

Alessandra Gilibert  
Syro-Hittite Monumental Art  
and the Archaeology of Performance

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Alessandra Gilibert

# Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance

The Stone Reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli  
in the Earlier First Millennium BCE

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## Bibliographical abbreviations

### **AiS I-V**

Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli, voll. I–V

### **AiS I**

Felix v. Luschan, *Einleitung, Monolith des Asarhaddon, Fünf Bildwerke aus Gardschin*. E. Schrader, *Inscript Asarhaddon's*. E. Sachau, *Die Inschrift des Königs Panammu von Sam'al*. Berlin, 1893

### **AiS II**

F. v. Luschan, *Vorbemerkung*. C. Humann, *Bericht über die erste Ausgrabung von Sendschirli* 1888. R. Koldewey, *Die Architektur von Sendschirli*. Berlin, 1898.

### **AiS III**

F. v. Luschan, *Thorskulpturen von Sendschirli*. Berlin, 1902.

### **AiS IV**

F. v. Luschan, *Bericht über die fünfte Grabung*, 1902. G. Jacoby, *Die Architektur der Grabung*. F. v. Luschan, *Bildwerke und Inschriften*. Berlin, 1911

### **AiS V**

W. Andrae (ed.), *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli*. Berlin, 1943.

### **Carchemish I**

D.G. Hogarth, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djarabis, Part I, Introductory*. London, 1914

### **Carchemish II**

C.L. Woolley, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djarabis, Part II, The Town Defenses*. London, 1921

### **Carchemish III**

C.L. Woolley, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djarabis, Part III, The Excavations in the Inner Town; The Hittite Inscriptions*. London, 1952

### **CHLI**

J.D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft (=UISK), 8,1. Berlin / New York, 2000.

### **KAI**

H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Wiesbaden, 1962–64.

### **USK**

W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spät-hethitischen Kunst*. Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 8. Bonn, 1971

### **RIMA**

*The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods*. Toronto, 1987ff.



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# 1 Introduction

The present work deals with monumental figurative reliefs on stone from two important Iron Age centres of the Syro-Anatolian region, Carchemish and Zincirli. Scholarly interest in the stone reliefs from Carchemish and Zincirli begins with their archaeological record and museal exhibition between the end of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century. These excavations were among the first archaeological enterprises in the Syro-Anatolian region, whose ancient history was at the time largely unknown.<sup>1</sup> First notices did not hide their bewilderment toward the “strange sculptures” (Ward and Frothingham 1887:62). More often than not, the informed public was disappointed by their aesthetics: “from an artistic point of view,” so an anonymous reviewer of the colossal statue of Panamuwa, “nothing could be more repulsive” (*The Classical Review* 1889:479). Preliminary studies focused primarily on the question of dating, a problem destined to dominate the scholarly debate into the 1970s and beyond.<sup>2</sup> In the following decades, new questions started being of concern to the scholarly community and Syro-Hittite monumental art has been increasingly analyzed as expression of a specific urban ideology.<sup>3</sup>

This book approaches monumental art through investigation of its archaeological context and addresses the question of the embedment of monumental art in public spectacles, such as ceremonies,

1 For a table summarizing chronological data of the most significant excavations of Iron Age sites in Syro-Anatolia up to year 1990, see Pucci 2008:4, Table 1. For a more detailed report on the history of excavations, see Aro 2003. On the archaeological policy of the late Ottoman Empire and its ties to the foreign strategy of the Great Powers, see McMurray 2001 and Shaw 2003.

2 The matter has been approached almost exclusively from the point of view of stylistic analysis. The first comprehensive studies of this kind have been those of Akurgal (1949; 1961; 1966). In 1971, Orthmann published his *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*. Here, Orthmann elaborated on Akurgal and individuated three stylistic phases, based *in primis* on the series of reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli (Orthmann 1971:133–136, 148): “Späthethitisch I” (c. 1200–1000 BCE), “Späthethitisch II” (c. 1000–850 BCE), and “Späthethitisch III” (c. 850–700 BCE). In 1979, Genge published a study in which he proposed a general dating considerably lower than Orthmann’s (Genge 1979). Since then, however, the consensus has been to keep the dates of the earliest Syro-Hittite reliefs on the high side, in order to fill the gap between them and the last monumental reliefs of the Hittite empire (Bunnens 2006; Orthmann 1993). Particularly concerning Carchemish and Zincirli, the dating system proposed by Orthmann has proved reliable and independent perspectives – first and foremost the epigraphic studies by Hawkins (1972; 1979; 1981; 1995a; 2000) – consistently confirmed it. The datings proposed by Orthmann dovetail harmoniously into the results of the present work, and the reader will often be referred to them.

3 Ussishkin published a series of articles on the ritual embedment of Syro-Hittite monumental art at Carchemish and elsewhere (Ussishkin 1970, 1976, 1989); Winter investigated the role of Carchemish as a centre of art pro-

duction (Winter 1982, 1983); Mazzoni published a series of articles on the correlation between Syro-Hittite monumental art and urban ideology (Mazzoni 1994, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 2000a); she also wrote on Syro-Hittite iconography (Mazzoni 1986, 2002, 2005). Voos, Niehr, and Bonatz have dealt with Syro-Hittite funerary contexts (Bonatz 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2001b; Niehr 1994, 2001, 2004b, 2006; Voos 1983, 1989). Özyar defended a dissertation on technical and iconographical aspects of the “architectural reliefs” at Carchemish, Tell Halaf, and Malatya (Özyar 1991); some of her ideas re-appear in an article on the re-use of reliefs at Carchemish (Özyar 1998). Özyar also published a concise overview on “Architectural Reliefs in Anatolia through Time,” (Özyar 2003). Most recent publications start with a book resuming the history of the excavations at Zincirli, complete with a number of interesting unpublished pictures (Wartke 2005). In 2006, *A New Luwian Stele* from Tell Ahmar was published (Bunnens 2006); the book comprises the most up-to-date iconographic and stylistic study of the Storm-God motif and elaborates also on its possible religious contexts. Harmanşah has recently written on the figurative cycles at Carchemish as “building narratives” embedded in commemorative practices (Harmanşah 2005, 2007), while Denel has published on “ceremony and kingship” at Carchemish (Denel 2007). Boese has written an article on the first reproduction of a Syro-Hittite relief ever to reach Europe, which was a carved slab from Carchemish (Boese 2006). Pucci has written on space in Syro-Hittite Architecture (Pucci 2008a; 2008b), Brown has written on monuments and urbanism in North Syria, 1200–800 BCE (Brown 2008), and a new stele from Zincirli discovered in 2008 has been published (Schloen and Fink 2009; Struble and Rimmer Herrmann 2009).

parades, public presentations, and festivals. The overarching goal of this volume is to explore how change in art may relate to change in ceremonial behaviour, and the latter to change in power structures. Before going deeper into the matter, however, it is necessary to define some of the frequently used technical terms and to refer to the works which most contributed to shape the theoretical background of the present study.

The Syro-Anatolian artistic monumental production of the Iron Age has been variously called “Late Hittite,”<sup>4</sup> “Neo-Hittite,”<sup>5</sup> or “Syro-Hittite.”<sup>6</sup> The terms are largely interchangeable; each has advantages and drawbacks, related largely to unspoken free associations and inconsistency in general usage. Thus, for example, the generally established term “Late Hittite” may suggest a unilinear evolution from the artistic tradition of the Hittite Empire; furthermore, the same term has also been used to signify the period immediately preceding the disintegration of the Hittite empire, as in the case of Emar in the thirteenth century BCE (Adamthwaite 2001). As for the present, there is no consensus among scholars about which term should be favoured. “Syro-Hittite” emphasizes – perhaps better than the others do – the indisputable hybrid nature of the artworks in question, which owe to the traditions of the Syrian Bronze Age at least as much as to the art and culture of the Hittite empire.<sup>7</sup>

The reader will not fail to notice the repeated use of terms such as *art* and *artwork*. The definition of *work of art* and its classificatory power is a philosophical issue that, in modern times, has been debated to the point of exhaustion.<sup>8</sup> Here, the term is used to address *a specific class of artefacts singled out by conventional means for public appreciation*, whatever forms such appreciation might have taken (Dickie 1997).

The artworks in question are consistently monumental, and therefore, the term *monumental art* is employed as standard. What makes artefacts “monumental” in the first place is their permanence (large scale, durable materials, sheer weight)<sup>9</sup> and their visibility: “a monument can be defined as a cluster of intentional results, made concrete in the form of an artificial product which is visible through space and which maintains this visibility through time” (Criado 1995:199). Monuments are *per definitionem* a lasting feature, created as “inalienable possessions,” to bring “a vision of permanence into a social world that is always in the process of change” (Weiner 1992:8). Monuments are long-term modifiers of the urban landscape, which they mark even if they are not “in use”. The meaning of monuments changes through time and according to the viewer, sometimes shifting radically from sympathetic to subversive. Monuments, that is, have a multi-layered, long-term life-history, which by far outlives that of their builders as well as that of their intended public. The influential work of Richard Bradley analyzes precisely this notion (Bradley 1984, 1991, 1993, 1997).<sup>10</sup> In *Altering the Earth*, Bradley writes:

- 4 Cf. Akurgal 1949; Guterbock 1957; Orthmann 1971; Winter 1983; Novák 2002; Novák et al. 2004a.
- 5 Cf. Ussishkin 1966; Mazzoni 1977; Hawkins 1982; Thuesen 2002.
- 6 Cf. Woolley 1946; Kantor 1957; Ussishkin 1970; Mazzoni 1997b; Bonatz 2000; Pucci 2001; Mazzoni 2002, 2005.
- 7 A divergent meaning for the term *Syro-Hittite* is in use among French scholars, who, following loosely the tradition initiated by *La glyptique syro-hittite* (Contenau 1922), apply it in reference to a specific Syro-Anatolian glyptic style of the Late Bronze Age (cf. e.g., Laroche 1981 and the works of Beyer, most recently Beyer 2001).

- 8 For a selection of influential essays and theories, see Dayton 1998; Carroll 2000; Lamarque and Olsen 2004; Kieran 2006.
- 9 For an attempt to establish practical criteria to assess monumentality in the Greek *polis* in terms of function, scale, material, and cost, see Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994.
- 10 For a discussion of Bradley’s thesis and monumentality in archaeology, see Holtorf 2000–2007. On permanence, oblivion, and monuments as “materialization of memory” in Pharaonic Egypt, see Love 2007.

Monuments feed off the associations, not only of places, but also of other monuments. Monuments are enhanced, and rebuilt; they are reinterpreted and changed; and new constructions are created around old ones. We tend to lose that dimension of the archaeological record as we become immersed in chronological analysis. ... What we think of as the evolution of monuments, their ordering according to a linear perception of time, was really a process of finding out about the world: a way in which successive generations established a sense of place and time in relation to the living and the dead. On occasion this involved the wholesale rejection of monuments, their abandonment or destruction. At others, it required a greater act of the imagination: a process of recreating a past that was really beyond recall and of making it play an unrehearsed part in the present” (Bradley 1993:129).

This work focuses from the start on the archaeological contexts of monumental artworks. The premise is that visual artefacts can be explained in terms of factors external to them (Clayson et al. 1995:367). A “thick description” (Geertz 1973) of the archaeological context, accounting for its complexities and formulating hypothesis about the processes of its formation, are seen here as the crucial, and perhaps only possible, analytical step to reconstruct how Syro-Hittite monumental artworks correlate to past human behavior or – following Baxandall – to patterns of intention (Baxandall 1985). Insights into past behavioural patterns and into the complex web of relationships between images and the modes of their consumption will hopefully contribute to the final aim of this research, a greater understanding of the social and historical framework(s) in which Syro-Hittite monumental art “made sense.”

The present work does not apply any master theory; however, comparative readings provide a toolbox of paradigms and vocabularies that prove useful in organizing and interpreting the evidence at hand. In *Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies*, DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle (1996) design a general conceptual framework for monumental art as materialization of ideology, where ideology is seen as a source of social power, and social power as “the capacity to control and manage the labor and activities of a group to gain access to the benefits of social action” (1996:16). In this interpretive model, ideas and beliefs need to be given a tangible, material form in order to become an effective form of social power and extend the control of a central authority to a broader population. DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle posit that in any given society heterogeneous sets of ideas and beliefs coexist, and that the ruling class must therefore efficiently control those beliefs that legitimate its position: “Giving an ideology concrete, physical form in events, symbolic objects, monuments, and writing systems is instrumental to its institutionalization [...]. The costs of materializing ideology restrict access to this form of power” (1996:31).<sup>11</sup> Significantly, “materialization includes the production of *events* as well as *things*” (Schoenfelder 2004:405). Drawing upon the example of the Inka empire, DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle emphasize how ceremony, monumental art, and monumental architecture can be deployed as an integrated strategy to legitimate a central authority. Similarly, the edited volumes *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Bergmann and Kondoleon 1999) and *Archaeology of Performance* (Inomata and Coben 2006) are important sources of inspiration and main gateways to further readings. Both collections of essays discuss the importance of performances and theatrical events in the generation and negotiation of political cohesion in premodern societies.<sup>12</sup> Both books confront spectacle and performance from an archaeological point of view and place emphasis on the role played by monumental art in shaping “theatrical spaces.” Bergmann takes an interdisciplinary approach to the study of ancient imagery, integrating the analysis of

11 On social power and artifacts, see Walker and Schiffer 2006. On social power and architecture, see Nielsen 1995.

12 On the “Archaeology of Performance” see also Laneri 2008, which came to my attention regrettably late.

monumental art with festival studies and the anthropology of public events. She recognizes spectacular events as “a generative force in the creation of monuments” and suggests that, in order to understand context and function of ancient monumental art, we turn to the performative culture behind it (Bergmann 1999:9–10). Considering monumental contexts as regularly “animated” by multimedia events, Bergmann introduces three general levels of function for monuments: “as settings or props for the event, as documentary records of the event, and as mimetic agents that recreated the event in the mind of the beholder” (Bergmann 1999:14). The essays collected in *Archaeology of Performance* by Inomata and Coben (2006) focus on the nexus of public performances and power relations at the polity level. Arguing that in premodern societies mass-spectacles constituted a key-mechanism for the negotiation of power, Inomata and Coben analyze the configuration of ancient ceremonial spaces with the tools of performance theory and theatre studies. Ancient ceremonial spaces and monumental art embedded in ceremonial architecture are seen from the point of view of performers and spectators. The human body as point of action and sensory perception takes in a central role in decoding the material remains; ancient settings are scanned for configurations critical for gathering potential, such as size and visibility axes, as well as stages, backdrops, lighting and acoustic installations (Inomata and Coben 2006:30). Inomata and Coben highlight a number of parallels between the study of spectacle and that of monuments and monumental art, which they summarize in four points. First, monuments and spectacles alike derive their social importance at least in part from the great labor investment required by their set up; second, the erection of monuments is very much a spectacle in itself, quite often deliberately set up as such; third, monuments can function as stages for spectacles or parts thereof, ordering and defining space and movements; and finally, monuments bring a mark of extraordinariness to space in a way much like that of spectacles, so that both can be seen as loci of negotiation of spatial meaning (Inomata and Coben 2006:17).

The present study is limited to the sites of Carchemish and Zincirli. The reason behind this limit is the primacy given to the archaeological contexts and the need to re-trace complex artefactual life-histories within these contexts: Carchemish and Zincirli alone, among all excavated Iron-Age sites of the Syro-Anatolian region, provide a wider spectrum of monumental contexts evolving over many centuries of the earlier Iron Age, from the twelfth (Carchemish) / tenth (Zincirli) to the early seventh century BCE. This work, however, does not entail an exhaustive treatment of all figurative reliefs on stone found at the two sites. The reports of both excavations describe occasionally stray finds, mention more fragments than those illustrated, and indicate that many more were found that have not been recorded in any way. Here, the reader will find discussed and catalogued only those monumental items that were found in situ or that can reasonably be said to belong to a recorded context.<sup>13</sup>

13 Each catalogue entry comprises, when extant, a picture of the item and basic information concerning absolute dating, material, measurements, iconography, and present location (when known, inventory number is added in parentheses). The measurements are given following Orthmann (1971) and Özyar (1991); when incongruent,

the precedence has been given to the most recently collected data. The items are identified by the name of the site and a number. The numeration is consecutive and follows the order in which the items are discussed in the text.

## 2 The Syro-Anatolian region in the Iron Age

The Syro-Anatolian region is the cross-boundary region encompassing today's Southeastern Turkey and Northern Syria (Fig. 1). The backbone of this region is the folded range of the Amanus and Eastern Taurus mountains. Their foothills, their river valleys and the gently undulating, semi-arid lowlands of Northern Syria are a transitional zone, where Mediterranean and desert "bioclimates" meet.<sup>14</sup>

The settlement history of the region dates back to the Early Neolithic (Akkermans and Schwartz 2002:47). Over the millennia, Syro-Anatolia developed its own identities and traditions, borrowing, passing on and merging in non-linear patterns elements from the Eastern Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, and Northern Mesopotamia. During the Middle and Late Bronze Age (2100–1200 BCE), the region constantly played a pivotal role as an area of intense cultural contact, an articulation point of a system of inter-regional routes (Sapin 1981:27–28; Semple 1919), enabling and embedding the exchange of goods and information between regions as distant as Greece, Egypt, Babylonia, and Hittite Anatolia (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2002; Klengel 2000).

In this respect, Syro-Anatolia was not just a passive stage for foreign interactions. On the contrary, the region played a pioneer role in the management of trading activities and in technological innovation (Sherrat and Sherrat 1998:336–339). During the mid-late Early Bronze Age (2600–2100 BCE) and in the Middle Bronze Age (2100–1600 BCE), the Syro-Anatolian region was fragmented into a network of small independent polities, competing and cooperating with one another in terms of the flow of traded goods (Marfoe 1987; Matney and Algaze 1995). By the mid-second millennium BCE, the wealth and strategical position of Syro-Anatolia catalyzed the hegemonic aspirations of the multi-regional "great powers" Mittani, Hatti, Egypt, and Assyria. Thus, the region was drawn into the equilibrium of powers created by a network of equally structured regional empires, becoming an important arena for their confrontation and coexistence. The small Syro-Anatolian polities were first integrated into the Mittanian sphere of influence. During the fourteenth century BCE, the Mittanian authority was replaced by Hittite and Assyrian rule. In the thirteenth century, Hittite territory extended west of the Euphrates while east of it was Assyrian territory; the river formed a frontier acknowledged by both powers (Postgate 1992).<sup>15</sup> Under the Hittite overlordship, the Syro-Anatolian statelets maintained a certain degree of flexible organization (Altman 2003; Faist 2002) and became "a loosely affiliated confederation of semi-independent vassals" (Yener 1998:275). These subjugated states were controlled by Hittite viceroys, sons of the Hittite king, whom the Hittite king installed at Aleppo and Carchemish. Carchemish grew to be the most influential of the two "secundogenitures" and played the role of a hinge-joint between the local polities and the Hittite royal house. Conversely, the Assyrian rule exerted a stronger and more direct control over the conquered lands, replacing the existing dynasties with Assyrian governors and with the Assyrian system of administration (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996:25–29; Faist 2002:129–130).

