

Schriften der
MAX FREIHERR VON OPPENHEIM-STIFTUNG

18

Herausgegeben von
Wolfgang Röllig

2013

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

100 Jahre archäologische Feldforschungen in Nordost-Syrien – eine Bilanz

Internationales Symposium
des Instituts für Vorderasiatische Archäologie
der Freien Universität Berlin
und des Vorderasiatischen Museums der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
vom 21. Juli bis 23. Juli 2011 im Pergamonmuseum

Für das Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie
der Freien Universität Berlin
und das Vorderasiatische Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin

herausgegeben von
Dominik Bonatz und Lutz Martin

2013

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Benutzungshinweise / Note on conventions	VII
Vorwort	IX
Preface	XI
Joan OATES	
Archaeological Research in Northeastern Syria:	
The First 100 Years (1850–1950)	1
Abdel Masih BAGHDO	
Les fouilles actuelles dans le nord-est de la Syrie – Al-Hassake	17
Samer Abdel GHAFOUR	
From Tell Halaf to Aleppo – The Tell Halaf Collection	
in the Aleppo National Museum.	21
Peter M.M.G. AKKERMANS	
Tell Sabi Abyad, or the Ruins of the White Boy:	
A Short History of Research into the Late Neolithic of Northern Syria	29
Jörg BECKER	
Tell Halaf – Die prähistorischen Schichten – Neue Einblicke	45
Augusta McMAHON	
Tell Brak: Early Northern Mesopotamian Urbanism, Economic Complexity	
and Social Stress, fifth–fourth millennia BC.	65
Dietrich SÜRENHAGEN	
Die Hausinventare von Habuba Kabira-Süd und das Ende der Stadt	79
Harvey WEISS	
Tell Leilan and the Dynamics of Social and Environmental Forces across	
the Mesopotamian Dry-Farming Landscape	101
Jan-Waalte MEYER	
Stadtgründung, Stadtstruktur und Zentralität – Zur Stellung von Tell Chuera	
bei der Urbanisierung Nordostsyriens	117
Alexander PRUSS	
A Synopsis of the Euro-Syrian Excavations at Tell Beydar.....	133
Marilyn KELLY-BUCCELLATI	
Landscape and Spatial Organization:	
An Essay on Early Urban Settlement Patterns in Urkeš	149
Hirotoshi NUMOTO, Daisuke SHIBATA, and Shigeo YAMADA	
Excavations at Tell Taban: Continuity and Transition in Local Traditions	
at Tābatum/Tābetu during the second Millennium BC	167
Oskar KAELIN	
Tell al-Hamidiyah/Ta’idu? – Residenzstadt des Mitanni-Reiches	181
Raffaella PIEROBON BENOIT	
Tell Barri: recherches 2006–2010	193

Dominik BONATZ

Tell Fekheriye – Renewed Excavations at the “Head of the Spring” 209

Hartmut KÜHNETell Sheikh Hamad – The Assyrian-Aramaean Centre
of Dür-Katlimmu/Magdalu 235**Mirko NOVÁK**

Gözān and Güzāna – Anatolians, Aramaeans, and Assyrians in Tell Halaf 259

Bibliografie 281

Autorenverzeichnis 309

Skizze der Referenzgrabungsorte 311

Tell Sheikh Hamad

The Assyrian-Aramaean Centre of Dūr-Katlimmu/Magdalu

Hartmut Kühne

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Dieter and Elli Martin who met the challenge of creating a basic infrastructure during the early years of the expedition brilliantly. Their engagement, patience, ability to improvise, and humor will always be remembered.

Prolegomena

The Research Project

Sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) since 1978, the ‘Excavation of Tell Sheikh Hamad’ is a long-term project based at the Freie Universität Berlin and has been under my supervision since 1980.¹ Wolfgang Röllig, Eberhard-Karls Universität Tübingen, and Asa‘d Mahmoud, Museum Deir ez-Zor, representing the partner institutions, have been co-directors and friends from the beginning and remain so. Starting in 1978, 32 seasons of excavations² have been conducted up to 2010.

Selection of the Site

Three main reasons were decisive for the selection of this site for excavation in 1977/1978:

- the virgin state of archaeological research on the region;
- its extraordinary geographical and environmental position;
- the challenge of the historical geography of the second and first millennia BC.

1 *Responsible Body*: Freie Universität Berlin; *Partner Institutions*: Universität Tübingen, Museum Deir ez-Zor (Syria). *Funding*: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Freie Universität Berlin, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, industrial and private private sponsors.

Director: Prof. Dr. Hartmut Kühne; *Co-Directors*: Prof. em. Dr. Wolfgang Röllig, Tübingen; Asa‘d Mahmoud M.A., DGAM.

Present Staff: Dr. F. Janoscha Kreppner, Jens Rohde M.A., Anja Fügert M.A., Arne Weiser, Anja Kaeselitz, Jessica Mahler, Tobias Schmidt, Kathrin Schmitt, Ernestine Weekend, Julius Bussilliat, Kornelia Kasperkiewicz. *Freelance Staff*: Dr. Marina Pucci, Dipl. Ing. Jochen Schmid, Wassim Alrez M.A., Jörg Lemke, Dr. Andreas Oettel, Benjamin Wehry M.A., Dr. Anja Hellmuth, Rainer Gerisch Dipl.biol.

Cooperating Scholars: Prof. Dr. Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum (Assyriology, Berlin), Prof. Dr. Karen Radner (Assyriology, London), Prof. Dr. Michael Schultz (Palaeopathology, Göttingen), Dr. Heide Hornig (Physical Anthropology, Berlin), Cornelius Meyer, Dipl. rer.nat. (Geophysical Prospection, Eastern Atlas, Berlin), Prof. Dr. Izumi Nakai (Chemistry, Tokyo).

Homepage: <http://www.schechhamad.de>

2 These include study seasons that have mostly run parallel to field work.



Fig. 1 Fragmentary Stele of Adad-nirari III³ (Photo: Curtis/Reade 1995: Fig. 10).

The immediate prompt, however, was the discovery of Middle Assyrian cuneiform tablets on the surface of the western slope of the tell during the second visit to the site in 1977 as part of the Lower Khabur Survey, under the auspices of the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.⁴ Before beginning any excavation, the preliminary reading of these tablets suggested that the site should be identified with the Assyrian city of Dür-Katlimmu, which was known from published Assyrian cuneiform sources but had been localized elsewhere.⁵

Research Aims

Focusing on the periods of the Assyrian State and Empire, e.g. from 1350 to about 600 BC, the research aims were embedded in two dimensions, local and regional.

The local aims of the excavation of Tell Sheikh Hamad and the exploration of its vicinity concerned:

- the identification of the site with historical places;
- the history and development of the settlement;
- change of function through time;
- urban structure;
- subsistence and socioeconomic structure;
- rural space and the economy of the hinterland;
- administration at both levels, i.e. local/regional as well as state/empire;
- material culture.

Regional aims for the Lower Khabur valley concerned:

- the historical geography of the second and first millennium BC;
- regional development of settlement;
- paleo-environmental development;
- study of systemic effects on landscape and society.

To meet these aims, the archaeological field activities were expanded and eventually framed under the heading of the ‘The Lower Khabur Archaeological Project’, which has comprised:

3 The site had been explored by Hormuzd Rassam in 1879 in a two-week sounding, about which no documentation is preserved; however it seems certain that during the course of this activity the broken upper part of a stele of Adad-nirārī III was discovered, now in the British Museum (WA 131124); Millard/Tadmor 1973; Radner 2002: 15.

4 Kühne 1978–1979: 186–187.

5 Kühne 1974–1977: 255; Röllig 1978.

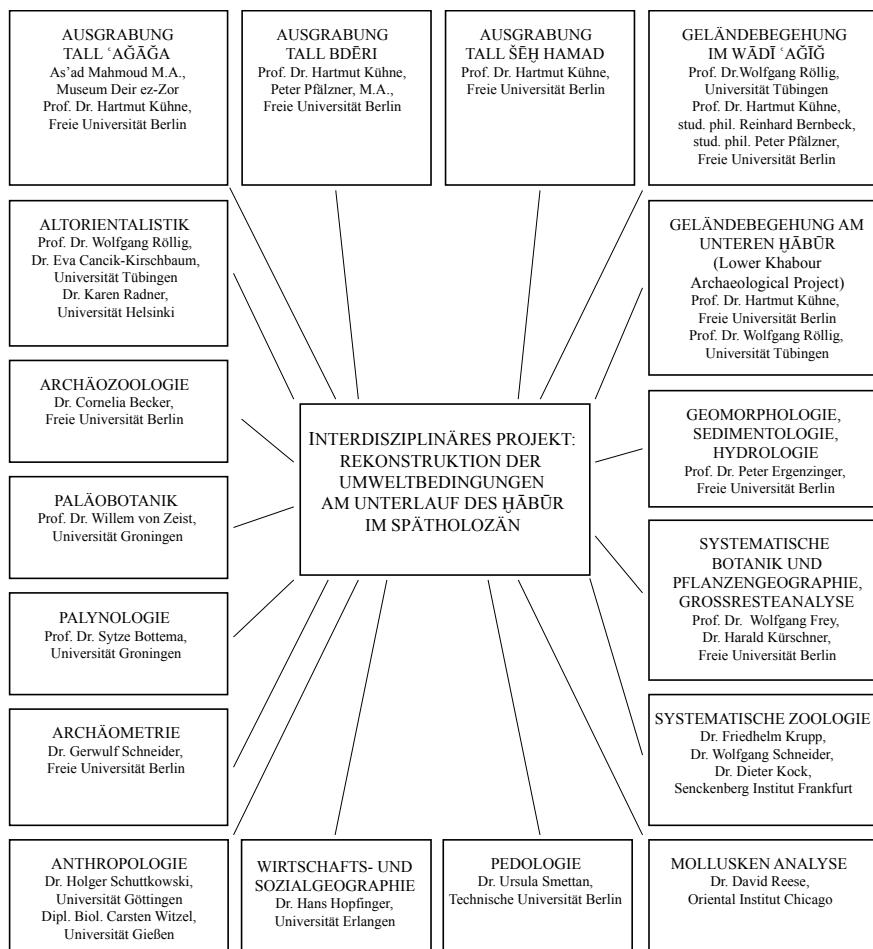


Fig. 2 Organigram of the Interdisciplinary Project for the Reconstruction of the Palaeo-Environment (© T. Şeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

- The Lower Khabur Survey (1975, 1977);⁶
- The Wadi Ajij Survey (1982–1983);⁷
- The Excavation of Tell Sheikh Hamad (ongoing since 1978);⁸
- The Excavation of Tell Ajaja (Syrian-headed joint mission, 1982–1990);⁹

6 Kühne 1974–1977; Kühne 1978–1979; Kühne/Röllig 1977–1978; Kühne/Röllig 1983.

7 Bernbeck 1994.

8 Kühne 1991–2010; note that every volume contains a “Zentrale Bibliographie” (a full bibliography), which can also be viewed at: <http://www.schechhamad.de/veroeffentlichungen/bibliographie.php>.

9 Mahmoud 2008; Bernbeck *et al.* 1988; Mahmoud/Kühne 1993–1994.

- The Excavation of Tell Bderi (in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute Damascus, 1985-1995);¹⁰
- The Excavation of Tell Dgherat South (in cooperation with the German Archaeological Institute Berlin, 2000-2003).¹¹

Within this framework an interdisciplinary project concerned with the ‘Reconstruction of the Environment of the Lower Khabur in the Late Holocene’ (Fig. 2), sponsored by the Freie Universität Berlin, was launched in 1982 and continued until 1995. In fourteen disciplines, the present environment of the region was studied and confronted with the reconstruction of the palaeo-environment as derived from ancient samples of archaeological excavations.¹² The results of these investigations have been published in two volumes¹³ but further studies are still in progress.

The Site

Geographical and environmental situation

Tell Sheikh Hamad is situated 70 km northeast of Deir ez-Zor on the east bank of the Khabur river (see map on p. 311) and about 80 km south of the modern dry-farming belt. This unfavorable environmental position raised immediate queries concerning the palaeo-environment of the ancient settlement, which came to be of crucial relevance for the research as a whole. The first hypotheses – that the mean annual rainfall might have been higher during Assyrian times – were not supported by palynological,¹⁴ palaeobotanical,¹⁵ and archaeozoological¹⁶ data; the evidence rather suggested that the present degradation was the outcome of continuous anthropogenic interference in the ecosystem over millennia.¹⁷

Topography and main sections of excavation (Fig. 3)

The ancient settlement site lies on a spur of the river terrace that extends southwest into the river alluvium between the mouths of two wadis, Wadi Sa’ib Hamad and Wadi Gharibe. It is divided into five parts: enclosed within a city wall of nearly 4 km in length are the Citadel (tell) mounted on a natural hill in the southwest corner, Lower Town I to the south and east of it, and Lower Town II to the northeast; outside the wall lie Suburban Area I in the north, and Suburban Area II in the east.

10 Pfälzner 1988; Pfälzner 1989–1990; Pfälzner 1995, 2001, 2008a; Maul 1992; Maul 2005.

11 Oettel 2003.

12 Kühne 2008b:VII.

13 Kühne 1991; Kühne 2008.

14 Gremmen/Bottema 1991.

15 Frey/Kürschner 1991; Kürschner 2008; Van Zeist 2008.

16 Becker 2008.

17 Kühne 2008b.

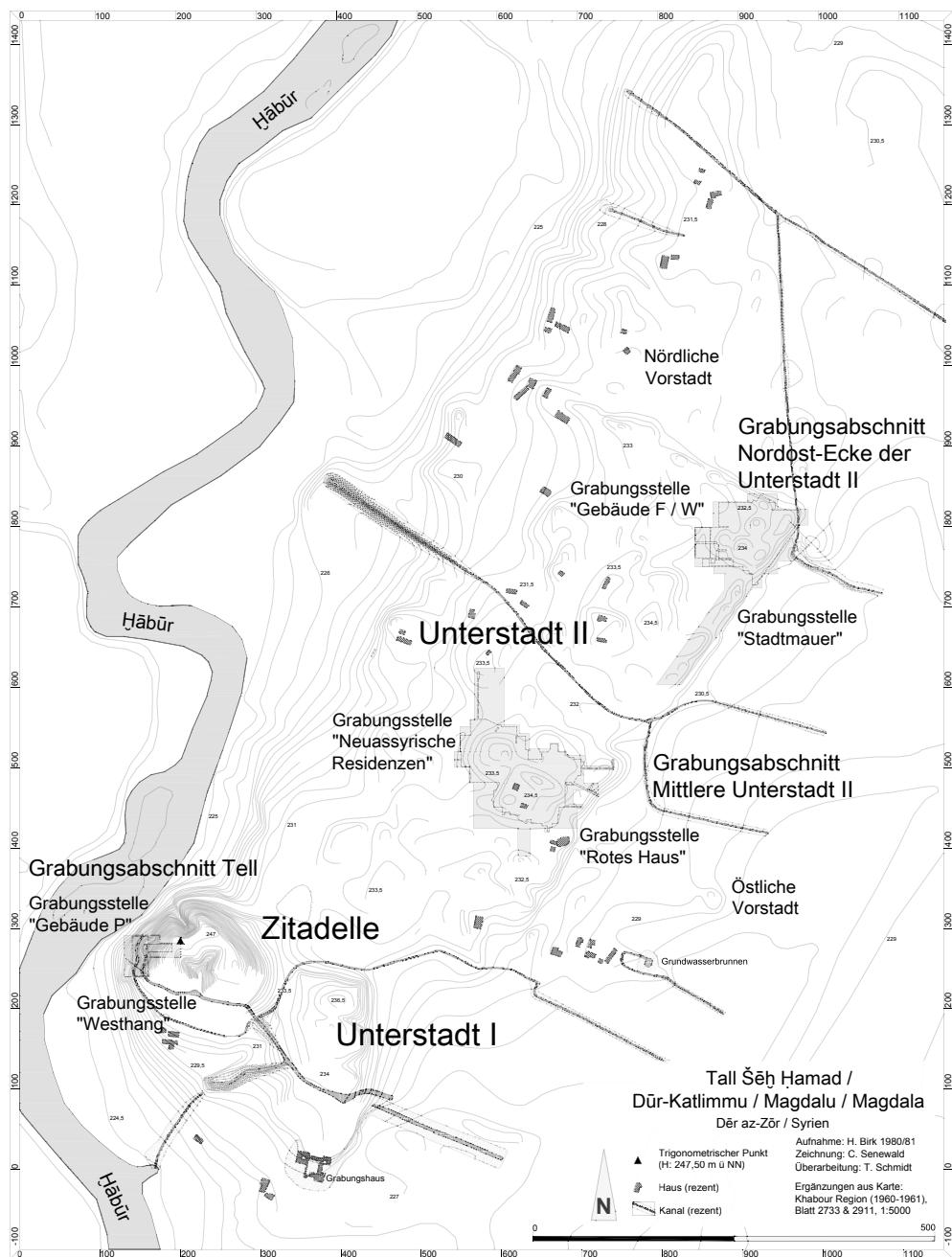


Fig. 3 Tell Sheikh Hamad topographic map and areas of operation (© T. Şeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

Excavations were conducted in three main sections of the site:

- Operations 1 & 2: located on the western slope of the tell / Citadel,
- Operations 3 & 4: located in the northeast corner of Lower Town II,
- Operations 5 & 6: located in the centre of Lower Town II.

History of settlements¹⁸ (Fig. 4)

On the basis of pottery collected from the surface, the earliest occupation of Tell Sheikh Hamad belongs to the Late Uruk Period (3300–3000 BC). The settlement was concentrated on the citadel and seems to have been rather small. It probably remained on this scale throughout the Early Bronze Age (3000–2000 BC).¹⁹ At some point within the first quarter of the second millennium, the settlement site was enlarged by the foundation of Lower Town I, and so covered some 12 ha.²⁰ This arrangement was continued by the Middle Assyrians. There is no reliable information available about a town wall or any limitation of the settlement in either the Middle or Late Bronze Age.

During the tenth and ninth centuries BC, the city of Dür-Katlimmu was enlarged by the foundation of Lower Town II.²¹ The total intramural area then covered a minimum of 40 and a maximum of 52 ha.²² The original new urban occupation of the ninth century BC was restructured completely during the first quarter of the eighth century; this new architectural layout then continued to provide the master plan for Lower Town II during the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian Empires (c. 775–539 BC). At the beginning of the Achaemenid period the city shrank back to its second millennium extent and remained this size throughout the Hellenistic and Parthian/Roman Empires (539 BC–c. 300 AD). During the early Byzantine era (c. 500 AD) it was abandoned.²³

In recent Islamic times, i. e. during the Ottoman Empire, the site belonged to the territory of nomadic Bedouin tribes²⁴ (Shammar, Djubur, Agidat). Only since the 1960s have these tribes become sedentary; the region of the Lower Khabur was permanently resettled by the Agidat and Djubur.

Ancient names of the site

The identification of Tell Sheikh Hamad with the Assyrian city of Dür-Katlimmu (*Dür* = tower / fortress, of “Katlimmu”) was confirmed by the Middle Assyrian archive of Aššur-iddin (see below). It seems certain that the Assyrian name of the city is a misinterpretation of

18 Kühne 2006–2008: 544–546

19 Ninevite V and Metallic Ware have been found in the excavation on the western slope of the tell/Citadel in a relocated context.

20 This is a revised figure according to the geophysical prospection; former estimates had ranged around 20 ha.

21 In earlier publications this event was dated to the eighth century, but has had to be revised on the basis of excavation results since 2003.

22 This is a revised figure according to the geophysical prospection; former estimates had ranged around 60 ha.

23 In earlier publications an Islamic occupation was considered, but it now turns out not to have existed.

24 Göyünc/Hütteroth 1997.

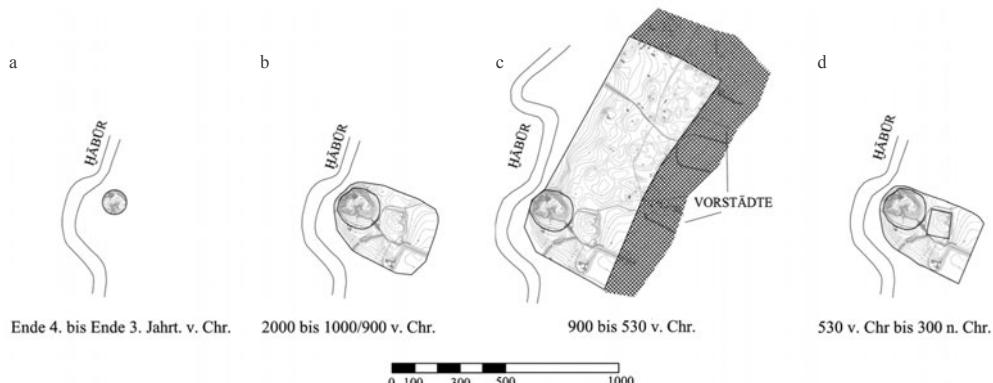


Fig. 4 Tell Sheikh Hamad: development of settlement (© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

the name of the town of Dūr-(personal name) Igitlim of the Mari texts²⁵ with which the site of Tell Sheikh Hamad should thus also be identified, but local evidence for this is lacking so far. Most probably the foundation of Dūr-Katlimmu should be attributed to King Adad-nīrārī I²⁶ (1295–1264 BC).²⁷

During the seventh century BC the local texts from Tell Sheikh Hamad/Dūr-Katlimmu indicate that the Assyrian name of the city was complemented by an Aramaean one: Magdalu (tower / fortress).²⁸ This name was carried on in the variation of “Magdala” during the Parthian-Roman period. In total, the modern site of Tell Sheikh Hamad has been identified with ancient place names that cover a time-span of two millennia from the 18th century BC to the third century AD. At what point the site received its present name, which commemorates one of the sons of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧailāni (1077–1166 AD), is unclear.²⁹

Excavation on the tell/Citadel: operations 1 and 2 (Fig. 3)

The aims of operations 1 and 2 (1978–1984, 1987–88) were:

- the establishment of a sequence of settlements,
- recovery of cuneiform tablets,
- excavation of part of the Middle Assyrian occupation.

