

THE ORIGINS OF KHABUR WARE: A TENTATIVE NOTE

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In the appendix of her synthetic study of Khabur ware, Carol Hamlin, referring to the problem of the origins of Khabur ware, has enumerated ceramic groups which may have affected, or may have given a stimulus to, the appearance of Khabur ware [Hamlin 1971: pp.311-313]. It goes without saying that for a long time before Hamlin's brief discussion, there had been several arguments for explaining the origin of Khabur ware. Nevertheless, it is a fact that such a problem still remains enigmatic, which should be solved in future studies.

Pieces of evidence for the earliest appearance of Khabur ware now appear to be clear, in particular which come from three sites in north Iraq, *i.e.*, Tell al-Rimah, Tell Taya and Tell Jigan [Oguchi 1997: p.196; *idem* 1998: p.119 with n.3](see Fig.7). Such a phase as is represented by Rimah area AS phase 3 (now described as site A level 4), Taya level IV and Jigan area C trench G-4 levels 3a-b is presumably dated between ca. 1900 B.C. and ca. 1814 B.C., which the present writer has called Khabur Ware Period 1. We may be thus inclined to believe that this indicates the place in which Khabur ware originated. The problem lies, however, in that 20th century B.C. pottery¹⁾ succeeding late third millennium incised ceramic tradition²⁾ was replaced by the painted pottery termed Khabur ware. In other words, what is the point of this problem is the reason for the recurrence in north Mesopotamia of painted decoration on pottery, *i.e.*, an apparent abrupt change in ceramic style in 19th century B.C. north Mesopotamia³⁾. In this opportunity of writing, the present writer attempts to explore every possibility in terms of what influenced the appearance of the painted pottery designated as Khabur ware.

Divergent views

Up to the present, there have been three divergent opinions on the origin of Khabur ware: an eastern origin, a western origin, and indigenoussness to north Mesopotamia. Now added to these is the possibility of a northern origin.

Eastern origin

The eastern origin was substantially proposed by M.E.L. Mallowan [1937: pp.103-104 and p.145], although before such a proposal, E.A. Speiser pronounced a northeast origin on what was later called Khabur ware in terms of ethnic movements⁴⁾ [1933: p.273]. Mallowan sought an area proposed for the source of its origin into western Iran, choosing Tepe Giyan as a specific site, where there was a continuity of a northern origin.

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1) The occurrence in the north of 20th century B.C. pottery including southern early Isin-Larsa types is said to have been now attested at Tell Brak (Oates & Oates, 1994: p.171; Oates, Oates & MacDonald 1997: p.62). This is indeed important evidence for filling (or a gap between late third millennium pottery and Khabur ware in north Mesopotamia. However, because Brak, lying at a crossing of routes linking the upper Khabur basin with the Sinjar-Afar plain, Akkur and the farther south, is a specific site certainly providing evidence of southern connections, there arises a question as to whether the same ceramic occurrence as at Brak can be confirmed at other sites in north Mesopotamia. If not, we must be confronted with the serious problem of how to identify the presence of occupation in 20th century B.C. north Mesopotamia (cf. Weiss *et al.* 1993: p.999ff. for "Khabur hiatus" phase 3). At any rate, we wait for the second final report on the excavations at Brak, including the details of this 20th century B.C. pottery, to be published.

2) In brief, this is the pottery represented by the types known from levels IX-VI at Tell Taya or from the pre-Akkadian, Akkadian and post-Akkadian levels of Tell Brak.

3) Here, it is additionally noted that in the past, this was connected with the migration of Hurrians (see Mallowan 1947: pp.24-25). But such a theory has now been regarded as invalid.

4) Speiser specified no site for the origin of Khabur ware; instead, he speculated that the inhabitants of Billia stratum 4, yielding Khabur ware, might be the forerunners of Assyrians, who came in from the northeast, *i.e.*, "Zair", who raided Babylon later on [1933: p.273 with n.30]. The ethnic term "Zair", mentioned by Speiser, obviously indicates the English term "Hitite" that is generally used to

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（丸岡 1987: fig. 12; Nahratha 1981: 45ff）
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ous tradition of painted pottery. He, pointing out in Giyan II the occurrence of ceramics closely related to Khabur ware, concluded from the given date of the Giyan stratum II painted pottery (ca. 1800–1400 B.C.) that it was contemporary with Chagar Bazar Khabur ware. Thus he regarded Giyan III painted pottery (ca. 2500–1800 B.C.), originating in Giyan IV, as its ancestor (see Fig. 1). This view was sub-

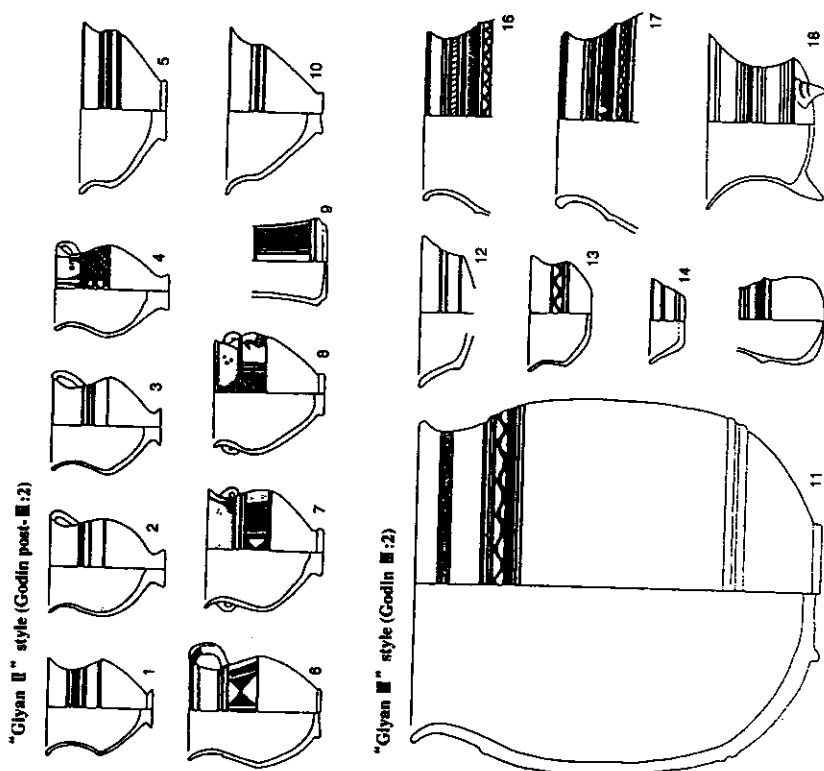


Fig. 1 "Giyān" painted pottery from Godin Tepe (scale 1:5).

1. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:10.
2. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:11.
3. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:8.
4. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:5.
5. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:13.
6. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:6.
7. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:4.
8. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:2.
9. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:7.
10. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 17:12.
11. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 15:3.
12. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 16:13.
13. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 16:12.
14. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 16:10.
15. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 14:10.
16. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 14:16.
17. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 14:17.
18. Henrickson 1986: Fig. 16:1.

describe a people speaking a language relating to the Indo-European family; it should be, therefore, confounded with the term "Hittite" that is widely adopted to express a native Anatolian people speaking a non-Indo-European language [Gurney 1973: pp. 230–231; Hallo & Simpson 1971: p. 94].

sequently espoused by Marian Welker [1948: p. 19] and Barthel Hrouda⁵ [1957: p. 41], although the chronology of Giyan itself was very problematical⁶. A decade later, T. Cuyler Young, Jr. carried out excavations at Godin Tepe, with the result that they provided the evidence that should make it possible to give a much clearer picture of the Giyan ceramic sequence. In his study on the chronology of the late third and second millennia B.C. in central western Iran, based on the results of the Godin excavations, Young suggested that the Giyan II ceramic material found in the upper levels of Godin III⁷ might show "a foreign element" in postulating that there would be the certain relationship between Giyan II and Khabur wares [1969: p. 290]. In this connection, Robert H. Dyson, Jr. also pointed out that there were obvious affinities between the Giyan II pottery, found at Tepe Giyan and Godin Tepe, and the Dinkha painted ware that was generally recognized as the counterpart of Khabur ware found commonly in north Mesopotamia [1973: p. 708 and cf. p. 711].

However, there arose an argument against the eastern origin of Khabur ware: Carol Hamlin argued that the Giyan II and Godin III painted wares were different from the Dinkha Khabur ware both in shape and in decorative motifs [1971: p. 142 and pp. 144–145]. If her claim is correct, the possibility of the eastern origin must be excluded from consideration. Another counterargument was made by Diana L. Stein; she refutes it in that Khabur ware predates part of the Giyan II painted ceramic assemblage and in that the Giyan II assemblage, representing an intrusive element, differs from that of Giyan IV–III [1984: p. 26]. Thus the claim of the derivation of Khabur ware from "Giyān" pottery was theoretically denied.

Western origin

The western origin of Khabur ware was, on the other hand, suggested by Ann Perkins [1954: p. 50] and Edith Porada [1965: p. 172]. The pottery specified there as the ancestry of Khabur ware is Syro-Cilician painted pottery⁸, first clearly defined by M. V. Seton-Williams⁹ [1953: p. 57ff.] though previously discussed by Marian Welker [1948: p. 205ff.]. This painted pottery is normally monochrome¹⁰, and is mainly characterized by jugs and carinated bowls either with or without pedestals; its main distribution spreads out over Cilicia and north Syria¹¹. It was usually said to somehow resemble Khabur ware; this is one of the arguments for supporting the theory that Khabur ware must be derived from Syro-Cilician pottery (see Fig. 2). The resemblance may be also shown by the fact that both the wares

5) Hrouda has recently retracted his opinion on the Giyan origin of Khabur ware [1989: p. 212].

6) What matters at Tepe Giyan is the fact that the chronology is based on ceramic materials from graves [Hamlin 1971: p. 21]. For the problem of the Giyan chronology, see Dyson 1973: p. 692ff.

7) The chronology of Godin III has recently elucidated by Robert C. Henrickson through his study of the development of the Godin III ceramic tradition [1986]. He suggests that Giyan III can be equated with Godin III:2 (ca. 1800–1600 B.C.) and Giyan II with Godin post-III:2 graves (ca. 1600–1400 B.C.) [1986: p. 19, p. 24 and p. 26, and cf. Fig. 3 on p. 28].

8) This painted pottery is variously termed—as "Syrian (painted) ware" [Hrouda 1957; Gales 1981; Stein 1984], "Cilician (painted) ware" [Hamlin 1971], and "Amuq-Cilician (painted) ware" [Tubb 1981; McClellan 1989; Heitz 1992]. Cf. Seton-Williams 1953: p. 57. The term "Syro-Cilician painted pottery" is adopted, for example, by Gerstenblith [1983].

9) Seton-Williams herself suggests that both Cilician and Khabur wares have the same eastern origin, in accordance with Millwright's suggestion on the origin of Khabur ware [1953: p. 64].

10) Tubb points out that although only one colour of paint is normally applied, there are occasional cases of bichrome decoration [1981: p. 403; cf. 1983: p. 52], while Gerstenblith indicates that such cases are only of colour variation resulting uneven firing [1983: p. 69]. In addition, Seton-Williams writes that the paint applied to the smaller vessels is lustrous, while the paint applied to the larger vessels is occasionally matt [1953: p. 58]. According to also Seton-Williams, although the vessels are usually hand-made, there are also wheel-made examples [1953: p. 58]. Hrouda, however, writes that the sharply formed profile with a clear rim-edge of the pottery suggests that it was manufactured on a potter's wheel, though the earliest examples seem hand-made [1957: p. 27].

11) The main sites that produced Syro-Cilician pottery are as follows:—Tell Atchane-Alalah (levels XVIII–XVIII/VII) and Tell Judaidah (periods VIII–VII = Amuq phases K–L) in the Amuq plain, Tarsus (MB levels), Kurami (MB levels), Mersin (levels XI–IX) and several other sites in the Cilician plain. Kültepe-Kanis (Kuram levels IV and II) in central Anatolia, Tilinen Hüyük (levels IIIa and IIb) in the Kahayye plain of Turkey, several sites along the Qoseiq river of north Syria, Tell Mardikh-Ebla (the "Tomb of the Princess", dating in part to the MB IIA period) in inland northwest Syria, Hamu (period H), Mishrif-Qana (Tomb I) and Tell Nebi Meno-Qadesh (in MB IIA level) along the Orontes river of inland Syria, and Ras Shamra-Ugarit (a single example) in the Syrian coast [Tubb 1981: p. 403 and pp. 405–406; *idem* 1983: pp. 50–52].

Stein 1984: p.26; cf. Hamlin 1971: pp.181-182). It was also supported by the fact that at Kültepe, Syro-Cilician painted pottery was found in *Karum* IV and II, while Khabur ware, discovered in *Karum* Ib, was not found in the underlying levels. IV-II [D.L., Stein 1984: p.26].

Against such a view as Khabur ware being derived from Syro-Cilician painted pottery, however, an argument was raised by D.L. Stein. She regarded the differences in shape and in design composition between the two painted wares as important rather than the few parallels between their individual elements of design [1984: p.26]¹⁶. Grounding her argument on this matter and also emphasizing the discrepancy between their distributions, Stein refuted the view on the western origin.

