

Bibliotheca Mesopotamica Volume Thirty

Urkesh/Mozan Studies 6

Three-dimensional Volumetric Analysis in an Archaeological Context

The Palace of Tupkish at Urkesh and its Representation

Federico Buccellati

Urkesh/Mozan Studies 6

Three-dimensional Volumetric Analysis: the Palace of Tupkish



Bibliotheca Mesopotamica

Primary sources and interpretive analyses for the study of Mesopotamian civilization and its influences from late prehistory to the end of the cuneiform tradition



Dual editions A publication project of the International Academy of Archaeology

Bibliotheca Mesopotamica Volume 30

Urkesh/Mozan Studies 6

Three-dimensional Volumetric Analysis in an Archaeological Context

The Palace of Tupkish at Urkesh and its Representation

Federico Buccellati

Undena Publications Malibu 2016 This research was made possible through the support of:



Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft Graduiertenkolleg 1576 "Wert und Äquivalent"



The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies

The volume offers a detailed architectural analysis of the Palace of King Tupkish, built around 2250 B.C. and of the process of construction by examining the steps in the process through the chaîne opératoire method.

In order to quantify these steps, the volume deals extensively with methodology through a series of algorithms by which the energetic investment in a construction project can be quantified. These algorithms are applicable in general to structures in stone and mudbrick, and can be used to define and compare the cost and value of such structures in a meaningful way. This allows the archaeological record to play a central role in wider theoretical discussions such as questions relating to monumentality and prestige or the economy and the social setting that made the construction possible. This methodology proposes an objective standard of measurement that can be used beyond the case study presented here.

By combining the understanding of the individual steps in the process of construction with the general algorithms and the volumetric measurements from a precise 3D model of the Royal Palace, this study calculates the effort needed to construct the building.



Dual editions are published contemporaneously online and on paper. The paper edition is sold at a nominal price, to cover only distribution costs. The online edition is available free of charge at www.undena.com.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017932337 ISBN 978-0-9798937-2-8 Copyright © 2016 by Undena Publications www.undena.com Excavations at Tell Mozan/Urkesh and publication of its reports have been made possible over the years through grants from

The Ahmanson Foundation The Ambassador International Cultural Foundation The American Cultural Center, Damascus The Catholic Biblical Association The Cotsen Family Foundation The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA The Council of Research, Academic Senate, UCLA Fondazione Gianmaria Buccellati **Gulfsands Petroleum Plc** IIMAS - The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies The Mellon Foundation The National Endowment for the Humanities The National Geographic Society The Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Research, UCLA Rotary Club Conegliano The Samuel H. Kress Foundation The San Carlos Foundation The L. J. and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation The Steinmetz Family Foundation Syria Shell Petroleum Development B.V. Vartanian Oilfield Services The World Monuments Fund

with the institutional participation of

The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA The Getty Conservation Institute The Metropolitan Museum of Art L'Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Firenze Università degli Studi e Centro Scavi, Torino The series *Urkesh/Mozan Studies* evolves directly from an earlier series entitled *Mozan*, of which it continues the numeration. The sequence of volumes is as follows:

- Mozan 1 Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, *The Soundings of the First Two Seasons*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 20. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1988.
- Mozan 2 Lucio Milano, with contributions by Mario Liverani, Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, *The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season.* Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 5/1. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1991.
- UMS 3 Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn. Kelly-Buccellati (eds.), Urkesh and the Hurrians: A volume in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen.
 Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 26. Malibu: Undena Publications, 1998.
- UMS 4 Sophie Bonetti (ed.), *Gli Opifici di Urkesh. Conservazione e restauro a Tell Mozan.* Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 27.
 Malibu: Undena Publications, 2001.
- UMS 5 Rick Hauser, *Reading Figurines: Animal Representations in Terra Cotta from Royal Building AK at Urkesh (Tell Mozan).*Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 28. Malibu: Undena Publications, 2006.
- UMS 6 Federico Buccellati, Three-dimensional Volumetric Analysis in an Archaeological Context. The Palace of Tupkish at Urkesh and its Representation. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 30. Malibu: Undena Publications, 2016.
- UMS 7 Patrizia Camatta, The Temple Terrace of Tell Mozan/Urkesh (Syria). Architecture, Typology and Comparative Analysis of Mesopotamian High Temples. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 31. Forthcoming.
- UMS 8 Arwa Kharobi, A Place for the Dead. An Overview of Burial Practices at Tell Mozan in the Middle Bronze Age. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 32. Forthcoming.

