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**Investigation into the Impacts of Foreign Ruling Elites in Traditional State Societies: The
Case of the Kassite State in Babylonia (Iraq)**

A Dissertation Presented

by

Helen O. Malko

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

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in

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(Archaeology)

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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This thesis focuses on the study of foreign ruling minorities in traditional state societies. It investigates how the Kassites, as a foreign ethnic group, were able to control and maintain political power over the Babylonian majority for four centuries. In addition, it examines Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction both on state and domestic levels as reflected in the material cultural and historical records. This study uses two contrasting ethnohistorical models of foreign ruling elites of the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt to evaluate the mechanisms employed by the Kassites to maintain power and the nature of their interaction with the Babylonian majority. Although the Kassites adopted Babylonian culture and traditions, they still maintained their language, names, deities, and social organization. Despite their small number and foreign background, the Kassites' political and socioeconomic practices continued long after their supremacy ended, leaving a long term imprint on Babylonian culture and society.

This research shows that the Kassites' military skills combined with the ruralization of Babylonia and the power vacuum at Babylon by the end of the Old Babylonian period paved the way for their take over. Furthermore, it argues that the Kassites were able to maintain political authority and economic power through the establishment of a centralized administration system headed by the foreign monarchy, and the incorporation of rural and urban populations into the state provincial system which allowed them to access additional material resources and manpower. Furthermore, the Kassites appear to have sustained the state apparatus through a centralized taxation system that was imposed on a variety of agricultural products. Taxes were collected from both urban and rural settlements and were used to support the state dependents and public projects. In addition, control over landownership and transfer played a crucial role in enhancing the foreign monarch's authority. Royal land grants and tax exemption served the economic needs of both the recipient and the king. While these grants rendered revenues to the recipients, they combined land and labor and reduced the direct cost to the crown for agriculture, while still generating revenues through taxes in kind and labor services. Ideologically, Kassite royal land grants tied the recipients closely to the king through a patron-client relationship creating a feeling of obligation and loyalty among the recipients to the king. Likewise, control over trade of exotic items, such as lapis lazuli and horses, enabled the state to sustain its political power over a long period of time.

Culturally, the Kassites successfully manipulated both the religion of the majority and their tradition of kingship to legitimize their authority and maintain their rule. While the Kassite monarchs ruled in the name of the Babylonian gods and adopted Babylonian titles, they created a new geopolitical world in Babylonia. Although the Kassites promoted Babylonian religious and royal traditions, they did not imitate traditional Babylonian temples and palaces. However, while

early Kassite architecture reflects Kassites' innovation and influence on Babylonian religious and royal architecture, later temples and domestic structures indicate the gradual Kassite adaptation to the local socio-religious and architectural traditions. The Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction resulted in the continuity of the Babylonian house form and household socioeconomic role both in urban centers and rural settlements. Similarly, funeral practices reflect continuation of the broader Babylonian customs with exception of the phenomenon of the "supine position", which may indicate a Kassite cultural aspect that was subsequently swamped by mainstream Babylonian mortuary practices. Thus, the Kassites appear to have maintained and legitimized the control of power by manipulating the Babylonian local elite stratum without interfering with the socioeconomic organization of the Babylonian households and local traditions.

To my parents

Wardiya Yaqo & Odisho Malko



Map 1 Archaeological sites included in this study

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List of Abbreviations

- AbB Altbabylonische briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung
- AfO Archivfür Orientforschung
- AHW Akkadisches Handwörterbuch
- ARM Archives royal de Mari
- ARRIM Annual review of the royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia project
- BaM Baghdader Mitteilungen
- BE The Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A:
Cuneiform Texts
- BM British Museum
- BBSt W. L. King, Babylonian Boundary Stones
- CBM- CBS Catalogue of the Babylonian section. Siglum denoting antiquities in the
collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia
- CT Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets in the British Museum
- Di Damiq-ilišu
- EA Die El-Amarna Tafeln
- HSS Harvard Sematic Series
- IM Iraq Museum
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Bohazkõi
- MDP Memoires de la Delegation en Perse

- NABU Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
- Ni. Tablets excavated at Nippur, in the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul
- OIP Orient Institute Publications
- OLA Old Babylonian legal and administrative texts from Philadelphia
- RA Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie Orientale
- RLA Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
- Sb Prefix of field numbers from the French excavations at Susa
- UET Ur Excavation Texts
- UM Tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- UVB Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka
- VAT Vorderasiatisches Abteilung, tontafel. Siglum denoting clay tablets in the collection of Vorderasiatisches Museum
- VS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler
- YOS Yale Oriental series, Babylonian tex

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 General Introduction

Studies of early complex societies have focused on both imperial and indigenous political developments, but little has been written on the phenomenon of foreign ruling elites who obtain power in ancient state societies. In Mesopotamia, the rule of the Kassite dynasty (1531-1155 B.C.)¹ represents a significant period during which cultural interaction brought together two dissimilar cultures, one literate and sedentary and the other non-literate and nomadic. The Kassites, a group with a distinctive cultural background, ruled Babylonia for centuries, bringing about political unity, economic prosperity, and a cultural renaissance that resulted in the development of a broader Babylonian sense of identity. Thus far, historical scholarship has demonstrated that the Kassites were influenced by Babylonian culture and tradition, yet they seem to have maintained their language, deities, and social organization (Brinkman 1976-80). Despite the importance of this cultural contact, little is known of the sociopolitical and economic

¹ For this dissertation the conventional “Middle Chronology” was used. For the chronological problems of the Middle Babylonian/Kassite period see Gashe 1998; Manning 1999. The dates for all kings follow Brinkman 1964; 1976.

organization of Babylonian society under the Kassites, or the degree to which this contact influenced Babylonian households and their socioeconomic organization.

It is this Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction with which this thesis is concerned. To better understand this interaction, this study addresses questions such as how did the Kassites gain political power in Babylonia in the Late Bronze Age? How can we distinguish the Kassites as a distinctive ethnic group? How can we identify ethnicity in the archaeological and historical records? Archaeological and ethnohistorical examples have shown that when two dissimilar cultures interact, the result and impact of this cultural interaction is likely to be reflected in the material culture. This is evident, for instance, in the case of the Libyans in Egypt (ca.1300-750 B.C.) (Leahy 1985) and the Arabs in Spain (711-1492 A.D.) (Cuenca 1997), and the same should be true for Babylonia under the Kassites. Accordingly, the current study aims:

- a. To investigate the sociopolitical and economic mechanisms that enabled the Kassites to control power for centuries, and the nature of their interaction with the broader society over time as reflected in the material culture.
- b. To provide a synthesis of the archaeological and historical records and present an overview of the data available for the investigation of the strategies that enabled the Kassites to stay in power for centuries.

Previous research has examined the written documents uncovered in the temples and palaces dating to the Kassite period (Balkan 1943; Brinkman 1963; 1968; 1976; 1972; Clay 1906; Clayden 1996; Goetze 1964; Gurney 1949; Michalowski 1981; Sassmannshausen 2001; Walker 1980), yet only a few studies have considered the archaeological remains of this period (Carter 1962; Baqir 1945; 1946; 1959; Edens 1994; Woolley 1965; Zettler 1993; Clayden 1989).

Even less attention has been given to the domestic and mortuary finds from Kassite Babylonia. Because households were the fundamental social and economic units of Mesopotamia, they offer an opportunity to examine the actual impact of the state ruling practices on the broader society. Thus, this thesis examines domestic structures, along with their artifacts, to reconstruct the household's social and economic role under the Kassite rule, and to understand the Kassites impact on Babylonian households. Likewise, graves and grave goods are investigated to explore socioeconomic differentiation as well as religious and ethnic variations in Babylonia under the Kassite dynasty.

The main results of this study shed light on the ways Kassite monarchs legitimized their authority and maintained power, and how they might have adjusted their strategies throughout the centuries they ruled over Babylonia. Furthermore, this study reveals the degree to which these mechanisms influenced Babylonian broader society down to a household level. On a wider level, these results may be used to generate a model of ruling elites that deviates from those that focus on the imperialistic or indigenous political developments in early states. Finally, they can be applied to investigations of other examples of foreign ruling minorities in early complex societies where written documents are not available.

1.2 Foreign Ruling Elites: A Theoretical Background

The term “elite” is generally applied to functional, mainly occupational, groups that have high status (for whatever reason) in a society (Bottomore 1993:7). In this research I use the term “ruling elites” to refer to individuals who actually exercise political, economic, and ideological power in a state society at any given time. These include members of the government and high administration such as those in control of temples, military leaders, and members of the royal house. In practice, members of this group are not sustained by their own production but are supported by the surplus of others. In the late second millennium B.C., the period under discussion, Mesopotamian elite groups were characterized by the presence, among others, of a strong military elite equipped with expensive weaponry such as armor and chariotry (Foster 1987:12).

Scholarly research on ruling elites in early state societies has focused on either the indigenous elites’ early development or on their political expansion in the form of early empires (Sinopoli 1995; Liverani 1993; D’Altroy 1992; Steinekeller 1987; Roth 1987; Hayden 1995). In both cases the rulers’ impact on the society is reflected in material culture, permitting conclusions to be drawn on the strategies the elites employed (Matthews 2003:127-132). However, the periods after the establishment of these states but before the development of imperial systems have received less attention. In addition, most studies concerning ruling elites in ancient state societies have focused on written documents and often neglected the archaeological records that can provide a window into the effect of these policies. This study,

however, employs both archaeological and textual evidence to understand the strategies used by the Kassites and their impacts on the broader society.

Although understanding ruling elites through archaeological data is not always easy, there are historical cases (e.g. Libyan rule in Egypt (ca.1300-750 B.C.)) where foreign minorities with a distinctive cultural background achieved political power over a different ethnic majority. Because their cultural difference from the population they governed would have affected their policies, rulers' impact on the wider population should be identifiable in the archaeological record. Thus, the examination of foreign ruling minorities aids our understanding of how ruling elites in early state societies maintained political power, as well as the nature of their interaction with the local population.

It has been suggested that any ruling system may be characterized by its organization of political (Mann 1993; 1986; Bottomore 1993), and that an effective exercise of power in any society involves the combination of four sources of social power: economic, political, ideological and military (Mann 1986:22-28; Giddens 1981:61ff.). These sources of power are seen as overlying networks of social interaction, and as institutional resources by which the ruling elites achieve their ultimate goal of sociopolitical and economic control. Moreover, the actual organization and control of power involves mixing these sources in various degrees. For example, any economic organization requires some of its members to share some ideological values. It also needs military defense and state regulation in order to survive. Although these sources of power offer possible organizational means by which ruling elites pursue and maintain political control, which options are chosen and which combinations are used depend on the historical, ecological, and cultural context of the state in question.

In Mesopotamia, as in other early state societies, political power was an important means to gain and protect wealth, while control over wealth was essential to maintain power. Although it is possible that states might have used the same combination of social power sources outlined above to maintain their political control, the organization of power varied to include, for example, collective management that may or may not have been built on traditional social institutions. Moreover, power relations differed considerably from one Mesopotamian state to another (Postgate 1992:260, 270). Thus, different Mesopotamian states may or may not have depended on the same strategies to maintain sociopolitical and economic control. However, when these states (e.g. Ur III vs. First Dynasty of Babylon) expanded to control larger areas and to increase state revenues their attempts tended to be short lived, unstable and at risk of collapse (Yoffee 1979; Reichel 1996). As a result, the elites would withdraw and focus on survival, self-preservation, or social reproduction while trying to expand whenever the local political circumstances permitted. While it is possible to identify archaeological traces of these and other ruling strategies employed by imperial elites because of their significant impact on the majority population (Matthews 2003: 127-132), this is not usually the case with indigenous elites.

Archaeological and ethnohistorical examples suggest that the impact of foreign ruling minorities, even when they gain power without military conquest, should be visible in the archaeological record. Thus, the mechanisms and the strategies utilized by such states and their impact on the broader society will be relatively less complicated to trace archaeologically. For instance, Libyan rule in Egypt (ca.1000-750 B.C.) presents a case where a foreign nomadic group succeeded in controlling Egypt for more than two centuries. Libyans adopted the traditional regalia and ideological symbols, masking their foreign nature from the indigenous population. Despite their integration, however, Libyan influence on Egypt is attested through

their titles (Leahy 1980; 1984), their decentralized mode of government (Leahy 1985:58), and their burial within temples and family vaults rather than individual burial (Leahy 1985:61).

In addition, ethnohistorical examples suggest that the impact of the foreign ruling elites varies depending on the strategies employed by the state in question. Whether the foreign ruling minority segregated itself and imposed new regulations on the local population, or whether it integrated into the broader society and adopted its tradition? For example, the impact of the Arab rule in Spain (711-1492 A.D.) is well reflected both in the historical records and material culture of the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, the Mamluks' rule in Egypt (1250-1517 A.D.) had minimum influence on Egyptian culture and customs, suggesting the adaptation of the ruling minority to the majority society and culture.

Drawing on these ethnohistorical examples, this thesis investigates whether the Kassites maintained political control by imposing a new sociopolitical and cultural system on Babylonia, or whether they adopted and recreated the Babylonian socioeconomic and cultural system. However, before offering an in-depth examination of the Kassite state, it is important to first review the Babylonian historical scene in the late second millennium B.C., the period under discussion.

1.3 Historical Background

The examination of the Kassites' appearance and interaction with Babylonian society before the establishment of their dynasty is essential to understand how they gained political power in Babylonia, and to evaluate the Kassite-Babylonian cultural contact before, during, and after the collapse of their state. This temporal examination also sheds light on how the Babylonians viewed the Kassites before and after they gained political power.

Before reviewing the Kassites' historical background and early appearance, I must define the term "Kassite" and its usages in this thesis. In traditional academic research, "Kassite" is a vague term; used variously to refer to an ethnic group with mountain origins and tribal social organization, its language, a political dynasty that ruled Babylonia, and a period of time (Clayden 1989: xxx-xxxii; Edens 1994: 210; al-Zubadi 2003:75). In this study, the term Kassite, derived from the Akkadian *kaššu*², is used as a noun to indicate individuals who are explicitly designated as Kassite in the texts AbB 9:109; AbB2:67), who bore Kassite names, and who spoke the Kassite language (AbB7:47; AbB11:94). The term is also used to ascribe certain material culture to the Kassites, as a group with a distinctive cultural background within Babylonia, such as the Inanna Temple at Uruk.

To understand the circumstances under which the Kassites controlled political power in Babylonia, it is important to assess their appearance. In the following I present a brief chronology of the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods, summarize Babylonian political history

² The Akkadian term *kaššu* originated from a Kassite form *G/Kalž (Balkan 1954:131ff.). The term *kaššu* and its usages in the cuneiform texts is examined in a forthcoming PhD dissertation by Nathanael Shelley, Department of Middle Eastern and Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University.

from 1749 to 1595 B.C., and briefly examine Babylonia during the early, middle, and late Kassite period.

1.3.1 Brief Chronology

The following is a summary of important political events as well as the kings who ruled Babylonia starting with Hammurabi's reign until the end of the Kassite rule in Babylonia in 1155 B.C.³

Year/B.C.	Political Event/ Babylon	Year/B.C.	Political Event Hana/Terqa
1792-1750	Hammurabi rules Babylonia		
1749-1712	Samsuiluna	1729-1704	Gandaš
1711-1684	Abi-eshu	1703-1682	Agum I
1683-1647	Ammiditana	1681-1660	Kaštiliašu I
1646-1626	Ammisaduqa		
1625-1595	Samsuditana		
1595	The Hitties attack Babylon and end the Old Babylonian period		
1595-1460	Interval period		
ca. 1570	Agum-Kakrime		
ca. 1510	Burna-Buriaš I		
?	Kaštiliašu III		
ca. 1413	Karaindaš		
?	Kurigalzu I		
1374-1360	Kadšman-Enlil I		
1359-1333	Burna-Buriaš II		
1334-1308	Kurigalzu II		
1307-1282	Nazi-Marutaš		
1281-1264	Kadšman-Tugur		
1263-1255	Kadšman-Enlil II		
1254-1246	Kudur-Enlil		
1245-1233	Šagarakti-Šuriaš		
1232-1225	Kaštiliašu IV		
1225	Tukulti-Ninurta I- Assyria invades Babylonia		
1224	Enlil-nadin-šumi		

³ For this dissertation the conventional "Middle Chronology" was used. For the chronological problems of the Middle Babylonian/Kassite period see Gashe 1998; Manning 1999. The dates for all kings follow Brinkman 1964; 1976; van Koopen 2010.

1223	Kadašman-Ḫarbe II
1222-1217	Adad-šuma-iddina
1216-1187	Ada-šuma-ušur
1186-1172	Meli-Šipak
1171-1159	Marduk-apla-iddina
1158	Zababa-šuma-iddina
1157-1155	Enlil-nadin-aḫi
1155	Elam attacks Babylonia and ends the Kassite rule

1.3.2 Babylonia from 1749 to 1595 B.C.

The Old Babylonian period has the appearance of being well documented. However, this is only true for the ca. 50 yearlong phase documented by the archives from Mari, Tell Rimah, and Tell Shemshara. The remainder of this period especially post-Hammurabi, the period under discussion, is less well documented and details regarding important historical and political events are unavailable.



Map 2 Babylonia under Hammurabi

By the end of his reign in 1750 B.C., Hammurabi had transformed the political layout of southern Mesopotamia. Babylonia was now a single great power surrounded by small and weak entities such as Elam and Assur (Map 2). This unification was short-lived; just ten years after Hammurabi's death his son Samsuiluna (1749-1712 B.C.) faced a major rebellion in southern Babylonia. Led by a man from Larsa, who called himself Rim-Sin II after the last ruler of this city (van de Mieroop: 2004:108), this rebellion appears to have extended to include cities such as Uruk, Ur, and Isin in the south as well as Eshnunna in the north (Gadd 1965:48-49). Although this serious political and economic crisis lasted for about two years, 1741-1738 B.C., its socioeconomic effects lasted for centuries. These effects included the partial or complete abandonment of all major cities in southern Babylonia such as Ur and Uruk, a shift in water courses northward, and the disappearance of written documents in southern cities after Samsuiluna's 10th year (Stone 1977:270ff.; Postgate 1995:50). Except Nippur and Isin, which continued to be occupied up until 1720 B.C., all southern cities were abandoned, and Eshnunna, in the north, was destroyed and its king was dragged and executed in Babylon (George 1992:243).

Although it is difficult to point out what exactly happened in southern Babylonia, it appears that Samsuiluna's response to rebellion was so extreme that the southern urban infrastructure was severely damaged, water courses perhaps deflected, and agricultural fields turned to steppe (van de Mieroop 2004:108). From this time on, the main branch of the Euphrates shifted its riverbed westward and as a result it flowed through Babylon southward toward Uruk area via Murad rather than via Nippur (Cole 1998:29-34; Gibson 1992:420; Abraham 2013:189). The rapid abandonment of southern and central Babylonian cities under Samsuiluna in the 18th century B.C. had great influence on Babylonian political and social

landscape. Indeed, a gap of several hundred years has been identified between the early Old Babylonian and the late Kassite occupational levels at Nippur and Ur, for instance (Postgate 1995:50). This confirms that these cities were actually abandoned and were not reoccupied until later in the Kassite period, when their temples were reconstructed and water courses were brought back (Gasche 1998:109-143).

The abandonment of the southern large urban centers is further confirmed by archaeological surveys covering areas of Nippur and Uruk, for example. These surveys show a decline in the percentage of the total area occupied by large to medium-sized towns, (more than 40ha), by the end of the late Old Babylonian and into the early Kassite periods (Adams 1981:138). In addition, the limited length and dendritic patterns of the rivers in the Uruk area with the onset of the Kassite period (ca. 1600 B.C.) suggest that they formed only “tails” of a more extensive watercourse system that was now shifted northwest leaving southern cities without water (Adams and Nissen 1972:39-41). This in turn resulted in a population shift northward to cities such as Kish and Dilbat, but mainly to their countryside, where water and agricultural lands were abundant (Richardson 2002:306ff.; van Koppen 2007). As a result, central Babylonia continued the progressive rise in the number of small non-urban sites (e.g. 10ha or less) which amounted to about 57% of the settled area. At the same time, large urban centers (e.g. more than 40ha) continued to decline to make less than 31% of the settled land (Brinkman 1976:469).

The abandonment of large cities and towns in southern Babylonia by no means suggests that the population vanished by the end of the Old Babylonian period. However, it does suggest a change in the social and economic organization of the society. It indicates a shift from a highly urban lifestyle to a highly rural one by the late Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods. This

decline in urbanization and settlement intensity is also suggested by inscriptions of the early Kassite king Agum-Karkrime, who claimed to be "the king of wide country of Babylon, who caused to settle in the country of Eshnunna the widely spread people" (van Koppen 2010:460). If true, this indicates the resettlement of central Babylonia during the early Kassite period. On the other hand, the resettlement of southern Babylonia, including the cities of Ur and Nippur, was not accomplished until the late Kassite period. This was a result of the large scale building programs, including digging new irrigation canals, conducted by the Kassite kings which brought back the ancient Sumerian heartland to life.

Northern Babylonia, on the other hand, continued to flourish. It appears that well-developed small to medium size settlements dominated the area of the Hamrin basin⁴ throughout its history (Kim 1991: analysis I). The Old Babylonian period saw growth in the percentage of the total area occupied by small settlements, (less than 4ha), up to 23-25%. The total occupied area was also augmented, suggesting population increase in northern Babylonia in comparison to the previous Ur III period (Kim 1991:242). The total occupied area continued to be similar during the Kassite period, which suggests a continuation of the same or slightly higher population density (Kim 1991:242-243).

This ruralization of Babylonia may in fact explain the low population density of the early Kassite period. Considering the traditional importance of animal husbandry as a hedge against agricultural uncertainty in Babylonia (Adams 1974:7), it is likely that a high proportion of the

⁴ The Hamrin region is the northern frontier of Babylonia. It formed, on the one hand, the border between the Kassite and the Mittani/Assyrian states to the north, and on the other hand it linked Kassite Babylonia with western Iran as attested in the Kassite ceramics found at sites east of Mahi Dasht in Iran (Postgate 1984:155; Kessler 1982:104-105). Thus, this area lies in a strategic geographical location intersecting both modern and ancient routes, including the Khorasan road that connects Iraq and Iran through Khanaqin, Kermanshah, and Hamadan.

population turned to forms of semi-nomadic pastoralism that left few traces for archaeological surveys.⁵

The end of the Old Babylonian period is something of a mystery. Each of Hammurabi's successors ruled for more than two decades, a situation that usually reflects political stability. They kept northern Babylonia unified for 155 years. The historical evidence from the region shows a continuation of administrative and economic practices, and there are no indications of a weakening of the Old Babylonian state. Yet, this state existed in a void, surrounded by sparsely inhabited regions. The only contemporary political powers were located at a great distance in northwestern Syria and in Anatolia; however, it seems that conflict among those states ultimately affected Babylonia (van de Mieroop 2004:111). In 1595 B.C. King Mursili of the Hittites attacked Babylon, after a military campaign in northern Syria, putting an end to its famous dynasty and leaving it leaderless.

It is under these circumstances that the Kassites appeared in Babylonia first as enemies in the reign of Samsuiluna (1792-1750 B.C.), as mercenaries in the Babylonian armies under Abi-eshu (1711-1684 B.C.), and as hired workers during the rule of Ammišaduqa (1646-1626 B.C.).

1.3.3 Babylonia and the Kassite Dynasty

The examination of the Kassites' early appearance and interaction with Babylonian society is essential to understand how they gained political power, and to evaluate the Kassite-Babylonian cultural contact before, during, and after the collapse of the Kassite rule.

⁵ It is important to keep in mind that most inhabitants of small villages and towns and even cities were not isolated from each other and from the shifting semi-sedentary people of the countryside. Sippar, near the northern end of the irrigable plain and thus close to large regions occupied by semi-nomadic pastorlists, is an example where these outlying settlements apparently were especially substantial and permanent.

Furthermore, this temporal examination reveals how Babylonians viewed the Kassites before and after they gained political power.

By the time the Kassites appeared in the Mesopotamian urban scene, Babylonia was reduced to a small, mostly rural, population thinly distributed in areas including Babylon, Sippar, and the Diyala and Hamrin regions. The Kassites' early appearance is attested in the 18th century B.C., when they were described as “the enemy, the evildoer, the Kassites from mountains, who cannot be driven back to the mountains” by the kings Samsuiluna and Rim-Sin II (Stol 1987:54; Charpin 2004:339-340). However, no war or conflict has been documented after 1709 B.C. and Kassite groups and individuals are recorded in northern Babylonia, especially around Sippar-Yahrurum, living in encampments mostly as mercenaries rather than invaders (AbB2; BM78767; OLA21:61). These Kassites appear to have been charioteers and especially associated with horses and horse breeding (AbB2; CT45). It is probable that their knowledge of horse-breeding and chariotry earned them high positions at the Babylonian court. In addition to being mercenaries, Kassites soldiers are also attested as hired workers who received rations during the reign of King Ammišaduqa, when they served as agricultural laborers (YOS13:181; CT6; OLA21:67).

Kings with Kassite names appeared on the Middle Euphrates during the 17th century B.C. especially at Hana and Terqa. The prince Agum, who received envoys from Aleppo in his encampment, was perhaps contemporary with Samsuiluna (1749-1712 B.C.), and Kaštiliašu of Terqa was probably contemporary with Abi-ešuh (1711-1684 B.C.) (AbB6).⁶ In addition, several individuals with Kassite names were attested in the area (Brinkman 1976-80:466). Thus, it seems that this region was ruled by local Kassite rulers even before the collapse of the First Dynasty of

⁶Also see Zadok 2005:2

Babylon. It is most likely, however, that Kassite political control over these areas took place after they were already established as a “military elite” in the Old Babylonian court.

During the reign of Ammiditana (1683-1647 B.C.), after the abandonment of southern Babylonia, refugees from the south were absorbed in the northern cities of Dilbat and Kish, while members of non-Mesopotamian population groups, including the Kassites, were diverted to rural establishments such as encampments and fortresses (Richardson 2002:54). Already by this time Kassite individuals could purchase land (VS7; ARM175), act as military officials (Di1122; PBS8/2), and engage in typical Babylonian economic activities such as receiving silver to buy barley. However, it appears that Kassites were still designated specifically as a group apart and not integrated into Babylonian society (Brinkman 1976-80:466). As such, the treatment of the Kassites was typical for foreign groups in Babylonia, with potential social status as foreigners running the extent from possible enemy to fully integrated member of the society (Paulus 2011:4).

These foreign residents (i.e. the Kassites and others) are attested living at or near by fortresses such as Kullizu and Bašum on the Euphrates River, within the Babylonian countryside, by the time of the last Old Babylonian King Samsuditana (1625-1545 B.C.). It seems that over time such military communities developed into more civic ones, where many of the soldiers and their families might have been residents for several generations (Richardson 2005:276-287). These encampments and fortresses, which possibly formed a garrison system, eventually controlled the countryside of northern Babylonia, and gradually detached themselves from the Babylonian state and its cities given that they had neither religious nor kinship ties to these cities (Richardson 2005:282-286; van Koppen 2010:459). Moreover, Kassite direct or indirect connections to the Middle Euphrates region enhanced their communication with the Hittites who

controlled parts of northern Syria. Thus, they might have been instrumental in enabling the temporary conquest of Babylon by the Hittites in 1595 B.C., which was followed by Kassite domination of Babylonia. The subsequent withdrawal of the Hittite army created an opportunity for the Kassite military elites to take control of Babylon. Van Koppen (2010) suggests that Babylonia was probably taken over by a Kassite ruler originating from the Middle Euphrates region even before the end of Samsuditana's reign (van Koppen 2010:459-460), which implies that the Kassites were by then a powerful, well-organized community both politically and militarily.

Evidence from the formative years (1595-1460 B.C.) of the Kassite dynasty is limited to a number of written documents from Tell Mohammed on the lower course of the Diyala River.⁷ These texts provide important political and socioeconomic insight into this interval such as the presence of non-Babylonian personal names (Kassite)⁸, an increase in interstate wars, and an amplification of religious ceremonies held by the local kings to their gods (al-Ubaid 1983:274-330). Most importantly, however, are the year names used to date the texts in the form of MU.38.KAM.MA ša KA₂.DINGER.RA^{ki} uš-bu. A formula interpreted as “38th year, after X sat down in Babylon” perhaps referring to the installation of the Kassite dynasty in Babylon (Sassmannshausen 1999:413- 414).⁹ Accordingly, Gasche 1998 suggests that Babylon was

⁷ About 30 texts were treated in an unpublished master thesis presented by Iman Jamil al-Ubaid to the College of Arts, Baghdad University 1983. The content of these texts refers almost exclusively to loans of silver and cereal.

⁸ For detailed information on the text's onomasticon see Sassmannshausen 1999:421ff.

⁹ A different interpretation of this date formula is “year that Babylon was resettled” see: Steven Cole in J.A. Armstrong et al. 1998:84ff.

resettled as early as about 1496 B.C., just three years after its fall according to the lower chronology (Gasche 1998:88ff.).¹⁰

During these ambiguous years, the Kassites must have gradually won control over northern Babylonia under the Kassite king Agum-Karkrime (ca. 1570 B.C.). By ca.1510 B.C. the Kassite dynasty established its northern borders with Assyria through a treaty between Burna-Buriaš I and Puzur-Ashur III. This was followed by the Kassite conquest of the Sealand dynasty in southern Babylonia during the reign of Kaštiliašu III and his son Agum III (Brinkman 1972:274), thus establishing Babylonia as a single political entity, and marking the end of an era during which the cultural differences between northern and southern Babylonia stood in the way of a unified nationhood.

By the 15th century B.C., textual and archaeological evidence suggest a connection between Kassite Babylonia and Nuzi to the north in the form of official visits and gifts (Brinkman 1972:274). Kassite families appeared to be living side by side with the Hurrians within typical Nuzian neighborhoods (Starr 1939:333; Dosch 1981:104-113), and participating in typical economic activities including the trade of slaves, rearing livestock, the sale of animals, and the receipt of rations for providing service to the government (Maidman 1983:18). Socially, Kassites at Nuzi achieved some high status positions such as charioteers, quartermaster of the military paymaster, judge, and royal messenger. This certainly suggests a political, social, and economic integration of the Kassite population into the Nuzian community even as they kept their names and social organization.

¹⁰ Gasche et al. 1998 advocate the lower chronology, thus narrowing the gap between the end of the Old Babylonian period and the succession of the Kassite king Karaindaš, and dates the fall of Babylon to about 1499 B.C. (Gasche 1998:83).



Map 3 The Kassite state during the late Kassite period

Toward the end of the 15th century B.C. the Kassite term *Karduniaš* appeared describing Kassite Babylonia. This term was first attested during the reign of Karaindaš (van Koppen 2011:27), and was used as the name of the kingdom of Babylon by both the Kassites and non-Kassites. The fact that this term appeared after the unification of Babylonia (north) and the Sealand dynasty (south) under the Kassite rule suggests that it expresses political unity of Babylonia and establishes, for the first time, a broader Babylonian identity. Indeed, by the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. the Kassite state controlled the whole of Babylonia (Map 3), including the Diyala region and Dilmun (modern Bahrain) in the Persian Gulf which was ruled by a Kassite governor. Southern Babylonia was resettled once again and several Kassite kings invested in digging new water canals to redirect water from the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to Nippur and other southern cities (Armstrong 1994:261). According to the Amarna letters, Babylonia came to be recognized as an international power by other Near Eastern states and Egypt. The state archives reveal a provincial system within which certain important cities such as

Nippur acted as regional centers. During this period, the Kassites were obedient to a monarch who was one of their own people (Brinkman 1981:274). State revenues depended upon the systematic taxation of agricultural and animal production, as well as on fees and tolls. The military and its professional warrior class seem to have gradually expanded within the state's elites. International trade thrived during this period, and the state itself was engaged in the trade of various exotic products as a part of the Babylonian complex economy. The kings gave large plots of land to various notables or to members of the royal family as royal gifts. They conducted large-scale building projects throughout Babylonia reviving southern cities and their culture. Babylonian literature reached its peak, and Akkadian language became the *lingua franca* of the entire region.

The end of the Kassite dynasty was the result of the combined pressures of Assyria and Elam. Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1270 B.C.) invaded Babylonia and took Kaštiliašu IV in chains to Assur (van de Mieroop 2004:176). The effect of the Assyrian invasion is reflected in the cessation of the Nippur archive at this point, which probably is not a coincidence. After ruling Babylonia for a short time, Tukulti-Ninurta I appointed a series of rulers who represented Assyrian interests for about a decade. A successful Babylonian rebellion brought back Babylonia to Kassite control, however, Elamites pressure and attacks led to the collapse of the Kassite state in 1155 B.C.

In response to the Elamite invasion, Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 B.C.) of the second Isin dynasty, conquered Susa and took over Babylonia. It is significant to mention that several kings of the Isin II and later Bazi dynasties bore Kassite names and/or patronymics (Brinkman 1976:465- 471; Sassmannshausen 1999:219), suggesting that this period might have

represented a short political revival for the Kassites in Babylonia. Therefore material culture from this period is also included in this research as demonstrated in the next section.

1.4 Data Sources

Three groups of datasets make up the principal archaeological sources utilized to research the Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction. These include architecture and associated artifacts, written documents, and burials. These datasets reveal expected difficulties of variable excavation techniques, observations, recording systems, and publications which influence any study based on published archaeological material. However, an attempt has been made in this research to systematically extract information related to political, economic, and social organization of Babylonian society whenever such details were available. The chronological distribution of the data included in this study is summarized in (Table 1).

1.4.1 Architecture

The architectural data includes temples, palaces, and their artifacts, as well as domestic structures and their activity areas. While temples and palaces provide evidence for the ruling elites' behavior, domestic structures reveal their influence, if any, on the household social organization and economic role.

Religious buildings of the Kassite period (Appendix A) can be divided into two chronological and stylistic groups. The first includes non-traditional temples that can be considered Kassite, including the Inanna Temple at Uruk. Such temples were built by the Kassite kings in the late-15th to the late-14th centuries B.C., have no parallels in the Babylonian architectural tradition, and exhibit non-Babylonian cultural and religious elements. The second group consists of temples and shrines that fall within the Babylonian tradition but were rebuilt by the Kassite kings in the late-14th to the mid-12th centuries B.C. Although the two categories share

important religious elements, they are distinct in terms of their chronology, as well as architectural and cultural characteristics.

Kassite palaces are rare. Although several administrative buildings were recovered in Babylonia dating to this period, only one structure may properly be described as a royal residence. This complex of buildings may have included the residence of the royal family at Dür-Kurigalzu, in addition to offices, workshops, and storerooms. Located in Tell Abyad about 900m northwest of the temple complex, the remains of this palace cover an area of 420,000 m² and date from the late-14th to the mid-12th centuries B.C. (Baqir 1945; 1946; 1959). These remains bear no spatial relationship with other known Mesopotamian palaces.

On the other hand, houses dated to the Kassite period have been recovered at several sites throughout Babylonia. However, due to preservation issues, only 21 domestic structures covering the period from the mid-14th to the mid-12th centuries B.C. are included in this study. Although several of these houses were excavated with inadequate methods and parts of their material culture have been lost or were not recorded, their architectural plans provide significant insight into Babylonian household's socioeconomic organization.

Houses found at Nippur were located in two areas. In WC-1 a sequence of structures was revealed and almost a complete exposure of a large Kassite building was achieved. Levels III (late 14th- early 13th century B.C.) and II (later half of the 13th century B.C.) represent the best preservation of the building (Zettler 1993: 20; Gibson 1983:181). Levels VII and VI at the TA area reveal several houses dated to the Kassite period. "House D" was found well preserved on the northwestern side of street no. 120. It was about 100 m² with a central courtyard and several rooms around it (McCown 1967:68-69). At Babylon, Reuther (1926) recovered two levels of

houses “älteren” (hereafter Level I) including houses A, C, and D dating to (1350-1250 B.C.); and “jüngeren” (hereafter Level II)¹¹ including house A-C dating to (1250-1150 B.C.).¹² On the other hand, only two houses are dated without doubt to the Kassite period at Ur.¹³ The “Hill House” and the “High House” are located in the EM area to the southwest of the city and are dated to 1307-1069 B.C. (Woolley 1965:78-79; Brinkman 1969:331).

A large square structure was found dominating the top of Tell Yelkhi in the Hamrin Basin (Masiero 1985:56). The successive floors and rebuilt walls as well as the ceramics, show that this site was occupied between the 16th-13th century B.C. Finally, domestic structures recovered at Tell Zubeidi were in two levels: Level II, the earlier, including units I- III;¹⁴ and Level I including units I-V.¹⁵ Both levels are dated to the end of the 14th and the early 13th century B.C., thus to the late Kassite period (Dämmer 1985:55,129).

1.4.2 Written Documents

Written documents include both clay tablets and *kudurru* stones. Although some 12,000 tablets written in the Akkadian language have been recovered, only 10% are published (Brinkman 1974:395). However, about 119 tablets were recently published by Leonhard Sassmannshausen in (Sassmannshausen 2001), as well as the 513 tablets that were examined in a

¹¹ The level designations were presented by Clayden 1989:116, and are being used here for simplicity and practicality.

¹² In general, the ground plan of these structures is very fragmented, and much reconstruction was used to produce the coherent layout presented in the publication. In order to evaluate the accuracy of this reconstruction, these houses were compared to other examples, such as the houses in the TA area at Nippur. Both groups exhibit similarities in their layout and the relation of one house to another which suggest that Reuther’s reconstructions may be accurate.

¹³ For further information on dating Ur’s material see Brinkman 1969; Clayden 1989: 123-125.

¹⁴ These units cover the following excavation squares: (II/21/1 and II/21/I2); (II/3/1); (II/11/12/15/1) respectively. For simplicity and to reduce possible mistakes I am referring to each excavated area within each level by using the word “unit” followed by a Roman number as shown in the text. For further information on the excavation system see Dämmer 1985: 47.

¹⁵ These units cover the following excavation squares respectively: (I/3-8/1, I/7-8-9/1, I/7-10-11/1, I/7/1,I/3-7/1); (I/4/1); (I/4-6/1);(I/1-6/1); (I/13-14/1).

published doctoral dissertation by Jonathan Tenney (Tenney 2009). Unfortunately, most of these texts are from the state archive at Nippur and date from the mid-14th to the end of 13th century B.C. (Clay 1906; Luckenbill 1907; Radau 1908; Brinkman 1976; 1972). Fewer texts have been published from the state archive at Dūr-Kurigalzu. These mainly include vouchers covering the issue of gold, silver, or other precious stones to the craftsmen, as well as letters, and distribution lists of various items, including textiles and leather. These documents possibly date to the mid-14th to the mid-12th centuries (Gurney 1949, 1953; al-Zubaidi 2003).¹⁶

Despite their unbalanced geographical and chronological distribution, these texts provide important insight into the state political economy and administrative organization during the mid-late Kassite period. In addition, several documents also dating to the mid-late Kassite period were recovered in houses at Babylon, Ur, Nippur, and Zubeidi. All, except those from Babylon, are published and available for the purpose of this study in accessible forms (Gurney 1983; Dämmer 1985; Pedersén 1998). All texts utilized in this thesis are compiled in Appendix D. These texts are complemented by information gathered from the *kudurru* stones found in Babylonia and Elam (King 1912; Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003). Engraved with divine symbols and inscribed with curses against the offenders, *kudurru* stones document royal grants of agricultural land and tax exemption, a practice that did not previously exist in Babylonia. Although most of the *kudurrus* were found in secondary contexts, they remain an important source for land ownership and other economic and socio-political practices of the Kassite state. Furthermore, in addition to their inscriptions, *kudurrus*' iconography provides important information about the political and religious practices during this period. In this thesis, references are made to the

¹⁶ For an overview of the archives dated to the Kassite period, their distribution and status of publication see Brinkman 1976:35-40; Pedersén 1998:103-120; Paulus 2011:89-90.

kudurru stones dating both to the Kassite and post-Kassite period¹⁷ by citing their museum number and reference line; however, all of them are compiled along with their find spots, dates, and respective publications in (Appendix B) at the end of this work.

1.4.3 Burials

The mortuary analyses included in this study are based on a total of 159 graves recovered from the sites of Babylon (Reuther 1926), Tell Zubeidi (Dämmer 1985), Ur (Woolley 1965), Nippur (McCown 1967; Gibson 1975; Zettler 1993; McMahon 2006), Tell Yelkhi (Fiorini 2007), and Tell Kesaran (Valtz 2007).

At Babylon approximately 1000 graves were excavated in the Merkes area, of which roughly 239 were published (Reuther 1926:151-265). Of those, only 57 are dated to the Kassite period- specifically the late 14th to mid-12th century B.C. Excavations in the areas WC-1, TA, WF, and WA 50c at Nippur recovered a total of 27 graves dating to the late Kassite period. In WC-1, only graves of children were found associated with Level III (Zettler 1993:39). Both child and adult graves were found in the TA area of the Scriber Quarter where Levels VII-VI dating to the Kassite period (McCown 1967:142-144). Lastly, area WF Level VA yielded two adult graves (McMahon 2006:55), and area WA 50c Level VII had one burial of a small child dated to the Kassite period (Gibson 1975:73). All four graves found in the EM area at Ur were located in the “High House” and in the “Hill House” dating to the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (Woolley 1965:79). Significant information on mortuary practices is further revealed by burials recovered in the rural settlements in the Hamrin Basin. About 36 graves, dated to the late 14th and early

¹⁷ Post-Kassite *kudurrus* are included because this period represents a short political revival of the Kassites and exhibits similar administrative organization, suggesting the continuation of the Kassite landholding practices after the fall of their dynasty (Brinkman 1963:233; 1976:465ff.; Sassmannshausen 1999:219).

13th century B.C., were found at Tell Zubeidi (Dämmer 1985:60-61). Likewise, a total of 29 graves were recovered at Tell Kesaran and Tell Yelkhi (Appendix C).

Kassite Period (1531- 1155 B.C.)			
Sources	Early Kassite (15 century)	Middle Kassite (mid-14 th - mid-13 th centuries)	Late Kassite (mid-13 th - mid-12 th centuries)
Inanna Temple, Uruk	-----		
Enlil Complex, DK	-----		
Ningal Temple, Ur		-----	
É.KIŠ.NU.Gal, Ur		-----	
É.NUN.MAḪ, Ur		-----	
Nanna courtyard, Ur		-----	
Temple of Enlil, Nippur			-----
Royal residence, DK	-----		
Houses, Nippur		-----	
Houses, Babylon		-----	-----
Houses, Ur			-----
Houses, Yelkhi		-----	
Houses, Zubiedi		-----	
Nippur Archive		-----	
Dur-Kurigalzu Archive		-----	
<i>Kudurru</i> stones		-----	
Burials, Babylon		-----	
Burials, Ur		-----	
Burials, Zubiedi		-----	
Burials, Yelkhi		-----	
Burials, Kessaran		-----	

Table 1 Chronological distribution of the data included in this study

1.5 Methodology

Throughout this research, I examine the mechanisms which enabled the Kassite state to maintain power and legitimize authority over time, including the early Kassite period (15th century), the middle Kassite (mid-14th to mid-13th centuries), and the late Kassite period (mid-13th to mid-12th centuries B.C.).¹⁸ These mechanisms may include control over economic resources such as land, centralized taxation system, and a well-defined administration. I then investigate the degree to which the Kassite state's strategies influenced the majority's social organization and culture outside the state domain. This is accomplished by an examination of patterns of change and/or continuity on both the state and the household level as reflected in material culture and historical records dating to the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. Furthermore, in order to interpret incomplete data sets such as the Kassite material culture, I draw analogies from two contrasting ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities (Arabs in Spain and Mamluks in Egypt) to reconstruct a model for the Kassite ruling minority in Babylonia.

Within this framework, I utilize both archaeological and textual sources from both state and domestic contexts. For the purpose of this study, I categorize architecture of the Kassite period into two chronological and stylistic groups, including non-traditional temples and palaces dating to the late-15th to the late-14th centuries B.C. and traditional temples and houses dating to the late-14th to the mid-12th centuries B.C. I analyze temples, as well as palaces, within a

¹⁸ This temporal division roughly follows the appearance of three Kassite seal groups: the First Kassite Style (late-15th to late-14th centuries B.C.), Second Kassite Style (mid-14th to mid-13th centuries B.C.), and Third Kassite Style (late-13th to 12th centuries B.C.) (Matthews 1990:55-66).

comparative and broad social and cultural context. Their layouts, sizes, styles, and building materials provide insight into the religious and kingship practices during this period. Change and/or continuity in Babylonian monumental architecture suggest the ruling elites' behavior and mechanisms to legitimize their authority and maintain their power.

I examine domestic architecture within the context of household studies, focusing on the dwelling plan, building material or technology. House spatial organization provides significant information on issues of social complexity and sociopolitical and cultural change. Thus, I analyze variability in house forms and sizes, as well as room functions in relation to household size and type, kinship, and wealth. Continuity and discontinuity in the house form, size, and activities indicate the household type and its socioeconomic role, which in turn suggest the socioeconomic practices of the Kassite state and the degree to which they infiltrated the society on the household level.

Information on the state political economy including taxation system and provincial administration is gathered from cuneiform tablets, such as transaction texts and distribution lists found in the state archives at Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu. I supplement this information by evidence that I gathered from domestic archives to shed light on the socioeconomic organization of the society as a whole. In addition to cuneiform tables, *kudurru* stones have been utilized to understand the state political economy. The latter are collected in Appendix B along with their respective publications. Finally, I examine graves and grave goods in the context of archaeological theories of mortuary behavior. These include studies of social complexity and mortuary practices (Binford 1964, 1972), ethnic variation (Emberling 1997), and social and economic differentiation (Rathje 1970). Thus, I analyze burials in term of their type and location,

body treatment in relation to age and sex, and grave goods and wealth display to further understand the Babylonian society under the Kassite rule.

The final results of my examination are then used to model the Kassites' ruling strategies and behavior in Babylonia and the degree to which they affected Babylonian society and culture in comparison to the contrasting ethnohistorical examples of the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt.

1.6 Dissertation Outline

This study begins by modeling foreign ruling elites' strategies and impact on the ruled population (Chapter 2). It presents the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt as two contrasting ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities. These cases represent two different ruling strategies that were employed by such minorities to maintain and exercise power, and demonstrate the extent to which these practices influenced the larger population. For each case, Chapter Two examines the circumstances under which the minority group came to power, the factors which enabled the foreign minority to gain and maintain political power and authority, and the degree to which it influenced the culture of the ruled majority. At the end, it presents two hypotheses to evaluate the Kassite case in Babylonia.

Chapter 3 discusses Kassite ethnic identity within an anthropological and archaeological framework. It examines whether or not the Kassites were an ethnic group with a distinctive cultural background in Babylonia. It defines a "Kassite ethnicity" in its general sense through examination of aspects such as collective history, language, religion, and social organization within a temporal framework. It concludes with a discussion of Kassite ethnic characteristics in comparison to the Arabs and the Mamluks.

The political economy of Babylonia under the Kassite dynasty is discussed in Chapter 4. Using textual and archaeological data as well as satellite imagery, this chapter investigates the economic resources the Kassite state manipulated to sustain and legitimize its authority over time. It examines change in Babylonian settlement pattern during the late Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods to highlight issues, including ruralization of Babylonia, population density,

and economic resources at the onset of the Kassite state. The state's administration and provincial system are examined to reveal the foreign minority's ruling strategies and their impact on the broader population. Landownership and transfer and its role in the state control of political power is highlighted. Finally, trade and exchange of exotic items under the Kassite rule is also explored.

Chapter 5 examines cultural continuity and/or change in the material culture of this period. It evaluates the degree to which the Kassite state's ruling mechanisms influenced the broader society on a household level over time. The first part studies the Babylonian built environment, both monumental and non-monumental, as an expression of culturally shared behavior, beliefs, and attitudes, while the second part examines mortuary practices and its relationship to fundamental religious, ethnic, and socioeconomic variation within the society.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 6) reconstructs the mechanisms used by the Kassite state to control power and assert its authority over four centuries. It also presents the nature of the Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction and the degree to which it influenced the Babylonian society over time. In addition, it mentions topics for further research, aimed at broadening our understanding of this important phase of Babylonian history. Finally, it generates a model of ruling elites that diverge from those that focus on the imperialistic or indigenous political developments that can be applied to investigations of other examples of foreign ruling minorities in early complex societies where written documents are not available.

Chapter Two

Models of Foreign Elites' Ruling Mechanisms

2.1 Introduction

To understand how the Kassites were able to maintain and exercise power over centuries in Babylonia, it is useful to test the Kassite case against two contrasting ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities of Arabs in Spain and Mamluks in Egypt. These cases present variations in the ruling strategies that were employed by such minorities to maintain and exercise power, and illustrate the extent to which these mechanisms influenced the larger population. The above ethnohistorical cases are selected because they have pragmatic similarities with the Kassites such as a foreign ethnic minority ruling over a local ethnic majority for a long period of time, and the interaction of the two dissimilar cultures. In addition, the fact these ethnohistorical examples predate the industrial revolution, suggests some continuation of traditional technologies and practices, such as the continuation of an agricultural based economy. Thus, it is possible to use these examples as a reference to develop a model for the Kassite case in Babylonia.

In the following I first present a theoretical framework within which I utilize the ethnohistorical examples to interpret the Kassite archaeological data. I then investigate the factors which enabled the Arabs and Mamluks to take control and maintain their rule for

centuries, including military, dynastic succession, state administration and provincial system, land ownership, adaptation to local culture etc. Based on these factors and their archaeological and historical correlations I propose two hypotheses to investigate how the Kassites took control of Babylon and how they were able to maintain their rule for four centuries.

2.2 Ethnohistorical Models and Interpretation of the Kassite Material Culture

Many sources provide analogies useful for the interpretation of the archaeological records, including personal experience, written documents, ethnographic accounts, ethnoarchaeological data, and ethnohistorical records (Stiles 1977:91-92). The term analogy is described as “the belief that where certain processes or materials resemble each other in some respects, they may resemble each other in others ways also” (Renfrew and Bahn 2000:182). Thus, it may be possible to use details from one body of information - an ethnographic or ethnohistorical “source”- to fill gaps in another body of information from which those details are missing – the archaeological “subject”. The emphasis is on the similarities and essential resemblance in relation between two situations, contexts or objects in order to distinguish between an “argument from example and that from analogy” (Binford 1967:1).

With an increased concern among archaeologists (Ascher 1961; Binford 1967; 1968, 1977, Freeman 1968; Hodder 1982; Wylie 1985) about which analogy is appropriate, relevant or can be considered a strong analogy, two main approaches emerged. These include analogies

derived from the direct historic approach (also called folk culture approach), and analogies derived from the general comparative approach (Ascher 1961:317-318). The direct historic approach makes use of analogies deriving from roughly the same geographic area in which the archaeological investigation is located and where a cultural continuity is more or less proven. The strength of analogies of the direct historic approach is seen in the possibility that certain practices, technologies, beliefs and various aspects of social organization have been preserved from the past until the present (Ascher 1961:318).¹⁹

In comparison to the direct historic approach, the general comparative approach or what was also called “new analogy” by Ascher (1961:319) draws analogies from different geographical, temporal and social contexts. Within this approach, analogical inference consists of the selective transportation of information from the “source” to the “subject” on the basis of a comparison that, fully developed, specifies how the “terms” compared are similar and/or dissimilar (Wylie 1985:93). The strength of an analogy of the general comparative approach is seen on the one hand by using analogies driven from “cultures which manipulate similar environments in similar ways” (Ascher 1961:319). On the other hand, the validity of the general comparative analogy is seen in its relevance to the research question. For example, in an archaeological investigation of how ethnic group distinction is marked in Iron Age Britain, it is relevant and valid to study this particular practise in Kenya if parameters such as group size and political organization are similar (Hodder 1982:26). However, if the research question was

¹⁹ A good example for the direct historical approach is the study of the pueblo site Broken K Pueblo by Hill (1977; 1968). The fifty four excavated rooms could be divided in large and small rooms whereas the larger rooms were equipped with special features such as benches, niches etc. The difference in room size as well as the accompanying features could be observed in contemporaneous pueblo houses, which led Hill (1968:109-122) to postulate that the larger room of the archaeological context were used in a similar way (as living rooms) in the past as in the present. By comparing and studying the material remains associated with the small versus the large rooms in comparison to the cultural material associated with small and large rooms in the present, Hill’s supported his argument.

concerned with agricultural practices in Iron Age Britain, Kenya with a total different environmental conditions would have been a less valid and relevant analogy.

Within these two main approaches, scholars draw additional distinctions between “formal” versus “relational” analogies. The difference between formal versus relational analogies rests in the characteristics which are compared between the two objects or situations. Thus, the formal analogy describes the common characteristics between the past and modern object and/or situations (Hodder 1982:16-23). It is based on a systematic comparison of source and subject that establishes not only a number of similarities between them, but also weighs these against the differences to determine the extent of the similarities and move beyond a narrow formal comparison to “relevance” (Wylie 1985:97ff.).²⁰ Relational analogies “seek to determine some natural or cultural link between different aspects in the analogy” (Hodder 1982:16). Furthermore, the more numerous the formal similarities between source and subject, the more likely it is that there are also relational similarities (Binford 1967:2). For example, Hill (1966) defends the plausibility of the hypothesis that prehistoric pueblo room types served the same function as their formal analogs in contemporary pueblo on the ground that “the similarities between the suspected analogs is so great that they almost cannot be a coincident” (Hill 1966:15). The fit between source and subject is so great that it seems to be structured by the same causal principle of connection, suggesting that relational analogy may underlay formal analogy (Wylie 1985:99).

