rat-ti*^{K1}, read as *Almat-Puratti*, literally 'widow of the Euphrates', is a city not otherwise recorded.¹

l. 5. The mouth is probably that of the god Ashur.

Basalt. Perhaps eighth century B.C.

- (A further cuneiform inscription exists on the figure from the 'Hilani' of a bearded and seated man illustrated in Pl. B. 48*b*. Both the front of the dress and the back have been inscribed, but they are now too worn to be legible.)

Phoenician and Syriac

- A. 33ⁿ. Small tile, of glazed frit, painted with an inscription in Phoenician with brown letters on a pale blue background. The right-hand edge retains as edge a vertical band made up of 'sacred trees.' Size, 9 · 4 cm. From the 'Kubaba Temple' at the north-west end of the mound. See. p. 211.

Text:

מלכתבעל אלנת	'Milkath-ba'al, wi[dow of]
... צדקבלך בן	Šidki-milk, s[on of X],
בן עבד[א]ל	son of 'Abd-['e][im].'

Date: The lettering closely resembles that of the inscription of 'Eshmun-'azar of Tyre, dated to the fifth century B.C.²

The name Milkath-ba'al is new, though Milk-ba'al occurs, apparently as a compound divine name (*C.I.S.* i. 123*a* = Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 103). The name Sidki-milk is also new.

- o.* Onyx conoid seal, broken, of neo-Babylonian type with scene of priest worshipping sacred symbols of the gods. Cf. Delaporte, *Cylindres orientaux du Louvre*, pl. 92.

Inscription in reverse in Phoenician לאשיל 'belonging to 'Ešel.' The name 'Ešel 'tamarisk' may be compared with other tree-names borne by humans such as Tamar (*Gen.* xxxviii; 2 *Sam.* xiv). As is well known, trees had definite sacred associations in pagan Canaan. For illustration, see p. 183, fig. 15.

- p.* Vase with inscription in Arabic incised in Syriac characters on the neck. From a rubbish pit.

Inscription:

<i>salam lak</i>	'peace be with thee.
<i>kestā ḥamsa</i>	five pints.'

¹ [Another suggestion, which is most plausible, is due to Dr. J. Penuela and Mr. D. J. Wiseman. It would read *lu a-qur-ma mat Mu-sa-šir* . . . 'and the land of Musasir . . . &c.']. The ambiguity is due to faults of copying. See p. 279, n. 3.

² Ginzberg, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lvi. 142, 1937, dates it, however, to c. 320 B.C. I am obliged to Dr. D. Deringer for this reference, and to Mr. C. Moss for helping me with inscriptions p. q. (R. D. B.)

q. On another small fragment:

'arbe'a 'hou

Perhaps sixteenth century A.D.

r*. Hieroglyphic new signs or signs of unusual form appearing in this volume

SERIES B—SCULPTURE

- B. 33. a.** The great Lion slab by the stairs.
Limestone.
- b.** The same, treated with a mud wash.
- B. 34. a.** The double bull base in Room 1.
Basalt.
- b.** The same, side view.
- B. 35. a.** Fragment of relief from staircase.
Basalt. L. 0.54 m. (figure space); total 0.82 m.
Found *in situ*. Belongs to A. 21a.
- b.** Fragment of relief from staircase.
Basalt. L. 0.54 m.
- c.** Fragment of relief from staircase.
Basalt.
- d.** Fragment of relief from staircase.
Basalt.
- B. 36. a.** Fragment of relief from staircase.
Basalt.
- b.** The same, as photographed in 1888 (*American Journal of Archaeology*, iv, pl. 8).
- c.** Fragment of lintel from staircase.
Basalt.
- B. 37. a.** The Long Wall of Sculpture (restored); the view from the foot of the stairs, looking south.
- b.** The same; the view from the south looking towards the stairs.
- B. 38. a.** The Storm-god and his consort. The first relief of the Long Wall of Sculpture.
Basalt.
- b.** The head of the Storm-god as found.
- c.** Henderson's drawing of the relief, showing the head of the goddess still *in situ*.
- B. 39. a.** Fragment; the legs of the spear-bearing god. The second relief of the Long Wall of Sculpture.
Basalt.
- b.** Head of a goddess. Probably the third relief of the Long Wall of Sculpture.
Basalt.
- B. 40. a.** The Naked Goddess and the Priestess. The fourth (incomplete) relief from the Long Wall of Sculpture.
The fragments reassembled at the foot of the wall.
Limestone.
- b.** The same, re-erected and treated with mud.
- B. 41. a.** The first Chariot relief; Long Wall of Sculpture.
Basalt.
- b.** The second Chariot relief; Long Wall of Sculpture.
Limestone.
- B. 42. a.** The third Chariot relief; Long Wall of Sculpture.
Basalt.
- b.** The fourth Chariot relief; Long Wall of Sculpture.
Limestone.

- B. 43.** *a.* The fifth Chariot relief; Long Wall of Sculpture. Fragment. Limestone.
- b.* The great inscription; Long Wall of Sculpture. Limestone. See A. 1a*.
- B. 44.** *a.* The first Foot-soldier relief (fragment); Long Wall of Sculpture. Limestone.
- b.* The second Foot-soldier relief; Long Wall of Sculpture. Limestone.
- B. 45.** *a.* The third Foot-soldier relief; Long Wall of Sculpture. Limestone.
- b.* Fragments of a Foot-soldier relief; Long Wall of Sculpture. Limestone.
- B. 46.** *a.* The fourth Foot-soldier relief; Long Wall of Sculpture. Limestone.
Corner block carved on two faces.
- b.* The same, single figure on the south face of the stone.
- B. 47.** *a.* The bull base or laver in the Temple Court. Basalt.
- b.* The same, side view.
- B. 48.** *a.* Relief of a winged Lion or Sphinx; the head missing. From the Temple Court. Basalt. 1.42 m. × 0.81 m.
- b.* Statue of a seated and bearded man, the head missing. From the Hilani. Basalt.
A cuneiform inscription on the front of the skirt and on the back has been deliberately defaced and is illegible.
- B. 49.** *a.* Relief of ithyphallic demon; from the Hilani foundations. Basalt.
- b.* Limestone relief from the Herald's Wall, B. 13a, treated with mud.
- B. 50.** *a.* The Camel-rider slab, B. 16b, treated with mud.
- b.* Relief, much defaced, of a god. Herald's Wall area. Limestone.
- B. 51.** *a.* Relief, much defaced (of two figures, one leading the other by the hand?). Herald's Wall area. Limestone.
- b.* Fragment of relief of a man holding a spear. Hieroglyphic inscription below the arm. Herald's Wall area. Limestone.
- B. 52.** *a.* Fragment of relief; head and shoulders of a man wearing cap and cloak. Found between the Herald's Wall and the staircase. Basalt.
- b.* Fragment of relief of two guardian demons. Found close to the third Chariot slab of the Long Wall of Sculpture. Basalt.
- c, d.* End and side views of a corner-stone carved on both faces with the same two guardian demons as appear on B. 52*b*; cf. also fragment in Hilani foundations, Pl. 39*b*. Found loose on the surface in the south-east quarter of the ruins. Basalt.
- e.* Fragment of a basalt relief of the same subject found in the road to the Water-Gate.

- B. 53.** *a.* Double lion base of the statue (of The Storm-god of the Lion?) in the re-entrant angle of the King's Gate.
Basalt.
- b.* The same; the head of one of the lions.
- B. 54.** *a.* Head of the statue of the Storm-god (?) in the re-entrant angle of the King's Gate.
Basalt. Louvre.
- b.* The double lion base of the statue of Atarhadas in the King's Gate. Side view. For the front view see B. 25.
Basalt.
- B. 55.** *a.* Lion relief flanking the inner doorway of the King's Gate.
The main carving is in pudding-stone conglomerate, but the tail is on a basalt slab.
- b.* Relief of a demon huntsman with a gazelle (restored from fragments). From the Inner Court behind the King's Gate.
Limestone.
- B. 56.** *a.* Relief of a Sphinx (the head missing). From the Inner Court behind the King's Gate.
Basalt.
- b.* Relief of a huntsman carrying an animal. From the Inner Court behind the King's Gate. Much damaged and the head missing.
Limestone.
- B. 57.** *a.* Section of the north wall of the Inner Court behind the King's Gate showing the carved orthostats as restored in position.
- b.* Relief of a lion attacking a bull, from the Inner Court behind the King's Gate. The carving is unfinished.
Basalt.
- B. 58.** *a.* Relief of two gryphons. From the Inner Court behind the King's Gate.
Limestone.
- b.* Relief of a stag. From the Inner Court behind the King's Gate.
Basalt.
- B. 59.** *a.* Fragments of a relief of a man shooting a stag. From the Inner Court behind the King's Gate. The fragments, found scattered, have been reassembled but parts are missing.
Limestone.
- b.* The same, treated with mud.
- B. 60.** *a.* Relief of two men in a chariot hunting; a wild boar (?) is shown beneath the horse's belly. King's Gate area.
Basalt.
- b.* A similar relief of hunting. King's Gate area.
Limestone.
- B. 61.** *a.* Fragment from a relief showing four men in a chariot. Found near the guard-chamber of the King's Gate.
Basalt.
- b.* Relief of a gazelle. Found in 1880 on the slope of the Citadel mound above the top of the staircase. Basalt. British Museum, 125006.
- B. 62.** *a.* Stela with the figure of the goddess Kubaba carved in high relief, the head missing. On the back is an inscription of Kamanas (V. 31, 32). Found by Henderson high up on the west slope of the Citadel mound.
Basalt. Height 1.67 m. British Museum, 125007.

- B. 62. b.** Fragment of a figure, the front carved in the round, of a human-headed lion. This is a gargoyle with a spout or channel for water coming through its mouth. Found just east of the stairs.
Basalt.
- B. 63. a, b.** Fragments of the head and arms of a colossal figure of a god carved in the round (the smaller fragments do not belong to the same figure). Found at the top of the existing stairs.
Basalt.
- B. 64. a.** Fragment from a relief, *alto rilievo*, of a throned god holding a torch-like sceptre; perhaps a companion figure to B. 64*b*. From the destruction-level at the foot of the stairs.
Basalt.
- b.** Fragment of a relief, *alto rilievo*, of a throned goddess seated beneath a columned canopy and holding a mirror. From the dump-heap of fragments in the destruction level near the foot of the staircase.
Basalt.
- c.** Fragment, probably from the same relief, showing drapery held by two fibulae. Found by Henderson, staircase area.
- B. 65. a.** Lower part of a relief of a male figure, right, carrying a lion by the hind legs. Found near the foot of the stairs.
Basalt.
- b.** Lower part of a relief of a male figure advancing left; guilloche border below. Found on the stairs.
Basalt.
- B. 66. a.** Fragment, much defaced, of a stela having on the obverse two figures, one leading the other by the hand, and on the reverse an inscription (A. 17*b*) of Kamanas.
Basalt.
- b.** Relief of a male figure advancing left. From the staircase area.
Basalt.
- B. 67. a.** Fragment of a male head carved in the round. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- b.** Male head carved in the round but unfinished. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- c.** Fragment of a sculpture in the round or in *alto rilievo*; a male head, the right side only. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- d.** Fragment of a sculpture in the round or in *alto rilievo*; a bearded male head; the eyes were inlaid. Lower Palace area.
Basalt.
- e.** Fragment from a relief; a male head facing left. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- B. 68. a.** Fragment of a relief; a bearded man facing right and holding a spear. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- b.** Upper part of a relief of a seryitor carrying a tray on which are three conical objects, the symbols of divinity (?) or, as Mr. Barnett has suggested to me, a model city such as is frequently shown carried in scenes of Assyrian triumph, e.g. at Khorsabad (Botta, *Mon. de Ninive*, Pls. 125-34), as a token of surrender to conquerors. Surface find.
Limestone.
- c.** Statuette of a male figure seated on a chair. Lower Palace area.
Limestone.
- d.** Fragment of relief; feet of a man advancing left. Lower Palace area.
Basalt.
- e.** Fragment of sculpture; breast and neck of a lion. Staircase area.
Basalt.

- f.* Fragment of relief; muzzle and eye of a lion facing left. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- B. 69.** *a.* Large block on the upper part of which are remains of a relief of a lion. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- b.* Fragments from lion figures (mane, &c.). Staircase area.
Basalt.
- B. 70.** *a.* Fragment showing the front feet of a bull. Staircase area.
Basalt.
- b.* Fragment; right front paw of a lion. Found on the staircase.
Basalt.
- c.* Fragment of relief; hind-quarters of a sphinx (cf. B. 14*a*) or lion. From the Kubaba Temple.
Basalt.
- d.* Fragment of relief; hind leg of a lion. Staircase area.
Basalt.

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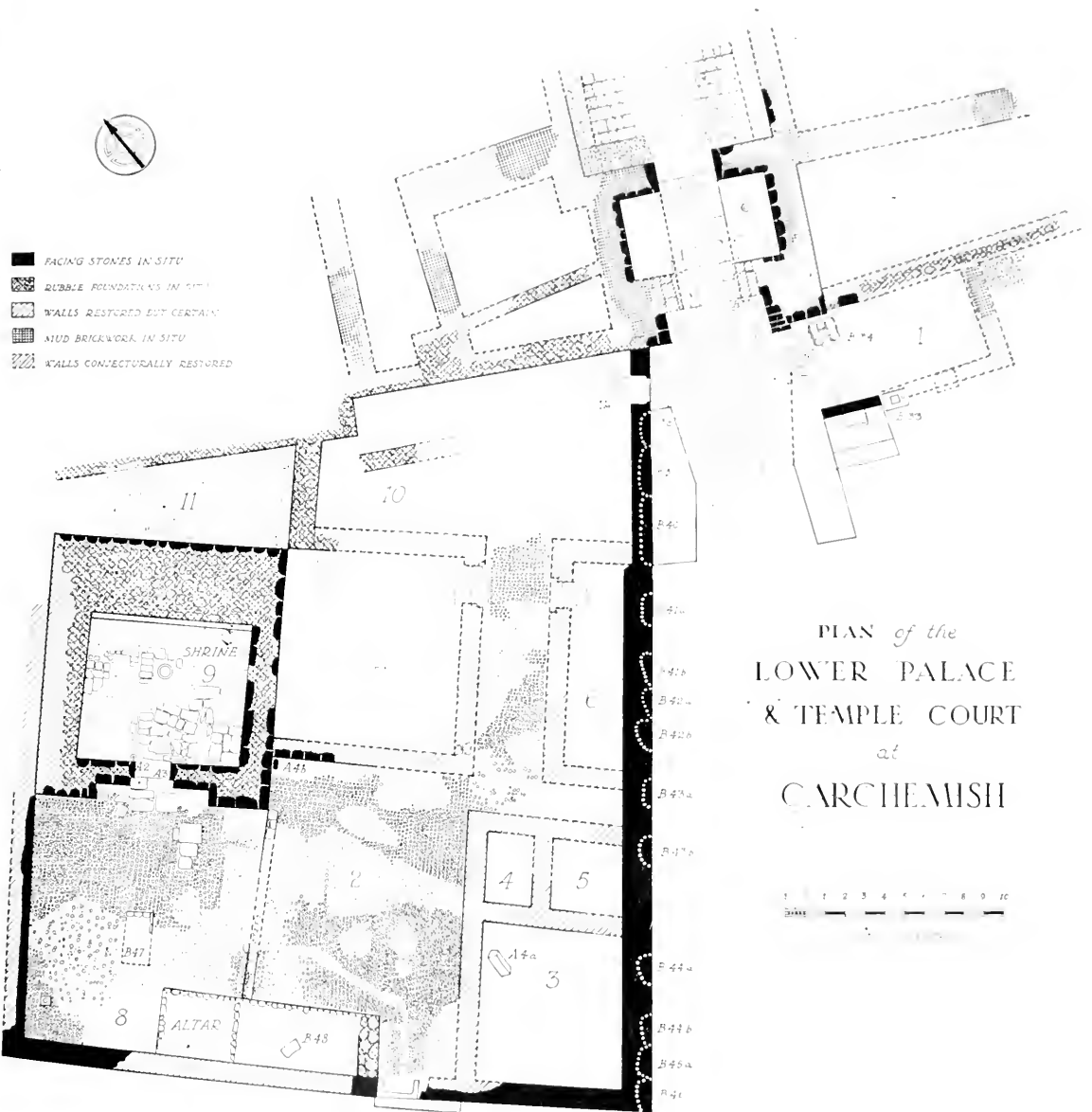
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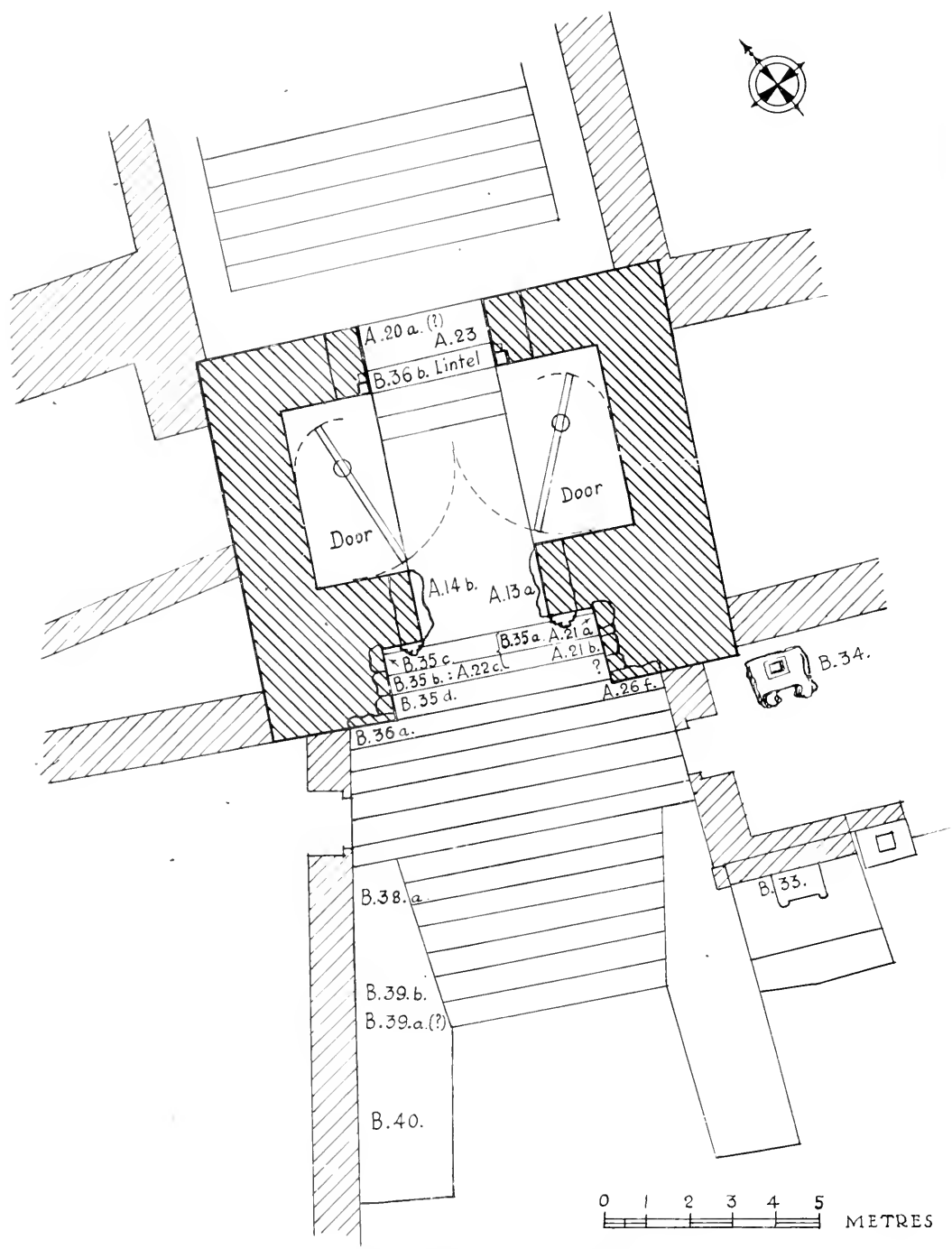


- FACING STONES IN SITU
- ▨ RUBBLE FOUNDATIONS IN SITU
- ▤ WALLS RESTORED BUT CERTAIN
- ▧ MUD BRICKWORK IN SITU
- ▩ WALLS CONJECTURALLY RESTORED



PLAN of the
 LOWER PALACE
 & TEMPLE COURT
 at
 CARCHEMISH





THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STAIRCASE



a. General view of the excavation of the Great Staircase, 1911



b. The lower part of the Staircase and the beginning of the Long Wall of Sculpture, as found

