

The Amuq Plain and Tell Tayinat in the Third Millennium BCE: The Historical and Socio-Political Context

Lynn Welton
University of Toronto

Abstract

This article explores the state of historical knowledge relating to the Amuq Plain in the 3rd millennium BCE, focusing particularly on the Ebla texts, as well as examining the socio-political setting of Tell Tayinat during this period, utilizing archaeological evidence as well as settlement pattern data. These various sources of evidence enlighten and inform interpretations of recently excavated 3rd millennium remains from Tell Tayinat.

Résumé

Cet article fait le point sur nos connaissances relatives à la situation historique de la plaine de l'Amuq au 3^e millénaire av. J.C. L'accent y est mis sur les textes d'Ebla, de même que sur la situation socio-politique du site de Tell Tayinat durant cette période, principalement sur la base des données archéologiques et de la distribution des sites. Ces sources illuminent le matériel du 3^e millénaire récemment découvert à Tell Tayinat.

Introduction

The third millennium BCE represents a key period in the development of society in Syro-Anatolia in particular, and in the Near East in general, witnessing the advent of full-fledged urban societies and the emergence of complex social, economic and political institutions (Redman 1978; Maisels 1990; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, Ur 2010). During this period, settlement hierarchies developed, regional city states grew and thrived, bureaucracy came into its own, and an elite class emerged, conspicuously displaying lavish funerary monuments and prestige goods (Akkermans & Schwartz 2003, Schwartz et al. 2006, Peltenburg 1999). The development of specialized craft industries (Stein and Blackman 1993; Wattenmaker 1994; 1998a; 1998b; Mazzoni 2003) and inter-regional trade networks (Adams 1974; Edens and Kohl 1993; Marfoe 1987) were also central features of this process.

Some of these features had been observed in earlier periods, such as during the period of the “Uruk Expansion” (ca. 3500–3100 BCE) out of Southern Mesopotamia (Frangipane 1993, 1997, 2002, Rothman 2001, 2004a, Stein et. al. 1996; Stein 1999; 2000), but during the third millennium these trends and institutions spread throughout Syria and the Near East, creating a mosaic of city states with complex urban centres. Archaeological research into the third millennium BCE is driven by questions regarding how these

institutions developed, the processes by which the population first gathered into cities, the organization of early states and their bureaucracies, as well as the impetus behind increasing specialization of craft production.

The Amuq Plain is situated in a key strategic position at the intersection of a number of important trade and communication routes, which first appeared during the third millennium BCE and have remained in use for millennia (Figure 1). This system of transit corridors includes the Orontes River, which provides passage through its delta to the Mediterranean Sea to the west, and upriver to the Orontes River valley to the south; the Kara Su and Afrin Rivers provide access to the Anatolian Highlands and to northern Mesopotamia and Syria respectively. The combination of its location at the nexus of these important routes, the abundant fertility of the plain for intensive agricultural production and the access to natural resources such as timber and metals in the mountains surrounding the plain made the region strategically important from the earliest periods of recorded history.

As a result, it has been the scene of a series of prominent excavation and survey campaigns at sites such as Tell Tayinat, Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh; Woolley 1953, 1955), Tell Judaidah and Çatal Höyük (Haines 1971), and has provided one of the fundamental archaeological sequences for Syria and the northern Levant (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960).

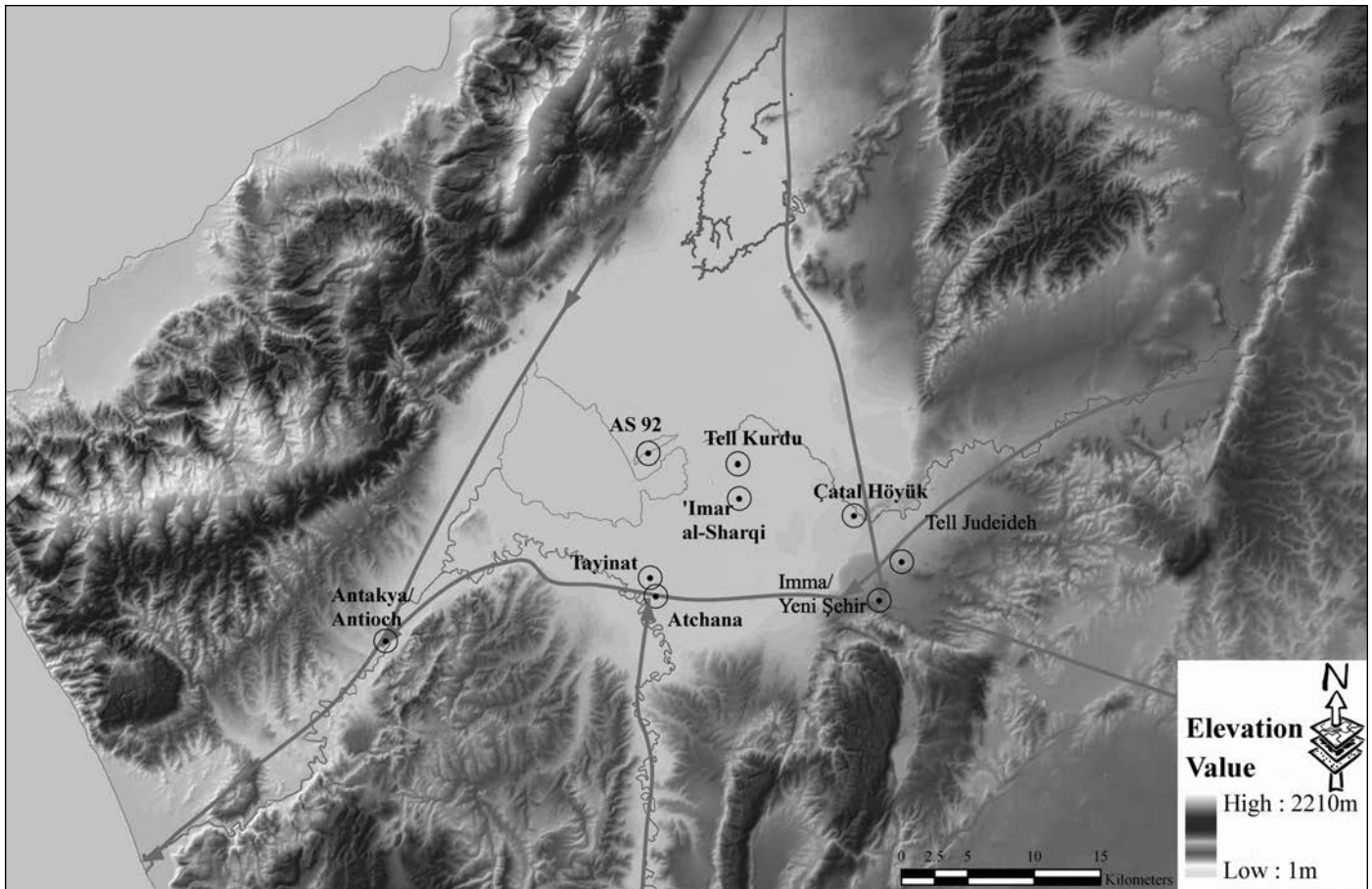


Figure 1. Map of the Amuq Plain showing the location of Tell Tayinat and other principal settlements (created by S. Batiuk).

Initial investigation by Robert Braidwood in his seminal survey during the 1930's identified 178 sites in the plain (Braidwood 1937). More recent work has taken into account the dynamic geomorphological history of the region and has identified significantly more sites, with almost 400 at last count, including settlements dating from the Palaeolithic period onward, demonstrating that the Amuq represents one of the richest regions in the Near East archaeologically (Yener et al. 2000, Gerritsen et al. 2008.).

