THE BANESH-KAFTARI INTERFACE: THE VIEW FROM OPERATION H5, MALYAN

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THE BANESH-KAFTARI INTERFACE: THE VIEW FROM OPERATION H5, MALYAN*

(Corrected version)

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The Kur River Basin (KRB) in Fars was the heartland of Elamite civilisation during the late third/early second millennia B.C. Earlier still, there was a significant Proto-Elamite presence in the late fourth/early third millennia. Malyan (ancient Anshan), which was the urban centre of Elamite Fars, had been the most important settlement in Proto-Elamite times as well (Sumner 1974, 1976, 1988). The ceramic assemblages associated with these two periods — Kaftari for the Elamite and Banesh for the Proto-Elamite periods — are distinctive.

Archaeological survey and excavation suggest that during much of the third millennium, permanent settlements virtually disappeared in Fars. The origin and nature of the Banesh/Kaftari hiatus in the KRB is not clear. Given its great agricultural productivity in earlier times, abandonment may have been due to climatic factors and resulting crisis in the subsistence system. Alternatively, it may have been a consequence of political processes; for example, the region might have served as a no man's land between competing states or tribal groups. At least three scenarios can be proposed:

- The KRB was indeed abandoned by all but the most occasional passerby.
- Settled occupation in the KRB ceased, but nomadic pastoralists passed through in spring and fall, or used the area for summer pasture. To this day, Qashqa'i pastoral nomads have a significant effect on the politics, land use and environment in the region (see Beck 2003).
- The KRB was largely, but not completely, abandoned by settled people and passing nomads.

Archaeologically, it would be difficult to distinguish the three scenarios, since the discovery of any mid-third millennium remains would support all of them. If, however, we can identify and trace the cultural origin of the Kaftari style, it would be helpful. Two propositions related to this issue concern the apparent discontinuity in settlement and ceramics at Malyan and its re-establishment as the primary settlement of the KRB in Kaftari times:

- Kaftari occupation represents a replacement population, with little continuity with the past, represented locally by the Banesh tradition.
- Kaftari occupation is just a continuation, perhaps with some new influences, of the earlier Banesh tradition.

Malyan, one of the few sites with both Banesh and Kaftari period deposits, is a good place to look for transitional ceramic forms or a transitional artifact assemblage that would support the idea that the Kaftari tradition was an outgrowth rather than a replacement of the Banesh.

The area of habitation at Malyan was no more than 130 ha. The remains of a 20 m wide mud-brick city wall, still extant in several places, date to the Banesh period and may have enclosed an area as large as 200 ha. (Sumner 1985, 1988). There is a clear stratigraphic discontinuity between the Banesh and Kaftari-period deposits in some excavation areas. Banesh levels in Operation ABC were separated from the later Kaftari strata by an erosional episode of unknown, but apparently centuries-long, duration. Similar erosion surfaces may also be present between Late Banesh and Kaftari strata in the trench across the city wall (Operation BY8). The TUV mound was not occupied after the Banesh period, which leaves the deep sounding in the north-east corner of Operation GHI, presented in this report, as the only source of information that can address the question of continuity between the Banesh and Kaftari periods (Figs. 1, 2).

The H5 Sounding in Operation GHI[1]

Operation GHI is situated on a low hill about 2 m above its immediate surroundings. It was excavated in an effort to find buildings that might be a source of the extensive Kaftari trash deposit found in the upper layers of Operation ABC located 60 m to the south-south-east of GHI. The upper 3 m of the deposit were a sequence of four substantial Qaleh and Kaftari period building

