Disembedded Capitals in Western Asian Perspective

ALEXANDER H. JOFFE

Pennsylvania State University

Disembedded capitals are urban sites founded *de novo* and designed to supplant existing patterns of authority and administration. While a controversial topic in New World archaeology, there is ample evidence from ancient Western Asia and Egypt to demonstrate that disembedded capitals were a well-understood and frequently used option in developed state systems. Ethnohistoric examples from Egypt and Mesopotamia are presented to show the common organizational, ideological, and ecological features of disembedded capitals, and their varying historical and imperial contexts. Disembedded capitals were typically founded by new elites, either usurpers or reformers, as part of innovations designed to simultaneously undercut competing factions and create new pattterns of allegiance and authority. But while intended to break away from existing power relationships, in order to function disembedded capitals were necessarily reembedded back into those structures, In an evolutionary sense disembedded capitals were short-lived phenomena which tended to create long-term societal problems.

THE PROBLEM OF 'DISEMBEDDED' CAPITALS

Background

Understanding urban form and function are important series of problems in the "archaeology of government" and the evolution of social complexity (Trigger 1974). While many typologies have been developed, their cross-cultural application in archaeology has been limited (e.g., Blanton 1976a; Fox 1977). Testing proposed structural and evolutionary concepts generates greater insights into the role of cities in political, social and economic evolution of ancient states. The "disembedded capital" is a concept with strong cross-cultural utility, although in a different sense from originally proposed.

The concept of the disembedded capital proposed that a city would be created de novo by an elite or group of elites seeking to found a new power base.

My thanks to Baruch Halpern, David Webster, Norman Yoffee, and Rachel Hallote for comments on earlier versions of this essay. Comments from an anonymous reviewer were also helpful. Finally, many thanks to Tony Wilkinson for valuable information regarding settlement in northern Mesopotamia.

0010-4175/98/3686–7183 $9.50 © 1998 Society for Comparative Study of Society and History

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The new site would be disconnected from the local economic matrix and would be without manufacturing or trading components. The concept was applied originally by Richard Blanton to explain the foundation of the site of Monte Alban in the Valley of Oaxaca (1976b, 1978). Blanton suggested that Monte Alban was selected as a geographically central and politically neutral point in the valley by a confederation of existing elites. Different elites and their spatial distribution in barrios within the site were detected by analyzing surface ceramic collections (Kowalewski *et al.* 1983). The site had little evidence of being able to support itself agriculturally, and energetics calculations suggested that the surrounding terraces could not feed the resident population (compare, Blanton *et al.* 1993:69–105).

All of Blanton's central assertions have been challenged. Sanders and Santley (1978) examined the Monte Alban field data and suggested that the site did have trade and manufacturing components and was agriculturally self-supporting. Santley (1980) went further and attacked the concept of the disembedded capital, suggesting that elites would not divorce economic interests from the purpose of establishing a confederated capital. Recently O'Brien and his colleagues (1989, 1992) again reanalyzed the field data and found no evidence of barrios at Monte Alban. They also suggested that the field methods employed by Blanton's team were too coarse-grained and the ceramic collections too small to detect the artifactual variability inherent in phenomena such as barrios. Finally, Willey (1979) discussed the concept from a cross-cultural perspective and found no evidence that early Mesoamerican states developed disembedded capitals. Willey also made the important observation that disembedded capitals were one alternative available to developed states, agreeing with Blanton's typology of capital city forms (Blanton 1976a).

The concept of the disembedded capital remains controversial in the context for which it was developed, early states in Mesoamerica and specifically Monte Alban. Willey's strategic reorientation of the concept towards developed states, however, opens new and fertile ground for discussion.[1] The archaeological detection of elite confederacies is unnecessary, while the nature of a site's seemingly disjunctive relationship to the preexisting economic and sociopolitical patterns are the key variables for analysis. If we regard the concept of the disembedded capital as a product of, and institutional alternative for, developed states, along with the "roving palace" and "temporary capital" as originally suggested by Blanton, we find ample evidence for their existence in ancient Western Asia. The key problematic, however, is that these are identified exclusively on the basis of ethnohistoric documentation and not, as yet, from archaeological evidence. This problem in historical archaeology is yet another area where the rich ethnohistoric documentation of Western Asia could be creatively integrated with material remains.

[1] The founding of Tenochtitlan by the Mexica on an island strategically located in the western marshes of Lake Texcoco would seem to be a particularly good Mesoamerican example of a disembedded capital. See Conrad and Demarest (1988:11–30).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Archaeological and Theoretical Issues

A series of broad archaeological expectations may be outlined to suggest the presence of a disembedded capital:

1. A site being newly founded, or greatly expanded in a particular period or phase.
2. Evidence that a site has been founded or expanded by a new sociopolitical or ethnic group, such as changes in pottery and other material culture, architecture, foodways, or administrative practices.
3. A significant shift in regional settlement patterns. This may entail either a decline in, or expansion of, rural settlement and similar changes in middle-level settlement.
4. Evidence of centralized administrative activities, such as writing, sealing, storage, or redistribution.
5. Evidence of a sudden appearance or an increase in flows of specialized materials into a site.
6. The presence of military equipment and personnel within the new site.
7. Sudden shifts in the evidence for political legitimation, such as new iconographic techniques, a new symbolic vocabulary, or the distinctive combination of new and old elements.
8. The association of religious and palatial institutions within a new site.
9. A non-organic urban pattern, in which residential, administrative, and royal elements are rigidly planned and segregated.

These expectations may be tested through survey or excavation or preferably a combination of both. All are broad indicators of changes in a site's political and economic organization. Unfortunately, equifinality—similar results produced by different processes—is a vexing consideration. Intra-site institutions are characteristic of all developed capitals and states, and the proposed stratigraphic, regional, and ideological shifts potentially indicate changes other than that of founding a disembedded capital. Variations of these expectations could be proposed for disembedded capitals in varying geo-environmental, political, and historical situations, such as those emerging from city-state and national contexts. Meeting several expectations would suggest a disembedded capital, but at present archaeology is unlikely to provide proof without ethnohistoric documentation. A challenge to Western Asian and other archaeologies is to examine evidence from known disembedded capitals to further develop archaeological criteria which may then be tested cross-culturally.

The following review will demonstrate the prevalence of disembedded capitals in Western Asia and Egypt; the conditions under which they were created; some structural, socio-political and economic features; and it will also suggest a means for archaeological identification. Three sets of examples will be highlighted: the founding of a new capital by the Eighteenth Dynasty king Akhenaten at Tell el Amarna, the capitals founded by Neo-Assyrian kings of the late second and early first millennia BCE, and the founding of Baghdad and Samarra by the ʿAbbasid Caliphate. All differ in the extent and nature of their national, imperial, and ideological integration.

A number of theoretical considerations will be examined by employing the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

complementary perspectives of spatial distance, the physical and economic location of a site, and social distance, the position within existing networks of administration, politics, and tradition. The effectiveness of ancient disembedded capitals largely depended on balancing these variables. Sites founded as alternative or competing power centers have different series of goals and processes from those designed to entirely supplant existing centers and traditions. Sites founded during periods of relative imperial stability were also more likely to have generated opposition than those founded during periods of imperial activity, which kept opposing factions off balance and potentially rewarded them. The agricultural environments of several examples are discussed to show that disembedded capitals were, with their rural components, largely self-sufficient. The very term disembedded capital is a misnomer, for the key to understanding new sites is instead the degree of their embeddedness in existing matrices of politics and economics. Few disembedded capitals retained a central role after collapse of the founding dynasty, and some disappeared altogether. In evolutionary terms, disembedded capitals were an unstable alternative for developed states that offered short-term advantages but long-term liabilities.

EXAMPLES

Tell el-Amarna

Historical Background. Since predynastic times Egyptian kings had gone to great efforts to integrate the various regions along the length of the Nile. These included conducting ceremonies such as the "Running of the Field," part of the Heb-Sed celebration, at various locations; participating in local religious rites; constructing royal tombs and cenotaphs at different locations; and the eventual identification of local deities with aspects of the apparently Hierakonpolitan Horus cult. Upper Egyptian elites responsible for the unification of Egypt moved north to have an access to Lower Egyptian resources, including Western Asian trade routes (Seeher 1991). The creation of Memphis at the base of the Nile delta, allegedly by the founder of the First Dynasty, Narmer, is an example of a disembedded capital still shrouded in the mists of late prehistory (Jeffreys and Tavares 1994).

The creation of a new capital city, Akhetaten, or the "horizon of the Aten," modern El-Amarna, by the Eighteenth-Dynasty ruler, Amenophis IV, the "heretic king," Akhenaten (ca. 1379–62), was directly related to his efforts to achieve widespread religious reform. From the Twelfth Dynasty, the worship of Amun-Re, the merged air and sun gods respectively, had been dominant in Egypt, attaining status as a national cult. Throughout the New Kingdom the influence and wealth of the Theban Amun-Re priesthood had grown, posing a challenge to the authority of the king and even his status as sole arbiter between heaven and earth. Akhenaten's religious reforms combined the attributes of the Aten or disk of the daytime sun carried by the sky god, Horus, a royal symbol

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

since predynastic times, into the Re-Herakhte, a deity depicted as the solar disk atop Horus's head with rays terminating in human hands. The new god was construed as an active force like the king but one that became increasingly abstract and was ultimately depicted as a sun disk alone. The king was portrayed as the earthly offspring of the new god.

Though not monotheistic as once thought, the new system decisively subordinated the multiplicity of deities to the Aten. It also subverted existing religious institutions by holding that worship of the Aten could take place beneath the sun and held that temples were only needed to celebrate the king. The new cult thus combined existing elements into a completely new balance and refocused attention on the king as a divine being on earth. In intellectual terms, however, it stood at serious odds with Egyptian tradition, with its multiplicity of overlapping deities, attributes, and theologies (Aldred 1988:237–48; Kemp 1990:262–4). The religious reforms had striking political consequences. An all-out assault was launched on the cult of Amun-Re. The names of Amun-Re were eradicated at temples throughout Egypt and those of the Aten carved in their place. Some temples were taken over for Aten worship and others demolished.

Site Location, Economy and Layout. It appears that Akhenaten, as Amenophis IV, began the construction of the new capital city, Akhetaten, while he was still co-regent with his father, Amenophis III (Wente and Van Siclen 1976:230–1; Aldred 1988:169–82). Royal construction and art work also continued at Thebes (Gardiner 1961:217–8; Redford 1984:86–136). The co-regency lasted at least 2, and possibly 12 years. The total length of Akhenaten's reign was 17 years. The site of Akhetaten, complete with agricultural villages and craftsmen, was thus partially complete when Amenophis IV assumed the throne. He also continued to use the name Amenophis into his fifth regnal year signifying both theological and political hesitation.