Large-scale excavations were conducted at Tell Tayinat in the late 1930's (four seasons between 1935 and 1938) as part of the University of Chicago's Syro-Hittite Expedition (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960, Haines 1971, Figure 2). The Chicago excavations focused primarily on producing large horizontal exposures of architecture dating to the Iron Age, which were uncovered in the West Central Area of the upper mound. In addition to these excavations, a series of deep soundings (known as T1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 13) were made below Iron Age levels. A number of these soundings (specifically T1, 4, 8, and 13) revealed remains dated to the third millennium BCE (primarily Phases I and J, but also Phase H) (Braidwood & Braidwood 1961: 13-14). Although these remains suggested a significant Early Bronze Age occupation at Tell Tayinat, due to their limited exposures the exact nature of this occupation has thus far remained unclear. As a result, an important research goal of the University of

Toronto's recent work at the site has been focused on producing a better understanding about the site's third millennium occupation, by aiming to achieve greater horizontal exposures of material from this period. Recent seasons of excavations, from 2008–2010, have begun to produce extensive *in situ* material that can also be dated to the late third millennium.

Contextualizing the third millennium archaeological material uncovered at Tayinat requires us to look further afield and examine larger historical, political and economic information about third millennium society in the Northern Levant that will allow us to reconstruct a broader social perspective on these results.

The Third Millennium Historical and Archaeological Context

Following the collapse of the Uruk culture in the late fourth millennium, whose material culture appeared alongside indigenous cultural assemblages in Syro-Anatolia, a new intrusive cultural assemblage begins to appear in the area during the third millennium. This assemblage is characterized by the introduction of the highly distinctive Red Black Burnished Ware (RBBW), which has been identified at sites with a wide geographical distribution, and is elsewhere referred to as Kura Araks, Karaz/Pulur or Khirbet Kerak Ware. The appearance and distribution of this distinctive

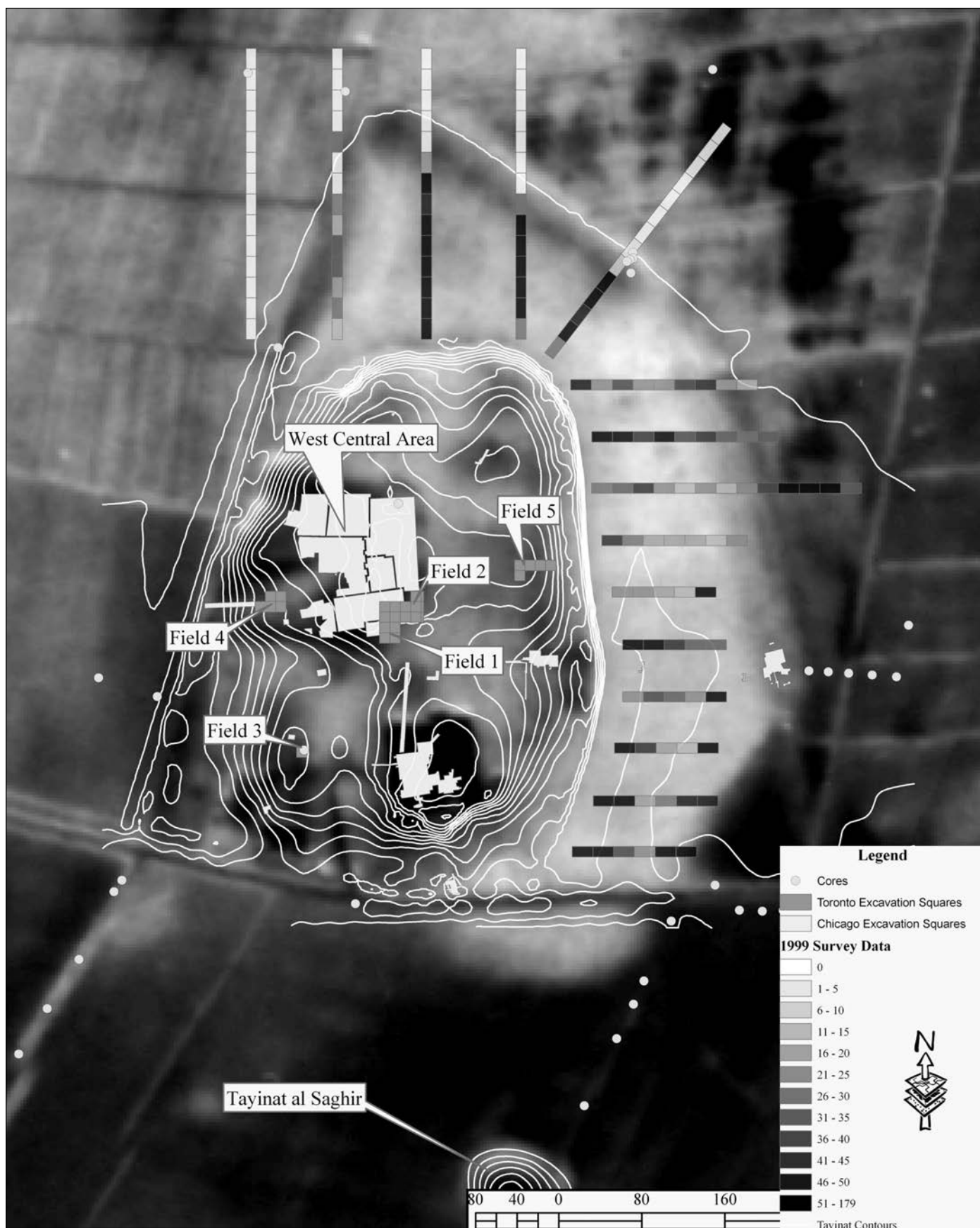


Figure 2. Topographic map of Tell Tayinat overlaid on a CORONA satellite image of the site, showing the principal excavation areas and a density distribution of surface pottery in the lower settlement (created by S. Batiuk).

ceramic tradition has often been attributed to the southward migration of a single cultural group that reached as far south as Palestine (Esse and Hopke 1984; Philip 1999; Philip and Millard 2000; de Miroschedji 2000; Batiuk 2005). This phenomenon is well represented in the Amuq Plain (Phases H and I; Braidwood and Braidwood 1960; Hood 1951), and can be traced to earlier traditions in northeastern Anatolia and the Kura and Araxes Valleys of Transcaucasia (Sagona 1984; 2000; Kushnareva 1997; Rothman 2004b; Batiuk 2005). Within this broader socio-political and economic context, a process of centralization and integration begins to occur in northwest Syria, with Ebla becoming the dominant political power in the larger region, and Tell Tayinat emerging as the largest settlement in a nascent regional polity centered in the Amuq Valley.

Our understanding of the third millennium Near East was inevitably and significantly altered by the discovery of the royal administrative archive within the Palace G complex at the site of Ebla (Matthiae 1981). Excavations at the site revealed a complex urban center dating to the period contemporaneous with this archive, during which time the site may have measured as much as approximately 60 ha in size—the largest in the region (Matthiae 1981). Although the palace structure has been only partially excavated, it displays remarkable preservation, with walls preserved up to 7m in height. The palace complex was assigned to Level IIB1, which dates to the EBIVA (ca. approximately 2500–2300 BCE), and was violently destroyed around the end of this period.

Prior to this discovery, the key archaeological sequences for the region were derived from the excavations in the Amuq Plain and at the site of Hama. Most spectacular, however, was that between 1974 and 1976, almost 17000 clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions were excavated from within the Palace G complex, written in a local Semitic language related to Akkadian. These tablets were organized into several rooms, creating several groups of texts that may have represented separate archives. These likely served different functional purposes, and their organization begins to suggest an outline of Ebla's administrative structure. The texts recovered from Ebla are primarily administrative documents, tracking the movements of particular kinds of goods, such as textiles and metals. The details revealed in these texts demonstrate that Ebla was a centrally organized and bureaucratized society.

