3. Philological presentation - L. Milano

3.1 Introduction

The two Old Akkadian cuneiform tablets presented in this article¹⁸ are the first epigraphical documents found in a well-stratified context at Tell Mozan since the beginning of the archaeological excavations at the site in 1984. In spite of their being fragmentary and rather poor in content, the two documents are of the greatest significance, especially considering the very limited amount of textual material dating back to the 3rd millennium B.C., coming from the Upper Khabur region.

In fact, information about this area during the Sargonic and Ur III periods is necessarily based more on archaeological than on written sources. The only available written records from this region are a few Old Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions (on bricks, bullae and clay tablets) from Tell Brak and Chagar Bazar,¹⁹ recovered in the course of regular excavations, and some other documents coming from private dealers, whose origin is still a matter of discussion.

The small group of Old Akkadian inscriptions recovered during Mallowan's excavations at Brak²⁰ has been increased recently by new and interesting

¹⁸I wish to thank Profs. Prof. M. Kelly-Buccellati and G. Buccellati – Directors of the Archaeological Excavation at Mozan – for entrusting me with the publication of the tablets dealt with in this article. I am particularly indebted to Profs. A. Westenholz and B. Foster who gave me their advice about the texts and provided me with various suggestions.

¹⁹Only two Old Akkadian iscriptions (A.391 and A.393) were found by Mallowan at Chagar-Bazar: see C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 4 (1937), pp. 178 and 185, Pl. XIIIb. (Copy of A.391 also in *AOAT* 3/1, No. 68).

 20 For an up-to-date list of these inscriptions – part of which have been published by C.J. Gadd in *Iraq* 7 (1940), pp. 60-61 and by O. Loretz in *AOAT* 3/1 (Nos. 69-82) – see I.L. Finkel, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pp. 199-201. Except for two tablets, which are still intact, the rest of the texts are fragmentary. Most of them are administrative texts and lists of commodities; in addition, there are some school texts (see A. Westenholz, *AfO* 25 [1974-77], p. 105 f.) and some inscriptions on bullae. Royal epigraphical finds from the same site, consisting mainly of economic and administrative texts.²¹

The documents bought on the antiquities market would be extremely important, were it not for the lack of data about their archaeological context, common to all of them. They are the seal of Daguna (written in Akkadian),²² and the famous Hurrian text with the dedication of a temple to the god Nergal by the king of Urkish, Tish-atal (*Ti-iš-a-tal en-dan Ur-kèš^{ki}*).²³ The provenance of the lion sculptures on which the inscription was engraved is unknown, but Tell Mozan has been suggested recently as the best candidate.²⁴ If the Tish-atal inscription dates to the Ur III period, as generally accepted, it would be slightly later than the other important text mentioning a king of Urkish, the so called "Samarra tablet,"²⁵ probably belonging to the end of the Sargonic period or to the beginning of the Gutean period.²⁶

inscriptions of Rimush and Naram-Sin were also found at Tell Brak. For Rimush, see AOAT 3/1, No. 83, a fragment belonging to the same inscribed alabaster vase published by M.E.L. Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947), pp. 27, 66, 197, Pl. L, No. 4. (Cf. Finkel's notice at p. 201. Contra: FAOS 7, p. 68). As for Naram-Sin, see the several mudbricks stamped with his name, a list of which is provided by Finkel, *ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

²¹See I.L. Finkel, *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 189-191; I.L. Finkel, *Iraq* 50 (1988), p. 83; N.J.J. Illingworth, *Iraq* 50 (1988), pp. 87-99. Besides 12 texts (or text fragments) on clay tablets, there is also a clay impression of the seal belonging to the ensi of Gasur, and 2 bricks bearing the stamped name of Naram-Sin (to be added to the other five discovered during Mallowan's excavation: see previous note).

²²This cylinder seal, belonging to Daguna, a wet-nurse (ama-ga-kú), was published by J. Nougayrol, Syria 37 (1960), pp. 209-214. For a revised interpretation of the inscription, see P. Steinkeller, N.A.B.U. 1988, p.32, contra W.G. Lambert, OA 26 (1987), pp. 13-16. According to a statement of the dealer (whose opinion is shared with no criticism by Nougayrol) the object had the same origin as the "Lion of Urkish" acquired by the Louvre (see next footnote).

