ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA
History and Culture
Fall 2007 Provisional syllabus

Instructor: N. Yoffee (Office hours: Thayer Bldg. rm. 3012 T 2:30-3:30, W 11-12, Th 2:30-3:30, or by appointment - nyoffee@umich.edu) GSI Libby Boulter (Office hrs: TBA lboulter@umich.edu)

Lectures: T Th 11:30-1:00 MLB Lec Rm 2

Course description: Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian civilization from the first cuneiform documents (ca. 3100 BC) to the fall of the Neo-Babylonian empire (539 BC); special attention to issues of social and political organization.

Major topics: Rise of first city-states, writing systems and literacy, social and economic change, law, Mesopotamia and its neighbors, the collapse of Mesopotamian civilization. Original documents are examined to show methods of interpreting the history and culture of ancient Mesopotamia.

Undergrad requirements: 3 exams (15% each, including 1 take-home exam and 1-hr final exam), section participation (10%), term paper (45% 10-page minimum).

Grad student requirements: 2 take-home essays/book reviews (20% each), term paper (20 page minimum, 60%)

Tentative lectures:
1. Introduction to course. Problem-orientation. The past and the present in Iraq. Geography, environment.
2. The first cities and states. Uruk archaeology, writing, stratification, the “Uruk expansion”
3. Early Dynastic period. City-states and Mesopotamian civilization.
4. Archaeology of the Late Uruk and Early Dynastic periods
6. The Third Dynasty of Ur. Bureaucracy and the state.
7. The best of times, the worst of times. Economics, politics, social organization in the Ur III period
8. Level and trend in the 3rd millennium B.C.
9. In-class examination
10. Old Assyrian period: Politics
11. Old Assyrian period: Long-distance trade, merchants, and the state
12. Early Old Babylonian period (south). Isin-Larsa period
13. No class (Fall study day)
14. Early OB period (north). Archaeology and history of Kish
15. The first dynasty of Babylon. Hammurabi, nomads, and the state
17. Mesopotamia Law. Law codes and legal cases
18. Collapse of the Old Babylonian state
19. Discussion. (Take-home exam essay distributed).
20. Middle Babylonian period (Kassites), Middle Assyrian period
22. International relations. End of the “old order”
23. Neo-Assyrian politics
24. Neo-Assyrian economy and society
25. Israel and the Assyrians. Collapse of Assyria
26. Neo-Babylonian state and its Iranian neighbors
27. The collapse of Mesopotamian civilization.

Textbooks
Available for purchase in Shaman Drum bookstore is *A History of the Ancient Near East* by Marc Van De Mieroop (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, second edition), which is the basic textbook for the class. (In the assigned readings, this is referred to as MVDM). Many translated texts are found in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation* (ed. by Mark Chavalas, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), which is also available at Shaman Drum.

On physical reserve in the Shapiro Undergraduate Library are the following recent books, all of which contain useful information for this course. Books with *** contain excellent bibliographies that lead to more readings (and which are especially useful for gathering references for term papers).

T. Bryce

T. Boiy
2004  *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylonia*. Leuven: Peters

H.E.C. Crawford

B. Foster, K. Pollinger Foster, P. Gerstenblith
2005  *Iraq Beyond the Headlines: History, Archaeology, and the War*. World Scientific Publishing (I have not seen this book)

W.W. Hallo and W. Kelly Simpson

Joannès, F.
2001  *Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne*. Bouquine

Amélie Kuhrt***

Marc Van de Mieroop

K. Nemet-Nejat

Joan Oates

A.L. Oppenheim

J. N. Postgate
D.T. Potts

Michael Roaf

Jack Sasson and others, editors***
1995  *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. New York: Scribners (4 volumes, many excellent essays)
(on reserve in Hatcher Grad Library)

Daniel Snell

For German readers:


H.J. Nissen***
1999  *Geschichte Altvorderasiens*. München: R. Oldenbourg

D.O. Edzard

M. Jursa

E. Cancik-Kirschbaum

G. Selz
2005  *Sumerer und Akkader*. Munich: C.H. Beck

For French readers:

J-J Glassner

F. Joannès
2001  *Dictionnaire de la civilization mésopotamienne*. Bouquine

For Italian and Spanish readers:

Mario Liverani
[Spanish translation *El Antiguo Oriente*. Barcelona: Crítica]

Detailed studies with excellent bibliographies:

J. Bauer, R. Englund, M. Krebernik***
Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag

W. Sallaberger and Aage Westenholz***

Dominique Charpin, Dietz Otto Edzard, Marten Stol***

*Cambridge Ancient History***
*Vols. I, II, III 1-2, IV* (1972-94). Although the earlier volumes are in some cases out-dated, the chapters are authoritative and contain good bibliographies for the times they were written).

There are many other books on Mesopotamian history and culture. Please consult with instructor if you wish to read and rely upon any of them. There are many books that cannot be recommended.

Bibliographies of Mesopotamian history can be found in the journals *Orientalia* and *Archiv für Orientforschung*. A journal on Mesopotamian economy and environment is *Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture* (last issue 1995) A recent series of four books on Mesopotamian economy are edited by Michael Hudson and various co-editors.

The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, maintains a web-site as a gateway to various on-line materials about Mesopotamia. See [http://www.oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/ABZU/ABZU.HTML](http://www.oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/ABZU/ABZU.HTML)
Undergraduate essays

Term paper page minimum = 10 pages (2500 words), not counting bibliography. Essay topics will be chosen in consultation with the instructor and GSI. The term paper is due the last day of class. Guidance on sources, bibliographic format, footnotes, etc. will be provided by instructor and GSI. Students will submit an outline for critique before the Thanksgiving holiday.

Students are expected to abide by university policy not to copy in whole or in part essays from web sources or to receive assistance in the writing of their essays from anyone other than the instructor and gsi. See www.lib.umich.edu/handouts/plagiar/pdf. Students will fail the assignment if they are found to have plagiarized material.

Suggested essay topics (students are welcome to suggest other topics, which will be reviewed by the instructor and gsi).

Archaeology
Uruk expansion
Royal cemetery of Ur
Neo-Assyrian palaces
Cylinder seals
Royal iconography
Materials and technologies
Houses and domestic quarters
Sources of metals and long-distance trade

Assorted topics
Old Assyrian trade
Law
Women and gender
Writing
Hittites
Hurrians and Mitannians
Mari
Gilgamesh
Neo-Assyrian bureaucracy
Akkadian empire
Ur III empire
Elamites
Chaldeans
Math and astronomy
Persian Mesopotamia
Hellenistic Mesopotamia
Nabonidus
Ugarit
Emar
Battle of Qadesh
Kassites
Divine kingship
Amarna period
Archives and libraries

Critical reviews of books


Undergrad questions following each lecture:

It is important for our relatively large class that I can gauge what interests or troubles you have about the lectures. Your feedback will help me design better lectures and tie up loose ends. Your engagement with the lecture material is also enhanced by this exercise. Consequently, comments and questions are required by every student after every lecture. They are due before midnight on the day the lecture is given. Send the comments/questions to Libby Boulter via c-tools.

Ms. Boulter will record your compliance with the assignment and note particularly useful comments/questions. For those who submit at least 20 sets of comments/questions, at least 6 of which are considered appropriate and useful (by Ms. Boulter’s reasonably liberal standard), a rise of 1/3 letter grade for the course will be applied. (This should be a powerful incentive for doing this assignment well). For those who do not submit 20 comments/questions, or whose questions are not considered relevant/useful a subtraction of 1/3 letter grade will be considered.

Section attendance

Attendance in sections is mandatory. Not only is Ms. Boulter going to discuss matters raised in readings and lectures, but she will lead discussion of translations of various texts (literary texts, royal inscriptions, contracts, law suits, etc). Poor attendance in sections (that is, unexcused absences) may result in subtraction of 2/3 letter grade. Texts discussed in sections will be part of the subjects on the exams.

