The Archaeology
of Political Spaces

Topoi
Berlin Studies of the Ancient World

Edited by
Excellence Cluster Topoi

Volume 12

De Gruyter

The Archaeology of Political Spaces

The Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont in the Second Millennium BCE

Edited by
Dominik Bonatz

De Gruyter

ISBN 978-3-11-026595-8
e-ISBN 978-3-11-026640-5
ISSN 2191-5806

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Typesetting: Dörlemann Satz GmbH & Co. KG, Lemförde
Printing and binding: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
∞ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

The Upper Mesopotamian plain viewed from the Tur Abdin – Mardin.

Content

Across the Mountains

Dominik Bonatz

Introduction

This volume presents the proceedings of an international workshop entitled *The Archaeology of the Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont in the Second Millennium BC*, which was held from 21 to 22 January 2010 within the framework of the Topoi Excellence Cluster at the Freie Universität Berlin. One of the main goals in organizing this workshop was to privilege discussions in which scholars could exchange and confront results of recent archaeological research in the upper Mesopotamian piedmont regions. When the outcomes of the discussion were summarized, the question of political space(s) arose as a central topic for almost all of the papers collected here. This introductory piece therefore has the two-fold aim of describing the background of archaeological research in the upper Mesopotamian piedmont and providing a starting point for further discussion of the creation of political space(s) in this area and beyond.

The landscape

Visitors to the old city of Mardin, situated on the high ridge of the Tur Abdin Mountain in south-eastern Anatolia, are inevitably attracted to the spectacular views of the broad panorama of the upper Mesopotamian piedmont. They are enchanted by the abrupt changes in the landscape and realize that a new geographical horizon is opening before their very eyes. Here lies the gateway to Greater Mesopotamia, the millennia-old heartland of agriculture, cities, and political changes.

The scenic character of the upper Mesopotamian plain immediately south of the Tur Abdin/Mazı Dağı mountain range changes throughout the year: it is sprinkled with snow in winter, a lush green in spring, and finally a dusty yellow in summer. Climatic conditions in this area are very favourable for human life. Annual precipitation is usually sufficient to ensure agriculture without irrigation, and the many karst springs guarantee a year round supply of water. Several small tributaries emerging from these springs create the triangular-shaped catchment area of the upper Khabur (hence Khabur Triangle), which covers most of the eastern part of the upper Syrian Jazirah. This region is currently divided by the Turkish-Syrian border, but in the past it formed a single geographic zone in which one of the longest and most dynamic cultural sequences of the Ancient Near East developed.

When weather conditions are clear, the steep mountains of Tur Abdin/Mazı Dağı which form a distinct geographic barrier in the direction of the Anatolian highlands can be viewed from many mounds in the Khabur headwater region. From a Mesopotamian perspective, however, this mountain range has apparently never been perceived as the world's end. Instead, it was seen as an invitation to cross the border and explore the richness of resources hidden beyond. As early as the 13th century BC, Assyrian sources mention the Kašiyari Mountains – identical with the Tur Abdin – and provide a vivid glimpse of the efforts to gain access to this region (Radner 2006). One of the most convenient routes, still used today, runs along the Jaghjagh River and across the eastern slopes of the Tur Abdin, ultimately leading to the upper Tigris valley, which actually forms another piedmont zone sandwiched between the northern slopes of the Tur Abdin and the foothills of the eastern Tauros.

The upper Tigris valley also offered good conditions for settlement. A narrow plain along the river held potential for agriculture on a regional scale. The foothills north and south of the valley, i.e., the ancient land of Šubria, were a perfect natural environment for the cultivation of fruit trees and viniculture, the hunting of wild animals, and animal breeding. Last but not least, both regions – the upper Tigris valley and the Khabur Triangle – were on the crossroads of the routes connecting the Anatolian mountains with the Mesopotamian plains. They were highly important for early trade networks and drew larger polities which aimed to extend their economic resources and political power.

Political space(s)

The geostrategic importance of two key regions in the upper Mesopotamian piedmont leads us to the question of the political space(s) created therein. Essentially, during the second millennium BC, the regional developments in the upper Mesopotamian piedmont underwent rapid change due to the expansion of new territorial states. Changes in the political and social structures of the communities on both sites of the Tur Abdin/Mazı Dağı mountain range are apparent from texts, settlement patterns and material culture developments and attest to the activities of different polities in this area such as the Samsi-Addu Kingdom at the beginning of the second millennium, the Mittani state in the middle, and the Middle Assyrian state at the end.

However, historical records tend to be fuzzy and imprecise when they are used to identify the concrete limits of political spaces. A well-known example is the Middle Assyrian designation "Land of Ḫanigalbat" (^{mât}Ḫanigalbat), apparently applied to those territories that were conquered within the Mittani realm in the 13th century, but the geographical scope of this desigantion is hard to determine (Harrak 1987; Szuchman 2009). Although administrative texts found in the capital Assur and some provincial sites show that this huge western part of the 'empire' was organized into numerous districts (*paḫutu*), it is impossible to describe the size of the individual districts and their overall pattern in the landscape (Jacob 2003). As a result, two further approaches are required – one heuristic and the other empirical – in order to identify the political spaces in these distinct geographic areas. The methodology must take into account the archaeological data or 'hard facts' which primarily originate from the area under investigation.

To start with the heuristic approach, one important question is what distinguishes 'political space' from 'political landscape'. In *The Political Landscape* (2003) Adam T. Smith has cogently disentangled the oft-conflated concepts of space, place, and landscape. He defines landscape as a concept arising in the historically rooted production of ties that bind together spaces, places, and representations (Smith 2003, 11). The 'political' within this concept is described as a set of relationships central to the production, maintenance, and overthrow of sovereign authority (*ibid.*). Hence, 'political' and 'landscape' mainly relate to each other in sociological terms. Within the concept of 'space', however, the meaning of the political lies in its specific forms of delimiting physical experience. Subjects are bound to the interests of political regimes through spatial relations that cannot be infinite but need to be framed by ideologies and their materializations (DeMarrais / Castillo / Earle 1996).

Political space is articulated in many different ways. It can be "characterized in terms of the actual patterns of provision of governance in areas of widespread interest and salience" (Jones 2002, 228). This has been termed the 'supply side' of political governance in which we locate any exercise of political

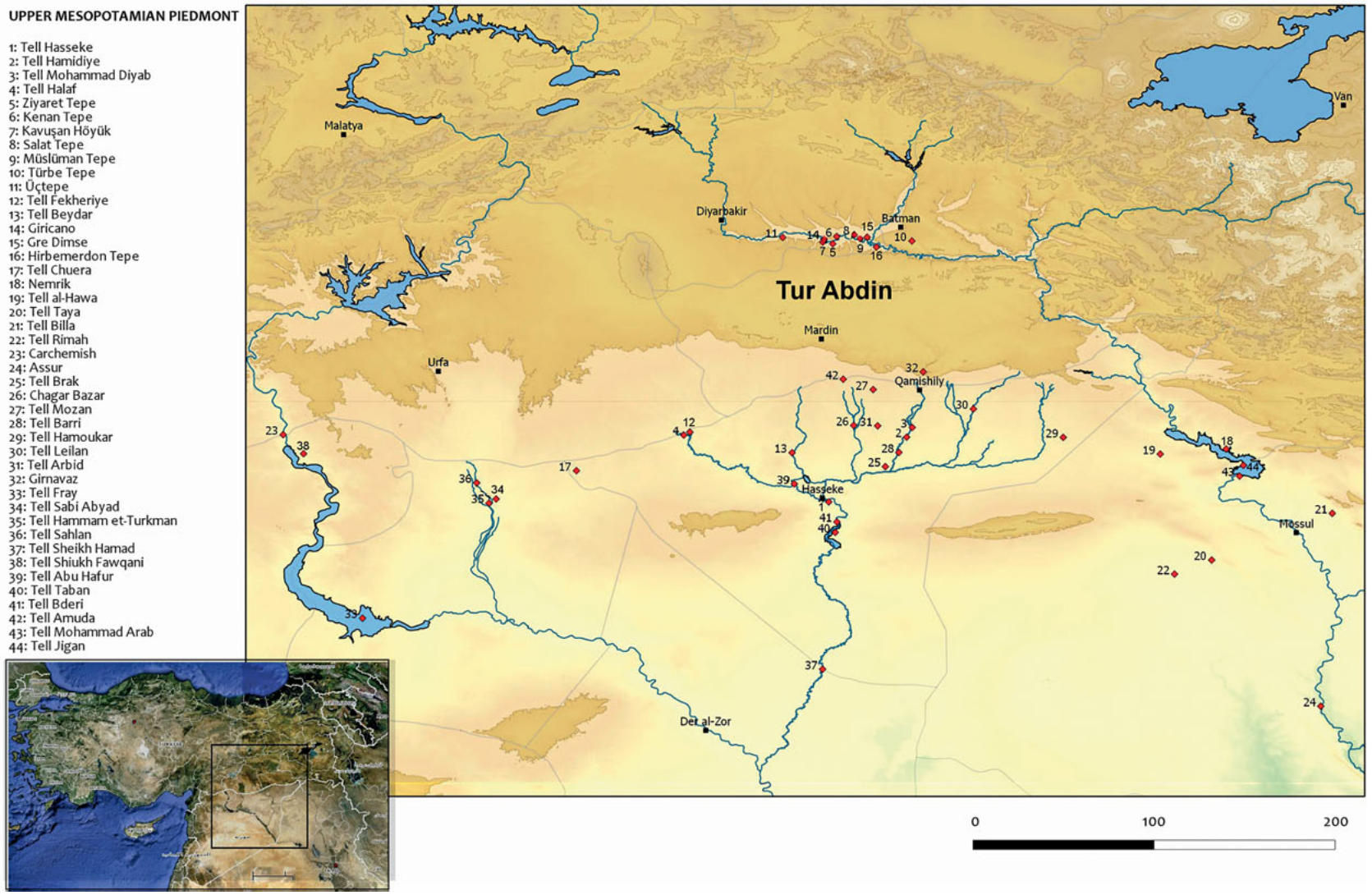


Fig. 1 | The Upper Mesopotamian piedmont with location of the main sites mentioned in the texts.
(Base map: Nasa SRTM DEM, made in QGIS by Simone Bonzano, minmap base map: Google Earth).

power such as communication networks, technologies, and built environments. For archaeologists, it seems that the 'supply side' provides a good starting point for investigations into the structures of political governance in ancient civilizations. As for the analytic equation, the 'demand side' – which refers to patterns in the need forgovernance (*ibid.*) – is ultimately hard for archaeologists to identify. Furthermore, it should be stressed that political space need not necessarily be connected to the authority of a state since the existence of autonomous political space formed in the absence of a state is a rather common occurrence in the history of political space(s) (Dark 2002, 62–65). Hence the shifting relationships between politically active groups, geographic environments, and territories may provide another clue for understanding the formation of political space(s) in the past. What contribution can archaeology make to such an approach?

If one assumes that a political space can also be defined in a manner that acknowledges the close connection between politics and culture, archaeology indeed offers several possibilities for investigating the history of political space(s). Both cultural and politic expressions are always embedded in a complex web of time and context. Within this time-context web, political presence (manifestations) may become materialized in culture. This means that rituals and objects come to be associated with politically salient groups and their institutions. However, this process is rarely unilaterally or goal-directed. Political structures may shape the repertoire of cultural expressions but they are also influenced by the presence and sometimes by contingences in the diffusion of cultural traits and practices.

Charting the archaeology of political space(s) in this volume

The eleven individual papers collected in this volume focus on settlement structures, developments in material culture, architecture, as well as written documents and environmental contexts. Various methodological approaches underpin the progress archaeologists made in analyzing and classifying these data, but also make clear the continuing difficulties we face in using them to draw historical inferences However, the approach definitively avoids a biased historical perspective based on which the targets and limits of political governance can be clearly defined. Instead, it asks to what extent the set of archaeological data reflect or point to the creation or re-creation of political space(s) within a particular geographical area, an area that exhibits very different patterns of governance throughout time. In this context, mapping political space in terms of patterns of governance entails understanding the ways in which politics, territoriality, and material culture relate to one another.

The editor is perfectly aware that due to the difficult nature of the archaeological data and the work still in progress at most of the sites presented in this book, most of the contributions are more concerned with setting out the prolegomena for such a discussion. However, since the reactions to the papers presented during the Topoi workshop in Berlin proved highly illuminating for an archaeological approach tothe definition of political space, the editor decided to place this topic on the volume's agenda. The hope is that within the thematic and methodological framework of this book the potentials of archaeological data for reconstructing political space(s) will become visible and understandable for future research.

Two recent publications relate and, in a certain way, add to these goals. The first, entitled *Entre les fleuves* (Cancik-Kirschbaum / Ziegler 2009), is devoted to the historical geography of upper Mesopotamia in the second millennium BC. Above and beyond questions of localization and identification, the contributions in this book stress the aim of historical geography in describing space through the inter-

play of written sources, archaeological evidence and questions of environmental reconstructions as a constituent condition for culture. The second book by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Nicole Brisch and Jesper Eidem (2013), entitled *Constituent, Confederate, and Conquered Space: The Emergence of the Mittani State*, collects the papers of another Topoi workshop, which preceded the Piedmont workshop, and in doing so provides several stimuli for the discussion that is continued here.

The complementary yet still different view presented in this volume lies in the conscious choice of the question of political governance as applied to two distinct key regions in the geographically and culturally diverse landscape of upper Mesopotamia. Here, the concentration of current archaeological research has yielded substantial new evidence in the pursuit of an in-depth analysis of the relationship between geographic boundaries, the built environment, the material culture, and political governance. Thus this book offers for the first time a comprehensive comparative archaeological study of the piedmont regions north and south of the Tur Abdin. The geographic bipartition is reflected in the book's subdivision into two main sections dealing with the development and transformation of settlements and settlement systems – the one in the Khabur headwater region, the other in the upper Tigris valley. Both regions, however, testify to several cultural links during the period under consideration. Such links, for example, became clearly visible not only in the distribution of pottery types and styles, but also in the written sources, which suggest the great reach of political control. The third section, 'Across the Mountains', specifically addresses the validity of this kind of material for the reconstruction of supraregional developments or hegemonic perspectives.

The seven papers in section I of this collection offer us various perspectives onsettlement development in the Khabur headwater region during the second millennium BC. Rafał Koliński emphasizes the need for surveys of textual sources in order to identify settlements during the age of the Assyrian trade colonies. He attempts to correlate the textual with the archaeological data, the latter with an emphasis on the distribution of pottery styles in the early second millennium BC. This specific contribution to the question of political space is the author's holistic approach to the reconstruction of the communication routes that fostered the advent of the Samsī-Addu kingdom and other subsequent hegemonies in the upper Mesopotamian area.

The papers by Karlheinz Kessler and Andrzej Reiche confront us with totally different data from various built environments; however, both studies reflect the trends toward political integration in the mid-second millennium Mittani state. The recently discovered texts from Tell Hamdiye/Taidu, presented by Kessler, provide insights into the multilateral relations of this supposed capital, as well as its internal administration. The picture of far-reaching governmental influences which arises from this documentation can be compared to the account of rural Mittani settlements in Reiche's paper. In terms of their material culture and architecture, these sites show the mixture of standardized functional forms and diacritic elite markers – such as richly furnished graves – in a sphere of apparently restricted political control. The papers of Dominik Bonatz and Brian Browntake different approaches to defining structures of political governance during the late second millennium BC. Using the recent excavations at Tell Fekheriye as a case study, Bonatz reviews the transition from the Mittani to the Middle Assyrian period on the basis of architectural sequences as well as iconographic and textual sources. The internal restructuring and administrative processes that become visible through an in-depth analysis of these data are combined with external sources in order to clarify the picture of emerging and changing political spaces in this area. Whereas this paper is mainly about the outset of the Middle Assyrian state, Brown's contribution gives an account of the later part of the Middle Assyrian period. As in Bonatz's paper, one of his central concerns is also the definition of the Assyrian state. Settlement patterns and ceramic sequences

provide the starting point for a discussion about the political and cultural reach of the Middle Assyrian state apparatus.

The mechanisms of the Assyrian imperal expansion in upper Mesopotamia are also at issue in Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum's contribution. Arguing for a better understanding of the geopolitical landscape, her paper is addresses the problem of mapping out geo-referenced indications of governance structures transmitted within the textual record from the Middle Assyrian state administration. In confrontation with the archaeological evidence from excavations and surveys some methodological problems raised by the evidence, i.e., localization, functional contextualization, and interpretation of the Middle Assyrian settlements, are also discussed.

The three contributions in section II shift the focus to the upper Tigris region. Although otherwise quite different in emphasis, all signal the contingent, ever-fluid nature and significance of political space. Nicola Laneri's paper is the most theoretically oriented of the three. It argues for alternative models of political order such as those framed in the theories of 'heterarchic' societies. The author is mainly interested in the small-sized settlements of the Middle Bronze Age in the upper Tigris valley like Hirbemerdon Tepe, which were apparently organized in a heterarchical system of political and social relationships. This observation, as disputable as it might be, provides a heuristically interesting point of departure point for investigations into emerging urbanism and the impacts of expanding polities in the later part of the Middle Bronze Age and the subsequent Late Bronze Age. Indeed, the paper by Peter Bartl attempts to delimit the signs of urbanization in this area by comparing the evidence from two 'middle-sized' settlements: Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe. He includes environmental and subsistence issues in his analysis and thus reconstructs the patterns of small-scale autonomous polities before the advent of the Mittani and Middle Assyrian hegemony.

Salat Tepe is another significant and extensively excavated site in this area which has yielded a continuous architectural and ceramic sequence for the Middle Bronze Age. Tuba Ökse's account of this site and its environment takes a close look at the cultural patterns that arise from a distinct regional milieu. Changes in this pattern become visible during the Mittani period occupation at Salat Tepe but cannot be followed up, as the site was abandoned during the Middle Assyrian period.

As the political space became associated with the rise of new political powers in the upper Tigris region during the second half of the second millennium BC, settlement patterns and developments in material cultures underwent some significant changes. At sites like Üçtepe, Ziyaret Tepe, and Giricano, affiliations with the settlement systems south of the Tur Abdin were extremely strong in this period but towards its end already became diffused with new forms of local culture. At the workshop in Berlin, Andreas Schachner discussed how to seek out archaeologically hegemonic vs. regional patterns of governance during a period of intensified highland-lowland relations. His paper unfortunately could not be included in this volume but the basic evidence for discussion has already been published elsewhere (Schachner 2003).

Likewise, in section III, the contribution by Anacleto D'Agostino links the evidence of material culture and settlement patterns to the question of expanding territorial control. D'Agostino provides us with a comprehensive comparison of the archaeological sequences north and south of the Tur Abdin/Mazı Dağı mountain range during the second half of the second millennium BC. His attempt to describe different 'core-periphery' relationships by means of patterns of settlements and the composition of regional ceramic assemblages significantly adds to the interpretation of written documents from a number of administrative sites and in a way alters the picture of strict political control.

Dealing with the evidence of a single text from Tell Barri/Kahat, the contribution by Mirjo Salvini confronts us with a very specific perception of the wide reach of political dominion. While the author's

main concern is the chronological dating of this text, its subject – the hunt of the Assyrian king in the mountainous periphery of his realm – reflects on-going territorial claims at the end of the Middle Assyrian period. The apparent contradictions between this document and other archaeological sources that attest to the decline of Assyrian power in the region points to the subjectivity of ancient sources, which should always be evaluated in relation to the full set of archaeological data at hand.

Acknowledgments

This book is the outcome of the work of several authors, but it would not have been possible without the support of the Topoi cluster. To Sandra Feix who has efficiently helped to organize the workshop goes my warmest acknowledgment. For the correction of the English manuscripts I thank Orla Mulholland, Kilian Teuwsen, Cale Johnson and especially Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz who also did a great job in the copy-edit of the book. I am especially indebted to the anonymous reviewers chosen by Topoi for heir critiques and comments. Their remarks were highly constructive in many ways and helped us to produce a substantially revised version of the papers presented here. Still, it must be stressed that most of the papers were composed in order to discuss significant results from recent work on the archaeology of the upper Mesopotamian piedmont. The question of political space(s) provided only a secondary impetus for their individual agendas. In consequence, the book provides a glimpse into the various aspects that result from and are constitutive of the creation of political space in antiquity. These aspects include relationships between built environments and politically salient groups, links between objects and ideological powers, and ties among settlements that govern space. These aspects, of course, do not exhaust the archaeology of political space(s), yet they are central for its initial approach.

Bibliography

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva / Brisch, Nicole / Eidem, Jesper (eds.) (2014)
Constituent, Confederate, and Conquered Space: The Emergence of the Mittani State, (Topoi Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 17), Berlin-Boston.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva / Ziegler, Nele (eds.) (2009)
Entre les fleuves – I. Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 20), Gladbeck.

Dark, Ken (2002)
"The Informational Reconfiguring of Global Geopolitics", in: Yale J. Ferguson / R.J. Barry Jones (eds.), *Political Space: Frontiers of Change and Governance in Globalizing World*, New York, 61–86.

DeMarrais, Elizabeth / Castillo, Lius Jaime / Earle, Timothy (1996)
"Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies", in: *Current Anthropology* 37/1, 15–31.

Harrak, Amir (1987)
Assyria and Hanigalbat: A Historical Reconstruction of Bilateral Relations from the Middle of the Fourteenth to the End of the Twelfth Centuries B.C., Hildesheim.

Jakob, Stefan (2003)
Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur. Untersuchungen, (Cuneiform Monographs 29), Leiden.

Jones, R.J. Barry (2002)
"Governance and the Challenges of Changing Political Space", in: Yale J. Ferguson / R.J. Barry Jones (eds.), *Political Space: Frontiers of Change and Governance in Globalizing World*, New York, 227–244.

Radner, Karen (2006)
"How to Reach the Upper Tigris: The Route through the Tur 'Abdin", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 15, 273–305.

Schachner, Andreas (2003)
"From the Bronze to the Iron Age: Identifying Changes in the Upper Tigris Region: The Case of Giricano", in: Bettina Fischer / Eric Jean / Kemolettin Köroglu Fischer (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions*, Istanbul, 151–163.

Smith, Adam T. (2003)
The Political Landscape. Constellations of Authority in Early Complex Polities, Berkeley–Los Angeles.

Szuchman, Jeffrey (2009)
"Revisiting Hanigalbat: Settlement in the Western Provinces of the Middle Assyrian Kingdom", in: Gernot Wilhelm (ed.), *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi* 11/2, (Studies in the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 18), 531–555.

Development and Transformation of Settlements and Settlement Systems in the Khabur Headwater Region

Rafał Koliński

20th Century BC in the Khabur Triangle Region and the Advent of the Old Assyrian Trade with Anatolia

0. Introduction

For some time, the turn of the third millennium BC in Northern Mesopotamia has been considered a period of settlement collapse that witnessed the abandonment of the whole area (Weiss *et al.* 1993). Recent research in the Khabur Triangle, a region located in the central part of the Jazirah, has demonstrated that during the so-called Post-Akkadian (or Early Jazirah V) period the central part of the area at least had been settled and probably politically divided between Urkeš and Nagar, both serving as seats of local dynasties of Hurrian origin. A dark period starts with the abandonment of the Post-Akkadian levels at most of the sites in the area. As for the subsequent period, lasting approximately 100 to 200 years little or nothing is known about the archaeology of the area. Only with the advent of the Middle Bronze Age II period, in which the well-known Khabur Ware pottery appears in its technically and stylistically most developed form, do settlements in the Khabur Triangle seem to be reestablished. Yet, this process can hardly be dated with precision. At some sites Khabur Ware is contemporary with Samsī-Addu's 'Kingdom of North Mesopotamia'[1] (1809–1776 BC) (Barjamovic *et al.*, 25, 29–32, fig. 10) such as at Tell Chagar Bazar, Tell Rimah, Tell Leilan, and Tell Bi'a, i.e., belong to the first quarter of 18th century BC[2], but it appears as well on sites with later texts, dating after the Samsī-Addu's death.[3] On the other hand, pottery earlier than the 18th century BC has turned out to be very difficult to identify (Faivre / Nicolle 2007, 185). In consequence, while excavations and surveys identified a considerable number of sites located in the central and the eastern part of North Mesopotamia yielding what I call Classic (i.e., Middle Bronze Age/Old Jazirah II) Khabur Ware pottery (Meijer 1986; Lyonnet 2000), no site with earlier pottery was identified, suggesting a long period of abandonment in the area.

This view stands in opposition to information provided by the so-called Old Assyrian texts. These texts cover a period of more than a century, before Samsī-Addu's ascent to the throne in Assur, in which the Khabur Triangle area was frequented by merchants traveling from Assur towards the Euphrates crossing in the area of present-day Samsat (Veenhof 2008b) and further, up to Anatolia. It is hard to believe, that they had chosen to travel through a country that was entirely abandoned. While a reconstruction of the network of their caravan routes is still a matter of dispute, there is no doubt that a number of settlements existed on the way, serving as stopping stations after a day of travel (Nashef 1987; Joannès 1996; Forlanini 2006).

The aim of this paper is to identify pottery predating Classic Khabur Ware, pottery that could be subsequently used for the identification of settlements contemporary to the first period of the Old Assyrian trade to Anatolia (prior to 1800 BC) in the Khabur Triangle area.

1 The reason for used of this term, popular among French scholars, is explained in Charpin 2004, 153.

2 Despite all the reservations concerning the middle chronology, it is used consistently throughout this paper, cf. Veenhof 2007, 60.

3 This issue will be addressed more extensively by the present author in a book *The Eponym Lists from Kaneš and the Mesopotamian Chronology of the Early Second Millennium BC*.

1. The Old Assyrian trade

1.a Sources

The primary source for the knowledge of the Old Assyrian period are substantial archives found during initially illicit and later scientific excavations at Kültepe (ancient Kaneš), a large site located in the Kızıl Irmak valley in central Turkey. The number of tablets found at the site was estimated at *ca.* 23,000 in 2005 (Albayrak 2005) and has probably increased since then, as new texts are discovered during each field season. Of these tablets *ca.* 20 per cent have been published in copies, but only half of those were translated and commented.

A limited number of tablets (in comparison to the Kültepe/Kaneš archives) were found at some other Anatolian sites: Alişar Höyük (63 tablets), Boğazkale (72 documents), and Kaman-Kalehöyük (one tablet) (Michel 2002).

Surprisingly, only an extremely small number of Old Assyrian texts are known from Assur, the city that formed the base for the trade. Twenty-three tablets that were identified are mainly stray texts found in Middle Assyrian archives (Donbaz 1974; Pedersén 1985, 2). This situation results from the fact that the early second millennium city was not excavated to any significant extent by either early or late 20th century explorers. Paradoxically, nearly the same number of Old Assyrian tablets are known from Mesopotamian sites such as Nuzi (six tablets), Abu Habba/Sippar (14 tablets), Tell Asmar/Ešnunna (one tablet) Nippur (one tablet) and Mari (three tablets) (Michel 2002). Old Assyrian texts from the Jazirah are even less numerous: there are three tablets from Tell Rimah, one tablet from Tell Leilan, one tablet from Tell Hammam et-Turkman, and, if Jesper Eidem is right, an envelope fragment from Tell Arbid may also be added to this list (Eidem 2008b, 40). A small fragment of a tablet from Lidar Höyük published recently (Müller 2008) belongs to the Syrian scribal tradition and seems to be later than the Old Assyrian trade.

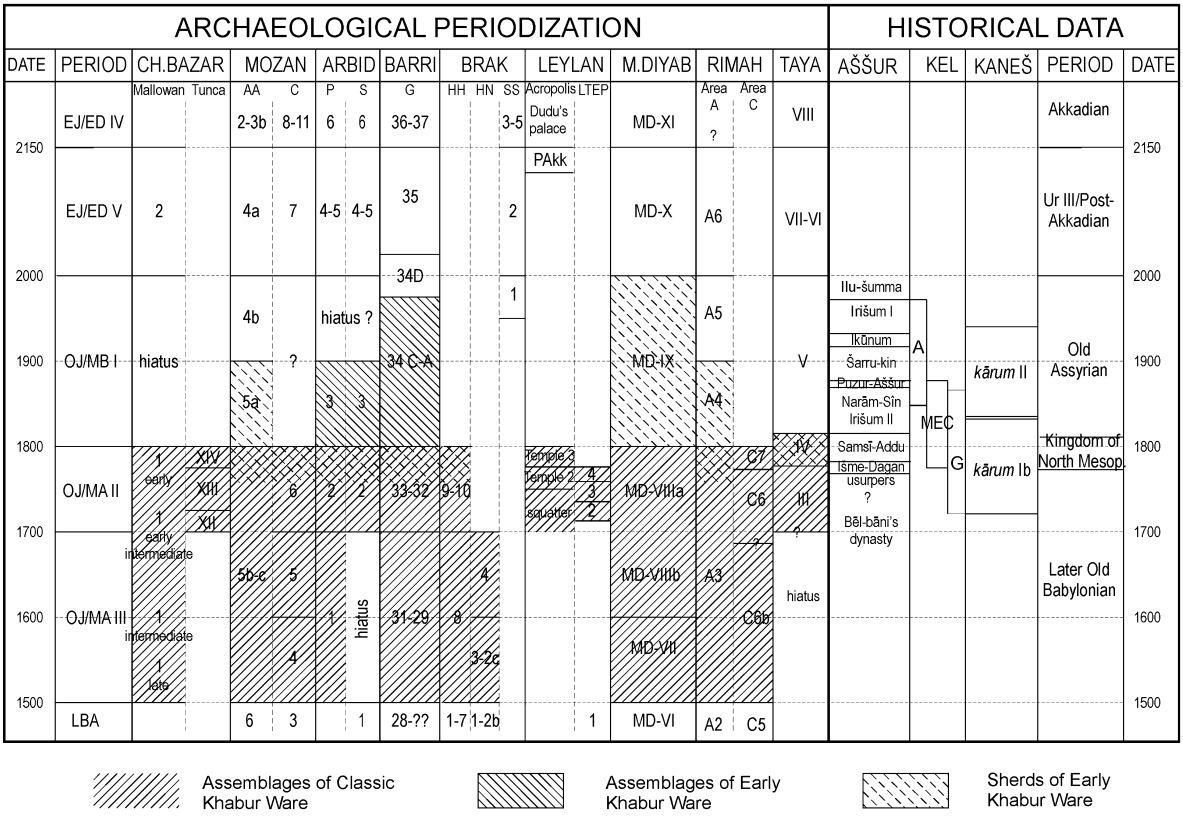
It has to be noted that Northern Mesopotamia also yielded a considerable number of Old Babylonian texts produced by the administrations of various local kingdoms. Archives dated to the 18th century BC were found at Tell Biᶜa, Tell Chagar Bazar, Tell Leilan, Tell Rimah, and in Mari, as well as stray texts known from Tell Taya and Tell Hadi. Many of them use date formulas involving the name of the holder of the *līmum* office in Assur, which can now be converted into calendar years (cf. below), and provide an extremely useful way of dating.

1.b Chronology (table I)

The Old Assyrian texts from the lower city (*kārum*) area of Kültepe have been found in two levels of occupation separated by a conflagration layer. Most of the tablets came from level II. The level Ib houses were much poorer in epigraphic material but cuneiform tablets of the same date were also found in contemporary layers of the main mound (where earlier texts were not attested). All the tablets discovered at other Anatolian sites date to level Ib as well.

It is more difficult to qualify the tablets found in Mesopotamia in terms of *kārum* Kaneš settlement periods. There is no doubt that the texts form Hammam et-Turkman, Leilan, and Rimah, as well as most tablets from Mari and Tuttul, are contemporary with the Kaneš Ib level. This is also the case for the Sippar tablets, most of which concern the merchant Warad-Sîn, active between the forty-second year of

Table 1 | Chronology and stratigraphy of North Mesopotamia and Anatolia at the turn of the Early and during the Middle Bronze period (EJ: Early Jazirah, ED: Early Dynastic, OJ: Old Jazirah, MB: Middle Bronze, MA: Middle Assyrian, LBA: Late Bronze Age, Ch. Bazar: Chagar Bazar, M. Dyab: Tell Muhammad Diyab, KEL: Kaneš Eponym List).



Hammurapi (1792–1750 BC) and the eighth year of Samsu-iluna (1749–1712 BC). The tablets from Ešnunna, Nuzi, and Nippur show a number of features of the Old Assyrian dialect, but cannot be dated safely to any of its sub-periods (Jesper Eidem, pers. comm.).

The dating of *kārum* Kaneš II and *kārum* Kaneš Ib levels was until recently a subject of scholarly discussion,[4] including the question of the length of the abandonment period separating both levels, usually estimated to be about 30 years (Balkan 1955, 60). The situation changed with the publication of several Kaneš Eponym Lists (KEL) (Veenhof 2003; Günbatti 2008), which presently cover a period from the enthronement of Irišum I (*ca.* 1974 BC, cf. Veenhof 2008a, 29) and continue down to *ca.* 1720 BC (Günbatti 2008, 117). As KEL G, the list providing the latest *līmum* names, was discovered in Kültepe, there is no doubt that Assyrian trade with Anatolia did not stop before this date. The length of the *kārum* Kaneš Ib period is presently calculated to be *ca.* 113 years (from 1833 to 1720 BC) and an interval of two or three years can be assigned to the break between levels II and Ib (1835–1833 BC) (Günbatti 2008, 117).[5] The beginning of the *kārum* Kaneš II settlement is more difficult to date. The oldest *līmum* names that appear

4 This issue was addressed extensively by Veenhof (2008a, 28–35), though some of his conclusions have to be corrected due to a recent publication of the Kaneš Eponym List G (Günbatti 2008), cf. Barjamovic / Hertel / Larsen 2010, 1–40.

5 However, it seems that a serious attempt to revive the trade dates to the period of Samsī-Addu.

on the tablets belong to the time of Ikūnum (1934–1921 BC) (Veenhof 2008a, 32, n. 72). There is also limited evidence suggesting that Ikūnum was personally involved in the trade (Veenhof 2003, 42). Yet, it is very likely, that the onset of commercial activities may be dated to the very beginning of Erišum's reign, as suggested in a royal edict, whose content is repeated in an inscription found on a door-socket from the Assur temple (RIMA1: A.0.33.2). Some scholars argue that the edict was in fact a regulation, which created favorable conditions for the Old Assyrian trade and traders (Larsen 1976, 63–78). This point of view may be corroborated by a fragment of an envelope bearing an impression of Erišum's seal found at Kültepe in 1983 (Veenhof 2003, 41; 2008a, 129). Consequently, it is clear that Assyrian traders were present in Anatolia from the beginning of the second half of the 20th century BC (about 150 years before Samsī-Addu's ascent to the throne at Assur), and plausible that Assyrians had already settled in Anatolia during the reign of Erišum I (1974–1935 BC). The establishment of reliable commercial links in Anatolia probably took some time, but it may be assumed that this system started to fully function before Ikūnum's ascent to the throne in 1934 BC. By this date, merchants' treks through the northern Jazirah had also been well established.

2. Commercial roads of the Old Assyrian period

There have been a considerable number of attempts to reconstruct the distribution of Old Assyrian commercial roads (Goetze 1953; Hallo 1964; Nashef 1987; Beitzel 1992; Oguchi 1999). This discussion has not been limited to the identification or ordering of cities names mentioned on the tablets themselves, but has also focused on reconstructing the main caravan trek, in particular on whether it followed the Tigris River or crossed the Northern Mesopotamian plain towards the Euphrates and if the latter, whether this route was to the south or north of the Sinjar Range. The starting point of the trek was, of course, Assur, and the last Mesopotamian station was Ḫaḫḫum, where a crossing of the Euphrates was located. Klaus R. Veenhof has recently proposed locating this city in the area of Samsat (or at the site of Samsat itself) on the Turkish Euphrates (Veenhof 2008b). Road stations are mentioned in several so-called 'itineraries', i.e., texts that list expenses on the way from Assur to Anatolia. Twenty-eight such lists were collected and compared by Khaled Nashef (Nashef 1987). Some of them refer to stations located either between Ḫaḫḫum and Kaneš, or within Anatolia, as well as on detours from the main road. On the basis of the remaining 15 texts, Nashef reconstructed the following sequence of stations located on the Mesopotamian part of the trek, set in an order starting from Assur:

> ASSUR – Šadduatum – Razama ša Bura – Abidiban – Qaṭṭara – Razama ša Uḫakim – Kaluzanum – Adubazum – Daraqum – Apum – Amaz – Naḫur – Ela/uḫut/Luḫayu – Abrum – Burallum – Ḫaqa – Zalpa – Buruddum – ḪAḪḪUM.

It should be noted that the position of some names on this list is disputable, and that in an open country (as is the Jazirah) there were various ways of traveling across the region. Moreover, some detours were caused by political or natural events, and we cannot exclude a certain role of personal preferences.

Massimo Forlanini (2006), who included into his study some texts published since the time of Nashef's book, concluded that two main roads led to Anatolia; a northern one, running along the Tigris, and a southern one, crossing Jazirah. According to him, there were several 'fixed points' on the route through the Jazirah, which were visited by all (or nearly all) caravans, while between these points differ-

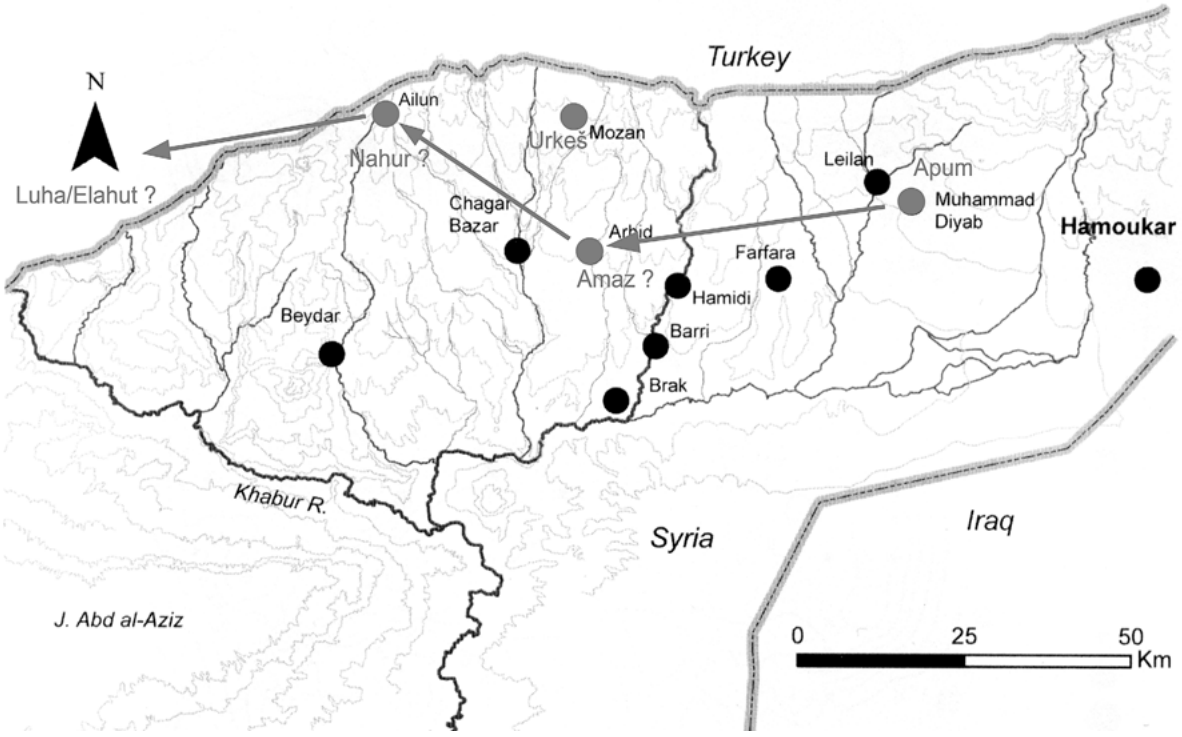


Fig. 1 | The most important cities of the Old Jazirah/Middle Bronze Age II period Khabur Triangle area and the reconstructed Old Assyrian caravan road (drawn by the author, background map courtesy of Jason Ur).

ent paths could be chosen. The first of these fixed points was obviously Apum, and the whole first part of the distance is often described as 'from the City to Apum' (fig. 1). The second section of the road covered the distance from Apum to Ḫaḫḫum and is the most interesting part for my study. According to Forlanini, at least three variant routes existed on this section of road:

– a southern one, via Paḫudar/Puḫidar,
– a central one, via Amaz and Naḫur,
– and a northern one, via Buruddum and Ela/uḫut, located in Kašiyari mountains, most probably joining the path that ran along the Tigris.

The eight stations suggested by Nashef for the Apum–Ḫaḫḫum section of the road were distributed by Forlanini between two or three different routes, and consequently, the number of stations located on the 'main' road (the central one) can be reduced.

Another problem is caused by the fact that most of the names mentioned on the list have never been convincingly attributed to any of the archaeological sites located in the area. The exceptions are Qaṭṭara (= Tell Rimah[6]) and Zalpa (Tell Hammam et-Turkman). At first glance it is surprising that large cities such as Urkeš and Nagar, which were the seats of prosperous local dynasties of Hurrian origin during the Post-Akkadian period (*ca.* 21st century BC) and which most likely existed continuously throughout the first quarter of the second millennium BC, are not mentioned in the lists. Šeḫna is also absent, although this is hardly a surprise, as the site seems to have been abandoned from the Late Akkadian

6 Some scholars prefer an identification of this site with Karana, for instance Dalley 1984; Joannès 1996, 323.

period onwards, and most probably resettled shortly before Samsī-Addu decided to transfer the capital of his kingdom there (Frayne 1995). The lack of Old Jazirah (OJ I) material from Leilan provides an argument for the identification of Tell Muhammed Diyab with Apum, tentatively proposed by Eidem (2008a, 270). His reservations were based on the lack of Early Jazirah V and Old Jazirah I material from the site although a recent publication provides evidence that the site was settled during this period (Nicolle 2006, 234–235). This is corroborated furthermore by a surface find of an Old Assyrian style cylinder seal in the lower city area (Castel 1990).

Helpful information as to where some of the stations on the trek were located is provided by the Mari archives. The evidence has been presented by Francis Joannès (1996) and David Sevaliè (2006). According to the first study, most of the settlements listed in the Old Assyrian texts were small cities during the period of the Mari archives (the only exceptions being Kaluzanum and Adubazum, located between Qaṭṭara and Apum). For the Khabur Triangle area, Joannès reconstructed three branches of the road:

– a northern one: from Šubat-Enlil to Amaz via Šuna,
– a middle one: from Šubat-Enlil to Ilansura via Ašnakkum,
– and a southern one: via Ḫazikkanum, Taidu, and Kaḫat (Joannès 1996, 343).

Only the northern route seems to reflect an Old Assyrian road as documented by the Old Assyrian 'itineraries'. This identification is corroborated by information provided by two letters concerning Assyrian merchants written by Itūr-Asdu, a governor residing in Naḫur from the sixth till the thirteenth year of Zimrī-Lîm (1775–1762 BC) (Guichard 2008). They clearly indicate that the road passed through the territory of the city of Naḫur, where a *miksum*-tax was levied on the merchandise. According to an Old Babylonian itinerary (Hallo 1964) Naḫur was also located on a main caravan road during the Old Babylonian period, on a stretch starting at Apum and going through Amaz and Naḫur to Luḫa, a city that is often mentioned in the correspondence from Naḫur. As Itūr-Asdu also seems to have supervised the city of Urkeš when it was dependant on Zimrī-Lîm, Naḫur should be located in the vicinity of Urkeš, probably to the west of it. Other texts mentioned by Michaël Guichard suggest a location in the vicinity of Ašnakkum, a city that is certainly to be identified with Tell Chagar Bazar, which would point to the area of Amuda or Derbasiye as the location of Naḫur. In my opinion, the most likely candidate for the location of Naḫur is the impressive site of Tell Ailun.

It is, of course, tempting to connect names mentioned by texts with places that were prominent sites in the early second millennium BC (as I have just done in the case of Naḫur). The main difficulty, however, is caused by problems with the identification of early second millennium BC (that is pre-Samsī-Addu) sites, that were contemporary with the first phase of the Old Assyrian trade. As mentioned above, all of the Khabur Ware contexts that can be precisely dated by tablets belong to the period of Samsī-Addu or later, i.e., they are contemporary with *kārum* Kaneš Ib period. Consequently, the presence of Classic Khabur Ware could be considered as a marker for *kārum* Kaneš Ib period settlements, while there is no instance of securely dated deposits of pottery of this kind which can be attributed to the *kārum* Kaneš II period. Still, texts of this period clearly hint at the presence of pre-Samsī-Addu settlements in the area, providing Assyrian traders with stopping places on the road to or from Anatolia.

In this situation two working hypotheses could be postulated. The first is, to assume that Classic Khabur Ware, dated by textual evidence to the 18th century BC, started much earlier, at the turn of the Post-Akkadian period, but these early contexts cannot be precisely dated due to the lack of textual sources. The other is, to assume that other kinds of pottery occurred on sites (or in the levels) belonging to the Old Jazirah I period.

In order to falsify one (or both) of these hypotheses there are two clear lines of inquiry that we might follow. The first is to address the problem of the periodization of the Khabur Ware pottery, with particular emphasis on its early phases. The other is to look at the material from sites in the Jazirah, focusing on the levels which predate the period of Samsī-Addu (or more generally, the 18th century BC).

3. Early Khabur Ware in earlier research

3a Divisions of Khabur Ware pottery

Sir Max Mallowan, who dubbed the painted pottery from the first half of the second millennium BC found at Tell Chagar Bazar Khabur Ware, reflected in this name not only the geographical position of the site but also the relative abundance of pottery of this kind at sites surveyed in the Khabur area prior to excavations (Mallowan 1937, 102–104). On the basis of the relative stratigraphy of the Tell Chagar Bazar graves, he proposed dividing stratum 1 into four sub-units: early, early intermediate, intermediate, and late. But this division does not shed any light on the problem of Early Khabur Ware, since tablets dated to the period of Samsī-Addu were found together with sherds of the classic variant of the Khabur Ware in a context dated to early level 1 (Mallowan 1947, 82–83).

Later attempts to phase the Khabur Ware follow the basic division into Older and Younger Khabur Ware proposed by Barthel Hrouda (1957, 38–40), and will not be discussed here, as this division is of no relevance for my study (cf. Oguchi 2000, tab. 6).

The periodization of Khabur Ware pottery was one of the main research tasks carried out by Hiromichi Oguchi in his unpublished Ph.D.-thesis. His conclusions were presented in a series of papers published in *Al-Rafidain* (Oguchi 1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; 2003). He proposed dividing the Khabur Ware period into four sub-periods (Oguchi 1997, 195–196):

– Period 1 (*ca.* 1900–1814 BC), represented at some sites located in the Niniveh region and in the Khabur Triangle;
– Period 2, Classic Khabur Ware period (*ca.* 1814–1700 BC), present on sites such as Leilan, Chagar Bazar, Rimah, Taya (level III), where it is dated by the presence of tablets, as well as at other sites: Tell Brak, etc. (for a full list cf. Oguchi 1997, 212–216);
– Period 3, Late Khabur Ware period (*ca.* 1700–1550 BC), present at Tell Rimah;
– Period 4, Transitional Khabur-Mittanian pottery (*ca.* 1550–1400 BC) present at Tell Rimah and Tell Brak.

Oguchi addressed the problem of the transition from Post-Akkadian pottery to Khabur Ware more specifically in a paper of 2003. He remarked that the problem of the gap between the late third millennium pottery tradition and Khabur Ware might be solved in several different ways:

– by accepting the existence of a hiatus (in settlement and culture),
– since the gap may result from applying evidence from a single site to the entire Northern Mesopotamia, the problem could be resolved by introducing evidence from other sites in the area,
– by bringing forward the date of the beginning of the Khabur Ware period and pushing back the end of the Post-Akkadian period.

The second solution was favored by Oguchi, who discussed the evidence provided by trench G-4 at Tell Jigan. Levels 3a and 3b yielded assemblages composed partly of Khabur Ware (Oguchi 2001, fig. 8) and partly of late third millennium BC pottery (Oguchi 2003, fig. 4). Oguchi suggested that, despite the

fact that all of the pottery discussed came from fill or refuse deposits, this situation may reflect the contemporaneous use of late third millennium BC pottery and Khabur Ware sometime during the 20th century BC. I will comment on this hypothesis later.

An attempt to study the origins of Khabur Ware was undertaken by Christophe Nicolle in a paper presented at the 1st ICAANE in Rome (Nicolle 2000). He observed that the period of long discontinuity between the Akkadian period and Samsī-Addu time in the north, characterized by a lack of settlements and pottery, may be the result of applying the 'long' chronology of south Mesopotamia, which requires to accommodate the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods between the Old Akkadian period and Samsī-Addu. Subsequently, he turned to a study of unpublished pottery from the excavations at Tell Muhammad Diyab, where a sequence of five levels, featuring the renewal of a sacral building on summit A, was discovered. Based on pottery comparisons, he proposed dating level II to the period of Khabur Ware at Leilan (from the start of Samsī-Addu's presence to the destruction of the site by Samsu-iluna of Babylon). Consequently, the four earlier levels (including a short abandonment in level III) should be dated to the times prior to 1800 BC. The apparent, prolonged use of level V made Nicolle think about moving the beginning of the Khabur Ware period closer to the beginning of the 20th century BC (Nicolle 2000, 1181–1182). He has, however, abandoned this point of view in later publications. In a paper written with Xavier Faivre discussing the identification, dating, distribution and origin of Khabur Ware pottery (Faivre / Nicolle 2007) he concluded that the origin of Khabur Ware falls into a period between 1900–1850 BC (i.e., to the early part of Old Jazirah II according to their chronology) and that at present it is impossible to differentiate Khabur Ware pottery predating Samsī-Addu from that used during and after his reign (Faivre / Nicolle 2007, 185). This opinion is repeated in his publication of seasons 1992–2000 at Tell Muhammad Diyab (Nicolle 2006, 168–176). He has also rejected the assumption made by Peter Pfälzner (Dohmann-Pfälzner / Pfälzner 2002, 154) that the origins of Khabur Ware may date back to the 21st century BC (Nicolle 2006, 234–235).

The excavations at Tell Mozan, directed by Pfälzner, revealed a continuous sequence of strata covering a period from Early Jazirah III to Mittani times in the central part of the High Mound. Level C6 of this sequence corresponds to a period dating *ca.* to 2000–1800 BC. It includes the late reuse phase of the Post-Akkadian Puššam's house and yields fragments of painted Khabur Ware that were, however, less frequent there than in later levels dated to Old Jazirah II (Dohmann-Pfälzner / Pfälzner 2001, 105; 2002, 154). As there was no evident break in occupation, Pfälzner insisted on a continuity of pottery traditions at the turn of the third millennium BC and suggested that the decoration of Khabur Ware originates from rare painted vessels of the Post-Akkadian period.

3b.1 Early Khabur Ware from the perspective of Oguchi

The Khabur Ware Period 1 phase was discussed briefly in note 3 of Oguchi's 1998 paper and to a much greater extent in his 1999 paper on the Old Assyrian trade routes. According to his own definition, Early Khabur Ware is characterized by:

1) wide but uneven bands of paint, and
2) combination of painted and grooved decoration.

In his opinion, pottery belonging to this phase could be identified at Tell Jigan, Tell Rimah (AS 3), Tell Taya (IV), and at Tell Mozan, with some early forms found at Tell Billa, in the earliest graves at Chagar Bazar and in phase b–c at Dinkha Tepe (Oguchi 1998, n. 3).

In two more recent papers Oguchi presented some drawings of the pottery from Tell Jigan, which in his opinion should be belong to the 20th century BC. In his first contribution Oguchi presents "the earliest examples of Khabur Ware" (Oguchi 2000, fig. 8). In the second paper, more examples of pottery from level 3 a–b from Tell Jigan are shown, though they represent types from the late third millennium BC exclusively (Oguchi 2003, fig. 4). In conclusion, Oguchi puts forward the thesis that during the 20th century BC, late third millennium BC pottery and Khabur Ware pottery were used contemporaneously, at least at some North Mesopotamian sites.

3b.2 Evaluation of the Period 1 (Early) Khabur Ware examples of Oguchi

3b.2.1 Tell Jigan

Oguchi published a drawing of seven potsherds from Tell Jigan as an example of Period 1 Khabur Ware (Oguchi 2000, fig. 8). All of them belong to the category of pots, representing vessels with a wide mouth, comparable in diameter to the height of the vessel, with no distinctive neck under the rim and a very short or non-existent shoulders. They all show painted decoration which is characterized by a carelessness of execution as the bands are of uneven width and do not have straight edges, painted points resemble drops rather than regular circles, and occasionally droplets of paint appear on the walls. Three examples feature horizontal grooving on the shoulders (Oguchi 2000, fig. 8: 1–3) and two others have grooving on the upper surface of the rim (fig. 8: 6–7). According to Oguchi, a combination of grooving and painted bands is a feature of Early Khabur Ware (in this statement he is clearly influenced by Joan Oates). Two of the illustrated vessels have scraping marks on the inner surface. All pots are either buff or pinkish in color and show chaff (one example) or a combination of chaff and mineral temper.

The last example of Early Khabur Ware from Jigan was published in 2003 (Oguchi 2003, fig. 4.28). This is a body-sherd decorated with two horizontal and one wavy line executed with a comb between two painted lines. The vessel is made of pale green clay with medium dense chaff and medium size grit temper. The color of the paint is not given.

The potsherds described above can hardly be qualified as Early Khabur Ware pottery. Examples published in the 2000 paper rather belong to the Classic, or Period 2, phase of Khabur Ware, as demonstrated by the vessel shapes, the color of potsherds' paste, and the quality of their decoration. The combination of grooved and painted decoration has to be dismissed as an early feature (against Oates *et al*. 1997, 65), because numerous examples of this decorative combination are present on the pottery dated to 18th century BC (cf. for instance Faivre / Nicolle 2007, nos. 205–213, all from Tell Brak HH level 10; no. 262 from Tell Leilan Lower Town Palace 3; no. 299 from Tell Leilan Lower Town East Palace 2, nos. 328, 332). On the other hand, the sherd published in 2003 clearly belongs to the late third millennium BC repertoire (as do other potsherds illustrated on the same plate). Consequently, none of Oguchi's examples from Jigan can be allowed as an example of a distinct Early Khabur Ware (Period 1) pottery.

3b.2.2 Tell Mozan

The Tell Mozan example (Buccellati / Kelly-Buccellati 1990, fig. 26, M1–84) belongs to a pot with an S-shaped rim. The rim of the vessel is painted with red paint and a horizontal band of ribbing is visible just under its concave 'neck'. This sherd was found in sounding P, on the northern slope of the Tell, together with another similar fragment (M1–83) and belongs to 'a series of red painted and unpainted potsherds'. The whole pottery assemblage from the square is described as containing finer Khabur shapes than those encountered in trench B1. Both of the sherds in question are described as 'transitional' between late third millennium BC/Ur III assemblage (represented by sherds M1–77–78) and typical Khabur Ware (M1–79–82; Bucellati / Kelly-Bucellati 1990, fig. 26). The reason for this qualification is not clear, but most likely it was again the presence of a combination of grooved and painted decoration. The Mozan potsherds cannot be considered as Early Khabur pottery for the following reasons:

– their stratigraphic position (above late third millennium BC level) is not defined precisely enough,
– their shape is typically that of Classic Khabur Ware vessels, known for instance from Tell Brak, HH level 10 (Oates *et al.* 1997, fig. 191, no. 247; fig. 193, no. 300),
– grooved and painted decorations are typical for Classic Khabur Ware.

3b.2.3 Tell Rimah

Oguchi presented two sherds discovered in a sounding located on the southern slope of the Temple Mound, in a context clearly predating the construction of the temple, which falls into the period of Samsī-Addu. The first of the two is a large vessel without rim, decorated in transparent paint forming slashed triangles on the shoulder and a wide band filled with a checker-board motive; the other is a bowl with painted decoration on the rim. Their stratigraphic position under the temple suggests a date prior to 1800 BC and both vessels most likely represent Early Khabur Ware pottery. This opinion was recently confirmed by Oates (cf. Oates 2007, 397, fig. 5: 2–3).

3b.2.4 Tell Taya

Level IV was dated by its stratigraphic relation to the subsequent level III, which yielded two cuneiform tablets. In level IV some houses and a temple building located on the opposite side of an open space were discovered. The same temple was in still use in level III. Both levels yielded Khabur Ware pottery, but because of stylistic differences, Reade proposed to date level III to the Zimrī-Līm's reign and level IV to 1850–1800 BC (Reade 1968, 258). One of the tablets found in level III bears the name of *līmum* Idna-Aššur, son of Abu-šalim, whose date of tenure is disputable.[7] If the later date is right, level III may be dated to the third quarter of the 18th century BC, and level IV, while certainly earlier, may cover the first quarter of the same century, as suggested by the continuous use of the temple. Of the three forms of

7 Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen proposed to equate this eponym with *līmum* of year KEL 175 (1798 BC) (Barjamovic / Hertel / Larsen 2012, 99). This identification is impossible to accept, because on the same tablet there is an impression of a seal belonging to a certain Hasidanum, who is a servant of Samsī-Addu and who is known as well from the Mari texts dating to the terminal years of the 'North Mesopotamian Kingdom' (Villard 2001, 94–97). This suggests a date between 1780 and 1775 BC.

pottery from level IV illustrated in the interim report, the most peculiar (checker-board decoration combined with triangles) is thought to be an import (Reade 1968, 258, pl. LXXXVII, 26–28). The next shape in question is a cup in a typical Khabur Ware form, which may very well fit into an early 18th century BC assemblage. The remaining vessel, a deep bowl with a flanged rim, ribbed on the upper surface and provided with a band of paint on the rim, seems to belong to an earlier part of the same century as well. All vessels are of buff fabric with brown, plum red, or black paint. The Taya pottery of level IV may slightly predate 1800 BC, but could also be later.

3b.2.5 Tell Chagar Bazar

The graves G1–3 have a similar stratigraphic position and were found under the foundations of some level 1 structures, moreover G2 and G3 were cut into a *pisé* platform underlying level 1 (Mallowan 1936, 55). Grave G1 yielded eight vessels of plain pottery and one painted pot. Grave G2 included three painted vessels and a copper beer strainer, while grave G3 contained a pottery lamp, six pieces of painted pottery, a copper dagger and a copper pin. Metal implements are difficult to date, but the lamp (Mallowan 1936, figs. 5, 25) and the copper strainer (Mallowan 1936, figs. 8, 18) are typical for graves containing Classic Khabur pottery. Some vessels from G1 may represent Classic Khabur Ware, while two 'shouldered cups' (Mallowan 1936, fig. 17:5–6) and a painted jar (Mallowan 1936, fig. 16:5) may even represent Late Khabur Ware (cf. Postgate *et al.* 1997, pl. 73). The pottery from G2 and G3 features a type of low-neck jar with wide shoulders and with painted bands on the maximum width of the body, which is a shape typical for a Classic Khabur Ware assemblage (Oguchi 1997, fig. 1, no. 8). Consequently, there is no reason to date the pottery from graves G1–3 at Chagar Bazar to an early period of the Khabur pottery.

3b.2.6 Tell Billa

The Tell Billa sherd (Speiser 1933, pl. LXXII, left, fourth from top) in fact looks quite peculiar. It comes from a deep pot or wide-mouthed jar and bears incised and painted decoration. Comb incisions form a horizontal band and a wavy line above it. Paint is used for a band on the rim and dots appear in the spaces formed by the wavy line. Moreover, there is an animal silhouette painted with bitumen on the shoulder. This peculiar set of decoration motives and techniques suggests a date during the Post-Akkadian period.

Consequently, of all of the supposed examples of Early Khabur Ware pottery quoted by Oguchi only those from Tell Rimah seem to belong to this early group. Still, two vessels are not enough to attempt a convincing identification of the features typical for the Early Khabur Ware pottery.

4. Recent finds of Early Khabur (Old Jazirah I) pottery from the Jazirah

My review of recent evidence will start with an evaluation of pottery from Tell Rimah, as it is possible that more examples of the early pottery were illustrated in the final publication of the site (Postgate *et al.* 1997) that was published more recently than the discussed paper by Oguchi. Then other sites will be reviewed, especially those with a continuous sequence of occupation through the late third and early

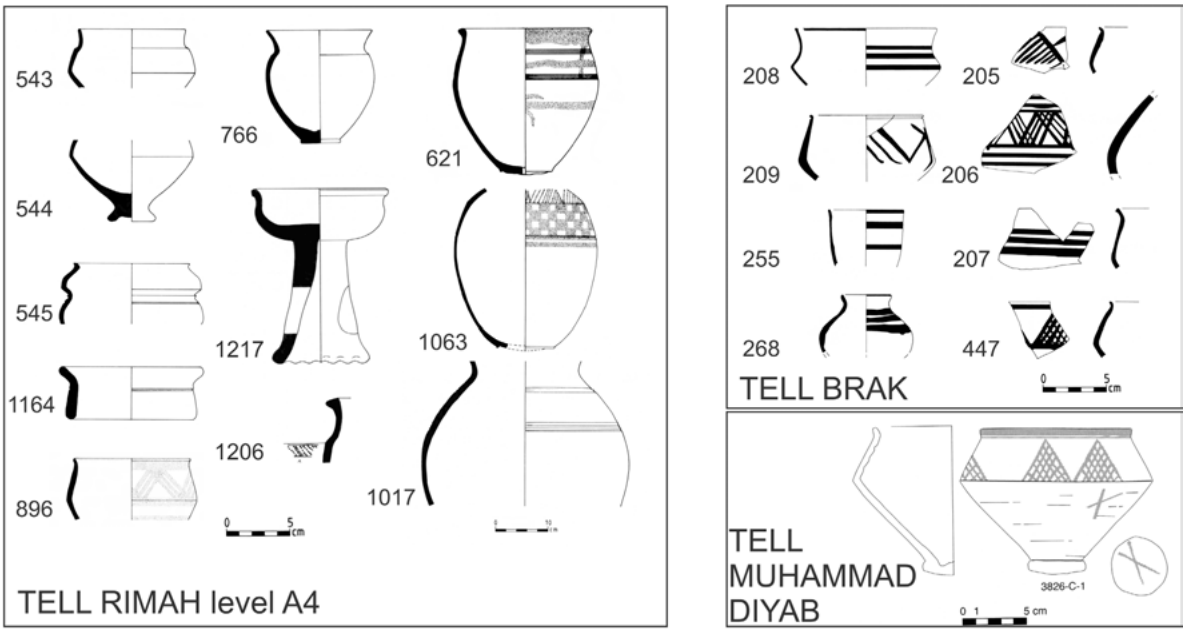


Fig. 2 | Early Khabur Ware and contemporaneous pottery from Jazirah, A: Tell Rimah, level A4 (numbers refer to Postgate *et al*. 1997), B: Tell Brak (numbers refer to Oates *et al*. 1997), C: Tell Muhammad Diyab (after Nicolle 2006, figs. 2–3).

second millennium BC: Tell Barri, Tell Brak, Tell Mozan, Tell Taya, and Assur. Pottery predating Samsī-Addu has also been reported at Tell Leilan and Tell Muhammad Diyab. Finally, unpublished pottery assemblages excavated at Tell Arbid (sector P) in the years 2008–2010 will be presented.

4.1 Tell Rimah

The only part of the site in which excavations reached deposits predating the 18th century BC is the Temple Mound, which is in fact a tell formed by third millennium BC deposits and later encased with the walls of the temple terrace. Three soundings were excavated in the Area AS located on the southern slope (originally labeled levels AS 1–3, but in the final publication designated as A4–6). The lowermost stratum yielded a mixture of Late Akkadian and Post-Akkadian material (Postgate *et al*. 1997, pl. 27). Stratum A5 most likely belonged to the Post-Akkadian assemblage as well, since it yielded examples of burnished Taya Ware, while A4 was dated to the Early Khabur Ware period. According to David Oates, two (or three) rooms and an oven excavated there are to be dated to *ca*. 1900–1800 BC but certainly no earlier than 1950 BC (Postgate *et al*. 1997, 53). Distinctive features of the pottery from level A4[8] include: painting with thick, dusky red or dark, reddish-brown paint (Postgate *et al*. 1997, pl. 19), joint use of deep grooving and painting on jar shoulders, and a painted decoration including hatched and cross-hatched triangles, sometimes with dots in-between (fig. 2 A).

8 The pottery from level A4, which is dispersed in the publication of Postgate, was collected and shown on one plate in Faivre / Nicolle 2007, pl. VI, 159–168.

It has to be remarked that, according to the published information, only one-third of the illustrated pottery forms found in level A4 occurred exclusively in this context. A similarly numerous group of the forms continued throughout level A3 (Classic Khabur Ware)[9] and the remaining forms are present in all later Bronze Age contexts (A3–A1).[10] This situation may be explained in two ways. Either layer A4, which was encountered just under the surface of the temple platform, was contaminated by later intrusions (this is suggested by the presence of the shouldered beaker no. 766, a form typical for Classic or even Late Khabur Ware), or there was a significant continuity of the pottery tradition throughout the Old Jazirah I–II periods. If the second case is true, separating Old Jazirah I and Old Jazirah II material may turn out to be a very difficult task.

4.2 Tell Barri

A synthesis of stratified pottery assemblages discovered in area G at Tell Barri was presented at the 5th ICAANE in Madrid in 2006 (Baccelli / Manuelli 2008) (fig. 3). The material was divided into two phases (Early Khabur Ware and Advanced Khabur Ware designated as phase I and II). Phase II was then divided into two sub-periods (IIA and IIB respectively) reflecting the time 'of Mari domination' (strata 33–32B-A in Area G) and the 'Late Old Babylonian Period' (strata 31B-A) (Baccelli / Manuelli 2008, pl. 8). Period I, corresponding to the period of the Old Assyrian trade (Middle Bronze I), is evidenced by pottery of strata 34C–A, and slightly predated by layer 34D, which yielded eight graves, containing terminal third millennium BC pottery and a cylinder seal from the same period.

Pottery of the Early Khabur Ware stage at Barri is characterized by a prevalence of Common Ware pots (painted Khabur Ware which only makes up *ca.* 5 per cent of the assemblage, mostly came from the latest stratum, 34A) and the absence of Grey Ware. Incised decoration (comb and linear incisions) is quite popular, appearing on *ca.* 14 per cent of the sherds, which compelled Giulia Baccelli and Federico Manuelli to consider painted decoration to be a secondary development. On the painted pots banded decoration prevails, although hatched triangles also occur. Early Khabur assemblages yielded a wide variety of shapes, including shouldered beakers. However, typical shapes are not indicated and the only feature mentioned is the presence of double or triple rims in the case of jars, which is interpreted as an archaic element. Chaff temper is typical for the assemblage, but a considerable number of vessels feature chaff temper of fine granulation; sand of fine granulation is also used as a temper. The whole collection of Period I pottery from Tell Barri consists of about 1500 fragments, therefore the described material is representative for the Early Khabur Ware.

9 Postgate *et al.* 1997, nos. 237, 520, 522, 540–1, 551, 555, 559, 563, 880, 1041, 1098, 1100, 1104.

10 Postgate *et al.* 1997, nos. 228, 521, 523, 525–6, 542, 550, 566, 764, 875, 896, 1051, 1102, 1103. Of these, only no. 896 seems to belong to Early Khabur Ware.

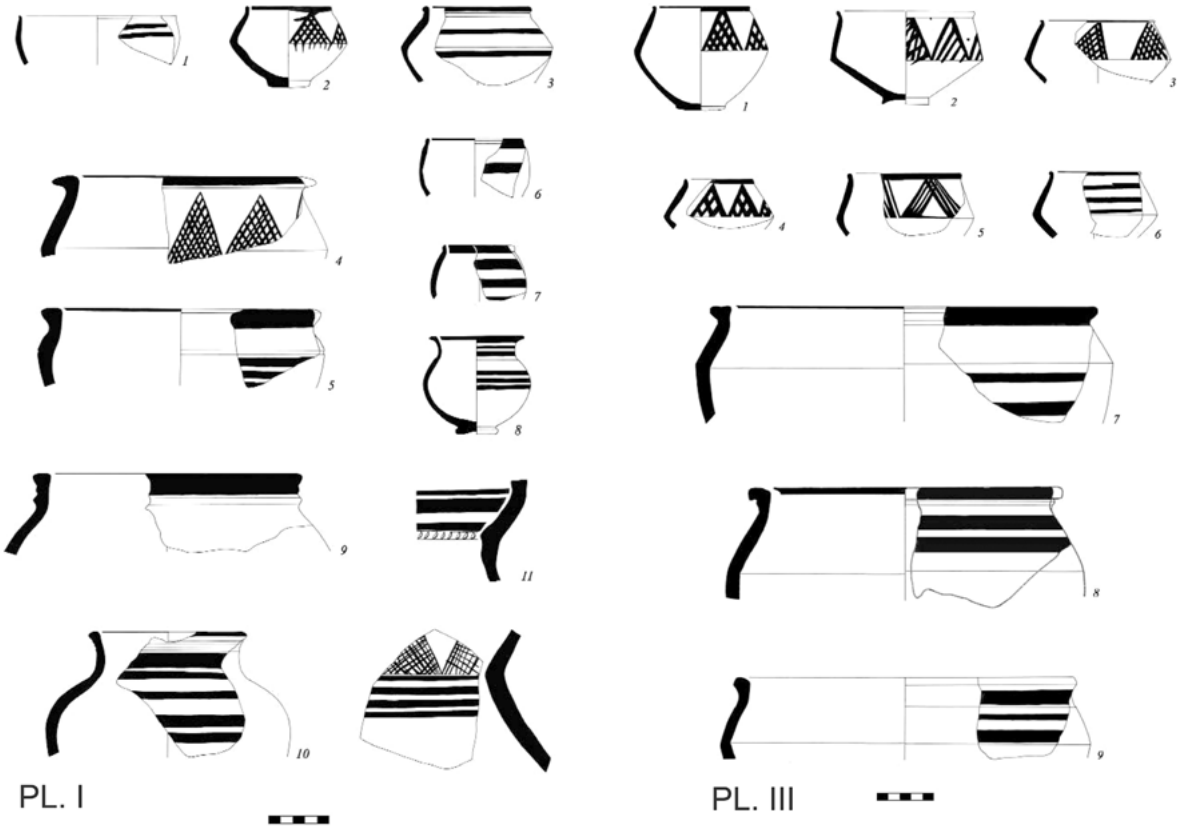


Fig. 3 | The Early Khabur Ware from Tell Barri. Left: pottery from Initial Middle Bronze level (Baccelli / Manuelli 2008, pl. I). Right: Early Khabur Ware pottery from Advanced Middle Bronze I level (Baccelli / Manuelli 2008, pl. III).

4.3 Tell Mozan/Urkeš

Sequences covering the transition from the third millennium BC to the Khabur Ware period were recorded independently in two sectors: above the AK palace (by the mission of Giorgio Buccellati) and in the southeastern part of the site (Pfälzner's team).

In the AK area, an undisturbed sequence from the Akkadian period palace towards the mid second millennium BC was cleared (Kelly-Buccellati / Omar 2004–2005). Phase 4, representing a 'Bitumen Use Ceramic Tradition' is dated to the Post-Akkadian period (2100–2000 BC). Phase 5, incorporating strata 7 and 6, included burials and houses containing Khabur Ware pottery, dated to the period between 2000–1800 BC (Buccellati / Kelly-Buccellati 2000, 146–151). Among the published sherds of phase 5 there are two forms which may be tentatively identified as Early Khabur Ware (Kelly-Buccellati / Omar 2004–2005, figs. 6.1, 7.5). However, in a later report labels of strata of the AK sequence were entirely changed. A new phase 3 label was given to the Early Jazirah IV period. Phase 4 was divided into two units: 4a – referred to the Early Jazirah V settlement described as 'Ur III', while phase 4b was described as Isin-Larsa and dated to the Old Jazirah I period. Finally, phase 5 referred to a settlement from the Old Jazirah II period (Buccellati / Kelly-Buccellati 2001, 61–63). The sparse published evidence confirms continuity of the settlement sequence in the area and hints very strongly on presence of the Early Khabur Ware at the site.

During the first three seasons of work in area C, a hiatus in the settlement sequence was observed between Early Jazirah IV and Old Jazirah II levels. But after the 2000 season, the gap was filled with two periods: C6A contemporary to the Old Jazirah I period, and C6B, dated to the Post-Akkadian period featuring comb-impressed and bitumen painted pottery, and a large structure known later as Puššam's House (Dohmann-Pfälzner / Pfälzner 2001, 105–107). It was observed, that the House of Puššam was reused during the C6A phase. This chronological distinction was further elaborated in the 2002 report, where a label C7 was introduced for the Post-Akkadian settlement and C6 came to be used exclusively for the phase Old Jazirah I. Phase C6 included the reuse of Puššam's House as well as an early usage phase of Houses I, II, IV, V, and VII, together with related graves (Dohmann-Pfälzner / Pfälzner 2002, 154–155).

Phase C6 yielded a pottery assemblage which included some Post-Akkadian sherds mixed with Classic Khabur Ware fragments. This situation led Pfälzner to propose a continuity in the pottery tradition through the turn of the third millennium BC, and to look for the origin of Khabur Ware among the 21st century BC pottery. No pottery similar to the Early Khabur Ware found at Barri or at Rimah was identified in sector C (Schmidt 2007).

4.4 Tell Brak

The publication of work of Oates *et al.* (1997) on the second millennium BC layers included very little of early material, because the most extensive exposure of layers from this period, the excavations at the HH site, focused on Mittani and Middle Assyrian levels. The lowermost levels of HH (10–8) contained houses and pottery kilns and the material retrieved included Classic Khabur Ware forms, contemporary with those from the Samsī-Addu period of the temple at Rimah (Oates *et al.* 1997, 62–65). Another set of pottery of a similar date was retrieved from a large pit in area AL. The only context that was thought to have yielded an earlier second millennium BC assemblage was the remains of a defense wall found in Area TW. This assemblage seems to include some very early forms, especially cups with bead rims, straight shoulders and a painted decoration of triangles (Oates *et al.* 1997, fig. 190: 207),[11] and a small jug (Oates *et al.* 1997, pls. 191, 268) (fig. 2 B), although they were mixed with some potsherds of the 'Classic' form (e.g., Oates *et al.* 1997, pls. 190: 208; 191: 255; 202: 492).

The last early group of pottery to be discussed was found in two rooms marking the top of the stratigraphic sequence of the SS area. Because of its resemblance to south Mesopotamian material from Uruk, this entire assemblage was given the label Isin-Larsa and dated to the very beginning of the second millennium BC (Oates 2001, 173–174, nos. 270, 309, 374, 447, 556–557, 559–560, 566–567, 570–571, similar to 740, 793).[12]

Soundings in area HN, excavated by a mission led by Roger Matthews in 1994–1996, yielded a set of pottery starting from the Classic phase of the Khabur Ware (level 4) and continuing till the mid second millennium BC (levels 2c–a) (McDonald / Jackson 2003).

The second millennium BC pottery from the more recent excavations has not yet been published.

11 Similar sherds were found in sector HH and on the surface, cf. Oates *et al.* 1997, nos. 205–206, 209.

12 However, some of those sherds are close to post-Akkadian pottery at the site, and in the publication were classified as belonging to phase N, i.e., the Post-Akkadian period, e.g., nos. 270, 309, 557, 559, 570–571, 793.

4.5 Tell Taya

Levels VIII, VII, and VI are Late and Post-Akkadian in date. Level III should be dated to the second quarter of the 18th century BC, and it is very likely that level IV, which yielded Khabur Ware pottery as well, covers the earlier part of the same century. Level V, encased between a stratum containing the latest Post-Akkadian pottery and a stratum that corresponds to the very beginning of 18th century BC should thus contain material related to the first two centuries of the second millennium BC. It was composed of a thick layer of ashy deposits, said to have resulted from the accumulation of sheep dung, and yielded very little pottery, of which only one complete, hand-made and undecorated vessel is illustrated (Reade 1968, 256–257, pl. LXXXVII, 25). Although a few published potsherds suggest that some early forms of the Khabur Ware may be present at this site (mainly in level IV), it is difficult to identify a set of features typical for the Early Khabur Ware known from Tell Barri.

4.6 Tell Leilan

The bulk of the pottery from excavations carried out before 1995 (Acropolis Temple, levels III and II, Lower Town East Palace, levels IV, III, II, and Defense Wall Area) was analyzed by Julia Frayne in her Ph.D.-thesis (Frayne 1995). Assemblages forming the corpus of the Khabur Ware pottery come from a period between the transfer of the capital Samsī-Addu's state from Assur (or rather Ekallātum) to Šeḫna and the destruction of the city by Samsu-iluna of Babylon, i.e., from a period covering most of the 18th century BC. An earlier assemblage has only been uncovered in the Defense Wall Area, where four subsequent floors belonging to domestic structures, all predating the construction of the Defense Wall (dated tentatively to the period of Samsī-Addu) were cleared (Frayne 1995, 56–57). This pottery does not have the features typical of the Early Khabur Ware pottery from Tell Barri,[13] although the same context also yielded some sherds similar to Post-Akkadian forms and therefore may support the suggested early date for this assemblage.[14]

4.7 Tell Muhammad Diyab

The most recent publication of the results from fieldwork at Tell Muhammad Diyab presents data retrieved during the 1992–2000 seasons (Nicolle 2006).

Remains from the Old Jazirah I period, labeled by Nicolle MD-IX and dated 2000–1900 BC, were exposed in several areas. In chantier 2 (level 5) single tomb 3826 was cleared. The grave has the form of a large mud-brick chamber (1.6 × 1.1 m) in which the skeleton of one individual lying on its left side in a constricted position was found. Beside the bones, a single pottery cup and a bronze pin with a 'star' head and pierced shaft, above and below decorated with a number of singular incisions a hole, were found. The cup in question has straight, medium-high shoulders, a bead rim, and convex disc base. The decoration, executed in paint, consists of irregularly spaced cross-hatched triangles placed on the shoulders and a single horizontal belt on the rim (fig. 2 C). Formally, it is very close to Early Khabur pottery from Tell Barri.

13 Frayne 1995, figs. 4, 2; 9, 6; 32, 4; 42, 5; 46, 3; 48, 4; 49, 1; 50, 4; 51, 2; 69, 1; 111, 4; 117, 3.

14 Frayne 1995, figs. 80, 3; 84, 4.

In chantier 5a, on the highest part of the Tell, the period Old Jazirah I has been identified in level 5a–11. In table 4.1, it is described as a hiatus, but the adjoining text describes a compact, gray layer of earth, 2.3 m in thickness, resulting from the construction of a *pisé* structure or an attempt to level the area in question in preparation for the construction of Old Jazirah II period temples (levels 10–6 of chantier 5a). The lower part of this level contained a small number of potsherds of greenish paste, related to the third millennium BC. Painted Khabur pottery only appeared in the upper part of the deposit (*ca.* 1 m in thickness), representing both Old Jazirah I and Old Jazirah II material. Yet, the illustrated potsherds from this level are nearly exclusively Post-Akkadian (Nicolle 2006, figs. 7–23) and only nos. 9, 14, and 17 may be tentatively dated to the early second millennium BC.

4.8 Assur

Archaeological contexts that can be dated to the Old Assyrian period are quite limited. In the Ishtar temple area, excavated by Walter Andrae, they consist of phases E-D of the temple, of which the oldest (Temple E) dates to the Ur-III/Isin-Larsa/Old Assyrian period, and the other (Temple D) to the period of Samsī-Addu, according to Claudia Beuger (2005). In a more recent dig by Reinhardt Dittmann (1990) executed in the area of the Nabu temple, Ur III period pottery was identified in level IIIb3, and Khabur Ware in level IIIb2–1. The pottery of Assur had only been published in a very partial way as far as the old dig is concerned (cf. Andrae 1922; 1935; Haller 1954; 1955; Miglus 1996). This situation changed with Beuger's dissertation, in which both the pottery from the old dig in the Ishtar temple and from newer research were brought together. The rich catalogue of pottery vessels and potsherds does not include any examples of what may be called Early Khabur Ware, as defined above. This is true of the shapes of the vessels, but primarily refers to their decoration. In Assur, at the turn of the third millennium BC decoration is typically either incised (quite often combed) or painted, but consists of a single band on the rim or solid circles on the shoulders, or combination of these two motifs. Covering of the inner wall of a vessel with paint is also quite frequent, a custom hardly known in the north. Motifs typical for the Khabur Ware, such as multi-banded decoration, hatched triangles and metopes, appear mostly on body-sherds found in later contexts (from Middle to Neo-Assyrian periods) (Beuger 2005, 275–278). Fragments of bowls with rim decoration appear earlier, but not before the Samsī-Addu period. It is thus possible that Assur had its own tradition of decorating pottery, and that Khabur Ware, which appeared relatively late at the site, was imported and never very popular among the population of the city. This may also explain the lack of Early Khabur pottery in Assur.

4.9 Tell Arbid

The site of Tell Arbid is another of the Khabur Triangle tells showing occupation during the late third and early second millennium BC. Post-Akkadian settlement has been identified on the High Mound (Rutkowski 2006) and on its eastern slope (sector P), while dispersed pottery of the same period was found in the northwestern part of the site as well (mainly in sector D). Houses of the Classic Khabur Ware period are located in the same areas as Post-Akkadian structures, as well as in Sector M in the west, and characteristic painted sherds were found on the surface of southern slope of the High Mound, suggesting that the Middle Bronze Age settlement was more extensive than the Post-Akkadian one. Old

Jazirah I levels are, however more problematic. On the High Mound, no structural remains were identified, but a substantial ashy deposit of up to 3 m in thickness was encountered, covering the remains of Post-Akkadian structures, and enclosed from the top by houses which yielded Classic Khabur Ware pottery. This ashy deposit, in appearance resembling layer V at Taya, was pierced by a number of pits, some of which contained burials. In some cases, shafts leading to the burials were dug from the level of the Old Jazirah II houses, but in other cases, the shafts clearly predated these houses, most likely holding pre-Old Jazirah II material. Another place where early Old Jazirah material was encountered in a clear stratigraphic position is sector P. In the western part of the sector Old Jazirah II houses were constructed directly over the top of Post-Akkadian structures, which were in many places cut by pits dug before the Old Jazirah II period occupation started. These pits were usually round, with a diameter ranging from 1.5 to 0.7 m, in most cases filled with clay of decomposed bricks and holding mainly fragmented Post-Akkadian pottery. In the east, earlier remains were covered by several horizontal layers of clay and ash. In this area round pits seem to be absent, but two large, roughly rectangular pits were encountered, filled with ashy deposits (only one of them, located in square 37/62 was explored). The fill from this pit yielded numerous potsherds showing features atypical for the Classic Khabur Ware. Moreover, some shaft-graves containing pottery with similar features were dug into the fill of the pit. Finally some sherds with similar features were discovered in mixed deposits identified on the eastern slope of the Tell, especially in its northeastern part, most likely formed by debris washed down from the top of the Tell. Under this deposit, which was pierced with shafts of the Classic Khabur Ware graves (contemporary to the Old Jazirah II houses) remains of two pottery kilns were encountered. In the fill of the southern kiln other examples of Early Khabur Ware were found.

The pottery discovered in the described contexts at Tell Arbid (figs. 4–6) is mainly wheel-made and, if it was tempered, it was mainly with a chaff temper. The surface of these vessels is either pinkish-cream, light brown, chocolate, or olive. Painted decoration is not as frequent as in levels with Classic Khabur Ware. The colors of the paint vary: on pinkish vessels the paint is usually deep-red turning towards purple. On brown and chocolate surfaces it is either deep-purple or dark-chocolate. On olive-colored sherds, it is either brick-red, or darker olive. The paint is often thin and transparent, and flakes off the vessel's surface, which sometimes makes it very difficult even to notice the decoration. The most typical motifs are horizontal bands, hatched, or cross-hatched triangles. This second motif is typically not 'underlined' with a horizontal band (as typical for the Classic Khabur Ware variant of this decoration); in many cases of the triangle, a horizontal band on the rim is also missing. A grooved or incised decoration is rare, and in most cases appears together with the painted motifs. On large, deep bowls sometimes there is a decoration of short, oblique parallel incisions forming a horizontal band on the body of the vessel, a motif which is absent in the Classic Khabur Ware. Typical shapes are cups with disc bases, high and straight shoulders and bead rims, deep carinated bowls with a rims in form of a horizontal ledge, sometimes with incised lines on the upper surface, as well as jars with medium-high or high neck, and steep and straight shoulders. Some other forms appear as well, for instance sieves.

The number of features observed in the Early Khabur Ware identified at Tell Arbid that reappear in the Early Khabur Ware assemblage identified at Tell Barri is remarkable. The presence of small cups with high straight shoulders and a bead rims, and of deep bowls with a low carination is also worth mentioning (Baccelli / Manuelli 2008, pls. 1, 3).[15] These similarities allow to suggest that these assemblages

15 Plate 3 presents pottery qualified as Advanced Middle Bronze Age (Phase II) yet, they represent material similar to Arbid's Early Khabur potsherds.

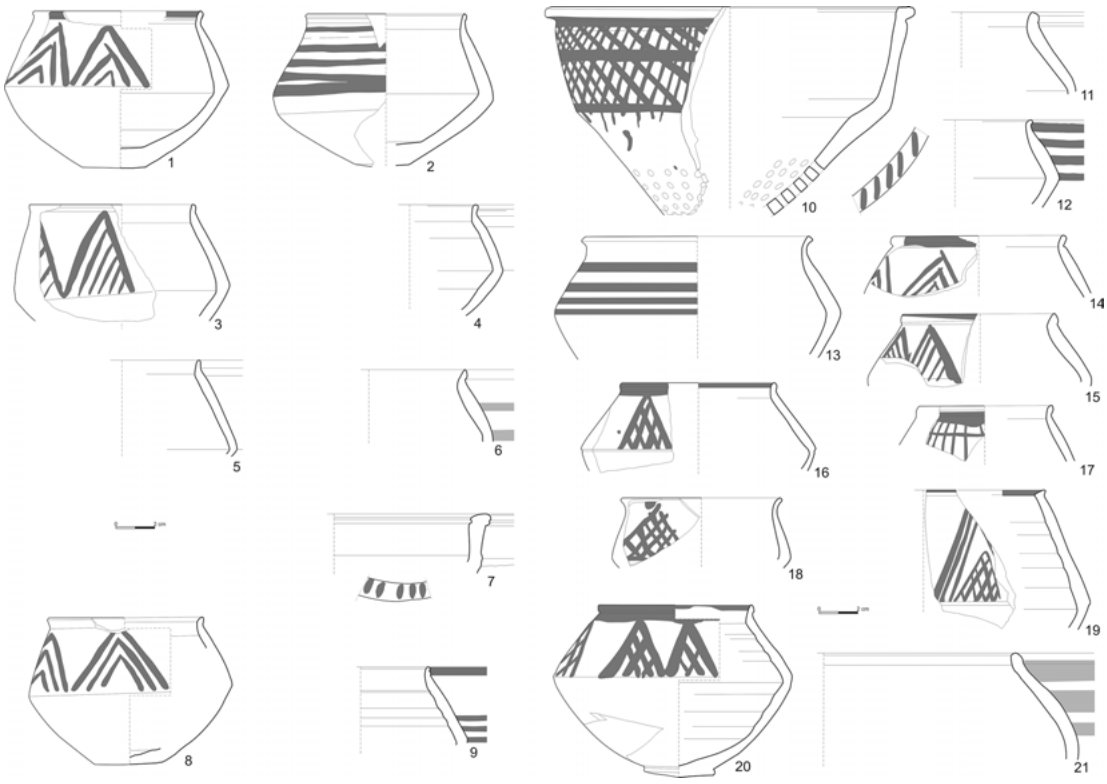


Fig. 4 | Early Khabur Ware from Tell Arbid. Small cups (drawn by Marek Puszkarski).

Fig. 5 | Early Khabur Ware from Tell Arbid. Bowls and deep bowls (drawn by Marek Puszkarski).

Fig. 6 | Early Khabur Ware from Tell Arbid. Vessels from early Old Jazirah II graves: 1. from grave G8/37/62 (photo by Marcin Szabłowski), 2. from grave G5/37/60 (drawn by Marek Puszkarski), 3. from grave G5/37/62 (photo by Marcin Szabłowski).

form a representative sample of pottery typical for the earliest part of the Old Jazirah period in the Khabur Triangle Area.

5. Conclusions

Recent research in the Khabur Triangle area resulted in the identification of pottery which, on stratigraphic (but also on a formal) basis can with certainty be identified as Early Khabur Ware and dated to the Old Jazirah I period (*ca.* 1950–1800 BC).

This pottery is characterized by the presence of cups and jars with high and straight shoulders, and an angular carination appearing in the middle or below the midline of the vessel. For cups, bead rims are typical. Bowls are usually deep, with thick walls and ledge rims. The paste of larger vessels uses thick chaff temper, while for smaller vessels a paste with a thin organic and mineral temper is used. The vessels' surface is chocolate to light brown, or light olive in color, but sometimes cream-pinkish vessels also appear. Painted decoration does not appear often, but is more popular in the case of cups and bowls. Typically, the decoration consists of horizontal bands, however on the cups and more rarely on jars, hatched and cross-hatched triangles also appear. A feature that is characteristic of this motif is that the triangles are not 'closed' with a horizontal band at the bottom. Another typical feature is that the rims of open vessels are quite often left unpainted, whereas paint on the rim is a must in the case of Classic Kha-

bur Ware. The paint is carelessly applied, purple or plum-violet in color, in some cases thick, but more often thin, and nearly transparent. As a result, the decoration is sometimes hardly visible.

Similarities in the assemblages retrieved from comparable stratigraphic contexts at Tell Arbid and at Tell Barri, as well as the presence of dispersed fragments of analogous pottery at Tell Brak, Tell Muhammad Diyab, and Tell Rimah, demonstrate that the pottery identified above as belonging to the Old Jazirah I period is present on a number of sites in the Khabur Triangle region (fig. 1). Consequently, it can be accepted as an *index fossile* for the Old Jazirah I period in the area. This identification will certainly allow for a new evaluation of the settlement situation in the Khabur Triangle area during the Old Jazirah I and it will finally make it possible to integrate archaeological data into attempts to reconstruct the Old Assyrian trade network in North Mesopotamia in the 20th and 19th centuries BC.

The number of sites on which Early Khabur Ware pottery assemblages are presently known is at the moment limited to Tell Barri and Tell Arbid. However, dispersed sherds similar to those described above can also be identified among the published pottery from sites such as Tell Brak, Tell Rimah, and Tell Muhammad Diyab (fig. 2).

On the other hand, the absence of sherds showing features similar to Early Khabur Ware as defined above at sites such as Tell Chagar Bazar, Tell Mozan (Area C), and Tell Jigan suggests very strongly that those sites/sectors were not occupied during the earliest part of the second millennium BC. This conclusion is of importance especially in the case of Tell Mozan, area C, since Pfälzner insisted on the continuity of occupation in this part of the Tell during the terminal centuries of the third millennium and the first half of the second millennium BC. In my opinion, the lack of Early Khabur pottery at the site[16] does not allow for such a conclusion. It is very possible that the city was not totally abandoned, but at least in the area C there is a clear break in the sequence. For this reason, the Classic Khabur pottery appears together with Post-Akkadian sherds transferred from the underlying levels in the oldest second millennium BC stratum in area C. A very similar situation is encountered in trench G at Tell Jigan. For the same reason as in the case of Tell Mozan, I strongly suspect a gap in the sequence, at least in this part of the site. The situation described by Oguchi (2003) results not from the contemporaneity of the Post-Akkadian and Classic Khabur Ware pottery, but from a settlement break.