²³The text is known from the stone tablet and the plaque held by a bronze lion figurine, now at the Louvre Museum (see A. Parrot - J. Nougayrol, RA 42 [1948], pp. 1-20; most recently FAOS 7, p. 382 with bibl.); and from a parallel and very corrupted version contained on the plaque of a twin lion, now at the Metropolitan Museum (see W. Muscarella in *Mozan 1*, pp. 93-99 with bibl.). Both artifacts have been bought from the same dealer on the antiquities market.

²⁴See G. Buccellati in Mozan 1, pp. 36-38.

²⁵Bronze tablet mentioning Atal-shen, king of Urkish and Nawar, and his dedication of a temple to the god Nergal "king of Khawilum": see F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 9 (1912), pp. 1-4 and, more recently, *FAOS* 7, p. 383.

²⁶The origin of an independent Hurrian city-state at Urkish has been viewed by G. Wilhelm 1982, p. 13 as a direct consequence of the collapse of the Akkad empire.

These being the limits of our sources, the new Old Akkadian texts from Mozan add some important elements to the reconstruction of the earliest history of the Khabur region: on the one hand they confirm the spread of the Old Akkadian writing tradition in a peripheral area of the empire; on the other hand, they raise the interesting question of the relationship between the local culture such as it is documented by the Hurrian inscriptions attested so far, and the influence of an Akkadian linguistic and cultural milieu, certainly implying an interaction of different ethnic groups.

3.2 Description of the tablets

M2 1 (MZ6, F1.121; see Illustr. 4-5 and Figure 6) is a large fragment of an unbaked tablet measuring 11.8 (width) \times 5,1 (height) cm. Its thickness is 2.8 cm in the center and 1.5 cm at the bottom of the face where the script is still preserved. One of the two faces (maybe the reverse?) is in fact completely lost: only a few traces of wedges are visible on the surface, along with some of the lines delimiting columns and cases. It cannot be ascertained if this face was originally convex or flatter than the other one, as it is now, after the break. The text is subdivided into four columns of writing.

M2 2 (MZ6, F1.122; see Illustr. 7-8 and Figures 4-5), is better preserved than M2 1. It measures 8.4 (width) \times 7 (height) cm and the two faces are equally convex, the center being thicker (2.4 cm) than the edges (1.6 cm). This tablet, which is also unbaked, is written on both faces, each one divided up into three columns. The obverse is much eroded on the edges, while the central column is in better condition. On the upper and lower part of this column there are two holes (maybe worm holes?), perfectly circular in shape, which go very deep and cut both the cuneiform signs and the horizontal lines that define the cases. The upper hole pierces the tablet, and comes out on the lower edge of the reverse, along an oblique line. The reverse of the tablet is rather well preserved; the writing ends at about the middle of the last column.

3.3 Texts in transliteration

M2 1 (F1.121); see copy on Fig. 6 and photographs on Plate II.

Obv.?	I.	(beginning is missing)	
	1'.	[] ^r x ¹	
		^r x ¹ ^r LA ¹ ^r AK ¹	
	3'.	ki <i>Be-lum-a-hi</i>	at the disposal of Belum-ahi
		ù Ú-[n]a-ap-šè-ni	and Unap-šenni
		[]	[]
	6'.	[] DA	[]
		[] ^r x [¬] simug	[] the smith
		[] x	[]
		에는 전 가지 않는 것이 가지 않는 사람들 것입니다. 가지 않는 것이 같이 같이 있는 것이 같이 있는 것이 있는 것이 있는 것이 있는 것이 있다.	
	II.	(beginning is missing)	
	1'.	[] ^r x ¹	[]
		[1 [?]] TÚG.DU ₈	the upholsterer:
	3'.	10+5 guruš	15 workmen.
		nu-bànda <i>I-ti</i> [-x]	The inspector (is) Iddin-[],
		a-zu ₅	the physician.
	6'.	šu SAL.SILA4	 •••• ••••
		šu-nígin 60+4 gur[uš]	Total: 64 workmen
		KI [X]	[]
	III.	(beginning is missing)	
	1'.	[gu]ruš	[work]men
		[] [[] x []] BU	
	3'.	[] LUM	
		[x] ^r x ¹ NI	
		[x-x]- <i>a-hi</i>	[]-aḫi
	6'.	[] UM	[]
		[]	[]
		[] ^r x ¹	[]

