

A REASSESSMENT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF KHABUR WARE: AN APPROACH FROM AN ASPECT OF ITS MAIN PHASE

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Introduction

Archaeologists, excavating sites and analyzing artifacts found there, have attempted to give an accurate picture of what happened in terms of material culture. Since pottery is one of the most common classes of artifacts, it was, and is still, an object for such archaeologists' attempts. A ceramic category, which archaeologists distinguish and define by similarities in style, forms part of a material culture representing the sum of social activities. The uniformity of material culture style in an area is presumed to reflect the close social relationships between groups of people living in villages, towns and cities of the area. In this sense, material culture style is an index of social relations by which a social unit is formed; such a unit is comprised of socially-interrelated people sharing similar symbolic representation and similar material expression. A ceramic category, regarded as homogeneous in style, is also considered as reflecting a social unit comprising groups of people closely related in space. Pottery style is most concerned with decorative treatment such as painting, appliqué and incising. Khabur ware is a ceramic category recognized by stylistic similarities in painted decoration.

Essential for such archaeologists' attempts is the examination of the spatial and temporal distributions of certain artifact and feature types, which affords a basic framework for delineating the spread and process of material culture and interpreting them in time and space. Since pottery style changes easily and rapidly, pottery itself is not only an index for defining a social unit but also one of the sensitive time markers for relative chronology. Hence an analysis of the spatial and temporal distributions of a certain ceramic category has an important role in archaeological interpretation.

However, we are always faced with interpretative problems in attempts to clarify causal factors in the distribution of a certain pottery style and in stylistic changes of pottery. What we can now at least assert are the facts that ceramic distributions certainly reflect interpersonal contact involving exchanges of ideas, which may possibly have given a stimulus to people's modifying and changing style, and that changes, through time, of ceramic distributions reflect changes in interpersonal contact.

Needless to say, contact between groups within a society sharing the same pottery style must have been very close. The more frequent contact between different societies was, the stronger the probability that pottery style diffused beyond a society would be. The distribution of Khabur ware presents enigmatic and interesting problems, dividing into its main distribution zone and several secondary distribution areas diverging from the main zone. Because we can know historical facts, if fragmentarily, from documentary sources of the period in which Khabur ware was in use, we have been so far given, and are still given, an opportunity to explain how and why the painted pottery was distributed through space, and furthermore, through time. Carol Hamlin's synthetic study of Khabur ware has guided us in speculating about several possibilities for interpretation on the distribution of Khabur ware (Hamlin 1971; pp.304-310; *idem* 1974; p.132; Kramer 1977; pp.104-108). Now that archaeological and historical data are increasing through recent excavations, problems which emerge in this connection require reconsideration¹⁾. On this happy occasion, in the *Festschrift* for Professor Hideo Fujii, the present article deals with the problem of interpreting the distribution of Khabur ware outside the main distribution

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1) The present writer envisages discussing problems concerned with Khabur ware in separate articles.

List of sites yielding Khabur ware

—The main phase of Khabur ware—

The main distribution zone

- | No. | Khabur Ware Sites & References |
|--------------------------------|--|
| [North Iraq] | |
| 1. | Aššur (modern Qalāt Sherqat)
Haller 1954; Taf. I:an.as-av.az; Hrouda 1957; pp.22-27, Taf. 9:1-6, 9-11, Taf.10:1; Dittmann 1990; p.154, Abb. 4; Hrouda 1991; p.106, Abb. 20; Dittmann 1992; p.309. See also Matthews & Wilkinson 1989; p.253 and 1991; p.173. |
| 2. | Tell Aqrah
el-Amin & Mallovan 1950; p.62, Pl.IX:7. |
| 3. | Nineveh (ancient Ninawa/Ninua, the main citadel mound = modern Tell Kuyunjik)
Thompson & Hutchinson 1931; Pl.LXXIV:7, 8, 12; Mallovan 1937; p.103; Stromach 1992; p.306. |
| 4. | Tell Billa (ancient Šibaniba)
Speiser 1933; Pl.LIX, Pl.LXXII. |
| 5. | Tepe Gawra
Speiser 1935; Pl.LXXI:157, Pl.LXXVI:14. |
| 6. | Tell el-Ṭhalabat |
| 7. | Chiyowbu 1974 (Tell V); p.47, Pl.LII:2, 3; Fukai & Masuzani 1977 (Tell I); pp.60-61, Fig. 6:1. |
| 8. | Tell Taya (? ancient Samiaun/Zamiaun)
Reade 1968; pp.257-259, Pl.LXXVII:29; <i>idem</i> 1982a; p.74. |
| 9. | Tell al-Rimah (probably ancient Karana)
D. Oates 1965; p.71; <i>idem</i> 1976; p.xiii. See also Reade 1968; p.258 and Oates & Oates 1994; p.171. |
| 10. | Tell Khosh
Lloyd 1938; p.141 (Groups X and XII, see p.134); Kapiński 1990; p.277.
<small>Lloyd's surface survey</small>
Tell Abu Maria (? ancient Appam), Hajji Yunus, Tell Mamma'at-Hadda, Tell Hudhail, and Tell Heyal.
Lloyd 1938; p.134ff. (Group XII).
<small>Ward's surface survey</small>
Hadda, Tell Kalf, etc.
Hamlin 1971; n.32-33 on pp.195-196. |
| 11. | Wadi Khattun, Karbol Sufa, Khirbet Haara, Tell Jumbur, Tell Baqaq 1, Tell Grai Qasim, Tell Jigan/Jikan (no.10), Nemrik 9, Tell Der Hal, Tell Fina, Tell Rujim, Tell Jessay, Tell Mussefneh, Tell Se'at, Tell Thuwaj/Dhuwaj, Khirbet Karhasan, Tell Abu Dahir, Khirbet Shirena/Wadi Suwaidiya 1, Tell Durara, and Tell Gir Matbakh.
<small>Kilick & Roof 1983</small>
Kilick & Black 1985; Ball & Black 1987; Yusuf 1987a for Jumbur and 1987b for Baqaq 1; Fujii <i>et al.</i> 1987 for Jigan, Der Hal and Fina; II & Kawamura 1984-85 for Jigan; Fujii 1987a for Jigan and 1987b for Jessay; Pales <i>et al.</i> 1987 for Jigan; Bieleński 1987 for Rujim; Husin 1987 for Mussefneh; Ball 1987 for Abu Dahir, Khirbet Karhasan, Khirbet Shirena and Gir Matbakh; Spanos 1988 for Durara; Fujii <i>et al.</i> 1989-90 for Thuwaj and Jessay; Numoto 1988 for Fina and 1990 for Jessay; Tusa 1993 for Jigan; Cesuato 1993 for Jigan; Numoto 1996 for Thuwaj trench C. |
| [The North James Project area] | |
| 11. | Tell Hamad Agha as-Saghir (no.11), Tell al-Hawa (no.12 — ? ancient Tille, Šuruzi, Hadnum, Kiskik or Iapthum), Tell Hamide, and Tell Hamide West. |
| 12. | Spanos 1988, 1990a and 1990b for Hamad Agha as-Saghir; Ball <i>et al.</i> 1989 for Hawa; Ball & Wilkinson 1989-90 for Hawa; Ball 1990 for Hawa; Zimansky 1990 for Hamide; Matthews & Wilkinson 1989 for Hamide West; Wilkinson 1990; p.57 for Hamide. |

Wilkinson's surface survey in the North James Project area
Tell Karan, Mowashla, al-Botha, Tell Wandan, Kharaba Tibn, Tell al-Samir, Tell Talab, Tell Man'a, Abu Kula, Tell Uwaysna, etc.

Wilkinson 1989; Table 1 on p.12; *idem* 1990; p.57.

[The upper Khabur basin of northeast Syria]

13. Tell Leilan (ancient Šubat-Enlil and ? Šeḫna)
Weiss 1983; p.50 and p.56; *idem* 1985a; p.7, and jar, pot and bowl examples in the illustration on p.13; *idem* 1985b; pp.276-281; Weiss *et al.* 1990; p.529ff., and Fig. 15:2, 5-7 and Fig. 27:1,2.
14. Tell Mohammed Diyab
Favre 1992; p.56, pp.58-61 and p.68, and e.g. Fig. 7:4-5, Fig. 8:1-7, 10-15, Fig. 9: 1-10 and Fig. 11:1.
15. Tell Hamidiyat-Hamiyda
Mallovan 1947; p.45, concerning M. Dunand's 1926 soundings. See Eichler *et al.* 1985; e.g. Taf. 96:4004:1-4, Taf. 97:4006:3,4007:3,4, Taf. 99:4010:5, Taf. 101 and Taf. 102:4024. See also Eichler *et al.* 1990; e.g. Taf. 42:4006:4 and Taf. 43:4019:11, and cf. Wäfler 1990; pp.223-225 for a later phase.
16. Tell Barti (ancient Kibat)
Meijer 1986; p.31 (his site no.289, P.9a). Pecorella 1990; p.53 and p.55, and cf. p.58 and see some sherds in Pl.3:4 for a later phase.
17. Tell Brak (? ancient Nagar/Nawar or Tai'du)
Mallovan 1947; p.78; D. Oates 1982a; p.195; *idem* 1982b; p.70; *idem* 1985; p.164; D. Oates & J. Oates 1994; p.171 and p.173. See also Matthews *et al.* 1994; p.188, and Fig. 15, presumably for a later phase, and Matthews 1995; Fig. 21, presumably for a later phase.
18. Chagar Bazar (? ancient Afrakktum)
Mallovan 1936, and *idem* 1937 and 1947 for earlier phases of level 1. See also Curtis 1982; pp.83-84.
19. Tell 'Arbit
Mallovan 1937; p.117, Fig. 21:13.
20. Tell Moran (? ancient Uršiš)
Buccellati & Kelly-Buccellati 1988; Fig. 22 and Fig. 26:M1 79-82 and III:23; Kelly-Buccellati 1988; p.45; *idem* 1990; p.126; Buccellati & Kelly-Buccellati 1991; p.713.
21. Tell 'Ailun
Moortgat 1959; p.19, p.24, p.30, Abb. 9 said to have been brought from this site (see pp.17-19), and Abb. 16-18. See also Warburton 1985; p.23.
22. Tell Fakhariyah
Kantor 1958; p.21ff. and e.g. Pl.37:108, 127, 133-134; Hrouda 1961; pp.222-223, Abb. 16c-c.
Meijer's surface survey in the northern part of the upper Khabur basin
Tell Qarasa (n), Tell Abu Far'a (n), Tell Muhammad Kabir (2316), Tell Humaydi (231), etc.
Meijer 1986; e.g. Fig. 23:1-k and Fig. 24:c-c.
(Khabur ware occurs at 90 sites of the 290 sites that Meijer surveyed.)
Lynnert's surface survey in the upper Khabur basin
Tell Hamdun, Tell Ain Qard, Tell Farfara (216), Tell Qarasa (n), and Tell Roumeilan (154).
Lynnert 1992; e.g. Fig. 5a:4-5, 7-11, Fig. 5b:12, 14, 15, 18-10, and Pl.IV:a-e.
(The figures in parentheses are Meijer's site numbers.)

[The uppermost Khabur basin of Turkey]

23. Girmavaz Höyük (? ancient Nabula)
A visit to this site in 1987, where, by courtesy of Dr. Armağan Ekcanal, the present writer could have a look at surface and out-of-context Khabur ware sherds.

For Girmavaz, see H. Ishizuki 1988.

* The Khabur ware sites mentioned here are those at which there are finds assigned in the main phase of Khabur ware (Khabur Ware Period I) or at which the existence of finds assigned to the phase can be inferred.

Secondary distribution areas

No. Sites & References

[Iraq]

24. Tell Basmusian
Abu al-Soof 1970: pp.68-69, Pl. XXXIII:2, 3, 9, 11, 13, 14,
N.B. Illustrated in the report are one complete Khabur ware jar and five sherds of Khabur ware.
25. Nuzi (late third millennium Gasar, modern Yorgan Tepe)
Starr 1937: Pl. 70:B, for attribution to the same period as the main Khabur ware phase, and Pl. 75:N, for attribution possibly to the same period as a later Khabur ware phase.
N.B. Only one Khabur ware jar and one sherd of Khabur ware occur.

<The Qadisiyah (Hadabai) Dam Salvage Project area>

(26) ? Uşayib

- Alpha 1987-88: the photograph (Fig. 10) on p. 118, a small band-painted jar from a grave, which was reported as Khabur ware (pp. 118-119).
N.B. But one suggests that the band-painted jar is likely to be Middle or Late Assyrian (J. Oates, personal communication in 1995).

[Syria]

27. Mari (modern Tell Hariri)
Parrot 1959: Fig. 92; Pl. XXXVI:1584 = *idem* 1938: Fig. 1.
N.B. Only one Khabur ware jar occurs, as noted in the text of this article.
28. Terqa (modern Tell 'Ashara)
Bula 1993: e.g. Fig. 195:a, d, f-g on p. 891, and see Tables 21-25.
N.B. Fifteen or sixteen sherds of Khabur ware occur, as noted in the text of this article.

