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FOR P.V.GLOB

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P. V. GLOB

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Fig. 1. Jamdat Nasr krukker fra gravrøser i Buraimi. Rødt overtræk med sortmalede mønstre på lys grund.

Jamdat Nasr ware from stone tombs in Buraimi. Red slip with black-painted designs on a cream background.

JAMDAT NASR FUND FRA OMAN

Af Karen Frifelt

Da P. V. Glob og T. G. Bibby i 1958 for første gang besøgte Abu Dhabi, var det efter en meddelelse fra Tim Hillyard, olieselskabet ADMA's stedlige repræsentant, som havde fundet »Bahrain gravhøje« på den lille ø Umm an-Nar tæt ved fastlandet, og foreslog en undersøgelse af dem. Den danske arkæologiske ekspedition var indstillet på at udvide undersøgelserne i Golfen, og efter denne første rekognoscering begyndte udgravningerne det følgende år. Siden da har ekspeditionen næsten hvert år arbejdet i Abu Dhabi, og nu efter det tiende besøg i vinteren og foråret 1970 kan det være passende at gøre op lidt af det, der er nået gennem disse undersøgelser.

De første udgravninger blev foretaget på Umm an-Nar. Omkring 50 stenrøser blev registreret på øen, og syv af dem blev omhyggeligt undersøgt. De er af forskellig størrelse, fra 12 m ned til knapt 1,50 m i diameter, valgt med henblik på så vidt muligt at repræsentere hele gruppen af gravhøje. Men skønt de større røser er bygget delvis af fint tilhugne stenblokke af den lokale kalksten, de mindre udelukkende af utilhugne brudsten, er der for stor overensstemmelse i konstruktionen og mellem gravgodset til at levne nogen tvivl om, at de alle tilhører samme periode, samme kultur.

Opbygning og gravgods er af Knud Thorvildsen beskrevet i en foreløbig rapport (1) og vil senere blive udførligt publiceret. Her skal kun fremdrages nogle få ting af betydning for dateringen og for forbindelserne, både de fjernere ad søvejen og dem, der peger ind i landet mod Buraimi oasen.

Thorvildsen påpegede ligheden med Kulli kulturen (2). Således er bl. a. pukkeloksen, der findes afbildet på Kulli keramik, også kendt fra to Umm an-Nar krukker. I løbet af de senere år har flere udgravninger i den sydøstlige del af Persien skaffet mere sammenligningsmateriale til veje. I Bampur har Beatrice de Cardi fra snit gennem en tell fremdraget mængder af malet keramik. Hendes periode IV viser forbindelse med Kulli, og det er også klart, at der er adskillige lighedspunkter mellem Umm an-Nar kar (fig. 2) og en del former og ornamentter fra Bampur (3). Det samme gælder Mundigak i Afghanistan, hvor især periode IV må sammenlignes med Umm an-Nar (4).

Direkte forbindelse, som påpeget af de Cardi (5), viser en sortmalet grå keramik: små tætte krukker med skulderknæk og geometriske mønstre eller med friser af gazeller eller geder (fig. 2F) i sort eller brun bemaling. Der er fundet yderst få af dem i Umm an-Nar gravene – kun et enkelt eksempel med dyrefrise – men fragmenter af endnu nogle stykker kendes som gravgods små 200 km inde i landet i Buraimi oasen, eller som den hedder i Abu Dhabi: Østprovinsen.

Buraimi oasen ved foden af Oman bjergene måler omkring 20 x 30 km, omfatter altså ikke noget stort område, men den er frugtbar, med rette berømt for sit rigelige og gode vand, som fra gammel tid i undergrunds-kanaler ledes ned fra bjergene. Det var derfor ikke overraskende at finde en gruppe grave af samme konstruktion og fra samme periode som røserne på Umm an-Nar, kun med den forskel, at den eneste hidtil udgravede, øst for landsbyen Hili, har vist sig at være endnu rigere på keramik og mere imponerende i opbygning end gravene ved kysten.

Stenblokkene, der her er af den lokale sandsten, er større, reliefferne på dørstenene af mennesker, oryx, æsel og løver (6) er mere monumentale end kamelerne, oryxen og tyren (uden pukkel) på Umm an-Nar stenene.

Det er fristende at kalde bygningen et tempel. Der er da heller ikke fundet skeletrester af gravlagte som på Umm an-Nar, hvor gravene viste spor af gentagne gravlægninger; men det kan forklares med, at Hili monumentet bar tydelige spor af et røvehul i midten, og at murene var væltet, så flere steder kun fundamentterne stod tilbage. Eventuelle knogler har under disse forhold næppe kunnet bevares. Tilbage i den plyndrede bygning lå derimod resterne af adskillige hundrede lerkar.

Keramiken svarer ret nøje til den fra Umm an-Nar. Man finder de samme hjuldrejede former, og hovedparten er af rødt gods med sorte geometriske mønstre. Foruden den malede grå keramik nævnt ovenfor forekommer også nogle hårdtbrændte grå kar med indridset dekoration (7). Flere af dem ligner til forveksling stenkar, og de er antagelig også efterligninger af en gruppe

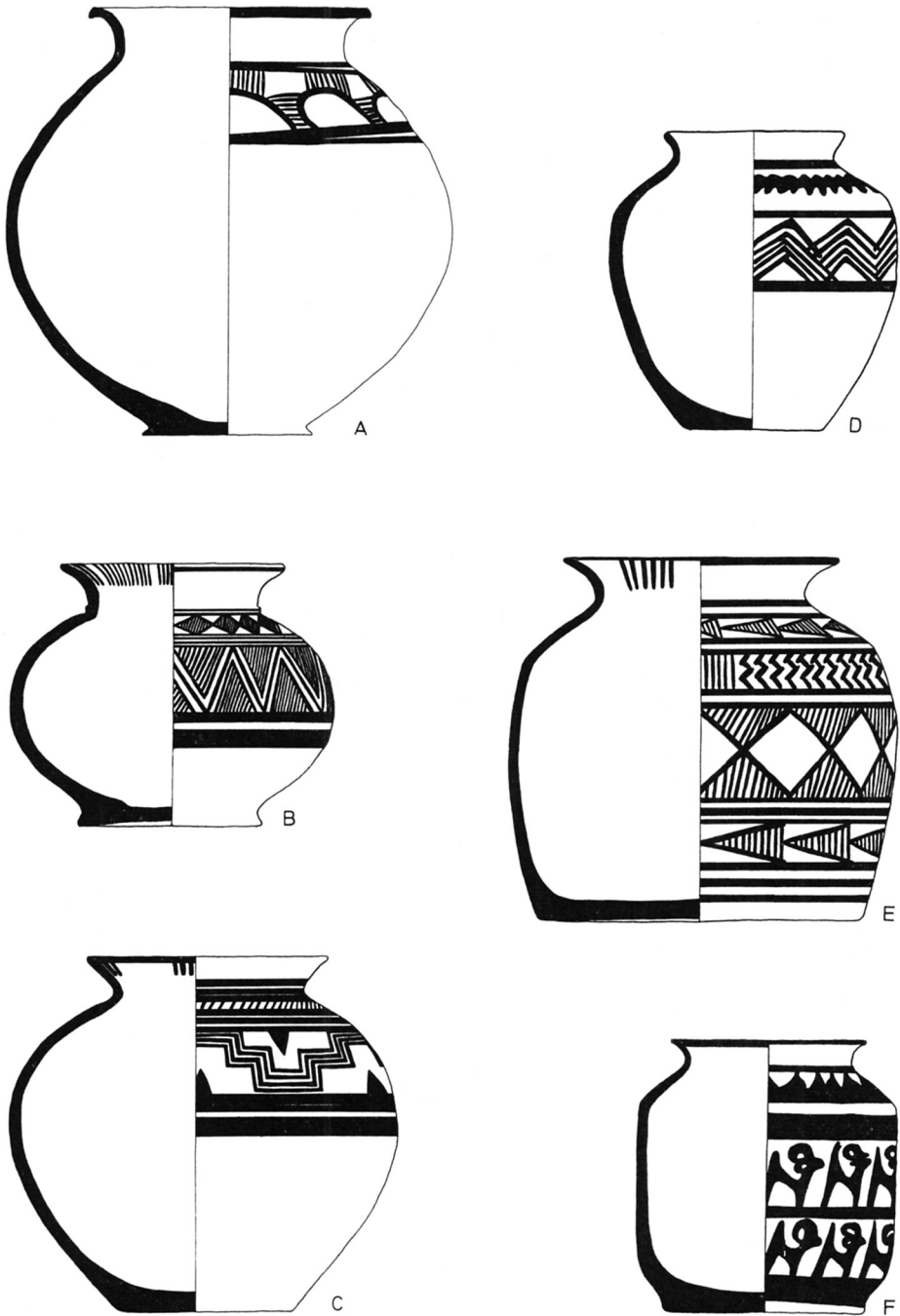


Fig. 2. Lerkar fra Umm an-Nar grave. A, B, C og D rødbrune med sort bemaling, E og F grå med henholdsvis rødbrun og sort bemaling.

Pottery from the Umm an-Nar cairns. A, B, C, and D of red-brown ware with black designs. E and F of grey ware with red-brown and black designs respectively.

karakteristisk ornamenterede steatitkar, der forekommer over et område fra Indus til Mesopotamien, så langt mod nord som Mari (8). Mange af dem er høje vaser eller bægre, og de almindeligste mønstre er skraverede trekanter, krydsskravering, bølgelinjer og det såkaldte dørmotiv. I Mesopotamien dateres de til slutningen af tidlig-dynastisk periode II (omkring 2600 f. Kr.) og til den følgende periode (ca. 2600–2370 (9). Der er kun fundet nogle få brudstykker på Umm an-Nar, og skønt der er en del flere i Hili graven, udgør de kun en lille procentdel af det samlede materiale her. Deres oprindelse er ikke fastslået, men de kendes fra det sydøstlige Persien og Beluchistan. Bampur har både steatit og lerkar af denne type (10). Tepe Yahya lidt længere mod øst har mængder af den pågældende steatit i sin periode IV, men ikke de tilsvarende lerkar (11). I Hili og på Umm an-Nar derimod er steatiten meget sparsom. Her findes nogle få skåle ornamenteret med koncentriske cirkler foruden brudstykker af kar med flere rum og med samme ornament (fig. 3A).

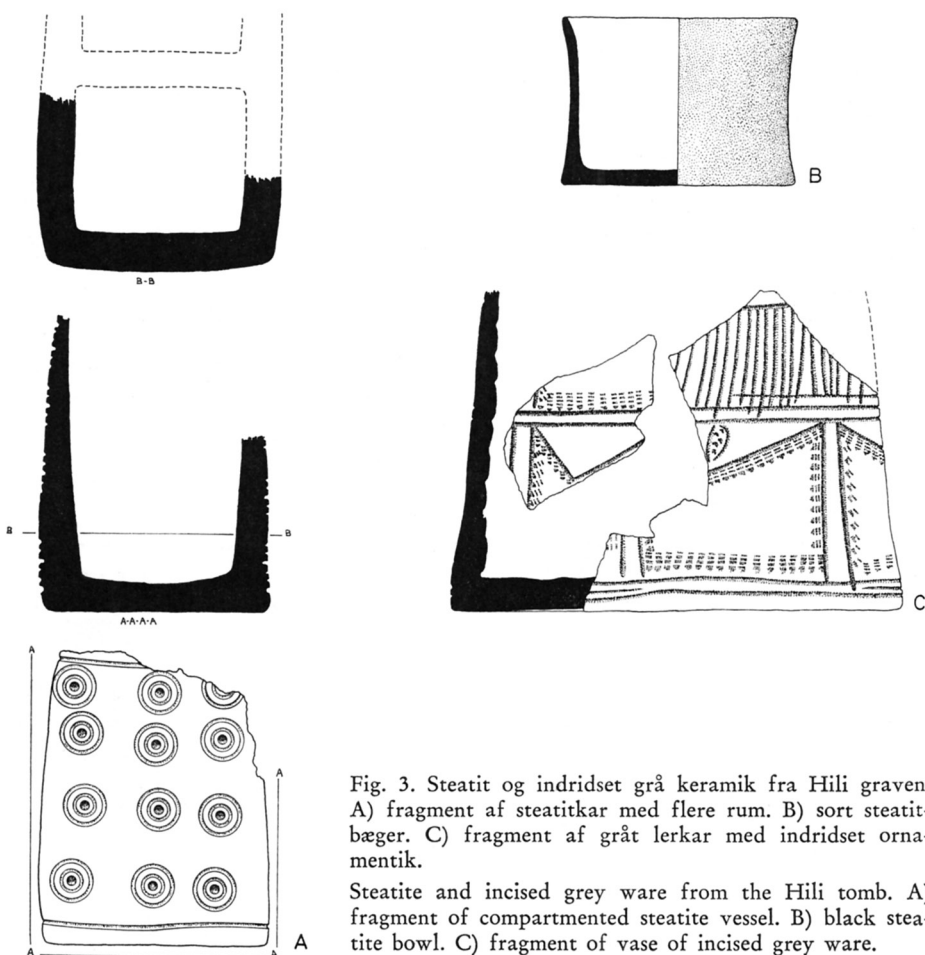


Fig. 3. Steatit og indridset grå keramik fra Hili graven. A) fragment af steatitkar med flere rum. B) sort steatitbæger. C) fragment af gråt lerkar med indridset ornamentik.