IV.	(beginning is missing)	
1'.	[X] DA [X]	[]] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [
	Gi-bu-[x]	Gibu[],
3'.	ki NAGAR [?] .ŠEŠ [?]	at the disposal of;
	Íl- ^r e ¹ -um	Il ² eum,
	ki <i>Šè-ni-za-sa-am</i>	at the disposal of Šenni-zasam;
6'.	Im-lu-lu	Imlulu,
	ki [(x-)]ku-da	at the disposal of []kuda;
	šu-nígin 40+[n guruš]	Total: 40+[n workmen],
9'.	$[ki? x-b]\hat{u}-n[i]$	[at the disposal of?]buni.
	[] A [?]	[]
	[x] [x] []	[]

M2 2 (F1.122); see copy on Figs. 4-5 and photographs on Plate III.

Obv.	I. 1.		[]
		[]	
	3.	[]	[]
		КІ []	
		KI [?] A ^ſ x ^ๅ ^ſ x ^ๅ	
	6.		
		(broken)	
	II. 1.	[x-x]-a?-hi	[]-aḫi
		[]	
	3.	• [] allia - alèite	
		[x x] NE x	
		1 [?] ^r Im [?] 1-lu- ^r lu [?] 1	Imlulu (?),
	6.	1 [?] Ša-lim-a-hu	Šalim-ahu.
		šu-nígin 10+3 guruš	Total: 13 workmen.
		nu-bànda Ì-lu-lu?	The inspector (is) Ilulu.
	9.	[1 [?]] Nita-zi	Nitazi (is)
		[1]ú [?] -ŠID x	the accountant (?).

1991]

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		[x] ^r x ¹ BE (broken)	[]
	III. 1.	I ^r x ¹ [x]	
		[]	
	3.	NA [x]	
		[x] KI ^r x ¹	
		[x] []	
	6.	AL [?] []	
		rx٦ LU []	
		[]	
	9.	[]	
		[]	
		[]	
	12.	^r x ¹ []	
		(broken)	
Rev.	IV. 1.	[]	[]]
		1 [?] Sa-[]	[]
	3.	Ì[R]	[]
		Sá-ha- ^r x [¬]	Saha[]
		(empty)	
	6.	1 <i>Na-bí-</i> [x]	Nabi[um (?)]
		in Si- ^r x ¹ [(x) ^{ki}]	in (the village of) Si[];
		1 dub-sa[r]	the scribe,
	9.	1 azl[ag [?]]	the ful[ler] (?)
		[x] ^r x ¹ [x]	
		in A -[x(-x)] ^{ki}	in (the village of) A[];
	12.	[x] SAG ^r x ¹	[']
		1 Šu-pa-è	Šupae,
		1 mušen-dù	the fowler,
	V. 1.	[]	
		[<i>d</i>]a ^{ki}	[in (the village of)]da;
	3.	[1 [?]] A-bù-am	Abuam,

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	1 Ì-lu-lu	Ilulu,
	1 Ik-su-tum	Ikšudum,
6.	1 [N]i-se ₁₁ -e-ni-su	Nīśi-ēnīśu
	in Ar-za-[k]um ^{ki}	in (the village of) Arzakum.
	1 Zi-ra	Zira,
9.	ki <i>I-sar-sa-ma-ak</i>	at the disposal of Išar-samak;
	1 Gal-bum	Kalbum,
	[1] ² À-WA-tu-rí	⁵ Awa-turi,
12.	1 Ab-ba- ^r i-lí ¹	Abi-ili
	КІ [x]	[]
	(2-3 lines are missing)	
1'.	[x g]iš-kin-[t]i	[] workshop

VI. (2-3 lines are missing)
1'. [x g]iš-kin-[t]i [] workshop in ^rDa¹-a¹/_b^{KI} in (the village of) Dāh. (rest of the column is empty)

