

# Settling the land: settlements pattern and ceramics in the land behind Nineveh from the Middle Bronze Age to the establishment of the Middle Assyrian State<sup>\*</sup>

COSTANZA COPPINI

University of Udine

## *ABSTRACT*

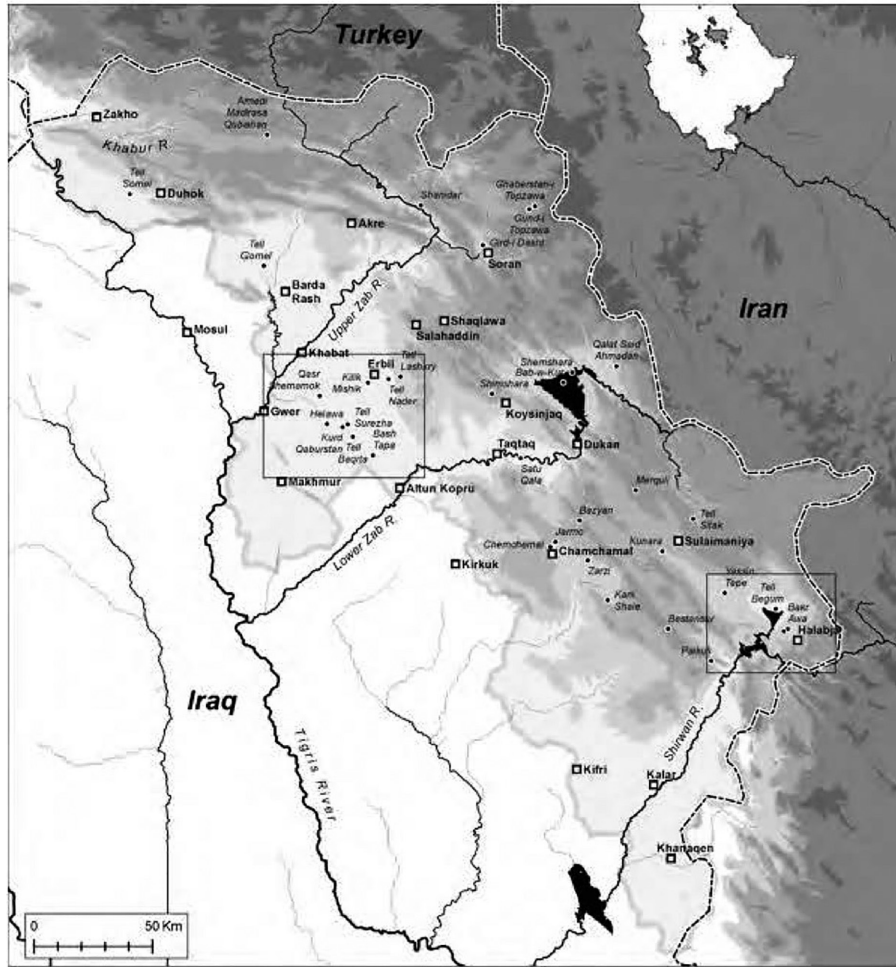
This paper deals with the second millennium BC ceramics, and a short excursus regarding the settlement pattern, in the region east of the Tigris and north of the Upper Zab, delimited to the north by the Dohuk plain and the Zagros foothills, to the west by the Mosul Lake and the Tigris river, and to the east and south by the Navkur Plain and the Bardarash region, the so-called Land behind Nineveh. This is the survey area of the Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project, led by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi and active since 2012. The focus of this paper is the Middle and Late Bronze Age, which surface ceramic assemblages will be illustrated and discussed along with problematics that arise from their analysis, especially concerning the definition of Mittanian and Middle Assyrian ceramic assemblages. The picture emerging from the assemblages combined with results from the analysis of the settlements pattern allow to assert the strategic importance of the Land behind Nineveh in the landscape of settlements from the Middle Bronze Age to the formation of the Middle Assyrian state.

## *KEYWORDS*

Pottery, Settlement Pattern, Iraqi Kurdistan, Northern Mesopotamia, Middle Bronze Age, Mittani, Middle Assyrian

<sup>\*</sup> This article is an outcome of the PRIN 2015 project “Archaeological Landscapes of Ancient Iraq from Prehistory to the Islamic period: formation, transformation, protection, and management”, funded by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research (Grant no. 20154X49JT).

FIGURE 1  
The Kurdistan Region  
of Iraq  
(KOPANIAS, MACGINNIS,  
UR 2015, p. iv)



## 1. Introduction

The northern part of Iraq, very mountainous and characterized by water-dominated plains,<sup>1</sup> has been played a prominent role in the resurgence of archaeological field-research in this country. This paper focuses on the north-eastern part of the country, i.e the region that stretches from the Diyala River to the south up to the Iraqi-Turkish border to the north and is delimited by the course of the Tigris River to the west. This area is part of the greater Kurdistan, namely the Iraqi part of it,

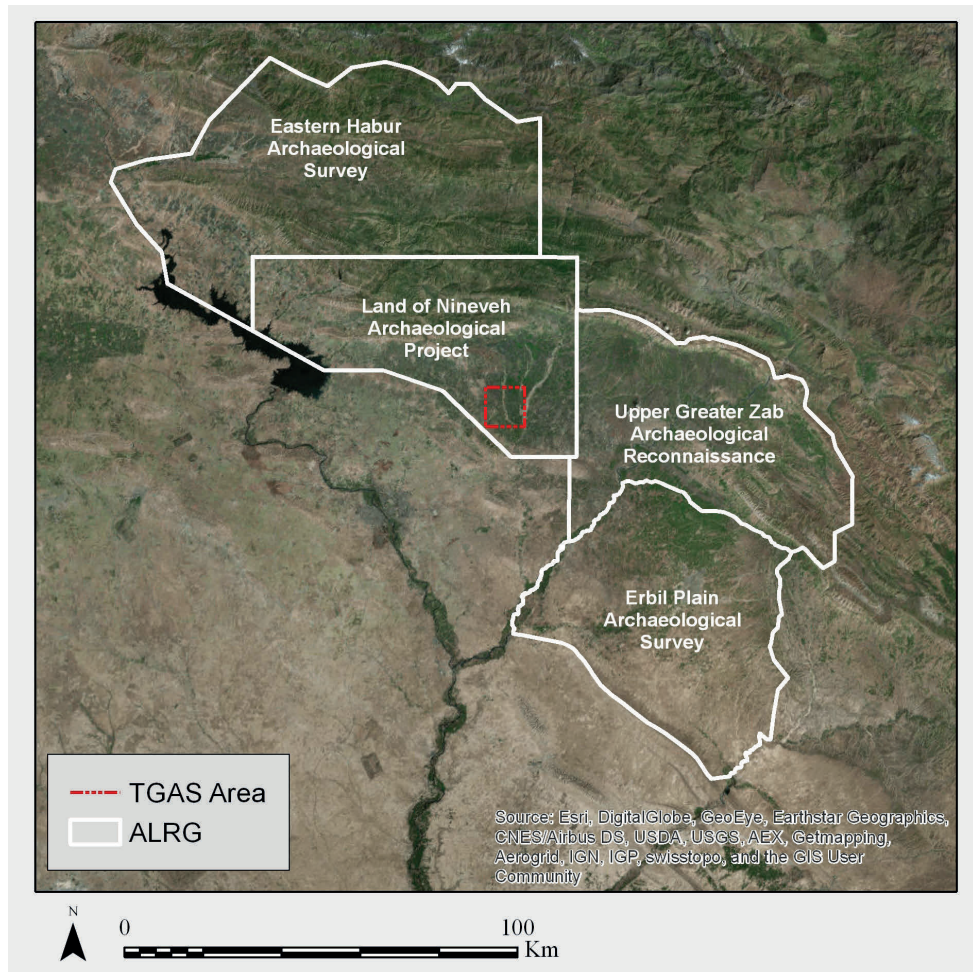
<sup>1</sup> Although the northern part of Iraq is much differentiated from the point of view of the climate and landscape, as it can be seen from the soil irrigation and the subsistence strategies (MÜHL 2013, p. 3), it is characterized by reddish-brown soils with gypsum deposits (ALTAWHEEL 2008, p. 9) and a landscape that ranges from semi-desert to favorable to agriculture.

which is nowadays known as the Kurdistan Autonomous Region (fig. 1) and has become one of the new focuses of archaeological research since 2006.<sup>2</sup> The favourable political situation, despite recent events involving attempts to damage this region and its inhabitants, has fostered a resume of archaeological research in the whole Kurdistan region, with the involvement of local and international institutions, as it is amply displayed in the proceedings of this conference.

The northern sector of Iraqi Kurdistan is the area of research of four international projects (fig. 2), all collaborating in the frame of the Assyrian Landscape Research Group (ALRG) and also working together with the local Directorates of Antiquities.

<sup>2</sup> KOPANIAS, MACGINNIS, UR 2015.