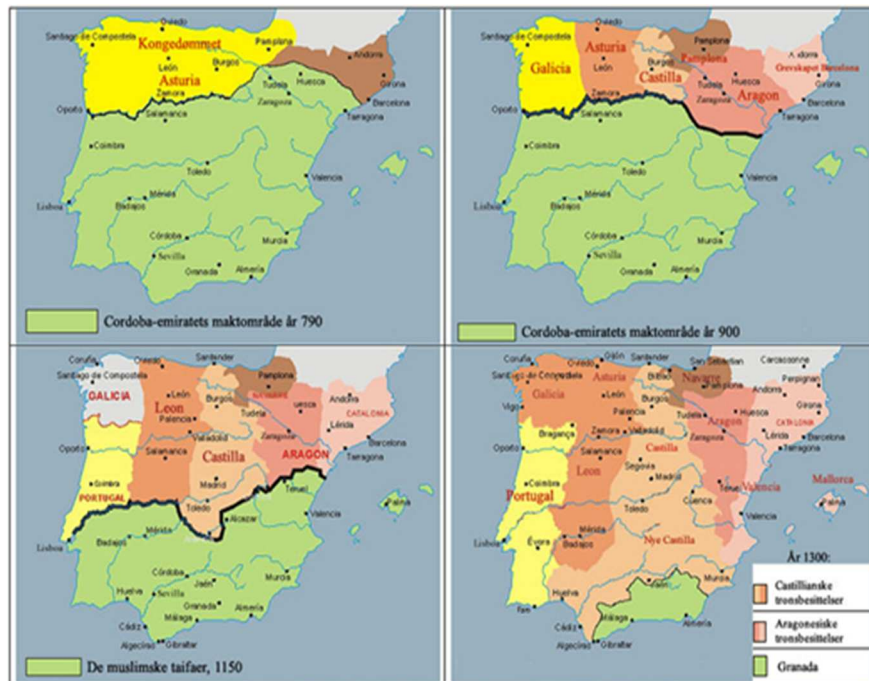
²⁰ One good example is Curren’s study of the interpretation of stone gorgets from the Ohio Valley, in which he suggests that these objects were used for pottery making and he supported his interpretation by noting that an extensive positive analogy between the potters’ tools (or ‘ribs’) and the gorgets especially with respect to their shape and edge (Curren 1977:97ff.).

It is within this theoretical framework that I use the two ethnohistorical examples of the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt to interpret the case of the Kassite state in Babylonia. For the purpose of this study, the general comparative approach is most suited, considering that the “source” and “subject” are located in different geographical, temporal, and social contexts. However, both of them share important similarities, such as interaction between two different cultures and a foreign ethnic minority ruling over a local ethnic majority for long periods of time. In addition, the fact these ethnohistorical examples predate the industrial revolution, suggest some continuation of traditional technologies and practices, which permits formal as well as relational analogies to interpret the fragmented datasets of the Kassite state through testable hypotheses.

2.3 The Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt

As mentioned above, the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt were chosen because they represent contrasting examples of foreign ethnic minorities ruling over a different ethnic majority for an extended period of time. Whereas the Arabs segregated themselves from the local population and imposed a new political and socioeconomic system on the ruled population, the Mamluks adopted the previous political system and integrated into the socioeconomic organization of the broader society. In the following, I present a brief review of each of the ethnohistorical examples, and examine the factors that enabled each minority to gain political power and sustain its ruling system as applicable to the Kassite case in Babylonia. Based on the characteristics that emerge from this examination and their archaeological and historical correlations I propose two hypotheses to investigate how the Kassites took control of Babylonia and how were they able to maintain their rule for four centuries.

The Arab rule in Spain (711-1492 A.D.) is the best documented case of a foreign minority ruling over a different ethnic and religious majority. In this case, the ruling stratum imposed a new sociopolitical and economic organization which affected nearly all aspects of the society, and resulted in significant sociocultural changes reflected in the material culture. Al-Andalus is the name used in Arabic sources to indicate those parts of the Iberian Peninsula under the Arab Muslim rule from the initial invasion in 711 A.D. until the fall of Granada in 1492 A.D. The extent of this territory varied throughout the nearly eight centuries of Arab Muslim control, ranging from an early hold on most of the peninsula to the small Naşrid kingdom of Granada during the last two centuries of the Muslim state.



Map 4 Andalusia over time

During the formative years, the new government of al-Andalus faced numerous revolts and civil wars among the Berbers, Arabs, and local population that lasted throughout the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. as a result of economic, ethnic, and religious differences among the three groups (Reilly 1993: 56ff.). Andalusia's golden age was achieved during the reign of Abd al-Rahman III (912- 961) and his sons. Between the 913 and 915 he successfully defeated all the rebels, including Ibn Hafsun as well as others. By 929, Abd al-Rahman III was so powerful that he declared himself as the *Khalifeh* of Córdoba, the legitimate ruler of all Sunni Muslims (Fierro 2005:53ff.). This declaration symbolized the wealth and power of al-Andalus, which he unified, and a long period of economic, intellectual, and artistic prosperity began and was continued by his sons until 1031.

In the late 10th and early 11th centuries A.D., the Caliphate began to disintegrate due to civil wars from 1009 to 1031, when the institution was abolished. The centralized authority was

replaced by a large number of small states known as *tawaif* or factions ruled by rival “party kings” (Hendrickson 2002:2). Furthermore, between 1236 and 1248, the Christian kingdoms successfully re-conquered the region including Córdoba, Valencia, and Seville. Granada, ruled by the Nasird dynasty (1232-1492), survived as the only Muslim kingdom in Iberia for an additional two centuries by paying tribute to the king of Castile. During this period, many Muslims of Arab and Berber origins returned to North Africa; those who remained became permanent residents and were permitted to practice Islam, albeit with certain restrictions.

In short, the Arab Muslims invaded and controlled almost all of the Iberian Peninsula. However, continuous civil wars and external conflicts with the northern Christian kingdoms gradual reduced the land under Muslim control. Although civil wars and rebels remained part of the history of al-Andalus, the state enjoyed long period of socioeconomic and political prosperity under Abd al-Rahaman III and his sons. The state adopted a new religion, and Arabic became the state official language. New social and cultural customs were introduced and the local population and culture was transformed as reflected in the material culture of this period. Because of internal conflicts the centralized state disintegrated and was replaced by small party states toward the end of the 10th century A.D. Internal conflicts combined with external threats by the northern kingdoms ended centuries-long Muslim rule in Iberia.

On the other hand, the Mamluks’ rule in Egypt (1250-1517 A.D.) is an example of the integration of ruling elite into the pre-existing sociopolitical and economic organization. The Mamluks adopted Islam and maintained it as the state religion, and Arabic continued to be the state official language. They assimilated and intermarried with local population and ruled as true Muslim sultans, resulting in no change in the majority socioeconomic organization and cultural practices. The Mamluks were a group of military slaves of Turkish and Caucasian origins who

formed a major component of the Muslim armies as early as the 9th century. By the 13th century, the Mamluk generals successfully established their own dynasty in Egypt and Syria and were able to expand their political control over the central Islamic World for 250 years.



Map 5 The Mamluks' State

Purchased by the Ayyubid sultans, who ruled Egypt from 1171 to 1341 A.D., the majority of the young Mamluks went into the royal barracks in Cairo where they were trained in the arts of warfare, instructed in the fundamentals of Islam, and taught Arabic. They were then assigned a position of responsibility in the army or the royal household (Levanoni 1995:14ff.). The Ayyubid sultans trusted the Mamluks because they were without social ties and political affiliation.

After assassinating the legitimate heir of the Ayyubids in 1250 A.D., the Mamluks took over political power in Egypt. The first two Mamluk sultans, Ayback and Qutuz, were preoccupied with suppressing both internal rebellions by their subordinates and external threats by surviving Ayyubid princes in Syria (Levanoni 1995:8). Later, sultan Baybers (1260-1277 A.D.) paid great attention to the state economy and internal affairs, including intensification of

agricultural production, and restructuring of the Ayyubid system of land allocations to military personnel (Levanoni 1995:10ff.). After the fall of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad in 1285 A.D., the Mamluks offered a safe haven in Cairo to the uncle of last Abbasid *khalifeh*, thus reviving the traditional caliphate in Egypt– but under the strict control of their sultans. In consequence of Baybers achievements and policies of his successors, a centralized state was created in the central Arab lands.

By the end of the 1516-1517 A.D. the Eastern spice trade that supported the Mamluk state for 250 years was facing a real threat by the Portuguese navies that appeared in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. On land, the Mamluks failed to safeguard both trade and agriculture against the Bedouins who formed a constant threat. Simultaneously, the Mamluks drifted into conflict with the Ottomans over eastern Anatolia, and in 1517A.D. the Ottomans conquered Syrian and Egypt and ended Mamluk domination.

In short, it appears that the Mamluks took advantage of the power entrusted in them by the Ayyubid sultans to dominate political authority and create their own state. They gradually came to Egypt and then took over the state after assassinating the Ayyubids legitimate heir. After defeating the crusaders and Mongols, the Mamluks were able to stabilize their rule in the heart of the Arab World. One important step was to revive the Islamic caliphate, after it has been abolished in Baghdad, and make Cairo its new home. By doing so, the Mamluks gained the satisfaction of all Muslims for saving Arabic-Islamic civilization from destruction, and strengthened and legitimized their political authority both for Muslims and non-Muslims for long time. Although factionalism remained an essential aspect of the Mamluks' state, there were periods during which political prosperity was achieved especially during the Turkish period. At the end, the Mamluk state increasingly suffered internal conflicts as well as external threats by

the Ottomans in western Anatolia, and the Portuguese and the Bedouins who threatened spice trade and agriculture.

Having briefly described the political history of each of the ethnohistorical examples, I now move to the examination of the factors, including military, a centralized administration, and land ownership etc., which enabled each foreign minority to gain and maintain power and as applicable to the Kassite case in Babylonia. Despite the fact that none of these ethnohistorical examples provides a perfect match for the Kassites, the characteristics that emerge from examination of the factors which enabled these minorities to achieve power along with their archaeological and textual correlates provide a means to investigate the Kassite state in Babylonia (Table2). Based on these characteristics I propose two testable hypotheses for the mechanisms employed by the Kassites to maintain their political power, and the extent to which these mechanisms influenced Babylonian society as reflected in the material culture (Table 3).

2.3.1 Military

Military organization and skills were among the most important factors which enabled the Arabs and the Mamluks to control the local populations. While the Arabs invaded Iberia and defeated the local rulers, Mamluks gradually gained power over Egypt. As military elites, the Mamluks' skills and faith earned them prestigious positions in the court of the Ayyubid sultans. Eventually they grew so powerful that they were able to assassinate the last Ayyubid sultan and take over the state.

Indeed, Muslim armies played essential role in the invasion of Iberia in 711 A.D. Formed mostly by the Berbers and led by the Arabs, these armies defeated the Visigothic king and brought vast territories under the Muslim control laying the foundation for a new province

centered in Cordoba (Reilly 1993:52). In addition, further military expansion continued under the early Andalusian governors and reached across the Pyrenees before being stopped by the Frankish ruler Charles Martel in 732 A.D. (Hendrickson 2002:2). After securing the border of the new state, the Muslim armies continued recruiting Berbers from North Africa and slaves of Christian origins who converted to Islam for economic benefits. Thus, these army were loyal to none but their paymaster and they were therefore susceptible to use against the factious Muslim aristocracy of Iberia (Reilly 1993:57). Although it is hard to determine the exact number of the initial Muslim army, it is believed that the combined number of the troops who entered the peninsula at one time or another during the eighth century A.D. was about 40,000 to 50,000 soldiers. On the other hand, the total population of Iberia at this time has been estimated at about 4,000,000, thus making the initial Muslim army a minority of some 1% (Reilly 1993:57). However, this situation changed over the centuries, and Muslims became almost the majority through conversion to Islam and intermarriage with the local population as discussed later in this chapter.

Fighting skills and military organization played a crucial role in the formation of the Mamluks as military elite within the Ayyubid armies in Egypt. The Mamluks of Turkish and Caucasian origin were purchased at a young age and were trained in the arts of warfare, instructed in the fundamentals of Islam, and taught Arabic. The Ayyubid sultans trusted the Mamluks because they were without social ties and political affiliation; however, the Mamluks took advantage of their status and assassinated the legitimate heir of the Ayyubid sultan Turanshah in 1250 A.D., taking over political power in Egypt.

The Mamluk armies were organized into households under the leadership of an *ustad* or master (Levanoni 1994:375). It is important to mention that these armies included, in addition to

the pure Mamluks, sons of Mamluk emirs and sultans. These were freeborn Muslims, who bore Arabic names and grew up as part of the local population. As soon as they joined the army, they were cast off from the pure Mamluk corps and were assigned to a lower military unit or *halaqa* (Ayalon 1953:456). It is hard to determine the exact number of the Mamluks in Egypt; however, it seems that at their outset the Bahri Mamluks alone were about 1000 soldiers (Levanoni 1990:124). Although this number must have increased due to continual importation of new Mamluks, it is important to keep in mind that the Mamluks did not pass their privileges to their freeborn sons and that a son of a Mamluk could not emulate the career of his father (Levanoni 1994:374, 377ff.). Therefore, because of such a restriction and considering the casualties among the Mamluk soldiers, it is most likely that the Mamluks remained a ruling minority throughout their history in Egypt.

It is clear that military organization and fighting skills enabled both foreign ruling minorities to gain power and confirm their political authority. In Iberia the foreign minority controlled political power through military conquest and invasion. Likewise, the Mamluk armies took over Egypt through military assassination. Military, in both examples, was under the direct control of the Umayyad *khalifeh* and Mamluks sultan and was used as an effective means to protect the state and its apparatus against internal as well as external threats.

2.3.2 Bureaucratization and Centralized Administration System

After the initial military actions, both the Arabs and the Mamluks appear to have created a centralized political system through which they gained socioeconomic and political control over the majority population. However, unlike the Arabs in Spain, who created dynasty-based rule, the Mamluks rejected dynastic secession and each sultan handed down the sultanate to the next Mamluk, who was elected by his peers.

In Iberia, al-Andalus was ruled by a series of rulers who faced civil wars and rebellions. It was not until the 10th century A.D. that Abd al-Rahman III unified the region and established a centralized political and economic administration through the rule of his governors, local and regional treaties, and a centralized taxation system (Collins 1989:81). The Umayyad *Khalifeh* was the supreme temporal and spiritual head of the state. His government was divided into three independent departments, the administration, judiciary, and military, where the highest positions in all three departments were restricted to Arabs and Berbers, excluding non-Muslims such as Christians and Jews (Imamuddin 1965:45). Provinces such as Toledo were ruled by the governor assisted by a judge and a *muhtasib* or market supervisor. Thus, the provinces mirrored the organization of Córdoba itself under the central government. In theory, the governor was appointed by the Umayyad *Khalifeh* and was removed by him at will. However, the government remained highly personal and the farther away the province was from Córdoba, the most likely that the governor was a member of the most important local Muslim family or clan (Reilly 1993:57).

Likewise, the Mamluks established a centralized state with a well-defined administrative system headed by the sultan. They, however, rejected dynastic succession and each sultan handed down the sultanate to his descendent temporarily until the Mamluks chose a new sultan from among their emirs (Levanoni 1994:385). Throughout the Mamluks' history, it appears that each election was preceded by street fights over power, and the sultan was usually elected from the winning faction. The elected sultan was surrounded by a group of high emirs who played an important role in state administration and finance. This elite stratum was organized into an advisory body called *majlis al-mashura* (consulting committee), which was headed by the *ra's nawba* (Levanoni 1994:383). In addition to *majlis al-mashura*, the government included two

important components: the *araba- al- suyuf*, or “men of the sword”, who were only of Mamluk origin and were military persons, and the *arbab-al-qalam*, or “men of the pen”, who were native freeborn Muslims, as well as few Christians and Jews, who held civil positions such as teachers, clerks, and administrators (Atil 1981:19). Furthermore, the provinces were headed by Mamluk *nuwab* or representatives, who were assigned by the sultan. It appears that freeborn subjects, including the Mamluks’ freeborn children, hardly rose to positions of power, and that the Mamluks monopolized the highest administrative offices, and closely supervised the Arabs and the Copts who worked in the chancery and financial bureaus (Perho 2011:19ff.).

Accordingly, in both the Arab and the Mamluk examples, the foreign ruling minority established a centralized ruling system that was headed by the foreign *khalifeh* or the sultan. Members of the foreign ruling minority dominated the high official positions, while excluding or restricting members of the local population to lower ranks positions. Through governors appointed by the *khalifeh* or the sultan, the central government was able to manage and control the state material resources and manpower. In Andalusia, for example, the state directly supervised textile, wood, pottery, and metal production through its representatives the *muhtasib* and *amin*, who made sure that each industry was practiced in separate quarters according to state policy (Immamuddin 1965:103). Likewise, the Mamluks emirs and governors were highly involved in textile and sugar production and trade through which they amplified the foreign ruling minority’s revenues and supported the state apparatus (Levanoni 1995:147). Thus, through a centralized ruling system and domination of high official positions both ethnic minorities were able to achieve political control and sustain their regimes throughout time.

2.3.3 Taxation and State Revenues

One way the Arab and the Mamluk states amplified their revenues was through imposition of taxes on the local population. From the beginning al-Andalus enjoyed a regular monetary economy based on rent from the confiscated royal properties, tithes levied upon Muslims, and taxes imposed upon non-Muslims (Reilly 1993:57). This income was regulated through the issuance of a stable silver coinage, the *dirhem*, and was used to support the state apparatus and military. Likewise, the Mamluk state collected taxes on agricultural production, and trade and imposed tithes on non-Muslim local population. For example, the state imposed taxes on crops brought by ships to Cairo, as well as the weekly and monthly taxes imposed on the mills and merchants in Cairo. In addition, villages also owed taxes to the central government and subsequently to the sultan (Poliak 1937:101,103, 105). In addition to taxes imposed by the state, local population owed taxes fixed by the custom to the landlords. These included rent of cultivated land, gifts at specific times of the year, taxes on the non-Muslim population, taxes from nomads for pasturage, and finally taxes on commerce and industry (Poliak 1937:106). The latter was of great benefit when the allocated fief was a small town.

It appears that both the Arabs and the Mamluks depended on a variety of methods for raising funds to support their states, ranging from taxes imposed on non-Muslims to taxes on agricultural lands as well as industry and commerce. These revenues, mainly collected by the central government, were then used to finance the state dependents as well as public projects, including digging irrigation canals and roads. Whereas taxes at al-Andalus were chiefly collected for the central government at Córdoba, in Egypt not only the state imposed taxes but also the landholders increasing the burden on local population.

2.3.4 Land Ownership

In addition to the military, centralized administration and taxation system, land ownership played a crucial role in enabling the foreign ruling minorities to gain and maintain political and economic power. After a brief period during which the Muslims' presence in Iberia consisted of small garrisons in important towns, a land distribution was carried out. Although the exact principles of this distribution are unknown, it appears that the Arab Muslim government confiscated the lands of those who resisted, and subsequently distributed them to the army (Reilly 1993:58). As a result, a large number of Muslim soldiers settled on lands confiscated from local Christians and became land holding taxpaying subjects. On the other hand, lands of those who surrendered according to the treaty of 713 A.D. with the Visigoths were guaranteed to them on the condition of annual payment. The treaty set the payment at one dinar per person per year, in addition to payments in kind (Reilly 1993:58). However, the opportunities for further acquisition of land must have been numerous, and default must have been common given the poverty of Visigothic Iberia at the outset of the 8th century. Thus, members of the foreign minority increasingly became the landed aristocracy of al-Andalus. It is important, however, to keep in mind that this aristocracy must have also included a few of the Visigothic nobility, at the same time a few Muslims would have become either peasants or country gentlemen.

With land came agriculture. Andalusian agricultural productivity intensified, especially between the 9th and 11th centuries A.D., through increasing land use, improved the irrigation systems, and new crops such as rice, cotton, eggplant etc. (Immamuddin 1965:83-87). These foodstuffs not only improved the local diet, but also increased the quantity of available foods in two ways. Some of the new crops, such as rice and sugar cane, gave a much larger yield per acre than the local crops, while others, such as sorghum, with high resistance for near drought

conditions, expanded cultivation into areas previously regarded as marginal (Reilly 1993:62). The increase of agricultural productivity through the introduction of new crops and the improvement of irrigation must have generated great wealth for members of the foreign ethnic minority, gaining them prestigious socioeconomic and political status within the society.

Likewise, control over land ownership and distribution played an important role in sustaining the Mamluk state in Egypt. Indeed, the most important aspect of the Mamluk state economy was the *Iqta* system, which was adopted from the previous Ayyubid period, however, with some modifications especially under al-Nasir Muhammad (1310-1341 A.D.). The *Iqta* was the land, or rarely the taxes, granted by the sultans and emirs to their soldiers in return for military services. In exchange for the benefits derived from the *Iqta*, the fief holder had a number of responsibilities, including military service and supplying troops in times of war, as well as non-military duties such as supervising cultivation and irrigation works (Mujani 2011:103). The sultan, who was the supreme ruler, owned the lands with high yield as his *Iqta*, while the emirs were allocated fiefs based on their rank and favor with the sultan.²¹

For the purpose of distribution and allocation of the fiefs, Egyptian agricultural lands were divided into 24 parts. During the early Mamluk period, four of these parts were in the hands of the sultan and his Mamluks, ten were in the hands of the emirs, and the last ten were given to *ajnad al-halaqa* (a military rank) (Rabie 1970:564ff.). These proportions were subsequently changed as a result of the *Husami rawk* (cadastral survey) of 1298 A.D. and *Nasiri rawk* of 1315 A.D. In the latter, the sultan received ten parts of the land and the remaining fourteen parts were reassigned to the emirs and the *ajnad* (Ayalon 1953:452; Levanoni 1995:54ff.). It is important to

²¹ For the exact monetary value of the property allocated for Mamluk emirs of various ranks see Poliak 1937:100-102; Levanoni 1995:54ff.

mention that there appears to be no official *rawk* after the *Nasiri rawk* of 1315, thus the latter remained in use until the fall of the Mamluk state. According to this *rawk*, a fief of an emir may contain 1-10 villages. In addition, a fief of a royal Mamluk may include a village, but usually was half or less than a half of a village, while the *ajnad* were given only a portion of a village (Poliak 1937:104).

The *Iqta* system must have brought a large income, especially to the Mamluk emirs and the sultan himself, considering the high yield of the Egyptian agricultural lands which amounted up to 9,584,264 *d.j.*²² even after the Black Death hit Egypt in 1340 A.D. (Poliak 1937:101). Thus, in order for the sultan to secure his power and maintain his position, he imposed certain restrictions on land allocation. For example, the fiefs that he allocated for emirs were scattered throughout Egypt (Poliak 1937:104). Thus, an emir would have his granted lands in different parts of the country and maybe even in a different country within the Mamluks' realm. In addition, it appears that the sultan prevented the emirs from living on their granted lands; instead they remained in the cities, mainly in Cairo, and collected income from their lands (Mujani 2011:104). This certainly minimized the chances for their independence or revolt against the sultan's rule.

In short, control over land ownership and distribution appears to be among the early mechanisms used by the foreign ruling minorities to assume political and economic superiority over the ruled majority. Based on the above discussion it seems that members of the foreign ruling minority eventually dominated the landholders' stratum and resided in large urban centers,

²² *D. j.* stands for *dinar jayshi*, a fictitious monetary unit used by the Mamluk armies. After 1375 the *d.j.* had a uniform value of 13 and 1/3 dirham (Poliak 1937:100).

while most of the local population remained peasants and worked in agricultural lands in the countryside.

2.3.5 Trade

Trade appears to be another important factor that enabled both the Arabs and the Mamluks to sustain their regimes and finance their ruling apparatus. In Iberia, maritime trade generated great wealth especially during the reign of Abd al-Rahman III (912- 961 A.D.), the first *Khalifeh* to organize a peninsular fleet, and the first to issue gold coinage (Reilly 1993:64). From this period on the trade of al-Andalus flowered and items such as silk, paper, fine glassware and metal-ware were brought from the Near East until their technologies eventually reached Iberia. However, the trade with the Near East was not as important as that with the North African coast. Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco were exchange points between the Near East and Iberia. In addition, they were important exchange points for goods of the caravan trade, which crossed the Sahara from the Sudan, Niger, and Senegal (Reilly 1993:65). According to ibn Hawkal, a geographer of the time, the westernmost route alone provided Abd al-Rahman III (912- 961 A.D.) with an income of 500,000 gold dinars per year (Reilly 1993:65). Thus, trade brought so much wealth that the Umayyad state switched from silver to gold dinars during this period. With the exception of a few products, the Iberian contribution to this rich trade was small. Timber for general building purposes and for ships was exported from Ebro at Tortosa. Ships were made, sold, and sailed to the African coast and further east where timber is rare (Reilly 1993:65). Steel of Toledo, especially worked into swords, became very famous, as well as the leather of Córdoba, the linen of Saragossa, and the cotton of Seville.

Similar to the Arab state in Iberia, commerce played an important role in the political economy of the Mamluk state. The Mamluk sultans and emirs were highly involved in the sugar

industry as both producers and merchants (Levanoni 1995:147). As a result of their involvement in commerce, emirs were exempted from paying taxes not only on what they produced, but also on what they imported. The growth of commerce under the Mamluks is reflected in the number of markets and inns they built in Cairo to accommodate foreign merchants (Abouseif 2007:51ff.), and in the scale of the commerce tax revenues. For example, in 1324 the commercial taxes collected at Qatya, the customs post located on the road connecting Egypt with Syria and Iraq, reached 1000 dinars daily (Levanoni 1995:148). In addition, the Mamluks played an important middle man role in the spice trade going through their land all the way to the Mediterranean and Europe (Meloy 2003:3). The main source for pepper and other spices was the port of Calicut on southwestern coast of India. The primary trade route between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean passed from Bab al-Mandab, at the southern end of the Red Sea, to Jeddah and Mecca seaports. The Mamluks imposed strict taxes on items traded through this route. During the reign of Barsbay (1422-1438 A.D.), for example, taxes were imposed on the spices coming through the Indian Ocean (Meloy 2003:4). These taxes were used by the state to the advantage of the regime and its officials as reflected in the writing of contemporary Arab historians such as Ibn Fahd (Ibn Fahd, *Ithaf al-Wara*, 4: 417-18).

To sum up, both the Arabs and the Mamluks controlled and participated in trade. Directly or through their representatives, members of the foreign ruling minority were involved in the trade of various items, which supported their socioeconomic status. Indeed, so much wealth was brought to Andalusia that the state switched the dinar from silver to gold. Likewise, the Mamluks imposed high taxes and restrictions on items traded through their realm, generating a great wealth for the state and its apparatus.

2.3.6 Sociocultural Exchange

Both the Arabs and the Mamluks were foreign to the population they ruled. Whereas the Mamluks were ethnically distinctive from the local population, the Arabs were both ethnically and religiously different from Iberians. Indeed, the Umayyad government dominated a society most imperfectly Muslim. The population of Andalusia consisted of a rich mixture of ethnic and religious groups. The Berbers formed the majority of the initial conquering armies, and continued to migrate to Iberia in later centuries. The Arabs were originally a small minority, however, their numbers rapidly increased through intermarriage with the local population and conversion to Islam, as well as through those able to claim Arab lineage as an important marker of social prestige (Reilly 1993:57; Hendrickson 2002:3). Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that not all the Arabs who migrated to Iberia over nearly eight centuries were Muslims, and that some Christian and Jewish Arabs must have been a part of this invasion. This is in addition to the fact that the local population itself was made up of a mixture of Christians and Jews, who further contributed to the ethnic and religious diversity of Andalusia. Although these different communities lived together throughout Andalusian history, conflict and violence were also a part of their co-existence especially during the formative years of the Muslim state and later during its disintegration. The relationship between the Arabs and Berbers, on the other hand, remained complex throughout Andalusian history.

The number of Muslims in Andalusia increased through reproduction and conversion. Although the local population was not forced to convert, they had great political and socioeconomic incentives for doing so. In the 10th century A.D., a massive conversion of Christians took place, and the so called *muladies* (Muslims of native Iberian origin), formed the majority of Muslims in Andalusia. Christians and Jews, whether of local or Arab origins, were

permitted to retain their religious identities as “protected people” provided they submitted to the Muslim authority and paid special taxes. All of these communities became increasingly Arabized through a gradual adoption of the Arabic language and cultural practices (Boone 1999:66-67). Christians adopted Arabic, while Jews maintained both Arabic and Hebrew. By the 12th century, Arabic replaced Latin and the Romance languages as the dominant spoken language (Reilly 1993:85ff.).

In short, the Arabs greatly affected the local society. They introduced Islam as the state religion. With Islam came the new institution of the mosque as a center of political, social, and religious life. Language was another important element that reflected the Arab influence on the Spanish society. Arabic became the state language and allowed the spread of foreign ideology and literature throughout society. Furthermore, the Arabs introduced tribal organization to Iberian society, along with their cultural customs, thus affecting the local household socioeconomic organization. At the end, the Arab and Muslim invasion transformed Iberia, at least southern Spain, into a distinctive entity with a distinctive culture now known as Andalusian culture. Near Eastern and Islamic concepts and details became prevalent and influenced both state and domestic architectural styles, forms, and spatial organization. The Great Mosque of Córdoba, built by Abd al-Rahman I between 784 and 786 A.D. and later expanded three times, incorporated local Roman and Visigothic elements while evoking the Great Mosque of Damascus (Fierro 2005:109). Furthermore, Granada’s Alhambra complex, built by the Nasrid dynasty and dating to the 14th century A.D., with its richly decorated palaces, fountains, and gardens reflects the Mudejar style, which is characteristic of western elements re-interpreted into Islamic forms and widely popular in Iberia toward the end of the Muslim rule (Irwin 2004:25ff.).

In addition to state monuments, domestic structures were also influenced by Arabs' and Berbers' social and cultural customs. For instance, the "L" and "U" shaped house compounds built around a private patio is an example of a North African Berber import into Spanish society. The separation of kitchen, food- serving, and sleeping areas seen in these houses reflect the separation of male and female activities in traditional Arab society (Boone 1993:51-64; 1994:527-544). Moreover, the ceramics recovered from this period suggest the appearance of distinctive glazed food serving vessels, including conical bowls, platters, pitchers, and tureens seen as indicative of the adoption of Arab communal forms of food service and hospitality (Boone 1999:66). Arab and Muslim influences are also attested in the written documents, art, and burials of this period (Dodds 1992; Immamuddin 1965).

Like the Arabs, the Mamluks were strangers in the territory they ruled, but their faith united them with the majority population. As mentioned above, the Mamluks were military slaves purchased as young boys of Turkish and other origins from southern Russia and the Caucasus. They were brought up in the citadel of Cairo where they were trained to become good Muslim fighters. Arabic language and Islam formed an important part of the training that all young Mamluks were subjected to as a part of their acculturation into the society over which they would later rule (Berkey 1998:164). Thus, throughout their history, Mamluks invested heavily in charitable endowments (*waqif*), including mosques, *zawiya*, funerary madrasa, etc. which characterized their monumental architecture in Cairo. Many Mamluks married into Egyptian families and their children had Muslim names, spoke Arabic, and integrated into the majority social and economic system (Abouseif 2007:1; Haarmann 1998:77-84). However, because the Mamluks did not pass their privileges to their freeborn sons and that a son of a Mamluk could not emulate the career of his father, they most likely remained a ruling minority

throughout their history in Egypt. Although sons of Mamluks were included in the state army, however, they were assigned ranks lower than those of pure Mamluks.

The Mamluks' background had little bearing on the concepts that shaped the majority society and culture as reflected in the material culture of this period. The sources of the Mamluks' architecture and art are mainly in the regional traditions of Egypt and Syria. Several features of their mosques, madrasas, and mausoleums built in Cairo were borrowed from previous periods. For example, the adjustment of the façade to the alignment of the street, and façade paneling were already developed by the Fatimid period around 1125 A.D. Furthermore, the continuation of the Fatimid and Ayyubid architectural elements is witnessed in the Mamluks' dome structures and their mosques and portal façades (Abouseif 2007:65; Ibrahim 1984:52-54). Likewise, domestic structures of the Mamluk period find their prototypes in previous periods and probably even in Pharaonic Egypt. Houses expanded vertically rather than horizontally; multiunit constructions consisted of one or two stories of duplexes or triplexes built above commercial space (Ibrahim 1984:47).

Although no Mamluk palaces survived in Cairo, emirs' houses provide further insight into the domestic architecture of the period. Like commoners' houses, emirs' residents were inspired by previous architecture, especially of the Ayyubid period. For example, the plan of the long hall with two raised *iwans* of what is now St. George's Monastery in Old Cairo originated in the late Ayyubid period (Ibrahim 1984:53). Like architecture, Mamluk ceramics and glass had their origins in Egyptian traditions of previous periods. Ceramics, for instance, reflect neither innovation in its tradition nor new techniques. Instead, the potters revived older practices and were inspired by contemporary arts with some experimentation with decorative vocabulary (Atil 1989:151), suggesting the Mamluks' adaptation of the local tradition and customs. Thus, unlike

the Arabs in Spain, Mamluks adopted the culture of the ruled population and integrated into the broader society resulting in no change in the material culture of the period.

The examination of the two ethnohistorical examples shows that, although different from each other, both the Arabs and the Mamluks used the military to initiate their control of political power over the local population. The case of the Arab Muslims in Spain, however, shows that the foreign ruling elites built and maintained their power by imposing a new socioeconomic and political system on the majority society resulting in significant cultural change over time. It appears that the foreign ruling minority maintained its political control through continual migration of Arabs and Berbers to Iberia, continual recruitment of Berber soldiers and slaves of Christian origins, intermarriages with the local population, and conversion to Islam. In addition, the state supported its apparatus through a centralized taxation system, as well as control over means of production, including land and agriculture, and trade. Furthermore, members of the foreign minority segregated themselves from the local population by maintaining their language, religion, social organization, and cultural practices. Although Arabs were a minority during the initial invasion, their numbers increased through reproduction, conversion, and through those who claimed Arab descent as a prestigious social marker.

In addition, ideology seems to have played a key role in the ruling strategies of the foreign minority in Spain. At the beginning, military force was used to invade and control the local population, later Islamic laws were imposed, and then a general ideology was put to work. The cultural transformation of Iberia was achieved not only by military aggression and the imposition of foreign laws, but also because of the foreign ideology and what can be termed as reverse integration. As mentioned above, the Muslims did intermarry with the locals who were then converted to Islam and eventually became a part to the Muslims elite. The transformation of

Iberian population and culture is well reflected in the significant changes in state monuments that were dominated by Near Eastern and Islamic decoration and cultural concepts. In addition, domestic architecture exhibits a new form of house with a distinctive spatial organization reflecting the segregation of men and women activity areas in accordance with the Arab and Muslim traditions. Furthermore, written documents employed Arabic as the official language of the state, replacing the Iberian language. Finally, a new form of burials was also introduced to the society reflecting Islamic and Arabic customs and traditions.

The Mamluks, on the other hand, presents a case where a foreign ruling minority built and maintained its status by adopting the majority's culture and tradition, integrating into the pre-existing political and ideological organization, and controlling the means of wealth. The Mamluks augmented their ruling elite class by continual importation of new Mamluks. They supported their military and state apparatus through control over land, agriculture, and commerce. Indeed, the Mamluks never abandoned the Ayyubids' *Iqta* system though they modified it to fit their own growing wealth and power. The state intensified agricultural production by building new dams and maintaining irrigation canals. In addition, the sultan and the ruling elites played important roles in commerce both as producers and traders. Furthermore, the state's institutions, including the military, were supported by a strict system of taxes that was imposed on agricultural production, land, and traded items. The wealth of the Mamluk state is well reflected in their monumental architecture, including, for example, the great mosque of sultan Baybars dating to 1267 A.D. as well as the funerary complex of sultan Qaytbay dating to 1472 A.D.

The Mamluks adopted Islam as the state religion and Arabic as the official language. They intermarried with the local population and had Muslim offspring who bore Muslim names

and spoke Arabic. Children of the Mamluks integrated into the majority society and participated in typical socioeconomic activities. Thus, this cultural interaction caused no drastic changes in the culture and tradition of the ruled population. On the contrary, the ruling minority adapted to the majority traditions and culture as reflected in the archaeological and historical records of this period.

The examination of the Arab and the Mamluk cases shows how complicated models of segregation vs. integration are, and that there is no clear division between the two examples. For example, while the Mamluks were ethnically different from the majority population, the Arabs were both ethnically and religiously strangers to the areas they ruled. Furthermore, although different, the Arabs took over power through military invasion and the Mamluks controlled the state through military assassination. In addition, although the Arabs segregated themselves from the local population by maintaining their religion and language, they still intermarried with the local population. However, their spouses converted to Islam and their children were freeborn Muslims, suggesting a controlled integration of the foreign ethnic minority. On the other hand, Mamluks intermarried with the local population and adopted local culture and customs, but they segregated themselves through the concept of “pure Mamluks”. Finally, although the Mamluks learned Arabic and it was adopted as the state’s official language, Turkish remained the *lingua franca* among the Mamluk elites. Accordingly, to better evaluate the Kassite case in Babylonia, it is best to consider these ethnohistorical cases as two ends of a continuum, one with more integration (i.e. Mamluks) and the other with much less (i.e. Arabs).

As mentioned above, neither model is expected to provide an entirely suitable match to the behavior of the Kassites and their effect on Babylonian society. In addition, it is significant to consider the fact that both the Arab and Mamluk cases represent examples of monotheistic

societies in which the population believe in the presence of only one god. The Kassite case, on the other hand, presents an example of a polytheistic society in which the synchronism of gods is prevalent. In such a society people had main gods as well as several family gods whom they worshiped in their houses or domestic chapels. Thus, the role religion played in the Kassite case must have been very different from the role Islam played in the above ethnohistorical examples. Keeping this and other differences in mind and drawing on the characteristics that emerged from the examination of the factors which enabled the foreign ruling minorities to achieve and maintain political power, I propose two testable hypotheses to model the mechanisms employed by the Kassites to maintain and legitimize their rule, and the extent to which they influenced Babylonian society and culture. Utilizing the attributes presented in (Table 2), I investigate whether the Kassite state imposed a new sociopolitical and economic system on Babylonia resulting in a change in the majority culture and tradition, or whether the state adopted and recreated Babylonian sociopolitical and economic organization resulting in a continuation of Babylonian cultural trends (Table 3). Within this framework, I use both archaeological and historical records to examine change and/or continuity caused by the Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction within a temporal outline (i.e. early, middle, late Kassite periods). This enables me to point out changes, if any, in the Kassite strategies and approach to Babylonians and their culture over time.

The results of this investigation will aid our understanding of how the Kassites legitimized their authority and maintained power for four centuries. Furthermore, they shed light on the degree of state involvement and impact on the broader society at the household level. Finally, this study presents the first anthropological investigation of the Kassite state in Babylonia, and the most comprehensive and systematic exploration of foreign ruling elites, their

mechanisms, and impact in early state societies. The final results can be used to generate a model of ruling elites that deviate from the focus on the imperialistic, as well as indigenous, political developments in early states.

Models	Factors	Archaeological Correlates	Textual Correlates
Case Study 1 Segregation	Military	Camps and strongholds of the Muslim army	Records of military campaigns by the foreign minority, lists recording names of foreign soldiers.
Case Study 2 Integration		Mamluks' training camps in Cairo citadel	Individuals with foreign names dominate military records.
Case Study 1	Centralized political authority and administration	Palaces, mosques, administrative buildings constructed by the foreign rulers in a foreign style	State documents describes the foreign ruler as the ruler of the whole country, he appears in charge of the military, and he controls state revenues
Case Study 2			
Case Study 1	Centralized taxation system	Large storage buildings in main urban cities	Records of taxes collected by the state officials from various parts of the society. This may include agricultural and animal products as well as labor
Case Study 2			
Case Study 1	Control over land ownership and agriculture	Remains of new crops such rice and cotton seeds. Remains of large scale irrigation projects, large storages	Record of rice and cotton production and sale contracts. Records documenting the construction of irrigation canals. Records of confiscated lands and land sale documents recording the sale of land to Arabs.
Case Study 2		Remains of large scale irrigation projects, large storages	Records of the lands given by the sultan to his soldiers through the <i>Iqta</i> system.
Case Study 1	Trade	Trade inns and khans throughout the urban centers	State records documenting circulation of these goods under the supervision of state officials. In addition, state official appear as merchants, as well as
Case Study 2			
Case Study 1	Religion and language	Remains of mosque, Arabic writing on buildings and objects	The appearance of Quran in Arabic State records written in Arabic
Case Study 2		Continuation of the institution of mosque and Arabic records	Continuation of Islam as the state religion and Arabic as the state language
Case Study 1		The appearance of a new house form, in this case "L" and "U" shape houses	New house form and size described in sale contracts.

	Household socioeconomic organization		Families made up of Arab and Spanish parents with Muslim children bearing Arabic and Spanish names and/or patronymics
Case Study 2		Continuation of the traditional Egyptian house architecture	Continuity of the same house form and size in sale contracts Continuity of the same household social organization and family type
Case Study 1	Mortuary Practices	New forms of graves, new methods of body treatment	New mortuary rituals and prayers in Arabic
Case Study 2		Continuation of the same grave forms and body treatment	Continuation of the Islamic rituals

Table 2 Factors enabled the foreign ruling minorities to achieve and maintain political power

Kassite state ruling strategy	Proposed factors	Archaeological correlates	Texts
Segregation	Military	Military camps and strongholds	Records of military activities conducted by the foreign minority, lists recording names of foreign soldiers
Integration			
Segregation	Centralized political authority and administration	Palaces, temples, admin buildings constructed by the foreign kings	State documents describes the foreign ruler as the ruler of the whole country, he appears in charge of the military, and he controls state revenues
Integration			
Segregation	Centralized taxation system	Large storage facilities in urban centers	Records of tax collection by the central government
Integration			
Segregation	Control over land ownership	Kudurru stones	Royal grants recorded on kudurru stones
Integration			
Segregation	Trade	Exotic stones and items such as lapis lazui	Textual evidence showing exchange of royal gifts
Integration			
Segregation	Religion and language	Temples for Kassite gods built throughout Babylonia Kassite language/writing appears on buildings and objects	Kassite gods became the supreme gods in Babylonia Building inscriptions and state records written in Kassite
Integration		Temples/shrines for both Babylonian and Kassite gods. Continuation of the Akkadian language on objects	Both Babylonian and Kassite gods appear in textual evidence as part of individual names or independent. Akkadian is used to document state and private records
Segregation	Household socioeconomic organization	New house forms and sizes	New house form in sale texts. Families made up of individuals with full Kassite names.
Integration		Continuation of the traditional Babylonian house forms	Continuation of the Babylonian traditional house in sale contracts. Families made up of parents with Kassite and Babylonian names with children with both Kassite and Babylonian names
Segregation	Mortuary practices	New burial shapes, body treatment, age and sex treatment	NA
Integration		Continuation of the traditional Babylonian burial forms, body treatment, etc.	NA

Table 3 Proposed hypotheses for the Kassite rule in Babylonia

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter presented two contrasting ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities of the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt, who employed different ruling strategies and influenced the majority population in different ways. While the Arabs transformed the Iberian society and culture, the Mamluks adopted the tradition of the majority and integrated into Egyptian society. The characteristics that emerged from the examination of the way each minority achieved power and maintained authority reveal how complicated the segregation vs. integration models are, and that the best way to evaluate the Kassite case is to consider these examples as end points of a continuum, one with more integration (i.e. Mamluks) and the other with much less (i.e. Arabs).

In both cases, however, it appears that the ruling minority's distinctive ethnic and cultural background played an important role in their ruling mechanisms, leaving traceable evidence of continuity and change in the material culture of the society in question. Thus, before examining the how the Kassites maintained political power and authority, it is important to first investigate whether or not they were an ethnic group with a distinctive cultural background, and if they were an ethnic group how we can identify what is Kassite in the archaeological and historical records. In the next chapter, these and other questions are investigated through the examination of the Kassite ethnic identity and culture as reflected in the available archaeological and historical data.

Chapter Three

The Kassites' Ethnic Identity

3.1 Introduction

The above ethnohistorical examples show that ethnic and religious differences between the foreign ruling minorities and the populations they govern affected their policies, such that foreign rulers' impact on the larger population should be identifiable in archaeological records.²³ Thus, ethnicity, being closely related to culture and the outcome of cultural distinctiveness, is essential to understand cultural interaction and its impact among different groups. To evaluate the Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction, it is important to address the question of whether or not the Kassites were an ethnic group with a distinctive cultural background.

To establish the ethnic identity of an ancient group such as the Kassites, I have to draw analogies with the better understood ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities, as well as other archaeological examples of ethnic groups. These analogies allow for assessment of the Kassites' ethnic identity and its characteristics as reflected in the historical and archaeological records. In the following, I first discuss ethnicity in anthropology to establish what ethnicity means, its relationship to culture, and the socio-cultural markers that define ethnic identity for members of an ethnic group as well as outsiders. I then address the problem of

²³ See Chapter One, Table 2.

ethnicity in archaeology and the challenges facing archaeologists attempting to understand ethnicity in antiquity. Finally, within a chronological framework and using mainly historical records, I attempt to reconstruct a Kassite ethnic identity in its general sense and what I consider Kassite in the historical records.

3.2 Ethnicity in Anthropology

More than a century ago, the pioneer sociologist Max Weber defined ethnicity as a sense of common descent extending beyond kinship, political solidarity in relation to other groups, and common customs, language, religion, values and morality (Weber 1961:305-308). Because most modern scholarship still follows Weber's definition, an ethnic group is still perceived as based on the belief shared by its members that they are of common descent (Weber 1978:385). However, according to this approach "ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in a political sphere. On the other hand, it is primarily the political community, no matter how artificially organized that inspires the belief in common ethnicity" (Weber 1978:389). Thus, it seems that the belief in common ancestry is likely to be a result of collective political action rather than its cause; and that people come to see themselves as belonging together, or coming from a common background, as a result of acting together (Jenkins 2008:10). Shared interests thus do not simply reflect or follow from supposed

similarities and differences among people; the active pursuit of collective interests does, however, inspire ethnic identity.

Within such a framework the sense of ethnic communality is a form of dominant social closure defining membership, eligibility and access; any shared cultural aspect can provide a basis and resource for ethnic closure including but not limited to language, kinship, ritual, and even an economic way of life (Ruane 2004). However, it is important to keep in mind that an ethnic group is not one because of the degree to which it differs from other groups. It is one because both its members and outsiders recognize it as an ethnic group, because both insiders and outsiders speak, feel, and act as if it were a separate group (Hughes 1994: 91). As such, ethnic groups are what people believe or think them to be and cultural differences mark “groupness”, but they do not create it, and an ethnic identification arises out of an interaction among different groups (Jenkins 2008:11).

Drawing on sociology, the notion of ethnicity came into widespread use in anthropology during the 1960s in the United States (Wolf 1994; Eriksen 2002). Perhaps the most general definition of ethnicity is as the “social organization of culture difference” originally proposed by Barth (1969), who summarized the anthropological definitions of ethnicity as usually having four elements: a biological self-perpetuating population, a sharing of cultural values and forms, a field of communication and interaction, and a grouping that identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category different from others (Barth 1969:10-11). This approach takes into account both the power and stability of ethnic identifications and the persistence of ethnic boundaries, as with anything else, but at the same time it argues that under certain, not uncommon, circumstances ethnic change can happen (Barth 1969:10). Thus, Barth emphasized that ethnic identity is generated, confirmed or transformed in the course of interaction and

transaction between decision-making individuals and that ethnicity is a matter of political strategy, individual decision-making, and goal orientation. Furthermore, culture is best understood as generated by processes of ethnic boundary maintenance, rather than the other way around. The production and reproduction of difference in relation to the external others is what creates the image of internal similarity.

Geertz, on the other hand, defines ethnicity as a “world of personal identity collectively ratified and publicly expressed” and “socially ratified personal identity” (Geertz 1973:268, 309). He views ethnicity as a fundamental, primordial aspect of human existence and self-consciousness, essentially unchanging and unchangeable in the critical demands it makes upon individuals and the bonds it creates between the individual and the group. In contrast to this approach, however, ethnographic evidence indicates the fluidity and flux of ethnic identification for any other position, suggesting that although ethnicity can be understood as a primary social identity, its salience, strength, and manipulability are situational. No matter how apparently strong or inflexible ethnicity may be, it is always socially constructed (Jenkins 1996:814).

Using ethnicity as a generic notion Kunstadter (1978) distinguished three ethnic varieties: ethnic group, ethnic identity, and ethnic category. By “ethnic group” he means a set of individuals with mutual interests based on shared understanding of common values. How much is shared is an empirical question, and common interests may lead to a degree of organization. By “ethnic identity” he refers to a process by which individuals are assigned to one ethnic group or another. It therefore implies boundaries, their creation, maintenance, and change. An “ethnic category” is a class of people based on presumed cultural features. It involves more or less standardization of behavior toward the category by others in the society. “Ethnic categories” may

or may not correspond to ethnic groups even when they share the same name depending on where and when the categorization is being made, and by whom (Cohen 1978: 386).

The situational quality and multiple identities associated with ethnicity suggest that it can be viewed as a set of sociocultural diacritics that define a shared identity for members and non-members. The diacritics most often used are physical appearance, name, language, history or collective memory, and religion (Isaacs 1975:46ff.). However, it is important to acknowledge the numerous varieties of such markers depending on the significance attached to any and all objects and behavior that provide some common characteristics for a group membership (Cohen 1978:386).

Although ethnic groups are not states, most of the time they exist within or in some relationship to states. This brings us to the issue of the political strategies, of both the ethnic group members and the state, which may preserve or suppress the distinctiveness of an ethnic group. States may attempt to divide and conquer by forcing such groups to maintain their traditional cultural practices as the Inca Empire did, or they may attempt to suppress local identities and encourage a unified identity of the state. The “melting pot” of the United States is an example of the latter (Patterson 1987:122; Emberling 1997:309). On the other hand, ethnic groups, especially their elites, may react in different ways to incorporation within a state. They may resist state attempts to maintain their distinctiveness or resist attempts to suppress their identity (Cohen 1969:183ff.). This probable opposition of ethnic group and state strategies suggests a general principle: state control and the political influence of non-governing ethnic groups are inversely related. As the state loses control of ideology and the production and maintenance of symbols, other groups within the state-including ethnic groups-may appropriate them.

Accordingly, for an ethnic group to survive it needs to maintain its significant socio-cultural diacritics mentioned earlier. However, if an ethnic group forms a state, for example, the importance of that ethnic identity will decrease within the new state, and if an ethnic group does not maintain kinship or linguistic ties, for instance, it will likely break into smaller groups. Finally, if members of an ethnic group pursue a strategy of assimilation, they may succeed and the group may disappear (Emberling 1997:310).

3.3 Ethnicity in Antiquity

The topic of ethnicity has been, and still is, a rather complicated and even controversial one in the field of archaeology (Kraus 1970; Marcus and Flannery 1983; Becker 1985; Leahy 1995; Emberling 1997; Van Driel 2005; Bahrani 2006). The main issues that archaeologists have to deal with are how to recognize the material remains of an ethnic group, and how to distinguish ethnicity from other types of social identity. Equally challenging is how to identify which characteristics would have been socially meaningful to an ethnic group in a given situation and how they would be visible in the archaeological remains.

Recent anthropological work (e.g. Henrickson 1984; Brumfiel 1994; Emberling 1995; Smith 2003) suggests that differences in almost any cultural features including but not limited to language, religion, body ornamentation, and cuisine can distinguish one ethnic group from another. In addition, material culture such as architecture, burials, and household objects (e.g. ceramics) may be used to identify a potentially distinctive group (Aldenderfer 1993; Beck 1995; Creamer 1987). However, it is important to keep in mind that such features do not always imply ethnic differences. For example, Hodder (1982) revealed the complexity of the relationship between material culture and social organization in the Baringo district in Kenya, where the distribution of spears and calabashes among the Njempas, Tugen, and Pokot groups had more to do with age sets and gender rather than with ethnic boundaries.

Although it is complicated to identify material markers of ethnicity in archaeological records, variance in material culture indicating social differences is particularly strong in the case of ethnic enclaves, a highly visible form of ethnic group distinctiveness brought about by the

movement of members of one group. The boundaries established in such cases reveal a number of ethnic processes, including strategies of assimilation or maintenance of differences (Emberling 1995:316). The group of Assyrian merchants in the Anatolian town of Kanesh is an example of ethnic group assimilation. In this case, without their records and account tablets we would not recognize them as foreigners (Larsen 1976, 1987). On the other hand, members of the Zapotec enclave at Teotihuacan marked their ethnic differences through Zapotec ceramic production, burials, and carved door jambs (Spence 1992). Likewise, the Teotihuacanos living at Kaminaljuyú maintained their ethnic identity in their public architecture, mortuary practices, and ceramic vessels (Sanders and Michels 1977).

Although different from ethnic enclaves, ethnic identity of a foreign group gaining power and control over a complex state society, such as the Arabs' rule in Spain 711-1492 A.D., is reflected in their names, social organization, religion, kinship system as well as their architecture, burials, and ceramics. Similar is the Libyan rule in Egypt (ca. 1300-750 B.C.) where the characteristics of the foreign culture are reflected in the rulers' title, burial practices, and political organization (Leahy 1985:58, 61). Although it is less challenging to recognize remains of foreign artifacts or practices in such cases, it is crucial to acknowledge that sometimes cultural distinctiveness may reflect elite status or ruling position rather than ethnic identity. Nevertheless, examples of ethnic enclaves and foreign ruling ethnic minorities offer the potential to understand in detail the material and symbolic negotiation over ethnic identity that occurs with the migration or movement of different groups of people.

Babylonian society was a "multiethnic" society (Sassmannshausen 1999:409), at least during the Kassite period, and different social groups must have lived within mixed neighborhoods and districts. Because Mesopotamian social groups left no guidelines on how

they themselves constructed their groups, we must draw on the ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and archaeological examples outlined above to explore the possibilities and limitations of ethnicity and ethnic groups in the light of the available archaeological and textual evidence. However, much of the available information on such markers can only be used in a very general sense; at the same time we should expect that in reality ethnic processes ran their course as a whole range of small scale local events, involving small groups of people (Van Driel 2005:2).

Although archaeologists are generally skeptical about the relevance of “large” movements of people as an explanation for contact between ethnic groups, Mesopotamia has long history of interaction between the urban sedentary communities and the non-urban and non-sedentary groups. This interaction is of great importance when examining the question of ethnicity in Mesopotamia in general and in Babylonia in particular. This includes the case of the Kassites who, like other eastern ethnic groups, had been active in Mesopotamian lowlands as early as the mid-2nd millennium B.C. Thus, the Kassite presence in Babylonia does not necessarily need to be understood as a large population movement, but rather as a result of a long term interaction that brought together different sociocultural groups, allowing for a sociopolitical and cultural mingling.