3.4 Palaeography

The type of writing documented by these two texts fits in with the general features of the Old Akkadian cuneiform script. The signs show, however, a rather cursive and unelegant shape very similar to that of many administrative texts of the time of Sharkalisharri and after. If compared with the Old Akkadian tablets from Tell Brak, the ductus of the Mozan texts appears looser, and many signs, instead of being deeply engraved, are only superficially scratched. In broad terms, however, the chronological setting should be the same: notice e.g. the signs ŠU and DA, which are drawn with the vertical wedge going downwards, as is typical of the majority of the Akkadian inscriptions later than the time of Sargon. Notice also the shape of GAL, with more than five short horizontal wedges in front of the vertical one.

With regard to the cuneiform rendering of the numerals, a difference seems to exist between the Mozan and Brak inscriptions: in the tablets from Mozan the numerals are consistently rendered by means of wedges, while in those from Tell Brak they are mostly rendered in round form, whether they are used in the ac-

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counting of people,²⁷ or for expressing measures. It is to be acknowledged, however, that most of the numerals attested in the tablets from Tell Brak refer to weight or capacity measures, which are absent, instead, from the two texts from Mozan. On the other hand, pointed number signs are not completely lacking in the Old Akkadian inscriptions from Tell Brak.²⁸

A general statement can therefore be made that the tablets from Tell Mozan are contemporary with (or only slightly later than) the Old Akkadian tablets from Tell Brak, i.e. they belong to the latter portion of the Sargonic period. It is actually difficult to suggest a more precise chronology, dealing with a cuneiform tradition imported from Mesopotamia to a peripheral area of the empire, where the availability of written sources is scanty for comparative purposes.

3.5 Content and structure of the texts

Both inscriptions M2 1 (F1.121) and M2 2 (F1.122) deal with the accounting of people (guruš) listed by names, by professions and sometimes by provenience. Personal names in No. 2 are regularly preceded by a vertical wedge.

The list of M2 1 is badly damaged, but the structure of the text is clear enough: in the extant portion of the accounting we have two totals of men (II 7' and IV 8') seemingly put at someone's disposal. The sequence PN_1 ki PN_2 , occurring several times in col. IV (see also I 2'-4'), possibly denotes that PN_1 is at the dependence (or at the disposal) of PN_2^{29} .

M2 2 is better preserved, at least on the reverse, and does not deserve many comments. Notice that the name of the nu-bànda, "inspector," mentioned in II 7 is not the same as in No. 1 II 4'. The term lú-ŠID has been interpreted as a profession, but it is also attested as a personal name: see *USP*, p. 29 f.

Four place names occur in the text, all preceded by the preposition *in*: two of them are partially broken (see IV 7 and V 2), while the other two names (V 7:

²⁷See e.g. AOAT 3/1 69; Iraq 47 (1985), p. 190 (No. 5).

²⁸Cf. Iraq 50 (1988), p. 96 (No. 19) and p. 98 (No. 21).

²⁹For the sequence PN_1 ki PN_2 in Sumerian lists of personnel of the Sargonic Period, see e.g. B.R. Foster, VO 6 (1986), p. 42 and Pl. X (No. 18, from Umma), RTC 91 and 93; cf. ITT I 1379 Obv. 4-6, ITT II/2 5853 Obv. 5-7, ITT V 9303.

Ar-za-[k]um^{ki} and VI 2': $^{Da^{1}-ah^{ki}}$ probably identify small villages and are not attested elsewhere.³⁰

The final expression giš-kin-ti *in* GN, "workshop in (the village of) GN" (VI 1'-2'), possibly refers to the entire group of people listed in the record, whose number is lost in the break at the beginning of col. VI.

3.6 Notes on the personal names

The inventory of personal names attested in our texts is not large, but it is especially interesting with regard to their ethnic distribution. Along with a majority of Akkadian names we find some Hurrian names and other names whose linguistic affiliation is not clear. A list of references and comparative material selected from the Old Akkadian text corpus is provided hereafter.