25 Postgate 1974: 235; Röllig 1978; Durand 2010.

26 As opposed to Kühne 2006–2008: 546; Radner 2002:15.

27 The absolute dates of the Middle Assyrian kings down to Aššur-dān I are quoted according to Boese/Wilhelm 1979: 19–38.

28 Kühne/Luther 2005; Radner 2006–2008.

29 Novak 2005: 355.

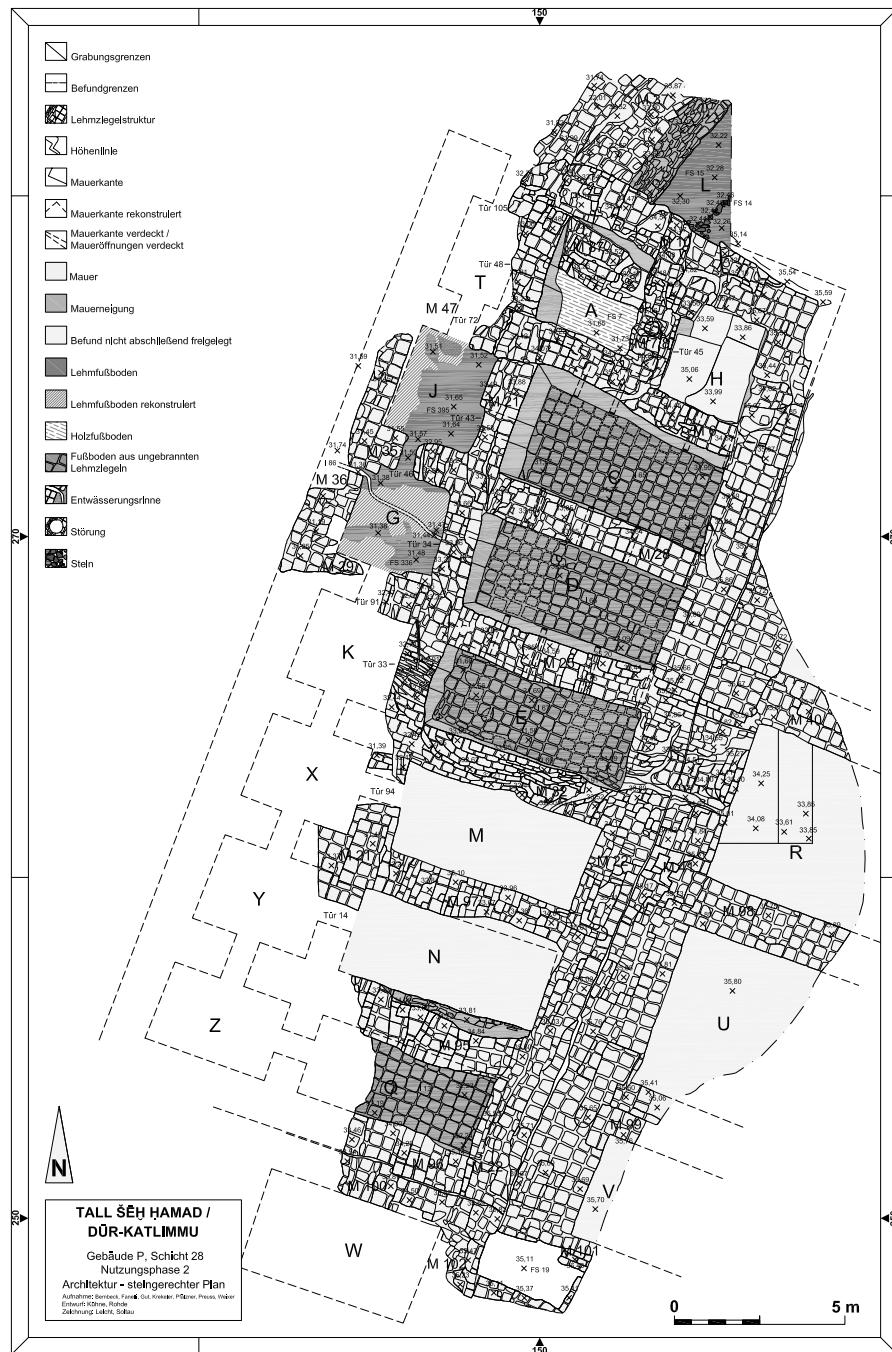


Fig. 5 Plan of Building P, western slope of the Citadel. Kühne in preparation, BATSH 12 (© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).



Fig. 6 Middle Assyrian tablets in ashy earth layer as excavated in Room A.
(© T. Šēh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

Operation 1 consisted of a 10 m wide step trench across the western slope of the mound from the top to about half way down the slope. A sequence of 28 occupation layers was encountered, which date from the third century AD to the 13th century BC.³⁰

In operation 2, remains of the Middle Assyrian Building P (palace) of layer 28 were excavated over an area of 800 m² (Fig. 5). Room A of the fragmentary ground plan stands out for the discovery of the Middle Assyrian archive of the grand vizier (*sukallu rabi'u*) Aššur-iddin³¹ consisting of 668 registered items (Fig. 6).³² The texts are dated by eponyms to the beginning of the reign of King Salmanu-ašared I (1263–1234 BC) down to the end of the reign of his son and successor, King Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233–1197 BC),³³ e.g., from about 1260 to 1204 BC.³⁴ It is of particular interest that the cuneiform tablets featured the impressions of the personal seals of both kings.³⁵

30 Kühne 2006–2008: 550; Kühne 2005b.

31 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996.

32 Out of these 459 pieces were studied and 360 have been or will be published; Röllig 2008:1 mentions 570 pieces which has to be corrected.

33 Röllig 2008: 3.

34 Most recently: Reculeau 2011: 171–172.

35 Kühne/Röllig 1989; Kühne 1997.

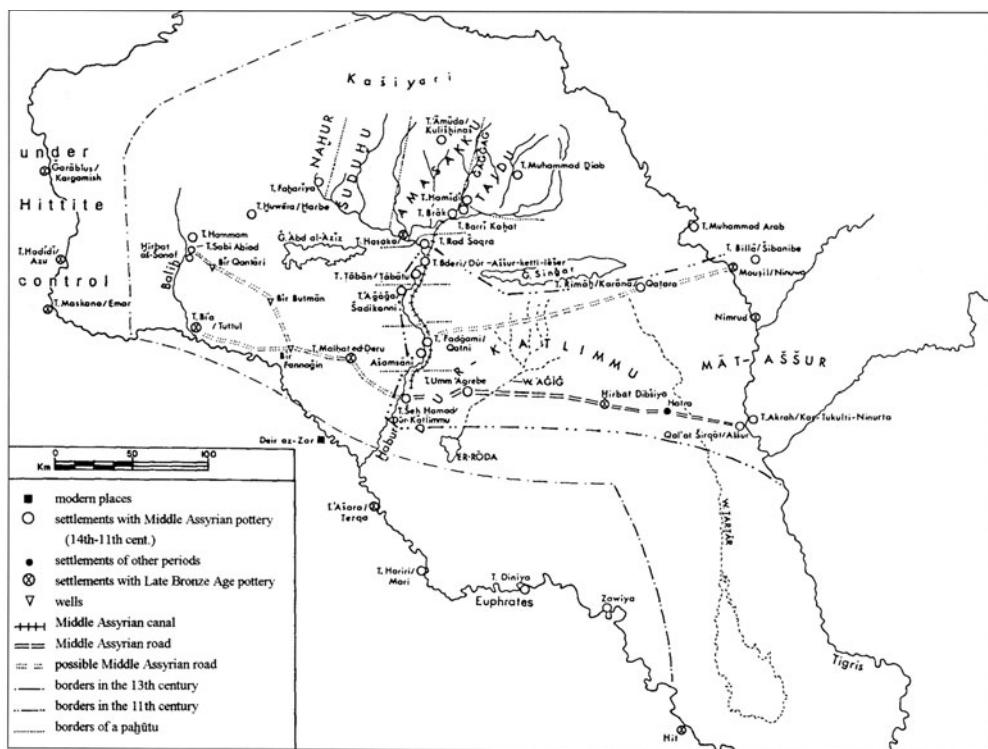


Fig. 7 Extent of the Middle Assyrian State (© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

Function and significance of Middle Assyrian Dūr-Katlimmu

According to the archive of the grand vizier Aššur-iddin, Dūr-Katlimmu was the administrative centre of a newly established district (*pahūtu*) and the seat of a governor (*bēl pāhete*); two office holders are known from the texts.³⁶ The district seems to have consisted of little more than the immediate surroundings of Dūr-Katlimmu.³⁷ However, beyond this provincial role, Dūr-Katlimmu functioned as a supra-regional centre alongside the capital Assur, as the seat of a grand vizier (*sukallu rabi'u*), a position for which two office holders are recorded in the Dūr-Katlimmu texts: Aššur-iddin and Salmānu-mušabši. The former is a descendant of a junior line descended from King Adad-nīrāri I (1295–1264 BC) and held the title “king of Hanigalbat” (*šar māt Hanigalbat*) like his father Qibi-Aššur;³⁸ it is for that reason that the label ‘capital’ of the western part of the Middle Assyrian state for Dūr-Katlimmu may be

36 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 19.

37 Kühne 2009a: 31–33.

38 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999.

justified.³⁹ This general importance of the site is reinforced by the fact that King Salmanu-ašared I constructed the Temple of Salmānu, the city god of Dūr-Katlimmu,⁴⁰ and integrated the name of this god into his throne name,⁴¹ a unique procedure! By this act he founded a tradition which was carried on by four more Assyrian kings until Salmanu-ašared V (726–722 BC), who was replaced by his brother Sargon II (721–705 BC). Thus, it may be said safely that Dūr-Katlimmu in the 13th century BC functioned as a center of political administration, development, and security in the western part of the state. Furthermore, the visit(s) of King Tukulti-Ninurta I to Dūr-Katlimmu, recorded in the local documents,⁴² may indicate that this city enjoyed a privileged royal status, perhaps similar to the function of a 'Königspfalz' in medieval Europe.

Advances in Results for Middle Assyrian historiography

The Middle Assyrian evidence from Dūr-Katlimmu made it possible for the first time to define the territory of the Middle Assyrian state correctly and fix its western extent during the 13th century BC (Fig. 7).⁴³ Covering a much larger territory than formerly claimed⁴⁴ this state functioned by means of territorial control with the help of an administrative apparatus that was based on newly defined districts and centers,⁴⁵ as is demonstrated by the correspondence between Aššur-iddin and Sîn-mudammeq.⁴⁶ The state's normative structure is mirrored in the material record, as can be traced in the standardized pottery.⁴⁷ On a local level, the study of the Middle Assyrian lists of agricultural yields and of animal husbandry⁴⁸ has provided new insights into the economy, administration, and subsistence⁴⁹ of this center. On the whole, it offers a significant addition to the political history, historical geography, and administrative structure of the Middle Assyrian state.⁵⁰

39 Kühne 2006–2008: 546.

40 Radner 1998; Radner 2002: 15.

41 Baker/Yamada 2002: 1071–1078.

42 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 16, 147–153.

43 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 34–36; Kühne 2000b: 279, Fig. 2.

44 The western territory of the Middle Assyrian state was mostly defined by the "Land of Hanigalbat," the extent of which was described by King Adad-nîrârî I (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 33, 2003: 43); in modern terms, this covered the land along the Turkish-Syrian border between Carchemish on the Euphrates and the Tur Abdin. The western Jazira south of this stretch of land and the Lower Khabur were usually not considered to be an integrated part of the Middle Assyrian state. The identification of Tell Sheikh Hamad with Dūr-Katlimmu and the excavation of Tell Sabi Abyad were proof of the contrary (as mapped by Postgate 1985: 97; Roaf 1998: 140); however, complementary to these maps, even the Jazira east of the Lower Khabur has to be included, because of the Middle Assyrian settlement/station of Tell Umm Aqrebe on the road from Dūr-Katlimmu to Assur (Pfälzner 1994).

45 Cancik-Kirschbaum 2003: 46–47

46 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 25–32; this is proof of the contrary to Liverani's "new paradigm" of a network work structure, Liverani 1988: 90–91.

47 Pfälzner 1995; Duistermaat 2008; Postgate 2010.

48 Röllig 2008.

49 Kühne 2008b.

50 Kühne 2000b; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2003: 45–51.



Fig. 8 Schematic plan of architectural complex of Northeast Corner of Lower Town II (Kühne in print Fig. 265; © T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

Excavation in Lower Town II: Operations 3–6 (Fig. 3)

In 1984/1985 a shift towards Lower Town II and thus to the Neo-Assyrian period was undertaken. The aim was to contribute to the study of the structure and function of Neo-Assyrian lower towns, which were considered to constitute the living quarters of the population. Lower Town II of Dür-Katlimmu seemed to be especially well suited for such an investigation because the archaeological data from the surface indicated a single-period occupation, i.e., Neo-Assyrian, with architectural remains directly underneath the surface. Therefore the archaeological methods of operations 3–6 were aligned to

large-scale excavations supported by heavy machinery,⁵¹ aerial photographs, geophysical survey, and satellite images.

Operations 3 and 4

Operations 3 and 4 were carried out in the Northeast Corner of Lower Town II between 1978 and 1990; the excavated area covers approximately 10,000 m². A section of the urban layout was exposed, featuring five separate buildings, open areas, the north east corner of the town wall, and a system for fresh water supply. In operation 3 the multifunctional palace-like Building F/W is the largest and most important, covering an area of 3768 m² and consisting of almost 50 rooms⁵² (Fig. 8). The Town Wall was the subject of investigation in operation 4; 60 m of the northern wall and 220 m of the eastern wall were traced and partly excavated (Fig. 9). It featured towers at regular distances of 18 m, an outlet in the eastern wall between towers 5E and 6E, and a city gate between towers 10E and 11E. The ensemble is to be dated to the eighth/seventh century BC.⁵³

Operations 5 and 6 (Fig. 10)

These operation fields are situated in the central Lower Town II (Fig. 3); excavation first started in 1984 and was pursued until 1987; it then had to be interrupted because of lack of capacity but was resumed from 1992 until 2008, which marked the end of the present excavation program. The excavated area of operations 5 and 6 covers some 12,000 m².⁵⁴



Fig. 9 The eastern town wall as seen from the north
(© T. Şeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

51 Kühne 2005a: 5.

52 It has not been completely excavated.

53 Kühne 2006–2008: 547–548.

54 Kühne 2006–2008: 548–551.

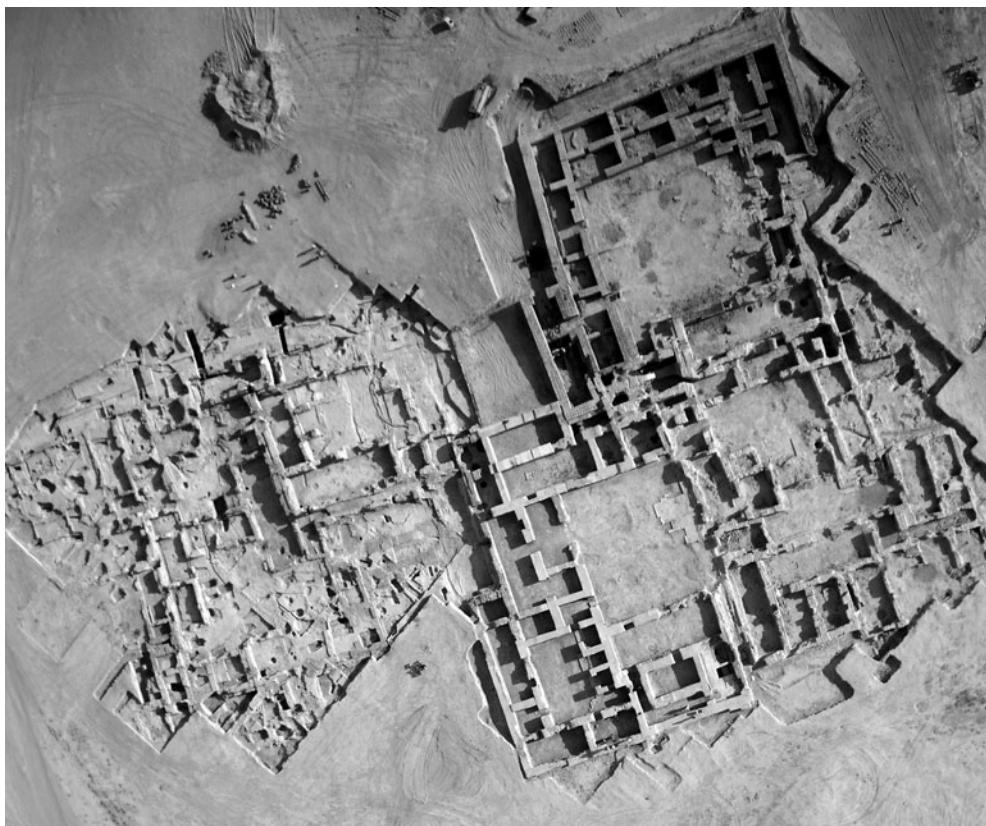


Fig. 10 Excavated area of operations 5 & 6, Neo-Assyrian Residences at left, Red House at right
(© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

The Neo-Assyrian Residences (Fig. 11)

Operation 5 consists of the Neo-Assyrian Residences, dating to the eighth/seventh century BC.⁵⁵ Four mansions, Houses 1–4, of different sizes, were fully excavated, occupying an area of 3500 m². Within the urban layout they form a block flanked by streets in the north and in the west and by open areas in the south and in the east. Furnished with bath rooms, kitchens, reception halls, and living rooms, it is clear that they have to be associated with upper-class housing in spite of their different sizes. In Houses 1 and 4, two almost equally large reception halls (17 × 5 m) are situated in a T-arrangement to each other; hall B of House 4 was decorated with wall paintings featuring geometric, floral, and figurative scenes with animals, plants, a row of ostriches, and a hut that was designated by a cuneiform inscription as “the garden house”; this depiction was comple-

55 Pucci 2009.

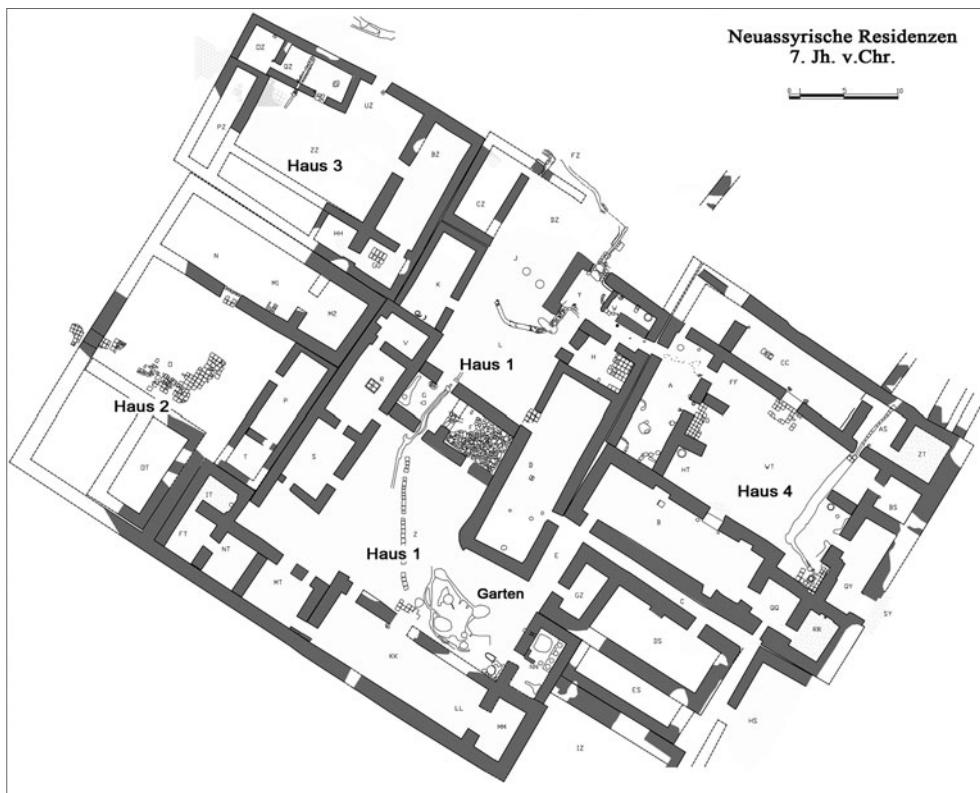


Fig. 11 Schematic Plan of Neo-Assyrian Residences (© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

mented by plant pits (and a well), which were excavated in the southern court of House 1 next to the decorated hall, and apparently mark the site of a small garden.⁵⁶ Only a very limited number of fragmentary cuneiform tablets were discovered in the rooms of Houses 1 and 3.⁵⁷

Earliest occupation

Underlying both the Neo-Assyrian Residences and the architectural complex of the North-East Corner is an earlier occupation level that was encountered in patches only. Consisting of two layers of mud brick at the most, its state of preservation is unfortunately very poor; in some cases, only the foundation pits were left, which had been cut into the bedrock. Evidently this earliest occupation founded on bedrock had been razed when the later build-

56 Kühne 1998: 287, Fig. 14–15; Kühne 2006.

57 Radner 2002: 36–41.

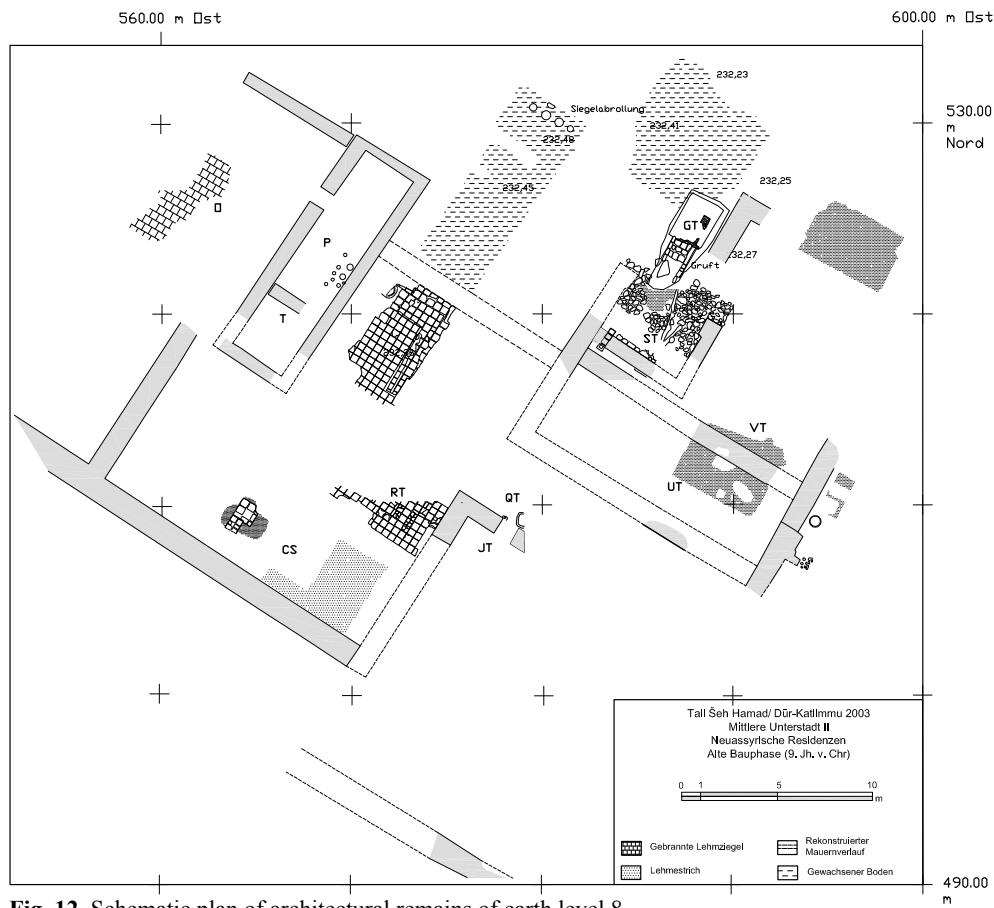


Fig. 12 Schematic plan of architectural remains of earth level 8
© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

ings were erected. The largest coherent architectural plan has been detected underneath the Neo-Assyrian Residences (Fig. 12). In one of five shallow cavities into bedrock below the floor of Room V of House 1 of the Neo-Assyrian Residences which had sealed the earlier occupation, a clay stopper was discovered which rendered a seal impression with an inscription reading: “Seal of Išme-ilu, eunuch of Nergal-ēreš.”⁵⁸ Nergal-ēreš is to be identified with the well known governor of the province of Rašappa, who is listed twice as eponym, in 803 and 775 BC.⁵⁹ The latter date therefore provides a *terminus ante quem* for the level in which the stopper was discovered and a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the Residences. Since there is no stratigraphic hiatus, the operation of razing and rebuilding may have been an initiative by Nergal-ēreš himself.