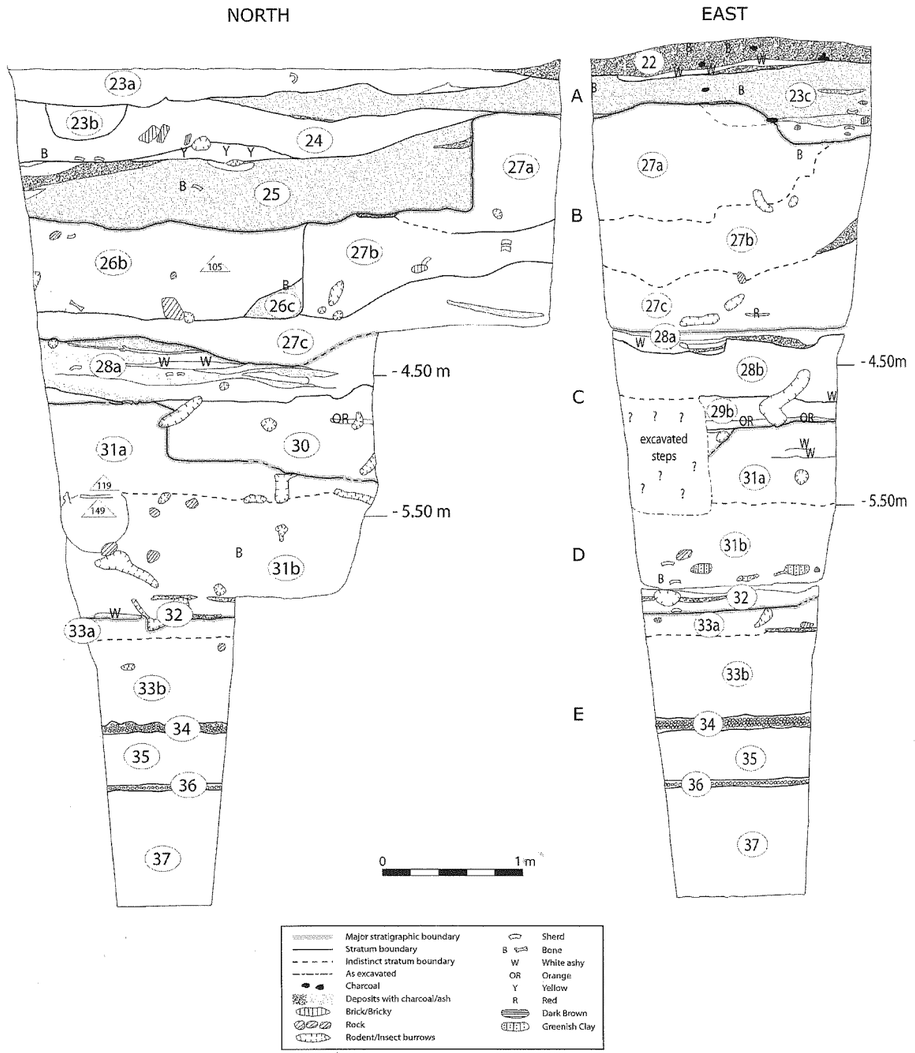

Fig. 1 H5, north and east sections.

levels. Within one of the rooms in Operation H5, we excavated a small sounding. Only 1.6 x 1.5 m at the top, it stepped down to 0.7 x 0.5 m about 6 m below the lowest floor of Building Level 3, the earliest building reached in H5. The goal of the deep sounding in H5 was to look for a stratigraphic connection between the Banesh and Kaftari periods.

Stratigraphic Analysis of the H5 Sounding

For the most part, excavation under the supervision of Miller and Linda Jacobs proceeded by arbitrary levels. Consequently, many lots, coded in the field as "mixed," may contain material from several depositional episodes or strata observable in the section. Deposits

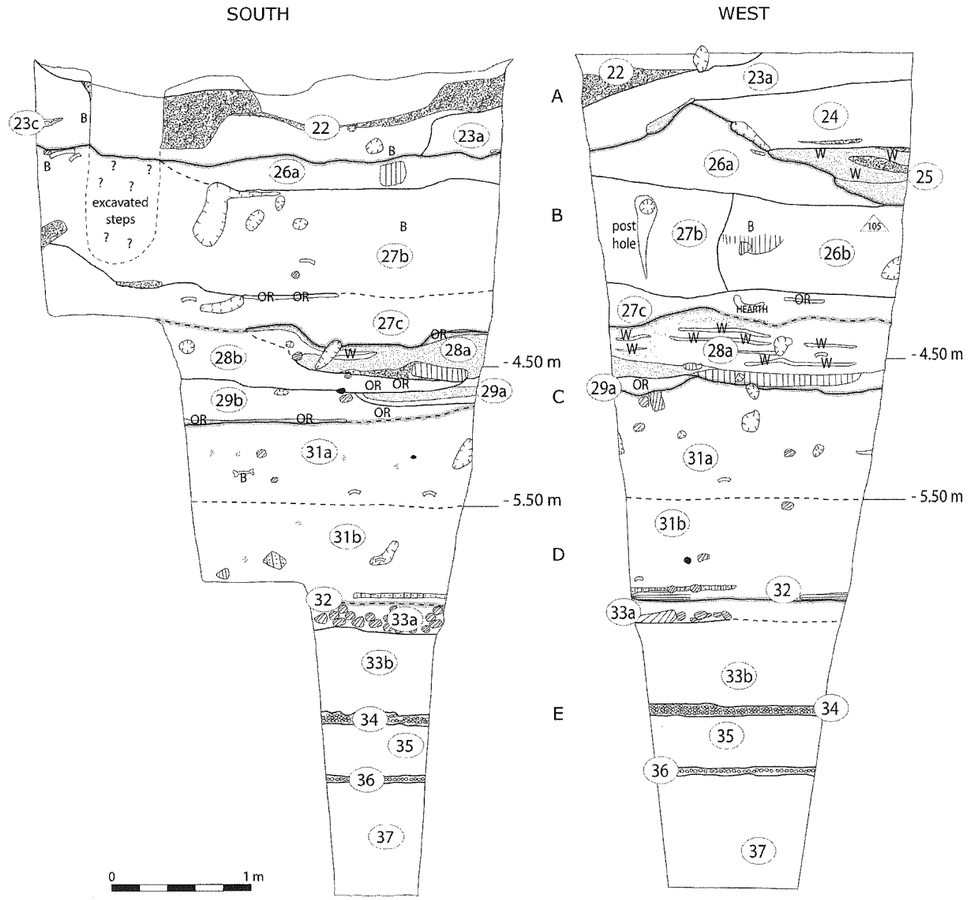

Fig. 2. H5, south and west sections.

distinguishable in the section may be grouped into broader stratigraphic units, so many lots which fall between strata may nevertheless be included in the analysis.

This summary explains how the deposits, from earliest to later levels, can be grouped into major stratigraphic units, E, D, C, B, A (Table 1).[2] No walls were encountered during excavation and none were visible in the sections; surfaces, too, were few. The brickiest deposits were in the lowest unit (E), which is also the unit with various gravel and pebble layers (over an admittedly tiny area). Above E, the deposits tend to be trashy, with lenses of charcoal and ash not uncommon; it is probably no coincidence that there is little brick material and that no expanses of clearly defined surfaces were found. The ceramics are discussed separately.

Stratigraphic Unit E (strata 37 to 33a)

The oldest major stratigraphic unit excavated was Unit E: thickness: 2.06 m; area at bottom *c.* 0.6 m^2, at top *c.* 1.4 m^2. The matrix consisted primarily of yellowish bricky sediments. The excavated area is so small and the character of the surrounding sediments is so consistent that there is no reason to treat the two gravel layers and one pebble lens as stratigraphically significant.