- A-WA-tu-rí (M2 2 V 11). Hurrian name. Both elements /aw(a/i)-/ and /tur(a/i/u)-/ are well attested at Nuzi (see NPN, p. 208a and p. 269b f.; AAN, p. 38 and 151 f.). For the Hurrian element /-turi/ see also references at Gasur (HS, p. 53), at Mari (Sasson, Assur 2/2 [1979], p. 16) and Ugarit (PTU, p. 266). On the other hand, no occurrence of a name such as ³Awa-turi is documented yet in the Hurrian onomastics.
- A-bù-am (M2 2 V 3). I do not know of other occurrences of this name.
- Ab-ba-*i-lí* (M2 2 V 12). The logographic spelling for *abum* is rare in Old Akkadian names: see MAD 3, p. 11.

Be-lum-a-hi (M2 1 I 3'). Cf. Be-lí-a-ah: MAD 3, p. 22.

- Gal-bum (M2 2 V 10). See MAD 3, p. 145. "Dog (of DN)": cf. Ga-la-ab-É-a (ibid.), Gal-bù-Aš-dar (OSP 1, 47 I 3).
- Gi-bu-[x] (M2 1 IV 2'). Akkadian name?
- *I-sar-sa-ma-ak* (M2 2 V 9). The element *sa-ma-ak* can hardly be explained from *samākum*.

 30 For a list of place names attested in the Old Akkadian texts from Tell Brak, see particularly AOAT 3/1, 69 and N.J.J. Illingworth, *Iraq* 50 (1988), pp. 88-89.

- Ik-su-tum (M2 2 V 5). "He (the new born) has arrived." Also attested as Ik-šutum: see MAD 3, p. 154
- *Îl-^re¹-um* (M2 1 IV 4'). See *MAD* 3, p. 158; *CAD* L, p. 154b and *AHw*, p. 547b s.v. *le²ū*.
- Ì-lu-lu (M2 2 II 8; V 4). Very common name in the Sargonic sources: see e.g. the list of references in MAD 1, p. 204 and MAD 5, p. 107.
- Im-lu-lu (M2 1 IV 6'; M2 2 II 5 ?). The reading of the two last signs is clear (not Im-ku-ku!). The interpretation of the name is however problematic, both in Akkadian and Sumerian.
- Na-bí-[x] (M2 2 IV 6). Possibly Na-bí-[um], since in the break there is room for no more than one sign. For this name, see MAD 3, p. 195; Foster, Or 51 (1982), p. 341.
- Ni-se₁₁-e-ni-su (M2 2 V 6). "The chosen one" (lit. "The raising of his eyes"). See MAD 3, p. 209; Foster, Or. 51 (1982), p. 343; Illingworth, Iraq 50 (1988), p. 92 (Tell Brak). Cf. CAD N₂, p. 296b.
- Nita-zi (M2 2 II 9). This would be a Sumerian name if the reading is correct. See ITT II/2 4683; CT 50 169, 21; OSP 2, passim (see the Index, p. 198 s.v.). Since Nita-zi is preceded by another sign (not necessarily the mark for a personal name) broken up by a hole on the clay tablet, a different explanation is not to be excluded. The element -zi could also be interpreted as a formative element of a Hurrian personal name.
- Sá-ha-^rx¹ (M2 2 IV 4). I found no references for either an Akkadian, Hurrian or Sumerian name beginning with these two syllables.
- Ša-lim-a-hu (M2 2 II 6). Also attested as Sá-lim-a-hu and Ša-lim-a-hu-um: see MAD 3, p. 272.
- Šè-ni-za-sa-am (M2 1 IV 5'). Hurrian name, according to the first element šè-ni. As for the element za-sa-am, I don't find any good parallel or explanation. Cf. however the name I-sar-ni-se₁₁-sa-am in MAD 5, 9 I 13 (listed in MAD 3, p. 315 sub I-sar-ni-hi-sa-am as "possibly Akkadian").
- Šu-pa-è (M2 2 IV 13). The interpretation of this name is problematic. Both elements /šu-/ and /-pae(/i)/ are attested in the Hurrian onomastics: see