58 Kühne/Radner 2008: 28.

59 Radner 2002: 7; Akerman/Baker 2002: 981–982 (s.v. Pālil-ēreš).



Fig. 13 Geomagnetic plan, Town Canal, and tentative connection to Regional Canal
(© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin; courtesy Eastern Atlas GmbH).

The Town Canal

Contemporary with this “Pre-Residences level” is the Town Canal (Fig. 13). In the course of the geophysical prospection in 1999–2003, a broad anomaly had first become visible crossing the central Lower Town II from east to west over a distance of almost 360 m. Archaeological soundings in 2004 and 2006 suggested that this feature should be interpreted as a street flanking the northern front of the Residences. During the 2008 season devoted to stratigraphic studies, it was discovered in two trenches that the street had sealed a broad cavity which had to be interpreted as a canal that had been refilled;⁶⁰ this was reconfirmed in three more trenches in 2010. Since the street is without doubt associated with the earliest floor level of the Residences, the construction and utilization of the canal must be older, i.e., contemporary with the ‘Pre-Residences level’, which should be dated prior to 775 BC (see above).

With a width of 9 m at the top and nearly 6 m at the bottom, the dimensions of the Town Canal correspond to a canal discovered previously, the Regional Khabur Canal,⁶¹ which passes the city of Dūr-Katlimmu 2.4 km to the east, from which an off-take canal heads towards the city (Fig. 13). It does not need much imagination to connect this off-take canal virtually

60 Pucci 2010.

61 Ergenzinger/Kühne 1991.

with the town canal.⁶² Local Neo-Assyrian written evidence is scanty but in a very fragmentary text the title of a canal inspector (*gugallu*) is mentioned.⁶³ However, it is of particular interest that a local Middle Assyrian text refers to a “town moat.”⁶⁴ It is certainly tempting to associate this town moat with the town canal described above; if confirmed it would mean that the construction and utilization not only of the town canal but also of the regional canal, i.e., of the whole system, dates back in its initial stages to the 13th century BC!⁶⁵

Burials of the Neo-Assyrian period

A chamber tomb cut into the bedrock and accessible by a shaft represents the oldest stratigraphic evidence of the Lower Town II, because the earliest building level, the ‘Pre-Residences level’, is superimposed upon it; unfortunately it was robbed in antiquity.⁶⁶ Contemporary with the Neo-Assyrian Residences are two graves of common Neo-Assyrian type, but also a new type of burial which has been termed “corpse cremation burial.”⁶⁷ The archaeological record suggests a ceremonial procedure by which the dressed up dead was laid on a wooden bed in a large pit with the grave goods attached; after the sacrifice of some animals the whole arrangement was set on fire and left smoldering and smoking for some days before the pit was filled with earth.

The Red House (Fig. 14)

Covering an area of 5200 m² the Post-Assyrian “Red House” was fully excavated in operation 6; a living space of 3403 m² is partitioned into 85 rooms arranged around 5 court yards.⁶⁸ Reminiscent of the structure of a Neo-Assyrian palace, the building consists of three wings, which can be assigned to an administrative, stately, and residential function. In Rooms YV and WV of the northern wing of the building, the archive of Šulmu Šarri was discovered, consisting of 544 cuneiform and 83 Aramaic registered units.⁶⁹ The excavation context indicated that it had been deposited in jars that were stored in a room above room YV, from where it had broken down after the building had been abandoned by squatters, so that it fell down onto a secondary usage level. The most prominent owner of the archive, Šulmu Šarri, held the position of a confidant (*ša qurbuti*) at the court of king Assurbanipal (668–627 BC). His son, Nabû-naṣir, witnessed the dissolution of the empire.⁷⁰ However, most important was the discovery of four extraordinary cuneiform texts on the floor of

62 Kühne 2012.

63 Radner 2002: 40.

64 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 132.

65 Kühne 2012.

66 Kreppner 2008a: 264.

67 Kreppner 2008a: 265–268.

68 Kühne 2000a; Kreppner 2006.

69 Radner 2002: 225–231; the Aramaic ‘dockets’ are prepared for publication by W. Röllig.

70 Radner 2002: 17; the archive also contained the oldest Neo-Assyrian document excavated so far, see below.

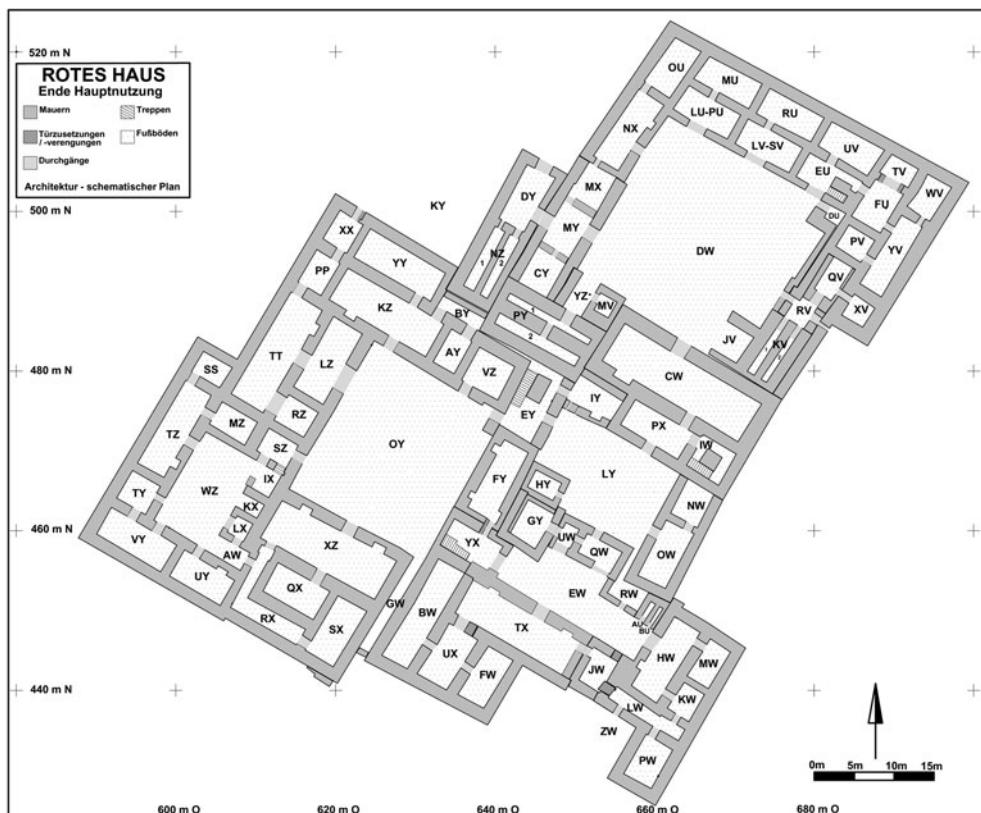


Fig. 14 Schematic plan of the Red House (© T. Šeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

the main usage phase of Room XX, dating to the years 2/3 and 5 of Nebuchadnezzar II (603/602, 600 BC) but written in the Assyrian language by an Assyrian scribe.⁷¹ It is therefore most likely that the main usage level of the Red House dates to the period after the Assyrian core region had disintegrated, while life in Dūr-Katlimmu apparently went on unchanged.⁷²

Function and significance of Neo-Assyrian Dūr-Katlimmu

The Lower Town II occupation is amended by an unfinished investigation on the western slope of the citadel;⁷³ due to lack of capacity, levels of the Neo-Assyrian period have not yet been excavated. However, the sections have revealed visible brick-paved floors of the court-

71 Kühne 1993; Radner 2002:16–19, 61–69.

72 Kreppner 2006: 9, 127–128; Kreppner 2008b; Kreppner 2008c.

73 Kühne 2006–2008: 550.



Fig. 15 Two fragments of an orthostat and reconstruction of the scene
(© T. Şeh Hamad Archive, Berlin).

yards of large buildings above the Middle Assyrian Building P, which leaves no doubt that a Neo-Assyrian palace existed.⁷⁴ The cuneiform evidence records two temples.⁷⁵ The significance of Dür-Katlimmu in the ninth century is demonstrated by a fragmentary orthostat (Fig. 15) which was discovered just below the surface of the southern slope of the tell. It depicts a eunuch wearing weapons, which suggests that the king should be reconstructed in front of him, the tassel of the king's gown is still preserved.⁷⁶ The presence of the seated king in a ceremonial act in Dür-Katlimmu seems again to indicate that the city had a privileged royal status (see above).

74 Kühne 2005b: Beilage 3.

75 Radner 2002:14–16.

76 Kühne 1998: 300, Fig. 9; Kühne 2005: Abb. 26.

Almost certainly this function was modified or even changed concomitantly with the ‘new urban paradigm’ of the eighth century BC. Dūr-Katlimmu now became a strategically important royal centre within the home provinces⁷⁷ of the emerging empire, and at the same time the center of an enlarged settlement system that now included the administration of the Wadi Ajij settlements, which formed its hinterland.⁷⁸ This double role is mirrored in the ranks of office-holders and offices that are recorded in the Šulmu Šarri archive: of central royal function were the *ša qurbuti*, confidant of the king, the garrison with the position of a *rab muggi*, a “military governor”, the elite cavalry troops, and the branch of the Assyrian intelligence service.⁷⁹ The provincial offices are not as well documented but would consist of the governor, *bēl pahēte*, and his consorts. They all needed housing befitting their rank and status, which was provided by the ‘new urban paradigm’ of the Lower Town II of Dūr-Katlimmu. As mirrored by the archaeological record, it provided mansions, residences, gardens, and a generous urban planning, but has so far failed to reveal any area of housing for less well-to-do people.

Concerning the role of the Aramaeans in the region⁸⁰ it should be emphasized that Dūr-Katlimmu is proof of long-term profitable and peaceful interaction between the two ethnic elements dating back to the ninth century; this is attested by a cuneiform tablet of the *līmu*-date 828 BC which has been amended by an inked Aramaic epigraph.⁸¹ That Aramaic script is being used in the local administration at the time of King Salmānu-ašared III (858-824 BC) implies a well established social integration of the Aramaeans at Dūr-Katlimmu at this early period of the Neo-Assyrian state.

Advances in Results for Neo-Assyrian historiography

The city of Dūr-Katlimmu may serve as a paradigm for a provincial center of the Assyrian homeland within the empire, because it is “the most extensively documented.”⁸² It offers more than superficial understanding of the organization and functioning of this pristine new superpower, because it shifts the traditional focus on capitals to the conditions of provincial life in the homeland, which was the backbone of the Neo-Assyrian empire.⁸³ The limited economic potential⁸⁴ of its unfavorable ecological location was compensated by the Regional Canal, which maximized agricultural output, transport, and, in conjunction with the “royal road” (*harren šarri*), the means of communication. In addition, the enlarged settlement system guaranteed the subsistence of the increased population and even generated a surplus to support the elites and the garrison troops. Guarded by royal officials and intelligence services, the local (and regional) population was organized and ruled by clearly defined administrative

77 Postgate 1995.

78 Kühne 2010.

79 Radner 2002.

80 Kühne 2009b.

81 Radner 2002: 157.

82 Akkermans/Schwartz 2003: 379.

83 Kühne 1994; H. Kühne 1995; Kühne 2009b.

84 Radner 2000.

units, officials, and responsibilities that reflect a social hierarchy. It appears that social and economic life was regulated by the state to the extent that any attempt to get away from it would have been doomed to failure.⁸⁵

Furthermore, the excavation of the Red House is the most reliable archaeological evidence for the period after the collapse of the Assyrian Empire in Upper Mesopotamia. It demonstrates that life in the provincial centers of the former homeland – at least in the case of Dür-Katlimmu – continued almost unchanged even under the same Assyrian elites, who were now subject to the Babylonian king, while the former metropolitan Assyrian capitals lay devastated and abandoned, with the exception of Assur.⁸⁶ This is bound to produce lasting changes in the historiographic view of the collapse of the empire and its aftermath.⁸⁷

Summary: The occupation sequence of Lower Town II (Tab. 1)

After years of intensive archaeological investigations in the Lower Town II of Tell Sheikh Hamad, it appears that the anticipated “single-period occupation” of Neo-Assyrian times (see above) needs more nuance. The evolving chronological chart⁸⁸ (Tab. 1) demonstrates a continuous occupation from the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian period, i.e. from Neo-Assyrian I, onwards.

- Earth phase 9: The oldest utilization of the terrain of Lower Town II is represented by the shaft tomb dating to the ninth or even tenth century BC.
- Earth phase 8: Consisting of remains of dismantled buildings (Fig. 12) and of the Town Canal (Fig. 13), this phase represents the earliest full development of Lower Town II, including a town wall; it is to be dated to the ninth (cf. n. 80) and beginning eighth centuries by the *terminus ante quem* of the governor Nergal-ēreš.
- Earth phase 7: The architectural ‘master plan’ that followed the occupation of earth-phase 8 consisted of luxurious residences and multi-functional palace-like buildings, workshops, public areas, streets, and gardens (Figs. 8, 11). As the second full occupation of the Lower Town II of the eighth and seventh century BC, it represents a new urban paradigm and at the same time the climax of the urban development of the city of Dür-Katlimmu (Fig. 4c).
- Earth phase 6: The third full occupation of Lower Town II is contemporary with the period after the collapse of the Assyrian Empire, i.e. the Late Babylonian Empire; it is represented by the Red House (Fig. 14) and the partial re-use of buildings in both, the Neo-Assyrian Residences and the Northeast Corner. The Red House was partly destroyed in a fire which may have been contemporary with the end of the Babylonian hegemony, i.e., 539 BC.
- Earth phase 5: Several phases of isolated squatter occupation are recorded, demonstrating that Lower Town II had been abandoned. This occupation level is dated by Aramaic in-

85 Postgate 1992.

86 Kühne 2002, 2011.

87 Dalley 2005.

88 Kühne 2006–2008:550.

Tab. 1 Chronological table of the excavated settlement sequence at Tell Sheikh Hamad.

ZEIT	PERIODE	TELL (ZITADELLE)	UNTERSTADT II	
				EP (Erdphase)
Gegenwart	Gegenwart	A ₁ , A ₂	Gegenwart	1
18.–1. Hlf. 20. Jh.	Islamisch	A ₃ Gräber	unbesiedelt	2
–1750 ca. 400	Islamisch	A ₄ unbesiedelt		
nach 250 n. Chr.	Römisch	B		
250 n. Chr. – ca. 165 n. Chr.	Römisch	C Haus 1 & 2		
165 n. Chr. – ca. 70 n. Chr.	Spätparthisch	D Haus 3		3
70 n. Chr. – ca. 1. Viertel 1. Jh. v. Chr.	Mittelparthisch	E Haus 4		
1. Viertel 1. Jh. v. Chr. – ca. 250 v. Chr.	Frühparthisch bis Seleukidisch	F Haus 5	unbesiedelt	
333 v. Chr. – ab 539 v. Chr.	Achämenidisch		17 bis	‘squatter’ Besiedlung
539 – 612	Spät-Neubabylonisch	24	3. Voll-Besiedlung	6
612 – ca. 721	Neuassyrisch III	25	2. Voll-Besiedlung	7
722 – ca. 823	Neuassyrisch II	26	1. Voll-Besiedlung	8
824 – ca. 936	Neuassyrisch I	27 a–b	Gründung	9
936 – ca. 1114	Mittelassyrisch II	? ?		
1115 – ca. 1295	Mittelassyrisch I	Gräber Gebäude P	27 c 28	

scribed ostraka to the turn of the sixth to the fifth century BC,⁸⁹ which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the end of earth phase 6.

- Earth phase 4: This is a period in which Lower Town II seems to have been totally abandoned and unfrequented; it covers the period of the late Achaemenids and the Seleucids.
- Earth phase 3: In this phase the whole area of the former Lower Town II was used as a burial ground of the town now called Magdala; some 750 graves have been unearthed.
- Earth phase 2–1: During the past almost 1500 years until the 1960s the area was not settled,⁹⁰ but was frequented by nomads.

Advances in Results for Achaemenid, Hellenistic, and Roman historiography

Beyond the achievements relating to the Assyrian period, it should be highlighted that the town of Magdala of the Parthian-Roman period also emerged from the archaeological record of this research project. For once, the occupation of a town can be matched to contemporary use of a cemetery, covering the time-span of roughly 400 years (c. 150 BC to 250 AD).⁹¹

When the Babylonian Empire was replaced by the first Persian one, the region of the Jazira became marginal in relation to the new capitals of Susa, Pasargadae, and Persepolis. This implied the decline of Dūr-Katlimmu/Magdalu to a regional town, which is mirrored in the abandonment of Lower Town II. It seems that in Seleucid times the situation remained unchanged. First documented as partially dependent on Hatra⁹² and ultimately integrated into the Roman *limes*, the significance of the town of Magdala increased again slightly because it was situated along the alternating border between the Parthian and Roman Empires.⁹³

89 Kreppner 2006: 126.

90 Poidebard 1934: Pl. CVIII.

91 Novak/Oettel/Witzel 2000; Kühne 2005; Hornig 2010.

92 Downey 2005.

93 Oettel 2005; Luther 2005.

Bibliografie

- ABOU-ASSAF/BORDREUIL/MILLARD 1982: A. Abou-Assaf / P. Bordreuil / A. R. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméene*, Etudes Assyriologiques, Paris.
- AINSWORTH 1842: W.F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia*, London.
- AKERMAN/BAKER 2002: K. Akerman / H.D. Baker, Pālīl-ēreš, in: S. Parpola (ed.) 1998–2002.
- AKKERMANS 1987: P.M.M.G. Akkermans, A Late Neolithic and Early Halaf Village at Sabi Abyad, Northern Syria, *Paléorient* 13, 23–40.
- AKKERMANS 1988: P.M.M.G. Akkermans, The Period IV Pottery, in: M.N. van Loon (Hg.), *Hamman et Turkman I. Report on the University of Amsterdam's 1981–84 Excavations in Syria. Vol. I-II*, Istanbul, 181–285.
- AKKERMANS 1989: P.M.M.G. Akkermans (ed.), *Excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad – Prehistoric Investigations in the Balikh Valley, Northern Syria*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 468, Oxford.
- AKKERMANS 1993: P.M.M.G. Akkermans, *Villages in the Steppe – Late Neolithic Settlement and Subsistence in the Balikh Valley, Northern Syria*, International Monographs in Prehistory, Archaeological Series 5.
- AKKERMANS 1996: P.M.M.G. Akkermans (ed.), *Tell Sabi Abyad. The Late Neolithic Settlement. Report on the Excavations of the University of Amsterdam (1988) and the National Museum of Antiquities Leiden (1991–1993) in Syria* (Vol. I-II), Leiden/Istanbul.
- AKKERMANS 2008: P.M.M.G. Akkermans, Burying the Dead in Late Neolithic Syria, in: J.M. Cóboda / M. Molist / M.C. Pérez / I. Rubio / S. Martínez (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Madrid, 621–645.
- AKKERMANS 2010: P.M.M.G. Akkermans, Late Neolithic Architectural Renewal: The Emergence of Round Houses in the Northern Levant, ca. 6500–6000 BC, in: D. Bolger / L. Maguire (eds.), *The Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, 22–28.
- AKKERMANS (in print a): P.M.M.G. Akkermans, Living Space, Temporality and Community Segmentation: Interpreting Late Neolithic Settlement in Northern Syria, in: O.P. Nieuwenhuyse / R. Bernbeck / P.M.M.G. Akkermans / J. Rogash (eds.), *Interpreting the Late Neolithic of Upper Mesopotamia*.
- AKKERMANS (in print b): P.M.M.G. Akkermans, Emergent Social Complexities? Community Organization in Sixth Millennium Upper Mesopotamia, in: G. Stein / A. Alizadeh / Y. Rowan (eds.), *Pathways to Power*.
- AKKERMANS/BRÜNING/KANEDA 2011: P.M.M.G. Akkermans / M. Brüning / A. Kaneda, Foundation or Rendezvous? Constructing Platforms in Late Neolithic Syria, in: B.S. Düring / A. Wossink / P.M.M.G. Akkermans (eds.), *Correlates of Complexity*, Leiden, 1–13.
- AKKERMANS/DUISTERMAAT 1997: P.M.M.G. Akkermans / K. Duistermaat, Of Storage and Nomads – The Sealings from Late Neolithic Sabi Abyad, Syria, *Paléorient* 22, 17–44.
- AKKERMANS/LE MIÈRE 1992: P.M.M.G. Akkermans / M. Le Mièvre, The 1988 Excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad, a Later Neolithic Village in Northern Syria, *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 1–22.
- AKKERMANS/SCHWARTZ 2003: P.M.M.G. Akkermans / G.M. Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000–300 BC)*, Cambridge.
- AKKERMANS *et al.* 2006: P.M.M.G. Akkermans / R. Cappers / C. Cavallo / O.P. Nieuwenhuyse / B. Nilhamn / I. Otte, Investigating the Early Pottery Neolithic of Northern Syria: New Evidence from Tell Sabi Abyad, *American Journal of Archaeology* 110, 123–156.