Khabur's source in the lower Khabur valley

(29) ? Tell Fadghami

- (30) ? Tell Ta'ban (? ancient Tabatum), now plotted as a site in the Khabur Dam Project area.
Kühne 1974-77: p. 254. See also Simpson 1983: p. 342, citing Kühne 1974-77.
Cf. Röllig & Kühne 1977-78: pp. 126-127 and *idem* 1983: p. 194.
N.B. It is said that a few sherds of Khabur ware were found on the mound surfaces of Fadghami and Ta'ban. The occurrences of Khabur ware at these sites are possible in consideration of the presence of Khabur ware at Terqa. But convincing evidence for the presence of Khabur ware at the two sites has not yet been adduced.

<The Khabur Dam Project area>

(31) (Tell) Bdeir/Badri

- Pflüzer 1995: p. 38, Taf. 52:a, Taf. 66:c, and Taf. 66:i (?).
N.B. Ten sherds of Khabur ware are said to have been recovered from some of the levels dated by Pflüzer to the 14th century B.C., which may however be out-of-context sherds (cf. Pflüzer 1995: p. 38). This seems to suggest a possibility that in unexcavated areas, there may be small areas of occupation contemporary with a later Khabur ware phase, although there is no reason to deny another possibility that there may have been perhaps be occupation contemporary with the main phase of Khabur ware.

32. Tell Bi'a (ancient Tutuil)

- Strommenger 1991: p. 15, Abb. 5; Einwag 1993: p. 44, Abb. 9:1,2.
N.B. A small number of Khabur ware sherds occur, as noted in the text of this article.

Balikh valley area

33. Tell Hammam et-Turkman (? ancient Za'pa/Zaipah)

- Curvers 1988: pp. 403-404, Pl. 142:214,215.
N.B. The extremely limited occurrence of Khabur ware was confirmed in period VII (MB).
34. Tell Sahlan (? ancient Sahliana)

- Mallowan 1946: p. 138. A visit to the site in 1988 by the present writer.
N.B. It seems probable that as at Tell Hammam et-Turkman, there occurs little Khabur ware at this site.

35. Tell Mandikh (ancient Ebla)

- Manthais 1977: p. 148; Mazzoni 1988: p. 64; Mazzoni, personal communication in 1988. A visit to the site in 1988, where, by courtesy of Professor Paolo Matthiae and Dr. Stefania Mazzoni, the present writer had a look at the Ebla Khabur ware jar that is decorated with cross-hatched triangles and horizontal bands of paint, and has a typical Khabur ware shape.
N.B. A small quantity of Khabur ware occurs, certainly in Mandikh IIB (MB II) (cf. Mazzoni 1988: p. 64 with n. 22, suggesting the presence of Khabur ware at the end of Mandikh IIIA (MB I), as in Mandikh IIB).

[Turkey]

The Anam plain

36. Alalakh (modern Tell Achbara)

- Heinz 1992: Taf. 22:37 and Taf. 23:45, 46, 48 (four possible examples of Khabur ware, from level VIII).
N.B. Marlies Heinz attempts to distinguish Khabur ware from Syro-Cilician painted pottery, and suggests the occurrence of Khabur ware in levels X-VIII (1992: e.g. p. 62). The Alalakh X-VIII Khabur ware illustrated by Heinz is composed largely of small body sherds with painted horizontal bands. The attribution of Heinz's "Khabur ware" sherds to the category of genuine Khabur ware is seriously questioned, with the exception of the four examples of level VIII, cited above.

The upper Balikh valley

37. ? Sultanstepe

- Prag 1970: n. 8 on p. 63 (according to John Evans). Cf. Lloyd & Goleke 1953: p. 27.
N.B. The occurrence of Khabur ware is possible.

38. ? Aşağı Yarımca

- Lloyd & Brice 1951: p. 110 (surface sherds). Cf. *Anatolian Studies* II (1952): pp. 11-13.
N.B. The occurrence of Khabur ware is possible, but evidence is unfortunately insufficient.

The Isabiyeh-Gaziantep-Nizip region

A site around Nizip

- In the Gaziantep Museum, an example of certain Khabur ware, a jar decorated with horizontal bands, cross-hatched triangles and dots interspersed between the triangles, was exhibited when the present writer visited the museum in 1987. The Khabur ware jar is said to have been brought from somewhere around Nizip.

- N.B. This may support the occurrence of Khabur ware not only in the Nizip area but also in the Isabiyeh-Gaziantep region.

39. ? Tilmen Hüyük

Alkum 1969: pp. 286-287.

- N.B. It is merely said that levels IIA and IIB, regarded as falling between the 20th and the first quarter of the 18th century B.C., yielded both Syro-Cilician painted ware and Khabur ware.

40. ? Gedikli Hüyük (Karabilyük)

Alkum & Alkum 1966: p. 35, Figs. 9-11 (band-painted sherds).

- N.B. It is said that in level II, some ten sherds of Khabur ware were found. Four band-painted body sherds, from level II, are shown on the photographs of the report. But one of them is decorated in lustrous paint, and is therefore differentiated from Khabur ware (Alkum & Alkum 1966: Fig. 12). The others, regarded by the excavators as Khabur ware, are decorated in matt reddish-brown paint. However, whether they are of Khabur ware is a matter for argument. Nevertheless, the occurrence of Khabur ware at a site around Nizip gives support to the possible presence of Khabur ware at Gedikli.

41. ? Sakce Güzai (Coba Hüyük)

Taylor *et al.* 1950: pp. 109-110, and see pp. 56-57. See also Seton-Williams 1954: p. 133.

- N.B. The Sakce Güzai evidence for Khabur ware is inconclusive, but the Nizip evidence noted above may suggest its possible occurrence.

<The Anabik (Khabur) Dam Project and the Karabiyik Dam Project areas>

42. Lidar Hüyük

- Hauptmann 1988: p. 110, Fig. 6; Hauptmann, personal communication in 1987. When visiting Lidar in 1987, the present writer could have a look at Khabur ware from the site by courtesy of Professor Dr. Harald Hauptmann.
N.B. The ceramic material of level 18 (MB II), including some examples of Khabur ware, is said to have parallels in Hammam et-Turkman VII, Hanna H and Mandikh-Ebla IIB.

43. İmkişuğı

Sevin & Köroğlu 1985: Res.12 on p.178; Sevin 1987: pp.309-311, Res.22 on p.330; Sevin 1988: pp.112-113, Fig. 13; Sevin, personal communication in 1987.

N.B. Levels 12-13 (MB II) produced some eighteen complete jars and pots with horizontal bands of matt paint and many sherds with matt-painted, banded decoration [Sevin, personal communication in 1987]. Characteristic of the painted pottery of levels 12-13 is the exclusive use of simple horizontal bands of matt red/reddish brown paint on the rim-to-shoulder. The band-painted pottery of levels 12-13 are reported as Khabur ware [Sevin 1987: pp.309-310; *idem* 1988: pp.112-113]. In fact, some of the band-painted complete jars and pots from levels 12-13 are similar in shape to some globular examples of Khabur ware from Chagar Bazar (compare Sevin 1987: Res.22.e.e with Mallowan 1936: Fig. 162.3). In my opinion, based on my having a look at the İmkişuğı band-painted pottery stored in the University of Istanbul through the courtesy of Professor Dr. Veli Sevin, it appears to be composed of the local imitations of Khabur ware and their variants. Accordingly, many band-painted sherds from levels 12-13 are probably of the "Khabur ware" and its variants. In sum, İmkişuğı is marked as a site yielding Khabur ware and its variants to some extent in quantity.

44. Kültepe (ancient Kanis)

T. Özgüç 1953: p.115, Abb.17/25 and Abb.18/26; Enrie 1963: p.95, Pl. XXV:1; T. Özgüç 1986: pp.92-93, Pl.134/3. See also Hrouda 1989: Fig. 2.

N.B. Three examples of Khabur ware, small in size and decorated only with painted horizontal bands, are known from graves of *Korim Ib*. The important fact is that none of the Khabur ware examples of this site occurs in contexts other than graves [Enrie, personal communication in 1987].

[Northwest Iran]

The Ushnu-Solduz valley

45. Dinkha Tepe

Hamlin 1971: esp. see pls. XII-XIII; *idem* 1974: esp. see Figs. XII-XIII. See also A. Stein 1940: Pl. XXI:1, Pl. XXII, Pl. XXXI:12, 13, and Pl. XXX:3.

N.B. Among the sites of secondary distribution of Khabur ware, Dinkha Tepe is one site yielding Khabur ware to some extent in quantity. With regard to the frequency of Khabur ware occurrence at Dinkha in period IV phases a-d, Carol Hamlin reports that "in a sample of the total sherdage at Dinkha, Khabur ware comprised 13%" [1974: n.6 on p.126]. This percentage may represent the frequency of Khabur ware occurrence at other sites in the Ushnu-Solduz valley.

46. Hasanlu

Dyson 1965: Fig. 1 (Pl. XXXI) and Fig. 13 (Pl. XLIV); *idem* 1973: p.703. See also A. Stein 1940: Pl. XXXI:12.

Dyson's soundings

47. Fisdell Tepe

Hamlin 1971: p.196.

Aurel Stein's soundings (Journeys & Welford Miles's survey)

48. Tepe Gondavelah

Stephan Kroll states that a Khabur ware sherd illustrated in Aurel Stein's book as that from Gird-i-Hasan 'Ali

(1940: Pl. XXII:26) is now stored in the British Museum as a find at Kulera Tepe [Kroll 1994: n.30 on p.64].

Kroll thus excludes Gird-i-Hasan 'Ali from the sites at which Khabur ware occurs.

49. Kullera Tepe

Mohammad Shah Tepe

Kroll 1994: p.164 and the map on p.165.

50. Gird-i-Khusrau

Stephan Kroll states that a Khabur ware sherd illustrated in Aurel Stein's book as that from Gird-i-Hasan 'Ali

(1940: Pl. XXII:26) is now stored in the British Museum as a find at Kulera Tepe [Kroll 1994: n.30 on p.64].

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A. Stein 1940: Pl. XXIII:26 and possibly 28.

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References to the illustrations of Fig. 1

Drawings reproduced

For nos. 1, 2 & 6 (from Rimah), J. Oates 1970: PLIX:1-3. For nos. 3, 21 & 29 (from Jigam Area C), Fujii 1987a: Fig. 5, 6, 8, 9, nos. 7 (from Tayy), Reade 1968: PLXXXVII:26. For no. 8 (from Chagar Bazar), Mallowan 1936: Fig. 16:2. For nos. 9 & 19 (from Thawat), Fujii *et al.* 1989-90: Fig. 7:12, 14. For nos. 11, 12, 23, 32, 35 & 39 (from Chagar Bazar), Mallowan 1937: Fig. 21:1, 12, Fig. 22:5 & Fig. 24:6, 13, 14. For nos. 13, 38 & 59 (from Fiva), Numoto 1988: Fig. 25:225, 234 & Fig. 31:319. For 14 & 15 (from Billia), Hrouda 1957: Taf.14:1 (= Speiser 1933: PLXXII). For nos. 22, 26 & 27 (from Leilan), Weiss 1985a: the illustration on p.13. For nos. 24 & 25 (from Kültepe), Hrouda 1957: Taf.13:3, 4 (= T. Özgüç 1953: Abb. 25 & 26). For no. 28 (from Dinkha), A. Stein 1940: PLXXIX:12. For no. 31 (from Chagar Bazar) and nos. 44, 46, 55 & 57 (from Brak), Mallowan 1947: PLXXVII:1, 2, 5 & PLXXXII:15. For nos. 34 & 36 (from Brak), Mallowan 1945: Fig. 21:5, 8. For no. 37 (from Der Hall), Fujii *et al.* 1987: Fig. 17:6. For nos. 41, 45, 47 & 58 (from Billia), Speiser 1933: PLIX:3, PLXX:3 & PLXXII:5, 7. For nos. 48, 49, 53 & 54 (from Aššur), Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:6, Taf.8:8, 10, 15. For no. 56 (from Brak), Hrouda 1957: Taf.16:8 (= Mallowan 1947: Pl. XL:2).

Others

Nos. 4, 5, 10, 16-18, 20, 40, 42, 43 & 51 (unpublished) are from Jigam Area C, and nos. 30, 33, 35 & 52 (unpublished), from Der Hall.

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Several reports on excavations in the Saddam (Eski Mosul) Dam Salvage Project area in Iraq have appeared in *Researches on the Antiquities of Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and Other Researches* (1987), published by the State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, Baghdad, in which included are Ball 1987: pp.78-81; Bielinski 1987: pp.13-19; Faies *et al.* 1987: pp.99-128; Fujii *et al.* 1987: pp.33-61; Fujii 1987a: pp.62-67 and 1987b: pp.68-72; Husain 1987: pp.156-161 (in Arabic), and Yusuf 1987a: pp.10-25 (in Arabic) and 1987b: pp.26-39 (in Arabic). Pieces of information on excavations in the same project area are obtainable from a series of reports entitled "Excavations in Iraq" in the journal *Iraq: Killick & Roof* 1983 (vol. 45), Killick & Roof 1985 (vol. 47), Ball & Black 1987 (vol. 49), and Matthews & Wilkinson 1989 and 1991 (vols. 51 and 53) are referred to here.

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PHRYGISCHE DOPPELNADELN DES 8. JHS. V. CHR.

