

KUML



ÅRBOG FOR JYSK ARKÆOLOGISK SELSKAB
1956

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With Summaries in English

UNIVERSITETSFORLAGET I AARHUS

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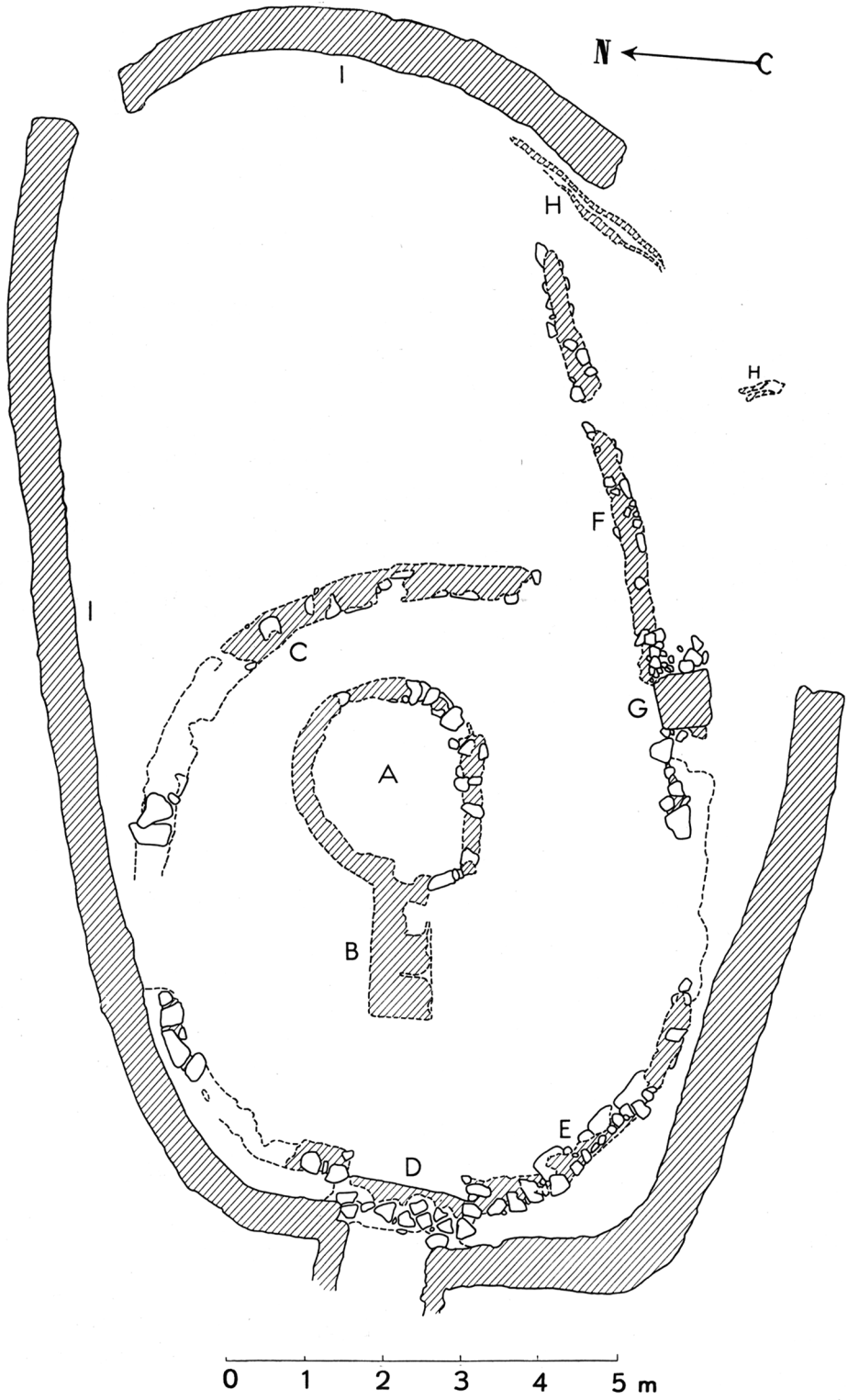
Fig. 1. Ovalanlægget set fra nordøst. I baggrunden rampen, der fører op til hovedtemplet.
The oval seen from the NE. In the background the ramp leading up to the main temple.

