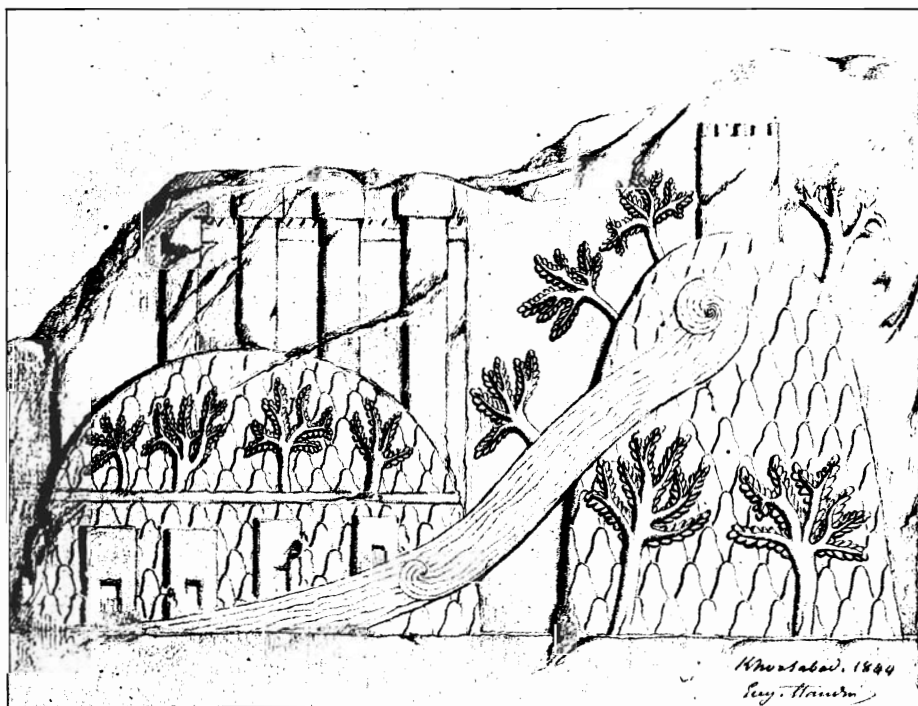# NUOVE FONDAZIONI NEL VICINO ORIENTE ANTICO: REALTÀ E IDEOLOGIA

a cura di

S. Mazzoni

Atti del colloquio 4-6 dicembre 1991
Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche del Mondo Antico
Sezione di Egittologia e Scienze Storiche del Vicino Oriente
Università degli studi di Pisa

GIARDINI

(1994)

THE URBANIZATION OF THE ASSYRIAN PROVINCES

HARTMUT KÜHNE - Berlin

Outline:

1. Introduction

1.1 Definition of terminology:'urbanization' and 'urban center'

'Urbanization' is a process whereby a random rural form of occupation is turned over into a settlement system with a leading 'urban center' functioning as a central place (Tringham 1972); or, in a given system, the hierarchy may be stepped up, so that more places become 'urban centers' administrated by a larger center.

The size of an urban center may vary considerably and is defined by both, population and size. The lowest population figure is 1.000 inhabitants (Kolb 1984: 15). Applying the factor of 100 people to one hectar urban, i.e. intramural, settlement ground (Kühne 1991: 32), sites of an area of 10 hectars at the lowest could be considered urban centers. However, other criteria have to be met at least partly (Kolb 1984; Hofmeister 1980):
- the settlement has to form a topographical unit, enclosed by a town wall
- the settlement has to be densely occupied
- the architecture has to reflect social differentiation and administration
- it has to provide clear signs of specialization, economic accumulation and distribution (market)
- it has to function as a central place

1.2 Urbanization processes in the history of the Ancient Near East

The first urbanization process in the Ancient Near East is marking the dawn of history and the formation of society. Broadly speaking, there seems to be a continuous development from a tribal way of living in single units via the first villages to the first urban centers and settlement systems in the early fourth millenium BC. This development is flanked by the rising complexity of economic, administrative and social affairs and by technological progress such as irrigation technics and the fast turning potters wheel. Once agriculture was established, growing specialization, administration and economic centralization are transforming the rural society slowly into an urban society with central places serving these needs. In Mesopotamia this development is resulting in the political system of the city states in the late 4th and 3rd mill. BC (Redman 1978; von Soden 1979; Nissen 1988).

At the beginning of the third millennium the city state-system seems to have satisfied the socio-economic needs and provided a surplus economy. However, by the time of the last third of the 3rd millennium the economic and social interlacement and the narrowness of the city states may have accumulated such an amount of frustration and stress that a competitive drive for territorial supremacy started which resulted in the first territorial empire of Akkade. Ever since there are two competing systems throughout the history of the Ancient Near East: the city or regional state (Griffeth/Thomas 1981) and the territorial empire. The latter estabished control over its territory and over the main trade routes by a network of outposts (Liverani 1988) or by urbanization.

There is no way of knowing whether the first ruler of Akkad, Sargon, was aware of the choice between a federal system to rule the city states and a centralized government - but what is well known from history is that he built up the latter. His vast empire was controlled by what Liverani (1988) called a network system. However, caution is necessary simply because our knowledge of the spatial distribution of settlement systems during the Akkad-period is rather limited.

In the following Ur III-period a combination of regional state-systems and a centralized administration seems to have worked. At least the marginal areas were controlled by a network system again.

In the old-Babylonian and old-Assyrian period a centralized goverment was prevailing. Comparable to the days of the Prussian empire under Frederic the Great, the king cared about the least issue and intervened actively.

In the middle-Assyrian period there are signs of a beginning urbanization process, especially under Salmanasar I (Dönbaz & Frame 1983). This could be interpreted in favor of a first step towards a territorial empire (Liverani 1988; Kühne in press 1).

This urbanization process was interrupted during the period of weakness of the central Assyrian government between the 12th and the 9th centuries BC. After the consolidation of the Assyrian empire in the ninth century it continued in the eighth and the seventh century and is eventually leading to what has to be considered a true territorial empire consisting of a hierarchized settlement system with the landscape becoming virtually completely settled (see below).

What emerges from this tour d'horizon is that urban centers seem to have had basically different functions in both systems. In the city- or regional-state-system there is only one urban center and the state hierarchy does not allow for another one. Any addition of more urban centers would ultimately result in the weakening of the significance of the original center. It is possible that for this reason the rulers of city states were not necessarily interested in enlarging their territory too much and were seeking a kind of status quo between each other. This worked well as long as none of them claimed a hegemonial position and as long as economical factors stayed on a comparable level. Otherwise the hierarchy was endangered, the system did not provide a superimposed category.

In the territorial empire urban centers became provincial centers domed by regional centers and the capital(s). The provincial centers were badly needed to control the territory and the (subdued) people, and to enact administrative rules and economic regulations. With the economic system of the ancient Near East functioning along a redistributive pattern throughout history, the provincial centers of a territorial empire had to levy taxes on the one hand and to care about the subsistence of the rural population on the other. The closer the provincial centers became tied up to the central government other functions could be transferred to them, such as to serve as a royal city or as a military garrison. Thus, the territorial system is the only one which - by its systemic structure - will launch 'urbanization' processes.

1.3 Urbanization processes in the Assyrian empire (Fig. 1)

1.3.1 Capitals and royal residences

Fairly well documented from both points of view, the archaeological and the philological one, is the historical knowledge of the foundation of new or the refoundation of Assyrian capitals and royal residences (Oates 1968b: 42). From the beginning, the Assyrian kings seem to have taken a strong interest in founding both, capitals and royal residences, and thus contributing to an 'urbanization'.

Aššur is the germ-cell of the Assyrians, no Assyrian king has given up or neglected Aššur, most of them have actively cared about its buildings and added new ones. However, of all Assyrian capitals, Aššur, is the smallest (Dittmann 1990: 165) covering an area of only 70 hectars, and it is the only one situated on the west bank of the Tigris (Fig. 2).

The series of foundations and refoundations begins in the old-Assyrian period with the foundation of Subat Enlil, former Sehna, to be identified with Tall Lēlan in NE-Syria (Weiss 1991; Eidem 1988: 89).

The middle-Assyrian period is marked by two foundations, the one of Kalhu by Salmanasar I (Dönbaz and Frame 1983: 3; Reade 1982: 99), and the one of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta by Tukulti-Ninurta I, founded on virgin soil (Fig. 2). Middle Assyrian levels at Nimrud/Kalhu have been touched barely so that no figures are available about the extension of the settlement. Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta has been investigated before the first World War, it was then thought to have an extension of about 62 ha. Recent reinvestigations have proven that the settlement area covered about 240 ha and possibly even double this size (Dittmann 1990: 165-166; Dittmann 1992: 310; here Fig. 2). It was at least three times the size of Aššur.

During the neo-Assyrian period, the first refoundation was accomplished by Aššurnaṣirpal II in Nimrud/Kalḫu in the 9th century BC (Fig. 2). He and his son Salmanasar III enlarged the settlement ground considerably by adding the lower city, thus covering about 430 ha (Oates 1968b: 43 gives the figure of 750 hectars).

Nimrud remained the active capital until the end of the eighth cent., when Sargon II founded Dūr Sarrukīn on virgin soil. This city covered an area of about 300 ha, but it was short lived and probably never completed (Fig. 2).

The seventh cent. is marked by the refoundation of Ninua/Ninive (Fig. 2), started by Sanherib and continued by Asarhaddon and Aššurbanipal. This settlement covered an area of about 900 ha (Scott/MacGinnis 1990; Stronach/Lumsden 1992; Stronach/MacGinnis 1993). It is by far the largest city of the Assyrian empire and the second largest of the Ancient Near East, surpassed only by the late Babylon (about 1.000 ha).

These Assyrian cities and its palaces, tempels and graves have fascinated and occupied the minds of scholars so much, that no site catchment anaylses has been made so far (Jarman, Vita-Finzi, Higgs 1972), in some cases not even a reliable topographical plan of the whole settlement area is available. There is as yet no archaeological information about the settlement pattern and hierarchy, because no surveys have been conducted around the capitals in a radius of the carrying capacity.

1.3.2 Urban centers in the Assyrian heartland

This activity of the Assyrian kings, to build new capitals and residences, ought to have had an 'urbanizing' effect on the country and would imply an effort to structure the provinces as well. Indeed, traces which may be interpreted in favor of this hypothesis can be found in the archaeological record throughout Assyrian history.

For the old-Assyrian period, almost no evidence can be cited from the Assyrian heartland, except for the capital Aššur. The above mentioned residence of Šubat Enlil/Tall Lēlan is situated far away of it, beyond the north western edge of the Sinǧar mountains. The state of research is providing a good example of an urban center at the western edge of the Assyrian heartland: Tall Rimāḫ/Karānā (Oates 1972, 1982), covering an area of about 40 hectars (Fig. 3).