FIGURE 2  
The four projects collaborating in the Assyrian Landscape Research Group (ALRG) (map courtesy of F. Simi)



unities, namely Dohuk and Erbil.<sup>3</sup> Among them, the Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project (LoNAP in the text, Morandi 2018a, fig. 4), is based in the northernmost part of Iraqi Kurdistan. The project is being led since 2012 by Daniele Morandi Bonacossi under the aegis of Udine University, with the support of the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and is located in the governorates of Ninawa and Dohuk. The area in which the project works is bordered by the Zagros piedmont to the north, the Eski Mosul lake to the west, thus encompassing the fertile plain located to the north-east of ancient Nineveh, that is the Land behind Nineveh.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> COPPINI 2018, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> For detailed information about the project, see MORANDI BONACOSSO, IAMONI 2015; MORANDI BONACOSSO 2013.

## 2. The Land behind Nineveh

The Land behind Nineveh (fig. 3) is located to the east of the great Assyrian capitals Nineveh and Dur-Šarrukin, east of the Tigris and north of the Upper Zab, delimited to the north by the Dohuk plain and the Zagros foothills, to the west by the Mosul Lake and the Tigris river, and to the east and south by the Navkur Plain and the Bardarash region to the east and to the south.<sup>5</sup> It falls into the Assyrian Triangle,<sup>6</sup> having its vertices in the three Assyri-

<sup>5</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018a, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> This is a triangular area east of the Tigris and north of the Lesser Zab and southwest of the mountain barrier where Taurus and Zagros meet (RADNER 2011, p. 321), thus constituting the core of the lands that were under the continuous rule of the Assyrian kings from the fourteenth to the seventh century BC (RADNER 2006-08, pp. 45-48).

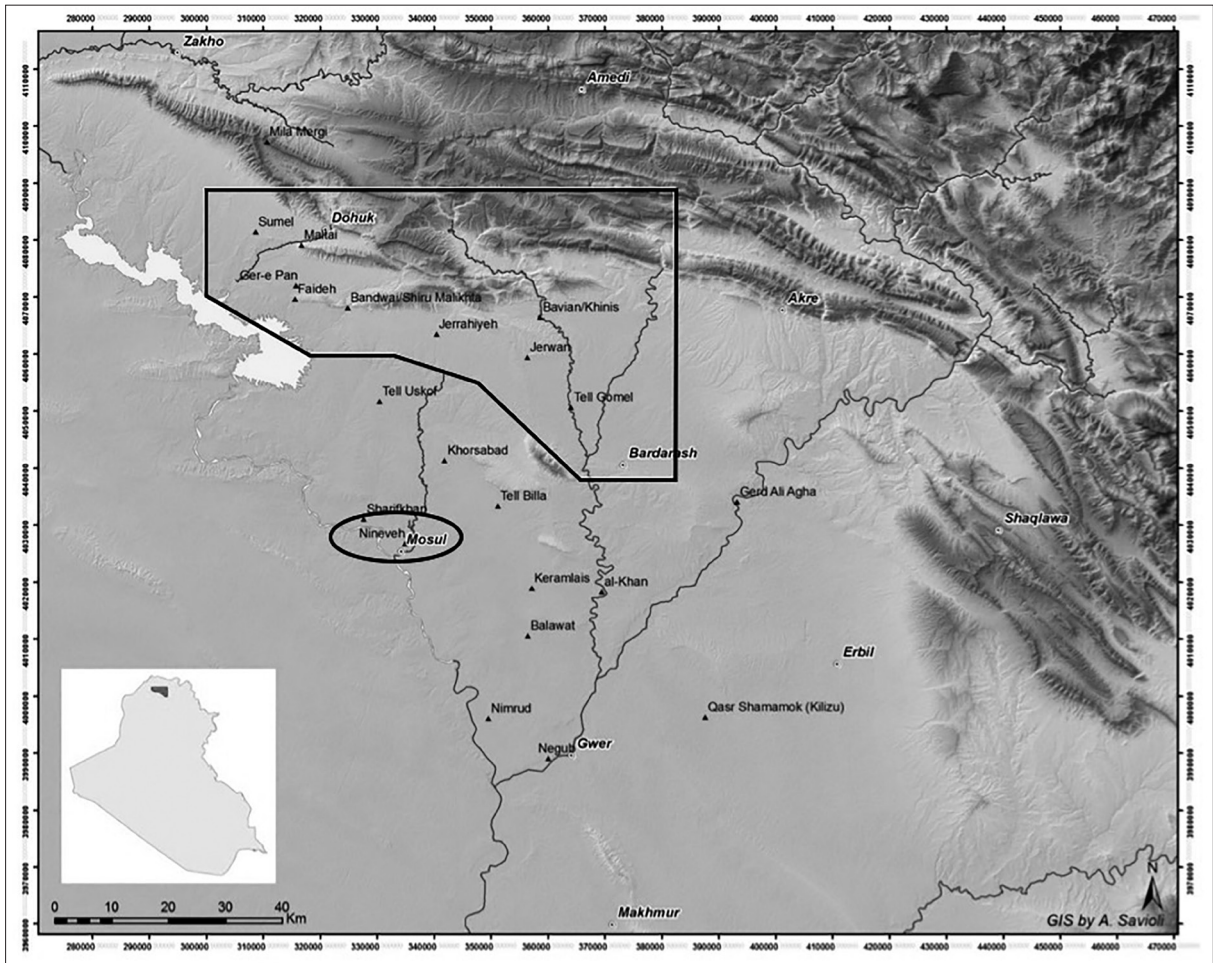


FIGURE 3  
The Land behind Nineveh, with the marked LoNAP survey area (after MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2013, fig. 1)

an cities Assur, Arbela and Nineveh, which were alternatively capitals of the Assyrian empire – as for Nineveh and Assur – or regional capitals,<sup>7</sup> as far as we know about Arbela.<sup>8</sup> The great bulk of information about the Assyrian Triangle in general and the Land behind Nineveh specifically concern the Neo-Assyrian period and come whether from the Assyrian capitals or from the very scattered archae-

<sup>7</sup> RADNER 2011, p. 322.

<sup>8</sup> Archaeological excavations in Arbela, modern Erbil, have started only recently (NOVÁČEK ET AL. 2008), and the information that we have up to now come mostly from its name engraved in one of the Neo-Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh (ALBENDA 1980, p. 6).

ological investigations conducted in the area. In fact, this region has never been archaeologically systematically investigated before,<sup>9</sup> despite its relevance in the archaeological and historical processes of Upper Mesopotamia. Its vicinity to important urban centres like Nineveh, which was a religious centre in the third and second millennium BC<sup>10</sup> and then became the seat of an Assyrian capital in the first millennium BC, and to Dur-Šarrukin, makes the area a strategic one to the purpose of agriculture and water manage-

<sup>9</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2017a, p. 98; 2018a, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> WESTENHOLZ 2004, p. 10; MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2017b, p. 107; READE 2005, p. 355; ZIEGLER 2004, p. 20.

ment. Besides the exploitation of the land and its importance in the first millennium BC, the less visible records related to its life during the second millennium BC provide evidence of the occupation.

The entire Land behind Nineveh is characterized by a very fertile soil (Brown Soils, Deep Phase)<sup>11</sup> and by an annual rainfall from 450 to 600 millimetres per year: this makes the land reliable for agriculture.<sup>12</sup> The Navkur Plain – the “plain of mud” in Kurmanji<sup>13</sup> – is the largest plain in the Land behind Nineveh, being 30 km wide and triangular;<sup>14</sup> it is crossed by the River al-Khazir, a tributary of the Greater Zab, and by two smaller rivers, the Nardush and the Gomel,<sup>15</sup> and the Jebel Maqloub geographically separates it from the plain of Nineveh.<sup>16</sup> Given the presence of the above-mentioned water courses, the Navkur Plain is very well supplied with ground water, thus turning this area into the ideal playground for agricultural production, in fact the area is intensively cultivated. Therefore it is not surprising that the Navkur Plain hosts most of the sites detected in the course of the survey conducted by LoNAP and therefore was densely and continuously inhabited during the Bronze and Iron Ages:<sup>17</sup> the settlements pattern, which is going to be briefly sketched in the following paragraphs, well illustrates the continuous occupation of the Land behind Nineveh and in particular of the Navkur Plain.<sup>18</sup>

As it can be argued by textual source, it can be assumed that the availability of fertile soils and water in the Navkur plain played an important role throughout the second millennium BC. As we know from the Mari state correspondence of the eighteenth century BC, the Land behind Nineveh, or at least the Navkur Plain, was part of the King-

dom of Nurrugûm,<sup>19</sup> that was independent until it was conquered by Šamši-Adad and integrated in its Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia.<sup>20</sup> In the Middle Assyrian period the entire Assyrian Triangle was the core area of the Middle Assyrian Kingdom,<sup>21</sup> and the Land behind Nineveh was strategic for the connection to the Assyrian enclave in the Upper Tigris region,<sup>22</sup> and, first of all, for the expansion of the state, which needed more cultivable and fertile land, and water sources.<sup>23</sup>

The territory of the Land behind Nineveh constituted the economic solid background that was necessary to the establishment and development of political entities, whether small independent kingdoms or complex states. The occurrence in this vast area, which still plays a primary role in the agricultural production, of a huge number of sites allows the reconstruction of the occupation and the settlement pattern of this region. These sites have been identified during the survey carried out by LoNAP and restituted a consistent number of second millennium settlements, which have been dated through the examination of the pottery retrieved. In this paper the ceramic assemblages from those sites and dated to the second millennium BC, and a brief excursus on the relative settlements pattern are going to be illustrated.