BARBARTEMPLETS OVALE ANLÆG

Af PEDER MORTENSEN

Da toppen af den store grushøj, der lå hen over tempelbygningerne ved Barbar, i vinteren 1955 var blevet fjernet, opdagede man i højens østlige side overkanten af en oval mur, som ved en ca. 5 m lang og $1\frac{1}{2}$ m bred rampe var forbundet med templet. Samme år foretoges nogle orienterende undersøgelser på stedet, og i februar–marts 1956 blev området inden for muren udgravet, hvorved det mærkelige anlæg fremkom (fig. 1), som i det følgende kort skal omtales.

Over et grågult gruslag fandtes i bunden af anlægget et ca. 10 cm tykt gulv, bestående af en grovkornet, grålig gipsmasse, der mod øst gik jævnt over i et blødere, mere leret lag med mange småsten. Omtrent ved midten af anlæggets vestlige halvdel fandtes en lav platform (fig. 2 A), der hævede sig ca. 15 cm op over gulvet. Platformen havde gipsgulv og var kantet af en skævt cirkulær mur, dannet af rå, utilhugne sten, sammenkittet af lys, fin gips; dens indre diameter var 1,80–2,20 m. Muren var 10–15 cm tyk og ragede 3–5 cm op over platformens



gulvniveau. Gipsgulvet nåede under platformen sin største tykkelse, idet det her udfyldte en ca. 30 cm dyb, jævnt afrundet grube, nedgravet i det gule gruslag. I tilknytning til platformen fandtes mod vest en ca. 1,60 m lang, rektangulær gipsklods (fig. 2 B), hvori sås aftryk af tre store sten, hvis flademål har været ca. 25 × 40 cm. Det er muligt, at gipsklodsen oprindeligt har tjent som et lavt bord, eller den kan, hvis de manglende sten har været meget flade og således er gået i eet med den cirkulære mur, have dannet en slags trin foran platformen. Disse bygningsdele, platformen og den rektangulære gipsklods, var omgivet af en lav, næsten cirkulær mur med en diameter på 6,50–7,50 m (fig. 2 C). Muren var 40–45 cm bred og hævede sig, hvor den var højest, 20–25 cm op over gipsgulvet; den var, ligesom den mur, der kantede platformen, dannet af tilfældige sten, sammenholdt af finkornet gips. Bedst bevaret var muren mod vest og nordøst, andre steder sås kun dens aftryk i gipsgulvet, eller sporene efter den var helt udslettet. Mod vest var muren åben, idet den her var sammenbygget med rampens nederste trin (fig. 2 D); dette trin var rått formet i gips og bærer endnu de stivnede aftryk af bygmesterens – eller en slaves – hænder.

Det nederste gipsgulv var delvist dækket af et gråsort, pulveragtigt lag, sandsynligvis aflejret af vand, idet en ganske fin horisontal lagdeling kunne iagttages. Laget har mod syd været ca. 15 cm, mod nord kun et par cm tykt, idet gulvet her ligger 15–20 cm højere end mod syd. Aflejringen har antagelig dækket partier af de ældste mure, hvilket har givet anledning dels til anlæggelsen af et nyt gipsgulv, dels til en forhøjelse af den ydre, cirkulære mure sydlig del, bygning af en ny, NØ–SV gående mur, nedlægning af en drærende samt muligvis en lille forhøjelse af rampen.