At the end of the thirteenth century BCE, the "world system" of the Late Bronze Age was affected by a deep systemic crisis and collapsed, marking the transition to the Iron Age (Frank, et al. 1993:397–398;

14 For a detailed geographical analysis, see Sapin 1981:8–32

15 An alternative view identifies the river Balikh as the border between Hittite and Assyrian territory, with the

area between Balikh and Euphrates as a kind of no-man's land or buffer zone (Brown, n.d.).

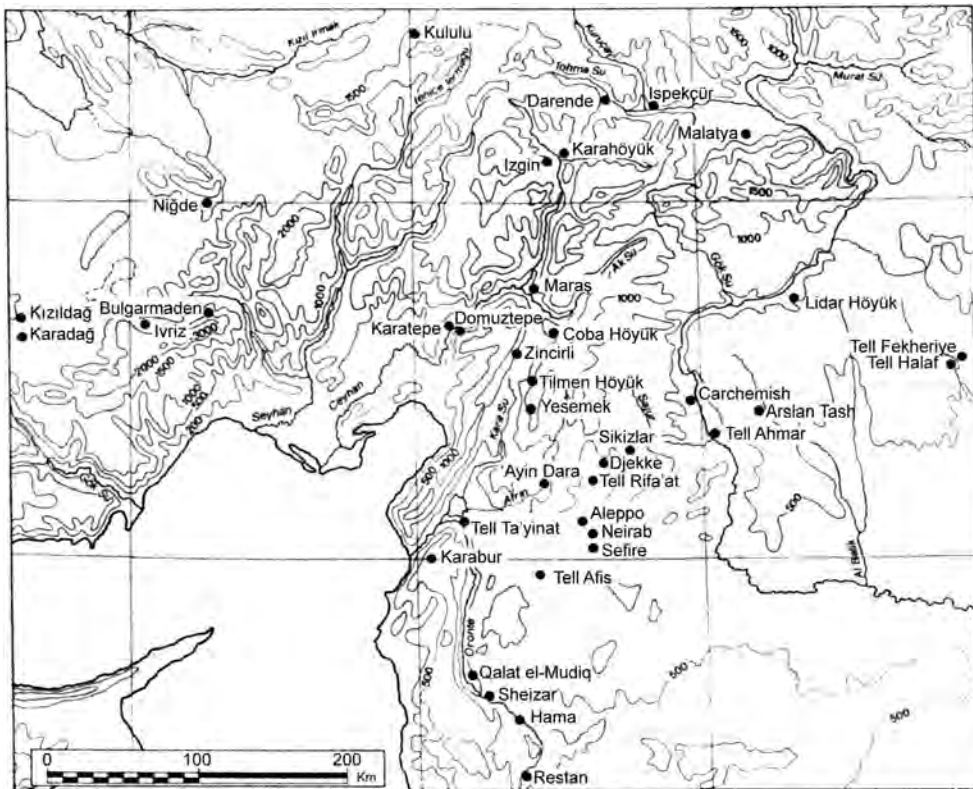


Fig. 1 | The Syro-Anatolian region with Iron Age sites  
(after a drawing by S. Martelli, published in Mazzoni 1997, Fig. 1)

Liverani 1987; Ward, Joukowsky and Åström et al. 1992). The reasons for the collapse are still poorly understood. The Assyrian rule over Northern Syria experienced an “intense loss of power” (Postgate 1992:249), its territorial control withered, and the modes of its administrative control were redefined. The Assyrian sphere of influence was much reduced, and direct control was maintained only in the Assyrian core-land, while Northeastern Syria re-organized itself in loosely dependent polities (as in the case of Tell Bderi, Maul 1992: 41–45). The Hittite imperial system, on the other hand, broke down on a definitive basis. Its administrative system in Syro-Anatolia dissolved, important trade centres such as Ugarit and Emar did not survive beyond the end of the thirteenth century, and the imperial archival practices were abandoned. In particular, the abrupt interruption of the epigraphic evidence on clay tablets from Egypt, Boğazköy, Ugarit, and Emar signifies, for the modern historian, the loss of the written sources upon which a consistent part of the historical reconstruction of Late Bronze Age Syro-Anatolia is based. In the earliest Iron Age (approximately 1200–1000 BCE), there is a paucity of written sources pertinent to the Syro-Anatolian region and a virtually complete absence of local cuneiform archives. These facts led some scholars to label the period a “Dark Age” (cf. Muscarella 1995:91), a time of “almost impenetrable gloom” (Boardman 1999:40). A reappraisal led by discoveries of the last twenty years, though, has revealed a lively political and cultural scenario (Bonatz 2000a:168–169; Mazzoni 2000a:1043). It is now generally accepted that the early Iron Age in Syro-Anatolia was not a period of deurbanization and stagnation but rather one of transition, marked by continuities as well as by changes in the sociopolitical structures (Bunnens 2000:12–19).

## 2.1 The urban landscape

The royal palace continued to be the main seat of political power, governing a territory through a centralized administrative system (Bunnens 2000:13; Mazzoni 1994:329).<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the important urban activities are a testimony to stability and economic growth (Ciafardoni 1992:55–56; Mazzoni 1995:181, 189). Yet, the Syro-Anatolian palaces of the Iron Age were not any longer integrated into a larger cosmopolitan network of “great powers” (Sherrat and Sherrat 1998:338) but operated on a strictly regional level (Mazzoni 1997b:289–290). The economic basis of the local kingdoms was no longer built on the “generalized enslavement” of the rural villages characteristic of the Late Bronze Age palaces (Liverani 1975), but on a more liberal cooperation with the smaller agricultural communities (Akkermans and Schwartz 2002:368; Mazzoni 1994:327), following “a major re-structuring of power-relationships and economic roles” (Sherrat and Sherrat 1998:340). To quote J. D. Muhly: “The situation is complex, but it is becoming increasingly obvious that we are not looking at a ‘Dark Age,’ only a shift in settlement patterns and the development of new life-styles” (Muhly 2003:31).

At the turn of the thirteenth century, some major and many minor urban sites did continue to be settled. At Hama, Malatya, and Carchemish, continuity in settlement was accompanied by innovative building phases, which radically re-shaped the ceremonial centres of the cities (Mazzoni 1997b; Venturi 2000:1720–1721). The transformation and renewal of pre-existing cities went together with the foundation of new urban centres and with “the multiplication, the functional articulation and the splitting up of settlements” (Mazzoni 1994:326).<sup>17</sup> The large administrative centres of the Bronze Age (50–100 ha) were abandoned in favour of a smaller, polyvalent urban model (30–50 ha) with a more limited territory (Mazzoni 1991–1992:56).

The autonomous polities of Syro-Anatolia were typically built around a capital city ruling over a belt of fortified towns and a rural hinterland of villages (Ciafardoni 1992:56–57). They had the three-tier hierarchical settlement pattern typical of small states: “the central settlement hosts the political élite and the treasuring process; the intermediate settlements ensure the transmission of directions, the collection of contributions, also the protection in case of need; lastly the villages are widespread in the countryside, mostly devoted to food production” (Liverani 1992:125–126).<sup>18</sup> Polities of this kind can be described operationally as “city-states,” a label equally stressing the urban character, a state-like institutional framework, and a modest territorial size (Grosby 1997; Hawkins 1995b; Thuesen 2002).<sup>19</sup> The Syro-Anatolian city-states shared common cultural features and interacted with one another as equal partners. Essentially, they constituted what Renfrew has termed a “peer-polity network,” in which change is not brought about necessarily by shifts in the balance of dominance and subordination but by a wide range of constant interactions, most notably emulative competition (Renfrew 1986). Besides these peer-polity interactions, the Syro-Anatolian city-states were enmeshed into a decentralized web of wider interregional economic connections (Mazzoni 2001a). From Etruria and Greece to Assyria and possibly even to mod-

16 The absence of tablet archives, which had been the signature of the Late Bronze Age palaces, is not to be interpreted as an absence of written administrative records *tout court*. Rather, it is to be seen in the light of an increased use of writing technologies using more perishable materials, such as waxed wood, parchment, or papyrus (Hawkins 1986:368; Klengel 1992:181).

17 For a detailed analysis of Iron Age settlement patterns, see Mazzoni 1991–1992; 1994; 1995.

18 Further settlement types are to be imagined in the interstices between these three main site categories, the typologies of which we as yet know nothing about: forts, smaller villages, isolated farms, camps, and so on (for the Lower Hābūr Valley, cf. Morandi Bonacossi 1996:115–116).

19 Grosby 1997:6–17 prefers “city-kingdoms.” On the concept of “city-state” in general, and in particular on its application to the Syro-Anatolian region, see Hansen 2000; Hansen 2002. See also the essays collected in Charlton and Nichols 1997.

ern Iran, material tracks and cultural intrusions are found that can be traced back to the Syro-Anatolian city-states (Novák et al. 2004a).

The Syro-Anatolian polities constructed and developed their identities as autonomous sociopolitical units between the late twelfth century and the early ninth centuries BCE.<sup>20</sup> This “archaic period” (Mazzoni 1997b:299) corresponds roughly to the archaeological phases of Iron Age IA-C (as defined in Mazzoni 2000b, table 1). It is a poorly known period but, at the same time, a most important one for the genesis of the Syro-Anatolian social environment. The general impression is of a period of economic stability and re-definition, in which, as sketched above, important urban centres were re-planned, new cities founded, and towns expanded into larger settlements (see further here, § 6.1 and 6.2). The situation changed as the Syro-Anatolian city-states faced the expanding interests of the Neo-Assyrian empire.

At the end of the tenth century BCE, the Assyrian kings Aššur-dan II (934–911 BCE) and Adad-Nērāri II (911–891 BCE) carried out a series of military enterprises in the Upper Ḥabūr and west of it, in an attempt to re-establish a longer lost hegemony over the region (Postgate 1992:249–250). This was the beginning of a persistent and escalating policy of westward expansion and conquest, which shaped the Syro-Anatolian political landscape until the complete submission of the region by the end of the eighth century BCE.<sup>21</sup>

The Assyrian aggression of Syro-Anatolia occurred in two waves. A first stage of interactions between the Syro-Anatolian city-states and Assyria took place approximately 900–750 BCE, coinciding roughly with the Iron Age II A phase. In this phase, Assyria established a firm control and imposed annual tributes over the territories east of the Euphrates, with the river’s bank working as a frontier. The peak of this process was reached with the campaigns of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE), and in particular with the conquest of Til Barsip in 856 BCE. The city-state was renamed Kār Salmanassar and transformed into an Assyrian province. Across the river, the Assyrian army led numerous military campaigns, repeatedly receiving rich “audience gifts,” “gifts of surrender,” and “spot tributes” from the Syro-Anatolian kings (Yamada 2000:237–239). These tributes may have, as in the case of Carchemish, been of enormous proportions (Fuchs 2002:595). Although Shalmaneser’s economic exploitation of the lands west of the Euphrates was important and, furthermore, “a new phenomenon in the history of the ancient Near East” (Yamada 2000:271), it is worth noting that a continuous direct administration of the region was not yet on the Assyrian political agenda (Fuchs 2002:595–597). In this phase, the Syro-Anatolian city-states west of the Euphrates negotiated their political and military position with alliances of varying kind with or against one another, Assyria, and their neighbours (Aram-Damascus to the south and Tabal and Urartu to the north). The Syro-Anatolian polities struggled for territorial dominance and “spot tributes” were paid not only to Assyria, but also among peer polities (as reported in an inscribed horse frontlet found in the Heraion of Samos: Bron and Lemaire 1989:35–44).

A second stage of interactions between the Syro-Anatolian city-states and Assyria took place approximately 750–700 BCE (Iron Age II B), during the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 BCE), Shalmaneser V (726–722 BCE), and Sargon II (721–705 BCE). In 743 BCE, Tiglath-Pileser III defeated an

20 For detailed political maps, see Hawkins 1982, map 14, and Novák 2007.

21 For a “structural analysis” of the Assyrian imperialism in the West, see Lamprichs 1995; for a list of the single military events as reported by the Assyrian sources, see Orthmann 1971: 169–175; for a map of the Assyrian campaigns, see Kessler 1987; on the political geography of

Syro-Anatolia at the time of Aššurnasirpal II (883–859), see Liverani 1992; for the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824), see Yamada 2000; for the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727), see Garelli 1991; for the epigraphic legacy of Sargon II (721–705), cf. Tadmor 1958 and Fuchs 1994.

anti-Assyrian coalition led by the Urartean king Sarduri II and involving the city-states of Malatya, Maraş, Samsat and, probably, most north-western Syro-Anatolian centres (Lipiński 2000:218–219). This decisive victory paved the way for a policy of radical subjugation (Hawkins 1972–1975:158–159), with ample use of siege warfare (Fuchs 2002:597) and mass deportations (Garelli 1995). The termination of the last shreds of independence was then completed under Sargon II. By 708 BCE, all Syro-Anatolian city-states were finally seized and annexed to Assyria as provinces. At this point, five hundred years after its beginnings, the history of the independent Syro-Anatolian city-states ends. The accession to the throne of Sennacherib (704–681 BCE) marked a new phase in the Assyrian impact on Western Asia: a “pax assyriaca” (Halla 1960:57) was established, Syro-Anatolia became a matter of normal administration, the indigenous records were replaced by Assyrian sources, and the Syro-Anatolian culture “dissolves into the dark of History” (Hawkins 2002:59).

## 2.2 Questions of ethnicity

In the study of Iron Age societies of the Eastern Mediterranean, “all too often the interest of modern scholars has been directed not toward ‘what was being done’ but rather toward ‘who was doing it’” (Muhly 2003:30).

To put it with Bunnens,

The problem is less to find out who of the Hittites and the Aramaeans was dominating what, but to understand how competing groups were interacting and what use they were making of the various cultural traditions available to them. (Bunnens 1999:615, also quoted in Brown 2008:196)

However, an “obsession with ethnicity” (Muhly 2003, *ibid.*) led to numerous attempts to connect the body of archaeological evidence from the Syro-Anatolian city-states with identifiable ethnic groups. The local epigraphic evidence shows that in the Syro-Anatolian region two linguistic families co-existed: the Luwian, an Indo-European language written in a hieroglyphic script, and a number of Early Aramaic dialects, written in Northwest Semitic alphabet. Luwian-speaking groups are known to have settled Southeastern Anatolia at least since the middle of the second millennium BCE (Bryce 2003:88–89). Aramaic-speaking groups, on the other hand, become clearly detectable in the written record starting from the beginning of the first millennium BCE. The Aramaic language is probably a development of earlier Semitic languages spoken in second-millennium Northern Syria by smaller rural communities and by nomadic groups (Bunnens 2000:16–17). After the collapse of the Late Bronze Age society, these components of the social fabric progressively gained political influence. Aramaic-speaking groups interpenetrated the urban landscape of Western Syria, grafted onto the already existing settlement structures and slowly emerged as new urban elite. Simultaneously, Aramaic dialects and scripts spread, ceasing to be tied to a tribal identity and becoming a matter of cultural choice (Bunnens 2000:16–17; von Dassow 1999:249).

In the literature, however, language and ethnic group membership are often correlated in a straightforward, and perhaps simplistic, way.<sup>22</sup> Thus, a number of attempts have been made to study the Semitic “Arameans,” distinguishing them clearly from the Indo-European “Luwians” (Daviau et al. 2001; Dion 1997; Lipiński 2000; Melchert 2003). Accordingly, scholars focusing on the Syro-Anatolian

22 On the bias of this approach, see Keyes 1976.

region tried to differentiate between “Aramaean” and “Luwian” (or “neo-Hittite”) city-states and to analyze them separately (Jasink 1995; Sader 1987). This approach may prove effective for Damascus, seat of the “centralized monarchy” of Aram (Sader 2000), or for the regions north of the Taurus, such as Malatya or the ancient Tabal (Aro 1998), still heavily and coherently tied to their “Hittite” heritage. Applied to Syro-Anatolia proper, however, the same approach has its shortcomings, since the Syro-Anatolian city-states had multi-linguistic backgrounds and shared a single material culture (Mazzoni 1997b:301; Novák, et al. 2004b:2). In fact, it is difficult to find *any* cultural feature that may function as ethnic marker in the Syro-Anatolian region (von Dassow 1999:249). This lack of distinctive ethnic markers is the result of a prolonged process of intense and peaceful acculturation among Luwian-speaking and Aramaic-speaking groups, a process involving all aspects of society, as it has well been shown for religion and iconography (Hutter 1996; Niehr 2002, 2004a; Novák 2002, 2004a). Although scholars increasingly choose to use the inclusive label of “Luwian-Aramaean” when referring to Iron Age polities of the Syro-Anatolian region, applied to the material culture this label bears a misleading ethnolinguistic connotation (Novák, et al. 2004b:4). The material culture of the Luwian-Aramaean city-states is a blend of second-millennium Syrian traditions (cf. Pinnock 2004) and Anatolian traditions. Since the second-millennium Anatolian tradition is virtually coterminous with that of the Hittite empire, and because parts of Iron Age Syro-Anatolia are still seen as “Hittite” by foreign contemporaries (Güterbock 1957; Hawkins 1972–1975:152), the material culture of this region in this period is perhaps best labelled “Syro-Hittite” (see above, Introduction; and further Bonatz 2000a:4).

## 2.3 Carchemish

Between 1200 and 700 BCE, Carchemish and Zincirli were each the urban centre of a city-state, both located at the most strategically significant points along the east-west piedmont “highway” connecting Northern Mesopotamia with South-Eastern Anatolia (Fig. 2).<sup>23</sup>

Combining indigenous textual evidence with dated references in Assyrian texts, it is possible to reconstruct in fragments the succession of rulers at both sites and selected aspects of their geo-political history (Plate 1 illustrates the dynasties of rulers, their relation to one another, and their provisional absolute date).<sup>24</sup>

Among the two sites, Carchemish is without doubt the most important. The written record proves that the city has been continuously inhabited from about 2500 BCE onwards: the name is attested in the archives of Ebla, Mari, Alalakh, Boğazköy, and Ugarit.<sup>25</sup> Around 1340 BCE, when Carchemish was probably controlled by a Mittani gouverneur, the Hittite king Suppiluliumas conquered the city and installed his son Piyassilis on its throne, under the name of Šarri-Kušuh. After the death of Suppiluliumas, around 1320 BCE, the successor Muršili II confirmed his brother Piyassilis in his office and made the

23 For more on the piedmont “saddle route,” see Comfort et al. 2000; Comfort and Ergec 2001; and Fales 2002, fig. 10.

24 The inscriptions from Carchemish are now published in Hawkins 2000:80–223; for a discussion of the criteria used to date the inscriptions, see Hawkins 1976–1980:439–441; for the inscriptions from Zincirli, see Tropper 1993.