- AKKERMANS/VERHOEVEN 1995: P.M. M.G. Akkermans / M. Verhoeven, An Image of Complexity: The Burnt Village at Late Neolithic Sabi Abyad, Syria, *American Journal of Archaeology* 99, 5–32.
- AKKERMANS/WEISS 1991: P. Akkermans / H. Weiss, Tell Leilan 1987: Operation 3. A Preliminary Report on the Lower Town Palace, *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 37/38, 91–109.
- ALGAZE 2008: G. Algaze, *Ancient Mesopotamia at the Dawn of Civilization: The Evolution of an Urban Landscape*, Chicago.
- AL-MAQDISSI 2008: M. Al-Maqdissi (ed.), *Pionniers et protagonistes de l'archéologie syrienne 1860-1960. D'Ernest Renan à Sélim Abdulhak*, Documents d'archéologie syrienne 14. Damas: Capitale arabe de la Culture 2008.
- ANASTASIO 2007: S. Anastasio, *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.)*, Firenze.
- ANDERSON *et al.* 2010: E. Andersson / E. Felluca / M.-L. Nosch / L. Peyronel, New Perspectives on Bronze Age Textile Production in the Eastern Mediterranean. The First Results with Ebla as a Pilot Study. In: P. Matthiae / F. Pinnock / L. Nigro / N. Marchetti (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. 1, Wiesbaden, 159–176.
- ARCHI 1998: A. Archi, The Regional State of Nagar According to the Texts of Ebla, in: M. Lebeau (ed.), *About Subartu, Subartu IV/2*, 1–15.
- ARRIVABENI 2010: M. Arrivabeni, Early Bronze Age Settlement in the Tell Leilan Region, *Kaskal* 7, 1–49.
- ARRIVABENI 2012: M. Arrivabeni, Post-Akkadian settlement distribution in the Leilan Regional Survey, in: Weiss 2012b: 261–278
- BACCELLI 2008 (2009): G. Baccelli, Lo strumentario per la filatura e la tessitura, in: Pierobon Benoit 2008 (2009): 294–304.
- BACHMANN 1998: F. Bachmann, Ein 'Habuba-Kabira-Süd-Horizont' am Tell Sheikh Hassan?, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 130, 51–67.
- BAGHDO *et al.* 2009: A. M. H. Baghdo / L. Martin / M. Novák / W. Orthmann (Hrsg.), *Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Halaf in Nordost-Syrien. Vorbericht über die erste und zweite syrisch-deutsche Grabungskampagne auf dem Tell Halaf (Teil I)*, Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 3, I.
- BAGHDO *et al.* 2012: A. M. H. Baghdo / L. Martin / M. Novák / W. Orthmann (Hrsg.), *Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell Halaf 2008 bis 2010. Vorbericht über die dritte bis fünfte syrisch-deutsche Grabungskampagne (Teil II)*, Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung Band 3, II.
- BAKER/YAMADA 2002: H. D. Baker / S. Yamada, Salmānu-ašared, in: S. Parpola (ed.) 1998–2002.
- BALOSSI RESTELLI 2006: F. Balossi Restelli, *The Development of 'Cultural Regions' in the Neolithic of the Near East. The 'Dark Faced Burnished Ware Horizon'*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1482.
- BARBER 1991: E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles; The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages*, Princeton NJ.
- BARTL 1989: K. Bartl, Zur Datierung der altmonochromen Ware von Tell Halaf, in: Haex/Curvers/Akkermans 1989: 257–274.
- BARTL 2001: K. Bartl, Eastern Anatolia in the Early Iron Age, in: R. Eichmann / H. Partzinger (Hrsg.), *Migration und Kulturtransfer. Der Wandel vorder- und zentralasiatischer Kulturen im Umbruch vom 2. zum 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Bonn, 383–410.
- BARTL/BONATZ 2013: P. V. Bartl / D. Bonatz, Across Assyria's Northern Frontier: Tell Fekheriye at the End of the Late Bronze Age, in: A. Yener (ed.), *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia*, ANES Supplement 42, 265–287.

- BAUMANN 2008: R. Baumann, Agatha Christies "Picknick auf Tell Hamidi", in: Hofmeier/Kaelin 2008: 15–20.
- BECKER 2008: C. Becker, Die Tierknochenfunde aus Tall Šēl Ḥamad / Dür-Katlimmu: Eine zoogeographische Studie, in: Kühne 2008: 61–131.
- BECKER 2009: J. Becker, Untersuchung der prähistorischen Siedlung, in: A. M. H. Baghdo / L. Martin / M. Novák / W. Orthmann (Hg.), 27–40.
- BECKER 2012: J. Becker, Die Ausgrabungen in den prähistorischen Schichten, in: Baghdo et al. 2012: 11–46.
- BECKER (in Vorb.): J. Becker, *Halaf- und 'Obēd-Zeit in Nordost-Syrien am Beispiel von Tell Tawila und Tell Halaf – Entwicklung und Differenz* (mit einem Beitrag von Markus Helfert und Kirsten Drüppel).
- BECKER et al. 2007: J. Becker / T. Helms / M. Possehl / E. Vila, Ausgrabungen in Tell Tawila, Nordostsyrien: Bericht über zwei Grabungskampagnen 2005 und 2006, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 139, 213–268.
- BELL 1917: G. Bell, *Asiatic Turkey*. Basrah, Office of the Civil Commissioner, Government Press.
- BERNBECK 1994: R. Bernbeck, *Steppe als Kulturlandschaft*, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient Ausgrabungen 1, Berlin.
- BERNBECK et al. 1988: R. Bernbeck / H. Kühne / A. Mahmoud / P. Pfälzner / W. Röllig, Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Tall 'Ağāğa/Šadikanni 1982, *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 3, 141–184.
- BESONEN/CREMASCHI 2002: M. Besonen / M. Cremaschi, *Tell Leilan Geomorphological Field Survey*. http://leilan.yale.edu/works/geo_report/images/title.gif
- BISCIONE 1998: R. Biscione, La ceramica dell'Area B in: Pecorella 1998, 45–54.
- BLACK/GREEN 1992: J. Black / A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia*, Austin.
- BLACKMAN 2003: A. J. Blackman, Chemical Characterization of Tablets, Sealing Clays, and Source Clays from Tell Leilan, Syria, in: Rova/Weiss 2003: 455–468.
- BLOCHER et al. 2007: F. Blocher / H.-C. Kara / D. Machule / P. Werner, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Tall Mumbāqa/Ekalte 2005–2007. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 139, 83–127.
- BLOCHER et al. 2009: F. Blocher / H.-C. Kara / D. Machule / P. Werner, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Tall Mumbaqa/Ekalte 2008. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 141, 85–95.
- BLOCHER/MACHULE/WERNER 2000: F. Blocher / D. Machule / P. Werner, Bericht über die Ausgrabung in Tall Mumbāqa 1999, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 132, 122–127.
- BLOCHER/MACHULE/WERNER 2005: F. Blocher / D. Machule / P. Werner, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Tall Mumbāqa/Ekalte 2004, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 137, 99–107.
- BLUARD 1997: Chr. Bluard, Recherchessur le péri-mètre externe (chantier H), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 1997, 179–191.
- BLUARD/POINOT/QUENET 1997: Chr. Bluard / I. Poinot / Ph. Quenet, Un quartier d'occupation dynastique archaïque (chantier B), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 1997, 47–58.
- BOESE 1995: J. Boese, *Ausgrabungen in Tell Sheikh Hassan I*, Saarbrücken.
- BOESE 1996: J. Boese, Tell Sheikh Hassan in Nord-syrien. Eine Stadt des 4. Jahrtausends v. Chr. am Euphrat, *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 12, 157–172.
- BOESE/WILHELM 1979: J. Boese / G. Wilhelm, Aššur-dān I., Ninurta-apil-Ekur und die mittelassyrische Chronologie, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 71, 19–38.
- BONATZ (in print): D. Bonatz, Tell Fekheriye in the Late Bronze Age. Archaeological Investigations into the Structures of Political Governance in the Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont, in: D. Bonatz (ed.), *The Archaeology of Political Space. The Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont in the Second Millennium BC*. Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World, Berlin.

- BONATZ/BARTL 2008: D. Bonatz / P. Bartl, Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Fekheriye in 2006 and 2007, *Chronique Archéologique en Syrie* 3: 175–186.
- BONATZ/KÜHNE/MAHMOUD 1998: D. Bonatz / H. Kühne / A. Mahmoud, *Rivers and Steppes. Cultural Heritage and Environment of the Syrian Jezireh. Catalogue to the Museum of Deir ez-Zor*, Damaskus.
- BONATZ *et al.* 2008: D. Bonatz / P.V. Bartl / A. Gilibert / C. Jauß, Bericht über die erste und zweite Grabungskampagne in Tell Feherīye 2006 und 2007, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 140: 89–135.
- BRADLEY 1998: R. Bradley, *The Significance of Monuments: On the Shaping of Human Experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe*, London.
- BRADLEY 2000a: R. Bradley, *The Good Stones*, Edinburgh.
- BRADLEY 2000b: R. Bradley, *Archaeology of Natural Places*, London.
- BRATSCHI 2008: T. Bratschi, *Die Siegelabrollungen von Tall al-Hamidīya*, Bern.
- BRENIQUET 1996: C. Breniquet, *La disparition de la culture de Halaf. Les origines de la culture d’Obeid dans le Nord de la Mésopotamie*, Paris.
- BRETSCHNEIDER 1997a: J. Bretschneider, Untersuchungen an der äusseren Wallanlage (Feld H), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 1997, 193–207.
- BRETSCHNEIDER 1997b: J. Bretschneider, Die Unterstadt (Feld J), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 1997: 209–230.
- BRETSCHNEIDER 2003: J. Bretschneider, Der spätfrühdynastische “Palast-Tempel“ auf der Akropolis von Tell Beydar: Die Bauschichten der Phase 3 a/b (Früh-Gezira IIIb), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 65–140.
- BRETSCHNEIDER/CUNNINGHAM/JANS 2007: J. Bretschneider / T. Cunningham / G. Jans, Report on the 2000 Excavation in the South Western Part of the Early Dynastic Temple A on the Acropolis of Tell Beydar, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2007: 41–51.
- BROSSÉ 1929: C.-L. Brossé, Tell Beïdar en Haute Djézireh, *Syria* 10, 36–39.
- BRUMFIEL 2006: E. Brumfiel, Cloth, Gender, Continuity, and Change: Fabricating Unity in Anthropology, *American Anthropologist* 108(4), 862–877.
- BRUSTOLON/ROVA 2007: A. Brustolon / E. Rova, The Late Chalcolithic Period in the Tell Leilan Region: A Report on the Ceramic Material of the 1995 Survey, *Kaskal* 4, 1–42.
- BUCELLATI 2010: F. Buccellati, The Monumental Temple Terrace at Urkesh and Its Setting, in: J. Becker / R. Hempelmann / E. Rehm (Hrsg.), *Kulturlandschaft Syrien: Zentrum und Peripherie. Festschrift für Jan-Waalka Meyer*, Münster, 71–85.
- BUCELLATI 1999a: G. Buccellati, Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City, in: Buccellati / Kelly-Buccellati 1999a: 11–34.
- BUCELLATI 1999b: G. Buccellati, Urkesh and the Question of Early Hurrian Urbanism, in: M. Hudson/B. A. Levine (eds.), *Urbanization and Land Ownership in the Ancient Near East*, Peabody Museum Bulletin 7, 229–250.
- BUCELLATI 2005: G. Buccellati, The Monumental Urban Complex at Urkesh. *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 15, 3–28.
- BUCELLATI 2010a: G. Buccellati, The Urkesh Temple Terrace: Function and Perception, in: J. Becker / R. Hempelmann / E. Rehm (Hrsg.), *Kulturlandschaft Syrien: Zentrum und Peripherie. Festschrift für Jan-Waalka Meyer*. Münster, 87–121.
- BUCELLATI 2010b: G. Buccellati, The Semiotics of Ethnicity: The Case of Hurrian Urkesh, in: J. Fincke, *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, Dresden, 79–90.
- BUCELLATI (in print): G. Buccellati, Persistence of Tradition at Urkesh: The Temple Terrace from Protoliterate to Mittani, in: *a volume in memory of P.E. Pecorella*.
- BUCELLATI/BUIA/REIMER 1991: G. Buccellati / D. Buia / S. Reimer, Tell Ziyada: The First Three Seasons of Excavation (1988–1990), *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 21, 31–61.

- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1988: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mozan 1: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons*, Malibu.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1995: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, Tell Mozan, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 8, 386–393.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1998: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati (eds.), *Urkesh and the Hurrians. Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26; Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3, Malibu.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1999: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, Das archäologische Projekt Tall Mozan/Urkesh, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 131, 7–16.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2001: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, Überlegungen zur funktionellen und historischen Bestimmung des Königspalastes AP in Urkesh, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 133, 59–96.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2004: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, Der monumentale Palasthof von Tall Mozan/Urkesh und die stratigraphische Geschichte des äbi, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 136, 13–39.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2005: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, Urkesh as a Hurrian Religious Center, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo Anatolici* 47, 27–59.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2007: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, in: *Urkesh and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland*, Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences 175/2, 141–151.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2009: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, The Great Temple Terrace at Urkesh and the Lions of Tishatal, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 18, 33–69.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2010: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, Preface, in: K. Deckers / M. Doll / P. Pfälzner / S. Riehl, *Development of the Environment, Subsistence and Settlement of the City of Urkesh and its Region*, Wiesbaden, xi–xii.
- BUCELLATI/KELLY-BUCCELLATI (in print): G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati, Preliminary Report on the 23rd Season of Excavations at Tell Mozan-Urkesh (August–October 2010), in: *Chronique archéologique en Syrie*.
- BUDGE 1920: E. A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris vol. II*. London.
- BUNNENS 2009: G. Bunnens, Assyrian Empire Building and Aramization of Culture as seen from Tell Ahmar/Til Barsip, *Syria* 86, 67–82.
- BURDON/SAFADI 1963: D. J. Burdon / C. Safadi, Ras-el-Ain: The Great Karst Spring of Mesopotamia: A Hydrogeological Study, *Journal of Hydrology* Vol. 1/1, 58–64.
- CALDERONE/WEISS 2003: L. Calderone / H. Weiss, The End of the Ninevite 5 Period at Tell Leilan, in: Rova/Weiss 2003: 193–220.
- CAMPBELL 2007: S. Campbell, Rethinking Halaf Chronologies, *Paléorient* 33/1, 103–136.
- CAMPBELL/FLETCHER 2010: S. Campbell / A. Fletcher, Questioning the Halaf-Ubaid Transition, in: R.A. Carter / G. Philip (eds.), *Beyond the Ubaid. Transformation and Intergration in the Late Prehistoric Societies of the Middle East. Papers from «The Ubaid Expansion? Cultural Meaning, Identity and the Lead-Up to Urbanism»*, International Workshop held at Grey College, University of Durham 20–22 April 2006, *SAOC* 63, Chicago, 69–83.
- CAMPBELL et al. 1999: S. Campbell / E. Carter / E. Healey / S. Anderson / A. Kennedy / S. Whitcher, Emerging Complexity on the Kahramanmaraş Plain, Turkey: The Domuztepe Project, 1995–1997, *American Journal of Archaeology* 103, 395–418.
- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 1996: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die Mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šēh Hamad*. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēh Hamad/Dür-Katlimmu 4, Berlin.
- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 1999: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, Nebenlinien des assyrischen Königshauses in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jts. v.Chr., *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26, 210–222.

- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2000: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, Organisation und Verwaltung von Grenzgebieten in Mittelassyrischer Zeit, in: L. Milano (ed.), *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.
- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2003: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die Assyrer*, München.
- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2009: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, Ortsnamenreihungen als Quellen zur historischen Geographie: Der Westen des mittelassyrischen Reiches unter Tukulti-Ninurta I, in: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum / N. Ziegler (Hrsg.), *Entre les fleuves – I Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Gladbeck, 121–150.
- CARBALLO 2011: D. Carballo, Advances in the Household Archaeology of Highland Mesoamerica, *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19: 133–189.
- CARTER/CAMPBELL/GAULD 2003: E. Carter / S. Campbell / S. Gauld, Elusive Complexity: New Data from Late Halaf Domuztepe in South Central Turkey, *Paléorient* 29/2, 117–133.
- CAVALLO 1999: C. Cavallo, *Animals in the Steppe – A Zooarchaeological Analysis of Later Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 891, Oxford.
- CHARPIN 2004: D. Charpin, Histoire politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595), in: P. Attinger/W. Sallaberger/M. Wäfler (eds.), *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/4, Fribourg, 23–480.
- CHARPIN 2011: D. Charpin, Le “Pays de Mari et des bedouins”: À l’époque de Samsu-iluna de Babylone. *Revue d’assyriologie* 105, 41–59 [published in 2013].
- CHARPIN/ZIEGLER 2003: D. Charpin / N. Ziegler, *Florilegium Marianum V. Mari et le proche-orient à l’époque amorrite, essai d’histoire politique*. Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 6, Paris.
- CHARVAT 2002: P. Charvat, *Mesopotamia before History*. New York.
- CHAVALAS 2006: M. W. Chavalas (ed.), *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation* (Blackwell Sourcebooks in Ancient History). Malden, Mass.
- CHOLIDIS/MARTIN 2011: N. Cholidis / L. Martin (Hrsg.), *Die geretteten Götter aus dem Palast vom Tell Halaf*, Begleitbuch zur Sonderausstellung des Vorderasiatischen Museums „Die geretteten Götter aus dem Palast vom Tell Halaf“, vom 28.1.–14.8.2011 im Pergamonmuseum, Regensburg/Berlin.
- CHRISTIE-MALLOWAN 1946: A. Christie-Mallowan, *Come, Tell Me How You Live*. London (reprinted 1975 et al.).
- CHRISTIE-MALLOWAN 1977: A. Christie-Mallowan, *Erinnerung an glückliche Tage. Abenteuer und Ausgrabungen mit meinem Mann in Syrien*. Zürich.
- COPPINI/D’AGOSTINO (sous presse): C. Coppini / A. d’Agostini, Life at the Edge of the Settlement: The MBA-LBA Transition at the Northern and Southern Slope of tell bari (NE Syria). Paper presented at the 8th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. May 3, 2012 Warsaw.
- COSTIN 1998: C. Costin, Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8(1), 123–141.
- CRASSO 2009: D. Crasso, The Region of the Upper Euphrates: The Hittite Perspective, in: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum/ N. Ziegler (eds.), *Entre les fleuves – I Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Gladbeck, 211–231.
- CRUELLS 2008: W. Cruells, The Proto Halaf: Origins, Definition, Regional Framework and Chronology, in: J. Cordoba / M. Molist / C. Pérez / I. Rubio / S. Martinez (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (3.–8. April 2006), Madrid, 671–689 (Vol. III).