LOWER PALACE AREA



a. The west side of the Staircase with reliefs and orthostats replaced



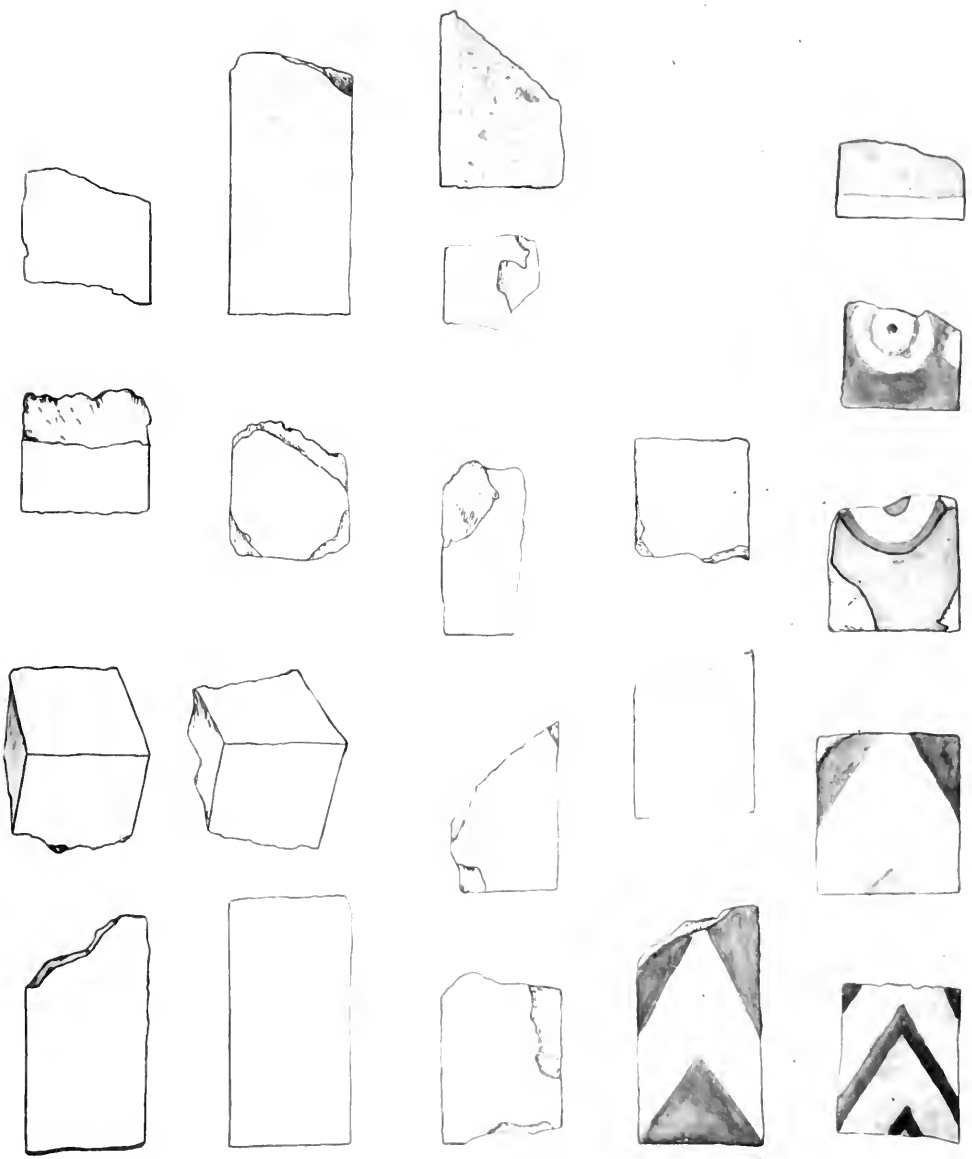
b. The door on the Staircase seen from inside the West Passage, after the replacing of the south jamb

White with yellow borders, about fifteen or twenty pieces, three of which have stripes a little broader than the others; one is a corner brick and has been used 6 1/2 in. wide.

White with yellow upright border about six pieces, one of which is a corner brick. One piece white with yellow splash top and bottom, one piece yellow, closely flecked with green. One of the yellow and white bricks is unbroken on the edges, the four of them are completely unbroken and form a complete set for the (unbroken)

A group of ...
the ...
found ...
the ...

Group of ...
the ...
found ...
the ...



FRAGMENTS OF POLYCHROME-GLAZED BRICKS FROM THE LOWER PALACE AREA, MOSTLY FOUND IN THE WEST PASSAGE

Scale 1/4



a. The inner court and shrine entrance blocked by Roman foundations



b. The shrine doorway seen from the inside. Lower ledge at left. Its top is the Roman floor of the 1930s



a. The shrine as found, showing the damage to the pavement. A Roman wall crosses the S.E. corner



b. View from inside the shrine, looking into the inner court. The column-base is not *in situ*

THE TEMPLE OF THE STORM GOD



a. View across the outer into the inner court. The altar A. 46 and the stela A. 46 are seen in position as found; the relief B. 48a has been placed arbitrarily.



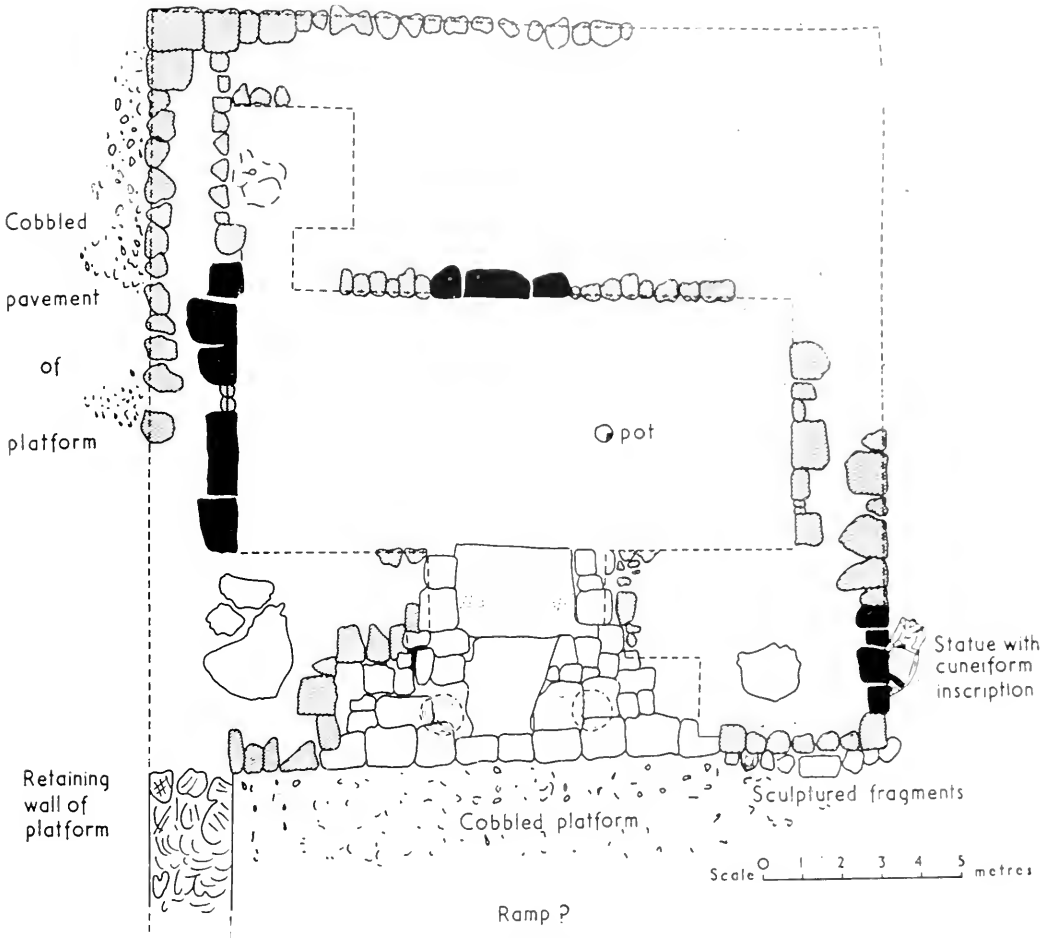
b. The inner court, with the Bull Head B. 47 in situ, but the stela A. 46 in situ.



a. The Bull Laver and the altar of burnt offerings seen from inside the shrine. The walls of the Roman Forum are seen high up in the background



b. The outside (with the Long Wall of Sculpture rebuilt) seen from the Herald's Wall



PLAN OF THE HILANI



a. General view of the ruins from the SW. corner, showing the south wall, the pavement of the pylon entry, and the north and east walls; in the pavement can be seen the circular setting for the nearer column-base



b. Remains of sculpture serving as foundations for the west wall

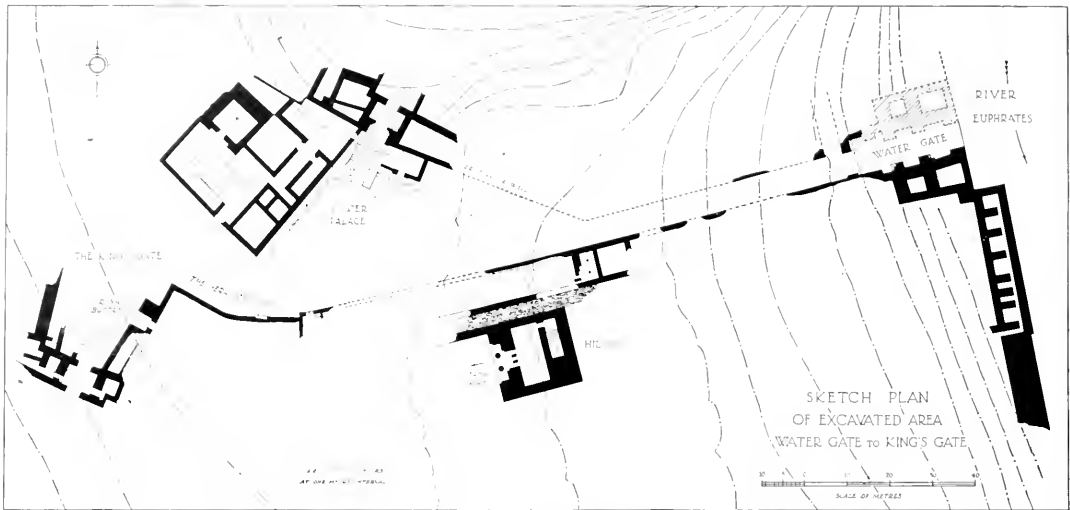


6. The interior, showing a large Late Hittite arch, from the plan.



7. B. 486, from outside the north wall.

III 111 VNI



a. Sketch plan showing the connexion between the Water Gate and the Herald's Wall



b. View from the Citadel mound showing the Hilani, Herald's Wall, King's Gate, and Long Wall of Sculpture

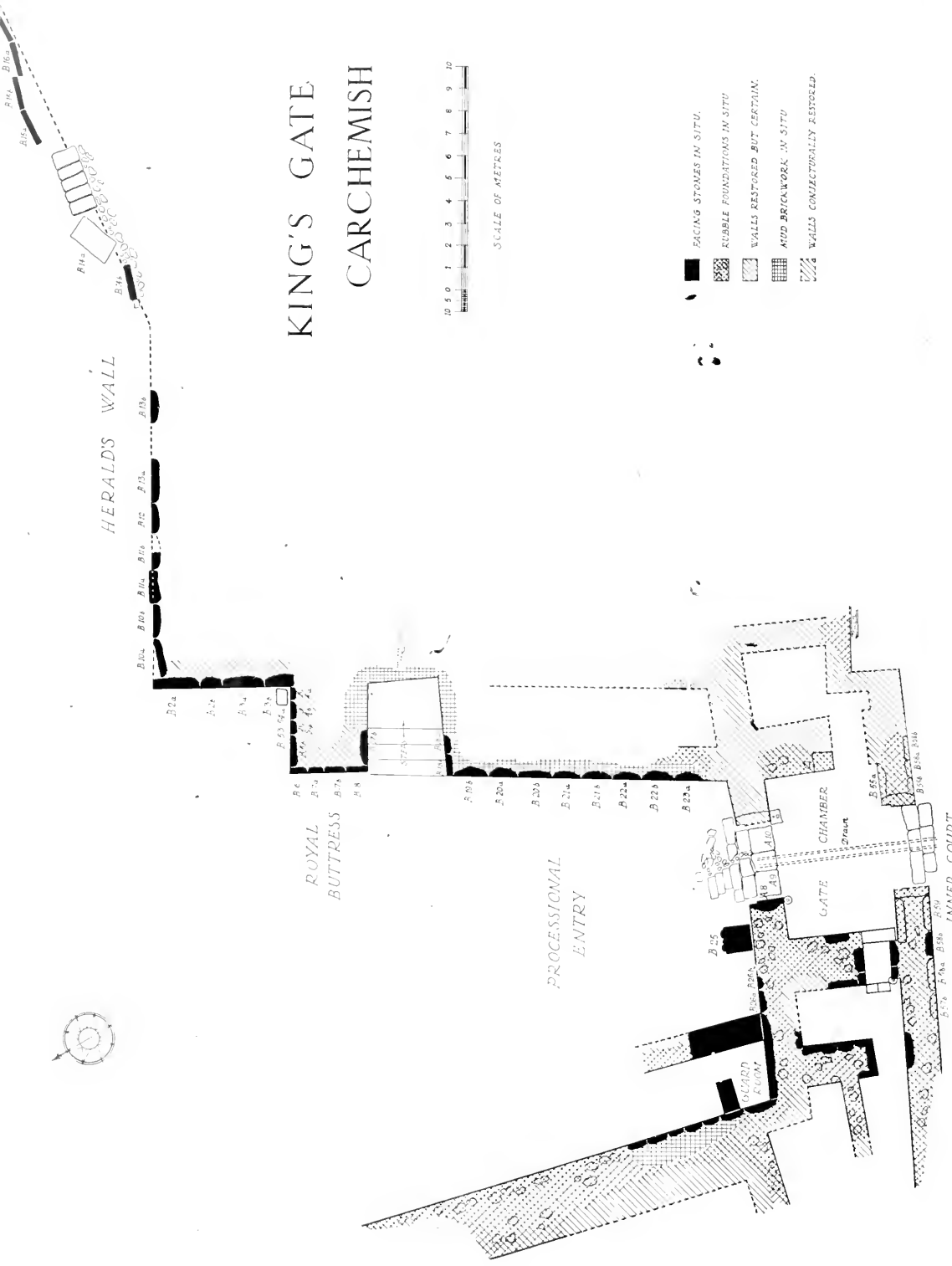


a. Sculptured slabs shifted out of position, and the 'bolster' stone foundation



b. The junction of the Herald's Wall and the King's Gate, showing the patchwork character of the construction

THE HERALD'S WALL.



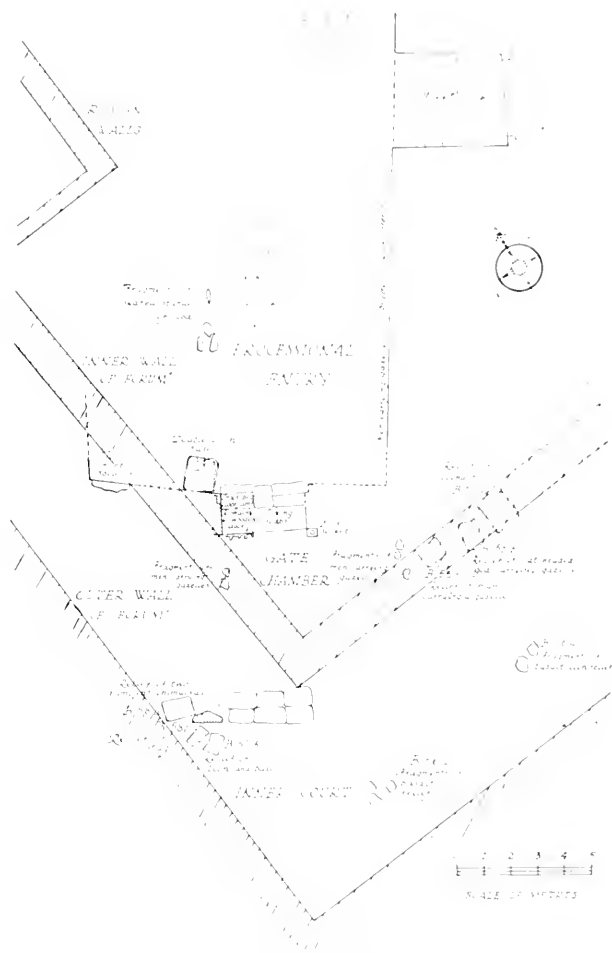
KING'S GATE CARCHEMISH



- FACING STONES IN SITU.
- RUBBLE FOUNDATIONS IN SITU.
- WALLS RESTORED, BUT CERTAIN.
- AND BRICKWORK IN SITU.
- WALLS CONJECTURALLY RESTORED.

PLAN OF THE KING'S GATE, SOUTHERN PART





THE WALLS OF THE ROMAN FORUM OVERRIVING THE KING'S GATE



a. The staircase recess, showing the sloped layer of lime and ashes, p. 195



b. The staircase recess, showing early and late thresholds, the intermediate wall of an older building, and the marks of burning running diagonally across the relics, p. 195



a. The lower part of a medieval mosque in the Citadel. As can be seen, the plaster is resting on the stones and transverse beams through the thickness of the masonry (cf. *Islamic building methods*, p. 108).



b. Detailed photograph of the Prophet, his wife and his children.



a. The outer doorway and gate-chamber; the east side as found. Roman walls in the background



b. The outer doorway and gate-chamber; the west side as found



a. The west side of the outer doorway, showing the statue of Atarluhas (restored), the inscribed doorpost (restored), the west wall of the gate-chamber, and the relief of a couchant lion on the west side of the door to the inner court



b. The outer doorway seen from inside the gate-chamber, showing the grooved threshold, the two basalt slabs of the nearer part of the threshold, and the inscribed slab (A. 9. 2. 1. A. 12)



a



b

a, b. Metal door-furnishings and binding from the outer door, p. 198

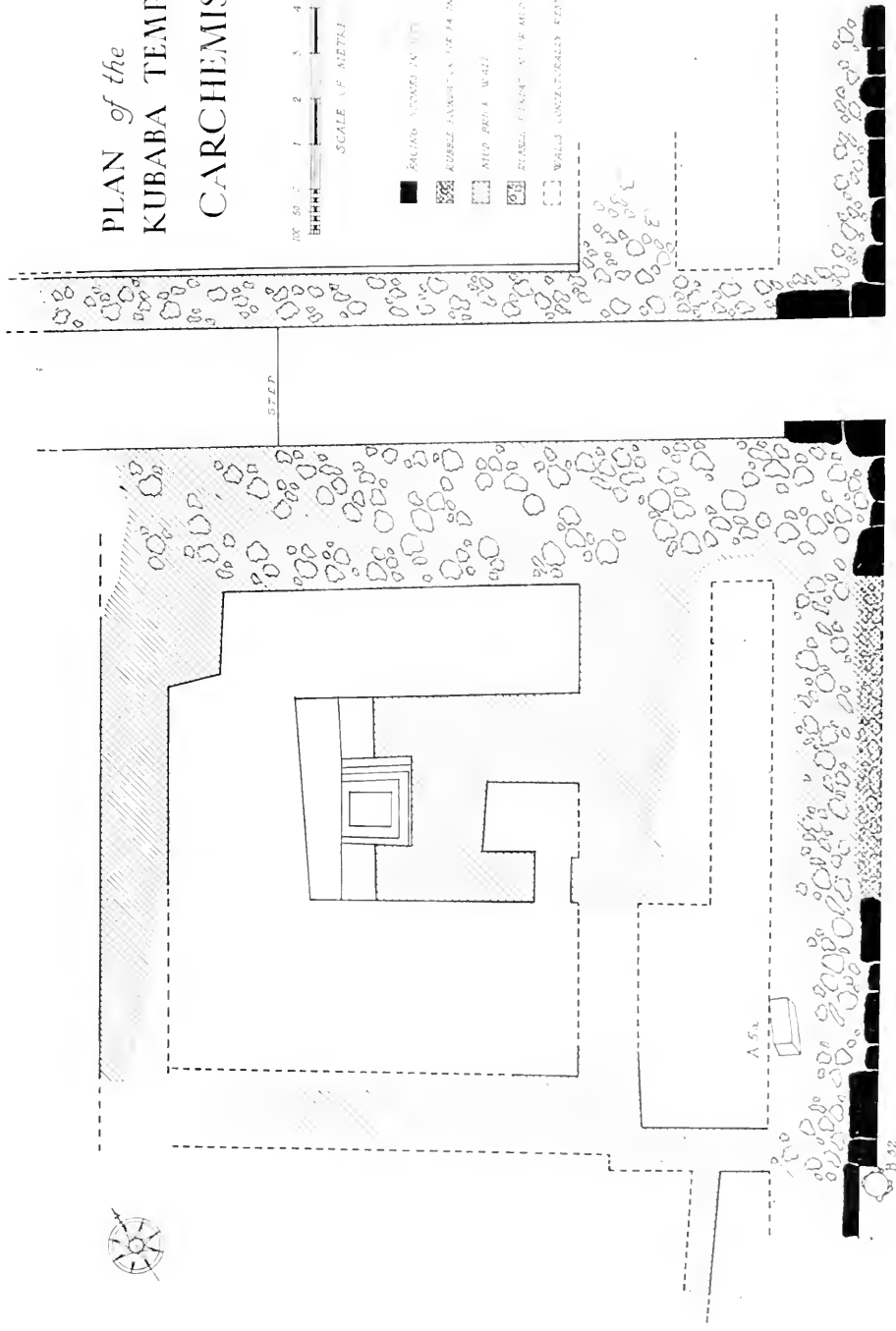


c. The guard-chamber
KING'S GATE

PLAN of the
KUBABA TEMPLE
CARCHEMISH



- FACING LINED IN LIME
- ▨ DOUBLE LAMINATION OF 14 AND 17 STONES
- ▤ MUD BRICK WALL
- ▧ STONE COURSE WITH FACED STONES
- WALLS UNRESTORED (REMOVED)



THE KUBABA TEMPLE; PLAN



a. Façade wall and the double lion column-base B. 32 and inscribed altar, A. 50, as found



b. General view of the eastern façade



a. General view looking from the south

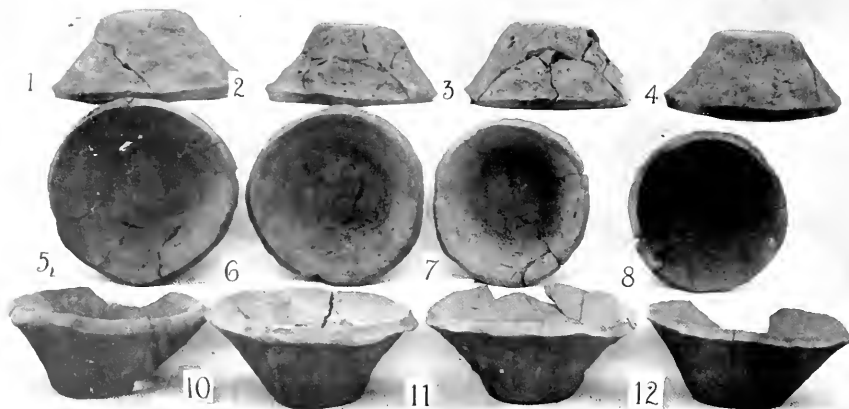


b. The same as a.