- Ú-na-ap-šè-ni (M2 1 I 4'). Hurrian name already known besides Nuzi (see NPN p. 164b; AAN, p. 157b) and Alalakh (AlT, p. 150) from Ur III and earlier sources. Cf. Ú-na-ap-šè-na: OSP 1 47 V 4; Ú-na-ap-še-in (on Ur III cylinder seals): HS, p. 112 and note 48; Ú-na-ap-šè-in: MAD 2, p. 110. Both elements /unap-/ and /-šenni/ frequently occur in the Hurrian onomastics in various combinations (see e.g. NPN, p. 272b and p. 255b f.; ShT, p. 69; PTU, p. 250 f.). Note the writing SI-en for /šen/ in the name A-tal-SI-en (king of Urkish and Nawar) of the "Samarra tablet" (end of the Sargonic period): FAOS 7, p. 383.
- Zi-ra (M2 2 V 7). MAD 5, 62, 4; 65, 4; OSP 1, 47 III 5. Is Zi-ra to be interpreted as a Hurrian name? The element /zir(a/i/u)/ often occurs in the Hurrian onomastics: see e.g. NPN, p. 278b; AAN, p. 175; Sasson, Assur 2/2 (1979), p. 31.

3.7 Conclusions

A first and in some ways obvious conclusion resulting from the study of the two records presented above is that they generally conform to the standard schemes of the Old Akkadian scribal traditions. The language in which the documents are written is plausibly Akkadian, according to the use of the preposition *in* before the place names. The syllabary, as well as the system of accounting and the formal setting of the lists, are typical of the Sargonic period (apart from the infrequent use of the sumerogram ki in the sequence PN_1 ki PN_2), and clearly demonstrate that the cultural influence of the Akkad empire extended farther north than Tell Brak in the Khabur area, with features similar to those already attested in other regions controlled by the Akkadian rulers.

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The names of professions occurring in the lists (a-zu₅, dub-sar, mušen-dù, nubànda, simug, TÚG.DU₈) are among the commonest in documents of that kind and period. More interesting is the inventory of personal names, showing a majority of Akkadian personal names (8 names out of 20), some names which can be explained as Hurrian (\hat{U} -na-ap-šè-ni, Šè-ni-za-sa-am, A-WA-tu-rî), or possibly Hurrian ($\hat{S}u$ -pa-è, Zi-ra), and other names of dubious origin (some of them, however, common in the Sargonic documents). This is insufficient to provide any statistics for the population living in the Upper Khabur area during the Sargonic period; it is however sufficient to date back to the second half of the third millennium B.C., at least, the presence of a Hurrian ethnic element in the region. Moreover, there is only one Hurrian name in the tablets which is also known in later periods (\hat{U} na-ap-šè-ni): such a circumstance allows us to think that some range of differentiation existed between the Hurrian onomasticon of the third and that of the second millennium, which may only be verified by the discovery of additional documents in future excavations.

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Figure 1 Site plan of Mozan



Figure 2 F1: Floor plan



Figure 3 F1: Section AA



Figure 4 Third millennium epigraphic finds from Northern Syro-Mesopotamian sites







Figure 6 M2 2: Obverse (1:1)



Figure 7 M2 2: Reverse (1:1)



Figure 8 Early third millennium ceramics from grave Ob1

a-d: Metallic ware cups; e: Ninevite V deep bowl; f: Scarlet ware stand Field numbers: a: Ob1.25; b: Ob1.26; c: Ob1.57; d: Ob1.36; e: Ob1.47; f: Ob1.52

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MOZAN 2

THE EPIGRAPHIC FINDS OF THE SIXTH SEASON

Lucio Milano

with contributions by

Giorgio Buccellati, Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, and Mario Liverani



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SMS 5/1. – The tablets recovered in Mozan during the sixth season of excavations in 1990 represent the northernmost find to date of well stratified cuneiform texts for the third millennium. They are accounts of people listed by name, profession and sometimes provenience. The language in which the texts are written is plausibly Old Akkadian, and so is a majority of personal names, but several names may be explained as Hurrian. The date is that of the later portion of the Sargonic period. Besides providing a complete philological treatment of the texts, this fascicle briefly describes the archaeological context – a stratigraphically well defined deposit within a sizeable stone building; it also provides a brief report on the work of the sixth season of excavations.

An electronic version of the text portion of this monograph (labeled CM E2) is available from Undena.

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