The middle-Assyrian period witnesses building activities in the centers of Talmuššu, Arbēla, Tarbīṣu and Insana (Dönbaz and Frame 1983), all to be looked for in the heartland, as well as in the 'provinces', like Kaḫat and Dūr-katlimmu (see below), or more recently, Tall Ḫuwēra/Ḫarbe and Tall Sabi Abyad (Fig. 1).

In the neo-Assyrian period, some urban centers can be claimed in the heartland. Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta has to be considered one of them, since it was reoccupied in the neo-Assyrian period (Fig. 2, hatched area). The surface sherds are covering an area of approximately 60 hectars, scattered over the old middle-Assyrian center; the south palace was reused then (personal communication by R. Dittmann).

Another one is probably Balāwāt/Imgur-Bēl, situated east of the Tigris, which was long thought to be too small to be considered a center. A more recent survey has proven that the site was much larger than expected and covered an intramural area of 64 hectars (Curtis 1982: 118).

The site of Tall Billa covers an area of 38 acres (Speiser 1932: 250), that is about 15.2 hectars. Whether the whole area was inhabited during the neo-Assyrian period is not attested. No lower town is reported. Yet, it seems to have been an important Assyrian center, to be identified with Sibaniba, but it is difficult to substantiate this statement archaeologically (Speiser 1929: 22; Speiser 1932: 262, Pl. LXVI).

The evidence from the neo-Assyrian written sources for the setting of settlements within the Assyrian countryside and its possible hierarchy as expressed by the different Assyrian terms has been discussed by several authors (Postgate 1974: 236-240; Fales 1990: 99-107; Liverani 1992a: 125). Postgate is pointing out that the Assyrian kings ever since Aššur-dān II. aimed to establish administrative and military centers and took care to equip them with agricultural tools and grain.

1.3.3 Urban centers in the neo-Assyrian provinces

Having surveyed briefly the present evidence of Assyrian capitals, royal residences and urban centers in the Assyrian heartland throughout Assyrian history it will now be necessary to see what the archaeological record is offering for the existence of urban centers in the Assyrian provinces. Since the Assyrians had conquered these territories and made them to provinces it is obvious that these centers often had had a different cultural background, i.e. an Aramaic or Luwian one. This aspect is treated by S. Mazzoni (this volume); the concern here is rather the superimposed Assyrian cities to evaluate the question of urbanization. It is selfevident that this cannot be done for the whole Assyrian empire because the regional historical conditions are quite different. The geographical limitations chosen here is the region of the Gazīra or "Assyria proper" (Postgate 1992).

The historical events are quite clear. Once the Ḥabūr region had been regained in the 9th cent. one Aramaic or late Hittite/Luwian city state after another was conquered. This process was finally brought to an end by Sargon II who completed transforming the southern Anatolian and north Syrian city states into Assyrian provinces.

The archaeological record is again not abundant. Starting from east to west a more recent survey of the north Gazīra, at the western edge of the Assyrian heartland, has revealed numerous late Assyrian settlements centering around Tall Hawa in which "the landscape has become virtually completely settled, by a total of 77 mainly small settlements" (Wilkinson 1990: 60).

South of this area lies neo-Assyrian Tall Rimāḥ /(now) Zamāḫu. If the whole area of the lower town was occupied it should have covered an area of about 40 hectars (Fig. 3). Surrounding it were "large open villages in many places" (Oates 1982: 97) showing "a remarkable intensity of Late Assyrian settlement" (Oates 1968a: 130). Further north, south of Singar and Tall ᶜAfar, Oates has registered "extensive Late Assyrian occupation" (Oates 1968a: 129).

59

Moving further to the west and skipping the area of the lower Ḥabūr for the moment surprisingly little evidence is as yet available from the Ḥabūr triangle: Tall Ḥamīdīya seems to have been occupied until the middle of the 9th cent. It consisted of a citadel and an enclosed lower town of a diameter of two kilometers, but it is not known at what periods this settlement ground was occupied precisely (Eichler / Wäfler/Warburton 1990: 258, 309).

Tall Barri/Kaḥat has also been occupied during the neo-Assyrian period, as inscribed bricks of Tukulti-ninurta II are demonstrating (Tell Barri/Kahat 1982).

Uncertainty about the spatial distribution of iron age sites in the eastern half of the Ḥabūr triangle is prevailing from the Dutch survey in this area (Meijer 1986: 33).

With the upper Ḥabūr the territory of the Aramaic state of Bīt Baḥiani is encountered with its capital Tall Ḥalaf/Guzāna. The date of the latest ruler Kapara was controversial but is now ascribed to the middle of the 9th cent. (Röllig 1976-80: 391). It is thought that the main building activity resulting in a square shape of the citadel and of the lower town may be ascribed to his reign (Hrouda 1972-1975: 54), covering an area of 55 hectars (Fig. 3). Little information is available for the later Assyrian settlement; it is even uncertain whether it functioned as a provincial center. Nevertheless, the square enclosure has been considered as an element of Assyrian tradition rather than Hittite (Naumann 1971: 232).

Further to the west, 40 kilometers east of the Euphrates, Arslan Taš/Ḥadātu is probably an Assyrian foundation (Naumann 1971: 230-231; Heinrich 1984: 133-143). The intramural area covered 31 hectars (Fig. 3); a palace is situated on the highest elevation surrounded by an almost circular 'lower town'.

At the Euphrates, the Aramaic center of Til Barsip, capital of the city state of Bīt Adini, was captured early by the Assyrian king Salmanasar III. in 856 BC and was renamed Kar-Salmanasar. The Assyrian palace is situated on a citadel being surrounded by what may have been originally a full circular enclosed lower town but is now a segment due to the course of the river (Bunnens in press). It covered an area of 40 hectars.

The areas excavated more thoroughly in all of the above mentioned examples are restricted to the citadel, where a palace was found usually, and to some parts of the enclosure. Almost nothing is known about the lower cities. To evaluate the function of the settlements as provincial centers is difficult therefore, but given at least these criteria, enclosure, palace, i.e. an administrative center, and an average coverage of 30 hectars, it seems reasonable to address them all as Assyrian urban centers with administrative provincial tasks.

1.4 An Assyrian program of 'urbanization' ?

Summarizing, it has to be stressed that from the archaeological record very little can be said in terms of settlement patterns and systems and thus in terms of 'urbanization'. Apart from the capitals and royal residences, as well as some provincial centers, the evidence is meager, the question of settlement patterns

and -systems and resulting from it the question of 'urbanization', has been payed little attention to so far in the archaeological fieldwork.

As an answer to the question why the Assyrians built so many capitals it is always referred to the idea of demonstration of prestige, power and propaganda (Liverani 1979); the decoration of the palaces with reliefed orthostates are correctly interpreted as a figurative expression of this and of the ideology of Assyrian kingship. It is also argued that the religious elites of Aššur did not like to be displaced by the newer capitals (Machinist 1984/85: 360); it could be speculated that a rivalry between the religious and the political establishment was the reason why the king had moved out of the old capital initially. While these arguments certainly have some bearing, have they been the only reasons? Has anyone evaluated economically and politically the enormous effort and costs which were necessary to build these capitals and to move from one to another, about which Aššurnaṣirpal II is reporting (see the modern difficulties of moving the German capital from Bonn to Berlin)? Is the foundation of new capitals simply dictated by the growing empire and growing administration and bureaucracy which needed more space or have there been other reasons as well (Kühne in press 1)?

The bare existence of the above mentioned urban centers does not allow to speak of an 'urbanization program', it does not even allow to distinguish clearly between Aramaic and Assyrian centers. Both were structured by a citadel and a lower town. Naumann has argued that the Assyrian provincial centers were enclosed in a square manner imitating the capitals while the Aramaic centers were encircled (Naumann 1971: 231-232). This idea appears to be a bit simplistic as shown by the example of Arslan Taš: it is supposed to be an Assyrian foundation, but it is encircled (Fig. 3); Tall Rimāh does not seem to correspond to this scheme either (Fig. 3). The function of this arrangement, i.e. citadel - lower town - is, judging from the capitals - because there is no evidence from the provincial centers except for Tall Šēh Hamad, see below - it seems, not necessarily paralleled by the scheme representation /administration on the citadel and living quarters for the ordinary people in the lower town, as Fort Salmanasar in Kalhu and/or residences for high officials in Aššur (Heinrich 1984: 167-170) are indicating.

On the other hand it is obvious, that the growing empire being administrated by political and economic centralization principles, necessitated an 'urbanization' of the provinces to enact this administration. The Assyrian sources do not refer directly to such a process but in the stelae from Rimāh and Saba'a it is made clear that the steppe is 'colonized' by the foundation of numerous hamlets and villages (Weippert 1992). These must have been administrated by provincial centers which in turn ought to have become 'urbanized'. The archaeological fieldwork in the lower Habūr area is providing some new evidence for this problem and allows a fresh interpretation.

2. The study in case: The lower Habūr-region and the Assyrian center of Dūr-katlimmu (Fig. 5)

2.1 New archaeological and philological sources

The following remarks are based on the fieldwork done in the area between 1975 and 1991 by the author and a changing staff:

1975/1977: Archaeological survey of the area on behalf of the "Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients" (Kühne 1974-1977; Kühne 1978-1979; Röllig/Kühne 1980; Röllig/Kühne 1983).

Since 1978: Excavation of Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad, Assyrian Dūr-katlimmu (Kühne 1983a; Kühne 1983b; Kühne 1984a; Kühne 1984b; Kühne 1986-87; Kühne 1989-90; Kühne 1990; Kühne 1991).

1983/1984: Archaeological survey of the Wādī ᶜAǧiǧ (Pfälzner 1984; Bernbeck 1993)

1985-1990: Excavation of Tall Bdēri, Assyrian Dūr-Aššur-kettī lēšer (Pfälzner 1989/90)

1982/1984/1989-1990: Joint excavation of Tall ᶜAǧāǧa, Assyrian Sadikanni, under the direction of Asa'd Mahmoud (Mahmoud et al. 1988; Mahmoud/Kühne in press)

In the course of these investigations, several archives and inscriptions were discovered:

- In Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad a middle-Assyrian archive of 550 units furnishing the identification of the site with the Assyrian city of Dūr-katlimmu (Röllig 1978); a small archive of neo-Assyrian, Aramaic, and neo-Babylonian texts of about 50 units, including a number of singular pieces (Kühne 1989-90: 310-311).

- In Tall Bdēri 18 fragments of foundation cylinders furnishing the identification of the site with Assyrian Dūr-Aššur-kettī-lēšer (Maul 1992)

- In Tall ᶜAǧāǧa the inscribed sculpture(s) were rediscovered (Mahmoud et al. 1988; Mahmoud/Kühne in press).

2.2 The regional aspect: the lower Ḥabūr

The lower Ḥabūr is the southern part of the river between Hasaka and its mouth, running parallel to the modern Syrian-Iraqi border. It is considered to be a single geographic unit because of the dry-farming-belt, the 200 mm isohyet, which is crossing the river just south of Hasaka. Nevertheless, obviously the landscape becomes dryer the further south one gets and less suitable for agriculture and more so for pastoralism.

