

The Northern Levant: Archaeology

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1 The Northern Levant

This chapter provides an overview of archaeological evidence for Hittite-period settlement in the northern Levant, a region encompassing what is today northern Lebanon, western Syria, and the Hatay Province of southern Turkey (Fig. 13.1). Throughout much of the mid- to late second millennium, this region constituted one of the primary zones where Hittite kings vied for dominance against other regional Near Eastern powers, including the Mittani kingdom of northern Mesopotamia, the Amorite kingdom of Yamhad (Aleppo), and the pharaohs of New Kingdom Egypt. The historical record for Hittite presence and interest in the northern Levant is quite robust,¹ including cuneiform archives comprised of treaties, letters, and other legal texts from the cities of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the Syrian coast and Alalakh (Tell Atchana) in the lower Orontes River Valley. Numerous other sites, including Qatna (Tell Mishrife) and Tell Afis, have produced smaller cuneiform archives, and the cities of northern Levant feature prominently in the diplomatic correspondence of the Amarna letters. In contrast, direct material evidence for a Hittite presence in the northern Levant is rare, as most forms of material culture, including ceramics, architecture, glyptics, and monumental art are distinctly local in style,² while the record of ancient settlement shows little change following the Hittite conquests in the region.³ It is safe to say that in the absence of the historical record, archaeologists would have been very unlikely to conclude that the northern Levant was within the Hittite realm. And yet, it is also beyond dispute that the area was of critical importance to Hittite kings and that, especially from the 14th to the early 12th century BC, they dictated much of the region's political life.

While an archaeological record of Hittite presence may be difficult to discern in the northern Levant, it remains very clear that throughout the Late Bronze Age, the northern Levant prospered as a nexus of trade and exchange, and as a producer of sought after luxury goods as well as olive oil and wine. The region was also the site of frequent

military conflict and diplomatic manoeuvring among regional powers, each vying for the fealty of the small kingdoms that populated it. In addition, the northern Levant shows some of the most illustrative evidence for the ultimate collapse of the Late Bronze Age political and economic systems in the early 12th century BC, and thus for the factors that led to the demise of the Hittites and other contemporary kingdoms. This chapter provides an outline of major research themes, the physical geography of the region, the evidence for regional settlement in the Late Bronze Age, and key excavations in the northern Levant.

2 Previous Literature and Major Research Themes

Most archaeological research into the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600–1200 BC) in the northern Levant, the period of Hittite presence in the region, has been shaped to a large degree by questions arising from the historical records that refer to the cities, people and events of the region. In particular, scholarship has focused on understanding the social and political organization of Late Bronze Age kingdoms, largely through analysis of both textual and archaeological evidence.⁴ A parallel collection of research has explored evidence for inter-regional exchange systems, evident in everything from ceramics to monumental art, and what these data say regarding the organization of ancient economies and connections among peoples of the Late Bronze Age world.⁵ A third major area of research concerns the collapse of Late Bronze Age kingdoms in the 12th century BC, with investigations spanning issues from the fragility of palatial-centered economies, to the invasion of enigmatic groups modern scholarship calls the “Sea Peoples,” to environmental factors.⁶

Despite longstanding scholarly interest in the region, the Late Bronze Age in the northern Levant has always posed a challenge to archaeological

1 See Cohen, this volume.

2 Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 351; Glatz 2009.

3 Casana 2013.

4 E.g. Liverani 1975, 1988, 2001; Schloen 2001; von Dassow 2005, 2008; Casana 2007, 2009, 2013.

5 E.g. Feldman 2006; McGeough 2007; Cline 2009; Luciani 2014.

6 E.g. Drews 1993; Kaniewski *et al.* 2010; Liverani 1987; Cline and O’Conner 2003; Sherratt 1998; Sader 1992; Harrison 2010.

investigations, owing to the fact that the vast majority of sites possessing second millennium BC settlement continued to be occupied in later periods. Indeed excavations at long-lived tells in the region, such as Tell Judaidah,⁷ Hama,⁸ and Tell Qarqur⁹ have produced some of the best material culture sequences in the Near East, with a virtually unbroken sequence of occupation from the Neolithic to the medieval period and beyond. However, this longevity also means that Late Bronze Age strata are invariably buried below deep layers of later occupational debris (Fig. 13.2), and thus much of our evidence for these periods comes from relatively small exposures in multi-period mounds.

The deep burial of second millennium BC archaeological strata means that some of the most prominent cities known from historic records remain totally inaccessible to archaeological investigation or are still unidentified. Aleppo for example is known to have been the capital of the kingdom of Yamhad, one of the most powerful states in Syria during the second millennium BC,¹⁰ but the Iron Age, Roman, medieval and modern cities completely obscure any Late Bronze Age remains. Similarly, the important Late Bronze Age city of Tunip has been argued to be located at the site of Tell Acharneh in the Orontes Valley,¹¹ but deep Iron Age and medieval deposits at the site have largely prevented excavators from accessing Bronze Age levels. The capitals of other prominent Late Bronze Age kingdoms, including Nuhašše and Niya, are as yet unidentified. Our inability to resolve even these fundamental questions regarding the historical geography of the northern Levant in the second millennium BC continues to serve as a stumbling block in many archaeological and historical studies.¹²

The rather meagre evidence for Late Bronze Age occupation from most sites stands in stark contrast to extraordinarily rich finds from three major urban centers that were destroyed during or at the end of the Late Bronze Age: Ras Shamra (Ugarit), Tell Atchana (Alalakh), and Tell Mishrife (Qatna). These sites lack significant later settlement, making Late Bronze Age levels relatively easy to access and leading to their outsized role in discussions of the archaeology and history of the period. Key finds from

these sites, as well as how more recent excavations are challenging some traditional interpretations of finds from them, are outlined below (Section 5).

3 Physical Geography of the Northern Levant

The climate and ecology of the northern Levant are shaped to a large degree by its topography. Along the Mediterranean coastal plains, there are a series of steep mountain ranges, including the Amanus Mountains in Turkey, the Jebel Ansariyah in Syria, and the Lebanon range to the south (Fig. 13.1). Rising to more than 2100 meters above sea level, these coastal mountains produce orographic rainfall that can be in excess of 1800mm/year and lead to a generally humid, warm climate along the coast for much of the year. Today these narrow coastal plains are densely occupied and intensively farmed year-round, producing large quantities of vegetables and fruit alongside cereals and other crops. As one moves upwards into the mountains, traditional forms of subsistence agriculture become more difficult, both because there is relatively little arable land and because at higher elevations, cold winter weather prohibits cultivation of many orchard crops. Today, and at least since the Roman period, many of these upland landscapes have been extensively terraced, enabling cultivation and arboriculture including olive, wine, nuts, and other orchard crops. In later periods when the political economy enabled the existence of more specialized agriculture, uplands became densely settled,¹³ but in much of the region's history it seems that they were largely forested or reserved for pasture. It is well attested in the historical record, going back as far as the third millennium BC, that the coastal mountain ranges were the source for much of the timber used in major building projects as far away as Mesopotamia and Egypt. Most evidence suggests that clearance of these forests did not occur until the late first millennium BC and subsequently. The current dominance of *maquis*-type dwarf evergreen oak at lower elevations in the mountains likely replaced the earlier dominance of cedar following the Hellenistic and Roman period deforestation.

To the east of the coastal mountains lie a series of downfaulted basins, forming a deep valley through which flow the Orontes River and its tributaries. The Orontes Valley is bordered on its eastern side by lower, limestone dominated hill ranges, including the Kurt Dağ in Turkey, the Jebels Zawiyeh, Ila, and Barisa in Syria, and the Anti-Lebanon range to the south. There is a steep precipitation

7 Haines 1971.

8 Fugmann 1958.

9 Dornemann 2012, 2003; Casana *et al.* 2009; Casana 2014.

10 Klengel 1992; Bryce 1998.

11 Fortin 2006.

12 Compare, for example, reconstructions for the Late Bronze Age political landscape as illustrated in von Dassow (2008: 503–505), Roaf (1992: 134), and Liverani (1988), where even the approximate location of major kingdoms remains uncertain.

13 Casana 2007, 2012.

gradient as one moves inland from the humid coast, with as little as 400mm/year precipitation in the limestone massif, and less than 100mm/year in the interior steppe beyond.