Steatite and incised grey ware from the Hili tomb. A) fragment of compartmented steatite vessel. B) black steatite bowl. C) fragment of vase of incised grey ware.

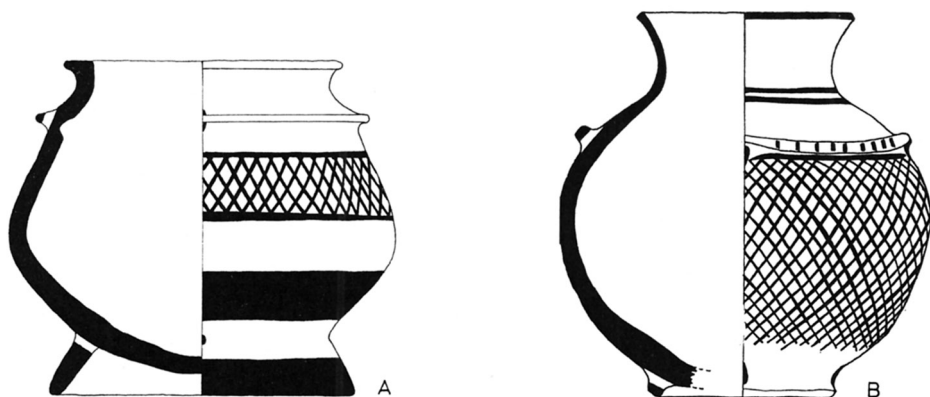


Fig. 4. Hængekar. A) fra Tell Agrab. B) fra Hili graven. Begge rødt gods med sort bemaling. Suspension vessels. A) from Tell Agrab. B) from the Hili tomb. Both red ware with black design.

Et usædvanligt og meget smukt stykke er et sort blankpoleret bæger af steatit fra Hili (fig. 3B). Et lignende bæger af mørk steatit fandtes i en af kongegravene i Ur (12), og samme type i forskellige stenarter kendes fra fire andre grave på Ur gravpladsen, i tre af dem fundet sammen med en lerkar-form, der også forekommer på Umm an-Nar (fig. 6). (13).

Fig. 3 viser to hængekar fra henholdsvis Tell Agrab og Hili graven. Karret fra Agrab beskrives som » . . . et kar af usædvanlig form. Det minder om nogle af de samtidige grå kar, men randen er smallere, og det har høj ringfod. Både foden og vulsten under halsen har fire ophængningshuller. Foden og den nederste del af siden har fire bånd, skiftevis et sort og et rødt. Over dem kommer et bånd med sort krydsskravering på lys begitning, og herfra til indersiden af randen er overfladen dækket af en klar rød, men ikke særlig holdbar farve.« (14). Karret dateres til første del af den tidlig-dynastiske periode (ca. 2900–2750 f. Kr.).

I Hili graven fandtes rester af mere end en snes af disse hængekar. Godset, der er lysorange, er oftest sandmagret, og hvor dette ikke er tilfældet, synes karret at være bedre brændt og mere omhyggeligt malet. Den saltholdige jord har været hård ved farverne, men det er dog muligt at se, at den sorte krydsskravering eller et rudemønster har dækket siden på karret fra vulsten og vistnok helt ned til foden. Vulsten har sorte tværstreger, og der er som regel sorte omløbende bånd mellem hals og skulder. En del fragmenter har spor af rød farve, men det er ikke muligt at sige, om det kun er bånd, eller om karret har været helt rødmalet. Ringfoden og vulsten har hver fire ophængningshuller.

Ligheden er for stor til at være en tilfældighed, hvor så karret kommer fra. Foreløbig står Buraimi talmæssigt ret stærkt, og vulsten med ophængningshuller er i øvrigt almindelig på brugskar her.

Hængekarret er ikke fundet i Umm an-Nar gravene, men på den nærliggende boplads er opsamlet skår fra flere af dem, her af det fintslømmede røde gods, der er karakteristisk for meget af gravgodset både her og i Buraimi, hvilket også kunne tyde på, at karret hører til i Oman.

To andre kar påkalder sig opmærksomhed, når talen er om forbindelser udadtil. Det ene er et tudkar fra en Umm an-Nar grav (fig. 5) af ret groft gråbrunt, grusmagret gods. Desværre mangler bunden og en del af tuden, medmindre en temmelig lille, flad bund af samme gods og fundet i samme grav hører til karret. Halsen, der går lige over i randen, skulderknækket og tuden nær op ad halsen findes tilsvarende på kar fra Khafajah og Tell Agrab (15), her dateret til begyndelsen af den tidlig-dynastiske periode, omend typen med små ændringer fortsætter gennem hele perioden.

Det andet kar er pæreformet med spidsafrundet bund, lang, let svajet hals og fortykket høj rand (fig. 6). Godset er rødbrunt og sandmagret. Typen kendes fra Ur, fra gravpladsen, hvor de fleste af de 16 grave, hvori den blev fundet, dateres til den tidlige del af tiden for gravpladsen (16), muligvis ikke så tidligt som tidlig-dynastisk periode II, men i så fald periode IIIa (2600–2500 f. Kr.) (17). I Abu Dhabi er den hidtil kun fundet på Umm an-Nar, flere eksemplarer i en af gravene, og den karakteristiske randform på den tilstødende boplads.

Bopladsen er ganske imponerende for en lille ø-landsby. Højen, som dækker den, breder sig over et areal på ca. 100 x 200 m med godt 2 m tykke kulturlag. De to delvis udgravede bygninger er over 16 m lange med adskillige rum og med mure bygget af den lokale kalksten, groft tilhugget (18).

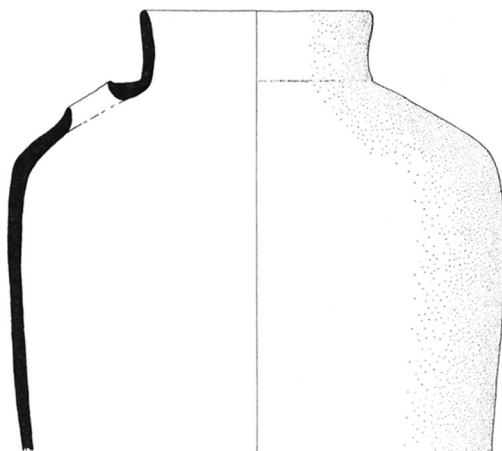
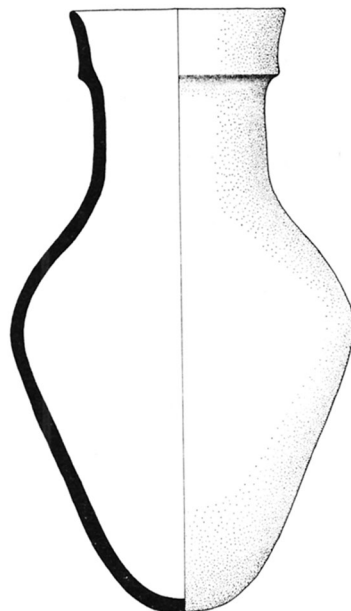


Fig. 5. Tudkar fra Umm an-Nar grav.
Spouted vessel from Umm an-Nar cairn.

Fig. 6. Rundbundet vase fra Umm an-Nar grav.
Vessel with rounded base from
Umm an-Nar cairn.



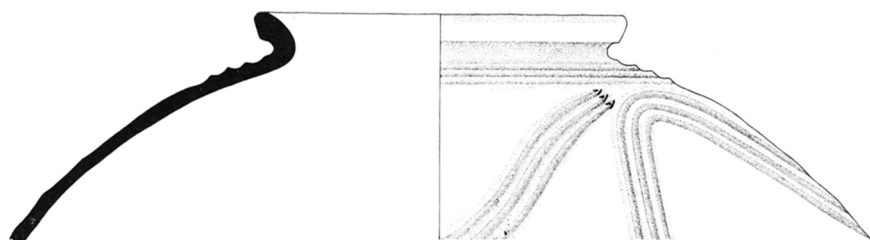


Fig. 7. Stort brugskar fra Umm an-Nar bopladsen.
Kitchenware from the Umm an-Nar settlement.

Blandt den grovere brugskeramik i husene fandtes skår af den malede gravkeramik, et bevis på at boplads og grave er samtidige. Et særkende for mange af de store køkkenkar – ofte omhyggeligt tildannede, meget velbrændte røde kar – er vulster eller bånd, der slanger sig af sted på den øverste del af karret, af og til endda ender i »slangehoveder« (fig. 7). Tilsvarende kar kendes fra Tepe Yahya, her dateret til midten af 3. årtusind f. Kr. (19).

Der er få vidnesbyrd om stenkar fra bopladsen. Derimod er der fundet ikke så få nåle og fiskekroge af kobber eller bronze, dertil et anseligt antal netsynk eller vævevægte og store mængder af dyreknoget. Talrigest repræsenteret blandt de hidtil undersøgte knogler er rester af dugong (søko), men de, der påkalder størst interesse, er utvivlsomt kamelknoglerne.

Inde i landet fortsætter undersøgelserne efter det samfund, der byggede stengravene ved Hili. Øst og nord for gravområdet løfter en række sandhøjer sig lidt over det omgivende terræn. Nogle af dem består udelukkende af sand, andre dækker med sikkerhed over lerstensbygninger. I en af disse høje har ekspeditionen afdækket en fæstning i form af et cirkelrundt vagttårn, ca. 24 m i diameter, med en brønd nogenlunde midt i tårnet og omgivet af en 5 m bred og 4 m dyb voldgrav. Kun fundamentene af ubrændte lersten til ydermur, omgivende mur og til skillemurene, der symmetrisk opdelte tårnet, stod tilbage. Fundene, selv af potteskår, var sparsomme.

I mellemrummet mellem selve tårnet og den ydre beskyttelsesmur på kanten af voldgraven var der derimod, tilsyneladende i en senere periode, opført bygninger, og her tydede fundene på beboelse. Fra ildsteder her og fra et brandlag, der skiller dette beboelseslag fra lagene nedenunder, er der taget trækul til C14 analyser. Her fandtes tillige en mængde potteskår, næsten udelukkende en ret grov brugskeramik af gulbrunt eller rødligt sandmagret gods. Dekorationen, så vidt der var nogen, bestod mest af sortmalede bølgelinjer på skulderen af kar med rundet, undertiden næsten kugleformet, bug. Karrene havde flad bund, let fortykket og ofte let udbøjet rand. Keramiken minder om de grovere kar fra Hili graven og om en del af brugskeramikken fra Umm an-Nar bopladsen, men er ikke nødvendigvis fra samme periode. Det finere gravgods er ikke fundet her, men i de dybere lag og i forbindelse med den oprindelige fæstning.

C14 analyserne på trækullet fra ildstederne giver dateringer til 1953 ± 213 og 1990 ± 217 f. Kr., mens brandlaget dateres til 2165 ± 217 f. Kr. (20).

Sætter man nu et tidspunkt omkring 2200 f. Kr. som et terminus ante quem for fæstning og grav ved Hili og dermed for boplads og grave på Umm an-Nar, er det stadig et spørgsmål, hvor langt tilbage denne kultur rækker i Oman området. Svaret på det kræver flere undersøgelser, men det kan med ret stor sikkerhed siges, at den var fuldt udviklet omkring midten af 3. årtusind f. Kr. Og meget tyder på, at både Umm an-Nar og Hili bør dateres så tidligt som ca. 2700 f. Kr.

På den tid må Bahrain allerede have været af betydning for handelsruterne i Golfen, og det er bemærkelsesværdigt, at intet spor af den karakteristiske Barbar keramik fra Bahrain er fundet i Abu Dhabi. Derimod er Abu Dhabi keramik, som den kendes fra Umm an-Nar og Hili, fundet flere steder på Bahrain, bl. a. i Barbar, hvor nogle få malede skår er konstateret i forbindelse med det andet og tredje tempel, som dateres henholdsvis til senest midten af 3. årtusind og til 2200 f. Kr. (21).