25 As for the name of the city in antiquity, in Ebla it appears as *qar-ga-miš*; in the second millennium BCE, Cunei

form texts spell *kar-ka(/ga)-miš(/maš)*, Hieroglyphic texts spell *kar-ka-mis-sà*, and Alphabetic texts *krgmš*. In the Iron Age, the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts spell *kar-ka-mi-sà*, while the Hebrew Bible reads *krkmyš* (Hawkins 1976–1980:426). Thus, philologically speaking, it would be best to adopt “Karkamiš.” The spelling “Carchemish,” largely gone into the literature and adopted here for the sake of tradition, is the Anglicization of the Hebrew name (Hawkins 1997:423). The site itself was originally known to the locals as “el Qala’at,” i.e., “the Castle.”

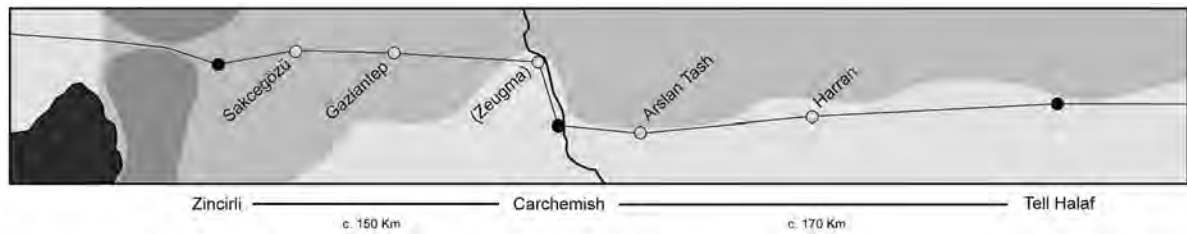


Fig. 2 | The “saddle route” connecting Southeastern Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia.

viceroyalty hereditary.<sup>26</sup> The dynasty of Piyassilis, is attested for at least five generations (Table 1), during which the rulers of Carchemish functioned as Hittite viceroys in Syria and exerted a powerful control on the neighbour vassal kingdoms.

The last attested Hittite viceroy, Kuzi-Tešub, survived the collapse of the Hittite empire and claimed the title of “Great King” (Hieroglyphic Luwian MAGNUS.REX<sup>27</sup>), which, until then, belonged only to the Hittite king (Hawkins 1988): “it looks as if Kuzi-Tešub, after the disappearance of the line of Suppiluliumas I in Hattusa, laid claim on the vacant titles both on his own behalf as the senior surviving member of the line (he was Suppiluliuma’s great-great-grandson), and perhaps also on behalf of Karkamiš” (Hawkins 2000:73).

At the time of Kuzi-Tešub, the territory under control of Carchemish seems to have been rather extended, including the kingdom of Malatya (Hawkins 1995a).<sup>28</sup> In the following centuries, the territory of Carchemish consistently diminished, but still extended west of the Euphrates, covering fully or in part today’s Turkish districts of Karkamiš, Nizip, Oğuzely, and Elbeyli (Kilis and Gaziantep provinces), as well as the northern part of the Syrian districts of Jerablus and Manbij (governorate of Halab).<sup>29</sup> Opposite Carchemish, the territory on the east side of the Euphrates was under the control of the city-state of Masuwari/Til Barsip (modern Tell Ahmar), later renamed Kar-Shalmaneser and residence of the influential Assyrian commander in chief, or *turtānu* Šamši-Ilu (approximately 796–752 BCE). To the north, Carchemish bordered the kingdom of Kummuh; to the south-southwest, it bordered on Arpad/Bit Agusi and perhaps the sphere of influence of the Bit Adini tribes; to the north-east, it probably bordered directly with the territory of Zincirli.

In the Iron Age, Carchemish had a walled area of 95 ha, the largest of the region.<sup>30</sup> Epigraphic sources (largely local) attest to at least twelve generations of rulers.<sup>31</sup> Kuzi-Tešub was followed by four kings, of

26 For a detailed reconstruction of the historical events and further bibliography, cf. Klengel and Imparati 1999:164–168.

27 Hieroglyphic Luwian logograms are usually transcribed in their Latin equivalent, following the practice of Linear B scholars (Hawkins 2000:25–28).

28 The dynasty of “great kings” of carchemish founded a further royal line at Malatya (Hawkins 1995a).

29 Turkey is divided in provinces, or *iller*, themselves divided into districts, or *ilçeler*. Syria is divided into governorates, or *muhafazat*. The governorates are divided into districts, called *manatiq*.

30 For comparative city plans to scale with hectares, see Brown 2008, Appendix 2.

31 During the excavations, a total of thirty-two major inscriptions and numerous fragments have been found. Virtually the entire corpus of the inscriptions is written

in Luwian Hieroglyphic, and the personal names attested in it are Luwian names. This is a rather rare linguistic uniformity for a region and a period characterized by polyglottism and ethnic assimilation. In fact, the elite of Carchemish mastered different scripts and languages (Starke 1997), but Carchemish had been a main centre of Hittite culture in the Late Bronze Age, and it is not surprising that the past should hold a strong influence in the cultural heritage of the city. In the Iron Age, the Assyrians sometimes used the term “king of Hatti” as a synonym of “king of Carchemish,” and the city of Carchemish was called “Carchemish of Hatti” (Hawkins 1972–1975:154–155). As discussed above, though, one should refrain from seeing the material culture of Carchemish as purely “Luwian” in an ethnic sense (Aro 2003).

<p>House of Suppiluliumas c. 1340-1150</p> <p>Šarri-Kušuh/Piyassilis (contemporary of Suppiluliumas and Muršili II)</p> <p>Šahurunuwa (contemporary of Suppiluliumas and Muršili II)</p> <p>unknown king(s) (contemporary of Urhi-Tesub and Hattušili III)</p> <p>Ini-Tesub (contemporary of Hattušili III and Muwatalli)</p> <p>Talmi-Tesub (contemporary of Suppiluliumas II)</p> <p>Kuzi-Tesub</p>	<p>Archaic Kings c. 1150-1000</p> <p>Ini-Tesub (mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I, c. 1100)</p> <p>x-pa-zitis (first syllable illegible)</p> <p>Ura-Tarhunzas (son of x-pa-zitis)</p> <p>Tudhaliyas</p>
<p>House of Suhis c. 1000-875</p> <p>Suhis (I) early tenth century BCE</p> <p>Astuwatamanzas mid tenth century BCE</p> <p>Suhis (II) late tenth century BCE</p> <p>Katuwas early ninth century BCE</p>	<p>House of Astiruwas c. 848-717</p> <p>Astiruwas</p> <p>Yariris regent, c. 790</p> <p>Kamanis son of Astiruwas, c. 760</p> <p>Pisiri son of Sasturas(?), at least 738-717</p>

Table 1–4

Table 1 | Carchemish, the House of Suppiluliumas (c. 1340–1150 BCE).

Table 2 | The Archaic Kings of Carchemish (c. 1150–1000 BCE).

Table 3 | Carchemish, the House of Suhis (c. 1000–875 BCE).

Table 4 | Carchemish, the House of Astiruwas (c. 848–717 BCE).

which at least the last three continued to claim the title of “Great King.” The dynastic relationship of these “Archaic Kings” of the earliest Iron Age with the House of Suppiluliumas on the one hand and with the later royal dynasties in Carchemish on the other is unknown (Hawkins 1988:104–105).

On the stele KARKAMIŠ A4b,<sup>32</sup> Ura-Tarhunza is called “Great King” of the *land* (REGIO) of Carchemish. The term is inherited from the Hittite empire political lexicon and indicates perhaps that under the Archaic Kings the territory of Carchemish was still of a greater regional extent.

The Archaic Kings were followed by a four-generation dynastic line, the “House of Suhis”. Suhis I, the founder of the dynasty, may be the same individual mentioned on KARKAMIŠ A4b as a “ruler” (*tarwanis*) coexisting with the Great King, perhaps a sort of vizier. If so, then Suhis I seized the throne of Carchemish by usurpation, a hypothesis consistent with the general impression of political re-definition (Hawkins 1995a). The kings of this dynasty did not claim the title of “Great King” any more; instead, they consistently titled themselves *tarwanis* and “Country-Lord” (REGIO.DOMINUS). They also abandoned the expression “land of Carchemish” in favour of “city (URBS) of Carchemish” (Hawkins 2000:81).

Suhis II and Katuwas, to whom is ascribed the commission of great cycles of monumental art, appear to have lived in times of civil disturbance and dynastic instability. In the late tenth century BCE, a

32 Hieroglyphic Luwian texts are usually referred to by the name of the find site in capital letters. The numbering here follows Hawkins 2000.

Year	Event as reported in the Assyrian sources	Reference
c. 870	Assurnasirpal II encounters Sangara at Carchemish and receives his tribute; later on, ambassadors of Carchemish are sent to the inauguration of Assurnasirpal's palace at Kalhu, and people from Carchemish ("men from Hatti") were settled there.	RIMA 2, A.0101.1-2, 26
858	Sangara allies with Sam'al, Unqi, and Bit Adini against Shalmaneser III; the Assyrian king allegedly wins two victories against the allied city-states.	RIMA 3, A.0102.2
857	Sangara formally submits to Shalmaneser	RIMA 3, A.0102.2
853	Sangara formally submits to Shalmaneser	RIMA 3, A.0102.2
849	Shalmaneser attacks Carchemish and Bit Agusi	RIMA 3, A.0102.6, 10, 14
848	Shalmaneser attacks Carchemish and claims "97 cities" of its territory	RIMA 3, A.0102.6, 10, 14

Table 5 | Interactions between Carchemish and Assyria as reported in the Assyrian sources c. 870–848 BCE

certain Hatamanas, apparently at the head of rebel cities, ravaged the ceremonial centre of the Carchemish, overturning and defacing the images of the gods. In the inscription KARKEMIŠ A1a, Suhis II commemorates his revenge over Hatamanas and mentions his son Halpasulupis, who, however, did not succeed him. Suhis' other son Katuwas took his place on the throne and had to face a revolt of kinsmen, the "grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas." The rebellious fraction had a leader, Ninuwis, who apparently claimed his rights over part of the territory of Carchemish and perhaps sought an alliance with a Cilician princeps. Military fights followed, and Ninuwis and his associates were exiled (KARKEMIŠ A11a-c).

After Katuwas, nothing more is known of the House of Suhis; in all probability, he was succeeded by Sangara, who is known exclusively from Assyrian sources and must have reigned at least 870–848 BCE (Hawkins 2000:75). The reign of Sangara was shaped by increasing interactions with Assyria, and Sangara is repeatedly mentioned by the Assyrian sources. The meeting between him and the Assyrian kings was commemorated on the walls of the throne room of Assurnasirpal's Northwest Palace at Kalhu and on the bronze reliefs of the Balawat gates (Gilibert 2004). Table 4 resumes the interactions between Carchemish and Assyria in this period.

The enormous value of the tributes repeatedly paid by Carchemish to the Assyrian kings are testimony of the wealth of the city in this period (Ussishkin 1967b:182; Winter 1983:188–189).

The next known king of Carchemish is Astiruwas, who apparently established a dynasty of his own (possible ties of kinship to Sangara are not documented).

Of the reign of Astiruwas in the second half of the ninth century BCE, nothing is known other than a brief remark in the Assyrian sources dating to Šamši-Adad V (823–811 BCE), confirming that Carchemish continued to be an independent city-state (RIMA 3, A.0103.1, ii 9–10). At the death of Astiruwas, his oldest son and designed successor Kamanis was still a child, so the throne passed in the hands of a regent, Astiruwas' former vizier Yariris (Hawkins 1979:158–160). In his inscriptions, Yariris calls himself "ruler" (*tarwanis*) and "prince" (*CAPUT-tis*), while referring to Astiruwas as "my lord" (*DOMINUS-nanis*). In the years of regency, Yariris acted as guardian of Kamanis and his brothers but otherwise his behaviour and role did not differ from those of a ruler. He was not only literate but, according to his own self-stylization, proficient in different languages and scriptural systems, including

Aramaic and Assyrian Cuneiform (Starke 1997); these linguistic abilities he invoked as a proof of wisdom and skillfulness (KARKAMIŠ A15b). The fragmentary inscription KARKAMIŠ A24a tells of a military dispute between the kingdom of Aleppo and Assyria; it seems to imply that Carchemish played some parts in favour of Aleppo, but it is not possible to extract more information from the extant fragments.

Eventually, Kamanis did succeed Yariris, and his titulary was markedly royal, including “king” (REX-tis), “ruler,” and “country-lord.” The monumental stele CEKKE 1, as yet the most important document dating to the reign of Kamanis, is the endowment chart of the city Kamana, named after the ruler himself. The inscription gives evidence that the territory controlled by Carchemish was organized in a system of small-scale vassals, and that, next to the king, the figure of a vizier or “prime minister” (*hantilis mitas*) continued to play a dominant role. The name of Kamanis’ vizier was Sasturas; Sasturas’ son is probably to be identified with the last king of Carchemish, Pisiri (approximately 738–717 BCE). The inscription KARKAMIŠ A21–22a-b mentions Astiruwas in the genealogy of the son of Sasturas (Pisiri?), thus suggesting some form of dynastic continuity between Kamanis and the lineage of his vizier (Hawkins 1979:160–162).<sup>33</sup> Pisiri was a contemporary of Tiglath-Pileser III, Shalmaneser V, and Sargon II; apparently, Pisiri faced Assyrian imperialism with a flexible policy, submitting tributes as required and avoiding taking part in anti-Assyrian coalitions (Hawkins 2000:76). In this way, the city-state managed to retain its independence until 717 BCE, when Sargon II accused Pisiri of conspiring against him. The city was then besieged and conquered, its riches plundered, its royalty deported, and Assyrian colonists and a governor settled in (Hawkins 2000:76, n. 45). From that point on, Carchemish remained an Assyrian province until the end of the empire.

## 2.4 Zincirli

The Iron Age city at Zincirli is a *ville neuve* dating back to the late tenth century BCE, probably founded at the site of a town which may be identified with the toponym Uša from Hittite sources (Schramm 1983; Lipiński 2000:234–235, 238) and from which, at least archaeologically, not much is recovered.<sup>34</sup> The foundation of cities ex novo is typical of the early Iron Age and can take on different forms. Zincirli can be described as a “short-distance foundation” (Mazzoni 1994:324): following a political shift due to the emergence of an Aramaic elite, functions previously held by nearby sites (e.g., Tilmen Höyük) may have been transferred to Zincirli, which was, politically speaking, a *tabula rasa*.

The city-state is called “Sam’al” in the Assyrian sources, a Semitic name designating both the city and the territory under its control (Jasink 1995:110, n. 42). In the annals of Shalmaneser III, Hayya(n) of Sam’al is called DUMU *Gabbari*, i.e., “son of Gabbar” (Grayson 1996, A.0102.2, l.24b). Gabbar, meaning “the hero,” is to be interpreted as the founder of the dynastic line; it is possible that “sons of Gabbar” would be used as a generic patronymic for the inhabitants of Sam’al (Lipiński 2000:239; Sader

33 See also the discussion below, §3.2.3.3. Whether the son of Sasturas was the immediate successor of Kamanis is uncertain; the inscribed fragment KARKAMIŠ A26f might point to the existence of a son of Kamanis ruling in Carchemish – or perhaps rather a “major-domo?” (Hawkins 2000:170).

34 Pottery finds indicate that a first settlement phase of the mound took place in the late third millennium BCE

(Wartke 2005:75). Thereafter the site was abandoned and there is no indication that the later occupation was in any way related to the previous settlement episode. Pottery as yet unpublished, however, might indicate a longer settlement history, including a period in the Late Bronze Age (Lehmann 2006). This is confirmed by the unfinished sphinx and lion protomes dating to the Late Bronze Age found scattered around the site (cf. below, §4.2.3).

Early Kings end of tenth – end of ninth century BCE	Late Kings c. 810-711 BCE
Gabbar “the Hero”	Qurila c. 810-790
Banihu „the Builder“	Panamuwa (I) c. 790-745
Hayya(n) 870/860-840	Coup d'état – Assyrian intervention c. 750-745
Sha'il son of Hayya, c. 850-840	Panamuwa (II) 743(?) – 733/32
Kulamuwa brother of Sha'il, c. 840-810	Barrakib 733/32-713/11

Table 6 | Zincirli, the Early Kings (end of tenth – end of ninth century BCE).

Table 7 | Zincirli, the Late Kings (c. 810–711 BCE).

1987:172–173). The title by which the Sam'alians kings refer to themselves is “kings of Y'dy.” This is a Semitic name of unclear origin, to be vocalized Ya'udi (Dion 1974) or, perhaps, Yu'addi (Lipiński 2000:235). Although originally it may well have been a tribal name (ibid.), by the time Sam'al was established this term is clearly used to designate the territorial sovereignty of a city-state (Sader 1987). The oldest epigraphic source from Zincirli, the inscription KAI 24, dates to the reign of Kulamuwa (840/835–815/810 BCE) and is written in a palaeographic variant of early Phoenician.<sup>35</sup> Later, at least from the reign of Panamuwa I onwards, most inscriptions are written in Sam'alian, a local Early Aramaic dialect. By the time of Barrakib (732–711 BCE), inscriptions are composed in Standard Early Aramaic – with the exception of the funerary inscription for Panamuwa II, which is in Sam'alian.<sup>36</sup> The hieroglyphic Luwian script and language, however, are known and used as well, as shown by an inscribed seal of Barrakib, a funerary stele from the surroundings of Zincirli (Hawkins 2000:276) and by the royal onomastic.

Kulamuwa's inscription KAI 24 presents a succession of five “Early Kings” (Table 6), beginning with Gabbar (“the Hero”) and Banihu (“the Builder”), overtly symbolic names suggest a myth of foundation. After Babbar and Banihu the “House of Hayya(n)” was established; Hayya (about 870/860–840 BCE) was succeeded first by his son Sha'il and then, following Sha'il's death or deposition, by the latter's brother, who was Kulamuwa. While Hayya is mentioned four times as “Hayyanu” in the Annals of Shalmaneser III (Table 7), Sha'il and Kulamuwa are not mentioned at all in the Assyrian sources. Kulamuwa's monumental inscription, however, does mention Assyria. From its contents it is possible to infer two important facts. First, in this period the political role of Sam'al was that of a small city-state surrounded by (more) powerful neighbours: “My father's house was in the midst of mighty kings, and each stretched forth his hand to fight” (Donner and Röllig 2002, 13, l.5–6; English translation after O'Connor 1977:19). In order to defy threats posed by the neighbouring states, Kulamuwa initiated a conscious a policy of vassalage to Assyria, which continued to be pursued throughout the history of Sam'al.<sup>37</sup> The inscription also acknowledges social tensions, describing the inhabitants of Sam'al as divided into rich *b'rrm* and poor *mškbm*. Whether these categories relate to ethnic or linguistic differences (Aramaic vs.

