

AL-RĀFIDĀN

SPECIAL ISSUE
FORMATION OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES :
INTEGRATED RESEARCH IN THE
MIDDLE EUPHRATES, SYRIA

2010

AL-RĀFIDĀN

SPECIAL ISSUE

FORMATION OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES :
INTEGRATED RESEARCH IN THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES, SYRIA

2010

الرافدان AL-RĀFIDĀN

JOURNAL OF WESTERN ASIATIC STUDIES
2010

SPECIAL ISSUE
FORMATION OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES :
INTEGRATED RESEARCH IN THE
MIDDLE EUPHRATES, SYRIA

SUPERVISING TEAM OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT FORMATION OF
TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN THE BISHRI MOUNTAINS, MIDDLE EUPHRATES
(GRANT-IN-AID FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON PRIORITY AREA (2005-2009),
THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, CULTURE, SPORTS, SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY, JAPAN)

© 2010 Supervising Team of the Research Project Formation of Tribal Communities in the Bishri Mountains, Middle Euphrates (Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research on Priority Area (2005–2009), the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan)

ISSN 0285–4406

Published by the Supervising Team of the Research Project Formation of Tribal Communities in the Bishri Mountains, Middle Euphrates (Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research on Priority Area (2005–2009), the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan)

Printed in Japan
by Letterpress Co., Ltd. Hiroshima

AL-RĀFIDĀN

SPECIAL ISSUE 2010

FORMATION OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES : INTEGRATED RESEARCH IN THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES, SYRIA

CONTENTS

PART I INTEGRATED RESEARCH IN THE BISHRI REGION, THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES

INTEGRATED RESEARCH IN THE BISHRI REGION

Katsuhiko OHNUMA and Anas AL-KHABOUR..... 3

GEOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL STUDY IN THE BISHRI REGION

Mitsuo HOSHINO, Tsuyoshi TANAKA, Toshio NAKAMURA,
Hidekazu YOSHIDA, Takeshi SAITO, Kazuhiro TSUKADA,
Yusuke KATSURADA, Yoshiyuki AOKI and Suguru OHO..... 9

SOCIAL COMPLEXITY AND ORGANIZATION IN PALEOLITHIC OF EURASIA Hiroyuki SATO..... 21

SONDAGE AT THE SITE OF TELL GHANEM AL-ALI Atsunori HASEGAWA..... 25

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE COMMUNITIES
IN THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES STEPPE, NORTH SYRIA Yoshihiro NISHIAKI..... 37

SURVEYS AND SONDAGE AT THE CEMETERIES
NEAR THE SITE OF TELL GHANEM AL-'ALI Hirotohi NUMOTO and Shogo KUME..... 49

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF BRONZE AGE CAIRN FIELDS
ON THE NORTHWESTERN FLANK OF MT. BISHRI Sumio FUJII and Takuro ADACHI..... 61

ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON THE MODERN CEMETERIES
OF GHANEM AL-ALI VILLAGE Akira TSUNEKI..... 79

PRELIMINARY ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE VILLAGES IN WĀDĪ RAḤŪM
AND AROUND TALL GHĀNIM AL-'ALĪ Masayuki AKAHORI..... 91

ZOOARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOARCHAEOBOTANY AT TELL GHANEM AL-ALI
Hitomi HONGO, Chie AKASHI, Lubna OMAR,
Ken'ichi TANNO and Hiroo NASU..... 97

HUMAN REMAINS FROM THE BRONZE AGE SITES IN BISHRI REGION,
THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES SYRIA Yoshihiko NAKANO and Hidemi ISHIDA..... 105