Det nye gipsgulv har været meget tyndt og er kun bevaret enkelte steder. I forbindelse med gulvet findes dels en sydlig forhøjelse af den ydre cirkelmur (fig. 2 E), dels et ca. 6 m langt, lige murstykke i retningen NØ–SV (fig. 2 F); begge disse mure svarer i bredde, højde og teknik ganske til den nederste cirkulære mur. Ved vestenden af den lige mur står en næsten kvadratisk gipsblok, ca. 60 cm på alle leder (fig. 2 G). Toppen synes oprindeligt at have været jævnt afrundet; den er nu uregelmæssigt afsprængt, og ved foden af blokken fandtes spredte gipsstykker, der formodentlig engang har været dele af blokken. Ved anlæggets SØ-ende var bevaret dele af en 10–15 cm dyb, 5–10 cm bred, meget ujævn rende (fig. 2 H), hvis vægge og bund bestod af grålig gips. Renden var nedgravet i det gråsorte lag og var kun fragmentarisk bevaret, idet den var blevet ødelagt ved senere gravninger på stedet. Den har oprindeligt været lukket foroven, og det er sandsynligt, at den har tjent til at bortlede vand fra anlægget, hvis gulv vel på dette tidspunkt har ligget forsænket i forhold til omgivelserne. Over rampens nederste gipstrin fandtes et ca. 10 cm tykt, gulligt gipslag indeholdende stykker af flade, kløvede sten; det er sikkert tænkt som en forhøjelse af rampen, hvis nederste trin var blevet dækket af det sorte lag.

Fig. 2. Plan af det ovale anlæg. A: platform, B: gipsklods, C: lav, cirkulær mur, D: rampens nederste trin, E: forhøjelse af C, F: lav mur, G: gipsblok, H: rende, I: ydre mur.

Plan of the oval. A – platform; B – plaster block; C – low, circular wall; D – lowest step of ramp; E – addition to raise height of C; F – low wall; G – plaster block; H – drain; I – outer wall.

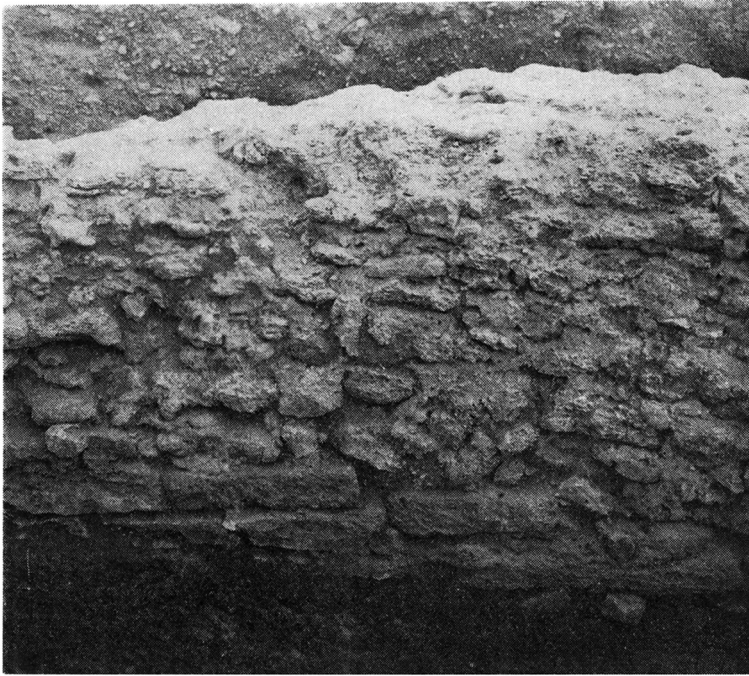


Fig. 3. Udsnit af den ydre, ovale murs inderside. Nogle af stenene er dækket af gipsbeklaskning.

Portion of inner face of oval outer wall. Some of the stones are covered with plaster coating.

Oven på endnu en ca. 10 cm tyk, gråsort aflejring er den yderste, skævt ovale mur blevet anlagt (fig. 2 I). Dens bund ligger i niveau noget højere end de ældre bygningsdele, der for størstepartens vedkommende må have været dækket af de gråsorte lag, dengang den yderste mur blev bygget. Muren er i NØ afbrudt på et kort stykke, medens et længere parti mangler i SØ. Disse stykker er fjernet af folk, der har gravet efter sten; deres spor ses endnu som forstyrrelser i lagene. Murens tykkelse varierer fra ca. 50 til ca. 70 cm, og den er, hvor den er bedst bevaret, 1,05 cm høj. Nogle steder skråner den stærkt indad; den har derfor næppe oprindeligt været meget højere, end den er nu. Det nederste af muren er sat af lange sten, lagt i 2-3 skifter (fig. 3), de øvrige dele består af hånd- hovedstore sten, sammenholdt af en gullig gipsmasse, hvormed også muren har været pudset på yder- og indersiden. Den ydre ovale mur er mod vest sammenbygget med rampens sidemure, der er blevet betydeligt forhøjet samtidig med opførelsen af den ydre ovale mur. Teknikken i den øverste rampemur er den samme som den, der er anvendt ved ovalmuren: lange sten i bunden og mindre sten opefter, sammenholdt af og pudset med gips. Mod syd ses under den nye rampe den gamle rampemur, der rager nogle få cm frem.