To sum up, ethnic groups are self-defining systems that are recognizable through certain aspects of their material culture. Although identification of these aspects in archaeological contexts can be problematic, a detailed study of a range of characteristics of the preserved material culture can address this otherwise unsatisfactory situation. Such characteristics as language, religion, social organization, and collective history may assist in the reconstruction of an ancient ethnic group, such as the Kassites, at least in a general sense or what is termed as “large scale ethnicity” (Van Driel 2005:4).

3.4 The Kassites' Ethnic Identity

To understand Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction, it is important to address questions such as whether or not the Kassites were an ethnic group with a distinctive cultural background, and in case the Kassites were an ethnic group, how can we distinguish what is Kassite in historical and archaeological records? To “reconstruct” the ethnic identity of an ancient group such as the Kassites, it is essential to examine the cultural characteristics preserved in the material culture, in this case mainly historical records, in a chronological manner. Despite the limited data available for the early Kassite period, aspects such as collective history, language, religion, and social organization are examined in this section within a time frame of the early, middle, and late Kassite periods, taking into consideration the Kassites' integration into Babylonian society over time. In addition, to better evaluate whether or not the Kassites were an ethnic group, I draw analogies with the better understood ethnohistorical models of foreign ruling minorities, such as the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt, as well as other archaeological and ethnographic examples of ethnic groups as relevant. Although this examination allows for defining a “Kassite ethnicity” in its general sense, it is important to keep in mind that in reality ethnic processes ran their course as a whole range of small scale local events, involving small groups of people, which may not necessarily leave traces in archaeological and textual data.

3.4.1 Collective History

Because an ethnic group is a social construct, it bases itself on a joint past in which creations regarding ancestral homeland play an important role (Isaacs 1975:123ff.). Although it

is impossible to know whether the Kassites thought of themselves as a one group sharing a collective past and ancestral homeland, Babylonian historical records suggest the presence of Kassite military groups who might have had their original homeland in the region of the Zagros Mountains (Stol 1987:54; Charpin 2004:339-340).

The earliest textual reference to the Kassites as foreign individuals and groups was in and around Sippar in Babylonia during the 18th century B.C.²⁴ These texts designated the Kassites as *Kaššû(m)*, a genetic adjective derived from a presumed geographical area, first attested from Smau-iluna's year nine "Kassite army" (VAT7751). Although *Kaššû(m)* is thought to be derived from the Kassite equivalent *Galzu/Galdu* (Balkan 1954:131ff.), the term remains rather ambiguous and its etymology indeterminate.²⁵ Nonetheless, in the late Old Babylonian texts, *Kaššû(m)* appears in a singular form referring to a single individual, such as a Kassite soldier (BE6/2; Di1122; OLA21,61), or simply "a Kassite" (AbB8). It also appears in a plural form describing social entities such as Kassite houses (Van Lerberghe 1995:387-388; AbB11; AbB6), as well as groups of people, including Kassite troops (OLA21; BM78767; CT45; VS7). These troops were described as having consisted of charioteers (AbB2; CT45), infantry (CT48), or possibly even mixed units, as they appeared drawing rations in the archives of the Old Babylonian state (OLA21; BM78767; CT45; VS7).

²⁴ About 36 documents and letters mostly from Sippar and Tell ed-Der dating to the time of Samsu-iluna and Samsu-ditana mention the Kassites explicitly (Sassmannshausen 2004: 288, 296ff.).

²⁵ The Akkadian name *Kaššû* appearing in the late Old Babylonian and Kassite periods should not be confused with the *kaššû*, a term appearing in the Old Assyrian period describing high officials in Anatolia (CAD K kaššû, p.292ff.; Shelley 2011). *Kaššû* and its various appearances in the documents of the Middle Babylonian period are being treated in a forthcoming PhD dissertation by Nathanael Shelley at Columbia University.

Among the several military titles mentioned in the texts of the late Old Babylonian period,²⁶ *gal tūr/rabi tarbaši* “head of the cattle pen” is of particular interest, because it provides insight into the foreign homeland of the Kassite troops in Babylonia during the 16th century B.C. This title first appeared in association with the “Kassite troops” (AbB2, 67). The holder appears to have reported to lugal éren *ka-aš-ši-i* “king/chief of the Kassite troops”, or to Babylonian commanders-in chief (Van Lerberghe 1985:no.20). In addition, this position seems to have been in charge of units of charioteers, as suggested by text 3218/15 from Schøyen Collection dating to the first half of the 17th century B.C.:

“Sheep and silver for *Bimatû* charioteers who have come with Gildi, the..., and Iltugi, the head of the cattle pen, when the army was staying in Dūr-Abiešuḥ”. “Sheep and silver (for soldiers) who have gone to Babylon with Gildi, resp. Iltugi”. “Sheep and silver within the pen of Gildi, resp. Iitugi, which was left behind in Dūr-Abiešuḥ”. (van Koppen 2011).

The above example deals with payments of sheep and silver to charioteers who were visiting Dūr-Abiešuḥ on their way to Babylon. It seems that some charioteers took their rewards with them, while others left them behind in Dūr-Abiešuḥ in the pen of their commanding officer, with the intention of picking them up in their way back. Although not very clear in the text, van Koppen (2011) proposes that what we are looking at might in fact have been units of chariots travelling with herds, and a man in charge of their accommodation who has authority over his unit (van Koppen 2011:6). If true, such an organization has never been attested in the Babylonian military before, and therefore might well be a foreign element associated with the Kassites, given that the position of “head of cattle pen” first occurred in association with “Kassite troops”

(AbB2,67). Because the above text explicitly associates the “cattle pen” with chariotry, it implies

²⁶ Other important military titles mentioned in the texts of the Old Babylonian period include lugal éren *ka-aš-ši-i* “king of the Kassite troops” or “chief of the Kassite troops”, who appeared with his staff of messengers and cattle pen supervisors (Van Lerberghe 1985:no.20; OLA21), and *bukašu*, attested in the Middle Euphrates area, who appeared to have been the senior commander of a “leader”, an individual in charge of foreign units of charioteers (Balkna 1954:102ff.; van Koppen 2011:5,19).

that this type of military organization must have been shaped by the ecology of the steppe, suggesting the Zagros area and beyond as a possible homeland of the Kassites of the late Old Babylonian period.

Unfortunately, no relevant data is available for the Kassites in Babylonia during the early Kassite period, except for a later copy of the inscription of the early Kassite king Agum-Kakrime recording the return of the statue of Marduk to Babylon (Oshima 2012). In this inscription, the king described himself as “the king of the Kassites and the Akkadians (i.e. the Babylonians), the king of the wide land of Babylon, the one who settles the land of Eshnunna, the wide-spread people, the king of Padan and Alman, the king of the land of Gutians.” (Oshima 2012:242). Accordingly, it appears that the Kassite king distinguished between the Kassites and the Babylonians, suggesting the presence of the Kassites still as a distinctive group within Babylonian society during the early Kassite period. More important, however, is the fact that he appointed himself as king of Padan, Alman, and Gutim, all located in the region of the Zagros Mountains, suggestive of the Kassites’ early control of the areas to the northeast of Babylon.

Further evidence for the Kassites’ original homeland is provided by the historical records recovered at Nuzi, north of Babylon, dating to 1465 B.C. In these texts several Kassite individuals appear to be natives of a Kassite country (*māt Kuššuhi*). Although the location of this “Kassite country” is uncertain, it cannot be Babylonia (land of Akkad), because the two are mentioned together as separate places in at least two texts (HSS14, no.46 and 47). Moreover, the Kassite country imported grain and exported horses (Fincke 1993: no.10 and 61). It has been suggested that this “Kassite country” must have been located to the south or southeast of Arrapḫe kingdom (Map 6), given that the Lullubeans were located north of Arrapḫe, the Assyrians to the northwest, and Babylonia to the southwest (Sessmannshausen 2004:292).

During early 12th century B.C., after the collapse of their political dynasty in Babylonia, Kassite tribes appear to have been concentrated in the regions of Namri (Namar) and Hamban in the Zagros Mountains (Map 6), in an area near the Iranian Plateau in the Mahi Dasht (Reade 1978:137-138).²⁷ In fact, Assyrian records refer to places known in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. as former Kassite fortresses in the Zagros Mountains (Parpola 1970: 86, 197), suggesting a Kassite association with this area.

According to the textual evidence discussed above, it is possible to say that the Kassites were indeed foreign groups who must have come from a significant distance. Their military skills as charioteers and the associated cattle pen supervisors suggest an organization shaped by the steppes to the east and northeast of Babylonia (i.e. the region of the Zagros Mountains). In addition, the fact that the Kassites' early attestation is mainly in the area of Sippar indicates that they most likely came to Babylonia from the upper Diyala region, the area of ancient Namar and Hamban, the same place where they appear after the fall of their dynasty (Map 6). In this case, the Kassites must have entered Babylonia through the lower Diyala region, which bore since the time of Samsu-illuna the Kassite name *Tupliāš* (Sassmannshausen 1999:411).

Placing the Kassites' original homeland in the Zagros region explains the year names of the Old Babylonian kings Samsu-iluna and Rim-Sin II, who described the Kassites as “the enemy, the evildoer, the Kassites from mountains, who cannot be driven back to the mountains” (Stol 1987:54; Charpin 2004:339-340), and provides social and geographical boundaries for the Kassites as a foreign ethnic group. It is likely that some Kassites remained in the Zagros area during the rule of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia, but it is also possible that some Kassites who lived in Babylonia might have returned to their original homeland in the Zagros after the end of

²⁷ Interestingly Namri was named *Babilū*, i.e. Babylon, in Urartian inscriptions (Diakonoff 1979:17ff).

their rule - similar to the Arabs in Spain, who returned to North Africa after the fall of the Andalusian state.



Map 6 Proposed border of the Kassite and post-Kassite rule (after Reade 1978:142)

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their rule - similar to the Arabs in Spain, who returned to North Africa after the fall of the Andalusian state.

3.4.2 Language and Names

As shown by the ethnohistorical examples outlined in Chapter Two, a shared language is one of the most fundamental aspects of an ethnic group. For instance, the Arabic language in Spain distinguished the ruling minority from the majority population and provided a means for Arabs' ethnic and cultural solidarity. Indeed, language is the most cited criterion for ethnic identification by anthropologists working with various groups (Isaac 1975; Lockwood 1981; Fought, 2006; Jenkins 2008). Although associating a certain language with a certain ethnic group is not always straightforward, language and linguistic expressions are often employed by members of ethnic groups to stress and ratify their ethnic identity.²⁸ Using language as a prime indicator of an ancient ethnic group is problematic because we are never dealing with spoken language. However, and despite the fact that certain ethno-linguistic groups used the written languages of others - as is in the case of the Kassites - we should not be prevented from using language as a tool in broadly identifying an ancient ethnic group.

Although there is no evidence for a written Kassite language, the available data in the few bilingual Babylonian-Kassite cuneiform sources, mainly from the Nippur archive, provide us with Kassite personal names, a small number of words mainly related to horses, several Kassite

²⁸ Examples are the Dominican Americans (Bailey 2002); Circassians in Jordan (Abd-el-Jawad 2008); Armenians in the Middle East (Sanjian 2008).

divine names, and scattered Kassite words in an Akkadian context such as the military title *bugaš* (Clay 1906:3-5, 54-56; Balkan 1954:1-4; Brinkman 1976:472-473; Slanski 2003:471).²⁹

Kassite personal names are of particular interest.³⁰ Despite the fact that people may name their children in languages other than the one they use, certain criteria may govern the language of name-giving. These may include prestige and economic advantage, the comprehensibility of the language used in the name, and the attachment to a language once living in one's communal history and tradition (Isaac 1975:76ff.; Watkins 1994; Lavender 1989). The last two criteria tie into the issue of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Indeed, Lavender (1994) argued that personal names summarize the history of a civilization, and that a given name in any culture is a noteworthy possession signifying ethnicity, religious tradition, and the degree of observance to a dominant culture. Moreover, as the culture, character, and background of people differ, to the same extent the nature of their names will be different (Lavender 1994:38). Thus, naming patterns are but one of the markers of a distinctive culture, and change in naming patterns may parallel other cultural transformations such as change in lifestyle (Watkins 1994:171). Change

²⁹ Balkan (1954) has examined the evidence for defining a Kassite language and have organized Kassite words and name-elements in what might be considered a "dictionary". His work remains a standard reference (Balkan 1954:142-190).

³⁰ Philologists working with bilingual Akkadian-Kassite tablets have made few tentative observations on Kassite names such as they had at least four vowels a, e, i, and u, perhaps each with long and short variations. Consonant were b, d, g, ḥ, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, š, t, and z (usually transcribed as I or j in Kassite proper names), syllabic r,ž (a sound shared with Hurrian, possibly similar to Czech ž), and an undetermined laryngeal that may be arbitrarily designated as H. Emphatic consonants (q, ṣ, ṭ) are lacking, except in names such as *Šuqamuna*. In Kassite, unlike the Akkadian, clusters of two consonants, such as *kim-*, *kt-*, *pr-* may begin words. Nouns generally had from one to three syllabuses, with bisyllabic formations being most common (often with a biconsonantal cluster in the middle, e.g. *galzu*, *ḥašmar*, *mašḥu*) (Brinkman 1976:473).

innaming patterns may also be a sign of cultural assimilation, at least for immigrants, which is likely to occur across generations rather than within a single generation.³¹

Kassite personal names appear with no obvious prestige attached to them. In the late Old Babylonian period, individuals with Kassite names appear as agricultural laborers as well as high military officials (YOS13:181; CT6; OLA21:67; Di1122; PBS8/2). Almost all these individuals bore Kassite names and/or patronymics, as did the Kassite individuals attested in the texts from Tell Mohammed dating to the early Kassite period (al-Ubaid 1983: nos.44, 42, 42). On the other hand, Sassmannshausen (1995 and 2001) showed that in at least 30 cases, attested in texts from the Nippur archive, fathers with Kassite names commonly had sons with Babylonian names, suggesting the Kassite adaptation to the Babylonian culture over time. Less common were fathers with Babylonian names who had sons with Kassite names.³² Among the latter, in one case the grandfather who had a Kassite name was also mentioned (Sassmannshausen 1999:409ff.). Thus, it seems that Babylonian individuals did not adopt Kassite names, at least not to a significant extent.

Persons bearing Kassite names or with indication of Kassite ancestry are attested in Babylonia even after the fall of the Kassite dynasty and until the middle of the ninth century B.C. (Brinkman 1968:257). For example, individuals with Kassite names continued to hold governmental offices in Babylonia during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (1124-1103 B.C.) (BM90858:ii12, 16). It is significant to mention that Kassite names were more common as patronymics or as clan designations during the post-Kassite period. According to Brinkman

³¹ A study of the naming patterns among the Italians and Jewish immigrants to the United States in 1910 shows that though naming patterns change due to cultural contact outside of the ethnic group, there is no abrupt, wholesale transformation of social identity from Italian or Jewish names to English names, and that the second Italian or Jewish generations were more likely to share names with the foreign-born members of their groups than with their American neighbors (Watkins 1994).

³² Such cases can be considered as “reverse integration”.

(1968) about fifty-six individuals of Kassite decent have been attested in this period (Brinkman 1968:249-255). Of these, fifty had Akkadian names, two bear Kassite names, and one bears a hybrid (Kassite-Akkadian) name (Brinkman 1968:255). This indicates the Kassites' integration into Babylonian society. At the same time, the persistence of Kassite names as patronymics suggests that at this point Babylonians were familiar with Kassite names, and that these names must have become part of the Babylonian culture that was reformed under the Kassite dynasty.

As for Kassite royalty, almost all early Kassite kings had explicitly Kassite names, and Babylonia itself was called *Karduniaš*, a Kassite designation that was recognized not only by the Kassites, but also by Egyptian and Hittite kings in their international correspondence (Moran 1992:EA1, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 9). However, after the invasion of Tukulti-Ninurta I most of the Kassite kings bore predominantly Babylonian names which might have been a result of the Assyrian intervention in Babylonia. Considering that the Assyrian king described King Kaštiliašu as “king of the Kassites” (Weindner 1939-41:no.17 and 39), marking him as illegitimate, it is likely that later Kassite kings may have adopted Babylonian names to justify their status as true Babylonian kings.

It is most likely that those who gave Kassite names to their children during the late Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods, including the Kassite kings, probably either spoke the Kassite language, or felt themselves associated with a Kassite ethnic group which possibly spoke this language. Although personal names do not always reflect the individual's ethnic identity, cases of persons with full Kassite names and persons with Akkadian names and Kassite patronymics suggest certain ethnic and cultural affiliations considering the criteria discussed above. The presence of Kassite names may well indicate the presence of a distinct Kassite language as an indicator of an ethnic element within Babylonia. This is perhaps true considering,

for example, among the Circassians, who assumed high official and governmental status in Jordan, the Circassian language became only a symbol of identification, distinction, and a carrier of their heritage without having practical value.³³

It is uncertain when and where the Kassite language flourished as a spoken tongue. There is an isolated reference in a letter written by Ammišaduqa in 1632 B.C. to an interpreter who came from a Kassite settlement (AbB7); however it is not known which language he translated. Moreover, no clear connection can be established between the Kassite language and other known languages.³⁴ Although it is impossible to reconstruct the language and its family without a full written text in Kassite, the available data suggest the presence of a distinctive language that probably also symbolized a distinctive Kassite cultural identity.

3.4.3 Religion

In addition to collective history and language, religion is one of the factors that often unite individuals of an ethnic group (Isaacs 1975; Lockwood 1981; Watkins 1994). Indeed, religion played an important role in the identity of both the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt. For the Arabs, Islam was the religion of the state they created, and only through conversion to Islam could the local population enjoy the benefits offered by the state. On the other hand, Islam united the Mamluks with the population they ruled and legitimized their political authority. Two important facts distinguish the Kassite case from these ethnohistorical examples: the first is that Babylonian society had a polytheistic religion in which belief in more than one god was the norm, and the second is that Babylonian individuals worshiped personal or

³³ For further information on Circassians in Jordan see Abd-el-Jawad 2008.

³⁴ A genetic relation between the Kassite and the Elamite languages was proposed by Diakonoff (Diakonoff 1978:63), however, very few similarities exist between the two languages (Zadok 1984:54ff.; Sassmannshausen 1999:413).

family gods as well as the main Babylonian pantheon. Thus, although religion might have been an important aspect of the Kassites' ethnic identity, religious differences between the Kassites and the Babylonians may not have mattered much, given that almost any deity could be worshiped in Babylonia.

Unfortunately, not much is known about the Kassite religion and the role it played inside or outside Babylonia. Names of about twenty Kassite gods are identified from Kassite personal names throughout their history, including *Buriaš* (the weather god), *Maruttaš* (often compared with the Sumerian-Akkadian god Ninurta), *Mirizir* (a goddess compared with generic Beltu), *Sah* (the sun god), *Šipak* (the moon god), and *Šuriaš* (the most common solar god) (Brinkman 1976-80:471ff.). However, there is no archaeological or historical evidence that temples were built for Kassite gods in Babylonia, or for these gods assuming important roles in Babylonian religion.

The special patrons of the Kassite royal family were *Šumališa* and *Šuqamuna* who were mountain gods.³⁵ Their shrines were presumably found in already established temples at Babylon, where the Kassite kings were invested with regalia of kingship. Indeed, the early Kassite king Agum-Kakrime (ca. 1570 B.C.) claimed to be the biological son of *Šuqamuna* (Oshima 2012:241) while Kurigalzu I considered *Šuqamuna* and *Šumališa* to be his personal deities (Heinz 2012:717). At the same time, these kings claimed to be supported and nominated for kingship by major Babylonian gods, including Enlil, Anu, and Marduk. Symbols of *Šumališa* and *Šuqamuna* appeared on cylinder seals dating to the late Kassite period (Porada 1948:66), as well as on the *kudurru* stones dating to the late and post-Kassite periods (Brinkman 1968:258; Slanski 2003:272). Along with the “lord of the Kassite pantheon” god *Harbe*, who was also

³⁵ These gods also occur in the Ugaritic literature (Brinkman 1976-80:471).

known in areas of Hurrian influence, they are the only symbols that were added to the Mesopotamian iconographic repertoire (Bahrani 2007:163).

It is important to mention that *Šuqamuna* and ^d*Kaššû* continued as a theophoric elements in personal names, mainly Akkadian names, during the post-Kassite period until after the reign of Nabu-mukin-apli (977-942 B.C.) (Brinkman 1968:256-257). Furthermore, it appears that almost all individuals who bore names formed with ^d*Kaššû* were members of Kassite tribal or clan groups such as Bit-Nazi-Marduk (BM90835: top17ff.). Finally, both *Šuqamuna* and *Šumališa* were mentioned in texts dating to as late as the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.), when their statues were returned to Sippar-Aruru, reflecting surviving Kassite beliefs in Babylonia (Brinkman 1986:258).

The above discussion suggests that the Kassites did in fact have a distinctive religious tradition, which differed from that of the Babylonians. It appears that the Kassites preserved their religion and deities in their personal names, the personal patrons of their kings, and on the *kudurru* stones.³⁶ At the same time, however, the Kassites adopted Babylonian religion and divinities such as Enlil and Marduk, whose names were frequently incorporated into Kassite personal names. Thus, while Kassite religious distinctiveness does not seem to have been significant in a polytheistic society such as Babylonia, the persistence of the Kassite deities and their cult long after the fall of their dynasty suggests that religion might have been an important element for their ethnic identity at least on personal or domestic levels. This is possible if one considers, for example, Hinduism's essential role in constructing Indian-Americans' ethnic identity and culture (Sinha 2010:113ff.). Through religious events, Indian-American

³⁶ One should keep in mind the possibility that various religious practices and traditions were preserved, at least to some degree, on the household level and within small communities.

communities maintain their connection with other members of their ethnic group, and expose the second and third generations to their religious tradition, which might have been the case also for the Kassites in Babylonia.

3.4.4 Social Organization

A certain lifestyle or social construction distinguishes one ethnic group from another. For example, the Arabs' extended households and the separation of male and female activities distinguished them from the Spanish population. On the other hand, the adaptation of Mamluks to the local Egyptian household social organization unified them with the majority population.

According to the late Old Babylonian textual evidence, Kassite groups seem to have been organized into units called *Bīt PN*; each *Bīt* (house) was presumably named after an eponymous ancestor and was ruled by a single chieftain (e.g. *Bīt Muḫuški*-House *Muḫuški*) (AbB9, 31; BE6/2). Although the Akkadian word *Bīt* is typically translated as “house”, it can refer to anything from a part of a house, an estate, a synchronic or diachronic social unit, a descent group, or a political division up to the level of a province (Brinkman 2004:286; Tenney 2009:124). In some cases, however, it seems that Kassites were actually bonded together in groups outside Babylonian cities and that these groups could have been under the leadership of a single person (Brinkman 1976-80:465).

Although no evidence is available for the Kassites' social organization in Babylonia during the early Kassite period, the archive of the *Kizzuk* clan, dating to 1465 B.C., at Nuzi reveals significant information about the interconnection of the clan members and their distant relatives (Maidman 1983; Dosch 1981). The archive suggests that the clan members often witnessed transactions of their close and distant relatives alike, and that they were engaged with

each other through economic transactions especially those of real estate (Dosch 1981:112). More important, however, is the fact that text nos. 55-61 of this archive reveal a dispute that spanned two generations between the *Hutiya* and the *Bēlšunu* families over the ownership of an estate. The property in question was located in the *Kizzuk* district, named after the ancestor of the *Hutiya* family and encompassed of as many as nine villages (Maidman 2010:125-141). Thus, the archive reveals that at least some members of this clan and their lands, located in this particular district, formed a corporate legal entity that claimed descent from a common ancestor in a non-Babylonian fashion.

Information on Kassite social organization during the late Kassite period is available from a few *kudurru* stones, including BM90827 dating to King Meli-Šipak (1186-1172 B.C.). According to this *kudurru*, the Kassite king made his judgment about the ownership of an estate known as Bīt-Takil-ana-ilishu, which was originally owned by Takil-ana-ilishu who died without a recognized heir (King 1912:7-18). After his death, lawsuits were filed by the brothers Takil-ana-ilishu as well as a grandson who claimed inheritance through his mother, a daughter of Takil-ana-ilishu. This example further confirms that the Kassite social organization *Bīt PN* did in fact constitute of a group of people who claimed a descent from a common ancestor, and that this distinctive organization continued throughout the Kassite period in Babylonia.

The above organizational principles appear to have persisted long after the Kassite political domination of Babylonia was achieved and had ended as reflected on *kudurrus* dating to the post-Kassite period. Indeed, after the fall of the Kassite dynasty in the 12th century B.C., some of the Kassite houses or tribes functioned as political units inside and outside Babylonia, with their chiefs ranking as equal to Babylonian provincial governors (BM90858:I 25; BM90840:A 6; BM90835:A 2). Moreover, members of Kassite houses such as *Bīt- Bazi* and *Bīt-*

Karziabku are attested in Babylonia as late as the 9th century B.C. (BM90858), suggesting the continuation of such social organization. It is significant that some of the post-Kassite “Houses” had eponymous ancestors who bore Akkadian names (e.g. Ahu-bani) (Brinkman 1968:256). This suggests that these “Houses” might have been established only after the Kassites were partially Babylonized. In addition, it is possible that these Kassite houses actually included Babylonian, non-Kassite, members through intermarriage and reproduction.

Thus, textual evidence suggests that Kassites, like the Arabs in Spain, had a distinctive social organization characterized by the presence of the social unit of *Bīt PN*. This unit appears to have been made up of people who claim a common ancestor and who were ruled by a single chief in a fashion similar to tribes or clans. This social organization is distinct from that of typical Babylonian households characterized by small family system common during the previous Old Babylonian period. Although some of the post-Kassite houses had Akkadian names as a result of their partial integration, it may well be that “Kassite ethnicity”, as defined by language, personal names, and religion, is reflected in this peculiar social organization.

3.5 Discussion

The Kassites in Babylonia exhibit several important sociocultural diacritics that might have defined their ethnic identity both for themselves and for the outsiders. How much was shared, and which diacritics were more ethnically important than others remains unresolved because of the limitations of the available data, however. Nevertheless, based on the textual evidence discussed above and analogies with other ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities, it is possible to reconstruct a Kassite ethnic identity in its broader sense distinguishing the Kassites as:

- a. Individuals with full Kassite names
- b. Individuals with Babylonian names and Kassite patronymics
- c. Deities with Kassite names
- d. Kings with Kassite names
- e. Kin groups organized into the *Bīt PN* social organization

Indeed, the Kassites are identified in Babylonian historical records mainly by their names. Despite the fact that these names were written in the Akkadian language, they are foreign and have non-Akkadian linguistic elements. Although it is not always true that individuals with Kassite names must also be of Kassite ethnicity, persons with full Kassite names and those with Akkadian names and Kassite patronymics suggest ethnic and linguistic affiliations. This is true considering, for example, that pure Mamluks in Egypt had foreign names while their children bore Arab Muslim names. On the other hand, Muslim Arabs in Spain as well as their children bore Muslim names indicating ethnic, religious, and linguistic association. Although there is no

evidence for a written Kassite language, the presence of Kassite names indicates the presence of a distinct Kassite language, which the Kassites might have spoken.

Like the Arabs and the Mamluks, it appears that the Kassites were in fact foreign to Babylonia. Their military skills and organization suggest that they might have come from the east and northeast of Babylonia from the area of the Zagros Mountains and beyond. Furthermore, like the Arabs who returned to North Africa after the collapse of Andalusia, some Kassites might have also returned to their original homeland in the Zagros area after the fall of their dynasty. Although it is impossible to determine the size of the Kassite population in Babylonia, Old Babylonian documents suggest that the Kassites appeared as small groups and individuals living in camps or tribal settlements in the Sippar area. However, it is important to keep in mind that their numbers must have increased over time perhaps through continuous “migration” into Babylonia or importation of Kassite soldiers, as well as intermarriage with local population. As a result, individuals with Kassite names and/or patronymics appear to have lived throughout Babylonia during the Kassite and post-Kassite periods.

Unlike the essential role of Islam in the Arab and Mamluk cases, Kassite religion does not seem to have been fundamental to their identity. This is true considering that Babylonian society was polytheistic and that Babylonian individuals could have both personal gods as well as state gods. Indeed, although the Kassites preserved their religious tradition and deities in their names and personal gods, they also adopted Babylonian religious practices and gods. On the other hand, Kassite social organization appears to have been reflective of their distinctive ethnic and cultural background. Like the extended family that distinguished the Arabs from the majority population in Spain, the *Bīt PN* social organization distinguished the Kassite houses from those of the Babylonians characterized by small-family household. This non-Babylonian social

organization appeared to be an important aspect of the Kassite households and their inter-clan connections and relationships as evident at Nuzi and throughout the late and post-Kassite periods.

To sum up, it appears that the Kassites were a foreign group with a distinctive ethnic and cultural background that appeared in Babylonia by the late Old Babylonian period. Like the Mamluks, the Kassites appeared as military mercenaries in the Babylonian armies and were eventually incorporated into the Babylonian society. Overtime, the Kassites adopted the Babylonian sedentary lifestyle and culture, including names, language, deities and religion. By the late and post-Kassite periods, the Kassites were integrated into Babylonian society and their distinctive cultural characteristics discussed above must have become part of the overall Babylonian culture. Thus, Kassites of the late and post-Kassite periods must have been different from those of the late Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods, in that the former were Babylonized to some degree. Indeed, Kassites do not seem to have been considered a foreign or intrusive element by Babylonians in the post Kassite period. For example, several scribes of the 1st millennium B.C. bore Kassite names such as Kurigalzu, suggesting Kassite continues presence as a part of Babylonian culture and society.

3.6 Conclusions

Examination of the whole range of characteristics of the preserved historical records suggests that the Kassites were an ethnic group with a distinctive cultural background. Their collective history, language, religion, and social organization indicate important cultural aspects that appeared to have survived even after the fall of their political domination. Over time, however, Kassites integrated into Babylonian society and aspects of their culture, including their names, deities, and social organization became a part of the broader Babylonian culture.

Having examined the Kassite ethnic identity through investigating their original homeland, language and names, and religion and social organization, in the following chapters I explore how the Kassites, as a foreign minority group, were able to maintain their rule in Babylonia for four centuries, how they legitimized their political authority over the Babylonian majority, and whether or not their ruling policies changed throughout time. Ethnohistorical examples outlined in Chapter Two show that bureaucratization, taxation, and control over means of production are important strategies to maintain power and legitimacy. Therefore, Kassite political economy, including the state's administration system, land ownership patterns, and trade are investigated in the following chapter to evaluate the Kassites' ruling policies in Babylonia.

Chapter Four

Kassite Babylonia: Political Economy

4.1 Introduction

Ethnohistorical examples of the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt suggest that, in addition to controlling the military, bureaucratization, centralized taxation and control over means of production, including land, are among the most important strategies to maintain power and legitimacy (Immamuddin 1965:83-87; Atil 1981:19; Berkey 1998:163). They also reveal that members of the foreign minorities occupied the key administrative and military positions, while excluding or confining members of the larger population to less important positions (Imamuddin 1965:45; Atil 1981:19). In addition, these states appear to have collected taxes on landholding and agricultural production to support their public projects and sustain their authority over the majority population.

Drawing on these ethnohistorical examples, in the following pages I examine how the Kassite state maintained its political power, supported its elites, and legitimized its authority over four centuries. I investigate the state's administration system, including its provincial organization and administrative hierarchy as well as revenues. I also examine landownership practices and trade to evaluate the state's involvement and control. Although most of the available archaeological and historical data are limited to the late and post-Kassite periods, the

results of this investigation reveal the mechanisms that enabled the Kassites to maintain their political power in Babylonia and the degree to which these mechanisms influenced the majority society at least during the late Kassite period (ca. 13th-12th centuries B.C.).

4.2 Administrative System

To understand how the Kassites, as a foreign ethnic group, were able to maintain political power for centuries, it is important to address questions such as how the state organized the local population, who managed and controlled the state economic resources, and how these resources were accumulated and utilized to sustain the state's authority and power. The following sections examine the Kassite state's provincial, administration, and taxation systems in comparison with those of the Old Babylonian state, and within the framework of the ethnohistorical examples of the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt. To better understand the Kassite state's provincial and administration system and its distinction from that of the Old Babylonian period, it is essential to first discuss changes in Babylonian settlement pattern during the late Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods.

4.2.1 Babylonian Settlement Patterns

To assess how the Kassites organized the local population and created a provincial system that outlasted their dynasty, it is important to discuss the change that occurred in the Babylonian settlement pattern and lifestyle during the late Old Babylonian and early Kassite

periods. This discussion allows for a better understanding of the socioeconomic situation at the onset of the Kassite state. Although archaeological data indicate a steady decline in the percentage of total land area occupied by large urban centers, Babylonia remained highly urbanized and the majority of people lived in cities and towns during the Old Babylonian period (Table 4).

Period	% nonurban (>10ha)	% large urban (< 40ha)
Early Dynastic II/III	10.0	78.4
Akkadian	18.4	63.5
Ur III- Larsa	25.0	55.1
Old Babylonian	29.6	50.2
Kassite	56.8	30.4
Middle Babylonian	64.2	16.2

Table 4 Decline in the proportion of urban settlement in central and southern Babylonia during the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. (after Adams 1981:138)

However, the urban decline reached its peak toward the late Old Babylonian period, specifically in the 18th century when the south rebelled against King Samsuiluna (1749-1712 B.C.), and continued into the early Kassite period.³⁷ Although it is difficult to point out what exactly happened in southern Babylonia, it appears that Samsuiluna's response to rebellion was so extreme that the southern urban infrastructure was severely damaged, water courses perhaps deflected, and agricultural fields turned to steppe (van de Mierop 2004:108). From this time on, the main branch of the Euphrates shifted its riverbed westward to flow through Babylon southward toward Uruk area via Murad rather than via Nippur (Cole 1998:29-34; Gibson 1992:420; Abraham 2013:189). Consequently, southern towns were abandoned and sites in the range of 10-40 ha witnessed great decline (Adams 1981:138, fig. 25). The rapid abandonment of

³⁷ For information on the major rebellion against king Samsuiluna in southern Babylonia and its political consequences see Chapter One, Historical Background.

southern Babylonian cities under Samsuiluna had great influence on Babylonian political and social landscape for a long period of time. Indeed, a gap of several hundred years has been identified between the early Old Babylonian and the late Kassite occupational levels at Nippur and Ur, for instance (Postgate 1995:50). This confirms that these cities were actually abandoned and were not reoccupied until later in the Kassite period, when their temples were reconstructed and water courses were restored (Gasche 1998:109-143).

In the Uruk area, the limited length and dendritic patterns of the rivers with the onset of the Kassite period (ca. 1600 B.C.) suggest that they formed only “tails” of a more extensive watercourse system that had shifted northwest leaving southern cities without water (Adams and Nissen 1972:39-41). This in turn resulted in a population shift northward to cities such as Kish and Dilbat and their countrysides, where water and agricultural lands were abundant (Richardson 2002:306ff.; van Koppen 2007). Indeed, the entire area of Kish seems to have prospered during this period. The sizable number of new small sites (Table 5) along the Kutha River indicates an increase in the rural population during this time (Gibson 1972: fig.12). Because of this population shift central Babylonia continued the progressive rise in the number of small non-urban sites (e.g. 10ha or less) which amounted to about 57% of the settled area. At the same time, large urban centers (e.g. more than 40ha) continued to decline to make up less than 31% of the settled land (Brinkman 1976:469). Likewise, the lower Diyala region, northeast of Babylon, shows an increase in the numbers of small settlements by the end of the Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods (Table 6).

Period	No. of sites	Sites founded	%	Abandoned sites	%	Surviving into following period	%
ED I	21	11	52	1	6	20	94
ED III	30	11	36	17	56	14	46
Akk.	17	4	23	2	12	15	88
Ur III/I-L	20	5	25	5	25	16	80
OB	20	3	15	7	35	13	65
Kass.	23	10	43	10	43	13	57

Table 5 Sites by period in the Kish area (after Gibson 1972:49)

OB sites continuing into the Kassite Period	Newly established Kassite sites	Settlements with traces of Kassite occupation ³⁸
< 4 ha	< 4 ha	<4 ha
69	17	36
4- 10 ha	4- 10 ha	4- 10 ha
14	2	0
> 10 ha	> 10 ha	> 10 ha
2	0	0
Total	Total	Total
85	19	36

Table 6 The Lower Diyala region in the Kassite period (Adams 1965:53)³⁹

The abandonment of large cities and towns in southern Babylonia by no means suggests that the population vanished by the end of the Old Babylonian period. Rather, it suggests a change in the society's socioeconomic organization - a shift from a highly urban lifestyle to a highly rural one - by the end Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods. This decline in urbanization and settlement intensity is also suggested by the inscriptions of the early Kassite king Agum-Karkrime, who claimed to be "the king of wide country of Babylon, who caused to settle in the country of Eshnunna the widely spread people" (van Koppen 2010:460). If true, this indicates the resettlement of central Babylonia during the early Kassite period. On the other

³⁸ These are sites with only traces of Kassite occupation, i.e. sites with surface material culture including only Kassite chalice bases. Such sites might have been temporary encampments away from major stream and canal courses giving the increasing importance of nomadism at the expense of settled life (Adams 1965:53-54).

³⁹ After Adams 1965: Table 14, with some modifications.

hand, the resettlement of southern Babylonia, including the cities of Ur and Nippur, was not accomplished until the late Kassite period. This was a result of the large scale building programs, including digging new irrigation canals, conducted by the Kassite kings which brought the ancient Sumerian heartland back to life.

Northern Babylonia, on the other hand, continued to flourish. It appears that well-developed small to medium size settlements dominated the area of the Hamrin basin throughout its history (Kim 1991: analysis I). The Old Babylonian period saw growth in the percentage of the total area occupied by small settlements, (less than 4ha), up to 23-25%. The total occupied area was also augmented, suggesting a population increase in northern Babylonia in comparison to the previous Ur III period (Kim 1991:242). The total occupied area continued to be similar during the Kassite period, which suggests a continuation of the same or slightly higher population density (Kim 1991:242-243). This ruralization of Babylonia may in fact explain the low population density of the early Kassite period; it is likely that a high proportion of the population turned to forms of semi-nomadic pastoralism that left few traces for archaeological surveys.⁴⁰ This is especially true considering the traditional importance of animal husbandry as a hedge against agricultural uncertainty in Babylonia (Adams 1974:7).

The examination of the archaeological data indicate that by the end of the Old Babylonian and early Kassite period Babylonia was reduced to a small, mostly rural, population thinly distributed in areas including Babylon, Sippar, as well as the Diyala and Hamrin regions. As demonstrated above, the replacement of the highly urban settlement pattern by one with small

⁴⁰ It is important to keep in mind that most inhabitants of small villages and towns and even cities were not isolated from each other and from the shifting semi-sedentary people of the countryside. Sippar, near the northern end of the irrigable plain and thus close to large regions occupied by semi-nomadic pastorlists, is an example where these outlying settlements apparently were especially substantial and permanent.

rural settlements must have been the result of a severe infrastructure damage following the southern rebellion of the 18th century B.C. In addition, ethnic factors might have also played a role in changing the settlement pattern especially toward the end of the Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods. The increase in numbers of semi-sedentary people including the Kassites, who concentrated in small newly founded settlements, must have contributed to the overall change in the society's socioeconomic organization.⁴¹ This, combined with the uncertainty of Babylonian agriculture, might have also resulted in the abandonment of the large cities in the alluvial plain.

To sum up, by the time the Kassites took over the state, Babylonian settlement pattern had changed from highly urban dominated by large cities and urban small settlements, e.g. Tell Harmal, to highly rural with only a few large urban centers and many small rural settlements. Furthermore, the Babylonian population had decreased and the majority of people seem to have turned to a semi-sedentary pastoral lifestyle. This ruralization of Babylonia and decrease in population density appear to have continued throughout the Kassite period as reflected in the Kassite provincial and administration system.

4.2.2 State Provincial System and Administration Hierarchy

As demonstrated above, by the time the Kassites took over political power Babylonia was reduced to a small, mostly rural population, mainly distributed in central and northern Babylonia. In this section I examine how the Kassites organized and managed local population and resources to maintain their political authority for four centuries. As established in Chapter Two, both the Arabs and the Mamluks organized the territories they ruled into provinces which they controlled through governors assigned directly by the *Khalifeh* and the sultan. These governors were assisted by state employees, who collected taxes and supervised agricultural production and

⁴¹ See Chapter One, Historical Background.

markets. In Andalusia, provinces such as Toledo were ruled by a governor assisted by a judge and a market supervisor. Thus, the provinces mirrored the organization of Córdoba itself under the central government. The governor was presumably appointed by the *Khalifeh* and was removed by him at will. However, the government remained highly personal, and the further away the province was from Córdoba, the more likely that the governor was a member of the most important local Muslim family or clan, whether Arabs or converts (Reilly 1993:57).

Likewise, Egypt under the Mamluks was divided into administrative units. Each unit or province was ruled by a Mamluk governor, who was assigned by the sultan and was given a rank such as emir of hundred and commander of thousand. Mamluk governors were assisted by judges as well as administrators, who were members of the local population.⁴²

In the Kassite case, the state appears to have been organized into several geographical provinces under what seems to be a well-defined administration system (Brinkman 1963:233ff.; 1986:296ff.). Because of the limited contemporary data on the Kassite provincial system⁴³, information gathered from texts and *kudurru* stones⁴⁴ dated to the post-Kassite period, Isin II (1156-1025 B.C.), are utilized to reconstruct a more complete image of the state provincial system and bureaucracy. It is possible to do so because textual evidence shows the same administrative organization for both periods (Brinkman 1963:233). Furthermore, because several kings of the Isin II and Bazi dynasties bore Kassite names and/or patronymics, this period might

⁴² See Chapter Two, Bureaucratization and Centralized Administration System.

⁴³ The overwhelming majority of the texts come from one site, Nippur, and cover a period of five generations (ca. 1360-1225 B.C.), and tend to concentrate on the bookkeeping of large economic units there. Thus, it is important to consider the representativeness of such evidence and their institutional point of view. In addition, a few *Kudurru* stones dated to the Kassite period provide us with further information on Kassite state provinces (BM90829; Sb22; Sb21; Sb26; Sb34; BM90827).

⁴⁴ References to all *kudurru* stones are made by citing their museum numbers. For their respective publications please see Appendix B at the end of this dissertation.

have been a short political revival for the Kassites in Babylonia (Brinkman 1976:465-471; Sassmannshausen 1999:219).

Although no archaeological and historical data are available for the state's provincial system during the early Kassite period, settlement pattern suggests that by the end of the Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods southern Babylonia was abandoned, and that Babylonian landscape was dominated by thinly populated small rural settlements distributed throughout central and northern Babylonia, including the Diyala and Hamrin regions (Adams 1981:138; Kim 1991:242-243).

The provincial system known to us from the late and post-Kassite periods also shows few well known cities surrounded by many small rural settlements and hamlets, a situation different from that of the Old Babylonian period when Babylonia was dominated by large urban centers. Furthermore, this system shows that most of the provinces of the late and post-Kassite periods were located to the north of and parallel to Nippur, suggesting that southern Babylonia continued to be thinly populated throughout the period (Brinkman 1963:234-235). At this time, Babylonia appears to have been divided into administrative districts called *piḫatu* or "province" (Balkan 1986:12; Brinkman 1968:296). In several cases, these provinces took their names from previously existing political entities (e.g. *māt Tâtîm*), from local tribes (e.g. *Bīt-Sîn-mager*), or from a main city in a region (e.g. *Isin*) (Brinkman 1963:234). About 15 provinces are attested, at least for the post-Kassite period, including for instance Dūr-Kurigalzu, Nippur, and Namar.⁴⁵ It is significant to mention that although these provinces were distributed from the southern coastline of Babylonia (*Šeš-ku* province) to the Diyala region and Lower Zab (Namar province) in the north, they seem to have been concentrated north of Nippur as suggested by *kudurrus*

⁴⁵ For the complete list of the provinces see Brinkman 1968:297.

(BM90850:I 5; Sb21:ii 9) dating to the Kassite period. This certainly explains the scarcity of the Kassite occupational levels in southern Babylonian cities, such as Ur, suggesting that such cities were thinly populated or only temporarily occupied during this period.

Similar to the Old Babylonian state where cities and countryside were under the direct control of the central administration, at least during Hammurabi's period (van de Mieroop 2005:80ff.; Richardson 2007:23), the Kassite provinces were organized to include both urban centers and rural settlements and in some cases a combination of both. This is evident in the administrative archives found at Nippur, in which almost all the settlement names occurring are either of large well known cities or of small villages (Brinkman 1976:469). In addition, Nippur province itself seems to have consisted of Nippur along with many small agricultural hamlets in its vicinity. The inclusion of both rural and urban populations within the Kassite provincial organization is further revealed in the satellite images of Babylonian sites dating to the Kassite period. These images show that small settlements (ca. 2-5ha) dominated by a large building were common throughout Babylonia in comparison to the previous Old Babylonian period (Fig.1 & 2). Archaeologically, this type of settlement has been excavated in the rural area of the Hamrin Basin, especially at Tell Yelkhi (Fig.3). There a site of (ca. 3.74ha) dating to the late Kassite period was dominated by a large structure consisting of 12 rooms (Fig.4). Both the material culture and the site location in relation to the surrounding settlements suggest that this building might have had an administrative function (Invernizzi 1980:31ff.). This is especially true if we consider the contemporary site of Tell Kesaran, where a large number of kilns used for ceramic production were found. The proximity of the two sites (less than 1/5Km) and the large number of kilns suggest a center for ceramic production probably associated with the administration at Tell Yelkhi (Dammer 1985:56-60). In addition, textual evidence from the nearby Tell Imlihiye (Map

3) mentioning Kassite rulers suggests that this area might have been under direct control of the Babylonian central government, at least during the late Kassite period as evident in the following examples:⁴⁶

“(Vs.) Ein kleines/junges Mädchen, geboren im Lande Kaššû, mi Namen Bālti-Nergal, - 1 Elle ihre [Grö]ße – hat Bēl-ušalim[?], Sohn des Webers von Apil-Nergal, Shon des Ili-šēmi gekauft. Als sein Kaufpreis: 11 Kor Getreide im Sūtu Maß zu 5 qû für 3 Šekel Gold, 1 weibliches Rind für 10 Šekel Gold,... muḫtillu-Gewänder... für ½ Šekel Gold.
(Rs.) 2 ½ Aus der Hand des Ibnutu er[hielt[?]]er ... (Es folgen 6 Zeugen).
Im Monat Tašrītu, am 2. Tag, 2.Jahr des Kaštiliašu”.(Kessler 1982:no. 1).

“Vs. 6 kor von 2.Qualität (?)...., Zinsgetreide im Sūtu-Maß zu 5 qû hat Apil-Nergal, Sohn des Ili-šēm, von Kilamdu erhalten. Am Tag der Ernte
(Rs.) wird er insgesamt (?) 6 kor Getreide, seinen Ertrag darmessen. Im Monat Simānu, Anfangsjahr des Königstums des Kaštiliašu. Siegel des Kilamdu (Rd.)... Kor (?)Zins wird er darmessen”. (Kessler 1982:no. 28)

Accordingly, it seems that the Kassite state incorporated the majority of the population into a highly rural provincial system different from that of the earlier Old Babylonian period, when most of the population lived in large cities. Furthermore, while the Old Babylonian small settlements, such as Tell Harmal and Haradum, were also urban considering their temples and large governor houses, the majority of the Kassite small settlements appear to be purely rural with no public structures. In addition, several of the Kassite small settlements were dominated by a single large building, as evident at Tell Yelkhi, reflecting a distinctive special organization from that of the Old Babylonian small settlements. Although some rural autonomy must be assumed, the fact that rural areas, such as the Hamrin Basin, were controlled by the central administration, at least during the late Kassite period, must have increased the state’s access to

⁴⁶ Also texts nos. 28 and 31 are respectably dated to the 3rd and 6th year of King Kaštiliašu (Kessler 1982). In addition, texts nos. 717, 719 from Tell Zubiedi are respectably dated to the 2nd year of King Šargarakti-Šuriaš and to the 29th day of the reign of King Enlil-nādin-šumi (Kessler 1985:133-134).

extra labor and natural resources and contributed to a stable political and economic condition which raises the question of how did the Kassites, as a foreign ruling minority, administrate these provinces and control their material resources and man power?

Similar to the previous Old Babylonian period during which provinces were administrated by governors assigned by the king (van de Mieroop 2005:85ff.; Yoffee 1977:148), most of the Kassite provinces were headed by the *šaknu* or *šakin māti* “governor” (Sb21:iii 5). Evidence from the post-Kassite period suggests that this position was assigned by royal appointment, and the office holder could be shifted from one province to another as needed, which suggests some central control over the administrative system (Hinke 1907:149; BM90858:ii18). The governor reported directly to the Kassite king, who in turn channeled crown business through this official. For example, when granting a parcel of land, the king would send his orders to the governor and the governor would make the actual grant of land to a third party (Hinke 1907:9-13).

In some cases governors of the Kassite state had different titles. For instance, at Nippur the governor was called *šandabakku* (Landsberger 1965:75-76), a title that is attested only in this city. In addition to the large archive and the palace recovered here Nippur was of great religious importance as the seat of the supreme god Enlil, which may explain its governor’s unique title. On the other hand, *kudurrus* from the post-Kassite period suggest that in provinces east of the Tigris, where tribal rule was strong, powerful native governors were called *bēl bīti* (BM90858:I 25; BM90840:A 6; BM90835:A 2). These governors ruled over independent provinces such as *Bīt Ada*, which in this case had no *šaknu* (BM90840: top 12). In addition, a *bēl bīti* also appeared as head of a subordinate area within a province, evidently powerful enough that the king maintained friendship with him in time of war (BM 90858:I 45-48). It is important to mention

that this title does not seem to be a part of the state officialdom, but rather a feature of a tribal regime that the Kassite state had to deal with on its eastern border (Brinkman 1963:235). This suggests that the remote rural provinces were in fact tribal areas which the state attempted to incorporate into the provincial system to expand its access to material resources and manpower. The Kassites' continuous connection with the east Tigris area and the fact that they might have originated in this region must have made this task much easier in comparison to the situation attested in previous period, when these regions formed a constant threat to the Babylonian state.

In addition to the governors who were assigned by and reported to the Kassite king, a well-developed administrative hierarchy was established under a direct control of the central government. This administrative hierarchy is explained in private herding contracts from the Nippur archive dealing with cattle and other animals. The herder who attends the flocks seems to be at the lowest level. His immediate boss is the *ḫazannu* “mayor”, possibly a local administrator. The *ḫazannu* in turn is responsible to a poorly understood next level, an official labeled *kaššû*⁴⁷, who is directly under the governor *šaknu*, who in turn reports to the king (Tenney 2011:103; Sassmannhausen 1999:416). Although it is uncertain whether or not all references to *kaššû*-officials were describing the same rank or position, i.e. the *ḫazannu* supervisor, the documentation types are similar enough to reasonably make the assumption (Shelley 2011). It is possible that *kaššû* were the officials who looked after the king's interests in the flocks connected with the palace. Each *kaššû* supervised one or more *ḫazannu*. It is important to mention that while titles such as *šaknu* was known during the previous Old Babylonian period,

⁴⁷ The Akkadian name *Kaššû* appearing in the Kassite period should not be confused with the *kaššû*, a term appearing in the Old Assyrian period describing high officials in Anatolia (CAD K *kaššû*, p. 292ff.; Shelley 2011). In addition, the term as it appears has no ethnic or cultural designations; it simply designates a professional position. *Kaššû* and its various appearances in the documents of the Middle Babylonian period are being treated in a forthcoming PhD dissertation by Nathanael Shelley at Columbia University.

the term *hazannu*, for example, was very rare and it only became popular during this period, suggesting Kassite modification of the Babylonian administration system. In addition to the above officials, individuals holding the office of *sukkalu*, attested in the late and post-Kassite periods, are of particular interest. It appears that these officials, who might have been court personnel, were often members of certain Kassite clans, such as *Nazi Marduk*, and that they bore mainly Kassite names and/or patronymics (BM90850:ii 35; BM90858:ii 24; BM90938:32; BM90840: I 9, A 5, B 4; BM 90922: rev. 22), suggesting a strong presence of the Kassites in the Babylonian court even after the collapse of the Kassite dynasty.

It is particularly interesting to note that, at least during the late Kassite period, only a minority of the known provincial governors had Kassite names. Furthermore, almost all mayors and scribes had Babylonian names. Only 1 of the 50 mayors and 1 of the 61 scribes so far attested for the late Kassite period bore clearly Kassite names (Sassmannhausen 1999:416). Even more significant is the fact that almost all the officials labeled as *kaššû* have Babylonian names, not Kassite (Tenney 2011:103). However, the fact that most of the *sukkalu* holders bore Kassite name indicates that Kassite individuals did in fact play an important role in the state politics and administration. Thus, it appears that officials of the Kassite state consisted of both Babylonians and Kassites, with Babylonians making up the majority of the provincial administration staff during the late and post-Kassite periods. Furthermore, individuals with Babylonian names appear to hold high positions in the Kassite state, suggesting that the Kassites did not restrict such positions to Kassite individuals only. However, while the Kassite dynasty appears to have left the local government in the hands of the Babylonians, presumably loyal to the Kassite crown, the Kassite monarchy kept strong control over the whole administration system. Like the Arab

khalifeh in Spain and the Mamulk sultan in Egypt, the Kassite monarchs⁴⁸ oversaw the efficient operation of this administrative system. The Kassite king kept a close eye on matters such as irrigation (Hinke 1907:149-150), and conducted public projects, including roads and bridges (BM90858:ii 2; Sb22:iii 22ff.). Members of the royal family are also attested in the public domain as well. For instance a son of King Kurigalzu, a son of Kadašman- Enlil I, and a grandson of a Kadašman- Enlil claimed the title of *nu.èš^den.lil* “priest of Enlil” in their seal inscriptions (OIP22 no.276; NABU 1990:103).

