

THE MERCHANTS OF SUS A

GODIN V AND PLATEAU-LOWLAND RELATIONS IN THE LATE FOURTH MILLENNIUM B.C.

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In the summer of 1973 fairly extensive remains of Period V (*c.* 3200–3000 B.C.) were excavated at Godin Tepe in central western Iran (Fig. 1). At this time the Kangavar Valley, and, one suspects, neighbouring areas in the Zagros highlands as well, entered a phase of major cultural contact with the lowlands of Greater Mesopotamia. The latter area was on, if not already across, the threshold of urban, literate civilization. These highland valleys, on the other hand, apparently had not heretofore participated in those developments. One suspects that the dynamics and the form of the interaction between the lowlands and the central highlands during this period of exceptional cultural ferment had much to do with shaping both the contemporary and the subsequent history of the whole area. The data from Period V at Godin provide us with our first opportunity to study this issue in detail.

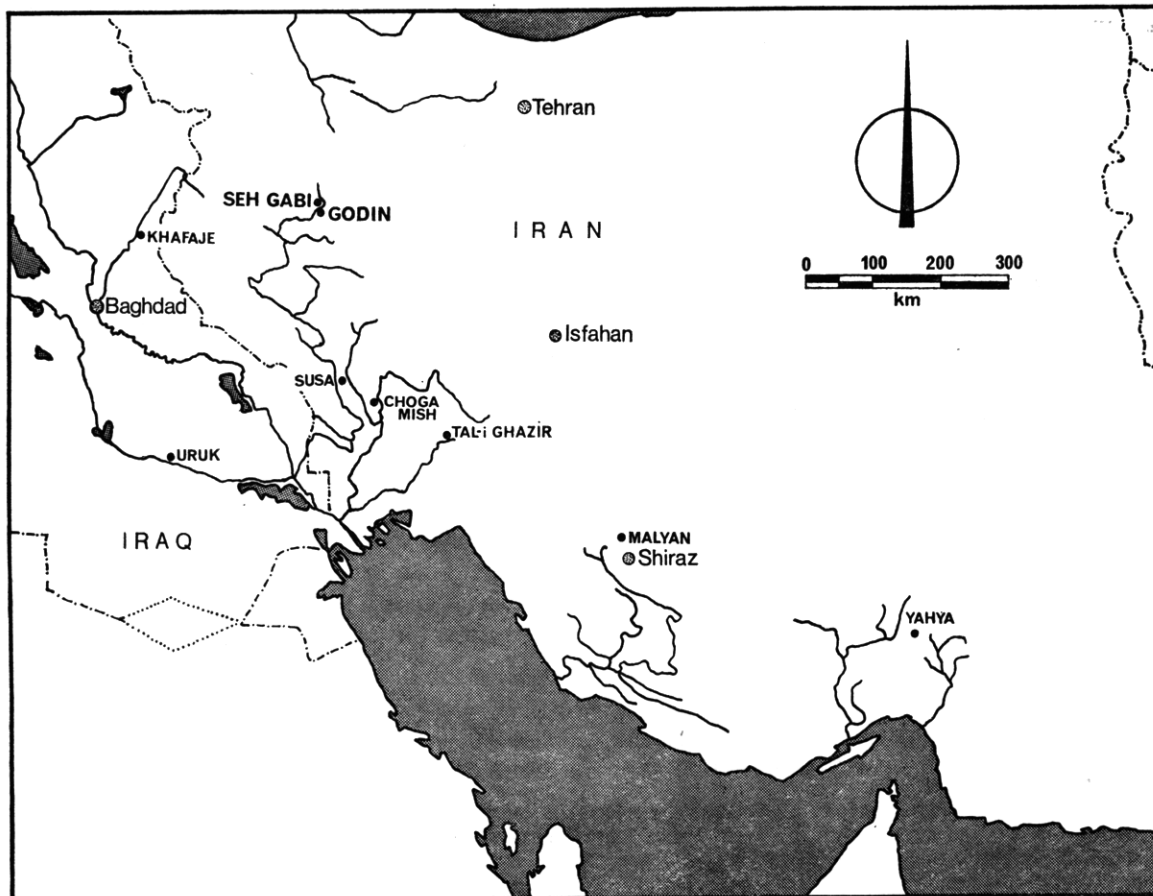


Fig. 1 Map of western Iran showing the location of the principal sites discussed.

To date only a short note and a popular article have been published on Godin V.¹ This paper attempts a more detailed presentation of some of these materials, and a provisional discussion of the chronology and culture of Godin V within the context of late 4th millennium Greater Mesopotamia.

STRATIFICATION AND INTERNAL CHRONOLOGY

Period V materials were excavated in 1973 over an area of some 550 sq. m. in the Deep Sounding on the Upper Citadel Mound, and in an operation covering about 165 sq. m. at the west base of the Citadel Mound. For convenience the latter excavation is called the Brick Kiln Cut.²

In both locations Period V strata and buildings rested conformably on the uppermost remains of Period VI. This was most easily observed in the Brick Kiln Cut where the walls of private village houses from Period V were only slight modifications of house walls from the upper building level of Period VI. The situation was perhaps less clear in the Deep Sounding. Here the Period V structures are markedly different in character and configuration from what little we know of the Period VI buildings in the area. Even so, there is no clear evidence of any chronological or occupational gap between the two periods. Stratigraphically, therefore, Period V is an uninterrupted continuation of the Period VI occupation.

The stratigraphy in the Deep Sounding also shows that the Period V buildings here were set on the summit of the late fourth millennium mound. Both Period V and VI strata sloped sharply down from this summit to the south and west; to the west the strata dropped vertically some 2 m. over a horizontal distance of slightly less than 4 m., and the Period V remains in the Brick Kiln Cut are some 12–13 m. below the Period V structures on the summit of the mound. Due to recent erosion we have no evidence for the ancient slope of the mound to the north. To the east Period V materials are found in small test trenches at the base of the Citadel Mound at a level to suggest that the ancient slope of the site in this direction was as steep as to the west.

There is a clear hiatus of occupation at the end of Period V, for the Period IV deposit rests unconformably on the upper stratum of Period V. In the Brick Kiln Cut an erosion surface truncated the upper Period V deposit, and on that surface rested the earliest Period IV walls and hearths. The stratification and the character of the deposits in the Deep Sounding, however, indicate that this hiatus was of short duration. Here several of the Period V walls were still standing when the Period IV occupation began. In one area much ash and trash gathered from Period IV hearths had been thrown into an abandoned but still standing Period V room. The deposit extended down to only a few centimetres above the latest Period V floor. In at least two other areas Period IV hearths had been constructed against the standing stubs of Period V walls. It is hazardous to guess how long it takes a mud-brick or *chineh* wall to decay once a building is abandoned. Too many unknown factors enter into the equation. Modern parallels from this area, however, suggest that the evidence for the gap between Periods V and IV at Godin is compatible with a chronological hiatus as short as five to ten years, perhaps as long as twenty-five years, and hardly fifty years.³

Finally, it should be noted that there is good evidence for a hasty abandonment of the Period V building complex on the top of the mound, but no evidence for a violent destruction as the cause of that abandonment. The roof at least of room 22 was burned. A woven reed mat on the floor of room 18 was also burned. Numerous whole vessels or completely restorable vessels were found throughout the complex on floors. A number of the walls were preserved to a considerable height and their lime plaster

¹ T. C. Young, Jr. and H. Weiss, "Survey of excavations: Godin Tepe", *Iran* XII (1974), pp. 207–11, and T. C. Young, Jr., "The day we found the tablet", *Rotunda* 7 (1974), pp. 4–11.

² For further details on the topography of Godin Tepe and reports on the excavations prior to 1973, see T. C. Young, Jr., *The Godin Tepe Excavations: First Progress Report*, Royal Ontario Museum Art and Archaeology Occasional Papers 17 (Toronto, 1969) and T. C. Young, Jr. and L. D. Levine, *The Godin Project: Second Progress Report*, Royal Ontario Museum Art and Archaeology Occasional Papers No. 27 (Toronto, 1974).

³ A small village built on a mound located just east of modern Sahneh was destroyed by earthquake in 1959 and not reoccupied. When Young first saw the remains in 1961 the walls of the houses, whose roof beams had been salvaged, still stood to a considerable height and one could have drawn a complete ground plan of the village. In 1973 it was not possible to tell from a distance that the mound had been occupied recently. Vague outlines of some walls could still be seen walking over the surface of the site. We estimate that in another five years no trace of the 1959 occupation will be visible under any circumstances.

faces were generally in good repair. All these data suggest a rapid departure of the inhabitants rather than gradual abandonment and slow decay. On the other hand, there is no stratigraphic or structural evidence of deliberate or violent destruction. This conclusion is supported by the kinds of small finds found. Pottery, broken jar sealings, tablets, tablet fragments and other objects of clay are numerous. Yet metal was rare, and precious metals and stones were missing entirely. In short, the valuable items which could and would be carried off in a hasty but planned retreat are missing. Other items of less value, which might have been carried off had the abandonment been more leisurely, were left *in situ*. Certainly a more complete selection of finds, such as might result from sudden violent destruction, is not present.

ARCHITECTURE

We shall describe in detail only the building remains from the Deep Sounding since they are most important given the larger purposes of this paper.