TABLE 1. Description of the major stratigraphic units and strata depicted in the section drawing (Internal horizontal lines indicate relatively clear separation between strata).

A	22	soft, white ashy and charcoal filled pit/thick lens	
		23a, b, c	soft whitish
		24	reddish, bricky
		25	grey ashy; pit?
	B	26a	overlying pit 26b/c, but basically like 27
		26b/c	pit, cut into 27b
		27a	reddish soil
		27b	reddish and greyish soil
		27c	reddish soil
	C	28a	charcoal and ash lenses, partly unclear boundary with 27c
		28b	trashy
		30	white ashy deposit
		29a	thin layer of fine-grained compact orange soil
		29b	trashy, over orange line
	D	31a	trashy yellowish sediments, with jar burial 149
		31b	trashy yellowish sediments, with some trash
		32	ephemeral surface
	E	33a	includes pebble layer visible in south section
		33b	yellowish bricky soil
		34	gravel layer, > 2 cm thick
		35	yellowish bricky soil
		36	gravel layer, c. 2 cm thick
		37	yellowish bricky soil

General characterisation of major stratigraphic units:
A: greyish and reddish soft trashy deposits with several thick charcoal/ash lenses
B: soft reddish trashy deposits
C: soft trashy deposits with many thick charcoal/ash deposits
D: trashy deposits
E: yellowish bricky deposits

The few artifacts included a praise blade (mf 9372) and a jasper flake (mf 9599).

Stratigraphic Unit D (strata 32 to 31a)

An ephemeral surface (stratum 32) separates Units E and D. In general, stratum D has a somewhat mixed character — ashy trash deposit, fairly soft reddish and greenish deposits, brick fragments. The area at the top is about 3.7 m^2. Unit D is about 1.6 m thick, with no obvious stratigraphic discontinuities. Halfway up, however, was a jar burial (feature no. 119/149). The jar, most of which was in the baulk, did not appear to be on a surface or cut into a pre-existing deposit. An arbitrary division of this stratum assigns 31b to the lower half into which the jar presumably was set, and 31a to the burial itself and deposit above it. The burial, thought to be of a child or young adolescent, may have been disturbed in antiquity — a skull was found first, over the jar. The flexed skull-less skeleton was within.

In addition to the burial assigned to stratum 31a, several significant finds were unearthed in strata 31b and 31a: wall cone fragment (mf 8811), the highest density of sealing clay and some sherd disks.

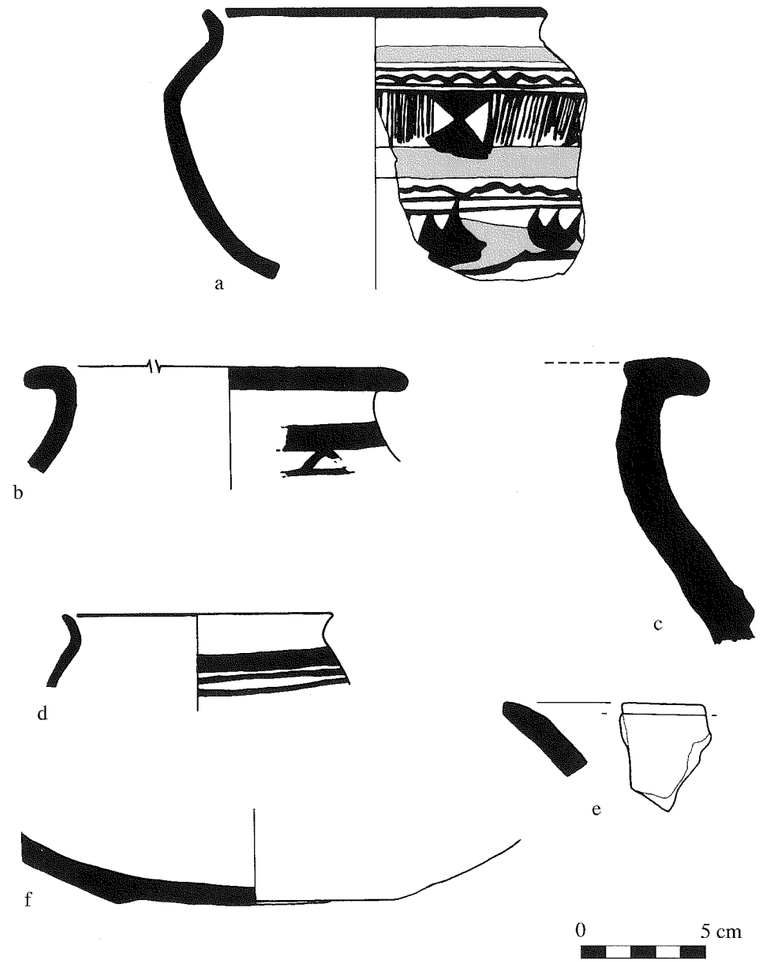

Fig. 3. Sherds from stratigraphic Unit D. The Black designs in Fig. 3a represent black paint; the grey bands represent a lighter colour, probably maroon.

Stratigraphic Unit C (strata 30/29b to 28a)

Unit C is about 70 cm thick and about 4.3 m^2 at the top. Separating Unit D from C is a thin orange layer (about 2 cm thick) that appears in the south and east sections. Over this, strata 29b, 29a, 30, 28b and 28a comprise a group of poorly defined ashy trashy lenses and a pit within the surrounding matrix. The deposit 29b, directly above the orange layer, is similar to the trashy sediments of stratum 31a. It does seem to be roughly contemporary with the less distinct orange layers of 29a, and so has been placed in Stratum C. A depression (stratum 30) filled with white ashy soil appears to be cut into Unit D: 31a, but also may be cut into 29b. A trashy layer, 28b, lies directly over 29b; there is not a clear stratigraphic break, but in the field it was

TABLE 2. Ceramics from the H5 sounding.

