Herrschaftslegitimation in vorderorientalischen Reichen der Eisenzeit

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Royal Self-Representation and the Legitimation of Authority at Tayinat (Ancient Kunulua)

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Introduction

The Iron Age communities of the Eastern Mediterranean are now generally recognized to have preserved many of the cultural traditions and social institutions of their Bronze Age forebears, despite the disruptive historical interlude, or Dark Age, that followed the collapse of the great territorial powers at the end of the 2nd millennium BCE. The evidence for cultural continuity is particularly strong in the region of Syro-Anatolia, where scholars have long acknowledged the Bronze Age Hittite influence on the architectural and sculptural traditions of the Iron Age Neo-Hittite states of Southeast Anatolia and Northwest Syria. A mounting number of epigraphic discoveries have now also begun to provide textual evidence of political continuity, although of a profoundly transformed political order.[1] The emerging historical picture suggests that in the aftermath of the collapse of the imperial center at Hattuša, Hittite viceroys installed at Karkamiš were left holding a much reduced "rump" state that extended from Malatya southeast to the great bend of the Euphrates, which in turn further fragmented into a complex mosaic of small rival kingdoms or statelets.[2]

This fragmented political landscape created the environment for the social and political ferment that forged the remarkably diverse and innovative cultures that thrived along the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard during much of the first millennium BCE. In contrast to the powerfully centralized states of the Late Bronze Age, the polities that emerged in the Syro-Anatolian region were characterized by their ethno-linguistic diversity, distributed political structure, and fluctuating territorial influence. Ironically, in light of their diminished political authority, these diminutive kingdoms were dominated by grandly embellished royal cities anchored by heavily defended citadels with monumental palatial complexes, religious buildings and sculptural works. These newly founded regal centers literally elevated the prestige of local ruling dynasties within the fragmented political geography of the region, with their heavily fortified citadels projecting

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[1] For a survey of these recent discoveries and their broader historical context, see HAWKINS, Anatolia: The End of the Hittite Empire and After, 143–51; IDEM, Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo, 164–73; and HARRISON, Lifting the Veil on a 'Dark Age', 174–81.

[2] HAWKINS, Anatolia: The End of the Hittite Empire and After, 148; IDEM, Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo, 164–65; and HARRISON, Lifting the Veil on a 'Dark Age', 171–75.

visual expressions of power and legitimacy that invoked the traditions of their Bronze Age forebears.[3]

The role of the king as divinely sanctioned ruler, intermediary to the gods, imbued with power and authority, and guarantor of order and the security of the community were central themes of this broader cultural narrative, and this royal ideology was communicated through a spectrum of verbal and visual media crafted and integrated into the cultural landscape in often subtle and remarkably sophisticated ways. Among the most striking and compelling are the royal self-representations in the form of standing monuments in relief or sculptures in the round. Both were widely exploited by the ruling elite and artisans of Iron Age Syro-Anatolia. This paper will explore the nature of royal authority and kingship as expressed through these remarkable monuments, with a particular focus on the recent discoveries on the Neo-Hittite royal citadel at Tell Tayinat (ancient Kunulua), dating to the Iron II period (ca. 9th–8th centuries BCE).

The Neo-Hittite Royal Citadel at Tayinat (Ancient Kunulua)

Tell Tayinat forms a large archaeological mound at the northern bend of the Orontes River, situated at a strategic crossroads between the Anatolian highlands to the north, the lowland steppes of Syria to the east, and the Levantine coast to the south. Together with its nearby sister settlement, Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh), Tayinat preserves a rich cultural sequence spanning the Bronze and Iron Ages (ca. 3200–600 BCE), when it served as the royal capital of a succession of kingdoms.

Tayinat was the scene of large-scale excavations between 1935 and 1938, conducted by the University of Chicago's Syrian-Hittite Expedition.[4] These excavations focused primarily on the West Central Area of the upper mound, or citadel (see *Fig. 1*), and uncovered extensive horizontal exposures of five distinct architectural phases, or Building Periods, which were assigned by the Chicago expedition to the Iron II and III periods (Amuq Phase O, in their periodization, ca. 1000–500 BCE).[5] A series of isolated soundings below the earliest Phase O floors encountered remains dating primarily to the 3rd millennium BCE (specifically Amuq Phases H, I and J),[6] suggesting a lengthy period of abandonment between the final Early Bronze Age settlement and the first Iron Age settlement. This occupational gap has since been shown to coincide with the ascendency of nearby Tell Atchana as ancient Alalakh, royal city of the Kingdom of Mukish.[7]

Archaeological investigations were resumed at Tayinat in 1999 in the form of a preliminary surface survey as part of the Amuq Valley Regional Project (AVRP) directed by A. Yener. This was followed, in 2000, by the launch of the Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP), which initiated systematic surface and topographic surveys of both the

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[3] For a more thorough review, see HARRISON, Landscapes of Power, 98–103.

[4] For a summary of the Chicago excavations, see HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 37–66.

[5] Ibid, 2, 64–66.

[6] BRAIDWOOD/BRAIDWOOD, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I, 13–14.

[7] Summarized most recently in YENER, New Excavations at Alalakh, 11–24.

upper and lower mounds in 2001 and 2002,[8] and then the resumption of excavations in 2004, which have continued on an annual basis since.[9] TAP was conceived as a long-term field project designed to fully and systematically document the archaeological record preserved at Tell Tayinat, clearly identified by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition as one of the principal Bronze and Iron Age settlements in the North Orontes valley and surrounding region.

The Late Iron I/Iron II Citadel

The Syrian-Hittite Expedition's excavations in the West Central Area achieved substantial exposures of a succession of large public buildings centered around a paved open courtyard (Courtyard VIII) dating to the Late Iron I/Iron II period (ca. 10th–9th and 8th centuries BCE). The renewed TAP excavations have now demonstrated conclusively that this monumental complex was preceded by an extensive Iron I settlement that was established at the site in the mid- to early-twelfth, and possibly even thirteenth, century BCE.[10] While the TAP investigations are ongoing, and therefore much of the analysis completed to date preliminary and provisional, it is nevertheless clear that this Iron I cultural sequence documents the progressive transformation of a largely undifferentiated Early Iron Age settlement that encompassed most of – if not the entire – upper mound (approximately 20 ha in size) at Tayinat into a heavily fortified and restricted elite zone by the end of the 10th century BCE.