With regard to the western origin of Khabur ware, there is another candidate for its ancestry, which is so-called "MBIIA Palestinian painted ware", distributed over Palestine and the Levantine coast (see Fig.3). It was first believed that this pottery could be traced back to the Khabur region, and thus that it was derived from Khabur ware. The proponent of this idea is Ruth Amiran, who, elucidating similarities and differences between these two wares, postulated that there was some relations between them [1969: pp.113-115]. Further, in a discussion from a chronological point of view, she thought that the floruit of the MBIIA ware in Palestine might accord with the date of Khabur ware, the early 18th century B.C.¹⁷, determined through epigraphic evidence [1969: p.118]¹⁸. However, such an idea was later refuted by Patty Gerstenblith [1983] who supported Amiran's view regarding the relations between the two wares. Directing attention to band-painted store jars of MBIIA Palestinian ware¹⁹, which, in her opinion, fall within the range of Khabur ware but should be treated as belonging to the group of Syro-Cilician pottery, Gerstenblith pointed out that such store jars had been introduced into north Mesopotamia, where they were to be termed Khabur ware [1983: pp.59-60 and pp.63-64]. Of interest are her arguments for such a hypothesis. She argues that "the store jars in the Levant were in use only during the beginning of the MB I period" which means Amiran's MB IIA²⁰, while such band-painted jars did not appear in north Mesopotamia by the time of the last phase of MB I if we relied on epigraphic evidence²¹.

15) However, it is noted here that Alalakh level VII is now generally dated ca. 1750-1650/20 B.C. by its archive and a historical event mentioned in the *Bagdadkiy text* [Collon 1975: p.143], and that the introduction of Khabur ware in north Mesopotamia now should be dated no later than the early 19th century B.C. [Oguchi 1987: p.198; cf. *idem*, 2000: Fig.6 on pp.118-119]. Further, we must take it into consideration that Heinz's study [1982] proves that Khabur ware occurs in Alalakh level VIII [see Oguchi 1998: p.126]. Such a demonstration as was done in the past is, therefore, now invalid.

16) Tubb also states that "Khabur ware bears no resemblance whatsoever" to Syro-Cilician ware [1983: p.55].

17) Cf. note 15 in this article, for the upper date of Khabur ware, or Oguchi 1987: p.198 and p.205. Moreover, it should be remembered here that in the past, the approximate date for the beginning of Khabur ware was set in the reign of Šamsi-Adad I (ca. 1813-1781 B.C. on the middle chronology) on the ground of epigraphic evidence from Chagar Bazar, and thus that a date of ca. 1800 B.C. given by Mallowan for the introduction of Khabur ware in quantity continued to be used mistakenly as the upper date of Khabur ware in related studies, for which see and cf. Mallowan 1947: pp.82-83.

18) Amiran assigned the Middle Bronze Age I to ca. 2000/1950-1730 B.C. Here, it should be noted that there are divergent opinions regarding the terminological system of the Middle Bronze Age I see Dever 1973: Fig.1 on p.38; Gerstenblith 1983: Table 1 on p.31.

19) Gerstenblith provisionally terms them "Khabur" ware store jars" of the Levant [1983: e.g. p.63].

20) Gerstenblith's terminology of the Middle Bronze Age I is used in accordance with a proposal by Oren [1973: p.37] and Dever [1973: p.56 on p.60] suggesting that there is no break between Albright's EB IV and MB I, whereas a major break occurs between his MB I and MB IIA. Thus, Gerstenblith's MB I, implying the certain beginning of MB, is used as an approximate equivalent of Albright's MB IIA (i.e. Albright's MB I = part of Gerstenblith's EB IV) [Gerstenblith 1980: p.74; *idem* 1983: pp.2-3]; but their views on absolute chronology are different. Albright, the main proponent of the low chronology, dates his MB IIA to ca. 1800-1700 B.C.; and Gerstenblith, preferring the middle chronology, dates her MB I to ca. 2000/1950-1750 B.C.

21) On the basis of ceramic chronology, Gerstenblith subdivided her MB I into three phases such as MB I A-C, and dated the early phase, MB I A, to ca. 2000/1950-1890 B.C., the middle phase, MB I B, to ca. 1800-1810/1800 B.C., and the last phase, MB I C, to ca. 1810/1800-1750 B.C. [1980: p.74; 1983: p.106]. In proceeding with her discussion, Gerstenblith was aware that if so, there arises a considerable

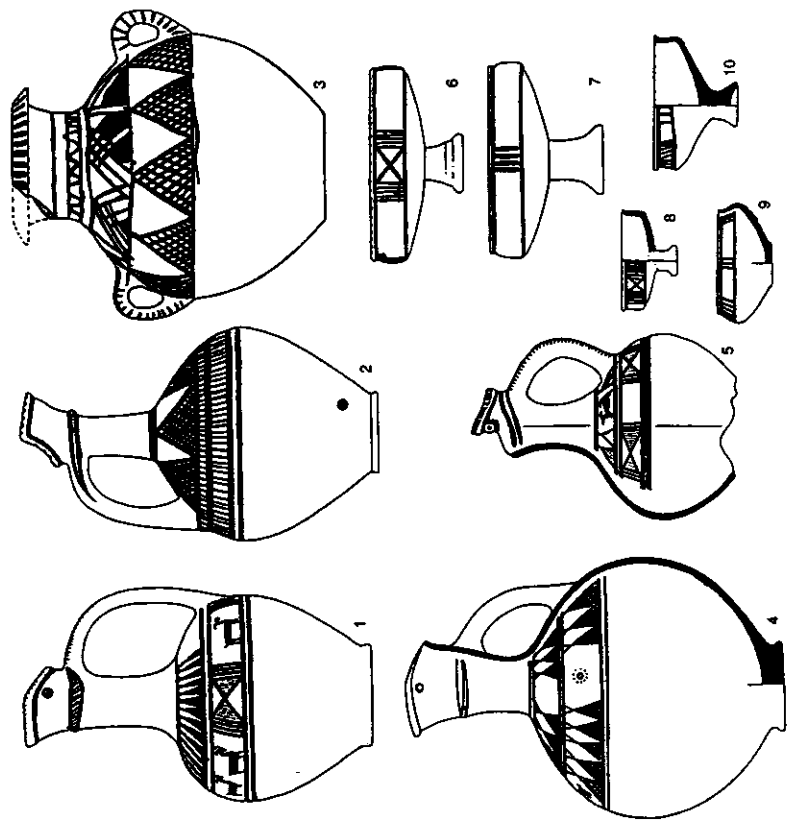


Fig. 2. Syro-Cilician painted pottery (scale 1:5).

- 1. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.3:7. Alalakh.
- 2. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.3:9. Ugarit.
- 3. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.2:13. Tarsus.
- 4. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.5:5. Mersin.
- 5. Tubb 1983: Fig.1:1. Tell Judeidah.
- 6. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.4:8. Tarsus.
- 7. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.4:11. Tarsus.
- 8. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.4:5. Mersin.
- 9. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.2:1. Mersin.
- 10. Seton-Williams 1953: Fig.4:10. Mersin.

were initially apt to be confused¹². Another argument for this theory is based on the fact that Syro-Cilician pottery predates Khabur ware¹³. This could be demonstrated on the basis of the evidence that at Alalakh, Syro-Cilician painted pottery occurred between levels XVII and VIII, but fell out of use in level VII¹⁴, which was normally considered contemporary with the introduction of Khabur ware¹⁵ [D.L.