THE KUBABA TEMPLE



a. Offering-bowls connected with chalcolithic burials, in position



b. Examples of offering-bowls, p. 217

THE ACROPOLIS



a. A pot burial (No. 16) under the stone foundations of a chalcolithic house, p. 217



b. Pot burial (No. 21) showing offering-vessels placed above the burial jar



c. The same grave (No. 21) after the removal of part of the soil to expose the bones, p. 217



a. A chalcolithic pot burial (No. 20) with a small vase against the side of the burial jar, p. 217



b. Chalcolithic pot burial No. 15 with the bones and bronze bracelets exposed, p. 216



a. Chalcolithic grave No. 15;
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b. Chalcolithic grave No. 15; clay
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c. Pl. 54*b* and p. 216



c. Chalcolithic grave No. 18
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used as its cover, p. 217



a. KCG. 14 before opening, showing the stone sides and roof, p. 222



b. KCG. 13 after the removal of the roof, showing bones and pottery in position, p. 222



c. KCG. 1; the interior, showing pottery and bronzes in position, p. 219



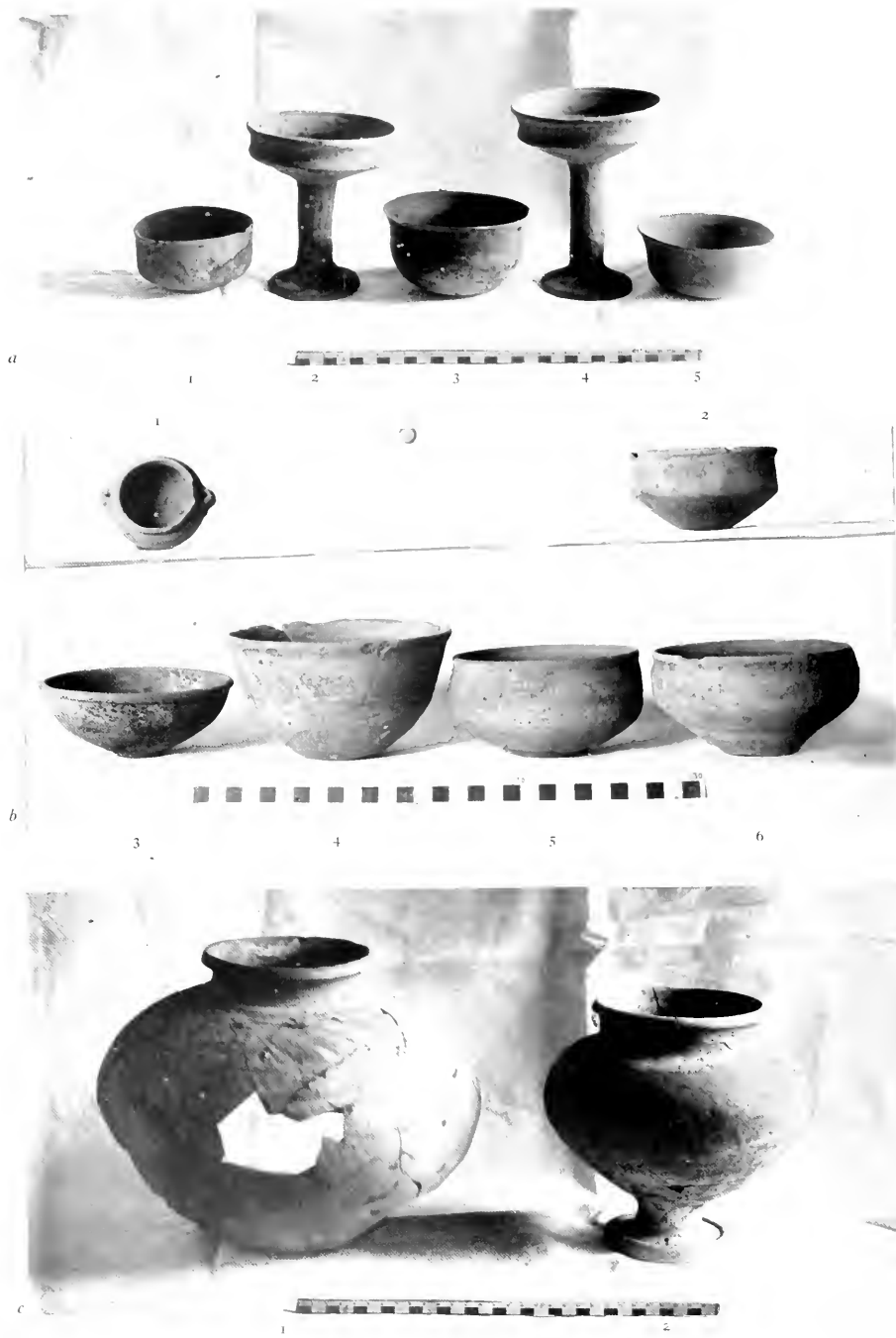
d. KCG. 9; reconstruction of the interior showing position of skull, pottery, etc., p. 221



Vases from KCG, 14, p. 222



EXAMPLES OF 'CHAMPAGNE' POTTERY FROM CIST GRAVES ON THE ACROPOLIS



Reserved slip ware, from KCG. 13, p. 229

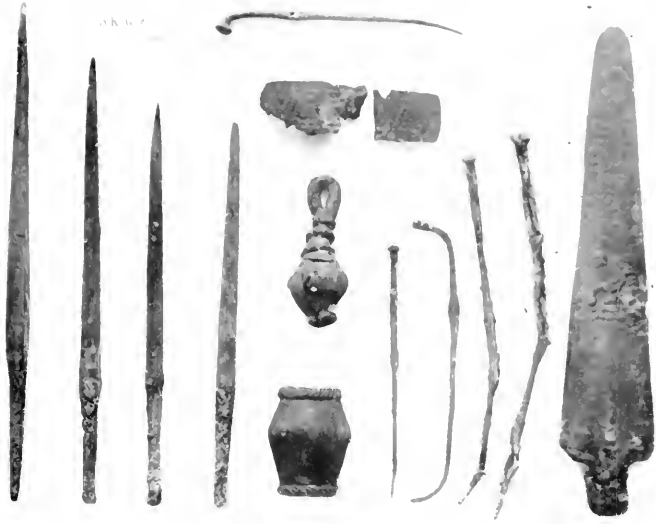
EXAMPLES OF 'CHAMPAGNE' POTTERY FROM CIST GRAVES ON THE ACROPOLIS



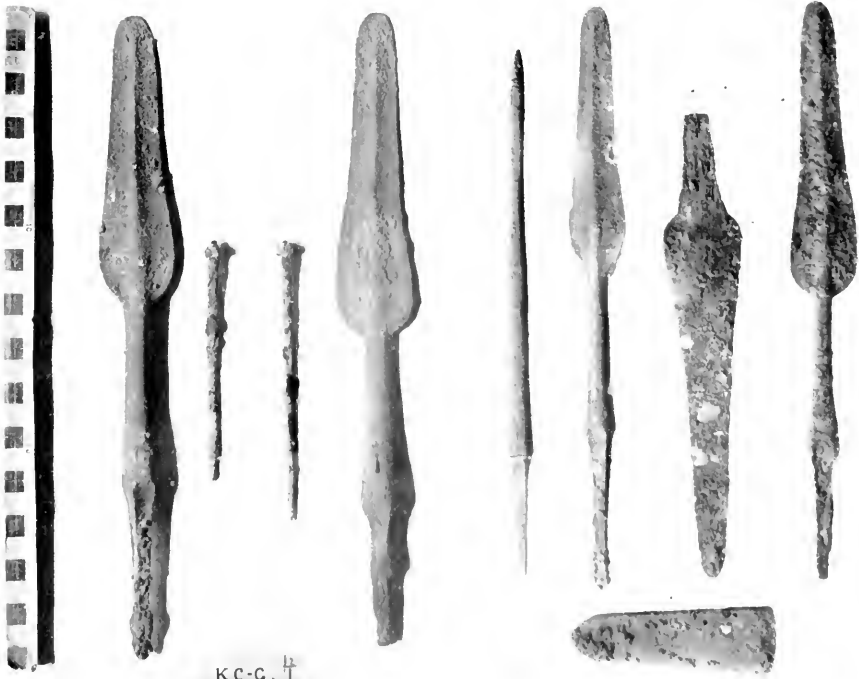
Pottery from KCG -



EXAMPLES OF CHAMPA-NOO ORYZOLITHIC CERAMICS - US. GEO. SURVEY, p. 224



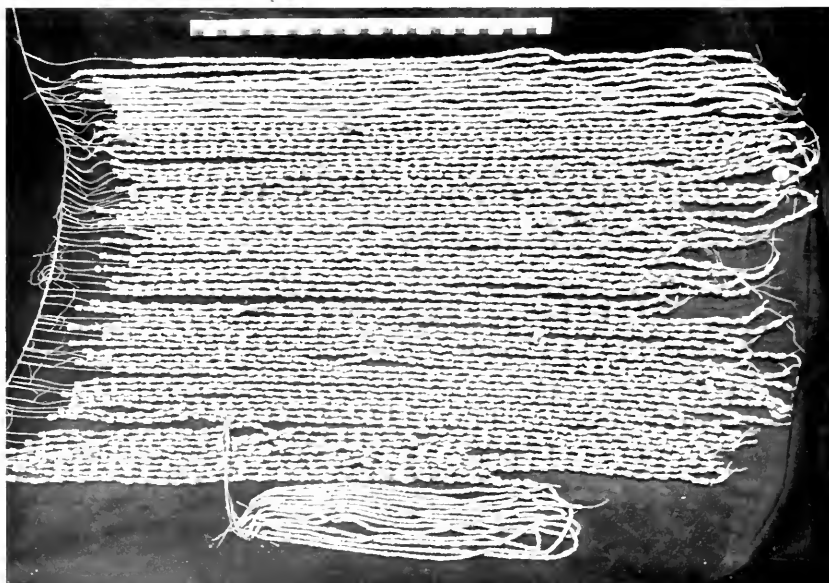
a. Bronze objects from KCG. 13, p. 222



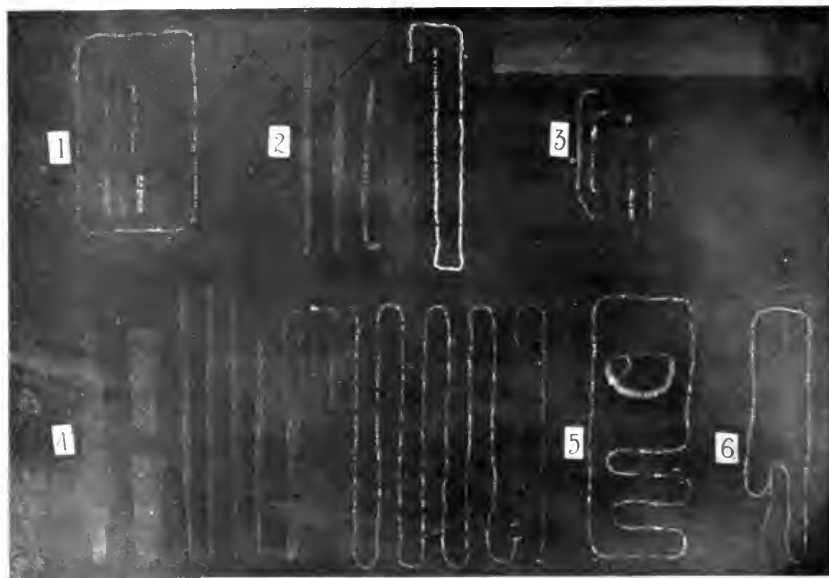
KC-C. †

b. Bronze objects from KCG. 1, p. 219

c. Bronze objects from KCG. 15, p. 222

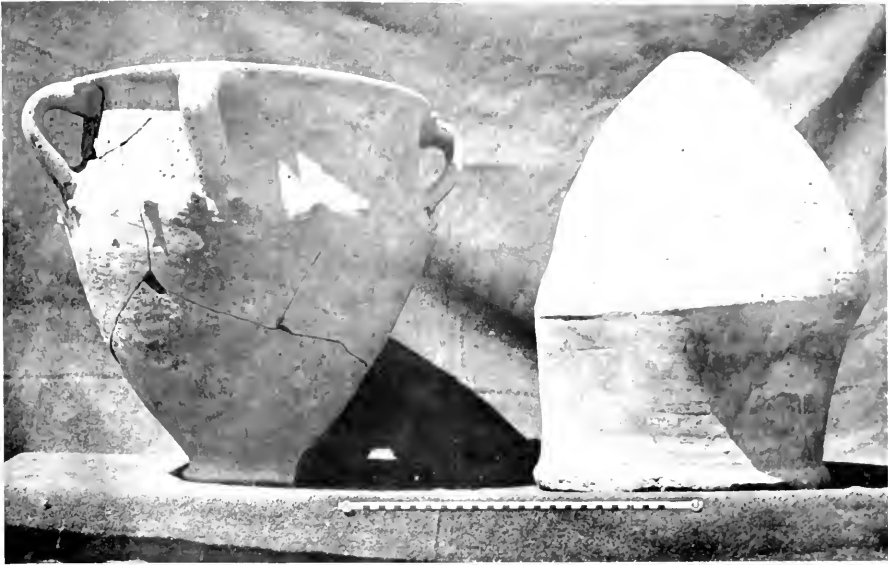


a. KCG. 2, p. 219

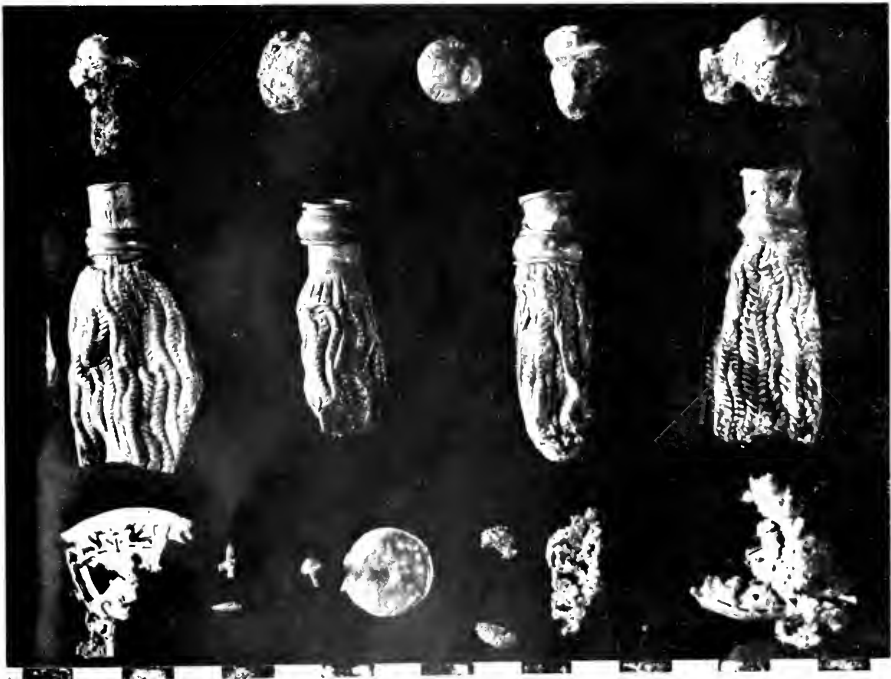


b. KCG. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and post-burial grave 15 (groups in numerical order), p. 221

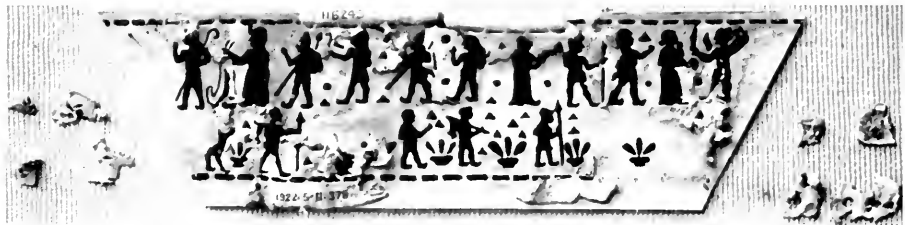
BEADS AND BRONZE OBJECTS FROM GRAVES ON THE ACROPOLIS



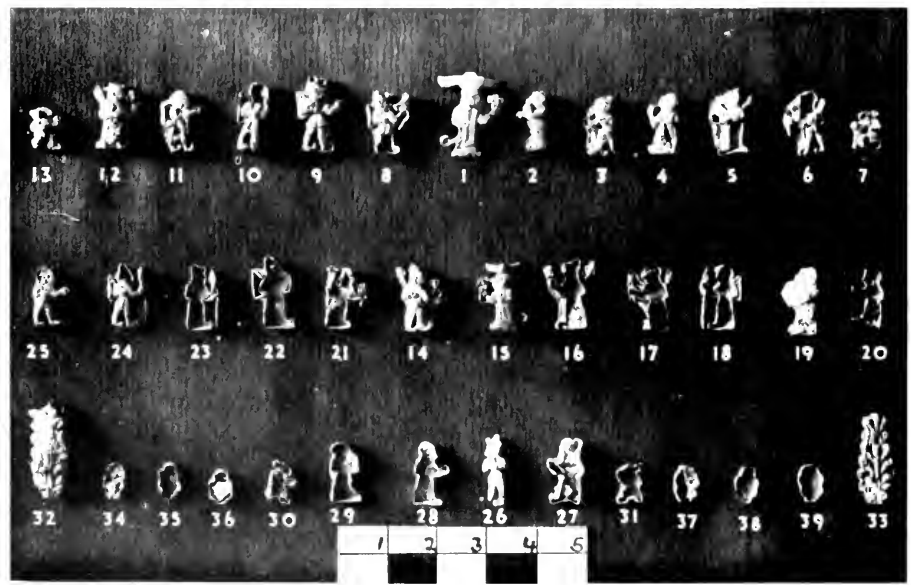
a. Krater and cinerary urn



b. Gold tassels, gold-headed nails, fragment of gold wreath and gold tassel (based on the