The Orontes River has its headwaters in the Biqa Valley of Lebanon and flows north through Syria, into the Hatay Province of Turkey and ultimately to its debouchment in the Mediterranean Sea near the modern town of Samandağ, Turkey.¹⁴ Fed by seasonal snow melt, upland precipitation, and hundreds of artesian springs along its course, the reliable flow of the Orontes constitutes a key resource for water, transportation, and agriculture in the region. Until widespread drainage projects began in the 1950s, large parts of the Orontes Valley were covered by shallow lakes and marshland, with significant wetlands in the Biqa' Valley, the area south of Homs, the Ghab Basin, and the Amuq Plain, in addition to similar marsh and lake environments in tributary valleys including the Rouj Bains in Syria and the Islahiyah Plain in Turkey. Because of the highly seasonal pattern of rainfall that is found throughout most of the Near East, marshlands and lakes in the Orontes Valley would, until their recent drainage, expand annually in the winter months, inundating much of the valley floor.

At least since the medieval period, the Orontes lowlands were occupied by communities with uniquely adapted subsistence strategies, largely dependent on marsh and lacustrine resources.¹⁵ However, it is likely that the marshes, at least in their early 20th century scale, are a relatively recent phenomenon. The first archaeologists working in the region, including Braidwood¹⁶ and Woolley,¹⁷ noted that many Bronze and Iron Age sites were submerged during the annual inundation, strongly indicating that the marsh postdates the Iron Age.¹⁸ Most likely, the severe upland soil erosion that accompanied intensified agricultural practices and forest clearance during the Roman and late Roman periods led to infilling of valley floors, resulting in massive hydrological changes to the Orontes' flow regime and the expansion of marshland.¹⁹ What this means for Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement remains somewhat conjectural, but we must envision a much smaller series of lakes at that time period, with far more land available to traditional dry-farming or irrigated cultivation than in more recent centuries.

14 Weulersse 1940.

15 Eger 2011.

16 Braidwood 1937.

17 Woolley 1955.

18 Wilkinson 2000, 1999, 1997.

19 Casana 2008.

Moving eastwards from the Orontes Valley and its tributaries in the Rouj, Afrin, and Kara Su valleys, we encounter the limestone hills of the Syrian interior. As in the coastal ranges, this area saw extensive settlement during the Roman and late Roman period, preserved today as the so-called "Dead Cities", and much of the region was brought under cultivation of dry-farmed cereals alongside orchards and vineyards.²⁰ However, the area offers even fewer resources than the coastal mountains to the west, lacking the forests, complex geology, and having a far more arid climate, resulting in fewer and less reliable water sources.

On the eastern side of the limestone uplands, the terrain opens up into broad, flat plains that are well suited to dry-farming agriculture and receive more abundant precipitation than many similar dry-farming zones farther east. These plains, extending in an arc from the base of the Taurus Mountains in the north to the areas east of Homs, Syria, are home to dense settlement from most periods, particularly in the best-watered areas with the highest agricultural potential, such as the Qoueiq Valley around Aleppo.

As one moves further east and south from these valleys, rainfall declines precipitously, and the verdant agricultural fields soon give way to semi-arid steppe, and ultimately to fully arid desert conditions. These semi-arid to arid zones have historically constituted important pasture lands where flocks of sheep and goat could graze, particularly during the winter and spring months when fields in the agricultural zones to the west and north were being farmed. There is fairly compelling paleoclimatological data to suggest that during the mid-Holocene, this region and much of the Near East received more rainfall than it does today, and thus these areas may have been more suitable for agriculture at that time.²¹ However, by the second millennium BC climatic conditions closer to those of today had emerged, and thus it is likely that the inland steppe would have served as a pasture zone then as in later periods.

4 Archaeological Surveys in the Northern Levant

Since the 1930s, there have been numerous archaeological surveys conducted in the northern Levant, and collectively they provide a fairly comprehensive picture of the region's settlement history. Perhaps the most illustrative results, particularly for Bronze Age settlement, come

20 Tchalenko 1953–8; Tate 1992; Casana 2014.

21 Wilkinson 2003; Riehl *et al.* 2012.

from surveys in the Orontes Valley, including in the Amuq Valley in the Hatay province of southern Turkey,²² the Ghab Basin in northern Syria,²³ the region between Hama and Homs in Syria,²⁴ the Biqa Valley of Lebanon,²⁵ as well as in the arid desert fringes to the east of the Orontes.²⁶ While some of these projects await comprehensive publication, they nonetheless offer a fairly good picture of regional settlement. Complementing these results, there have been numerous smaller survey projects in the coastal plains, including the Orontes Delta,²⁷ the plains of southern Cilicia,²⁸ and the Akkar Plain on the Lebanese-Syrian border.²⁹ There has been comparatively less survey undertaken in inland plains of western Syria. A survey of the Qouieq Valley north of Aleppo in the 1970s was rather low intensity, recording only the most prominent mounds and standing ruins,³⁰ while a survey in the area around Ebla was only recently begun when the Syrian civil war forced it to end.³¹ Surveys of upland areas, particularly the limestone hills east of the Orontes River in Syria, have concentrated almost entirely on recording monumental standing architectural remains of the Roman and later periods,³² making them less relevant to a study of second millennium BC settlement. In the coastal mountains there has been only limited investigation, with small surveys in the Amanus both on the Mediterranean³³ and inland sides,³⁴ exploratory surveys in the inland Jebel Ansariyah³⁵ and a small survey in upland Lebanon,³⁶ but these areas remain perhaps the least explored archaeologically.

These survey projects have ranged enormously in their goals and methods, making direct comparison of their various results quite problematic. In the Amuq Valley, for example, the first survey undertaken by Robert Braidwood³⁷ exclusively sought to document mounded

tell sites as opposed to all sites and features in the region, and was intended primarily as a guide to potential future excavation. Later survey of the same region sought to use regional survey to build a comprehensive picture of settlement and land use history, and also employed far more intensive survey methods including a reliance on high-resolution declassified CORONA satellite imagery and intensive pedestrian transects.³⁸

In most archaeological survey projects in the northern Levant, identification of Middle and Late Bronze Age phases is somewhat challenging due to the nature of the ceramics that dominated this period (see below). Particularly in the Orontes Valley and plains to the east, the Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramic assemblage is dominated by plain wares that saw only very gradual development, with few securely-dated type fossils, making distinguishing sub-phases within this 700–800 year period quite problematic.³⁹ Coastal sites have a more distinct ceramic assemblage in this period, with more influence from Cypriot and Aegean wares that are more easily dated with precision, but these types are quite rare at inland sites. For example, a collection of 3500 diagnostic sherds from the surface of Tell Atchana, a site where we might expect a higher concentration of imported pottery than elsewhere, recovered only four Cypriot and Aegean imports.⁴⁰ Despite their rarity, most survey projects in the northern Levant have relied on the presence of these rare imports or local imitations of them to discriminate Late Bronze from Middle Bronze occupation.⁴¹ In practice this means that sites where we find ceramic types typical of the entire MBA-LBA sequence but which lack rare imports are classified as “Middle Bronze Age,” while those where we do find rare imports are classified as “Late Bronze Age.” Thus, read uncritically, many survey projects report a dramatic decline in the number of sites between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, but closer analysis shows that essentially all Late Bronze Age occupations are at multi-period mounds that have both early MBA and later Iron Age settlement.⁴² This suggests that LBA occupations are likely underreported significantly, and thus it may be more realistic to lump MBA and LBA when considering coarse survey data.

22 Braidwood 1937; Yener *et al.* 2000; Casana and Wilkinson 2005; Casana 2003, 2007; Gerritsen *et al.* 2008.

23 Graff 2005; Courtois 1973; Fortin 2007.

24 Philip *et al.* 2005; Philip and Bradbury 2010; Bonaccossi 2007; Bartl and Maqqdissi 2007.

25 Marfoe 1979, 1997.

26 Geyer *et al.* 2007.

27 Pamir 2005.

28 Killebrew *et al.* 2009.

29 Thalmann 2007.

30 Matthers *et al.* 1981.

31 Mantellini *et al.* 2013.

32 Tchalenko 1958; Tate 1992.

33 Killebrew *et al.* 2009; Blanton 2000.

34 Casana 2003.

35 Graff 2006; Casana 2014.

36 Matsumoto 2001.

37 Braidwood 1937.

38 Casana and Wilkinson 2005.

39 Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.