The archive unearthed at Ebla likely represents a time period of only 40–50 years prior to the destruction of the Palace G complex at the end of the EBIVA period. Detailed analysis of the textual archives (see particularly Archi and Biga 2003) has begun to reveal a year-by-year picture of the final years of the Eblaite state, which has been tied to our knowledge of other contemporary city states, including Mari. Eblaite society was ruled by a king, or *en*, the final three of which are mentioned in the administrative texts. Meanwhile, the operations of the royal palace were controlled by a minister, the longest-serving and most important of which were Ibrum and his son Ibbi-Zikir.

In addition to a detailed political history, these texts and the results of their recent analysis also reveal a larger picture of the political organization of Syria during the 3rd millennium, painting a portrait of two major city states competing against each other for political control, Ebla and Mari. Each maintained control over a sphere of influence and they vied with each other for supremacy in the area of the Middle Euphrates. It seems that not long before the destruction of the Palace G complex at Ebla, the city scored a great victory over Mari. Ebla then aimed to secure its position by creating an alliance with a number of other powerful city states in the region, including Nagar (modern Tell Brak) and Kiš (Archi & Biga 2003: 13). Mari, however, was not apparently destroyed by this campaign, and the two cities signed a treaty only a few months before Ebla was ultimately sacked and burned (Archi & Biga 2003).

The identity of Ebla's destroyer has been a long-debated topic; both Sargon and Narām-Sîn have been implicated, as both claim to have destroyed Ebla. Narām-Sîn in fact claims to have been the first king to subjugate the city. Recent research by Archi and Biga suggests a different scenario, however, one where the destroyer was in fact a rejuvenated Mari, who reneged on the treaty signed only months before between the two cities (2003: 35). They suggest that destruction levels at Mari should be attributed to Akkad, and most probably to Sargon (2003: 31–35, *contra* Margueron, who suggests that Mari was destroyed by Narām-Sîn). They further conclude that the destruction of Ebla preceded the destruction of Mari, and they suggest that 13 years elapsed between the two destructions (2003: 35).

Despite its violent destruction, the site of Ebla was not abandoned at the end of the EBIVA period; the site in fact continued to be a regional centre and is mentioned in Mesopotamian records from the Ur III period as an important city (Owen 1992, Archi & Biga 2003). Its occupation continues into and beyond the EBIVB, although the former palace area remained unoccupied, and within the settlement there is little architectural continuity observed between the two periods (Matthiae 2006). Rather, the settlement appears to have contracted into the northern portion of the site, with the so-called Archaic Palace being located in the northern part of the lower town. Evidence from this palace suggests that the later settlement was also destroyed at the end of the EBIVB period (ca. 2000 BCE), although the palace itself was rebuilt and reused during the Middle Bronze Age I (Matthiae 2006: 90).

Textual References to the Amuq Plain

The Ebla archive provides an unparalleled opportunity to use texts from the period in question to reconstruct political geography and social organization within a very early historical context, and to then use this information to create models against which to examine the growing pool of archaeological data. Recent work (Archi 2006, 2008) has begun to reconstruct a detailed picture of the historical geography of Ebla and its surrounding region, linking

textually attested toponyms to archaeologically known 3rd millennium sites. These texts thus provide a unique means of acquiring an indigenous perspective on the landscape of the 3rd millennium in Western Syria. Most interestingly, for those concerned with the history of the Amuq Plain, certain texts appear to make reference to locations in this area.

In particular, the Ebla texts make reference to a place known as *A-la-la-ḥu*, which was a dependency of Ebla (Archi 2006, 2008). At the end of the third millennium, during the Ur III Period, *Mu-ki-ish* and Ebla are both mentioned as vassals of Ur. During the second millennium, we know that the capital of the kingdom of *Mu-ki-ish* was Alalakh, and that it was located at the site of modern Tell Atchana (Woolley 1955; Yener et al. 1996: 53-54; Yener et al. 2000). Woolley contended that the site was occupied from the 4th millennium to the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 4300-1200 BC) (1953, 1955). The result was an initial implicit assumption by many scholars that the *A-la-la-ḥu* of the Ebla texts referred to Tell Atchana (i.e. Astour 1988: 144, n.34, but see especially Astour 2002: 106–107). More recently, however, there have been reservations about whether Tell Atchana was really occupied throughout the third millennium, despite Woolley's claim that it was (although doubts in this regard had already been expressed much earlier, see Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 523).

Reanalysis of Woolley's published material and extant ceramics from his excavations, combined with a re-examination of the remaining sections from Woolley's original excavation areas conducted by members of the current Tell Atchana excavation team suggest that Woolley's assertions of a 3rd millennium occupation at Tell Atchana cannot be maintained (Williams & Hassert 1977–1978; Batiuk and Horowitz 2010; for the renewed investigations, see Yener 2005; 2010). The earliest material at the site can likely be dated to terminal Amuq Phase J, or to the transitional Early-Middle Bronze Age period around 2000 BC, contemporary with the secondary destruction of Ebla (Level IIB2), but not with the earlier Palace G complex. Nevertheless, survey work has documented that the Amuq Plain was densely settled during the EBIVA period, with Tayinat representing the primary urban centre in the Amuq Plain during the period contemporary with the Palace G archive.

It is also essential to consider the unique relationship between the sites of Tell Tayinat and Tell Atchana. The distance between the two sites is only about 750m, and they lie on either side of the modern Aleppo-Antakya highway. The settlement history of these two sites appears to be complementary. Tayinat is occupied during the Early Bronze Age, with settlement shifting to Atchana during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and then back to Tayinat during the Iron Age. This recurrent shifting in the occupation between Tayinat and Atchana has been postulated to be the result of changes in the course of the Orontes River over time (Wilkinson et al. 2001, Yener et al. 2000, Casana 2003, Casana and Wilkinson 2005, Casana and Gansell 2005). Recent geomorphological work has identified a course of the

Orontes that encircles the mound of Atchana to the north and east (Batiuk 2010, Yener forthcoming). The date of this branch of the river is tentatively placed in the Middle and Late Bronze Age by sherds that emerged during coring work, suggesting that this particular river course is contemporaneous only to the settlement at Atchana, and not to earlier or later periods. Despite this suggested dating, the exact hydrological history of this feature and how it relates to the settlement shift between Tayinat and Atchana is not yet fully clear. In general, however, the two sites are complementary and do not appear to have been occupied contemporaneously for any significant period of time. All of these facts combined together leads to the suggestion that Tell Tayinat may be interpreted as the *A-la-la-ḥu* referred to in the 3rd millennium Ebla texts, and that Tayinat and Atchana were sister sites considered to represent a single settlement during ancient times.

The references to *A-la-la-ḥu* in the Ebla texts suggest that the Amuq may have first come under the control of Ebla during the reign of Irkab-Damu, the second to last ruler of the city, who died approximately 35 years before the fall of Ebla; this event is thus suggested to date to the final years of the 24th century BC (Archi 2006; Archi & Biga 2003). The site is later mentioned again in two tax documents during Ibbrium's time as minister. In one case, *A-la-la-ḥu* provides 670 gr of silver in tax or tribute to Ebla, while in the second document it provides only 245 gr of silver (Archi 2006). In the latter document, *A-la-la-ḥu* appears between cities like Dub (the Tuba of the 2nd millennium) and Harran. These cities, although within Ebla's sphere of influence, had their own ruler in charge of a regional kingdom and therefore enjoyed at least some degree of independence. Archi suggests that its appearance with these cities suggests a similar political role for the city of *A-la-la-ḥu*, and thus that it should be considered to be the major centre in the Amuq during this period (Archi 2006: 3). Like other cities within Ebla's realm, *A-la-la-ḥu* was governed by an "overseer", known as an *ugula*; one of these individuals, by the name of Zemalik, was identified as the *ugula* of *A-la-la-ḥu* (Archi 2006: 3). Significantly, there are also reports of a military conflict between Ebla and *A-la-la-ḥu*. The text has been interpreted to read that the victor in this conflict was in fact *A-la-la-ḥu*, which would suggest that the conflict was likely a minor one, during the ministry of Ibbi-Zikir, the last of Ebla's ministers (Archi 2006: 3). However, the exact translation of the text may be ambiguous, so that the victor in this conflict is still inconclusive (Archi 2006). In either case, the mention of such an event is significant, as it underlines the importance and relative independence of the city of *A-la-la-ḥu*.

