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several tablets with the text of such treaties (see Staatsvertrag* A. § 3).

Shortly after peace was re-established Mutiya died, and was succeeded by Till-Abnû. Many of the letters sent to Till-Abnû mention his recent accession to the throne or refer to Mutiya retrospectively. It is therefore clear that a major part of the letters sent to Till-Abnû should be dated to the first few years of his reign. Judging from the dated administrative texts related to his reign, it seems likely that he only ruled a few years before he was succeeded by his brother Yakūn-Ašar, but we have as yet no firm evidence for this.

Preliminary editions of the dated administrative records: Ismail 1991; Vincente 1991.

§ 4. Early 2nd mill. finds from Lower Town Palace North. In 1991 excavation of an elite residence or "embassy" belonging to the king of Andariq (Pulhan 2000) uncovered 651 OB tablets and fragments (Van De Mieroop 1994). A few tablets were found in Court 10, while 643 tablets were found associated with four small jars in Room 12. Most texts concern issues of beer supervised by Mut-rame in association with Šamaš-dayyān, servant of Qarnī-Lîm, the king of Andariq, who also controlled Š. The *limmu*s on the tablets date them to the regnal years 8–11 of Zimrī-Lîm* (thus according to KEL G, ca. 3 years later than suggested in Charpin/Ziegler 2003, 168). These tablets remain unpublished.

§ 5. Other finds. A pre-excavation survey at Š. produced a fragment of a stone vessel with a 2nd mill. inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs (Meijer 1986, 44). Four OB tablets, all apparently from the same context as the archives listed in § 3, have turned up in the art market (cf. Eidem 2008, 276 n. 35).

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J. Eidem

Šubat-Enlil. B. Archäologisch.

§ 1. Site description. – § 2. Excavations. § 2.1. Acropolis NW. § 2.2. Acropolis NE. § 2.3. Lower Town East Palace. § 2.4. Lower Town North Palace. § 2.5. Lower Town South. § 2.6. City wall. – § 3. The region. § 3.1. Chalcolithic. § 3.2. Ninevite 5. § 3.3. Late third millennium. § 3.4. Ḫābūr hiatus HW. § 3.5. Second millennium.

§ 1. Site description. Š., the capital city of Šamšī-Adad* I "Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia", is modern Tall Lailān (Lēlān*, Tell; Leilan, Tell; 36° 57′ 41.8″ N, 41° 30′ 35.6″ E) in the center of the rain-fed, extensive cereal production, Ḫābūr Plains of NE Syria, equidistant between the foothills of the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn to the N and the Wādī ar-Radd to the S. The Ḫābūr Plains' soils, topography, and seasonal precipitation provide for the highest rain-fed cereal production in modern Syria and, along with the plains of Tall ʿAfar and Mosul, probably ancient northern Mesopotamia as well (Weiss 1983a; id. 1986).

The site is a walled, rough oval, ca. 1 km N-S, and 900 m E-W, on the eastern bank of the Wādī Ǧarraḥ, with a ca. 15 ha Acropolis along the wadi-side of the Lower Town. Tall Lailān (Š.) appears in the western archaeological literature as early as Rassam* (1897), was visited frequently by 20th cent. archaeologists, and was often identified as a 3rd–2nd mill. capital city

(Falkner 1957; Hrouda 1958; van Liere 1963). The region and the site have been surveyed and excavated since 1978 by the Yale University Tell Leilan Project.

§ 2. Excavations.

§ 2.1. *Acropolis NW.* A 26 m long step trench, Operation 1 (1979–1980, 1987), established the occupational sequence and ceramic chronology from ca. 5000–2000 (Schwartz 1988; Mayo/Weiss 2003; Calderone/Weiss 2003). Subsequent Acropolis NW excavation (1987–2008) has exposed 2400 m² of the mid- to late-3rd mill. public quarter. The Acropolis' northern and western walls were built upon stratum 15d (period IIId, terminal Ninevite 5, ca. 2600–2500) synchronous with the construction of a 150 m² cultic platform, which was rebuilt in period IIa (2500–2300) (Weiss et al. 2002). Seal impressions in the stratum 14 storerooms include many with the local northern style iconography derived from ED II–III southern Mesopotamian "banquet scenes" (Parayre 2003). In period IIb (2300–2200) the cultic platform's period IIa rectangular bricks were refaced with square Akk. bricks, reminiscent of Akk. temple renovation at Nineveh* (Weiss 1997a; id. 1997b; de Lillis Forrest et al. 2004). The period IIb burnt plaster grill on the platform's central altar and scattered deer and gazelle bones in the open space S of the platform suggest ritual sacrifice activities.