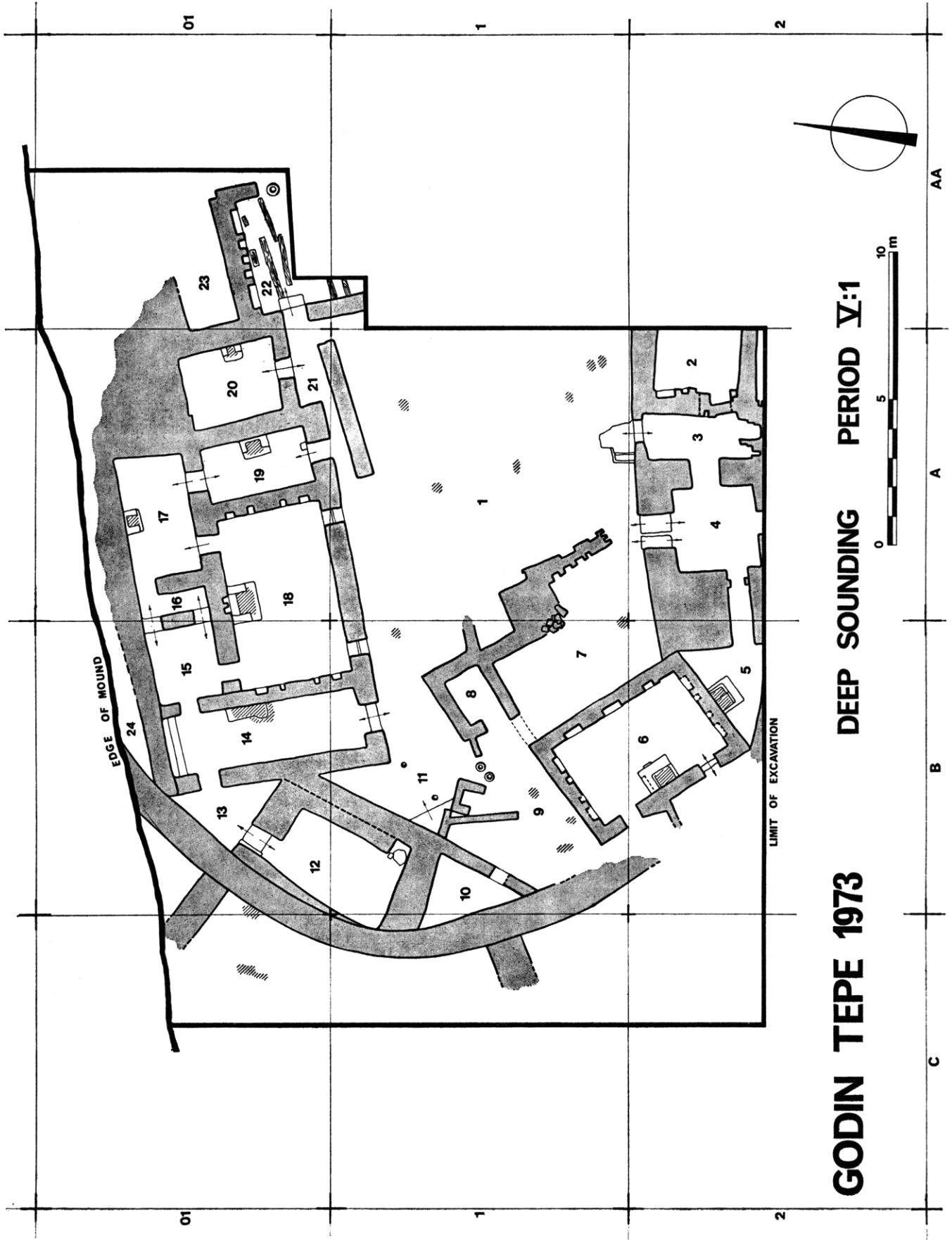
In this area there was a single Period V building level which had gone through three phases of expansion and alteration. Discussion is limited to the latest of these, Level V:1 (Fig. 2). This consisted of a complex of buildings and rooms set around a large central court (area 1), with the whole surrounded by an oval wall (Pl. I). Projecting this oval wall along the lines recovered suggests that it originally enclosed an area about 33×21 m., of which we have excavated approximately two-thirds. The oval wall was built of sun-dried mud-brick. Its maximum known width (in the area of room 10) approaches 1.50 m. We hesitate to call this a fortification wall, yet it was a good deal thicker and more monumental than a simple enclosure wall needed to be, and certainly afforded a good deal of protection to those living within. Furthermore, with the mound sloping sharply away on all sides, as described above, the effect must have been very much that of a citadel perched on the highest point of the mound.

The only known entrance to the compound is from the south into room 4. The south wall of room 4, falling just inside the excavated area, is the inner face of the oval enclosure wall. Room 4, therefore, is a gateroom, flanked on both sides by smaller rooms. Room 5 with its well-constructed cooking hearth could have been a guard room. Room 3 was probably a store room. Indeed, perhaps it was the file room, for the largest cache of tablets and tablet fragments was found in the strange stepped niches at its southern end. Room 2, beyond a blocked doorway, may have been another store room.

Passing north from room 4 across a raised mud-brick threshold with a drain one entered the central court (area 1). The ill-defined walls which delimited area 7 and room 8 and the small curtain wall separating areas 9 and 11 were not there in earlier construction phases. Thus the courtyard originally was a large open space some 17×10 m. Why the west end of the court was broken up in the last phase of occupation is unclear. The several floors of the court were very hard to follow in excavation, particularly in the centre of area 1. At a minimum, however, there were at least six distinct laid and smoothed mud floors. Scattered over the latest of these surfaces were eleven uneven patches of burning representing irregularly shaped hearths or fire spots.

On the north side of the courtyard stood a monumental building (rooms 14 to 21) whose configuration changed considerably over the three phases of Period V. Originally in Level V:3 it included only rooms 15, 17, 18 and 19. Room 18 was clearly the focal point of the structure. Its walls had been laid out with great care and with architectural forethought. Note particularly the balance of the several elements: the two doors equidistant on either side of the central hearth in the north wall, the twin windows in the south wall looking out into the courtyard with their sills at waist height, the opposed niches in the east and west walls with two larger niches flanking two smaller ones. The hearth was built with equal care, its flues having been constructed with the wall (Pl. IIa). It is a fireplace, not a cooking hearth. The niches are proper *tokhches* which do not extend down to the floor, but rather end in a shelf.

Rooms 17, 19 and 20 also had fireplaces, none of which was so elaborate as that in room 18. Late in the life of the building the small curtain wall separating rooms 15 and 16 was built. Room 14, which has a crude cooking hearth against its east wall, was also added after Level V:3. A curtain wall at its north end creates a bin or storage slot in which were found several apparently discarded tablet fragments.



In quality if not size this northern building was monumental. In both design and execution it is a remarkable structure. One strongly suspects that it was a public building and perhaps the central focus of the entire structural complex.

Rooms 10, 12 and 13 were probably store rooms of some kind, for they have no hearths or other signs of regular human occupation. Their configuration was dictated by the problem of constructing rectilinear rooms within a space defined on one side by a curving wall; hence the triangular shape of rooms 10 and 13 and the additional inner skin on the north-west wall of room 12. In an earlier configuration rooms 12 and 13 were a single room.

In the south-west corner of the compound was room 6, an independent building in its own right. Almost to the centimetre this room maintains the same proportions of width to length as does room 18. Again like room 18 the two short walls had four niches, two large niches flanking two smaller ones. There were three large niches in the north-east wall. Opposite is a well-made hearth centred between two doors. The hearth, unlike that in room 18, was for cooking, and consisted of an open fire box on one side and a carefully plastered griddle on the other. Beneath the griddle surface was a deep bed of small pebbles (Pl. IIb). The southernmost doorway probably led into a small irregularly shaped room (the area was not completely excavated because we could not easily remove a massive mud-brick revetment wall of Period IV). The northernmost doorway gave rather indirect access to the courtyard via a narrow corridor between the south-west wall of room 6 and the oval enclosure wall. Cut off as it is from the open, more public areas of the compound, room 6 has all the characteristics of a private quarter.

Unfortunately, we were able to excavate only a part of the large building on the east side of the courtyard (rooms 22 and 23). The floor of room 23 was littered with a thick deposit of oxidized peas, barley and wheat and probably served for food storage. Room 22 may have been the main salon of this building, though unlike room 18 of the northern building it had a doorway giving direct access to the courtyard. The north wall had two large and three smaller niches. A doorway in the rear wall led east, which, by analogy with rooms 6 and 18, was almost certainly balanced by another doorway further to the south. A single row of rooms behind room 22, similar to those on the north side of the northern building, would probably have filled the east end of the oval. Room 22 had been destroyed by fire. Charred roof beams lay on the floor and in the debris of the collapsed walls and ceiling immediately above the floor, and the white lime plastered walls had been burned red and black.

The Period V architecture of the Brick Kiln Cut is entirely different. As noted above, it represented only a rebuilding and slight modification of existing Period VI houses. The houses were ordinary in every respect, though sharing many of the detailed characteristics of the Period V architecture on the summit of the mound, such as white, lime-plastered walls, well-built hearths and carefully-laid brickwork. They remain, even so, parts of simple village houses built by prosperous peasants. The rooms were rectilinear. Segments of perhaps two separate complexes were recovered, but without a complete house plan we cannot say whether or not the rooms focused on a courtyard. There is no evidence that this part of the Period V town was protected by an enclosure wall.

SELECTED POTTERY AND SMALL FINDS

It would be premature and is unnecessary to attempt now any systematic or detailed presentation of the pottery and small finds recovered from Period V at Godin. What should be discussed here are some of the general categories of materials recovered, certain unusual aspects of their distribution in the deposit, and parallels with other sites involving selected items.