The Syro-Hittite Expedition and the Amuq Sequence

This historical and political information provides us with a valuable backdrop against which to examine the available archaeological data from the Amuq Plain. Until recently, the original excavations conducted by the University of Chicago were the primary source of information about this period. Braidwood's work, consisting of a set of step trenches and

Approx. Dates BCE	Periodization	Amuq	Ebla/ Tell Mardikh	Hama	Ras Shamra
3500	Late Chalco	Phase G			
	EBI-II			K7-5	
2800					
	EBIII	Phase H	Level IIA	K5-1	IIIA1
2500					
	EBIVA	Phase I	IIB1 (Palace G)	J8-5	IIIA2
2300					
	EBIVB	Phase J	Level IIB2	J4-1	IIIA3
2000					

Figure 3. Chart of archaeological synchronisms between the Amuq Sequence and other key sites in northwestern Syria.

smaller deep soundings located at sites throughout the Amuq Plain, aimed to reconstruct the early prehistory of the area. The information Braidwood collected was assembled to form a comprehensive chronological and archaeological sequence of the occupation of the plain. The Amuq sequence that arose out of his work has been one of the key lynchpins in understanding the chronology of the northern Levant. He published the material from the early part of this sequence (Phases A through J, basically spanning the Ceramic Neolithic to the end of the Early Bronze Age) in 1960 (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960). According to his characterization, the Early Bronze Age in the region is represented by four phases, known as Phases G through J (approx. 3500–2000 BCE). The Early Bronze Age sequence is based on excavations at four sites located throughout the Amuq: Tell Judaidah, Çatal Höyük, Tayinat and Tell Dhahab (Braidwood & Braidwood 1961: 20–21). Additional information is available from the excavation of the site of Tabarat al-Akrad, occupied during Phase H and possibly Phase I, although this was not incorporated into Braidwood's original sequence (Hood 1951).

Despite the limited exposures achieved in these excavations, the Amuq sequence has been remarkably resilient, retaining its validity through the ground-breaking excavations at Ebla, and through 50 years of further archaeological work in the Northern Levant since its original publication. In fact, it correlates very well with the remains found at other key sites occupied during the 3rd millennium, including Ebla, Hama and Ras Shamra, and provides a strong relative sequence for interpreting new archaeological remains (Fugmann 1958; Mazzoni 1985, 2002, 2003, Graff 2006, Dornemann 2003) (Figure 3).

Third Millennium Settlement Patterns in the Amuq Plain

In addition to the original Amuq sequence, a rich collection of survey data is available for the Amuq, which can reveal critical information about regional organization and integration. In fact, the Amuq is one of the most intensively surveyed areas of the Near East, having been first surveyed by Robert Braidwood (Braidwood 1937), and later revisited in

the late 1990's by the Amuq Valley Regional Project (AVRP), which began resurveying the area (Yener et al. 1996, 2000, 2005). This initiative was able to significantly increase the numbers of sites known in the region from 178 to 380, a number that continues to increase every year with further investigation (Yener et al. 2000, Gerritsen et al. 2008).

The AVRP dataset can thus be used to examine the changes in settlement patterns that occur throughout the 3rd millennium as the process of urbanization rose to its height, beginning with Phase G. This period spans the terminal Chalcolithic period to the EBII, from about 3500–2800 BC (Figure 4). Sites in this period display an overall continuity with settlement patterns observed during the previous phases (including the immediately preceding Uruk period), despite the abandonment of the primary settlement from phases D through F (Tell Kurdu). During this period, sites are noticeably concentrated in the central part of the plain, around the largest site, Imar es-Sharqi (Batiuk 2007). Areas further afield, such as the Kara Su and Afrin River valleys appear to have been sparsely populated. Small 2–4 ha sites were distributed at regular distances around Imar es-Sharqi, suggesting the existence of a potential two-tier site size hierarchy during this period. It is also important to consider that the tendency toward the central placement of sites and the lack of any apparent organization along trade routes for the region suggest that the Phase G settlement system appears to have been relatively isolated, and only partially integrated into a system of inter-regional trade or communication.

A noticeable shift, however, can be observed in the following phase, Phase H, dating to the EBIII period (ca. 2800–2500 BCE) (Figure 5). During this period, the settlement hierarchy develops further, displaying a three-tier settlement system with Tayinat as the largest site, along with moderately-sized villages and very small sites of <2 ha. In addition, settlements become more highly dispersed away from the center of the plain and begin to expand into hilly areas on the margins of the Amuq, a pattern that is particularly visible in the Afrin Valley (Batiuk 2005, 2007). Furthermore, during this period, settlements appear to have begun to concentrate in greater numbers along routes travelling east-west along the southern edge of the plain, suggesting the development of an important trade or communication route through this area (Batiuk 2005, 2007). The significance of extra-regional contacts outside the Amuq are confirmed by the appearance of material culture related to the Early Transcaucasian Culture, originating from Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus and forming part of a larger cultural sphere of similar archaeological remains appearing to the south at Ras Shamra and as far away as Palestine (Batiuk 2005). The widespread distribution of similar cultural material to that observed in the Amuq (including the Red Black Burnished Ware already mentioned, as well as Plain Simple Wares) would suggest that Tayinat and the Amuq region as a whole are tied into a larger cultural sphere encompassing much of northwestern Syria and southeastern Anatolia, a pattern that will continue to get stronger in the following period.

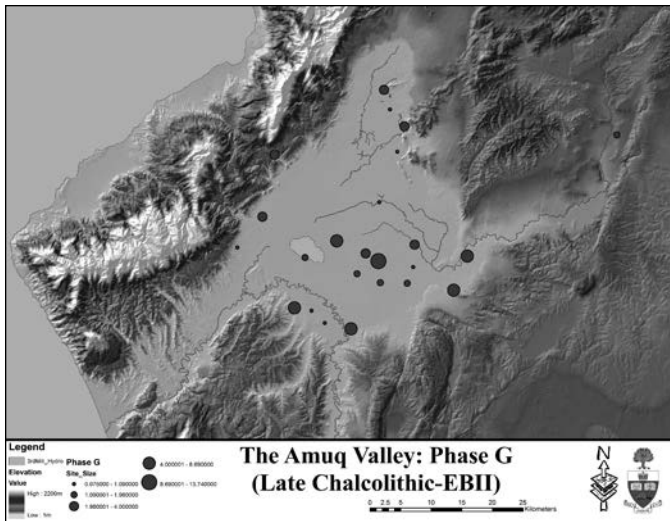


Figure 4. Map of Phase G Sites in the Amuq Plain.

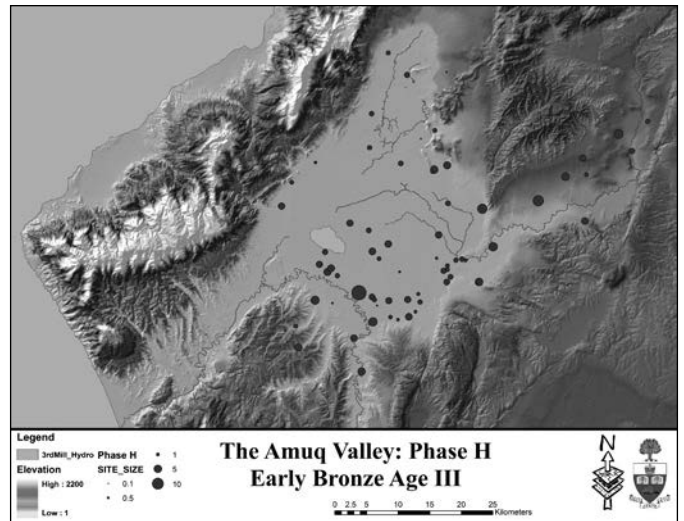


Figure 5. Map of Phase H Sites in the Amuq Plain.