40 Casana and Gansell 2005.

41 E.g. Matthers 1981.

42 Casana 2009.

5 Late Bronze Age Settlement Distribution

The uneven nature of the archaeological survey evidence and the difficulties in recognizing Late Bronze Age occupations in surface collections leaves many uncertainties in our picture of regional settlement during the Hittite-period in the northern Levant. Nonetheless, nearly all of the regional survey data, and particularly the most intensively researched areas such as the Orontes Valley, show that essentially all Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement was located at long-lived mounded tell sites, located almost exclusively in agricultural plains and river valleys (Fig. 13.3). Hundreds of less conspicuous, topographically flat sites, as well as sites in less agriculturally productive regions have been recorded by these surveys projects, but these sites either pre-date the Bronze Age or post-date the Iron Age.⁴³ The fact that many early prehistoric sites dating to the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods have been recorded in the same areas strongly suggests that the pattern of nucleated tell-based settlement during the Bronze Age is not the result of variable discovery or preservation of sites, but is a reflection of the dominant mode of settlement at the time. Indeed, nearly all recorded Middle and Late Bronze Age occupations have been found at sites that have long histories of settlement throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages. In the Amuq Plain for example, of the 100+ sites with attested Middle or Late Bronze occupation, only two sites were recorded that did not have substantial Iron Age and later occupation, one being Tell Atchana/Alalakh itself.⁴⁴

Mound-based surveys of plains throughout the region tend to support the picture provided by surveys in the Orontes Valley, as they find relatively large numbers of Middle and Late Bronze sites, also entirely at mounded sites. In contrast, surveys of upland areas, such as those in the limestone jebels of western Syria⁴⁵ or the Cilician uplands,⁴⁶ have consistently recorded rich records of later occupation, particularly during the Hellenistic, Roman and late Roman periods, but few if any Bronze Age sites.

The concentration of MBA/LBA settlement at long-lived tell sites offers both a challenge and an opportunity in reconstructing Hittite-period settlement. Because MBA/LBA occupational horizons are almost always buried by

deep deposits of Iron Age and later occupation, artifacts of these periods tend to appear in rather small numbers in surface collections, while excavations must dig through many meters of later strata before reaching these levels. On the other hand, prominent mounded tell sites are much more likely to be discovered by regional surveys than other kinds of sites. Mounded sites are often visible from miles away, they appear in official topographic maps, and they are easily recognizable on satellite imagery or aerial photography (Fig. 13.4). Thus, many survey projects in the northern Levant might record close to 100% of mounded tell sites, but may find only a small fraction of topographically flat sites. The almost exclusive concentration of MBA/LBA settlement at multi-period mounds combined with the relatively coarse nature of ceramic type fossils for these periods means that while dating any individual site is challenging, identifying all *possible* locations for MBA/LBA settlement is rather straightforward.

For example, using analysis of CORONA satellite imagery, I mapped all mounded tells in the Amuq Valley and in the northern Ghab Basin (Fig. 13.3). While survey data makes it difficult to determine confidently which of these sites actually was settled during the Hittite period, more than 90% of these sites can be reasonable assumed to have been occupied at some point during the LBA and the map illustrates the maximal extent of LBA settlement.⁴⁷

Within this group of sites, we can make a few broad generalizations about settlement in general during this period. Firstly, the smallest sites that show any evidence of MBA/LBA occupation measure just under one hectare (Fig. 13.4: right), and analysis of textual data from Alalakh suggests populations at these sites of 40–70 people. There is no evidence anywhere in the region for small, isolated farmsteads that numerous historians have assumed to exist.⁴⁸ Rather, the smallest sedentary agricultural communities we know of were living in small, compact villages. Of course, there may have been nomadic or other non-sedentary communities living outside of the towns, but they, as is often the case, have left no yet recoverable archaeological trace.

The larger sites of the MBA/LBA in the northern Levant typically measure between 5–10 hectares in area. These sites often have flat tops with distinct erosional gullies on the side, which are typically the result of fortifications having been built at them (Fig. 13.4: center). Almost all of these sites have major Iron Age occupations, and fortifications may date to those periods, but excavations at Tell Qarqur and elsewhere show that Iron Age walls were often

43 The almost exclusive concentration of Bronze Age settlement at nucleated mounds led T. J. Wilkinson to devote an entire chapter, (“Landscapes of Tells”) to this issue in his seminal 2003 book.

44 Casana 2007, 2009.

45 Tchalenko 1955–8; Tate 1992.

46 Blanton 2000.

47 Casana 2009.

48 E.g. Liverani 1975.

constructed on top of older LBA and MBA fortifications.⁴⁹ This group of sites is thus larger than the small villages that dot the plains and valleys, and may also have been fortified, suggesting they served as key towns and centers of local political power. The historical record supports this view, with such secondary towns appearing frequently in the Alalakh texts for example.⁵⁰

The largest sites of the MBA/LBA in the northern Levant are also those that are known historically as the capitals of local kingdoms, Tell Atchana/Alalakh (20ha), Ras Shamra/Ugarit (30ha), and the massive fortified city at Tell Mishrife/Qatna (120ha). Two other sites, Tell al-Nasriyah (70ha) and Tell Acharnah (80ha), fit within this group of major cities, although their toponymic identification remains uncertain (Fig. 13.5). Other likely major Late Bronze Age cities, including Aleppo and Hama, are largely obscured by historic and modern occupations. The deepest excavations in the Aleppo citadel have reached the eleventh century BC,⁵¹ while the deep sounding in Hama uncovered only a small exposure of the MBA/LBA.⁵²

The long-lived nature of occupation at most Late Bronze Age sites in the northern Levant is certainly challenging to archaeological investigations of Hittite-period settlement, but also illustrates the resilience of the Bronze Age settlement system in the region. As political control of the region shifted from the kingdom of Ebla in the late third millennium, to Halab/Yamhad, then to Mittani, and finally to the Hittites over the course of the second millennium BC, we see little evidence of impact on the settlement system as a whole.⁵³ Despite the volatility of the political landscape, whatever rules governed the survival of individual communities seem to have gone largely unchanged. Many sites did however experience abandonment at the end of the Late Bronze Age, although the vast majority were soon resettled during the early Iron Age, albeit within a radically different political and economic context.

6 Excavations of Hittite Period Settlements

In summarizing results of excavations pertaining to the Hittite period in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, I proceed geographically, beginning with coastal Mediterranean sites, then moving to the Orontes River Valley, and finally to the inland plains.

49 Casana, in press.

50 Casana 2009, 2014.

51 Hawkins 2009b.

52 Fugmann 1958.

53 Casana 2013.

Mediterranean Coast

By far the best-known and most informative site for the Hittite period in the northern Levant is Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) located near the Syrian coast just north of Latakia (Fig. 13.6). Indeed, thanks to the extensive excavations of a well-preserved destruction layer dated to the early twelfth century BC, Ugarit offers some of the richest evidence for the history, politics and material culture of the Late Bronze Age in the Near East and eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁴ The site was initially discovered in 1928 by a farmer who accidentally exposed one of the now well-known subterranean stone tombs. Excavations began in 1929 under the direction of Claude Schaeffer and continued through 2011 when the current Syrian war began. Virtually the entire site was destroyed in an intense conflagration around 1190 BC and most of the main areas of the city within the Bronze Age fortification walls were never reoccupied, enabling relatively easy access to Hittite-period occupation and exceptionally good preservation of archaeological materials. In particular, Ugarit offers among the largest known archives of Late Bronze Age cuneiform texts, recovered from both palatial and elite domestic contexts, alongside an extraordinarily rich collection of prestige goods imported from throughout the region.

The broad horizontal excavations of a single phase at Ugarit show that the fortified area of the city covered around 30ha, with a vast royal palace in the northwestern corner occupying more than a hectare. The palace and other elite buildings were constructed of ashlar masonry, probably with mudbrick superstructures, and were surrounded by a massive stone fortification wall. The palace complex itself, one of the most opulent known anywhere in the Near East during the Late Bronze Age, includes more than 100 rooms on its main floor, with several large courtyards and an interior garden. The sudden destruction of the palace at Ugarit preserved an unprecedented quantity of art objects and other elite items, along with thousands of cuneiform tablets. The texts from Ugarit illustrate some of the clearest evidence of the Hittite presence in the northern Levant, through a large collection of treaties, letters and other diplomatic texts. On the other hand, the material culture of Ugarit shows strong connections to Middle and Early Bronze Age forerunners, and most significantly, a rich assemblage of materials demonstrating the robust maritime exchange networks that flourished during this period.

While the preservation of Ugarit and its extensive excavation make it truly unique archaeologically speaking,

54 Nougayrol 1956; Schaeffer *et al.* 1955–1970; Callot 2011; Yon 2006.

numerous other coastal sites show the existence of extensive maritime exchange during the Late Bronze Age, as well as providing evidence of fairly direct Hittite influence. Just 3km away from Ugarit on the Mediterranean coast, the site of Ras Ibn Hani seems to have been constructed by the king of Ugarit in the thirteenth century, and is home to two palatial compounds, one belonging to the queen, as well as numerous subterranean elite tombs.⁵⁵ Among the many finds from Ras Ibn Hani is a stone mold for producing so-called “oxhide” copper ingots, suggesting the important role that Ugarit elites played in exchange systems of the period, particularly with communities in Cyprus, which is visible on a clear day from the port at Ras Ibn Hani. Indeed, the monumental remains at Enkomi, the probable capital of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age,⁵⁶ show clear and direct parallels to architecture and funerary traditions at Ras Ibn Hani and Ugarit.