PART II BRONZE AGE SITES OF SYRIA

THE EARLY BRONZE AGE CHRONOLOGY BASED ON ¹⁴C AGES
OF CHARCOAL REMAINS FROM TELL GHANEM AL-ALI Toshio NAKAMURA..... 119

MATÉRIEL POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA VILLE EN SYRIE (Deuxième Partie) URBAN PLANNING IN SYRIA DURING THE SUR (Second Urban Revolution) (Mid-third Millennium BC)	Michel AL-MAQDISSI.....	131
BRONZE AGE SITES AROUND THE CITY OF RAQQA	Ahmad SULTAN.....	147
THE CEMETERY OF ABU HAMAD: A BURIAL PLACE OF PASTORAL GROUPS?	Jan-Waalke MEYER.....	155
TRACING TRIBAL IMPLICATIONS AMONG THE BRONZE AGE TOMB TYPES IN THE REGION OF JEBEL BISHRI IN SYRIA	Minna LÖNNQVIST.....	165
PART III HISTORY OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN SYRIA : CITIZENS AND NOMADS VIEWED FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES		
URBAN ELEMENTS IN EARLY BRONZE AGE SETTLEMENTS OF THE NORTHERN EUPHRATES VALLEY OF SYRIA	Lisa COOPER.....	177
EVIDENCE FOR PASTORAL NOMADISM IN THE UPPER SYRIAN EUPHRATES REGION	Berthold EINWAG.....	191
TRIBAL COMMUNITY AND STATE: THE CHANGE OF SETTLEMENTS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN UPPER MESOPOTAMIA DURING THE 3 RD MILLENNIUM B.C. – A RE-EVALUATION	Jan-Waalke MEYER.....	203
PART IV HISTORY OF TRIBAL COMMUNITIES IN SYRIA : CITIZENS AND NOMADS VIEWED FROM PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCES		
“ROD AND RING”: INSIGNIAS OF FOREIGN RULE IN THE UR III AND OB PERIODS	Kazuya MAEKAWA.....	215
NOMADS AND FARMERS IN THE ORBIT OF THE MARI KINGDOM IN THE 18TH CENTURY (B. C. E.) SYRIA A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON <i>MERĤŪM</i> -OFFICIALS AND THEIR ROLES	Ichiro NAKATA.....	231
THE DESERT ROUTES AROUND THE DJEBEL BISHRI AND THE SUTEAN NOMADS ACCORDING TO THE MARI ARCHIVES	Dominique CHARPIN.....	239
ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF ṬĀBATUM AS SEEN IN THE OLD BABYLONIAN TEXTS FROM TELL TABAN	Shigeo YAMADA.....	247
THE BANKS OF THE EUPHRATES ALONG THE BISHRI	Jean-Marie DURAND.....	253

Supervising Team of the Research Project Formation of Tribal
Communities in the Bishri Mountains, Middle Euphrates

EVIDENCE FOR PASTORAL NOMADISM IN THE UPPER SYRIAN EUPHRATES REGION¹

Berthold EINWAG*

“Pastoral nomadic groups have existed throughout Near Eastern history. But their failure was to leave behind written records or abundant physical traces. Therefore the basis of our knowledge is constrained to scanty archaeological remains and written documents of the sedentists and comparative data from ethnographic studies of modern day pastoralists”, noted Glenn Schwartz in his article about pastoral nomadism in Ancient Western Asia (1995, 249).

For the Bronze Age period we do not know much about the nomads living in the Upper Syrian Euphrates region. But according to the results of intensive archaeological excavation work in the 1960s and 1990s, initiated by the Assad and Tishreen dam projects, the Euphrates valley itself seems to have been densely covered by urban settlements. May one conclude from this fact that nomadic elements were negligible at that time?

In the following an answer to this question shall be sought by following several paths of argumentation: - the nature of environmental and climatic conditions is essential to understand the extent of tribal communities; - ethnographic analogies of all periods, classical or medieval up to modern times, are important to reconstruct the general living conditions of pastoral nomads and the needs of the livestock; - crucial for the investigation of the existence and formation of tribal communities is the textual evidence which, however, is scarce after the Mari period²; - nomadic traces and campsites are difficult to recognize and have been often destroyed by modern landuse. Therefore urban settlements form an important archaeological source to provide informations about pastoral nomads.

1. Pastoral nomads in the Upper Syrian Euphrates region in recent times

The classical author Strabo in the first century B. C. describes in his *Geographica* among other things travel routes through Syria. He advises merchants and other travelers not to use the Euphrates route to Babylonia, because chieftains are living along the Euphrates and each of them has erected his own government taking a tribute of no moderate amount³.

Around 2000 years later, when Max Freiherr von Oppenheim on one of his journeys passed by the Euphrates in this area, he describes a similar situation⁴. The borders of the Euphrates between Djerablus/Karkemish and Emar/Meskene were occupied by a number of small tribes and there existed no permanent settlements, but only campsites. Also no settlements are recorded in the region between the Euphrates and the Balikh. In the map, which was drawn as a result of Oppenheim's travels, this area is blank, apart from a route crossing it⁵. Oppenheim came from Menbidj and crossed the Euphrates near Sandaliye. Here was one of the few easy crossings of the river until 1999, when

* Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Germany

1 I thank Professor Ohnuma and the organizers of this international symposium on “The Formation of Tribal Communities. Integrated Research in the Middle Euphrates, Syria” for their kind invitation.

2 See the contributions of J.-M. Durand, D. Charpin and N. Ziegler in this volume.

3 Strabo, *Geography* 16, 1, 27.

4 Oppenheim 1939, 267f.

5 Oppenheim 1901, 69–99.



Fig. 1 Seasonal migration of pastoral nomads in the Euphrates area, Syria. (Detail of Oppenheim 1931, *Beduinen*, Bd 1, Karte: Streifgebiete der Beduinen in Syrien und Mesopotamien) winter-places in light gray, summer-places in black.

the valley was transformed into the Tishreen lake. Oppenheim then followed the river upstream before he headed east towards Tell Halaf.

The purpose of his travels was not only the interest in recording topography and archaeological sites, but he paid special interest in studying the beduins and documented their seasonal movements (Fig. 1). Oppenheim characterized the inhabitants of the Euphrates valley as half-nomads because they kept small livestock, sheep and goats, while real nomads in his definition are camel-breeders.