The historical development of habitation in the area has been roughly sketched in the preliminary reports (Kühne 1984b; Kühne 1990a; Kühne 1990b; Kühne 1990c). For the middle-Assyrian period a three dimensional settlement system has been suggested (Ergenzinger/Kühne 1991: 184-187). The dominant center seems to have been Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-katlimmu (Fig. 4) which served as the seat of a gouvenor, a bēl paḫati, as the archive indicates. The whole lower Ḥabūr as well as the eastern Ǧazīra was controlled by the middle-Assyrian kings, and a direct route was connecting Dūr-katlimmu via the subcenter Tall Umm ᶜAgrēbe with the capital Aššur (Pfälzner in Bernbeck 1993: 92-4; Kühne in press 1). Also important seems to have been Sadikanni, modern Tall ᶜAǧāǧa, but archaeological evidence, except for surface sherds, is lacking. Subcenters have been Tall Fadǧami, which is maintained to be identified with Assyrian Qatni, Tall Ta'ban/Ṭabētū, and Tall Hasaka, possibly to be identified with Magrisu (Kühne 1980). By geographical position, the centers and subcenters are dividing the area up into regular 'districts'. Small settlements are few but seem to adhere to subcenters, as is confirmed in the case of Tall Bdēri/Dūr-Aššur-kettī-lēšer which is dependent from Tall Ta'ban/Ṭabētū (Maul 1992). No settlement system emerges except for a line-up-scheme along the river (Fig. 4).

During the 'dark ages' (roughly between 1200 and 900 BC), evidence from Tall Bdēri/Dūr-Aššur-kettī-lēšer and Tall ᶜAǧāǧa/Sadikanni suggests that the Assyrians kept contact with or even control over the area (Kühne in press 2).

At the turn of the 10th to the 9th century the Assyrian kings Adad-nīrārī II, Tukulti-ninurta II, and Aššurnaṣirpal II are reconfirming their political claim of the area (Kühne 1980; Russel 1985).

2.3 The settlement pattern of the neo-Assyrian period

For the neo-Assyrian period, the archaeological analysis of surface finds, especially pottery, is at present severely handicapped by missing typological sequences based on stratigraphic results. Thus, it becomes hazardous to distinguish between pottery of the nineth and the eighth cent.B.C., while the pottery of the seventh cent. is better known. More recently, the excavation of Tall ᶜAǧāǧa has provided some typological indications on the basis of stratified collections, which originate from level 19a which can be dated by the inscribed sculptures to the nineth cent.B.C. (Mahmoud et al. 1988; the late date given there for the pottery was revised by Bernbeck 1993:115; in addition there is unpublished material from level 19b). The analysis of the survey pottery has therefore allowed a distinction between an early neo-Assyrian and a late neo-Assyrian period (Morandi 1992), the chronological dividing line being dated around 750 B.C. or possibly as early as the beginning of the eighth century. No attempt is made to distinguish between the eighth and the seventh cent. although there are some typological indications which may allow this in the future (Bernbeck 1993: 97- 114).

On the basis of this distinction the settlements of the early neo-Assyrian and the late neo-Assyrian period have been mapped by Morandi (1992). The settlement pattern of the early neo-Assyrian period is surprisingly similar to the one of the middle-Assyrian period (Fig. 5). The centers have stayed the same, even in the ᶜAǧīǧ region, except for Tall Hasaka, and the smaller settlements are more numerous but still very scattered (Fig. 5).

The difference becomes obvious if one compares this pattern with the map of the late neo-Assyrian settlements (Fig. 6). The centers are still the same but the small settlements are densely crowded now, especially in the north. The system seems to be four dimensional now, the smallest settlements, the hamlets and villages, considered as a single category, and it is domed by the largest settlement which is Tall Sēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-katlimmu. Despite of lacking textual evidence the archaeological features clearly point to an administrative center which controlled the whole region of the lower Ḥabūr (Kühne 1990b).

In addition, it also served as an administrative center for the now starting and eventually increasing occupation of the steppe along the Wādī ᶜAǧīǧ (Fig. 6). By the time of the seventh century a three dimensional system had developed here, too, which was domed by Dūr-katlimmu (Bernbeck 1993: 139-40, 144-5).

The flourishing of the settlements along the river was mainly due to an irrigation canal along both banks of the river which had been constructed most probably at the beginning of the seventh century.

This regional irrigation system, the main canals of which also served as traffic routes, originated most probably from the middle-Assyrian period when a first regional canal on the east bank replaced all former local irrigation systems (Ergenzinger/Kühne 1991: 163 ff.).

2.4 The neo-Assyrian center of Dūr-katlimmu

The development of the settlement has been sketched elsewhere (Kühne 1991: 29 ff.), see here Fig. 7. The history and the urban development of the Assyrian city of Dūr-katlimmu has been described on account of the available archaeological evidence up to the season of 1987 in Kühne (1990 b).

Some general characteristics have not changed since and may be recalled briefly. The foundation of the Assyrian city of Dūr-katlimmu may be attributed to Salmanasar I. This action was more a functional definition than a structural foundation, because Dūr-katlimmu then became the seat of a govenor. The previous settlements of the Mittanian and old Babylonian periods had been occupying already a similar extension of about 15 hectars and were structured in a citadel and a lower town I to the east of the citadel, both walled in. The city kept this plan also in the early neo-Assyrian period.

Only after 800 BC, most probably around 750 BC, the city was extended and restructured. Next to the citadel and the lower town I, a new lower town II was added in the northeast, on the natural spur, which privileged the settlement position in general. The whole city was enclosed by a new town wall, extending over about four kilometers. The intramural city now covered an area of about 55 hectars. Outside of this enclosure two suburban areas existed, one in the north and the second one in the east. The overall settlement ground thus covered about 110-120 hectars (Figs. 7-8).

The aim of the ongoing excavation ever since 1984 is to uncover larger parts of the lower town II (Fig. 8) in order to analyse and explain the structural arrangement and the function of these lower towns. The expectations were to find the houses of the ordinary people, but only one, possibly two private houses have been discovered so far.

The excavation has concentrated on three areas within the lower town II (Fig. 8): one in the northeast corner, operation 3; the northern and eastern town wall, operation 4; the central part, operation 5. First trenches were dug as early as 1978, but a major effort was taken since 1984. Operation 3 was closed down in 1990; operations 4 and 5 are supposed to be closed down in 1995. The area of excavation covers at present about 22.000 square meters or about eight percent of the settlement ground of lower town II.

In the northeast corner, operation 3, a palace, two official buildings, two private houses, two streets and two open areas were detected (Fig.9).

The palace is incorporated into the northeastern corner of the town wall, much like Fort Salmanasar in Kalḫu/Nimrud, but it is forming a functional unit with it. It consists of 'Gebäude F' and 'Gebäude W', combining elements of an Aramaic hilani with elements of the Assyrian palace scheme, much like the palace from Arslan Taš (Kühne in press 3).

The 'Gebäude Nordwest' and 'Haus 2' are official buildings. Between them and in front of the palace, an open area FY is situated. From this open area, a street is passing southward, crossing an east-west oriented street. In the northern corner of the crossing, 'Haus 1' and on its southern side Haus 3 are situated, the only privat houses excavated so far. East of 'Haus 1' and flanking the southern front of the hilani ('Gebäude F') another open area was encountered.

The northern town wall was excavated over a distance of 60 m, the eastern town wall over a distance of 166 m (Fig. 9). Another 90 m of the eastern town wall south of tower 5 were mechanically swept so that a plan could be drawn photogrammetrically. The wall is only three meters thick and the distance between the bastions is averaging 18 m. The bastions are five meters wide and protruding 2 meters. No gate has been found so far.

In the central part of the lower town II, an accumulation of residences of officials has been excavated (Fig. 10), consisting of at least four units. Two of them are situated in the west, flanking a larger one ('Grosses Haus') in the east. A fourth unit is situated east of the large hall D. Its courtyard is as yet unexcavated but seems to give access to another large hall B which was decorated with wall paintings (Kühne 1989-90: Abb. 138). The unit in the southeast, called 'Rotes Haus', is post-Assyrian. A northeast-southwest oriented street is limiting apparently the complex in the north, and an open area is following the structures in the southwest.

Having studied over the years the relationship of the topography of the lower town II to the excavated structures underneath, it seems that the whole lower town was covered by this kind of architecture which means that official buildings should make up the greater part of the settlement. They were forming clusters separated from each other by larger open spaces and streets. In this respect, the reconstruction published in Kühne (1990 b: 168, Pl. 38) has to be modified. Although a functional analysis remains to be executed, it seems at present that the lower town II of the late-Assyrian city of Dūr-katlimmu was serving mainly administrative purposes.

The contemporaneous levels on the citadel mound have not been excavated yet. This remains to be done after the work in the lower town II has been completed. On account of the available space on the citadel (Fig. 8) and by analogy with the middle- Assyrian plan it is likely that little more than a palace of a high official (govenor ?) and some temples were arranged pologonaly around a central court serving the representational elites, while most of the bureaucratic functions were executed in the lower town II.

3. The urbanization of the Assyrian provinces

The crucial problem throughout Assyrian history was how to integrate the undulating plains of the Gazīra into the empire. It is quite obvious, that any further expansion to the west beyond the Euphrates and any lasting control over the provinces there were dependent on the political reliability and the security of passing traffic and trade routes of this area. The Gazīra, being the original homeland of the Assyrians, was not a military but rather a mental and an economic problem for them. The prevailing way of life was a nomadic one as opposed to the sendentary one of the empire population. A nomadic mentality was politically not reliable. Thus, in order to gain control over and to integrate the Gazīra territorially, the

inhabitants of the Gazīra had to be made sedentary and this had to be established spatially. A necessary infrastructure had to be build up.

In order to accomplish these aims three steps had to be taken: the Gazīra had to be cultivated, an administration and a traffic system had to be inaugurated. It is these aims and ideas which seem to be reflected in the inscriptions of the stelae of Rimāh and Saba'a (Weippert 1992: 60 ff.).

This process has been called 'colonization'. While this expression is provoking thoughts about an imperialistic approach in terms of modern ideological and historical interpretation, it is only covering half of what happened in reality: the Gazīra-province - and perhaps other political provinces as well, along a similar pattern albeit on different regional situations and problems - was 'urbanized'.

Considering the large number of hamlets and small villages observed in the surveys of the eastern Gazīra (Fig. 11) it seems that a larger part of the population lived in the countryside and that the Gazīra was territorially inhabited (already Oates 1968: 130). Wilkinson is missing smaller centers in the region around Tall Hawa (Wilkinson 1990: 60) and has concluded that a three tier settlement system did not exist. However, in the cAğiğ region a three dimensional settlement pattern has prevailed in the late Assyrian period of the 7th century and has developed from the two tier pattern in the eighth century (Bernbeck 1993: 137, Abb. 11). Subcenters are situated in due distance from the provincial center Tall Umm 'Aqrubba, and the whole system was domed by the urban center of Dūr-katlimmu. Thus, as opposed to the middle-Assyrian and the early neo-Assyrian periods, the steppe had become cultivated, territorially occupied and urbanized.