The site chosen for the new capital, located on a desert plateau roughly halfway between Memphis and Thebes, afforded unlimited room for construction.[2] Although located in the fifteenth *nome*, it was not its capital, nor did it become one (Butzer 1976:66). The site was defined by a series of boundary stelae whose inscriptions state that the Aten had led Akhenaten to that location, a place unclaimed by any other deity (Murnane and Van Siclen 1993). Enclosed by the boundary stelae at El-Amarna, this area is approximately 16 by 13 kilometers and includes land on both sides of the Nile. El-Amarna is located in the largely undifferentiated environment of Middle Egypt. Characterized by the wide gorge of the Nile River and thick overbank deposits of sands, silts, and clays, this site is flanked by rocky hills. Its valley soils are generally young calcaric fluvisols (Millington 1993:5–6, 12). Rainfall is negligible, and its agriculture is totally dependent on irrigation. Before the Aswan High Dam was construct-

[2] The archaeological literature on El-Amarna is vast. For the site see Martin (1991), Kemp and Garfi (1993), and Kemp *et al.* (1984–1995). For the tombs, see Davies (1903–1908) and Martin (1974, 1989).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

ed, the Nile floods began in August, peaked in September, then retreated during January (Butzer 1976:15–18; Beaumont 1993). The Nile Valley supports a tremendous variety of plant and animal species (El Hadidi 1993; Abou-Ela 1993), and the major winter crops include wheat, barley, and pulses (Ruf 1993; Beshai 1993:269). Kemp estimates that 162 square kilometers on the east bank were cultivable during the New Kingdom (Kemp 1990:269; see also Kemp 1977). Individuals and institutions at the site were further supplemented by income from estates outside the limits of the boundary stelae. Given these factors and the system of villages within the boundaries of the city, El-Amarna was likely to have been largely self-supporting (O'Connor 1972; Hassan 1993; Kemp *et al.* 1994).

The layout of the new city was organized around a royal processional route which connected the northern and central areas of the city. This route was the central spatial and ritual feature of the city and, as Kemp notes, part of a "caricature of the public role of the charismatic leader" (1990:276). The layout of the city also created an earthly parallel between the daily activities of the king and the cosmic progression of the Aten (O'Connor 1989) (see Figure 1). State processions, public appearances, military reviews, and acts of worship were performed along this route, which was festooned with pictures of the leader and his family (Kemp 1990:276). The route connected the North Riverside Palace and the southern Great Palace, bisecting a series of residential neighborhoods. The North Riverside Palace, probably the main royal residence, was heavily fortified and surrounded by administrative structures and warehouses. Directly across the route from the Great Palace was another royal residence, probably the royal office, and a small temple to Aten. Nearby was the great Aten temple, a massive enclosure 229 meters by 730 meters, designed as the center of the Aten cult (Kemp 1990:276–85). Additional religious structures were found in other parts of the city. Other features of the city included elite residences, workmen's villages, large institutional magazines, granaries and bakeries, wells, and tombs. There were many workshops and residences of craftsmen producing pottery, stone vessels, sculpture, and other items. There was little military architecture within the city, but there were stables and police posts. The army patrolled the desert beyond the city, and military officers are strongly represented in the tombs (Kemp 1990:292).

Administration, Ideology, and Integration. While the religious and ideological character of Akhenaten's reforms should not be understated, in practical terms the creation of a disembedded capital at Tell El-Amarna had additional goals. The new capital cut off older political and religious elites from access to the royal bureaucracy. It would appear, however, that the scribes, officials, and officers who followed Akhenaten to the new capital were drawn from existing, perhaps junior, groups, since no independent source of literate and trained individuals existed in Egypt. This is despite statements in the tombs protesting that these officials were outsiders to existing groups of civil servants (Hari 1976; Redford 1984:149–53; Aldred 1988:172–3; *cf.* Gardiner 1961:223–4).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

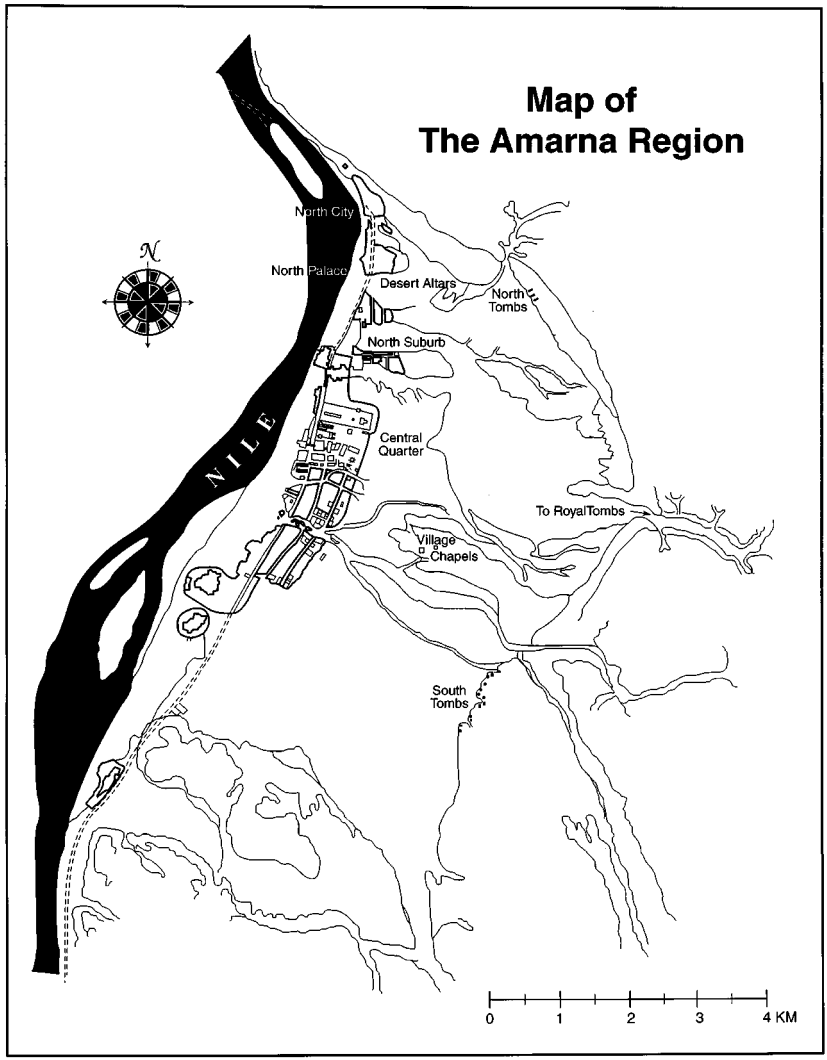


FIGURE 1. Plan of central El-Amarna (adapted from Aldred 1988: Figure 7).

Control over the production of royal art and the saturation of the visual environment with canonical art was a feature of Egyptian political ecology since the middle of the fourth millennium (Davis 1990). Another innovation associated with Akhenaten are distinctive art styles which focus on the form of the king (Aldred 1973; Müller 1988). The naturalistic depiction of the human form built on existing New Kingdom styles but quickly gave way to a non-canoni-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

cal, exaggerated, and occasionally grotesque representation. This has generated considerable speculation regarding the physical condition of Akhenaten (Aldred 1988:321–6). Great quantities of relief sculpture are known, in particular scenes formed of individual blocks or *talatat* found by the tens of thousands, primarily reused as rubble fill for later pylons (Redford 1984:63–85). Great numbers of carved and painted reliefs also decorated numerous tombs. The percentage of the population engaged in dependent craft production, however, is sharply debated by specialists (O'Connor 1993:581).

Collapse and Summary. The reign of Akhenaten and the Atenist heresy were a true religious, as well as political, revolution. While the king proceeded cautiously at first, remaining in Thebes, retaining existing titles, and permitting the pantheon to be worshipped, his later zealotry led to attacks on other power structures. Akhenaten's failure either to eradicate or placate religious elites was a profound miscalculation. Even if he had lived longer, it seems unlikely his movement would have succeeded, since it was at odds with millennia of Egyptian theology. Akhenaten died in his seventeenth regnal year. The city at El-Amarna continued to be occupied during the brief reign of Akhenaten's son and successor, Smenkhare, before being abandoned. Complete religious and artistic orthodoxy were restored within the nine-year reign of Akhenaten's younger son, Tutankhamen. Aten temples throughout Egypt and the unique artwork were ruthlessly eradicated (Krauss 1978; Redford 1984:204–11; Aldred 1988:291–302).

By maximizing the spatial and social distances at which his new capital was located from existing power bases, Akhenaten seriously underestimated the strength of entrenched elites and the difficulty in maintaining control over the far-flung nation-state and its empire. Had the new capital been created during a period of imperial expansion, when other elites could have been dispersed, weakened, or otherwise caught off balance and when there would have been a net increase in goods entering Egypt as booty and tribute, the chances of its success would have been greater.

Mesopotamia

Historical Background. The earliest ethnohistoric example of a disembedded capital is Sargon of Akkad and his founding of the city of Agade, ca. 2300 BCE. The site of Agade, yet to be identified archaeologically, was probably located in the area between Sippar and Kish, in a region of northern Babylonia characterized by the populous, competitive and highly productive Mesopotamian floodplain (Weiss 1975; Wall-Romana 1990; see generally Adams 1965; Nissen 1993). Sargon also created a separate national bureaucracy of administrators who supervised local city authorities and were backed up by the force of the professional Akkadian army. Fortresses were set up in far-flung regions under imperial control, such as North Syria, areas that may have been exploited for their agricultural products (Weiss and Courty 1993). Members of the governing elite and military also received large estates of land.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

In addition to administrative and bureaucratic initiatives, the Akkadian regime pioneered ideological approaches to legitimizing new power structures (Glassner 1983:9–37). The Sargon Legend, a part of canonical Mesopotamian literature, tells of his noble but illicit birth, exposure on the Euphrates in a reed basket, and being raised in humble surroundings until winning the attention of the goddess, Inanna (Lewis 1980). Sargon also appointed his daughter, En-hedu-anna, to a position as a high priestess to the goddess, Nanna, at the city of Nippur. Sargon's grandson, Naram-Sin, created a series of new royal titles, including "King of the Four Quarters," and employed the title "King of Kish," an honorific which tied the upstart Akkadian dynasty to an older tradition (Hallo 1957). Naram-Sin was also the first Mesopotamian king to declare himself divine.

The Akkadian period marked an important turning point in Mesopotamian socio-political organization. The military, bureaucratic, and ideological methods used to extend power beyond a single site or subregion were decisive, and built on trends which developed throughout the Early Dynastic period. The new capital at Agade, critical in this respect, stood fundamentally within the prevailing city-state tradition, although the connection between building new capitals and episodes of imperial expansion or reorganization became a key feature of Mesopotamian urban process. Thereafter, the Mesopotamian Great Tradition held Sargon as the quintessential ruler and hero. For the Great Tradition, the significance of the Akkadian empire lay in its being the first to realize partially the deeply held Mesopotamian cultural ideal of political unity (Yoffee 1988). The city of Agade itself, however, declined and eventually disappeared.