Ceramics

The pottery of Godin V has been described elsewhere in some detail as regards types and wares.⁴ For our purposes here it may be divided into two categories: that which represents only a

⁴ For a preliminary description of Period V ceramics, based on the 1965 sounding, see Young, *First Progress Report*, pp. 7-8

and fig. 9. Though now out of date and incomplete, this description is still essentially correct.

continuation of the ceramic traditions of Period VI, and that which is new to Godin and distinctive to Period V. The Period VI ceramic culture, while almost certainly influenced in minor ways by generalized Ubaid features characteristic of lowland Mesopotamia, is in the main a native tradition. It is well established at Godin and elsewhere in the region long before the arrival of the new elements characteristic of Period V, and continues in Period V as a major component of the total ceramic assemblage.⁵ Of the new elements which specifically define Period V pottery and set it apart from the Period VI assemblage, almost all involve ceramic features which can be paralleled in lowland Mesopotamia.

The variable distribution of these two categories of pottery in the Period V deposit is striking. Within the oval on the summit of the mound about half of the pottery recovered is specific to Period V; the other half is typical of Period VI. In the Brick Kiln Cut, however, perhaps as much as eighty per cent of the pottery is of Period VI type, and only twenty per cent is distinctive to Period V.

For purposes of comparative chronology we propose to place greatest weight on these ceramics. It seems clear that the stratigraphic and chronological ranges of related epigraphic and glyptic material (see below) are neither as precisely defined, nor as limited in time as are those of related ceramics. For the sake of brevity, we have isolated for discussion four-lugged pots and bevelled rim bowls from the mass of ceramic materials excavated precisely because of the rapid changes in the presence or absence of these vessels in successive deposits elsewhere.

Sherds from horizontally pierced four-lugged pots with "rope"-appliqué bands along their shoulders were found in large proportions among the *in situ* floor remains of room 18 in the northern building (Pl. III and Fig. 2) and the courtyard. A plain variety occurs in a large-size grit and straw-tempered ware with a red slip (Fig. 3:1) and a medium-size grit and straw-tempered ware with a cream slip (Fig. 3:2a). Comparable vessels are reported from Susa Acropolis level 17 and Warka Eanna IV, and begin to appear in Nippur Inanna level XIX.⁶ These vessels are not reported in later strata at Susa or Warka.

Sherds from a cream slipped variety of this vessel with an incised shoulder band of cross-hatched triangles were found on the courtyard floor (Fig. 3:1a). Closely similar pots are present in Susa Acropolis level 17A, Warka Eanna IV and Nippur Inanna level XVI.⁷ These vessels are also not present in succeeding strata at these sites.

A red slipped variety, with two bands of black paint, comes from room 19 (Fig. 3:2). Four-lugged jars with painted bands above the "rope"-appliqué shoulders are specific to Susa Acropolis level 17, and occur as well in Malyan Banesh TT-F.⁸

Missing at Godin are four-lugged pots with close geometric painted designs on their shoulders, as occur in Susa Acropolis levels 16-14B and Yahya IVC.⁹ Neither do we find any of the tall "Jemdet Nasr" related storage jars with geometric design shoulder painting as occur in Malyan Banesh Building Level II, Yahya IVC and "Jemdet Nasr" period levels of Nippur Inanna levels XIV-XII.¹⁰

Turning to bevelled rim bowls, the total absence of other mass-produced vessel types within the Godin V assemblage is as significant as the proportionally large number of these vessels present (Fig. 3:3-5). Bevelled rim bowls and "Groben Blumentöpfe" occur together in Warka Eanna IV, but by Warka Eanna III bevelled rim bowls have been replaced by "Blumentöpfe".¹¹ Bevelled rim bowls appear in Susa Acropolis level 17, and are still present in level 16, but "Blumentöpfe" begin to appear in that level as well.¹² In Malyan Banesh TT-F bevelled rim bowls, "Groben Blumentöpfe" and "Blumentöpfe" all occur together.¹³

⁵ Ibid., pp. 5-6 and fig. 8, and Young and Levine, *Second Progress Report*, pp. 12-14, for a detailed description of Godin VI pottery.

⁶ A. Le Brun, "Recherches stratigraphiques à l'Acropole de Suse (1969-1971)", *Cahiers DAFI* I (1971), Fig. 50:1; D. Hansen, "The Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia, Part II", *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, R. W. Ehrich, ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 203, Fig. 11b; von Haller, *Vorläufiger Berichte . . . in Uruk* (hereafter *U.V.B.*) IV, Taf. 19c:k.

⁷ Le Brun, op. cit., Fig. 51:9; von Haller, op. cit., Taf. 20A:l; Hansen, op. cit., p. 205, Fig. 21.

⁸ Le Brun, op. cit., Fig. 53:4; W. Sumner, "Excavations at Tall-i Malyan, 1971-1972", *Iran* XII (1974), p. 170, Fig. 4:h.

⁹ Le Brun, op. cit., Fig. 64:3-12; C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "Tepe Yahya 1971—Mesopotamia and the Indo-Iranian Borderlands", *Iran* X (1972), p. 95, Fig. 2:G.

¹⁰ Sumner, op. cit., p. 171, Fig. 5:a-d; Lamberg-Karlovsky, op. cit., p. 95, Fig. 2:G; Hansen, op. cit., p. 207.

¹¹ H. J. Nissen, "Grabung in den Quadraten K/L XII in Uruk-Warka", *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 5 (1970), pp. 132-42.

¹² Le Brun, op. cit., Fig. 60:1-4.

¹³ W. Sumner, op. cit., p. 170, Fig. 4:b, c, d.

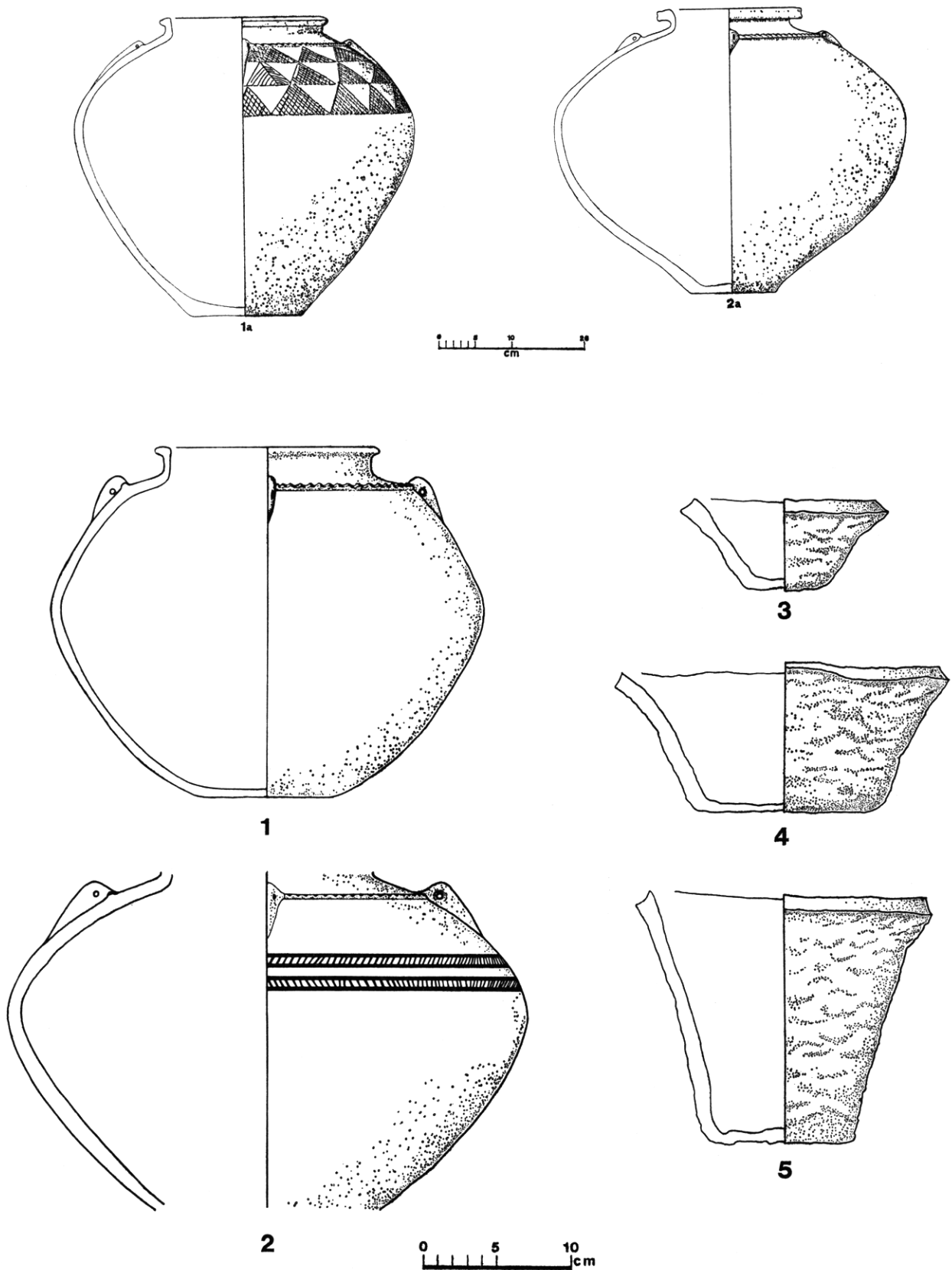


Fig. 3. Pottery vessels from Godin V which have close parallels in lowland Mesopotamia.