From the above given archaeological case study it becomes clear that the Assyrian city of Dūr-katlimmu became 'urbanized' in the late eighth and seventh century BC as well. From a provincial center which it had been among others in the region in middle- and early neo-Assyrians times it was promoted to the regional center although local or other written sources so far fail to confirm this. It became the largest town of the densely occupied region of the lower Habūr, an area extending over roughly 200 kilometers in north-south direction, and also of the steppe east and west of the river, the extension of which is difficult to determine. It ought to have been the capital of an Assyrian province, but the capital of the province of Raṣappa (Fig. 11), in which it was situated, was the city of Raṣappa, the localization of which is not established yet (Oates 1968a:128; Liverani 1992b; Fales 1992).

This case study seems to indicate then that the hierarchy of the late neo-Assyrian settlement systems had grown by another category and consisted of five tiers now: the capitals, regional centers, provincial centers, subcenters, and villages. On the whole, rather few regional centers seem to have structured the late neo-Assyrian empire; but this would have to be discussed on a broader scale.

The Gazīra was cultivated by people who lived in a large number of hamlets and small villages which were controlled by 'provincial' centers like Tall Hawa, Tall Rimāh, and Tall Umm 'Aqrubba, which in turn were domed by larger urban centers like Dūr-katlimmu. These urban centers had a still larger agglomeration of bureaucratic establishment than the 'provincial' centers, they provided smaller or larger residences for numerous officials and a small contingent of military power, like a battalion, to enforce

66

rules and regulations if necessary, or to control the deported groups of various ethnic background living or rather being forced to live in the countryside. Thus, the defensive works of Dūr-katlimmu were not meant to resist a strong enemy - they are much too small, too weak for this purpose - but rather to close off the urban ground from the rural area and possibly to resist rural riots.

Concerning the problem of traffic connections and means of communications, the region was opened up by several overland routes. A branch of the 'harran šarri' was extended at least as far south as Dūr-katlimmu (Kessler 1980: 227-229). The canals on both banks were most probably used to ship heavy loads in either direction (Ergenzinger/Kühne 1991: 175). A steppe route has been proposed to connect the capital Aššur and Dūr-katlimmu in middle-Assyrian times (Pfälzner in Bernbeck 1993: 92-94; Kühne in press 1) and may have been in use ever since. Another steppe route should have connected the capital Ninua/Ninive with the Ḥabūr region, most probably with Tall Fadġami/Qatni via Tall Rimāḫ/Zamāḫu. This route was in use until the recent hermetic closing of the border between Syria and Iraq, except that it connected modern Saddada with Mosul via Singar. Regionally or locally, hollow ways were connecting the centers with the subcenters or villages (Wilkinson 1993).

Summarizing, it seems that the combined evidence of the present excavation of the Assyrian urban center of Dūr-katlimmu and of the ᶜAġiġ survey is exemplifying archaeologically best, at least for the time being, the principles and also the significance of the 'urbanization' process in the neo-Assyrian empire, that is in 'Assyria proper' (Postgate 1992). Large rural territories were cultivated, permanently inhabited, and administrated by Gazīra-bound 'provincial' centers which in turn were domed by regional urban centers. This process was launched during the reign of Adad-nīrāri III., and the numerous stelae of this king, found in the steppe-sites like Saba'a or Rimāḫ (and others, see Weippert 1992; Oates 1968: 130) and executed in a provincial style, may be interpreted as a figurative expression of this urbanization process which must be considered a major political program.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bernbeck, R.
  1993   *Steppe als Kulturlandschaft. Das ^{c}Ağiğ-Gebiet vom Neolithikum bis zur islamischen Zeit. Mit Beiträgen von Peter Pfälzner* (= Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient - Ausgrabungen Band 1), Berlin.

Bunnens, G.
  in press Tell Ahmar/Til Barsip 1988-1992, in H. Kühne (Hrsg.), Archäologische Forschungen in Syrien (5). *Archiv für Orientforschung* 40.

Curtis, J.
  1982   Balawat, in J. Curtis (ed.), *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery*, London: 113-119.

Dittmann, R.
  1990   Ausgrabungen der Freien Universität Berlin in Assur und Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta in den Jahren 1986-89: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 122: 157-171.
  1992   Assur and Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, in K. Nashef (Ed.), Archaeology in Iraq: *American Journal of Archaeology* 96: 307-321.

Dönbaz, V. and Frame, G.
  1983   The Building Activities of Shalmeneser I in Northern Mesopotamia: *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project* 1: 1-5.

Eidem , J.
  1988-89 Tell Leilan Tablets 1987 - A Preliminary Report: *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 38-39: 110-127.

Eichler, S. / Wäfler, M. / Warburton, D.
  1990   *Tall al-Hamīdīya* 2, Göttingen.

Ergenzinger, P. et al. (Kühne, H./Frey, W. /Kürschner, H.)
  1988   The Reconstruction of Environment, Irrigation and Development of Settlement on the Habur in North-East Syria, in J.L. Bintliff, D.A. Davidson, E.G. Grant (Eds.), *Conceptual Issues in Environmental Archaeology*, Edinburgh: 108-128.

Ergenzinger, P. / Kühne, H.
  1991   Ein regionales Bewässerungssystem am Habūr, in Kühne 1991.

Fales, F.M.
  1990   The Rural Landscape of the Neo-Assyrian Empire: a Survey: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* IV: 81-142.
  1992   An Additional Note an 'Rasappu and Hatallu': *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* VI: 105-107.

Frame: s. Dönbaz

Griffeth, R./Thomas, C.G.
  1981   *The City-State in Five Cultures*, 181 ff, Oxford.

Heinrich, E.
  1984   *Die Paläste im alten Mesopotamien*, Berlin.

Hofmeister,
  1980   Die Stadtstruktur: *Erträge der Forschung* Bd. 132, Darmstadt.

Hrouda, B.
    1972-75   Halaf, Tell: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Bd. 4: 54.

Jarman, M.R./Vita-Finzi, C./Higgs, E.S.
    1972   Site Catchment Analysis in Archaeology, in Peter J. Ucko, Ruth Tringham, G.W. Dimbleby (Eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, Herfortshire: 61-66.

Kessler, K.
    1980   *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens* (= Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Reihe B Nr. 26), Wiesbaden.

Kolb, F.
    1984   *Die Stadt im Altertum*, München.

Kühne, H.
    1974-1977   Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Ḫabūr, Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 25: 249-255.
    1978-1979   Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Ḫabūr. Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 26: 181-195.
    1980   Zur Rekonstruktion der Feldzüge Adad-Nīrārī II, Tukulti-Ninurta II und Aššurnaṣirpal II im Ḫabūr Gebiet: *Baghdader Mitteilungen*:11: 44-70.
    1983a   Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu, die Wiederentdeckung einer mittelassyrischen Stadt: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 1: 149-163.
    1983 b   Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu 1978-1983: *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* : 33/1: 239-248.
    1984 a   Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu 1981 - 1983. 1984: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 31: 166-178.
    1984b   Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu, the Assyrian Provincial Capital in the Mohafaza Der az-Zor: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the History and Archaeology of the Region of Der az-Zor, October 2-6, 1983: *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 34: 160-182.
    1986-87   Preliminary Report on the Excavation in Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu 1985. 1986: *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes 36-37*: 221-267.
    1989/90   Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu1985-1987: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36/37: 308 - 323.
    1990a   Ein Bewässerungssystem des Ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. am Unteren Ḫabūr, in: B. Geyer (Ed.), *Techniques et Pratiques Hydro-Agricoles traditionelles en Domaine Irrigué* (=Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, T. CXXXVI): 193-215.
    1990b   Gedanken zur Historischen und städtebaulichen Entwicklung der assyrischen Stadt Dūr--katlimmu, in: P. Matthiae, M. van Loon, H. Weiss (Eds.), *Resurrecting the past. A joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni* (= Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néderlandais de Stamboul 67), Leiden: 153-169.
    1990c   The Effects of Irrigation Agriculture. Bronze and Iron Age Habitation along the Ḫabūr, Eastern Syria, in S. Bottema, G. Entjes-Nieborg, W. van Zeist (Eds.), *Man's Role in the Shaping of the Eastern Mediterranean Landscape*, Rotterdam: 15-30.
    1990d   Preliminary Report on the Excavation of Tall Seḫ Ḫamad 1988: *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 37/38 (1987/88): 142-157.
    1991   (Hrsg.), *Die rezente Umwelt von* Tall Seḫ Ḫamad *und Daten zur Umweltrekonstruktion der assyrischen Stadt Dūr-katlimmu* (= Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu), Berlin.
    in press 1   Dūr-katlimmu and the Middle Assyrian Empire: *Actes du Colloque International ' La Djezire et l'Euphrate Syriens de la Protohistoire à la Fin du Second Millenaire av.J.-C.'*, Paris, 21.-24.6.1993.
    in press 2   The Assyrians on the Middle Euphrates and the Ḫabūr, in M. Liverani (Ed.), *Convegno internazionale: 'Neo-Assyrian Geography'. Roma, 10-12 Novembre 1993* (= Quaderni di Geografia storica), Roma.
    in press 3   Tall Seḫ Ḫamad/Dūr-katlimmu 1988-1990, in: H. Kühne (Hrsg.) Archäologische Forschungen in Syrien (5): *Archiv für Orientforschung* 40.

Kühne, s. Ergenzinger, Mahmoud and Röllig.

Liverani, M.
1979   The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire, in M. Trolle Larsen (Ed.) *Power and Propaganda*. (= Mesopotamia 7): 297-317.

Liverani
    1988   The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur/Middle Euphrates Area: a New Paradigma: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* II: 81-98.
    1992a   *Studies on the annals of Ashurnasirpal II. 2: Topographical analysis*, Roma.
    1992b   Raṣappu and Hatallu: *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* VI: 35-40.

MacGinnis: s. Scott, Stronach

Machinist, P.
    1984/85   The Assyrians and Their Babylonian Problem: Some Reflections: *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin Jahrbuch* 1984/85: 353-364.

Mahmoud et al.(Kühne, H. /Bernbeck, R. /Pfälzner, P. /Röllig, W.)
    1988   Die Ausgrabung auf dem Tall 'Aǧāǧa/Sadikanni 1982: *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 3: 141-184.

Mahmoud, A./Kühne, H.
    in press   Tall 'Aǧāǧa/Sadikanni 1984-1990, in H. Kühne (Hrsg.), Archäologische Forschungen in Syrien (5): *Archiv für Orientforschung* 40.

Maul, S.M.
    1992   *Die Inschriften von Tall Bdēri* (= Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient - Texte Band 2), Berlin.

Meijer, D.J.W.
    1986   *A Survey in Northeastern Syria*, Leiden.

Morandi, P.
    1992   *Il Fiume e la Steppa. La Struttura insediativa del Basso Habur in Epoca Neo-Assira*. Unpublished dissertation, Padova.