12) Hamlin illustrates the confusion by giving examples, one of which is on Group X reported by Seton Lloyd through a survey in the Sinjar area of Iraq; she points out that this pottery group, consisting of carinated bowls with painted decoration, which was regarded by Lloyd as comparable to pottery found at Judeidah level VII and at Mersin, should be merged with his Group XII under the heading of Khabur ware [1971: p.20; cf. Lloyd 1938: p.134]. It was Welker that first distinguished between Syro-Cilician pottery and Khabur ware, in claiming "a general resemblance" between the two wares [1948: p.205].

13) Welker, who supported the eastern origin of Khabur ware, thought that Khabur ware had influenced Syro-Cilician pottery [1948: p.205].

14) Woolley 1955: p.241, on which he writes that the so-called "early local painted pottery" this types, 23, 70 and 119), which is identified with Syro-Cilician painted pottery, occurs in level XVI and continues up to level VIII, but it falls out of use in level VII and then revives in a way in levels VI-V. However, the pottery type-list presented by Woolley in his report shows that one of its types of Syro-Cilician

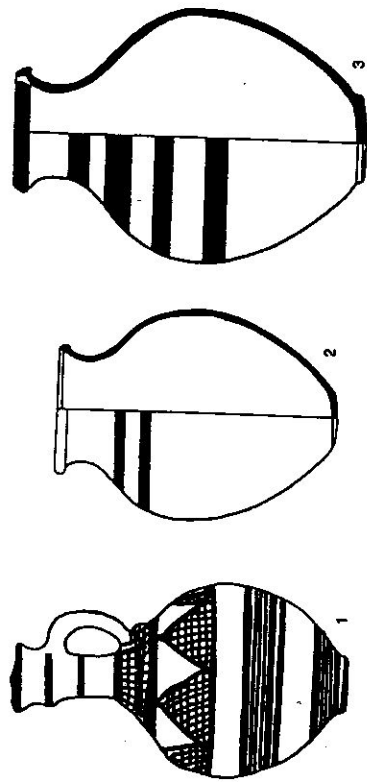


Fig. 3 MBIIA Palestinian painted ware (scale 1:5).

1. Amiran 1969: Pl.35:7. Ras el-Ain.
2. Amiran 1969: Pl.35:11. Megiddo.
3. Amiran 1969: Pl.35:12. Megiddo.

and further that there might be a causal mechanism for their introduction into north Mesopotamia, which was the export of liquids such as wine and olive oil, transported by using such vessels, from the Levant into north Mesopotamia, as documented in the Mari texts [Gerstenblith 1983: pp.63–64].

As opposed to both the views of Amiran and Gerstenblith, however, there is an opinion given by Jonathan N. Tubb who considers that MBIIA Palestinian painted ware, also termed "Levantine painted pottery", is stylistically different from Syro-Cilician ware [1983: p.53]. His opinion is that "the apparent similarity between MBIIA Palestinian painted ware and painted Habur ware must be purely fortuitous", and that "the resemblance is only superficial and arises solely as a function of the extreme simplicity of many of the designs of each group"; thus he suggests that the Palestinian/Levantine painted pottery tradition is unrelated to that of the Khabur region [1983: p.55]. In this way, Amiran's theory that MBIIA Palestinian ware is a descendant of Khabur ware has been denied. Had Tubb known Gerstenblith's theory that Khabur ware was descended from Levantine painted store jars, he would have also denied it. After Tubb, Amihai Mazar also states that "the relation between the painted pottery of the Habur region and that of Syria and Palestine is not entirely clear" [1990: p.183 and also see n.17 on p.228].

Contenders along the middle Euphrates and in inland Syria

In addition to the ceramic groups noted above regarding the western origin of Khabur ware, there is also another candidate, which is the third millennium band-painted pottery that Hartmut Kühne treated as a painted variant of "metallic ware (= stone ware)"²² (see Fig.4). Although whether this kind of band-

able chronological gap between the occurrence of the painted store jars in the Levant (MB IA) and the appearance, dated in the past to ca. 1800 B.C., of Khabur ware jars in north Mesopotamia (MB IC). In this respect, however, Gerstenblith insisted that the date of Khabur ware could be estimated to be earlier than that supported by epigraphic evidence [1983: pp.63–64].

22) For this third millennium band-painted pottery, see Kühne 1976: pp.67–70 and Abb.D. In addition, in 1987 the present writer had an opportunity to see this sort of band-painted pottery, stored in the *Prähistorische Staatssammlung* of Munich. The museum material, said to be brought from sites along the middle Euphrates, was certainly the painted pottery itself concerned here with the matter in question. The present writer was convinced there that this sort of band-painted pottery could not be placed in the category of "metallic ware", and he became aware of the fact that there were cases where horizontal regular turning marks were observed on the lower part of each vessel, rather than ring-burnishing marks. The latter fact reminded him that the presence of horizontal, regular and smooth turning marks on vessel exteriors was characteristic of late third millennium north Mesopotamian pottery, represented by the material from Tell Tayyeh. Here, I would like especially to thank Professor Dr. Barthelemy Hrouda for permission to see the material stored in the museum, and Dr. Peter Sponos for providing actual access to the material.

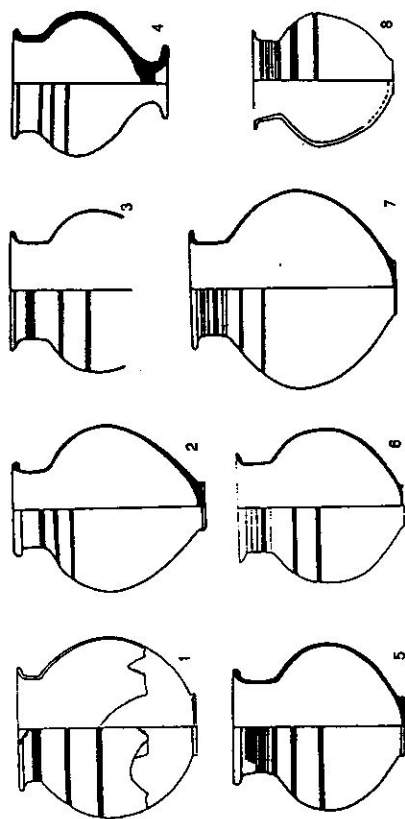


Fig. 4 3rd millennium band-painted pottery distributed along the middle Euphrates (scale 1:5).

1. Mallowan 1946: Fig.11:9. Tell Jidle.
2. Dornemann 1977: Fig.13:30. Tell Hadidi.
3. Dornemann 1977: Fig.13:3. Tell Hadidi.
4. Kühne 1976: Abb. D:4. Til Barsip.
5. Dornemann 1977: Fig.13:17. Tell Hadidi.
6. Kelly-Buccellati & Shelby 1977: Fig.24:TPR 4 60. Terqa.
7. Dornemann 1977: Fig.13:26. Tell Hadidi.
8. Moon 1987: no.363 on p.76. Abu Salabikh.

painted pottery can be described as "metallic ware" is a matter for argument, it is a fact that it is superficially similar to a band-painted type of Khabur ware, as illustrated with the fact that in the past Mallowan misread such an example of band-painted pottery from Tell Jidle level 4 as Khabur ware²³. The band-painted pottery from Harran that Key Prag called "early" or "eggshell" Khabur ware²⁴ is included in this ceramic category. The Harran pottery, decorated with horizontal bands of matt orange or red paint, is spirally ring-burnished at spaces [Prag 1970: p.79]. The Jidle 4 band-painted specimen is also ring-burnished²⁵ [Mallowan 1946: p.134]. The presence of such burnish marks on vessel exteriors is a distinctive feature of this band-painted ceramic group.