Moving into Phase I, a large proportion of the Phase H sites from the previous period display continuity in settlement into this phase (Figure 6). In this period, however, the population agglomerates into larger sites to a greater degree. While k-means cluster analysis of sites dating to Phase H suggests a series of site clusters, the same analysis reveals only one large site cluster centered around Tell Tayinat during Phase I. This suggests an increasing level of integration at a regional scale in comparison to the preceding period. Similar processes of centralization and urbanization are observed in other areas of Syria during the EBIVA period (Akkermanns & Schwartz 2003, Mazzoni 2003, Cooper 2006). Furthermore, this overall settlement pattern coincides well with a picture of the existence of a dominant regional centre in the Amuq during the period, as suggested by the Ebla texts. The organization of sites along trade routes running across the southern end of the plain is still visible in this period, and material culture confirms that these external links become even stronger during Phase I.

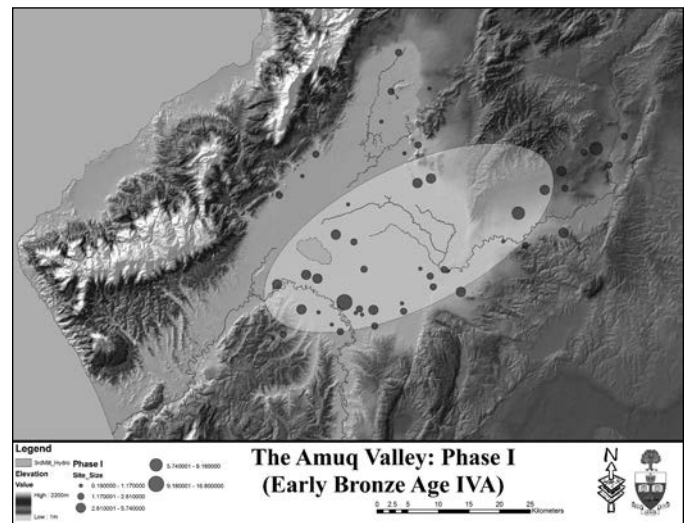


Figure 6. Map of Phase I Sites in the Amuq Plain.

In Phase J, the number of settlements found in the region decreases significantly (Figure 7). Interestingly, however, the settlements still appear to display a clear tendency toward a focus around a regional centre located at Tell Tayinat. In fact, in this period, Tayinat's dominance within the region becomes even clearer. This may be attributable to the fact that after the destruction of Ebla, whose authority (according to textual data) extended into Amuq during Phase I, Tayinat was better able to consolidate its influence within the Amuq region. Another notable development during this period is the disappearance of the group of settlements organized along the east-west trade route previously visible in the southern part of the plain, and particularly the sites clustered in the Afrin Valley, suggesting a decrease in the importance of this communication route at this time, and potentially suggesting more limited contact with regions to the east.

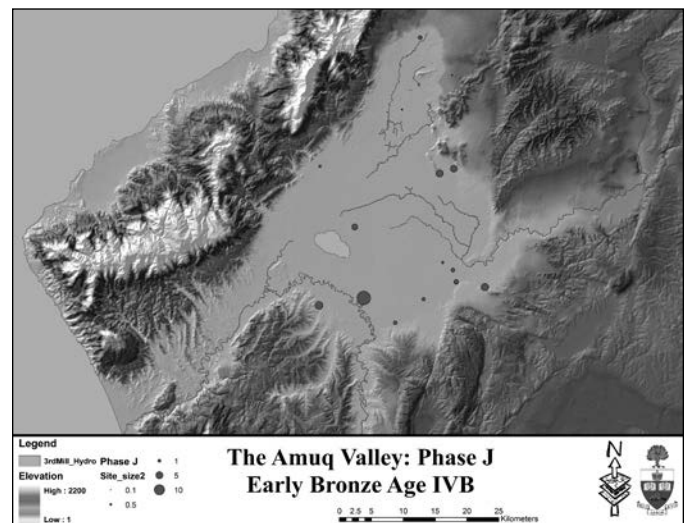


Figure 7. Map of Phase J Sites in the Amuq Plain.

The Third Millennium Amuq Sequence

In addition to changes in settlement patterns, Braidwood's work in the Amuq led to descriptions of the material culture associated each of the Early Bronze Age phases, including the key features of ceramics, stone tools, metals and other small finds that change over time, marking the transitions between the phases.

The first post-Uruk phase identified in the Amuq, known as Phase G, spans the transition between the Late Chalcolithic and the earliest part of the Early Bronze Age, extending into the Early Bronze II period. This phase was identified only at the site of Judaidah (and possibly at Tell Dhahab), but not at Tayinat. Although nine floors were found at Judaidah dating to this period (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 21), greater differentiation within the phase was not attempted due to the high degree of consistency in ceramic remains observed (although possible chronological changes in the forms of Plain Simple Ware are noted, Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 263). The period was characterized by a decrease in the frequency of flint and ground stone tools compared to the Uruk Period, the first appearance of cylinder seals and an increase in the "standardization" of the pottery (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 259). In general, Phase G is defined by the decline of the chaff-faced wares that were common in the preceding Phase F, and by the appearance of Plain Simple Ware, a ware type that continues, with some modifications, for more than a thousand years. Also chronologically significant is the appearance of Reserved Slip Ware in this period, although it was likely locally made (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 275, 516). Also evident was the existence of a well-developed metal industry, as indicated by the discovery of a cache of six human figurines made from copper alloy, including both male and female individuals (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 300–313).

The following phase, Phase H, dated to the Early Bronze III, was identified at all four sites investigated by Braidwood: Judaidah, Çatal Höyük, Tayinat and Dhahab (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 20). This period was marked by the continuation of Plain Simple Ware and the remainder of the standard Phase G cultural assemblage, along with the substantial appearance of Red Black Burnished Ware, a distinctive and highly burnished pottery type. In Phase H, this ware has a black exterior and red interior, and common forms include simple and s-shaped bowls and s-shaped jars, as well as pot-stands and andirons. As discussed above, the appearance of this pottery type has been linked with the arrival of an intrusive cultural influence in the region, linked to the Early Transcaucasian Culture. Also significant during this phase are the introduction of Brittle Orange Ware and the appearance of secondary architectural features such as hearths, bins and benches (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 518). Despite the presence of these architectural features at Judaidah, minimal coherent architecture was uncovered for Phase H at Tayinat, with only one or two walls exposed.

The excavations at Tayinat produced remains that were dated to Phases H, I and J, with no levels that were attributed

to Phase G. In fact, this is the only Early Bronze Age phase not represented by excavated remains from the site. However, due to the high degree of continuity in material culture between Phase G and the following period, with only the introduction of a few key types marking the transition, Phase G can be particularly difficult to identify at sites that are occupied during both periods without undertaking extensive stratified excavations. It is impossible to tell from extensive surface survey of the mound, for example, whether Plain Simple Ware occurring at the site is the result of a new foundation in Phase H, or an earlier Phase G occupation. As a result, the date of the initial occupation at Tayinat is unclear, and remains to be clarified with further excavation (Braidwood in fact suggested that a Phase G occupation at Tayinat was likely, Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 351, n.3).

The beginning of the EBIV period in Phase I represents the height of the centralization process of the Early Bronze Age, and the period contemporary with the Ebla Palace G administrative archive. Remains from this period were identified at Judaidah, Çatal Höyük, and Tayinat (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 20). This period is defined by the appearance of an extremely standardized series of ceramics known as Simple Ware, as well as by the continuation of Red Black Burnished Ware and Brittle Orange Ware. These characteristics were in fact identified primarily using stratified remains excavated in T4 and T8 at Tayinat, due to the small quantities of Phase I sherds found at Judaidah and Çatal Höyük (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 397). Simple Ware is clearly related to the earlier ceramic corpus that first appeared during Phase G, but during this period demonstrates a more standardized corpus of forms and the occasional appearance of painted decoration (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 520). Red Black Burnished Ware also undergoes some alterations in common forms in comparison to the typical Phase H corpus, and tends to demonstrate an all-red burnished appearance during this phase (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 398). Smear Wash Ware also makes its first appearance during Phase I, as does the figurine type dubbed by Braidwood as the "monstrous type" with pinched faces (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 398, 520). Architecturally, this period is extremely poorly known, with only a few identified wall fragments. Although they are not illustrated, Braidwood suggests that the more elaborate secondary architectural features that appeared in Phase H continue into Phase I and only die out in the following period (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 520–521).

While only a small number of sherds of Red Black Burnished Ware have been identified at the site of Ebla (Level IIA), the ceramic parallels between the Amuq sequence and Ebla are very clear in the forms of the Phase I Simple or "Caliciform" wares, reflecting increasing centralization and inter-regional contact during this period. In fact, these pottery types are found throughout a large portion of Northern Syria, indicating the development of a wide-reaching cultural sphere of interaction incorporating much of the Northern Levantine region (Mazzoni 1985, 2002, 2003, Fugmann 1958,

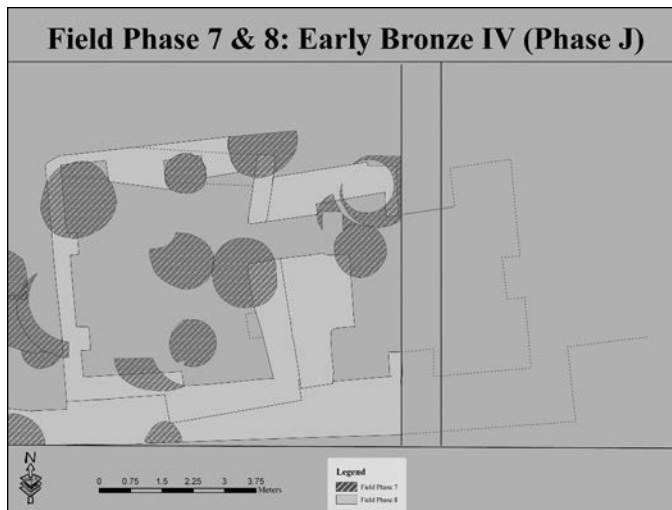


Figure 8. Plan of Field 1 Early Bronze Age architecture (created by S. Batiuk).

Dornemann 2003, Graff 2006). Mazzoni suggests the existence of a number of regional ceramic cultures, with the Amuq likely falling within a coastal culture defined by the continuation of Red Black Burnished Ware into the EBIV period and the combined occurrence of Simple, Painted Simple and Smeared Wash Wares (Mazzoni 1985:10).

The final Early Bronze Age phase, Phase J, corresponds to the period following the collapse of the Ebla Palace G complex. In the Amuq, excavated remains from this period have been identified only at Tayinat (in T4, T8 and T13) (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 429). This may be unsurprising given the settlement patterns discussed previously, where during this period the number of sites decreases significantly while Tayinat retains its role as the dominant centre. Phase J is represented by a significant depth of deposit at Tayinat, which in some areas measured as much as 1.7 m (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 429). In fact, more architecture is known at Tayinat from Phase J than is known from the site during any of the previous phases. Although this architecture remains limited due to the small exposures, in this phase entire rooms are represented and two separate phases of Phase J architecture were identified. Ceramically, this phase is defined by the disappearance of Red Black Burnished Ware and Brittle Orange Ware and the continuation of Simple Ware and Smeared Wash Ware. Continuation of certain features from the Red Black Burnished Ware tradition may be evident in some cooking ware forms (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 431). Smeared Wash Ware increases in frequency in Phase J, but appears to die out towards the end of the period (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 431). In comparison to Phase I, the frequency of Painted Simple Ware increases, but still remains rather small in comparison to Simple Ware as a whole (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 431). The hallmark of this period is the goblet form painted with highly regular black (or sometimes red) bands, which are then decorated with incised wavy lines. The existence of far-reaching international connections is evidenced by the appearance of a

Troy IV *Depas Amphikypellon* and a Euphrates grey burnished Syrian bottle (Braidwood & Braidwood 1960: 450). Despite the reduction in Ebla's influence over the wider region after the destruction of Palace G, the parallels between the ceramic assemblages in the Amuq and at Ebla, as well as within the larger north Syrian region, continue during this period (Fugmann 1958, Mazzoni 1985, 2002, 2003, Dornemann 2003, Graff 2006).

Tayinat Archaeological Project Excavations

Following preliminary field seasons in 1999, 2001 and 2002, primarily aimed at surveying and mapping the site (see Batiuk et al. 2005), exploratory excavations at Tell Tayinat were renewed in 2004 by the University of Toronto. Full scale excavations commenced in 2005 and have continued annually thereafter (for yearly reports, see Harrison 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009a; 2010b; see also Figure 2). The TAP excavations to date have focused on the extensive Iron Age settlement (Harrison 2009b; 2009c; 2010a). However, as with the results of Syro-Hittite Expedition, Early Bronze Age remains (either residual or *in situ*) have been uncovered in each excavation field, with the most significant *in situ* remains being found in Field 1.

Field 1 is located in the center of the upper mound, on the southern edge of the Syro-Hittite Expedition's West Central Area excavations. The Field 1 excavations were initiated as part of the two-week exploratory sounding in 2004, and in 2005 expanded to the current four 10x10 m squares (Figure 8). To date, the excavations have succeeded in delineating nine superimposed architectural phases or Field Phases (FP), with a significant sequence dating to the 12th-11th centuries BCE, or the Early Iron I (or Iron IA) period (FPs 3-6). In addition, three discrete Field Phases (FPs 7-9) have been excavated dating to the latter part of the 3rd millennium BCE, or more precisely the EB IVB, which corresponds to Amuq Phase J in the Braidwood sequence, and the Post-Palace G destruction phase at Ebla (Mardikh IIB2). For a more detailed description of the Early Bronze Age levels, see Welton et al. (2011).

Field Phase 7 consists of a post-occupational pitting phase that may represent a squatter occupation at the site following the destruction of the more substantial preceding level. It dates to the later part of Phase J or even possibly during the Early-Middle Bronze Age transitional level. Field Phase 8, in contrast, is represented by two rooms of a large, well-preserved building, with walls preserved to a height of more than 1.5 m and floors covered in smashed ceramics. These ceramics consist of a typical Phase J assemblage, including Simple and Painted Simple Wares, with characteristic Phase J Painted Simple Ware goblets being common; Smeared Wash Ware is also found in high frequencies. Parallels with Ebla suggest that the destruction of this building may be roughly contemporary with the destruction of the post-Palace G phase at Ebla (i.e., level IIB2), where the Archaic Palace is believed to have been destroyed around 2000 BCE (Matthiae 2006: 90). Finally, Field Phase 9 (FP 9) represents an earlier

architectural phase with a different plan to that of FP 8, and very preliminary results suggest a date in the early part of Phase J, or in late Phase I.