Naumann, R.
    1971   *Architektur Kleinasiens* (2. Aufl.), Tübingen.

Nissen, H.J.
    1988   *The Early History of the Ancient Near East 9000-2000 B.C.*, Chicago.

Oates, D.
    1968 a   The Excavations at Tell al Rimah: *Iraq* XXX: 115-138.
    1968 b   *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London.
    1972   The Development of Assyrian Towns and Cities, in P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, G.W. Dimbleby (Eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, Hertfordshire: 799-804.
    1982   Tell al Rimah, in J. Curtis (Ed.), *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery*, London: 86-98.

Pecorella, P.E./Salvini, M.
    1982   *Tell Barri / Kahat* 1, Roma.

Pfälzner, P.
    1984   Eine archäologische Geländebegehung im Gebiet des Wādī ᶜAǧīǧ/Ostsyrien: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 31: 114-118.
    1989-90   Tall Bdēri 1985-1987, in: H. Kühne (Hrsg.), Archäologische Forschungen in Syrien (4): *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36/37: 212-221.

Postgate, N.
    1974   Some Remarks on Conditions in the Assyrian Countryside: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XVII: 225-243.

1992   The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur: *World Archaeology* 23: 247-263.

Reade, J.
1982   Nimrud, in J. Curtis (Ed.), *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery*, London: 99-112.

Redman, Ch.
1978   *The Rise of Civilization. From Early Farmers to Urban Society in the Ancient Near East*, San Francisco.

Röllig, W.
1976-80   Kapara: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* Bd. 5: 391.
1978   Dūr-katlimmu: *Orientalia* 47: 419-430.

Röllig, W./Kühne, H.
1980   The Lower Habur. A Preliminary Report on a Survey conducted by the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients in 1975: *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 27/28: 115-140.
1983   The Lower Habur. Second Preliminary Report on a Survey conducted by the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients in 1977: *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 33:2: 187-199.

Russell, H.F.
1985   The Historical Geography of the Euphrates and Habur according to the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian Sources: *Iraq* XLVII: 57-74.

Salvini: s. Pecorella.

Scott, M.L./MacGinnis, J.
1990   Notes on Niniveh: *Iraq* LII: 63-73.

Soden, W. von
1979   Tempelstadt und Metropolis im Alten Orient, in Heinz Stoob (Hrsg.), *Die Stadt*, Köln/Wien.

Speiser, E.A.
1929   Preliminary Excavations at Tepe Gawra: *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* IX: 17-93.
1932   The Pottery of Tell Billa: *The Museum Journal* XXIII: 249-283.

Stronach, D. / Lumsden, St.
1992   UC Berkeley's Excavations at Niniveh: *Biblical Archaeologist*, December 1992: 227-233.

Stronach, D. / MacGinnis, J.
1993   *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Karte* B IV 20: 1: Beispiele altorientalischer Städte. Residenzen des Assyrischen Reiches.

Thomas s. Griffeth.

Tringham, R.
1972   Introduction: Settlement Patterns and Urbanization, in P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, G.W. Dimbleby (Eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, Hertfordshire: XIX- XXVIII.

Weippert, M.
1992   Die Feldzüge Adadnararis III. nach Syrien. Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 108: 42-67.

Weiss, H.
1991   Leilan, in H. Weiss (Ed.), Archaeology in Syria: *American Journal of Archaeology* 95: 703-707.

Wilkinson, T.J.
    1990   The Development of Settlement in the North Jazira between the 7th and 1st Millennia BC: *Iraq* LII: 49-62.
    1993   Linear Hollows in the Jazira, Upper Mesopotamia: *Antiquity* 67: 548-562.

List if sites for Figures 4 - 6:

1. Sites of the Habur-survey:

01 T. Ğubn
07 T. Fidēn
09 T. Abū Ḥā'it
13 T. Ṣuwar
15 T. Ḥusēn
16 T. Šēḫ Ḥamad
17 Ḥirbat al-Ḥumra
19 T. Marqada
20 T. Ašamsānī
21 T. Namlīya
27 T. Fadğami
33 T. Brīk
34 T. Knēdiğ
35 T. Šaddada
36 T. 'Ağāğa
37 T. Ṭa'bān
38 T. Tnēnīr
39 T. Aḥmar
40 T. Aḥmar-Mitte
41 T. Aḥmar-Nord
43 T. 'Adla
46 T. Ğarmiz
47 T. Bahza
48 Ḥirbat al-Bahza
50 T. Abū Hamḍa
51 T. Maqbara 'Ağāğa
58 T. Rağman
60 T. Mašnaqa
61 T. Šēḫ 'Oṭmān
63 T. T. Hasna
64 T. Maṭarīya
65 T. Bdēri
71 T. Abū Amšah
72 T. Rad Ṣaqra
73 T. Kerma
75 T. Ḍahab
76 T. Maraza
77 T. Abū Bakr
85 Ḥirbat al-Banat
88 T. Mullā Maṭar
94 T. Nağa
97 T. Bwēd
102 T. Nahhāb-Süd
103 T. Nahhāb-Ost
104 T. Knēdiğ-Nord
105 T. Dagaga
107 T. Dğērāt
109 T. Guwerān

111 T. Mašnaqa-West
112 T. Flēti
113 T. Maqbara Flēti 115 T. Hasaka
123 T. Maqbara 'Ağāğa-Süd-II
124 Ḥirbat Gamal
125 T. Kraḫ
126 T. Tayara-Nord
127 T. Tayara-Süd
134 Ğilīb al-Adad
135 Ğedad
136 T. Ğariba I

2. Sites of the 'Agig-survey (A #):

A 1 Abū Ṣuwēl
A 4 Tall Umm 'Aqrēbe
A 5 Umm 'Aqrēbe II
A 6 Umm 'Aqrēbe III
A 7 Umm 'Aqrēbe IV
A 8 Umm 'Aqrēbe V
A 9 Umm 'Aqrēbe VI
A 10 Umm 'Aqrēbe VII
A 11 Umm 'Aqrēbe VIII
A 12 Umm 'Aqrēbe IX
A 13 Umm 'Aqrēbe X
A 15 Tall Umm 'Aqrubba
A 16 Umm Aqrubba-Süd
A 18 Qaret Umm 'Aqrubba I
A 19 Qadīr an-Našmi
A 20 'Anaiāt eš-Šarqi I
A 21 'Anaiāt eš-Šarqi II
A 23 'Anaiāt eš-Šarqi IV
A 24 'Anaiāt eš-Šarqi V
A 25 Ḍahr 'Anaiāt
A 26 Hoḍ Ḥšām
A 27 Ğilīb el Ḥağği 'Obēd
A 29 Mḫālat Ğdeide
A 30 Mūqa ed-Dabawiya
A 31 Mešḫadaniya I
A 35 Ğilīb es-Siyāḫ
A 36 Ğilīb el 'Amah
A 37 Ğilīb el 'Abūd
A 38 Abū Kiṭāḫa I
A 39 Abū Kiṭāḫa II
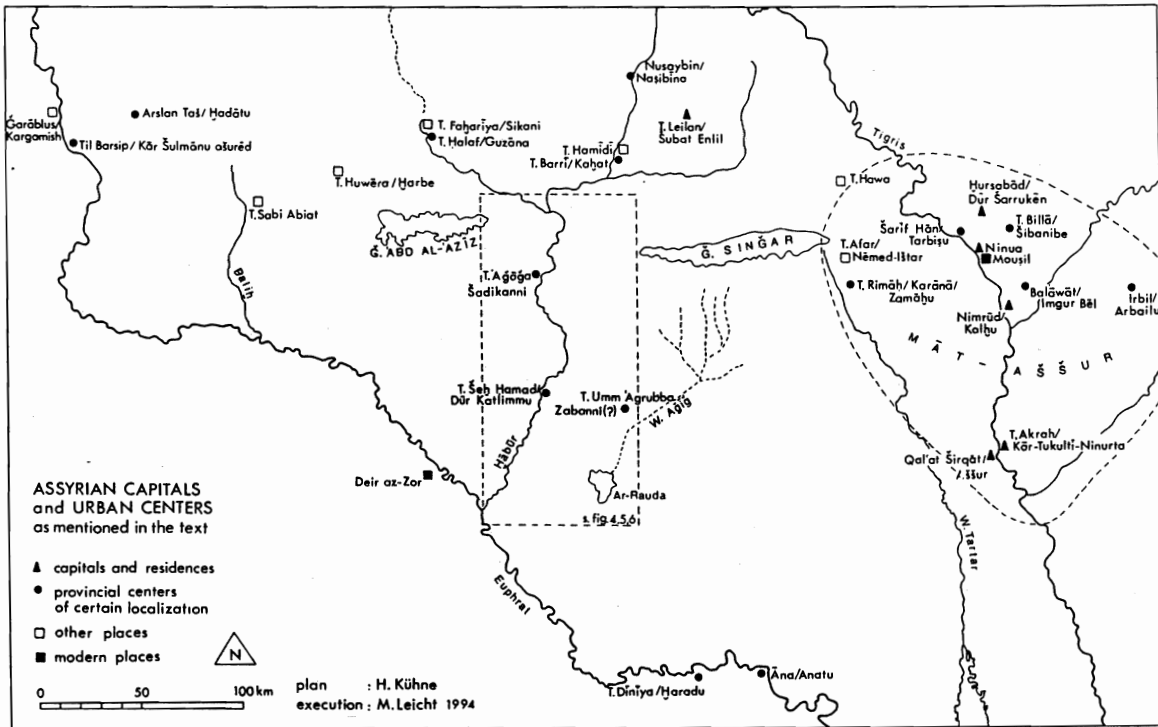A 40/41 'Auağ I/II
A 42 'Auağ III