Major stratigraphic unit	A	A/B	B	C	C/D	D	E
Volume (m^3)	2.78	5.02	5.69	1.56	2.37	3.07	1.91
Bevelled rim bowl	0	3	3	0	1	1	3
Banesh straw tempered							
tray	1	1	2	0	1	4	6
pedestal goblet base	0	1	2	0	0	0	1
pedestal goblet rim	1	4	6	1	7	7	18
other	1	0	10	0	2	6	7
Banesh straw tempered, sum	3	9	23	1	11	18	35
Banesh straw tempered							
density (sherds/m^3)	1.1	1.8	4.0	0.6	4.6	5.9	18.3
Banesh grit tempered, sum	7	8	24	5	54	29	9
Banesh sherds, total	10	17	47	6	65	47	44
Banesh sherds,							
density of total (sherds/m^3)	3.6	3.4	8.3	3.9	27.4	15.3	23.0
Kaftari sherds, total	119	81	113	33	100	127	0
Kaftari sherds, density							
(sherds/m^3)	42.8	16.1	19.9	21.2	42.2	41.4	0

somewhat different in color and texture. A series of charcoal and ash lenses overlying 29a has been assigned to stratum 28a, even though on the west section it seems to become similar in character to 28b (a less ashy, but still soft trashy deposit).

Artifacts of interest include a big lump of sealing clay (mf 9024), a bone awl (mf 8600), a flint drill (mf 9024), a limestone bowl rim (mf 8878) of a type found in Banesh levels came from a mixed C/D lot (Fig. 3e), and many sherd disks.

Stratigraphic Unit B (strata 27c to 26a)

Unit B is of variable thickness, about 0.6 to 1.6 m, covering an area of about 7.3 m^2. The main distinction between the soft, trashy deposits of Unit C: 28b and Unit B: 27c, b, a, and 26a, is that those of B tend to be a bit reddish in colour. In all four sections, B lies over the ash and charcoal-filled deposits of stratum 28a. A pit (feature no. 105), visible in north and west sections, was not stratigraphically excavated. A small bit of charcoal-filled deposit is piled against its east side (26c), but the field notes suggest that the bulk of the pit fill (26b) had lower concentrations of charcoal and was harder than the material into which it was cut (27b and/or 27c). Overlying 27b and 26b, stratum 26a is a reddish, slightly bricky deposit. In the south section, its interface with 27b is unclear.

Artifacts of interest include many sherd disks, some possible sealing clay, and some copper/bronze.

Stratigraphic Unit A (strata 25 to 22)

Stratigraphically, the separation of Unit B from Unit A is somewhat arbitrary. Unit A is about 0.4 to 1.1 m deep, and the area excavated is about 8.3 m^2. A grey ashy pit (stratum 25) cuts into 27a and overlies 26b and 26a. A harder, reddish, bricky deposit (stratum 24) overlies that pit. Not distinguished during excavation, thick lenses of charcoal and ash are assigned to stratum 23. Stratum 22 seems to represent a series of ashy, trash deposits, which distinguishes it from stratum 23.

This deposit produced a large Sumerian tablet written in Old Babylonian script (mf 7950), a small amount of sealing clay, and an obsidian flake (mf 7785) from near Lake Sevan (Blackman 1984: 48, MAO037). A bone pin (mf 7893) came from a mixed Unit A/B lot (Fig. 6F). Based on the pottery, strata 22 and 23 represent a Kaftari occupation (see below). Stratum 22 was sealed by the Building Level 3 floor of H5.

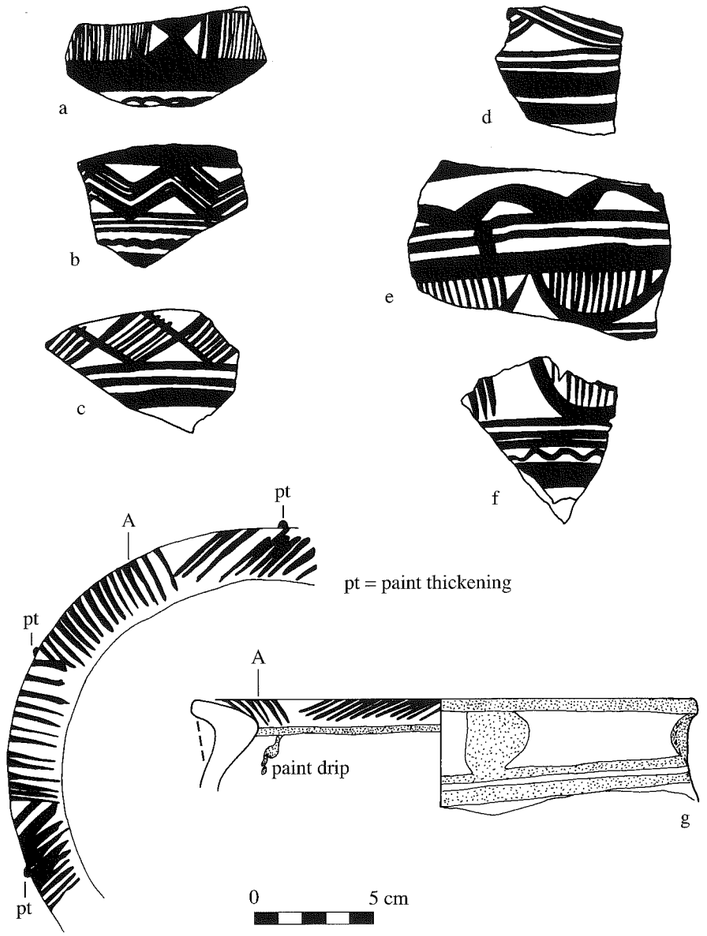

Fig. 4 Sherds from stratigraphic Unit D.