### 3. Ceramics in the Second Millennium BC

The dataset here presented consists of the archaeological sites recovered during the five years survey campaigns conducted by the LoNAP team, namely to the 2012 to 2016 survey campaigns. The sites have been recognized through two combined methodologies, that is the extensive<sup>24</sup> and the intensive survey, which has been applied on a larger scale in a delimited area in the territory around Gir-e Gomel.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>11</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 84.

<sup>12</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 85.

<sup>13</sup> READE, ANDERSON 2013, p. 69.

<sup>14</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 87.

<sup>16</sup> READE, ANDERSON 2013, p. 69.

<sup>17</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> The settlement pattern will be fully and exhaustively discussed by D. Morandi Bonacossi in the final publication of the Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project (MORANDI BONACOSSÌ in preparation).

<sup>19</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ, IAMONI 2015, p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> CHARPIN, ZIEGLER 2003, p. 79, p. 91-99, p. 101; ZIEGLER 2004.

<sup>21</sup> RADNER 2006-08, p. 43-48.

<sup>22</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 88.

<sup>23</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018b, p. 49.

<sup>24</sup> For more details about the survey methodology, see MORANDI BONACOSSÌ, IAMONI 2015, p. 13-14.

<sup>25</sup> For more details, see SIMI in this volume.

The ceramic material has been preliminarily processed during each survey campaign, as exhaustively illustrated in previous publications.<sup>26</sup> The results presented here refer to the work accomplished during the study season 2017, with the purpose of processing the sherds – 5449 in total – with the support of the Ceramic Working Typology<sup>27</sup> (CWT in the text). The aim of the work carried out during the study season was twofold: 1) to assess the occurrence of the ceramic types illustrated in the CWT; 2) to register the occurrence of survey-significant ceramic types that are not included in the CWT.<sup>28</sup> The results of the analysis, as showed here, demonstrate the usefulness and grade of accuracy of the CWT, which is proved to be a very useful tool to process pottery from archaeological surveys. Nevertheless, it needs to be integrated with new types that are not attested in the *corpus* illustrated in it but are attested from stratigraphic sequences retrieved in excavations in Northern Mesopotamia. Moreover, in the present paper we propose a subdivision of the LBA – treated in the CWT as one period – into the Mittanian / LBA I and Middle-Assyrian / LBA II.

### 3.1. The Middle Bronze Age (MBA)

The Middle Bronze Age occupation is spread through the whole area. Sites are scattered on the piedmont territory between the modern towns of Dohuk, Ba'dreh, Sheikhan and Al-Qosh. There is a relatively high number of sites that are located along water courses, as it is the case of the sites on the many wadis in the area south of the Jebel al-Qosh on the Ba'dreh Plain. Most of the settlements are located on the fertile and well-irrigated Navkur Plain and were small-sized.<sup>29</sup> The largest site is Gir-e Gomel, in

the Navkur Plain<sup>30</sup> on the eastern bank of the river of the same name.

The collected pottery dated to the MBA amounts to 3108 sherds. In the assemblage a distinction into four different wares is operated, following the subdivision usually employed when dealing with pottery from excavated sites: the assemblage is thus subdivided into Khabur Ware, Grey Ware, Common Ware, Cooking Ware (fig. 4).

Khabur Ware<sup>31</sup> (1475 sherds) is the most represented in this period. From the survey material, bowls with painted strokes on the rim (fig. 5: 1) and jars with horizontal painted bands (fig. 5: 2-3) are the most occurring and easy to recognize. Chronologically significant are the above-mentioned bowls, with convex walls, which are diagnostic of MBA II Khabur Ware, and occur in high quantities in sites that bear MBA sequences. Valid comparisons are attested at Tell Rijim<sup>32</sup> in the Iraqi Jezirah, and Tell Leilan,<sup>33</sup> Tell Brak,<sup>34</sup> Tell Barri,<sup>35</sup> Tell Chagar Bazar<sup>36</sup> in the Khabur triangle. Among closed shapes, very recognizable MBA II types are large storage jars with ledge rim and with painted decoration on the rim and on the upper part of the body (fig. 5: 2-3), and

<sup>30</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018b, p. 60-61.

<sup>31</sup> With the term Khabur Ware we intend the painted Ware that spread throughout Northern Mesopotamia from the beginning of the second millennium BC to the fifteenth century BC ca and characterized by a monochrome painting on the clay surface. The painting can consist of horizontal bands, strokes, geometric motifs, zoomorphic pattern, on the ceramic surface which is usually buff with chaff and calcite inclusions; the clay can be rich of sand or fine mineral inclusions if the vessel's shape is a goblet or a beaker, or a small bowl. The first occurrences of this ware are still debated: according to SCHMIDT 2013 (p. 105) one of the oldest occurrences is documented in phase C7 at Tell Mozan, dated to the 2100-1950 BC (Early Jezirah V, corresponding to Early Bronze Age V and to the historical period Ur III/Isin-Larsa: see SCHMIDT 2013, p. 2, Tab. 1). On the other side Koliński (2014a, p. 30) proposes a later date for the earliest occurrence of Khabur Ware, i.e. 195-1800 BC (Old Jezirah I, corresponding to the Middle Bronze Age I and to the historical period defined as Old-Assyrian: see NICOLLE 2007: 183), thus contradicting the hypothesis of Schmidt (KOLIŃSKI 2014a, p. 31).

<sup>32</sup> KOLIŃSKI 2000, Plate 38, C to E.

<sup>33</sup> PULHAN 2000, p. 445, fig. 37:4.

<sup>34</sup> OATES D., OATES J., McDONALD 1997, p. 181, figs. 212-215, p. 187, figs. 292-298.

<sup>35</sup> BACCELLI, MANUELLI 2008a, p. 199, Pl. 2.2 and 2.4.

<sup>36</sup> McMAHON 2009, Pl. 13.1, Pl. 39.

<sup>26</sup> For a more detailed explanation, see COPPINI 2018, p. 66; GAVAGNIN, IAMONI, PALERMO 2016, p. 119.

<sup>27</sup> BALL, TUCKER, WILKINSON 1989; WILKINSON, TUCKER 1995; UR 2010, pp. 213-215.

<sup>28</sup> In order to do this, we considered the three criteria mentioned by UR 2010, p. 213: «an ideal survey type meets three criteria: it occurs frequently, it is morphologically robust and distinctive, and it is chronologically short-lived».

<sup>29</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018b, p. 60.

FIGURE 4  
Chart showing the distribution of the wares in the MBA ceramic assemblage from the LoNAP survey area

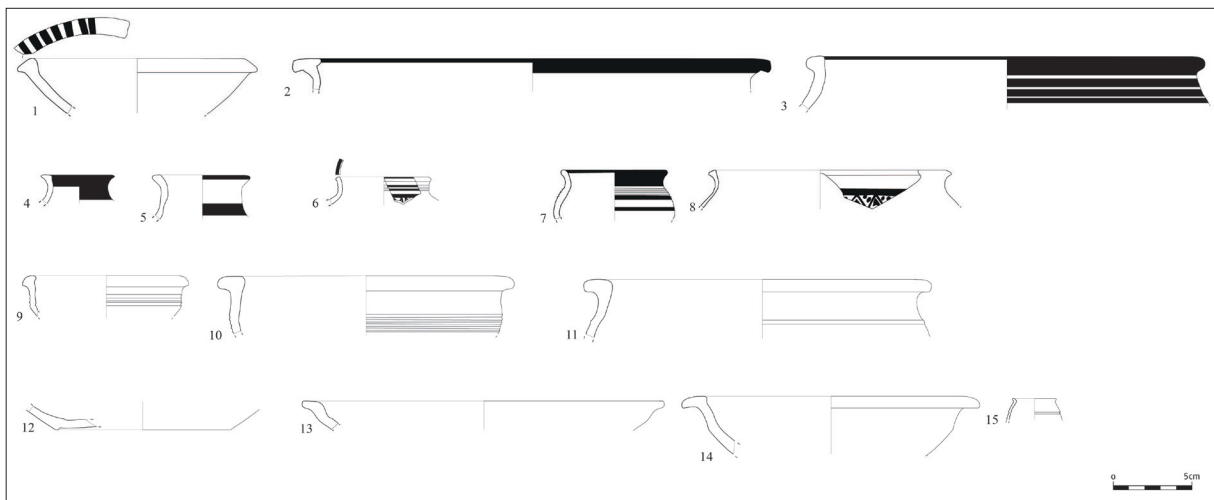
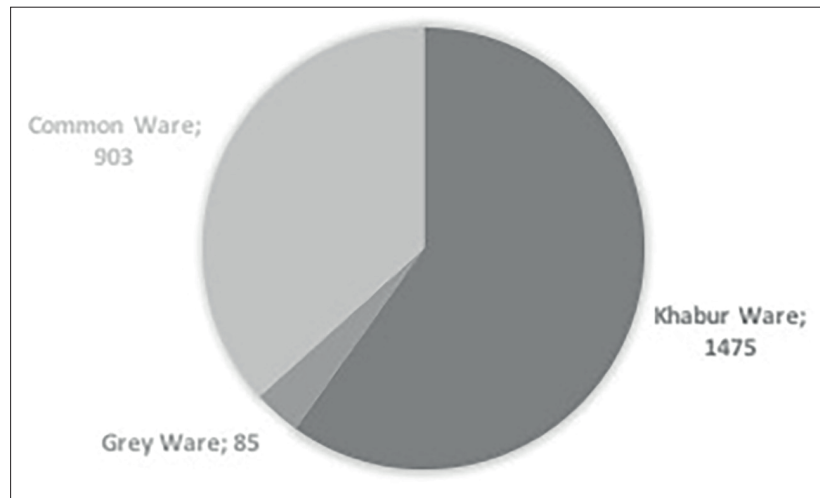