The movement and founding of new capital cities were important features of Assyrian and Babylonian statecraft during the second and first millennium BCE. These movements were tied to the changing boundaries of Babylonian and especially Assyrian empires and their complex administration and internal politics. The Middle Assyrian king, Tukulti-Ninurta I (ca. 1244–1208 BCE), was the first Assyrian ruler to ignore long-standing constraints and attack the city of Babylon, taking its king and cult statue of Marduk into captivity, destroying its walls, and assuming rule of Babylonia in his own name (Lambert 1976; Saggs 1984:51–55). His triumph was commemorated in a self-serving poem, the "Epic of Tukulti Ninurta" (Machinist 1976). Upon his return, perhaps out of fear of conservative elements, he founded on the eastern bank of the Tigris River only a few kilometers east of the ancient city of Assur a new capital called *Kar Tukulti Ninurta*, or Quay of Tukulti Ninurta. There, Tukulti-Ninurta I conducted extensive construction, rapidly building a fortified site with several palaces, a temple to Assur, and a ziggurat (Eickhoff 1985; Dittmann 1990). But his sacrilegious treatment of Babylon and its patron deity, Marduk, aroused the anger of the conservative elements in Assur who, led by the king's son, imprisoned Tukulti-Ninurta in his palace and killed him (Grayson 1972:134). Assyria then receded into weakness for the remainder of the second millennium.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The Neo-Assyrian period began during the tenth century with Assur-rabi II, whose dynasty was located at Assur. Imperial expansion began under his grandson, Adad-Nirari II, at the end of that century. The ninth-century king, Assur-nasirpal II (883–859 BCE), moved the capital sixty-five kilometers north from Assur to a previously small and unimportant site called Kalhu, now known as Nimrud (Hallo 1968; Postgate and Reade 1980). Assur stood on the west bank of the Tigris and was open to the steppe, whereas Kalhu, located in the Zab Triangle, was thus well-defended by the Tigris to the west and the Greater Zab River to the east. From this new capital the Assyrian army was securely positioned to advance on the powerful Aramean state at Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar) near Carchemish on the Euphrates in Syria. The Assyrians then subdued Syria, eastern Anatolia and ultimately the Levant. Subsequent kings would also move the capital in response to changing local and imperial conditions. The four principal Neo-Assyrian sites, Assur, Nineveh, and the disembedded capitals Kalhu/Nimrud, Nineveh, and Dur Sharrukin/Khorsabad, have been excavated by explorers and archaeologists since the 1840s (Lloyd 1980; Larsen 1996) (see Figure 2).[3]

Site Location, Economy and Layout. Kalhu was designed as a rough square more than two kilometers on a side. It was bounded on one side by the Tigris and on another by a large canal dug from the Greater Zab. It consists of a large citadel in the southwest corner of the site, an adjacent ziggurat, and a large walled enclosure containing an imperial arsenal in the southeast corner. The citadel contains a series of palaces, each organized around a pair of courtyards. The construction of Kalhu was a major undertaking, and construction of the new site was completed in 879 BCE. The Banquet Stele commemorates the construction and dedication of the new city and its constituent temples. It also enumerates the banquet for almost 70,000 persons which Assur-nasirpal II held to consecrate his new palace, 16,000 of whom were residents of the city (Grayson 1976:172–5). The total number of residents at the site has also been estimated at approximately 12,000 to 16,000 on the basis of the productive potential of the surrounding valley (Reade 1982a).

By the late eighth century, Assyria stood at the borders of Egypt. Sargon II came to power after an insurrection against his predecessor, and possibly brother, Shalmaneser V. During his short reign Sargon II moved the capital from Kalhu to another small site some 20 kilometers to the northeast. This heavily fortified city was called Dur-Sharrukin, or "Fortress Sargon," at modern Khorsabad (see Figure 3). The new site was laid out as a square more than 1.5 kilometers on a side. A palace platform, located atop the northwestern wall, was surrounded by an inner citadel containing administrative buildings and religious structures, including temples and a ziggurat. As at Nimrud, the imperial arsenal was located in the southern corner of the site. The main palace itself was designed around two major courtyards surrounded by apartments and state-

[3] For reports and summaries of excavations at these key sites, see Dittmann (1990), Layard (1853), Mallowan (1966), and Loud (1936) and Loud and Altman (1938).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

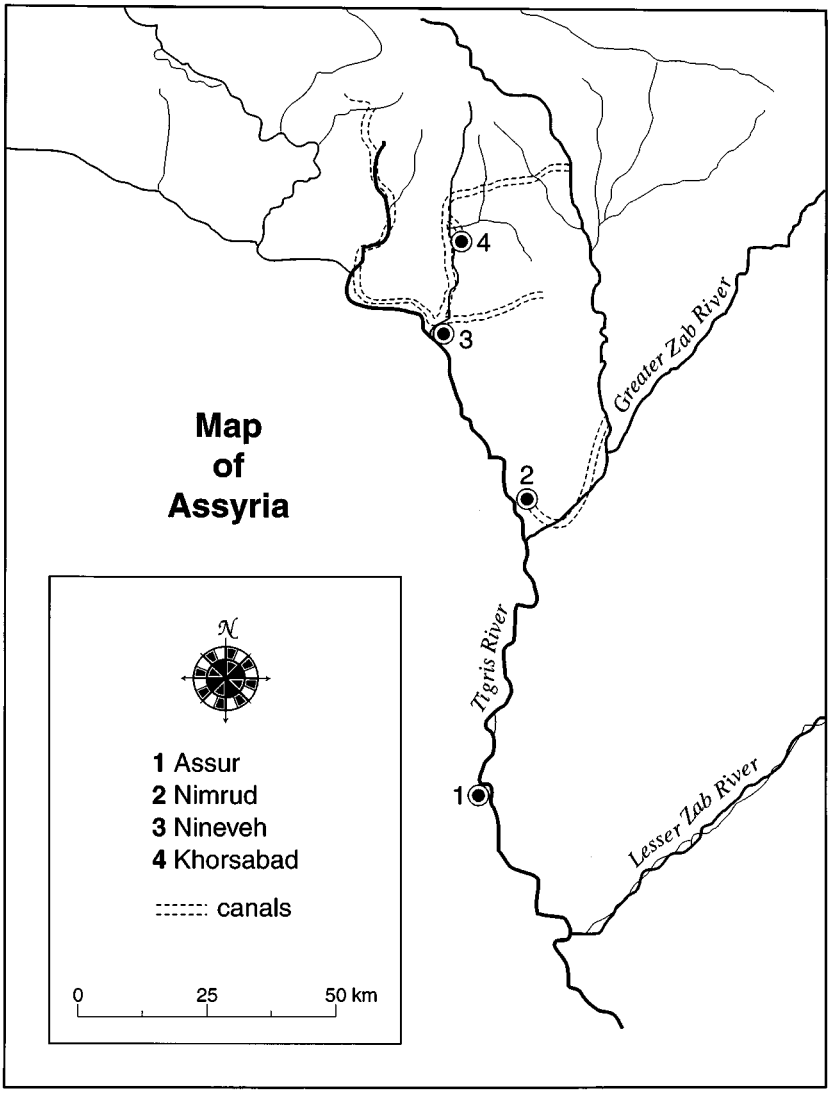


FIGURE 2. Map of Assyria showing locations of major Late Assyrian capitals.

rooms, plus three small temples. At least five minor palaces with similar features were found in the inner citadel. The main palace was lavishly decorated with stone reliefs and wall paintings (Albenda 1986).

Sargon II was killed on campaign in 705 BCE, and his successor, Sennacherib, moved the capital to the ancient city of Nineveh on the east bank of the Tigris,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

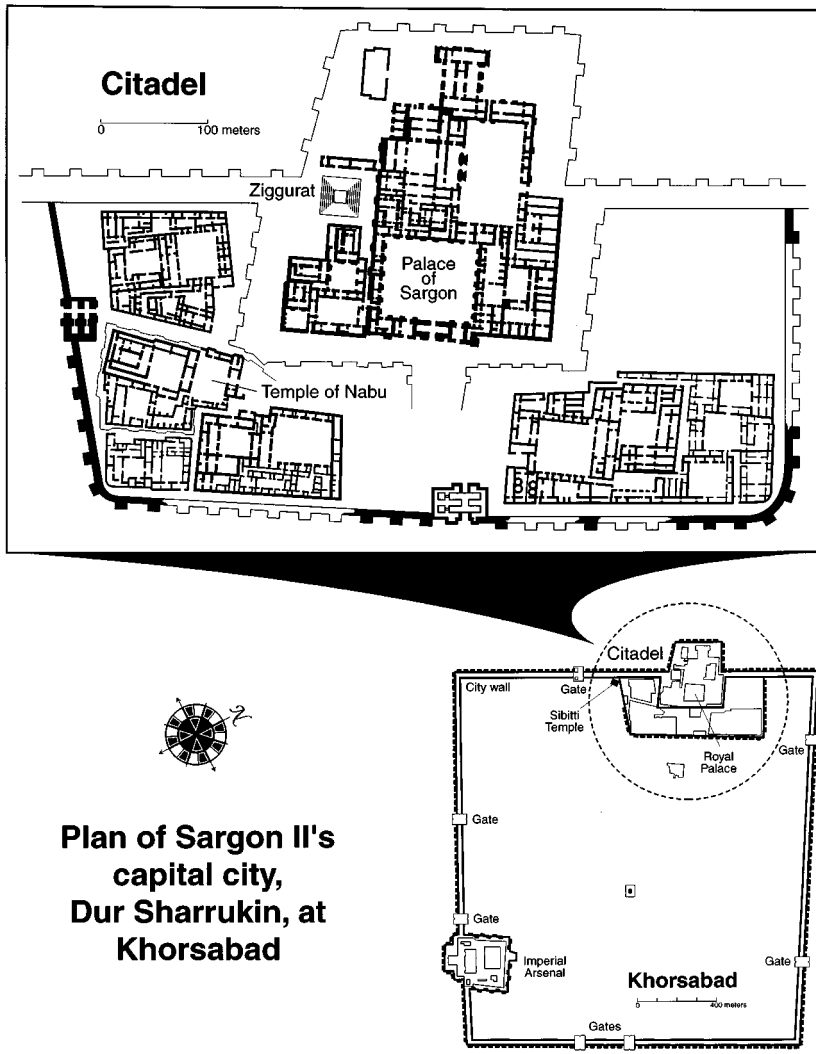


FIGURE 3. Plan of Khorsabad (adapted from Lloyd 1978: Figure 143).

half-way between Kalhu and Dur-Sharrukin, just outside the modern city of Mosul. Occupied by the remaining three kings of the Assyrian empire, Nineveh represented the epitome of Assyrian imperial power. The move to this ancient and venerable city may have been intended to salve Sennacherib's blasphemous destruction of the city of Babylon. Sennacherib's rebuilding of Nineveh created a city with fortifications more than twelve miles in circumference. Extensive efforts were made to secure the city's water supply, including the building of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

canals and aqueducts (Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935; Reade 1978). Excavations at Nineveh focused on the palace mound, *Küyünjik*, and the smaller arsenal mound, *Nebi Yunus.* Sennacherib's enormous palace employed a standard layout around two main courtyards and contained prodigious quantities of sculptured relief slabs and cuneiform tablets (Russell 1991). Much larger than its predecessors, the palace reflects the centralization of previously dispersed administrative functions. The excavation of the great northwest palace belonging to Sennacherib's grandson, Assur-banipal, revealed further quantities of sculpture and the royal library containing vast quantities of tablets collected and recopied from all over Mesopotamia. These archives form a basic collection of cuneiform documents (Parpola 1986).