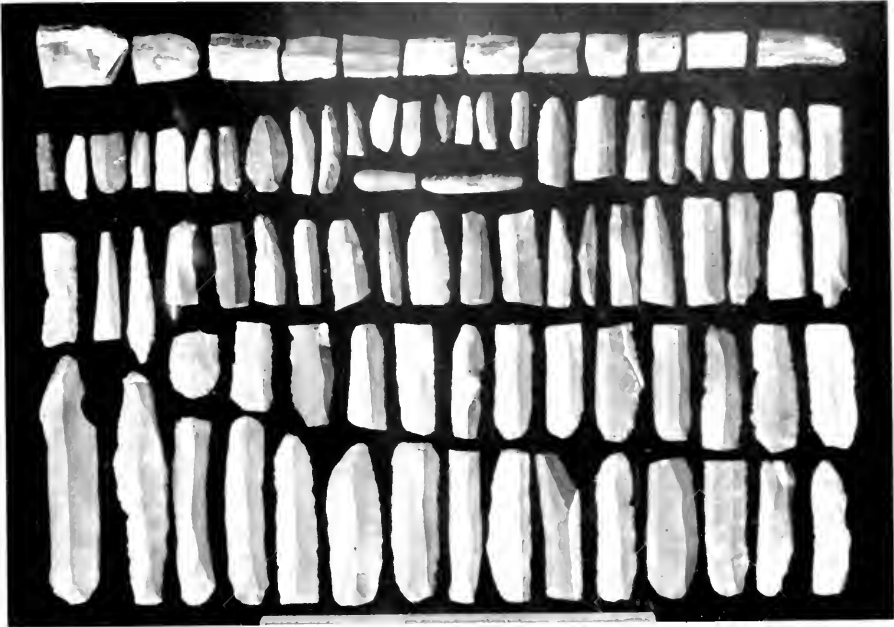


a1. Reconstruction of the gold sheet worked *a jour*, p. 252



b. Figurines of gold and of lapis lazuli and steatite set in gold cloisons, pp. 252-6

THE 'GOLD GRAVE'



a. Flint flakes from the lowest (Neolithic?) strata excavated



b. Obsidian flakes from the lowest (Neolithic?) strata excavated



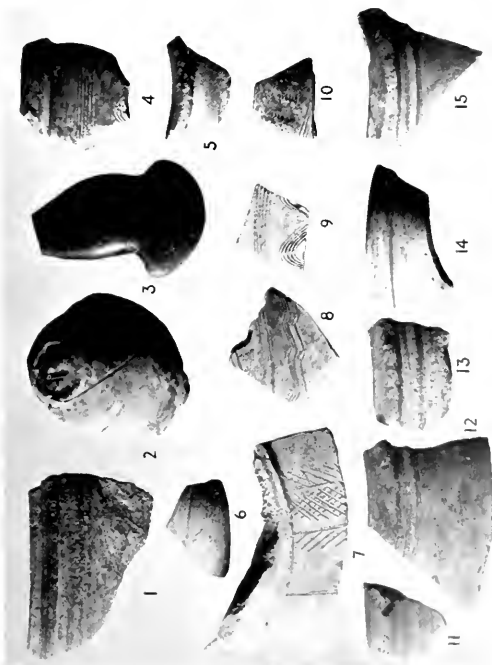
a. Jar with haemattic wash, burnished and incised; from the lower levels, p. 228



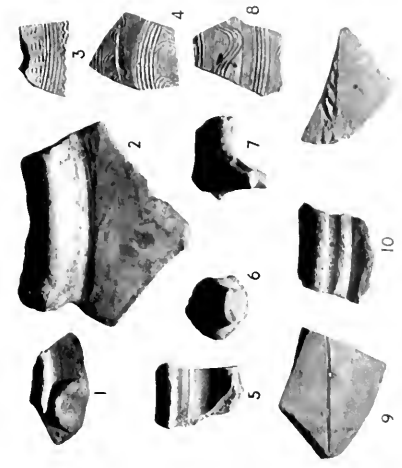
b. ———— 10 ———— 20 ————



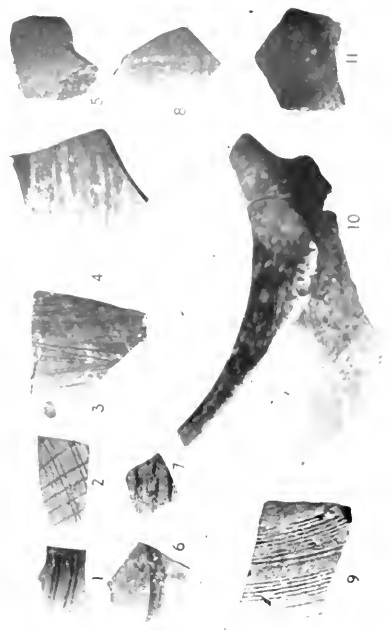
Specimens of Tell Halaf ware from the lowest excavated levels, p. 227



a. From the 2-3 metre level



b. From the 3-4 metre level



d. From below the archaic floor level



c. From the archaic floor level

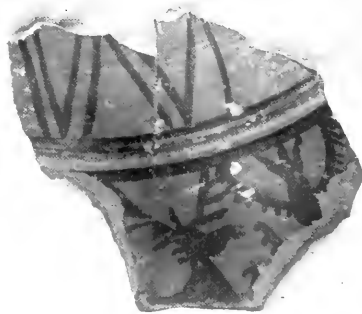
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b. A cinerary urn from the Yunus cemetery painted with a design of deer, p. 237



c. A fragment of a similar urn



d. Sherds of Hellenistic sgraffiato ware from above the destruction level, Lower Palace area, p. 235



a. Zoomorphic vase, Late Hittite



b. Zoomorphic vase, Late Hittite; from the Hilani, p. 181



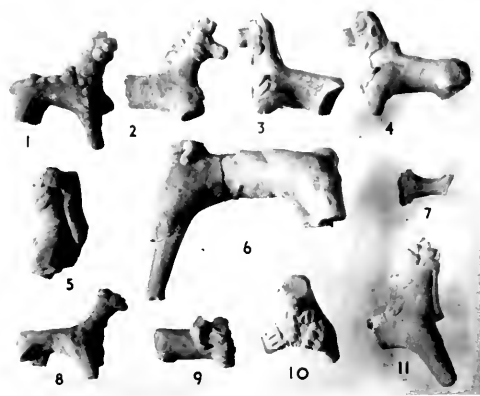
c. Standard types of basalt mortars



d. Basalt trough with bulls' heads



e. Basalt mortar with petal decoration



TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES, p. 257



a. Terra-cotta figurine of a lion.
Late Hittite, p. 258



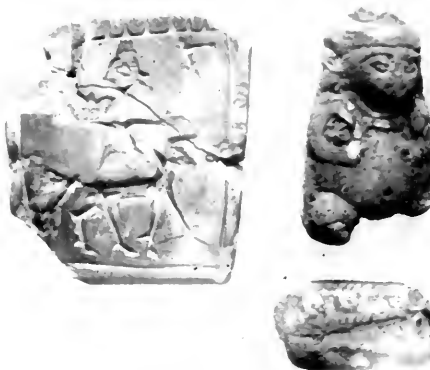
b. Bronze statuette of a god
mounted on a bull



c. Fragment of a stone mace with cartouche
of Ramses II, p. 159



d. Fragments of glazed frit polychrome figures, p. 258



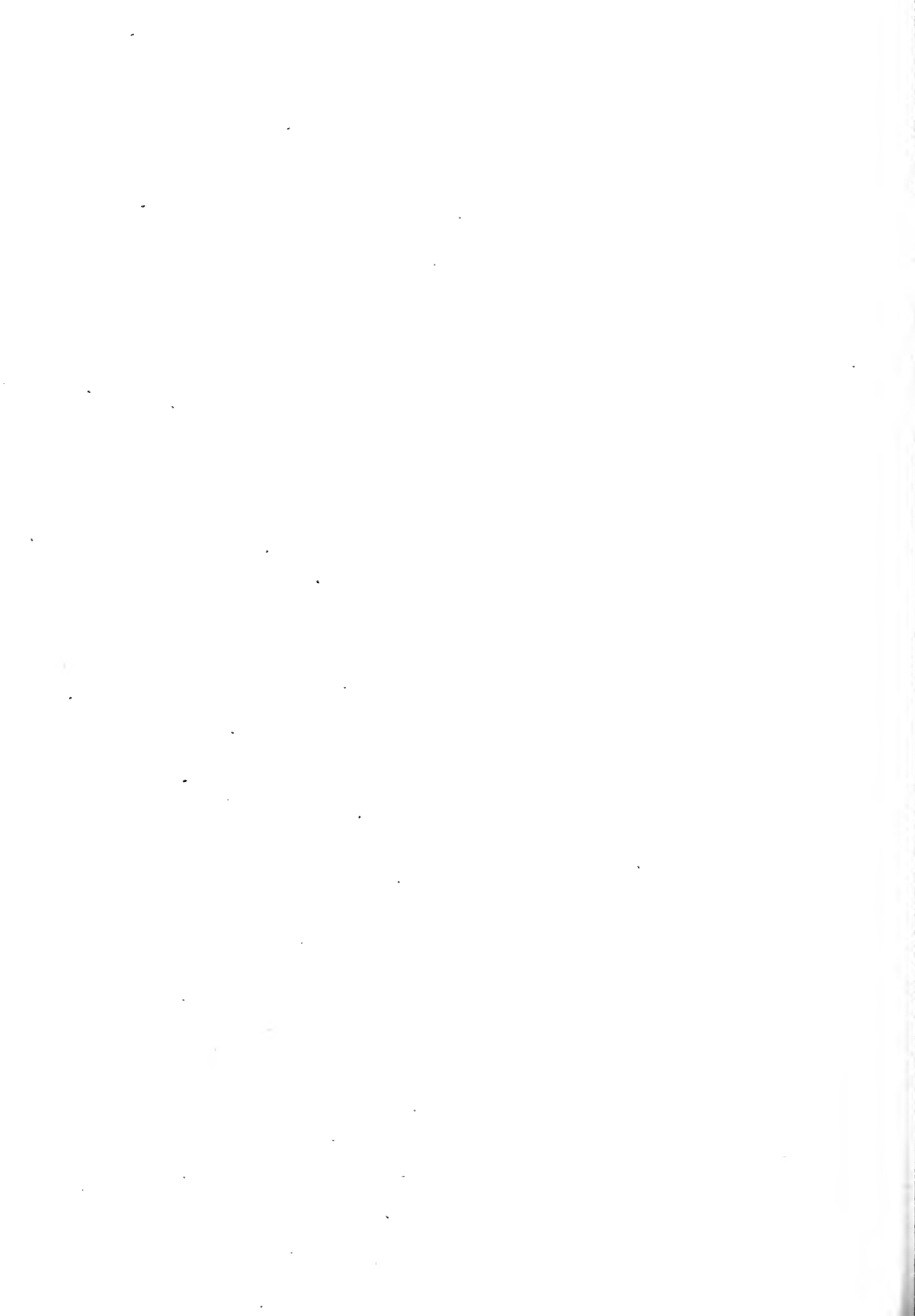
e. Engraved stone plaque. Glazed frit figure of Bes,
p. 175. Glazed frit snake's head, p. 258



f. Ivory plaque, inlay from a casket (?), from the
altar in the courtyard of the Storm-god's temple,
p. 167



g. Fragment of steatite libation-bowl with a
human hand in relief





A. 1a*



A. 1b*



- (1) Left-hand portion of great slab
- (2) Small worked fragment

(1) 36.46 C. Lucassen
Chipp. March 17, 1900

A. 1b*



A. 4a*



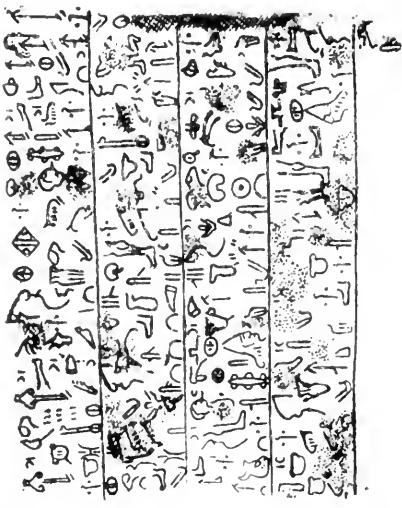
2



A. 4a.1



A. 4b*



A. 5a*



A. 4d*



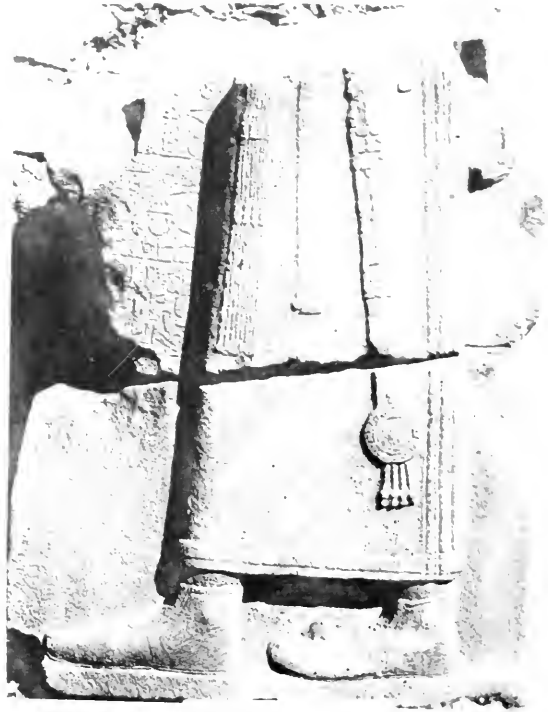
A. 14a, 1.3



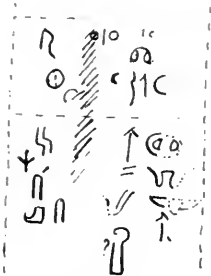
A. 16a, 1



A. 15c* 1.3



A. 15c



A. 18* a 1



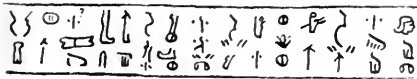
A. 17b*



A. 18d, 1

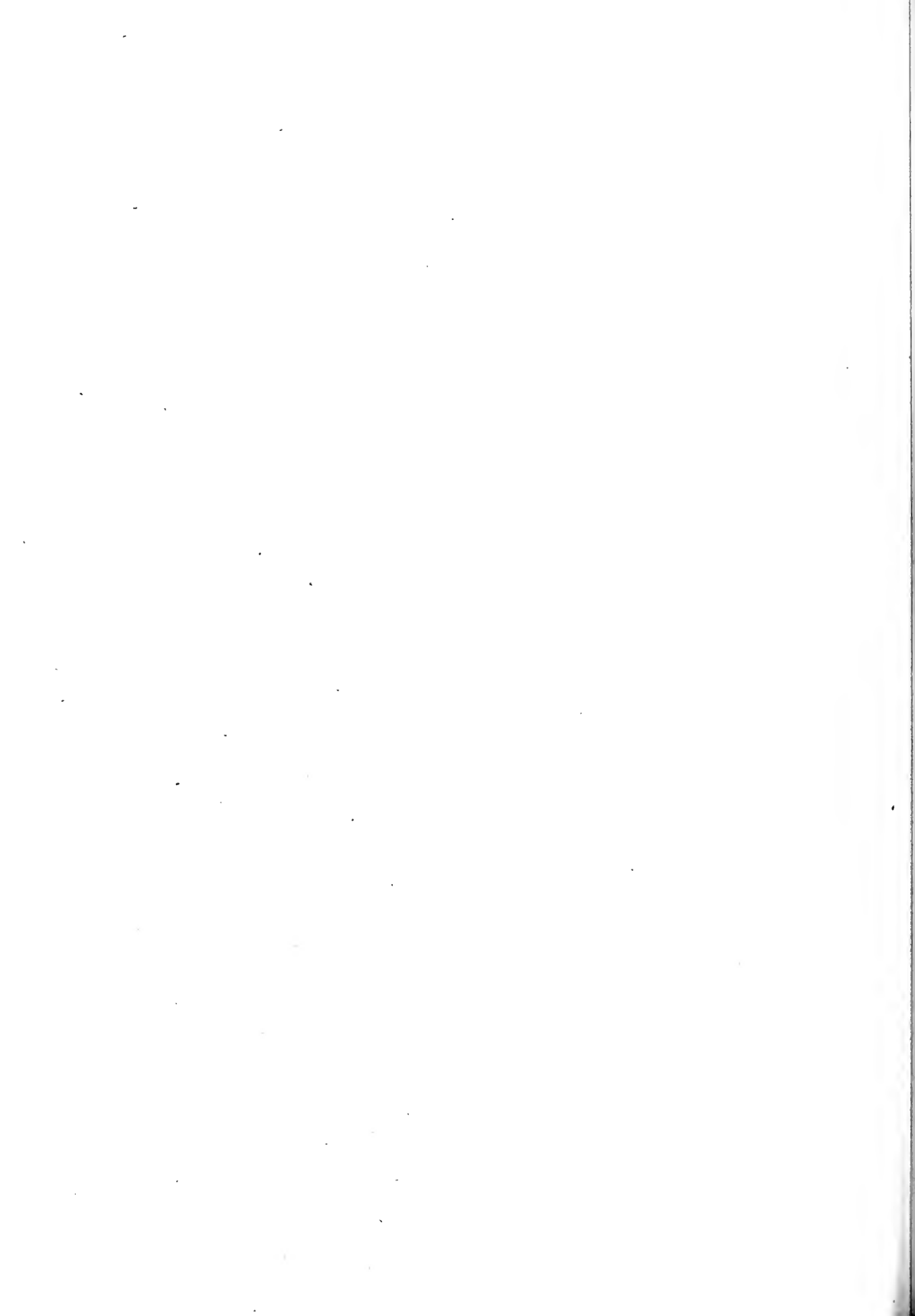


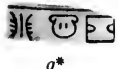
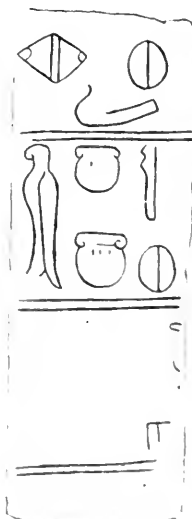
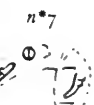
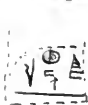
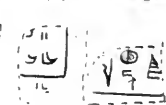
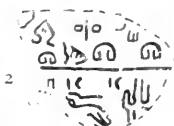
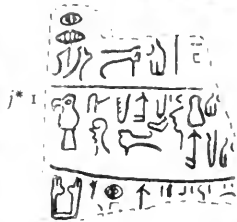
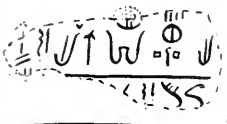
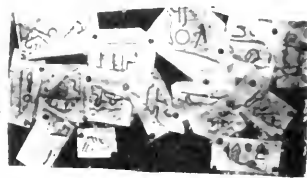
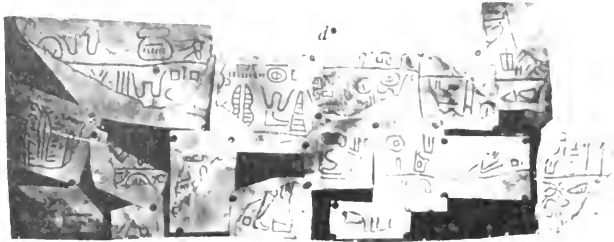
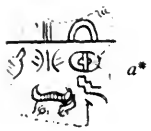
A. 18f

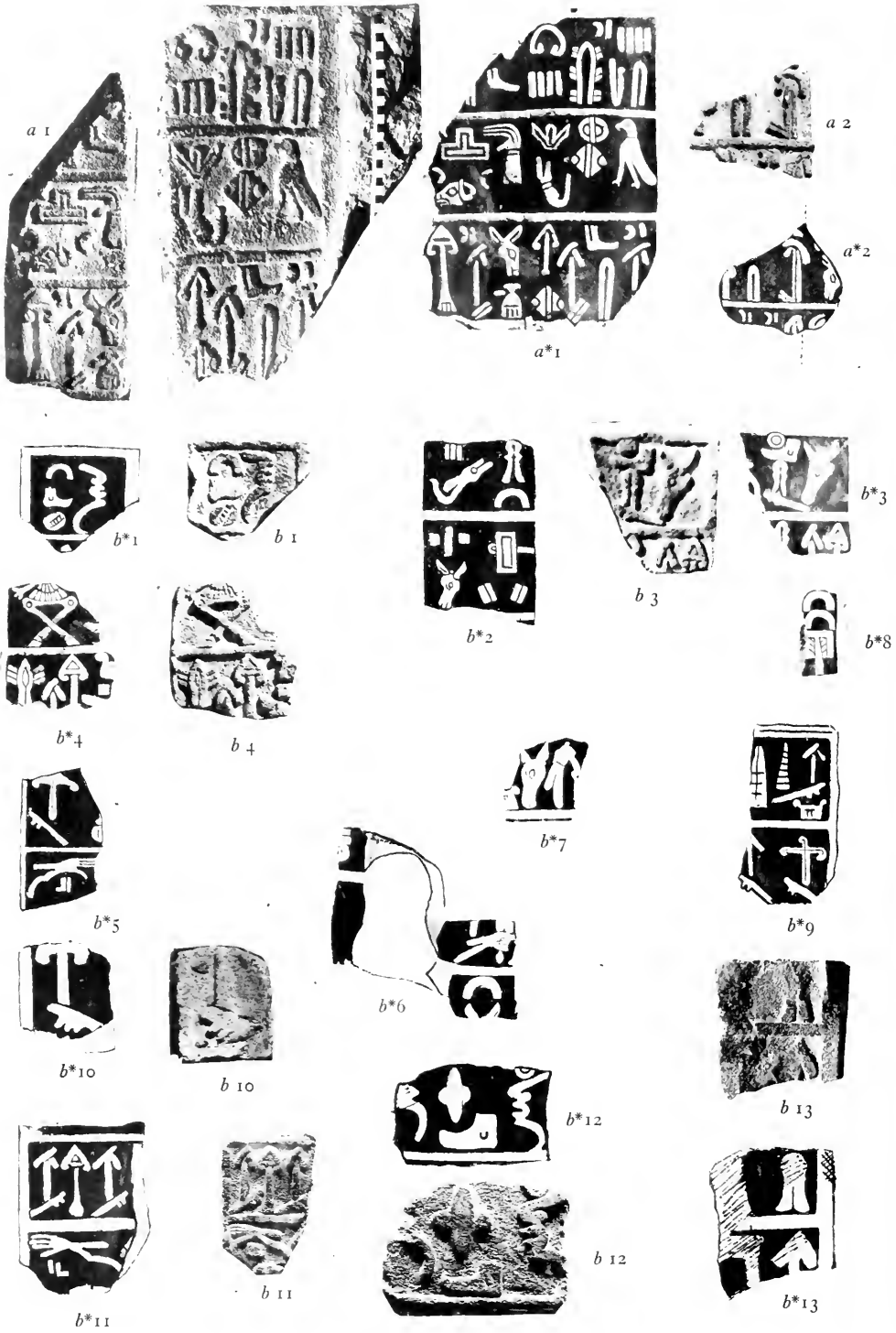


A. 18h*

&c.