Meetings with students

I shall meet all students in my office early in the term in order to get to know your interests and backgrounds a bit, and perhaps to begin thinking of appropriate essay topics. I shall pass around a sign-up sheet with times in 10-minute intervals for my office hours (T and Th 2:30-3:30, W 11-12). As many as 3 students can sign up for one time. Think about what times will be convenient for you.

Lecture outlines

I shall send via email or c-tools a lecture outline the night before the lecture. Please check your email the night before the lecture or early in the day before the hour of the lecture to get this lecture outline. Print the outline and bring it to class so that you will be able to follow the lecture and also have a spelling guide to the names discussed in the lecture.
Graduate students (in ACABS 513)

I shall organize a discussion section bi-weekly (or in irregular intervals depending on the length of the subject and readings) for grad students in which we shall discuss aspects of the required and extended readings. There will be an emphasis on Mesopotamian archaeology in these discussions.


We shall also read essays from *Settlement and Society: Essays Dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams*, ed. E. Stone (2007).

Other sessions may consider the edited volumes of S.L. Sanders (*Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, 2006, Oriental Inst., U Chicago) and N. Brisch, ed. (on divine kingship, ms of conference at Oriental Inst, 2007).

The first mid-term essay will consist of a review of G. Stein (1999), *Rethinking World Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia* and in light of recent work of G. Algaze (e.g., in *Settlement and Society* (Adams Festschrift, ed. E. Stone, see above).

The term-paper topic will be chosen in consultation with the instructor. Minimum 5000 words, due on or before last day of class.
Provisional lecture schedule and reading list

Note: required readings in the textbook are listed for each lecture and should be read before the lecture. Other, extended readings are found in the Shapiro library’s electronic reserve facility. Students can download these readings or read them online. Some books are on physical reserve in the Shapiro’s reserve book room.

Extended readings (which are NOT required) are provided in smaller font. These readings are mainly in English, but key essays in German and French are also provided. Even the extended readings are not intended to be exhaustive on the lecture topics, but as guides to the literature for those who wish to read further on a given subject/time period. Some notable readings are also provided for each topic.

1. T, Sept. 4  Introduction to course. Problem orientation. The past and the present in Iraq

MVDM (= textbook), pp. 1-16

(Extended readings)

A.L. Oppenheim

S. Pollock

J.N. Postgate
1992  Early Mesopotamia, pp. 3-21

D.T. Potts
1998  Mesopotamian Civilization, Chs. 1-2. Chs. 3-4 deal with natural resources.

M. Roaf
1990  Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East (for good pictures)

2. Th, Sept. 6  The first cities and states. Uruk archaeology, writing, the Uruk expansion

MVDM, pp. 19-38

S. Pollock
1999  Ancient Mesopotamia: The Eden that Never Was, pp. 93-116, 149-172

J. Cooper
(Extended readings)
P. Michalowski

P. Michalowski

D. Schmandt-Besserat

G. Stein

(Notable recent books)
M. Rothman, editor

R. Englund

H. Nissen, P. Damerow, and R. Englund

J.-J. Glassner

S.L. Sanders, ed.
2006 Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures. Chicago: Oriental Institute

3. T, Sept. 11 Early Dynastic period. City-states and Mesopotamian civilization

MVDM, pp. 39-58

P. Michalowski

(Extended readings)
J. Cooper
1983 Reconstructing History from Inscriptions. Malibu: Undena

R. Biggs

J.N. Postgate, Early Mesopotamia, pp. 22-40
4. Th, Sept. 13 **Archaeology of the late 4th-early 3rd millennia**

M. Roaf

R. Zettler and L. Horne, eds.

(Extended readings)

H.J. Nissen

I. Winter

5. T, Sept. 18 **Sargon of Akkade. The Akkadian empire. Sumerians and Akkadians. Ebla**

MVDM, pp. 59-69

P. Michalowski

M. Van De Mieroop

(Extended readings)
A. Westenholz


(Notable recent publications)
See other essays in M. Liverani, ed, 1993 (cited above), especially

B. Foster Management and Administration in the Sargonic Period, pp. 11-24
B. Foster Select Bibliography of the Sargonic Period, pp. 171-181
M. Liverani Model and Actualization: The Kings of Akkad in the Historical Tradition, pp. 41-68
J. Cooper Paradigm and Propaganda: The Dynasty of Akkad in the 21st Century, pp. 11-24


J. Goodnick Westenholz 1997 Legends of the Kings of Akkade. Winona Lake, IN: Eisnbrauns

T. Potts 2001 Reading the Sargonic “Historical-Literary” Tradition: Is there a Middle Course? (Thoughts on the Great Revolt against Naram-Sin). In Historiography in the Cuneiform World, ed. by T. Abusch and others, pp. 391-408. Bethesda: CDL Press

There is a diskette with complete Ebla bibliography accompanying Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico by F. Baffi. Guardata, M. Baldacci, and F. Pomponio, 1997.

6. Th, Sept. 20 Third Dynasty of Ur. Bureaucracy and the State.

MVDM, pp. 69-79

7. T, Sept 25 The best of times the worst of times. Economics and social organization in the Ur III period


(Extended readings)

P. Michalowski

P. Steinkeller


(Notable readings)

T. Gomi

T. Maeda
1992 The Defense Zone During the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty. Acta Sumerologica 14: 135-172

H. Waetzoldt

M. Sigrist

Other essays in Gibson and Biggs, eds. Bureaucracy include
M. Civil Ur III Bureaucracy: Quantitative Aspects, pp. 43-53
I. Winter Legitimation of Authority through Image and Legend, pp. 69-115
R. Zettler Administration of the Temple of Inanna under the Third Dynasty of Ur: Archaeological and Documentary Evidence, pp. 117-131
K. Maekawa

W. Sallaberger***

8. Th, Sept. 27 Level and trend in the 3rd mill. B.C.

I. J. Gelb

I.M. Diakonoff
(Extended readings)
T. Jacobsen

P. Steinkeller
1993 In M. Liverani, Akkad (cited above), pp. 107-130

(Notable readings)
H. Neumann

More Gelb articles:

More Diakonoff articles:
1972 Socio-economic Classes in Babylonia and the Babylonian Concept of Social Stratification. In Gesellschaftsklassen (see above), pp. 41-52

9. T, Oct. 2 In-class mid-term exam

10. Th, Oct 4 Old Assyrian period. Politics
   MVDM, pp. 89-104

   M.T. Larsen
   1977 The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag
   (read pp. 27-84)

   K.R. Veenhof

   Reference:
   C. Michel
   2003 Old Assyrian Bibliography. Leiden: NINO

11. T, Oct. 9 Old Assyrian Trade
Marc Van De Mieroop
1999  *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History.* (See above), pp. 92-98

(Extended readings)

M. T. Larsen
1977 Partnerships in Old Assyrian Trade. *Iraq* 39: 119-145


K.R. Veenhof


(Notable recent publication)

J.G. Dercksen
1996 *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia.* Amsterdam: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul (contains good Old Assyrian bibliography)


12. Th, Oct. 11  **Early Old Babylonian period. Isin-Larsa period**

MVDM, pp. 81-89

M. Van de Mieroop

(Extended readings)

A.Goddeeris

A.L. Oppenheim

W.F. Leemans

Wu, Yohong
1994 A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari, and Assyria during the Old Babylonian Period (From the End of Ur III to the Death of Shamshi-Adad). Institute of the History of Ancient Civilizations

(Notable reading for lists of goods)
J. Renger

13. T, Oct. 16 No class (Fall study-day)

14, Th, Oct 18 Early Old Babylonian period (north). Archaeology and history of Kish

V. Donbaz and N. Yoffee


MVDM, pp. 104-112

J. Sasson

J. Margueron
1995 Mari: A Portrait in Art of a Mesopotamian City-State. In J. Sasson and others, eds. (cited above), pp. 885-900

R. Whiting
1995 Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia. In Sasson and others, pp. 1231-1242

(Extended readings on Mari are too numerous to list. A knowledge of French is critical. If interested, see instructor. For translations of letters concerning political history, see W. Heimpel, 2003, Letters to the King of Mari).

D. Charpin
2003 Hammu-rabi de Babylone. Paris

M. Van De Mieroop

D. Fleming
16. Th, Oct. 25 Remarkable Old Babylonian women. Economic, religious, and social behavior and status

R. Harris

N. Yoffee
1998 The Economics of Ritual in Old Babylonian Kish. Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 41: 310-343

R. Harris

(Notable readings)
J. Assante

E. Stone
1982 The Social Role of the Naditu Woman in Old Babylonian Sippar. Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 25: 50-70

I.M. Diakonoff

C. Janssen

U. Jeyes

R. Henshaw

S. Dalley
1980 Old Babylonian Dowries. Iraq 42: 53-74

S. Greengus

J. Renger
1973 Who are all those People? Orientalia 42: 259-273

Other sources on women in Mesopotamia (from various periods)

S. Parpola and R. Whiting, editors
Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. 2 volumes. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus (These two volumes contain a variety of essays on women from various periods)
K. Maekawa  

S. Pollock  

J. Bottéro  

J-M Durand, ed.  
1987  *La femme dans le proche orient antique*. Paris (Several articles in English)

K. Grosz  

J. N. Postgate  
1979  On Some Assyrian Ladies. *Iraq* 41: 89-103

M. Stol  
1995  Women in Mesopotamia. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38: 123-144

Z. Bahrani  

17. Th, Oct. 30 *Mesopotamian law. Law codes and legal cases*

N. Yoffee  

R. Westbrook  

M. Roth  
1995  *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. Atlanta: Scholars Press  
(read pp. 1-10)

(Notable readings)  
R. Westbrook, ed.  

R. Westbrook  
1988  *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*. Graz

M. Malul  
1988  *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism*. Neukirchen-Vluyn

J. J. Finkelstein

M. Roth

B. Foster

R. Westbrook and R. Jasnow, eds.

18. T, Nov. 1 **Collapse of the Old Babylonian State**

N. Yoffee


(Extended reading)
S. Richardson

19. T, Nov. 6 **Discussion. Take-home examination question distributed.**

*Due Th, Nov. 9 in class*

20. Th, Nov. 8 **Mesopotamia and the North: Hurrians, Mittannians, Hittites**

MVDM, pp. 112-160

(Notable readings)

T. Bryce

There are a number of essays on Hittites in Sasson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*: G. Beckman, Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia, pp. 529-544
R. Beal Hittite Military Organization, pp. 545-554
H. Hoffner, Law and Social Institutions of Hittite Anatolia, pp. 555-570
F. Imparatti, Private Life Among the Hittites, pp. 571-586
T.P.J. van den Hout, Khattushili III, King of the Hittites, pp. 1107-1120
G. Wilhelm, The Kingdom of Mittanni in Second-Millennium Western Asia, pp. 1243-1254

See new reference books on Hittites:
V. Haas
21. T, Nov. 13 Middle Babylonian period (Kassites) and Middle Assyrian periods.

MVDM, pp. 161-178

W. Sommerfeld  

(Extended readings)  
J.A. Brinkman  
1972 Foreign Relations of Babylonia from 1600-625 B.C. American Journal of Archaeology 76: 270-281

A. K. Grayson  

P. Machinist  
1976 Literature as Politics: The Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta and the Bible. Catholic Biblical Quarterly 38: 455-482

J. A. Brinkman  

M. Maidman  

K. Slansky  
2000 Classification, Historiography, and Monumental Authority. The Babylonian Entitlement Narus (kudurrus). Journal of Cuneiform Studies 52: 95-114 (see book by Slansky with the same title as this article, 2003)