Ceramics from the H5 Sounding

The general characteristics of the ceramic assemblage from the H5 deep sounding are outlined in Table 2. The Banesh straw tempered counts have been checked by one of us (Sumner), but the Banesh grit tempered and Kaftari counts are field counts made by different individuals who may have used different attributes to identify diagnostic sherds. The following discussion relies more on the sherds presented in detail and illustrated than on the raw counts in Table 2. Nevertheless, the changing density pattern (sherds/m^3) of straw tempered Banesh sherds is useful as an indication of changes in the ceramic assemblage or as an indication of site formation processes that transported sherds from lower to higher deposits.

Stratigraphic Unit E

The earliest deposit in the H5 sounding, Unit E, produced an assemblage of typical Banesh straw tempered ware: three bevelled rim bowls (hereafter BRB), six trays, one pedestal goblet base, eighteen pedestal goblet rims (for illustration of these forms see Sumner 1974: figs. 4b, c, d, f and 5f, i), and seven miscellaneous straw tempered sherds. None of the nine

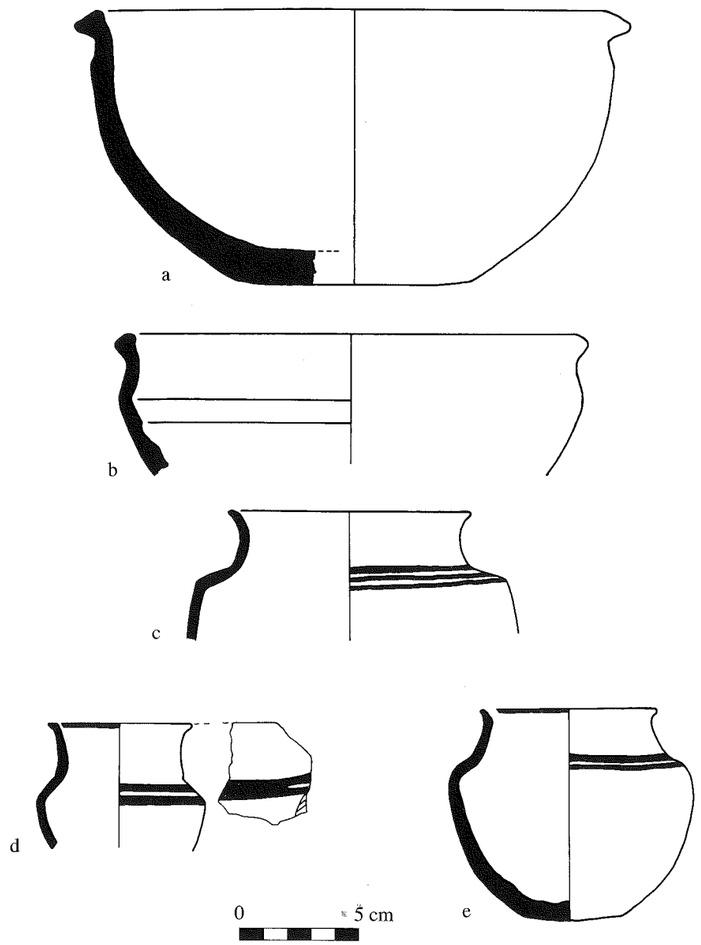

Fig. 5. Sherds from stratigraphic Unit C.

Banesh grit tempered sherds were large enough to produce a profile, but several sherds had maroon paint, a Late Banesh attribute, or black paint on red slip. The density of Banesh straw tempered sherds in Unit E, compared to their density in Unit A, together with the absence of Kaftari sherds in Unit E, is taken as evidence that Unit E can be dated to the Banesh period.

Stratigraphic Unit D

Unit D also produced an assemblage of standard straw tempered Banesh types, but at a lower density — 5.9 sherds/m^3. Late Banesh grit tempered sherds with black and maroon paint applied over a thin white slip also are found in this major stratigraphic unit. Other Banesh grit tempered forms include small and medium painted closed forms (Fig. 3b, d) a large plum slipped storage jar with a club rim and finger impressed shoulder ridge (Fig. 3c), a dark red shallow ring base plate (Fig. 3f), and a variety of painted motifs incorporating festoons, diamonds, and multiple zig-zag bands (Fig. 4a–f). Similar forms and motifs are known from Banesh levels at Operation ABC, TUV, BY8, and a recent sounding in the north-east corner of the city wall (Sumner 1985, 2003; Nicholas 1990; Abdi 2001).

Burial 149 was in a Banesh red slipped vessel with grey grit tempered body decorated with three rope relief bands around the shoulder and a single rope band forming the base. There was a hole in the centre of the base that was made before the vessel was fired.[3] Relief rope motifs on heavy grit tempered sherds and coarse cooking ware sherds are found in both Kaftari (Nickerson 1983: fig. 41) and Banesh (Sumner 1976: fig. 3) levels. Rough sherd disks, common in Kaftari levels, but rare or missing in Banesh levels, first appear in Unit D.