W of the cultic platform five phases of storage rooms dating from periods IIId and IIa occupy a 300 m² excavation (Calderone/Weiss 2003; Weiss 1990b; Weiss et al. 1993). The period IIa storerooms, including a grain storage facility, were destroyed by fire, preserving their contents, mainly barley, emmer, and durum wheat (Weiss et al. 2002), mixed with burned roofing materials that included microscopic lignite, molten clay spherules, and phytoliths, mistaken for remnants of an "air-blast event" (Courty 1997; Weiss 2002).

Subsequently, N and E of the cultic platform, four buildings were constructed along an E-W street during Akk. imperialized period IIb. The earliest building was an Akk. schoolroom (stratum 11, period IIb3), the first *in situ* Ḫābūr Plains retrieval of Akk. school texts, that document the depth of regional imperial intent. A mudbrick box in the NW corner of the schoolroom contained 15 whole and fragmentary tablets, including four, possibly six, round school texts with OAkk. ductus and several Akk. administrative texts recording commodity disbursement (Ristvet/Guilderson/Weiss 2004; de Lillis Forrest et al. 2004; de Lillis Forrest/Milano/Mori 2007).

In the following stratum 10, period IIb2, the 150 m² three-room, Akk. House was built over the schoolroom. Two small rooms opened onto a large courtyard, furnished with grain bins, ovens, grinding stones, and storage jars. The baked brick and stone floor was serially replastered. Upon the last floor seven southern Mesopot.-type Akk. sealings, an Akk. tablet fragment, and 20 balls of sealing clay were recovered.

S of the Akk. House, the last occupation phase, stratum 9, period IIb1, saw the partial construction of a large building which extended beyond the 14 × 10 m area excavated. "The Unfinished Building" (Ristvet/Weiss 2000) had 2 m wide walls of roughly dressed basalt blocks, finished with a thin mudpack leveling, a layer of sherds, then three or four courses of mudbrick, prior to abandonment. Some base-course walls even terminated before meeting intended corners, with nearby off-wall dressed blocks ready for wall placement. Partially dressed basalt boulders and surrounding basalt chip scatters lay near other unfinished walls, abandoned in a line extending towards the western slope of the Acropolis where one large basalt boulder was enigmatically visible at the surface, above the future Operation 1 excavation, in 1978.

The dressed basalt block walls, large room size, tablet fragments and punctated clay balls dumped onto unfinished floors, suggest a large imperial project. The fragmentary seal impression of "Hayabum, the *šabra*" was retrieved on the exterior working surface at the base of a dressed basalt block (de Lillis Forrest et al. 2004). A moat

at least 4 m deep was dug from the exterior surface of "The Unfinished Building" along the southern and the eastern borders of the Akk. quarter excavation.

The N side of the street was occupied by the Akk. Palace, a fortified administrative building with 18 rooms exposed in an area of 1000 m². Excavations (2002–2008) comprised strata 9–11. Soundings in the SE revealed that an earlier period IIa building was leveled for the Akk. construction. In the W and N a 15 m high mudpack glacis, now the northern slope of the Acropolis, was built against the palace's fortification walls. These walls were preserved to a height of 2 m and were as much as 6.6 m thick. Four N-S corridors pierced these fortification walls and provided access to the work areas to the S. The eight "oven rooms" contained 14 *tanurs* with diameters ranging between 1 and 3 m. To the W of these facilities lay a central "granary" with baked-brick walls, a drain and air vents. E of the oven rooms lay "the tablet room," which contained a large ceramic jar, clay balls, blank tablets and a 2-sila basalt grain measure. This room likely was part of the administrative epicenter of the palace, in the eastern wing of which remains to be excavated. The palace was abandoned with the tablet room's artifacts *in situ* at stratum 9, synchronous with the abandonment of "The Unfinished Building".

In stratum 8 a four room house was built upon the NE corner of the abandoned Akk. palace (Ristvet/Guilderson/Weiss 2004). These four rooms, characterized by their "post-Akk." ceramic assemblage and occupied for less than three decades dated by multi-aliquot radiocarbon dates, comprised the only period IIc (c. 2200–2170) occupations within the otherwise abandoned city; there were no subsequent occupations of this Akk. palace area; only building collapse and secondary wash cover these period IIc walls (http://leilan.yale.edu/about/dig_sites/acropolis_northwest/index.html).