The largest tribe in the region were the Welde. In summer they lived in the Euphrates valley between Shash Kebir and Raqqa, while the winter-movement led them out of the Euphrates valley to the North and to the Djebel Bishri in the South. In the Euphrates Valley itself they cultivated land by irrigation using water wheels, called *Naura*, or animal drawn installations. The Welde were found on both sides of the river, because around 1850 A.D. a part of them fled across the river in order to find shelter from the Shammar tribe who were chasing their sheikh because of a blood feud.⁶ This illustrates the fact that not only climatic and ecological conditions, but also historical developments can lead to tribal movements. These, however, can only be traced, if they were recorded in writing.

2. Methods of investigating pastoral nomadism in antiquity

Is it possible to trace back some elements of the system described by Oppenheim until antiquity?

Nomadic traces and campsites are difficult to recognize. Frank Hole (2009, 264), whose main research area was in the Zagros mountains, found a number of modern camps during his surveys,

6 Oppenheim 1939, 209f.

but only a few certainly dating back to prehistoric times. One factor is that stone is not commonly found over most of the steppe, so that the evidence of campsites may be restricted to fireplaces, ovens and ditches. The ground surface has changed markedly over the centuries and traces of sites may have been either buried or eroded. Modern landuse contributes seriously to geomorphological changes and causes irreparable damage to archaeological remains (Kouchoukos / Wilkinson 2007).

2.1. Forms of pastoral nomadism

The terms nomadism and pastoralism were discussed by Khazanov (1984, 15–25). Some basic forms which are relevant for our topic may be briefly reviewed:

- *Pastoral nomadism* may be defined from an economic point of view as a distinct form of food-producing economy, in which extensive mobile pastoralism is the predominant activity and in which the majority of the population is drawn into periodic pastoral migrations. Pastoral nomadism was not economically self-sufficient. The production was directed to quite a considerable extent towards exchange. Pastoral nomadism is a single form of food-producing economy, which remains different from other food-extracting economies, but is linked by a series of transitional forms. Pastoral nomadism in its purest manifestation is characterized by the absence of agriculture.

- *Semi-nomadic pastoralism* is characterized by extensive pastoralism and the periodic changing of pastures during the course of the entire or greater part of the year. Pastoralism (animal husbandry) is the predominant activity, but there is also agriculture in a secondary and supplementary capacity. Semi-nomadic pastoralism, like pastoral nomadism, is also dependent on the sedentary population.

- *Semi-sedentary pastoralism* differs most fundamentally from semi-nomadic pastoralism. Agriculture plays the predominant role in the general economic balance. Semi-sedentary pastoralism also implies the presence of seasonal migrations. However, these migrations are often shorter in both time and distance.

- *Sedentary animal husbandry* is the basic form of economy in primitive and traditional societies. Animal husbandry only supplements agriculture. There are many variations of this type.

From the study of the different forms of pastoral nomadism two facts emerge: 1. there is no dichotomy between nomadism and sedentarism but there are various transitional forms, 2. Pastoral nomadism is not self-sufficient but dependent on the outside (sedentary) world.

The transitions between the different forms have to be considered as fluid, in many steps and stages, sometimes concerning only parts or certain families of the tribal community. The development can change direction with greater or lesser involvement with agriculture. People may give up practices for various reasons, e.g. as a result of a new economic strategy or as an adaptation to environmental changes.

2.2. The impact of the climatic conditions

An examination of the annual precipitation (Wirth 1971, map 3) may show the possible extent of pastoral nomadism. The 200 mm line is generally thought to be the limit of rain-fed agriculture. The data on annual precipitation in dry years (Wirth 1971, map 4) show a dramatic shift of the 200 mm line towards the north. Although the data are of modern origin they may be applied *cum grano salis* to ancient times. Longer periods of drought forced people to change their economic strategies. Frank Hole (2009, 261) emphasized that even in the 300 mm precipitation zone the harvest is generally lost in 3 out of 10 years. In the 150 mm zone only one successful harvest in 10 years is usual.

Transferring this analysis to the region between the Euphrates and the Balikh (Fig. 2) it is evident that the area south of the 200 mm line of annual rainfall in dry years is risky for rainfed agriculture and not very suitable for permanent settlements. This is immediately visible in the settlement pattern: outside the Euphrates and the Balikh valleys, settlements of preclassical times seem to have existed only in the northern part, as indicated by a survey conducted in this area during the 1990s (Einwag

