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1 **Analysis of geomagnetic field intensity variations in Mesopotamia during the**  
2 **third millennium BC with archeological implications**

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8

9 **Abstract**

10 We present new archeointensity results obtained at two multi-layer  
11 archeological sites, Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda (northeastern Syria), dated from the  
12 Early Bronze Period in the third millennium BC. The archeointensity data were  
13 obtained using the experimental protocol developed for the Triaxe magnetometer. In  
14 total, 68 fragments (204 specimens) of 151 fragments analyzed passed our selection  
15 criteria, allowing average intensity values to be estimated for 14 archeological layers,  
16 nine at Tell Atij and five at Tell Gudeda. Based on the available archeological  
17 constraints, the different archeological layers of Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda were dated  
18 between ~2900 BC and ~2600 BC and between ~2550 BC and ~2325 BC,  
19 respectively. The Tell Atij data show a significant increase in intensity over the dated  
20 period, while the results from Tell Gudeda exhibit a V-shape evolution. Using high-  
21 quality data available from Syria, the Levant and Turkey, a regional geomagnetic field  
22 intensity variation curve spanning the entire third millennium BC was constructed  
23 using a trans-dimensional Bayesian method. It clearly shows two intensity peaks,  
24 around 2600 BC and at ~2300 BC, associated with variation rates of ~0.1-0.2

25  $\mu\text{T}/\text{year}$ . This indicates that the occurrence of century-scale intensity peaks with rates  
26 of variation comparable to the maximum rates observed in the modern geomagnetic  
27 field is an ubiquitous feature of the geomagnetic secular variation. From an  
28 archeological point of view, the new archeointensity data strengthen the hypothesis  
29 that the successive occupation of Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda was synchronous with the  
30 two first urban phases of Mari, making possible a sustained trade network between  
31 these settlements during the third millennium BC. We further suggest that the end of  
32 Mari's first urban phase, contemporaneous with the abandonment of Tell Atij, might  
33 have been caused by a regional drought episode around 2600 BC. More generally,  
34 the Bayesian approach used to estimate the new reference intensity variation curve  
35 offers promising chronological constraints for archeological purposes.

36

37 *Keywords: Archeomagnetism, Archeointensity, Near East, Third millennium BC,*  
38 *Variation rates, Archeological implications*

39

## 40 **1. Introduction**

41 Archeomagnetism is a unique tool for tracing the detailed evolution of the  
42 Earth's magnetic field over the past millennia and, at the same time, for constraining  
43 core flow dynamics on time scales ranging from a few tens of years to several  
44 millennia. In addition, many examples have shown that once established for a given  
45 region, an accurate curve of directional and/or intensity variations of the geomagnetic  
46 field provides a powerful chronological tool for archeological purposes. The Near  
47 East is undoubtedly an ideal region for the implementation of this dual application of  
48 archeomagnetic investigations because it benefits from both extensive archeological

49 and historical data and a growing body of archeomagnetic data, even though the  
50 latter are still mainly limited to geomagnetic field intensity variations.

51 In this context, the near-eastern third millennium BC has emerged as a  
52 particularly interesting target. From a geomagnetic perspective, Gallet et al (2006;  
53 2014) and Gallet and Butterlin (2015) showed the probable existence of two field  
54 intensity peaks around 2600 BC and ~2300-2200 BC (see also Ertepinar et al.,  
55 2012). These intensity peaks might be linked to archeomagnetic jerks with their  
56 possible connection to global field eccentricity and climatic variations (Gallet et al.,  
57 2009; Genevey et al., 2013 and references therein), or to geomagnetic spikes  
58 described by extreme decadal intensity variation rates (e.g. Shaar et al., 2011; 2016).  
59 The extreme variations required by geomagnetic spikes are attracting considerable  
60 interest because the intensity variation rates of the order of several  $\mu\text{T}/\text{year}$  required  
61 do not appear compatible with the current understanding of flow dynamics in the  
62 outer core, raising therefore many questions about the processes that might produce  
63 them (e.g. Livermore et al., 2014). Archeologically speaking, the interest in having a  
64 new dating tool for the near-eastern third millennium BC is no less important because  
65 this period witnessed in Upper Mesopotamia a succession of major socio-political  
66 changes, including the definitive adoption and generalization of urbanism around  
67 2600-2500 BC (e.g. Akkermans and Schwartz, 2003) and a major 'crisis of  
68 civilization' during the last centuries of this millennium, often seen as a consequence  
69 of an episode of severe aridity in the Near East (e.g. Weiss et al., 1993).

70 Knowledge of the predominant geomagnetic field intensity variations in the  
71 Near East during the third millennium BC is currently mainly derived from  
72 archeointensity data obtained in Mari (modern Tell Hariri), a major Mesopotamian  
73 settlement located in the middle Euphrates valley, and in Ebla (modern Tell Mardikh),

74 another important ancient city further west of modern Syria (Fig. 1; e.g. Gallet et al.,  
75 2014, Gallet and Butterlin, 2015). The present study aims to improve the temporal  
76 resolution of this record in order to establish a more accurate reference curve and  
77 quantify more precisely the intensity variation rates associated with the two intensity  
78 peaks previously mentioned. For this purpose, we analyzed ceramic fragments  
79 retrieved from two Early Bronze small agricultural settlements, Tell Atij and Tell  
80 Gueda, situated in the middle valley of the Khabur River, a tributary of Euphrates,  
81 about 20 km south of the modern town of Hassake in northeastern Syria (Fig. 1).  
82 Being granary sites geographically situated between urban centers located further  
83 north of the Khabur, like Tell Brak, Tell Mozan and Tell Leilan, and Mari located in the  
84 south along the Euphrates River, these two sites also raised interesting questions  
85 about their regional role (for a synthesis, see for instance Akkermans and Schwartz,  
86 2003). In this respect, the comparison between the new archeointensity data and  
87 those previously obtained in Mari is particularly useful.

88

## 89 **2. Archeological contexts and sampling**

90 Tell Atij and Tell Gueda ( $\lambda=36.43^{\circ}\text{N}$ ,  $\varphi=40.86^{\circ}\text{E}$ ) are part of a cluster of a  
91 dozen of third millennium BC sites, which were excavated in the 1980s by various  
92 foreign teams of archeologists owing to the construction of a dam in the middle  
93 Khabur Valley (e.g. Fortin, 1991; 2000). These two small tells (mounds) were the  
94 subject of five excavation campaigns, from 1986 to 1993, by a Canadian team from  
95 Laval University (Québec) headed by Michel Fortin (Fig. 2). Located about 1 km from  
96 each other, on both sides of the modern Khabur riverbed, they are multi-layered  
97 sites. Tell Atij,  $\sim 150 \times 40$  m, yielded thirteen superimposed occupation layers  
98 evidenced in a total thickness of about 9 m, while the 7-m total accumulation at Tell

99 Gueda, ~110 x 65 m, produced ten layers. The archeological data excavated from  
100 Tell Atij and Tell Gueda are reported in many publications (e.g. Fortin, 1990a;  
101 1990b; 1994; 1995) and only a very brief overview of these results is provided below.

102         Based on the presence of plastered room floors and walls, large vaulted and  
103 plastered granaries built of mudbricks and grid-planned buildings but with no clear  
104 evidence for dwelling units, Tell Atij has been interpreted by Fortin (e.g. 1997; 2001)  
105 as a trading outpost where agriculture surplus was concentrated and stored before  
106 being redistributed, probably by waterway. A ~3-m thick wall probably reaching a  
107 height of ~9 m has surrounded the site since its beginning reflecting its strategic and  
108 economical importance. All archeological layers, with thicknesses ranging from ~0.3  
109 m to ~1.0 m, have revealed a dense network of mudbrick walls except in levels VII  
110 and VIII that showed no architectural remains and an accumulation of ash layers,  
111 which may indicate a marked regression phase of the settlement, or simply the fact  
112 that the excavations occurred in an area which was formally a large courtyard that  
113 served as a dumping zone. Archeological remains in the top of the mound were  
114 poorly preserved because of the emplacement of modern graves. It is worth  
115 mentioning that another mound of smaller size (referred to as the 'secondary tell') is  
116 present ~100 m to the east of the main tell (from where all potsherds analyzed here  
117 were collected). There, the excavations also revealed a series of poorly preserved  
118 architectural remains, with perhaps some evidence of a modest port facility, and  
119 several tombs. Study of the ceramic material found in Tell Atij and a global analysis  
120 of the archeological data from several sites in the Jezirah region allowed dating of the  
121 foundation of Tell Atij to be from the beginning of the so-called period Early Jezirah  
122 (EJZ) 1 at ~2900 BC and its abandonment likely during the EJZ 2 Final phase,  
123 around 2600 BC, thanks to the discovery of both metallic ware and Ninevite 5

124 excised ceramic fragments in the uppermost (youngest) layer I (Boileau, 2005;  
125 Lebeau and Pruss, 2011; Quenet, 2011; Rova, 2011).

126 Because of the finding of numerous food-baking ovens (for bread?) and basalt  
127 grinding tools, Tell Gudeda has been interpreted more as a food-processing site, with  
128 again only a few or no firm traces of houses (Fig. 2c,d; Fortin, 1990a; 1990b; 1994;  
129 1995). The thickness of the archeological levels ranged from ~0.3 m to ~1.5 m, with  
130 no evidence of a significant break in the occupation. The study of the ceramic  
131 material found in Tell Gudeda, showing in particular the total absence of Ninevite 5  
132 excised or incised ceramic fragments in the different archeological layers (Boileau,  
133 2005), while fragments of metallic ware were quite common, indicated that the  
134 occupation of this site likely started at the beginning of the EJZ 3a phase, at ~2550  
135 BC, and its abandonment should be placed at the end of the EJZ 3b phase around  
136 2350 BC or slightly after (e.g. Boileau, 2005; Lebeau and Pruss, 2011).

137 The archeological data showed that the storage and food production  
138 capacities in Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda probably exceeded the needs of their own  
139 population (remember that no clear dwelling units have been discovered in these two  
140 sites) similar to several contemporaneous agricultural settlements excavated in the  
141 vicinity (Fig. 1), for instance Tell Raqa'i (Schwartz, 2015) and Tell Ziyadeh (Hole and  
142 Tonoike 2016). The discovery of administrative artifacts, such as cylinder seals, and  
143 of tokens used to quantify goods has supported the idea that these villages operated  
144 under the authority of a centralized political power. The absence of urban centers  
145 located nearby in the middle Khabur Valley, however, gave rise to much debate on  
146 its identity. The existence of these granary sites has been therefore associated with  
147 urban centers located either north, in the upper Khabur valley such as Tell Brak (~50  
148 km away) or south, with Mari on the Euphrates River lying farther, about 200 km

149 downstream (Fig. 1) (e.g. Margueron, 1991; Fortin, 2001). Their main role would then  
150 have been the supply in agricultural goods of the populations of these urban centers.  
151 Such a north or south connection with distant urban centers was questioned by Hole  
152 (e.g. 1991), who instead proposed that the small rural sites of the middle Khabur  
153 valley were primarily intended for and ruled by local populations and/or pastoral  
154 nomads moving in the area. Akkermans and Schwartz (2003) further emphasized  
155 that these villages could be part of a broader regional economic network made of  
156 small rural communities interacting with each other without a central authority.

157         At the completion of the archeological campaigns carried out at Tell Atij and  
158 Tell Gudeda, a very large collection of pottery fragments (more than ten thousand  
159 shards), mostly age-diagnostic ones, has been moved to Laval University where they  
160 are properly stored in a research laboratory (<http://www.laboarcheologie.ulaval.ca>).  
161 This is where our archeomagnetic sampling was conducted in February 2018, in  
162 which we grouped potsherds found in the same archeological level recovered on  
163 both sites. Nine layers were sampled at Tell Atij (layers XIII, XI, IX, VIII, VII, VI, IV, III,  
164 I from the oldest to the most recent) and five at Tell Gudeda (layers X, VII, VI, IV, II  
165 again with same time ordering). The number of fragments, 151 in total, was  
166 distributed among the levels according to the fragments available and to the  
167 archeological context, ranging about 10 (in most cases) to about thirty (for layer X of  
168 Tell Gudeda). Within any given layer, the shards were assumed to be of the same  
169 age (but see below). An important note is that the sampling was only focused on  
170 common wares likely produced locally and used for a short time period.

171

### 172 **3. New archeointensity results**

#### 173 *3.1 Methods*



174           The archeointensity results were obtained using the experimental protocol  
175 developed for the vibrating sample magnetometer called Triaxe (Le Goff and Gallet,  
176 2004). This protocol, which is based on magnetization measurements carried out at  
177 high temperatures, aims to reproduce the conditions that led to the acquisition of the  
178 natural remanent magnetization (NRM) of the studied samples by acquiring in a  
179 single thermal step a new thermoremanent magnetization (the laboratory-TRM),  
180 whose direction is exactly parallel to that of the NRM and which replaces most of the  
181 original NRM. For a specimen, an intensity value is obtained from the comparison  
182 between the magnetization moments of the NRM and the laboratory-TRM measured  
183 every  $\sim 5^{\circ}\text{C}$  between two reference temperatures ( $T_1$  or  $T_1' > T_1$  if a secondary  
184 magnetization is observed above  $T_1$  and  $T_2$ ) where the NRM is strictly uni-directional  
185 and represents the magnetization acquired during the manufacture of the ceramic  
186 (Le Goff and Gallet, 2004). In particular, the Triaxe protocol allows a sensitive  
187 analysis of the magnetization from a large number of measurements over a large  
188 temperature interval, which is essential in the case of the combination of several  
189 magnetization components, and to take into account the effects of anisotropy and  
190 cooling rate on the NRM acquisition (Le Goff and Gallet, 2004 and other references  
191 above).

