

The Organization of Ceramic Production during the Susa I Period Frank Hole

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Résumé

Mondialement connues et illustrées dans les livres d'art préhistorique, les céramiques de Suse I manifestent un très haut niveau de perfection dans le style, les proportions et les représentations. Cependant, les vases publiés ne représentent qu'une fraction de l'ensemble découvert dans la nécropole de Suse. Environ mille céramiques ont été restaurées montrant ainsi une grande gamme de styles et de compétences artistiques. La nécropole a probablement été aménagée et utilisée pour un épisode unique d'inhumation. Dans tous les cas, elle n'a fonctionné que durant un court laps de temps, vers la fi n du Ve millénaire avant J.-C. L'étude de l'une des formes céramiques, les bols ouverts à décor peint interne, offre de nouvelles données sur l'organisation de la production, sur les étapes d'apprentissage et sur la reproduction du style de Suse I.

Abstract

The world-renowned Susa I ceramics, featured in books on Prehistoric art, manifest the highest standards of design, proportion and representation, but the illustrated examples are only a fraction of the vessels that were recovered from the cemetery at Susa. Approximately one thousand of these vessels have been restored and display a wide range of styles and artistic competence. The cemetery may have been created and used in a single act of burial, but in any case it represents a very short time span at the end of the 5th millennium BC. Study of one vessel form, open bowls with interior painting, provides a window into the organization of production, and steps in learning and reproducing the Susa I style.



THE ORGANIZATION OF CERAMIC PRODUCTION DURING THE SUSA I PERIOD

F. HOLE

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Keywords: Iran; Susa I; Ceramic Production; Style. Mots-clés: Iran; Suse I; Production céramique; Style.

If there is one set of vessels from the Prehistoric world of Iran that epitomizes artistic excellence, it is the tall beakers from Susa, in Khuzistan, which have been widely featured in publications and museums.¹ These vessels are among two-to-three thousand that were recovered from a cemetery near the base of the step platform at Susa, dating to the latter centuries of the 5th millennium BCE.² While these few vessels are repeatedly reproduced in books, the bulk of the assemblage has remained largely unknown and unappreciated, despite early publications.³ Still, even these early inventories omitted many of the vessels which, fortunately, are still accessible in the *musée du Louvre*, the *musée des Antiquités nationales à Saint-Germain-en-Laye* and other museums world-wide.

Some years ago I had the pleasure of studying a thousand of the vessels, some of which provide the basis for this article.⁴

Because of the massive step platform, depictions of ritual on seals, iconography on some ceramics, and the extraordinary pottery found in the cemetery, some think that Susa was governed by an elite group.⁵ Whether that is true or not, it is clear that religious ritual played an important role in the use of the platform and perhaps of the cemetery itself.⁶ Shortly after

^{1.} HOLE, 1992; ROAF, 1990.

^{2.} CANAL, 1978a-b; HOLE, 1990.

^{3.} CONTENAU, 1927; POTTIER, 1925; MECQUENEM, 1912 and 1938; MORGAN, 1912; TOSCANE, 1916.

^{4.} The vessels that I examined had been restored, but there were packing cases of broken vessels and sherds from the same collection that had not been restored. After a quick perusal of some of these I concluded that they were repetitious, but the possibility remains that vessels of "lesser quality" may not have been deemed worthy of restoration. The drawings reproduced here are exact tracings of photographs that I made of the pots. Where there are gaps in the designs it is either because the paint had flaked off or a piece of the vessel was not recovered.

^{5.} POLLOCK, 1983: 383; 1989.

^{6.} HOLE, 1983; 1990 and 2010.

the end of the Susa I period, ceramics and other products were being produced in "factories" for mass consumption and the practice of burying the dead with pottery ceased. A critical question during the Susa I period is whether the production of ceramics was commissioned and organized by a governing body or remained, as it had for millennia, a craft dispersed among many domestic workshops. An answer to this question would also provide insight into the nature of Susian society. Owing to the large number of vessels recovered from the cemetery at Susa we may shed some light on these matters. Specifically:

- 1. Can we identify "communities of practice," closely cooperating potters in one or more workshops?
- 2. Can we identify the work of individual painters?
- 3. Can we find "beginner" as well as "master" painters?
- 4. Was the entire layout and design on a vessel the work of a single person?
- 5. What do "deviant" pots tell us?
- 6. What does an understanding of the production of ceramic vessels tell us about the nature of Susiana society?