The diagnostic ceramics from Unit D also include three unusual items. The first of these is a small carinated pot with a flame motif not seen before at Malyan (Fig. 3a). The flame motif is painted in black on a light bricky red matte surface below an assortment of bands, meanders, vertical stripes, and an hour glass painted in either black or maroon. This pot is very similar to a group of Late Banesh carinated vessels found in the city wall (Sumner 1985: fig. 3J–M; see also Abdi 2001: fig. 22:7). Similar carinated painted vessels are known from Susa IVA (Carter 1980: fig. 28:1, 2, 7; see also Steve and Gasche 1971: pl. 16:7), and Godin III6, 5 (Henrickson 1986: figs. 4:3, 4; 10:10).[4]

An unusual rim sherd has black painted stripes across the top of the rim and brown bands on the edge of the rim and below the rim inside and out (Fig. 4). The paste is orange with a grey core and fine straw temper; the rim is thickened at three places between the rim and shoulder. Strong parallels for this sherd are unknown in either Banesh or Kaftari assemblages. The other unusual find in Stratum D is a small incised grey burnished grit tempered sherd.

Stratigraphic Units C–B

Major stratigraphic units B and C together with several sherds from mixed C/D lots produced a ceramic assemblage that has both Kaftari and Banesh elements. The general pattern presented by this combined assemblage is shown in Table 2. The density pattern in both Units B and C meet our general expectation in that Banesh density is lower than in Units D and E and higher than in A. This pattern implies that the Banesh to Kaftari transition or replacement, whichever it may have been, happened somewhere in the time between the dates of Units D and A in the H5 sounding. It is possible that the typical Banesh straw tempered forms continued to be produced and used in Units C and B, but it seems more likely that their presence in these layers is a result of site formation processes that bring sherds up from earlier layers.

Variants of the grit tempered open and restricted forms with rounded or expanded rims (Figs. 5a, b, 6a, b) are found in all Banesh deposits excavated to date (Nicholas 1990: pls. 20, 21; Sumner 1985: fig. 4; 2003: figs. 24, 25). Comparable forms are quite rare in Kaftari deposits. Close parallels seem to be rare in other assemblages, but some general similarities appear at Susa III/IV (Carter 1980: figs. 10:3, 13:6, 15:11, 25:7).

The group of three small pots decorated with bands (Fig. 5c, d, e) have straw temper, with some fine grit temper as well. Small pots of this type are common in the Kaftari assemblage, but the great majority have painted decoration covering most of the vessel (see Sumner 1974: fig. 6f–h). Parallels for these small pots are not common, but are found in Susa IVA (Carter 1980: fig. 24:3), in Godin III5 (Henrickson 1986: fig. 10:2) and at Tal-e Zohak in Fars (Miroschedji, personal communication). A small pot with the painted rim is made of a grit tempered red buff paste that is common in Banesh but rare in Kaftari. Other painted wares include several Late Banesh sherds with maroon paint on a white wash or red slip, including a closed form with a shoulder ridge, and two sherds of unknown affinity with a unique linear geometric painted design (Fig. 6g, h). Other ceramic finds include Kaftari sherd disks.

Stratigraphic Unit A

Unit A produced a variety of typical Kaftari ceramics: a red slipped tripod vessel leg (mf 9390, Fig. 7e), a burnished red slipped carinated bowl from a mixed A/B lot (Fig. 6d), a black on red slipped bowl (Fig. 7c), a small red slipped storage jar rim (Fig. 7b), and a miniature buff ware bowl (mf 7845, Fig. 6e) from a mixed A/B lot. Other diagnostic Kaftari sherds included streaky brown slip, bichrome buff, and red slipped sherds with bitumen repairs. The small bowl with black paint on red slip (Fig. 6c) from a mixed A/B lot is also typical Kaftari. It has been shown that red slipped sherds make up about 40% and buff sherds make up about 60% in early Kaftari levels; red slipped sherds then decrease in relative frequency through time. By this measure, Building Level 4 in GHI, roughly contemporary with Unit A in the H5 sounding, is the earliest Kaftari building excavated to date (Nickerson 1983: table 19).

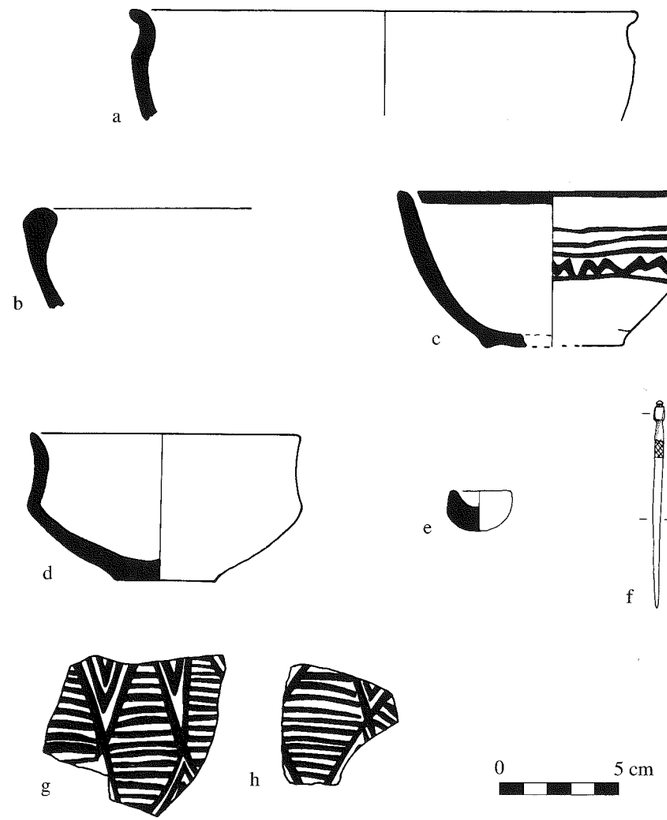

Fig. 6. Sherds and objects from stratigraphic Unit B and A/B.