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In den Jahren 1978-1980 haben die Expeditionen der Kokushikan Universität (Tokio) und der Abt. Bagdad des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts nahe beieinander im Hamrin-Sauseegebiet gearbeitet. Das gute Verhältnis zwischen den Expeditionen ist unvergessen. So sollen mit diesem bescheidenen Beitrag außer dem Leiter der japanischen Expedition, Professor Hideo Fujii, ebenfalls sechs Mitarbeiter sowie der auch unserer eigenen Expedition so sehr hilfreiche, leider vor einiger Zeit verstorbene irakische Representative Salaheddin Hamid geehrt werden, die über drei Jahre hinweg ohne Heimurlaub, also sommers wie winters, ihre Untersuchungen am Tell Gubba und am Tell Sungur ununterbrochen durchgeführt haben, eine Leistung, die im Gegensatz zu einigen Unternehmungen vor dem ersten Weltkrieg heutzutage nicht mehr erbracht wird.

Obwohl das Hauptinteresse der japanischen Kollegen der Kokushikan Universität der Archäologie der Region gilt, haben sie doch allezeit auch Interesse an der Altertumskunde der Nachbargebiete gezeigt. So sei es gestattet, hier eine Frage aus dem Bereich der Eisenzeit Anatoliens kurz zu erörtern.

H. Parzinger geht in einem jüngst erschienenen Aufsatz "Phrygische Doppelnadeln aus Boğazköy - Zur östlichen Herkunft einer beikamischen Nadelform¹⁾" auf die Datierung dieser für Anatolien immer noch besonderen Nadeln aus Boğazköy ein. Grundlage bilden zwei Endpublikationen der Boğazköy-Grabung²⁾. Die dort angegebenen Fundortangaben entstammen den Grabungsinventaren und wurden auf die Verbindlichkeit der Schichtzuweisung mit dem Bearbeiter der Architekturen Büyükkale, des Großen Büyükkale und des Südaareals, Peter Neve, durchgesprochen³⁾. Parzinger führt allerdings dazu aus: "Auf 650 v. Chr.-sowie-wohl umgelagert-aus jüngeren, nachphrygischen Straten⁴⁾. Dies trifft den Sachverhalt nicht exakt. Der Schicht Büyükkale (BK) Ib, d. h. der älteren Phase von BK I, konnten nur zwei Nadeln mit Sicherheit zugewiesen werden (Abb. 2 a, b)⁵⁾. Die Fundstellen aller restlichen Nadeln ließen sich nicht genauer als zur phrygischen Schicht BK I gehörend einordnen⁶⁾ (ca. 650-500 v. Chr.)". In diesem Zusammenhang verlagert wurde eine Nadel angetroffen⁷⁾.

Nun erwägt Parzinger, daß eine Datierung des Nadeltyps vom 8. Jh. v. Chr. an nicht auszuschließen sei. Dieser Überlegung kann heute zugestimmt werden, und zwar aus folgendem Grund: Als ich vor 30 Jahren die Kleinfunde aus Boğazköy bearbeitete, war die phrygische Unterstadt dieser Ruine noch wenig erforscht. So war Vorsicht beim Zeitsatz der dort gefundenen Doppelnadeln, die wohl als Haarnadeln verwendet wurden, geboten. Da, wie gesagt, die weitaus größere Zahl in Boğazköy auf Büyükkale in Zusammenhängen der jüngerphrygischen Zeit (BK I) gefunden wurde, erschien es gewagt, für die Exemplare älteren Fundorts (Abb. 1 a, b)⁸⁾ aus der Unterstadt eine Datierung ins 8. Jh. v. Chr.

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1) Parzinger, 1993, 305 ff.

2) Boehmer, 1972; ders. 1979.

3) Boehmer, 1972, 11.

4) Parzinger, 1993, 306.

5) Boehmer, 1972, Nr. 545, 547.

6) Boehmer, 1972, Nr. 548-553, Nr. 546; BK Schicht Ib (?), 554; wenig über Fels, vermutlich BK I, 553; Schutt der Schicht BK I.

7) Schicht I setzt um 650 v. Chr. ein, vgl. z. B. R. M. Boehmer-H. G. Güterbock, Beilage 1, Neve, 1993, 86; "Mitte 7. Jh. v. Chr.:

Älterphrygische Periode, BK II Na-Mitte (versehentlich weggelassen RMB) 7/6. Jh. v. Chr.; Jüngerphrygische Periode, BK I Na."

8) Boehmer, 1972, Nr. 555.

9) Eberl, Nr. 530, 530A.

zone in the period defined as the main phase of the sequence of Khabur ware, aiming at giving possible explanations for the occurrences of Khabur ware in those secondary distribution areas which are elucidated below.

Periodization

The phasing of the Khabur ware sequence can be made on the basis of evidence from Area C of Tell Jigan, and supplementary evidence from Areas A and B of the same site, and from Tell Der Hall, Tell Fissa, Tell Jessary and Tell Thuwajj. These are sites excavated by the Japanese Archaeological Expedition, directed by Professor Fujii, in the area of the Saddam (Eski Mosul) Dam Salvage Project in Iraq. The area of the project, lying in the northeast provincial region of the main distribution zone of Khabur ware, is significant, since it may have been situated in the northern vicinity of, or included as a north part of, Nurrugum, a district mentioned in the Mari texts and in other texts from Nineveh and Tell Shemshara²⁾.

Four Khabur ware phases are established, which are described by the present writer as Khabur Ware Periods 1–4 (Fig. 1)³⁾. Relevant to the subject of the present article is Khabur Ware Period 2, which is marked as the main phase in which Khabur ware reached the acme of fashion. This second phase can be now dated on epigraphic evidence almost certainly from beginning to end (see below). The establishment of the earliest phase, Khabur Ware Period 1, is based on evidence from Tell Jigan, which is further corroborated by important evidence from Tell al-Rimah and Tell Taya in the Tell 'Afar region of Iraq [J. Oates 1970; p.17, for area AS phase 3 at Rimah; Reade 1968: p.257 and 1982a: p.74, for level IV at Taya]. The point is that the earliest phase, marked by distinctive types of Khabur ware, can be dated with certainty before Šamsi-Adad I of Assyria, whose reign is, at present, most concerned with the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 2. After the second phase, new types and styles of pottery appear, paralleling the continuous occurrence of Khabur ware itself. The relevant phases are Khabur Ware Periods 3–4. The perception of new types and styles of pottery during the periods 3–4 is concerned with the problem in dispute of categorizing a later variety of Khabur ware⁴⁾, which connotes the problem of the definition of Nuzi ware⁵⁾, further involving the problem of how to define Khabur ware [for this particular argument, see D.L. Stein 1984; p.6ff., esp. p.23; cf. Hrouda 1989; pp.206–209]. However, there seems another problem in that discussions regarding a later variety of Khabur ware tend to focus only on those which are considered drinking vessels, i.e. which are described as cups, goblets and beakers. In practice, the presence of jars, pots and bowls, contemporary with the drinking vessels in question, should be taken into consideration: examination from this viewpoint seems to enable the elucidation of the sequence of Khabur ware proper beyond all dispute. The setting of the periods 3–4, under the heading of the term "Khabur ware", is grounded on this view; therefore, Khabur Ware Period 3–4 are set up as the phases marked primarily by the continuous occurrence of jars, pots or bowls which can be regarded as Khabur ware, and secondly by the presence of some jars, pots or bowls showing typological continuity from the preceding period, 2. In addition, it is worthy of note that on the basis of results of recent excavations at Tell Brak, Joan Oates points out that dark-painted goblets with distinctive bird motifs⁶⁾ are accepted as characteristic of "late" Khabur ware [personal communication in 1995]. Her

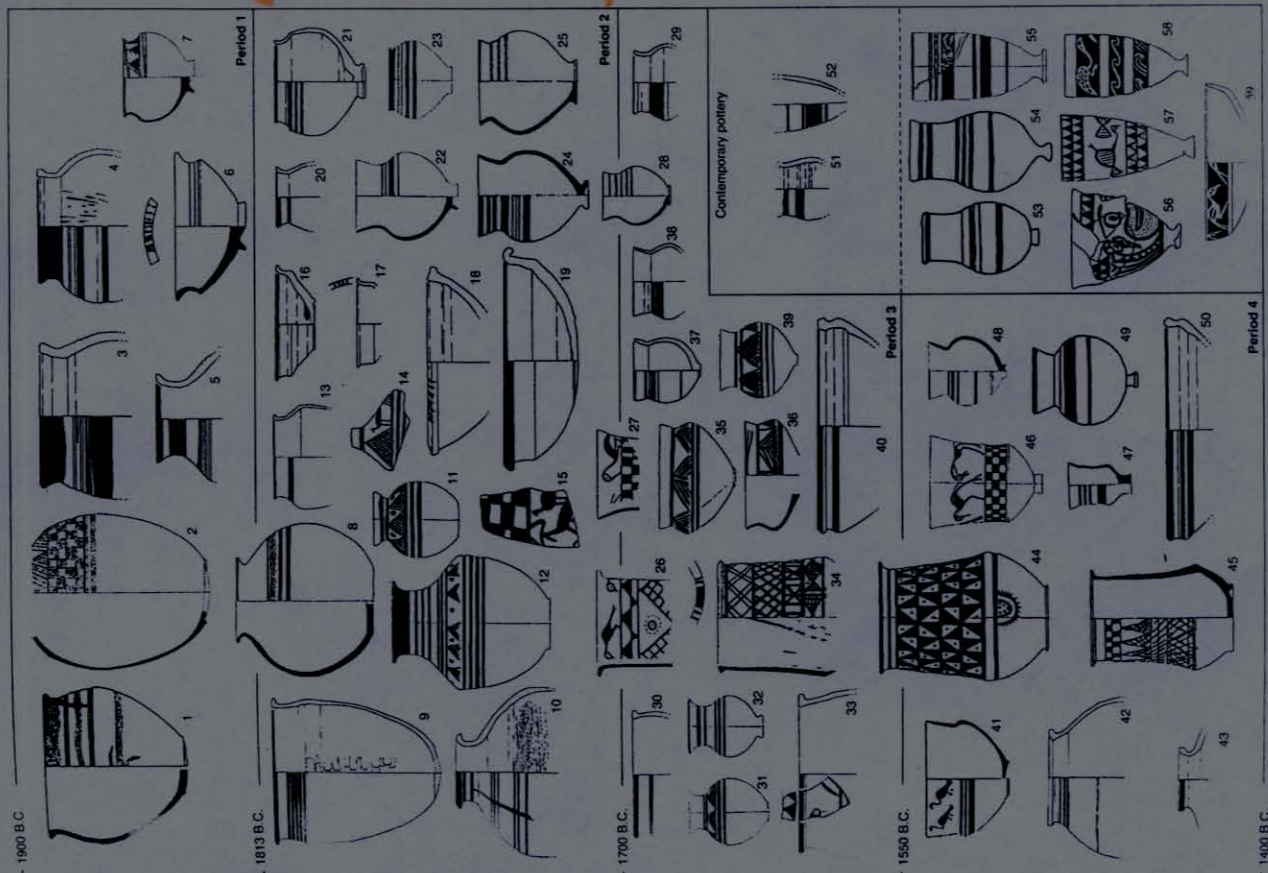
2) For Nurrugum, see Thompson & Hamilton 1932; pp.105–106, D. Oates 1968b: p.31 and p.39, and Eidem 1985: p.99 and p.101.

3) The explication of the phasing is given in a separate article.

4) The "late" Khabur ware of Mallowan [1947], the "Jungere" Khabur ware of Hrouda [1957], the "transitional Khabur-Miaminian" ware of Kantor [1958], the "late Khabur/early Nuzi" type pottery of D. Oates [1972] and the newly defined "younger" Khabur ware of D.L. Stein [1984] have been so far known as concepts of a later variety of Khabur ware. These concepts either differ in all respects or overlap in some respects.

5) Basically, Nuzi ware is the pottery distinguished by the presence of white-painted decoration superimposed on dark-painted bands. In addition, it should be noted that in the corpus of Nuzi ware, composed of various types, there occurs a coarser ware, and conversely that a fine ware occurs among the Khabur ware vessels appearing in an earlier stage.

6) The distinctive bird motifs [e.g. Mallowan 1947: PLXXXIII:5,8,9] are those which should be differentiated from the earlier bird motifs that occur on Khabur ware from stratum 4 at Tell Billa [see Speiser 1933: PL LXXII].



Scale 1:10 (nos. 1, 2, 8–12, 30–33, 42 & 43); Scale 1:7 (nos. 3–6, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 40 & 50); Scale 1:6 (nos. 7, 15, 17, 30–29, 34, 39, 41, 49, 51–59). See the references to this figure, given below.

Fig. 1 Suggested periodization for Khabur ware.

view, based on stratigraphic evidence from area HH at Brak, carries weight with us, suggesting that in area H.H. excavated in the past by M.E.L. Mallowan, "late" Khabur ware occurred not only in level 3 but also in level 2⁷⁾. The Brak area H.H. level 3 is well known as the level in which Mallowan confirmed that Khabur ware overlapped with white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [Mallowan 1947: pp. 77–78]. In fact, increasing pieces of evidence from sites recently excavated, such as Tell Leilan, Tell Mohammed Diyab and Tell Brak (*inter alia*, Matthews's most recent excavations) in the upper Khabur basin, and Tell Hamad Agha as-Saghir in north Iraq, suggest that the following painted vessels should be treated as being included in the category of Khabur ware:

- (1) straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessels, which have occasionally distinctive bird motifs of dark paint (Fig. 1:26, 27, 34, 44–46);
- (2) jars, pots or bowls decorated with distinctive bird motifs in dark paint (Fig. 1:33);
- (3) band-painted, eversible-necked/rimmed shoulder cups, referred to by Barthel Hrouda as one of the types of "jingere" Khabur ware⁸⁾, which are however sometimes decorated with cross-hatched triangles (Fig. 1:22, 24, 28, 37–39, 48, 49).