In sum, the absence of "Blumentöpfe" and "Groben Blumentöpfe" in Godin V, along with the absence of geometric painted four-lugged vessels, suggests that Godin V is earlier than Susa Acropolis level 16, Malyan Banesh Building Level II, and Yahya IVC. The presence of plain and cross-hatched shoulder "rope"-appliqué four-lugged vessels at Godin V indicates that the settlement can be no earlier than Susa Acropolis level 17.

Tablets

A total of forty-three tablets or tablet fragments were found (Figs. 4 and 5). Of these, twenty-seven are complete or only minimally chipped. One complete tablet was totally blank and twenty-six were inscribed with numerical notations and one with a pictographic sign as well. Nine of these were rolled, one or more times, with cylinder seals. Twelve fragments were large enough to determine two dimensions and/or the tablet's shape. Of these, ten bear numerical notations and two are impressed with cylinder seals. Four tablet fragments are too small to provide information on their original dimensions. None of these bears an inscription, but one preserves a cylinder seal impression.

The twenty-seven complete tablets have arithmetic mean dimensions of $5.2 \times 3.8 \times 1.9$ cm., with respective standard deviations of 0.41, 0.44 and 0.25. Apart from two tablets with plano-plane surfaces and four tablets with plano-convex surfaces, all tablets are slightly convex-convex in shape with sides, top and bottom flattened or slightly concave. The concave sides often reveal how the tablet had been shaped by the scribe's fingers. The dimensions and shapes of the fragmentary tablets fall within the ranges of the complete tablets.

The notational system appears to use five different numerical signs, all well attested in the proto-Elamite and proto-Sumerian signaries.¹⁴ The thirty-six complete and fragmentary tablets bear inscriptions of wedges and dots made with the same stylus, occurring together and singly; fingernail-impressed crescents; paired, joined dots; and larger vertical wedges. The one pictographic sign is similar to a sign present in the Warka IVa and proto-Elamite signaries.¹⁵

The largest single cache of tablets came from the recessed niches at the south end of room 3. Several were found in rooms 15 and 18, and the second largest group came from in and around the bin at the north end of room 14. These latter tablets were fragmentary and one suspects that they had been discarded when no longer needed. Complete tablets or fragments were found in several other rooms and in the courtyard. None were found in room 6. Almost all were either on floors or in the primary deposit immediately above the floor. No tablets were found in the Brick Kiln Cut.

The presence of a tablet blank from Godin V indicates that at least some tablets were manufactured locally. That none of the Godin tablets are baked might indicate that they were not manufactured for transport to another location. Our experimental manufacture of a tablet from local clay, however, indicated that sun-drying alone will produce a product of considerable durability.

The manufacture and use of such tablets is a complex cultural phenomenon. The presence of tablets of similar size and shape, with similar sealings and inscriptions, at other contemporary sites indicates the probable source of the tablet tradition of Godin V, if not the source of the Godin scribes themselves. Numerical notation tablets are now known from Khafajah, Habuba Kabira, Sialk, Chogha Mish, Tall-i Ghazir, Warka and Susa.

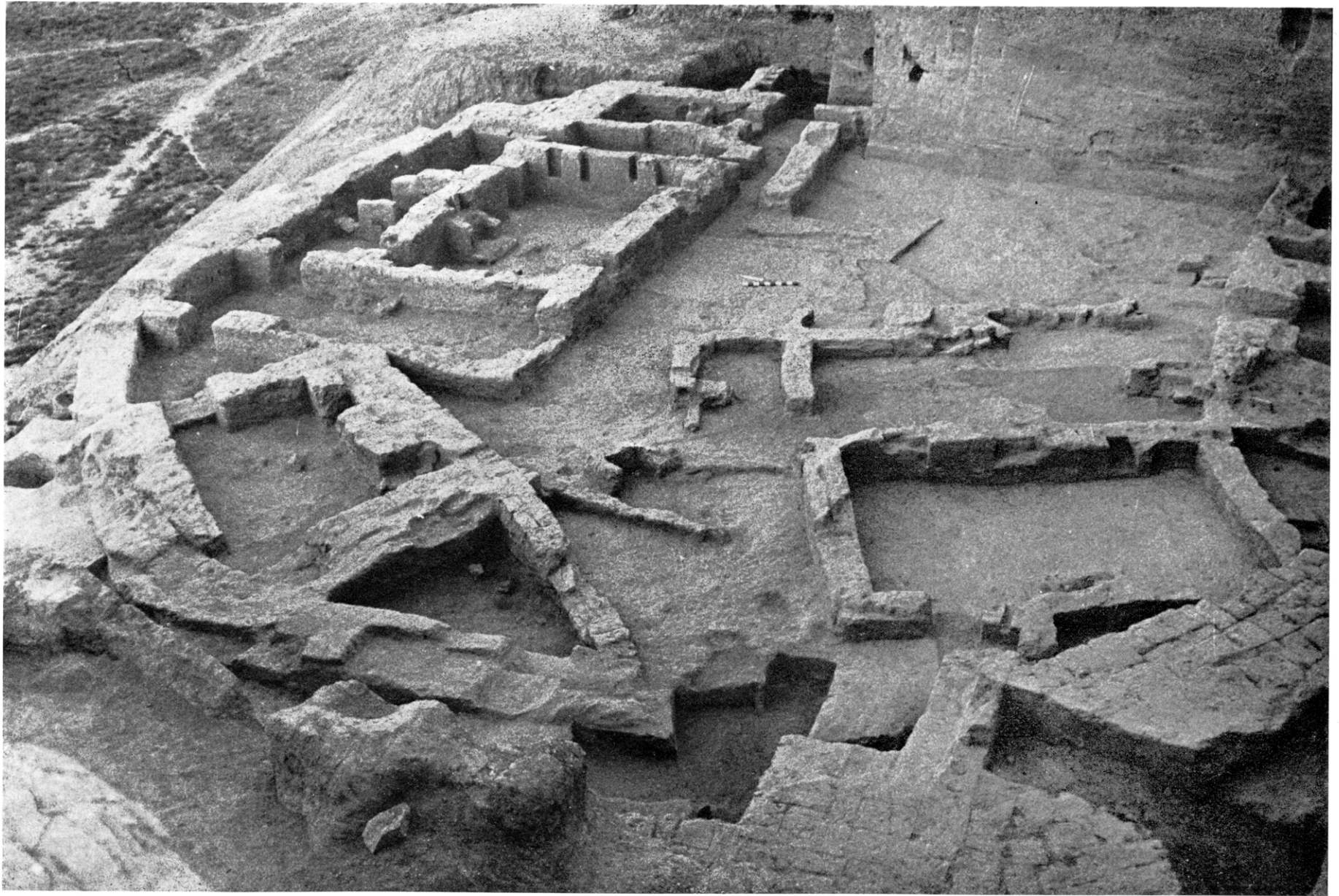
The one numerical notation tablet from Khafajah was located on a trodden floor estimated to be some five building levels below House Level 12 in a test trench (N44:19) just outside the later Temple Oval.¹⁶ The tablet is unsealed, roughly formed, possibly with finger-moulded sides like the Godin tablets, and falls within the range of the latter's dimensions. Frankfort and Delougaz date the stratum in which this tablet was found to the Uruk Period.

¹⁴ R. de Mecquenem, *Epigraphie Proto-Elamite*, MMAI XXXI (Paris, 1949); A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, ADFU 2 (Berlin, 1936); A. A. Vaiman, "A Comparative Study of the Proto-Elamite and Proto-Sumerian Scripts," *VDI* 121 (1972), pp. 124-133. Prof. W. W. Hallo of Yale University is working on the Godin tablets.