The earliest monumental structures exposed by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition consisted of two large buildings, which they identified as Buildings XIII and XIV and assigned to their First Building Period (ca. 875–825 BCE, according to their dating scheme).[11] The two buildings appear to have formed part of a large complex oriented around a central courtyard. Building XIII was poorly preserved, but its floor plan nevertheless betrays the unmistakable characteristics of a *bit hilani*, a common West Syrian palatial architectural tradition with Bronze Age antecedents that can be traced back to the early 2nd millennium BCE. Building XIII was roughly rectangular in shape, measuring approximately 28 x 35 m, and was entered from the south through what appears to have been a porticoed entrance, with a series of side rooms arranged around a long, rectangular central room, presumably the main reception hall.[12] The second structure, Building XIV, was only partially excavated, but appears to have been considerably larger than Building XIII. As with Building XIII, very little of Building XIV's superstructure was found intact, and the excavators therefore were unable to reconstruct a coherent plan of the building, although they estimate it to have been at least 49 x 95 m in size,[13] which would have

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[8] See further in BATIUK et al., The Taʿyinat Survey, 171–92.

[9] Yearly reports have appeared in the Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı series, supplemented periodically by more lengthy synthetical studies. For recent summaries, see WELTON et al., Tell Tayinat in the Late Third Millennium, 147–85; HARRISON, Tayinat in the Early Iron Age, 61–87; and IDEM, Recent Discoveries at Tayinat, 396–425.

[10] For summary of these excavations, see HARRISON, Tayinat in the Early Iron Age, 61–87.

[11] HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 66.

[12] Ibid, 38–39.

[13] Ibid, 39–40.

made it the largest structure uncovered by the Chicago team. The TAP excavations in this area (Field 2; see further below) thus far have uncovered portions of the southeast corner of Building XIV, and a number of fragmentary associated surfaces. The pottery from these surfaces suggest a Late Iron I/Early Iron II date (ca. 10th–early 9th centuries BCE),[14] which places this complex slightly earlier than the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's dating of it.

The Syrian-Hittite Expedition also recovered a number of isolated architectural finds that appear to belong to the First Building Period complex, including at least two enormous column bases, found out of context stratigraphically above Buildings XIII and XIV, and possibly as many as three lion-headed orthostats, found reused in the walls of buildings assigned to the Second Building Period.[15]

The Second Building Period complex was the most extensive and best preserved architectural phase uncovered in the West Central Area by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition (*Fig. 2*). According to the Chicago excavators, the complex included Building I, the most prominent of Tayinat's *bit hilani* palaces, Building VI, an adjacent building annex, Building IV, a second *bit hilani* that faced Building I on the north side of Courtyard VIII, and Building II, a small temple *in antis* to the south of Building I, graced with a beautifully carved double-lion column base.[16] A paved street linked Courtyard VIII to a large gate (Gateway XII) that provided access to the upper citadel from the southwest. A second gate (Gateway VII), located on the far eastern edge of the upper mound, provided access between the lower and upper settlements, while two gates in the outer walls of the lower settlement (Gateways III and XI) provided entrance to the city. Each of these gates was lined with finely dressed basalt orthostats, although none were carved in relief.[17] However, the fragmented remains of a large human head made of basalt was found in the vicinity of Gateway VII (*Figs. 1* and *3*), possibly part of a monumental figure seated on a throne at this key entrance to Tayinat's upper city.[18]

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[14] HARRISON, Tayinat in the Early Iron Age, 72–74.

[15] For more detailed descriptions of this material, see HARRISON, Lifting the Veil on a 'Dark Age', 177–78.

[16] Recent analysis of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's field records, conducted in preparation of the final report, has raised some doubt about the expedition's assignment of Building II to the Second Building Period. For the time being, however, we have continued to assign it to this architectural building phase. For more detailed descriptions of the structures assigned to the Second Building Period complex, see HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 44–55.

[17] Ibid, 64–65.

[18] Gateway VII is described in HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 60–61, but without any mention of the sculptural remains. They are referred to briefly in GELB, Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments, 39 (with field photo in pl. LXXIX), where he links them to his Tell Ta'yinat I (T1260) inscription, which he identifies as part of "…a colossal statue seated on a throne, discovered near the East Gate." HAWKINS accepts this association in his analysis of the inscription; see Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian, 365–67. However, the Syrian-Hittite Expedition field records indicate that the six inscribed fragments assigned to Tell Ta'yinat I were in fact found in tertiary contexts in the West Central Area (see further in HARRISON, Tell Ta'yinat and the Kingdom of Unqi, 127–28; IDEM, Lifting the Veil on a 'Dark Age', 174), and it is unclear that they formed part of the colossal statue attributed to the Gateway VII area.

The Second Building Period was dated by the Chicago team to ca. 825–720 BCE,[19] and recent analysis of the pottery associated with the floors of this complex has confirmed its late 9th–8th century BCE date,[20] with the 738 Tiglath-pileser III campaign the most plausible historical event responsible for its destruction.[21] The Second Building Period complex exhibits clear stratigraphic separation from the preceding First Building Period, but less so in the transition to the subsequent Third Building Period, despite the evidence for destruction associated with the Assyrian conquest (see further below). During the ensuing Third, Fourth and Fifth Building Periods, which coincided with the transformation of the Neo-Hittite citadel into a Neo-Assyrian provincial capital (ca. 738–600 BCE), the West Central Area mainly witnessed renovations to the principal buildings (in particular Building I) of the Second Building Period complex.[22]

The Citadel Gate Complex

The TAP excavations to date have achieved limited exposures of the Iron II levels at Tayinat. The primary focus of the investigations of this phase of the site's settlement history has been in Fields 2 and 7 (*Fig. 1*), adjacent to the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's more substantial West Central Area exposures. In 2007, a new area was opened in Field 2 to the east of Building XIV in the hopes of avoiding a deep trench cut by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition along the outer face of the east wall of Building XIV that had penetrated through a series of surfaces, including a well-preserved cobblestone pavement to the east of Building I. The TAP excavations proceeded to uncover the burnt remains of a small tripartite temple, subsequently designated Building XVI (see *Fig. 2*), which together with Building II formed part of a Neo-Assyrian Double Temple complex dating to the Iron III (late 8th–7th centuries BCE).[23] A series of probes, including a section through the building's west wall, indicate a complex construction history with an earlier phase that dates to the Iron II. Further support for this earlier Iron II phase has come in the form of numerous Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription fragments found scattered in tertiary contexts, most of these probably belonging to a single standing monument, specifically a stela that has been identified as Tayinat Inscription 2,[24] which likely once stood on an elevated stone platform in front of the temple.[25]

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[19] HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 66.

[20] OSBORNE, Spatial Analysis and Political Authority in the Iron Age Kingdom of Patina, see specifically Chp. 2.

[21] TADMOR/YAMADA, The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, Tiglath-pileser III 12 (=Ann. 25), ll. 3–12; the historical arguments are summarized most recently in HARRISON, Recent Discoveries at Tayinat, 410–11.

[22] HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 65–66.