FIGURE 5  
MBA ceramic assemblage from the LoNAP survey area (© LoNAP archives)

jars with long necks, decorated with painted bands (fig. 8: 4-5). These two types are very common in all MBA assemblages from Northern Mesopotamia sites. Shouldered beakers appear to be a distinctive feature in MBA ceramic assemblages from excavated sites. Since they are characterized by a fine fabric – sandy with minute calcite inclusions – they are not easy to collect, being vulnerable to breaks more than the thicker jars and bowls. Despite this inconvenient, we were able to collect some shouldered beakers specimens from LoNAP sites, precisely 43 sherds. They are characterized by a short (fig. 5: 6-8) or a slightly longer neck and generally decorated

with painted bands, and their occurrence is mostly related to domestic contexts, although there is evidence from Chagar Bazar that they were used also as grave good.<sup>37</sup>

Burnished Grey Ware is a ceramic cluster peculiar to the MBA assemblage: it is characterized by a grey/greyish fabric with fine vegetal and mineral inclusions. In the LoNAP material it amounts to 85 specimens, which are all belonging to the open-shapes category. The most attested type is

<sup>37</sup> McMahon (2009, p. 117) stresses that these vessels may have been used in a pre-burial life. McMAHON 2009, p. 245 Pl. 1, p. 257, Pl. 7.

the carinated bowl with ridges on the upper parts of the walls, with outside thickened rounded rim (fig. 5: 9-10). Comparisons from excavated sites can be found at Tell Leilan,<sup>38</sup> Tell Brak,<sup>39</sup> Tell Barri,<sup>40</sup> Tell Chagar Bazar<sup>41</sup> in the Khabur triangle.

Common Ware constitutes a matter of debate concerning survey material, since it is seen as barely recognizable from one period to the other as it holds few characteristics that allow to recognize it.<sup>42</sup> It is in fact beyond any doubt that painted wares are more easily recognizable, but this consideration does not mean that it is impossible to isolate Common Ware and among it chronologically significant types. Few Common Ware types are isolated as distinct types in the CWT, i.e. the Horizontally Grooved Jar Shoulder (fig. 5: 11), the Externally Grooved Bowl, the High Ring or Pedestal Base, the Channel Base (fig. 5: 12), and the Concave Fine Bowl Base.<sup>43</sup> Among the collected material we were able to isolate new types, which seem to be chronologically significant on the base of comparisons with specimens from excavated sites. One diagnostic type is the so-called Old Babylonian bowl or rough-based bowl,<sup>44</sup> which consists of a bowl with ledge rim and with convex profile (fig. 5: 13). This type occurs in the MBA stratigraphic sequence recovered in the excavation at Gir-e Gomel: from the same levels important structures undoubtedly dated to the MBA have been excavated, i.e. the barrel-vaulted graves.<sup>45</sup> A further hint to their chronological attribution is provided by comparisons found in other Northern-Mesopotamian sites. Particularly relevant are the specimens from Tell Leilan, Level 2 of the Lower Town Palace and Temple,<sup>46</sup> from Tell al-Rimah, Level 3 of the Old Babylonian temple.<sup>47</sup> Besides the finding

contexts, which pinpoint in both cases to a religious sphere of action and not only to a domestic one, their relevance is linked to their association to written records. Concerning Tell Leilan, we refer to the archive found in the Qarni-Lim palace.<sup>48</sup> The texts from Tell al-Rimah are dated by *limu* names, thus attributed to the Middle Bronze Age IIA.<sup>49</sup> The other paradigmatic chronological indicator is the shouldered beaker (fig. 5: 15), although not widely attested, but very important. Specimens from the survey resemble those from the Gir-e Gomel graves, thus dated to the Middle Bronze Age II.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, comparisons are attested with the site of Kurd Qaburstan,<sup>51</sup> located in the Erbil Plain, i.e. to the south of the Navkur Plain. They have been found in rooms associated to storage vessels, therefore associated to food preparation and consumption contexts.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.2. The Mittanian period<sup>53</sup>

With the coming of the Mittanian period the settlements number decreases, and this goes along with the settlements pattern in other regions of Upper Mesopotamia. In the history of research, the low number of settlements attributed to the Mittanian period is seen in the difficulty of recognizing Mittanian pottery in surface ceramic assemblages.<sup>54</sup> In general, Mittanian settlements are smaller than the MBA settlements, or there is a high number of smaller settlements compared to the MBA sites size.<sup>55</sup>

In terms of collected and attributed sherds, they are 823. Mittanian pottery from survey assemblages has long been underestimated, as already mentioned before concerning the number of Mittani-

<sup>38</sup> FRANE 1996, fig. 25.1-2.

<sup>39</sup> OATES D., OATES J., McDONALD, p. 177, figs. 170-172.

<sup>40</sup> BACCELLI, MANUELLI 2008b, fig. 2.3.

<sup>41</sup> McMAHON 2009, p. 301, Pl. 29.13-16.

<sup>42</sup> COPPINI 2018, p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> UR 2010, p. 218, Table B.1.

<sup>44</sup> POSTGATE, OATES D., OATES J. 1997, p. 65.

<sup>45</sup> COPPINI 2018, p. 72.

<sup>46</sup> PULHAN 2000, pp. 421-422.

<sup>47</sup> POSTGATE, OATES D., OATES J. 1997, p. 149 and p. 151.

<sup>48</sup> EIDEM 2011.

<sup>49</sup> POSTGATE, OATES D., OATES J. 1997, p. 23.

<sup>50</sup> COPPINI 2018, p. 81, fig. 12.

<sup>51</sup> SCHWARTZ ET AL. 2017, fig. 25.4, 6.

<sup>52</sup> SCHWARTZ ET AL. 2017, p. 229.

<sup>53</sup> We choose to use here the historical label for this period as a matter of uniformity with previous works related to LoNAP. For a more detailed explanation, see COPPINI 2018, p. 67; PFÄLZNER 2007, p. 257.

<sup>54</sup> WILKINSON, TUCKER 1995, pp. 58-60; UR 2010, p. 267; ALGAZE, HAMMER, PARKER 2012, p. 31.

<sup>55</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018b, p. 61.



FIGURE 6  
Chart showing the distribution of the wares in the  
Mittanian ceramic assemblage from the LoNAP survey area