to my parents

"If I have seen further it is by standing on ye shoulders of Giants." - Isaac Newton

Table of Contents

.ix
.xi
xiii
1
2
3
5
7
7
9
.10
11
.12
14
17
17
.17
.19
.20
.20
.22
.24
26
26
.26
27
.29
.30
ic,
33
.34
.34
.35
.36
.36
36
37
.37

	2.1.6.4 Plaza to East	38
	2.1.6.5 Question of Access	38
	2.1.6.6 Visibility	39
	2.1.7 Building as Synthetic Whole	40
	2.2 Analysis of AP Palace: Sectors and Installations	41
	2.2.1 Palace Sectors and Rooms	42
	2.2.1.1 Sectors A, B, C, D – The Service Wing of the AP Palace	43
	2.2.1.2 Sectors E, F – Access to the North and East	49
	2.2.1.3 Sector G – Possible Staircase Access	52
	2.2.1.4 Sectors H and I – The Formal Wing of the AP Palace	53
	2.2.1.5 Sectors Y, X and W – Outside areas of the AP Palace	59
	2.2.2 Palace Installations	61
	2.2.2.1 The 'Bathroom' Installation in C6	61
	2.2.2.2 The Clay Bin in C2	62
	2.2.2.3 The Charred Beams in C1	63
	2.2.2.4 The Path in F1	65
	2.2.2.5 The Kitchen Installations in D1	65
	2.2.2.6 The Baked-Brick Platform F1-G1	66
	2.2.2.7 The Drainage System in D and C	67
	2.2.2.8 The Drain in H4	68
	2.2.2.9 Well in H6	69
	2.2.2.10 The Stone Courtyard H3	69
	2.2.2.11 The Baked Brick Installation Below Courtyard H3	70
	2.2.3 Palace Dimensions	71
	2.3 Estimated Footprint of the Palace	71
	2.3.1 Missing Sectors	71
	2.3.1.1 Royal Residence	71
	2.3.1.2 Access Point Towards Plaza	72
	2.3.1.3 Scribal/Administrative Area	72
	2.3.1.4 Religious Area	72
	2.3.2 Estimate of Building Footprint	72
	2.4 Selected Comparisons	74
	2.4.1 Stone as Construction Material	74
	2.4.2 Internal Terracing	75
	2.4.3 Iwans	75
	2.4.4 Mirrored Architecture	76
3	The Elements and Process of Construction	79
	3.1 From Chaîne Opératoire to Gedankenexperiment	79
	3.1.1 Applying a <i>Chaîne Opératoire</i> to Architecture	80
	3.1.2 Sources for the Analysis	83

3.1.2.1	The Ethics of Including the Garshana Texts	85
3.1.2.2	Postulate 1: Ethnoarchaeological Link	85
3.1.2.3	Postulate 2: Continuity of Experience	85
3.2 Material	S	86
3.2.1 Stor	ne	86
3.2.1.1	Use of Stone in Construction	87
3.2.1.2	Quarry possibilities near Mozan	88
3.2.1.3	Quarrying Techniques	88
3.2.1.4	Stone Working	92
3.2.1.5	Use of Limestone	93
3.2.1.6	Stone Construction at Tell Mozan	93
3.2.2 Mu	dbrick	94
3.2.2.1	Use of Mudbrick in Construction	94
3.2.2.2	Process of mudbrick making	95
3.2.2.3	Materials needed to make mudbricks	105
3.2.2.4	Half-bricks	.106
3.2.2.5	Mudbrick Volume and Weight	108
3.2.2.6	'Timing' Mudbrick production	.109
3.2.2.7	Storage of Mudbricks	.110
3.2.2.8	Mudbricks and the AP Palace	.111
3.2.2.9	Mudbrick Production at Mozan	112
3.2.3 Phil	ological Considerations on Mudbrick, Mortar and Plaster.	.113
3.2.3.1	Index of Terms	.113
3.2.3.2	Sign for Mudbrick, Brickform	.114
3.2.3.3	Calculating number of mudbricks needed	116
3.2.4 Mu	d Plaster and Mortar	.117
3.2.5 Gyp	osum and Lime Plasters	.118
3.2.6 Cha	.ff	.120
3.2.7 Wo	od	.121
3.2.8 Ree	d matting	.121
3.2.9 Fill	Material	.122
3.2.10 To	ols	.122
3.3 Know-H	ow	.123
3.3.1 Con	nmissioning Ruler	.124
3.3.2 Plan	ning Team	.125
3.3.2.1	Planning Team: City Planner	.125
3.3.2.2	Planning Team: Economic/Manpower Coordinator	126
3.3.2.3	Planning Team: Architect/Engineer/Surveyor	
3.3.3 Exe	cution Team	.129
3.3.3.1	Execution Team: Material Coordinators	129