[23] For a detailed description of Building XVI, see HARRISON, West Syrian *Megaron* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*?, 3–21; and HARRISON/OSBORNE, Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat, 125–43.

[24] See detailed description and commentary in HAWKINS, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian, 367–68.

[25] For a similar proposal, see PUCCI, Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture, pl. 27; and HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 45, pls. 74B and 103, for a description of the stone platform.

In 2011, a new square (G4.58) was opened immediately to the south of Building XVI and east of Building II in the hopes of clarifying the plan and stratigraphy of the Iron II Double Temple complex. Quite unexpectedly, this sounding proceeded to uncover a series of large stone sculptures and the remains of a monumental gate complex. Consequently, in 2012, this initial sounding was expanded to three full 10 x 10 m squares (G4.58, G4.68, G4.69) and designated Field 7 (*Fig. 1*); limited excavations were also conducted during the 2015 TAP field season.[26]

Despite the ongoing nature of the TAP investigations in Field 7, some preliminary observations are possible. Thus far only the uppermost remains of the gate complex have been uncovered, and therefore the overall plan of the complex remains unclear. A series of deep probes to the south and southwest of the gate indicate the existence of a sharply descending slope in this area of the site, likely part of an east-west trough or saddle that transected Tayinat's upper mound, effectively isolating its northern part and forming an elevated prominence that included the West Central Area with its arrangement of monumental buildings. Although heavily disturbed and poorly preserved, the excavations of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition found traces of massive mudbrick walls that appear to have enclosed this elevated area,[27] creating a strongly fortified enclosure, or citadel-like zone, on this part of Tayinat's upper mound. The Field 7 gate complex appears to have served as the primary access point to this citadel area.

The Field 7 excavations completed thus far have uncovered only fragmentary remains of the original intact gate structure (*Fig. 4*). This includes what appears to be part of the west (or northwest) pier of the gate, preserved in the form of a single row of four roughly hewn limestone blocks, with corner blocks at its northern and southern ends. This row of limestone blocks most likely was the foundation, or 'footing', for a line of basalt orthostats that would have formed a façade for the mudbrick core of the pier, as similarly found in the other gate systems at Tayinat (e.g., Gateways VII and XI). To the west of this line of stone, excavations revealed an expanse of mudbrick, very likely part of the core of the western portion of the gate complex. Unfortunately, most of this mudbrick superstructure seems to have been removed when this part of the site was leveled in the 1950s or 1960s, following the departure of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition, rendering its precise reconstruction now virtually impossible, at least during this terminal phase. A series of flat-lying stones aligned against the eastern, interior face of the limestone blocks may preserve part of a bench or the paved surface of the passageway through the gate. Fragments of white plaster-like material were found adhering to the eastern face of these flat-lying stones, possibly traces of the primary surface or floor of the inner gate chamber. Otherwise, no discernable surfaces were uncovered within the gate structure

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[26] The TAP excavations at Tayinat have been hampered by the ongoing conflict in the region, and thus the Field 7 investigations remain incomplete. Preliminary reports for the 2011, 2012, and 2015 field seasons nevertheless have appeared in the Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı series.

[27] Specifically, in T5, a trench excavated along the western slope of the upper mound; see HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 57–58, pl. 98A. In addition, the Chicago excavations in Area V, immediately to the west of Building I (and earlier Building XIV), although much disturbed, produced some evidence of enclosing structures to the south of the West Central Area, including a possible gate (Gateway XII); ibid, 55–57, pl. 104. The TAP excavations in Field 5 (see *Fig. 1*) have also found evidence of fortifications along the eastern slope of the upper mound.

itself, inferring that much – if not all – of the gate superstructure had been destroyed or removed in antiquity.

The Field 7 excavations have also uncovered a series of tightly packed stone pavements of varying sizes and configurations to the east and south of the gate pier (*Fig. 4*). Pitting, probably the result of post-Iron Age quarrying activity, has heavily damaged and disturbed these pavements, and thus it has been difficult to discern a coherent plan, or their internal phasing. Nevertheless, it seems likely that most of these pavements were part of a passageway, or street, which ascended northward to the paved courtyard in front of the Double Temple complex, effectively covering and replacing the Field 7 gate complex in the process. This street very probably represents part of the Neo-Assyrian settlement, given its apparent connection to the paved courtyard of the Double Temple complex, and therefore should also be dated to the Iron III (ca. late 8th–7th centuries BCE), while providing a *terminus ante quem* for the construction and use phases of the gate complex that it stratigraphically seals.

Finally, and most spectacularly, the Field 7 excavations have also recovered four varyingly preserved monumental stone sculptures. Each sculptural piece was found discarded *ex situ* to its original intended provenance at Tayinat (*Fig. 4*). All four nevertheless almost certainly once formed part of the larger citadel gate complex, even if their precise position within the gate area is not clear. This locational ambiguity, unfortunately, extends to their stratigraphic position as well. While each sculpture appears to have been deposited intentionally into a carefully excavated pit, the modern plow zone has removed whatever traces once might have existed of the surfaces associated with the creation of these pits. We cannot even rule out the possibility that the sculptures were deposited during the Iron III, or Neo-Assyrian, period of settlement at Tayinat. These stratigraphic complications notwithstanding, the most plausible explanation is that the sculptures were deposited, or buried, intentionally prior to the construction of the paved street, and possibly even in conjunction with its construction as part of a ritual act of desecration. In any case, there can be little dispute that the sculptures were found intentionally deposited, in effect 'decommissioned' or ritually destroyed as visible standing monuments, and that this defilement most likely coincided with the Neo-Assyrian conquest of Tayinat in 738 BCE. The smashed Hieroglyphic Luwian monuments, most notably the Tayinat 2 stela that once stood in the vicinity of the Double Temple courtyard, provide further corroborating evidence of the destructive severity of this event.

Seated Lion

A magnificently carved male lion, made of basalt and measuring approximately 1.3 m in height and 1.6 m in length, was found lying on its side immediately to the north of the Citadel Gate pier (*Figs. 4* and *5*). The lion was facing to the south and east, toward the pier, and remarkably was recovered completely intact. The lion's figure, beautifully proportioned, is poised in a seated position, with its ears drawn back, claws extended, and fangs and teeth exposed in a snarl. A full mane covers its head and shoulders, narrowing to a band that descends down the back of each foreleg to the paw. The lion's tail is slung over its left hind leg, revealing its male genitalia, and ends in a pinecone-shaped plume. Intriguingly, a small pivot hole pierces the top of the creature's head, presumably

support for a missing head adornment, and its nose is heavily burnished, the result of repeated rubbing or polishing.