The identification of Early Khabur Ware pottery does not much enhance our knowledge of the settlement network of the Old Jazirah I period in the North Mesopotamia at the moment and therefore does not contribute greatly to the reconstruction of the Old Assyrian trade network. I hope that identification of the pottery material typical for this period will provide colleagues working in this area with a tool which will eventually make possible the identification of the pottery of the Old Jazirah I period on other sites, which was earlier not possible, because there was no comparable material available. The publication of Tell Brak is a good example that such pottery can be found on sites where the Old Jazirah I layers have not been identified and excavated.

Finally, the presence of rich assemblages of Early Khabur Ware pottery on Tell Arbid (potsherds of this type were encountered on the High Mound, and on the flat area of the Upper City, to the east, west, and north of the High Mound, on a surface of *ca.* 5 ha) supports the proposal of Eidem to identify the site of Tell Arbid with Amaz (Eidem 2008b, 40), an important stopping point on the Old Assyrian trade road to Anatolia, mentioned in numerous itineraries.

16 Schmidt in his Ph.D.-thesis has shown only several sherds which on the basis of shape and decoration may belong to the Old Jazirah I period (Schmidt 2007, pls. 126: 1325, 1327; 138: 1424–1426; 161: 1649; 286: 2973).

Bibliography

Albayrak, Irfan (2005)
"Fünf Urkunden aus dem Archiv von Peruwa, Sohn von Šuppibra", in: *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 39, 95–105.

Andrae, Walter (1922)
Die archaischen Ischtartempel in Assur, (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 39), Berlin.

Andrae, Walter (1935)
Die jüngeren Ischtartempel in Assur, WVDOG 58, Leipzig.

Baccelli, Giulia / Manuelli, Federico (2008)
"Middle Bronze Khabur Ware from Tell Barri/Kahat", in: Joaquín Cordoba / Miguel Molist / Carmen Pérez / Isabel Rubio/ Sergio Martínez (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Archaeology of the Ancient Near East,* Madrid, April 3–8, 2006, Madrid, 187–205.

Balkan, Kemal (1955)
Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Kārum Kaniš, (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarindan VII/28), Ankara.

Barjamovic, Gojko / Hertel, Thomas / Larsen, Mogens Trolle (2012)
Ups and Downs at Kanesh. Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period, (Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 120), Istanbul.

Beitzel, Barry J. (1992)
"The Old Assyrian Caravan Road in the Mari Royal Archives", in: Gordon Young (ed.), *Mari in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Mari Studies,* Winona Lake, 35–57.

Beuger, Claudia (2005)
Keramik der spätfrühdynastischen bis spätassyrischen Zeit aus Assur. Eine Bearbeitung unter chronologischen Gesichtspunkten, unpublished Ph.D.-thesis, Berlin.

Buccellati, Giorgio / Kelly-Buccellati, Marylin (1990)
Mozan 1. The Soundings of the First Two Seasons, Malibu.

Buccellati, Giorgio / Kelly-Buccellati, Marylin (2000)
"The Royal Palace of Urkesh. Report on the 12th Season at Tell Mozan/Urkesh: Excavations in Area AA, June–October 1999", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 132, 133–183.

Buccellati, Giorgio / Kelly-Buccellati, Marylin (2001)
"Überlegungen zur funktionellen und historischen Bestimmung des Königspalastes AP in Urkeš. Bericht über die 13. Kampagne in Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Ausgrabungen im Gebiet AA, Juni–August 2000", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 133, 59–96.

Castel, Corinne (1990)
"Découverte d'un sceau-cylindre paléo-assyrien: Tell Muhammad Diyab, une étape pour les marchands assyriens en route vers la Cappadoce", in: Jean-Marie Durand (ed.), *Tell Muhammad Diyab, Campagnes 1987 et 1988,* (Cahiers de Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires 1), Paris, 51–58.

Charpin, Dominique (2004)
"Histoire politique du Proche-Orient amorrite (2002–1595)", in: Dominique Charpin / Dietz Otto Edzard / Marten Stol, *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit,* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/4), Fribourg–Göttingen, 25–480.

Charpin, Dominique / Ziegler, Nele (2003)
Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite. Essai d'histoire politique, (Florilegium Marianum 4), Paris.

Dalley, Stephanie (1984)
Mari and Karana. Two Old Babylonian Cities, London–New York.

Dittmann, Reinhardt (1990)
"Ausgrabungen der Freien Universität Berlin in Assur und Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta in den Jahren 1986–1989", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 122, 157–171.

Dohmann-Pfälzner, Heike / Pfälzner, Peter (2001)
"Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš. Bericht über die in Kooperation mit dem IIMAS durchgeführte Kampagne 2000", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 133, 97–140.

Dohmann-Pfälzner, Heike / Pfälzner, Peter (2002)
"Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš. Bericht über die in Kooperation mit dem IIMAS durchgeführte Kampagne 2001", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 134, 149–192.

Donbaz, Veysel (1974)
"Four Old Assyrian Tablets from the City of Aššur", in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 26, 81–87.

Eidem, Jesper (2008a)
"Apum: a Kingdom on the Old Assyrian Route", in: Klaas R. Veenhof / Jesper Eidem, *Mesopotamien. Die altassyrische Zeit,* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/5), Fribourg, 265–352.

Eidem, Jesper (2008b)
"Old Assyrian Trade in the Northern Syria. The Evidence from Tell Leilan", in: Jan Gerrit Dercksen (ed.),

Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period, (Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 111), Istanbul, 31–41.

Faivre, Xavier / Nicolle, Christophe (2007)
"La Jézireh au Bronze moyen et la céramique du Khabur", in: Michel al-Maqdissi / Valerie Matoïan / Christophe Nicolle (eds.), *Céramique de l'âge du Bronze en Syrie, vol. II: L'Euphrate et la région de Jézireh*, (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 180), Beirut, 179–229.

Forlanini, Massimo (2006)
"Étapes et itineraries entre Aššur et l'Anatolie des marchandes paléo-Assyriens: nouveaux documents et nouveaux problèmes", in: *Kaskal* 3, 147–175.

Frayne, Julie (1995)
The Tell Leilan Period I Khabur Ware Assemblage, unpublished Ph.D.-thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Goetze, Albrecht (1953)
"An Old Babylonian Itinerary", in: *Journal* 7, 51–72.

Guichard, Michaël (2008)
"Naḫur et la route des marchands assyriens à l'époque de Zimrî-Lîm", in: Jan Gerrit Dercksen (ed.), *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*, (Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 111), Istanbul, 43–53.

Günbatti, Cahit (2008)
"An Eponym List (KEL G) from Kültepe", in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 35, 103–132.

Haller, Arndt (1954)
Gräber und Grüfte von Assur, (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 65), Berlin.

Haller, Arndt (1955)
Die Heiligtümer des Gottes Assur und der Sin-Šamaš-Tempel in Assur, (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 67), Berlin.

Hallo, William W. (1964)
"The Road to Emar", in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 18, 57–86.

Hrouda, Barthel (1957)
Die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und Nordsyrien, Berlin.

Joannès, Francis (1996)
"Routes et voies de communication dans les archives de Mari", in: Jean-Marie Durand (ed.), *Amurru I. Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites dix ans de travaux. Première partie. Actes du colloque international (Paris, mai 1993)*, Paris, 323–361.

Kelly-Buccellati, Marilyn / Omar, Jamal (2004–2005)
Urkesh Ceramics from the Palace Area, in: *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 47–48, 45–61.

Larsen, Mogens Trolle (1976)
The Old Assyrian City State and its Colonies, (Mesopotamia 4), Copenhagen.

Lyonnet, Bertille (2000)
Prospection archéologique Haut-Khabur Occidental (Syrie du N.E.), vol. I, (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 155), Beirut.

Mallowan, Max Edgar Lucien (1936)
"The Excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar, and an archaeological survey of the Khabur region, 1934–35", in: *Iraq* 3, 1–86.

Mallowan, Max Edgar Lucien (1937)
"The Excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar, and an archaeological survey of the Khabur region. Second Campaign, 1936", in: *Iraq* 4, 91–177.

Mallowan, Max Edgar Lucien (1947)
"Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar", in: *Iraq* 9, 1–259.

McDonald, Helen / Jackson, Nicolas (2003)
"A House on the Hill. Second-millennium Investigations: The Middle Bronze Age", in: Roger Matthews (ed.), *Excavations at Tell Brak, vol. 4: Exploring an Upper Mesopotamian Regional Centre, 1994–1996*, Cambridge, 271–319.

Meijer, Diederik, J.W. (1986)
A Survey in Northeastern Syria, (Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 58), Istanbul.

Michel, Cécile (2002)
Old Assyrian Bibliography, (Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 97), Istanbul.

Miglus, Peter (1996)
Das Wohngebiet von Assur: Stratigraphie und Architektur, (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 93), Berlin.

Müller, Gerfried G.W. (2008)
"Eine Tontafel vom Lidar Höyük", in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 35, 312–317.

Nashef, Khaled (1987)
Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten zur Zeit der altassyrischen Handelniederlassungen, (Beiträge zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Beiheft B 83), Wiesbaden.

Nicolle, Christophe (2000)
"Les origins de la période Khabur en Djéziré", in: Paolo Matthiae / Alessandra Enea / Luca Peyronel / Frances Pinnock (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. Rome,* 18th–23rd May 1998, Rome, 1171–1185.

Nicolle, Christophe (2006)
Tell Mohammed Diyab 3. Travaux de 1992–2000 sur les buttes A et B, Paris.

Oates, Joan (2001)
"The Third Millennium Pottery", in: David Oates / Joan Oates / Helen McDonald (eds.), *Excavations at Tell Brak, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC,* Cambridge–London, 151–194.

Oates, Joan (2007)
"Problems in the Chronology of the Second Millennium BC with Particular Reference to the Transition between the Early and Middle Bronze Ages and the Dating of Khabur and Nuzi Wares", in: Paolo Matthiae / Frances Pinnock / Lorenzo Nigro / Luca Peyronel (eds.), *Proceeding of the International Colloquium: From Relative Chronology to Absolute Chronology: the Second Millennium BC in Syria-Palestine,* Rome, 391–409.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (1997)
Excavations at Tell Brak, vol. 1: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian periods, Cambridge–London.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (1997)
"A Reassessment of the Distribution of Khabur Ware: An Approach from an Aspect of its Main Phase", in: *Rafidan* 18, 195–224.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (1998)
"Notes on Khabur Ware from Sites outside its main Distribution Zone", in: *Rafidan* 19, 119–133.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (1999)
"Trade Routes in the Old Assyrian Period", in: *Rafidan* 20, 85–106.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (2000)
"The "Late" Khabur Ware Problem Once Again", in: *Rafidan* 21, 103–126.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (2001)
"The Origins of Khabur Ware: A Tentative Note", in: *Rafidan* 22, 71–87.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (2003)
"20th Century B.C. North Mesopotamia: An Archaeological Dilemma", in: *Rafidan* 24, 83–100.

Pedersén, Olof (1985)
Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur I, (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 6), Uppsala.

Postgate, Caroline / Oates, David / Oates, Joan (1997)
The Excavations at Tell Rimah. The Pottery, (Iraq Archaeological Reports 4), Warminster.

Reade, Julian (1968)
"Tell Taya (1967): Summary Report", in: *Iraq* 30, 234–264.

RIMA1: Grayson, Albert Kirk (1987)
Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millenium BC (to 1115 BC), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 1. Toronto.

Rutkowski, Łukasz (2006)
Górna Mezopotamia na przełomie III i II tysiąclecia p.n.e. Analiza postakadyjskiego materiału ceramicznego z Tell Arbid, (*Upper Mesopotamia at the Turn of the 3rd Millennium BC. Analysis of the Post-Akkadian pottery from Tell Arbid*), unpublished Ph.D.-thesis, University of Warsaw.

Schmidt, Conrad (2007)
Die Keramik der Früh-Ǧazīra V- bis Alt-Ǧazīra II-Zeit vom Tall Mozan, unpublished Ph.D.-thesis, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen.

Sevaliè, David (2006)
"Les itinéraires de la communication à Mari sous le règne de Zimrî-Lîm", in: *Kaskal* 3, 171–201.

Speiser, Ephraim A. (1933)
"The Pottery of Tell Billa", in: *University Museum of Philadelphia, Museum Journal,* 23/3, 249–308.

Veenhof, Klaas R. (2003)
The Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms from Karum Kanish and its Chronological Implications, Ankara.

Veenhof, Klaas R. (2007)
"The Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms. Corrections, Additions and Chronology", in: *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2007/3, 58–63.

Veenhof, Klaas R. (2008)
"The Old Assyrian period", in: Klaas R. Veenhof / Jesper Eidem, *Mesopotamien. Die altassyrische Zeit,* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/5), Fribourg (Switzerland), 1–264.

Veenhof, Klaas R. (2008b)
"Across the Euphrates", in: Jan Gerrit Dercksen (ed.), *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period,* (Publication de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 111), Istanbul, 3–29.

Villard, Pierre (2001)
"Les administrateurs de l'époque de Yasmah-Addu", in: Jean-Marie Durand / Dominique Charpin (eds.), *Amurru 2; Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux,* Paris, 9–140.

Weiss, Harvey / Courty, Marie-Agnès / Wetterstrom, Wilma / Guichard, Francois / Senior, Louise / Meadow, Richard / Curnow, Anne (1993)
"The Genesis and Collapse of Third Millennium North Mesopotamian Civilization", in: *Science* 261, 995–1004.

Karlheinz Kessler

Neue Tontafelfunde aus dem mitannizeitlichen Taidu – Ein Vorbericht

Seit über 25 Jahren gräbt das Archäologische Institut der Universität Bern unter der Leitung von Markus Wäfler, zuletzt unterstützt von Oskar Kaelin, schon auf dem Tell Hamidiye, einem imposanten Ruinenhügel des nördlichen Khaburgebietes am Ǧaġǧaġ. Bis auf einen mittel- bis frühneuassyrischen Palast auf der obersten Plattform 5 mit Überresten einer Palastanlage, die zahlreiche gestempelten Ziegel der mittelassyrischen und frühneuassyrischen Herrscher bis zu Salmanassar III. (858–824 v. Chr.) aufwies,[1] waren aber bis *dato* lediglich drei Fragmente von Keilschrifttexten durch Karlheinz Deller veröffentlicht worden. Ihr Zustand erlaubte kaum irgendwelche Schlussfolgerungen, doch wurden immerhin diese Fragmente in die Periode der Mitanni-Herrscher eingeordnet. In einem sorgfältigen Bericht, publiziert in TḪ 2 (Wäfler 1990), konnte er den sehr charakteristischen Mitanni-akkadischen Duktus dieser Schriftperiode nachweisen. Wenigstens in einem Fall (ḪT 3 = TḪ 2, 326/27) sind Bedienstete einer *entu*-Priesterin angesprochen, doch ist die Frage, ob dieses Fragment im Brandschutt der dritten Terrasse des Tells *in situ* geborgen wurde, oder ob es sich nicht um ein später im Schutt verlagertes Fragment handelte, noch nicht ausreichend geklärt. In der Kampagne von 2004 wurden im Planquadrat 16/23, innerhalb des Südwest-Palasts, drei weitere, aber unpubliziert gebliebene, keilschriftliche Dokumente gefunden. Ihre Gestalt war durch Brandeinwirkung teilweise extrem verformt. Wenigsten in einem Falle (16/23–1) ist aber aufgrund eines Grabungsfotos deutlich eine Art Rationenliste erkennbar, die Männernamen und mindestens zwei Frauennamen enthält. Die linke Spalte enthält eine Quantität von drei bzw. zwei SÌLA, d. h. etwa zwei oder drei Liter, vielleicht Getreide, gefolgt in der Regel von einem Personenkeil und einem Eigenname; Zeile 2 und 8 hat aber das Determinativ für einen Frauenname. Unterbrochen wird die Liste von einer Stichzeile, deren erster Teil wenigstens vom Foto als PAP *ša* 2 $U_4^{meš}$, also „insgesamt für 2 Tage" zu deuten ist. Leider ist derzeit noch unklar, ob die Texte nicht auch in die mittelassyrische Zeit gehören könnten, auch wenn dies weniger wahrscheinlich ist.

Neue Erkenntnisse zu Tell Hamidiye liefern Schriftzeugnisse, die während der Grabungskampagne 2007 zusammen mit Siegelabrollungen gegen Schluss der Grabungen gefunden wurden und in aller Eile fotographisch digitalisiert wurden. Sie befinden sich heute magaziniert in den Kellerräumen des Museums von Deir ez-Zor in Syrien. Aus internen Gründen innerhalb der syrischen Antikenverwaltung bestand für 2010 und 2011 keine Möglichkeit, im Museum von Deir ez-Zor wissenschaftlich zu arbeiten. Wie im Falle der 2008 gefundenen Urkunden ist deswegen nur auf eine spätere Bearbeitung dieser Urkunde zu verweisen, doch basieren hier erste Ergebnisse auf einer Durchsicht des Materials von 2009 in Deir ez-Zor. Vom Mitannireich lagen bisher nur rund ein Dutzend Tontafeln vor, vereinzelte Tafelfunde, von denen einige wie Rechtsdokumente von Tell Bazi und Tell al-Marra in Nordsyrien auch an der Peripherie des Herrschaftsgebiets der Könige von Mitanni lagen. Aus dem Zentrum des Reiches stammen nur sechs isolierte Tafel- bzw. Tafelfragmente, die in dem südlicher gelegenen Tell Brak gefunden wurden, zwei ältere Rechtsdokumente und drei Verwaltungstafeln, sowie ein Fragment eines hurritischen Briefes, dessen Inhalt uns wegen der großenteils heute noch unverständlichen hur-

1 Siehe dazu im Detail auch TḪ 2. Ein verschlepptes Ziegelfragment, wohl Salmanassars III., wurde während der Kampagne 2010 aus dem hellenistischen Schutt über dem Palast gefunden.

ritischen Sprache entgeht.[2] So sind bisher unsere Erkenntnis über die Geschichte des Mitannireiches im wesentlichen durch Quellen außerhalb des eigentlichen Staatsgebietes von Mitanni geprägt, also durch hethitische, ugaritische und ägyptische Quellen sowie vor allem, was spezifisch die Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte betrifft, durch die Tafelfunde aus Nuzi im Osttigrisgebiet. Die neuen Textfunde verändern die Sachlage nun völlig. Zum ersten Mal liegt nun ein kleines, in sich geschlossenes Archiv aus dem Kerngebiet des Mitannireiches vor. Taidu ist erst in der letzten Phase der Könige von Mitanni als Königsresidenz belegt, nachdem zuvor bis *ca.* 1380 v. Chr. das im westlichen Khaburdreieck gelegene Waššukanni, möglicherweise mit dem Ort Sikani an der Khabur-Quelle identisch, den Mittelpunkt des Reiches bildete. Nun waren bis vor wenigen Jahren keine der weiteren aus den assyrischen Berichten der Eroberungen des Mitannireiches bekannten Ortschaften, nämlich die Städte Amasakku, Waššukanni, Nabula, Šuduḫe, Ḫurra und besonders Taidu, als große königliche Stadt des Šattuara I., zum Teil weder in ihrer Lage gesichert, noch durch irgendwelche mitannizeitlichen Tontafelfunde aus Grabungen bekannt. Daher wird die immer noch vorhandene Skepsis bei gewissen Fachkollegen verständlicher und führte zu der immer wieder geäußerten Frage, ob der Tell Hamidiye wirklich die Stelle der Hauptresidenz von Mitanni Taidu sein kann. Für Wäfler war es hingegen nie eine Frage, dass der Tell Hamidiye die Stelle von Taidu bedeutete. Indizien in diese Richtung häuften sich dazu in den vergangenen Jahren. Ganz konkret wurde der Tell Hamidiye für Taidu aber erst Ende der neunziger Jahre des vergangenen Jahrhunderts von einem Teil der Fachwelt akzeptiert, als archäologische Untersuchungen der Briten auf dem *ca.* 20 km südlich gelegen Tell Brak mitannizeitliche Siedlungsreste ergaben. Zwar wurde dort auch eine Art Palast entdeckt, etwa mit einer Fläche von 2000 qm, also von bescheidenen Ausmaßen, verglichen etwa mit dem *ca.* 38 000 qm, den der Zentralpalast auf dem Tell Hamidiye einnahm. Wichtig war auch eine keilschriftliche Verwaltungsurkunde, auf die ich noch etwas später eingehen werde, und uns mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit den Namen des Tell Brak als Nawar wiedergibt. Besonders wichtig war der Zusatz mit dem Hinweis auf „zehn Bündel Pfeile aus der Stadt Nawar, Distrikt der Stadt Taide". Der Distrikt der Stadt, akkadisch *ḫalṣu*, musste also in der Nähe von Nawar liegen und dies untermauerte die Vorstellung, dass der Tell Hamidiye die Position der 25 km entfernten Stadt Taidu einnahm.

Die neuen Textfunde sind ebenfalls Überreste eines verschleppten, mit einiger Plausibilität vorher bewusst zerschlagenen Archivs, das im Schutt der Westflanke des älteren Südwest-Palastes gefunden wurde, fest ineinander verbacken, und wohl von oben herabgestürzt. Wenn von einem einzigen Archiv gesprochen wird, dann mit gewisser Absicht, obwohl das Archiv inhaltlich deutlich aus zwei getrennten Einheiten besteht. Es handelt sich einerseits um eine Reihe von ungesiegelten und undatierten Tontafeln, wohl 17 vom Umfang und Format her ganz verschiedene Keilschriftdokumente. Andererseits handelt es sich um Abdrücke von kleinen Tonstückchen oder Tontafeln, oder, um einen eingeführten Sammelbegriff zu verwenden, um *dockets*, welche teilweise nur gesiegelt bzw. ohne Schrift waren, doch in anderen Fällen begleitet waren von kurzen keilschriftlichen Beischriften. Zum Teil waren diese Beischriften oberhalb oder unterhalb des Siegelabdruckes, vereinzelt aber auch auf den Rändern des Tonstücks angebracht gewesen. Bei der Beschreibung der Siegelabrollungen kann ich mich auf eine ungedruckte Berner Magisterarbeit von Toni Bratschi stützen. Auch sie hat mit dem Umstand zu kämpfen, dass lediglich über Fotografien die Rekonstruktionen der Siegel ermöglicht wurden. Insgesamt sind *ca.* 94 Bruchstücke zu registrieren. Vier von ihnen gehören, mit dem Quadrat 20/24 als Einzelstücke ohne Beschriftung wohl nicht zur Hauptmasse des Quadranten 20/25 unseres Archivs. Keine einzige der

2 Siehe dazu Eidem in Oates *et al.* 1997, 39–46.

Siegelabrollungen ist komplett erhalten. Die Gemeinsamkeit beider Gruppen, der gesiegelten Abdrücke mit Keilschrift und der keilschriftlichen Tontafeln, liegt in ihrem Inhalt. Beide betreffen, sieht man vielleicht von zwei unsicheren Fragmenten ab, den Ausgang von Bierrationen. Sie scheinen eher den Ausgang dieser Lieferungen für die Verwaltung zu dokumentieren, wobei in einigen Fällen auch die Namen von Einlieferern genannt sind. Die Eintragungen der Abdrücke der Siegel erfassen zumeist nur die Nennung einer Bierration, sowie in der Regel nur einen Personennamen oder eine Personengruppe. Die Siegel selbst haben oft nur 11–13 mm Breite, mit einer Höhe von *ca.* 24–26 mm und sind durchaus klein zu nennen. Die zahllosen Siegelfragmente lassen unschwer erkennen, dass nur einige der Siegelabrollungen mit Keilschrift verbunden waren. Bis auf drei Belege erfassen diese im Wesentlichen nur ein einziges Siegel.

Fast alle der beschrifteten Siegelabrollungen auf Ton bzw. *dockets* betreffen ein charakteristisches Siegel, das einen Palmettenbaum erfasst, der auf einem typisch mitannischen Flechtband aufsitzt. Umgeben wird es von zwei antithetisch angeordneten sitzenden Tieren, vielleicht Ziegenböcke, und oben durch zwei Tiere, wohl als irgendwelche Raubkatzen anzusprechen. Zuvor eine Personengruppe, eine Person, die von Bratschi als Mann mit einem deutlichen Pferdeschwanz angesprochen wird, eingehüllt in ein langes Gewand. Über das Geschlecht dieser Person wird man vielleicht streiten können. Ihm zugewandt sicher eine männliche Person, die ein ebenfalls nur schwer bestimmbares Tier an den Hinterbeinen hält. Ein Affe und darüber ein Vogel mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln sind wohl, wie in mesopotamischen Siegeln dieser Zeit, ursprünglich als Füllmotive zu sehen.

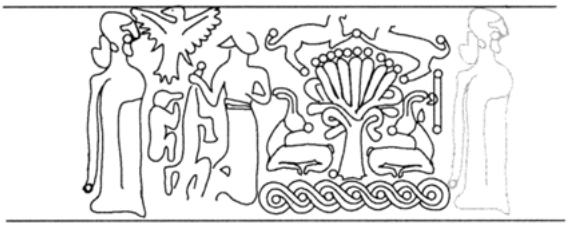


Abb. 1 | Rekonstruktion des Palmettenbaum-Siegels 1 (Zeichnung von Toni Bratschi), M 1:1

Demgegenüber stehen zahlreiche Abrollungen von Siegeln bzw. Abrollungen auf *dockets* ohne jede Beschriftung. Es sei nur die Rekonstruktion des Siegels einer Personengruppe erwähnt, deren Szenen vielleicht etwas mit Göttern zu tun hat.

Abb. 2 | Rekonstruktion des Siegels „Mann mit Standarte“ (Zeichnung von Toni Bratschi), M 1:1

Ihr inhaltlicher Bezug entgeht uns bisher aber ebenso völlig. Im Mittelpunkt befinden sich zwei Personen, welche einander gegenüberstehen. Sie fassen wohl beide eine Art Stab mit kugelförmiger Spitze

an. Dahinter steht ein Mann mit Pferdeschwanz, der eine Standarte mit kreisförmiger Spitze, eine Art Scheibe hält, mit zwei konzentrischen Kreisen. Daneben finden sich wieder zwei Tiere, die sich auf drei recht grob geschnittenen Flechtbändern befinden. Die aus 17 verschiedenen fragmentarischen Darstellungen bekannte Siegelabrollung, – sie ist trotzdem ebenfalls noch nicht vollständig erhalten, – ist zwar unschwer als verwandtes Dienstsiegel erkennbar, doch im Gegensatz zum Palmettenbaum-Siegel ist sie eben nicht mit Schrift verbunden. Eine in seiner Gestalt ähnliches *docket*, allein mit Siegelabrollung, fand sich auch aus dem Tell Brak.[3] Diese Art von *dockets* scheint uns danach vielleicht ein besonderes Charakteristikum der Verwaltung von Taidu zu sein.

Das Archiv ist äußerlich als Verwaltungsarchiv, als Bierarchiv zu erkennen. Im Gegensatz zu vielen inhaltlich oft recht langweiligen Archiven dieser Art aus Mesopotamien hat unser Archiv für die Geschichte des Mitannireiches aber eine übergeordnete Bedeutung. Denn es sind erfreulicherweise Informationen, die uns nicht nur einen Einblick in das breite Spektrum der Bewohner dieser Stadt und des Hofes des Mitannistaates geben, sondern auch die auswärtigen Beziehungen der Stadt betreffen. Hier zunächst einige Ausschnitte der kleinen Tafel 21/25–5, deren Zweck es wohl war, die Rationen von Bier zu registrieren:

1	30 KAŠ SÁ.D[UG$_4$]	30 (Einheiten) von Bier, *sattukku*(-Lieferung),
2	*a-na* LÚ^{meš} *ša* KUR	für die Leute des Landes
3	*Mu-uṣ-ri-i*	Muṣri

Was Muṣri hier nur sein kann, ist evident. Gemeint ist Ägypten mit seinem noch heute für das Land verwendeten semitischen Namen. Zwar gibt es auch ein Muṣri, wohl als Wiedergabe eines luwischen Landschaftsnamens Masuwari, bereits in etwas späteren mittelassyrischen Texten erwähnt, mit einer Position am westlichen Euphratbogen, doch ist in mitannizeitlichen Texten die Identifizierung mit Ägypten eindeutig. Es ist das, was wir aus dem Hauptort des Mitannireiches auch erwarten würden. Solche Kontakte sind durch Texte aus dem ägyptischen Tell el-Amarna gut bekannt. Vielleicht eine Delegation von Ägyptern, die sich in offizieller Funktion in Taidu aufhielt, und deswegen mit Bierrationen durch die Palastrationen versorgt wurden. Die Zahl 30 spricht dafür, dass ein ganzer Monat von der *sattukku*-Lieferung betroffen war. Auch wenn wir über den Verwendungszweck letztlich nur spekulieren können, so wird indirekt Ägypten auch durch die Nennung eines anderen, ebenfalls weit entfernten Landes aus diesem Text bestätigt:

8	4 SÌLA *a-na* LÚ	4 Liter (an Bier) für den Mann
9	*ša* KUR *A-la-ši-ia*	des Landes Alašija

Mit Alašija ist die Herkunft eines Zyprioten gemeint, der offensichtlich als Einzelperson hier aufgelistet wird, und auch nur eine kleinere Bierration erhält. Die heiß diskutierte Fragen, ob Alašija als spätbronzezeitliche Bezeichnung von ganz Zypern zu gelten hat, oder ob nicht nur der Südosten dieser Insel gemeint ist, lasse ich momentan unbeantwortet. Auch die Frage, ob der Mann aus Alašija eine Art einsamer Botschafter seines weit entfernten Landes war, oder ob er vielleicht als königlicher Kaufmann in Taidu wirkte oder beides zusammen, ist momentan nicht sicher zu beantworten. Doch bleibt festzuhalten; wir haben den ersten textlichen Beleg für die Anwesenheit eines Zyprioten weit im Osten des

3 Oates *et al.* 1997, 52/53.

Mitannireiches vor uns. Die zukünftigen Grabungen des Tell Hamidiye mögen uns über die direkten Kontakte zwischen diesen Regionen in Zukunft Auskunft geben. Aus dem wie erwähnt zum Distrikt von Taidu zu zählenden Bereich von Nawar stammt ein wiederverwendetes Gefäß eines sogenannten mykenischen *stirrup jar*, aus stilistischen Gründen etwa in die Zeit von Late Helladic IIIB oder B1 (*ca.* 1340–1186 v. Chr.) zu datieren; ein etwas älteres Stück stammt ebenfalls aus Tell Brak.[4] Noch sind solche Funde Einzelstücke, aber der Fernreisende aus Alašija verdeutlicht am besten die weitgespannte Internationalität von Taidu.

Der Text 21/25–7 unterstreicht das gewonnene Bild:

1	18 SÁ.DUG$_4$ KAŠ *a-na* LÚ.MEŠ	18 *sattukku*-Lieferungen an Bier, für die Leute
2	*ša* KUR *Ù-ga-ri-it*	des Landes Ugarit,
3	*a-na* 18 *u$_4$-mi*	für 18 Tage

Hier wird der Zusammenhang zwischen der Lieferung und der Aufenthaltsdauer der Personen in der Stadt klar. Die Anwesenheit von Personen aus Ugarit in Taidu kann nach den zuvor besprochenen Toponymen nun nicht mehr überraschen. Hier ist der Aufenthalt der Personen aus dem nordsyrischen Küstenort und Handelszentrum Ras Shamra bzw. Ugarit in Taidu vielleicht weniger verblüffend, als der Umstand, dass uns die immerhin mehrere tausend Texte aus Ras Shamra/Ugarit bisher keine Belege für die direkten Kontakte zwischen Ugarit und dem mitannischen Kernland verrieten. Den bisherigen Belegen für direkte Kontakte zu westlichen Staaten, deren Abgesandte in Taidu weilten, stehen auch solche aus dem Osten und anderen Orten gegenüber. Zeilen 4–7 dieses Textes lauten:

4	1 *a-da-gu-ru a-na* LÚ DAM.QAR	1 *adagurru* an den Kaufmann
5	*ša* ^{1}*I-ri-it-ti-kap-pa*	des Irrite-kappa,
6	1 KI.MIN *a-na* KI.MIN	1 desgleichen für den gleichen (Kaufmann)
7	*ša* KUR *Ar-ra*[*p-ḫe*]	des Landes Arrapḫa

In Zeile 4 ist keine *sattukku*-Lieferung angesprochen, sondern der Terminus *adagurru*. Das Wort *adagurru* ist hurritischen Ursprungs, ist aber aus akkadischen Texten, vorwiegend der Ritualsphäre, durchaus bekannt, wo es nach den Wörterbüchern ein recht unklares Gefäß zur Aufbewahrung von Liquiden jeglicher Art bedeutet. Im hurritischen Kontext unseres Archivs ist der Bezug zu Bier evident. Wenn nicht *adagurru* und KAŠ SÁ.DUG$_4$ = *sattukku*, die auch in 21/25–7 bei der Registrierung der Lieferungen hintereinander stehen, nicht ein- und dasselbe gemeint ist, könnte *adagurru* eher eine Bezeichnung für eine Ration unterhalb der Menge einer *sattukku*-Lieferung sein. Während eine *sattukku*-Lieferung in Taidu normalerweise eine Ration zwar für eine Person pro Tag, jedoch im Prinzip für eine größere Personengruppe, wie das Begleitpersonal des oder der Reisenden angesprochen zu sein scheint, könnte *adagurru* eher die Bierration für eine einzelne Person mitsamt vielleicht Ehefrau entsprechen. Jedoch erhielten auch Einzelpersonen, wie die Texte zeigen, eine noch geringere Menge Bier, abgerechnet in SÌLA.

Mit Arrapḫa, dem heutigen Kirkuk im Osttigrisland, ist ein weiterer großer Handelsort der Bronzezeit angesprochen. Arrapḫa war, nachdem es zumindest noch zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der direkten Oberhoheit der Mitanniherrscher stand, ökonomisch und wohl wegen seines hurritischen Bevölkerungsanteils auch politisch eng mit dem Mitannireich verbunden. Auch der hohe Anteil der soge-

4 Oates *et al.* 1997, 79, 220–221.

nannten bemalten Nuzi-Ware unter den Tell Hamidiye-Funden spricht eine eindeutige Sprache. Interessant ist, dass Arrapḫa hier nur noch als Herkunftsort eines *tamkaru*, also eines im staatlichen Auftrag agierenden Kaufmannes angesprochen ist. Politisch könnte Arrapḫa durch das aufstrebende Assur bereits vom Mitannireich getrennt worden. In die gleiche Sphäre gehört auch die Person des Irriti-kappa. Seinem Namen nach ist Irriti-kappa eine hurritische Personenbezeichnung, für den ein in seinem Auftrag wirkender Kaufmann die Lieferung in Taidu entgegennimmt. In seinem Namen verbirgt sich als erstes Element das Toponym Irrite. Der zweite hurritische Namensteil *kappa* ist zwar bekannt, jedoch nicht sicher deutbar. Irrite ist ein ebenfalls wichtiges bronzezeitliches Handelszentrum, das vielleicht erst bei dem zweiten Einfall der Assyrer gegen den noch geduldeten Mitanniherrscher Wašašatta II. unter Salmanassar I. (1263–1234 v. Chr.) endgültig zerstört wird. Die exakte Position von Irrite selbst ist noch unklar. Ich habe in einem Aufsatz vor über 30 Jahren Irrite mit dem Tell Bender Han, *ca*. zwei Tagesmarsches von Karkemisch am Euphrat an der Route, die in das Tal des oberen Balikh führt, zu lokalisieren versucht.[5] Die von mir vorgestellten Passagen erweitern also das Bild erheblich, das wir uns vom Geflecht der internationalen Beziehungen der späten Bronzezeit machen. Dabei ist prinzipiell zu beachten, dass wir uns mit den beteiligten Örtlichkeiten in einem bereits feststehenden geografischem Rahmen bewegen, nur dass jetzt die Rolle des späten Mitannireiches durch die neuen Tafelfunde verdeutlicht wird. Wesentlich scheint uns, dass auch der gesamte Palastbereich mit solchen Lieferungen bedacht wird. So ist, um zum erwähnten Text zurückzugehen, an der Spitze der Šatammu, der mit einem Frauennamen verknüpft ist, wohl dem seiner Ehefrau. Beauftragter ist 21/25–7, 8–11 ein ^{I}*Zi-a-am*, der als Empfänger eine *adagurru*-Ration für den Šatammu und die genannte weibliche Person übernimmt. Bemerkenswert ist der Zusatz *e-nu-ma* ^{uru}*Sak-la-la i-la-gu*, in typischem hurrito-mitannischem Akkadisch geschrieben, „als sie beabsichtigen nach der Stadt Saklala zu gehen". Der Ortsname ist mit dem altbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Saḫlala identisch. Seine Bedeutung ist durch gerade veröffentlichte mittelassyrische Urkunden beleuchtet, welche es als assyrische Distrikthauptstadt in der nördlichen Balikh-Region kennen.[6] Eben diese Rolle dürfte Saklala nach unseren Texten auch in der ausgehenden Mitanni-Periode besessen haben. Der in schlechtem Akkadisch gesprochene Satz, z. B. ohne die erwartete Präposition *ana*, verrät uns einiges über die dahinter stehende hurritische Sprache. Interessant ist die Einleitung der historischen Information durch eine *enuma*-Einführung, wie sie sich in einigen späteren mittelassyrischen Texten wiederfinden.

Eine besondere Stellung nimmt eine Frau namens ^{munus}*Kal-la-tu$_4$* ein. Sie erscheint mehrfach in der mit 22 Zeilen umfangreichsten Tontafel 21/25–9 mit *sattukku*-Lieferungen (21/25–9, 1. 18. 19). Die lange Liste erhielt ansonsten viele Namen männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechts, sowie eine Anzahl von Namen von Berufsgruppen, die oft wegen der hurritischen Formen für uns derzeit unverständlich sind. Neben gewöhnlichen Lieferungen enthält Kallatu auch eine weitere, hier mit der Erweiterung Zeile 19 *a-na* NINDA.KASKAL. Dies können wir nur im Sinne der sumerischen Wortzeichen als Reiseproviant für Kallatu verstehen. Das Bemerkenswerte ist der semitische Namen dieser Frau, der übersetzt akkadisch „Schwiegertochter" oder „Braut" o. ä. bedeutet. Wer ist diese Kallatu? Eine Schwiegertochter, vielleicht eines hurritischen Prinzen oder sogar des Königs? Wegen ihrer prominenten Stellung in der Liste vielleicht sogar eine Assyrerin? Ein solches Szenario würde uns eventuell sogar etwas über die politischen Verhältnisse dieser Zeit aussagen. Wie ist generell die Anwesenheit von semitischen Namen in diesen Texten der späten Phase des Mitannireiches zu sehen, die in diesen Listen gelegentlich

5 Siehe Kessler 1980, 65.

6 Siehe zur möglichen Gleichsetzung mit Tell Saḥlān zuletzt Jakob 2009, 8 Anm. 53.

auftauchen? Eigenartig ist auch Zeile 2 mit dem großen Betrag von 26, einer wohl einen Monat umfassenden Angabe „26 KI.MIN *a-na pa-ni-i-šu*“, zu übersetzen wohl „26 desgleichen (= *sattukku*) zu ihm selbst“, in Zeile 16 unseres Textes aber „4 KI.MIN *a-na pa-ni-šu-nu*“, also „vier desgleichen zu ihnen“. Was ist damit wirklich gemeint? Zum Schreiber in Zeile 2, das Schreibbüro aber Zeile 16? Eine interne Lieferung? Eine solche Eintragung ist trotz des philologisch eigentlich unproblematischen Kontexts recht rätselhaft und in Mesopotamien so nicht bezeugt. Diese Frage führt uns direkt zu der nächsten. In welche Periode gehört unser Archiv? Der archäologische Kontext spricht dafür, dass es in erster Linie die Zerstörungen des Assyrers Adad-nirari I. (1295–1264 v. Chr.), also um 1300 v. Chr. waren. Dieser verwüstete nach seinen eigenen Berichten Taidu sehr gründlich, wenngleich er danach unter weitgehender Verwendung des Mitannipalastes auf der Plattform 5 der Palastterrassen seinen Palast erbaute und ein Rest eines Mitannistaats noch kurze Zeit am Leben erhalten wurde. In der Tat ist für unser Archiv die Zeit unmittelbar vor den Zerstörungen Adad-niraris I. am wahrscheinlichsten. Hier ist der Blick auf das 20 km entfernte, zum Distrikt von Taidu zählende Nawar aufschlussreich. Es sind die gleichen massiven Zerstörungen wie in Taidu zu beobachten, an Palast wie Tempel, dort jedoch in einem bescheidenen Maßstab, verglichen mit der gewaltigen Fläche der Bauten auf dem Tell Ḥamīdīye. Ein zufällig aufgefundener Text des Tell Brak am Boden von Raum 2 des Palastes, auf der Rückseite gesiegelt und oben schon angesprochen, enthält folgende Notiz: GI^{meš} 10 U *ḫe-eš-ti-ra-a-še ša* ^{uru}*Na-wa-ar ḫal-ṣi* ^{uru}*Ta-i-de*$_4$ *a-na pa-ni* ^{I}*Ma-li-iz-zi pu-u-ḫa il-te-qú-ú* (TB 8002, 1–6), übersetzt als „An Rohr (oder zehn) *ḫeštiraše*, gehörig zur Stadt Nawar, Distrikt von Taidu, in Gegenwart von Malizzi, wurde als Ersatz genommen“. Der hurritische Personenname Malizzi war in Tell Brak zum ersten Mal belegt. Sein Name ist bisher ohne Deutung, jedenfalls ist dies kein gewöhnlicher hurritischer Personenname. Der ungewöhnliche Tell Brak-Text korrespondiert jetzt mit unserer Tontafel 21/25–23, 1–6:

1	1 KAŠ SÁ.DUG$_4$	1 (Einheit) Bier, *sattukku*-Lieferung
2	*a-na* LÚ ^{giš}GIGIR	für den Streitwagenkämpfer
3	*ša* ^{I}*Ma-li-iz-zi*	des Malizzi,
4	*e-nu-ma iš-tu*	als er aus
5	^{uru}*Sak-la-la*	Saklala
6	*il-ku*$^{?}$	kam

Es kann kaum ein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass unser Malizzi derjenige ist, der uns auch in Tell Brak begegnet. Er war dann sicherlich ein besonders hochrangiger Vertreter des Mitannistaates, vielleicht ein oder gar der Verwaltungschef des Bezirkes Taidu, was auch die Siegelung der kleinen Brak-Tafel auf der Rückseite nahelegt. Unsere Erwähnung von Saklala erinnert an 21/25–7, wo wir eine Lieferung eines ^{I}*Zi-a-am* vor uns haben, die an den Šatammu und eine Frau gingen. Der dort enthaltene Passus *e-nu-ma* ^{uru}*Sak-la-la i-la-gu* „als sie beabsichtigten nach Saklala zu gehen“, könnte mit der Rückkehr eines Streitwagenkämpfers unseres Malizzi aus Saklala in der Urkunde 21/25–23 kombiniert werden. Es könnte also, natürlich nur unter entsprechendem Vorbehalt, die Hypothese gewagt werden, dass Malizzi eben der Name des erwähnten Šatammu ist. Da unser Archiv wie auch die erwähnte Urkunde der Grabungskampagne 2004 aus dem Südwest-Palast der ersten Terrasse stammen dürfte, ließe sich sogar theoretisch der sogenannte Südwest-Palast des Tell Ḥamīdīye als sein Verwaltungspalast deuten. Doch steht die detaillierte Erforschung des Mitannistaates erst an ihrem Beginn, und vorschnelle Urteile sollten nicht vor einer endgültigen Aufnahme der Texte erfolgen. Es lässt sich aber sagen, dass unser Bierarchiv eine Verwaltungspraxis verkörpert, wie wir sie bisher noch nicht kannten. Die Kombination von gesie-

gelten *dockets*, beschriftet oder nicht, kombiniert mit Tontafeln recht unterschiedlichen Formats ist neu, ebenso teilweise die Terminologie dieser Texte. Zwischen einer neuen mittelassyrischen Administration und den Erfordernissen der Verwaltung des Mitannireiches bestehen deutliche Unterschiede, die trotz einiger assyrischer Übernahmen, wie der Integration bestimmter Positionen entlang der mitannizeitlichen Verkehrswege, für uns wesentlich scheinen.

Bibliographie

Jakob, Stefan (2009)
Die mittelassyrischen Texte aus Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien. Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 2, III, Wiesbaden.

Kessler, Karlheinz (1980)
Das Schicksal von Irridu unter Adad-narāri I. *Revue d'Assyriologie* 74, 61–66.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (1997)
Excavations at Tell Brak, Bd. I: *The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods*, Cambridge–London.

Wäfler, Markus *et al.* (1990)
Tall al-Ḥamīdīya, Bd. 2. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 6, Fribourg.

Wäfler, Markus (2007)
Tall al-Ḥamīdīya: Ta'idu, *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 20, 33–58.

Andrzej Reiche

Tell Abu Hafur 'East', Tell Arbid (Northeastern Syria), and Nemrik (Northern Iraq) as Examples of Small-Scale Rural Settlements in Upper Mesopotamia in the Mittani Period

0. Introduction

For a long time our knowledge of Mittani settlement in upper Mesopotamia was based mainly on the excavations at Yorgan Tepe (Nuzi) and the information obtained from the texts found there; yet this region lying to the east of the Tigris River was the peripheral, eastern limit of the Mittani Kingdom. Knowledge about the mid-second millennium BC settlement landscape of the Jazirah, especially of the Syrian Jazirah, which was the heartland of the Mittani Kingdom, remained scarce until the end of the 1970s. For a long time basic information concerning the settlement history of this vast region was based on descriptions made by 19th century travelers[1] and on surveys carried out in the 1930s and 1950–1960s.[2] However, those surveys concentrated mainly on large and easily visible tells, so small and flat sites, often situated in ploughed fields, were overlooked or omitted. It was a similar case with the choice of sites for excavations, as the main interest of the excavators was focused on large sites, which constituted a much more attractive and promising target.[3] If remains of Mittani-period occupation on the large tells were present, they were often difficult to access because of an accumulation of later deposits or were badly preserved, which discouraged excavators from exploring them further.

Investigations of the settlement history of northern Mesopotamia and especially of the Jazirah have intensified since the end of the 1970s, as various salvage excavations have been carried out, due to several dam projects on the Tigris,[4] Euphrates,[5] and Khabur[6] rivers in Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. The areas of the dam reservoirs were intensively surveyed and a large number of different sites were excavated.

Rekindled interest in the investigations of the Syrian Jazirah appeared with the restarting of excavations at Tell Brak in 1978.[7] The emerging picture of settlement landscape was enhanced by a series of new and more detailed surveys[8] and new excavations.[9] All this has made it possible to identify a substantial number of small and medium-sized sites that date to the Mittani period (mainly 14th century BC) and to obtain more information about the character of settlement in this period.

1 Listed by Meijer 1986, 2–3.
2 Poidebard 1934; Mallowan 1936; van Liere / Lauffray 1954–1955; van Liere 1963.
3 Tell Halaf (1911), Tell Shagar Bazar, and Tell Brak (1935, 1937), Tell Fekheriye (1940), Tell Chuerra (1958), Tell al Rimah (1964).
4 Eski-Mosul/Saddam Dam Salvage Project (Iraq, 1980–1990), Ilısu Dam Project (Turkey, since 1998).
5 Tishrin Dam Project (Syria, since 1991), Carkemish Dam Project (Turkey, since 1998).
6 Western Hassake Dam (1985–1990) and the Middle Khabur Dam South of Hassake (since 1986–1998).
7 Sheikh Hammad (Dūr-Katlimmu) since 1979, Tell Barri (Kaḫat) 1980, Tell Mozan (Urkeš) 1983, Tell Hamidiye (Taidu) 1984, Tell Mohammad Diyab 1987, Tell Hazna 1988.
8 E.g., in the vicinities of Tell al-Hawa (Ball *et al.* 1989), Tell Beydar (Wilkinson 2002), Tell Hammoukar (Ur 2010, 111–112), and the areas of the Balikh Valley (Lyon 2000) and the Khabur Triangle (Lyonnet / Faivre 2013).
9 Tell Beydar since 1992, Tell Arbid 1996, Tell Hammoukar 1999.

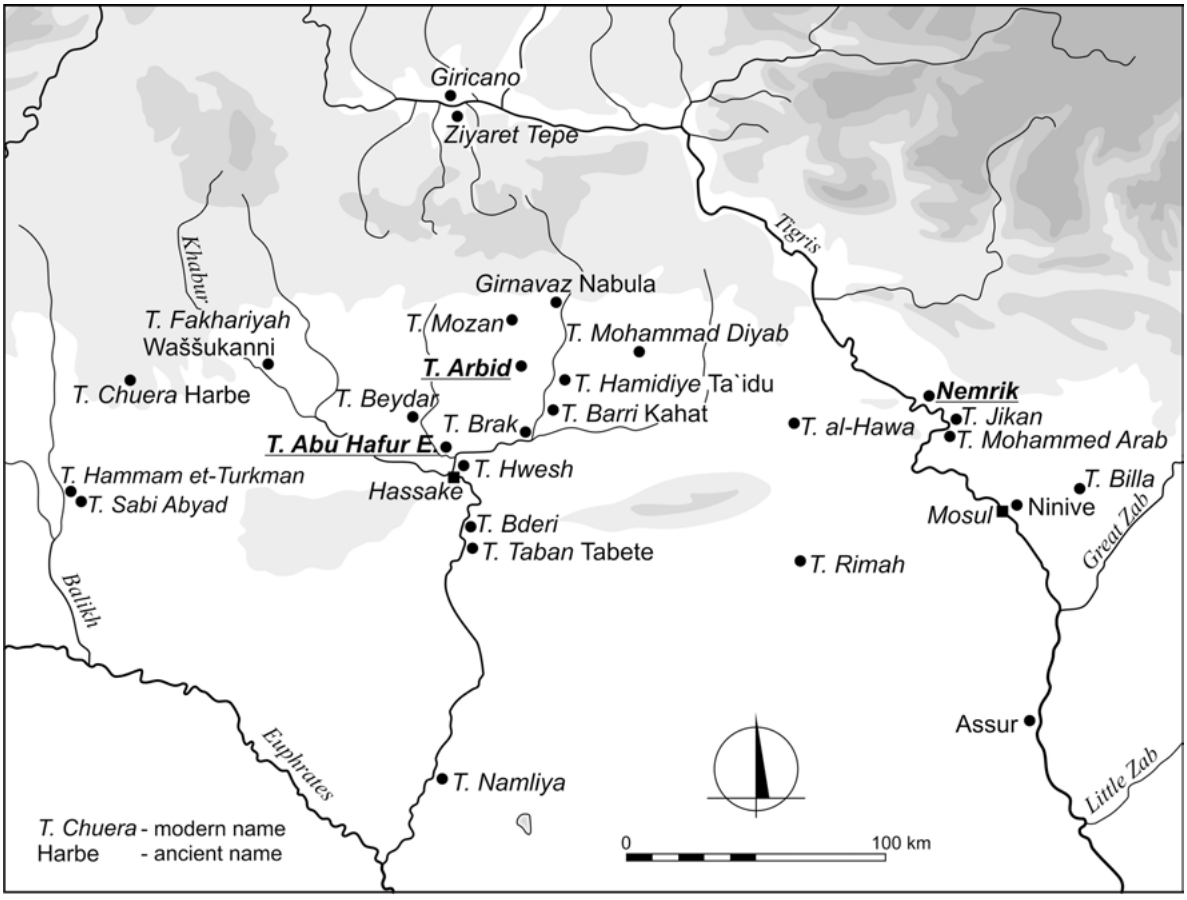


Fig. 1 | Upper Mesopotamia in the Mittani period (excavated sites): Harbe = Ancient name, *T. Chuera* = modern name, T. = Tell, Nemrik = site described in the article (Compilation and digitization Marta Momot).

Since 1979, excavation teams of the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Warsaw have been taking part in these activities. This has allowed us to unearth, among others, three sites with remnants of Late Bronze Age occupation, namely Tell Abu Hafur 'East' and Tell Arbid in Syria, and Nemrik in Iraq, which have proved to be valuable sources of information on the settlement history of the Mittani period.

1. Tell Abu Hafur 'East'[10]

Tell Abu Hafur 'East' was situated on the left bank of *wadi* al-A'awaj *ca*. 80 m to the east of Abu Hafur, a huge tell which was occupied in the fourth and third millennia BC. Occupation of the small eastern tell (*ca*. 1.5 ha and 5 m high) began in the Mittani period and, after several centuries, it was resettled in the Neo-Assyrian period and again in Hellenistic and Parthian times.

10 The site was excavated during two seasons in 1989 and 1990 by a team directed by Piotr Bieliński as part of the rescue excavation of the Basin of the Western Hassake Dam built on the Khabur River (Bieliński 1991, 101). See also: Pfälzner 1995, 174, Reiche 1997, and Anastasio *et al*. 2004, 38.

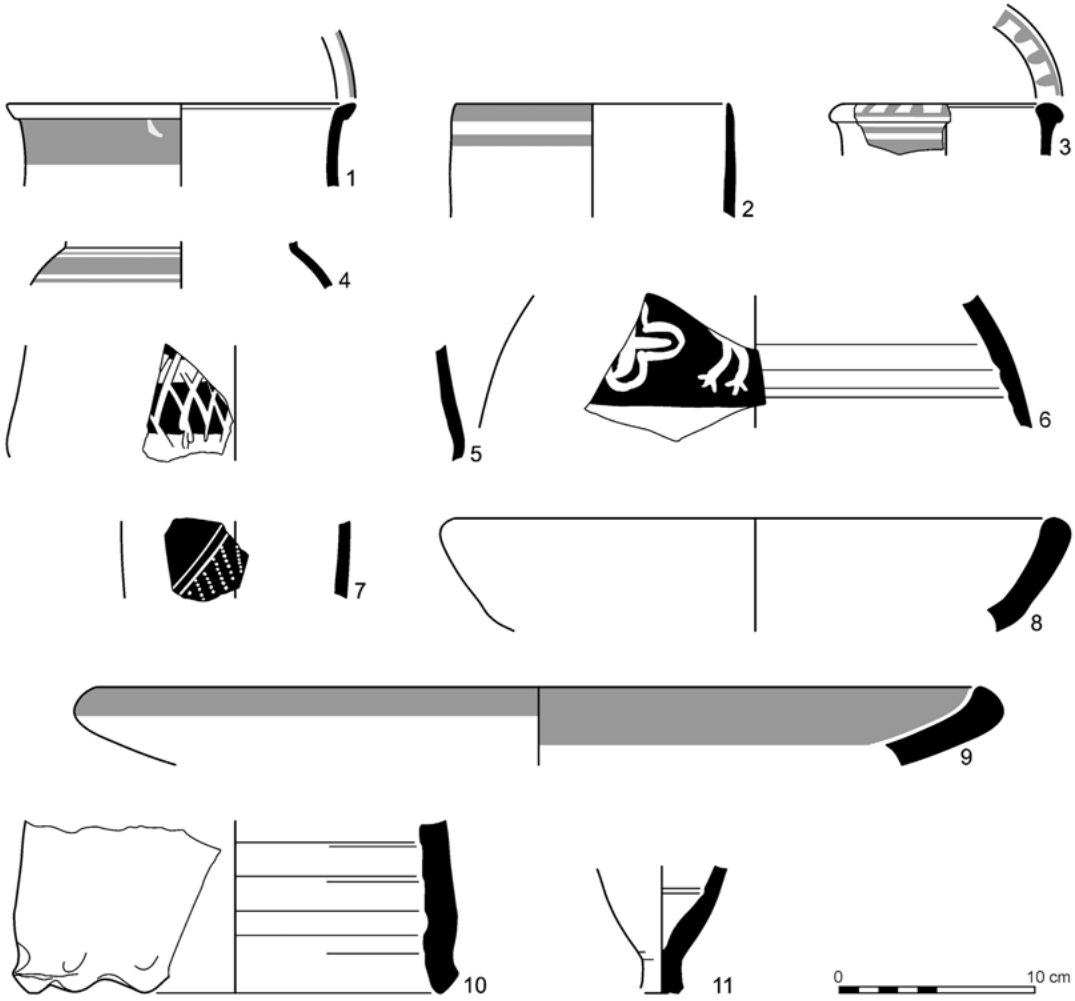


Fig. 2 | Tell Abu Hafur 'East' – Mittani-period pottery (Digitization Marta Momot).

Remnants of at least two Mittani occupation phases were revealed in a test trench on the western slope of the site, bordering the nearby *wadi*. A fragment of a house with mud-brick walls preserved to a height of *ca*. 0.50 m was cut by this trench. The house was built upon a thin layer of debris from the Late Bronze Age, covering the virgin soil. In the test trench, which extended to the foot of the tell, no traces of defensive structures of the Mittani period were found.[11] A substantial number of Mittani pottery sherds were found scattered along the western slope and on the surface of the site.

Further unearthing of this interesting site, however, was made impossible due to the end of the rescue excavations.

Among the collected pottery fragments were examples of the Younger Khabur Ware (fig. 2:1–4), Nuzi Painted Ware (fig. 2:5–7), Grey Burnished Ware (fig. 2:8), red-edged bowls (fig. 2:9), 'pie-crust pot-stands' (fig. 2:10), and footed beakers (fig. 2:11).[12] In the layer of the older phase, painted sherds of the

11 Later in the Neo-Assyrian period a defensive wall did exist in that part of the site (Reiche 1997, 361–362).

12 Terms used for the description of different categories of Mittani pottery follow those defined by Pfälzner in 2007.

Younger Khabur were more numerous than in the later phase. This observation allowed us to postulate a dating for the beginning of this settlement in the Middle Jazirah I A period, while its second phase belongs mainly to the Middle Jazirah I B period.[13] However, one should bear in mind that this interpretation is based only on a limited sample of collected potsherds.

Tell Abu Hafur 'East' was not the only Mittani rural settlement in the lower course of *wadi* al-A'awaj. Surface finds from unexcavated small satellite tells lying in close vicinity to the third millennium BC tells, such as Jassa el-Gharbi and Abu Hijarah, confirmed the presence of smaller villages in the region to the west of Hassake during the Mittani period. To those villages one should also add Tell Hwesh, a small rural site (a farmstead) lying further to the east, on the left bank of the Jaghjagh River, some 5 km to the north of Hassake (Pfälzner 1990; 1995, 173). A Mittani-period settlement was found also in the upper run of *wadi* al-A'awaj, in the 'lower town' (field J) of Tell Beydar (Bretschneider 1997). This site had a similar chronological sequence to that of Tell Abu Hafur 'East', Tell Hwesh, and other small sites along the lower Khabur listed by Peter Pfälzner (1995, 169–172).[14] Common features shared by those sites were: their small to medium size, the presence of pottery dated to the 14th century BC, and the fact that they were new settlements and were not occupied in the succeeding Middle Assyrian period (Pfälzner 1995, 223, 225), but were instead often resettled in the Iron Age.

2. Tell Arbid[15]

The site of Tell Arbid lies in the northeast of Syria in the centre of the Khabur Triangle, at a distance of 15–20 km from such important Mittani sites as Tell Hamidiye (probably ancient Taidu) and Tell Bari (ancient Kaḫat) to the southeast, Tell Brak (ancient Nagar) to the south, and Tell Mozan (ancient Urkeš) to the north.

The site consists of the main tell with a high citadel encircled by a lower town and three small satellite tells lying within a *ca.* 60 m radius to the west of the main mound. The ancient occupation of the site extended, with some stratigraphic gaps, from the Halaf to the Neo-Babylonian and Hellenistic periods, with the largest extension in the Early Jazirah III A (= Late Ninevite 5) period in the first half of the third millennium BC. In later periods, occupation on a smaller scale can be observed but it is restricted to some areas of the site.

Although no occupation remnants of the Middle or Neo-Assyrian periods were found in the excavated areas, it should be noted that during the upper Khabur survey carried out by Bertille Lyonnet, a number of Middle Assyrian pottery fragments were collected on the site (Anastasio 2007, 141). It is possible that they came from the southern unexcavated satellite tell that has been heavily destroyed by modern ploughing.

Remnants of the Mittani occupation at Tell Arbid were found in two places – on the western satellite tell (sector A) and on the top of the main tell (sector SA).

13 For a discussion of a periodization of Late Bronze Age Pottery see recently Pfälzner 2007.

14 Tell Abu Bakr, Tell Kerma-South, Tell Maraza, and Tell Namliya.

15 The site has been excavated since 1996 by a Polish-Syrian mission directed by Piotr Bieliński and Ahmad Serriye (until 2006) and now Abd al-Masih Bagdo. The results have been published in excavation reports by Bieliński in: *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* [*PAM*]. *Reports* (eds. M. Gawlikowski, W.A. Daszewski) since 1997.

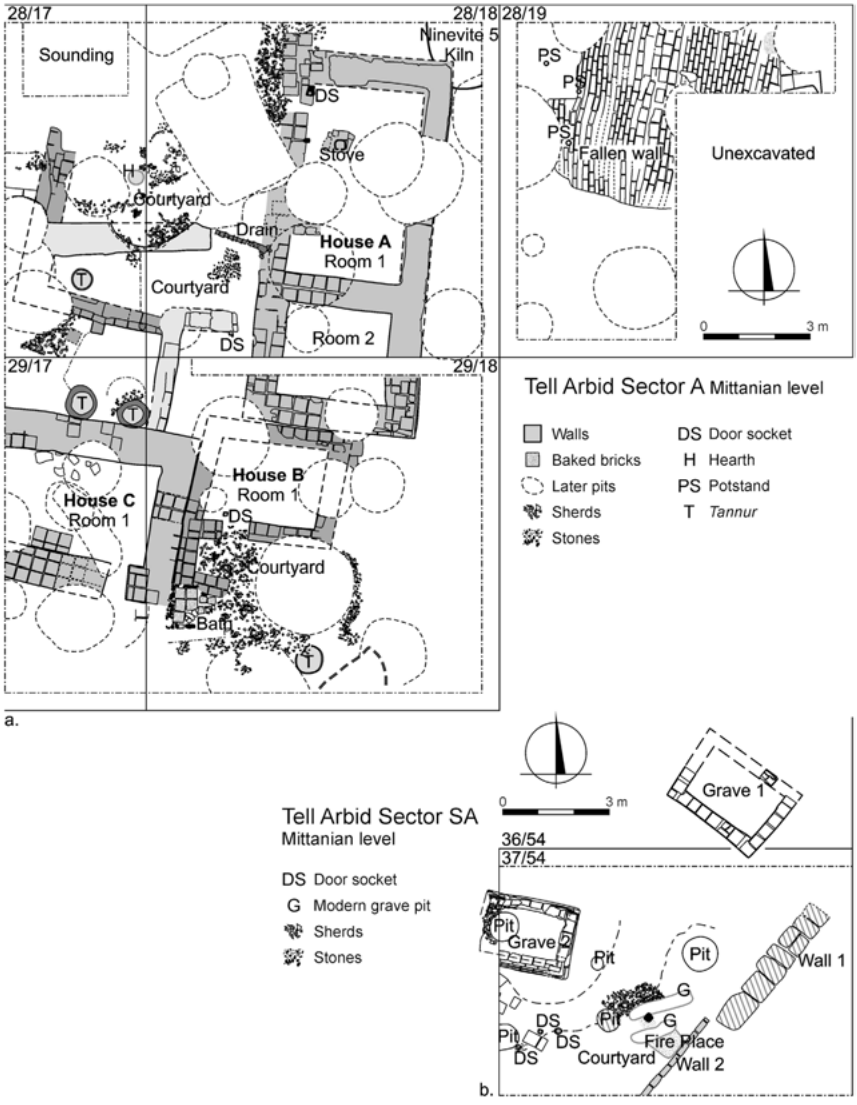


Fig. 3 | Tell Arbid – Mittani-period structures (a. Sector, b. Sector SA). (3a Drawing: Piotr Bieliński, Rafał Koliński, Joanna Lorynowicz, Marta Momot, Andrzej Reiche, Agnieszka Szymczak; digitization Marta Motot;
3b. Drawing: Joanna Lorynowicz, Marta Momot, Anna Smogorzewska; digitization: Marta Momot).

2.1 Mittani settlement on the satellite tell (sector A)

In sector A an unfortified small-sized rural settlement, covering an area of *ca*. 2 ha, was founded on top of the remnants of Early Jazira III A structures. A fragment (*ca*. 450 m²) of the settlement was unearthed in the western part of the tell, uncovering dense domestic architecture. Despite the fact that this satellite tell was badly damaged by Hellenistic storage pits and by a large pit dug by the villagers in modern times, one almost complete house (labelled 'Northern House'), and parts of two others, were unearthed.

The 'Northern House' had a rectangular plan (10.70 × 4.80 m) oriented north-northeast–south-southwest, and was divided into two unequally sized rooms. In the larger one a heating stove placed on a small mud-brick platform was unearthed. The entrance at the northern end of the western wall led to a large courtyard (at least 40 m²) paved with potsherds and gravel. The yard, sloping slightly westwards, was encircled by a mud-brick wall of which only a fragment of the southwestern corner remained.

An interesting installation in the 'Northern House' was a drain, designed to carry water away from the room to the courtyard. It was made from a fragment of a pipe and reused 'pie crust pot-stands'. Unfortunately, the end inside the room was destroyed by the bottom of a Hellenistic pit, so the context of its function remains unknown.

The two partly preserved houses, located to the south of the building described above, had an east-west orientation and were facing south. The 'South-Western House' differs from the other two: firstly, it was founded on a step lying *ca*. 0.40 m lower; secondly, its walls were two and a half bricks wide and therefore wider than those in the 'Northern House'. Its entrance was uncovered in the southern wall close to the southeast corner. Inside the room was a small mud-brick platform placed at the southern wall and on the floor were scattered fragments of a large storage jar. Because only a part of this house was excavated it is hard to say whether differences mentioned above were the result of a non-domestic function.

The 'South-Eastern House' (preserved only in its western part) seems to have been built later, since its narrow walls, only one and a half bricks wide, were fitted exactly into a corner space that was left behind the two houses described above. In the western end of its southern wall an entrance led to a courtyard paved with potsherds and gravel. At the southern end of the house's western wall, remnants of a small rectangular bath (1 × 0.70 m) were unearthed. Its floor and a drain leading to the courtyard were made of baked bricks. To prevent water-damage to the walls, their junction with the floor was lined with stones.

A puzzling feature was found in the northeastern square. It was a large fragment of a fallen wall (6.6 m long from east to west and 5.2 m wide from north to south), composed of at least 36 rows of bricks, allowing us to reconstruct a wall over 3 m in height. It seems that the wall fell down on its western face, which would mean that there was an empty space over 6 m wide between the 'Northern House' and the building to which the fallen wall belonged.

Some very fragmentarily preserved walls belonging to the Mittani level, overlying remnants of Early Jazirah III A occupation, were also unearthed in a trench located at the eastern end of sector A. This finding confirmed the presence of Mittani occupation also in the eastern part of the satellite tell.

2.2 Mittani occupation on top of the main tell (sector SA)

On top of the main tell a thin layer of Mittani occupation was preserved in the form of scarce remnants of a courtyard with a rectangular fire-place and two storages pits (1 m in diameter and *ca*. 2 m deep) placed directly upon the Khabur-period ruins. Severe erosion of the summit and the destruction caused by a post-Hellenistic cemetery made it hard to determine the range and character of the Mittani occupation. With its area not exceeding 0.1 ha it could be nothing more than a single farmstead, but its localization on the summit of the tell may suggest that it could have a defensive character.

The findings from both the satellite tell and the summit were homogeneous. The pottery found corresponded to the pottery assemblages of the Middle Jazirah I B period (between 1400/1350 BC and 1270 BC) (Pfälzner 2007, 236). It contained a few examples of Younger Khabur Ware (fig. 4:13, 16), burnished red-edged bowls (fig. 4:10–11), 'pie-crust pot-stands' and bottom parts of footed beakers with vertical walls. A significant feature was a large number of sherds of luxury Nuzi painted pottery, mostly beaker fragments (fig. 4:6–9, 14, 15,) but also fragments of other vessel types with Nuzi painted decoration (fig. 4:17).

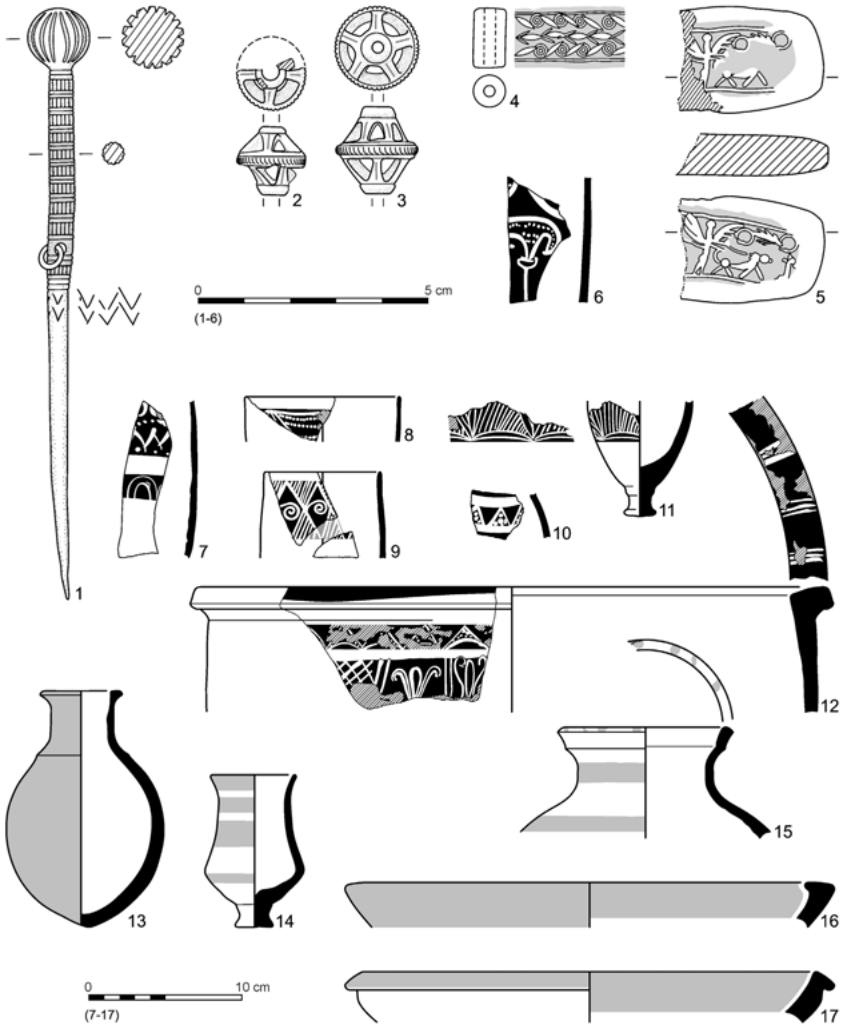


Fig. 4 | Tell Arbid – Mittani-period small finds and pottery. (Drawing: Marta Momot, Aleksandra Pęska; digitization: Marta Momot).

Two biconical or wheel-shaped openwork beads made of faience were also found in both places of settlement (fig. 4:2–3). They were most probably a Mycenaean import but one cannot exclude the possibility of local imitations.[16] Single examples of such beads, dated to the late 14th/13th century BC, were found in northeastern Syria in the Mittani context at Tell Brak[17] and Tell Bazi.[18] According to Lorenz Rahmstorf's study "openwork beads should be considered precious artifacts deposited only in rich burials or placed in the recurring set of objects used in cult actions". He noted, however, that "no strict functional limitation for these beads to either a cult or profane sphere can be postulated" (Rahmstorf 2005, 666). The two Tell Arbid examples were found in occupation layers without any architectural connections.

A fragment of a docket with an impression of the same seal on both sides (fig. 4:5) was found in the courtyard of the 'Northern House'. The seal impression belongs to the group of so-called 'Syro-Mittani' glyptic-style seals (dated ca. 1450–1300 BC) with a characteristic depiction of a standing winged demon surrounded by lying animals and filling motifs including a scorpion (Teissier 1984, 291:608).

16 Rahmstorf (2005) presented a comprehensive study of this type of beads, which have been found on sites from Italy to north-eastern Syria, but most of them (over 53) in Greece; see also Rahmstorf 2008, 223–226.

17 One example found in a store room of the Mittani Palace (McDonald 1997, 102, figs. 134, 225:67).

18 One example (Otto 2006, 127, fig. 66,6).

2.3 Mittani graves

On the northern slope of the summit two Mittani chamber-graves built of sun-dried mud bricks were also found. Each grave contained a female burial and yielded rich and luxurious grave goods indicating that the buried persons held a high social status. The first grave (Smogorzewska 2006) contained among other things a set of 16 pottery vessels, one glass beaker, two cylinder seals (one of haematite executed in the Elaborate Style and one of faience in the Common Style), a very rich set of jewellery consisting of *ca*. 300 beads and pendants of various shapes, made of different materials including gold, ivory, and semi-precious stones, a faience scarab of Palestinian provenance and an ivory scaraboid with Egyptian hieroglyphs.

The second grave (Bieliński 2003, 281–282) contained a similar number of different pottery vessels, two Common Style cylinder seals (one made of faience (fig. 4:4) and the other of glass), a handful of beads, and a unique set of two almost identical toggle pins made of silver and partly gilded (fig. 4:1);[19] a sheep offering was also placed in the grave.

The dating of the objects found in both graves was not congruent. There were items dated to *ca*. 1450–1300 BC, e.g., the cylinder seals (Smogorzewska 2006, 78–80, fig. 8:1, 2), but both graves also contained objects of an earlier date, e.g., the scarab and the scaraboid dated to the 16th–15th century BC (Smogorzewska 2006, 76–77, fig. 7:1, 3), or the silver toggle-pins, with their sole analogy in 18th-century BC.

In the pottery assemblages from both graves, too, a mixture of older and younger vessel types was observed, e.g., a Red Slipped Ware bottle characteristic of Middle Jazirah I B pottery (fig. 4:12, Grave 2) and shouldered beakers of Younger Khabur Ware (fig. 4:13, Grave 2, and Smogorzewska 2006, 72, fig. 3: 5, Grave 1). Such beakers are typical of the Middle Jazirah I A pottery. Surprisingly, the shouldered beakers were not found in the settlement context, whereas the Nuzi painted beakers were completely absent from the grave assemblages, but abundant in the former context.

Rich grave goods found in the burials, as well as luxurious finds from the settlement (e.g., Nuzi painted pottery, openwork faience beads) indicate that the Mittani village was inhabited by a rich family of high social status. Taking this into consideration one can make the supposition that, from a socio-economic point of view, the Mittani settlement at Tell Arbid functioned as an 'extended family commune' or 'extended household'.[20]

The site lies in an area where dry-farming was possible, the major crop being most probably barley, and sheep and goats could also be herded by its ancient inhabitants. The richness visible especially in the grave goods may suggest that agriculture did not constitute the only source of income for the owner of this household. Of course, without any written documents such an interpretation is only a matter of conjecture.

19 This type of pins was typical for the Middle Bronze Age (Klein, 1992 104, Type I 11 B2c). Examples of pins made of silver are known only from a grave of the *karum* level Ib at Kaneš/Küh/Kultepe (Maxel-Hyslop 1971, 99:74). One example of gilding, but on a bronze pin, was found at Tell Halawa (Novak 1994, 239, No. 26).

20 An elaborate discussion of the first term based on Nuzi texts was presented in Dosch 1996, 302–303; for the second term, in opposition to Dosch, see Koliński 2001, 19, n. 20

a.

b.

Fig. 5 | Tell Arbid – Mittani Grave 2.
a. The burial chamber with grave goods *in situ*.
b. The set of pottery from the grave.

3. Nemrik[21]

Nemrik lies in Northern Iraq, *ca*. 50 km north of Mosul and *ca*. 4.3 km southwest of the village of Faidah. It is located on a river terrace on the eastern side of the Tigris valley, *ca*. 1.5 km away from the former river bank. The surface of the plateau is flat but numerous gullies, running down towards the river valley, are a characteristic feature of the landscape. The site was occupied for the first time in the Early Neolithic period (the eighth and seventh millennia BC) as a village with several round houses covering an area of at least 1.8 ha.

21 The excavations at Nemrik, as a part of the Eski-Mosul/Saddam Dam Salvage Project were carried out in the years 1985–1989 by the mission directed by Stefan K. Kozłowski. The main purpose of these rescue excavations was the investigation of an Early Neolithic village, while the excavation of Late Bronze Age remains constituted an additional task (Reiche 1990); see also Reiche in print.

Following a long period of abandonment, the site was occupied again in the Late Bronze Age, first in the Mittani period and, after a lengthy break, in the Middle Assyrian period. The Late Bronze Age occupation was restricted to the southeastern part of the site and covered an area of at least 30 ha. It should be stressed that the Middle Assyrian occupation of the site did not exceed the limits of the previous Mittani settlement.[22]

After its abandonment, the site was used as a cemetery for an undetermined period (comprising pre-Islamic graves, without grave goods). At present, the Late Bronze Age tell is so heavily eroded that occupation deposits are only preserved to a height of 0.80 m.

3.1 The Mittani settlement

A fortified settlement, restricted to the southeastern end of the site, was founded directly upon the eroded Neolithic deposits. From the northeast and east it was protected by the steep slopes of a *ca.* 30 m deep *wadi*, from the south by an erosion gully some 12 m deep, while the west and northwest ditches had been dug out. At the western limit of the settlement, a defensive wall with a 1 m wide stone foundation was erected. Its course followed the declivity of the mound, along the eastern edge of a small gully running northeast-southwest. On the eastern side of the defensive wall two houses (A and B) were adjoined, creating a dense concentration of structures. They were situated on the southern slope, on two narrow terraces running along the decline from northwest-southwest and cut into the Neolithic deposits like steps.

'House A' was located on the lower southern step. It was 13 m long and 7.5 m wide, oriented northwest-southeast, and consisted of at least five or six rooms of various size. Each room had its own stone foundation walls 0.60 to 0.80 m wide, with elaborate doorways preserved up to a height of 0.40 m. The solidity of the structure, with its doubled walls, suggests that a second story could have originally been present. The plan itself shows some similarities to that of a tower-like building found at Tell Sabi Abyad (Akkermans *et al.* 1993, 9–11, fig. 5).

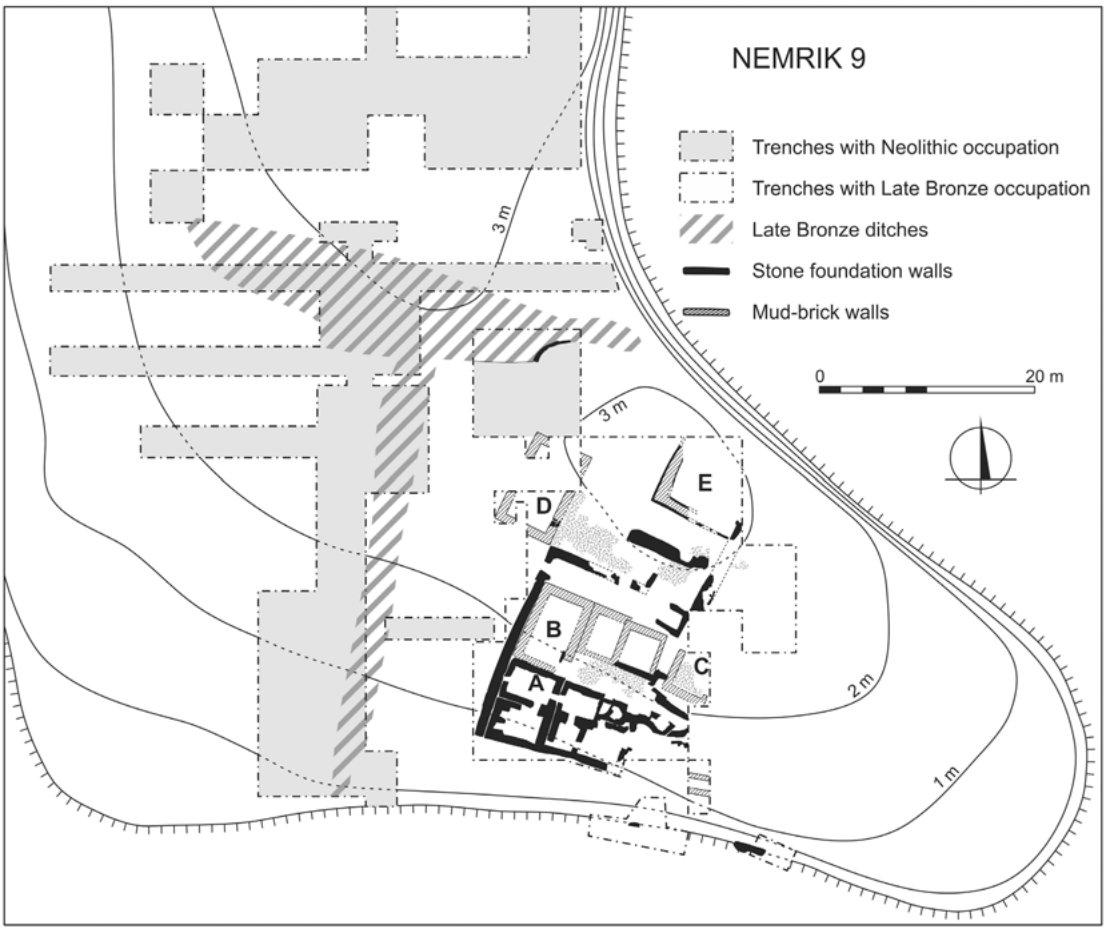
Considerable quantities of ceramics were found on simple mud floors and in the fill of the rooms, among them broken but restorable pottery vessels. In a few cases joining fragments were dispersed throughout different rooms.

'House B', 12.5 m long and 8 m wide, was placed to the north of 'House A', on a second step *ca.* 0.60 m higher. Unlike 'House A', the mud-brick walls of this building, between 0.50 m and 1 m in width, were simply built on bare earth. The house consisted of three rooms of varying sizes – again each with its own walls – and a courtyard with an orientation following that of the terrace. The largest room (5.80 × 3.10 m) was directly aligned with the defensive wall. It had only one entrance, placed at the southern end of the longer, eastern wall, leading to the courtyard. The other two rooms lay along the northern side of the yard and opened onto it. Large concentrations of potsherds were also found in the rooms of this house and on its courtyard, both in the fill and on the floors.

The northern part of the site was not as densely settled as the southern part. A large stone-paved courtyard and remnants of two houses (D and E) were unearthed there. 'House D' was the most north-

22 The Middle Assyrian resettlement of the site could have occurred under Šalmaneser I (1263–1234 BC), as was probably the case in Giricano (Radner 2004, 138). One should also stress that Nemrik had a settlement history and (probably) function similar to those of Sabi Abyad on the Balikh and Giricano in the upper Tigris valley.

a.



b.

Fig. 6 | Nemrik – a. Contour map with marked trenches and Mittani-period structures, b. Miattani-period structures viewed from west Houses A and B in the foreground (Drawing: Stefan K. Kozłowski, Andrzej Reiche; digitization: Marta Momot).

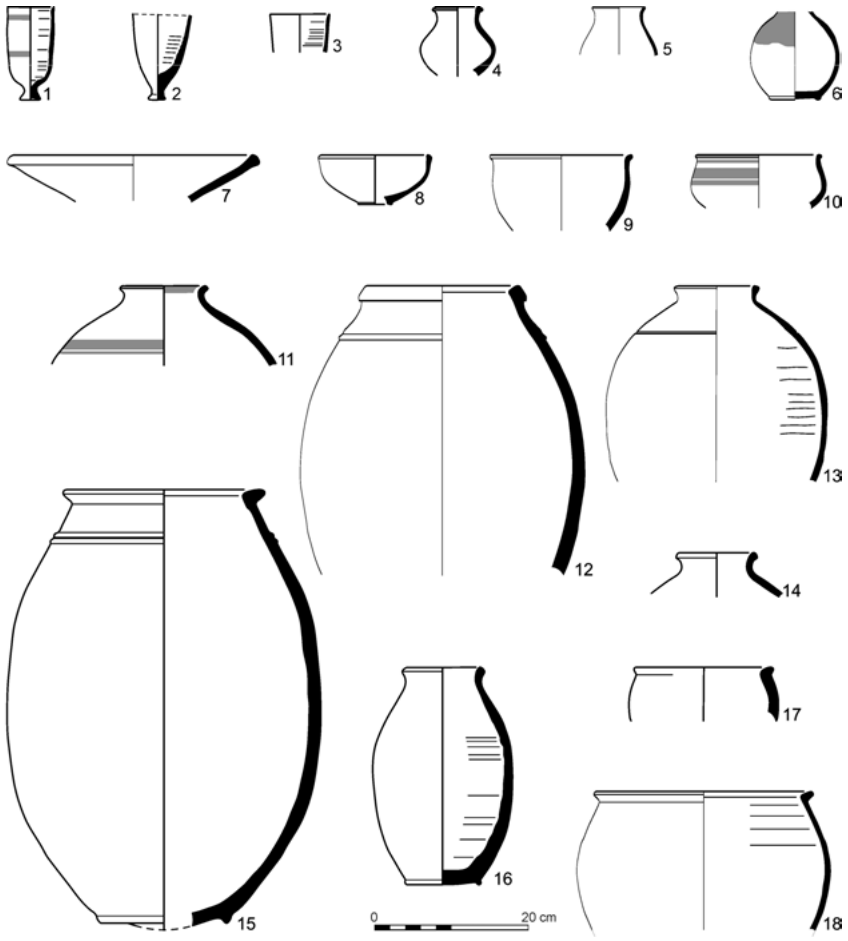


Fig. 7 | Nemrik – set of Mittani-period pottery found in the courtyard of House B (Digitization: Marta Momot).

westerly building of the Mittani settlement. It was a rectangular, single-room house, 9 m long and 6 m wide and oriented northeast-southwest. An entrance placed at the southern end of the longer, eastern wall led to a courtyard paved with stone slabs (partly destroyed at its eastern end). In comparison with houses A and B, far fewer pottery vessels were found in 'House D' and its courtyard.

The fortified Mittani rural settlement found at Nemrik can be interpreted as a *dimtu*[23] settlement, although no written sources have been found to confirm this. The settlement seems to have been hastily abandoned, but no traces of a violent destruction were found. It is very probable that the abandonment took place at some point in the second half of the 14th century BC, during the reign of the Assyrian king Aššur-uballit I (1353–1318 BC), as he regained some of the territories controlled by the Mittani Kingdom for Assyria (Harrak 1987, 31–58). This suggestion may be strengthened by the context and (proposed) dating of the pottery.

23 For a summary of the discussion of the *dimtu* settlements problem see Koliński 2001.

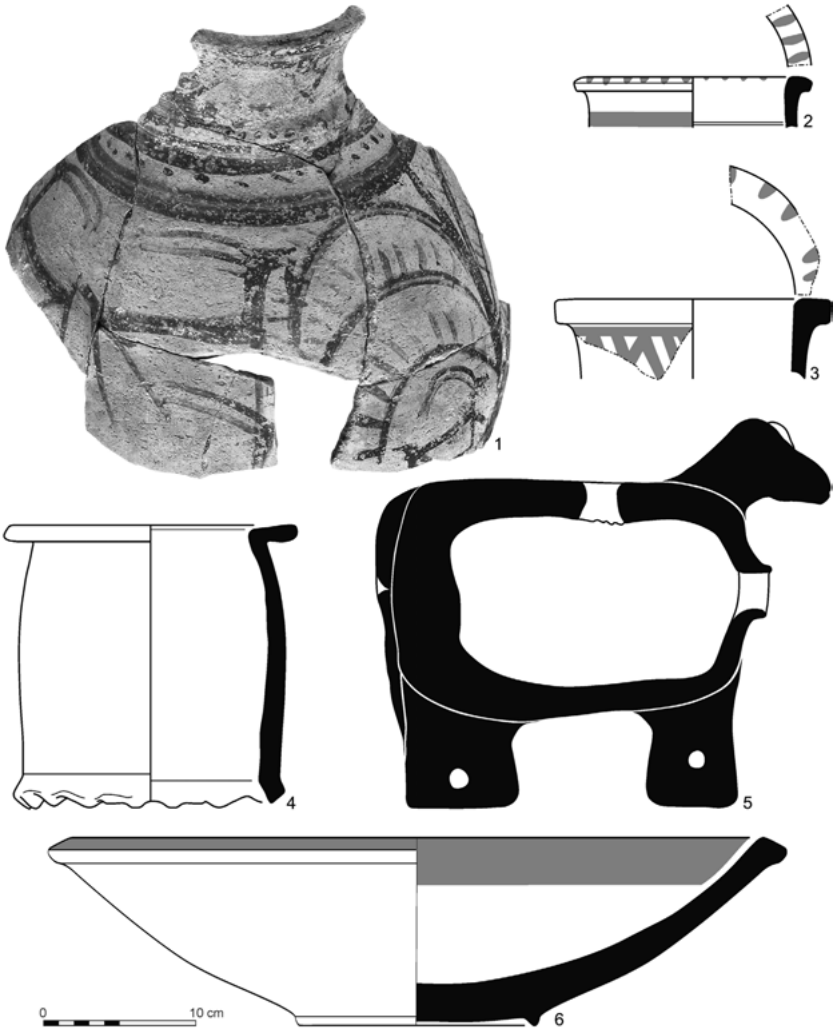


Fig. 8 | Nemrik – Mittani-period pottery (Digitization: Marta Momot).

3.2 Mittani pottery

Large concentrations of pottery sherds were found on the floors of rooms and in the courtyards of the abandoned Mittani settlement. A wide repertoire of vessel forms was represented, ranging from beakers, differently sized bowls, jars, and cooking pots, up to storage jars. A gray ware bowl and a red-edged bowl (fig. 8:6) were also found, as were special items, such as 'pie-crust pot-stands' (fig. 8:3) and one wheeled, zoomorphic vessel in the form of a cow (?), to judge by the long, applied tail (fig 8:1).[24]

The Mittani pottery assemblage found at Nemrik can be attributed to a transitional period between the Middle Jazirah I A and Middle Jazirah I B periods. A feature characteristic of the Nemrik assemblage was a relatively large percentage of Younger Khabur Ware fragments found together with sherds of the

24 This characteristic kind of wheeled zoomorphic vessel was found in the Mittani levels on sites from the Euphrates to the trans-Tigris region e.g., at Tell Bazi (Otto 2006, 102, fig. 45,4c), Tell Hammam et-Turkman (Smit 1988, pl. 157, 28), Tell Brak (Oates *et al*. 1997, nos. 663, 666), Tell Hamidiye (Wäfler 2004, pl. 9,3), Tell Rimah (Postgate *et al*. 1997, 249, pl. 99: 1190, 1191), and Nuzi (Starr 1937, pl. 3A).

14th-century Mitanni pottery. The painted strip decoration was not only present on beakers but also on bowls as well as on small and large jars (fig. 7:1, 6, 8, 16; fig. 8:2, 4, 5). Painted Nuzi sherds were absent among the collected pottery, but the question why must remain unanswered.