While the dating of this ceramic group seems somewhat problematical, Kühne dates it towards the end of the Early Dynastic period on the basis of material from Tell Chuera/Huwaira [Kühne 1976: p.70], and Prag, to the mid-third millennium B.C., not later than ca. 2400 B.C., on the ground of the fact that it was stratified at Harran in her phase II, datable to Early Dynastic II–III, where "stone-ware" was also found [Prag 1970: p.71, esp. p.75 and pp.79–81].

Besides Harran, Chuera and Jidle, the sites that are recognizable as yielding the band-painted pottery in question are Selenahiye (phase II)²⁶ and Tell Hadidi (EB tomb deposits)²⁷ in the Tabqa Dam area, Tell Ahmar-Til Barsip (the "hypogeum")²⁸, Hammam (graves)²⁹ and Amarna (graves)³⁰, on the Euphrates upstream of the Tabqa Dam area, and Tell Hariri-Mari (Ritar temple level d)³¹ and Tell 'Ashara-

23) See Mallowan 1946: p.134 and Fig.11:9. For Kühne's argument against Mallowan's identification, see Kühne 1976: pp.69–70.

24) This ware differs from Khabur ware occurring in early second millennium north Mesopotamia, which should not be therefore confused with genuine Khabur ware, in particular in the case where the term early Khabur ware, translated from *al-irra* Khabur ware, is used.

25) The term "ring-burnishing" was also used by C.L. Woolley [1914]. Woolley explains there that "the burnish line starts in the middle of the bottom of the pot and is taken up in a close spiral to the rim" [1914: p.91].

26) van Loon 1977: p.110.

27) See Dornemann 1977: Fig.13 on p.124.

28) See Thureau-Dangin & Dunand 1936: Fig.29 on p.101.

29) See Woolley 1914: pl.XXXII.

30) Prag 1970: p.81 with n.72.

31) See Parrot 1956: p.220 and Fig.107: 1548, 1549 on p.222.

Terga (mid-third millennium level 5 in SGS)³² on the middle Euphrates (cf. Prag 1970: pp. 79–81 and Kihne 1976: p. 68). The distribution of this band-painted pottery stretches in fact along the middle Euphrates valley³³, from which it diverges, showing sporadic occurrences at Jilde and Harran on the Balikh, at Chera in the area between the Balikh and the Khabur river, at Tarsus (EB II contexts)³⁴ in the Cilician plain, and at Abu Salabikh (ED IIIA graves)³⁵ in south Mesopotamia.

If the date of this kind of band-painted pottery can be extended into the Akkadian period of the north and/or thereafter, it becomes weighty as a key candidate when the origins of Khabur ware are discussed.

On the other hand, in inland Syria there is a site yielding third millennium band-painted pottery which may be added here as a candidate for the western origin of Khabur ware (see Fig. 5). The site is Tell Mardikh-Ebla, where band-painted pottery has been found in the horizon of EB IV, in particular in Mardikh IIB1 represented by "Royal Palace G" [Matthiae 1977: Fig. 16 on p. 97; Mazzoni 1985: Fig. 3.2.4.5.11.12.16, and 1994: Figs. 4–5 and Fig. 6.2]. This Ebla pottery is characterized by plain-rimmed jars decorated with horizontal bands of red or black paint [Mazzoni 1985: pp. 1–2], among which smaller versions are regarded as drinking vessels which Stefania Mazzoni terms "painted deep cups" [Mazzoni 1994: p. 250]. If the occurrence at Ebla of this kind of band-painted pottery is confined in Mardikh IIB1, it should be dated no later than the destruction of Ebla by Sargon of Akkad. Rather in this respect and further in respect of banded decoration, the discussion of this Ebla painted pottery may be concerned with the band-painted pottery distributed along the middle Euphrates and just noted above.

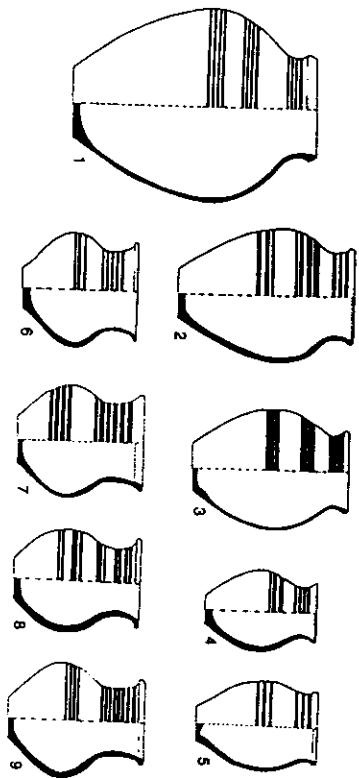


Fig. 5 EB IV band-painted pottery from Ebla (scale 1:5).

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 6.2. | 6. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 4.4. |
| 2. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 4.10. | 7. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 5.1. |
| 3. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 4.8. | 8. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 5.4. |
| 4. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 4.2. | 9. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 5.2. |
| 5. Mazzoni 1994: Fig. 4.3. | |

Indigeneity to north Mesopotamia

Another opinion regarding the origin of Khabur ware is the claim that Khabur ware is an indig-

enous north Mesopotamian product, i.e., the north Mesopotamian origin.

In explaining Khabur ware from Kültepe Karum Ib in his book, Charles Burney regards it as indigenous to north Mesopotamia, though adducing no particular reasons [1977: p. 137]. Further, prior to Burney, there is a suggestion, made by Hamlin, that there is evidence for an indigenous painted pottery tradition in northern Mesopotamia [Hamlin 1971: p. 313]. Hamlin, taking up so-called "early" or "egg-shell" Khabur ware³⁶ and Akšur Išar temple D painted pottery from among painted pottery groups which predate Khabur ware and which "may have contributed to its typological make-up", discussed them but concluded that there was no conclusive evidence for the relations between the two ceramic groups and Khabur ware [1971: pp. 311–313]. Instead, however, she pointed out that in northern Mesopotamia, there were "unpainted pottery shapes which predate similar shapes associated with Khabur ware", suggesting the presence of an indigenous tradition relating to Khabur ware [1971: p. 313]. Next, it was D. L. Stein who elucidated the indigeneity of Khabur ware to north Mesopotamia [1984: Pay-iting attention to the presence of the pottery that might be considered transitional between earlier incised or relief ware and Khabur ware, Stein asserted that "Khabur ware was an indigenous north Mesopotamian development", and that "this development... was neither as sudden, nor as radical as originally claimed" [1984: p. 26]. The possible transitional pottery³⁷, pointed out by Stein, was that illustrated with examples of the decorative style combining painting with incised and relief designs, known from Chagar Bazar (level 1), Tell Billa (stratum 4), Tell Taya (level 4) and Tell al-Rimah (area AS phase 3) [1984: p. 22].