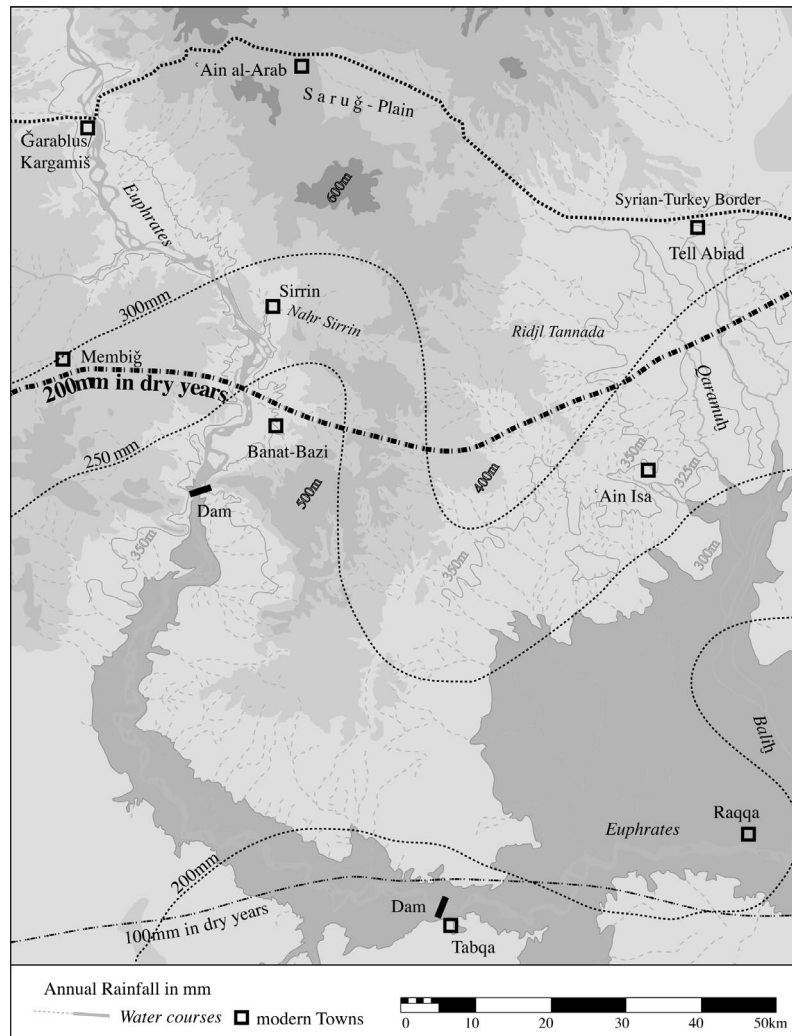


Fig. 2 Annual Rainfall in the region between the Euphrates and the Balih (according to the data of Wirth 1971).

1993, Einwag 1993/94). The fertile north, where rainfed agriculture is possible, is densely occupied (Fig. 3). In the dry southern part there are nearly no settlements outside the catchment of the Euphrates valley, agriculture is not possible, and until recently it was populated by pastoral nomads only.⁷

According to the climatic conditions, pastoral nomadism was the most probable form of ancient landuse within this area and also to the south of the Euphrates. On the other hand, pastoral nomadism is not only an adaptation to the environment, but also to the non-nomadic world. Despite the ability of pastoral nomads to retreat into the desert or steppe for longer periods in order to escape state authority (as is reported in several Mari texts), they are not economically self-sufficient. Their economy makes them dependent on many products of the sedentary world, e.g. they need handicraft and agricultural products. They have to buy them or to exchange them for nomadic products such as meat, dairy products and wool.

Oppenheim at the beginning of the 19th century A.D. noted that the Welde frequented the markets of Meskene, Raqqa, and Aleppo, which he named caravan towns. Is it conceivable that in the Late Bronze Age sites such as Tell Munbaqa and Tell Bazi may have served similar purposes?

⁷ Large scale irrigation projects resulting from the newly built dams have considerably changed the southern part within the last 10 years.