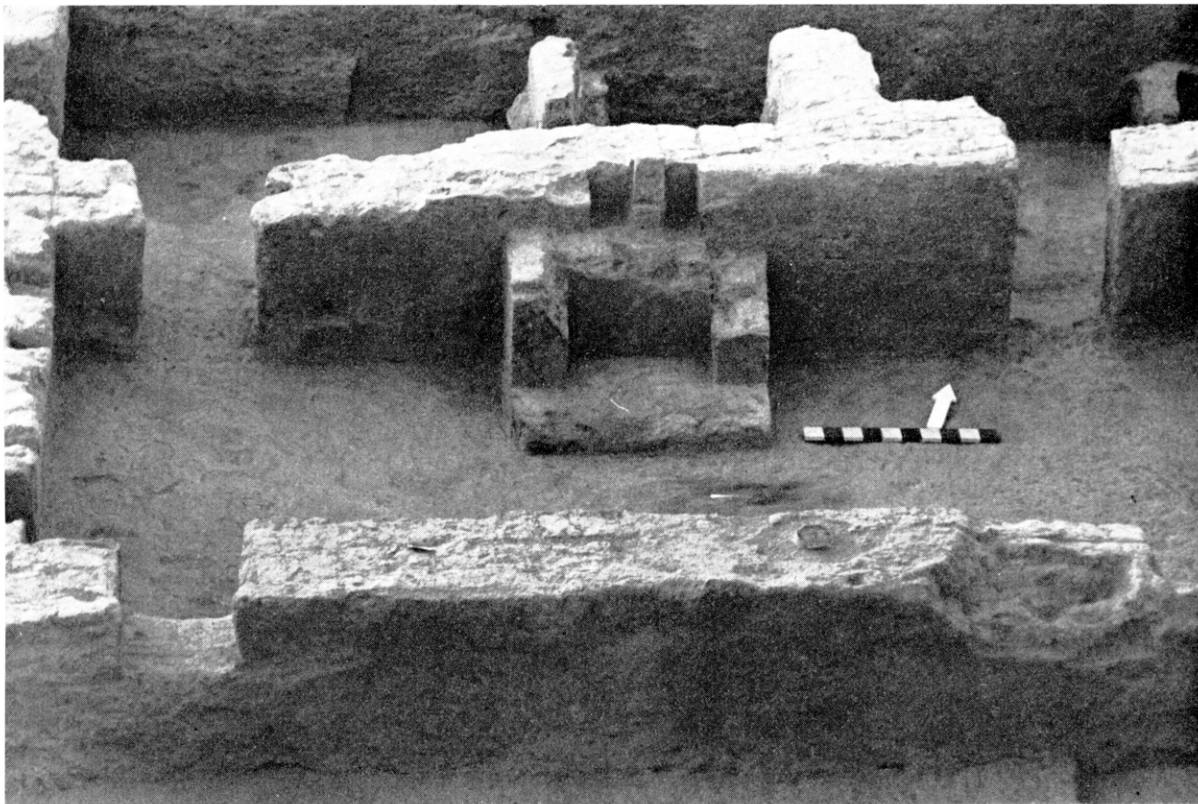
¹⁵ Falkenstein, op. cit., pp. 39-40, sign no. 139; de Mecquenem, op. cit., Pl. XXV, sign no. 1275, Pl. LIV, signs 4210-4218;

V. Scheil, *Textes de Comptabilité Proto-Elamites*, M.D.P. XVII (Paris, 1923), Pl. XLIII: 303r.

¹⁶ H. Frankfort, *Progress of the Work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/35*, OIC 20 (1936), p. 20, Fig. 19; P. Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, OIP LXIII (Chicago, 1952), p. 34; P. Delougaz, H. D. Hill and S. Lloyd, *Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region* OIP LXXXVIII (Chicago, 1967), p. 2.



Pl. I. View looking east across the architectural remains of Godin V:1 in the Deep Sounding. The northern building with its main salon, room 18, is in the upper left centre of the picture.



Pl. IIa. Close-up of the hearth against the north wall of room 18.



Pl. IIb. Close-up of the cooking hearth in room 6 with a fire box to the right and a plaster griddle laid over a bed of pebbles on the left.



Pl. III. The lowest layer of the in situ pottery and small finds scattered on the floor of room 18. The northern half of the room had been cleaned in an earlier stage of the excavations.



Pl. IVa. Impression of a cylinder seal from Godin V, Gd. 73-210.



Pl. IVb. Impression of a cylinder seal from Godin V, Gd. 73-260.

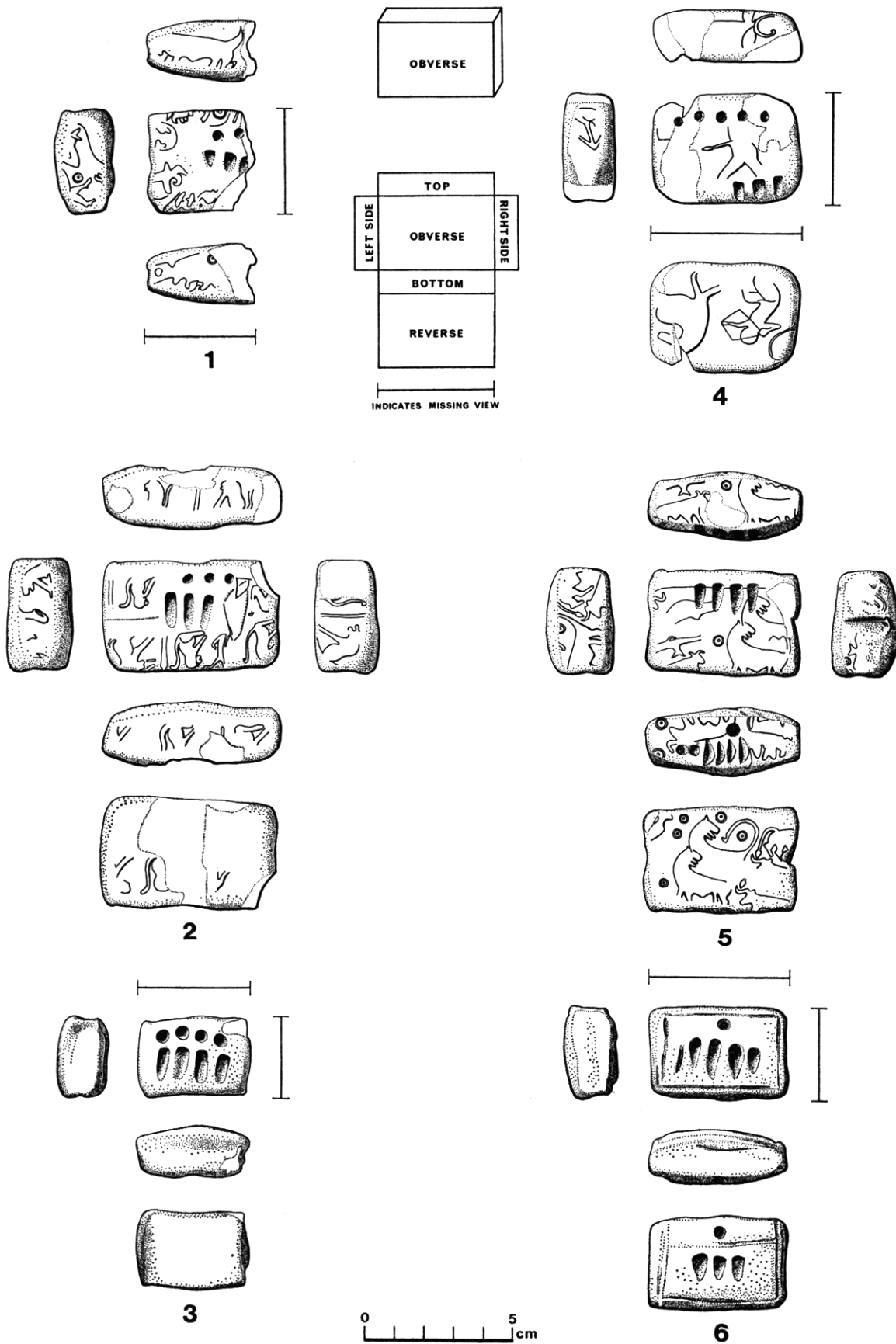


Fig. 4. A selection of tablets from Godin V.

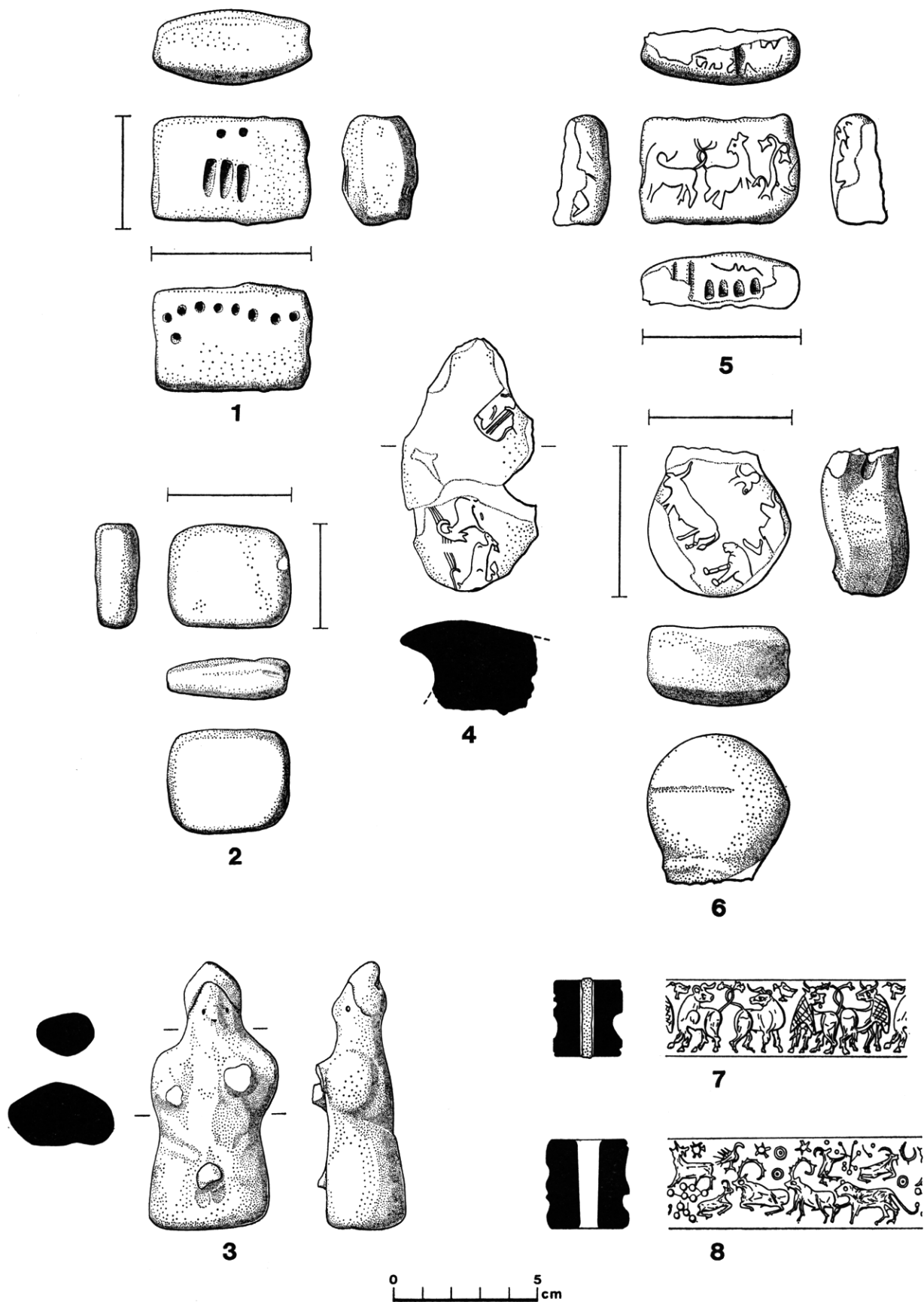


Fig. 5. Selected tablets and other small finds from Godin V.