73

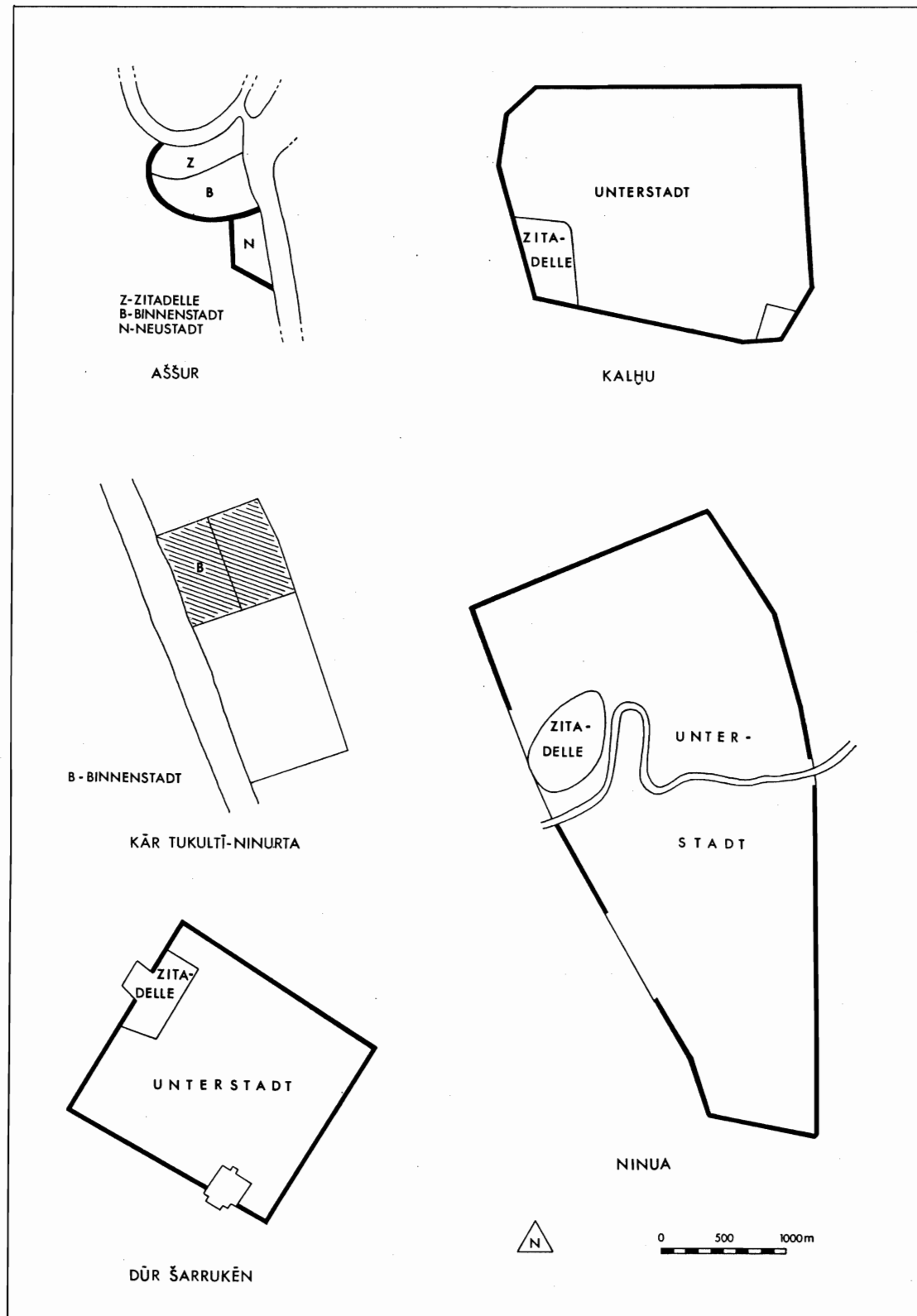Fig. 1 - Assyria proper: capitals and urban centers mentioned in the text.

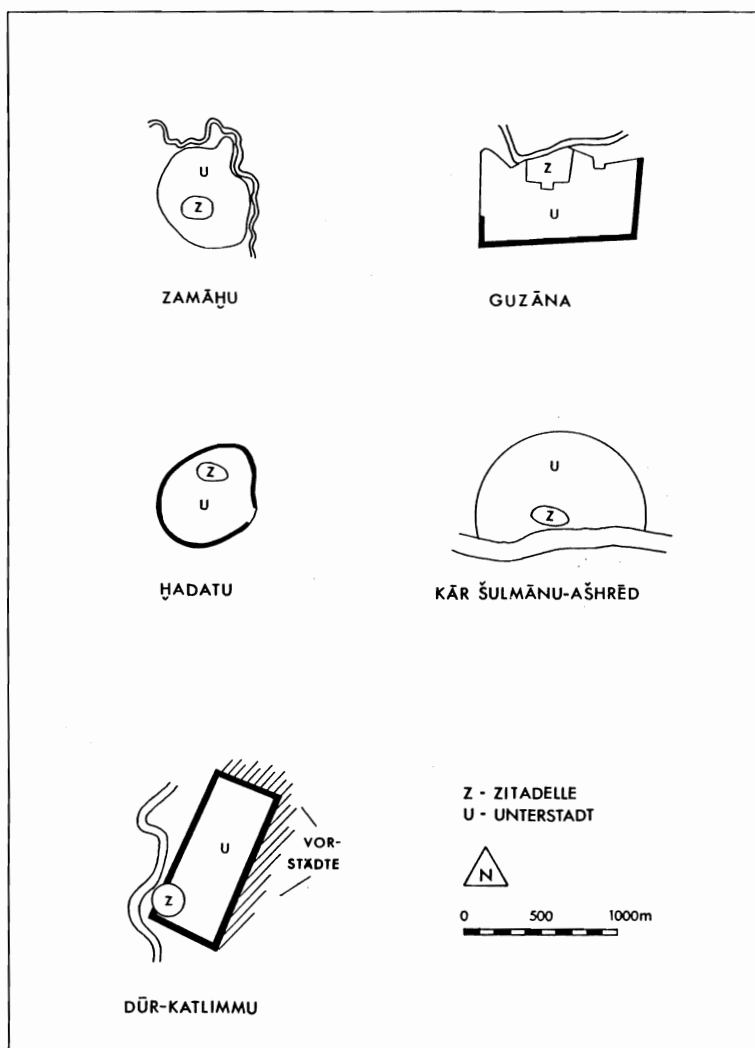Fig. 2 - Assyrian capitals and royal residences.
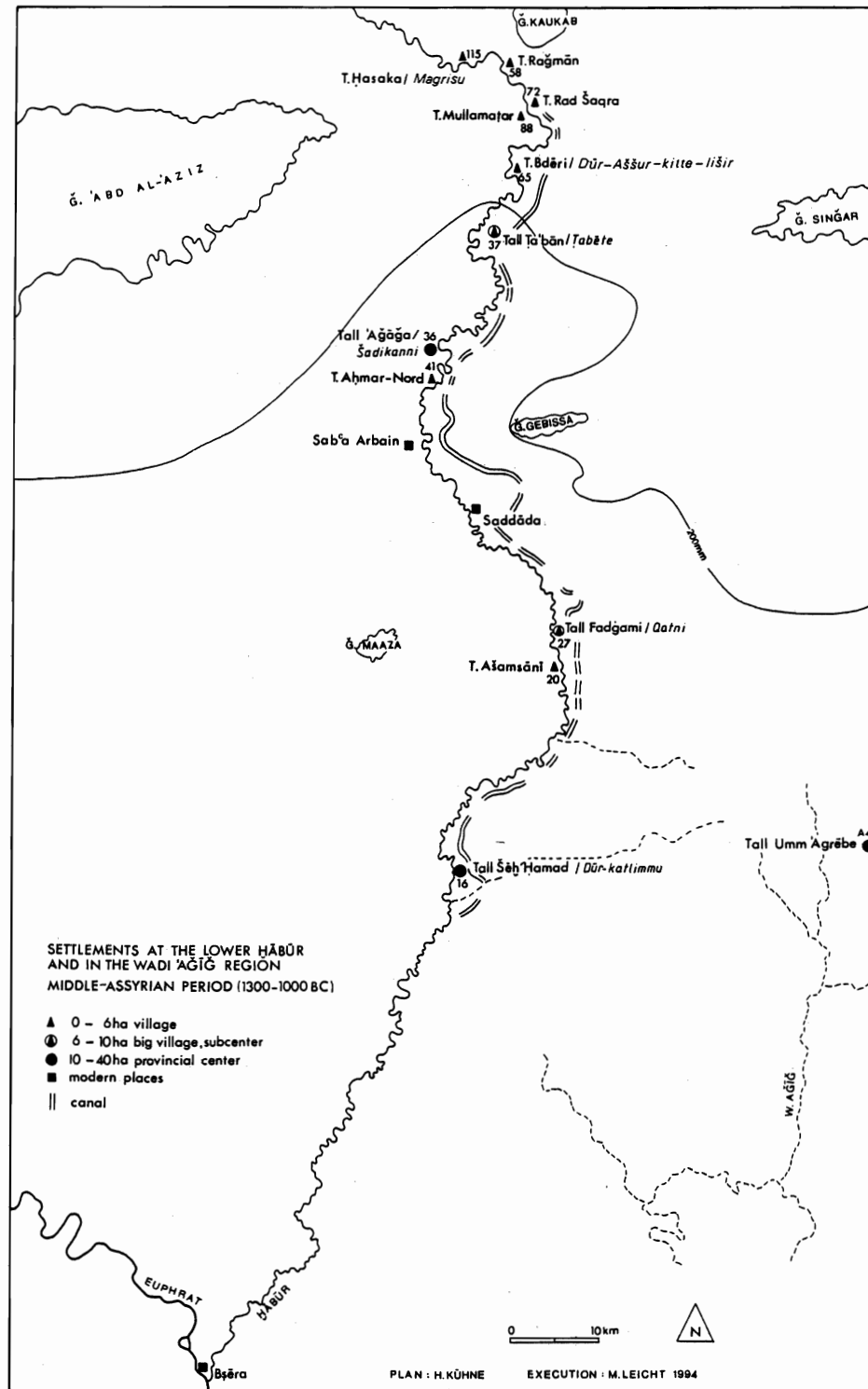
75

Fig. 3 - Examples of urban centers.