Under den første rekognoscering i Buraimi opdagede man smågrupper af stenrøser i den sydlige del af oasen. Nogle lå på skråningerne af de to klippekæder, der fra Al-Ain løber sydpå mod Jebel Hafit, andre grupper lå på højder midt i dalen mellem dem. I løbet af to kampagner blev 25 af disse røser udgravet. Stenplyndring i nyere tid og gravrøvere længere tilbage havde allerede gnavet i dem. Men til trods for at alle gravene var forstyrret, blev der gjort fund i de fleste af dem.

Alle gravene var af samme konstruktion: »røser bygget op af sten fra stedet omkring en falsk hvælving over et rundt eller ovalt kammer opført på den daværende overflade. Fra sydsiden førte en snæver gang ind til kammeret« (22). Diameteren har oprindeligt været fra 7 til 11 m og højden ca. 3-5 m (fig. 8).

Tre af gravene var tomme, og i fire var der kun knoglerester tilbage. I de øvrige røser fandtes keramik, ting af kobber eller bronze, steatit, perler og strandskaller.

En af de rigeste grave var røse 20. Den indeholdt to skåle af kobber eller bronze, en skål af steatit, et sværd og et bæltespænde af kobber eller bronze og en stor knap af blankpoleret muslingskal (fig. 9).

Sværdet er af Bibby blevet sammenlignet med lignende våben, dels fra Talish i det kaspiske område i Nordpersien, dels fra Luristan, dateret til 14.-13. århundrede f. Kr. (23). Dyson har imidlertid ved hjælp af indskrifter, sammenlignende typologi og udgravningerne i Hasanlu støttet af C14 prøver dateret disse grebtungesværd til sent i 2. årtusind (24). Sværdet er det eneste af den type, der er fundet i Buraimi. Dette gælder derimod ikke steatitskålen.

Fra en tell mellem landsbyerne Hili og Qatara, der blev undersøgt i 1968, stammer talrige fragmenter fra steatitkar svarende til skålen fra Hafit. Ornamenterne fra steatiten blev tillige fundet indridset på en del af keramikken fra

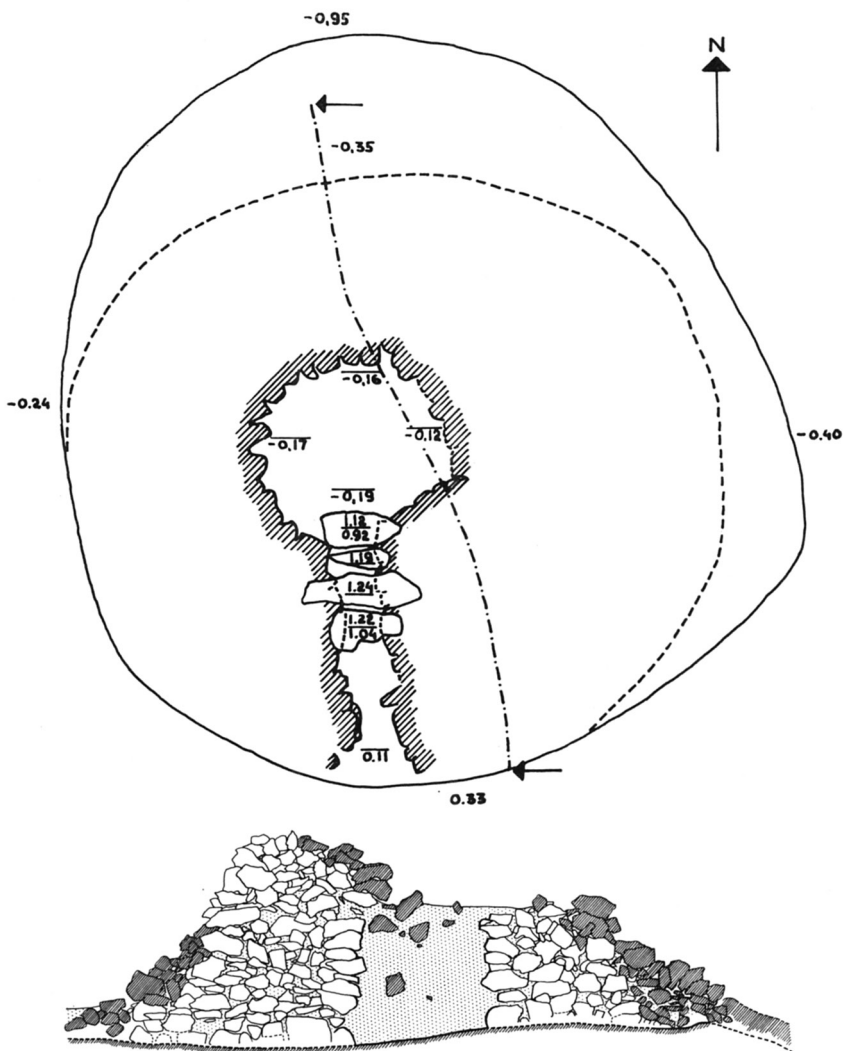


Fig. 8. Plan og snit af røse 17 fra Hafit.
Plan and section from cairn 17 from Hafit.

tell'en. Andre lerkar med rødmalet krydsskraving under randen svarede i form til det lille bronzekar med tud fra Hafit graven. Karakteristisk for tell'en var også små pilespidser af kobber eller bronze med skafttunge, de fleste bladformede, andre triangulære (fig. 10). De findes i Persien ofte sammen med de ovenfor nævnte grebtungesværd (25).

At den omtalte steatit, keramik og pilespidserne hører sammen, bekræftes af fund fra Dibba på østkysten af Oman halvøen, hvor de samme ting og endvidere to knapper af muslingeskal som den fra Hafit røsen er blevet fundet sammen (fig. 11). Og yderligere bevis gav 1970 kampagnen i Buraimi.

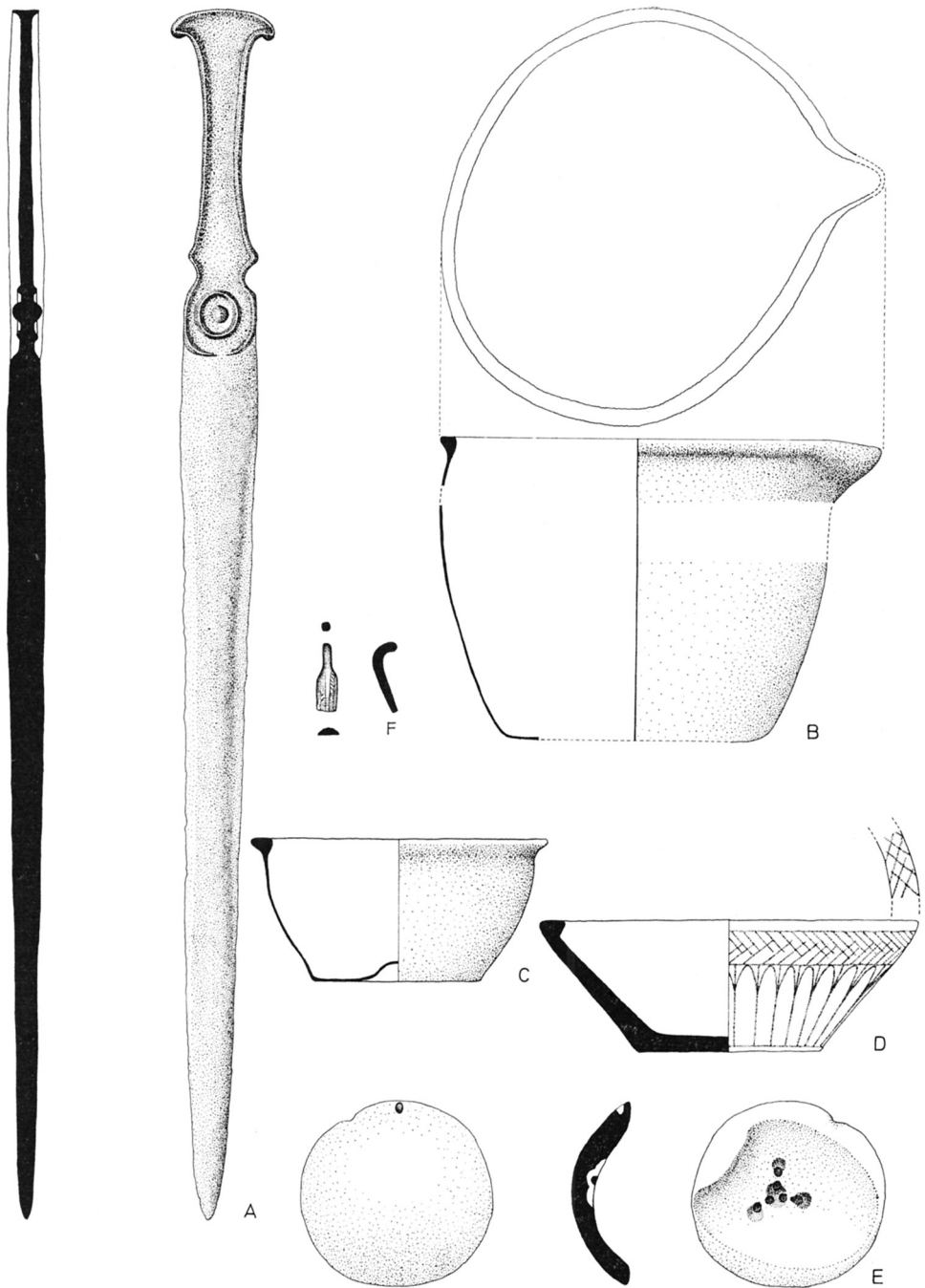
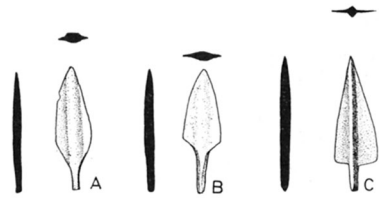


Fig. 9. Grav 20 fra Hafit. Sværd og to skåle af bronze, ornamenteret skål af steatit, bælteknop af muslingeskal og bæltékrog af bronze.

Cairn 20 from Hafit. Sword and two bowls of bronze, an ornamented steatite bowl, a belt button of shell and a belt buckle of bronze.

Fig. 10. Pilespidser af bronze. A) og B) fra Hili-Qatara tell'en og C) fra røse på Quarn Bint Sa'ud. Arrowheads of bronze. A) and B) from the Hili-Qatara tell and C) from cairn at Quarn Bint Sa'ud.



Ude i det vilde klitland på kanten af Buraimi oasen mod nordvest ved Quarn Bint Sa'ud bryder en klippe de røde sandbølger. På dens flade top ligger flere stenrøser, og en undersøgelse af en af dem er i gang. De ser ud til at være opbygget som Hafit røserne, og blandt de hidtidige fund er der mængder af steatit og pilespidser svarende til fund fra Dibba, Hili-Qatara tell'en og et par af gravene fra Hafit, desuden skår af lerkar af samme slags som fundet i Dibba og på tell'en, og endelig en knap af muslingeskal (fig. 11C).

Denne knap er i lighed med den fra Hafit graven uden dekoration, men en af de to Dibba knapper har cirkel-ornamenter på oversiden. Nøjagtige paralleller til disse skalknapper kendes fra Nimrud, hvor de dateres til 9.-8. århundrede f. Kr. (26), og også i Persien er de fundet (27). De tildannedes af *Xancus gravis* Dillwyn, en konkylie, der findes i indiske farvande (28), men også så langt nordpå som den Arabiske Golf (29). En del er kun blankpole-rede, mens en del har cirkel-ornamenter. De fleste er tillige gennemboret i midten og har ofte her en bronzenitte bevaret. Der er ingen spor af bronze på stykkerne fra Buraimi og Dibba, men Bint Sa'ud stykket og det ornamenterede eksemplar fra Dibba har foruden midterhullet små skrå itubrudte gennemboringer på bagsiden. Det drejer sig sikkert om prydknapper fra bæltter eller sværdhæfter. Oman beduinerne bærer stadig smukt forarbejdede bæltter

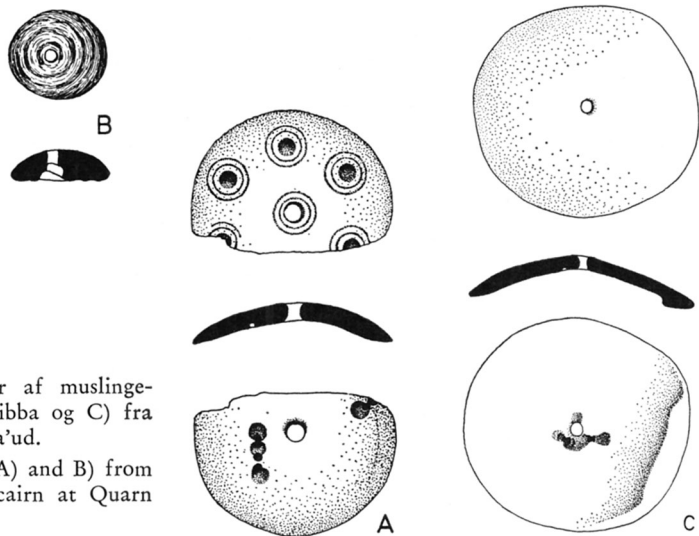


Fig. 11. Bælteknapper af muslingeskal. A) og B) fra Dibba og C) fra røse på Quarn Bint Sa'ud. Belt buttons of shell. A) and B) from Dibba and C) from cairn at Quarn Bint Sa'ud.