- CRUELLS/MOLIST 2006: W. Cruells / M. Molist, Chagar Bazar au sein de la préhistoire du bassin de Khabur, in: Tunca/Baghdo (ed.) 2006, 143–155.
- CRUELLS/NIEUWENHUYSE 2004: W. Cruells / O.P. Nieuwenhuyse, The Proto-Halaf Period in Syria. New Sites, New Data, *Paléorient* 30/1, 47–68.
- CULLEN *et al.* 2000: H. M. Cullen / P.B. deMenocal / S. Hemming / G. Hemming / F.H. Brown / T. Guilderson / F. Sirocko, Climate change and the collapse of the Akkadian empire: Evidence from the deep sea, *Geology* 28(4), 379–382.
- CURTIS/READE 1995: J.E. Curtis / J.E. Reade, (eds.), *Art and Empire. Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum*. The Trustees of the British Museum.
- CZICHON/WERNER 1998: R. Czichon / P. Werner, *Tall Munbāqa-Ekalte I. Die bronzezeitlichen Kleinfunde*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 97, Saarbrücken.
- CZICHON/WERNER 2008: R. Czichon / P. Werner, *Die bronzezeitliche Keramik. Ausgrabungen Tall Munbāqa-Ekalte IV, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 118, Saarwellingen.
- D'AGOSTINO 2012: A. d'Agostino, Kilns and Ovens from 2nd Millennium BCE Settlement of Tell Barri (Syrie), *Proceedings 7ICAANE London 2010*, 421–446.
- DALLEY 2005: S. Dalley, The Language of Destruction and its Interpretation. *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 36, 275–285.
- DAVIDSON 1977: T.E. Davidson, Regional Variation within the Halaf Ceramic Tradition. Edinburgh (unpubl. Ph.D.-Theses).
- DAVIDSON/WATKINS 1981: T.E. Davidson / T. Watkins, Two Seasons of Excavation at Tell Aqab in the Jezirah, N.E. Syria, *Iraq* 43, 1–18.
- DECKERS 2010: K. Deckers, Archaeological Sites of the Upper Khabur Basin in their Fluvial Geomorphological Context, in: K. Deckers *et al.* 2010: 360–378.
- DECKERS *et al.* 2010: K. Deckers / M. Doll / P. Pfälzner / S. Riehl, *Development of the Environment, Subsistence and Settlement of the City of Urkesh and its Region*, Wiesbaden.
- DECKERS/RIEHL 2007: K. Deckers / S. Riehl, Fluvial environmental contexts for archaeological sites in the Upper Khabur basin (northeast Syria), *Quaternary Research* 67, 337–348.
- DEBRUYNE 2003: M. Debruyne, The Early Jezireh IIIb Public Building on the Acropolis of Tell Beydar (Field F): The Building Level Phase 2, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 43–64.
- DEBRUYNE/JANS 2007: M. Debruyne / G. Jans, The South-Eastern Area of the “Palatial Complex” of Tell Beydar: The EJ III/ED III Main Entrance, Monumental Stairway and Temple D, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2007: 75–84.
- DELLIS-FORREST/MILANO/MORI 2007: F. DeLillis-Forrest / L. Milano / L. Mori, The Akkadian Occupation in the Northwest Area of the Tell Leilan Acropolis, *Kaskal* 4, 43–64.
- DELLIS-FORREST *et al.* 2004: F. deLillis-Forrest / L. Mori / T. Guilderson / H. Weiss, The Akkadian Administration on the Tell Leilan Acropolis, 4ICAANE, Berlin March 29–April 3, 2004 Poster Presentations. <http://leilan.yale.edu/pubs/files/poster1/poster1.jpg>
- DEMENOCAL 2001: P. DeMenocal, Cultural Responses to Climate Change during the Late Holocene, *Science* 292, 667–673.
- DEZZI BARDESCHI/STÉNUIT 2007: Ch. Dezzi Bardeschi / M.-E. Sténuit, La fouille du Chantier L – Temple A à l'époque EJ IIIb et bâtiment associé (Campagnes 2001–2002), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2007, 53–72.
- DEZZI BARDESCHI/STÉNUIT 2011: Ch. Dezzi Bardeschi / M.-E. Sténuit, Chantier S. Le “ParvisSud” (Southern Square). Campagnes 2004–2009, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2011, 227–269.
- DION 1985: P.-E. Dion, La bilingue de Tell Fekherye: Le roi de Gozan et son dieu: la phraséologie, in: A. Caquot / S. Légasse / M. Tardieu (eds.), *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 215, Neukirchen-Vluyn: 139–147.

- DOHMANN-PFÄLZNER/PFÄLZNER 2001: H. Dohmann-Pfälzner / P. Pfälzner, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Bericht über die in Kooperation mit dem IIMAS durchgeführte Kampagne 2000, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 133, 97–143.
- DOHMANN-PFÄLZNER/PFÄLZNER 2002: H. Dohmann-Pfälzner / P. Pfälzner, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in der Zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Bericht über die in Kooperation mit dem IIMAS Durchgeführte Kampagne 2001, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 134, 149–192.
- DONELLA 2003: V. Donella, La ceramica mitannica e medio-assira della ricognizione di Tell Leilan (Siria nord-orientale), Ph.D. Dissertation, Università Ca Foscari, Venezia.
- DOSSIN 1961–1962: G. Dossin, Le site de Kahat. *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 11–12, 197–206.
- DOWNEY 2005: S.B. Downey, A Statuette of Heracles from Tall Šeh Hamad, in: Kühne 2005: 187–196.
- DUBIEL/MARTIN 2004: U. Dubiel / L. Martin, Stierskulptur aus Aleppo in Berlin – Bildwerke vom Tell Halaf werden restauriert, *Antike Welt* 35, 40–43.
- DUISTERMAAT 2008: K. Duistermaat, *The Pots and Potters of Assyria*, Turnhout.
- DUISTERMAAT/SCHNEIDER 1998: K. Duistermaat / G. Schneider, Chemical Analyses of Sealing Clays and the Use of Administrative Artefacts at Late Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad (Syria), *Paléorient* 24(1), 89–106.
- DURAND 2005: J.-M. Durand, *Florilegium marianum VIII: Le culte des pierres et les monuments commémoratifs en Syrie ammorrite*, Paris.
- DURAND 2008: J.-M. Durand, Nouveaux textes de Tell Tâban. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2008/2, 55, no. 77.
- DURAND 2010: J.-M. Durand, Dur Katlim(m)u / Šeh Hamad, how and why?, in: H. Kühne (ed.), *Dür-Katlimmu 2008 and Beyond*, Studia Chaburensia 1, 49–66.
- EICHLER *et al.* 1984: S. Eichler / D.R. Frank / D. Machule / W. Pape, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa 1983, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 116, 65–93.
- EICHLER *et al.* 1985: S. Eichler, S. *et al.*, *Tall al-Hamidîya 1. Vorbericht*, Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series archaeologica 4; Tall al-Hamidîya 1. Fribourg.
- EICHLER *et al.* 1990: S. Eichler *et al.*, *Tall al-Hamidîya 2. Vorbericht 1985–1987*, Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series archaeologica 6; Tall al-Hamidîya 2. Fribourg.
- EIDEM 1997: J. Eidem, The Inscriptions, in: Oates/Oates/McDonald 1997: 39–46.
- EIDEM 1998: J. Eidem, Nagar, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 9, 75–77.
- EIDEM 2011: J. Eidem, *Royal Archives of Tell Leilan*, Leiden, Netherlands Institute for the Study of the Near East.
- EIDEM/FINKEL/BONECHI 2001: J. Eidem / I. Finkel / M. Bonechi, The Third-Millennium Inscriptions, in: Oates/Oates/McDonald 2001: 99–120.
- EMBERLING 2003: G. Emberling, Urban social transformations and the problem of the “first city”: New research from Mesopotamia, in: M.L. Smith (ed.) *The Social Construction of Ancient Cities*. Washington DC, 254–268.
- EMBERLING/MCDONALD 2001: G. Emberling / H. McDonald, Excavations at Tell Brak 2000: Preliminary Report, *Iraq* 63, 21–54.
- EMBERLING/MCDONALD 2002: G. Emberling / H. McDonald, Recent Finds from the northern Mesopotamian city of Tell Brak, *Antiquity* 76, 949–950.
- EMBERLING/MCDONALD 2003: G. Emberling / H. McDonald, Excavations at Tell Brak 2001–2002: Preliminary Report, *Iraq* 65, 1–75.
- EMBERLING *et al.* 1999: G. Emberling / J. Cheng / T.E. Larsen / H. Pittman / T.B.B. Skuldboel / J. Weber / H.T. Wright, Excavations at Tell Brak 1998: Preliminary report, *Iraq* 61: 1–41.

- ERGENZINGER/KÜHNE 1991: P.J. Ergenzinger / H. Kühne, 'Ein regionales Bewässerungssystem am Hābūr', in: Kühne 1991: 163–190.
- FALKNER 1957: M. Falkner, Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18, 1–37.
- FINET 1975: A. Finet, Les temples sumériens du Tell Kannâs, *Syria* 52, 157–174.
- FINET 1977a: A. Finet, Bilan provisoire des fouilles belges du Tell Kannâs, *Annals of the American School of Oriental Research* 44, 79–95.
- FINET 1977b: A. Finet, L'apport du Tell Kannâs à l'histoire proche-orientale, de la fin du IVe millénaire à la moitié du IIe, in: J.C. Margueron (Hrsg.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Strassburg, 107–115.
- FINET/BUNNENS 1982: A. Finet / G. Bunnens (Hrsg.), *Les fouilles belges du Tell Kannâs sur l'Euphrate en Syrie*, Morlanwelz.
- FIorentino et al. 2008: G. Fiorentino / V. Caracuta / L. Calcagnile / M. D'Elia / P. Matthiae / F. Mavelli / G. Quarta, Third Millennium B.C. Climate Change in Syria Highlighted by Carbon Stable Isotope Analysis of 14C-AMS Dated Plant Remains from Ebla, *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology* 266, 51–58.
- FIORINA et al. 2005: P. Fiorina / L. Bombardieri / L. Chiocchetti / C. Forasassi, Kalhu-Kahat. Elementi di continuità attraverso il periodo neoassiro finale e l'età neobabilonese caldea in Mesopotamia settentrionale, *Mesopotamia* 40, 81–102.
- FRANK et al. 1982: D.R. Frank / D. Machule / M. Wäfler / U. Wittwer, Tall Munbaqa 1979. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 114, 7–70.
- FREU 2003: J. Freu, *Histoire du Mitanni*, Collection Kubaba. Série Antiquité 3, Paris.
- FREY/KÜRSCHNER 1991: W. Frey / H. Kürschner, Die aktuelle und potentielle natürliche Vegetation im Bereich des Unteren Hābūr, in: Kühne 1991: 87–103.
- FREYDANK 2005: H. Freydank, Zu den Eponymenfolgen des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Dür-Katimmu, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 32/1, 45–56.
- FRITSCH 2011: D. Fritsch, Mikromorphologische und archäopedologische Untersuchungen an Böden und Sedimenten der bronzezeitlichen Siedlung Tell Chuera, Nord-Syrien (unpublizierte Dissertation Frankfurt).
- FRUMKIN 2009: A. Frumkin, Stable Isotopes of a Subfossil Tamarix Tree from the Dead Sea Region, Israel, and their Implications for the Intermediate Bronze Age Environmental Crisis, *Quaternary Research* 71, 319–328.
- GERBER 2003: M. Gerber, *Predictive Site Detection and Reconstruction. A Data-driven Approach to the Detection, Analysis, Reconstruction and Excavation of Ancient Near Eastern Monumental Architecture*, Bern.
- GLASSNER 1986: J.-J. Glassner, *La chute d'Akkadé*, Berlin.
- GODDEERIS/LAHLOUH/STÉNUIT 1997: A. Goddeeris / M. Lahluh / M.-E. Sténuit, An Early Dynastic Official Building and Seleucid-Parthian Levels (Field E), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 1997: 105–115.
- GÖYÜNÇ/HÜTTEROTH 1997: N. Göyünç / W.D. Hütteroth, *Land an der Grenze. Osmanische Verwaltung im heutigen türkisch-syrisch-irakischen Grenzgebiet im 16. Jahrhundert*, Istanbul.
- GOREN/FINKELSTEIN/NA'AMAN 2004: Y. Goren / I. Finkelstein / N. Na'aman, *Inscribed in Clay. Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Tell Aviv.
- GOREN/MOMMSEN/KLINGER 2011: Y. Goren / H. Mommsen / J. Klinger, Non-Destructive Provenance Study of Cuneiform Tablets Using Portable X-ray Fluorescence (pXRF), *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, 684–696.
- GOREN et al. 2009: Y. Goren / H. Mommsen / I. Finkelstein / N. Na'aman, Provenance Study of the Gilgamesh Fragment from Megiddo, *Archaeometry* 50, 763–773.
- GRAYSON 1987: A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia B.C. Toronto.
- GRAYSON 1991: A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC), *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods Volume 2*, Toronto.

- GREMMEN/BOTTEMA 1991: W.H. E. Gremmen / S. Bottema, Palynological Investigations in the Syrian Gazira, in: Kühne 1991: 105–116.
- HAEX/CURVERS/AKKERMANS 1989: O. M. C. Haex / H. H. Curvers / P. M. M. G. Akkermans, *To the Euphrates and Beyond. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon*, Rotterdam.
- HAUSLEITER/HERLES 2002: A. Hausleiter / M. Herles, Grabungsabschnitt 2, in: Miglus et al. 2002: 16–22.
- HEINRICH et al. 1970: E. Heinrich / W. Ludwig / R. Opificius / E. Strommenger / D. Sürenhagen, Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die in Habuba Kabira und in Mumbaqat unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen (Herbstkampagne 1969), *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 102, 27–85.
- HEINRICH et al. 1971: E. Heinrich/G. Hecker/H.-C. Kara / D. Machule / D. Rentschler / H. Schmid / U. Seidl / E. Strommenger / D. Sürenhagen, Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über die in Habuba Kabira und in Mumbaqat unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen (Herbstkampagne 1970), *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 103, 5–58.
- HEINRICH et al. 1973: E. Heinrich / D. R. Frank / J.-C. Heusch / K. Kohlmeyer / W. Ludwig / D. Machule/T. Rhode/H. Schmid/E. Strommenger/ D. Sürenhagen / E. Töpperwein / M. Wäfler, Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die ... in Habuba Kabira (Hububa Kabira, Herbstkampagnen 1971 und 1972 sowie Testgrabung Frühjahr 1973) und in Mumbaqat (Tall Munbaqa, Herbstkampagne 1971) unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 105, 5–68.
- HEINRICH et al. 1974: E. Heinrich / E. Strommenger / D. R. Frank / W. Ludwig / D. Sürenhagen / E. Töpperwein / H. Schid / J.-Ch. Heusch / K. Kohlmeyer / D. Machule / M. Wäfler / T. Rhode, Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagen in Habuba Kabira (Habuba Kabira, Herbstkampagne 1971 und 1972 sowie Testgrabung 1973) und in Mumbaqat (Tall Mumbaqa Herbstkampagne 1971) unternommenen archäologischen Untersuchungen, erstattet von Mitgliedern der Mission (Fortsetzung), *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 106, 5–52.
- HELWING 2002: B. Helwing, *Hassek Höyük II. Die spätchalkolithische Keramik*, Istanbuler Forschungen 45, Tübingen.
- HEMPELMANN 2002: R. Hempelmann, Frühbronzezeitliche Keramik aus Kharab Sayyar und Tell Chuera, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 134, 285–309.
- HIRTH 2009: K. Hirth, Craft Production, Household Diversification, and Domestic Economy in Prehispanic Mesoamerica, *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 19(1), 13–32.
- HOFFNER 1990: H. Hoffner, *Hittite Myths*, Atlanta.
- HOFMEIER/KAELIN 2008: T. Hofmeier / O. Kaelin, *Stückwerk. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients*, Berlin/Basel.
- HOLE 2000: F. Hole, The Prehistory of the Khabur, in: O. Rouault / M. Wäfler (eds.), *La Djéziré et l'Euphrate syriens de la protohistoire à la fin du II^e millénaire av. J.-C.: Tendances dans l'interprétation historique des données nouvelle*, Subarta VII, 17–27.
- HOLE 2001: F. Hole, A Radiocarbon Chronology for the Middle Khabur, Syria, *Iraq* 63, 67–98.
- HOLE 2008: F. Hole, Architectural Changes at Tell Ziyadeh, *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* 3, 113–119.
- HOLE/JOHNSON 1986/87: F. Hole / G. A. Johnson, Umm Qseir on the Khabur: Preliminary Report on the 1986 Excavation, *Annales Archéologique Arabes Syriennes* 36/37, 172–220.
- HORNIG 2010: H. Hornig, *Der Parthisch-Römische Friedhof von Tall Šeh Hamad/Magdala, Teil II: Die Anthropologische Evidenz*. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šeh Hamad/Dür-Katlimmu 13-1, Wiesbaden.
- HORSNELL 1999: M. J. A. Horsnell, *The Year-names of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, 2 vols., Hamilton.

- HOTZAN-TCHABASVILI (forthcoming): A. Hotzan-Tchabasvili, The Neolithic at Tell Fekheriye, in: Sahi (ed.), *Archaeology at Three Continents 2006–2011*, Bratislava.
- HROUDA 1958: B. Hrouda, Waššukanni, Urkiš, Šubat Enlil, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 90, 22–35.
- HROUDA 1961: B. Hrouda, Tell Fechērije. Die Keramik, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 54, 201–239.
- HÜTTEROTH 2006: W.-D. Hüteroth, Ecology of the Ottoman Lands, in: S. Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Cambridge, 18–43.
- ISMAIL et al. 1996: F. Ismail / W. Sallaberger / Ph. Talon / K. van Lerberghe, *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993–1995)*, Subartu II.
- JACQUET/SHIBATA 2010: A. Jacquet / D. Shibata, The Month-name quššu in the Middle Assyrian Local Calendar of Tābetu and the Ritual Place/moment quššum in Mari, *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2010/4, 88–89, no. 77.
- JAKOB 2003: S. Jakob, *Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur*, Cuneiform Monographs 29, Leiden/Boston.
- JAKOB 2009: S. Jakob (Hrsg.), *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 2009: D.I. Janisch-Jakob, Die Siegelabrollungen auf den mittelassyrischen Tafeln aus Tell Chuēra, in: Jakob 2009: 185–189.
- JANS/BRETSCHNEIDER 2012: G. Jans / J. Bretschneider, *Seals and Sealings of Tell Beydar/Nabada (Seasons 1995–2001). A Progress Report*, Subartu XXVII.
- KANIEWSKI/VAN CAMPO/WEISS 2012: D. Kaniewski / E. van Campo / H. Weiss, *Drought is a Recurring Challenge in the Middle East*, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 109, 3862–3867.
- KEEL 1990: O. Keel, Der Königspalast von Ta’idi. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 13./14. Oktober 1990, 66.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2002: M. Kelly-Buccellati, Ein hurritischer Gang in die Unterwelt, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 34, 131–148.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2004: M. Kelly-Buccellati, Andirons at Urkesh: New Evidence for the Hurrian Identity of Early Transcaucasian Culture, in: A. Sagona (ed.), *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, Peeters, 67–89.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2005: M. Kelly-Buccellati, in: *Urkesh and the North: Recent Discoveries, Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians* 15, 29–40.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2010: M. Kelly-Buccellati, Mozan/Urkesh in the Late Chalcolithic Period, in: J. Becker/R. Hempelmann/E. Rehm (Hrsg.), *Kulturlandschaft Syrie: Zentrum und Peripherie. Festschrift für Jan-Waalte Meyer*, Münster, 87–121.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI 2012: M. Kelly-Buccellati, Apprenticeship and Learning from the Ancestors: The Case of Ancient Urkesh, in: W. Wendrich (ed.), *Archaeology and Apprenticeship: Body Knowledge, Identity and Communities of Practice*, Arizona, 203–223.
- KELLY-BUCCELLATI (in print): M. Kelly-Buccellati, Urkesh Ceramic Evidence for Function and Emulation Processes, in: *a volume in memory of P.E. Pecorella*.
- KESSLER/MÜLLER-KESSLER 1995: K. Kessler / Chr. Müller-Kessler, Zum Kult des Wettergottes von Guzana, in: A. Erkanal et al. (eds.), *Eski Yakin Doğu Kültürleri Üzerine İncelemeler*, İstanbul, 239–244.
- KHALIDI/GRATUZE/BOUCETTA 2009: L. Khalidi / B. Gratuze / S. Boucetta, Provenance of Obsidian Excavated from Late Chalcolithic Levels at the Sites of Tell Hamoukar and Tell Brak, Syria, *Archaeometry* 51(6), 879–893.
- KOHLMEYER 1996: K. Kohlmeyer, Houses in Habuba Kabira-South: Spatial Organisation and Planning of Late Uruk Residential Architecture, in: K. Veenhof (Hrsg.), *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Leiden, 89–103.

- KOLIŃSKI 2001: R. Koliński, *Mesopotamian dimatu of the Second Millennium BC*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1004, Oxford.
- KREPPNER 2006: F.J. Kreppner, *Die Keramik des „Roten Hauses“ von Tall Šeh Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šeh Hamad/Dür-Katlimmu 7, Wiesbaden.
- KREPPNER 2008a: F.J. Kreppner, Eine außergewöhnliche Brandbestattungssitte in Dür-Katlimmu während der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jt.v.Chr, in: D. Bonatz / R.M. Czichon / F.J. Kreppner (Hrsg.), *Fundstellen. Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, Wiesbaden, 263–276.
- KREPPNER 2008b: F.J. Kreppner, The Continuity of Ceramic Production after the Fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. New Data from the Red House of Tell Sheikh Hamad, in: H. Kühne / R. Czichon / F.J. Kreppner (Hrsg.), *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March - 3 April 2004, Berlin, Germany*, Vol. 2, Social and Cultural Transformation: The Archaeology of Transitional Periods and Dark Ages, Archaeological Field Reports, Wiesbaden, 167–178.
- KREPPNER 2008c: F.J. Kreppner, The Collapse of the Assyrian Empire and the Continuity of Ceramic Culture: The Case of the Red House at Tell Sheikh Hamad, in: A. Sagona (ed.), *A Re-Assessment of Iron Ages Chronology in Anatolia and Neighbouring Regions*. Proceedings of a Symposium held at Ege University, Izmir, Turkey, 25–27 May 2005, Ancient Near Eastern Studies 45, Leuven, 147–165.
- KRÖGER 2011: M. Kröger, “Alles dieses bitte vertraulich” – Max von Oppenheim und Walter Rösler, in: Cholidis/Martin 2011: 163–168.
- KÜHNE 1995: C. Kühne, Ein mittelassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschrifttexte, in: W. Orthmann et al., *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien I. Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagnen 1986 bis 1992*, Saarbrücken, 203–225.
- KÜHNE 1999: C. Kühne, Imperial Mittani: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction, in: D.I. Owen / G. Wilhelm (eds.), *Nuzi at Seventy-Five. Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, Vol 10, Bethesda, 203–222.
- KÜHNE 1974–1977: H. Kühne, Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Hābūr. Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 25, 249–255.
- KÜHNE 1976: H. Kühne, *Die Keramik von Tell Chuera und ihre Beziehungen zu Funden aus Syrien-Palästina*. Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 1.
- KÜHNE 1978–1979: H. Kühne, Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Hābūr. Zweiter, vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 26, 181–195.
- KÜHNE 1991: H. Kühne (Hrsg.), *Die Rezente Umwelt von Tall Šeh Ḥamad und Daten zur Umweltrekonstruktion der Assyrischen Stadt Dür-Katlimmu*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šeh Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu 1, Berlin.
- KÜHNE 1991–2010: H. Kühne (Hrsg.), Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šeh Ḥamad / Dür-Katlimmu (BATSH) 1–9, 13–2.
- KÜHNE 1993: H. Kühne, Vier Spätbabylonische Tontafeln aus Tall Šeh Ḥamad, Ost-Syrien. *State Archives of Assyrian Bulletin* VII, 75–107.
- KÜHNE 1994: H. Kühne, The Urbanization of the Assyrian Provinces, in: S. Mazzoni (ed.), *Nuove Fondazioni Nel Vicino Oriente Antico: Realtà e Ideologia*, Guardini, 55–84.
- KÜHNE 1995: H. Kühne, The Assyrians on the Middle Euphrates and the Hābūr, in: M. Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5, 69–85.
- KÜHNE 1997: H. Kühne, Stempel- oder Siegelringe des Tukulti.Ninurta, in: I. B. Pongratz-Leisten / H. Kühne / P. Xella (eds.), *Ana šadī Labnāni lū allik. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig*, AOAT Bd.