Det vil af ovenstående være fremgået, at det er muligt at udskille tre bygningsfaser, hvoraf den anden blot synes at repræsentere en reparation af de ældre

bygningssdele, hvorimod den tredje fase vel bedst opfattes som en indhegning af hele det delvist dækkede område. De to ældre anlæg har begge – ligesom det sidste – været åbne pladser, hvis mure næppe har været meget højere, end de er nu.

Inden for den yderste, ovale mur findes over de gråsorte lag aflejret et tykt gråligt gruslag. Det samme lag genfindes, sammen med de gråsorte lag, i profilet gennem den østlige del af tempelhøjen, hvor lagene er aflejret, mens tempel II¹), det største af hovedtemplets bygningskomplekser, har været i anvendelse. Det ovale anlæg synes således i alle sine faser at have været samtidigt med tempel II, hvilket stemmer godt med, at både rampens ældre og yngre del fører op til denne bygning.

Fundene fra de gråsorte og fra den nederste del af det tykke, grå lag er af en så ensartet karakter, at de i det følgende kan omtales under eet. Der fandtes et stort antal skår af røde, riflede lerkar af samme type som de, der ved de forrige års udgravninger er fundet i Barbar. Af særlig interesse var nogle rødlige fødder til ni lerbægre (fig. 4), alle ituslået lige over foden; af et par løstfundne randskår fremgik det, at bægrene havde haft en konisk eller let hvælvet overdel, og at denne overdel var drejet på hjul, medens iøvrigt fødderne var formet i hånden. Blandt skårmaterialet må også nævnes en halv snes kantslebne skår, hvis anvendelse ikke kendes. Af kobber eller bronze var, foruden et stort antal tynde, forvredne blikplader og nagler, en 14,6 cm lang skafttungepilespids (fig. 5 a) og et 10,5 cm langt fragment af en dolk med grebspids (fig. 5 b). Der blev yderligere fundet enkelte flintspåner samt et meget stort antal knogler. Af disse genstande blev langt den største part fundet i anlæggets vestlige halvdel omkring platformen og den cirkulære mur; alle bægerfødderne blev således fremdraget i området foran platformen.

Pilespidser af samme type som den, der blev fundet i det ovale anlæg, kendes fra prædynastiske grave i Ur²), og lerbægrene, repræsenteret ved de afbrudte fødder, er varianter af den type, der tidligere i en snes eksemplarer er fremdraget

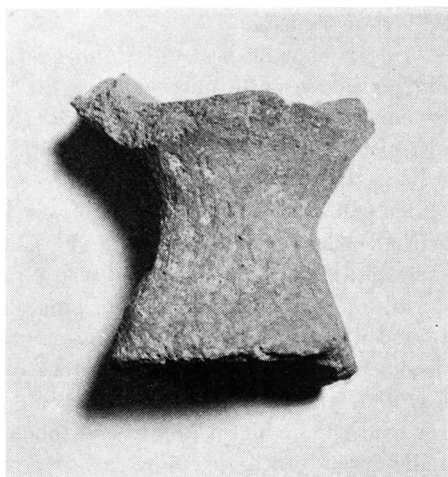


Fig. 4. Broken-off foot of pottery beaker.
Circa 1 : 2.

Broken-off foot of pottery beaker. Circa 1 : 2.