192           The archeointensity data were selected on the basis of the same selection  
193 criteria as those used in all our previous studies (see their summary in Table S1).  
194 These criteria aim to test the suitability of the magnetic behavior of the fragments for  
195 intensity determination, as well as the consistency of the intensity values obtained at  
196 the specimen level. Note that these are independent of another criterion based on  
197 the reversibility of the magnetic susceptibility versus temperature curves. These  
198 criteria apply both at the fragment level (we analyzed a minimum of 3 specimens per

199 fragment) and at the level of a group of fragments collected from the same  
200 archeological layer (with a minimum of three suitable fragments analyzed per  
201 archeological level). We recall that the reliability of the archeointensity data derived  
202 from the Triaxe protocol has been demonstrated on several occasions from their  
203 direct comparison with results obtained using more classical experimental techniques  
204 involving magnetization measurements carried out at room temperature (see for  
205 example Gallet and Le Goff, 2006; Hartmann et al., 2011; Hervé et al., 2017 and  
206 references therein).

207         The studied groups of potsherds were assembled from layers well defined  
208 both from stratigraphic and archeological viewpoints. Within a given archeological  
209 layer, the ages of the different shards are distributed within the age range considered  
210 for the layer, without it being possible to know the shape of the distribution. In  
211 addition, the possibility that some fragments incidentally moved in the stratigraphy  
212 cannot be excluded, i.e. their age would not correspond to that of the archeological  
213 layer where they were found (see for instance a discussion in Yutsis-Akimova et al.,  
214 2018). The displacement of potsherds from one layer to another may have been  
215 caused by several phenomena, such as the digging into a lower layer by new settlers  
216 to set up their new installations, the tunneling by burrowing animals after  
217 abandonment of the site or simply erosion factors that had a great effect in particular  
218 on Tell Atij, considering that more than half of the site has been washed away by the  
219 river flowing near-by. Similar severe erosion phenomenon occurred at Tell Gudeda.  
220 To take this difficulty into account, and following Yutsis-Akimova et al (2018), we  
221 applied a  $3\sigma$  rejection test to the intensity values obtained from the fragments from all  
222 groups (i.e. all layers). Here we considered that up to 25% of the fragments from the  
223 same group could possibly be outliers on the basis of the  $3\sigma$  test, which roughly

224 corresponds to the same rejection rate as in Yutsis-Akimova et al. (2018). The  
225 corresponding intensity values could therefore be eliminated from the calculation of  
226 the mean intensity characteristic of the layer.

227

### 228 *3.2 Description of the new data*

229 The Triaxe analyses yielded archeointensity values meeting the selection criteria for  
230 36 of the 81 fragments from Tell Atij and 32 of the 70 fragments from Tell Gudeda.  
231 The corresponding success rates of ~44% and ~46%, respectively are relatively low  
232 compared to our previous studies (e.g. Gallet et al., 2014; Gallet and Butterlin, 2015).  
233 This is largely due to the frequent presence of several magnetization components  
234 likely related to the use of the studied ceramics for cooking purposes, leading to  
235 secondary heating at a temperature generally lower than that of the initial firing  
236 achieved during the manufacture of the pottery. As a result, intensity determinations  
237 were often obtained at high temperatures ( $T_1' > \sim 300^\circ\text{C}$ ; Table S2). Examples of  
238 thermal demagnetization data are shown in Fig. S1.

239         The magnetization of the Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda fragments is likely mainly  
240 carried by a mineral of the titanomagnetite family, with often a small fraction of a high  
241 coercivity magnetic phase, probably hematite. This dual composition is demonstrated  
242 by isothermal remanent magnetization (IRM) acquisition curves up to 1.5 T (Fig. S2)  
243 and by the thermal demagnetization of three-axis IRM acquired in fields of 0.2 T, 0.4  
244 T and 1.5 T (Fig. 3). The magnetic mineralogy deduced from the IRM experiments is  
245 very homogeneous for the entire collection of fragments. In addition, magnetic  
246 susceptibility versus temperature curves acquired for all fragments, although more  
247 variable in shape, further confirm the good stability of the magnetization on heating

248 (already deduced from the Triaxe measurements) within the same temperature range  
249 as that used for intensity analyses (up to  $\sim 500^{\circ}\text{C}$ ; Fig. 4).

250 All intensity values obtained at the fragment level are based on the averaging  
251 of the  $R'(T_i)$  data (see definition in Le Goff and Gallet, 2004) acquired from three  
252 different specimens. In summary: the  $R'(T_i)$  data for each specimen represent all  
253 ratios between the NRM and laboratory-TRM fractions demagnetized between  $T_1$  (or  
254  $T_1'$ ) and the running temperature  $T_i$  increasing from  $T_1$  (or  $T_1'$ ) and  $T_2$  with a  
255 temperature step of  $\sim 5^{\circ}\text{C}$ , multiplied by the field intensity applied for laboratory-TRM  
256 acquisition. Examples of archeointensity data obtained for six groups of fragments  
257 are reported in Fig. 5 (each individual curve in the different diagrams shows the  
258 intensity  $R'(T_i)$  data and the temperature intervals at which they were obtained, used  
259 to estimate a mean intensity value at the specimen level). Several diagrams in Fig. 5  
260 show the presence of outlying data, as defined by the use of the  $3\sigma$  rejection test  
261 (Fig. 5a,d,f; Fig. 6). Outliers were detected for seven layers, three at Tell Atij (Fig. 6a)  
262 and four at Tell Gudeda (Fig. 6b). In six of the seven layers, a single outlier was  
263 observed. A difference concerns layer X of Tell Gudeda where three outliers were  
264 detected. Situated at the base of the Tell, placed on virgin soil, and cleared over a  
265 small area on the edge of the Tell (and on the erosion limit), we were aware that  
266 some fragments could have come from erosion of the upper layers. This problem  
267 was anticipated by sampling many more fragments for this layer (note that 15  
268 intensity values were obtained for this level while the number of data varied from  
269 three to seven for all other layers; see Table 1). This represents a rejection rate of  
270 20% while the rates vary from 15% to 25% in the other six layers. It should be noted  
271 that these deviating values are nevertheless in agreement with the evolution of the  
272 intensity values observed through the two archeological sequences (i.e. they are

273 consistent with the range of values found in the two sequences), which argue for a  
274 displacement of the concerned shards in the stratigraphy (and thus in time) of their  
275 site (Fig. 6). As previously indicated, all the deviating values were eliminated from the  
276 calculation of the intensity means at the group level (red squares, Fig. 6). Thanks to  
277 this consistency test, the mean intensity values hence obtained are particularly well  
278 defined, with between 3 and 12 independent fragments. The intensity values range  
279 between  $\sim 40 \mu\text{T}$  and  $\sim 56 \mu\text{T}$ , with standard deviations ranging from  $0.2 \mu\text{T}$  to  $4.5 \mu\text{T}$   
280 (with a mean of  $\sim 2 \mu\text{T}$ ), or between  $\sim 1\%$  and  $\sim 9\%$  of the corresponding mean values  
281 (average of  $\sim 4\%$ ) (Table 1 and Table S2).

282

#### 283 **4. Age modeling and field intensity variations**

284 For the sake of simplicity, age models for the Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda data  
285 have been determined using a bootstrap approach relying on 10000 random draws.  
286 The chosen parameters were the following: i) indetermination of  $\pm 10$  cm on the exact  
287 position of the boundaries between the different archeological layers, and therefore  
288 of  $\pm 20$  cm in the thickness of these layers; and ii) dating of the upper and lower  
289 bounds of the sequences arbitrarily established with a standard deviation of 25 years,  
290 thus leading to age uncertainties on these tie-points of  $\pm 50$  years at 95% confidence  
291 level. Considering the archeological constraints, the upper/lower bounds were  
292 respectively chosen at  $2900 \pm 25$  BC and  $2600 \pm 25$  BC for Tell Atji, and at  $2550 \pm 25$   
293 BC and  $2325 \pm 25$  BC for Tell Gudeda. Furthermore, instead of simply using the  
294 approximation of a constant accumulation rate all through the archeological  
295 sequences, we considered reasonable random variations in the accumulation rate up  
296 to 20% of the average accumulation rate provided at a given random draw by the  
297 ratio between the total thickness of the sequence and the total time included in the

298 sequence (Fig. S3). Note that this model essentially makes it possible to estimate  
299 reasonable age uncertainties for the new data, i.e. comparable to those of most other  
300 results available in the Near East.

301 The data obtained at Tell Atij show an increase in geomagnetic field intensity  
302 of about 15  $\mu\text{T}$ , between  $\sim 40 \mu\text{T}$  around 2850 BC and  $\sim 55 \mu\text{T}$  around 2500 BC (Fig.  
303 7). This increase appears to be continuous, however, it can be noted that the  
304 intensity values obtained for layers VI to XI are very similar, which could indicate that  
305 these levels correspond to short and close time intervals. The contrast with the  
306 archeointensity values obtained for the three most recent layers (I, III and IV), which  
307 show a marked increase, suggests either a longer temporal spacing between these  
308 levels (a possibility that cannot be tested given the way the age model was  
309 established) or higher intensity variation rates during the corresponding period. The  
310 latter option could be supported by the fact that the standard deviations associated  
311 with the mean intensity values are larger for those layers. The archeointensity data  
312 obtained at Tell Gudeda also show a marked evolution of the intensities (Fig. 7),  
313 characterized by a V shape, with variations of the order of 10  $\mu\text{T}$  between the highest  
314 values ( $\sim 55 \mu\text{T}$ ; layers X and II), at the beginning ( $\sim 2600$  BC) and towards the end  
315 ( $\sim 2350$  BC) of the site occupation, and the lowest values ( $\sim 45 \mu\text{T}$ ) around 2450 BC  
316 (layers IV, VI and VII).

317

## 318 **5. Construction of a near-eastern geomagnetic field intensity variation curve** 319 **for the third millennium BC**

320 In addition to the data from Ebla and Mari, a few other archeointensity results  
321 meeting standard (and 'modern') quality criteria, which attest the stability of the

322 magnetic mineralogy of the studied fragments during thermal treatment and take into  
323 account the anisotropy and cooling rate effects on TRM acquisition, were obtained in  
324 Syria for the third millennium BC, from Mashnaqa (Gallet and Le Goff, 2006) and Tell  
325 Mozan (Stillinger et al., 2015). In our study, we decided to select only high-quality  
326 data available in a geographical area as close as possible to Northeastern Syria, in  
327 order to construct a reference mean intensity variation curve focused on the Near-  
328 East (or the Upper Mesopotamian region). This led us to consider the results  
329 obtained in Tel Hazor and Tel Megiddo (Israel; Shaar et al., 2016), Arslantepe  
330 (Southeastern Turkey; Ertepinar et al., 2012) and in Kültepe (Central Turkey;  
331 Ertepinar et al., 2016), at ~550 km, ~470 km and ~670 km from Mari, respectively. To  
332 make the archeointensity data obtained from pottery fragments statistically more  
333 equivalent, we averaged them by (homogeneous) archeological context, yielding  
334 group-mean intensity values as those reported in this study (Table 1). Of particular  
335 note are the data obtained in Tel Hazor and Tel Megiddo, where a total of four mean  
336 intensity values with ages ranging from ~3000 BC to ~2150 BC could each be  
337 estimated from a minimum of three fragments collected from independent pottery.  
338 This approach, however, led to the rejection of the data obtained at Tell Mozan on  
339 isolated fragments. In total, we selected 48 data covering the third millennium BC  
340 (Fig. 7; Table S3).

341 To construct a reference geomagnetic field intensity variation curve for the Near  
342 East encompassing the entire third millennium BC, we used the method recently  
343 developed by Livermore et al. (2018), which imposes a minimum regularization on  
344 the reference curve. Here the degree of temporal complexity of the models is fixed by  
345 the data themselves, through the use of a trans-dimensional Bayesian technique  
346 relying on piecewise linear interpolation of the data between internal vertices guided

347 by both experimental and age uncertainties and possibly by a time-order relationship  
348 between some of them (as is the case for the new datasets from Tell Atij and Tell  
349 Gudeda). The method delivers a time-dependent posterior distribution of the intensity  
350 data, as computed from a large set of individual models, characterized by mean,  
351 median and modal models and a 95% credible interval (see description and  
352 discussion in Livermore et al., 2018; [https://www.github.com/plivermore/AH-](https://www.github.com/plivermore/AH-RJMCMC)  
353 [RJMCMC](https://www.github.com/plivermore/AH-RJMCMC)). To create the posterior distribution, a Reverse-Jump Monte Carlo Markov  
354 Chain procedure was implemented, in which the data ages are incorporated as “age  
355 hyper-parameters” into the model vector (leading to the procedure referred to as AH-  
356 RJMCMC). Note that this approach is particularly well suited for the recovery of rapid  
357 intensity variations, as seems to be the case in the Near East during the third  
358 millennium BC.

359 An example posterior intensity variation curve is shown in Fig. 7 by its average  
360 and 95% credible interval (note that the archeointensity data were all transferred to  
361 Mari’s latitude using the virtual axial dipole moment approximation). This figure  
362 reveals a relatively tight 95%-confidence envelope, indicating that the available  
363 results taken as a whole form a fairly consistent dataset. It allows us to clearly isolate  
364 two geomagnetic field intensity peaks, with maxima dated around 2550 BC and  
365 ~2300 BC and a minimum dated at ~2400 BC, further confirming the fact that the  
366 occurrence of century-scale intensity peaks is an ubiquitous characteristic of the  
367 secular variation.