To the north at Kinet Höyük in the Bay of Iskenderun, Hittite material culture is seemingly present in greater proportion than elsewhere in the northern Levant.⁵⁷ Like other sites in coastal Cilicia, ceramics of the fourteenth century and later at Kinet Höyük show a break from Middle Bronze Age traditions, and incorporate some central Anatolian characteristics. The changes seen in Late Bronze Age material culture in Cilicia have often been interpreted as the result of a Hittite imperial presence.⁵⁸ However, such influence is largely absent from much of the northern Levant where Hittite political domination is historically well-attested (see below). Glatz suggests alternatively that local communities throughout the region chose to appropriate various elements of Hittite culture deferentially, producing a complex mosaic of Anatolian influence in the archaeological record and signaling a cautionary note on how this evidence is interpreted.⁵⁹

Numerous other sites along the coast show extensive evidence of maritime exchange, including at Sabouniye at the mouth of the Orontes River, Ras el-Basit on the Turkish-Syrian border, as well as sites to the south including Siyanou, Amrit, and Tell Sukas.⁶⁰ As far south as the Akkar Plain on the modern Syrian-Lebanese border, excavations at the site of Tell Kazel, perhaps the ancient city of Şumur, uncovered a monumental architectural complex dating to the Late Bronze Age that contained a stamp seal

with a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription, attesting to Hittite influence throughout the coastal region.⁶¹

Orontes Valley

In the Orontes Valley, the best known site of the Late Bronze Age is Tell Atchana, ancient Alalakh, a 22ha sprawling mound at the southern edge of the Amuq Plain. Inspired in part by finds at Ugarit, and fresh from his work at Ur in southern Mesopotamia, Sir Leonard Woolley went to the northern Levant seeking to trace the culture-historical connections between Mesopotamia and the Aegean during the second millennium BC.⁶² Overland trade and transport routes between these two regions would invariably pass through the northern Levant, and Woolley sought to locate a site that would serve as a bridge between the two cultures. After testing several sites in the Amuq Plain, Woolley selected Tell Atchana for large-scale excavations, which he directed from 1937–1949, with a hiatus during World War II. Woolley found a long history of settlement from the thirteenth century BC through the initial founding of the city in the early second millennium.⁶³

Unlike the singular destruction event that constitutes the majority of finds from Ugarit, Alalakh produced a long series of fourteen superimposed architectural phases. Most of Woolley's excavations focused on the monumental core of the city, where he exposed two particularly well-preserved destruction levels, one dating to the Middle Bronze Age⁶⁴ and another to the mid-fourteenth century BC. Both of these levels (VII and IV) produced palatial building complexes, a series of temples, and fortification systems, along with a rich archive of cuneiform tablets and a host of other finds. Subsequent to the destruction of the Level IV, which Woolley and others have generally attributed to Suppiluliuma's invasion of the region,⁶⁵

55 Lagarce *et al.* 1983.

56 Schaeffer 1952; Steel 2014.

57 Gates 2013.

58 See Novak and Rutishauser, this volume.

59 Glatz 2012, 2015b.

60 Riis *et al.* 1996.

61 Badre 2000.

62 For the original publication of excavations at Tell Atchana, see Woolley (1955). Also see von Dassow (2008) for a detailed treatment of texts from Level IV-I, and an overview of the history of the site as whole.

63 Woolley believed that the earliest levels of Tell Atchana were third millennium in date, but it is now widely recognized that the main phases of the site are Middle and Late Bronze Age, corresponding to the Amuq K-L-M sequence, ranging from around 1900–1200 BC. Fink (2010) offers a much better dating of the Hittite-period strata at the site.

64 The precise date of the Level VII archive is a matter of dispute, related to the broader chronological questions surrounding the early second millennium BC in general. See von Dassow (2008) for a detailed discussion.

65 Although as Von Dassow (2008) rightly points out, the actual destruction of Alalakh could have been by one of its regional rivals, such as the king of Tunip.

a monumental building measuring approximately 80×80m was constructed that Woolley dubbed the Hittite fortress. He believed the site contained two architectural phases, Levels III-II, that dated to the period of Hittite dominance of the region and this appeared confirmed by several cuneiform texts and seal impressions from these levels.⁶⁶ In the final major building phase at the site, Level I, the last in a long series of superimposed temples incorporated a relief of Tudhaliya, turned upside down and used as step in the stairway.⁶⁷ Woolley interprets this evidence to suggest that Level I postdates the Hittite presence in the region, probably in the early twelfth century BC. He also suggested that an ephemeral later occupation termed Level 0 was the product of conquering Sea Peoples.

Woolley's problematic dating of architectural phases at Atchana has served as a point of controversy for many decades,⁶⁸ and renewed excavations at the site undertaken since 2000 have focused to a large degree on unraveling stratigraphic and chronological questions,⁶⁹ but results have led to a range of different interpretations. Based on analysis of archival materials, Fink⁷⁰ argues for a substantially revised chronology of the later levels of the site, and maintains that Woolley's "fortress" was in fact a Hittite governor's palace, presumably installed after the last king of Alalakh's local dynasty revolted against Hittite rule.⁷¹ In contrast, Akar⁷² and Yener,⁷³ largely follow Woolley's interpretation of the building as a fortress but see only one occupational phase during Level II, and according to Akar, its construction was not completed. They also excavated a smaller building on the southern end of the site which they interpret as a second fortress, and date both to the period of Hittite occupation in the fourteenth century BC. Yener attempts to highlight supposedly central Anatolian elements in architectural features and ceramics,⁷⁴ while Akar points to ceramic parallels with Anatolia but suggests an Egyptian influence on fortress architecture.⁷⁵ These claims remain difficult to assess without more detailed publications of ceramics in particular, especially as

published imports are exclusively either Aegean, Cypriot, or northern Mesopotamian, while the vast majority of materials from the site are local Orontes Valley types. One point on which Fink, Akar and Yener generally agree is that Atchana was either greatly reduced in size or completely abandoned by the beginning of the thirteenth century BC.⁷⁶ Von Dassow comes to a similar conclusion based on analysis of the textual record, and even suggests that the local seat of political power was moved elsewhere following the Hittite conquest of the region.⁷⁷

Most other excavated sites in the lower Orontes Valley have long histories of later occupation that obscure Late Bronze Age levels, as at the other Amuq sites excavated by the Oriental Institute team, Chatal Höyük and Tell Judaidah.⁷⁸ At both of these large, multi-period mounds, exposure of Late Bronze levels was limited to a deep sounding at Chatal Höyük and the step trench at Tell Judaidah, providing a relatively small sample of pottery and other materials.⁷⁹ Just to the south of the Amuq Plain near modern Jisr as-Shugur in Syria, recent excavations at the large mound of Tell Qarqur found evidence of a site-wide destruction layer dating to the terminal Late Bronze Age in the early 12th century BC.⁸⁰ Initially exposed in 2004 at the bottom of a sounding on top of the mound, excavators uncovered a burned monumental stone building, with a Hittite-style bronze dagger on the floor amidst destruction debris. Geophysical survey subsequently mapped the extent of this destruction level across the high mound at the site, at about 4–5m below the surface.⁸¹ The final seasons of excavations in 2009–2010, just prior to the start of the Syrian civil war, exposed an additional portion of the Late Bronze destruction, but unfortunately in only a small area.⁸²

At the southern end of the Ghab Basin, excavations at the enormous site of Tell Acharneh were begun in 1998, largely because it was argued to be the Late Bronze Age city of Tunip.⁸³ However, deep Iron Age and medieval stratigraphy meant that Late Bronze levels were not discovered until 2009, and only a small area was exposed before the

66 Although the precise findspots of these materials are difficult to reconstruct (von Dassow 2005).

67 Woolley 1955: 86.

68 E.g., Gates 1981; McClellan 1989.

69 Yener 2005, 2013; Yener (ed.) 2010; Batiuk and Burke 2005; Akar 2013.

70 Fink 2010.

71 Fink 2010: 120.

72 Akar 2013.

73 Yener 2013.

74 Yener 2013, 2005.

75 Akar 2013.

76 Yener (2013) asserts that the temple continued in use in the twelfth century, and that there was a smaller Iron Age occupation on the northern edge of the mound, contemporary with the main phase of occupation at nearby Tell Tayinat.

77 von Dassow 2005: 52.