PROCEDURES

Most attention has been given to the Susa beakers because of their artistic qualities, but I shall deal here with open bowls, a class of vessel that displays a large range of variability. Within this class I examine four stylistic sub-types based on the structure or layout of the painted design: Comb Bowls, Triangle Bowls, Deep Rectangle Bowls and Flare Rectangle Bowls.⁷ While each of these sub-types exhibits a standardized design structure, I shall focus on different motifs and the ways they are used within these structures. This allows a comparison of similar vessel forms and designs and aids in distinguishing the production of workshops and individuals. The designs on Susa pots conform systematically to "grammatical" rules, but individual freedom of expression, within certain constraints, and variation in individual competence, result in productions that reflect community standards. While we might expect that groups of painters working together or in close proximity would produce very similar vessels, the actual F. HOLE

execution of the designs depends on individual hands. Drafting a set of designs on the concave surface of an open bowl presents some technical difficulties that would not be relevant on a two-dimensional surface. Designers drafting freehand had to assess proportions and foreshortening to achieve a balance and aesthetically pleasing outcome. The vessels show a high degree of variability in these regards, while conforming to consistent use of structure and motifs.

THE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

In a previous paper I asserted the unique qualities of the Susa I ceramics, which can be readily distinguished from similar, contemporary assemblages from other regions.⁸ This does not, however, imply that all the vessels were made at Susa itself and there is reason, based on recovery of similar sherds during surface surveys to think that they were not. This inference is bolstered by Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) which suggests several clay sources for vessels found at different sites. INAA of a large group of sherds of the preceding Susiana d period, recovered during surface surveys, suggests that there was considerable homogeneity in ceramic composition across the Susiana plain.9 A closer examination of the INAA data, however, using discriminant analysis enabled N. Kouchoukos to discover spatially distinct sets of pottery.¹⁰ Based on these results he wondered whether one could identify similar clustering among the Susa I vessels. Following an earlier study that showed significant differences in the heights of the various styles of beakers,11 Kouchoukos concluded that the five stylistic variants of open bowls also had somewhat different sizes and proportions, but with considerable overlap in their physical dimensions.¹² In essence he concluded that these vessels might have been manufactured and painted at many places across the Susiana plain. To further test that idea, this paper presents a stylistic analysis that supports the case for there having been separate workshops making different styles of open bowls. This is not to say that the vessels found in the cemetery were not manufactured at Susa itself; rather it asserts that production of such ceramics was carried out at different workshops. INAA and perhaps petrographic or other physical

^{7.} I named these sub-types while I was coding the attributes, however, in this paper I have changed the original designation, Open Sheep Bowl, to Comb Bowl. A fifth type of open bowl, Circle Bowl, is not included because it does not feature the comb motif.

^{8.} HOLE, 1984.

^{9.} BERMAN, 1986; 1987 and 1994.

^{10.} KOUCHOUKOS, 1998: 154.

^{11.} HOLE, 1984.

^{12.} KOUCHOUKOS, 1998: 156, fig. 4.8.



Fig. 1 – Comb Bowls.



Fig. 2 – Flare Rectangle Bowls and Triangle Bowls.



Fig. 3 – Deep Rectangle Bowls.

analyses of the vessels discussed here might resolve the question of where these workshops were.

Nevertheless, even though pots may have been manufactured in different workshops (or sites), they adhered closely to the Susa I style. This is based on visual impression and coding of the attributes, which can be treated statistically. In short, when one is familiar with the style, it is possible to reconstruct a plausible design on a vessel from sherds bearing only fragments of the design. This consistency implies something akin to correct grammar in language. Using the linguistic analogy we may consider a completed vessel as a grammatically appropriate set of morphemes. With language, competency starts when children hear it spoken and gradually isolate meaning and gain the ability to understand and reproduce an utterance. A similar process occurs when a beginner starts to learn the making of a vessel or how to paint it. The first attempts to copy are crude and imperfect, but in time and with practice and correction, the more skillful individuals develop real competence. While a few stand out as highly skilled, others who may be less skilled are no less able to converse in the local ceramic dialect.