35 For a comprehensive resume of the history of Zincirli, see further Tropper 1999.

36 For an analysis of the linguistic character of these written sources, see Tropper 2001.

37 On Zincirli and other Syro-Anatolian polities acting as “willing servants of Assyria,” see Dion 2006.

Year	Event, as reported in RIMA 3, A.0102.1–2
858	Hayya allies with Sangara of Carchemish, Unqi, and Bit Adini against the Assyrian king, who allegedly wins two victories against the allied city-states: “I took away from him [Hayya] many chariots and horses broken to the yoke. I erected pillars of skulls in front of his town, destroyed, demolished, and burnt down his towns” (41b-48).
857	Hayya formally submits to Shalmaneser
856	Hayya formally submits to Shalmaneser (implicit mention)
853	Hayya formally submits to Shalmaneser

Table 8 | Interactions between Zincirli and Assyria (858–853 BCE).

Luwian identity) is unknown. In any case, Kulamuwa presents himself as a fair mediator of social conflict; the choice to write in Phoenician might indicate a conscious effort to underline his neutrality (Brown 2008a:235–259; Brown 2008b; see also the discussion below, §4.2.6).

The eighth century rulers of Zincirli do not refer to the House of Hayya in their monumental records and they may be called the “Late Kings”.

King Qurila is mentioned in an important inscription of his son Panamuwa I (KAI 214). The inscription elaborates on the military and building efforts of Qurila, the latter including fortification works. Thus war, the indigenous sources imply, continued to be an important issue. This is confirmed by indirect information from the Assyrian sources. After a period of quiescent western politics under Šamši-Adad V (823–811 BCE), at the end of the ninth century BCE Assyria resumed military campaigns in Syria under Adad-Nērāri III (811–783 BCE). A border stele found at Kızılkapanlı Köyü (Pazarcık ili) and the stele fragment from Sheikh Hammad (BM 131124) provide evidence for a military campaign in 805/804 BCE against eight kings of trans-Euphratean city-states (Donbaz 1990; Millard and Tadmor 1973; Shea 1978). The coalition was led by Ataršumki of Arpad, a rebellious Assyrian vassal; the Assyrian army intervened in support of Ušpilulume, king of Kummuh, and helped establish the border between his territory and the territory controlled by Qalparunda of Gurgum at Kızılkapanlı, on the banks of the river Aksu. Gurgum (Maraş) was the northern neighbour and a known ally of Sam'al; it is therefore possible that Qurila of Sam'al, Qalparunda's contemporary, counted as one of the eight Syrian kings mentioned on the border stele of Adad-Nērāri III (Hawkins 1982:400). Qurila is also probably the unnamed king of Sam'al mentioned by Zakkur, King of Hama, on a stela reporting of a military alliance against Bar-Adad of Damascus (KAI 213).

The later history of Sam'al is known essentially from retrospective narratives of the last known ruler of the independent city-state, Barrakib (733/32–713/11). The inscription KAI 215 reports of a coup d'état against Bar-Sur, son of Panamuwa I. Bar-Sur was murdered and an antagonist occupied his position for a short interregnal period. Panamuwa II, son of Bar-Sur, organized a counter-coup, appealing to the Assyrian king for protection. Tiglath-Pileser III reinstalled him on the throne of Sam'al and thus gained an important ally in the West. Panamuwa II regularly paid annual tributes and military services to Assyria, which for its part awarded Sam'al with territorial endowments and wealth. When Panamuwa II died on the battlefield (siege of Damascus, 733–732 BCE), according to the narrative of Barrakib, Tiglath-Pileser III let the corpse be transported to and buried in Assur and ordered the erection of a funerary monument. Barrakib is the last king of Sam'al recorded in the written sources. An Assyrian governor is first attested in 681 BCE (Millard 1994:102–103); Sam'al, however, may have already become an Assyrian province shortly before, as a result of a peaceful annexation (Lipiński 2000:246). At the end of the eighth

century BCE, part of the northern territory of Sam'al, including the important fortress at Coba Höyük (Sakçe Gözü, perhaps the ancient Lutibu), was given by Sargon II to Muttallu, king of Kummuh, to whom also Malatya was entrusted. This explains at least in part why both at Coba Höyük and Malatya figurative works in the same characteristic style and iconography have been found (Güterbock 1961). Muttallu, however, was removed from his office in 708 BCE, and the territories of Malatya and Zincirli probably returned under direct Assyrian control. After the death of Sargon II in 705 BCE, Malatya regained its independence and its king Mugallu pursued an aggressive anti-Assyrian policy until at least 663 BCE (Hawkins 2000:286). Sometime between 676 and 671/70 BCE (Lehmann 1994:109), the Northwest Palace on the citadel of Sam'al burned down. This destruction, which left clear stratigraphic traces in the archaeological record, was probably the result of a military storming of the citadel, perhaps by Mugallu (Hawkins 1993–1997). After that, the citadel was re-built and functioned as an important Assyrian stronghold until the dissolution of the empire.



### 3 Carchemish

The site of Carchemish, originally known to the locals as “el-Qala’at” (*Carchemish I*, 1), is situated on the Western bank of the Euphrates, at the point where the river crosses the present Turkish-Syrian border. The nearest modern settlements are Jerablus, a Syrian village located immediately to the south of the ancient city, and Yunus (renamed Karkemiş in modern times), a Turkish village about a kilometre to the north-east.

At this latitude, the Euphrates becomes less turbulent, and its flow is wide, meandering among semi-permanent islets. Carchemish is positioned right on the edge of the river, at the north end of a wide alluvial plain with rich agricultural soil. The site is built around a spur of natural conglomerate rock rising steeply over the Euphrates and, to the north, over the valley of a tributary stream. The presence of an ancient embankment wall at the foot of the mound indicates that the ancient course of the river followed almost the same path here as it does today (*Carchemish I*, 2). The site stands out for its strategic position, commanding from a well defensible standpoint one of the most important crossroads of the ancient Near East.

#### 3.1 Archaeological fieldwork

Scholars had been aware of the existence of an important ancient site with surface monuments at the village of Jerablus on the Euphrates since the early eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Alexander Drummond, British Consul at Aleppo in the middle of the eighteenth century, published a map of the ruins of “Jerabolus” in 1714.<sup>39</sup> In 1874, James H. Skene, British Consul at Aleppo since 1856, proposed an identification of the site with the ancient Carchemish known from Assyrian, Egyptian, and Biblical records (Wallis Budge 1920:395–396). In 1876, the Assyriologist George Smith of the British Museum, who was visiting prospective excavation sites, described the mound with the lapidary statement: “Grand site: vast walls and palace mounds: 8,000 feet round: many sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions: site of Karchemish.”<sup>40</sup> In 1908, David G. Hogarth visited the site and confirmed its relevance (*Carchemish I*, 12). This prompted the British Museum to seek and obtain a permit to dig and to entrust it to Hogarth in 1910. In

38 The Reverend Henry Maundrell, chaplain of the English Levant Company in Syria, visited the site at the end of the seventeenth century, drawing a sketch of the topography and of a relief (Boese 2006:45). He reported his observations, including the description of some stone reliefs, in a supplement to the sixth edition of his *A Journey From Aleppo to Jerusalem At Easter A.D. 1697*, Oxford (1740<sup>6</sup>). The supplement was entitled *An Account of the Author's Journey to the Banks of the Euphrates at Beer, and to the Country of Mesopotamia* and the ruins are described as follows: “This place is of a semicircular figure, its flat side lying on the banks of Euphrates; on that side it has a high long Mount, close by the water, very steep. It was anciently built upon; and at one end of it I saw fragments of very large Pillars, a yard and half diameter, and Capitals and Cornishes well carved. At the foot of the Mount was carved on a large stone a Beast resembling a Lyon,

with a bridle in his mouth; and I believe anciently a Person sitting on it: But the stone is in that part now broke away; the Tail of the Beast was Couped. Round about this place are high banks cast up, and there is the foot steps of walls on them. The gates seem to have been well built. The whole was 2,250 paces, that is 5 yards in circumference. The river is here as large as the Thames at London; a long bullet gun could not shoot a ball over it, but it dropt into the water.” (3)

39 A. Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of the Euphrates: in a series of letters. Containing an account of what is most remarkable in their present state, as well as in their monuments of antiquity*. London: printed by W. Strahan for the author, 1754<sup>3</sup>: Plate facing p. 197.

40 Quoted in *Carchemish I*, 6.

the following decades, the Trustees of the museum sponsored three missions: Occasional soundings by Patrick Henderson, at the time the British Consul in Aleppo, took place intermittently from December 1878 to July 1881. Excavations on a far larger scale took place between 1911 and 1914, first under the direction of Hogarth, then of Reginald Campbell Thompson, and finally of C. Leonard Woolley. The enterprise was abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of World War I. In 1920, C. L. Woolley tried to resume the excavations, yet the outburst of the Turkish War of Independence forced his team to leave once again shortly thereafter. Since then, the main mound has been part of a Turkish military zone at the Syrian-Turkish border, which, following the course of the Baghdad Railway, cuts through the site south of the “Inner Town.”

The large majority of the stone reliefs from Carchemish were excavated during the 1911–1914 operations, in particular during the excavation of the vast open-space ceremonial area at the foot of the “citadel mound.” Almost all the stone reliefs from Carchemish whose present locations are known today are in Ankara, at the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Museum of Anatolian Civilization), where many are on display. A few items are at the British Museum and at the Louvre; a single orthostat is stored at the Museum of Adana. In a personal letter dated July 1956 (quoted in Lloyd 1989:70), Woolley writes:

We had promised to leave everything to the Turkish Government, and of course, did so. Everything remained *in situ*, or in our magazines until after the war. Then in 1920 a Turkish army officer stationed at Jerablus decided to move the stones (or was about to do so?): many were smashed, the rest put on railway trucks but pitched off on to the embankment, where they remained until 1921 or later. Some pieces were stolen and sold; one lion’s head ultimately came to the British Museum by purchase (much to my disgust) and other bits to the Louvre.

### 3.2 The monumental contexts

The excavations explored only a small extent of the site, with a special focus on the city gates and on the ceremonial area at the southern foot of the main mound, analyzed in detail below. The circuit of a double system of fortifications and of a wall around the main mound was located by sondage; embedded into the northern fortifications, a rectangular building was recorded (the “North-West Fort”); between the outer and the inner city wall, a number of private houses (labelled A-H) were excavated; on the main mound, a poorly preserved building was recorded, first termed “Sargon’s Fort” but later, notwithstanding the lack of evidence, addressed as “Temple of Kubaba.”

Most recorded contexts belong to the same archaeological horizon and date to the Iron Age I–II (about 1200–600 BCE).<sup>41</sup> Monumental art was found *in situ* at a limited number of contexts (Fig. 3), viz., in small quantity at the South Gate, and, to a much greater degree, at and around the ceremonial open area at the foot of the main mound, including the Water Gate, the precinct of the Storm God, and the so-called Hilani (Fig. 4).

<sup>41</sup> For the emergence of Carchemish as a major polity in the third Millennium BCE, see Peltenburg 2007.



Fig. 3 | Carchemish: location of excavated contexts with monumental art in situ.

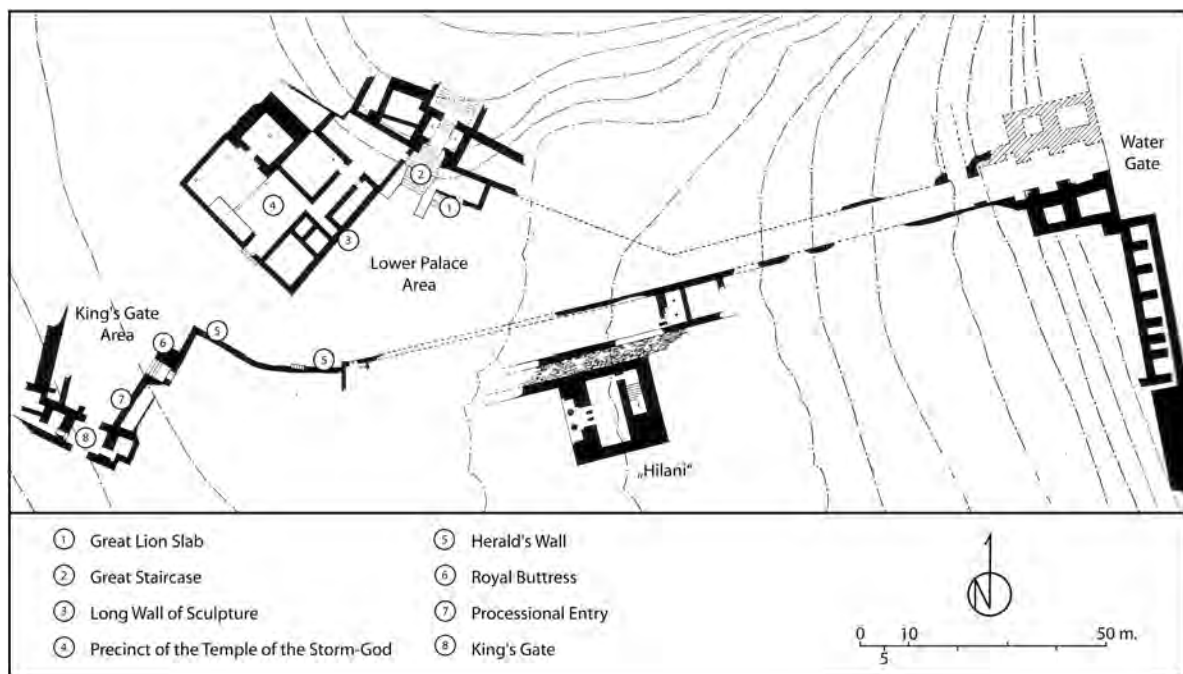


Fig. 4 | Carchemish: the ceremonial open area at the foot of the main mound.

### 3.2.1 The South Gate

A crescent-shaped earthen rampart with a height of at least 20m, on whose broad top originally ran a mudbrick wall, divided Iron Age Carchemish into inner and outer sectors (*Carchemish II*, 69–73). The South Gate (Fig. 5) was one of the two city gates cutting the rampart and connecting the sectors. Its western counterpart, the West Gate, was narrower, lower, and built with considerably less employment of dressed stone; at a later point, it was altogether walled up. Thus, the South Gate was probably the main gate to the inner town throughout the Iron Age. This is consistent with its location, opening in the direction of the fertile plain, and is reinforced by the presence of monumental art. It is not difficult to imagine a main traffic avenue connecting the southern gate of the outer city (as yet unexcavated), the South Gate, and the King's Gate, which leads to the ceremonial open area (see below).

The gate was built in limestone masonry and mudbrick, and lined with headhigh polished orthostats (see *Carchemish II*, Pl. 11 b).<sup>42</sup> The only part of the gate with no orthostat lining were the inner walls of the southern *Breitraum*, where the door wings folded back (*Carchemish II*, 90), which suggests that the gate was generally kept open. The road through the gate was paved in stones grooved by the wheels of passing vehicles.

The South Gate had three pairs of long piers and two *Breiträume*, according to a type typical of the Upper Mesopotamian Iron Age (Naumann 1955:279).

In the eastern recess of the northern *Breitraum*, fragments of a colossal statue were found (**Carchemish 1**<sup>43</sup>). The recovered pieces, worked in “a hard shelly stone like marble and taking almost as fine a polish” (*Carchemish II*, 92), included the head, the upper part of the bust, parts of the shoulder and arm, the base with the lower border of the drapery and the feet, and a second square base. The latter rested originally on another pedestal, which was found in situ against the north wall of the recess.<sup>44</sup> Fragments of an elaborately carved Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription could be restored on the garment's drapery and on three sides of the second base (KARKAMIŠ A13a-c, Hawkins 2000:167–169). Although Woolley speaks of the statue as “undoubtedly among the finest yet found at Carchemish” (*Carchemish II*, 92), the only published picture is a rear view of the recomposed head and bust (*Carchemish II*, Pl. B. 27; see catalogue entry here); the written description is limited to a single sentence: “The figure represented a bearded man wearing a tight-fitting head-cloth and turban, clothed in a short sleeved under-garment over which was worn a heavy mantel having a broad fringe along its edge” (*Carchemish II*, 92). Woolley writes that the statue “appears to have been seated” (ibid.), but as the greater part of the body is missing, the question remains open.<sup>45</sup>

42 The rubble foundations and the fine ashlar course on which the orthostats rested were relatively well preserved in the north and east part of the gate; the southwest side, on the contrary, was massively disturbed by substructures for the Hellenistic and Roman gateways (*Carchemish II*, 89), which remain unpublished.

43 The present study includes a catalogue of the monumental items found in situ at Carchemish and Zincirli. The items are identified by the name of the site and a number. The numeration is consecutive and follows the order in which the items are discussed in the text.

44 The pedestal found in situ measures 1.00 × 1.25 × 0.25 m; the second, fragmentary base with the inscription has been reconstructed as 0.75 × 0.75 × 0.25 m in area. No precise measurements have been published for the

statue itself, but from the scale in *Carchemish II*, Pl. B. 27 it is possible to infer that head and upper bust – beard included – was 0.80–0.85 m high. Based on the Syro-Hittite proportions for statues, the head and upper bust would take in approximately one third of the whole figure (Barnett 1980:171; Bonatz 2000a:25–26, fig. 2); applying this canon to **Carchemish 1**, a plausible height of about 2.50 m is obtained.

45 Voos sees in the fragments the remnants of a standing statue based on the model of the colossal statue of the Lions' Gate at Malatya (Voos 1989:24); Ussishkin, on the other hand, follows Woolley and proposes that it be reconstructed as a seated statue (Ussishkin 1989:487). The calculations above (n. 40), if correct, speaks rather in favour of a standing statue.