All the Neo-Assyrian sites are located in similar environments situated on the edges or within rolling upland plains in areas with deep chromic vertisols which average 300 and 500 millimeters of rainfall per year. The rainy season in these steppes lasts about six months, and temperatures rarely dip below 0° C. Summers are hot and dry with temperatures in the upper 40s (Guest 1966:10, 12–21, Figure 6, 8; Zohary 1973:14–15; UNESCO 1977:52, 67). The relatively long cool and wet winters permit extensive dry-farming and pasturage. This moist steppe zone is characterized by grasslands and a degraded scrub of wormwood (*Artemesia*) but in antiquity may have been more savannah-like, with small trees and shrubs of pistachio and fig. Immediately to the north are forested uplands dominated by oaks (Guest 1966:82–87, 104–6; Zohary 1973:185–92, 473–81). The rolling upland plains are the center for wheat and barley dry-farming in Iraq (Weiss 1986).

Wilkinson's recent discussion of the structure of third-millennium dry-farming systems in northern Mesopotamia stresses their vulnerability to climatic fluctuation (1994). Neo-Assyrian cities were situated in a highly productive environment, but their large populations of tens of thousands would have made it more vulnerable even without rural production. While the construction and operation of the Neo-Assyrian capitals may have entailed the adjustment of rural communities and production patterns, including an increased burden on local resources, they were not implanted into an empty landscape. The rural landscape of central Assyria is not well-understood archaeologically, and no collations of regional settlement patterns have been done (see Wilkinson 1995). There are, however, numerous small sites known from reconnaissances conducted in conjunction with excavations (Tucker 1994:109), surveys in adjacent regions such as the north Jazira (Wilkinson 1990:60, Figure 7) and eastern Syria (Bernbeck 1994:97–145, Abb. 11–16), and documentary evidence (Parpola 1970; Fales 1990).

Administration, Ideology, and Integration. The most striking role for craft specialists within the new Assyrian cities was the production of relief sculpture for the new palaces and the representation of royal power. The reliefs were narrative art depicting the activities of the king in great detail, including cere-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

monies at the court, hunting scenes, and above all, the king with his army on campaign. It extensively documents the violence of the army, showing the capture of cities, the torture and execution of prisoners, and other cruelties. These scenes were designed to impart a message to viewers, such as visiting dignitaries, about the overwhelming power of the king (Reade 1979; Winter 1981; Marcus 1995). Another craft product, carved ivories, which embellished furniture and architecture. Numerous plaques and inlays, produced by both Assyrian and foreign craftsmen, were found throughout the palaces and arsenals (Barnett 1975; Winter 1976; Herrmann 1986). An ironic example of Assyria's contradictory attitudes towards Babylonia is Sennacherib's construction of a Babylonian-style garden environment outside of Nineveh (Brinkman 1995:29). Assyrian disembedded capitals had to minimize social distance not only to local traditions but to pan-Mesopotamian concepts as well.

For all their power Assyrian kings were profoundly concerned about factional politics in Assur. Since many kings rose to power through usurpation, it was necessary to represent their legitimacy and piety. A letter from Sargon II to the god Assur, possibly intended for public reading to the city and its priesthood, represents these concerns (Oppenheim 1960; Fales 1991). It details a campaign against the Urartians in a highly poetic and structured fashion, detailing successes, setbacks, omens, divine intervention and ultimate triumph. The letter departs from the usual tedious recitation of the king's victories and booty found in royal inscriptions by exhibiting respect and concern for Urartian coronation procedures and the Urartian cult image. These features may represent a subtle hint of Sargon's desire to be coronated properly. It also indicates that the extensive booty taken by Sargon II was distributed in Assur.

Another text, the "Assur Charter," is also structured as a letter to the god Assur. It recounts the greatness of Assur and his city and complains of the hardships imposed on the city by Sargon's predecessor, Shalmaneser, including corvée, forced labor, and taxes. The letter states that the god's anger at these injustices was such that Sargon II was promoted to kingship in order to free the city. This implicitly acknowledged that Sargon was a usurper and implies he came to power with aid from the Assur priesthood. The text ends with a narrative of how Sargon II freed the city of Assur from tax duties and other hardships imposed upon it in violation of ancient exemptions and how a copy of the text was then included in a building deposit (Saggs 1975). These texts show clearly that traditional elites, priesthoods, and community prerogatives had to be addressed or appeased despite the disruption of local patterns of administration and political economy that came with building a disembedded capital.

Collapse and Summary. Assyrian disembedded capitals served several functions. They actively separated the new king and his circle from existing bureaucracies. The lengthy construction period and massive labor and material requirements quickly forced and fixed new patterns of allegiance and reward. The production of royal art advertised the power of the king to both producers and

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

consumers. Building new capitals was also part of a larger series of policies which gradually transformed the Assyrian landscape and demographic structure. The mass deportations of hundreds of thousands of individuals from all over the empire provided a source of labor and brought many ethnic groups into contact. Deportees were used to build and populate Assyrian cities as craftsmen, army conscripts, and workers on agricultural estates. Special obligations were imposed on deportees, but otherwise they appeared to live the same as free persons, engaging in a normal range of social and economic activities, including land owning. As demands on the empire rose towards the end of the period, however, more deportees became state dependents or reduced to a slave-like status by being handed over to temples and private individuals (Oded 1979). The deportees were primarily speakers of Aramaic rather than Assyrian. Grants of estates rewarding military leaders and bureaucrats became hereditary, further undermining traditional landholding and demographic patterns; and tax exemptions multiplied. The sheer number of non-Assyrians undermined the ability of Assyrian society to resist threats to the heartland and to reconstitute itself after collapse. All these factors contributed to a pervasive systemic and cultural collapse when Assyria was defeated by Medes and Babylonians in 612–605 BCE (Postgate 1974a, 1974b; Yoffee 1988:56–58).

In the end, disembedded capitals were successful adaptations to highly fluid internal and external conditions which helped sustain Assyrian hegemony, although not dynastic succession, for several centuries. But despite their success, a product in part of the minimal spatial and social distances that they generated, long-term demographic shifts associated with imperial policy and disembedded capitals helped propel Assyria into instability and irreversible collapse.

Baghdad and Samarra

Historical Background. The advent of Islam in Iraq provides examples of disembedded capitals characterized by intense factional competition and geopolitical considerations, namely the problem of succession to political office and the rivalry between Arabs and Persians. The founding of Baghdad by the ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Mansur in 762 CE, and Samarra by al-Muʿtasim in 835 CE were efforts to consolidate the Caliphate's power. Conscious of problems which had undermined the Umayyads, early ʿAbbasids quickly began to dismantle the caste superiority of the Arabs and the military theology of Islam. These had expanded the Caliphate as far as Spain but had also contributed to local resentment and rebellion among non-Arabs and to conflict among pious elements, especially those favoring the succession of the descendants of ʿAli (Donner 1981; Sharon 1983). Umayyad caliphs had founded a number of garrisons and cities in Iraq, such as al-Nil and Wasit, but were ultimately unable to stem the rebellion led by al-Muslim in Khurasan (Lapidus 1981). New strategies employed by the ʿAbbasids included broadly based recruitment into the military and bureaucracy, which brought in elements from many different elites within the empire.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Site Location, Economy and Layout. Prior to the Islamic conquest of Iraq, Baghdad was the site of a monthly market close to the former Sassanian capital, Ctesiphon (Morony 1984:146). In establishing a new capital at Baghdad, al-Mansur sought to transfer the center of the empire eastwards, a reflection of Persia's influence. The new capital was partitioned into the administrative center, army camp and royal complex, the circular *Madinat al-Salam* or City of Peace, and markets. Large populations of workers and traders were brought to Baghdad from around the empire to build the "Round City," but it quickly attracted tremendous numbers of people, becoming for a time the most populous city in the Near East (Le Strange 1900; Adams 1965:86–90). Lapidus notes that "government, economy, and cultural style of these cities, perhaps for the first time in the history of the Middle East, were dominated by imperial or world forces rather than regional influences with an imperial overlay" (Lapidus 1981:181). Lapidus and Adams also point out, however, that the growth of Baghdad and other major urban sites came at the expense of older settlements which were drained of population. Unmayyad and ʿAbbasid urban and agricultural development policies in Iraq were geared both towards securing food supplies for new populations and towards generating tax revenues by the Caliphs and their governors through the development of private estates. But the ʿAbbasids were much less active than the Umayyads in developing new lands than in projects associated with their own palaces and capitals (Lapidus 1981:181–91).

Baghdad was the ʿAbbasid capital for seventy-five years and the reign of six Caliphs. The successful development of Baghdad as a commercial and cultural center were important factors which undermined its effectiveness as a disembedded capital, or at least its comfort factor, for the Caliphate. Persian cultural influence grew considerably at the court during the reign of al-Mansur's son, al-Mahdi. While brief reconciliations were attempted with Shiʿis, the massacre of the ʿAlid, prices by al-Mahdi's son al-Hadi, and his subsequent poisoning by a wife of al-Mahdi destabilized the situation further for his brother Harun, called al-Rashid.[4]

The constant threats of inter-tribal warfare in Syria and Byzantine incursions on the northern frontier were among the factors that prompted al-Rashid to relocate temporarily his capital to Raqqa, a city founded by al-Mansur, in Syria. Equally pressing, however, were the threat of revolt in Persian provinces and the influence of his Persian advisors, the Barmecides. After al-Rashid's death while on campaign, his two sons, al-Amin and al-Maʾmun, openly warred over the issue of succession. After a year-long siege of Baghdad, al-Maʾmun triumphed, but his conciliatory efforts towards the ʿAlids precipitated conflict with his uncle, Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi, in which al-Maʾmun was again successful.