§ 2.2. *Acropolis NE.* Four seasons of excavation (1979–1985) exposed 2300 m² of a monumental OB temple on the Acropolis NE, dating to period I (1900–1700). The spiral, plain and palm columns that ornament the northern and southern façades of this temple illustrate the importation of southern Mesopot. iconography into northern Mesopotamia in the early 2nd mill. (Weiss 1985a; id. 1985b).

Excavations have revealed 500 m² of the earliest (Building Level or BL III) temple in this precinct. The northern face of the main E-W wall of the BL III temple was ornamented with niches and columns, like the BL II example, including both spiral and palm-tree columns. The N face of the interior E-W wall that closes the northern rooms of this temple was decorated with stepped niches symmetrically arranged around a central engaged mudbrick column, which was mud-plastered and then sculpted to resemble the trunk of a palm tree with smaller columns twisting around it (Weiss 1985a; Parayre/Weiss 1990, 39). Scraps of gold and precious stones were retrieved in the central courtyard within a pile of burnt materials.

N of this temple, excavations revealed 500 m² of a later, foreshortened BL II temple (*fig. 1*). This temple's northern façade was decorated with the semi-engaged spiral columns offset from deep niched recesses. Its southern façade and *Langraum*-entrance were also decorated with semi-engaged columns but here mud-plastered with the forms of dressed palm trunks (Weiss 1985a; id. 1985b; Parayre/Weiss 1991). The temple extended at least another 20 m to the E underneath the modern village. The interior of the temple's excavated rooms contained the left-edge fragment of a basalt stele inscribed with monumental OB script, 20 administrative tablets and fragments, including grain ration distributions according to standard Šamšī-Adad period measures (*ša kinattim*) and sealings of "Ṣuri-Adad, son of Zidriya, servant of Šamšī-Adad". Secondary renovations of the temple included a blocked doorway against which three sealings of Ṣuri-Adad were also retrieved and two seal impressions (L82–74, -75) of "Apil-ilišu, son of Ali-banišu, servant of Turumnatki". In room 8 were 227 complete and fragmen-

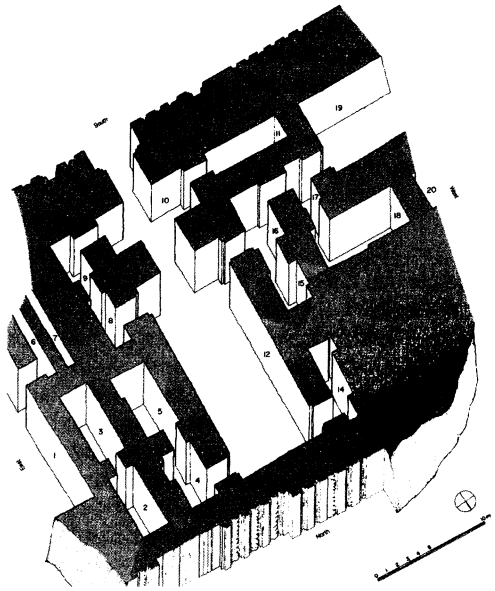

Fig. 1: Tall Lailān Acropolis, northwest, period I BL II temple, after Weiss 1985a.

tary sealings of "Beli-emuqi, servant of Ḫaya-abum, servant of the god Adad". All sealings featured the period's iconographic convention "god with mace facing supplicant goddess", apart from the unique guilloche-decorated sealing of Turumnatki. These were the first excavation-retrieved epigraphic evidence that linked Tall Lailān with ancient Š. (Weiss 1985a; id. 1985b; Weiss et al. 1990; Parayre/Weiss 1991).

Further to the S, 500 m² of the foundations of another monumental building (BL X), which may have been linked to the BL II temple was exposed. It is possible that this construction is part of the southern extension of the BL II temple. If this is the case, then BL II and BL "X" are equivalent and the Lailān temple was extremely large, perhaps as much as 6000 m². This would make the Acropolis NE temple twice the size of the Sîn-Šamaš temple at Assur and the temple at Tall ar-Rimāḥ* (§ 2.2), and thus one of the largest temples known from the 2nd mill., equivalent in size to the Assur temple at Assur. Above the foundations, ash and trash had accumulated, including portions of a cuneiform archive that was associated with Ḫābūr ware (Period 1) here. This archive contains administrative documents dated with *limu*s from Šamšī-Adad's reign (Weiss et al. 1990).