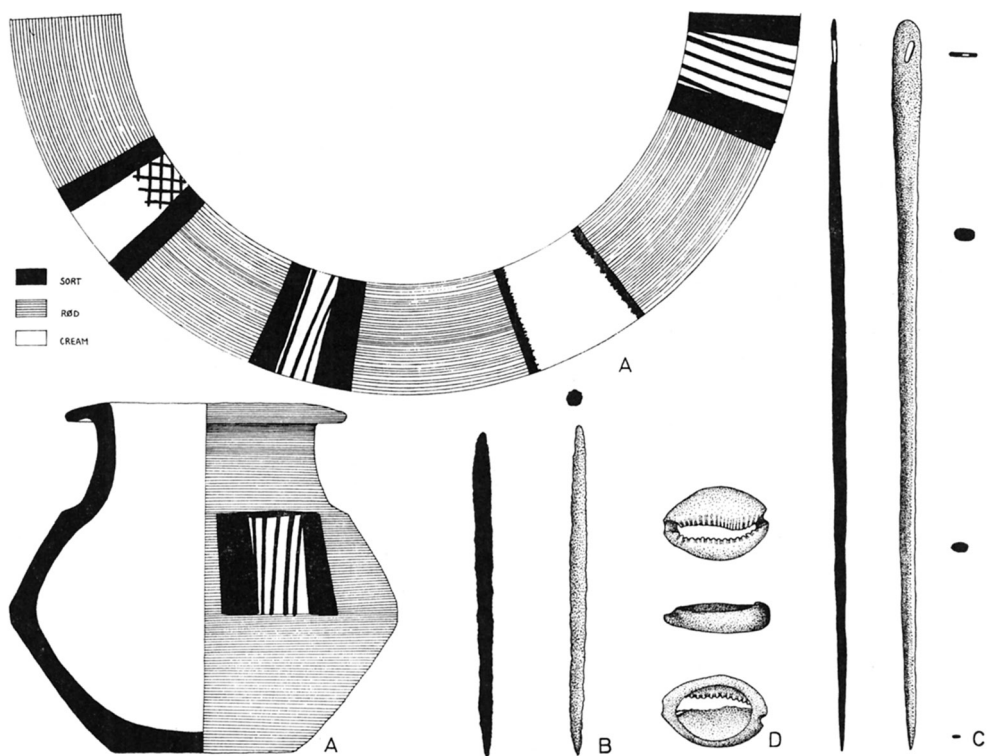


Fig. 12. Røse 1 fra Hafit. A) rødmalet krukke med sort mønster på gullig bund. B) og C) nåle af kobber eller bronze. D) muslingeskal.

Cairn 1 from Hafit. A) red-painted jar with black design on a cream background. B) and C) pins of copper or bronze. D) shell.

til deres imponerende krumdolke i de prægtige skeder, hvor sølvmonter eller koniske knapper af sølvtråd ofte ses som pynt.

I 9 af de 25 Hafit røser forekom små dobbeltkoniske krukker med flad bund, ganske kort cylinderhals og udbøjet flad eller skrå rand. På flere af dem var der svage spor af rød bemaling og på nogle af dem tillige af sort. Efter omhyggelig behandling i konserveringen har to af dem genvundet en del af deres oprindelige pragt (fig. 1, 12A og 17A).

Begge er helt dækket af en mørk, blommerød farve, også under bunden og på indersiden af rand og hals. Foruden knækket midt på bugen af karret er der et andet, svagere knæk lige under halsen, og under det igen er skulderen opdelt i trapezformede paneler med mønstre.

Den ene krukke har haft en flødefarvet begitning og herover den røde bemaling. Men hvertandet panel på skulderen er efterladt med den lyse farve som baggrund, indrammet af sorte bånd, og heri er malet sorte krydsskraveringer eller et stiliseret plantemotiv i rødt og sort. Over og under frisen løber et sort bånd.

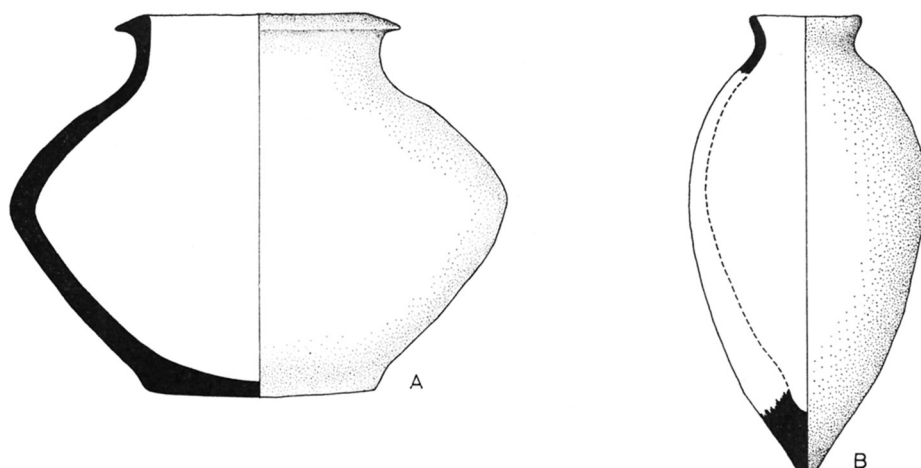


Fig. 13. Røse 2 fra Hafit. A) rødmalet krukke, oprindelig med sort mønster. B) spidsbundet vase af rødbrunt gods.

Cairn 2 from Hafit. A) Red-painted jar with faint traces of black design. B) jar of red-brown ware with pointed base.

På den anden krukke er den lyse begitning kun anvendt på skulderen som baggrund i panelerne. I to af dem er mønsteret skrå, sorte streger, mens to andre vistnok har haft sort krydsskravering. Også her er panelerne indrammet på siderne af smalle sorte afsnit, men der er ingen omløbende bånd.

Beslægtede, ja næsten identiske lerkar kendes fra Ur (30), Jamdat Nasr (31), Tell Uqair (32) og Khafajah (33), hvor de dateres til slutningen af førdynastisk tid. Hafit krukkerne er Jamdat Nasr kar.

Kun på de to ovennævnte krukker var mønstrene bare nogenlunde bevaret. Et tredje kar havde spor af rød bemaling og sorte skråbånd, og på skulderfragmentet af et fjerde var der resterne af et rudemønster tilbage (fig. 20A) med vistnok sorte ruder mellem flødefarvede og røde afsnit. Det er et almindeligt mønster på Jamdat Nasr keramik, og også farverne er de dér anvendte (34).

De fleste af krukkerne har været overmalet med den karakteristiske røde farve. En del af dem bærer stadig spor af den pletvis, men på adskillige er overfladen for ødelagt til at afgøre dens oprindelige udseende. Farven, der har været meget anvendt på lerkar i Golf området, stammer antagelig fra øen Hormuz, hvor den stadig udvindes i stor stil.

Oftest er krukkerne af rødbrunt eller gulbrunt sandmagret gods. En er dog af fintslømet orange gods med rester af flødefarvet begitning, og en anden er af hvidgult gods med glatpoleret overflade uden spor af maling. I stedet for det svage knæk mellem hals og skulder har de her en omløbende fure, et træk der også kendes fra Jamdat Nasr i Mesopotamien, men dér tillige med knopper, der kan være gennemborede og fungere som ører (35).

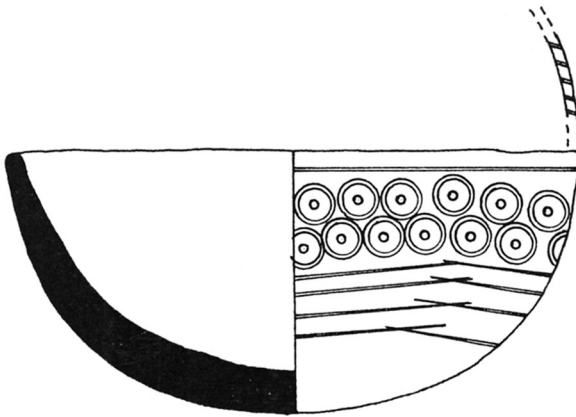


Fig. 14. Røse 4 fra Hafit.
Ornamenteret steatit-skål.
Cairn 4 from Hafit.
Ornamented steatite bowl.

To af de små lave Hafit krukker har i modsætning til hovedparten med skarpt bugknæk en mere afrundet side, og en lidt større krukke, der er optaget som eneste fund fra røse 5 har næsten kugleformet bug (fig. 15). Begge former kendes fra Jamdat Nasr keramiken, hvor kugleformen som regel har rørtud (36). Hafit stykket er dog for ufuldstændigt bevaret til at bestemme, om det har været tilfældet her, men det er værd at lægge mærke til, at både form, gods og dekoration – sorte bølgebånd med tværstreger på skulderen – ligger nær op ad keramiken fra Umm an-Nar og Hili.

Ret usædvanlig er en lille ægformet vase med spids bund (fig. 13B). Lignende kar, men med tud, er fundet i Jamdat Nasr grave i Ur (37). Fra Hafit gravene kendes overhovedet ingen tudkar. Det er dog mere bemærkelsesværdigt, at der ikke er fundet en eneste af krukkerne med vulstøre, som ellers er så almindelige inden for Jamdat Nasr. Måske forklares det af plyndringen. Det er tænkeligt, at disse krukker indeholdt dyre parfumer og røgelse og blev fjernet af gravrøvere sammen med kostbare metaller som kobber.

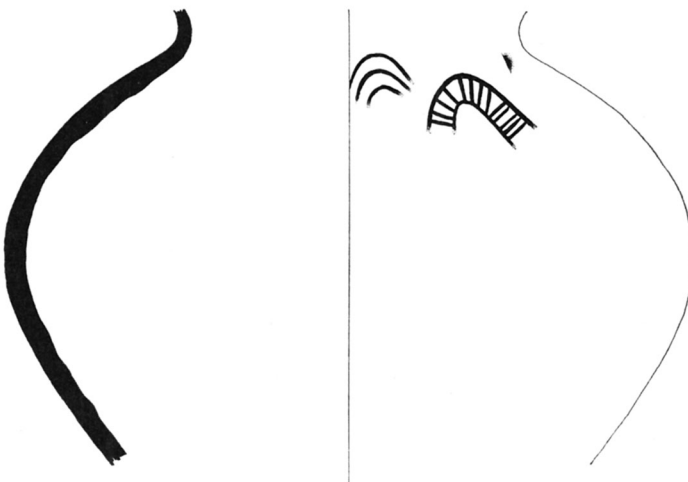
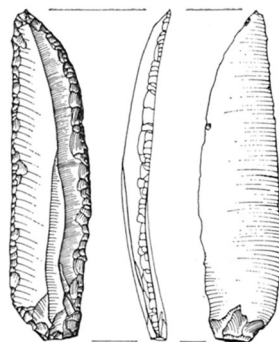


Fig. 15. Røse 5 fra Hafit.
Fragment af kugleformet krukke af rødt gods med sort mønster.

Cairn 5 from Hafit.
Fragment of globular jar of red ware with black design.

Fig. 16. Røse 7 fra Hafit. Flækkekniv af grå flint.
Cairn 7 from Hafit. Pointed knife of grey flint.



Metalfund er på den anden side ret begrænsede i Jamdat Nasr grave, så det er ikke nødvendigvis på grund af plyndring, der er fundet så få kobbering i Hafit røserne, som tilfældet er (38). Det almindeligste metal ved siden af kobber i Jamdat Nasr gravene i Ur var bly i form af små bægre og skåle. Det forekommer at være et besynderligt metal at vælge, medmindre man har haft brug for beholdere til at hindre fordampning og bevare duften af indholdet. I Hafit gravene fandtes ingen spor af blykar.

Kobber må på den tid stadig have været en ret sjælden vare, og de nåle, der er fundet i nogle få af røserne, må betragtes som smykker, vistnok hårnåle. Hårnåle af ben er fundet på Jamdat Nasr pladsen (39), mens de fra gravpladsen ved Kish fra en lidt senere periode kendes i kobber (40).

To små fragmenter af kobber eller bronze stammer fra røse 9. Begge har let indbøjede langsider, som om de har været dele af en tud.