An unspecified number of numerical notation tablets bearing seal impressions are reported from what appears to be a Late Uruk period settlement at Habuba Kabira.¹⁷ This assemblage has also yielded seal impressions similar to some found at contemporary Warka and Susa, and four-lugged jars similar to Gd. 73-403 (Fig. 3:1a).

The eighteen numerical notation tablets and fragments from Sialk IV₁ include five with proto-Elamite signs.¹⁸ Although there are glyptic parallels between the assemblages of Susa Acropolis level 17 and Sialk IV₁, and some parallels with the Godin V tablets, Sialk IV₁ is probably not contemporary with Godin V and dates no earlier than Susa Acropolis 16.

Sealed numerical notation tablets are reported from Proto-literate Chogha Mish, but no further information on them is as yet available.¹⁹ The context of a tablet fragment with numerical notations from Tall-i Ghazir is uncertain, although the stratum from which it came is identified as "proto-Elamite".²⁰

Although a large number of numerical notation tablets from Warka have yet to be published in detail, it is abundantly clear that many are rectangular, blunt-edged, slightly convex-convex, and fall within the range of the Godin tablet sizes.²¹ The sealings on these tablets share a number of well-known elements with those of Susa Ca/b and with Godin V as well.

Though these Warka—Godin V parallels are clear, yet it is the tablets from Susa which can best be genetically related to those of Godin V. Within the several series of Susa tablets distinguished by Amiet, two present close parallels to the Godin V tablets. Four tablets with numerical notations, one of which is also inscribed with an arrow-shaped sign, conform to the Godin tablets in size and shape. They come from Susa Ca/b.²² The sealings on this group of tablets include two designs present on the Godin tablets, *amphikyphelloi* and archers (see below). Eight tablets of another grouping assigned to Susa Cc are described as rectangular and "fortement bombées, en forme de coussinets".²³ Three of these bear one pictographic sign in addition to their numerical notations. The dimensions of two of these tablets are given and conform to the sizes of the Godin tablets. The depiction of running caprids is a seal design element common to this group of tablets and to the Godin glyptic assemblage. Some tablets also bear impressions with "ovals" and "fish" designs which Amiet relates to the impressions present in Susa Acropolis level 17.²⁴ The one numerical notation tablet from Susa Acropolis level 17 is similar in shape and size to those from Godin V.²⁵ Finally, although the Susa Acropolis level 17 assemblage does not include tablets which employ a pictographic sign, the common sealings of the Godin V and the Susa Cc tablets which employ a pictographic sign indicate that the latter are probably contemporary with Susa Acropolis level 17.

In sum, a fair number of complex parallels can be drawn between Godin V tablets and tablets from Susa Ca/b, Cc and Acropolis level 17. Significantly, several of these parallels involve design elements which are common to the Godin and Susa assemblages, but which are not found at Warka.

Glyptic

A total of thirteen seal-impressed tablets, four sealed jar stopper fragments and two cylinder seals were recovered dating to Period V. Except for one cylinder seal, everything came from a good stratigraphic context within the oval enclosure. The seal Gd. 73-210 (Fig. 5:8 and Pl. IVa) can be assigned to Period V only on stylistic grounds, for it was found inside a Period IV mud brick. No particular concentration of glyptic materials could be observed in the deposit, though the majority of the jar sealings and sealing fragments, both seal impressed and plain, came from in or around rooms 10, 12 and 13 and from areas 9 and 11 in the courtyard. The presence of a seal blank indicates that at least some Godin seals were produced locally. No glyptic materials were recovered from the Brick Kiln Cut.

¹⁷ E. Strommenger, "Ausgrabungen in Habuba Kabira und Mumbaqt", *Archiv für Orientforschung* 24 (1973), pp. 168-71.

¹⁸ R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk I* (Paris, 1938), p. 67, Pl. XCII.

¹⁹ P. Delougaz, *Memorial Volume, Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, 1968 I* (Tehran, 1972), p. 27.

²⁰ D. Whitcomb, *The Proto-Elamite Period at Tall-i Ghazir* (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Georgia, 1971), p. 31, Pl. XI:A.

²¹ E.g., van Dijk, *U.V.B. XVI* (1960), p. 57, Taf. 29c, g; 30e, h; 31a, b.

²² P. Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne des Origines à l'Epoque des Perses achéménides, M.D.A.I. XLIII* (1972), Nos. 602, 604, 629, 657.

²³ Ibid., pp. 129, 292; nos. 925-8, 2318-21.

²⁴ P. Amiet, "La glyptique de l'Acropole (1969-1971)", *Cahiers DAFI I* (1971), p. 225.

²⁵ Le Brun, *op. cit.*, Fig. 44:8.

The following selected tablet sealings, seals and bullae fragments illustrate the chronological and spatial range of possible influences on the Godin V glyptic. Our discussion focuses on only a few specific design elements and their occurrence elsewhere. A systematic and complete analysis of the Period V seals and seal impressions will be presented in our final report.²⁶

The tablet fragment, Gd. 73-54 (Fig. 4:1), was rolled, perhaps with two different seals, on the obverse and extant three sides. The reverse of this tablet seems to have been scraped clean of any impression. The obverse, upper left, preserves a still legible impression of an *amphikyphellos*, one of the recurrent features of Warka V-IV and Susa Ca/b impressions on both tablets and jar stoppers.²⁷ The recent excavations on the Acropolis at Susa produced one example of this motif on a numerical notation tablet from level 17.²⁸ The Godin sealing is unique in its use of the "drill centred circle" with the *amphikyphellos*. One other Godin V tablet, not illustrated, has a seal impression with an *amphikyphellos* (Gd. 73-161).

One seal was twice rolled over the obverse of the tablet Gd. 73-295 (Fig. 4:2) and once over its two edges and reverse. Seated lions with forepaws set straight, and with raised, curled tails also occur on impressions from the Warka Limestone Temple and in Susa Ca/b.²⁹ The stakes set between the lions resemble those between seated bears on a sealed clay counter from Susa assigned to Susa Ca/b.³⁰

Two different seals may have been rolled over the obverse and reverse of the tablet Gd. 73-320 (Fig. 4:4). A squatting archer with drawn bow occurs on numerical notation tablets of Susa Ca/b;³¹ a standing archer appears on a numerical notation tablet with one pictographic sign assigned to the same group.³²

The complete tablet Gd. 73-64 (Fig. 4:5) was rolled by one seal over all its surfaces. Rearward glancing lions with forward curled tails occur in Warka IV and Susa Ca/b.³³ One impression from the latter context presents all the components of Gd. 73-64 with the exception of drill centred circles; another presents a similar lion in association with an *amphikyphellos*.³⁴

The unbaked jar sealing Gd. 73-326 (Fig. 5:4) bears the impression of running goats similar in position and style to those which first occur at Susa in Cc levels.³⁵ Sin Temple IV and V at Khafajah are the earliest that similar seals appear in the Diyala.³⁶ A comparable impression recovered from Warka was assigned to the "Jemdet Nasr" period. Earlier depictions of running goats occur at these sites, but not in this style. The lines which pass by the horns of the Godin impression's goats do not seem to be related to the streamers attached to the goats on earlier Susa impressions, and remain enigmatic.

The tablet Gd. 73-153 (Fig. 5:5) was seal impressed on all extant surfaces. The rearward glancing lions with intertwined tails occur on Warka V-IV and Susa Ca/b glyptic. The stylized tree, however, only occurs on seal impressions of proto-Elamite levels, Cc-Da at Susa.³⁷

Two files of bulls and lions, probably led by a human figure, appear on the jar stopper Gd. 73-329 (Fig. 5:6). Similar animal processions are known from Susa, e.g. on a clay counter bulla dated to Ca/b, and from Warka sealings dated to Eanna IV.³⁸

We have been unable to locate any good parallels for either of the two cylinder seals from Godin V (Fig. 5:7 and 8, Pl. IVa and b). The seal Gd. 73-210 (Fig. 5:8) is particularly interesting in that its drill design is unique, although its individual design elements are well known. Drill centred circles and radial stars are used as fillers in the composition. Indeed, the use of drill centred circles (*cercle pointé*) as a filler is a significant general characteristic of the Godin V glyptic. It also occurs on four of thirteen tablet sealings (Gd. 73-54, -64, Fig. 4:1 and 5; and Gd. 73-297 and -319 not illustrated). Drill centred circles and radial stars are elements of a "regional" style of seals, usually of glazed

²⁶ Miss Mina Sadegh is undertaking this study.