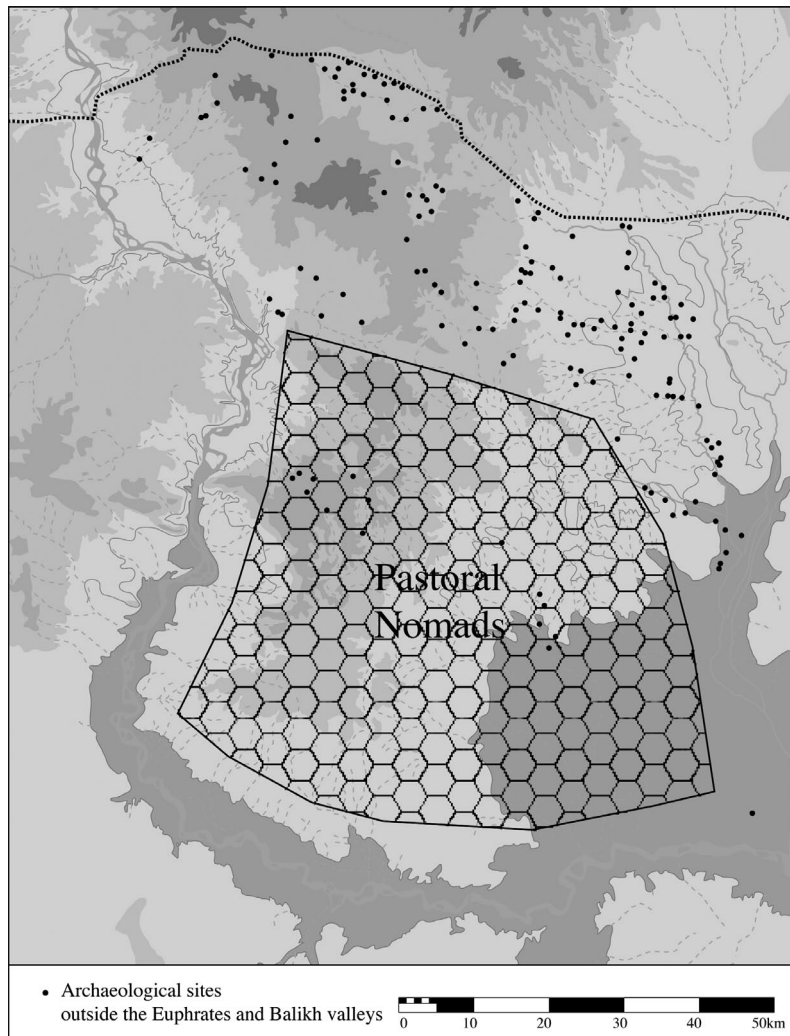


Fig. 3 Landuse in the region between the Euphrates and the Balih.

3. Urban settlements as sources of information about pastoral nomads: The examples of Tell Bazi and Tell Munbaqa

Tell Bazi is located on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. The citadel, fortified in the late Early Bronze Age⁸ and in use until the Late Bronze Age, lies on a mountain spur protruding into the Euphrates valley (Fig. 4).⁹ The Northern Lower Town is the older part of the urban settlement, going back at least until the Middle Bronze age. The Western Lower Town (Weststadt) is a settlement enlargement of the Late Bronze age, built on a gravel terrace slightly above the Euphrates valley. This valley constitutes an extremely fertile stretch of land where irrigation leads to good agricultural results. However, the area which is not suitable for agriculture starts immediately beyond the river valley (Fig. 5).

In the Western Lower Town 50 houses were excavated from 1993 to 1999, before they were covered by the Tishreen Lake (Fig. 6). The houses were of an extremely uniform groundplan,

8 It was the citadel of the extensive Early Bronze Age city represented by the remains of Tell Banat possibly to be identified with Armium/Armanum (Otto 2006b).

9 Einwag et al. 1995; Einwag/Otto 1996; Otto/Einwag 1999. After the Late Bronze age the top of the Citadel was reused in Roman times.



Fig. 4 Tell Bazi, view from the west bank of the Euphrates: the citadel in the middle and below to the right, the flat terrace of the western lower town (Photo: A. Otto).



Fig. 5 The arid hinterland of Tell Bazi. (Photo: A. Otto).

consisting of a large rectangular main room and a row of usually 3–5 square rooms on the long side. The houses are arranged along two large streets and around a central place in the middle. The inventory proved to be so repetitive, that it was possible to reconstruct the ideal typical house (Otto 2006a, 39–46).

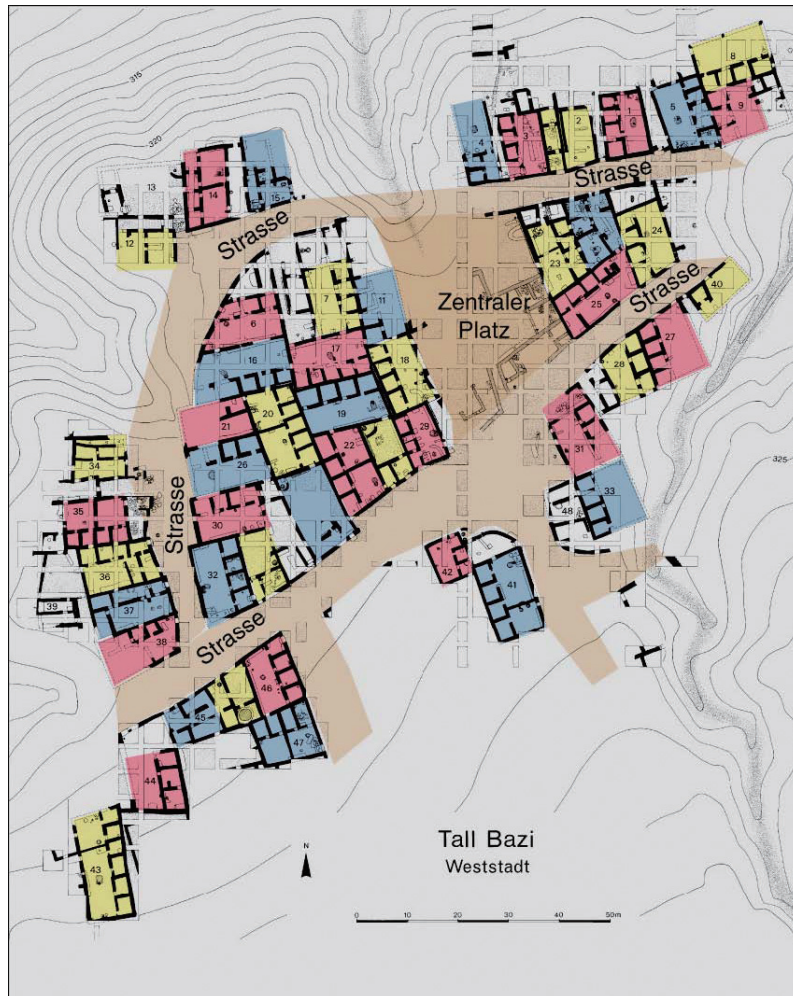


Fig. 6 Schematic plan of the Late Bronze Age Western Lower Town of Tell Bazi.