Portal lions constitute one of the more visible manifestations of imperial Hittite art that continues to find expression in Iron Age Syro-Anatolia. Typically found flanking prominent gate systems or palatial entrances, the earliest and best preserved Iron Age exemplars have been found at 'Ain Dara and Malatya (ancient Melid), likely dating to the 12th century BCE, with further examples at Karkamiš, Domuztepe, Göllüdağ, Hama, Karatepe, and Maraş (ancient Gurgum), among other sites.[28] The typical portal lion was carved largely in relief with only its head sculpted completely in the round, forming large stone blocks that flanked the entrances they were designed to protect. A few extant examples (e.g., the Hama lion) were carved completely in the round, though still in a roughly hewn block shape, with the lion figure standing on all fours. Significantly, no portal lions have been found carved in a seated position similar to the stance of the Tayinat Citadel Gate lion, with the possible exception of lion sculptural fragments discovered in the vicinity of the Great Staircase at Karkamiš during the British excavations.[29] In addition to its unique stance, the Tayinat Citadel Gate lion is further distinguished by the skill of its carving and the subtle proportionality and detail of its figure.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the stylistic features and proportionality of the Citadel Gate lion most closely resemble those of the double-lion column base found in the entrance to Building II, the nearby temple at Tayinat excavated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition in the 1930s.[30] Indeed, the similarities are striking, from the number of whiskers portrayed on each creature, to the minute detail of their claws and teeth. Slight differences are also evident, most notably how their eyes are depicted. The eye sockets of the Citadel Gate lion were left empty, and therefore likely held eye inlays, while those of the double-lion column base have carved pupils. Nevertheless, the Tayinat lions clearly were the product of a shared sculptural tradition, and most probably were produced near contemporaneously by the same local workshop or artisan(s).

This presents some difficulty for the widely held view that the Tayinat double-lion column base was the product of Assyrian manufacture, or at least cultural influence, and that its production dates to the Neo-Assyrian phase (i.e., late 8th–7th centuries BCE) of the Building II temple.[31] Although the precise date of the Citadel Gate lion is not certain, as we have seen, it very likely formed part of the Neo-Hittite complex constructed in the preceding Iron II, probably in the mid-9th century BCE, but possibly as early as the 10th century BCE (see further below), and almost certainly prior to the Neo-Assyrian transformation of the citadel area. It seems more reasonable, therefore, to argue that the presence of the double-lion column base in the Neo-Assyrian phase of Building II represents a reuse from an earlier phase or structure. Regardless, there can be little doubt that both lion figures belong to a local indigenous Neo-Hittite sculptural tradition with Anatolian cultural antecedents that can be traced back to the Bronze Age.

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[28] ARO, Art and Architecture, 307–10, provides a helpful survey of this material.

[29] WOOLLEY, Carchemish III, 163–64; see especially the fragments illustrated in pl. B.70*b*.

[30] HAINES, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II, 53–54, pls. 80–81; see especially pl. 80B.

[31] For articulations of this view, see ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 83; and HAWKINS, Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo, 167–68.

Winged Bull and Sphinx Column Base

A second intact sculptural piece in the form of a semi-circular column base, approximately 1 m in height and 90 cm in diameter, was found lying on its side immediately to the south of the human figure (see below) in a large pit to the east of the stone pier (*Figs. 4* and *6*). The figure of a winged bull is carved in relief on the front of the column, and it is flanked by a sphinx on its left. The bull figure presents a frontal view of its head framed by a pair of ears and horns, wings attached to each of its shoulders, and two front legs with their hoofs. Its forehead looks to have been elaborately decorated or coiffed, and a garland-like adornment appears to have been hung around its neck. The sphinx, meanwhile, is presented in side view, with its head, crowned with a Hathor-like wig and possibly bearded, facing outward toward the viewer, its four legs arranged in a walking, or trotting, motion, and wing arched upward and back over its shoulder. The eyes of both the bull and the sphinx are represented by empty eye sockets; tiny perforations in the stone surface above each socket indicate that they once supported eye inlays. The right side of the column base is flat and undecorated, indicating that it formed part of an engaged column that originally stood flush against a wall.

The winged bull and sphinx are well-known and widely documented mythological creatures associated with divinely sanctioned rule in the ancient Near Eastern world. More immediately, in Neo-Hittite art, they are closely associated with the Storm God, as most vividly portrayed on the monumental reliefs of the Great Temple of the Storm God in Aleppo,[32] where the winged bull in particular serves as an important vehicle of divine transport. It is also a recurring theme in Neo-Hittite sculpture, as perhaps best exemplified by the statue of the Storm God supported by a basalt base in the form of a bull-drawn chariot found near the village of Çineköy in Cilicia.[33] Even more explicit are scenes in which the bull is shown supporting, or carrying, the Storm God together with an earthly king, as depicted on the recently discovered Arsuz stelae, where the Storm God holds the raised left arm of the Walistinian king Suppiluliuma (see further below), with both figures astride the back of a bull.[34] The depictions of these mythical creatures typically occur in important transitional zones, figuring prominently on the elaborate processional reliefs that flank many of the gate systems or entrances to palatial or religious buildings of Iron Age Syro-Anatolian citadels and upper settlements. Although its original position is not known, the Tayinat column base likely once formed part of the porticoed entrance to a nearby *bit hilani* palace or temple. A possible parallel in the form of a sphinx-carved column base may have been found at Maraş.[35]

Statue Base Fragment

The third sculpture, the front left portion of a large basalt block that once had served as the base for a statue was found upside down and out of position to the southwest of the

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[32] For a beautifully illustrated presentation of this remarkable complex, see KOHLMEYER, The Temple of the Storm-God in Aleppo, 190–202.

[33] See TEKOGLU/LEMAIRE, La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy, 961–1006.

[34] DINÇOL et al., Two new inscribed Storm-god stelae from Arsuz, 71–73, figs. 8–9.

[35] See ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 527, and pls. 47a–b.

Citadel Gate pier (*Figs. 4* and *7*). Carved on the front of the block is the left half of the 'Master of Animals' motif typically comprised of a human figure grasping two flanking lions, symbolizing the civilizational imposition of order over the untamed forces of the natural world.[36] The Tayinat fragment preserves part of the coiffed head, left shoulder, arm and leg of the human figure. The figure's arm is stretched out to the left and grasping part of the mane, or possibly a collar, under the chin of a crudely carved lion protome. The protome is heavily damaged, but several roughly shaped teeth are discernable and the creature appears to be in a standing position, with its two front paws depicted at the base of the carving.