Northern origin

The painted pottery that occurs in the Malatya-Erzincan region (now also described as the Keban and Karakaya Dam Project areas) in the third millennium B.C. is a topic for our further discussing the origins of Khabur ware³⁸.

This pottery is said to be of "a local style of painted pottery evolved in the Upper Euphrates region around Malatya and Erzincan", which "is found together with the burnished wares" that one may term "Early Trans-Caucasian" pottery originating in the Kura and Araxes valleys of Trans-Caucasia [Sagona 1984: p. 68]. At any rate, the painted pottery is thus called "Malatya-Erzincan painted pottery" or "painted Malatya-Erzincan ware" [Sagona 1984: p. 68; *idem* 1994: e.g. pp. 45–46]. Of important in another aspect is the fact that the Malatya-Erzincan region is marked as lying at the western extremity of the "Early Trans-Caucasian cultural zone" of which the term has been proposed by Charles Burney [Burney & Lang 1971: pp. 44–45 with a map]. Burney's term "Early Trans-Caucasian culture", showing a widespread material culture which extends from Trans-Caucasia southwards to Lake Urmia and southwards to eastern Anatolia during the third millennium B.C.³⁹, is generally accepted by western archaeologists, as pointed out by Antonio G. Sagona⁴⁰. We are thus inclined to describe the painted pottery in question as "Early Trans-Caucasian painted pottery", although its occurrence is confined to the Malatya-Erzincan region, a sub-province of the "Early Trans-Caucasian culture", where the sudden appearance of painted pottery is a matter in dispute⁴¹.

36) See note 24 in this article.

37) For the view of the transitional pottery, see also J. Oates, 1970: p. 17.

38) This was one of the topics given by Mr. Charles Burney, supervisor for my Ph.D. studies, when I was at Manchester. Since then I have left this topic untouched, but on this occasion of writing, I have decided to take it into consideration as an interesting problem. I would like most sincerely to thank Mr. Burney, also distinguished as the proponent of the "Early Trans-Caucasian culture", for having given me this particular topic.

39) Burney & Lang 1971: p. 43; Burney 1977: p. 128. Burney also suggests that this cultural sphere, exhibiting uniformity in the first period, is known diversity in the final period with the result that smaller cultural sub-provinces appear [1977: p. 128]. One of the sub-provinces is the Malatya-Erzincan area, in which a local style of painted pottery evolved [Burney 1977: p. 130]. As for the "Early Trans-Caucasian culture", moreover, a principal problem lies in the fact that it shows directions of expansion beyond the main cultural zone [see Burney & Lang 1971: the map on p. 45], which it however a disputed point beyond the scope of the present article.

40) Sagona 1984: p. 15.

41) Marro 1997: p. 201ff.

32) See Kelly-Buccellati & Shelly 1977: Fig. 24:TPR 4 60 and Fig. 25:TPR 4 62.

33) See note 22 in the present article. The *Profithronische Staatsverwaltung* of Munich stores a number of third millennium band-painted pottery vessels, all of which are said to be from sites along the middle Euphrates. This also gives a hint about its distribution.

34) Prag 1970: p. 70 with n. 68.

35) See Moon 1987: no. 365 on p. 76 and no. 366 on p. 77.

Burney suggests that the date of this painted pottery falls within the EB III horizon (ca. 2200–2000 B.C.) of the Malatya-Ealziğ region [1958: pp.205–208 with a chronological table]. Further, taking a broad view of this matter in question, he regards its appearance as a change in the southwestern part of the "Early Trans-Caucasian cultural zone" in the "Early Trans-Caucasian III period"⁴² [Burney & Lang 1971: p.64; Burney 1977: p.130]. According to Burney, this kind of pottery, painted most commonly in brownish black though sometimes actually in black, consists largely of globular jars and inverted-rim bowls in shape, with such fundamental decorative design as groups of chevrons between broad bands [Burney 1958: p.205 and Figs.244–285 on p.203].

The recent study by Catherine Marro of this painted pottery, however, suggests that the first appearance of this kind of painted pottery falls in EB II⁴³, and that the painted pottery separating into some groups in EB II trends towards uniformity in EB III, which is the time when the "Malatya-Ealziğ style" of pottery was completed⁴⁴ [Marro 1997: pp.201–202]⁴⁵ (see Fig.6). According to Marro, this painted pottery in EB II varies in style from place to place, such as styles found in the Altunova (the rich plain lying southeast of Ealziğ), in the Aşvan valley (the Murat basin) and in the Malatya area, respectively [Marro 1997: p.202].

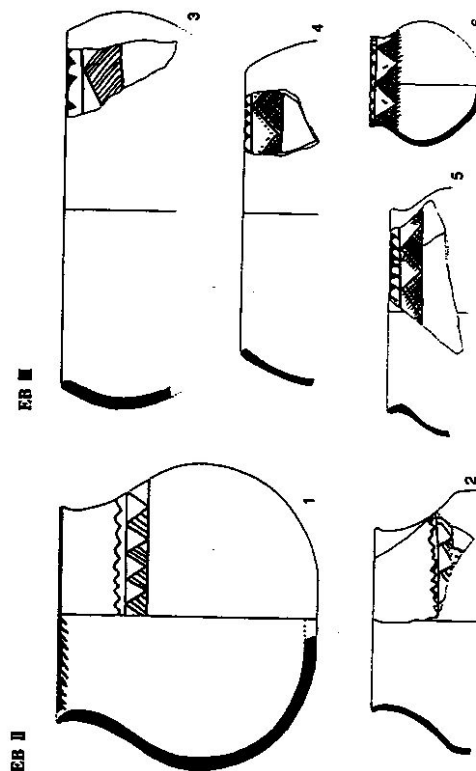


Fig. 6 "Early Trans-Caucasian" / "Malatya-Ealziğ" painted pottery (scale 1:5).

EB II

1. Marro 1997: Pl.34:J53 v5 or Pl.55:D11 v2. Tepeçik.
2. Marro 1997: Pl.25:J32 or Pl.55:D11 v1. Pulur.

EB III

3. Marro 1997: Pl.7:P11 v3 or Pl.58:E14. Tepeçik.
4. Marro 1997: Pl.8:P11 v5 or Pl.59:E18. Tepeçik.
5. Marro 1997: Pl.17:P51 v1 or Pl.58:E11. Tepeçik.
6. Marro 1997: Pl.11:P13 v1 or Pl.59:E15 (= Hauptmann 1976: Pl.53:7). Norsuntepe.

42) Burney also proposed the terms "Early Trans-Caucasian I-II" for denoting three stages of development of the culture, and the final phase is "Earl Trans-Caucasian III" [Burney & Lang 1971: p.46; Burney 1977: p.128].