An uncommon red painted decoration was found on the upper part of a jar, namely its shoulders, neck, and rim (fig. 8:2). On the shoulders, in two registers, were repeated figural scenes showing goats nibbling at bushes. On the neck and rim there were geometrical motifs including bands, dots, triangles, and strokes. The design looks like a combination of Younger Khabur Ware geometrical motifs with a unique animal and floral scene.[25]

4. Conclusions

The settlement landscape of the Mittani kingdom was diverse and unequal in different regions of the Jazirah, a result of local environmental and historical factors. Pfälzner in his study of the regional distribution (V. Die Regionale Verbreitung) of the Late Bronze Age Pottery in northern Mesopotamia distinguished seven geographical regions in which pottery of this period was found: the Lower Khabur, the Agig area, the Khabur Triangle, the Balikh Valley, the Upper Syrian Euphrates Valley, the Region of Assyria and the Trans-Tigris Region (Pfälzner 1995, 169–232). The sites described in this paper were located in two of the regions: Tell Abu Hafur 'East' and Tell Arbid in the Khabur Triangle region, and Nemrik in the region of Assyria.

The three sites were part of a new settlement landscape that began to develop in northern Mesopotamia in the Mittani period and reached its apogee in the Iron Age. It was a process of change from a tell-dominated landscape in the Early Bronze Age to a dispersed settlement pattern in which medium-sized and small villages and farmsteads were scattered across the landscape, located in the vicinities of the large old tells but not directly on top of them.[26] One has to remember that these were new settlements and that they could have partly resulted from the land-donation policy of the Mittani kings and the system of *dimtu* settlements.

Nemrik belonged to a group of fortified rural sites like Sabi Abyad or Giricano, all sharing a similar settlement sequence. At least in archaeological terms, the case of Nemrik supports the hypothesis put forward by Karen Radner that "the Middle Assyrian *dunnu* is the successor of the Hurrian *dimtu*" (Radner 2004, 138). The possibility that those sites had a special administrative function in the system of control over cultivable land could be the reason why they were resettled and used as *dunnu* settlements in the Middle Assyrian period.

Abu Hafur 'East' and Tell Arbid (sector A) in the Syrian Jazirah were medium-sized rural settlements but they seem to lack fortifications, similarly to Tell Hwesh and Tell Beydar 'Lower Town' (field J).[27] However, it is often hard to answer questions about the presence of fortifications due to the poor state of preservation of a site and/or the small-scale of the excavated area. The fact that they were lo-

25 Similar motifs appear on a deep bowl from Tell Brak (Oates *et al.* 1997, no. 456) dated to the Middle Jazirah I A period. However, one should stress the difference in the composition and style of the painted figures. See also a discussion of the so-called 'Dark on Buff Animal Ornamented Ware' by Pfälzner 2007, 240–241.

26 A tendency to create new settlements in the vicinity of large Late Bronze Age tells and not on top of them was first noticed by Pfälzner (1995, 224). Symptoms of this transition were also observed in a detailed survey in the Beydar area (Wilkinson 2002, 362–363).

27 On the unwalled lower settlements of the Late Bronze Age, see Wilkinson 2002, 369.

cated near high tells, and not on top of them, seems to support the supposition that they were never intended to be fortified.

The case of rich and luxurious finds[28] from the graves and from the settlement at Tell Arbid indicates that the village was inhabited by a rich landowner's family. The lack of written documents prevents us from concluding what administrative function, if any, the site could have had. An interpretation that it was a land donation made by the king is probable in light of the find of donation tablets at Tell Bazi (Sallaberger *et al*. 2006, 91–92).

Another important but not frequent element of the settlement landscape of the Mittani Jazirah were towns with temples and palaces placed at the top of large tells (e.g., Tell Hamam et-Turkman, Tell Chuera, Tell Mozan, Tell Hamidiye, Tell Bari, Tell Brak). The picture resulting from excavations and surveys is thus a mixture of settlements of diverse scale, dominated by small and medium-sized villages and hamlets, with only a few large towns placed on high tells. Similar proportions are found in the text of the Assyrian king Šalmaneser I describing the conquest of Hanigalbat: *I conquered nine of his fortified cult centres (as well as) the city from which he ruled and turned 180 of his cities into ruin hills.* (RIMA1 A.0.77.1: 75–77). One should remember that the Akkadian word *alu* translated as 'city' was used by the ancient scribes independently of the size or function of a settlement.

Bibliography

Akkermans, Peter M.M.G./ Limpens, José / Spoor, Richard H. (1993)
"On the Frontier of Assyria: Excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad 1991", *Akkadica* 84–85, 1–52.

Anastasio, Stefano / Lebeau, Mark / Savauge, Martin (eds.) (2004)
Atlas of Preclassical Upper Mesopotamia, (Subartu 13), Turnhout.

Anastasio, Stefano (2007)
Das Obere Habur-Tal in der Jazira zwischen dem 13. und 5. Jh. v. Chr. Die Keramik des Projektes "Prospection Archeologique du Haut-Khabur Occidental (Syrie du N.E.)", Florence.

Ball, Warwick / Tucker, David / Wilkinson Tony J. (1989)
"The Tell al-Hawa Project", *Iraq* 51, 1–66.

Bieliński, Piotr (1991)
"The Third Season of Excavations in Northeast Syria, 1990", in: Michał Gawlikowski / Andrzej Daszewski (eds.), *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean II, Reports 1989–1990*, Warsaw, 94–101.

Bieliński, Piotr (2003)
"Tell Arbid. The Seventh Season of Excavations. Preliminary Report", in: Michał Gawlikowski / Andrzej Daszewski (eds.), *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean XIV, Reports 2002*, Warsaw, 301–314.

Bretschneider, Joachim (1997)
"Die Unterstadt (Feld J)" in: Marc Lebeau / Antione Suleiman (eds.), *Tell Beydar, Three Seasons of Excavations (1992–1994). A Preliminary Report*, (Subartu III), Turnhout, 209–243.

Dosch, Gudrun (1996)
"Houses and Households in Nuzi: the Inhabitants, the Family, and those dependent on it", in: Klaas R. Veenhof (ed.), *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Papers read at the 40th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 5–8 1993, Leiden, 301–308.

Harrak, Amir (1987)
Assyria and Hanigalbat. A Historical Reconstruction of Bilateral Relations from the Middle of the Fourteenth to the End of the Twelfth Centuries B.C., Hildesheim–Zürich–New York.

28 An opposite case was observed in the Tell Beydar survey, where on most of the Late Bronze Age lower settlements there was "an overall lack of fine painted Nuzi wares and late Khabur wares" (Wilkinson 2002, 370). On this basis Wilkinson stated that "it seems likely that the small sites recorded lacked any significant administrative function."

Klein, Harald (1992)
Untersuchungen zur Typologie bronzezeitlicher Nadeln in Mesopotamien und Syrien. Wiesbaden.

Koliński, Rafał (2001)
Mesopotamian dimâtu *of the Second Millennium BC.*, (BAR International Series 1004), Oxford.

Lyon, Jerry D. (2000)
"Middle Assyrian Expansion and Settlement Development in the Syrian Jazira: The View from the Balikh Valley." in: Remko M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*. Proceedings from the third MOS Symposium in Leiden 1999, MOS Studies 3, Istanbul, 89–126.

Lyonnet, Bertile / Faivre, Xavier (in print)
"L'occupation du Haut-Khabur occidental, depuis la période paléo-babylonienne jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mitanienne", in Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum / Nicole Brisch / Jesper Eidem (eds.) *Constituent, Confederate, and Conquered Space. The Emergence of the Mitanni State*, Berlin–Boston, 43–59.

Mallowan, Max E. L. (1937)
"The Excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar and an Archaeological Survey of the Habur Region. Second Campaign, 1936", *Iraq* 4, 91–153.

Maxwell-Hyslop, Kathleen R. (1971)
Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000–612 B.C., London.

McDonald, Helen (1997)
"The Beads", in David Oates / Joan Oates / Helen McDonald (eds.), *Excavations at Tell Brak, vol. 1: The Mittani and Old Babylonian periods*, Cambridge–London, 101–105.

Meijer, Diderick J. W. (1986)
A Survey in Northeastern Syria, (Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 58), Istanbul.

Novak, Mirko (1994)
"Gewandnadeln", in: Meyer, Jan Walke, Pruß, Alexander, (eds.), Ausgrabungen in Halawa. Die Kleinfunde von Tell Halawa A, Mit Beiträgen von Egold, Andreas / Heinz, Marlies / Link, Christine / Neufang, Brigitte / Novak, Mirko, Orthmann, Winfried, (Schriften zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie 6), Saarbrücken, 237–243.

Otto, Adelheid (2006)
Alltag und Gesellschaft zur Spätbronzezeit: eine Fallstudie aus Tall Bazi (Syrien), (Subartu 19), Turnhout.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (with contributors) (1997)
Excavations at Tell Brak, vol.a1: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods. Cambridge.

Pfälzner, Peter (1990)
"Die Keramik vom Tell Hweš, Habur-Syrien (AUB-IFEAD)", *Berytus* 38, 137–154.

Pfälzner, Peter (1995)
Mittanische und Mittelassyrische Keramik. Eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dur-Katlimmu 3), Berlin.

Pfälzner, Peter (2007)
"Late Bronze Age Ceramic Traditions of the Syrian Jazirah", in: Michel al-Maqdissi / Valerie Matoïan / Christophe Nicolle (eds.), *Céramique de l'âge du Bronze en Syrie, vol. II: L'Euphrate et la région de Jézireh*, (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 180), Beirut, 231–313.

Poidebard, Antoine (1934)
La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie. Le limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe. Recherches aériennes (1925–1932), (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique du Service des Antiquités de Syrie 18, 1–2), Paris.

Postgate, Carolyn / Oates, David / Oates, Joan (1997)
The excavations at Tell al-Rimah. The Pottery, Wiltshire.

Radner, Karen (2004)
Das Mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi. Ausgrabumgen in Giricano 1, (Subartu 14), Turnhout.

Rahmstorf, Lorenz (2005)
"*Terramare* and Faience: Mycenaean Influence in Northern Italy During the Late Bronze Age", in: Robert Laffineur / Emanuelle Greco (eds.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference. Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004*, II. EMPORIA Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Eageum 25 Annales d'archaéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP, Liège, 663–672.

Rahmstorf, Lorenz (2008)
Tiryns XVI. Kleinfunde aus Tiryns. Terrakotta, Stein, Bein und Glas/Fayence vornehmlich aus der Spätbronzezeit, Wiesbaden.

Reiche, Andrzej (1990)
"Tell from the historical times", in: Stefan K. Kozłowski (ed.), *Nemrik 9. Pre-pottery Neolithic Site in Iraq. (Seasons 1985–86)*, Warsaw, 224–234.

Reiche, Andrzej (1997)
"Tell Abu Hafur "East". Neuassyrische Besiedlung in der Umgebung von Hassake (Nord-Ost Syrien)", in: Hartmut Waetzoldt / Harald Hauptmann (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. XXXIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6.–10. Juli 1992*, (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 6), Heidelberg, 355–364.

Reiche, Andrzej (in print)
"Late Bronze Age Pottery from Nemrik (Northern Iraq)", in: Claudia Beuger / Arnulf Hausleiter / Marta Luciani (eds.), Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions. Proceedings of the International Workshop, Berlin, 2–5 November 2006, Rahden/Westfalen, 241–283.

RIMA1:Grayson, Albert Kirk (1987)
Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millenium BC (to 1115 BC), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 1, Toronto.

Sallaberger, Walther / Einwag, Berthold / Otto, Adelheid (2006)
"Schenkungen von Mittani-Königen an die Einwohner von Basiru. Die zwei Urkunden aus Tall Bazi am Mittleren Eufrat", in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 96, 69–104.

Smit, Ferdinand (1988)
"The Period VIII Pottery", in: Maurits N. van Loon (ed.), *Hammam et-Turkman I. Report on the University of Amsterdam's 1981–84 Excavations in Syria. II*, Leiden, 457–583.

Smogorzewska, Anna (2006)
"Mittani Grave at Tell Arbid", in: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 15, 68–93.

Starr, Richard F.S. (1937)
Nuzi. Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepe: 1927–1931, vol. II: Plates, Cambridge/Mass.

Tessier, Beatrice (1984)
Ancient Near Eastern Cylindrical Seals from the Marcopoli Collection, Los Angeles.

Ur, Jason (2010)
Urbanism and Cultural Landscapes in Northeastern Syria. Tell Hamoukar Survey, 1999–2001, Tell Hamoukar, vol. 1, (Oriental Institute Publications 137), Chicago.

van Liere, Willem J. (1963)
"Capitals and Citadels of Bronze-Iron Age Syria in their Relationship to Land and Water", *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 13, 109–122.

van Liere, Willem / Lauffray, Jean (1954–1955)
"Nouvelle prospection archéologique dans la Haute Jézireh syrienne", *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 4–5, 129–148.

Wilkinson, Tony J. (2002)
"The Settlement Transition of the Second Millenium BC in the Western Khabur", in: Lamia al-Gailani Werr / John Curtis / Harriet Martin / Augusta McMahon / Joan Oates / Julian Reade (eds.), *Of Pots and Plans. Papers on the Archaeology and history of Mesopotamia and Syria presented to David Oates in Honour of his 75th Birthday*, London, 361–372.

Wäfler, Marcus (2004)
Tall al-Hamidiya 4. Vorbericht 1988–2001, (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Seria Archaeologica 23), Fribourg.

Dominik Bonatz

Tell Fekheriye in the Late Bronze Age: Archaeological Investigations into the Structures of Political Governance in the Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont

0. Introduction

After four seasons of intensive fieldwork the renewed excavations at Tell Fekheriye have yielded new archaeological, iconographic, and textual evidence which relates to two important phases in the history of the upper Mesopotamian piedmont: the end of the Mittani state and the beginnings and consolidation of the Middle Assyrian territorial state. This new material also contributes to ongoing discussions about the identification of Tell Fekheriye with the Mittani capital Waššukanni and the subsequent Middle Assyrian district center Aššukanni respectively.

Therefore, this article has two main objectives: one is to give some insight into the results from the recent excavations as far as the Late Bronze Age periods are concerned. The other is a first attempt to interpret these results in a broader geopolitical sense, and to investigate the structures of political governance which are materially manifested in the archaeological remains from Tell Fekheriye during these periods.

1. Landscape and environment

Tell Fekheriye lies on the southern fringe of the Syrian border town Ras al-'Ain at the western end of the Khabur River basin. Both, the modern town and its ancient counterpart have profited from their special hydro-geological location (fig. 1). The Arabic name Ras al-'Ain derives from the Akkadian *rēš ina*[1] and the Roman-Byzantine Rhesaina which of both mean 'the head of the spring' and refer to what is actually a natural phenomenon, the many spring-lakes in the surrounding area. The karst springs of Ras al-'Ain are among the largest in the world. Their water issues from seven springs immediately to the north and northeast of Tell Fekheriye and a further six springs only 1 km to the south.[2] Together, they combine to form the effective head of the Khabur. This river is the main eastern drainage for the water-basins lying south of the Karaçadağ – Tur Abdin line (in modern Turkey). Running eastwards it collects more water from minor tributaries or *wadis* before breaking to the south, now flowing along the eastern flanks of the Jabal 'Abd al-'Aziz to join the Euphrates. With this richness of surface water and an average precipitation of 400 mm, the area around Ras al-'Ain/Tell Fekheriye forms a highly fertile landscape with an im-

1 The term is first recorded in the Annals of Adad-nirari II (911–891 BC) which mention that the Assyrian king received the tribute of Abi-salāmu of Bīt-Baḫiani in 'Sikāni at the head of the of the spring of the Khabur', *Sikāni ša rēš ina Hābūr* (RIMA2, 153, A.0.99.2, 101–102).

2 Burdon and Safadi 1963, 58, fig. 3. The karst springs were still active until the 1960s when Burdon and Safadi carried out their hydro-geological study of the Ras al-'Ain area. They calculated an average annual discharge of 1219 million m³. Thereafter, the increased use of pumps for the irrigation of cotton, vegetables, and other summer crops and the drainage of water to float the Tishrin Dam south of Hassaeke have dramatically altered the picture. Today most of the karst springs are collapsed and the river bed of the Khabur near Tell Fekheriye has been completely dried up.

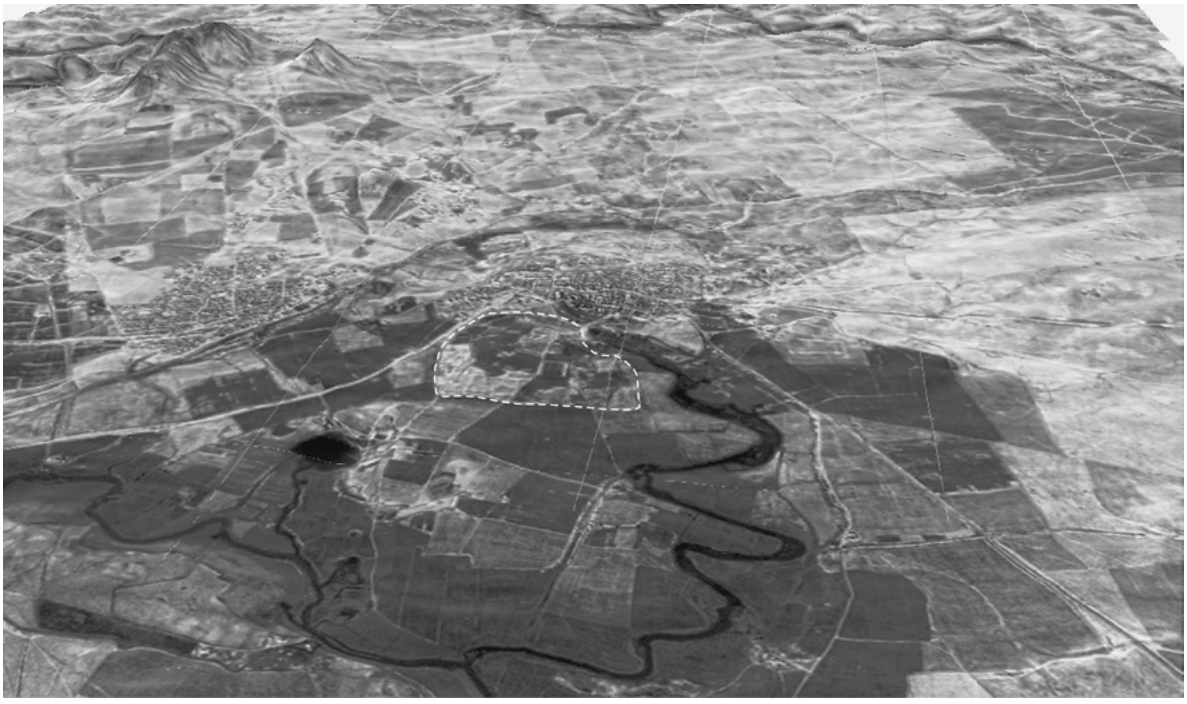


Fig. 1 | Aerial view of the Ras el-'Ain/Tell Fekheriye area with the headwater of the Khabur based on a CORONA satellite image from the 1960s. Note that the digital elevation of the landscape is slightly exaggerated in order to stress the geographical feature. The dotted line indicates the outlines of the Tell Fekheriye site.

mense potential for agriculture and stock farming. Therefore, it is not surprising that settlement at this place began very early in history.[3]

The continuance of water throughout the year and the impressive *scenario* at the karst springs must have shaped the early landscape giving Tell Fekheriye a numinous meaning. A center of religious cult probably already existed here in the late third millennium BC.[4] Conclusive evidence for this cult is provided by the late 9th century bilingual inscription on the statue of Hadad-Yis'i found at Tell Fekheriye during construction work in 1979 (Abou-Assaf *et al*. 1982). The statue dedicated to the Aramaean storm-god Hadad (Adad in the Assyrian version of the inscription) in Sikāni, the name of the Aramaean/Neo-Assyrian settlement at Tell Fekheriye. An epithet of the storm god mentioned in line 16 of the Aramaic inscription and line 25 of the Akkadian inscription calls him 'Lord of the Khabur', making it clear that the power of the regional storm-god was associated with the source of the Khabur. It has been suggested that the Hadad of Sikāni may have been an Aramaean hypostasis of the Hurrian Teššub of Waššukanni who is mentioned among other divine witnesses in the 14th century Šattiwaza treaty.[5] The possible correlation of

3 Note also the nearby Tell Halaf only 2.5 km west of Tell Fekheriye. Tell Halaf is well known for its Halafian, i.e., Pottery Neolithic occupation while recent excavations at Tell Fekheriye confirm the existence of a Pre-Pottery Neolithic settlement at this site.

4 An Ur III period administrative text (Reschid 1971: no. 14,17) identifies Sikāni with the goddess of the Khabur (^{d}Vaburitum Siganki) making it most plausible that the Sikāni of the late third millennium BC has to be located at the same place as the Iron Age Sikāni, i.e., at Tell Fekheriye (Müller-Kessler / Kessler 1995, 240–241).

5 Dion 1985, 142. For translation of the Šattiwaza treaty (Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi I) see Beckman 1996, 37–49. The 'storm-god, Lord of Waššukanni' is mentioned in § 14 and § 11 respectively of the two documents which together constitute a single diplomatic treaty between Šuppiluliuma I, Great King of Hatti, and Šattiwaza, King of Mittani.

both gods with each other would be another argument among many connecting the Mittani period Waššukanni with the Iron Age Sikāni at Tell Fekheriye. However, its importance as religious center is not yet mirrored in the finds from Late Bronze Age contexts at Tell Fekheriye although personal names bearing the storm-god as a theophoric element occur quite frequently in the local onomastic of the Middle Assyrian texts.[6] Altogether it seems quite reasonable to infer that there was a long-running cult dedicated to the storm-god at Tell Fekheriye, and the persisting importance of this cult center is obviously rooted in the religious perception of its water-rich natural environment. Any political authority dealing with Tell Fekheriye or being properly based there would have been involved in the dynamics of a sacred landscape. Therefore, the religious-phenomenological background should be kept in mind for the archaeological reconstruction and the historical understanding of the settlement development at Tell Fekheriye.

2. Excavations and topography

The three previous archaeological operations at Tell Fekheriye were all short-lived: the American excavation under the direction of Calvin W. McEwan in 1940 (McEwan *et al.* 1958), Anton Moortgat's soundings in 1955 and 1956 (Moortgat 1956; 1957; 1959), and the joint Syrian-German project under the direction of 'Abd el-Masih Bagdo and Alexander Pruß in 2001 (Pruß / Bagdo 2002). Encouraged by the nevertheless important results of these excavations and based on the long-standing assumption that Tell Fekheriye ought to be identified with one of the major historical sites in northern Syria a new joint Syrian-German excavation project was launched there in 2005.[7] That year an extensive geodetic survey of the mound was undertaken to update and amend the topographic plan, which was based on Max von Oppenheim's survey of the site in 1929. Four seasons of excavation followed in 2006, 2007, 2009, and 2010. These investigations confirm the significance of the site for the following periods: the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, the Late Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age, the Neo-Assyrian period, the Roman-Byzantine, and the early Islamic periods. Each of these periods is attested in the archaeological record of the current excavations.[8] Their focus, however, lies in the Late Bronze Age periods (Mittani and Middle Assyrian) and the Late Bronze – Early Iron Age transition. As for the political history of the upper Mesopotamian piedmont these periods are not only the most relevant but also the most intriguing in our efforts to identify Tell Fekheriye with either Waššukanni/Aššukani or some other central place in the realm of the Mittani and Middle Assyrian polities.

In 2009–2010 the excavations have concentrated on the western slope of the main mound where layers that include Middle Assyrian architecture lay close to the modern surface (Areas C and D). There is no evidence for a Neo-Assyrian occupation in this area, which is instead well documented at the northeast corner of the site (see the topographical plan on fig. 2). Larger parts of a *bīt ḫilāni* type Neo-Assyrian

6 Dion 1985, 142, referring to the texts published by Güterbock in the publication of the American excavations at Tell Fekheriye in 1940 (Güterbock in McEwan *et al.* 1958, 86–90).

7 The project of the Freie Universität Berlin and the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums of the Syrian Arab Republic is directed by the present author, professor of the Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology at the Freie Universität Berlin, and Dr. 'Abd al-Masih Bagdo, Director of the Department of Antiquities and Museums in Hassaeke. It is under the kind sponsorship of the Director of Antiquities and Museums in Syria, Dr. Basam Jamous, and the Director of Excavation, Dr. Michelle al-Maqdissi. From 2006–2010 the fieldwork is carried out in collaboration with the Slovakian Archaeological and Historical Institute (SAHI) which also gives financial support to the project. Since 2009, it is generously sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

8 The preliminary results from the 2006 and 2007 excavations are published in Bonatz *et al.* 2008.

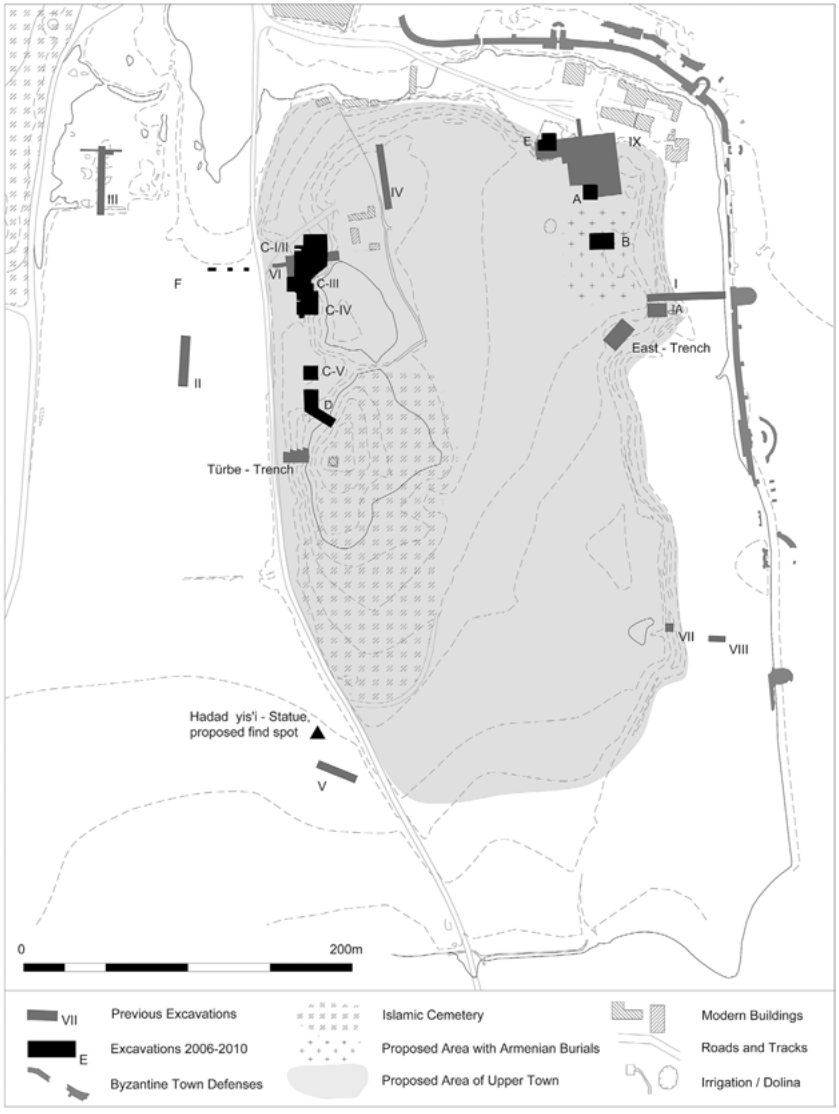


Fig. 2 | Topographical plan of the area of the upper mound at Tell Fekheriye.

'palace' were excavated there by the American team in 1940 (McEwan *et al*. 1958, 6–10, 20, pls. 6B–9, 22–23) and later partly reinvestigated by the excavations in 2001 (Pruß / Bagdo 2002, 314–318, figs. 2–3) and 2006 (Bonatz *et al*. 2008, 96–102, fig. 4). It is unclear why that apart from this monumental building and the aforementioned statue of Hadad-yis'i, the king of Guzana and appointed Assyrian governor, no other significant remains from this period have yet been found. The layout of the Neo-Assyrian town may therefore have been remarkably different from that of the Middle Assyrian period, since traces of this period can be recognized all over the main mound of Tell Fekheriye. This observation as well as the search for the temple of the storm-god, which has not yet been located, requires further investigation.

As for the current excavations the topographical situation on the western slope of the main mound and on the terrace at its foot provide good conditions for the investigation of the Late Bronze Age settlement, which in this part of site clearly exhibits features of an important administrative quarter for both the Mittani and Middle Assyrian periods. The area of the terrace is approximately 200 m in length and between 20 and 30 m in width. The modern surface runs along at an average height of 355.50 m a.s.l.

while the steep slopes to its east reach a maximum height of 363.40 m a.s.l. This sharp gradation of the terrain was reinforced by modern terracing in order to gain new fields for agriculture. The next gradation to the west was caused by the construction of the paved road which crosses the site from north (the direction of Ras al'Ain) to south. This road actually marks the border between the upper mound (*ca.* 12 ha) and the large lower mound or 'lower city' (*ca.* 78 ha) to its west. Three small soundings (F 1–3, see fig. 2) carried out in 2010 at the edge of the upper mound have demonstrated that the Byzantine buildings which were situated in this area were later flooded and consequently filled with thick alluvial deposits. Hence the bases of the Byzantine limestone walls today lie about 5.50 m under the modern surface (*ca.* 352.00 m a.s.l.). This realization significantly alters the picture of the ancient topography of the site. The difference in elevation between the Middle Assyrian occupation level at the western edge of the main mound and the Byzantine occupation in the 'lower city' would have been at least 7 m and probably more since we can expect a deeper horizon for the 'lower city' in the second millennium BC. Until now we have not been able to determine whether the Middle Assyrian town or any earlier settlement stretched into the area of the 'lower city' nor can we recognize any sort of boundary between the two areas such as a city wall. However, what has become clear is the considerable height of the Late Bronze Age upper mound, which can now be seen as a true citadel. One might add to this observation that small remains of Middle Assyrian architecture were also unearthed in the deep sounding of trench B in the northeast of the upper mound during the excavations in 2006 and 2007 (Bonatz *et al.* 2008, 104–107, figs. 8–9). The Middle Assyrian walls appear here on the same level, i.e., 355.00 m a.s.l., as the buildings to the west. This situation indicates an east-west extension of the Middle Assyrian town in the northern part of the site over roughly 250 m.

3. The Middle Assyrian houses

As mentioned above, the remains of Middle Assyrian architecture on the terrace at the western edge of the upper mound start to appear directly underneath the modern surface. Only a few structures such as Islamic wells, deep Byzantine stone foundations and several Roman kilns are built above or interrupt the layers of Middle Assyrian houses. Remains of these houses were excavated in the trenches C I–IV in the northern part of the terrace, in trench C V in the southern part, and in the lowest part of the stepped trench D at its southern end (see the topographical plan on fig. 2). They exhibit a continuous building density over at least 110 m with buildings aligned along the same north-south axis. As the architectural remains and their associated finds in trenches C I–IV are the most illuminating, these will be dealt with here in more detail.

At least two architectural units have been defined in this area; the northern House 1 (already excavated in 1940) and the southern House 2 (figs. 3–4). Both buildings directly abut each other with their exterior southern (House 1) and northern (House 2) walls respectively. The western facades run approximately along the same line and have exactly the same length, i.e., 16 m. So far only the western sections of the houses have been excavated, therefore the complete building-plans have not yet been reconstructed. Nevertheless, the principle architectural features can be recognized and set in comparison to each other. A bathroom paved with fired mud-bricks and including a northern drainage is situated in the northwestern part of both buildings. The smaller western room units, to which each bathroom belongs, are separated by a thick wall from the central rooms or courtyards. In both cases a large rectangular representative room lies to the south. The passageway from the central courtyard to the representative room

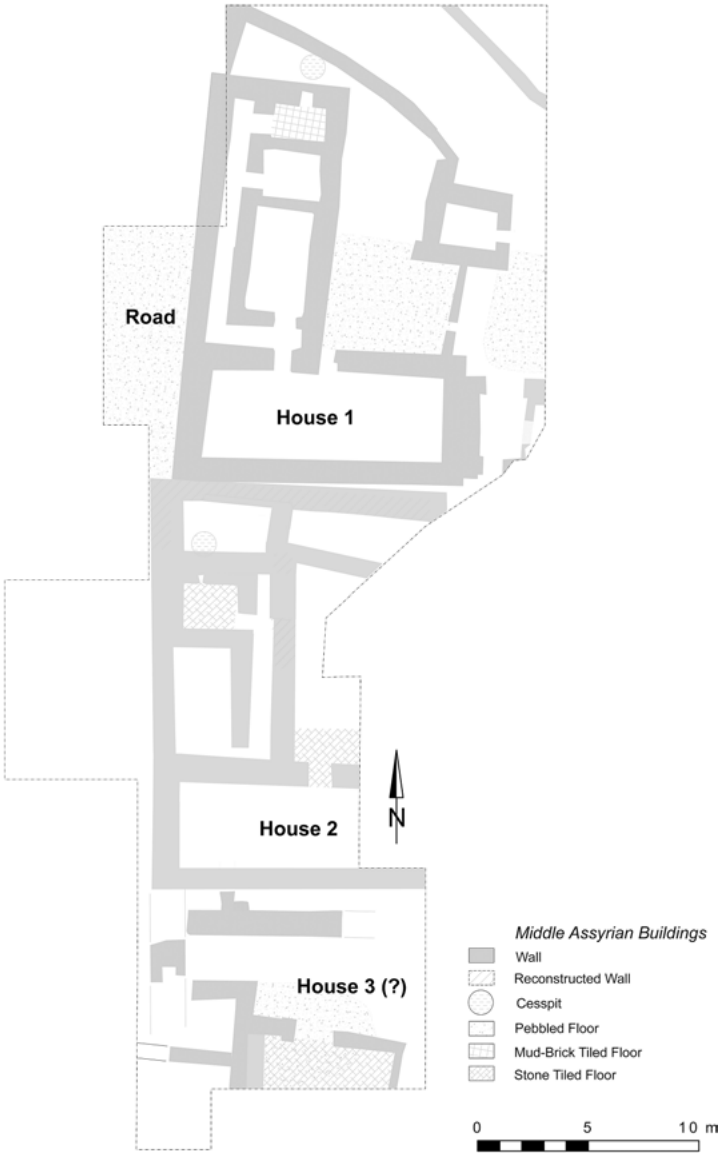


Fig. 3 | Schematic plan of the Middle Assyrian Houses in excavation trench C.

in House 2 is particularly remarkable. Here a circular threshold made of ceramic with a central hole for a doorpost was found.

The situation south of House 2 still lacks a clear interpretation since only a small area has been excavated and its architectural connection to other parts of the site is not yet fully clarified. Two or three smaller rooms in the west border a central room or courtyard unit with two different types of pavement; a pebbled floor in the north and a stone tiled floor in the south. Here we are either dealing with an extension of House 2 or, more probably, a third separate building unit in the row of houses on the western terrace.

The similarities between the Middle Assyrian houses show that they were constructed according to the same floor-plan. Differences, on the other hand, become apparent with the renovation of the walls and floors and alterations in different sections of the buildings. The complex stratigraphy which resulted from these architectural changes comes to light in several parts of the building.

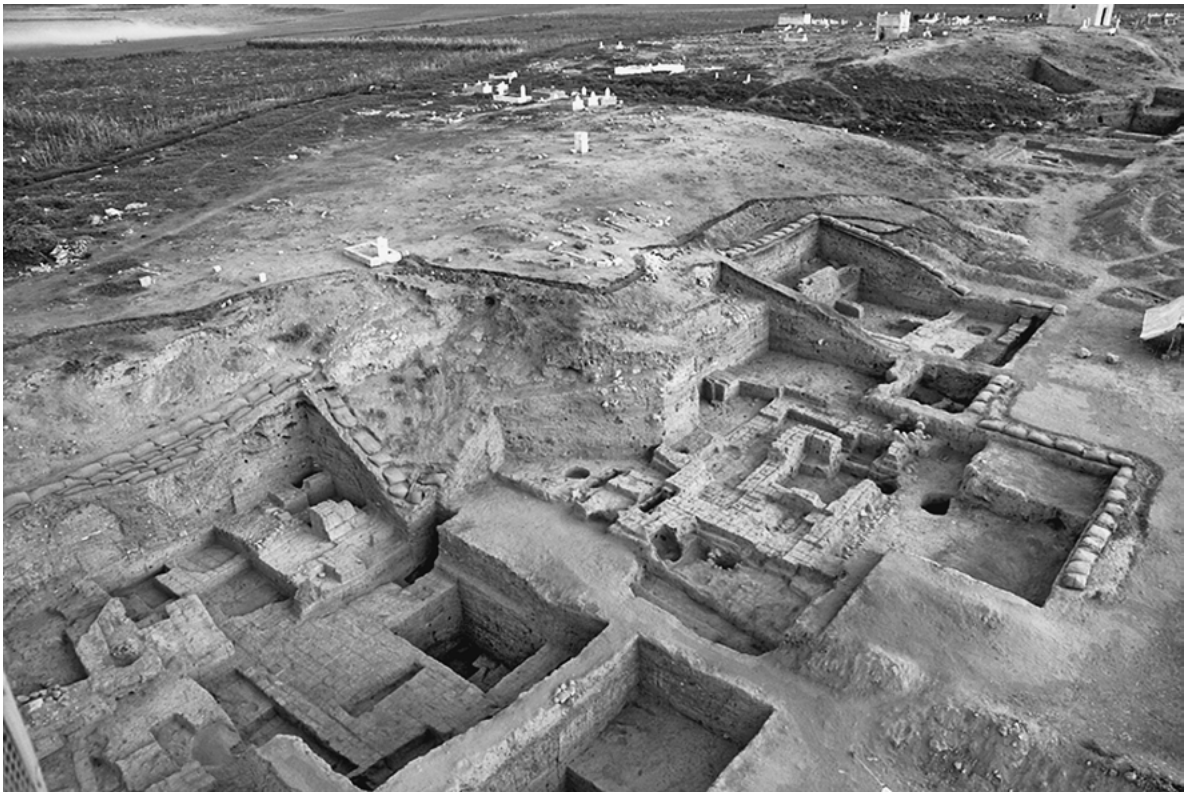


Fig. 4 | Aerial view over the excavated area at the western slope of the main mound (Trench C).

The American excavations and follow-up investigations by Pruß in 2001 have documented two main building phases for House 1 (McEwan *et al.* 1958, 4–6; Pruß / Bagdo 2002, 321–322), while recent excavations have identified further stratifications in different parts of the building. These allow a relative chronological division of the numerous finds (pottery, seal impressions, and tablets) which will be discussed further below. The newly excavated parts of the building, i.e., the economic area with ovens in the north, the eastern courtyard and the suggested entrance in the southeast of the building reveal up to four different floor-levels, demonstrating a continuous use and reuse of space to which the material found there provides functional and historical information. The recent excavations have also yielded new information about the organization of space outside of building. A diagonal enclosure wall was exposed, which separates House 1 from an undeveloped space to the north (see fig. 7). One could imagine a street in this area but the loose earthen terrain here is different from the thick layers of pebbles mixed with pottery in front of the western facade of the house complex, which do seem to represent the pavement of a roadway. In any case, the row of houses does not continue further than House 1. The interruption of architecture instead makes way for a passage to the inner area of the site.

The finds from different areas of the Middle Assyrian houses 1 and 2 include hundreds of clay lumps (see selection on fig. 11) with and without seal impressions and about 60 complete and fragmentary clay tablets (see selection on fig. 10). For both groups find contexts are in almost all cases tertiary as the sealings have been broken and discarded after use and the tablets thrown away in waste deposits. However, the disposal of most of these objects apparently happened next to their original location (see below). Therefore, they provide interesting insights into the administrative duties of the houses'

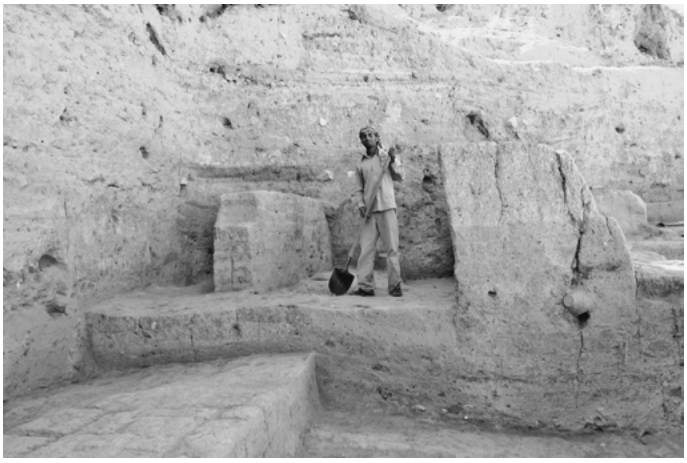


Fig. 5 | Walls and foundations of Middle Assyrian House 1 (entrance area?) in the southeaster corner of trench C II. The foundations clearly follow the outlines of the terraced walls of the previous monumental building.

residents. In connection to the pottery finds they also indicate that the storage and distribution of goods took place here. Other examples of the typical standard Middle Assyrian pottery are related to the preparation and consumption of food. This evidence speaks in favor of an official residential quarter situated at this part of the site. As for the individual activities in this area and its external relations more conclusions will be offered in the second part of this article once the question of the ownership of seals and texts in Middle Assyrian Tell Fekheriye has been addressed.

4. The Mittani building periods

The levels under the Middle Assyrian House 1 were first sounded in 2007 (see Bonatz *et al.* 2008, 114–115, fig. 14) and afterwards extensively exposed in 2009 and 2010. It has turned out that the foundations of House 1 were laid more or less directly over an older, much more monumental building structure. In order to construct a horizontal platform for the new building the broad mud-brick walls of the older monumental building were abraded and the rooms filled with compact material. Therefore the foundations of House 1 also follow the terracing of the former building, which slightly rises to the east (fig. 5). The gradation of the building terrain also required further fillings. The objects, especially Middle Assyrian clay tablets, discarded within this fill, point to a certain interval between the abandonment of the monumental building and the construction of House 1. Any observations relating to this temporal interval are important since they may answer the question of how the Assyrians conquered and transformed the site. This issue will be addressed in more detail in the second part of this article.

From an architectural point of view the structures of at least two building periods older than the Middle Assyrian House 1 overbuild provide the clearest evidence so far for a Mittani presence at Tell Fekheriye. The building of the younger phase is an imposing structure with walls up to 4.4 m in width and large rectangular rooms up to 6.5 m in length (figs. 6–7). Four symmetrically arranged rooms have been identified thus far, but only one room was excavated down to its floor-level. Here the walls reach a preserved height of 1.80 m. The considerable height of the walls is furthermore indicated by a collapsed wall which covers nearly the whole width of the southeast room which measures 3.6 m (fig. 6). This collapsed wall may be related to the deliberate dismantling of the building which otherwise shows no traces of a violent destruction.

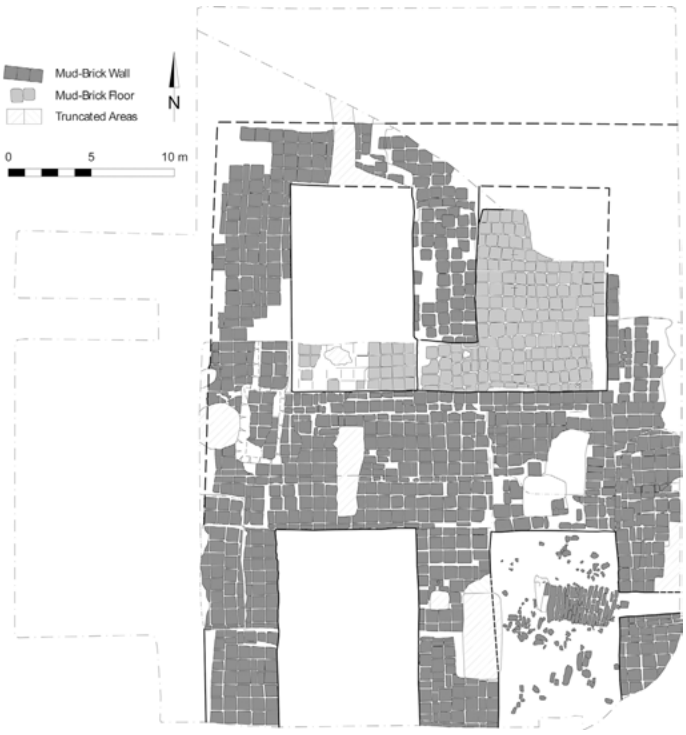


Fig. 6 | Plan of the unearthed parts of the probably Mittani period monumental building in trench C I/II.

Fig. 7 | The monumental building in trench C I/II. At the bottom of the excavated room on the right appear the walls of the earlier Mittani building period. The diagonal walls on the left are remains of the Middle Assyrian period once bordering the area of House 1 to its north.

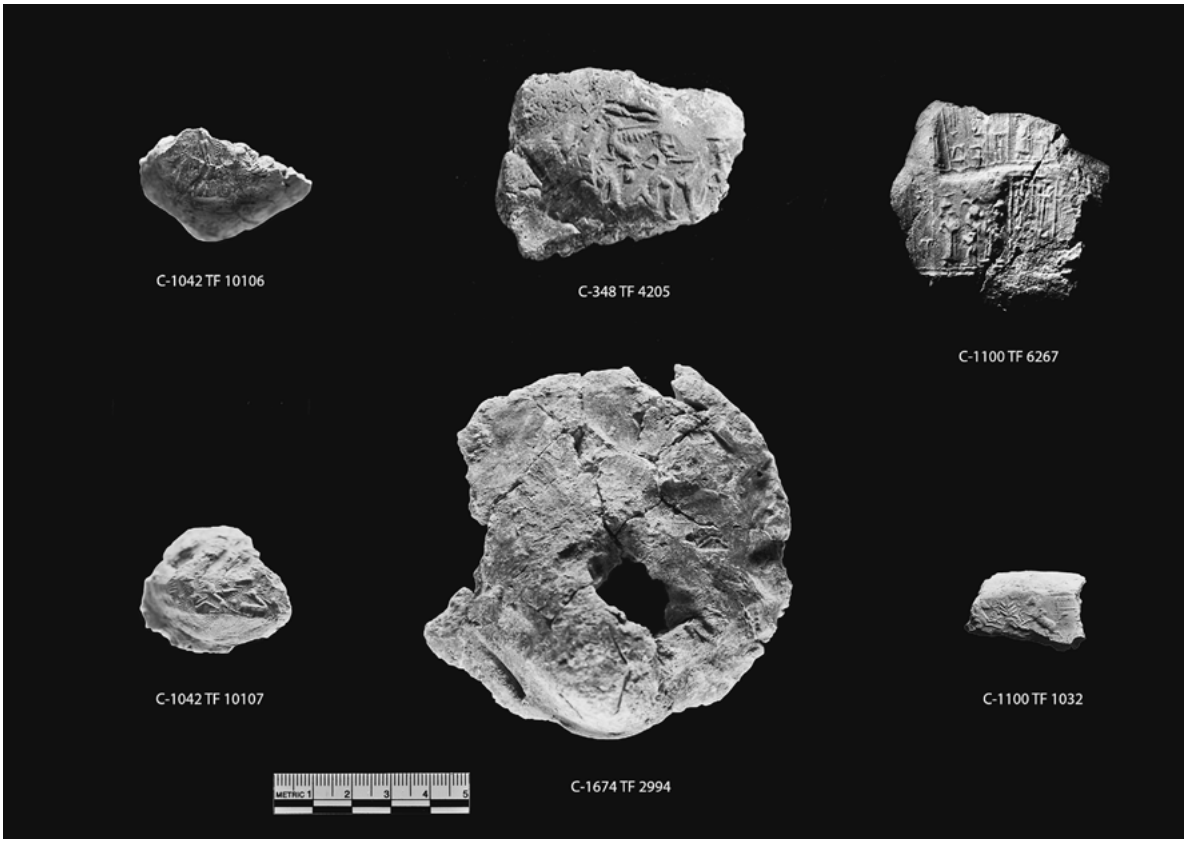


Fig. 8 | Collection of Mittani seal impressions.

The dimensions of the monumental building are obviously larger than those of the Middle Assyrian house. Only its western facade is nearly in line with the latter building. To the north, south and east it extends into areas which have not yet been excavated down to this level. As for the connection with an older building period, the walls of the monumental building clearly overbuild previous walls which are distinctly narrower and have a different orientation. Two rooms of the older building period have been partly excavated in the sounding below the floor of the south-western room of the monumental building (fig. 7). One of these rooms has a floor paved with bitumen covered mud-bricks on which two bone needles and a pot with a wavy-shaped rim were found. The architecture of the older building period has also been exposed in the western part of the same trench, where it protrudes below the front of the monumental building. The area was later filled and covered by the 'street' in front of the western facade of Middle Assyrian House 1.

The Mittani date of both building periods is confirmed by the associated finds such as Nuzi-type potsherds, transitional Khabur ware, red-edged bowls, incised and incrusted ware typical for the Middle Jezirah I und II periods, and about 60 seal impressions on clay lumps. The stylistic variety of the seals range between Common Style, 'Mittani-Kirkuk', and a few pieces related to the Elaborate or Dynastic Style (fig. 8). Some of the seals bear an inscription (e.g., TF 6267). These finds come from different strata, i.e., the fill deposits under the Middle Assyrian walls, floors, and the 'street', the fill of the older Mittani building period and from the floors and pits of the same phase. Due to the chronological nature of the various pottery and glyptic styles the two building periods represent the long settlement duration of the Mittani town. The function of the buildings in this part of the site is furthermore partly explained by the evidence

of the sealed clay lumps which were either used as jar stoppers or as *cretulae* on door-pegs (fig. 8). They demonstrate administrative and storage activities for both building periods. However, one of the questions which requires further investigation is why we see such a dramatic change from the rather modest architecture in the older phase to the impressive monumental architecture of the younger phase.

In conclusion, the sequence of building activities in the northern part of the excavation area C (trenches C I–IV) mirrors a continuous process from the early Mittani period until the Middle Assyrian period. The general character of it as a residential area with administrative functions does not change over time but the architectural context is remarkably different. The change from a monumental form of architecture to a relatively small scaled and standardized architecture is especially significant for the transition from the late Mittani to the Middle Assyrian period.[9] The end of the Mittani occupation is not marked by any visible destruction level, hence it is difficult to determine whether the Assyrians possibly reused parts of the older building or if they immediately started to restructure the whole area.[10] As for the end of the Middle Assyrian occupation, signs of abandonment are provided by several double-pot and mud-brick graves which cut through the floors of the houses and often follow the orientation of their walls. These show that the area was used as a graveyard shortly after people had left their houses. The evidence of the graves and the related question of the Late Bronze Age–Iron Age transition at Tell Fekheriye will be discussed in another article (see Bartl / Bonatz forthcoming). Instead the following part of this article focuses on the validity of the archaeological finds for the historical reconstruction of the rise of the Middle Assyrian hegemony in the area of Tell Fekheriye and beyond.

5. The end of Mittani and the rise of the Middle Assyrian state

In the 15th and early 14th century BC the state of Mittani in north Syria was one of the main political powers beside Egypt, Ḫatti, and Babylonia. Within the realm of the Mittani kings a state emerged that exhibited the beginnings of a federal structure, including semi-autarchic principalities such as Alalaḫ and Qadeš (Kinza) in the west, Kizzuwatna in the northwest, as well as Arrapḫa and, presumably, Assur in the southeast (Kühne 1999, 210–218). None of the political centers in the Mittani heartland have yet been identified with certainty but it is generally agreed that two of the capitals are to be localized in the Khabur headwater region, Taidu (Tell Hamidiye?) in its eastern part and Waššukanni in its western. The importance of Waššukanni as royal city of Mittani can be seen foremost in Hittite sources: the so-called *res gestae* of King Šuppiluliuma I recounted by his son Muršili, and the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and his Mittani protégé Šattiwaza.[11] The second document in particular provides the most useful historical information about the destruction of the Mittani state by the Hittite Great King and the rise of rival Assyrian power in the mid 14th century BC.

Several of the main events recorded in the Šattiwaza treaty relate to the city of Waššukanni. From here, Tušratta, Mittani's last independent ruler, fled from the approaching Hittite king (Beckmann 1996, 39, no. 6A § 3). Shortly after he was murdered in a palace coup and one of his sons, Šattiwaza, had

9 Probably more can be read into this strikingly different scale of architecture once other areas of the Mittani monumental building have been exposed and an estimate the amount of labor input into this possible public building becomes feasible.

10 Epigraphic and iconographical finds related to this question will be discussed below.

11 For a résumé of the sources see del Monte 1992, 187 and recently Crasso 2009, 222–224. For the editions of the mentioned texts see Güterbock 1956; Beckmann 1996, 35–80.

to seek refuge at king Šuppiluliuma's court. In the meantime, the successor of the rival line, Šuttarna III, forced his efforts towards the throne of Mittani. He entered an alliance with Assyria (probably under its king Aššur-uballit I (1353–1318 BC)) and the land of Alše in order to attack Šattiwaza and his Hittite allies. It seems, however, that a fairly high price had to be paid for this support. In the Mittani version of the Šattiwaza treaty, the appointed Hittite vassal later accuses his former opponent Šuttarna of wasting all the treasures which his father had accumulated in his palace, i.e., in Waššukanni (Beckmann 1996, 44, no. 6B § 1). To his shame Šuttarna was even compelled to return a door of gold and silver which Saušstatar, Šattiwaza's great-great-grandfather, had taken as prestigious loot from Assur to his palace in Waššukanni (Beckmann 1996, 44–45, no. 6B § 2). From this point of view it becomes clear that Assyria was no longer regarded as a subordinate of Mittani but rather as a strong force which made its own conditions for a military alliance. More than that, it was the first moment in history that Assyria was able to politically interfere in the Mittani core.

While Šuttarna and the Assyrian army were passing through the Khabur basin from the east, the Mittani-Hittite coalition began their march from Carchemish in the west.[12] On their way to the east Šattiwaza and Piyaššili, the King of Carchemish and son of Šuppiluliuma I, subdued the cities of Harran and Irrite, thereby covering approximately half the distance to the western arm of the Khabur where the confrontation with the enemy was probably expected. In Irrite they received the message that the Assyrian army had already besieged Waššukanni but withdrawn before Šattiwaza and Piyaššili themselves arrived (Beckmann 1996, 46, no. 6B § 6). The historical fiction in the Šattiwaza treaty leads us to believe that thereafter the Assyrians also refused any direct confrontation with Šattiwaza and his strong Hittite ally. Further military operations were carried out at the cities of Pakarripa and Nilapšini in the vicinity of Waššukanni but did not result in a battle.[13] It seems that the Assyrians withdrew and that Šuttarna was left to his fate.

The relevance of these historical events and localization seen from the Hittite perspective do not stem from the possible but still hypothetical identification of Tell Fekheriye with Waššukanni, but rather from the geostrategic position between these conflicting parties that this site undoubtedly held. Tell Fekheriye obviously lies within the radius of cities within which the clash between the Hittites and the Assyrians was expected to take place. It must have been situated in the core region of the political struggle at the end of the Mittani era and may consequently bear signs of change which followed these events. With the archaeological evidence at hand we can indeed assume that Tell Fekheriye was among the cities of the Mittani rump state under Hittite control in the second half of the 14th century BC. Since the Assyrians turned back and finally conquered the whole Khabur basin at the beginning of the following century, Tell Fekheriye was probably not a site unknown to them. The previous Assyrian engagement in the Šuttarna-Šattiwaza affair should accordingly be seen as a harbinger of the forthcoming expansion which therefore can be understood as a well planned enterprise.

The conquest of the territories in northern Syria started with Adad-nirari I (1295–1264 BC).[14] He is the first Assyrian king who claimed to have destroyed (*ca.* 1270 BC) the cities of Mittani from Taidu to Irrite, including Waššukanni (RIMA1, 131, A.0.76.1.8–11; 136, A.0.76.3.26–37). It is possible that in this

12 It is probable that Šuttarna while planning his coup was based in Taidu, i.e., in the eastern part of the Khabur basin. The city is mentioned in the Šattiwaza treaty as place where he had impaled the noblemen of the Hurrians (Beckmann 1996, 45, no. 6B § 2). In the *res gestae* of Šuppiluliuma it is said that when the Assyrians heard that the King of Carchemish was advancing towards Mittani, they sent their army to Taidu in order to help Šuttarna (Güterbock 1956, 111, BoTU 44 ii, 33–39).

13 Beckmann 1996, 46–47, no. 6B § 6. For the location of Pakarripa and Nilapšini in the western Khabur basin see also Crasso 2009, 225 with map on p. 227.

14 The absolute dates follow the ten year shortened reign of Aššur-dan I (Boese / Wilhelm 1979).

time at Assyrian conventional political phraseology overstates the extent of destruction caused by Adad-nirari's campaign. In the beginning, the Assyrian king may have tried to impose a system of tribute which initially was not very effective. After the death of Šattuara, king of Ḫanigalbat (the Assyrian designation for the Mittani rump state), his son Uasašatta apparently stopped sending regular tributes to Assur. This was considered a revolt against Assyria and justified Adad-nirari's military expedition (RIMA1, 136, A.0.3.4–16). Taidu, the royal city of Uasašatta, was conquered and his whole family clan deported from the destroyed city of Irrite to Assur (RIMA1, 136, A.0.3.26–51). Despite this victory, Šalmaneser I (1263–1234 BC), Adad-nirari's son and successor, felt compelled to recapture the cities from Taidu to Irrite (RIMA1, 184, A.0.77.1.81–85). The list of subdued Mittani cities mentioned by Šalmaneser is not as long as that of his father. For example Kaḫat (Tell Barri), Nabula (Girnavaz), and Waššukanni are missing from this list. Does this mean that these cities were no longer among the rebels and had already been successfully 'assyrianized'? The historical records still lack consistency and therefore need to be aligned with the archaeological data and textual finds from primary contexts.

Archaeological evidence for the western expansion of the Middle Assyrian state or 'empire' has recently been compiled by Aline Tenu.[15] Her thorough study shows that, among the sites with Middle Assyrian remains in the Khabur headwater region, only Tell Hamidiye (Taidu?), Tell Barri (Kaḫat), Tell Amuda (Kulišinaš), Tell Brak (Nawar) and Tell Fekheriye have yielded conclusive evidence for an Assyrian occupation as early as the time of Šalmaneser I (Tenu 2009, 94–108). Epigraphic evidence confirming this date is few and far between: one brick inscription from Tell Hamidiye, four tablets from Tell Amuda and one tablet from the American excavation at Tell Fekheriye.[16] For Tell Brak two post-Mittani destruction layers are said to correspond to the campaigns of Adad-nirari I and Šalmaneser I in the Khabur headwater region, although Nawar is not listed as one of the conquered cities in their royal annals.[17] The only place with a continuous chrono-stratigraphic sequence of late Mittani – early Middle Assyrian occupation is Tell Barri.[18] A basalt mortar with an inscription of Adad-nirari I which is the oldest known document for the Assyrian presence in this region was found at this site. The inscription confirms that Adad-nirari had built his own palace at Tell Barri, which is in line with the inclusion of Kaḫat among his conquests in the king's annals (Salvini 2004, 147; 2007, 307, 318, no. 293).

In conclusion, the evidence for an early Middle Assyrian presence in the Khabur basin is not overwhelming. It is indeed very scarce in comparison to the much better documented administrations at Tell Fekheriye, Tell Chuera (Ḫarbe), and the *dunnu* in Tell Sabi Abyad at the Balikh during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233–1198 BC). Therefore, the new finds from Tell Fekheriye are promising as it seems they may fill some gaps in the reconstruction of the initial phase of the Assyrian colonization in this region.

6. The Middle Assyrian texts from the 2007, 2009, and 2010 seasons

During the excavations at Tell Fekheriye in 2009 and 2010 a total of 51 Middle Assyrian texts and text fragments were recovered from a single depositional context (loc. 1035/1199) below the northeastern rooms of House 1 in Area C I–II (figs. 9–10). They were discarded in this area as the terrain was filled

15 Tenu 2009. For a useful discussion of the term 'empire' in relation to the Middle Assyrian territorial state, see *ibid.* 25–27.

16 For the *līmu* date belonging to the reign of Šalmaneser I on the tablet from Tell Fekheriye see Güterbock in McEwan *et al.* 1958, 86, 10:13 and the discussion of the new text finds below.

17 Oates, *et al.* 1997, 152–153; Tenu 2009, 108.

18 Tenu 2009, 99–100; see also the contribution of d'Agostino in this volume.

Fig. 9 | Three Middle Assyrian tablets of different size at the moment of their discovery in trench C I/II (locus C-1035).

with compact soil, broken or smashed mud-bricks and potsherds in order to build a solid foundation for the floor of the subsequent architecture. Due to this stratigraphic relationship the tablets predate the erection of House 1 but must have been discarded later than the Mittani monumental building, which at this time had already been demolished for the restructuring of the whole area.

The tablets are unfired and several were in a very fragile state of preservation, suffering from the humidity of the terrain and salt efflorescence in the clay. Nevertheless, after careful cleaning and consolidation significant parts of the script can be read. Eighteen tablets yield almost complete texts, the others more or less fragmentary. Because their translation has just begun any textual inferences have to be considered very preliminary.

The textual formats are different in size and content. The larger tablets measure up to 28 cm in length and up to 24 cm in width what is an unusually large format for Middle Assyrian texts (fig. 10, TF 6077, TF 6343). The spacing of both inscribed sides in three vertical columns already indicates some kind of administrative list. The first textual analysis by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum indeed confirms that these documents list the distribution of large amounts of grain to families and cohorts of male workers. Both groups are employed by the local palace as laborers and are under the supervision of its officials. Among the smaller tablets are juridical documents und letters. Three of them were found within their unopened and sealed clay envelop. The letters are comparable to the 'letter orders' found at Tell Chuera (Ḫarbe) (Jakob 2009, 8–9). One letter (TF 6375) contains the orders of an official called Qibi-Aššur who might be identical with the first *sukkallu rabiu* ('grand vizier') and King of Ḫanigalbat appointed by Šalmaneser I.[19] The Land of Ḫanigalbat is mentioned in a letter (TF 6341) which reports on a boat that was capsized in a river (the Euphrates?). Other toponyms which have been gathered from the texts are Waššukanni, Taidu, Kurda, Alu-ša-Sîn-rabi, Assur, and Ninua. They prove that Tell Fekheriye was part of the regional and supraregional Middle Assyrian communication system but are not yet sufficient evidence for the identification of the site itself. Indisputable, however, are the chronological conclusions drawn from the *līmu*-dates on some of the texts. The eponym Mušabšiu-sibitti who is mentioned on TF 6375, and who was already recognized on one of the administrative texts (F 273) found in the same area in 1940, can be dated to the first third of the reign of Šalmaneser I, i.e., around 1250 BC.[20] If we use this date as a fixed point for the entire deposit of clay tablets some basic observations can be made. We find

19 For comments on this text I also wish to thank Helmut Freydank.

20 Güterbock in McEwan *et al.* 1958, 86, 90, text no. 10:13; Saporetti 1979, 83 (with references); see also Freydank 1991, 191, 194.

a fully developed state administration in the earlier reign of Šalmaneser I at Tell Fekheriye. The fact that some of the texts relate to a 'palace' raises the possibility of a central archive which has to be localized in the vicinity of the actual discard-spot. The Assyrian colonization of Tell Fekheriye is furthermore attested in the onomastics of the texts. These show that more than half of the personal names are written in Akkadian, the rest in Hurrian and some other unknown ethno-linguistic affiliations. Some of the Assyrian names seem to confirm a local patronym as they use, for example, 'Khabur' as a topical element of the name. All in all the textual evidence points to a well established Assyrian power at Tell Fekheriye during that time and this leads to the assumption that the occupation of the site began even earlier.

As for the later Middle Assyrian period, the depositional context in which the tablets were found connects them to the phase of upheaval after which the whole area received a new architectural layout. Forty additional texts and text fragments were found scattered in the area of the subsequent Middle Assyrian houses 1 and 2. In combination with the previous tablet finds from the American excavation in 1940, the *līmu*-dates on these texts provide firm evidence that both houses had been in use mainly during the later reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.[21] An important and already published text fragment from the excavation of House 1 in 2007 belongs to a letter addressed to a person who is designated as someone from Aššukanni (Chambon in Bonatz *et al.* 2008, 108, TF 3168). The name of the *līmu* on the same text is Eru-apla-iddina who can probably be identified with an eponym at the end of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (Saporetti 1979, 118–119; Freydank 2005, 52). Another eponym mentioned on a document found in House 2 (TF 4772) is Sarniqu who can be dated to either the middle or end of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign (Saporetti 1979, 121, with references; Freydank 2005, 52). These texts along with a great number of seal impressions on clay lumps (see below) confirm the continuation of official administrative activities among the different architectural units, which presumably served as the residences of high-ranking officials. The new building structures pertaining to the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I indeed reflect a planned and well organized transformation of the administrative and residential quarter in this part of the site. It is tempting to study this change in the urban plan not only as an internal settlement process but also to assess it from an external perspective which may provide a conclusive historical background for such changes.

7. The administration of the west during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I

During the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I the western part of the Middle Assyrian territorial state was controlled by some high-ranking officials who generally descended from branches of the royal family (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999, 215–222). One of the most well-known figures in this context is Aššur-iddin who followed his father Qibi-Aššur as *sukhallu rabiu* ('grand vizier') and *šar māt Ḫanigalbat* ('King of the Land of Ḫanigalbat'). The texts from Tell Sheikh Hamad (Dūr Katlimmu) on the Lower Khabur shed important light on his activities as the administrator of Assyria's western territories (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 19–29). Several of the letters he received while based in Dūr Katlimmu were sent from his dele-

21 For the 11 published texts from the American excavation see Güterbock in McEwan *et al.* 1958, 86–91. The fact that one text (no. 10) bears the name of the aforementioned eponym Mušabšiu-sibitti does not contradict the dating of House 1 to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. It has already been remarked by Pruß that in the publication of the Oriental Institute several of the tablets were assigned by mistake to floor 2 of the House 1 and that their original find context could indeed have been from a level under this house (Pruß / Bagdo 2002, 322; also see Bonatz *et al.* 2008, 108). The *līmu* Aššur-nadin-apli mentioned in text no. 9 is in line with the later date of the building (Güterbock in McEwan *et al.* 1958, 86; for the date of this eponym and its probable identification with the son of Tukulti-Ninurta I see also Saporetti 1979, 116–117).

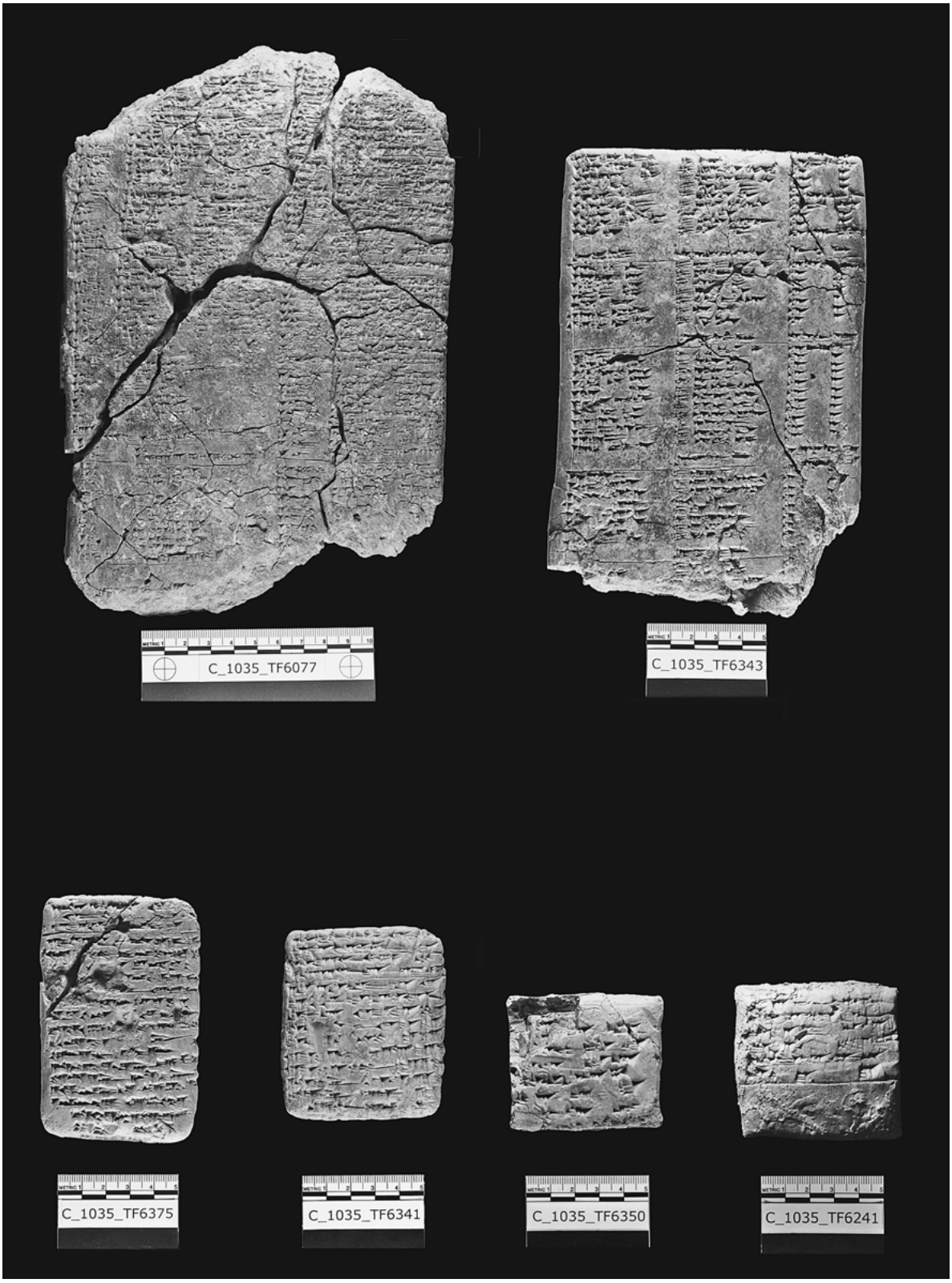


Fig. 10 | Collection of Middle Assyrian tablets from locus C-1035.

gate in Aššukanni, Sîn-mudammeq (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 29–32). This person probably held the title of a *sukallu* ('vizier') and also acted as *bēl pāḫete* ('district governor') of the *pāḫutu* ('district') that belonged to Aššukanni (cf. Jakob 2009, 4). His correspondence with Aššur-iddin is one of the most important sources for the history of the upper Mesopotamian piedmont in the 13th century BC. They reflect the critical moments in the political governance of this region. Two letters, for example, report about difficulties with refugees, controlling the local semi-nomadic populations (i.e., the Suteans) and other enemies who joined forces in the mountains, fighting the locust plague and famine and the notorious problem of insufficient labor forces and military (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 94–98, text no. 2; 106–108, text no. 3). While Sîn-mudammeq often felt himself compelled to explain his helplessness to his superior Aššur-iddin he concurrently acted quite the contrary and independently as a strict authority who sent his own orders to subordinates in the district town of Ḫarbe (Tell Chuhuera).[22] Sîn-mudammeq's correspondence relates to fortifications and building activities, the provision of itinerant officials and their horse carriages, the recruiting of additional troops from the circle of the *Ilku*-conscripts and to various administrative regulations, and these activities show that he was acting as civil and military coordinator of the region (Jakob 2009, 4–5).

From the perspective of the Ḫarbe texts it seems probable but again not conclusive that Tell Fekheriye can be identified with Aššukanni (Jakob 2009, 8). Both sites lay approximately 74 km away from each other, a distance which the couriers in Middle Assyrian times might have been able to cover in one day.[23] This point, however, is crucial for the localization of Aššukanni. Together with Ḫarbe and Saḫlala, which can be identified with Tell Sakhlan about 50 km west of Tell Khuera, Aššukanni belonged to a chain of important relay stations on the main east-west route connecting the towns of Assyria's northwestern territories. The correspondence of Sîn-mudammeq unmistakably points out that a courier was expected to make the trip between Aššukanni and Ḫarbe or Ḫarbe and Saḫlala in one day (Jakob 2009, 45–46, text no. 5). Even if a distance of more than 70 km per day would be unrealistic in this context, Aššukanni still has to be located east of Ḫarbe because Saḫlala definitely lies west of it. Since speculations about route distances therefore cannot solve the problem of identification further evidence must be gathered from the archaeological sites under investigation.

8. The administration at Tell Fekheriye during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I

Three of the texts found by the American team mention the name Aššur-iddin (Hans G. Güterbock in McEwan *et al.* 1958, 87, texts nos. 3, 4, 9) who, according to Cancik-Kirschbaum, can be identified with the 'grand vizier' (*sukhallu rabiu*) known from the Tell Sheikh Hamad texts (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 23). The *limu*-date of one of the Tell Fekheriye texts shows that at this time Aššur-iddin still held the title of *sukhallu* and that he might therefore has started his carrier in this region before moving to the lower Khabur as *sukhallu rabiu* (cf. Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 24). One document from Tell Sheikh Hamad (DeZ 2529) and a letter from Tell Chuhuera (TCH 92.G.218) attest that he later returned to the northern districts to carry out administrative duties in Waššukanni and Ḫarbe as well. The letter was sent by Sîn-mudammeq to Ḫarbe announcing the arrival of Aššur-iddin, while the document from Tell Sheikh

22 Most of Sîn-mudammeq's letters are addressed to Sutī'u, the *ḫazi'ānu* ('mayor'), in Ḫarbe (Jakob 2009, 42–53, texts nos. 2–15).

23 Jakob (2009, 46) who also refers to the 80 km route distance, which following the calculations of Kühne was the daily radius of couriers in the Amarna period (Kühne 1973, 118).

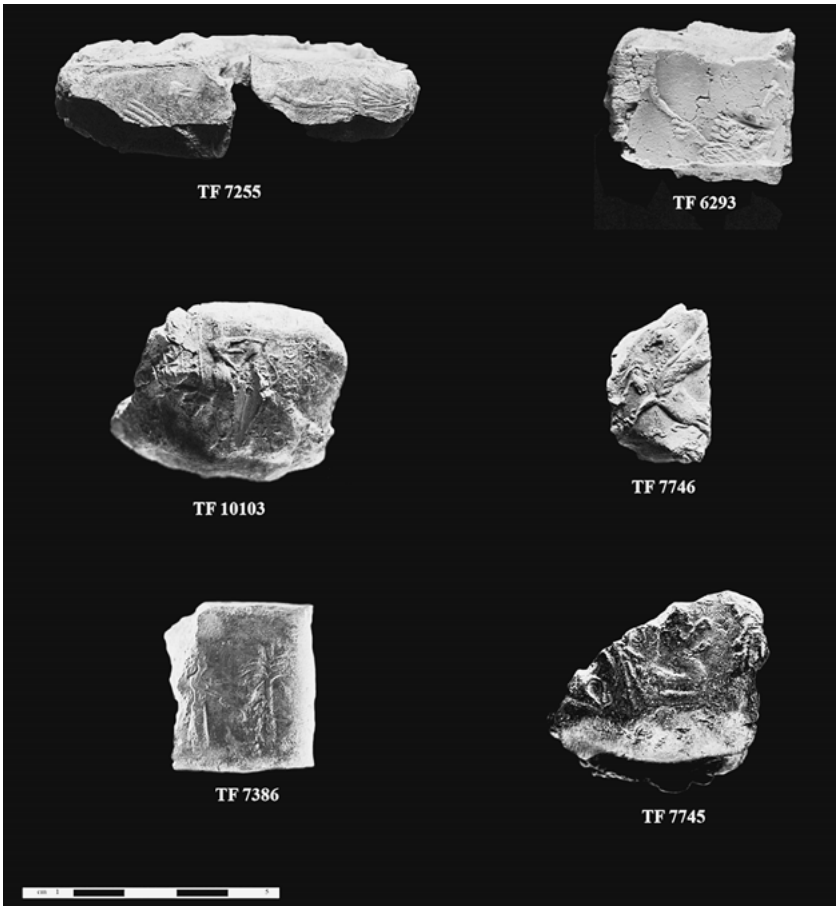


Fig. 11 | Collection of Middle Assyrian seal impressions.

Hamad reports the early collaboration between him and Sîn-mudammeq in Waššukanni (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 23; Jakob 2009, 52). Again we are inclined to develop different scenarios, one including the identification of Tell Fekheriye with Waššukanni/Aššukanni, the other excluding it.

The fact that Aššur-iddin was among the main authorities in the administration of Middle Assyrian Tell Fekheriye is probably confirmed by the glyptic evidence from House 1. About 50 seal impressions on clay lumps found in the upper deposits of the northern part of this house bearing the same seal design, can be identified. There is only one well preserved example (fig. 11, TF 7746), and from the area of House 2. The nearly complete reconstruction of the seal shows a contest between a winged human-headed lion and a winged bull with a small reclining winged calf on the base between the two opponents (fig. 12A). The triangular composition and the plastic modeling of the figures are typical for the Middle Assyrian mature style. Impressions of the same seal have already been found during the American excavations in the context of House 1 (Kantor in McEwan *et al.* 1958, 73, pl. 71, design XI) and on the aforementioned document from Tell Sheikh Hamad (DeZ 2529), both of which deal with the administrative affairs of Aššur-iddin and Sîn-mudammeq in Waššukanni. This document makes it quite plausible to identify the owner of the seal as Aššur-iddin.[24]

24 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 22. The text is still not edited but discussed ibid. The drawing of the impressions of this seal on DeZ 2529 kindly shown to me by Hartmut Kühne confirms the correspondence with the impressions of the same seal found in Tell Fekheriye. That Sîn-mudammeq who is also mentioned on DeZ 2529 can be excluded as seal owner is evident from the fact that his seal bears another design (see below).

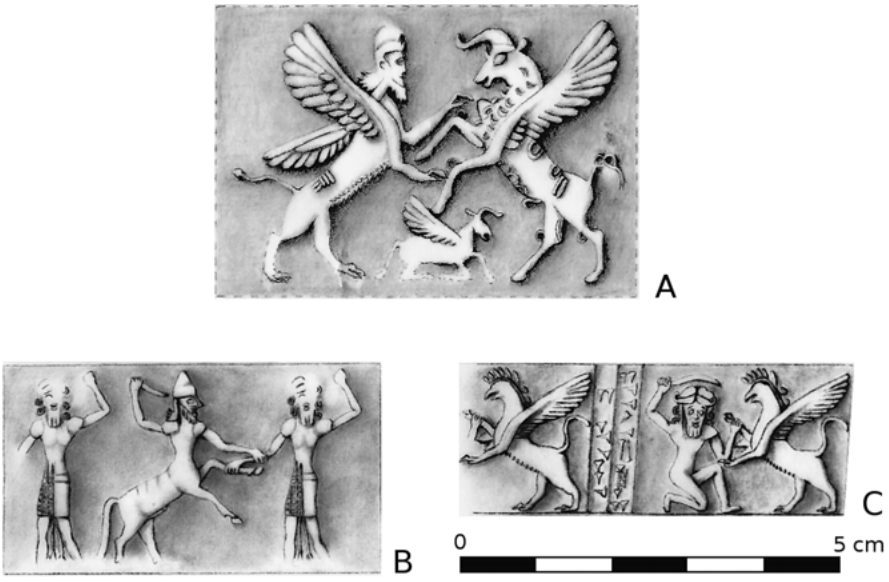


Fig. 12 | A. Reconstruction of Middle Assyrian seal from many fragmentary impressions on clay lumps; B. Reconstruction of seal impression on tablet TF 6405; C. Reconstruction of seal impression on tablet TF 6350 (see also fig. 10) (drawings by Abdallah al-Hamid).

The clay lumps from Tell Fekheriye probably bear Aššur-iddin's seal have cord marks on their backs and seem to have mainly functioned as stoppers/*bullae* attached to jars. It is hard to decide if these containers were sealed and stored locally or if they had been transported from abroad and were opened after their arrival in Tell Fekheriye. Whichever the case, the relation of Aššur-iddin to Tell Fekheriye becomes a strong argument for the identification of this site. It seems that, especially in connection with his counterpart Sîn-mudammeq who followed Aššur-iddin as *sukhallu* in Waššukanni, we find supporting evidence for Tell Fekheriye being the place of interaction between both officials.

The seal of Sîn-mudammeq has been identified on two documents from the recent excavations, a broken clay envelope with the positive imprint of the once included letter on its inner side (fig. 11, TF 7255) and a fragment of a *bulla* with cord-marks on its back (fig. 11, TF 6293). The seal impression which is almost completely preserved on the clay envelope depicts an ostrich hunt. One tall and two smaller ostriches are being chased by a male hunter who holds a spear in his raised right hand while his left grasps for the tail of the bigger ostrich. The same seal design is impressed on eight documents, seven clay envelopes and one ration list, found among the Middle Assyrian tablets in Ḫarbe (Tell Chuhuera). These documents undoubtedly prove that the seal owner is Sîn-mudammeq (Janisch-Jakob 2009, 185, seal motif 3).

In general, the glyptic evidence strongly supports the interpretation of houses 1 and 2 as places of central administration with officials involved in the economic and civil affairs of the Middle Assyrian state. A total of 180 seal impressions on clay lumps and 16 impressions on tablets and envelopes have been found in the area of both houses. So far 22 different seal designs can be identified (for a selection see fig. 11). In stratigraphical terms the earliest seals are those impressed on the tablets from locus C-1035/1199 under House 1, which, as already mentioned, dates to first half of the reign of Šalmaneser I. Two of the seals impressed on clay envelopes as well as the documents they still contained are strikingly similar in style and composition. The first case is a naked, kneeling *laḫmu* or *Sechslockiger Held* fight-

ing against a griffon (fig. 12C, impressed on TF 6241 and fig. 10, TF 6350), in the second case the same *la/mu* is standing combat with a centaur (fig. 12B, impressed on TF 6405). The design of the *la/mu* shows strong similarities to the same kind of heroic figure on one of the seals of Babu-aḫa-iddina, the 'chancellor' under Šalmaneser I (Weidner 1959–60: figs. 2a–c). The visual impact of such images points to the wide reach of a political governance in which they act side by side with the textual means of political authority.

In the context of locus C-1035/1199 no other seal impressions on objects other than the tablets were found. The deposits (loc. C-916, 926, 1404/1191/1674) above the tablet context, however, yielded a total of 106 seal impressions on clay lumps and fragments of clay envelopes. The material was found mixed with a large amount of pottery fragments and animal bones, most likely the waste from the economic and kitchen area of House 1. Several of the clay lumps also show the rim impression of the jar to which they had been affixed. Indeed rim fragments from jars matching these types of sealings have been collected from the same context. They provide evidence for the use of sealed pottery containers in the area of House 1. Other clay lumps with seal impressions were clearly attached to door pegs. They complete the picture of an administrative area in which the controlled storing and distribution of not yet definable commodities took place. It may also be significant that the impressions of Sîn-mudammeq's seal and – with question mark – Aššur-iddin's seal were also found in this context. This reinforces the idea that both officials were engaged in the administration at Tell Fekheriye at the same time even if we have to admit that Sîn-mudammeq's seal on an envelope (TF 7255) indicates that this document was sent from elsewhere. The impression of the same seal on a *bulla* fragment (TF 6293) attests to its other use as means of authorizing the circulation of goods.

Further seal impressions from the same deposits bear similar typical Middle Assyrian designs, i.e. combat between monsters, lions, or other animals and heroes (e.g., fig. 11, TF 10103). One of the motifs (TF 2980, not depicted here) is closely related to the seal of Sîn-mudammeq and apparently manufactured by the same seal-cutter. The same ostriches also appear but are being attacked by a lion which takes the position of the hunter depicted on Sîn-mudammeq's seal. The only distinctive difference is the representation of humans who seem to pick fruits from a date palm. This design, which exists in at least two different versions with one or two figures at the date palm (e.g. fig. 11, TF 7386), is often found on oblong clay lumps attached to jar rims.

Some seals also bear inscriptions which may contain the name of the seal owner but are not yet deciphered (figs. 11, 12C). Even without exact epigraphic evidence the range of motifs produced in a high quality Middle Assyrian style is remarkable. They testify to the different activities of Assyrian officials in connection with the administration of House 1 and the adjacent House 2 where further seal impressions, in less quantity and with different designs have been found.[25] Some of the seal impressions come from room deposits which are stratigraphically later than those containing the bulk of the material in houses 1 and 2. For stylistic and iconographic reasons they still range among the glyptic repertoire developed during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. For example, a seal impression depicting a ritual scene with a kneeling man and an omega symbol as additional element (fig. 11, TF 7745) is typical for this period (cf. Matthews 1990, 111).

In conclusion, all textual and iconographic evidence for administrative activities in houses 1 and 2 culminate during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Given the rather late date of those documents definitely

25 As mentioned before the only parallel find is one impression of the presumed Aššur-iddin seal (fig. 11, TF 7746).

assigned to the period of this king, it is possible to postulate that the construction and organization of the administrative buildings in this area of the site did not take place at the beginning of his reign. This, however, would leave us with an interval of more than three decades between the Šalmaneser I period texts from the deposits under the House 1 and the erection of this building. Although it cannot be excluded that the occupation of these houses lasted beyond the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta there is no proof for a date after his death in 1198/1197.[26] The fate of Sîn-mudammeq also remains a matter of debate in this context. He was apparently involved in the dispute over the succession of Tukulti-Ninurta but since his assumed opponent Ilī-padâ emerged victorious from this conflict and became *sukhallu rabiu* and *šar māt Ḫanigalbat* himself, it seems quite probable that Sîn-mudammeq's political carrier ended at this point in time.[27] Might these events have negatively affected the settlement development at Tell Fekheriye? The loss of control and consequent lack of organization through a strong authority like Sîn-mudammeq could be one explanation for the abandonment of the houses 1 and 2 and the subsequent use of the area as a burial ground.

9. Summary

The location of Tell Fekheriye at the head of the Khabur probably gave rise to the early religious importance of the site. In the second half of the second millennium BC a political center developed at this site, which at least on a regional level fulfilled an important function in the administration of the Mittani and subsequent Middle Assyrian states. The architecture and associated finds from the earlier period remain limited in their historic validity but nevertheless testify to a representative seat of government. With the following Middle Assyrian occupation the evidence for a centralized administration becomes abundant and interpretable in relation to the political affairs of a growing state. In both cases the political relevance of the site can also be understood because of its favorable geostrategic location at the center of territorial expansion.

Tell Fekheriye is situated in the middle of the open plains which form the most northern extension of the great Mesopotamian plain. The Tur Abdin (or Kašiyāri mountains mentioned in Assyrian texts) lies 50 km to the north of Tell Fekheriye, the Tigris and Assyrian heartland 270 km to the east, and the Euphrates with the royal city of Carchemish 220 km to the west. The whole area forms the actual piedmont zone from which the core of the Mittani state emerged in the second millennium BC and in which the foundations of a new territorial state were laid after the Assyrian conquest. From an economic point of view the Assyrians, who started to cross the Kašiyāri mountains consolidating the northern frontier of their realm as early as the reign of Šalmaneser I,[28] would have seen the piedmont as a rich agrarian hinterland that also provided access to the resources of the Anatolian mountains. They built up a system of

26 The chrono-stratigraphic distribution of pottery which may contribute to this question is currently under investigation.

27 This conclusion is suggested by Jakob (2009, 6) and furthermore stressed by Wiggermann's discussion of the seal and official correspondence of Ilī-padâ found in his private farmstead (*dunnu*) at Tell Sabi Abyad (Wiggermann 2006). One letter sent to his steward in Sabi Abyad, Mannu-kî-Adad, shows that Ilī-padâ was absent in Assur in occasion of Tukultī-Ninurta's funeral and that he was worried about the loyalty of his steward who seemed to have been tempted to follow the interests of Sîn-mudammeq (*ibid.*, 94–95). At this time, Ilī-padâ and Sîn-mudammeq were obviously political rivals fighting for the extension of their private domains in the west-Syrian Jazirah.

28 Ziyaret Tepe (Tušḫan?), Giricano (Dunnu-ša-Uzibi), and Üçtepe in the upper Tigris region north of the Tur Abdin were probably brought under Assyrian control during the reign of Šalmaneser I (e.g., Radner 2004, 72–73; 2006).

districts (*paḫutu*) in this area with cities (*ālu*), fortified agrarian domains (*dunnu*) and fortresses (*birtu*) following the urban plan and communication routes of the Mittani period.[29] The main difference, however, was the imposition of centralized governance from an outside capital that replaced a state organization developed from a local milieu. In the 12th century BC the Assyrian territorial state weakened as local authorities became stronger, independently acting politic agents. Some of the districts consequently turned into small clientele states with autonomous kings but maintaining elements of Assyrian culture.[30]

Several aspects of the uncovered archaeological evidence at Tell Fekheriye fit into this geopolitical framework. The occupation of the preexisting Mittani town by the Assyrian power is well documented in the excavations at the western slope of the site. Whether the Mittani structures and the established forms of local administration were reused at the beginning of the Assyrian hegemony still needs to be investigated. A fully developed Assyrian state administration accompanied by distinct forms of Assyrian material culture is substantiated for the earlier reign of Šalmaneser I. Several decades later a visible functional restructuring of the area took place during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I and resulted in two or probably more uniform administrative residences. At this time some high ranking Assyrian officials seem to have been involved in the administration of the city and temporarily based there.

We still need to understand how many more people were actual responsible for the upkeep of the city and what was their relationship to grassroots social groups and indigenous populations. The aforementioned texts from Dūr-Katlimmu, Ḫarbe, and Fekheriye itself provide information about the ongoing perilous state in this area in terms of economic crises, demographic decline rather than growth, labor supply, and hostile environments. These difficulties in the local governance are yet not mirrored in the archeological record even if environmental studies and regional surveys may help to clarify at least some of these points in future. So far, the material culture attests to the wide reach of political control during the main part of the 13th century but from a regional perspective, the political space of governance remains for most of the time heavily contested. After the death of Tukultī-Ninurta political changes in the region may have also lead to the abandonment of the administrative area. However, an Assyrian or 'assyrianized' population continued to live elsewhere in the city, as is evident in the graves from the post-occupation layers of the Middle Assyrian houses 1 and 2. Does this shift in the use of urban space at Tell Fekheriye reflect a process of decentralization attested elsewhere in the 12th century BC?

In conclusion, the presumed function of the city as one of the headquarters of the Assyrian territorial expansion is confirmed by the archaeology finds and framing factors such as location, tradition and historical setting of the site. Much of the recently unearthed information from the Mittani and Assyrian presence at Tell Fekheriye speaks in favor of its identification with Waššukanni/Aššukanni but also leaves open the possibility for an identification with other places which still have to be considered as central for the political landscape of the upper Mesopotamian piedmont.

29 E.g., Liverani 1988; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2000, 6–7; Kühne 2000, 274. The view that Assyria adopted much of its administrative structures from the previous Mittani state to which the capital in Assur was once submissive has recently been stressed by Postgate (2011, 90–92).

30 See Cancik-Kirschbaum 2000 and the article of Brown in this volume.

Bibliography

Abou-Assaf, Ali / Bordreuil, Pierre / Millard, Alan R. (1982)
La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméene, (Etudes Assyriologiques), Paris.

Bartl, Peter V. / Bonatz, Dominik (2013)
"Across Assyria's Northern Frontier: Tell Fekheriye at the End of the Late Bronze Age", in: Aslihan Yener (ed.), *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia*, ANES Supplement 42, Leuven, 265–287.