78 Haines 1971.

79 However, renewed analysis of materials from the excavations at Chatal Höyük offer additional insights (Pucci 2013).

80 Dornemann 2012, 2003.

81 Casana *et al.* 2008.

82 Casana, in press.

83 Fortin 2006; Klengel 1995.

cessation of work in 2010.⁸⁴ As yet, there is no evidence to confirm the excavator's belief that Tell Archarneh is the city of Tunip, but based on this assumption, other scholars have suggested the nearby mound at Qalat Mudiq, the citadel of the Roman city of Apamea and location of a modern town within the medieval fortifications, as the city of Niya. However, there is no evidence for the pre-Roman history of Qalat Mudiq, or indeed whether it is a tell as opposed to a natural hill. Just upriver on the Orontes is the site of Tell an-Nasiryah, another strong candidate for Tunip or another one of the missing Late Bronze Age capitals.⁸⁵ This site possesses a very good record of Middle and Late Bronze occupation, but a French-Syrian excavation had only just begun in 2007, such that little is known of the site's history. Nonetheless, the sheer size of the site indicates its probable historical significance.

Not far away is the modern city of Hama, the center of which is dominated by a massive tell, which has also been suggested as a location for Tunip.⁸⁶ The site has Late Bronze Age occupation, but it was only found in a small deep sounding in the middle of the citadel during excavations in the 1920s,⁸⁷ and any lower city that might have once existed has been long since lost below later settlement.

To the south, northeast of modern Homs, the remarkable site of Tell Mishrifeh, ancient Qatna, has recently yielded extraordinary discoveries of the Hittite period.⁸⁸ This enormous site, covering more than 100ha in size with an occupational history dating back to the Early Bronze Age, was initially excavated on a large scale in the 1920s. The ancient city is enclosed within a massive, square fortification wall, at the center of which is a low citadel on which are found numerous elite or public buildings. In this area, excavators in the 1920s uncovered part of a palace and a temple dated to the 14th century BC, but few cuneiform tablets or little in the way of monumental works of art. However, a joint German-Italian-Syrian project initiated in 1999, uncovered parts of the palatial complex, including a remarkably well-preserved subterranean royal tomb, as well as several other underground storage rooms and a deep well shaft that produced a rich collection of artifacts dating from the 14th century BC. Pfälzner⁸⁹ argues that the palace complex was originally constructed during the Middle Bronze Age, perhaps in

the 18th century BC, and served as the residence of the powerful kings of Qatna for centuries. Based on analysis of the cuneiform archives found in the recent excavations, Pfälzner further maintains that the palace was destroyed by the invasion of the Hittite king Suppiluliuma around 1340 BC. Excavations at Qatna continued until the outbreak of the Syrian civil war in 2011, and ongoing analysis of finds will undoubtedly continue to shed light on the history and archaeology of the region.

To the south of Qatna, we reach the proximal limit of Hittite control in the Levant, most likely at the site of Tell Nebi Mend near the modern Syrian-Lebanese border.⁹⁰ The site has been argued to be the famed city of Qadesh, the location of the epic battle fought in 1286 BC between the Hittite and Egyptian armies, since it was first identified as such by Claude Conder in 1881. While no absolute confirmation of Nebi Mend's association with Qadesh has been found, excavations did recover a victory stele of the Egyptian Pharaoh Seti I who claims to have conquered Qadesh and five clay tablets attesting a king Niqmadu, who is addressed as king of the land of Kinza in one of them (the name for Qadesh in Hittite documents).⁹¹ However, like many major tells in the Orontes Valley, the large and deeply stratified mound at Nebi Mend has a long history of occupation dating back to the Neolithic and continuing through the medieval period. As such, Late Bronze levels are difficult to access through excavation and have only been exposed in a relatively small area on the mound.

Inland Western Syria

Many excavations in the inland plains of western Syria have produced some evidence of Hittite-period settlement, but for the most part remains of the Late Bronze Age are difficult to access at major mounded settlements. As discussed above, while Aleppo is known to have been the capital of a powerful kingdom during the second millennium BC, excavations in the city's citadel have reached no earlier than an Iron I temple complex.⁹² Similarly, excavations at the major site of 'Ain Dara on the Afrin River northwest of Aleppo, recovered only a small sample of pre-Iron Age remains.⁹³ To the south of Aleppo, the major city of Ebla (modern Tell Mardikh), which had been the capital throughout the later third millennium BC and a key center during the Middle Bronze Age, was reduced to

84 Fortin and Cooper 2013.

85 Maqdissi *et al.* 2010.

86 Astour 1977.

87 Fugmann 1958.

88 See Morandi Bonacossi (2013) for a recent review.

89 Pfälzner 2007.

90 Parr 2015. Millard 2010; Singer 2011b.

91 Some doubt however remains as to the identification of Nebi Mend as Qadesh (Nibbi 2004).

92 Hawkins 2009b.

93 Stone and Zimanski 1999.

a small settlement by the Late Bronze Age. Other major sites of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, including Umm el-Marra and Tell Tuqan, were similarly mostly abandoned or reduced to small villages by the Late Bronze Age.

The best excavated evidence for Late Bronze Age from inland western Syria come from relatively recent finds by an Italian team working at Tell Afis, just north of Ebla. While Tell Afis is probably better known for its Middle Bronze Age settlement,⁹⁴ excavators uncovered a large 13th century BC building.⁹⁵ Although there are some hints at potential parallels in material culture to the Anatolian plateau, including a few inscribed storage jars, most ceramics, architecture and other finds are within a distinctly local Syrian tradition. However, the building also contained several cuneiform tablets, including letters indicating that the site was directly ruled by a Hittite governor at a nearby (but still unknown) site. Finds from Tell Afis help to illustrate how little is known regarding the Hittite period in the larger region, and underscore the potential for discovery once the political situation makes that possible.

7 Pottery

Much of the ceramic assemblage of the Late Bronze Age in the northern Levant is dominated by a ubiquitous light-yellowish buff fabric with distinctive black and white, “salt-and-pepper” grit temper. This widespread fabric is found in Middle and Late Bronze Age “standard wares,” appearing in wide range of vessel types including bowls, cooking pots, small storage jars, and large pithoi. Certain types are particularly characteristic of the Late Bronze Age, including: large, shallow open bowls or platters, usually with an internally-beaded or upturned rim; small storage jars with ribbed-top, everted rims; and larger storage jars or pithoi with decorated rims and comb-incised bodies. Imported painted wares begin to appear in significant quantities during the Late Bronze Age, with Aegean and Cypriot wares appearing particularly commonly at coastal sites, and north Mesopotamian Nuzi wares appearing more commonly inland. A smaller subset of locally-made, red and black bichrome painted pottery appears to have been inspired in part by imports. Towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, red slipped burnished bowls, plates and jars begin to appear, the forerunners to the most common type known from the subsequent centuries of the Iron Age.

The most commonly referred to material culture sequence in the northern Levant remains the Amuq

sequence, built through excavations undertaken as part of the Oriental Institute's Syro-Hittite expedition to the Amuq Plain in the 1930s.⁹⁶ Divided into phases A-V based on excavations at Tell Tayinat, Tell Judaidah, Tell Kurdu and Chatal Höyük, the early phases (Amuq A-G), encompassing the Pottery Neolithic through the end of the Early Bronze Age, received thoughtful and detailed publication.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, later phases did not receive anywhere near the same level of analysis, with the Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery (Amuq K-L-M) appearing in a dissertation,⁹⁸ and architectural finds summarized elsewhere.⁹⁹ Recent efforts to publish these later phases more comprehensively are ongoing, but suffer from a lack of contextual information for most materials.¹⁰⁰ Only a sample of ceramics from later phases (Amuq K-U) were saved after the close of the project in 1939, and little information regarding how the sample was culled or its specific provenience was retained.

The largest Late Bronze Age excavations in the region, at Ugarit and Tell Atchana, provide much larger samples of material. At Ugarit, the vast majority of excavations have concentrated on uncovered horizontal exposures of the terminal destruction, and therefore do not provide much in terms of diachronic sequence. At Tell Atchana, Woolley's idiosyncratic excavation and sampling methods have made relating his ceramic sequence to others from the region quite problematic.¹⁰¹ These basic problems have plagued analyses of Late Bronze Age pottery in the northern Levant for many decades.

Fortunately, more recent excavations and analyses have begun to provide much better information regarding the ceramic assemblages of central western Syria. Much work has been done on second millennium BC ceramics from Qatna,¹⁰² although the *a priori* division of finds into Middle and Late Bronze Ages without specific reference to the stratigraphy of the site diminishes the nuance somewhat.¹⁰³ Recently excavated materials from

⁹⁴ Mazzoni 2013.

⁹⁵ Archi and Venturi 2013; Venturi 2011.

⁹⁶ Braidwood and Braidwood 1960; Haines 1971; Swift 1955.

⁹⁷ Braidwood and Braidwood 1960.

⁹⁸ Swift 1955.

⁹⁹ Haines 1971.

¹⁰⁰ Pucci 2013.