[4] For general accounts of ʾAbbasid history, see Shaban (1970), Lassner (1980), and the volumes of Tabari's *Taʿrikh al-rusul wa-al-muluk* recently published in the State University of New York series in Near Eastern Studies.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

It was during the course of these later conflicts that al-Maʾmun returned to Baghdad with his court. After al-Maʾmun died, his brother, al-Muʿtasim, continued to seek reconciliation with the Shiʿis at the same time he professed the doctrine of Muʿtazilism, which was designed to protect Islam from foreign influences, restricted the role of religious teachers, and solve problems of political office. These actions were highly unpopular, especially in Baghdad (Sourdel 1970:110–24).

The conflict with Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi had been fought in southern Iraq, and the siege of Baghdad had proved the need for a military force entirely loyal to the person of the Caliph. This was realized in the regin of al-Muʿtasim, when Turkish slave mercenaries were introduced. According to Arab chroniclers, these mercenaries were the direct reason why al-Muʿtasim chose to leave Baghdad and establish his own capital at Samarra. Street battles between the Turks and older troops such as Arabs and Persians broke out and threatened the civilian population (Ismail 1968:4–5). Violent opposition to the Muʿtazilite policy by elements within the city was also a factor. Baghdad was as anxious to be rid of al-Muʿtasim as he was to leave. He was not a patron of culture, his policies did little to stimulate trade, and his bodyguards were a menace. All these increased his dependence on the military and sent him looking for alternative sites. At least five sites were briefly developed on the Tigris north of Baghdad before Samarra was chosen (Ismail 1968:5–6).

Samarra was modeled on Baghdad, and workers were again brought from all over the empire for its construction. Initially, the site consisted of a royal residence, residences for family and dignitaries, barracks for the army, the great mosque, and ministries of the central administration. Each of the six successive caliphs constructed an enormous palace and surrounding quarter for himself. The city's population at its height has been estimated at 1,000,000.[5] Even at Samarra, however, the power of Turkic bodyguards grew, despite their separation from the civilian population and from other military groups and restrictions on taking wives outside their own ethnic community (Ismail 1968:9).

Collapse and Summary. With the ascent of al-Mutawakkil in 847 CE, the Caliphate began a decline. More power was delegated to and assumed by bureaucrats and generals. Muʿtazilism was abandoned, and the violent repression of Shiʿis began. Al-Mutawakkil expanded Samarra tremendously, building among other things an enormous mosque and minaret with a spiral ramp. Turkish influence grew at the court, culminating in the assassination of al-Mutawakkil by Turkish officers who favored one of his sons. Four subsequent successors were also assassinated by Turkish guards, while Turkish *amirs* held the real power. As southern Iraq fell into anarchy and rebellion, Baghdad was again besieged. Finally in 892 CE, yet another son of al-Mutawakkil, al-Muʿtamid, returned the court to Baghdad, ending Samarra's brief reign as capital after only 58 years.

[5] For the archaeology of Samarra, see Herzfeld 1948; Adams 1965:90; Northedge *et al.*, 1990.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Baghdad succeeded where Samarra failed, partly as the result of different political circumstances of its founding. Baghdad emerged as part of a series of reforms designed to broaden the power base of the Caliphate, while Samarra came into existence from the constriction of the power base around the Caliph's bodyguards. The development of economic and cultural institutions within Baghdad, albeit at the expense of other settlements, provided a more secure basis for the city's continued existence. Relative proximity also contributed to Samarra's failure. While it was possible for al-Muʿtasim and his successors to force creation of an enormous and populous city, the proximity and success of Baghdad constantly undermined the economic centrality and cultural legitimacy of Samarra. In the final analysis only Baghdad attained the legitimacy, independence, and viability desired by the Caliphs and subsequent rulers.

CONCLUSIONS

The Conditions of 'Disembedding'

This review has shown that the concept of the disembedded capital has significant utility in explaining the patterns that emerge from the social evolution of early urban societies. Additional examples of these disembedded structures may be cited which reinforce the general parameters of administrative and ideological reorganization, factional competition, and imperial involvement outlined above.[6] Societies desiring to employ disembedded capitals require a series

[6] In the second millennium BCE, the Old Asyrrian usurper Shamshi-Adad I (ca. 1813–1781) founded a new capital, Shubat-Enlil, probably modern Tell Leilan, a large and wealthy city similar in layout and architecture to contempoary Assyrian and Babylonian sites but located in the Habur plains some 250 kilometers from Assur (Weiss 1985).

In Babylonia a tribal group from the Zagros mountains, the Kassites, assumed power after the collapse of the Hammurabi dynasty (ca. 1600 BCE) (Brinkman 1976, 1980). Though their language, "tribal" organization, and "ethnic" origins were non-Mesopotamian, Kassites enthusiastically embraced Mesopotamian culture and tradition. This included using Akkadian and Sumerian languages for inscriptions, to the virtual exclusion of their original language, rebuilding abandoned southern Mesopotamian sites, and patronizing local cults. They participated as equals within the Western Asian geo-political structure, including exchanging ambassadors, gifts, and overseeing caravans (Liverani 1990; Moran 1992).

In the fourteenth century the Kassite king Kurigalzu I constructed a new capital on the alluvial plain north of Baghdad, *Dur-Kurigalzu*, Fortress Kurigalzu, the site of modern ʾAqar Quf. The site is notable for its strategic and defensive location, the point where the Tigris and Euphrates come closest together. Its massive palaces and ziggurat are among the best preserved in Babylonia (Lloyd 1978:172–4; Oates 1986:96–103). The plans of the palaces derive from Mesopotamian conventions. Though spatially distant from the urban core, Dur-Kurigalzu had deep roots in Babylonian and Assyrian traditions and styles. Kassite social distance from cultural traditions and political environments was virtually nil, and their success lay in becoming "more Mesopotamian" than Babylonians or Assyrians. They ruled Mesopotamia longer than any other group or dynasty, demonstrating the utility of hyper-traditional cultural practices and quasi-feudal political economy.

The founding of Jerusalem (ca. 1000 BCE) as the capital of the United Monarchy of Israel is a classic example of a disembedded capital, albeit primarily known from Biblical literature rather than archaeology. In the Biblical account David was anointed king in Hebron, where he reigned for seven and a half years (2 Samuel 5:3–5). Since Hebron was in the traditional territory of the tribe

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of conditions to break away from, in particular, developed elite or bureaucratic institutions closely tied to geographic or territorial units. City-states are such units; others are territories which have an integrated administrative or cultural character. Different evolutionary trajectories produce different sets of urban conditions. The initial state formation in Mesopotamia primarily entailed the development of independent city-states, whereas the unification and emergence of the state in Egypt was accomplished using predynastic territorial units, the nomes. Later episodes of state formation or imperial expansion built on these familiar units. Disembedded capitals were either the creations of a new elite, often usurpers from within or without, or alternatively, an existing elite needing to break or remake existing power structures and bureaucracies. Typically, these new elites were led by strong and charismatic rulers.

The urban tradition of a region played an important role in structuring sociopolitical and economic alternatives such as disembedded capitals. In Babylonia numerous cities co-existed as relative equals from the mid-fourth millennium BCE. While some, like Kish, Nippur, and Babylon had distinctive cultural or religious associations, the distribution of resources, population, and political power was relatively even. Power within cities was also distributed among structurally similar institutions, the Great Estates of temples, corporate land-

of Judah, David needed a centrally located site outside the web of tribal power. Jerusalem was the perfect solution. David seized Jerusalem from the Jebusites in a quick attack (2 Samuel 5:6–7). The name City of David was given to the citadel and the city became a royal estate.

Royal construction projects began under David, but the most famous buildings, the royal temple and royal palace, were completed under Solomon with help from King Hiram of Tyre (I Kings 5–7). The tripartite arrangement of the temple followed a common Levantine and Syrian plan (Fritz 1995:122–5). The administrative, religious, and royal establishments were all located on the acropolis, centralizing command functions within the city and attaching them to the Davidic dynasty. Jerusalem remained capital of the Davidic dynasty after the breakup of the United Monarchy (ca. 920 BCE). During the Divided Monarchy, the king of Judah utilized the capital city and temple until they were destroyed by Babylonians in 586 BCE.

The United Monarchy of David and Solomon split shortly after the latter's death into the Divided Monarchy of Israel and Judah. The Israelite capital moved first to Tirzah, modern Tell el-Farʿah North, above a drainage leading into the Jordan Valley. The usurper Omri then purchased the hill of Samaria (I Kings 16:24) and constructed the city of the same name, which remained the capital of Israel until capture by Assyria in 722 BCE and the deportation of its population. The palace followed the north Syrian *bit hilani* plan and employed dressed masonry styles common in the eastern Mediterranean (Fritz 1995:128–35). Carved ivories at Samaria have strong Egyptian, North Syrian, and Phoenician influences and parallels at Nimrud (Crowfoot and Crowfoot 1938; Winter 1976). The non-local architecture and masonry and extensive use of ivory, styles common to Western Asian elites, demonstrates that emulation by a small polity of larger societies was standard and that craft production was employed to extend royal authority. The success of both Jerusalem and Samaria as disembedded capitals lay in close association of regimes with cult and the usual apparatus of ideological, architectural, and iconographic elaboration.

Still later examples of disembedded capitals include the building of Constantinople by Constantine during the fourth century CE, the founding of Qataʾi, near Fustât, as capital of Egypt ca. 877 CE by Ibn Tulun, the financial administrator to Caliph al-Muʿtazz and lieutenant to the nominal governor of Egypt, as well as Atatürk's shift of the Turkish Republic's capital to Ankara in 1923. Four modern examples are the creation of Washington, D.C., Ottawa, Brasilia, and Canberra as capitals of nation-states. Each is built at some distance from existing centers of power and is the product of a long and complex negotiation between regional and other factions.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

holding units, and eventually a royal sector. In contrast, Assyrian urbanism, religion and social tradition were focused on the site of Assur, with other cities and towns nominally if not practically subordinate. Assyrian social structure was similarly stratified, comprising a landed nobility which initially provided the bulk of military service, a strong religious establishment, and the remaining citizenry.

Disembedded capitals in Babylonia, such as Agade and *Dur-Kurigalzu*, appeared in a highly multipolar city-state environment, while in Assyria, disembedded capitals continually circled the dominant national pole of Assur. In contrast, the construction of El-Amarna at great remove from the existing political and religious centers of Egypt indicates the goal of supplanting those centers entirely. Spatial and social boundaries, essentially geographic and ecological constraints and traditions of authority and autonomy, shaped the dynamics of elite development and factional formation leading to the establishment of disembedded capitals. Ideological zealotry such as Akhenaten's, however, was not constrained by those dynamics and in fact reacted strongly against them. Despite these contrasts in initial conditions and motivations, there are strong commonalities in the evolution of disembedded capitals. Disembedded capitals concentrated power in new bureaucratic, military or ethnic elites in new physical loci, detached from existing elites, institutions, and patterns of authority. Sufficient spatial distance was required to disrupt existing patterns of sociopolitical organization but not so much as to make the new capital inaccessible.