Beckman, Gary (1996)
Hittite Diplomatic Texts. Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature, vol. 7 (ed. by H. A. Hoffner, Jr.), Atlanta, Georgia.

Boese, Johannes / Wilhelm, Gernot (1979)
"Aššur-dān I., Ninurta-apil-ekur und die mittelassyrische Chronologie", in: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 71, 19–38. Bonatz, Dominik / Bartl, Peter (2008), "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Fekheriye in 2006 and 2007", in: *Chronique Archéologique en Syrie* 3, 175–186.

Bonatz, Dominik / Bartl, Peter / Gilibert, Alessandra / Jauß, Carolin (2008)
"Bericht über die erste und zweite Grabungskampagne in Tell Feḫerīye 2006 und 2007", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 140, 89–135.

Burdon, David J. / Safadi, Chafic (1963)
"The Great Karst Spring of Mesopotamia. An Hydrogeological Study", in: *Journal of Hydrology* 1, 58–95.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva Ch. (1996)
Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Hamad, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Hamad / Dūr-Katlimu 4), Berlin.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva Ch. (1999)
"Nebenlinien des assyrischen Königshauses in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr.", in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26, 210–222.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva Ch. (2000)
"Organisation und Verwaltung von Grenzgebieten in Mittelassyrischer Zeit", in: Lucio Milano / Stefano de Martino / Frederick Mario Fales / Giovanni B. Lanfranchi (eds.), *Landscapes. Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*. Papers presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia, 7–11 July 1997, Part II. Geography and Cultural Landscapes, Padova, 5–8.

Crasso, Daniela (2009)
"The Region of the Upper Euphrates: The Hittite Perspective", in: Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum / Nele Ziegler (eds.), *Entre les fleuves – I. Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 20), Gladbeck, 211–231.

Del Monte, Giuseppe F. (1992)
Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, vol. 6/2: Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B), Wiesbaden.

Dion, Paul-Eugène (1985)
"La bilingue de Tell Fekherye: Le roi de Gozan et son dieu: la phraséologie", in: André Caquot/ Simon Légasse / Michel Tardieu (eds.), *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor*, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 215), Neukirchen-Vluyn, 139–147.

Freydank, Helmut (1991)
Beiträge zur mittelassyrischen Chronologie und Geschichte, Schiften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 21, Berlin.

Freydank, Helmut (2005)
"Zu den Eponymenfolgen des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Dūr-Katlimmu", in: *Altorientalische Forschungen* 32/1, 45–56.

Güterbock, Hans G. (1956)
"The Royal Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II", in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 10, 41–68, 75–98, 107–130.

Jakob, Stefan (2009)
Die mittelassyrischen Texte aus Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien, (Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Bd. 2. Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien), Wiesbaden.

Janisch-Jakob, Daniela I. (2009)
"Die Siegelabrollungen auf den mittelassyrischen Tafeln aus Tell Chuēra", in: Stefan Jakob (ed.), *Die mittelassyrischen Texte aus Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien*, (Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, vol. 2. Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien), Wiesbaden, 185–189.

Kühne, Cord (1973)
Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 17), Kevelaer–Neukirchen-Vluyn.

Kühne, Cord (1999)
"Imperial Mittani: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction", in: David I. Owen / Gernot Wilhelm (eds.), *Nuzi at Seventy-Five*, (Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 10), Bethesda, 203–222.

Kühne, Hartmut (2000)
"Dūr-katlimu and the Middle Assyrian Empire", in: Olivier Rouault / Markus Wäfler (eds.), *La Djéziré et l'Euphrate syriens de la protohistoire à la fin du IIe millénaire av. J.-C.*, (Subartu 7), Turnhout, 271–280.

Liverani, Mario (1988)
"The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Khabur/ Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigma", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 2, 81–98.

Matthews, Donald M. (1990)
Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B.C., (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica 8), Fribourg–Göttingen.

McEwan, Calvin W. / Braidwood, Linda. S / Frankfort, Henri / Güterbock, Hans G. / Haines, Richard G. / Kantor, Helene J. / Kraeling, Carl H. (1958)
Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah. (Oriental Institute Publications 79), Chicago.

Moortgat, Anton (1956)
"Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Grabung auf dem Tell Fecherije 1955", in: *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 6, 39–50.

Moortgat, Anton (1957)
Archäologische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim Stiftung im nördlichen Mesopotamien 1955, Köln-Opladen.

Moortgat, Anton (1959)
Archäologische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung im nördlichen Mesopotamien 1956, Köln-Opladen.

Müller-Kessler, Christa / Kessler, Karl-Heinz (1995)
"Zum Kult des Wettergottes von Guzana", in: Armağan Erkanal / Hayat Erkanal / Halime Hüryılmaz / A. Tuba Ökse / Nazlı Çınardalı / Sevinç Günel / Halil Tekin / Bora Uysal / Deıya Yalçıklı (eds.), *Eski Yakon Doğu Kültürleri Üzerine İncelemeler. In Memoriam İ. Metin Akyurt*, Istanbul, 239–244.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (1997)
Excavation at Tell Brak, vol. 1: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods, (British School of Archaeology in Iraq), Cambridge–London.

Postgate, J. Nicholas (2011)
"Die Stadt Assur und das Land Assur", in: Johannes Renger (Hg.), *Assur – Gott, Stadt und Land*, Colloquium der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 5,Wiesbaden, 87–94.

Pruß, Alexander / Bagdo, 'Abd al-Masih (2002)
"Tell Fecheriye. Bericht über die erste Kampagne der deutsch-syrischen Ausgrabungen 2001", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 134, 311–329.

Radner, Karen (2004)
Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi. Ausgrabungen in Giricano I, (Subartu 14), Turnhout.

Radner, Karen (2006)
"How to reach the Upper Tigris: The Route through the Tūr 'Abdīn", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 15, 273–305.

Reschid, Fawzi (1971)
Texts in the Iraq Museum, vol. 6, Baghdad.

RIMA1: Grayson, A. Kirk (1987)
Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (to 1115 BC), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods, vol. 1, Toronto.

RIMA2: Grayson, A. Kirk (1991)
Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods, vol. 2, Toronto.

Salvini, Miroslavo (2004)
"I documenti cuneiformi della campagna del 2001", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella / Raffaella Pierobon Benoit (eds.), *Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 2001. Relazione preliminare*, Florence, 147–151.

Salvini, Mirjo (2007)
"Kaḫat e la documentazione epigrafica", in: Maria C. Guidotti / Fulvia Lo Schiavo / Raffaella Pierobon Benoit (eds.), *Egeo, Cipro, Siria e Mesopotamia, dal collezionismo allo scavo archeologico, in onore di Paolo Emilio Pecorella*, Florence, 307.

Saporetti, Claudio (1979)
Gli eponimi medio-assiri, (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 9), Malibu.

Tenu, Aline (2009)
L'expansion médio-assyrienne. Approche archéologique, (BAR International Series 1906), Oxford.

Weidner, Ernst (1959–1960)
"Der Kanzler Salmanassars I.", in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 19, 33–39.

Wiggermann, Frans A. M (2006)
"The Seal of Ilī-padâ, Grand Vizier of the Middle Assyrian Empire", in: Paul Taylor (ed.) *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals*, (Warburg Institute Colloquia 9), London, 90–99.

Brian Brown

Settlement Patterns of the Middle Assyrian State: Notes toward an Investigation of State Apparatuses*

0. Introduction

This short paper presents the preliminary results of my research into the settlement patterns of the Middle Assyrian state from approximately 1200 to 1050, a period that sees the state contract from its maximum extent back to the traditional Assyrian heartland centered around the city of Assur. The data presented here derive from two main sources, archaeological surveys in Syria, Iraq, and Turkey over the past several decades and written documents from excavated Late Bronze Age (*ca.* 1600–1200) sites. This project was begun as part of preparations for the Tell Fekheriye Area Survey, which is scheduled to be carried out in the framework of the Freie Universität's excavations at Tell Fekheriye led by Dominik Bonatz.

An investigation of this type raises many questions, such as the nature of the ancient state, the means of power and control at its disposal, and the relationship of state extent with settlement patterning. This article focuses on the presentation of data, touching only briefly upon larger issues, which I deal with in a longer article (Brown 2013). Nevertheless, the time has come for a discussion of exactly what we mean when we talk about the Assyrian 'state' (not to mention any Assyrian 'empire' at this time); this short article will hopefully be a modest contribution to this conversation.

1. The state

The issue of how to define 'the state' has been discussed in great detail in the scholarly literature of the past century. A wide variety of perspectives is available for the general and comparative analysis of polities (see, for example, the contributions in Hay *et al.* 2006).

Many of these viewpoints have been developed by various followers of Max Weber and Karl Marx, with the former focusing on the mechanisms of state control (Hay / Lister 2006) and the latter on the state's function in ensuring the domination of the upper class over subordinate economic classes (Hay 2006). More recent contributions have sometimes synthesized or attempted to bridge the two points of view (Kelly 2000; Hay 2006)

More problematic for our current purposes is the fact that most of this type of theoretical work on the state, aligned more closely with a political science perspective (as opposed to an anthropological one), has been devoted to its modern incarnations, with relatively little attention devoted to the state

* I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dominik Bonatz for organizing the January 2010 conference at which a version of this paper was presented. Bonatz also helped me tremendously during my stay in Berlin during 2008–2009 as a junior fellow with Topoi, whose generous support made the research for this article possible. I would also like to thank Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, Marian Feldman, Catherine Painter Foster, Peter Bartl, Daniela Crasso, and an anonymous reviewer for discussing and/or critiquing versions of this article and/or my thoughts related to it. Any errors in this paper are my own.

in the ancient world (though see contributions such as Feinman / Marcus 1998 and Yoffee 2005). Although it is easy enough to point to some specific features that set ancient states apart from their modern counterparts (e.g., lack of well-defined and policed borders), there are still few in-depth examinations and comparisons between the two. Nevertheless, while there are certainly important differences, the fact that the same term can be used to describe both sets of polities indicates that there should also be significant structural similarities that tie the two together.

Examining these similarities in detail is a task for another time. For the purposes of this paper I'd like to use the 'classic' definition offered by Weber: a state is "a human community that (successfully) claims the *monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory" (Gerth / Mills 1991, 78; emphasis in the original; see also Weber 1978, 54). Weber offers several qualifications of this definition that are important to note. He makes it clear that control over this violence is limited to only a part of the 'human community' making up the state: the "state is a relation of men dominating men [*sic*], a relation supported by legitimate (i.e., considered to be legitimate) violence" (Gerth / Mills 1991, 78). Furthermore, the use of physical force need not be exercised directly by the state or its direct administrative apparatus ('administrative staff' – Gerth / Mills 1991, 80–81) – it may be employed by other agents at the state's pleasure (Gerth / Mills 1991, 78). But states rest on more than violence alone – physical coercion is not the "sole, nor even the most usual, method of administration" within political organizations (Weber 1978, 54), including the state. What makes the state peculiar is the fact that its violence has legitimacy attached to it, a 'right' allowing for its use. Thus, in Weber's basic formulation, three factors are emphasized: violence, not necessarily conspicuous but nevertheless always available and underpinning everything else; territory; and an ideology or ideologies that serve both to permit and restrict the application of the first within the second. This is the general concept attached to my use of 'state' in this brief discussion of the later Middle Assyrian polity.

2. Historical background

Our sources for Assyrian history at this time consist of royal inscriptions (RIMA 1 and 2), found mostly at the capital cities of Assur and Kar-Tukultī-Ninurta, numerous administrative and economic documents found both in the Assyrian heartland and at several sites in Syria and Turkey (Güterbock in McEwan *et al.* 1958; C. Kühne 1995; 1996; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996; Wiggermann 2000; Radner 2004; Röllig 2008; Jakob 2009; for general studies, see Faist 2001; Jakob 2003), and archaeological materials, including architecture, small finds like cylinder seals, some artwork and, above all, the ubiquitous mass-produced and standardized pottery found throughout the region (Pfälzner 1995; 1997; 2007; Duistermaat 2008; Tenu 2009). As is usually the case when integrating textual and archaeological evidence, the data offered by these sources do not always lend themselves to constructing a seamless narrative of the history of the Assyrian state during the 13th century and beyond. Nevertheless, a general outline can be presented.

The standard or consensus history of the Middle Assyrian state may be briefly sketched as follows;[1] it is based largely on the royal inscriptions, with some additions from other written sources. In the reign of Aššur-uballit I (1353–1318)[2], Assyria regained its independence, freeing itself from the control of the

1 Full accounts may be found in Harrak 1987; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2003; van de Mieroop 2007.

2 All dates are BC. Dating follows that of Jakob 2003, 571. For simplicity, I am adopting the lower of the two possible date ranges, which is separated by a gap of ten years from the higher, for Assyrian kings prior to Ninurta-tukul-Aššur (r. 1133).

Mittani state. Then, beginning in the early 13th century, during the reign of Adad-nirari I (1295–1264), Assyria began a period of expansion from its traditional heartland around the city of Assur, taking over large areas of the Mittani state in North Syria, by this point a kingdom dependent upon the Hittite state. This process continued through the reigns of Šalmaneser I (1263–1234), who pushed farther into Syria and finally destroyed the remnants of Mittani, and Tukultī-Ninurta I (1233–1197), who defeated the ruler of Babylon. At its height, the Assyrian state minimally would have extended from the edge of the Zagros mountains in the east to the Balikh River (or, according to some researchers, even to the Euphrates) in the west, and from the upper Tigris basin in the north to the city of Dūr-Katlimmu on the lower Khabur River and Babylonia in the south (fig. 1).

After Tukultī-Ninurta's death, Assyria entered a period of decline, according to the consensus history (see, for example, Wilkinson / Tucker 1995, 58–60; Neumann / Parpola 1987; van de Mieroop 2007). The exact reasons for this are not entirely clear: there is evidence for political uncertainty, climate change (Weiss 1982; Neumann / Parpola 1987) seems to have played a large role, and the severe turmoil that the larger region was undergoing at this time, leading to the destruction of the political powers of the Hittite kingdom and Ugarit, among others, may also be connected.[3] After a period of weakness, Assyria experienced a brief revival under the dynamic leadership of Tiglath-pileser (1114–1076) and possibly Aššur-bēl-kala (1073–1056). Following this brief interlude, the extent of the Assyrian state continued shrinking back to its 'core' area until the late 10th century, when a succession of kings began large-scale military campaigning and started reincorporating areas lost during this 'dark age'. The period from this point onward is usually referred to as the Late or Neo-Assyrian period, which lasts until the destruction of the state between 612–609.

3. Middle Assyrian settlement pattern: the data

Settlement patterns can provide insights into political control through space (see Renfrew / Bahn 2000, 178–182) and thus provide a means of starting a discussion of the power and extent of the Middle Assyrian state. Much new information has been provided in the last two decades through excavation, textual analyses and, above all, surveys carried out in Syria, southeastern Turkey, and the Iraq Jazira. These archaeological and textual data can provide us with a clearer way of conceptualizing the degree and extent of Assyrian control over territory and regions, an issue which has already attracted some debate (e.g., Liverani 1988; Postgate 1992 see discussion in Tenu 2009, 27–31).

Surveys yielding evidence for occupation during the Middle Assyrian period[4] have been carried out in the Lower Khabur (H. Kühne 1974/1977; 1978/1979; 2000), the Balikh valley (Lyon 2000 and refs.),

3 Elements of older explanations invoking the 'Sea Peoples' as a destructive agent in the eastern Mediterranean and the Aḫlamu or Aramaeans throughout the general region, but especially between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and up into southeastern Turkey, still have support, though Neumann and Parpola (1987) make a good case that any conflict between the Assyrians and Aramaean tribes was probably a result and not a cause of regional instability.

4 Most of the surveys carried out since the late 1990s have relied upon Pfälzner's groundbreaking work on Middle Assyrian ceramics, in particular Pfälzner 1995. He has been able to provide an absolute chronology for Middle Assyrian pottery by correlating stratified deposits with dates offered by associated tablets. His chronology (1995, 235–236; 2007, 236–237), adopted here, is as follows (mA= "mittelassyrisch"): mA I – from the mid 13th century/*ca.* 1200; mA IIa – 1200 to *ca.* 1180; mA IIb – 1180–1160; mA IIC – 1160 to 1120; mA III – 1120 to 1050. Thus, mA I pottery corresponds to the height of the Middle Assyrian state (through the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I), while the mA III phase is related to what is usually considered to be a period of 'decline' (see Historical Background, above, and below).

the western upper Khabur basin (see Anastasio 2007 and refs.), the vicinity of Tell Hamoukar (Ur 2002a; 2002b), the Tell Beidar area (Wilkinson 2000), the Iraq Jazirah (Wilkinson / Tucker 1995), the Zammar region in Iraq (Ball 2003), and the upper Tigris basin (Algaze 1989). Some work, with ambiguous results (see below), has also been done in the mid-Euphrates valley (Geyer / Monchambert 2003; see also Tenu 2009, 182–195). Excavation at Shiukh Fawqani, on east bank of the Euphrates River at the Syrian-Turkish border, has also yielded Middle Assyrian pottery (Capet 2005), though the significance of this is also unclear. A few sites have not yet yielded archaeological evidence for Middle Assyrian occupation but can be securely identified on the basis of textual information, such as Harran (probably modern Altinbasik) and Tuttul, probably the same town well-known from Middle Bronze sources (Röllig 1997, 285) located at Tell Bi'ā at the confluence of the Balikh and the Euphrates. Notably absent from the regions in which surveys have been carried out are the Assyrian heartland, in the area of the great cities of Assur and Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, and the eastern part of the upper Khabur basin,[5] an area containing important urban sites and Assyrian administrative centers like Kaḫat (modern Tell Barri) and Amasakku (itself not yet identified).

Based on this information, as well as the textual remains, I have assembled several maps of all the sites known to me that can be counted as having been part of the Middle Assyrian state during the reigns of Šalmaneser I and Tukultī-Ninurta I (i.e., mid- to late-13th century, at the height of Assyrian power)[6] with reasonable certainty (figs. 1–7). No attempt has been made at this point to present these 151 sites in any kind of rank-size hierarchy, but the vast majority of the settlements should be understood as falling within the 'village' category, or less than *ca.* 5 ha in area. Nor have I included any of the Babylonian cities (e.g., Babylon, Dur Kurigalzu), though we should keep in mind the brief (*ca.* 20 years) Assyrian control over southern Mesopotamia in the second half of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta.

Five qualifications must be stated up front. First, by 'reasonable certainty', I mean settlements that meet one of three criteria: are attested in textual sources and whose locations are secure (e.g., Harran), have their own archives linking them to Assyrian political control, or are in the vicinity of such sites and have provided evidence of a connection via the 'official' or 'administrative' pottery (Pfälzner 2007, 257). Second, it must be stressed that the usual caveats apply when relying upon ceramics to provide information on any kind of corporate membership, including in a state (see, for example, Wilkinson / Tucker 1995, 62; Emberling 1997; Pfälzner 1997, 340). Peter Pfälzner believes (2007, 257) that the 'administrative' Assyrian pottery is closely related to the Middle Assyrian political system in the 13th and 12th centuries. However, there are several areas (Shiukh Fawqani on the Euphrates, the mid-Euphrates region, and the upper Tigris) where things may be a little more complex; we should not rule out the possibility that we may see a site (or part of the population thereof) that is culturally Assyrian, but not politically Assyrian. Third, we must also keep the reverse in mind – that there may have been sites not predominantly, or even at all, culturally or ethnically Assyrian, but which were nevertheless part of the Assyrian state system. For example, there is mention of a "dunnu (fortified agricultural settlement) of the Subareans (= Hurrians)" in a text from Tell Sabi Abyad (Wiggermann 2000, 192); Frans Wiggermann points out that they may very well have kept their own traditions, such as pottery manufacture, which would have obvious implications for survey-based evidence (cf. Lyon 2000: 94). With the massive

5 Meijer (1986) focused on this area in the 1980s, but his methodology (grouping the various periods of the Late Bronze Age together) precludes using the results for our purposes here.

6 I am combining the reigns of these two rulers both to simplify the discussion and because the pottery sequence is not fine enough to permit a distinction.

forced movements of people from various regions attested in the Assyrian records of this time (see, for example, Harrak 1987, 251–252), the Sabi Abyad instance is probably not an isolated case. Fourth, from the point of view of data collection, not interpretation, recognition of sites may be reduced by the low visibility and preservation of the ceramics themselves (Wilkinson / Tucker 1995, 59–60), especially before Pfälzner's work, as well as subsequent destruction or covering-over of smaller settlements (Lyon 2000, 100). Finally, no effort has been made at this point to address the 'contemporaneity problem' – that is, not every site assigned to a particular phase will necessarily have been occupied during the entire phase (for discussion, see Dewar 1991; Kintigh 1994).

It is more difficult to trace a similar settlement pattern by the end of the following century, though some general trends can be sketched using the evidence provided by archaeological investigation as well as texts. If we assume that there is a relation between extent of settlement and extent of state power, then the decrease in number of previously inhabited sites indicates that a substantial contraction of state power had occurred over the intervening century. By the mid- to late-12th century, the presence of the Assyrian state in some areas appears to have waned or disappeared entirely, as indicated by destruction of administrative buildings and/or the absence of mA III ceramics. The more westerly regions show this process well. At Tell Chuera, level 3, which contained a monumental building identified as a palace (in which the archive there was found), comes to an end sometime after the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta (see C. Kühne 1995, 206); the cause of its destruction is not clear, though the excavators mention mudbrick debris between it and the subsequent level 2 (Klein 1995, 188) and rule out any kind of conflagration (C. Kühne 1995, 203). The excavated structures of level 2, though built along the same orientation as the palace, appear to have been well-to-do houses rather than any kind of administrative structures (Klein 1995, 186). No texts have been found in this level to date. Though the excavators provide no clear dating proposal, it must date to sometime in the early 12th century. In any event, the change from administrative structure to private houses and the lack of textual remains indicates a change in the function of or activities at the site in the early 12th century. After an unknown amount of time, the structures of level 2 went out of use; the heavily eroded buildings of the succeeding level 1 were apparently constructed according to a different orientation (Klein 1995, 185). Putting a date on the abandonment of the site is difficult, but Pfälzner (2007, 235, n. 73) notes that there is no indication of mA III pottery from the site. This would mean that any Assyrian state presence, at the latest, had ended there by *ca.* 1120, and probably earlier.

A similar dynamic is seen a little farther to the west, at Tell Sabi Abyad. Level 6, the largest and longest-lived level at the site, appears to have been neglected or even abandoned at some point in the early 12th century (Duistermaat 2007, 52, 55 and 124–126). The following level 5, built largely according to the same plan as its predecessor, was short-lived, lasting only until approximately 1180 (a period of around 15 years) before meeting its end in a conflagration (Duistermaat 2007, 53, 124–126). Level 4 marked the beginning of a different type of settlement: the central tower and other administrative buildings were apparently abandoned and very few texts were still being produced here, though, based on the presence of a kiln, pottery still was. The end of this level probably dates to around 1125 (Duistermaat 2007, 56–57, 124–126); the excavators believe that the site was still connected with the central Assyrian administration based on the texts (Duistermaat 2007, 57), though it is difficult to evaluate this claim because the texts have not been published. It is impossible to say with certainty whether the entire Balikh valley fell out of the Assyrian state orbit by this time, though in view of the difficulties of Tell Sabi Abyad, formerly an administrative node in the settlement chain along the river, this is not an unreasonable assumption. In fact, I would go further and suggest that we can generally assume that smaller, village-type settle-

ments in the vicinity of destroyed and/or abandoned administrative nodes were themselves at that point no longer part of the Assyrian state, even if they remained occupied.

It thus appears as if the westernmost sites of the Middle Assyrian system, along the Balikh valley and at Tell Chuera, were no longer a part of it by the mid-late 12th century. A few other major settlements may have gone a similar route. Waššukanni, most likely to be identified with Tell Fekheriye, is no longer mentioned in lists of districts sending *gina'u* (regular offerings) to the central Assur temple after the reign of Ninurta-apil-ekur (*ca.* 1181–1169; Freydank 1997, 51), though mA III pottery probably appears at the site (personal observation, September 2008) and there is no clear destruction of the Middle Assyrian levels there (Szuchman 2007, 67). The evidence from the lower Khabur is a little clearer, though not unequivocal. There are indications that the former 'capital' of Assyrian Ḫanigalbat, Dūr-Katlimmu, may also have met its end by the mid-12th century (but see here H. Kühne 1995, 75; Jakob 2003, 12–13, who sees the city continuing as a district until at least the early 11th century). Room A of Building P, a storage complex that was probably part of the head official's palace there, was initially destroyed by fire shortly after the death of Tukultī-Ninurta; somewhat strangely, it appears to have remained open and been used as a garbage dump, even though the rest of the structure was repaired and reused (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 7–8 and refs.). Building P's final end, also through fire, came in the second third of the 12th century (*ibid.*). Dūr-Katlimmu's satellite settlement, the waystation of Umm Al Aqrebe, also apparently goes out of use by the mid-12th century – at least, no mA III pottery has been found there (see Pfälzner in Bernbeck 1993, 80–81; H. Kühne 1995, 75; cf. H. Kühne 2000, 274; Pfälzner 2007, 233).

At present, the evidence thus indicates that numerous and important settlements within the Middle Assyrian state had been destroyed or abandoned by the late 12th century. A map of the settlement pattern of the Middle Assyrian state *ca.* 1100–1050 might thus omit the sites along the Balikh River, the lower Khabur River, and a large part of north-western Syria (west of Tell Fekheriye) that could be assigned to Assyrian control a century earlier. The process of Assyria's shrinkage back to its core area around the confluence of the Tigris and Zab rivers was already well under way, a process that would only be temporarily halted (if even that) during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I in the late 12th–early 11th centuries.

4. Discussion

The discussion of these data may begin with some general observations about overall trends of Middle Assyrian settlement in northern Syria and southeast Turkey. In many areas in which surveys have been carried out, the total number of sites as well as the total area occupied declined from the preceding Khabur and Mitanni periods into the Middle Assyrian period, leading to a "significant thinning" of settlement with "[s]ubstantial voids of unoccupied land," as Tony Wilkinson and David J. Tucker put it (1995, 59) in the case of settlement pattern changes from the Khabur through the Middle Assyrian periods. This dynamic is seen in the Tell Hawa region (Wilkinson / Tucker 1995, 59–60), the Balikh valley (Lyon 2000, 99–102, fig. 8), the Khabur valley south of Hassaeke (Morandi Bonacossi 1996, 19, n. 13, figs. 4–5), and perhaps the upper Tigris basin (see Roaf / Schachner 2005, 121, Appendices 1 and 2). Only the Tell Hamoukar region presents a possible exception (Ur 2002a, 74–75, figs. 14–15).

Furthermore, Middle Assyrian settlement is largely confined to pre-existing Mittani-period sites, a trend especially apparent at larger settlements (cf. Anastasio 2007, 140–141). To my knowledge, only two new foundations (i.e., not located directly upon a former Mittani site) can be pointed out with certainty.

One is Tell Umm Aqrebe in the Wadi Ajij, east of Tell Sheikh Hamad, which was most likely established to serve the specialized function of a way station on the Dūr-Katlimmu–Assur route (Pfälzner 1995, 224).[7] The second is Tabetu (Tell Taban), on the upper part of the lower Khabur, which appears to have been founded directly on top of an Old Babylonian-period settlement (Numoto 2008, 55). This lack of new foundations points to a larger trend of limited large-scale improvements and, especially, modifications to the landscape throughout the conquered regions. Some important capital projects can be identified, mostly involving administrative and religious buildings. The construction of palaces is attested, archaeologically for example, at Dūr-Katlimmu (Building P: Pfälzner 1995, 106–107) and textually at Taidu (reign of Adad-nirari I; Grayson, in: RIMA1: 128), while Šalmaneser rebuilt the temple of the storm god at Kaḫat (RIMA1 A.0.77.16; Donbaz / Frame 1983), among other projects. In addition, a canal running along the eastern bank of the Khabur may have been excavated at this time (see discussion in Fales 2010, 72–76). But these examples represent the only large-scale, centrally organized construction activities at this time, according to our current sources. The main focus of improvement, instead, was in the central Assyrian area, at the old city of Assur and, by the middle of Tukultī-Ninurta's reign, at the massive Kar-Tukultī-Ninurta across the river, a city of at least 240 ha (Dittmann in Nashef 1992, 310) that was built de novo.

In terms of the overall Middle Assyrian settlement pattern in Syria and southeastern Turkey at the end of the 13th century, there are thus three noteworthy features: a general decrease in settlement in the areas the Assyrians conquered and administered; sites that were occupied tended to be located on older Mittani establishments; and little major infrastructural improvement over the landscape of the conquered territories. New foundations, apart perhaps from small agricultural establishments in direct association with towns or villages, are almost non-existent. There remains, nonetheless, a degree of settlement continuity, a feature of the Late Bronze Age already recognized by Wilkinson and Tucker (1995, 59). This perhaps also implies continuity between the Mittani and Middle Assyrian periods in the economic and administrative networks to which these settlements belonged (cf. Postgate 1982, 311–312; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 26).

The upper Euphrates River valley and the mid-Euphrates region present more complex and equivocal evidence. Excavations at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, near the Syrian-Turkish border (Capet 2005), Tell Fray, on the big bend area of the Euphrates (Pfälzner 1995, 202–204), and the well known site of Mari (Jean-Marie 1999), and survey work along the mid-Euphrates valley (Geyer / Monchambert 2003; Tenu 2006) have yielded some evidence, primarily pottery, of an Assyrian presence. Problems arise, however, when considering these sites and areas as part of the Assyrian state. Pfälzner's concept of the 'administrative' Assyrian pottery derives in part from the fact that it appears in areas known through written sources to have been part of the Assyrian state (e.g., Pfälzner 2007, 232, 257). For none of these locales, though, do we have clear evidence that they were ever incorporated into the Assyrian state (though see Liverani 1988, 89). Claims of Assyrian control to the Euphrates are a common motif of royal inscriptions from the reign of Adad-nirari I onward, but the historicity of these accounts is often dubious. Tukultī-Ninurta reports deporting 28,800 'Hittites' from 'beyond the Euphrates' (see Harrak 1987, 238–239), but he does not mention founding a settlement there (Capet 2005, 387) and, in strong contrast to deportations from other regions, none of these alleged 'Hittite' deportees turn up in the known administrative texts (Harrak 1987, 238–239).

7 Pfälzner (*ibid.*) also notes that Tell Amuda/Kulišinaš may also be a new foundation by the Assyrians.

The one site on the upper Euphrates where 'administrative' pottery has definitely been found, Tell Shiukh Fawqani, lacks any substantial architecture and is clearly, at most, a very brief, transitory focus of activity on the part of the Assyrians (Capet 2005, 379, 387). At Tell Fray, some unpublished Assyrian texts and pottery were excavated, but a bulla of Hattušili III (*ca*. 1267–1237) was also found there (Mackinson 2002/2005, 38–39), casting doubt on whether the site was ever actually brought into the Assyrian system or whether it remained part of the Hittite sphere (or had another status; see Szuchman 2007, 40 and refs.). Aline Tenu (2006) presents a detailed argument that the mid-Euphrates was conquered in the late 13th century by Tukultī-Ninurta and that a line of fortresses erected beginning in the 11th century defended the southern flank of the state. But there is little apart from the pottery to support this, and at most of these sites, the number of Assyrian ceramic forms is often matched by those with better parallels to Kassite materials (Tenu 2006, 225, 233), or even outnumbered, a situation seen at Mari (Pons / Gasche 1996). We simply do not know to which polity these fortifications should be assigned.

At the moment, therefore, I am inclined to view the settlements in the Balikh valley as representing the farthest western extension of the Middle Assyrian state, though the possibility cannot be ruled out that isolated sites were also located a little farther to the west, between the Balikh and Euphrates valleys (Luciani 1999; 2001). To the south the limit would be defined by Dūr-Katlimmu and, for a brief time, the great Babylonian cities after the defeat of Kaštiliašu IV by Tukultī-Ninurta. The upper Tigris valley, centered on the approximately 30 ha city of Tušan, located at modern Ziyaret Tepe (Matney 1999), appears to be the northernmost extent of Assyrian state power. The eastern limit is a little more difficult to establish; it may be that Tell Bazmusian, located at the foothills of the Zagros mountains, was one of the easternmost Assyrian centers of this time (see Anastasio 2007, 94).

Examination of the map of Middle Assyrian settlement also indicates large areas where no sites are to be found, including the steppe zone delineated by Jabal Abdul Aziz in the north, the Euphrates to the west and south, and the Khabur to east, the Tur Abdin (the ancient Kašiari mountains) and the Tigris River valley between Cizre and the Batman Su basin. None of these regions have been surveyed as intensively as areas on the alluvial plain, so the jury must remain out on whether more than a handful of Assyrian sites were ever established there. However, survey work along the stretch of the Tigris north of Cizre has yielded little evidence of settlement (Algaze 1989, 248; Parker 2003, 548; see also Ökse 2008), perhaps due to the rugged topography and the difficulty of navigability in this area (see Radner 2006, 274); the general lack of Assyrian settlement in this area continues into the Late Assyrian period (Parker 2003, 551).

No similar large-scale surveys producing relevant data have, to my knowledge, been carried out in the Tur Abdin and the steppe between the Khabur and the Euphrates, but we nevertheless have indications that these areas were neither 'empty' (cf. Upham 1992) nor ever brought under actual Assyrian control in the Late Bronze Age, despite the claims in royal inscriptions concerning the conquest of the Tur Abdin (see Radner 2006, 283–284 for discussion and refs.). I reserve full discussion and defense of this position (which has important implications for how the Assyrian ruling class exerted political control over such a large area) for my longer article (Brown 2013), but the main reason to exclude these two areas from Assyrian state control is because they were inhabited and largely controlled by populations who were not part of the Assyrian state and whom the Assyrians did not recognize as subjects. In the case of the Tur Abdin, we have written evidence, in the form of internal administrative records, that forces hostile to Assyria, namely remnants of the destroyed Mittani state, actually held the greatest extent of these mountains. Several letters from Dūr-Katlimmu (nos. 3, 4, 7, 8 – Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996) concern military operations on the part of 'enemies' against Assyrian targets in the western upper Kha-

bur area. These enemies, plausibly identified as Hurrians by Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996, 37–38) and thus presumably elements from the old Mitanni state, were capable of simultaneously threatening multiple areas of the Assyrian state, from the Subnat River in the east to the town of Ḫarbe (Tell Chuera) in the west (Letter 4). The Tur Abdin would be an area that best fits the description of such a base of operations for these 'enemies' (though see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 38). Thus, this mountainous area appears to have remained outside of Assyrian control, despite the claims of the royal sources.

The steppe region between the Balikh and Khabur rivers presents a similar case, though one characterized by a very different dynamic vis-à-vis the Assyrian state. Though relatively inhospitable, this too was no 'empty space'; rather, it was populated primarily by semi-nomadic pastoralists organized into various tribes known in part to the Assyrians as 'Suteans' (see Szuchman 2007 for discussion and refs.). While the Suteans are often treated as having been part of the Assyrian state system or at least as recognizing the ultimate suzerainty of the Assyrian crown (see, for example, Postgate 1981, 52; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 38–40), there are other indications that the Assyrians themselves did not see the Suteans as part of their state. From the point of view of the economy, goods (usually livestock) purchased from Suteans were subject to what could be compared to a 'customs tax' (see Postgate 1981, 51; Faist 2001, 191; Dercksen 2003, 542–543; Jakob 2003, 170–171, n. 10, 12). From a more 'political' point of view, a document from Tell Sabi Abyad (T04–37) records a regional magnate signing a formal treaty with notables from a Sutean tribe to the effect that the Suteans would not aid the enemies of Assyria (Duistermaat 2007, 380; Szuchman 2007, 41).[8] Based on this evidence, I suggest that there is little reason to believe that the Suteans, and the land they controlled, were ever part of the Assyrian state (or to think, as Duistermaat [2007, 259–260] states it, that they were some 'other' people who happened to live in Assyrian 'provinces').

At this point we can reconsider how we model or represent the extent of the Assyrian state – that is, how we map it. In general, maps of the Assyrian polity sometimes appear to take the maximum extent of reported military action as the baseline for its borders (see, for example, Anastasio 2007, fig. 5).[9] But I would argue that such a representation is a too-modern view of the ancient reality (see Smith 2005, 837). We must be careful to distinguish between state control, as defined above, and the limits of military action and related phenomena, such as deportations. As Michael Mann points out (Mann 1986, 9–10, 142), networks of military power always extend farther outwards from a center of power than any political networks. I suggest that settlement patterns be used as the beginning point of a discussion of Assyrian state power and of a cartographic representation of the polity, rather than to simply fill in space on a map generated largely on the basis of royal propaganda.

Archaeological research by various scholars at the Oriental Institute indicates that the residents of a medium- to large-sized tell in the third and second millennia would have normally cultivated fields up to about 5 km distance (Wilkinson 2007). Wiggermann's analysis of the Sabi Abyad texts and the results of the Balikh valley survey (2000, 183–185) indicates a similarly sized 'catchment area' (including pastur-

8 Some Sutean notables are also recorded (T93–3) as having been the guests of honor of an official at Tell Sabi Abyad (Duistermaat 2007, 380); in other instances, they appear to have served in some capacity as informants for the Assyrians – see Szuchman 2007, 114.

9 That these kinds of representations of the ancient state can and do influence interpretation may be seen in Jakob's surprise (2003, 172) that tax on a horse imported from Nairi was only assessed in the town of Karana and not at the 'border' – as if the Assyrian 'border' would have been as well-delineated as a modern one and manned by officials inspecting goods coming in and out. This episode, in fact, illustrates two important features of the Middle Assyrian state: local-based networks of knowledge, and town-based – or more accurately, cultivated-area-based – political control, with large and sometimes porous spaces between interstices.

age for animals), within a 3.5–4 km radius from the Tell. In addition, the study of Andreas Schachner and Karen Radner for the Giricano area in the upper Tigris (Radner 2004, 118–119) yields results between those of Wilkinson and Wiggermann. These limits of agricultural cultivation would have been the areas most subject to intensive state control.

But we should allow for Assyrian soldiers to move outward from these settlements to enforce the central authority's will in the adjacent areas. In theory, an army, carrying its own provisions but without a substantial number of pack animals, might be able to march for about three days (see the discussion of Mann 1986, 138–141). With a movement rate of about 25 km per day (*ibid.*), we might envision Assyrian state control extending outwards about 75 km from settled areas. But in practice in the Middle Assyrian period, a number of factors argue against even such a modest extension of state control. I have argued above that at least some of such spaces were under the control of people outside of the Assyrian state. In addition, there appears to have been chronic shortages of labor in the western areas (cf. Jakob 2003, 33). Taking these considerations into account, it is difficult to see Assyrian state control in the west and north intensively exercised much farther than the limits of cultivation.

An examination of the survey results from the Iraqi and Syrian Jazirahs indicates that, despite the thinning of settlement that Wilkinson and Tucker found, sites were still relatively dense in these areas, located about 5–6 km from each other and sometimes as close as 1 km.[10] Anastasio's analysis indicates a somewhat more dispersed settlement pattern in the western upper Khabur region. In these areas, as well as the Assyrian heartland, we can postulate a dense, extensive territorial coverage at the end of the 13th century. It is difficult to generalize this dynamic, though: as the work in the Zammar region along the Tigris north of Nineveh demonstrates (Ball 2003, 15–16), settlement may have been sparse even in fertile areas not too far away from major Assyrian centers. In contrast to the expressions of extensive 'territorial' control in northern Iraq, the Syrian Jazirah and, to a lesser extent, the western upper Khabur, the settlements in the Balikh and Khabur valleys appear confined to the river basins, chains of sites connected by their respective waterways, while the upper Tigris centers form a small island, not contiguous with the rest of the state. The map in fig. 8 shows this view of the physical extension of the Assyrian state *ca.* 1210, while fig. 9 models the state a century later. In both cases, the shaded areas should not be understood as indicating actual borders, but rather the maximum area in which the Assyrian authorities were able to exercise intensive state power.

5. Conclusion

The Assyrians were able to expand their state over an extensive geographic area but, to employ Mann's terminology, its institutionalized political and economic power could only be expressed intensively in limited areas: territorially over a region that comprised the Assyrian core, the Iraqi Jazirah, and perhaps the upper Khabur basin, but elsewhere only in corridors defined by natural communication routes (rivers) or in isolated towns and their dependent *dunnus* and villages. The extensive form of their political power was indeed extensive – more so than any state that had existed in the Near East up to that point – and the points within it provided staging places for the projection of military power farther outwards, a dynamic that Mario Liverani (1988) identified over two decades ago. But this extensiveness

10 Note again, however, the issue of contemporaneity mentioned earlier.

came at a price, whereby only a relatively small area could be intensively controlled (i.e., put under state control).

It should be stressed that even this 'minimal' view of the extent of the Assyrian state does not capture the tenuousness of control in some areas indicated by both the texts and archaeology. Ḫarbe (Tell Chuera) and the surrounding area appear as the target of attack by hostile forces in several letters from Tell Sheikh Hamad (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, letters 4 and 6); letters 3 and 22 indicate problems with securing enough soldiers for adequate defense measures as well as popular unrest in the conquered areas. At Tell Sabi Abyad, the first and largest Assyrian settlement there (represented by level 6) lasted only about 30 years (*ca.* 1225–1197), apparently being abandoned at about the time Tukultī-Ninurta was assassinated (Duistermaat 2007, 52, 124). Level 5 began shortly thereafter and lasted until *ca.* 1180, at which time it was destroyed by a violent fire, while level 4, lasting perhaps until *ca.* 1125, contained the ruined structures of the preceding settlement (Duistermaat 2007, 53, 124). Thus, settlements, and potentially even large areas, could have fallen out of the Assyrian system, then been reincorporated before any major changes to the material culture would have become apparent.

I will discuss some of the exact mechanics of Assyrian control in Brown 2013. For now, I conclude by saying that as more research, both archaeological and textual, is carried out, this picture is sure to change in details. But the main points – limited extensive territorial control, large and sometimes porous areas between nodes of settlement, nearby adjacent areas that were never part of the state, and discontiguous territory (cf. Smith 2005) – constitute some of the standard features of the ancient state, including the Assyrian polity in the Middle Assyrian period.

Bibliography

Algaze, Guillermo (1989)
"A New Frontier: First Results of the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, 1988", in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48/4, 241–281.

Anastasio, Stefano (2007)
Das obere Habur-Tal in der Jazira zwischen dem 13. und 5. Jh. v. Chr. Die Keramik des Projektes "Prospection archéologique du Haut-Khabur occidental (Syrie du N.E.)", Florence.

Ball, Warwick (2003)
"The Settlement Sequence of the Zammar Region: An Overview", in: Warwick Ball (ed.), *Ancient Settlement in the Zammar Region: Excavations by the British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq in the Saddam Dam Salvage Project, 1985–86,* (BAR 1096), Oxford, 9–20.

Bernbeck, Reinhard (1993)
Steppe als Kulturlandschaft. Das 'Agig-Gebiet vom Neolithikum bis zur islamischen Zeit, (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 41), Berlin.

Brown, Brian (2013)
"The Structure and Decline of the Middle Assyrian State: The Role of Autonomons and Nonstate Actors", in: Journal of Cuneiform Studies CS, 97–126.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva (1996)
Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Sheḫ Hamad, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Hamad/Dūr-Katlimu 4), Berlin.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva (2003)
Die Assyrer. Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Munich.

Capet, Emmanuelle (2005)
"Les installations de la fin du Bronze récent et du début du Fer", in: Luc Bachelot / Frederick Mario Fales (eds.), *Tell Shiukh Fawqani 1994–1998,* Padova, 379–410.

Dercksen, Jan Gerrit (2003)
Untitled [Review of Faist 2001], in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46/4, 540–543.

Dewar, Robert E. (1991)
"Incorporating Variation in Occupation Span into Settlement-Pattern Analysis", in: *American Antiquity* 56/4, 604–620.

Donbaz, Veysel / Frame, Grant (1983)
"The Building Activities of Shalmaneser I in Northern Mesopotamia", in: *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 1, 1–5.

Duistermaat, Kim (2007)
The Pots and Potters of Assyria: Technology and Organisation of Production, Ceramic Sequence and Vessel Function at Late Bronze Age Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden.

Duistermaat, Kim (2008)
The Pots and Potters of Assyria: Technology and Organisation of Production, Ceramic Sequence and Vessel Function at Late Bronze Age Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria, (Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities 4), Turnhout.

Emberling, Geoff (1997)
"Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives", in: *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5/4, 295–344.

Faist, Betina (2001)
Der Fernhandel des assyrischen Reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11. Jh. v.Chr., (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 265), Neukirchen-Vluyn.

Fales, Frederick Mario (2010)
"Production and Consumption at Dur-Katlimmu: A Survey of the Evidence", in: Hartmut Kühne (ed.), *Dur-Katlimmu 2008 and Beyond*, Wiesbaden, 67–85.

Feinman, Gary M. / Marcus, Joyce (eds.) (1998)
Archaic States, Santa Fe.

Freydank, Helmut (1997)
"Mittelassyrische Opferlisten aus Assur", in: Hartmut Waetzoldt / Harald Hauptmann (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten*. XXXIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6.–10. Juli 1992, (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient, 6), Heidelberg, 47–52.

Gerth, Hans Heinrich / Mills, Charles Wright (eds.) (1991)
From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, New York.

Geyer, Bernard / Monchambert, Jean-Yves (2003)
La basse vallée de l'Euphrate syrien du néolithique à l'avènement de l'Islam: géographie, archéologie et histoire, Beirut.

Harrak, Amir (1987)
Assyria and Hanigalbat: A Historical Reconstruction of Bilateral Relations from the Middle of the Fourteenth to the End of the Twelfth Centuries B.C., (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik, Band 4), Hildesheim–Zürich–New York.

Hay, Colin (2006)
"(What's Marxist about) Marxist State Theory?", in: Colin Hay / Michael Lister / David Marsh (eds.), *The State: Theories and Issues*, New York, 59–78.

Hay, Colin / Lister, Michael / Marsh, David (eds.) (2006)
The State: Theories and Issues, New York.

Hay, Colin / Lister, Michael (2006)
"Introduction: Theories of the State", in: Colin Hay / Michael Lister / David Marsh (eds.), *The State: Theories and Issues*, New York, 1–20.

Jakob, Stefan (2003)
Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur: Untersuchungen, Leiden.

Jakob, Stefan (2009)
Die mittelassyrischen Texte aus Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien, Wiesbaden.

Jean-Marie, Marylou (1999)
Tombes et nécropoles de Mari, BAH CLIII, Beirut.

Kelly, Duncan (2000)
"Between Description and Explanation in State Theory: Rethinking Marx and Weber", in: *The Journal of Historical Sociology* 13/2, 190–214.

Kintigh, Keith W. (1994)
"Contending with Contemporaneity in Settlement-Pattern Studies", in: *American Antiquity* 59/1, 143–148.

Klein, Harald (1995)
"Die Grabung in der mittelassyrischen Siedlung", in: Winfried Orthmann / Harald Klein / Ralph Hempelmann (eds.), *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien I: Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagnen 1986 bis 1992,* Saarbrücken, 185–195.

Kühne, Cord (1995)
"Ein mittelassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschrifttexte", in: Winfried Orthmann / Harald Klein / Ralph Hempelmann (eds.), *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien I: Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagnen 1986 bis 1992,* Saarbrücken, 203–225.

Kühne, Cord (1996)
"Aspects of the Middle Assyrian Harbu Archive", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 10/2, 3–7.

Kühne, Hartmut (1974/1977)
"Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Habur. Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung", in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 25, 249–255.

Kühne, Hartmut (1978/1979)
"Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Habur. Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung" in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 26, 181–195.

Kühne, Hartmut (1995)
"The Assyrians on the Middle Euphrates and the Habur", in: Mario Liverani, (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography,* Rome, 69–85.

Kühne, Hartmut (2000)
"Dur-Katlimmu and the Middle Assyrian Empire", in: Oliver Rouault / Markus Wäfler (eds.), *La Djezire et l'Euphrate syriens de la protohistoire à la fin du IIe millénaire av. J.-C.,* (Subartu 7), Turnhout, 271–279.

Liverani, Mario (1988)
"The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur/ Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigm", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 2/2, 81–98.

Luciani, Marta (1999)
"On Assyrian frontiers and the Middle Euphrates", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 13, 87–114.

Luciani, Marta (2001)
"Where was Dunni-Aššur? Some reflections on DeZ 3281 and Middle-Assyrian toponymy", in: *NABU* 1, 1–3.

Lyon, Jerry (2000)
"Middle Assyrian Expansion and Settlement Development in the Syrian Jazira: The View from the Balikh Valley", in: Remko M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia,* Leiden, 89–126.

Mackinson, Martin (2002/05)
"Musru, Masuwari and MSR: From Middle Assyrian Frontier to Iron Age City", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 14, 33–62.

McEwan, Calvin W. / Braidwood, Linda S. / Frankfort, Henri / Güterbock, Hans G. / Haines, Richard G. / Kantor, Helene J. / Kraeling, Carl H. (1958)
Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah. (Oriental Institute Publications 79), Chicago.

Mann, Michael (1986)
The sources of social power. Volume I: A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760, Cambridge.

Matney, Timothy (1999)
"Preliminary Report on Survey at Ziyaret Tepe (Diyarbakır Province), 1997", in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 16/2, 255–266.

Meijer, Diederick (1986)
A Survey in Northeastern Syria, Istanbul.

Mieroop, Marc van de (2007)
A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000–323 B.C., Malden.

Morandi Bonacossi, Daniele (1996)
"'Landscapes of Power': The Political Organisation of Space in the Lower Habur Valley in the Neo-Asyrian Period", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 10/2, 15–49.

Nashef, Khaled (1992)
"Archaeology in Iraq", in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 96/2, 301–323.

Neumann, Jehuda / Parpola, Simo (1987)
"Climatic Change and the Eleventh-Tenth-Century Eclipse of Assyria and Babylonia", in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46/3, 161–182.

Numoto, Hirotoshi (2008)
"Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (5): Preliminary Report of the 2005 Summer Season of Work", in: Hirotoshi Numoto (ed.), *Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria: Preliminary Reports on the 2005 and 2006 Seasons of Excavations, and the Study of Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian Texts,* Tokyo, 45–106.

Ökse, A. Tuba (2008)
"Archaeology affected by the Ilısu Dam in Turkey", in: *Antiquity* 82/317.

Parker, Bradley (2003)
"Archaeological Manifestations of Empire: Assyria's Imprint on Southeastern Anatolia", in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 107/4, 525–557.

Pfälzner, Peter (1995)
Mittanische und mittelassyrische Keramik: Eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Schekh Hamad/Dur-Katlimmu 3), Berlin.

Pfälzner, Peter (1997)
"Keramikproduktion und Provinzverwaltung im mittelassyrischen Reich", in: Hartmut Waetzoldt / Harald Hauptmann (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten.* XXXIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6.–10. Juli 1992, (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 6), Heidelberg, 337–345.

Pfälzner, Peter (2007)
"The Late Bronze Age Ceramic Traditions of the Syrian Jazirah", in: Michel al-Maqdissi / Valerie Matoïan / Christophe Nicolle (eds.), *Céramique del l'Âge du Bronze en Syrie, II* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 180), Beirut, 231–291.

Pons, N. / Gasche, Herman (1996)
"Du cassite à Mari", in: Herman Gasche / Barthel Hrouda (eds.), *Collectanea orientalia: Histoire, arts de l'espace et industrie de la terre: Études offertes en hommage à Agnes Spycket,* Neuchâtel, 287–298.

Postgate, J. Nicholas (1981)
"Nomads and Sedentaries in the Middle Assyrian Sources", in: J. Silva Castillo (ed.), *Nomads and Sedentary Peoples,* Mexico City, 47–56.

Postgate, J. Nicholas (1982)
"Ilku and Land Tenure in the Middle Assyrian Kingdom – A Second Attempt", in: Mohammed A. Dandamayev / Nichola J. Postgate / Mogens Trolle Larsen (eds.), *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff,* Warminster, 304–313.

Postgate, J. Nicholas (1992)
"The Land of Assur and the yoke of Assur", in: *World Archaeology* 23/3, 247–263.

Radner, Karen (2004)
Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-Ša-Uzibi, (Subartu 14), Turnhout.

Radner, Karen (2006)
"How to Reach the Upper Tigris: The Route Through the Tur 'Abdin", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 15, 273–305.

Renfrew, Colin / Bahn, Paul (2000)
Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice, London.

RIMA1: Grayson, A. Kirk (1987)
Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC), Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1, Toronto.

RIMA2: Grayson, A. Kirk (1991)
Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC 1. (1114–859 BC), Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2, Toronto.

Roaf, Michael / Schachner, Andreas (2005)
"The Bronze Age to Iron Age Transition in the Upper Tigris Region: New Information from Ziyaret Tepe and Giricano", in Altan Çilingiroğlu / Gareth Darbyshire, (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 5.* Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Van, 6–10 August 2001, London, 115–123.

Röllig, Wolfgang (1997)
"Aspects of the Historical Geography of Northeastern Syria from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian Times", in: Simo Parpola / Robert Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995,* Helsinki, 281–293.

Röllig, Wolfgang (2008)
Land- und Viehwirtschaft am Unteren Habur in mittelassyrischer Zeit, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Schekh Hamad/Dur-Katlimmu 9), Wiesbaden.

Smith, Monica (2005)
"Networks, Territories, and the Cartography of Ancient States", in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95/4, 832–849.

Szuchman, Jeffrey (2007)
Prelude to Empire: Middle Assyrian Hanigalbat and the Rise of the Aramaeans, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Tenu, Aline (2006)
"Le moyen Euphrate à l'époque médio-assyrienne", in: Christine Kepinski / Olivier Lecomte / Aline Tenu (eds.), *Studia Euphratica: Le moyen Euphrate iraquien révélé par les fouilles préventives de Haditha,* Paris, 217–245.

Tenu, Aline (2009)
L'expansion médio-assyrienne. Approche archéologique, (BAR International Series 1906), Oxford.

Upham, Steadman (1992)
"Interaction and Isolation: The Empty Spaces in Panregional and Economic Systems", in: Edward Schortman / Patricia Urban (eds.), *Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction,* New York, 139–152.

Ur, Jason (2002a)
"Settlement and Landscape in Northern Mesopotamia: The Tell Hamoukar Survey 2000–2001", in: *Akkadica* 123, 57–88.

Ur, Jason (2002b)
"Surface Collection and Offsite Studies at Tell Hamoukar, 1999", in: *Iraq* 64, 15–43.

Weber, Max (1978)
Economy and Society, Berkeley.

Weiss, Barry (1982)
"The decline of Late Bronze Age civilization as a possible response to climatic change", in: *Climatic Change* 4/2, 173–198.

Wiggermann, Frans (2000)
"Agriculture in the Northern Balikh Valley: The Case of Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad", in: Remko M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia,* Leiden, 171–231.

Wilkinson, Tony (2000)
"Archaeological Survey of the Tell Beydar Region, Syria, 1997: A Preliminary Report", in: Karel van Lerberghe / Gabriella Voet (eds.), *Tell Baydar: Environmental and Technical Studies,* (Subartu 6), Turnhout, 1–37.

Wilkinson, Tony (2007)
"Remote Sensing and Geographical Information Systems: 1999–2000 Annual Report", Web Report,

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, URL: <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/ar/99–00/jazira.html> (accessed 2009–18–06).

Wilkinson, Tony / Tucker, David J. (1995)
Settlement Development in the North Jazira, Iraq: A Study of the Archaeological Landscape, Baghdad.

Yoffee, Norman (2005)
Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations, Cambridge.

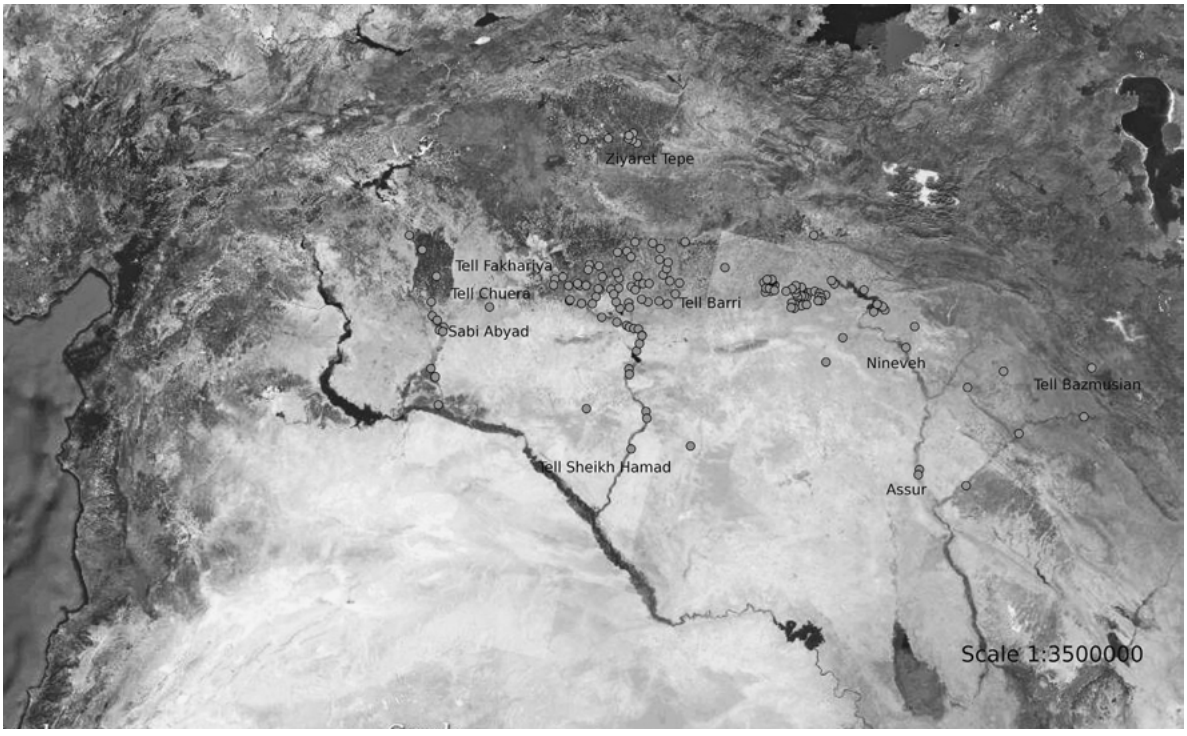


Fig. 1 | Overview of the Near East with identified Middle Assyrian sites. All maps in this article were created by the author using Quantum GIS (version 1.6.0, *Copiapo*) and the Google Layers plug-in.

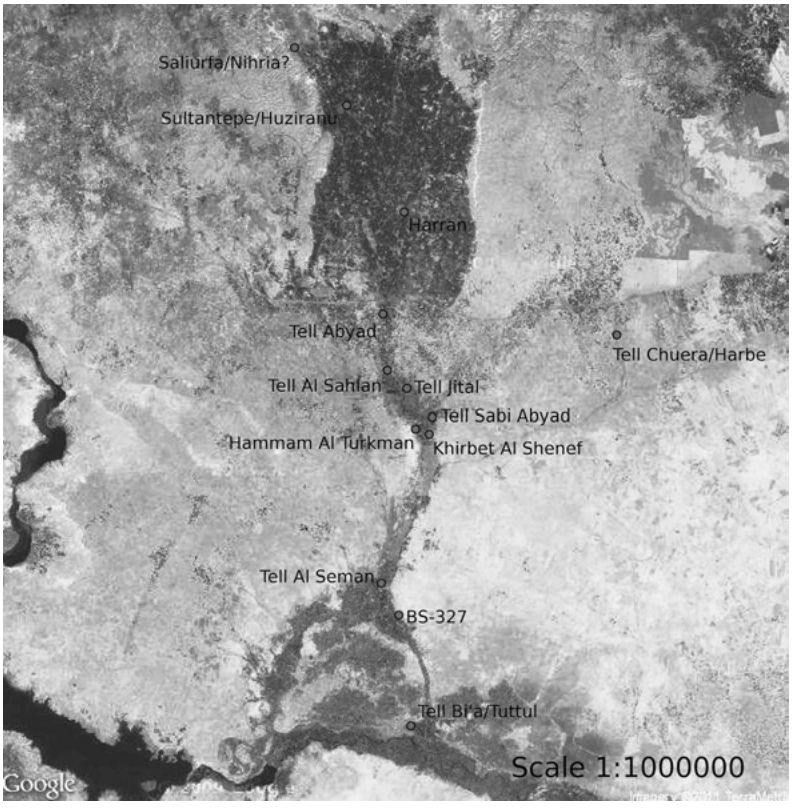


Fig. 2 | Balikh valley area (based on Lyon 2000).

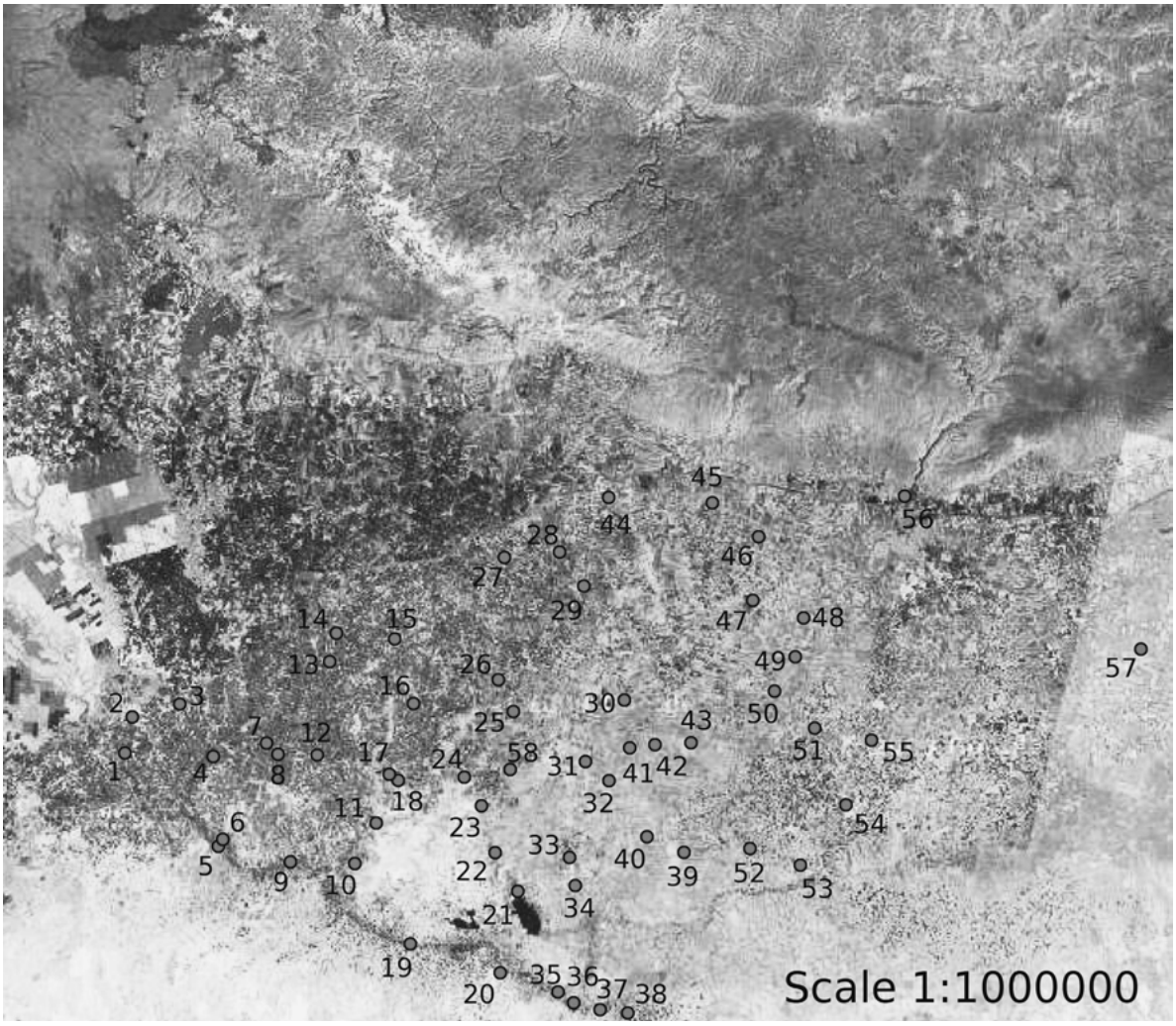


Fig. 3 | Upper Khabur River basin area. Sites (based on Anastasio 2007):

1: Tell Qattina
2: Tell Fekheriye
3: Tell Aluq Sharqi (?)
4: Tell Jamous
5: Tell Jash
6: Tell Umm Assafir
7: Tell Dawdiya
8: Tell Barair Kabir
9: Tell Ourhafa
10: Tell Ashnane Sharqi
11: Ain Al Abd
12: Tell Al Ward Sharqi
13: Tell Harmal
14: Tell Arada
15: Tell Dabash
16: Tell Al Hour Rarbi
17: Tell Bugaz
18: Tell Razal Tahtani
19: Tell Rommane
20: Tell Majdel
21: Tell Abu Hujaira 3
22: Tell Jamil
23: Tell Beidar
24: Tell Hassek
25: Tell Hanua
26: Tell Dibak
27: Tell Kdih
28: Tell Qattine
29: Tell Baqar
30: Tell Julama Tahtani
31: Tell Effendi
32: Tell Bati
33: Tell Berguil Bowz
34: Tell Aswad Tahtani
35: Tell Mujarja
36: Tell Gara
37: Tell Raghman
38: Hassaka/Magrisi
39: Tell Nurek
40: Tell Atah
41: Tell Fatme
42: Tell Awquir Fawqani
43: Tell Farho
44: Ain Al Qard
45: Tell Amuda/Kulišinaš
46: Tell Mozan
47: Tell Hil Wirhane
48: Tell Ahmar
49: Tell Gwor Dyane
50: Tell Arbid
51: Tell Guire Zil Kabir
52: Tell Kurdis
53: Tell Brak
54: Tell Barri/Kahat
55: Tell Hamidiye/Taidu
56: Girnavaz/Nabula
57: Tell Mohammed Diyab
58: Tell Hatun.

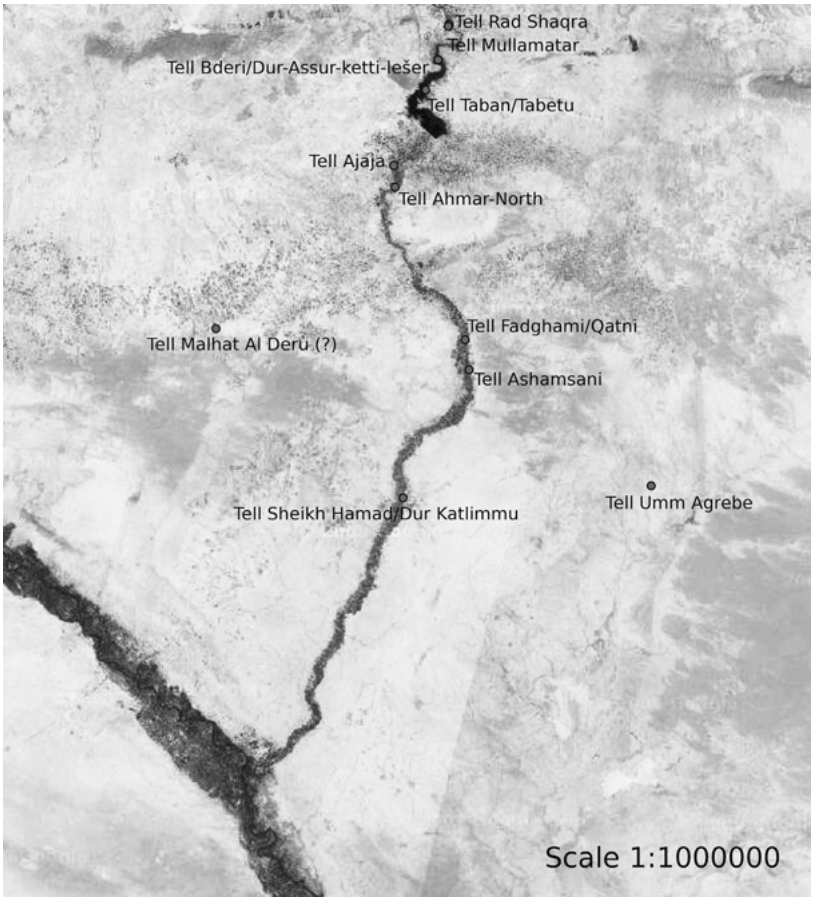


Fig. 4 | Lower Khabur area (based on Kühne 1974/1977, 1978/1979, 2000 and Morandi Bonacossi 1996).

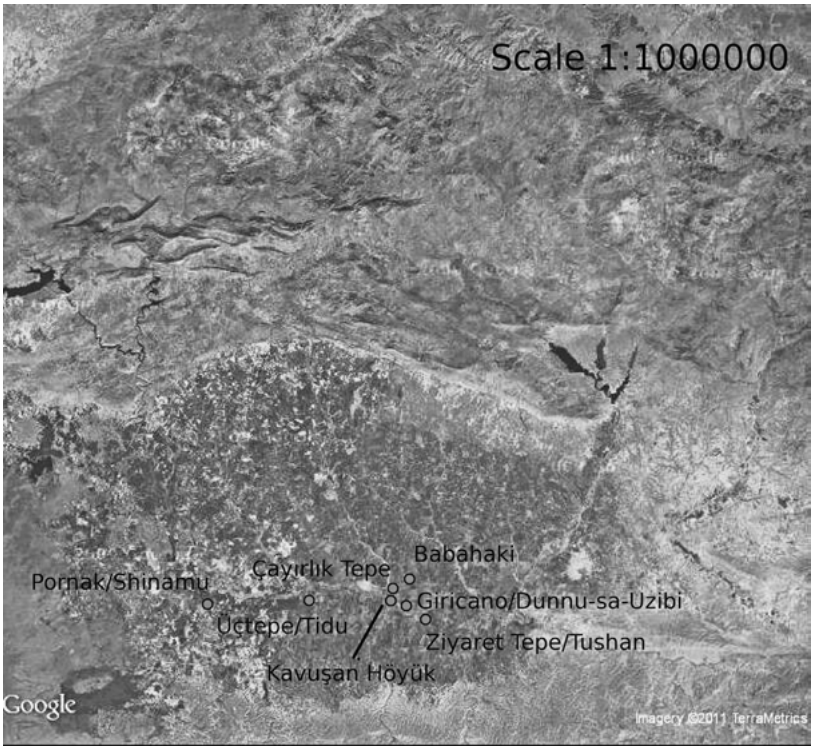


Fig. 5 | Upper Tigris area (based on Algaze 1989 and Roaf / Schachner 2005).

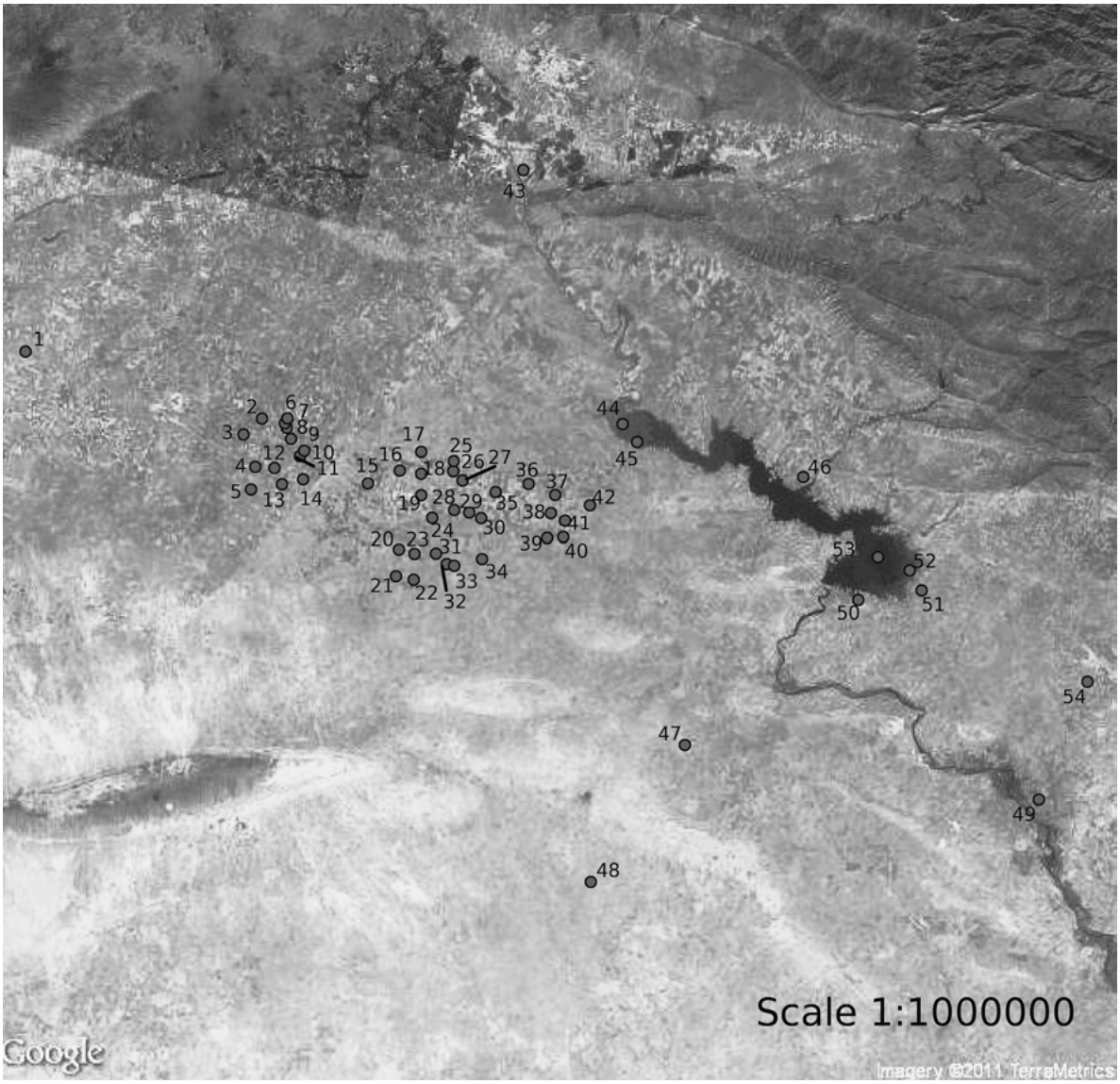


Fig. 6 | Syrian and Iraqi Jazirah areas. Sites (based on Wilkinson / Tucker 1995; Röllig 1997; Ur 2002a; 2002b; Ball 2003); THS stands for Tell Hamoukar Survey:

1: Tell Mohammed Diyab
2: THS 52 + 53
3: Tell Tamr (THS 55 + 4)
4: Nasiriya (THS 48)
5: Tell Naur (THS 59)
6: THS 9
7: THS 10
8: THS 27
9: Tell Al Sara (THS 8)
10: Khirbet Al Trob (THS 40)
11: Khirbet Al Abd (THS 16)
12: THS 42
13: Umm Adham (THS 44)
14: THS
60 15: Hawa 157
16: Hawa 160
17: Hawa 155
18: Hawa 131
19: Hawa 126
20: Hawa 140
21: Hawa 138
22: Hawa 99
23: Hawa 108
24: Hawa 105
25: Hawa 73
26: Hawa 30
27: Hawa 29
28: Hawa 71
29: Hawa 19
30: Hawa 20
31: Hawa 110
32: Hawa 121
33: Hawa 115
34: Hawa 69
35: Tell Hawa
36: Hawa 10
37: Hawa 37
38: Hawa 42
39: Hawa 45
40: Hawa 51
41: Hawa 48
42: Kharaba Tibn
43: Basorin
44: Tell Durdara
45: Khirbet Karhasan
46: Nemrik
47: Tell Abu Mariya/Apqu
48: Tell Al Rimah/Karana
49: Nineveh
50: Tell Mohammed Arab
51: Hatara
52: Tell Anza
53: Tell Jikan
54: Tell Billa/Shibaniba.

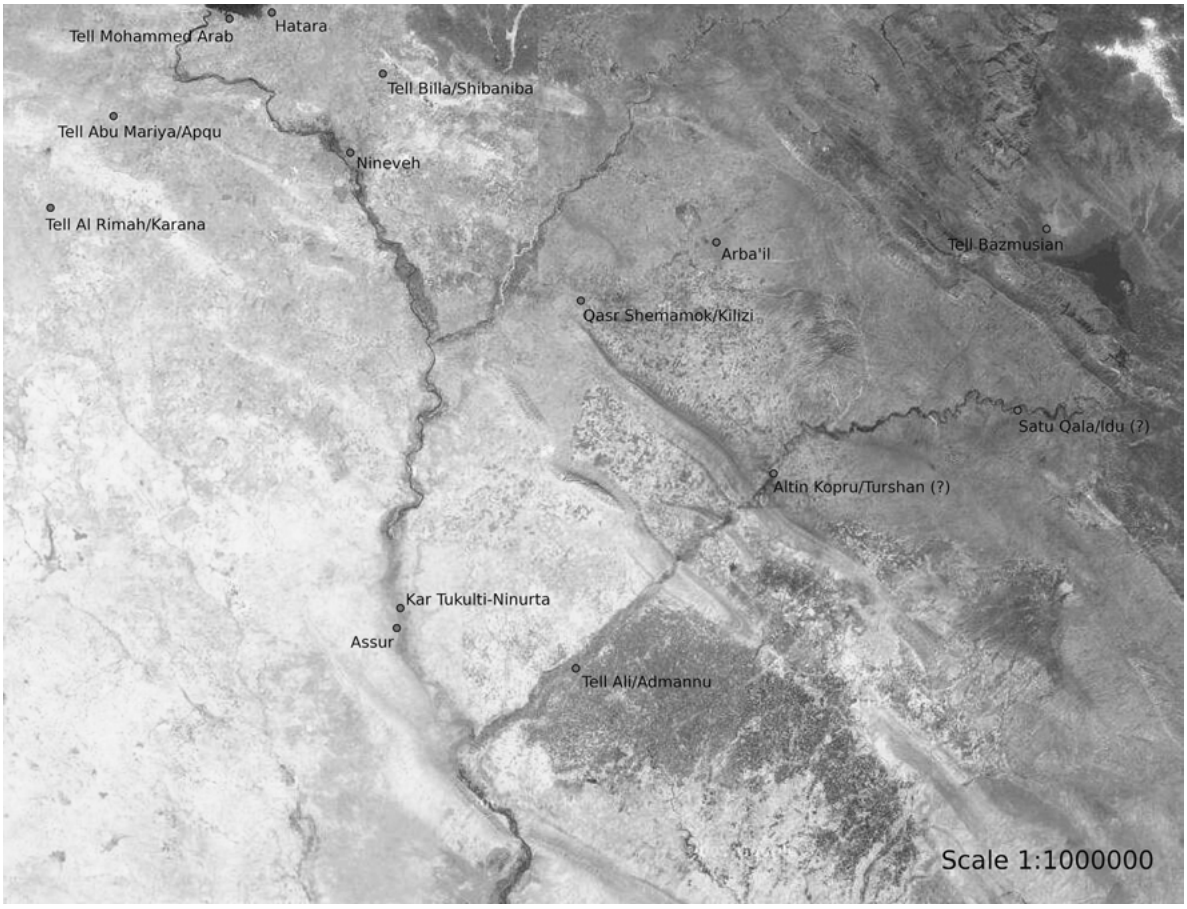


Fig. 7 | Assyrian heartland.

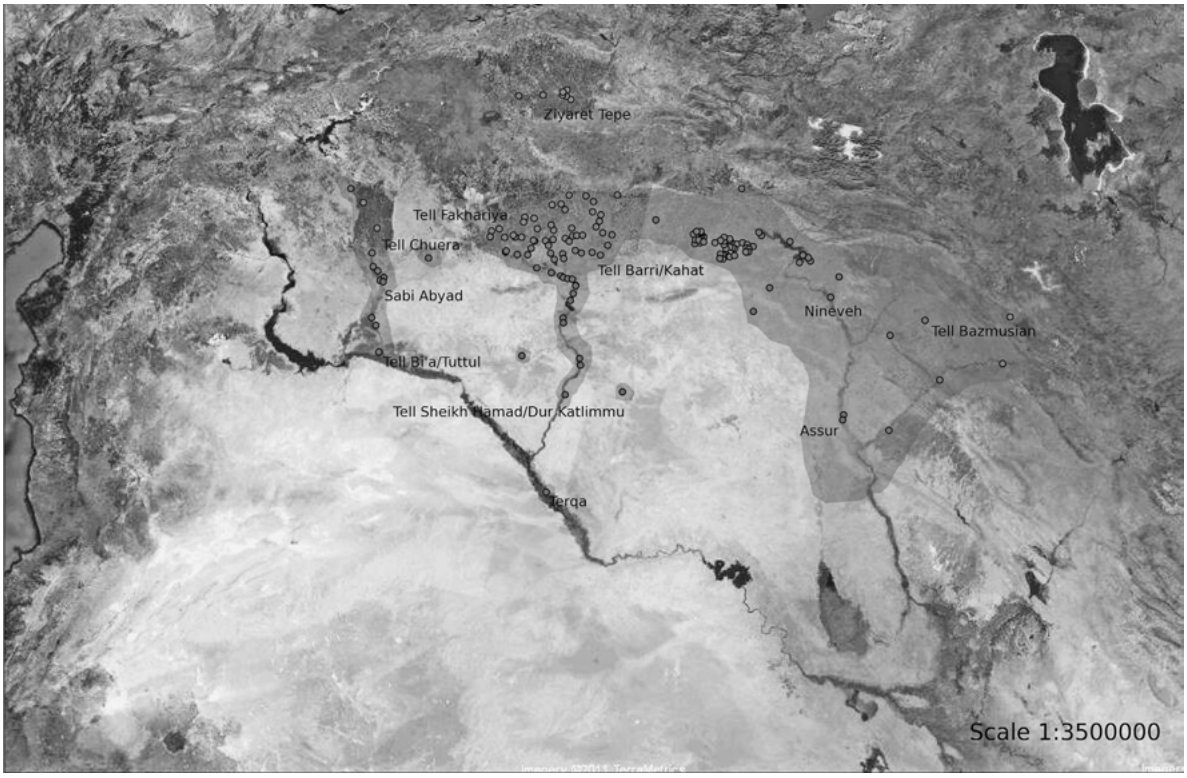


Fig. 8 | Maximum extent of the Assyrian state, end of the 13th century.

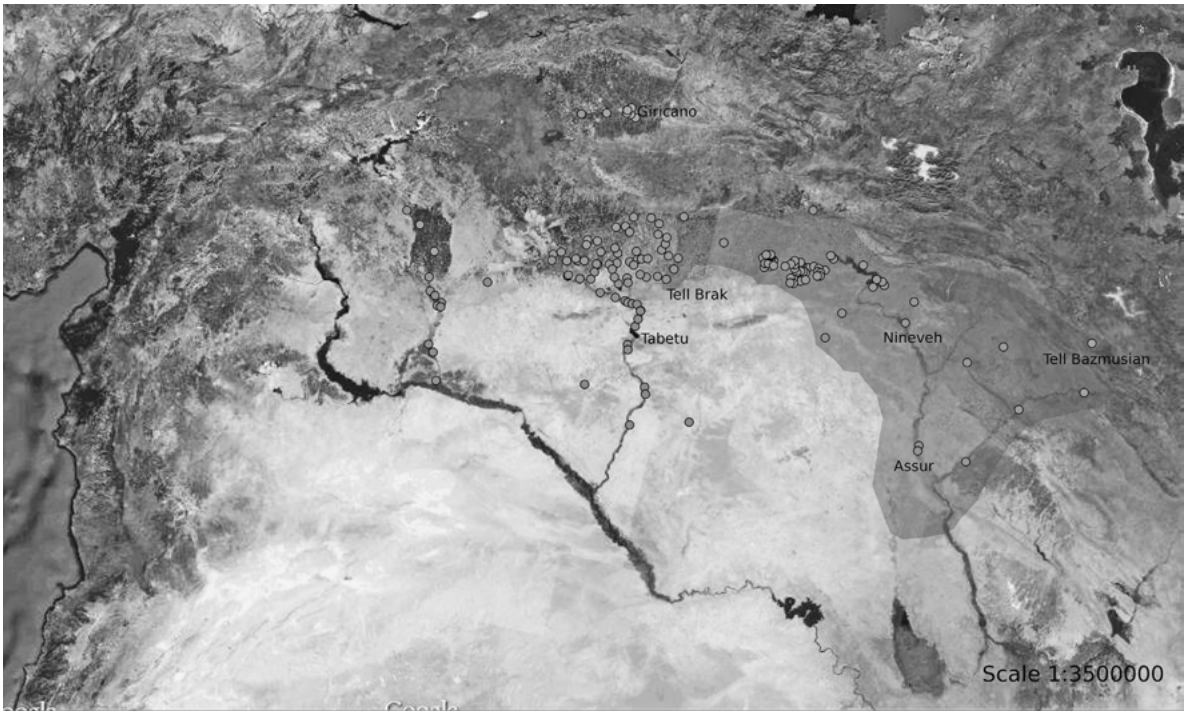


Fig. 9 | Maximum extent of the Assyrian state, end of the 12th century.

Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum

From Text to Tell: Governance and the Geography of Political Space according to Middle Assyrian Administrative Documents[1]

"Space is both
the medium and the message
of domination and subordination"[2]

0. Introduction

Understanding the mechanisms of the Assyrian empire of the Late Bronze Age is to a considerable degree dependent on our understanding of the geopolitical landscape. In the course of the 14th century BC, Assyria established an autonomous territorial regime in upper Mesopotamia. The expansionist policy pursued by the Assyrian kings gave rise to an imperial formation of Assyria, reaching its initial apogee in the course of the 13th century. During the centuries to come, the territorial extension of Assyria varied once and again due to alternating processes of concentration and expansion – reaching its absolute maximum during the 7th century BC. From a retrospective (i.e., historiographical) point of view it becomes clear that the making of imperial Assyria actually commences throughly in the middle of the second millennium BC. Indeed, as a result of an increasing amount of historical sources of all kinds, many a feature so prominent in Assyrian governance of the first millennium gradually becomes visible also in the Late Bronze Age. This already leads to a redefinition of 'the nature of the shift' (Michael Roaf) from Middle to Neo-Assyrian in terms of material culture. It also requires a new look at the nature and conditions of Assyrian state formation in terms of historical analysis. This paper will address a prerequisite for said historical analysis of governance patterns, namely the problem of mapping georeferenced information from textual sources of Middle Assyrian state administration using archeological data.

1. Sources, data, and the level of analysis

From its very beginning the configuration of the Assyrian state is based on spatial dominance: ruling a vast, geomorphologically and ethnically diverse territory such as upper Mesopotamia results in various instruments of governance meant to achieve effective control of the territory. The measures taken by the Assyrian kings are documented in textual sources ranging from royal annals to administrative records; they are depicted in different types of visual media; last but not least, they have left physical marks in the

1 The paper benefits from two differing approaches towards the historical landscapes of Late Bronze Age Assyria: Research group B II-1 in EC 264 Topoi examines the interdependency of spatial structures and the organization of authority by means of comparing different imperial formations in the Ancient Near East. The project initiative HIGEOMES funded by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche and the German Research Foundation *The Historical Geography of Upper Mesopotamia in the 2nd Mill. BC.* is concerned with the archeological identification of attested place names and questions of continuity and discontinuity from Middle Bronze Age to Late Bronze Age settlement structures in Upper Mesopotamia.

2 Keith / Pile 1993, 37.

landscape, i.e., the organization of inhabited space within settlements, settlement patterns, infrastructure ('roads', canals, etc.). Eventually, the negative impact of these measures must also be kept in mind – e.g., the impact of large-scale population movements on the landscape, the extensive use of natural resources on the natural environment.

From a structural point of view, settlements are the most important element in the Assyrian strategy of governance: the organization of the ruled territory relied heavily on the permanent settlements in terms of their economic, political, administrative, cultic, or military functions. In fact, from the very beginning, the kings of Assyria obviously wanted to establish a regular, hierarchically structured network of settlements as a backbone of their imperial program. The imperial landscape is by no means simply the result of a more or less 'natural' evolution; on the contrary, it is to a certain degree shaped by deliberate actions of the Assyrian kings. We largely ignore whether, and to what extent, the art of empire-building was a systematic field in its own right, as treatises comparable to Aristotle's *Politika* or Machiavelli's *Il principe* do not appear among the written sources. However, from a synoptic view of sources it becomes apparent that the Assyrian kings pursued 'a strategy' of state formation. This strategy eventually involved various layers of experience from earlier large-scale-territorial foundations in upper Mesopotamia, preserved in the virtual memory of the landscape as well as in the cultural memory of the population.

The contemporary Assyrian textual record yields a broad variety of data that range from place names to the role of distinct cities within the realm, from patterns of tax collection to border wars, the digging of canals to the movement of dislocated people. However, in order to evaluate these phenomena, the approximate geographical allocation, even concrete localization of the place-names mentioned is desirable. Besides excavation it is especially landscape archaeology that can help to understand large scale territorial structures and thus the imperial strategy of the Assyrian kings.[3] The confrontation between textual materials and archaeological evidence from excavations and surveys is therefore of the utmost importance, albeit not without its own problems.

Topographical allocation and the recording of geographical data was a concern in antiquity, and within the use of writing several means to store and convey these data have been developed. The map – from our view probably a self-evident means of plotting topographic information – is relatively rare in the extant cuneiform record. However, as can be seen from the few *specimena* that have survived, Mesopotamian scribes and scholars were familiar with the techniques and possibilities (function of scale, contextualization) of that specific mode of the symbolic representation of space.[4] A second type of diagrammatic representation, namely field-plans and sketches of buildings and cities, were used in administration as a means for the calculation of labour, income, and taxation. By far the most numerous type are the verbalized landscapes, i.e., descriptive or enumerative accounts of (fictional or real) places, regions, and landscapes with regard to physical features, social functions, and contexts. Some of them exist as autonomous texts, e.g., the famous archaic list of geographical names, the description of Babylon, or the Neo-Assyrian tax-cadastres – to name only a few; others are present as part of a wide variety of different textual genres, from administrative and legal texts to letters, annals, myths, etc.

3 See, e.g., Morandi Bonacossi 1996 or Wilkinson *et al.* 2005.

4 For a comprehensive survey of cartographic traditions in the ancient Near East cf. Millard 1987. They also show up in less mundane contexts as can be seen from the so called Babylonian *mappa mundi* – more of a diagrammatic representation of mythologically founded claims for global hegemony than a map in the cartographic sense.

Middle Assyrian epigraphic sources that provide information on the political geography of the first Assyrian empire are found predominantly within institutional contexts. A good deal of them were produced as part of the state-controlled management of material and human resources – resulting in a complex system of texts from various residues of administrative bureaucracy. Still, the majority of documents from Middle Assyrian state archives published so far stem from Walther Andrae's excavations at the capital Assur in the first decades of the 20th century.[5] Besides that, the findings from the short-lived agricultural center and royal city of Tulul-al-'Aqr (ancient Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta) as well as those from various smaller centers and settlements from the territories add to our still (and always) fragmented view of Middle Assyrian state administration. These documents pertain to an inner perspective, governed particularly by the needs of management and governmental control; they usually do not explain or comment on data, and employ a rather formalized idiom.