Although there are four forms of vessels abundantly represented in the cemetery, the present analysis deals only with open bowls, a set that numbers nearly 200. Within this category, there are five sub-types and a few that are stylistic outliers. To reduce the set for analysis I have chosen to discuss four sub-types of open bowls. These are defined on the basis of the dominant structural element around and within which various motifs are deployed. Comb Bowls, n = 15, have an encircling comb motif (fig. 1). On Triangle Bowls, n = 8, a bold centering triangle, which extends to the bowl's edges, creates three sections into which the combs are placed (fig. 2: 12-18). Deep Rectangle Bowls, n = 24, have a nearly rectangular, usually bilateral, indent (fig. 3). On Flare Rectangle Bowls, n = 35, the indent is trapezoidal in shape (fig. 4). The counts given above are all the bowls within each sub-type that have a "comb" motif.13

There were at least three distinct styles of finials used to finish the top of the comb (fig. 5). One group has an outward facing finial (fig. 5: 1-7), which occurs chiefly on the Flare Rectangle Bowls and on a few Deep Rectangle Bowls that deviate from the norm, but is absent from Comb Bowls. A second group has a short horizontal finial facing inward (fig. 5: 8-12). A third group has a recurved finial (fig. 5: 14-22). Within each group there is variability in the rendering of the lines, implying individual artists.

This study is based on several assumptions about the production of the cemetery ceramics:

- 1. The vessels were made in a relatively short time, perhaps a decade or two;¹⁴
- Potters and painters conform to local grammar and syntax—conventions in forming and decorating the pots;
- 3. Individual painters have recognizable traits (think handwriting) and some are more skillful than others;
- 4. Pots are the property of individuals or were made for individuals as part of a burial ceremony (grave goods).

ANALYSIS

The collection of pottery from the Susa cemetery is unique for its size and apparent contemporaneity. These factors make it possible to see patterns and differences in a way that could not have been done with a small collection. To answer our questions I focus on three major aspects: consistency (grammar), individuality, and competence in painting. Consistency can be judged by repetition and predictability. Individuality implies that two vessels are not identical, as shown by the way certain motifs are rendered and combined. Competence refers to the quality of line and proportion. Taken together these aspects reveal much about ceramic production as represented in the Susa cemetery.

LEARNERS, COPIERS, AND MASTERS

A striking example of the role of grammar and competence is illustrated by Flare Rectangle Bowls 1 and 2 (fig. 6). These two vessels have nearly identical structure and set of motifs, yet one bowl, only half the size of the other is child-like in its painting. The case for a child copying an adult is easy to make in this rare instance. The distinctions are not as easy for most of the bowls because identical pairs are rare, but there are many examples of differing degrees of skill as well as of individuality. For example, the combs in Comb Bowls 11 and 12 (fig. 1) are crudely rendered, but they copy a comb style seen on Comb Bowls 13 and 14 (fig. 1). Examination of the figures for each of

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 [&]quot;Comb" is a term of convenience rather than an identification of an object. Some of these "combs" might be seen as sheep with heads (*e.g.*, fig. 5: 1-7), *animal-peigne* (CONTENAU, 1927: 284), or even "raincombs", as suggested by ACKERMAN, 1968: 2918.

^{14.} HOLE, 1990 and 1992; KOUCHOUKOS, 1998: 173.

the bowl sub-types will reveal similar differences of competence, yet within a common grammar. It seems, therefore, that vessels were made by and for all segments of the community, young and old, elite and not.

GRAMMATICAL CONFORMITY

Each of the sub-types is denoted by the way the design on the vessel was laid out. The differences among the sub-types are obvious at a glance, but within a sub-type there are recognizable variants, some of which relate to quality or competence, but also to where, how and which motifs are applied within the structure. Among bowls in this analysis no two are identical, but many are very closely similar. For example, Flare Rectangle Bowls 3, 5 and 9 (fig. 4) differ principally in the quality of the drafting and filling of space on these vessels of very different sizes. Similarly, 4 and 6 (fig. 4) share the same motifs yet the differences in execution suggest that different hands painted them. Bowls 10-12 (fig. 4) are so similar they could have been drafted by the same person, but they show individuality in the use of different secondary motifs. Among the Comb Bowls, 6-9 (fig. 1) have the same structure and closely similar features, but display individual elements.