Conclusion

It is vital to consider the larger regional, political and historical context of Tell Tayinat in order to better evaluate the results of archaeological excavations. Both textual and archaeological survey data provide clues to the political organization of the region of northwest Syria during the late third millennium, which can then inform interpretations of excavated archaeological material. In particular, textual data from the administrative archive unearthed at the site of Ebla suggests details about the political role of the Amuq during the EBIVA period. These texts indicate that the Amuq was likely an important and possibly semi-independent region within Ebla's larger sphere of influence, dominated by a major centre known as *A-la-la-hu*. The lack of evidence for EBIVA occupation at Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages), and the close and complementary nature of the relationship between Atchana and Tayinat suggests the possible equation of Tayinat with the *A-la-la-hu* of the Ebla texts. Furthermore, archaeological survey data confirms the identification of Tayinat as the primary centre in the Amuq Plain during the period contemporary with the Ebla archive, as well as during the period following the destruction of the Palace G complex. Renewed archaeological excavations at the site of Tell Tayinat are beginning to produce horizontal exposures and significant quantities of material associated particularly with the period following this collapse (i.e. during Amuq Phase J). These materials are thus beginning to create a picture of the occupation at Tell Tayinat during a time when the site was likely the primary regional centre and had increased and consolidated its power in the Amuq Plain following the decline of the site of Ebla during the EBIVB period. The ongoing analysis of the political, geographical and historical details contained within the Ebla texts will continue to provide exciting contextual information, as increasing amounts of archaeological data become available to illuminate them.

REFERENCES

- Adams, R.M.
1974 "Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade." *Current Anthropology* 15: 239–58.
- Akkermans, P.M.M.G. and G.M. Schwartz.
2003 *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16,000–300 BC)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Archi, A.
2006 "Alalah al Tempo del Regno di Ebla." Pp. 2–5, in *Tra Oriente e Occidente: Studi in onore di Elena di Filippo Balestrazzi*. Ed. by D. Morandi Bonacossi, E. Rova, F. Veronese, P. Zanolle. Padova: S.A.R..G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria.
- 2008 "Hassum/Hassuwan and Ursum/Ursaum From the Point of View of Ebla." Pp. 87–102, in *Muhibbe Darga Armagani*. Ed. by T. Tarhan, A. Tibet, E. Konyar. Istanbul.
- Archi, A. and M.G. Biga.
2003 "A Victory over Mari and the Fall of Ebla." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 55: 1–44.
- Astour, M.
1988 "The Geographical and Political Structure of the Ebla Empire". Pp.139–158 in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla: Akten der Internationalen Tagung Heidelberg 4. -7. November 1986*. Ed. by H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann. Heidelberg: Orientverlag.
- 2002 "A Reconstruction of the History of Ebla (Part 2)", pp. 57–196 in *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*. Ed. by C.H. Gordon and G.A. Rendsburg. Eisenbrauns.
- Batiuk, S.D.
2005 *Migration Theory and the Distribution of the Early Transcaucasian Culture*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Toronto.
- 2007 "Ancient Landscapes of the Amuq: Geoarchaeological Surveys of the Amuq Valley, 1999–2006." *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 2: 51–57.
- 2010 "Seeing Through Silt: Results of Remote Sensing at Tell Tayinat", presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, November 17–20, 2010.
- Batiuk, S., T.P. Harrison, and L. Pavlish.
2005 "The Ta'yinat Survey, 1999–2002." Pp. 171–92, in *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects. Vol. I: Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002*. Edited by K. Aslıhan Yener. Oriental Institute Publications, No. 131. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Batiuk, S. and M. Horowitz
2010 "Temple Deep Sounding Investigations 2001–2006". Pp. 161–175 in *Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh, Volume 1: The 2003–2004 Excavations Seasons*. Edited by K. Aslıhan Yener. Istanbul: Koç University Press.

- Braidwood, R.J.
1937 *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch; An Archaeological Survey*. Oriental Institute Publications, No. 48. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Braidwood, R.J. and L. Braidwood.
1960 *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I: The Earlier Assemblages Phases A-J*. Oriental Institute Publications, No. 61. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Casana, J.
2003 *From Alalakh to Antioch: Settlement, Land Use, and Environmental Change in the Amuq Valley of Southern Turkey*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Casana, J. and A.R. Gansell.
2005 "Surface Ceramics, Off-site Survey, and Floodplain Development at Tell Atchana (Alalakh)". In K. A. Yener (ed.), *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects. Vol. I: Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 131. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Casana, J. and T.J. Wilkinson.
2005 "Settlement and Landscapes in the Amuq Region." Pp. 25–65, in *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects. Vol. I: Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002*. Edited by K. Aslihan Yener. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Cooper, L.
2006 *Early Urbanism on the Syrian Euphrates*. New York: Routledge.
- de Miroschedji, P.
2000 "La ceramique de Khirbet Kerak en Syro-Palestine: etat de la question." Pp. 255–78, in *From the Euphrates to the Caucasus: Chronologies for the 4th–3rd Millennium B.C.* Ed. by C. Marro and H. Hauptmann. Istanbul: Institut Francais d'etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul.
- Dornemann, R.
2003 "Preliminary Excavation Reports and Other Archaeological Investigations: Tell Qarqur, Iron I Sites in the North-Central Highlands of Palestine (1999)." *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 56: 1–218.
- Edens, C.M. and P.L. Kohl.
1993 "Trade and World Systems in Early Bronze Age Western Asia." Pp. 17–34, in *Trade and Exchange in Prehistoric Europe*. Edited by C. Scarre and F. Healy. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Esse, D. and P.K. Hopke.
1984 "Levantine Trade in the Early Bronze Age." Pp. 327–39, in *Proceedings of the 24th International Archaeometry Symposium*. Edited by J.S. Olin and M.J. Blackman. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Frangipane, M.
1993 "Local Components in the Development of Centralized Societies in the Syro-Anatolian Region." Pp. 133–61, in *Between the Rivers and Over the Mountains*. Ed. by M. Frangipane, et al. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.
- 1997 "A 4th-Millennium Temple/Palace Complex at Arslantepe-Malatya: North-South Relations and the Formation of Early State Societies in the Northern Regions of Greater Mesopotamia." *Paleorient* 23: 45–73.
- 2002 "'Non-Uruk' Developments and Uruk-linked Features on the Northern Borders of Greater Mesopotamia." Pp. 123–48, in *Artefacts of Complexity: Tracking the Uruk in the Near East*. Edited by N. Postgate. Wiltshire, England: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Fugmann, E.
1958 *Hama, Fouilles et Recherches 1931–1938, Vol. II, 1: L'Architecture des Périodes Pré-Hellénistiques*. Copenhagen: National Museet.
- Gerritsen, F., A. de Giorgi, A. Eger, R. Özbal and T. Vorderstrasse.
2008 "Settlement and Landscape Transformations in the Amuq Valley, Hatay: A Long-Term Perspective." *Anatolica* 34 (2008): 241–314.
- Graff, S.
2006 *Economy and Society: An Archaeological Reconstruction of the Political and Informal Economy of Northwestern Syria in the Third Millennium BC*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Haines, R.C.
1971 *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II: The Structural Remains of the Later Phases: Chatal Hoyuk, Tell al-Judaidah, and Tell Ta'yinat*. Oriental Institute Publications, No. 92. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Harrison, T.P.
2000 "The 1998 Amuq Valley Regional Project Survey." *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 17: 127–32.
- 2001a "Tell Ta'yinat and the Kingdom of Unqi." Pp. 115–32, in *The World of the Aramaeans II; Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugene Dion*. Ed. by P.M.M Daviau, J.W. Wevers and M. Weigl. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- 2001b "The Evidence for Aramaean Cultural Expansion in the Amuq Plain." *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 36: 13–22.
- 2005 "The Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence at Tell Ta'yinat." *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 40: 23–33.
- 2006 "2004 Yılı Tayinat Höyük Kazıları." *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27: 353–62.
- 2007 "Neo-Hittites in the North Orontes Valley: Recent Investigations at Tell Ta'yinat." *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 2: 59–68.
- 2008 "Tayinat Höyük Kazıları." *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 29/2: 85–98.