Statue bases carved with the Master of Animals motif have also been found in key gate systems at Karkamiš,[37] Zincirli (ancient Sam'al),[38] and Karatepe (ancient Azatiwataya).[39] Where sufficient preservation occurs, these bases typically support a statue representing either a deity or a local ruler. In the latter case, the figure is usually portrayed wearing a long garment gathered at the waist by a belt, from which hangs a tassel, and on the left a sheathed sword; in their right hand the figure often holds a staff.[40] The statues are typically also inscribed with a lengthy autobiographical account extolling the accomplishments of the named king. These parallels suggest that the Tayinat fragment might well have served as the base for the statue of Suppiluliuma, the head and torso of which was found only a few meters away.

The Suppiluliuma Statue

The head and upper torso of an enormous basalt statue, identified in the accompanying inscription (see below) as a ruler named Suppiluliuma, was recovered from the same pit that produced the winged bull and sphinx column base (*Figs. 4* and *8*). The statue was found lying face down in a north to south orientation, immediately to the north of the column base. The figure is intact to just above its waist, and stands approximately 1.5 m

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[36] For a study of this motif in Hittite art and literature, see COLLINS, Animal Mastery in Hittite Art and Texts, 59–74.

[37] A statue base comprised of two bulls was reportedly found adjacent to the Great Staircase gate entrance at Karkamiš (see WOOLLEY, Carchemish III, 159; pls. 30 and B.34; also ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 501). A second, similar double bull podium was found *in situ* in front of the entrance to the nearby Temple of the Storm God (WOOLLEY, Carchemish III, 168, pls. 29 and B.47; ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 503 and pl. 25e). Two statue bases were also recovered in the King's Gate, both were in highly fragmentary condition. The first depicts two lions flanking a human figure, and was found associated with fragments of a human statue (WOOLLEY, Carchemish III, 192, pls. B.53 and B.54*a*; see also ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 509 and pls. 32a, b, and d), and the second consisted of two lions flanking a griffin-headed creature that supported a seated statue (WOOLLEY, Carchemish III, 193–94, pl. B.54*b*; see also ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 512 and pls. 32c and e), possibly a representation of the deified king Suhi (see HAWKINS, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, 101).

[38] VON LUSCHAN, Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli IV, abb. 261–68, taf. 64; see also ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 545 and pls. 62c, d and e.

[39] For references, see ÇAMBEL, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions; and ORTHMANN, Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst, 109 and 497; for the accompanying bilingual Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician inscription, see HAWKINS, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, 48–58.

[40] ARO, Art and Architecture, 327–28.

in height and 1.1 m in width, proportionally suggesting a total body length of between 3.5 to 4.0 m. The figure's face is bearded, with beautifully preserved inlaid eyes made of white and black stone, and his hair has been coiffed in an elaborate series of curls aligned in linear rows. Both arms are extended forward from the elbow, each with two arm bracelets decorated with lion heads on their ends. The figure's right hand grasps a spear, and in his left is a single shaft of wheat. A crescent-shaped pectoral adorns his chest. A relatively lengthy Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription is carved in raised relief across the back of the statue in between its two arms. Evidence of clothing are also indicated by a shoulder strap that descends from right to left diagonally across the back, and a tassel attached to a neck piece.

The inscription, designated Tayinat Inscription 3,[41] consists of three lines separated by horizontal dividers, with the hieroglyphic signs organized in unevenly spaced columns, and must continue from another part of the monument, possibly the lower front part of the statue. The inscription preserves an autobiographical statement made by a ruler who identifies himself as Suppiluliuma, clearly the figure represented by the statue. The preserved text alludes to a conflict with another state resulting in the conquest of "eight lands" and the erection of "carved" border monuments. The signs in the final line are obscured by the break, but appear to make reference to a stela belonging to Suppiluliuma's father, and to actions taken involving another "100 cities". A separate Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription comprised of two small fragments found in the immediate vicinity of the statue, and likely belonging to it, preserves the ethnic adjective of the place name "Walastin", strongly inferring that Suppiluliuma was ruler of Walastin, while furnishing the second attestation to this place name that has been found thus far at Tayinat.[42]

A number of the stylistic features of the Suppiluliuma statue appear unique, such as the shaft of wheat held in his left hand. Nevertheless, the sculptural production of the statue closely mirrors that of the statues of the rulers mentioned above, collectively projecting a relatively standardized image of the presumed qualities of the ideal Neo-Hittite king. In contrast to this 'generic' portrayal, however, the accompanying inscription, which likely would not have been legible to most of its viewers, provides a proud litany of the unique accomplishments achieved by the named king. As Irene Winter has noted in a study of royal portraiture in the ancient Near East, the critical function of such royal images is to link the ideal qualities of a 'good' king with the specific historical figure that is being portrayed.[43] The combination of idealized physical and stylistic traits with an itemization of the historically specific political accomplishments of the specified king, in this case Suppiluliuma, thus represents a remarkably sophisticated attempt at royal self-representation and the legitimization of authority through the manipulation of these convergent visual media.

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[41] A thorough study of Tayinat Inscription 3 is being undertaken by M. WEEDEN, and will be published as part of the complete report of the TAP excavations in Field 7. The comments presented here summarize the preliminary results of the analysis he has completed to date.

[42] WEEDEN, The Land of Walastin, 65–66. The first was identified on a fragment assigned to Tayinat Inscription 1; see HAWKINS, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, 366.

[43] WINTER, What/When is a Portrait?, 263–66.

The orthography and sign forms used in the Suppululiuma inscription point to an early 9th century BCE date, and would appear to support attribution of the Tayinat statue to the Patinean king, specifically Sapalulme, who is said to have faced the Neo-Assyrian onslaught of Shalmaneser III as part of a Syro-Hittite coalition in 858 BCE,[44] rather than to the Suppiluliuma mentioned on the Arsuz stelae, who likely reigned in the 10th century BCE.[45] This historical reconstruction is not without its problems, most notably the fact that Sapalulme is mentioned in Neo-Assyrian sources only in 858 BCE (in 859 BCE the Patinean ruler is named Lubarna, and in 857 BCE it is Qalparunda). These historical questions notwithstanding, the existing archaeological and epigraphic evidence converge in favor of an early- to mid-9th century BCE date for the production and display of the Suppiluliuma statue.

Monumentality, Political Authority,
and the Archaeology of Performance

Considerable effort remains to fully excavate and delineate the monumental structures and sculptural vestiges that once formed the Citadel Gate complex in Field 7. Nevertheless, when combined with the monumental palatial and religious buildings of the West Central Area to the north and west, Gateway VII to the east with its possible royal statue, and the elevated platform of the Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence (Building IX) to the south (*Fig. 9*), a broader conceptual view of the citadel mound at Tayinat is possible. Moreover, this elaborately constructed elite zone replicates spatial patterns evident in the contemporary citadel complexes of other Syro-Hittite royal cities in the region, in particular Karkamiš, with its monumental processional way flanked with ornately carved orthostats and standing monuments, which ascended from the Water Gate (and King's Gate) through the Great Staircase and gateway, forming a grand ceremonial approach to its citadel.