Furthermore, other types of Hrouda's "jingere" Khabur ware, represented by "band-painted, tall-necked shoulder cups" [Hrouda 1957: Taf. 8:1–9, 13–18, 20, from Aššur] (see Fig. 1:51, 53, 54) and "band-painted open-form goblets"⁹⁾ [e.g. Mallowan 1947: Pl. LXXVII:2, from area H.H. level 2 at Brak; Pfälzner 1995: Taf. 173:d, from the Mitanni palace of Brak] (see Fig. 1:52, 55), must be, as claimed by Diana L. Stein, disassociated from the category of Khabur ware. The "band-painted open-form goblets", appearing late in, or possibly towards the end of, Khabur Ware Period 3, continue to occur in post-Khabur ware phases, *i.e.*, after Khabur Ware Period 4 in which Khabur ware jars, pots and bowls, though small in quantity, still occur alongside of white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware (see Fig. 1:58, 59, for Nuzi ware). Likewise, the "band-painted, tall-necked shoulder cups", also appearing late in Khabur Ware Period 3, seem to occur after the disappearance of Khabur ware¹⁰⁾.

The dates of Khabur ware

The upper date of Khabur ware, *i.e.*, the date for the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 1, is inconclusive because of the lack of epigraphic evidence. However, an indication is given by the fact that David Oates's recent excavations at Tell Brak in areas FS and SS confirmed the occurrence of 20th century B.C. pottery including southern early Isin-Larsa types [Oates & Oates 1994: p.171]. The Brak evidence suggests the certain existence of an occupation phase in north Mesopotamia in the earliest part of the 2nd millennium B.C., which probably corresponds in date to level V, a "barren" layer, at Tell Taya. A picture of north Mesopotamia in the period immediately before the appearance of Khabur ware is thus becoming clearer than before¹¹⁾. In consideration of the evidence from Brak, a date of *ca.* 1900 B.C. for the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 1 is suggested.

The lower date of Khabur ware has been so far problematical, with the problem of a later variety of Khabur ware unsolved. Although Khabur ware and white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware occur overlapping in time, what matters is the fact that the date for the beginning of Nuzi ware, based on tablets from Nuzi and Alalah, is less conclusive than we might wish [see D.L. Stein 1989: p.36ff.]. D. Oates's recent

excavations also shed a new light on these chronological problems on Khabur ware and Nuzi ware¹²⁾. It is area HH that provides important information. Excavated in this area were the Mitanni palace in which there were two main phases of occupation, the Mitanni temple/shrine, and a series of Mitanni houses (area HH levels 7–2) adjacent to the palace and temple [Oates & Oates 1991: p.158; *idem* 1994: p.172]. The sequence of Mitanni houses (area HH levels 6–2) runs parallel to the palace phases, 1–2. J. Oates says that the final occupation phase, 2, of the Mitanni palace, yielding Nuzi ware, lacks "late" Khabur ware¹³⁾, which was found in earlier Mitanni house levels of area HH in large quantity, thus pointing out that this is a very important piece of datable evidence for the end of Khabur ware [personal communication in 1995]. At present, her statement gives the most significant indication for the lower date of Khabur ware: a tablet mentioning Artaššumara and bearing the impression of Saustatar's seal¹⁴⁾, which came from the phase 2 destruction debris of room 3 of the Mitanni palace, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the phase 1 occupation of the Mitanni palace [Oates & Oates 1991: p.158]. In history, Artaššumara is known to have succeeded his father Šuttarna II as king of Mitanni but to have been soon murdered. It was Tušratta who succeeded his brother Artaššumara as king of Mitanni. Tušratta's letters, including one letter written in Hurrian, are well known to be extant in the Egyptian state archives from Tell el-Amarna; his diplomatic correspondence was most concerned with the marriage of Amenophis III to Tušratta's daughter, Tatu-hepa. The Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis III also married Šuttarna II's daughter, Kelu-hepa, in his tenth year. Thus Artaššumara's brief reign falls in the first quarter of the 14th century B.C.¹⁵⁾ Hence D. Oates and J. Oates suggest a date in the 15th century B.C. for the lower chronological limit of phase 1 of the Mitanni palace [1991: p.158]. In sum, the absence of Khabur ware in the Mitanni palace phase 2 occupation can be accepted as a *terminus ante quem* for Khabur ware, and we have now been able to have clear evidence, from the core area of Khabur ware distribution, that the Khabur ware fashion terminates before the reign of Artaššumara of Mitanni. Accordingly, a date of *ca.* 1400 B.C., at the latest, can be suggested for the end of Khabur ware.

Chronological evidence for the main phase of Khabur ware

Textual evidence for dating Khabur Ware Period 2 has been so far provided at several sites, including ones outside the main distribution zone of Khabur ware. The evidence, given in the form of cuneiform tablets, is supplemented by inscribed seal impressions datable, which are found on tablets, envelopes of tablets or clay sealings. The following are the sites at which Khabur ware is directly or indirectly associated with datable cuneiform tablets or inscribed seal impressions:

(1) Chagar Bazar

This site is located on the *wadi* Darn, a branch of the *wadi* Khanzir flowing into the *wadi* Jaghghigh which is the only perennial tributary of the Khabur river.

In 1936 tablets were found on the floor and in the rubbish of the large building of area B.D., and in the ashly debris of the badly-preserved building of area A.B. [Mallowan 1937: p.113, p.115 and p.154]; and M.E.L. Mallowan reported that all the tablets occurred consistently at the bottom of Khabur ware level 1, giving a *terminus post quem* of *ca.* 2000 B.C. for the level [1937: p.94]. In 1937, in area T.D. some nine rooms of a building belonging to the early phase of level 1 were excavated, one of which, room 106, contained numbers of tablets including ones bearing the name Iasmah-Adad (son of Šamsi-Adad I) [Mallowan 1947: pp.81–82; Gadd 1940: pp.22–23]. Some tablets bore the impressions of seals with inscriptions describing each one of their owners as "servant of Šamsi-Adad" [Gadd 1940: see p.20, and *e.g.* A.939 on p.50]. All the tablets found were thus regarded as having been written in the time of Šamsi-Adad I, King of Assyria (*ca.* 1813–1781 B.C. on the middle chronology) [Gadd 1940: p.22]. On the ground of the texts mentioning the name of the younger son of the Assyrian king, Mallowan rectified his previous view and, using Smith's middle chronology, dated the beginning of level 1, *i.e.*, the first

7) *E.g.* Mallowan 1947: PLXXXVII:1. See Fig. 1:46.

8) In particular, Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:6, from Aššur. As for this type of pottery, changes of base types are appreciated through phases of Khabur ware, defined here [for this, see also Spämann 1992: pp.194–195]. Further, see a description regarding Tell Leilan, given below.

9) A "nipple-based" variety of Hrouda's "jingere" Khabur ware should be, however, excluded from consideration [Hrouda 1957: Taf.7:4,5,7]; nipple bases are characteristics of pottery occurring in post-Khabur ware phases.

10) As for this, the excavations at Tell Aqrah may give an indication [el-Amin & Mallowan 1950 (see PLIX:83)]. Now, Mallowan's excavations in area H.H. at Tell Brak give a much clearer indication when the results of D. Oates's excavations in area HH at the same site are taken together into consideration [see Mallowan 1947: PLXXVII:15, from level 1 in area H.H.].

11) Cf. Weiss *et al.* 1993: p.990ff. for "Khabur hiatus I" phase 3.

12) A time range for Nuzi ware at Tell Brak will be elucidated by D. Oates and J. Oates.

13) See also J. Oates 1990: p.146.

14) As for the name of the famous Mitannian king, there are the following variants: Saustatar, Šaustatar, Šaustatur, Šaustatur, Šaustatur, and Šaustatur.

15) See Grotzke 1975: pp.3–4.

appearance of Khabur ware at this site, at ca. 1800 B.C. [Mallowan 1947: p.83].

Although Khabur ware from the tablet building of area T.D. is not illustrated in the report, the association in the building of Khabur ware vessels and the tablets is naturally presumed. The significant fact is, however, that many of the tablets, found in ash on the beaten mud floor of room 106, "were resting on poshards which had evidently once served as trays", some of which "were sherds of coarse Khabur ware painted with red stripes" [Mallowan 1947: p.82]. This shows the direct association of the Khabur ware sherds with the tablets.

Of interest are tablets dated by *limu* (year-eponyms). The majority of the Chagar Bazar tablets bear a *limu* name, i.e., Adad-bani [Cald 1940: p.23]. The *limu* is attested at Mari and Aligar Hüyük, which is considered as falling in the reign of Šamsi-Adad I [Veenhof 1985: p.204 and p.216]. This is also a matter of significance, because of one of the key points for dating the tablets from Kültepe Karum Ib, which is noted below.

(2) Mari (modern Tell Hariri)

This famous site is located about 11 kilometers northwest of Abu Kemal in Syria.

A certain Khabur ware jar was discovered in room 162 of the north-eastern quadrant of the Mari royal palace [Parrot 1959: pp.133-134, and Fig. 92; or Pl. XXXVII:1384], which produced more than 20,000 cuneiform tablets, written in Old Babylonian mainly in the times of Iahmuni-Lim, Išamly-Adad and Zimri-Lim. Unfortunately this room is not directly associated with any of the tablets discovered. Further, it has been confirmed that the palace was constructed in several stages with many additions and functional changes, thus having a long history from the third to the early second millennium B.C. [Pardee 1984: p.89; Kohlmeier 1985: p.193]. Accordingly, one may assume that the room in which the Khabur ware jar was found belongs to an earlier part of the palace, and therefore would have perhaps been used by Išamly-Adad in the time of Šamsi-Adad I [Hrouda 1971: pp.167-168]. However, the stratigraphic provenance of the Khabur ware jar is obscure, and ceramics recovered from the palace is likely to represent the final material at the time when Mari was destroyed by Hammurabi of Babylon. Thus it is now most appropriate that the Khabur ware jar of Mari is regarded as dating from the time of Zimri-Lim, king of Mari.

The Mari texts provide not only information for early second millennium history but also comparative data for the study of Assyrian *limu* lists.

(3) Kültepe (ancient Kanis)

Kültepe-Kanis, located about 19 kilometers north of Kayseri in Turkey, consists of the main city-mound and the lower terrace area where a *karum* existed in the Old Assyrian period.

In the Middle Bronze Age palace on the city-mound, the dagger of Auita was discovered; in a Middle Bronze Age building on the same mound, tablets including the Anum-Ishtar letter were found [Orlin 1970: pp.214-215]. The dagger and the letter were considered contemporary with level Ib of the terrace area [Orlin 1970: p.100, p.213 and p.238]. On the terrace area, four main occupation levels were confirmed, which were designated Karum I-IV from top to bottom. Karum level I consisted of three phases (Ia, Ib and Ic). Among these levels, Karum II and Karum Ib produced thousands of tablets written in Old Assyrian and concerned chiefly with Assyrian trading activities. Karum Ic, intervening between II and Ib, was a level of no occupation, during the period of which the *karum* area had been temporarily uninhabited [Orlin 1970: p.200 and pp.210-211].

Relevant to the matter of Khabur ware is the Karum Ib settlement, the tablets from which are however much smaller than those of Karum II in quantity. From Kemal Balkan's study of *limu* names occurring in the Kültepe texts, this level, Ib, was dated to the time of Šamsi-Adad I [Balkan 1955: pp.43-44]. The poems of Balkan's study regarding the Ib texts are that there is a similarity in style between the Ib texts and the Aligar texts in which, as at Chagar Bazar and Mari, the occurrence of the *limu* Adad-bani is well attested, and that in a tablet assigned to Ib occurs the name Awilila, which is mentioned as a *limu* in another Kültepe tablet, and which is thus identifiable with the *limu* Awilila (Awiliya) or Awilila (Awiliya) attested at Chagar Bazar and Mari respectively [Balkan 1955: pp.42-44, and see p.47 and n.8 on p.63]. Balkan regarded Adad-bani and Awilila as *limu* officials of Šamsi-Adad I for the reason that they appeared in the texts, dated to the time of the Assyrian king, of Chagar Bazar and Mari.

At Kültepe, a few small vessels of Khabur ware came from graves regarded as belonging to Karum Ib, thus dated to the reign of Šamsi-Adad I [T. Özgüç 1953: p.115, and Abb. 17/23 and Abb. 18/26; Emre 1963: p.95 and Pl. XXV:1; T. Özgüç 1986: pp.29-93 and Pl. 134:3]. The evidence from seals, however, shows that Karum Ib may have lasted much longer than the reign of Šamsi-Adad I, covering the reign of Hammurabi of Babylon (ca. 1792-1750 B.C. on the middle chronology) [Buchanan 1969: p.759; cf. N. Özgüç 1968: p.319].

(4) Tell al-Rimah (probably ancient Karana)

This site, yielding numbers of Old Babylonian tablets, deserves our attention as a site providing well-stratified materials including a good Khabur ware assemblage. The pottery sequence confirmed at the site will certainly provide an important clue to the study of Khabur ware when the details are reported. Unfortunately, most of the ceramic materials including the Khabur ware assemblage have not yet published. But the published reports give us the details of stratigraphy, noting important points of

materials recovered.