When the settlement was destroyed and heavily burnt by a sudden incident, the inhabitants disappeared and left considerable parts of the inventory behind, including even valuable objects and weapons. Many houses served not only for domestic purposes but also for handicraft activities. Some were specialized in the production of jewellery, bronze tools and weapons, or weights made of goethite, an iron oxide similar to hematite, which can be found in the vicinity of Bazi (Otto 2006a, 8, 282).

There are two points which are especially suitable for illuminating the economic relations between the sedentary people and various pastoral nomad groups.

- The diet: The sudden end of the Western Lower Town allows us to reconstruct the last meal prepared in some houses in the form of a heap of bones in cooking pots or near the hearth. In many cases the bone remains stem from different animals: in House 23-S from sheep/goat, cow, equid, and duck, in House 22 from donkey, sheep/goat, cow, pig and dog, in House 41 from sheep/goat, donkey and cow (the examples could be continued). The fact that not one single animal has been eaten, but small portions of different animals, points to the exchange or the purchase of meat from other inhabitants of the settlement or to a supply from outside.

Summarizing the results of the palaeozoological study by A. von den Driesch, it can be remarked that the main supply of meat came from sheep; cow, goat and equids were eaten frequently, fish, shells, dogs and hunted wild animals only occasionally. It is certain that the animals were not kept in the houses of the Western Lower Town. Probably they were kept in the vicinity of the town by villagers, seminomadic or nomadic herdsmen, or they were purchased from them.

The Emar texts may refer to a similar situation a little downstream. Only about 15% of the inheritance documents mention animals, mostly sheep and goats and, to a lesser extent, cattle. This may suggest that the keeping of animals was not usual for the households. Several Emar documents mention shepherds who were responsible for the herds belonging to the urban inhabitants (Otto 2006a, 290–91).

- **Specialized production:** As mentioned above, several houses specialized in handicraft activities. The production of specific goods, such as tools and weapons, jewellery, and weights, exceeded the local requirements of the settlement. This over-production seems to have been intended partially for the interregional trade, and partially for the regional market, which presumably also included the needs of the pastoral population.

A further indication of the presence of pastoralists may be sought in the special social structure of the Late Bronze Age settlements in this area. An outstanding phenomenon, compared with contemporary palatial societies, is the absence of administrative or palatial structures in the settlements of the region. One example is Tell Bazi, which consisted of an extended domestic quarter in the Western Lower Town and a temple on top of the Citadel (fig. 7), another one is Tell Munbaqa, ancient Ekalte (Fig. 8). Munbaqa has been excavated on a large scale and the remaining area was surveyed by magnetic prospection. It is obvious that there existed no palatial structures, only houses and temples. Only a single text from Munbaqa (Mayer 2004, No. 62), which documents a property sale by the city and the god, mentions the palace: 1000 shekels of silver should be paid to the god Ba'alaka and to the palace as a penalty. On the same tablet is found the impression of a seal, which is identified on another tablet as the "seal of Yahsi-Ba'la, the king" (Werner 2004, 21–2). This seal of the king of Ekalte was a normal private seal without any characteristic of a royal seal. Apparently there existed a king and even a palace at Ekalte side by side with other powerful collective organizations. The "palace" of the "king" of Ekalte must have been no more than one of the larger houses, because



Fig. 7 Three-dimensional model of the Western Lower Town and the Citadel of Tell Bazi (design by Hinz und Franz, 3D-Computergraphik, München).