Taking each of the sub-types of open bowls in turn, I will discuss both conformity to the grammatical standard, and their internal variability. Conformity suggests potters working closely together, but in separate workshops, an inference that is reinforced by the observation that potters working with Flare Rectangles and Deep Rectangles apply the motifs in different ways.

The rendition of the comb motif on the Flare Rectangle Bowls is quite variable, yet there is consistency in its application within the structure. The normal pattern is for there to be a comb or double comb on two sides of the basal motif (except figs. 2: 2 and 5-6; 4: 16). In a few cases, apart from rim ticking this is the only motif on the Flare Rectangle Bowls (fig. 4); however, the majority of these bowls also has the comb motif in the flared opening. Note, however, that the way the comb motif is represented varies among these vessels (fig. 5). Further variants among the Flare Rectangle Bowls have additional motifs inside the flare (fig. 4: 10-12). Another set of bowls has the comb in the flare, while between the flares there are other motifs but no combs (figs. 2: 6 and 4: 16-18). Double combs are seen in figure 4: 13-15 and 19. The central basal motifs on Flare Rectangle Bowls are normally round (e.g., fig. 4: 1-9, except 10-13), whereas on the Deep Rectangle Bowls they are square (fig. 3). Two other bowls with combs have a tri-partite structure and ancillary motifs (fig. 2: 7-8), but the combs are identical to those found on the standard Flare Rectangle Bowls.

A number of Flare Rectangle Bowls may be considered aberrant although the general theme of a flared structure is retained. These include figures 2: 3 and 4: 20 where the flare has added zigzags and figure 2: 4 where the flare structure is overshadowed by the intensity of the comb and other motifs. As a group the Flare Rectangle Bowls are highly variable, yet the vessels show a consistency in the application of the comb motif. The comb motif is also rendered in two distinct ways (with finials facing inward or outward), albeit with varying degrees of competence (fig. 5: 1-11).

Deep Rectangle Bowls appear to be more consistently drafted, with little evidence of beginners' work (fig. 3). For example, among the Deep Rectangle Bowls, the comb motif always occupies the semi-circular spaces on either side of the basal motif. This is a grammatical convention. Nevertheless, the vessels display a range of variability in the way the combs are rendered, including recurved finials (fig. 3: 3, 10-12 and 16) that are not found on Flare Rectangle Bowls. It seems unlikely that the people who drafted the combs on the Flare Rectangle Bowl did so on the Deep Rectangular Bowls. The Deep Rectangular Bowls are notable for their clean lines and general, but not universal, absence of supplementary decoration. They are also notable for having signs that may have social or ritual significance in the deep niches (fig. 3: 4-14).¹⁵ Bowls that deviate from these conventions are 15 and 16 (fig. 3), which have supplementary motifs. The bold outlines and motifs on figure 3: 17 recall Flare Rectangle Bowl, figure 2: 4. The basal motifs on Deep Rectangle Bowls are normally square, framing a variant of the cross in reserve, but exceptions include figure 3: 9, 14-15 and 17.

The Comb Bowls present a more difficult challenge for the artist when rendering the comb motif because it encircles the vessel, thus requiring many more vertical lines, which at their best, are perpendicular to the rim and parallel to each other (fig. 1). On some bowls, however these lines slant, creating the effect of rotation. On many bowls the comb is very dense with lines (fig. 1: 1, 3, 6-7 and 10); on others the lines are more widely spaced (fig. 1: 2 and 4). Nine of the bowls are consistent in having a broad dark band at the top of the comb and long recurved lines above, a comb style not found on other bowls (fig. 1: 1, 3 and 6-10). The combs have either three (fig. 1: 2 and 4) or two (fig. 1: 6-9) interruptions, often with a motif in the gap. A set of four bowls (fig. 1: 11-14) are based on the circle, but carry

^{15.} This topic is explored in HOLE, 1983 and 1992; HOLE and WYLLIE, 2007.



Fig. 4 – *Flare Rectangle Bowls.*



Fig. 5 – Variations of the comb motif.

out the comb motif in a way quite different from the previous group. Interestingly they all share the sharp hooked end of the comb rather than the recurved element. Bowls figure 1: 11-12 might be considered the work of beginners, whereas a more competent artist might have painted figure 1: 13-14.