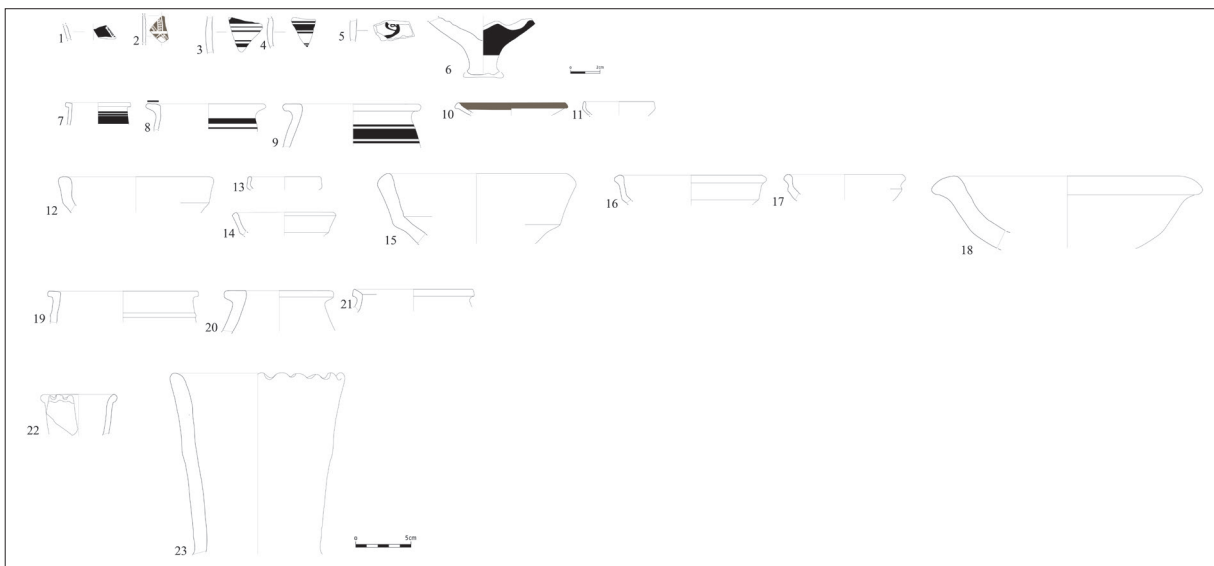
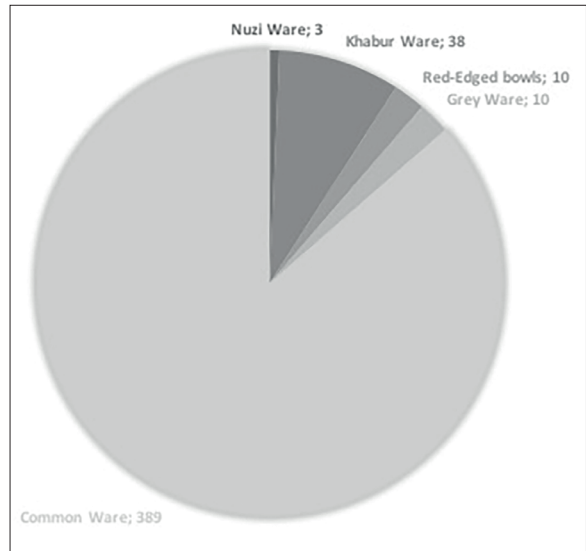


FIGURE 7  
Mittanian ceramic assemblage from the LoNAP survey area (© LoNAP archives)

an settlements. This is linked to the low amount of excavated Mittani sites, the low number of publications and the tendency to see no difference, or at least few, between Mittanian and Middle-Assyrian Common Wares, as if they are not distinguishable from surface assemblages.<sup>56</sup> The bulk of sherds

<sup>56</sup> The problematic has been treated in COPPINI 2018, p. 70.

that we name as “Mittanian” finds undeniable similarities with materials from excavated sites located in the Iraqi Jezirah and in the Khabur valley, thus confirming the high degree of differentiation with the pottery from the Middle-Assyrian period. The Mittanian period surface assemblage is divide into five groups: Nuzi Ware, Khabur Ware, Red-Edged bowls, Grey Ware, Common Ware (fig. 6).

Nuzi Ware has an extremely low amount – it is attested by 3 sherds – nevertheless it is the most diagnostic ware for the Mittanian period (fig. 7: 1-2).<sup>57</sup> Khabur Ware<sup>58</sup> is represented by 38 sherds, among which the chronologically significant types are the straight-side goblet (fig. 7: 3-6), the squared ledge rim jar (fig. 7: 7-9), and the grain measure. Red-Edged bowls (10 sherds) are included, together with Nuzi Ware, in the sphere of the certain Mittanian pottery;<sup>59</sup> they occur in the form of shallow bowls, with outside or inside thickened rim, a buff smoothed surface, and the peculiar red painting, which occurs as a band on the outer and on the inner wall of the vessel and can be polished (fig. 7: 10). Grey Ware (1 specimen) is represented by bowls that show new shapes when compared to those of the MBA: from the LoNAP assemblage we have one carinated bowl (fig. 7: 11), which follows the shape of Common Ware specimens.

Common Ware is more articulated in the enumeration of diagnostic shapes. The carinated bowl type is attested by the presence of 92 specimens and shows the existence of two different types: the simple and standard carinated bowls (fig. 7: 12-15) is distinguished from the other carinated bowls, which may present a higher variation of rims (fig. 7: 16-18). This separation is due not only to chronological purposes, but also to considerations leading to the identification of a site type or of a precise function of a site's area. The cluster of large storage jars is homogenized by the occurrence of squared rims (fig. 7: 19-21) on the majority of the sherds (55 specimens). Another characteristic and occurring type in the whole LoNAP region is the pie-crust potstand (27 specimens, fig. 7: 22-23).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> For comparanda: STARR 1937, Pl. 79.BB1.

<sup>58</sup> We refer to the so-called Younger Khabur Ware.

<sup>59</sup> They occur in the whole area that was controlled by Mittani, as west as Tell Atchana/*Alalakh* (HOROWITZ 2015, p. 167), in the core of the Kingdom, i.e. the Khabur basin (D'AGOSTINO 2014, p. 174, fig. 1), and in the Tigris Valley, i.e. at Nemrik (REICHE 2014, p. 303, Pl. 2.3-4), just to cite selected examples.

<sup>60</sup> Concerning pie-crust potstands, it is an actual matter of debate whether they should be assigned to the MBA or to the first part of the LBA, namely to the Mittani period. Recent excavations in Iraqi Kurdistan have shown that they can be found since the MBA II, as evidences from Kurd Qaburstan (SCHWARTZ ET AL. 2017, p. 232), Gir-e Gomel (MORANDI

The same assemblages can be found in sites located in Northern Mesopotamia. We find the same kind of carinated bowls from sites in the Khabur Basin, which was the core of the Mittanian Kingdom, as for example from Tell Brak Mittani Palace<sup>61</sup> and Tell Barri Phase E,<sup>62</sup> and on the course of the Khabur river, further to the south, as for example the Mittanian levels of Tell Bderi.<sup>63</sup> Similar Mittani-period ceramic is attested from Kurd Qaburstan,<sup>64</sup> where LBA contexts have been excavated and restituted a building.<sup>65</sup>

### 3.3. The Middle Assyrian period

The Middle Assyrian period is characterized by a sharp growth in the number of settlements,<sup>66</sup> when compared to the occupation registered for the Mittanian epoch and going then back to a similar situation already registered in the MBA.<sup>67</sup> This growth does not find any reflection in the settlement pattern in the Upper Tigris Valley, an area that was gradually incorporated in the Middle Assyrian state;<sup>68</sup> in the neighbouring land west of the Tigris, i.e. the Iraqi North Jezirah, where a decrease of settlements is attested.<sup>69</sup> In the LoNAP survey area, a relatively high number of the settlements dated to this period shows continuity with the Mittanian period, thus witnessing the above-mentioned growth of settlements and, as proposed by Morandi Bonacossi, a revitalisation of the settlements network.<sup>70</sup>

The analysis of the Middle-Assyrian ceramic assemblage from the archaeological survey does not

BONACOSSO ET AL. 2018) and Tell Rijim (KOLIŃSKI 2000) corroborate. However, comparisons for survey specimens are attested with LBA / Mittani-dated specimens from Upper Khabur basin sites, such as Tell Brak, Tell Barri, Tell Bderi.

<sup>61</sup> OATES D., OATES J., McDONALD 1997, p. 66.

<sup>62</sup> D'AGOSTINO 2014, p. 249; p. 253. COPPINI 2008, p. 488, fig. 3.

<sup>63</sup> PFÄLZNER 1995.

<sup>64</sup> SCHWARTZ ET AL. 2017, fig. 28.

<sup>65</sup> SCHWARTZ ET AL. 2017, p. 219.

<sup>66</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018a, p. 87.

<sup>67</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018b, p. 61.

<sup>68</sup> ALGAZE, HAMMER, PARKER 2012, pp. 31-33.

<sup>69</sup> WILKINSON, TUCKER 1995, pp. 59-60.

<sup>70</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018b, p. 61.