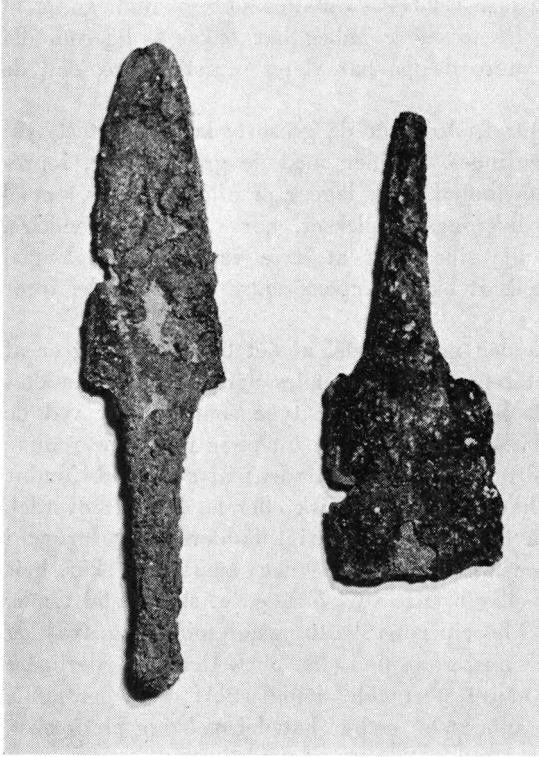


Fig. 5. Sager af kobber eller bronze, a: skaftungepilespids. b: fragment af dolk med grebspids. Ca. 4/7.

Objects of copper or bronze. a – tanged arrowhead, b – fragment of tanged dagger. Circa 4 : 7.

fra Barbartemplets 1. bygningsfase³). Typen kendes dels fra Urs prædynastiske periode, hvor den siden erstattes af mere åbne kopper⁴), dels fra Tépé Hissar i Persien fra niveau III B⁵). Sammenholder man dette med den datering, der tidligere er fremsat af Barbartemplets hovedfase (tempel II)⁶), hvormed det ovale anlæg i tid hører sammen, vil en datering til henimod midten af 3. årtusind sikkert være rimelig.

Søger man at bestemme anlæggets funktion, vil man se, at materialet ikke afgiver nogen faste holdepunkter for en tolkning. Mulighederne er mange, men en enkelt synes dog, frem for andre, at trænge sig på. Der findes inden for det mesopotamiske kulturområde to komplekser, der kan fremdrages som mulige paralleller til det ovale Barbaranlæg: det ovale Nin-Khursag-tempel ved al-^cUбайд⁷) og tempelovalanlægget i Khafājah, øst for Baghdad⁸), der begge er samtidige med Barbarovalen. Anlæggene består af kultiske bygninger, omgivet af een eller flere skævt ovale mure og forbundet med omgivelserne ved en rampe eller trappe. Skønt de to komplekser på væsentlige punkter adskiller sig fra Barbaranlægget – de er f. eks. noget større, og bygningsmaterialet er et andet: »reddish brick« – viser de dog i grundplanen en vis overensstemmelse, ligesom de har flere detaljer fælles: både i Khafājah og i Barbar er der på et vist tidspunkt, hvor niveauet uden for ovalerne er blevet højere end indenfor, anlagt render, som skulle hindre oversvømmelser inden for muren; i Nin-Khursagtemplet er murene på et sent tids-

punkt blevet pudset (med ler) ligesom den ydre ovalmur i Barbar, og alle tre steder træffer vi adskillige gipsgulve anlagt over hverandre. Fra det ovale Khafājah-anlæg⁹) og iøvrigt også fra Sin-templet i Khafājah¹⁰) og fra Sharatemplet i Tell Agrab¹¹) kendes en række kvadratiske offerborde, der oprindeligt har været afrundet foroven; bordene har ikke været egentlige altre, men blot blokke, hvorpå offerdyrene er blevet slagtet. Barbaranlæggets store, kvadratiske gipsblok (fig. 2 G) ligner ganske disse offerborde. – Den mulighed, at det ovale Barbaranlæg, ligesom de samtidige mesopotamiske ovaltempler, skulle have haft en kultisk funktion, støttes på sin vis af fundene fra Barbar, idet da de mærkeligt afbrudte bægerfødder kan have været inddraget i kultiske ceremonier, medens de mange dyreknogler må forklares som levninger af offerdyr.