The most unusual sherd from Unit A is a unique variant of the Kaftari left facing bird motif (Fig. 7a). This sherd depicts three birds swimming to the left in association with several floral motifs. Like typical Kaftari birds, these birds are fat, but the general shape of the body is quite different, the rendering of the head and beak is different, and the tails turn up, unlike other Kaftari birds (Sumner 1974: fig. 7; 1999: fig. 4). The floral motif in the band above the birds occurs on many Kaftari pots, but the leaves are in all other cases filled in solid rather than drawn in outline. Birds facing left that are comparable in style to Kaftari birds occur in very low frequency only in Susa IVA (Ville Royale I:9) (Carter 1980: figs. 28:14; 29: 9) and first appear in the Godin sequence in Level III5 (Henrickson 1986: fig. 8:2, 3).

The small spouted vessel painted black on red slip on red grit tempered ware (Fig. 7f) probably should be classified as transitional or Late Banesh. The small carinated bowl (Fig. 7d) with dark brown paint on orange buff grit tempered ware is close to Kaftari in shape, but the row of connected painted balls is not otherwise known in the Kaftari assemblage.

Unit A also produced several sherds of Banesh straw tempered ware (Table 2) and several grit tempered Banesh sherds including a nose lug and a sherd with maroon paint applied over a thin white wash.

The H5 sounding produced relatively few sherds and other finds. Several pebbly surfaces were detected in the sounding that could represent erosional episodes similar to the interface between Banesh and Kaftari deposits in ABC. However, the stylistic progression between H5

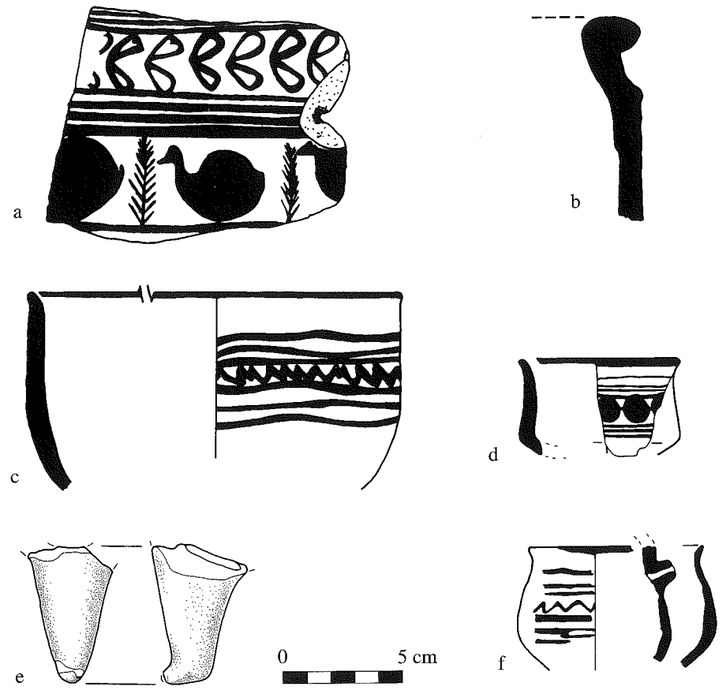

Fig. 7. Sherds from stratigraphic Unit A.

Unit D, with a typical Late Banesh assemblage, and Unit A, with a typical early Kaftari assemblage, implies at least some degree of continuity of occupation at Malyan through the third millennium. This view is not contradicted by the mixture of Banesh and Kaftari attributes, and the presence of ceramic types previously unknown at Malyan in Units C and B.

THE BANESH-KAFTARI TRANSITION AND THE THIRD MILLENNIUM HIATUS

Arguments have previously been advanced in favour of a mid-third millennium hiatus in sedentary occupation of central Fars — from about 2800 to 2200 B.C. (Sumner 1986, 1989). Ceramic parallels in Susa IV and Godin III6/5 for the small ceramic assemblage in Units B through D of the H5 sounding suggest that Late Banesh does not end before the middle of the third millennium, *c.* 2400–2500 B.C. A reconsideration of the Susa and Godin parallels for the Late Banesh assemblage from Operation BY8 in the city wall leads to the same conclusion.

It now seems possible, although not established with complete clarity, that the earliest stages in the evolution of the Kaftari ceramic style are seen in Units B and C of the H5 deep sounding. If so, there is no reason to believe that this development did not continue through the third millennium until the fully articulated Kaftari style was established in the Shimashki period, *c.* 2200–1900 B.C.

The evidence, however, is still strong for a radical decline in the sedentary population of the valley beginning in the Late Banesh period, perhaps as early as 2800 and lasting until about 2300 B.C. This evidence, presented in detail elsewhere (Sumner 2003), is based on the extreme rarity of Late Banesh diagnostic ceramics in Alden's very large surface collections or in soundings conducted by Vanden Berghe in some 25 sites in the region (Alden 1979: tables 38 and 47; Vanden Berghe 1952, 1953–54). The existence of the proposed hiatus is also supported by the small number of sites that were inhabited in both Banesh and Kaftari

times and by the radiocarbon chronology (Voigt and Dyson 1992).

During this period Malyan and perhaps several other sites may have been occupied by a small seden-tary population with a ceramic tradition that eventually evolved into the mature Kaftari style found at Malyan late in the third millennium. Although there is no evidence for anything but a very small sedentary population in the Kur River Basin during the mid-third millennium, the presence of a pastoral nomadic population is possible. The Jalyan cemetery provides circumstantial evidence in support of this notion.