Fig. 4 - Settlements at the lower Ḥabūr and in the Wādī ᶜAǧiǧ region.
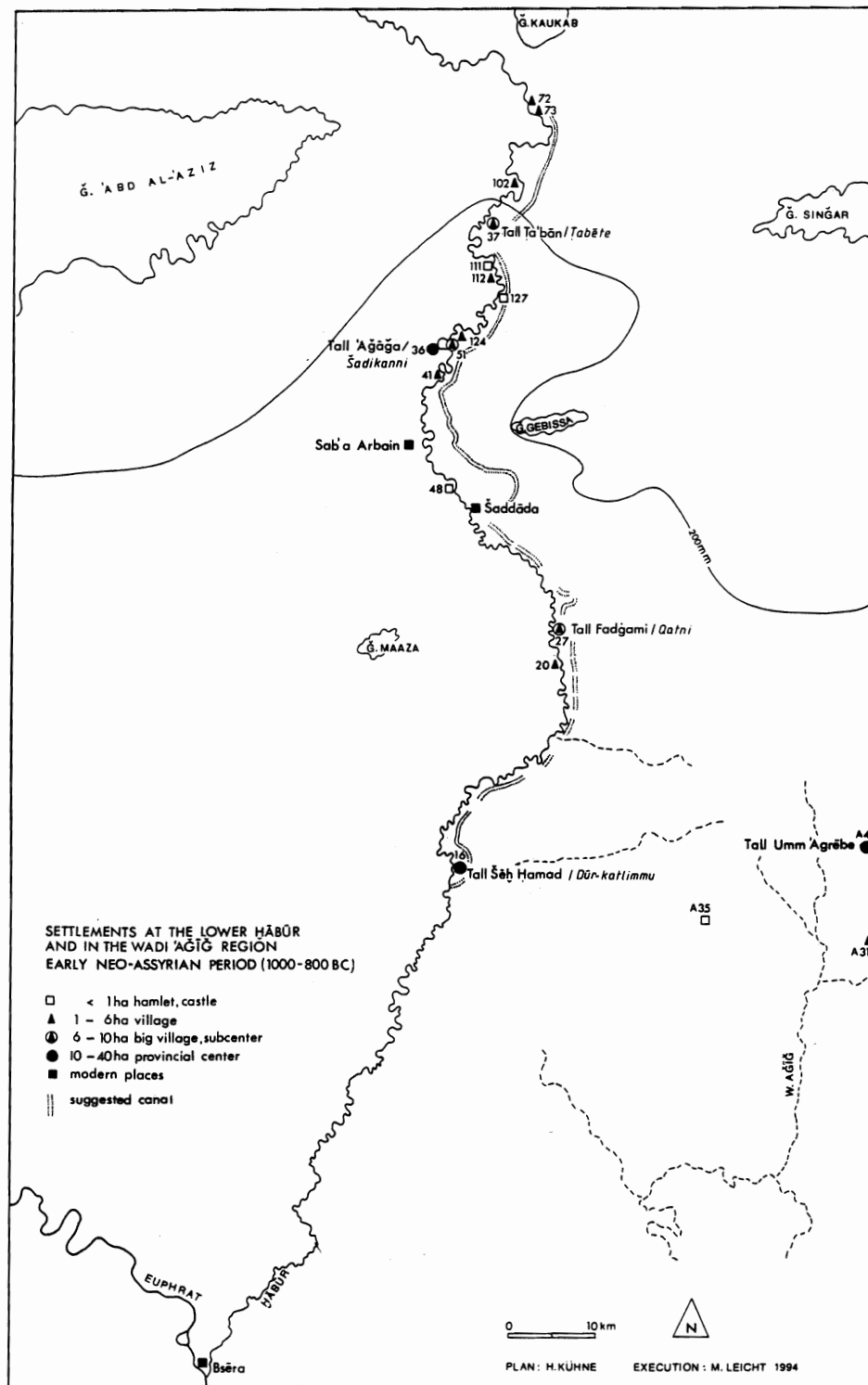Middle-Assyrian period (1300-1000 BC).

Fig. 5 - Settlements at the lower Ḫabūr and in the Wādī ʿAǧīǧ region.
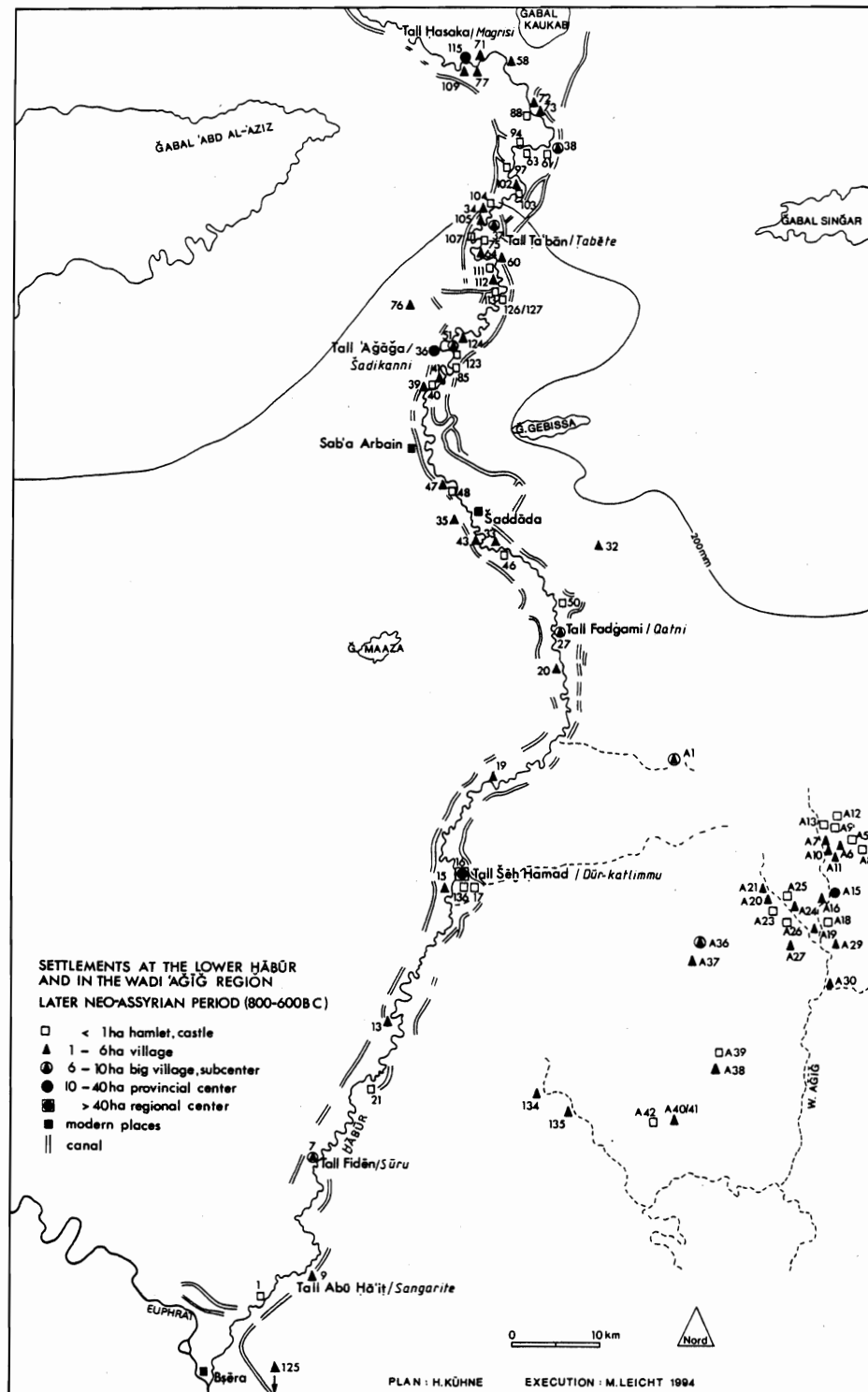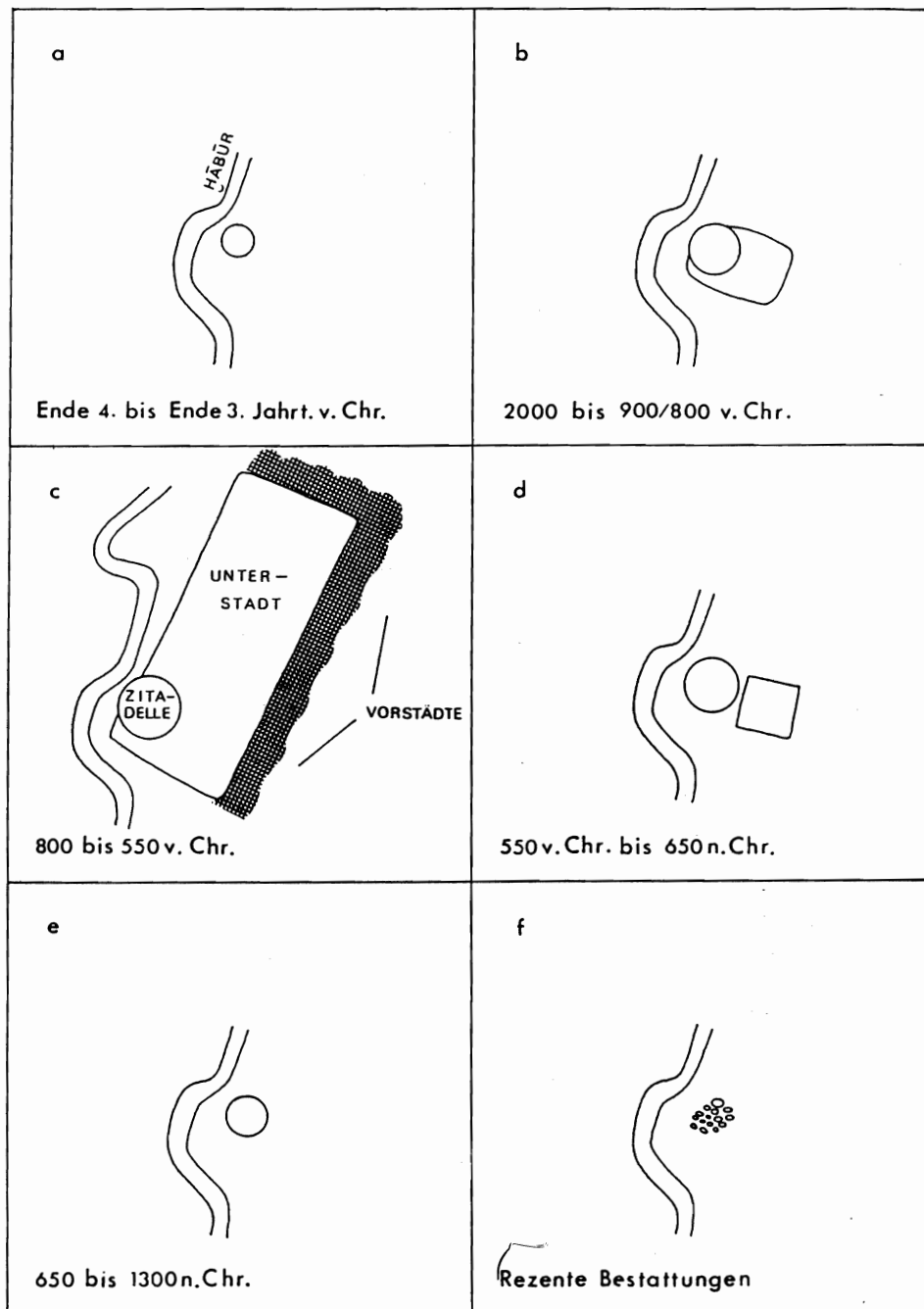Early neo-Assyrian period (1000-800 BC).