The site, situated 13 kilometers south of Tell 'Afar in north Iraq, consists of a central mound and the area surrounded by another site. One of the main excavation areas is Area A, on the central mound, and is also called the temple site; another is Area C, also called the palace site, between the central mound and the city wall remains.

The palace of area C divided into three main structural phases (1-3), of which the latest phase, 3, was further divided into two subphases of occupation, 3a and 3b [D. Oates 1972: p.78 and p.85; *idem* 1976: p.xi]. The building of phase 1 confirmed was that marked by "a three-room suite with mud-brick walls on massive stone foundations trenched into virgin soil" [D. Oates 1976: p.xi; *idem* 1982: pp.88-89]. Additions made to the phase 1 building was marked as phase 2, in which there was no substantial changes [D. Oates 1976: p.xi; *idem* 1982: p.89]. The phase 3 building, which had replaced the phase 1 building with additions of phase 2, was the palace taking its final form by rebuilding [D. Oates 1972: p.85].

A number of tablets were found on or below the floors of phase 3b [D. Oates 1976: p.xi]. Many of these tablets derived from two archives found in room II and room VI [D. Oates 1968a: p.136]. The tablets of room II were part of the archive of Hammurabi placed in phase 3a in historical contexts; the tablets, large in number, of room VI were the famous archive of "Itani", which were evidently associated with phase 3b [D. Oates 1976: p.xiii]. From the Rimah texts themselves and in the connection of the Mari texts, Hammurabi is known as a contemporary of Zimri-Lim of Mari and, supposing the identification of Rimah with Karana is correct, it is recognized as ruler of the city [Dailey 1976a: p.1 and pp.4-6; *idem* 1984: pp.37-38]. Itani is known, from the inscription reconstructed from impressions of her seal, to have been the wife of Aqba-Išammi, who, being connected with Karana in the Mari texts, is inferable as ruler of the city, and who, according to the inscription of one of his two seals and some texts from room VI, is known to have been subject to Hammurabi of Babylon [Dailey 1976b: pp.31-32 and p.35; *idem* 1984: pp.39-44]. In addition to the occurrence of the place-name Kanis, it is worth noting that the *limu* Sabrum frequently occurs in the economic texts of the Itani archive; the *limu* name, though with no patronymic, is most likely identical with the *limu* Zaprüm (i.e. Saprüm), son of Puzur-Sin, attested in the Karum Ib texts of Kültepe, in postulating that Karum Ib continued to the latter part of Hammurabi's reign [Dailey 1976b: p.31]. This suggests a chronological link with Kültepe Karum Ib [D. Oates 1968a: p.137; Dailey 1976b: p.22]. Inscribed seal impressions, found on or below the floors of phase 3b, revealed the names of five rulers, including the two rulers mentioned above, which were derived either from their own seals or from those of their servants. Among the rulers, Šamsi-Adad I and Samu-Adad are relevant to the matter of dating the beginning of the palace. Samu-Adad was the father of Itani, which is a fact derived from Itani's seal, according to the Mari texts, he was king of Karana when Išamly-Adad was present at Mari [Dailey 1976a: p.4; *idem* 1976b: p.33 and p.35]. From the Mari texts, Samu-Adad is considered a vassal king under Šamsi-Adad I [Dailey 1984: p.36 with n.13; D. Oates 1982: p.89]. The earliest chronological evidence was further obtained in the form of inscribed seal impressions on clay envelope fragments, which came from in debris on a lower level which might have been either the construction level or the floor of the phase 3a building [D. Oates 1972: pp.85-86]. They were the impressions of two seals with inscriptions describing each one of their owners as "servant of Šamsi-Adad" [D. Oates 1972: p.85; *idem* 1976: p.xii]. D. Oates considers that these impressions "might thus be associated either with the destruction of the phase 1 building or the first occupation of the palace that replaced it", suggesting that "they can be regarded only as proof that the site was built on during Šamsi-Adad's reign" [D. Oates 1972: p.86]. At any rate, these pieces of evidence, together with the evidence for Aqba-Išammi's connection with Hammurabi of Babylon, were regarded as suggesting that the time range of the palace sequence extends from Šamsi-Adad's reign to the latter part of Hammurabi's reign [D. Oates 1972: p.86; *idem* 1982: p.89]. Important is D. Oates's brief mention, which indicates that the pottery of the palace period is Khabur ware [D. Oates 1976: p.xiii]. The Khabur ware of the palace is thus dated from the time of Šamsi-Adad I. Another important point is that in a later building overlying the palace abandoned, the so-called "late Khaburware Nuzi" type pottery occurs, consisting of vessels painted in a style intermediate between Khabur ware and the painted wares of mid-second millennium northern Mesopotamia [D. Oates 1972: p.85; *idem* 1976: p.xiii]. This suggests that the Khabur ware occurrence that is assigned to the main Khabur ware phase defined in the present article is continued to the palace sequence in area C.

On the other hand, phase III of area A, in which a monumental temple complex marked by two stages of construction was retrieved, also yielded Khabur ware [D. Oates 1965: p.71; *idem* 1970: p.11]. According to D. Oates, "late Khabur painted ware" was included in large quantities of pottery and bones lying on two later floors of room XXI of the temple [1967: p.83]; this suggests that the occupation of the temple extends in time after the main Khabur ware phase defined in the present article. Tablets were found in rooms II and XVII of the temple, and on the south side of the head of the stairway leading up to a terrace fronting the main, east gate of the temple [D. Oates 1968a: pp.119-122; *idem* 1970: p.11]. But these tablets provide no more double evidence than they are of Old Babylonian date [Dailey 1976a: p.165]. However, D. Oates suggests, on the ground of historical probability, that "the original phase of construction of the temple should be ascribed to the period of Šamsi-Adad's domination" [1976: p.xv; see also 1982: pp.91-92]. He further argues that this is supported by the mention of a "governor (*kapitum*)" in the tablets from the stairway area, in postulating their contemporaneity with the tablets from the earliest occupation of room II of the temple [1976: p.xv]. The tablets of the stairway area came from in the debris associated with a flimsy building earlier than the stairway and from in the foundation trench of a massive wall, regarded as the retaining wall of the

temple terrace, by which the debris of the earlier building had been disturbed [D. Oates 1970; pp. 10–11; *idem* 1976; p. xv]. This suggested that they had been stored in the flimsy building, considered to have stood for a time outside the east façade of the temple [D. Oates 1976; p. xv]. The stratigraphic connection between the stairway area and the building of the temple itself, however, was unclear because of erosion destroying the area between them [D. Oates 1970; p. 11]. Only the occurrence of the personal name Allāstarim both in the room II texts and in a list from the stairway area suggested a possible chronological link between the two groups of tablets [D. Oates 1976; p. xv; Dalley 1976; p. 163]. It is interesting to note that the texts from the stairway area provide *limu* names, one of which is the *limu* Abiyaya, which, though with no patronymic, is most probably identified with the *limu* Abiyaya in the Chagar Bazar texts and the *limu* Abiyaya, son of Takliti, in the Mari texts [Hawkins 1976; p. 200 with n. 14 and p. 201]. The *limu* Abiyaya, son of Takliti, is also attested in the *Karum* Ib texts of Kültepe [Veenhof 1985; p. 198].

Khabur ware also occurs in levels underlying the phase III temple, which was substantially confirmed through soundings carried out in an area on the south side of the central mound (area AS). This is concerned with the earliest phase of Khabur ware, i.e., Khabur Ware Period I.

(5) Tell Tayas

In the Citadel mound of this site, lying on the lower slopes of a range of hills at the northeastern corner of the Tell 'Afar plain in north Iraq, levels IV and III yielded Khabur ware [Rasde 1968; p. 257; *idem* 1982a; p. 74]. The upper level, III, produced two tablets bearing seal-impressions inscribed with "ḫaidanum, son of Anzatum, servant of Šamsī-Adad" [Postgate 1973; p. 173]. ḫaidanum is known from the Mari texts as governor of Karana [Postgate 1973; p. 173], and is regarded as a provincial official who supervised Karana and took the responsibility of watching vassal kings and reporting to Šamsī-Adad at Mari during the reign of Šamsī-Adad I [Dalley 1964; n. 13 on p. 48]. Thus this site is historically tied in with Tell al-Rimah, which is most likely identified with the city of Karana.

The dating of level III by the tablets raises the possibility that the lower level, IV, is dated before the reign of Šamsī-Adad I, from a stratigraphic point of view. As at Tell al-Rimah, this is also supported by ceramic evidence from level IV itself, and is thus relevant to Khabur Ware Period I.

(6) Tell Leilan (ancient Šubat-Enlil)

The site, lying on the left bank of the *wadi* Jarrah in the upper Khabur basin of Syria, consists of the main mound called the acropolis and the lower town area enclosed with city wall remains.

The acropolis-northeast excavations revealed three building levels (I–III) producing Khabur ware, of which the second level (II) was marked by monumental temple architecture which was a rebuilding of the original temple of the lowest level (III) confirmed [Weiss 1985; pp. 7–13]. Building level I, immediately under the surface of this excavation area, was represented by the remains of a mud-brick platform, and hearths [Weiss 1985a; p. 7; *idem* 1985b; p. 281]. The façade decoration of the building level III temple is said to be directly comparable with that of the Tell al-Rimah temple. The phase producing Khabur ware is designated as "Leilan period I".

In the first three seasons of excavation, tablets and clay sealing fragments with seal impressions were recovered from several rooms of the building level II temple. The tablets were for the most part economic documents, some of which were dated with *limu* [Weiss 1985b; p. 281]. The *limu* Adad-bani, with a patronymic, occurs on a tablet found on a floor of a room of the level II temple, which was previously regarded as identical with, but is now differentiated from, the one known from Mari, Chagar Bazar and Aligar Hiyuk [Whiting 1990a; p. 572 with n. 108; *idem* 1990b; p. 188]. This Adad-bani is described as son of Pussaya, but the Adad-bani known from Mari, as son of Puzur-ili [Whiting 1990a; p. 572; *idem* 1990b; p. 188]. The tablet dated by the *limu*, however, bore the impressions of the seals of two different servants of Šamsī-Adad [Whiting 1990a; p. 572 with n. 109; *idem* 1990b; p. 188]. The significant fact is that Khabur ware was found on floors of the level II temple [Veenhof 1985; p. 201, based on H. Weiss and B.R. Foster's information]. On the other hand, among the clay sealings from the building level II temple, there was one sealing bearing the impression of a seal with the inscription of "Šurī-Adad, son of Zuhriya, servant of Šamsī-Adad" [Weiss 1983; p. 60; *idem* 1985a; p. 14; *idem* 1985b; p. 281]. Other inscribed seal impressions recovered from there, revealed the names of two rulers, Turum-natti and Jyaya-abum, which were derived from the seals of their servants; their names are known from part of the Mari texts, those letters which document the history of Šubar-Enlil after the death of Šamsī-Adad I [Weiss 1983; p. 63 and see Fig. 7; *idem* 1985b; pp. 283–284 and see Fig. 3]. The fact that after Šamsī-Adad came Turum-natti and Jyaya-abum is also confirmed from the archaeological context of the finds, i.e., the spatial and temporal distribution of the inscribed seal impressions in the level II temple [Weiss 1983; p. 60; *idem* 1985b; p. 283]. From these pieces of evidence, Harvey Weiss concludes that the building level II temple was "in use during the reign of Šamsī-Adad, and/or possibly shortly thereafter" [Weiss 1983; p. 48 and p. 63; *idem* 1985b; p. 281 and p. 283].

In addition to these, the excavations also confirmed one important tablet from the building level III temple [Weiss 1983; the table on p. 60; *idem* 1985b; the table on p. 281]. On the tablet, the *limu* Sin-muballit occurs [Whiting 1990a; p. 571 with n. 97–100]. This *limu* is attested in the *Karum* Ib texts of Kültepe and at Mari [Veenhof 1985; p. 204]. The tablet was found in the brick collapse of the level III temple, below the floor of the level II temple with the pottery from the destruction debris

included Khabur ware [Veenhof 1985; p. 201, based on Weiss and Foster's information]. On the other hand, building level I did not provide any epigraphic evidence. On surfaces related to the level I mud-brick platform were sherds of Khabur ware and associated pottery, similar to the Khabur ware assemblages of building levels II and III [Weiss 1985a; p. 7; *idem* 1985b; p. 381].

What should be noted here are some examples of painted pottery said to be from building level II or III of the acropolis-northeast area, which are illustrated in a report published in 1985 [Weiss 1985a; p. 13]. The illustration of the 1985 report includes one example, with a small ring base, of the "band-painted, everted-necked/rimmed shoulder cup" type, i.e., one type of Hrouda's "Jugers" Khabur ware (Fig. 1:22), and two examples, with distinctive bird motifs, of the "straight/concave-sided beaker" type (Fig. 1:26, 27) [Weiss 1985a; the illustration on p. 13]. This corroborates the earlier occurrence of the type that Hrouda described as one of his "Jugers" Khabur ware, as does evidence from Kültepe and possibly Dinkha Tepe, sites outside the main distribution zone of Khabur ware [cf. T. Özgüç 1953; Abb. 17 or 25 and A. Stein 1940; Pl. XXIX:12] (see Fig. 1:24, p. 381).