I en omtale af de ovale anlæg i Mesopotamien anfører P. Delougaz¹²), Khafājah-templets udgraver, at typen synes at være udbredt over hele Mesopotamien, mens den i tid er begrænset til den tidlig-dynastiske periode. Allerede i slutningen af forrige århundrede fandtes på Bahrain en basaltblok med en kileindskrift, hvori guddommen Inzag var nævnt¹³), og fra indledningen til to breve, fundet i Nippur, ved vi at Inzag – og tillige sandsynligvis de sumeriske guder Sin og Nin-Khursag – blev dyrket på Dilmun¹⁴), en lokalitet, der ofte omtales i mesopotamiske tekster, og som man i løbet af de sidste år med stadig større sandsynlighed har identificeret med Bahrain¹⁵). Måske kunne man da i Barbar-templets ovalanlæg se endnu et vidnesbyrd om oldtidens kulturforbindelse mellem Mesopotamien og Bahrain.

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SUMMARY

The Temple Oval at Barbar.

When the summit of the large gravel mound which covered the temple buildings at Barbar was removed in the winter of 1955 the upper edge of an oval wall, connected with the temple by a ramp of about 5 metres in length and 1½ in breadth, was discovered on the eastern side of the mound. In the same year some reconnaissance excavations were made at this point, and in February-March 1956 the area within the wall was excavated, bringing to light the remarkable structure (Fig. 1) which is briefly described below.

Above a yellow-gray gravel stratum a floor, about 10 cms. thick and consisting of a coarse grayish plaster, was found at the base of the structure; on the eastern side this plaster gradually gave way to a softer, more claylike layer containing many pebbles. In about the centre of the western half of the structure a low platform (Fig. 2A) was found, raised about 15 cms. above the floor. The platform had itself a plaster floor and was edged by a roughly circular wall formed of unshaped stones cemented together by means of a fine light plaster. The interior diameter of the circle was 1.8–2.2 metres. The wall was 10–15 cms. thick and rose a matter of 3–5 cms. above floor level. Below the platform the plaster of the floor attained its maximum thickness, inasmuch as it here filled an evenly rounded hollow, about 30 cms. deep, dug into the yellow gravel stratum. In association with the platform and towards the west a rectangular block of plaster was found (Fig. 2B), about 1.6 metres long and holding the im-

pression left by three large stones, the area of which had been about 25×40 cms. It is possible that the plaster block originally served as a low table, or else, if the missing stones were very flat and thereby reached the same height as the circular wall, it may have formed a sort of step in front of the platform. These features, the platform and the rectangular plaster block, were surrounded by a low, almost circular wall with a diameter of 6.5–7.5 metres (Fig. 2C). The wall was 40–45 cms. broad and rose to a maximum height of 20–25 cms. above the plaster floor. Like the wall that edged the platform, it was formed of rough stones set in fine-grained plaster. The wall was best preserved to the west and to the north east; elsewhere only its impression could be seen in the plaster floor, or else all trace of it was destroyed. To the west was an opening in the wall which here was built into the lowest step of the ramp (Fig. 2D). This step was roughly made in plaster which still bears the impress of the master-builder's – or a slave's – hands.

The lowest plaster floor was partly covered by a gray-black powderish layer, most probably waterlaid as a very fine horizontal stratification could be observed. Towards the south the layer was about 15 cms. thick, to the north only a couple of cms., as the floor here lay 15–20 cms. higher than in the south. This stratified deposit presumably covered parts of the earliest wall, which resulted partly in the laying of a new plaster floor, and partly in a raising of the height of the southern part of the outer circular wall, the building of a new wall in a northeast-southwest direction, the digging of a drainage channel, and perhaps in a slight raising of the height of the ramp.

The new plaster floor had been very thin and was only preserved at a few points. Associated with the floor are a raising of the height of the outer circular wall in the south side (Fig. 2E) and a straight section of walling, about 6 metres long and running in a northeast-southwesterly direction (Fig. 2F); both these walls correspond exactly in width, height and construction with the lowest circular wall. At the western end of the straight stretch of wall stands an almost cubical block of plaster, measuring about 60 cms. in all directions (Fig. 2G). Its top appears to have originally been smoothly rounded, but it is now broken into an irregular contour, while at its foot scattered fragments of plaster were found which presumably originally formed part of the block. At the southeastern end of the oval portions of a drain were preserved, 10–15 cms. deep and 5–10 cms. wide but very irregularly shaped, its walls and bottom consisting of grayish plaster. The drain was laid in the gray-black layer and only fragments of it survived as it had been destroyed in the course of later digging on the same site. It was originally covered, and its purpose was, undoubtedly, to drain off water from the oval, the floor of which probably lay at that period at a lower level than its surroundings. Above the lowest plaster step of the ramp there was a layer of yellowish plaster, about 10 cms. thick and containing flat stone chippings; it must doubtless be interpreted as a raising of the height of the ramp, the lowest step of which was now covered by the black layer.