Precise criteria for site selection are difficult to reconstruct and varied from case to case. Existing physical infrastructure and access to transportation networks may have been considerations, particularly in Assyria. In some cases sites were founded completely de novo, and in others minor settlements were taken over and rebuilt. Defensibility played an important but not necessarily dominant role for most disembedded capitals. Access to administered regions, originally suggested for Monte Alban, were certainly factors in Assyria. Access to earlier capitals and existing elites were also considerations in Assyria and in Babylonia but of less concern at El-Amarna. Finally, the role of ethnic variability in encouraging or constraining construction of new capitals is unclear in early Western Asian examples, except Samarra. The key variables for establishing disembedded capitals were existing local matrices of sociopolitical power and larger national or imperial geopolitical goals.

Administration and Legitimation

Disembedded capitals posed severe managerial as well as political problems, requiring well-functioning bureaucracies which also had to be rewarded. New elites and bureaucracies developed a marked dependence on the favor and beneficence of the individual ruler. Estates, labor, shares of booty, and favorable access to important symbolism were among the ways in which allegiance was cemented. This could be very successful, as the Kassites proved; but as the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Assyrian examples show, lopsided and excessive redistribution of resources undermined fundamental social, organizational, and even demographic patterns shaping society. Conversely, the ruler also became dependent on his newly situated bureaucrats and military. An extreme example of this is al-Muʿtasim, who was held a virtual prisoner in his new capital by the royal bodyguards. Royal vulnerability was increased from all sides by disembedded capitals.

The economic rationale of disembedded capitals has formed an important part of debate over their viability, beginning with the location of Monte Alban. Though they were part of developed state systems with complex economic interlinkages, the disembedded capitals examples discussed all appear to have had adequate local resources and rural hinterlands to be agriculturally self-sufficient. The economic basis of the new capitals were also functions of their place within a larger political system. Since all the capitals emerged in developed national and imperial contexts, large-scale labor mobilization was possible. As the Assyrians showed, surplus labor could be simply brought where needed when sufficient force was applied, although Baghdad under the ʿAbbasids also attracted numerous merchants and traders.

New capitals were also centers for craft production, since elites sought to bring under their control the production of the ideologically and symbolically charged architecture, art, and small objects (Peregrine 1991; Helms 1993). It is unclear whether most disembedded capitals were also the type of production center for non-symbolic commodities that Baghdad quickly became. Spatial distance helped determine the degree to which craft products, both mobile and immobile, could be distributed and utilized for ideological purposes. Assyrian capitals were well-positioned in this respect, but El-Amarna was not. The creation of palatial complexes, another common feature, provided powerful visible symbols of the new elites. Economically, as well as politically, disembedded capitals were located within larger existing networks of production and trade. The success of Baghdad, however, suggests there is also a threshold beyond which disembedded capitals become economically viable, regardless of their political status.

Frequent use of disembedded capitals in Western Asia indicates that it was among a range of well-understood administrative and urban options for elites and was employed in concert with other administrative and ideological devices. The presence of administrative archives shows that internal recordkeeping and diplomatic correspondence flowed in and out of new capitals, as of old. The presence of royal archives in Assyrian palaces, in which vast numbers of religious, political, historical and literary documents were collected, recopied, and collated shows the efforts made to centralize and control a fundamental aspect of literacy, the Great Tradition. This created another locus for the literary reproduction outside the traditional source in the temples. In ancient Israel, however, the close association of the court and temple in Jerusalem led to the production of a theological viewpoint in which the Davidic dynasty was central.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The presence of religious institutions within all new capitals, often appended to palaces, shows that the pursuit of divine favor, propitiation of religious elites, and the physical and social identification of the ruling elite with religious institutions and piety, were critical to legitimation regardless of the degree of actual independence of the religious establishments. But the ideological dependence between political and religious elites increased vulnerability on both sides. Assyrian temples, for example, were no longer economically self-sufficient but depended on royal gifts to support larger infrastructures than could be maintained through community contributions (van Driel 1969; Postgate 1974b:213–6). In turn, Assyrian kings required the appearance of divine sanction before war could be made (Liverani 1979; Oded 1992). The presence or proximity of military garrisons and arsenals also shows that disembedded capitals needed to be secured and that the ideological process of "manufacturing consent" was backed up by a force of arms.

A variety of texts reflect the factional competition behind decisions to create disembedded capitals. The texts discussed thus far are generally historical in nature and intended for posterity and public consumption rather than more objective records intended for internal use only from behind the scenes. A complex rhetoric of negotiation, justification, and assertion was employed to demonstrate divine approval of new systems of rule, of which the capital was part, and to gain the support of earthly factions. In the Mesopotamian tradition kings expressed their piety, as well as their recognition of the internal balance of power, by ritually rebuilding temples and other public works. Release from taxation, rebuilding of cities, and distribution of booty and tribute are also routinely mentioned in royal inscriptions. The Sargon letter and Assur Charter are excellent examples of the methods rulers used to deal with existing elites and their expectations, even from the distance of a disembedded capital.

Various documents from within the palace also show how local expectations were addressed. Administrative texts from Nineveh palaces detail extensive daily offerings made to temples there and in Assur (Fales and Postgate 1992:166–203). Daily correspondence also shows the deluge of demands and expectations placed on the ruler, including requests for clarification of work and tribute orders; reports on distribution of gifts and tribute, workers, and construction projects; petitions for exemptions and relief; and reports on political events and conditions (for example, Parpola 1987). Such texts show the dense fabric of imperial administration, into which the disembedded capital was situated and had to function. But the Kassite success shows that strategies balancing autonomy and central control, plus those satisfying religious and cultural expectations, could be achieved even by ethnic outsiders.

Our understanding of Egypt is limited by a dearth of documentation from non-royal sources and by the lack of opposing voices in available sources. It appears, however, that Akhenaten adopted a radically different strategy than his Mesopotamian counterparts by depriving the religious elites of their established

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

theological and economic prerogatives. These Egyptian elites included not only those devoted to the plethora of gods but also numerous royal mortuary cults constituted at the demise of each god-king. The temples were major economic institutions which could own agricultural lands hundreds of kilometers away, as well as workshops, mineral resources, and other manner of wealth, and in some places could command up to 30 percent of all agricultural surpluses (Janssen 1979; Kemp 1990:183–97). Akhenaten began to overturn ancient economic, as well as social, expectations, apparently without attempting to mollify or negotiate with the temples. His failure to engage them contributed to the post-mortem eradication of his heresy and the end of his capital. The social distance of disembedded capitals and royal policies generated by ideological constructs had to be adequate for a regime to distinguish itself from tradition and competitors but not so great that established interests were completely alienated. In all cases elites balanced factional needs to knit together a new arrangement which was socially and economically functional and had the appearance of ideological legitimacy. But the Assyrian and El-Amarna examples again contrast with respect to the social distance generated intentionally by the disembedded capital and attendant innovations.

The amount of factional competition in ancient cities and states tends to be underestimated by archaeologists interpreting material remains. Competition over intangibles such as administrative prerogatives, symbolism, and sumptuary privileges, was as acute as it was for physical resources, such as property, facilities, and personnel. A multifaceted concept of power with social, economic, political, and religious aspects is useful to outline the many avenues of factional competition (Mann 1986). As shown above, a disembedded capital provided an opportunity to subvert competitors in a number of ways, including direct support of military and religious factions, appeals to religious legitimacy, production of art and crafts, controls over bureaucracy and literacy, and public works. But in a competitive environment of cities, states or dynasties these advantages were unstable and transitory since they could be undermined or even duplicated by other factions elsewhere. And once in power, the new elites could be hostage to the demands of the bureaucracy and military. Structurally, disembedded capitals were an option which embodied complex sets of mechanisms, all with inherent limitations and weaknesses, not least of which the property of reproducing quickly the embeddedness which these new elites had sought to escape.

The Archaeology of "Disembedded Capitals"

The problem of identifying disembedded capitals, or any administrative concept, in terms of archaeology through a survey of multicomponent (as well as multifunction and multiethnic) sites remains problematic even in Western Asia. Each of the sites (with the exception of Agade) reviewed meets several archaeological criteria for identifying a disembedded capital proposed at the out-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

set of this discussion. But each also has the advantage of being identified in documentary sources as a disembedded capital. The archaeological difficulties in locating Agade are thus instructive. Collecting and analyzing surface sherds for stylistic or production variability as an indication of ethnic diversity are both practically and theoretically difficult (Kramer 1983). Sampling through excavation is also unlikely to provide overt indications of a large site's political raison d'être, since few cases are sufficiently excavated to allow the recovery of a meaningful sample of a site and its architecture. Even when significant areas have been recovered in recent years by the survey of standing architecture or the scraping of the surface of mudbrick remains, it has still been difficult to determine the details of site organization, except by analogy with contemporary examples (e.g., Reade 1982b; Mariani 1989; Postgate 1994).

What may hold more promise are those analyses of excavated assemblages and material flows which suggest the influx of tribute, specialized commodities, non-local populations, the location of production and storage activities, and foodways. These patterns have begun to be explored in Mesopotamian and Mesoamerican contexts (see Wright 1981; Hendrickson 1981, 1982; Hirth 1984; Mariani 1984; Pollock 1990; Cowgill 1992:213–4; Schwartz 1994; Stone and Zimansky 1994). But these studies have only begun to address the basic patterns of urban structure and function, and difficulties remain with the sampling, interpretative biases, and equifinality (Joffe 1996). Until archaeological data are sufficiently extensive and detailed to stand on their own, a dialectic between archaeology and texts will remain critical for identifying and understanding the contrasts in the varieties of urbanism and administration and for determining future research strategies.