Kun røse 20 (fig. 9) var rig på metaller, men graven var her som påvist i

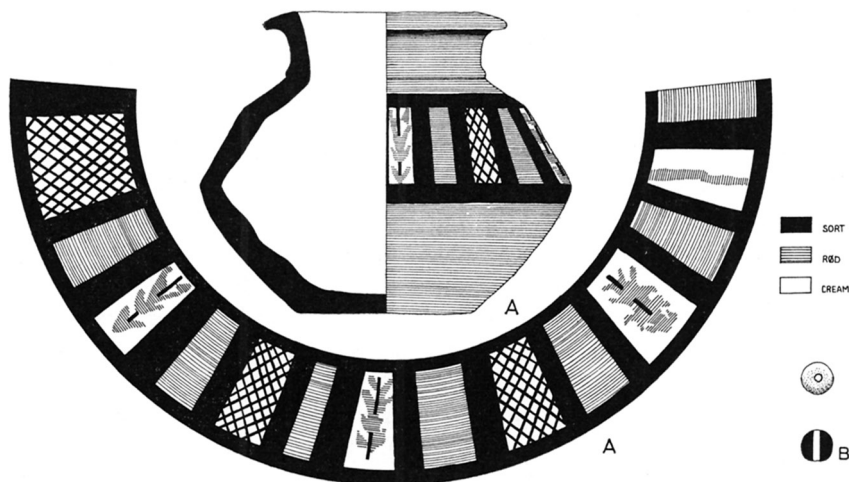


Fig. 17. Røse 8 fra Hafit. A) rødmalet krukke med rødt og sort mønster på gullig baggrund.
B) kugleformet grønglaseret perle.
Cairn 8 from Hafit. A) Red-painted jar with red and black design on a cream slip.
B) spherical green-glazed bead.

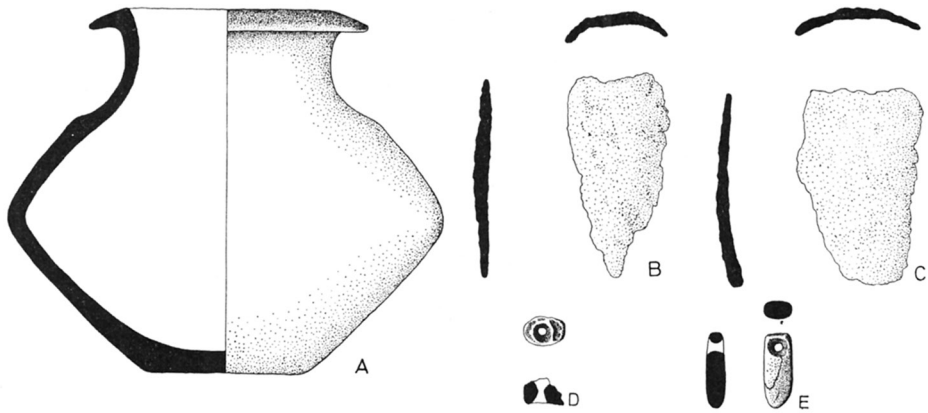


Fig. 18. Røse 9 fra Hafit. A) rødmalet krukke, oprindelig med sort mønster på skulderen. B) og C) to let buede fragmenter af kobber eller bronze. D) sort stenperle. E) hængesmykke af muslingeskal.

Cairn 9 from Hafit. A) red-painted jar with traces of black design on shoulder. B) and C) two slightly curved fragments of copper or bronze. D) bead of black stone. E) pendent of shell.

det foregående tydeligt fra en senere periode, antagelig fra slutningen af 2. årtusind f. Kr. Desværre er de sekundære grave ikke altid så utvetydige. I røse 22 optoges en bladformet pilespid af kobber eller bronze ikke langt fra to Jamdat Nasr kar. I dette tilfælde kan pilespiden dog med ret stor sikkerhed anses for sekundært tilkommet og tilskrives kulturen fra 2. årtusind f. Kr., hvor netop den type findes. Men fra røse 23 (fig. 22) stammer et flot stykke af kobber eller bronze, som er vanskeligt at bestemme. Det er for bredt og afrundet til at kunne være en dolk, og midtribben er for spinkel til at have forstærkende betydning. På samme måde kan de to nagler langs den brede, lige ende næppe skæfte det, så det kan bruges med kraft. Det virker mere som en prydenstand end som et våben eller redskab. Det blev optaget sammen med to Jamdat Nasr kar og to »hårnåle«, altså intet der tyder på en senere periode. En analyse kan muligvis gennem legeringen bestemme perioden.

Heller ikke steatitskålen (fig. 14) fra røse 4 kan med absolut sikkerhed tilskrives Jamdat Nasr, selv om stenkar er meget almindelige i periodens grave. De fleste er af calcit, kalksten, diorit eller basisk diorit, færre af steatit (41). I den lidt senere periode på Umm an-Nar og i Hili findes cirkel-ornamentet på steatitkar, mens det ikke kendes fra de talrige steatitskår fra 2. årtusind f. Kr. i Buraimi.

I 8 af røserne fandtes små perler, en eller to af sten, muslingeskal eller karneol i hver af gravene med undtagelse af røse 8, hvor én grønglaseret perle optoges sammen med et Jamdat Nasr kar, og røse 22, hvor flere hundrede perler opsamledes: 6 røde af karneol, mens resten, der oprindeligt havde en stærkt grøn eller blå glasur, nu var falmende til mat farveløshed. Både form og materiale stemmer overens med fund fra Jamdat Nasr gravene i Ur (42) og

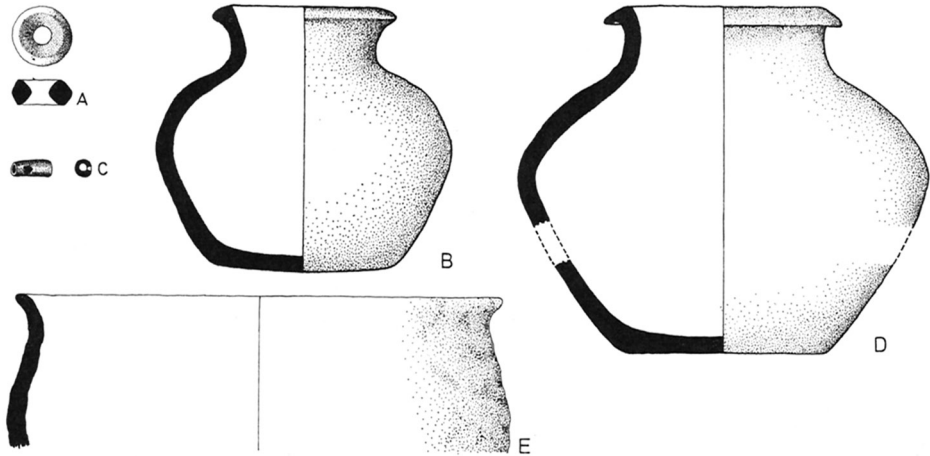


Fig. 19. Røse 12–14 fra Hafit. A) ringformet karneolperle fra røse 12. B) krukke af gulbrunt gods og C) sort stenperle fra røse 13. D) rødmalet krukke og E) fragment af håndgjort, groft kar fra røse 14.

Cairns 12–14 from Hafit. A) ring-shaped carnelian bead from cairn 12. B) jar of buff ware and C) bead of black stone from cairn 13. D) red-painted jar and E) fragment of handmade vessel of coarse ware from cairn 14.

fra Jamdat Nasr pladsen (43). Større samleperler, som hører med i fundene fra de nævnte pladser, viser, at de har været båret som halskæder. Dog kan de mange små ensartede også have været anvendt til perlebroderi, som det senere var tilfældet i Umm an-Nar gravene (44).

To brudstykker af lerkar blev fundet i fyldjorden, det ene et randskår fra et håndgjort kar (fig. 12E) i forbindelse med røse 14, og det andet et bundfragment i forbindelse med røse 16 er også opbygget i hånden (fig. 20B). Begge er fra grovere brugskar og hører muligvis ikke til gravene.

Alle Hafit røserne var forstyrret af et hul, der fra toppen gik midt ned

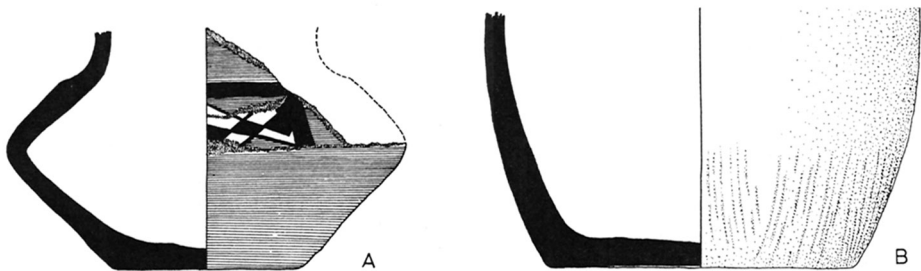


Fig. 20. Røse 16, 19 og 21 fra Hafit. A) fragmenteret rødmalet krukke med sort rudemønster på lys grund og B) underdel af håndgjort kar af groft gods fra røse 16. C) kugleformet karneolperle fra røse 19. D) to karneolperler fra røse 21.

Cairns 16, 19, and 21 from Hafit. A) fragmentary red-painted jar with black diamond pattern on cream slip, and B) base of handmade vessel of coarse ware from cairn 16. C) spherical carnelian bead from cairn 19. D) two carnelian beads from cairn 21.

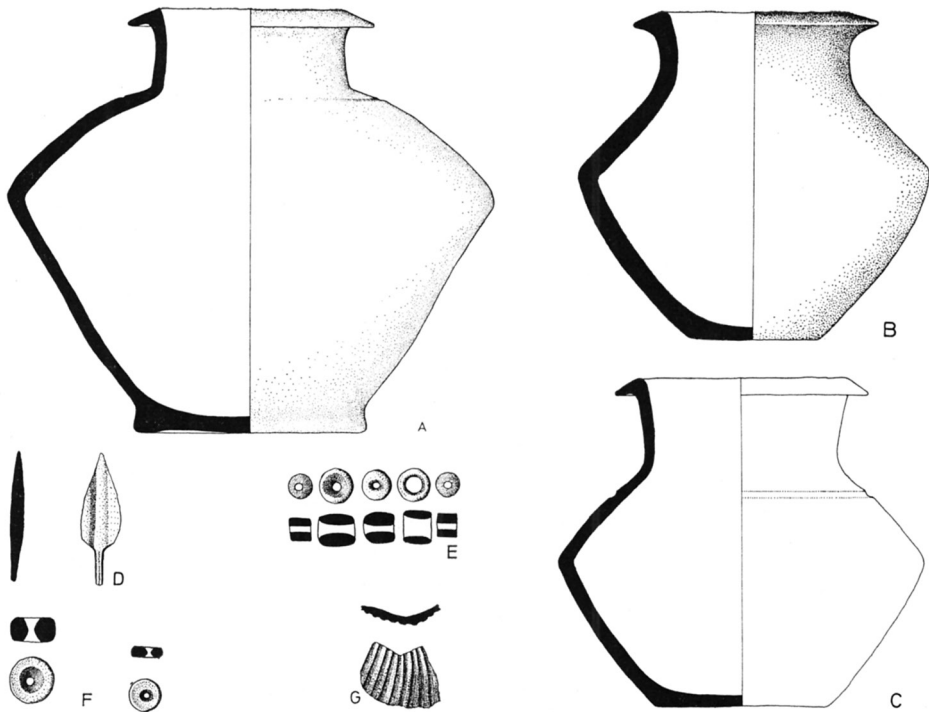


Fig. 21. Røse 22 fra Hafit. A) og B) rødmalede krukker. C) krukke af orange gods med spor af begitning. D) pilespids af kobber eller bronze. E) glaserede perler (ialt ca. 400). F) to karneolperler. G) fragment af cardium skal.

Cairn 22 from Hafit. A) and B) red-painted jars. C) jar of orange ware with traces of slip. D) arrowhead of copper or bronze. E) glazed beads (total c. 400). F) two carnelian beads. G) fragment of cardium shell.

gennem højen og sikkert skyldes gravrøvere. De ting, der var tilbage i graven, blev alle fundet tæt ind til sidevæggen, forsætligt eller tilfældigt skubbet til side. De senere gravlægninger kan være foretaget gennem gangen – den metalrige begravelse i røse 20 lå lige inden for indgangen fra gang til kammer – og røsen er formodentlig blevet omhyggeligt lukket til igen. Kun i et enkelt tilfælde – igen graven i røse 20 – lå skeletdelene på deres oprindelige plads. De var dårligt bevaret, men det kunne konstateres, at den døde var lagt på siden med hovedet i øst.

