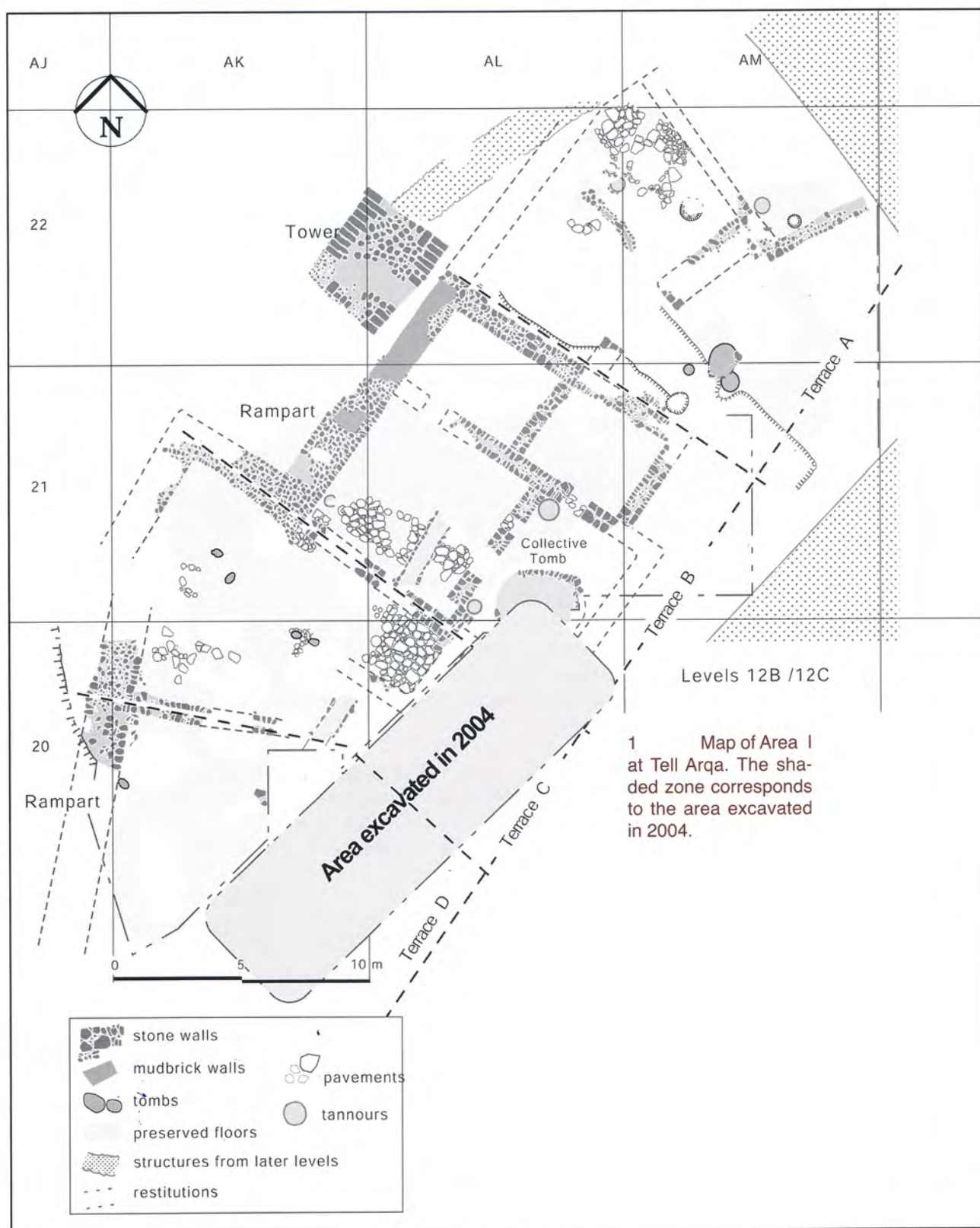




NEW LIGHT ON THE END OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE AT TELL ARQA

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The 2004 excavation season at Tell Arqa produced some interesting discoveries that might shed light on the end of the Late Bronze Age (hereafter, LB). Archaeological probing in squares AL 20 and 21 over a narrow 75 m² area was made possible in the winter of 2004 after the collapse of the imposing Byzantine structure that covered a large part of this area ^{1 71} (fig. 1).

Preliminary results of this excavation are not yet published ², but the remains in this area display the same archaeological characteristics that distinguish Level 11 in Area I: flimsy walls, occasional patches of earthen floors, and lots of pits and silos; all of which are hard to piece together into a thoroughly comprehensible archaeological layer. However, two loci (or *Unités Stratigraphiques* as they are termed in Arqa's system) yielded important ceramic material that can help define the end of Level 11 (corresponding to the end of cultural Phase K at Arqa).

Locus 125 is a beaten-earth floor on which incomplete pottery vessels were found. A silo (Locus 133) dug into the floor also yielded complete and fragmentary vessels. These two loci were found under some two or three loci from the end of Level 11 that were directly covered by an Iron Age II (hereafter, IA II) installation belonging to a cultic complex ³.

In the discussion below, I will present and discuss the material from these two contexts. It is important to note in this regard that all these observations are based on a brief stay at Arqa during the 2005 season of excavations. While all the ceramic material has been drawn, the stratigraphical analysis is yet to be completed. An attribution of these two loci to the Layer 11A is tentative and based on discussions with the director of excavations and the area supervisor. However, it is certain that the preliminary results of this study will help us to better scrutinize other loci of the last occupations of Level 11 (Layer 11A ⁴) from previous years.

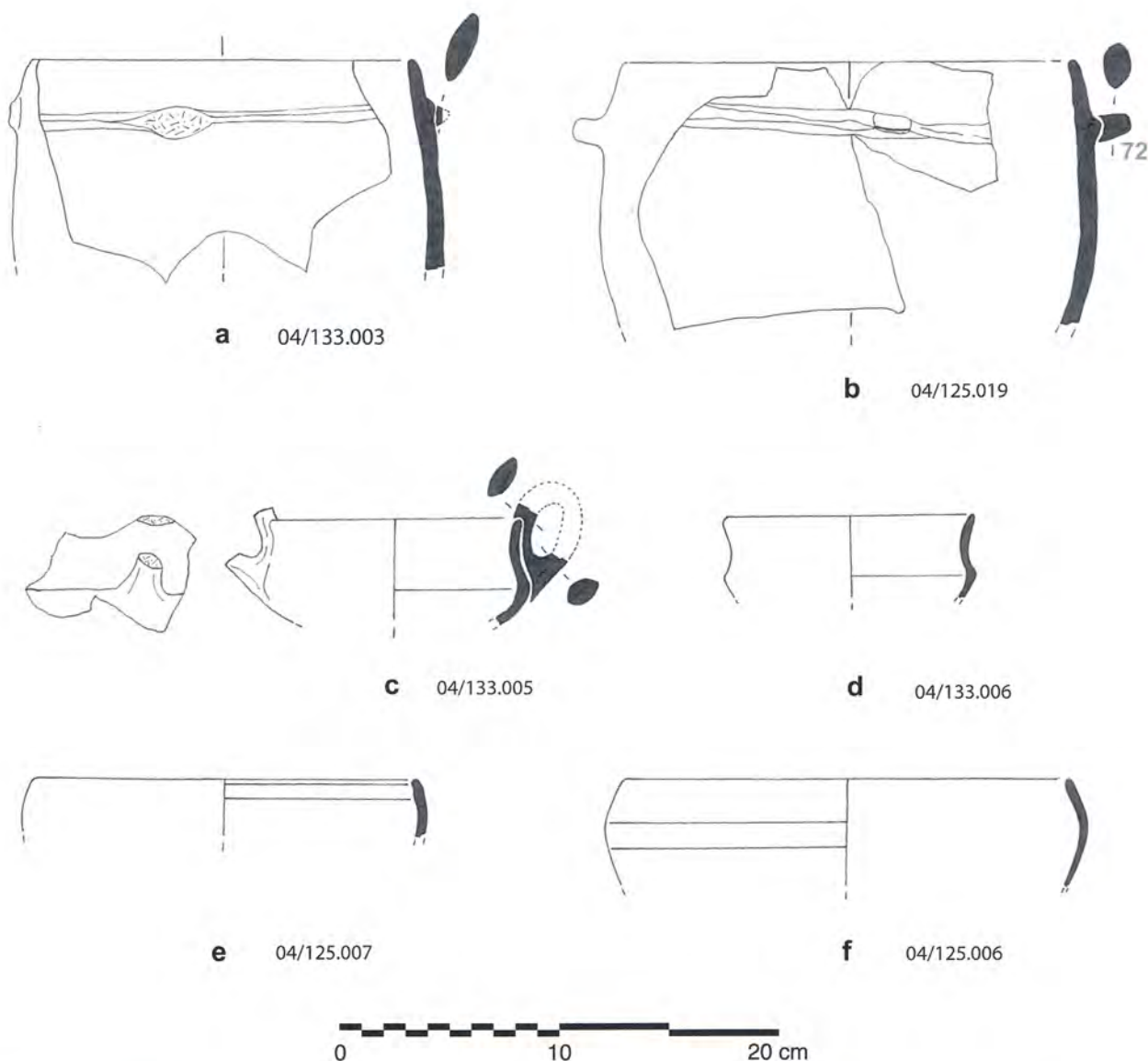
The pottery

Among the pots on Floor 04/125 and in Silo 04/133 were three vessels belonging to the fabric known as Hand Made Burnished Ware, two bowls of Cypriote Monochrome ware and one jug with a strainer base identical to one found in the last phase of LB occupation at Ugarit. These vessels enable us to date the loci in which they were found (along with the other associated local material) to the end of the 13th-first quarter of the 12th century BC, a timeframe insufficiently documented at Arqa during previous seasons ⁵.

The imported material:

Hand Made Burnished Ware (hereafter, HMBW)

The 2004 excavations witnessed the first occurrences of the so-called HMBW at Arqa ⁶. Altogether, six vessels were found during this season, with four coming from the loci under study here. Two cylindrical buckets with straight sides, a molded cordon attached below the rim and small ledge knobs (fig. 2:a,b ⁷) were found together with two carinated cups (fig. 2:c,d), one of which has a raised vertical handle. All the HMBW ves-



2 Hand Made Burnished Ware (a-d) and Cypriote Monochrome Ware (e,f).

sels are made by hand (as their name indicates) using coarse clay tempered with white limestone and baked in a reduced atmosphere. No physical or chemical analyses have been conducted on the *HMBW* from Arqa, but based on similar vessels shown to be locally made from nearby Tell Kazel ⁸, it is reasonable to assume that the Arqa examples are either local or imported from Kazel. Generally, the small cups are fabricated using better clay than that of the larger pots. The vessels are generally black or dark brown in color; but some, usually the larger examples, display a distinctive mottling of colors ranging from black to dark brown to dark red (as on our examples 04/133.003 and 04/125.019). All display traces of pebble burnishing: on the outside for the buckets, and on the inside and outside for the cups.

The two large pots (fig. 2:a,b) are equivalent to Type 28 of the formal typology of D. Pilides, who devoted a study to this fabric in 1994. They have exact parallels at the neighboring site of Tell Kazel in a level that was dated by the excavator to the transitional period of LB-IA I ⁹. Other parallels come from Tyrins in Greece, in a level dated to LH IIIB:2 ¹⁰, and from Mycenae, Dhimini and Khania ¹¹. The two carinated bowls (fig. 2:c,d) are Type 7 according to Pilides. So far, they are the only examples of this type

of carinated cup in the Levant. Their most likely place of origin is Italy where similar cups were found at the sites of Lipari ¹², Moscosi di Cingoli ¹³ and Apulia ¹⁴. They were also found at Dhimini ¹⁵ in Thessaly.

In general, the appearance of *HMBW* is placed after the destruction of the Mycenaean sites at the end of the 13th century BC (end of the LH ⁷³ IIIB:2 period), except for the site of Tyrins, which yielded some *HMBW* in its LH IIIB levels ¹⁶. This ware disappears entirely at the end of the LH IIIC period (middle of the 11th century BC) in mainland Greece, but seems to have lasted longer elsewhere, such as in Cyprus. Its origins remain uncertain and fiercely debated; but a great number was found on mainland Greece. This may suggest local production by impoverished Greeks, settlers or invaders ¹⁷. A small amount of *HMBW* has appeared at Cypriote sites in loci dated to Late Cypriote III (1200/1190-1050 BC) and to Cypro-Geometric IA (1050-950 BC). The coastal site of Kition yielded the largest number (21 fragments). In the Levant, *HMBW* appeared in great numbers at Tell Kazel ¹⁸, and in more modest amounts at Arqa and at Tell Qasile ¹⁹ in Palestine. NAA analyses have established the local origin of the Tell Kazel and Tell Qasile material. L. Badre suggests that a population group which produced the *HMBW* occupied Tell Kazel after its destruction at the end of the LB and following the cessation of Mycenaean and Cypriote imports to the site ²⁰. This theory has been slightly revised recently, where the appearance of *HMBW* at this site predates the first destruction that R. Jung now attributes to the Sea Peoples and proposes to date around 1179/1175 BC ²¹.

The Cypriote Monochrome Ware (hereafter MN)

Few examples of *MN Ware* were found *in situ* at Arqa ²². From the 23 bowls found on this site (5.52% of the Cypriote corpus) only eight came from closed contexts; and most of those came from Level 12. The *MN* bowls are hemispherical with a concave base and a wishbone handle. They are made in orange or buff clay, covered with a matt or lightly burnished orange, red or black slip, and lack decoration.

Bowl 04/125.007 (fig. 2:e) has an incurved rim with a slight depression or gutter on the interior. This type of rim is generally considered to be earlier in date ²³, but in this case, our bowl was found in one of the latest LB occupations at Arqa. Similar bowls exist from a 16th century tomb at Tyre ²⁴, from the 14th-13th century tomb at Ugarit ²⁵ and from Alalakh ²⁶.

The other *MN* bowl 04/125.006 (fig. 2:f) has a similar body, but with an incurved rim and rounded lip. It is also distinguished by rounded carination on the upper body below the shoulder. This carination marks the place where a 1.5 cm-wide band was shaved off the body. Similar bowls are attested in a 14th century stratum at Sarepta ²⁷ and throughout the LB II at Tell Kazel ²⁸ and Ugarit ²⁹.

MN Ware is well attested at Lebanese coastal sites. Usually, it appears in the LB I in the Levant at sites like Tyre ³⁰ and Arqa, but Sarepta has already some examples from the end of the Middle Bronze Age (hereafter, MB) ³¹. It is mostly imported during the LB period and disappears at the end of the LB II; however, it seems to be completely absent from the Bekaa Valley

sites. For instance, none have been recorded so far at Kamed el-Loz or Tell el-Ghassil. In Cyprus, *MN Ware* appears in the Late Cypriote IA period ³², roughly corresponding to the Levantine MB II. It was extensively produced and imported to the Levant during the Late Cypriote IB and the Late Cypriote IIB periods (equivalent to Levantine LB I and LB IIA) ³³. It gradually disappears during the 14th century BC ³⁴, but is still attested during the 13th century at various northern sites, e.g. Tyre, Sarepta, Arqa, Tell Kazel, and Ugarit. It is apparent from the publications that Tyre, Sarepta, Arqa and possibly Ugarit have the latest occurrences of *MN Ware* on the coast of the Northern Levant where it is still recorded in the first years of the 12th century. However, at the same time, *MN Ware* completely disappeared from Tell Kazel. It is not impossible that these occurrences, or at least some of

them, are residual; especially since most of them are in a fragmentary state, as in the case of Arqa.

The local material:

Floor 04/125 and Silo 04/133 yielded a fair amount of locally-made ceramic vessels. For the sake of brevity, only the diagnostic fragments were chosen for this study. The rest of the material, mainly sherds of jars painted in black and red similar to those already featured on fig. 6, were too fragmentary to be included. All the pots found either on the floor or in the pit display similarities in the clays used for their manufacture. These clays are heavily tempered with rounded grits of sand. While sand was already introduced in the LB I pottery from Level 12 ³⁵, it was not predominant until the second part of

LB II (Layers 11B and 11A). This situation is similar to that observed at Ugarit, where the 13th century material is exclusively tempered with sand and some crushed limestone ³⁶. Interestingly, except for the large vessels, Ugarit's material lacks vegetal inclusions. This is not the case at Arqa where chaff was

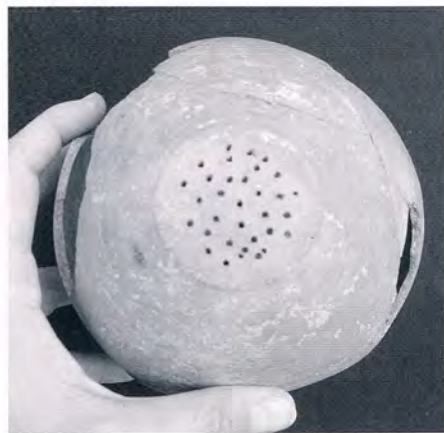


a



b

3 "Shower vase" found in pit 04/133 (photos: H. Charaf).



c

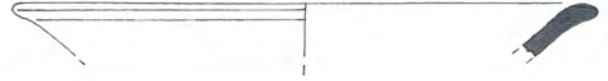
widely used in a variety of ceramic vessels throughout Level 11.

Undoubtedly the “shower vase” (fig. 3) represents the most interesting object of the lot. This vessel was found in Silo 04/133 and is nearly complete. It is made of locally procured bright orange clay and is⁷⁵ horizontally burnished in an uneven manner. The mouth is obstructed, except for a narrow circular hole (fig. 3:b), and the base is punctured with 34 small holes (fig. 3:c). This is the only example of such a vessel found so far at Tell Arqa. An identical parallel was found at Ugarit in the 1981 excavations of “*le centre de la ville*” in a context that was dated to the last occupation of the site (House E, room 1201). P. Lombard published a study of this vessel with comparisons drawn from ancient Greek examples³⁷. He argued that this vessel functioned as a clepsydra (a vase designed to retain water according to the Greek definition). The vase was apparently immersed in water, and when full, the thumb was placed over the mouth to trap the water inside the jug. To take a shower all one had to do was release the thumb and the water would flow freely. The Ugarit jug was found near a water reservoir and could have served as the modern pommel shower or as a sponge. P. Lombard cites another example found by J.-C. Courtois in a MB/LB layer³⁸. J. Mallet and V. Matoian published a strainer-like thick base³⁹ from a house near the “*Temple aux rhytons*”, but in this example, the base is rather large and thick, indicating a larger vessel that would have been more of a flower pot than a shower vase.

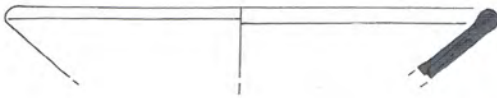
Five rounded shallow plates were found in the two loci. Four have straight sides while one has a more rounded body (04/133.022, fig. 4:d). The latter bowl is made of the same clay as that of bowl 04/125.016 (fig. 4:a) – medium clay tempered with sand and chaff and fired pinkish beige. Plate 04/133.022 is similar to those found at Ugarit⁴⁰ and Tell Kazel⁴¹ in levels dated respectively to the 13th century BC and to the transitional LB-IA I. Plate 04/125.016 with its square-cut rim, a carry-over from the preceding Level 12, is well attested at Arqa⁴² and at Tell Kazel in the 14th and 13th century levels⁴³. The three other bowls (fig. 4:b,c,e) are made with the same type of clay as the pilgrim bottle 04/125.022 (fig. 5:f) – tempered with sand, limestone and few small basalt grits. Straight-sided plates with tapered rims are common throughout the LB at Arqa⁴⁴, and it is only according to the type of clay that one can determine to which period the plate belongs. Similarly shaped plates were found in Tomb 4253 at Ugarit⁴⁵. Plate 04/133.023 (fig. 4:b) has an everted rounded rim with parallels at Tell Kazel in 13th and 14th century levels⁴⁶, as well as at Sarepta⁴⁷ and Ugarit⁴⁸. Plate 04/125.014 (fig. 4:e) is extremely shallow and was quite popular at northern Levantine sites in the 13th century. It has identical parallels at Tell Kazel⁴⁹ in Area II. Examples of this platter with larger diameters and rounded bases may have also served as lids for pithoi or other large storage vessels, since their diameters fit the many pithoi found at Arqa. Plate 04/125.015 (fig. 4:c) also has straight sides, but with a thickened rim interior. Perfect matches come from the 13th century levels at Ugarit⁵⁰ and at Tell Kazel⁵¹, where this type continues into the 12th century.



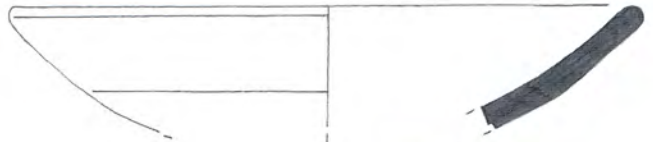
a 04/125.016



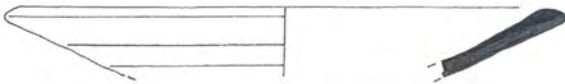
b 04/133.023



c 04/125.015



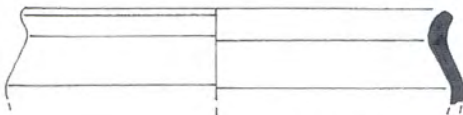
d 04/133.022



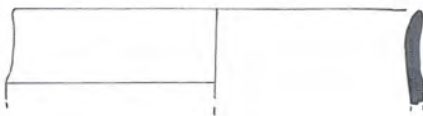
e 04/125.014



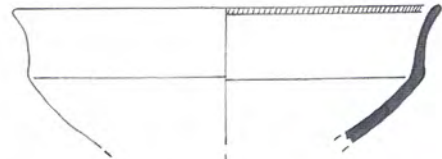
f 04/125.011



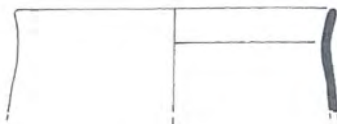
g 04/133.010



h 04/125.009



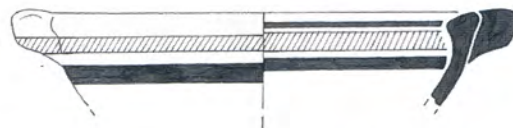
i 04/133.002



j 04/133.009



k 04/133.015



l 04/125.013



4
Plates and
bowls.



Seven bowls were found. Five exhibited new shapes attested only at the end of Level 11. The clay from which bowl 04/133.002 (fig. 4:i) was made (dark red clay tempered with small amounts of sand, red basalt and lots of limestone grits similar to bowl 04/125.013 – certainly made in the Akkar Plain) appeared only in the last loci of Level 11. The bowl is not⁷⁷ burnished but carefully smoothed. The paint is dark red and covers only the inner part of the rim. A nearly exact parallel to our bowl made from dark red clay comes from a room floor at Tell Kazel dated to the transitional LB-IA I⁵². (I would recommend “the LB-IA I transition” or “the transitional LB-IA I”) Another one made in buff clay was found in an IA I locus in Area II⁵³. Based on similar morphological examples from Levels 12 and 11, this bowl must have had a ring base, although a flat base is also likely. Another possibility would be a high foot (quite popular during the IA I period) as on an example from Level 5 at Tell Kazel⁵⁴, again made from a hard red clay. Bowls with identical carinated shapes but made from a different type of special clay (buff and very well levigated) are classified as Myc IIIC in Palestine. Such bowls from Tel Migne in Palestine (with red decor) are described by A. Killebrew as Aegean-style forms⁵⁵. Indeed, the shape of our bowl conspicuously resembles that of FS 240 dated to LH IIIC Early, that is, between 1190 and 1130 BC⁵⁶. In light of evidence from Arqa and Tell Kazel, it might be that some particular Aegeanizing-type vessels (like our bowl 04/133.002) were fabricated in the Akkar Plain using a particular type of red sandy clay as early as the end of the 13th century/beginning of the 12th and well into the 12th century BC, precisely at the same time when a whole repertoire of imitation Mycenaean vases started to appear in this region⁵⁷. These Aegeanizing, or as R. Jung calls them “local Mycenaean” shapes, could have been brought by the same population or by group other than the one who brought *HMBW* into the Akkar. At this moment we cannot weigh in on the ethnicity of this or that group, but whoever made these vessels, they blended in well with the local population and were certainly using other local forms like the jars and the cooking pots. It seems highly improbable that these foreign shapes were produced by foreign potters in order to supply the market with copies of imported wares, as was customary during the earlier part of LB at the height of Mycenaean trade to the Levant. Moreover, except perhaps for the bell-shaped krater, these shapes don’t fill a functional gap in the local repertoire that would have given potters an incentive for their manufacture. Kraters or large open bowls are very common in the local repertoire, as are the cups and carinated plates. *HMBW* is a crude-looking pottery that would not have appealed to a Canaanite, and the other Aegeanizing shapes like our carinated bowl aren’t any more attractive than the rest of the local pottery produced at the same time, except maybe for the painted kraters and bell-shaped bowls. It might be more reasonable to suggest that these shapes were made by local potters catering to the tastes of the people who were accustomed to them (just like at Beth Shan during the 18th Dynasty when local potters manufactured Egyptianizing forms); that is, unless at the beginning of the 12th century BC the word spread to all local potters throughout the Levant of a change to be implemented in their respective pottery! Needless to say, no pottery kiln has been discovered

from the 13th-12th centuries at either Arqa or Tell Kazel to shed some light on this topic. In all cases, this is a very interesting subject of research that deserves more scrutiny in the future.

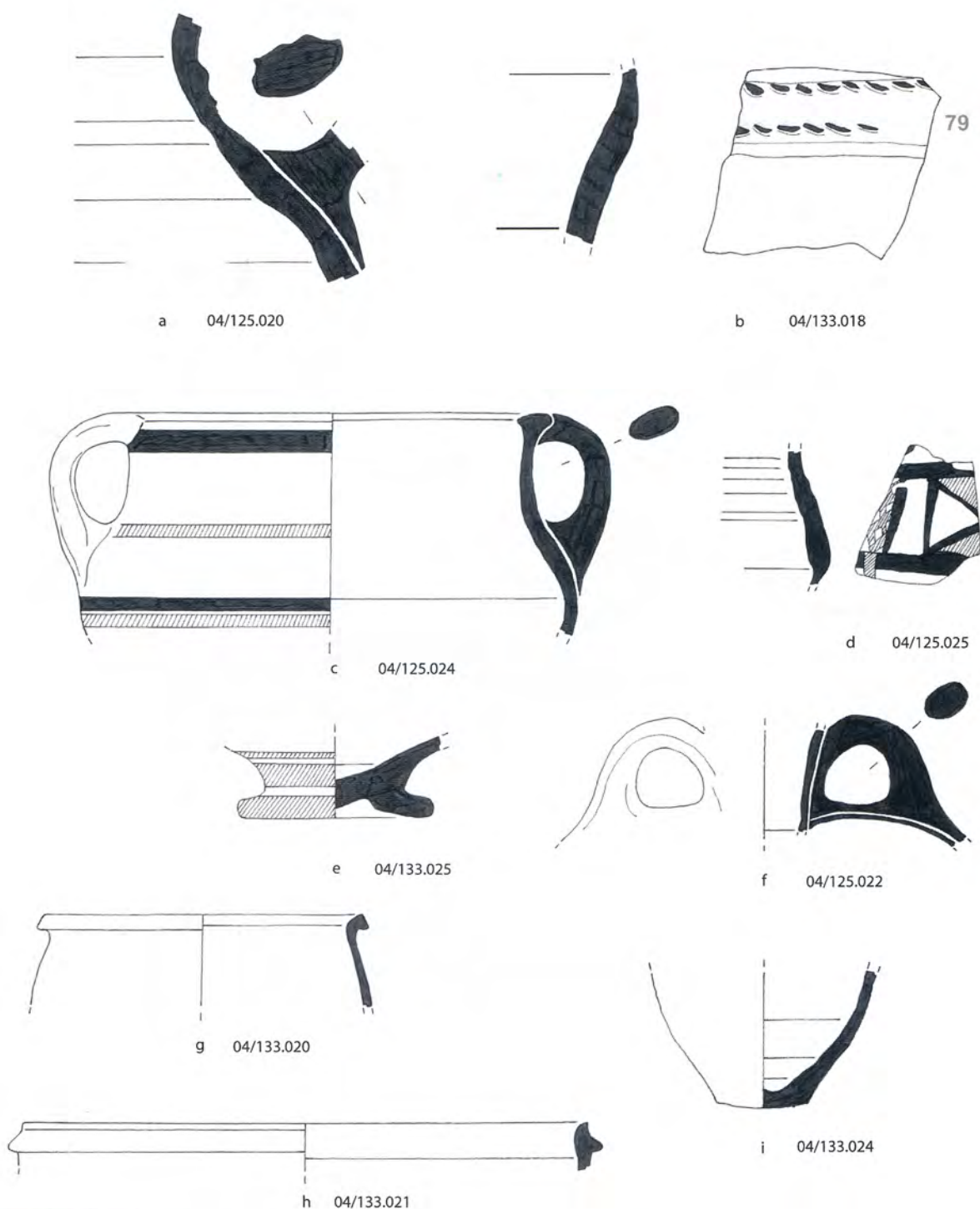
Painted bowl 04/125.013 (fig. 4:l) is made of dark red clay similar to ⁷⁸ that of bowl 04/133.002. It bears a geometric decoration of horizontal bands on the interior and the exterior. One novelty is the bar handle, which is extremely rare at Arqa. To date, only three examples have been found. Similar handles were found at Tell Kazel ⁵⁸ and Ugarit ⁵⁹ on 13th century vessels. Bowl 04/125.013 has a triangular exterior thickened rim that is very popular during the IA I period ⁶⁰. However, earlier examples of such rims occur in the 13th century at Sarepta ⁶¹. J.-P. Thalmann published an identical bowl (without any paint) in the Phase K material, but found in an IA II level ⁶². A. Killebrew labels these painted bowls as Aegean-Style forms ⁶³. The fact that bowls 04/133.002 and 04/125.013 share the same dark red clay tempered with sand, basalt and crushed limestone that could be similar – minus the basalt at least in the case of Ugarit – to clays used during the early 12th century at Tell Kazel ⁶⁴ and in the late 13th century at Ugarit ⁶⁵, and are close to the IA models, makes it possible to assign these two objects to the early 12th century.

Bowl 04/125.011 (fig. 4:f) is more hemispherical and is made of a sandy clay typical to the end of Level 11. Tell Kazel has yielded several close parallels from the transitional LB-IA I period, but with a narrower diameter (around 15 cm) ⁶⁶. Slightly wider bowls (17-19 cm) are also present in 13th century levels at Ugarit ⁶⁷. The height/diameter ratio of 1 to 2 (height equals half the diameter) is the same as the one observed on similar bowls dated to the transitional LB-IA I period at Tell Kazel ⁶⁸, and to the first half of the 12th century at Sarepta ⁶⁹.

Bowl 04/125.009 (fig. 4:h) is a degenerated version of the flaring carinated bowl that first appeared in Arqa in Level 12. While the earlier LB I versions had flaring sides above a sharp carination, the latest examples from the end of the 13th century tend to have vertical or nearly upright sides ⁷⁰. This type of bowl is very popular during the second half of the 13th century in the Northern Levant; for example, at Beirut ⁷¹, in the LB-IA I transition at Tell Kazel ⁷² and in the late 13th century at Ugarit ⁷³. At Sarepta, though, it already occurs in the 14th century ⁷⁴. An identical parallel, but painted in black and red, was found on an LB II floor at Arqa ⁷⁵.

Bowl 04/133.010 (fig. 4:g) has a rounded shape with rounded carination on the upper body and a slightly constricted neck. It is made of local buff clay tempered with sand and lacking chaff (in a way similar to the clays from Ugarit). The rim is everted and has a rounded section. This type of bowl (which could also be classified as a krater) is rare in 13th century loci in the Northern Levant, but has parallels at Sarepta in Stratum J from the 14th century ⁷⁶.

Bell-shaped deep bowls are rare at Arqa. It is undoubtedly another Greek shape (FS 284) copied by Levantine potters. Two examples were found



5 Miscellaneous material.

0 10 20 30 cm

in Silo 04/133. These bowls have slightly different shapes but are made in the same yellowish beige clay tempered with numerous fine round grits of sand and limestone. It might be that these two bowls are not local to Arqa. Mycenaean bell-shaped deep bowls generally indicate an LH IIIB/IIIC horizon, although they can be found as early as late LH IIIA2 ⁷⁷. In the Levant, the local copies seem to appear only in the IA I period, except perhaps for Sarepta. Bowls 04/133.015 and 04/133.009 (fig. 4:j,k) are made from the same type of clay and display spaced wheel burnishing

on the exterior and interior surfaces executed directly on the clay. No trace of a slip is noticeable. Bell-shaped bowls occur at Arqa in an undefined locus of Level 11 ⁷⁸, at Sarepta in a 13th century substratum ⁷⁹ and at Tell Kazel in the transitional LB-IA I ⁸⁰ and in IA I loci ⁸¹.

80

A wide krater decorated in black and red paint was found on Floor 04/125 (04/125.024, fig. 5:c). The traditional bichrome paint continues the heritage of the LB, but the quality of paint is distinctive from that used in the lower layers of Level 11 or Level 12; it is faint with the red appearing more pinkish and the black more bluish. This characteristic is found on nearly all vessels produced in Layer 11A. Is it decadence in the quality of the paint (heavily diluted pigments) or a shift to new techniques? The preliminary nature of this study of the end of Level 11 ceramics prevents us from making a hasty suggestion at present, but the question deserves further investigation. Krater 04/125.024 has a vertical neck stance and a smooth S-shaped carination on the upper body ⁸². Whether this shape is of Mycenaean inspiration ⁸³ is still to be determined, but similar kraters appeared already during the 14th century in Fosse Temple II at Lachish ⁸⁴). Although our pot is missing the lower part of the body, based on similar complete examples from Tell Kazel, we might assume that the base was a ring type (probably resembling base 04/133.025). Similar unpainted kraters are well attested at Arqa ⁸⁵, Sarepta ⁸⁶, Kazel ⁸⁷, and Ugarit ⁸⁸ in levels dated from the middle of the 13th century until the middle of the 12th century, after which these kraters appear to phase out. It seems therefore, that in the Northern Levant, unpainted kraters precede the appearance of the painted versions, but this is only a tentative assumption based on the published data. The decoration on our krater is linear and typical to Arqa at the end of Level 11, contra some examples from Stratum VIIA at Megiddo that display the Canaanite metope with geometric motifs ⁸⁹. In Palestine, imitations of Mycenaean kraters (mainly of the Chariot type) exist during the 13th century, but die out by the 12th century when they are replaced on sites affected by Philistine settlements by bell-shaped kraters with horizontal handles. Apparently, this is not the case in the Northern Levant where these two shapes apparently have coexisted during the early part of the 12th century. A floor dated to the IA I at Tell Kazel has yielded an Aegeanizing (?) krater along with a bell-shaped krater with horizontal handles ⁹⁰.

The painted fragment 04/125.025 (fig. 5:d) is made of the same clay as carinated krater 04/125.024 and jars 04/125.026 and 04/125.029. It is the upper part of a biconical tankard or a closed vessel, and is painted in bold black and red. The painted motifs consist of a register filled with an hourglass and a fishnet and delimited by two black bands. Such decoration is common in the LB repertoire. It can be found on tankards from the 13th century at Ugarit ⁹¹. It continues into the 12th century as evidenced from vessels found in the IA I at Tell Kazel ⁹². This is another testimony of the continuity of the LB pottery tradition down into the 12th century.

The ring base 04/133.025 (fig. 5:e) is made from a sandy clay fired bright orange. It is decorated with three horizontal red bands and burnished.

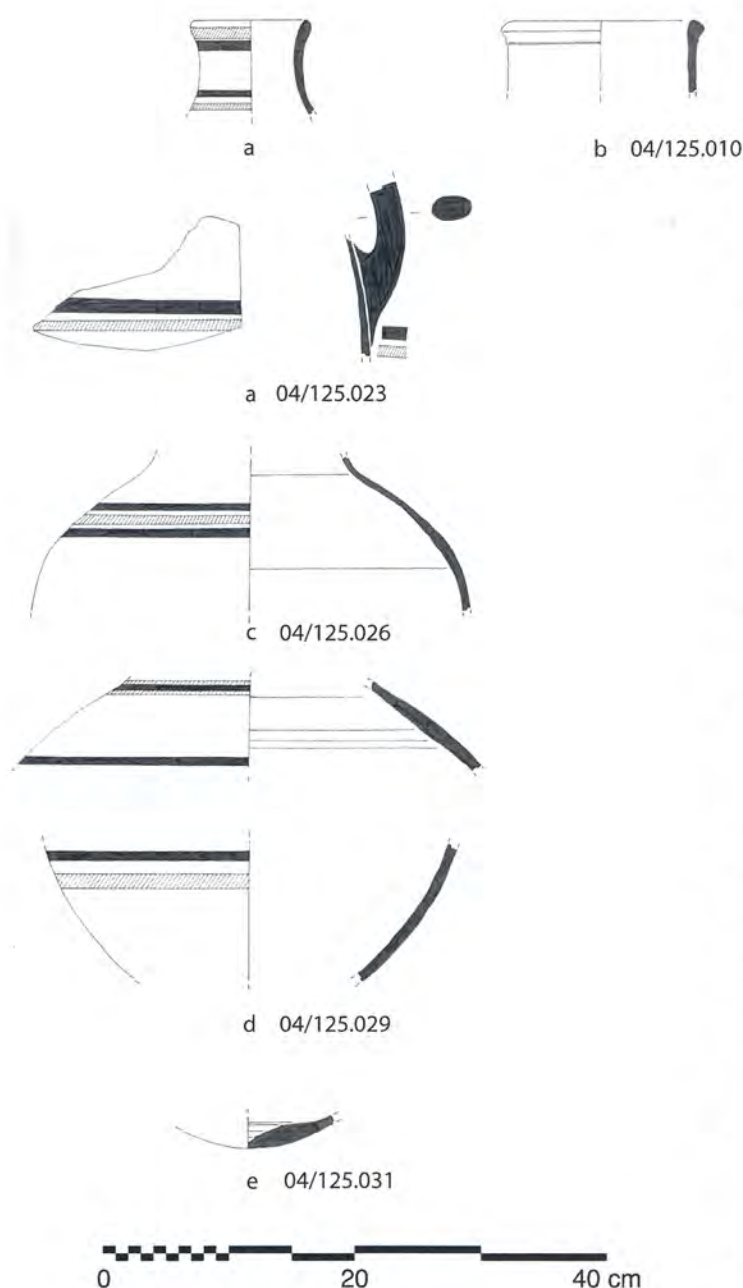
The shape of the base is identical to those found on imitation Mycenaean kraters at Tell Kazel (in levels attributed to the 13th century⁹³ and to the transitional LB-IA I⁹⁴) and at Ugarit⁹⁵.

Flasks are quite rare at Arqa with only a handful so far in Area I (the⁸¹ only area presently excavated on the tell). The fragment found on Floor 04/125 (04/125.022, fig. 5:f) has a funnel neck and two loop handles affixed on the shoulder. Even though it's fragmentary the drawing suggests that it was a large vessel. Similar flasks, but with slender shoulders, occur in a locus dated to the second half of LB II at Arqa⁹⁶ and in 13th century levels at Tell Kazel⁹⁷.

Flat base 04/133.024 (fig. 5:i) is made of the same clay as the "shower vase". The base is not pierced, ruling out another example of the Ugaritian clepsydra. But its body displays traces of wheel trimming on the exterior surface. It is most probably the bottom part of a jug with a strap handle and a rounded or trefoil mouth similar to those found at Ugarit⁹⁸. The shape of this base also resembles a semi-complete jug found in IA I level at Tell Kazel⁹⁹.

Two cooking pots found in Silo 04/133. 04/133.020 (fig. 5:g) have a slightly upright neck but convex shoulders and an everted triangular rim; a carry-over from Level 12 and earlier layers of Level 11 where this type of rim was predominant. The rather vertical stance of the shoulder, suggesting an ovoid body, makes this object more of a 13th century production. A close parallel to our vessel was found in 12th and 11th century strata at Sarepta¹⁰⁰, but similar shapes were already recorded in the latest decades of the 13th century at Sarepta and Ugarit¹⁰¹. This shape predominates in IA Tyre¹⁰². The other cooking pot (04/133.021, fig. 5:h) has a vertical neck and a molded triangular rim. Identical rims were found in late 13th century loci at Ugarit¹⁰³ and in the first half of the 12th century at Sarepta¹⁰⁴ and Tell Kazel¹⁰⁵. The vertical rim stance of these two cooking pots heralds a smooth shift from the earlier MB and LB traditions (with globular body and a short everted triangular rim) to a new tradition (with upright molded rim) that won't fully be embraced until after the 11th century. This is somewhat different from Palestine where the vertical rim stance replaces the everted triangular one already at the beginning of the 12th century BC¹⁰⁶, ushering in the IA I according to many scholars who consider this new rim as one of the hallmarks of this new historical/archaeological period.

Two fragments of pithoi were found in this assemblage. 04/125.020 (fig. 5:a) is a shoulder of a large, heavy vessel made from a dark orange clay tempered with sand and coarse grits of limestone that could be foreign to Arqa. The base of the neck bears two molded bands which were probably created there to hide the join of the body and neck. The lower part of a handle is preserved and attached to the shoulder, whereas the upper part of the handle must have been affixed to the middle of the neck or on the rim. The handle has two grooves made by the two thumbs of the potter when he was in the process of attaching the handle to the shoulder. Such marked double ridge handles are well attested at Ugarit¹⁰⁷.



6 Jars found on floor 04/125.

A close parallel to our vessel seems to be the wide-neck pithos found at this site at the end of the 13th century. The stance of the shoulder and the handle are similar to ours, but the neck is much shorter¹⁰⁸. Body fragment 04/133.018 (fig. 5:b) belongs to a pithos, judging from the construction technique (coil-building) and the decoration (imprints of rope patterns on the surface exterior which are remnants from the ropes used to lift these heavy vessels during the mounting process). Such imprints are widely found on pithoi during the LB at Arqa¹⁰⁹ and elsewhere. The clay used for this vessel is different from those discussed above. It is heavily tempered with coarse chaff and fired light pinkish beige. This type of clay characterized by small amounts of sand and lots of vegetal inclusions (type G3 of Arqa's system¹¹⁰) appeared already in Level 12.

Of the five jars found, three are painted in horizontal red and black matt bands. This monotonous decorative sequence is invariably found on most of the painted sherds at Arqa – either a red band between two black ones or vice-versa. Similar patterns of painting appear in Levels 6 and 5 of Area II at Tell Kazel¹¹¹. The two fragments of jar 04/125.029 (fig. 6:d)

closely resembles a globular jar from a 13th century level at Tell Kazel¹¹². The painted neck of jar 04/125.023 (fig. 6:a) has an exact parallel at Ugarit but in an undecorated form¹¹³.

Jar 04/125.010 (fig. 6:b) has a cylindrical neck with straight sides and an everted triangular rim. Two fine lines are incised below the rim. We didn't find exact parallels to our piece, but similar jars without incised lines exist at Ugarit¹¹⁴.

Base 04/125.031 (fig. 6:e) belongs to a jar. Although it is burnished, like similar bases from Level 12 at Arqa¹¹⁵, it is made from a type of clay found at the end of Level 11. Rounded bases occur at Tell Kazel¹¹⁶ and Ugarit¹¹⁷ on 13th century jars.

Conclusion

Based on the parallels found so far, the material studied above is contemporary with ceramics from: **1)** the latest occupation phases at Ugarit

dated to LB III ¹¹⁸ (1365-1190/1185 BC), **2**) Levels 6 (mostly upper) and 5 of Area II and Level 5 of Area IV at Tell Kazel dated to LB IIB and IA I, **3**) Strata J/H, G and F at Sarepta dated between 1450 and 1150 BC, and **4**) Strata XV and XIV at Tyre dated between 1375 and 1070 BC (see Table 1 below). It is therefore clear that the upper layer of Level 11 ⁸³ at Arqa (Layer 11A) to which our material must belong encompasses the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 12th. Arqa, as suggested by J.-P. Thalmann and demonstrated by some finds described in this volume (see E. Gubel's article), continued to exist during the 12th century and possibly into the 11th as well. The table below presents stratigraphic correlations for all the main comparative sites in this paper ¹¹⁹:

Site	Arqa	Tell Kazel	Sarepta	Tyre	Ugarit	Lachish
Stratigraphy	11A	Level 6-upper (Area II) Level 5-upper (Area IV)	Substratum G1	End of Stratum XV Beginning of Stratum XIV	End of the 13 th century loci- End of <i>Niveau I</i>	Level VI

Table 1: Correlation between selected Lebanese and Syrian sites at the end of the 13th century BC.

In addition to the genuine interest that this new material from Arqa raises from a ceramic standpoint, we are also confronted with a deeper problem: the terminology to assign to this pottery. Usually, a period displaying mixed features from two periods is labeled "transitional" by many scholars. Hence, Level 5-upper of Area IV and Level 6-upper of Area II at Tell Kazel are both called "Transition LB-Iron Age" ¹²⁰. But we are hesitant to confer this terminology to the layer in which our two loci belong because we don't believe that there are "transitional" periods. The "transitional" terminology is a convenient designation bestowed on a stratum, level or phase whose material culture displays "new" features alongside "old" ones, and thus does not fit within the generalized and rigid picture that was long assumed valid for the entire Levant. Following this reasoning, Level 12 of Arqa would be "Transitional MB II-LB I" because the ceramics of this level is of the "old" MB II tradition. However, Level 12 is a distinct architectural level by itself (even if it is a continuation of the previous Level 13). First of all, transferring the "transitional" character of the material culture to an archaeological level is not sound to begin with. Furthermore, relying on a "transition" to explain why the ceramics don't perfectly fit one of the established subdivisions of the Three-Age System ¹²¹ (either the LB or the IA I in our case) is, in our view, a tacit rejection of a regional cultural development. In the case of Arqa, it would be more accurate to say that Level 12 fits within a historical and cultural period (Phase L) the material of which displays "transitional", or better, regional elements comprising new features and inherited traditions from Level 13.

As we discussed above, the material presented here shows close ties with that of Level 11, even if at the same time new types appear (especially in the case of the bowls) that were previously unsuspected at the site ¹²². The very same continuity of LB (or as some might call it "Canaanite") ceramic tradition also exists in the Tyre assemblage from levels XVIII to XIV. P. Bikai observes that based on stratigraphical and architectural grounds, levels XVIII to XIV constitute one period that could have witnessed some disruption at the end ¹²³. The Sarepta material, where archaeological

features show no major architectural or cultural change between Strata G and F in Sounding Y and in Period V in Sounding X, also testifies to this cultural continuity between the 13th and the 12th century. W. Anderson observed this pattern of continuity between the 13th century material of Stratum G and that of the 12th century of Stratum F ¹²⁴. However, he re- 84
 fused to ascribe the pottery from the latter stratum to the IA because it exhibited the same ceramic traditions as those of the previous strata (J/H and G). He writes, “*there is therefore no reason to introduce further confusion by labeling the pottery of Stratum F, and the period along the Lebanese coast in general, as Iron I*” ¹²⁵. Instead he proposed alternatives, or as he put it, “better” solutions such as extending the length of the LB II period to cover the entire 12th century, or creating a third division (LB III ¹²⁶) to suit what is conventionally known as IA I. Moreover, both W. Anderson and I. Khalifeh extend this cultural continuity in Sarepta ceramics to the 11th century (Stratum E of Sounding Y and Period VI of Sounding X) ¹²⁷. Khalifeh notes that it is only during the middle of the 11th century BC that a change in forms and decorations is attested, ushering the beginning of the Phoenician period ¹²⁸. Both scholars based their reasoning primarily on the pottery, even if the architecture was also taken into account. In her study of Area II at Tell Kazel, E. Capet noted the continuity of the “syro-palestinian” LB tradition between the pottery from Level 6 and that from Level 6-upper and Level 5 ¹²⁹.

At Arqa, J.-P. Thalmann arrived at the same conclusion ¹³⁰ based on the architectural remains of Level 11 (despite their flimsy state) and their uninterrupted succession. A preliminary study of the material shows enough close ties to earlier loci from Level 11 to supersede the impact of new shapes, i.e. Aegeanizing ceramics in particular. There is no valid reason from a ceramic standpoint to bestow an “Iron Age” label and affiliation on this same material – used in this article only as a general chronological guide – simply because many of the parallels cited are labeled as such. This would only perpetuate the endless Three-Age System which creates artificial boundaries for our material. In following such short-sighted divisions our pottery from the first half of the 12th century would then be shoved into the Iron Age without taking into account its close affiliation with its 13th century LB “ethnicity”.

The site of Arqa was abandoned sometime at the end of the 12th century or into the 11th. A new architectural phase was implemented in Level 10 (dated from the 9th through the 6th centuries BC ¹³¹). The ceramics retrieved from this level are the Phoenician type (with the presence of red-slipped-and-burnished vases). The sites of Tyre and Sarepta also experienced a period of abandonment, though extremely brief, at the end of the 11th century BC ¹³². At the end of the IA I, Tell Kazel shrank in size and many of the areas excavated (Area II and Area IV) were abandoned, or at most, scarcely inhabited. Only the acropolis (Area I) remained active. The levels encompassing the 13th, 12th and perhaps a part of the 11th century display the same ceramic traditions as those of the LB ¹³³. Many shapes continue from the LB to the IA I, and it's only with the IA II that a whole new tradition begins. New investigations on the subject of continuity between “LB” and “IA I” pottery, already tackled by W. Anderson for Sarepta ¹³⁴, are worth pursuing further on the coast of the Northern Levant as well.

But defining a new period isn't only based on ceramics. Other factors such as the appearance of new cultural elements, a change in imported wares, a major conflagration, or the end of a civilization were also taken into consideration when introducing the Iron Age period. However, since this definition of the IA relied mostly on Palestinian archaeology, one has to ask how pertinent are these same factors in Northern Levantine archaeology? 85

In Palestine, the introduction of a foreign element, the Philistine culture, is considered one of the hallmarks of a new historical and cultural period called the Iron Age I. It is certain that new cultural elements are introduced into the Akkar Plain as early as the late 13th century BC. The production of *HMBW* and Local Mycenaean pottery (already singled out at Tell Kazel ¹³⁵) testify to these new populations. However, the local cultural element is heavily present alongside these new traits, whether in the architecture or in the material culture. So the question one must ask here is whether the introduction of a new cultural element, even when not dominant, constitutes a decisive and irrevocable factor to justify the switch to another historical/chronological period within the Three-Age System? How do we apply this same reasoning to a neighboring site that doesn't have the same foreign element? For example, in Palestine, Lachish doesn't have Philistine pottery; yet Gath, only 15 km away, yielded large amounts of this pottery ¹³⁶. If the Bronze Age is the era when Canaanite culture prevailed, shouldn't the end of this culture be included within the same period? And following this same reasoning, shouldn't the advent of Phoenician culture initiate a new period rather than a sub-period (i.e. IA IB)? From what we can see, neither the criteria used to define a historical/chronological period, nor the terminology used to name each period is satisfactory, especially when it is squeezed into the Three-Age System and applied to the whole Levant.

Scholars working on Southern Levantine sites are also raising questions over the current terminology (LB IIB or LB III) and chronology (the end of the LB period). At Lachish, D. Ussishkin agrees that Fosse Temple III and the level succeeding it, Level VI, should be assigned a LB subdivision. But instead of using the LB IIB that is generally used in Palestine to cover the 13th century, he prefers to assign a subdivision (LB III). He based his reasoning on a change in the nature of the settlement of the site between the 14th and the 13th century that would warrant a third division. At this time, Lachish went from a small city in Level VIII to a prosperous one under Egyptian rule in Levels VII and VI. He places the LB III between 1300 and 1130 BC and divides this timeframe based on Egyptian presence at this site: LB IIIA (Level VII) would cover the 19th Dynasty and LB IIIB (Level VI) the 20th Dynasty. It is only with the destruction of the city ca. 1130 BC and the end of the Egyptian presence at the site that the LB III ends ¹³⁷. In Ussishkin's opinion, the end of 20th Dynasty hegemony in Southern Canaan is marked by the end of the LB, rather than by the rather arbitrarily-set date of 1200 BC ¹³⁸. His theory suffers from the fact that it is based on Egyptian presence in Canaan at a time when Egyptian hegemony was no longer widespread. Site like Ashdod or Ashkelon were emancipated from

Egyptian rule and were witnessing the appearance of a foreign culture on their doorsteps. However, from a ceramic standpoint, the study conducted by E. Yannai on the pottery of Area S concurs with Ussishkin's conclusion. Yannai writes that there is a clear continuity in pottery traditions from Level S-3 (=Fosse Temple II) through Level VI, and that this conservatism in pottery might reflect a cultural stability¹³⁹; in this case, the continuity of the Egyptian dominance. Independent of the historical and biblical events that Palestinian archaeology speaks about during the 13th and 12th centuries (e.g. Egyptian rule, the Exodus, rise of the Israelites, and arrival of the Philistines), events which are lacking for the most part in the Northern Levant, the reconsideration of D. Ussishkin of both the terminology and the duration of the LB at Lachish mirrors the one we offer here for the end of the LB at Arqa and in the Akkar Plain.

At Megiddo, I. Finkelstein doesn't use the LB III terminology, but he extends the LB II period, which includes Stratum VIIA (=Level F-7), all the way into the second half of the 12th century¹⁴⁰. The three strata, VIII, VIIB and VIIA, stretching from the mid-14th century to the mid-12th century, "*represent one phase of urban continuity*"¹⁴¹. Moreover, it seems that the ceramic corpus of the LB and IA I displays the same tradition. According to the excavators, Stratum VIA (dated to the 11th century according to the prevailing opinion, or to the 10th century according to Finkelstein's lower chronology) "*closes the long 'Canaanite' ceramic tradition of the Late Bronze and early Iron I*"¹⁴². It's only with the advent of Stratum V that a new ceramic horizon is introduced at Megiddo¹⁴³. This situation is similar to that observed at Sarepta, and to a lesser extent at Tyre, where a whole new ceramic tradition (the Phoenician one) prevailed at the end of the 11th century.

In the Jordan Valley, P. Fischer also extends the LB II to cover the first half of the 12th century¹⁴⁴. In his study on the chronology of Tell Deir 'Alla, G. Van der Kooij places the end of the LB II at c. 1150 BC¹⁴⁵. Neither of these scholars working in the Jordan Valley uses the LB III subdivision.

In Palestine, the cessation of Mycenaean and Cypriote imports is considered by many scholars to be a clear cut criterion differentiating the LB from the IA I. Tyre, Sarepta and Arqa still have Bronze Age Cypriote and Mycenaean imports in loci from the end of the 13th/beginning of the 12th century¹⁴⁶. By contrast, at Tell Kazel these imports ceased to exist after the appearance of *HMBW* during the same time period. At Sarepta, Cypriote imports nearly disappear in Stratum G, but are replaced by an influx of Mycenaean vessels of the IIIA:2-IIIB style¹⁴⁷ which are absent from Stratum F. The two architectural features of Arqa from which the material discussed here comes, together with a pit (Pit 11.02) and a cistern (Cistern 11.33) from Layer 11A, yielded *HMBW*, Cypriote (*MN*, *Base Ring II* and *White Shaved* wares) and a Mycenaean alabastron dated to the LH IIIB¹⁴⁸. Even if the imports were deposited later than their date of production or circulation (as in the case of residual material, heirlooms, a family treasure or the cleaning of an old tomb), the local material associated with these imports bears the same characteristics observed throughout Level 11. In this way, loci from Layer 11A cannot be separated, architecturally or ceramically, from Level 11. As it stands, and in light of the architectural and

ceramic continuity at many sites in the Northern Levant (see above), we don't regard the cessation of Mycenaean and Cypriote imports to be a very strong argument for introducing the use of IA I terminology.

The three Lebanese coastal sites (Tyre, Sarepta and Arqa) share another common factor: the absence of any destruction at the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 12th that can be unequivocally linked to the Sea Peoples' raids. Further investigation of this phenomenon in Lebanon is impossible at present due to the lack of excavated sites, but the new excavations at Sidon and Tell el-Burak might provide new information concerning the beginning of the 12th century in this region. At present, excavations from the tells of Beirut and Byblos haven't yielded substantial occupation layers from this timeframe. Beirut certainly has IA I layers over Glacis II, including a thick burnt layer¹⁴⁹, but no known habitation quarters are linked to these layers. Glacis II was built on top of a destruction layer marked by black ash¹⁵⁰. The ceramics of this layer (called Phase 4 by L. Badre) shows similarities with the 14th and early 13th century material culture, while the burnt layer over Glacis II belongs to the second half of the 12th/11th century tradition. Consequently, Glacis II must have been built sometime during the second half of the 13th or the first half of the 12th century¹⁵¹. Even so, it is impossible to judge if the burnt layer over Glacis II is the result of destructions linked to the Sea Peoples. Two more "fire levels" were found on top of this burnt layer. Their pottery shows close chronological succession. An abandonment layer was observed by the excavator, but it is dated later in the first millennium BC¹⁵².

The distribution of the IA pottery from Byblos doesn't offer any pertinent information on this period. While G. Homsy gives a broad time frame of 1200-300 BC¹⁵³ for the dating of her pottery, a closer examination of the same material shows that not a single vessel can be dated before the 11th or even the 10th century. However, she has only published the closed vessels so far; therefore we will have to wait for her publication of the open forms before we can make any definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, the distribution of this material indicates an IA presence in the western part of the area excavated by M. Dunand, possibly indicating the existence of the IA city under modern Jbeil¹⁵⁴.

While Lebanese coastal sites offer no proof of destruction linked to outside raiders, Syrian coastal sites provide us with an opposite picture. The city of Ugarit was destroyed around 1190-1185 BC¹⁵⁵, and the building activity of Layer 14 of G11 SW dated to the LB II at Tell Sukas ended in a major conflagration¹⁵⁶. Tell Kazel has a massive destruction layer dated to the "Transition LB-IA I"¹⁵⁷ or more precisely to 1179/1176 BC according to R. Jung who attributes this destruction to the Sea Peoples¹⁵⁸. While the Sea Peoples theory is not foolproof, it is not unreasonable to link the Kazel destruction to these major disruptions at some Syrian and Palestinian sites at this time, especially in light of the textual and ceramic evidence that R. Jung presents. As said above, the ceramics from the 13th and the 12th century at Tell Kazel display a cultural continuity similar to that observed at neighboring southern sites (Tyre, Sarepta and Arqa). Further north, the Tell Tweini (ancient Gabala) excavations have uncovered LB and IA I remains¹⁵⁹ with no evidence of destruction between these two periods. However,

the area where these two periods has been reached is limited and the picture could change in the future.

From what we have seen above, the 12th and 11th centuries exhibit extremely similar if not identical ceramic traditions in the Akkar plain⁸⁸ and parts of coastal Lebanon. Other sites might be added once their material is studied further, e.g. Sidon and Tell el-Burak. Yet, historically-speaking, the 12th century marks (at different times) the end of Egyptian and Hittite domination in the Levant, the fall of the palatial system in Greece, the emergence of the Israelite tribes in the highlands and other ethnic entities in the Levant, the raids of the Sea Peoples along the Levantine coast and Cyprus, and the arrival of Greek settlers in Cyprus. It is a period of profound political, economical and cultural change, particularly in coastal Palestine, Cyprus and Greece. Even so, in parts of coastal Lebanon and Syria these events did not especially cause or induce profound changes in the material culture (mainly in the local ceramics).

In the case of Arqa, the site wasn't directly affected by any of the military and political changes in the region, certainly because Arqa was merely a small village by that time. It might also be that the kingdom of Amurru (as it was structured during the LB) endured for one reason or another; perhaps due to a flexible governmental structure that was already accustomed to versatile changes under Abdi-Asirta and Aziru that could absorb the Sea Peoples or other sudden changes, and provided enough of an authority figure to stabilize the region it controlled and to oversee some of its cities, e.g. Arqa, Tell Kazel and Byblos¹⁶⁰ well into the 11th century. It might also be that the foreign elements that came before or along with the Sea Peoples' raids were limited in number and got quickly acculturated. Had it not been for regional cross-references, the interruption of certain imports (Mycenaean and Cypriote) and the introduction of others (*HMBW* and local Mycenaean pottery), one would have naturally assumed that the 13th-11th century ceramics belonged to the same cultural phase, i.e. the later part of LB II.

Looking at the ceramic assemblages from coastal sites in the Northern Levant which have levels dating to the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 12th, we see that Substratum G1 at Sarepta and Level 6-upper (Area II) and Level 5-upper (Area IV) at Tell Kazel, and our material presented here have a lot in common (as demonstrated above). The similarities noted between these assemblages could also apply to the pottery from Stratum F at Sarepta (as already noticed by Anderson). Since both G1 and F have Myc IIIc Early bowls in their assemblage, and assuming that these bowls are *in situ*, then the end of G1 cannot be before 1190 BC when these bowls started to appear. Stratum F would cover the 1190-1130 time span given to this particular import. If we give a 30-50 year life span to the layer in which our material was found, and to the corresponding levels at Tell Kazel and Sarepta (more than sufficient considering the light architectural remains), then the end of these levels would be around 1170 BC. Stratum E at Sarepta, Levels 5 (Area II) and 4 (Area IV) at Tell Kazel, Building Period 3 at Kamed el-Loz and the latest loci of Level 11 at Arqa show new pottery

shapes in common. These include feeding bottles, cooking pots with vertical rims, locally-made pyxides, globular jugs with linear bichrome paint, kraters with shelf-like rims painted in red, and bowls with concave disc-bases; however, these also continue the pottery tradition of the previous period. There is more of a gradual change (to varying degrees at each site) in the repertoire than a sudden and major disruption from the previous period. As in any period, old pottery types fade away and new ones are introduced; a phenomenon widely observed during any period on any site from any region. But overall the period spanning the end of the 13th and the 12th century in the Northern Levant shows enough conservatism in the architecture of the settlement (except maybe for Kamed el-Loz) and the material culture to warrant such a unity. This unanimity is very strong in the Akkar both in the architecture and the material culture. The temple of Area IV at Tell Kazel witnessed two destructions and the introduction of new pottery (the *HMBW*), but remained in use (though remodeled) until the end of the IA I. The flimsy remains of Level 11 at Arqa show no particular modifications or disruptions.

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In conclusion, we see that proponents of the LB III in Palestine argue that the continuity of Canaanite forms down into the 12th century (such as in the Jezre'el Valley) favor extending the LB, even when Mycenaean and Cypriote imports cease to appear. On the other hand, advocates for a shift to IA I see the cessation of imports, the introduction of new pottery types (cooking pots with vertical rim stances and collared-rim jars) and the appearance of local Mycenaean pottery related to the arrival of the Sea Peoples to be sufficient evidence to warrant a new chronological designation. In the North, where these considerations don't weigh as much, we see a Canaanite tradition that lasts till the end of the 11th century. Consequently, three options are to be considered when one discusses the terminology/chronology issue:

1 Keep the convenient "traditional" IA I terminology for the 12th-11th centuries ceramic material from coastal Lebanon and the Akkar Plain, but lower the end of the LB to 1179/1176 BC using the destructions of Tell Kazel and Ugarit as clear-cut criteria for changing periods in the Northern Levant.

2 Drop the IA I terminology altogether and introduce a fourth division of the LB to cover these two centuries or three subdivisions of the LB III (with LB IIIA for the 13th, LB IIIB for the 12th and LB IIIC for the 11th).

3 Avoid the LB and IA I language altogether and adopt a local chronostratigraphical terminology in its place (for example, Phase J covering the 12th and 11th centuries BC in the case of the Akkar Plain) with absolute dates for regional anchoring.

We are partial towards the third option as one best suited for every region; otherwise, any subdivision within the Three-Age System will only lead to more complications and incorrect broad misrepresentations. Defining cultural regions (each defined according to its own phasing and anchored by C14 dates) is a long and tedious task that started a few years ago in Vienna with the European project SCIE M 2000. Thanks to the meticulous excavation and recording system of J.-P. Thalmann, Tell Arqa has become one of the key reference sites of this project.

NOTES

1 For a preliminary report on the Byzantine building see J.-P. Thalmann, 1978a, p. 74, Pl. I and 1978b, p. 33-35.

2 I am indebted to J.-P. Thalmann for allowing me to publish this material. I am also grateful to him for giving me the permission to study and publish the material from Levels 12 and 11. Dr. Thalmann has been a constant source of support and knowledge from the very first time I set foot in Arqa in 1996! I owe much of what I know in the field of the ancient Near Eastern archaeology to his vast expertise and passionate knowledge of this field.

3 For the description of the Iron Age II level (Level 10) in general and its sanctuary identified as such by the excavator, see J.-P. Thalmann, 1978a, p. 68-73 and 1983, p. 217-218.

4 See the terminology used by the Arqa excavation in J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, p. 11, fig. 2. Here, Level is equivalent to "niveau" while layer corresponds to "couche".

5 See for example the conclusion that J.-P. Thalmann (2006, p. 171) offers on the discussion of the ceramics from Level 11. He uses parallels for two types of jars found in Layer 11A to place the end of this level in the 12th or even the 11th century BC. It is noteworthy to indicate here that the ceramic assemblage for Layer 11A is not yet accurately defined but will be thoroughly studied in the near future.

6 The complete study of this material will appear in H. Charaf, forthcoming.

7 The pottery was drawn by H. Charaf and inked by R. Antonios-Abou Jaoudé whom I wish to thank warmly here.

8 L. Badre et al., 2005, p. 33-36.

9 L. Badre, 2003, fig. 7:1,7-9, the Southwestern Complex of the Temple, Level 5-upper, Area IV. The numbering of the levels at Tell Kazel follow either the Roman system (used in L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000) or the Arabic one (used in E. Capet, 2003). In our discussion here we follow the Arabic numbering since it is the one adopted in the latest articles (E. Capet, 2003, R. Jung, 2007 and L. Badre in this publication). We also follow L. Badre's subdivisions for the levels: Level 6-upper instead of level 6-final, only for the purpose of harmonization between the numbering systems used for strata in Area II and Area IV.

10 D. Pilides, 1994, fig. 5:2.

11 R. Jung, 2006, respectively, p. 26, 254, no. 37, Pl. 25:37 (Mycenae), p. 34, 254, no. 15, Pl. 25:15 (Dhimini) et p. 185, 254, no. 11, Pl. 25:11 (Khania). We take the opportunity here to thank R. Jung for the invaluable information on the *HMBW* he kindly provided to us, especially when dealing with the Italian parallels.

12 L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier, 1980, p. 132, nos. 5207, 5209, Pl. 208:5,7. These cups were found in the destruction of the acropolis at the end of the period *faciès* Ausonian I corresponding in Aegean relative chronology to the LH IIIB and LH IIIC (R. Jung, 2006, p. 137-141 for the synchronization between the Italian and the Aegean chronologies).

13 T. Sabbatini and M. Silvestrini, 2005, p. 647, figs. 2,10, p. 648. This cup was found in Phase 4 of this settlement dated to the Italian *Recent Bronze Age* 2 equivalent to LH IIIC Early-Advanced according to the synchronization of R. Jung (2006, p. 216, fig. 4).

14 D. Coppola and A. Cinquepalmi, 1998, p. 155, no. 9.012, p. 158, no. 9.034.

15 V. Adrimi-Sismani, 2006, p. 108, figs. 12,13, nos. BE 36013, BE 35896. BE 36013 is

also published in R. Jung, 2006, p. 202, Pl. 17:6. These two cups come from the reoccupation phase of Dhimini dated to the LH IIIC Early (R. Jung, 2006, p. 202).

16 D. Pilides, 1994, p. 1.

17 For a thorough overview of the different hypothesis on the origins of the *HMBW* see D. Pilides, 1994, p. 1-9, with a summary table on p. 131 (Table 12). A brief summary had already appeared in D. Pilides, 1991, p. 139,141.

18 L. Badre, 2003.

19 A. Mazar, 1985, p. 43-44, photos 39-41.

20 L. Badre, 2003, p. 89. In 1998, L. Badre suggested a possible "indigenous origin" for the *HMBW* cup found in Area II, Level 6 upper at Tell Kazel, and proposed a dating based on parallels and the local material associated with the cup "towards the end of the 12th century B.C." – the period she calls LB IIIA/LB IIIB (p. 78). After 1998, this level at Tell Kazel was re-dated to the transitional LB-IA I without assigning any absolute dates to it (see E. Capet, 2003, p. 117).

21 R. Jung, 2007, p. 567.

22 For further details and full account on *MN* Ware at Arqa, see H. Charaf-Mullins, 2006, p. 180-181; however, this article covered only the 1972-2001 material.

23 E. Oren, 1969, p. 140-142 (following E. Sjöqvist), B. Gittlen (1977, p. 324) and C. Bergoffen (2003, p. 401) approve of this chronological distinction.

24 P. Bikai, 1978, Pl. LIII:11,12, Grave 2, Stratum XVIII.

25 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 105:1438, *Ugarit Récent* 2 or 3.

26 L. Woolley, 1955, Pl. CXXV:ATP/38/162; C. Bergoffen (2003, p. 401) counted eight similar bowls from the Woolley excavations (C. Bergoffen, 2005, Pl. 5:a).

27 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 23:31, Stratum J.

- 28 A. Caubet and M. Yon, 1990, fig. 2:74,76; L. Badre *et al.*, 1994, fig. 62:d, Level 7, Area II; L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 11:b, Level 6, Cella lower floor, Area IV.
- 29 L. Courtois, 1969, fig. 7:l,j; J. Mallet and V. Matoian, 2001, fig. 21:90.5104.
- 30 P. Bikai, 1978, p. 55. *MN* is still recorded in residual status in Stratum XII (1000-925 BC).
- 31 At Sarepta, *MN* appears in Stratum L (17th-16th century) and lasts till Stratum F (1200/1150-1115/1125 BC).
- 32 J.-C. Courtois, 1981, p. 154.
- 33 P. Åström, 1972, p. 679-697.
- 34 For example, O. Tufnell (1958, p. 202) notes that the *MN* has ceased to be imported at Lachish at the beginning of the 14th century BC. In his study of the Cypriote imports to the Levant, B. Gittlen (1981, p. 50-51) observes a cessation of the *MN* imports to Palestine after the LB I. Although his data is old, his conclusion pertaining to the *MN* is still valid. Indeed, L. Steel noted recently the complete disappearance of *MN* Ware after the end of the LB I at the site of Tel Batash (2006, p. 157).
- 35 J.-P. Thalmann singles out this new temper in the pottery from Level 12 and ascribes a new type, Type F, to the fabric made with it (J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, p. 99). He notes that this type of fabric dominates the production in Level 11 (p. 105, fig. 37). See also H. Charaf, 2004, p. 235.
- 36 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, p. 17.
- 37 P. Lombard, 1987. This vessel was also published by M. Yon, 2006, p. 140, fig. 27.
- 38 P. Lombard, 1987, p. 352.
- 39 J. Mallet and V. Matoian, 2001, fig. 16:86.5167.
- 40 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 10:132-133.
- 41 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 22:h, Room 6IIH. However, this shape is already attested in the 14th century temple in Area IV (L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, figs. 9:e, 21:c, Level 6).
- 42 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 117:2.
- 43 L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, figs. 10:g, 21:i, Level 6, both from Area IV, (14th century). These plates have ring bases similar to earlier burnished examples from Level 12 at Tell Arqa. See also fig. 31:i, Level 5, lower floor (13th century).
- 44 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 106:2, Level 12 and Pl. 117:4-6,11,14, Level 11.
- 45 L. Courtois, 1969, fig. 4:f,g.
- 46 L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 20:d, Area IV, Level 6 (14th century), fig. 31:d,h, fig. 34:j, all from Level 5 (13th century); E. Capet, 2003, fig. 20:k, Room 6IIP, fig. 27:c, Room 6IIX, both from Area II, (13th century).
- 47 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 26:10, Substratum G2, 13th century.
- 48 L. Courtois, 1969, fig. 4:l,k. These plates all have ring bases, a feature quite common at Arqa during the LB I period. But examples with flat bases were also very popular at Ugarit in the 13th century (see J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, figs. 8, 12-16).
- 49 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 18:a, Room 6IIP-Q (13th century).
- 50 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 10:119.
- 51 L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 31:e, Area IV, Level 5, lower floor; E. Capet, 2003, fig. 32:j, Room 6IIZ, Level 6-upper.
- 52 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 22:l, Room 6IIH, made in dark red clay (p. 81). E. Capet sees imitations of LH IIB/IIC stemmed cups (FS 267) in these carinated high-footed bowls. She writes that there is a whole repertoire of vessels imitating Mycenaean forms and made in this type of clay from the transitional LB-IA I and from IA I levels (p. 81, footnote n° 51).
- 53 R. Jung, 2007, fig. 10:3, Level 5, Local Mycenaean pottery.
- 54 E. Capet, 2003, 91 fig. 40:g, made in dark red clay and fired hard (p. 106, footnote n° 110).
- 55 A. Killebrew, 1998, Pl. III.III:25.4-7.
- 56 Dating and shape according to P. Mountjoy, 1986, fig. 185.
- 57 See the study on this class of pottery by R. Jung, 2007, p. 558-565.
- 58 For example, on a round krater (E. Capet, 2003, fig. 21:m, Room 6IIP) and on a shallow bowl (fig. 32:e, Room 6IIZ).
- 59 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 17:432-433 (small plates), fig. 32:604 (large bowls). For a description of this type of handle, see p. 33.
- 60 See examples of bowls with such rims at Tell Kazel (L. Badre *et al.*, 1990, fig. 41:d, Level 5, Area II).
- 61 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 26:14, Substratum G2.
- 62 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 117:7.
- 63 A. Killebrew, 1998, Pl. III.III:25.1 (from Tel Migne). This bowl is almost identical to ours.
- 64 See above footnote n° 52. E. Our two Aegeanizing bowls would thus fit perfectly in this category.
- 65 See below footnote n° 73.
- 66 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 20:c-f, Room 6IIP.
- 67 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 10:129.
- 68 E. Capet, 2003, p. 87, footnote n° 56.
- 69 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 29:25, Stratum F.
- 70 Notable exceptions are two similar bowls from Level 12 with vertical upper stances (J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 107:9-10). These two bowls are unique at Arqa and were found in a collective tomb together with flaring carinated bowls.
- 71 L. Badre, 1997, fig. 26:15, Rock-Cut Chamber. This

room has yielded substantial quantities of Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery that span the 15th-12th centuries BC. A collection of Cypriote vessels (a *Bucchero* bottle, a pithos of the *Plain White Hand Made Ware* and a lamp bracket published in L. Badre, 1997, fig. 29 and 1998, fig. 1) push this date into the 12th century. A fragment of a *HMBW* closed pot was found in this room (see L. Badre, 2003, fig. 4:a,b) that R. Jung tentatively dates to the Middle Bronze Age 3 of the Aeolian Islands and northern Sicily (contemporaneous with LH IIIA). The local material associated with the *HMBW* points to a 14th century (round smooth-carinated with round rims cooking pots, sharp carinated bowls) and a 13th century date (high-footed plates and miniature cups similar to those found in Level 6 of Area II at Tell Kazel). This mixture indicates that the material dates to at least two periods belonging to the two phases of occupation of this room observed by L. Badre (1997, p. 46,54). We agree that this room had at least two periods of occupation, but we find her explanation justifying a mix in the material to be too complicated. It is also possible that the collapse of Wall 441 into the room (p. 54) spilled earlier material from "silo" 80/300, if the silo is correctly dated to the LB I (according to Badre). This would explain the presence of the Cypriote *Bichrome Wheelmade Ware* krater in the Rock-Cut Chamber, especially when other *Bichrome* kraters were also found on the floor of this silo. In our opinion, this room had two phases of occupation: one dated to the 14th century (possibly the latter part of this century) and another to the 13th-early 12th century BC. Badre (1998, p. 78) already suggested that this room might have continued to be used for a longer period of time ("from the 13th to the 11th century BC"), but her assumption was based solely on the occurrence of

HMBW. In none of her publications (1997, 1998 and 2003) dealing with Beirut does she offer a more precise study of the local material from this area in order to achieve a better dating of the Rock-Cut Chamber. Earlier LB I material found in the Rock-Cut Chamber must have come from the "silo" – either when Wall 441 collapsed into this room or when the earlier Wall 459 was built. Unfortunately, very few objects are published from this room and virtually none from the "silo" (except for the two *Bichrome* kraters cited above, a miniature lamp and the so-called "treasure" dated to the MB II-LB I). What we offer here is a tentative dating of the Rock-Cut Chamber, based on the published stratigraphy and ceramic material, that might change (or perhaps not) with the publication of the entire corpus of this room.

72 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 8:g, Area II, Room 6IIA, upper floors.

73 J.-Y. Monchambert, 1983, fig. 4: 27, p. 30. This bowl was published also in J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 19: 475. It is interesting to note that the Ugarit bowl is made of dark red clay tempered with mineral inclusions (p. 77). The only difference is that this bowl lacks basalt, usually present in small quantity in our bowls.

74 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 23:19-20, Stratum J, Pl. 24:20, "JH" deposit.

75 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 117:19.

76 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 23:23-24, type K-7B.

77 See P. Mountjoy, 1993, p. 72, fig. 206. The bell-shaped deep bowl becomes very popular during the LH IIIB (p. 87) and the LH IIIC (p. 90,95) periods.

78 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 123:4,5. The clay of these two bowls is foreign to Arqa. It is light beige and very fine and probably native to Greece. Both bowls are red-slipped on the exterior, a feature found on LH IIIA2 and LH IIIC kylikes,

stemmed bowls and cups (P. Mountjoy, 1986, figs. 108, 304:7,8, 185, 187. See also P. Mountjoy, 1993, p. 94, fig. 244 and p. 95, fig. 248, both dated to the LH IIIC Early).

79 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 26:22 (local), 26 (typed Levanto-Mycenaean), Substratum G2. This type of bowl, though decorated and probably imported, appears in a 14th century context (Pl. 24:28, "JH" deposit).

80 R. Jung, 2007, fig. 8:4,5, Area II, Level 6-upper, Local Mycenaean pottery.

81 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 37:b, Courtyard 5L. Another painted example comes from Room 5N (fig. 40:m). It was found together with another bell-shaped krater decorated with motifs imitating, according to the excavator, Philistine Ware or Cypriote *Proto White Painted Ware*. See also R. Jung, 2007, fig. 10:2,4-7, Area II, Level 5.

82 An identical parallel to this krater was also found in another locus of Layer 11A (J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 120:1).

83 Levantine potters started producing copies of luxurious Mycenaean and Cypriote vases soon after the introduction of these goods on the Levantine markets. See, for example, the studies of K. Prag (1985) on Cypriote imitations at Palestinian sites, and S. Cluzan on imitations of Cypriote and Mycenaean pottery from Ugarit (1981-1982, Vol. I, (text) p. 134-149 and Vol. II (plates). Levantine imitations of Cypriote vases were also found at Alalakh, Hazor, Jericho, and Lachish. Imitations of Mycenaean wares were retrieved from tombs in Qrayé, Beirut, Nahr el-Kelb, and Ugarit; as well as from Tell Deir Alla and Lachish.

84 R. Amiran, 1969, Pl. 41:5.

85 Closed unpainted shapes that could be related to the type of painted krater discussed here were found in Layer 11B dated to the 13th century (J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 120:2,9).

In Palestine, identical unpainted parallels are quite abundant in Level VI at Lachish, which dates to ca. 1200-1130 BC according to the absolute chronology set by D. Ussishkin for this site, but seem absent from the preceding Level VII (E. Yannai, 2004, p. 1133, fig. 19.47:1,2,4-6). D. Ussishkin uses the LB III terminology and dates the LB IIIA (19th Dynasty) to the 1300-1200 BC and the LB IIIB (20th Dynasty) to 1200-1130 BC (p. 57, Table 3.3).

86 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 26:9, Substratum G2, Pl. 28:3, Substratum G1.

87 L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 37:b, Level 5, Area IV, without paint but having the same shape. See also a similar unpainted krater from Level 6 of Area II (L. Badre *et al.*, 1994, fig. 49:b).

88 J.-Y. Monchambert, 1983, fig. 3:13, without paint, without handles and with a taller neck. This vase was also published in J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 52:789.

89 I. Finkelstein and O. Zimhoni, 2000, fig. 10.8:10. I. Finkelstein dates Level VIIA to the end of the 13th century-early 12th century while the conventional dating puts this stratum in the first half of the 12th century (IA Ia). This vessel was also published in G. Loud, 1948, Pl. 69:16.

90 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 44:a, fig. 46:a, both from Room 5-O of Level 5 (Area II).

91 L. Courtois, 1969, fig. 4:c, Tomb 4253.

92 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 43:k, fig. 44:a, both from Room 5-O of Level 5 (Area II).

93 L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 31:j, Level 5, Area IV (pot featured also in L. Badre, 2003, fig. 5).

94 E. Capet, 2003, fig. 21:n, Room 6IIP, Level 6-upper.

95 S. Cluzan, 1981-1982, Vol. II., Pl. 125

96 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 120:3.

97 L. Badre *et al.*, 1994, fig. 52:e, Room H-I, Level 6, Area II;

L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 34:f, Level 5.

98 J. Mallet and V. Matoian, 2001, fig. 15:90.5128.

99 L. Badre *et al.*, 1990, fig. 39:c, Level 5, Area II.

100 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 31:24, Stratum E, 1150/1125-1050/1025 B.C. This type of cooking pot (CP-14) appears in Stratum G1, is very popular in Stratum F and ceases to exist after Stratum E (p. 392, p. 502, Table 13B).

101 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 90:1248.

102 Bikai, 1978, Pl. XXVII:7,11, Stratum X-2 (850 B.C.). Type CP7 appears in few quantities in Stratum XIV (1200-1070/1050): Pl. XXXIX:16,19,22. It is impossible to know if these latter fragments are *in situ*, thus pushing the date of CP7 higher, or are intrusive. One methodological problem with the way P. Bikai computed her percentage graphs for each type of vessel is that she did not eliminate the residual and intrusive material, thus skewing the results on the graphs.

103 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 90:1249.

104 W. Anderson, 1988, Pl. 30:3, Stratum F.

105 L. Badre *et al.*, 1990, fig. 41:f, Level 5, Area II. This level also produced cooking pots of the IA tradition.

106 See, for example, the IA I cooking pots in R. Amiran, 1969, Pl. 75 compared to those from the LB IIB (13th century) on Pl. 42. However, in Level VI at Lachish, the everted and the upright rims coexist (E. Yannai, 2004, p. 1133, fig. 19.47:8-9). Such exceptions should warn one against generalizations in Palestine as illustrated by R. Amiran's book. But at the time Amiran's book came out in Hebrew in 1962 this is what the evidence showed. Clearly her book is now out-dated.

107 J. Mallet and V. Matoian, 2001, fig. 18:88.5160, large krater/pithos with 34 cm in diameter.

108 J.-Y. Monchambert, 1983, fig. 3:18. Published also in J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 68:1049. The Ugarit pithos is made in dark red clay tempered with mineral inclusions (p. 169).

109 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 116:2, Level 12.

110 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, p. 99.

111 L. Badre *et al.*, 1994, fig. 35:b, Room B, Level 5, fig. 44:a, Room D, Level 6.

112 L. Badre *et al.*, 1994, fig. 44:a, Room D.

113 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 57:862. The description of the clay from which this jar was made "*pâte chamois rose à dégraissant minéral*" (p. 145) fits our jar.

114 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 58:917. It should be noted, however, that the clay is different from ours. The Ugarit jar is made in green clay while ours exhibits buff clay.

115 For example, J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, Pl. 114:12.

116 L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 32:d.

117 J.-Y. Monchambert, 2004, fig. 59:933, without bur-nishing.

118 This is according to the LB terminology used by C. F. A. Schaeffer and maintained by the Yon and Calvet team.

119 See also the article of L. Badre in this volume p. 110 for detailed correlations between Arqa and Tell Kazel.

120 L. Badre, 2003.

121 J.-P. Thalmann has repeatedly criticized the limits of the Three-Age System when applied to the Northern Levant (2006, p. 157, 171). According to him, this system is incapable of accounting for the variability of the regional cultural assemblages. Creating subdivisions or transitional periods within this system and applying them to the entire Levant will only perpetuate the problem because of the regional and chronological connotations that each newly created subdivision carries. What makes

LB IA a legitimate period for the Jezreel Valley, for example, might not be valid (neither culturally nor chronologically) for the Akkar Plain and vice-versa.

122 We have written that Arqa was abandoned during the earlier years of the 12th century (H. Charaf-Mullins, 2006, p. 192). In light of the present material, the date for the abandonment (?) or extreme shrinkage of the site should be pushed further down. This article was researched in 2002 and written at the beginning of 2003 before the local ceramics from Level 11 were sorted and studied. However, the conclusions pertaining to the imported Cypriote and Mycenaean pottery are still valid.

123 P. Bikai, 1978, p. 8, 14-15.

124 I. Khalifeh concluded the same thing for the material from Sounding X (1988, p. 161). However, there is a discrepancy in the absolute dates attributed to Sarepta's stratigraphy between W. Anderson (1988, p. 423) and I. Khalifeh (1988, p. 160), especially for Stratum F.

125 W. Anderson, 1988, p. 390.

126 However, Ugarit and Arqa ascribe LB III to the 13th century material. The term LB III is also used, as we have seen above, by scholars working in the Southern Levant, such as D. Ussishkin who uses it for Lachish Levels VII and VI (D. Ussishkin, 2004, p. 44, Table 2.1).

127 I. Khalifeh writes that the "smooth architectural transition is paralleled by a continuity in the ceramic tradition between the thirteenth and eleven centuries in both Soundings X and Y" (1988, p. 161). See also W. Anderson who notes a "basic continuity between Stratum E and the preceding Stratum F" (1988, p. 393).

128 I. Khalifeh, 1988, p. 162.

129 E. Capet, 2003, p. 117 (in the correlation chart between Area II and Area IV, the pottery of the Transition LB-IA I is de-

scribed as "céramique commune dans la tradition syro-palestinienne du BR [Bronze Récent]" and that of the IA I as "céramique commune dans la tradition syro-palestinienne du BR et nouvelles formes"), 118. See also the same comment on Level 5 pottery in E. Capet and E. Gubel, 2000, p. 430 ("Their potters continued the Late Bronze Age ceramic traditions without any of the significant changes that could be expected in a devastated land ruled by conquerors or resettled by newcomers") and p. 438 ("The vast majority of pottery types persists and with not a single rupture in the evolutionary scheme...").

130 J.-P. Thalmann suggests a LB III subdivision for the late part of Level 11 without assigning it a chronological time-frame. But he also writes that based upon stratigraphical observations and a preliminary study of the material, Level 11 should encompass the 12th century and possibly part of the 11th as well (2006, p. 171).

131 A. Chaaya, 1995-1996, p. 132; J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, p. 171.

132 W. Anderson, 1988, p. 394. For Tyre, see above.

133 See for example the S-shaped carinated bowls from Levels 4 and 3 of Area IV (L. Badre and E. Gubel, 1999-2000, fig. 43:b, fig. 46:h) that are identical to one from Level 5 of Area II (L. Badre *et al.*, 1994, fig. 36:b). Judging from the pottery, Levels 4 and 3 of Area IV cannot outlive much Level V of Area II. All the IA I-levels of Tell Kazel seem to fit within the 12th and first half of the 11th century timeslot.

134 W. Anderson, 1988, p. 395-396.

135 See R. Jung, 2007.

136 D. Ussishkin (2004, Vol. I, p. 72-73) argues that the destruction of Level VI constitutes a *terminus post quem* for the appearance of Philistine pottery in Palestine. For a critique of his assertion, see A. Mazar, 2007, p.

575-576 who prefers to see in the distribution of Philistine pottery cultural borders delimitating the areas where these new populations settled, rather than a chronological hallmark to establish the date for these settlements.

137 D. Ussishkin, 2004, p. 75.

138 D. Ussishkin, 2004, p. 74 in which he summarizes the history of interpretation of 1200 BC as the date marking the end of the LB.

139 E. Yannai, 2004, p. 1057. E. Yannai is credited with discovering that Level VI post-dates Fosse Temple III rather than being contemporary with it as previously thought, for example, by K. Kenyon. E. Yannai, 1985, *Tel Lachish and the end of Late Bronze Age*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv.

140 I. Finkelstein and D. Ussishkin, 2000, p. 594.

141 I. Finkelstein and D. Ussishkin, 2000, p. 594.

142 I. Finkelstein and D. Ussishkin, 2000, p. 595 ("Stratum VIA represents the last phase of the second millennium tradition at Megiddo. First, its pottery assemblage shows clear Late Bronze characteristic [...]. Second, its general layout is similar to that of the Late Bronze Age..."); I. Finkelstein *et al.*, 2000, p. 284.

143 I. Finkelstein attributes this new tradition at Megiddo to a chronological separation from the preceding level. According to him, following the complete destruction of Stratum VI, the site remained abandoned for a substantial amount of time. The inhabitants of Stratum V then began creating their own ceramics without any recollection of the previous traditions (p. 300). I. Finkelstein suggests this lengthy abandonment in order to accommodate his lower chronology. Needless to say, both his theory on the abandonment of Megiddo and his lower chronology are fiercely opposed by

many scholars (notably A. Mazar with regards to the lower chronology).

144 P. Fischer, 2006a, p. 241, Table 1. Published also in P. Fischer, 2006b, p. 374, Table 70. P. Fischer relies on Tell Deir 'Alla (and the famous Queen Tawosret vase) for setting the date of the end of the LB since Tell Abu al-Kharaz (the site he excavated) had a hiatus in settlement after its destruction during the 13th century BC.

145 G. Van der Kooij, 2006, p. 224, Table 10.

146 That is Stratum XV for Tyre (abundance of Cypriote White Slip II), Stratum F for Sarepta and Layer 11A for Arqa (see above). Stratum XIV in Tyre yielded few imports (P. Bikai, 1978, p. 59, Table 15) among them White Slip II and MN bowls contrary to the Base Ring II Ware that disappears completely at the end of Stratum XV. The latest occurrences of White Slip II and MN on Cyprus itself don't go beyond the middle of the 12th century (V. Karageorghis, 2001:10). White Slip II ceased to exist in Stratum XIII at Tyre replaced by the White Painted Ware and the Bucchero Ware (p. 54, Table 13B).

147 W. Anderson, 1988, p. 385 with LH IIIB prevailing in Substratum G1. There is one occurrence of a "Myc IIIC:1" (or LH IIIC Early according to P. Mountjoy's classification) bowl in Substratum G1 (Pl. 28:19) that W. Anderson uses to place the end of this substratum into the early part of the 12th century.

148 J.-P. Thalmann, 2006, pl. 123:10,11.

149 L. Badre, 1997, p. 66.

150 L. Badre, 1997, p. 51.

151 L. Badre, 1997, p. 64, 68.

152 L. Badre, 1997, p. 76. This abandonment layer is dated to the second half of the 8th century BC.

153 G. Homsy, 2003, p. 268.

154 G. Homsy, 2003, p. 246 after a hypothesis presented by J.-C. Margueron.

155 M. Yon, 2006, p. 22. This dating is based on multiple texts, the last of which came from the archives of the "House of Urtenu", dug between 1986 and 1994.

156 J. Lund, 1986, p.12.

157 L. Badre, 2003, p. 91 (for Area IV), 92 (for Area II); E. Capet, 2003, p. 117.

158 R. Jung, 2007, p. 567.

159 J. Bretschneider *et al.*, 2004, p. 221-224.

160 If we refer to the inscribed arrowhead from Byblos with the mention of Zakarbaal, "King of Byblos and Amurru" without ruling out that this title might have been only customary and not indicative of the region ruled.

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