There are only seven Triangle Bowls with the comb motif preserved (fig. 2: 12-18). These show consistency in having the comb outside the triangles, always with supplementary motifs either inside the triangle or beneath the combs. In quality of line these most resemble the Comb Bowls. The comb motif on the Triangle Bowls is rendered in closely similar ways with all but one finial (fig. 2: 17) looking inward, but not recurved. Differences are also seen in the number of lines forming the triangles and in the use of additional motifs. This rather variable group has the fewest examples.

While I have stressed grammatical consistency in each of the sub-groups, I have also pointed out aberrant examples. There are a sizeable number of these among the vessels from the Susa cemetery and it remains to be seen what they mean, but the case for grammatical consistency applies even to the deviants (fig. 2). What makes them different is the use of new motifs and combinations of motifs which sometimes give the pot a cluttered (fig. 2: 7-8), or somewhat chaotic look (fig. 2: 9). How are we to regard the small number of bowls that deviate from the norms? Some of these are unusually elaborate, such as Flare Rectangle Bowl figure 2: 4, which uses motifs commonly found on beakers, as well as the usual comb. Other vessels have naturalistic motifs filling in spaces, such as figures 2: 1 and 4: 19. Among the Deep Rectangle Bowls there is an animal element in the base of figure 3: 14, while bird-like elements fill space in figure 3: 5 and 12, which in other respects are quite normal. The Comb Bowls have an unusual number of motifs added to empty space (e.g., fig. 2: 12-18).

THE DOG MOTIF

In the entire corpus of Susa I vessels from the cemetery, naturalistic motifs are relatively rare, but they occur on all of the vessel forms. While there is much stylization and the frequent use of geometric motifs on these vessels, the representations of dogs appear to be realistic, to the extent that one can recognize breeds.¹⁶ Despite this naturalism, there are also stylistic differences which may reflect the individual hands of the

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painters (fig. 7). The differences may be divided into groups as follows:

- 1. The majority of dogs have a slender triangular head with two ears. The tails are curled up. This type has both front and rear legs that flow directly out from the body in an uninterrupted curve. These dogs appear to be lying down in the manner typical of sight hounds such as the saluki¹⁷ (*e.g.*, fig. 7: 1-2);
- 2. Dogs with very slender legs and paws (fig. 7: 3 and 11);
- 3. Dogs with front and back legs that attach to the body with a vertical line and have paws indicated (fig. 7: 5);
- Dogs whose front legs attach to the body with a vertical line, but lack paws (fig. 7: 4 and 6-7);
- 5. When dogs are paired in the niches of Deep Rectangle Bowls, they face toward the center and always face right when viewed upright;
- 6. A single instance of dogs facing left (fig. 7: 14).

Dogs are one of several motifs that may have social connotations,¹⁸ so it is interesting to see what kinds of vessels they are on. As stated above, the dogs appear to be sight hounds of the saluki type, a dog which has been used for hunting gazelle and other desert and steppe animals for millennia. On the open bowls, dogs are found only on the Deep Rectangle Bowls, with the exception of Comb Bowl figure 1: 9. Dogs also occur on the finest beakers, implying that they are indicative of high status. The variability in rendition suggests that dogs were drafted by different, but skilled persons. Interestingly, the comb motif on the same bowls is variable, raising a question whether the drafters of the dogs designed the rest of the bowl. One could make a case for multiple hands contributing to the final product.

Whatever the case, the execution of the Deep Rectangle Bowls is the most accomplished among all of the open bowls, if quality of line and symmetry are the criteria. That these vessels also display potentially elite motifs, may reinforce the idea that the vessels were made for individuals whose status they signify.

BIRD MOTIFS

Unique to the Flare Rectangle Bowls, are birds rendered either as flying to the left (fig. 7: 16-19), or frontal views (fig. 7: 20-23). The flying bird is a common motif on squat jars, but

^{16.} HOLE and WYLLIE, 2007.

^{17.} Ibid., 2007.