Examples of this type occurring in the main phase of Khabur ware have exclusively small ring bases, while examples of the type occurring in later Khabur ware phases have predominantly button and small footed pedestal (footed button) bases. Problematic are the two "straight/concave-sided beaker" type vessels decorated with stylized dark-painted birds, because they are considered diagnostic for later Khabur ware phases. In this respect, their stratigraphic attribution to building level II or III is now questioned; we are awaiting a published report on their exact stratigraphic provenance. Now that these vessels, as well as the shoulder cup type, are considered as belonging to the category of Khabur ware, their provenance carries weight in elucidating the sequence of Khabur ware from a chronological point of view. If the beaker type vessels with bird motifs can be no doubt attributed to II or III, a different picture will emerge regarding the chronology for the sequence of Khabur ware. Furthermore, in the 1985 season of excavation, the substantial corpus of cuneiform texts was revealed in the acropolis-northeast area. These tablets were those dumped in/on a deposit of ash and trash on the floor of the rooms of the so-called "square occupation", which was set upon the collapsed walls of the building denoted as building level "X", possibly a southern portion of the building level II temple [Weiss 1990; pp. 540–542]. Weiss reports that the ceramic assemblage from building level "X" is part of the Khabur ware assemblage of the building levels II and III temples [Weiss 1990; p. 542]. The texts were administrative documents, which were dated by *limu* from the reign of Šamsī-Adad I [Weiss 1990; p. 541]. Among the *limu* attested, there was the *limu* Pussaya, the tablets dated with this *limu* bore the impressions of seals with inscriptions describing their respective owners as "servant of Šamsī-Adad", "servant of Ilme-Dagan" and "servant of Iasmah-Adad" [Whiting 1990a; p. 569 and see Table 2 on p. 576]. The occurrence of the *limu* Sin-muballit was confirmed on one tablet, which might be identical with the one from the building level III temple, noted above [Whiting 1990a; p. 572; *idem* 1990b; p. 183]. One sealing, recovered from the secondary garbage deposit, bore the impression of the seal of "Šurī-Adad, servant of Šamsī-Adad" [Pussary 1990; no. 5 on p. 559; see also Whiting 1990a; Table 2 on p. 576]. Of interest is a sealing of a servant of Dadlaka, found in the same garbage deposit; this Dadlaka is regarded as identical with the king of Elmunta, who died five years before the death of Šamsī-Adad I [Whiting 1990a; p. 571; see Pussary 1990; no. 7 on p. 559].

Besides the excavations of the acropolis-northeast area, the excavations in the lower town area (operation 3) produced a large group of Old Babylonian texts. The 1985 excavations of operation 3 confirmed three building levels (1–3) associated with the Khabur ware ceramic assemblage of Leilan period I [Aktermans 1990; pp. 543–547]. The level 2 and level 3 buildings were considered as representing two phases of the palace of this site during Leilan period I [Aktermans 1990; p. 547; Aktermans & Weiss 1987–88; p. 91 ff.]. The 1987 excavations of operation 3 further confirmed part of a building standing on the level 3 building but somewhat earlier than it, which, also belonging to period I, was labelled as building level 4 [Aktermans & Weiss 1987–88; pp. 91–92]. The fill on the floors of two rooms of the level 4 building produced sealings of servants of Šamsī-Adad and Ilme-Dagan [Aktermans & Weiss 1987–88; p. 92]. Building level 3 yielded a few tablets and many sealings, as well as the Khabur ware assemblage of period I [Aktermans 1990; pp. 545–546; Aktermans & Weiss 1987–88; p. 93]. Building level 2, which had been rebuilt almost in the same plan as that of the level 3 building, also yielded many tablets and sealings [Aktermans 1990; pp. 546–547; Aktermans & Weiss 1987–88; pp. 94–95]. Building level 1 was marked by a small mud-brick wall and several pits underlying below the modern surface of this area; one of the pits contained a small Khabur ware jar decorated with bird motifs [Aktermans 1990; p. 547]. Inscribed seal impressions on tablets and sealings from building levels 3 and 2 in the lower town area revealed the following names of rulers: Šamsī-Adad, ḫamdiya, Mutiya, Tili-abnu, and lakun-šar. From the Mari texts, ḫamdiya is known as having succeeded Atamrum, king of Adarab, shortly before the time when ḫammurabi of Babylon smote Mari in battle in his 32nd regnal year (ca. 1761 B.C.) [Eidem 1987–88; p. 111]. Judging from the texts from the lower town area of Leilan, the last ruler who controlled this city after ḫamdiya were Mutiya, Tili-abnu and lakun-šar in their successional order posited [Eidem 1991; pp. 114–115]. The textual evidence and the archaeological contexts of the finds, at least, suggest that the rooms labelled as level 4 were in use during the time of Šamsī-Adad I, and that in the level 2 palace, a rebuilding of the level 3 palace, lakun-šar was finally resided [cf. Aktermans & Weiss 1987–88; p. 96].

Important in connection with the texts from the lower town area is a proposal put forward by Dominique Charpin [1987]. Of the proposal, based on unpublished texts from Mari and information from Tell Leilan, the points are that the original name of this site was Šuḫna, a city-name attested in late third millennium tablets from Tell Brak, before Šamsī-Adad occupied the city

and returned it as Šubat-Enlil, and that the name Šejna, also referred to in Zimri-Lim's texts from Mari, gradually came into use again after the death of Šamsi-Adad I (Whiting 1990a, pp. 574-575; Eidem 1987-88, p. 110; Eidem 1991, p. 110). Most important is a chronological link with southern Mesopotamia, shown in the proposal. The seal of Iakun-šar, king of Apum, was found on tablets from room 2 of the building level 2 palace in the lower town area (Whiting 1990a, p. 574, and see Table 2 on p. 575). The Killepe texts suggest that Apum was a town through which an Old Assyrian trade route passed (Goetze 1953a, p. 67; Whiting 1990a, p. 574). In the proposal, however, the fact that Apum was the name of the area around Šama (= Šama) (Šama) the capital of the land of Apum, and by a variant version of the date-formula which mentions a certain name most likely identified with the Iakun-šar, king of Apum, attested at Tell Leilan (Whiting 1990a, p. 575; Eidem 1987-88, pp. 110-111; Eidem 1991, p. 112). The chronological link with southern Mesopotamia was thus clarified; and the 22nd regnal year of Samsuiluna (ca. 1728 B.C.) was considered a terminal date for archaeological and epigraphic materials associated with Iakun-šar. In sum, the date-formula of Samsuiluna provides a probable *terminus ante quem* for the building level 2 palace of the lower town area of Tell Leilan. Accordingly, the lower limit of the time range of Khabur ware at Tell Leilan itself, which extends from the reign of Šamsi-Adad I to the end of the building level 1 of the lower town area, is probably dated shortly after ca. 1728 B.C., the date of the destruction of the palace of Iakun-šar who is now attested as king of the land of Apum the capital of which was Šama (= Šubat-Enlil). However, the presence, in the acropolis-northeast area, of "straight/concave-sided beaker" type vessels with distinctive bird motifs, whose archaeological attribution is questioned, suggests that there may be archaeological features assigned to the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 3. If the representation of the bird motifs occurring on a small Khabur ware jar, from a pit immediately below the modern surface of operation 3, is distinctive, and is differentiated from that of bird motifs occurring on earlier Khabur ware vessels, for example, from Tell Bitla stratum 4 (Speiser 1933: LXVII), the pit itself can be assigned to Khabur Ware Period 3. The recent confirmation of burials with ceramics said to be close in time to "Nuzi ware assemblages", which are now labelled "Leilan period 0", defined as post-Leilan period I (Weiss 1994, p. 126), deserves consideration in this connection.

(7) Terqa (modern Tell 'Ašara)

This site, on the Euphrates river, is located about 60 kilometres north of Mari. Before the discovery of the Mari archives, tablets from this site were well known to Assyriologists as the Khana texts, dated to the second quarter of the second millennium B.C.

During the first two seasons of excavation, the occurrence of Khabur ware at this site was not confirmed (Kelly-Bucellai & Shelby 1977, p. 11). But later excavations, carried out in area F, confirmed the occurrence of Khabur ware in the form of probands (Buia 1993). The sherds of Khabur ware found in this area were, however, few in number.

The area F excavations, providing epigraphic evidence, have so far confirmed nine phases. In phases 4-7, Khabur ware sherds were found. The number of the Khabur ware sherds recovered totalled 15 or 16; one from a phase 6 fill, two from a phase 5 floor, one from a phase 6 fill, and eleven or twelve from a phase 7 fill (Buia 1993: Tables 21-24 on pp. 177-180). Daniela Buia, who studied the pottery from this area, considers that phase 4 corresponds to a possible Old Babylonian occupation at Terqa immediately after Hammurabi's having destroyed Mari (1993, p. 30). Further, Buia assigns phase 5 to the "late Mari period", the period in which Kibri-Dagan was present at Terqa as a governor under Zimri-Lim of Mari, and phase 6, to the "early Mari period", the so-called Assyrian "interregnum" at Mari (1993, pp. 31-32 and pp. 38-39). It is said that among the epigraphic finds from area F, there are two tablets assigned to phase 5 (Buia 1993, p. 8). Of importance is the fact that a tablet bearing a month-name associated with Šamsi-Adad's reign was found in a room of a structure of phase 6, to which tablets from the so-called "rectal installation" were also assigned (Buia, p. 8 and pp. 39-43). Furthermore, Buia assigns phase 7 to the time of Iakun-Lim of Mari, in that there was found a tablet bearing his name, which may be assigned to phase 7 if tentatively (1993, pp. 8-9 and p. 47).

Accordingly, phase 6, yielding one Khabur ware sherd, probably falls in the reign of Šamsi-Adad I. What matters is phase 7, tentatively assigned to the time of Iakun-Lim. This tentative assignment suggests that phase 7, yielding eleven or twelve Khabur ware sherds (see Buia 1993: Fig. 195-b-c, e), can be dated before Šamsi-Adad's defeating Iakun-Lim. In other words, it is suggested that phase 7 may be assigned either to the early period of Šamsi-Adad's reign, at the latest, or to the period shortly before the accession of Šamsi-Adad, at the earliest. The latter is on the assumptions that the accession of Iakun-Lim at Mari precedes that of Šamsi-Adad at Aššur, and that Iakun-Lim's earlier career is concerned with Terqa (see Veenhof 1985, p. 207, with n. 56, for Iakun-Lim).

Given that the Khabur ware sherds of phases 4-6 are not stray finds coming from phase 7, a time-span for the occurrence of Khabur ware at this site itself thus extends from some time during the time of Iakun-Lim to a date immediately after the reign of Zimri-Lim at Mari.

(8) Tell Bi 'a (ancient Tuttul)

The site lies near Raqqa, a modern city of Syria, and is located also near the mouth of the Balikh river.

Through the 1987-1990 excavations, sherds of Khabur ware, though few in number, were discovered (Strommenger

1991: Abb. 5; Einwag 1993: Abb. 9:1-2). The Khabur ware sherds were those recovered from a burial place containing a number of superimposed human skeletons (Strommenger 1991: pp. 13-15). The dead bodies, amounting to about eighty, had been for the most part thrown in and over part of the remains of an underground structure in a room of a building called the "late palace" (Strommenger 1991: pp. 12-15 and see Abb. 4; Einwag 1993: p. 33). Berthold Einwag suggests that parts of broken Khabur ware vessels were likewise thrown in (1993, p. 44). Eva Strommenger considers that the burial suggests that there was a fault (1991: p. 15). The underground structure was considered a tomb, constructed in the course of the use of the "late palace", which had been however robbed by the time when the dead bodies had been thrown in (Strommenger 1991: pp. 12-13; Einwag 1993: p. 33). In an ashly layer overlying the burial place, tablets dated by *limtu* to the reign of Šamsi-Adad I and seal impressions were found (Strommenger 1991: p. 15; Einwag 1993: p. 40). A level, in which the "late palace" had been reused and which was associated with the burial place, also produced similar tablets and a quantity of unpainted pottery (Strommenger 1991: p. 33). The 1992 excavations confirmed tablets dating to the time of Šamsi-Adad I from this level (Einwag 1993: n. 1 on p. 10; Strommenger 1994: p. 144).

These suggest a possibility that the occurrence of Khabur ware at this site may be dated to the reign of Šamsi-Adad I.

The dates of the main phase of Khabur ware

The beginning of the main phase of Khabur ware (Khabur Ware Period 2) is dated to the reign of Šamsi-Adad I on the epigraphic evidence from Chagar Bazar, Tell al-Rimah, Tell Taya and Tell Leilan. The association, at Killepe, of graves containing a few examples of Khabur ware with the *Karrum* Ib level yielding the texts assigned to the reign of Šamsi-Adad I conforms to this. Tell Bi 'a, though yielding only a small quantity of Khabur ware, also provides the datable evidence, which suggests that the occurrence of Khabur ware at the site falls in Šamsi-Adad's reign. At Terqa, yielding a small number of Khabur ware sherds, the introduction of Khabur ware to the site may possibly fall in the time of Iakun-Lim of Mari; there is thus a possibility that Khabur ware was introduced to Terqa towards the end of Khabur Ware Period 1; but it is likely that the introduction falls between the accession, at Aššur, of Šamsi-Adad I, a usurper on the throne, and the time when Iakun-Lim was defeated by Šamsi-Adad I. At any rate, the introduction of Khabur ware to Terqa before Šamsi-Adad's defeating Iakun-Lim which resulted in his conquest of Mari seems to suggest that Khabur ware came to some extent into vogue in the upper Khabur basin before Šamsi-Adad's establishing a new capital called Šubat-Enlil and his controlling the upper Khabur region entirely. In terms of political history, we are inclined to assign the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 2 to the date of the establishment of his resident capital Šubat-Enlil at Tell Leilan, from which onwards Khabur ware obviously reached its florescence. However, the date when Šamsi-Adad established Šubat-Enlil remains uncertain. Accordingly, a date of ca. 1813 B.C., the first regnal year of Šamsi-Adad I at Aššur, is tentatively suggested for the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 2. This also enables us to see Khabur Ware Period 1 from the point of view of pre-Šamsi-Adad I.