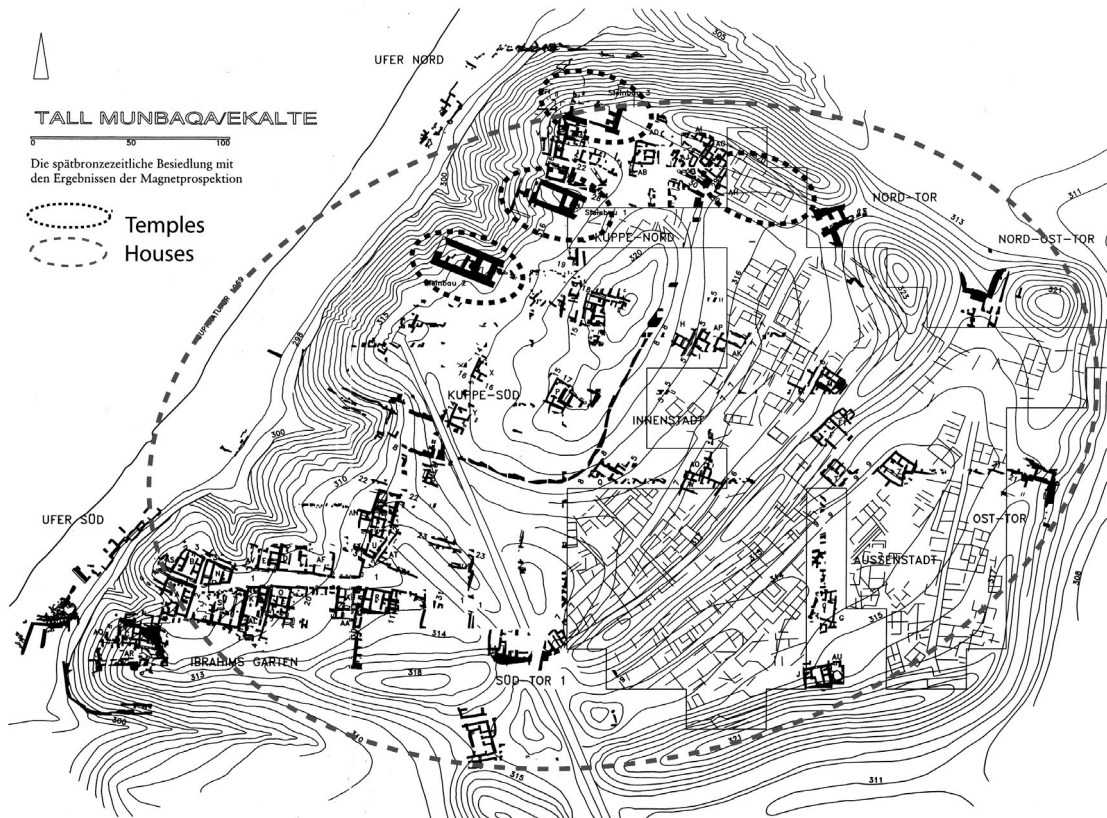


Fig. 8 Plan of Munbaqa/Ekalte (Werner 2004, Pl. 48) showing the temples and houses.

there is no space available for a larger palatial structure in the city of Ekalte. But if the palace was just the house, where the king resided and did not have to fulfill major administrative functions, the size of a larger house would have been enough for this demand.

The cuneiform texts discovered at Meskene/Emar, Tell Munbaqa/Ekalte, Tell Hadidi/Azu, and Tell Bazi/Başīru(?) show that the whole region of the upper Syrian Euphrates valley shared the same peculiar social structure. The cities were directed by the city-god together with the elders of the city. They are the owner of the land, are involved in the real estate transaction, treaties, and other official city affairs, and they possessed their own seals. A king is mentioned in several legal documents from Emar and Ekalte as first witness, and he gives considerable numbers of animals at the occasion of the main festivals, but otherwise there are no indications that he had an outstanding position. Daniel Fleming (1992, 59f) speaks of the “limited nature of kingship in Emar”.

One gets the impression that the king was the “*primus inter pares*”, who was obliged to be munificent, but was not more powerful than the others. May we infer that he disposed of *auctoritas* but not of *potestas*?

The “Brothers”, a collective entity, written “*aḥḥu*” and not “*šeš*” like the sons of the same father, are made up of the male members of the city’s families. They assembled at the request of one of the Brothers in order to settle private legal affairs. At Ekalte the “Brothers” owned seals and employed a herald. At Azu a “Chief of the Brothers” is attested (Beckman 1997; Mayer 2001).

A consistent explanation for this outstanding social structure is still missing, but nomadic roots have been suggested (Arnaud 1980, 255–9). Nomadic pastoralists are typically organized in tribal structures with a considerable variability of political organizations ranging from relatively decentralized and little stratified groups to large hierarchical chiefdoms. Of course, as far as Tell Munbaqa, Tell Bazi and the other sites are concerned, we are dealing with a sedentary population. But, coming back to Oppenheim’s description of the Welde around 1900 A.D., who although now settled

still live in almost the same area today, they have kept their earlier tribal form of organization. In general, tribal societies are based on the premises of equality, autonomy and the acquisition of reputation. Tribal polities are participatory democracies and are organized within a segmented lineage system of a common ancestor. In segmented tribal societies decision-making is democratic. Coercive capacities, including skills and weapons, are widespread throughout the population, and no leader, élite, or small clique is capable of enforcing a policy against the will of the majority (Salzman 2004, 133).

Power is based upon consent and a sheikh's primary task is mediation and negotiation. It may be supposed that an analogous situation was present in the Late Bronze Age settlements of the upper Syrian Euphrates region. A comparative study would certainly be fruitful, but has not yet been carried out.

The two tablets found at Tell Bazi do mention neither a king nor a palace, but suggest that the Elders were the supreme governing body (Sallaberger / Einwag / Otto 2006). This is not proof that there had never been a king and a palace at Bazi, but, if there was a palace at Bazi, it must have been a larger house, comparable to that suggested for Ekalte, because the Citadel and the lower town have been thoroughly investigated. The place, where the Elders came together, might have been the temple. Numerous beakers and remains of meals indicate eating and drinking took place in the temple (Otto / Einwag 2007).