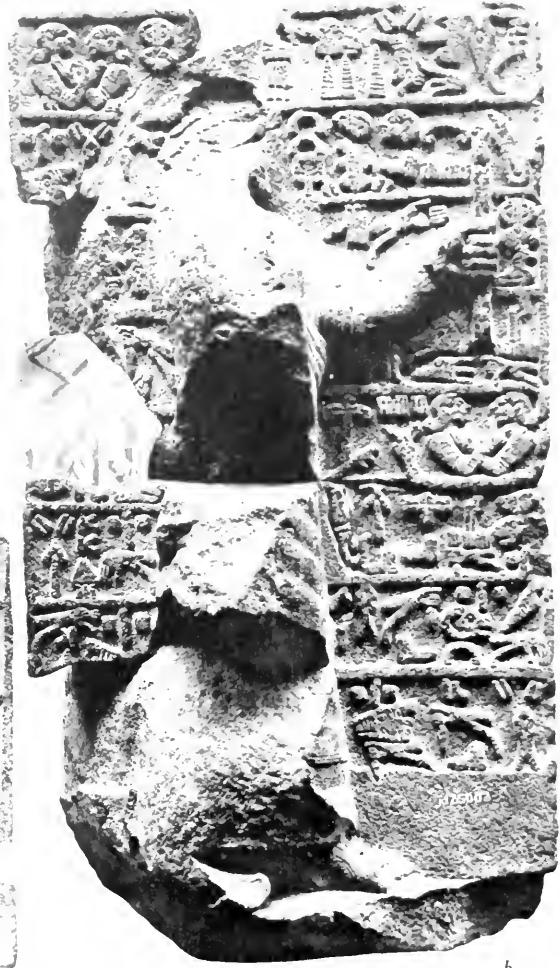




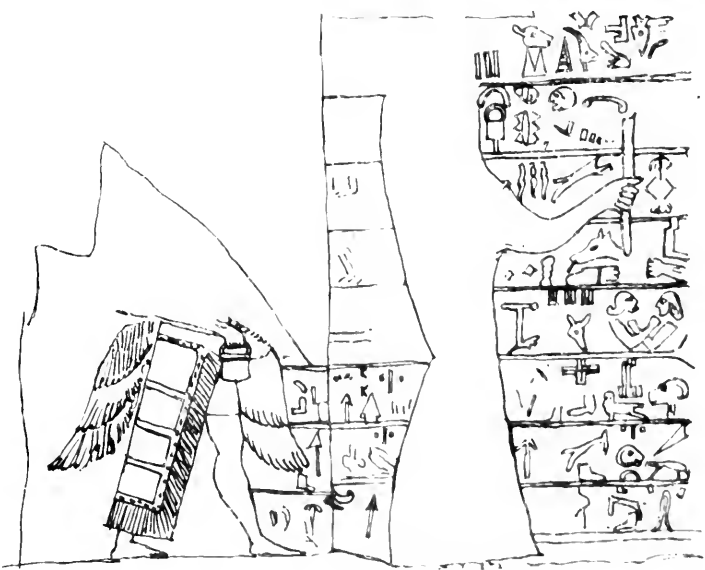




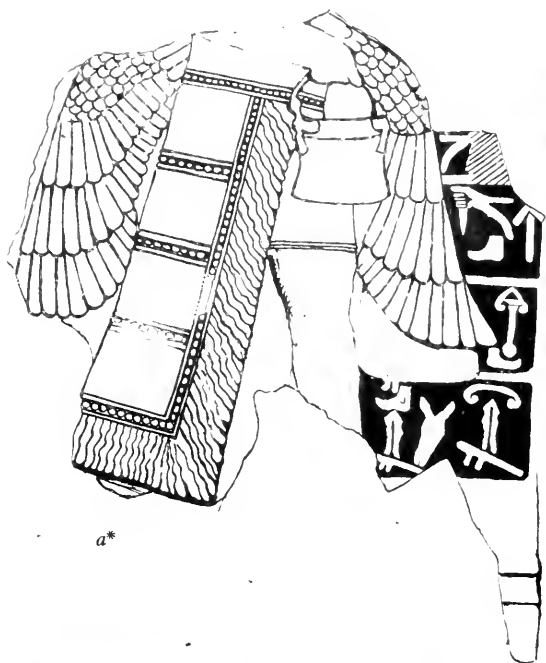
a



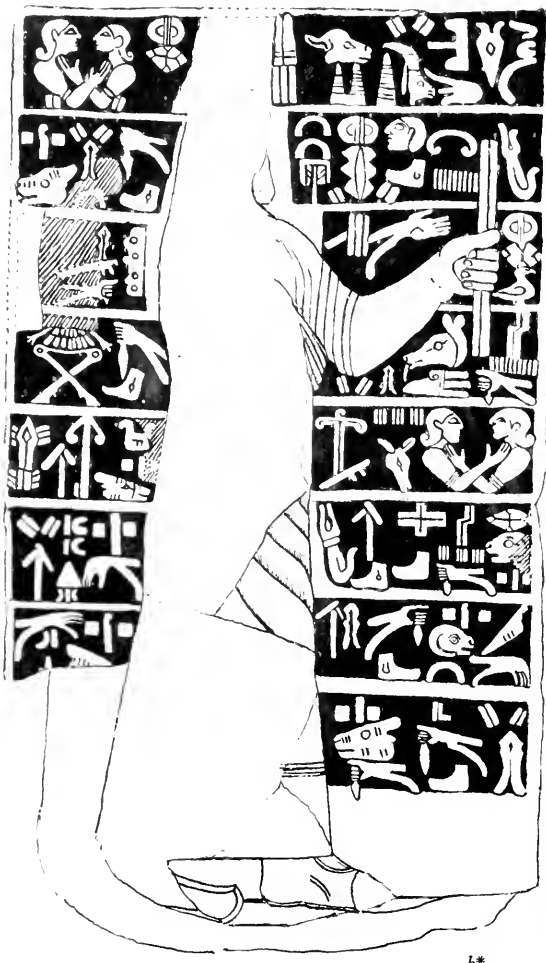
b



c



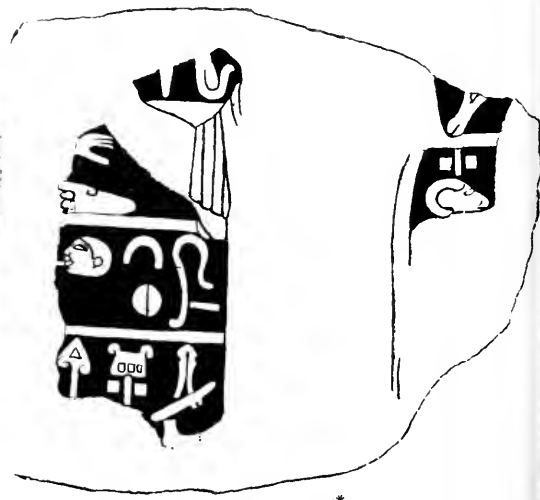
a*



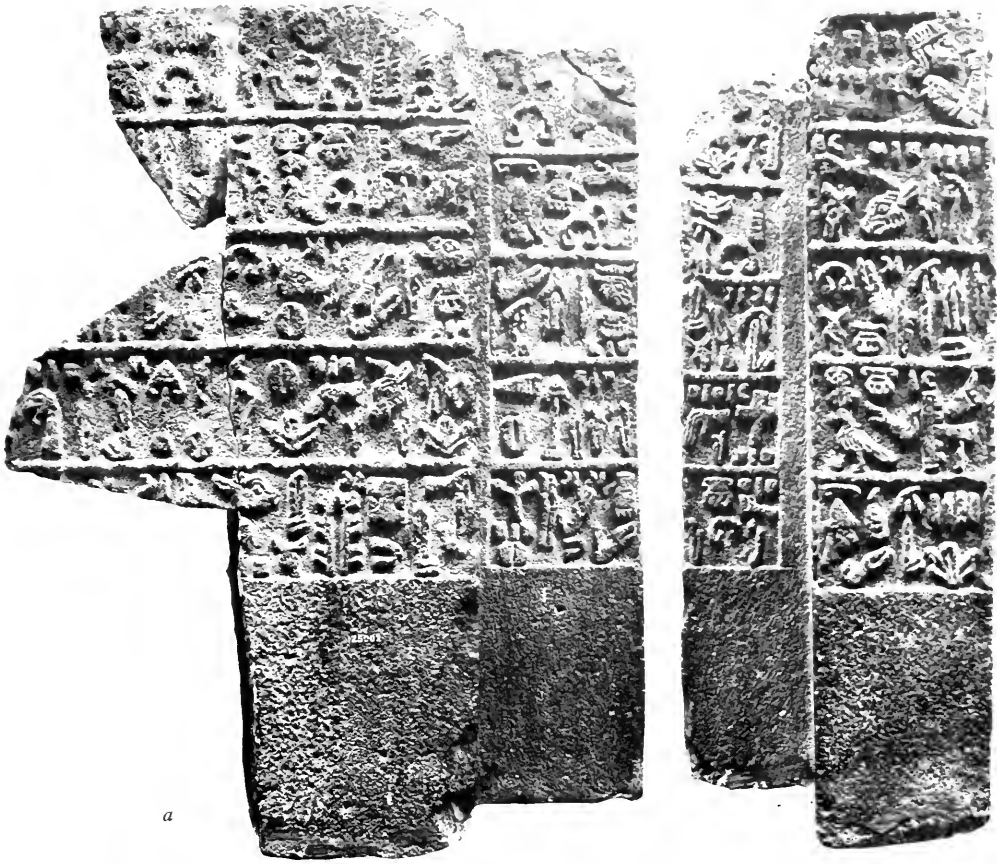
b*



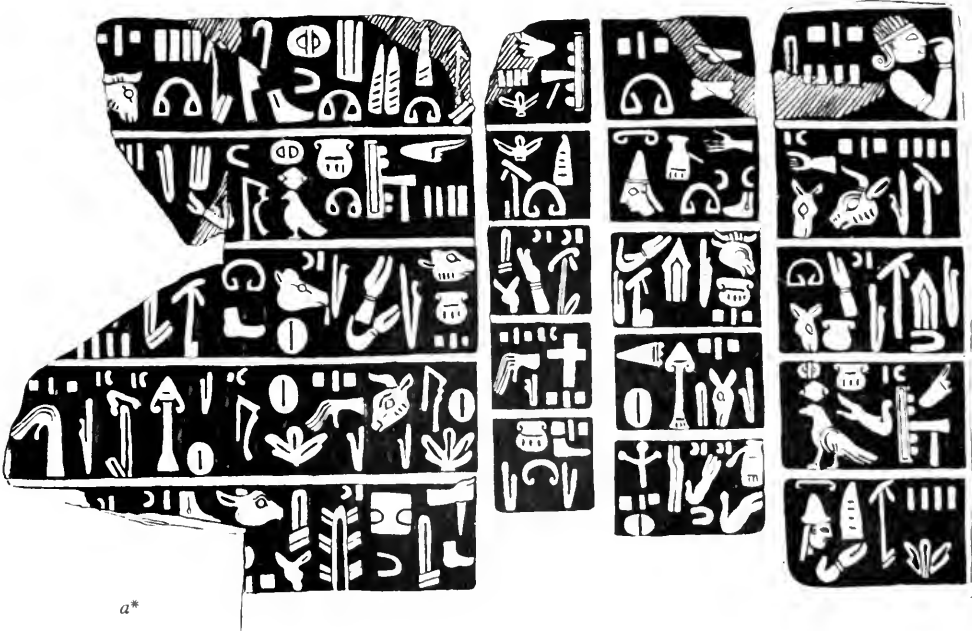
c



c*



a



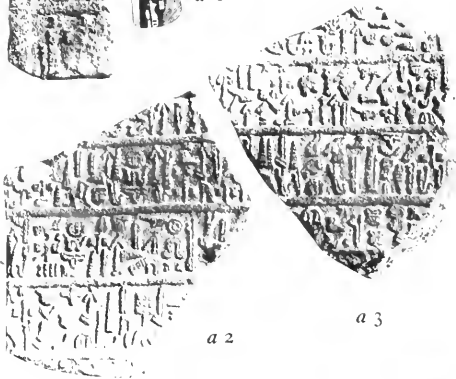
a*



a 1



a*1



a 2

a 3



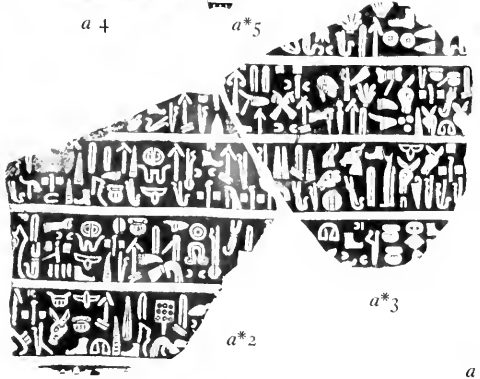
a 4



a*4



a*5



a*2

a*3



a 6



a*6



a 12



a*12



a*7



a*8



a*9



a*10



a 15



a*17



a 11



a*11



a 13



a*13



a*14+a*15



a 16



a*16



a*18



a 19



a 20



a*20



a 21



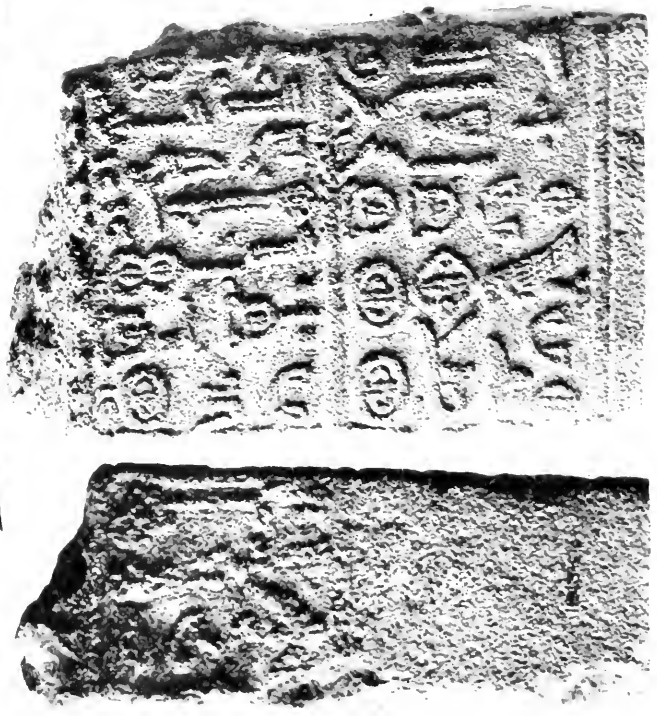
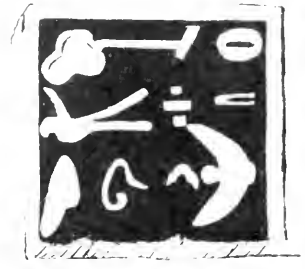
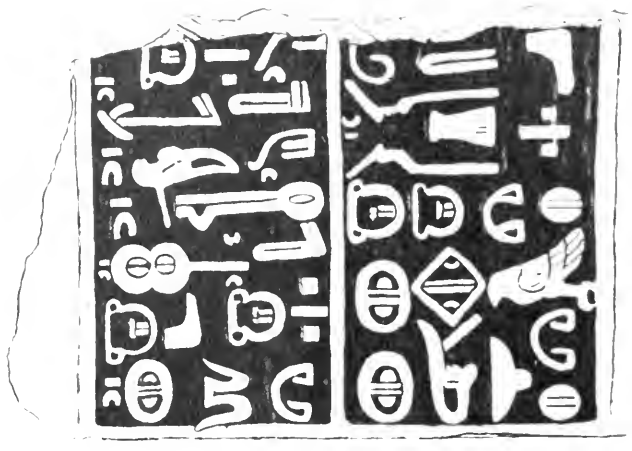
a*21