- 247, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 193–218.
- KÜHNE 1998: H. Kühne, Tall Šēh Ḥamad – The Assyrian City of Dür-Katlimmu: A Historic-Geographical Approach, in: H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa, *Essays on Ancient Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Wiesbaden, 279–307.
- KÜHNE 2000a: H. Kühne, The „Red House“ of the Assyrian Provincial Center of Dur-Katlimmu, in: P. Matthiae / A. Enea / L. Peyronel / F. Pinnock (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Rome, May 18th–23rd 1998, 761–769.
- KÜHNE 2000b: H. Kühne, Dür-Katlimmu and the Middle-Assyrian Empire, in: *Actes du Colloque International ‘La Djéziré et l’Euphrate Syriens de la Protohistoire à la fin du IIe Millénaire av. J.-C.’*. Subartu VII, Paris, 271–279.
- KÜHNE 2002: H. Kühne, Thoughts about Assyria after 612 BC, in: L. al-Gailani Werr et al. (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*. NABU Publications, 171–175.
- KÜHNE 2005: H. Kühne (Hrsg.), *Magdalu/Magdala. Tall Šēh Ḥamad von der postassyrischen Zeit bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēh Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu 2, Berlin.
- KÜHNE 2005a: H. Kühne, Die Ausgrabung Tall Šēh Ḥamad: Eine Einführung in die methodischen Grundlagen, in: Kühne 2005: 1–24.
- KÜHNE 2005b: H. Kühne, Die Ausgrabung am Westhang der Zitadelle 1978–84 und 1987–88, in: Kühne 2005: 25–42.
- KÜHNE 2006: H. Kühne, Neues zu Gärten in Assyrien, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 37, 227–238.
- KÜHNE 2006–2008: H. Kühne, ‘Šaih Ḥamad, Tall B’, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* Bd. 11, 543–551.
- KÜHNE 2008: H. Kühne (Hrsg.), *Umwelt und Subsistenz der Assyrischen Stadt Dür-Katlimmu am Unteren Hābūr*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēh Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu 8, Wiesbaden.
- KÜHNE 2008a: H. Kühne, Homepage Ausgrabung in Tell Schech Hamad: <http://www.schechhamad.de>
- KÜHNE 2008b: H. Kühne, Umwelt und Subsistenz der Assyrischen Stadt Dür-Katlimmu am Unteren Hābūr – was wissen wir wirklich? in: H. Kühne 2008, 215–231.
- KÜHNE 2009a: H. Kühne, Bausteine zu einer Siedlungsgeschichte des Unteren Hābūr: Das 2. Jahrtausend, in: E. Cancik-Kirschbaum / N. Ziegler (eds.), *Entre les Fleuves – I, Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 20, Gladbeck, 17–37.
- KÜHNE 2009b: H. Kühne, Interaction of Aramaeans and Assyrians on the Lower Khabur, *Syria* 86, 43–54.
- KÜHNE 2010: H. Kühne, ‘The Rural Hinterland of Dür-Katlimmu’, in: H. Kühne (ed.), *Dür-Katlimmu 2008 and Beyond*, Studia Chaburensia I. Wiesbaden, 115–28.
- KÜHNE 2011: H. Kühne, Assur und Dür-Katlimmu vor und nach 612 v. Chr., in: J. Renger (Hrsg.), *Assur. Gott, Stadt und Land*, 5. Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, CDOG Bd. 5, 101–114.
- KÜHNE 2012: H. Kühne, Wasser für Dür-Katlimmu – Wasser für Assyrien. In: F. Klimscha, R. Eichmann, C. Schuler, H. Fahlbusch (Hrsg.), *Wasserwirtschaftliche Innovationen im Archäologischen Kontext*, 203–209.
- KÜHNE (in preparation): H. Kühne (ed.), *Die Zitadelle von Dur-Katlimmu in mittel- und neuassyrischer Zeit*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēh Ḥamad / Dür-Katlimmu 12, Wiesbaden.
- KÜHNE (in print): H. Kühne, State and Empire of Assyria in Northeast Syria. in: W. Orthmann / M. al-Maqdissi / P. Matthiae (Eds.), *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie I*.
- KÜHNE/LUTHER 2005: H. Kühne / A. Luther, Magdalu/Magdala: Zur Identifizierung des antiken Namens von Tall Šēh Ḥamad, in: Kühne 2005: 337–341.

- KÜHNE/ORTHMANN 1974: H. Kühne / W. Orthmann, Mumbaqat 1973 – Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk unternommenen Ausgrabungen, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 106, 53–97.
- KÜHNE/RADNER 2008: H. Kühne / K. Radner, Das Siegel des Išme-ilū, Eunuch des Nergar-ereš, aus Dür-Katlimmu, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 98, 26–44.
- KÜHNE/RÖLLIG 1977–1978: H. Kühne / W. Röllig, The Lower Ḥābūr. 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.
- KÜHNE/RÖLLIG 1983: H. Kühne / W. Röllig, The Lower Habur. Second preliminary report on a survey in 1977, *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 33.2, 187–199.
- KÜHNE/RÖLLIG 1989: H. Kühne / W. Röllig, Das Siegel des Königs Salmanassar I von Assyrien, in: K. Emre / M. Mellink / B. Hrouda / N. Özgür (eds.), *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgür*, Ankara, 295–299.
- KUDLEK 2006: V. M. Kudlek, Ein Beitrag zur Siedlungsgeschichte im Bereich um Tell Chuera. Der Wadi Hamar-Survey. Eine Auswertung für das dritte Jahrtausend v. Chr. und die frühislamischen Perioden (unpublizierte Magisterarbeit, Frankfurt).
- KÜRSCHNER 2008: H. Kürschner, Hölzer und Holzkohlen der Grabung Tall Šēh Ḥamad und ihre Bedeutung für die Rekonstruktion der Umweltbedingungen in Nordost-Syrien, in: Kühne 2008: 149–154.
- LAYARD 1853: A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London (reprint 1882).
- LEBEAU 1997: M. Lebeau, La céramique de la “Maison aux Tablettes” (chantier B), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 1997: 65–87.
- LEBEAU 2006: M. Lebeau, Les temples de Tell Beydar et leur environnement immédiat à l'époque de Early Jezirah IIIb, in: P. Butterlin *et al.* (eds.), *Les espaces syro-mésopotamiens. Dimensions de l'expérience humaine au Proche-Orient ancien. Volume d'hommage offert à Jean-Claude Margueron*, Subartu XVII, 101–140.
- LEBEAU 2011: M. Lebeau (ed), *Jezirah* (ARCANE 1), Turnhout.
- LEBEAU/SULEIMAN 1997: M. Lebeau / A. Suleiman (ed.), *Tell Beydar. Three Seasons of Excavations (1992–1994). A Preliminary Report*, Subartu III.
- LEBEAU/SULEIMAN 2003: M. Lebeau / A. Suleiman (ed.), *Tell Beydar, The 1995–1999 Seasons of Excavations. A Preliminary Report*, Subartu X.
- LEBEAU/SULEIMAN 2007: M. Lebeau / A. Suleiman (ed.), *Tell Beydar. The 2000–2002 Seasons of Excavations, The 2003–2004 Seasons of Architectural Restoration. A Preliminary Report*, Subartu XV.
- LEBEAU/SULEIMAN 2008: M. Lebeau / A. Suleiman (ed.), *Beydar Studies* 1, Subartu XXI.
- LEBEAU/SULEIMAN 2011: M. Lebeau / A. Suleiman (ed.), *Tell Beydar. The 2004/2–2009 Seasons of Excavations, The 2004/2–2006 Seasons of Architectural Restoration. A Preliminary Report*, Subartu XXIX.
- LEENDERS 1989: R. Leenders, The Red Wash Ware Ceramic Assemblage in Syria: A Review, in: Haex/Curvers/Akkermans 1989: 89–101.
- LIPINSKI 2000: E. Lipinski, *The Aramaeans*, Orientalia Loveniensia Analecta 100, Leuven.
- LIVERANI 1988: M. Liverani, The Growth of the Assyrian Empire in the Habur/Middle Euphrates Area: A New Paradigma, *State Archive of Assyria Bulletin* 2, 81–98.
- LIVERANI 1995: M. Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5. Roma.
- LOPES *et al.* 2011: M. C. Lopes / R. Cabral / A. G. Tomé / A. M. Vaz / T. Costa, Tell Beydar 2009 – Field C. Preliminary Report, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2011, 275–284.
- LUTHER 2005: A. Luther, Tall Šēh Ḥamad in parthisch-römischer Zeit: die althistorische Perspektive, in: H. Kühne 2005: 343–354.
- LYONNET 2000: B. Lyonnet (ed.), *Prospection archéologique du Haut-Khabur occidental (Syrie*

- du N.E.), Vol. I, Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 155.*
- LYONNET 2009: B. Lyonnet, Périphérie de la Mésopotamie à la période d'Uruk (IVe millénaire): Le cas des régions du Caucase, in: *Centre et périphérie, approches nouvelles des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1–28.
- MACHINIST 1978: P.P. Machinist, The Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta I (PhD Dissertation, Yale University).
- MACHULE 1994: D. Machule, Tall Munbaqa/Ekalte 1993, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 126, 63–64.
- MACHULE/CZICHON/WERNER 1989: D. Machule / R.M. Czichon / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa 1987, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 121, 65–77.
- MACHULE/CZICHON/WERNER 1994: D. Machule / R. M. Czichon / P. Werner, Tall Munbaqa/Ekalte 1992, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 126, 51–62.
- MACHULE *et al.* 1986: D. Machule / K. Karstens / H.-H. Klapproth / D. Machule / M. Mackensen / W. Mayer / R. Mayer Opificius / G. Mozer / W. Pape / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa 1984, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 118, 67–145.
- MACHULE *et al.* 1987: D. Machule / M. Benter / J. Boessneck / T.C. de Feyter / K. Karstens / H.-H. Klapproth / S. Koelling / J. Kunze / Ö. Tezeren / A. von den Driesch / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa 1985, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 119, 73–134.
- MACHULE *et al.* 1988: D. Machule / M. Benter / R. M. Czichon / K. Karstens / H.-H. Klapproth / W. Mayer / W. Pape / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa 1986, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 120, 11–50.
- MACHULE *et al.* 1990: D. Machule / M. Benter / R. M. Czichon / W. Pape / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa 1988, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 122, 9–42.
- MACHULE *et al.* 1991: D. Machule / M. Benter / R. M. Czichon / W. Pape / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa 1988, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 123, 71–93.
- MACHULE *et al.* 1992: D. Machule / M. Benter / R. M. Czichon / I. Gerlach / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa/Ekalte 1990, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 124, 11–40.
- MACHULE *et al.* 1993: D. Machule / M. Benter / R. M. Czichon / M. Luciani / M. Miftah / W. Pape / P. Werner, Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbaqa/Ekalte 1991, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 125, 69–101.
- MACHULE/WÄFLER 1978: D. Machule / M. Wäfler, Tall Munbaqa 1978, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 110, 73–76.
- MAHMOUD 2008: A. Mahmoud, Fruchtbare Kooperation, in: D. Bonatz / R. M. Czichon / F.J. Kreppner (eds), *Fundstellen. Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, Wiesbaden, 389–392.
- MAHMOUD/KÜHNE 1993–1994: A. Mahmoud / H. Kühne, Tall ‘Ağāğa/Şadikanni 1984–1990, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 40/41, 215–221.
- MALLOWAN 1936: M. E. L. Mallowan, The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar and an Archaeological Survey of the Habur Region, 1934–5, *Iraq* 3, 1–59.
- MALLOWAN 1947: M. E. L. Mallowan, Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar, *Iraq* 9.
- MALLOWAN 1977: M. E. L. Mallowan, *Mallowan's Memoirs*, London.
- MALLOWAN/ROSE 1935: M. E. L. Mallowan / J. Cruikshank Rose, *Prehistoric Assyria, The Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah*, 1933.
- MARTI 2008: L. Marti, *Florilegium marianum X: Nomades et sédentaires à Mari: La perception de la taxe-sugâgûtum*, Paris.
- MARTIN/FAKHRU 2009: L. Martin / M. Fakhru, West-Palast und Lehmziegelmassiv, in: Baghdo *et al.* 2009, 13–26.
- MARTIN/NOVÁK 2010: L. Martin / M. Novák, Neue Grabfunde auf dem Tell Halaf. *Archäologie in Deutschland* 6/2010, 12–17.

- MARTÍN GALÁN/DEL CASTILLO OLIVARES-PANTOJA 2007: R. Martín Galán / E. Del Castillo Olivares-Pantoja, The Hellenistic Palace of Tell Beydar, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2007: 211–225.
- MATECUICOVÁ 2010: I. Matecuicová, Tell Arbid Abyad – A New Late Neolithic Site in the Upper Khabur Basin, NE Syria: The First Preliminary Report, in: P. Matthiae / F. Pinnock / L. Nigro / N. Marchetti (eds.) *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*. 5 May – 10 May 2009, »Sapienza«, Università di Roma, Wiesbaden, 411–422 (Vol. III).
- MATTHEWS 1995: R. Matthews, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1995, *Iraq* 57, 87–111.
- MATTHEWS 1996: R. Matthews, Excavations at Tell Brak 1996, *Iraq* 58, 65–77.
- MATTHEWS 2000: R. Matthews, *The Early Prehistory of Mesopotamia. 500,000 to 4,500 BC*, Subartu V.
- MATTHEWS 2003: R. Matthews, *The Excavations at Tell Brak Vol. 4: Exploring an Upper Mesopotamian Regional Centre, 1994–96*. Cambridge/London.
- MATTHEWS/EIDEM 1993: D. Matthews / J. Eidem, Tell Brak and Nagar, *Iraq* 55, 201–207.
- MATTHEWS/MATTHEWS/MCDONALD 1994: R. Matthews / W. Matthews / H. McDonald, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1994, *Iraq* 56, 177–194.
- MAUL 1992: S. M. Maul, *Die Inschriften von Tell Bderi*, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient Texte 2, Berlin.
- MAUL 2005: S. M. Maul, *Die Inschriften von Tall Tābān (Grabungskampagnen 1997–1999): Die Könige von Tābētu und das Land Māri in mittelassyrischer Zeit*, Acta Sumerologica Supplementary Series 2, Tokyo.
- MAYER 1986: W. Mayer, Taide oder Wašukanni? Name und Lage der Hauptstadt Mitannis. *Ugarit Forschungen* 18, 231–236.
- MAYER 2001: W. Mayer, *Tall Munbāqa–Ekalte II. Die Texte*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 102, Saarbrücken.
- MAYO/WEISS 2003: D. Mayo / H. Weiss, The Beginning of the Ninevite 5 Sequence at Tell Leilan, in: Rova/Weiss 2003: 25–41.
- MCCARTHY 2012: A. McCarthy, Tell Leilan Akkadian Palace Seal Impressions, in: Weiss 2012b: 217–224.
- MCCORRISTON 1992: J. McCorriston, The Halaf Environment and Human Activities in the Khabur Drainage, Syria, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 19/3, 315–333.
- MCCORRISTON 1997: J. McCorriston, The Fiber Revolution: Textile Extensification, Alienation and Social Stratification in Ancient Mesopotamia, *Current Anthropology* 38, 517–549.
- MC EWAN *et al.* 1958: C. W. McEwan / L.S. Braidwood / H. Frankfort / H.G. Güterbock / R.C. Haines / H.J. Kantor / C.H. Kraeling, *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah*, Oriental Institute Publications 79. Chicago.
- McMAHON 2009: A. McMahon, The Lion, the King and the Cage: Late Chalcolithic Iconography and Ideology in Northern Mesopotamia, *Iraq* 71, 115–124.
- McMAHON/OATES 2007: A. McMahon / J. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak 2006–2007, *Iraq* 69, 145–171.
- McMAHON/SOLTYSIAK/WEBER 2011: A. McMahon / A. Soltysiak / J. Weber, Late Chalcolithic Mass Graves at Tell Brak, Syria, and Violent Conflict during the Growth of Early City-States, *Journal of Field Archaeology* 36(3), 201–220.
- MERPERT/MUNCHAEV 1993a: N.Y. Merpert / R.M. Munchaev, Yarimtepe III: The Halaf Levels, in: Yoffee/Clark 1993: 163–205.
- MERPERT/MUNCHAEV 1993b: N.Y. Merpert / R.M. Munchaev, Yarim Tepe III: The Ubaid Levels, in: Yoffee/Clark 1993: 225–240.
- MEYER 2000: J.-W. Meyer, Die zweite Grabungskampagne in Kharab Sayyar 1999, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 132, 297–309.
- MEYER 2006: J.-W. Meyer, Zur Chronologie von Tell Chuera, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 37, 329–333.

- MEYER 2007: J.-W. Meyer, Veränderungen der Grabungsstrategie in Tell Chuera (Syrien) aufgrund der Ergebnisse der geomagnetischen Prospektion, in: M. Posselt/B. Zickgraf/C. Dobiat (Hrsg.), *Geophysik und Ausgrabung*, Rahden/Westf., 223–236.
- MEYER 2010a: J.-W. Meyer, *Tell Chuēra: Vorbereichte zu den Grabungskampagnen 1998 bis 2005*, Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 2, II, Wiesbaden.
- MEYER 2010b: J.-W. Meyer, Überlegungen zur Siedlungsstruktur. Eine erste Analyse der Ergebnisse der geomagnetischen Prospektion, in: Meyer 2010a: 199–221.
- MEYER/HEMPELMANN 2006: J.-W. Meyer / R. Hempelmann, Bemerkungen zu Mari aus der Sicht von Tell Chuera – Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jts. v. Chr., *Altorientalische Forschungen* 33: 22–41.
- MEYER et al. 2001: J.-W. Meyer, Die dritte Grabungskampagne in Kharab Sayyar 2000, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 133, 199–223.
- MEYER et al. 2003: J.-W. Meyer, Die 4. Grabungskampagne in Kharab Sayyar 2002, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 135, 81–102.
- MEYER et al. 2005: J.-W. Meyer, Bericht über die 5. und 6. Grabungskampagne 2003–2004 in Kharab Sayyar, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 137, 13–39.
- MIGLUS et al. 2002: P.A. Miglus et al. Assur – Herbstkampagne 2001, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 134, 7–39.
- MILANO (in print): L. Milano, Third Millennium Cuneiform Texts from Tell Beydar, in: Lebeau/Suleiman: 1–30 (in print).
- MILANO/ROVA 2003: L. Milano / E. Rova, Tell Beydar – Field I Preliminary Report of the 1999 Season, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 349–385.
- MILANO et al. 2004: L. Milano / W. Sallaberger / Ph. Talon / K. van Lerberghe, *Third Millennium Cuneiform Texts from Tell Beydar (Saisons 1996–2002)*, Subartu XII.
- MILLARD/TADMOR 1973: A. Millard / H. Tadmor, Adad-Nirari III in Syria, *Iraq* XXXV, 57–64.
- MOORTGAT 1956: A. Moortgat, Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Grabung auf dem Tell Fecherije 1955, *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 6, 39–50.
- MOORTGAT 1957: A. Moortgat, *Archäologische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung im nördlichen Mesopotamien 1955*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westphalen, Abhandlung 62, Köln-Opladen.
- MOORTAT 1959: A. Moortgat, *Archäologische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung im nördlichen Mesopotamien 1956*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westphalen 7, Köln-Opladen.
- MOORTGAT-CORENS 1972: U. Moortgat-Correns, *Die Bildwerke vom Djebel el Bēda in ihrer räumlichen und zeitlichen Umwelt*, Berlin/New York.
- MÜLLER-NEUHOF 2007: B. Müller-Neuhof, Anthropomorphic Statuettes from Tell Fakhariyah: Arguments for Their Possible PPNB Origin, *Neo-Lithics* 1, 37–43.
- NICOLLE 2006: C. Nicolle, *Tell Mohammed Diyab* 3. Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- NIEUWENHUYSE 1997: O.P. Nieuwenhuyse, Following the Earliest Halaf: Some Later Halaf Pottery from Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria, *Anatolica* 23, 227–242.
- NIEUWENHUYSE 2000: O.P. Nieuwenhuyse, Halaf Settlement in the Khabur Headwaters, in: B. Lyonnet (ed.), *Prospection archéologique du Haut-Khabur occidental (Syrie du N.E.)*, vol. I. Beirut 151–260.
- NIEUWENHUYSE 2004: O.P. Nieuwenhuyse, Early Pottery from Late Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad II, Syria, *Leiden Journal of Pottery Studies* 20, 97–110.
- NIEUWENHUYSE 2008: O.P. Nieuwenhuyse, *Plain and Painted Pottery – The Rise of Neolithic Ceramic Styles on the Syrian and Northern Mesopotamian Plains*, Turnhout.