To sum up, although the Kassites appear to have adopted some features of the previous Old Babylonian administration, they certainly introduced a new provincial and administration system. Whereas for the most part of the previous period Babylonia consisted of two main parts, southern and northern, dominated by large cities, Kassite Babylonia was organized into provinces dominated by rural settlements under a well-defined administration. Unlike the Old Babylonian period during which inhabitants of cities such as Nippur and Ur were first and foremost residents of their cities rather than the state, the provinces under the Kassites were unified within the territorial state of *Kardunaiš* and a sense of a broader Babylonian identity was introduced. Although some rural autonomy existed, as evident in the provinces of the east Tigris mentioned above, both rural and urban populations were brought under the administration of the new territorial state. This administration in turn consisted of both Babylonians and Kassites and was closely supervised by the Kassite monarch. While some administrative positions were inherited from the previous Old Babylonian state, others became more common under the

⁴⁸ According to the Babylonian king list A, the Kassite dynasty consisted of 36 kings who ruled total of 576 years. Most of the kings were Kassite and bore Kassite names; many of them belonged to a single family that held the crown for several centuries. Occasionally uprisings interrupted the king sequence. Kings of the later dynasties beginning with Kudur-Enlil (1254-1246 B.C.) had Babylonian names even though they were of Kassite descent (Brinkman 1976:26; Grayson 1980-83:90ff.).

Kassites, reflecting modification of the Babylonian administration to accommodate the new state administrative needs.

Unlike earlier Babylonian monarchs, Kassite kings exhibit several important features that might have contributed to the state's political and economic stability during this period. First, the Kassite monarch was the king of Babylonia and not a ruler of a city-state who gained eventual control over other city-states. In other words, he was first and foremost the ruler of the whole country of Babylonia or *Kardunaiš*, a Kassite term that appeared after the unification of northern and southern Babylonia into a single political entity. Second, the Kassite king ranked high in international affairs. Over three centuries (15-13th B.C.) Babylonian culture and language played a fundamental role in the cosmopolitan world of the Near East. Although Babylonia itself was neither geographically central nor dominant militarily, there is no doubt that under the Kassite rule it became one of the principal states in the area and a seat of the "great kings". It is possible that the territorial nature of the Kassite state and its involvement in the movement of highly symbolic commodities, such as horses and lapis lazuli, put the Kassite monarchs among the great kings. This in turn must have gained them the satisfaction and trust of the Babylonian population, especially the elites, who must have benefited from the rewards of such trade, as suggested by the ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities in Andalusia and Egypt. In both examples the elite stratum, whether members of the foreign ruling minority or local aristocrats who allied with the foreign ruling minority, gained great economic benefits directly as traders or indirectly as producers of traded items. Furthermore, this trade made available ample of foreign items and foodstuff for the local population in both Spain and Egypt.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ See Chapter Two, Trade.

4.2.3 State Revenues and Taxation System

To understand how the Kassite state sustained its ruling elites and bureaucracy, and how it maintained control of political power, this section explores the source of its revenues as well as the mechanisms employed to derive them. As demonstrated by the ethnohistorical examples in Chapter Two, tax collection was one of the most important sources of the state's revenues for both the Arabs and the Mamluks. In Andalusia, the state collected taxes in the form of tithes levied on Muslims, taxes imposed on non-Muslims, and annual payments and payments in kind on agricultural lands. Likewise, the Mamluks imposed taxes on crops, commerce, mills and merchants, as well as villages.⁵⁰

Most of our information on the Kassite state revenues comes from the archive at Nippur dated to (ca. 1360-1225 B.C.). This archive, however, mainly records taxes collected from towns and hamlets located within this province territory, thus it is important to consider the representativeness of such evidence and their institutional point of view. To broaden our perspective, further information is gathered from the taxation clauses inscribed on the *Kudurru* stones, from both the Kassite and post-Kassite periods, to shed light on what the state taxation system might have looked like.⁵¹

During the previous Old Babylonian period, taxes on agricultural fields and on all kinds of agricultural and animal products were collected for the state. For example, *misku* taxes were imposed on an increase in agricultural productivity, while *šibšu* were payments made by a tenant of a field to a beneficiary designated by the central authority (Ellis 1969:6ff., 124ff.). In addition,

⁵⁰ See Chapter Two, Taxation and State Revenues.

⁵¹ *Kudurru*s of the post-Kassite period are included because previous research has shown the same administrative organization for both periods (Brinkman 1963:233). Furthermore, because several kings of the Isin II and Bazi dynasties bore Kassite names and/or patronymics, this period may represent a short political revival for the Kassites in Babylonia (Brinkman 1976:465- 471; Sassmannshausen 1999:219).

the Babylonian crown generated further revenues through leasing the crown's fields or distributing them to palace officials and soldiers in return for rental fees to the crown (Yoffee 1977:31 ff.). These payments were collected by state officials, and were accumulated and used to support the state apparatus and public projects.

Similar to the Old Babylonian state, it appears that during the late Kassite period the Kassite state imposed taxes on various agricultural products, including grain, sesame, oil, dates, flour, livestock etc. (Clay 1906: nos.112, 114, 21, 56). Although not always clear, it seems that these were collected for the local authorities, provincial government, and the king. At Nippur, various taxes, including *GISH-BAR*, *SHE-BA* or *qa*, were collected and recorded along with names of the towns from which they were received, the local agents who collected them, and in some cases the date of collection (Clay 1906:nos.112, 114). These commodities were then either brought to Nippur or if the town had a storehouse they were deposited in the local storehouse (Clay 1906:7). On the other hand, taxes from small towns or estates were brought to large cities, such as Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu, and deposited in their storehouses, or immediately used as payments for various business transactions as suggested by the following examples from Nippur archive:

“150 *gur* of seed of the 10 *qa* tax, from the town of *Shêlibi*, which to Nippur and Dūr-Kurigalzu for maintenance (had been brought); *Hananai* and *Nûr-Marduk* from the hands of *Huzalum* and *Martuki* have received.” (Clay 1906:no.26).

“*Ashanna* grain out of the full tax from *Kar-Adab*, which was received from *Lusšu-ana-nûr-Nusku*, and which was paid.7 *gur* 132 *qa* as a salary of Ardu-ûmu 13.1 *gur* 84 *qa* (to) *Mâr-Rammân* of the town *Shêlibi*, 36 *qa* to *Bunna-Marduk*, 105 *qa* as rent for a ship.Total, 10 *gur*.”(Clay 1906:no.159).

Further information on the taxation system is revealed by the *kudurrus*' taxation clauses dating to the post-Kassite period. These clauses mention burdens that rural areas had to bear, including taxes on fodder, straw, wood, and on flock increase (Sb23:1 20, Sb91:iii 32-33). In addition taxed areas had to provide transportation wagons, teams, donkeys, and workers to the crown (BM92987:36-38). For example on a *kudurru* dated to Nebuchadnezzar I, the king freed the towns or villages of *Bit-Karziabku* from all taxation, dues, or confiscation on the part of the king's officers or the local officials of Namar (King 1912:30). He secured the freedom of the towns from the corvée for public works, including building bridges and city walls, maintaining roads, clearing canals, supervising the opening and closing of the floodgates. The king further freed the inhabitants from liability to arrest by imperial soldiers stationed in the towns and villages, and prevented the billeting of such soldiers on the towns by providing for their maintenance by Namar (BM90858:i,1-51, ii,1-11).⁵² On another example dated to Marduk-nadin-akhe, the king freed *Al-nirêa* from "service and forced labor of *Nirêa* officials, or officer of the land, or a governor of *Al-nirêa*, or a perfect of *Bit-Ada*, in the future who shall be appointed, and into his city shall not enter, the jurisdiction of *Bit-Ada*, on his city shall they not impose" (BM 90840: top1-19). In addition, a copy of a deed, dating to the same king, reveals that the grant recipients were freed from all kinds of forced labor, imposed by local or imperial officials (BM 90938:6-10).

It seems that the Kassite state adopted the Babylonian traditional system of tax collection, in which revenues from almost the entire spectrum of agricultural and animal production from both the rural and urban populations was collected. However, it appears that during the Old Babylonian period most taxes went to the palace, while in the late Kassite period taxes were

⁵² Similar obligations are mentioned on other *kudurrus*, including Hinke 1907:iii 25-27; Sb22:ii 18- 102; Sb23:i 21-89 I 25.

collected for local and regional authorities as well. The annual accounts of the settlements submitting their payments to the regional government often mention large quantities of grain and other products (Clay 1906:16ff.; Luckenbill 1907:295-300). The income from these revenues was then collected in urban centers such as Dūr-Kurigalzu, Nippur, and Ur, where large storage buildings were recovered within both palace and temple buildings (al-jumaily 1971:63-98; Woolley 1965:58-59). These revenues were then used to support a large number of state dependents according to a strict ration system, including administrators, temple and palace personnel, high military officials, guard troops, and workers and artisans of all types (Luckenbill 1907:311- 320; al-Zubadi 2003:81- 89; Tenney 2011:23-30). Thus, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, taxes appear to have been an important source of revenue for the Kassite state in Babylonia. However, unlike the Arabs who introduced new taxes such as those imposed on non-Muslims, the Kassites adopted the traditional Babylonian taxation system, typical for agricultural based economy, and did not impose new taxes on Babylonians.

4.2.4 Discussion

The examination of the Kassite state provincial system and administrative hierarchy as well as taxation system shed light on how the Kassites, as a foreign ruling minority, organized the local population and managed material resources and man power to maintain their political domination over a long period of time. This examination shows some shared characteristics between the Kassites and the foreign ruling minorities of Andalusia and Egypt. Like the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassites appear to have organized Babylonia into a provincial system that included both rural and urban settlements. This system was characterized by the presence of small sites dominated by a single structure, suggesting a specialized function as evident at Tell Yelkhi in the Hamrin Region. Like both the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassites appear to have

ruled these provinces through governors assigned by the Kassite king, suggesting a centralized administration system at least for the late Kassite period. Unlike both examples, however, the Kassites did not seem to have excluded the majority population from occupying high administrative and official positions. This is true considering that the majority of the mayors and scribes attested for the late Kassite period bore Babylonian names. At the same time, however, most of the court personnel bore Kassite names, indicating that the state's officialdom consisted of both Kassites and Babylonians. In fact, like the Mamluks, it seems that while the Kassites dominated the Babylonian military, they depended upon the urban experience of the local elites to manage state resources as long as they were loyal to the Kassite crown.

The Kassites, like both the Arabs and the Mamluks, supported their state apparatus through imposition of taxes on various agricultural and animal products as well as on fields. Taxes were collected from urban and rural populations and were either accumulated in local towns or stored in large urban centers such as Nippur and Dur-Kurigalzu. The state then used these revenues as payments for its dependents within a strict ration system, or they were employed for public projects such as constructing roads and bridges. Unlike the Arabs in Spain, who imposed new taxes on the majority population, the available data suggest that the Kassites adopted traditional Babylonian taxes.

Accordingly, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, dominating the military, creating a centralized administration and taxation systems appear to have been among the factors which enabled the Kassites, as a foreign ruling minority, to maintain their political power and authority over Babylonian majority. Indeed, the centralized administration and taxation systems must have enabled the king to impose his authority and maintain his political and economic power over both the Kassites and Babylonians. Like the Mamluks, the Kassites adopted the local Babylonian

administration system with some modification to fit their new sociopolitical organization. Unlike both the Arabs and the Mamluks, however, Kassites adopted the local taxation system and did not seem to have imposed new taxes on the majority population. On the other hand, their provincial system appear to be different from that of the Old Babylonian state and for the first time Babylonia was unified and the northern-southern division was brought to an end. To sum up, while the Kassites, like both Arabs and Mamluks, dominated the military and created a centralized administration and taxation system, they, unlike the Arabs and the Mamluks, dependent on the urban experience of the local population. Furthermore, the Kassites adopted the local administration and taxation systems, and did not impose any new taxes on Babylonians.

4.3 Land Ownership Practices

In addition to having a centralized administration and taxation systems, the Arab and the Mamluk examples show that landholding and transfer played fundamental role in the maintenance of political power. For instance, Muslim rulers of Andalusia confiscated the lands of those who resisted and those who could not pay taxes. These lands were then distributed to the military, thus Arabs and Berbers became an important landowner class who remained in urban centers and collected income. This aristocracy, however, also included a few of the Visigothic nobility, who were fast in shifting alliances to benefit from Muslim rule. Likewise, the Mamluks allocated lands to their soldiers and emirs through the Ayyubid *Iqta* system which they adopted with some modification until the end of their rule in Egypt. The revenues generated through the *Iqta* functioned in lieu of regular wages of the military officials, thus ensuring their loyalty to the Mamluk sultan and his state.⁵³

Because control over land ownership appears to be among the early mechanisms used by the foreign ruling minorities to assume political and economic superiority over the ruled majority, in the following I investigate issues such as the degree to which the Kassite monarchs controlled landownership and transfer in Babylonia, to whom the Kassite kings granted lands and why, and the role royal land grants might have played in legitimizing the Kassites' rule and authority during the late and post-Kassite periods.

⁵³ See Chapter Two, Land Ownership

Unfortunately, no evidence is available for land ownership practices during the early Kassite period. However, the archive of the Kassite clan at Nuzi, dating to 1465 B.C., throws light on what might have been the case in early Kassite Babylonia. In addition to land owned by the Nuzian kingdom, texts no.55-61 indicate that land was owned, sold, and disputed over by private individuals and families (Maidman 2010:125ff.), suggesting that land ownership was not restricted to the state and that private households could also own estates.

Similar to the Old Babylonian period, during which land was owned by the state and private sectors (Yoffee 1977:31ff.; 1988; 1995:296ff.), land appears to have continued to be owned by private households as well as temples and palaces during the late Kassite period (Pedersén 2005:72, 93; Paulus 2008:318-319; Sassmannhausen 2001:no.10). Land transfer, however, changed and new restrictions were imposed on the sale of properties. During the late and post-Kassite periods⁵⁴ the Kassite monarchy gained control of the land and became involved in the process of land transfer through the so called royal land grants. Land grants seem to have become an important tool of Kassite political patronage. As formerly influential elites lost their power, a new group of landowners developed, whom the Kassite kings conferred their generosity in return for their support and loyalty.

kudurrustones (Appendix B) and private estate sale contracts⁵⁵ reveal the involvement of the Kassite monarchy in the process of landholding and transfer. Engraved with divine symbols and inscribed with curses against the offenders, *kudurru* stones document royal grants of

⁵⁴ Information gathered from post-Kassite *kudurrus* is included in our discussion of landholding practices under the Kassite rule, because this period represents a short political revival of the Kassites and exhibits similar administrative organization, suggesting the continuation of the Kassite landholding practices after the fall of their dynasty (Brinkman 1963:233; 1976:465ff.; Sassmannshausen 1999:219).

⁵⁵ So far only one estate sale contract is published (Sassmannhausen 2001:no.10), and parts of another property contract is also published in (Paulus 2009:19-22). A few similar documents are known from Babylon especially archives M1 and M8, however, they remain unpublished (Pedersén 2005:72, 93).

agricultural land and tax exemption granted by the king to his subjects, a practice that did not previously exist in Babylonia. Although Kassite royal grants share some similarities with the Old Babylonian royal land distribution (Ellis 1976:12ff.; Lafont 1998:517ff.; De Graef 2002:146ff.), the former appear to be different. To start, the institution of *kudurru* stones was new and the earliest known *kudurru* date to the reign of King Kurigalzu (ca. 14th century B.C.). In addition, while the Old Babylonian kings distributed small parcels of royal land to their subjects in lieu of rations (De Graef 2002:153ff.), the Kassite kings granted lands as large as 5,000ha, which sometimes included small villages and towns (Oelner 1982:280). Furthermore, unlike the Old Babylonian kings who only distributed lands, the Kassite kings had the authority to grant tax exemption as well, setting their royal grant practices apart from those of the previous kings.

On the other hand, similarities between the Kassite royal land grants and those of early kings of Ḫana and Terqa kingdoms on the Euphrates are of particular interest.⁵⁶ For example, both the Ḫana and the Kassite land grants used similar terminology when describing land border. In addition, both the Ḫana texts and the *kudurrus* bore the king's seal, and in both cases the king appeared to grant acres of land to his "servant" (Podany 1997:420). Although no direct connection can be established between the two practices, the fact that Kassite kings ruled Ḫana and Terqa during the late Old Babylonian period, and that Kassites were attested living on the Euphrates right before the establishment of their dynasty in Babylonia suggest that Kassite royal land grants might have been influenced by those of Ḫana. Furthermore, the fact that royal land grants became common in Babylonia only after the Kassites achieved political power indicates that the Kassites actually introduced this new system in Babylonia, a system that continued even after the collapse of their state.

⁵⁶ Few royal land grants were found among the texts found at Ḫana dating to kings Yāpaḫ-Sum[u-X], who ruled before Kaštaliašu, and Ammi-madar, who ruled after him (Podany 1997:428)

According to the *Kudurru* stones, it seems that royal grants gave the Kassite kings a centralized authority over landownership and transfer. Royal land grants were made either through direct royal charter (e.g. Sb22:ii 1-5) or by authorizing local officials to prepare their own documents (BM90840, 102485, 92987). In the latter, the formal procedure consisted of several steps, starting with the king authorizing the land grant and sending his orders to the governor of the province in question. The governor supervised the land survey, usually conducted by one or more scribes along with the village mayor.⁵⁷ The governor and the local official issued a certification that the plot of land had been deeded over to the individual (BM90829:I 19). Finally, the document would be sealed by the royal seal⁵⁸ along with a list of witnesses (BM90840:B 5; BM104404:ii 11, BM92987:16). Although these grants were usually made in perpetuity, there are indications, especially in the late Kassite period, that private land could once again become crown property (CBM13:I 15), reflecting the importance of land and land transfer. Even though Kassite royal grants suggest a centralized land ownership system controlled by the king, it is important to keep in mind that *kudurrus* were created by a certain group of people, mainly military personnel, governors, and priests, who received land grants. Thus, this group is far from being representative of the whole society, and the unpublished texts from private archives suggest the existence of land ownership outside of the royal grant system as discussed below.

In addition to granting land, and unlike the Old Babylonian kings, the Kassite king reserved the power to grant tax exemptions or *zakûtu*. Tax exemptions were often given to individuals who already owned land in further recognition for their services to the crown

⁵⁷ In some instances the king directly authorized the survey of the land (e.g. BM92987:27-28). In this case, the governor himself might serve on the measuring committee (e.g. Sb26:44ff.).

⁵⁸ BM90840: B 5; possibly BM104404:ii 11, BM92987:16. Sometimes this step maybe omitted which may prove a cause for future law cases (e.g. Sb26:33 ii 13).

(BM90858). On the other hand, only two instances are recorded in which the king granted both land and tax exemptions at the same time. King Meli-Šipak gave a large plot to his crown prince Marduk-apla-iddina (Sb22:99ff.), and King Nebuchadnezzar I gave some undeveloped land to the priest of Enlil at Nippur (Hinke 1907). Such exemptions freed a specific territory and its residents from providing animals, goods, and labor as well as any other expected taxes and services. This means that the beneficiary kept such resources for his/her own, experiencing a significant decrease in their expenditures. Thus, tax exemption was highly regarded and was commemorated on the *kudurrus* in the same fashion and alongside land grants.

As noted above, land grants and tax exemptions were beneficial to the recipients, and must have been very prestigious, which raises the question of to whom did the Kassite king grant such benefits and why?

Like the Old Babylonian kings, who distributed royal lands to soldiers, priests, and other state officials in lieu of rations (Lafont 1998:543), the Kassite kings granted land and/or tax exemptions to a wide spectrum of recipients in return for their services. The recipients included members of royal family (Sb22:99ff.; Sb23:87), temple officials and priests (BM92987, BM91000), military officers and generals (BM90840), and provincial governors (BM90850). Rewarding soldiers, however, seems to be the most common stated cause for land granting (BM90840; SB30). Among the recipients of royal land grants temples, priests, and members of the royal family received the largest properties, which in some cases might have included several small villages and towns.⁵⁹ For example, the Marduk temple at Babylon received more than 5,000 ha in land (Oelsner 1982:280). In addition, an inscription, only preserved in two copies

⁵⁹ The size of the granted properties donated to private individuals ranges between 80ha (10 *kurru*) to as much as 5,600ha (700 *kurru*, with 1 *kurru* equal 8.1ha (Oelsner 1982: no.12).

dated to the 1st millennium B.C., indicates that King Kurigalzu I donated to the Ishtar temple of Uruk a large area of about 52,500 ha (Sommerfeld 2000:922). By doing so, the Kassite king enhanced the gods' prestige and wealth, and secured the backing of the temple's authority which must have consisted mostly of Babylonian priests and scribes.

It is significant to mention that while both Babylonian and Kassite individuals were granted lands by the king; about half of the individuals on the *kudurrus* of the Kassite period who received lands bore Kassite names (Sassmannhausen 1999:416). Thus, Kassite individuals appear to have formed an important part of the landowner group. Moreover, considering the strong association of Kassites with the military, it is likely that some of these individuals might have been military officials who were granted lands in peripheral areas where the presence of military personnel is highly desirable (BM90840; 90858). In this case, the Kassite king not only would have rewarded his soldiers and guaranteed their loyalty, but also secured the borders of his state considering that the king maintained control over these lands even after they were granted.⁶⁰

Although neither the reason for the royal grant nor what was expected from the recipients are documented in detail on *kudurrus*, three examples are exceptional. In the first, King Kurigalzu granted land to officer Uzub-Shikhu for his brave role in a battle against Assyria (Sb30), and in the second King Marduk-apla-iddina endowed land to priest Marduk-zakir-šumi to continue the renewal of the ziggurat at Borsippa, illuminate the precincts of Ezida sanctuary, and cause to rejoice the heart of the king (BM90850). In addition, King Nebuchadnezzar I granted tax exemptions to the village of *Bīt- karziabku* in the province of Namar as a reward for

⁶⁰ *Kudurru* CBM13:i15 dating to the late Kassite period indicates the king's ability to restore granted lands from the recipients.

the bravery of its chief during a campaign against the Elamites (Frame 1995:33-35; Hinke 1907). Thus, it seems that the primary motives behind Kassite royal land grants were reward for service, encouragement to continue fulfilling duties, and the desire to tie the recipients closely to the monarchy through a patron-client relationship keeping in mind the fact that the king kept his control over the granted lands. While royal land grants rendered land revenues to the recipients, they did not confer authority over the local population. Only in a few examples, mainly land grants made to temples, it is explicitly stated that a number of settlements also belong to the grant recipient. In such cases, it is likely that the settlements' revenues in kind and labor service were no longer to be rendered to the provincial administration, but to the institution or private individual in question. Unless explicitly exempted, the usual taxes and services had to be provided from the granted properties to the provincial administration and as a result to the king.

Thus, royal land grants and tax exemptions appear to have been foreign practices that the Kassites introduced to Babylonia. These grants were made by the kings to their subjects, mainly military personnel, temples, priests, and royal family members, in return for their services. It seems that the Kassite kings successfully manipulated the two most influential sectors of the Babylonian society, temple and military. Land grants and tax exemptions must have generated great wealth for temples and high military personnel, but at the same time they must have created a feeling of obligation and loyalty to the king. This is true considering that although these grants were usually made in permanence, evidence suggests that granted lands could be restored to the crown property once again (CBM13:I 15). Moreover, Kassite kings seem to have imposed certain restrictions on land sale and transfer and therefore maintained control over land as further discussed below. Thus, while royal grants augmented the state elites, they also served the crown's political, economic, and ideological interests.

Unlike royal grants, private estate sale contracts deal with small plots, possibly used to build houses, most of the time inside cities (Pedersén 2005:72, 93; Paulus 2008:318-319). Only one estate sale contract has been published so far (Sassmannhausen 2001:no.10). This document deals with the sale of a 315m² house for 16 shekels of gold during the reign of King Kudur-Enlil (1264-1256 B.C.). An important example, although unpublished, is the exceptional private archive of Itti-Ezida-lummir, an *ašipu* (exorcist) from Babylon. About 100 tablets were recovered from his house, most of them related to reale estate sales of houses and house plots (Pedersén 2005:93ff.; Paulus 2013:98). A *kudurru* was also recovered along with the texts, however, it was damaged with no inscriptions left. Although nothing can be proved until this archive is published, it is possible that the Itti-Ezida-lummir family owned houses in Babylon, as well as a granted land somewhere in this or another province. Whereas the lack of private sale contracts might be due to our incomplete data, the presence of other property contracts, including slave sale contracts, suggests some restrictions on the sale and transfer of land at least during the late Kassite period.⁶¹ Overall, the practice of royal land grants and the comparative absence of private estate sale contracts suggest a situation different from that in the preceding Old Babylonian period, in which land was privately owned, accumulated, and sold.

The sizable land grants made by the Kassite kings and the lack of estate sale contracts led previous scholars to conclude that the Kassite political economy was organized according to a feudal system (Balkan 1986). In this, the Babylonian economic system was controlled by the king, who was considered the "supreme owner" of all land in his kingdom, and who bestowed land upon his retainers in return for their service (Balkan 1986:10). Moreover, it was thought that temples in this period did not own agricultural land. Instead, they were provided with the needed

⁶¹ For example, eight slave sale contracts were found at Ur dating to the late Kassite period, while not a single land sale contact is recorded from this site. See Gurney 1983.

land by the palace. However, the idea of feudalism for the Kassite state has been recently reviewed and rejected (Sommerfeld 2000:921-925). Although the basic elements of feudalism are evident in Kassite Babylonia, for example, the king made land grants to individuals, sometime explicitly as rewards for services, providing them with income, and presumably ensuring himself of their future loyalty. This, however, by no means qualify the whole society as organized according to a feudal system, considering the fact that *kudurru* stones were erected by individuals who received royal land grants, most likely a small privileged group within the society. In addition, *kudurrus* themselves provide important evidence that the king did not have complete power over the land to be distributed at his will. For example, when King Meli-Šipak granted his daughter Hannubat-Nanayya an orchard, he had to purchase the land before he gave it to her. Furthermore, private estate sale contracts suggest that land was also owned by individuals and households outside the royal land grant system.

To fully understand the system of landownership under Kassite rule and its role in the legitimization and maintenance of the Kassites' authority, we have to revisit the Babylonian landscape. As discussed above, throughout the Kassite period the Babylonian landscape was dominated by small rural settlements alongside rivers and canals, most likely surrounded by agricultural fields. Some of these fields could be privately owned and cultivated by various households. Towns owed duties and taxes to the provincial government and thus ultimately to the king. It is apparent that the king had the ability to grant fields and tax exemptions to his favorite subjects in return for their service and loyalty to the crown. Although land grants provided a degree of economic independence for the recipients from the central government, they did not confer authority over the local population. Taxes in kind and labor service continued to be drawn by the provincial government unless the grant explicitly exempted the territories in

question from such obligations. Therefore, it seems that royal land grants combined land and labor during a time when a declining population made labor -more than land and even water- the crucial factor in agricultural production. At the same time, land grants must have reduced the direct costs to the crown of agricultural production whilst still generating taxes in kind and labor services. Because the king maintained his authority of the granted land, this practice must have created a feeling of indebtedness, obligation, and loyalty to the king within the context of patronage-client relationship.

Some royal grants, however, especially those made to temples and members of the royal family, included small villages and towns which in this case taxes and labor service might have been directed to the institution or private individual but not the provincial government. Thus, because towns along with their hinterlands, could become private property of the grant recipient, the king had to control land ownership somehow, otherwise he would lose control over parts of the tax income and agricultural production. As a result, land was only transferred through inheritance in the male family line (Paulus 2013:94). In cases where no legitimate heir was available in the family, it was the king's duty to give the land to someone else, often someone sharing the same profession as the deceased (Lambert 1981:180; Paulus 2007:8ff.). In the case of misconduct, the king was able to take back a granted land. Thus, although the Kassite royal grants must have generated wealth to the recipients, they seem to have remained conditional gifts that the king could restore at any time.

In this framework, sale of a land parcel to a third party appears to have been restricted. It is not a coincidence that no large estate sales, neither on *kudurrus* nor in the archival records, are known from this period. It seems that only the king and his governors were allowed to sell a plot

of land, and even then the terminology of sale was avoided.⁶² Instead, terms such as *nadānu* “give” *mašāḫu* “survey”, and *kunnu* “establish permanently”, all known from royal land grants, were used, as evident in the following example.

NKU I 4 I1-20: “[X hors]es gave [Adad-zēra]-šubši, [son of Ad]ad-rīša, the merchant, [t]o the king, Marduk-apla-iddina (I.) and 81 ha land in (the province) Bīt-Sîn-šeme, 81 ha land in (the province) Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd (...) they surveyed (*imšuhū*) and established it permanently (*ukinnū*) for Adad-zēra- šubši, the merchant” (Paulus 2013:94).

Although the above example is not a royal grant, the act is verbally masked to fit into the system of landownership at this time. Overall, it seems that a strong restriction existed on the sale of estates at this time, and only small pieces of property, such as private fields, gardens, and building plots inside cities, could be freely sold (Paulus 2013:95). It is particularly interesting that some restriction on land transfer seem to have continued in the post-Kassite and early Neo-Babylonian periods. One important example is the *kudurru* of Marduk-nadin-aḫḫ, on which a sale of a property (ca.56 ha) from one person, Bāltānu, to another, Urkāt-Burēa, is described (al-Adami 1982:122ff.). The sale term *ŠÁM* is used, thus concluding a “normal” private sale. However, when the king learns about this, he decides to return the land to its original owner without any mention of a refund to the buyer. When Bāltānu appeals to the king, he finally agrees to hand over the administration of the land to Urkāt-Burēa in the form of a royal grant. It is clear that this is not a real royal grant, but rather a private sale that was approved by the king. Although it is possible that this specific parcel might have been a special case, some sort of restriction on land transfer seem to have continued until the reign of Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē (1099-1082 B.C.), suggesting continuation of the Kassite landholding practices in Babylonian society

⁶² The king is recorded buying a land from the provincial governor and his subordinate, see Sb23; in Sb26:31ff. the governor is labeled as “seller of the field”; and Sb33 the governor received payment for the sale of an estate.

even after the fall of their dynasty, and reflecting Kassite influence on landownership and transfer practices in Babylonia.

4.3.1 Discussion

The examination of land ownership practices under the Kassite rule reveals that control over land ownership and transfer was among the most important factors that enabled the Kassites to gain and maintain socioeconomic power over the local majority. Although land continued to be owned by private households and the state, Kassite monarchs introduced a new land ownership practice in Babylonia. Like the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassites understood the sociopolitical and economic importance of land ownership, thus they granted vast territories to their favorite subjects in return for their service and loyalty. Unlike the Mamluks, however, who adopted the previously existing *Iqta* system to reward their soldiers, the Kassites introduced the new practices of land granting and tax exemptions, and imposed certain restrictions on land transfer, which seem to have continued even after the end of their political rule. Land grants and/or tax exemption seem to have become an important tool of Kassite political patronage. As formerly influential elites lost their power, a new group of landowners developed, on whom the Kassite kings conferred their generosity for economic and ideological purposes. Economically, like the Arabs' and the Mamluks' land distribution, royal land grants served the economic needs of both the recipient and the king. It rendered land revenues to the recipients and sometimes even decreased their expenditures through tax exemptions. At the same time, these grants combined land and labor and reduced the direct cost to the crown for agriculture while still generating revenues through taxes in kind and labor services. Even when the granted lands were specifically exempted from taxes, the king remained in control of the land through restrictions on land transfer and sale. In addition, grants made to persons or groups in the state peripheries, especially

east Tigris, must have enabled crown access to free-floating resources and stabilized the state political authority.

Ideologically, Kassite royal land grants tied the recipients closely to the king through a patron-client relationship. Like the sultans and *khaliphas*, the Kassite kings granted lands mainly to military officials and soldiers. While generating income for military personnel, these grants must have created a feeling of obligation and loyalty among the military to the king, which must have supported his political authority and status. In addition to the military, temples were the second most common recipient of royal land grants. Temples were granted large territories, which were also exempted from taxes, rendering the land revenues and labor service to the institution in question. Thus, the Kassites successfully manipulated the two most influential groups of Babylonian society, the military which was dominated by the Kassites and the temple which was dominated by Babylonian priests and scribes, guarantying support and backup of both the Kassites and the Babylonians. Although both Babylonian and Kassite individuals were granted lands by the king, about half of the individuals on the *kudurrus* of the Kassite period who received lands bore Kassite names. The Kassites, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, became an important part of the landowner group in Babylonia.

In sum, the Kassite state appears to have been highly involved in land ownership and transfer practices. Although Kassite royal land grants and tax exemptions generated wealth to the recipients, they also served the crown's political, economic, and ideological interests through a patron-client relationship. Although Babylonians were also granted lands, the Kassites, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, appear to have formed an important part of the land recipients which must have gained them significant socioeconomic status within the society.

4.4 Trade and Commerce

As discussed in Chapter Two, trade and commerce were important sources of wealth and financial support for the foreign ruling minority in Spain and Egypt. The Arab state directly supervised textile, wood, and metal production and trade through its representatives. Trade in the Mediterranean Sea provided al-Andalus with silk, paper, fine glass, and metalwork. In fact, trade brought so much revenue that the Umayyad state switched from silver to gold dinar during the reign of Abd al-Rahman III. Likewise, the Mamluk sultans and emirs were highly involved in the production and trade of various items, such as sugar and textiles. The growth of commerce throughout the Mamluks period is reflected in the revenues collected from commerce tax.⁶³ Thus, in addition to centralized administration and taxation system and landownership and agriculture, control over trade and commerce was fundamental to support the foreign ruling minority and sustain the state apparatus.

Although Babylonian trade was reduced after the fall of the Old Babylonian state and although the trade directions shifted northward, inter-regional trade continued to play a major role in the political economy of the Kassite state. Various exotic materials such as gold and lapis lazuli and also horses were exchanged between Babylonia, Egypt, and Anatolia. In fact, so much gold was sent from Egypt to the Kassite kings that Babylonia switched from silver to gold as a standard of value (Brinkman 1976:468). Because of the political and socioeconomic importance of this trade and drawing on the above ethnohistorical examples of foreign ruling minorities, it is likely that the acquisition and distribution of the traded exotic materials was among the major

⁶³ See Chapter Two, Trade.

concerns of the Kassite political agenda. In the following I investigate the degree of state involvement in interregional trade, especially trade of luxurious items such as lapis lazuli, horses, and textiles. I explore the mechanisms by which such items were acquired, distribution, and used to enhance and legitimize the sociopolitical authority of the Kassite monarchs.

Although some kind of trade must be assumed for the early Kassite period (i.e. 16th and 15th centuries B.C.), no archaeological or historical data are available for trade during the early years of the Kassite rule. A better image emerges, however, by the late second millennium B.C. when political and economic relations connected Kassite Babylonia with powerful political centers at Egypt, Hatti, and Assyria. Inter-regional trade and the exchange of exotic items appear to have formed an important aspect of this political and economic system. In this context, Babylonian traders were active throughout the Syro-Palestine area, and Babylonian seals made their way even to Thebes in Greece (Brinkman 1976:468). Lapis lazuli, horses, and textiles were among the most important exports of Babylonia in return for precious stones as well as metals, especially gold. At this time, the palace itself became engaged in this prestigious trade. For example, garments were issued by royal officials to Assyrian merchants at Dūr-Kurigalzu, while a Mycenaean-style “oxhide ingot” was discovered in the royal storehouse of the city (Brinkman 1971:400; al-Zubadi 2003:84-85).

Archaeological and textual evidence recovered both inside Babylonia (e.g. Babylon, Dūr-Kurigalzu⁶⁴, and Nippur) and outside (e.g. the Amarna letters and the Dilmun archives) suggest a well-developed trade in which Babylonian, Egyptian, and Assyrian governments were highly

⁶⁴ An archive of about 225 tablets was recovered in Dūr-Kurigalzu. Several texts are published in various articles (Gurney 1949, 1953, 1983; Baqir 1945), and around 21 texts are treated by Maha Hasan al-Zubadi in an unpublished M.A. thesis presented to the Department of Archaeology at Baghdad University in 2003.

involved⁶⁵. Among all the available data, the Amarna letters are especially informative. Dating to (ca.1388-1351B.C.) they highlight the direct contact between the Egyptian and other Near Eastern courts including the Kassite court in Babylonia. According to these letters, it seems that lapis lazuli, horses, chariots, and textiles were among the items sent from Babylonia to Egypt in return for large amounts of raw gold and other precious stones. They also reveal numerous requests by the Kassite kings for gold in order to finance their large scale-building projects. Indeed, excavations in the main Babylonian cities show that large-scale building programs were conducted at this time. The most extensive was the founding of the new city of Dūr-Kurigalzu (ca.1400B.C.). New temples and palaces were built in this city with their doors and doorways decorated with gold, silver, and other precious stones (Baqir 1946:91).⁶⁶ In addition, various gold objects were found in the palace at Dūr-Kurigalzu including a fine gold bracelet made in a way that grains of gold are simultaneously fused into globules and soldered to a flat background, a style known in Egypt and elsewhere (Baqir 1946:91, Fig.8). Other gold objects included rings, gold-encased beads and gold foil, plating, and sheathing originally covering some perishable material such as wood (Baqir 1946:Fig.16). Thus, it appears that large amounts of the Egyptian gold were accumulated and used by the state for symbolic and ideological display. This accumulation must have enhanced the king's authority and legitimized the state control of power. Furthermore, by accumulating gold, silver, and other precious stones, Kassite kings, like others,

⁶⁵ The archives found in the site of El-Amarna in Egypt consist of some 350 letters written in Akkadian language and cuneiform script on clay tablets. They record political relationships and exchanges with rulers of the independent countries of Arzawa (West Anatolia), Hatti (Central Anatolia), Alashiya (Cyprus), Mitanni (part of the Levant and northern Mesopotamia), Babylonia, and Assyria. In these letters, the kings of these countries identified themselves as "great kings" and treated each other as equals calling each other "brother". Their correspondence was mainly concerned with arranging political marriages and exchange of valuable gifts (Moran 1992; Podany 2010:217ff.).

⁶⁶ Also see Gurney 1953:nos.1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, and 21.

became a symbol of exceptionality and exclusivity which allowed them to cultivate the king's image.

To sustain this prestigious and highly symbolic image, the Kassite kings sent lapis lazuli, horses and chariots, and textiles to Egyptian pharaohs in return. Lapis lazuli was among the most desirable stones in the Near East; its blue tint was considered a color of prestige (Gurney 1949:137). As such, the stone was offered to gods by kings and princesses. It was used by the elites for personal adornment and seals serving as visual representation of authority and entitlement. Finally, it was considered the source of the power of gods (Casanova 2009:68; von Rosen 1988:30ff.; Porada 1981:6-8). Although Lapis lazuli was relatively rare during the previous Old Babylonian period, the stone did not disappear from Babylonia. For example, Lapis lazuli was among the gifts presented to temple Nirgal at Ur during the Old Babylonian period (Leemans 1960:18, 28). It appears that lapis lazuli, along with other precious stones and metals, arrived in Babylonia through the Old Babylonian sea trade especially with Dilmun (Leemans 1960:23).

The number of objects made of this stone did not increase, however, until the second half of the second millennium B.C., during which Babylonia, under the Kassite rule, appear to have played an important role in lapis lazuli's trade (Herrmann 1968). This suggests that the state must have practiced some control over the acquisition and distribution of this exotic item. This is true considering the large amounts of lapis lazuli sent by the Kassite kings to the Egyptian pharaohs in comparison with the amounts sent by other "great kings" (e.g. Mittani or Assyrians).⁶⁷ Furthermore, the Kassite kings appear to have been the only ones who sent raw

⁶⁷ For Mitanni see letters EA19, EA21, EA29; for Assyria see letters EA15, EA16; for Babylonia see letters EA2, EA7, EA8, EA9, EA10, EA11.

lapis lazuli to the Pharaoh.⁶⁸ For example, King Burna-Buriash II (1359-1333 B.C.) sent several pieces of jewelry consisting of lapis gems to the women of the Egyptian court, while sending raw lapis to the Egyptian pharaoh himself (Meissner 1920:351; Oppenheim 1970:11). In another instance, two successive Kassite kings presented a total of at least (12mina) of lapis lazuli, approximately 6kg, to the Egyptian pharaoh. Finally, letter (EA11) refers to an amount of 10 lumps of raw lapis lazuli sent by Burna-Buriash to Amenophis IV.⁶⁹ Clearly, the Kassite kings lavishly used lapis lazuli to enhance their political and economic position locally as well as regionally. But, where was the original source of this highly desirable stone? What routes was it shipped through? And who acquired it?

It has been generally accepted that the lapis lazuli found in the 3rd and 2nd millennium sites in Mesopotamia came from the Badakhshan mines in Afghanistan and Pamir Mountains in Tadjikistan (Herrmann 1968; Delmas and Casanova 1990). Because no further research has been done for lapis lazuli of the 2nd millennium B.C., not much can be added about its origin. It is safe, however, to assume that during this period lapis lazuli came from somewhere east of the Zagros Mountains⁷⁰, and it must have arrived in Babylonia through one of the following routes: a northern terminus that would have been controlled by the Mittani and later by the Assyrians, and a southern one controlled by the Elamites (Herrmann 1968:53ff.; Olijdam 1995:122ff.). Due to the nature and amounts of the lapis lazuli presented by the Assyrians and the Mittani to the pharaoh, and the fact that both states were in a dynamic transformation at this time, it is hard to confirm the existence of this route. On the other hand, the hostile relationship between Babylonia

⁶⁸ Unlike gold and silver, whose exact weight was always specifically mentioned, worked lapis was not specified by its weight but rather by the number of the stones (Olijdam 1995:121).

⁶⁹ The practice of presenting lumps of raw lapis lazuli is known in Babylonia, where the Kassite king Kadashman-Turgu (1297-1280 B.C.) presented a block of unworked lapis weighing no less than 25mina to the god Enlil (BE I 63).

⁷⁰ 13th and 14th century Islamic literary sources refer to a deposit of lapis lazuli in northwestern Iran; however none has been located in this area by geologists (Herrmann 1968:27; Beale 1972:137).

and Elam makes trade almost impossible. However, sometimes the trading of highly valued items tends to continue even under harsh conditions given the small quantities usually transported and the high profits. Thus, it is possible that the Kassite kings did get some of the lapis lazuli through Elam.

Another proposed trade route for lapis lazuli to Babylonia is by the sea (i.e. through Dilmun) which in fact might have been preferable to land routes (Olijdam 1995:124). It is generally accepted that, at least for later part of the 3rd and first half of the 2nd millennia B.C., most of the lapis made its way to Mesopotamia through the Arabian Gulf (von Rosen 1988:37-40; Leeman 1960: 18, 23). Although no direct evidence is available, the incorporation of Dilmun⁷¹ into the Babylonian state under the Kassites may be explained by its strategic position on a possible sea trade route between southern Babylonia and the lapis lazuli mines to the east (Olijdam 1995:124). This might be true considering that numerous items dating to City III period at Dilmun are made of exotic materials such as copper, lapis lazuli, agate, carnelian, ivory, and ochre (Højlund 1987). Several of the raw materials of these items are found east of the Zagros Mountains, which may imply some kind of connection between the two areas that might have in turn facilitated the movement of lapis lazuli further west to Babylonia.

Although no contemporary evidence is available about the acquisition of lapis lazuli by the Kassite monarchy, a letter sent to an Assyrian king (late 8th-9th century B.C.) provides a glimpse of what might have been the case during the Kassite period.

⁷¹ The area of Qatar, Failaka, and Bahrain

“As to the lapis lazuli concerning which your majesty wrote me as follow: ‘They should collect [all] lapis lazuli’. Does the king, my lord not know that lapis lazuli is now expensive and that if I collected the available lapis lazuli, the land would rebel against me? Rather- if it pleases Your Majesty- a large detachment of [Assyrian] troops should come and collect the lapis lazuli. But the king must not consider it a crime if when they come here I will not eat and drink with them, nor accompany them, nor even rise before the messenger nor inquire about Your Majesty’s health” (Oppenheim 1970:12).

It is likely that Kassite kings also sent out military groups to acquire lapis lazuli in areas east of Zagros considering Kassite historical connections with this region. Given the stone’s high value and symbolism, it is likely that its acquisition and transportation was also done through some royal teams or expeditions with a clearly specified objective. The status of these emissaries might have possibly been that of palace dependents or agents who were entrusted with negotiation purchases in the markets for the palace. Although trade of lapis lazuli might have occurred outside the palace domain, however, the rarity of this stone and its symbolism as well as the relatively large quantities presented by the Kassite kings to the Egyptian pharaohs suggest that Kassite monarchs must have had some control over its acquisition and distribution.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to lapis lazuli, Babylonia also exported horses and chariots to Egypt, the Levant, and the Hittites. In fact, horses and chariots were among the most prized and prestigious commodities in this system of royal gift exchange (EA3, 17, 19, 97).⁷² Textual evidence suggests that horses were known in Mesopotamia as early as the end of 3rd millennium B.C.⁷³ However, it was not until after 2000 B.C. that horses entered the area in large

⁷² Horses were so important that instruction of how to care and train them were recorded on clay tablets. An important example is VAT 6693 found in the Hittite city Boğazköy which recording the training methods, diet, and grooming of horses.

⁷³ The horse was described in the Akkadian and Ur III sources as *sisu* “the donkey of the mountain” (AHW, p.1051:a,b) reflecting its geographical origin. It is also around this time that images of horses appeared, some of which show them mounted (Weszele 2003-5:469-471; Buchanan 1966: plate56, no.290).

numbers, a phenomenon that has been associated with the growing trade in metals found in the Eurasian steppe and in Central Asia where horses thrived (Antony 2007:417-418).

Although there is little evidence on how the Kassites used horses and chariots, it appears that they played a major role as middlemen in the trade and movement of both commodities. Moreover, Babylonia itself was considered the center for the supply of horses. In a letter sent by the Hittite king Ḫattušili III to the Kassite king Kadšman-Enlil II asking for horses, the Hittite king stated that “In the country of my brother there are more horses even than there is straw”, suggesting Babylonian wealth in the form of horses (Oppenheim 1967:143). Textual evidence from Nippur reveals what looks like a horse registration, including their names, pedigrees, and features of breeding. Interestingly, a number of the terms used in such texts including terms related to technical innovations in chariots and harnesses appear to have been borrowed from the Kassite language (Balkan 1954:11-32, 33ff.; Sommerfeld 2000:925). The fact that these words are in the Kassite language suggests that Kassites were probably familiar with horses, horse breeding, and the use of chariot even before their entry to Babylonia.⁷⁴ It seems that Kassites not only played a major role in the trade of these commodities, but also contributed to the further development of chariot technology. Thus, the Kassites’ knowledge of horses and chariots must have enhanced their prestigious status and authority both on local and regional levels, and gave them military advancement that enabled their state to persist over centuries (Brinkman 1971:401-402).

The third important item Babylonia exported during the late Kassite period was textiles. Southern Mesopotamia historically produced and traded textiles with places such as Magan and Assur, and also as far away as Cappadocia (Leemans 1960:128-129). During the Old Babylonian

⁷⁴ See Chapter Three, Collective History for Kassite association with chariots and horses.

period, garments of all kinds were produced under the state and temple supervision and were traded with various regions including Qatna in the west for instance (Leemans 1960:129).

Likewise, in the Kassite period, textile production and exportation seem to have played a crucial role in the state economy. Large numbers of texts found at Dūr-kurigalzu discuss finished textile goods such as fine garments, headgears, belts, shawls, shoes etc. Such items were issued to Assyrian, Elamite, and Lulubu tradesmen (al-Zubadi 2003:IM50088).

Like the Old Babylonian palace, the Kassite palace appears to have been involved not only in the export of textiles, but also in their production. The royal archives at Dūr-kurigalzu inform us of various amounts of raw wool that was sent to the palace textile workers for weaving (al-Zubadi 2003:144). Although related to temples and other administrative institutions, textile workers appear to have been particularly common among members of the servile population administrated by the state at least at Nippur. For example, among the 452 entries of servile workers in Nippur's administrative texts, more than 18% are textile workers, including weavers, spinners, teaselers, and fullers. Women made up more than 27% of those workers (Tenney 2009:126-127). Although there is no direct evidence as to how many of these workers worked exclusively for the palace, we know that they were supervised by the governor of Nippur and that they were distributed in various state institutions, including the palace workshops (Tenney 2009:120ff.;130ff.).

Thus, it appears that textile industry has thrived, at least in Nippur, in the late Kassite period and that similar working teams might have been present in other administrative centers, such as the palace at Dūr-Kurigalzu. This is true considering that Nippur craftsmen were sent to Dūr-Kurigalzu, and servile workers-including a weaver- were sent from the latter to Nippur (Ni.6052, 6871). The production of these teams must have supported the state's accumulation

and distribution of Babylonian textiles both locally and regionally as evident in the royal archive at Dūr-Kurigalzu. It is significant to mention that this archive also refers to a large number of colored garments and shawls among the finished items which were issued to foreign merchants. We know that dyed textiles were highly valued in Babylonia throughout time. Garments in red, blue, and purple were worn by kings, members of the royal family, priests, and other ruling elites. In addition, colored fabrics appeared on the statues of divinities (Oppenheim 1949:172ff.). In an inscription dated to the early Kassite king Agum-Kakrime, the king claims to “gave four talents of reddish gold for (the fabrication of) a garment for Marduk and Šarpānītum and (thus) clad Marduk and Šarpānītum in a gala-garment of reddish gold” (Oppenheim 1949:172).

Because of its symbolism and prestigious, colored fabric must have had been manipulated by the ruling elites to enhance their socioeconomic status. The distribution accounts from Dūr-Kurigalzu list various clothing items in colors such as blue⁷⁵, red⁷⁶, purple, and white.⁷⁷ They also suggest that red clothes were worn by priests in temples during religious ceremonies. Furthermore, the famous Tyrian purple seems to be the color of various fine garments such as the *kusitu* worn by the Kassite king in religious events (Al-zubadi 2003:96ff.). The presence of numerous colored garments and other clothing items in the royal archive raises the question of dye production during the late Kassite period. One important example, however outside Babylonia, is what seems to be a center of dye production at the site of Khor-ile-Sud in Qatar dating to the late second millennium B.C. According to Edens, massive numbers of shells were found on the site, which was apparently a center of production for blue, purple, and red dye

⁷⁵ The *Isatistinctoria* tree seems to be the source for blue; this tree is still found in found in the Syro-Palestine area and it is called *نبات النيلج او النيل* (Baqir 1953:197).

⁷⁶ Red was produced from trees such as oak and from certain types of tree worms, in addition to shells.

⁷⁷ See for example IM50052, IM50063, IM50063, IM50088, IM50075, and IM50023.

(Edens 1994:215).⁷⁸ Although no direct evidence associates this site with the Kassite monarchs in Babylonia, it is likely that Khor-il-Sud dye production was connected to the Babylonian administration at Dilmun in the Gulf area between 1425 to 1225 B.C.⁷⁹ The symbolism and prestige of the colored textiles might have led the Kassite state to practice some control over its production and distribution as suggested by the archive at Dūr-kurigalzu. If true, control over production and circulation of such a symbolically charged commodity must have enabled the ruling minority to reproduce and enhance their socioeconomic status through various social channels, including royal gift exchange among kings of equal status, or gifts from kings to their favored subjects for example.

To sum up, although no evidence is available for trade during the early Kassite period, trade and exchange seem to have played an important role in the Kassite state economy. Though trade must have been taken place by private individuals and households outside the palace domain, the Kassite state seems to have manipulated the acquisition and distribution of certain exotic items to enhance its sociopolitical and economic status. By the mid/late Kassite period and especially during the age of the Amarnan archive, an important inter-regional trade connected the Kassite royal house in Babylonia with the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Hittite courts. Within this context, the Kassite state appears to have manipulated the acquisition and distribution of exotic items such as lapis lazuli, which the state exported to Egypt in return for luxurious items such as gold. When the Egyptian gold arrived in Babylonia, it was smelted and purified and was accumulated and used by the Kassite kings to finance and decorate their royal palaces as well as temples. In fact because of the large quantities of gold which were sent from Egypt, Babylonian

⁷⁸ For further information on dyeing processes and methods see Edens 1994:215.

⁷⁹ Excavations at Qala'at (on Bahrain) in the 1950s revealed late 2nd millennium Babylonian pottery. In addition, a storage building similar to those found at Ur and Dūr-Kurigalzu was found on this site, which further suggest economic and trade connections with Babylonia (Bibby 1958; Højlund 1987).

economy flourished and switched into gold standard of value. It is likely that the accumulation and use of gold must have enhanced the king's authority and legitimized the state control of power which was reflected and communicated through, for example, the monumental buildings the kings constructed. Furthermore, by accumulating gold, silver, and other precious stones, Kassite kings, like others, became a symbol of exceptionality and exclusivity which allowed them to cultivate the king's image.

In return and to sustain this prestigious and highly symbolic image, the Kassite kings sent lapis lazuli, horses and chariots, and textiles to Egyptian pharaohs. Because of its rarity, high value, and symbolism, it is most likely that the Kassite monarchs had some control over the acquisition of lapis lazuli during this period. This is suggested by the increase of objects made of this stone in comparison with the previous Old Babylonian period, and by the large amounts of raw and worked lapis that the Kassite kings sent to Egyptian pharaohs which must have augmented their sociopolitical status among other great kings. Likewise, it seems that Kassites exploited their knowledge of horses and chariots to sustain their prestigious status on both local and regional levels. Horses and chariots were among the highly prized gifts that were exchanged during the late second millennium B.C. Unlike the previous Old Babylonian period, Babylonia under the Kassites appears to have played an important middleman role in the movement of both commodities. Finally, the Kassite state, like the previous Old Babylonian state, exploited textile production and trade. It appears that garments of all kinds might have been produced by textile workshops that belonged to the palace and were then used by the state for trade and exchange as reflected in the archive of the royal palace at Dūr-Kurigalzu.

4.4.1 Discussion

Like the Arab and the Mamluk states, trade appears to have been an important source of wealth for the Kassite state economy. It brought prosperity to Babylonian political economy and financed the kings' monumental projects, which in turn must have augmented their socioeconomic status and legitimized their political authority both on local and regional levels. So much gold was sent to Babylonia that the state switched to gold as standard of value. Although this might be a result of losing connections with sources of silver, it certainly suggests an economic prosperity in Babylonia similar to that of the Umayyad state in Andalusia, where trade brought so much wealth that the state switched from silver to gold dinar.