Above still another stratum of gray-black deposit, about 10 cms. thick, the outer wall, an asymmetrical oval, was built (Fig. 2I). Its foot lies at a somewhat higher level than the earlier constructions, which must, in the majority of cases, have been covered by the gray-black layer at the period when the outer wall was built. A short stretch of the wall is missing to the northeast and a longer portion to the southwest. They have been removed by diggers in search of stone, whose passage is still marked by disturbances in the layers above. The thickness of the wall varies from about 50 to about 70 cms. and, where it is best preserved, it is 105 cms. high. In some places it slopes steeply inwards, and it has therefore scarcely had an original height very much above what it has at present. The lower part of the wall is formed of long stones laid in 2–3 courses (Fig. 3), the remainder consisting of stones ranging in size from a cricket ball to a football, set in a yellowish plaster with which the wall has also been coated on the outer and inner faces. Towards the west this outer oval wall is built into the side walls of the ramp, these walls being raised considerably in height at the same time as the outer oval wall was built. The construction of the upper wall of the ramp is identical with that used in the outer wall, long stones in the lower courses and smaller stones above, set in and coated with plaster. Towards the south, under this new ramp, the older wall of the ramp can be seen projecting some few cms.

From this description it will be clear that it is possible to distinguish three building phases, of which the second appears to represent nothing more than a repairing of the first structures,

whereas the third phase can best be interpreted as a walling in of the whole of the area partly covered by the black deposit. The two earlier structures, like the third, have both been open areas, their walls probably no higher than they are now.

Within the outer oval wall there appears, above the gray-black level, a thick deposit of grayish gravel. This same layer reappears, together with the gray-black level, in the section through the eastern portion of the temple mound, where these layers prove to have been deposited while Temple II¹), the largest of the main temple's building phases, was in use. The oval thus appears to be contemporary, in all its phases, with Temple II, a conclusion which is supported by the fact that both the earlier and the later ramps lead up to this building.

The objects found in the gray-black layer and in the lower part of the thick gray layer are of a so uniform character that they may be described here as a single whole. A large number of sherds were discovered of the red ridged pottery of the same type as that found in Barbar during the previous years' excavations. Of particular interest were the bases, of reddish ware, of nine pottery beakers (Fig. 4), all broken just above the base; two rim-sherds, found separately, showed that the beakers had possessed a conical or slightly curved body, and that this body was wheel-turned while the bases were formed by hand. Among the potsherds some ten sherds with polished edges may be mentioned; their function is unknown. Of copper or bronze a large quantity of thin buckled sheeting and of nails was found, and in addition a tanged arrowhead, 14.6 cms. long (Fig. 5a) and a fragment of a tanged dagger, 10.5 cms. long (Fig. 5b). A few pieces of flint swarf were also found, as well as a very large number of bones. The greater part of these objects were found in the western half of the oval around the platform and the circular wall; thus all the beaker bases came to light in the area in front of the platform.

Arrowheads of the same type as that found in the oval are known from predynastic graves at Ur²), and the pottery beakers, represented by the broken-off bases, are variants of the type of which a score of specimens have previously been dug up from the first building phase of the Barbar temple³). The type is known both from the predynastic period at Ur, where it is later replaced by more open cups⁴), and from Tépé Hissar in Iran from level III B⁵). If these parallels are compared with the dating previously proposed for the main phase of the Barbar temple (Temple II)⁶), the period to which the oval belongs, a dating to round about the middle of the Third Millennium BC would appear to be reasonable.