Fig. 6 - Settlements at the lower Ḥabūr and in the Wādī ᶜAǧīǧ region.
Late neo-Assyrian period (800-600 BC).

a — Ende 4. bis Ende 3. Jahrt. v. Chr.

b — 2000 bis 900/800 v. Chr.

c — UNTER-STADT / ZITA-DELLE / VORSTÄDTE — 800 bis 550 v. Chr.

d — 550 v. Chr. bis 650 n. Chr.

e — 650 bis 1300 n. Chr.

f — Rezente Bestattungen

0 _____ 1000m

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT AT T. ŠĒḪ ḤAMAD

PLAN : H.KÜHNE   EXECUTION : M.LEICHT 1994

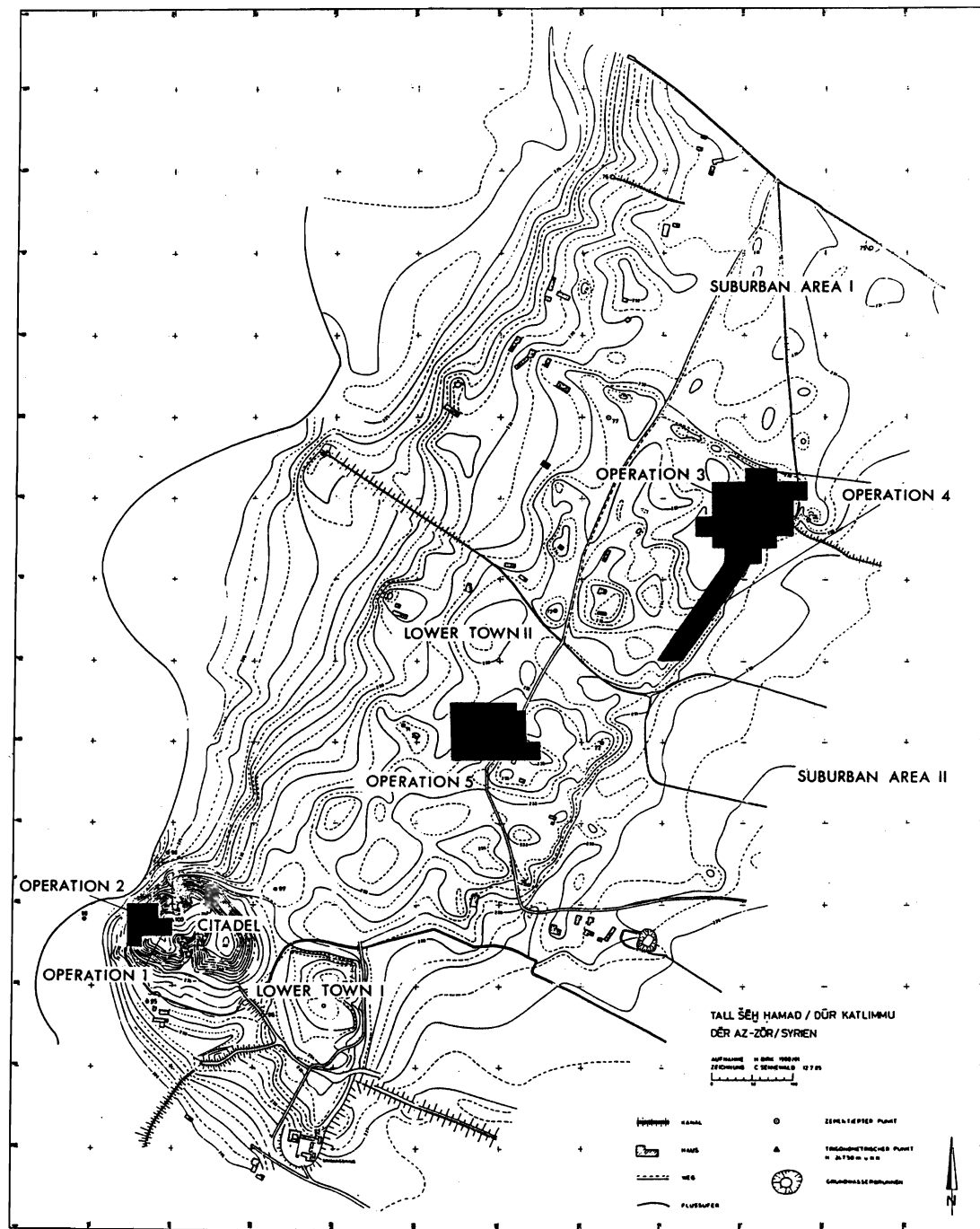Fig. 7 - The development of the settlement at Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad.

Fig. 8 - Topographical map of Tall Sēḫ Ḥamad with excavation areas: operation 1: steptrench on the western slope of the citadel; operation 2: middle-Assyrian palace; operation 3: Northeastern corner of the lower town II. Neo-Assyrian palace and surrounding buildings; operation 4: northern and eastern town wall of the lower town II; operation 5: central part of the lower town II. Neo-Assyrian residential houses.
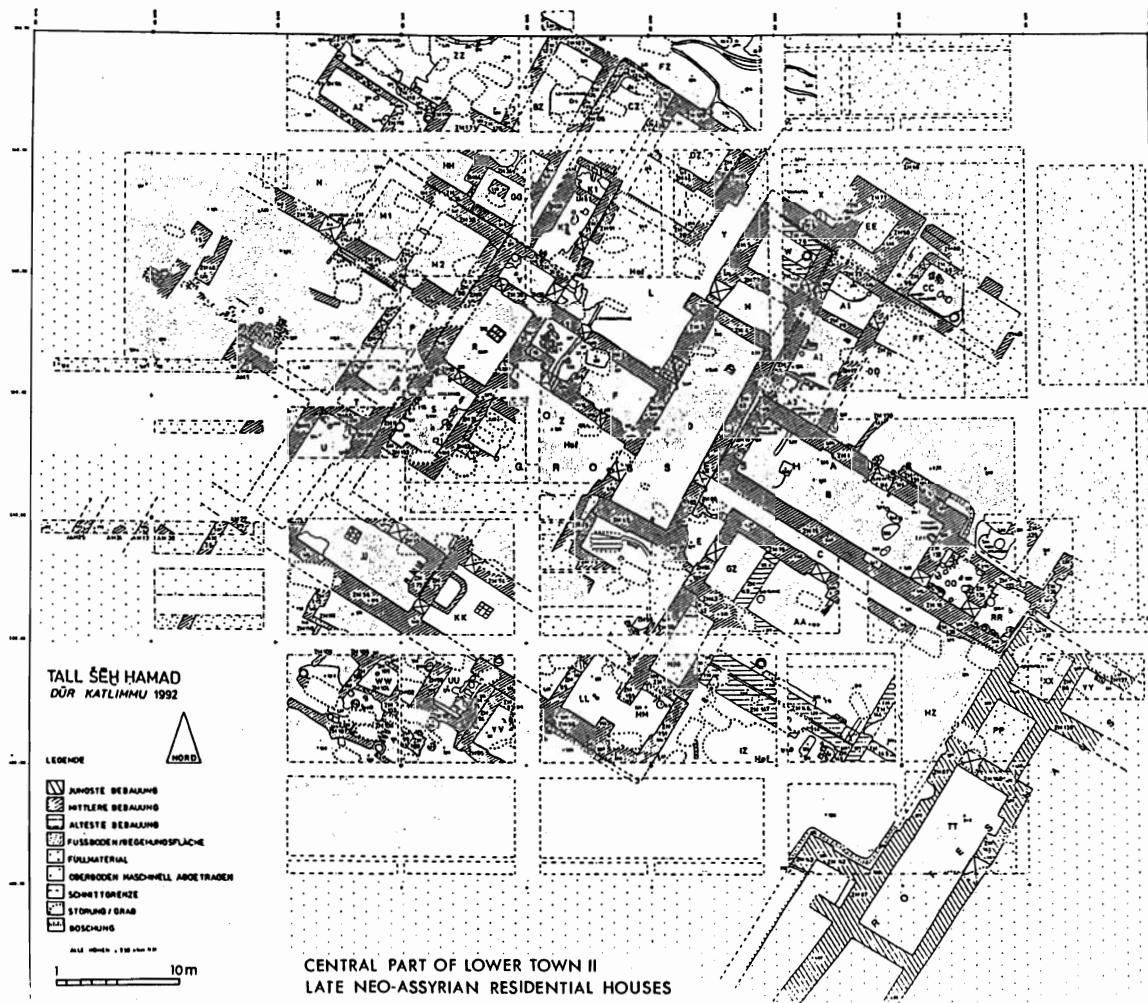
Fig. 9 - Plan of buildings in the northeast corner of the lower town II of Tall Sēḫ Ḥamad:
late neo-Assyrian palace and surrounding buildings.

Fig. 10 - Plan of buildings in the central part of the lower town II of Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad:
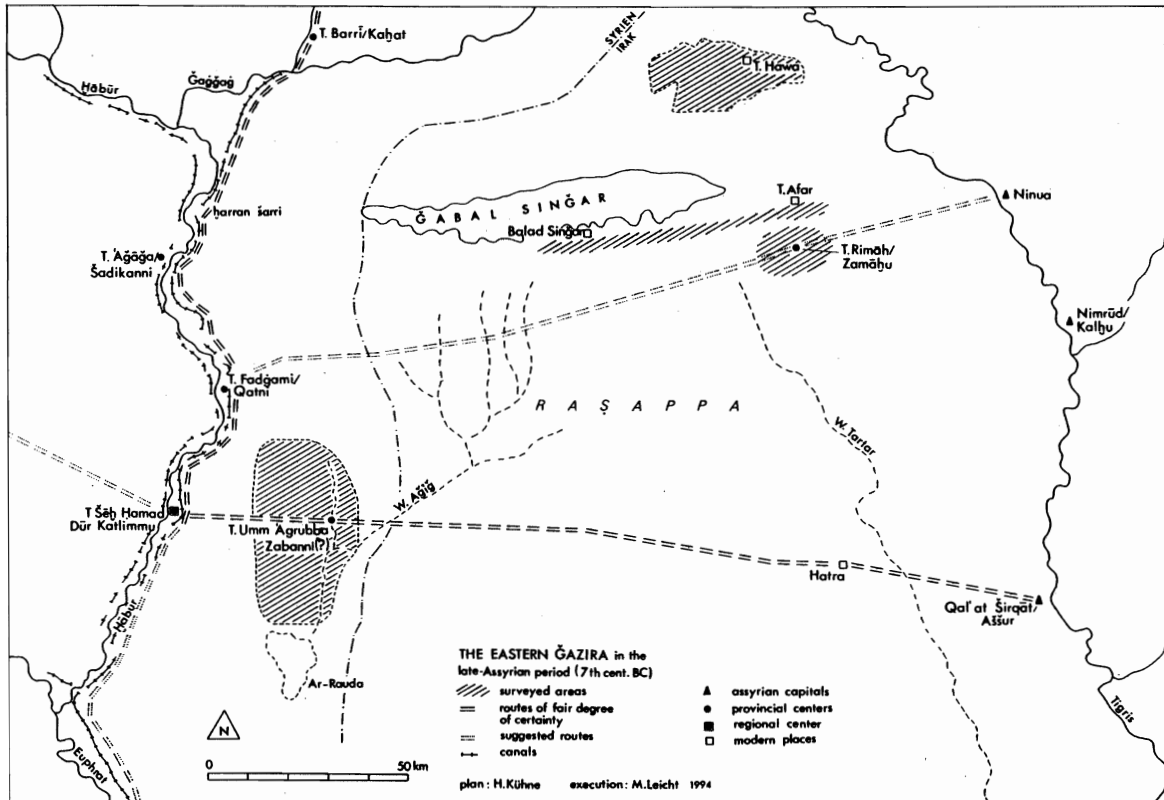late neo-Assyrian residential houses.

Fig. 11 - The eastern Gazīra in the late neo-Assyrian period (7th cent. BC).