Like the Mamluk state which manipulated the East spice trade that moved through its territory, the Kassite state appears to have played an important middleman role in the trade of highly prestigious and symbolic commodities, including lapis lazuli and horses. While no contemporary evidence is available for Kassite procurement of lapis lazuli, the large quantities of lapis presented by the Kassite kings to the pharaohs suggest some control over its acquisition and distribution. Although we do not know where from the Kassites imported horses, Babylonia was considered the center for horse trade as reflected in the Hittite letter to the Kassite monarchy. It appears that the Kassites cleverly used their knowledge of horses and chariots to sustain their prestigious status among other great kings in the region. Finally, like both the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassite state utilized textile production and finished items, including dyed textile, for trade and royal gifts exchange to further enhance its sociopolitical status and authority.

In sum, like the Arab and the Mamluk states, the Kassite state recognized the importance of inter-regional trade as a source of wealth and cultural exchange. Unfortunately, the available data does not permit conclusions to be drawn on important issues such as whether the state

imposed taxes on traded items or on foreign merchants, marketplace and prices, or the scale of the trade outside the state domain. However, it is safe to assume that the Kassite state might have manipulated the acquisition and distribution of exotic items such as lapis lazuli, horses, and colored textiles, while trade of other, non-luxurious, items must have had taken place by private individuals and households.

4.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I attempted to investigate how the Kassites, as a foreign ruling minority, maintained political power, supported the state's apparatus, and legitimized its authority over four centuries. Although no archaeological and historical data is available for the state political economy during the early Kassite period, drawing on the ethnohistorical examples of the Arabs and the Mamluks it is possible to suggest that the early Kassite period might have been instable both politically and economically. This might be true considering the abandonment of large agricultural areas of southern Babylonia by the end of the late Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods, the power vacuum after the Hittite invasion of Babylon (1595 B.C.), and the evident conflict between the early Kassites and local population. Gradually, however, and after resettling some of the abandoned areas, such as Eshnunna in the northeast, and once the Kassites were Babylonized to some extent, a stable sociopolitical and economic situation must have been achieved by the Kassite monarchs possibly by the mid-late 15th century B.C. Unfortunately, no evidence has reached us from this period resulting in a gap in our knowledge of the Kassite state political economy during this early stage.

Nonetheless, the examination of the state's administration system and revenues as well as landownership and trade during the late and post-Kassite periods permits several observations on the Kassites ruling mechanisms in Babylonia. It appears that the Kassites, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, relied on a well-developed administration, a centralized taxation system, and control over resources to maintain their hegemony over a territorial state. Although the Kassites appear to have adopted some features of the previous Old Babylonian administration, they introduced a

new provincial and administration system. Whereas in the previous period Babylonia consisted of two distinctive parts southern and northern which encompassed several large cities, Kassite Babylonia was organized into provinces dominated by rural settlements under a well-defined administration. Unlike the Old Babylonian period during which inhabitants of urban centers, e.g. Nippur and Ur, were first and foremost residents of their cities rather than the state, provinces under the Kassites were unified within the territorial state of *Kardunaiš* and a sense of a broader Babylonian national identity was introduced to end, for the first time, the southern-northern division. Although some rural autonomy existed, e.g. at the thinly populated countryside of southern Babylonia and areas of east Tigris, both rural and urban population was brought under the administration of the new territorial state. This must have resulted, on the one hand, in an increase in the security of rural areas which contributed to the state's overall stability. On the other hand, it must have enabled the ruling elites to further extend their access to material resources and manpower.

During the late and post-Kassite period, the state administration appears to have consisted of individuals with Babylonian and Kassite names, but mainly Babylonian. Although this may reflect Kassite integration and adaptation of Babylonian names, it also suggests that the Kassite dynasty left the local government in the hands of Babylonians presumably loyal to the Kassite crown. This must have been among the most important factors behind the capability and continuity of the state administration system over such a long time. At the same time, however, the Kassite monarchy, like the Mamluks sultan, kept control over this administration and supervised the efficient operation of the system, and Kassite individuals, like the Mamluks, played important role in the royal court as well as military. Although some administrative positions were inherited from the previous Old Babylonian state, others became more common

under the Kassites reflecting modification of the Babylonian administration to accommodate the new state administrative needs- a situation similar to that of the Mamluks administration in Egypt.

Similar to Andalusia and Egypt, towns and villages owed taxes and duties to the provincial administration and therefore to the Kassite kings. Kassite state appears to have adopted the Old Babylonian taxation system in which revenues from agricultural and animal products were collected from both urban and rural population. The income from these revenues was collected in urban centers at Nippur or Dūr-Kurigalzu where large storage buildings were recovered. A redistributive economic system based on tax collection sustained the state public programs and supported large number of state dependents, including military officials, workers, and artisans of all type. Unlike the Arabs who imposed new taxes on local population, e.g. taxes on non-Muslims, the Kassites adopted the traditional Babylonian taxation system and did not seem to impose new taxes on Babylonians.

In addition to having a centralized administration and taxation system, the Kassites, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, exhibited significant interest in landownership and transfer. Although land continued to be owned by both the state and private households, the Kassite king gained control over landownership and transfer through royal land grants, a practice that did not exist before. These grants were given to both Kassite and Babylonian individuals; however, it seems that the Kassites made up the majority of the recipients on the *Kudurrus* of the Kassite period, suggesting that Kassites, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, became an important part of the landowner stratum. Whereas land grants and tax exemptions enhanced the socioeconomic status of the recipients, they also served the crown's ideological and economic interests. In that it combined land and labor during time when labor was more important than water, and reduced

the direct cost to the crown for agriculture while still generating revenues in taxes unless specifically exempted.

Ideologically, royal land grants and tax exemption tied the recipients closely to the king through a patron-client relationship. Like the sultans and *khaliphas*, the Kassite kings granted lands mainly to military officials and soldiers. While generating income for military personnel, these grants must have created a feeling of obligation and loyalty among the military to the king, thus supporting his political authority and status. In addition to military, temples were the second most common recipient of royal land grants. Indeed, temples were granted large territories, which were also exempted from taxes, thus rendering the land revenues and labor service to the institution in question. Therefore, the Kassites successfully manipulated the two most influential groups of Babylonian society, military which was dominated by its Kassite component and temple which was dominated by Babylonian priests and scribes, thus guarantying support and backup of both the Kassites and the Babylonians.

Like the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassite palace appears to have been directly engaged in long-distance trade and exchange. The acquisition and accumulation of exotic materials, such as gold, must have enhanced the monarch's sociopolitical authority. Furthermore, it enabled him to become a symbol of exceptionality and exclusivity, which allowed him to cultivate the king's image. In fact, similar to Andalusia, so much gold was sent to Babylonia that Babylonian economy flourished and moved to gold as a standard of value, which must have further legitimized the state control of power. In return and to maintain this prestige and symbolic image, the Kassite kings exported lapis lazuli, horses, and textiles. Although Lapis and horses were not native to Mesopotamia, Babylonia played an important middleman role in the movement of these commodities throughout the Near East, a situation similar to that of Mamluks

who dominated the eastern spice trade. Because of the social and ideological values embedded in lapis and horses and chariots, the Kassite state must have had some monopoly over their acquisition and distribution both on the local and regional levels as suggested by the quantities of lapis presented by the Kassite kings to the pharaohs, for instance.

In sum, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, creating a well-defined administration system, collecting taxes, granting land, and acquiring exotic items composed the Kassite state mechanisms for a legitimate control of power and authority. Each practice must have helped to generate loyalty and personal or institutional bonds of obligation to the crown. Moreover, they must have stimulated some sort of elite competition for royal favor that reduced potential alliances against the crown. At the same time, each practice allowed for the expansion of king's authority among ruling elites that is essential to the reproduction of the state apparatus. All these mechanisms must have supported the legitimatization of the Kassite state's socioeconomic and political authority. The examination of the Kassite state's political economy suggest that Kassites fall closer to the Mamluks rather than the Arabs in Spain on the continuum of integration vs. segregation models. In that, while the Kassites introduced new land holding practices, for example, they adopted Babylonian taxation system and did not impose new taxes on local population. This Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction and its implication on Babylonian culture and society are further discussed through the examination of Babylonian built environment as well as mortuary practices presented in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Babylonian Society: Cultural Continuity and Change

5.1 Introduction

The ethnohistorical examples discussed in Chapter Two suggest that the interaction of two different cultures may or may not result in changes in material culture, including architecture and burials. They further demonstrate that the degree of cultural change and/or continuity varies depending on the foreign minority's ruling strategies, whether members of the ruling minority segregated themselves from the local population and imposed new customs (e.g. Arabs in Spain) or whether they integrated into the local society and adopted local traditions (e.g. Mamluks in Egypt). In addition, these examples show that over time the foreign ruling minorities, whether segregated from or integrated into the local population, became part of the whole society, and that their distinctive culture eventually became an aspect of the local culture. For example, although the Arabs and the Berbers segregated themselves from Iberian population, eventually they transformed the local population and culture to a new and distinctive form known as Andalusian society, in which Arabic and Islamic cultural elements prevailed. Likewise, although the Mamluks were of foreign background, they integrated into the Egyptian society and were accepted by the locals as true Muslim leaders.

To better understand the Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction, it is important to examine patterns of change and/or continuity in the material culture of the Kassite period, including temples, palaces, houses, and burials, in comparison to those of the previous Old Babylonian period to reveal whether the Kassites segregated themselves and imposed new sociocultural customs on Babylonians, or whether they integrated into the broader society and adopted its cultural norms. The goal is to estimate the degree to which the mechanisms employed by the state to control power affected Babylonian culture and society on both state and domestic levels as reflected in the material culture of the period.

Thus, this chapter begins with examination of the Babylonian built environment, including temples, palaces, and domestic structures along with their artifacts. Whereas change and/or continuity in state architecture reveals the behavior of the Kassite kings throughout time, changes in house plan, size, and domestic activities throws light on the household socioeconomic organization under Kassite rule. These analyses are followed by an investigation of change and/or continuity in Babylonian funerary practices and associated grave goods. Symbolically charged, burial practices reveal how different communities conceive burial rights in different ways, indicating ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic variation within the society. Because not all changes are the result of the Kassites' dominance, it is important to evaluate the potential relevance of changes in material culture to the sociopolitical and economic policies of the Kassite state to maintain power and authority throughout its history (i.e. the early, middle, and late Kassite periods).⁸⁰ This temporal evaluation reveals how the state legitimized its rule and maintained power, and reflects changes, if any, in the Kassite strategies toward Babylonians and

⁸⁰ See Chapter One, Methodology.

their culture as a result of either a gradual transformation of the local population or the Kassite integration into the majority society.

5.2 Babylonian Built Environment

One way to understand how the Kassites maintained power for a long period of time and the nature of their interaction with the local population is by investigating patterns of change and/or continuity in the Babylonian built environment. This study considers Babylonian architecture, monumental and non-monumental, as an expression of culturally shared behavior, beliefs, and attitudes. As an expression of culture, buildings of various forms must have played a communicative role, expressing and conveying meaning between groups on various levels within the society. Furthermore, they must have also acted to confirm the system of meanings and the values embedded in the society's universe. As such, explanations of the built environment and the change that occurs in it rest on the shared social, economic, political, and religious aspects of the society as a whole. Temples and palaces are analyzed within a comparative and broad social and cultural context. Their layouts, sizes, styles, and building materials provide insight into the religious and royal practices throughout the Kassite period. Change and/or continuity in Babylonian monumental architecture suggest the ruling minority's behavior and the way they legitimized their authority and maintain their power over time.

Domestic architecture, on the other hand, is treated within the context of household studies⁸¹, focusing on the dwelling plan rather than its style, building material or technology. Although the available data does not permit us to identify whether a domestic structure was occupied by a Kassite or Babylonian household, except the one house at Nuzi in which a Kassite household lived according to the family archive found *in situ*, changes in house plan and form indicate the degree to which the Kassites might have affected the broader society outside the state domain. For example, the Arabs' influence on the Iberian domestic structures is visible in the courtyard houses that were imported from North Africa. These houses were adopted by the local population regardless of their ethnic and cultural affiliations. On the other hand, because the Mamluks did not influence the Egyptian domestic life, typical Egyptian houses continued throughout the Mamluk period and were occupied by both Mamluks and Egyptians. Thus, house spatial organization provides significant information on issues of social complexity and sociopolitical and cultural change. Therefore, variability in house forms and size as well as in the function of rooms is examined in relation to household size and type, kinship, and wealth. Continuity and discontinuity in the house form, size, and domestic activities indicate the household socioeconomic organization and the extent to which foreign ruling minority affected the broader society.

5.2.1 Babylonian Built Environment under Kassite Rule

Although no archaeological and historical evidence is available for activities of the early Kassite kings, the evidence from the late-15th to mid-12th centuries B.C. suggest that Kassite kings, like other Babylonian rulers, took on both religious and secular duties. These duties included large scale construction and restoration of various temples and palaces. The

⁸¹ These include ethnographic, ethno-archaeological, and archaeological studies.

examination of the Babylonian built environment under Kassite rule suggests two chronological and stylistic architectural groups. The first includes non-traditional temples and palaces that can be considered Kassite (e.g. the Inanna Temple at Uruk and the royal palace at Dūr-Kurigalzu). Such temples and palaces were built by the Kassite kings in the late-15th to the late-14th centuries B.C., have no parallels in the Babylonian architectural tradition, and exhibit non-Babylonian cultural and religious elements. The second group consists of temples that fall within the Babylonian tradition but were rebuilt by the Kassite kings as well as domestic structures dating to the late-14th to the mid-12th centuries B.C. Although the two categories share important religious and cultural elements, they are distinct from one another in terms of their architectural and cultural characteristics.

To fully evaluate the Kassites innovation and/or adaptation to the Babylonian built environment, it is essential to examine the architecture of the Kassite period within the context of the Old Babylonian monumental and domestic architectural traditions. A typical Old Babylonian temple had one or more courtyards with broad cellas and a direct-axis approach. Babylonian temples commonly had one or two anti cellas, which were surrounded by rooms of various sizes to isolate them from the outside world (Fig.5). The principal shrine in a temple was that of the main god, but often the deity's wife would also have a shrine in the same temple. Almost all temples had elaborate facades with niches and buttresses. Sometimes these facades were decorated with attached columns, occasionally in the shape of a tree trunk or spirals. In addition to temples, ziggurats dominated the religious sectors of the Old Babylonian urban centers. These were a particular type of platform temple with several levels (Fig.6).

Babylonian palaces, on the other hand, were built aside from the rest of the city, including the temples, and were usually surrounded by solid defensive walls. They often

consisted of an open courtyard surrounded by a group of rooms on all sides. In general, these palaces encompassed a public section, which included a long throne room with two entrances as well as offices, workshops, and storage rooms; and a private section, containing the royal residential quarters. Zimrilim's palace at Mari represents the most important example of royal architecture from the Old Babylonian period (Fig.7). This is a large complex of more than 260 rooms covering more than 2ha, surrounded by a monumental wall. Because the palace was built over centuries, different parts reflect the art and architecture of different periods (Moortgat 1969:80). The Old Babylonian sections included a long throne room with two entrances, room no. 64, and a courtyard, no. 106, which was decorated with various wall paintings. The palace also included an extensive scribal quarter, where the administrative work was done, as well as storage facilities and a domestic quarter probably associated with the palace dependents (Margueron 1982:115-125). Other important parts dating to the Old Babylonian period consisted of the private royal residence and a large religious quarter to the southeast of the complex. Unfortunately, only one royal residence was found inside Babylonia dating to the Old Babylonian period, the palace of king Sînkāšid at Uruk (Fig.8). This palace, partially excavated, was surrounded by a thick wall with a chain of narrow rooms/hallways running around the building inside the wall (Heinrich 1984:63). Although poorly preserved, the architectural remains suggest a traditional Babylonian floor plan, consisting of a central courtyard and a long throne room to the north (Margueron 1982:407-409). An administrative section, where scribal and administrative activities were conducted (Sanati-Müller 2013: W20472, 103), appears to have been located on the opposite side of this courtyard. The palace's storage rooms were identified at the west corner of the palace, where several long and narrow rooms were located.

The southern section of the palace might have functioned as a residential quarter (Margueron 1982:405), reflecting the typical private/public dichotomy of Babylonian palaces.

Lastly, Babylonian domestic structures can be divided into two types, courtyard and linear houses. In general, both types might include living rooms (which were relatively large in size), courtyards, entrance chambers, staircases, kitchens, bathrooms, and storerooms. Domestic structures maintained the same layouts during the Old Babylonian period, with some houses having more than one courtyard surrounded by rooms, suggesting different functions for different parts of the house (Fig.9). Old Babylonian houses tended to be smaller than those of the previous period. For example, whereas several Early Dynastic houses at Abu Salabikh and Fara are more than 400m² in surface area, the average size of the Old Babylonian houses at Ur, is under 100m² (Postgate 1992:89). This reduction in house size is most likely due to limited space in the closely settled and thriving cities of the early 2nd millennium B.C., such as Ur and Nippur.

Linear houses were also common in the Old Babylonian cities. Linear houses consisted of long and narrow buildings with rooms and courts strung out in linear patterns. They may have originally been parts of courtyard dwellings, which housed extended households, which were later subdivided into smaller units for nuclear families (Stone 1996:232). For example, an Old Babylonian neighborhood at Ur included courtyard and linear houses as well as small chapels and workshops (Woolley 1976:59ff.). The variations in house size in the EM area at Ur, for example, suggests that both poor and rich households lived within the same neighborhood. Large houses, however, dominated the main streets, while smaller ones were located in narrow alleys.

Having briefly reviewed the Babylonian monumental and domestic architectural traditions, I now move to the examination of monumental and non-monumental architecture of

the Kassite period within a chronological framework (i.e. the early, middle, and late Kassite periods). The goal is to understand the nature of the Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction over time and the degree to which it influenced the majority society outside the state domain.

Although the Kassites' early architecture represents a departure from the previous Babylonian architectural traditions, a quick look at the religious buildings throughout the Kassite period, for example, suggests that while the early temples reflect Kassite innovation and influence on Babylonia's religious architecture, the later temples show the Kassites' adherence to Babylonian traditional temple architecture. This indicates the Kassites gradual integration and adaption to Babylonian religious traditions as discussed below.

5.2.1.1 Kassite religious and royal architecture (late-15th to late-14th centuries B.C.)

As mentioned above, remains of the early Kassite architecture consisted mainly of temples and palaces which were built by Kassite kings and reflect non-Babylonian religious and cultural elements.⁸² Before proceeding to the examination of Kassite monumental architecture and what it reveals about the monarchy's ruling policies to maintain power, a few remarks should be made about the Kassite ruling family to understand how the kings viewed themselves and how they wanted to be seen by others. The Kassite dynasty seems to have been composed of a single family, which ruled Babylonia for centuries almost without interruption.⁸³ Like other Babylonian royal families, succession to the kingship seems to have been from father to son, with times when there was some alleged family succession (Landsberger 1954:44-45). Some of the king's sons held the office of chief priest, *nišakku* of Enlil, (Brinkman 1971:405), while

⁸²Unfortunately, no houses survived from this period, and the only available example is the Kassite house at Nuzi, which suggests Kassites' adaptation to typical Nuzian house form and plan. See Domestic life and architecture below.

⁸³ The only interruptions known so far were a brief revolt in the mid-14th century and the Assyrian conquest led by Tukulti-Ninurta in the 13th century B.C. Both of these events lasted for relatively short time and ended eventually by restoring the old family to the throne.

others appear on *kudurru* stones as estate receivers. In addition, the king's brother appears to have been in command of an army at least in one example (King 1907:23 rev.12-13). As for the queens and princesses, it seems that royal wives enjoyed high status and were able to receive and send letters abroad (Moran 1992:EA12).

Like other foreign ruling minorities, e.g. the Mamluks, the Kassites assumed Babylonian kingship regalia, and ruled as true Babylonian kings bearing traditional Babylonian titles. It appears that the Kassite kings did not invent new titles other than “king of Babylonia” or *šar māti Karduniaš*. Although the etymology of the term *Karduniaš* is undetermined, it seems to translate “Babylonia” into the Kassite language (Brinkman 1971:405). This term was first attested during the reign of Karaindaš, toward the end of the 15th century B.C. (van Koppen 2011:27), and was used as the name of the kingdom of Babylon by both the Kassites and non-Kassites. The fact that this term appeared after the unification of Babylonia (north) and the Sealand dynasty (south) under the Kassite rule suggests that it expresses the political unity of Babylonia and establishes, for the first time, a broader Babylonian identity ending an era of sociopolitical differences between northern and southern Babylonia. Thus, *Karduniaš* is a significant Kassite innovation that not only distinguished the Kassite kings from earlier Babylonian kings, but outlasted the dynasty itself and left its imprint on Babylonian culture.

Although the Kassites adopted traditional Mesopotamian titles, they do not seem to have imitated previous models. Instead, they employed common titles in a random manner. For example, the better known inscriptions of Kurigalzu favor titles such as “priest of Enlil, mighty king, king of Sumer and Akkad, and king of the four quarters” (Baqir 1945b:50; Gadd 1928:nos.159, 162-164). None of these titles, however, seems to be popular with other Kassite kings (Brinkman 1971:405). Although the epithet “shepherd” has been attested in Babylonia

before the Kassite period, it was commonly used by the Kassite kings,⁸⁴ and was attested as early as King Agum-Kakrime (ca. 1510 B.C.) and as late as King Meli-Šipak (1186-1172 B.C.). This title is ideologically significant; it gives the Kassite king an intermediate position in which he acts for the gods in caring for his people. Furthermore, it creates the image of a king- father who protects his people and defends his state for its welfare and goodness. Titles such as “king of the world” seem to be used in royal building inscriptions, while “great king” was only used in international correspondence (Brinkman 1971:405). The latter placed the Kassite kings in an equal position with the great pharaohs of Egypt and kings of Hatti. It is significant that titles such as “king of Babylon” (i.e. referring to a city), popular in previous periods, were rarely used by Kassite kings, and were only found in the first half of the dynasty.⁸⁵ This indicates that Kassite kings, unlike previous Babylonian kings, did not view themselves as rulers of a single city, but rather as rulers of the whole country of Babylonia or *Karduniaš*.

Like their titles, although the Kassites promoted Babylonian religious tradition, their early temples are far from traditional. The earliest example of the Kassite religious architecture is the Inanna Temple at Uruk (Fig.10). Built by King Karaindaš (ca. 1413 B.C.) and restored by Kurigalzu I, this temple is a small structure, but with great historical and architectural significance. Although it was dedicated to the Babylonian goddess Inanna and had already existed at Uruk long before the Kassite period, the form and decoration of the Kassite structure

⁸⁴ For example Gilgamesh was described as “shepherd of Uruk” in the epic of Gilgamesh (George1999:3-4). In addition, the god Martu, for instance, was represented carrying a crook during the Old Babylonian and early Kassite periods (Black1992:130). Thus the epithet and the idea were present in Babylonia before the Kassite period.

⁸⁵ Such titles are attested for kings Kurigalzu (Brinkman 1976:Q.2.3), and Kadaš-man-Enlil (Brinkman 1976:J.2.8; J.2.10).

are completely new and divorced from the old structure which had fallen to ruins.⁸⁶ This Kassite temple represents a departure from the earlier Babylonian tradition with its unusual floor plan consisting of two long and narrow cella and anticella and two side chambers, with a platform or a hearth placed at the center of the cella at the back. The temple appears to be missing the typical Babylonian courtyard (Jordan 1930:30-38).

The structure is symmetrical and the main entrance is located on its axis, in one of the shorter sides which forms the front. The building is a free standing monument, and its exterior is dominated by four massive corner towers and unique reliefs of alternating male and female deities wearing horned caps and holding water vessels (Orthmann 1975:295). The female divinity was depicted in a flowing robe with heavy locks of hair, and the bearded god wore a robe that was marked from the waist down with a series of elongated half circles. Both of the deities were represented holding a vessel from which streams of water were running down (Fig. 11). The size and height of the reconstructed walls at the Baghdad and Berlin museums confirm the temple's monumentality (Fig.12). Although no artifacts were found within the temple, drawing on its plan and façade, it has been suggested that the building might have functioned as a space for the adoration of a cult image (Heinrich 1982:205, 221-222).

The absence of the courtyard and the presence of the long and narrow cella in this temple stand in complete opposition to the well-known Babylonian temple plan outlined above. Similarly, the exterior façade, with its unique figures, is without parallels in Babylonia. But, the long and narrow cella with an axial entrance on the narrow wall was common in Assyria in later

⁸⁶ In her discussion of the Kassite royal building inscriptions, Bartelmus points out that the verb *gibil*₍₄₎ "to make new" seems always to refer to already existing temples, including the Inanna temple, suggesting that the verb may imply that the old temple had gone to ruins and a new different building was designed in its place (Bartelmus 2010:160).

periods.⁸⁷ It is possible that such a cella might have represented a type of shrine to which people of the north, including the Kassites, were accustomed. If true, the presence of such cella in Babylonia represents a religious and architectural element related to the Kassite cultural background which they integrated into the Babylonian architectural tradition. Likewise, the decorated façade exhibits similarities to northern examples.⁸⁸ Whereas the goddess image with a vase of flowing water was common in Babylonia on Akkadian seals (e.g. Collon 1982:no. 213:101), on Ur III stone panels (Moortgat 1969:pl.188:66), and in a statue from Mari (Strommenger 1964:no.162-163:420), the male god, identified as a mountain god,⁸⁹ has his parallel in Anatolia especially among the Hittites (Jaritz 1960:24). The Hittite mountain god was found represented on seals, ivories, stone reliefs, and as a hieroglyph (Boehmer 1975:nos.376m, 142h; Spycket 1981:no. 214; Bittel 1975: fig.14). Although, the Hittite god usually appeared supporting other gods and was depicted in a different style and posture, his body was decorated with mountain-scales similar to those decorating the robe of the male god at Uruk. The whole scene depicted on the façade of the Inanna Temple (a mountain god and a water goddess) was found on two objects dated to the first half of the second millennium B.C. A mace head from Mari has both figures holding what might be a vessel (Fig.13). A stone plaque from Ashur (Fig.14) has all the elements of the Uruk façade, except the god holds a branch in each hand from which two animals feed (Seidl 1975:no.194:308).

⁸⁷ The Assyrian temple of Sin-Šamaš at Ashur has two rectangular shrines built side by side (Haller 1955:82-92). Similarly, a long and narrow cella and anti-cella dominated the center of each shrine and were surrounded by rooms on two sides (Haller 1955:fig. 26).

⁸⁸ Examples of columns decorated with palm-tree trunks were found at Uruk dating to the Uruk IV period. Further employment of this motif as a decorative element in buildings does not appear until the Early Dynastic III period. At Mari, the tree-trunk columns appear at Dagan temple dating to ED III. Tree trunk and spiral columns were mainly built in northern Mesopotamia in the early to mid-second millennium B.C. at Tell Al Rimah (Oats 1967: fig. 36), and Tell Leilan (Weiss 1985:8, 11, 13).

⁸⁹ The male figure is identified as the mountain god based on the decoration of his robe. See: (Strommenger 1964:424; Moortgat 1969:94; Frankfort 1970:132).

Although features of the Inanna façade fall within the broader Mesopotamian and Anatolian traditions, the representation of the mountain god is of particular interest. It seems that this god played an important role in the art of this period considering his popularity not only in buildings' façades, but also on Kassite seals in comparison to previous periods. For example, seals of the second-Kassite style show the mountain god represented rising up out of the groundwater or mountains and sometimes both (Matthews 1990:60:129, 130, 131; Matthews 1992: 33:145, 146). The lower part of his body is decorated with wavy or intersecting lines presumably representing a hilly landscape (Figs.15 &16). In addition to water and fish-men, mountainous animals and trees are also represented alongside this god. In addition to seals, textual evidence suggests that the Kassite palaces at Dūr-Kuriglazu (discussed below) were probably known as the 'palace of the mountain sheep', the 'palace of the stag', and the 'palace of the mountain ram' (Baqir 1945b:61).⁹⁰ It further suggests that these palaces were adorned with sculptures or protomes of deer and mountain sheep (Gurney 1953:no.21). Moreover, the Kassite god *Šumališa* bore the epithet "lady of the bright mountain" (King 1912:36). It is clear that images of the mountain god, deer, sheep, and trees represent a northern Mesopotamian environment. The popularity of such images during this period, the name of the Kassite palaces, and the god's epithet denote a connection to or familiarity with the northern environment and landscape. This is significant considering the Kassites' northern origins and in particular their historical connection with the area of the Zagros Mountains throughout their history. The representation of the mountain god in the façade of the Inanna Temple therefore may reflect the remnants of Kassite culture and beliefs integrated into the Babylonian tradition.

⁹⁰ Also see Gurney 1953:IM50037, IM50038.

It is certainly true that the novelty of the Inanna Temple cannot be overlooked, and that the temple with its decoration represents an innovation in the Babylonian religious tradition. Indeed, it seems that for the first time the temple/shrine makes a direct connection to the divine through the physical incorporation of the deities' bodies into the building itself. Thus, the temple houses the cult images of the gods, and therefore the gods themselves. Architecturally, unlike previous Babylonian monuments, the molded brick reliefs were sculptures which were actually a part of the structure. The figures were real components of the building's construction. This indeed represents an artistic and architectural innovation for which the Kassites should be credited.

It is significant to mention that this form of architectural decoration is only found in Babylonia and later in Elam and is confined to this period. This type of exterior façade was fairly common in Kassite Babylonia. Fragments of similar façades have been found at Nippur, Ur, and in the temple complex at Dūr-Kurigalzu (Clayden 2000:80). The Nippur examples are almost complete and they exhibit some similarities to those of Uruk. In fact, it has been suggested that the figures' hands might have held an object (e.g. a vase) now lost.⁹¹ The molded brick of different figurative shapes of human beings, animals, palm trees, and cloths found in the temples in Dūr-Kurigalzu draw parallels to the Inanna Temple façade.⁹² Similar brickwork was also found in the temple of Šilhak-Inšušinak at Susa two centuries later (Harper 1992:141). The connection between the Inanna Temple and the one at Susa is especially valid because the latter

⁹¹ Kraus observed the distinctive shape of the figures' hands at Nippur, which are formed in a ring around an object that is lost, and concluded that they once held vases like those on the Karaindaš temple façade (Kraus 1952:75-82).

⁹² The Dūr-Kurigalzu bricks depict elongated half circles similar to those used at Uruk in the robes worn by the male deities. In addition, some depict the foliage on the palm tree similar to that found at Susa, while others might have represented parts of a palm tree trunk with triangles representing the trunk scars (Clayden 2000:80).

was decorated in such a manner after the Elamite invasion of Babylonia in 1155 B.C., which put an end to the Kassite dynasty. Before this invasion, brick decoration was present in Elamite architecture; molded bricks, however, appeared only at this time. This development without a doubt resulted from the Elamite exposure to the Kassite molded brick façades in Babylonia.

Another religious structure that reflects Kassite innovation and influence on Babylonian temple architecture is the Complex of Enlil at the Kassite city of Dūr-Kurigalzu. Although the temple complex was dedicated to traditional Babylonian deities, its spatial organization as well as its decoration is far from traditional (Fig.17). Founded by King Kurigalzu I (c.1375 B.C.),⁹³ the temple complex exhibits a remarkable floor plan encompassing three large courtyards dedicated to the Babylonian gods Enlil, Ninlil, and Ninurta (Baqir1944:4; 1945b:46; Clay 1906:no.4; Clayden 1996:112-117). The layout of the courtyards, the absence of the cella, the presence of a central platform, and the decorated façade have no parallels in Babylonian religious architecture. Instead, the temple complex suggests a free and very different approach to religious architecture taken by the Kassite king in his newly founded city.

Unlike any traditional Babylonian temple, the building of Temple Enlil É.U.GAL or house of the great lord (Baqir 1945b:46; George 1993:90, no.350) consists of a large courtyard, no.18, surrounded by rooms on all sides, with the main entrance located in room no.25. The courtyard opens onto a large platform in the midst of the religious complex through a massive buttressed doorway in room no.10, suggesting an important pathway connecting the two areas. In front of this doorway and inside the courtyard there were remains of an altar of baked bricks and bitumen (Baqir 1945b:51). No further information is available on the remaining rooms of this

⁹³ Kurigalzu founded his city on the site of an older small settlement called *Parsâ*. For details and discussion of the textual evidence see Nashef 1982:216ff.; George 1993:45.

temple except for the two baked brick blocks which stood on either side of the entrance in room no.28. However, fragments of the molded brick façade, including parts of dresses and horned heads of gods and animals, were found in courtyard no.18. Although no illustrations are available for these fragments, the excavators confirm the similarities between these remains and the façade of the temple of Inanna at Uruk as discussed above (Baqir 1944:12-13). The central platform that connects with the Enlil Temple via narrow streets is located directly in front of the ziggurat. Its southeastern side is decorated with T-shaped niches. At its east corner a stairway leads to its summit. The only finds from this area were inscribed door sockets of King Kurigalzu. It is not clear whether or not this platform is contemporary with the rest of the complex. However, regardless of its date, it must have supported some sort of structure, such as a small temple or a sanctuary similar to that recovered in Mound A (Fig.17) (Baqir 1945b:55). To date, no parallels for the platform are known from other Babylonian temples. In addition to the Enlil temple, two other temples dedicated to Ninlil and Ninurat were identified (Baqir 1945b:46). These are located in the courtyards to the northeast and southwest of the platform respectively (Fig.17). A fourth and smaller courtyard surrounded by a series of rooms was recovered to the northeast of the Enlil temple (Fig.18). Although not much information is available on this part of the temple, we know that walls of this courtyard were also decorated with molded bricks (Fig.19).⁹⁴

One comparable example to the Enlil Temple complex is a group of three large courtyards recovered in the temple complex at Larsa (Fig.20) dating to the reign of the Kassite king Burna-Buriaš II (1359-1333 B.C.). The plan of this complex can be divided into two sections. The first is a series of courtyards aligned along the same axis, and the second is a

⁹⁴ Scattered molded bricks were observed in this courtyard by Clayden in 1986; see Clayden 2000:79-80.

building with very thick walls and a surrounding enclosure. Each of the three courtyards was entered via large buttressed doorways, which led into an open courtyard surrounded by rooms. Excavations in courtyard I, the most complete (Fig.21), show that the structure was originally built in the Old Babylonian period and was later reconstructed by various Kassite kings.⁹⁵ The main entrance into the courtyard was through doorway no.14. The interior façade of the court was decorated with an elaborate series of engaged columns: some were molded in the form of spirals arranged opposite to one another typical of Babylonian religious structures (Calvet 1984:13-15). Scattered among the engaged columns were T-shaped niches. Most of the surrounding rooms were paved with bitumen-coated bricks. A few artifacts dating to the Kassite period were found, including three *kudurrus*,⁹⁶ two partially complete and one fragmentary recovered in room no.2 (Arnaud 1972:163-176; Margueron 1972:156-159).

Thus, it seems that the general layout of the courtyards at the Enlil Temple complex may fall within the Babylonian architectural tradition; however, the presence of the central platform, and the absence of an altar room set it apart and present us with another Kassite architectural innovation. The temple's molded bricks suggest a façade or frieze encompassing horned deities and palm trees similar to those found at Susa. This façade, with the complex self-contained floor plan, suggests a similar attitude to that of the Inanna temple at Uruk, in that a direct connection is made between the temple itself and the divine. By integrating the image of the deities into the

⁹⁵ The last attested work carried out in this complex before Burna-Buriaš was by Rim-Sin or Samsuiluna. The construction work of the Kassite kings Burna-Buriaš II, Nazi-Maruttaš (1307-1282 B.C.), and Kadšman-Enlil (1263-1255 B.C.) is evident in the door sockets and stamped bricks found throughout the complex (Arnaud 1978:nos.18, 19; Brinkman 1976: E.2.2, E.2.3.2, J.2.1.1-3, U.2.2; Arnaud 1981:nos.4, 5).

⁹⁶ Two of the *kudurrus* are dated to the reigns of kings Nazi-Maruttaš and Kudur-Enlil, their texts refer to lands owned by the E.BABBAR temple at Larsa.

temple's structure, the whole temple becomes the house of the divine as reflected in its name É.U.GAL (house of the great lord).

In contrast to the city temples, King Kurigalzu built his ziggurat in accordance with the Babylonian traditions (Fig.22). A ziggurat was the most significant feature of Mesopotamian cities, and given its imposing monumentality, it is likely that the Kassite king sought to build his in a fashion similar to the famous ziggurats at Ur and Nippur. By doing so, the king continued an ancient Babylonian tradition, projected an image of a great monarch, and aligned his new city with the ancient Babylonian urban centers. The structure is nearly square, built of well-tempered mud bricks with a baked brick façade, and corners are projected to the cardinal points of the compass. A staircase stood on its southeast face similar to that of the Nippur ziggurat.⁹⁷ Traces of an axial staircase and two lateral flights of stairs were located, however, the modern reconstruction of the ziggurat has placed an access stairway against the southwest side of the structure and has omitted the original lateral stairs. At every eight or nine courses the fabric of the ziggurat was strengthened by a layer of reed matting and ropes. The sides of the structure were battered and each was decorated with seven buttresses (Baqir 1945b:44ff.). This is the tallest surviving ziggurat standing at approximately 57m high today, although its original height is unknown. Also unknown is the temple that once stood at the top of this imposing structure.

Accordingly, it appears that while the Kassite kings built temples for typical Babylonian gods, they did not simply imitate Babylonian religious architecture. Instead, their early temples reflect Kassite innovation and impact on local religious architecture and present a new type of temple, which incorporated both Babylonian and non-Babylonian architectural and cultural aspects reflecting a Kassite vision of a Babylonian temple. Unlike his temples, King Kurigalzu

⁹⁷ At Larsa, Ur, and Uruk the stairways stood on the northeast side instead.

built his ziggurat in a typical Babylonian fashion, connecting himself with the ancient Babylonian tradition, projecting an image of great king and linking his achievements with those of previous kings. By linking innovation with tradition, the Kassite monarchies must have gained the satisfaction of the majority population and legitimized their authority as a true Babylonian kings.

Like their early temples, Kassite royal palaces at Dūr-Kurigalzu are of unparalleled plan and decoration. Even though the Kassites assumed Babylonian kingship regalia, and ruled as true Babylonian kings deriving their legitimacy from Babylonian gods, they did not imitate Babylonian royal architecture. A monumental palace complex with a distinctive floor plan (Fig.23) was built about 900m to the northwest of the temple complex at Dūr-Kurigalzu. The excavated remains cover an area of 420,000m² dating from the late 14th to the mid-12th century B.C. All of the palace units, except H, which is dated to the late Kassite period, were occupied between 150 to 200 years.⁹⁸ The palace was finally burned and abandoned after the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina (1171-1159 B.C.).

The Kassite palace (Fig.23) exhibits an unusual floor plan in comparison to the previous Old Babylonian palaces; it consists of a series of units arranged around several large courtyards A-H, missing a typical Babylonian throne room. Only units A, G, and F have direct connections with each other. These units encompassed several suites consisting of a long and narrow central courtyard surrounded by small narrow rooms on all sides. The compartmentalized nature of the complex is reflected in the names of four “palaces” recorded in the texts found within the

⁹⁸ Remains of four occupational levels were identified, with level Ia representing the uppermost and IV the lowest and thus the earliest (Baqir 1945b:61-63).

buildings, including ‘palace of the whole world’, ‘palace of the mountain sheep’, ‘palace of the stag’, and ‘palace of the mountain ram’ (Baqir 1945b:61).

Although it is impossible to determine the function of various units of the palace due to incomplete excavations and inconsistent documentation, more information is available about some parts than others.⁹⁹ Unit A, the most complete, has suites on three sides. They open into the large central courtyard no.6 via a central wide entrance, as well as a small narrow side entrance at the corners.¹⁰⁰ The better known northeast suite, for example, appears to have served as an administrative section of the palace. It consisted of a narrow courtyard that connected with the large courtyard through a wide entrance in room no.1. Room no. 4 in the southeast corner appears to have served archival or administrative purposes. Approximately 64 tablets were found in this room, mostly containing lists of various types of garments and shoes as well as administrative records concerning gold and precious stones sent to a goldsmith for the adornment of the palaces (al-Zubadi 2003:162; Pedersén 1998:107). Room nos. 12, 13, and 14 were identified as the palace storage rooms (Fig.24). They consist of three narrow passages from which vaulted cellar-like rooms branch off on both sides (Baqir 1945b:68). Although nothing was found in these rooms except for a few animal bones, its architectural layout confirms its identification as a storage area. This is likely considering that similar rooms were recovered in Zimrilim’s palace at Mari and were identified as storage rooms based on their architecture and artifacts.

Although the spatial organization of the northeast suite changed over time, its function appears to have remained the same. In level II texts dealing with wool and meat were located in

⁹⁹ For details on each occupational level see Baqir 1945a; Clayden 1989.

¹⁰⁰ The entrances were topped with horizontal lintels instead of vaulted arches; in room no.20 the lintel was found still in place.

room no.3 (al-Zubadi 2003:162), and in level III this room was identified as a “treasure room” (Fig.25) where a series of undated tablets, recording lists of leather goods, gold, metal objects, men, sheep, and goats were recovered. A number of carved stone mace heads of which one had inscriptions recording the name of the city and the king were also found in this room (Gurney 1953:24; Brinkaman 1976:245). In level IV, the lowermost, a number of texts were found, most of them, especially those dating to King Kaštiliašu, dealt with receipts and issues of gold, lapis lazuli, and carnelian, as well as lists of clothes, shoes, belts, and head dresses (Baqir 1945b:67). As such, it seems that the northeast suite have functioned as the administrative section of the palace over time, and included the palace storages and archives.

Unit H¹⁰¹, to the north of Unit A, is of particular interest. The distinctive room arrangement, the regularity of doorway placement and the wall paintings suggest that this unit might have functioned as an official reception or audience hall. The southwestern rooms were decorated with geometric and floral designs, while their doorways (I, II, III, and IV) were decorated with processional scenes of human figures (Fig.27).¹⁰² Eight human figures enclosed in geometrically decorated parallel lines were painted on each side of the doorway III. Similarly, on each side of doorway IV a thick band of five red parallel lines framed the top and sides of a processional scene of ten figures (Fig.28). The red strip of the frame is similar to the black and white stripes that framed murals from the Nuzi corridor L15B (Tomabechi1980:137).¹⁰³ Some of the figures were bare headed (Fig.29), with heavy beards and small moustaches. The hair was

¹⁰¹ Unit H level II is chronologically equated with level Ic of the rest of the complex and is dated to sometime between the reigns of Kaštiliṣ IV and Marduk-apla-iddina (Baqir 1946:77ff.).

¹⁰² The only actual remains of the wall paintings from this palace preserved are three fragments (100 x 63cm; 96 x 67cm; 85 x 87 cm) bearing seven painted figures marching right from doorway IV of Unit H. They are in the collection of the Iraq Museum.

¹⁰³ The origin of this artistic convention of framing the main scene with a stripe, which usually took the shape of two-layered strips, can be traced to the striped frieze dividers on North Syrian Early Dynastic seals. In the Isin-Larsa period, this motif recurred in Mesopotamian ceramics (Tomabechi 1980:137).

ted by a band around the forehead and falls in thick pile on the back (Baqir 1946: 82). This unique hair arrangement is similar to the famous fragmentary Kassite terracotta head found elsewhere in the city (Fig.30). Another group wore a slightly elongated headdress painted in white, a type of a headdress that will appear later as a crown of the Assyrian imperial monarch (Fig.29).¹⁰⁴It is significant that the human figures on the southwest wall of the doorway appear to stride directly upon the pavement facing courtyard H, while the figures on the opposite wall faced room 99. The arrangement of the figures in this way suggests the actual movement of the officials in and out of this room whose function, unfortunately, is impossible to identify. In addition to the wall painting found in this unit, textual evidence suggests that Dūr-Kurigalzu palaces were also adorned with sculptures and protomes of animals, including deer and mountain sheep (Gurney 1953:23-24).

Although representational wall painting is known in Mesopotamia as early as the Proto-literate period at Tell Uqair, none of the available examples (e.g. Mari, Nuzi, and Kar Tukulti-Ninurta) include the repetition of identical human figures. The only comparable example, although different, is the repetitive pattern in the façade of the Inanna Temple at Uruk. On the other hand, the body position and the clothes of the human figures at Dūr-Kurigalzu are similar to those of the figures on two glass vessels from Hasanlu in northwest Iran, found in a building destroyed about 800 B.C. (Fig.31) (von Saldern 1970:216- 217; Calmeyer 1995:34). Therefore, it seems that painted decoration similar to those of the Kassite palaces has not been found elsewhere yet. Until the emergence of new evidence, it is possible to consider the motif of identical officials in procession a Kassite innovation that was possibly adopted later by the Assyrian and Babylonian kings.

¹⁰⁴ It is worth mentioning that this procession of officials finds its nearest parallels in the palace of Sargon of Assyria at Khorsabada few centuries later.

Accordingly, although the Kassite royal residence might have been inspired by characteristics of Babylonian palatial architecture, including the central courtyard, the distinctive spatial organization of the various architectural units, the commonality of long and narrow rooms throughout the complex, and the absence of a typical Babylonian throne room set it apart from previous Babylonian palaces. It is likely that the unique architectural principles employed throughout the complex reflect the Kassite kings' perception and idea of a royal residence. The fragmentary remains of the contemporary Kassite palace at Nippur (Fig.32) show a floor plan consisting of a paved courtyard surrounded by rows of rooms in a manner similar to that found at Dūr-Kurigalzu (Gibson 1978:66- 69), suggesting that this type of architecture might have been typical of the Kassite palaces throughout Babylonia.

In conclusion, the examination of the Kassites' early religious and royal architecture reveals a complete departure from that of the previous Old Babylonian period. Like the Mamluks in Egypt, the Kassite monarchs adopted Babylonian religious and kingship traditions; however, they appear to have also maintained their distinctive cultural background and influenced Babylonian religious and royal architecture. While the Kassite kings respected and promoted Babylonian religion, they did not imitate Babylonian temples. Although the Inanna temple at Uruk existed long time before the Kassites, Karaindaš's temple presents us with a completely new floor plan, and unique façade decoration. Though this might be the result of the foreign king's unfamiliarity with the ancient religious tradition, it can also be a new, non-Babylonian, vision of a Babylonian temple. Likewise, although built for traditional Babylonian deities, the Temple Complex at Dūr-Kurigalzu reflects the Kassite monarch's ideas of a religious structure. In his new city, and away from the local elites at Babylon, Kurigalzu reinvented Babylonian temple architecture connecting the old tradition with the new one, and projecting an image of a

great Babylonia king. By linking innovation with tradition, the Kassite monarchies must have gained the satisfaction of the local population and legitimized their authority as a true Babylonian kings.

Similarly, although the kings adopted Babylonian kingship regalia, they invented new titles and ruled as kings of the whole country of Babylonia or *Karduniaš*. Thus, the Kassite kings distinguished themselves from the previous Babylonian kings and influenced Babylonian culture and society by promoting a broader Babylonian national identity. Although the Kassites' royal residence might have been inspired by characteristics of Babylonian palatial architecture, it appears to be a rethinking and work of the Kassite vision that was expressed in a monument so different in conception and execution from its forerunners that it may be counted as an original architectural design. Like their early temples, the royal buildings suggest that while the Kassites adopted Babylonian cultural traditions, they recreated the Babylonian world. By selecting specific Babylonian cultural and architectural elements, Kassite royalty were able to integrate into the Babylonian culture and society, while preserving elements of their cultural background. Thus, unlike both the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt, the Kassites adopted Babylonian traditional ruling system, but they did not imitate Babylonia palatial architecture. Instead, they invented a new type of palace architecture which grouped both Babylonian and non-Babylonian elements reflecting their unique status as a foreign ruling minority. This approach of cultural preservation and innovation might have been the key that enabled the Kassites to maintain control over Babylonia for a long period of time as further reflected in their later building activities.

5.2.1.2 Kassite Religious and Non-religious Building Activities (late-14th to mid-12th centuries)

The Kassite adherence to Babylonian religion was not confined to the construction of new temples, but extended to restoring and rehabilitating the old as reflected in the kings' restoration projects in southern Babylonia during the late-14th to mid-12th centuries B.C. In this case the Kassite kings actively sought to follow earlier plans when restoring temples in the ancient Babylonian cities such as Ur and Nippur. In fact the Kassite kings not only rebuilt and restored the ancient Babylonian temples, but also invested in channeling water from the Tigris and Euphrates to ancient religious centers, such as Nippur, which were abandoned by the late Old Babylonian period. For example, in a recently published text (Moussaieff no.254), King Kaštiliašu III (date uncertain), son of Burna-Buriaš and grandson of Agum, appear to have dug the Sumundar canal to bring water from the Tigris to Nippur (Abraham 2013:190). Also, it seems that a new Euphrates channel was cut to the west of Nippur during the late Kassite period, but its name remains unknown (Zettler 1993:5). Furthermore, Adams' map of the Kassite settlement pattern (Adams 1981:167, Fig.34) shows that to the south and east of Nippur and Isin a number of channels were now running roughly from west-northwest to east-southeast. Such channels cutting transversely across the natural slope of the alluvial plain cannot be natural and must have been built by human labor (Armstrong 1994:261), most likely by the Kassite state administration.

Digging these and other water channels and rebuilding the ancient cult centers must have brought back the external appearance of the traditional southern Babylonian urban centers, and satisfied the Babylonian majority. At the same time, such activities must have also served the state political agenda, and earned the ruling minority the support of the local population, most importantly the temple authority. The fact that these projects were conducted toward the late

Kassite period, i.e. after the Kassites have lived in Babylonia for centuries, also reflect Kassite gradual adaption to traditional Babylonian religious architecture. Indeed, the Kassite kings prided themselves upon restoring what was old rather than founding new temples. This is especially true for King Kurigalzu I, who claimed to have restored ancient buildings and returned them to their original condition.¹⁰⁵ Although in some cases he rebuilt the old according to very different plans, making no provision for specific religious functions, Kurigalzu I carefully followed walls and foundations that still stood, and invented only when no traces of the ancient structure remained.¹⁰⁶

One important example is the Ningal Temple at Ur. Built by Kurigalzu I in the 14th century B.C., the new temple stood opposite the *temenos* wall in an area where no previous building existed.¹⁰⁷ However, the new square building paralleled the old temple floor plan, which was originally located by the *giparu* (Fig.33). It encompassed a central courtyard with chambers on its northwest side, resembling the plan of traditional Babylonian temples. The sanctuary block was located at the southwest end, with rooms continuing to its northwest (Woolley 1939:54). The entrance room no.1 was long and narrow. Remains of an altar of bricks and bitumen were found in the middle of room no.8, which makes it an important shrine and possibly the actual sanctuary of the goddess (Woolley 1939:57).

¹⁰⁵ See UET I, 153, 156, 157-9, 164. For an overview of Kurigalzu's building activities, see Clayden 1996.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Kurigalzu I's building activities at Ur included the reconstruction of the city ziggurat and the *temenos*; the latter was refaced and the engaged half columns of Warad-Sin were retained (Woolley 1939:50).

¹⁰⁷ The Ningal temple of the Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods was located in the *giparu* (the home of the *entu* priestess) to the southeast of the ziggurat. However, it seems that the function of this building changed in the Kassite period, and it no longer housed the Ningal temple, which stood to the southeast of the ziggurat where the enclosure wall separated it from the old *giparu*. For detailed examination of the *giparu* see Weadock 1975.

Although changes in the temple's plan, its relation to the *giparu*, and the *giparu* plan¹⁰⁸ itself may reflect the unfamiliarity of the builder with the city's religious tradition, it also indicates the king's attempt to combine the new with the old. This is evident in the efforts made to retain the traditional relationship between the new temple and the *giparu* via a new gate and passageway that ran between the two structures, which confirms that the Kassite king knew of the earlier structure and intentionally built a new temple in a new location but with an old plan adhering to the Babylonian tradition.

It is clear that Kassite kings understood the importance of connecting traditional cultural traits with the new ones, which must have played a central role in justifying their authority and masking their foreign background. They also seem to have known how to avoid religious conflict by adhering to local religious traditions. This is especially true for Nippur, the seat of Enlil, where King Kudur-Enlil (1264-1256 B.C.) chose to build the new temple of Enlil directly on the remains of the old one (Fig.34). Although the Kassite structure (Level III) was completely new, it was built directly on the remains of the Isin- Larsa temple (Level IV) (McCown 1967:12ff.). The only change in the layout of the temple was the blocking of the former entry to room no.18 and the establishment of a new entry in room no.17. Similar to the Isin-Larsa temple, the main entrance into the building seems to be in room no.14 through a buttressed doorway with T-shaped niches. The entrance room was paved, and against its back wall sat a structure of mudbrick coated with bitumen, suggesting a fixture that might have supported a water tank for ablution. Room no.13 appears to have been the focal point of the temple. In the room's west corner an "offering" table was found along with a hearth and a bench that ran along the northwest wall. The northeast end was dominated by a large "altar" platform which exhibits five

¹⁰⁸ See Weadock 1975.

distinctive building phases.¹⁰⁹ About fifty almost identical cups, which were used as lamps, were found stuck behind the altar in this room. Against the northwest wall a table of mud plaster and green wash was located along with a square hearth (McCown 1967: 23 ff.). Thus, the temple's plan as well as function continued to be the same as the previous period, suggesting Kassite adherence to Babylonian religious tradition toward the end of their dynasty.

To sum up, the examination of the Babylonian built environment during the late Kassite period allows us to point out several important issues. First, it appears that the Kassite kings gradually adapted themselves to Mesopotamian religious values, masking the fact that their rule changed the geopolitical map of Babylonia. Instead of being viewed as foreign rulers merely exercising power, they projected an image of devoted kings who built and protected the ancient cult centers, and who brought economic prosperity to their people. The construction and irrigation projects conducted by the Kassite kings were extremely important political and ideological propaganda that supported the king's image, legitimizing his authority while concealing his distinctive cultural background.