- NIEUWENHUYSE/AKKERMANS/VAN DER PLICHT 2010: O.P. Nieuwenhuyse / P.M.M.G. Akkermans / J. Van der Plicht, Not so Coarse, Nor Always Plain – The Earliest Pottery of Syria, *Antiquity* 84, 71–85.
- NOVÁK 2005: M. Novák, The Islamic Shrine of Šeh Hamad and the recent Cemetery on the summit of Tall Šeh Hamad, in: Kühne 2005: 355–360.
- NOVÁK 2009: M. Novák, Zur Geschichte der aramäisch-assyrischen Stadt Güzāna, in: Baghdo et al. 2009: 93–98.
- NOVÁK/OETTEL/WITZEL 2000: M. Novák / A. Oettel / C. Witzel, *Der Parthisch-Römische Friedhof von Tall Šeh Hamad/Magdala, Teil I*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šeh Hamad/Dür-Katlimmu 5, Wiesbaden.
- NUMOTO 2006: H. Numoto, Excavation at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (4): Preliminary Report of the 2005 Winter Season of Work, *al-Rāfidān* 27, 1–13, pls. 1–30.
- NUMOTO 2007: H. Numoto, Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (5): Preliminary Report of the 2005 Summer Season of Work, *al-Rāfidān* 28, 1–24 and pls. 1–38.
- NUMOTO 2008: H. Numoto, Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (6): Preliminary Report of the 2006 Season of Work, *al-Rāfidān* 29, 1–12, pls. 1–34.
- NUMOTO 2009: H. Numoto, Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (7): Preliminary Report of the 2007 Season of Work, in: H. Numoto (ed.), *Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria: Preliminary Report on the 2007 Season of Excavations, and the Study of Cuneiform Texts*, Tokyo, 1–32 and pls. 1–53.
- OATES 1968/2005: D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, Cambridge.
- OATES 1987: D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak 1985–86, *Iraq* 49, 175–192.
- OATES 2002: J. Oates, Tell Brak: The 4th Millennium Sequence and Its Implications, in: J. N. Postgate (ed.), *Artefacts of Complexity; Tracking the Uruk in the Near East*, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London, 111–122.
- OATES 2005: J. Oates, Archaeology in Mesopotamia: Digging Deeper at Tell Brak. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 131, 1–39.
- OATES (in Vorb.): J. Oates (ed.), *Excavations at Tell Brak Vol. 3: Early Urbanism and Prehistory*, Cambridge/London.
- OATES/OATES 1990: D. Oates / J. Oates, Aspects of Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in the Khabur Basin, in P. Matthiae / M. Van Loon / H. Weiss, *Resurrecting the Past, a Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 227–248.
- OATES/OATES 1991: D. Oates / J. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak 1990–91, *Iraq* 53, 127–145.
- OATES/OATES 1993: D. Oates / J. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak 1992–93, *Iraq* 55, 155–200.
- OATES/OATES 1994: D. Oates / J. Oates, Tell Brak: A Stratigraphic Summary, 1976–1993, *Iraq* 56, 167–176.
- OATES/OATES 1997: J. Oates / D. Oates, An Open Gate: Cities of the Fourth Millennium BC (Tell Brak), *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7, 287–297.
- OATES/OATES/MCDONALD 1997: D. Oates / J. Oates / H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, Vol. 1., The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods, Cambridge.
- OATES/OATES/MCDONALD 2001: D. Oates / J. Oates / H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, Vol. 2. Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, Cambridge.
- OATES et al. 2007: J. Oates / A. McMahon / P. Karsgaard / S. al-Quntar / J. Ur, Early Mesopotamian Urbanism: A View from the North, *Antiquity* 81 (313), 585–600.
- OETTEL 2003: A. Oettel, Roms Grenze im Zweistromland, *Archäologie in Deutschland* (Heft 5) 14–19.
- OETTEL 2005: A. Oettel, Die Siedlungsgeschichte von Tall Šeh Hamad in seleukidischer, parthischer und römischer Zeit, in: Kühne 2005: 321–335.
- OHNUMA/NUMOTO 2001: K. Ohnuma / H. Numoto, Excavation at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (3): Report of the 1999 Season of Work, *al-Rāfidān* 22, 1–14, pls. 1–49.

- OHNUMA/NUMOTO/OKADA 1999: K. Ohnuma / H. Numoto / Y. Okada, Excavation at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria: Report of the 1997 Season of Work, *al-Rāfidān* 20, 1–21, pls. 1–26.
- OHNUMA/NUMOTO/SHIMBO 2000: K. Ohnuma / H. Numoto / M. Shimbo, Excavation at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria (2): Report of the 1998 Season of Work, *al-Rāfidān* 21, 1–17, pls. 1–33.
- OPITZ 1927: D. Opitz, Die Lage von Waššugganni, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 37, 299–301.
- ORSI 2011: V. Orsi, *Crisi e Rigenerazione nella valle dell'alto Khabur (Siria), la produzione ceramica nel passaggio del Bronzo Antico al Bronzo Medio*, Firenze.
- ORTHMANN 1976: W. Orthmann, Mumbaqat 1974 – Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft mit Mitteln der Stiftung Volkswagenwerk unternommenen Ausgrabungen, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 108, 25–44.
- ORTHMANN 1990: W. Orthmann, L'architecture religieuse de Tell Chuera. *Akkadica* 69, 1–18.
- ORTHMANN 2002: W. Orthmann, *Die aramäisch-assyrische Stadt Guzana. Ein Rückblick auf die Ausgrabungen Max von Oppenheim's in Tell Halaf*, Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 15.
- ORTHMANN/AL-MAQDISSI/MATTHIAE (in Vorb.): W. Orthmann / M. Al-Maqdissi / P. Matthiae (Hrsg.), *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie I*, Saarbrücken.
- ORTHMANN *et al.* 1995: W. Orthmann, *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien I. Vorbericht über die Grabungskampagnen 1986 bis 1992*. Vorderasiatische Forschungen der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 2.
- ORTHMANN/SOLLEE/WARTKE 2012: W. Orthmann / A. Sollee / R.-B. Wartke, Die Ausgrabungen in der Unterstadt des Tell Halaf, in: *Baghdo et al.* 2012: 109–130.
- PAPPALARDO 2012: R. Pappalardo, The Islamic Common Ware from Tell Barri: A Preliminary Study, in: R. Matthews / J. Curtis with M. Seymour / A. Fletcher / A. Gascoigne / C. Glatz / St J. Simpson / H. Taylor / J. Tubb / R. Chapman (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Wiesbaden, 647–656.
- PARAYRE 2003: D. Parayre, The Ninevite 5 Sequence of Glyptic at Tell Leilan, in: Rova/Weiss 2003: 271–310.
- PARAYRE/WEISS 1991: D. Parayre / H. Weiss, Cinq campagnes des fouilles à Tell Leilan dans la Haute Jezireh (1979–1987): Bilan et Perspectives, *Journal des Savants* 1991, 3–26.
- PARPOLA 1998–2002: S. Parpola (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki.
- PECORELLA 1990: P.E. Pecorella, The Habur Area and its Relationship with Anatolia mainly during the II Millennium B.C., *Acts of the X Turkish Historical Society*, Ankara, 147–151.
- PECORELLA 1993: P.E. Pecorella, Uno scavo oltre la linea e alcuni problemi ceramici, in: M. Frangipane *et al.* (a cura di), *Between the Rivers and over the Mountains*, Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri Dedicata, 531–538.
- PECORELLA 1998: P.E. Pecorella, Introduzione, in: P.E. Pecorella (cur.), *Tell Barri/Kahat 2. Relazioni sulle campagne 1980–1993 a Tell Barri/Kahat, nel bacino del Habur (Siria)*, con contributi di M.G. Amatas / S. Anastasio / L. Bettini / R. Piscione / V. Francaviglia / A.M. Calmieri / N. Parmigiani / P.E. Pecorella / R. Pierobon Benoit / L. Tondo / M. Salvini, Roma.
- PECORELLA 2005: P.E. Pecorella, Dai Sumeri agli Assiri: storia di un insediamento, in: M.C. Guidotti / G. Pecchioli Daddi, Narrare gli eventi, Atti del Convegno degli Egittologi e degli Orientalisti italiani in margine alla mostra ‘La battaglia di Qadesh’, Firenze 4–6 dicembre 2002, Firenze, 257–270.
- PECORELLA 2006: P.E. Pecorella, Una risposta ad una domanda ed una piccola storia assira, in: F. Baffi / R. Dolce / S. Mazzoni / F. Pinnock, *Ina Kibrat Erbetti. Studi di archeologia orientale dedicati a Paolo Matthiae*, Roma, 435–444.

- PECORELLA 2008: P.E. Pecorella, Recenti scoperte a Tell Barri di Siria, in: H. Kühne / R.M. Czichon / F.J. Kreppner (eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Freie Universität Berlin, March 29th–April 3th 2004) 2, Wiesbaden, 387–398.
- PECORELLA/PIEROBON BENOIT 1998: P.E. Pecorella / R. Pierobon Benoit, Tell Barri – Kahat. Una città dell’alta Siria, in: *Studi e testi* I, Eothen 9, Firenze, 93–116.
- PECORELLA/PIEROBON BENOIT 2002: P.E. Pecorella / R. Pierobon Benoit, La mission archaeologica italiana a Tell Barri 2001, *Orient-Express* 3, 67–73.
- PECORELLA/PIEROBON BENOIT 2008, (2009)a: P.E. Pecorella / R. Pierobon Benoit, *Tell Barri – Kahat. La campagna del 2003*, Relazione preliminare, Firenze.
- PECORELLA/PIEROBON BENOIT 2008, (2009)b: P.E. Pecorella / R. Pierobon Benoit, *Tell Barri – Kahat. La campagna del 2004*, Relazione preliminare, Firenze.
- PFÄLZNER 1988: P. Pfälzner, Tell Bdéri 1985. Bericht über die erste Kampagne, *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 3, 223–386.
- PFÄLZNER 1989–1990: P. Pfälzner, Tall Bdéri 1985–1987, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36/37, 212–221.
- PFÄLZNER 1994: P. Pfälzner, Die Späte Bronzezeit: Tall Umm ‘Aqrēbe, in: Bernbeck 1994: 70–96.
- PFÄLZNER 1995: P. Pfälzner, *Mittanische und mittelassyrische Keramik. Eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēh Ḥamad/ Dūr-Katlimmu 3, Berlin.
- PFÄLZNER 2001: P. Pfälzner, *Haus und Haushalt. Wohnformen des dritten Jahrtausends vor Christus in Nordmesopotamien*, Damaszener Forschungen 9, Mainz.
- PFÄLZNER 2008a: P. Pfälzner, Redistributive, kommunale und häusliche Vorratshaltung am Unteren Hābūr im 3. Jtsd. v. Chr., in: Kühne 2008: 163–179.
- PFÄLZNER 2008b: P. Pfälzner, Das Tempeloval von Urkesh. Betrachtungen zur Typologie und Entwicklungsgeschichte der mesopotamischen Ziggurat im 3. Jt. v. Chr., *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 1, 396–433.
- PFÄLZNER 2010: P. Pfälzner, Introduction and Synthesis: Urban Development and Ecology at Tell Mozan, in: K. Deckers / M. Doll / P. Pfälzner / S. Riehl, *Development of the Environment, Subsistence and Settlement of the City of Urkesh and its Region*, Wiesbaden, 1–12.
- PFÄLZNER/WISSING 2004: P. Pfälzner / A. Wissing, Urbanismus in der Unterstadt von Urkesh, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft* 136, 41–86.
- PIEROBON BENOIT 2008 (2009): R. Pierobon Benoit (a cura di), *Tell Barri. Storia di un insediamento antico tra Oriente e Occidente* = La Parola del Passato 63.
- PIEROBON BENOIT 2008 (2009)a: R. Pierobon Benoit, *Tell Barri, sito di frontiera?*, in: Pierobon Benoit 2008 (2009): 169–202.
- PIEROBON BENOIT 2011: R. Pierobon Benoit, Partendo da un anello, in: M. Tortorelli Ghiaiani (ed.), *Aurum. Funzioni e simbologia dell’oro nelle culture antiche*, Convegno Internazionale. Napoli 2011, (sous presse).
- PIEROBON BENOIT 2012: R. Pierobon Benoit, Frontiere e ‘identità’ nazionali: il contributo dell’archeologia, in: M. Cavalieri (ed.), *Industria Apium. Hommages à Raymond Brulet*, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 355–374.
- PITTMAN 1999: H. Pittman, Administrative Evidence from Hacinebi Tepe: An Essay on the Local and the Colonial, *Paléorient* 25(1), 43–50.
- POIDEbard 1934: A. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie. Le limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe. Recherches aériennes (1925–1932)*, (BAH 18), Paris.
- POLLOCK 1992: S. Pollock, Bureaucrats and Managers, Peasants and Pastoralists, Imperialists and Traders: Research on the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr Periods in Mesopotamia, *Journal of World Prehistory* 6 (3), 297–336.

- POLLOCK 1999: S. Pollock, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Cambridge.
- POSTGATE 1974: N. Postgate, ‘Some remarks on conditions in the Assyrian countryside’, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17, 225–243.
- POSTGATE 1985: N. Postgate, The Middle Assyrian Provinces, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 32, 95–101.
- POSTGATE 1992: N. Postgate, The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur, *World Archaeology* 23, 247–262.
- POSTGATE 1995: N. Postgate, Assyria: the Home Provinces, in: Liverani 1995: 1–17.
- POSTGATE 2010: N. Postgate, The Debris of Government: Reconstructing the Middle Assyrian State Apparatus from Tablets and Potsherd, *Iraq* LXXII, 19–37.
- POSTGATE/OATES/OATES 1997: C. Postgate / D. Oates / J. Oates, The Excavations at Tell Rimah. The Pottery, *Iraq Archaeological Reports* 4, Warminster.
- POWELL 1990: M. Powell, Masse und Gewichte, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Band 7, Berlin/New York, 457–517.
- PREZIOSI 1979: D. Preziosi, *The Semiotics of the Built Environment. An Introduction to Architectonic Analysis*, Bloomington/London.
- PRUSS 2011: A. Prüß, Excavations in Field P in the years 2004–2009, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2011: 111–175.
- PRUSS/BAGDO 2002: A. Prüß / A. M. Bagdo, Tell Fecheriye. Bericht über die erste Kampagne der deutsch-syrischen Ausgrabungen 2001, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 134, 311–329.
- PRUSS/SALLABERGER 2003/2004: A. Prüß / W. Sal-laberger, Tierhaltung in Nabada / Tell Beydar und die Bildwelt der Terrakotten als Spiegel von Wirtschaft und Umwelt, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50, 293–307.
- PUCCI 2009: M. Pucci, The Neoassyrian Residences of Tell Sheikh Hamad, Syria, in: J. M. Córdoba / M. Molist / M. C. Pérez / I. Rubio / S. Martínez (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 3.–8. April 2006, Madrid, Spain*, Vol. III, Madrid, 49–63.
- PUCCI 2010: M. Pucci, The Discovery of the City-Canal of Dür-Katlimmu, in: Kühne 2010: 163–174.
- PULHAN 2000: G. Pulhan, On the Eve of the Dark Age: Qarni-Lim’s Palace at Tell Leilan. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University.
- QUENET 1997: Ph. Quenet, La céramique des niveaux du IIIe millénaire (chantier B1), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 1997: 59–63.
- QUENET 2011: Ph. Quenet, Stratigraphy, in: Lebeau 2011: 19–47.
- RACCIDI (in print): M. Raccidi, The “hammer-head” bowls in Syrian-Jezirah: case-study from Tell Barri, *Proceedings of the Conference Broadening Horizons, 4th Conference of the Young Researchers Working in the Ancient Near East*, Oxford BAR.
- RADNER 1998: K. Radner, Der Gott Salmānu („Šulmānu“) und seine Beziehung zur Stadt Dür-Katlimmu, *Die Welt des Orients* 29, 33–51.
- RADNER 2000: K. Radner, How did the Neo-Assyrian King Perceive his Land and Resources? in: R. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*. Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 233–246.
- RADNER 2002: K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḥ Hamad*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḥ Hamad / Dür-Katlimmu Bd. 6, Berlin.
- RADNER 2004: K. Radner, *Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi. Ausgrabungen in Giricano I*, Subartu XIV.
- RADNER 2006–2008: K. Radner, ‘Provinz. C. Assyrien.’, in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 11, 42–68.
- RASSAM 1897: H. Rassam, *Ashur and the Land of Nimrod*, New York.
- RECULEAU 2011: H. Reculeau, *Climate, Environment, and Agriculture in Assyria of the 2nd Half of the 2nd Millennium BCE*, Studia Chaburensia 2.

- REICHEL 2002: C. Reichel, Administrative Complexity in Syria during the 4th Millennium BC—The Seals and Sealings from Tell Hamoukar, *Akkadica* 123, 35–56.
- REICHEL 2005: C. Reichel, University of Chicago-Syrian team finds first evidence of warfare in ancient Mesopotamia, in: The University of Chicago News Office, Internet-Mitteilung vom 16.12.2005 (<http://www-news.uchicago.edu/releases/05/051216.hamoukar.shtml>).
- RIEHL/BRYSON/PUSTOVYTOV 2008: S. Riehl / R. Bryson / K. Pustovoytov, Changing growing conditions for crops during the Near Eastern Bronze Age (3000-1200 BC): the stable carbon isotope evidence, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35(4), 1011–1022.
- RISTVET 2005: L. Ristvet, Settlement, Economy, and Society in the Tell Leilan Region, Syria, 3000-1000 BC, Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Cambridge.
- RISTVET 2007: L. Ristvet, The Third Millennium City Wall at Tell Leilan, Syria: Identity, Authority, and Urbanism, in: J. Bretschneider *et al.*, *Power and Architecture: Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean*, Leuven, 183–212.
- RISTVET 2008: L. Ristvet, Legal and Archaeological Territories of the Second Millennium BC in Northern Mesopotamia, *Antiquity* 82, 585–599.
- RISTVET/GUILDERSON/WEISS 2004: L. Ristvet / T. Gilderson / H. Weiss, The Dynamics of State Development and Imperialization at Third Millennium Tell Leilan, Syria, *Orient-Express* 8, 68–75.
- RISTVET/WEISS 2000: L. Ristvet / H. Weiss, Imperial Responses to Environmental Dynamics at Late Third Millennium Tell Leilan, *Orient-Express* 4, 94–99.
- RISTVET/WEISS 2005: L. Ristvet / H. Weiss, The Hābūr Region in the Late Third and Early Second Millennium B.C., in: W. Orthmann / P. Matthiae / M. Maqdissi (eds.), *The History and Archaeology of Syria, Vol. 1*, Saarbrücken <http://leilan.yale.edu/pubs/files/RistvetWeiss2005HAS1.pdf>
- RISTVET/WEISS 2011: L. Ristvet / H. Weiss, Micro- and Macro-Contexts of the Tell Leilan Eastern Lower Town Palace Archives, in: Eidem 2011: xi–xvii.
- ROAF 1998: M. Roaf, *Mesopotamien*, Augsburg.
- RÖLLIG 1978: W. Röllig, Dür-katlimmu. *Orientalia* 47, 419–430.
- RÖLLIG 2003: W. Röllig, Das Sitzbild des Kammaki vom Tell Halaf, in: R. Dittmann / Chr. Eder / B. Jacobs (Hrsg.), *Altertumswissenschaften im Dialog. Festschrift für Wolfram Nagel*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 306, Münster, 421–432.
- RÖLLIG 2008: W. Röllig, *Land- und Viehwirtschaft am Unterer Hābūr in Mittelassyrischer Zeit*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēh Ḥamad/Dür-Katlimmu Bd. 9, Wiesbaden.
- ROTHMAN 2002: M. Rothman, *Tepe Gawra: The Evolution of a Small, Prehistoric Center in Northern Iraq*, Philadelphia.
- ROVA/WEISS 2003: E. Rova / H. Weiss (eds.), *The Origins of North Mesopotamian Civilization: Ninevite 5 Chronology, Economy, Society, Subartu IX*.
- RUTISHAUSER 2008: S. Rutishauser, Hollow Ways in der Fernerkundung, in: Hofmeier/Kaelin 2008: 215–240.
- RUSSELL 2010: A. Russel, *Retracing the Steppes – A Zooarchaeological Analysis of Changing Subsistence Patterns in the Late Neolithic at Tell Sabi Abyad, Northern Syria, c. 6900 to 5900 BC*, Leiden.
- SALJE 1990: B. Salje, *Der ‘Common Style’ der Mitanni-Glyptik und die Glyptik der Levante und Zyperns in der Späten Bronzezeit*, Baghdader Forschungen 11, Mainz.
- SALLABERGER 1996: W. Sallaberger, Grain Accounts: Personnel Lists and Expenditure Documents, in: Ismail *et al.* 1996: 89–106.
- SALLABERGER 2004: W. Sallaberger, The Sumerian Literary Text from Tell Beydar, a Myth of Enki? in: Milano *et al.* 2004: 37–42.
- SALLABERGER/PRUSS (in prep.): W. Sallaberger / A. Prüß, Home and Work in Early Bronze Age

- Mesopotamia. Ration Lists and Private Houses at Tell Beydar/Nabada, in: P. Steinkeller (ed.), *Proceedings of the Conference “Labour in the Ancient Near East”* (in prep.).
- SALLABERGER/UR 2004: W. Sallaberger / J.A. Ur, Tell Beydar/Nabada in its Regional Setting, in: Milano et al. 2004: 51–71.
- SALVINI 1982: M. Salvini, I dati storici, in: P.E. Pecorella / M. Salvini (ed.), *Tell Barri/Kahat 1. Relazione preliminare sulle campagne del 1980 e 1981 a Tell Barri/Kahat, nel bacino del Habur*, Roma 1982, 13–28.
- SALVINI 1998: M. Salvini, La documentazione epigrafica, in: Pecorella 1998.
- SALVINI 2005: M. Salvini, Ricordo di Paolo Emilio Pecorella, in: *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-anatolici*, 7–14.
- SALVINI 2008 (2009): M. Salvini, Spigolature dai documenti cuneiformi di Tell Barri: “freddo, gelo, ghiaccio, uri, elefanti, leoni”, in: Pierobon Benoit 2008 (2009), 76–101.
- SALVINI (in print): M. Salvini, Risalendo il Giaghgiagh con Tukulti Ninurta II. In ricordo di Paolo Emilio Pecorella.
- SAPORETTI 1979: C. Sapozetti, *Gli eponimi mediosassiri*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 9, Malibu.
- SCHWARTZ 1988: G.M. Schwartz, *A Ceramic Chronology from Tell Leilan. Operation 1*, Yale, Tell Leilan Research Vol. 1, New Haven/London.
- SCHWARTZ/WEISS 1992: G.M. Schwartz / H. Weiss, Syria, ca. 10,000–2000 B.C., in: R.W. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (3rd ed.) Chicago/London, 185–202, 221–243.
- SENIOR/WEISS 1992: L. Senior / H. Weiss, Tell Leilan “*sila* - bowls” and the Akkadian Reorganization of Subarian Agricultural Production, *Orient-Express* 1992.2, 16–24.
- SHIBATA 2007: D. Shibata, Middle Assyrian Administrative and Legal Texts from the 2005 Excavation at Tell Taban: A Preliminary Report, *al-Rāfidān* 28, 63–74.
- SHIBATA 2009: D. Shibata, An Old Babylonian Manuscript of the Weidner God-list from Tell Taban, *Iraq* 71, 33–42.
- SHIBATA 2010: D. Shibata, Continuity of Local Tradition in the Middle Habur Region in the 2nd millennium B.C.: The Local Calendar of Tābetu in the Middle Assyrian Period, in: H. Kühne (ed.), *Dür-Katlimmu 2008 and Beyond*, Studia Chaburensia 1, Wiesbaden, 217–39.
- SHIBATA 2011a: D. Shibata, The Origin of the Dynasty of the Land of Māri and the City-god of Tābetu, *Revue d'assyriologie* 105, 165–180 [published in 2013].
- SHIBATA 2011b: D. Shibata, The Toponyms, “Land of Māri,” in the Late Second Millennium B.C., *Revue d'assyriologie* 105, 95–108 [published in 2013].
- SHIBATA 2012: D. Shibata, Local Power in the Middle Assyrian Period: The “Kings of the Land of Māri” in the Middle Habur Region, in: Wilhelm (ed.), *Organisation, Representation and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the LIW^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg 20–25 July 2008*, Winona Lake, 489–505.
- SHIBATA/YAMADA 2009: D. Shibata / S. Yamada, The Cuneiform Texts from the 2007 Excavations at Tell Taban: A Preliminary Report, in: H. Numoto (ed.), *Excavations at Tell Taban, Hassake, Syria: Preliminary Report on the 2007 Season of Excavations, and the Study of Cuneiform Texts*, Tokyo, 87–109.
- SHIBATA/YAMADA (forthcoming): D. Shibata / S. Yamada, The Building Inscriptions of Aššurketta-lēšir II, “King of Land of Māri,” in the Late Middle Assyrian Period: Their Historical Implications, in: M.-G. Massetti-Rouault / O. Rouault (eds.), *Après l’empire: Crise de l’état et de la monarchie en Mésopotamie du nord et en Anatolie* (XIII^{ème}–X^{ème} siècle av. J.C.).
- SMITH 2012: A. Smith, Akkadian and post-Akkadian Plant Use at Tell Leilan, in: Weiss 2012b: 225–240.
- SMOGORZEWSKA 2010: A. Smogorzewska, Andirons from Tell Arbid. Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Studies. *Etudes et Travaux* 23, 137–150.