3.3.3.2 Execution Team: Master Builder	129
3.3.3.3 Execution Team: Overseers	129
3.3.3.4 Execution Team: Construction Coordinator	130
3.3.4 Know-How and the AP Palace	
3.4 Manpower	.130
3.4.1 Divisions within the Workforce	.131
3.4.1.1 Skilled/Unskilled Workers	132
3.4.1.2 Slaves	.132
3.4.1.3 Hired workers	.133
3.4.1.4 Workers from another locality	133
3.4.1.5 Workers and the Organization of Work	133
3.4.1.6 Worker Pay and Working Hours	135
3.4.2 Organization of Labor	.135
3.4.2.1 Work Crews	.136
3.4.2.2 Foremen, Forewomen	.136
3.4.2.3 Overseers	.136
3.4.2.4 Hierarchy Among Specialized Workers	137
3.4.2.5 Builders	.137
3.4.2.6 Chief Administrators and Scribes	137
3.4.3 Transportation	.137
3.4.3.1 The Transportation of Stone	138
3.4.3.2 Transportation of Mudbricks	142
3.4.3.3 The Transportation of Wooden Beams	143
3.4.3.4 The Transportation of Earth, Mortar, Plaster and Gypsum	. 145
3.4.3.5 The Transportation of Reeds and Straw	146
3.4.3.6 The Tools of Transportation	147
3.4.4 Gender	.147
3.4.5 Manpower and the AP Palace – a Hypothesis based on	the
Garshana Texts	.148
3.4.5.1 Work-crew Tasks	. 149
3.5 Putting it all together: the Chaîne Opératoire	149
3.5.1 Timeline of Construction	.149
3.5.1.1 Step 1: Commissioning of Project	.150
3.5.1.2 Step 2: Establishing Planning Group	.150
3.5.1.3 Step 3: Determining Constraints of the Project	.150
3.5.1.4 Step 4: Building Plan	.150
3.5.1.5 Step 5: Initial Pre-Construction Work	.150
3.5.1.6 Step 6: Construction	.151
3.5.2 Gathering, Processing and Transporting the Constru-	ction
Materials	.151

3.5.2.1 Stone	151
3.5.2.2 Mudbrick.	153
3.5.2.3 Mud plaster and mortar	154
3.5.2.4 Gypsum and Lime	154
3.5.2.5 Chaff, Wood, and Reed Matting	155
3.5.3 Constructing the Palace: Putting Together the Pieces	155
3.5.3.1 Preparing the Worksite	157
3.5.3.2 Leveling, Terracing, Filling	158
3.5.3.3 Foundations, Drains	160
3.5.3.4 Stone Placement	161
3.5.3.5 Preparing the Finished Stonework	163
3.5.3.6 Laying the Mudbricks	163
3.5.3.7 Doorways and Windows	165
3.5.3.8 Preparing Wall-Tops for a Roof	166
3.5.3.9 Roof Construction	167
3.5.3.10 Plastering Walls, Laying Floors	172
3.5.3.11 Construction of Installations	172
3.5.3.12 Decoration and Movable Goods within the Building	172
3.6 Beyond the Chaîne Opératoire	173
3.6.1 Applying Algorithms to a Specific Structure	173
3.6.2 Construction and Ritual	175
3.6.3 The 'Who' of Construction	175
Theoretical Underpinnings of Architectural Analysis	177
4.1 Postulates	179
4.1.1 Postulate 1: The Ethnoarchaeological link	179
4.1.2 Postulate 2: Continuity of Experience	180
4.2 Context.	181
4.2.1 Variables of Design	182
4.2.2 The Influence of Vernacular on Planned Architecture	182
4.2.3 The Role of Architecture in Creating an Urban Environment	183
4.2.4 Architecture and History	184
4.3 Actors	186
4.3.1 The Human Background	186
4.3.2 Palace Architecture: Motivations for Change	187
4.3.2.1 Architecture as a Statement of Disassociation	188
4.3.2.2 Using Architecture to Change the Message	189
4.3.2.3 Affecting the Urban Texture	190
4.3.2.4 Using Architecture to Achieve or Reaffirm Elite Status	191
4.3.2.5 Deciding not to Build a Palace	192
4.3.3 The Architect as Agent	192
-	