Second, unlike the early Kassite temples and palaces, the late Kassite temples in southern Babylonia fall within traditional Babylonian temple architecture. In this case, the Kassite kings prided themselves in restoring ancient temples to their original plans. This change in behavior suggests that the kings most likely adopted Babylonian local traditions. Considering that these projects were conducted toward the later part of the Kassite period they reflect Kassite adaptation to Babylonian religious architecture. Accordingly, unlike either the Arabs who imposed new religious structures on local population or the Mamluks who had no influence on local religious

¹⁰⁹ No stamped bricks were found in the first phase of this altar; however, stamped bricks of Kudur-Enlil (1264-1256 B.C.) were found in phase two, and others dated to Meli-Šipak (-Šiḫu) (1186-1172 B.C.) (Brinkman 1976: P.2.1.1, 3; S.2.1).

architecture, the examination of the Babylonian monumental architecture under the Kassite rule demonstrates that while their early temples represent Kassite innovation, later restoration projects indicate their gradual adaptation to the old architectural tradition indicating their distinct ruling policy of combining the new with the old and linking innovation with tradition.

5.2.1.3 Domestic Architecture and Life

Unlike the early Kassite period from which no domestic architecture have survived, houses and workshops dating to the middle and late Kassite periods were recovered throughout Babylonia. These structures reflect how the local inhabitants shaped their immediate environment in accordance with their socioeconomic needs, and reveal variations in house size, spatial organization, and activities as indicators of household social status, prosperity, and composition. As the fundamental unit of social organization, change in the household's socioeconomic organization is essential to the examination of change and continuity that resulted from Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction.

Examples of foreign ruling minorities indicate that a house's spatial organization, size, and type may or may not change depending on the minorities' ruling mechanisms. For example, house and household socioeconomic organization appear to have changed under the Arab rule in Spain. Houses with open courtyards typical of North Africa were adopted by local population regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliations. This change reflects the foreign ruling minority's influence on the broader society down to the household level. In contrast, both house type and household composition remained the same during the Mamluk period in Egypt,

suggesting that the Mamluks adopted the majority's socioeconomic organization and house type, and therefore both Mamluks and Egyptians occupied typical Egyptian houses.¹¹⁰

In the Kassite case, we know that the Kassite monarchs succeeded in incorporating the majority population into the state provincial administrative system. We also know that they reinvented Babylonian monumental architecture to fit the state's new geopolitical order. To fully understand the degree to which the Kassites influenced the society outside the state domain, change and/or continuity in house size and form, and domestic activities is evaluated as to its relevance to the state's policies. Although the available data does not permit us to identify whether a domestic structure was occupied by a Kassite or Babylonian household, except the one house at Nuzi in which the Kassites lived according to the family archive found in the house, change in house plan and form should indicate the degree to which the Kassites might have affected the broader society as shown by the ethnohistorical examples discussed above. Therefore, variability in house forms and sizes as well as in function of rooms is examined in relation to household size and type, kinship, and wealth. Continuity and discontinuity in the house form, size, and domestic activities indicate the household socioeconomic organization and the degree to which the foreign ruling minority integrated into the majority society.

As mentioned earlier, Babylonian domestic structures can be divided into two types, courtyard and linear houses. In general, both types might include living rooms (which were relatively large in size), courtyards, entrance chambers, staircases, kitchens, bathrooms, and storerooms. Throughout the Old Babylonian period the residential unit was patrilinear and patrilocal, and the male line of descent was the principal factor in the society's socioeconomic organization. Men were identified by their fathers' name, and to have a male heir was of great

¹¹⁰See Chapter Two, Sociocultural Exchange.

social and economic importance (Postgate 1992:96ff.). Private households played an important economic role during this period, wealthy households owned lands, animals, and workshops, wealth was accumulated, inherited, and disputed over (Postgate 1992:94ff.).

A total of 21 houses dating to the Kassite period have so far been recovered throughout Babylonia (Table 7), most of them dating to the middle and late Kassite periods.¹¹¹ In several cases these houses were excavated with insufficient methods, and parts of their material culture have been lost or not recorded. One exception, albeit outside Babylonia, is the 15th century domestic quarters at Nuzi. According to textual evidence, Kassite and Mittani families lived side by side in these neighborhoods (Dosch 1981:93). Thanks to the archives of the Kizzuk household, found *in situ*, we know that this Kassite household actually lived in the house adjacent to the Hurrian family of Shurki-tilla (Fig.35). Like other houses in this area, the Kizzuk's house consisted of a central courtyard, surrounded by rooms of various shapes and sizes. The courtyard shows traces of brick pavement, and the walls were faced with bitumen-plaster (Starr 1939:335).

Site	No. of houses	Publication
Zubeidi	8	Dämmer 1985
Yelkhi	1	Invernizzi 1980
Babylon	6	Reuther 1926 McCown 1967; Gibson 1983; Zettler 1993
Nippur	4	
Ur	2	Woolley 1965
Total	21	

Table 7 Domestic structures dated to the Kassite period

¹¹¹ See Chapter One, Table 1 for the chronological distribution of the data included in this study.

Likewise, the family archives show that members of this Kassite household were engaged in typical Nuzian economic activities, including trade of slaves, loans of various commodities, and rearing of livestock. Most significant, however, is that Kassite individuals appear to have held military positions such as foot soldiers, charioteers, and quarter master as well as judges and agents for the royal official Shilwi-teshub the son of the Nuzian king (Dosch 1981:18ff.). The latter is especially important given that the house of Shilwi-teshub himself was located in the same neighborhood as the Kizzuk's house, suggesting an elite status for the residents, including the Kassites. As such, it appears that Kassite individuals integrated into the Nuzian society and lived in typical Nuzian houses while maintaining their cultural background as reflected in their names, which might have been also the case for Babylonia as further discussed below.

In spite of the slim body of evidence on households from inside Babylonia, the available historical and archaeological data suggest that households in the Kassite period varied in their social status and wealth. Wealthy households seem to have controlled agricultural land through various forms such as land grants, inheritance, or tenant farming.¹¹² Furthermore, they appear to have been engaged in various loans, sales, and service contracts involving grains and animals as suggested, for example, by the private archive from Nippur dating to the middle Kassite period (Zettler 1993:93ff.). In some cases such transactions involved both private households and state institutions. This is evident in the archive of the sons of Nabu-šarraḥ from Larsa, in which various economic transactions involved the state including the king himself (Arnaud 1983:74). This household functioned as a family firm that managed loans, adoption, and other economic transactions. Among their clients were kings Burna-Buriaš II (1359-1333 B.C.) and Kaštiliaš IV (1232-1225 B.C.) who appear to have ordered them to store the state revenue, pay certain royal

¹¹² See Chapter Four for landholding practices.

expenses, and keep track of the kings' account (Peiser 1905:Xff.). At the other end of the social spectrum, poor households might sell one of their members into slavery to pay off their debts as reflected in the textual evidence recovered at Ur dating to the late Kassite period (Gurney 1983:74-84). In such cases, the purchaser is often a high official such as Enlil-kidinni, a governor of Nippur (BE14; MRWH1; MRWH2; UM8/2), or a craftsman such as the brewer family attached to the temple at Ur (IM85473; IM85492; IM85493). Thus, it is possible to say that households during the middle and late Kassite period retained their traditional socioeconomic role and were articulated with the state sector through a variety of economic transactions.

Indeed, household socioeconomic variation is visible in the dwelling's quality, size, form, domestic activities, and wealth of the material culture associated with it. It seems that the traditional courtyard house with one or more courtyards retained its popularity as an ideal form especially in the urban centers (Table 8). On the basis of identification mainly by size of living rooms (Tables 9 & 10), it seems likely that such houses were dwellings for large households.¹¹³ Furthermore, the continuation of this type of houses throughout the Kassite period suggests the persistence of the traditional patriarchal extended family. This is likely given that the social organization of the Kassite people who were grouped into "houses" formed by several extended families. On the other hand, the popularity of large courtyard houses, in comparison to the smaller houses of the Old Babylonian period outlined above, must be also a result of the reduction in the overall population living in urban centers making more space available for houses during this period.

¹¹³ A household is defined as a domestic unit consisting of members of a family along with other non-relative individuals such as slaves and servants.

Site	House Type	Average House Size (m ²)	Average Room Size (m ²)	Average Room number/house
Babylon	Square	650	21.00	10
Nippur	Square	415	12.00	11
Ur	Square	164	18.00	5

Table 8 Babylonian house type and size during the Kassite period

Babylon Lev. I	House B		House C		House D	
	Room size (m ²)	Number	Room size (m ²)	Number	Room size (m ²)	Number
Courtyard	103	1	145	1	137	1
Entrance room	NA	1	20	1	13	1
Reception room	41	1	82	1	65	1
Retiring room	15-39	6	23-32	8	7-26	8
Storage room	NA		NA		NA	
Dependencies	22	1	NA		NA	

Table 9 Room type, size, and number per house at Babylon

Nippur WC-1	Lev. III		Lev. II	
	Room size (m ²)	Number	Room size (m ²)	Number
Courtyard	30 -46	2	70 -80	2
Entrance room	NA		NA	
Reception room	37	1	38	1
Retiring room	7- 18	7	5-11	15
Dependencies	11-15	3	NA	

Table 10 Room type, size, and number per house at Nippur

One important example is the house recovered in area WC-1 at Nippur (Fig.36).¹¹⁴ Judging by its size, location, and archive, this house must have belonged to a high functionary such as an official or a merchant, or even a leader of a large kin-group. It consisted of two distinct sections: a public section to the southeast centered on the southern courtyard no.54, and a private section no.30 in the northern corner of the house (Zettler 1993:16). Centered on the large courtyard was a suite of room nos. 6,7,58, 53. A bench ran around all four sides of this courtyard indicating a public or semi-public gathering space. The size and width of the entrance of room no.6 suggest that it may have served as the main reception room of the dwelling. This room has unrestricted access to room nos.12, 25, and 63. The long and narrow plan of these rooms and their isolation suggest that they might have functioned as magazines. On the other hand room nos.7 and 58 could have been retiring rooms off the main reception room no.6. In the eastern corner of room no.58 a single baked brick was found with a number of whole pottery vessels, and sherds along with cattle, sheep and goat bones scattered around it (Zettler 1993:29-33). A similar group of artifacts was found in room no.59 north of the inner courtyard which may suggest a similar function such as food preparation area.

On the other hand, four rooms are associated with the inner courtyard to the northeast of the dwelling. The arrangement of the rooms around this courtyard has certain parallels with the Old Babylonian houses at Nippur and Ur which suggest continuity in the traditional Babylonian private/public dichotomy (Fig.9 & 37).¹¹⁵ Access from the inner courtyard is permitted to the storage rooms in the western side of the building through a doorway in room no.25. The

¹¹⁴ This structure was almost completely excavated and it measures about 25m northeast-southwest and more than 22m northwest-southeast; the thickly plastered walls were preserved sometime up to 1.5m high (Zettler 1993:13).

¹¹⁵ At Nippur in area WB, note the two courtyards and room arrangement of the house; at Ur, note AH no. 5 Church lane, courtyard no. 2 and its rooms (Woolley 1976:130).

rectangular room no.15 may have functioned as a reception room for this section with room no.25 as a retiring room off it. Furthermore, it is possible that room no.15 was interface between the public and private parts of the dwelling.¹¹⁶

The architectural layout of this dwelling suggests that it most likely served a dual purpose throughout its history. It combined both public and private space that might be required of an individual with some socioeconomic status such as an official or merchant. The storage rooms, on the other hand, would have provided goods and supplies for the whole household and thus were equally accessible to both sectors of the building. An “archive” of 50 texts was found in the private section of the building. The majority of these were short accounts of grain, goats, sheep, and oil; in addition to few legal texts including a repayment of a loan and a legal settlement (Zettler 1993:93-111; Pedersén 1998:115-116). The presence and the content of these documents indicate the active social and economic role of the inhabitants of the house, at least on the local level.

At Babylon it seems that the inhabitants of the Merkes area also enjoyed a significant social and economic status during the middle and late Kassite periods (Reuther 1926).¹¹⁷ This is suggested by the quality and size of their houses (Fig.38), their family archives, and the large amounts of jewelry found in their graves.¹¹⁸ Although preserved to various degrees, all the houses seem to have had a central courtyard, if not more, surrounded by rooms of various sizes and shapes. For example, House C Level I, dated to the middle Kassite period, had two entranceways located in the northeastern and southeastern corners leading into the central

¹¹⁶ Because of the possible dual function, this room tends to be more private in certain occupational levels than others. For further details see Zettler 1993:19.

¹¹⁷ Two levels of houses were recovered at Babylon, “älteren” (hereafter Level I) including houses A, C, and D dated to (1350-1250 B.C.); and “jüngeren” (hereafter level II) dated to (1250-1150 B.C.). See Chapter One, Table 1.

¹¹⁸ Graves and grave goods are discussed later in this chapter.

courtyard (Fig.39). These entrances might have connected this courtyard with other rooms located on its eastern side. A ceramic jar with seven cuneiform tablets was found near the room wall in square 24/25 q2. These texts are mainly legal documents dated to middle Kassite period; however, their content remains unpublished to this day (Pedersén 1998:108).

Likewise, the structural remains of House C Level II, dating to the late Kassite period, indicates a large courtyard house contemporary to House D of Level I, which continued to be inhabited in this level (Reuther 1926:58). The central courtyard (Fig.40) was reconstructed to the south based on wall remains in square 26 02. Remains of a door with some walls were recovered in area 26 n1, which might have formed an entry to the main room of the house. The northern side of the courtyard seems to consist of three rows of rooms running east-west. Several of these rooms had long axes transversal to the courtyard (Reuther 1926:58). This room arrangement has been found at Fara in House XIII f- g dating to ED II- III (Martin 1988:127, Fig.22, 24), suggesting the continuation of traditional Babylonian domestic architecture. About 136 unfired clay tablets were recovered on the floor of the two rooms in square 25 n1 (Pedersén 1998:112). The clay surrounding the tablets was of the same type of that constituted the tablets themselves (Reuther 1926:58). It seems, in many cases, that these tablets were deliberately broken down and the inscriptions were crossed out, suggesting that the tablets were piled here as “waste” to be used to create new ones.

It is significant to mention that several archives were found associated with domestic ruins dating to the late Kassite period, suggesting the continuity of the traditional socioeconomic role of Babylonian households. To the southwest of House B Level II in space 25p2 about 31 clay tablets were found associated with fragmented architectural remains. Although these texts remain unpublished, they appear to be short administrative documents dated to late Kassite

period (Pedersén 1998:110). In addition, about 56 tablets were found carefully placed in a sandy level between two floors associated with the domestic ruins in space 26 n2 south of House D. Most of the tablets contain omens of animal offerings. The reverse side of some of them had drawings of intestines with explanatory text (Reuther 1926: fig.12). In addition, tablets with the omen series *šummaizbu* and *iqqurīpuš* as well as the god list *An=Anum* and Astrolabe B were among them. It is most likely that these texts are remains of a "library" of diviners *Ilima-aḫi* and *Tab-šili* who were mentioned in the texts (Pedersén 1998:111). Finally, about 100 tablets were recovered in the house of the "exorcist", a lot of them real estate sales concerning houses and house plots (Paulus 2013:98; Pedersén 2005:112). A *kudurru* was also recovered along with the texts; however, it was severely damaged with no inscriptions left.¹¹⁹ Although nothing can be proved until this archive is published, it is possible that the owners, the Itti-Ezida-lummir family, owned houses in Babylon, as well as a granted-land somewhere in this or other province.

Thus, although larger, houses at Babylon reflect the continuity of the traditional Babylonian domestic structure into the Kassite period. Furthermore, their building quality and domestic facilities suggest a thriving community that might have been engaged in various traditional Babylonian economic activities. Based on the archives found in these houses and the artifactual remains it seems that their inhabitants were prosperous households of craftsmen, scribes, and diviners, who must have enjoyed significant socioeconomic status.

Only two houses were dated without doubt to the Kassite period at Ur (Fig.41).¹²⁰ The 'Hill House' and 'High House' are traditional Babylonian courtyard houses located in the EM

¹¹⁹ From the relatively large quantity of stone flakes similar to that of the *Kudurru*, and undecorated cylinder seals it has been suggested that this house may in fact belong to a stone cutter (Pedersén 2005:112; Reuther 1926:59-60).

¹²⁰ For further information on dating Ur's material see Brinkman 1969.

area to the southwest of the city (Woolley 1965:78-79). Both houses, dating to the late Kassite period, were fairly well built with their walls made of burnt bricks. Remains of brick pavements were found in courtyards as well as the surrounding rooms. A grave KG/49 was found under the courtyard of the Hill House. Inside a broken jar, found against an inner wall, were a set of small gold and carnelian ball beads. In addition, several artifacts were found in the High House including a pair of silver earrings, a number of beads, and several iron arrowheads were found in the floor of the courtyard.

The socioeconomic status of the inhabitants of the EM area is revealed by the archive of the Dyyānātu family who might have been brewers of the temple during the late Kassite period (Gurney 1983:2). It seems that the Dyyānātu family was involved in various economic transactions and legal matters, including purchase of slaves and cattle (IM85496, IM85498, IM85504, and IM85505), loans (IM85537), and settlement of disputes (IM85474, IM85475). These and other private transactions certainly suggest the continuity of the traditional socioeconomic role of the Babylonian households at least during the late Kassite period. Based on the archive and the proximity of the EM area to the sacred quarter of the city, it is possible that this area was where the temple's craftsmen have lived, suggesting the same connection between the temple and this area evident during the previous Old Babylonian period.

A quite different type of houses dating to the late Kassite period was found in the rural settlements of Tell Yelkhi (Invernizzi 1980:31) and Tell Zubeidi (Dämmer 1985:47) in the Hamrin basin. The *palazzotto* at Tell Yelkhi Level II presents us with a typical Babylonian courtyard house, however, significantly large with thick walls (Fig.42). Although the room arrangement around an open courtyard indicates its domestic nature, the location of the house on the summit of the mound isolated from the outside world suggests an important building with

specific function. It seems that the building originally consisted of rooms 3,1,5,7, and 9 - respectively an entrance, living room, bathroom, and storage area, similar to any Babylonian house (Bergamini 1985:56). The bathroom was paved with baked bricks and supplied by drainage installations. Additional room sets were added to the northwest and northeast of the original section. The central part of the structure consisted of three open courtyards to supply light and air for the otherwise windowless rooms. This floor plan seems to have been roughly maintained throughout the life of the building, suggesting continuity in its function.

The building's location indicates privacy and segregation from the rest of the settlement at the foot of the mound. The privileged status of the residents is reflected in the high quality of the ceramics found within the building in comparison to those found in the contemporary village at the foot of the tell. These include bowls and beakers as well as goblets in fine ware (Bergamini 1985:56). In addition, about eleven graves were found under this building. Several contain various grave goods; however, a female grave (T70 in room 4a) was of unusual richness (Invernizzi 1980:33). The deceased was wearing jewelry of an outstanding craftsmanship¹²¹, indicating the high socioeconomic status of the inhabitants. It is most likely that this building was occupied by a high official or even a wealthy kin-leader, who supervised the settlement at the foot of the mound and probably also the contemporary nearby Tell Kesaran.¹²²

¹²¹ The jewelry included a long necklace made of glass paste beads and hard stones such as agate, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and quartz; in addition to a second necklace made of white glass beads, a bracelet made of good quality semi-precious stones.

Gold earrings as well as two large bronze anklets were also found in this grave.

¹²² The proximity of the two sites, less than 1/5Km, and the large number of kilns at Kesaran suggest a center for ceramic production most likely associated or supervised by the administration at Tell Yelkhi (Dämmer 1985:56-60).

The layout of the domestic units at Tell Zubeidi, on the other hand, bears little similarity to the houses found at the urban centers such as those of Babylon and Nippur.¹²³ These units, mostly dating to the late 14th and early 13th centuries B.C., seem to have been randomly built adjacent to each other, and the settlement shows no evidence of town planning. Remains of Level II were exposed over a wider area revealing more complete ground plans. Seven rooms and a courtyard with a tanur were recovered in unit I (Fig.43). This outdoor tanur must have been used for baking bread and cooking during summer time, not an unusual setting for Babylonian domestic activities. Like traditional Babylonian houses, this structure appears to have had rooms with fireplaces, e.g. room no.3, which might have been either living rooms or kitchen, as well as storage rooms, e.g. room no.1 (Dämmer 1985, figs.68, 69; Boehmer 1985:50; fig.68, 1).

In addition to domestic units, several workshops were recovered on the site reflecting the inhabitants' economic activities, including Unit II which represents a ceramic shop (Fig.44). It consists of one room with an entrance open into the street to the west near which a large kiln surrounded by libn wall was found (Dämmer 1985:fig.70). The area near the room was covered by sherds along with three shaping stones and several vessel fragments. To the north of this room about sixteen vessels were discovered stacked as if they were being stored for trade (Dämmer 1985: pl.72, 1). The similarity between the installation in this unit and those found in kilns at Tell Kesian (Fig.45), the recovery of the so called "oval arched kilns" throughout the site, and the large number of partially fired Kassite pottery indicate that Tell Zubeidi might have been engaged in the production and exchange of ceramics of various types at least on local level.

¹²³ Domestic structures recovered at Tell Zubeidi were in two levels: Level II, the earlier, including units I- III; and level I including units I-V. Both levels are dated to the end of the 14th and the early 13th century B.C.

The site inhabitants' economic activities are further revealed by several documents, dated to the late Kassite period, found throughout the settlement (Dämmer 1985:129-130). Although these documents were found in secondary context, being among the few documents dated to the Kassite period found outside the urban centers they provide important insight into the Kassite countryside and its socioeconomic role.¹²⁴ Several of these texts deal with transactions, loans, and distribution of items such as barley, beer, and horses (Dämmer 1985:12ff.). In some cases individuals with Kassite and Babylonian names were mentioned being involved in various economic activities. Among the Kassite names identified at Tell Zubeidi are Ulla-šuriaš (zub79), Ši-di-gal-zu (zub720), Ma-ad-mi-šu-uḫ (zub723). Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the context in which these individuals were mentioned because of the fragmentary nature of these tablets. However, it is possible to say, that most of them appear in what seems to be distribution lists, possibly as workers. In addition, although severely damaged, text no. IM85987, for example, mentions several individuals with Kassite names, including Qīšat-Šuqamuna, Katar-ban, and Kamula-dajjānu. These individuals were likely among the receivers of large quantities of barley distributed by Kilamdu, who appeared to have lent barley for profit (Kessler 1985:132). Although it is possible that these individuals were Babylonians who bore Kassite names, however, the fact that Babylonians did not seem to have adopted Kassite names to large extent suggests that these individuals were actually Kassites.¹²⁵ In addition, although we do not know whether these individuals actually lived at Zubeidi or whether they lived elsewhere but were engaged in business with Zubeidi's inhabitants, it seems likely that Kassites and Babylonians lived side by side in the rural area of the Hamrin basin in a fashion similar that of Nuzi.

¹²⁴ About 45 written documents were also found in the nearby site of Tell Imlihiye (Kessler 1982).

¹²⁵ See Chapter Three, Language and Names.

To sum up, the examination of the domestic structures and activities during the Kassite period reveals that Kassites' interaction with the broader society appear to have resulted in no change in the Babylonian house form as reflected in the continuity of the typical Babylonian courtyard houses during the middle and late Kassite period. Although the available historical and archaeological data does not allow us to identify whether a house was occupied by a Kassite or Babylonian household, continuity and/or change in the house form suggest the degree to which the ruling minority influenced the broader society outside the state domain as evident in the Arab and Mamluk examples discussed at the beginning of this section. Thus, it is most likely that Kassite households lived in typical Babylonian houses within mixed neighborhoods considering that as early as the late Old Babylonian period Kassite individuals are attested settling down and living in houses within Babylonia (AbB8).

Furthermore, the available historical evidence suggests that households, whether of the Kassites or the Babylonians, continued to be engaged in various economic transactions which sometimes even involved state institutions and the Kassite monarchs themselves. In addition, some households owned animal herds, worked their own fields, and were connected with each other through social and economic ties that operated on the local level, thus continuing their traditional socioeconomic role. As such, it seems that although the state was the dominant aspect of the Kassite state economy, it did not and could not control all the available economic sources whether inside or outside of its apparatus.

5.2.2 Discussion

The examination of change and/or continuity in the Babylonian built environment suggests that although the Kassites promoted Babylonian concepts of religion and kingship, they did not imitate traditional religious and royal architecture. It shows that the principles of

combining the new with the old and linking innovation with tradition become particularly evident in Babylonian monumental architecture during this period. This approach of cultural preservation and innovation might have been the key that enabled the Kassites, as a foreign minority, to maintain control over Babylonia for a long period of time.

Unlike the Arabs and the Mamluks, while the Kassites adopted the local religious tradition, they also maintained their Kassite deities reflecting a situation typical of a polytheistic society such as the Babylonia. The Kassite monarchs derived legitimization from the Babylonian main gods for whom they built new temples and restored the ancient ones which had fallen to ruins. Although the Kassites adopted Babylonian religious tradition, they did not imitate Babylonian religious architecture especially when building new temples.

The early Kassite temples, such as the Inanna Temple at Uruk and Enlil at Dūr-Kurigalzu, present us with unprecedented types of temples that were created by the Kassite monarchs, and included both Babylonian and non-Babylonian cultural and architectural elements. The floor plan, façade decoration, and cella of Inanna Temple represent an architectural and cultural innovation. Likewise the Enlil Complex at the newly founded Kassite city represents the king's view of what a Babylonian temple should have looked like. Unlike their early temples, however, the late Kassite temples fall within traditional Babylonian temple architecture. For example, although King Kurigalzu built a new Ninlil Temple at Ur, he maintained its old floor plan. In addition, he retained its traditional special relation to the *giparu* via a throughway connecting both structures.

Although the Kassites' adherence to the local religious architecture might have been a result of a pressure the kings had to face from local religious elites, it also suggests Kassite

adaptation to Babylonian tradition considering that these temples were built toward the end of the Kassite period. Thus, it seems that the Kassites introduced a new type of temple early during their rule in Babylonia and gradually adopted Babylonian religious architecture toward the end. They also seem to have known the importance of linking the new with old as reflected in the ziggurat at Dūr-Kurigalzu, for example, which the king built in accordance to Babylonian tradition while at the same time introducing new temple architecture in his city. In addition, Kassite monarchs appear to have avoided religious upheaval by adhering to local traditions and beliefs. The Kassite rulers worked eagerly to rehabilitate the ancient Babylonian cult centers through major irrigation projects which brought ancient cities, such as Nippur, back to life. These projects must have gained the Kassite kings the satisfaction of the local communities and the support of local Babylonian elites. In addition, because such activities were typical of all Babylonian kings, they must have presented the Kassites as true Babylonian kings and allowed them to cultivate the image of a caring king, or a shepherd who takes care of his people as reflected in their epithet.

Likewise, although the Kassites adopted Babylonian kingship regalia, they invented new titles and ruled as kings of the whole country of *Karduniaš*, distinguishing themselves from the previous kings and promoting a broader Babylonian national identity. Similarly, although the Kassites' royal residence might have been inspired by characteristics of Babylonian palatial architecture, it appears to be a rethinking and work of the Kassite vision that was expressed in a monument so different in conception and execution from its forerunners that it may be counted as an original architectural design. Like their temples, the royal building suggests that while the Kassites adopted Babylonian cultural traditions, they certainly recreated the Babylonian palatial architecture. By selecting specific Babylonian cultural and architectural elements, the Kassite

royalty was able to integrate into Babylonian society, while at the same time preserving elements of their cultural background as reflected in the names and decoration of their palace. Thus, unlike both the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt, the Kassites adopted the Babylonian traditional ruling system, but they did not imitate Babylonia palatial architecture. Instead, they invented a new type of palace which grouped both Babylonian and non-Babylonian elements reflecting their unique status as a foreign ruling minority.

Finally, although it is possible that the Kassites lived in perishable houses, such as reed houses or tents, some Kassites must have adopted the Babylonian household social and economic organization as suggested by the available historical and archaeological evidence. Even though it is not possible to identify whether a house was occupied by a Kassite or Babylonian household, the continuity of the traditional courtyard houses during the middle and late Kassite periods suggests that the Kassites might have lived in typical Babylonian houses within mixed neighborhoods in a fashion similar to that at Nuzi. While the Kassite ruling minority influenced Babylonian monumental architecture, they seem to have had very little influence on the broader society especially at the household level. Therefore, it is likely that the Kassite monarchs legitimized control of power by manipulating the Babylonian local elite stratum without interfering with household socioeconomic organization and role, a situation that deviates from both the Arabs and the Mamluks examples of foreign ruling minorities.

5.3 Mortuary Practices

Burials and burial practices are among the most informative archaeological data on social complexity, religious thinking, and ethnic and status variation within a society. Symbolically related to fundamental cultural values, including the maintenance of lineage and other kin relations, burials and burial practices are important sources of ethnic differentiation (Emberling 1997:323-324). The Arab influence on the Iberian society is reflected in the appearance of new mortuary practices reflecting Muslim beliefs and concepts. On the other hand, the Mamluks adaptation to the Egyptian mortuary customs is reflected in the continuity of the majority mortuary practices and burial types.

Accordingly, burials and burial practices are essential for the study of cultural change and/or continuity in Babylonian society under the Kassite rule. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify whether a grave was occupied by a Kassite or Babylonian individual due to the limitation of the available data. In addition, Kassite burial practice might have included, for example, cremation or exposure of the dead which leave no evidence in archaeological records. However, change and/or continuity in burial location, type, body treatment, and grave goods should reflect the degree to which Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction influenced the mortuary practices of the majority society at least to some extent.

To better evaluate change and/or continuity in burial practices during the Kassite period, we must examine them within the broader context of Babylonian mortuary tradition (Fig.46). The simplest form of burial, the inhumation of an individual in a simple earth pit, can be found in all periods of Mesopotamian history. In some cases the deceased was wrapped in reed mats and

then laid in the pit, however, these mats are rarely preserved.¹²⁶ Burial within ceramic containers was always popular. The term “jar burial” refers to any burial in which the body was placed inside a ceramic jar, which was then sealed with a lid of wood, stone or terracotta. In many cases, these jars were normal household vessels which do not seem to have been made especially for burials. Because of their small size, infants were almost exclusively buried in regular household jars. From the Ur III period onward, specially made grave vessels appear alongside the household ones (Strommenger 1971:609). In this case, children’s burials consisted of two bowls, one on top of the other, whereas adult burials consisted of two large jars with their mouths joining, lying horizontally and holding the contracted body (Fig.47). Ceramic sarcophagi, generally in a bathtub shape with an oval outline and straight or sloping sides, covered with a ceramic or wooden lid, are attested from the Early Dynastic period onward (Potts 1997:232ff.). The form of these graves remained largely the same until the second millennium, when sarcophagi with one straight and one curved end appeared. Finally, brick graves and chambers represent the last major type of burial attested in Babylonia. Simple brick graves are found as early as the Ubaid period at Eridu (Safar 1981:119ff.). Large rectangular brick chambers, often with barrel-vaulted roofs, are known from the Early Dynastic period onward. These burials reflect a greater investment of funds and labor than simple pit graves as evident, at Ur during the Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian period for example (Woolley 1976:194ff.).

It is clear from the preceding review that the variations present in Mesopotamian burial types are considerable. It is important to emphasize, however, that even the humblest pit burial was considered a proper disposal of the dead as long as the appropriate rites, such as libations

¹²⁶ For detailed review of burial forms and practices in Mesopotamia see Strommenger 1964; 1971.

and food offerings, were performed for the deceased.¹²⁷ From at least the Early Dynastic time well into the Old Babylonian period it was a common practice to bury the dead under the family house while still occupied, which perhaps reflects the desire to facilitate the ongoing performance of rites for one's ancestors. However, separate cemeteries might have also existed outside or inside the city (Barrelet 1980; Durand 1980; Diakonoff 1985). The factors that governed the choice between intramural or extramural burial are not clear, but both seem to have been practiced at the same time as evident at Ur, Nippur, Sippar, and Mashkan-Shapir during the Old Babylonian period.¹²⁸

5.3.1 Mortuary Practices in Kassite Babylonia

Unfortunately, little is known of the ceremonial practices associated with death during the Kassite period. While no royal burials of Kassite kings were found, commoner burials were recovered in both houses and cemeteries. About 159 graves were recovered throughout Babylonia mostly dating to the late Kassite period (Appendix C). These burials vary in location, grave type, age, body treatment, and grave goods, suggesting socioeconomic, gender, age, and cultural variations as discussed below.

5.3.1.1 Grave type and Location

Like previous periods, burials of the Kassite period exhibit great variation in their types, suggesting that several forms were used at the same time (Table 11). This is especially true for Babylon where, for instance, pit graves appear alongside double pot graves (type A) in the early

¹²⁷ For an overview of mortuary practices in Mesopotamia see Potts 1997:220-229.

¹²⁸ Postgate noticed that both Ur and Sippar had house burials but not Nippur, at least not the excavated section. It is possible that the city may have had a communal burial arrangement inside or outside of the city (Postgate 1990b:234).

Kassite level (Reuther 1926:158). Jar burials¹²⁹ were also common and were used mainly as children's graves, with two exceptions at Tell Zubeidi. These small vessels were also found as grave goods in the adult burials, at least at Babylon. On the other hand, double pot graves were used only for adults and are especially associated with the late Kassite period (Strommenger 1971:158, 166; Baker 1995:211).¹³⁰ These graves consist of regular domestic pots that were used for various household purposes. Those found at Babylon had a thin asphalt coating inside and sometimes both inside and outside. It is possible that such pots were used to contain liquids like oil and water before they became worn out and then were reused as burial containers. It is worth mentioning that an early Kassite grave KG/49 recovered at Ur was identified as a possible transitional form between the jar and pot burials. This grave consisted of a pair of jars set apart, with a stretch of brick vaulting covering the gap between the two of them (Woolley 1965: 85-86; Fig.5). Double pot graves were found in northern Mesopotamia as early as the 14th century B.C. The pot's shape, however, was different from those found in Babylonia. For example, the graves found at Ashur and Makhmur consisted of two pots in the shape of the water-jar (hub) (Haller 1954:45ff.; el-Amin 1950:60-61). This type of grave appears to be a northern tradition that was later brought to Babylonia. The fact that these graves appeared in Babylonia in the Kassite period

¹²⁹ This type of grave should not be confused with Baker's type 3 dated to later periods, for more information see Baker 1995:215.

¹³⁰ Double pot graves can be divided into two chronologically distinct types: Type 1 (two pots): burials of this type are the older and are found in all sites. The deceased was put inside two pots of the same size, with or without a ring base, to form a capsule – like a shape usually lying horizontally in the ground. Type 2 (pot and bowl): these graves replace type 1 at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., and were mostly associated with the post-Kassite and Neo-Babylonian period. Thus, this kind of graves is absent in our sample, except for the two graves found at Zubeidi and Nippur. Such graves consist of a large pot and a small bowl that was usually used as a cover of the large pot where the body would be placed. For further information see Strommenger 1965; Baker 1995.

and continued into the post- Kassite period, but not later, suggests that this burial type might have been brought to Babylonia by the Kassites.

Site	Pit graves	Brick graves	Vaulted	Sherds burial	Jar burial	Double pot	Oval coffin	Total
Zubiedi	17	0	0	0	16	3	0	36
Yelkhi	6	3	0	0	8	3	0	20
Kesaran	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Babylon	18	18	5	3	5	10	4	63
Nippur	10	2	0	0	12	3	0	27
Ur	0	0	1	0	0	3		4
Total	60	23	6	3	41	22	4	159

Table 11 Grave type and distribution

Graves of all types were found both under houses and in cemeteries. However, the context is not always clear either because of the circumstances of their recovery, or because one area might have had different functions over time. For example, at Babylon grave no.23 as well as nos. Bab.39170, 38718, 38708/ 38717, and 39171 were placed in a “graveyard” which overlaid the remains of early Kassite houses (Reuther 1926:170). Furthermore, this graveyard was later buried under the late Kassite houses constructed on the site. Thus, this area seems to have changed function from residential to burial to residential again. Burials placed in this graveyard were mainly brick graves of male and female adults buried with rich grave goods. The practice of using house ruins as cemeteries or graveyards seems to be common at least at Babylon. Graves Bab.36679, 46, 35444, and 36337 were also recovered in house ruins dating to the late Kassite period.¹³¹ On the other hand, graves Bab.39815, 34322, 33, and 36559, for instance, were

¹³¹ It is worth mentioning that most of these graves were double pot graves common in the late Kassite period.

found along the walls and under the floors of late Kassite houses, suggesting that the deceased were buried while the houses were still occupied.

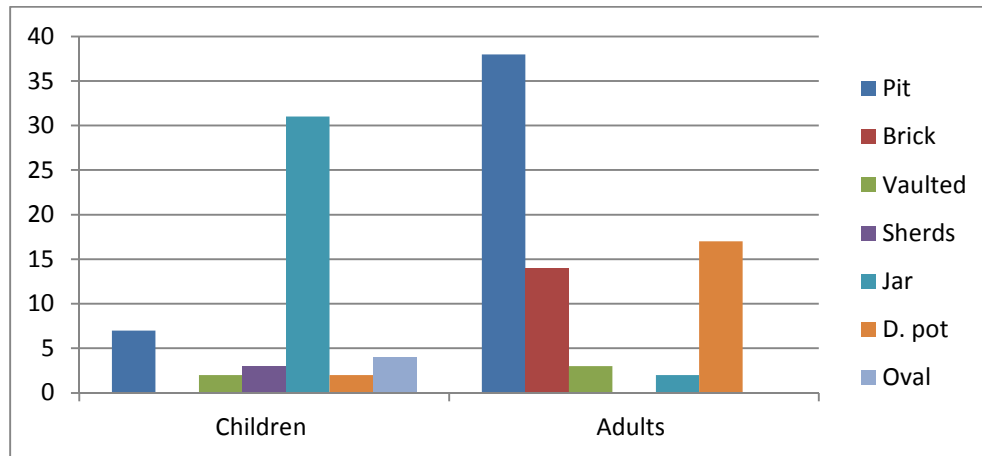
As at Babylon, graves found at Tell Zubeidi and Kesaran were placed in ruins as well as under domestic structures. On the other hand, all of the graves found at Yelkhi, Nippur, and Ur were found under domestic structures. In general, these graves were located in the house courtyards and back rooms. Accordingly, it appears that several traditional Babylonian burial forms persisted, and intramural and extramural inhumation continued to be the common practice in Babylonia under Kassite rule. However, most burials of the previous Old Babylonian period were mainly placed under houses while they were still occupied. Although cemeteries associated with Old Babylonian cities were recovered at Mashkan-Shapir, for example, it is not clear whether these were placed in ruined houses as evident in Babylon. It is possible that because space was abundant in cities of the Kassite period, residents were not restricted to either burying under their houses or in cemeteries outside the city, which in both cases involved more complicated logistics.

5.3.1.2 Age, Sex, and Body Treatment

Although both child and adult graves were found under houses and graveyards, age played an important role in the treatment of the dead, including the grave form and the quantity and quality of grave goods (Graph 1).¹³² Continuing with the traditional Babylonian practices, children almost always appear in jar burials with few or no grave goods in this period. On the other hand, the majority of adults, male and female, were placed in pit graves, double pot, and brick graves with grave goods suggesting an equal treatment for both sexes. In some cases

¹³² Due to the lack of detailed study of the bones in the graves by physical anthropologists, it is impossible to determine the exact ages of the deceased. Thus, the sample is divided into general age categories such as adults, infants, and young children.

children were placed in pit graves with female adults, most likely their mothers, along with grave goods such as jewelry and ceramics.

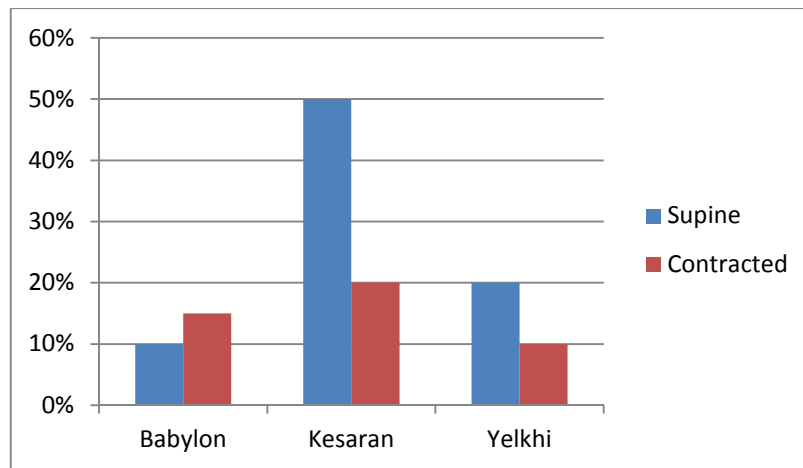


Graph 1 Age group and grave type during the Kassite period

Most of the graves contain a single occupant, except for pit and vaulted graves. Multiple burials usually consist of one adult, most of the time female, and one child (e.g. 3B31 at Nippur; Bab.39815 at Babylon). Three out of the five vaulted graves at Babylon contained multiple burials. Grave Bab.39168 is of particular importance (Fig.48). This is one of the largest graves found in Babylon and contains corpses of two adults (male and a female) and two children (Reuther 1926:179). The distribution of the remains suggests that the two children were buried first. They both were put in contracted positions on their left sides. The woman, on the other hand, was placed on her back with her legs extended. Finally the man, the largest corpse, was laid on his back with his leg slightly bent. The grave contained remarkable grave goods including silver and gold jewelry, beads of various stones, an ivory comb, and various ceramic jars and pitchers (Fig.49A, B, and C). The grave type and the grave goods suggest that this burial belonged to a family with a relatively high socioeconomic status. Similarly, Bab.46173 housed the remains of four individuals, two females and two males. All of them were buried in contracted positions with their heads to the east and lying on their left sides. The fact that the

remains were pushed together against the northern wall suggests that this grave was used multiple times and on different occasions.

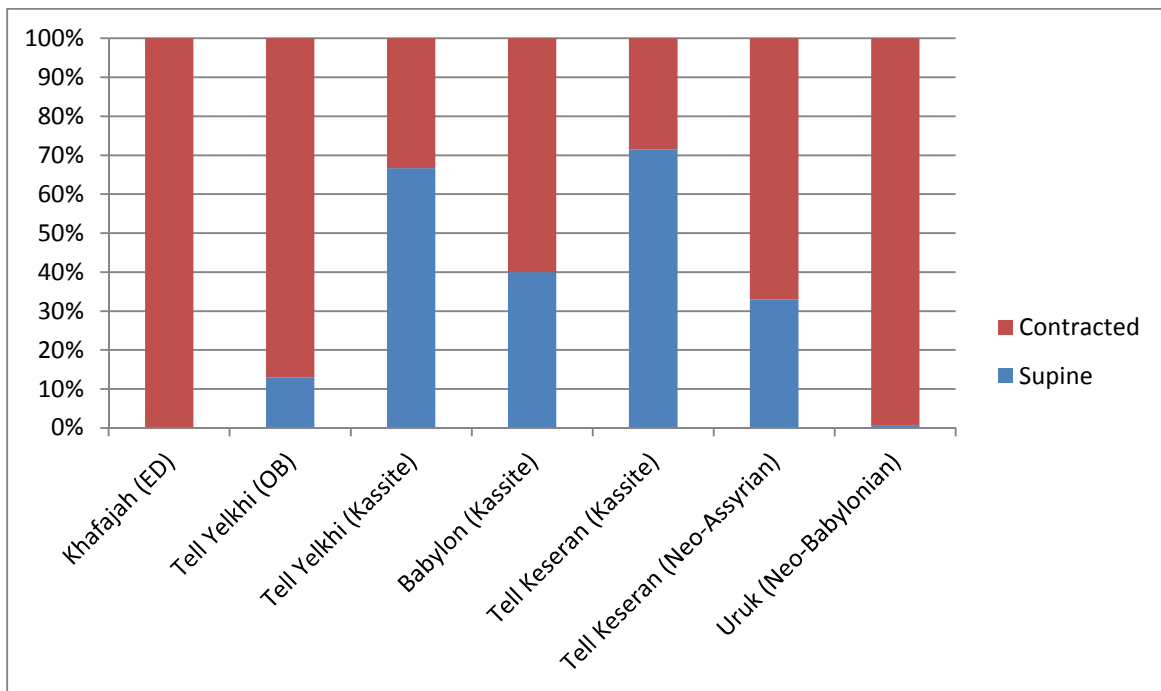
Although the context is not clear, almost all vaulted graves at Babylon were found in association with houses, which supports the idea of their use as family burial chambers in a fashion similar to those of the Old Babylonian period at Ur. On the other hand, the remains of two adults put side by side in contracted positions in grave Bab.39314 may suggest that the burial was a single event (Reuther 1926:Pl.46). Finally, Bab.34252 contained the scattered remains of five individuals laid on a reed mat. Unfortunately, because the grave was looted in antiquity, it is hard to determine whether the inhumation took place simultaneously or on different occasions.



Graph 2 The supine position in sites of the Kassite period

Our examination of the adult graves throughout Babylonia resulted in the identification of two body positions. The supine position features bodies laid on their backs facing either upward or left/right with their hands at their sides, or occasionally crossing their chest with their legs extended (Fig.50A &B). This position is mainly associated with pit graves. The second position includes bodies put in a contracted position on either the left or right side, with their hands in

front of their faces or chests. These were found in all grave types (Fig.51& 52). The supine position, evident especially at Babylon, is of particular significance. This position characterizes the early Kassite level at Babylon, and appears at other Kassite settlements such as Kesaran and Yelkhi in the Hamrin Basin (Graph 2). Moreover, temporal and spatial examination attributes this body position to the Kassite occupational levels in central and northern Babylonia (Graph 3), and indicates that this position disappears by the end of the Kassite period. While this body position might reflect local preferences, it can also represent a certain cultural or ethnic group with distinctive mortuary practices; in this case, the Kassites, considering that the supine position existed in an area strongly associated with Kassite presence. Except for the supine position attested for the Kassite period, the examination of age, sex, and body treatment in Kassite Babylonia suggests the continuation of the traditional Babylonian mortuary practices as reflected in the distinctive treatment of children vs. adults and the equal treatment of both male and female deceased.



Graph 3 The spatial and temporal distribution of supine position

5.3.1.3 Grave Goods

As indicated above and similar to the previous Old Babylonian period, grave goods were mainly found in adult graves. Children's burials normally did not have grave goods, but sometimes they might include beads of agate, jasper, glass, and shells. Grave goods and offerings accompanying the deceased are of great religious and socioeconomic importance. Mesopotamian religion emphasized the futility of future hope and encouraged present pleasure. After death, the deceased travels to the death city beneath the earth where dust covers everything and where the dead exist in scarcity and misery (George 1999:61). The only way to slightly mitigate this situation is through the offerings of the living relatives. Although it is not always possible to determine the type of the offerings that were presented in archaeological records, jars, bowls, and plates found in graves must have contained food and drinks of various kinds. These are usually placed near the head or the feet, and sometimes in between the hands, signifying the act of offering. This practice is evident in almost all graves dated to the Kassite period, suggesting the continuity of Babylonian religious beliefs underlying burial customs.

Whereas ceramic jars and bowls provide us with information about the offerings given to the dead before embarking on the journey to the hereafter, objects such jewelry, weapons, and personal ornaments inform us of the deceased's socioeconomic status. Adult graves vary in the quantity and quality of the grave goods, suggesting socioeconomic differentiation throughout the society. At Babylon, burials appear to be rich in grave goods, indicating the community's high social and economic status. Several graves contained gold and silver jewelry, such as silver anklets and bracelets as well as gold necklaces, chains, and earrings. In addition, beads made of various semi-precious stones were very common. These were mainly made of onyx, carnelian,

agate, glass, pearls, and shells. Beads of various stones were also present in adult graves at Nippur and Ur.

Likewise, in the rural settlements of Yelkhi, Zubeidi, and Kesaran grave goods were primarily found in adult burials. These included mainly ceramic jars and cups as well as other items such as bone and bronze pins, reflecting variation in the social and economic status of the inhabitants. At Yelkhi, grave 1HYT70A stands out. Dug under the floor of room 4a this grave contains grave goods of unusual richness in comparison to other graves found in this building. The deceased, probably female, was wearing jewelry of outstanding material and workmanship indicative of her high status (Fig.53). These included long necklaces made of glass, agate, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and quartz. In addition, a fine stone bracelet, crescent-shaped earrings, and two large bronze anklets were also found in this grave (Invernizzi 1980:33; Fiorina 2007:22-23).

Fewer grave goods were recovered at Zubeidi and Kesaran. These included mainly ceramics, shell rings and beads as well as a few metal objects and jewelry (Dämmer 1985:63-65). For example, at Zubeidi a bronze dagger was found in grave zub.8, as well as a golden sheet and a sharpening stone. Furthermore, a cylinder seal was found in grave zub.43. In addition, bronze earrings, rings, a nose-ring, and anklets were found in various graves. At Kesaran, most burials contained one or two pottery goblets and a bowl; however, some of them had valuable objects such as shell-rings, gold nose-rings, bone brooches, glass beads etc. The quality and quantity of the grave goods found at both sites suggest a less wealthy community in comparison to that of Tell Yelkhi, for example. However, the fact that rural inhabitants had access to stone and metal objects suggests that both urban and rural areas were relatively prosperous during the Kassite period.

To sum up, funeral practices reflect the continuation of broader Babylonian customs and burial rights. Burials during the Kassite period continued to take place underneath houses and in cemeteries or graveyards, and intramural and extramural inhumation persisted during this period. Although burials in the contracted position are common throughout Babylonia over time, the supine position presents us with a new phenomenon. Spatial and temporal examination confines this position to northern Babylonia during the Kassite period, suggesting a possible Kassite cultural aspect that was subsequently swamped by Babylonian mortuary practices. Grave goods throughout Babylonia suggest the continuity of Babylonian beliefs and burial rights. Socioeconomically, grave goods suggest stable and relatively wealthy communities living in both rural and urban settings. Although it is impossible to identify whether a Kassite or Babylonian individual occupied a certain grave, and although the Kassites might have had burial practices that did not leave archaeological traces, such as exposure of the dead, the Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction appear to have had little bearing on Babylonian funerary practices. This suggests that Kassites most likely have integrated into Babylonian society and adopted its mortuary customs, a situation similar to that of the Mamluks in Egypt who adopted the local mortuary tradition and caused no change in burial practices of the broader society.

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter examined the degree to which Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction influenced Babylonian culture and society both on state and domestic levels. It explored whether the Kassites imposed new sociocultural customs on Babylonians or whether they adopted and integrated into the local culture and society. The results permit several observations and comparisons to be made with the foreign ruling minorities in Spain and Egypt. Although we know nothing about the kings' activities during the early years of the Kassite state due to data limitation, archaeological and historical evidence from mid-14th to mid-12th centuries B.C. provide us with insight into the Kassite monarchs' performance.

Like the Mamluks who were viewed as true Muslim leaders, the Kassite monarchies appear to have successfully manipulated the majority's religion and kingship traditions to legitimize their authority and maintain their rule. By promoting Babylonian religious tradition and culture, the Kassites satisfied the majority population and must have gained the support of the local elites. Instead of being viewed as foreign rulers merely exercising power, they projected the image of devoted kings who brought back major Babylonian cities to life through constructing new water channels and restoring ancient cult centers. Unlike the Mamluks, however, while ruling as true Babylonian kings, the Kassites maintained their cultural background in their names and patron deities as well as in the monumental art and architecture that they created.

The Kassites influenced the state architecture in which they employed Babylonian and non-Babylonian architectural, artistic, and cultural elements to create new and distinctive

monuments. As a result, their architecture appears to be a rethinking and a work of the Kassite vision that was expressed in monuments different in conception and execution from their forerunners that may be considered Kassite. This is especially reflected in the floor plan and decoration of their early temples as well as their royal residence. Indeed, while the Inanna Temple and the Enlil Complex were built for traditional Babylonian deities, they certainly exhibit a new approach to religious architecture that differed from the previous Old Babylonian period. The kings, however, appear to have known the importance of linking their new monuments with local architectural tradition as reflected in Kurigalzu's ziggurat, which he built in accordance with Babylonian tradition, thus situating his new city among the famous Babylonian cities, and connecting himself to previous Babylonian kings. Unlike their early temples, Kassite kings appear to have maintained and restored ancient Babylonian temples to their original plans through rehabilitating projects which they conducted toward the late Kassite period. Although it is possible that the kings rebuilt these temples according to local traditions to avoid religious conflicts, it is also likely that the Kassites by this time were Babylonized and that they have adopted traditional Babylonian religious architecture.

In addition to their early temples, the Kassites' innovation is reflected in the royal residence at their newly founded city of Dūr-Kurigalzu. Like the Arabs who transformed the Iberian palatial architecture, the Kassites created a new type of palace which included Babylonian and non-Babylonian architectural and cultural elements as evident in the palaces' names and their decoration, indicating the Kassites northern cultural background which they celebrated in their royal residence. Thus, the examination of the temples and palaces under the Kassite rule shows that the principles of combining the new with the old and linking innovation

with tradition become particularly evident in Babylonian monumental architecture, reflecting the Kassite monarchs ruling policies.

On the other hand, like the Mamluks, the Kassites most likely have been adopted the Babylonian household socioeconomic organization and lifestyle. The ruling minority appear to hardly have affected the broader society on a household level. Almost no change appears to have taken place in Babylonian domestic architecture during the middle and late Kassite periods. On the contrary, houses' spatial organization and sizes remain within the Babylonian tradition. Square houses with one or more courtyards retained their popularity, especially in urban centers. One difference between the houses of the Kassite period and those of the previous Old Babylonian is that the former are larger in size, most likely due to the abundant space in cities of the Kassite period in comparison to the crowded Old Babylonian cities. Furthermore, the continuation of the courtyard house both in urban and rural settlements throughout the Kassite period suggests the persistence of the traditional patriarchal extended family. Similar to the Old Babylonian period, households appear to have continued their traditional socioeconomic role through various loans, sales, and service contracts involving grains and animals. Likewise, they appear to have been articulated with the state sector through a variety of economic transactions. Thus, although the state was the dominant player in the Kassite economy, it did not and could not control all the available economic sources whether inside or outside of its apparatus.

Finally, the examination of the funerary customs reveals the continuation of traditional Babylonian mortuary practices, including burial location, grave goods and offerings. However, it seems that new practices were introduced to Babylonia during the Kassite period, including the double pot grave and the supine position, which might have been a result of Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction. The spatial and temporal examination of the supine burials reveals that this

position is restricted to northern Babylonia in the Kassite period, suggesting an aspect of a Kassite culture that was subsequently swamped by the Babylonian mortuary practices.