Luwian textual sources hint at the launching of ambitious royal building programs, or 'new foundations', by royal proclamation, in conjunction with the emergence of the Neo-Hittite states in the Early Iron Age. The best known example, though considerably later in date, is certainly the Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician bilingual inscription at Karatepe, the Neo-Hittite border fortress of Azatiwataya built by Azatiwatas, ruler of the Kingdom of Adanawa, in the eighth century BCE.[46] Captured in this remarkable text is an explicit claim to the foundation of a new city and its citadel, as well as the political and religious justifications for this royal act. The sacred importance of the city gate is also made unambiguously clear. As Stefania Mazzoni documented in a pivotal study,[47] the central motivation for these new foundations was the creation of a regal city as a

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[44] WEEDEN, After the Hittites, 12, 15–16.

[45] DINÇOL et al., Two new inscribed Storm-god stelae from Arsuz, 60–63.

[46] For an excellent study of the Karatepe epigraphic and sculptural evidence, see ÖZYAR, The Writing on the Wall, 115–36.

[47] MAZZONI, Aramaean and Luwian New Foundations, 319–321; see also MAZZONI, Settlement Pattern and New Urbanization, 181–91.

means of legitimizing royal authority. As such, these royal cities represented an ambitious attempt to embody the hierarchical power structure and political order their newly emergent elite sought to project, in effect, producing carefully crafted landscapes of power that blended kingship with divinely sanctioned authority.[48]

The projection of this vertical power structure was further reinforced visually by the creation of heavily fortified citadels and a succession of ornately decorated monumental gateways that provided increasingly restricted access to the innermost quarters of the citadel. The presence of lions, winged bulls and sphinxes within these citadel gateways, meanwhile, invoked venerable Bronze Age Hittite traditions, while symbolically transforming these public spaces into sacred boundary zones that further accentuated the elevated status of their ruling elite. The erection of colossal statues within these gate areas, as we have seen, typically depicted astride a figure flanked by lions – the classic 'Master of Animals' motif signifying the imposition of civilized order over chaos – prominently situated the king within this sacred zone, reinforcing his central role as the divinely appointed guardian of the community and 'gate keeper' to the divine realm.[49]

By the late Iron I/early Iron II (10th–9th centuries BCE), these ornately decorated gate systems with their carved reliefs and expansive processional ways had come to serve as elaborate stages for dynastic parades, essentially linear narratives that guided their audiences from the earthly to the divine realms, and by the eighth century their associated rituals had formalized into a royal ideology.[50] The ceremonial role of these monumental public spaces correspondingly experienced important changes over this period, mirroring broader social and political developments within Iron Age Syro-Anatolian society. Alessandra Gilibert has identified five key phases in this development that highlight their public performative dimension.[51] Initially, the productions reflect continuity with Bronze Age imperial Hittite traditions (ca. 12th–mid-10th centuries BCE), but then witness the introduction of new iconographies in the late Iron I-early Iron II (ca. late 10th–early 9th centuries BCE), corresponding with the construction of monumental building projects, and hinting at the possible introduction of new (perhaps more inclusive?) civic rituals. A 'Mature Transitional' period follows (ca. 870–790 BCE), marked by a dramatic increase in the production of non-royal funerary stelae and portable luxury goods, which Gilibert attributes to the emergence of non-royal elites, and then an 'Age of Court Ceremony' (ca. 790–690 BCE), in which the production of monumental art experienced a renaissance, coinciding with the apparent development of a more exclusive, hierarchical royal authority. The final period follows the Neo-Assyrian conquests in the late eighth century BCE, and marks the end of local indigenous Syro-Anatolian artistic production.

'The Age of Civic Ritual' (ca. late 10th–early 9th centuries BCE), which saw the active creation of monumental public spaces at important Neo-Hittite royal cities, repre-

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[48] HARRISON, Landscapes of Power, 100.

[49] USSISHKIN, The Erection of Royal Monuments in City-Gates, 485–96; MAZZONI, The Gate and the City, 330–31.

[50] Ibid, 318–24.

[51] GILIBERT, Syro-Hittite Monumental Art, 133–34; see also chapter 6; with further update in, GILIBERT, Religion and Propaganda, 137–55.

sents the key formative phase in Gilibert's reconstruction,[52] and likely coincides with the construction of the monumental building complexes in the West Central Area and upper mound at Tayinat, including the Citadel Gate complex. In light of this, it is tempting to speculate that the Tayinat building program also involved a broader landscaping of the upper mound, including the construction of a formal processional way from Gateway VII to the Citadel Gate, paralleling the similar route between the Water Gate and the Great Staircase at Karkamiš, and a route possibly also from Gateway III in the south (*Fig. 9*). This transformation of Tayinat's upper mound into an elite ceremonial zone equipped with large public spaces for important community events, embellished with ideologically charged monuments, clearly would have required careful planning and coordination.[53]

Concluding Observations

The ultimate irony of the elaborate and monumental constructions that typified the citadels and elite zones of the royal Neo-Hittite cities of Iron Age Syro-Anatolia is the evidence that they were the product of a political culture that likely exerted relatively limited direct control over the populations they claimed to rule. In contrast to the powerful and expansive territorial states of the preceding Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age polities of Syro-Anatolia were decidedly constrained in their ability to project power, and appear to have maintained a tenuous grip at best on their hinterland communities, which – significantly – were characterized by their ethno-linguistic diversity. Societies are inherently heterogeneous, and therefore invariably comprised of a heterogeneity of ideologies and beliefs, but Iron Age Syro-Anatolian society appears to have been exceptionally so. Achieving any level of broader social cohesion, therefore, would have presented a daunting challenge, and the efforts at royal self-representation and political legitimation of the Neo-Hittite ruling elite should probably be understood in that light. The capacity of ideology to serve as a unifying source of social power is all too well known. More importantly, from an archaeological perspective, it can be expressed through a myriad of material forms, including symbolic objects, monuments, and ceremonial events, and institutionalized as a coherent belief system through which social power is ultimately exercised.[54]

Public spectacles, such as ceremonies, festivals and parades, represent an especially powerful vehicle through which social power can be expressed. Performance theorists have increasingly recognized the generative social force such public events can have. Monuments, for example, can function at three generative levels: (1) as settings or props for an event, (2) as a documented record of an event, and (3) as mimetic agents that help to recreate the event in the mind of the beholder.[55] Public performances typically also

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[52] GILIBERT, Syro-Hittite Monumental Art, 119–25.
[53] OSBORNE, Settlement Planning and Urban Symbology, 197–200.
[54] DEMARRAIS et al., Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies, 15–19.
[55] BERGMANN, The Art of Ancient Spectacle, 14.

form a powerful nexus with the power relations within a community.[56] Finally, public performances can be evocative, dramatic and often mysterious in their content and symbolism. Moreover, these evocative qualities have the capacity to disrupt routines and to capture and hold the attention of an audience. Thus, they are ideally suited for communicating messages about power and hierarchy, but also for negotiating conflicts and contested social space, and the transformation of existing social orders.[57] Seen from this perspective, the elaborately constructed public spaces of the Neo-Hittite citadels that crowned the royal cities of Iron Age Syro-Anatolia take on new significance. As the settings, or stage, for the performance of the ceremonies and rituals that confirmed the divinely sanctioned institution of kingship, they helped to unify the disparate – and highly fractious – communities that comprised the heterogeneous cultural mix within these Iron Age polities.