A different view is attested by royal inscriptions and official statements issued by the Assyrian kings on various occasions in order to display the proper implementation of sovereignty in the name of the god Ashur. Information and details pertaining to matters of political geography are dependent on the functional context of the individual text – military campaign, building, or infrastructure activities, whereas we have to account for descriptions influenced by genre. So as to provide the grand narrative of the might that was Assyria, these texts make use of rhetorical means such as metaphor, redundancy, hyperbole, and a lexicon that is closer to the literary than to the dry wording of administration. As a rule, the parameters of genre influence the presentation of content in the format of text, and this has in consequence its bearing on our utilization of these texts as 'assemblages of data and information'. This impact must always be kept in mind when exploiting textual sources as, for example, 'how imperial systems penetrated natural and social spaces by means of administrative and institutional control,' the question addressed by the organizers of this conference to the participants.

When evaluating the contributions of survey activities and landscape archeology[6] for a comprehensive analysis of empire, here with regard to the Iron Age formation of Assyria, Tony Wilkinson *et al.* have pointed out that "the record of the archaeological landscape analysis and ancient textual sources complement each other in a remarkable way." (Wilkinson 2005, 23). Whereas we might assume a similar complementarity with regard to Late Bronze Age formation, we are actually far from a similar statement – since we lack a comparable variety and abundance of records. The problems encountered when analyzing geographical information from Middle Assyrian textual sources are rather simple: we just don't know where all those places named in the texts are to be found. Indeed, the most evident feature of spatial allocation is a proper name given to a place as part of its individual identity: toponyms are (a) conceived linguistically, (b) determined culturally, and (c) an enduring as well as short-term phenomenon. Toponyms mirror topographical, geopolitical, and societal conditions and display different layers of no-

5 Apart from single texts published elsewhere, the systematic edition of Middle Assyrian cuneiform texts from Assur started with some tablets integrated in the volumes of KAJ and KAV (at that time labeled *Old Assyrian*) in the 1930s, followed by two volumes of the series *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, issue XIX (= N.F. III, 1976) and issue XXI (= N.F. V, 1982) from the hand of Helmut Freydank. Since 1994 (starting with the 92. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*), the edition of Middle Assyrian cuneiform texts from Assur (i.e., the palace archives and the temple) has considerably advanced, thanks to the engagement of Freydank and to the *Assur-Projekt* directed by Johannes Renger and funded by the German Research Foundation.

6 "Today, systematic archaeological surface reconnaissance work is established as a fully developed and accepted research tool in archaeology in general and in Near Eastern archaeology in particular. It is widely recognized as a means of taking stock of the archaeological heritage of an entire region (...)." Nissen 2007, 19.

menclature (religious, political, economic) that were attached to the physical environment, and in doing so they are to be considered the backbone of geographical discourse.

Yet, the identification of toponyms with archaeological sites, or at least a more or less reliable allocation, is still a major task within the historical geography of the ancient Near East. This equally holds true for upper Mesopotamia and the Taurus piedmont region in the later second millennium. An impressive number of sites have been excavated or partly excavated so far.[7] More evidence on the distribution of sites and settlement patterns (chronological as well as functional) has been contributed by several surveys realized during the last decades in different areas (Anastasio 2007; Szuchman 2009). And although recent maps show an increasing number of Late Bronze Age-dots, thus claiming (significant) occupation during the Mittani and Middle Assyrian periods – most of these are still nameless.[8] On the other hand: with the accumulation of textual sources, the repertoire of known toponyms is continually increasing too – but most of them still await localization. Bridging the gap between these two sets of data is a painstaking process that will, we expect, yield only some few resilient hypotheses.

Confronting the different sets of data, namely the textual-based information on places with the archaeological data on settlements, the different 'pace' of the respective historical narratives becomes obvious: We are well aware of the fact that royal inscriptions and a major part of official declarations (not to mention the formulaic iconic depictions) related to the kings' activities represent history from above. The juxtaposition of the administrative texts somewhat mitigates their testimony by adding a component that is not affected by rhetorical frames and the restrictions of ideological modelling. In contrast to royal inscriptions, the archives of economic administration were not meant for eternity, but operated along short timelines; documents no longer needed were destroyed or transformed into summary documents of second or third order (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2012). Posterity was not the concern of the clerks that produced the archival documents of everyday administration – in a certain way very similar to what has been stated by Reinhard Bernbeck on behalf of ceramics: "neither potters nor users of pots had posterity in mind when they produced, broke and discarded them" (Bernbeck 1999, 171). In contrast to the archaeological narrative based on ceramics, however, the information from the textual record usually is much more accurate with regard to chronological issues. Moreover, it eventually furnishes the information as to who made the pots, who used them, why they were discarded, and – this being our major concern here – what was the name of the site where all this happened.

2. Conceptual aspects: range, scale, and meaning

Written documents as such must be considered a rather limited base: writing was primarily meant to operate within institutional contexts and not meant to function as a universal, objective recording medium for the faithful collection and transmission of data. All written documents served the intentions of their authors, namely the instructing party or institutional setting that they were produced for. Hence they are neither objective nor exhaustive in any sense. A major concern of analyzing textual records on geography therefore lies in evaluating the parameters that influenced or governed the presentation of data and information in a given text.[9] The sources mentioned yield not only hundreds of toponyms and geo-

7 The most complete treatment is Tenu 2009.

8 Cf. for instance the relevant map in Anastasio *et al.* 2004.

9 See, e.g., Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009 on sequences of geographical names in administrative texts.

graphical indications, but furnish us also with a web of terms used to designate settlements and the environment within different functional horizons in upper Mesopotamia. However, the evaluation of these sources in terms of scale, range of coverage, and meaning constitutes a major problem in approaching the textual sources.

The phenomenon of meaning, i.e., how not only to understand and interpret (= translate) geographical and geopolitical terms found in the textual sources, but also how to apply language-bound concepts to material matters – is a problem well known to everybody working with textual materials in foreign languages. What conclusions are we to draw for instance from the fact that the Akkadian term *ālu* is used to designate nearly every sort of human settlement, regardless its dimensions, structural, or functional characteristics? To what extent do we determine material evidence and its interpretation by declaring a given settlement a 'city'? Terminology and semantics are by no means trivial matters, and it profoundly affects both the philological as well as the archaeological perspective.

In Middle Assyrian writing, it is the sign URU that is used by the clerks to denote as semantic marker any kind of settlement. As a prefixed element, it marks the following term as a toponym as in ^{URU}*Naḫur*, ^{URU}*Dūr-katlimu* or $^{URU\ D}$*Aššur*. This convention follows Old Assyrian practice and contrasts with Old Babylonian usage where place names are usually marked by the postponed determinative GN^{KI}. But the semantic marker URU does not itself tell us about the character, the extension, or the function of the habitat. Although there are other terms in use, even more specific ones, they are not widely employed in Middle Assyrian administrative texts. A specific problem that still deserves further investigation is the usage of double-marked-toponyms in place-names like Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, where the element *Kār-* usually is interpreted as referring to a harbor as a specific feature of that city. Another example are place-names that integrate the element *dunnu* (Biagov 1976; Luciani 2001; Radner 2004). The term *dunnu* is generally understood as referring to a type of small-scale fortified settlement as indicated by (a) its semantic field based on the root **dnn* 'to be strong' and (b) the descriptions connected to the more or less synonymous term *dimtu*, which is preponderant in the Nuzi-texts (Koliński 2001).

With regard to the archaeological evidence, we may note a similar phenomenon related to 'meaning', namely the necessity of a classification of sites: instead of concise designations, as for instance 'city' frequently more general terms like 'settlement' or 'site' tend to be used. Though understandable from a systematic point of view, the vagueness of these terms adds to the problem of identification. To begin with, general terms such as 'settlement' are meant to postpone interpretation. As a consequence of the extensively discussed problems caused by cultural heteronomies, we wish to prevent the (eventually misleading) inscription of etic conceptions into the body of evidence, thus avoiding its contamination. But this also means renouncing an available matrix of defined parameters linked to specific designations as a heuristic instrument. Secondly, the (superficial) universality of general terms helps to put into practice a seemingly impartial classification of sites according to measurable facts e.g., extension, attested/unattested periods, topographical position. Especially with regard to survey, this seems the only way to cover the sort of data to be gained from this type of investigation, which – by its layout – aims at large-scale (local, regional, supraregional) data assemblages. But then, in a certain way, this type of data is only of limited use for concrete matters of identification: apart from general statements as to settlement density and perhaps settlement hierarchies – usually the information provided by this method is sufficient, at best, to allow for educated guesses.

And finally, the term 'settlement' draws attention to the socio-historical phenomenon of different types of sedentariness and occupation: the textual sources attest to a broad typological variety in the use of defined places. Apart from general modes linked to nomadic, semi-nomadic, and bedouin on the one

hand and sedentary in the strict sense of city-dwellers, we have to account for functional diversity. To raise only a few questions: where do we meet the countless numbers of *ḫupšu, ḫāpiru* and other displaced persons, en route in upper Mesopotamia during the Late Bronze Age? What about seasonal installations in the rural landscape? What about regional stations along traffic routes?[10]

Thus, the vocabulary applied by historians – philologist or archaeologist – to the textual or material evidence is, so to say, the servant of two masters: the original term rooted in a given indigenous language and its concepts, and its translation into a particular contemporary language links it to a differing set of conceptions. The dichotomy of emic and etic settings is probably an irresolvable problem, especially in confrontation with extinct languages. On the other hand, conceptual heteronomy is an intrinsic feature of our main epistemic device, i.e., language.

With regard to range and scale, often the frequency or intensity of evidence is taken as an indicator – both in archaeological as well as in textual data. Thus for instance – how should we deal with sites on the fringes of the empire such as Tell Shiukh Fawqani (Capet 2005), Tell Fray, or Terqa? They present only very few tokens that can be linked to Assyrian Late Bronze Age culture – were they Assyrian or not (Tenu 2006; 2007)? From the texts we understand that towards the end of the 13th century at least temporarily, Assyrian sovereignty included the eastern bank of the Euphrates (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009) – perhaps for a decade, or even less. Which type of traces might have been left by that type of 'presence'? As regards Late Bronze Age-Assyria, the so called Middle Assyrian palatial pottery (Pfälzner 1995) is always thought to be a reliable indicator of the fact, that the site was part of the Assyrian provincial system and its palatial economy. However, we must account for the possibility that not all settlements dominated by Assyrian sovereignty yield this type of pottery. Even more so, dating pottery to time-spans less than half a century seems rather dangerous.

From textual records it becomes clear that the time-spans of functional activity of a given settlement within a larger period may have been rather limited. Thus mapping all sites that have some minimal indications to Middle Assyrian 'occupation' creates a blended image merging contemporaneous sites and non-contemporaneous ones. Since we know from historical records that the extension of the empire was fluid, expanding and shrinking at differing velocities, the information to be gained from written and archaeological data may not match at all. This phenomenon, i.e., the fact that typically "components assigned to each phase or period are treated as contemporaneous" (Dewar 1991, 604) has been labeled elsewhere as the contemporaneity problem. On the other hand, indications for a certain period may not show up at all, due to massive layers of younger periods covering older periods, or due to massive erosion – though textual evidence positively indicates a major settlement.

The interpretation of data according to scale and range (both chronological and spatial) are thus massively affected by the disparity and non-homogeneity of the evidence. Thus it is difficult to weigh evidence from archaeological research and administrative record against the scripted history of an abundantly controlled empire created by the royal annals. The border-regions show the persistence of partly autonomous structures – small kingdoms with a more or less explicit connection to the center. Whereas to the west the existence of small kingdoms is proven by complementary archaeological and textual evidence (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2007; Shibata / Yamada 2009), the eastern fringes of the empire may have experienced similar structures – although we have only little information about that, see for instance the case of Idu (van Soldt 2008; Ahmed 2010).

10 An exemplary study of the evidence of such temporary stations is presented in Bernbeck 1993.

Our historical understanding of the layout of the Middle Assyrian state is that the shifting nature of its extension leads to borders that are not clearly delineated,[11] while the degree of Assyrian governance remained vague, especially as regards the periphery. From recent research at the peripheries it becomes clear that the situation was much more complex.

3. Two examples

To illustrate some of these problems, we will take a closer look at two configurations that are typical of actual discussion about mapping geopolitical structures obtained from the analysis of textual records to archaeological evidence.

Our first case-study concerns the city of Tuttul on the Balikh. Late Bronze Age textual references to the site as fully active can be found in two texts from Emar dating to the 13th century BC.[12] In Middle Assyrian administrative texts from higher centers of state administration, Tuttul is only rarely mentioned. Though the range of textual evidence at our disposal is limited, the 'quasi-negative' result is probably due to the fact that the Euphrates region came under Assyrian dominion only after the middle of the 13th century. It has to be considered part of the most western border of the Assyrian empire. In a letter from Tell Sheikh Hamad, ancient Dūr-Katlimmu, we learn of a razzia along the River Balikh, comprising the region of Tuttul in search of people that escaped from Carchemish.[13] A receipt from the same archive mentions a cow to be led to Tuttul by a certain Katmuḫāju.[14] Both texts date to the second half of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I – and they show the proper integration of the city within the network of the Western provinces. A document from Tell Sabi Abyad shows that the city was the seat of a *bēl pāḫete*, a district governor.[15] The text is dated to the eponymate of Etel-pî-Aššur during the last tier of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta, i.e., towards the end of the 13th century. We don't know exactly when the city acquired the state and function of provincial center (*āl pāḫete*), but the installation of such a center would call for some kind of major Assyrian presence. On the other hand, it has to be pointed out that the city is never mentioned in any of the lists of regular deliveries from the provinces to the royal palace in Assur or the regular offering to the Ashur-temple. Yet, the contributions from the Tuttul region might well be included within the lot from the *paḫutu* KI.TA, the lower province: that seems to have encompassed more or less the region between the lower Balīḫ and the Euphrates with its eastern border extending to the Khabur provincial system. But its absence from the record might also – as has been argued above – be due to its rather short-lived period of activity within the Assyrian provincial system, since we may assume that this stronghold didn't last more than two to three decades as the region became increasingly unstable towards the end of Tukultī-Ninurta's I reign.

The site of ancient Tuttul *ša Balīḫa* is well-known at least as early as the Mari-correspondence, and its location at Tell Bi'ā has been confirmed by an archive found there during the excavations. Apart from

11 In fact, the modern concept of linear boundary is anachronistic, if applied to ancient empires or territories – border-regions are fuzzy spaces with differing intensity of governmental impact.

12 Arnaud 1986, 268–269; Tskukimoto 1988, 166–167. It does not seem likely that the city of Tuttul mentioned in the famous letter from Hattušili III (*ca.* 1267–1237 BC) of Hatti to Kadašman-Enlil II (1263–1255 BC) of Babylon (KBo I, 10:43 URU *Du-du-ul*) is to be identified with *Tuttul ša Balīḫa*, but rather with the homonymous site on the Euphrates further south. The argument of the charioteers can only be understood with regard to the region on the western bank of the Euphrates.

13 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 96 – letter no. 2:9 (Sîn-mudammeq to the grand vizier Aššur-iddin).

14 Röllig 2008, 72, no. 39:14.

15 T97–3, unpublished, mentioned in Wiggermann 2000, 172 and reported in Jakob 2009, 117.

an impressive Middle Bronze Age settlement, a Late Bronze Age occupation is attested, but limited to the 14th century at the latest according to the excavators. Thus more recent periods have not been captured – and not a single piece of evidence can be attributed to Assyrian presence there (Tenu 2009, 210). If only based on archeological evidence, Tuttul would not appear on a map dedicated to the extension of the Assyrian empire.

This configuration is perhaps not so untypical: archaelogical evidence and textual evidence often do not match – at least as it concerns evidence regarded by archeologists as characteristic of Middle Assyrian culture. And though the presence of a palace might lead us to infer a certain importance for the place, the period of Assyrian influence was probably rather short and might not have resulted in major residues – or they are lost as a consequence of erosion processes that affected the site (Lyonnet 2000).[16]

A contrary situation is given at the site of Tell Qubr Abu al-'Atiq, where a survey reports a dense presence of Middle Assyrian ceramics all over the site was reported.[17] Recent excavations have not only revealed a most elaborate specimen of Middle Assyrian Palatial Ware, but also yielded two Middle Assyrian tablets that date to the later 13th century.[18] Strategically, this site occupies an important position, being the last station on the trans-regional connection that runs from Assur via Dūr-Katlimmu on the Khabur to the Euphrates. Thus we would expect, here at least, a fortified city with a palace and a local governor: we are still looking, however, for the center of the 'lower provinces' – a geographical term mentioned often enough in the Dūr-Katlimmu-texts, but so vague, it is divvicult to associate it with a concrete place name.

From the example of Tuttul, it becomes clear that geographical information stemming from administrative and legal documents and pertaining to Middle Assyrian state administration can generally be relied upon – though it may seem 'weak' in terms of quantity. The case of Tell Qubr Abu al-'Atiq on the other hand shows that even 'short-term-presence' at the utmost fringes of the empire may result in a rather intensive amount of evidence and thus contrast heavily with other sites in the western border region.

Still, our evidence is very fragmentary, yielding a chronologically distorted patchwork rather than a continuous picture. But even so the discernible variation with respect to absolute expansion and shifting degrees of Assyrian hegemonial impact are to some extent typical features of large-scale imperial formations, as Anne Laure Stoler and Carole McGranahan point out in their reassessment of historical analysis on early modern empires: "Gradations of sovereignty and sliding scales of differentiation are hallmark features of imperial formations (...)".[19] Taking into account the pitfalls and peculiarities in our efforts to link the archeological and textual data, it is to be hoped that the intensified research in Late Bronze Age upper Mesopotamia soon will able to more clearly delineate the mechanisms of the early stages of the Assyrian empire.

16 See however Otto (in print) 54 who points to the fact that after the destruction of the palace on the main mound, several houses were erected there. Otto sees this evidence as a possible reaction to the reinstallation of local or regional models of governance.

17 Tenu 2009, 210 referring to the report given by Einwag *et al.* 1995, 102.

18 Aline Tenu, pers. comm.

19 Stoler / McGranahan 2007, 9.

Bibliography

Ahmed, Kozad M. (2010)
"Idu in the Beginning of the Second Millennium BC", in: *Nouvelles Assyriologique Brèves et Utilitaires* 1/4, 5.

Anastasio, Stefano (2007)
Das obere Habur-Tal in der Jazira zwischen dem 13. und dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. Die Keramik des Projektes. Prospection archéologique du Haut-Khabur Occidental (Syrie du N.E.), Florence.

Anastasio, Stefano / Lebeau, Marc / Sauvage, Martin (2004)
Atlas of Preclassical Upper Mesopotamia, (Subartu 13), Turnhout.

Arnaud, Daniel (1986)
Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar VI.3, textes sumériens et accadiens, Paris.

Bernbeck, Reinhard (1993)
Steppe als Kulturlandschaft. Das 'Agig-Gebiet Ostsyriens vom Neolithikum bis zur islamischen Zeit, (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient – Ausgrabungen 1/41), Heidelberg–Berlin.

Bernbeck, Reinhard (1999)
"An Empire and its Sherds", in: Arnulf Hausleiter / Andrzej Reiche (eds.), *Iron Age Pottery of Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and Southeastern Anatolia. Papers presented at the meetings of the international "table ronde" at Heidelberg (1995) and Nieborów (1997) and other contributions,* (Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients 10), Münster, 151–172.

Biagov, Leonid N. (1976)
"Zur Interpretation der Termini É und É*dunnu*/URU-*dunnu* in den Urkunden der mittelassyrischen Periode", in: János Harmatta / György Komoróczy (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Alten Vorderasien,* Budapest, 333–335.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva (1996)
Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Hamad/Dūr-Katlimu 4, Texte 2), Berlin.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva (2007)
"Structures du pouvoir en Assyrie à la fin du 2ème millénaire", in: Maria-Grazia Massetti-Rouault / Olivier Rouault (eds.), *Après l'Empire. Crise de l'État et de la Monarchie en Mésopotamie du Nord et en Anatolie (XIIIème-Xème siècle av. J.C.)* – in press.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva (2009)
"Ortsnamenreihungen als Quellen zur historischen Geographie: Der Westen des mittelassyrischen Reiches unter Tukultī-Ninurta I.", in: Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum / Nele Ziegler (eds.), *Entre deux Fleuves I. Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend,* (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 20), Gladbeck, 121–150.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva (2012)
"Middle Assyrian Administrative Documents and Diplomatics: Preliminary Remarks towards an Analysis of Scribal Norms and Habits", in: Elena Devecchi (ed.), *Palaeography and Scribal Practices in Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age.* Papers read at a symposium in Leiden, 17–18 December 2009, PIHANS 119, Istanbul, 19–32.

Capet, Emanuelle (2005)
"Les installations de la fin du Bronze récent et du début de l'âge du Fer", in: Luc Bachelot / F. Mario Fales (eds.), *Tell Shiukh Fawqani 1994–1998*, (History of Ancient Near East/Monographs 6), Padova, 379–407.

Dewar, Robert E. (1991)
"Incorporating Variation in Occupation Span Into Settlement-pattern Analysis", in: *American Antiquity* 56/4, 604–620.

Einwag, Bertold / Kohlmeyer, Kay / Otto, Adelheid (1995)
"Tall Bazi-Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen 1993", in: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 8, 95–124.

Jakob, Stefan (2009)
Die mittelassyrischen Texte aus Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien, (Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 2/III), Wiesbaden.

Keith, Michael / Pile, S. (eds.) (1993)
Place and the Politics of Identity, London.

Koliński, Rafał (2001)
Mesopotamian dimâtu of the Second Millennium BC, (BAR International Series 1004), Oxford.

Luciani, Marta (2001)
"Where was Dunni Aššur? Some Reflections on DeZ 3281 and Middle Assyrian Toponymy", in: *Nouvelles Assyriologique Brèves et Utilitaires*, 1/1, 1–3.

Lyonnet, Bertille (2000)
"Méthodes et résultats préliminaires d'une prospection archéologique dans la partie occidentale du Haut-Khabur, depuis le Néolithique jusqu'à la fin du II[e] millé-

naire av. n. è.", in: Oliver Rouault / Marcus Wäfler (eds.), *La Djéziré et l'Euphrate syriens de la protohistoire à la fin du IIe millénaire av. J.-C. Tendances dans l'interprétation historique des données nouvelles*, (Subartu VII), Turnhout, 241–253.

Liverani, Mario (1988)
"The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur/ Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigm", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 2/2, 81–98.

Millard, Alan R. (1987)
"Cartography in the Ancient Near East (= Part II, Chapter 6)", in: John Brian Harley / David Woodward (eds.) *History of Cartography*, vol. I, Chicago, 107–116.

Morandi Bonacossi, Daniele (1996)
"Landscapes of Power. The Political Organisation of Space in the Lower Habur Valley in the Neo-Assyrian Period", in: *Bulletin of the State Archives of Assyria* 10/2, 15–49.

Nissen, Hans J. (2007)
"Archaeological Surveys and Mesopotamian History", in: Elisabeth Stone (ed.) *Settlement and Society. Essays dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams*, Los Angeles–Chicago, 19–28.

Otto, Adelheid (in print)
"The Organisation of Residential Space in the Mittani Kingdom as a Mirror of Different Models of Governance", in: Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum / Nicole Busch / Jesper Eidem (eds.), Constituent, Confederate, Conguered. The Emergence of the Mittani State. Topoi Studies of the Ancient World 17 (Berlin–New York), 33–61.

Pfälzner, Peter (1995)
Mittanische und mittelassyrische Keramik. Eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Schekh Hamad/ Dur-Katlimmu 3), Berlin.

Radner, Karen (2004)
Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-Ša-Uzibi. Ausgrabungen in Giricano 1; Excavations at Giricano 1, (Subartu 14), Turnhout.

Röllig, Wolfgang (2008)
Land- und Viehwirtschaft am Unteren Habur in mittelassyrischer Zeit, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu 9, Texte 4), Wiesbaden.

Shibata, Daisuke / Yamada, Shigeo (2009)
"The Cuneiform Texts from the 2007 Excavations at Tell Taban: A Preliminary Report", in: Hirotoshi Numoto (ed.), *Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria. Preliminary Report on the 2007 Season; Excavations, and the Study of Cuneiform Texts*, Tokyo, 87–109.

Soldt, Wilfried H. van (2008)
"The Middle Assyrian Provincial Capital of Idu", in: *Nouvelles Assyriologique Brèves et Utilitaires* 55.

Stoler, Ann Laura / McGranahan. Carole (2007)
"Refiguring Imperial Terrains", in: Ann Laura Stoler / Carole McGranahan / Peter C. Perdue (eds.), *Imperial Formations*, Santa Fe–Oxford, 3–43.

Szuchman, Jeffrey (2009)
"Revisiting Hanigalbat: Settlement in the Western Provinces of the Middle Assyrian Kingdom", in: Gernot Wilhelm (ed.), *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi* 11/2 (Studies on the Civilizations and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 18), 531–544.

Tenu, Aline (2006)
"Le Moyen Euphrate à l'époque médio-assyrienne", in: Christine Kepinski (ed.), S*tudia Euphratica. Le moyen Euphrate iraquien révélé par les fouilles préventives de Haditha*, Paris, 217–245.

Tenu, Aline (2007)
"Du Tigre à l'Euphrate: la frontière occidentale de l'empire médio-assyrien", in: Frederick Mario Fales (ed.), *Treading the Military, Commercial, and Cultural Itineraries of the Ancient Near East*. International Conference at Udine, 2–4 Sept. 2004, (State Archives of Assyria Bulletin 15), Padova, 161–181.

Tenu, Aline (2009)
L'expansion médio-assyrienne. Approche archéologqiue, (BAR International Series 1906), Oxford.

Tsukimoto, Akitu (1988)
"Sieben spätbronzezeitliche Urkunden aus Syrien", in: *Acta Sumerologica Japan* 10, 153–189.

Wiggermann, Frans A. M. (2000)
"Agriculture in the Northern Balikh Valley: The Case of Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad", in: Remko M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*, Istanbul, 171–231.

Wilkinson, Tony / Wilkinson Eleanor B. / Ur, Jason / Altaweel, Mark (2005)
"Landscape and Settlement in the Neo-Assyrian Empire", in: *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 340, 23–56.

Development and Transformation of Settlements and Settlement Systems in the Upper Tigris Region

Nicola Laneri

Ritual Practices and the Emergence of Social Complexity in the Upper Tigris Region at the Beginning of the Second Millennium BC

0. Introduction

Social complexity is not necessarily linked to large urban centers and state-level societies. It can also be characterized by a complex system of interaction between ceremonial and productive dimensions that may be recognizable in rural contexts and among small-scale societies. This kind of approach supports a broader research trajectory that focuses not only on major cities, but also on more peripheral, rural regions and small-sized sites in which elements of social complexity can be found in the material remains of ritual practices and craft production. Such is the case of the upper Tigris region during the beginning of the second millennium BC, when the whole area was marked by the emergence of numerous small-sized settlements, some of which are characterized by a high density of ritual paraphernalia found discarded within architectural contexts (Laneri / Schwartz 2011).

To further investigate the emergence of social complexity in this region, the theoretical concepts of heterarchy, middle-level settlements, and rural complexity will be deployed in the analysis of the Middle Bronze Age architectural complex excavated at the small-sized site of Hirbemerdon Tepe in southeastern Turkey. In so doing, I will test the theoretical framework considered here by examining archaeological data that shows evidence of the materialization of ideological power in a ceremonial context (Demarrais *et al*. 1996). Particular emphasis will be placed on the relationship between ceremonial activities, iconographic representations, and the creation of new forms of religiosity in defining the political space of the societies that inhabited the upper Tigris region during the early second millennium BC.

1. Middle-level settlements and the use of heterarchy in archaeology

Since the work of Elman Service (1962), archaeologists have been investigating ancient forms of social organization following a linear progressive approach that expects an evolutionary trend from simple to complex societies (Haas 2001). The main focus of archaeological investigation has therefore been the analysis of the highest level of social complexity, that of state-level societies, in which the level of societal hierarchy has been interpreted as high, and hegemonically controlled by religious or royal elites (Crumley 2005, 41–42).

Until recently this unilinear evolutionary trend in archaeology defined most of the archaeological research into ancient complex societies in both the Old and New World through the investigation of large urban centers, but recent studies have challenged this kind of 'stepped' typological approach in defining organizational social complexity. Instead the focus is placed on a more dynamic and heterogenous interpretation of aspects of ancient societal organization (Stein 1994; 1998; Ehrenreich *et al*. 1995; Matthews 2003; Beekman / Baden 2005; Yoffee 2005; Gerritsen 2006; Ristvet 2008) and, especially, on regions that are peripheral to areas with a high degree of urbanization (Schwartz / Falconer 1994; Canuto / Yagaer 2000; Iannone / Connell 2003; Mac Sweeney 2011). As a consequence, a simplistic sys-

temic approach to the interpretation of the settlement patterns of complex societies that contemplates only hierarchical types of social relations has been replaced by dynamic models that envision the archaeological data within a more fluid interpretive framework of operative variables (e.g., site functions, type of social relations and affiliations at both the site and regional level: Schortman / Urban 2003).

In this respect, Carole L. Crumley's use of 'heterarchy' in the fields of history and archaeology appears to be the most innovative and appropriate approach for dealing with regions that are marginal to urban centers, as can be seen in the upper Tigris region during the Middle Bronze Age (Crumley 1995; 2003; 2005). According to Crumley (1995, 3), "heterarchy is the relation of elements to one another when they are unranked, or when they possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways depending on systemic requirements," and also "heterarchy does not stand alone but is in a dialectical relationship with hierarchy" (Crumley 2005, 40). Important factors in determining a heterarchical form of social organization are the distribution of decision-making among different agents and, more importantly, shared or dispersed leadership (Crumley 2005, 46). A heterarchical system can therefore better survive dramatic changes, as compared to urbanized societies that are controlled by a hierarchical management of subsistence strategies. Most importantly, a heterarchical form of social organization can be more resilient to historical or environmental change, because it can easily remodel its subsistence strategies through the participation of all the agents involved in societal polities. Following this theoretical perspective, the dynamics of social organization can be viewed as 'fuzzy' networks with poorly defined and contingent boundaries formed through differential and constantly shifting patterns of cooperation and competition among emergent elites and other groups (Stein 1998, 6).

As demonstrated by the innovative analysis of the peripheral regions in the ancient Maya world by Gyles Iannone and Simon V. Connell (2003), a heterarchical model of inference of the archaeological data better fits rural areas that appear to have a more variable and dispersive type of power control. The two authors, following in the footsteps of Glenn M. Schwartz and Steven E. Falconer (1994), challenge and redefine the rural/urban dichotomy by introducing a new form of syncretism – termed 'rural complexity' – which is located around sites that show complicated grades of variability in both type and level of complexity. These are minor centers that contain ceremonial features (e.g., temples, altars, plazas, decorated stelae) usually found in the large Maya urban centers (Iannone / Cornell 2003, 2). To define these smaller sites, the concept of 'middle-level settlement' has been introduced and is used to describe the minor centers located in rural areas that have large 'civic' structures, suggesting "that these sites had a degree of religious, political, and economic control" (Iannone / Connell 2003, 3).

A similar type of settlement pattern can be recognized in the upper Tigris valley during the Middle Bronze Age (*ca*. 2000–1600 BC). Whereas in northern Mesopotamia this chronological phase is characterized by the phenomenon of increasing urbanization, the creation of dynamic regional kingdoms, and a subsistence economy that combines pastoral and agricultural activities (e.g., the northeastern Syrian region of the Jazirah: Akkermans / Schwartz 2003, 288–326; Ristvet 2008), the upper Tigris region differs. It instead exhibits a settlement pattern formed by small-sized sites (i.e., no larger than 5 ha in extent, such is the case of Hirbemerdon Tepe, Salat Tepe, Üçtepe, Kavusan Tepe, Kenan Tepe, Giricano, Ziyaret Tepe, Müslümantepe: Ökse / Görmüş 2006; Özfirat 2006; Laneri *et al*. 2008; Laneri / Schwartz 2011). In particular, in the case of Hirbemerdon Tepe, the site is marked by the presence of an architectural complex that shows clear signs of specialized craft production and ceremonial activities as demonstrated by the presence of votive objects (e.g., decorated clay plaques, animal and human figurines, highly decorated vessels), and ceremonial architectural features (e.g., an altar, stone basins) found within the Middle Bronze Age complex (Laneri 2011).

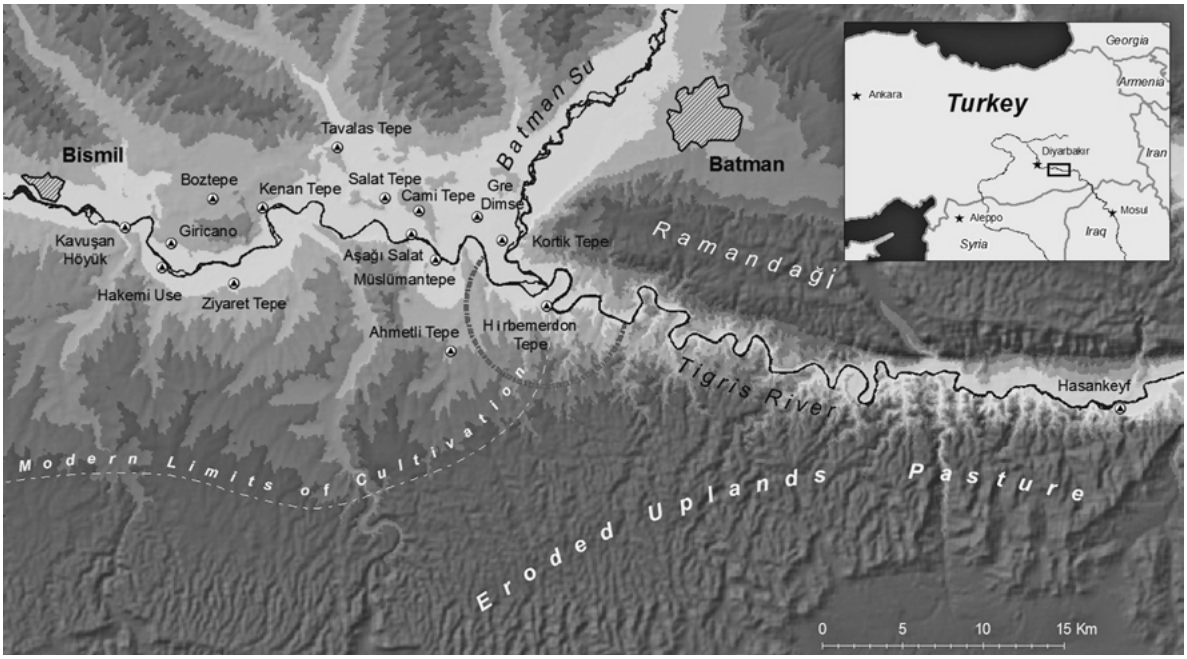


Fig. 1 | Map of the upper Tigris valley with the geographical position of Hirbemerdon Tepe (by Jason Ur).

2. The Middle Bronze Age architectural complex at Hirbemerdon Tepe

Hirbemerdon Tepe is a small-sized site located along the western bank of the upper Tigris valley, about 90 km southeast of the modern city of Diyarbakir (Turkey) and opposite the confluence with the Batman Su in southeastern Turkey (fig. 1). The geological morphology of the area has strongly influenced the separation of the ancient settlements at the site into a High Mound (*ca*. 1 ha in extent) and an Outer Town (*ca*. 2 ha in extent), standing on the river terrace proper below the High Mound (Laneri 2005; 2008). The site is located in a strategic position near the river (to the east) and at the junction between agricultural lands (to the north) and uplands (to the south and the west). The fragmented nature of the ecological zone surrounding Hirbemerdon Tepe is an important factor in determining a mixed subsistence economy for the local population in which the combination of agricultural, pastoral, hunting, fishing, and commercial activities guaranteed a stronger resilience to climate changes and agricultural droughts, as compared to other, neighboring Mesopotamian regions (e.g., northeastern Syria).

The site is a multi-period settlement, but the Middle Bronze Age phase (i.e., *ca*. 2000–1600 BC) is the most important of the archaeological periods recognized during the excavation. Dating to this phase is an architectural complex that was unearthed on the northern side of the High Mound. The complex was probably not larger than 5000–6000 m^2 and combined specialized work activities, located in the northern and southern sectors, with ceremonial spaces, placed in the more central part of the complex (figs. 2–3). It has been possible to excavate the northern part of the area (dedicated to work activities), which is characterized by a series of agglutinated, long, thin buildings along the main street (47), each with an entrance onto it, which are outfitted with numerous grinding stones that were used for processing food (Laneri *et al*. 2008).

The ceremonial sector (fig. 3) is separated from the productive areas by the previously mentioned street, running in an east-west direction, and is architecturally defined by two outdoor spaces (24 and 35)

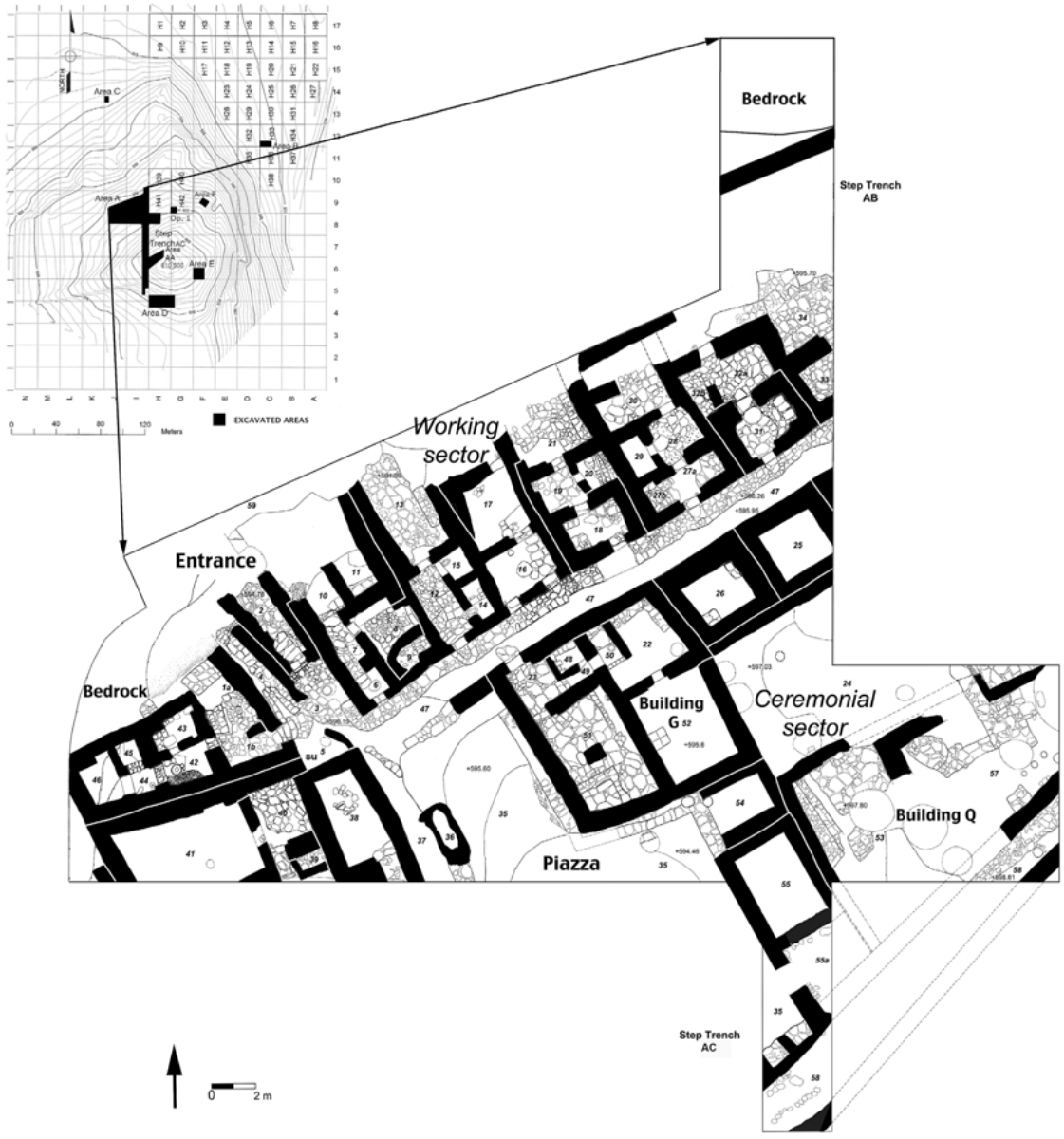


Fig. 2 | Map of the Middle Bronze Age architectural complex (by Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project).

and a series of large ceremonial buildings located further east. Some of these buildings show clear elements of monumentality and of ceremonial functionality (e.g., large rooms, the use of large flagstones for some of the rooms' floors, wide external walls, altars) when compared to the buildings of the more specialized areas. This is especially recognizable in the case of Building G, where a ritual foundation deposit of a newborn pig was found. The ceremonial sector is also characterized by the presence of discarded and purposely broken ritual objects, such as elaborately decorated ceramic vessels (e.g., a vessel painted with a stylized 'dancing' deer motif inserted within triangles), human and animal fired clay figurines, and numerous fragments of decorated fired clay votive plaques (fig. 4), disposed of next to a stone basin (36) in one of the outdoor spaces (35, i.e., the *piazza*: Laneri 2008; 2011).

Fig. 3 | Photograph (from south) of part of the Middle Bronze Age architectural complex highlighting the architectural features of the ceremonial sector (by Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project).

Together these elements suggest that the complex contains not only architectural features, but also material culture strongly associated with ceremonial practices. However, specialized craft production was also practiced at the site, as is suggested by the data yielded by the excavation of the buildings located along the complex's perimeter (Laneri *et al*. 2008). These activities may have been related to the performance of ritual practices, reinforcing the possibility of the existence of a 'ritual mode of production' that was enacted similarly to other examples known among small-scale societies of both ancient and modern times (Spielmann 2002; 2008). The interpretation of the architectural complex as a sort of rock sanctuary is also supported by the presence of numerous fired clay votive plaques decorated with a central standing human figure, a spout protruding out from underneath it, bands with geometric decorative motifs located around the figure, and a hole on top for hanging the plaque. The almost total lack of similar plaques from other Middle Bronze Age sites in the region and the fact that the plaques differ in their clay fabrics, modelling techniques, and in the geometric decorative motifs that frame the human figures suggest that these objects were probably brought to the site from other contexts, probably as part of a sort of pilgrimage route from the river valley to the uplands. This journey was probably associated with pastoral and hunting activities pursued around the site, a conclusion supported by the high density of deer bones found within the architectural complex (Laneri *et al*. 2008). In addition, the presence of a complex system for collecting rainwater, consisting of drains and numerous basins dotting the outdoor

Fig. 4 | A decorated votive plaque found within the Middle Bronze Age architectural complex (by Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project).

spaces, can also be associated with the high value that another important natural element – water – had in the enactment of ritual performances (Laneri 2011). Furthermore, the spouts on the votive plaques may have functioned as a mnemonic element that connected the cognitive schemata of the people to a ritualistic use of water and the basins located within the outdoor spaces.

Thus, Hirbemerdon Tepe's ceremonial architectural complex must have been pivotal for the affirmation of the religious power embodied by this specific locale within the social and political space of the upper Tigris region during the early second millennium BC. In addition, the creation and use of symbolic objects (i.e., the ritual paraphernalia) during the performance of ceremonial activities in the central sector of the architectural complex would have further increased the ideological power of the groups controlling the ritual performances through their connection with the religious sphere (Earle 1997, 151–158). It is in fact in the *piazza*, and more specifically near the stone basin, that most of the ritual paraphernalia was found during the excavation. These objects were purposely fragmented and then disposed of in the form of a ritual deposit (similar to an ancient Greek *favissa*). Consequently, this locale should have had a specific purpose in the performance of rituals that connected the participants to a spiritual dimension, probably reached through the voluntary fragmentation of ceremonial objects at the end of their life-histories (Chapman 2000; Chapman / Gaydarska 2007).

3. Discussion

The end of the third millennium BC is marked by a dramatic shift in settlement patterns in some areas of northern Mesopotamia and southeastern Anatolia (e.g., the Jazirah region in northeastern Syria), due to a combination of environmental (i.e., abrupt climatic changes and, as a consequence, the phenomena of desertification and long periods of agricultural drought, Weiss / Bradley 2001) and historical factors (e.g., the collapse of the Akkadian empire, Yoffee 2005, 140–160). As a consequence, the entire area shows a transformation in socioeconomic dynamics characterized by the collapse of the major urban centers (Akkermans / Schwartz 2003, 282–287). The following period (i.e., the early second millennium BC) exhibits a new social landscape, and settlement patterns in which urban centers are 'regenerated' (Cooper 2006) and small-to-medium sized polities hold increased power (Ristvet 2008). Numerous scholars have interpreted this socioeconomic transformation as a decrease in social complexity, marked by a tribal form of social organization, as increasing importance was given to pastoralism in the economic subsistence of northern Mesopotamian societies (Akkermans / Schwartz 2003, 288–326; Fleming 2004; Stein 2004; Cooper 2006; Ristvet 2008). In addition, the early second millennium BC features an increase in long-distance commercial exchange of commodities (i.e., tin, copper, gold, silver, semi-precious stones, ivory, textiles, wine, sesame oil) between private Mesopotamian merchants and communities inhabiting Iran, Anatolia, and the Persian Gulf (Larsen 1987; Barjamovic 2011).

These natural and historical events probably affected the upper Tigris region too, but strangely it created the background for demographic growth and, consequently, an increase in settlement density. The sudden explosion of small-sized sites (e.g., Salat Tepe, Üçtepe, Hirbemerdon Tepe, Kavusan Tepe, Kenan Tepe, Giricano, Ziyaret Tepe, Müslümantepe) sharing similarities in settlement patterns and locally produced material culture (e.g., Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls and the Red Brown Wash Ware ceramic assemblages) occurred during the late third millennium BC (Laneri *et al.* 2008, 187–192). However, it is only during the Middle Bronze Age (*ca.* 2000–1600 BC) that a new type of socioeconomic organization seems to supersede the previous social structure with its small centers which, as seen at Hirbemerdon Tepe, lead to the construction of monumental buildings containing areas for specialized work activities as well as centrally located ceremonial buildings (Laneri / Schwartz 2011). In this changing socioeconomic landscape we can probably envision new groups that used the materialization of ideological power (e.g., ceremonial buildings, decorated votive plaques, and highly decorated vessels) to establish a stronger connection with the natural landscape and to define new forms of political, religious, and social organization within the region (Demarrais *et al.* 1996).

It is within this political framework that archaeologists should envision the creation of objects with high symbolic meanings (e.g., the decorated votive plaques found at Hirbemerdon Tepe) in association with the performance of ritual acts in ceremonial spaces (e.g., the *piazza*), as well as the creation of an interconnection between the built environment and the natural landscape surrounding it (e.g., through the ritual use of water or deer within Hirbemerdon Tepe's architectural complex).

Following this interpretation, the figurative ritual paraphernalia found at Hirbemerdon Tepe metaphorically speak a visual language that emphasizes the intermingling relationship between the iconic force of the represented human figure and the natural power of the libations poured in the spout. In fact, it is through aesthetic/ritual practices that an ideological power is possessed and manifested. This type of power can transcend all existing institutions and "create the possibility of greater cooperation or exploitation" by the participants of the ritual practices (Mann 1986, 23).

The social landscape emerging from the data available from Middle Bronze Age archaeological contexts within the upper Tigris region is of a polity in which an active engagement with nature is pivotal in framing the religiosity as well as the economic production and social organization of the communities inhabiting this specific area at this time (Ingold 2000). Such an approach to the religious aspects of nature and human–animal relations appears to be a distinctive feature of Anatolian polities from Neolithic periods and may have validated the power of leading groups during the Bronze Age.

This interpretation of the relationship between the ritual and economic domains at Hirbemerdon Tepe can be compared to other archaeological and historical examples, e.g., the pre-contact Hawaiian communities (Earle 1978), the communities of the Titicaca Basin during the Middle Formative Period (Stanish 2004), the early third millennium BC communities of the Syrian Jazirah (Schwartz 1994; 2000), that highlight similar patterns in the use of ideological power to establish the emergence of a new framework of political economies and ranked societies (Earle 1997, 143–192). In fact, it appears clear that, to obtain control over the economic resources, a group has to create a materialization of its ideological power, enacted through the creation of a meta-language. This language is based on symbolic elements (e.g., icons, highly decorated ceramic vessels, ceremonial buildings) and aims to consolidate sources of political, religious, and economic power (Demarrais *et al.* 1996).

It is evident from the archaeological data presented here that the social system of the communities inhabiting the upper Tigris region during the Middle Bronze Age was complex, variegated, and cannot be easily defined within predetermined categories (e.g., tribal or chiefdom). In fact, although sites in this region are small in size, some of them (e.g., Hirbemerdon Tepe) provide clear signs of the centralization of specialized production and the performance of complex ritual activities. Moreover, the lack of hierarchical differentiation within the settlement pattern of the sites of the upper Tigris region, the presence of identical forms of material culture, and the absence of administrative control suggest the possible presence of a 'heterarchical' form of social organization based on multicentrality and a network of distributed authority among different middle-level settlements in a regional system (Crumley 1995). As Crumley demonstrated in her analysis of the pre-classical Iron Age communities of Burgundy (France), in certain complex societies this system is more dynamic (and more resilient to climate changes) than a classic hierarchical social organization and is suitable in ecological zones characterized by a "diversity in resource location" (Crumley 2003, 136). The upper Tigris valley is such a zone, with uplands at the southern border (suitable for pastoral and hunting activities), flat areas (for dry-farming), and the river valley region (for flood-water irrigation, fishing, and transportation).

This type of approach converts a static, mechanistic picture of ancient societies (e.g., urban = complex vs. rural = simple) into a more dynamic vision that gives priority to the complexity of the archaeological data. Thus, the minor centers characterized by ceremonial activities and specialized production in the Middle Bronze Age in the upper Tigris valley can be interpreted following the 'middle-level settlements' model used by Iannone and Connell (2003) for the Maya sites of the upper Belize River valley, which foresees "interaction of hierarchical and heterarchical processes operating from variable forces across entire settlement systems" (Schortman / Urban 2003, 132). Moreover, some of the middle-level centers in the upper Tigris valley do not show traces of household activities (e.g., Hirbemerdon Tepe and Müslümantepe), and, consequently, this allows us to suggest the possibility of a system of dispersed settlements, in which some of these sites were probably only used for ceremonial and specialized work activities and housed local elite families. A settlement pattern similar to the one recognizable in the upper Tigris valley during the Middle Bronze Age was recognized by Glenn Schwartz (1994; 2000) in the Khabur region (northeastern Syria) during the first half of the third millennium BC. In this case, small cen-

ters (e.g., Tell Raqa'i) were tied to a network of villages that specialized in grain storage and processing and which show clear signs of the use of iconographies (e.g., frescoes) for ceremonial purposes within the productive complex (Dunham 1993; Schwartz 2000).

Small-sized sites and their related settlement patterns must now be investigated in order to better understand the functioning of the ancient socioeconomic landscape of regions characterized by the absence of major urban centers. This type of approach further emphasizes the heterogeneity of modes of societal organization (Stein 1994) in which the dynamics of social complexity may vary according to the necessities and the choices embraced by the communities involved.

4. Conclusion

A higher emphasis on defining the religious value of the natural resources was probably the best solution to the problem of how to protect the community and secure the economic stability of Hirbemerdon Tepe and other sites of the upper Tigris region during a period of dramatic natural and historical changes, such as the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium BC. It is especially during the early second millennium BC that the level of complexity increased in the upper Tigris region through the establishment of powerful forms of ritual practice. However, in this transforming political, economic, and religious process, these communities continued to reside in small- to medium-sized settlements with clear elements of a heterarchical type of social organization, as is indicated by a lack of differentiation between sites. When this happens, as with Hirbemerdon Tepe, archaeologists can discern evidence that supports the identification of a middle-level settlement, in which elements of centralization, ceremonial, and specialized activities are not necessarily linked to large urban centers, but instead to sites marked by ritual practices.

Thus, the early second millennium BC in the upper Tigris region brought about a different type of social and political landscape, which was based on coordinating productive activities by reinforcing forms of ideological power associated with the creation of religious beliefs. Furthermore, the use of a sacred iconography (e.g., the images depicted in the decorated votive plaques) and the performance of ritual activities in centrally located ceremonial buildings and outdoor spaces became fundamental: it materialized an ideological power that clearly defined the roles played by these emerging groups in the socioeconomic organization of the society at both the site and regional level.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey for its support and the permit for archaeological work at Hirbemerdon Tepe since 2003. The project was jointly planned with the Archaeological Museum of Diyarbakır, as part of the Ilisu Dam Project, and to Nevin Soyukaya goes my warmest gratitude.

Bibliography

Akkermans, Peter / Schwartz, Glenn M. (2003)
The Archaeology of Syria. From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16000–300 BC), Cambridge.

Barjamovic, Gojko (2011)
A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period, Copenhagen.

Beekman, Christopher / Baden, William (eds.) (2005)
Nonlinear Models for Archaeology and Anthropology: Continuing the Revolution, Aldershot.

Canuto, Marcello A./ Yaeger, Jason (eds.) (2000)
The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective, London.

Chapman, John (2000)
Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places, and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of Southeastern Europe, London.

Chapman, John / Gaydarska, Bisserka (2007)
Parts and Wholes. Fragmentation in Prehistoric Context, Oxford.

Cooper, Lisa (2006)
Early Urbanism on the Syrian Euphrates, London.

Crumley, Carole L. (1995)
"Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Society", in: Robert M. Ehrenreich / Carole L. Crumley / Janet E. Levy (eds.), *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Society*, Arlington, Va., 1–6.

Crumley, Carole L. (2003)
"Alternative Forms of Social Order", in: Vernon L. Scarborough / Fred Valdez Jr. / Nicholas Dunning (eds.), *Heterarchy, Political Economy, and the Ancient Maya. The Three Rivers Region of the East-Central Yucátan Peninsula*, Tucson, 136–146.

Crumley, Carole L. (2005)
"Remember How to Organize: Heterarchy Across Disciplines", in: Christopher Beekman / William Baden (eds.), *Nonlinear Models for Archaeology and Anthropology: Continuing the Revolution*, Aldershot, 35–50.

Demarrais, Elizabeth / Castillo, Luis J. / Earle, Timothy (1996)
"Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies", in: *Current Anthropology* 37, 15–31.

Dunham, Sally (1993)
"A Wall Painting from Tell al-Raqa'I, North-east Syria", in: *Levant* 25, 127–143.

Earle, Timothy (1978)
Economic and Social Organization of a Complex Chiefdom: The Halelea District, Kaua'I, Hawaii, Ann Arbor, MI.

Earle, Timothy (1997)
How Chiefs Come to Power. The Political Economy in Prehistory, Stanford.

Ehrenreich, Robert M. / Crumley, Carole L. / Levy, Janet E. (eds.) (1995)
Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Society, Arlington, Va.

Fleming, Daniel (2004)
Democracy's Ancient Ancestors. Mari and Early Collective Governance, Cambridge.

Gerritsen, Fokke (2006)
"Archaeological Perspectives on Local Communities", in: John Bintliff (ed.), *A Companion to Archaeology*, London, 141–154.

Haas, Jonathan (2001)
"Cultural Evolution and Political Centralization", in: Jonathan Haas (ed.), *From Leaders to Rulers*, New York, 3–18.

Iannone, Gyles / Connell, Simon V. (2003)
"Perspectives on Ancient Maya Rural Complexity. An Introduction", in: Gyles Iannone / Simon V. Connell (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Mayan Rural Complexity*, Los Angeles, 1–6.

Ingold, Tim (2000)
The Perception of the Environment. Essays in livelihood, dwelling and skill, London.

Laneri, Nicola (2005)
"Hirbemerdon Tepe 2003: A preliminary report", in: *Kazı Sonucları Toplantısı* 26, 63–72.

Laneri, Nicola (2008)
"Hirbemerdon Tepe. A Middle Bronze Age site in Northern Mesopotamia", in: *East and West* 58, 365–376.

Laneri, Nicola (2011)
"Connecting Fragments. A sensorial approach to the materialization of religious beliefs in rural Mesopotamia at the beginning of the second millennium BC", in: *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21, 77–94.

Laneri, Nicola / Schwartz, Mark (2011)
"Southeastern and eastern Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age", in: Sharon Steadman / Gregory McMahon (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10000–323 BCE)*, Oxford, 337–362.

Laneri, Nicola / Schwartz, Mark / Ur, Jason / Valentini, Stefano / D'Agostino, Anacleto / Berthon, Remi / Hald, Matte M. (2008)
"The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project 2006–2007. A preliminary report of the Middle Bronze Age 'architectural complex' and the survey of the site catchment area", in: *Anatolica* 34, 177–240.

Larsen, Mogen (1987)
"Commercial Networks in the Ancient Near East", in: Michael Rowlands / Mogens Larsen / Kristian Kristiansen (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World,* Cambridge, 47–56.

Mac Sweeney, Naoíse (2011)
Community Identity and Archaeology: Dynamic Communities at Aphrodisias and Beycesultan. Ann Arbor.

Mann, Michael (1986)
The Source of Social Power, vol. 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760, Cambridge.

Matthews, Roger (2003)
The Archaeology of Mesopotamia. Theories and Approaches, London.

Ökse, Tuba / Görmüş, Ahmet (2006)
"Excavations at Salat Tepe in the Upper Tigris Region: Stratigraphical sequence and preliminary results of the 2005–2006 seasons", in: *Akkadica* 127/2, 167–198.

Özfirat, Aynur (2006)
Üçtepe II. Tunç Çaglari. Kazi ve Yüzey Arastirmasi Isiginda, Istanbul.

Ristvet, Lauren (2008)
"Legal and archaeological territories of the second millennium BC in northern Mesopotamia", in: *Antiquity* 82, 585–599.

Schortman, Edward M. / Urban, Patricia A. (2003)
"Coping with Diversity", in: Gyles Iannone / Simon V. Connell (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Mayan Rural Complexity,* Los Angeles, 131–137.

Schwartz, Glenn M. (1994)
"Rural Economic Specialization and Early Urbanization in the Khabur Valley, Syria", in: Glenn M. Schwartz / Steven E. Falconer (eds.), *Archaeological Views from the Countryside. Village Communities in Early Complex Societies,* Washington, 19–36.

Schwartz, Glenn M. (2000)
"Perspectives on Rural Ideologies: The Tell Al-Raqa'i Temple", in: Olivier Rouault / Markus Wäfler (eds.), *La Djèzirè et l'Euphrate Syriens. La Protohistoire à la fin du IIe millénaire av. J.-C.:* Tendances dans l'interprétation historique des données nouvelles, (Subartu VII), Turnhout, 163–182.

Schwartz, Glenn M. / Falconer, Steven E. (1994)
"Rural Approaches to Social Complexity", in: Glenn M. Schwartz / Steven E. Falconer (eds.), *Archaeological Views from the Countryside. Village Communities in Early Complex Societies,* Washington, 1–9.

Service, Elman R. (1962)
Primitive Social Organization. An Evolutionary Perspective, New York.

Spielmann, Katherine A. (2002)
"Feasting, Craft Specialization, and the Ritual Mode of Production in Small-scale Societies", in: *American Anthropologist* 104/1, 195–207.

Spielmann, Katherine A. (2008)
"Crafting the Sacred: ritual places and paraphernalia in small-scale societies", in: Christian E. Wells / Patricia A. McAnany (eds.), *Dimensions in Ritual Economy,* (Research in Economic Anthropology 27), Bingley, 37–72.

Stanish, Charles (2004)
"The Evolution of Chiefdoms. An Economic Anthropological Model", in: Gary M. Feinman / Linda M. Nicholas (eds.), *Archaeological Perspectives on Political Economies,* Salt Lake City, 7–24.

Stein, Gil (1994)
"Introduction Part II. The organizational dynamics of complexity in Greater Mesopotamia", in: Gil Stein / Mitchell S. Rothman (eds.), *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East. The Organizational Dynamics of Complexity,* Madison, 11–22.

Stein, Gil (1998)
"Heterogeneity, Power, and Political Economy: Some current research issues in the study of old world complex societies", in: *Journal of Archaeological Research* 6/1, 1–44.

Stein, Gil (2004)
"Structural Parameters and Sociocultural Factors in the Economic Organization of North Mesopotamian Urbanism in the Third Millennium BC", in: Gary M. Feinman / Linda M. Nicholas (eds.), *Archaeological Perspectives on Political Economies,* Salt Lake City, 61–78.

Weiss, Harvey / Bradley, Raymond S. (2001)
"What Drives Societal Collapse?", in: *Science* 291, 609–610.

Yoffee, Norman (2005)
Myths of the Archaic State. Evolutions of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilization, Cambridge.

Peter Vinzenz Bartl

The Upper Tigris – Cultural Autonomy or Interdependence? The Case of Ziyaret Tepe and Giricano

0. Introduction

Following the decision of the Turkish government to build the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam reservoirs along the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers, an agreement was reached in 1998 between the Middle East Technical University's Centre for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment (TAÇDAM), the Ministry of Culture, and the State Hydraulic Works (D.S.İ.). This agreement allowed numerous research projects and excavations to take place in the upper Tigris region in Diyarbakır Province of southeastern Turkey. Before the agreement, this region was little known and its importance was seen as modest, but it has now attracted the attention of the international scientific community,[1] as it played a decisive role in the cultural history of northern Mesopotamia. It features a unique landscape between the modern cities of Diyarbakır and Siirt, forming a geographically closed settlement area within the upper Mesopotamian piedmont.

The previous gap in our archaeological knowledge of the region is steadily being filled by recent or ongoing investigations at sites such as Üçtepe, Ziyaret Tepe, Giricano, Salat Tepe, Kavuşan Höyük, Hirbemerdon Tepe, and many others.[2] Archaeological data from these excavations make an important contribution to the definition and understanding of these settlements' material culture and the role they have played in shaping the region during the periods investigated. The results obtained so far show that, at certain periods in time, influence from Mesopotamia was predominant, whereas in other periods the region was more independent, or more closely connected to the northern and eastern highlands. Periods of dependence on Mesopotamia include the early Early Bronze Age, the Mittanian and Middle Assyrian periods, and the Late Assyrian period. By contrast in the late Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age – from the late third through the first half of the second millennium – local cultures thrived in the upper Tigris valley, while in the Early Iron Age after the collapse of the Middle Assyrian empire the area was culturally connected to the adjacent mountainous regions.

From the new investigations the picture emerges of a relatively autonomous cultural development in the Middle Bronze Age with few connections to either the upper Khabur region to the south or the nomadic or semi-nomadic cultures of the uplands to the north and northeast.[3]

The local material culture is characterized by a specific pottery tradition of, in the main, so-called Red Brown Wash Ware.[4] Another characteristic is the presence of extensive, probably multifunctional

1 A short summary of the history of research into this region before the ongoing rescue excavations can be found in Radner / Schachner 2001, 753–754.

2 For a detailed presentation of the recent and ongoing excavations in the area: Tuna / Öztürk 1999; Tuna *et al.* 2001; Tuna / Velibeyoğlu 2002; Tuna *et al.* 2004. The homepage of the Middle East Technical University provides some information on the region and its sites up to 2002, when it was last updated: <http://tacdam.metu.edu.tr/tacdam> (accessed 2011–02–01).

3 Özfirat 2001; Ur / Hammer 2009.

4 The role and characteristics of the Middle Bronze Age pottery assemblage has been the subject of considerable debate. This will be revisited in the presentation of the material evidence. For the sake of simplicity this pottery shall henceforth be termed RBWW.

building complexes such as those found in Giricano and Salat Tepe, which probably represent agricultural production centers, similar to those known from texts from Mittanian Nuzi (*dimtu*) and from Middle Assyrian sources (*dunnu*),[5] one of which is attested at Giricano (*Dunnu-ša-Uzibi*) (Radner 2004).

The aim of this paper is to present the results from the excavations in Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe in order to investigate some issues concerning the natural environment and its relationship to the local human societies and their economic and political development.[6]

1. Local geography and topography

The region discussed can easily be identified from satellite images[7] or topographic maps. It is characterized by a fertile plain bordered by the high mountain ranges of the Taurus to the north and the Tur Abdin (Mardin Dağları) to the south.[8] To the west the border is defined by the cone-shaped mountain Karacadağ, an extinct volcano, while the eastern border can be set in the Siirt region, where the Tigris River turns south and the valley becomes a gorge.

The Tigris, which traverses the region from west to east, flows through a deep gorge until it emerges from the mountains about 20 km north of Diyarbakır. 8 km further downstream from that city, the course of the river turns eastwards, cutting several river terraces in the fertile plain (Kuzucuoğlu 2002; Doğan 2005). On both sides of the river a gradually ascending, low-relief terrain, which is subject to erosion and cut by seasonal streams and tributaries draining to the Tigris, extends both to the northern mountain ranges at a distance of 35–45 km and to the southern ranges about 15–20 km away.

The fertile plain along both banks of the river is now used for cultivation and agricultural activities, as it probably was in antiquity. East of the Batman-Tigris confluence, this gives way to a very different kind of landscape, mainly consisting of eroding uplands. Between the limits of the Raman Dağı mountain range to the north and high plateaus of uneven terrain to the south, only a small strip of floodplain and of narrow river terraces is left available for agricultural activities on each side of the main stream and its tributaries, along with isolated pockets of debris accumulation (e.g., around Hasankeyf, east of Batman along the Garzan Çay, and north of Savur in the central Tur Abdin). The surrounding hinterland consists of a mountainous landscape of rough terrain. High hills with partially exposed bedrock and seasonal *wadis* formed by centuries of erosion shape the landscape. This terrain extends to the Siirt region, where the Tigris River turns south again and cuts its way through the mountain ranges towards the

5 See Wiggermann 2000, 172–174 with older literature; Koliński 2001, 3–21; Radner 2004, 70–71.

6 I am greatly indebted to Michael Roaf and Andreas Schachner for their ongoing support of my research. As this is part of my Ph.D. research, in this paper I would like to raise questions and hypotheses about some of the issues presented. The in-depth analysis of the data is still ongoing and hence incontrovertible results are not to be expected at this point, yet some central issues can be addressed and discussed as far as is possible without anticipating future developments. I would like to thank the editor for giving me the opportunity to present my research within the scope of the piedmont workshop. Any errors remain the author's responsibility.

7 The Landsat and ASTER datasets and that from the CORONA satellite, which was declassified in 1995, have been used extensively in a variety of landscape studies (Ur 2003; Wilkinson *et al.* 2005). However, Google Earth presents an equally useful tool for analyzing landscapes and settlement patterns as long as suitable high resolution datasets are available.

8 For a general introduction to the topography, see e.g., Hütteroth 1982, fig. 26. A detailed description of the area is also provided by Andrew Palmer (Palmer 1990, 107–109). Research on the geoarchaeological development of the upper Tigris valley has been conducted by Catherine Kuzucuoğlu and Uğur Doğan (Kuzucuoğlu 2002; Doğan 2005). Further research by Kathleen Nicoll and Timothy Demko was conducted within the scope of the Ziyaret Tepe Archaeological Project (Matney *et al.* 2003, 200–202; Matney / Rainville 2005, 42–44). An in-depth analysis was presented recently in Nicoll 2010a, 2010b.

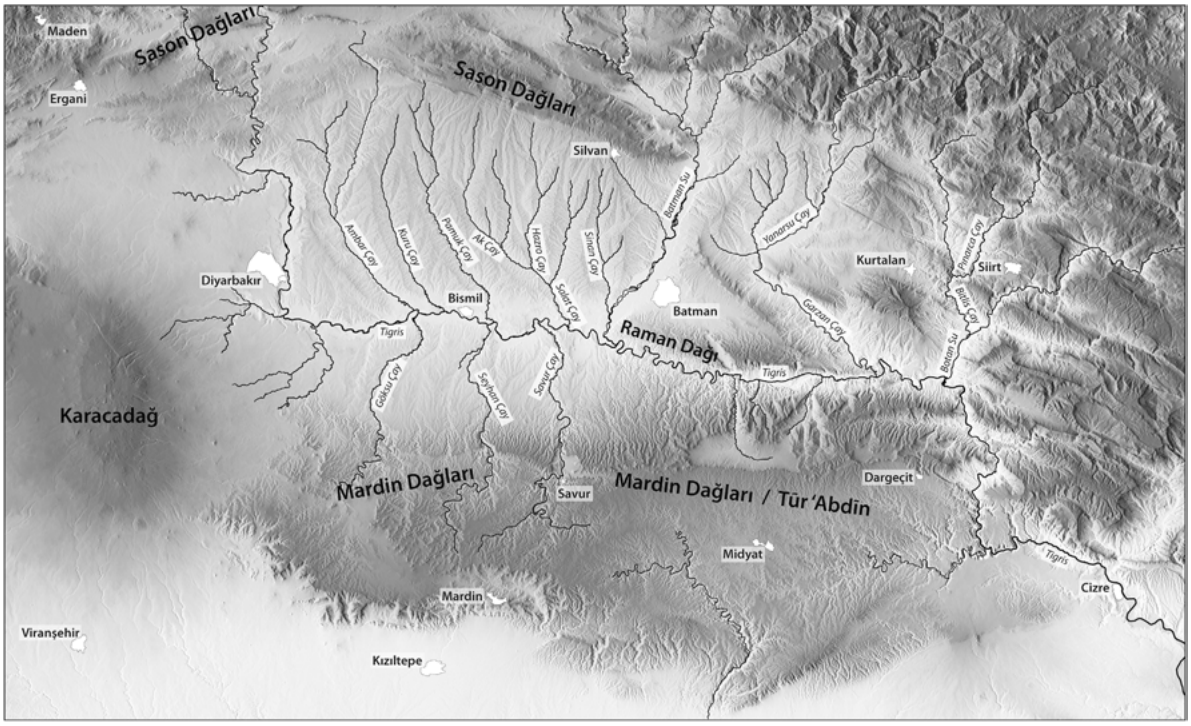


Fig. 1 | Topographic map of the region with shaded relief. A detail of the map below shows the location of known Middle Bronze Age sites (modern towns are hatched).

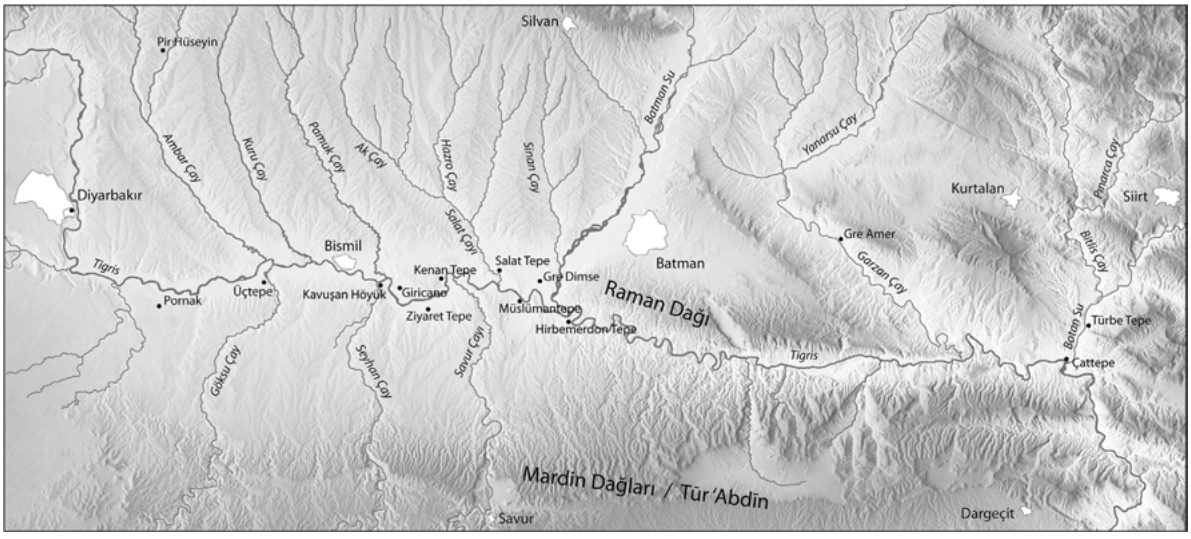


Fig. 2 | Map showing location of sites discussed in the text (black dots) and of modern towns (hatched).

Cizre plain. Today this region is predominantly used for animal husbandry, as it probably was in antiquity.[9]

This dichotomy in the region's topography, and thus in its accessibility and economic usability, not only shapes the modern land-use but also suggests that a similar pattern existed in antiquity, resulting in a diversity of agricultural practices. Moreover we should also bear in mind that a different kind of vegetation was present in antiquity, which has now almost totally vanished[10] and given way to irrigated fields and cotton plantations: open woodland of scattered oaks and pistachios providing sufficient habitat for deer and other wild animals, whose bones have been excavated on several sites.[11]

This diversity is also represented in the botanical samples retrieved: huge amounts of carbonated bulk crops such as barley and emmer are present, as are legumes and grapes.[12] The role of the vine in the economy of Assyrian times (Radner 2006, 286) should not be neglected; vines are still cultivated today in the Tur Abdin mountains, where they provide the local communities with wine and grapes.

The area lies within the semi-arid climatic zone of southeastern Turkey, north of the 250 mm isohyet required for rain-fed agriculture (annual precipitation ranges from 500 to 600 mm). Yet it is possible that irrigation systems were used in some areas to increase the variety and abundance of crops cultivated.[13] In other areas, particularly in the reach of the Tigris east of Bismil, where the river meanders in a wide alluvial valley, numerous karstic depressions such as ponds, sinkholes, and dolines and an elevated groundwater table provide an abundance of water and even transform parts of the land into swampland when no efficient water management is provided (Nicoll 2010a, 417–418, fig. 8; 2010b, fig. 5).

The division of the region into different environmental zones used for cultivation and for pastoralism raises the question of suitable land for settlements. Usually one would consider survey methods, the landscape, and the general visibility and character of archaeological sites, yet this cannot be done at this point. For the moment, potential areas can be highlighted: geoarchaeological and geomorphological research has provided insight into the Quarternary development of the riverbed and land subsidence and into Holocene environmental changes. For the area between Bismil and Batman it has been demonstrated that from the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age there was a period of prolonged sedimentation and recurring river flooding in an incising and meandering fluvial environment, making the floodplains almost uninhabitable (Kuzucuoğlu 2002; Doğan 2005, table 1–2, 84). The archaeological data corroborate these results, as some of the settlements on the lower terrace were partly eroded (Müslümantepe, Kavuşan Höyük), and Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age levels were covered by silt bands (Aşağı Salat Tepe, Kavuşan Höyük, Hakime Use Tepe). Most of the sites settled at the end of the Early

9 This has to remain an assumption, however likely, as long as data from comprehensive archaeobotanical and archaeozoological research are lacking, which makes it difficult to evaluate ancient flora and fauna on a regional scale (Ur in Laneri *et al.* 2008b, 201 and Laneri *et al.* 2008a; Ur / Hammer 2009).

10 Rosenberg *et al.* 1998. Macrofossil analysis has been conducted in the region south of the Tur Abdin; it indicates a reduction of wooded vegetation at the end of the Early Bronze Age (Deckers / Riehl 2007, with additional literature).

11 Both in Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe bones and antlers of deer and other wild animals have been excavated (author's observation). A detailed analysis is ongoing and will be published soon within the scope of the final publications. Results from Hirbemerdon Tepe support this idea (Berthon in Laneri *et al.* 2008b, 196–200). Historic sources from the reign of Aššur-bēl-kalâ (1073–1056 BC) corroborate this by mentioning gazelles, ibex, and deer being bred there (Radner 2006, 284).

12 Especially in Ziyaret Tepe an unusually large amount of charred grain was excavated (author's observation) and in Giricano the presence of numerous grape seeds is known (Andreas Schachner, pers. comm.). From Hirbemerdon Tepe grape pips and processing installations for wine have been identified (Laneri *et al.* 2008b, 186–187).

13 Due to intensive agricultural activities and irrigation in modern times it is not possible to evaluate this question definitively, as almost no features that could support or refute this hypothesis have been preserved.

Bronze Age and in the Middle Bronze Age were for this reason located on higher ground, on the second or third river terrace or along and between the tributaries and seasonal streams; they were thus secure from river flooding and at the same time it was possible to cover the area with a dense network of settlements. East of the Batman Su, where the mountain range of the Tur Abdin abuts the Tigris River in the south and the landscape changes to a high-relief terrain, suitable housing space can be found mainly on strategic routes along the watercourses and through the mountains, confining the settlement network to specific areas and transversal routes.

2. Historical and material evidence

If we turn our attention to the historical sources and monuments for the upper Tigris region in the late third through mid-second millennium, it becomes evident that the region was always part of the sphere of interest of northern Mesopotamian rulers and polities.[14] It is believed that parts of the region played an integral part in the transport and trade route system in the third and second millennium.[15] Its importance lies in its proximity to the copper source at Ergani Maden and to several inter-regional routes connecting the Mesopotamian plains with the Anatolian highlands, giving access to rich resources. The most important routes, mainly attested in Assyrian sources (Kessler 1980; 1995; Radner 2006), lead across the Tur Abdin mountains via north-south oriented valleys (Göksu, Savur Çay) connecting the upper Tigris valley with the region south of it.

Natural resources, the intermediary position of the region, and its ideologically charged landscape at the headwaters and sources of the two major rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, prompted several attempts to incorporate the upper Tigris region into the northern Mesopotamian entities or at least to utilize it. Evidence for this can be found in the victory stela of the Akkadian king Narām-Sîn (2254–2218 BC) from Pir Hüseyin,[16] or the Mari archive. After the period covered by the Mari archives and a gap in the historical record that has begun to be bridged,[17] the number of historical sources increases, especially with the Mittanian and Assyrian expansion and the region's incorporation into these empires (Radner 2004, 72).

3. A short history of research

The first significant archaeological survey in the regions between Bismil and Cizre was conducted by Guillermo Algaze between 1988 and 1991 within the framework of a reconnaissance project along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers (Algaze 1989; Algaze *et al.* 1991). The Middle Bronze Age ceramic evidence was difficult to identify at this stage and was interpreted as 'Classical period red/brown washed

14 The importance of the region's history and the problem posed by the lack of historical sources from the region have been stressed by Norbert Karg (Karg 1999, 272–283). Further research on historical sources for this region in different periods has been presented by Kessler 1980; Liverani 1995; Radner / Schachner 2001; Radner 2004; and Sallaberger 2007 (with further literature).

15 For a discussion of the different trade routes and especially the upper Tigris region: Larsen 1967; 1976; Muhly 1973, 199–208; Kessler 1980; Nashef 1987; Kelly-Buccellati 1990; Forlanini 2006.

16 Börker-Klähn 1982, 133, fig. 25. A new survey project is being conducted by Brian Peasnall and Guillermo Algaze (Peasnall / Algaze 2010).

17 E.g., by cuneiform tablets from an illicit excavation, allegedly found in the upper Tigris region (Karg 1999, 274–275, with additional literature).

ware'(RBWW), and ascribed to the Roman-Byzantine period (Algaze 1989, 245, 249; Algaze *et al.* 1991: 182–183, 198). The assumption of this apparent lack of Middle Bronze Age pottery led to the proposal that either there was a thus far unrecognized ceramic assemblage in use in this period or there was an actual absence of Middle Bronze Age occupation. The first scenario turned out to be correct when excavations under the direction of Veli Sevin commenced at Üçtepe, accompanied by a survey project covering the western part of the region between Diyarbakır and Bismil (Köroğlu 1998, 109–110; Özfırat 2006, 45). The Üçtepe assemblage was first presented in 1992 (Sevin 1992; 1993) and was completely published in 2006 by Aynur Özfırat (Özfirat 2006). It shows significant conformity with the material from the recent excavations and can be dated by stratigraphy and two associated Khabur Ware jars (Sevin 1993, 177, fig. 7; Özfirat 2006, 26–27, 53, pl. 90.1–2, pl. 91.1,3).

With the initiation of the rescue projects, a survey at Ziyaret Tepe brought to light more of this mysterious Red Brown Wash Ware, which was now identified by Timothy Matney with the Middle Bronze Age occupation of the site (Matney 1998, 11–12; 1999a; 1999b; McDonald in Matney *et al.* 2003, 183–186).

Except for the Üçtepe excavation, which started earlier, all the major excavations in the area were performed as part of the salvage project mentioned already. Among the sites excavated during this project, Middle Bronze Age material was found at Kavuşan Höyük,[18] Ziyaret Tepe,[19] Müslümantepe,[20] and Hirbemerdon Tepe (Laneri *et al.* 2006; 2007; 2008a; 2008b) on the southern bank of the Tigris, and at Giricano,[21] Kenan Tepe (Parker / Dodd 2003; Parker *et al.* 2004), and Salat Tepe (Ökse / Görmüş 2006; Ökse 2006; 2007) on the northern bank, and at Türbe Tepe,[22] north of the confluence of the Bohtan Su and the Tigris.

The importance of this period and its material culture's characteristics and peculiarities are now a focus of research for many projects along the upper Tigris River, and the previous perceived gap in the data is steadily being replaced by results obtained from sites in the region.

4. Ziyaret Tepe – an urban settlement?

Ziyaret Tepe is a large mounded site located on a river terrace on the southern bank of the Tigris. It consists of a high mound of approximately 5 ha in size surrounded by a lower town of 29 ha in area.

The importance of the site was first recognized by Karlheinz Kessler (Kessler 1980), who argued that it should be identified as the Late Assyrian provincial capital Tušḫan (Middle Assyrian Tušḫu) on the northern border of the Assyrian empire.[23]

18 For preliminary information on the Middle Bronze Age levels exposed at Kavuşan Höyük see Kozbe *et al.* 2004; <http://edebiyat.ege.edu.tr/bolumler/arkeoloji/Protohistorya/ English/Projeler/kavusan.htm> (accessed 2011–02–01); <http://arkeoloji.ege.edu.tr/Protohistorya/Projeler/excavatio ns_at_kavusan_hoyuk.htm> (accessed 2011–02–01).

19 Matney 1998; 1999a; 1999b; Matney *et al.* 2002a; 2003; Matney / Rainville 2005; Bartl 2005; Roaf / Schachner 2005; Bartl 2012.

20 I am indebted to Eyüp Ay for letting me visit his excavation in the summer of 2009 and giving me the opportunity to examine the results on site.

21 Schachner 2002a; 2002b; 2003a; 2003b; Radner 2004; Roaf / Schachner 2005; Bartl 2005. A detailed analysis of the architecture and some of its material evidence is presented in Bartl 2012, hence at this point only a short summary will be given in order to avoid repetitions.

22 I am indebted to Haluk Sağlamtemir for allowing me to visit Türbe Tepe in 2005 and giving me the opportunity to study the results on site.

23 This identification is now accepted by most scholars. For a re-evaluation of the proposed identification of Üçtepe with Tušḫan (Köroğlu 1998, 103–106), see Radner / Schachner 2001, 754–757; Radner 2004, 115.

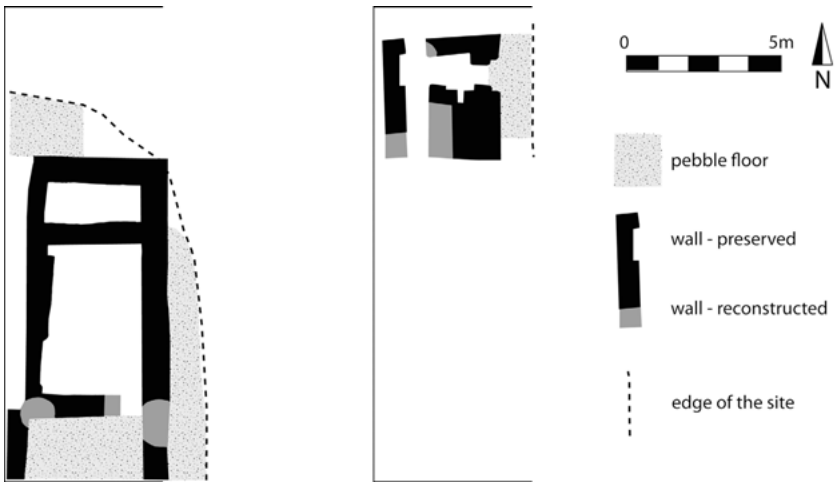


Fig. 3 | Middle Bronze Age architecture from Operation E. The Brightly Burned Building (left) and the White Plaster Building (right).

The first systematic recording was done in 1989 within the scope of the reconnaissance project along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers (Algaze *et al.* 1991, 183). Since 1997 extensive research has taken place on a regular basis under the direction of Timothy Matney of the University of Akron, Ohio. Between 2000 and 2005 the Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie of the Ludwig-Maxilimians-Universität München participated in the investigations at Ziyaret Tepe[24] with the aim of excavating a 5 m wide and 45 m long step trench, called Operation E, running down the eastern side of the high mound. The principal goal was to understand the sequence of occupation at the site and synchronize it with that of other sites such as Giricano on the other side of the Tigris.

4.1 The Brightly Burned Building

The occupational sequence observed in step trench E covers the Early Bronze Age through the Medieval Period. The most interesting, and by far most spectacular, discovery is a Middle Bronze Age single-period building destroyed by a fire of exceptional violence. The intense heat fired parts of the collapsed ceiling as well as the mud-brick walls and turned them into a kaleidoscope of bright colors ranging from red to orange, yellow, green, gray, and black. The excavated part of the building, which was for obvious reasons called the Brightly Burned Building (henceforth BBB), was exposed over an area of about 12 × 6 m, including two extensions to the original step trench (fig. 3). The architecture consists of two rooms of unequal size, a paved external surface to the east of it, and part of an enclosed courtyard to the south. Of the two rooms excavated completely, the northern one is quite narrow and shows no sign of an entrance, aside from a small, approximately square, 40 × 40 cm opening in the wall between this room and the southern one. The latter is almost four times as big; an entrance can be reconstructed at its southeastern corner, later destroyed by a pit. Both rooms were filled with burnt debris from the first floor and ceiling of the building, covering the original inventory of the rooms. The debris in the northern room consisted of the collapse of the ceiling and several fragments of an unbaked clay container prob-

24 The work was directed by Michael Roaf and was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft as part of the research project *The Northern Frontiers of Mesopotamia*. This project also included the excavation of Giricano, on the opposite side of the Tigris about 5 km upstream.

ably intended to store grain. Interestingly, parts of this container were also found in the southern room, indicating that the floor plan of the first floor may have deviated from that of the rooms below.

The debris in the southern room covers a homogeneous, densely packed layer of differently colored ash of up to 50 cm height, suggesting storage of straw.[25] The collapsed floor was made out of several layers of straw- and pebble-tempered mud, indicating repeated repairs, and bore the impressions of beams and reeds from the ceiling construction on the lower side.

Numerous vessels were found that originated from the first floor; a bin made out of mud bricks was preserved in the southwestern corner and several other fragments of unfired clay containers, lids, and other storage devices were recovered.

The contemporary open space to the south contained sherds of large storage jars and fragmentary burnt wooden beams; the surface to the north of the BBB, which abuts the northern room at a slightly higher level, was cut away by a later foundation trench and generated almost no finds.

The pottery assemblage from the BBB consists of the typical deep and shallow carinated bowls, cooking ware vessels with or without handles, and storage jars.[26] However, the intensive burning often makes it impossible to assign them to the group of Middle Bronze Age RBWW, as the original surface treatment cannot be identified in all cases. The forms, however, can be attributed to the spectrum typical of other Middle Bronze Age sites in the region.[27]

^{14}C-samples from the debris of the BBB indicate a date in the second quarter of the second millennium (Bartl 2005, 157, fig. 6; Roaf in Mathney / Rainville 2005, 22), between the 17th and 16th century BC, which may explain the low percentage of sherds with the typical thick RBWW surface treatment.

The building seems to have been used for storage in the basement rooms and for living and domestic activities in the upper story. This is corroborated by objects like *calculi* (tokens), which may have been used for domestic-administrative purposes,[28] and several animal figurines and a female baked clay figurine (Roaf in Matney / Rainville 2005, 22, fig. 3c; Bartl 2012, fig. 5), which were found above the collapsed ceiling of the southern room and may indicate that domestic-ritual tasks were carried out here.

4.2 The White Plaster Building

To the north of the BBB a small portion of an earlier building was uncovered. It is best recognized by the multiple white plaster layers on its walls, for which reason it was called the White Plaster Building (henceforth WPB). The main characteristic of this building is the entrance, which is stepped and opens onto a small corridor with another niche in its southern wall leading to two doorways (fig. 3). The purpose of this building is still unclear, as the area exposed is too limited to provide a clear idea of its function.

25 This is supported by numerous burnt bones of mice, which may have been living in the room during that period.

26 For a preliminary assessment of the pottery see McDonald in Matney *et al.* 2003, 183–186, figs. 6–8; Bartl 2005; Bartl 2012.

27 Bartl 2005, fig. 8; Üçtepe (level 11): Özfırat 2006; Kenan Tepe: Parker / Dodd 2003; Hirbemerdon Tepe: Laneri *et al.* 2006, 2008b; Salat Tepe: Ökse 2006, and her article in this volume.

28 Parallels can be found in Tell Munbaqa (Werner in Czichon / Werner 1998, 229–233, pl. 139.2639–2667) or Tell 'Atīğ (Fortin 1989, 47–48, figs. 15–17). Yet the interpretation of calculi as a sign of administrative activities must be considered with caution, as argued in Pfälzner 2008, 176.

4.3 The late third millennium levels

The layers beneath the WPB and BBB are characterized by the presence of hemispherical Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls (DROB),[29] a type-fossil for the late third and early second millennium in the upper Tigris region that seems to have been produced locally and exported to the Khabur region, where it occurs occasionally in Akkadian and post-Akkadian levels (e.g., Tell Brak: Oates *et al.* 2001, 162). A comparable dating is suggested at several other sites where an assemblage of DROB types, often mixed with pottery identified as RBWW,[30] precedes the Middle Bronze Age occupation and has been interpreted as possibly Early Bronze Age–Middle Bronze Age transitional.[31] Due to the limited area available for excavation, only several pebble floors associated with a mud-brick wall were uncovered.

4.4 The Mittani levels

The levels above the BBB consist of several pits covered by a series of more than 20 external surfaces and associated features. The material evidence is typical for the early Mittanian period and has parallels throughout northern Mesopotamia (McDonald in Oates *et al.* 1997, 62–77; Pfälzner 1995, pl. 1–66). As the two ceramic assemblages show virtually no connection, there must have been a short gap in the history of occupation, as observations from Giricano seem to confirm (Schachner in Radner 2004, 5).

5. Giricano – a small fortified settlement?

Giricano, first identified by Algaze (Algaze *et al.* 1991, 183, fig. 2b), is located east of Bismil on the northern bank of the Tigris, atop an almost completely eroded river-terrace (Doğan 2005, 76–77, fig. 2, fig. 4, river-terrace T2). The site covers an area of approximately 2 ha and is located between two similar-sized settlement sites: Kenan Tepe to the east and the as yet unexplored site of Çayırlık Tepe to the northwest. The floodplain of the river, which here flows southwards, defines the southern limit of the site and the land under direct control of the settlement, and provides a relatively easy river crossing to other sites with Middle Bronze Age levels on the southern bank of the river, such as Kavuşan Höyük and Ziyaret Tepe.