22. Th, Nov. 15 International relations. End of the Old Order

MVDM, pp. 179-194
W. van Soldt  
1996  
Ugarit: A Second Millennium Kingdom on the Mediterranean Coast: Thirteenth To Tenth Centuries BCE. In J. Sasson and others, eds., pp. 1255-1266  

(Extended readings)  
Amarna period:  
N. Na’aman  
1992  

“Sea-peoples”  
T. Dothan  
1995  
“Sea-Peoples” and the Philistines of Ancient Palestine. In J. Sasson and others, eds. Pp 1267-1280  

N. Na’aman  
1986  
Habiru and Hebrews: The Transfer of a Social Term to the Literary Sphere. Journal of Near Eastern Studies 45:271-288  

(Notable publications)  
S. Gitin, A. Mazar, E. Stern, editors  
1998  
Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to early Tenth Centuries BCE. Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem  

W. van Soldt  
2005  
The Topography of the City-State of Ugarit. AOAT 324.  

D. Schloen  
2001  
The House of the Father in Fact and in Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ancient Ugarit and the Ancient Near East. Winona Springs: Eisenbrauns  

M. Yon  
2005  
The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns  

M.E. Aubet  
2001  
The Phoenicians and the West (2nd ed.). Cambridge  

S. Moscati (ed)  
1997  
The Phoenicians (2nd ed). New York: Rizzoli  

23. T, Nov. 20 Neo-Assyrian Politics  

MVDM, pp. 197-252  

(Extended readings)  
J.N. Postgate  
1979  

1987  

M. Liverani  
1979  

(Notable publications)

In J. Sasson and others, eds.  
E. Leichty, Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, pp. 949-958  
A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Rule of Conquered Territory in Ancient Western Asia, pp. 959-968

J.A. Brinkman  
1984 *Prelude to Empire*. Philadelphia: University Museum

A.K. Grayson  

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**Th, Nov. 22**  **Thanksgiving vacation**

**24. T, Nov. 27** Neo-Assyrian economy and society

(Extended readings)

K. Radner  

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**25. Th, Nov. 29** Israel and the Assyrians. Collapse of the Neo-Assyrian state

N. Yoffee  

M.T. Larsen  

P. Machinist  

(Extended reading)  
B. Otzen  
1979 Israel under the Assyrians. In *Power and Propaganda*, ed. M.T. Larsen, pp. 351-261

A.K. Grayson  

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Notable new readings:  
N. Na’aman  
O. Lipschits  
2005  *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem: Jerusalem under Babylonian Rule.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns

26. T, Dec. 4  **Neo-Babylonian state**

MVDM, pp. 253-256

P-A Beaulieu  
1995  King Nabonidus and the Neo-Babylonian Empire. In J. Sasson and others, eds., pp. 969-980

(Notable readings)  
D. Wiseman  

R. Sack  

M. Dandamayev  
1991  Neo-Babylonian Society and Economy. *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 3, pt. 2, Ch. 28a

M. Roth  

G. Barjamovic  

(There are many new studies of the economy in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. See instructor if interested. Here are a few)

M. Jursa  
2005  *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents: Typology, Contents, and Archives.* Ugarit Verlag

F. Joannès  

P. Briant  

M. Dandamayev  

A. Kuht  
1987  Usurpation, Conquest, and Ceremonial: From Babylon to Persia. In *Rituals of Royalty: Power and
Ceremonial in Traditional Societies, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price, pp. 20-55


S. Sherwin-White

In J. Sasson and others, eds.,
H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Darius the First and the Persian Empire, pp. 1035-1050
P. VallatSusa and Susiana in Second-Millennium B.C. Iran, pp. 1023-1035

D. Snell
New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

C. Wunsch

A.C.V.M. Bongenaar

F. Joannès

27. Th, Dec. 6 The end of Mesopotamian states and civilization

MVDM, pp. 267-280

(Extended readings)

P. Zimansky

J. Rempel and N. Yoffee

D.T. Potts
1999 Elam. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

28. T, Dec. 11 Last class

FINAL EXAM TBA