As we have seen, the Tayinat Citadel Gate complex appears to have been destroyed following the Assyrian conquest in 738 BCE, when the area was paved over by a street and converted into the central courtyard of a Neo-Assyrian sacred precinct. Biblical scholars have speculated that the reference to Calno, identified as one of the 'kingdoms of the idols' in Isaiah's polemic against Assyria (Isa 10:9–10), alludes to Tiglath-pileser III's devastation of Kunulua.[58] The destroyed remains of what once must have been a magnificent Neo-Hittite ceremonial space likely bear witness to this evidently historic and widely remembered event. The beautifully carved monuments of the Tayinat Citadel Gate, most notably the mesmerizing stare of Suppiluliuma's eyes, nevertheless also attest to the evocative and transforming power of the performances and rituals of which they once were a part.

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[56] INOMATA/COBEN, Overture, 17.

[57] DEMARRAIS, The Archaeology of Performance, 161.

[58] See in particular, GELB, Calneh, 189–91; also MACHINIST, Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah, 719–37.

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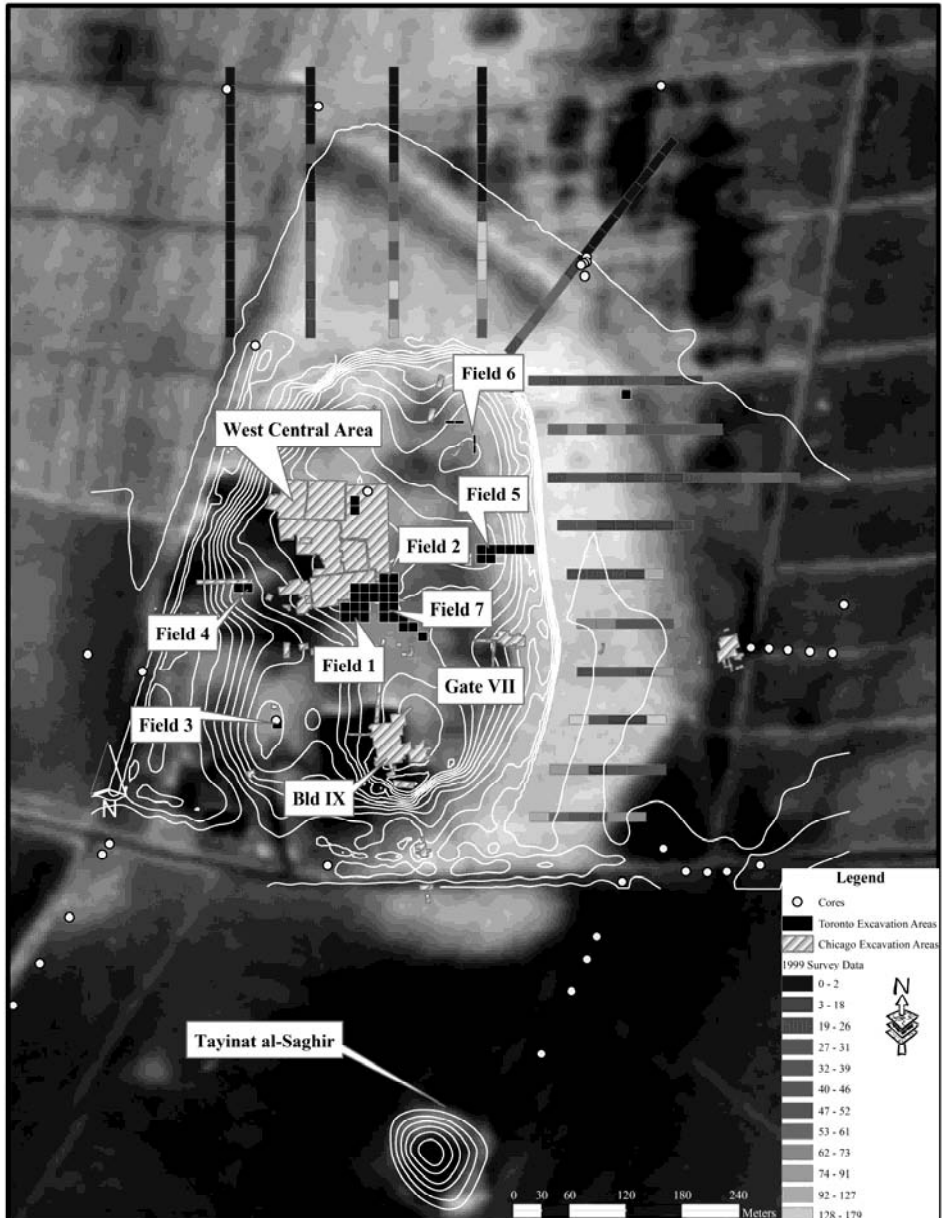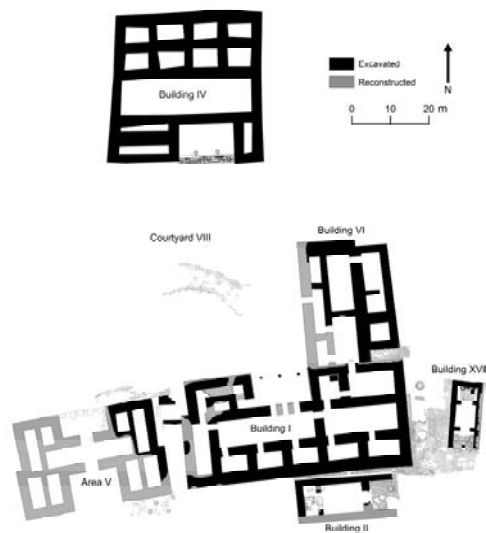
Figures

Fig. 1: Contour map of Tell Tayinat showing the Syrian-Hittite Expedition and Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) excavation areas (created by S. Batiuk).