4

	4.4 The Search for Meaning in Architecture	193
	4.4.1 Style in Architecture	194
	4.4.2 The Role of 3D Modeling as a Heuristic Vehicle	195
	4.4.3 The Value of Architecture	196
	4.4.3.1 Value and Energetics	197
	4.4.3.2 Value and Function	199
	4.4.3.3 Value and Social Institutions	199
5	The Construction of 3D Models: Methodological Aspects	201
	5.1 The UFO Problem	201
	5.2 The Problem of Interaction: Archaeology and 3D Technology	202
	5.2.1 Accuracy	202
	5.2.2 Use of the Model	203
	5.2.3 The Fourth Dimension	203
	5.3 The Need for 3D Models	204
	5.3.1 The 3D Model's Ancestor: Hand-drawn Illustrations	204
	5.3.2 Goal for 3D Modeling: Communication	206
	5.3.3 Goal for 3D Modeling: Visual Interactivity	207
	5.3.4 Goal for 3D Modeling: Problematics of Reconstruction	208
	5.3.5 Goal for 3D Modeling: Volumetrics	208
	5.3.6 Visualizing 3D in Three Dimensions	209
	5.3.7 The Power of 3D Models	210
	5.4 Current 3D Modeling Practices	210
	5.4.1 Extrude 3D from 2D	211
	5.4.2 Complex Models	211
	5.4.3 Photo-modeling	211
	5.4.4 3D Scans	212
	5.5 Embracing Simplicity: BlockGen	212
	5.5.1 Desiderata	213
	5.5.1.1 Precision in Reflecting the Actual Archaeological Record	d.213
	5.5.1.2 Use, As much as Possible, Data Already Collected	in the
	Field	213
	5.5.1.3 Have the Results Available in a Lasting Format	213
	5.5.1.4 Allow for the Integration of Stratigraphy as w	ell as
	Architecture	213
	5.5.1.5 Allow for the Inclusion of Objects	214
	5.5.1.6 Allow for Change and Expansion of the Data	214
	5.5.1.7 Allow for the Inclusion of the Model in Other Programs	214
	5.5.2 Data Collecting in the Field: Planning and Methods	214
	5.5.2.1 Method 1: Surveying	214
	5.5.2.2 Method 2: Photogrammetry and Elevation Measurement	ts. 215

5.5.2.3 Method 3: Extrapolation from Publications	
5.5.3 Using Scripts	
5.6 Beyond the Architectural Model: Software	
5.6.1 AutoCAD	
5.6.1.1 Adding to the Model	217
5.6.1.2 Using the Model	
5.6.1.3 Exporting to other Programs	219
5.6.2 GIS Programs	
5.6.2.1 Integrating the 3D Model with Other Data Sources.	219
5.6.3 Animation Programs	
5.6.3.1 Specific Lighting	
5.6.3.2 Walkthrough	
5.6.3.3 Reproduce Camera Images	
5.6.3.4 Avatars and Activities	221
5.6.4 First-Person Interactive Environments	221
5.6.4.1 Interaction as Communication	
5.6.4.2 Programming Example: Cave UT	222
5.6.4.3 Online Environments	
5.7 Beyond the Architectural Model: Concepts	
5.7.1 Architecture and Stratigraphy	224
5.7.2 The Movable and the Stationary	225
5.7.3 Realtime Representation	
5.7.4 3D in a Didactic Context	227
5.7.4.1 Communication of Meaning: Presenting the	Value of
Archaeology	
5.7.4.2 The Ethical Dimension of Communication	
5.7.4.3 Interactivity	
6 Application to the Tupkish Palace at Urkesh	231
6.1 Exploring the 3D Model	232
6.1.1 The Data	
6.1.2 Layers: Stone	
6.1.3 Layers: Brick	
6.1.4 Layers: Installations	
6.1.5 The Precision of the 3D Model	244
6.1.6 Calculating Volumes	
6.2 Using the 3D Model of the AP Palace as a Tool	246
6.2.1 Combining the 3D Model with the Algorithms	247
6.2.1.1 Algorithms: Quarry	
6.2.1.2 Algorithms: Stone	
(212 Algorithman Mudhmiels Droduction	A 40