The temple of Tell Bazi is remarkable. It was built in the Middle Bronze Age with an enormous effort. Its size (37.60 × 16.0 m) is exceptional for contemporary Syria and it covers a large part of the Citadel (see Fig. 7). An associated Middle Bronze Age settlement of considerable size is still missing. Even if it lies buried under the Late Bronze Age levels of the Northern Lower Town, it was certainly much smaller than the Early Bronze Age settlement of Banat-Bazi¹⁰ and the Late Bronze Age one of Bazi. Who then deserved a temple of this extraordinary size and maintained it for several centuries? Several Mari texts testify that tribal authorities frequented the cultic installations of the cities. Is it possible that the nomadic pastoralists were not only economically involved with the settled population of the region, but also participated in the cultic and ritual ceremonies?

Bibliography

- Arnaud, D.
1980 Traditions urbaines et influences semi-nomades à Emar, à l'âge du bronze récent. In J.-Cl. Margueron (ed.) *Le Moyen Euphrate. Zone de contacts et d'échanges; Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 10–12mars, 1977*, Leiden, pp. 145–164.
- Beckman, G.
1997 Real Property Sales at Emar. In G. D. Young et al. (eds.) *Crossing boundaries and linking horizons. Studies in honor of Michael C. Astour*, Bethesda, pp. 95–120.
- Einwag, B.
1993 Vorbericht über die archäologische Geländebegehung in der Westgázira, *DaM* 7: 23–43.
1993/94 Der Survey in der Westgázira, *AfO* 50/51 (1993/1994): 299–301.
- Einwag, B. et al.
1995 Tall Bazi – Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen 1993, *DaM* 8: 95–124.
- Einwag, B. and A. Otto
1996 Tall Bazi– Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen 1994 und 1995, *DaM* 9: 15–45.
1999 Tall Bazi. In G. del Olmo Lete, J.-L. Montero Fenollós (eds.) *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates, The Tishreen Dam Area, Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Barcelona, January 28th – 30th 1998*, Barcelona, pp. 179–191.

¹⁰ Banat and Bazi form a settlement unit. For Tell Banat and its proposed relations to pastoralism see Porter 2002 and McClellan 2004.

- 2001/3 Bazi 1998/1999 – Die letzten Untersuchungen in der Weststadt, *DaM* 13: 65–88.
- 2006 Tall Bazi 2000 und 2001 – Die Untersuchungen auf der Zitadelle und in der Nordstadt, *DaM* 15: 105–130.
- Fleming, D.E.
- 1992 The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar. A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion, *Harvard Semitic Studies* 42, Atlanta.
- Hole, F.
- 2009 Pastoral Mobility as an Adaptation. In J. Szuchman (ed.) *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East*, Chicago, pp. 261–83.
- Khazanov, A.M.
- 1984 *Nomads and the Outside World*, Cambridge.
- Kouchoukos, N. and T.J. Wilkinson
- 2007 Landscape archaeology in Mesopotamia: past, present and future. In E. Stone (ed.) *Settlement and Society: Essays Dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams*, Los Angeles.
- Mayer, W.
- 2001 Tall Munbaqa-Ekalte II, Die Texte, *WVDOG* 102.
- McClellan, T.L.
- 2004 Funerary Monuments and Pastoralism, *Amurru* 3: 63–67.
- Freiherr von Oppenheim, M.
- 1901 Bericht über eine im Jahre 1899 ausgeführte Forschungsreise in der Asiatischen Türkei, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 36: 69–99.
- 1939/1943 *Die Beduinen Bd. 1 / 2*, Berlin.
- Otto, A.
- 2006a Alltag und Gesellschaft zur Spätbronzezeit: Eine Fallstudie aus Tall Bazi (Syrien), *Subartu* 19, Turnhout.
- 2006b Archaeological Perspectives on the Localization of Naram-Sin's Armanum, *JCS* 58: 1–43.
- Otto, A. and B. Einwag
- 2007 Ein Tempel hoch über dem Euphrattal, *Antike Welt* 4/2007: 39–46.
- Porter, A.
- 2002 The Dynamics of Death: Ancestors, Pastoralism, and the Origin of a Third-Millennium City in Syria, *BASOR* 325: 1–36.
- Sallaberger, W., B. Einwag and A. Otto
- 2006 Schenkungen von Mittani-Königen an die Einwohner von Basiru. Die zwei Urkunden aus Tall Bazi am Mittleren Euphrat, *ZA* 96: 69–104.
- Salzman, P.C.
- 2004 *Pastoralists. Equality, Hierarchy, and the State*, Oxford.
- Schwartz, G.
- 1995 Pastoral Nomadism in Ancient Western Asia. In J. Sasson (ed.) *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York, pp. 249–258.
- Werner, P.
- 2004 Tall Munbaqa – Ekalte III, Die Glyptik, *WVDOG* 108, Saarbrücken.
- Wirth, E.
- 1971 *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt.