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URBAN BUILT ENVIRONMENTS OF THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE: RESULTS OF THE TAYINAT ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT, 2004-2012

ABSTRACT

The archaeological site of Tell Tayinat in the province of Hatay in southern Turkey was the principal regional center in the Amuq Plain and North Orontes Valley during the Early Bronze and Iron Ages. This paper focuses on the latest period of occupation at Tayinat, which during the Iron Age was the Syro-Anatolian city of Kunulua. In 2004, following a 67-year hiatus, the University of Toronto's Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) resumed excavations at the site. Here we present the preliminary results of TAP's investigations of the Iron Age II and III settlement, including the topography of the first millennium settlement, super- and sub-structural remains associated with Building II (a temple first discovered in the 1930s), a second, newly discovered temple (Building XVI), part of a large Assyrian-style courtyard building, and the remains of additional monumental architecture on the Iron Age citadel. The terminal phases of these structures date to the Iron III period, or the late 8th and 7th century occupation of Kunulua following the Assyrian conquest in 738 BCE, and collectively point to the transformation of Kunulua's royal citadel into a Neo-Assyrian provincial administrative center, a pattern witnessed at contemporary sites elsewhere in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria.

INTRODUCTION

During the late second and early first millennia B.C.E. the political landscape of northern Syria, southeastern Anatolia, and the northern Levant was characterized by a shifting mosaic of city-states, typically identified as either Luwian/Neo-Hittite or Aramaean depending on the predominant language of local inscriptions (Mazzoni 1994; Melchert 2003; Lipiński 2000; Sader 2000; Dion 1997). Among their many shared cultural characteristics, including iconography and relief carving, architecture, political structure, and material culture, two features of these Syro-Anatolian city-states warrant further study. The first is their common site hierarchy characterized by a dominant urban center that served as both the capital and political center of the city-state (Osborne 2013). The second is the process by which these diminutive city-states were annexed piecemeal into the expanding provincial apparatus of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

This paper seeks to examine the built environment—the collection of human-made spatial features including buildings, streets, and courtyards—that comprised the royal citadel at Tell Tayinat, ancient Kunulua, capital of the Syro-Anatolian city-state of Patina (later known as 'Unqi). In particular, we wish to evaluate developments to the structural layout of the citadel following Kunulua's conquest by the Assyrian ruler Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C.E., when Tayinat became the capital of the Assyrian province of Kinalia (Harrison 2001; 2005; 2011; Harrison and Osborne 2012). Building on discoveries made at the site during the 1930s (Haines 1971), this paper presents new architectural and artifactual remains that contribute to our understanding of the diachronic changes attested in a Syro-Anatolian capital across the transition from independent city-state to provincial status, archaeologically understood in this region as the transition from the Iron Age II to the Iron Age III period (Mazzoni 2000: Table 1).

The Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) is a multidisciplinary project investigating the site of Tell Tayinat, located in the northern Levant in the province of Hatay in southern Turkey. In 2004, following a 67-year hiatus since the discoveries of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition of the University of Chicago in the 1930s (Haines 1971; Braidwood and Braidwood 1960), TAP renewed excavations at the site. To date, the combined results of these two projects have identified three major cultural horizons at the site: an Early Bronze Age occupation whose earliest levels have yet to be identified, a densely stratified Early Iron Age settlement from the late second millennium, and a sequence of monumental building complexes belonging to the early first millennium city-state of Patina and its successor, the Neo-Assyrian provincial capital of Kinalia. (For preliminary reports of the Early Bronze and Early Iron Age excavations, see Welton 2011; 2014; Welton *et al.* in prep.; Welton, *et al.* 2011; Janeway 2006-2007; 2011; 2017; Harrison 2009b.) After describing the historical context of the Iron Age city and the morphology of the site and its surrounding geomorphology, this report will present the results of the ongoing TAP investigations of the Iron II and III remains on the upper mound, or citadel, at Tayinat, and the insights they provide into Tayinat's transformation from a local royal city into a Neo-Assyrian provincial administrative center.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The association of Tell Tayinat with the ancient city of Kunulua was long suspected on the basis of Assyrian rulers' military campaigns whose itineraries place Patina in the Amuq Valley, and its capital Kunulua near the Orontes River, leaving Tell Tayinat as the only viable candidate for the city. This identification was confirmed by epigraphic findings at the site itself (see below; Lauinger 2012). However, Kunulua is mentioned in a number of historical sources both before and after the Assyrians claimed the city as their own (Osborne 2011: Table 1.2).

The earliest of these references occur in a group of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions dating to the end of the second and beginning of the first millennium BCE that together indicate the existence of a large – though still poorly understood – polity centered at Tell Tayinat (Harrison 2009a). An 11th century relief of a royal figure from the newly discovered temple of the Storm God on the Aleppo citadel (Gonnella, Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2005; Kohlmeyer 2000; 2009: 191; 2008: 122) is accompanied by an inscription (ALEPPO 6) that refers to the figure as "Taita, the Hero, the King of [the land?] Palastini" (Hawkins 2009: 169; 2011). The place name reads *pa-lá/í-sà-ti-*[*ní*]*-za-*, as does ALEPPO 7, a fragmentary second inscription carved in part on a sphinx in the temple's entrance. References to Taita appear in two other Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments, the Meharde and Sheizar inscriptions found near the Orontes northwest of Hama, although in these instances he is associated with the land *wa/i-la/i-sà-ti-ni-za-*(*REGIO*) and *wa/i-la/i-sà-ti-*[*ni*]*-si-*(*REGIO*) respectively (Hawkins 2000: 415-9), that is, *W*alasatini not *P*alasatini. It is possible that these references are to a second, later Taita (cf. Hawkins 2011: 41, 51). A fragmentary inscription (TELL TAYINAT 1), found at Tell Tayinat by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition, also bears the name Walasatini (specifically *wa/i-la/i-sà-ti-ni-*[*za-sa*](*REGIO*) though not Taita, but instead, Halparuntiyas (I? cf. Weeden 2013: Table 2), a 10th or 9th century ruler of Patina (Hawkins 2000: 365-6).[1] Finally, two recently discovered stelae from Arsuz on the Mediterranean coast south of Iskenderun were authored by a Suppiluliuma, who identifies himself as king of Walastin (Weeden 2013: 12-13; Dinçol et al. 2015).

The distribution of these texts implies a kingdom whose influence, and possibly territorial control, stretched from the Mediterranean coast west of the Amanus Mountains to the Orontes Valley north of Hama around the corner formed by the Amuq Plain and east, incorporating the Afrin Valley, including ʻAin Dara (Abou Assaf 1996), and at least as far as Aleppo (Harrison 2009b: 179). Tell Tayinat, whose massive but, unfortunately, poorly preserved remains from the First Building Period (see below) (Haines 1971: 38-40, Pls. 94-5), provides a plausible archaeological setting for the capital city of the Late Iron I/Early Iron II kingdom that is beginning to emerge from these texts (Harrison 2009b: 179ff.; Hawkins 2009: 170).

The number of historical sources increases significantly during the Iron Age II period, due to an increased volume of Akkadian inscriptions that accompanied the return of Assyria as a regional power in the 9th century (Grayson 1991; 1996; Tadmor and Yamada 2011; Fuchs 1994). At the same time, the quantity of inscriptions from the Syro-Anatolian city-states themselves also increased dramatically (Hawkins 2000; Tropper 1993; Hallo and Younger 2003; Donner and Röllig 1966; Gibson 1975; 1982). The earliest Neo-Assyrian references derive from Ashurnasirpal II, who mentions Lubarna the Patinean (^{kur}*pa-ti-na-a-a*) in the Banquet Stele (Grayson 1991: A.0.101.30, lines 35-6, see also line 144). In his annals recounting a military campaign to northwest Syria, Ashurnasirpal records receiving tribute from Lubarna, the Patinean king, and names his royal city as Kunulua (^{uru}*ku-nu-lu-a*) (A.0.101.1, iii 71-84).

Over the course of the next century and a half Patina participated in the various Syro-Anatolian coalitions mentioned by Shalmaneser III and Zakkur. In the course of his conflicts with these coalitions Shalmaneser mentions two Patinean rulers who must have ruled after Lubarna: Sapalulme, mentioned in the 858 campaign (Grayson 1996: A.0.102.2, i 42 – ii 12), and Qalparunda, described as having given tribute in 857 (A.0.102.2, ii 21 – 24a) and 853 (A.0.102.2, ii 84). Both of these rulers are candidates for the authors of inscriptions discovered at Tayinat. Qalparunda is possibly the Akkadian version of Halparuntiyas named in the inscription TELL TAYINAT 1 as proposed by Gelb (1939: 39), although Weeden (2013: 12) notes the likelihood that the author of the inscription is an earlier king of the same name. Sapalulme is likely the same individual as Suppiluliuma, possibly the second king of that name

(Weeden 2013: 12), and the author of an inscription written across the back of a colossal royal statue discovered in 2012 by the Tayinat Archaeological Project (Harrison 2017: 286-8, Fig. 8).[2]

There were also independent conflicts with Assyria. One that took place in 829 BCE is described on the Black Obelisk, according to which an internal rebellion led to the overthrow of their ruler Lubarna, leading Shalmaneser to replace the usurper Surri with Sāsi, a ruler of his choice (A.0.102.14 146b-156). For reasons that remain unclear, the name of the kingdom shifted to ‘Unqi in the mid-late 9th century (Akkadian ^{kur}*un-qa-a-a*, ^{kur}*un-qi;* Aramaic *ʿmq*). In 738 BCE, the Neo-Assyrian ruler Tiglath-pileser III conquered ‘Unqi, and destroyed its royal city, Kunulua, ostensibly because its king, Tutammu, broke his loyalty oath with Assyria. Tiglath-pileser states that he deported many of the citizens of ‘Unqi, populated it with captives from Amlatu and Der, and turned the kingdom into the Assyrian province of Kullani (Tadmor and Yamada 2011: RINAP 1, Tiglath-pileser III 12 (=Ann. 25), ll. 3-12). Kullani remained under Assyrian control through the reign of Ashurbanipal (Hawkins 1982: 425; 1983; Millard 1994: 51; Radner 2006: 61).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Patina/‘Unqi’s rich political history offers an exciting opportunity to address several important archaeological research questions. Foremost among these is the changing architectural and material character of the city in the early first millennium, coinciding with its transformation from the capital of the early kingdom of Palastin/Walastin to the better known city of Kunulua, capital of Patina/‘Unqi, and then finally as the administrative center of the Neo-Assyrian province of Kullani. At the urban scale of archaeological analysis this political trajectory enables us to investigate how Tayinat’s archaeological record interplays with the city’s evolving geopolitical status. This question is perhaps most intriguing following the Assyrian conquest: what effect did the takeover have on settlement planning and the urban layout of Kunulua, if any? Furthermore, what does the changing use of space say about the nature and expression of political authority at Iron Age Tayinat?

Largely as a result of the large Iron II horizontal exposures achieved by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition (see below) (Haines 1971; Pucci 2008) and recent spatial analyses, we have a comparatively good understanding of how political power was expressed through the built environment of Patina from roughly 900 to 738 BCE (Harrison 2017). At the regional scale, power was projected on a limited, or intermittent, basis, with hinterlands enjoying significant autonomy. The political landscape was characterized by rapidly shifting borders and a policy of malleable territoriality that permitted ownership of settlements by rival city-states within what would otherwise be characterized as Patina's area of control (Osborne 2013). The capital city of Kunulua itself, however, was at least partially planned, serving as a symbol of royal authority through the coordinated display of royal statuary, inscriptions, and monumental architecture across the cityscape, not dissimilar from its peers in the region (Osborne 2014; Harmanşah 2011; 2013; Gilibert 2011; Harrison 2013). Within Kunulua's palace compound specifically, spatial analysis indicates that the famous Syro-Anatolian *bīt-hilāni* palace conveyed strong political authority, which it accomplished through a carefully planned layout that restricted access and visibility to the royal reception suite, itself richly imbued with royal symbolism (Osborne 2012).

However, less work has been done on the preceding 11th/10th century horizon of Walastin/Palastin, primarily due to the limited excavation of these earlier levels, and on the Neo-Assyrian, or Iron III, settlement. The Tayinat Archaeological Project, therefore, seeks to extend our understanding of the spatial character and expression of political authority at Kunulua, both prior to and following the floruit of the Syro-Anatolian kingdom of Patina in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, and in so doing, provide greater insight into the political structure and character of Iron Age northern Levantine society. This paper will focus on the latter transition, specifically the transformation of the Syro-Anatolian royal citadel into a Neo-Assyrian provincial administrative center. What emerges from the following descriptions of architectural finds in five excavation areas, or Fields, across the upper city of the site is a series of monumental buildings, dated primarily on the basis of associated pottery and small finds, that in some cases are newly constructed and in others are apparently modifications of preexisting structures. We argue, therefore, that the built environment of the provincial capital of Kinalia differed

from its independent predecessor insofar as it witnessed a new scale of large-scale construction, yet at the same time experienced a significant degree of architectural continuity.

SITE MORPHOLOGY

Tell Tayinat forms a large, low-lying mound 1.5 km east of the modern village of Demirköprü, on the north shoulder of the modern Antakya-Reyhanlı road (**Figure 1**). The site sits within the flood plain of the Orontes River on its northern bend where the river enters the Amuq Plain before flowing westward toward Antakya (ancient Antioch) and the Mediterranean Sea (**Figure 2**). A topographic survey conducted in 2001 revealed that the site is comprised of an upper mound approximately 20 ha in size, and a sprawling lower settlement, now hidden by the alluvium of the Orontes floodplain. CORONA satellite imagery clearly shows a discernible 'shadow' outlining the lower town, and sherd density distributions indicate that the lower settlement extended north from the upper mound for approximately 200 m, and to the east for approximately 150 m, with a small protrusion extending to the southeast (Batiuk, Harrison and Pavlish 2005; Osborne 2017) (**Figure 3**). A number of other intriguing anomalies are also evident on the CORONA image, including a linear feature, likely a fortification wall, enclosing the northern and eastern sectors of the lower settlement. The measurements suggested by these data extend the composite size of the settlement to 500 X 700 m, or an area encompassing approximately 35 ha.[3]

The topography of the mound at the turn of the last century was significantly different from what is present today. Prior to the excavations of the 1930s the upper mound was crested with two distinct rises and was significantly larger, with gentle slopes running to the north and west and a lobe protruding from the central eastern edge of the site (see Haines 1971: Pl. 93). Data from the modern excavations and coring work done around the site (see below) allow us tentatively to reconstruct a generally flat mound 7-8m in height in the Early Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Cultural material from these two periods has been found on the mound's surface in every sector of the site, suggesting that the entire 20 ha of the upper mound was occupied in both periods. Possible evidence of lower town occupation for the EB period has

emerged from coring data, as well as lower town surface collections (Osborne and Karacic 2017: 53, Fig. 11a).

The Iron II period saw the construction of the *bīt-ḫilāni* palace and temple complex on the western central part of the mound (Buildings I, IV, VI, II, XVI). The excavation of a channel (see Field 1 below) artificially separated this monumental complex from its surroundings, forming a citadel-like palace compoudn. In addition, the settlement expanded off the upper mound and into the lower town. During the subsequent Iron III period, a second elevated area on the upper mound was created with the construction of the Assyrian governor's residence on the tell's southern edge (Haines 1971: 61-3).

The excavations of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition concentrated on the two topographic rises of the upper mound. Following the excavations, the mudbrick architecture and earthen ramps were left exposed to the elements. In recent decades several electricity transmission towers were installed on the tell with foundations 1-2 m deep. The mound was bulldozed in the 1970s for agricultural use, which removed any extant architecture and leveled out much of the mound's minor topographic variations. Additionally, the eastern and northern edges of the mound were heavily bulldozed as well, removing at a maximum 120 m^2 of mound on the east, and 100 m^2 on the north face of the mound. Rough calculations suggest approximately 108,500 m^3 of material was removed from the sides of the mound. It is unclear what happened to the soil that was removed. However, the results of the lower town survey, which found a large quantity of Iron II/III material but only limited Early Bronze material (Osborne 2017; Osborne and Karacic 2017), suggest that the soil was not deposited in the fields surrounding the tell since EB remains would otherwise have comprised a significant portion of the cultural material removed from the edges of the mound. At the same time, the tell's southern rise was leveled and a large 8400 m^2 cotton factory was constructed on the location of the Assyrian governor's residence. As a result, the modern topography of the mound bears little resemblance to the topography of the site encountered by the original excavators, and the only piece of architecture from the 1930s excavation visible at the outset of TAP were the stone piers of Gateway III at the southern edge of the tell adjacent to the Antakya-Reyhanlı highway (see Haines 1971: Pl. 86). Even these have subsequently been buried by a recent widening of the highway.

LOCAL GEOMORPHOLOGY

The pattern of an upper mound with a royal citadel and an adjacent lower town surrounded by a city wall fits well within the pattern of contemporary Syro-Anatolian cities (Pucci 2008; Osborne 2014; Harmanşah 2013), including Carchemish, Tell Halaf, 'Ain Dara and possibly Hama, and also applies to contemporary Neo-Assyrian cities such as Nineveh, Nimrud, and Assur. In many of these cases the cities appear to be adjacent to water, often with the citadel closest to the water's edge, and the lower town sprawling away in the opposite direction. Settlements which appear in flat open plains away from rivers such as Zincirli, Arslan Taş, or Tell Rifa'at reveal a circular morphology, with the citadel mound in the center of the settlement (Casana 2012; 2013). Although Tell Tayinat is currently landlocked, its morphology fits the pattern of a Syro-Anatolian riverine city, suggesting that a river might have been located on the west side of the mound in the Iron Age, a problem that required geomorphological research methods to address. Scholars have already suggested that the alternating occupational histories of Tell Tayinat and nearby Tell Atchana could be linked to shifting courses of the Orontes River, which today flows 650 m southwest of Tayinat (Yener, *et al*. 2000).

To test these ideas TAP undertook an extensive coring program around the site. A series of fifty-five cores were drilled on and around the main mound (see **Figure 3**) and Iron Age II-III ceramic sherds were consistently uncovered at elevations roughly 2.5-3 m below the present surface of the plain. This sedimentation differs from the 3.5m of sediments Wilkinson identified as having aggraded since the late Chalcolithic period (5000 years BP) (Yener *et al*. 2000), but as Wilkinson also noted, Woolley identified 5 m of sediments at Atchana (Woolley 1955:5), which is comparable to the situation found at Tayinat.[4] The reason for the observed differences in sedimentation is unclear; Wilkinson describes variability in the rate of plain aggradation but this does not account for the discrepancies in such a confined locus of the plain. Future, more intensive paleo-environmental studies of the local geomorphology will hopefully clarify these incongruities.

The most intriguing discovery occurred on the west and northwest sides of the mound, where bands of well-sorted coarse ground sand grains (0.5-1 mm) were encountered at a depth of 1.5 m, 2.5-3 m and 4.5 m (**Figure 4**). The granularity of the sands suggests high energy discharge particle deposition by saltation which would be suggestive of a river bed. However, the well-sorted nature of the sands, combined with the lack of very coarse (1-2 mm), pebble-sized grains (2-8 mm) and fine-grained tail fractions (0.125-0.25 mm) that are usually present in rivers sands, are more suggestive of beach ridges on the edge of a lake. The depths of these sand deposits are consistent with the elevations of Iron II-III material uncovered in the coring, giving a tentative early first millennium date to the feature. These sand deposits were also identified in transects running south to the small site of Tayinat al-Saghir located 270 m to the south of Tell Tayinat. Soundings made at this site by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition uncovered a small artificial mound of alternating bands of sand and brick debris that has been interpreted as a quay related to Iron Age Tayinat (Wilkinson, personal communication). The sand deposits uncovered in the coring appear to end in line with Tayinat al-Saghir on both the east and the west side (**Figure 3**). The cores to the northeast of the mound did not produce any evidence of an equivalent sand deposit, but rather a combination of low-energy clayey sand deposits blended heavily with poorly-drained, humaquept, blue gleyed clays, whose combined presence indicate a marsh-like or wetland environment. The cumulative evidence would seem to point towards a body of still water, such as a small shallow lake located on the west side of the settlement, coupled with a marshy environment on the north and north east. This is not to suggest that the Lake of Antioch, which formed between the seventh and fourth centuries BCE (Casana and Wilkinson 2005), was located in the south-central part of the plain in the Iron Age, but rather that a body of marshy water was situated there. In the Iron Age, rather than having a large central lake, the Amuq Plain was a mosaic of marsh and patches of open water (Wilkinson 1997).

Such a reconstructed landscape accords well with the historical records of Shalmaneser's III (858-824 BCE) campaign in the area in 858 BCE. Images depicted on Band V of the bronze gates at Balawat (ancient Imgur-Enlil) illustrate two cities of 'Unqi (King 1915: Pls. XXV and XXVII) surrounded by a body of water (**Figure 5**). The appearance of the water differs from the depiction of a

moat surrounding a city, or a settlement situated on an island in the sea such as Tyre (King 1915: Pl. XIII), suggesting that the image illustrates something different, perhaps a lake. Given the fact that Tayinat was Kunulua, the Royal City of 'Unqi, and the correspondence between the geo-archaeological data and the depictions in the Balawat Gates, one can posit that one of the cities of 'Unqi being depicted in the Balawat Gates is Tell Tayinat (cf. Casana and Wilkinson 2005: 38). The recreation of a body of water on the west side of Tayinat thus fits within the general morphology of contemporary city plans. If the settlement had not been adjacent to water, one might expect a circular morphology similar to Zincirli or Tell Rifa'at.

PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS AT TELL TAYINAT

The Syrian-Hittite Expedition conducted large-scale excavations at Tell Tayinat over four seasons from 1935 to 1938. Their efforts were concentrated on the so-called West Central Area of the tell, the location of the palace compound, with the goal of bringing to light Iron Age monumental architecture and statuary (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: 1). The architecture and some of the sculptural remains from the Iron Age II and III periods were published as the second volume of *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch* (Haines 1971). The Expedition achieved large horizontal exposures of five distinct architectural phases, or Building Periods, dating to the Iron II and III periods (Amuq Phase O; see **Table 1**) (Haines 1971: 64-66).[5]

The First Building Period consists of a large but poorly preserved palace, Building XIV, whose excavated extent measures approximately 50 x 100 m (described in greater detail below; see Field 2), and a slightly smaller palace, Building XIII, whose plan appears to be an early iteration of subsequent *bīt-hilāni* palaces above it. The entire palace compound area was extensively remodeled in the Second Building Period (**Figure 6**) (Haines 1971: 44-55), which saw the construction of Building I/VI, the most famous of Tayinat's *bīt-ḫilāni* palaces, and a second *bīt-ḫilāni*, Building IV; together these structures enclosed a paved central courtyard. To the south of Building I was found an adjacent tripartite temple, Building II, including a beautifully carved double-lion column base, presumably one of an original pair.

Gateway V immediately to the west of Building I provided access to the palace compound, opening onto a partially preserved street that connected to the central courtyard (Haines 1971: pls. 70-2, 74-81, 96-7, 99, 100, 103, 106). The Second Building Period was dated to the late 9th and 8th centuries (ca. 825-720 BCE), based largely on the presence of Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments that were found on or below the floors of Buildings I and II (Haines 1971: 66). Recent 14C analysis indicates that the First Building Period dates to the late 10th century (Manning et al. in prep.), suggesting that the Second Building Period may have started earlier in the 9th century than was thought by the original excavators.[6] As for the Second Building Period's terminus, the conquest by Tiglath-pileser III in 738 BCE is a plausible date for its end, as is Haines' proposed date of 720 BCE.

Renovations to this elite area accounted for most of the activity assigned to the ensuing Third Building Period, which the excavators dated to the latter part of the 8th and early 7th centuries (ca. 720-680 BCE—though again, the conquest in 738 is another possible start date) (Haines 1971: 65-66), or the period of Assyrian occupation. These renovations included Platform XV, a large elevated rectangular structure, approximately 46 (E-W) m by 87 (N-S) m, which flanked the east side of the West Central Area complex (Haines 1971: 43-44). It is also to this phase that the Expedition assigned the construction of a new complex, Building IX, located on a rise in the southeastern quadrant of the upper mound (Haines 1971: 65; Pl. 84, 109), although the structure is stratigraphically isolated. Despite the poor preservation of Building IX, architectural elements such as a reception suite, large courtyards, and doorway pivot stones identify it as an Assyrian-style palatial complex (Haines 1971: 61, Pls. 84, 109; cf. Turner 1970). The building is therefore referred to as an Assyrian governor's residence (Harrison 2005). As reconstructed by the Expedition, the Fourth and Fifth Building Periods involved subsequent renovations and modifications to existing structures.

Gaining further resolution on the precise chronological associations of the phases articulated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition are an ongoing research priority of the renewed excavations. In particular, it is unclear whether the transition of the city to Assyrian control is associated with the transition from Building Period 2 to 3 (as per the Expedition), or 3 to 4. These issues will feature prominently in a

forthcoming final report of the 1930s excavations currently in preparation (Snow *forthcoming*). The following sections present the remains of the early first millennium as discovered by the Tayinat Archaeological Project since 2004. We describe TAP's results, including both architectural features and, for chronological and functional purposes, a selection of their accompanying objects, according to the project's strategy of dividing the site into excavation areas, or Fields.[7] The outcome is a greater understanding of the upper city's monumental infilling combined with the continued use of preexisting monumental structures in the Assyrian period.

FIELD 1

Architecture and Phasing

Field 1, located at the southern end of the West Central Area of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition excavations, covers an area of four 10 x 10 m excavation units (G4.55, G4.56, G4.65 and G4.66) (see **Figure 3**). This area was initially opened with the intention of identifying the remains of temple Building II in order to connect the modern excavations with the older excavated sequence (Haines 1971: 53-55). The primary sequence in Field 1 dates to the Iron I and Early Bronze IVB; according to the phasing from Field 1, these two periods correspond to Field Phases 3-6 and 7-9 respectively (**Table 2**) (Welton *et al.* in prep.; Welton *et al* 2011). However, Field Phase 2, which can be divided into four subphases (FP2a-2d) was assigned to the Iron II/III occupation in this area.

The earliest of the four subphases, FP2d (**Figure 7)**, is an early Iron II phase that predates the construction of Building II. This phase consists of a pebble- and sherd-paved surface that passes through the two southern squares of Field 1 (G4.65: 18, 61, 63, 91, 95 and G4.66: 9, 16, 87). This feature possessed several laminations, some of which could only be traced in patches. It may represent a street or an associated feature that once linked Gateway VII, uncovered by the Expedition on the east slope of the upper mound, and Gateway XII (or Area V; see **Figure 6**), which provided entrance to the citadel of the upper mound (Haines 1971: 55-57). This street was deliberately constructed, and cut down directly into

the Early Bronze Age levels in the western area of Field 1 (G4.65 and the west part of G4.66). Iron I remains were preserved below this street in the eastern area of Square G4.66.

A second feature that may be associated with this phase is a deep cut in the southern part of Square G4.65, which is presumed also to continue in the southern part of Square G4.66, although it has not been fully excavated there. This cut, located approximately 6 m south of the pebble- and sherd-paved surface, originates from roughly the same level as this surface. It cuts down deeply into the Early Bronze Age strata, and its bottom has not yet been reached. However, it would appear to be a deliberate cut, perhaps with the intention of creating a moat or ditch to the south of the citadel area during the earliest part of the Iron II period.

A subsequent Iron II subphase in this area, FP 2c, is associated with a fill of greenish-grey mudbricky debris that was laid down above the pebbled surface to flatten the area (G4.65: 14, 94, 96, 98 and G4.66: 11, 13, 81, 86, 88, 89, 101). Originally, it was believed that this activity was conducted in preparation for the construction of the temple, Building II. However, radiocarbon evidence suggests that this fill dates soon after the use of the surface described above, and likely pre-dates the construction of this building, assigned to FP2b (**Figure 8;** Manning et al in prep).

The foundation trench for the southern wall of Building II was later cut down into this fill and packed with mudbrick (G4.55: 61, G4.56: 69, G4.65: 5, 31, 36, G4.66: 7, 22, 48). The southern wall of Building II was never discovered by the Expedition, but rather was reconstructed based on the presumed plan of the building (Haines 1971: 53, Pl. 103). The current excavations, however, were able to isolate the foundation of this southern wall. Foundational materials were also discovered that were associated with the piers leading from the portico of the temple into the cella (G4.55: 13, 57 and G4.56: 63, 74); no foundations were found for the rear piers which separated the cella from the sanctuary (see **Figure 8**). The Building II foundations of the northern wall were cut directly into Iron I FPs 3-5, leaving pedestals of Iron I material between Building II's foundation trenches. The cobbled surface of the cella of the temple lay directly above the Iron I remains of FP3, and any later Iron I levels that might have once existed in this

area were removed by the construction of Building II, resulting in an occupational gap in the sequence in the northern part of Field 1.

The northern wall of Building II, which was fully excavated in the 1930s, is poorly preserved, but TAP rediscovered its foundations along with a small amount of the preserved superstructure (G4.55: 5, 8, 9 and G4.56: 2). Three small patches of the cobbled floor of the cella, which was exposed by the Chicago excavations, were also recovered (G4.55: 2, 3, 4; see Haines 1971: 55), along with three paving stones associated with the steps leading to the portico of Building II (G4.56:3; see Haines 1971: 54). However, no further superstructural remains of the cella and the portico of Building II were preserved, having been either removed by the earlier excavations or in the intervening time since the 1930s.

Investigations in 2016, conducted as part of mudbrick conservation work in the area of the sanctuary of Building II, demonstrated that the rear (western) portion of this building remains well-preserved. The unbaked brick offering table (G4.54:7), stone altar (G4.54: 2) and a portion of the pebble surface (G4.54:5) of the room remain intact, as described by Haines (1971: 55). The northern (G4.54:2) and western (G4.54:3) walls of the building were also recovered, as was the northern pier separating this room from the cella (G4.54: 12). Removal of the pier revealed that the cobble paving of the cella continues beneath it, which, as suggested by Haines (1971: 55), indicates the pier to be a later addition. This and similar later renovations of Building II are assigned to FP2a. As in the cella and porch areas to the east, only foundational materials associated with the south wall were found associated with the sanctuary (G4.54:6, G4.64:7).

Small Finds

A variety of Iron Age II/III small finds were recovered from Field 1, most of which originated from the pebbled surface (FP2d) and the intentional fill above it laid down prior to the construction of Building II (FP2c; **Figure 9**).

Finds included 22 stoppers, six basalt grinder fragments (no complete examples were found) and seven basalt vessel fragments. Other notable finds associated with textile production include seven loom weights (whole and fragmentary) and eight spindle whorls. The loom weights are cylindrical, or spool-

shaped, and are made from baked clay (four examples; **Fig. 9:1**) or unbaked clay (three examples). The unbaked clay examples demonstrate continuity with Iron I loom weight types (Janeway 2006-2007, Welton et al in prep), while baked examples are a new feature associated with the Iron II period (Cecchini 2000: 219, Fig. 1). Spindle whorls are predominantly formed from pierced pottery sherds (six examples), though two examples are conical in shape and made from serpentine (**Fig. 9:2**).

Several types of jewelry were found, including beads made of dark blue glass, carnelian, faience and other stones (**Fig. 9:3-5**), a crushed disc-shaped gold pendant decorated with a repoussé design (**Fig. 9:6**), four pierced shells, and four fragments of copper alloy pins.

A figurine fragment was also found, with a flat pillar-like body, two bands around the neck, and a hand holding the right breast (**Fig. 9:7**). This figurine displays some parallels to earlier pillar figurine types that begin in the Early Bronze Age, and has good Iron Age parallels at Çatal Höyük, Zincirli, and Carchemish (see Pruss 2010, Nordsyrischen "Pfeilerfiguren", Type III, pp. 223-4; Fugmann 1958: Fig. 167; von Luschan and Andrae 1943: Taf. 33i).

Two seals/seal impressions were also found in Field Phase 2. The first is a small circular perforated stamp seal (**Fig. 9:8)**, made from a red stone, possibly serpentine. The pattern on this seal is unclear, but it seems to have had two different patterns incised, one on each surface. The second is a seal impression on unbaked clay of a rectangular stamp seal with a depiction of a stag (**Fig. 9:9**). The stag is a very common motif on Iron II-III stamp seals and scaraboids at Tell Tayinat; at least sixteen examples from the 1930s excavations display a stag (see also below, Fields 3 and 5). A third example originates from the fill layers associated with the moat-like cut in the southern part of Field 1, and features hatch marks around the exterior, and four crescents enclosing circles (**Fig. 9:10)**. Finally, seven fragments of worked bone artifacts were also recovered, two of which could be identified as fragments of bone spatula, as well as part of an incised bone handle (**Fig. 9:11**) (see von Luschan and Andrae 1943: Taf. 59r, s; Riis and Buhl 1990: 209, #736-8; 216, #805; Riis 1948: Fig. 217).

FIELD 2

The broadest horizontal Iron II/III exposure is found in Field 2. The southern edge of Field 2 comprises excavation units G4.41-G4.50, where ground-leveling for modern agricultural activity had created an artificial edge along the southern slope of the raised palace compound that separated it from the rest of the tell. This excavation area is located in the southeast corner of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's West Central Area (see **Figure 3**; cf. Haines 1971: Pl. 93). In this large exposure the Expedition found a sequence of monumental structures from the Iron Age II and III that were divided into five Building Periods (see Previous Investigations above). TAP returned to this excavation area with the goals of establishing a stratigraphic connection with the early excavations, and determining with certitude the full extent of any additional Iron Age monumental architecture in the vicinity.

Building XIV

Architecture and Phasing

The earliest palatial building in the Expedition's West Central Area was a palace structure that was identified as Building XIV by the Expedition and assigned to their First Building Period (ca. 9th century BCE; see Haines 1971: 64, 66, Pl. 95). Despite its massive scale—even incompletely excavated the building measures over 100 m x 50 m—the Expedition could say very little about the structure since it was poorly preserved. Only the foundations were extant, apparently without any preservation of the superstructure or intact floors. Building XIV's dating, therefore, was based solely on the stratigraphic superimposition of the better-preserved palaces above it.

TAP's excavations in this area took place within the following 10 x 10 m squares: G4.35, G4.36, G4.37, G4.45, G4.46, and G4.47; over 400 square meters of the building has been exposed (**Figure 10**). The fact that only a single monumental structure was identified, with no remains of either overlaying or earlier Iron Age palatial structures, indicates that TAP has quite likely rediscovered the building identified by the Expedition as Building XIV, identified within the internal stratigraphy of Field 2 as Field Phase 4 (see **Table 4**). This interpretation is also supported by the large size of the walls—in several cases wider than 3 m—and the irregular shape and sizes of the small interior spaces, both of which are consistent with the findings of the Expedition (cf. **Figure 10** and Haines 1971: pl. 95).

In Squares G4.35, G4.45, and G4.46 removing topsoil revealed clearly the outlines of the wide walls, whereas those in G4.36 were more difficult to discern. Largely this was due to the presence of excavation trenches cut by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition (present in the other squares as well), who had identified Building XIV primarily through opportunistic excavation in the doorways and interior spaces of the overlying palace Building I (Haines 1971: 39). Nevertheless, the eastern wall of Building XIV was successfully identified in G4.37 and G4.47 (G4.37: 3, G4.47: 3), as was the southern wall in G4.45 and G4.46 (G4.45: 8, G4.46: 6), providing the southeast corner of the massive complex in G4.47. (The south face of the southern wall is obscured by the baulk line and north wall of Building II running east-west between Fields 1 and 2, or between Squares G4.45, G4.46, and G4.55, G4.56 respectively.)

Two deep probes along Field 2's western baulk, one in the southwest corner of the western interior space in G4.35 and one in the southwest corner of G4.45, measured the depths of the walls of Building XIV at 3 m and 3.65 m respectively. The probe in G4.45, which cut through the southern wall of the building, showed that the bottom of the wall was cut down into an earlier mudbrick wall. The deep foundation trenches that were necessary for these large walls were laid vertically and packed flush with foundation bricks such that no fill material was present between the line of the trench and the bricks of the foundation wall itself (**Figure 11**).

There were no doorways found between any of the small interior spaces, nor were there any intact surfaces. These findings confirmed the results of the 1930's excavations that had likewise found no evidence of a superstructure. Instead, what is found in the interior spaces are layers not related to the building. In G4.45 the interior space preserved Iron Age I and transitional Iron Age I-II deposits, including one well-preserved wall fragment with an associated floor that had been left *in situ* by the Building XIV foundation walls surrounding it. The two interior spaces of G4.35 were largely occupied by incoherent fill layers dating to the early tenth century (see pottery below), with the possible exception of a rounded mudbrick installation in the northwest corner of the western room (G4.35: 13). Finally, the two interior spaces of G4.36 were occupied by thin (ca. 25 cm) fill layers that overlay additional mudbricks, probably representing earlier architectural features through which Building XIV cut.

Excavations in Squares G4.37 and G4.47 revealed the outer eastern wall of Building XIV and a large external stone pavement that in turn sealed a densely packed sherd-strewn surface, comprised predominantly of Red Slipped Burnished Ware pottery. The stone pavement is the same exterior surface found by the Expedition to the east of Building I (Haines 1971: pls. 74A, 103). Unfortunately, the Syrian-Hittite Expedition laid a wide trench along the exterior face of the eastern wall of Building XIV. In doing so, any stratigraphic connections that might have existed between these surfaces and the east wall of Building XIV were severed.

Ultimately, although the architectural remains of these Building XIV foundation walls are impressive in their monumental scale, there is little that can be said with confidence about the building's function, date, plan, or relationship to surrounding structures. **Figure 12** provides a schematic representation of the western edge of Fields 1 and 2 (cf. Figure 3), including Building XIV's relationships with surrounding deposits.

Pottery

The lack of associated *in situ* surfaces and occupational debris from within the rooms of Building XIV renders the ceramics a mixed assemblage. Nevertheless, the fill layers that were found in the interior spaces of G4.35, G4.36, and G4.46 display a relatively homogeneous collection of material that appears to belong to the late Iron I-early Iron II (**Figure 13**; **Table 3**). This assessment is based primarily on the nature of the Red Slipped Burnished Ware (RSBW) pottery. Since Gustavus Swift's (1958) dissertation it has been assumed that RSBW in the Amuq begins in the early Iron II with thick platters with squared rim profiles whose red slip is more of a purplish wash and whose burnishing is either performed by hand or inconsistently executed on the wheel. By the Iron Age II and III these platters are thinner with rounder rim profiles, and the slip is a brighter red-orange color with well-executed wheel burnishing (Swift 1958: 139-41).

To the extent that this chronological distinction is valid—and a detailed stratigraphically-based diachronic study of RSBW in the northern Levant remains lacking—platters from the fill contexts in Building XIV are of Swift's earlier phase (**Fig. 13:1-6**). These platters have parallels at other sites in

northwest Syria, including Tell Afis D level 6 (Mazzoni 1987: fig. 21:25), Abou Danné IId (Lebeau 1983: pl. VI:3-6), and ʻAin Dara (Stone and Zimansky 1999: fig. 74:2). Other forms that continue into the Iron Age II and III are also present, including carinated RSBW bowls (**Fig. 13:7**), holemouth (**Fig. 13:10**) and shell-tempered cooking pots (**Fig. 13:11**), as well as a very small number of Cypro-Geometric imports with white slip and black or bichrome painted bands (**Fig. 13:15**).

Building XVI

In 2008, TAP opened a new area to the east of Building XIV in Squares G4.28, G4.37, G4.38, G4.47, and G4.48, an area untouched by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition, in order to excavate pristine deposits from the Iron Age II and III.

This area revealed the continuation of the cobblestone pavement that had been found east of Building XIV (see above) and the burnt remains of a small tripartite temple, Building XVI (**Figure 14**). (TAP is continuing the numbering system for coherent Iron II-III buildings in the palace compound established by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition.) A preliminary description of the temple and its finds have already been discussed (see Harrison and Osborne 2012; Lauinger 2012), and further investigations have refined our understanding of the architectural phasing.

Architecture and Phasing

Building XVI measured 8.3 m x 18.8 m in size, and was approached from the south by means of a wide limestone staircase with four steps (G4.48: 14, G4.49: 4). On the top step rested the base of a small basalt pedestal, possibly the bottom of a basin or altar, against the front of the western wall. Though functionally unclear and lacking an inscription, this base is situated in a similar position to the complete and inscribed basin at the entrance to temple Building II (cf. Haines 1971: Pl. 80A, 81A, 113J; Hawkins 2000: 375, Pl. 194). The staircase led to a porch, which supported an ornately carved basalt column base set deeply into its floor (**Figure 15**). The column base is decorated in three engraved registers: a sequence of alternating ornamental palmettes and vertical rope patterns on the top, a running guilloche and rosette pattern in the middle, and an inverted and schematic repeat of the upper register around the base. The uppermost register was damaged in the destruction of the building, and its lowest carved register was

largely hidden from view, obscured by a paved surface of baked bricks (G4.48: 12, G4.38: 15), suggesting that an earlier floor of the building lies unexcavated below. The column base is virtually identical in size, shape and design to the column bases found in the portico of the Second Building Period phase of the nearby *bīt-ḫilāni*, Building I (cf. Haines 1971: pls. 75B, 116A).

The porch was separated from the central room of the building by two brick piers (G4.38: 16, 17) that bonded with the exterior walls of the building. Burnt brick collapse covered the floor between the two piers, including a wooden threshold (G4.38: 13). The floor of the central room, though badly burned, was a thin layer of plaster (G4.38: 8) that was then covered by a thick layer of collapsed mudbricks. A second set of piers (G4.38: 6, 10, G4.39: 5) and a wood-lined threshold (G4.28: 30) separated the central room from a small back room, the inner sanctuary of the temple, which contained a slightly off-center low rectangular platform, or podium, that filled most of the room (G4.28: 16). The podium was made of baked brick, similar in shape to the bricks that paved the portico, and its sides and surface were coated with a white plaster. The podium was accessed by four small steps in each of its two southern corners, and a free-standing, plaster-lined mudbrick installation, possibly an altar, stood on its eastern side (G4.28: 17). Objects in this room had also been burned by fire, preserving a wealth of cultic paraphernalia found strewn across the podium and around its base.

The construction methods used to build the exterior walls of Building XVI (G4.28: 3, 24, 25, G4.29: 3, 5, G4.38: 21, G4.39: 3, G4.48: 13, 16, G4.49: 5) are identical to those typically found in the other public buildings of the West Central Area, including use of the distinctive 'wood-crib' construction technique (Haines 1971: 45-6, Pl. 114A-C). In addition, the exterior face of the temple's west wall was decorated with a white plaster. Unfortunately, Building XVI's east wall was badly preserved, with only its interior half coherent and its exterior half heavily burnt with clear examples of melted and vitrified mudbricks.

Building XVI was surrounded, and sealed against, on its west and south sides by a cobblestone pavement (G4.28: 7, G4.37: 9, G4.38: 12, G4.47: 9, G4.48: 3, 8), the same pavement to the east of Building I and XIV that was cut by the Chicago excavations (see above). The paving itself preserved

evidence of patching and reworking suggesting an extended period of use. On top of the pavement was a thick (20-25 cm) accumulation of debris that would have effectively removed the cobbles from view. This debris was densely filled with angular gravel fragments and thousands of small snail shells (*Melanoides tuberculata*), possibly representing an in-filling of the stone paving area with clay taken from a lake or marshy environment in the final use phase of the temple. Near the top of this debris 2.5 m west of the first set of partition walls rested a limestone basin that measured 0.85 m x 1 m. Its precise function is unknown, but must surely relate to the temple, perhaps for ablutions.

The stone surface's northern extent lies along the same line as the exterior face of Building XVI's rear wall. Instead of cobblestones, the exterior surface running up to the north wall of the temple was constructed out of baked and unbaked mudbricks. This area to the north and northwest of the temple might be the continuation of the courtyard surface, but comprised of mudbricks instead of stones, or might represent a poorly preserved structure. Between the north wall of the temple and the line of unbaked bricks there were two square patches of baked bricks (G4.28: 9, 35), one of which (L.9) abutted the outer face of the temple's rear wall. The southeast corner brick of the western patch (L.35) had a hole in the middle with a diameter of 15 cm that was lined with a circular ceramic vessel, perhaps the top of a drain much like those excavated in the 1930's in the Neo-Assyrian palace Building IX (Haines 1971: pl. 85).

A probe was excavated in the northwest corner of the central room through the west wall of Building XVI to determine the construction sequence of the temple, and especially to determine whether there were earlier floors or phases of the complex (**Figure 16**). Although no earlier floors were found, the probe produced clear evidence of two construction phases to this portion of the temple's west wall. A solid mudbrick construction, Field Phase 3, that extended across the bottom of the probe represents a separate earlier architectural feature whose nature is not yet known (G4.38: 23, 24). This mudbrick feature was cut by a sharply delineated line marking a foundation trench (G4.38: 25) for the western wall of Building XVI, here comprised of crumbly mudbrick filled with nari, or crushed limestone, in the primary construction of the structure in Field Phase 2b. The second phase of this wall saw the addition of

the northern piers of the temple in Field Phase 2a, similar to the pattern observed in Building II (see Field 1 above).

The differences in the preservation between the east and west walls of the temple are the result of those walls' different proximities to the conflagration that destroyed the building. Bricks in the east wall were found completely baked, even partially vitrified to the point of melting, suggesting they were closer to the fire's hottest point. The burning of the wooden beams between the southern piers, and the firing of the vessel on the podium to the point of vitrification on the opposite side of the temple, coupled with the partial baking of Tablet 1802 (see below) and the virtually unbaked north and west walls of the temple suggest multiple localized fires had broken out in the structure. The fire on the podium can perhaps be attributed to the fuel in the oil lamps and other organics that were found in the destruction debris. Ongoing chemical analysis of the mudbrick fabrics from the temple may help resolve these issues.

By the time of its final destruction, Building XVI was a palimpsest of modifications and additions that belonged to at least two phases of construction (**Table 4**), similar to the construction history of Building II. The first and primary construction phase, FP 2b, involved digging foundation trenches into a pre-existing structure of unknown nature and orientation, and constructing a new set of walls with wood-cribbing, the laying of the cobblestone paving around the temple, and the stone staircase approach. The basalt column base was erected in the portico, and the front partition walls stepped up onto a single, long cella. The second phase, FP 2a, consisted of modifications to the building, including the addition of the baked brick floor in the portico (likely requiring the fourth step to the portico stairway to account for the new surface), the partition walls between the central and inner rooms, and the baked brick podium in the inner sanctum. The infilling of the cobbled courtyard and the limestone basin must also belong to this later phase. The date of this later construction phase coincides with the Neo-Assyrian occupation of the site (i.e., late $8^{th}/7^{th}$ century BCE), in light of the artifactual and epigraphic remains recovered from the courtyard and especially from within the building (see below). The original construction phase of the building is therefore likely associated with the Syro-Anatolian period of the 9^{th}-8^{th} centuries BCE, which

is supported by early 8th C 14C dates from among and immediately above the cobblestone surface (Manning et al. in prep).

Pottery

The fill above the cobblestone surface immediately west of the temple—the portion that had not been exposed by the Expedition—was extremely rich in ceramic material (**Figure 17**; **Table 5**). This ceramic assemblage reflects closely the late 9th – early 7th century typology excavated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition (Osborne forthcoming). All of the major local ware types are present, including Common Ware, Painted Common Ware, Red Slipped Burnished Ware, and Local Bichrome Ware. Imported Cypro-Geometric and Greek Geometric sherds are also attested in small number, but Black-on-Red pottery is not present in the Field 2 material in and around the temple.

Common Ware Common Ware is the most frequent ware found in the Iron II/III contexts in Field 2, and consists of vessels with no discernible surface treatment. The clay is generally beige to pinkish buff in color, and is typically well oxidized. The fabric is not well levigated, and high quantities of white, black, and red inclusions are visible macroscopically. Platters are very common, as are a variety of bowl types (**Fig. 17:2, 11**), cf. Abou Danné IId (Lebeau 1983: pl. II:1-5), Afis D level 4 (Mazzoni 1987: fig. 16:2-4).

Since surface treatment is more rarely applied to larger closed vessels, Common Ware is very common in kraters, cf. ʻAcharneh (Cooper 2006: fig. 3:5-7), Abou Danné IId and IIc (Lebeau 1983: pls. XLI:4, XLII:7, CXI:4-5); jars, cf. Afis D level 6 (Mazzoni 1987: fig. 22:6,8-9), Mastuma I-2a (Wakita, Wada and Nishiyama 2000: 10.1); and pithoi, cf. Abou Danné IId (Lebeau 1983: pl. LXXXI:1-4), ʻAcharneh (Cooper 2006: 4:13-16, 10:4-10) (**Fig. 17:14-18, 24-25**).

Cooking pots also fall into this category, and there are two primary manifestations of this form: a shell-tempered cooking pot with beige fabric and an outward rolled rim, cf. Abou Danné IId (Lebeau 1983: pl. XLVII:1-4), Mastuma I-2a/b (Wakita, Wada and Nishiyama 2000: fig. 10:5-6); (**Fig. 17:20**), and a holemouth cooking pot with dark gray-black fabric and shiny stone inclusions, cf. Mastuma I-2b (Wakita, Wada and Nishiyama 2000: fig. 10:8), Qarqur (Dornemann 2003: fig. 82:18) (**Fig. 17:21**).

Painted Common Ware This ware type is essentially identical with Common Ware in all respects with the exception of added thin painted bands that are found in both monochrome (brown-red) and bichrome (brown-red and grey-black). The paint has been applied directly onto the clay. This painting tradition is most likely derived from the locally-produced painted Iron I pottery.

Red Slipped Burnished Ware (RSBW) RSBW is the most recognizable ware type in the Tayinat pottery assemblage from the Iron Age II and III. The fabric and firing is indistinguishable from Common Ware. The surface is covered in an orange-red slip and then burnished by hand or by wheel (see Whincop 2009 for a summary of RSBW finds in the Levant). This type of surface treatment is found primarily on platters, a wide variety of bowl forms, and basins, cf. Abou Danné IId (Lebeau 1983: pls. III:4-8, V:1-6, VI:5, XXII:3), Afis D level 4, G_C 7b, 8a, and 8b (Mazzoni 1987: fig. 16:1, 6; Cecchini 1998: fig. 18:5; 19:1; 20:7, 16-20, 28), Qarqur (Dornemann 2003: 81:11-12, 15-16; 82:10-12), and Ahmar 2 (Jamieson 2000: fig. 12:3-4) (**Fig. 17:1, 3-10, 13, 19**).

Local Bichrome Ware (LBW) LBW is, like RSBW, found primarily on open vessels, especially bowls and platters. The fabric is also identical to that of Common Ware and RSBW, and the ware type is thus clearly a local phenomenon. It is rare, even in the Expedition's material (Osborne forthcoming), and only a very small number of sherds were found in the Field 2 excavations (**Fig. 17:12, 26**). Insofar as the surface treatment is slipped and wheel burnished LBW resembles RSBW closely, but its slip is beige instead of red, and has brown and red painted bands on it, especially horizontal bands, but also triangular hatching and other patterns. No comparable parallels are found in the broader region, but Çatal Höyük, a large site in the east side of the Amuq Valley, also has Local Bichrome Ware in its Late Iron Age levels (Marina Pucci, personal communication), suggesting that the ware is a phenomenon highly localized in the Amuq.

Cypro-Geometric Ware This ware type is well known from Cyprus (Gjerstad 1948) as well as from Cilicia (Hanfmann 1963), where its discovery inside of kilns at Tarsus demonstrates that the ware's status as an import cannot be assumed. Typically the forms attested at Tayinat are stemmed vertical-sided bowls and barrel jugs, though only a few pieces are attested from Field 2 (**Fig. 17:29**). The clay has been well

fired to a homogeneous pink color, although green clays are also present, and the fabric is better levigated than the local wares. White Painted Ware vessels are coated with a beige slip on which has been painted black or brown patterns (often faded to light purple) on the interior and exterior, and Bichrome Ware is essentially identical save the addition of red painted bands. Geochemical analysis on Cypro-Geometric pottery from Tell Tayinat excavated in the 1930s and now in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago has demonstrated that some of these vessels are not genuine imports, but rather were produced locally (Karacic and Osborne 2016). Parallels are commonly found at coastal sites like Al Mina VIII (Taylor 1959: fig. 1:1-3, 5-6), Tarsus middle IA (Hanfmann 1963: fig. 122:391-7, 405), Tyre IX and X-2 (Bikai 1978: pl. XXIIA:15, XXVIII:5), Tweini (Bretschneider, Cunningham and Lerberghe 1999: fig. 26), though Cypro-Geometric pottery does appear in smaller quantities at sites inland, e.g., Hama E1 (Riis and Buhl 1990: fig. 82:652-3, 84:658).

Greek Geometric Ware A single small sherd of Greek Geometric pottery was found in the occupational debris above the cobble surface (**Fig. 17:28**). The piece is a rim sherd of a Geometric skyphos with a reserved band on the rim's interior. The fragment is too small to determine whether the original vessel was one of the pendent semicircle skyphoi about which much has been written (see, e.g., Kearsley 1989). Parallels are common in northern Levantine sites as well as further inland, including Afis D level 4 (Bonatz 1998: fig. 5:3), Al Mina 8/9 (Robertson 1940: fig. 1:a-k), Halaf (Hrouda 1962: taf. 69:188), Hama E1 (Riis and Buhl 1990: fig. 84:665-666), Mastuma I-2b (Wakita, Wada and Nishiyama 2000: fig. 9:4-5), and Tyre IX and X-I (Bikai 1978: pl. XXIIA:4, XXIV:6).

Unlike the exterior cobblestone surface, the pottery recovered from within Building XVI itself was found in a primary context, and has been discussed previously (Harrison and Osborne 2012). The central room was largely devoid of pottery, with the exception of a few isolated sherds. The inner sanctum, however, preserved a rich collection of complete vessels (**Figure 18**; **Table 6**) that have parallels with pottery from seventh century assemblages at sites in the Assyrian heartland, including Nimrud (Lines 1954; Oates 1963; Hausleiter 1999), Nineveh (Lumsden 1999), Khirbet Qasrij and Qasrij Cliff (Curtis 1989), as well as Assyrian contexts at sites in the provinces like Ziyaret Tepe (Matney *et al*.

2009: fig. 14). Such parallels clearly date the final use phase of Building XVI to the seventh century. In addition to epigraphic finds within the temple (see below) this date is vividly confirmed by an elaborately decorated Assyrian Glazed Ware basin (**Fig. 18:9**) that was found on the top step of the small staircase at the southwest corner of the baked brick podium.

Small Finds

Building XVI produced a rich and varied assemblage of objects whose spatial distribution is presented in **Figure 14**. As already noted, the portico and first threshold produced few artifactual remains. The situation in the central room was slightly different, having a number of small objects scattered throughout the burnt brick rubble. The inner sanctum, however, contained numerous cultic objects both on the floor of the room and on the podium. This innermost room of the building was densely packed with a rich assemblage of objects of all kinds, including the complete ceramic vessels described above, stone objects, and multiple metal finds in bronze and iron as well as a small number of gold and silver pieces.

Stone Objects A limestone roof roller was found in the collapsed brick fill of the central room of Building XVI, near the face of the eastern wall (**Figure 19:1**). Architecturally, the presence of a roof roller—used to seal the surface of buildings' roofs to improve their water resistance—in the destruction debris suggests the temple had only a single story.

An intact black cylindrical steatite pyxis with engraved Syro-Anatolian style decoration around its side was found lying upside down on the bottom step of the western podium steps (**Fig. 19:2**). Two holes, one in its base and one in its side, likely facilitated a swivel lid. The engraved scene depicts two seated figures on either side of a table laden with food items, with two additional figures slaughtering a supine bull, and clearly represents a feasting scene (Harrison and Osborne 2012: 135-7). Similar pyxides have been found at numerous sites in the region, though rarely as well preserved as this specimen; sites include Zincirli, Tell Afis, Tell Rifa'at, and Carchemish (see Mazzoni 2001 for complete listing and references).

Jewelry Twenty one beads were found in the temple (**Fig. 19:3-5**). Of these, one is of bone, one of ivory, one of glass, two of ceramic, and three were made of faience. The remaining 13 were comprised of a diverse array of semi-precious stones, especially banded agate and other chalcedonies. The shapes and sizes of the beads are equally diverse, with some being rounded and others long and thin, mostly circular in profile but also trapezoidal (T1815) (**Fig. 19:4**), hexagonal (T1702), and two long beads have two holes resulting in a double tubular shape (T1792 and T1914) (see Moorey 1994: 99-100 for discussion and attestations of chalcedony beads; Galter 1987: table 1). Spatially, the beads cluster primarily on the western side of the podium in the inner sanctum but were also present in the debris found within the central room. Parallels for the long tubular beads and faience beads are attested in seventh century deposits in Fort Shalmaneser (Curtis, Collon and Green 1993: fig. 14.8-13), and Khorsabad also provided beads in multifarious shapes, sizes, and materials (Loud and Altman 1938: Pl. 59:158; 60:159).

Metal Objects The northeast quadrant of the central room contained hundreds of fragments of heavily damaged bronze, including very thin pieces of sheet metal. A second large concentration of damaged pieces of bronze sheet metal similar to those found in the central room littered the surface of the podium immediately west of the altar-like installation that stood on the east side of the podium, and near the podium's west edge. The bronze assemblage on the podium and in the central room also included sixty five large and small sized nails (**Figure 20:1**), bosses, and four well-preserved holdfasts (**Fig. 20:2**), an assemblage that closely resembles a collection of bronze artifacts found in a late seventh century context at Nimrud's Fort Shalmaneser (Curtis, Collon and Green 1993: figs. 11, 13, 15, 18). Very similar holdfasts were also found in the King's Gate at Carchemish (Woolley 1952: Pl. 48.a) and in Hilani III at Zincirli (von Luschan and Andrae 1943: Abb. 146-7).

Because of their fragmentary condition the treatment, identification, and interpretation of these pieces is an ongoing project for conservation, and many remain unidentified. One possibility is that many, though not all, of the bronze objects derive from furniture fittings for items such as altars and thrones that stood in the central and inner rooms (Unruh 2014; see Curtis 1988: 87-9). The concentration of bronze fragments near the rear partition walls suggests tentatively that there may have been a partially clad

doorway, though no pivot-stones were found. Examples of strips of bronze sheet metal being attached to a wooden doorway with small bronze nails are the gates decorated in bronze that were found at the Assyrian site of Balawat (King 1915; Curtis and Tallis 2008), including one doorway from the site's Temple of Mamu, also a close architectural parallel to Building XVI (cf. Oates 1974: Pl. XXV). Curtis (2013: 56-8) notes that holdfasts like those found in Building XVI (**Fig. 20:2**) were used for the hinging and fastening of doors (see Curtis: Pl. XXVII, fig. A-C for illustrations of suggested uses of holdfasts), although they may also have served similar purposes for wooden furniture items.

Iron objects are significantly fewer in number than bronze. Six large iron pegs or rods of various shapes and profiles, and whose original function is still unclear, were found in the inner sanctum (**Fig. 20:3-4**) (cf. von Luschan and Andrae 1943: Abb. 139). Several of these (e.g., T1523, **Fig. 20:4**) had pseudomorphic wooden boss heads in a row along their length.

The largest iron object discovered in Building XVI was a round and concave item 50 cm in diameter found lying in front of the podium, between the central and inner rooms (**Figure 21)**. Ongoing conservation of this object, tentatively identified as a shield, indicates that although it is in poor condition it is largely complete, replete with a probable handle, a possible omphalos, bosses around the perimeter of an everted rim, and additional bosses in a configuration not yet completely mapped (Unruh 2018). Layard (1853) reported discovering iron shields at Nimrud that he was unable to preserve, otherwise only bronze examples are known (Barron 2010; 2011). Two examples from Room AB of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud are similar to the shield from Building XVI, although they are slightly larger and made out of bronze (Layard 1853: 194; Curtis 2013: 45, Pl. XVI). Barron (2011: 43-4) notes a textual reference from the time of Sargon II describing the suspension of round shields within temples, and points to the well-known palace relief depicting Sargon's conquest of the Urartian city of Muṣaṣir, whose temple to the city's titular deity Haldi is apparently decorated with round shields on the walls (Albenda 1986: pl. 113). Ten bronze shields bearing dedicatory inscriptions to Haldi have in fact been found on the floor of the temple courtyard of the mid-seventh century Urartian fortress of Ayanis, having fallen there from the surrounding walls and pillars (Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 2001: 161-3).

Two fibulae were excavated in the temple. One (TT_1110) was made of iron and was found in the central room (**Figure 22:1**). Though the iron is badly corroded, the remains of the spring on the back of the hook are still visible, as are a series of studs along its sides and top. The second (TT_1569) was made of gold and is better preserved, though less complete (**Fig. 22:2**). The gold fibula fragment was found at the northern side of the temple's portico, and is decorated with a series of bands. Fibulae similar to those excavated in Building XVI have been found at Khorsabad and Ziyaret Tepe, though primarily in bronze (Matney *et al*. 2009: fig. 8.C; Loud and Altman 1938: Pl. 59:136-45). A gold fibula from room J9 of the Nordpalast at Zincirli is a very close parallel to T1569 described here (von Luschan and Andrae 1943: Taf. 43.v).

Miscellaneous Objects Two pieces of statuary fragments were found above the cobblestone surface just west of the temple near the southern edge of G4.38 (see Figure 14). These two objects are inlay pieces of an eye, specifically, a stone eye socket (TT_1412) (**Figure 22:4**) and an ivory eye sclera with a hole for the missing iris and pupil (TT_1411) (**Figure 22:3**). No sign of adherent was found on the ivory eye, but the piece fits well in the stone socket. Their proximity to one another also suggests that the two objects belong together and derive from the same piece of statuary. Given the presence of several fragments of basalt Luwian hieroglyphs in this area (see below), it is possible that the eye comes from a statue with an associated inscription. A nearly identical parallel for the eye sclera was found in the earlier deposits of the renewed excavations in Fort Shalmaneser (Curtis, Collon and Green 1993: fig. 14.1).

Several other pieces of decorated ivory (T1375, SA4494-4496), this time from within the temple, were found in the southern portion of Building XVI's central room. One of these was badly charred in the destruction and is highly fragmentary, but four long thin pieces join to form an object 9.3 cm long, under one cm in width, and less than half a cm in height. The thin side of the object depicts an engraved running guilloche pattern, a common border motif, and this fragment is likely the edge of a significantly larger piece of ivory inlay.

A single scaraboid stamp seal (TT_1809) was excavated from the western edge of the podium in the inner sanctum. The scarab-shaped stamp is made out of ceramic, and measures 2.3 cm in length, 1.7

cm in width, and 0.97 cm in height (**Figure 22:5**). The flat side is engraved with a decorated pattern that is unfortunately worn and difficult to discern. The central element consists of upward-curving palmette leaves forming what appears to be a "tree-of-life" motif, and is flanked on both sides by two badly damaged standing figures. Similar stamp seals have been found in Late Assyrian contexts at Ziyaret Tepe (Matney *et al*. 2009: fig. 8.d-e) as well as at Khorsabad (Loud and Altman 1938: Pl. 58:97-112) and Zincirli (von Luschan and Andrae 1943: Taf. 38).

Epigraphic Material There are two discrete groups of epigraphic remains from Field 2. The first is a collection of eleven basalt fragments from a Luwian hieroglyph monument (or monuments). These fragments were found scattered across the exterior surface surrounding Building XVI, in and on the cobblestone pavement to the south and west of the building as well as on the brick surface behind the structure to the north. Much like many of the other 88 fragments of hieroglyphic Luwian excavated in the West Central Area by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition (Hawkins 2000: 361-78, Pls. 189-98)—a large number of which were found in the area of the same cobblestone surface—many of these fragments possibly join with inscription Tell Tayinat 2 (Hawkins 2000: 367-75, Pl. 193).[8]

The presence of fragments of a Luwian monument in and on the exterior surface near the temple brings to mind a then-isolated probe excavated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition. They uncovered dressed limestone blocks arranged in two squares sitting directly on top of the paving (depicted in the lower part of Figure 14), which appears to have served as a foundation for a free-standing monument (see Haines 1971: 45, pls. 74B and 103). It is tempting to conjecture that inscriptions such as Tell Tayinat 2 formed part of a monument that once stood on this platform (cf. Pucci 2008: Pl. 27). At present, the eleven pieces discovered in Field 2 are too fragmentary for translation, bearing only a small number of signs each. This may change with the discovery of additional fragments that might then combine to create larger, more legible passages of text.

The second group of inscriptions is a collection of fragmented cuneiform tablets that were found on the podium in the inner sanctum of Building XVI (Harrison and Osborne 2012: 137). The analysis completed to date (Lauinger 2011; 2012; 2016) has identified at least eleven discrete texts, all except one

preserving literary or historical documents. The most notable tablet, the large (40 cm x 28 cm) T-1801 (**Figure 23**), records an oath imposed by Esarhaddon on the unnamed governor (*bēl pāḫiti*) of Kunalia in 672 BCE (Lauinger 2012: 90), indicating that the destruction of the temple must post-date that year. The text of the Tayinat 'oath-tablet' closely parallels the 674 lines of the so-called Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon, eight copies of which were found in the throne room of a building adjacent to the Temple of Nabu in the Assyrian royal city of Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) during British excavations at the site in 1955 (Wiseman 1958).

In summary, TAP's excavations in Field 2 have brought to light the remains of two monumental structures (**Table 4**). The first is Building XIV, which, though impossible to date precisely, was likely constructed early in the late Iron I - early Iron II period. This building was a massive palace, though its plan is only discernible at the level of the foundations, and the TAP excavations have only exposed a tiny fraction of it. The second structure is the more modest Building XVI, a complete and well preserved temple with surrounding courtyard surface that contained an extraordinarily rich material cultural assemblage belonging to the Iron III, or Neo-Assyrian, occupation phase of Tell Tayinat, but that had an earlier phase of likely pre-Assyrian date.

FIELD 3

Field 3 (Square H3.77; see **Figure 3**) was opened in the southwest quadrant of the tell to determine whether this area of the mound could produce easily accessible horizontal exposures of Early Bronze Age remains. H3.77 was chosen because trenches excavated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition in this area (T-13, see Haines 1971: Pl. 93; Braidwood 1960: 13) had produced Early Bronze Age material. Its uppermost remains, however, included part of a large Iron II/III structure.

Architecture and Phasing

Field 3 is represented by a 4 x 10 m excavation trench (**Figure 24)**. The latest phase of occupation in this area consisted of a large wall (H3.77: 7) more than 2 m wide, running east-west across the square. The preserved portion of this wall was likely predominantly foundational material, consisting of hard, clayey mudbrick material rich in nari, with only a very minimal amount of superstructure extant.

A stone surface (H3.77: 9), composed of a thick layer of very small pebbles and medium sized cobbles, along with a number of flat lying sherds and bones, ran up against the north face of this wall. Based on the associated pottery, this architecture has been tentatively assigned to the late Iron II-Iron III period. Material recovered from fill immediately beneath this wall foundation (H3.77: 23) was also dated to the Iron II period, and overlay a series of earlier Iron I features.

The discovery of a major Iron II-III wall in Field 3 is significant because it suggests the presence of previously unidentified large-scale constructions in the southwestern portion of the mound, in close proximity to the Assyrian governor's residence Building IX, excavated during the 1930s (Haines 1971: 61-63).

Small Finds

There are a few notable small finds from Field 3 dating to the Iron II-III period (**Figure 25**), including an ostracon with a four letter alphabetic inscription that will be treated in more detail in future publications. Seven spindle whorls were found, predominantly made from pierced ceramic sherds. Also common were stone blade fragments (five examples, **Fig. 25:1**), and worked bone tools, including spatulae (five examples, **Fig. 25:2)**.

Another important object from this area was a complete, rectangular stone stamp seal, measuring 2.2 x 1.8 cm with a pierced handle. The seal design is of a deer, trees or other vegetation and a circular disk placed beneath the deer (**Fig. 25:3**). Also depicted is another animal, possibly a bird, located above the deer. This combination of elements is a common stamp seal design at Tell Tayinat in the Iron II-III periods (at least 12 examples from the 1930s excavations found in Building Periods 1 through 5 demonstrate that these design elements form a stylistic corpus); a similar combination of design elements is also found on scaraboids from Zincirli (Von Luschan 1943: Taf. 38n, p-q).

FIELD 4

Investigations in Field 4 were initiated on the western edge of the mound to re-examine Trench T-5 excavated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition (**Figure 3**) (Haines 1971: 57-58). Trench T-5 contained the

remains of the western wall of the city's fortification system, as well as a series of earlier floors in its very eastern extent, dating to "pre-Phase O" (Haines 1971: 58; Braidwood 1960: 13). While the primary remains exposed by TAP's excavations in this area consisted of a metal workshop dating to the Iron I period in this excavation area's Field Phase 3 (Welton *et al*. in prep.), some Iron II-III material was also unearthed belonging to Field Phase 2 (**Table 7**).

In the westernmost part of the excavation area, the foundations of the eastern (internal) edge of the city's western fortification wall (G3.34: 4) were identified cutting into surrounding Iron I layers, likely dating to the Iron II-III period (**Figure 26**). A 1 x 9 m trench opened along the southern edge of Square G3:33 succeeded in identifying an additional 9 m of poorly defined *in situ* mudbrick extending to the west (G3.33: 2). This corresponds well with the results of the 1930s excavations, whose plans of Trench T-5 suggest that the western fortifications measured as much as 40 m in width (Haines 1971: 57-58; Pl. 98A).

In Square G3.35 to the east, a stone paving spanned the entire northern edge of the square (G3.35: 3). This pavement sloped downward from its highest elevation in the western end of the square, descending by more than 1 m in elevation toward the east. A 2 x 9 m area opened along the western edge of Square G3:25 uncovered the continuation of the stone paving immediately below topsoil (G3.25:2), but the orientation of the pavement was such that this probe was unable to delineate its northern extent. Cores undertaken in Squares G3:36 and G3:25, however, permit a tentative reconstruction of the eastern and northern extent of this paving, respectively. Five meters to the east, in G3:36, stones were found at a depth of over 2 m, suggesting a continuation of the paving, but *in situ* mudbrick was instead discovered at ten meters east. To the north, in G3:25, the stone surface extended as far as 4.8 m north, but additional mudbrick was discovered at 5 m north (cf. G3.25: 3).

This paving is likely related to the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's Courtyard VIII, Area V and Gateway XII, which all belong to the Second Building Period (Haines 1971: 58, 64, Pl. 99). The stones of the Field 4 stone paving slope from an elevation of ca. 91.04 masl in the west (compare with 91.8 masl for the paving at the eastern end of T-5) to ca. 90.18 masl in the east. This lower elevation corresponds

well with the elevations given for Gateway XII (Haines 1971: 57), whose floor ranged from 89.75 masl in the south to 90.05 masl in the north. From here, there is evidence of a slope upward again to the east toward the West Central Area. In Area V, Floor 2a was associated with the Second Building Period by Haines, and its floors slope upward from west to east, between 91.8-92.65 masl elevation (Haines 1971: 64-65). Finally, the central part of Courtyard VIII was at an elevation of 94.45 masl, continuing to slope upward toward the front of Building I (ca. 97.12m, Haines 1971: 65). The purpose of the significant downward depression to the east of Field 4 and in the area of Gateway XII is thus far unexplained.

The illustration of the mudbrick and stone paving at the east end of Trench T-5 (Haines 1971: Pl. 98A) suggests the existence of an Iron II-III construction associated with the interior of the western fortification wall. This appears to be confirmed by the results of the excavations in Field 4, which have produced evidence of mudbrick or paving remains to the west, north and east of the Iron I metal workshop (see **Figure 26**). The presence of a small island of Iron I remains, surrounded by the foundations of significant Iron II-III constructions suggest the existence of a possible casemate or other chamber associated with the interior of the fortification wall.

FIELD 5

Field 5 is located on the east side of the upper mound (see **Figure 3**) approximately 100 m north of the area where the 1930s excavations discovered Gateway VII (Haines 1971: 60, Pls. 87 C and D, 110 A). The primary objectives of the excavations in this area were twofold: (1) to expose the entire Iron Age sequence of the site; and (2) to gain significant exposures of earlier settlement phases by means of a step trench down the east slope to the lower mound. Field 5 consists of a wide horizontal exposure in its uppermost, western extent (Squares F5.88, F5.99, and G5.08), and a long, 3 m wide step trench down the eastern slope of the upper tell (Squares F5.100, F6.91, F6.92, F6.93) (**Figure 27**).

Architecture and Phasing

The excavations in Field 5 revealed two primary stratigraphic phases, Field Phases 2 and 3 (**Table 8**). Field Phase 1 consists of topsoil, modern installations and recent disturbances, and a fourth

field phase includes limited exposures below FPs 2 and 3. FP 2 is the best represented stratum in Field 5, and consists of substantial mudbrick walls belonging to a large structure discovered immediately beneath the surface of the mound (**Figure 27**). FP 2 is subdivided into two periods of occupation, FPs 2d and 2b, each of which was followed by the accumulation of post-occupational debris, FPs 2c and 2a, respectively.

This large structure, which resembles an Assyrian-style courtyard building (see below), is located in F5.98, F5.99, and G5.08, and has two occupational phases, FP 2d, and 2b. It was constructed in FP 2d, its main phase, and modified in FP 2b. This rectilinear building measures at least 215 m^2 and is roughly oriented southwest/northeast. As yet, only the southern part of the building is exposed (F5.98: 5, 7, 9, 22, F5.99: 4, 5, 6, G5.08: 5, 6). The courtyard building is constructed from mudbricks characterized by their white nari inclusions. The interior faces of many of the walls were plastered with a white lime coating. These walls ranged in width from 1.1 m to 1.4 m and were well preserved up to 1.5 m in height (**Figure 28**).

The building's eastern boundary is demarcated by a substantial north/south wall running through the middle of F5.99 (F5.99: 6), while its southern extent is represented by a partially excavated east/west wall found in G5.08 (G5.08: 6). These two walls presumably corner in Square G5.09, as yet unexcavated. Within the building are four clearly identifiable rooms: Rooms A, B and C are three small cell-like rooms to the north of a much larger courtyard area, Room D, which appears to run the entire length of the building. The floor of the courtyard is scarped back mudbrick material. Rooms A and C were entered from Room D through doorways formed by slightly protruding piers, while the middle room, Room B, was entered through a doorway in Room A. Room A, the only completely excavated room, measured roughly 4.9 x 3.9 m, while Room D measured 13.7 x 5.3 m.

The courtyard building had a second phase of occupation, FP 2b, most clearly seen in F5.99, where after a brief hiatus in occupation (FP 2c) new surfaces were laid in Rooms C and D. Additionally, two ceramic installations were cut into Room D's FP 2b surface; a large complete krater was found near the door to Room C, and the base of a large pithos was found embedded in the center of the room. Inside

of this pithos base was found a small intact juglet that appears to have been deliberately placed there (for small finds inside the pithos see below).

In Square F5.99 two distinctive so-called "midden surfaces" were found running up to the exterior face of the eastern wall of the building (F5.99: 24, 44, 38, 46). These midden surfaces extended along the entire length of the eastern wall of the building. They were comprised of extremely dense concentrations of pebbles, pottery, and broken objects, as well as animal bones from a great diversity of species including bear, camel, gazelle, catfish, dog, and horse/donkey. The earlier surface (F5.99: 38/46) belongs to FP 2d and the later one (F5.99 24/44) to FP 2b, separated by a thin layer of accumulated sediments.

To the east of the courtyard building were found several associated walls constructed during FP 2d (see **Figure 27**). These walls serve as a revetment that supported the eastern side of the courtyard building and include a substantial 13 m long east/west wall abutting the courtyard building's eastern face that projects east across F5.100 and into F6.91 (F5.99: 32, F5.100: 9, F6.91: 4). Connected to this major east/west wall were several smaller, irregular walls, whose delineation was difficult to ascertain due to severe downslope erosion on the eastern side of the tell (F5.99: 27, 31, F5.100: 7, 15). These walls in F6.91, F5.100, and the eastern portion of F5.99 likely functioned as a revetment used to raise and consolidate the eastern side of the upper city and create a horizontal construction space.

Although the exposed area of the courtyard building is quite small compared with its possible full extent, its assumed large scale and rectilinear layout with a large courtyard are broadly comparable with Neo-Assyrian provincial architecture on the citadels of other Syro-Anatolian cities. The recently excavated 'Bronze Palace' on the east side of the upper tell at Ziyaret Tepe may be a strong parallel (Wicke and Greenfield 2013), especially in light of its analogous location in the city, a common feature of Neo-Assyrian palaces and residences. The same might be said of the suite of buildings that make up the Upper Palace at Zincirli. From its plan, therefore, it appears that this structure is an example of a Neo-Assyrian courtyard building. A more definitive discussion of this building's place in Neo-Assyrian provincial architecture has to await further excavation.

FP 3 walls and occupational debris were identified in small, limited probes inside the rooms of the courtyard building. More substantial evidence for this phase was found underneath the easternmost extension of the revetment walls in F5.100 and F6.91. In this downslope area was found an extremely wide 14.25 m mudbrick wall stretching across the eastern part of F5.100, all of F6.91, and the western part of F6.92. This very wide wall ran along the eastern crest of the upper mound on a north-south axis. Its stratigraphic position under the later FP 2 revetment walls place it firmly within FP 3, and likely within the Iron II period. Under it ran an earlier north-south mudbrick wall, FP 4, that has been only partially identified and exposed. How these constructions relate to the fortification systems on the west side of the upper mound (see Field 4 above), or to Gateway VII, both identified by the Expedition (Haines 1971), will be a future research question for TAP in the Field 5 excavations.

Pottery

The pottery recovered from the floors and in the occupational debris excavated inside the Courtyard Building of both FP 2d and FP 2b, as well as from the exterior midden surfaces, was broadly comparable to the assemblage from Field 2 (see description and parallels above) (**Figure 29** and **Table 9**). Ware types include Cypro-Geometric, Black-on-Red, and Greek Geometric imports, Assyrian Palace Ware, and the full complement of forms in local Red Slipped Burnished Ware, Painted Common Ware, and Local Bichrome Ware. This assemblage dates the Courtyard Building and the eastern revetment walls and fills to the late 8th-7th centuries BCE, placing it within the Iron III period, or Neo-Assyrian, occupation of the site.

Small Finds

A variety of small finds were found from the FP 2 levels in the Courtyard Building (**Figure 30**). Many of these objects are generally consistent with domestic activity, including groundstone basalt tools, spindle whorls, and loom weights. Other objects include ceramic figurines, worked bone tools, a faience bowl fragment, and a variety of iron tool fragments including nails and weaponry. In the pithos base embedded in the surface of Room D (see above) were found a complete juglet, a fragment of a basalt tripod bowl, a worked bone spatula and a small fragment of glass. Room D also produced two bullae from

occupational debris layers on top of the FP 2d surface. One bulla from F5.99 had two seal impressions (**Fig. 30:1**), while the other one found nearby in F5.98 had five impressions, two complete and three incomplete (**Fig. 30:2**).

A similar array of small finds was found in the midden surfaces of F5.99, including agate beads, an incised worked bone tool (**Fig. 30:3**), a serpentine container, possibly a kohl box (**Fig. 30:4**), a worked astragalus with four holes, two of which were filled with lead (**Fig. 30:5**), and two seals, one an ovoid stone stamp seal with a deer design (**Fig. 30:6**) and one a bone scaraboid also with a deer design (**Fig. 30:7**). The discovery of two bullae from the courtyard building's principle room, Room D, along with the two seals found in the midden surfaces just outside the building suggest the Courtyard Building played an administrative role in the city.

Lastly, a large cache of worked bone discs was found at the western end of F6.92 in a FP 2 debris locus. At least 40 such discs were found; most appear to be bone though some might be ivory. These discs closely parallel in form 76 round tokens discovered at Ziyaret Tepe (specifically, their token Type 3) that were found in Operation G/R, a large Neo-Assyrian administrative complex whose function is clear from accompanying tablets (MacGinnis et al. 2014). The tokens from Field 5's FP 2 thus help date the complex to the Neo-Assyrian period as well as provide support for its administrative function.[9]

DISCUSSION

The combined results from two excavation projects at Tell Tayinat, the large horizontal exposures of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition in the 1930s and the more targeted excavations of the ongoing Tayinat Archaeological Project, have resulted in a wealth of information concerning the archaeological record of the site, especially its Iron Age II and III levels. The built environment of the Syro-Anatolian city of Kunulua and the capital of the Neo-Assyrian province of Kinalia have undergone significant exposure. Detailed analysis has begun on many aspects of its artifactual remains, which collectively date the associated architectural features to the Iron Age II and III periods.

Because it is the last significant period of occupation on the site, the Iron III buildings of the Assyrian occupation render the architecture of the preceding period more difficult to discern. Beyond the palace compound, the Iron II period of the independent Syro-Anatolian city is poorly attested. Nevertheless, a picture is emerging of the diachronic changes that took place in Kunulua's settlement planning in association with the historical forces at play at the time, changes that could have significant interpretive ramifications for our understanding of the site's urban character. The available data thus permit the articulation of a series of hypotheses regarding the evolution of the site's spatial organization.

The first is that the Assyrian period saw a marked increase in the spatial extent of monumental construction that characterized Kunulua's upper city. As has been recognized since the 1930s, the Assyrians constructed an Assyrian-style palace, or governor's residency, on the southern portion of the tell (Building IX). In addition, we now know that the eastern sector of the upper mound also witnessed significant construction, this time in the form of a possible courtyard building in Field 5 of which only the southeastern corner has been discovered by TAP. A portion of yet another large Iron III structure was discovered in the southwestern quadrant of the tell in the small area so far exposed in Field 3. The nature of the structures underlying the governor's residency and possible courtyard building are unclear – the Chicago expedition describes the architecture uncovered in the limited soundings under Building IX only as domestic – but what seems certain is that pre-Assyrian monumental architecture has yet to be found anywhere beyond the palace compound and Gateway VII. What this suggests is that the Assyrians filled in the upper city of Kunulua with large structures such that the urban environment in this sector of the city became substantially denser with elite buildings.

A corollary of this proposition is that during the time of the independent city-state of Patina/'Unqi, elite settlement in the city of Kunulua's upper city was more limited. Excavation in the eastern extent of Field 5's step trench discovered what appears to have been the Iron II fortification wall running around the perimeter of the upper city; no other unambiguously Iron II buildings have yet been found by TAP beyond the palace area. Additional excavation, of course, especially under the Assyrian governor's residency Building IX (space that is today occupied by a cotton factory) might alter this

picture. For now, it seems likely that Kunulua's Iron II upper city beyond the palace compound had fewer monumental buildings than in the following Assyrian period, with large areas of open space present, such as between its entrance through Gateway VII on the east slope of the tell to the palace compound in the West Central Area. This reconstruction may change with further research, however, especially given our relative lack of information for areas beyond the West Central Area. (Unpublished non-elite architecture found in isolated trenches across the tell are also mentioned in the notes of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition, building fragments that appear to belong to the first millennium but that cannot be placed accurately into the sequence of the site.) Excavations in Field 1 have also indicated that the palace compound was artificially elevated, further heightening its visual significance that was already emphasized by the apparent lack of obstructing buildings. It is thus possible that we should consider the upper city of the Syro-Anatolian city of Kunulua primarily a "regal-ritual" space (Fox 1977), one primarily concerned with daily rituals, seasonal festivals, and other ceremonial spectacles of states, as has been argued for Iron II Jerusalem (Stager 2003: 66). This, in fact, corresponds well with recent archaeological research on Syro-Anatolian cities that has been stressing their emphasis on ritual and performance (e.g., Denel 2007; Gilibert 2011; Harmanşah 2013; Harrison 2013; 2017; Osborne 2014). The discovery of bullae, a stamp seal, tokens, and a scaraboid in Field 5's courtyard building perhaps indicates a shift in urban function toward a more administrative role upon its incorporation as an Assyrian provincial capital.

In addition to the Assyrians' desire to fill the urban space of the citadel with monumental structures, another salient point raised by TAP is their re-use of already-existing structures in the palace compound, such that there is also a large degree of architectural continuity in this area. This has long been recognized with respect to Building I, the most substantial of the *bīt-ḫilāni* palaces built during the Iron II period and continuing through multiple Iron III phases. TAP has indicated the same to be true of Building XVI, the newly discovered tripartite temple in Field 2 as well as Building II in Field 1, whose stratigraphy indicates multiple phases of use including at least one phase prior to the final rebuilding and, in the case of Building XVI, the terminal Assyrian use-phase dated securely by the Esarhaddon oath tablet discovered there. This policy of re-using—instead of simply destroying—the local structures of state and

religion perhaps points toward a conscious decision on the part of the Assyrian conquerors not to enforce their hegemony solely through a radical imposition of a new urban built environment, but to incorporate preexisting symbolic structures into the new ideological infrastructure. A number of motivations for doing so can be envisioned, especially the desire to use local architectural traditions in order to ease the transfer of Patina's political status from independent city-state to Assyrian province.

A similar interplay of change and continuity is attested in the material culture presented here. For example, the ceramics, small finds, and epigraphic discoveries found within the burnt remains of Field 2's Building XVI clearly derive from the Assyrian heartland and differ starkly from local material found in the fill above the same building's exterior cobblestone surface (cf. **Figures 17** and **18**). Based on items like the Esarhaddon oath tablet on display and Assyrian pots like the glazed ware vessel, at the time of its destruction the temple was being used strictly for Assyrian ritual-performative purposes. At the same time, however, the courtyard building in Field 5, while likely Assyrian in architectural plan, contained clear evidence for material continuity with local traditions (e.g., **Figure 29**), even while evidence for Assyrian administration appeared. What this reflects in terms of shifting demographics is unclear, but it seems apparent that processes of transformation from the Iron II to Iron III periods took place in various ways, and at different paces, in specific functional contexts.

Similar patterns emerge at a number of neighboring urban centers in the Syro-Anatolian region that were incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire, providing a broader regional context for the changes observed at Tayinat. Renewed excavations at the site of Carchemish, for example, have shed new light on the Lower Palace area of the Inner town, where excavations in the early twentieth century by the British Museum uncovered monumental Iron II structures accompanied by a rich suite of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and orthostats with relief decoration, including features such as the Herald's Wall, Processional Entry, King's Gate, and the Long Wall of Sculpture (Woolley 1952). A joint Turkish-Italian project has expanded our understanding of the area's built environment by uncovering the remains of an Iron II palace built by Katuwa around 900 BCE in Area C, immediately east of the Processional Entry (Phase 10; Pizzimenti and Zaina 2016: Table 1). Crucially, these excavations have

also provided evidence of the re-use of this palace by Sargon in Phase 9, confirmed through inscriptions on baked bricks naming the building the Palace of Sargon.

Although detailed final reports are not yet available, preliminary descriptions and plans of the renovations made to Katuwa's palace – which apparently had the Processional Entry and the Herald's Wall as its western and northern boundaries, respectively – during the Iron III period (Phase 9) suggest that the building's fundamental layout remained intact even while its surfaces were replaced by the Neo-Assyrian alternating black-and-white pebble mosaic surface, the sculpted orthostats that lined the Phase 10 walls were removed from view, and some interior spaces were further subdivided (Marchetti 2015: 367-369, Figs. 9-14; Pizzimenti and Zaina 2016: 364-366, Fig. 2). This situation seems broadly comparable to the re-use of *bīt-ḫilāni* Building I at Tayinat in the Assyrian period, although for now it remains difficult to say more than this.

At Tell Afis, located in the Idlib province of northwest Syria approximately 55 km southeast of Tayinat, similar evidence for continuity is observed. Afis was likely the ancient city of Hazrak, capital of Luʻash, as identified by the Stele of Zakkur that was found at the site in the early twentieth century, but the Iron III remains from the site's upper mound are badly preserved due to much later robbing of the building material, rendering its layout challenging to reconstruct during this period. The primary structure in this part of the site was a 38/32 x 28 m *in antis* temple that appears to have been in continuous use across the Iron II-III transition with only minor modifications (Temple A1-2; Mazzoni 2014: 44-46).

However, Tell Afis also provides contemporary evidence for significant changes to the built environment. East of the temple precinct was found the enigmatic Building G, a 20 x 20 m open-air structure sunk five meters into the ground and extending above the ground a further three meters with no apparent access at ground level, which was built in the eighth century (Cecchini 2014: Fig. 10). Unlike the nearby Temple A1-2, following its late-eighth century destruction – possibly at the hands of the Assyrians, possibly because of an earthquake (Cecchini 2014: 62) – it was not rebuilt but was rather used as a waste dump in the seventh century. The upper city of Tell Afis, therefore, presents two major Iron II

structures with widely diverging trajectories from the Iron II into the Iron III periods: one that was reused without substantial modification and one that was destroyed and converted into a site for refuse.

Located just twenty kilometers south of Carchemish on the Euphrates, Tell Ahmar – ancient Til-Barsip/Masuwari, capital of Bit-Adini – experienced a dramatically different historical and archaeological trajectory from its neighbor to the north. Til-Barsip was seized over a century earlier by Shalmaneser III in 856 BCE, providing the Assyrians with a permanent foothold on the Euphrates. Renaming it Kar-Shalmaneser, Shalmaneser established it as an important forward base for Assyrian forces in their future campaigns to the west. The archaeological record closely reflects the geopolitical situation of Til-Barsip/Kar-Shalmaneser, but even here the evidence is ambiguous. The original palace of the early first millennium, Stratum 5 in the terminology of the renewed excavations (Bunnens 2009), was replaced with a large palace closely reminiscent of Assyrian palaces in their own capital cities, with elaborate wall paintings taking the place of sculpted orthostats (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936). However, the precise date of this complex's construction is unclear. Shalmaneser III describes building a palace at Til-Barsip upon conquest (Grayson 1996: A.0.102.2, ii lines 33-34), but findings on the upper mound by the recent excavations suggested to the excavators that the Stratum 5 buildings, including the monumental "Bâtiment est," remained in use for several decades after 856 BCE with the construction of the Assyrian palace taking place only in the eighth century (Bunnens 2009: 73, 78). If that is true, then even in Kar-Shalmaneser continuity of monumental architecture is attested, at least initially.

Perhaps the most significant evidence for substantial change at the Iron II-III transition comes from Tell Halaf, the 75 ha Iron Age city of Gozan. Gozan was the capital of Bit-Baḫiani until it was defeated by Adad-nirari III in 808 BCE, by which time it had become an Assyrian province. The site's impressive architectural and decorative programs were exposed by a German project prior to World War I and in the late 1920s and, until the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War, by a joint Syrian-German expedition. The architectural finds of the original project produced an upper city that resembles the spatial organization of Tayinat in many ways (Osborne 2014: 202-204). Among these similarities are a large *bīt-ḫilāni* palace on the west side of the citadel – the Palace of Kapara, so-called after the inscriptions naming

him found on orthostats lining the walls and the caryatid columns of the portico – whose precise dating has been much debated (for references, see Younger 2016: Table 4.1), and an Assyrian governor's residency, or "Northeast Palace," at its northeast corner (Naumann 1950: Pl. 2). The recent work on the upper mound resumed excavation in both areas, with Sectors A and C referring to the *bīt-ḫilāni* and the governor's residence, respectively (Baghdo et al. 2009; 2012). In Sector A, the *bīt-ḫilāni* remained in use following the end of the Kapara dynasty as demonstrated by glazed tiles and fragments of Assyrian reliefs in its debris, and by the fact that no Assyrian-period building was constructed above it.

Elsewhere on the citadel, however, more substantial changes seem to have taken place than are yet attested at Tayinat, such as the leveling of much of its southern and eastern quadrants with massive mudbrick terraces to serve as foundations for new monumental constructions, especially the large Assyrian governor's residence in Sector C that is now known to extend across the upper mound's entire eastern side, incorporating buildings that were thought to be separate entities by the original excavators (Novák 2013: 273-274, Fig. 11). This remodeling following the city's incorporation into the Assyrian Empire thus appears to be a more significant investment of energy, and a more dramatic architectural transformation, than is attested in neighboring capital cities in the Syro-Anatolian region.

The situation at Tell Halaf contrasts starkly with the evidence from Zincirli Höyük, the site of ancient Sam'al, a regional capital 100 km to the north of Tayinat that was incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire – this time at an unknown date, but late in the 8th century in an apparently peaceful transition. Turn of the century German excavations uncovered large portions of the city's Iron Age citadel (von Luschan et al. 1898; von Luschan and Jacoby 1911), while an ongoing German-American excavation has exposed wide areas of the lower town as well as mapped a large percentage of it via remote sensing (Casana and Herrmann 2010). Zincirli's upper town has multiple *bīt-ḫilāni* structures, none of which seem to have gone out of use at any point. The first to be built were Buildings J and K in the mid-ninth century, including the Kulamuwa stele in the portico of Building J, followed by the Northwest Palace complex of the mid-late eighth century. The latter was built by Barrākib to expand the already existing palaces by adding a large courtyard and two more *bīt-ḫilāni*s to them (Hilanis III and IV).

This was followed by the seventh-century Palace G complex, a separate series of *bīt-ḫilāni* structures around a courtyard that presumably served as the Assyrian governor's residence (Herrmann 2017: 294). What the upper city of Zincirli seems to show, therefore, is a gradual accumulation of monumental buildings until its final seventh century plan was achieved, rather than an abrupt reordering of the upper city's spatial logic at any one point, as took place at Tell Halaf (even as its own pre-Assyrian *bīt-ḫilāni* also remained in use).

The excavations in the lower town at Zincirli, meanwhile, have demonstrated a similar sequence of progressive monumentalization. Agglutinated domestic buildings from early in Sam'al's independent existence were gradually replaced with larger-scale structures in the mid-eighth century before being replaced again with monumental courtyard buildings in the seventh century, a process that Herrmann (2017: 299-306) interprets as a gradual process of political centralization and social stratification. Ultimately, the city's formal incorporation into the Neo-Assyrian Empire appears to have had little immediate effect on its urban layout, which instead underwent gradual modification over the course of two centuries (Herrmann 2017: 308; Herrmann and Schloen 2016: 272).

Other excavated sites could be drawn upon to understand Assyrian imperial dynamics in southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria (see papers in MacGinnis, Wicke, and Greenfield 2016), but those discussed above provide the best political parallels for Tayinat as the primary urban centers of Syro-Anatolian polities that were incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire. There remain regions where very little is known about this period, such as Cilicia, where only Tarsus and Kinet Höyük have so far produced excavated Iron III remains (Lehmann 2016: 328). The comparisons above have focused on the better-known citadel areas, leaving aside these cities' lower towns (see Osborne 2016; Herrmann 2017), because the evidence from Tayinat as yet originates only from the upper mound. But even this brief assessment of Iron II and III remains from five Syro-Anatolian capital cities as they transitioned into provincial status, combined with the results from Tell Tayinat presented above, demonstrate a diverse variety of urban modifications made to these cities' monumental structures and urban built environments.

CONCLUSION

In broad terms, the two patterns noted at Tayinat – the increased spatial extent of monumentality in the upper city during the Iron III and continued use of Iron II structures – are also attested in other similar cities. Building I at Tayinat, Katuwa's palace at Carchemish, the Palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf, Temple A at Tell Afis, Buildings J and K at Zincirli, and (briefly) the "Bâtiment est" at Tell Ahmar all saw continued use following the arrival of Assyrian administration. Likewise, with the exception of Tell Afis and Carchemish, where new eighth century monumental buildings are not yet attested, each of these cities also underwent new building projects in the Iron III, including governor's residences (Tayinat, Halaf, Zincirli), full-scale palace complexes (Ahmar), and other large-scale structures (Tayinat, Field 5). Nevertheless, there does not appear to be a discernible, conscious Assyrian strategy of replicating the same urban built environment in each Syro-Anatolian city that they conquered. None of these cities' urban trajectories is exactly alike, at least on present knowledge, and they alternate between rapid change (Ahmar), slow developments (Zincirli), and a range in between. It is possible that greater excavation will provide us with an improved sensitivity to diachronic changes in Assyrian urban planning in the provinces, but for now it can only be said that each upper city experienced changes to its built environment in its own way following incorporation into the imperial administration.

It follows that assessments of material and spatial continuity and change in Syro-Anatolian cities that underwent political transitions from independent (or vassal) to provincial status after having been conquered by the Neo-Assyrian Empire have to pay close attention to the archaeological evidence for such transformations on a building-by-building scale. Only this kind of fine-grained, diachronic urban analysis will enable us to determine how the transition to empire took place in particular settings. These provisional answers to questions concerning the nature of the built environment of the Syro-Anatolian city and its Assyrian provincial successor continue to shape TAP's excavation strategy, allowing increasingly clear reconstructions with ongoing research at Tell Tayinat and neighboring cities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Tayinat Archaeological Project's excavations have been supported by research grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC), the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) and the University of Toronto, for which we are deeply grateful. We wish also to thank the Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums of Turkey, which has graciously awarded the research permits necessary to conduct each of our excavation seasons, the ministry representatives who have supported our fieldwork each season, the directors and staff of the Hatay Archaeological Museum, and the Tayinat landowners who have generously permitted us to work on their land.

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Table 1.

Syrian-Hittite Expedition Phases	Dates Proposed in Haines 1971
First Building Period	ca. 875-825 BCE
Second Building Period	ca. 825-720 BCE
Third Building Period	ca. 720-680 BCE
Fourth Building Period	7th century
Fifth Building Period	6th century

Table 2.

Field Phases in Field 1	Approximate Dating	Field 1 Architecture
Field Phase 1	modern topsoil	N/A
Field Phase 2a	Iron Age III	renovations to Building II
Field Phase 2b	Iron Age II	Building II construction
Field Phase 2c	early Iron Age II(?)	mudbricky fill above surface
Field Phase 2d	early Iron Age II	pebble and sherd surface; deep cut
Field Phase 3-6	Iron Age I	domestic architecture
Field Phase 7-9	Early Bronze Age IVB	large-scale building (Welton et al. 2011)

Table 3.

Fig. No.	Sherd No.	Locus	Form	Paste Color	Inclusions	Decoration
13.1	TT05.G4.35.47.2	20	Platter	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	moderate black and white grits	red slip, hand burnish
13.2	TT05.G4.35.20.1	6	Platter	7.5YR 5/4 brown	few grey and red grits	red slip; hand burnish on rim and int.
13.3	TT05.G4.35.51.2	6	Platter	5YR 6/4 light reddish brown	high black, white grey, red grits	red slip, hand burnish
13.4	TT07.G4.36.64.1	20	Platter	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	moderate black, gray, red grits	red slip, hand burnish
13.5	TT05.G4.35.20.3	6	Platter	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	moderate white, grey, white, shell grits	red slip and hand burnish on int.
13.6	TT05.G4.35.50.1	6	Platter	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	moderate white, grey, red grits, chaff	red slip, wheel burnish

13.7	TT05.G4.35.47.3	20	Bowl	7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow	moderate black, gray, red grits	red slip, hand burnish
13.8	TT07.G4.36.32.2	4	Bowl	7.5YR 7/4 pink	few black and white grits	red slip, hand burnish
13.9	TT07.G4.36.29.3	4	Bowl	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	moderate black, white, and red grits	red slip, hand burnish
13.10	TT07.G4.36.34.1	4	Cooking Pot	5YR 4/1 dark gray	moderate white grits	none
13.11	TT05.G4.35.51.1	6	Cooking Pot	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	high black grits, shell temper	none
13.12	TT05.G4.35.64.22	18	Jug	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	few black, white, and red grits	red slip ext.
13.13	TT07.G4.36.42.3	6	Jug	7.5YR 5/4 brown	moderate white, red grits	red slip, hand burnish
13.14	TT05.G4.35.44.9	18	UD	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	few black and white grits	red slip ext.
13.15	TT07.G4.36.34.2	4	Jar	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	few white grits	white slip, red, black paint, Cypro-Geometric ware

Table 4

Field Phases in Field 2	**Approximate Dating**	**Field 2 Architecture**
Field Phase 1	modern topsoil and activity (e.g., 1930s excavation trenches)	
Field Phase 2a	Iron III	renovations
Field Phase 2b	Iron II	Building XVI construction
Field Phase 3	Iron II(?)	pre-Building XVI features
Field Phase 4	late Iron I - early Iron II	Building XIV
Field Phase 5	Iron I	isolated walls and features cut by Building XIV

Table 5.

Fig. No.	Sherd No.	Locus	Form	Paste Color	Inclusions	Decoration
17.1	TT09.G4.37.18.4	7	Platter	7.5YR 7/4 pink	few black grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.2	TT09.G4.37.44.72	6	Platter	10YR 6/3 pale brown	few black and white grits	none
17.3	TT09.G4.37.18.28	7	Bowl	7.5YR 7/4 pink	few black and white grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.4	TT09.G4.37.25.1	7	Platter	5YR 5/6 yellowish red	few white and gray grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.5	TT09.G4.37.43.150	7	Platter	10R 4/1 dark reddish gray	moderate black, white grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.6	TT09.G4.37.44.94	6	Bowl	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	few black and white grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.7	TT09.G4.37.42.56/70	7	Bowl	10R 5/1 reddish gray	moderate black, white grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.8	TT09.G4.37.29.52	7	Bowl	10YR 4/1 dark gray	moderate white, red grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.9	TT09.G4.37.21.24	7	Bowl	7.5YR 5/1 gray	few black, white, and red grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.10	TT09.G4.37.25.6	7	Bowl	7.5YR 7/4 pink	few black grits	red slip
17.11	TT09.G4.37.33.44	7	Bowl	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	few black and white grits	none
17.12	TT09.G4.37.44.77	6	Bowl	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	few black and white grits	beige slip and wheel burnish, red and dark brown paint; Local Bichrome Ware
17.13	TT09.G4.37.44.65	6	Basin	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	few white, black, gray grits	red slip, wheel burnish
17.14	TT09.G4.37.23.10	7	Krater	7.5YR 7/4 pink	few black and white grits	none

17.15	TT09.G4.37.18.1	7	Krater	5YR 7/4 pink	moderate black and white grits	none
17.16	TT09.G4.37.30.1	7	Jar	10YR 7/3 very pale brown	moderate black and white grits	none
17.17	TT09.G4.37.25.7	7	Jar	7.5YR 7/3 pink	few black and gray grits	none
17.18	TT09.G4.37.33.27	7	Jar	7.5YR 8/3 pink	few black and red grits	none
17.19	TT09.G4.37.43.142	7	Jug	7.5YR 7/4 pink	few black and white grits	red slip
17.20	TT09.G4.37.44.73	6	Cooking Pot	10R 6/3 pale brown	black, white, red grits andshell	none
17.21	TT09.G4.37.42.54	7	Cooking Pot	5YR 6/4 light reddish brown	few black and white grits	impressions
17.22	TT09.G4.37.21.51	7	Cooking Pot Lid(?)	7.5YR 6/3 light brown	moderate shell temper	none
17.23	TT09.G4.37.37.1	7	Cooking Pot	10YR 7/3 very pale brown	moderate black grits, shell	none
17.24	TT09.G4.37.29.58	7	Pot Stand	10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown	moderate gray, white, red grits	none
17.25	TT09.G4.37.35.12	7	Pithos	5YR 6/1 gray	moderate black, gray, red grits	none
17.26	TT09.G4.37.44.107	6	Juglet	10YR 8/3 very pale brown	few black grits	red, dark brown, black paint; Local Bichrome Ware
17.27	TT09.G4.37.21.2	7	Jar	5YR 7/6 reddish yellow	few black and white grits	beige slip, wheel burnish, light and dark brown paint
17.28	TT09.G4.37.37.25	7	Skyphos	2.5YR 6/8 light red	few white grits	black paint, reserved strip on int; Greek Geometric
17.29	TT09.G4.37.44.99	6	Bowl	5YR 7/6 reddish yellow	few black and white grits	white slip, black paint; White Painted Ware

Table 6.

Fig. No.	Sherd No.	Locus	Form	Paste Color	Inclusions	Decoration
18.1	TT09.G4.28.61.1	4	Oil Lamp	7.5YR 5/1 gray	moderate black and white grits	none
18.2	TT09.G4.28.55.1	4	Oil Lamp	7.5YR 5/1 gray	moderate black grits	none
18.3	TT09.G4.28.62.1	4	Oil Lamp	10YR 6/2 light brownish gray	few black grits	none
18.4	TT09.G4.28.64.1	4	Jar	7.5YR 7/4 pink	moderate black grits	none, partially vitrified
18.5	TT09.G4.28.63.1	4	Jar	7.5YR 6/1 gray	few black grits	none, partially vitrified
18.6	TT09.G4.28.40.5	4	UD	10YR 5/1 gray	none	none
18.7	TT09.G4.28.60.1	4	Pot Stand	7.5YR 7/3 pink	moderate black and white grits	none
18.8	TT09.G4.28.59.1	4	Bowl	7.5YR 7/4 pink	few black grits	none, partially vitrified
18.9	TT09.G4.28.57.1	4	Krater	5YR 4/1 dark gray	few black grits	heavily vitrified; bull and rosette glaze decoration: Assyrian Glazed Ware
18.10	TT09.G4.28.69.8	15	Pithos	7.5YR 6/4 light reddish yellow	moderate black and quartz grits	rope applique impressions
18.11	TT09.G4.48.109.20	11	Krater	7.5YR 7/2 pinkish gray	high black and white grits	grooved shoulder, hole in base, three handles

Table 7.

Field Phases in Field 4	Approximate Dating	Field 4 Architecture
Field Phase 1	modern topsoil and activity (e.g., 1930s excavation trenches)	
Field Phase 2	Iron II/III	fortification wall and stone paving
Field Phase 3	Iron I	metal workshop

Table 8.

Field Phases in Field 5	Approximate Dating	Field 5 Architecture
Field Phase 1	modern topsoil and activity	
Field Phase 2a	Iron III	post-occupational debris
Field Phase 2b	Iron III	renovations, second exterior midden layer
Field Phase 2c	Iron III	post-occupational debris
Field Phase 2d	Iron III	courtyard building construction, first exterior midden layer
Field Phase 3	Iron II(?)	fortification wall(?)
Field Phase 4	Iron I(?)	fortification wall(?)

Table 9.

Fig. No.	Sherd No.	Locus	Form	Paste Color	Inclusions	Decoration
29.1	TT08.F5.98.78.6	18	Basin	10YR 7/3 very pale brown	moderate white, grey grits	red slip, hand burnish
29.2	TT08.F5.99.73.10	21	Bowl	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	few grits, grog, and chaff	red slip, wheel burnish
29.3	TT09.F9.99.150.1	46	Bowl	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	few grits and grog	white slip, black painted bands, interior red painted band; Bichrome Ware
29.4	TT08.F5.98.43.1	14	Bowl	5YR 7/4 pink	few black and white grits, grog	
29.5	TT08.F5.99.70.4	24	Bowl	10YR 6/3 pale brown	few chaff, moderate grits	red slip, burnishing on rim, black painted bands on exterior; Black-on-Red Ware
29.6	TT09.F5.100.5.1	2	Skyphos	7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	few grits	interior black paint, exterior black painted bands; Greek geometric pendent semicircle skyphos
29.7	TT09.F5.99.102.2	24	Skyphos	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	few black and white grits, grog	interior black paint, exterior black and red paint; Greek geometric pendent semicircle skyphos

29.8	TT09.F5.98.82.35	23	Bowl	7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	few grits	exterior self slip
29.9	TT09.F6.91.13.4	8	Cooking Pot	10YR 6/3 pale brown	many shell	
29.10	TT08.F5.99.65.4	21	Cooking Pot	7.5YR 2.5/1 black	many shell and grits	
29.11	TT08.F5.98.79.1	16	Cooking Pot	5YR 3/4 dark reddish brown	many black and white grits	incised handle and applied molding
29.12	TT08.F5.98.67.2	18	Cooking Pot	5YR 5/1 gray	moderate grits	
29.13	TT08.F5.98.78.7	18	Jar	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	many grits and shell	
29.14	TT08.F598.62.1	15	Jar	5YR 7/6 reddish yellow	moderate grits	
29.15	TT08.F5.98.37.1	8	Storage Jar	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	moderate black and white grits, grog	
29.16	TT09.G5.08.28.1	4	Jug	10YR 8/3 very pale brown	moderate black and white grits, grog	black painted bands; White Painted Ware
29.17	TT09.F5.99.145.95	46	Juglet	2.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown	few grits	white slip, black painted bands, exterior red painted band; Bichrome Ware
29.18	TT09.F5.100.31.47	12	Krater	10YR 4/1 dark gray	moderate black and white grits, grog	
29.19	TT08.F5.99.63.36	21	Krater	10YR 8/3 very pale brown	moderate shell, grit, grog	
29.20	TT08.F5.99.63.35	21	Platter	10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown	moderate white grits	red slip, wheel burnish
29.21	TT08.F5.99.73.4	21	Platter	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	few white grits and grog	red slip, wheel burnish
29.22	TT08.F5.99.65.1	21	Platter	7.5YR 6/4 light brown	few white grits and grog	red slip, hand burnish

TABLE CAPTIONS

Table 1. Architectural phases reconstructed by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition and their proposed tentative dates (Haines 1971: 66; cf. Snow forthcoming).

Table 2. Stratigraphic summary of Field 1.

Table 3. Descriptive details of the pottery illustrated in Figure 13.

Table 4. Stratigraphic summary of Field 2.

Table 5. Descriptive details of the pottery illustrated in Figure 17.

Table 6. Descriptive details of the pottery illustrated in Figure 18.

Table 7. Stratigraphic summary of Field 4.

Table 8. Stratigraphic summary of Field 5.

Table 9. Descriptive details of the pottery illustrated in Figure 29.

FIGURE CAPTIONS

Figure 1. Aerial photograph of Tell Tayinat, looking southwest. The Orontes River is visible south of the site. (*Photograph by Murat Akar*).

Figure 2. Map of the Amuq Valley showing the location of Tell Tayinat and its port of al Mina. *Inset*: location of the Amuq Valley in the northern Levant at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean. (*Map by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne*)

Figure 3. Contour plan of Tell Tayinat overlaid on a CORONA satellite photograph of the site (DS1112-2203DA039), with excavation Fields of the Tayinat Archaeological Project. The large, light grey area on the western part of the tell is the 1930s excavation's West Central Area; the cotton factory now on the south edge of the tell corresponds to the location of the Assyrian governor's palace also discovered in the 1930s. The colored dots over the lower settlement represent surface sherd collections per 40 m^2 confirming first millennium settlement in the area. (*Map by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne*)

Figure 4. Sand found in coring to the west and northwest of Tayinat, indicating the likely presence of a marshy body of water in this area. (*Photograph by S. Batiuk*)

Figure 5. Illustration of a city ‘Unqi and a body of water from Band V of the bronze gates at Balawat (King 1915: Pl. XXVII).

Figure 6. The palace compound of Kunulua during the Second Building Period, ca. 825-738 BCE. This reconstruction follows Pucci (2008: 137-8, pl. 32), who assigned Gateway XII to the First Building Period and the later structure in Area V illustrated here to the Second Building Period on the basis of recorded elevations and construction techniques, in contrast to the excavators (cf. Haines 1971: pls. 106-7). (*Map made by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne*)

Figure 7. Field 1, Field Phase 2d. Iron II remains pre-dating Building II consists of a sherd and pebble street running across the extent of the area (*Map by S. Batiuk, J. Osborne, and L. Welton*)

Figure 8. Field 1, Field Phase 2b. Iron II remains correspond to the Second Building Period and consist of the sub- and superstructure remains of temple Building II originally discovered in the 1930s. The outline of Building II is overlaid over TAP’s findings. (*May by S. Batiuk, J. Osborne, and L. Welton*)

Figure 9. Objects discovered in Field 1. (1) Loom weight, unbaked clay, TT_198, TT05.G4.66, L7, P17; (2) Spindle whorl, serpentine, TT_886, TT07.G4.66, L87, P218; (3) Bead, blue glass, TT_508, TT06.G4.65, L61, P185; (4) Bead, carnelian, TT_509, TT06.G4.65, L61, P185; (5) Bead, faience, TT_849, TT07.G4.66, L81, P199; (6) Pendant, gold, TT_337, TT06.G4.56, L107, P160; (7) Anthropomorphic figurine, ceramic, TT_350, TT06.G4.65, L53, P129; (8) Seal, stone (serpentine?), TT_726, TT07.G4.65, L94, P250; (9) Seal impression, unbaked clay, TT_913, TT07.G4.66, L88, P226; (10) Stamp steal, serpentine, TT_412, TT07.G4.65, L56, P146; (11) Handle, bone, TT_855, TT07.G4.65, L95, P240. (*Drawings by F. Haughey, photographs by A. Harrison, S. Harrison, and H. Snow*).

Figure 10. Field 2, plan of Building XIV. (*Map by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne*)

Figure 11. Photograph of the foundation trench of Building XIV in the northwest corner of G4.45 in Field 2, illustrating the building’s bricks packed up immediately against the cut line, indicated by white arrows. (*Photograph by J. Osborne*)

Figure 12. Schematic section of Squares G4.35, G4.45, and G4.55 in Fields 1 and 2, facing west. Pink: EB IVB loci; blue: early-mid Iron I loci; green: late Iron I loci; yellowish-green: mixed Iron I/Iron II loci; red: Iron II loci. (*Drawing by L. Welton*).

Figure 13. Pottery from the vicinity of Building XIV. See Table 3 for descriptive details. Light grey indicates red slip, dark grey indicates red slip and burnish, red and black bands indicate red and black paint. (*Drawings by J. Osborne*)

Figure 14. Field 2, plan of newly discovered temple Building XVI and the objects found within it and on the courtyard surface outside, including inscriptional remains. (*Map by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne*)

Figure 15. Basalt column base found embedded in the baked brick floor of the portico of Building XVI. (*Photograph by J. Osborne*)

Figure 16. Profile drawing of a probe excavated through the western wall of Building XVI in G4.38. (*Drawing by J. Osborne*)

Figure 17. Pottery from on and above the courtyard surface surrounding Building XVI to the west and south. See Table 5 for descriptive details. Light grey indicates red slip, dark grey indicates red slip and burnish, red, black, and brown indicate paint. Nos. 28 and 29 illustrate a Greek Geometric skyphos and a Cypriot White Painted Ware bowl, respectively. (*Drawings by J. Osborne*)

Figure 18. Pottery from inside Building XVI, including a complete piece of brightly colored Assyrian Glazed Ware (no. 9). See Table 6 for descriptive details. (*Drawings by F. Haughey*)

Figure 19. Stone objects from inside Building XVI. (1) Roof roller, limestone, TT_1218, TT08.G4.38, L4, P36; (2) Engraved pyxis, steatite, TT_1871, TT09.G4.28, L15, P73; (3) Bead, onyx, TT_1730, TT09.G4.28, L4, P39; (4) Bead, jasper, TT_1815, TT09.G4.28, L4, P52; (5) Bead, onyx, TT_1868, TT09.G4.28, L22, P71. (*Drawings by F. Haughey, photographs by J. Jackson*)

Figure 20. Metal objects from inside Building XVI. (1) Assorted bronze nails; (2) Holdfast, bronze, TT_1802, TT09.G4.28, L4, P41; (3) Peg, iron, TT_1806, TT09.G4.28, L4, P41; (4) Peg, iron, TT_1523, TT09.G4.28, L4, P12. (*Drawings by F. Haughey, photographs by J. Jackson*)

Figure 21. Possible iron shield found face-down on the floor of Building XVI in front of the podium. TT_1926, TT09.G4.28, L22, P77. (*Photograph by J. Jackson*)

Figure 22. Fibulae and miscellaneous objects from Field 2. (1) Fibula, iron, TT_1110, TT08.G4.38, L7, P17; (2) Fibula, gold, TT_1569, TT09.G4.48, L11, P106; (3) Eye inlay (sclera), ivory, TT_1411, TT08.G4.38, L11, P93; (4) Eye socket, stone, TT_1412, TT08.G4.38, L11, P93; (5) Scaraboid, ceramic, TT_1809, TT09.G4.28, L4, P41. (*Drawings by F. Haughey, photographs by J. Jackson*)

Figure 23. Reverse side of table TT_1801, Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (cf. Lauinger 2012), found on the back of the podium in the inner sanctum of Building XVI. The colophon in the bottom right dates the tablet, and thus the *terminus post quem* for the destruction of the building, to 672 BCE. (*Conservation and photograph by J. Unruh*)

Figure 24. Field 3, plan of Iron III monumental wall and associated stone surface. (*Map by. S. Batiuk and J. Osborne*)

Figure 25. Objects discovered in Field 3. (1) Blade fragment, flint, TT_360, TT06.H3.77, L9, P37; (2) Spatula, bone, TT_701, TT06.H3.77, L23, P44; (3) Stamp seal, stone (serpentine?), TT_392, TT06.H3.77, L23, P52. (*Photographs by S. Harrison*)

Figure 26. Field 4, mudbrick wall to the west and boulder surface likely corresponding with the acropolis fortification wall and Courtyard VIII discovered by the 1930s Syrian-Hittite Expedition, respectively. (*Map by S. Batiuk, J. Osborne, and L. Welton*)

Figure 27. Field 5, Field Phase 2, possibly consisting of the southeast corner of a large Assyrian courtyard building.

Figure 28. Photograph of Field 5, square F5.98: the courtyard building during excavation.

Figure 29. Pottery from the courtyard building of Field 5, including local Red Slipped Burnished Ware, Greek Geometric skyphoi, Cypro-Geometric White Painted and Bichrome Wares, and Black-on-Red Ware. (*Drawings by H. Demir, Ö. Demirci, and E. Denel*)

Figure 30. Objects discovered in Field 5. (1) Bulla with two impressions, clay, TT_1498, TT09.F5.99, L28, P82; (2) Bulla with five impressions, clay, TT_1784, TT09.F5.98, L23, P82; (3) Worked tool, bone,

TT1641, TT09.F5.99, L24, P105; (4) Container, serpentine(?), TT_1607, TT09.F5.99, L24, P107; (5) Worked astragalus with lead in holes, bone, TT_1763, TT09.F5.99, L44, P133; (6) Seal, stone, TT_1836, TT09.F5.99, L38, P179; (7) Scaraboid, bone, TT_1750, TT09.F5.99, L38, P168. (*Drawings by F. Haughey, photographs by J. Jackson*)

[1] These places names had been read as Wadasatini/Padasatini until new readings of the Luwian signs *ta*$_4$, *ta*$_5$, (as *la/i* and *lá/í* respectively) and *sà* (as *s* before other consonants) (Hawkins 2011; Rieken 2010; Rieken and Yakubovich 2010: 216; Weeden 2015: 65-6).

[2] The Sapalulme/Suppiluliuma equation has been challenged recently (Simon 2018), although the association remains reasonably secure for now.

[3] These measurements differ slightly from those of the original excavators, who estimated the size of the site based on the general dimensions of the expansive and gently sloping mound at 500 X 620 m (Haines 1971: 37), but match the figures proposed by Braidwood (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: 13).

[4] Given Woolley's weak understanding of the stratigraphy of the deep soundings (see Batiuk and Horrowitz 2010), one should treat this observation skeptically.

[5] The phasing of the architecture unearthed in the 1930s is reviewed exhaustively by Heather Snow in her forthcoming volume presenting the final excavation report of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's excavations.

[6] Likewise, the newly discovered mid-ninth century statue of Suppiluliuma (II) mentioned above (n. 1) might push the beginning of Building Period 2 earlier in the 9th century if it can be demonstrated that it was originally installed during that phase.

[7] Within each Field, phasing is established according to local stratigraphic Field Phases. The Field Phase sequence in one excavation area therefore does not necessarily correspond with that from another area (see Tables 2, 4, 7-8).

[8] Additional Luwian fragments have appeared in the 2011 -2017 excavation seasons in Field 7, an area south of Building XVI in Field 2.

[9] Hundreds of tokens of various shapes were also found at Tayinat in a variety of contexts by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition (Snow *forthcoming*).

Figure 1

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 1_Tayinat aerial photo.jpg

Figure 2

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 2_Amuq Map.jpg

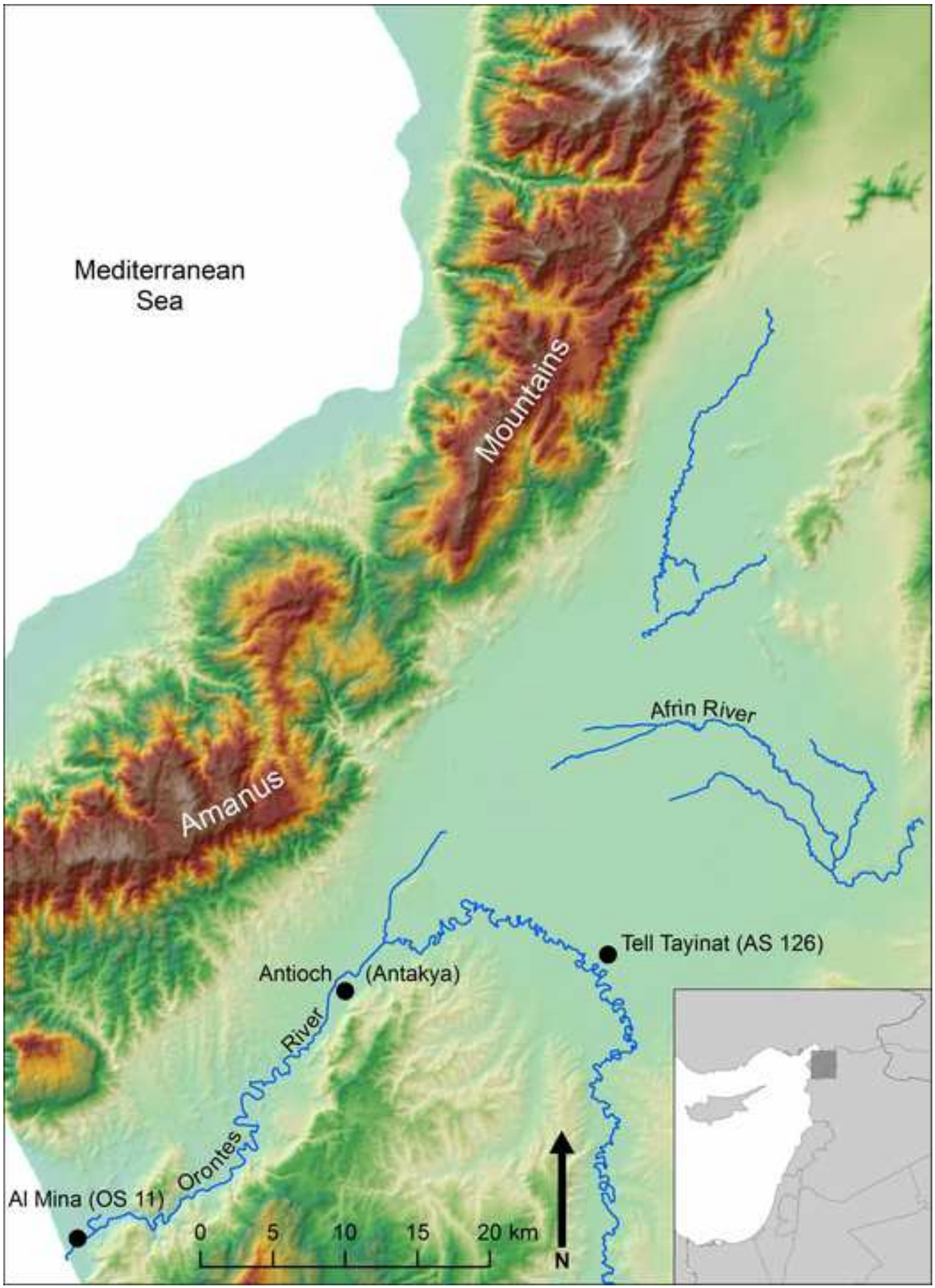

Figure 3

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 3_Corona, Contours, and Collections.jpg

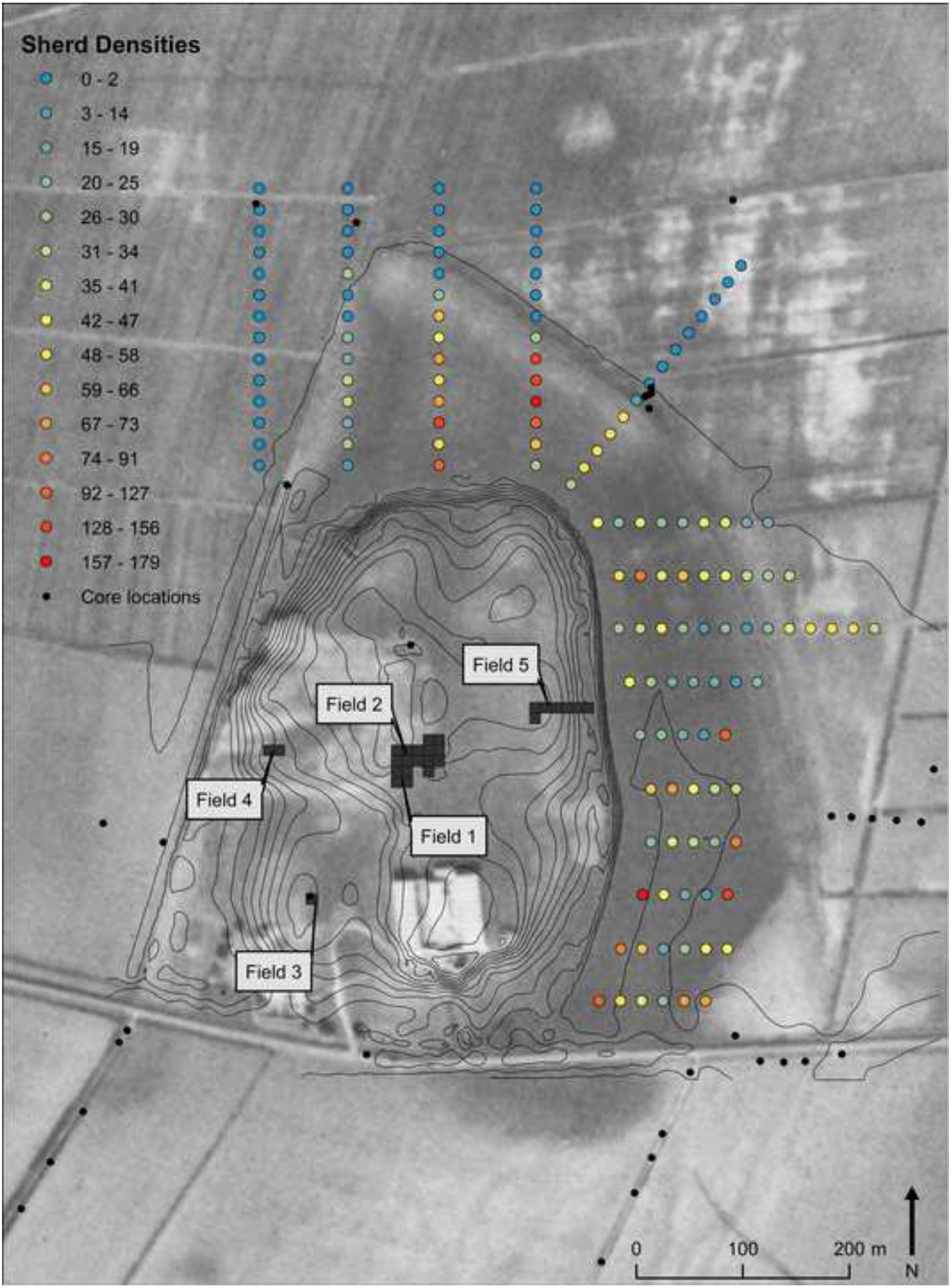

Figure 4

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 4_Coring sand.jpg

Figure 5

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 5_King Pl XXVII.jpg

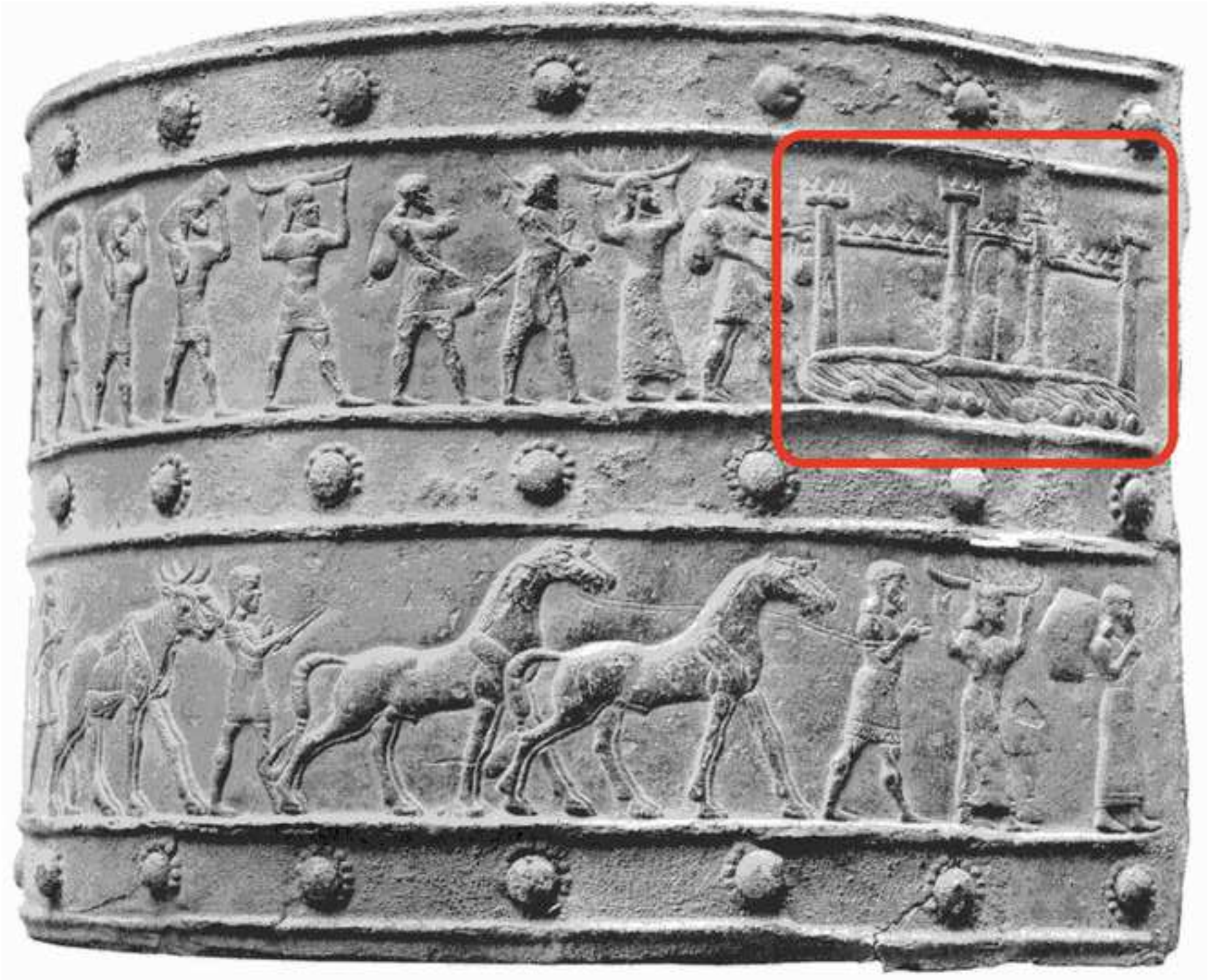

Figure 6

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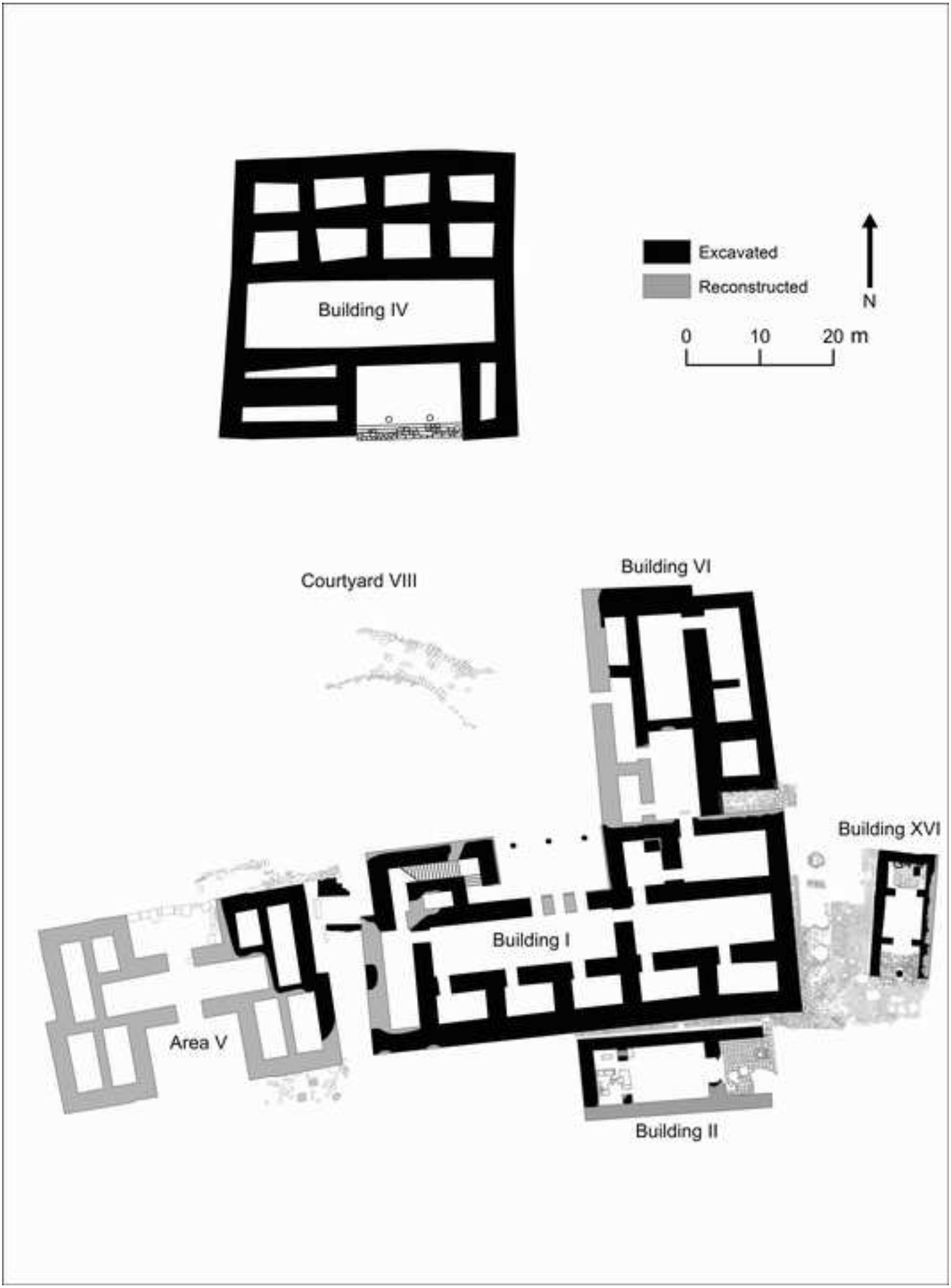

Figure 7

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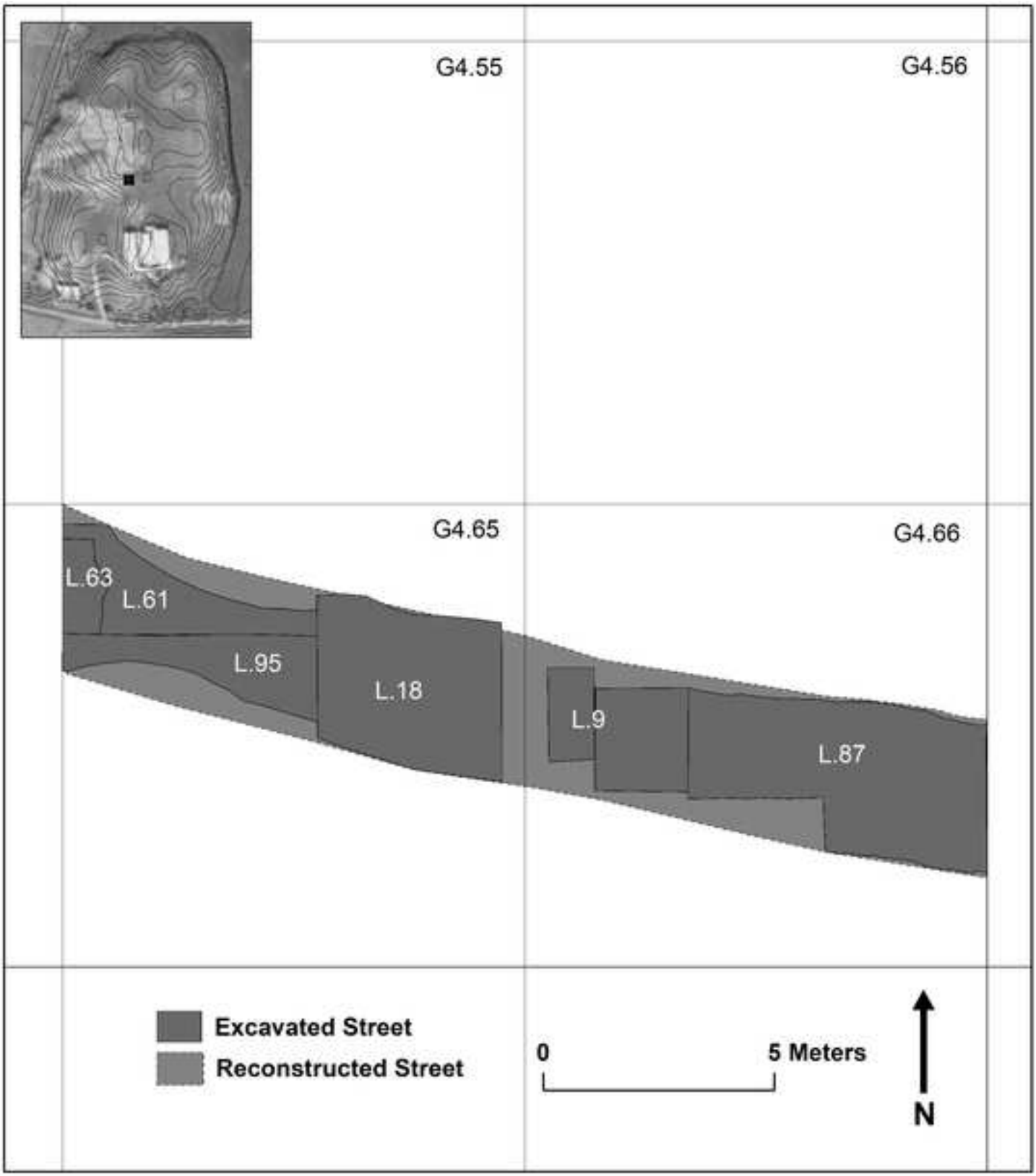

Figure 8

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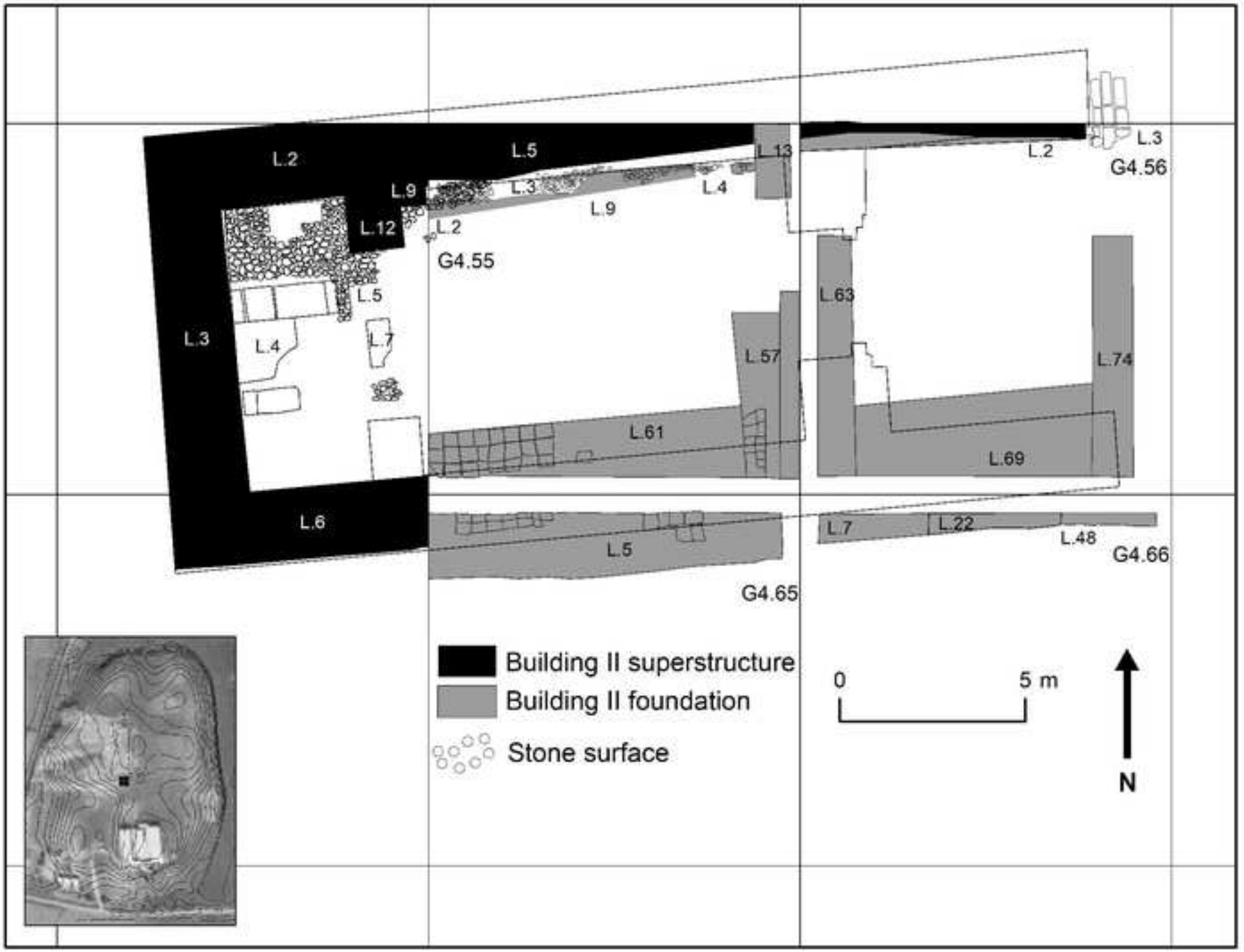

Figure 9

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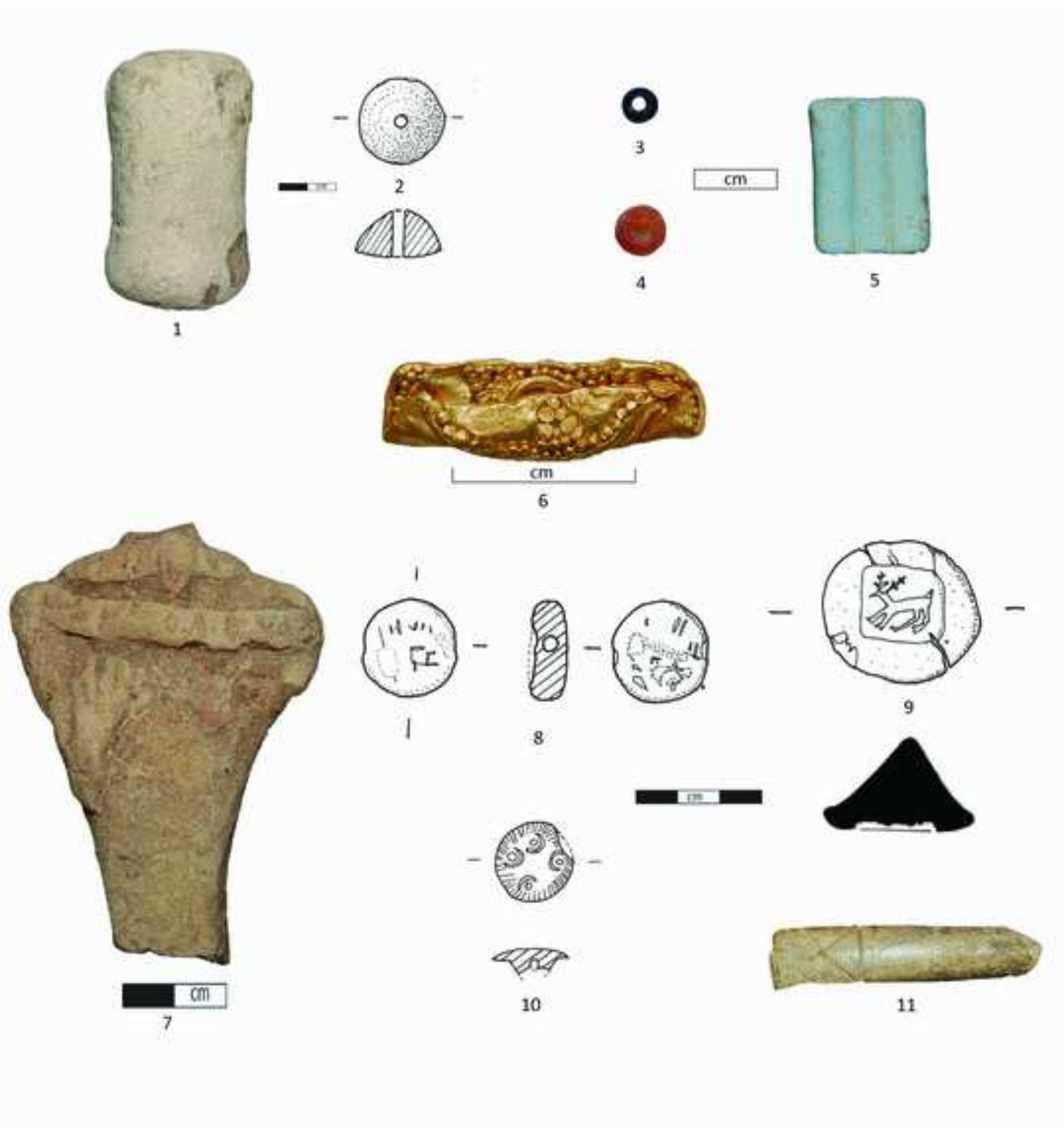

Figure 10

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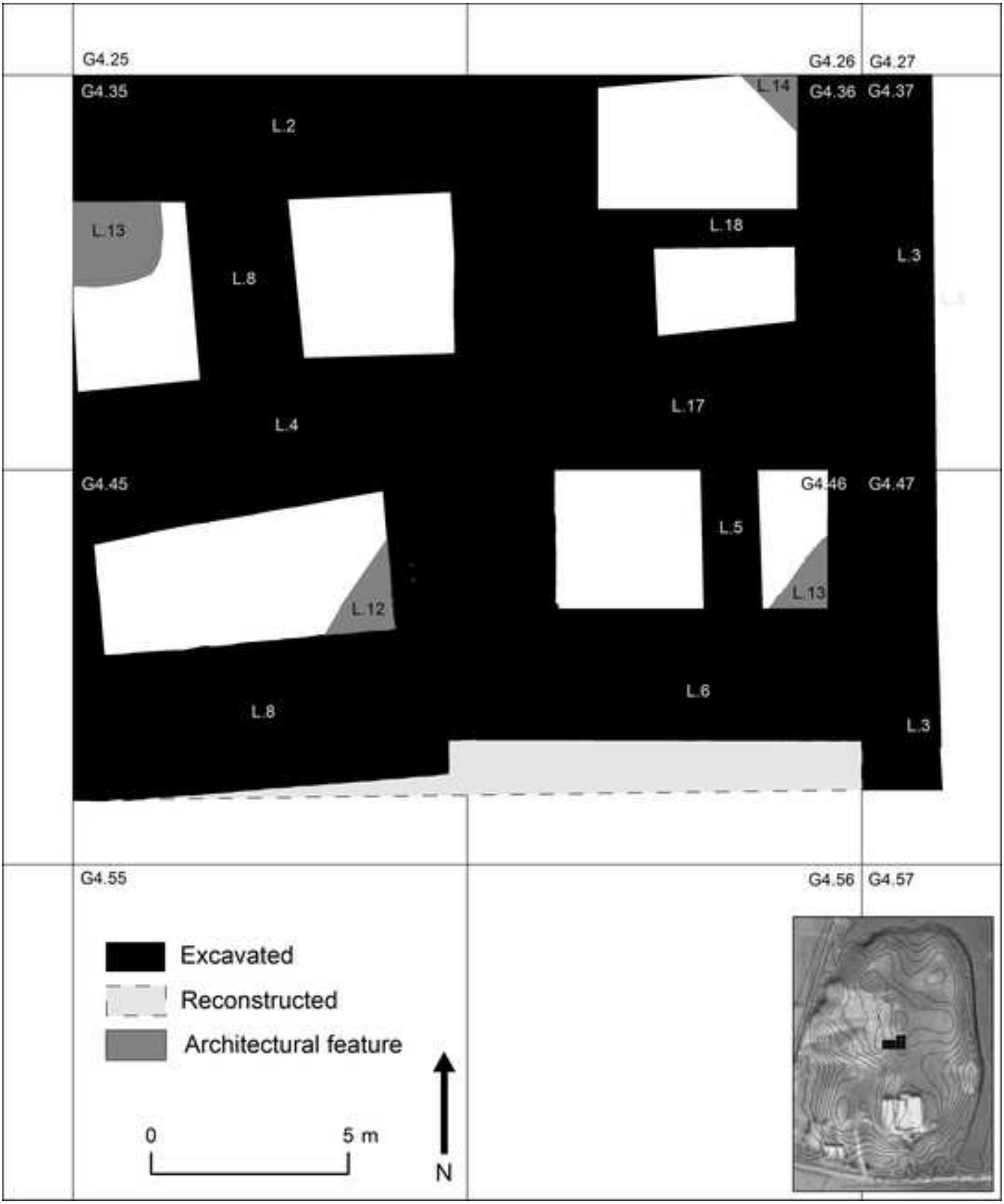

Figure 11

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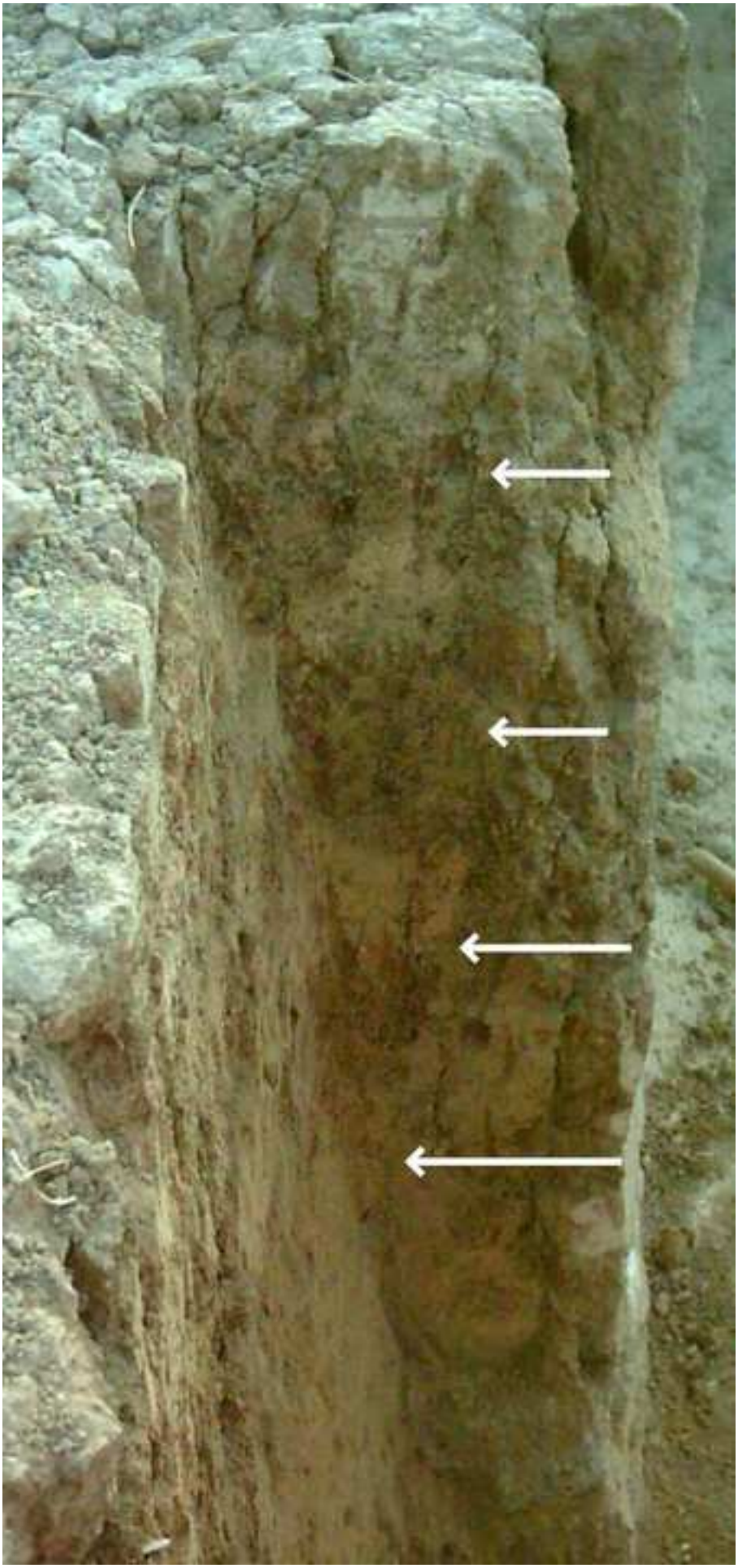

Figure 12

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 12_schematic section.jpg

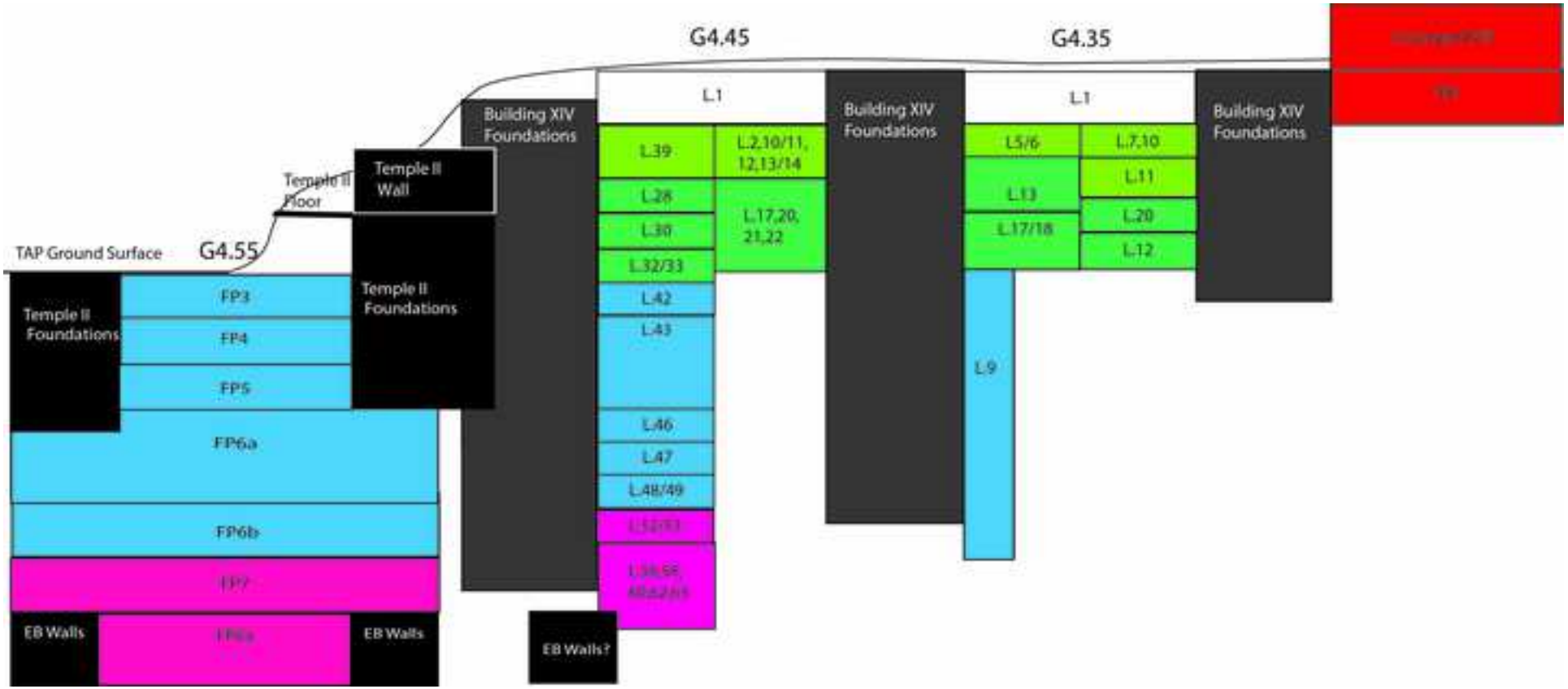

Figure 13

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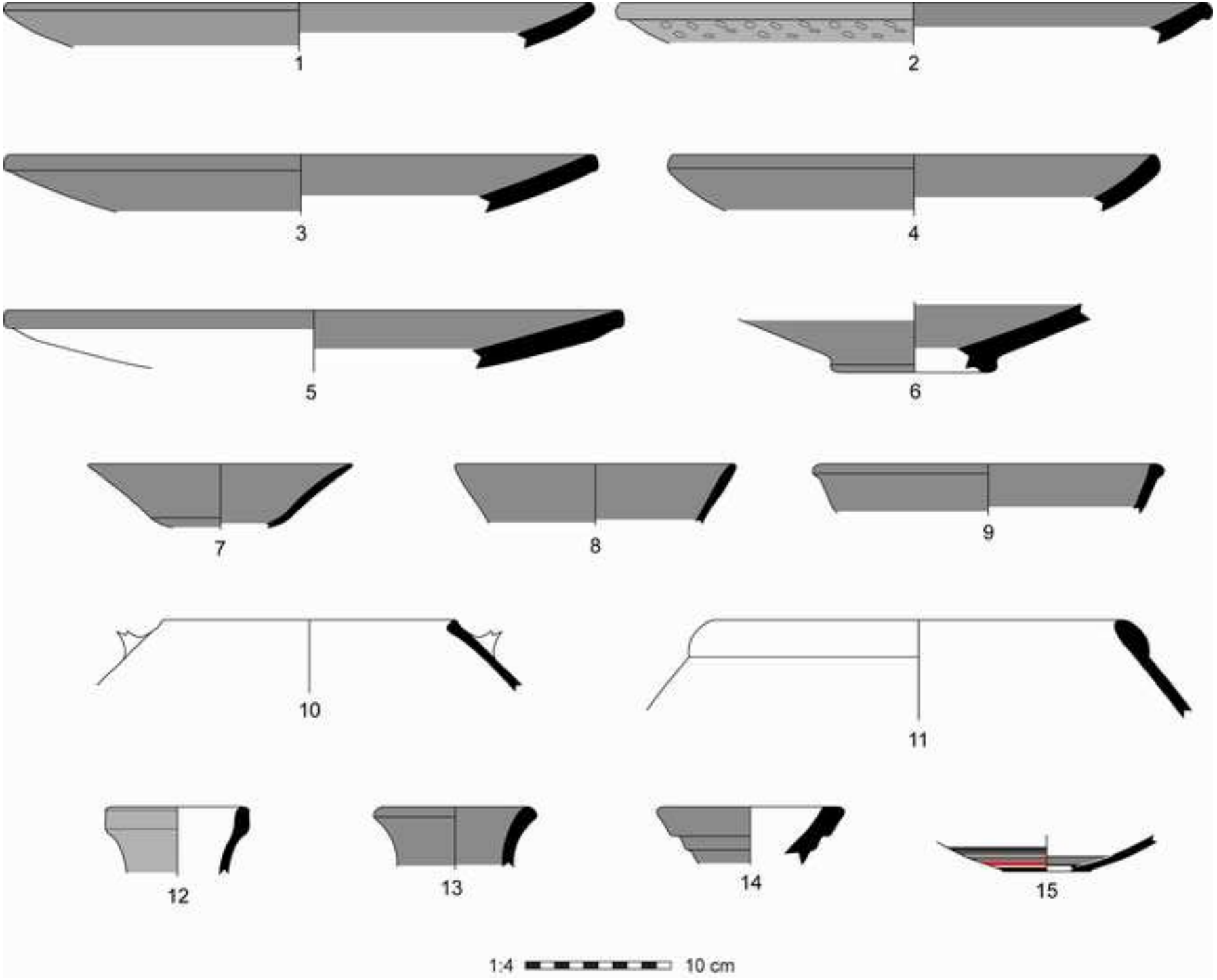

Figure 14

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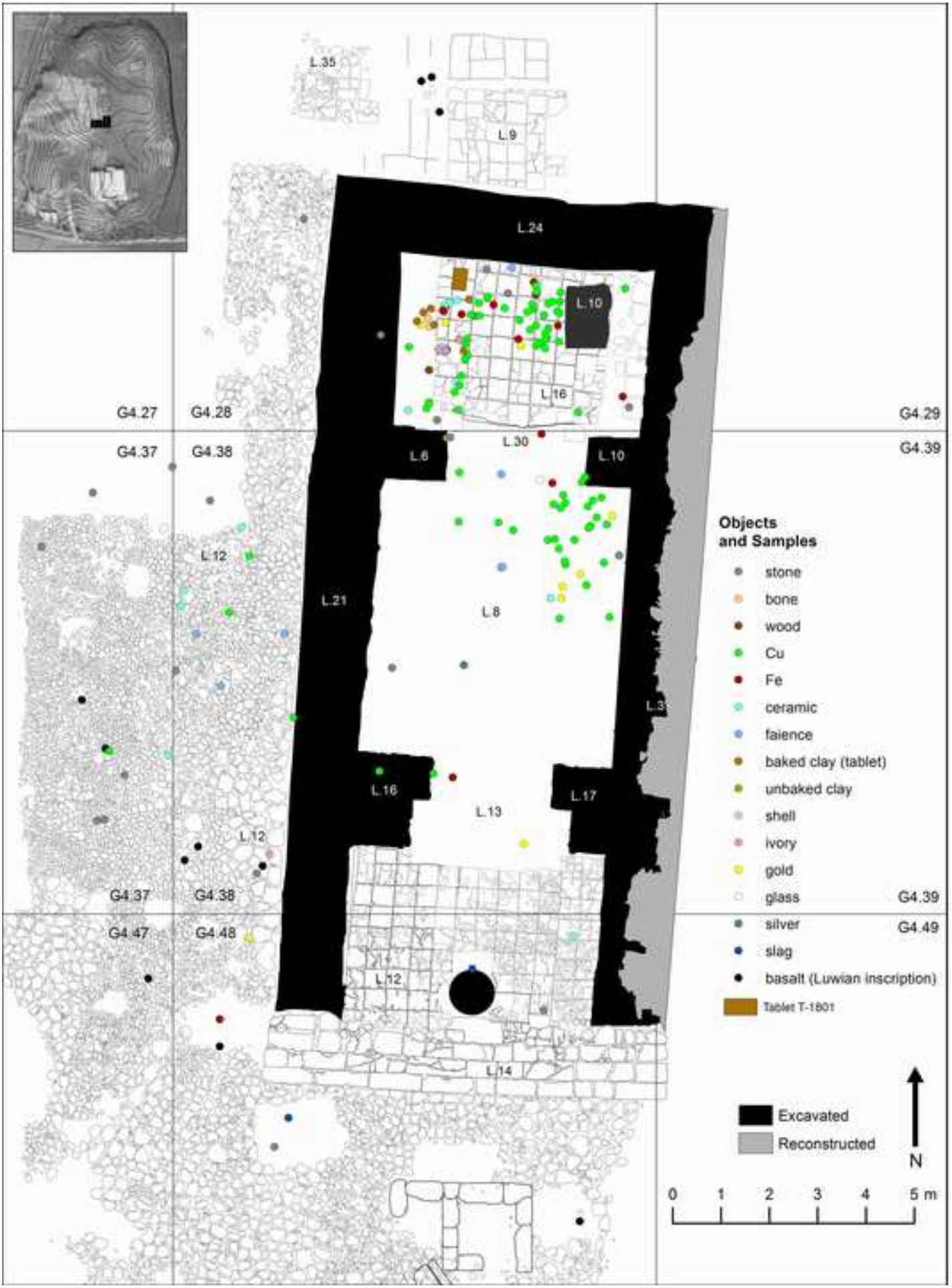

Figure 15

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 15_Column Base.jpg

Figure 16

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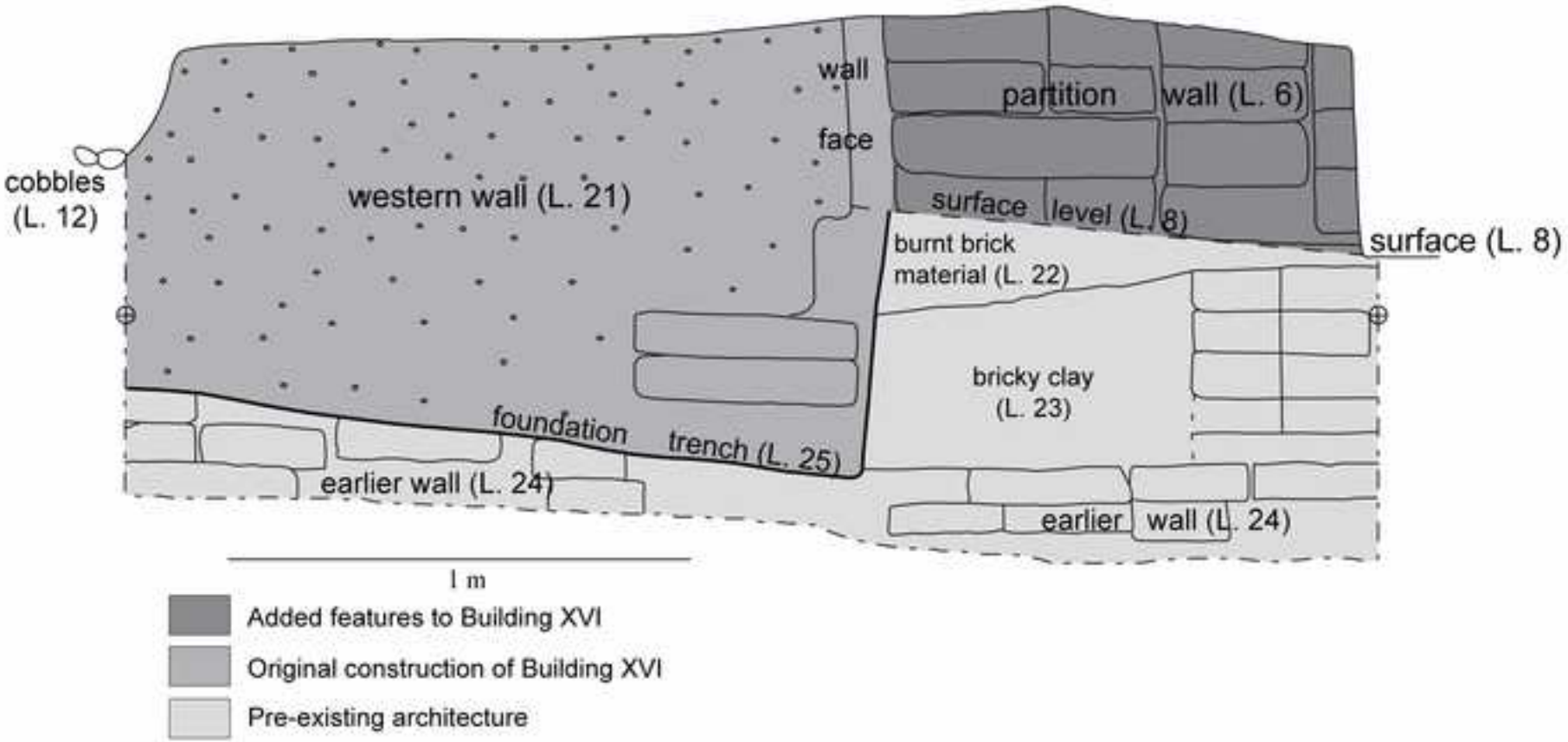

Figure 17

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 17_Bldg XVI Courtyard Pottery.jpg

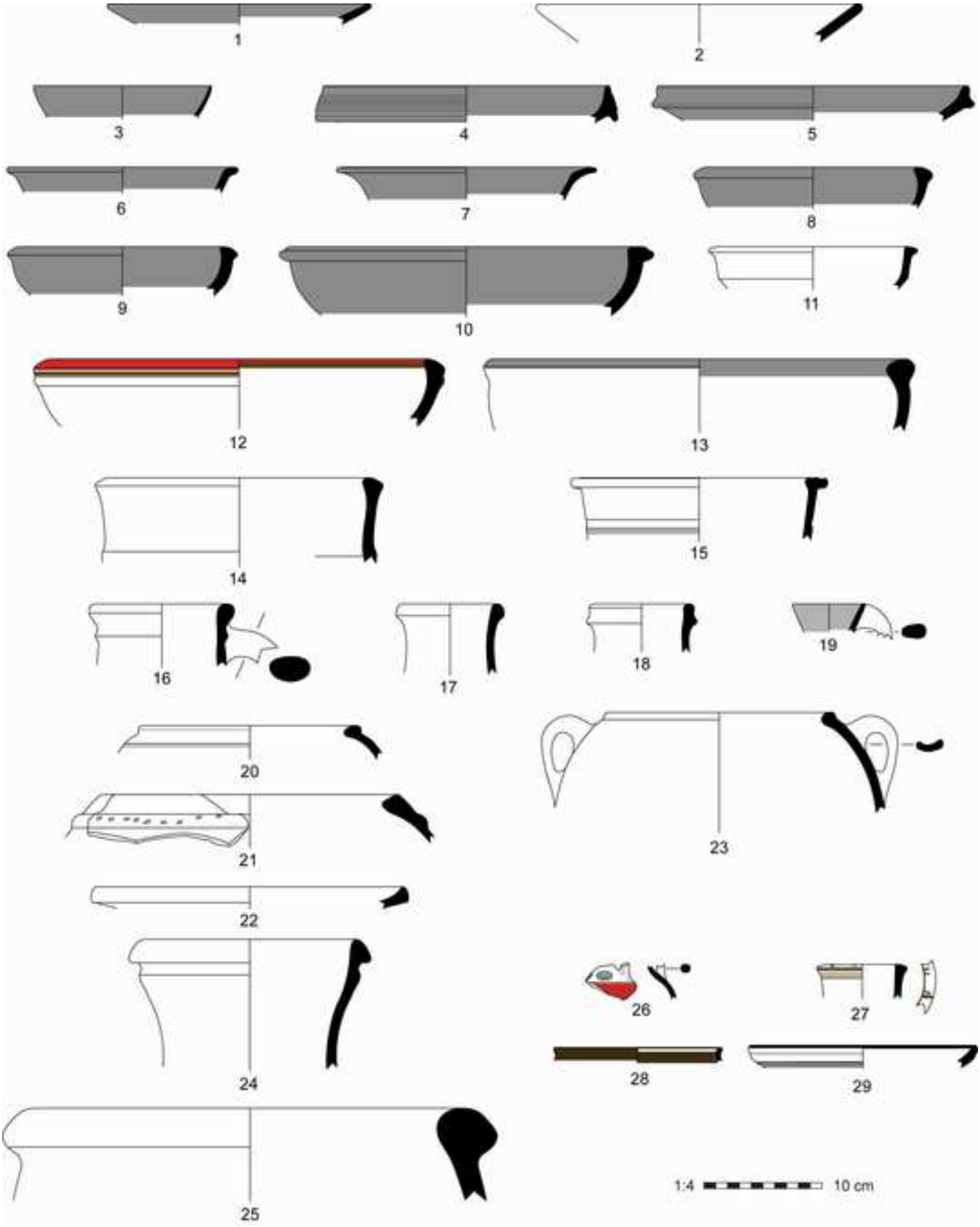

Figure 18

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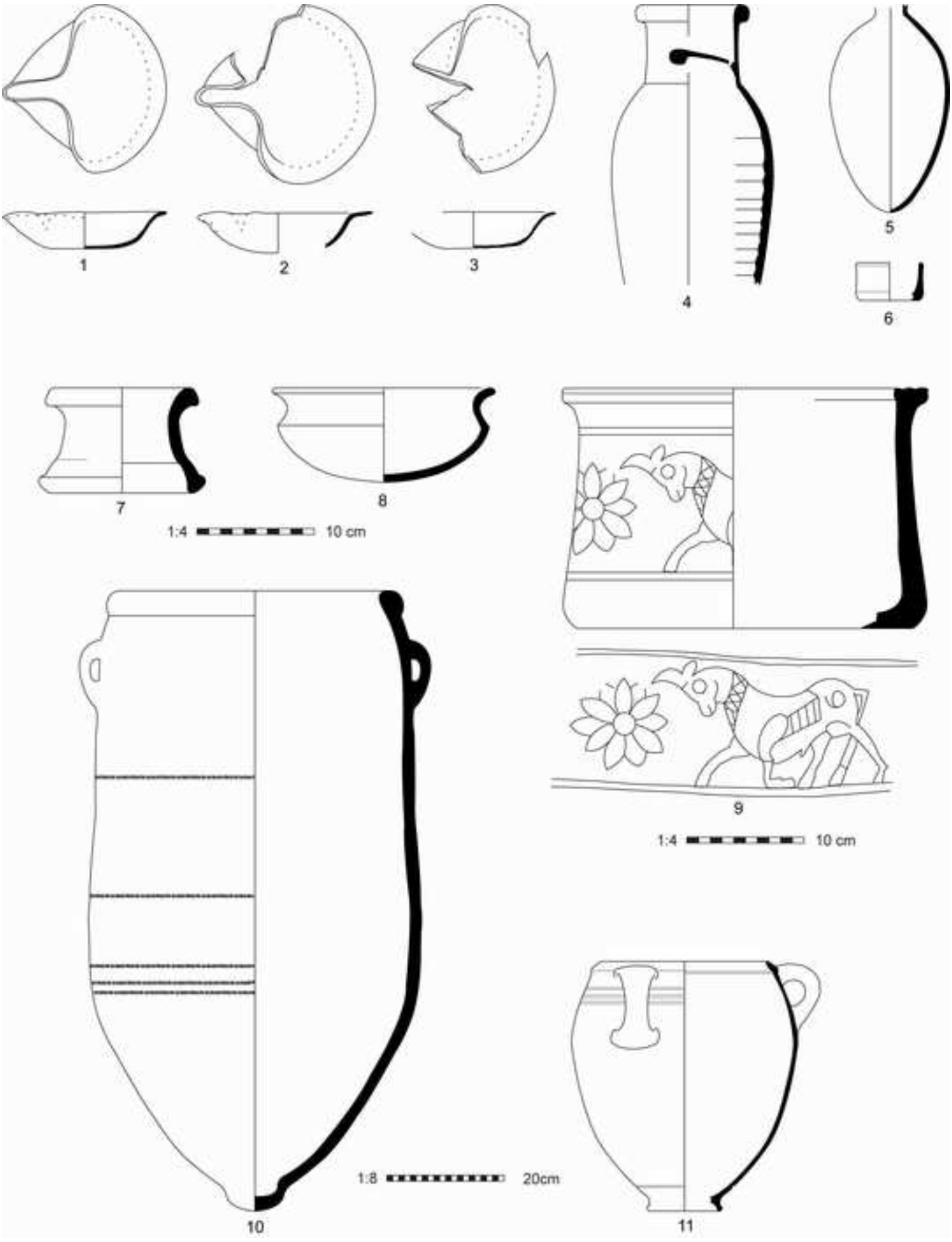

Figure 19

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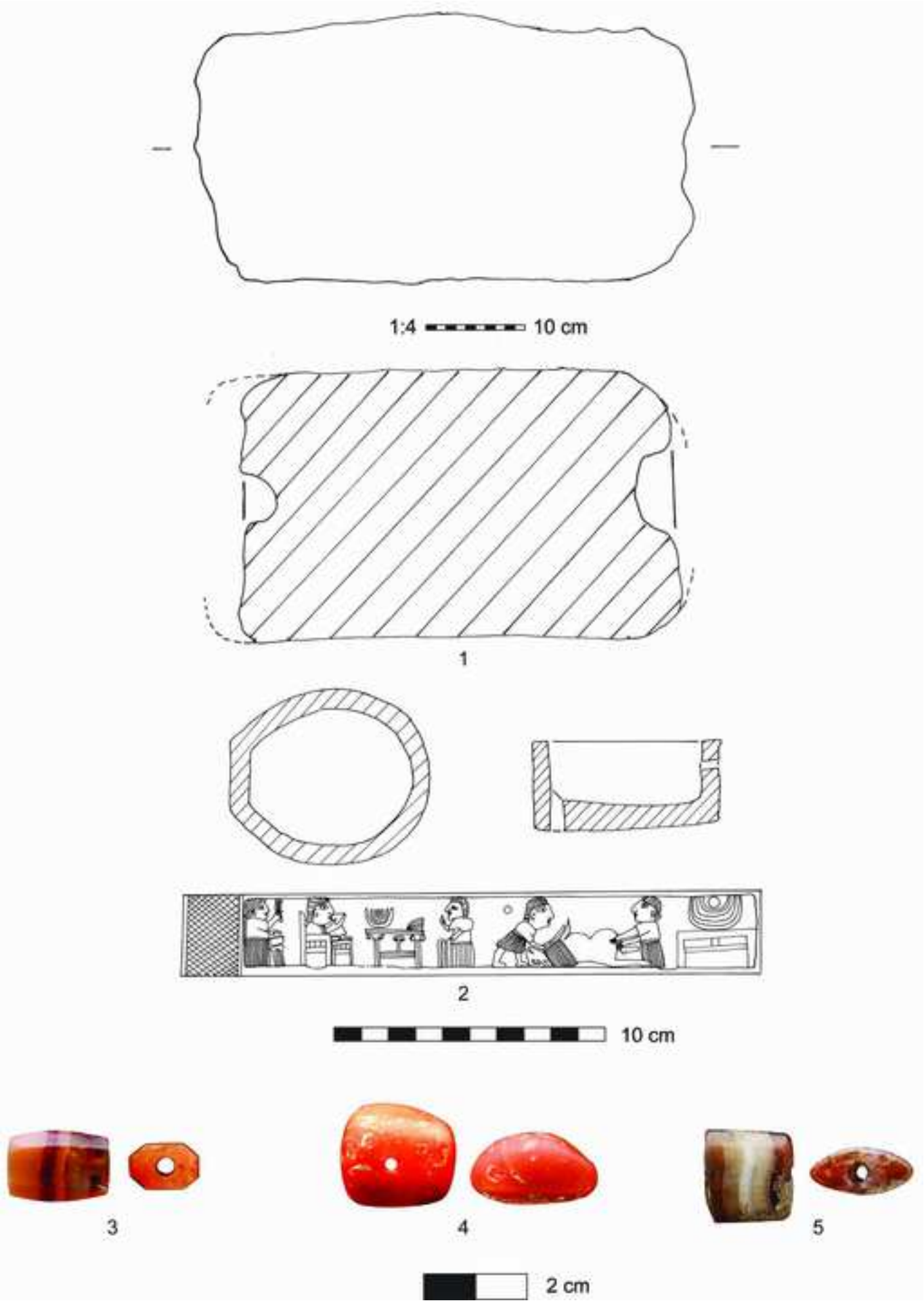

Figure 20

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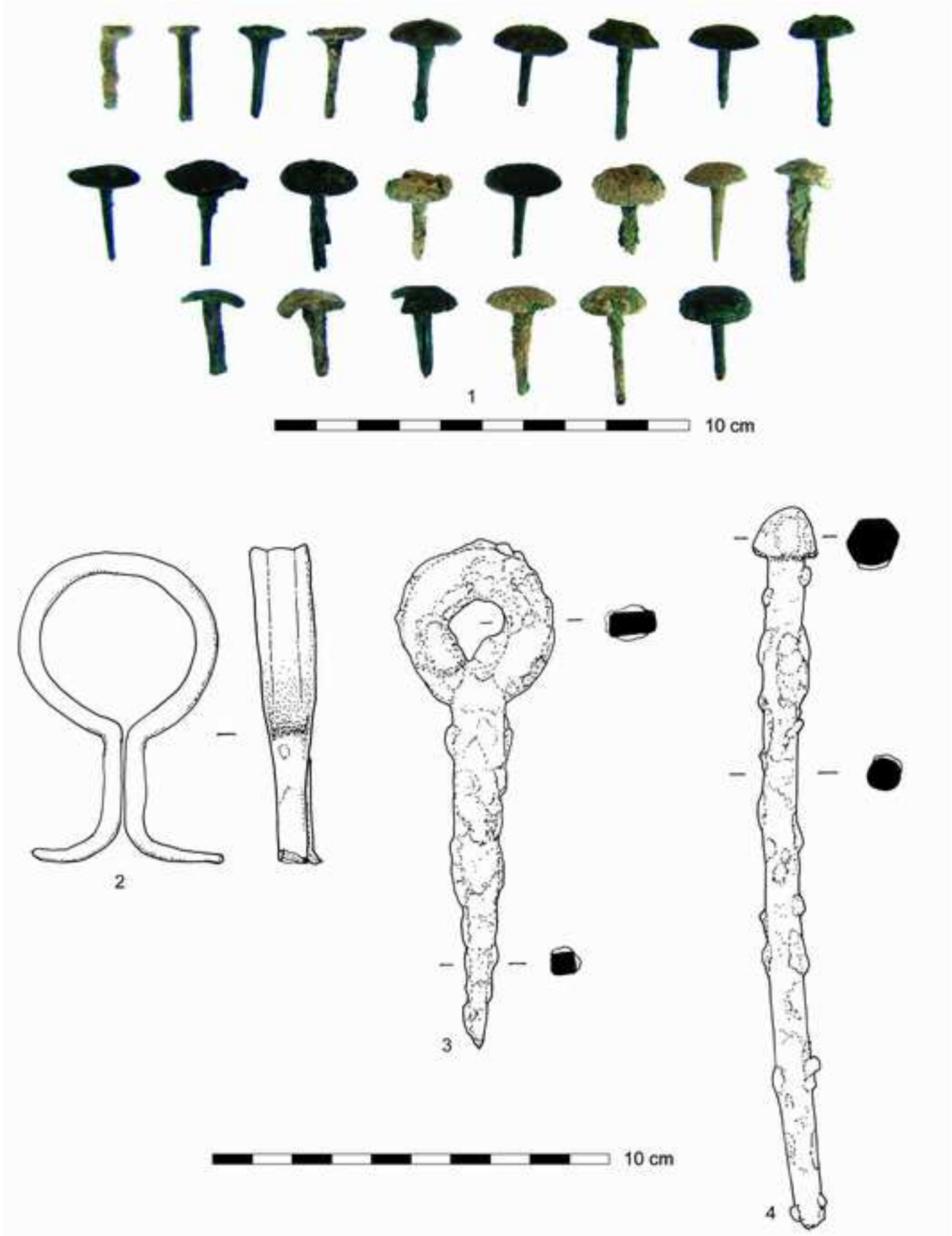