Excavations took place from 2000 through 2003 under the direction of Andreas Schachner of the Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität.[32] The chronological sequence of occupation uncovered at Giricano covers the Chalcolithic, the early part of the Early Bronze Age, the Middle Bronze Age, the Mittanian period, the Middle Assyrian period, and the Iron Age. The levels of the second millennium BC, which take centre stage in this paper, are embedded between layers of the Iron Age and those of the early third millennium.

29 For an analysis of the fabric and its provenance, see Kibaroğlu 2008.

30 However, it has to be noted that no precise definition of RBWW has been agreed (see Bartl 2005, 155, fig. 3, n. 13; Bartl 2012, n. 27, n. 63) and that the surface treatment of the wares associated with DROB is much more precise, with a very competent control of the firing process, unlike the extensive variations found in the RBWW from the subsequent period.

31 Hirbemerdon Tepe (sub-phase B): Laneri *et al.* 2008b, 187–192; Salat Tepe (level 2): Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 188–189; Üçtepe (level 13–11): Özfirat 2006, 59.

32 This project was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft as part of the research project *The Northern Frontiers of Mesopotamia*. It also included the research at the nearby site of Ziyaret Tepe, offering a first possibility of comparing the sites' connection andstratigraphic development and the relation between a small village and a large urban settlement.

5.1 Mittani and Middle Assyrian period

Both Mittanian and Middle Assyrian occupational remains[33] were heavily disturbed by erosion, later pits, and medieval graves. Their architecture could be reconstructed, thus far, only in parts; it features structures with small walls, rebuilt several times with slightly differing alignments. In the older levels, a building area and an open space for different activities, such as metalworking, could be distinguished in the more recent levels; the area changed its character gradually to a storage and later a dumping area. Thus several pits were dug, cutting the earlier second millennium buildings beneath, and later filled with waste; they contained sherds of the standard Middle Assyrian pottery assemblage (Schachner 2002b, 26–35). Close to one of these pits a small cuneiform archive was found in a jar, which was sealed with the base of a bowl. The date of these tablets between 1068 and 1069 BC gives an approximate *terminus post quem* for the end of Middle Assyrian control over the area (Radner 2004, 115–118, 136).

5.2 Middle Bronze Age

The Middle Bronze Age occupation can be subdivided into two successive building complexes, represented by buildings A/D and by Building C.[34] Each building has several sub-phases, indicating different building stages and reinforcements. A structure that was excavated at the western foot of the mound, Building B, is part of a fortification system and seems to have been in use in both phases.

Building C

The latest Middle Bronze Age building complex (Building C) seems to have covered the entire central part of the mound and is characterized by a courtyard and several adjacent room units. The northern part of the courtyard was paved with river cobbles and is abutted by a wall with three rooms, which were originally plastered with a layer of lime on the interior, as can be seen in two blocked doorways and several fragmentary floor and wall surfaces. The northern part of this unit of rooms has been subject to considerable erosion, yet the remains show some reinforcements of walls, recognizable in building joins, that suggest several phases of occupation and reinforcement. On the southern side of the mound a second unit of rooms was identified as being part of Building C. At least five rooms with the same alignment (rooms A-6 to A-10) abut the central courtyard. This architectural unit can be subdivided into at least two different phases of occupation, as can the northern unit. It features a central, probably open area, with remains of ovens, benches, and other installations, and surrounded by rooms, which makes an interpretation as a working area plausible; however, it is not entirely clear whether purely domestic or communal activities took place there. The material evidence from this building complex has to be treated with caution, because the northern room unit is partly disturbed. The inventories discovered *in situ* can generally be assigned to the end of the Middle Bronze Age (Bartl 2012) and are characterized by

33 A preliminary publication of the Middle Assyrian levels can be found in: Schachner 2002b, 27–28; Schachner in Radner 2004, 5–9. A more detailed analysis including the Late Bronze Age levels on the southern slope is in progress.

34 The letters were assigned to the building complexes according to their date of excavation and not their stratigraphic sequence.

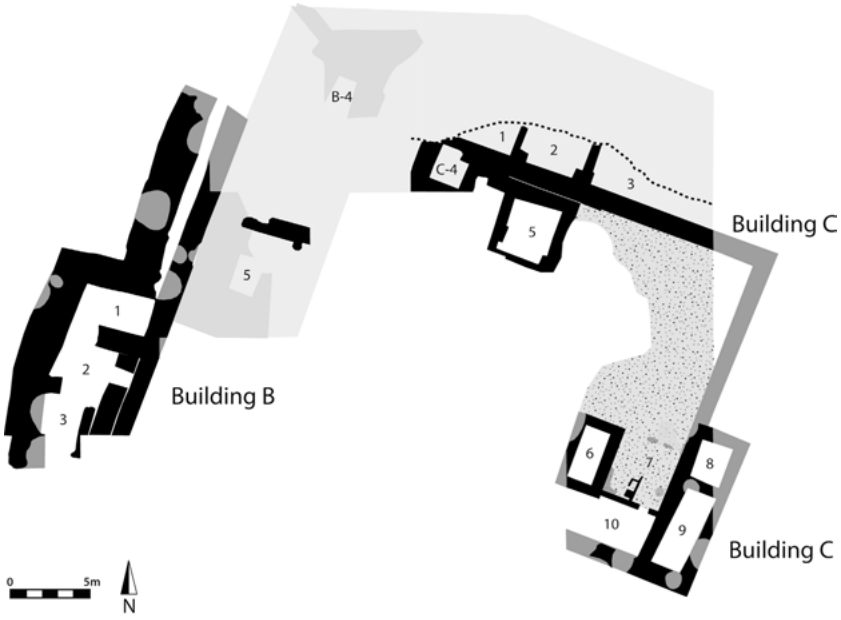


Fig. 4 | Architectural plan of the later Middle Bronze Age occupation – Buildings B and C.

sherds of large storage jars of RBWW types, of band-painted pottery that may be related to Khabur ware, and of unpainted vessels and bowls. Objects such as grinders, pestles, mortars, clay stamps with concentric circles, and footed terracotta plates can be connected to domestic activities such as processing foodstuffs and the production of equipment.

Building A/D

The architecture of Building C is separated from its predecessor, the building complex Building A/D, by a thin layer of ashy debris covering almost half the mound. The northern part (Building A) is quite well preserved and consists of two rows of small rooms which were partly cut into the northern side of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age mound and partly erected on a mud-brick platform. The floors of the rooms were covered with lime plaster and, as no doorways have been identified, it is likely that these were basement rooms accessed from above.

On the western slope of the mound, erosion has affected preservation even more seriously. Only a few remains of stone foundations resting on the mud-brick platform have survived. On the southern side of the mound, however, parts of another structural unit (Building D) have been exposed: at least four rooms with several building phases can be distinguished. On one of the walls an unusual building technique was observed, which involved a layer of reed and thin wood covering the stone foundation. A similar building technique has also been observed at Salat Tepe (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 187). The contemporaneity of Building D with Building A can be established from the stratigraphic sequence, level of foundation, and alignment.

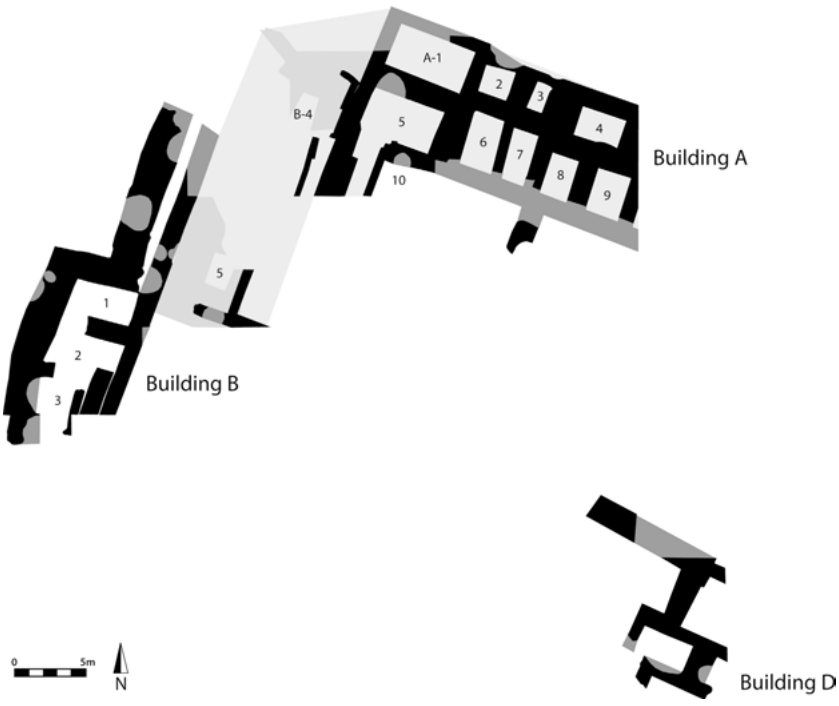


Fig. 5 | Architectural plan of the earlier Middle Bronze Age occupation – Buildings A/D and B.

Building B

It is not entirely clear whether the structures at the western foot of the mound were in use at the same time as both Building C and Building A/D, because the steep slope has caused most of the features to erode. Yet the main characteristics of the architecture – a monumental fortification and a *pisé* structure that supports a mud-brick platform – would have been useful in both phases and Building A, at least, was directly linked to the construction of the fortification and platform that covers parts of the northern and western slope of the mound. This construction made it possible for the abandoned and probably partly eroded site on the river terrace to be prepared for Building A. This can also be observed on the southern slope northwest of Building D, where a monumental wall appears to retain parts of the central mound. The mud-brick architecture of the fortification itself has not survived, yet the broad foundations indicate a massive fortification. Several rooms arranged between the fortification and the *pisé* wall (Rooms B-1 to B-3) contained large storage jars of RBWW type, as did two small rooms embedded into the mud-brick platform (Rooms B-4 and B-5). Further finds include clay stamps like those found in Building C,[35] fragments of portable andirons,[36] and a perforated bronze tube used as a tip for a drinking straw;[37] most of these finds seem to have come from the upper story, as indicated by their findspot in the fill of the rooms or in debris accumulated after the abandonment of the building. Only in one room were

35 Bartl 2012, figs. 2–3. Similar clay stamps were found in Salat Tepe (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 182, fig. 38), Nuzi (Starr 1937–1939, 59, pl. 97), Tell Brak (Oates *et al*. 1997, 47; fig. 180.23), and Üçtepe (Özfirat 2006, pl. 94.5–6, 95.9–11). For a more general discussion of terracotta stamp seals of this kind see von Wickede 1990, 52–61.

36 Bartl 2012, fig. 3. The portable andirons have parallels in Salat Tepe (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 185, fig. 46), Hirbemerdon Tepe (Laneri *et al*. 2006, 166–167, figs. 9.2–3; 16), Kenan Tepe (Parker / Dodd 2003, 36), Üçtepe (Özfirat 2006, 53–54, fig. 95.13), and Ziyaret Tepe.

37 Similar perforated tubes as tips for beer-straws were mostly found in Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age layers in numerous sites in the ancient Near East, e.g., Tell Munbaqa (Czichon / Werner 1998, 92–94, pl. 89–90) and the lower town of Tell Bazi (Otto 2006, 116, fig. 57.5).

finds preserved *in situ*: a pottery assemblage and an oven-installation consisting of a horseshoe-shaped hearth incised with a line-and-dot pattern.[38]

Building B is thus an integral part of the foundation platform for Building A and it is likely that during the Middle Bronze Age the whole mound was encircled by the fortification wall.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe have to be understood as part of a local, self-contained culture which prospered in the upper Tigris region during the late third and the first half of the second millennium. This cultural complex is situated between the East Anatolian highlands, featuring Transcaucasian elements, to the north and east, the valleys of the upper Euphrates to the west, and the north Mesopotamian plains south of the Tur Abdin (Mardin Dağları), featuring Khabur Ware and second millennium horizons.

This culture seems to have had its first florescence during the period at the end of the third millennium when DROB were in use. Not only in the excavations, but also on survey projects (Özfirat 2006; Peasnall / Algaze 2010) they have been identified at numerous sites as preceding the bulk of the RBWW. The hiatus at Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe prior to the appearance of this pottery assemblage may imply the change to or advent of a new settlement pattern and sociopolitical order. Yet, as mentioned above, pottery found with the DROB has certain similarities with the surface treatment of the RBWW and the quantity of DROB declines with the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. Whether this should be seen as part of a change in pottery style or as the result of a broader impact is not entirely clear. The most characteristic feature of the Middle Bronze Age pottery tradition (RBWW), however, remains ubiquitous until the end of the period.

This observation can be corroborated by the evidence from Ziyaret Tepe and Giricano. After the latter was resettled in the late third millennium (Schachner 2002b, 48–49), the ancient mound was leveled in parts and a mud-brick and *pisé* platform was erected that included a fortification surrounding the site (Building B). Resting upon this was a two-storied monumental building (Building A/D), which was partly cut into the pre-existing slope of the ancient mound. After a short phase of decay (Bartl 2012, n. 68), the structures were leveled and the subterranean rooms filled with debris to prepare the surface for a later building (Building C). Building C followed approximately the same orientation as its predecessor building, despite its different architectural layout. However, both Middle Bronze Age building complexes seem to be the results of a central organization involved in the planning and construction of the settlement, as can be concluded from the standardized building techniques.

A similar building technique and character can be observed at Salat Tepe, level II. Here five room units were constructed around a central courtyard on a mud-brick platform.[39] Similarities in the architecture are matched by the objects found within the settlements: a homogeneous assemblage of large storage jars of RBWW,[40] smaller quantities of small vessels such as carinated bowls and cooking ware

38 Schachner 2002a, 594, fig. 11.1–2. Parallels dated between 1900 and 1600 BC have been found in Tell Mozan (Kelly-Buccellati 2004, 74). For general discussion of such hearths see: Smogorzewska 2004.

39 The complex has been interpreted by the excavators as a facility for the storage and administration of agricultural products (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 187).

40 The pottery assemblage from Building A/D covers the first half of the Middle Bronze Age. Whether residual sherds of DROB can be interpreted as evidence for a late third millennium occupation is not entirely clear. A similar situation can be observed at Hirbemerdon Tepe (sub-phase B) and Kavuşan Höyük. The pottery from Building C can preliminarily be dated to the second half of the Middle Bronze Age – at least according to some *in situ* inventories from the southern slope (Bartl 2012).

vessels, clay stamps, andirons, grinding stones, mortars, and terracotta work platforms. This supports an interpretation of the site as a storage and processing facility for agricultural products.

After several occupational phases characterized by different rebuilding activities, the architectural complex was abandoned before the site was reoccupied in the Mittani and Middle Assyrian period.[41] Now the settlement is of a different type, showing characteristics of a village-like structure consisting of a series of individual houses built in an agglutinating manner. Despite the fact that political governance changed dramatically between these periods, the purpose of the site seems to have stayed the same.[42]

Regarding continuity and chronological development at Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe, it has to be noted that the two sites had a different character and thus a different function. Even though the BBB in Ziyaret Tepe is hard to interpret due to the small area uncovered so far, the objects contained within it indicate a use of the rooms that is partly domestic (first story) and partly economic (subterranean rooms). Leaving aside the obvious problems with the pottery assemblage arising from the badly preserved surface, the ceramics comprise storage vessels, carinated bowls and vessels, beakers, a lid, and clay containers. Parallels with the pottery from Üçtepe (levels 11–10) (Özfırat 2006, 19–38), Salat Tepe (level II) (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 190), and Hirbemerdon Tepe (sub-phase A) (Laneri *et al*. 2007, 81; 2008b, 179) suggest the approximate contemporaneity of these levels in the later part of the Middle Bronze Age.[43]

The WPB and older levels yielded only a limited amount of pottery, making an accurate assessment of their date difficult. It has to be noted, however, that both DROB and pottery that has been identified as a type of RBWW occur in levels earlier than the WPB, indicating a date for these levels before the turn of the third millennium, contemporaneous with Hirbemerdon Tepe (sub-phase B) (Laneri *et al*. 2007, 81; 2008b, 179), Kenan Tepe (Parker / Dodd 2003), Üçtepe (level 13–12) (Özfırat 2006, 15–16, 26), and Kavuşan Höyük (Kozbe 2009).

At present, it can be concluded that the upper Tigris region did not suffer from the collapse or decline of urban institutions that affected some parts of northern Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium. It appears instead that in this region there was increased precipitation at the end of the Early Bronze Age (see above) and it was therefore able to develop independently into a self-contained culture, with an independent pottery tradition characterized by DROB and RBWW. Moreover, the diversity of landscapes and agricultural products, noted above, allowed for the formation of an urban-style society, as is suggested on the basis of large Middle Bronze Age centers such as Pir Hüseyin (23 ha?),[44] Ziyaret Tepe (minimum of 6 ha),[45] Üçtepe (minimum of 8 ha),[46] and Hirbemerdon Tepe (about 10 ha) (Laneri *et al*. 2008b).

41 Schachner in Radner 2004, 9. A short hiatus is indicated by a layer of debris. However a certain amount of continuity and even reuse of the pre-existing platform can be postulated by the alignment of the architecture and by stratigraphic observations.

42 The character of the finds, including cylinder seals of Mittani Common Style (Schachner 2002b, 35–37, fig. 27) and the Middle Assyrian archive (Radner 2004), indicate a similar function. It has to be noted, however, that the purpose of the Middle Bronze Age occupation is thus far based solely on the architectural and archaeological evidence. To follow this up, the character of the architecture of subsequent periods still has to be studied in that respect, in order to better understand why it changed and how this change affected the function of the settlement.

43 This correlation is supported by radiocarbon dates (Bartl 2012, n. 79–80) which place the BBB in the 17th and 16th century.

44 According to Peasnall / Algaze 2010 the whole mound and lower town were settled during the late Early Bronze Age and subsequent Middle Bronze Age.

45 It is not clear whether and, if so, which parts of the lower town were settled during the Middle Bronze Age. Some late third millennium and Middle Bronze Age–Late Bronze Age transitional material evidence from Operation D (MacGinnis in Matney *et al*. 2002b, 60–62; figs. 14–19) suggests such settlement, but this could have come in as intrusive material.

46 The high mound, at least, was settled during the Middle Bronze Age (Özfirat 2006). It is, however, likely that a lower town existed as well.

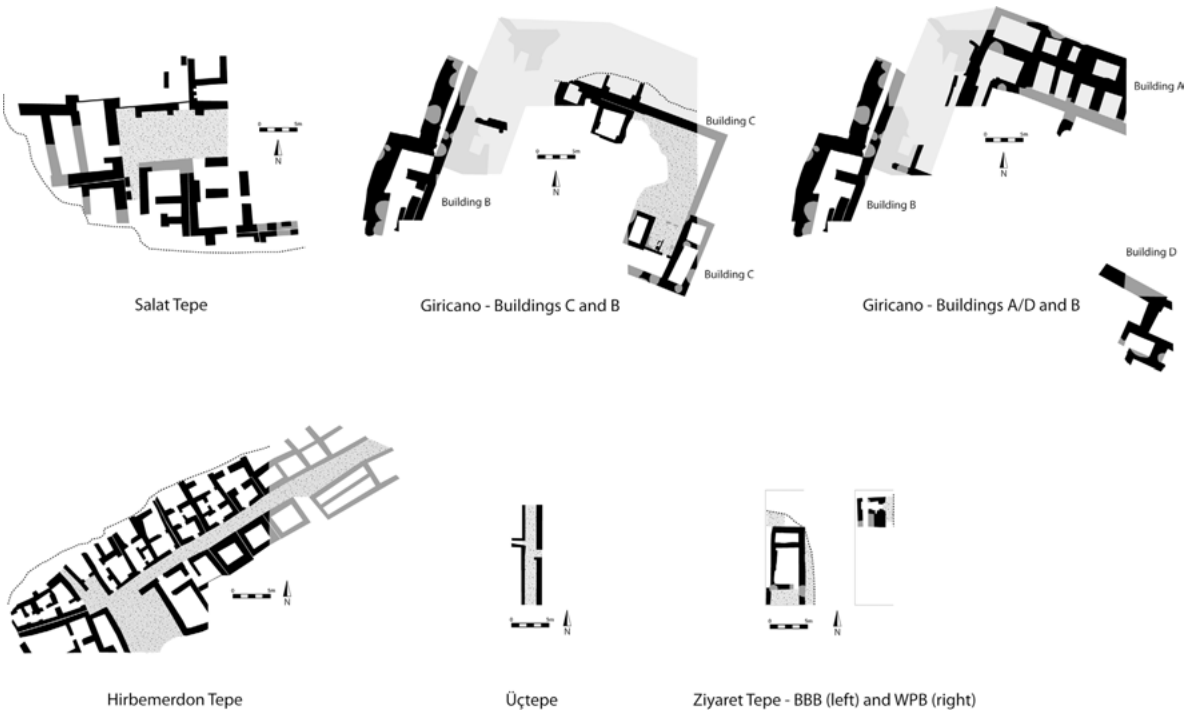


Fig. 6 | Comparison of building complexes and excavation areas at different sites.

With an evolving complex society, there developed a need to facilitate agricultural activities and production. Diversity of settlements was a response. As well as large urban centers and small village-like settlements, there was a further kind of settlement, consisting of planned single building-complexes to process and store the agricultural products of the surrounding region. Different products would have been processed, depending on the surroundings and the interaction between the sedentary population and pastoralists. This is affirmed by the specialization in products that can be seen in Hirbemerdon Tepe (Hald in Laneri *et al.* 2008b, 194–195). Interaction with pastoralists is affirmed by objects known from third millennium highland sites, such as portable andirons or ritual objects that show significant similarities to the repertoire of styles known from eastern Anatolia.

Thus the upper Tigris region presents a unique environment, which provided the population with an abundance of products at a time when decreasing precipitation impacted other areas, such as the plains south of the Tur Abdin, which were more densely populated and agriculturally more dependent on periodic rainfall. This geographically, environmentally, and culturally self-contained area, however, was exposed to different influences due to its position at the gateways to important resources, such as copper and timber, which were in demand in numerous neighboring polities. In this way an urban society with a strong rural element and a dense settlement pattern seems to have evolved in the late third millennium BC and to have flourished until the end of the Middle Bronze Age. With the assimilation of the region into the Mittanian and Middle Assyrian empires, its cultural autonomy disappeared, yet the structures created in the preceding period were adopted and incorporated into the networks of the later empires.

Bibliography

Algaze, Guillermo (1989)
"A New Frontier: First results of the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project, 1988", in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 48/4, 241–269.

Algaze, Guillermo / Breuninger, Ray / Lightfoot, Chris / Rosenberg, Michael (1991)
"The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A preliminary report of the 1989–1990 season", in: *Anatolica* 17, 175–229.

Bartl, Peter V. (2005)
"The Middle Bronze Age on the Upper Tigris. New evidence from the excavations at Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe", in: *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 37, 153–162.

Bartl, Peter V. (2012)
"Giricano and Ziyaret Tepe: Two Middle Bronze Age Sites in the Upper Tigris Region", in: Nicola Laneri / Peter Pfälzner / StefanoValentini (eds.), *Looking North. The socio-economic dynamics of the northern Mesopotamian and Anatolian regions during the late third and early second millennium B.C.*, (Studien zur Urbanisierung Nordmesopotamiens, Serie D, vol. 1), Wiesbaden, 175–191.

Börker-Klähn, Jutta (1982)
Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs, (Baghdader Forschungen 4), Mainz.

Czichon, Rainer M. / Werner, Peter (1998)
Tall Munbaqa – Ekalte – I, Die bronzezeitlichen Kleinfunde, (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 97), Saarbrücken.

Deckers, Kathleen / Riehl, Simone (2007)
"An Evaluation of Botanical Assemblages from the Third to Second Millennium B.C. in Northern Syria", in: Catherine Kuzucuoğlu / Catherine Marro (eds.), *Sociétés humaines et changement climatique à la fin du troisième millénaire: une crise a-t-elle eu lieu en haute Mésopotamie?* Actes du Colloque de Lyon, (Varia Anatolica 19), Paris, 481–502.

Doğan, Uğur (2005)
"Holocene Fluvial Development of the Upper Tigris Valley (Southeastern Turkey) as Documented by Archaeological Data", in: *Quaternary International* 129, 75–86.

Forlanini, Massimo (2006)
"Étapes et itinéraires entre Aššur et l'Anatolie des marchands paléo-assyriens: Nouveaux documents et nouveaux problèmes", in: *Kaskal* 3, 147–175.

Fortin, Michel (1989)
"Trois campagnes de fouilles à Tell Atij: un comptoir commercial du IIIème millénaire en Syrie du Nord", in: *The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin* 18, 35–55.

Hütteroth, Wolf. D. (1982)
Türkei, (Wissenschaftliche Länderkunde 21), Darmstadt.

Karg, Norbert (1999)
"Gre Dimse 1998: Preliminary Report", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Öztürk (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 1998*, Ankara, 237–296.

Kelly-Buccellati, Marilyn (1990)
"Trade in Metals in the third Millennium: Northeastern Syria and eastern Anatolia", in: Paolo Matthiae / Maurits van Loon / Harvey Weiss (eds.): *Resurrecting the Past. A joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Leiden, 117–130.

Kelly-Buccellati, Marilyn (2004)
"Andirons at Urkesh: New Evidence for the Hurrian Identity of Early Trans-Caucasian Culture", in: Antonio Sagona (ed.), *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, (Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 12), Herent, 67–89.

Kessler, Karlheinz (1980)
Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr., (Beiheft zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/26), Wiesbaden.

Kessler, Karlheinz (1995)
"Šubria, Urartu and Aššur. Topographical Questions around the Tigris Sources", in: Mario Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, (Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5), Rome, 55–67.

Kibaroğlu, Mustafa (2008)
Petrographische und geochemische Untersuchungen an archäologischer Keramik aus Nordost-Syrien, Südost-Anatolien, Ost-Anatolien und Ost-Georgien, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:21-opus-33147> (accessed 2008–07–01).

Koliński, Rafał (2001)
Mesopotamian dimātu of the Second Millennium BC, (BAR International Series 1004), Oxford.

Köroğlu, Kemalettin (1998)
Üçtepe I: Yeni Kazı ve Yüzey Bulguları Işığında Diyarbakır/Üçtepe ve Çevresinin Yeni Assur Dönemi Tarihi Coğrafyası, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara.

Kozbe, Gülriz (2009)
"Excavations at Kavuşan Höyük", <http://arkeoloji.ege.edu.tr/Protohistorya/Projeler/excavations_at_kavusan_hoyuk. htm> (accessed 2011–02–01).

Kozbe, Gülriz / Köroğlu, Kemalettin / Sağlamtemir, Haluk (2004)
"2001 Excavation at Kavuşan Höyük", in: Tuna, Numan/ Greenhalgh, Jean / Velibeyoğlu, Jâle (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 2001,* Ankara, 463–503.

Kuzucuoğlu, Catherine (2002)
"Preliminary Observation on the Tigris Valley Terraces between Bismil and Batman", in: Numan Tuna / Jale Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2000*, Ankara, 759–771.

Laneri, Nicola / D'Agostino, Anacleto / Schwartz, Mark / Valentini, Stefano / Pappalardo, Guiseppe (2006)
"A Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Excavations at Hirbemerdon Tepe, Southeastern Turkey, 2005", in: *Anatolica* 32, 153–188.

Laneri, Nicola / Valentini, Stefano / D'Agostino, Anacleto (2007)
"Hirbemerdon Tepe: A late third to mid second millennium BC settlement of the upper Tigris valley", in: *Anatolian Studies* 57, 77–86.

Laneri, Nicola / Schwartz, Mark / Ur, Jason A. (2008a)
"The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project", in: *Antiquity* 82/315 March, <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/laneri/index.html> (accessed 2008–11–01).

Laneri, Nicola / Schwartz, Mark / Ur, Jason A. / Valentini, Stefano / D'Agostino, Anacleto / Berthon, Remy / Halde, Marie (2008b)
"The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project 2006–2007. A preliminary report on the Middle Bronze Age 'architectural complex' and the survey of the site catchment area", in: *Anatolica* 34, 177–240.

Larsen, Mogens Trolle (1967)
Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures, Istanbul.

Larsen, Mogens Trolle (1976)
The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies, Copenhagen.

Liverani, Mario (1995) (ed.)
Neo-Assyrian Geography, (Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5), Rome.

Matney, Timothy (1998)
"The first Season of Work at Ziyaret Tepe in the Diyarbakır Province: Preliminary Report", in: *Anatolica* 24, 7–30.

Matney, Timothy (1999a)
"Preliminary Report on Survey at Ziyaret Tepe (Diyarbakır Province), 1997", in: *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 16/2, 255–266.

Matney, Timothy (1999b)
"Surface and Subsurface Survey at Ziyaret Tepe, Diyarbakır Province, 1997–1998", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Öztürk (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 1998*, Ankara, 319–331.

Matney, Timothy / Roaf, Michael / McGinnis, John (2002a)
"Archaeological Excavation at Ziyaret Tepe, Diyarbakır Province, 2000", in: Numan Tuna / Jale Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2000*, Ankara, 535–547.

Matney, Timothy / Roaf, Michael / McGinnis, John / McDonald, Helen (2002b)
"Archaeological Excavation at Ziyaret Tepe, 2000 and 2001", in: *Anatolica* 28, 47–89.

Matney, Timothy / McGinnis, John / McDonald, Helen/ Nicoll, Kathleen / Rainville, Lynn / Roaf Michael / Smith, Monica L. / Stein, Diana (2003)
"Archaeological Investigations at Ziyaret Tepe, 2002", in: *Anatolica* 29, 175–221.

Matney, Timothy / Rainville, Lynn (eds.) (2005)
"Archaeological Investigations at Ziyaret Tepe, 2003 and 2004", in: *Anatolica* 31, 19–68.

Muhly, James David (1973)
Copper and Tin: The distribution of mineral resources and the nature of the metals trade in the Bronze Age, New Haven.

Nashef, Khaled (1987)
Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten zur Zeit der altassyrischen Handelsniederlassungen, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/83), Wiesbaden.

Nicoll, Kathleen (2010a)
"Landscape Development within a Young Collision Zone: Implications for the post-Tethyan evolution of the Upper Tigris River System in southeastern Turkey", in: *International Geology Review* 52/4, 404–422.

Nicoll, Kathleen (2010b)
"Geomorphic Evolution of the Tigris River, Turkey" <http://serc.carleton.edu/47064>
(accessed 2011–02–01).

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (1997)
Excavations at Tell Brak, Vol. 1: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian periods, Cambridge–London.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (2001)
Excavations at Tell Brak, Vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, Cambridge–London.

Ökse, Tuba (2006)
"A Monumental Middle Bronze Age Building at Salat Tepe on the Upper Tigris (Turkey)", in: *Antiquity* 80/309 September, <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/okse1/index.html> (accessed 2011–02–01).

Ökse, Tuba (2007)
"Archaeological Evidence for a sixteenth-century BC Earthquake on the Southeastern Anatolian Faultline", in: *Antiquity* 81/312 June, <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/okse2/index.html> (accessed 2011–02–01).

Ökse, Tuba / Görmüş, Ahmet (2006)
"Excavations at Salat Tepe in the Upper Tigris Region: Stratigraphic Sequence and Preliminary Results of the 2005–2006 Seasons", in: *Akkadica* 127/2, 167–197.

Özfırat, Aynur (2001)
Yayla Kültürleri, Istanbul.

Özfırat, Aynur (2006)
Üçtepe II: Tunç Çağları, Istanbul.

Otto, Adelheid (2006)
Alltag und Gesellschaft zur Spätbronzezeit: Eine Fallstudie aus Tall Bazi (Syrien), (Subartu 19), Turnhout.

Palmer, Andrew (1990)
Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier. The Early History of Tur 'Abdin, (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 39), Cambridge.

Parker, Bradley / Dodd, Lynn Swartz (2003)
"The Early Second Millennium Ceramic Assemblage from Kenan Tepe, South-Eastern Turkey. A preliminary assessment", in: *Anatolian Studies* 53, 33–69.

Parker, Bradley / Creekmore, Andrew / Dodd, Lynn Swartz (2004)
"A Preliminary Synthesis of the Cultural History of Kenan Tepe", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Greenhalgh / Jale Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2001*, Ankara, 534–602.

Peasnall, Brian / Algaze, Guillermo (2010)
"The Survey of Pir Hüseyin, 2004", in: *Anatolica* 36, 165–195.

Pfälzner, Peter (1995)
Mittanische und Mittelassyrische Keramik. Eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu 3), Berlin.

Pfälzner, Peter (2008)
"Redistributive, kommunale und häusliche Vorratshaltung am Unteren Ḫābūr im 3. Jtsd. v. Chr.", in: Hartmut Kühne (ed.), *Umwelt und Subsistenz der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-Katlimmu am Unteren Ḫābūr*, Wiesbaden, 163–179.

Radner, Karen (2004)
Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnuša-Uzibi, Ausgrabungen in Giricano 1/Excavations at Giricanno 1/Giricano Kazıları 1, (Subartu 14), Turnhout.

Radner, Karen (2006)
"How to Reach the Upper Tigris: The route through the Tūr Ābdīn", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 15, 273–305.

Radner, Karen / Schachner, Andreas (2001)
"From Tušhan to Amēdi: Topographical Questions concerning the Upper Tigris Region in the Assyrian Period", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Öztürk / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 1999*, Ankara, 753–776.

Roaf, Michael / Schachner, Andreas (2005)
"The Bronze Age to Iron Age Transition in the Upper Tigris Region: new information from Ziyaret Tepe and Giricano", in: Altan Çilingiroğlu / Gareth Darbyshire (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 5*. Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6–10 August 2001, London, 115–123.

Rosenberg, Michael / Redding, Richard / Nesbit, R. Mark / Peasnall, Brian (1998)
"Hallan Çemi Tepesi and Post-Pleistocene Adaptions along the Taurus-Zagros Arc", in: *Paléorient* 24/1, 25–41.

Sallaberger, Walter (2007)
"From Urban Culture to Nomadism: A history of Upper Mesopotamia in the late third millennium", in: Catherine Kuzucuoğlu / Catherine Marro (eds.), *Sociétés humaines et changement climatique à la fin du troisième millénaire: une crise a-t-elle eu lieu en haute Mésopotamie?* Actes du Colloque de Lyon, (Varia Anatolica 19), Paris, 417–456.

Schachner, Andreas (2002a)
"Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Giricano (Diyarbakır/Türkei) 2000", in: Numan Tuna / Jale Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2000*, Ankara, 587–611.

Schachner, Andreas (2002b)
"Ausgrabungen in Giricano (2000–2001). Neue Forschungen an der Nordgrenze des Mesopotamischen Kulturraums", in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 52, 9–57.

Schachner, Andreas (2003a)
"From the Bronze to the Iron Age: Identifying Changes in the Upper Tigris Region. The Case of Giricano", in: Bettina Fischer / Hermann Genz / Éric Jean / Kemalettin Köroğlu (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions*, Istanbul, 151–163.

Schachner, Andreas (2003b)
"Ein Dorf in 'Schubria' – Giricano am Oberen Tigris", in: *Alter Orient aktuell* 4, 27–31.

Sevin, Veli (1992)
"Diyarbakır/Üçtepe höyüğü orta tunç çağı seramiği", in: *Orient-Express* 2, 12–14.

Sevin, Veli (1993)
"1991 yılı Diyarbakır Üçtepe höyüğü kazıları", in: *Kazı Sonuçları* Toplantısı 14/1, 175–191.

Smogorzewska, Anna (2004)
"Andirons and their Role in Early Transcaucasian Culture", in: *Anatolica* 30, 151–177.

Starr, Richard F.S. (1937–1939)
Nuzi: Report on the Excavation at Yorgan Tepa near Kirkuk, Iraq, Conducted by Harvard University in Conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University Museum of Philadelphia, 1927–1931, 2 vols., Cambridge.

Tuna, Numan / Öztürk, Jean (eds.) (1999)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 1998, Ankara.

Tuna, Numan / Öztürk, Jean / Velibeyoğlu, Jale (eds.) (2001)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 1999, Ankara.

Tuna, Numan / Velibeyoğlu, Jale (eds.) (2002)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2000, Ankara.

Tuna, Numan / Greenhalgh, Jean / Velibeyoğlu, Jale (eds.) (2004)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2001, Ankara.

Ur, Jason A. (2003)
"CORONA Satellite Photography and Ancient Road Networks: A Northern Mesopotamian Case Study", in: *Antiquity* 77, 102–115.

Ur, Jason A. / Hammer, Emily (2009)
"Pastoral Nomads of the Second and Third Millennia AD on the Upper Tigris River, Turkey: The Hirbemerdon Tepe Survey", in: *Journal of Field Archaeology* 34, 37–56.

Wickede, Alwo von (1990)
Prähistorische Stempelglyptik in Vorderasien, Munich.

Wiggermann, Frans A.M. (2000)
"Agriculture in the Northern Balikh Valley. The Case of Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad", in: Remko M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*, MOS Studies 3, Leiden, 171–231.

Wilkinson, Tony J. / Wilkinson, Eleanor / Ur, Jason A. / Altaweel, Mark (2005)
"Landscape and Settlement in the Neo-Assyrian Empire", in: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 340, 23–56.

A. Tuba Ökse

Salat Tepe and its Vicinity in the Middle Bronze Age: Stratigraphic Sequence and Ceramic Assemblages

0. Introduction

The upper Tigris region was a *terra incognita* in the 1990s as regards the Middle Bronze Age. The cultural characteristics of this period were primarily attested at Üçtepe, one of the largest sites located to the south of the Tigris River (Özfirat 2006, 19–30). The pottery and small finds registered in a monumental building at Üçtepe constituted the primary information on the characteristics of the local Middle Bronze Age culture.

The upper Tigris region will be flooded by the lake which will be formed by the Ilısu Dam. The region has been surveyed since the 1990s (Algaze *et al.* 1991), and during the last decade several sites have been excavated within the scope of the salvage project. Two large Middle Bronze Age sites located to the south of the Tigris River are Ziyaret Tepe, *ca.* 22 km to the west of Üçtepe (Matney *et al.* 2004, 414–415, figs. 6–7; Roaf 2005, 21–23), and Hirbemerdon located *ca.* 20 km to the east of Ziyaret Tepe (Laneri *et al.* 2006, 156–157, 160). A rural Middle Bronze Age settlement has been uncovered at Kavuşan Höyük, *ca.* 5 km away from Ziyaret Tepe (Kozbe *et al.* 2004, 500).

On the northern bank of the Tigris River, Kenan Tepe presents a Middle Bronze Age site *ca.* 15 km to the northeast of Ziyaret Tepe (Parker / Swartz Dodd 2003, 36–39; 2005, 80; Parker *et al.* 2004, 587–590, figs. 11–12), Giricano is *ca.* 10 km distant from Kenan Tepe (Schachner 2002, 47; 2004, 509–510), and Salat Tepe is located *ca.* 12 km to the east of Kenan Tepe, on the eastern bank of the Salat River, *ca.* 5 km to the north of the Tigris River (fig. 1a) (Ökse / Alp 2002; Ökse 2004; 2008; Ökse / Görmüş 2006).

Five small-scale sites have been observed around Salat Tepe, spaced *ca.* 4–5 km from each other. Two of these sites are located downstream along the eastern bank of the Salat River to the south, the third site is upstream to the north, and two sites are located at natural ponds to the northeast. In the construction area of the Ilısu Dam (Ökse *et al.* 2009a, 32–33; 2009b, 77) the Middle Bronze Age material is found on five sites, also within similar distances. The dimensions of Salat Tepe with respect to these small sites and the monumental architecture uncovered on the mound summit, the distance between Kavuşan Höyük and Ziyaret Tepe, and the small sites discovered around Hirbemerdon Tepe (Laneri *et al.* 2008) together demonstrate a stratified settlement pattern of farming communities in the Middle Bronze Age. According to sherd distribution analysis undertaken in the Syrian Jazirah, the radius of the agricultural land around a settlement is estimated as *ca.* 2 km (Wilkinson 1989), therefore, the distances of 4–5 km between the abovementioned sites point to the existence of self-sufficient farming economies (Ökse / Görmüş 2012).

The earliest settlement on Salat Tepe is dated to the Chalcolithic period, from the Halaf–Early Ubaid transition until the end of the Late Uruk period. On the mound summit, five building levels dated to the Middle Bronze Age have been exposed in trenches K–L 11–14 and M–O 13. These levels are disturbed by several Early Iron Age pit-houses as well as Hellenistic–Roman and medieval granary pits. Three levels of weak medieval architecture are superimposed on the mound summit. Modern graves cover the hilltop and the skirts of the mound.

1. Middle Bronze Age levels

Level 5

The lowest architectural level has been unearthed in trench L 13, below the courtyard of level 2 (fig. 1b). The building exposed in an 8 × 10 m trench was built using red, gray, and buff colored wet mud bricks of various dimensions. The excavated rooms are filled with mud-brick debris and ash layers containing animal bones, grains, grinding stones, and sherds of large coarse pots. The depressions were then filled with mud bricks and mud, in order to create a level surface for the construction of later levels.

The pottery assemblages include Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls, Red Brown Wash Ware, cooking pots, and a few potsherds of the Early Khabur Painted Ware with fine inclusions. Hard-burned, fine-pasted potsherds resembling the Early Bronze Age III–IV wares appear in these contexts.

Level 4

A road plastered with thin pebbles crosses the mound summit from east to west in level 4 (fig. 1c). A rampart uncovered in trench K 14 joins the eastern part of this road from the south, and another rampart leading to the western slope connects to the western part. These ramparts indicate a hilltop of smaller dimensions, relative to that of level 2. The walls of the structures built with mud bricks in different colors, mostly in red, were constructed in level 5 and reused in level 4. The strongly leveled structures flanking the pebble road are damaged by storage pits from level 3.

A structure uncovered in trench L 14 is represented by a thin layer of mud mortar on the stone foundations and a *tannour* constructed on a paved stone floor. Three units of a structure to the south, in trenches K–L 14, are damaged by pits filled with ash and sherds of cooking pots. A room (findspot K 14/136/M) in trench K 14 has a narrow entrance from the eastern wall that was closed by stones in level 3. Its floor is paved with large stones. The pottery collected from the fill consists of Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls, Monochrome Ware, and Red Brown Wash Ware. The fine-tempered, hard sherds belonging to Early Bronze Age III–IV wares are represented by only a few fragments. A terracotta blowpipe and some copper/bronze pieces point to the existence of metallurgical activities.

In trenches K 12–13 a room bordered by large conglomerate blocks from the west has been uncovered. The room is filled with burned debris containing burned wood and ash. Another room in trench K 13 is filled with mud bricks and mud, and a third room to its north contains several sherds belonging to large jars. Two rooms identified in trenches K 11–12 are separated by an east-west oriented twin wall, and the western wall of the southern room is preserved. The fill of the northern room contains a great number of vessels, and hearths containing carbonized wheat corns are preserved. Only small pieces of the floors remain because of the damage caused by ash-filled pits dug into the fill from level 3.

Level 3

Level 3 is represented in a larger area (fig. 1d). The narrow road of level 4 was renewed and the structures in trenches K–L 14 were rebuilt. In trench K 14 a pebble-paved rampart, oriented in a southwest-northeast direction, is flanked by parallel thin mud-brick walls. On the eastern edge of the road, stone foun-

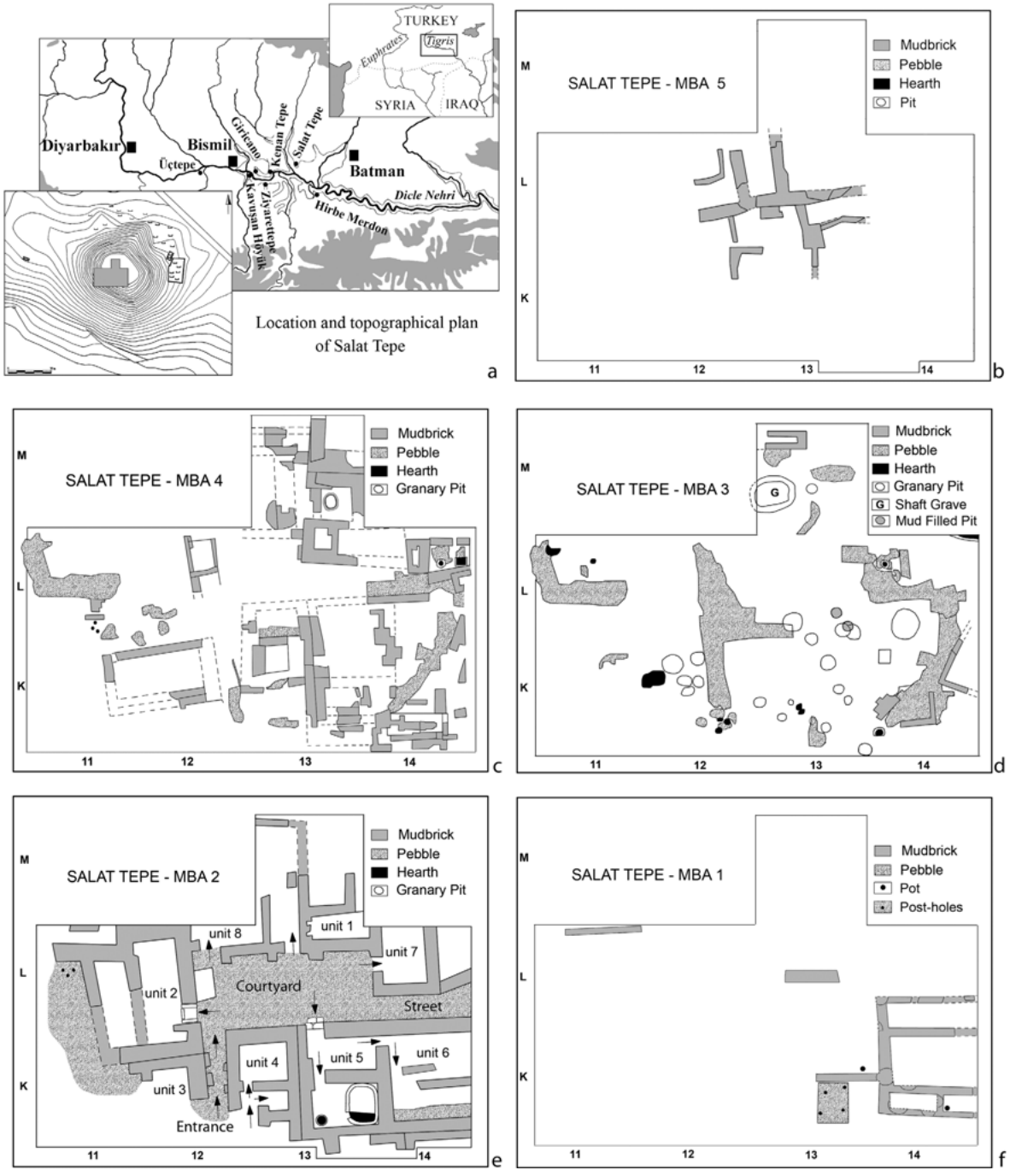


Fig. 1 | a. Location of Salat Tepe, b. Plan of level 5, c. Plan of level 4, d. Plan of level 3, e. Plan of level 2, f. Plan of level 1 (MBA = Middle Bronze Age).

dations and stone plastered floors are visible. To the west, mud-brick walls of structures are exposed, which were leveled before the construction of the upper level.

Two structures with red mud-brick walls and stone foundations were recovered under the walls of level 2 in trench L 14. The western unit is represented by two rooms, and the eastern with one room furnished by an oven and a *tannour* on the stone paved floor. The *ca*. 0.5 m high oven has a rectangular firing chamber enclosed by a plain upper surface built with mud. There is a thin smokestack at the eastern side of the plain cover. The *tannour* with a firing hole at the bottom is placed to the west of the oven.

In trench K12 a rectangular hearth surrounded with dispersed mud bricks was uncovered. The position of these mud bricks indicates an open hearth with a low wall surrounding the floor. A great amount of wheat was collected from the floor. Several pots filled with wheat and lentils, placed at the northern edge of the hearth, were probably buried into the hot charcoal. The southern room is filled with gravel overlaid by a *ca*. 20–30 cm thick mud layer that creates a plain surface. Remains of diverse hearths placed on this mud layer indicate that this room functioned as a kitchen. In trench L12 a pit filled with mud contains pieces of terracotta belonging to figurines of pigs, cows, and the horns of the latter.

The eastern half of trench M 13 is plastered with red mud bricks. A circular granary pit dug *ca*. 2 m deep into this platform is built with mud bricks. The western half of the trench is damaged by several medieval and Iron Age pits. On a compacted clay floor between these pits, three small bowls are found stacked inside each other. Each of these bowls belongs to a repertoire of different ware groups: Khabur Painted Ware, Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls, and Monochrome Ware.

To the west of this floor, a *ca*. 2 m deep oval shaft grave has been dug into the earlier levels. The oval stone wall surrounding the pit, 1.5 × 2.5 m in dimensions, is constructed of large stones placed in mud mortar. Two granary pits dating to the Early Iron Age and the Medieval Age have damaged the upper part of the grave. The fill in the grave contains whitened reed remains. On the compacted clay floor the skeletons of two adults and an adolescent were unearthed. The individuals lie on their sides in a semi-hocked position. Only two cooking pots and small fragments of bronze artifacts were found with the skeletons.

Several storage pits were dug into the earlier levels in trenches K 12–14. These pits contain ash and large amounts of carbonized cereals such as peas, wheat, and lentils. In trench L 12, a mud-filled pit containing pieces of human and animal figurines made of terracotta, as well as a pebble-stone idol found on a stone pavement in trench K 14, indicate the practice of ritual activities.

Level 2

The mound summit was enlarged and leveled by filling the rooms and pits of the preceding level with mud bricks, stones, and mud. The surface is covered by a thick red mud plaster, and medium-sized pebbles are embedded in this mud plaster. A building complex built with standard mud bricks was erected on this plain surface (fig. 1e; Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 140–141). A central courtyard *ca*. 20 × 9 m in dimensions becomes a street of 2–2.5 m width in the east. The buildings around this open area are composed of 2–3-roomed units covering areas of *ca*. 27–96 m^2. The courtyard has an entrance corridor (2.24 × 5.70 m) from the south, and the entrances of the units are marked with stone thresholds and door frames. The height of the walls preserved *in situ* and the lengths of their collapsed upper parts indicate two-storyed units bordering the courtyard from the south and west, and one-storied units from the north and east.

Unit 1 has been uncovered in the southeastern part of trench M 13. The western wall of one of the rooms has two alcoves in the inner surface and carbonized wood remains scattered on the floor, which may have belonged to a piece of furniture (Tütüncüler 2008). Unit 2 consists of a large room with a doorway and a narrow room, probably the stairway to the second floor. The door has a large threshold and a frame-stone is placed at the southern inner part of the entrance. The horizontal hollow cavity on the western face of the wall indicates a door leaf locked by a wooden bolt. The *ca.* 90 cm thick mud fill below the walls of this unit was hardened and several cracks were exposed, probably because of the pressure created by the weight of the two-story building. A third room exposed to the west contains sherds of large jars and cooking pots. Unit 3 is represented by the northern half of a room.

Unit 4 consists of two rooms placed to the east of the entrance corridor. The entrance to the kitchen in unit 5 is through an open gate of *ca.* 2.55 m width with two steps constructed of large limestone blocks. In the kitchen, a *tandoor* was built in the southwestern corner and an oval formed domed oven is integrated into the eastern half. The firing chamber of the oven is in the southern part, and a cooking pot was found on the oven floor. Unit 6, which is burnt, was exposed in trench K 14. The color of the inner walls turned to red and the large pebbles belonging to the floor pavement are cracked due to the high temperatures produced during the fire. No burned wood reserves or straw remains are observable in this unit; on the other hand, several potsherds and some animal bones with thick bitumen layers on their surfaces were discovered. This part of the building may have contained pots filled with bitumen that could have caused the strong fire that occurred here.

Two rooms of unit 7 are uncovered in trench L 14. In the northeastern corner of the eastern room, a small part of an oven has been uncovered. The slag on the inner face of the oven may indicate the existence of a workshop dealing with pyre technology. Unit 8 is represented by the frame stone of a doorway leading to the courtyard.

The mud-brick fall registered in all trenches and the typical deformation observed at several walls indicate a collapse probably caused by an earthquake (Ökse *et al.* 2009c; 2010). The building seems to have been evacuated and repaired after the damage; however, the walls probably collapsed due to a second earthquake before the resettling took place. One pit dug into the mud fill contains animal bones and broken terracotta figurines of pigs and cows, and in another pit a whole sheep was laid on its right side. These finds may be remnants of sorcery rituals and blood sacrifices, probably against the catastrophe caused by the earthquake and fire.

The pottery collected from the building complex consists mostly of Red Brown Wash Ware, Khabur Painted Ware, and Buff Slipped Ware. A few sherds of Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls are found only among the debris.

Good parallels among contemporary buildings in the upper Tigris region can be found for the building complex. These are a monumental building in Üçtepe level 11 (Özfirat 2006, 19–32), the two-story Brightly Burnt Building at Ziyaret Tepe (Matney / Somers 1999, 215, fig. 3; Matney *et al.* 2002b, 62–63, 86; 2003, 178–179; Roaf 2005), a large public building at Kenan Tepe (Parker / Swartz Dodd 2003, 37–38), buildings A and C, composed of rooms around a courtyard, in Giricano (Schachner 2004, 511), and houses composed of 2–3 rooms flanking a stone paved street in Hirbemerdon Sub-Phase A (Laneri *et al.* 2006; 2008) and Kavuşan Höyük VIII (Kozbe *et al.* 2004, 469).

Level 1

The latest level was built on the debris of the previous building (fig. 1f). This level is represented by pieces of mud-brick walls and the corners of several rooms with floors of compacted clay on a thin layer of pebble pavement. In trench K 13, a pebble floor with four post holes and a pot installed in the mud-brick debris of the former building seem to have been an arbor. In trench K 14 level 1 is represented by a narrow room with a jug installed into the mud-brick wall of the previous level, and walls with stone foundations built on the earlier mud-brick walls. A room with two antlers placed in each of the corners and small pits containing pieces of animal bones and the front hoofs of cattle on pebble pavements indicate the ritual behaviors of the inhabitants. Several vessels of Red Brown Wash Ware, Khabur Painted Ware, Monochrome Ware, and Buff Slipped Monochrome Ware, as well as a few sherds of Nuzi Painted Ware, are found in these contexts.

2. Pottery assemblages

The material culture indicates continuity during the Middle Bronze Age; Red Brown Wash Ware and Khabur Painted Ware exist in all Middle Bronze Age levels excavated within the upper Tigris region. Beside these, a smaller proportion of some Early Bronze Age III–IV and Late Bronze Age wares are found in the same contexts as the Middle Bronze Age wares. A few residual sherds collected in the mud-brick debris are of the typical incised Ninevite-5 Ware dating to the first half of the third millennium BC (Numoto 1993, 86; Lebeau 2000). No levels dating to this period have yet been exposed at Salat Tepe.

Later Early Bronze Age wares

Dark-gray colored, fine-tempered and fine-walled, wheel-made, high-burned sherds are registered at Ziyaret Tepe (Matney *et al.* 2002a, 536), Üçtepe levels 13–12 (Özfırat 2006, 11–16), Hirbemerdon Sub-Phase B (Laneri *et al.* 2006, 157–158), and in levels 2–5 at Salat Tepe, although these are only a few body sherds and rarely rims or bases. The sherds belong to the characteristic Metallic Ware (fig. 2a) and its northern Mesopotamian variants dated to the Early Bronze Age III and IV (Abay 1997, 152, 364, fig. 50). The Early Jazirah Gray Ware (fig. 2b) is dated to the Early Jazirah IIIb-V and Post-Akkadian period (Pruß 2000, 196, 199; Lebeau 2000, 176–177, 188, tab. V; Oates *et al.* 2001, 65, 173; Akkermans / Schwartz 2003, 255).

The Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls are fine-tempered, thin-walled, hard-fired vessels (fig. 2d). The paste is light brown or pinkish brown. The blackened outer surface of the rim is occasionally produced during firing; however, a thick black or dark brown painted band is frequently applied on the exterior of the rim. The rims are generally plain; a single groove is applied on the exterior of the rims of a few sherds.

In Salat Tepe the sherds belonging to this ware are rarely represented in level 2; however, their frequency increases in levels 3–5. In contemporary sites within the upper Tigris region, these wares are found together with the Red Brown Wash Ware and the Khabur Painted Ware (Matney 1998, 23; Kozbe *et al.* 2004, fig. 19; Parker / Swartz Dodd 2005, 80; Laneri *et al.* 2006, 157; Özfırat 2006, 26, pl. 38–39; Sağlamtimur / Ozan 2007, 26–27; Kozbe 2010, 179–182, fig. 4). Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls are found in the Akkadian and Post-Akkadian contexts dated to the Early Bronze Age III–IV periods (Early Jazirah

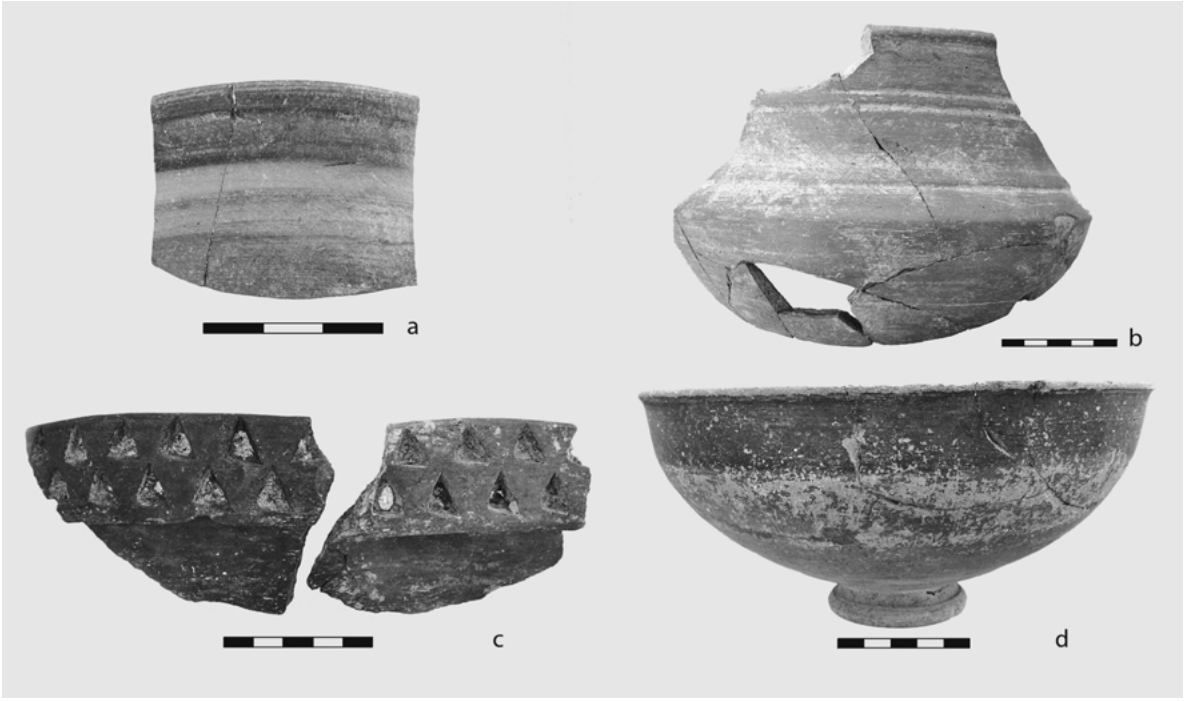


Fig. 2 | Late Early Bronze Age wares; a. Metallic ware from level 4: K14/0145/S; b–c. Gray Ware from level 2: L11/0051/S/06, K14/0111/S/02, d. Dark Rimmed Orange Bowl from level 3: M13/0199/S/03.

IIIb–V) (Lebeau 2000, 176–177, 188, tab. V) in the upper Khabur region (Moortgat 1965, 46–48, fig. 33; Oates *et al.* 2001, 161–162), and in the upper Euphrates region they rarely appear in Early Bronze Age III contexts (Hauptmann 1969/70, 64, fig. 12, 6–7). The radiocarbon samples taken from level 2 at Salat Tepe do not comprise sherds belonging to these vessels *in situ*, so the Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls seem to have been used until the 18th century BC at the latest.

Middle Bronze Age wares

The distribution of the Red Brown Wash Ware depicts a standard mass production spread within the upper Tigris region (Schachner 2002, 42–48; 2004: 507; Parker / Dodd 2003; Parker / Swartz Dodd 2005, 78–79; Matney *et al.* 2003, 183–186, figs. 5–8; Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 139–140, Özfırat 2006, 25–29; Laneri *et al.* 2006, 156–157, figs. 5–7, 10; Kozbe 2010, 179–182, fig. 5). The dark reddish brown (2.5 YR 3/3–3/4), wine-red (10R 4/6–4/8), brown (2.5 YR 4/4–5/4), and dark gray (7.5YR 4/1–3/1) wash applied on the surface of these vessels with a brush is the characteristic surface treatment. The wash is mostly applied on the outer surface as a large band on the rim, covering the upper half of the body, and as a band *ca.* 1 cm in thickness on the inner surface of the rim; on open vessels the thickness of the band reaches 5 cm.

The vessels mostly have rounded shapes in levels 3–5. The pots have spherical or rounded bodies (fig. 3a–b) and either short necks or none. Carinated forms are frequent in later sequences; however, carinated bowls also occur in level 3 (fig. 3c). The bowls mostly have thickened-out rims (fig. 3d), convex bodies, and flat bases, although a few bowls with rounded bases and ring bases also occur. Some of the

Fig. 3 | Red Brown Wash Ware from levels 3–4; a. L14/0197/S/03, b. K14/0237/S/04, c. K14/0232/S/01, d. L14/0207/S/02, e. Red Slipped Burnished variant from level 4: L14/0035/S/07.

Fig. 4 | Red Brown Wash Ware from levels 2–1; a. K13/0100/S/01, b. M13/0103/S/31, c. K13/0036/S/01, d. L12/0143/S/02, e. M13/0103/S/30, f. K13/0115/S/01.

body sherds have horizontal wavy lines applied with a thin white solution (fig. 3e); however, it is not always defined as a painted decoration but rather as the liquid content of the vessel that has oozed out through the fine pores of the vessel wall. A finer variant of this ware is the Red Slipped Burnished Ware, on which the outer surfaces of some vessels have vertical lines applied to them by burnishing (fig. 3f).

Carinated shapes are frequently found in levels 2–1 (fig. 4a). The wash is applied partially on the surfaces of some of these vessels. The un-slipped part is then decorated with vertical wavy lines similar to those at Giricano (Schachner 2002, 48, Abb. 38; Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 174, fig. 17), with horizontally (fig. 4b) or vertically applied thick bands (fig. 4c). Large pots and large jars are decorated with relief bands and rope impressions (fig. 4d), or with broad zigzag patterns between horizontal bands (fig. 4e); sealings are also applied on some sherds (fig. 4f).

The Red Brown Wash Ware appears in the later Early Bronze Age phases in Hirbemerdon (Laneri *et al.* 2008, 179), Üçtepe (Özfırat 2006, 19–32), and Kavuşan Höyük (Kozbe 2010, 182–186). According to their presence in the same contexts as the Khabur and Nuzi painted wares (Oates *et al.* 2001, 68, 147; Oguchi 2006, 55), the latest date for the usage of this ware, in southeastern Anatolia, is *ca.* the 15th century BC. These dates define a life-span of *ca.* 900 years.

A small amount of sherds belonging to a Gray Ware are occasionally adorned with horizontal grooves (fig. 2b), or with incised, excised, incrusted, and impressed decorations (fig. 2c). These finely pasted vessels are coated with a slightly burnished slip in colors varying from light to dark gray. These sherds are found in level 2 at Salat Tepe; however, some sherds also occur among level 1 assemblages. At Nuzi (Starr 1937, 368, pl. 56, I–T, V, W) and Tell Brak (Oates *et al.* 1997, 65–66, 74, fig. 189) the Gray Burnished Ware occurs in Old Babylonian and Early Mittani contexts.

The Buff Slipped Ware is a finely or moderately pasted, light brown coloured, occasionally slipped and burnished pottery. This ware occurs in all levels in the form of jars and bowls with rounded shapes (fig. 5b–e). A cylindrical beaker in level 3 has a unique form (fig. 5a); and beakers with globular bodies (fig. 5f) and cylindrical necks, as well as pedestaled bowls with ribs, appear in level 2 (fig. 5g). This monochrome ware is spread throughout a large area including the upper Euphrates region, northern Syria, and the Khabur region (Nigro 1998; Özfırat 2006, 25–29).

The vessels of the Standard Monochrome Ware have a rather coarse paste, tempered strongly with sand and moderately with lime. The paste is mostly light brown or gray, the exterior surface is mostly plain or wet-smoothed, and some vessels are slightly burnished (fig. 6e–g). The vessels comprise large jars and bowls (fig. 6a–d), and are similar to the Monochrome Simple Ware of northern Mesopotamia and northern Syria (Parayre 1968, Carte 1; Parker / Swarz Dodd 2003, figs. 5, 8; Özfırat 2006, 25; Ökse *et al.* 2009b, figs. 9, 12–13). Cooking pots are produced both by hand and on the potter's wheel. The characteristic triangular lugs placed on the rim are widespread in northern Mesopotamia from the third millennium BC onwards (Abay 1997, 147, Typ II).

The Khabur Painted Ware is widespread in the upper Khabur region (Oates *et al.* 1997, 63–77, figs. 190–193, 195, 200; 2001: 63, 145) and in northern Syria (Meijer 1986, figs. 23c, 24j; Oguchi 1997; Nigro 1998, figs. 4, 11). These wheel-made, light-brown pasted vessels decorated with horizontal bands applied in red or black paint are represented in the Middle Bronze Age contexts of the upper Euphrates (Kaschau 1999, pl. 9, 9; 12, 3–7; Griffin 1980, pl. 4, 156, 15H; Di Nocera 1998, fig. 9.2, 9) and the upper Tigris regions (Schachner 2003, figs. 34–35; Kozbe *et al.* 2004, fig. 20; Özfırat 2006, 25–29; Kozbe 2010, 179–182, fig. 6). In Salat Tepe the Khabur Ware is found mostly in levels 1–2 (fig. 7a; Oguchi 1997, 196–198; Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 174, fig. 16) and level 3 (fig. 7b–d). On the other hand, the pottery assemblages of levels 4–5 only contain a small number of fine-walled and fine-tempered sherds (fig. 7e–f).

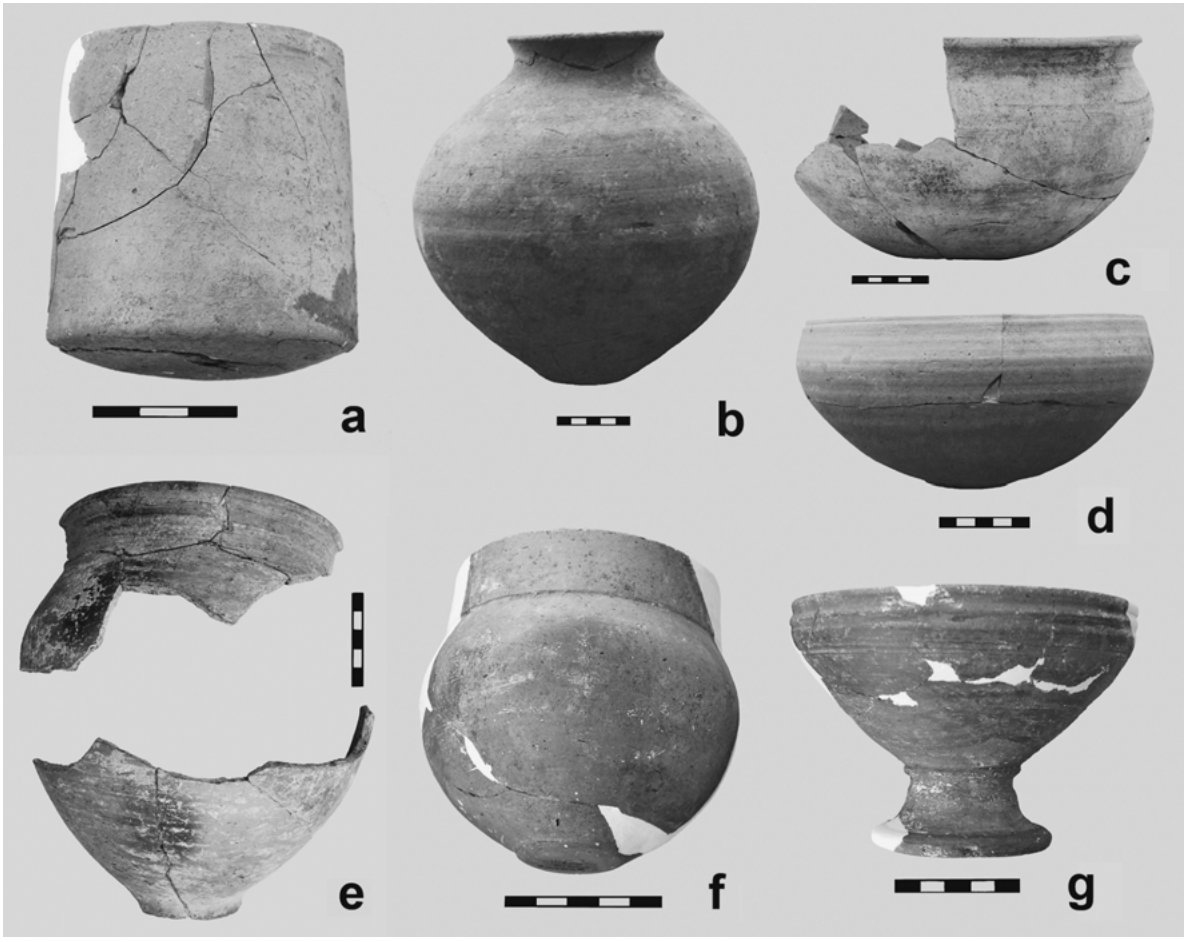


Fig. 5 | Buff Slipped Ware; a. Level 3: M13/0256/S/01, b. Level 4: K14/0237/S/10, c. Level 4: M13/0266/S/01, d. Level 4: K14/0245/S/01, e. Level 2: L14/0035/S/05, f. Level 2: M13/0079/S/01, g. Level 2: M13/0073/S/01.

The Khabur Ware is dated to 1900/1950–1600 BC (Bagh 2003, 234), with the main phase during the 17th century BC. These dates are contemporary to the Old Babylonian (Khabur phases 1–3) and Early Mittani (Khabur phase 4) periods in the Khabur region (Oates *et al.* 1997, 62–76).

Late Bronze Age wares

Nipple-based beakers and straight rimmed carinated bowls are the characteristic shapes in the repertoire of Buff Slipped Ware in level 1. The paste is tempered with fine sand and lime, the vessels are wheel-made and a buff slip is applied on the buff or pinkish buff paste. Similar forms are registered in several Late Old Babylonian and Mittani contexts in the upper Tigris (Schachner 2004, 507; Matney *et al.* 2004, 389; Kozbe *et al.* 2004, 465; Özfirat 2006, 33–38; Sağlamtimur / Ozan 2008, 6) and the Khabur region (Pfälzner 1995, 71, 231, 235, 237, figs. 135, 137, pl. 9c, 11a, 13f, 53a–b, 173d, 178e, g; Oates *et al.* 1997, figs. 185/78–80, 188/163, 189/200, 194). The nipple-based beaker form is also represented in the vessel repertoire of the Late Khabur contexts in northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia (Oguchi 2000, 107).

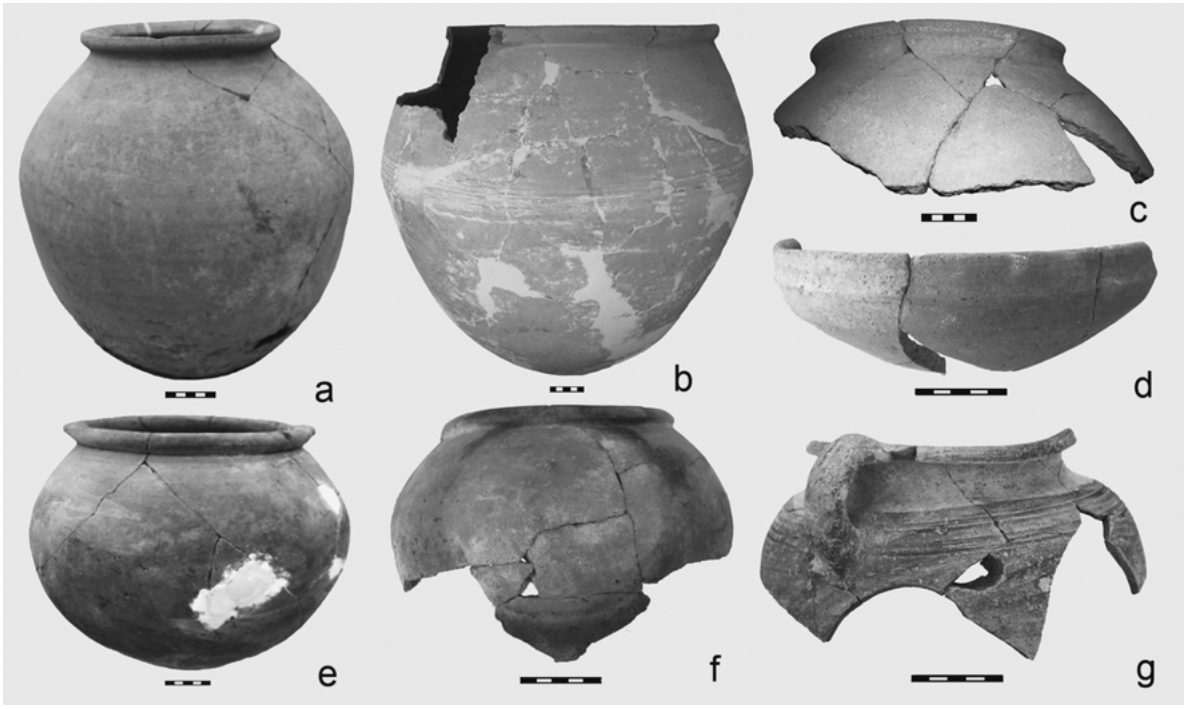


Fig. 6 | Standard Monochrome Ware; a. Level 1: K14/0089/S/01, b. Level 2: K13/0070/S/06, c. Level 3: K13/0119/S, d. Level 4: M13/0103/S/01; cooking pots; e. Level 2: M13/0129/S/04, f. Level 4: L14/0257/S/01, g. Level 3: L14/0250/S/01.

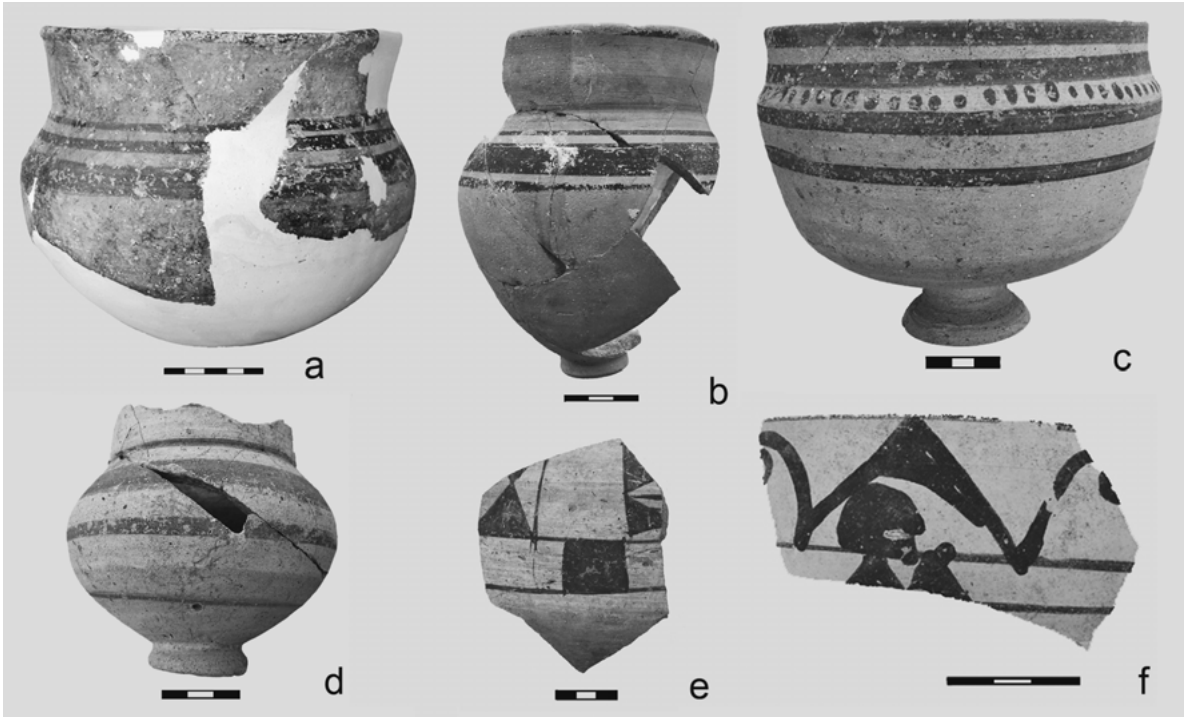


Fig. 7 | Khabur Painted Ware; a. Level 2: L13/0072/S/03, b. Level 3: L13/0182/S/02, c. Level 3: M13/0199/S/02, d. Level 3: K13/0078/S/01, e. Level 4: K14/0144/S/03, f. Level 5: L13/0175/S/02.

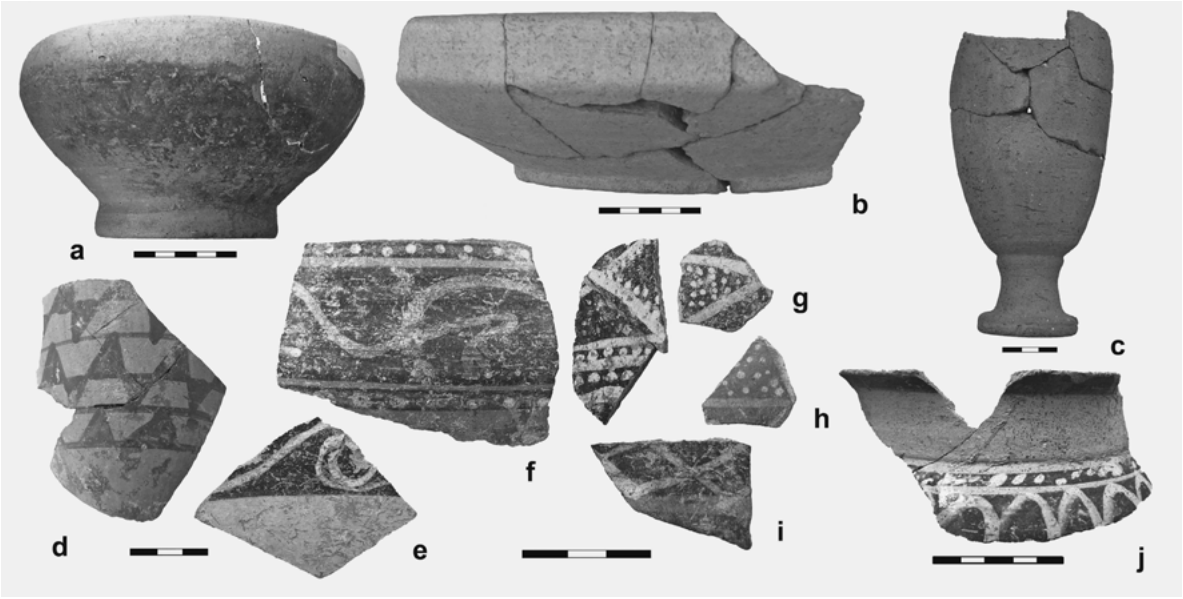


Fig. 8 | Late Bronze Age wares from Level 1; Buff Slipped Ware a. K13/0026/S/02, b. K14/0056/S/04, c. K14/0085/S/01; Nuzi Ware d. K14/0059/S/01, e. K14/0056/S/02, f. L14/0099/S/01, g–i. L14/0099/S/01, j. K14/0015/S/02.

The Nuzi Painted Ware with the characteristic light-colored decoration on a dark background is represented by a few sherds belonging to fine beakers found in level 1 at Salat Tepe (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 142), in the mixed layer superseding the Sub-Period A at Hirbemerdon (Laneri *at al.* 2008, 179), and in the Mittani levels at Kavuşan Höyük (Kozbe 2010, 179–182, fig. 3). The appearance of this ware together with the Khabur Painted Ware dates these levels to the second half of the 16th and the 15th century BC (Stein 1984, 30; Oates *et al.* 1997, 35, 67–70, fig. 196; 2001, 68, 147; Oguchi 2006, 55). The Late Khabur Painted Ware with decoration of bird motifs (Oguchi 2000, 108–109; 2006, 46) is secondarily decorated with cream-colored triangles. It is suggested that some sherds of the Red Brown Wash Ware, decorated with light-colored wavy lines, are imitations of the Nuzi Ware made by local potters (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 183, fig. 40). Nuzi Ware continues to be used during the Late Bronze Age in northern Mesopotamia (Pfälzner 1995, 71, 237).

3. Stratigraphic sequence and chronology

The Middle Bronze Age of southeastern Anatolia is defined by two different regional periodizations associated with two different regions: the middle Euphrates region and the upper Tigris region including the upper Khabur region. The middle Euphrates region falls into three periods (Middle Bronze Age I–III) with respect to the stratigraphic sequence of Lidar Höyük (Kaschau 1999, 152), and the Khabur region into four periods (Khabur phase 1–4) according to the development of the painted pottery (Nigro 1998, 287–289; Oguchi 2006, 55). Based on the parallelism of the material culture, the periodization of the upper Tigris region is constituted after that of the Khabur region.

The Middle Bronze Age I and the Khabur phase 1 are dated to the first two centuries of the second millennium BC. The Middle Bronze Age II–III are contemporary to the Khabur phase 2 and the first

half of phase 3 (1800–1600 BC). Between 1813–1781 BC the Early Assyrian king Šamši-Adad I ruled in the region (Akkermans / Schwartz 2003, 308). After his death local states, which are mentioned in the scarce historical records, gained independence[1] Zimrī-Līm of Mari mentions *Šimānum*, *Tušhum*, and *Dirra/Dirru*, and Hattušili I corresponds with Tunip-Tešup of *Tikuanni*. The Khabur phase 4 (1550–1400 BC) is the Early Mittani period (Pfälzner 1995, 235) during the earlier half of the Late Bronze Age, succeeded by the Late Mittani and Middle Assyrian periods.

Salat Tepe is a significant and extensively excavated settlement, continuously occupied throughout the Middle Bronze Age with an archaeological sequence that provides valuable insights into the development of the Middle Bronze Age cultural characteristics of the region. Continuity is evidenced in the successive levels of occupation, with buildings improving in quality in later levels. The stratigraphic sequence at Salat Tepe permits a periodization of three Middle Bronze Age phases: the Early Bronze Age–Middle Bronze Age transition covers level 5, the Middle Bronze Age; the early phase covers levels 4–3, the middle phase level 2, and the late phase level 1, which includes the Late Bronze Age I.

The buildings constructed of red-colored mud bricks in level 5 are reused in level 4; the previous floors are sealed by new floors of compacted clay or pebble pavement, some of the rooms are altered, and some walls are repaired. The mound summit is occupied by a weak architectural level that has a village-like character. The poorly built structures, open hearths, and pillared arbors reflect a temporary settlement period in level 3. Moreover, several granary pits were dug into the ruins of the preceding levels.

Dark Rimmed Orange Bowls and sherds of Metallic Ware dating to the later phases of the Early Bronze Age also occur in the earlier Middle Bronze Age levels 3–5 at Salat Tepe, which reflects continuity in the cultural development of the region from the later phases of the Early Bronze Age onwards. The earliest radiocarbon date obtained from Salat Tepe level 2 (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 141–142) predates the Middle Bronze Age levels 3–5 from the end of the 18th century BC to the earlier two centuries of the second millennium BC, or Khabur phase 1 to the beginning of phase 2.

The mound summit was reorganized towards the end of the 18th century BC. The architectural remains of the preceding levels have been leveled by filling the open spaces between the walls and pits with mud bricks, stones, and mud. A *ca.* 90 cm thick mud layer covers the mound summit, creating an extended flat substratum for a later occupation level. The mud surface is paved with medium-sized pebbles, and a well-planned building complex composed of several units organized around a courtyard was erected on the mound summit.

Stratigraphy and radiocarbon analyses place level 2 in the 17th and early 16th centuries BC (Ökse/ Görmüş 2006, 141–142), contemporary to the Brightly Burned Building in Ziyaret Tepe (Roaf 2005, 21–23) and Hirbemerdon Sub-Phase A (Laneri *et al.* 2006, 156, tab. 1, fig. 4); the public building in Kenan Tepe is dated to the 19th to the 17th centuries BC (Parker / Swartz Dodd 2003, 36–39; Parker *et al.* 2004, 587–590, figs. 11–12). In Türbe Höyük, a level with similar ceramic assemblages is dated to the 16th century BC, on the basis of an early Mittani cuneiform tablet (Sağlamtimur / Ozan 2007, 5). These levels with monumental buildings are assigned to the latter half of Khabur phase 2, and to phase 3.

After the destruction of level 2 by an earthquake, a later settlement was established on its ruins. The late Early Bronze Age wares are not represented in this level. The stratigraphic sequence and the presence of Middle Assyrian forms and Nuzi Painted Ware, found together with the Red Brown Wash Ware and Khabur Painted Ware, place level 1 into the Mittani period, and therefore into the late 16th and 15th

1 Karg 1999, 275; Radner / Schachner 2001a, 757; 2001b. According to the Kurkh Stele, Tušhum, the Assyrian Tušhan, is Ziyaret Tepe or Üçtepe, and Šimānum, the Assyrian Šināb, may be located to the west of Üçtepe.

centuries BC (Pfälzner 1995, 231, 235, 237, fig. 137; Oates *et al.* 1997, 35; Oguchi 2006, 55); the Late Khabur vessel with cream-colored triangles found in Salat Tepe level 1 represents a transition from the Late Bronze Age to Khabur phase 4, and nipple-based beakers and straight-sided, carinated bowls appear in the form repertoire of Buff Slipped Ware representing the Mittani period. The site was not occupied during the Middle Assyrian Period; the standard pottery of this period is collected only in a few storage pits.

Bibliography

Abay, Eşref (1997)
Die Keramik der Frühbronzezeit in Anatolien mit "syrischen" Affinitäten, (Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients, Archäologische Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients 8), Münster.

Akkermans, Peter M. M. G. / Schwartz, Glenn M. (2003)
The Archaeology of Syria from Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16,000–300 BC), Cambridge.

Algaze, Guillermo / Breuninger, Ray / Lightfoot, Chris / Rosenberg, Michael (1991)
"The Tigris-Euphrates Reconnaissance Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1987–1990 Seasons", in: *Anatolica* 17, 175–240.

Bagh, Tine (2003)
"The Relationship between Levantine Painted Ware, Syro/Cilician Ware and Khabur Ware and the Chronological Implication", in: Manfred Bietak (ed.), *The Synchronization of Civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC,* II. Vienna, 219–237.

Griffin, Elizabeth E. (1980)
"Phase G-J. The Middle and Late Bronze Age", in: Maurits Nanning van Loon (ed.), *Korucutepe* 3, Amsterdam–New York–Oxford, 1–126.

Hauptmann, Harald (1969/1970)
"Norşun Tepe, Historische Geographie und Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1968–69", in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19/20, 57–64.

Karg, Norbert (1999)
"Gre Dimse 1998: Preliminary Report", in: Numan Tuna / Öztürk Jean (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 1998,* Ankara, 237–296.

Kaschau, Gundela (1999)
Lidar Höyük, Die Keramik der Mittleren Bronzezeit, Archaeologica Euphratica 3, Mainz am Rhein.

Kozbe, Gülriz (2010)
"Kavuşan Höyük Kazısı 2008", in: *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31–4, 173–197.

Kozbe, Gülriz / Köroğlu, Kemalettin / Sağlamtemir, Haluk (2004)
"2001 Excavations at Kavuşan Höyük", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Greenhalg / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 2001,* Ankara, 463–503.

Laneri, Nicola / D'Agostino, Antonio / Schwartz, Mark / Valentini, Stefano / Pappalardo, Giuseppe (2006)
"Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Excavations at Hirbemerdon Tepe, Southeastern Turkey", in: *Anatolica* 32, 153–188.

Laneri, Nicola / Schwartz, Mark / Ur, Jason / Valentini, Stefano / D'Agostino, Antonio / Berthon, Remmie / Halde, Mette Marie (2008)
"The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project 2006–2007: A Preliminary Report on the Middle Bronze Age 'Architectural Complex' and the Survey of the Site Catchment Area", in: *Anatolica* 34, 177–240.

Lebeau, Marc (2000)
"Stratified Archaeological Evidence und Compared Periodizations in the Syrian Jazirah During the Third Millennium BC", in: Catherine Marro / Harald Hauptmann (eds.), *Chronologies des Pays du Caucase et de L'Euphrate aux IVe–IIIe Millenaires,* Paris, 167–192.

Matney, Timothy (1998)
"The First Season of Work at Ziyaret Tepe in the Diyarbakır Province: Preliminary Report", in: *Anatolica* 24, 7–30.

Matney, Timothy / Somers, Lewis (1999)
"The Second Season of Work at Ziyaret Tepe in the Diyarbakır Province, Preliminary Report", in: *Anatolica* 25, 203–220.

Matney, Timothy / Roaf, Michael / McGinnis, John (2002a)
"Archaeological Excavations at Ziyaret Tepe, Diyarbakır Province, 2000", in: Numan Tuna / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 2000,* Ankara, 517–547.

Matney, Timothy / Roaf, Michael / McGinnis, John / McDonald, Helen (2002b)
"Archaeological Investigations at Ziyaret Tepe, 2000 and 2002", in: *Anatolica* 28, 47–89.

Matney, Timothy / McGinnis, John / McDonald, Helen / Nicoll, Kathleen / Rainville, Lynn / Roaf, Michael / Smith, Monica L. / Stein, Diana (2003)
"Archaeological Investigations at Ziyaret Tepe – 2002", in: *Anatolica* 29, 175–221.

Matney, Timothy / Roaf, Michael / McGinnis, John / McDonald, Helen (2004)
"Excavations at Ziyaret Tepe, 2001", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Greenhalg / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 2001*, Ankara, 387–425.

Meijer, Diederik J. W. (1986)
A Survey in Northeastern Syria, Leiden.

Moortgat, Anton (1965)
Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien, Cologne.

Nigro, Lorenzo (1998)
"Ebla and the Ceramic Provinces of Northern Syria in the Middle Bronze Age: Relationships and Interconnections with the Pottery Horizons of Upper Mesopotamia", in: Marc Lebeau (ed.), *About Subartu: Studies devoted to Upper Mesopotamia. I: Lanscape, Archaeology, Settlement,* (Subartu 4/1), Turnhout, 271–303.

Nocera, Gian Maria Di (1998)
Die Siedlung der Mittelbronzezeit von Arslantepe, Rome.

Numoto, Hirotoshi (1993)
"Incised and Excised Designs of the Ninevite 5 Pottery", in: *Al-Rafidan* 14, 69–107.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (1997)
Excavations at Tell Brak 1, The Mittani and Old Babylonian Periods, Cambridge–London.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (2001)
Excavations at Tell Brak 2, Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, Cambridge–London.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (1997)
"A Reassessment of the Distribution of Khabur Ware. An Approach from an Aspect of its Main Phase", in: *Al-Rafidan* 18, 195–223.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (2000)
"The Late Khabur Ware Problem once again", in: *Al-Rafidan* 21, 103–126.