§ 2.3. *Lower Town East Palace.* 1000 m² of the Eastern Lower Town palace, Šamšī-Adad's palace at Š., were exposed in 1985 and 1987. The Lower Town topography indicates that the palace covered more than a hectare, meaning that the excavated portion represents less than 10% of the original building (Ristvet/Weiss 2011; Akkermans/Weiss 1991).

Rooms 9, 10 and 11 in the NE corner of the palace represent BL IV, the oldest building level excavated. Seal impressions found here belonged to servants of Išme-Dagān and Šamšī-Adad, suggesting that Šamšī-Adad was responsible for the initial palace construction.

During BL III, this palace was expanded into the previously open space to the S and the W, forming its subsequent basic groundplan. The "reception area" was located in the central quadrant and contained the two courtyards (rooms 4 and 20) and the largest rooms in this palace: 1, 2/3, 5 and 6. These rooms were clean, symmetrical and carefully constructed. Courtyard 20 was paved with square baked bricks and had doorways in its S, E and W walls. The areas W, NE and SE of the reception area contained a series of work-rooms, kitchens and storage areas. The earliest sealings from this phase come from Šamšī-Adad's servants, suggesting that he built this level of the palace as well as the previous one. The ashy deposits and burnt floors found everywhere in this palace may provide evidence that this occupation phase was destroyed violently, probably when Atamrum of Andarig seized this city from the *sukkalmah* of Elam, a decade after Šamšī-Adad's death.

Ḫimdiya of Andarig, Atamrum's son, probably rebuilt this palace. The BL II plan and the function of the different areas changed little from the previous phase. Most of the artifacts found within the palace including more than 600 tablets and

300 tablet fragments and sealings were located within BL II. This is the largest cuneiform archive recovered to date from the Ḫābūr Plains (see Š* A. § 3).

After the fall of Š. temporary settlers built ovens, a brick platform and a few fragmentary walls atop the ruins of the palace of the kings of Š., shortly before the site was abandoned completely.

§ 2.4. *Lower Town North Palace.* 325 m² of another period I palace originally belonging to Qarni-Lim of Andarig was excavated in 1991. Although "houses" or embassies belonging to foreign kings are documented epigraphically, this is the only excavated example to date. 12 rooms of the palace were exposed. In the N lay a 10 × 10.4 m courtyard (room 10) with a simple stamped-earth floor. 1 tablet and seven tablet fragments were found in the courtyard; they recorded issues of barley rations to dependents of the palace. Directly S of the courtyard were eight small rooms, which were probably kitchens and storage rooms. SE of the courtyard lay room 12, the tablet room, which contained 647 tablets, originally stored in four small jars, from the beer archive of Šamaš-dayyān, servant of Qarni-Lim (Weiss 1991; Van De Mieroop 1995; Weiss 1996; Pulhan 2000).

§ 2.5. *Lower Town South.* A 600 m² exposure of the Lower Town South illustrates dense residential occupation during the second half of the 3rd mill. and no occupation during the early 2nd mill. (1987–1989). The Lower Town was first occupied (phase 12, IIId) alongside a planned straight street, 4.5 m wide, directed towards the Acropolis. Residential structures were constructed against the street walls built upon virgin soil from the period IIId (phase 12) through to the period IIb (phases 3–5). The street and its residential structures are part of the, yet unexplained, planned radial street cities that suddenly dominated northern Mesopotamia beginning in the 26th cent. The street walls were not broken by residential doors but by occasional alleys with sherd-covered baked clay drains that conducted liquid waste to the street. The houses themselves, with a range of charred cereals and pulses upon their floors (Weiss et al. 2002), appear within sectors divided by E-W walls (Weiss 1990a; Senior 1998). Organic waste in the street included pig bones and the earliest domesticated equid in Northern Mesopotamia (R. Meadow, in: Weiss et al. 1993). No administrative artifacts were retrieved but for large numbers of "sila-bowls" (Senior/Weiss 1992) within phases 3–5.

§ 2.6. *City wall.* In period IIb a massive three part casemate wall, comprised of two 8 m thick walls surrounding a 1 m wide center wall, each set into trenches cut within stone-hard calcic horizons, enclosed the city as shown by the Operation 4 extension (Weiss et al. 1993; Weiss et al. 1990). The city wall however, was certainly first constructed in period IIId, when the site was urbanized, as shown by the City Gate excavations (Ristvet 2007).

§ 3. The region.