The epigraphic evidence from the Rimah area C palace indicates that Khabur ware continued in use at the site certainly until the time of Aqba-banmu who was subject to Hammurabi of Babylon; and the stratigraphic evidence from the same area suggests that a new type or style of pottery appeared some time after the abandonment of the palace, probably after the reign of Hammurabi. The Leilan operation 3 epigraphic evidence connected with the 23rd date-formula of Samsuiluna of Babylon, together with the stratigraphic evidence, indicates that Khabur ware lasted at the site shortly after a date of ca. 1728 B.C., the 22nd year of Samsuiluna, i.e., until the end of "Leilan period I". Some pieces of ceramic evidence from the acropolis-northeast area and the lower town area of operation 3 at Leilan tempt us to assume that a change in style of pottery occurs towards the end of "Leilan period I". A possible date is thus suggested for the end of Khabur Ware Period 2, which is ca. 1700 B.C.

The distribution of Khabur ware in its main phase

In the main distribution zone of Khabur ware, consisting of areas within the upper Khabur basin of Syria and northern Iraq, the painted pottery style predominates and associated pottery similar in most respects

occurs. Sites which we can call "Khabur ware" sites lie in the main distribution zone; on the other hand, sites producing Khabur ware and belonging to the secondary distribution areas may be described as "peripheral" sites (Fig. 2). In most of the secondary distribution areas, the occurrences of Khabur ware are few and the majority of ceramics are in many respects different from those ceramics which occur in the main distribution zone. In some secondary distribution areas, Khabur ware occurs to some extent in quantity, but the ceramic assemblage of each area essentially differs from that of the main distribution zone.

(1) The main distribution zone

This zone, in which Khabur ware occurs abundantly, consists of areas west and east of the Tigris river. The west areas are (a) the upper Khabur basin excluding its southwest part along the Khabur river, and (b) the northeastern Jazira covering i) the area extending from the northern hills of Tell 'Afar northwards and northeastwards to the Tigris, ii) the plain south of Jebel Sinjar and Tell 'Afar, and iii) the corridor linking the 'Afar plain with the river valley north of Aššur. The east areas are (c) the area east of the Tigris upstream of Nineveh, and (d) the southwest part of the Makhmur plain bordered to the north by the Greater Zab river, the east by Jebel Qara Choq, and the south by the Lesser Zab river. The west boundary of the distribution zone lies certainly at the site of Tell Fakhariyah on the outskirts of Ras al-'Ain; but the distribution does not reach to the upper Khabur river except at Tell Fakhariyah, because no Khabur ware occurs along the upper Khabur downstream of the site [J. Oates, personal communication in 1995; see Lyonnet 1991: pp.697-698]. It seems that in the northwestern area and the northern vicinities of Hasseke, no Khabur ware also occurs [see Seeden & Wilson 1988: pp.174-187 for Tellis Zaghah, Hweish and Nuselli; Bounni 1990: pp.23-27 for the Hasseke Dam Project area including Nuselli, and cf. p.28 (?); Lyonnet 1992: p.107 for Tell Bezzari, and cf. Fig. 10 (?)]. The northern boundary of the zone is defined by the arching line formed by sites along the Syrian-Turkish border and sites of the Esaki Mosul Dam Salvage Project area. In the east, the main distribution is not beyond Jebel Bashiqa lying west of Jebel Maçlub; Tell Billa is situated at the foot of Jebel Bashiqa. South of the area around Nineveh, Khabur ware seems not to occur; for example at Nimrud located about 35 kilometres southeast of Nineveh, there are only the ruins of a Middle Assyrian town founded on the remains of an early third millennium village, besides Late Assyrian buildings [D. Oates 1988b: p.42; see also D. Oates 1982c: p.86 and Reade 1982b: p.99]. In an area extending beyond the Tigris southwestwards from Nimrud, Khabur ware also seems not to occur; this area can be represented by the prehistoric site of Hassuna, and is bounded by hills, ranging north of Tell 'Afar, which also form a boundary of the Khabur ware distribution. The southeast boundary of the zone lies at Aššur and Tell Aqrah, a site in the southwest north of Aššur lies Tell Haikal, which may be identified with ancient Ekallatum, an important town in early second millennium history, and which is also said to yield evidence of Late Assyrian occupation [D. Oates 1968b: p.38 with n.5; see also Beitzel 1984: p.32 with n.12]. From a historical point of view and from its location, it is possible that this site produces Khabur ware, if it is Ekallatum. Excepting Aššur, the eastern half of the southern boundary corresponds approximately to the theoretical outer limit for dry-farming, as illustrated by D. Oates and J. Oates [1976: p.111, suggesting the 300 mm average rainfall isohyet, and see Fig. 1; cf. Weiss 1986: p.80]. This southern boundary seems to be not beyond the southern vicinities of Tell Heyal (Lloyd's site no.74 [1938]), located some 20 kilometres west of Balad Sinjar. On the other hand, the western half of the southern boundary lies roughly along the wadi Radd, confluent near Tell Brak with the wadi Jaghjagh flowing into the Khabur river as its only perennial tributary, though actually the marshy land along the wadi Radd must be excluded. This boundary is immediately below the 300 mm isohyet, illustrated by Weiss [1986: Fig. 6].

(2) The secondary distribution areas

The sites which yielded little Khabur ware or which yielded Khabur ware to some extent in quantity are distributed peripherally outside the main distribution zone.

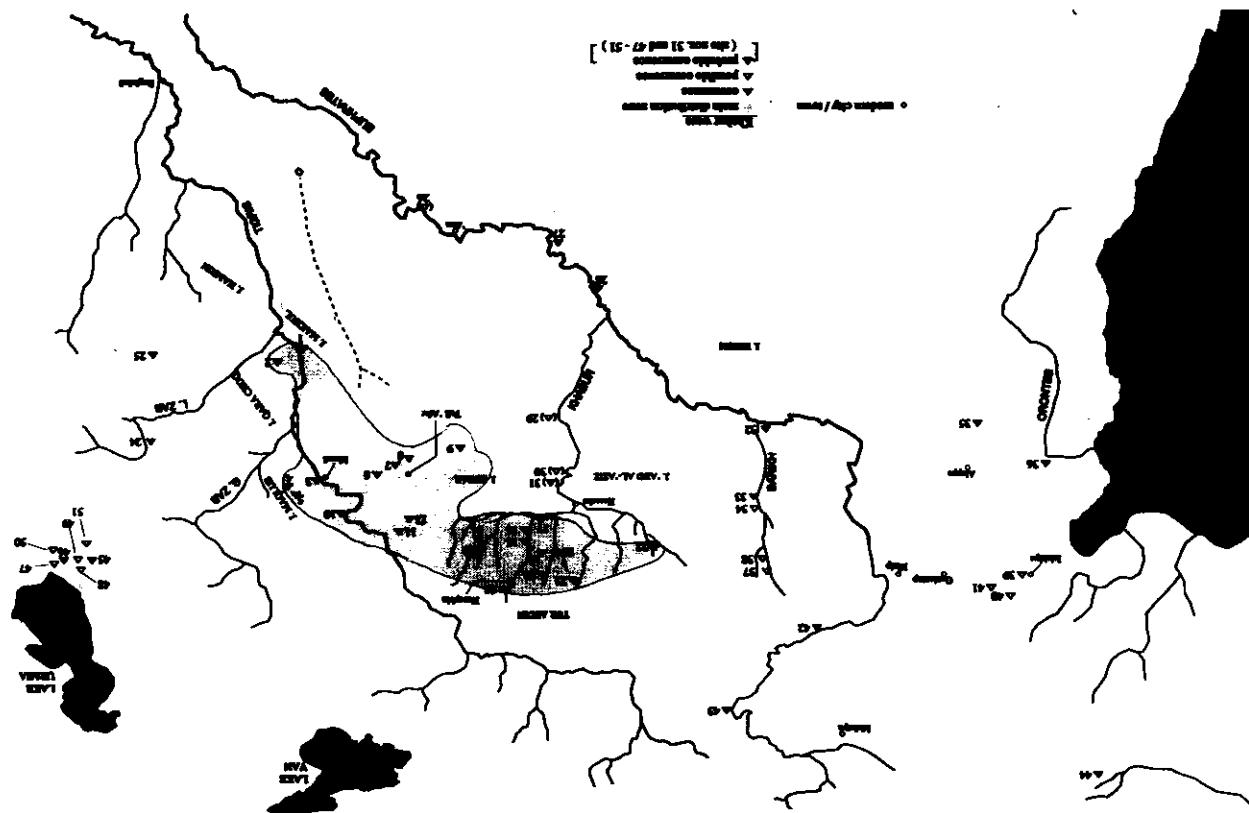


Fig. 2 Distribution of Khabur ware (ca. 1813-1700 B.C.). See the list of sites yielding Khabur ware, with site nos. corresponding to those on this map, which is shown below.

- (a) Nuzi, located 13 kilometres southwest of Kirkuk (ancient Arrapha).
 (b) Tell Basmusian, located 5 kilometres south of Tell Shemshara (ancient Šušarra), in the Rania plain.
 (c) The Ushnu-Solduz valley (Dinkha Tepe, Hasanlu, etc.) of northwest Iran.
 (d) Mari and Terqa on the west bank of the middle Euphrates river, to which 'Ustiyeh may perhaps be added.
 (e) Perhaps Tell Fadghami and Tell Ta'ban in the lower Khabur valley, to which Tell Bdēiri/Bdēri, where several Khabur ware sherds were found, is not added at the moment on the presumption that in an unexcavated area, there may be a phase which the painted sherds belong to but which corresponds in date to a later Khabur ware phase represented in the main distribution zone of Khabur ware.
 (f) Tell Bi'a near the mouth of the Balikh river.
 (g) i) The middle Balikh valley (Hamman et-Turkman and Tell Sahlan) and possibly ii) the upper Balikh valley (Sultantepe and Aşağı Yarımca).
 (h) Tell Mardikh-Ebla in inland northwest Syria, which is located about 50 kilometres southwest of Aleppo (ancient Ḫalab, the capital of the kingdom of Iamḫad).
 (i) Alalab in the Amuq plain, which is located about 60 kilometres west of Aleppo.
 (j) The Ishaiye-Gaziantep-Nizip region (a site around Nizip, and possibly Tilmen Hüyük, Gedikli Hüyük and Sakce Çözdü).
 (k) Lidar Höyük and İmikuşağı on the east bank of the upper Euphrates river.
 (l) Kültepe-Kaniš, located about 19 kilometres north of Kayseri, in central Anatolia.

Interpretations of the peripheral distribution of Khabur ware

The isolated occurrences of Khabur ware at the "peripheral" sites certainly show that in some level, there was contact between the main distribution zone and the secondary distribution areas. There is also no doubt that there was much closer and more frequent contact between ethnolinguistic peoples living within the main distribution zone of Khabur ware; an interpretative approach to this problem is another matter of argument, although the present article does not deal with this topic.

Now is the time to give possible explanations for the occurrences of Khabur ware in the secondary distribution areas of Khabur ware. It was Hamlin who hypothesized that the Ushnu-Solduz valley area, in particular Dinkha Tepe, had played a role in the Old Assyrian tin trade network, on the basis of the occurrence of Khabur ware, as well as that of typologically-recognized ceramic parallels to north Mesopotamian types, at Dinkha in period IV [Hamlin 1971: pp.306-307; *idem* 1974: p.132; Kramer 1977: p.105]. The presence of Khabur ware at Kültepe-Kaniš supports to some extent her hypothesis, although its occurrence is very limited. In the case of Kültepe, it is possible that Assyrians, concerned in the trade, sometimes carried with them small Khabur ware vessels with symbolic meanings when moving from Aššur to Kaniš. Thus at Kültepe, Khabur ware occurs only as grave goods symbolizing possessions which the deceased had in life. We can of course suppose that Assyrians, resident in trading outposts, manufactured Khabur ware not only as pottery with symbolic meanings but also for practical use as household commodities. A reason for the occurrences of Khabur ware in the Ushnu-Solduz valley, the Rania plain, the upper Balikh valley, the Ishaiye-Gaziantep-Nizip region, and the area along the upper Euphrates river can be given on the basis of such a supposition. The Khabur ware-related sites in these areas are in fact along tin trade routes inferable⁽⁶⁾.

However, a certain question is raised regarding the Rania plain, in which no Khabur ware occurs at Tell Shemshara-Šušarra, despite its certain occurrence at Tell Basmusian. As attested in the Shemshara texts, Šušarra was the easternmost outpost of Šamsi-Adad's kingdom, at which was a tin depot through

(6) See Oguchi 1981: p.64ff. For the most recent work, see Beitzel 1992: p.35ff.

which the metal was supplied to Assyria [Larsen 1976: p.88]¹⁷⁾. Do the absence of Khabur ware at Shemshara and its presence at Basmusian reflect functional differences between both the sites, under the control of Šamsi-Adad? There remains an explanatory problem.