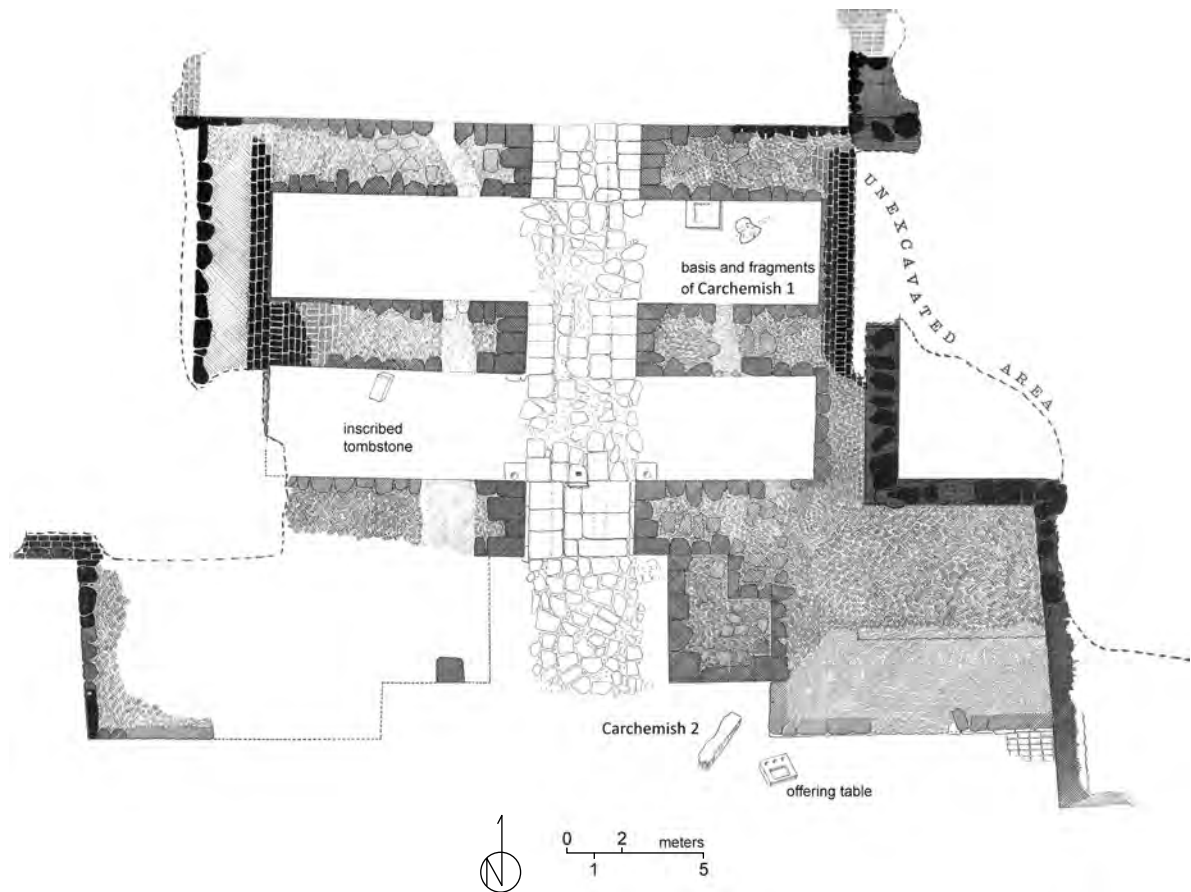


Fig. 5 | Carchemish: the South Gate to the inner city (after Carchemish II, Pl. 12)

The statue was deliberately effaced and smashed to pieces in antiquity.<sup>46</sup> Apart from the body, which has not been found, most fragments were buried near the pedestal. Others (Woolley does not specify which ones exactly) were worked into the matrix of the floor and trodden upon on a regular basis.

The iconography and context of the statue suggest that it represents a deceased ruler of the city (Bonatz 2000a, A 14; Ussishkin 1989; Voos 1983:153). The style of the head, elaborate and rich in detail, is certainly late; Orthmann files it within his latest phase “Karkemis V,” dating to his *Späthetitsch IIIb* period, meaning in absolute terms the end of the eighth century BCE. The fragmentary inscription follows the typical scheme of a commemorative epigraph beginning with “I am [name of the deceased] ...” (Bonatz 2000a:72–75). The first line, and thus the name of the represented individual, is lost; according to the latest reading, however, the subsequent genealogy identifies him as “Ast[iru(wa)]’s son” (<sup>l</sup>[á<sup>3</sup>]-[s]a-[t]i<sup>2</sup>-[...]-sa INF[ANS(?) ...]), i.e., the ruler Kamanis (around 760 BCE); the palaeography of the piece does not contradict this possibility (Hawkins 2000:168). If the statue represents the deceased Kamanis, it might have been commissioned by the king himself, by his vizier, Sasturas (approximately 750–740 BCE), who took his place after his death (Hawkins 1979:160–162), or by Sasturas’ son, Pisiri, the last ruler of Carchemish (approximately 738–717 BCE). As a date for the violent disposal of the

<sup>46</sup> On the mutilation of statues, see Brandes 1980, Nylander 1980, Bahrani 1995.

statue, Woolley plausibly suggests 717 BCE, when, after a siege of Sargon II, Pisiri was deported to Assyria and Carchemish constituted as Assyrian province.

The colossal statue was the only item of monumental art within of the gate. A commemorative funerary stele inscribed with a short, reportedly illegible Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription was found in the western recess of the southern *Breitraum* (Carchemish II, 93).<sup>47</sup> Thus far, the stone remains unpublished but it testifies further to a connection of the gate with the cult of ancestors.

A second object of monumental art, the portal lion **Carchemish 2**, was found outside the gate, in close proximity to the southeastern gate-tower. It is to be restored upon a row of ashlar blocks at the corner of the outer tower, where it fits exactly (Carchemish II, 93). A twin counterpart at the western corner, which undoubtedly existed, was probably removed in the course of the Hellenistic and Roman building works and lost. The style of **Carchemish 2** is identical to that of **Carchemish 1** and, in general, to that of the “Karkamis V” sculpture (Orthmann 1971:43), thus is to be dated accordingly. The head and the fore paws of the lion were deliberately removed with heavy hammer blows when the lion was still in its original upright position. In front of the lion’s proposed location, a square limestone “offering table” with three hollow cups and a shallow rectangular depression was found.<sup>48</sup>

In conclusion, during the 8<sup>th</sup> century large-scale monuments were incorporated into the main gate to the inner town of Carchemish. At some point, perhaps by the Assyrian army in 717 BCE, the portal lion and the colossal statue were deliberately effaced. The defacement of the monuments and the offering table nearby indicate that the monuments were recipients of cultic activities, powerful symbols and enduring ideological statements that an enemy hand wanted to “silence.”<sup>49</sup> This evidence introduces us to an outstanding and long-lasting feature of many Syro-Anatolian gates: not only did they control access to and within the city, but they also served as platforms for ritual performances. Numerous passages in Hittite texts, the installations at the gates of Hattuša, and the rich monumental decoration at the ceremonial gate of Alaca Höyük indicate that, in Late Bronze Age Anatolia, performances at the gate were important events of the cultic calendar.<sup>50</sup> In the Iron Age, the policy of embedding statues and cycles of monumental reliefs into the city gates becomes a feature of the Syro-Anatolian architectural landscape, stressing an increase in their symbolic and ritual significance (Mazzoni 1997a).<sup>51</sup> The case at the South Gate, perhaps Carchemish’ most accessible and visited passageway,

47 Woolley describes this stone and similar ones as “altars,” but several examples of this kind of artifact bear funerary inscriptions dating to the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE (TILSEVET; KARKAMIS A4c, A5a, A 5b, A16 f, A18f, A18 h) and Hawkins calls them “tombstones” (Hawkins 2000:178). Among them, however, only TILSEVET was perhaps found as a part of a tomb; the rest were not found in connection with burials.

48 The original position of the offering table is uncertain (Carchemish II, 94); in particular, it cannot be ruled out that it was originally used in connection with the colossal statue **Carchemish 1**. However, it is more economical to assume that the offering table was originally placed in front of the lion, a hypothesis supported by parallel evidence both from Carchemish and elsewhere. Next to the Great Staircase, an offering table is placed right in front of the lion’s head of the “Great Lion Slab” (**Carchemish 28**). Stone slabs with cup marks can be observed in front of the paws of both portal lions of the Lions’ Gate at Boğazköy (Ussishkin 1975:92–95). At Zincirli, hollow cups were cut into the heads of the twin lions that serve

as a basis for a colossal statue (Zincirli 64, see §4.2.5); furthermore, five portal lions (Zincirli 52–56) had been ritually buried and offerings had been left next to their heads (see here §4.2.3). Across the Euphrates, at Til Barsip, the portal lions of the Assyrian palace were given elaborate names: “The impetuous storm, irresistible in attack, crushing rebels, procuring that which satisfies the hearth” and “He who pounces on rebellion, scours the enemy, drives out the evil and lets enter the good” (Frankfort 1954:181), showing that identity and personality was cast upon them.

49 On “termination rituals” at monumental public buildings, see Zuckerman 2007.

50 On Hittite festivals involving rituals at the gates, see Del Monte 1973; Singer 1983–1984; Pierallini 2002a; Pierallini 2002b; Crasso 2005; De Martino 2006; Görke 2008; Sievertsen 2008. On cultic activities at the gates in both Hittite and post-Hittite times, see Voos 1983; Weißl 1998 Brown 2008:164–165.

51 To a lesser extent, this seems to be also true for Iron Age Palestine: see Blomquist 1999.

highlights the practice of giving the monuments and the cultic performances related to them a decidedly public dimension, evidently addressing the entire population as well as the occasional visitor. The statue **Carchemish I** and the commemorative funerary stela found nearby indicate how an aspect of the gate's cultic significance in the Iron Age revolved around the cult of the dead, and in particular around the cult of the royal ancestors (Bonatz 2000:153–154).<sup>52</sup> As we shall see in shortly, further evidence from Carchemish and Zincirli suggests that seasonal festivities, propitiatory rituals related to the hunt, and royal triumphs also involved stations at the city gates.<sup>53</sup> Some of the ritual events were probably embedded in processions. The Syro-Anatolian urban design seems to have presupposed a main avenue of access to the city inner sector, a “ceremonial street” broken down into tranches by a number of halting places (Pucci 2008a:170–172). The “ceremonial street” began at a main gate, extended straight towards a gate leading to the ceremonial centre, then took a more convolute course, and finally ended with a turn in front of a gate to significant building complexes, such as the royal palace or the main city temple (such is the case at Carchemish, Zincirli, Tell Halaf, Tell Tayinat, and probably also at Hama and 'Ain Dara). Along the main route, the gates were consistently monumental, decorated with sculpture and provided with ritual installations: it is easy to imagine that, on given occasions, they marked stations of processions entering and exiting the city.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.2.2 The Water Gate

Along the Euphrates, following the line of the eastern city-walls like a quay, Carchemish had embanked docks. From the docks, there were two points of access to the city. The first was a gate to the south,<sup>55</sup> from which a gently sloping street led up to the eastern part of the outer town. This was probably the main gate of access for people and goods coming from the river. The second means of access, the “Water Gate,” led from the docks up a steeper slope directly to the ceremonial center of the city.

The Water Gate was a two-chambered, tower-like structure with three pairs of shallow buttresses on a 17m deep gateway (Fig. 6). It followed an archaic scheme, and its oldest building phase probably dated to the second millennium BCE (Gregori 1986; Naumann 1955:268, 279).<sup>56</sup>

The gate was designed to lead pedestrians from the river embankment to the ceremonial centre of the city. Its entrance was at least 3m above the original surface of the embankment, so that either a ramp or a stairway must have connected the two features (see levels in *Carchemish II*, Pl. 16). The gateway proper began with a flight of shallow stone steps up to the central buttress, after which a paved surface continued on a gentler slope to the outer edge of the inner buttress (*Carchemish II*, 104). A straight avenue then led then directly to the ceremonial centre of the city.

52 The erection of ancestral statues at city gates is a feature already sporadically known from Bronze Age contexts (Ussishkin 1989; Peltenburg 2006, quoted in Brown 2008:165, n. 59). See also the discussion below, §6.2

53 Comparative evidence from Assyria, Southern Mesopotamia, and Palestine indicates that ritual exposure and humiliation of the enemy or the enemy's body (Maul 2003), judicial settlements of disputes (May 2009) and trade activities (Zaccagnini 1987–90; Eph'al and Naveh 1993) may also have featured among the public occasions for gatherings at city gates.

54 On the function of city gates as architectural joints of ceremonial behavior, see Schütte 1997.

55 Only the western half of this structure was recovered, as described by Woolley in *Carchemish II*, 95–97. Woolley never refers to it as a gate but only as a “square tower,” although in *Carchemish II*, Pl. 3 a possible roadway leading from the embankment to the inner town is shown. Its identification as an “East Gate” leading to the Inner Town is supported both by the architectural remains and considerations of urban movement and defence.

56 The best photographic record of the Water Gate is probably that of the fold-out panorama picture *Carchemish II*, Pl. 2. The north half was found heavily disturbed by Roman walls and badly eroded (*Carchemish II*, 104).

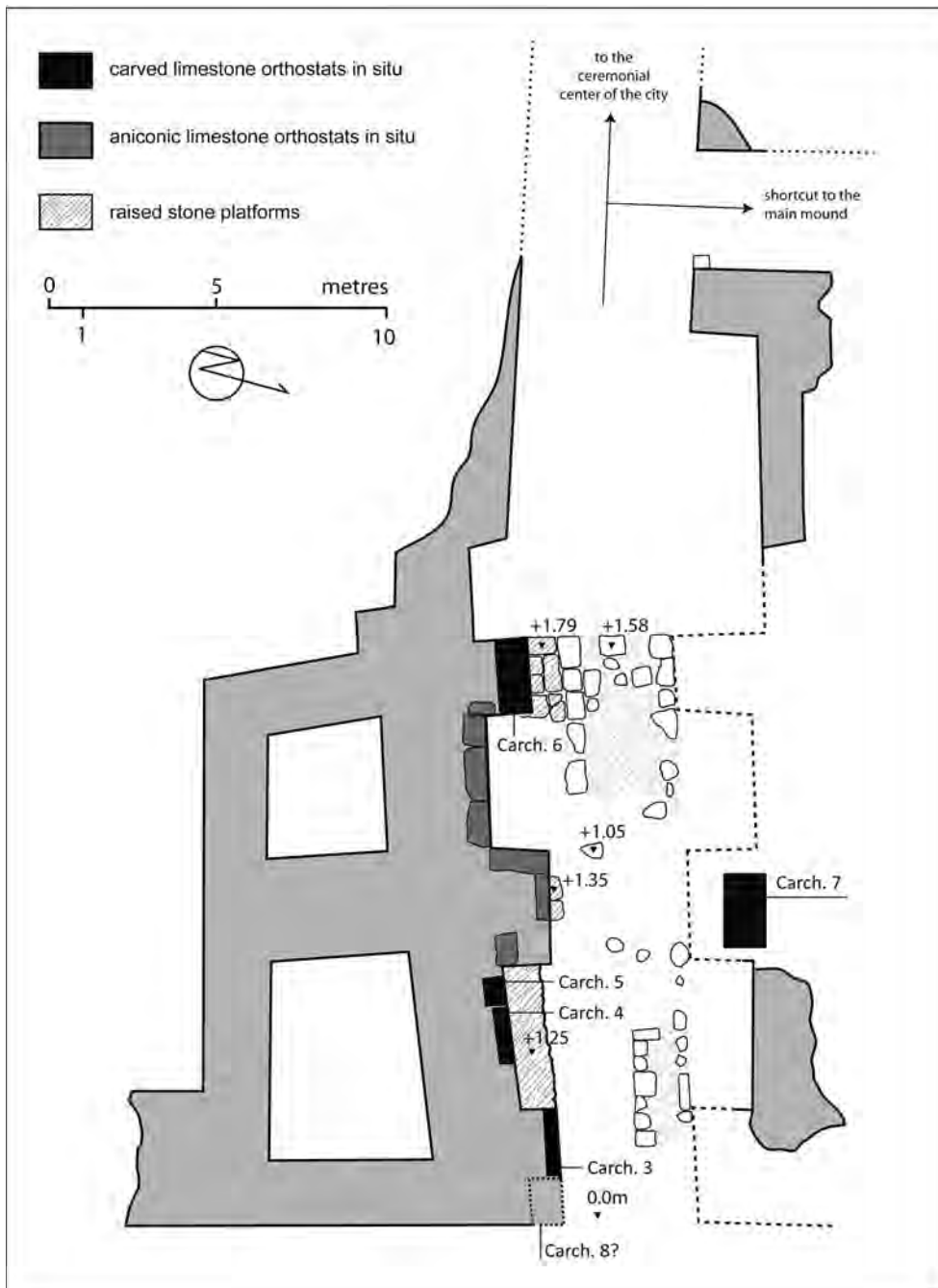


Fig. 6 | Carchemish, the Water Gate (after *Carchemish II*, Pl.16 and *Carchemish III*, Pl. 41a)

In the Iron Age, the Water Gate was lined with orthostats, some of which were carved in relief. Four sculpted orthostats, **Carchemish 3–6**, were found still lining the walls of the gate;<sup>57</sup> a fifth orthostat, **Carchemish 7**, was found buried in the gate's foundations;<sup>58</sup> a corner orthostat (**Carchemish 8**) as well as fragments of two portal lions (**Carchemish 9–10**) and of two further orthostats (**Carchemish 11–12**) were found nearby or re-built in the masonry of the gate.<sup>59</sup>

The allocation of the orthostats found in situ shows that the decoration of the Water Gate was uneven: the outer buttress and the back wall(s) of the first recess were lined with carved limestone orthostats (**Carchemish 3–5, 8**), the central buttress and the following recess were lined with plain limestone slabs, and the front of the inner buttress was again occupied by a carved limestone orthostat (**Carchemish 6**). The distribution of carved and plain orthostats correlates with the location of the gate doors, which must have been installed in the recess between the central and the inner buttress, where enough space and level ground had been allocated.<sup>60</sup> This is not unlike the situation at the Outer Citadel Gate of Zincirli (here, § 4.2.2) and on the whole comparable to the *Skorpionentor* at Tell Halaf (Oppenheim et al. 1950: fig. 42, Pl. 5 and 10). In both cases, the carved orthostats line an unroofed forecourt;<sup>61</sup> as for the Water Gate, it is difficult to say which parts were roofed and which were not, but it seems likely that the first recess functioned as an unroofed forecourt according to the same scheme.<sup>62</sup> This configuration would also have allowed for enough daylight to make the reliefs fully visible.

The style, iconography, and composition of the reliefs are not homogeneous, and in fact two distinct groups can be singled out. The first group is composed of **Carchemish 3–5, 8, 10–12**. These orthostats are carved with striding or standing figures;<sup>63</sup> on **Carchemish 3**, a lion and a bull engage in a stylized

57 **Carchemish 3–5** lined the buttress and side wall of the outer recess. They did not follow the gradient of the steps, but their base-line ran level with that of the orthostats of the central buttress (*Carchemish II*, Pl. 17a), which in turn must have been more or less equal to the restored top-line of **Carchemish 3**. In the recess, the decreasing gap in height between the steps and the base-line of the carved orthostats was filled with a solid platform of roughly-faced stones (*Carchemish II*, 104). The large limestone orthostat **Carchemish 6** was the only slab on the face of the inner buttress (a slightly different reconstruction of the buttress's layout posits the existence of a corner orthostat: Naumann 1955, fig. 328).