§ 3.1. *Chalcolithic.* Regional survey documented settlement patterns in the Tell Leilan Survey (TLS) area of 1650 km², a 30 km wide transect from the Turkish to the Iraqi border, spanning the present-day 500–250 mm rainfall isohyets. Although PPNB sites are the earliest recorded, the first major period of settlement in the Lailān region was during period VI (5000–3800), the Northern ʿUbaid, when there were 126 sites in the region, with 400 ha of aggregate settlement, more than double the Ḥalaf period levels. This period provides first evidence of a settlement hierarchy, with small villages (>1 ha) clustered around medium size sites, (3–5 ha), and large (10–15 ha) sites, including Š. During the 4th mill., aggregate settlement and number of sites both decreased. Survey and test excavation have documented Southern Mesopotamian Middle and Late Uruk settlement (period IV, ca. 3400–3000) at eight sites, including Š. (Mayo/Weiss 2003), that suggest a Southern Mesopotamian enclave in the southern part of the survey area (Brustolon/Rova 2007; *fig.* 2).

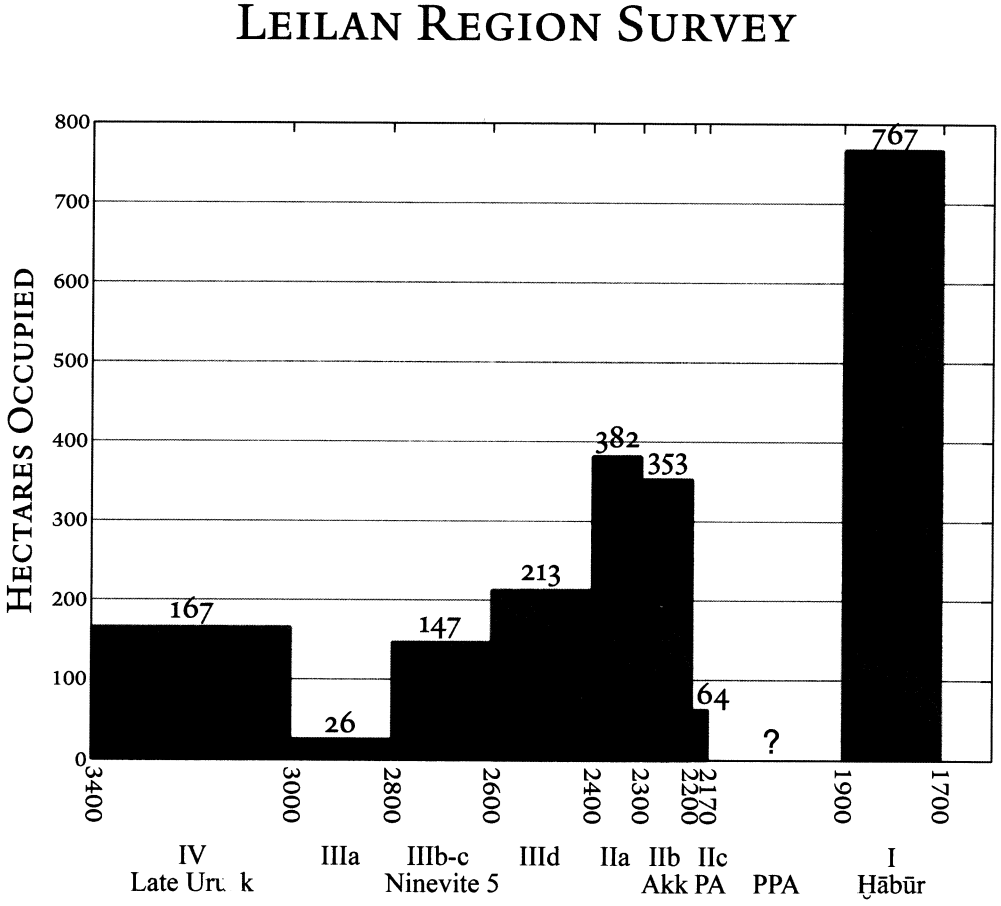

Fig. 2: Leilān region survey, hectares occupied / ceramic periods, 3400–1700, after Weiss 2010 in press.

§ 3.2. *Ninevite 5*. In the early Ninevite 5 period (period IIIa, 3000–2800), site numbers and aggregate settlement reached its nadir, a collapse likely coincident with the 5200 BP aridification event (Staubwasser/Weiss 2006), with only seven occupied sites comprising 31 ha. From 2800–2600 (period IIIb–c), the settlement rebounded to 38 sites and 135 ha and centered around three 10–15 ha towns. Finally, from 2600–2500, during period IIId, Š. itself expanded six-fold to 90 ha, becoming the dominant city in the region (Weiss 1990b). At this time the social landscape of the region was urbanized, with only 31% of settlement comprised of villages (Ristvet 2005; Stein/Wattenmaker 1990; idd. 2003; Weiss 1986; id. 1990c; id. 2003; Weiss et al. 2002). Š.'s urbanization was part of the larger, secondary-state formation process across the dry-farming plains of Syro-Mesopotamia (*fig.* 2).