FIGURE 8  
Chart showing the distribution of the types in the Middle Assyrian ceramic assemblage from the LoNAP survey area

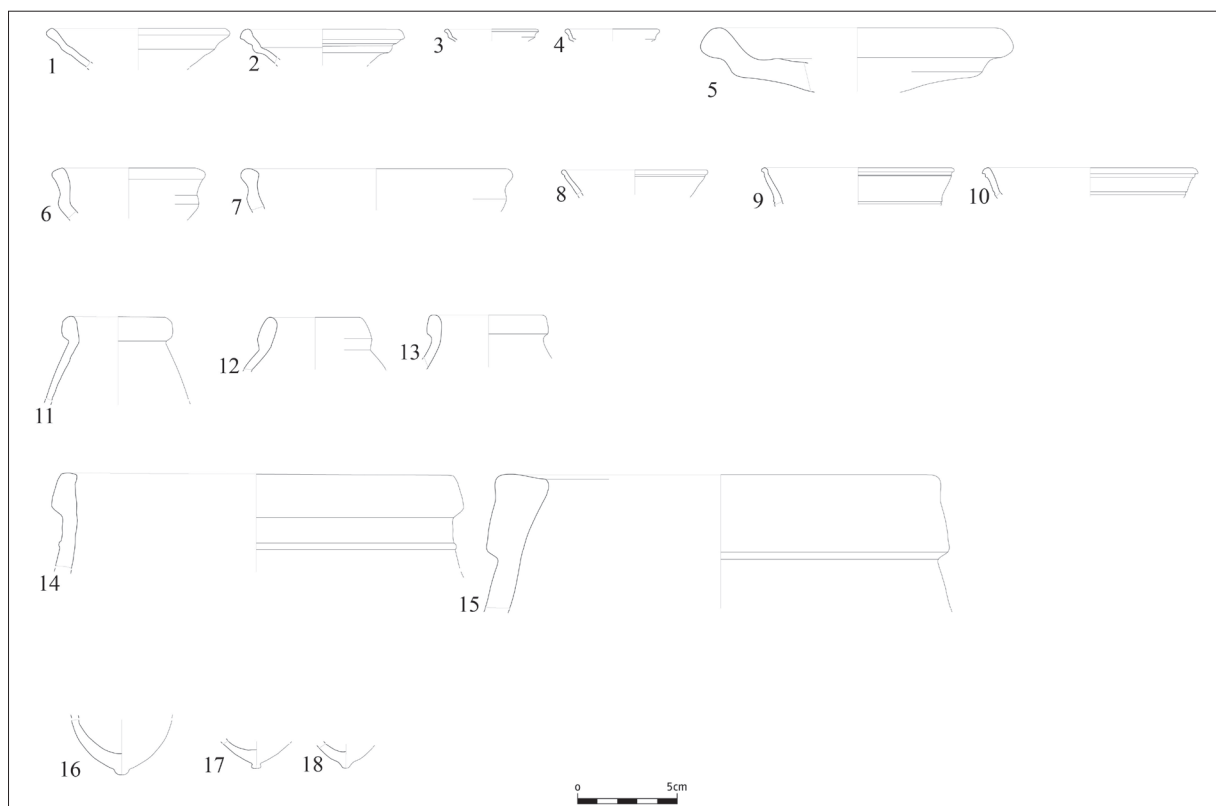
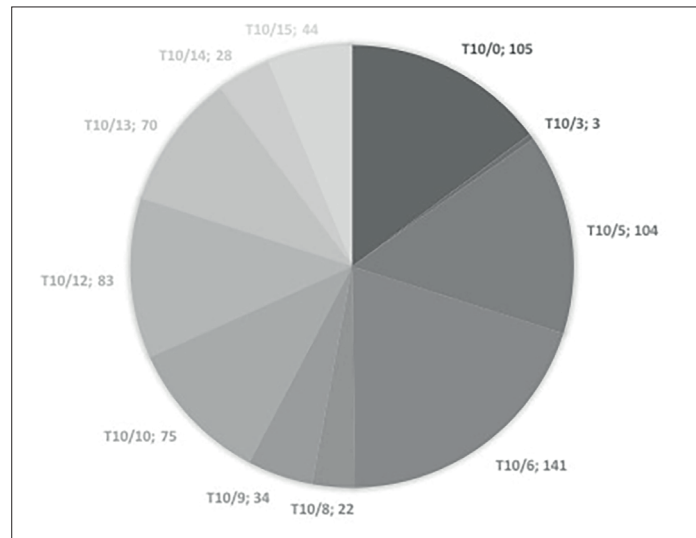


FIGURE 9  
Middle Assyrian ceramic assemblage from the LoNAP survey area (© LoNAP archives)

rise problems, and this is due to a double factor. The first is reflected in the nature of the assemblage, i.e. the standardization of shapes that affects this material; the second factor is the relatively abundance of data from excavated sites that are moreover in con-

text with cuneiform texts, the majority of which is dated through *limu*. The sherds dated to this period amount to 1518, all of them have been classified as Common Ware. Most of the shapes has been recognized with the support of the CWT types (fig. 8),

the typical Middle-Assyrian ceramic assemblage as found in excavated sites is reflected in almost all of the Middle-Assyrian sites of the LoNAP survey area.

The biggest part of the material is constituted by the sharp-carinated bowls (tot. 211 specimens), which are differentiated into two different types. The first type – constituting the majority of the carinated bowls assemblage (141 specimens, sherds and complete vessels) – is defined as the so-called standard sharp-carinated bowls (fig. 9: 1-5), which is the mass-produced and widely spread shape of bowl found in all sites included or under the influence of the Middle-Assyrian state. The second type reunites all carinated bowls (fig. 9: 6-7) that are recognized as Middle-Assyrians – on the base of the ware of comparisons with pottery from excavated sites – but are not classifiable as standard sharp-carinated bowls. This distinction is based on the study carried out by Pfälzner,<sup>71</sup> in which he is able to differentiate between official pottery and domestic pottery on the base of the finding context and of morphological and formal features. It has to be underlined that we can not make assumptions about the context of use, but the distinction between official and domestic pottery is used as a typological indication.<sup>72</sup> The wide spectrum of standard sharp-carinated bowls provides new hints and evidence of sub-types that have a chronological relevance. The most significant has been recognized in the sharp-carinated bowl with grooves under the rim and on the carination (fig. 9: 8-10), defined as a fine-ware type in the Middle-Assyrian pottery.<sup>73</sup> This type is usually characterized by a well-smoothed surface and a very sharp angle marking the carination and a straight wall above the carination. Few sherds have been found among the surface material, nevertheless it is well-known that this type is chronologically relevant. As com-

parisons from Tell Sabi Abyad,<sup>74</sup> Tell Barri,<sup>75</sup> Tell Sheikh Hamad,<sup>76</sup> Tell Mohammed Arab<sup>77</sup> and Assur<sup>78</sup> show, the type can be reconducted to the time of decline of the Middle-Assyrian state.

The remaining spectrum of shapes mirrors the well-known Middle-Assyrian diagnostic types: standard bottles (fig. 9: 11-13), large storage jars with squared rim (fig. 9: 14-15), and nipple bases (fig. 9: 16-18) belonging to goblets.

#### 4. Conclusive remarks

The landscape of settlements emerging from the MBA and LBA in the Land behind Nineveh presents a varied distribution of inhabited areas, a continuity in the intensity of occupation is registered for the Navkur Plain, which is a constant in the whole second millennium. The region is dominated by small size settlements, with the only exception of Gir-e Gomel.<sup>79</sup> The pre-eminence of this site during the MBA is attested not only by data from the survey, but also by data from the excavation: although dug on a small surface, part of the settlement at Gomel is proved to be an elite cemetery, with baked-bricks hypogea resembling those found throughout the whole Mesopotamia.<sup>80</sup> We can assume that it must have been a prominent urban centre in the Navkur Plain, which was part of the kingdom of Nurrugûm (see section 2), and therefore as an urban centre we can assume that it could have controlled the small settlements dispersed in the plain and the agricultural production gained from the fertile soils of the region, a dynamic that remains unchanged even after Nurrugûm was one of the districts of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. Contacts with the western part of Northern

<sup>71</sup> PFÄLZNER 1995, p. 161.

<sup>72</sup> Nowadays it is still a matter of debate whether the distinction between an official and domestic use and production of the Middle-Assyrian pottery has to be accepted or not. According to Duistermaat (2008, p. 127-128), a distinction is not possible at Sheikh Hamad since evidences of ceramic production have not been found and they are necessary in order to asset different contexts or different recipients of the produced goods.

<sup>73</sup> D'AGOSTINO 2014, p. 241.

<sup>74</sup> DUISTERMAAT 2008, fig. IV.100w; DUISTERMAAT 2008, fig. IV.115d. Both comparisons are from Level 4.

<sup>75</sup> D'AGOSTINO 2006, fig. 1.13 (Area G, Shaft 200).

<sup>76</sup> PFÄLZNER 1995, Taf. 113.c (Mittellassyrische Stufe IIa-c).

<sup>77</sup> PFÄLZNER 1995, Taf. 192.d.

<sup>78</sup> BEUGER 2014, fig. 9 (Assur Deep Trench).

<sup>79</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO 2018b, p. 60.

<sup>80</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSO ET AL. 2018; COPPINI 2018, p. 72.

Mesopotamia are confirmed by the ceramic assemblage, which shows consistent similarities between the Land behind Nineveh, the Iraqi Jezirah and the Khabur Valley.