58 **Carchemish 7** was found deeply embedded in the foundations of the northern central buttress, set in the ground in an upright position beneath the level of the street pavement (*Carchemish II*, 108, Pl. 17a).

59 **Carchemish 8** was found out of context in a modern irrigation ditch following the ancient city walls just outside the Water Gate. Its dimensions fit with those of the outer corner of the south side, where Woolley plausibly repositioned it (*Carchemish II*, 106). Özyar considers the possibility of locating the orthostat at the outer northern corner (Özyar 1991:23). In light of the parallels at Zincirli (southern city gate, Outer Gate to the citadel), however, this option seems improbable. See also Orthmann 1971:30. For the find context of **Carchemish 9**, see below. **Carchemish 10**, the front part of a basalt portal lion, was found "a few meters west of the inner buttress" (*Carchemish II*, 105), apparently re-built in the masonry of the gate. **Carchemish 11**, consisting of two large fragments of a basalt orthostat carved with a bull in profile,

was found in the masonry rubble of the north side of the outer buttress (*Carchemish II*, 114–115, Pl. 16). **Carchemish 12**, two fragments of an enormous basalt orthostat carved with a sphinx/winged lion in profile, was found "in the ruins" of the gate (*Carchemish II*, 115). Judging from the dimensions of the fragments, the orthostat must have been of colossal size and measured approximately 3.45 × 2.15 m!

60 Naumann reconstructs a second pair of doors after the inner buttress (Naumann 1955:268), in spite of a very small recess.

61 In the case of Tell Halaf the forecourt to the gate is built by the recessed side wall of the "Temple Palace."

62 Naumann argues that this was the result of an Iron Age remodeling of a Bronze Age three-doors gateway; the remodeling created thus a previously non-existent forecourt and adapted the older gate layout to the "Anatolian scheme" with forecourt and a single gate chamber (Naumann 1955: 268–269).

63 **Carchemish 8** is carved with a sphinx in profile on its longer side and two walking persons on its shorter side. Only the lower half is preserved and the identification of the walking persons poses some problems. The figures wear long robes and pointed shoes. Each holds a long pole in the right hand, with arms flexed at the elbow: these might staffs, a symbol of authority, or the shafts of lances – making it improbable that the represented persons are female. The most likely figure to be represented with staff and long robe is the ruler, although rulers hardly ever come in pairs – see, however, the antithetic figures on **Zincirli 7** at the Southern city gate (here, § 4.2.1) and the line of male descendants on **Zin-**

fight.<sup>64</sup> The orthostats are poorly preserved, and only the animals in profile allow comparisons; their best parallels are the animal figures at Aleppo, Malatya, and 'Ain Dara. Orthmann, like Akurgal before him, argues on stylistic grounds that the reliefs of this group belong to the oldest in Carchemish. He labels their style “Karkemis I,” which dates to the “Späthethitisch I” phase, i.e., eleventh century BCE (Orthmann 1971:30–31, 137, 221).

The second group is carved with a sphinx in profile on its longer side and two walking persons on its shorter side (**Carchemish 6–7**). The two reliefs have similar measures; **Carchemish 7** is carved on a lighter coloured, less porous limestone than the reliefs of the first group (Özyar 1991:22), and this was probably true for **Carchemish 6** as well. Iconography and composition are also different from the other group, with complex scenes involving three-to-four interacting agents, one of which is always the ruler. On **Carchemish 6**, the ruler, standing on a platform, pours a libation in front of the Storm God, depicted riding in a chariot drawn by two bulls, brandishing a mace, and wearing a double-horned crown. Behind the ruler, a smaller male figure leads a goat or a calf as an offering. **Carchemish 7**, for its part, represents the ruler at a ritual banquet,<sup>65</sup> again on a raised platform, surrounded by two attendants and a musician. The musician has a close parallel at the Processional Entry (**Carchemish 76**). This fact and further stylistic similarities led Orthmann to file **Carchemish 6–7** under his “Karkemis III” style, dating to the late period of the “Späthethitisch II” phase, i.e., approximately 940–870 BCE (Orthmann 1971:39, 221). The iconography of the libation scene, however, has good parallels only in the earliest Syro-Hittite monuments from Malatya and Aleppo (“Späthethitisch I”); on these grounds, both Özyar and Mazzoni independently proposed to date **Carchemish 6–7** before the tenth century BCE (Mazzoni 1997a:316–317; Özyar 1991:29).<sup>66</sup>

**Carchemish 9**, the inscribed right hind leg of a portal lion, stands apart and is of later date. The lion was carved for a right-hand door-jamb. The Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (KARKAMIŠ A14b) dates it to the reign of Astuwatamanzas (mid-tenth century BCE).<sup>67</sup>

**cirli 15–16** at the Outer Gate to the citadel (§ 4.2.2.). An orthostat from Elbistan Höyük, near Zincirli, follows a similar compositional pattern, with a sphinx and a ruler figure represented back to back; the ruler raises a cup in his right hand and keeps the left on the hilt of his sheathed sword (Orthmann 1971, Pl. 7a). Another possible identification is of two gods. In fact, both the spear and the long robe are known as divine attributes, although this would be their only concomitant attestation. At the outer buttress of the Outer Gate to the citadel of Zincirli, a god with a spear is represented walking behind a sphinx (**Zincirli 38**). At the inner buttress, the iconography is repeated, and but this time there are two gods (**Zincirli 49–51**). A god with a spear is also prominently carved on the corner block of the eastern façade of the same gate (**Zincirli 25**), walking in the direction opposite to the entrance. Although the cited examples shoulder the spear head down, the Syro-Hittite iconographic spectrum includes gods bearing the spear parallel to the body and head up, as in the case of **Carchemish 8**: see the reliefs at the temple on the Aleppo citadel (Gonnella, Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2005, fig. 127, 137, 139, 144) and those from the Lions’ Gate at Malatya (Orthmann 1971, Pl. 40b.e). A less likely identification might see in the two figures on **Carchemish 8** a couple of courtiers: much later, at the end of eighth – beginning of seventh century BCE, a procession of courtiers dressed

in long robes and holding staffs is represented on **Zincirli 79**, at the Hilani III (here, § 4.2.8); at Carchemish, courtiers in long robe bearing spears appears in the procession at the Royal Buttress (end of ninth – beginning of eighth century BCE; see below, § 3.2.5). Courtiers walking with a spears point-down are also found in the Late Bronze Age relief cycle at Alaca Höyük (Bossert 1942, fig. 514). An identification with two warriors, however, should be ruled out, since Syro-Hittite *doryphoroi* are always depicted with short skirts.

- 64 Only the lower halves of the animals are preserved. The bull faces a creature with the characteristic paws of a big feline; the iconography of the scene supports the identification with a lion, but it could also be a winged lion or a sphinx (Özyar 1991:24–25).
- 65 Özyar suggests that the depicted ritual might parallel that depicted on the Inandık vase, on which a ceremony accompanied by musicians involved both a banquet and offerings to the Storm God, represented by a bull (Özyar 1991:28). Funerary undertones should not be ruled out. See also Brown 2008:325–327, who sees the two reliefs as “stylistic outliers.”
- 66 In the same irrigation ditch where **Carchemish 8** was found, “many fragments, large and small, of two (or three) colossal basalt lions” (*Carchemish II*, 105) were also found. Ussishkin’s examination of the fragments indicated that they form part of three lions, of which two

The carved orthostats of both groups found in situ at the gate share a single common feature: they were all re-used from older phases of the gate. The blocks are variable in size and fit only loosely in the locations in which they were installed. In the case of **Carchemish 6**, the right side is not dressed as a corner stone, but trimmed to fit onto another orthostat (*Carchemish II*, 109). **Carchemish 7** was found in secondary position, re-built in the foundation of the central buttress. Since it is in all respects the counterpart of **Carchemish 6**, found in situ at the inner buttress, it follows that the last reconstruction of the Water Gate post-dated both. Now, **Carchemish 6–7** are younger than **Carchemish 3–5.8** and belong to a different building phase, but all of them had been re-used or were found in secondary position. As for the fragments **Carchemish 9–12**, they were found discarded and re-built in the masonry of the gate. Thus, the Water Gate, as excavated, is the result of at least three or four important remodeling events:

1. The remodeling of a second millennium gateway, with the addition of carved orthostats (among them, **Carchemish 3–5.8** but also **Carchemish 10–12**). Date of the event: early-/mid-eleventh century BCE.
2. The gate was then remodeled a second time and new orthostats were added (**Carchemish 6–7**). It was perhaps on this occasion that **Carchemish 10–12**, all of basalt, are discarded. Date of the event: late eleventh century BCE.
3. If the lion of Astuwatamanzas (**Carchemish 9**) originally stood at the Water Gate, then a further remodeling event should be located in the mid-tenth century BCE, antedating the ultimate remodeling event.
4. The gate was remodeled a final time: selected orthostats were carefully removed (**Carchemish 7**) while others (**Carchemish 3–6.8**) were re-arranged. Date of the event: perhaps late tenth – early ninth century BCE, concomitant with the remodeling of the King's Gate and the erection of the Herald's Wall.

In conclusion, judging from the surviving fragments, the oldest monumental decoration of the Water Gate consisted largely of animals in profile, carved on basalt and limestone slabs: (winged) lions, sphinx, and bulls. Perhaps they were arranged face-to-face and back-to-back, in alternating rows, in the manner of the relief cycle at 'Ain Dara (*Carchemish II*, 105; Özyar 1991:31). In the late eleventh century BCE, a pair of large orthostats with scenes of rituals performed by the ruler was added to the gate. The planners of the last building phase, which may have taken place a century later, seem to have considered these two latter orthostats with special regard. The “libation scene”<sup>68</sup> **Carchemish 6** was placed (or left) in a prominent position at the inner buttress. Eight limestone blocks formed a flat square platform in front of it, 20cm higher than the paving of the gateway, perhaps to be used as a socle for ritual performances in front of the slab.<sup>69</sup> The “banquet scene” **Carchemish 7**, on the other hand, although intact, was removed and buried in the foundation of the new gate. Usually, however, large stone blocks such as the one in question would not be wasted for foundations but re-used for the wall lining: in order not to show

are a pair (Ussishkin 1967a:88). The pair was probably found by Henderson during the 1878 excavation in the Great Staircase area, dragged to the river to be dispatched to England, abandoned, and only subsequently smashed (cf. **Carchemish 38**, and the discussion under § 3.2.3.3). The third lion, **Carchemish 9**, is likely to have been originally set up at the Water Gate (Ussishkin 1967a:88). However, the possibility that **Carchemish 9** originally was part of one of the Great Staircase lions, as

proposed by Hawkins (2000:84–85), cannot be dismissed. See also Orthmann 1971:42, n. 79.

- 68 Woolley calls it the “sacrifice slab” (*Carchemish II*, 109).  
 69 Woolley reports that the paving slabs had “well-worn surfaces” while the platform stones had “rather rough tops” (*Carchemish II*, 109), which suggests that the platform was not part of the road but a distinct installation (possibly the remains of a previous buttress?).

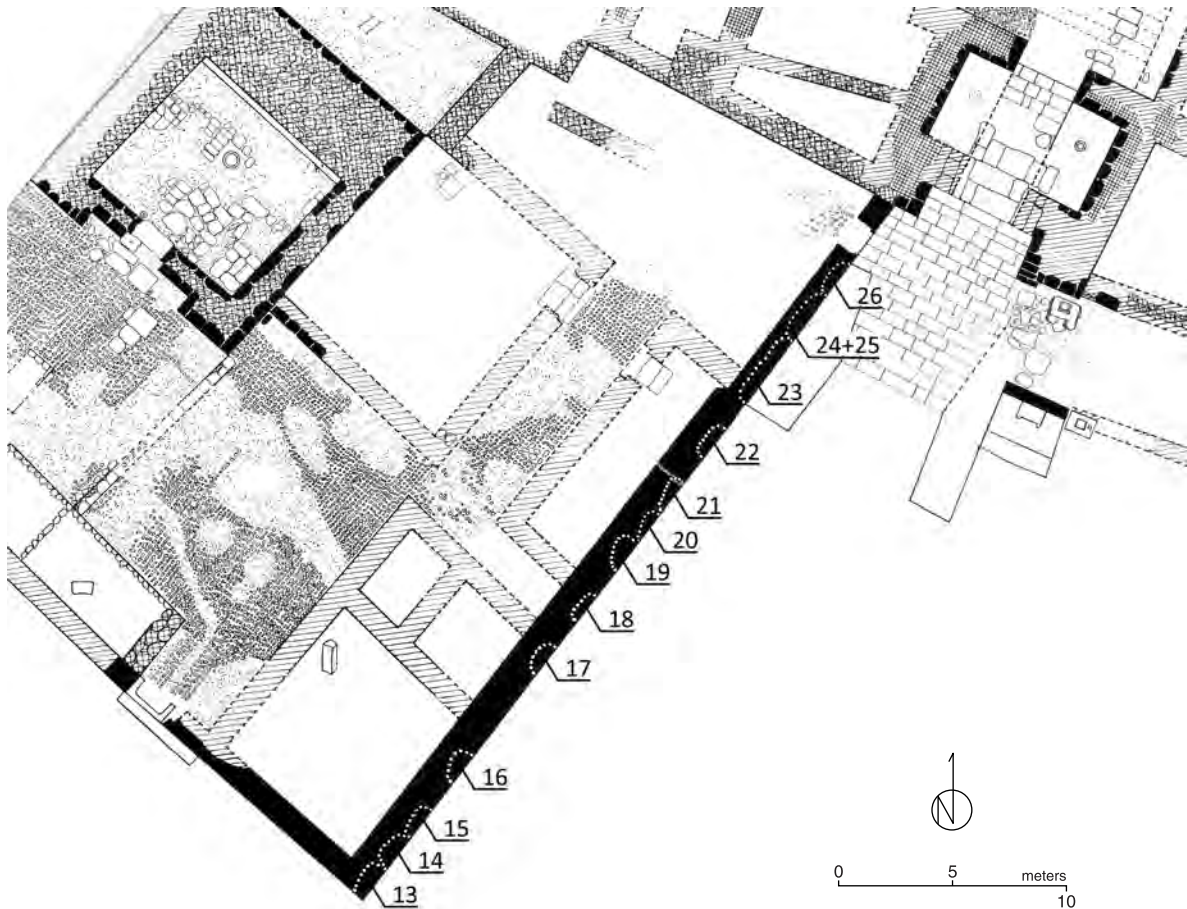


Fig. 7 | Carchemish, Lower Palace Area: the Long Wall of Sculpture (after Carchemish III, Pl. 29).

the original relief, the block might be turned to another face (cf. the inscriptions KARKEMIŠ A11b-c at the King's Gate) or re-carved altogether (cf. **Carchemish** 77–78). Since nothing of this sort happened in the case of **Carchemish** 7, it may imply that the removal of the orthostat followed the scheme of a ritual burial of the image of a king, following a pattern recorded in other similar contexts (Ussishkin 1970).

The monumental evidence indicates that the Water Gate attracted much attention around the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE. Later, however, no further monuments were added to its fabric, although the gate remained in use during the entire Iron Age. This fact can be usefully compared with the converse situation at the Lower Palace Area, to whom the Water Gate was a main avenue of access.<sup>70</sup> In the Lower Palace Area, as we will see in shortly, monumental project started on a grand scale not before the end of the tenth century BCE, and continued then until the Assyrian conquest and after. As discussed here in Chapter Six, this shift of monumental focus may correlate with a shift in ritual behavior and with the development of the Lower Palace Area into a ceremonial central plaza.

70 Fragments of archaic reliefs were found out of context alongside the straight avenue connecting the Water Gate to the Lower Palace Area. Based on their presence, Wool-

ley argues that the entire avenue was originally lined with reliefs (*Carchemish* III, 159).

### 3.2.3 The Lower Palace Area

#### *The Long Wall of Sculpture*

The “Long Wall of Sculpture” is the eastern outer wall of the Storm God precinct, i.e., a free-standing perimeter wall (Fig. 7).

The Long Wall of Sculpture owes its name to the fact that it was lined with a continuous series of carved orthostats, forming a single, approximately 36m long figurative cycle. Fourteen slabs, in various degree of preservation, were recovered at the wall or at its foot and replaced at their original locations with reasonable certainty (**Carchemish 13–26**);<sup>71</sup> further fragments were found re-built in Roman wall foundations (**Carchemish 27**); approximately eight slabs are missing altogether (*Carchemish II*, 165–166).


The dating of the Long Wall of Sculpture is provided by inscriptions built into it, which go back to the reign of Suhis II, i.e., late tenth century BCE. The reliefs were not re-used but carved specifically for the wall. Their style is consistent with that of the so-called Processional Entry (see below, § 3.2.5), dating to the reign of Katuwas, Suhis’ son (around 880 BCE). This “Suhis-Katuwas style” (end of tenth – beginning of ninth century BCE) is classified by Orthmann as “Karkemis III” and grouped within his general period “Späthethitisch II” (Orthmann 1971:33–34).

The reliefs were originally set on a 1.35m high plinth of three courses of plain limestone ashlar blocks (*Carchemish III*, Pl. B. 37). In this way, the reliefs enjoyed an enhanced visibility and an imposing quality, appropriate to their simple but strong subject matter.

The figurative cycle is consistent from one end to the other, and depicts a threefold progression of characters (Fig. 8). The series begins at the south corner of the temple precinct with a 13m-long triumphal procession of armed warriors<sup>72</sup> in short skirts and plumed helmets (**Carchemish 13–16**). The warriors lead naked prisoners, or, occasionally, hold a severed head in hand. This procession is then interrupted by a monumental Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of Suhis II (late tenth century BCE), the “Great Limestone Inscription,” decorated with three severed heads and sixteen severed left hands (**Carchemish 17**). The inscription is only partially preserved, since it continued on slabs to the right and left that are now missing. The missing slab on the spectator’s right has been convincingly reconstructed with a full-blown image of the ruler, functioning at the same time as *amu*-sign, meaning “I am” (Hawkins 1972:89). After that, the imagery resumes with cavalcade of charioteers, perhaps led by the ruler (the final slab is missing: does this fact indicates that the ruler has been consciously “erased” from the wall?). This group is about 9m long and ends in an intersection with a stone platform flanking and further projecting out of the “Great Staircase.” At that point begins the fourth and last section of the Long Wall of Sculpture, a procession of three goddesses and two gods, introduced by the image and inscription of queen BONUS-tis, wife of Suhis II (**Carchemish 23–26**). The queen is represented seated on a throne in full attire, facing a virtually naked winged goddess depicted en face. The funerary prescrip-

71 **Carchemish 18** was the only one found “at a little distance” from the wall (*Carchemish III*, 166). For this reason and because it lacks the guilloche pattern common to the rest, Özyar does not believe that it originally belonged to the wall (Özyar 1991:77).