As such, while the Kassites influenced Babylonian monumental architecture, they seem to have had a very minimal influence on the broader society at the household level. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the Kassite ruling minority legitimized its control of power by manipulating the Babylonian local elite stratum, without interfering with the household socioeconomic organization and role. The Kassites approach of cultural preservation and innovation might have been the key that enabled them, as a foreign minority, to maintain control over Babylonia for a long period of time. Consequently, the Kassites' ruling strategies in Babylonia set them apart from both the Arabs and the Mamluks considering that the Arabs imposed a new religion on the local population and transformed Spain's monumental and domestic architecture, changing the local culture and society. The Mamluks, on the other hand, adopted the local religious architecture and tradition and caused no change in the state monuments and domestic structures, as well as mortuary practices of the local population.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

This study is an attempt to understand how foreign ruling minorities achieved and maintained power in traditional state societies, and the nature of their interaction with the local population. It systematically examines archaeological and textual evidence as well as ethnohistorical examples of the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt to understand how the Kassites gained political power and were able to maintain and legitimize their rule over the Babylonian majority for four centuries. The results of this examination shed light on the ways the Kassite monarchs legitimized their authority and maintained power, and how they adjusted their ruling strategies throughout time. Furthermore, they reveal the degree to which these mechanisms influenced Babylonian broader society down to the household level. On a wider level, these results may be used to generate a model of ruling elites that deviates from those that focus on the imperialistic or indigenous political developments in early states. Finally, they can be applied to investigations of other examples of foreign ruling minorities in early complex societies where written documents are not available.

Throughout this thesis I investigated multiple historical events that permit a reconstruction of the factors which facilitated the Kassites' control of power for four centuries, and the nature of their interaction with the local population over time. Among the important factors which enabled the Kassites to take over power in Babylonia were their military skills. Although no direct evidence is available on how the Kassites actually took control of political power, like the Mamluks in Egypt, their military skills as charioteers appear to have gained them

important positions within the Babylonian army. It is most likely that Kassite military personnel took advantage of the power vacuum at Babylon and assumed control over Babylonia after the collapse of the Old Babylonian state and the departure of the Hittites.

Though the early years of the Kassite state remain ambiguous, historical evidence suggests that military expansion characterized this period resulting in the establishment of the state's northern border with Assyria as well as control over the Sealand dynasty in the south. The conquest of the Sealand must have been a defining event for the early Kassite kingdom of Babylon. It brought a process which had begun with the environmental and economic breakdown of the southern alluvium earlier in the millennium to its political conclusion, and marked the end of an era during which the cultural differences between northern and southern Babylonia had repeatedly stood in the way of unified nationhood. Although unifying Babylonia came as a result of military actions taken by the early Kassite kings, one should assume that non-military measures were used by the kings to facilitate the birth of this nation which historical and archaeological records did not preserve. These may have included the Kassite kings using the royal pedigree for practical political purposes and celebrating early dynasties and kings, which would have conveyed a powerful message of belonging to all subjects of the Kassite king. Thus, unlike the previous Babylonian rulers, the Kassite monarchs ruled as kings of the whole country of Babylonia or *Karduniaš*, creating a new sense of a national Babylonian identity.

In addition to military, a centralized administration and taxation systems as well as control over resources sustained the Kassite state apparatus and legitimized the monarchs' authority and power. By the late and post-Kassite period the Kassites appear to have established a well-defined administration headed by the foreign monarchy. Unlike both the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassite kings controlled an administration that consisted of both the Babylonians

and the Kassites, but mainly Babylonians. While it is possible that the Kassites adopted Babylonian names toward the late Kassite period, it is most likely that the kings left the local government in the hands of those Babylonians presumably loyal to the Kassite crown. Babylonian urban experience, in turn, must have been among the most important factors behind the capability and continuity of the state administration over such a long period. At the same time, however, Kassite individuals appear to have played an important role in the royal court as well as the military throughout the late and post-Kassite periods. As such, it seems that while the Babylonians ran the state administration, the Kassites controlled the palace and the military.

The Kassite monarchs governed a multiethnic population that was organized within a new provincial system. While in the previous period Babylonia consisted of two distinctive parts (northern and southern), which encompassed several large competitive cities, Kassite Babylonia was organized into provinces dominated by small rural settlements under the centralized administration. Although some rural autonomy existed, both the rural and urban populations were brought under the rule of the new territorial state. This must have secured the rural areas and contributed to the state's overall stability, enabling the ruling minority to extend their access to material resources and manpower. The Kassite state amplified its revenues through a redistributive economic system based on tax collection. Textual evidence for the late and post-Kassite period indicates that villages, towns, and cities owed taxes to the provincial administration and consequently to the king. Unlike both the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassites adopted the local taxation system and did not impose new taxes on the local population. Indeed, the Kassites adopted the Old Babylonian taxation system, which was based on revenues drawn from agricultural and animal production that were collected from both the rural and urban

populations. The income from these revenues was accumulated and used to sustain the state's public projects and support its dependents.

Control over land ownership and tax exemption also played a crucial role in enhancing the Kassite monarchs' authority and power. Royal land grants and tax exemptions served the economic needs of both the recipient and the king. While they rendered revenues to the recipients, they also combined land and labor and reduced the direct cost to the crown for agriculture, while still generating revenues through taxes in kind and labor services. Ideologically, Kassite royal land grants tied the recipients closely to the king through a patron-client relationship creating a feeling of obligation and loyalty to the king.

Although land continued to be owned both by the private households and state institutions, the Kassite kings reshaped landownership and transfer through royal land grants, a practice that did not exist before. These grants were conditional gifts to high-ranking individuals including military personnel, members of the royal family, and tribal leaders, as well as religious institutions. Even though Babylonian individuals were among the beneficiaries, Kassites appear to be the majority of the recipients on the *kudurrus* of the Kassite period, suggesting that Kassites, like the Arabs and the Mamluks, formed an important part of the landowner stratum. Furthermore, military officials and temples were the most common recipient of the royal land grants, suggesting that the Kassite kings successfully manipulated the two most influential groups of Babylonian society, guaranteeing the support and backup of both the Kassites and the Babylonians and creating a competition among the elites for the king's favor.

Trade appears to have been another important factor that enabled the Kassites to sustain their rule and finance their state. Like both the Arabs and the Mamluks, the Kassite palace

appears to have been directly engaged in long-distance trade and exchange. The acquisition and accumulation of exotic items, such as gold and lapis lazuli, must have enhanced the monarchs' socioeconomic authority. Accumulation of exotic items must have enabled him to become a symbol of exceptionality and exclusivity, which allowed him to cultivate the royal image. In fact so much gold was sent to Babylonia that the Babylonian economy flourished and switched to gold as a standard of value during the middle/late Kassite period. In return and in order to sustain this image, the Kassite kings sent lapis lazuli, horses and chariots, and textiles to the Egyptian pharaohs. The increase of objects made of lapis lazuli in comparison with the previous period, and the large amounts of raw and worked lapis that the Kassite kings sent to Egyptian pharaohs suggest that the Kassite monarchs must have had some control over its acquisition, which must have augmented their sociopolitical status among other great kings. Likewise, it seems that horses and chariots as well as textile exports sustained the Kassite prestigious status on both local and regional levels.

Culturally, the Kassites were foreign to the area they ruled. Their military skills and social organization suggest that they might have come from east and northeast Babylonia, most likely from the area of the Zagros Mountains and beyond. After early hostile episodes during the late Old Babylonian period, the Kassites lived peacefully in Babylonia as a part of the military and work force. Although engaged in various civil and military services, the Kassites remained as a separate group not integrated into Babylonian society, therefore suggesting their status as foreigners who gradually gained political power. While it is impossible to determine the number of the Kassites in Babylonia, the Old Babylonian documents suggest that the Kassites appeared in small groups or individuals living in military camps. However, like the Arabs, their numbers

must have increased over time through continuous migration to Babylonia, or through intermarriage with local population.

To legitimize their authority and maintain their rule, the Kassite rulers successfully manipulated the majority's religion and kingship traditions. By promoting Babylonian religious tradition and culture, the Kassites satisfied the Babylonian population and must have gained the support of local elites. Instead of being viewed as foreign rulers merely exercising power, they projected the image of devoted kings who brought major Babylonian cities back to life through the construction of new water channels and the restoration of ancient cult centers. Unlike other foreign ruling minorities, while ruling as true Babylonian kings, the Kassites maintained their cultural background in their names, social organization, and patron deities as well as in the much of the monumental art and architecture that they created.

While the Kassites did not hide the fact that they were not fully acculturated, there is no evidence that they attempted to impose any Kassite religious or other cultural elements on Babylonians. The Kassite kings cleverly employed the local culture to serve their political propaganda. For example, while maintaining their language, the Kassite kings exploited both Babylonian languages, Sumerian for building inscriptions and Akkadian for political correspondence, in keeping with the ancient customs. In addition, although the Kassite monarchs adopted Babylonia kingship traditions, they did not imitate Babylonian titles; in contrast they invented titles which presented them as kings of the whole country of Babylonia and placed them among great kings of their era. This strategic approach to Babylonian culture found its expression through combining the new with the old and linking innovation with tradition, which became particularly evident in Babylonian monumental architecture under the Kassite rule. This

approach to the majority's culture must have been the key that enabled the Kassites to maintain control over Babylonia for a long period of time.

The Kassites influenced the state architecture in which they employed Babylonian and non-Babylonian architectural, artistic, and cultural elements to create new and distinctive monuments. As a result, their architecture appears to be a rethinking and an expression of the Kassite vision through the construction of monuments different in conception and execution from their forerunners. This is especially reflected in the floor plan and decoration of their early temples as well as their royal residence. While the Inanna Temple and the Enlil Complex were built for traditional Babylonian deities, they certainly exhibit a new approach to religious architecture that differed from the previous Old Babylonian period. The kings, however, appear to have known the importance of linking their new monuments with local architectural tradition as reflected in Kurigalzu's ziggurat, which he built in accordance with Babylonian tradition, thus situating his new city among the famous Babylonian cities, and connecting himself to previous Babylonian kings. Unlike their early temples, the later Kassite kings appear to have maintained and restored ancient Babylonian temples to their original plans through rehabilitating projects. Although it is possible that the kings rebuilt these temples according to local traditions to avoid religious conflicts, it is also likely that by this time the Kassites were Babylonized and would have adopted traditional Babylonian religious architecture.

In addition to their early temples, the Kassites' innovation is reflected in the royal residence at their newly founded city of Dūr-Kurigalzu. Like the Arabs who transformed Iberian palatial architecture, the Kassites created a new type of palace which included Babylonian and non-Babylonian architectural and cultural elements as evident in the palaces' names and their decoration, reflecting the Kassites northern cultural background which they celebrated in their

royal residence. The Kassites' approach to Babylonian religious and kingship traditions set them apart from other examples of foreign ruling minorities, including the Mamluks and the Arabs. Unlike the Kassites, while the Mamluks adopted the previous ruling system and caused no change in monumental architecture, the Arabs introduced a new ruling system in Iberia and transformed the monumental architecture to a completely new form.

While the ruling minority successfully manipulated Babylonian monumental architecture to legitimize their rule and gain the satisfaction of the local population, they appear to have hardly influenced domestic architecture and lifestyle. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the Kassite ruling minority legitimized its control of power by manipulating the Babylonian local elite stratum, without interfering with the household socioeconomic organization and role. Although it is impossible to know whether a house was occupied by Kassites or Babylonians, considering the Kassite house at Nuzi and drawing on the Mamluk case in Egypt, it is most likely that the Kassites lived in typical Babylonian houses within mixed neighborhoods. Indeed, almost no change appears in Babylonian domestic architecture during the middle and late Kassite period. On the contrary, house form and spatial organization remain within the Babylonian tradition. Square houses with courtyards continued throughout the period. The continuity of this type of house suggests the continuity of traditional patriarchal extended families. One difference between the houses of the Kassite period and those of the previous Old Babylonian period is that the former are larger in size, most likely due to the abundant space in cities of the Kassite period in comparison to the crowded Old Babylonian cities. Households appear to have continued their traditional socioeconomic role through various loans, sales, and service contracts involving grains and animals. Likewise, they appear to have been articulated with the state sector through a variety of economic transactions. Hence, although the state was the dominant player in the

Kassite economy, it did not and could not control all the available economic sources whether inside or outside of its apparatus.

Likewise, traditional Babylonian funerary customs appear to have continued under the Kassite rule, including burial location, grave goods and offerings. However, it seems that new practices were introduced to Babylonia during the Kassite period, such as the double pot grave and the supine position, which might have been a result of Kassite-Babylonian cultural interaction. The spatial and temporal examination of the supine burials reveals that this position is restricted to northern Babylonia in the Kassite period, suggesting an aspect of a Kassite culture that was subsequently swamped by the Babylonian mortuary practices.

The examination of the factors which enabled the Kassites to gain and maintain power in Babylonia for centuries reveal a combination of the four traditional sources of power, including economic, political, ideological, and military. While these sources of power offer organizational means for almost any ruling elites, whether foreign or indigenous, which options are chosen and which combinations are used depend on the historical, ecological, and cultural context of the state in question. In the Kassite case, although the Kassites did not conquer Babylonia, their military skills gained them powerful positions within the Babylonian army, enabling them to eventually assume political power over the local population. Likewise, although the Kassite monarchs kept a firm control over the military and the palace, they utilized the Babylonian urban experience which must have been among the most important factors behind the continuity of the state administration over such a long time. Economically, although the state did not and could not control all the available economic sources and private households played an important role within the local economy, however control over land ownership and the acquisition of exotic items allowed the Kassite rulers to enhance their power and authority.

Ideology appears to have been the key to legitimization of the Kassite rule in Babylonia. Manipulation of local traditions of religion and kingship enabled the Kassites rulers to project an image of true Babylonian kings, while still maintaining their cultural background. By deriving legitimization from the main Babylonian gods, building new temples and restoring the ancient ones, and bringing water back to the ancient cult centers, the Kassites satisfied the local population and gained the support of local elites. Indeed, the Kassites effectively employed the local tradition to serve the state agenda while creating a new geopolitical world in Babylonia. Finally, the foreign ruling minority seems to have focused on the manipulation of the local elites, especially the military and temple, without interfering with the lifestyle of the broader society on the domestic level.

The Kassites' ruling mechanisms in Babylonia set them apart from both the Arabs in Spain and the Mamluks in Egypt, and present a model that deviates from both ethnohistorical models. As expected, neither model completely matches the Kassite case, confirming the complexity of the ruling strategies employed by foreign ruling minorities in each case as demonstrated throughout this research.

Although this research is the first systematic study of the Kassite state to combine both archaeological and textual evidence within an anthropological framework, it represents only a first step to understanding the Kassites' ruling mechanisms and their interaction with Babylonians. As evident throughout this dissertation, major issues remain unresolved and will have to wait for future research and excavations. These include, for example, the state administration system, which is completely skewed by the large number of cuneiform tablets recovered at Nippur in comparison to other sites. The private economy and household social organization remain only partially understood due to, on the one hand, the scarcity of the

archaeological data, and on the other a lack of scholarly interest in household archives. It is hoped that this dissertation will provide the basis for further anthropological investigations of Babylonian society under the Kassites with focus on more than the state monuments and archives. It is expected that the results of this study can be applied to investigation of other examples of foreign ruling minorities in early complex societies throughout the world.

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Appendix A: Kassite Temples and Religious Structures

Site	Temple	Publication
Uruk	Inanna	Jordan 1930
Ur	É.DUB.LÁL.MAH	Woolley 1925; 1962; 1965; Heinrich 1982
	Ningizzida	Woolley 1965; Heinrich 1982
	Ningal	Woolley 1939; Heinrich 1982
	Nanna courtyard	Woolley 1939
	E.NUN.MAH	Woolley 1923; 1974
	É.KIŠ.NU.GÁL	Woolley 1965; Heinrich 1982
	É.GA.BUR	Brinkman 1976
	Ekuriglbar(ra)	Brinkman 1976
Larsa	É.BABBAR (Šamaš)	Parrot 1933; Parrot 1968; Margueron 1970; 1971; Arnaud 1981
Nippur	É.KUR (Enlil temple)	Brinkman 1976
	Ziggurat and temenos	McCown 1967
Adab	É.MAH (Ninhursag)	Brinkman 1976
Aqar-Quf	É.GAŠAN.AN.TA.GAL	Baqir 1944; 1945; Heinrich 1982
	É.U.GAL	Baqir 1944; Heinrich 1982
	É.GAG.DINGIR.RE.E.NE	Baqir 1944; 1945; Heinrich 1982
	Court17	Iraq 1981
	Ziggurat and temenos	Baqir 1944; Mustafa 1946; Salman 1969; 1970; 1971; 1975
	Mound A	Baqir 1945; Heinrich 1982

Borsippa	Enlil temple?	Brinkman 1976
Der	É.dim.gal.kal.am.ma (Ištaran temple)	Brinkman 1976
Isin	Gula	Brinkman 1976
Kish	Zebaba	Walker 1981
Sippar	É.BABBAR (Šamaš)	Brinkman 1976

Appendix B: Kudurru Stones (1332-1099 B.C.)

No.	Museum #	King	Provenance	Publication
1	MB102588	Kurigalzu	NA	King 1912, Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1976
2	Sb30	Kurigalzu/Kaštiliašu	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
3	IM49991	Nazi-Maruttaš	Aqar-Quf	Baqir 1944; Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
4	L7072	Nazi-Maruttaš	Larsa	Margueron 1971; Arnaud 1972; Slanski 2003
5/6	L7076	Kadšman-enlil/ Kudur-enlil	Larsa	Margueron 1971; Anauld 1972; Slanski 2003
7	IM56576	Kuduer-enlil	NA	Brinkman 1976
8	YBC2242	Kadašman-ḫarbe	NA	Brinkman 1976; Slanski 2003
9	Sb29	Adad-šuma-ušur	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
10	BM90827	Meli-Šipak	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
11	BM90829	Meli-Šipak	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
12	Sb22	Meli-Šipak	NA	Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
13	Louvre 6373	Meli-Šipak	NA	MDP II; Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
14	Sb23	Meli-Šipak	Susa	Seidl 1968; Slanski 2003
15	“Black Stone”	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968; Green 1986
16	VA213	NA	Nippur	Seidle 1968
17	Sb795	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
18	Sb6424	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
19	Sb6424	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
20	IM5527	NA	NA	Basmadschi 1951; Seidl 1968
21	W18557	NA	Warka	Sommerfeld 1984; Seidl 1968
22	BM90827	Melišihu	Babylon	King 1912; Seidl 1968
23	Sb23	Melišihu	Susa	Seidl 1968

24	Sb?	Melišihu	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
25	Sb24	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
26	Sb28	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
27	Sb791	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
28	Sb796	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
29	Sb799	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
30	Sb800	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
31	Sb802	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
32	Sb3224	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Toscanne 1917; Seidl 1968
33	Sb3225	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
34	Sb3226	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
35	Sb3227	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
36	Sb5640	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
37	Sb6425	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
38	Sb6432	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
39	IM14175	NA	NA	Basmadschi 1967; Seidl 1968
40	ES2232	NA	Nippur	Seidl 1968
41	Sb22	Melišihu	Susa	Scheil 1900; de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
42	Sb?	Melišihu	Susa	Seidl 1968; Scheil 1900
43	Sb14	Melišihu	Susa	Scheil 1902; Seidl 1968
44	Sb32	Melišihu	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
45	Sb25	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
46	Sb34	NA	Susa	Scheil 1902; Seidl 1968; de Graeve 1981
47	Sb783	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
48	Sb792	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
49	Sb794	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968

50	Sb798	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
51	Sb3228	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1905; Seidl 1968
52	Sb3229	NA	Susa	de Morgan 1905; Seidl 1968
53	Sb6426	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
54	Sb6428	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
55	Sb6431	NA	Susa	Scheil 1913; Seidl 1968
56	Sb6435	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
57	Sb6436	NA	Susa	King 1912; Seidl 1968
58	BM90836	NA	NA	King 1912
59	Sb21	Marduk-apla-iddina	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
60	Sb26	Marduk-apla-iddina	Susa	de Morgan 1900; Hinke 1911; Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968
61	Sb33	Marduk-apla-iddina	Susa	de Morgan 1905; Brinkman 1968; Seidl 1968; Borger 1970
62	Sb169	Marduk-apla-iddina	Susa	de Morgan 1905; Seidl 1968; Borger 1970
63	IM7953	Marduk-apla-iddina	NA	Basmadschi 1967; Seidl 1968; Borger 1970
64	BM90850	Marduk-apla-iddina	Baghdad	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Reade 1987
65	NBC9502	Marduk-apla-iddina	NA	Hallo 1971; Brinkman 1976
66	-	Marduk-apla-iddina	Sarpol-e-Zohab	Borger 1970; Brinkman 1976
67	Sb31	NA	Susa	Scheil 1980; Seidl 1968
68	Sb793	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
69	Sb797	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
70	Sb801	NA	Susa	Contenau 1943; Seidl 1968
71	Sb6427	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
72	Sb6429	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
73	Sb6430	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968
74	Sb6433	NA	Susa	Seidl 1968

75	Sb6438	NA	Susa	De Morgan 1900; Seidl 1968
76	CBS	NA	Nippur	Seidl 1968
77	BM113891	Enlil-nadin-aḫi	NA	Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1976; Slanski 2003
78	BM91015	Itti-marduk-balatu	Sippar	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968
79	BM90858	Nabu-kudurri-usur	Sippar	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968; Reade 1987
80	BM92987	Nabu-kudurri-usur	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968
81	University Museum of Philadelphia	Nabu-kudurri-usur	Nippur	Hinke 1907; Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968; Slanski 2003
82	CBM13	Enlil-nadin-apli	NA	Hinke 1911; Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968
83	BM102485	Enlil-nadin-apli	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968; Slanski 2003
84	IM43340	NA	NA	Basnadschi 1967; Seidl 1968
85	IM72124	NA	Aziziyah	Basnadschi 1967; Seidl 1968
86	ES1904	NA	Nippur	Seidl 1968
87	VA15193	NA	Warka	Seidl 1968
88	CBS9282,9283,9565	NA	Nippur	Seidl 1968
89	BM90840	Marduk-nadin-aḫḫi	Babylon	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Reade 1987
90	BM90938	Marduk-nadin-aḫḫi	Za'aleh	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Reade 1987
91	WAG.21.10	Marduk-nadin-aḫḫi	Babylon	Koldway 1911; Brinkman 1967; Seidl 1968; Lambert 1981
92	Warwick Museum	Marduk-nadin-aḫḫi	NA	Seidl 1968; Lambert 1981; Slanski 2003
93	IM90585	Marduk-nadin-aḫḫi	el-mjela'at	Al-Admi 1982
94	YBC2154	Marduk-šapik-zēri	NA	Clay 1915; Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968; Slanski 2003
95	BM104404	Marduk-šapik-zēri	Babylon/Sippar	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Reade 1987; Slanski 2003

96	IM74651	Marduk-šapik-zēri	Balad-Ruz	Rashid 1976
97	IM80908	Marduk-šapik-zēri	Aqar-Quf	Rashid 1979, 1980
98	BM90940	Adad-apla-iddina	Borsipa	King 1912; Seidl 1968; Reade 1987
99	BM103215	Adad-apla-iddina	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968
100	VA5937	Adad-apla-iddina	Assur	Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968
101	Private	Marduk-aḥḥe-eriba	NA	Seidl 1968; Brinkman 1968; Slanski 2003
102	BM90937	Simbar-šipak	NA	King 1912; Slanski 2003
103	BM90835	Nabû-mukīn-apli	NA	King 1912; Slanski 2003
104	CBS1387	Nabû-mukīn-apli	NA	Brinkman 1972
105	BM90922	Nabû-apla-iddina	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968
106	BM90936	Nabû-apla-iddina	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968
107	MB91000	Nabû-apla-iddina	NA	King 1912; Seidl 1968
108	AO21422	Nabû-apla-iddina	NA	Seidl 1989; Slanski 2003
109	VA211	Nabû-apla-iddina	NA	Slanski 2003
110	AO6684	Marduk-zākir-šumi	NA	Thureau-Dangin 1919; Slanski 2003
111	VA3031	Nabû-šuma-iškun	NA	Thureau-Dangin 1919; Slanski 2003
112	MB40005	Marduk-baladan II	NA	King 1912

Appendix C: Burials dated to the Kassite period

No.	Site	Field No.	Publication
1	Babylon	Bab 35621	Reuther 1926
2	Babylon	2	Reuther 1926
3	Babylon	Bab. 36012	Reuther 1926
4	Babylon	Bab.39815	Reuther 1926
5	Babylon	Bab. 35630	Reuther 1926
6	Babylon	Bab. 35022	Reuther 1926
7	Babylon	Bab. 34322	Reuther 1926
8	Babylon	Bab. 34 333	Reuther 1926
9	Babylon	9	Reuther 1926
10	Babylon	Bab. 36558	Reuther 1926
11	Babylon	Bab. 37026	Reuther 1926
12	Babylon	Bab. 39437	Reuther 1926
13	Babylon	Bab. 39973	Reuther 1926
14	Babylon	Bab. 39793	Reuther 1926
15	Babylon	Bab. 34252	Reuther 1926
16	Babylon	Bab.34633	Reuther 1926
17	Babylon	Bab. 40186	Reuther 1926
18	Babylon	3 brick graves	Reuther 1926
19	Babylon	19	Reuther 1926
20	Babylon	Bab. 39315	Reuther 1926
21	Babylon	Bab. 39314	Reuther 1926
22	Babylon	22	Reuther 1926
23	Babylon	5 brick graves	Reuther 1926
24	Babylon	23	Reuther 1926
25	Babylon	Bab. 39170	Reuther 1926
26	Babylon	Bab. 38718	Reuther 1926
27	Babylon	Bab. 38708 and 38717	Reuther 1926
28	Babylon	Bab. 39 171	Reuther 1926
29	Babylon	Bab. 46173	Reuther 1926
30	Babylon	29	Reuther 1926
31	Babylon	30	Reuther 1926
32	Babylon	31	Reuther 1926
33	Babylon	Bab. 39168	Reuther 1926
34	Babylon	33	Reuther 1926
35	Babylon	Bab. 36559	Reuther 1926
36	Babylon	Bab. 35911	Reuther 1926
37	Babylon	37	Reuther 1926
38	Babylon	38	Reuther 1926

39	Babylon	39	Reuther 1926
40	Babylon	40	Reuther 1926
41	Babylon	41	Reuther 1926
42	Babylon	Bab. 34227	Reuther 1926
43	Babylon	Bab. 35430	Reuther 1926
44	Babylon	Bab. 37238	Reuther 1926
45	Babylon	Bab. 36 679	Reuther 1926
46	Babylon	46	Reuther 1926
47	Babylon	Bab. 35444	Reuther 1926
48	Babylon	Bab. 36 337	Reuther 1926
49	Babylon	Bab. 177 39	Reuther 1926
50	Babylon	Bab. 38979	Reuther 1926
51	Babylon	Bab. 39 182	Reuther 1926
52	Babylon	Bab. 38051	Reuther 1926
53	Babylon	90	Reuther 1926
54	Babylon	91	Reuther 1926
55	Babylon	Bab. 43 529	Reuther 1926
56	Nippur- WC-1	29	Zettler 1993
57	Nippur- WC-1	29a	Zettler 1993
58	Nippur- WC-1	31	Zettler 1993
59	Nippur- WC-1	66	Zettler 1993
60	Nippur- WC-1	67	Zettler 1993
61	Nippur- WC-1	68	Zettler 1993
62	Nippur- WC-1	69	Zettler 1993
63	Nippur- WC-1	72	Zettler 1993
64	Nippur- WC-1	74	Zettler 1993
64	Nippur- WC-1	72	Zettler 1993
67	Nippur TA	1B 304	McCown 1967
68	Nippur TA	3B2	McCown 1967
69	Nippur TA	1B 270	McCown 1967
70	Nippur TA	3B 7	McCown 1967
71	Nippur TA	3B 8	McCown 1967
72	Nippur TA	1B 272	McCown 1967
73	Nippur TA	1B 298	McCown 1967
74	Nippur TA	1B 303	McCown 1967
75	Nippur TA	3B 28	McCown 1967
76	Nippur TA	3B 29 A_B	McCown 1967
77	Nippur TA	3B 31	McCown 1967
78	Nippur TA	3B 32	McCown 1967
79	Nippur TA	3B 34	McCown 1967
80	Nippur TA	3B 36	McCown 1967
81	WF- VA	9	McMahon 2006

82	WF- VA	12	McMahon 2006
83	Ur	EMG/5	Woolley 1965
84	Ur	DP/11	Woolley 1965
85	Ur	EMG/4	Woolley 1965
86	Ur	DP/17	Woolley 1965
87	Zubeidi	2	Dämmer 1985
88	Zubeidi	6	Dämmer 1985
89	Zubeidi	6a	Dämmer 1985
90	Zubeidi	7	Dämmer 1985
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92	Zubeidi	13	Dämmer 1985
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120	Zubeidi	61	Dämmer 1985
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123	Kesaran	HKT1	Fiorina 2007
124	Kesaran	HKT3	Fiorina 2007

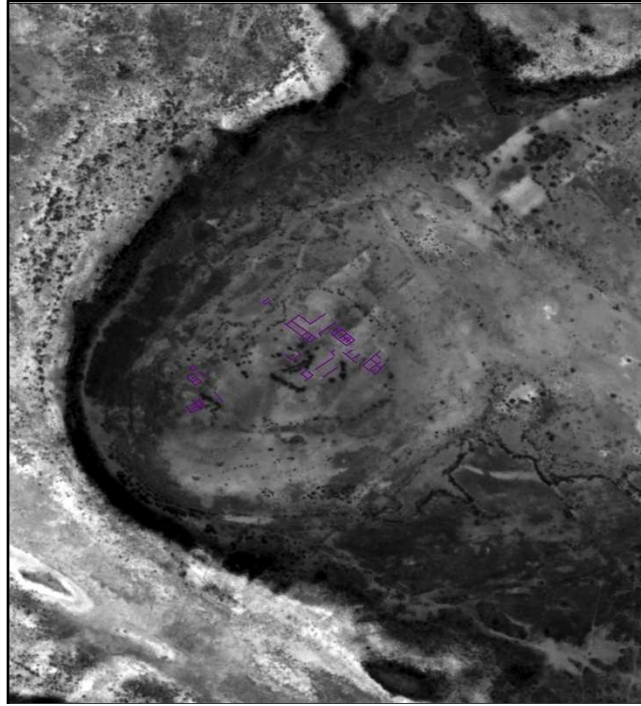
125	Kesaran	HKT4	Fiorina 2007
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128	Kesaran	HKT10	Fiorina 2007
129	Kesaran	HKT12	Fiorina 2007
130	Kesaran	HKT2	Fiorina 2007
131	Kesaran	HKT9	Fiorina 2007
132	Yelkhi	1HYT9A	Fiorina 2007
133	Yelkhi	1HYT25A	Fiorina 2007
134	Yelkhi	1HYT78A	Fiorina 2007
135	Yelkhi	1HYT79A	Fiorina 2007
136	Yelkhi	1HYT83A	Fiorina 2007
137	Yelkhi	1HYT55A	Fiorina 2007
138	Yelkhi	1HYT51A	Fiorina 2007
139	Yelkhi	1HYT56A	Fiorina 2007
140	Yelkhi	1HYT68A	Fiorina 2007
141	Yelkhi	1HYT65A	Fiorina 2007
142	Yelkhi	1HYT67A	Fiorina 2007
143	Yelkhi	1HYT70A	Fiorina 2007
144	Yelkhi	1HYT53A	Fiorina 2007
145	Yelkhi	1HYT13A	Fiorina 2007
146	Yelkhi	1HYT66A	Fiorina 2007
147	Yelkhi	1HYT18B	Fiorina 2007
148	Yelkhi	1HYT12A	Fiorina 2007
149	Yelkhi	2HYT1	Fiorina 2007
150	Yelkhi	2HYT2	Fiorina 2007
151	Yelkhi	2HYT3	Fiorina 2007
152	Yelkhi	2HYT4	Fiorina 2007

Appendix D: Texts cited throughout the dissertation

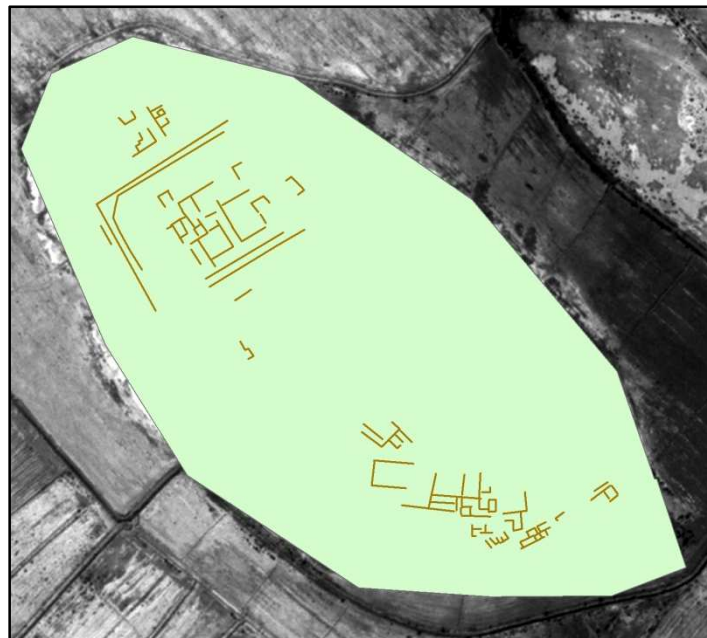
No.	Museum No.	Publication
1	AbB9: no. 109	Stol 1981
2	AbB7: no. 47	Kraus 1977
3	AbB2:no. 67	Frankena 1966
4	AbB11:no. 94	Stol 1986
5	EA1	Moran 1992
6	EA3	Moran 1992
7	EA5	Moran 1992
8	EA6	Moran 1992
9	EA7	Moran 1992
10	EA9	Moran 1992
11	BM78767	Sassmannshausen 2004
12	OLA21:61	Lerberghe 1986
13	AbB6	Frankena 1974
14	BM78767	Sassmannshausen 2004
15	YOS12:181	Yale Oriental series, Babylonian texts
16	CT6	Pinches 1898
17	OLA21:67	Sassmannshausen 2004
18	VS7	Ungnad, <i>HG</i> 1287
19	Di1122	De Gaerf 1999
20	PBS8/2	Chiera 1922
21	CT45	Pinches 1964
22	YOS 13	Yale Oriental series, Babylonian texts
23	IM84996	Kessler 1982
24	IM85011	Kessler 1982
25	IM85003	Kessler 1982
26	IM85986	Kessler 1985
27	Zub719	Kessler 1985
28	OIP22: no. 276	Henning 1934
29	NABU1990:103	NABU 1990
30	no.26	Clay 1906
31	no.159	Clay 1906
31	no.112	Clay 1906
32	no.114	Clay 1906
33	no.21	Clay 1906
34	no.56	Clay 1906
35	CBS19793	Radau 1908
36	CBS4753	Lutz 1919
37	CBS4663	Lutz 1919
38	CBA12914	Clay 1906
39	NKU141	Paulus 2013
40	EA10	Moran 1992
41	IM50057	Gurney 1953
42	IM50099	Gurney 1953
43	IM50034	Gurney 1953
44	IM50035	Gurney 1953
45	IM50031	Gurney 1953
46	IM50027	Gurney 1953
47	IM50046	Gurney 1953

48	IM50037	Gurney 1953
49	EA19	Moran 1992
50	EA21	Moran 1992
51	EA29	Moran 1992
52	EA15	Moran 1992
53	EA16	Moran 1992
54	EA2	Moran 1992
55	EA8	Moran 1992
56	EA11	Moran 1992
57	BE I 63	Brinkman 1976
58	EA17	Moran 1992
59	EA97	Moran 1992
60	IM50970	al-Zubadi 2003
61	IM51036	al-Zubadi 2003
62	IM50069/1,2	al-Zubadi 2003
63	BE15, 26	Petschow 1983
64	K 4348+4149+S27	V R, Pl. 33
65	IM50063	Al-zubadi 2003
66	IM50088	Al-zubadi 2003
67	IM50075	Al-zubadi 2003
68	IM50023	Al-zubadi 2003
69	IM50038	Gurney 1953
70	No.350	George 1993:90
71	No.18	Arnaud 1978
72	No.19	Arnaud 1978
73	E.2.2	Brinkman 1976
74	E2.3.2	Brinkman 1976
75	J.21.1	Brinkman 1976
76	U.2.2	Brinkman 1976
77	No.4	Arnaud 1981
78	No.5	Arnaud 1981
79	P.2.1.1	Brinkman 1976
80	S.2.1	Brinkman 1976
81	Q.2.3	Brinkman 1976
82	J.2.8	Brinkman 1976
83	J.2.10	Brinkman 1976
84	BE14	Petschow 1983
85	MRWH1	Petschow 1983
86	MRWH2	Petschow 1983
87	UM8/2	Petschow 1983
88	IM85473	Gurney 1983
89	IM85492	Gurney 1983
90	IM84493	Gurney 1983
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95	IM85537	Gurney 1983
96	IM85474	Gurney 1983
97	IM85475	Gurney 1983
98	Zub79	Kessler 1985

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101	IM85986	Kessler 1985
102	IM85007	Kessler 1982
103	IM85011	Kessler 1982
103	IM85988	Kessler 1985
104	VAT7751	Ungnad 1938
105	HSS14	Lacheman 1950



A. A Kassite site (ca. 4ha) with architectural remains in purple
(Image courtesy of Dr. Elizabeth Stone)

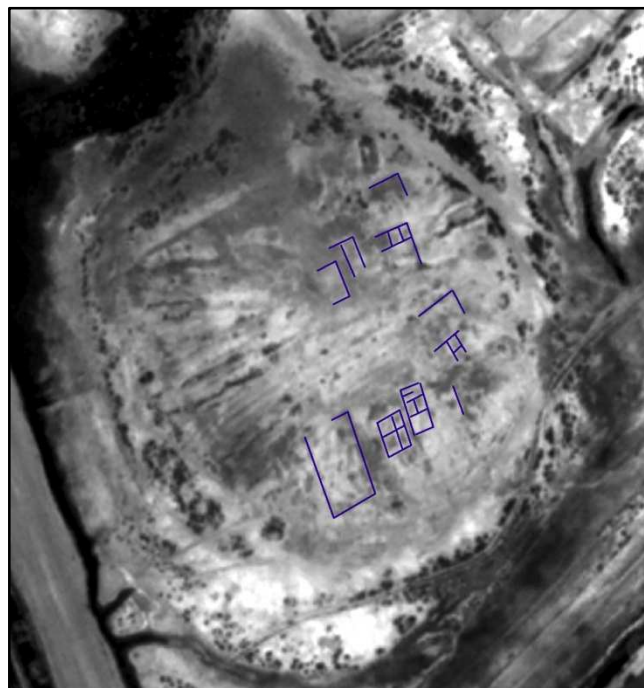


B. A Kassite site (ca. 5ha) with architectural remains
(Image courtesy of Dr. Elizabeth Stone)

Figure 1 A& B Satellite images showing Kassite sites in southern Babylonia



A. A Kassite site (ca.2.11ha) with architectural remains in purple
(Image courtesy of Dr. Elizabeth Stone)



B. A Kassite site (ca. 2ha) with architectural remains in blue
(Image courtesy of Dr. Elizabeth Stone)

Figure 2 A& B Satellite images showing Kassite sites in northern Babylonia

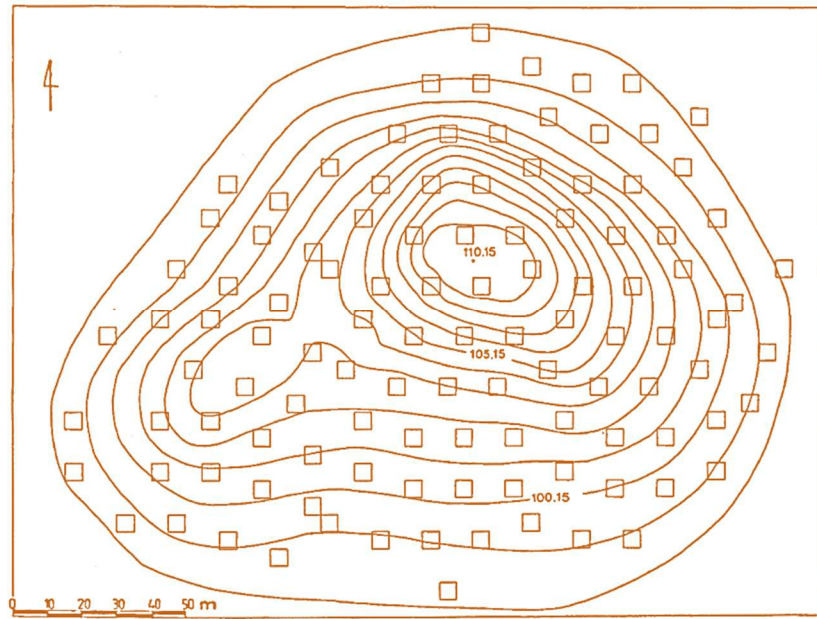


Figure 3 Tell Yelkhi contour map (after Invernizzi 1980).



Figure 4 Tell Yelkhi building (after Fiorina 2007)

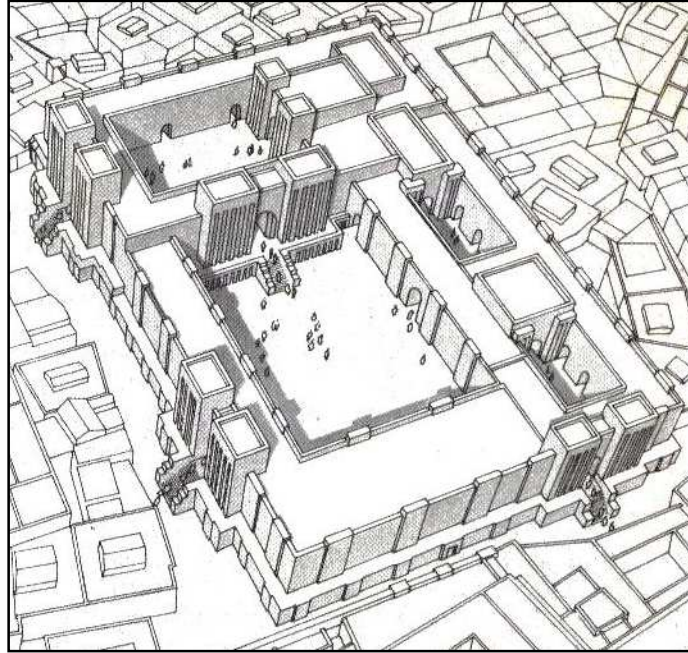


Figure 5 Modern reconstruction of Temple Ishtar at Ischali (after H.D. Hill 1990)

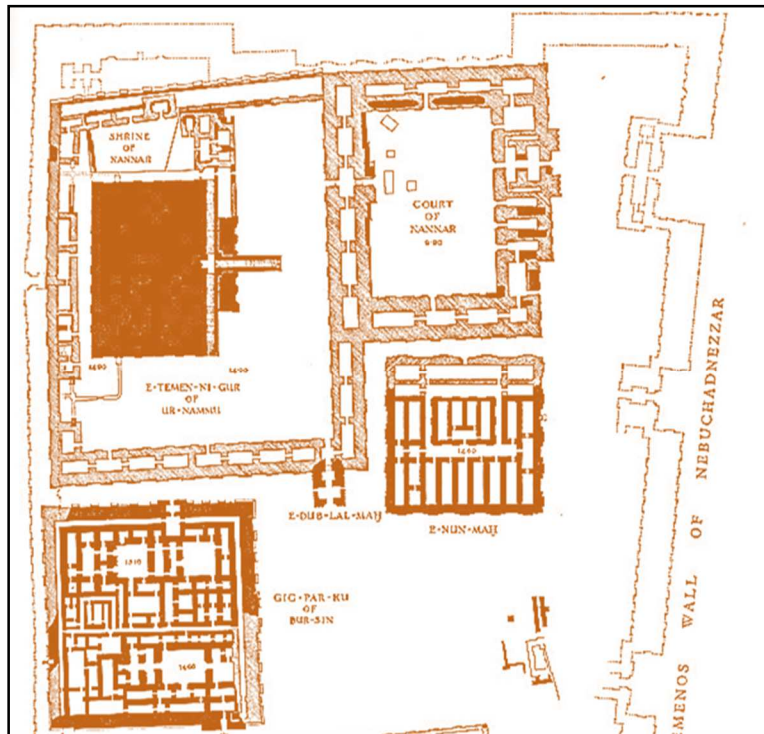


Figure 6 The Ur III ziggurat and the surrounding buildings at Ur (after Woolley 1939)

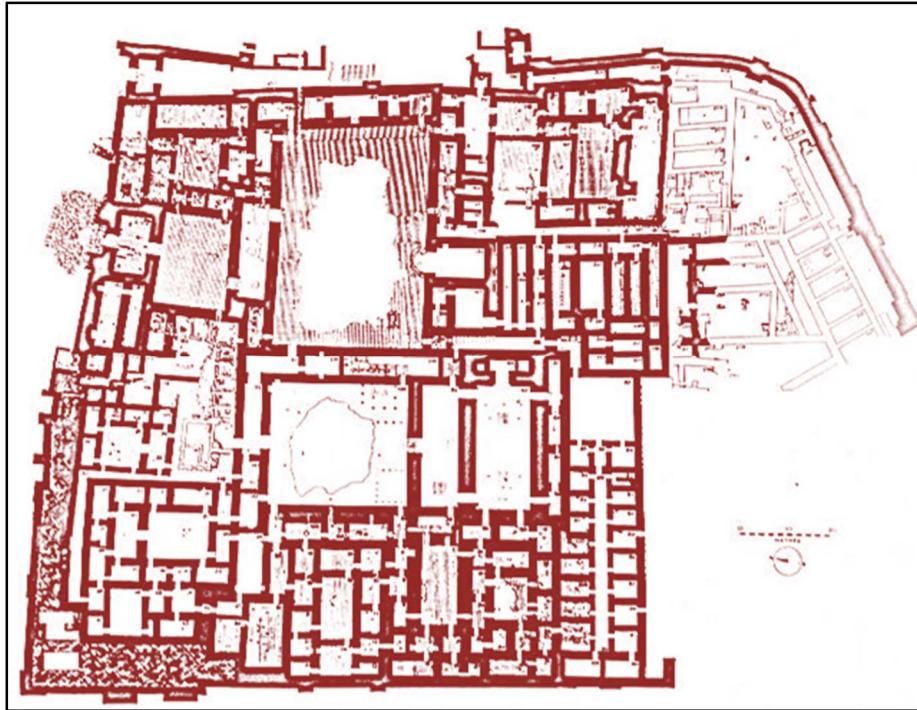


Figure 7 Zimrilim palace at Mari (after Heinrich 1984)

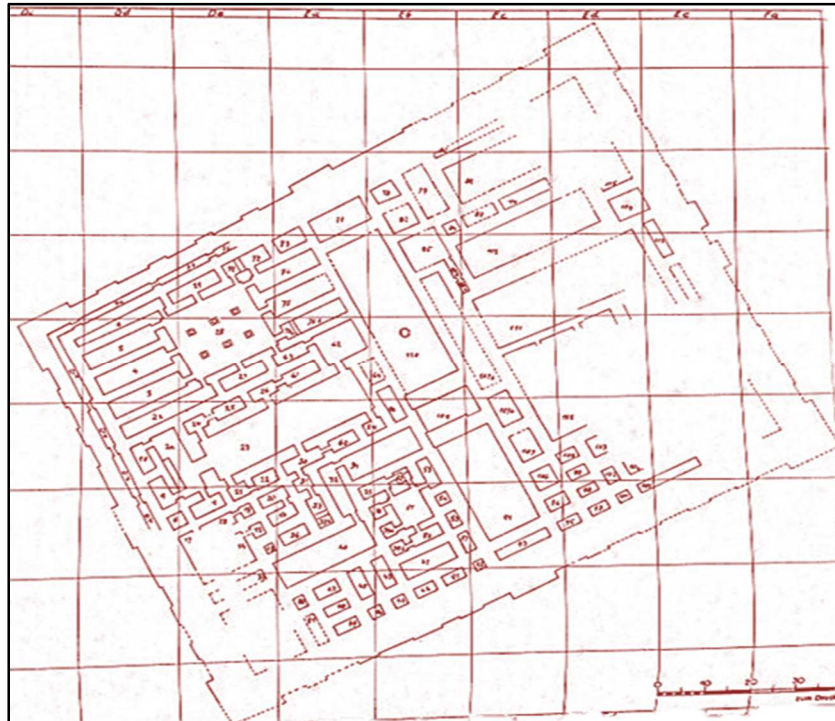


Figure 8 Palace of king Sînkašid at Uruk (after Heinrich 1984)

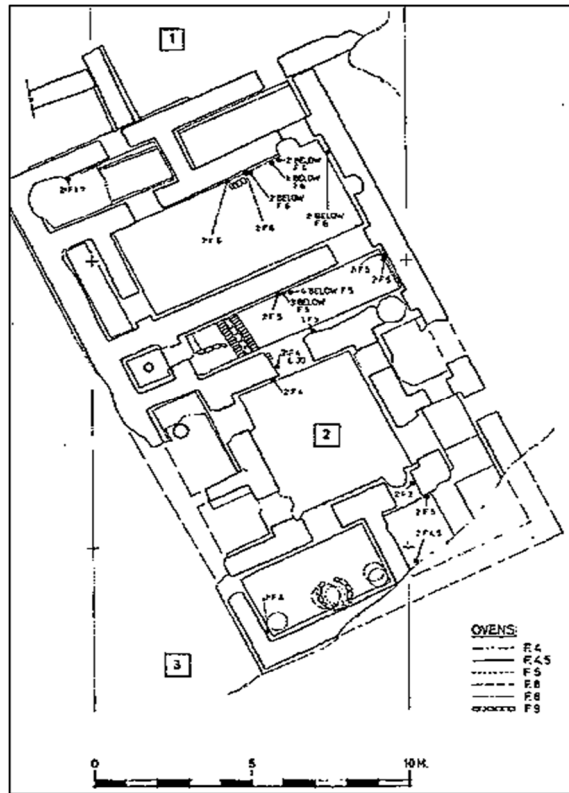


Figure 9 An Old Babylonian house in area WB at Nippur (after McCown 1967)

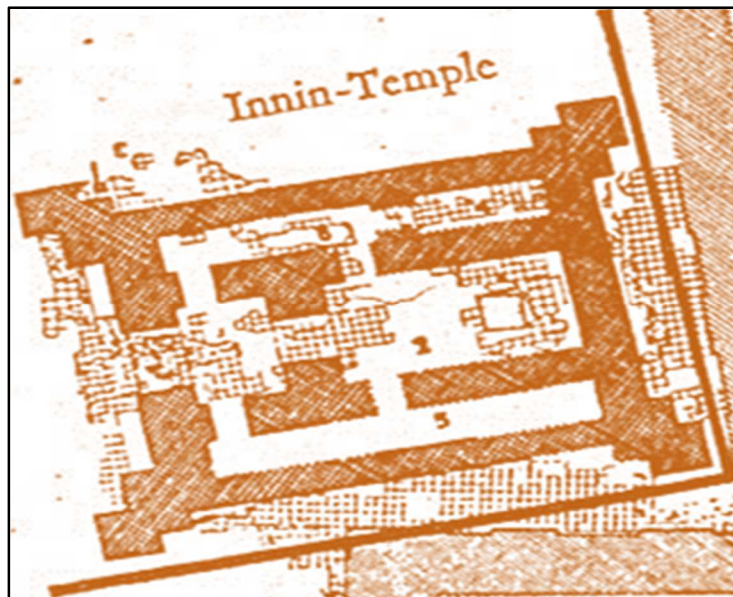


Figure 10 Temple Inanna at Uruk (after Heinrich 1982)

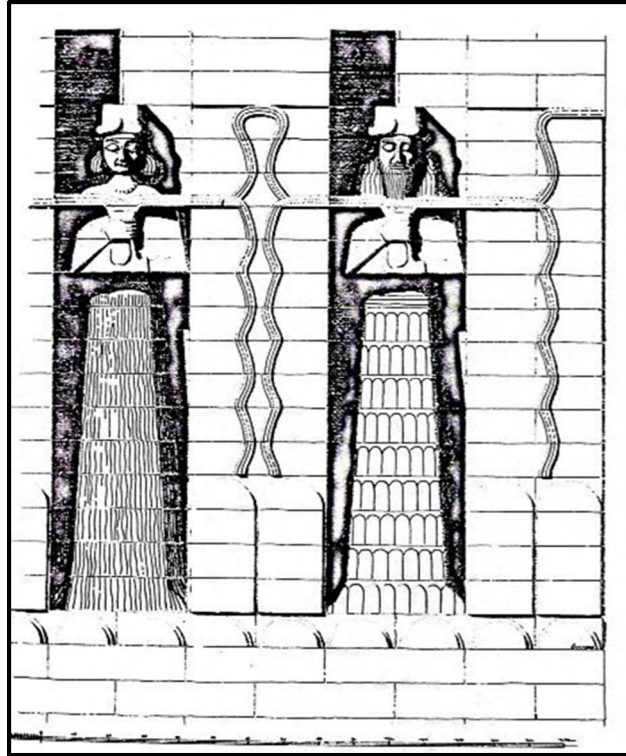


Figure 11 The deities on the Inanna temple façade



Figure 12 The Inanna Temple façade at Berlin Museums

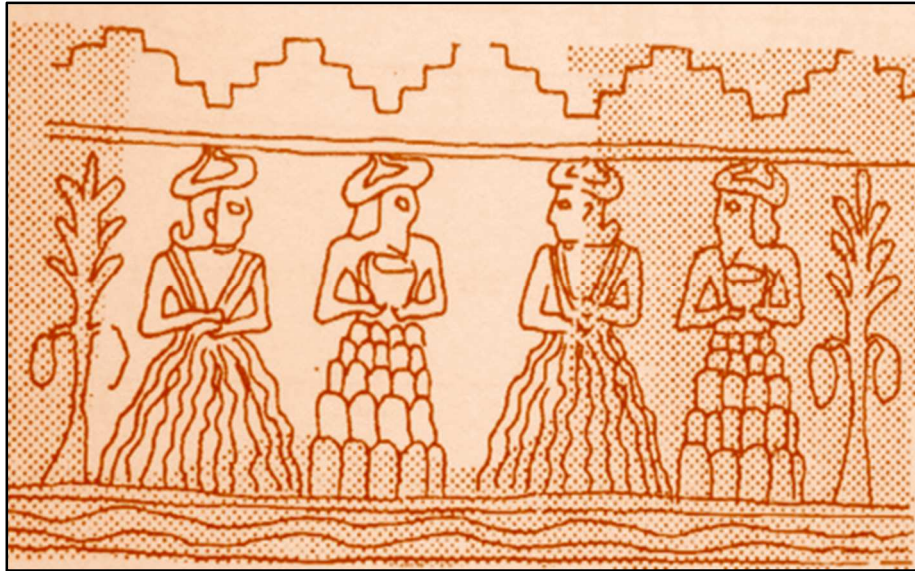


Figure 13 A mace-head from Mari showing the water goddess and the mountain god



Figure 14 A stone plaque from Ashur showing the mountain god



Figure 15 Kassite seal impression showing the mountain god (Porada 1981/82: no.27)