The decrease of settlements registered in the Mittani period occurs in the whole Land behind Nineveh, and even the settled surface of Gir-e Gomel seems to shrink,<sup>81</sup> thus showing a loss of pre-eminence by this site but without a replacement by a new preeminent urban centre. It is beyond any doubt that we face the opposite settlement pattern that characterizes the Khabur valley, where the Mittani period experiences an increasing of large sites.<sup>82</sup> As Morandi Bonacossi asserts, the landscape in this region is marked by a ruralisation,<sup>83</sup> nevertheless the sphere of influence in this rural landscape is clearly pertaining to the Mittanian political entity, as the material culture reflects the same found in Mittanian sites in the Khabur valley and in the Balikh valley. Therefore, it is evident that the archaeological presence of a homogeneous ceramic tradition that extends from the Balikh valley to the territories to the east of the Tigris valley, passing through and affecting the Iraqi Jezirah, undoubtedly exists and is chronologically placed between the sixteenth and the fourteenth century BC: it is then our duty to decide if we want to call it LBA I ceramic tradition or Mittanian ceramic tradition. It is beyond any doubt that it occurs at the same time as the rule of the Mittanian kingdom in the above-mentioned regions, although it is not here the appropriate context to suggest a connection of the recognized ceramic tradition with the rule of Mittani. The role of rural landscape for the Land behind Nineveh, in which the settlement pattern is dispersed, and the sites are small, fits with its position in the Mittanian state and fulfils the need of strategic natural resources – water above all – agricultural facilities, and food production, all essential factors in order to maintain a social wealth.

If we are on the terrain of uncertainty for the Mittanian period, the subsequent epoch of the Middle Assyrian rule is relatively well-known. The

problematic is more related to the phases of re-conquering the land by the Middle Assyrian power, dynamic that affects the length of the Mittanian rule in this area and therefore the impact on settlements pattern and material culture. It is important to take into account that the Assyrian (re)-control of this part of the Assyrian Triangle<sup>84</sup> by the Assyrian state could have happened in different stages,<sup>85</sup> of which the final one shows up from survey data: we can presume that the (re)-conquest of the Land behind Nineveh was one of the first accomplished by the resurgent Assyrian State, first reconquest operated by Aššur-uballiṭ in the fourteenth century BC,<sup>86</sup> about which the preeminent places are mentioned, but we can assume that the agricultural land was included in the re-appropriation of these territories.<sup>87</sup> The presence of small centres commits to the evidence that a network of small towns and villages composed the hinterland of Assyria, thus shaping a rural landscape, reflecting the interest of *Māt Aššur* in these fertile grounds.<sup>88</sup> The presence of Middle-Assyrian settlements and an uninterrupted exploitation of the area, a higher exploitation indeed, witnesses the further importance of the area as an agricultural land. This can be attested also by written sources, from which we know that the area was controlled by the Assyrian administration through the *dunnu*-institution.<sup>89</sup> As for the pottery, we tentatively estimate the presence of the so-called standard and not-standard ceramic production, thus committing a majority of standard production, confirmed also by its presence in most of the sites. The occurrence of the so-called standard or official Middle-Assyrian pottery induce to assert the existence of a capillary

<sup>84</sup> Following JAKOB 2003, p. 5, the city of Aššur was the proper Assyrian enclave in the fifteenth century BC, maintaining an influence on a small portion of land but still under the threat of Mittanian expansion and will be conquered by Šaušatar.

<sup>85</sup> LLOP 2012, p. 594.

<sup>86</sup> JAKOB 2003, p. 56.

<sup>87</sup> See BROWN 2014, p. 94.

<sup>88</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 62. He points out also the importance of the Land behind Nineveh for the transit of crucial communication routes, which the newly ruling Assyrian dynasty is willing to control.

<sup>89</sup> KOLIŃSKI 2015, p. 22: he refers to the only *dunnu* known up to now in the area east of the Tigris, i.e. Tell Billa/Šibaniba.

<sup>81</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018b, p. 61.

<sup>82</sup> KOLIŃSKI 2014b, p. 208.

<sup>83</sup> MORANDI BONACOSSÌ 2018a, p. 87.

administrative control of the Land behind Nineveh during the Middle-Assyrian period. We can assume that the Land behind Nineveh was a necessary space where to practice extended agriculture since the land around Assur was well-suited for crop cultivation, but precipitation is insufficient.<sup>90</sup>

To conclude, from this picture, although fragmentary and relying on survey material, it clearly emerges that the Land behind Nineveh has long

been outside investigation areas, due also to political issues (see Introduction), thus hindering a more complete view of the settlements history and material culture of this region of Northern Mesopotamia. Thanks to recent researches, it is evident that the Land behind Nineveh is a pivotal area in order to understand the settlements dynamics and the productive processes that affected Northern Mesopotamia in the second millennium BC.

#### *Acknowledgements*

*I would like to express my gratitude to the General Directorate of Antiquities of the Kurdistan Regional Government and its director Kaify Ali and former director Kak Abubakir Othman Zeineddin (Mala Awat), and to the Duhok Directorate of Antiquities and its director Dr Hassan Ahmad Qasim. A second but not less important thank is owed to the director of the LoNAP project, Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, and to the deputy director, Marco Iamoni (University of Udine), for the possibility of studying the here presented ceramic material. A huge thank to the staff of the project, particularly to my ceramic-specialist colleagues Katia Gavagnin and Marco Iamoni (University of Udine), and Rocco Palermo (University of Groningen), as well as to Alberto Savioli (University of Udine) for work on satellite imagery and maps and Francesca Simi for the fruitful discussions about the land around Gir-e Gomet.*

<sup>90</sup> MÜHL 2015, p. 45.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALBENDA P. 1980, *An Unpublished Drawing of Louvre Ao 1194 in the British Museum*, «Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies» 12, pp. 1-8.
- ALGAZE G., HAMMER E., PARKER B. 2012, *The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Final Report of the Cizre Dam and Cizre-Silopi Plain Survey Areas*, «Anatolica» 38, pp. 1-115.
- ALTAWHEEL M. 2008, *The Imperial Landscape of Ashur: Settlement and Land Use in the Assyrian Heartland*, Heidelberg.
- BACCELLI G., MANUELLI F. 2008a, *Middle Bronze Khabur Ware from Tell Barri/Kahat*, in: CORDOBA J. MA., MOLIST M., PÉREZ C. MA, RUBIO I., MARTÍNEZ S. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. Vol. I* (3-8 April 2006, Madrid), Madrid, pp. 187-205.
- BACCELLI G., MANUELLI F. 2008b, *Osservazioni preliminari sulla ceramica della Media Età del Bronzo di Tell Barri*, in: PIEROBON-BENOIT R. (ed.), *Tell Barri: storia di un insediamento antico tra Oriente e Occidente*, Napoli, pp. 234-244.
- BALL W., TUCKER D., WILKINSON T. J. 1989, *The Tell Al-Hawa Project: Archaeological Investigations in the North Jazira*, «Iraq» 51, pp. 1-66.
- BEUGER C. 2014, *13. Pottery Traditions from the Mittanian to the Early Neo-Assyrian Period – Evidence from Soundings in Ashur and Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta*, in: LUCIANI M., HAUSLEITER A. (eds.), *Recent Trends in the Study of Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions* (Proceedings of the International Workshop in Berlin, 2-5 November 2006), Rahden/Westf., pp. 263-288.
- BROWN B. 2014, *Settlement Patterns of the Middle Assyrian State: Notes toward an Investigation of State Apparatuses*, in: BONATZ D. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Political Spaces: The Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont in the Second Millennium BCE* (International Conference, January 2010, Berlin), Berlin, pp. 85-106.
- CHARPIN D., ZIEGLER N. 2003, *Florilegium Marianum V: Mari Et Le Proche-Orient À L'époque Amorrite. Essai D'histoire Politique*, Paris.
- COPPINI C. 2008, *Mitannian Pottery from Tell Barri*, in: CORDOBA J. MA., MOLIST M., PÉREZ C. MA, RUBIO I., MARTÍNEZ S. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. Vol. I* (3-8 April 2006, Madrid), Madrid, pp. 478-491.
- COPPINI C. 2018, *The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project: Preliminary Results from the Analysis of the Second Millennium Bc Pottery*, in: HOREJS B., SCHWALL C., MÜLLER V., LUCIANI M., RITTER M., GIUDETTI M., SALISBURY R. B., HÖFLMAYER F., BÜRGE T. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. Volume 2, Prehistoric and Historical Landscapes & Settlement Patterns, Economy & Society, Excavation Reports & Summaries* (25–29 April 2016, Vienna), Vienna, pp. 65-82.
- D'AGOSTINO A. 2006, *La ceramica dal pozzo medioassiro di Tell Barri (Siria): comunicazione preliminare dei dati*, «Orient Express» 2006/1, pp. 15-26.
- D'AGOSTINO A. 2014, *The Tell Barri Sequence of Late Bronze Age Levels: Evolution Trends Within Late 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium Ceramic Culture*, in: LUCIANI M., HAUSLEITER A. (eds.), *Recent Trends in the Study of Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions* (Proceedings of the International Workshop in Berlin, 2-5 November 2006), Rahden, pp. 211-236.
- DUISTERMAAT K. 2008, *The Pots and Potters of Assyria. Technology and organization of production, ceramic sequence, and vessel function at Late Bronze Age Tell Sabi Abyad, Syria*, Leiden.
- EIDEM J. 2010, *The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan. Old Babylonian Letters And Treaties From the Eastern Lower Town Palace* (PIHANS CXVII), Leiden.
- FRANE J.E. 1996, *The Tell Leilan Period I Habur Ware Assemblage*, Ann Arbor.
- GAVAGNIN K., IAMONI M., PALERMO R. 2016, *The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project: The Ceramic Repertoire from the Early Pottery Neolithic to the Sasanian Period*, «BASOR» 375, pp. 119–69.
- HOROWITZ M. 2015, *The Evolution of Plain Ware Ceramics at the Regional Capital of Alalakh in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC*, in: GLATZ C. (ed.), *Plain Pottery Traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East*, London, pp. 153-182.