¹⁰¹ Woolley reports that his typology, originally consisting of 350 types, was reduced to 168 through “an arbitrary suppression of minor characteristics” (Woolley 1955: 320). He did not believe that rim form was a useful diagnostic criterion, and was pleased that the typology at Tell Atchana was built exclusively using whole vessels, “without having recourse to the dubious assistance of fragments” (Ibid: 321).

¹⁰² Imanoni 2012; Luciani 2008.

¹⁰³ Höflmayer 2014.

several coastal sites including Kinethöyük¹⁰⁴ and Sirkeli Höyük¹⁰⁵ in Turkey, Tell Siannou in Syria, as well as Tell Arqa in Lebanon¹⁰⁶ offer much more refined sequences for coastal sites. Several sites in the Orontes Valley including recent excavations at Tell Atchana,¹⁰⁷ Tell Qarqur,¹⁰⁸ and Tell Acharneh,¹⁰⁹ while still published in only preliminary forms, will likely substantially change our picture of Late Bronze Age ceramics going forward.

8 Summary

This chapter reviews the rich evidence for Late Bronze Age settlement in the northern Levant. During this period, regional survey data show that coastal and inland plains, as well as the lowlands of the Orontes River Valley and its tributaries, were densely occupied by nucleated, tell-based settlements (e.g. Fig. 13.3). The largest urban centers of the region, including Tell Mishrifeh, Tell Acharneh, Tell an-Nasiriyah, as well as probably Aleppo and Hama, ranged from 70–100 hectares in size, with high citadels surrounded by massive, earthen fortification walls (Fig. 13.5). Intermediate-sized towns in the hinterlands of political capitals tended to be in the 5–10 hectares in size but up to 30m in height (Fig. 13.4). Ancient settlements at these long-lived sites were often fortified, and appear to have been densely occupied. The smallest permanent settlements in the region are rarely less than 0.8ha, and typically form prominent mounds suggestive of similarly dense settlement as found in larger towns (Fig. 13.4). There is no evidence for more isolated farmsteads, as are commonly known from the Hellenistic period onwards in the region. The seemingly unsettled uplands and marginal step zones were likely inhabited by pastoral or other nomadic groups, but little evidence of such activity is preserved (Fig. 13.3).

Due to the longevity and durability of settlement at nucleated tell sites, most Late Bronze Age occupation tends to be deeply buried by later phases of settlement, and thus presents a frequent challenge to excavation (Fig. 13.2). The difficulty in accessing Late Bronze Age levels at most sites in the region has led to a perhaps distorting focus on three sites, Ras Shamra/Ugarit (Fig. 13.6), Tell Atchana/Alalakh (Fig. 13.4), and Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna (Fig. 13.5), that were all destroyed during or at the end of the Late

Bronze Age and never again became urban centers. Large-scale excavations at these sites, all begun in the 1920s and continuing intermittently through recent years, have uncovered remains of extensive monumental architecture along with a historically unprecedented quantity of imported prestige goods and large cuneiform tablet archives. The enormously rich finds from the three best-known Late Bronze Age sites in the northern Levant have inspired a vast secondary literature, but also perhaps focused scholarly attention too heavily on the limited perspectives of palatial elites as well as on their ultimate demise in the early twelfth century BC.

Despite historically well-attested Hittite political influence in the northern Levant, with most kingdoms either reduced to vassalage status or completely dismantled by the thirteenth century BC, direct archaeological evidence for Hittite material culture remains largely lacking. Late Bronze Age architecture and ceramics from recent excavations at Kinethöyük, Tell Atchana and Tell Afis have been interpreted by excavators as having stylistic links to the Anatolian Plateau, but these claims remain controversial among specialists. Certainly, the region has none of the rock monuments or other more overt signs of a Hittite imperial presence that are relatively common throughout central Anatolia. Moreover, whatever parallels one might find in some pottery types, the overall ceramic assemblage, as with other forms of material culture, remains distinctly local in character. Imported wares do appear with some frequency, but they come from the west, in the Aegean, Cyprus, and Lebanon, or from the east, in northern Mesopotamia; pottery from central Anatolia remains scarce if present at all. How to interpret the seemingly light archaeological footprint left by the Hittite conquest of the northern Levant remains a question of active research and debate.

Much of the foundational research undertaken in the northern Levant during the 1920s and 1930s was not resumed in the post-WWII years, with relatively little archaeological investigation in the region over subsequent decades. However, a resurgence of interest in the northern Levant began in the 1990s with the initiation of many new field projects in the Orontes Valley as well as at coastal sites. Sadly, the outbreak of civil war in Syria in 2011 has led to a complete cessation of archaeological fieldwork in that country, and slowing of research in neighboring parts of Turkey and Lebanon. As conflict drags on in Syria, many major sites in that country are being severely damaged by looting, construction, and combat. The slowing of active fieldwork will undoubtedly provide an opportunity for scholars to bring much of their previous research to publication, and hopefully these efforts will help pave the way for renewed fieldwork in the near future.

104 Gates 2013.

105 Ahrens *et al.* 2010.

106 Thalmann 2006.

107 Fink 2010.

108 Dornemann 2012; Casana 2014.

109 Fortin and Cooper 2013.



FIGURE 13.1 Map illustrating location of major sites discussed in the text.

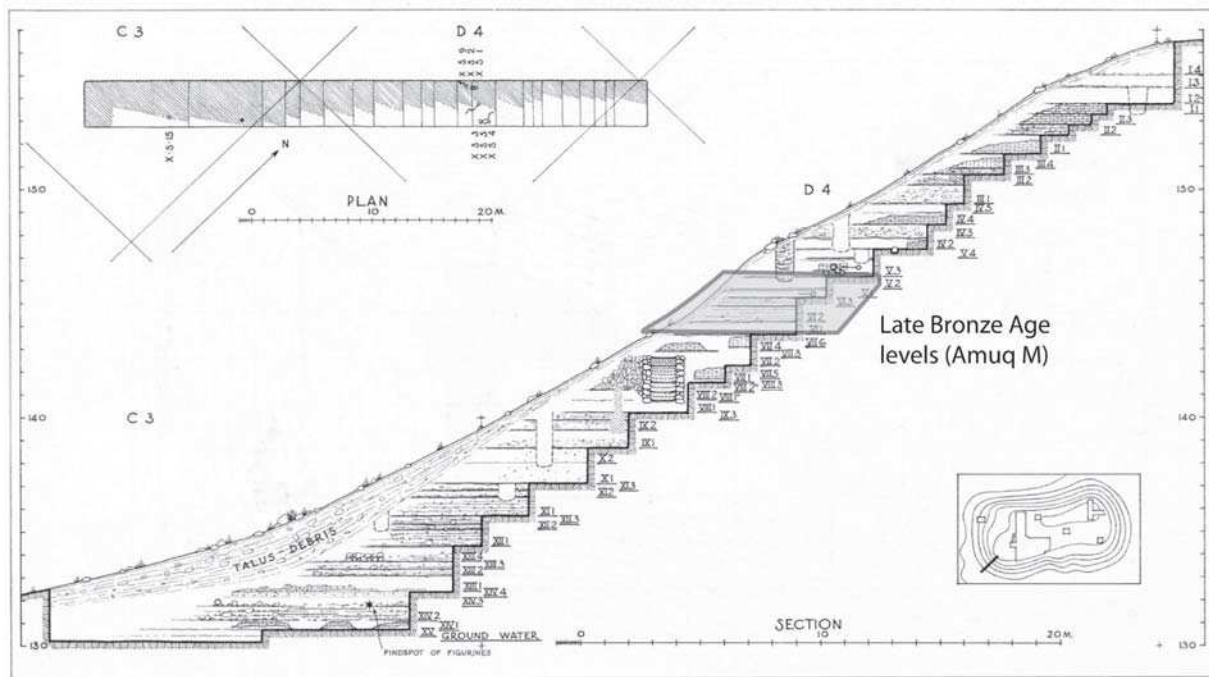
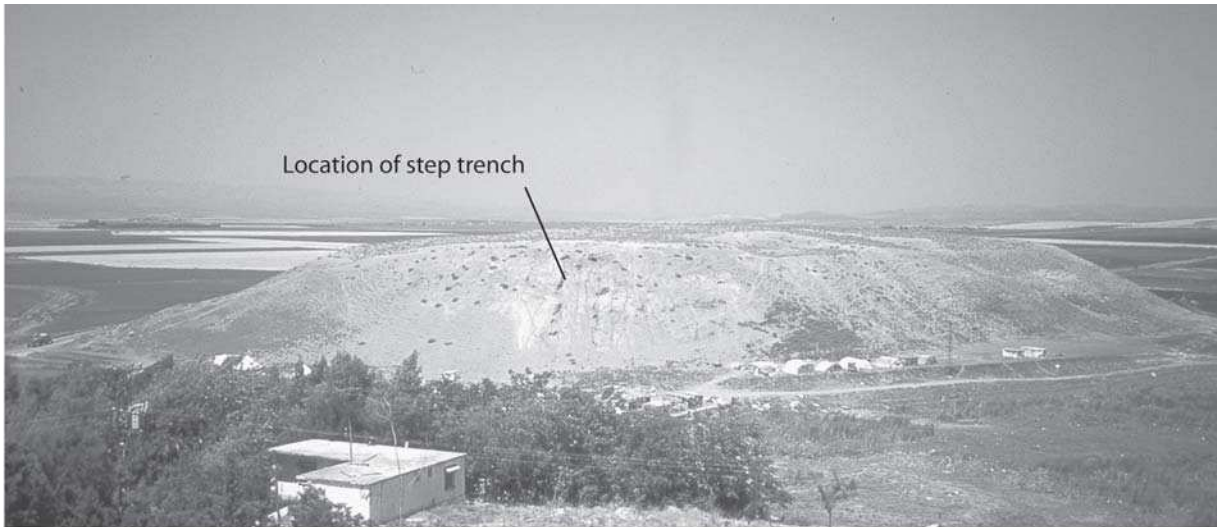