- 2009a “Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2006–2007.” *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30/2: 503–20.
- 2009b “Lifting the Veil on a ‘Dark Age’: Ta‘yinat and the North Orontes Valley during the Early Iron Age.” Pp. 171–84, in *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*. Ed. by J.D. Schloen. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- 2009c “Neo-Hittites in the ‘Land of Palistin’: Renewed Investigations at Tell Ta‘yinat on the Plain of Antioch.” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72/4: 174–89.
- 2010a “The Late Bronze/Early Iron Age Transition in the North Orontes Valley.” Pp. 83–102, in *Societies in Transition: Evolutionary Processes in the Northern Levant Between Late Bronze Age II and Early Iron Age*. Ed. by F. Venturi. University of Bologna.
- 2010b “Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2008.” *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31/3: 491–504.
- Hood, S.
1951 “Excavations at Tabara el-Akrad, 1948–49.” *Anatolian Studies* 1: 113–47.
- Kushnareva, K.K.
1997 *The Southern Caucasus in Prehistory: Stages of Cultural and Socioeconomic Development from the 8th to the 2nd Millennium B.C.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Maisels, C.K.
1990 *The Emergence of Civilization: From Hunting and Gathering to Agriculture, Cities, and the State in the Near East*. London: Routledge.
- Marfoe, L.
1987 “Cedar Forest to Silver Mountain: Social Change and the Development of Long-Distance Trade in Early Near Eastern Societies.” Pp. 25–35, in *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*. Ed. by M. Rowlands, et. al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matthiae, P.
1981 *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
2006 “The Archaic Palace at Ebla: A Royal Building between EB IVB and Middle Bronze Age I.” Pp. 85–104 in *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*. Edited by W.G. Dever, S. Gitin and J.P. Dessel. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Mazzoni, S.
1985 “Elements of the Ceramic Culture of Early Syrian Ebla in Comparison with Syro-Palestinian EB IV.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 257: 1–18.
2002 “The Ancient Bronze Age Pottery Tradition of in Northwestern Central Syria.” Pp. 69–96, in *Ceramique de l’age du bronze en Syrie, I: La Syrie du sud et la vallee de l’Oronte*. Edited by M. Al-Maqdissi, V. Matoian, and C. Nicolle. Beirut: Institut Français d’Archeologie du Proche-Orient.
- 2003 “Ebla: Crafts and Power in an Emergent State of 3rd Millennium Syria.” *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 16: 173–91.
- Owen, D.
1992 “Syrians in Sumerian Sources from the Ur III Period”. Pp. 108–176 in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, ed. By M.W. Chavalas and J.L. Hayes. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 25. Malibu: Undena.
- Peltenburg, E.
1999 “The Living and the Ancestors: Early Bronze Age Mortuary Practices at Jerablus Tahtani”, pp. 427–442 in *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates, The Tishrin Dam Area, Aula Orientalis-Supplementa* 15. Ed. by G. del Olmo Lete and J.-L. Montero Fenollós. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA.
- Philip, G.
1999 “Complexity and Diversity in the Southern Levant During the Third Millennium B.C.: The Evidence of Khirbet Kerak Ware.” *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12: 26–57.
- Philip, G. and A. Millard.
2000 “Khirbet Kerak Ware in the Levant: The Implications of Radiocarbon Chronology and Spatial Distribution.” Pp. 279–96, in *From the Euphrates to the Caucasus: Chronologies for the 4th–3rd Millennium B.C.* Ed. by C. Marro and H. Hauptmann. Istanbul: Institut Francais d’etudes Anatoliennes d’istanbul.
- Redman, C.
1978 *The Rise of Civilization; From Early Farmers to Urban Society in the Ancient Near East*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co.
- Rothman, M.
2004a “Studying the Development of Complex Society: Mesopotamia in the Late Fifth and Fourth Millennium BC.” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 12: 75–119.
2004b “Ripples in the Stream: Transcaucasian-Anatolian Interaction in the Murat/Euphrates Basin at the Beginning of the Third Millennium BC.” Pp. 94–114, in *Archaeology in the Borderlands: Investigations in Caucasia and Beyond*. Ed. by A. Smith and K. Rubinson. Los Angeles.
- Rothman, M. Ed.
2001 *Uruk Mesopotamia and Its Neighbors: Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*. Sante Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Sagona, A.
1984 *The Caucasian Region in the Early Bronze Age*. 3 Vols. BAR International Series, No. 214. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
2000 “Sos Hoyuk and the Erzurum Region in Late Prehistory: A Provisional Chronology for Northeast Anatolia.” Pp. 329–73, in *From the Euphrates to the Caucasus: Chronologies for the 4th–3rd Millennium B.C.* Ed. by C. Marro and H. Hauptmann. Istanbul: Institut Francais d’etudes Anatoliennes d’istanbul.

- Schwartz, G., H.H. Curvers, S. Dunham, B. Stuart, and J.A. Weber.
2006 "A Third-Millennium B.C. Elite Mortuary Complex at Umm el-Marra, Syria: 2002 and 2004 Excavations." *American Journal of Archaeology* 110 (4): 603–41.
- Stein, G.J.
1999 *Rethinking World Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
2000 "Material Culture and Social Identity: The Evidence for a 4th Millennium BC Mesopotamian Uruk Colony at Hacinebi, Turkey." *Paleorient* 25: 11–22.
- Stein, G. and M.J. Blackman.
1993 "The Organizational Context of Specialized Craft Production in Early Mesopotamian States." *Research in Economic Anthropology* 14: 29–59.
- Stein, G. et. al.
1996 "Uruk Colonies and Anatolian Communities: An Interim Report on the 1992–1993 Excavations at Hacinebi, Turkey." *American Journal of Archaeology* 100: 205–60.
- Ur, J.A.
2010 "Cycles of Civilization in Northern Mesopotamia, 4400–2000 BC." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18: 387–431.
- Wattenmaker, P.
1994 "Political Fluctuations and Local Exchange Systems in the Ancient Near East: Evidence from the Early Bronze Age Settlements at Kurban Hoyuk." Pp. 193–208, in *Chieftdoms and Early States in the Near East: The Organizational Dynamics of Complexity*. Ed. by G. Stein and M. S. Rothman. Madison: Prehistory Press.
1998a "Craft Production and Social Identity in Northwest Mesopotamia." Pp. 47–55, in *Craft and Social Identity*. Ed. by C. Costin and R. Wright. Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association.
1998b *Household and State in Upper Mesopotamia: Specialized Economy and the Social Uses of Goods in an Early Complex Society*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Welton, L., S. Batiuk, and T. Harrison.
2011 "Tayinat in the Late Third Millennium: Recent Investigations of the Tayinat Archaeological Project." *Anatolica* 37: 147–185.
- Wilkinson, T.J., E. S. Friedman, E. Alp, and A. P.J. Stampfl.
2001 *The Geoarchaeology of a Lake Basin: Spatial and Chronological Patterning of Sedimentation in the Amuq Plain, Turkey*. In Michel Fortin ed., *Recherches en Archéométrie*, 211–226, Quebec: Laval University
- Williams, B. and R. Hassert.
1977–78 "Some Aspects of the Excavation at Tell Atchana, Part I: A Critical Review of Pottery from Levels XVII–VII." *Serapis* 4: 41–56.
- Woolley, C.L.
1953 *A Forgotten Kingdom*. London: Penguin Books.
1955 *Alalakh. An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–1949*. Oxford: Society of Antiquaries.
- Yener, K.A., Ed.
2005 *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, Volume 1: Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
2010 *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, Volume 2. Excavations at Tell Atchana (Ancient Alalakh): The 2003–2004 Excavation Seasons*. Istanbul: Koç University Press.
- Yener, K.A.
Forthcoming "New Excavations at Alalakh: The 14th–12th Centuries BC." To appear in *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul May 31–June 1, 2010*. Edited by K.A. Yener. Amsterdam: Peeters
Yener, K.A. et. al.
1996 "The Oriental Institute Amuq Valley Projects, 1995." *Anatolica* 22: 49–84.
- Yener, K.A. et. al.
2000 "The Amuq Valley Regional Project, 1995–1998." *American Journal of Archaeology* 104: 163–220.