Oguchi, Hiromichi (2006)
"The Date of the Beginning of Khabur Ware Period 3: Evidence from the Palace of Qarni-lim at Tell Leilan", in: *Al-Rafidan* 27, 45–58.

Ökse, A. Tuba (2004)
"2001 Rescue Excavations at Salat Tepe", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Greenhalg / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 2001*, Ankara, 603–640.

Ökse, A. Tuba (2008)
"Preliminary Results of the Salvage Excavations at Salat Tepe in the Upper Tigris Region", in: Joaquín Mª Córdoba / Miquel Molist / Mª Carmen Pérez / Isabel Rubio / Sergio Martínez (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East,* Madrid, 3–8 April 2006, vol. 2, Madrid, 683–697.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Alp, A. Oğuz (2002)
"2000 Excavations at Salat Tepe", in: Numan Tuna / Jale Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs Activities in 2000*, Ankara, 645–670.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Görmüş, Ahmet (2006)
"Excavations at Salat Tepe in The Upper Tigris Region: Stratigraphical Sequence and Preliminary Results of the 2005–2006 Seasons", in: *Akkadica* 127/2, 119–149.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Görmüş, Ahmet (2012)
"The Middle Bronze Age Sites in the Upper Tigris Region Reflecting an Administrative System Basing on Agricultural Economy: A Case Study on Salat Tepe", in: Nicola Laneri / Stefano Valentini / Peter Pfälzner (eds.), *Looking North: The Socioeconomic Dynamics of the Northern Mesopotamian and Anatolian Regions During the Late Third and Early Second Millennium BC*, Wiesbaden, 129–136.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Atay, Erkan / Eroğlu, Murat / Tan, Yeliz (2009a)
"Ilısu Barajı İnşaat Sahasına Rastlayan Dicle Vadisi'nin Tunç ve Demir Çağları'ndaki Yerleşim Sistemleri ve Kültür Tarihi", in: *TÜBA-AR (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi)* 12, 25–48.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Görmüş, Ahmet / Atay, Erkan / Muluk, Yunus / Eroğlu, Murat / Torpil, Sibel / Bayraktar, Aziz Ayhan / Tan, Yeliz / Balkan Atlı, Nur / Astruc, Laurence / Kayacan, Nurcan (2009b)
"Ilısu Barajı İnşaat Sahası Yüzey Araştırmasında Belirlenen Arkeolojik Alanlar", in: *TÜBA-KED (Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Kültür Envanteri Dergisi)* 7, 71–94.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Görmüş, Ahmet / Atay, Erkan (2009c)
"Collapsed Walls of a Middle Bronze Age Building at Salat Tepe (Diyarbakır): Evidence for an Earthquake?", in: Çiğdem Özkan Aygün (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIth Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology,* (British Archaeological Reports S 1900), Oxford, 277–283.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Esentürk, Yasemin / Görmüş, Ahmet / Bora, Ali / Uslu, Kadir (2010)
"The Collapse of a Middle Bronze Age Building Complex at Salat Tepe Due to an Earthquake", in: Paolo Matthiae / Niccolò Marchetti / Frances Pinnock (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* 1., Rome, 5th–10th May 2008, Wiesbaden, 465–480.

Özfırat, Aynur (2006)
Üçtepe II, Tunç Çağları (13.–10. Yapı Katları), Istanbul.

Parayre, Dominique (1986)
"Des Hurrites et des Pots. Questions ouvertes à propose de la céramique du Habur et de la céramique bichrome", in: Marie-Thérèse Barrelet / Jean-Claude Gardin (eds.), *A propos des interprétations archéologiques de la poterie: questions ouvertes*, Paris, 48–76.

Parker, J. Bradley / Swartz Dodd, Lynn (2003)
"The Early Second Millennium Ceramic Assemblage from Kenan Tepe, Southeastern Turkey. A Preliminary Assessment", in: *Anatolian Studies* 53, 33–69.

Parker, J. Bradley / Swartz Dodd, Lynn (2005)
"The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project. A Preliminary Report from the 2002 Field Season", in: *Anatolica* 31, 69–110.

Parker, J. Bradley / Creekmore, Andrew / Swartz Dodd, Lynn (2004)
"The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project (UTARP): A Preliminary Synthesis of the Cultural History of Kenan Tepe", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Greenhalg / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 2001*, Ankara, 547–602.

Pfälzner, Peter (1995)
Mittanische und mittelassyrische Keramik: eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Seh Hamad/Dur-Katlimmu 3), Berlin.

Pruß, Alexander (2000)
"The Metallic Ware of Upper Mesopotamia: Definition, Chronology and Distribution", in: Catherine Marro / Harald Hauptmann (eds.), *Chronologies des Pays du Caucase et de L'Euphrate aux IVe–IIIe Millenaires*, Paris, 193–203.

Radner, Karin / Schachner, Andreas (2001)
"From Tushan to Amedi. Topographical Questions Concerning the Upper Tigris Region in the Assyrian Period", in: Numan Tuna *et al.* (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 1999*, Ankara, 729–776.

Roaf, Michael (2005)
"The Brightly Burned Building", in: Timothy Matney / Lynn Rainville (eds.), "Archaeological Investigations at Ziyaret Tepe, 2003–2004", in: *Anatolica* 31, 19–68.

Sağlamtimur, Haluk / Ozan, Ali (2007)
"Siirt-Türbe Höyük Kazısı-Önrapor", in: *Ege Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Dergisi* 2, 1–37.

Schachner, Andreas (2002)
"Ausgrabungen in Giricano (2000–2001). Neue Forschungen an der Nordgrenze des Mesopotamischen Kulturraums", in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 52, 9–57.

Schachner, Andreas (2003)
"From the Bronze to the Iron Age. Identifying Changes in the Upper Tigris Region. The Case of Giricano", in: Bettina Fischer / Hermann Genz / Éric Jean / Kemalettin Köroğlu (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring regions*. Proceedings of the International Workshop Istanbul, 8th–9th November, 2002, Istanbul, 151–163.

Schachner, Andreas (2004)
"Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen in Giricano, 2001", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Greenhalg / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 2001*, Ankara, 505–546.

Starr, Richard F. S. (1937)
Nuzi. Report on the Excavations at Yorgan Tepa Near Kirkuk, Iraq, Conducted by Harvard University in Conjunction with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University Museum of Philadelphia 1927–1931, Cambridge.

Stein, Diana L. (1984)
Khabur Ware and Nuzi Ware, (Monographic Journals of the Near East, Assur V.4), Malibu.

Tütüncüler, Özlem (2008)
"Salat Tepe Orta Tunç Çağı Dokuma Tezgahı Kurulumuna İlişkin Bir Deneme", in: *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 129, 31–36.

Wilkinson, Tony J. (1989)
"Extensive Sherd Scatters and Land-Use Intensity: Some Recent Results", in: *Journal of Field Archaeology* 16, 31–46.

Across the Mountains

Anacleto D'Agostino

The Upper Khabur and the Upper Tigris Valleys during the Late Bronze Age: Settlements and Ceramic Horizons

0. Introduction

Field research undertaken in recent decades in northern Syria and southeastern Turkey has significantly improved our understanding of the material culture and settlement patterns in the area, offering new evidence that merits discussion. Although the new stratigraphic sequences brought to light in the recent excavations have enhanced the archaeological profile of some sites, a comprehensive picture of the composition and development of the settlements and ceramic assemblages during the second half of the second millennium BC is still lacking, mainly due to the very limited number, and the limited size, of settlements excavated to date. One of the key issues in the debate on the second millennium BC in northern Mesopotamia concerns the nature and development of the settlement pattern at the time of the Middle Assyrian conquest and the changes that occurred under the Mittani and Assyrian hegemonies in the upper Khabur and upper Tigris valleys.

This paper offers a general overview of Late Bronze Age settlements in the valleys of the upper Khabur and Tigris Rivers, and takes into account the results from both early and more recent excavations as well as small and large regional surveys, aiming to highlight some interesting advances in our knowledge of the area whilst also drawing attention to the many questions that remain unanswered in our attempts to reconstruct the cultural sequence and historical events of these territories.[1]

1. The geographical and historical contexts

The upper Tigris and upper Khabur valleys comprise two distinct geographical and ecological zones within the upper Mesopotamia/Southeastern Anatolian region, straddling the high terrain of the Tur Abdin. The upper Khabur valley, part of the upper Syrian Jezirah and located in the Khabur River catchment area, is a wide, well-watered plain that lies at 300–450 m a.s.l. The upper Tigris valley, located in the foothills of the eastern Tauros mountain range in modern day southeastern Turkey, is a hilly area, crossed by a narrow plain that flanks the river with a maximum width of about 3–6 km, and is approximately 550 m a.s.l.

Although they differ in size, both areas are characterized by a high level of agricultural productivity and are located north of the 200 mm isohyet, usually considered to be the border of dry-farming cultivation. Although periods of low rainfall have been registered, both areas thus usually receive sufficient rainfall to produce crops without needing to resort to irrigation. The weather conditions are also similar, with high temperatures in the summer and long, cold winters.

1 I would like to record my gratitude to the organizer of the workshop, Prof. Dominik Bonatz, for giving me the opportunity to participate, for the hospitality, and for the fruitful encounters made during the stay in Berlin.

The valleys of the Khabur and Tigris are connected by routes along the Jaghjagh River, across the eastern slopes of the Tur Abdin (Radner 2006, 277), and along the Tigris in the area of Cizre, although the latter would have been a less convenient route.

Both areas were part of Ḫanigalbat, the Assyrian term for the land of Mittani, a territory that was to become a theater of conflict between Hittites, Mittani, and Assyrians, who all emerged as regional powers during the Late Bronze Age. The area north of the Tur Abdin was probably the home of the Hurrian city-states (Wilhelm 1989), which were subsequently integrated into the confederation that made up the Mittani kingdom.

The strategic position of these territories, at the crossroads of the routes leading to the west and penetrating into the Anatolian mountains, their rich markets and economic networks, and their potential for agriculture were the main reasons behind the Assyrians' interest in the region and undoubtedly triggered their conquest. The weakening of the Mittani State under Hittite pressure and their resulting expansion allowed the Assyrian kings to take control of parts of the eastern Mittani territories. Flanking the northwestern boundaries of the territorial nucleus of Assyria, these plains were a constant target for Assyrian expansionism, serving as a source of agricultural land and a gateway to the raw materials and natural resources of the mountains. Middle Assyrian military accounts tell us that two kings, Adad-nirari I (1295–1264 BC) and Šalmaneser I (1263–1234 BC), claim to have destroyed the cities of Ḫanigalbat from Taidu to Carchemish on the banks of the Euphrates (Harrak 1987, 61–87, 132–154). Also, cuneiform textual evidence points toward the conclusion that the Assyrian occupation of the upper Tigris began during the 13th century BC as the Middle Assyrians expanded (Radner 2004, 72).

2. The archaeological evidence from the upper Khabur valley

Excavations

Late Bronze Age levels have been found at different sites in the upper Khabur and upper Tigris valleys, and sherds dating to this period have also been recorded during territorial surveys. When evaluating the current state of evidence, we encounter difficulties connected to both the research methods and the quality of the documentation. The archaeological evidence is limited for several reasons: firstly, the excavations involve few sites and very small areas; secondly, the published data have different levels of resolution and completeness; and thirdly, the surveys were undertaken in different periods using different techniques of prospection and with different objectives. In general, according to Daniele Morandi Bonacossi (2000, 351, 363), the picture of the settlement landscape that emerges is incomplete and therefore not entirely representative of the different areas.

The most consistent archaeological evidence for the Late Bronze Age period comes from some multi-period sites in the upper Khabur valley whose occupation was largely continuous. Sites such as Tell Barri, Tell Brak, Tell Hamidiye, or Tell Fekheriye, all important Mittani cities, continued to be inhabited during the Late Bronze Age. Others, such as Tell Arbid, Tell Beidar, Tell Halaf, Chagar Bazar, and Tell Mohammed Diyab, were small rural centers during the period of Mittani hegemony in the valley and were probably abandoned thereafter. Others, such as Tell Amuda, show a new foundation during the Middle Jazirah II period.

Regarding the archaeological contexts, the evidence emerging from the Tell Brak and Tell Barri excavations allows us to establish some reference points for dating and also helps to evaluate the consistency and quality of occupation in the upper Khabur valley.[2]

The excavations at Tell Brak, which show a contextual presence of written documents, seals, and sealings as well as pottery, yield an important reference sequence for the Late Bronze Age. The investigations in area HH ('High Hill') allowed the unearthing of a palace and temple dating to the Mittani period (Oates *et al.* 1997, 1–18). Six Mittani-period tablets, including two legal documents related to the reign of Artaššumara and Tušratta, as well as seals and sealings, were found in rooms of the palace. As for the ceramic sequence, useful information emerged from trenches A–C south of the temple, where an area of private houses was found. The HH sequence (strata 7–1) covers the period between the construction of the palace (mid-16th century, but no later than 1500 BC) until its collapse and the Middle Assyrian conquest. Middle Jazirah I period houses were also found in the area north of the mound and in area SS. The remains of some private houses that reuse the walls of the palace, which suffered a partial collapse, and two floors overlying portions of the Mittani palace constitute the scarce elements datable to the Middle Jazirah II–III period (Oates *et al.* 1997, 14). The Middle Jazirah level is marked by visible differences both in the architectural features and in the associated pottery. A sequence of strata (phases 2–7) extending over a timespan from the 16th to the early 13th century BC, and characterized by a peculiar repertoire of common, painted, and gray wares, is topped by a level dating to the end of the 12th to the 11th centuries BC, whose production is limited to a reduced range of types in common ware (Oates *et al.* 1997, 66–79).

Evidence at Tell Barri concerning the final part of the second millennium BC has been found and investigated in two different areas: on the southeastern slope in area G, where a continuous stratigraphic sequence from the third millennium BC (Early Jazirah II) up to the post-Assyrian period has been exposed between 1983 and 2006; and on the northern slope in area P, where recent excavations, from 2007, revealed part of a large building dated to the Middle Jazirah I period, which was reused for craft activities during the Middle Jazirah II. Squares A–D 1–6 (strata 28–15, 14–8), investigated between 1989–1999 (Pecorella 1998; 1999a; 1999b), and A–D 7–10 (strata 40–33), investigated between 2002–2006 (Pecorella / Pierobon Benoit 2005; 2008a),[3] yielded a sequence of strata covering the second part of second millennium BC. The two sectors are contiguous. The stratigraphic continuity between the two main sectors has been verified on the basis of recent excavations in G.A–D 7–10. Some walls and beaten-earth floors of stratum 37 are the continuation of those of strata 24–23, which are visible in the old north section of G.A–D 3–6. The two sectors, dug in different years, cover an area of 32 × 16 m. A–D 3–6 is located more externally in proximity to the slope, whereas A–D 7–10 is behind it, closer to the inner part of the old settlement, in the direction of the center of the tell. The material from G.A–D 7–10,[4] a well-stratified sector without intrusions from recent levels, has yielded a more reliable sequence. The presence of pits and ancient soil disturbances in A–D 1–6, as well as the less clear stratigraphy, make it difficult to identify the relation between basic excavation units and the exact equivalences within the A–D 7–10 structures.

2 In this article I will adopt the regional chronological periodization proposed for the Syrian Jazirah (Pfälzner 2007, 231–232). The Late Bronze Age will be classified Middle Jazirah subdivided into Middle Jazirah I (Mittani period) and Middle Jazirah II–III (Middle Assyrian period). Middle Jazirah I A extends approximately from 1550/1400–1350 BC; Middle Jazirah I B from 1400/1350–1270; Middle Jazirah II A from 1270–1200; Middle Jazirah II B from 1200–1120; Middle Jazirah III from 1120–1050.

3 The preliminary reports on the 2005–2010 seasons of work at Tell Barri are forthcoming from Pierobon Benoit.

4 Strata 40 and 39 have been exposed on a surface of 9 × 3 m, the stratum 38–37 on a surface of 13 × 8 m; the other strata cover the whole area.

After the abandonment of the Old Jazirah III residential buildings, changes in the settlement layout and in the artifacts reflect a new phase in the occupation of the site (Pecorella 1999a, 40–48), which is characterized by poor domestic architecture and open spaces used for handicraft and household activities. This change in plan together with the fact that new ceramic types and morphological attributes appear along with types of the late Old Jazirah III tradition, have been considered to be indicative of the beginning of the Middle Jazirah period.

The stratigraphic segment relating to the second half of the second millennium BC includes several architectural phases gathered in two main levels. Small houses, kilns, and domestic devices are recurrent elements of the earliest level (strata 39–34), whereas the more recent level is dominated by the presence of a unique, large, residential building (stratum 33) (Pecorella / Pierobon Benoit 2005, 61–67; 2008a, 48–62; 2008b, 52–75; D'Agostino 2008). Such a change in the floorplan of the area is mirrored in the composition of the ceramic assemblage. The repertoire of the earliest level consists of common, painted, and gray wares, while that of the later level consists only of common ware.[5] According to our comparisons with the assemblages, which include seal impressions and written cuneiform texts, from other sites such as Tell Brak, Tell Sheikh Hamad, Tell Sabi Abyad, or Tell Bderi, we may consider the earliest level as belonging to the Middle Jazirah I period and the second phase to the Middle Jazirah II–III periods. A cuneiform tablet, which describes hunting expeditions in the regions of Nairi, Lulume, and Muski, probably dating to the period of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 BC) or Aššur-bel-kala (1076–1056 BC) (Salvini 2005, 143–152 and article in this volume), was found in the debris filling an open area immediately outside the Middle Assyrian residential building, thus providing an important reference point in the Middle Jazirah sequence. The stratigraphic evidence and architectural modifications reveal that the building, constructed in the first phase of the Middle Jazirah II period and renovated during the 12th century BC, was abandoned during the second half of 11th century BC.[6]

In area P on the northern slope, the reutilization of parts of a building that is dated to the Mittani period on the basis of the potsherds found smashed on the floor, and the finds of pottery types from the Middle Jazirah II A period suggest that there was also a clear change in the pottery horizon in this sector of the settlement on the occasion of the Assyrian conquest and confirms the picture that has emerged from area G. Here a well preserved up-draught kiln individuates the only preserved Middle Jazirah II A stratum. This entire area was leveled during the Late Assyrian period for the construction of a huge retaining wall.

Both the Mittani and Middle Assyrian repertoires are characterized by chaff-tempered wares with inclusions more or less minced, along with secondary inclusions of limestone particles and sometimes fine sand. A buff-color surface is the norm; different firing conditions could produce color nuances tending to green, yellow, orange, or brown. The surface is smoothed with differing degrees of attention and care. Burnishing is only documented in a low percentage of the Middle Jazirah I repertoire and is attested in just a few pieces in the Middle Jazirah II–III repertoires. Cooking-ware sherds are attested in Middle Jazirah I strata but are almost completely absent in the Middle Jazirah II–III building.

5 Thanks go to Raffaella Pierobon Benoit, director of the Italian Archaeological Expedition at Tell Barri, for the permission to use material from the excavations archive. The final publication of the Tell Barri pottery sequence is forthcoming; Costanza Coppini is in charge of studying the Mittani ceramic sequence.

6 The Middle Assyrian building was probably the place of origin of the basalt basin, re-used in a domestic context (stratum 32), with a cuneiform inscription assigning it to Adad-nirari I (Salvini 2004, 147; 2005, 152). In particular, we can date the pottery of stratum 33c of the large Middle Assyrian building to the 12th century; as the building was used for a long period, using the same floors for years, little survives from an earlier phase.

The Middle Jazirah I level is marked by the presence of painted and gray wares constituting a significant percentage of the total amount of excavated fragments (D'Agostino forthcoming). A large part of the fragments with painted bands belong to the typical Khabur ware of the Middle Jazirah period and have the characteristics typical of the so-called younger or late variant (fig. 1, 1–11). Besides the painted bands we often find triangles, lozenges, dots, and other geometric and linear compositions. In some cases the decoration also includes figured anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs. Sherds of Nuzi Ware (fig. 1, 12–19) and shallow bowls or plates with a red-edged rim (fig. 1, 20–22) are further typical finds from this level. The gray ware forms a distinct class; typical of it are carinated bowls. Most of the pieces have a dense paste and a burnished surface, although fragments that are highly smoothed and not burnished are also documented (fig. 1, 23–31). A distinctive shape linked to the gray ware is a bowl with deep notches cut into the lower edge of the rim and often with tripod legs (fig. 1, 29–31). Most of the ceramic sherds belong to a common ware that is characterized by a high variability in the pot shapes (Coppini 2008). Generally speaking, the pieces are well manufactured, have an accurately smoothed surface, are sometimes burnished, are more or less well fired, and often have a clear clay slip. We are able to recognize a finer temper and a medium one. Special shapes, such as the widely known tripod vessels or vases with a filter pouring rim or spout are characteristic of this phase.

With regard to the Middle Jazirah II level we note a significant change in the ceramic repertoire. The assemblage from the large building of stratum 33 shows that the number of variants is strongly reduced in comparison to the previous period and that standardization in shape and temper has increased. The assemblage seems substantially more homogeneous and in morphology and manufacturing it seems consistent with Middle Assyrian standard types (fig. 2). The pots belong to a low-cost, specialized production, with typical shapes of the period including conical bowls, carinated bowls, jars with a ribbon rim, and pot-stands. The tempers are few in number and the differences concern the amount and density of chaff inclusions. Most of the shapes known from the previous phase have disappeared. There is an absence of painted decoration and of gray ware. A sort of fine Middle Jazirah II–III production is represented by beakers and 'fine' carinated bowls, whereas the presence of curved bowls with superficial grooves under the rim seems to be a characteristic element of this level.

At Tell Fekheriye in the western Khabur valley, the Middle Jazirah sequence, according to the recent results from the Syrian-German expedition, seems to be similar to that emerging from sites such as Tell Brak and Tell Barri. The site should probably be identified with the ancient Waššukanni, the Mittani capital city (Bonatz *et al.* 2008, 92, 112). Middle Jazirah sherds from contexts were first found in soundings IX and I–IA, opened by American archaeologists in 1940 (McEwan 1958, 1, 4–10; Kantor 1958, 23–25). Subsequently, German excavations on the high mound in the 1950s found a stratified collection of pottery that also dates to the Middle Jazirah period (Hrouda 1961, 209–222). In the published sections of the trenches (Hrouda 1961, 224–225), the stratigraphic sequence clearly shows a distinction of deposits with Middle Jazirah I–II pottery.

The remains of two building phases dating to the Middle Jazirah period have recently been exposed by German archaeologists (Bonatz *et al.* 2008). Sparse evidence of a Middle Jazirah I period layer has been found under the base of Middle Jazirah II–III walls. Four excavation areas in the upper city have been opened: area A and B near the *hilani* (the old sounding IX); area C, being an enlargement of sounding VI from the American expedition, near to the soundings opened by the Syrian-German expedition in 2001 (Pruß / Bagdo 2002); and area D on the southwestern slope of the high mound. In area B, levels III and IV are assigned to the Middle Jazirah period. Middle Jazirah II ceramic types are documented

Fig. 1 | Tell Barri, area G: pot-sherds from Middle Jazirah I level (Archivio Missione Archeologica a Tell Barri).

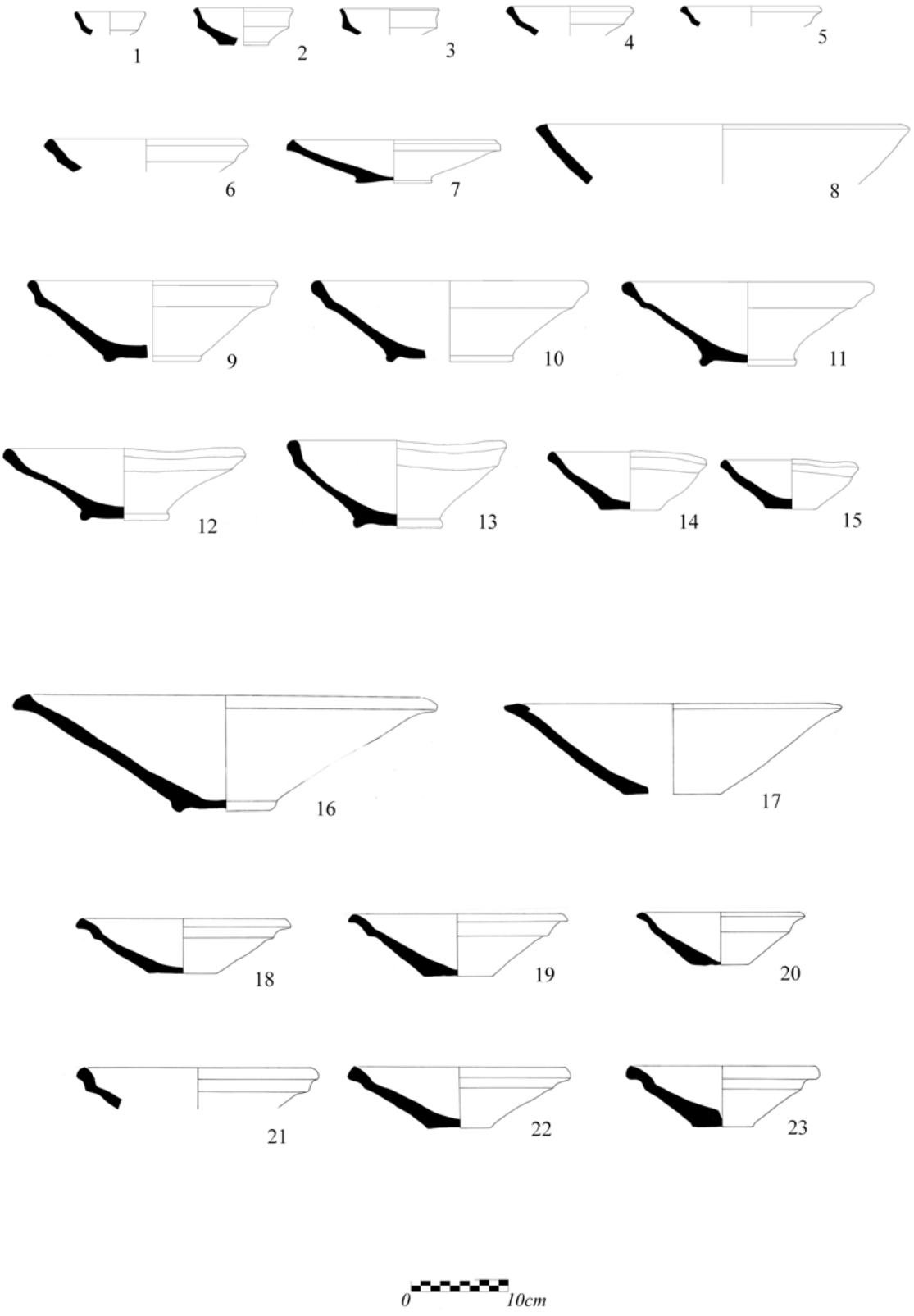


Fig. 2 | Tell Barri: Middle Jazirah II bowls from area P kiln (n. 1–15) and area G building (n. 16–23) (Archivio Missione Archeologica a Tell Barri).

in level III, including red-edged bowls and fenestrated and pie-crust stands, which allows a preliminary dating of level IV to the Middle Jazirah I (Bonatz *et al.* 2008, 106). In area C, houses I–III and material dating to the Middle Jazirah II period have been found (Bonatz *et al.* 2008, 111), as have some remains dating to the same timespan in area D.

At Tell Hamidiye, a site identified with Taidu (Eichler *et al.* 1985, 53–70; 1990), another capital city of Mittani, evidence dating to the second half of the second millennium BC has been found in different sectors but mainly concentrated on the high mound, where a large building, developed on different terraces, has been discovered. The area of the Mittani palace on top of the mound was partially reconstructed and used until the Late Assyrian period (Eichler *et al.* 1990, 237–258; Wäfler 1993, 198). Unfortunately the pottery and other material from the Middle Jazirah and Late Assyrian periods found in the published contexts have been considered mixed (Pfälzner 1995, 187).

The excavations on the high mound of Tell Mohammed Diyab provided levels from the second half of the second millennium BC. The fill 848, pits 853 and 854, and floor 914 belong to the intermediate level, which yielded Middle Jazirah materials (Faivre 1992a, 63) together with Old Jazirah III sherds. Evidence of the Middle Jazirah II period has been detected in area 841 (pit 836), within the house levels and in level 6 of sondage 3, 6 and 7 in the lower town (Faivre 1992a, 63, 67).

Sites attesting Middle Jazirah I occupation are Tell Beidar, Tell Arbid, Chagar Bazar, Tell Mozan, and Tell Halaf.

In the lower town of Tell Beidar a portion of a Middle Jazirah I settlement has been exposed, which is characterized by domestic dwellings and a good percentage of Nuzi Ware sherds. This occupation, consisting of a unique building level and two phases of use, was dated to the 14th century BC (Bretschneider 1997a; 1997b).

Excavations at Tell Arbid revealed Middle Jazirah I occupation in sector A on the western slope of a small mound northeast of the main mound and in sector S at the top of the main mound, where a layer with some houses and two rich burials (Bieliński 2003, 307–311; Smogorzewska 2006) has been documented. 'Pie-crust pot-stands' as well as Nuzi Painted Ware footed beakers and sherds are reported as finds from these layers.

Tell Mozan, too, has shown traces of Middle Jazirah I occupation, although the state of preservation of this level is very bad due to the erosion of the terrain (Dohmann-Pfälzner / Pfälzner 1999, fig. 8). Very modest houses in trench AS at the summit of the mound and in BH were found during the first seasons (Buccellati 1998, 32).

The excavations carried out by Max E. L. Mallowan at Chagar Bazar provided evidence in which the Khabur and Nuzi pottery traditions in level I overlapped. The latest phase of level I is characterized by some pebble floors and is where a Nuzi fragment was found; it seems to date to the Middle Jazirah I period (Mallowan 1947, 84–87).

At Tell Halaf, the very few potsherds from the Mittani period are the only elements to document a Middle Jazirah occupation (Hrouda 1962, 75).

In contrast, Tell Amuda/Tell Shermola, on the Syrian-Turkish border, exclusively revealed evidence of the Middle Jazirah II period in sondage D at the foot of the northern slope and in sondage C on the southern slope (Faivre 1992b, 139–140, 142). Layers Iva–b and IIIa–b represent the first phase of occupation, dated to the second half of the second millennium BC, with a homogeneous assemblage located in the proximity of the floors of the buildings, which probably had official functions. A second phase, individuated by layers IIa–e, represents a late occupation within the same cultural horizon; the pottery is in fact similar even as new shapes appear.

Girnavaz, 5 km north of the Syrian-Turkish border, has yielded evidence of Middle Jazirah occupation (Erkanal 1988, 142); Tell Abu Hafur (Bieliński 1990, 24–25), Tell Hwes (Pfälzner 2007, 234), and Tell Hassake (Abd al-Masiah Bagdo, pers. comm.), located in the southern limit of the upper Khabur valley, attest a second millennium BC occupation with Middle Jazirah I–II pottery.

Surveys

Research on the settlement pattern of the territory has provided us with little evidence. The surveys conducted in the past year were often extensive surveys that focused on selected sites. Because of the limited knowledge of the ceramic sequence, in particular concerning the common ware repertoire, and a limited survey methodology able to individuate fine-grained trends in settlement, it is very difficult to distinguish between Middle Jazirah I–II occupations when analyzing the survey results. In many cases the sites were labeled generically as 'Late Bronze Age sites' and the only reliable chronological indicator to specify the date within the Late Bronze Age was painted wares (*in primis* Nuzi Ware beakers). Furthermore, when the drawings of collected sherds have not been published, the label 'Late Bronze Age site' attached to sites with Middle Jazirah I or/and II period pottery makes it very hard to establish when exactly the occupation should be dated within the Middle Jazirah. In consequence, very little can be inferred about structural change in the settlement pattern during this period. Although the field evidence remains sparse, some remarks can be made and some trends can be suggested.

From the data from a limited survey in the territory around Tell Brak, it appears that 14 sites were occupied during the Middle Jazirah period. Two of them, Umm Kahf 1 and Tell al-Adhan, are potentially Middle Jazirah II (Eidem / Warburton 1996, 59).

Settlement in the eastern Khabur valley declined dramatically during the second millennium BC (Meijer 1986; Eidem / Warburton 1996, fig. 1b).

Through the survey of the Tell Beidar area (Wilkinson 2002, 363), a more regular occupation during the Middle Jazirah, around the bases of the tells, has become evident. Most occupations occur in the form of small, low mounds (rarely on the tells) and the pattern is rural and dispersed. This pattern is also mirrored by the presence of Middle Jazirah I layers in the small mound near Tell Arbid. The Late Bronze Age remains consist of ceramic materials comparable to the repertoire from Tell Brak area HH level 2 (Middle Jazirah IB), and Nuzi Ware is documented exclusively in the Beidar lower town. The other settlements are adjacent to six or eight tells. In the western and northern part of the valley a good number of sites have shown occupation dating to the Middle Jazirah II period, whereas minimal settlement, with a few smaller occupations, has been documented around Tell Beidar (Wilkinson 2002, 365–366).

Along the Khabur, south of Tell Fekheriye, the Middle Jazirah II settlement pattern has been defined as sparse (Lyonnet 1996, n. 18). The results of an extensive survey in the area between Tell Beidar and al-Hassake (Oates 1977, 234), where only six mounded sites have revealed evidence of occupation with Late Bronze Age wares, confirm a contraction in settlement for this area.

The northern portion of the valley appears less occupied. During the extensive survey of the area around Qamishly, west of the Jaghjagh River (Lyonnet 1992, 107; Anastasio 2007), only three bowl-sherds of Nuzi Ware were collected at Tell Bezari and Tell Hamdoun, along with a few red-edged rims or bases of straight-sided beakers from Tell Farfara, Tell Ain Qard, Tell Qarassa, and Tell Roumeilan. At these sites, Middle Jazirah II–III types have also been collected. Thirty-eight sites document occupation during the Middle Jazirah I period whereas 55 have an Assyrian (Middle-Neo-Late) occupation. In the

western portion a more dense occupation is attested. Here the number of sites with demonstrated occupation during the Middle Jazirah II period is 48 (Anastasio 2007, 104–105, 140–142).

In general, the decline in settlement during the second millennium BC in most parts of Mesopotamia reached its peak in the Middle Jazirah period immediately before or just after the Middle Assyrian expansion, as suggested by Tony J. Wilkinson (2002, 368). Despite the general trend of an overall decrease in the number and extent of settlements on a regional scale, the evidence from several sites in the central and eastern-central Khabur valley shows that there was a relatively significant occupation concentrated at some large mounds which continued to be occupied for a long time. Rural settlements are also documented in small mounds near the main sites covering the entire Middle Jazirah.

3. Between the Khabur and Tigris Rivers: The Iraqi northern Jazirah

Excavations and surveys

Some remarks on the neighboring eastern territories of northwestern Iraq are necessary in order to give a brief outline of the territory contiguous to the upper Khabur valley, also a part of the northern Jazirah. This area, close to the periphery of the Assyrian heartland, was part of the Mittani kingdom and was involved in the first steps of the Assyrian imperial expansion. Here the archaeological investigations revealed an elusive occupation during the Middle Jazirah period.

The area north of Jebel Sinjar, within the boundaries of modern Iraq, has been the object of intensive survey.[7] Sherds of Nuzi Ware were not identified at any sites except Tell al-Hawa and Tell Hamide (Ball *et al*. 1989, 18; Wilkinson 1990, 57). At Tell al-Hawa, the principal settlement of the region with 15 ha, Middle Jazirah I material and substantial Middle Jazirah II remains with associated material were excavated on the main mound and mound F (Ball *et al*. 1989, 35, fig. 25). Middle Jazirah I pottery was found more often in the areas with Middle Jazirah II material. In general, a substantial decrease in the total number of sites has been noted in the Iraqi Jazirah between the Old Jazirah III and Middle Jazirah period (Wilkinson / Tucker 1995, 59). Twenty-eight sites, with an average size within the range of 1–5 ha, attest to a pattern of small settlements (Wilkinson 1995, 145). The large central settlements of Tell al-Hawa, Kharaba Tibn, Abu Kular, Tell al-Samir, and Tell Man'a continued to be occupied, mainly on the lower mounds (Wilkinson 1990, 57).

It is worth noting what happened in the middle Tigris valley, north of Mosul, where surveys and excavations were carried out within the Eski Mosul Dam Salvage Project. In the Zammar region an apparent lack of Late Bronze Age settlements has been noted (Ball 2003, 15–16), which can probably be interpreted as a direct consequence of its location as a kind of buffer zone between the Mittani and Assyrian territories, open to the incursions of nomads from the steppes and mountains during a time of instability. Only Khirbet Karhasan has revealed stratified remains of Middle Jazirah I and Middle Jazirah II occupations, which are stratigraphically quite distinct from preceding and subsequent layers. The settlement was probably an outpost controlling the river or a *dunnu* dependent on Tell al-Hawa, the main center of the region. A few sherds of Nuzi Ware were found at Tell Abu Dahir and Tell Shelgiyya in residual contexts. Doubtful Middle Jazirah II sherds have been found in the Bardiya cemetery and at Abu Dahir. Downstream a few sites gave further evidence for this period. Remains dating to Middle Jazirah I

7 For maps see Anastasio *et al*. 2004, maps 11, 15.

and Middle Jazirah II have been exposed at Tell Jigan, Tell Fisna, Tell Jessary (Fujii 1987a, 34, 41–42, fig. 9, 5–13; 1987b, 63; 1987c, 70), Nemrik (Reiche forthcoming), and Tell Rijim (Bieliński 1987, 18; Koliński 2000, 3), whereas at Tell Mohammed Arab (Roaf 1984, 144–150) two large areas of Middle Jazirah II settlement with well stratified building levels were unearthed.

On the plain southwest of Jebel Sinjar at Tell al Rimah, extensive strata belonging to the Middle Jazirah period have been exposed (Postgate *et al.* 1997, 21–35, 37–40). The poor traces of a reused part of the great temple of site A on the high mound and the construction, over and against the remains of the original walls, of small houses (level 2) document the Middle Jazirah I–II occupation (level 1). The private houses and small shrines at site C, where two main phases were identified from the Middle Jazirah I period (level 5), gave a radiocarbon measurement from burned debris with a date calibrated approximately around 1450 BC (Postgate *et al.* 1997, 37). The same pattern of private houses is retained in the following strata (levels 4–2) dating to the Middle Jazirah II period.

South of Jebel Sinjar sporadic evidence dating to the Middle Jazirah II have been found at Tell Koshi (Kepinski 1990, 276–277).

4. The archaeological evidence from the upper Tigris valley

Excavations

The archaeology of the upper Tigris mainly results from excavations undertaken as a part of the international Ilısu Dam Salvage Project initiated by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the late 1990s (Tuna / Öztürk 1999; Tuna *et al.* 2001; 2004; Tuna / Velibeyoğlu 2002; Tuna *et al.* 2004), involving areas and sites to be either flooded or heavily affected by the realization of the dam project. The valley around Diyarbakır and the area between this city and Batman have been the target of recent and extensive archaeological projects, whereas almost nothing is known about the northern hills and uplands, or about the Tur Abdin area, as these territories are under-explored from an archeological point of view.

At the beginning of the 1990s the valley was explored and after the first reconnaissance survey several mounds were chosen on which to begin excavations. Sites such as Giricano, Ziyaret Tepe, and also Gre Dimse, Kenan, and Salat Tepe, provided interesting evidence that helps to delineate the evolution of local culture between the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium BC. Because the material culture of the valley is still only known very fragmentarily, the categories of finds that identify a Late Bronze Age occupation are common sherds of indisputable Middle Jazirah I date (Nuzi, Late Khabur ware, red-edged bowls, and a few other types), which represent ceramic classes that are easy to recognize but which are a rare find, usually due to the limited quantity in ceramic repertoires, as we noted for the upper Khabur valley too. The categories that identify a Middle Jazirah II occupation are the standardized ceramic types (carinated bowls, jars with ribbon rim) similar to those found in Middle Jazirah II–III at northern Syrian and Iraqi sites where an Assyrian presence has been documented.

Furthermore, the stratigraphic position of the different pottery repertoires in the few excavated trenches was used as a tool to date and to understand the development of the pattern of small (often 1–3 ha) sites scattered over the valley. This data enabled the archaeologists to attempt the reconstruction of a settlement pattern and its development, understood as a direct consequence and reflection of events recorded in historical texts (Parker 1993 for the Iron Age).

For the end of second millennium BC, the period immediately prior to the Late Assyrian penetration into the region, we do not yet possess clear evidence that would allow us to understand the local settlement system in the upper Tigris. This also applies to the sparse Middle Jazirah archaeological evidence available, although we should not rule out that the reduced number of Middle Jazirah sites may simply be ascribed to our inability to recognize the full range of ceramics for this period.

Levels dated to the Middle Jazirah have been found at different sites concentrated along the river and its floodplain. Key sequences that help us to reconstruct the development of the local material culture are those exposed at Üçtepe, Giricano, and Ziyaret Tepe.

In trench III on the eastern slope of the Üçtepe high mound, a continuous stratigraphy encompassing the second millennium BC without substantial interruption has been exposed (Köroğlu 1998, 25–37; Özfırat 2005, 56–58), providing the first sequence for the Middle Jazirah of the upper Tigris. Although the size of the areas exposed is small and the architecture was not explored to a wide extent, the excavations provide us with data for a ceramic repertoire sequence.

The architecture of level 10 comprises walls with irregular, mid-sized stones, probably part of houses with hearths and *siloi*. 'Beige-Brown Ware with Plant Temper' forms the majority of the sherds attested in level 10 and is characterized by organic temper, a slipped surface approximately the same color as the paste, the presence of fine or medium sand temper, and the presence of burnishing on half of the pieces (Özfırat 2005, 56–58). A few potsherds of Nuzi beakers (six fragments) and a sherd of a Late Khabur beaker or bowl with a representation of a bird were also found in level 10, all with the typical characteristics of corresponding wares found at Syrian and Iraqi sites, as were footed bases (Özfırat 2005, figs. CII, CIII, 1–7). Level 9, directly on top of the level holding the Beige-Brown Ware, is characterized by a single building with two floor-levels containing standard pottery of the Middle Jazirah II period (Köroğlu 1998, figs. 5–8).

At Giricano, a middle-sized mound with a maximum extent of *ca.* 2.4 ha, Middle Jazirah occupation levels were found in trenches 01 and 06, respectively on the top of the mound and on the south slope (Schachner 2002, 12–14, 17–19). Architectural remains include rectangular structures, probably belonging to simple houses and open-air working areas, and some pits cutting the early second millennium levels, which contain Middle Jazirah II–III ceramic types. In the latest phase archaeologists found a small archive of about fifteen tablets dated to the reign of Aššur-bel-kala (Radner 2004, 52–53). These texts indicate that Giricano functioned as a special type of site known as a *dunnu* in Middle Assyrian texts and can be described as an agricultural production center (Schachner 2002, 26; Radner 2004). In trench 01, directly below the Middle Jazirah II remains one architectural level can be dated to the Middle Jazirah I period on the basis of the pottery and cylinder seals. The ceramic repertoire is homogeneous and has morphological and technological characteristics typical of contemporaneous repertoires found at sites in northern Syria and Iraq (Schachner 2004, 9).

Ziyaret Tepe, the largest site in the valley, was an important settlement during the second millennium BC and was capital of the Assyrian province during the first millennium BC (Radner / Schachner 2001, 754–757). Traces of the Middle Jazirah occupation is mainly represented by the presence of Middle Jazirah II pottery forms spread across the high mound and lower town. This indicates that the site expanded considerably at the beginning of the 13th century BC, although both survey and excavation work have shown that remains dating to this period are mainly concentrated in the upper levels on the high central mound, the maximum extent of which was 3 ha. Excavations have yet to yield coherent levels dating to the Middle Jazirah period. Operation E, a step trench on the eastern slope, provided a sequence from the Islamic period to the end of the third millennium BC and yielded layers belonging to the

Middle Jazirah I period. Above step 5 the remains of a mud-brick building known as the 'Brightly Burned Building', the use of which ended in a violent fire around the 17th–16th centuries BC, have been exposed (Matney *et al.* 2002, 63–64; Roaf 2005, 21). Middle Jazirah II domestic structures and surfaces with typical Middle Assyrian sherds directly below the topsoil were cut by a pit that contained hand-made Early Iron Age grooved pottery (Matney *et al.* 2003, 178).

In Kavuşan Höyük, a site *ca.* 1.3 ha in size, several levels of occupation gathered in at least three or four phases dating to the Middle Jazirah period have been identified. The last phase, characterized by the presence of very simple domestic structures, contains typical Middle Jazirah II–III types which are similar to specimens found at sites in the Syrian-Iraqi Jezirah (Kozbe 2007a, fig. 8; 2008, 292–293), although the published figures lack standard carinated bowls and jars with ribbon rim, which are markers of Middle Jazirah II production. Sherds of Middle Jazirah I period pottery and red-edged bowls have also been found (Kozbe 2007a, fig. 7).

The site of Hirbemerdon Tepe was partially occupied during the Middle Jazirah period. During phase IIIC, scattered remains uncovered in the northern sector of area A, on the top of the mound, consist of stone foundations with outdoor courtyards, which are not well preserved due to the proximity of the mound slope and to disturbance by later pits (Crescioli / Laneri forthcoming). In terms of pottery, the Middle Jazirah phase was marked by some fragments of late Khabur and Nuzi Ware, one rim of a red-edged bowl, and several types of common ware. All these fragments can be dated to the Middle Jazirah I period. In addition a couple of carinated bowls show a morphology similar to that of the standard Middle Jazirah II bowls (Laneri *et al.* 2009, fig. 20.1, 4), although these local versions are hand-made and bear traces of burnishing.

Late Khabur and sherds of Nuzi Ware were found during the first survey of Salat Tepe, a site 2.5 ha in size, and out of context in trenches M13 and L13 together with an example of painted pottery (Ökse *et al.* 2001, 616, n. 23; Ökse / Alp 2002, 661). Furthermore, fine-walled beakers with light-colored decorations (Nuzi Ware) and late Khabur sherds also occur in level 1, attesting a reoccupation of the site after the collapse of the building in level 2, together with Red-Brown Wash Ware specimens typical of the local Middle Bronze Age repertoire (Ökse / Görmüş 2006, 183, n. 39–40).

Further evidence of second millennium BC occupation has been unearthed at Gre Dimse, a medium-sized mound *ca.* 4 ha in size, located on the northern bank of the river Tigris near Batman. Here, two trenches on top of the mound and two trenches on the slope have yielded pottery dating to the Middle Jazirah period, including some sherds of Nuzi Ware, but these are not in good stratigraphic contexts, close to the modern surface (Karg 2001 681–687; 2002, 717).

Surveys

The first extensive survey of the upper Tigris valley has shown that Middle Jazirah materials have been difficult to identify, although they were certainly present (Algaze *et al.* 1991, 183). The valley in particular shows a paucity of material for the Middle Jazirah I period. The preliminary report of the survey notes that only one fragment of Nuzi Ware was found along the Tigris, although similar materials exist in the eastern area of the Batman River.

During the survey of the Diyarbakır and Bismil regions, specimens of Beige-Brown Ware, similar to those found in level 10 at Üçtepe and dated to the Middle Jazirah I period, were discovered on the surface of five sites (Özfırat 2005, 57) in the western part of the valley, distributed approximately along a south-

north axis that connects the Tur Abdin with the Tauros mountains (Ergani and Lice passes). In this area, about 25 sites yielded Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian pottery (Köroğlu 1998, 54–74). An analysis of the published drawings of sherds suggests that there is evidence of Middle Jazirah II occupation at eight sites at least. Pottery of the Middle Assyrian period has been found in significant quantities but only in a few centers north of the river. These are located on the route that probably ran in the direction of the Lice-Genç Pass (Köroğlu 1998, fig. 17, 109–110), where Assyrian carved reliefs and inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I and Šalmaneser III have also been found (Schachner 2007, 232–243). The principal large mounds are mainly located on the right bank of the Tigris.

It is even more difficult to define the extent and type of settlements on the Garzan and Bohtan Rivers, both tributaries on the left bank of the Tigris, as only very extensive and low-intensity surveys have been undertaken. These found no Middle Jazirah pottery types (Velibeyoğlu *et al.* 2002; Parker 2003, 548–549) with the exception of Gre Amer on the Garzan River, probably a Middle Jazirah I settlement and a Middle Jazirah II *dunnu*, and Turbe Höyük, where a Late Bronze Age fortress was found, probably controlling the route along the Bohtan River. There, some sherds of red-edged bowls typical of the Middle Jazirah II horizon were discovered. This would seem to suggest that they were in use throughout the entire Middle Jazirah period (Sağlamtimur / Ozan 2007, figs. 8, 9).

The surveys of the lower course of the upper Tigris (in modern-day Turkey), south of the Tigris-Bohtan confluence, and of the middle Tigris (in modern-day Iraq) have yielded fragmentary evidence of Late Bronze Age occupation. The valley narrows south of the Bohtan-Tigris confluence before reaching the Cizre-Silopi plain, leaving little room for settlements and agriculture. No mounds were found in this area (Algaze *et al.* 1991, 189–190).

The Cizre-Silopi plain, located between the upper Tigris valley and the plains of northern Iraq, is reached by the Tigris, which crosses the mountain of Cudi Dağ through a deep gorge. Because of its position immediately north of the Assyrian nucleus and capitals, and near the highlands of southeastern Anatolia, the Cizre plain was strategically important throughout the course of history.

Archaeologists analyzing the sherds collected on the Cizre plain have identified a total of 10 sites dating roughly to the Middle Jazirah period (Parker 2003, 542; 22 according to Algaze *et al.* 1991, fig. 22b). Basorin Höyük offers the best evidence for the Middle Jazirah period and is also the only site where sherds of Nuzi Ware have been identified (Algaze *et al.* 1991, 197). It appears that there was no expansion of settlements during the Middle Jazirah II period. Only three large sites existed at one time and the size of the majority of the settlements has been estimated to be below 5 ha, in a few cases even less than 1 ha (Parker 2003, 542). On the basis of data collected during a recent survey on the south portion of the plain, archaeologists have argued that there was a clear decrease in the number of sites settled during the end of Middle Jazirah period in the latter half of the second millennium BC (Kozbe 2007b, 324).

This picture is rather fragmentary as only a few surveys and even fewer excavations, usually rescue projects, have been carried out in these regions. Whether the situation described above is a real pattern of settlement, or rather represents our incomplete knowledge, we have no way of knowing.

5. Discussion

Both the cuneiform texts and the archaeological evidence from surface surveys and excavations suggest that the valleys of the Khabur and Tigris Rivers were a part of the Mittani kingdom and were subsequently incorporated into the Middle Assyrian system by the time of the 13th century expansion.

Our reconstruction of the settlement patterns within the landscape is incomplete and unbalanced due to many and varied factors. The surveys, although providing a wealth of additional data that undoubtedly widen the terms of our analysis, do not provide a clear solution. A preliminary examination of the evidence from sites located in the valleys reveals that we have only a small corpus of data from a limited number of multi-period sites. This is the case particularly for the upper Khabur but also applies to the upper Tigris, where the excavations undertaken to date have been mainly of urban centers, with the excavation trenches limited in their extent.

The data, although limited, point to a pattern of rural settlement with villages organized around a few main centers that maintain their importance throughout the Middle Jazirah period. In contrast to the main sites occupied throughout the Middle Jazirah, several settlements changed in size, and in some cases were abandoned, whilst others were founded anew. The persistence of small settlements during the Middle Jazirah I–II periods suggests that land-use was similar throughout the second half of second millennium BC, with agriculture probably the major factor behind the settled occupation of the valleys.

In terms of artefacts, ceramics are the most commonly recorded. These provide us with direct evidence of domestic life. I would argue that the material culture, understood as the ceramics, together with the textual evidence, suggests that there were close cultural links between the upper Khabur and Tigris valleys during the Middle Jazirah and that both were integrated into the Mittani kingdom, thereafter becoming a part of the Middle Assyrian state at the end of the period. Two distinct traditions in pottery production emerge in the upper Khabur and Tigris regions during the Late Bronze Age. In terms of the stratigraphic sequences, the Middle Jazirah I–II repertoires are distinct. They are deposited on top of the Old Jazirah III levels and covered by IA levels respectively. All sites where coherent archaeological contexts were found show a clear stratigraphic distinction between these phases.

The Middle Jazirah I tradition can be understood as a development of the Old Jazirah III pottery tradition: it is subject to various degrees of external influence, but nevertheless maintained features which characterized the previous productions, especially in terms of manufacture techniques, decoration patterns, and some morphological characteristics. It can be said that the repertoires of Tell Barri and Tell Brak are representative of the pottery horizons that characterize the upper Khabur region during this period.

The ceramics from the Middle Jazirah I period in the upper Tigris region are yet to be published systematically, with the exception of some data on the Üçtepe repertoire. According to the excavators (Roaf 2005, 21) the ceramic assemblage from trench E at Ziyaret Tepe is similar to those from northern Mesopotamia and apparently shows no connections to the repertoire from the Old Jazirah III period. The horizon of Üçtepe level 10 (i.e., Beige-Brown Ware) has been described as different from the Old Jazirah III repertoire in terms of its forms and manufacture technique.[8] In contrast, pottery types from the Middle Bronze Age tradition in Salat Tepe level 1 (Red-Brown Wash Ware) have been recorded together with pottery that is clearly datable to the Middle Jazirah I period. However, in order to evaluate whether this represents a layer at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, it will be necessary to wait for the publication of the site's pottery assemblage.

The composition of Middle Jazirah II repertoires is more uniform than the more varied Middle Jazirah I assemblages and it is probable that there was more than one center of production. The wares of this Middle Jazirah I tradition do not seem to have survived in Middle Jazirah II period contexts. At Tell Barri the large residential building in stratum 33 and the kiln in area P mark places where vessels that

8 But some types (Özfırat 2005, figs. CI:7–11, CV:1) are reminiscent of Red Brown Wash Ware carinated bowls typical of a Middle Bronze Age local horizon (D'Agostino forthcoming).

were typical of the production during the Middle Jazirah II were made. At Tell Brak, in the houses above the Mittani palace and temple, there is a similarly clear change in the pottery production;[9] these areas were probably controlled directly by the Assyrians. There has been no excavation of a settlement that exhibits a clear transitional level documenting the coexistence of both repertoires.

Concerning the categories of painted and gray wares that were being produced during the Middle Jazirah I period, it must be stated that there is insufficient evidence available to determine whether they were in use after the end of Mittani control, with the exception of a few specimens found in the Assyrian heartland; the latter require a separate explanation however. At Tell Fekheriye sherds of red-edged bowls have been found in areas B, C, and D in the same contexts as materials associated with the Middle Jazirah II as well as from a mixed deposit. However, the excavated area is too limited to be able to judge whether they are residual or really constitute a link between the Middle Jazirah I and Middle Jazirah II repertoires as documented in the Assyrian triangle.[10] What is presently unknown is whether these sites, characterized by a non-Assyrian type of ceramic assemblage, were contemporary. There is no evidence from the upper Khabur that would allow the settlements with typical Middle Jazirah I types, but no Middle Jazirah II, to be assigned to the end of the Late Bronze Age, i.e., the period of Middle Assyrian rule. In other words, it is an obvious possibility that small rural settlements continued to produce types common to the Middle Jazirah I for a certain period of time up until the end of Middle Jazirah II and that a parallel, differentiated, contemporary manufacture existed at some sites. Likewise, we can only speculate on how long it took for the production of Middle Jazirah I types to disappear.

Certainly the specialized productions, such as the Nuzi, late Khabur, or gray wares, in this their main area of distribution, disappeared when their specialized craftsmen, located at a few production centers (identified according to the presence of a recurrent typology and decorative patterns over a wider territory), ceased work; this was presumably as a consequence of the new organization of the major settlements and their production systems by the Assyrians.

The changes in the material culture recorded at many settlements during the period of the Assyrian expansion must be explained within the context of the conqueror's dynamics of 'imperial' hegemony. The Assyrians dismantled the structures and management system of the Mittani kingdom and modified the local economy in favour of Assur's interests. The main settlements of the upper Khabur were probably quickly and entirely integrated into a new organism as the territory came to be intensively exploited. As this had been the core of the Mittani kingdom, the dismantling of the social and political fabric was more decisive than in other areas. The local communities may have been in part deported and those remaining were first acculturated and then assimilated.

There is a connection between pottery production and the establishment of Assyrian administration and political control. Alongside the re-organization of administrative and economic life there was also a transformation in ceramic production. The latter is the most visible consequence of the introduction of this new Assyrian socioeconomic model as the foundation of their production system. The new

9 The bowl n. 154 from Tell Brak is considered 'possibly Middle Assyrian' on the basis of its shape. Oates *et al.* (1997, 18) judge the first level of the trench as 'poorly preserved' and note as follows: "In trenches A–C a small quantity of Middle Assyrian pottery was found within the uppermost deposits, although no floor level of this date had survived. In some places, moreover, the surface material was clearly contaminated by Mallowan's dumps."

10 Red-edged bowls and pie-crust stands characterize both Middle Jazirah I and Middle Jazirah II levels at Tell al-Rimah in the levels of areas C and A. (Postgate *et al.* 1997, 61–75). The red-edged bowls are found at Tell Mohammed Arab (Pfälzner 1995, 204–206) in Middle Assyrian 14th-century levels. Also at Tell Sheikh Hamad there are examples in the domestic assemblage of area L, but none were found in the material excavated from the official building P (Pfälzner 1995, 162–163).

territorial organization and the changing socioeconomic system provided the backdrop for a process of specialization and standardization in the pottery production and the adoption of an Assyrian ceramic tradition.

The trademark techniques and styles connected to the period of Mittani cultural and political predominance disappeared as the role that pottery played within group strategies changed, and it is probable that the demand for earlier types disappeared with the arrival of the Assyrian rulers.

If we assume that the presence of specific ceramic categories at a given site is determined by functional as well as aesthetic choices, then the ceramic tradition is a good indicator of a given social and cultural environment; this, in turn, is closely connected to the nature of the political structures by which it was created.

Specific sets of ceramic shapes recur throughout the Middle Assyrian empire and were found at various sites in contexts with different functions, for example in the administrative building at Tell Sheikh Hamad, in the fortified agricultural village of Tell Sabi Abyad, in the agricultural production center at Giricano, in the residential building at Tell Barri, in areas and contexts in the main cities of the Assyrian heartland, and in several smaller and peripheral sites. A common element tying these sites together is the new socioeconomic model established by the Assyrians, which was to structure the organization of ceramic production at these settlements.

Nevertheless, for those sites strongly influenced by the Assyrians during the later Middle Jazirah period, only small differences can be discerned within the Middle Jazirah II production, which are probably due to the legacies of local traditions, the typology of the settlement, and the characteristics of the settlement area in which the archaeological trench was located. For example, Kim Duistermaat's (2008) analysis of the materials from Tell Sabi Abyad argues for a higher variability in production than previously claimed (Pfälzner 1995). Similar results emerge from the analysis of the Tell Barri assemblage. As Duistermaat notes (2008, 420), we probably have to reconsider the hypothesis of a rigid direct control on production. Despite the evident standardization in pottery repertoires and the impoverishment in terms of manufacturing quality, the presence of independent workshops connected to the centralized administration of the settlement could in fact be suggested. At Tell Barri there is evidence that some elements of the pre-existing local traditions survived: this is probably best represented in the conical bowls, 'fine'-carinated bowls and tall goblets/beakers, together with a range of variants in the conception of 'standard' types. There is also evidence for types showing the influence of neighbouring areas, evident in round bowls with grooves under the rim. These pots were produced alongside the new types introduced under the influence of the Assyrian heartland, foremost standard carinated bowls, jars with a ribbon rim, and high-shouldered flasks, probably within the same local workshops. However, the persistence of a few characteristics from previous manufacturing traditions and the appearance of external, non-Assyrian, influences are to be considered as secondary phenomena within the Middle Jazirah II–III horizons. After the Middle Assyrian expansion into the Khabur valley all local ceramic production underwent a major transformation with new traits by far exceeding the traditional ones in morphology and production technology. It is beyond all doubt that the pottery repertoire is almost completely reshaped and that the change in making vessels was substantial; it is also clear that the invasive Assyrian influence on manufacturing processes and methods may be linked to this. Given that, one may expect that the conformity of the new assemblage, with higher standardization than during the Mittani period, to some extent reflects the centralized system of control on pottery production as a part of those state-controlled activities, an idea which is also the subject of a recent article by J. Nicholas Postgate (2010). This redirecting of local pottery and hand-craft production, which identifies the Assyrian interference in local

economic management, was aimed at meeting the demand for new products within a new socioeconomic framework moulded by the Assyrian polity in the upper Khabur region.[11]

The change in ceramic repertoires, the modification of architectural plans, and the cultural connotations of some rural sites as Assyrian settlements are all elements that help to sketch out the heavy impact of the Assyrian presence on the region as a consequence of political control and direct management of more productive and fertile land and of strategic territories. The archaeological evidence from sites colonized by Assyrians suggests an almost complete transformation in the material culture, coincident with the absorption into a new system. This change affects and redirects the economic life of the settlement and the local productive activities, for instance farming, breeding, markets, pottery production, and in general the organization of work along with the functionality of some sectors of the settlement.

If we accept the limits on the meaning of 'Middle Assyrian territorial state' imposed by Mario Liverani (1988), and adopt his model of a 'network empire' in which only the core is a territorially dominated region, then there is a margin to the discussion about the dimensions of the 'nodes' in the areas that became a target of Assyrian expansion, the so-called periphery. Evidently, in the first steps of the conquest of new territories, the Assyrian sites assumed the aspect of interconnected outposts and strongholds embedded in a hostile environment. As Reinhard Bernbeck (2010) recently wrote in reference to the Neo-Assyrian period, "the empire was not able to control all regions within its network reach" and "territories of control may often have barely reached beyond the immediate surroundings of an urban Assyrianized stronghold, and political voids between such spheres, the lands of guerrilla resistance against established powers must not be underestimated because Assyrian texts silence them." This could also be valid for the settlements in the Khabur valley at the time of the first Middle Assyrian kings, or for the middle Euphrates, Balikh, and Tigris valleys, which were at the border of the area directly controlled by the Assyrians and were probably controlled by means of a network of nodes for the whole Late Bronze Age period. As in the 'network empire', the territorial control concerns the core and not the periphery and we, therefore, have to ask ourselves how extended the territorial control was and what periphery means in this period.

Discussing the presumable extent of the territorially dominated area after the first conquest during the 13th century BC, as regards the upper Khabur valley, and in particular the central-eastern portion of the valley, we have to consider the reduced distance between centers where an Assyrian presence is well attested by archaeological and textual evidence. The nodes, constituted for example by Tell Brak, Tell Barri, Tell Hamidiye, Tell Farfara, and Tell Qarassa, or to the north by Nusaybin, Girnavaz, and Tell Amuda, must have produced a dense distribution of satellite sites, for instance farmsteads and economically integrated settlements, spread over the land around the main centers. Consequently, the mesh of the network had to be thick, leaving very little space for territories outside Assyrian state control. The necessity of ensuring a steady flow of traffic along the principal Assyrian roads connecting the nodes of control (Faist 2006) and the traffic routes, as well as the maintenance of the water canals that were fundamental for agriculture and transport (Ergenzinger / Kühne 1991, 186; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 44), are other elements that also suggest an effective control of the land between the main centers. In fact,

11 In this regard, Feinman *et al.* (1984), dealing with the ceramic production of the Oaxaca valley (Mexico) during the Prehispanic period, have proposed that administrative control of economic institutions, including craft production, can be expected to occur in contexts of high population density, high investment of labor in agricultural production, and high political consolidation. The authors note that control of ceramic or other craft production resulted in two phenomena that have important archaeological implications. The first is the increased scale of production and the second is a decrease in competition between producers.

the lower Khabur region and the eastern part of the area under Middle Assyrian control during the 13th century BC were considered by Hartmut Kühne (1995, 72, 84) to be a territorial empire, as opposed to the reconstruction of Liverani (1988). Control of the fertile and productive territory, including fields for agriculture and pastures, was presumably achieved and a new Assyrian 'core' was created, dismantling the previous Mittani structures, both political and socioeconomic. By thickening the mesh of the network during the effort to replace the Mittani hegemony and to gain control over the Khabur plains, Assyria probably achieved a greater control of the territory than expected. It thus formed a sort of additional nucleus with its own hinterland, outside the heartland, bypassing the steppe in a further westward and northward expansion. This produced the territorial annexation and the Assyrianization of the settlements during the Late Bronze Age, as the Assyrians extended their directly controlled territory to include large portions of the upper Khabur valley (Postgate 1992; 2010, 31). The area perceived as peripheral was the territory at the margins of the farmed area, or at some distance from that privileged target of Assyrian interest, i.e., fields exploitable for agricultural purposes. In the Khabur valley the territories under direct control became part of an enlarged core together with Assyria or, alternatively, a second core within a cluster model. The steppe between these cores was outside the Assyrian sphere of interest, except for the routes passing through it.

This reconstruction does not exclude that other groups, such as pastoralists, semi-nomads, or small farmers in marginal areas, lived in the region, particularly in areas perceived by the Assyrians as marginal and not of strategic interest for Assur; these areas were in part integrated into the Assyrian system in a different way and in part represented a complementary element at the border of the directly managed Assyrian territory (Tenu 2009, 233–243). According to Bernbeck, the 'interstices' within the network existed but, in my opinion, populations inhabiting it could have only represented a real threat during a period in which the central power was weakened and not in a phase of political and economic stability. However, no room was left for other organized political entities or direct competitors for the control of the local farming economy. The Assyrians probably found little resistance during the first establishment of administrative centers and farm-colonies in the region and when they first took possession of the main Mittani sites, which were not structured so as to form an obstacle to the program of agricultural colonization, exploitation of local economic resources, and political substitution of the local Mittani elites. The archaeological evidence that the Assyrian character of some settlements was preserved during the Early Iron Age, visible in the case of Tell Barri where layers covering the Late Bronze Age-Iron Age period have been exposed (D'Agostino 2009), could indicate that after the weakening of the Middle Assyrian state the local elites did not impose an alternative alignment that revived the region's political and cultural traditions. In other words, the Assyrians transformed Mittani settlements, such as Tell Barri, into Assyrian settlements, probably as an effect of the direct control of the sites and their land, consolidating their presence in the area. These were the territorial islands that became the pillars of the Neo-Assyrian re-conquest and nuclei of the Neo-Assyrian provinces (Liverani 1988). Although limitations in the dataset mean that it is too early to offer a comprehensive picture of the pottery production in the upper Tigris valley, some general observations can be made. Sites dating to the Middle Jazirah were identified in the survey on the basis of the existence of several ceramic types known to correspond to 'Middle Jazirah I' or 'Middle Jazirah II–III' assemblages. As for the excavated sites, the similarity with the upper Khabur region repertoires has been noted in the analysis of the published materials, although this mainly regards the painted pottery. The Middle Jazirah II–III pottery repertoire at Giricano is homogeneous and has morphological and technological characteristics that are typical of contemporary repertoires found at sites in modern-day northern Syria and Iraq (Schachner 2002, 32–35).

Fig. 3 | Tell Barri, area G: grooved sherds from the Middle Jazirah II level (Archivio Missione Archeologica a Tell Barri).

Similarly, it is possible to make some observations on the chronology of the ceramic assemblages in the upper Tigris region from the Middle Jazirah II–III periods to the Early Iron Age. The extensive use of grooved pottery appears later in the upper Tigris region than elsewhere (Bartl 2001; Müller 2003), i.e., only after the Middle Assyrian decline and sometime after the abandonment of Giricano (mid-11th century, *ca.* 1068 BC) (Roaf / Schachner 2005, 120). It is possible that grooved pottery arrived in the area during the final phases of the Middle Assyrian occupation (Köroğlu 2003, 233–235).

A number of issues arise from these observations. Was the increase in the number of smaller sites with grooved pottery a process contemporary to the Assyrian colonization and, if so, how did this process relate to the *dunnu*-settlements? And related to this issue: can the upper Tigris be regarded as part of the territorial possessions of the Middle Assyrians? The ceramic assemblage of Tell Barri may provide additional evidence that will shed light on this debate.

In area G at Tell Barri, a class of curved, wheel-made bowls, a technique common to the rest of the production, has been found that is worthy of further consideration. These bowls have superficial grooves or well-cut grooves, and are a specific feature of the Middle Jazirah II–III repertoires.

This group of curved bowls is found from stratum 33C onwards in the same contexts as typical Middle Jazirah II–III types.[12] Hand-made grooved sherds of hole-mouthed pots have been found in the Early Iron Age levels, with a few specimens from the Middle Iron Age strata.

The repertoire found at Tell Halaf, too, is characterized by hand-made shapes with grooves. Its characteristics have stylistic parallels with grooved-ware assemblages from southeastern and eastern Anatolia (Bartl 1989; 2001) dated to the Early Iron Age. However, their context is unclear because of a lack of systematic recording during the old excavations (Bartl 1989, 261). The bowls from the Middle Jazirah II–III

12 The peak of the presence is in strata 33b–a. Here the curved bowls represent about 20 per cent of the total amount of potsherds. Within the category of the curved bowls, those with grooves under the rim are about 30 per cent of the potsherds. See D'Agostino 2009, table 1.3 and fig. 7, type 210W.

Fig. 4 | Tell Barri, area G: grooved sherds from the Early Iron Age and Iron Age levels (Archivio Missione Archeologica a Tell Barri).

level at Tell Barri have some superficial grooves that vaguely resemble forms of the grooved-ware horizon.[13] The bowl-shape and the grooves do not seem to have a precursor in the Middle Jazirah I assemblage.

This could be evidence of a 'grooved' tradition in an otherwise typical Assyrian type of production, and would demonstrate diversity in the repertoire of the Middle Jazirah II B period when compared to the early Middle Jazirah II A repertoire.[14] If we also consider the evidence from Tell Barri, where bowls with grooves under the rim, found alongside standard Middle Jazirah II–III forms, are a less significant feature of the ceramic assemblage during the Middle Jazirah II–III period, then our reliance upon grooved pottery as a chronological marker in the upper Tigris area should be reconsidered. Given that this group of vessels appears at Tell Barri, located in an area that is marginal to the main zones of diffusion of Early Iron Age and Iron Age grooved horizons, one could argue that the grooved phenomenon was actually diffuse during the late Middle Jazirah period. In that case, it would seem likely that the influence of grooved ware visible in the Middle Jazirah II repertoire at Tell Barri indicates the contemporary appearance of such a grooved ware in the neighbouring regions, in particular in the upper Tigris valley where a capillary diffusion in the Early Iron Age has been documented.

It is worth pointing out that this grooved pottery assemblage is not homogeneous. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that more than one grooved pottery horizon existed and that this is probably due to a variation over time (Konyar, 2005; Matney 2010, 138–139). This complicates the use of survey data in any analysis of landscape settlement chronologies. It may be that many of the sites have not been identified as the primary ceramic indicators for dating the late Middle Jazirah occupation, similar to the types found at the settlements in modern-northern Syria and Iraq where the presence of Assyrians has been proved. At the same time, these types have also been found at the main sites of the area and their satellite settlements, for example Üçtepe, Ziyaret Tepe, and Giricano.

13 In Tell Bderi and Tell Taban similar specimens have been found (Pfälzner 1995, fig. 140 c, d; Numoto 2007, fig. 13, n. 19).

14 In the repertoire of area P, but also in well 200, this bowl is not recorded. In fact the date of these contexts could be earlier, probably between Middle Jazirah II A and Middle Jazirah II B.

But did settlements exist that were not involved in direct Assyrian control? And did these sites, intermingling with Assyrian-managed settlements, produce a different pottery? Just to speculate, the Assyrian agricultural colonization and the settlement by grooved pottery producers, possibly semi-nomadic groups, could both be processes that happened from the end of the Middle Jazirah period in the 12th century BC, involving a territory with very few inhabitants, farmed and frequented by stockraisers and semi-nomads in their seasonal movements. Middle Jazirah II–III and grooved types are both introduced here and have no relation to the previous pottery horizons, but are instead superimposed and belong to 'external' traditions. We cannot exclude the possibility that, after the decline of Mittani power and the vacuum left by years of war, Middle Assyrians and groups using grooved pots occupied areas at different times and distributed themselves over the territory, maintaining the traditional economic activities in two different fashions: the Assyrians by building new settlements and agricultural *dunnus*, and by controlling the 'urban' centers, while the grooved-pottery user groups acted in a less invasive way, settling mainly in little rural sites and carrying out pastoral and agricultural activities. The groups using grooved pottery also settled on the sites first directly managed by Assyrians after the collapse of Middle Assyrian control in the valley.

The differences in the development of local material culture recognizable in the archaeological assemblages of both the Khabur and Tigris valleys, and documented for the Middle Jazirah period and the Early Iron Age, require explanation. They are the result of dissimilar strategies of management pursued by Assyrians during different chronological phases, in accordance with the structural diversities of the subjected territories and their social composition. In the upper Khabur, the production of lower status and daily-use objects, such as ceramics, continues to be locally oriented, with a Middle Jazirah II–III imprint (D'Agostino 2009). In the upper Tigris region a stratigraphic and cultural break has been suggested, visible in the sites where Middle Jazirah II–III evidence has been characterized by a change in architectural and ceramic traditions.

Considering the sociopolitical changes experienced in the upper Tigris valley, the appearance of settlements occupied by grooved pottery users, particularly at sites previously used as *dunnus* and subsequently integrated into the Neo-Assyrian system of agricultural exploitation, may have been a deliberate realignment of the cultural boundary of the inhabitants of the region, an idea that has been suggested by Jeffrey Szuchmann (2009). Alternatively, if the Middle Assyrians and users of the grooved pottery coexisted, it may be that the latter represented an alternative sociopolitical system, individuating an 'interstice' within the Middle Assyrian network, one that offered a different pole of aggregation for the people of the valley. This hypothesis is not currently supported by substantial or final archaeological evidence and has been proposed here in order to inspire further debate. Nonetheless, the shift from Middle Jazirah II–III pottery to grooved pottery should not be considered merely a reflection of the collapse of the Middle Assyrian system of management, but an explicit rejection of Assyrian forms of domination and a cultural realignment with the northern and western area within a more integrated and balanced two-pronged economy.

6. Concluding remarks

Within the territories where Assyrians had hegemonic interests and which were directly administered by the state, different 'core–periphery' relationships were established. During the course of the second millennium BC two processes affected the regions in question: firstly, the cultural and territorial inte-

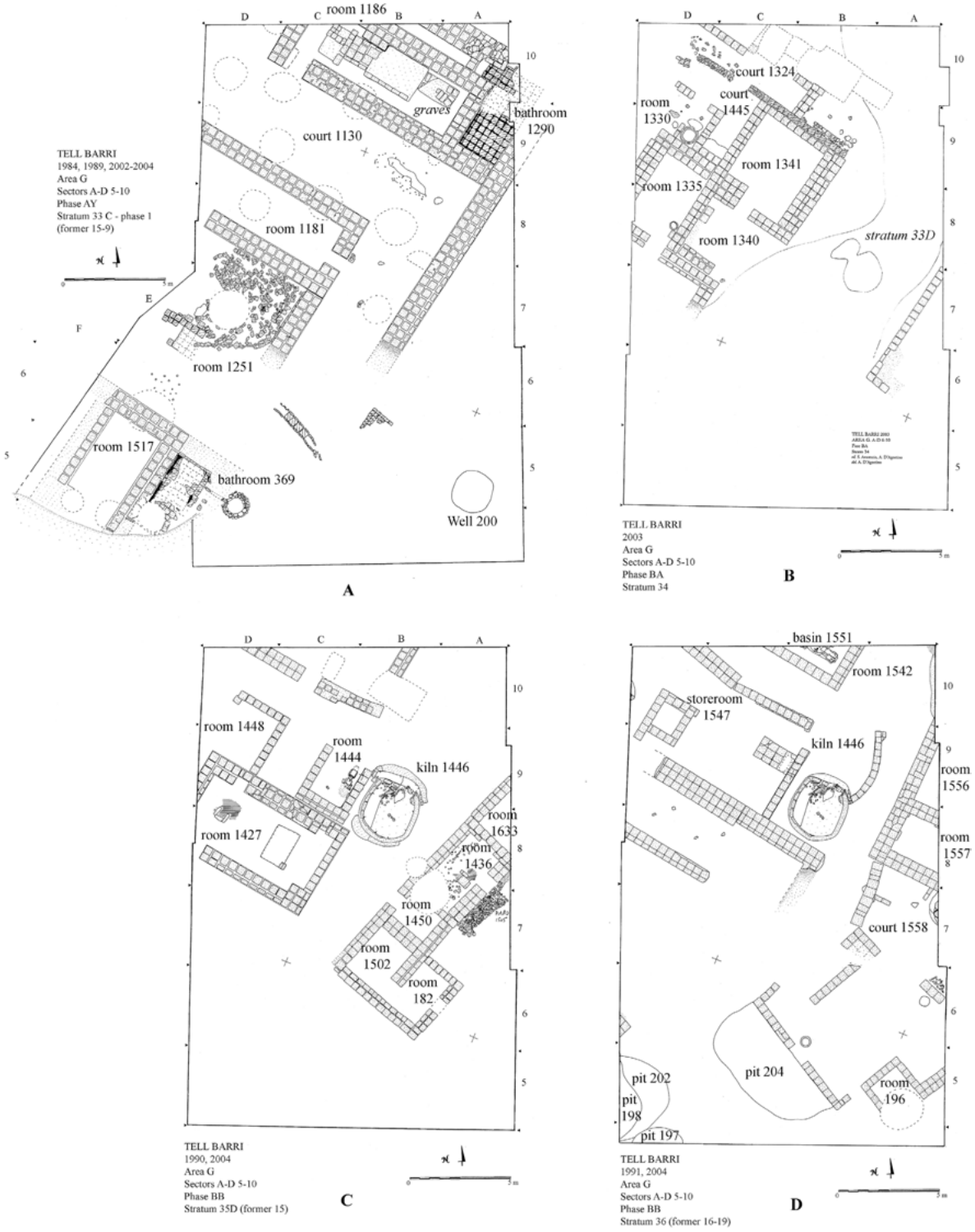


Fig. 5 | Tell Barri, area G: plans of stratum 33C, Middle Jazirah II period (a) and 34–36, Middle Jazirah I period (b–d). Adapted from Pecorella / Pierobon Benoit 2008a; 2008b.

Table 1 | Tell Barri, area G: the sequence of the Middle Jazirah period and preliminary ceramic phases.

Middle Jazirah period: the Tell Barri sequence of area G

periods	*phases*	*strata*		*ceramic phases (preliminary)*	*diagnostic sherds (A–D 7–10 +A–D 5–6)*
		A–D 7–10	A–D 1–6		
Middle Assyrian (MJII)	AY	33d-c	15(well)	Middle Assyrian Ia–b	1656+1168
	BA	34	18–15	Mittanian IV	791+1681
	BB	35	20–19	Mittanian III	1542+873
Mittanian (MJI)	BB	36	22–21	Mittanian III	789+497
	BC	37	24–23	Mittanian II	1623+1146
	BD	38	26–25	Mittanian I	680+3218
	BE	39	27	Early Mittanian	40+1515
Late Old Babylonian (OJIII)	BF	40	28	Late Old Babylonian	25+1157

Area G.A–D 7–10 (strata investigated between 2006 and 2002)

The percentage refers to the total amount of sherds without considering sherds from bases.

	period	*LOB*	*EM*	*MI*	*MII*	*MIII*		*MIV*	*MAI*
		OJIII	OJIII/MJI A	MJI A		MJI B			MJII
	stratum	40	39	38	37	36	35	34	33d–c
numbered sherds									
total		25	40	680	1623	789	1542	791	1656
total without bases		24	34	629	1313	657	1205	595	
Khabur Ware		10	11	195	549	199	412	123	0
Khabur Ware without body		5 20.83%	9 26.47%	87 13.83%	173 13.18%	67 25.42%	136 11.29%	43 7.23%	0
Nuzi Ware				5 0.79%	48 3.66%	26 3.96%	66 5.48%	27 4.54%	0
red-edged bowls					4 0.30%	9 1.37%	9 0.75%	5 0.84%	0
Gray Ware		2		42 6.68%	139 10.59%	86 13.09%	133 11.04%	9 6.89%	0

Area G.A–D 1–6 (strata investigated between 1989 and 1999)

	period	*LOB*	*EM*	*MI*	*MII*	*MIII*		*MIV*	*MAI*
		OJIII	OJIII/MJI A	MJI A		MJI B		MJII	
	stratum	*28*	*27*	*26–25*	*24–23*	*22–21*	*20–19*	*18–15*	*15(well)*
numbered sherds									
total		1157	1515	3218	1146	497	873	1681	1168
total without bases		893	1166	2499	929	386	668	712	0
Khabur Ware		144	649	1355	573	162	220	240	0
Khabur Ware without body		144 16.13%	239 20.50%	428 17.13%	179 19.27%	50 12.95	67 10.03%	22 3.09%	0
Nuzi Ware		0	1 0.09%	1 0.04%	2 0.22%	7 1.81	21 3.14%	100 14.04%	0
red-edged bowls		1 0.11%	1 0.09%	1 0.04%	1 0.11%	9 2.33%	21 3.14%	40 5.62	1?
Gray Ware		17 1.90%	24 2.06%	71 2.84%	27 2.91%	75 19.43%	15 2.25	11 1.54	0

gration of some portions of the upper Khabur, at least in the central-eastern part of the valley; and, secondly, an intensive, direct form of domination over some strategic sites in the upper Tigris region. The distribution of small agricultural centers throughout the territory follows similar patterns in both regions. The main differences between the Middle Jazirah and Early Iron Age lies in the status and role of the sites and in the hierarchical organization between the sites, perhaps resulting from a varied interpretation and implementation of imperial policy on the part of the local community. The development of settlements and material culture during the Early Iron Age, and subsequently the Iron Age proper, would seem to support this interpretation. During the transition to the first millennium BC, new forms of aggregation developed in the region, according to the specific cultural and socioeconomic traditions of local groups inhabiting both the settlements and the wider landscape. That large portions of the territory located in the central-eastern Khabur region, and strategic settlements beyond the Tur Abdin in the Tigris valley were successfully Assyrianized is a well established fact. However, there was a reaction to the system and to the pressure imposed from Assur, and the influence of groups inhabiting the interstices of the network grew, producing new forms of sociopolitical aggregation in the upper Tigris region, though apparently not in the upper Khabur valley. This documents the outcome of a differentiated approach to the management of the subjected territories and the intensity of Assyrian political control in the border region at the foot of the Anatolian highlands.

To date, it has not been possible to determine whether the archaeological evidence from the upper Khabur and the upper Tigris regions, which lends itself so well to different and opposing interpretations, reflects a true pattern of settlement and sociocultural development. Nor is it possible to say whether it is our incomplete knowledge of the area that is to blame for this unclear picture, although, as this is mainly due to the limited extent and depth of surveys and excavations undertaken to date, this factor may change with further research. In either scenario, it is difficult on the basis of the archaeological evidence to make any assumptions about the events that characterized the region. Although the theory that Early Iron Age levels were composed of distinct cultural horizons between the Late Bronze Age and the Middle Iron Age is partly convincing, the scant evidence leaves space for alternative explanations and we must be wary of oversimplifying the situation. However, we risk reaching a premature conclusion if we do not first clearly understand the characteristics of the local material culture and settlement patterns for those areas contemporary with the *dunnu* and before the Assyrian expansion. Once we have understood the pattern of the settlements and the composition of regional ceramic assemblages, and not only the assemblages of the *dunnu* and administrative centers, it may be possible to investigate the Assyrian impact on the upper Khabur and upper Tigris valleys and the ways hegemonic control was exercised over the subjected territories.

Bibliography

Algaze, Guillermo / Breuninger, Ray / Lightfoot, Chris / Rosenberg, Michael (1991)
"The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1989–1990 Seasons", in: *Anatolica* 107, 175–240.

Anastasio, Stefano (2007)
Das Obere Habur-Tal in der Jazira zwischen dem 13. und 5. Jh. v. Chr. Die Keramik des Projects 'Prospection Archéologique du Haut-Khabur Occidental (Syrie du N.E.)', Florence.

Anastasio, Stefano / Lebeau Mark / Sauvage Martin (2004)
Atlas of Preclassical Upper Mesopotamia, (Subartu 13), Turnhout.

Ball, Warwick (2003)
Ancient Settlement in the Zammar Region: Excavations by the British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq in the Saddam Dam Salvage Project, 1985–86, (BAR International Series 1096), Oxford.

Ball, Warwick / Tucker, David J. / Wilkinson, Tony J. (1989)
"The Tell al-Hawa Project: Archaeological Investigations in the North Jazira 1986–1987", in: *Iraq* 51, 1–66.

Bartl, Karin (1989)
"Zur Datierung der altmonochromen Ware von Tell Halaf", in: Odette M.C. Haex / Hans H. Curvers / Peter M.M.G. Akkermans (eds.), *To the Euphrates and beyond: archaeological studies in honour of Maurits N. van Loon,* Rotterdam, 257–274.

Bartl, Karin (2001)
"Eastern Anatolia in the Early Iron Age", in: Ricardo Eichmann / Hermann Parzinger (eds.), *Migration und Kulturtransfer. Der Wandel vorder- und zentralasiatischer Kulturen im Umbruch vom 2. zum 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend.* Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Berlin, 23. bis 26. November 1999, Bonn, 383–410.

Bernbeck, Reinhard (2010)
"Imperialist Networks: Ancient Assyria and the United States", in: *Present Pasts* 2, 30–52.

Bieliński, Piotr (1987)
"Tell Raffaan and Tell Rijim 1984–85. Preliminary Report on two seasons of Polish Expedition", in: *Researches on the Antiquities of Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and Other Research,* Baghdad, 13–19.

Bieliński, Piotr (1990)
"Polish Excavations on Northeast Syria 1988–1989", in: *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* I, Warsaw, 17–25.

Bieliński, Piotr (2003)
"Tell Arbid: The Seventh Season of Excavations. Preliminary Report", in: *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* XIV, Warsaw, 301–314.

Bonatz, Dominik / Bartl, Peter / Gilibert, Alessandra / Jauss, Carolin (2008)
"Bericht über die erste und zweite Grabungskampagne in Tell Feheriye 2006 und 2007", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 140, 89–135.

Bretschneider, Joachim (1997a)
"Die Unterstad (Feld J)", in: Mark Lebeau / Antoine Suleiman (eds.), *Tell Beydar, Three Seasons of Excavations (1992–1994). A Preliminary Report,* (Subartu 3), Turnhout, 209–230.

Bretschneider, Joachim (1997b)
"Nuzi-Keramik" aus der Unterstadt (Feld J)", in: Mark Lebeau / Antoine Suleiman (eds.), *Tell Beydar, Three Seasons of Excavations (1992–1994). A Preliminary Report,* (Subartu 3), Turnhout, 231–243.

Buccellati, Giorgio (1998)
"Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City", in: Giorgio Buccellati / Marilyn Kelly Buccellati (eds.), *Urkesh and the Hurrians. Studies in Honour of Lloyd Costen. Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3,* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26), Malibu.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva (1996)
Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Seh Hamad, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tell Schech Hamad 4), Berlin.

Coppini, Costanza (2008)
"Mitannian Pottery from Tell Barri", in: Joaquín Mª Córdoba / Miquel Molist / Mª Carmen Pérez, Isabel Rubio, Sergio Martínez (eds.), *Proceedings of 5th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East,* vol. I., 3–8 April 2006, Madrid, 477–491.

Crescioli, Lorenzo / Laneri, Nicola (forthcoming)
"Downsizing a Ceremonial Center: a brief overview of the Late Bronze Age period at Hirbemerdon Tepe (SE Turkey)", in: *Anatolica* 37.

D'Agostino, Anacleto (2008)
"Le tombe medioassire dell' G: alcune riflessioni", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella / Fiorella Pierobon Benoit (eds.), *Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 2003. Relazione preliminare,* (Ricerche e Materiali del Vicino Oriente Antico 4), Florence, 159–173.

D'Agostino, Anacleto (2009)
"The Assyrian-Aramaean Interaction in the Upper Khabur: the archaeological evidence from Tell Barri Iron

Age levels", in: Christine Kepinski / Aline Tenu (eds.), *Interaction entre Assyriens and Araméens*. Proceedings of the workshop, 6th ICAANE, May 6, 2008, Rome, *Syria* 86, 15–40.

D'Agostino, Anacleto (forthcoming)
"The Tell Barri Sequence of LBA levels: evolution trends within 2nd millennium ceramic culture", in: Claudia Beuger / Arnulf Hausleiter / Marta Luciani (eds.), *Recent Trends in the Study of Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions*. Workshop Proceedings, 2–5 November 2006, DAI, Berlin.

Dohmann-Pfälzner, Heike / Pfälzner, Peter (1999)
"Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft in Tall Mozan/Urkeš, Bericht über die Vorkampagne 1998", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 131, 17–46.

Duistermaat, Kim (2008)
The Pots and Potters of Assyria. Technology and organization, ceramic sequence, and vessel function at Late Bronze Age Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria, (Papers on Archaeology from the Leiden Museum of Antiquities 4), Turnhout.

Eichler, Seyyare / Haas, Volkert / Steudler, Daniel / Wäfler, Markus / Warburton, David (1985)
Tall al-Hamidiya 1. Vorbericht 1984, (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 4), Freiburg.

Eichler, Seyyare / Wäfler, Markus / Warburton, David (1990)
Tall al-Hamidiya 2. Vorbericht 1985–87, (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 6), Freiburg.

Eidem, Jesper / Warburton, David (1996)
"In the Land of Nagar: a survey around Tell Brak", in: *Iraq* 58, 51–64.

Ergenzinger, Peter J. / Kühne, Hartmut (1991)
"Ein regionales Bewässerungssystem am Habur", in Hartmut Kühne (ed.), *Die rezente Umwelt von Tall Seh Hamad und Daten zur Umweltrekonstruktion der assyrischen Stadt Dur-katlimmu*, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tell Schech Hamad 1), Berlin, 163–190.

Erkanal, Hayat (1988)
"Girnavaz", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu* 120, 139–152.

Faist, Betina (2006)
"Itineraries and Travellers in the Middle Assyrian Period", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 15, 147–160.

Faivre, Xavier (1992a)
"La céramique de Mohammed Diyab, 1990–1991", in: Jean-Marie Durand (ed.), *Recherches en Haute Mésopotamie. Tell Mohammed Diyab. Campagnes 1990 et 1991*, (Mémoires de Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires Publications 2), Paris, 55–89.

Faivre, Xavier (1992b)
"Le Tell d'Amouda", in: Jean-Marie Durand (ed.), *Recherches en Haute Mésopotamie. Tell Mohammed Diyab. Campagnes 1990 et 1991*, (Mémoires de Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires Publications 2), Paris, 133–150.

Feinman, Gary M. / Kowalewski, Stephen A. / Blanton, Richard E. (1984)
"Modelling Ceramic Production and Organizational Change in the Prehispanic Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico", in: Sander E. van der Leeuw / Alison C. Pritchard (eds.), *The Many Dimensions of Pottery: Ceramics in Archaeology and Anthropology*, Amsterdam, 297–333.