Turning to the question of the function of the structure it will be seen that the material finds do not give any definite basis for an interpretation. The possibilities are numerous, but among them one appears to demand especial consideration. Within the area of the Mesopotamian civilisation two structures are known which can be adduced as possible parallels to the Barbar oval: the oval temple of Nin-Khursag at al-'Ubaid⁷) and the temple oval at Khafājah, east of Baghdad⁸), both of which are contemporary with the Barbar oval. The structures consist of cult-buildings, surrounded by one or more asymmetrical oval walls and connected with the surrounding structures by a ramp or a stairway. Although the two structures differ in important respects from the Barbar oval – they are, for example, somewhat larger, and the building material is different: “reddish brick” – they show in plan a certain measure of agreement, while they have also several details in common: both at Khafājah and at Barbar, at a time when the level outside the oval has been higher than that inside, drains have been constructed to prevent flooding within the wall; in the Nin-Khursag temple the walls were plastered (with clay) at a late period in the same way as the outer wall at Barbar, while on all three sites we find several plaster floors laid the one above the other. From the Khafājah oval⁹), and moreover also from the Sin temple at Khafājah¹⁰) and from the Shara temple at Tell Agrab¹¹), a series of cubical sacrificial tables is known, originally rounded at the top; these tables have not been actual altars, but merely blocks on which the sacrificial animals were slaughtered. The large cubical plaster block in the Barbar oval (Fig. 2G) resembles these sacrificial tables exactly. The possibility that the Barbar oval, like the contemporary oval temples of Mesopotamia, has had a cult function is supported to some degree by the objects found at Barbar; thus the remarkable broken beaker bases may have been used in cult ceremonies, while the numerous animal bones must be explained as the remains of sacrificial animals.

In a survey of the Mesopotamian ovals P. Delougaz¹²), the excavator of the Khafājah temple, states that the type appears to be found throughout Mesopotamia, though restricted in time to the Early Dynastic Period. As early as the close of the last century a basalt block was found

in Bahrain bearing a cuneiform inscription mentioning the god Inzag¹³), while from the introduction to two letters found at Nippur we know that Inzag – and probably in addition the Sumerian divinities Sin and Nin-Khursag – were worshipped in Dilmun¹⁴), a locality which is often mentioned in Sumerian texts and which has in the course of the last few years been identified with ever greater certainty with Bahrain¹⁵). It is possible that the temple oval at Barbar can be seen as yet another indication of prehistoric cultural connections between Mesopotamia and Bahrain.

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NOTER

¹) P. V. Glob, *Templer ved Barbar* (KUML 1954), p. 142 ff. og P. V. Glob, *Udgravninger på Bahrain* (KUML 1955), p. 180 ff. ²) C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, vol. II (1934), pl. 227, 5a-c. ³) P. V. Glob, *anf. arb.* 1955, p. 182 fig. 5. ⁴) C. L. Woolley, *anf. arb.* 1934, pl. 25, 7 c. ⁵) Erich F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan* (Philadelphia 1937), pl. XXXVIII, H 2434. ⁶) P. V. Glob, *anf. arb.* 1954, p. 147-49 og 1955, p. 188-89. ⁷) P. Delougaz, *A Short Investigation of the Temple at al-Ubaid* (Iraq, vol. V, 1938). ⁸) P. Delougaz, *The Temple Oval at Khafājah* (Oriental Institute Publications, vol. LIII, 1940). ⁹) P. Delougaz, *anf. arb.* 1940, p. 82 fig. 73. ¹⁰) P. Delougaz a. Seton Lloyd, *Presargonid Temples in the Diyala Region* (Oriental Institute Publications, vol. LVIII, 1942), p. 64, p. 66 fig. 59, p. 75 fig. 67 og p. 76 fig. 68. ¹¹) P. Delougaz a. S. Lloyd, *anf. arb.* 1942, p. 231 fig. 178. ¹²) P. Delougaz, *anf. arb.* 1940, p. 144. ¹³) P. V. Glob, *Bahrain* (KUML 1954), p. 97 fig. 4. ¹⁴) P. B. Cornwall, *Two Letters from Dilmun* (Journal of Cuneiform Studies, vol. VI, 4, 1952), p. 141-42. ¹⁵) P. B. Cornwall, *On the Location of Dilmun* (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, nr. 103, 1946), p. 3 ff.