Fig. 2: Plan of the Building Period 2 complex in the West Central Area on the upper mound at Tell Tayinat (created by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne).

Fig. 3: Photograph of the restored head of a colossal human figure recovered in the vicinity of Gateway VII (courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).
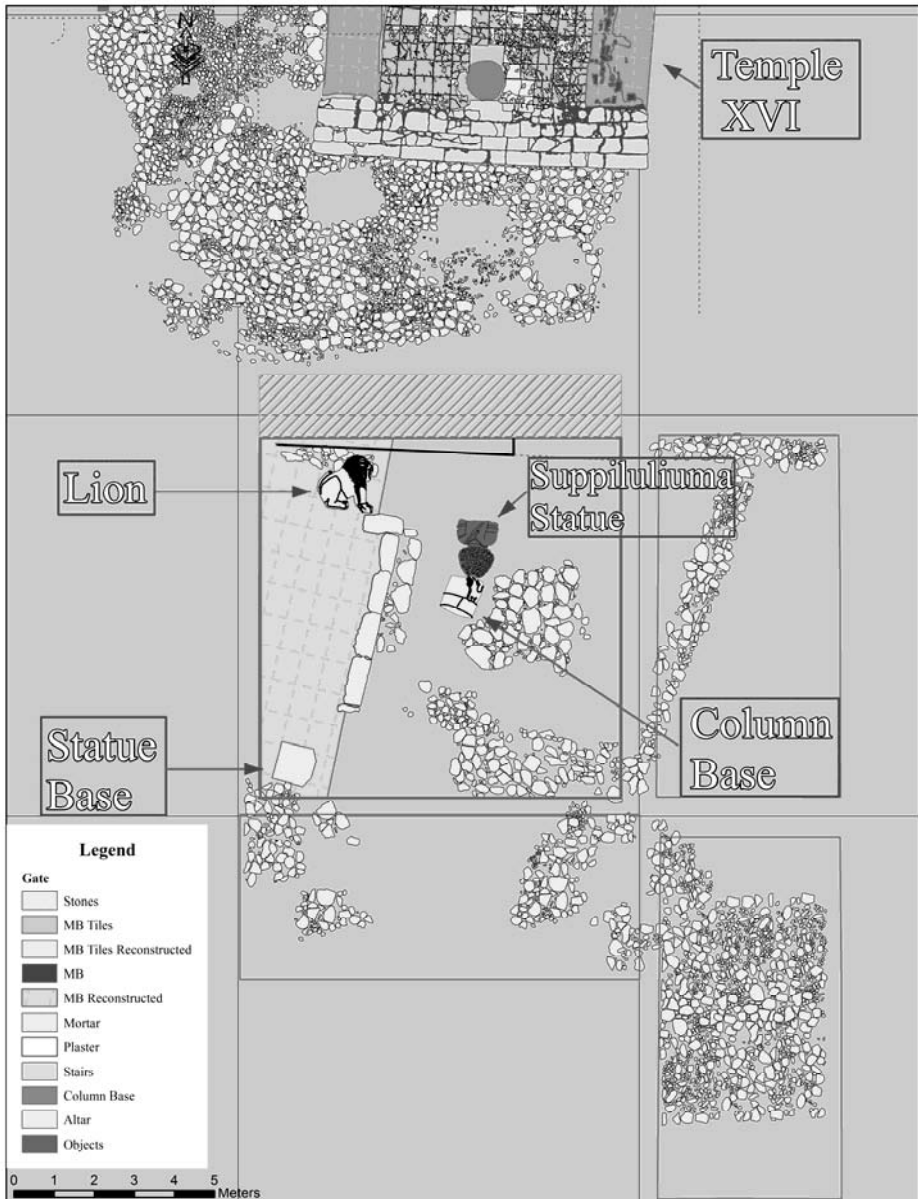
Fig. 4: Plan of the Citadel Gate excavations in Field 7 (created by S. Batiuk).

Fig. 5: Photograph of the seated lion (photograph by J. Jackson).

Fig. 6: Photograph of bull and sphinx column base (photograph by J. Jackson).
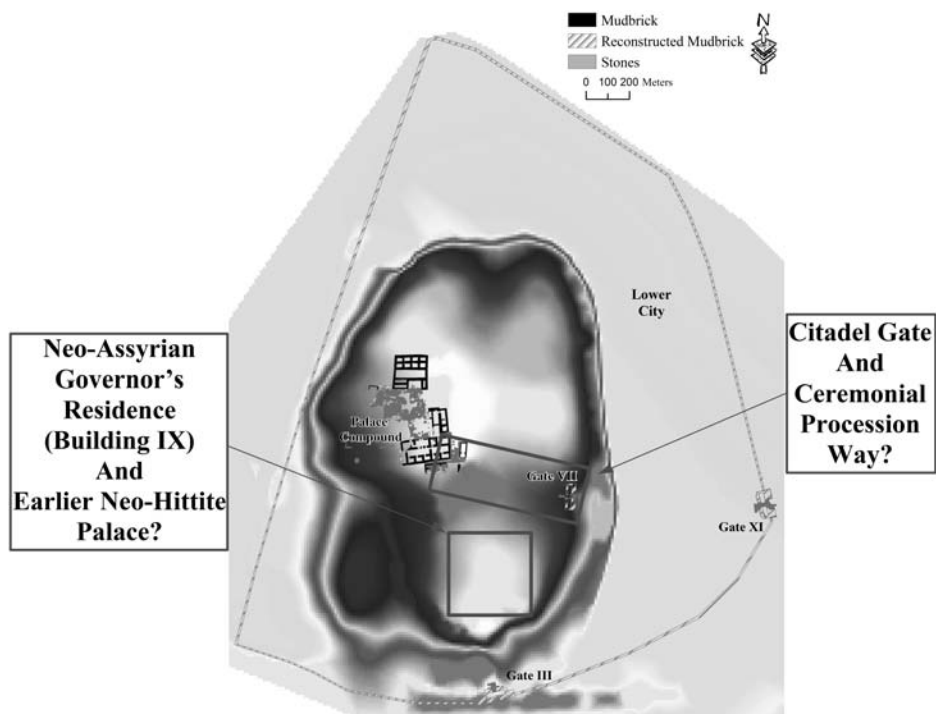
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Fig. 7: Photograph of the statue base with the 'Master of Animals' motif (photograph by J. Jackson).

Fig. 8: Photograph of the head and upper torso of the Suppiluliuma statue (photograph by J. Jackson).

Fig. 9: Plan of the upper and lower settlements at Tell Tayinat, showing the spatial relationship between the buildings of the West Central Area, the Citadel Gate (Field 7), the Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence (Building IX), and Gateway VII (created by S. Batiuk).