72 The warriors are armed with round shields, which they carry at their shoulders, and with spears, which they

carry with the points directed downward. This walking posture, repeated exactly at the Processional Way, was evidently considered an epitome of dignity and strength: it was used as the Hieroglyphic Luwian logogram  (FORTIS = *muwatali-*) as a logographic equivalent of “mighty” (Hawkins 2000:81).

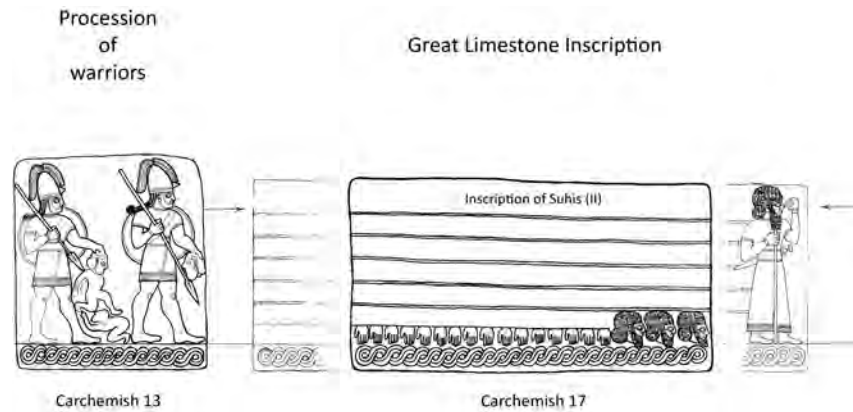


Fig. 8 | Graphic resume of the Long Wall of Sculpture (after Hawkins 1972, fig. 4a).

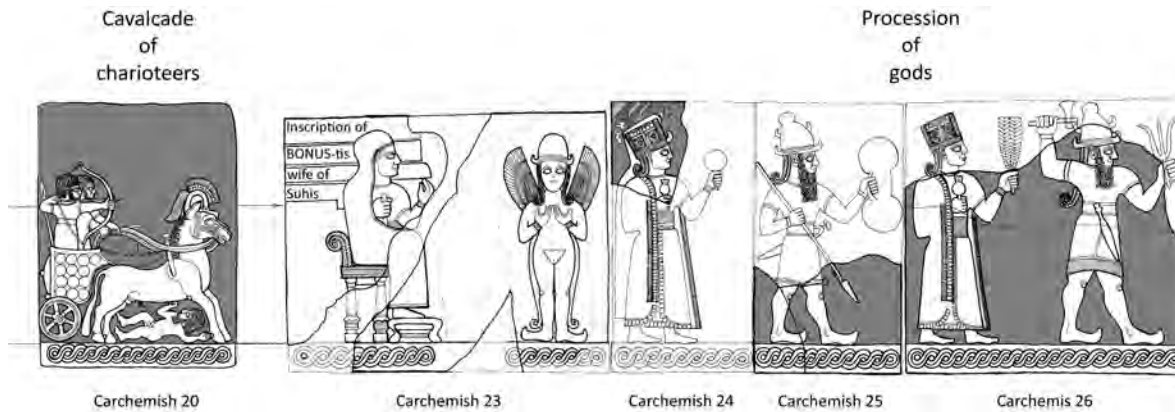
tion of “honouring her name with goodness” at the closing of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, the spindle in her right hand, and her position amidst divinities signify that the queen was dead, represented as a deified ancestor (Bonatz 2000a:79–82; Hawkins 1972:95).

The procession of gods (**Carchemish 24–26**), carved entirely on large basalt slabs, represents the apex of the figurative cycle. The procession is led by the Storm God, identified as Tarhunzas in the inscription on **Carchemish 17** (see below); there follow two goddesses and a god with various attributes. The procession has a close parallel in the Outer Citadel Gate at Zincirli (**Zincirli 25–27**), which, as we shall see, dates approximately to the same period (here, §4.2.2).

The procession was erected in conjunction with a projecting platform flanking and abutting the Great Staircase, which leads up to the main mound; immediately after the Storm God orthostat, the wall is interrupted by a side entrance to the temple compound. Thus, the gods were represented in the act of approaching the Great Staircase leading up to the citadel. The platform in front of the gods was probably used to perform rituals (cf. Chapter 5).

The contents of the “Great Limestone Inscription” (**Carchemish 17**) provide further important clues for the understanding of the Long Wall of Sculpture, explicitly referring to it and to the circumstances of its erection. The inscription (KARKAMIŠ A1a, Hawkins 2000:88–89) reports how a military leader, Hatamanas, broke into Carchemish, “hacked down” the image of the Storm God Tarhunzas and “overturned” a previous version of the divine procession of the Long Wall of Sculpture (l. 1–4). In response to this desecration, the ruler Suhi II reports having destroyed two neighbouring cities and having brought “trophies” as offerings to the Storm God (l. 7–15). Then, Suhi explicitly refers to the erection of the Long Wall of Sculpture in order to restore “this assemblage of the gods and this potent Tarhunzas” (l. 25–27), to erect an image of himself and of his deceased wife, and to commemorate his military victories.

The Great Limestone Inscription is an important structural element within the figural depictions of the Long Wall of Sculpture. Originally at least four meters wide, it functions as a prominent divider between the procession of warriors and the cavalcade of charioteers, adding a second-order organizing principle to the simple repetition of figurative units. This pattern is repeated by the “Seated Queen orthostat” (**Carchemish 23**), in which both the monumental inscription and the static iconography (seated queen, frontal naked goddess) creates a visual partition between the cavalcade of charioteers and the procession of the gods. The way the written word is embedded into the figurative cycle is all the more remarkable, as this is perhaps the earliest Near Eastern example of monumental inscriptions employed together with large-scale monumental art aiming at a greater public.



A further eye-catching feature of the Long Wall of Sculpture is its specific chromatic rhythm, created by the conscious alternation of limestone and basalt slabs. The extent and character of plastering and painting on the reliefs are unknown but likely to have existed: the limestone reliefs are coarse and almost certainly required whitewashing of some kind. On the other hand, the conscious employment of fine-grained basalt slabs at selected locations suggests that the black colour of the stone was visible and its effect appreciated. For the procession of warriors, limestone was employed consistently; the cavalcade of charioteers was built in limestone-and-basalt dado; the procession of the gods, finally, was entirely in basalt. Thus, the chromatic value of the stones was consciously employed to reinforce the tripartite rhythm of the composition.

A further visual formula used to impart an ascending rhythm to the sequential development is the three-level isocephaly. Regardless whether they are seated, afoot, or riding a chariot, the heads of the figures are organized on three different, invariable heights: first the warriors and the charioteers (lowest level), then the seated queen and the en face naked goddess (medium level), and finally the procession of the gods (highest level), with the head of the Storm God being just slightly higher than the rest.

The Long Wall of Sculpture was almost certainly connected with a further figurative cycle along the western precinct wall. This is indicated by the corner orthostat **Carchemish 13**, which is carved on both facing sides. A pair of orthostats found close one another “in the wide space in front of the Royal But-tress [...] in the loose soil [...] well above the courtyard pavement” (*Carchemish III*, 200, and Pl. B60a-b) may originally belong to this now-lost western figurative cycle. The two surviving orthostats depicts charioteers driving their chariots over wild boars, and are in style and dimensions congruent with their counterparts on the Long Wall of Sculpture. The theme of the wild boar hunt by chariot fits well the imagery at the Long Wall. There, we have the depiction and, in the inscription, also a short description, of a military triumph, consisting of warriors in full attire parading the naked, tortured, mutilated bodies of the enemy in the ceremonial centre of the city. Assyrian parallels show that, in the early Iron Age, military triumphs and ritual hunts went together: the victories over the enemy and that over wild animals were symbolically re-enacted and celebrated in arenas within the city, in front of crowds of spectators (Weissert 1997; Maul 2000; Dick 2006, May 2006).<sup>73</sup>

73 Ashurbanipal's lion hunt scene at Nineveh (BM 124862, North Palace, Room C, North East wall) also show that the celebration of the hunt involved the erection of commemorative monuments in proximity of the hunting

arena (Weissert 1997:351). At Carchemish, a visual re-prise of the “urban hunt” theme in the Lower Palace area is found on the slab **Carchemish 28** at the Herald's Wall, depicting a caged chariot attacked by a lion apparently

In the late tenth century, a period corresponding roughly with the beginning of the Iron Age IIA archaeological phase, episodes of warfare among the Syro-Anatolian city-states increased (see above, § 2.2). The cycles of reliefs reflect this situation in their iconography; at the same time, they were embedded in a ceremonial context aiming at the legitimation and reinforcement of the ruling (and threatened) political elite – this aspect is elaborated below, in Chapters 5 and 6.

### *The Great Lion Slab and its surroundings*

At the eastern projecting pier of the Great Staircase was found a huge limestone slab, the “Great Lion Slab” (**Carchemish 28**).

Unlike most other orthostats from Carchemish, the slab was not structurally part of a wall; whether it was free-standing or not is unclear (Fig. 9).

The slab represented the Sun God and the Moon God, with their respective attributes, facing right and standing on a couchant lion. The gods are further identified by two short Hieroglyphic Luwian legends. The style of the relief is the same as the Long Wall of Sculpture (Orthmann 1971:34, Karkemis III) and it dates at the end of the tenth – beginning of the ninth century BCE. The slab is heavily pitted and, originally, it must have been plastered.

The slab was placed on top of a large two-stepped base made of heavy limestone blocks (Ussishkin 1975:101). Directly in front of the middle of the relief there was a flat “table of offering”<sup>74</sup> clearly intended for cultic performances. Adjacent to the east side of the Great Lion Slab there was a further basalt “table” with a square depression, and a much smaller, round, well-cut “cup-mark” (Ussishkin 1975:102, fig. 20).<sup>75</sup> Apparently, this “table” was also installed upon a stepped platform (*Carchemish III*, 171).

Behind the Great Lion Slab was located a terraced space, the “Room 1.” Against the north wall of this space, on the remnants of limestone paving,<sup>76</sup> the basalt base for a statue (**Carchemish 29**) was found in situ. The base is carved in the form of a couple of bulls; the style is considered by Orthmann to be similar to the Suhis-Katuwas style (Great Lion Slab, Long Wall of Sculpture, Processional Entry, all of which comprise the “Karkemis III” style, “Späthethitisch II” phase), although it may be dated to just after that period (Orthmann 1971:41). A round cup-mark on the base testifies to offerings made to the statue. A human head of earlier date (**Carchemish 30**), originally belonging perhaps to a sphinx figure, was found “in the rubbish behind the great Lion slab” (*Carchemish III*, 175). In the same “rubbish” the unpolished and unfinished bust of another ruler statue was found, executed in a later style and perhaps discarded (possibly buried) after an accident broke it (*Carchemish III*, 174, Pl. 67b).

released specifically for the occasion. Concerning the slabs B.60a-b, it is interesting to note that wild boars in the wilderness cannot be pursued by chariots, since they dwell in woody terrain: a further reason to believe that the hunt depicted on the slabs was staged elsewhere with animals captured alive and then released on purpose.

74 It is unclear whether this feature was a separate block or was carved out of the upper basalt block of the stepped base.

75 Woolley mistakes this installation for a door implement with mortise and hinge holes (*Carchemish III*, 171). The analysis of similar artefacts shows that this cannot be the case (Ussishkin 1975). However, it still is possible that

the square depression (45 × 45 × 14cm) was a mortise to hold a statue. Heads of statues representing ruler figures have been found without recorded context in the Lower Palace Area (*Carchemish III*, Pl. B. 67) and may originate from here. A connection with the image of a ruler would be supported by the closest known parallel to the Great Lion Slab, the *relief E* from Malatya, where the Sun God and the Moon God face the ruler PUGNUS-mi-li, represented in the act of pouring a libation (Delaporte 1940, Pl. XX.2). Cup-marks in front of rulers’ statues are also well known (see below, and Ussishkin 1975).

76 The pavement consisted of “a mixture of cobble-stones and broken slabs” (*Carchemish III*, 171).

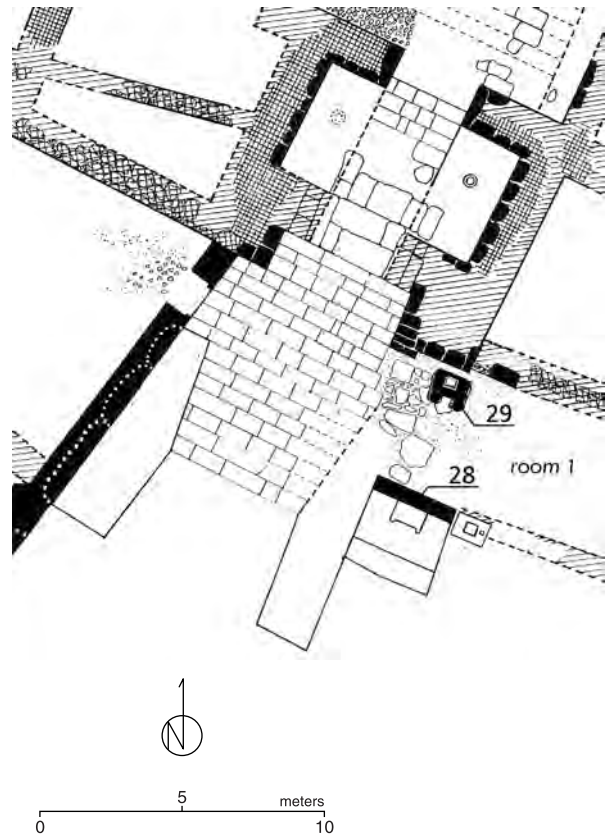


Fig. 9 | Carchemish, Lower Palace Area: the Great Lion Slab  
Carchemish 28 and the bull base Carchemish 29  
(after Carchemish III, Pl. 29).

Generally, it appears that a cluster of monumental art and specific installations for the religious cult was located to the east of the Great Staircase, on an elevated position but still outside the monumental gate to the main mound. The Great Lion Slab was clearly a pendant to the procession of the gods at the end of the Long Wall of Sculpture and it was probably conceived at the same time, towards the end of the tenth century BCE. At a less exposed location, right behind the Great Lion Slab, a statue of a ruler was erected and ritual offerings were regularly performed to it. The statue may have been planned together with the Long Wall, and thus represent Suhis II. However, following Orthmann's indication that its style may be slightly later than the "Suhis-Katuwas" style, the statue may also have been added to the complex at a later date, perhaps during the reign of Sangara (approximately 870–848 BCE).

### *The gatehouse at the Great Staircase*

The first flight of the Great Staircase rose at an easy gradient and consisted of worn limestone treads, mended in part with basalt slabs. At the seventeenth step, the staircase was interrupted by a monumental single-chambered gatehouse (Fig. 10), originally equipped with a massive wooden double-door (Carchemish III, 159–160).<sup>77</sup> Past the gate, the stairway continued at a slightly steeper gradient and led up to

<sup>77</sup> A parallel for a monumental gatehouse placed across a grand stairway is the gate to the citadel at Hama (Ingholt 1940).

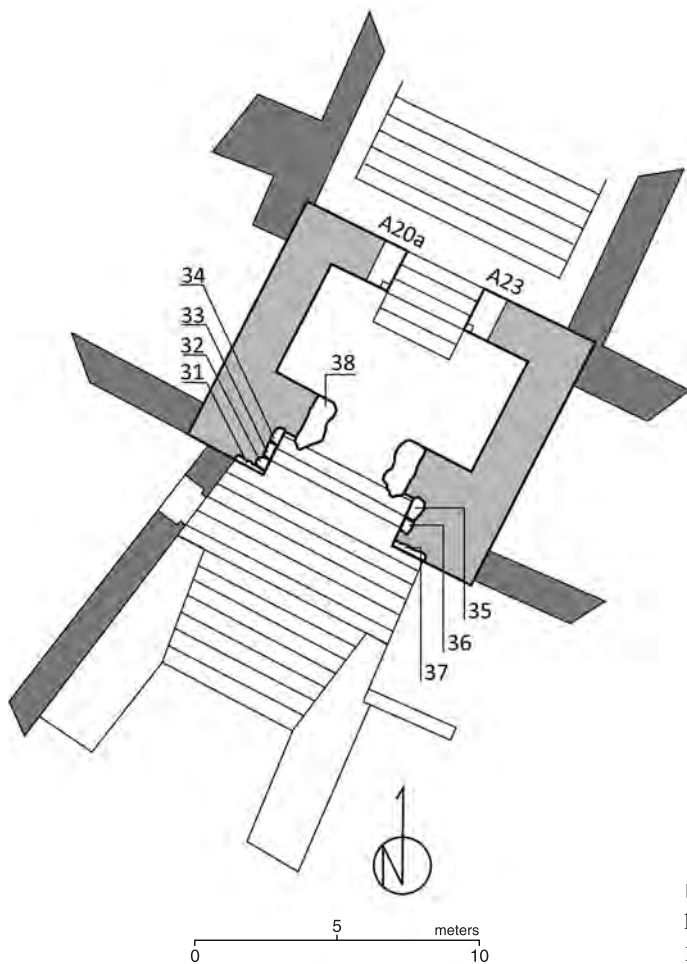


Fig. 10 | Carchemish, Lower Palace Area: the gatehouse at the Great Staircase (after *Carchemish III*, Pl. 30).

the main mound. The fortification wall of the latter may have run at the line of the inner gate jambs (Özyar 1991:96). The excavations did not extend past a few meters after the gatehouse.<sup>78</sup>

The upper parts of the gate façade were decorated with polychrome glazed bricks having geometric designs, of which only fragments were found (*Carchemish III*, Pl. 33). The socle of the outer buttresses, on the other hand, was decorated with basalt slabs carved in high relief (**Carchemish 31–37**). The inscription on **Carchemish 36** dates the cycle to the late eighth century BCE, perhaps to Pisiri, who reigned at least 738–717 BCE (Hawkins 1972:105).

Only **Carchemish 35–36** were found in situ, but the material (basalt), the size, and above all the identical, and very characteristic style of the others make it very likely that they all originated from here. Of the slabs which were not found in situ, only the corner block **Carchemish 37** can be assigned to its exact original position with reasonable certainty. Guided mostly by considerations of symmetry, Woolley argues for the reconstruction illustrated in Fig. 10 (*Carchemish III*, 160–162).