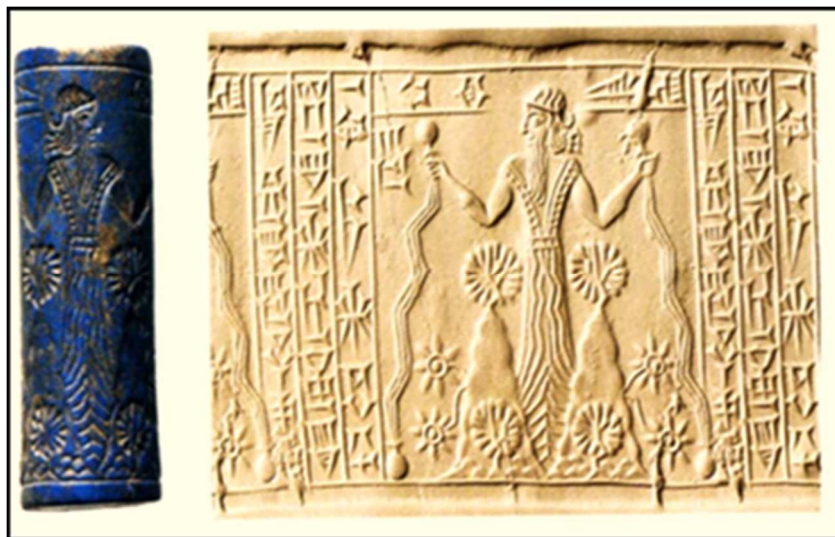


Figure 16 Kassite seal with mountain god (Porada1981/82: no.26)

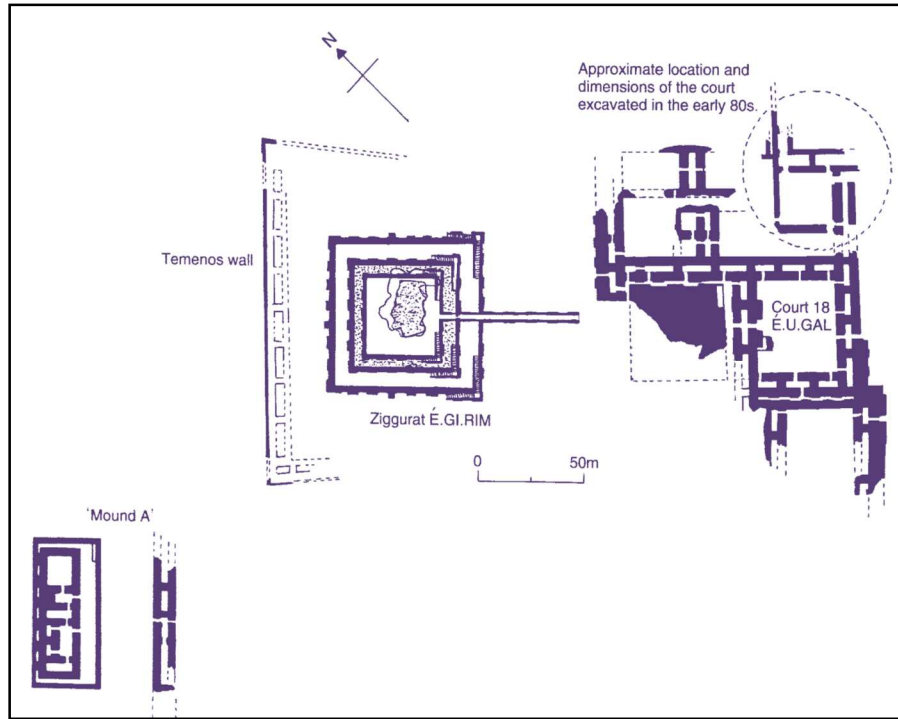


Figure 17 The temple complex at Dur-Kurigalzu (after Clayden 2000)



Figure 18 The new Courtyard to the northeast of the temple complex; looking north (Photo courtesy of Dr. Tim Clayden 1986)



Figure 19 The molded bricks in the east corner of the new courtyard
(Photo courtesy of Dr. Tim Clayden 1986)

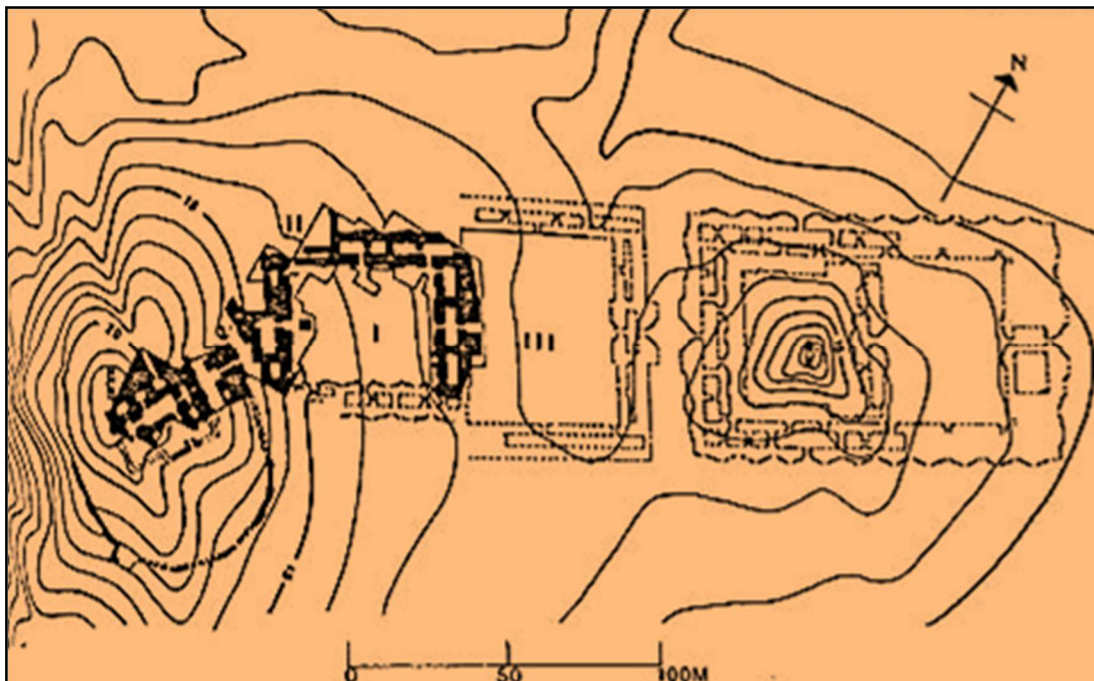


Figure 20 The ziggurat and temple complex at Larsa during the Kassite period (after Calvet 1984)

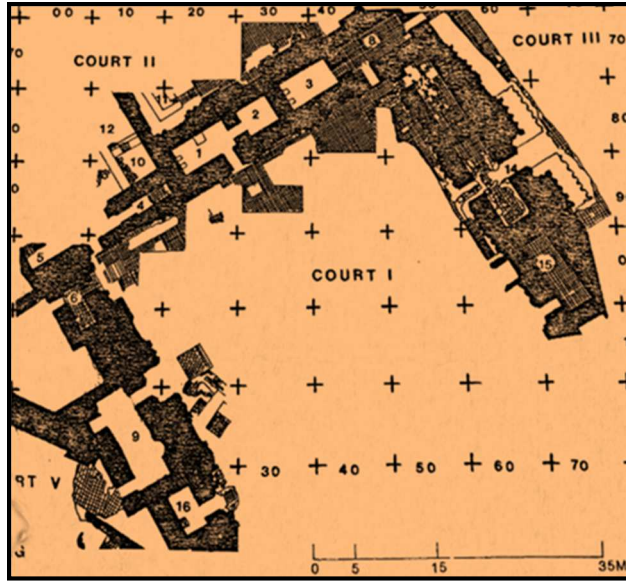


Figure 21 Court I of the temple complex at Larsa (after Calvet 1984)



Figure 22 The ziggurat at Dur-Kurigalzu (Photo courtesy of Georg Gerster 2005)

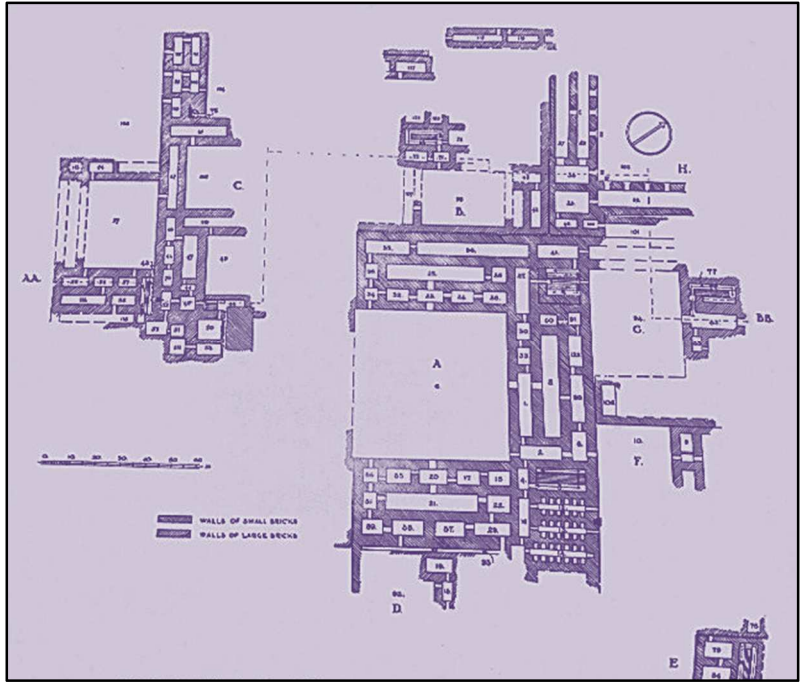


Figure 23 The royal residence at Dur-Kurigalzu (after Heinrich 1984)

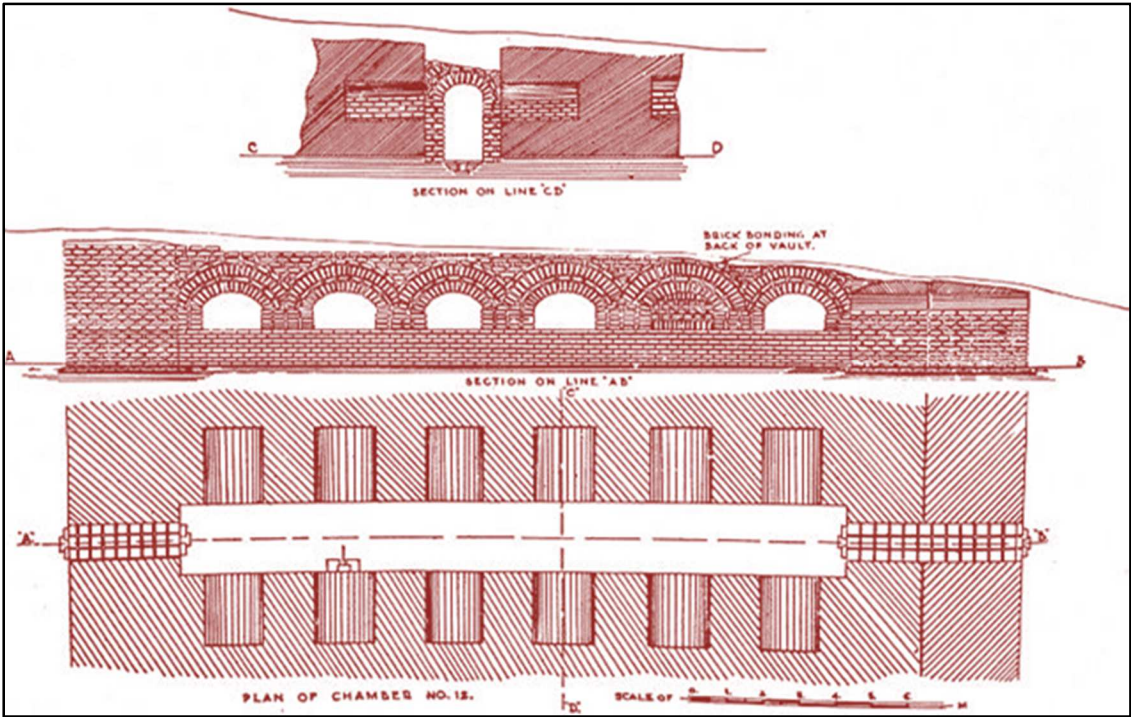


Figure 24 The palace storage rooms at Dur-Kurigalzu (after Heinrich 1984)

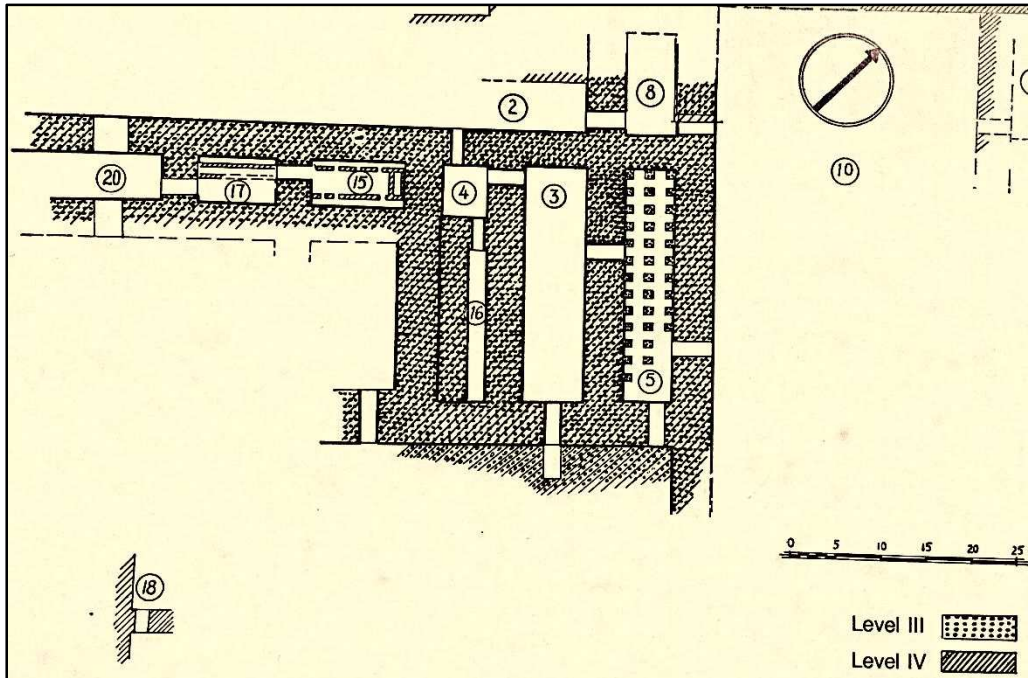


Figure 25 Room no. 5 the "treasure room" at Dur-Kurigalzu (after Heinrich 1984)

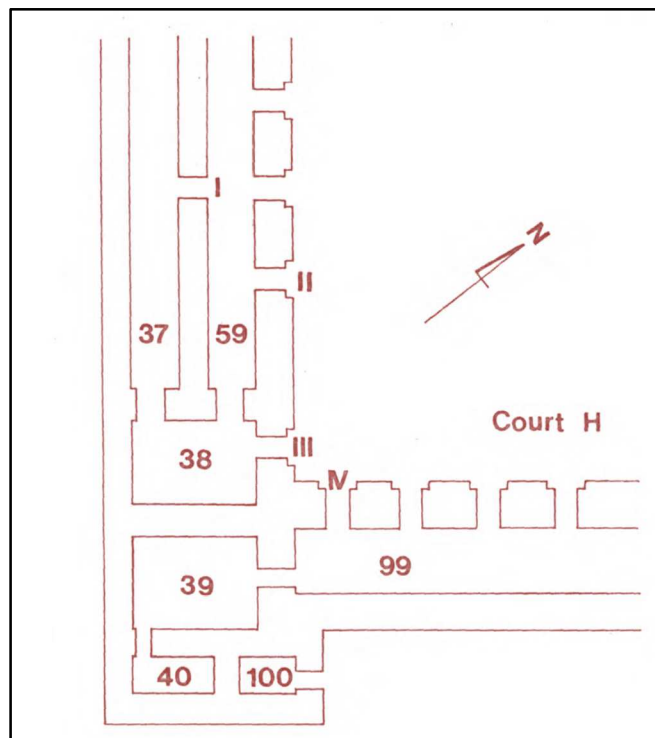


Figure 26 Unit H, the palace at Dur-Kurigalzu (after Tomabechi 1980)



Figure 27 Painted figures on the northwest side of doorway IV in unit H (after Baqir 1946)



Figure 28 Doorway IV in unit H (after Baqir 1946)

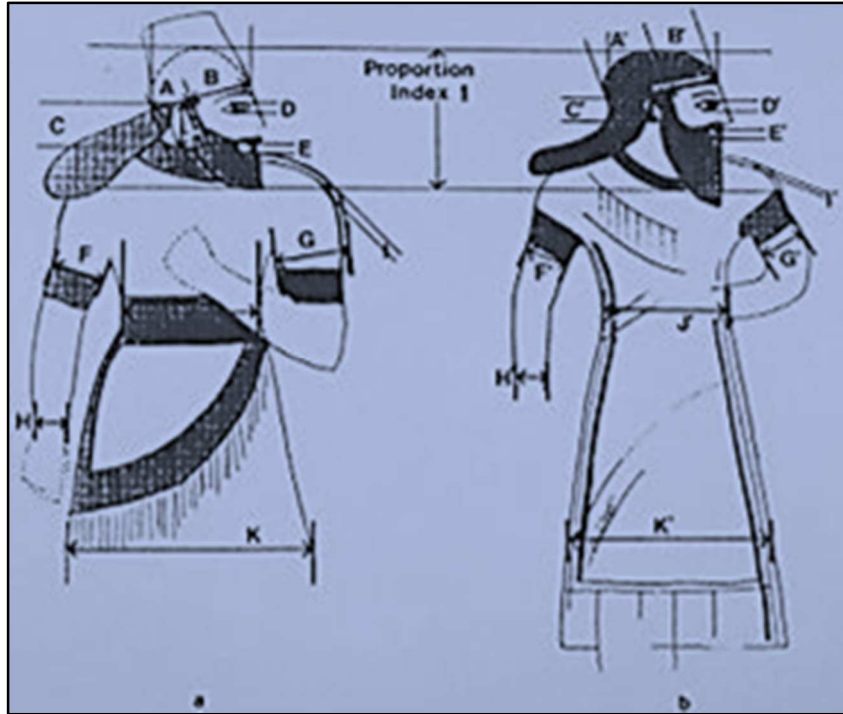


Figure 29 Proportion index, Doorway IV figures, unit H (after Tomabechi 1983)



Figure 30 Kassite terracotta head from Dur-Kurigalzu



Figure 31 The figures on two glass vessels from Hasanlu (after Amiet 1986)

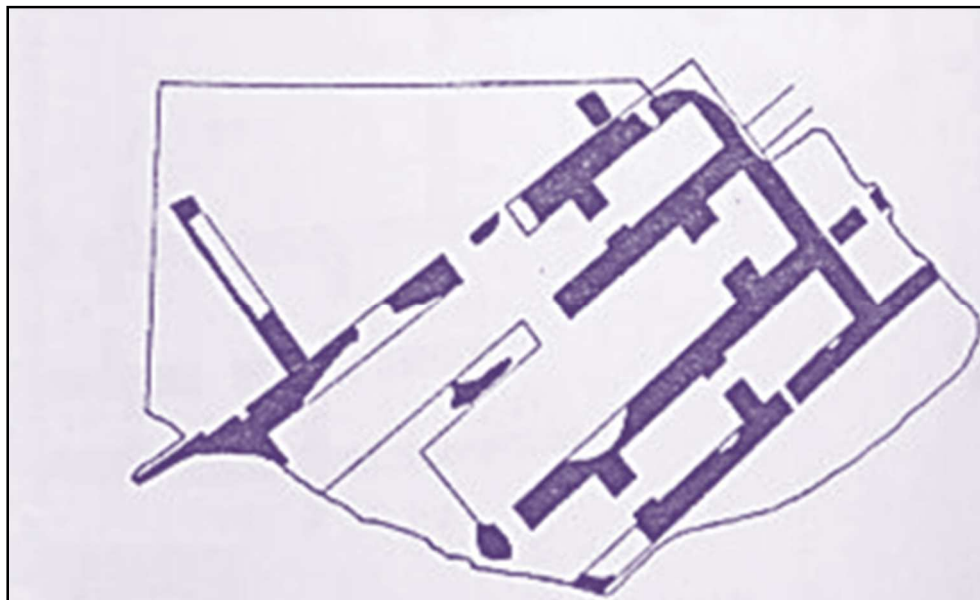


Figure 32 The Kassite palace in are WB at Nippur (after Gibson 1978)



Figure 33 Temple Ningal at Ur during the Kassite period (after Woolley 1939)

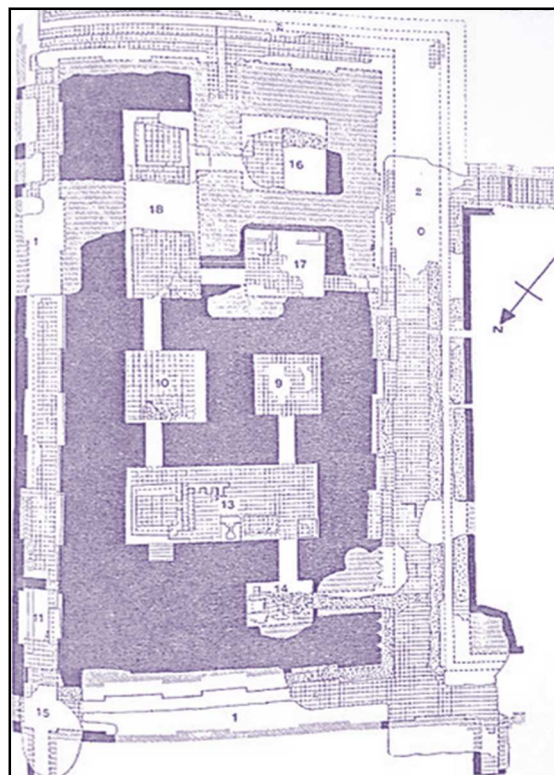


Figure 34 Temple Enlil at Nippur (after McCown 1967)

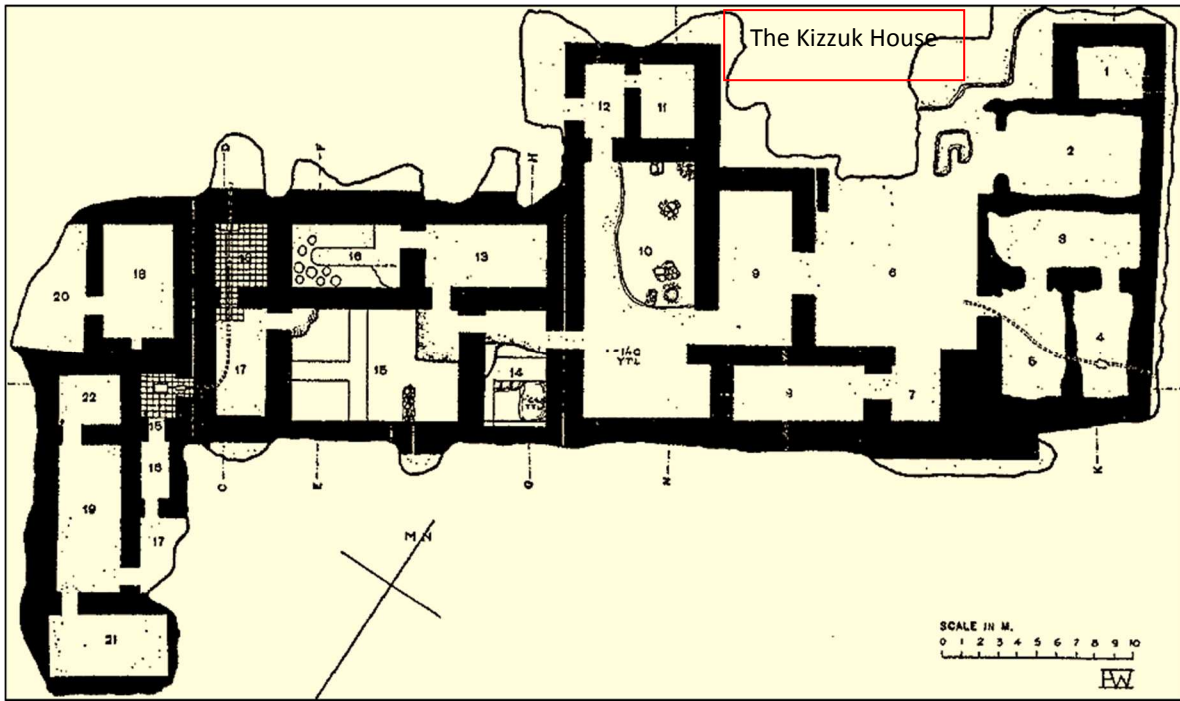


Figure 35 The Kassite dwelling at Nuzi (after Starr 1939)

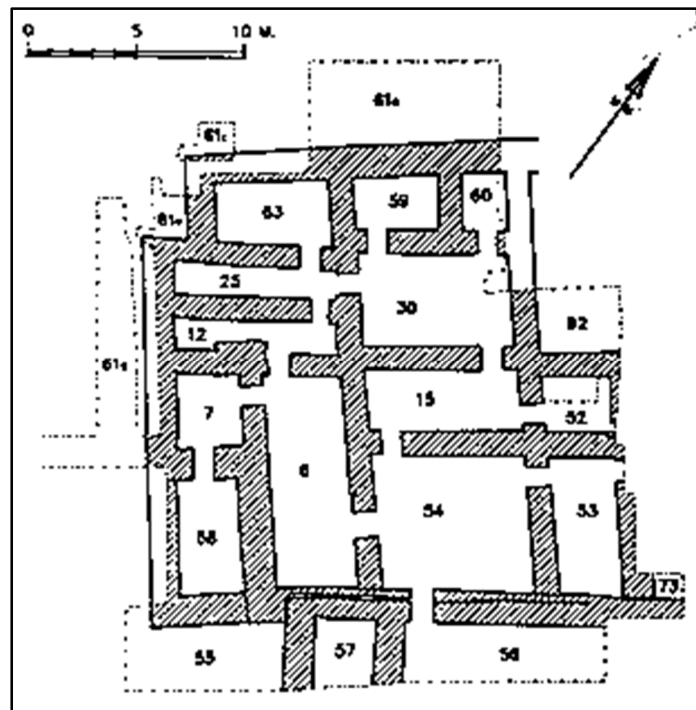


Figure 36 Reconstructed plan of the level III building in the WC-1 area at Nippur (after Zettler 1993)

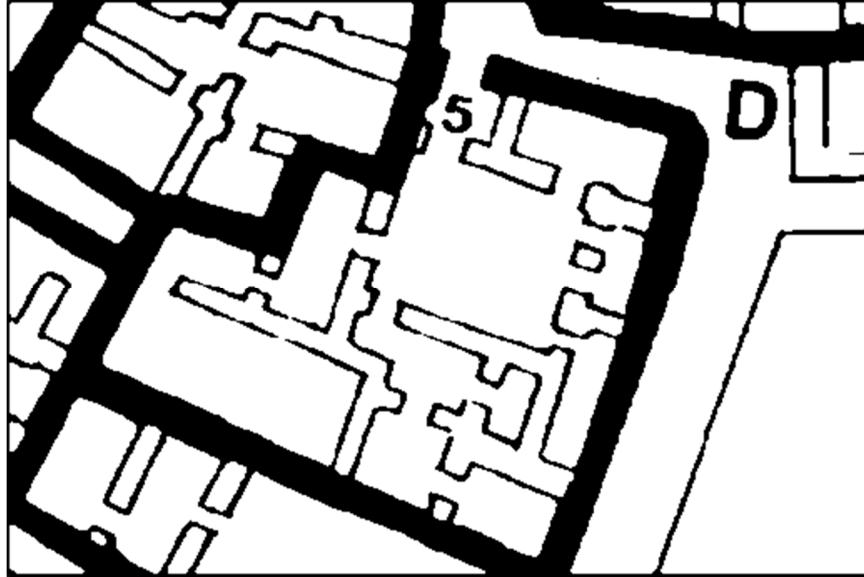


Figure 37 An Old Babylonian house in AH at Ur (after Woolley 1976)



Figure 38 The level I (early Kassite) houses at Babylon (after Reuther 1926)

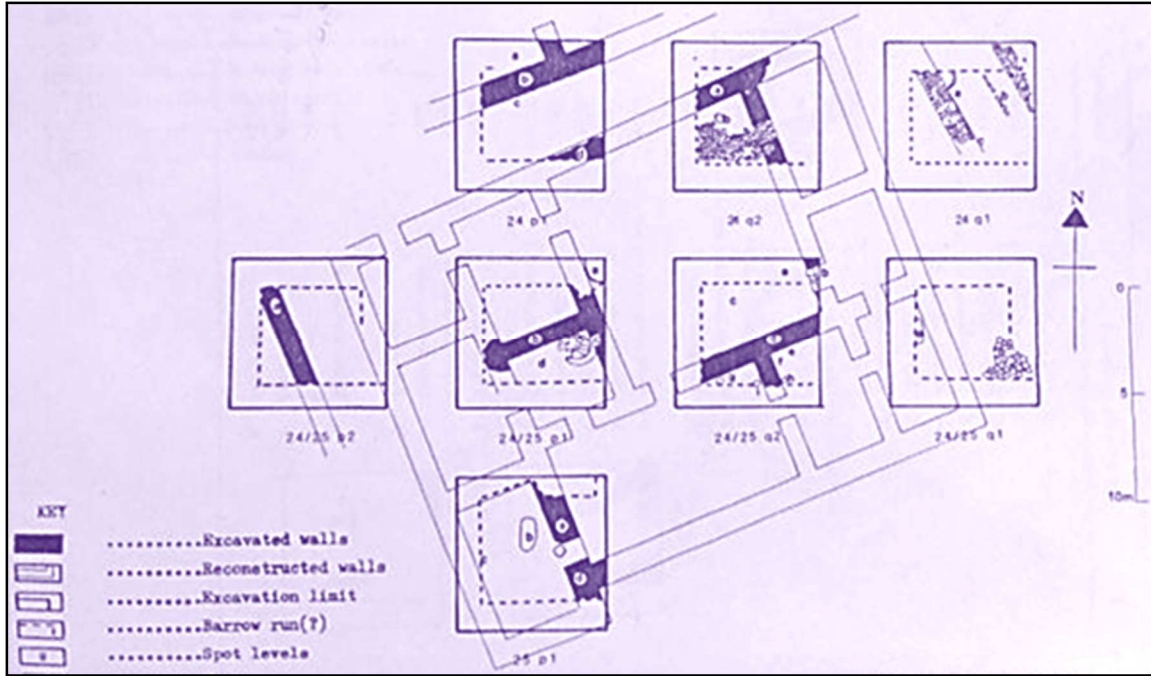


Figure 39 House C level I at Babylon (after Reuther 1926)

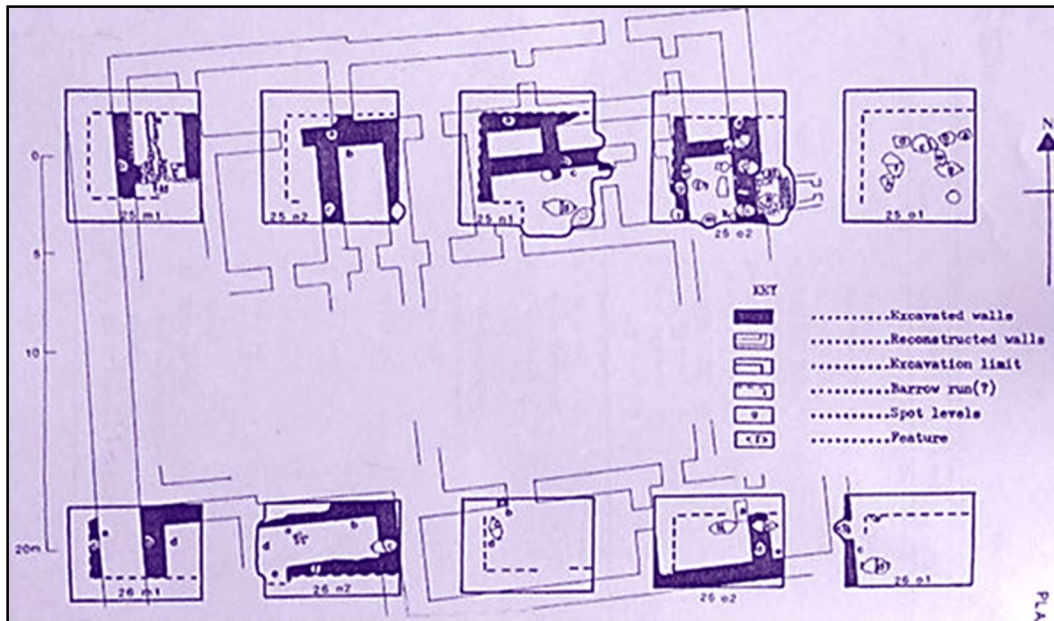


Figure 40 House C level II at Babylon (after Reuther 1926)

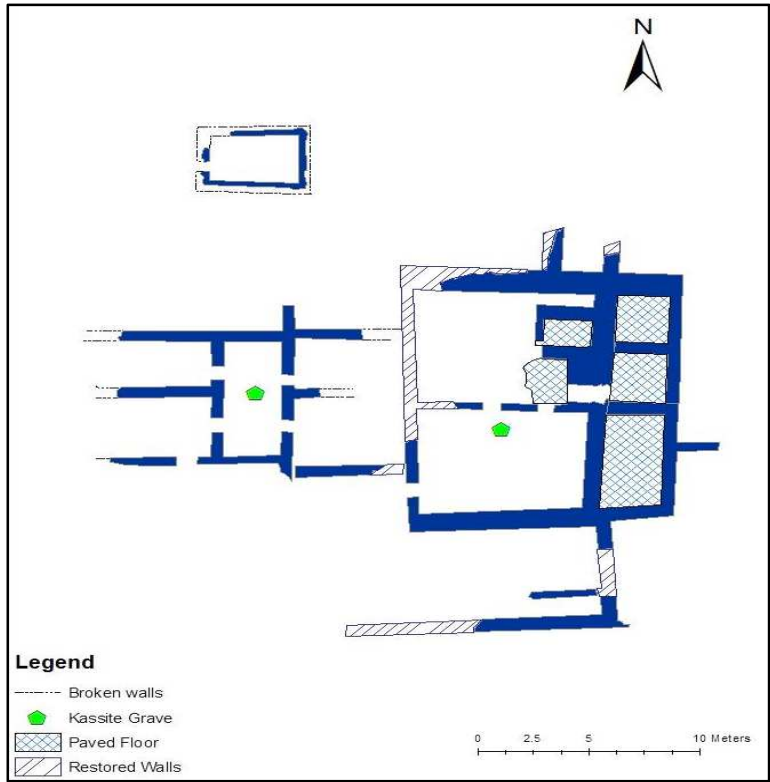


Figure 41 Kassite houses in the EM area at Ur (after Woolley 1965)

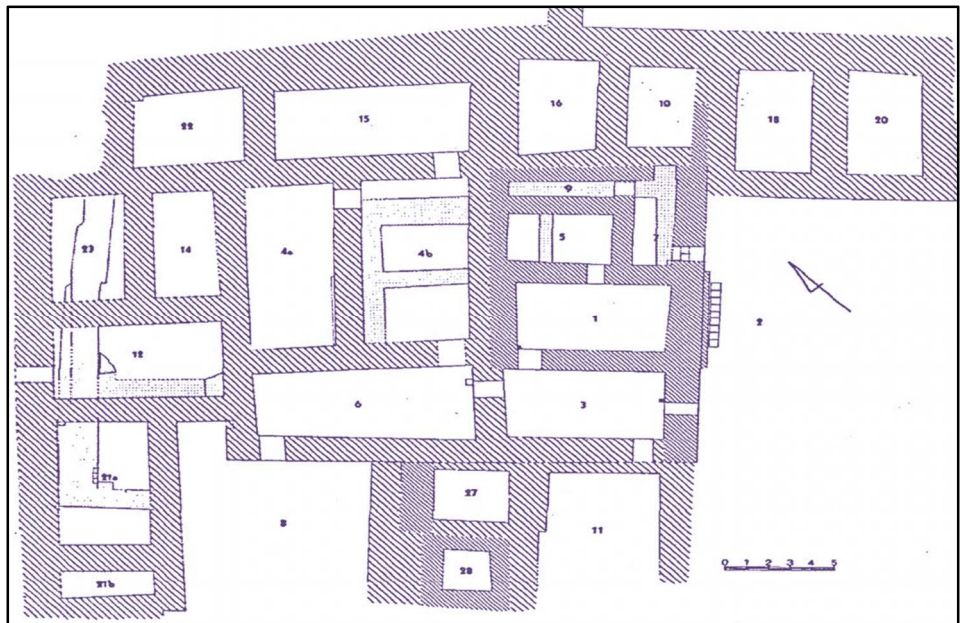


Figure 42 Level I building at Tell Ylkhi (after Bergamini 1985)

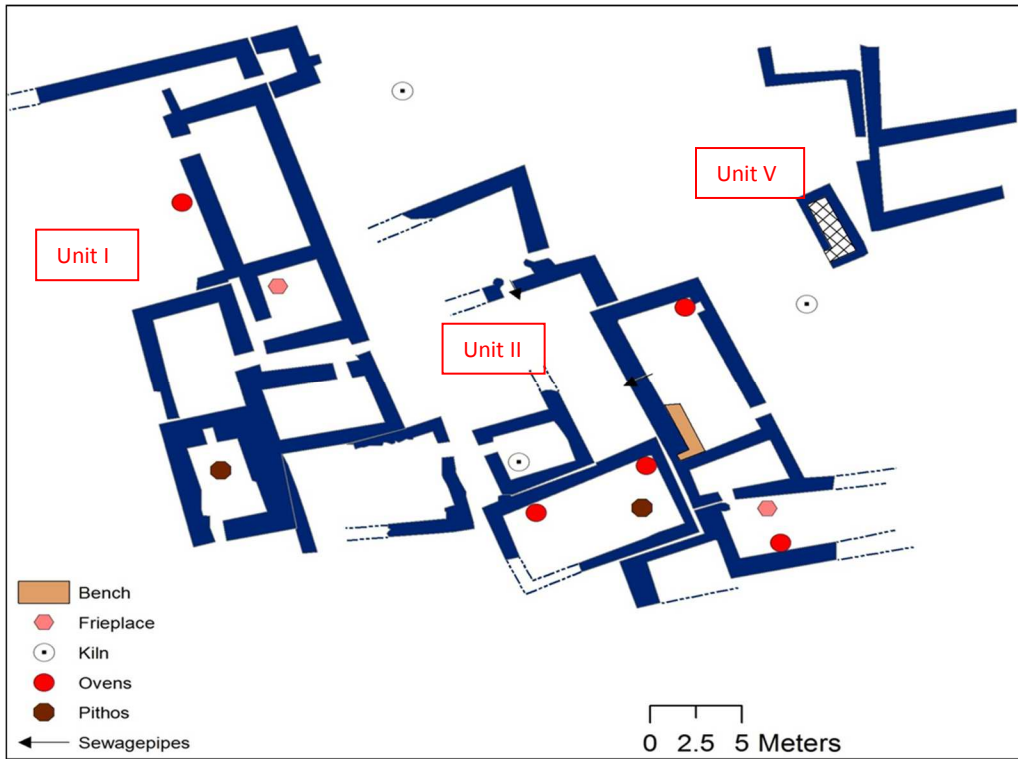


Figure 43 The residential area at Tell Zubeidi (after Dämmer 1985)



Figure 44 The kiln in Unit II at Tell Zubeidi (after Dämmer 1985)

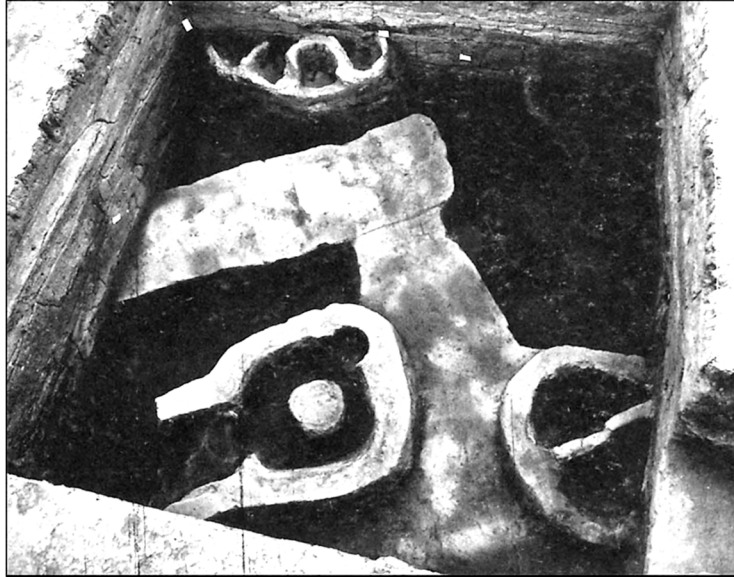


Figure 45 The ceramic kilns at Tell Kesaran (after Valtz1985)

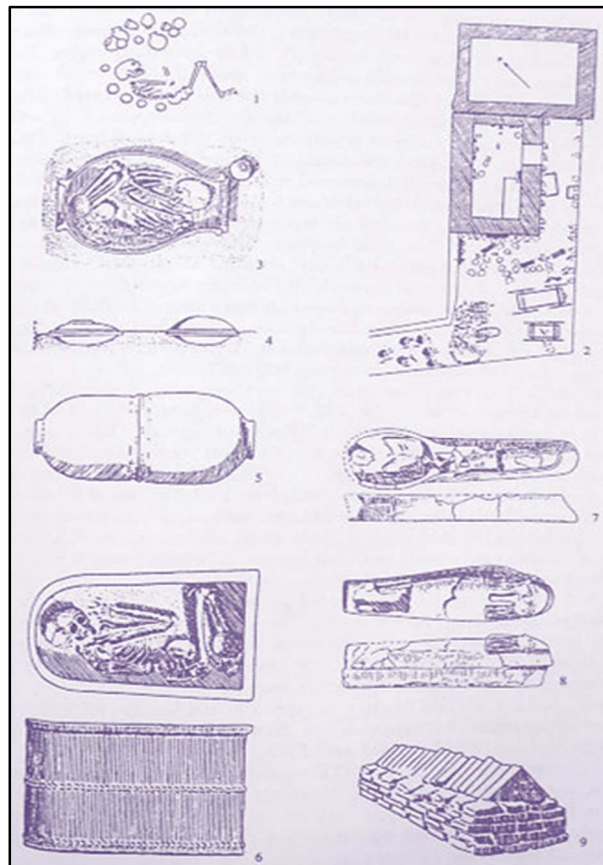


Figure 46 Types of burials in Mesopotamia. 1. Pit graves; 2. Shaft grave; 3. Jar burial; 4. Bowl burial; 5. Double pot burial; 6. Bath-tub sarcophagus; 7. Slipper coffin; 8. Anthropoid sarcophagus; 9. Brick cist grave (after Strommenger 1957-1971)

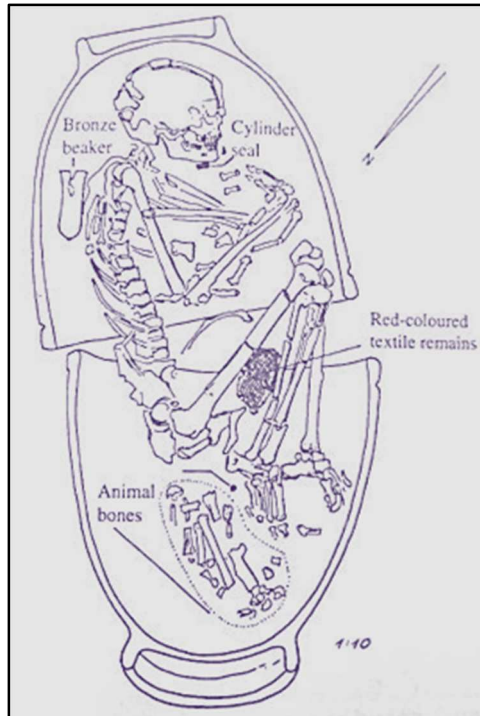


Figure 47 Double pot burial of Isin II from Uruk (after Boehmer 1984)

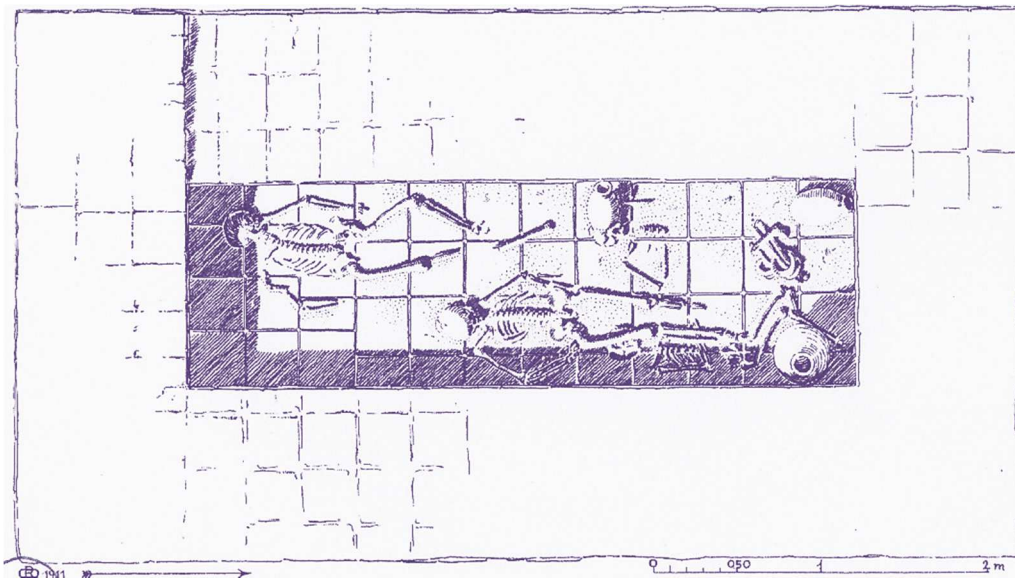
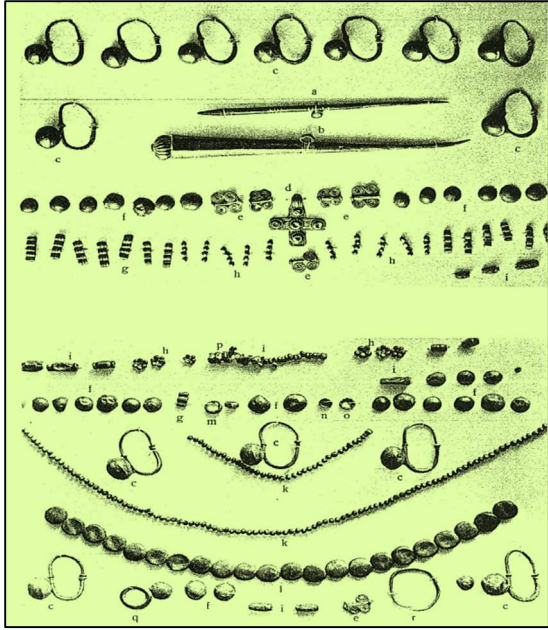
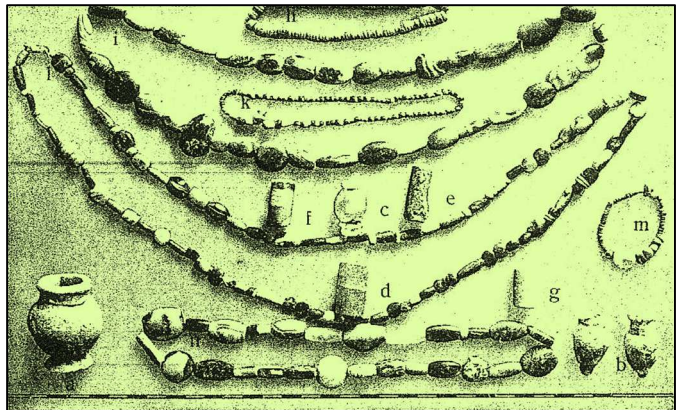


Figure 48 Grave Bab.39168 at Babylon (after Reuther 1926)



A. Burial Bab.39168



B. Burial Bab.39168



C. Burial Bab.39168

Figure 49 A, B, & C Grave goods from burial Bab.39168 at Babylon (after Reuther 1926)



A. Supine position at
Babylon

B. Supine position at
Babylon

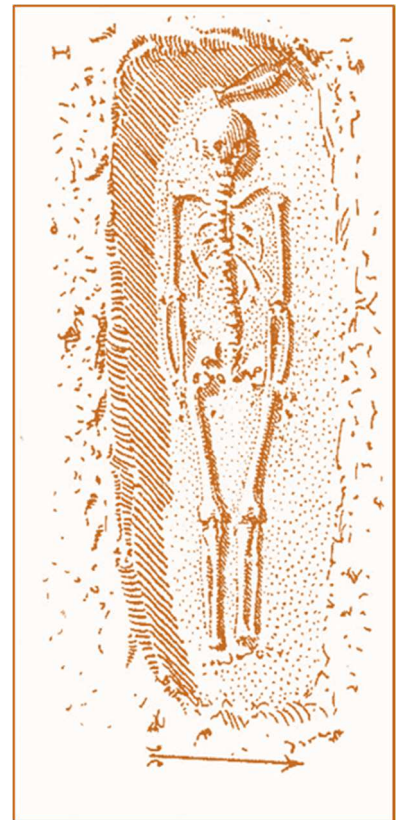


Figure 50 A & B Examples of Supine position at
Babylon (after Reuther 1926)

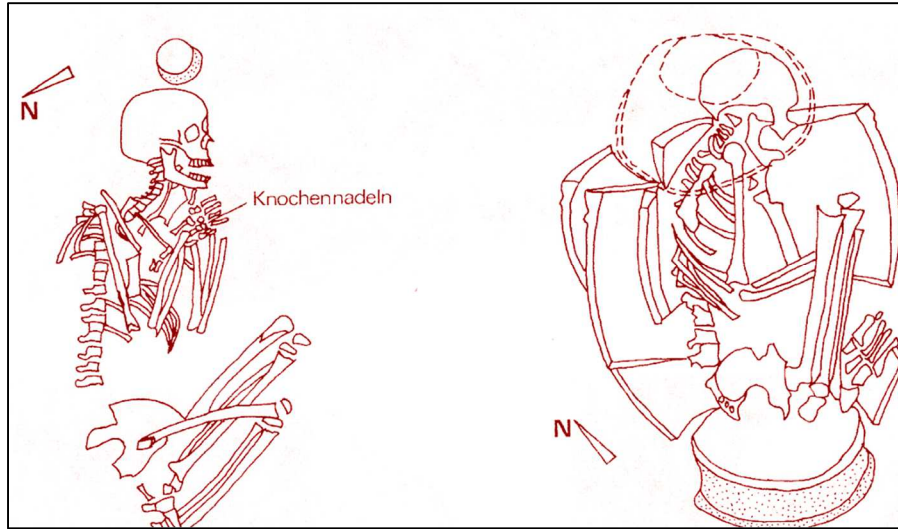


Figure 52 Examples of contracted position at Tell Zubiedi (after Dämmer 1985)



Figure 53 Examples of contracted position at Babylom (Reuther 1926)

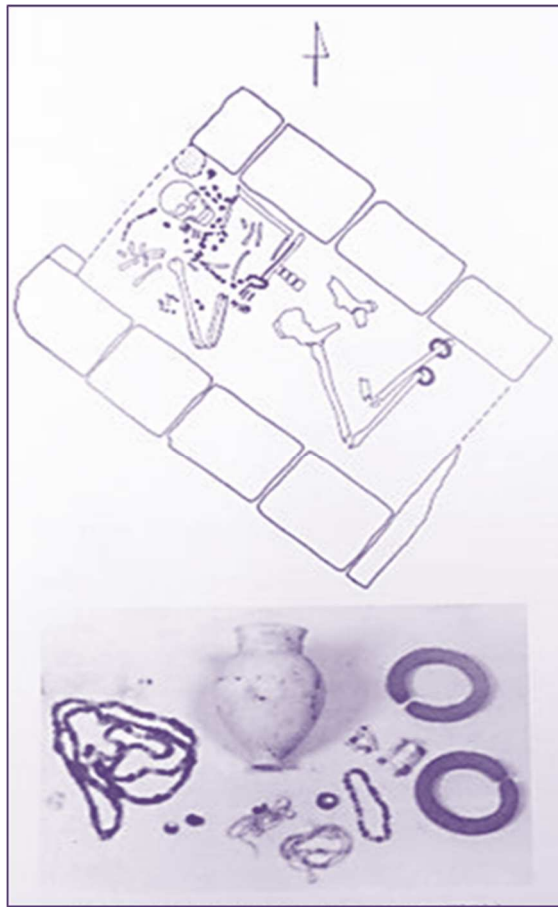


Figure 54 Grave 1HYT70A at Yelkhi (after Fiorina 2007)