43) For this, see also Sagona 1994: p.16.

44) That is the Malatya-Ealziğ painted pottery once illustrated by Burney [1958: p.203]

45) In addition, on the basis of comparative study and C14 dates, Marro assigns the EB painted pottery to ca. 2850–2550 B.C., and the EB III painted pottery to ca. 2550–2200 B.C. [1997: p.201].

For instance, a style of the EB II painted pottery is represented by examples from the Aşvan valley⁴⁶. According to Sagona's report, the pottery in the Aşvan valley is painted most often in matt reddish brown, and is characterized by such a basic geometric painted design as a row of running triangles filled with oblique lines, between horizontal bands, i.e., a row of hatched triangles placed between horizontal bands [Sagona 1994: p.10]. There are also cases where a row of hatched triangles is replaced by a row of solid triangles or where a wavy line is added to horizontal bands [Sagona 1994: pp.10–11]. Needless to say, a row of hatched triangles is a decorative element of Khabur ware.

On the other hand, the best example, concerned with the present subject, of the EB III painted pottery is a painted pot from Norsuntepe in the Altunova plain [Sagona 1984: Fig.114:3 and Marro 1997: Pl.11:P13 v1 or Pl.59:E15; after Hauptmann 1976: Pl.53:7]. This painted example is decorated with a row of cross-hatched triangles, between which a dot is interposed. Such a combination of geometric motifs is in fact reminiscent of a decorative style characteristic of Khabur ware.

Perhaps more interesting here is the fact that the origin of this "Early Trans-Caucasian" / "Malatya-Ealziğ" painted pottery comes into question, as does the origin of Khabur ware. Marro suggests a possibility of the influence of the culture of the Karababa area, a dam project area further downstream of this upper Euphrates region, where a distinctive style of painted pottery, termed "Karababa painted ware" by L.C. Thissen, occurs, according to Guillermo Algaze, during the middle-late part of the Early Bronze Age⁴⁷ [1997: p.202]. In this respect, Algaze states that there may be somewhat tenuous parallels between the "Karababa painted ware" of the Ataturk (Karababa) Dam Project area and the Early Bronze II–III painted wares of the Malatya-Karakaya and Keban-Altunova areas, and that such similarities as may be seen in specific individual elements may suggest some generic connection or interaction or communication [1990: p.345].

Discussion

The foregoing indicates that in the third millennium B.C., some ceramic groups showing some similarities in painted decoration between them and Khabur ware occurred along the middle and upper Euphrates and its surrounding, and/or beyond the Euphrates valley. They are, as noted above, those which have been described as the mid- and possibly late (?) third millennium band-painted pottery distributed along the middle Euphrates, the EB IV band-painted pottery occurring at Ebla in Mardikh IIB1, and the "Early Trans-Caucasian painted pottery", dated to EB II–III, of the Malatya-Ealziğ region⁴⁸.

On the other hand, in western Iran there was a painted ceramic tradition starting before 2000 B.C. and continuing thereafter. The pottery itself bearing such a tradition can be described as "Giyani painted pottery" in general but conventional terms, which occurs at sites like Tepe Giyan and Godin Tepe. In the past, this was the most likely candidate for the origin of Khabur ware. However, what matters is the chronology itself of the Giyan painted pottery sequence, which is in fact obscure. For this problem, the recent study by Robert C. Henrickson of the Godin III ceramic sequence in chronological perspective⁴⁹ now carries weight with us. According to Henrickson, Godin III:2 (= Giyan III) is dated ca. 1900–1600 B.C., and Godin post-III:2 (= Giyan II), ca. 1600–1400 B.C. [Henrickson 1986: esp. p.19]. Further important are, as pointed out in the past, the facts that there are some similarities in decorative style between the post-III:2 (Giyani II) painted pottery of Godin Tepe and the Khabur ware of north Mesopotamia, and that the III:2 (= Giyan III) painted pottery of Godin Tepe rather differs in style from that of north Mesopotamia. If we believe Henrickson's chronology, these facts actually tempt us to

46) See Sagona 1994: Figs.116–128 on pp.159–171.

47) See Algaze 1990: pp.322–323 and see Pls.81–89.

48) The Malatya-Ealziğ region is near Ergani-Maden, a source of copper. This may enable us to discuss the relations between the Malatya-Ealziğ region and north Mesopotamia in connection with a "copper route" trending towards Mesopotamia. If the lower date of "Malatya-Ealziğ painted pottery" can be extended into the 20th century B.C., we can set up an interesting hypothesis in making a connection with Khabur ware.

49) See also note 7 in this article.