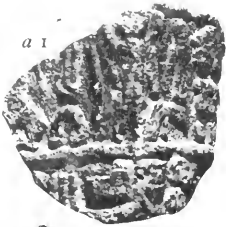


a*19



a*22





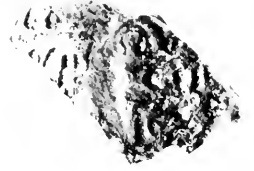
a 1



a*1



b*



e



a 2



a*2



c*



d*



e*



f

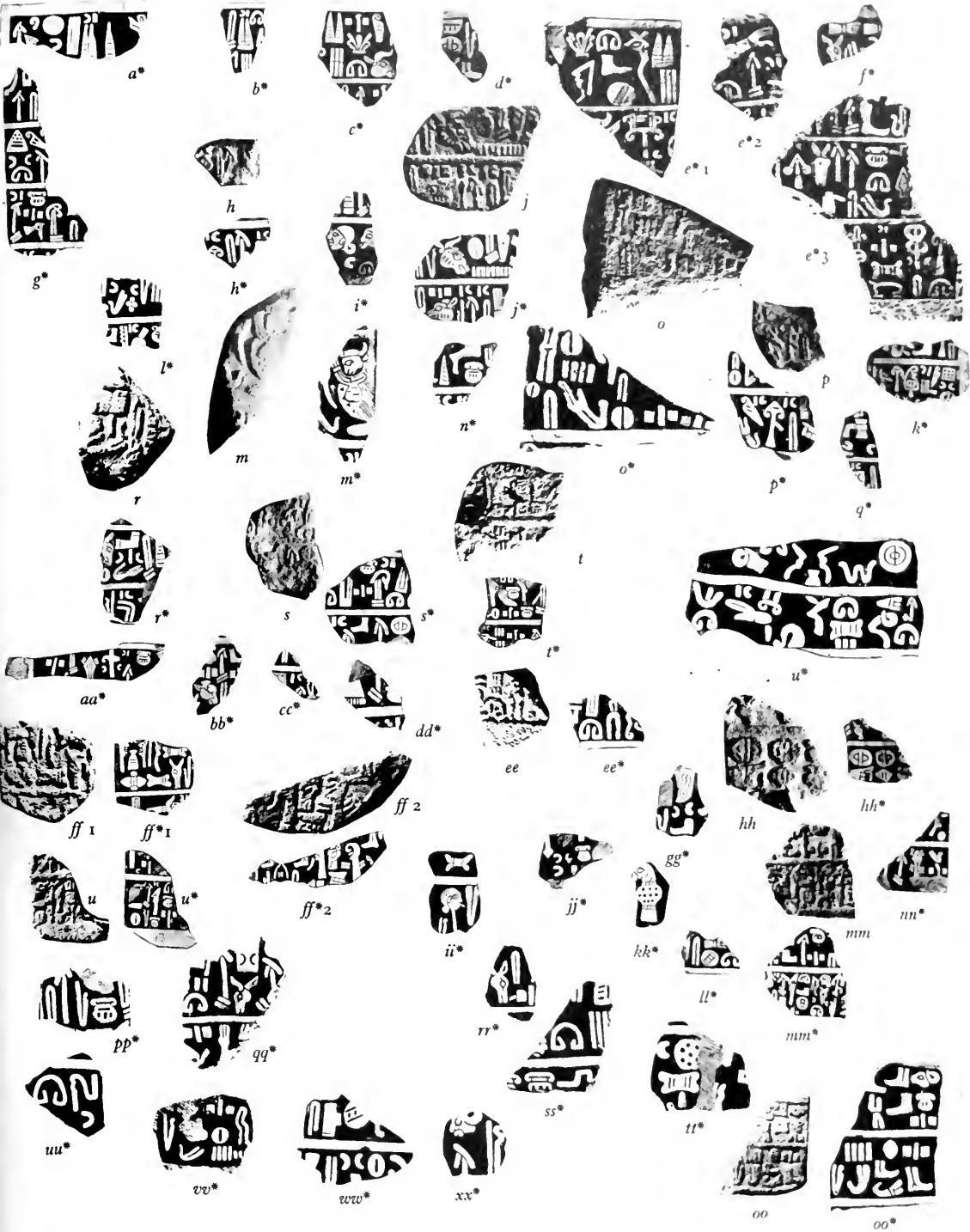


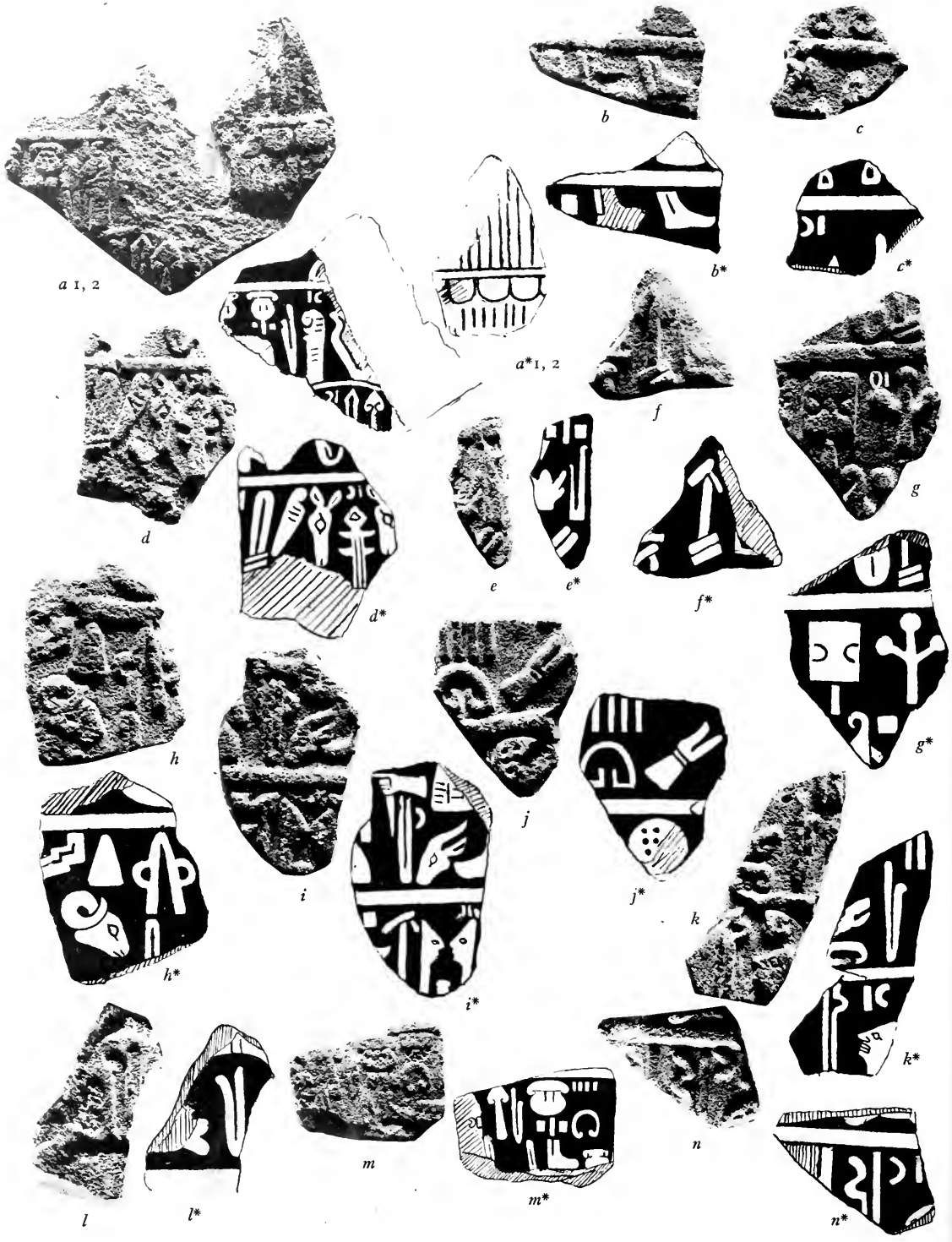
f



f*







a 1, 2

b

c

b*

c*

a* 1, 2

f

g

d

e

e*

f*

g*

d*

j

j*

k

h

i

i*

k

k*

h*

m

m*

n

n*

l

l*

l

l*

l

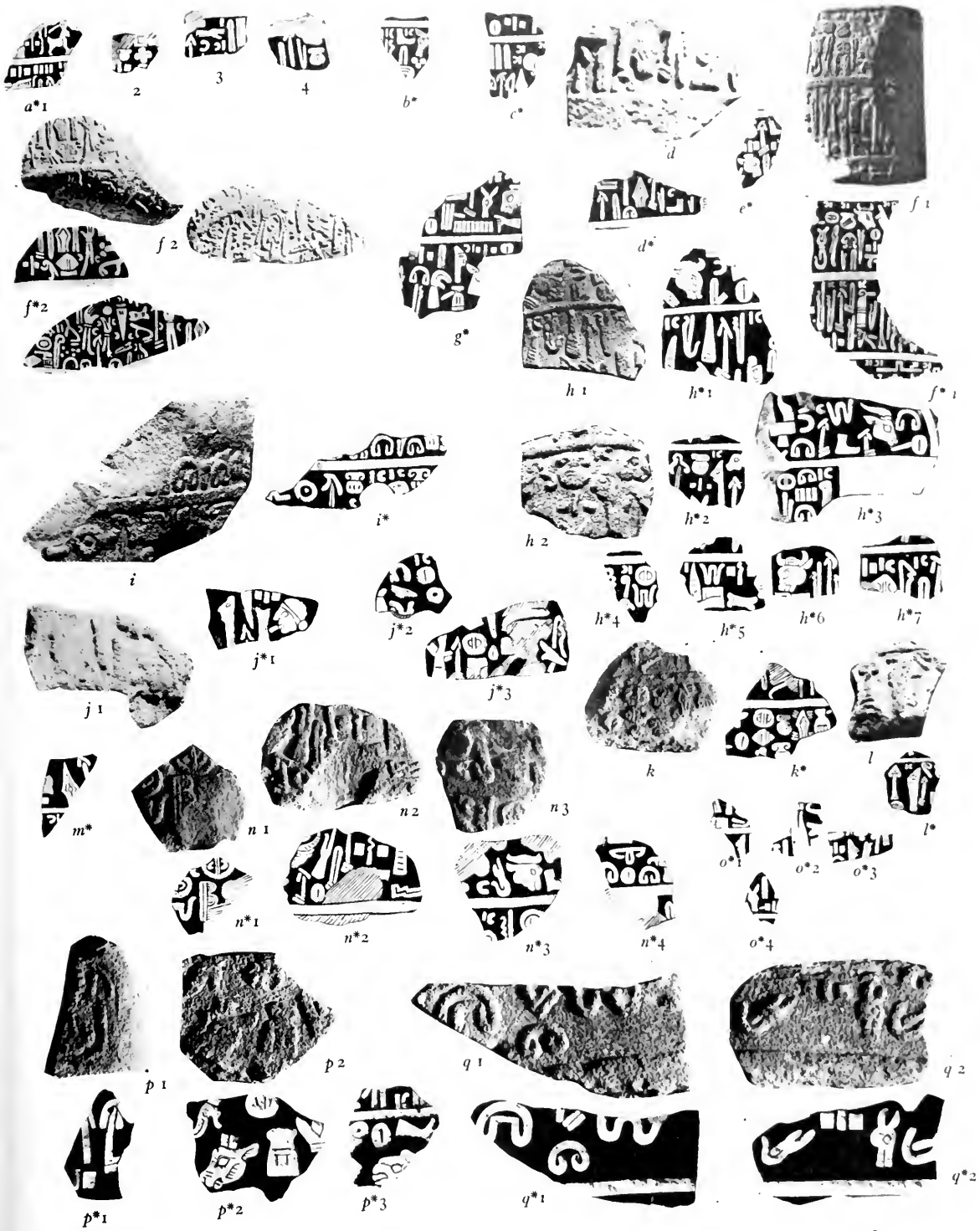
l*

l

l*

l

l*





a 1



a 2



a 3



a* 4



b* 1-3



d 1, 2



a* 2



a* 5



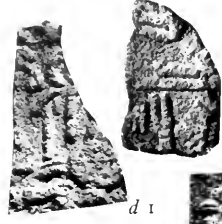
a* 6



b 3



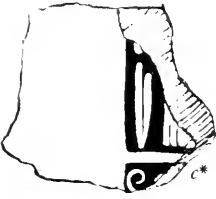
c



d 1



d 2



c*



e



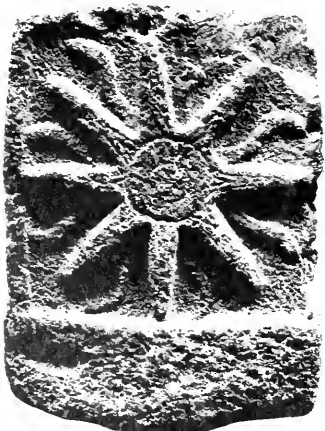
f



g



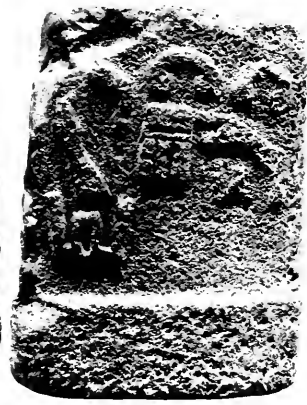
h*



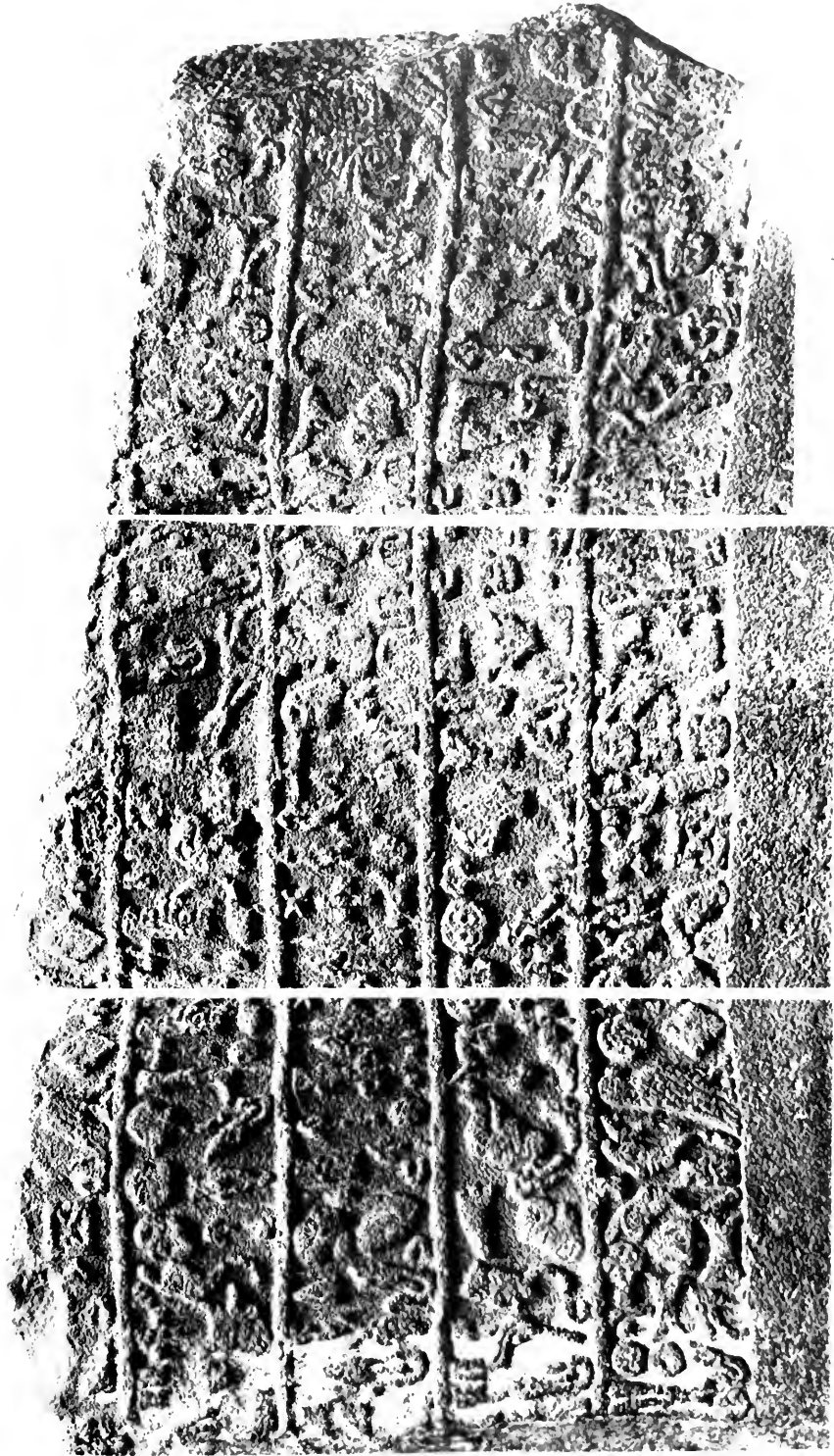
left face



h



right face



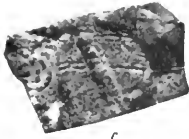




a*



b*



c



d*



e*



f*



c*

A. 24, 13*, 17*



A. 26 a, 1



A. 19f



A. 27gg*



g*1



A. 29f. 2



A. 30f



A. 19j



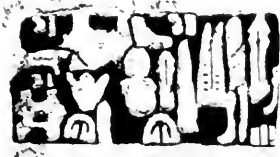
A. 27g



k*



g*2



h*



A. 24, 19, 12



A. 30h



i*1



i*2



i*3



i*4



i*6



i*7



i*8



i*9



i*10



l*



i*5

r* Hieroglyphic new signs, or signs of unusual form, appearing in this volume



j*1



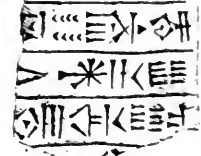
j*2



j*3



k



k*



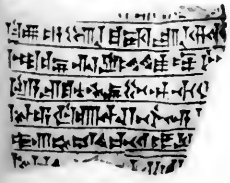
m



p



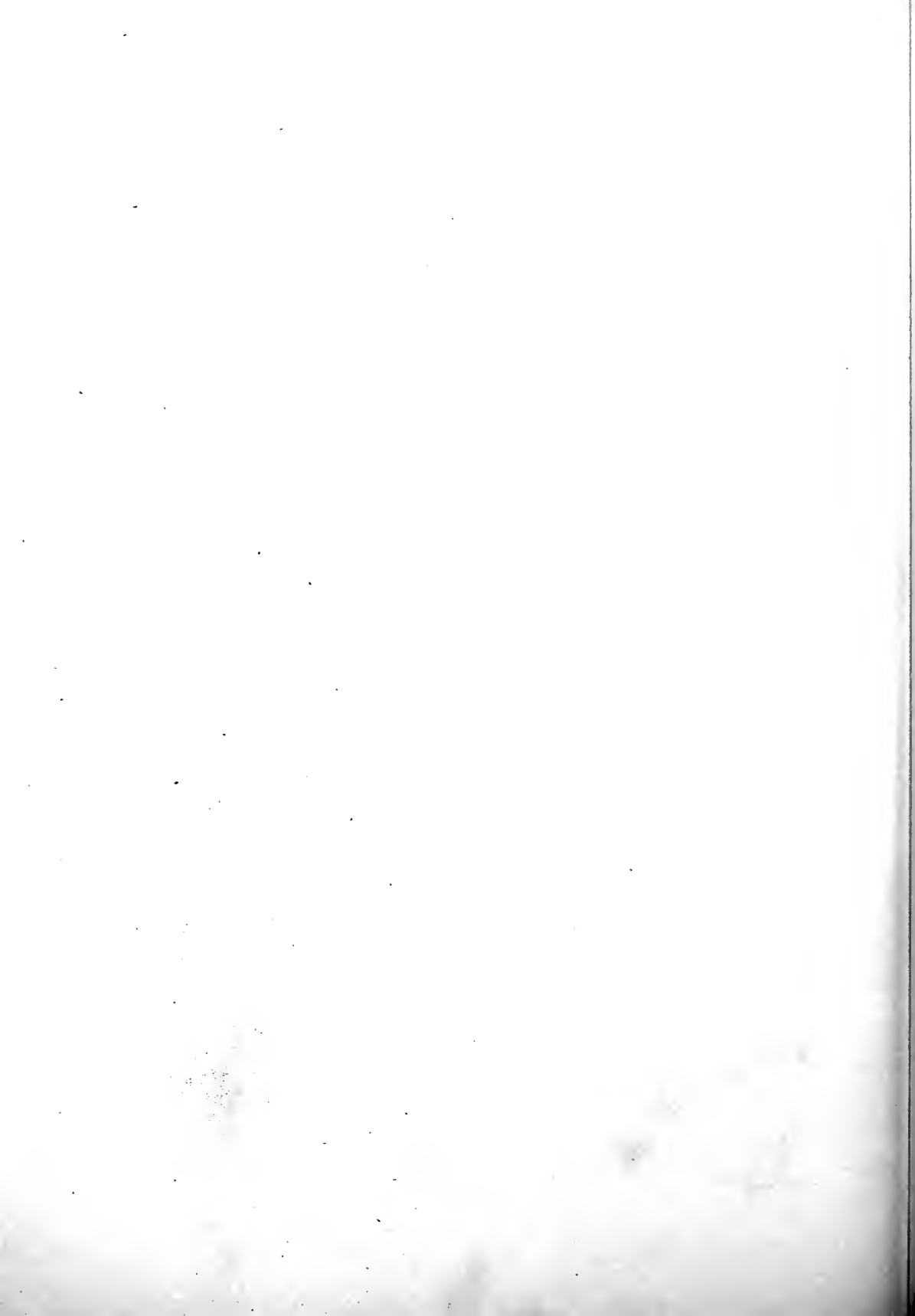
n

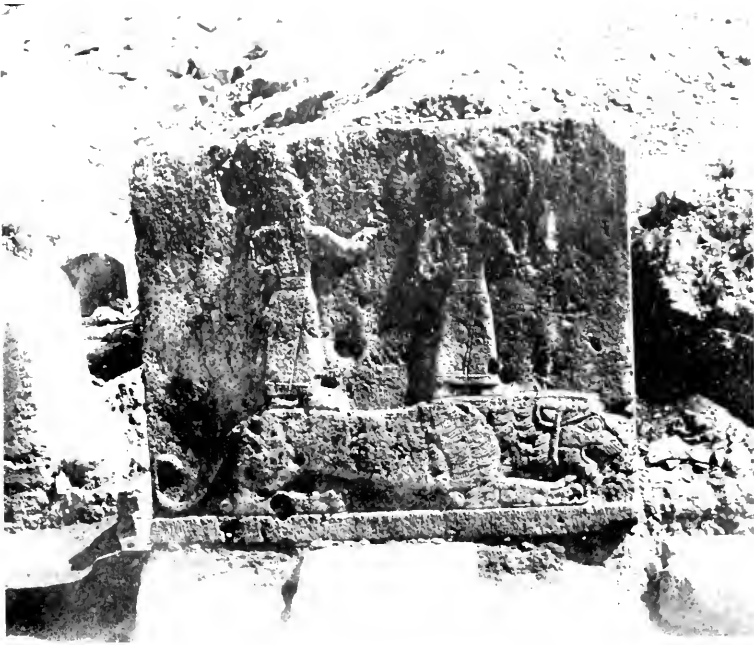


m*

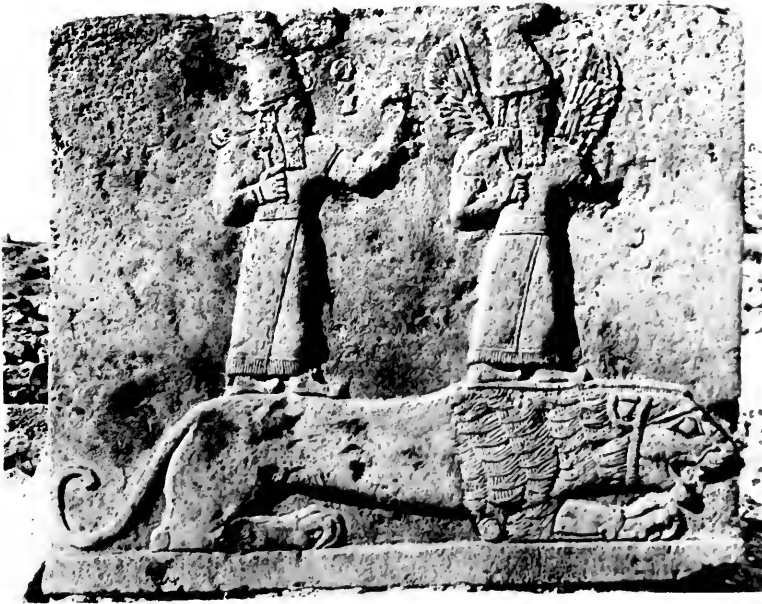


q





a. THE GREAT LION SLAB BY THE STAIRS, p. 241



b. THE SAME, TREATED WITH MUD



a. THE DOUBLE BULL BASE IN ROOM I, pp. 159, 171



b. THE SAME: SIDE VIEW



a. FEET OF A. 21a *in situ*, pp. 157, 161



b. FEET OF A. 22c [?], p. 161



c. FRAGMENT OF OFFRANT FIGURE FROM
WEST SIDE OF STAIRCASE, p. 161



d. FRAGMENT OF FIGURE FROM STAIRCASE,
FOUND BY HENDERSON, p. 161



a. BASALT RELIEF FROM STAIRCASE: GODDESS HOLDING CONE (?), FLASK, AND CLOTH FOR UNCTION, p. 162



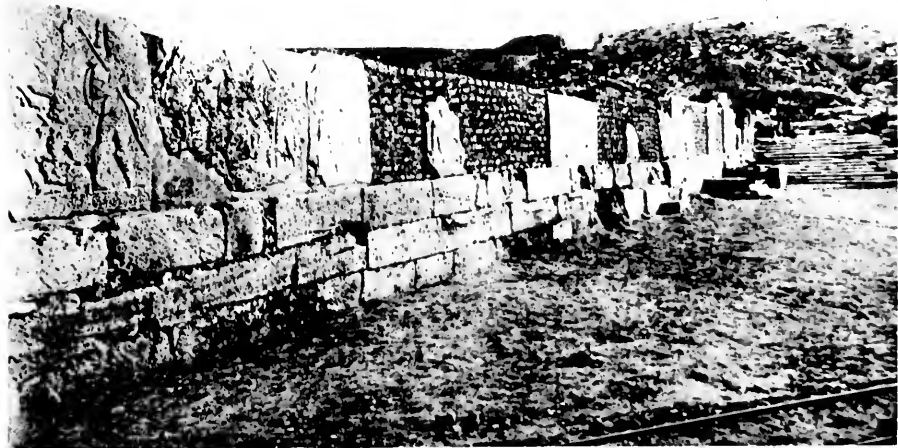
b. THE SAME, AS PHOTOGRAPHED BY STERRETT



c. WINGED DISK, BASALT, FROM THE STAIRCASE, p. 164



a. THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, RESTORED VIEW FROM FOOT OF STAIRS



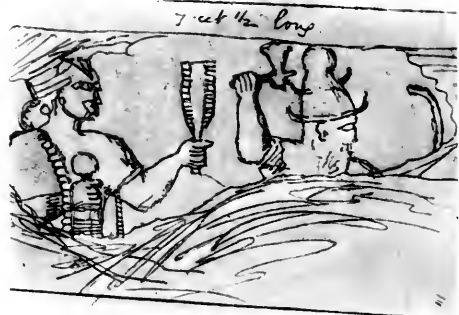
b. THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, RESTORED VIEW LOOKING TOWARDS STAIRS, p. 164