Figure 21

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Figure 22

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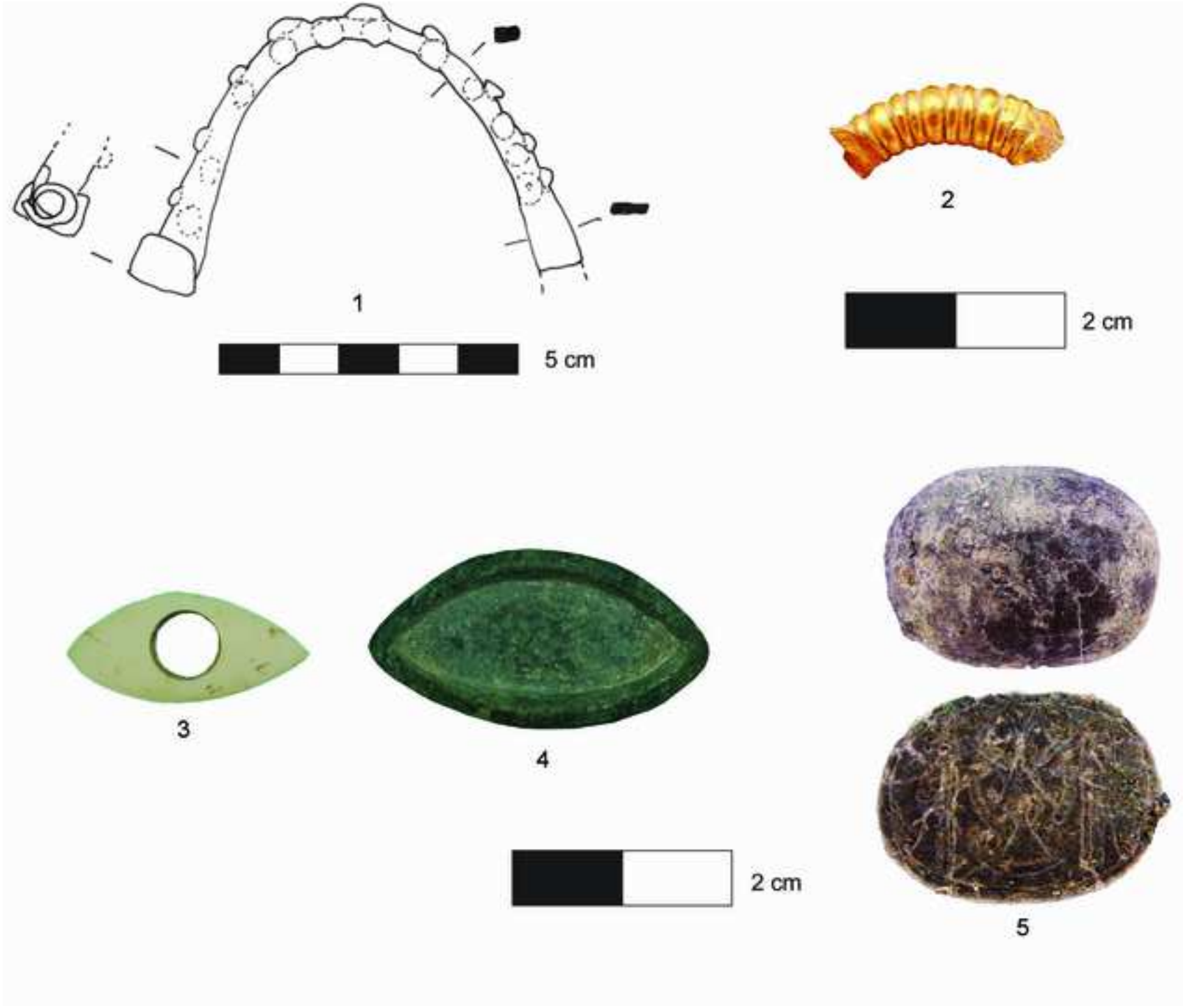

Figure 23

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Figure 24

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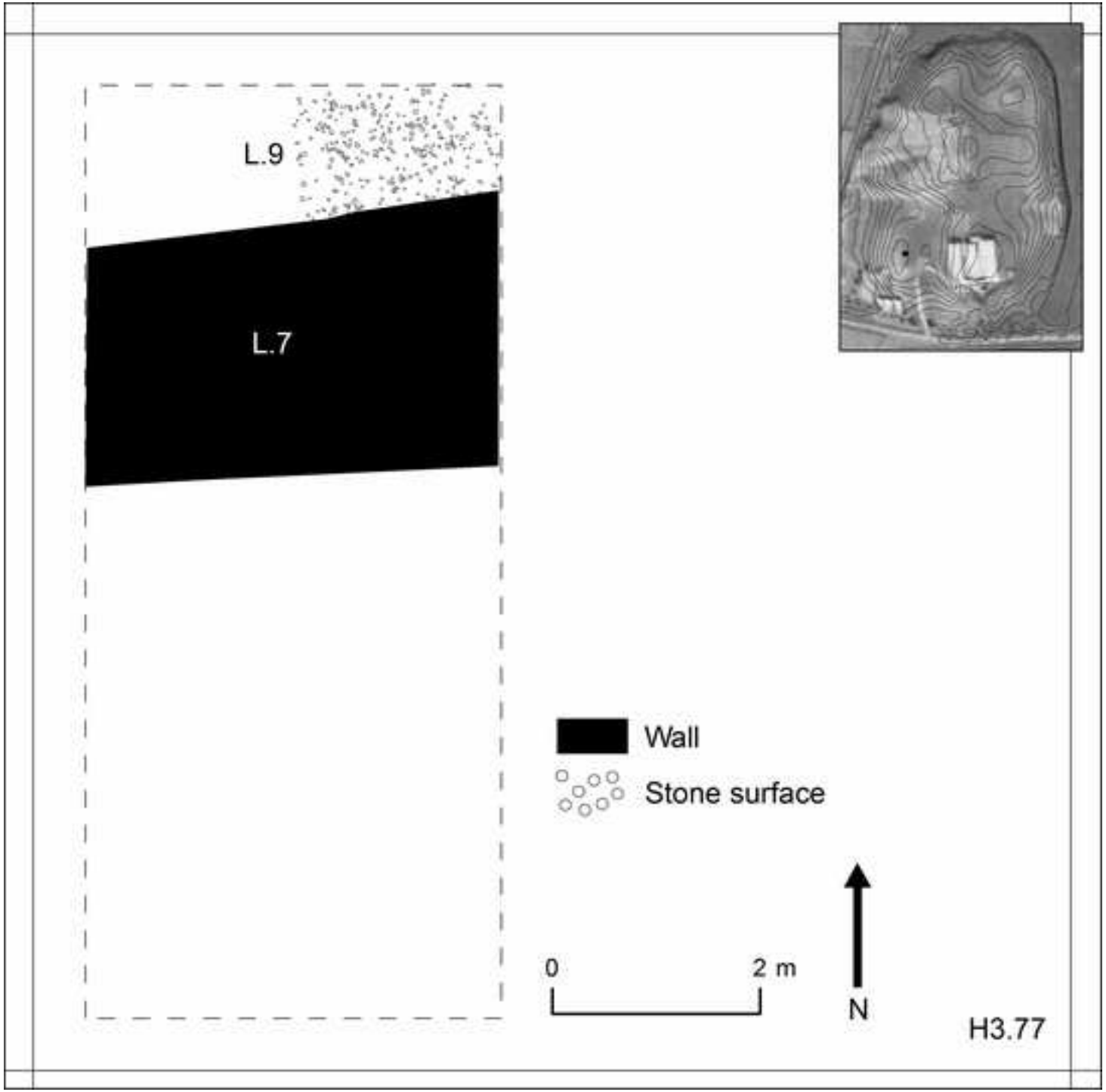

Figure 25

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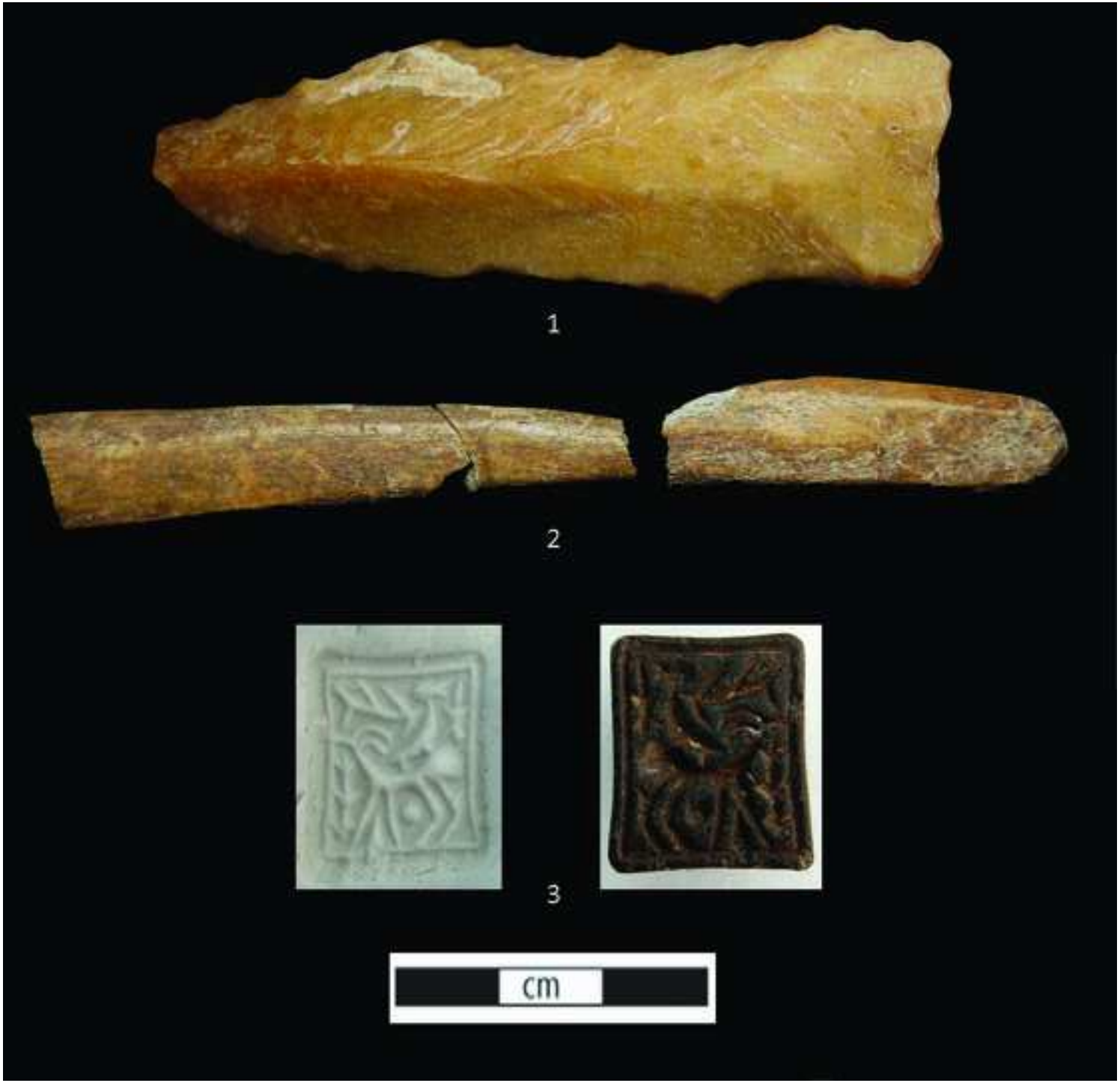

Figure 26

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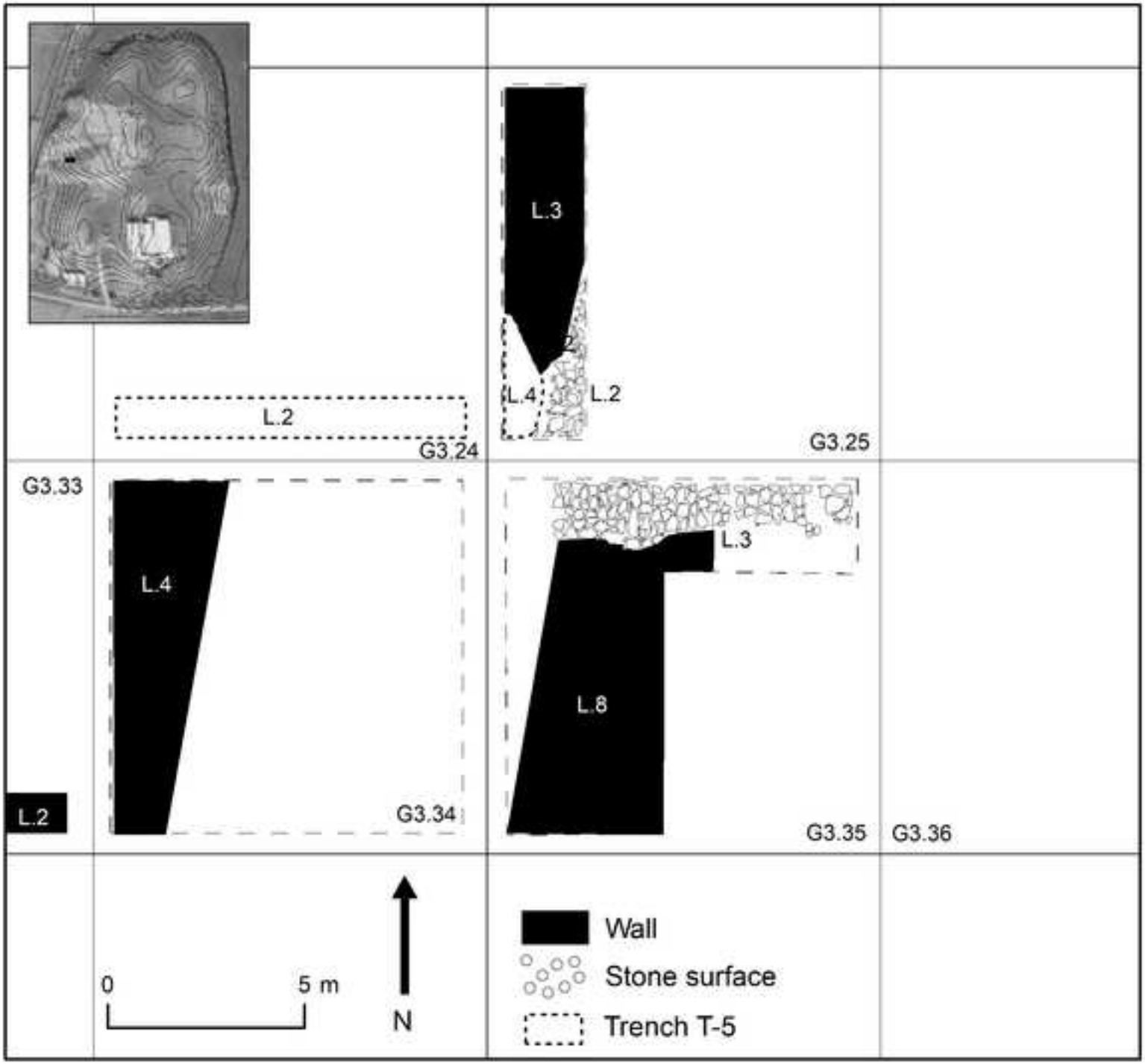


Figure 27

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 27_Field 5 plan.jpg

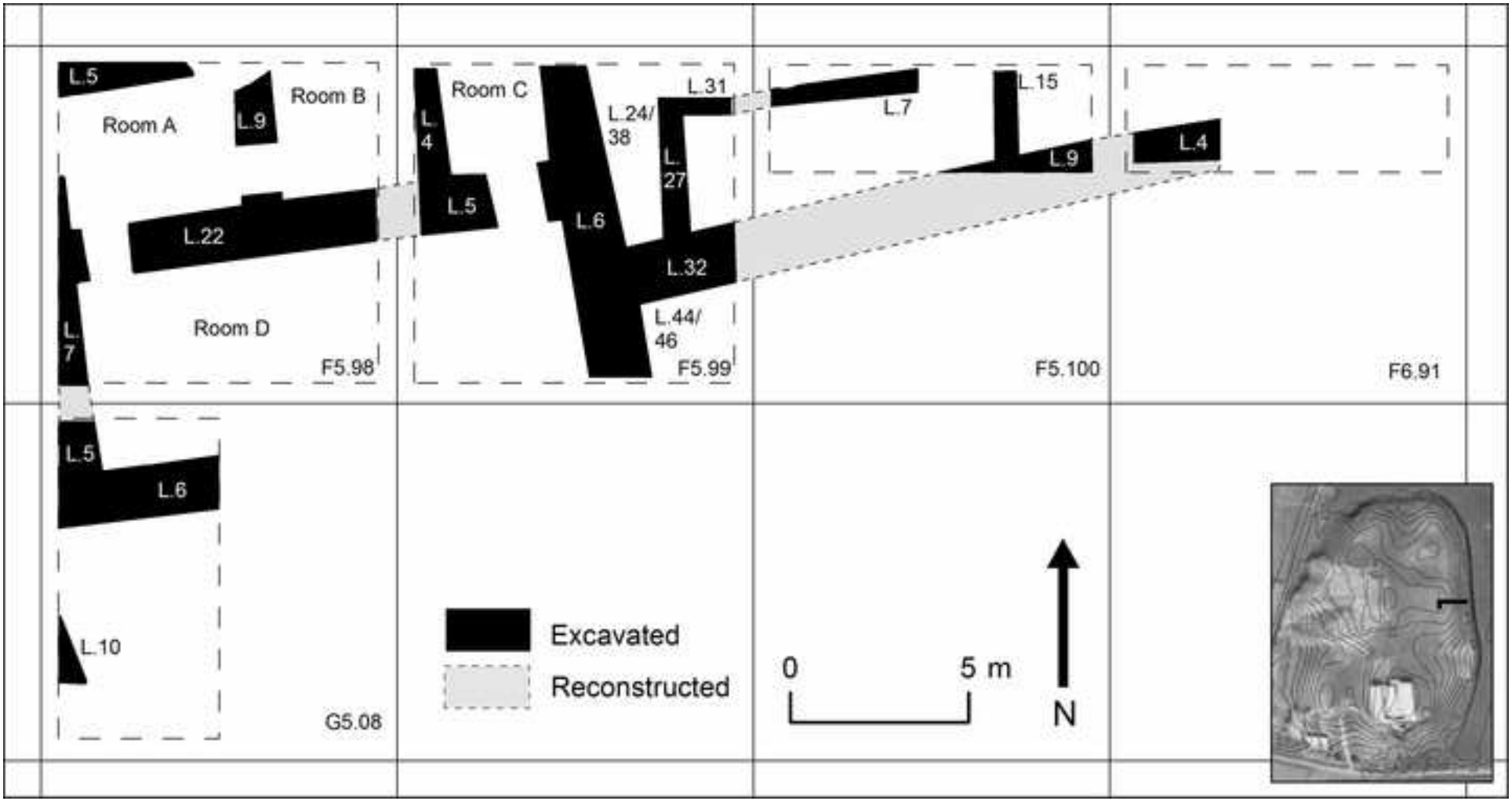


Figure 28

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 28_Field 5 photo.jpg

Figure 29

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 29_Field 5 pottery.jpg

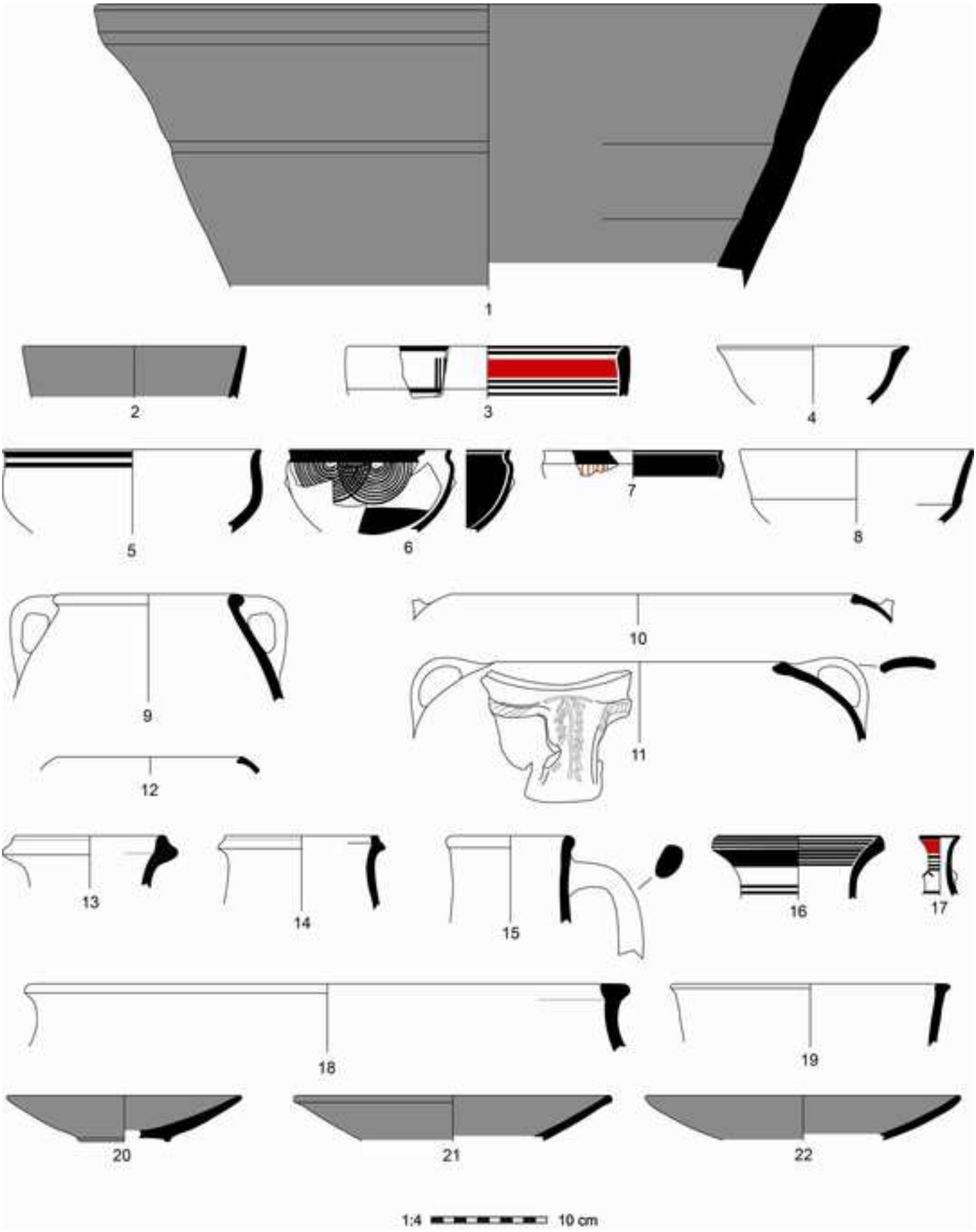
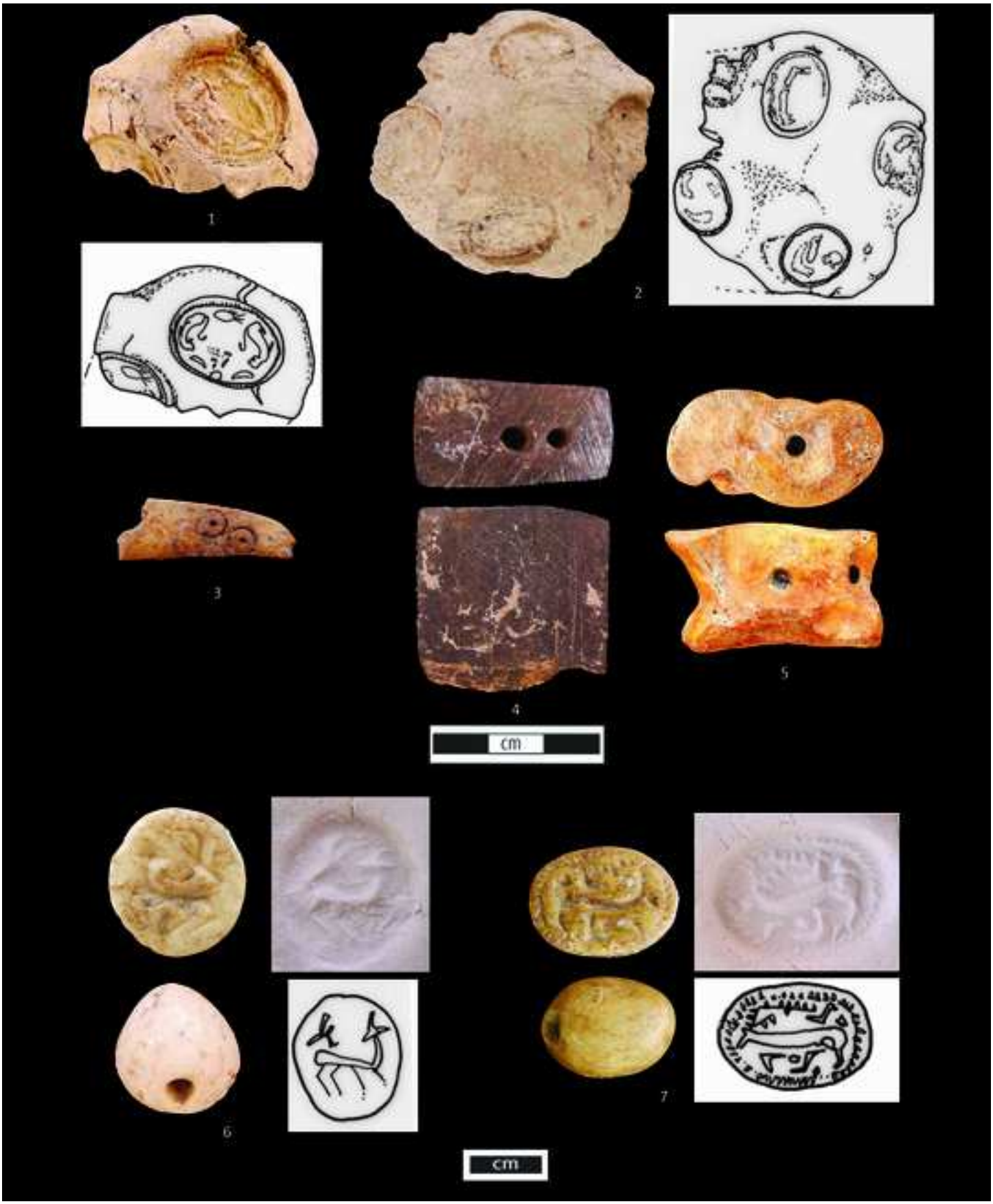


Figure 30

Click here to access/download;Figure;Figure 30_Field 5 objects.jpg