- SOMMERFELD/ARCHI/WEISS 2004: W. Sommerfeld / A. Archi / H. Weiss, Why ‘Dada Measured 40,000 Liters of Barley from Nagar for Sippar’, 4ICAANE Berlin, March 29–April 3, 2004, Tell Leilan Poster Presentation. <http://leilan.yale.edu/pubs/files/poster2/poster2.jpg>.
- STAUBWASSER/WEISS 2006: M. Staubwasser / H. Weiss, Holocene Climate and Cultural Evolution in Late Prehistoric-Early Historic West Asia, *Quaternary Research* 66, 372–387.
- STEINKELLER 1998: P. Steinkeller, The Historical Background of Urkesh and the Hurrian Beginnings in Northern Mesopotamia, in: Buccellati/Kelly-Buccellati 1998: 75–98.
- STÉNUIT 2003: M.-E. Sténuit, L’entrepôt d’époque EJ IIIb. Étude architecturale (chantier E – campagnes 1995–1996), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 243–268.
- STÉNUIT 2011: M.-E. Sténuit, La fouille du Chantier N (Temple D) – Campagnes 2004–2005, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2011: 93–100.
- STÉNUIT/VAN DER STEDE 2003: M.-E. Sténuit / J. van der Stede, Du palais au quartier de maisonsprivées (jonction entre le chantier F et le chantier B – campagnes 1997–1999), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 225–241.
- STROMMENGER 1976: E. Strommenger, Fünfter vorläufiger Bericht über die in Habuba Kabira unternommenen Ausgrabungen (Kampagnen 1974, 1974, 1975), *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 108, 5–22.
- STROMMENGER 1980: E. Strommenger, *Habuba Kabira, Eine Stadt vor 5000 Jahren*, Mainz.
- STROMMENGER/KOHLMEYER 2013: E. Strommenger / K. Kohlmeyer (Hrsg.), *Ausgrabungen in Habuba Kabira II. Die Kleinfunde von Habuba Kabira-Süd*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.
- SÜRENHAGEN 1975: D. Sürenhagen, Untersuchungen zur Keramikproduktion innerhalb der Spät-Urukzeitlichen Siedlung Habuba Kabira-Süd in Nordsyrien. *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 5/6, 43–164.
- SÜRENHAGEN 1986: D. Sürenhagen, The Dry-Farming Belt: The Uruk Period and Subsequent Developments, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford, Four Quarters, 7–43.
- SÜRENHAGEN (in Vorb.): D. Sürenhagen, Die Uruk-Periode im syrischen Euphrattal, in: Orthmann/Al-Maqdissi/Matthiae (in Vorb.) 49–62.
- SULEIMAN 2003: A. Suleiman, Chantier F3 (1999): la découverte des Temples B et C, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 169–175.
- SULEIMAN 2007: A. Suleiman, Temples B and C, Storage Building and Artisanal Quarter (Fields F3, M & O, Seasons 2000–2002), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2007: 85–97.
- SULEIMAN 2011: A. Suleiman, Tell Beydar 2006–2009 – Chantier M: le Temple E, in Lebeau/Suleiman 2011, 77–92.
- SULEIMAN/NIEUWENHUYSE 2002: A. Suleiman / O.P. Nieuwenhuyse (ed.), *Tell Boueid II. A Late Neolithic Village on the Middle Khabur (Syria)*, Subartu XI.
- SULEIMAN/NIEUWENHUYSE 2003: A. Suleiman / O.P. Nieuwenhuyse, A Small Chalcolithic Village in the Syrian Jezirah. Rescue Excavations at Tell Beydar III (1996), in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 527–553.
- SULEIMAN/TAREKJI 1993: A. Suleiman / A. Tarekji, Tell Kashkashuk à l’époque de Halaf, in: S. Cluzan/E. Delpont/J. Mouliérac (eds.), *Syrie. Mémoire et Civilisation*, Ausstellungskatalog, Paris, 48.
- TALON 1996: Ph. Talon, The Language, in: Ismail et al. 1996: 69–73.
- TELL HALAF 1943: M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf I. Die prähistorischen Funde bearbeitet von Hubert Schmidt*, Berlin.
- TELL HALAF 1950: M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf II. Die Bauwerke von F. Langenegger / K. Müller / R. Naumann, bearbeitet und ergänzt von R. Naumann*, Berlin.
- TELL HALAF 1955: M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf III. Die Bildwerke unter Verwendung*

- der Beschreibung von Dietrich Opitz herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Anton Moortgat*, Berlin.
- TELL HALAF 1962: M. Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf IV. Die Kleinfunde aus historischer Zeit, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von B. Hrouda*, Berlin
- TELL HALAF 2010: N. Cholidis / L. Martin (Hrsg.), *Tell Halaf V. Im Krieg zerstörte Denkmäler und ihre Restaurierung mit Beiträgen von A.A. Dornauer, K. Drüppel, U. Dubiel, S. Geismeier und K. Rohn*, Berlin/New York.
- THOMPSON-MIRAGLIOLO 1988: J. Thompson-Miragliuolo, The Outer City: Introduction and Surface Collection, in: Buccellati/Kelly-Buccellati 1988: 49–56.
- TILLEY 1994: C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, Oxford.
- TOBLER 1950: A.J. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, Vol. II, Philadelphia.
- TROPPER 1993: J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas 6, Münster.
- TSUNEKI/MIYAKE 1998: A. Tsuneki / Y. Miyake (eds.), Excavations at Tell Umm Qseir in Middle Khabur Valley, North Syria. Report of the 1996 Season, *Al-Shark* 1.
- TUNCA/BAGHDO 2006: Ö. Tunca / A.M. Baghdo (eds.), *Chagar Bazar (Syrie) I: Les sondages préhistoriques (1999–2001)*, (avec la collaboration de W. Cruells). Louvain u.a. (=APHAO).
- TUNCA/BAGHDO 2008: Ö. Tunca / A.M. Baghdo, *Chagar Bazar (Syrie) III: Les trouvailles épigraphiques et sigillographiques de chantier I (2000–2002)*, Leuven.
- UR/KARSGAARD/OATES 2007: J. Ur / P. Karsgaard / J. Oates, Early Urban Development in the Near East, *Science* 317 (5842), 1188.
- UR/WILKINSON 2008: J. Ur / T.J. Wilkinson, Settlement and Economic Landscapes of Tell Beydar and its Hinterland, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2008: 305–327.
- VALENTINI 2008 (2009): S. Valentini, Tendenze evolutive nella ceramica del periodo protodinas-tico, in: Pierobon Benoit 2008 (2009), 203–219.
- VAN DE MIEROP 1995: M. van de Mieroop, The Tell Leilan Tablets 1991: A Preliminary Report, *Orientalia* 27, 305–344.
- VAN DER PLICHT *et al.* 2011: J. van der Plicht / P.M.M.G. Akkermans / O.P. Nieuwenhuyse / A. Kaneda / A. Russell, Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria: Radiocarbon Chronology, Cultural Change and the 8.2 Ka Event, *Radiocarbon* 53: 229–243.
- VAN DER STEDE 2003a: V. Van der Stede, Le Bloc Officiel et résidentiel: Phase 1, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 27–42.
- VAN DER STEDE 2003b: V. Van der Stede, Drains-verticaux et matériel associé, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2003: 189–202.
- VAN DER STEDE 2007: V. Van der Stede Le chantier B: résultats des campagnes 2000–2002, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2007: 7–39.
- VAN DER STEDE/DEVILLERS 2011: V. Van der Stede / A. Devillers, Le chantier B: résultats des campagnes 2004–2008, in: Lebeau/Suleiman 2011: 15–76.
- VAN DRIEL 1977: G. van Driel, De Uruk-Nederzetting op de Jebel Aruda, *Phoenix* 23, 42–64.
- VAN DRIEL 1979: G. van Driel, Jebel Aruda 1977–1978, *Akkadica* 12, 2–28.
- VAN DRIEL 1982: G. van Driel, Tablets from Jebel Aruda, in: G. van Driel *et al.* (Hrsg.), *ZIKR SUMIM [Festschrift F.R. Kraus]*, 12–25.
- VAN DRIEL 1983: G. van Driel, Seals and Sealings from Jebel Aruda 1974–1978, *Akkadica* 33, 34–62.
- VAN DRIEL 2002: G. van Driel, Jebel Aruda: Variations on a Late Uruk Domestic Theme, in: N. Postgate (Hrsg.), *Artifacts of Complexity. Tracking the Uruk in the Near East*, Iraq Archaeological Reports 5, Cambridge, 191–205.
- VAN DRIEL/MURRAY 1983: G. van Driel/C. Murray, Jebel Aruda, The 1982 Season of Excavation. Interims Report, *Akkadica* 33, 1–26.
- VAN LERBERGHE/VOET 2000: K. Van Lerberghe/G. Voet, G. (ed.), *Tell Beydar. Environmental and Technical Studies*, Subartu VI.

- VAN LIERE 1963: W. van Liere, Capitals and Citadels of Bronze-Iron Age Syria, *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 13, 107–122.
- VAN LOON 1988: M. van Loon, New Evidence for North Syrian Chronology from Hammam et-Turkman, *American Journal of Archaeology* 92.4, 581–587.
- VAN ZEIST 2008: W. van Zeist, Comments on Plant Cultivation at two Sites on the Ḥābūr, North-Eastern Syria., in: Kühne 2008: 133–148.
- VELUD 1987: C. Velud, Régime des terres et structures agraires en Jezireh syrienne durant la première moitié du vingtième siècle, in: B. Cannon (ed.), *Terroirs et sociétés au Maghreb et au Moyen Orient, Maison de l'Orient*, Collection Etudes sur le Monde Arabe no. 2, Lyon, 161–194.
- VERHOEVEN 1997: M. Verhoeven, The 1996 Excavations at Tell Sabi Abyad II, a Later PPNB Settlement in the Balikh Valley, Syria, *Neolithics* 1/97, 1–3.
- VERHOEVEN 1999: M. Verhoeven, *An Archaeological Ethnography of a Neolithic Community – Space, Place and Social Relations in the Burnt Village at Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria*, Leiden/Istanbul
- VERHOEVEN 2000: M. Verhoeven, Death, Fire and Abandonment – Ritual Practice at Late Neolithic Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria, *Archaeological Dialogues* 7, 46–65.
- VERHOEVEN 2004: M. Verhoeven, Tell Sabi Abyad II – A Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B Village in Northern Syria. Report on Architecture and Related Finds of the 2001 Campaign, *Anatolica* 30, 179–218.
- VERHOEVEN/AKKERMANS 2000: M. Verhoeven / P. M. M. G. Akkermans (eds.), *Tell Sabi Abyad II. The Pre-Pottery Neolithic B Settlement, Report on the Excavations of the National Museum of Antiquities Leiden in the Balikh Valley, Syria, Istanbul*.
- VEZZOLI 2008: V. Vezzoli, Islamic Period Settlement in the Tell Leilan Region (Northern Jazira): The Material Evidence from the 1995 Survey, *Levant* 40, 185–202.
- VILA 1995a: E. Vila, Bemerkungen zu den Funden von Hornzapfen von Auerochsen im Bereich von Steinbau I, in: Orthmann *et al.* 1995: 259–264.
- VILA 1995b: E. Vila, Note sur les restes osseux animaux retrouvées dans une jarre à Tell Chuera, in: Orthmann *et al.* 1995: 265–266.
- VILA 1995c: E. Vila, Analyse de la faune des secteurs nord et sud du Steinbau I, in: Orthmann *et al.* 1995: 267–279.
- VILA 1998: E. Vila, *L'exploitation des animaux en Mésopotamie aux I^e et II^e millénaires avant J.-C.* Monographie du CRA 21.
- VINCENTE 1995: C. A. Vincente, The Tall Leilan Recension of the Sumerian King List, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 50, 234–270.
- VON OPPENHEIM 1931: M. von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf, eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig.
- VON OPPENHEIM 1933: M. von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf. A New Culture in Oldest Mesopotamia* (translated by G. Wheeler). London/New York.
- VON WICKEDE 1986: A. von Wickede, Die Ornamentik der Tell Halaf-Keramik. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Typologie, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 18, 7–32.
- WÄFLER 2001: M. Wäfler, *Zur historischen Geographie von Idamarā zur Zeit der Archive von Mari und Šubat-enlil/Šechnā, Tall al-Hamīdīya* 3, Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series archaeologica 21, Freiburg.
- WÄFLER 2003: M. Wäfler, *Tall al-Hamīdīya* 4, Orbis biblicus et orientalis. Series archaeologica 23, Fribourg.
- WÄFLER 2007: M. Wäfler, Tall al-Hamīdīya: Ta’idu, *Hefte des Archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 20, 33–58.
- WATTENMAKER 1998: P. Wattenmaker, Craft Production and Social Identity in Northwest Mesopotamia, *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8(1), 47–55.
- WEICKEN/WENER 1995: H.-M. Weicken / A. Wener, Untersuchungen zur holozänen Relief- und Bodenentwicklung im Umkreis des Tell Chuera, in: Orthmann *et al.* 1995: 283–324.

- WEISS 1983a: H. Weiss, Excavations at Tell Leilan and the Origins of North Mesopotamian Cities in the Third Millennium B.C., *Paléorient* 9/2, 39–52.
- WEISS 1983b: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan in the Third and Second Millennia BC, *Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 33, 47–73.
- WEISS 1985a: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan on the Habur Plains of Syria, *Biblical Archaeologist* 48, 5–34.
- WEISS 1985b: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan and Šubat-Enlil. *M.A.R.I.* 4, 269–292.
- WEISS 1986: H. Weiss, The Origins of Tell Leilan and the Conquest of Space in Third Millennium Mesopotamia, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.* Guilford, Four Quarters, 71–108.
- WEISS 1990a: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan 1989: New Data for Mid-Third Millennium Urbanization and State Formation, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 122, 193–218.
- WEISS 1990b: H. Weiss, “Civilizing” the Habur Plains: Mid-Third Millennium State Formation at Tell Leilan, in: P. Matthiae / M. van Loon / H. Weiss (eds.), *Resurrecting the Past, a joint tribute to Adnan Bounni*, Leiden, 387–407.
- WEISS 1990c: H. Weiss, Third Millennium Urbanization: A Perspective from Tell Leilan, in: Eichler/Wäfler 1990: 159–166.
- WEISS 1991: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan (Syria), *Orient-Express* 1991/2, 3–4.
- WEISS 1996: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan, in: J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 9, London, 104–106.
- WEISS 1997: H. Weiss Leilan, in: H. Weiss (ed.), Archaeology in Syria, *American Journal of Archaeology* 101, 126–129.
- WEISS 2000: H. Weiss, Beyond the Younger Dryas; Collapse as Adaptation to Climate Change in Ancient West Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean, in: G. Bawden / R.M. Reycraft (eds.), *Environmental Disaster and the Archaeology of Human Response*, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, Anthropological Papers 7, Albuquerque NM, 75–98.
- WEISS 2002: H. Weiss, Unfinished Business: Akkadian Collapse at Tell Leilan, 3rd ICAANE, Paris, April 18th, 2002.
- WEISS 2003: H. Weiss, Ninevite 5 Periods and Processes, in: Rova/Weiss 2003: 593–624.
- WEISS 2012a: H. Weiss, Quantifying Collapse, in: Weiss 2012b: 1–24.
- WEISS 2012b: H. Weiss (ed.), *Seven Generations Since the Fall of Akkad*, Studia Chaburensia 3, Wiesbaden.
- WEISS 2013: H. Weiss, Altered Trajectories: The Intermediate Bronze Age, in: A. Killibrew / M. Steiner, *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant*, Oxford. http://leilan.yale.edu/pubs/files/weiss_2010_altered_trajectories.pdf
- WEISS/BRADLEY 2001: H. Weiss / R. Bradley, What drives societal collapse?, *Science* 291: 609–610.
- WEISS/COURTY 1993: H. Weiss / M.-A. Courty, The Genesis and Collapse of the Akkadian Empire, in: M. Liverani (ed.), *Akkad, the World's First Empire*. Padua, Sargon, 129–154.
- WEISS et al. 1990: H. Weiss / P. Akkermans / G. Stein / D. Parayre / R. Whiting, The 1985 Excavations at Tell Leilan, Syria, *American Journal of Archaeology* 94/4, 529–581.
- WEISS et al. 1993: H. Weiss / M.-A. Courty / W. Wetterstrom / F. Guichard / L. Senior / R. Meadow / A. Curnow, The Genesis and Collapse of Third Millennium North Mesopotamian Civilization, *Science* 291, 995–1008.
- WEISS et al. 2002: H. Weiss / F. DeLillis-Forrest / D. deMoulins / J. Eidem / T. Guilderson / U. Kasten / T. Larsen / L. Mori / L. Ristvet / E. Rova / W. Wetterstrom, Revising the Contours of History at Tell Leilan, *Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 45, 59–74.
- WEISS et al. 2012: H. Weiss / S. Manning / L. Ristvet / L. Mori / M. Besonen / A. McCarthy / P. Quenet / A. Smith / Z. Bahrami, Tell Leilan Akkadian Imperialization, Collapse and Short-Lived Reoccupation Defined by High-Resolution Radiocarbon Dating, in: Weiss 2012b: 163–192.
- WERNER 2004: P. Werner, *Die Ausgrabungen in Tall Mumbâqa-Ekalte III. Die Glyptik*, Wissen-

- schaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 108, Saarbrücken
- WETTERSTORM 2003: W. Wetterstrom, Ninevite 5 Period Agriculture at Tell Leilan: Preliminary Results, in: Rova/Weiss, 2003: 193–220.
- WIGGERMANN 2000: F.A.M. Wiggermann, Agriculture in the Northern Balikh Valley. The Case of Middle Assyrian Tell Sabi Abyad, in: R.M. Jas (ed.), *Rainfall and Agriculture in Northern Mesopotamia*, MOS Studies 3, Istanbul/Leiden, 171–231.
- WILHELM 1982: G. Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter* (Grundzüge 45), Darmstadt.
- WIRTH 1971: E. Wirth, *Syrien. Eine geographische Länderkunde*, Wissenschaftliche Länderkunden Bd. 4/5, Darmstadt.
- WOOLLEY 1956: L. Woolley, *Dead Towns and Living Men*, London.
- WRIGHT 1996: R. Wright, Technology, Gender, and Class: Worlds of Difference in Ur III Mesopotamia, in: R. Wright (ed.), *Gender and Archaeology*, Philadelphia, 79–110.
- WRIGHT 1998: R. Wright, Crafting Social Identity in Ur III Southern Mesopotamia, *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8(1), 57–69.
- WRIGHT/RUPLEY 2001: H.T. Wright/E.S.A. Rupley, Calibrated Radiocarbon Age Determinations of Uruk-Related Assemblages, in: M.S. Rothman (Hrsg.), *Uruk Mesopotamia and its Neighbours. Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*, Santa Fe/Oxford, 85–148.
- YAMADA 2008: S. Yamada, A Preliminary Report on the Old Babylonian Texts from the Excavation of Tell Taban in the 2005 and 2006 Seasons: The Middle Euphrates and Habur Areas in the Post-Hammurabi Period, *al-Rāfidān* 29, 47–62.
- YAMADA 2010: S. Yamada, Administration and Society in the City of Tabatum as seen in the Old Babylonian Texts from Tell Taban, *al-Rāfidān Special Issue*, 247–252.
- YAMADA 2011a: S. Yamada, New Adoption Contract from Tell Taban, the Kings of the Land of Hana, and the Hana-style Scribal Tradition, *Revue d'assyriologie* 105, 61–84 [published in 2013].
- YAMADA 2011b: S. Yamada, A *Pudūm* Rotation List from Tell Taban and the Cultural Milieu of Ṭabatum in the Post-Hammurabi Period, *Revue d'assyriologie* 105, 137–156 [published in 2013].
- YAMADA 2012: S. Yamada, The City of Ṭabatum and its Surroundings: The Organization of Power in the Post-Hammurabi Period', in: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Organisation, Representation and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the LIV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg 20–25 July 2008*, Winona Lake, 591–603.
- YOFFEE/CLARK 1993: N. Yoffee / J.J. Clark (eds.), *Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq*, Tucson /London. English website with current results: <https://sites.google.com/site/hamidiyatida/>