a. THE STORM-GOD AND HIS CONSORT, THE LEADING SLAB ON THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 165



b. HEAD OF THE STORM-GOD AS FOUND



c. GEORGE SMITH'S DRAWING OF THE TWO FIGURES



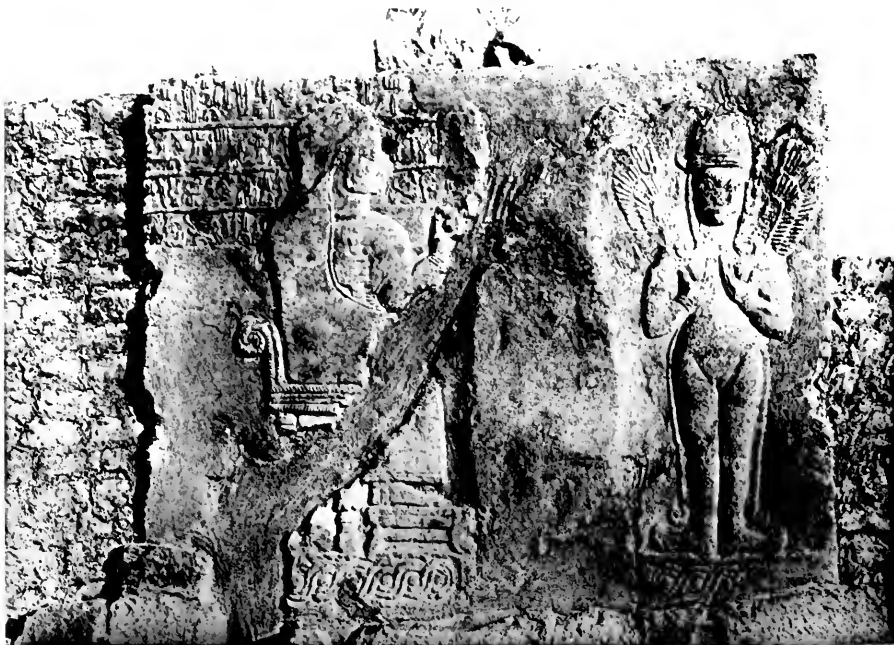
a. BASALT RELIEF, HEAD OF GODDESS, FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 165



b. FEET OF FIGURE, BASALT RELIEF, FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 165



a. THE NAKED GODDESS: RELIEF FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 157



b. THE SAME, RE-ERECTED AND TREATED WITH MUD, p. 165



a. CHARIOT RELIEF, BASALT, FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE



b. CHARIOT RELIEF, LIMESTONE, FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE



a. CHARIOT RELIEF, BASALT, FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 166



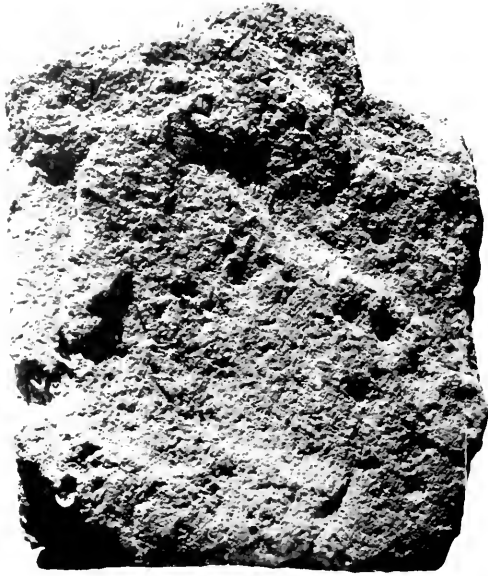
b. FRAGMENT OF CHARIOT RELIEF, FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 166



a. CHARIOT RELIEF, LIMESTONE, FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 166



b. THE GREAT LIMESTONE INSCRIPTION (A. 1a), FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE, p. 166



a. FRAGMENT OF LIMESTONE RELIEF OF FOOT-SOLDIERS,
FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE



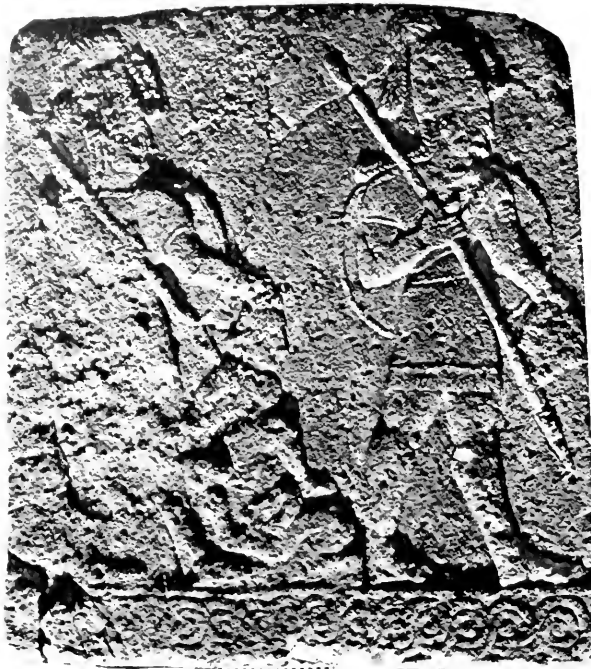
b. FOOT-SOLDIER SLAB: LIMESTONE RELIEF FROM
THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE



a. FOOT-SOLDIERS: LIMESTONE RELIEF FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE



b. FRAGMENTS OF FOOT-SOLDIER RELIEF FROM THE LONG WALL OF SCULPTURE



a. RELIEF OF FOOT-SOLDIERS, LIMESTONE, FROM THE LONG WALL
OF SCULPTURE, p. 166



b. RELIEF OF FOOT-SOLDIERS, LIMESTONE, FROM
THE WEST RETURN OF THE LONG WALL OF
SCULPTURE, p. 166



a. THE BASALT BULL LAVER IN THE TEMPLE COURTYARD, FRONT VIEW



b. THE BASALT BULL LAVER IN THE TEMPLE COURTYARD, SIDE VIEW, p. 168



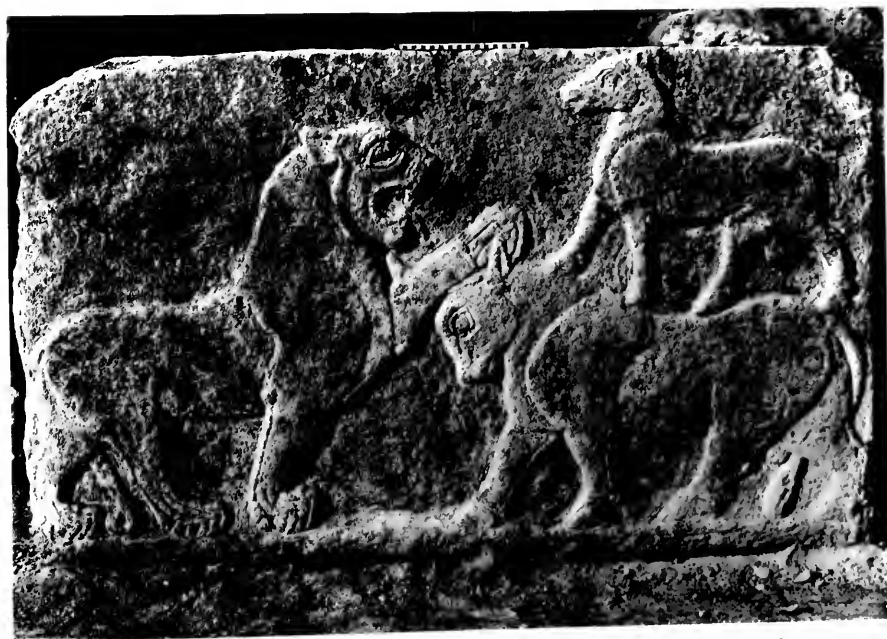
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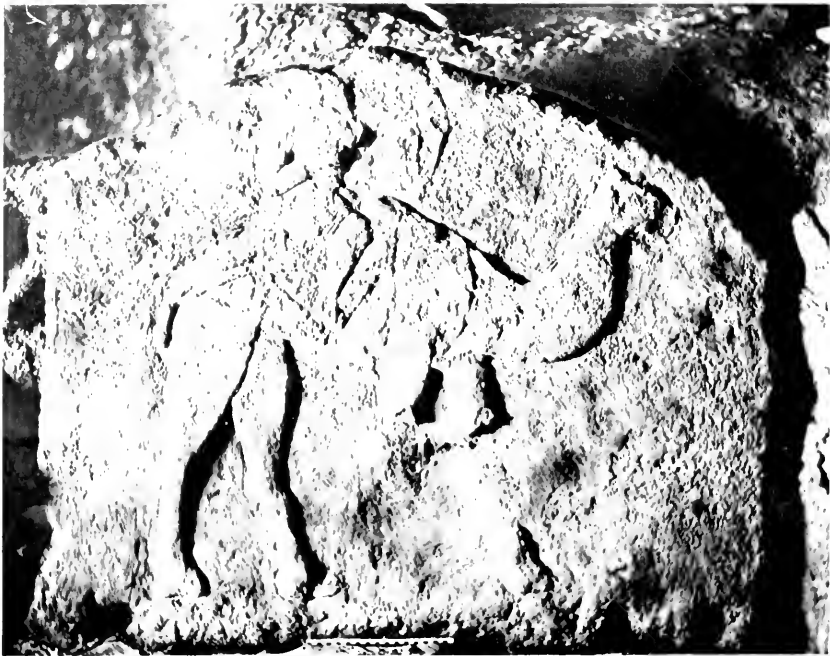
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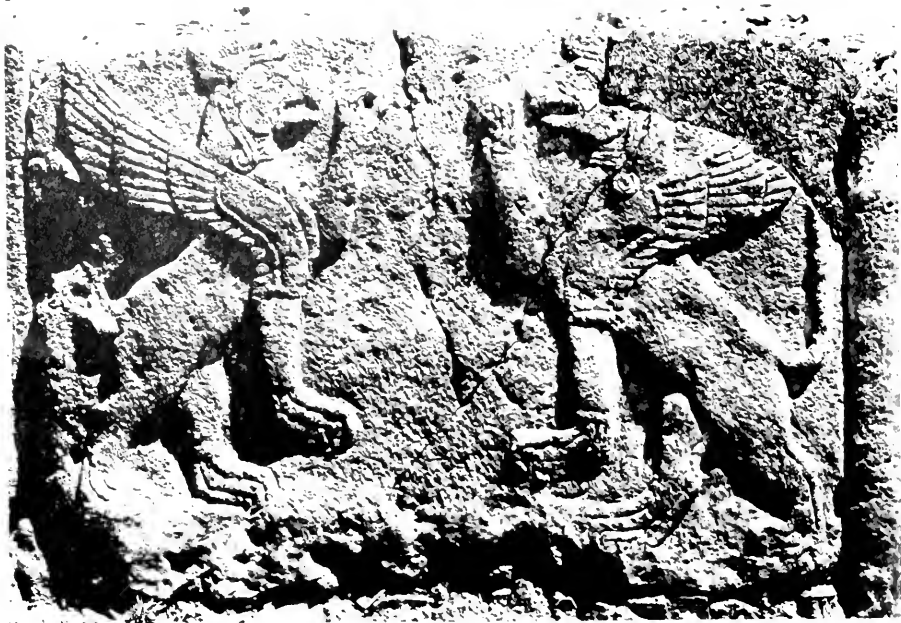
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a. LIMESTONE RELIEF FROM THE INNER COURT, KING'S GATE, p. 201