6.2.2 Looking at Visibility	251
6.2.3 Time, Work crews and Volume	252
6.2.4 The Cost of Monumentality	252
7 Impact and Directions for Future Research	255
7.1 Impact	255
7.2 Future Research	256
Bibliography	259
Appendix: BlockGen Vademecum and Program Code	279
AP Palace Wall Catalog	299
Alphabetical Index	351
List of Illustrations	357
List of Tables	

Foreword

This volume by Federico Buccellati deals with a theme that has developed from his many years of work at the excavation in Tell Mozan (Northeast Syria) – the analysis, interpretation and reconstruction of the AP Palace from the 3rd millennium BC. In general, it should be stated that this monograph is an unusual, very impressive work – here is not a 'compendium of data' of digging results, but a very highly theoretical treatment of an architecture complex at a high intellectual level.

Striking is the use of the *chaîne opératoire* method for analyzing the individual steps of the building of the palace – a method that has increasingly become the focus of archaeological research in recent years, albeit seldom applied to architecture. The method is based on the assumption that technical processes and social actions can be understood in a step-by-step analysis. The implementation here has been highly successful, not only on the technical side but also including the social dimension (commissioning ruler, workers) - in particular the inclusion of the Garshana texts, references to the work process, a consideration of the persons involved and a study of the working time make this study such a success. Thus, it becomes possible to reconstruct not only the society in which the architectural complexes were created, but also the social context, the actions and the ideas connected with the building. As an example, the author uses elements of sociology to consider architectural forms, analyzing the effects of a physical environment on social behavior, such as communication, by means of sensory perception – acoustic, optical, haptic, olfactory.

Striking is also the verification of the analytical and material- or production-related results by means of theoretical models. For this study two 'qualities' are selected and pursued from the multitude of possible approaches: ethno-archaeological and historical analogies. This ability of the author to reformulate the ideas developed in other contexts for his own line of questioning can be seen in the inclusion of the exhibition concept "Shrinking Cities" in the German Architectural Museum, Frankfurt am Main in 2007-08. The ideas developed in the exhibit (which was neither archaeological nor centered on the Ancient Near East) were applied by the author to the reconstruction of the urban texture in the Ancient Near East, in particular for the case of Tell Mozan / Urkesh. The author consistently goes far beyond the presentation of the archaeological findings and attempts to develop approaches which aim to understand the human and social conditions tied to the

architecture. In developing these approaches, the value of digital 3D models becomes clear as a heuristic tool for analysis, especially in regard to the interpretation of architecture. A large portion of the volume is thus the presentation of the methodological foundations (BlockGen) and the development of these 3D models. This software is based on AutoCAD and can be integrated into a GIS program, which can be extended by means of animated animation programs (lighting, possibilities for walking through, avatars). This allows the user to experience the 'real' experience of the relevant architecture and its environment, while at the same time providing a deeper understanding of the interpretation of archaeological field work. At the same time, 'primary data' in the archaeological record, such as different stratigraphic observations, can be relatively easily integrated. Thus the 3D model developed can already be supplemented during the course of the excavation and possibly used to alter the excavation strategies in realtime. In addition to providing an environment in which to experience the architecture and integrate diverse archaeological data, it also provides a didactic platform: this tool can be used as a portal for a wider public to encounter and understand archaeological results.

This volume presents an extensive body of excavation material which has been expertly documented, interpreted by means of an impressively innovative approach. This approach, as well as the theoretical considerations, speak to the wide impact that this work will have in our field, while at the same time being a real pleasure to read.

Jan-Waalke Meyer

Preface

My initial interest was in providing a documentary description of the AP Palace, in the excavations of which I have taken part since the beginning. In particular I was responsible, in whole or in part, for the excavation of units A10, A13 and A16. The publication of the AP Palace as excavated is presented in chapter 2.

At the same time, I developed a strong interest in two aspects of architectural analysis that went beyond the "philological" dimension, in two parallel directions.