Gravskikken i Jamdat Nasr gravene kan ikke bestemmes, det kan ikke engang afgøres, om Hafit røserne var tænkt som enkeltgrave. I flere af røserne var der knogledele fra mere end ét skelet, men om de var fra samme eller forskellige perioder kunne ikke afgøres. Materialet fra Quarn Bint Sa'ud tyder på, at i det mindste her blev røserne i 2. årtusind anvendt til gentagne gravlægninger.

Umm an-Nar røserne var fællesgrave, og da der allerede er påpeget en vis lighed mellem keramikken her og en af Hafit krukkerne ved siden af steatiten

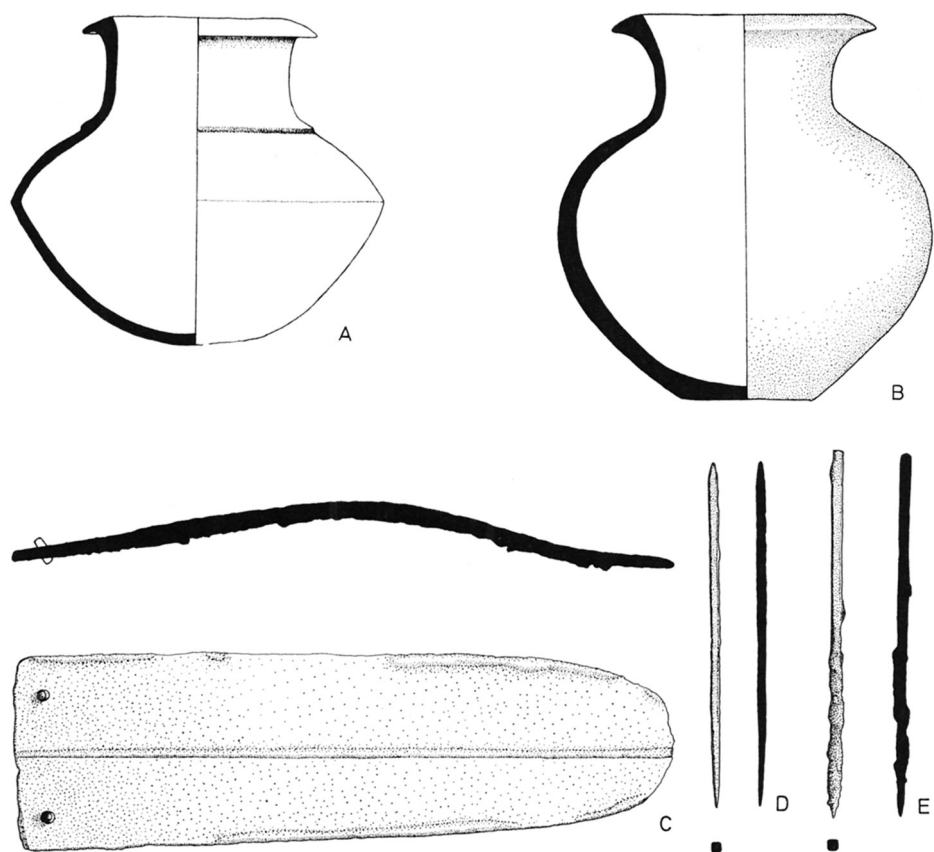


Fig. 22. Røse 23 fra Hafit. A) flødefarvet og B) rødbrun krukke. C) dolklignende blad og D) og E) to nåle af kobber eller bronze.

Cairn 23 from Hafit. A) cream and B) red-brown jar. C) daggerlike blade and D) and E) pins of copper or bronze.

og perlerne, bør det nok fremhæves, at selve gravene er helt forskellige. Hafit røserne er gravhøje af sten, mens Umm an-Nar røserne er regulære gravbygninger. Om dette skyldes en forskel i tid, eller der er tale om sociale eller etniske skel, kan ikke afgøres endnu. Det foreliggende materiale er for spinkelt.

Siden Jamdat Nasr keramik allerede er fundet på Bahrain (45), kan det ikke komme helt overraskende, at kulturen også er repræsenteret i Oman (46). Det, der især er af betydning, er at der ikke er tale om en enkelt tilfældig krukke, men om en hel gruppe af grave, hvor det var almindeligt at begrave de døde med en samling gravgods svarende til Jamdat Nasr gravenes i Mesopotamien. Nu gælder det om at finde den tilsvarende boplads i håb om, at den vil give svar på de spørgsmål, der trænger sig på. Drejer det sig om en handelskoloni? En flok pionerer på jagt efter metaller? Eller —?

Det er ikke nødvendigt at understrege betydningen af Jamdat Nasr's tilstedeværelse i Oman for den standende diskussion om mesopotamisk-ægyptiske forbindelser på den tid. Søvejen mellem Mesopotamien og Ægypten rundt om Sydarabien forekommer ikke mere slet så lang eller usandsynlig, især ikke, hvis skibene undervejs kunne lægge til og forsyne sig med vigtige varer.

ENGLISH VERSION

Jamdat Nasr graves in the Oman

When P. V. Glob and T. G. Bibby in 1958 paid their first visit to Abu Dhabi, they were following up a message from Tim Hillyard, the representative of the oil company ADMA, who had found »mounds of the Bahrain type« which he suggested might be worth investigating, on the small island of Umm an-Nar off the Abu Dhabi coast. The Danish archaeological Expedition took up the challenge, and after this first short reconnaissance, excavation was started the following year. Since then the expedition has worked in Abu Dhabi most years, and now after the tenth visit in the winter of 1970 it is appropriate to sum up the most important results of these campaigns.

The first excavations concentrated on Umm an-Nar. Out of the fifty or so cairns registered on the island, seven were carefully investigated. These varied in size, ranging in diameter from 12 m to just under 1.50 m, and were chosen to represent as fully as possible the whole group of graves. Though the larger ones are built partly of carefully shaped blocks of the local limestone, and the smaller ones of rough quarried stone, the construction and the grave goods are too uniform to leave any doubt that all the graves belong to the same period and civilization. The construction of the mounds and the burials have been described by Knud Thorvildsen (1), and the pottery will be published in detail later. Here will be mentioned only a few points of interest for the dating and the connections, both the more distant overseas ones and those with the Buraimi oasis inland.

Thorvildsen has already pointed out the resemblance to the Kulli culture (2) – the humped bull appears on two jars from Umm an-Nar – and since then more material from southeastern Iran has been made available for comparison. At Bampur a sounding was made by Beatrice de Cardi producing quantities of painted pottery. Period IV here shows some relation to the Kulli wares, and it is also clear that there is a general resemblance between Umm an-Nar vessels (fig. 2) and some forms and ornaments from Bampur (3). The same applies to Mundigak as far away as Afghanistan, where especially period IV shows elements known also from Umm an-Nar (4).

Closer related, as pointed out by Miss de Cardi (5), is a black-on-grey ware: small carinated jars with geometrical designs or with friezes of gazelles or goats (fig. 2F) in brown or black paint, found sparingly in the Umm an-Nar graves (with only one example of the caprids) while fragments from perhaps half a dozen of them are known from a tomb inland in the Buraimi oasis, or as it is called in Abu Dhabi, the Eastern province.

This oasis at the foot of the Oman mountains is about 20 x 30 km – not a big area, but fertile, rightly famous for its abundance of water, brought in underground channels from the mountains. It was not surprising to find a group of graves of the same construction and period as those on Umm an-Nar, except that the one exca-

vated east of the village of Hili proved to be even richer in pottery, and more impressive in architecture, than those on the coast.

The stone slabs are here of sandstone. They are bigger than the blocks used on Umm an-Nar, and the relief carvings on the door-stones of people, oryx, a donkey, and lions (6) are more monumental than the camels, the bull (not humped) and the oryx known from Umm an-Nar.

The question has been raised whether this building was a temple. It is true that no skeletal remains have been found, unlike Umm an-Nar, where the cairns showed traces of repeated burials, but then the Hili grave had a robber's hole in the middle, and the walls had been destroyed almost to the foundations. Under these conditions and in a sandy soil, bones would hardly be preserved.

Left among the ruins of the building were fragments of several hundred clay vessels. This pottery is closely comparable to that from Umm an-Nar. The same shapes, wheel-turned, occur, and the majority are of red ware with black-painted geometrical designs. Besides the painted grey ware already mentioned, there is also a hard-fired grey pottery with incised designs (7). These pots look very much like stone vessels, and they are probably imitations of the steatite vases with characteristic carved decoration which are found over a wide area from the Indus to Mesopotamia and even as far north as Mari (8). Many of them are tall cylindrical vases, and the most common designs on this pottery are hatched triangles, cross-hatching, wavy lines, and the doorway motif. In Mesopotamia they are dated to the end of E.D. II (about 2600 BC) and through E.D. III (about 2600–2370) (9). Only a few fragments were found on Umm an-Nar, and though the Hili tomb can boast the remains of several of these vessels, they form only a very small percentage of the ceramic material. Their origin has not yet been established, but they are known from sites in southeastern Iran and Baluchistan. Bampur has both the steatite and the incised pottery (10), while Tepe Yahya in its period IV has a wealth of carved steatite, but no incised grey ware (11). Hili and Umm an-Nar on the other hand have produced very little steatite, and the few vessels known are either small bowls with the dotted-circle ornament or fragments of compartmented vessels with the same ornament (fig. 3A).

Unusual, and very beautiful, is the polished black steatite vessel from Hili (fig. 3B). A similar vase of dark steatite is known from the Royal Cemetery at Ur (12). The same type in different kinds of stone was found in four graves from that cemetery. In three of them it occurred with a type of pottery known from Umm an-Nar (fig. 6) (13).

Fig. 3 shows two suspension vessels from Tell Agrab and the Hili tomb respectively. The Agrab vessel is described as »... a jar of unusual shape. It is reminiscent of certain contemporary grey vessels, but it has a narrower rim and is joined to a tall ring base. Both the base and the plastic ridge below the neck are pierced by four suspension holes. The base and the lower part of the body are decorated with four bands alternatively coal-black and red. Above these is a reserved band crosshatched in black. The surface from inside the rim to the reserved band is solid red of the bright nonfast variety« (14). It is dated E.D.I (about 2900–2700 BC).

The Hili specimen is one of nearly two dozen of these distinctive jars. The ware is a pale orange, in most cases grit-tempered, but, when it is not, better fired and more carefully painted. The salty soil has been hard on the paint, but it is possible to state that the black cross-hatching or diamond pattern covers the side from the ridge and most if not all the way to the base. The ridge has vertical black lines, and there are usually black bands between neck and shoulder. Some fragments show traces of a black band under the ridge, while a few have traces of red paint, but it

is impossible to tell if these are from bands or from a slip all over the vessel. The base and the ridge both have four suspension holes.

The similarity between the vessels from these two sites is too close to be fortuitous. It is debatable which way the pot travelled, though for sheer numbers Buraimi has the ascendancy. Also, the ridge with suspension holes is favoured among the kitchenware there.

The suspension jar is not known from the Umm an-Nar cairns, but fragments occur at the settlement excavated nearby, though here of the red, finely worked clay used for most of the Umm an-Nar grave-ware, perhaps another indication that the jar is well at home in the Oman.

Two other jars should be mentioned in this connection. One is a spouted jar from an Umm an-Nar grave (fig. 5) of a coarse brownish-drab ware tempered with coarse grit. Unfortunately the base and part of the spout are missing, unless a flat base of the same ware found in the same grave, but rather small, belongs to this jar. The rimless neck, the carinated shoulder, and the spout close to the neck are similar to those in a type found at Khafajah and Tell Agrab (15). This is dated E.D.I, but is a type that continued through E.D. II and III.

The second jar has a pear-shaped body with a pointed base, and a long slightly flaring neck with a thickened elongated rim (fig. 6). The ware is reddish-brown and grit-tempered. The type is known from Ur from the Royal Cemetery, where most of the 36 graves in which it was found are dated early (16). This may not be as early as E.D.II, but could well be E.D.IIIa (2600–2500 BC) (17). In Abu Dhabi the type is known so far only from Umm an-Nar, where several pieces were found in one of the cairns, while the distinctive rim is known from the adjoining settlement.

For a village, this is a substantial settlement. The low mound covers an area about 100 x 200 m with a 2 m thick occupation level. The two excavated or partly excavated buildings are more than 16 m long with several rooms and stone-built walls. The local limestone, roughly cut, was used (18). Among the thick kitchenware of the houses was scattered enough of the painted grave ware to prove that settlement and tombs were contemporary. Characteristic for many of the large vessels are wavy ridges, often on extremely well finished pots of hard-fired red clay and with the ridges or ribbons ending in »snakes'« heads (fig. 7). The same kind of pottery is known from Tepe Yahya from the middle of the third millennium BC (19).