b. BASALT RELIEF FROM THE INNER COURT, KING'S GATE, p. 201



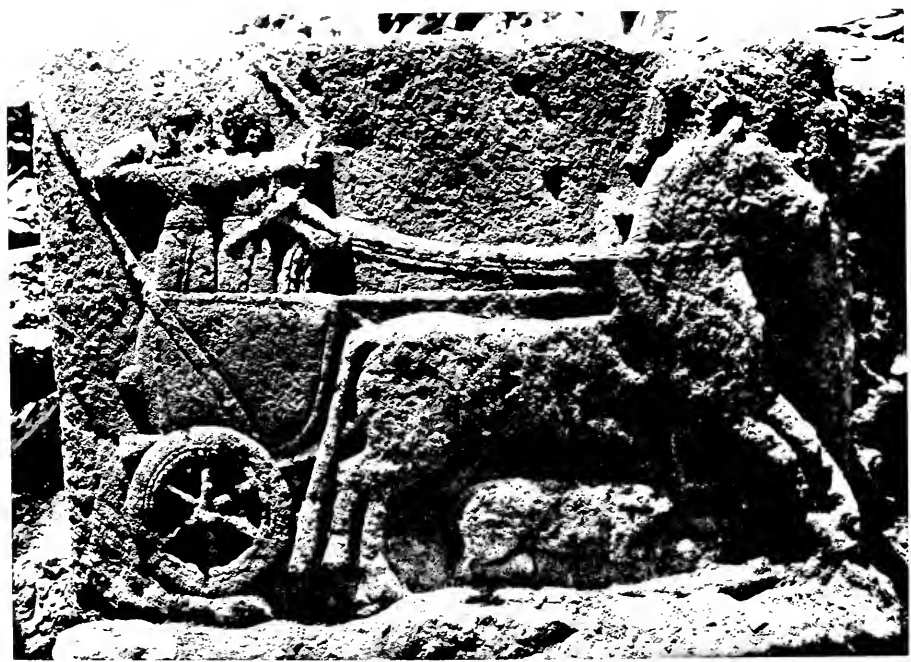
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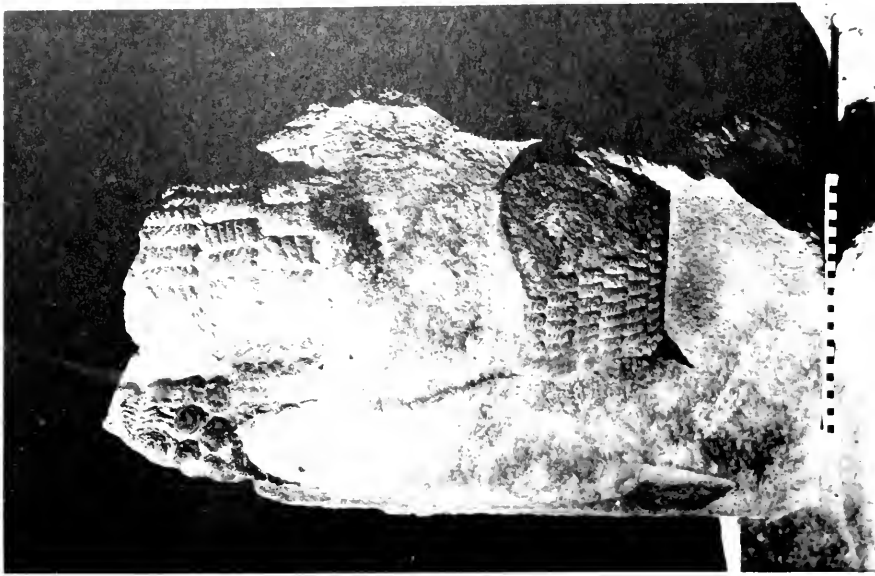
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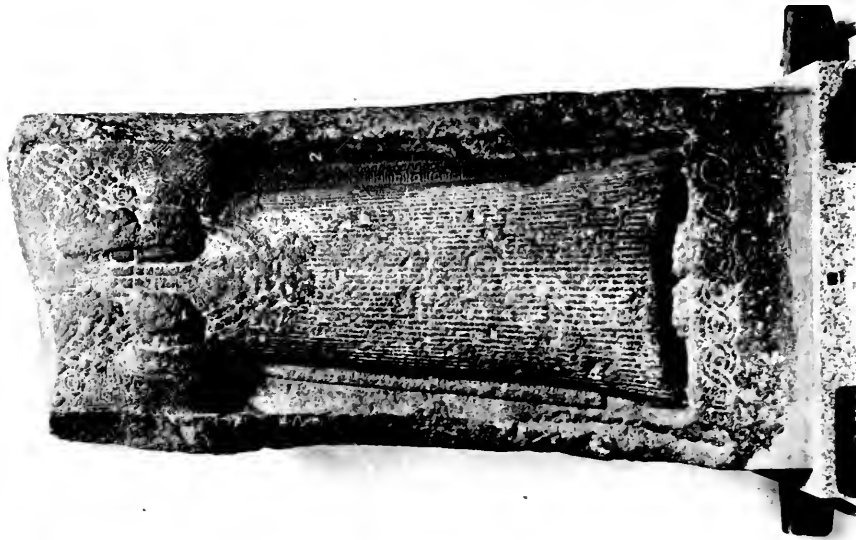
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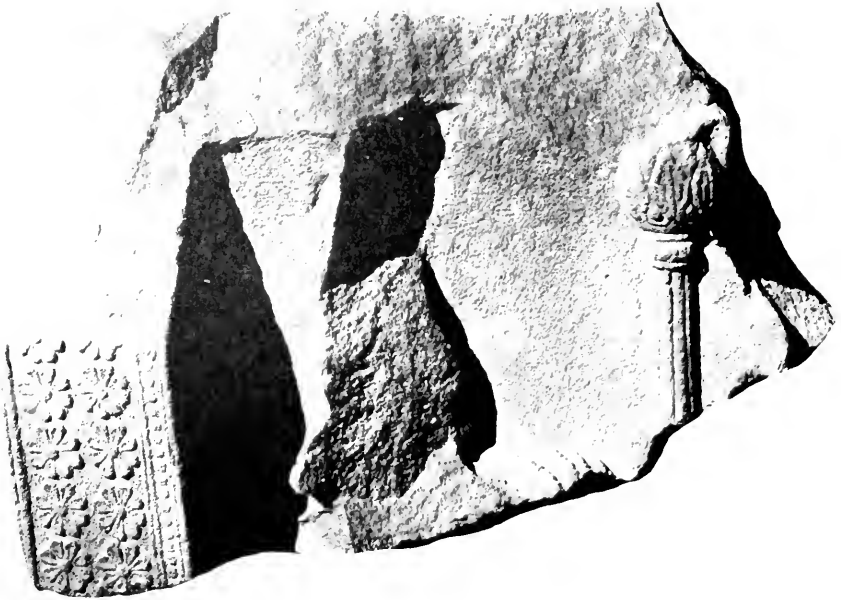
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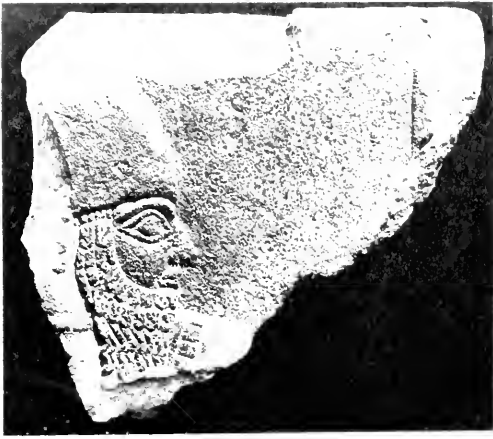
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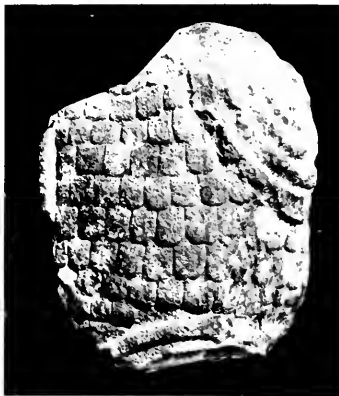
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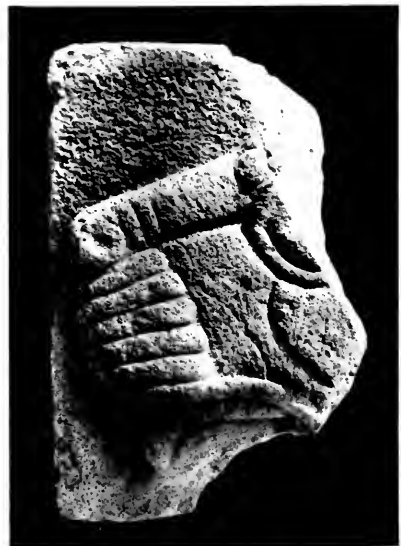
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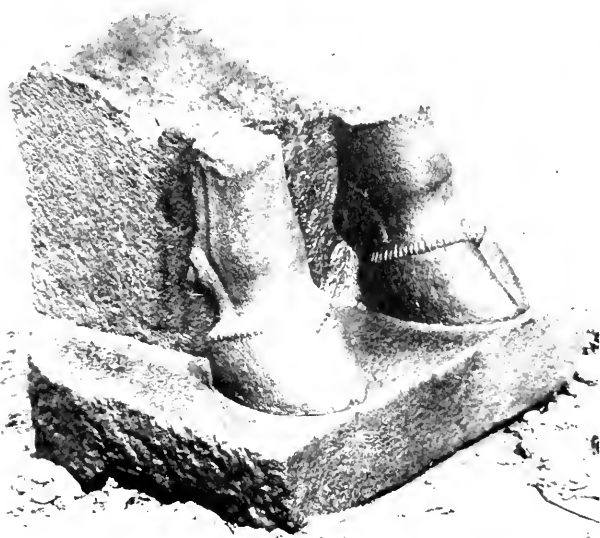
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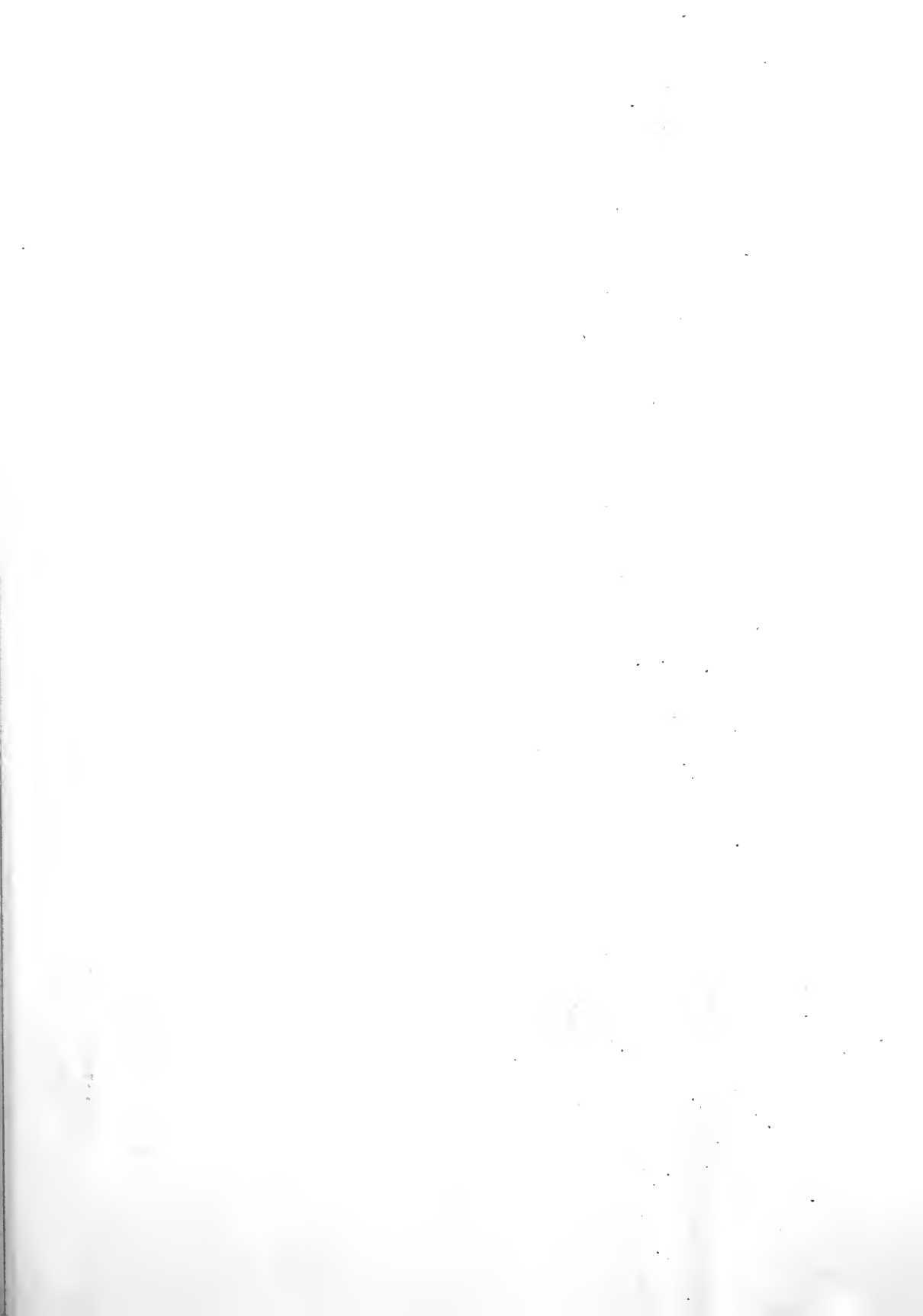
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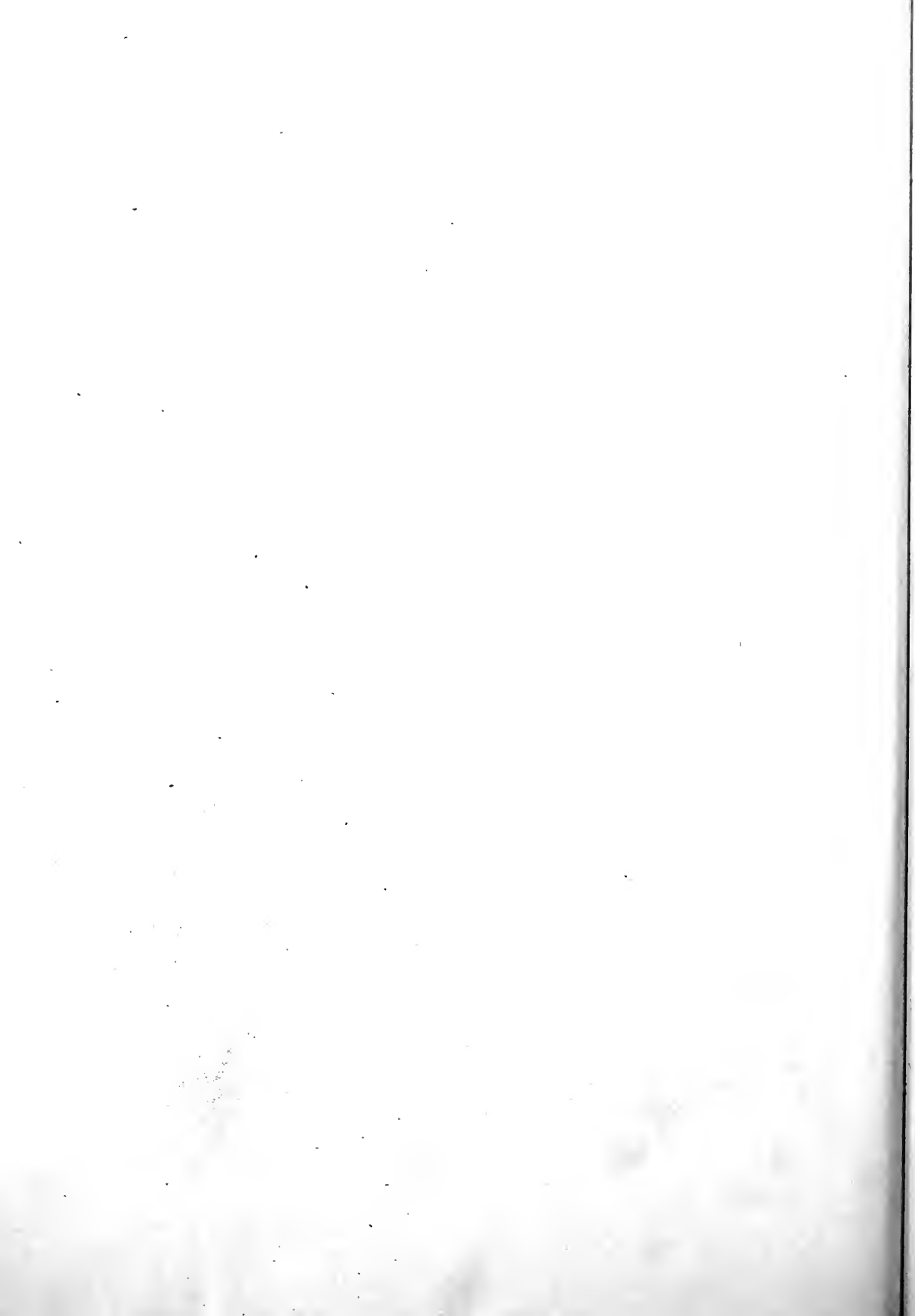


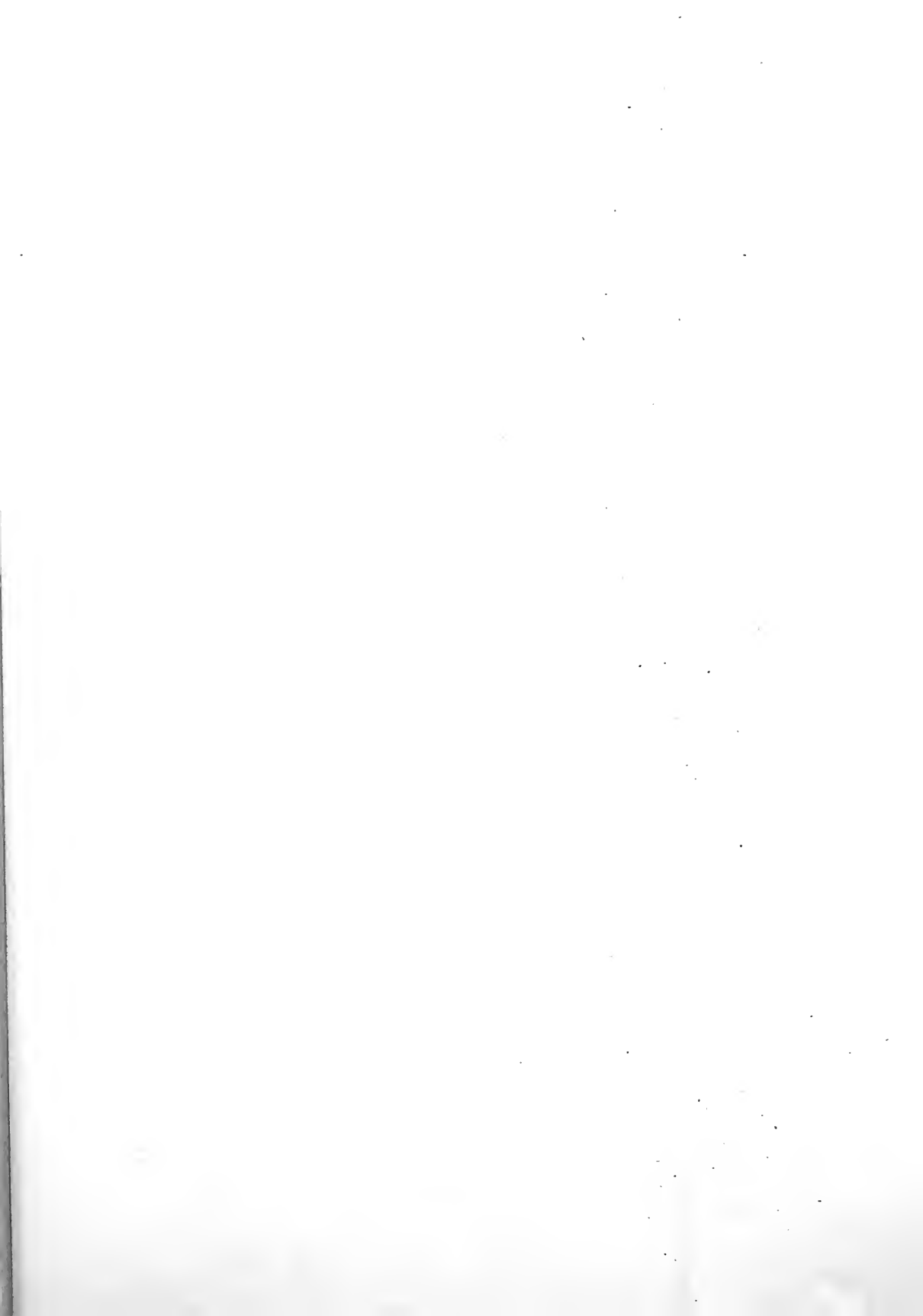
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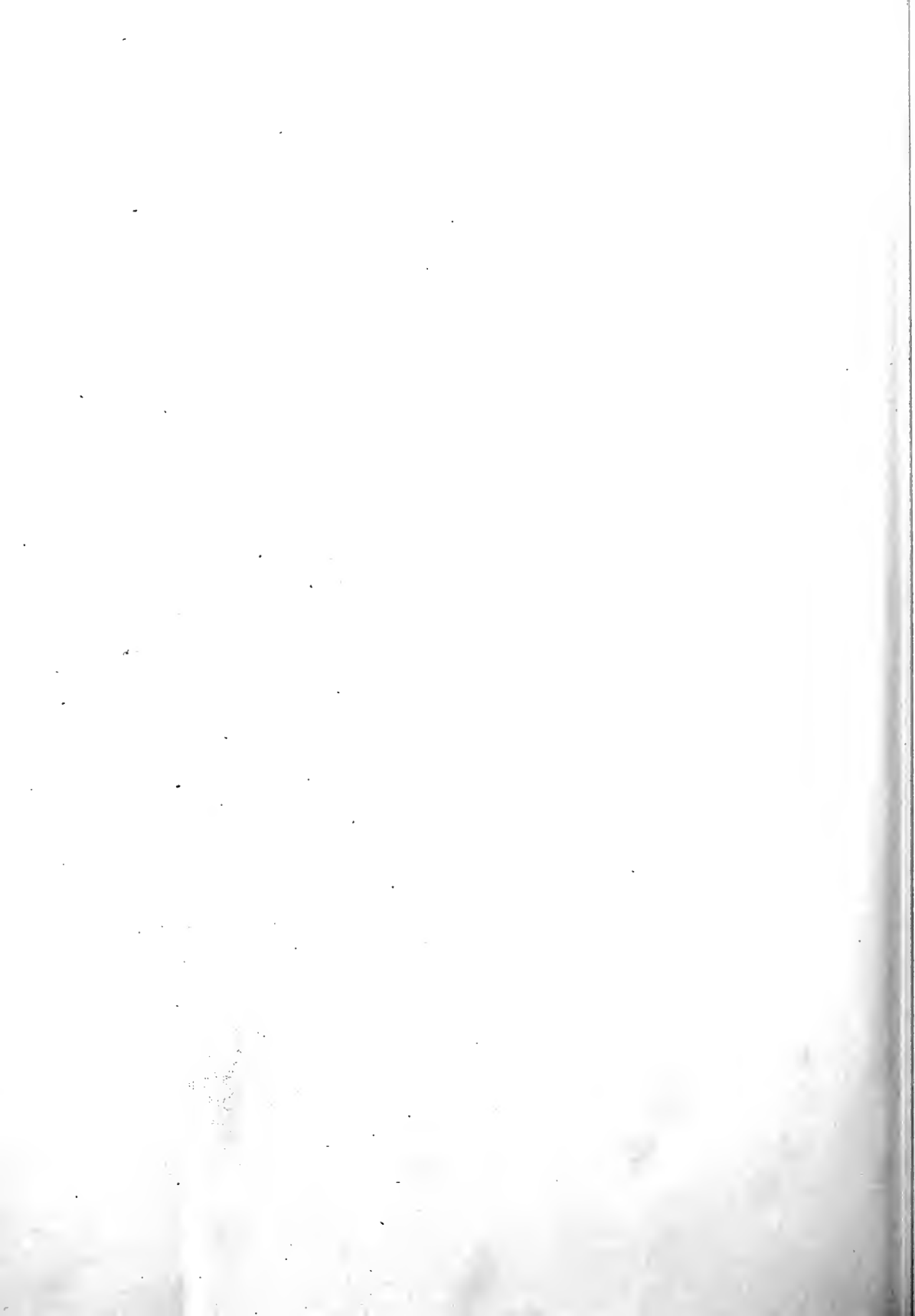


d. BASALT FRAGMENT: LOWER PALACE AREA









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