The first aimed at understanding the architectural process as it took place in antiquity, with regard to the way in which a structure would be both constructed in practice and planned in a design phase. This has involved me in a serious confrontation not only with the underlying theory, but also with a project of experimental archaeology with which I tested some of the inherent assumptions. The use of the *chaîne opératoire* method helps to see the individual steps as a series of linked moments in a complete process of construction. While the *chaîne opératoire* method can aid in understanding the individual steps, what is still needed is a way to quantify the energy (in terms of manhours) needed for each step. Thus the analysis of the process of construction is augmented by a series of generalized algorithms designed to determine the cost in terms of energy for as many of the steps detailed in the *chaîne opératoire* as possible. This is presented in chapter 3.

The second theoretical aspect that I developed pertains to the use of 3D modeling not only as a technical tool, but as the application of a method that impacts the field of archaeology by showing how a 3D model is a tool for research. My main effort in this direction was to show how the development of a flexible tool for creating recursive 3D models in the field would help in a major way to produce a record at a higher level of documentary sophistication, and integrate it with the ethnographic data in order to quantify the specifics of construction. The model of the AP Palace is thus more than documentation: it is a tool with which one can calculate, through the general algorithms defined in chapter 3, the 'cost' in energy of choices made in the construction of the Palace or study questions regarding visibility. I argue for this in chapters 5 and 6.

The ability to link the archaeological data on an epistemological level, with questions on an interpretative level, such as prestige, is a fundamental aspect of the research presented here. Often questions which focus on theoretical, social or interpretative aspects are not directly tied to the archaeological data, and this problem is particularly felt when speaking of architecture: this study presents a method for how to link, on a very specific level, data and interpretation.

In dealing with these aspects of analysis a number of themes arose on a theoretical level which, because of their level of abstraction, were tangential to the discussion being made in each chapter. However, these theoretical themes have influenced the work I have done and help contextualize the material being presented – thus they are included in chapter 4.

I feel that this approach yields rich results for the understanding of an otherwise mute ancient record and for an innovative use of techniques that are typically invoked as an after the fact, *deus ex machina* type of intervention.

Federico Buccellati

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my parents, whose support as parents and as teachers could not be greater. The pride with which I dedicate this work to them is incalculable.

This study, and my own intellectual growth, have been guided and encouraged by Jan-Waalke Meyer, to whom I owe the unrepayable debt of a student to his teacher. From my first visit to Frankfurt up to the writing of these words he has always had all the time in the world for me – between many a coffee and (his) cigarette, the ideas on which this book rests were discussed.

My thanks also to Pascal Butterlin, whose shared passion for architecture and willingness to better this study is very much appreciated, as well as Ditmar Machule, who came in at the end with infectious enthusiasm.

I owe a great thanks to the people of the Jezireh, modern and ancient. It is difficult, at times, to focus on the distant past when one hears on a daily basis of the horrors of social upheaval. It is my fervent hope that my contribution to the understanding of the ancient past of the area may accompany a pride in the shared history of all those who call the region their home. My thanks in particular to Samer Abdel-Ghafur, Sarkis Balian and Samer Kabawat as well as all the people who have worked at Mozan, uncovering our shared past with intelligence, generosity and pride.

My wife, Maria Gabriella Micale, has encouraged me in every way during the writing and correcting of this volume – her support, moral and practical, made the process easier and the final product better in so many ways. Thank you.

Jack W. Kessler and the trustees of the International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies have supported the work done at Mozan for decades, and have taken particular interest in my efforts. Presenting this finished study to them is a moment of pride for me, and it is with regret that Sandy Elster and Hermann Hoeh are not able to share this moment with us.

The Research Training Group "Value and Equivalence" in Frankfurt has provided more than just the financial means which made this work possible: it also provided a stimulating intellectual environment and a group of young scholars who became friends. My thanks to those who made the RTG possible and encouraged my intellectual growth along the way, in particular Annabel Bokern, Hans-Markus von Kaenel, Franziska Lang and Thomas Richter. Kenneth Judge and Mahdi Sajjad have not yet seen the palace firsthand, but their support even beyond the events of 2010 meant that Mozan could continue, and to see them 'catch the bug' of archaeology at Mozan encourages all of us to reach for greater goals. Souren Vartanian was able to come to Mozan, and he was immediately enchanted with the palace; his passion and support were a great boost to our work.

Thanks to the colleagues and friends who have supported me in this endeavor, particularly Ernestine Elster, Diane Favro, James Sackett, Monica Smith and James Snead at UCLA. A special thanks to Jerry Scordan, who gave me a lot of insights into how to treat my 'muse'. Last but not least, my grandmother Claire, zio Ico and zio Gianmaria: *il sangue non è acqua*.