Fujii, Hideo (ed.) (1987a)
"Working Report on First Season of Japanese Archaeological Excavation in Saddam Salvage Project", in: *Researches on the Antiquities of Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and Other Research*, Baghdad, 33–61.

Fujii, Hideo (ed.) (1987b)
"Working Report on Second Season of Japanese Archaeological Excavation in Saddam Salvage Project", in: *Researches on the Antiquities of Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and Other Research*, Baghdad, 62–67.

Fujii, Hideo (ed.) (1987c)
"Working Report on Soundings at Tell Jessary (the first season)", in: *Researches on the Antiquities of Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and Other Research*, Baghdad, 68–72.

Harrak, Amir (1987)
Assyria and Hanigalbat. A Historical Reconstruction of Bilateral Relations from the Middle of the Fourteenth to the End of the Twelfth Centuries B.C., (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 4), Hildesheim–Zurich–New York.

Hrouda, Barthel (1961)
"Tell Fecherije. Die Keramik", in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 54, 201–240.

Hrouda, Barthel (1962)
Tell Halaf IV. Die Kleinfunde aus Historischer Zeit, Berlin.

Kantor, Helene J. (1958)
"The pottery", in: Calvin W. McEwan / Linda S. Braidwood / Henri Frankfort / Hans G. Güterbock / Richard G. Haines / Helene J. Kantor / Carl H. Kraeling (eds.), *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah*, (Oriental Institute Publications 79), Chicago, 21–41.

Karg, Norbert V. (2001)
"First Sounding at Grê Dimsê 1999", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Öztürk / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 1999*, Ankara, 643–693.

Karg, Norbert V. (2002)
"Sounding at Grê Dimsê 2000", in: Numan Tuna / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 2000*, Ankara, 699–737.

Kepinski, Catherine (1990)
"Tell Khosi/Huwaish. Djebel Sinjar", in: Khalid Nashef, "Archaeology in Iraq", *Americal Journal of Archaeology* 94, 275–277.

Koliński, Rafał (2000)
Tell Rijim, Iraq. The Middle Bronze Age Layers, (BAR International Series 837), Oxford.

Konyar, Erkan (2005)
"Grooved Pottery of the van Lake Basin", in: *Colloquium Anatolicum* 4, 105–127.

Köroğlu, Kemalettin (1998)
Üçtepe I: Yeni Kazı ve Yüzey Bulguları Işığında Diyarbakır/Üçtepe ve Çevresinin Yeni ssur Dönemi Tarihi Coğrafyası, Ankara.

Köroğlu, Kemalettin (2003)
"The Transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age in Eastern Anatolia", in: Bettina Fischer / Hermann Genz / Éric Jean, Kemalettin Köroğlu (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring regions*, Proceedings of the International Workshop Istanbul, November 8–9, 2002, Istanbul, 232–244.

Kozbe, Gulriz (2007a)
"Kavuşan Höyük 2005 Yılı Kazısı", in: 28. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı CILT.*1, 573–588.

Kozbe, Gulriz (2007b)
"Şırnak İli Cizre-Silopi Ovası Yüzey Araştırması, 2005", in: *24.Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı CILT.1*: 307–326.

Kozbe, Gulriz (2008)
"The Transition from Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age in the Upper Tigris Region, Southeastern Anatolia: Identifying Changes in Pottery", in: Karen S. Rubinson / Antonio Sagona (eds.), *Ceramics in Transitions. Chalcolithic through Iron Age in the Highlands of the Southern Caucasus and Anatolia*, (ANES Supplement 27), Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA, 291–322.

Kühne, Hartmut (1995)
"The Assyrians on the Middle Euphrates and the Habur", in: Mario Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Rome, 69–86.

Laneri, Nicola / Schwartz, Mark / Valentini, Stefano / D'Agostino, Anacleto / Nannucci, Simone (2009)
"The Hirbemerdon Tepe Archaeological Project: The First Four Seasons of Archaeological Work at a Site in the Upper Tigris River Valley, SE Turkey", in: *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 46, 212–276.

Liverani, Mario (1988)
"The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur/Middle Euphrates: A new Paradigma", in: *State Archives of Assyrian Bulletin* II, 81–98.

Lyonnet, Bertille (1992)
"Reconnaissance dans le haut Khabur", in: Jean-Marie Durand (ed.), *Recherches en Haute Mésopotamie. Tell Mohammed Diyab. Campagnes 1990 et 1991*, (Mémoires de Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires Publications 2), Paris, 103–132.

Lyonnet, Bertille (1996)
"La prospection archéologique de la partie occidentale du Haut-Khabur (Syrie du NE), méthodes, résultats et questions autour de l'occupation aux III et II millénaires av. Cn. è.", in: in Jean-Marie Durand (ed.), *Amurru I, Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux, I partie*, Actes du colloque internationale, Paris 1993, Paris, 363–376.

Mallowan, Max E. L. (1947)
"Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar", in: *Iraq* 9, Part 1, 1–87.

Matney, Timothy (2010)
"Material Culture and Identity: Assyrian, Arameans and the Indigenous Peoples of Iron Age Southeastern Anatolia", in: Sharon R. Steadman / Jennifer Ross (eds.), *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*, London, 129–147.

Matney, Timothy / Roaf, Michael / MacGinnis, John / McDonald, Helen (2002)
"Archaeological Excavations at Ziyaret Tepe, 2000 and 2001", in: *Anatolica* 28, 47–89.

Matney, Timothy / MacGinnis, John / McDonald, Helen / Nicoll, Kathleen Rainville Lynn / Roaf, Michael / Smith, Monica L. / Stein, Diana (2003)
"Archaeological Investigations at Ziyaret Tepe – 2002", in: *Anatolica* 29, 175–215.

McEwan, Calvin W. (1958)
"Notes on the Soundings", in: Calvin W. McEwan / Linda S. Braidwood / Henri Frankfort / Hans G. Güterbock / Richard G. Haines / Helene J. Kantor / Carl H. Kraeling (eds.), *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah* (Oriental Institute Publications 79), Chicago, 1–10.

Meijer, Diederik J.W. (1986)
A Survey in Northeastern Syria, Istanbul.

Morandi Bonacossi, Daniele (2000)
"The Syrian Jezireh in the Late Assyrian Period: A View from the Countryside", in: Guy Bunnens (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, (Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement 7), Louvain–Paris–Sterling, Virginia, 349–396.

Müller, Uwe (2003)
"A Change to Continuity: Bronze Age Traditions in Early Iron Age", in: Bettina Fischer / Hermann Genz / Éric Jean / Kemalettin Köroğlu (eds.), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring regions,* Proceedings of the International Workshop Istanbul, November 8–9, 2002, Istanbul, 137–149.

Numoto, Hirotoshi (2007)
"Excavation at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (5). Preliminary Report of the 2005 Summer Season of Work", in: *al-Rafidan* 27, 1–62.

Oates, David (1977)
"The Excavations at Tell Brak 1976", in: *Iraq* 39: 233–244.

Oates, David / Oates, Joan / McDonald, Helen (eds.) (1997)
Excavations at Tell Brak, vol. 1: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods, (McDonald Institute Monographs, British School of Archaeology in Iraq), Cambridge–London.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Alp, A. Oğuz / Dağ, H. Uğur / Engin, Atilla / Görmüş, Ahmet / Mustafaoğlu, Gökhan (2001)
"Salat Tepe – 1999 Survey", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Öztürk / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 1999,* Ankara, 593–642.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Alp, A. Oğuz (2002)
"2000 Excavations at Salat Tepe", in: Numan Tuna / Jâle Velibeyoğlu, (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 2000,* Ankara, 645–670.

Ökse, A. Tuba / Görmüş, Ahmet (2006)
"Excavations at Salat Tepe in the Upper Tigris Region: Stratigraphical Sequence and Preliminary Results of the 2005–2006 Seasons", in: *Akkadica* 127, fasc. 2, 167–197.

Özfırat, Aynur (2005)
Üçtepe II. Tunç Çağları: Kazı ve Yüzey Araştırması Işığında, Istanbul.

Parker, Bradley J. (2003)
"Archaeological Manifestations of Empire: Assyria's Imprint on Southeastern Anatolia", in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 103, 525–557.

Pecorella, Paolo Emilio (1998)
"L'area G di Tell Barri/Kahat, 1983–1993", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella (ed.), *Tell Barri/Kahat 2. Relazione sulle campagne 1980–1993 a Tell Barri/Kahat, nel bacino del Khabur (Siria)*, (Documenta Asiana 5), Rome–Florence, 78–132.

Pecorella, Paolo Emilio (1999a)
Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 1998. Relazione preliminare, Florence.

Pecorella, Paolo Emilio (1999b)
Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 1999. Relazione preliminare, Florence.

Pecorella, Paolo Emilio / Pierobon Benoit, Raffaella (eds.) (2005)
Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 2002. Relazione preliminare, (Ricerche e Materiali del Vicino Oriente Antico 3), Florence.

Pecorella, Paolo Emilio / Pierobon Benoit, Raffaella (eds.) (2008a)
Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 2003. Relazione preliminare, (Ricerche e Materiali del Vicino Oriente Antico 4), Florence.

Pecorella, Paolo Emilio / Pierobon Benoit, Raffaella (eds.) (2008b)
Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 2004. Relazione preliminare, (Ricerche e Materiali del Vicino Oriente Antico 5), Florence.

Pfälzner, Peter (1995)
Mittanische und Mittelassirische Keramik. Eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse, (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Schekh Hamad/Dur-Katlimmu 3), Berlin.

Pfälzner, Peter (2007)
"The Late Bronze Age ceramic traditions of the Syrian Jazirah", in: Michel al-Maqdissi / Valerie Matoïan / Christophe Nicolle (eds.), *Céramique del l'Âge du Bronze en Syrie, II* (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 180), Beirut, 231–291.

Postgate, J. Nicholas (1992)
"The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur", in: *World Archaeology* 23/3, 247–263.

Postgate, J. Nicholas (2010)
"The Debris of Government: Reconstructing the Middle Assyrian state apparatus from tablets and potsherds", in: *Iraq* 72, 19–37.

Postgate, Carolyn / Oates, David / Oates, Joan (1997)
The Excavation at Tell Rimah: The Pottery, Warminster.

Pruß, Alexander / Bagdo, Abd el-Masih (2002)
"Tell Fecheriye. Bericht über die erste Kampagne der deutsch-syrischen Ausgrabungen 2001", in: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 134, 311–329.

Radner, Karen (2004)
Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnuša-Uzibi. Ausgrabungen in Giricano 1, (Subartu 14), Turnhout.

Radner, Karen (2006)
"How to Reach the Upper Tigris: the route through the Tur Abdin", in: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* XV, 273–305.

Radner, Karen / Schachner, Andreas (2001)
"Tušhan to Amēdi: Topographical Questions concerning the Upper Tigris Region in the Assyrian Period", in: Numan Tuna / Jean Öztürk / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 1999*, Ankara, 729–776.

Reiche, Andrzej (forthcoming)
"Late Bronze Age pottery from Nemrik (Northern Iraq)", in: Claudia Beuger / Arnulf Hausleiter / Marta Luciani (eds.), *Recent Trends in the Study of Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions.* Workshop Proceedings, 2–5 November 2006, Berlin.

Roaf, Michael (1984)
"Excavations at Tell Mohammed 'Arab in the Eski Mosul Dam Salvage Project", in: *Iraq* 46, 141–156.

Roaf, Michael (2005)
"Excavations in Operation E", in: Timothy Matney / Lynn Rainville (eds.), "Archaeological Investigations at Ziyaret Tepe, 2003–2004", in: *Anatolica* 31, 21–23.

Roaf, Michael / Schachner, Andreas (2005)
"The Bronze Age to Iron Age Transition in the Upper TigriS Region: New Information from Ziyaret Tepe and Giricano", in: Altan Çilingiroğlu / Gareth Darbyshire (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 5*. Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6–10 August 2001, London 115–123.

Sağlamtimur, Haluk / Ozan, Ali (2007)
"Türbe Höyük Kazısı Ön Rapor", in: *Arkeoloji Dergisi* X, 1–31.

Salvini, Mirjo (2004)
"I documenti cuneiformi della campagna del 2001", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella / Fiorella Pierobon Benoit (eds.), *Tell Barri/Kahat. La campagna del 2001. Relazione preliminare,* 146–151.

Salvini, Mirjo (2005)
"I documenti cuneiformi della campagna del 2002 a Tell Barri", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella / Fiorella Pierobon Benoit (eds.) *Tell Barri / Kahat. La campagna del 2002. Relazione preliminare,* (Ricerche e Materiali del Vicino Oriente Antico 3), 143–153.

Schachner, Andreas (ed.) (2002)
"Ausgrabungen in Giricano (2000–2001). Neue Forschungen an der Nordgrenze des Mesopotamischen Kulturraums", in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 52, 9–57.

Schachner, Andreas (2004)
"Die mittelassyrischen Siedlungsschichten von Giricano", in: Karen Radner, *Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi*. Ausgrabungen in Giricano 1, (Subartu 14), Turnhout, 1–13.

Schachner, Andreas (2007)
Bilder eines Weltreiches. Kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Verzierungen eines Tores aus Balawat (Imgur-Enlil) aus der Zeit von Salamanassar III., König von Assyrien, (Subartu 20), Turnhout.

Smogorzewska, Anna (2006)
"Mitanni Grave at Tell Arbid", in: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 15, 67–93.

Szuchman, Jeffrey (2009)
"Bit Zamani and Assyria", in: Christine Kepinski / Aline Tenu (eds.), *Interaction entre Assyrienes and Araméens*. Proceedings of the workshop, 6th ICAANE, May 6, 2008, Rome, *Syria* 86, 55–65.

Tenu, Aline (2009)
L'expansion medio-assyrienne. Approche archaeologique, (BAR International Series 1906), Oxford.

Tuna, Numan / Öztürk, Jean (eds.) (1999)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilisu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 1998, Ankara.

Tuna, Numan / Öztürk, Jean / Velibeyoğlu, Jâle (eds.) (2001)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 1999, Ankara.

Tuna, Numan / Velibeyoğlu, Jâle (eds.) (2002)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 2000, Ankara.

Tuna, Numan / Greenhalg, Jean / Velibeyoğlu, Jâle (eds.) (2004)
Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs. Activities in 2001, Ankara.

Velibeyoğlu, Jâle / Schachner, Andreas / Schachner, Şenay (2002)
"Erste Ergebnisse eines Surveys im Botan Tal und in Çattepe (Tilli)", in: Numan Tuna / Jâle Velibeyoğlu (eds.), *Salvage Project of the Archaeological Heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam Reservoirs, Activities in 2000*, Ankara, 783–857.

Wäfler, Markus (1993)
"Tell al-Hamidiya", in: Olivier Rouault / Maria Grazia Masetti-Rouault (eds.), *L'Eufrate e il tempo. Le civiltà del medio Eufrate e della Gezira siriana*, Milano, 193–198.

Wilhelm, Gernot (1989)
The Hurrians, Warminster.

Wilkinson, Tony J. (1990)
"The Development of Settlement in the North Jazira between the 7th and the 1st Millennia B.C.", in: *Iraq* 52, 49–62.

Wilkinson, Tony J. (1995)
"Late-Assyrian Settlement Geography in Upper Mesopotamia", in Mario Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5), Rome, 139–159.

Wilkinson, Tony J. (2002)
"The Settlement Transition of the Second millennium BC in the Western Khabur", in: Lamia Al-Gailani Werr / John Curtis / Harriet Martin / Augusta McMahon / Joan Oates / Julian Reade (eds.), *Of Pots and Plans. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria presented to David Oates in Honour of his 75th Birthday*, (Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires Publications), London, 361–372.

Wilkinson, Tony J. / Tucker, David J. (1995)
Settlement Development in the North Jazira, Iraq: A Study of the Archaeological Landscape, (Iraq Archaeological Reports 3), Warminster.

Mirjo Salvini

Die Stadt Kaḫat. Vorposten der königlichen Jagden in Mittelassyrischer Zeit

0. Einleitung

Mit dem Sieg Adadniraris I. (1295–1264 v. Chr.) über Wašašatta, Sohn des Šattuara, endet die Unabhängigkeit des Staates Ḫanigalbat, und das ehemalige Land Mittanni wird in das assyrische Reich einverleibt. Unter den eroberten Städten nennt der Bericht, neben der königlichen Stadt Taidu und Waššukkanni, der alten Hauptstadt Mittannis, auch die Stadt Kaḫat. Diese Stadt, welche seit der altbabylonischen Epoche inschriftlich belegt ist und eine gewisse Rolle zur Mari-Zeit gespielt hat, liegt unter dem Tell Barri (Abb. 1), in der syrischen Jazirah an dem Jaghjagh, einem Nebenstrom des Habur, nördlich von Hassake und südlich von Qamishli (Abb. 2). Die Identifizierung von Tell Barri mit der alten Stadt Kaḫat verdanken wir einer Inschrift Tukultī-Ninurtas II. (890 bis 884 v. Chr.) auf zwei Schwellenplatten (Abb. 3), die Anfang der sechziger Jahre im Tell gefunden wurden,[1] und welche die Existenz eines assyrischen Palastes im 9. Jahrhundert belegen. Die Ausgrabungen, unter der Leitung von Paolo Emilio Pecorella, in dessen Andenken ich diesen Beitrag widme, haben mehrere archäologische Reste dieses Palastes ans Tageslicht gebracht (Abb. 4).[2]

1. Der Text Tell Barri E.3866

Ausgangspunkt und quasi einziges Objekt meines Beitrages ist ein kleiner, bruchstückhafter Keilschrifttext (K22.E.3866), der in einem sehr schlechten Zustand zu uns gekommen ist (Abb. 5–8). Nichtsdestoweniger ist er m. E. das interessanteste unter den spärlichen Dokumenten, die bisher in den Ausgrabungen von Tell Barri gefunden worden sind. Die wenigen bislang entdeckten Texte gehören immerhin verschiedenen literarischen Kategorien an, die auf eine rege Schreibertätigkeit vor allem in assyrischer Zeit schließen lassen: Es handelt sich um einen S^a Syllabar, eine Lexikalische Liste, einen Brief, eine Liste von Soldaten[3] und einen Omentext.

Das Fragment, worüber ich berichten will, stellt die untere linke Kante einer nicht gebrannten Tontafel dar, die auf der Vs., Rs. und auf dem linken Rand beschrieben ist. Der untere Rand ist ohne Schrift, und der rechte Rand ist nicht erhalten. Die Identifizierung der Vs. und der Rs. hängt von der Richtung der Schrift auf dem linken Rand ab, die nämlich von oben nach unten läuft. Der rechte Rand ist nicht erhalten, es ist aber anzunehmen, dass dieser Raum wie üblich von der Verlängerung der Zeilen der Vs. in Anspruch genommen werden konnte. Die Maße sind: Höhe 6,7 cm, Breite 5,35 cm, Dicke 1,5/1,6 cm.

Die Tontafel ist, wie gesagt, völlig verstümmelt: Es fehlen der obere Teil der Vs., und von der Rs. sind nur die Anfangszeilen teilweise erhalten. Es ist schwierig, den Umfang der verlorenen Teile zu schätzen, er muss aber beträchtlich gewesen sein: Es fehlt vielleicht doppelt so viel in Höhe und Breite, d. h. das vorhandene Bruchstück könnte weniger als ein Viertel der Originaltafel darstellen.

1 Veröffentlicht von Dossin 1961–1962; 1964, 4–5; siehe ferner Schramm 1973, 11–12 und RIMA2, 181 (Tukultī-Ninurta II. A.0.100.9).

2 Pecorella 2003.

3 Salvini 1998; 2005.

Abb. 1 | Der Tell Barri (September 2010).

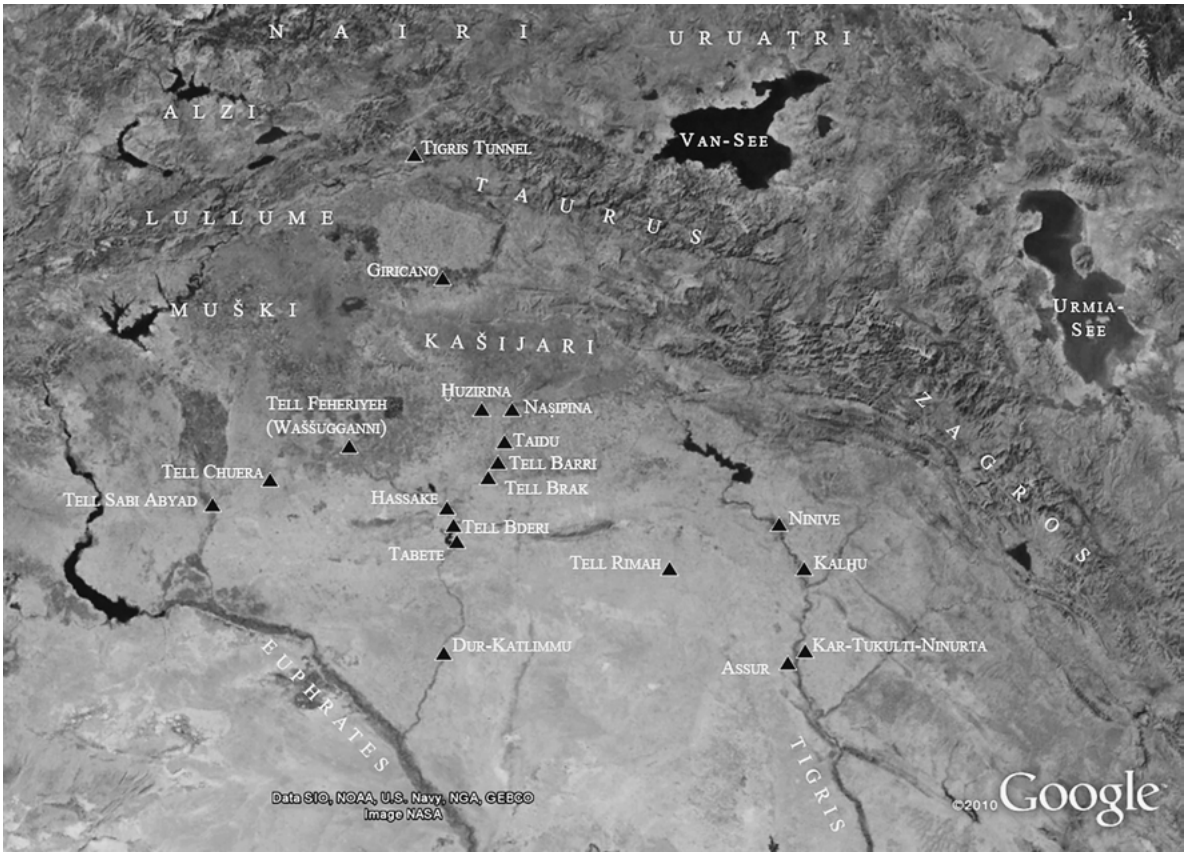


Abb. 2 | Obermesopotamien in mittelassyrischer Zeit (Zeichnung von Roberto Dan).

Abb. 3 | Steinplatte aus dem Palast des Tukultī-Ninurta II. in Kaḫat. Museum von Aleppo (September 2010).

Abb. 4 | Tell Barri. Ausgrabung des assyrischen Palastes (September 2010).

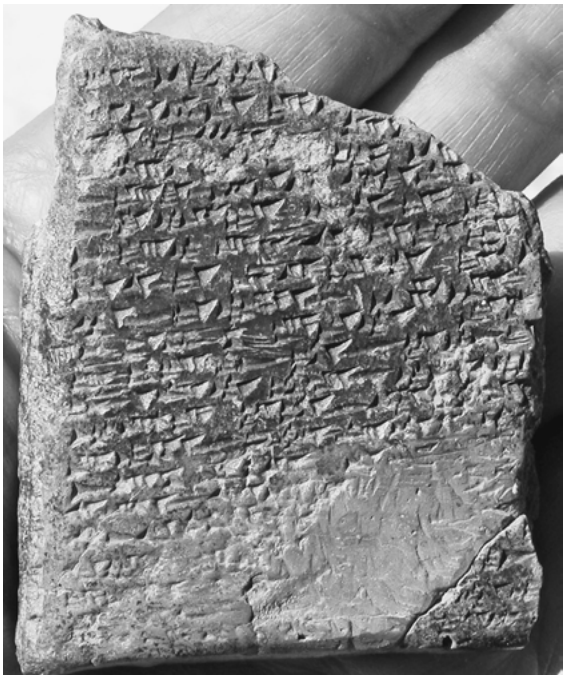


Abb. 5 | Tontafelbruchstück T22.E.3866 aus Tell Barri (Museum Deir ez-Zor, September 2005). Vorderseite.

Der Duktus der Vs. scheint von dem der Rs. und des linken Randes abzuweichen, sodass man zwei verschiedene Schreiber vermuten könnte. Ich meine nicht so sehr den Duktus als paläographische Phase, da mir keine Unterschiede in der Form gleicher Zeichen auffallen; aber die Graphie, die Hand des Schreibers scheint mir auf Vs., Rs. und Rand verschieden zu sein. Auf der Rs. ist die Schrift regelmäßiger, sie respektiert mehr die waagerechte Richtung, auch mit einem perfekten Paragraphenstrich; dagegen steigt die Schrift auf der Vs. schräg nach oben an. Diese Beobachtung könnte in der Frage der Verfassung des Textes eine Rolle spielen. Die Tatsache, dass der untere Rand nicht beschrieben ist, kann bedeuten, dass es zwischen Vs. und Rs. keine Kontinuität gibt. Der leere Raum vor der ersten erhaltenen Zeile der Vs. weist wohl auf eine Trennung von einem Paragraphen oder einem davor stehenden Abschnitt hin.

Bei einem solchen Zustand der Tontafel, wo der Anfang gebrochen ist, kann man die Art des Textes vorerst nicht bestimmen. Dieses Fragment zeigt aber trotz seines fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustandes, viele Berührungspunkte mit bekannten assyrischen historischen Texten. Weil die Inhalte von Vs., Rs. und Rand keine offensichtliche Zusammengehörigkeit zeigen, werde ich hier der Reihe nach vorgehen und auf die jeweiligen Verbindungen hinweisen.

1.a Über die Vorderseite

Die Bedeutung dieses schlecht erhaltenen Tafelfragments besteht in den unvollkommenen Ausdrücken, hauptsächlich auf der Vs., die klar an einen bekannten historischen Text anknüpfen, nämlich an die „Annalen des Aššur-bēl-kala“ (1073–1056 v. Chr.) auf dem „Broken Obelisk“[4] vom British Museum

4 Über Datierung und redaktionelle Geschichte dieses Textes gibt es eine reiche Literatur: s. Borger 1964, 137–142. Er weist den „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ Aššur-bēl-kala zu (6. Jahr); s. auch Borger 1964, 108. Vergleiche ebenso die Argumente Weidners (1930–1931, 93–94) zugunsten von Aššur-bēl-kala. Später aber hat Weidner für Tiglat-pileser I. (1114–1076 v. Chr.) optiert: Weidner 1957–1958, 356b. Die jüngste Edition ist die

Abb. 6 | E.3866. a) unterer Rand, unbeschrieben; b) Rückseite.

Abb. 7 | E.3866. a) und b), zwei Aufnahmen des linken Randes.

(Abb. 9). Ich meine die IV Kolumne des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken", Zeilen 1–34a, mit der detaillierten Beschreibung von königlichen Jagden in nördlichen Regionen.

Trotz des erbärmlichen Zustandes des Tafelbruchstücks und des noch provisorischen Standes der Interpretierung, können die Verknüpfung und die gegenseitige Abhängigkeit beider Dokumente als gesichert gelten.

von RIMA2, 99–105 (Aššur-bēl-kala A.O.89.7). Das Problem kann aber nicht als gelöst betrachtet werden; siehe unten einige weitere Überlegungen. Über den „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" als Denkmal s. Pritchard 1954, 300, Abb. 440, sowie Börker-Klähn 1982, 178, Nr. 131, mit Literatur.

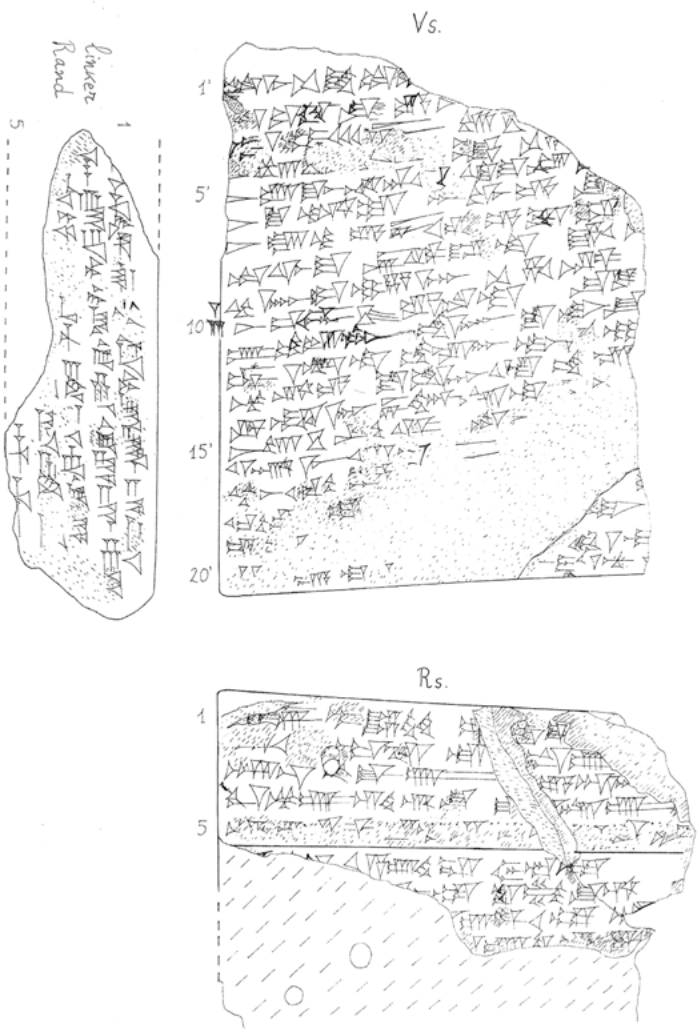


Abb. 8 | E.3866. Autographie.

Dass es sich nicht nur um eine allgemeine thematische Entsprechung handelt, das Thema der königlichen Jagd[5], wird durch mehrere Elemente bewiesen. Als erstes nenne ich den Hinweis auf die winterliche Jahreszeit: Der sehr seltene Ausdruck ina kuṣṣi ḫalpê šur[īpi (Vs. 6') „in Kälte, Frost und Eis", erscheint in den Annalen des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" (Kol. IV 13) in folgender Form: ina ūmāt kuṣṣi ḫalpê šurīpi „zur Zeit (genauer: in den Tagen) der Kälte, des Frostes und des Eises". Der Unterschied zu unserer Tafel liegt in dem Fehlen von *ina ūmāt*, das im Annalen-Stil auf die Vergangenheit hinweist. Übrigens erwähnt die darauf folgende Zeile des Bruchstücks aus Tell Barri wiederum den Hochsommer (Vs. 11': ina um-še[6] dan-ni).

Der Text des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" bietet dazu auch einen astronomischen Hinweis: „in den Tagen als Sirius aufging und rot wurde wie gegossenes Kupfer" (ina ūmāt nipiḫ Šukudi ša kīma erî iṣuddu).

5 Heimpel 1976–1980; Trümpelmann 1976–1980.

6 AHw 1418 umšu(m) „Hitze, Sommer". Vgl. Sg. 8,100: ina umše rabûti u dannat kuṣṣi „in great heat or the coldest part of the winter" (CAD, D S. 90).

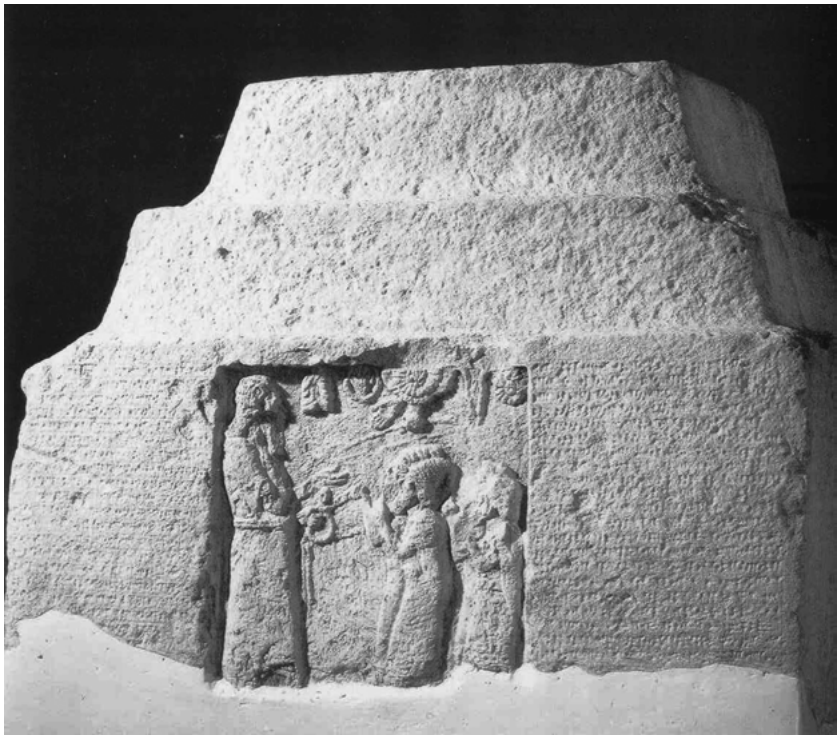


Abb. 9 | Der „Zerbrochene Obelisk“ des Aššur-bēl-kala. Photo des Verfassers mit Genehmigung der Trustees des British Museum.

Wenn man überlegt, dass – wie ich später erklären werde – der Schauplatz der Geschehnisse eine Region gewesen sein muss, die im Großen und Ganzen nördlich oder nordwestlich der Stadt Mardin (s. die Karte, Abb. 2) (ungefähr 40° Grad nördlicher Breite und 38° Grad östlicher Länge) lag, und dass der Jagdbericht sich auf ein Datum zwischen dem 12. und 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bezieht, dann ergibt sich, dass die Sichtbarkeit des rötlichen Gestirns Sirius damals kurz nach Sonnenuntergang in der ersten Hälfte des Dezembers stattfand; eine für die Jagd günstige Jahreszeit.

Aufgang und Niedergang der Gestirne, die wegen ihrer niedrigen Position auf dem Horizont in rötlicher Farbe erscheinen, werden in allen Texten des Altertums als bedeutende astronomische Ereignisse dann gesehen, wenn sie bei Sonnenuntergang (kurz danach) oder bei Sonnenaufgang (kurz davor) stattfinden. Die Ephemeriden der Sonne und des Sirius, die man für die gegebene Epoche und Gegend rekonstruieren kann, zeigen, dass der Aufgang von Sirius kurz nach Sonnenuntergang auf Mitte Dezember hinweist.[7]

An dieser Stelle muss ich Hesiod zitieren, *Erga kai Hemerai „Werke und Tage“* (Verse 417–419):

„... es weilt ja des Sirius Stern (Σείριος ἄστηρ) dann
Kurz nur über den Häuptern dem Tode verfallener Menschen
Während des Tags und genießt weit lieber die Stille der Nächte.“[8]

7 Hierfür möchte ich mich bei Dr. Ing. i. R. Franco Mileto, Rom, für seine astronomischen Hinweise bedanken.

8 Zu dem Thema notierte Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1928, 92): „der Sirius ist ja gerade im Herbst am Abendhimmel hell genug.“.

Wegen der Assoziation von Sirios und Orion im Vers 609 – „Wenn jetzt mitten am Himmel Orion und Sirios aufsteigt" – kann ich nicht umhin den Dichter Giuseppe Parini, zu zitieren: „Quando Orïon dal cielo / Declinando imperversa, / E pioggia e nevi e gelo / Sopra la terra ottenebrata versa,/ ..."[9]

Da alle Zeilen dieses Textes unvollkommen sind, ist auch die Breite der Lücke nicht zu bestimmen, und man kann nicht wissen, wie viel am Anfang fehlt. Daher ist es problematisch feststellen zu können, in welcher Beziehung diese Tafel mit dem Text des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" steht. Nun kann man sehen, dass die Vorderseite (Abb. 5), obwohl es sich nicht um ein Duplikat der Annalen handelt, mit verschiedenen Wendungen über dasselbe Thema der königlichen Jagden berichtet. Bezeichnend ist eine Reihe von Ausdrücken, die meist unvollkommen sind, und die ich hier in synoptischer Weise zeige. Es folgen die feststellbaren

Entsprechungen zwischen der bruchstückhaften Tontafel E.3866 aus Tell Barri und den „Annalen des Aššur-bēl-kala" auf dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken (A.O.89.7) sowie anderen historischen Texten:[10]

Tell Barri E.3866	RIMA2, S. 103: Abk A.O.89.7
Vs. 1' ⌜i⌝-na me-ziz qar-du-t[i-šú „mit [seinem] stolzen Mut["	RIMA2 A.O.89.3[11] 7' i-na me-ziz qar-du-ti-ja „mit meinem stolzen Mut"
Vs. 2' ina GIŠBAN-šu dan-n[a-te „mit dem starken Bogen"	IV 7 AM^{MEŠ} ina GIŠBAN-šú „(leer) Wildrinder mit seinem Bogen"
Vs. 5' *ina* É.GAL EN-*ti*-⌜*šú*⌝ „im Palast seiner Herrschaft"	V 1 ša É.GAL EN-*ti-ia* (im Baubericht) „des Palastes meiner Herrschaft"
Vs. 6': ina ku-uṣ-ṣi ḫal-pi-e šu-r[i-pi „in Kälte, Frost und Eis"	IV 13/14: ina UD^{MEŠ}-at ku-uṣ-ṣi ḫal-pi-e šu-ri-pi „zur Zeit (in den Tagen) von Kälte, Frost und Eis"
Vs. 8': sa-di-ra-te „mit Netzen isolierte Areale"	IV 20/21: ina sa-di-ra-a-te^{MEŠ} ú-te-em-me-eḫ su-gul-la-a-te-šu-nu ik-ṣur „hat gefangen in von Netzen umrundeten Arealen (und) Herden (aus Wildziegen, Steinböcken und Hirschen) gebildet"
Vs. 9': KUR^{MEŠ} GIŠTIR^{MEŠ} „Berge und Wälder"	Asn A.O.101.2, 31–38 TA KUR^{MEŠ} TA GIŠ.TIR^{MEŠ}-e „aus Bergen und Wäldern" IV 15–17: ina KUR „in den Bergen ..."[12]
Vs. 10' ina GIŠBAN-šú dan-na-te „mit seinem starken Bogen"	IV 7 AM^{MEŠ} ina GIŠBAN-šú „(leer) Wildrinder mit seinem Bogen"

9 Sapegno *et al*. 1961, 437–438: „La caduta", Verse 1–4.

10 Eine Bearbeitung des Gesamttextes ist zusammen mit Helmut Freydank geplant.

11 Auch dieses Annalenfragment wird Aššur-bēl-kala zugeschrieben; s. Borger 1964, 136.

12 Es folgen die Namen von sieben Bergen (Assyriens), ein Berg des Landes Lulume und die Berge der Nairi-Länder.

Vs. 11': pu<-ḫal>? AM^{MEŠ} „männliche Wildrinder (Uren)"	Tigl. I., Prisma (RIMA2, A.0.87.1 VI 62) IV 6: (leer) mu-ri^{MEŠ} bal-ṭu-te šá AM^{MEŠ} ú-ṣa-ab-bi-ta „hat (leer) kleine lebende Wildrinder gefangen"
Vs. 12': AM.SI^{MEŠ} „Elefanten"	IV 8: (leer) AM.SI^{MEŠ} bal-ṭu-te ú-ṣa-ab-bi-ta „hat lebende Elefanten gefangen"
Vs. 13' mu-re-e ša AM^{MEŠ} ù AM.SI$^{M[EŠ}$ „Jungtiere von Wildrindern und Elefanten"	IV 6: (leer) mu-ri^{MEŠ} bal-ṭu-te šá AM^{MEŠ} "lebende Jungtiere von Wildrindern"
Vs. 14': UR.MAḪ^{MEŠ}ni-'-ru-ti „brüllende Löwen"	IV 11/12: (leer) UR.MAḪ^{MEŠ} ina GIŠ nàr-'a-am-te ú-šam-qit „hat mit seiner Lanze (leer) Löwen erschlagen"
Vs. 15': ina libbī(ŠÀ)-šú ek-di „mit seinem wilden Herz"	IV 9–10: 2 šu-ši UR.MAḪ.MEŠ ina lìb-bi-šu ek-di „(tötete) … 120 Löwen mit seinem wilden Herz"
Vs. 16': ar-me „Wildziegen"	IV 19: (leer) ar-me^{MEŠ} „(leer) Wildziegen"
Vs. 19'] SÚN-t[e „] Wildkühe["	IV 4: AM^{MEŠ} SÚN^{MEŠ} „Wildstiere und Wildkühe"
Linker. Rand Z. 1: KUR ⌜lu$_1$⌝-lu-me-e „das Land Lulume"	IV 18: šid-di KUR lu-lu-me-e „Bezirk des Landes Lulume"
Linker Rand Z. 2: um-ma-nat muš-ki	(in II 12–13, URU[…] šá ^{KUR}⌜muš$_1$⌝-[ki?[13]. „die Muški-Scharen"

Zur Vorderseite.

Vs. 5' – Obwohl in 3. bzw. in 1. Person, kann hier vom selben Palast des regierenden Königs die Rede sein.

Vs. 8' – Zu *sadirate*[14] „Fangnetze" kann das Relief B.M. Nr. 124871 vom Palast des Assurbanipal (669 v. Chr. bis 631/627 v. Chr.) in Ninive als Illustration genannt werden (Abb. 10); das Alter dieser Jagdtechnik ist z. B. vom minoischen Becher aus Vaphiò bezeugt (Abb. 11).

Vs. 16' – Die Bergziegen (*capra aegagrus*) wurden in der Osttürkei noch im 19. Jahrhundert gejagt (Abb. 12).

Über den metereologischen Hinweis hinaus sind auch folgende dem Annalen-Stil eigene idiomatische Wendungen zu notieren: Vs. 1' ⌜i$_1$⌝-na me-ziz qar-du-t[i-šú „mit [seinem] stolzen Mut[" und Vs. 15', ina libbī-šú ek-di na?-x[, „mit seinem wilden Herz x x[", welche in der typischen Rhetorik der Annalen die Kampfwut des Königs beschreiben. Leider sind wegen der Unvollkommenheit des Textes keine ganzen Sätze erhalten.

13 In einer vorherigen Episode, wird eine Stadt [Name in der Lücke] des Landes Muš[ki] zitiert. Siehe aber unten die noch engeren Verknüpfungen zu den Texten Tiglatpilesers I.

14 CAD S, S. 18 sadīru 2. „roped-off area". Das Wort erscheint aber nicht in der Terminologie der „Fangnetze" bei Salonen 1976, 67; Osten-Saken 1998–2001, 240. Vgl. Lucr., De rer. nat. V 1251 „saepire plagis saltum" und Verg. Aen. 4, 131 „retia rara".

Abb. 10 | Relief B.M. No. 124871 vom Palast des Assurbanipal in Ninive (Barnett / Lorenzini 1975, Abb. 126).

Abb. 11 | Der goldene Becher (II) aus Vaphió (Peloponnes). Minoische Kunst, *ca.* 1500 v. Chr. (Marinatos / Hirmer 1960, Abb. 181).

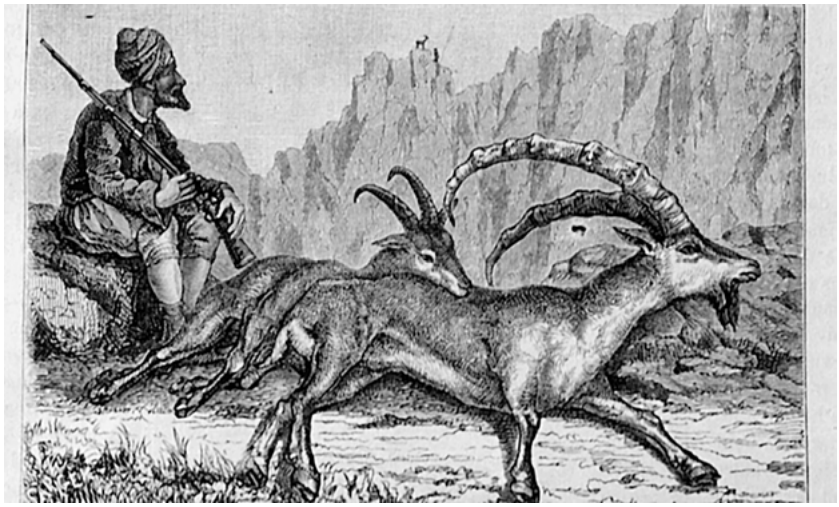


Abb. 12 | Jagd der Bergziegen in der Osttürkei im 19. Jahrhundert (Deyrolle 1869, 24).

Die Datierung und Bestimmung unseres Textes sind demnach mit dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken", der anscheinend über die ersten vier oder fünf Jahre der Regierung Aššur-bēl-kalas, d.h. ab 1073 v. Chr. berichtet,[15] verknüpft. Der Fund eines Tontafelarchivs[16] aus der Zeit dieses Königs in Giricano (Abb. 2) am oberen Tigris, nördlich von Mardin, ist kohärent mit der Anwesenheit dieses Dokuments in Tell Barri und zeigt den Einzugsweg der Assyrer in das Tigris-Gebiet.

Die vorgestellten inhaltlichen und sprachlichen Entsprechungen beweisen, dass das vorhandene Tontafelbruchstück aus Kaḫat in einer sehr engen Beziehung zum zitierten Passus des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" steht. Dieser ist viel breiter und ausgiebiger, nicht nur, weil er vollkommen erhalten ist, sondern auch in Bezug auf den Text im vorhandenen Teil der Tafel. Es stellt sich zudem das Problem der vielen Abweichungen, die man bemerken kann. Zunächst stehen die Entsprechungen nicht in derselben Reihenfolge in beiden Texten. Man kann dann versuchen zu bestimmen, welcher Text vom anderen abhängig ist.

Eine mögliche Hypothese ist, dass E.3866 ein Teil eines Textes ist oder besser von einem Text herrührt, der zur Verfassung jenes Teils der IV Kol. der „Annalen von Aššur-bēl-kala" gedient hat. Unsere Tafel könnte einen unmittelbaren Bezug zur Jagd haben und in der assyrischen Provinzstadt Kaḫat geschrieben worden sein. Die geographische Lage von Kaḫat scheint für Jagdexpeditionen günstig gewesen zu sein, da sie auf einem seit mittelassyrischer Zeit benutzten Itinerar lag. Wir besitzen den genauen Bericht von Tukultī-Ninurta II.,[17] mit den Etappen dem Habur hinauf bis Kaḫat und weiter, über Naṣipina und Ḫuzirina bis zum Gebiet der Muški. Man muss aber auch andere Elemente in Betracht ziehen wie die Art der Komposition des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken", der das Resultat einer komplizierten *contaminatio* ist.

Wie Rykle Borger notierte, stammen viele literarische Vorbilder und Ausdrücke, auch in dem Jagdbericht, aus dem Prisma von Tiglat-pileser I. [A.0.87.1, VI 55–84 und VI 105–VII 16][18]. Zum Jagdbericht

15 Borger 1964, 140, datiert den Obelisk ins 6. Jahr des Aššur-bēl-kala.

16 Die Texte aus Giricano sind meistens nach dem līmu Iliiddina datiert, der im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" vorkommt, s. Radner 2004, 52. Roaf (2004, 15) merkt an, dass die Tontafeln ungebrannt sind; wie die vorliegende.

17 RIMA2, A.0.100.5, Z. 115ff. (S. 177). Siehe auch Kühne 1980.

18 RIMA2, 25f., Tiglath-pileser I A.0.87.1 (Prisma), vor allem VI 55–84; und VI 105–VII 16, s. oben.

schrieb Borger, „dass man eine Inschrift Tiglp. I. zu lesen glaubt“[19], und er notierte noch folgendes: „Der in II 20ff. behandelte Feldzug wird ausführlicher beschrieben in VAT 9539 [= A.0.89.6[20]], Z. 6ff.; in beiden Berichten haben Tiglp.'s I. Mitteilungen über seine Feldzüge gegen die Aramäer (Pr., Tont. A, B und C) als literarisches Vorbild gedient.“[21]

Ich stelle fest, dass keiner dieser Ausdrücke mit der Tafel aus Kaḫat eine Gemeinsamkeit hat, mit Ausnahme vom allgemeinen *ina libbīšu ekdi*.

Die aus den Inschriften des Vaters kopierten Abschnitte beziehen sich auf die Region Mittanni mit der Tötung von Wildstieren und auf die Gegend von Harran und vom Habur (Tötung oder Fang von Elefanten). Es folgt die Prahlerei von der Überwältigung von 120 Löwen, wobei die weiteren 800 von Tiglat-pileser erlegten Tiere fehlen, sowie die Anmaßung, seine Pfeile hätten jedes Tier und jeden Vogel getroffen. Ich füge hinzu, dass Z. 1' unserer Tafel (1' ⌜i⌝-na me-ziz qar-du-t[i-šú „mit [seinem[22]] stolzen Mut“) eine genaue Entsprechung nicht im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“, sondern in zwei Annalen-Fragmenten aus Assur (RIMA2, A.0.89.3 r. 7'; A.0.89.2 III 30') findet, welche demselben Aššur-bēl-kala zugeschrieben wurden. Diese Beobachtung trägt dazu bei, diese Fragmente demselben Autor des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ zuzuschreiben, wie Borger behauptet.

Das Fragment Ass. 9008 (= RIMA2, A.0.89.3) hat ohnehin mehrere Entsprechungen zum „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ und wurde von Borger (1964, 136), wie das andere Fragment, mit Nachdruck Aššur-bēl-kala zugewiesen. In vielen Bänden des CAD wird der „Zerbrochene Obelisk“ allerdings nicht Aššur-bēl-kala, sondern meist Tiglat-pileser zugeschrieben;[23] mitunter werden sogar Tukultī-Ninurta I. oder Aššurnaṣirpal II. als Verfasser des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ erwähnt.

Die hier in Betracht gezogene Stelle zeigt ihrerseits Verknüpfungen auch mit einem der wichtigsten Texte des Aššurnaṣirpal II. aus Nimrud (RIMA2 p. 226, A.0.101.2, rr. 31–38, 40–42), wo er den Fang von vielen Tierarten für seine Stadt Kalaḫ verherrlicht.[24] Diese ist auch stilistisch mit dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ verglichen worden (siehe Schramm a.a.O.), und diese Tradition dauert bis Salmanassar III. (858–824 v. Chr.) an (A.0. 102.16, 341–347).

Man beachte aber folgendes Detail: Im Bericht über den Fang von 150 Löwen benutzt Aššurnaṣirpal den Ausdruck TA KUR.MEŠ TA GIŠ.TIR^{MEŠ}-e „aus den Bergen aus den Wäldern“, und das findet sich wiederum in unserer Tafel aus Tell Barri, KUR.MEŠ GIŠ.TIR^{MEŠ} „Berge und Wälder“, nicht aber im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“. Die Tontafel aus Tell Barri könnte demnach ein Duplikat oder ein Paralleltext der Quelle sein, woher der Schreiber von Aššurnaṣirpal geschöpft hat, und diese Quelle dürfte in Assur aufbewahrt gewesen sein.

Die beiden soeben vorgestellten Fälle zeigen daher vielleicht, dass die fragmentarische Tontafel aus Tell Barri einige Teile eines heute verlorenen Archetyps der sogenannten „Annalen des Aššur-bēl-kala“ wiedergibt. Sie bietet jedenfalls einen Text, der den königlichen Jagden in Berggegenden gewidmet und der mit vielen Änderungen in den „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ eingeflossen ist. Diese Überlegungen be-

19 Borger 1964, 140.

20 Beide Texte werden von Borger (1964) und Grayson (RIMA2, 99) Aššur-bēl-kala zugeschrieben.

21 Borger 1964, 139.

22 So ergänze ich, weil die entsprechende Wendung auf Z. 15' in der dritten Person steht.

23 Siehe z. B. CAD H (1956) 49b ḫalpu A: ina ūmāt kuṣṣi ḫal-pi-e šurīpi „in days of cold, frost, (and) ice“ AKA 140: 14, Tiglat-pileser. I.; CAD K (1971) 594 „during the days of cold, freezing (and) ice“, ebenfalls Tiglat-pileser I. zugeschrieben; dieselbe Zuweisung in Š III (1992) 347b s.v. šurīpu „ice, frost“. Insgesamt – so wie ich prüfen konnte – werden die in den CAD-Bänden zitierten Stellen aus dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ ungefähr doppelt so oft Tiglat-pileser I. als Aššur-bēl-kala zugeschrieben. Manchmal erscheinen beide Datierungen bei verschiedenen Lemmata in ein und demselben Band (s. ausführlicher unten).

24 Über die Entsprechung der Jagdberichten von Aššurnaṣirpal II. mit Vorbildern von Tiglat-pileser I. siehe Schramm 1973, 66–67.

rühren das allgemeine komplizierte Problem der Verfassung assyrischer historischer Texte, und ich erwähne nochmals den Begriff der *contaminatio*[25] von verschiedenen Vorlagen.

Das Fehlen der Zahlen vor den Namen der überwältigten Tiere auf dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken", wie man auf der oben angeführten Synopsis gesehen hat, zeigt, dass der Text unfertig ist (übrigens der linke Teil des Obelisken ist unbeschrieben). Hier sieht man den Unterschied zwischen der Prahlerei mit den 120 Löwen (IV 9), die einfach aus Tiglat-pileser I. abgeschrieben wurde, und der Erfordernis, eine genauere Chronik der Jagdtaten zu verfassen. Leider erwähnt auch die Tell Barri-Tafel keine Zahlen von Tieren, und das passt kaum zu einem genauen Bericht, der nach den Ereignissen geschrieben worden wäre.

1.b Zur Rückseite

Von der Rückseite sind neun unvollkommene und beschädigte Zeilen erhalten. Nach der 5. Zeile, die ausradiert und daher unleserlich ist, geht ein Paragraphenstrich durch. Der Inhalt dieses Abschnitts ist aber hochinteressant, denn die wenigen verständlichen Ausdrücke stellen bekannte Elemente der Königstitulatur mittelassyrischer Könige dar. In Z. 1 ist zu lesen *né-er tar-gigi*[26] ⌜*ú*⌝*-šúm-ga*[*l*[27] *qa-ab-li*[28] „der Erschläger der Übeltäter, der Alleinherrscher [des Kampfes]"[29], Wendungen, die wir mit Varianten aus den mittel- und neuassyrischen Königinschriften kennen, nämlich von Salmanassar I., Tukultī-Ninurta I., Tiglat-pileser I. und Aššurnaṣirpal II., und die sich sicherlich auf die abtrünnigen Feinde beziehen.[30] Alle Belege des seltenen Wortes *targīgu* sind mit den drei Silbenzeichen *tar-gi-gi* geschrieben. Hier dagegen haben wir das Zeichen „GIGI", das nach dem akkadischen Syllabar (AS 177 = Labat 326a) in der neuassyrischen Zeit, und zwar in der vorsargonidischen Zeit (7b) belegt ist. Hier sieht man, dass dessen Gebrauch viel älter zu datieren ist. In Z. 4 liest man einen weiteren Ausdruck, der an die historischen Texte erinnert: *qa-mu-ú ge-re-šu*[31] „der seine Feinde verbrennt". Beide Ausdrücke kommen immer innerhalb der königlichen Titulatur vor. Man findet ferner fast all diese Elemente an folgender Stelle Salmanassars I.: *qa-mu-ú tar-gi-gi la pa-*⌜*du*⌝*-ú /* ⌜*ú*⌝*-šúm-gal qa-ab-li* „merciless crusher of criminals, great dragon of conflict" (Grayson, RIMA1, A.0.77.4, Z. 5–6).

Wir haben es daher in diesem Abschnitt mit Material aus offiziellen Texten eines assyrischen Königs zu tun. Allein, wenn die einzelnen Bestandteile schon belegt sind, sind die Verbindungen anscheinend neu.

Während die Vorderseite, wie wir gesehen haben, fast ausschließlich an den „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" anklingt, enthalten die Reste der Rs. und des linken Randes widersprüchliche Elemente. Nach-

25 Man lese die Ausführungen von Grayson in RIMA2, 99: der Text ist teilweise in dritter teilweise in erster Person verfasst. So auch unser Fragment aus Tell Barri, s. unten.

26 AHw S. 780f. nêru(m) „(er)schlagen, töten", CAD N2 S. „to kill, to slay"; AHw S. 1329b: targīgu „Übeltäter", < ragāgu „schlecht sein". CAD T 228f. targīgu „evildoer".

27 AHw S. 1443.

28 AHw S. 888 qablu II „Kampf, Schlacht"; CAD Q S. 12 qablu B „battle".

29 Die Ergänzung erfolgt nach RIMA1, A.0.77.4, Z. 6.

30 Belege in Salmanassar I., RIMA1, 192, Text 4, Z. 5 qa-mu-ú tar-gi-gi „(merciless) crusher of criminals"; Tukultī-Ninurta I., RIMA1, 247, Text 6 Z. 5–6; Tiglat-pileser I. RIMA2, 18 Text 1 III 34 qa-bal tar-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ „overhelmer in battle of criminals"; Adad-nirari II., RIMA2, 147, Text 2, Z. 12 mu-di-iš tar-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ „trampler of criminals"; Aššurnaṣirpal II. RIMA2, 194, Text 1, Z. 7: mu-ú-šam-qit targi-gi „the one who fells the wicked". Letztes Zitat bezieht sich nicht auf den König, sondern auf den Gott Ninurta.

31 CAD G S. 62f. gērû, Q S. 76 qamû. Siehe auch Tiglat-pileser I., RIMA2, A.0.87.4, Z. 2 (mu-la-it gi-mir tar-gi-gi „encircler of all criminals") und 5 (ú-šam-qi-tu ge-ri-šu „who has felled his foes").

dem die Vorderseite einen Text des Aššur-bēl-kala enthält, bietet die Rückseite verblüffenderweise den Namen seines Vaters.

Auf der Rückseite des Tontafelfragments nach dem Paragraphenstrich ist Z. 6 in fragmentarischem Zusammenhang zu lesen:[32] [^{mGIŠ}TUKUL-t]i-A-é-šár-ra GÌR.NÍTA-ka (Tukultī-apil-e-šarra šakkanakka-ka) „Tiglat-pileser, dein šakkanakku", eine seltene Bezeichnung.[33] Ferner steht Z. 7, wieder in sehr beschädigtem Zusammenhang,

[ ]*x-ka ša*$^{!}$ *taḫ-šu-hu-n*[*i*]$^{?}$ „dein [ ], das du wünschst".

Was von der Rückseite übrig bleibt, zeigt offensichtlich einen Text des Tiglat-pileser und nicht von Aššur-bēl-kala. Diese Elemente geben den Eindruck, dieser Abschnitt der Rückseite sei Teil eines Gottesbriefes von Tiglat-pileser an seinen Gott Aššur, dessen Stellvertreter er ist. Der Duktus ähnelt dem Prisma des Tiglat-pileser; vgl. z. B. das Zeichen ú mit den langgezogenen waagerechten und den vier senkrechten Keilen. Dieser Punkt soll aber überprüft werden.

Linker Rand

Auf dem linken Rand, wieder in einem zerstörten Textzusammenhang, liest man – wie bereits oben angegeben – zwei Ortsnamen, nämlich Lulume (Z. 1 KUR. ⌜lu^{1}-lu-me-e) und Muški (Z. 2 um-ma-nat muš-ki-i$^{?}$). Beide Feindesländer (oder Volkschaften) sind bei Tiglat-pileser I. zusammen erwähnt, so z. B. in RIMA2 A.0.87.2 Z. 18 (^{KUR}muš-ki^{MEŠ}) und Z. 23 (^{KUR}lu-lu-mi-i). Zu Muški siehe vor allem Tiglat-pilesers Prisma, RIMA2, A.0.87.1 I 62 ff.: 20 LIM LÚ$^{MEŠ\ KUR}$muš-ka-a-ia^{MEŠ} ù 5 LUGAL^{MEŠ}-ni-šu-nu „20 000 Muški-Leute mit ihren 5 Königen".

Siehe aber auch die Variante in RIMA2 A.0.87.4 Z. 18 (12 LIM ÉRIN$^{ḪI.A.MEŠ}$-at ^{K}[^{UR}muš-ki^{ME}]^{Š} DAGAL^{MEŠ} „12 000 Truppen der ausgedehnten Muški-Länder"), und Z. 22 ^{KUR}lu-lu-me-e samt Salua, Qummenu, Katmuḫu und Alzu.

Im linken Rand Z. 3 lese ich ferner š]a$^{?}$ ÉRIN[$^{MEŠ?}$-š]u-nu „von$^{?}$ ihren Truppen", die stark an die ÉRIN^{MEŠ} der Muški von Tiglat-pileser (Prisma I 74) erinnern.

Hier sollen einige Bemerkungen zur historischen Geographie, die den Hintergrund unseres Textes bildet, gemacht werden.

1.b.1 Vom Land Lullume

Das Problem vom Ortsnamen Lulume ist sehr kompliziert. Ein Land Lullubum ist seit altakkadischer Zeit belegt,[34] in der Ur III-Zeit mit der Person Annubanini verknüpft, und den neuassyrischen Quellen bekannt; es lag auf dem Piedmont des Zagros im West-Iran. Die achte Kampagne Sargons (714 v. Chr.) assoziiert Lullume mit Zamua auf dem Zagros. Alle Handbücher sind sich darüber einig, dass sämtliche Belege durch die Jahrhunderte ein und dasselbe Land bezeichnen.[35]

32 Ich hatte es in meiner früheren Arbeit nicht verstanden,und verdanke Mark Geller den ersten Hinweis.

33 Siehe z. B. RIMA1, Salmanassar I. A.0.77.1 Z. 2; ferner CAD Š1, S. 174, s.v. šakkanakku 2b c'.

34 Klengel 1987–1990. Stichwort Lullu(bum) mit den Graphien Lullumē, L/Nullū usw.

35 Edzard / Farber 1974, 112 [Ur III: Lulubu(m/na)]; 3, S. 154 [aB: Lullûm]; 6 S. 251, 6/2 S. 96 [heth: Luluwa]; 10, S. 190–193 [Nuzi: N/Lullu(e)]; 11, S. 158 [Susa-Elam: Lulubum/Lulume]; 12/2 S. 178.

Abb. 13 | Relief und Inschrift Tiglatpilesers I. am Tigris-Tunnel (August 2010).

Wenn wir aber die hethitischen Quellen über das Land Lulluwa in Betracht ziehen, so bietet sich ein ganz anderer geographischer Bezug. Der Königsbrief KUB LVII 8[36], wohl von Suppiluliuma II., der an einen gleichrangigen Herrscher, wahrscheinlich an Tukultī-Ninurta I. (ca. 1243–1207), adressiert ist, sagt uns, dass der hethitische König jemanden als König im Land Lulluwa eingesetzt hat. Die Einflusssphäre des letzten hethitischen Königs konnte sich sicherlich nicht bis zum fernen Zagros erstrecken. Das Land Lulluwa[37] wird im Brief mit dem Land der Stadt Ammadana[38] assoziiert. Und wir finden das Land Amadani bei Tukultī-Ninurta I.[39] wieder, nämlich im Bericht über seinen Feldzug gegen das Land Alzi, jenseits des Kašijari-Gebirges (arab. Tur Abdin/türk. Karacadağ)[40], also westlich davon. KUR a-ma-da-ni (Kol. IV 19) liegt zwischen den Ländern Alzi und Niḫani, und der geschlagene König von Alzi (Eḫ-li-Tešub) flieht nach dem Land Nairi, einem „unbekannten Land", wobei er bestimmt den Taurus oberhalb der Tigris-Quellen überschritten hat. So versteht man, dass der „Zerbrochene Obelisk" die Berge des Landes Lulume in Verbindung mit den Bergen von Nairi bringt (RIMA2, A.O.89.7, IV 18–19: „den Berg Ḫana im Bezirk des Landes Lulume und die Berge des Landes Nairi"). Aber die Nairi-Länder sind mit den Kriegstaten des Tiglat-pileser verknüpft (Abb. 13).[41]

Das Land Alše/Alzi[42] der hethitischen Texte lag zwischen dem Murat Su und dem Oberlauf des Tigris, während das Land Niḫani zwischen dem Kašijari-Gebirge und dem Murat Su zu suchen ist und Amadani in der Nähe desselben Gebirges.[43]

Der fragmentarische hurritische Text aus Boghazköy KUB XLV 84 (= ChS I/8 Nr. 65) zitiert Rs. 4 lu-<ul-lu>u-bi-in-ne-ne-e, und Z. 7 mar-da-ma-an-ni, d.h. die Stadt Mardin.[44] Das ist ein weiteres Indiz da-

36 Hagenbuchner 1989, 328ff.; Mora / Giorgieri 2004, 203–209.
37 Rs. 9':]x *INA* KUR lu-ul-lu-wa LUGAL-un DÙ-at x[, „... im Land Lulluwa hat ihn zum König gemacht".
38 Rs. 12': ... K[UR ^{UR}]^{U}am-ma-da-na(-).
39 RIMA1, 236, A.O.78.1.
40 Kessler 1982, 22–24; Nashef 1982, 162.
41 RIMA2, 61–62, A.O.87.15 und 16. Salvini 1998–2001, 88.
42 Del Monte / Tischler 1978, 10.
43 Streck 1998–2001.
44 Mardaman = Mardin: Groneberg 1980, 160.

Abb. 14 | Der Steintrog Adadniraris I. aus Tell Barri. Museum von Deir ez-Zor (Foto der Mission von Tell Barri).

für, dass im 14.–13. Jahrhundert ein Land Lullume/Lullubi in dieser Gegend existierte, unabhängig und verschieden von Lullubum im Zagros-Gebiet.

Auf dieser Basis erhalten die Belege von Lullume bei den direkten Vorgängern des Tukultī-Ninurta I. eine ganz andere Bedeutung.

Adadnirari I. (*ca.* 1304–1274 v. Chr.) bezeichnet sich in seiner Titulatur, als „Eroberer der Heere der Kassiten, der Qutu, der Lullumu und der Šubaru" (RIMA1, A.0.76.1 Z. 4). Weiterhin berichtet er über die konkreten Eroberungen seiner Kampagne nach Ḫanigalbat (RIMA1, S. 136), nämlich in der Jazirah bis Harran und Karkemisch, einschliesslich der Städte Taidi, Kaḫat, Uššukani und des Kašijari-Gebirges. Der Fortsetzung dieses Textes entnehmen wir, dass der eigentliche Eroberer der Kaššu in der Tat dessen Grossvater Enlil-Nirari gewesen war, und nicht er, der nur diesen Titel geerbt hatte.[45]

Es sei auch erwähnt, dass Adadnirari I. einen Palast in Kaḫat hatte, wie der Fund eines Steintrogs in Tell Barri beweist (Abb. 14), der laut Inschrift einem hohen Beamten der assyrischen Verwaltung (dem *kakardinnu*) gehört hat:[46]

(Z. 1) É.GAL ^{m}Adad-nārārī(^{mD}IŠKUR.ÉRIN.TÁḪ) šar(LUGAL) kiššati(KIŠ) apil(A) ^{m}Arik-dīn-ili(GÍD-DI-DINGIR) šar(LUGAL) ^{KUR}Aš-šur (Z. 2) šá ⌜ka¹-kar-di-ni.

„(Besitz des) Palast(es) von Adadnirari, König des Weltalls, Sohn des Arik-dēn-ili, König von Assyrien, (Steintrog) dem Truchsess (*kakardinnu*) gehörend".

45 Salmanassar I. rühmt sich, kašid lullubi u šubari „Eroberer von Lullubu und Šubaru" zu sein (RIMA1, S. 192, A.0.77.4 r. 14); es ist anscheinend ein Titel, der von Vater zu Sohn übertragen wird.
Auch diese Belege widersprechen nicht der westlichen Lokalisierung von Lulume der mittelassyrischen Quellen.

46 Diese ist meine neue verbesserte Lesung gegenüber der ersten, die ich selbst in der ersten Publikation gegeben hatte: s. Salvini 2004.

1.b.2 Über das Land (die Volksgruppe der) Muški[47]

Der zweite Ortsname, Muški, erscheint auch im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" aber im zerstörten Kontext an einer anderen Stelle (II 12) bei den Ereignissen des zweiten Jahres. Die älteste Erwähnung dieses Volkes findet sich bei Tiglat-pileser I. Diese Einwanderer, die sich 50 Jahre lang in den Ländern Alzi und Purulumzi aufgehalten hatten, kamen von Norden und besetzten das Land Katmuḫi. Tiglat-pileser überwindet in seinem Akzessionsjahr (1114 v. Chr.) das schwierige Gelände des Kašijari-Gebirges und schlägt 20000 Muški-Leute mit ihren fünf Königen (20 LIM LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{KUR}muš-ka-a-ia^{MEŠ} ù 5 LUGAL^{MEŠ}-ni-šu-nu),[48] erobert Katmuḫi[49] in der Gegend vom heutigen Cizre: „die Leichen der Feinde treiben in einem Nebenfluss des Tigris", wie er sagt. Der König von Katmuḫi trägt einen hurritischen Namen, Kili-Tešub, Sohn des Kali-Tešub. Jenseits des Tigris treffen wir einen weiteren Hurriter, Šadi-Tešub, Sohn des Ḫattuḫi, König von Urraṭinaš. Tiglat-pileser kämpft weiterhin in dieser Region gegen die „unbeugsamen" Šubaru[50] und nochmals gegen Alzi und Purulumzi[51], dann gegen Kaškäer und Hethiter, und ein zweites Mal gegen Katmuḫi (RIMA2, S. 15–17, bis col. III Z. 31).

2. Schlussfolgerungen

Die Erwähnung von Lulume und Muški in der Tontafel aus Tell Barri bezieht sich demnach auf die Gegend des Kašijari-Gebirges, und bestätigt die Angaben der mittelassyrischen Texte. Aus all diesen Elementen geht hervor, dass der historisch-geographische Hintergrund des Dokuments aus Tell Barri eben das Eindringen des Tiglat-pileser in jene Gegend besagt. Er hatte dort vor allem aramäische Stämme bekämpft; und in eben dieses Gebiet geht man, um Wildtiere zu fangen und sie dem Volk Assyriens, offensichtlich in zoologischen Gärten[52] und in Käfigen, mitten in den großen Städten des Reiches zu zeigen.

Während Tiglat-pileser den Taurus für seine Nairi-Feldzüge[53] überschritten hat, dirigiert Aššur-bēl-kala seine große Kampagne des ersten Jahres gegen die Länder von Ur(u)aṭri, historischer Vorfahre von Urartu.[54] Dies liest man in den Annalen-Texten auf Tontafeln aus Assur,[55] von denen der Anfang erhalten ist, so aber nicht auf dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken", wo der Anfang fehlt und damit auch die Sicherheit seiner Zugehörigkeit. Es sei hier noch eine spätere Quelle aus der Zeit Tiglat-pilesers III. erwähnt, nämlich die Löweninschrift von Til Barsip (Abb. 15) des Turtanu Šamšī-ilu, der sich rühmte, das Land Muški und das Land Urartu überwältigt zu haben.[56]

Der Piedmont vom Osttaurus und der Oberlauf des Tigris[57] waren nunmehr von Assyrien fest kontrolliert, und die Provinzstadt Kaḫat, wie sicherlich auch andere, diente in jener Zeit als Vorposten der Feldzüge zu den nördlichen Bergregionen (Kašijari und Taurus-Gebiete), welche Krieg gegen Mensch und Tier brachten.

47 Röllig 1993–1997.
48 RIMA2, A.0.87.1 I 62–88.
49 Postgate 1976–1980.
50 Šubaru des Berichtes von Tukultī-Ninurta I. ist eine bestimmte Region bei Alzi (RGTC 5, S. 234 s.v. Subartu), daher sollte Šubaru zwischen Murat Su und Tūr 'Abdīn liegen. Wir haben hier nicht die traditionelle allgemeine Bedeutung des Landes der Subaräer, das sich auf das weite bergige Gebiet, das Mesopotamien im Norden und Osten umfasst, bezieht.
51 Das Land Purulumzi lag in Subartu: so Nashef 1982, 219.
52 Trümpelmann 1976–1980, 237 (Jagdparks).
53 RIMA2, 61–62., A.O.87.15 und 16. Salvini 1998–2001, 88.
54 Salvini 1967, 26, 59.
55 RIMA2, 87–88: A.O.89.1, 2, 3; 96–97: A.O.89.5.
56 Thureau-Dangin 1930, 16.
57 Wie z. B. das Archiv der Zeit Aššur-bēl-kalas in Giricano (Dunnu-ša-Uzibi) bezeugt; s. oben Anm. 17.

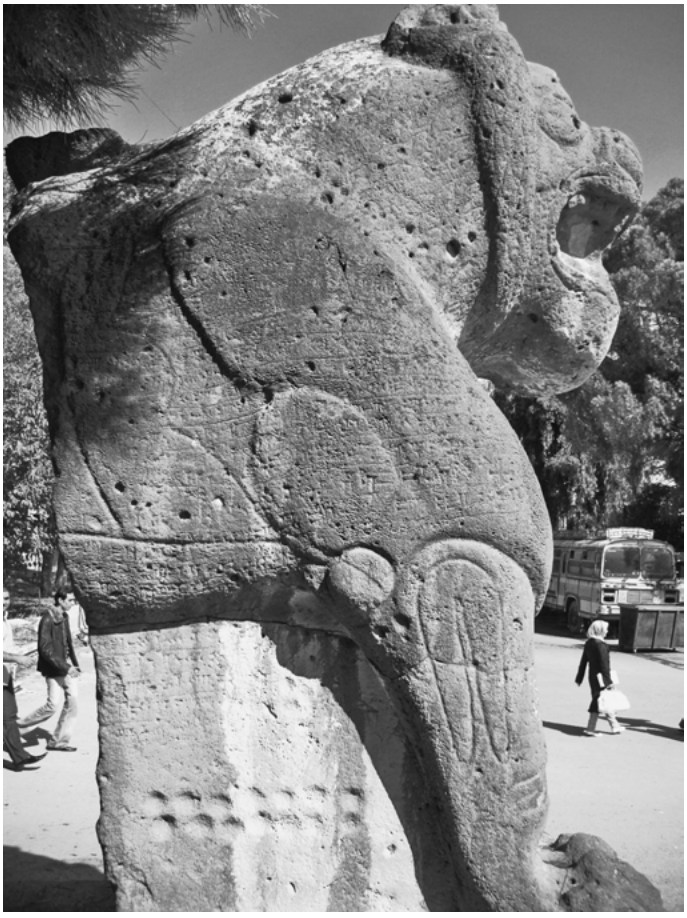


Abb. 15 | Einer der Löwen aus Til Barsip im Gelände der Universität von Aleppo (Oktober 2010).

Die lesbaren Reste von Rückseite und Rand lassen also darauf schließen, dass das Tontafelstück E.3866 aus Tell Barri nicht Aššur-bēl-kala, sondern Tiglat-pileser I. zugeschrieben werden muss.

Gilt das auch für den damit eng verbundenen „Zerbrochenen Obelisken"? Die Konsequenzen dieser Umdatierung könnten dann von großer Tragweite sein. Wenn wir den Ausführungen von Ernst Weidner und Borger (a.a.O.) folgen, müssten auch andere wichtige Texte, die wegen ihrer Verknüpfung mit dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" dem Aššur-bēl-kala in der Literatur zugeschrieben werden, nunmehr Tiglat-pileser zugeordnet werden. Das betrifft alle anderen annalenartige Texte: Borgers Ann. (= RIMA2, A.0.89.2)[58], VAT 9539 (= RIMA2, A.0.89.6), Ass. 9008 (= RIMA2, A.0.89.3).[59] Ferner hängt VAT 9595 (= RIMA2 A.0.89.5) engstens von Ann. (= RIMA2, A.0.89.2) ab. Beide berichten über den Einfall in Uruaṭri. Das hätte auch für die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte der nördlichen Regionen in mA Zeit etliche Konsequenzen.[60]

58 Die unvollkommene Titulatur dieses Textes macht mich stutzig, denn Kol. I 2' – 4' steht: [Sohn des Aššur]-rēša-iš[i ... [Sohn des] Mutakkil-Nusku ... Es sind Vater und Großvater des Tiglat-pilesers I. Nicht sehr überzeugend scheint mir dazu die Bemerkung Borgers 1964, 143, dass „... in den Annalen Abk.s auch die Ahnen das gebührende Lob" bekommen.

59 Nach Borger 1964, 136, ist Ass. 9008 bis Z. 9 ein Auszug aus den Annalen.

60 Man sollte die Rekonstruktion der urartäischen Anfänge wieder in Frage stellen, wie sie bei Salvini 1995, dargestellt wird.

Der einzige Text, dessen Anfang mit dem Namen des Aššur-bēl-kala erhalten ist, nämlich VAT 11240 (RIMA2, A.0.89.4), enthält nur die Titulatur und hat mit den anderen Texten keinen Berührungspunkt. Auf der Rs. kommt aber der Name eines līmu vor: Aššur-rêm-nišēšu.[61] Dieser erscheint im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" (RIMA2, A.0.89.7, III 3), der also doch dem Aššur-bēl-kala zugeschrieben werden muss. Übrigens auch der līmu Ilī-iddina[62] „Zerbrochener Obelisk" III 20 erscheint nicht in der Liste der Eponyme der Zeit Tiglat-pilesers I.[63] Das ist offensichtlich ein starkes Argument für Aššur-bēl-kala. Es gibt aber ein gewichtiges Gegenargument zugunsten von Tiglat-pileser, nämlich die Erwähnung von Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken". In RIMA2, A.0.89.7 Kol. I 17 in zerstörtem Textzusammenhang steht ᶠᵈAMAR.UTU-SUM¹-ŠEŠᴹᴱŠ MAN KUR URIᴷᴵ „Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē, König von Akkad", d.h. von Babylon. Die nachträglich erfolgte Lesung dieses Namens war Ursache für Weidner, den „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" auf Tiglat-pileser I. umzudatieren,[64] denn der babylonische König war ein Zeitgenosse Tiglat-pilesers I.[65] und hatte von 1099–1082 regiert. Es ist aber höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass dieser Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē nochmals zur Zeit Aššur-bēl-kalas aufgetaucht ist, wie Borger EAK I S. 139 als „nicht unmöglich" erwähnt. Er wird in RIMA2, A.0.89.7, I 17 als König zitiert, wobei der damals regierende König sein (Marduk-nādin-aḫḫēs) Sohn und Nachfolger Marduk-šāpik-zēri (1081–1069 v. Chr.) ein Zeitgenosse des Aššur-bēl-kala war. Dann sollte dieser und nicht dessen Vater im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" erscheinen.

Tiglat-pilesers Prisma RIMA2, A.0. 87.1, VI 39–48 bietet die Zusammenfassung der königlichen Eroberungen der ersten fünf Jahre. Diese weichen von denen der Annalen des Aššur-bēl-kala entschieden ab, sodass es unmöglich erscheint, dort auch den Feldzug nach Uruaṭri unterzubringen, der so ausführlich im Annalen-Text RIMA2, A.0. 89.2 beschrieben wird. Da aber, wie Borger EAK I S. 136 bewiesen hat, diese Annalen enge Berührungspunkte zu RIMA2, A.0. 89.3 und RIMA2, A.0. 89.7 („Zerbrochener Obelisk") aufweisen, schreibt er sie demselben König zu. Es existieren andererseits ganz klare Kontaktpunkte zwischen dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" und dem Prisma des Tiglat-pileser; nämlich die Kampagnen gegen das Land Muṣri, die Aramäer, Ḫanigalbat und vor allem das „Kapitel" der Jagd. Hierfür kann man den Vorgang der c*ontaminatio* erwähnen, wonach der Verfasser des „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" recht viel aus den Texten des Vaters von Aššur-bēl-kala geschöpft hat.

Nach dem Gesagten existieren zwei entgegengesetzte Beweise für Aššur-bēl-kala oder für Tiglat-pileser I., die widersprüchlich erscheinen. Es ist nicht einfach, die eine oder die andere Lösung zu wählen. Wie kann man die Erwähnung von Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" erklären, wenn wir dieses Schriftdenkmal Aššur-bēl-kala zuschreiben? Dieselbe Wirrnis betrifft das Bruchstück aus Tell Barri: die Vs. scheint gleichzeitig mit dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken" zu sein, die Rs. aber ist sicherlich in die Regierungszeit des Tiglat-pileser zu stellen und auch der Rand weist auf diesen König hin.

Die Lösung könnte vielleicht darin liegen, die Tontafel TB E. 3866 als eine Sammeltafel zu interpretieren, die möglicherweise von zwei verschiedenen Schreibern verfasst wurde. Die Graphie der Vorderseite weicht in der Tat von der der Rückseite und des linken Randes erheblich ab. Sie wurde entweder zur Zeit Tiglat-pilesers geschrieben, und das würde bedeuten, dass Aššur-bēl-kala das ganze Jagdthema von seinem Vater im „Zerbrochenen Obelisken"[66] abgeschrieben hat; oder aber, weniger wahrschein-

61 Borger 1964, 140.
62 Nach ihm sind die Texte von Giricano datiert, s. oben Anm. 15.
63 Weidner 1952–53, 213–215.
64 Weidner 1957–1958, 356b.
65 Der Text RIMA2, A.0.87.4, 44–51 berichtet über den Feldzug gegen Babylon und die Plünderung der Paläste von Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē, MAN ᴷᵁᴿkar-du-ni-áš.
66 Dieser Text ist ohnehin ein potpourri und unvollkommen, als Ganzes und auch im Jagdbericht selbst, da die Zahl der getöteten Tiere aus unklaren Gründen noch fehlen.

lich, ist unser Text parallel mit dem „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“ und als Sammeltafel mit Einverleibung von Abschnitten (auf Rückseite und linkem Rand von K22 E.3866) eines Textes aus der Zeit seines königlichen Vaters verfasst worden. Alles das scheint freilich ziemlich umständlich zu sein, und ich fürchte, dass wenn wir auf die Datierung durch den līmu verzichten, würde Aššur-bēl-kala fast all seine Texte zugunsten seines Vaters verlieren, was mit der Länge seiner Regierung (etwa 1073–1056 v. Chr.) nicht im Einvernehmen wäre. Gerade das ist es aber, was die meisten Mitarbeiter des CAD im letzten halben Jahrhundert gedacht haben. Man betrachte diese verwirrende Statistik ihrer Datierungen vom „Zerbrochenen Obelisken“, chronologisch geordnet (Tiglat-pilesers I = Tigl. I.; Aššur-bēl-kala = Abk.):

1956 H	Tigl. I.
1958 E	Tigl. I.
1959 D	Tigl. I.
1960 I/J	Tigl. I.
1962 S.	Tigl. I., Abk.
1964 A1	Abk.
1965 B	Abk.?, Tigl. I.
1968 A2	Abk.?
1971 K	Br. Ob., Tigl. I., Tn I.
1973 L	Br. Ob., Tigl. I.
1977 M1	Tigl. I.
1977 M2	Tigl. I.
1980 N1	Tigl. I., Br. Ob., Abk.
1980 N2	Tigl. I.
1982 Q	Tigl. I. Asn, Abk.
1984 S	Abk.
1989 Š1	Tigl. I., Abk.
1992 Š2	Tigl. I., Abk.
1992 Š3	Tigl. I., Abk.
1999 R	Br. Ob., Tigl. I.
2005 P	Abk.
2006 Ṭ	Abk.

Abschliessend möchte ich behaupten, dass der Text aus Tell Barri mit Sicherheit unter Tiglat-pileser I., vielleicht mittels Auszügen aus uns teilweise noch unbekannten getrennten Vorlagen dieses Königs verfasst worden ist. So können wir wenigstens erwägen, Aššur-bēl-kala habe sich vor allem in Jagd-Affären mit fremden Federn geschmückt und die Taten seines Vaters einfach abgeschrieben.

Der Fund eines solchen Textes in Tell Barri – ob er in Assur oder in der Provinzstadt Kaḫat verfasst wurde – ist, in Anbetracht seines Inhalts mit der geographischen Lage von Kaḫat übereinstimmend, denn durch diese Stadt führt die Route nach den wildreichen Berggegenden des Kašijari-Gebirges, und nach den Herkunftsgebieten jener Bergvölker, die uns unter den Namen von Lullume und Muški überliefert wurden.

Abkürzungen

AHw	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden 1956–1981)
AKA	Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria* I (London 1902)
CAD	*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (Chicago 1956ff.)

Bibliographie

Barnett, Richard David / Amleto Lorenzini (1975)
Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum, Toronto.

Börker-Klähn, Jutta (1982)
Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs, (Baghdader Forschungen 4), Mainz.

Borger, Rykle (1964)
Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften, Erster Teil. Das zweite Jahrtausend vor Chr. (Handbuch der Orientalistik I/5, Erster Abschnitt), Leiden–Köln.

Del Monte, Giuseppe / Tischler, Johannes (1978)
Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Zeit, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Band 6, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 7/6), Wiesbaden.

Deyrolle, Théophile (1875–1876)
„Voyage dans le Lazistan et l'Arménie (1869)", *Le Tour du Monde* XXIX, 1875/Premier semestre, Paris 1875, S. 1–32; XXX, 1875/Deuxième semestre, Paris 1875, S. 257–288; XXXI, 1876/Premier semestre, Paris 1876, S. 369–416.

Dossin, Georges (1961–1962)
„Le site de Kaḫat", in: *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 11–12, 197–206.

Dossin, Georges (1964)
„Le site de la ville de Kaḫat", in: Arie A. Kampman / Johannes P.M. van der Ploeg (Hg.), *Compte rendu de la onzième rencontre assyriologique internationale*, Leiden, 23–29 June 1962, Leiden, 4–6.

Edzard, Dietz Otto / Farber, Gertrud (1974)
Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Band 2, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 7), Wiesbaden.

Groneberg, Brigitte (1980)
Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Band 3, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 7/3), Wiesbaden.

Hagenbuchner, Albertine (1989)
Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter, 2. Teil: Die Briefe mit Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar, (Texte der Hethiter 16), Heidelberg.

Heimpel, Wolfgang (1976–1980)
„Jagd. A. Philologisch", in: Dietz Otto Edzard (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5, Berlin–New York, 234–236.

Kessler, Karlheinz (1982)
Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 26), Wiesbaden.

Klengel, Horst (1987–1990)
„Lullubum", in: Otto Edzard Dietz (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 7, Berlin–New York, 164–168.

Kühne, Hartmut (1980)
„Zur Rekonstruktion der Feldzüge Adad-Nīrārī II., Tukulti-Ninurta II. und Aššurnaṣirpal II. im Hābūr-Gebiet", in: *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 11, 44–70 (mit Landkarte).

Marinatos, Spyridon / Hirmer, Max (1960)
Kreta und das mykenische Hellas, München.

Mora, Clelia / Giorgieri, Mauro (2004)
Le lettere tra i re ittiti e i re Assiri ritrovate a Ḫattuša, (History of the Ancient Near East Monographs – HANEM 7), Padua.

Nashef, Khaled (1982)
Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Band 5, (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Nr. 7/5), Wiesbaden.

Osten-Sacken, Elisabeth von der (1998–2001)
„Netz. B. In der Bildkunst", in: Dietz Otto Edzard (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 9, Berlin–New York, 239–242.

Pecorella, Paolo Emilio (2003)
„Un palazzo ritrovato", in: Paolo Marrassini (Hg.), *Semitic and Assyriological Studies Presented to Pelio Fronzaroli by Pupils and Colleagues*, Wiesbaden, 495–509.

Postgate, J. Nicholas (1976–1980)
„Katmuḫu" in: Dietz Otto Edzard (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5, Berlin–New York, 487–488.

Pritchard, James B. (Hg.) (1954)
The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament, Princeton.

Radner, Karen (2004)
Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnuša-Uzibi Ausgrabungen in Giricano 1, (Subartu 14), Turnhout.

RIMA1: Grayson, Albert Kirk (1987)
Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (to 1115 BC), Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Period. Bd. 1, Toronto.

RIMA2: Grayson, Albert Kirk (1991)
Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC), Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Period. Bd. 2, Toronto.

Roaf, Michael (2004)
„The Excavation and Conservation of the Jar and the Tablets", in: Karen Radner (Hg.), *Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi,* Ausgrabungen in Giricano I, (Subartu 14), 15–49.

Röllig, Wolfgang (1993–1997)
„Muški, Muski", in: Dietz Otto Edzard (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 8, Berlin–New York, 493–495.

Salonen, Armas (1976)
Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien, Helsinki.

Salvini, Mirjo (1967)
Nairi e Ur(u)atri. Contributo alla storia della formazione del regno di Urarṭu, Rom.

Salvini, Mirjo (1995)
Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer, Wiesbaden.

Salvini, Mirjo (1998)
„I testi cuneiformi delle campagne 1989 e 1993 a Tell Barri / Kahat", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella (ed.), *Tell Barri // Kahat 2. Relazione sulle campagne 1980–1993 a Tell Barri/Kahat, nel bacino del Habur (Siria)*, (Documenta Asiana 5), Rom, 187–198.

Salvini, Mirjo (1998–2001)
„Nairi, Na'iri", in: Dietz Otto Edzard (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 9, Berlin–New York, 87–91.

Salvini, Mirjo (2004)
„I documenti cuneiformi della campagna 2001", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella / Raffaella Pierobon-Benoit (Hg.), *Tell Barri / Kahat. La campagna del 2001. Relazione preliminare*, Florenz, 147–152.

Salvini, Mirjo (2005)
„I documenti cuneiformi della campagna del 2002 a Tell Barri", in: Paolo Emilio Pecorella / Raffaella Pierobon-Benoit (Hg.), *Tell Barri Kahat. La campagna del 2002. Relazione preliminare*, (Ricerche e materiali del Vicino Oriente antico 3), Florenz, 143–154.

Sapegno, Natalino / Trombatore, Gaetano / Binni, Walter (1961)
Scrittori d'Italia, vol. II, Secoli XVI–XVIII, Parte seconda: il 600 e il 700, Florenz.

Schramm, Wolfgang (1973)
Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften, zweiter Teil, 934–722 v. Chr., (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erg.-Bd. V, 1. Abschn.), Leiden–Köln.

Streck, Maximilian P. (1998–2001)
„Niḫani", in: Otto Edzard Dietz (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 9, Berlin–New York, 313.

Thureau-Dangin, François (1930)
„L'inscription des lions de Til Barsip", in: *Revue d'Assyriologie* 27, 11–21.

Trümpelmann, Leo (1976–1980)
„Jagd. B. Archäologisch", in Dietz Otto Edzard (Hg.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5, Berlin–New York, 236–238.

Weidner, Ernst Friedrich (1930–1931)
„Die Annalen des Königs Aššurbêlkāla von Assyrien", in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 6, 75–94.

Weidner, Ernst Friedrich (1952–1953)
„Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesers I.", in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16, 197–215.

Weidner, Ernst Friedrich (1957–1958)
„Die Feldzüge und Bauten Tiglatpilesers I.", in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18, 342–360.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Ulrich von (1928)
Hesiodos Erga, Berlin.

Index