In the future it will be profitable to examine in greater detail the administrative, ideological, spatial, and energetic characteristics of new capitals to determine exactly how they fit into existing matrices of power. The examples of El-Amarna and the Assyrian capitals provide useful contrasts in this respect: The former are situated at much greater spatial and social distance, and the latter are deeply embedded in existing patterns. Attention should also be paid to the life cycle of disembedded capitals. In the ancient world few seem to have served more than a few generations of rulers. As such they were continually being "re-embedded" into existing patterns and rebuilt. High levels of activity were crucial to survival, since without a growth dynamic the status and role of the disembedded capital declined within the society at large, either to level of a normal city, or towards abandonment. There were no what we would call mature disembedded capitals. Disembedded capitals were always extending themselves, or they ran the risk of truly becoming disembedded. The archaeological and historical records of developed Asian states, both Western and Eastern, are especially well-suited for additional detailed studies.[7]

[7] The topic of urbanism in East Asia is too great to discuss here. See, however, Wheatley and See (1978) for an important contribution with a bearing on the question of disembedded capitals.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Social Evolution and Disembedded Capitals

Although they were institutional alternatives which presented significant advantages, disembedded capitals also created a number of problems, not all of which were necessarily perceived by their builders. Because the legitimacy and efficacy of a capital were so closely tied to a particular individual or dynasty, successors often found it necessary to break away and recreate new capitals. With such an urban pattern in full play, disembedded capitals were often extremely short-lived and highly unstable, not to mention expensive to build and operate. All integrative devices have a lifespan, and disembedded capitals had especially short ones. The Assyrians attempted to resolve this under Sennacherib by placing the capital in an ancient and venerable city, Nineveh. The early ʿAbbasids inadvertently solved the problem by creating local and imperial conditions for Baghdad to flourish as a commercial and cultural center, but undermined in the process Samarra's potential. Only a developed urban society could shoulder the various costs involved, but the option created conditions which necessitated more expansive or extractive policies which often undermined other processes. Assyrian imperialism was propelled in part by the continually increasing needs of the urban core for booty, labor and tribute. Once ʿAbbasid reforms were initiated, the dynasty spent the remainder of its tenure fighting rebellions and itself. Dynastic relocation was the lesser price; siege and destruction, the greater. It might be said, as it is in our own time, that the needs of cities frequently run counter to those who comprised the society in them.

In most cases it appears that disembedded capitals were short-term solutions and long-term burdens. Their instability and degrees of spatial and social artificiality are reflected in their ultimate fate, which minimally and almost invariably included the loss of status as capital and, at the extreme, complete abandonment. Surviving the regime entailed a degree of embeddedness. Unlike individuals, cities cannot survive by going underground or heading to the hills. A few words should thus be said about the term disembedded capital. Such capitals provided an important institutional alternative for developed states, but there is no example that any capital was wholly disembedded, nor could there be. States and their capitals always have complex networks of elites, institutions, procedures, and traditions which must be addressed by new and old rulers. Even rank outsiders must use existing traditions and institutions to legitimize themselves and administer the domain. The process of building a new capital is not, strictly speaking, one of *disembedding* but rather of *reembedding* to create a new locus for power which is apart *from* existing loci but comprised *of* the same fundamental components and relationships. And whatever the spatial and social distances from existing loci and patterns of power, disembedded capitals are automatically reembedding into those patterns, entailing adroit administrative and ideological manipulations, plus a threat or the use of some force.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Are disembedded capitals, in the final analysis, maladaptive? This question has poignancy, given the challenges to cities and federalism in North American society and the difficulties encountered by modern disembedded capitals such as Washington, D.C. Among the fundamental problems facing a capital are whether its role and legitimacy within its society's overall social and political systems functions largely on the basis of a political philosophy. In societies where they are designed as tools of factional competition and short-term advantage, disembedded capitals are unlikely to be either long-lived or particularly effective as integrative devices. In societies where federalism and balancing factional needs are goals, there will be cycles when the disembedded capital's effectiveness waxes and wanes according to the strength of factions and the perceived legitimacy of its political ideals. Recent rhetoric vilifying federal institutions demonstrates the difficulty entailed in asserting the continuing legitimacy even of democratic ideals. In ancient societies where the acquisition of power was the overarching political goal, disembedded capitals were another tool to be used and discarded. Modern societies do not have that cruel luxury.

REFERENCES

Aboul-Ela, M. B. 1993. "Domesticated Animals and Indigenous Livestock in Egyptian Agriculture," in *The Agriculture of Egypt,* G. M. Craig, ed., 63–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Adams, R. M. 1965. *Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Albenda, Pauline. 1986. *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria.* Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

Aldred, C. 1973. *Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Catalog of an Exhibition Celebrating the 150th Anniversary of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.* New York: Brooklyn Museum in association with the Viking Press.

———. 1988. *Akhenaten, King of Egypt.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Barnett, R. D. 1975. *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum.* London: British Museum Press.

Beaumont, P. 1993. "Climate and Hydrology," in *The Agriculture of Egypt,* G. M. Craig, ed., 16–38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bernbeck, R. 1994. *Steppe als Kulturlandschaft Das Agig-Gebeit Ostsyriens vom Neolithikum bis in die islamische Zeit.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Beshai, A. A. 1993. "Systems of Agricultural Production in Middle and Upper Egypt," in *The Agriculture of Egypt,* G. M. Craig, ed., 265–77. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blanton, R. E. 1976. "Anthropological Studies of Cities." *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 5:249–64.

———. 1976. "The Origins of Monte Alban," in *Cultural Change and Continuity: Essays in Honor of James Bennett Griffin,* C. E. Cleland, ed., 223–32. New York: Academic Press.

———. 1978. *Monte Alban, Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital.* New York: Academic Press.

Blanton, R. E.; S. A. Kowalewski; G. M. Feinman; and L. M. Finsten. 1993. *Ancient Mesoamerica, A Comparison of Change in Three Regions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Brinkman, John A. 1976. *Materials and Studies for Kassite History.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
———. 1980. "Kassiten." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* 5:464–73.
———. 1995. "Reflections on the Geography of Babylonia (1000–6000 B.C.)," in *Neo-Assyrian Geography,* Mario Liverani, ed., 19–29. Rome: Università di Roma, "La Sapienza".
Butzer, K. 1976. *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Conrad, G. W.; and A. A. Demarest. 1988. *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cowgill, G. L. 1992. "Social Differentiation at Teotihuacan," in *Mesoamerican Elites, An Archaeological Assessment,* D. Z. Chase and A. F. Chase, eds., 206–20. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
Crowfoot, J. W.; and G. M. Crowfoot. 1938. *Samaria-Sebaste II: Early Ivories from Samaria.* London: Palestine Exploration Fund.
Davies, N. de Garis. 1903–8. *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna.* London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
Davis, W. 1990. *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Dittmann, R. 1990. "Ausgrabungen der Freien Universität Berlin in Assur und Kar Tukulti-Ninurta in den Jahren 1986–1989." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft,* 122:157–71.
Donner, F. M. 1981. *The Early Islamic Conquests.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Eickhoff, T. 1985. *Kar Tukulti ninurta, eine mittelassyrische Kult- und Residenzstadt.* Berlin: Mann.
El Hadidi, M. N. 1993. "Natural Vegetation," in *The Agriculture of Egypt,* G. M. Craig, ed., 39–62. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Fales, F. M. 1990. "The Rural Landscape of the Neo-Assyrian Empire: a Survey." *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin,* IV:81–142.
———. 1991. "Narrative and Ideological Variations in the Account of Sargon's Eighth Campaign," in *Ah, Assyria . . . Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography. Presented to Hayim Tadmor,* M. Cogan and I. Eph'al, eds., 129–47. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
Fales, F. M.; and J. N. Postgate. 1992. *Imperial Administrative Records,* Part I: *Palace and Temple Administration.* Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
Fox, R. G. 1977. *Urban Anthropology: Cities in their Cultural Settings.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Fritz, V. 1995. *The City in Ancient Israel.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
Gardiner, A. 1961. *Egypt of the Pharaohs.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Glassner, J-J. 1986. *La Chute D'Akkadé, L'Événement et sa Mèmoire.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
Grayson, A. K. 1972. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,* vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
———. 1976. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions,* vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
Guest, E., ed. 1966. *Flora of Iraq,* vol. 1. Baghdad: Ministry of Agriculture, Republic of Iraq.
Hallo, W. W. 1957. *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles.* New Haven: American Oriental Society.
———. 1968. "The Rise and Fall of Kalhu." *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 88:772–775.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Hari, R. 1976. *Repertoire onomastique amarnien.* Geneve: Editions de Belles-Lettres.
Hassan, F. A. 1993. "Town and Village in Ancient Egypt: Ecology, Society and Urbanization," in *The Archaeology of Africa, Food, Metals and Towns,* T. Shaw, P. Sinclair, B. Andah, and A. Okpoko, eds., 551–69. London: Routledge.
Helms, M. W. 1993. *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade and Power.* Austin: University of Texas Press.
Henrickson, E. F. 1981. "Non-Religious Residential Settlement Patterning in the Late Early Dynastic of the Diyala Region." *Mesopotamia,* 16:43–140.
———. 1982. "Functional Analysis of Elite Residences in the Late Early Dynastic of the Diyala Region: House D and the Walled Quarter at Khafajah and the Palaces at Tell Asmar." *Mesopotamia,* 17:5–33.
Herrmann, G. 1986. *Ivories from Room SW 37, Fort Shalmaneser: Commentary and Catalogue.* London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
Herzfeld, E. 1948. *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra.* Berlin: Eckardt and Messtorff.
Hirth, K. G. 1984. "Early Exchange in Mesoamerica: An Introduction," in *Trade and Exchange in Early Mesoamerica,* K. G. Hirth, ed., 1–15. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Ismail, O. S. A. 1968. "The Founding of a New Capital: Samarra." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies,* 31:1–13.
Jacobsen, T.; and S. Lloyd. 1935. *Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Janssen, J. J. 1979. "The Role of the Temple in the Egyptian Economy during the New Kingdom," in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East,* E. Lipinski, ed. Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek.
Jeffreys, D.; and A. Tavares. 1994. "The Historic Landscape of Early Memphis." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Kairo,* 50:143–73.
Joffe, A. H. 1996. "Review of M. Zeder, Feeding Cities, Specialized Animal Economy in the Ancient Near East." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* 55:2, 127–32.
Kemp, B. J. 1977. "The City of El-Amarna as a Source for the Study of Urban Society in Egypt." *World Archaeology,* 9:123–39.
Kemp, B. J. 1990. *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of a Civilization.* London: Routledge.
Kemp, B. J.; and S. Garfi. 1993. *A Survey of the Ancient City of El-ʿAmarna.* London: Egypt Exploration Society.
Kemp, B. J.; et al. 1984–1995. *Amarna Reports.* London: Egypt Exploration Society.
Kemp, B. J.; D. Samuel; R. Luff. 1994. "Food for an Egyptian City: Tell el-Amarna," in *Whither Environmental Archaeology?,* R. Luff and R. Rowley-Conwy, eds., 133–70. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
Kowalewski, S. A.; R. E. Blanton; G. Feinman; and L. Finsten. 1983. "Boundaries, Scale, and Internal Organization." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology,* 2:32–56.
Kramer, C. 1983. "Spatial Organization in Contemporary Southwest Asian Villages and Archeological Sampling," in *The Hilly Flanks, Essays on the Prehistory of Southwestern Asia Presented to Robert J. Braidwood,* Jr. T. C. Young, P. E. L. Smith, and P. Mortensen, eds., 347–68. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Krauss, R. 1978. *Das Ende der Amarnazeit.* Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag.
Lambert, W. G. 1976. "Tukulti-Ninurta I and the Assyrian King List." *Iraq,* 38:85–94.
Lapidus, I. 1981. "Arab Settlement and Economic Development of Iraq and Iran in the Age of the Umayyad and Early Abbasid Caliphs," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900. Studies in Economic and Social History,* A. L. Udovitch, ed., Princeton: Darwin Press.
Larsen, M. T. 1996. *The Conquest of Assyria, Excavations in an Antique Land.* London: Routledge.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Lassner, J. 1980. *The Shaping of ʿAbbasid Rule*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Layard, A. H. 1853. *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert: being the Results of a Second Expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum.* London: J. Murray.
Le Strange, G. 1900. *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, from Contemporary Arabic and Persian Sources.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Lewis, B. 1980. *The Sargon Legend.* Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
Liverani, M. 1979. "The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire," in *Power and Propaganda, A Symposium of Ancient Empires,* M. T. Larsen, ed., 297–318. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
———, ed. 1993. *Akkad—The First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions.* Padua: Sargon.
Lloyd, S. 1978. *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia, from the Old Stone Age to the Persian Conquest.* London: Thames and Hudson.
———. 1980. *Foundations in the Dust. The Story of Mesopotamian Discovery.* London: Thames and Hudson.
Loud, Gordon. 1936. *Khorsabad Part 1: Excavations in the Palace and at a City Gate.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Loud, Gordon; and C. B. Altman. 1938. *Khorsabad Part 2: The Citadel and the Town.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Machinist, P. B. 1976. "Literature as Politics: The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic and the Bible." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* 38:455–82.
Mallowan, M. E. L. 1966. *Nimrud and its Remains.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Co.
Mann, M. 1986. *The Sources of Social Power,* vol. I: *A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Marcus, M. L. 1995. "Geography as Visual Ideology: Landscape, Knowledge, and Power in Neo-Assyrian Art," in *Neo-Assyrian Geography,* Mario Liverani, ed., 193–202. Rome: Università di Roma "La Sapienza."
Mariani, L. 1984. "Craftmen's Quarters in the Proto-urban Settlement of the Middle East: the Surface Analysis," in *South Asian Archaeology 1981,* B. Allchin, ed., 118–23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
———. 1989. "The Monumental Area of Shahr-I Sokhta: Notes from a Surface Reconnaisance," in *South Asian Archaeology 1985,* K. Frifelt and P. Sørensen, eds. 114–36. London: The Curzon Press.
Martin, G. T. 1974. *The Royal Tomb at El Amarna,* Part 1: *The Objects.* Part VII: *Being The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,* Part VII. London: Egyptian Exploration Society.
———. 1989. *The Royal Tomb at El Amarna,* Part II: *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Architecture.* Part VII. *Being The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna.* London: Egyptian Exploration Society.
———. 1991. *A Bibliography of the Amarna Period and its Aftermath: the Reigns of Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun, and Ay (c.1350–1321 BC).* London: Kegan Paul International.
Millington, A. C. 1993. "Physiography, Geology, and Soils," in *The Agriculture of Egypt,* G. M. Craig, ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Moran, W. L. 1992. *The Amarna Letters.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
Morony, M. G. 1984. *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Murnane, W. J.; and C. C. Van Siclen III. 1993. *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten.* London: Kegan Paul International.
Nissen, H. J. 1993. "Settlement Patterns and Material Culture of the Akkadian Period:

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Continuity and Discontinuity," in *Akkad—The First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions,* M. Liverani, ed., 91–106. Padua: Sargon.
Northedge, A.; T. J. Wilkinson; and R. Falkner. 1990. "Survey and Excavations at Samarraʿ 1989." *Iraq,* 52:121–47.
O'Brien, M. J.; and D. E. Lewarch. 1992. "Regional Analysis of the Zapotec Empire, Valley of Oaxaca, Mexico." *World Archaeology,* 23:264–82.
O'Brien, M.; J. A. Ferguson; T. D. Holland; and D. E. Lewarch. 1989. "On Interpretive Competition in the Absence of Appropriate Data: Monte Alban Revisited." *Current Anthropology,* 30:2, 191–200.
O'Connor, D. 1972. "The Geography of Settlement in Egypt," in *Man, Settlement and Urbanism,* P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby, eds., 681–98. London: Duckworth.
———. 1989. "City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt." *Cahiers de Recherche de l'Institut d'Égyptologie et Papyrologie de Lille,* 11:73–87.
———. 1993. "Urbanism in Bronze Age Egypt and Northeast Africa," in *The Archaeology of Africa, Food, Metals and Towns,* T. Shaw, P. Sinclair, B. Andah, and A. Okpoko, eds., 570–86. London: Routledge.
Oates, J. 1986. *Babylon.* London: Thames and Hudson.
Oded, B. 1979. *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire.* Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
———. 1992. *War, Peace and Empire. Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions.* Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
Oppenheim, A. L. 1960. "The City of Assur in 714 B.C." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* 19:133–47.
Parpola, S. 1970. *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms.* Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker.
———. 1986. "The Royal Archives of Nineveh," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries, Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4–8 July, 1983,* K. R. Veenhof, ed., 223–236. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
———. 1987. *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part 1: Letters from Assyria and the West.* Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
Peregrine, P. 1991. "Some Political Aspects of Craft Specialization." *World Archaeology,* 23:1–11.
Pollock, S. 1990. "Political Economy as Viewed from the Garbage Dump: Jemdet Nasr Occupation at the Uruk Mound, Abu Salabikh," *Paléorient,* 16:57–75.
Postgate, J. N. 1974. "Some Remarks on Conditions in the Assyrian Countryside." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* 17:225–43.
———. 1974. *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire.* Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
———. 1994. "How Many Sumerians per Hectare? Probing the Anatomy of an Early City." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal,* 4:47–65.
Postgate, J. N.; and J. E. Reade. 1980. "Kalhu." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* 5:303–23.
Reade, J. 1978. "Studies in Assyrian Geography, Part I: Sennacherib and the Waters of Nineveh." *Revue d'Assyriologie,* 72:47–72.
———. 1979. "Ideology and Propaganda in Assyrian Art," in *Power and Propaganda, A Symposium of Ancient Empires,* M. T. Larsen, ed., 329–44. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
———. 1982. "Nimrud," in *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery,* J. Curtis, ed., 99–112. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
———. 1982. "Tell Taya," in *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery,* J. Curtis, ed., 72–78. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Redford, D. B. 1984. *Akhenaten. The Heretic King.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Ruf, T. 1993. "The History of Agricultural Development," in *The Agriculture of Egypt,* G. M. Craig, ed., 188–208. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Russell, J. M. 1991. *Sennacherib's "Palace Without Rival" at Nineveh.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Saggs, H. W. F. 1975. "Historical Texts and Fragments of Sargon II of Assyria. I. The 'Assur Charter.'" *Iraq,* 37:11–20.
———. 1984. *The Might That Was Assyria.* London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
Sanders, W. T.; and R. S. Santley. 1978. "Review of R. E. Blanton, Monte Alban, Settlement Patterns at the Ancient Zapotec Capital." *Science,* 202:303–4.
Santley, R. S. 1980. "Disembedded Capitals Reconsidered." *American Antiquity,* 45:132–45.
Schwartz, G. M. 1994. "Rural Economic Specialization and Early Urbanization in the Khabur Valley, Syria," in *Archaeological Views from the Countryside, Village Communities in Early Complex Societies,* G. M. Schwartz and S. E. Falconer, eds., 19–36. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
Seeher, J. 1991. "Gedanken zur Rolle Unterägyptens bei der Herausbildung des Pharonenreiches." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Kairo,* 47:313–8.
Shaban, M. A. 1970. *The ʾAbbasid Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sharon, M. 1983. *Black Banners from the East, the Establishment of the ʾAbbasid State: Incubation of a Revolt.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.
Sourdel, D. 1970. "The ʿAbbasid Caliphate," in *The Cambridge History of Islam,* vol. 1: *The Central Islamic Lands,* P. M. Holt, A. K. S. Lambton, and B. Lewis, eds., 104–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Stone, E. C.; and P. Zimansky. 1994. "The Tell Abu Duwari Project, 1988–1990." *Journal of Field Archaeology,* 21:437–55.
Trigger, B. G. 1974. "The Archaeology of Government." *World Archaeology,* 6:95–105.
Tucker, D. 1994. "Representations of Imgur-Enlil on the Balawat Gates." *Iraq,* 56:107–16.
Unesco. 1977. *FAO-Unesco Soil Map of the World 1:5,000,000.* Paris: Unesco.
van Driel, G. 1969. *The Cult of Assur.* Assen: Van Gorcum.
Wall-Romana, C. 1990. "Areal Location of Agade." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* 49:205–45.
Weiss, H. 1975. "Kish, Akkad, and Agade." *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 95:434–53.
———. 1985. "Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil." *MARI,* 4:269–92.
———. 1986. "The Origins of Tell Leilan and the Conquest of Space in Third Millennium Mesopotamia," in *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.,* H. Weiss, ed., 71–108. Guilford, CT: Four Corners Press.
Weiss, H.; and M.-A. Courty. 1993. "The Genesis and Collapse of the Akkadian Empire: The Accidental Refraction of Historical Law," in *Akkad, The First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions,* M. Liverani, ed., 131–55. Padua: Sargon.
Wente, E. F.; and C. C. Van Siclen III. 1976. "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes,* J. H. Johnson and E. F. Wente, eds., 217–61. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
Wheatley, P.; and T. See. 1978. *From Court to Capital, A Tentative Interpretation of the Origins of the Japanese Urban Tradition.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Wilkinson, T. J. 1990. "The Development of Settlement in the North Jazira between the 7th and 1st millennia B.C." *Iraq,* 52:49–62.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press

———. 1994. "The Structure and Dynamics of Dry-Farming States in Upper Mesopotamia." *Current Anthropology,* 35:483–520. With CA comment.

———. 1995. "Late-Assyrian Settlement Geography in Upper Mesopotamia," in *Neo-Assyrian Geography,* Mario Liverani, ed., 139–60. Rome: Università di Roma, "La Sapienza."

Willey, G. R. 1979. "The Concept of the 'Disembedded Capital' in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Anthropological Research,* 35:123–37.

Winter, L. J. 1976. "Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution." *Iraq,* 39:1–22.

———. 1981. "Royal Rhetoric and the Development of Historical Narrative in Neo-Assyrian Reliefs." *Studies in Visual Communication,* 7:2–38.

Wright, H. T. 1981. *An Early Town on the Deh Luran Plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad,* Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Yoffee, N. 1988. "The Collapse of Ancient Mesopotamian States and Civilizations," in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations,* N. Yoffee and G. L. Cowgill, eds., 44–68. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Zohary, Michael. 1973. *Geobotanical Foundations of the Middle East.* Stuttgart: G. Fischer.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417598001406 Published online by Cambridge University Press