^{18.} HOLE, 1983; HOLE and WYLLIE, 2007.

not the tall beakers from the cemetery collection (not illustrated here). The restriction of this motif to Flare Rectangle Bowls, regardless of the stylistic differences in its rendering is a further argument in favor of the separation of Flare Rectangle Bowl workshops from the Deep Rectangle Bowl workshops.

CONCLUSIONS

We have shown that there were several patterns on open bowls, exemplified by structural sub-types and there were typical ways to embellish them. The embellishments partly overlap among the structural types, but as we have seen, they show distinct differences in the ways they are used and formed. These facts imply the existence of separate workshops, perhaps based on families where beginners worked alongside the more proficient. It is possible, as seen with depictions of dogs, that different hands worked on different parts of the designs.

The individuality of the vessels implies that they were made to be different and thus that they were made for individuals or families. Most of these bowls displayed signs of wear before interment so they may have been personal property. The suggestion that these were personal vessels accords with the rare finds of copper axes, mirrors, and cosmetic containers, which likely belonged to holders of ritual office.¹⁹

Some of the people buried in the cemetery had high status in the community, but they did not command a single factory producing bowls or jars. One might argue that such a factory made the tall beakers, a large number of which were nearly identical, but different styles of beakers display metrical differences. Kouchoukos²⁰ attributes these differences to changes through time, but they could also indicate different workshops. It is clear, however, that the production of the tall V-Geometric beakers in particular, required a level of skill that forming open bowls did not. Still, when one handles the beakers and bowls one sees gross differences in their thickness and finish. The evidence thus points to several places of manufacture within or outside the site itself. While some vessels undoubtedly represent the finest of the potter's and painter's craft, there is no compelling evidence for a workshop devoted to producing elite ceramics.²¹ Considering the entire collection from the cemetery:



Fig. 6 – Two bowls with the same structure and design elements, suggesting the work of an accomplished artisan and a painter just learning the craft.

"(...) the compelling similarities in structure, design, and fabric of these vessels attest to pervasive concepts of proper vessel form that regulated technical practice over a wide area. And the strength of these concepts was derived ultimately from their connection to deeper perceptions of the cultural order."²²

In the absence of any useful notes and descriptions of the Susa I cemetery, we will never know whether particular vessels or sets of vessels and other grave goods could be attributed to any individual. The compact nature of the cemetery and the thousand or so graves it was said to contain, argue for secondary interment during a single episode or two. The following supports this suggestion:

« Les tombes étaient serrées les unes contre les autres ; les ossements en paquets, souvent un crâne dans une coupe, des os longs dans des gobelets ; il est donc certain qu'il s'agit de tombes au deuxième degré. »²³

If secondary burial was the case, the flesh had already decomposed and the bodies were moved from another place. This might account for the presence of the large beakers in seemingly good condition while many of the bowls exhibit wear. Under this scenario potters in many workshops may have worked over a short period of time to create what amounted to "coffins" (*i.e.*, the V-Geometric beakers) for bones of the

^{19.} HOLE, 1983.

^{20.} KOUCHOUKOS, 1998: 163.

^{21.} Ibid., 1998: 171.

^{22.} Ibid., 1998: 172.

^{23.} MECQUENEM, 1943: 5.



Fig. 7 – Variations of the dog and bird motifs.

deceased, which were to be moved to the Susa cemetery. The remaining vessels, which included bowls as described here and small globular jars and cooking pots, may have been house-hold wares previously used and necessary for the afterworld. The inclusion of an array of pots, both decorated and plain, with the deceased was not extraordinary for it had long been normal practice in contemporary Ubaid sites.²⁴

FURTHER STUDY

This brief paper only scratches the surface of the subject of pottery production on the Susiana Plain. Further technical analyses, such as INAA could be made on the cemetery vessels themselves. This would potentially tell definitively whether the pots were made at many places, but would not identify the places. Further analysis of the large body of material from

^{24.} HOLE, 1989.

surveys, of which J.C. Berman²⁵ took only a small sample, could possibly pin-point the sources.

Further analysis of the designs, combined with information on the formation of the vessels (size, shape, thickness, surface treatment, etc.), and perhaps petrography, might further elucidate communities of production. Technical examination of the entire corpus of material might determine whether workshops specialized in one form or several. In short, there is still a lot to learn, using the body of data that already exists, about the most dynamic period in the Early Prehistory of Southwest Iran.

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