Stone vessels were rare among the houses, but quite a few pins and fish hooks of copper or bronze were found, a number of net sinkers (or loom weights) and quantities of animal bones. The majority of bones so far examined seem to be from the dugong (or sea-cow), while the most interesting are those of camel.

Inland, the search is going on for the settlement housing the community that built the stone tombs at Hili. East and north of the area along the Jebel Auha mountains there are a number of low mounds of which some undoubtedly cover collapsed mudbrick buildings. In one of these mounds a fortress has now been exposed, or rather a circular watchtower. This is about 24 m in diameter with a well in the middle, and is surrounded by a 5 m broad and 4 m deep moat. Only the mudbrick foundations of the outer walls and of inner walls symmetrically criss-crossing the tower have survived, and finds, even pottery, were scarce.

In the space between the tower proper and the outer wall bordering the moat, some secondary building had occurred in the upper levels, however. Here had been living quarters apparently, and from fireplaces and a burnt level sealing this habitation level four carbon 14 datings have been run. The majority of the pottery found here was a rather coarse kitchenware of buff or reddish grit-tempered clay. The ornamentation, if any, was mostly of black wavy lines on the shoulder of a rounded, sometimes globular, body. Bases were flat, rims often slightly thickened and slightly

everted. There is a relation to the coarser ware from the tomb and to the kitchen-ware from Umm an-Nar, though it may not be from the same period. The fine grave-ware did not appear here, but only in the deeper levels and in connection with the original fortress.

The carbon 14 datings from the fireplaces give the dates as 1953 ± 213 and 1990 ± 213 , while the burnt level is dated 2165 ± 217 BC (20).

If a date about 2200 BC is set as a *terminus ante quem* for the fortress and the tomb at Hili and so for the settlement and graves on Umm an-Nar, it is still a question how far back this civilization goes in the Oman. That can hardly be answered yet, but about the middle of the third millennium BC seems a cautious guess. I would be inclined to date both Umm an-Nar and Hili as far back as 2700 BC.

At that time Bahrain was probably already an important place on the Gulf trade routes, and it is noteworthy that not one sherd of the easily recognisable Barbar pottery from Bahrain has been found in Abu Dhabi. Pottery of the Umm an-Nar and Hili type is, however, now known from Bahrain, where among other places the tell at Barbar has produced a few painted sherds. These were found in connection with the second and third temple, dated not later than the middle of the third millennium and 2200 BC respectively (21).

During the first reconnaissance in Buraimi, groups of stone cairns had been located in the southern part of the oasis. Some of them were placed on the slopes of the two mountain ridges running from Al-Ain towards the Jebel Hafit and some in the middle of the valley. During two campaigns, 25 of these stone tumuli were excavated. Recent stone plunderers and more ancient robbers had already done part of the work, but though all the cairns had been disturbed, most of the graves yielded finds.

All the mounds are of the same construction: »cairns built up of loosely heaped local stone around a false dome over a round or slightly oval chamber constructed upon the original ground surface and approached by a narrow entrance passage on the southern side« (22). The original diameter is estimated to have been 7–11 m, the height about 3–5 m (fig. 8).

Three graves were empty and four contained only fragments of bone. From the remaining cairns pottery, objects of copper or bronze, steatite, beads, and shells were recovered.

One of the richest graves, cairn 20, held two bowls of copper or bronze, a steatite bowl, a dagger and a belt buckle of copper or bronze, and a large button of polished shell (fig. 9).

The dagger was compared by Bibby to similar weapons from Talish in the Caspian area and from Luristan (23) and dated to the 14th-13th centuries BC. Related rim-flanged daggers (and the Talish weapons) have since then been given a late second millennium date by Dyson on the basis of inscriptions, comparative typology, and the Hasanlu stratigraphy supported by radiocarbon tests (24). The dagger is the only one of its type in Buraimi. Not so the steatite vessel.

From a tell between Hili and Qatara investigated in 1968 fragments of several steatite bowls like the one from the Hafit grave were recovered, and the same ornamentation was found on pottery from the tell, while the spouted bronze bowl from Hafit also had its counterpart in clay vessels there, often with red-painted cross-hatching on the rim. The tell also produced a number of tanged arrowheads of copper or bronze, the majority leaf-shaped, some triangular (fig. 10). In several places in Persia these accompany the rim-flanged daggers (25).

That steatite, pottery, and arrowheads belong to the same culture has been confirmed from finds at Dibba on the east coast of the Oman peninsula, where the same

assemblage plus two shell buttons similar to the one from the Hafit cairn have been collected (fig. 11). Further proof was forthcoming during the 1970 season in Buraimi.

Breaking the monotony of the red sandhills at the northwestern edge of the Buraimi oasis at Quarn Bint Sa'ud stands an outcrop of rock. On its flat top several cairns were located and one of them was opened. The investigation is not finished, but apparently the construction is the same as in the Hafit cairns. So far a wealth of steatite and arrowheads as known from Dibba, the Hili-Qatara tell and the Hafit graves has been recovered besides pottery as known from Dibba and the tell, and once again a shell button.

This button is plain like the one from the Hafit grave, but one of the two from Dibba has a dotted-circle ornament (fig. 11C). Parallels to these are known from Nimrud, where they are dated 9th-8th centuries BC (26). Similar shells are known from Persia (27). They are probably made from *Xancus gravis* Dillwyn, a shell found in South Indian waters (28) and as far as the Arabian Gulf (29). Some are undecorated, but the dotted-circle ornament is frequently found on them. Most of them seem to have a perforation in the centre, often with a bronze nail through the hole. There are no traces of bronze on those from Buraimi and Dibba, but the Bint Sa'ud piece and the ornamented one from Dibba both have a centre perforation besides broken loop-holes on the back. They are probably ornamental belt buttons. The Bedouins in the Oman still wear elaborate fastenings for their impressive daggers. Silver coins or conical buttons made of silver thread are often used.

In 9 of the 25 Hafit cairns small biconical jars were found, flat-based, short-necked and with bevelled rim. Some of them showed faint traces of red paint and in a few instances also black. After careful treatment in the laboratory two of them have regained some of their original splendour (fig. 1, 12A and 17A).

They are both covered with a dark plum-coloured paint, also under the base and inside, down the neck as far as the shoulder. Beside the pronounced carination between the upper and lower parts of the body, there is a second carination just below the neck, and below that the shoulder or upper part of the body is divided up into trapezoidal panels with designs.

One jar has apparently had a creamy slip applied all over, after which it has been covered with red paint, leaving every second panel on the shoulder in reserve outlined in black and filled out with cross-hatching in black or a stylized plant motif in red and black. Circling black bands frame this ornamental frieze.

On the other jar, the cream-coloured slip is confined to the shoulder, where in two of the panels it is the background for oblique black lines, while two other panels may have had black cross-hatching. The panels are also here bordered by vertical black bands, but there is no horizontal frame.

Closely related, almost identical jars, are known from Ur (30), Jamdat Nasr (31), Tell Uqair (32), and Khafajah (33), where they are dated to the end of the Jamdat Nasr period. The Hafit pots are in fact Jamdat Nasr ware.

Only the two jars described above had the colours preserved well enough to give an idea of the complete design. One further jar (fig. 18A) shows traces of red paint and black vertical bands, while a fragment from the shoulder of another vessel has a lozenge design (fig. 20A). It is possible to make out the cream and red in the design, and the faded lozenges were almost certainly black. The design is common on Jamdat Nasr ware and the colours are the classical Jamdat Nasr colours (34).

Most of the jars have apparently had the distinctive red paint applied all over. Some still have traces left, while on others the surface is too damaged for the colour, if any, to show. This red pigment has been much used on pottery in the Gulf area and was probably obtained from the island of Hormuz, where it is still quarried.

Usually the jars are made of a reddish-brown or buff ware tempered with grit,

but one is of a fine orange ware with a cream slip that has flaked off except in a few spots, and one is of a cream-coloured fine ware with a smoothly washed surface and no traces of paint left. In place of the first carination on top of the shoulder they have a grooved line, a detail known from Jamdat Nasr ware in Mesopotamia, here often combined with small knobs (35).

In most of the Hafit pots the carination is pronounced, but two small squat jars (fig. 15) have a more rounded body, and a slightly bigger jar, the only find from cairn 5, is almost globular (fig. 15). Both forms are known among Jamdat Nasr pottery, the globular type often with a spout (36). The Hafit piece may or may not have had a spout – it is too fragmentary to decide – but it is noteworthy because the form, the reddish-brown grit-tempered ware, and the decoration consisting of wavy hatched black bands on the shoulder are similar to those found in pottery from Umm an-Nar and Hili.

An ovoid jar with a pointed base (fig. 13B) is unusual. A similar form, but with a spout, is known from the Jamdat Nasr graves at Ur (37). No spouted pottery has been recovered from the Hafit cairns. It is, however, more remarkable that none of the four-lugged jars otherwise so inseparable from Jamdat Nasr have been found in any of the graves, perhaps owing to the disturbance. It is quite possible that costly substances like incense or perfume were stored in these vessels and were removed by robbers together with valuable metals such as copper.

Metal, on the other hand, is not abundant in Jamdat Nasr graves elsewhere, so it is not necessarily because of robbery that few copper things have been found in the Hafit graves (38). The prevailing metal besides copper in the Jamdat Nasr graves at Ur was lead, found as small tumblers and bowls. It seems an odd metal to choose for vessels, unless containers for volatile stuff are required, where fragrance is to be preserved. Not a single one of these was found in the Hafit graves.

At that time copper must still have been among the precious commodities, and the copper pins found in a few of the graves can be considered jewellery. They were probably hairpins. Hairpins of bone have been found at Jamdat Nasr (39), and from the slightly younger cemetery at Kish hairpins of copper are known (40).

Two fragments of copper or bronze were found in cairn 9. Both had incurving sides as if they were part of a spout.

Only cairn 20 (fig. 9) was rich in metal vessels, but this is so clearly an intrusive grave dating, as stated above, probably from the late second millennium BC. Unfortunately not all the intrusions are so obvious. In cairn 22 a leaf-shaped arrowhead of copper or bronze was found not far from two Jamdat Nasr carinated jars. In this case the arrowhead can with reasonable certainty be considered a stray piece and ascribed to a 2nd millennium context, because that type of arrowhead is known there. But from cairn 23 (fig. 22) comes a spectacular piece of copper or bronze to which I have been unable to find parallels. It is too broad and rounded for a dagger, and the midrib is too slender to strengthen it. Likewise the two rivets at the broad, straight end cannot fasten it to withstand much force, so it seems useless both as a weapon and as a tool. It was found with two Jamdat Nasr pots and two »hairpins« – nothing to suggest a later period. An analysis will of course tell if it is copper or bronze and the alloy may decide the period.

Nor can the steatite bowl (fig. 14) from cairn 4 with absolute certainty be ascribed to Jamdat Nasr, though the graves from that period are very productive of stone vessels. They are generally made of calcite, limestone, diorite or basic diorite, less often of steatite (41). In the slightly later period at Umm an-Nar and Hili the dotted-circle ornament is common on steatite vessels, while it is not known on the numerous steatite fragments from the second millennium BC culture in Buraimi.

From 8 of the cairns tiny beads were recovered – one or two of stone, shell or

carnelian from each grave. In cairn 8, though, one green-glazed bead was found together with a Jamdat Nasr jar, and in cairn 22 several hundred beads were collected. Six of them were of carnelian, and the rest, which were now faded to a dull white, had originally had a bright green or blue glaze. Both their shapes and the material agree well with finds from Jamdat Nasr graves at Ur (42) and from the settlement at Jamdat Nasr (43). Spacers found with them in these places would indicate that they have been worn as necklaces, but it is also possible that the small coloured ones have been embroidered on clothing as was the case later in the Umm an-Nar tombs (44).

Two fragments of pottery have been found in the filling soil, one rim fragment made by hand (fig. 19E) in connection with cairn 14 and one fragment of a base, also hand-made, in connection with cairn 16 (fig. 20B). Both are of a coarse kitchenware and do not necessarily belong to the graves.

All the Hafit cairns had a hole in the top, most probably caused by grave robbers. The objects left behind were found close to the wall of the chamber, pushed aside or overlooked. The secondary burials may have been introduced through the passage – the rich grave in cairn 20 was found just inside the entrance from the passage to the chamber – and the cairn would have been carefully closed again. In only one case, again the grave in cairn 20 from the second millennium BC, were the bones found in position. They were poorly preserved, but apparently the body had been placed on its side with the head towards the east. No conclusions can be drawn about the grave rites in the Jamdat Nasr burials at Hafit, not even whether they were single graves. Some of the cairns contained the bones of more than one individual, but they may well have been from different periods, and the evidence from Quarn Bint Sa'ud suggests that in the 2nd millennium period the cairn was used for repeated burials.