This tentative conclusion accords well with the broader view recently expressed by Miroschedji:

> The resemblances between the painted wares found in cemeteries of western and eastern Lurestan, in contemporary tombs at Musiyan and at Susa and in the graves of the Jalyan cemetery in eastern Fars (Carter 1984: fig. 9; Miroschedji 1974) suggest the existence, toward the middle of the third millennium B.C.E., of strong cultural affinities between the central and southern Zagros range, from southern Kurdestan to eastern Fars, resulting presumably from similarities in ways of life and seasonal movements of nomads. This basic unity shaped the foundation for the forthcoming rise of the Elamite kingdoms of Awan, Shimashki, and Anshan. (Miroschedji 2003: 24)

In the light of these correspondences, we may perhaps envisage the rise of the Kaftari polity occurring in a context of ongoing interactions among mobile pastoral groups and sparse settled populations.

Acknowledgments

The illustrations were prepared at MASCA from original field drawings under the supervision of Stuart J. Fleming (Figs. 1 and 2 by Michael Sheehan from N.F. Miller's section drawing; Figs. 3–7 by Lindsay Shafer; the sherds in Figs. 4a–f and 6g, h were drawn by N.F. Miller from a photographic transparency. N. F. Miller would also like to thank Michael Danti for helpful discussions about the section drawings.

Notes

* This is a corrected version of an article which appeared in volume XLI (2003) pp. 7–19.

1 GHI is the abbreviated designation for four contiguous 10 x 10 m operations individually designated H5, G5, H7 and G7. At Malyan, "lot" refers to the minimum unit of excavation. Registered objects were assigned Malyan find numbers (mf).

2 The numbering of strata here (22 to 37) closely follows that of the 1978 post-excavation summary; there have been a few minor adjustments. For this report, material from the major stratigraphic units comes from the following H5 lots: A: lots 152–160, 221; A/B: lots 160–170; B: lots 171–179; B/C: lots 180, 186; C: lots 181–183, 185; C/D: lots 184; 187–192; D: lots 193–203, 210, 220: D/E: lot 204; E: lots 205–209, 211–219.

3 This vessel, mf 9743, was recovered late in the season and was never reconstructed, photographed, or drawn; it is in the National Museum of Iran (Iran Bastan) in Tehran.

4 A previous discussion (Sumner 1985) of Late Banesh cited parallels in Susa III; Sumner now believes Susa IV parallels are more convincing.

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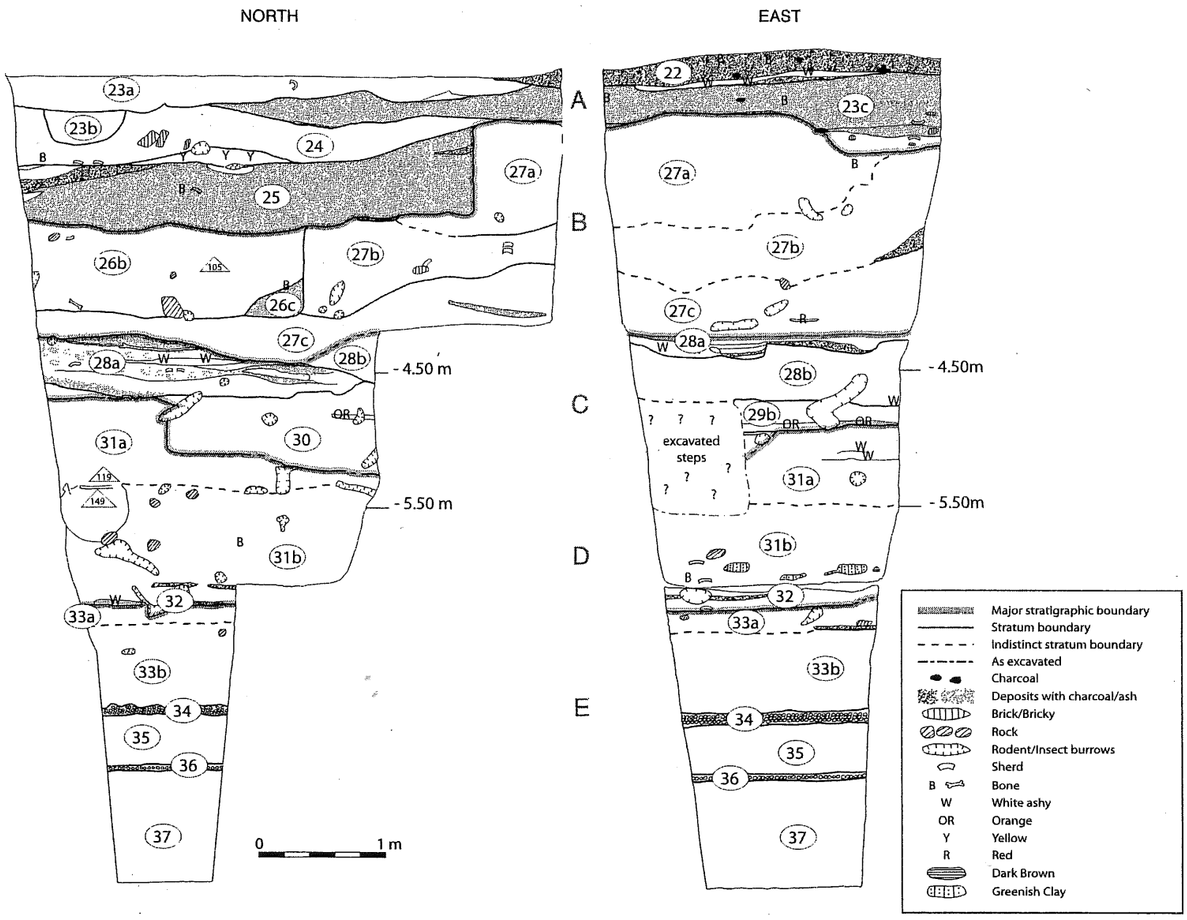
Erratum for 2004 "corrected" version



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