FIGURE 13.2 *Tell Judaidah, a major site in the Amuq. Excavations by an Oriental Institute team in the 1930s found Late Bronze Age levels at more than 10m depth, a situation that is common throughout the northern Levant.*
 PHOTO BY AUTHOR; SECTION DRAWING ADAPTED FROM BRAIDWOOD AND BRAIDWOOD [1960].

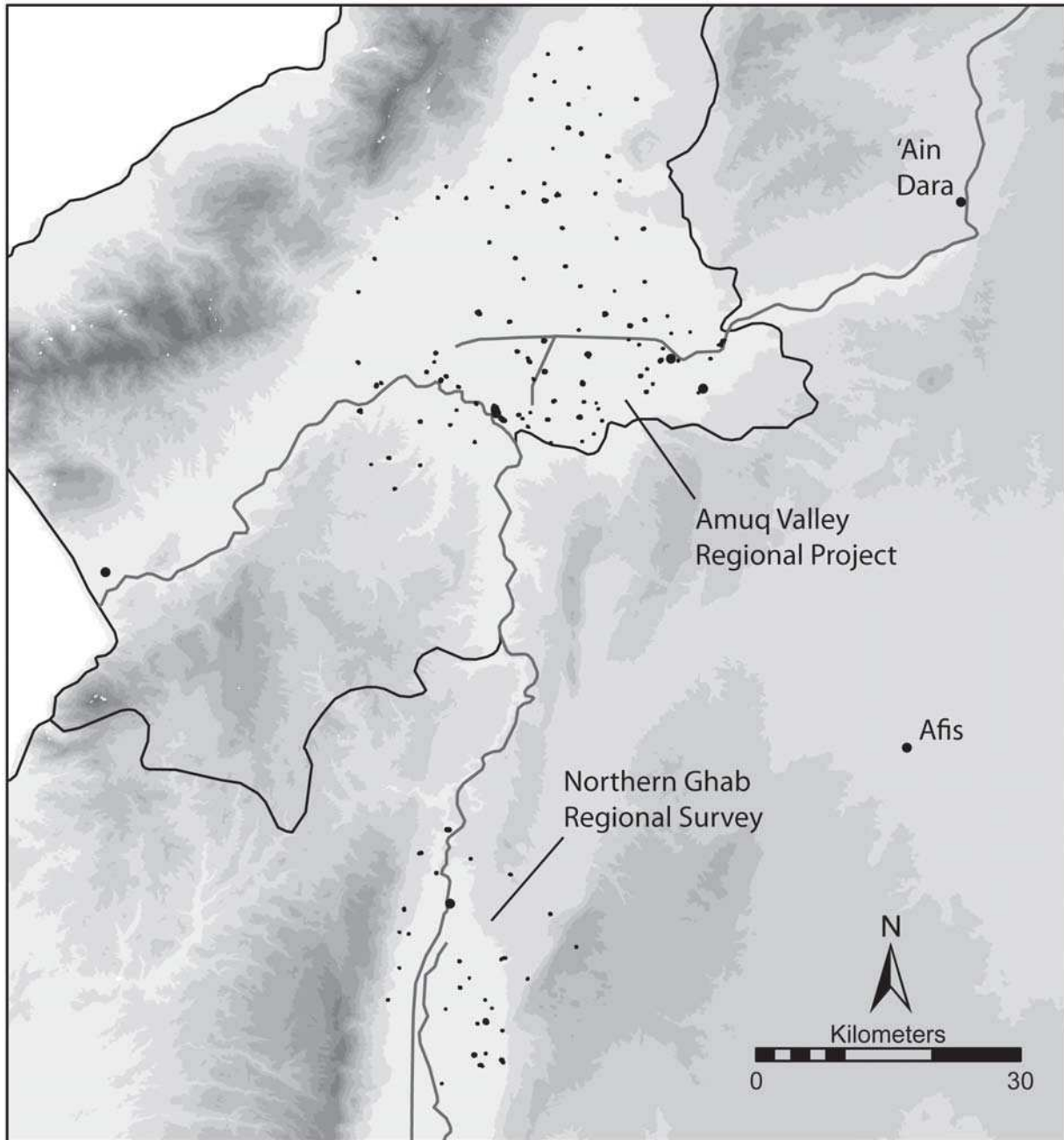


FIGURE 13.3 *Map illustrating all sites likely to have been occupied during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as recorded by the Amuq Valley Regional Project (Casana and Wilkinson 2005) and the Northern Ghab Regional Survey (Graff 2006). All settlement during these periods appears to have been concentrated at nucleated tell sites in lowland areas of high agricultural potential.*

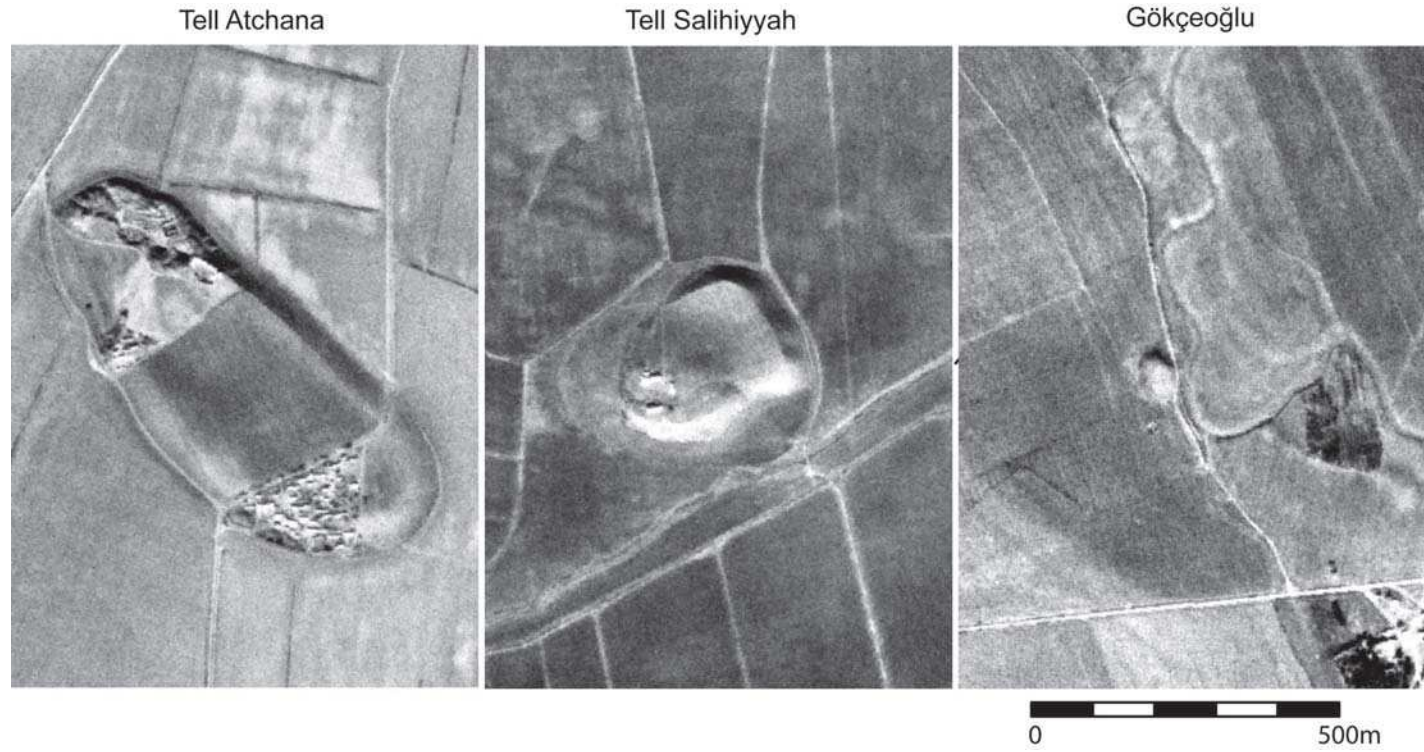


FIGURE 13.4 *Bronze Age archaeological sites are particularly easy to recognize on declassified CORONA satellite imagery from the 1960s. Essentially all Bronze Age sites, from the largest, at Tell Atchana (22ha), to intermediate mounds as at Tell Salihiyyah (Sha), to the smallest sites.*