The assumption that a southern Zalpa/Zalpaḫ, the seat of a *karum*¹⁸⁾, lay in the middle Balikh valley enables us to give a reason for the occurrences of Khabur ware at the sites of the area in terms of the Old Assyrian trade. The occurrences of Khabur ware at Imikuşağı and Lidar Höyük also lead us to assume that there was a trade route running along the upper Euphrates and reaching to Kaniš via Malaya. Further, the fact that Imikuşağı is situated near Ergani, a source of copper, tempts us to suggest that the site may have had a role as an outpost through which copper was brought to Assyria, possibly via Lidar Höyük¹⁹⁾. Needless to say, copper is an essential substance to make bronze.

On the other hand, the occurrence of Khabur ware at Alalab in level VIII may be connected with Šamsi-Adad's political and/or economic interest in the western region: as shown in a text appearing on stone tablets from Aššur²⁰⁾, Šamsi-Adad claimed that he had erected his stele in the land of Laban (Lebanon) on the Mediterranean coast. Historically, it is known that the kingdom of Iamḫad, a supporter of Zimri-Lim, son of the Mari king Iahdun-Lim, rivalled Šamsi-Adad's kingdom forming an alliance with the kingdom of Qama (Qatanum) under the rule of the king Išbi-Adad. Alalab was under the control of Iamḫad, as inferred from the later Alalab level VII texts. In addition, Ebla would have been under the political influence of Iamḫad at that time. Despite Šamsi-Adad's interest in the west, the existence of Iamḫad thus made his political expansion into the west difficult. Šamsi-Adad, however, may have achieved success to some extent, perhaps in the form of alliance and probably in the form of avoiding Ḫalab itself and its vicinities: Khabur ware occurs not only at Alalab in level VIII but also at Ebla in Mardikh IIIB, assigned to MB II, which shows that there was certain contact between the two sites and the main distribution zone of Khabur ware. At that time, the Rabbeans, known as one of the most Semitic nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal groups, who were called brothers of the Benjaminites/Laminites forming a nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal confederacy, controlled an urban-tribal state covering the land of Rabbum on the northern fringe of the Syrian desert, i.e., on the right bank of the middle Euphrates, and were allied with Šamsi-Adad's kingdom (Astour 1978: pp.1-3). This also makes such a presumption possible. But it is not feasible, when the appearances of Khabur ware at Alalab and Ebla are dated to the reign of Iahdun-Lim or that of Zimri-Lim at Mari²¹⁾. The precise dating of the introduction of Khabur ware to both the sites remains a problem.

It is a fact that Šamsi-Adad's direct territorial control never extended beyond the Balikh valley. If Khabur ware appeared at Alalab and Ebla in the contemporaneous period with the reign of Šamsi-Adad, it may be concluded that the occurrences of Khabur ware at both the sites reflect an aspect of Šamsi-Adad's economic activities in the west, based on political measures such as alliances. A letter from Šamsi-Adad to Iamḫad-Adad in the Mari texts (ARMT I: 7), referring to various kinds of wood brought from Qatanum and deposited at Subrum, and further mentioning Šamsi-Adad's order to send them to towns in his realm, i.e., Ekallatum, Ninuwa and Šubat-Enlil, shows an aspect of Šamsi-Adad's apparent economic interest in the west and his real economic activities.

17) See also Larsen 1959: p.88.

18) See Larsen 1976: pp.237-238.

19) Cf. Larsen 1976: p.91.

20) See Grayson 1987: p.90 or Luckenbill 1989: p.17.

21) The problem is that both Iahdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim are also historically concerned with the west. It is known, from the foundation inscription of the Šamsi temple at Mari, that Iahdun-Lim made an expedition to the Amanus mountains and to the Mediterranean coast. It is also known that shortly after the death of Šamsi-Adad, Zimri-Lim, maintaining friendly relations with Iamḫad, gained political supremacy over an area extending certainly to the Balikh valley. Accordingly, given that their economic and/or political activities could function in either case as an intermediary between the main distribution zone of Khabur ware and the sites in question, there is no reason to deny a possibility that Khabur ware may have been introduced to both the sites during either Iahdun-Lim's reign or Zimri-Lim's reign at Mari.

The presence of Khabur ware at Tell Bi'at-Tuttul is also interesting. Perhaps near to or not far from Tutul existed Šubat-Šamaš²², an administrative/military outpost of Šamsi-Adad's kingdom. This suggests that the area near the mouth of the Balikh river was strategically important to Šamsi-Adad. His well-known campaign in the land of Zaimaḡum, the upper Balikh area around Harran (Harranum), was that undertaken for securing against a rebellion a foothold to expand his power into the west. In a sense, his political extension of power into the Balikh valley may be connected with the intention, which he must have probably had, of securing trade routes, on the one hand, to Kanis and, on the other hand, to the Levant. Karkamiš (Carchemish), ruled by Aplaḡanda, probably entered into an alliance with Šamsi-Adad's kingdom. A letter from Šamsi-Adad to Išhi-Adad of Qatanum in the Mari texts (ARMT I: 24) tells us that Šamsi-Adad organized a coalition against Sumu-eḡuḡ of Iamḡad, in which the ruler of Karkamiš participated, together with the rulers of Ḥaššum, Uršum and the Rabbeans. Thus the occurrences of Khabur ware in the Balikh valley can be accounted for in both political and economic aspects of Šamsi-Adad's kingdom²³.

The occurrence of Khabur ware at Mari may be connected with the fact that pottery vessels, referred to as *karḡānu* (jars), were used as containers for transporting liquids such as wine, oil and honey (e.g. ARMT VII: 257)²⁴. The only Khabur ware jar found at Mari may have been a container of a commodity brought from the main distribution zone of Khabur ware in the time of Zimri-Lim. However, there arises a certain problem. Why was no Khabur ware introduced to Mari in the time of Šamsi-Adad? His son Išmaḡ-Adad was present at Mari as viceroy. This remains to be elucidated. The political connection of Mari with the main distribution zone of Khabur ware in the times of Šamsi-Adad and Zimri-Lim, which naturally strengthened economic ties, may account for the occurrence of Khabur ware at Terqa, located on a route from the upper Khabur or the Tell 'Afar region to Mari. If Khabur ware occurs at Tell Faḡghami and Tell Ta'ban in the lower Khabur valley, an explanation from the same aspect is possible.

Šamsi-Adad's military activities are well known from the Mari and Shemshara texts, and from descriptions of two extant stelae. One of the targets of his conquest was the land of Arraḡḡa including Nuzi. Arraḡḡa is one of the lands for the control of which Šamsi-Adad may have struggled with Daduša, king of Ešnunna, for a short while. However, in Šamsi-Adad's campaign into the land of Qabra, between the Greater and Lesser Zab rivers, Ešnunna under the rule of Daduša cooperated with Šamsi-Adad, as did Šamsi-Adad with Ešnunna on occasions. In fact Ešnunna made a conspicuous figure at that time. The occurrence of Khabur ware at Nuzi may be connected with his campaign into Arraḡḡa or his direct territorial control over the land²⁵. The conquest of Arraḡḡa and that of Qabra must also have ensured the supply of tin to Assyria through a route from Sušarra.

In this article, factors which may have caused the occurrences of Khabur ware outside its main distribution zone have been contemplated, as Hamlin did from aspects of the Old Assyrian tin trade as well as Šamsi-Adad's political activities (Hamlin 1971; Kramer 1977). However, it should not be overlooked that there was constant contact between southern Mesopotamia and northern Mesopotamia throughout the period of main phase of Khabur ware, as attested by the occurrences, in the north, of southern or southern-related types of pottery and as known from north Mesopotamian history itself²⁶.

22) See Levy 1958: pp. 1-5. Cf. Amor 1978: n.26 on p.9.

23) However, Zimri-Lim's connection with the Balikh valley can also account for its occurrence (see note 21 above).

24) See Hamlin 1971: p.294 and Gershenblith 1983: p.15 and p.63.

25) In addition, reusable products from Gasur (later called Nuzi) is also mentioned in some of the Kültepe Karum II texts (Veenhof 1972: p.190). It is further known that at Gasur/Nuzi, a handful of so-called "Cappadocian tablets" were found. These suggest that there was commercial contact between Gasur/Nuzi and Ashur, probably reflecting an aspect of the Old Assyrian trade. At Gasur/Nuzi, the association of Khabur ware with the "Cappadocian tablet" is not clear stratigraphically. However, the connection between Ashur and Gasur/Nuzi, before Šamsi-Adad I, is a matter of consideration.

26) At several sites in the main Khabur ware distribution zone and in areas of secondary distribution of Khabur ware, we can find ceramic evidence suggesting the occurrence of such contact throughout the period of the main phase of Khabur ware. Ištin-Larsu and Old

Khabur ware obviously continued in use abundantly after the death of Šamsi-Adad I in the main distribution zone. When we postulate that the Old Assyrian tin trade continued after Šamsi-Adad's death, the above interpretations for the occurrences of Khabur ware at the sites along trade routes to Kanis may require re-evaluation from a chronological point of view²⁷. After the period of the main phase of Khabur ware, the Khabur ware fashion also continued within the main distribution zone. Also at a site like Dinkha Tepe, Khabur ware continued to occur, while at a site like Alalah, it reappeared. This raises interpretative problems which further need to be resolved.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank Professor Hideo Fujii for giving me an opportunity to research into archaeological problems from aspects of the second millennium B.C. in northern Mesopotamia.

I would also particularly like to thank Mr. Charles Burney for encouraging me in my studies and giving me every help. I am grateful to Professor Dr. Barthel Hrouda for his advice on Khabur ware. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Joan Oates for her kind advice on Khabur ware itself and related problems as well as for her frank criticism of my researches and views.

My thanks are due to Professor Ken Masumoto and Kazumi Oguchi, who provided me with drawings of unpublished pottery from Der Hall.

Any mistakes in citation regarding personal communications, reports and articles are my responsibility.

Babylonian types or their related types occur alongside of Khabur ware, or there are cases where southern shapes are reflected on some shapes of Khabur ware itself as a result of a mingling of the two different ceramic traditions. For example, in the early phase of level I at Chagar Bazar, there occur Isin-Larsu-related types, which are those found in the tablet room 106 of area T.D. (Mallowan 1947: PLXXXIII: 116; cf. Ayoub 1982: type 273.4). Even at Dinkha Tepe, lying outside the main Khabur ware distribution zone, a typical Isin-Larsu type occurs, together with Khabur ware, only in the phase b context (Hamlin 1971: Pl.15a or *idem* 1974: Fig. 15a; cf. Ayoub 1982: type 26). Also at Chagar Bazar, an Old Babylonian-related type occurs, associated with Khabur ware in grave 142 assigned to the late phase of level I (Mallowan 1937: Fig.1511; cf. Ayoub 1982: type 18.1). Curiously enough, at Kültepe-Kanis, a band-painted, shouldered Khabur ware vessel which has an Old Babylonian-related shape occurs, associated with a grave of Karum Ib (T. Ozgüç 1986: Pl.134.3 or Hrouda 1989: the right in Fig.2; cf. Ayoub 1982: type 18.2); this is an example of a hybrid between southern and northern ceramic traditions, and the fact that such an example was detected at an Anatolian site lying far from the main Khabur ware distribution zone is a matter of importance. Further, the argument, put forward by D.L. Stein, that the shapes of Hrouda's "Jinglers" Khabur ware are southern Mesopotamian in origin (1984: p.9ff.) makes sense; the "band-painted, even-ribbed/rimmed shoulder cup" type, one of the types of Hrouda's "Jinglers" Khabur ware, which, occurring in the main phase of Khabur ware, is defined here as Khabur ware, may reflect a southern ceramic influence on the north, and may that be also a hybrid. In the same aspect, "straight/concave-sided beaker type painted vessels", relevant to Khabur Ware Periods 3-4, should be also considered (see and cf. D.L. Stein 1984: p.9ff.). Furthermore, in this connection, it is interesting to note that the Old Babylonian dialect of Akkadian was rapidly adopted throughout north Mesopotamia after the Ur-III period (Postgate 1992: n.63 on p.307 and n.550 on p.330), and that the use of the Old Assyrian dialect of Akkadian is attested almost exclusively at Kültepe-Kanis and some other sites in Anatolia, remote from Ashur. It is also noted that Šamsi-Adad I's career is concerned with Babylonians, as known from a biographical note in the Assyrian king-list (e.g. see D. Oates 1968b: p.38 or Larsen 1976: p.35). It is well known from the Kültepe texts that during the period known as "Kültepe-Kanis Karum II", corresponding here to Khabur Ware Period I, Babylonian ("Akkadian") lexemes were imported from the south to Ashur, from which they were re-exported into Kanis, together with tin (*anšuman*) brought from the east, probably from Afghanistan (for a source of tin, see Stech & Pigott 1986: p.4 and Fig. 1). Some texts from Tell ed-Der (a suburb of ancient Sippar) also suggest the presence of a small trading outpost of Assyrian merchants at Sippar (Walker 1980: pp.15-17). Such Assyrian trading activities continued in the period known as "Kültepe-Kanis Karum Ib", which corresponds approximately to the first half of Khabur Ware Period 2, relevant to the present article. It goes without saying that in the latter part of Khabur Ware Period 2, there was many-sided contact between the north and the south. In this respect, the dating, at Kültepe in Karum Ib, of the graves containing Khabur ware also becomes problematical.