368

## 369 **6. Discussion**

370 *6.1 On the robustness of the geomagnetic field intensity variation curve and rates of*  
371 *change*



372 The distribution of the available data, taking into account their age and intensity  
373 uncertainties, with respect to the 95%-confidence envelope of the intensity evolution  
374 computed by the AH-RJMCMC method shown in Fig. 7, indicates that several results  
375 may be considered as outlying. This mainly concerns two data obtained in Tel Hazor  
376 (Israel) with large age uncertainties ( $\Delta T=300$  years) and mean ages at  $\sim 2650$  BC and  
377  $\sim 2150$  BC (violet circles, Fig. 7; Shaar et al., 2016) and the result from Kültepe ( $2400$   
378  $\pm 50$  BC; yellow triangle, Fig. 7; Ertepinar et al., 2016). With respect to the Tel Hazor  
379 data, their most likely dating derived from their marginal age distributions lies in the  
380 old and recent parts of their corresponding prior age intervals, respectively (Fig.  
381 S4a,b). On the other hand, the most likely dating of the Kültepe result obtained from  
382 burnt adobe bricks (their magnetization is therefore posterior to the construction of  
383 the building concerned) is strongly confined to the younger part of its prior age  
384 interval (Fig. S4c).

385 In a second calculation, we chose to eliminate the three highlighted data above  
386 (Fig. 8a; Table S4). The resulting mean curve is very similar to that of Fig. 7. It is also  
387 almost identical to the curve constructed using only the results from Mari, Ebla,  
388 Mashnaqa, Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda, the latter forming a very homogeneous data  
389 collection (Triaxe protocol and same averaging approach) (Fig. S5). The similarity  
390 between the different curves indicates that the estimates are robust and do not  
391 strongly depend on a few data. It is also important to specify that the estimated mean  
392 curve is very insensitive to the chosen Markov chain sampling parameters, such as  
393 the maximum number of vertices allowed, the length of the calculation chain, or the  
394 maximum and minimum intensity values used to bound the calculation, which further  
395 underlines its robustness.

396 The intensity values calculated at Mari from the global geomagnetic field model

397 referred to as SCHA.DIF.14k (Pavón-Carrasco et al., 2014) show similar fluctuations  
398 but with smaller amplitude compared to those retrieved by considering only the  
399 regional archeointensity data (Fig. 8a). However, the uncertainties associated with  
400 the results obtained using the SCHA-DIF.14k model are such that a constant  
401 geomagnetic intensity (of about 45  $\mu\text{T}$ ) over the entire third millennium BC lies within  
402 the error bounds. Such a behavior is inconsistent with the new curves reported in Fig.  
403 7, 8a because of their more pronounced temporal variations and tighter error bounds.  
404 This discrepancy, which is typical for such comparisons (e.g. Genevey et al., 2016),  
405 illustrates the still limited resolution of the global archeomagnetic field reconstructions  
406 compared to detailed regional curves. This difference occurs despite the fact that the  
407 SCHA.DIF.14k model, constructed using only archeological and volcanic data,  
408 probably has, among all available models, one of the best accuracies for the northern  
409 hemisphere where most of the available data are located.

410 From the posterior model ensemble shown in Fig. 8a, we then estimated the  
411 corresponding evolution of the variation rates (Fig. 8b). Note that for each model of  
412 the ensemble, the intensity curve is interpolated on a regular grid with a constant  
413 spacing equal to  $\sim 5$  years, regardless of the number and location of the internal  
414 vertices of this specific model. The slope of each interpolated intensity curve is  
415 computed locally at each point of the regular (in time) grid. This provides us with the  
416 variation rates ( $dF/dt$ ) for any given member of the ensemble. Finally, given the  
417 ensemble of  $dF/dt$  curves, it is straightforward to estimate the mean, median curves  
418 and the credible interval of  $dF/dt$ . The variation rates associated with the two intensity  
419 peaks from the third millennium BC attain, on average, values of  $\sim 0.10\text{-}0.20$   $\mu\text{T}/\text{year}$ .  
420 While these values are significantly lower than those proposed for geomagnetic  
421 spikes, they are very similar to (or even slightly higher than) the maximum variation

422 rates observed in the recent field (e.g. Livermore et al., 2014). They also appear  
423 similar to other variation rates previously determined from archeomagnetic data of  
424 different ages obtained in Mesopotamia (6th millennium BC; Yutis-Akimova et al.,  
425 2018) and in Western Europe (past three millennia; e.g. Genevey et al., 2016; Hervé  
426 et al., 2017). With the exception of the geomagnetic spikes, values of the order of 0.1  
427 to 0.3  $\mu\text{T}/\text{yr}$  might therefore represent typical and recurrent intensity variation rates,  
428 which would not require a specific and unusual geodynamo behavior.

429

## 430 *6.2 Comparison with previous data from Mari and archeological implications*

431 The archeological data suggest that the occupation of Tell Atji and Tell  
432 Gudeda was synchronous with the first and second urban phases of Mari,  
433 respectively (e.g. Margueron, 2004), with the trend of the new archeointensity data  
434 being broadly in agreement with existing understanding of the time-dependent  
435 intensity (Fig. 7). A good consistency is indeed observed between the Tell Atij  
436 dataset and the results previously obtained for Mari's first urban phase (Genevey et  
437 al., 2003; Gallet et Le Goff, 2006; Gallet et Butterlin, 2015). The main difference  
438 concerns the most recent intensity values, that obtained at Mari being lower than the  
439 one obtained at Tell Atij. The probable reason for this discrepancy has already been  
440 discussed by Gallet and Butterlin (2015): the last occupation level(s) of Mari's first  
441 urban phase remain undocumented as they were leveled during the construction of  
442 Mari's second urban phase (e.g. Margueron, 2004) implying a gap in the record  
443 around 2600 BC.

444 Concerning Tell Gudeda, the intensity value characterizing its earliest  
445 occupation is in very good agreement with the two intensity data obtained for the  
446 beginning of Mari's second urban phase (Fig. 7). A decreasing trend is next observed

447 in both sequences, although the Tell Gudeda dataset exhibits a more pronounced  
448 minimum in intensity around 2450 BC. The new dataset likely allows the resolution of  
449 the previous record to be increased. In contrast, the archeointensity value obtained  
450 toward the end of the occupation of Tell Gudeda (layer II) is significantly higher than  
451 the two data documenting the end of Mari's second urban phase. This may be  
452 explained by the fact that the latter data predate the very end of this phase, coming  
453 from a level of occupation stratigraphically below that marking the destruction of the  
454 city with a violent burning (Margueron, 2004; Butterlin, 2010). For the same reason,  
455 they are also lower than the intensity results obtained at Ebla in the context of the  
456 destruction of Palace G (Gallet et al., 2014), while the destruction of Ebla and Mari by  
457 the Akkadian troops was likely very close in time.

458         The new archeointensity data therefore strengthen the fact that the successive  
459 occupation of Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda was synchronous with the two first urban  
460 phases of Mari. This makes possible a sustained economic relationship between  
461 these settlements during the third millennium BC. An inscribed tablet discovered in  
462 Mari proved the existence of economic interactions between Mari during its third and  
463 last urban phase (~2200-1750 BC) and the Middle Khabur region, intended for the  
464 supply of Mari in cereals (Margueron, 1991). The persistence of these interactions  
465 throughout Mari's history could easily be explained by the fact that Mari was located  
466 in a semi-arid to arid area where, despite the practice of irrigation agriculture,  
467 meeting the needs of the population was a permanent challenge. Furthermore, the  
468 very existence of Mari can be understood only by the determination to control the  
469 economic exchanges, in particular for wood and ores, between the northern regions  
470 (Anatolia, the Taurus Mountains and the Upper Mesopotamia) and Southern  
471 Mesopotamia transiting through the Euphrates. The power of Mari would have been

472 stronger when the city was assured of a regular supply in agricultural products  
473 necessary for its livelihood, especially in drought years.

474 Sustained economic interactions between these sites throughout the third  
475 millennium BC is in little doubt, but their form is much more uncertain, ranging  
476 between a relationship of pure domination assuring the exclusivity of the agriculture  
477 surplus in favor of Mari and a more flexible association established on the basis of  
478 regular trade agreements with local people (for discussion, see for instance Fortin,  
479 1988; 2000; Margueron, 1991; 2004; Hole, 1991; Akkermans and Schwartz, 2003).  
480 Additionally, it is tempting to link the abandonment of Tell Atij to that of Mari (end of  
481 its first urban phase) around 2600 BC. In this case, enhanced drought stress and  
482 induced environmental changes in Upper Mesopotamia, in the so-called 'zone of  
483 uncertainty' (Wilkinson et al., 2014), around the middle of the third millennium BC  
484 might appear as a plausible causal factor (e.g. Gallet et al., 2006; see a more general  
485 discussion in Kaniewski et al., 2012). Several geochemical and petrographic datasets  
486 could argue in favor of such a climate (aridity)-related feature (e.g. Riehl et al., 2014;  
487 Cheng et al., 2015; see also discussion in Issar and Zohar 2004 and references  
488 therein), further coinciding in time with a brief drifting ice maximum in the North  
489 Atlantic belonging to Bond event #3 (Bond et al., 2001).

490

### 491 *6.3 Application of the AH-RJMCMC method to archeological dating*

492 Thanks to its accuracy and strong fluctuations, the new reference geomagnetic  
493 field intensity variation curve offers a promising tool for archeomagnetic dating and  
494 temporal calibration between the different and independent archeological  
495 chronologies that have been established so far in the Near East.

496 To further illustrate this issue, we applied the AH-RJMCMC algorithm to derive  
497 the marginal age distributions of the Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda results, using the same  
498 dataset as in Fig. 8a. A uniform age distribution between the upper and lower age  
499 limits of each sequence slightly extended to take into account the  $1\sigma$  uncertainties  
500 considered to construct the age model discussed in Section 4 were used as priors for  
501 the data obtained at Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda. Here the crucial element is the strict  
502 time-order relationship between the different archeological layers in each sequence  
503 (see discussion in Livermore et al., 2018). As two examples, the joint posterior  
504 probability distributions of the age and intensity value for Groups AT02 from Tell Atij  
505 and GD02 from Tell Gudeda are reported in Fig. 9a (left and right panel,  
506 respectively). Starting from the initial large age interval between 2925 and 2575 BC  
507 and between 2575 and 2300 BC considered as a prior, the marginal posterior  
508 distribution for the data ages favors respectively an age interval between 2925 and  
509 2747 BC (mean age 2839 BC) for Group AT02 and between 2349 and 2300 BC  
510 (mean age 2317 BC) for GD02. On the other hand, in the two cases, the posterior  
511 intensity is almost identical to the prior.

512 The posterior age determinations reported by two methods, respectively with the  
513 age model discussed in Section 4 (filled symbols) and without the age model but  
514 assuming broad bounds as above (white symbols) are shown in Fig. 9b. The  
515 differences between the two series of results, which illustrate the information  
516 provided by the age model, are relatively minor, being of less than  $\sim 30$  years for all  
517 groups of fragments (22 years on average). Both in Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda, the  
518 mean posterior mean ages calculated without the age model are systematically  
519 younger compared to the mean posterior ages calculated with the age model by a  
520 roughly constant age shift. This means that the posterior ages calculated without age

521 modeling argue in favor of a fairly constant accumulation rate through both  
522 sequences as is independently assumed in Fig. 7,8.

523 Another remark can be made concerning group GD02 from Tell Gudeda. Its  
524 posterior age distribution, which is strongly confined to the youngest part of its prior  
525 age interval, could indicate that the site was still occupied after 2300 BC (Fig. 9a),  
526 during the beginning of the Akkadian period. Such a feature would be in accordance  
527 with the discovery of extremely rare Akkadian-type potsherds in the late-most layer of  
528 the site (Boileau, 2005). These are examples of information that could be submitted  
529 for archeologists' consideration, while recognizing that this information may evolve  
530 with future improvements in the archeointensity database.

531

## 532 **7. Conclusions**

533 The third millennium BC in the Near East is a particularly favorable period to illustrate  
534 the applications of archeomagnetism to both geomagnetism and archeology.

535 As regards to geomagnetism, we show that this period was marked by two  
536 geomagnetic field intensity peaks, whose maxima were reached around 2600 BC  
537 and 2300-2200 BC, characterized by rates of change of  $\sim 0.10\text{-}0.20 \mu\text{T/year}$ . These  
538 are rapid variations with respect to the recent geomagnetic field but seem to be  
539 recurrent in the Near East, as well as in Europe, over the past millennia.

540 From an archeological point of view, the new archeointensity data obtained at  
541 Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda, two rural settlements located in the Middle Khabur Valley,  
542 are in agreement with the archeological data that attest to the fact that the occupation  
543 of these two sites has been contemporary respectively with the first and second  
544 urban phase of Mari located about 200 km further south along the Euphrates River.

545 On the basis of the available archeological, historical and environmental data, and  
546 now archeomagnetic data, it therefore seems possible that these archeological sites  
547 were part of the same trade network during the third millennium BC in Upper  
548 Mesopotamia. We also suggest that the temporary abandonment of Mari,  
549 synchronous with the permanent abandonment of Tell Atij around 2600 BC was  
550 caused by a brief regional episode of aridity.

551 Finally, this study also allows us to illustrate the potential of the Bayesian AH-  
552 RJMCMC method recently developed by Livermore et al. (2018), which by computing  
553 probability distributions for the data ages together with the intensity variation with  
554 time, provides new dating constraints for archeological artifacts based on their  
555 archeointensity signature.

556

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564

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714

715

716 **Figure and table captions**

717

718 **Fig. 1.** General map of the Near East and location of several major archeological  
719 sites (red circles) and of several modern towns (blue circles). The location of Tell Atij  
720 and Tell Gudeda is indicated by the yellow star.

721

722 **Fig. 2.** Photos of Tell Atij (a) and Tell Gudeda (b). © Mission archéologique de Tell  
723 Atij.

724

725 **Fig. 3.** Magnetic properties of the studied pottery fragments. Examples of thermal  
726 demagnetization of three-axis isothermal remanent magnetization (IRM) acquired in  
727 fields of 0.2 T (squares), 0.4 T (circles) and 1.5 T (triangles).

728

729 **Fig. 4.** Examples of low field magnetic susceptibility versus temperature curves  
730 acquired up to 510°C. The red (blue) curve shows the evolution during heating  
731 (cooling).

732

733 **Fig. 5.** Examples of archeointensity data obtained from three groups of fragments  
734 from Tell Atij (a,b,c) and from Tell Gudeda (d,e,f). Each curve in the different panels  
735 shows the  $R'(Ti)$  data obtained for one specimen over the temperature range  
736 considered for intensity determination (see text).

737



738 **Fig. 6.** Mean archeointensity data obtained at the fragment and group levels from  
739 Tell Atij (a) and Tell Gudeda (b). The data are reported as a function of their  
740 stratigraphic and archeological layers. The blue circles show the data obtained at the  
741 fragment level, which were considered for group-mean computation. Data eliminated  
742 on the basis of a  $3\sigma$  test are shown by the white circles. The red squares indicate the  
743 mean intensity values derived at the group level.

744

745 **Fig. 7.** Archeointensity results dated from the third millennium BC selected in the  
746 Near East (see text and details on the figure). All values were transferred to the  
747 latitude of Mari ( $\lambda=34.55^\circ\text{N}$ ). The mean curve and its 95% credible interval (blue  
748 curve and shaded area) were estimated using the AH-RJMCMC method developed  
749 by Livermore et al. (2018). The computational parameters are  $\sigma_{\text{move}} = 30$   
750 years,  $\sigma_{\text{change}} = 5 \mu\text{T}$ ,  $\sigma_{\text{birth}} = 5 \mu\text{T}$  for the model perturbations, one datum age is  
751 perturbed per age-resampling step from the prior,  $K_{\text{max}}=150$  (the maximum number of  
752 change points), priors of  $15 \mu\text{T}$  for the intensity minimum and  $100 \mu\text{T}$  for the intensity  
753 maximum and a chain length of 100 million samples (see explanations in Livermore  
754 et al., 2018). The age interval of the three successive urban phases in Mari (Mari  
755 I/II/III) is also shown at the top of the figure.

756

757 **Fig. 8.** Near-eastern geomagnetic field intensity variation curve (a) and rates of  
758 variations  $dF/dt$  (b) determined for the third millennium BC, characterized by their  
759 mean and 95% credible interval (blue curve and shaded area), after removing three  
760 outlying results from the dataset used in Fig. 7 (see text). The curves were  
761 constructed using the AH-RJMCMC method with the same computational parameters

762 as in Fig. 7. For comparison, the intensity values and their uncertainties estimated at  
763 Mari, Syria from the global geomagnetic field model SCHA.DIF.14k constructed by  
764 Pavón-Carrasco et al. (2014) are also exhibited in panel (a) (orange curve and  
765 shaded area).

766 **Fig. 9.** Posterior dating results derived from the AH-RJMCMC algorithm (Livermore  
767 et al., 2018). (a) Joint posterior probability distribution of the marginal age and  
768 intensity of two groups of fragments, AT02 from Tell Atij (left panel) and GD02 from  
769 Tell Gudeda (right panel) (see text). The prior and posterior age distributions of the  
770 ages (top) and intensities (right) are displayed in orange and green, respectively. (b)  
771 Comparison between the posterior ages calculated with and without the use of an  
772 age model for the Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda results (same dataset as in Fig. 8; see  
773 text). The posterior marginal age distributions (mean ages and their 95% credible  
774 interval) derived without the age model are shown as white unfilled symbols. The  
775 shaded areas in red and green indicate the extent of the prior age intervals used for  
776 the Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda data, respectively. The filled symbols show the mean  
777 posterior mean ages calculated with the age model discussed in Section 4.

778 **Table 1.** Group-mean archeointensity data obtained in Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda  
779 before (column 6) and after (column 7) the use of a  $3\sigma$ -rejection test. The data  
780 identification is provided in the first column, and information on their archeological  
781 and stratigraphic position is provided in columns 2 and 3. Their dating (column 4)  
782 derives from the age model discussed in the text. Column 5 indicates the number of  
783 fragments (specimens) used to compute the mean intensity values before applying  
784 the  $3\sigma$  test. The last column shows the intensity values after the  $3\sigma$  test transferred to  
785 the latitude of Mari.

786

787 **Supplementary material**

788

789 **Fig. S1.** Examples of thermal demagnetization of the NRM carried by 9 specimens (5  
790 from Tell Atij and 4 from Tell Gudeda) obtained during the Triaxe experiments. Open  
791 (close) circles refer to the inclinations (declinations). The red circles indicate the  
792 directions obtained at temperature  $T1'$ . The  $R'(T1)$  (open circles) and  $R'(T1')$  (close  
793 circles) data obtained for the same specimens are also shown to the right of the  
794 demagnetization data.

795

796 **Fig. S2.** Normalized IRM acquisition curves obtained in fields up to 1.5 T. The data  
797 from two fragments of each group (archeological layer) are reported in the diagram.

798

799 **Fig. S3.** Age calibration of the different archeological layers in Tell Atij (a) and Tell  
800 Gudeda (b) according to the modeling described in the text.

801

802 **Fig. S4.** Joint posterior probability distribution of the marginal age and intensity of  
803 three groups of fragments discussed in Section 6.1. (a) Tel Hazor, layer XVIII, (b) Tel  
804 Hazor, layer XX, (c) Kültepe, KT12. In each panel, the prior and posterior age  
805 distributions of the ages (top) and intensities (right) are displayed in orange and  
806 green, respectively. The computations were carried out using the age model  
807 described in Section 4 for the Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda data.

808

809 **Fig. S5.** (a) Intensity variation curve (mean and 95% credible interval) determined for  
810 the third millennium BC using only Syrian archeointensity data from Mari, Ebla,  
811 Mashnaqa, Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda (same symbols and same computational  
812 parameters as in Fig. 7). (b) Corresponding evolution of the intensity variation rates  
813 (mean and 95% credible interval).

814

815 **Table S1.** Selection criteria applied to the Triaxe archeointensity determinations (see  
816 further discussion in Le Goff et al., 2004 et Genevey et al., 2016).

817

818 **Table S2.** Archeointensity data obtained in Tell Atij and Tell Gudeda at the specimen,  
819 fragment and group levels. T1-T2, Temperature interval (in °C) for intensity  
820 determination; Hlab, laboratory field used for TRM acquisition; NRM T1' (%), fraction  
821 of NRM involved from T1' in intensity determination (with  $T1 < T1' < T2$ ); Slope R' (%),  
822 slope of the R'(Ti) data within the temperature interval of analysis; F, intensity value  
823 in  $\mu\text{T}$  derived per specimen; F mean value per fragment  $\pm \sigma$ , mean intensity in  $\mu\text{T}$   
824 computed per fragment with its standard deviation. Group F mean value  $\pm \sigma$ , mean  
825 intensity in  $\mu\text{T}$  computed for each group of fragments. Group F mean value after  $3\sigma$   
826 test  $\pm \sigma$ , mean intensity in  $\mu\text{T}$  computed for each group of fragments after the use of  
827 a  $3\sigma$ -rejection test. Note that the fragments eliminated on the basis of this test are  
828 indicated by a \* in the second column.

829

830 **Table S3.** Selection of 48 intensity data spanning the third millennium BC used to  
831 compute the posterior intensity variation curve shown in Fig. 7. Following recent  
832 archeological consideration, note that the dating of one result from Mashnaqa and

833 five data from Mari were slightly revised with respect to their original publication  
834 (indicated by a \* in the third column).

835

836 **Table S4.** Posterior intensity variation curves (averages and 95% credible intervals)  
837 of intensities and rates of changes shown in Fig. 8 as derived from the trans-  
838 dimensional Bayesian procedure developed by Livermore et al. (2018). Details of the  
839 computational parameters are provided in legend of Fig. 7.

840

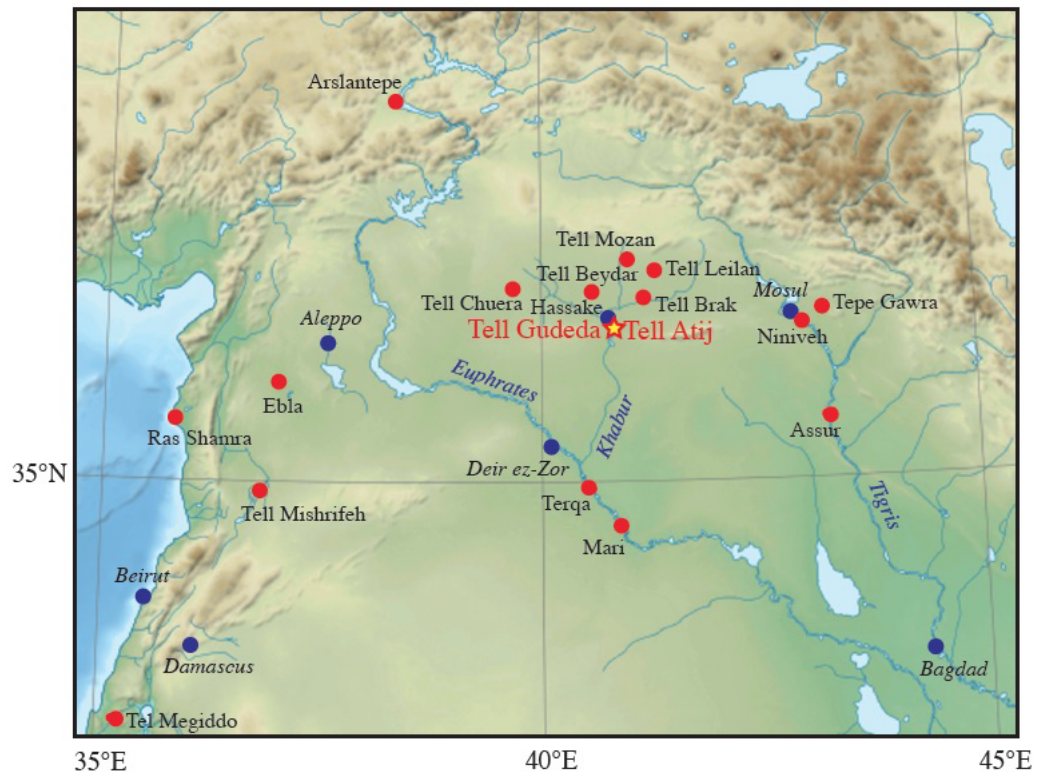


Figure 1

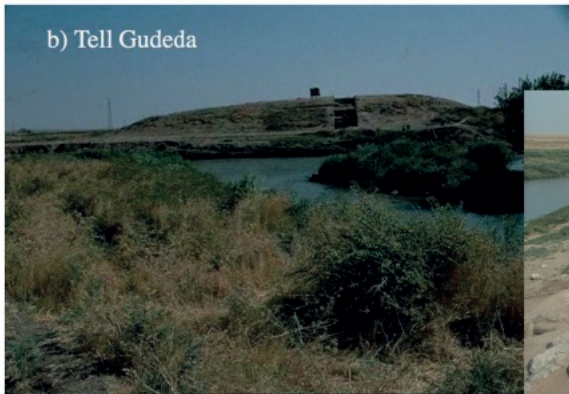


Figure 2

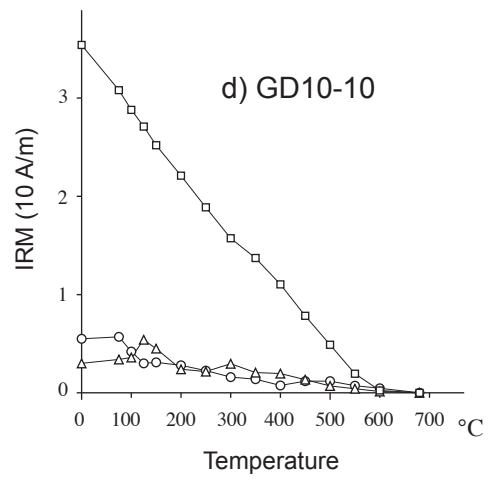
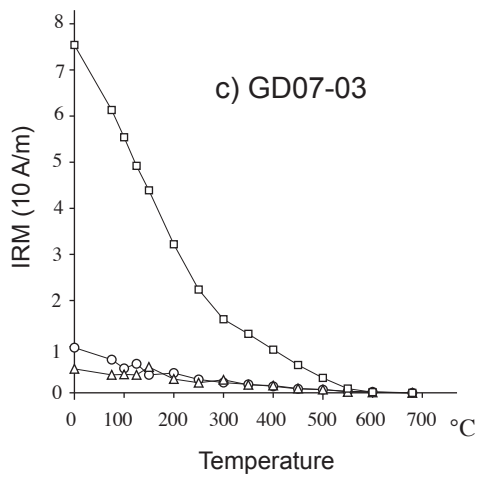
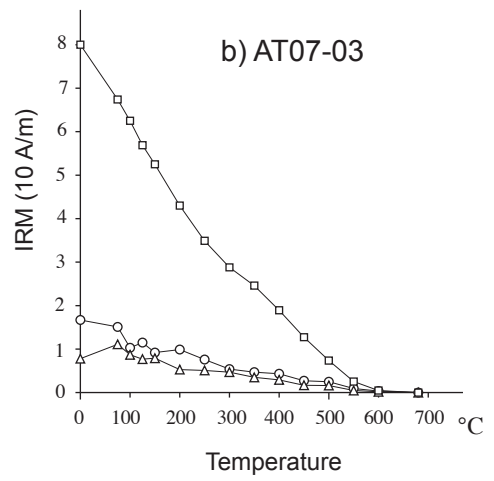
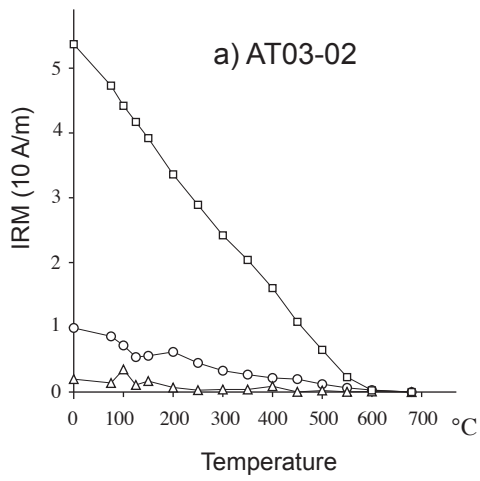


Figure 3



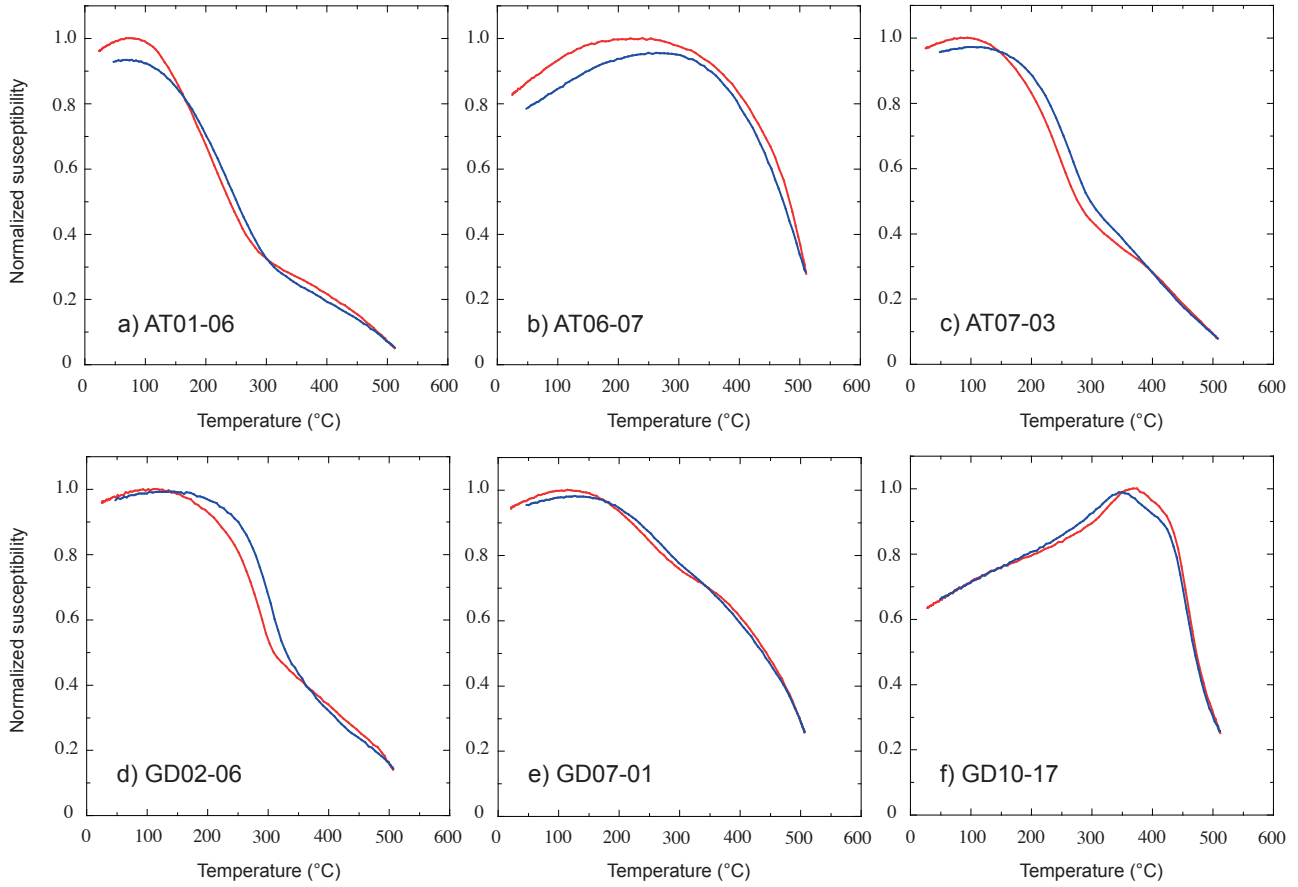


Figure 4

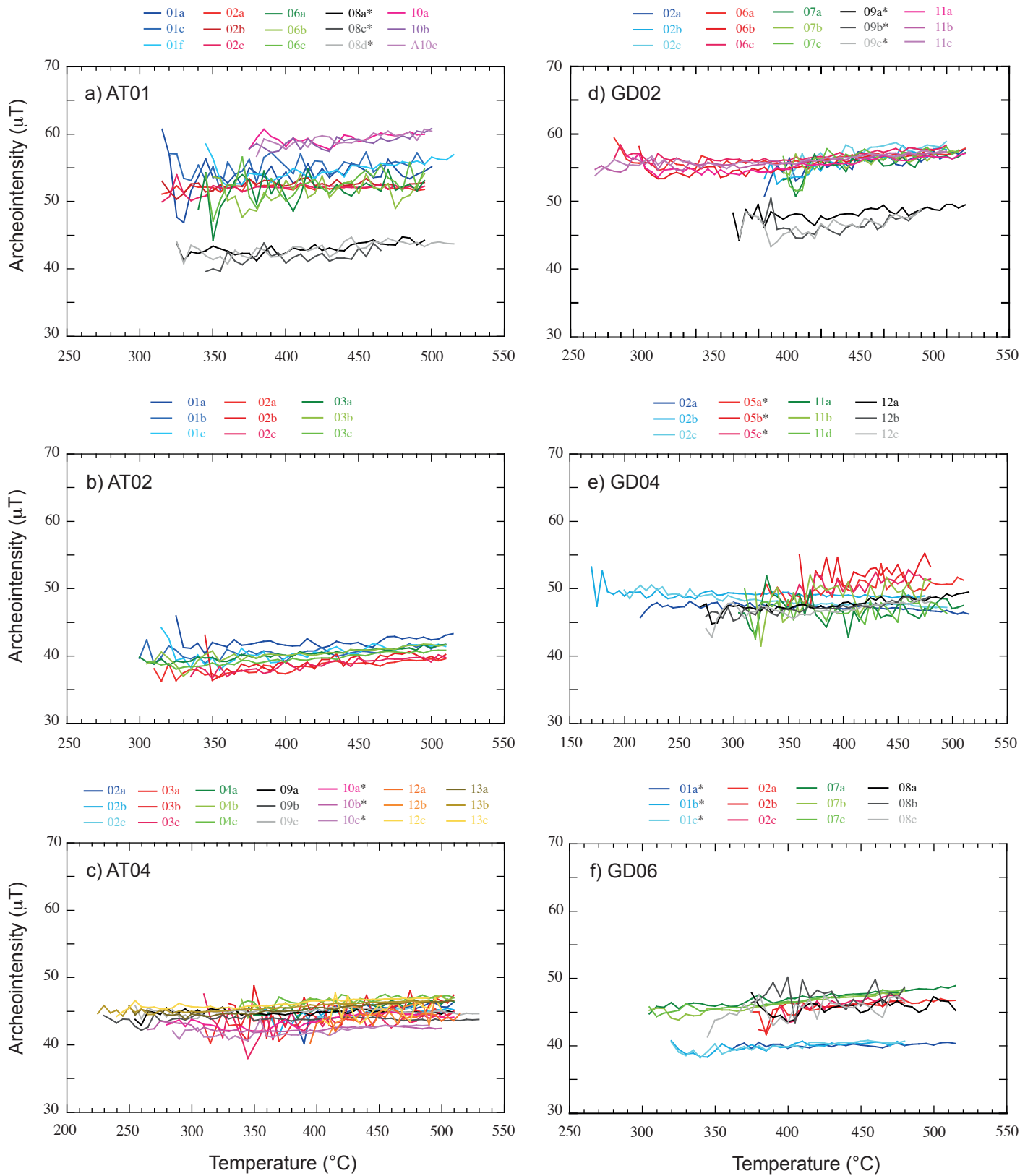
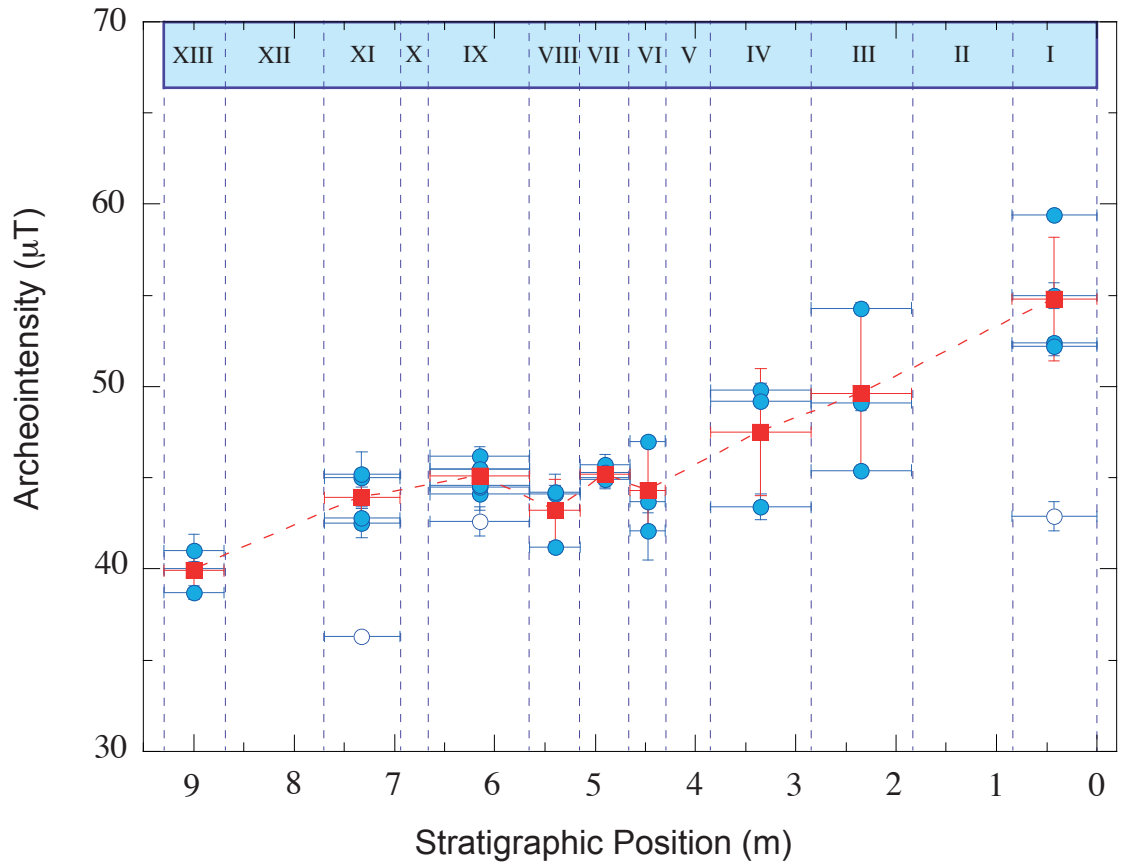


Figure 5

a) Tell Atij



b) Tell Gudeda

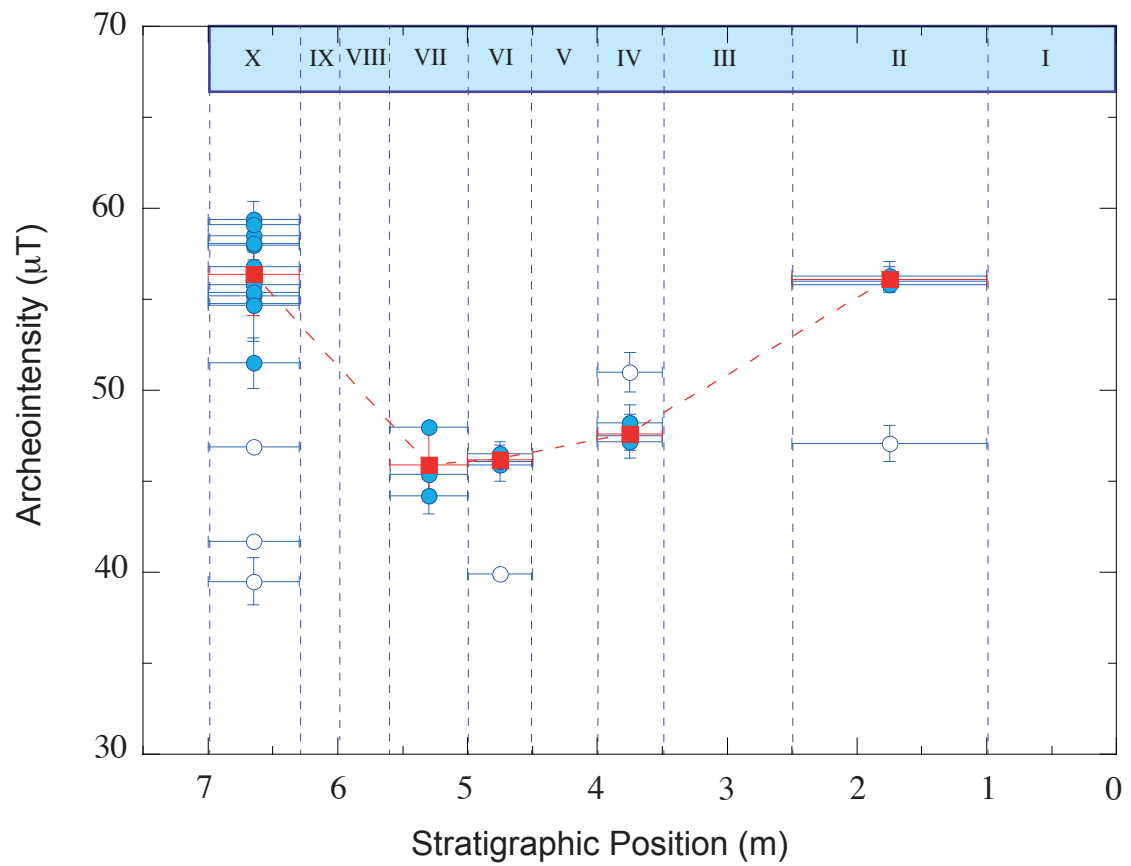


Figure 6

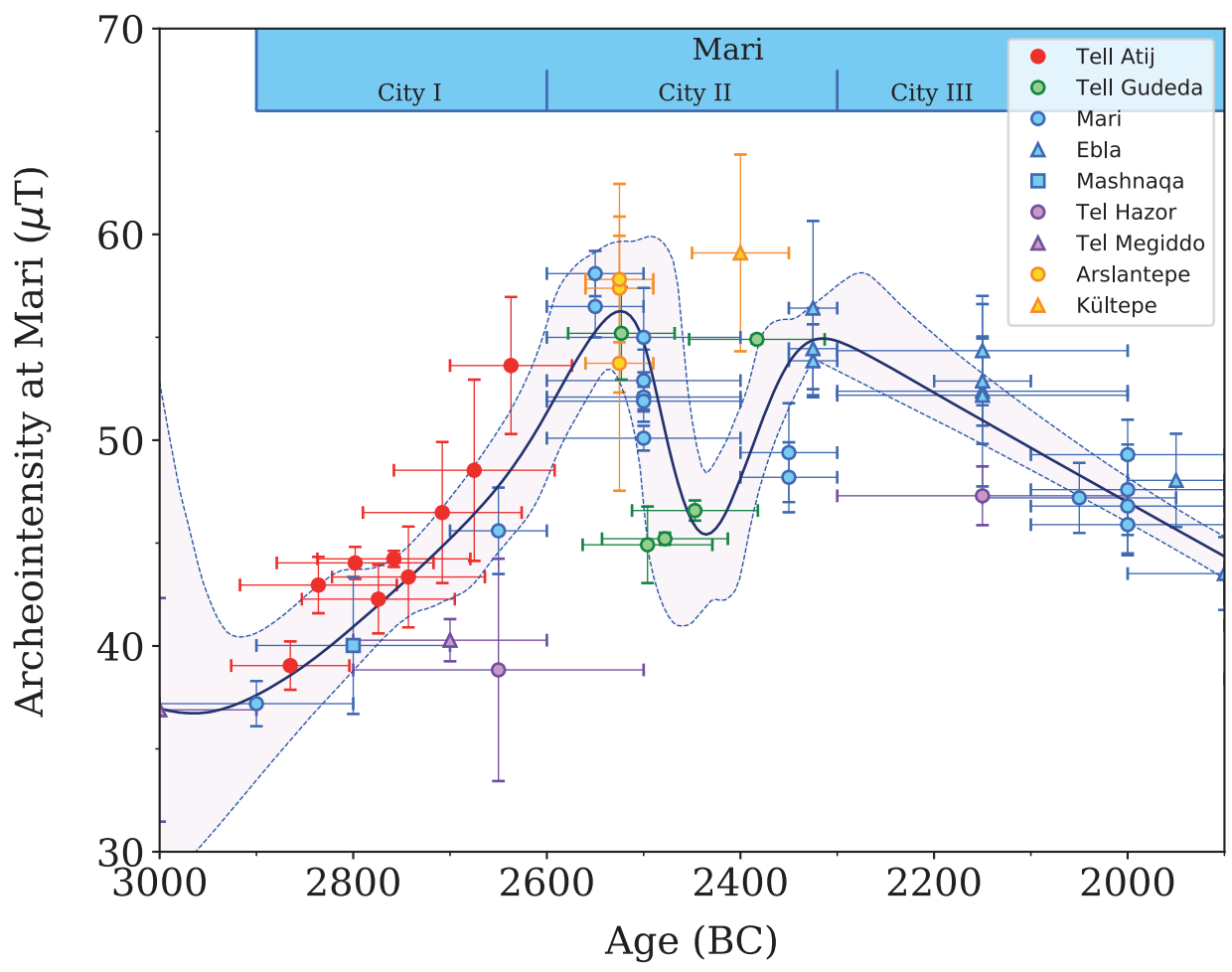


Figure 7

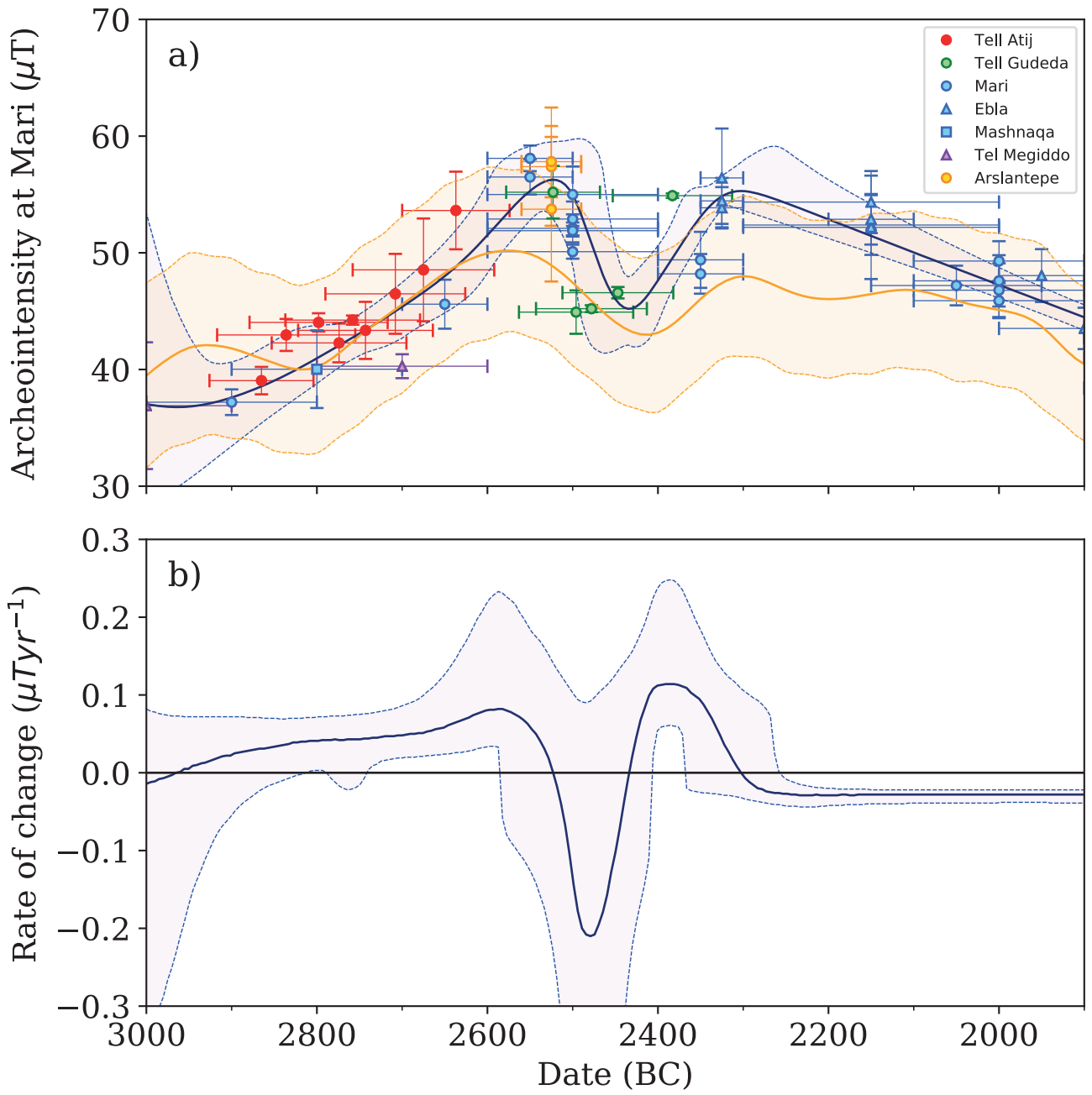


Figure 8

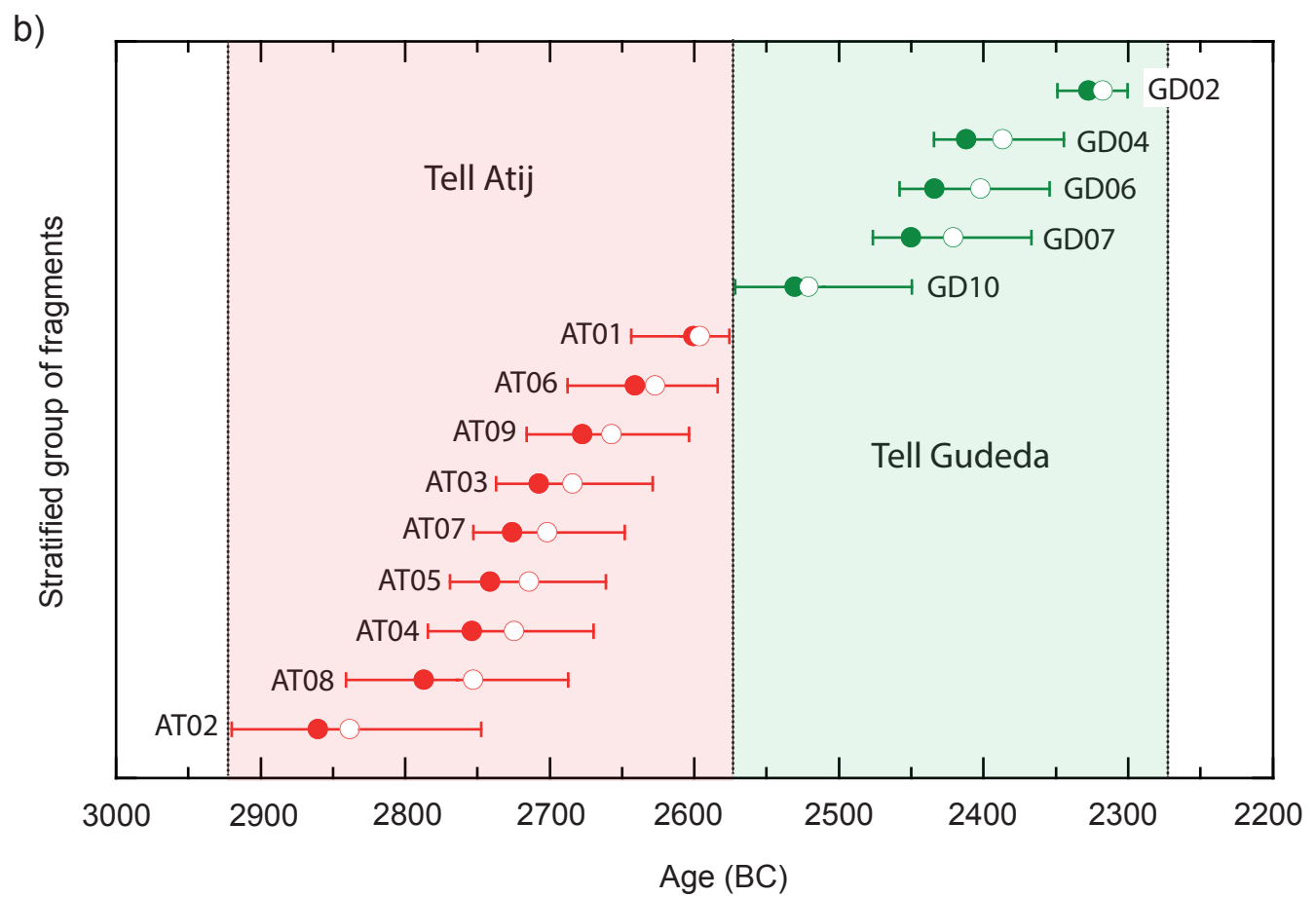
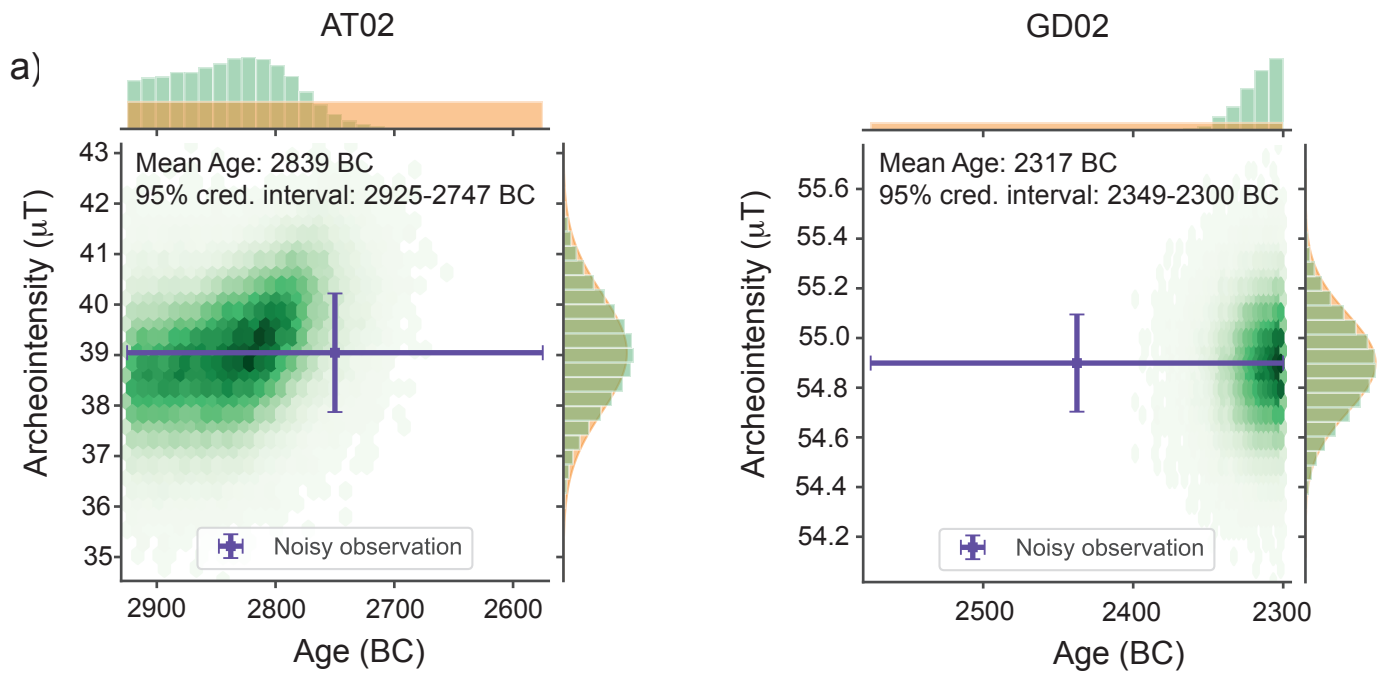


Figure 9

Group	Archeological level	Stratigraphic position (m)	Age (BC)	N fragment (n specimens)	Group F mean $\pm \sigma$ ( $\mu T$ )	Group F mean after 3 $\sigma$ test	Group F mean at Mari
<b>Tell Atij</b>							
AT01	I	0 - 0.85	2637 $\pm$ 63	5 (15)	50.6 $\pm$ 5.3	54.8 $\pm$ 3.4	53.5 $\pm$ 3.4
AT06	III	1.85 - 2.85	2675 $\pm$ 83	3 (9)	49.6 $\pm$ 4.5	49.6 $\pm$ 4.5	48.4 $\pm$ 4.5
AT09	IV	2.85 - 3.85	2707 $\pm$ 82	3 (9)	47.5 $\pm$ 3.5	47.5 $\pm$ 3.5	46.4 $\pm$ 3.5
AT03	VI	4.30 - 4.65	2743 $\pm$ 79	3 (9)	44.3 $\pm$ 2.5	44.3 $\pm$ 2.5	43.3 $\pm$ 2.5
AT07	VII	4.65 - 5.15	2758 $\pm$ 79	4 (12)	45.2 $\pm$ 0.4	45.2 $\pm$ 0.4	44.1 $\pm$ 0.4
AT05	VIII	5.15 - 5.65	2774 $\pm$ 79	3 (9)	43.2 $\pm$ 1.7	43.2 $\pm$ 1.7	42.2 $\pm$ 1.7
AT04	IX	5.65 - 6.65	2798 $\pm$ 81	7 (21)	44.6 $\pm$ 1.1	45.0 $\pm$ 0.8	43.9 $\pm$ 0.8
AT08	XI	6.95 - 7.70	2836 $\pm$ 81	5 (15)	42.4 $\pm$ 3.6	43.9 $\pm$ 1.4	42.9 $\pm$ 1.4
AT02	XIII	8.70 - 9.30	2865 $\pm$ 61	3 (9)	39.9 $\pm$ 1.2	39.9 $\pm$ 1.2	39.0 $\pm$ 1.2
<b>Tell Gudeda</b>							
GD02	II	1.00 - 2.50	2383 $\pm$ 70	5 (15)	54.3 $\pm$ 4.0	56.1 $\pm$ 0.2	54.8 $\pm$ 0.2
GD04	IV	3.50 - 4.00	2447 $\pm$ 65	4 (12)	48.5 $\pm$ 1.7	47.6 $\pm$ 0.5	46.5 $\pm$ 0.5
GD06	VI	4.50 - 5.00	2478 $\pm$ 65	4 (12)	44.6 $\pm$ 3.1	46.2 $\pm$ 0.3	45.1 $\pm$ 0.3
GD07	VII	5.00 - 5.60	2496 $\pm$ 67	3 (9)	45.9 $\pm$ 1.9	45.9 $\pm$ 1.9	44.9 $\pm$ 1.9
GD10	X	6.30 - 7.00	2523 $\pm$ 55	15 (45)	53.7 $\pm$ 6.2	56.4 $\pm$ 2.3	55.1 $\pm$ 2.3

Table 1

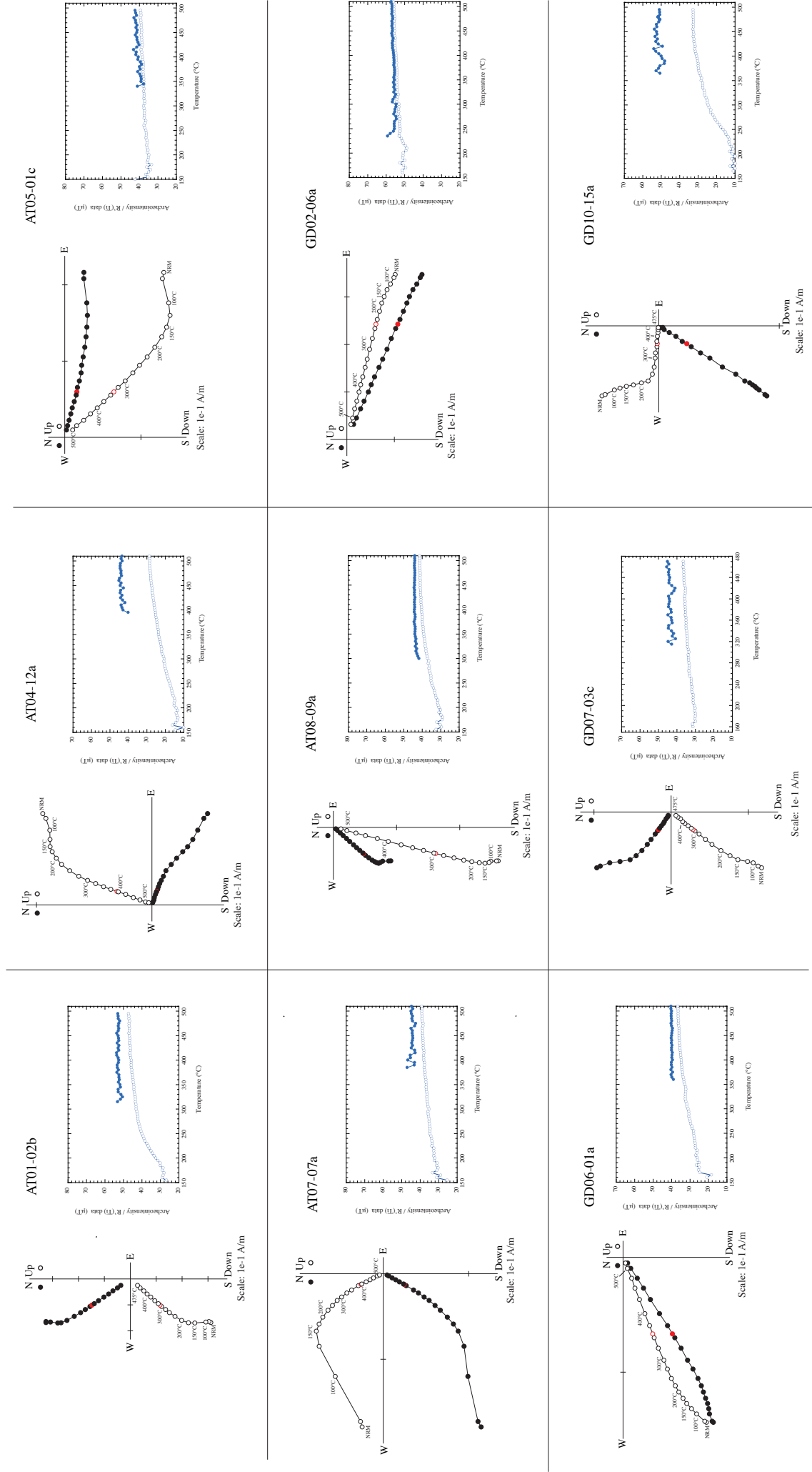


Figure S1



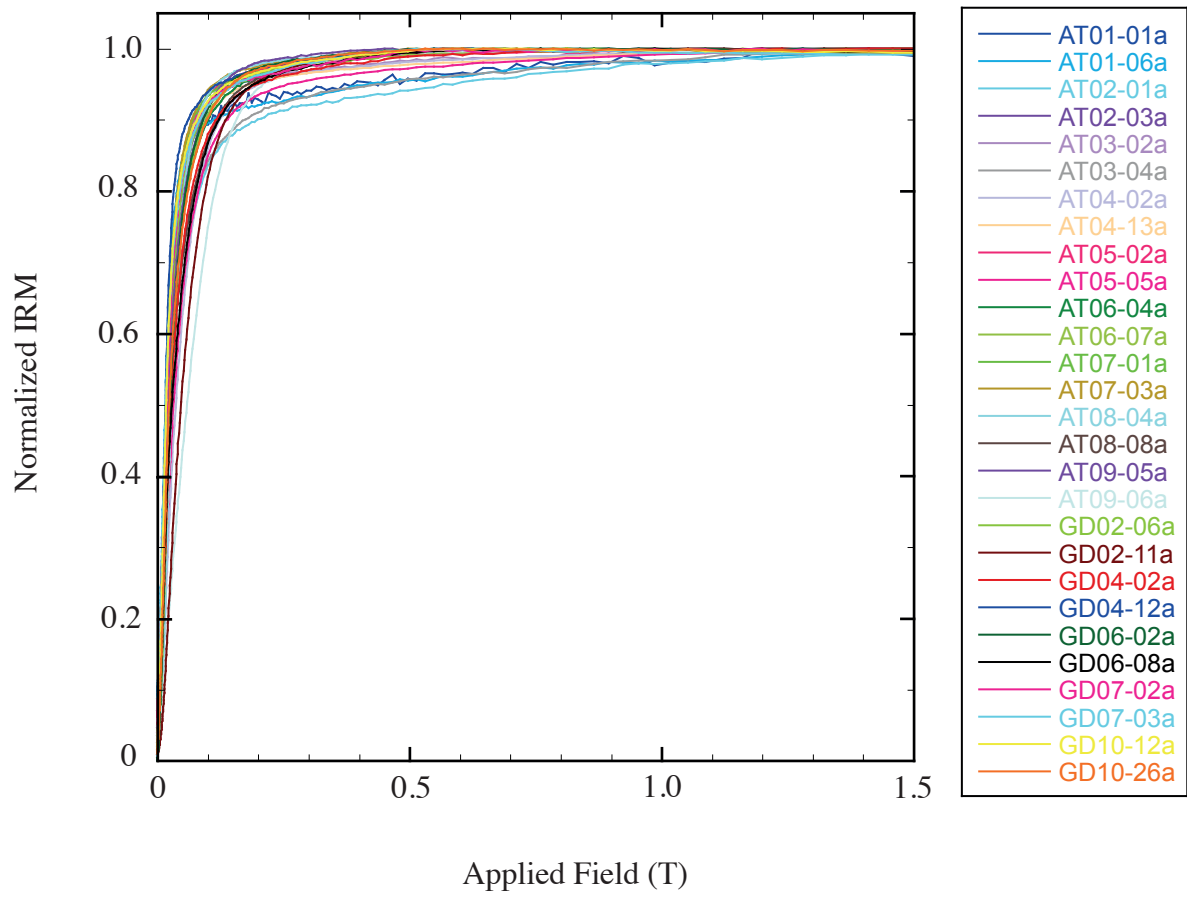
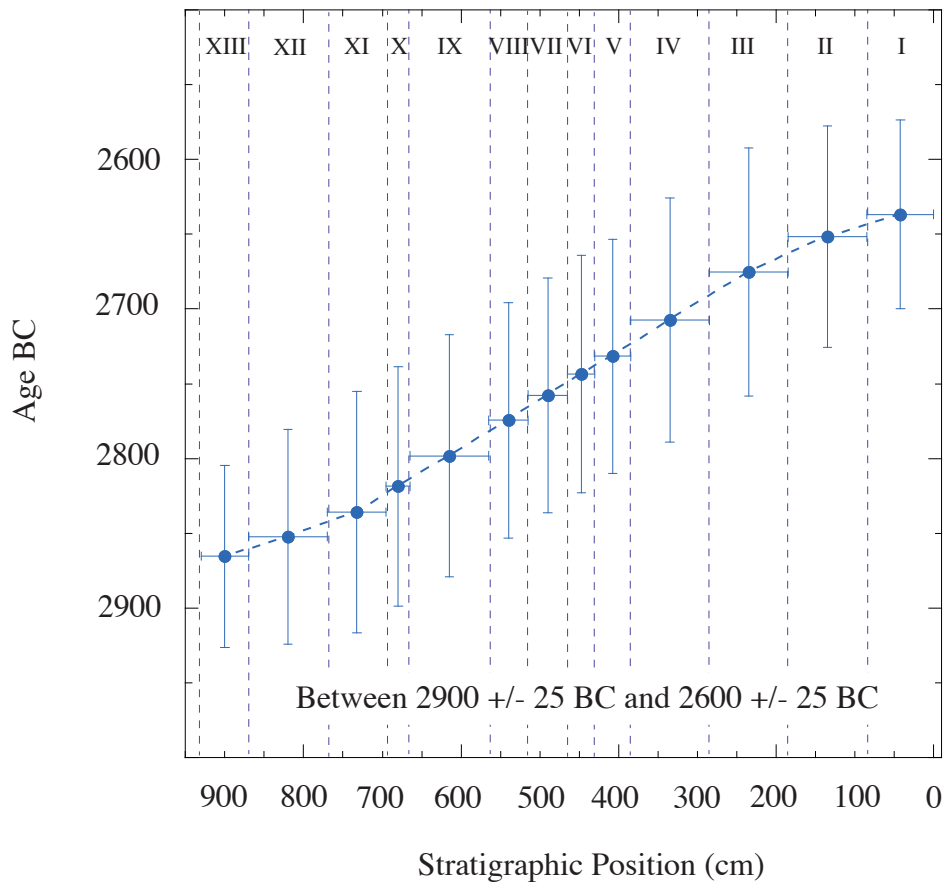


Figure S2

a) Tell Atij



b) Tell Gudeda

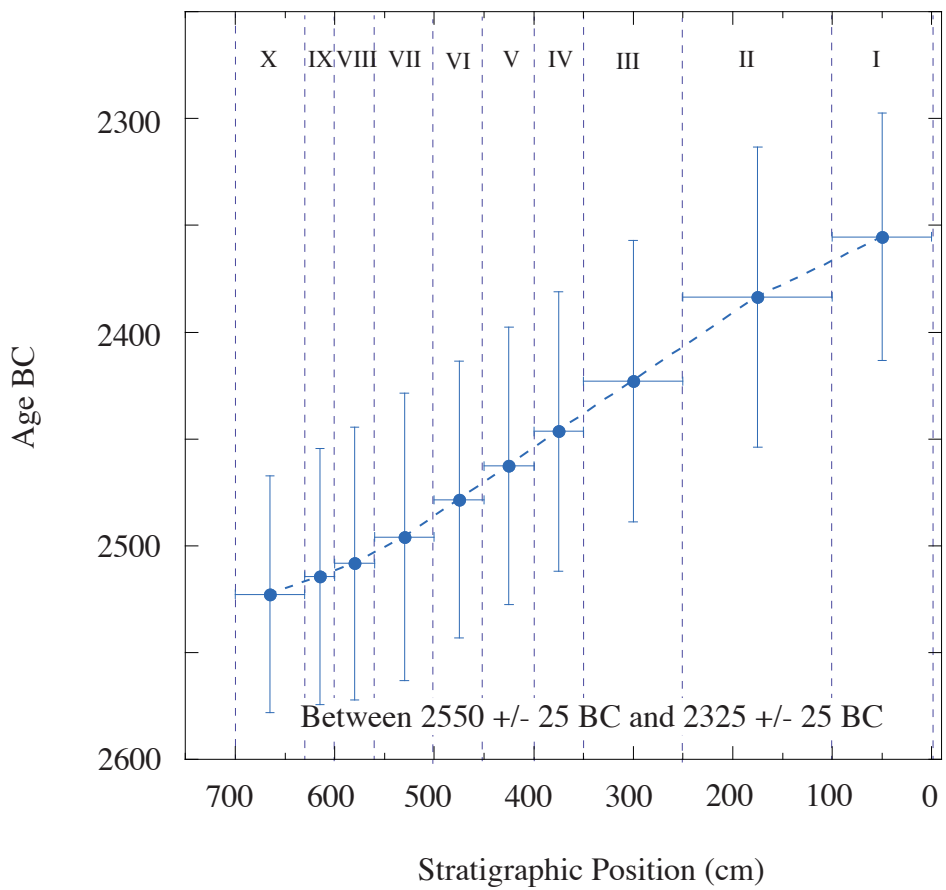
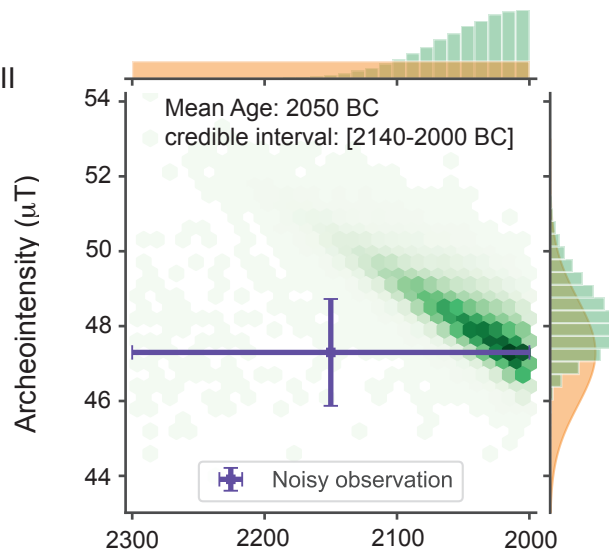
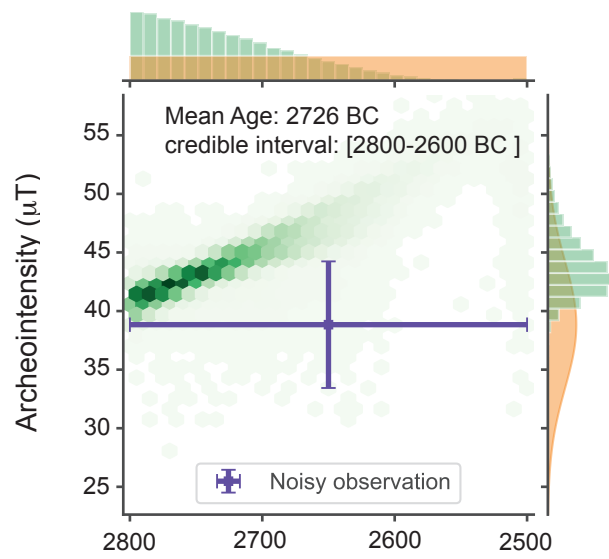


Figure S3

a) Hazor XVIII



b) Hazor XX



c) Kültepe KT12

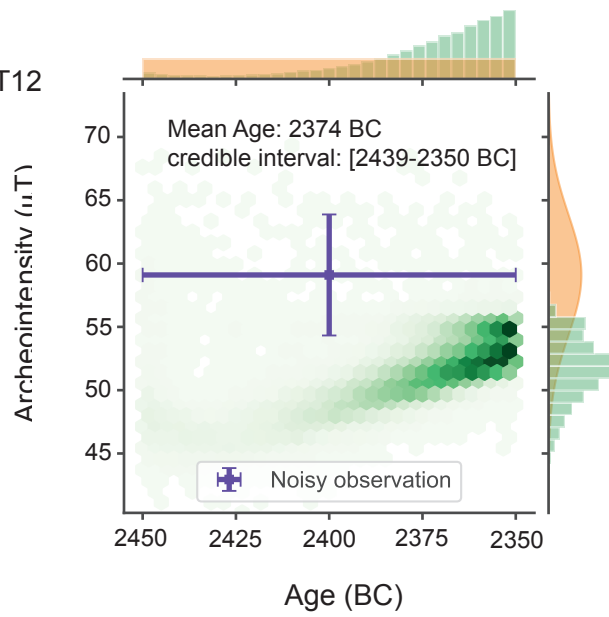


Figure S4

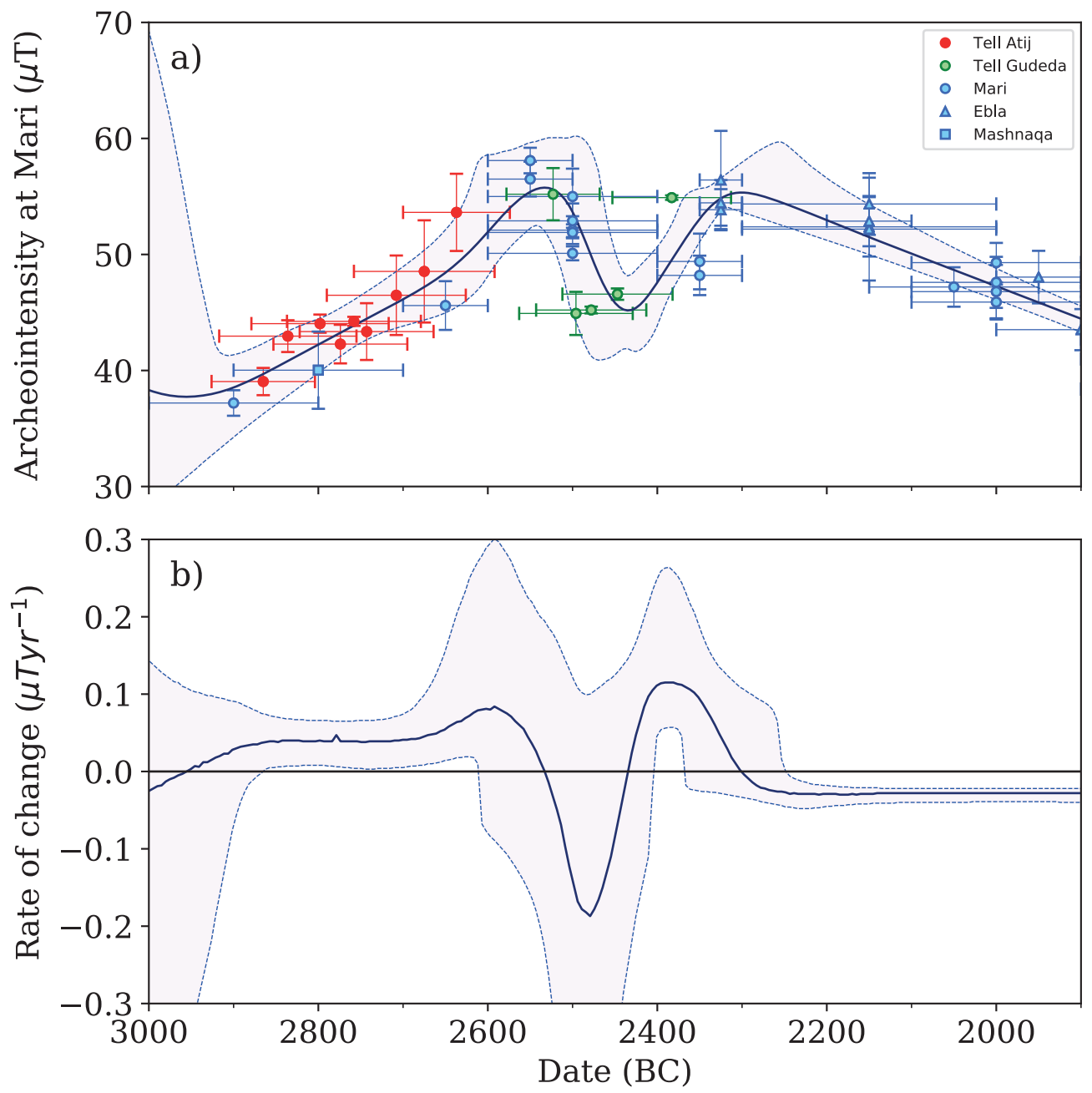


Figure S5

**Table S1.** Selection criteria applied to the Triaxe archeointensity data

<b>Selection criteria applied to the Triaxe archeointensity determinations</b>	
<i>At the specimen level</i>	
• Thermal demagnetization diagram	=> Univectorial primary TRM
• "R(Ti) data" versus "Temperature" diagram	=> The R(Ti) values must be continuously increasing or ~constant from T1 (or T'1) to T2
• "R'(Ti) data" versus "Temperature" diagram	=> The R'(Ti) values must be sufficiently flat : The slope in the diagram, expressed in % through the temperature of analysis must be less than 10% (slope defined by : $(R'(T2)-R'(T1 \text{ or } T'1)) / (\text{mean } R'(Ti) \text{ data})$ ) => For mean computation of the R'(Ti) values : The magnetization fraction, with unblocking temperatures larger than T1(or T'1), must be at least 50%
<i>At the fragment level</i>	
• Coherence of the intensity values	=> Results obtained from at least 2-3 different specimens => Standard deviation/error $\leq 5\%$
<i>At the group level</i>	
• Number and consistency of the intensity values	=> Results obtained from at least 3 different fragments => Standard deviation around the mean $\leq 5\mu T$