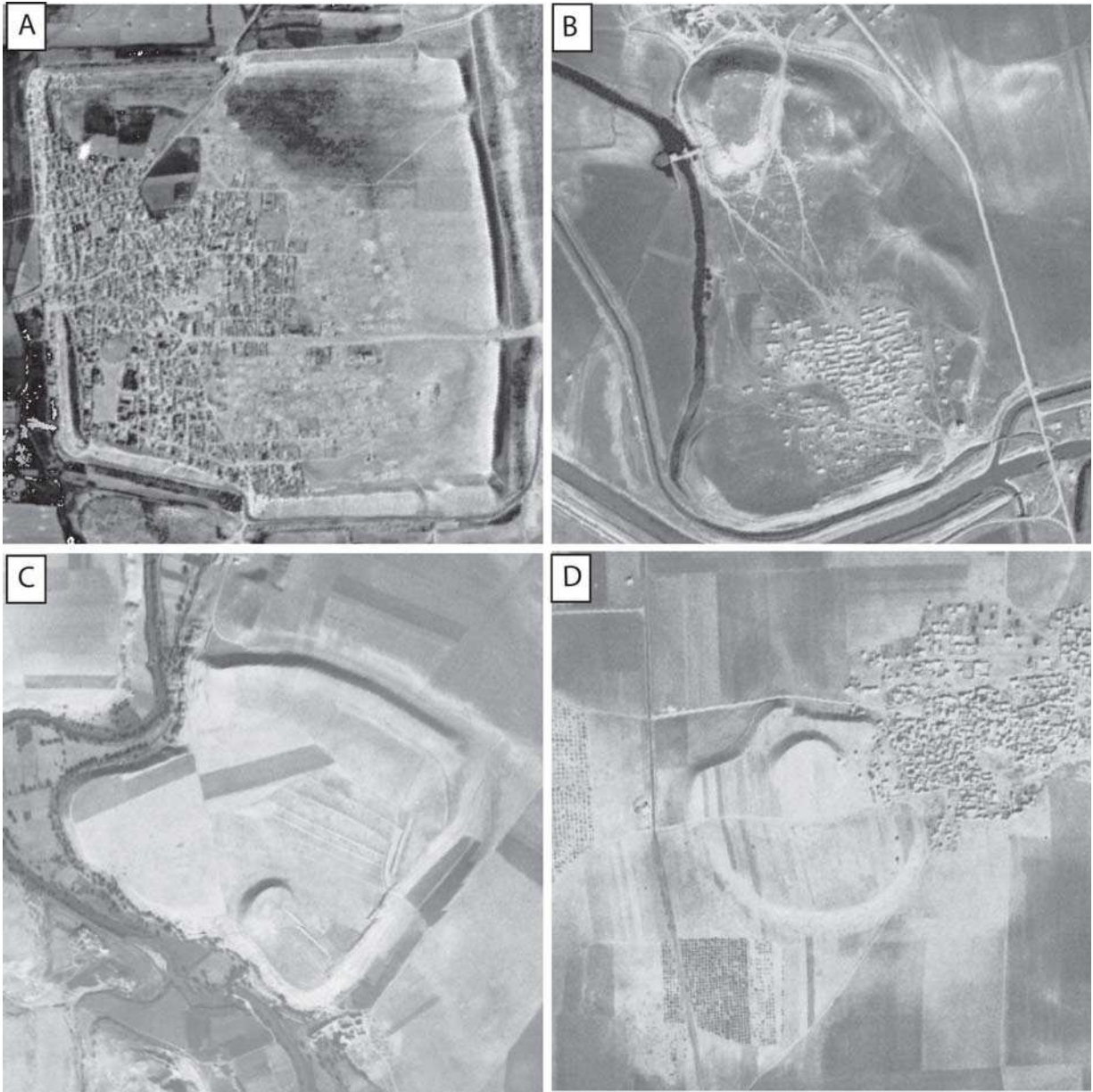


FIGURE 13.5 *The largest known Late Bronze Age sites in the northern Levant include (A) Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna (120ha), (B) Tell Acharneh (80ha), and (C) Tell an-Nasiriyah (70ha). Late Bronze Age Tell Afis was likely smaller than its Early and Middle Bronze Age maximal extent of 30ha.*

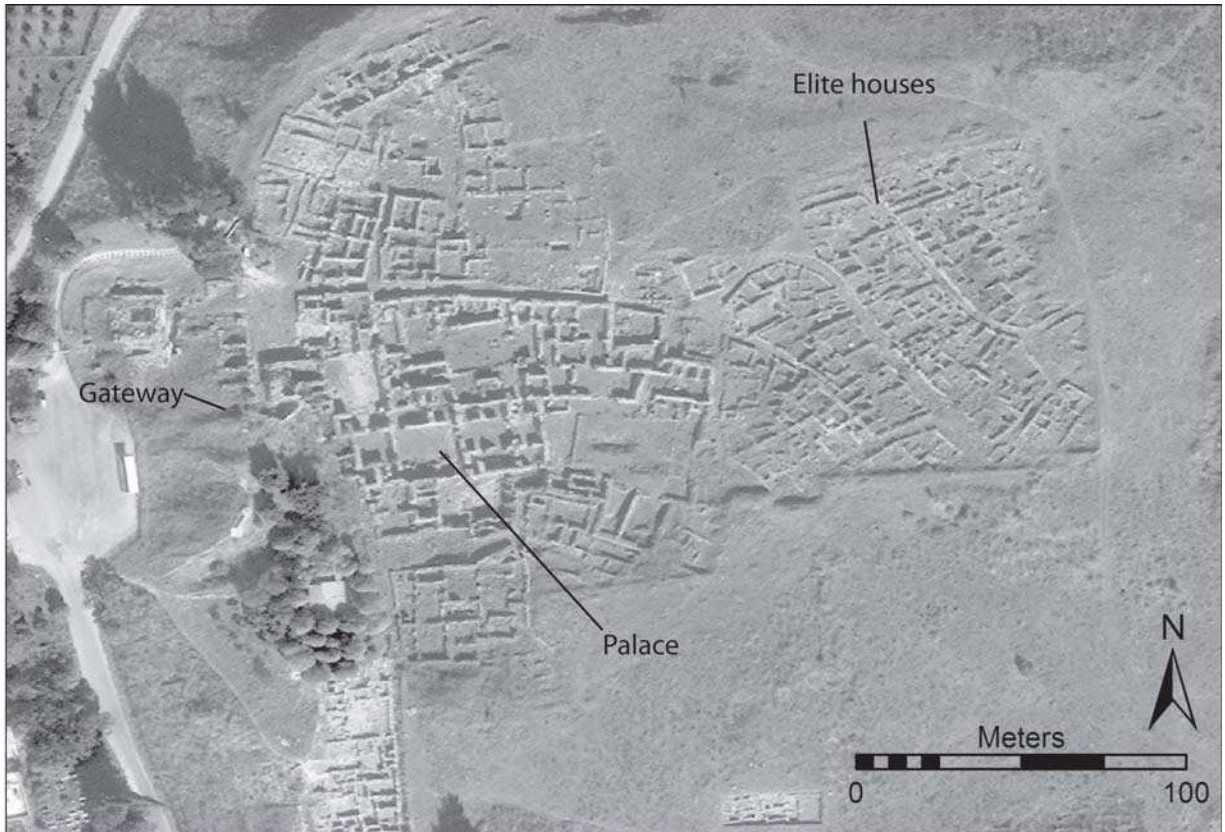


FIGURE 13.6 *Top: Late Bronze Age palace, fortifications, and elite houses at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) as seen on a 2015 satellite image. IMAGERY © DIGITAL GLOBE 2015. Lower left: photo of gateway leading to the palace. Lower right: entrance to the excavated palace compound. PHOTOS BY AUTHOR.*



CM 10 Map showing sites in the northern Levant (= Fig. 13.1).

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