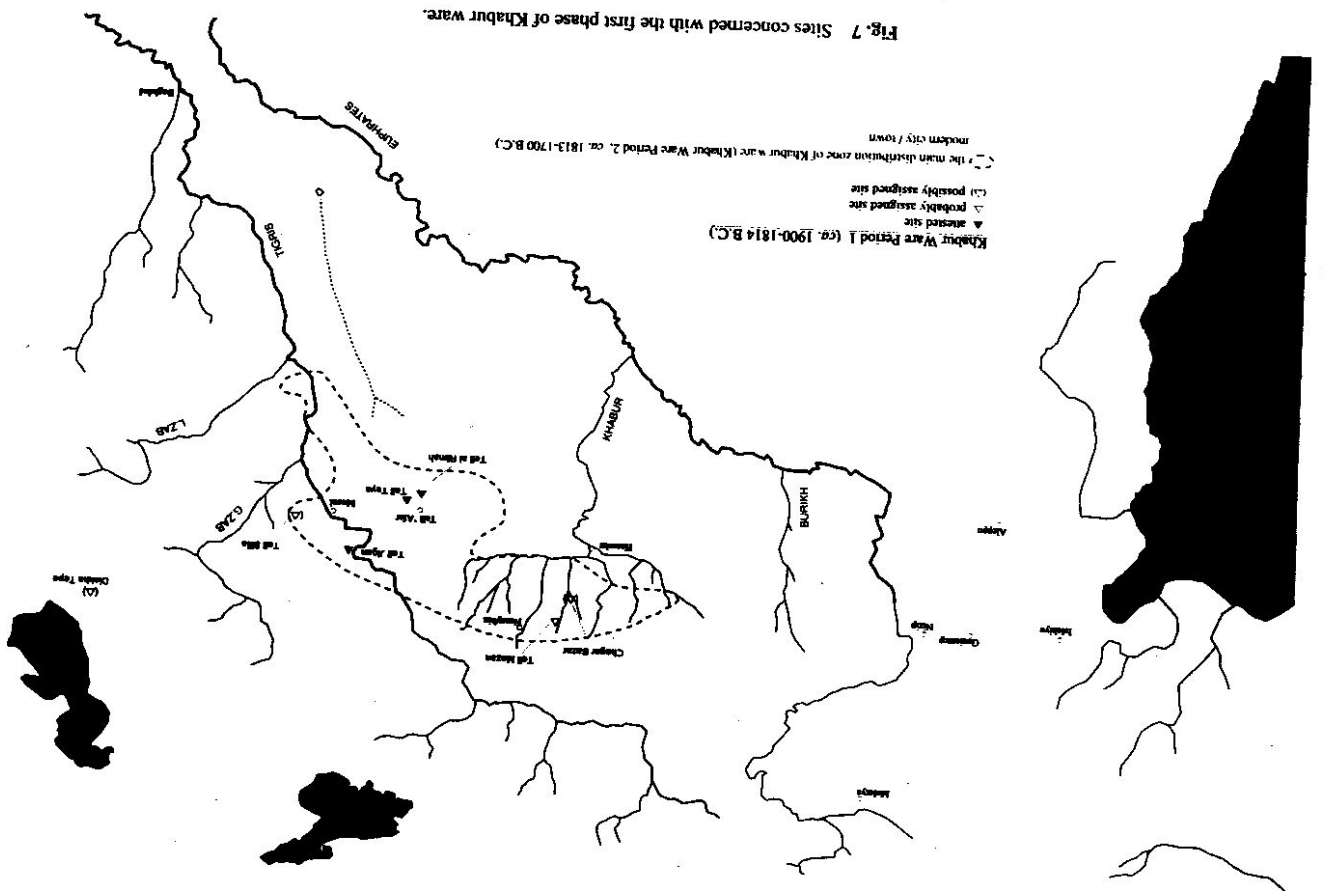


Fig. 7 Sites concerned with the first phase of Khabor ware.

suggest that the influence of the Khabor ware fashion in north Mesopotamia may have been exerted to some extent on such sites as Tepe Giyan and Godin Tepe, where stylistic elements of Khabor ware thus merged into the so-called "Giyan II painted pottery" style. If so, however, the causal mechanism of such an influence is much elusive.

In contrast with Giyan pottery, Syro-Cilician painted pottery obviously predates Khabor ware, but overlaps in the 19th century B.C. with Khabor ware. This suggests a possibility that the influence of Syro-Cilician painted pottery may have been exerted on north Mesopotamia at a stage of the development of Khabor ware. As for "MBIIA Palestinian painted pottery", it should be discussed in connection with Syro-Cilician painted pottery.

Much more attractive is the view that Khabor ware is an indigenous north Mesopotamian product deriving from north Mesopotamian ceramic tradition. However, the problems are that the floruit of such incised decorations as cross-hatched or hatched triangles occurring on north Mesopotamian pottery before the appearance of Khabor ware is in the Akkadian period of the north, and that except at Tell Brak, the substantial corpus of 20th century B.C. pottery has not yet been known at other sites in north

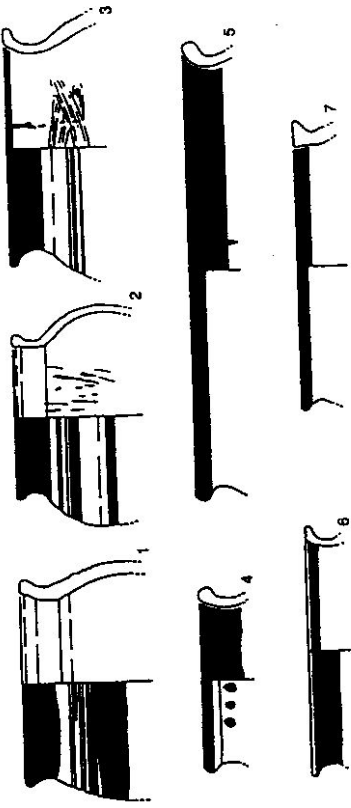


Fig. 8 The earliest examples of Khabor ware (scale 1:5).

1. Tell Jigan (Area C G-4 Level 3a). Pinkish buff ware (7.5YR 7/4), vegetable- and grit-tempered. Painting and grooving.
2. Tell Jigan (Area C G-4 Level 3b). Reddish pink ware (7.5YR 7/4), vegetable-tempered. This is well slipped in pale greenish cream on the exterior. Painting and grooving.
3. Tell Jigan (Area C G-4 Level 3a). Buff (2.5Y 8/4, 5Y 8/3) / light greenish buff (7.5Y 8/2) ware, vegetable- and grit-tempered. Painting and grooving.
4. Tell Jigan (Area C G-4 Level 3a). Light greenish buff ware (7.5Y 8/2), vegetable- and grit-tempered. Painting.
5. Tell Jigan (Area C G-4 Level 3b). Pinkish buff ware (7.5YR 7/4), vegetable- and grit-tempered. Painting.
6. Tell Jigan (Area C G-4 Level 3a). Buff ware (2.5Y 8/4, 5Y 8/3) with a pinkish buff core (7.5YR 7/4), vegetable- and grit-tempered. Painting. Grooving on the rim.
7. Tell Jigan (Area C G-4 Level 3a). Pinkish buff ware (7.5YR 7/4) with a reddish pink core (5YR 7/4, 8/4), vegetable- and grit-tempered. Painting. Grooving on the rim.

(Color reference numbers are according to the International Colour Chart (1980) edited by M. Wyszecki and G. Stiles, published by John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1981.)

Mesopotamia. In this sense, the theory of setting transitional pottery between Khabur ware and late third millennium north Mesopotamian pottery/20th century B.C. north Mesopotamian pottery has not yet been persuasive. What is now considered is a possibility that potters, when producing Khabur ware, imitated in paint the decoration of earlier incised ware which they found on the surfaces of sites⁵⁰.

In north Mesopotamia, incised pottery had a long history of use. Even after the end of incised Ninevite 5 pottery which replaced painted Ninevite 5 pottery, incised pottery continued in use throughout the late third millennium B.C. in undergoing a major, though gradual, shift from incising to combining, a special form of incisions. In fact, this continuity was maintained there despite stimuli given from the middle and upper Euphrates regions where painted pottery was in vogue, although there must have been contact or communication, even in some degree, between such Euphrates regions and north Mesopotamia. When the 19th century B.C. came, however, the application of irregular bands, or much broader bands, of paint was done on pottery (see Fig.8). Such distinctive painted pottery is the earliest Khabur ware which can be now well appreciated on archaeological evidence⁵¹. Further, it may be possible that we draw the assumption that in the course of the development of Khabur ware, major geometric motifs, such as cross-hatched or hatched triangles of paint, were adopted through the act of imitating earlier but incised decorations found on surface sherds etc. and/or through an influence exercised from the area in which Syro-Cilician painted pottery was prevalent. At any rate, however, it is a fact that we are still in a position to seek the basic reason why paint was applied at the first stage of development of the pottery marked thereafter as Khabur ware, i.e., to explain an inducement to a change from the tradition of incised pottery into the adoption of painting.

Acknowledgements

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51 In this respect, more important is the fact that among the earliest examples of Khabur ware, there is an example decorated with combined horizontal and wavy bands in addition to horizontal band(s) of paint. Such a combination of decoration is also characteristic of the earliest Khabur ware, which can be now attested at Tell Jigani in area C.
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