- JAKOB S. 2003, *Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur. Untersuchungen*, Leiden.
- KOLIŃSKI R. 2000, *Tell Rijim, Iraq: The Middle Bronze Age Layers*, Oxford.
- KOLIŃSKI R. 2014a, *20<sup>th</sup> Century Bc in the Khabur Triangle Region and the Advent of the Old Assyrian Trade with Anatolia*, in: BONATZ D. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Political Spaces: The Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont in the Second Millennium BCE* (International Conference, January 2010, Berlin), Berlin, pp. 11-34.
- KOLIŃSKI R. 2014b, *Settled Space. Evidence for Changes in Settlement Patterns of Northern Mesopotamia at the Advent and at the Turn of the Mittani Era*, in: CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM E., BRISCH N., EIDEM J. (eds.), *Constituent, Confederate and Conquered Space. The Emergence of the Mittani State* (International Conference, summer 2009, Berlin), pp. 179-212.
- KOLIŃSKI R. 2015, *Making Mittani Assyrian*, in: DÜRING B. (ed.), *Understanding Hegemonic Practices of the Early Assyrian Empire. Essays dedicated to Frans Wiggermans (Consolidating Empires Project I)*, Leiden, pp. 9-32.
- KOPANIAS K., MACGINNIS J., UR J. 2015, *Archaeological Projects in the Kurdistan Region in Iraq* <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/14022526>.
- LLOP J. 2011, *The Creation of the Middle Assyrian Provinces*, «Journal of Ancient Oriental Studies» 131/4, pp. 591-603.
- MCMAHON A. 2009, *Chagar Bazar Burial Practices*, in: MCMAHON A., COLANTONI C., FRANE J., SOLTYSIAK, A. (eds.), *Once There Was a Place: Settlement Archaeology at Chagar Bazar, 1999–2002*, London, pp. 109-128.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI D. 2013, *Il Paesaggio Archeologico Nel Centro Dell'impero Assiro. Insediamento E Uso Del Territorio Nella 'Terra Di Ninive'*, «Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti», pp. 181-223.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI 2017a, 18. *Italian Research in the Nineveh Region: Archaeological Investigation and Cultural Heritage Protection and Management*, in: MORANDI BONACOSSI D., PETIT L. P. (eds.), *Nineveh the Great City. Symbol of Beauty and Power* (Leiden, Museum of Antiquities, Oct. 2017-March 2018), pp. 98-106.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI D. 2017b, 19. *From Prehistory to the Arrival of the Neo-Assyrian Kings.*, in: MORANDI BONACOSSI D., PETIT L. P. (eds.), *Nineveh the Great City. Symbol of Beauty and Power* (Leiden, Museum of Antiquities, Oct. 2017-March 2018), pp. 107-08.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI D. 2018a, *Water for Nineveh. The Nineveh Irrigation System in the Regional Context of the 'Assyrian Triangle': A First Geoarchaeological Assessment*, in: KÜHNE H. (ed.), *Water for Assyria* (April 2016, Vienna), pp. 77-116.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI D. 2018b, *The Creation of the Assyrian Heartland: New Data from the 'Land Behind Nineveh'*, in: STEK T. D., DÜRING B. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Imperial Landscapes. A Comparative Study of Empires in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean World*, pp. 48-85.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI D. (ed.) in preparation, *Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project 1*.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI D., IAMONI M. 2015, *Landscape and Settlement in the Eastern Upper Iraqi Tigris and Navkur Plains: The Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project, Seasons 2012–2013*, «Iraq» 77, pp. 9-39.
- MORANDI BONACOSSI D., QASIM H.A., COPPINI C., GAVAGNIN K., GIROTTO E., IAMONI M., TONGHINI C. 2018, *The Italian-Kurdish Excavations at Gir-e Gomal in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Preliminary Report on the 2017 and 2018 field seasons*, «Mesopotamia» 53, pp. 67-162.
- MÜHL S. 2013, *Siedlungsgeschichte im Mittleren Osttigrisgebiet. Von Neolithikum bis in die Neuassyrische Zeit*, Wiesbaden.
- MÜHL S. 2015, *Middle Assyrian Territorial Practices in the Region of Ashur*, in: DÜRING B. (ed.), *Understanding Hegemonic Practices of the Early Assyrian Empire. Essays dedicated to Frans Wiggermans (Consolidating Empires Project I)*, Leiden, pp. 45-58.
- NOVÁČEK K., CHABR T., FILIPSKÝ D., JANÍČEK L., PAVELKA K., ŠÍDA P., TREFNÝ M., VAŘEKA P. 2008, *Research of the Arbil Citadel, Iraqi Kurdistan, First Season*, «Památky archeologické» 99, pp. 259-302.
- NICOLLE C. 2007, IX. *La Jézireh au Bronze moyen et la céramique du Khabur*, in: AL-MAQDISSI M., MATOĀN V., NICOLLE C. (eds.), *Céramique de l'Âge du Bronze en Syrie II. L'Euphrate et la région de Jézireh*, Beyrouth, pp. 179-231.
- PFÄLZNER P. 1995, *Mittanische und Mittelassyrische Keramik. Eine chronologische, funktionale und produktionsökonomische Analyse*, Berlin.
- PFÄLZNER P. 2007, X. *The Late Bronze Age Ceramic Traditions of the Syrian Jazirah*, in: AL-MAQDISSI M., MATOĀN V., NICOLLE C. (eds.), *Céramique de l'Âge du Bronze en Syrie II. L'Euphrate et la région de Jézireh*, Beyrouth, pp. 231-291.
- POSTGATE C., OATES D., OATES J. 1997, *The Excavations at Tell al-Rimah: the Pottery*, London.



- PULHAN G. 2000, *On the Eve of the Dark Age: Qamili-Lim's Palace at Tell Leilan*, Ann Arbor.
- RADNER K. 2006-08, *S. V. Provinz. C. Assyrien*, in: *RLA*, 11, pp. 42-68.
- RADNER K. 2011, *The Assur-Nineveh-Arbela Triangle. Central Assyria in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, in: MÜHL S., MIGLUS P. (eds.), *Between the Cultures: the Central Tigris Region from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> Millennium BC*, Heidelberg, pp. 321-464.
- READE J.E. 2005, *The Ishtar Temple at Nineveh*, «Iraq» 67, pp. 347-90.
- READE J.E., ANDERSON J.R. 2013, *Gunduk, Khanes, Gaugamela, Gali Zardak – Notes on Navkur and Nearby Rock-Cut Sculptures in Kurdistan*, «Zeitschrift für Assyriologie» 103/1, pp. 69-123.
- REICHE A. 2014, *14. Late Bronze Age Pottery from Nemrik (Northern Iraq)*, in: LUCIANI M., HAUSLEITER A. (eds.), *Recent Trends in the Study of Late Bronze Age Ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and Neighbouring Regions* (Proceedings of the International Workshop in Berlin, 2-5 November 2006), Rahden/Westf., pp. 289-332.
- SCHMIDT C. 2013, *Die Keramik der Früh-Ĝazira V- Bis Alt-Ĝazira Ii-Zeit*, Wiesbaden.
- SCHWARTZ G.M., BRINKER C.D., CREEKMORE A.T. III, FELDMAN M.H., SMITH A., WEBER J.A., *Excavations at Kurd Qaburstan, a Second Millennium B.C. Urban Site on the Erbil Plain*, «Iraq» 79, pp. 213-255.
- SIMI F. in print, *The Tell Gomel Archaeological Survey. Preliminary report of 2015-2016 campaigns*, in: COPPINI C., SIMI F. (eds.), *Broadening Horizons 5 Proceedings, Vol. 3* (5-8 June 2017, Udine).
- UR J. A. 2010, *Tell Hamoukar. 1, Urbanism and Cultural Landscapes in Northeastern Syria: The Tell Hamoukar Survey, 1999 – 2001*, Chicago.
- WESTENHOLZ J. G. 2004, *The Old Akkadian Presence in Nineveh: Fact of Fiction*, «Iraq» 66, pp. 7-18.
- WILKINSON T. J., TUCKER D. J. 1995, *Settlement Development in the North Jazira, Iraq: A Study of the Archaeological Landscape*, Warminster.
- ZIEGLER N. 2004, *The Conquest of the Holy City of Nineveh and the Kingdom of Nurrugum by Samsi-Addu*, «Iraq» 66, pp. 19-26.