§ 3.3. *Late third millennium*. The urbanization of Š. and its regional distribution of towns and villages in period IIId and IIa was a pre-adaptation that facilitated Akk. imperialization in period IIb. Akkadian controlled harvests and taxes were shipped downstream to Sippar and Akkade (Som-

merfeld/Archi/Weiss 2004). Regional settlement, identified by Akk. specific sila-bowls and other flat-based ceramics (Senior/Weiss 1992; Arrivabeni 2010), was altered to centralize and streamline the Akk. administration (Weiss et al. 2002; Ristvet/Guilderson/Weiss 2004; Ristvet 2005).

§ 3.4. *Ḫābūr hiatus* The 2200–1900 (4200–3900 BP) abrupt climate change, evident in many high-resolution paleoclimate proxies distributed across the Mediterranean, W Asia, S Asia and E Asia (Staubwasser/Weiss 2006; Weiss 2010 in press) displaced the Mediterranean westerlies and reduced west Asian precipitation perhaps by as much as ca. 50% (Frumkin 2009). Regional settlement was affected swiftly: survey identified a ca. 80% settlement abandonment, with remnant period IIc occupations surviving only ca. 30 years to judge from IIc multi-aliquot radiocarbon-dates (http://leilan.yale.edu; Arrivabeni 2010), alongside similar reduced-size, short-lived, discontinuous "post-Akk." occupations at Brak, Šāḫīr-Bāzār* and Tall ʿArbīd. This Ḫābūr Plains abandonment period ("... seven generations since the Fall of Akkad" according to Šamšī-Adad; RIMA 1, 53) saw pastoralist and sedentary agriculturalist habitat-tracking to the riparian, paludal and karst-spring refugia of western Syria, the middle Euphrates and southern Iraq, where sedentary settlements multiplied in size and number (Weiss 2010 in press; *fig.* 2).

§ 3.5. *Second millennium.* With the termination of the abrupt climate change at ca. 1900, the Ḫābūr Plains were again cultivable; settlement rebounded to 157 settlements and 767 occupied ha, ca. ten times the numbers of period IIb. Simultaneously, Tall Lailān was resettled as Šamšī-Adad's hollow capital Š. (Weiss 1983a; id. 1983b). The early 2nd mill. regional settlement distribution differed radically from the late 3rd mill.: more than half of the region's population was concentrated in villages (*kaprū*) rather than towns or cities. After ca. 1700, Š. was abandoned; this period of declining settlement was reversed when the region was reorganized around the 167 ha, Tall Farfara, 15 km west, possibly the Mitanni capital, Waššukkanni* (Ristvet/Weiss 2005 in press; Donella 2003; Ristvet 2005; *fig.* 2).

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L. Ristvet – H. Weiss

Šubat-Šamaš.

§ 1. Graphie et localisation. – § 2. Sous le règne de Yasmaḫ-Addu. – § 3. Sous le règne de Zimrī-Lîm.

§ 1. Graphie et localisation. La ville de Š. est attestée par les archives de Mari* et de Tuttul*. Le toponyme y est écrit *Šu-ba-at-*^{d}Utu^{ki}. Dans un premier temps, Š., où résidé un membre de la famille royale uprapéenne (ARM 14, 88 = LAPO 16, 355; ARM 26/1, 16), a été située sur le Balīḫ (ARM 4, 11 = LAPO 16, 30), à Tall 'Abyaḍ (Charpin/Durand 1986, 183). Cependant, même si la ville est rattachée administrativement aux districts du Balīḫ à l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie, une localisation sur la rive gauche de l'Euphrate, entre Imar* et Karkamiš*, sur la route qui mène d'Alep (Ḫalab*) à Urfa, semble préférable (Joannès 1996, 336sq.; Durand 1998, 76; ARM 1, 25 = LAPO 16, 118).

§ 2. Sous le règne de Yasmaḫ-Addu. La forteresse de Š. se situe à la frontière occidentale du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie (ARM 2, 131 = LAPO 17, 491); avec Ḫarrān*, sur le Balīḫ, elle appartient