The Umm an-Nar graves were communal graves, and since a similarity has been pointed out between the pottery there and one of the Hafit jars, as well as between steatite and beads, it should be stressed that there is a difference in the grave construction. The Hafit cairns are mounds of stone, while the Umm an-Nar cairns are chambers. To state that this divergence is due to a difference in time or to social or ethnic distinctions would be pure speculation. The material is still too slender for any conclusions to be drawn about such relationships.

Since Jamdat Nasr ware has been located in Bahrain (45), it cannot come as a complete surprise to find it also in the Oman (46). The important thing is that it is not just a case of one stray pot, but of a group of graves where people were regularly buried with a collection of grave-goods as known from Jamdat Nasr graves in Mesopotamia. The important next step must be to find the settlement and try to decide its function. Was this a trading outpost? A group of metal prospectors? Or–?

The implications of Jamdat Nasr material in the Oman for the standing discussion on Mesopotamian-Egyptian connections at that time need not be stressed. The sea route between Mesopotamia and Egypt round Southern Arabia does not seem quite so long and improbable now, when ships could call at trading posts for important goods on the way.

Catalogue of finds from the Hafit cairns

Cairn 1. Small biconical jar of brownish grit-tempered ware, with a dark plum-coloured paint over a cream-coloured slip. Black geometrical designs on the shoulder. Pronounced carination. Flat base with diam. 6 cm. Bevelled-ledge rim with diam. 9 cm. Height 11.5 cm. Fragment of shell. Pin of copper or bronze, 11 cm long. Needle of copper or bronze, flat, 25 cm long.

Cairn 2. Small biconical jar of buff grit-tempered ware, with traces of dark plum-coloured paint on neck and body and of black vertical bands on the shoulder. Pronounced carination. Flat base with diam. 7,5 cm. Bevelled-ledge rim with diam. 9 cm. Height 12,5 cm. Ovoid jar of reddish-brown ware tempered with coarse grit. Pointed base. Short flaring simple-rimmed neck with diam. 3,5 cm. Height 15 cm.

Cairn 3. Tiny ring-shaped bead made of shell, diam. 0,4 cm.

Cairn 4. Small bowl of greenish-grey steatite, with incised dotted-circle ornament and horizontal lines round the body. Slightly incurving rim with incised oblique lines and with diam. 7,5 cm. Rounded base. Height 3,5 cm.

Cairn 5. Fragments of side and of flat base of globular jar of red grit-tempered ware. Traces of red paint or slip and of wavy hatched black bands on shoulder.

Cairn 7. Pointed knife made from a blade of light grey flint, steeply retouched along the back and with a flat obverse edgetouch. The proximal end with the bulb of percussion is slightly narrowed by retouch on both sides as if for hafting. Length 11 cm, maximal width 2,7 cm. Skeletal remains.

Cairn 8. Small biconical jar of brownish grit-tempered ware with a dark plum-coloured paint and black geometrical designs on the shoulder. Pronounced carination. Flat base with diam. 6 cm. Bevelled-ledge rim with diam. 8 cm. Height 10 cm. Small spherical green-glazed bead. Diam. 0,3 cm.

Cairn 9. Oblong pendant of shell, 3 cm long. Two fragments of copper or bronze with the long sides slightly incurving as if for a spout. Fragmentary small biconical jar of reddish-brown grit-tempered ware, with faint traces of a dark plum-coloured paint on neck and shoulder and of black design on shoulder. Pronounced carination. Flat base with diam. 5,5 cm. Bevelled-ledge rim with diam. 9 cm. Height 12 cm. Roughly ring-shaped bead of black stone, diam. 1-1,5 cm.

Cairn 11. Conglomerated fragments of copper or bronze rods, probably from a pin.

Cairn 12. Annular carnelian bead, diam. 0,8 cm. Fragments of skull.

Cairn 13. Small jar of buff grit-tempered ware. Flat base with diam. 6,5 cm, rounded body, short neck, and bevelled rim with diam. 6 cm. Height 8,5 cm. Conglomerated fragments of copper or bronze rods, very corroded. Probably from a pin. Cylindrical bead of black stone, 1,5 x 1,3 cm. Skeletal remains.

Cairn 14. Fragments of biconical jar of brownish grit-tempered ware with traces of dark plum-coloured paint on neck and body and inside rim. Bevelled rim with diam. 8 cm. Flat base with diam. 7 cm. Fragments of four skulls and other skeletal remains. Fragment of coarse hand-made pot of red grit-tempered ware, with everted thin rim, found in the filling soil.

Cairn 16. Fragment of flat base with diam. 10,5 cm, and side of hand-made vessel of coarse red ware tempered with coarse grit. Found in the filling soil. Base and part of body and shoulder of biconical jar of buff grit-tempered ware with creamy slip and traces of geometrical design on shoulder. Flat base with diam. 6 cm. Pronounced carination. Fragments of bone.

Cairn 19. Spherical carnelian bead, diam. 1 cm.

Cairn 20. Fragment of belt buckle of copper or bronze, with faint incised design of hatched bands. Bowl of copper or bronze. Flat base with diam. 8 cm. Slightly rounded body. Thickened rim with diam. 13 cm, and with short spout. Height 10,5 cm. Bowl of light grey steatite. Flat base with diam. 6,5 cm. Conical body with herringbone pattern and »Gothic arches«. Broad-ledge rim with cross-hatching and with diam. 13,5 cm. Height 4,5 cm. Fragmentary bowl of copper or bronze. Flat base with diam. about 6 cm. Slightly rounded body. Thickened rim with diam. 10 cm. Height 5,3 cm. Sword or dagger of copper or bronze with rim-flanged hilt to take inlay. Splayed pommel and constriction above the crescent joining the blade. Inside the crescent is a raised dotted-circle ornament. The blade with a heavy midrib is 30

cm long, the grip 11,5 cm. Shell button, roughly circular with diam. 6,5 cm. Convex. On the reverse three pairs of holes bored obliquely through the thick shell, so that they do not show on the obverse. Skeletal remains.

Cairn 21. Spherical carnelian bead with diam. 0,5 cm. Annular carnelian bead with diam. 0,5 cm.

Cairn 22. Biconical jar of fine orange ware with a creamy slip. Incised horizontal line on shoulder and pronounced carination. Flat base with diam. 6 cm. Bevelled rim with diam. 8,5 cm. Height 10,5 cm. Biconical jar of buff grit-tempered ware, partly discoloured by fire. Faint traces of dark plum-coloured paint on the rim. Pronounced carination. Flat base with diam. 5 cm. Bevelled rim with diam. 8,5 cm. Height 11 cm. Biconical jar of reddish-brown grit-tempered ware with traces of plum-coloured paint on shoulder and base. Incised horizontal line on the shoulder and pronounced carination. Ring-base with diam. 12 cm. Bevelled rim with diam. 13 cm. Height 22,5 cm. Tanged leaf-shaped arrowhead of copper or bronze with a heavy midrib. Total length 5 cm, of which the tang is 1,5 cm. About 400 cylindrical or annular beads, originally green- or blue-glazed. Diam. 0,3-0,5 cm. Length 0,2-0,6 cm. Fragment of cockle shell.

Cairn 23. Jar of reddish-brown grit-tempered ware with rounded body and short neck. Flat base with diam. 4,5 cm. Bevelled rim with diam. 9 cm. Height 14 cm. Biconical jar of cream-coloured ware with incised horizontal line on the shoulder and pronounced carination. Probably flat base, though too badly broken to decide, with diam. about 4 cm. Bevelled rim with diam. 8 cm. Height 11 cm. Pin of copper or bronze, with square section, tapering to a point. Length 12 cm. Pin of copper or bronze, with square section, tapering to a point. Length 11,5 cm. »Dagger« blade of copper or bronze, with slight mid-rib, one end straight with two rivets, the other end rounded. Length 21,5 cm. Maximal width 6,5 cm. Skeletal remains.

Cairn 10, 15, 17 and west chamber of 24 were empty, while cairn 6, 18, and east chamber of 24 contained fragments of bone.

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NOTES

- 1) K. Thorvildsen in *Kuml* 1962, p. 191–219.
- 2) Thorvildsen op. cit. p. 219 and fig. 23.
- 3) Beatrice de Cardi in *Iran* VI, 1968, fig. 9–10.
- 4) J.-M. Casal, *Fouilles de Mundigak*, 1961, fig. 74 and 76.
- 5) de Cardi op. cit. p. 149.
- 6) Karen Frifelt in *Kuml* 1968, fig. 1 and 5.
- 7) T. G. Bibby in *Kuml* 1966, p. 94 and fig. 12.
- 8) F. A. Durrani in *Ancient Pakistan*, I, 1964, p. 51–96; G. Dales in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, ed. Ehrich, Chicago 1965, p. 273.
- 9) P. Delougaz in *Iraq* XXII, 1960, p. 94; Edith Porada in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, p. 164.
- 10) B. de Cardi op. cit. pl. IV.
- 11) Personal communication from the excavator, Professor C. Lamberg-Karlovsky.
- 12) L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations IV: The Early Periods*, Philadelphia 1955, pl. 34, U. 19213a.
- 13) Woolley, *Ur Excavations II: The Royal Cemetery*, pl. 241,8.
- 14) P. Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, OIP vol. LXIII, Chicago 1952, p. 64 and pl. 54e.
- 15) Delougaz op. cit. p. 52–53 and pl. 38c-d-e.
- 16) *Ur Excavations II*, pl. 254,61.

- 17) P. R. S. Moorey in *Iraq XXVIII*, 1966, p. 43; E. Porada *op. cit.* p. 162.
- 18) Bibby in *Kuml* 1964, p. 108 and fig. 5.
- 19) Personal communication from Professor C. Lamberg-Karlovsky.
- 20) The carbon dates have been run by Mobil Research and Development Corporation and give the dates 1653 \pm 213 BC (SM 1236), 1765 \pm 217 BC (SM 1237), 1653 \pm 213 BC (SM 1238), and 1990 \pm 213 BC (SM 1239). To correct them for the error caused by the influence of the geomagnetic field of the earth about 400 years must be added to these dates.
- 21) Peder Mortensen in *Kuml* 1970, p. 390 fig. 6.
- 22) Bibby in *Kuml* 1964, p. 109.
- 23) C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée*, London 1948, fig. 217, no. 3, fig. 265, 15 & 16; Meldgaard, Mortensen, Thrane in *Acta Archaeologica*, vol. 34, fig. 31.
- 24) R. Dyson in Mellink (ed.): *Dark Ages and Nomads c. 1000 BC*, 1964, p. 32–43 and fig. 1–2.
- 25) For arrowheads see *op. cit.* in note 23 and 24.
- 26) M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its remains*, London 1966, Vol. I, p. 125 and fig. 66. I am grateful to Peder Mortensen for calling my attention to these parallels.
- 27) Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, 1941, p. 139 and fig. 254.
- 28) R. D. Barnett in *Iraq XXV*, 1963, p. 82 and pl. XV–XVIII.
- 29) E. Mackay, *A Sumerian Palace and the A Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia, II*. Chicago 1929, p. 136 and pl. XXXVIII.
- 30) *Ur Excavations IV*, pl. 26a, d and p. 110 and 124.
- 31) E. Mackay, *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq*, Chicago 1931, p. 232, 236 and 245 and pl. LXV, 16 and LXXVII, 1.
- 32) Wolfram Nagel, *Djamdet Nasr-Kulturen und frühdynastische Buntkeramiker*, Berlin 1964, Tf. 7,5.
- 33) Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, p. 48–51 and pl. 36c–d.
- 34) Nagel *op. cit.* Taf. 6,1 and 3b, Taf. 7, 1 & 9; Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala*, p. 50 and pl. 6.
- 35) Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala*, p. 49–50 and pl. 36a, m, d.
- 36) Nagel *op. cit.* Taf. 10,8.
- 37) *Ur IV*, pl. 63, No. 141.
- 38) *Ur IV*, p. 30 and pl. 69, 1, 4, 6.
- 39) Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, 1931, p. 271 and pl. LXXI, 8–12.
- 40) Mackay, . . . the A Cemetery at Kish, 1929, p. 169 and pl. LVIII.
- 41) *Ur IV*, p. 31 and pl. 32–34.
- 42) *Ur IV*, p. 32 and pl. 27.
- 43) Mackay, *Jemdet Nasr*, 1931, p. 272 and pl. LXXII and LXXV.
- 44) Thorvildsen *op. cit.* p. 217 and fig. 16.
- 45) Peder Mortensen *op. cit.* p. 386 fig. 3.
- 46) Dr. R. D. Barnett informs me that two pots of Jamdat Nasr type, which were acquired in the Buraimi oasis, have been presented to the British Museum, and will be published shortly by Dr. E. C. I. Doring Caspers. This pottery probably came from a tomb in the Hafit area.