²⁷ E. Schott, *U.V.B. V* (1934), Taf. 26:b; 28:a; Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne*, nos. 501, 535, 536.

²⁸ Le Brun, op. cit., Fig. 44:1.

²⁹ E. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde aus den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk, ADFU I* (Berlin, 1936), Taf. 15:g; Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne*, nos. 501, 535, 536.

³⁰ Ibid., no. 574.

³¹ Ibid., nos. 601, 602.

³² Ibid., no. 604.

³³ Schott, op. cit., Taf. 26:f; Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne*, no. 521.

³⁴ Ibid., nos. 521, 537.

³⁵ Ibid., nos. 921, 924, 931.

³⁶ H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region, OIP LXXII* (Chicago, 1955), nos. 76, 219.

³⁷ Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne*, nos. 997, 1000, 1014.

³⁸ Ibid., no. 549; H. Lenzen, *U.V.B. XXIV* (1968), Taf. 19:a.

steatite, which Le Breton identified at Susa, in the Diyala and in northern Mesopotamia,³⁹ and to which distribution we can add the 'Amuq.⁴⁰ From earlier excavations at Susa the use of drill centred circles is documented in four stylistic contexts, all dated to Susa Cc.⁴¹ Recent excavations at Susa produced one seal of glazed steatite, lacking drill centred circles but in this "regional" style from Acropolis level 16.⁴² One seal which uses a radial drill centred circle star as filler for an animal representation design comes from Acropolis level 17. Amiet assigns this seal to the "regional" style.⁴³

The origin and transmission of the "regional" style has been discussed by several scholars without achieving a consensus.⁴⁴ More research and discussion is needed. Suffice it to note here that the appearance of the "regional" style in Susa Acropolis level 17 suggests that the style appears in Khuzistan at least as early as it does elsewhere. Until more evidence is in hand, the use of drill centred circles in the glyptic of Godin V should probably be linked with the earliest appearance of this feature in Susa Acropolis level 17. It should be noted that the stylized, almost geometric patterns of plants and animals, which apart from the drill centred circles characterized the "regional" style, are not present at Godin Tepe. This perhaps suggests that the *floruit* of this style in Susa Cc is later than Godin V.

In the end, if we assume that the Godin V glyptic is the product of a single source of foreign influence, and given the present nature of the data that is perhaps wise, then that source, despite glyptic parallels with Warka, is most probably Susa. *Amphikyphelei*, heraldic lions, seated lions, and animal files are all design elements shared by Susa, Warka and Godin V. The squatting archer, stylized plant, and the use of drill centred circles, however, are specific to Susa and Godin. The date of the Susa parallels is, with two exceptions, Susa Ca/b. Running goats such as appear on the Godin jar sealing Gd. 73-326 (Fig. 5:4) and the stylized plant on Gd. 73-153 (Fig. 5:5) are both features of Susa Cc, though the former has antecedents in Susa Cb. It would not be surprising, of course, if certain elements of the Susa Cc glyptic had their origins as early as Susa Acropolis level 17.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Period V, as distinct from Period VI at Godin, represents a relatively short occupation. There is no occupational or chronological gap between these two periods. Indeed, the ceramic traditions of Period VI, a local central western Iranian phenomenon, continued into Period V. In contrast, the latter represents a cultural phase with strong connections beyond the Godin region. In a certain sense, therefore, Period V could be described as no more than a phase of major foreign influence at Godin coming late in Period VI.

Elements betraying these foreign contacts are found in both the Brick Kiln Cut and the Deep Sounding, but are most frequent and noticeable in the latter context. Furthermore, the two contexts themselves are strikingly dissimilar. In the Deep Sounding we have a large monumental building complex surrounded by an oval enclosure wall standing on the ancient top of the mound. The buildings within this compound show signs in form and content of having had both public and private functions. The northern and eastern buildings were most probably secular, public structures with either a political or economic function, or both.⁴⁵ Room 6, in contrast, was probably a private apartment. Other rooms served as gate structures or store rooms. The rooms excavated in the Brick Kiln Cut at the base of the Citadel Mound were quite different. Here are the remains of prosperous, private village houses.

One interpretation which emerges from these data suggests that the foreigners, or the element of the local society most influenced by foreign ways or most closely in contact with foreigners, were living in

³⁹ L. Le Breton, "The Early Periods at Susa, Mesopotamian Relations", *Iraq* XIX (1957), p. 108.

⁴⁰ R. J. and L. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I*, OIP LXI (Chicago, 1960), Figs. 254:2, 3; 297:5.

⁴¹ First group, Amiet, *Glyptique Susienne*, nos. 825, 828, 879, 881. Second group, *ibid.*, nos. 1036, 1041, 1043, 1044, 1055, 1056, 1065. Third group, *e.g.*, *ibid.*, nos. 1086, 1151. Fourth group, *ibid.*, nos. 1049, 1055, 1063.

⁴² Le Brun, *op. cit.*, Fig. 59:4.

⁴³ P. Amiet, "La glyptique de l'Acropole", p. 222; Fig. 44:5.

⁴⁴ *E.g.* U. Moortgat-Coorens, "Bemerkungen zur Glyptik des Diyala Gebietes", *O.L.Z.* LIV (1959), p. 342-54; R. H. Dyson, Jr., "The Relative Chronology of Iran, 6000-2000 B.C.", *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, p. 225; W. Nagel, *Djandat Nasr-Kulturen und Frühdynastische Buntkeramiker*, *Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 8 (Berlin, 1964), p. 44.

⁴⁵ It might be tempting to see either the northern or the eastern buildings of the complex as religious structures, but there is no evidence from Godin which suggests this is the case.

somewhat isolated circumstances on the summit of the mound, while the people occupying the lower town, though touched by these outside influences, generally pursued older, more local cultural patterns, perhaps in more traditional ways.

Eventually, the oval enclosure on the top of the mound was abandoned in some haste, but probably not violently destroyed. We may assume the rest of the site was abandoned at about the same time. In a short while a completely new culture, totally unrelated to anything heretofore known from Godin, replaced the culture of Period V on the mound.⁴⁶

On the whole, this much is clear from Godin itself. Our ability to isolate more precisely some of those foreign influences in Godin V, however, makes it possible to carry our interpretation still further. The closest parallels for the foreign elements in the Godin V assemblage are found in lowland Greater Mesopotamia at Susa, Warka and perhaps Khafajah. Our discussion of pottery, tablets and glyptic, however, has in each instance led us to Susa and Khuzistan as the site and area with the closest and most numerous connections with Godin V. Leaving aside for now the important question of what the relations between the several regions within lowland Greater Mesopotamia may have been, a subject which might profitably be re-examined in the light of recent discoveries in the highlands, let us assume here that the simplest explanation of our data is that the source for the exogenous influences found in Godin V is Susa.

We are then faced with three possible explanations for the presence of these materials at Godin Tepe: production at Susa followed by transport to Godin, local production by the indigenous Godin population, or local production by Susians. On the whole the last explanation seems more probable. We have already mentioned the evidence for local production in the form of seal and tablet blanks, to which might be added the difficulty of transporting large quantities of bevelled rim bowls and four-lugged jars from Khuzistan to the Kangavar valley. It is possible that indigenous potters were producing excellent imitations of Susa-related ceramics at Godin, but this seems much less likely as an explanation for the Godin V seals and tablets. The recording of economic transactions on sealed numerical notation tablets involves a complex of highly conventionalized actions. The replication in considerable detail of a Susian recording system at Godin by indigenous scribes and seal cutters seems improbable. More likely than not, the Period V "acropolis" tablets, seals and ceramics were the product of resident Susians engaged in commercial transactions at Godin Tepe.

What sorts of commercial transaction were involved? Again accepting the simplest explanation given the evidence available, we suggest that the Godin V oval enclosure on the summit of the mound was a Susian trading post immediately supported by a local agricultural village or town. Such an entrepôt could have been involved in long distance trade, in strictly local trade, or in both. Let us here consider the former possibility in some detail.

A Susian trading post at Godin Tepe would have served ably as a tap controlling and furthering the flow of trade channelled along the Khorasan Road. Although we have not identified within the Godin V assemblage the goods or materials which might have been the object of such trade, certainly the Godin tablets could be records of such trade transactions and of goods destined not for Godin but for points further west and perhaps for Susa itself. Under circumstances of deposition and abandonment which might be quite different from those which obtained at Godin, at both Sialk IV and Yahya IVC proto-Elamite tablets occur with such goods within assemblages whose mix of indigenous and Susa-related ceramics could be a slightly later analogue to that of Godin Tepe.⁴⁷

Susa's sudden and relatively short-lived control of Godin for purposes of trade could be involved in shifting patterns of the lapis lazuli trade which followed the Khorasan Road. Lapis lazuli, as well as ceramic and glyptic styles, passed freely along the Khorasan Road throughout the periods of Gawra XIII-XI. By late Uruk Gawra IX, however, these imports slacken off, almost disappearing by Gawra VIIIC. Even prior to the excavation of Godin V, Georgina Herrmann suggested that the demise of

⁴⁶ Godin IV represents a penetration southeastwards of the "Early Transcaucasian Culture" or "Yanik Culture", centred in the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia and first excavated in Iran at Yanik Tepe in Azerbaijan. See C. A.

Burney and D. M. Lang, *The People of the Hills* (London, 1972), p. 59; *First Progress Report*, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁷ J. R. Alden, *The Question of Trade in Proto-Elamite Iran* (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1973).

this trade "was due to Elamite expansion onto the plateau, which blocked the route to the northern (Mesopotamian) cities, and which acquired control of the trade for Susa".⁴⁸

The suggestion that it was through Godin, and perhaps similar sites along the Khorasan Road, that Susa tapped the northern trade route for lapis lazuli and other goods requires some evidence for a mechanism by which these materials were transferred from this area to Susa. Our attention is drawn to the large Uruk period sites which dominate the valleys of western Luristan. Here, according to their surveyor, "the closest parallels for the buff ware assemblages, both in shape and fabric, come from Godin V".⁴⁹ Goff's further observation that the "Jemdet Nasr phase in Mesopotamia . . . does not seem to be represented in Luristan by a change in culture" may very well indicate that with the abandonment of sites like Godin V Susa's interest in Luristan ceased.⁵⁰

The departure of Susian traders from Godin Tepe at the end of Period V could be seen to correspond with the disruption of trade further east along the Khorasan Road caused by the arrival of the Yanik Culture in the area. Moving along the eastern flanks of the Alvand alignment, the people who brought the Yanik Culture south from Azerbaijan and the Caucasus, first crossed the Khorasan Road in large numbers in the Hamadan plain, some 100 km. east of Godin.⁵¹ Shortly after the abandonment of Godin V, the Yanik Culture, represented locally by Godin IV, arrived in the Kangavar valley. Perhaps at about the same time it also appeared at Malayer, some 50 km. further south. This latter occupation is "reported to underlie sherds of Susa D type", suggesting that the start of the Yanik Culture's control of the Hamadan plain further north could be contemporaneous with late Susa C and thus not very long after the start of the Susian settlement of Godin V.⁵² This interruption of trade routes further east could be an explanation for the abandonment of Godin V and the retreat of the Susian traders from central western Iran.

Yet Susa probably remained interested in the Khorasan Road and northern trade routes. Sialk, safely east of the Yanik Culture's intrusion, was settled by Susians now employing proto-Elamite signs on their tablets and thus coming to the edge of the Dasht-i Kavir shortly after the abandonment of Godin V. Unfortunately, the end of the Sialk IV occupation remains ambiguous. Finally, during Susa Acropolis levels 16-14B times Susa's persistent interest in an eastern trade was directed along the south-eastern route which passed through Tall-i Ghazir (Stake 10 Room), Malyan (Banesh Building Level II) and Yahya IVC.

In summary, we have presented for discussion some of the exogenous components of the Godin V assemblage in their architectural and stratigraphic setting. We have established the settlement's relative chronology, identified Susa as the prime source of foreign influences and Susians as the local producers of the Godin V assemblage, and have then concluded that Godin V was a Susa-controlled trading post. Following this we have tried to view Godin within a sequential pattern of Susian trade expansion: the tapping of the Khorasan Road, the disruption of that trade flow by the intrusion of the people bearing the Yanik Culture, the re-establishment of Susa's trade with the east through Sialk, and then the shift to the south-eastern trade route through Tall-i Ghazir, Malyan and Yahya.

This presentation is, of course, both sketchy and hypothetical. A complete and systematic examination of the Godin V material will no doubt encourage us to revise these suggestions and may lead to entirely different conclusions. Yet even so preliminary an inspection and interpretation of the Godin V assemblage has allowed us to phrase entirely new sets of questions about lowland-plateau relationships in Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr times.

On a primary level, through an analysis of the Godin V assemblage and its foreign relations, we are now concerned with a refinement of the relative chronology of the plateau and the lowlands in this period and of the indices by which to evaluate the source of outside influences on the plateau. On another level we are concerned with the nature of the contacts behind those connections. While we

⁴⁸ G. Herrmann, "Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of Its Trade", *Iraq* XXX (1968), pp. 36, 37, 53, after P. R. S. Moorey.

⁴⁹ C. L. Goff, "Luristan Before the Iron Age", *Iran* IX (1971), p. 145.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ R. H. Dyson, Jr., "The Archaeological Evidence of the Second Millennium B.C. on the Persian Plateau", *C.A.H.* II, 3rd ed., pp. 14-16.

⁵² Ibid.

have posited a trading function for the Godin V settlement, we are still searching for direct evidence of the objects traded. Thus on yet a third level we are concerned with the system of that trade itself. Lacking tangible evidence of the goods traded, we are not in a position to understand the economics of this trade. Both parties, however, were finding it either profitable or an absorbable expense. Nowhere at Godin do we find evidence for an indigenous resistance to the Susian presence. On the contrary, our data indicate that the children, and perhaps the grandchildren, of the Period VI residents continued to live at Godin Tepe after the Period V traders arrived. This despite the fact that where the houses of an indigenous Period VI population once stood on the summit of the mound we suddenly find an enclosed compound of foreigners. By what means was this at least locally symbolic domination of Godin achieved?

From these observations and concerns follows a series of questions. What were the mechanisms by which this Susian outpost was maintained? Are the legumes and grains stored in room 22 local products acquired from indigenous farmers, or local products harvested by landowning Susians? Can we relate the manufacture of bevelled rim bowls and their presence in both the Deep Sounding and the Brick Kiln Cut to the control and distribution of these comestibles?

Looking to a still wider horizon our attention is drawn to the need to examine the large Uruk period sites in the valleys of Luristan. Might these, as Goff has suggested, represent indigenous, intra-valley consolidations of social and economic power, or are they stages on a trade system? Even more intriguing are the valleys west of Godin along the Khorasan Road. The presence of several large Uruk period sites in the Mahi Dasht and Shahabad valleys must be included in any future integration of the data. These large and fertile intermontane plains control the westernmost passage of the Khorasan Road before it reaches the lowlands of the Diyala. In Late Uruk times they stood midway between settlements like Godin and Khafajah, which at least shared the use of numerical notation tablets. Did trade along the Khorasan Road continue west into the Diyala and thence into southern Mesopotamia? And what of connections between Susa and the Diyala, so clearly seen in seal motifs of Susa Cc times? Might Godin V be the result of an expansion of influence from the Diyala into the highlands?

As the search creates the questions, so the questions direct the search. It is time to do some work in the Mahi Dasht.⁵³

⁵³ We wish to thank the following people who helped us in preparing this article. Claus Breede, who took the photographs and did the pottery and architectural drawings: Linda Ritchie, who drew the small finds: Louis Levine,

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CATALOGUE

<i>Fig. No.</i>	<i>Field No.</i>	<i>Description</i>
3:1	Gd. 73-114	Red slipped Coarse Ware. Reddish. Burnished. Wheelmade.
3:1a	Gd. 73-403	Cream slipped Common Ware. Cream buff. Smoothed. Wheelmade. Smoke-blackened in spots on the inside. Shoulder incised with three bands of hatched triangles.
3:2	Gd. 73-214	Red slipped Common Ware. Red. Faint bands of red or black paint on carination. Partly smoke-blackened on outside. Smoothed. Wheelmade.
3:2a	Gd. 73-230	Cream slipped Common Ware. Cream. Smoothed. Handmade.
3:3	BOI 83	Shallow bevelled rim bowl. Plain, straw-tempered Coarse Ware. Tan. Matte. Handmade.
3:4	Gd. 73-314	Large shallow bevelled rim bowl. Plain, straw-tempered Coarse Ware. Tan. Matte. Smoothed inside. Handmade. Finger sweeps on outside.
3:5	Gd. 73-117	Deep bevelled rim bowl. Plain straw-tempered Coarse Ware. Red buff. Matte. Large white stone inclusions.
4:1	Gd. 73-54	Tablet fragment. Well-levigated clay. No visible inclusions. Reverse scraped clean.
4:2	Gd. 73 295	Tablet. Medium well-levigated clay. Some visible inclusions. Mica flakes. Surfaces fairly rough.
4:3	Gd. 73-290	Tablet. Well-levigated clay. No visible inclusions. Some mica flakes. Smoke-blackened.
4:4	Gd. 73-320	Tablet. Poorly levigated. Some large inclusions visible. Mica flakes.
4:5	Gd. 73-64	Tablet. Well-levigated clay. Smoke-blackened and semi-fired from secondary burning.
4:6	Gd. 73-286	Tablet. Well-levigated clay. No visible inclusions. Mica flakes.
5:1	Gd. 73-292	Tablet. Medium well-levigated clay. Some inclusions visible. Surfaces fairly rough.
5:2	Gd. 73-285	Tablet blank. Well-levigated clay. Mica flakes.
5:3	Gd. 73-300	Human figurine. Probably female. Well-levigated clay. Some visible inclusions. Appliqué hairdo. Punched eyes and mouth. Pinched nose. Arms broken. Appliqué navel originally held in place with a stick. Scraped smooth in one area on back.
5:4	Gd. 73-326	Clay stopper for a wide-mouthed jar. Medium well-levigated clay. Visible inclusions. Mark of jar rim on underside.
5:5	Gd. 73-153	Tablet fragment. Well-levigated clay. No visible inclusions. Rather crudely moulded.
5:6	Gd. 73-329	Clay bulla. Poorly levigated clay. Large grit inclusions and mica flakes.
5:7	Gd. 73-260	Stone cylinder seal. Black stone. Remains of copper or bronze pin in centre hole.
5:8	Gd. 73-210	Stone cylinder seal. Grey-green stone. Unusually wide centre hole.