Woolley also plausibly proposed to restore a pair of portal lions, found earlier in the area by Henderson, on two unusually large, 1.85m long limestone blocks that were set perpendicular to the stair treads and that occupied the full width of the outer jambs at pavement level (*Carchemish III*, 163). These

<sup>78</sup> Perhaps a second gate chamber was located further on, following a scheme similar to the West Gate to the inner city (*Carchemish II*, Pl. 10).

lions had been moved to the Water Gate for transport to England, abandoned, and consequently reduced to fragments by the locals. Following Ussishkin (1967a:88), these should be identified with a pair of lions, one of which was inscribed, dating to the reign of Suhis II (late tenth century BCE). The inscribed lion is catalogued here as **Carchemish 38** and restored at the left-hand jamb of the gate. Its right-hand counterpart survives only in a few fragments, and has not been published yet.

A pair of inscribed door jambs (KARKAMIŠ A23 + A20a) was also found at the Great Staircase: “old men of Jerablus who had worked for Henderson and Shallum were quite certain that it [KARKAMIŠ A23] was found on or very near to the end of the inner buttress on the east side of the stairs” (*Carchemish III*, 160); Woolley restored them accordingly. The inscribed door-jambs date to the reign of Katuwas, in the early ninth century BCE (Hawkins 2000:118–119); the contents are those of a building inscription, revolving around the (re-)building of a temple for the goddess Kubaba (A23, §6,10; A20a, §c-e). If the door-jambs had in fact been excavated at the gatehouse, they were re-used there from a previous building, probably the temple of Kubaba itself.

The gatehouse at the Great Stairway is dated to the late eighth century BCE by the latest reliefs built into it (**Carchemish 31–37**), which do not show any sign of reuse.<sup>79</sup> The gatehouse, however, consciously exhibited older monuments and older epigraphs at its jambs. This distinct taste for the antique is also found in the inscriptions on **Carchemish 35–36**: the text, elegantly blended with the high reliefs, makes conscious use of archaisms in sign form and in orthography (Hawkins 2000:158–160, 162).

In general, both the epigraphic and the visual programmes at the gatehouse revolve around the figure of the ruler. At the structure’s entrance, at least three figures of rulers performing lustral rituals carved in high relief alternate with representations of divinities. **Carchemish 33–36**, reconstructed at the flanks of the outer buttresses, are specular representations of Sastura’s son, probably Pisiri. Both are inscribed (**Carchemish 33**: KARKAMIŠ A22c; **Carchemish 36**: KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b), and both inscriptions highlight genealogical topoi. **Carchemish 37**, reconstructed at the front of the gatehouse, is carved with a further inscribed ruler image, perhaps either Sastura or Pisiri. The inscription, KARKAMIŠ A26f, suggests that the ruler was a successor of Kamanis; it also states that he took office following a ritual that involved “looking upon the images” (possibly of the ancestors; cf. Hawkins 2000:170). The inscription on the portal lion **Carchemish 38** (KARKAMIŠ A14a) also invokes the legitimizing role of “fathers and grandfathers” with an explicit sentence: “they gave to me my paternal majesty and they gave to me authority” (§ 3–5).

**Carchemish 31–37** are carved in a characteristic, very sophisticated high relief. Orthmann assigns them to his “Karkemis V” style, belonging to the “Späthethitisch IIb” phase (Orthmann 1971:35–36). The general association of the figure of the ruler with geniuses and gods performing lustral rituals, coupled with details of garment and hairstyle, is to be traced back to local prototypes of Assyrian ori-

79 Hawkins 1972 suggests that the gatehouse dates to the “House of Suhis,” the four-generation dynasty that reigned c. 1000–875 BCE; in this period, according to Hawkins, three different rulers added their sculptural signature at the gatehouse. Thus, the portal lions and the inscribed jambs would have been found in their primary context. In his opinion, the high reliefs **Carchemish 31–37** were then added by building two additional buttresses to the original gatehouse. Although Woolley does not describe the masonry of the gatehouse, there is no archaeological feature suggesting that the buttresses

were a later addition. Moreover, the inscribed door-jambs A20a-A23, if belonging to the gate, must have been reused: they can only be restored there in a way in which their re-entrant angles would be deprived of their original function as rebated door jambs. In addition, the contents of their inscriptions points to an original set-up in the temple of Kubaba. Thus, it seems better to posit a complete re-building of the gatehouse in the late-eighth century BCE, which involved the conscious reuse of older sculptures connected with the “House of Suhis.”

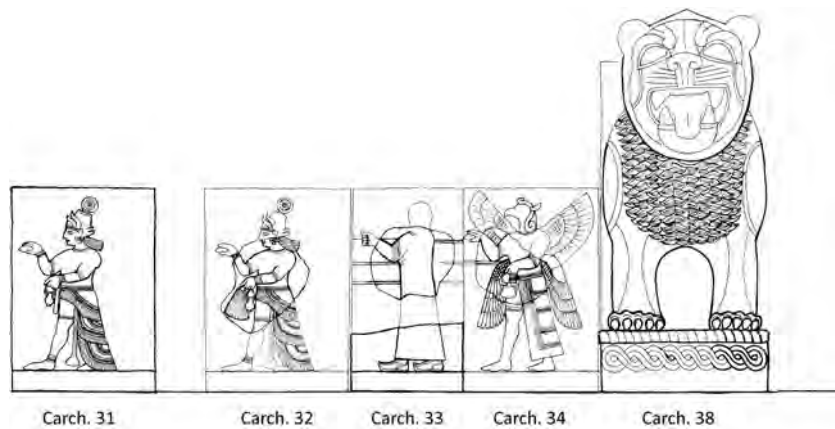


Fig. 11 | Monumental art at the gatehouse of the Great Staircase (after Hawkins 1972, fig. 4b).

gin.<sup>80</sup> The influence of Assyrian art upon the “Karkemis V” monuments is evident yet not all-encompassing (Orthmann 1971:221; Mazzoni 1972:198): in style, the reliefs “exemplify the extraordinary fine craftsmanship which cannot be compared to any of the reliefs commissioned by Tiglath Pileser III or by Sargon II” (Özyar 1991:101).

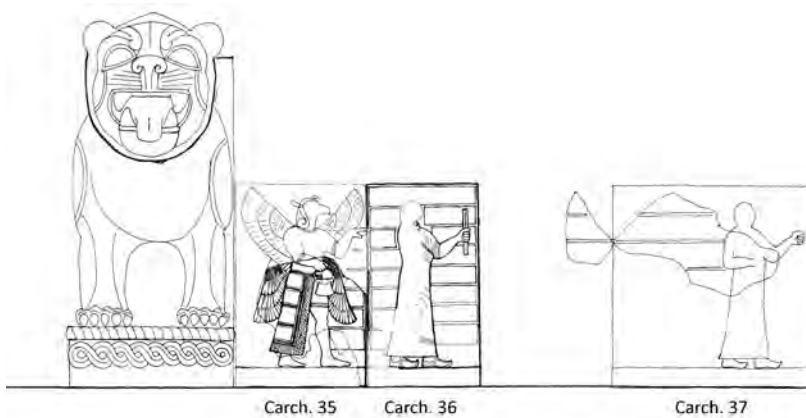
The imposing gatehouse was an important building in the architectural repertoire of the city centre, towering upon the first section of the Great Staircase. The enhanced three-dimensionality of the monumental decoration reinforced the commanding effect upon the Lower Palace Area, conferring the theatrical character to a unique architectonic ensemble (Mazzoni 1972:197).

### 3.2.4 The Herald’s Wall

The “Herald’s Wall” (Fig. 12) marks off the southern boundary of the ceremonial centre of the city: it faces the Great Staircase and with its monumental decoration builds a visual connection to the “King’s Gate.” The wall owes its name to the nature of its reliefs, reminiscent of coats of arms in subject and composition: “Each slab is a self-contained unit and has no apparent connection with those on either side of it. The subjects are presumably mythological, either illustrating some passage in a religious legend or symbolizing some religious conception; their treatment is conventional and the composition is generally based on that highly sophisticated balance which is characteristic of heraldry” (*Carchemish III*, 190).

Little can be said of the greater architectural complex to which the Herald’s Wall belonged. The concrete foundations of a Roman forum intruded greatly into the more ancient remains over the whole area (*Carchemish III*, 177). Thus, the Herald’s Wall consists of several slabs in a fragmentary and misaligned state, and various gaps. The wall follows a peculiar course bent at a gentle obtuse angle. Originally, it was lined with limestone and basalt sculptured orthostats, of which thirteen were found still in situ (***Carchemish* 39–51**); at least three or four more are missing, probably displaced during the Roman foundation works. In the middle of the eastern half of the wall, the line of reliefs is interrupted by a row of five adjacent basalt cylinders, lying at ground level and jutting out approximately 80cm from the wall line (*Carchemish*

80 For a comprehensive analysis of the Assyrian influence on the reliefs of the gatehouse, see Mazzoni 1972:187–193. Cf. also the reliefs at Sakçe Gözü (Garstang 1937).



III, 187). Woolley tentatively interprets this massive installation as the substructure for a large basalt stele, the remains of which he identifies with some inscribed fragments found scattered in the surroundings (KARKAMIŠ A12). In this sector, however, many fragments of stone reliefs were found out of context and the architectonic evidence is too tenuous to put them back in place with any certainty.<sup>81</sup> At Zincirli, a virtually identical installation outside “Hilani I” turned out to be the covering of a cist grave (Gilibert 2007; see here below and §4.2.11).

The carved orthostats lining the wall do not form a coherent group in any sense. Mallowan describes the reliefs as “a disjointed set of carved slabs illustrating unconnected scenes” (Mallowan 1973:72). They have different heights and lengths, although none of them served a structural function (Özyar 1991:41). Five are basalt slabs, while the remaining eight are limestone. From the point of view of iconography and composition, the reliefs are clearly more tied to Late Bronze Age traditions than the secular narrative reliefs of the adjacent Royal Buttress and the Processional Entry. On these grounds, Mazzoni dates them to the early tenth century BCE (Mazzoni 1977); according to Özyar, some might even date to the mid-second millennium BCE (Özyar 1991:52). An attempt to consider the reliefs of the Herald’s Wall as a thematically coherent cycle, however, leads nowhere, as they seem to form an eclectic group with no apparent underlying scheme; Özyar identifies “three rough categories, possibly all dating from different times” (ibid.). Orthmann, who is inclined to stress the similarities rather than the differences among the reliefs, puts them all into the single stylistic group “Karkemis II,” but differentiates among the sub-groups IIa and IIb (Orthmann 1971:31–33). The cross-comparison of variables (dimension, technology, material, iconography, and style), is equally inconclusive and does not suggest any meaningful clusters (Table 9).

Evidently, pre-existing carved slabs were re-used to decorate the Herald’s Wall.<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, one wonders whether in setting up re-used slabs the only criterion that mattered was their size. Özyar maintains as much, and interprets the Herald’s Wall as a visually eclectic make-shift structure, the result of a

81 A close look at the surviving excavation records shows that the findspot of the fragments which Woolley had in mind was probably not in the vicinity of the Herald’s Wall. Woolley’s report to the British Museum for May 1912 says the fragments were found in front of the Great Lion Slab; further pieces were found on the surface near the “Hilani” (quoted in Hawkins 2000:112; s. also Özyar 1991:52).

82 As already suggested by Woolley (*Carchemish III*, 185). Further evidence supporting this thesis is that along the

Herald’s Wall there could not be found any trace of final sculpting work, whereas elsewhere “little chips of stone and powdered basalt” were found (*Carchemish III*, 193). This evidence, consistent with the existence of unfinished carvings in situ, shows that the usual sequence of work started with roughing out the stones in the workshop and finishing them on site – except, of course, when recycling older artefacts.

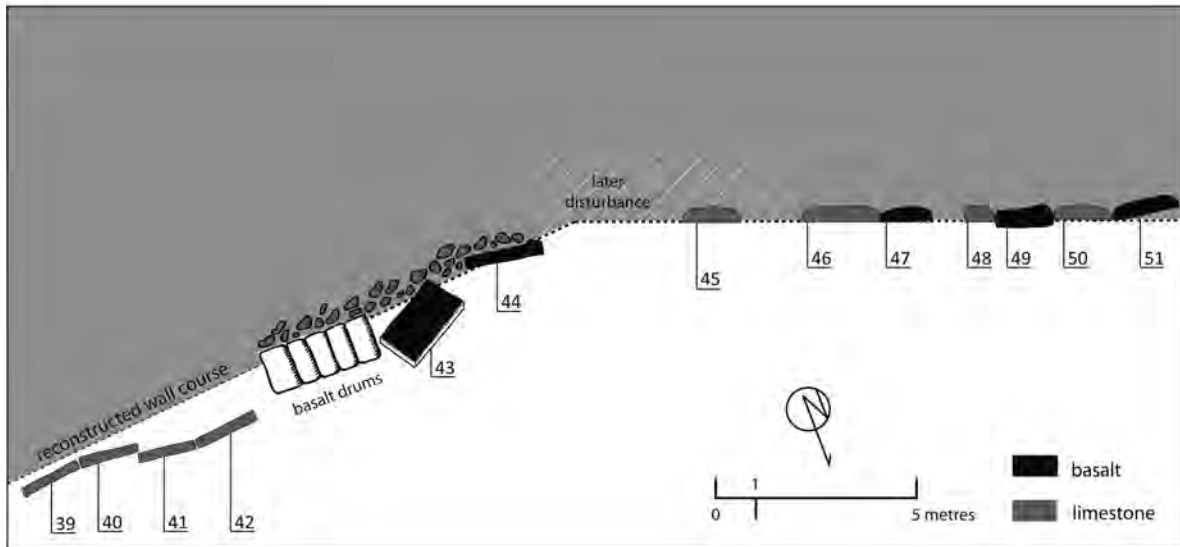


Fig. 12 | Carchemish, the Herald's Wall (after *Carchemish III*, Pl. 43a)

“repair operation” (Özyar 1991:40). Woolley analyzes the wall as being divided into two sections, east and west of the five drums. He sees a meaningful pattern in the alternation of black basalt slabs and white limestone slabs for the section of the wall west of the five drums (*Carchemish III*, 189). Accordingly, he arbitrarily relocates **Carchemish 44** a few metres to the east in order to maintain the black and white dado. Black and white slabs were certainly employed meaningfully on the Herald's Wall to create a chromatic rhythm, and the Herald's Wall can indeed be divided into two sections, but in a slightly different way than Woolley envisioned. The wall has an eastern section, and then, bent at a gentle angle, a western section. The western section, decorated with a black and white dado of carved orthostats, serves as a decorative and architectural link to the Royal Buttress. The eastern section, on the other hand, faces the Great Staircase and the monuments around it. In fact, only this section is visible from the viewpoint of the Great Staircase, since the Storm God Temple blocks the view of the western part of the wall. All in all, the eastern section has an independent existence and seems to revolve around the five basalt drums in its middle. East of the drums, the orthostats are all black basalt, while to the west, they are all white limestone, a dichotomous effect enhancing the central position of the five drums. The five drums could have been a massive plinth for a stele, as suggested by Woolley, or, even the top of a hitherto uncovered cist grave as known from Zinirli (Gilibert 2007; cf. here, § 4.2.11).<sup>83</sup>

Woolley proposes that the Herald's Wall was an *enceinte* wall for a large royal palatial complex.<sup>84</sup> Özyar notes that the Herald's Wall seems to be a make-shift structure, an *ad hoc* architectural solution to connect the Royal Buttress with the wall that goes all the way down to the Water Gate (Özyar 1991:40). In this view, since the carved slabs lining the wall were re-used, they cannot be employed to

83 Intramural graves are a well-known phenomenon of Iron-Age Syro-Anatolia (Bonatz 2000:156). Although extramural cemeteries were the norm at Carchemish (Woolley 1914:94–98), the “Golden Tomb” excavated at the “North-Western Fort” shows that certain individuals were buried with pomp within the inner city (*Carchemish III*, 250–258). Furthermore, the center of Carchem-

ish is studded with monuments and installations connected with the cult of ancestors (Gilibert 2007:54–55, n. 36).

84 The identification of the complex with a “royal palace” was, even then, provisional; As T. E. Lawrence wrote to Hogarth in 1913, “we already have four ‘palaces’ running” (letter quoted in Wilson 1989:121).

The Herald's Wall reliefs						
Slab	iconography	composi- tion	iconogr. group <sup>85</sup>	Stylistic group <sup>86</sup>	material	HxL (m) <sup>87</sup>
39	archer riding dromedary	moving right	B	IIb	limestone	1.25x1.53
40	winged scorpion-man and god attacking winged bull	heraldic	A	IIb	limestone	1.32x1.45
41	two heroes executing a third one	heraldic	A	IIa	limestone	1.30x1.44
42	two sphinxes attacking a winged horse	heraldic	A	IIb	limestone	1.30x1.56
43	goddess with the body of a composite animal	striding left	C	IIa	basalt	1.33x1.12
44	two bull-men flanked by two lion-men	heraldic	C	IIa	basalt	1.29x2.06
45	two bulls fighting around a tree	heraldic	A	IIa	limestone	1.26x1.86
46	lion attacking a bull with a deer on his back	heraldic	D	IIa	limestone	1.20x1.4447
47	two winged griffin-men in "atlas position"	heraldic	C	IIb	basalt	1.22x1.35
48	men (?) fighting a lion	?	D	IIb	limestone	1.13x1.05 (frgm)
49	god and hero killing a lion	heraldic	A	IIb	basalt	1.28x1.46
50	lion attacking a caged chariot	moving right	B	IIb	limestone	1.28x1.65
51	hero "master of animals"	heraldic	D	IIa	basalt	1.26x1.77

Table 9 | The Herald's Wall reliefs: a synopsis.

date it. The Herald's Wall was added to already existing monumental constructions, perhaps taking advantage of an empty space (*ibid.*). If so, it could not antedate the Processional Way.

In any case, the Herald's Wall appears a well-planned piece of architecture, designed to captivate the beholder with the charm of ancient reliefs and to highlight the five drum installation, whatever the drums might have stood for.

### 3.2.5 The King's Gate complex

The King's Gate proper<sup>88</sup> is a one-chambered gatehouse connecting the inner city sector with the ceremonial centre of the city. The larger context of the King's Gate comprises a trapezoidal open-space to the north, occasionally described by Woolley as the "King's Courtyard." This space is limited to the east by the façade of a structure conspicuously decorated with monumental art and accessed by a recessed

85 After Özyar 1991.

86 After Orthmann 1971.

87 After Özyar 1991.

88 The name stems from the erroneous belief that the gateway would lead into a royal palace (*Carchemish III*, 193). This is also why Woolley labels the southern approach to the gate, largely unexcavated, the "Inner Court" (*Carchemish III*, Pl.43a-b).

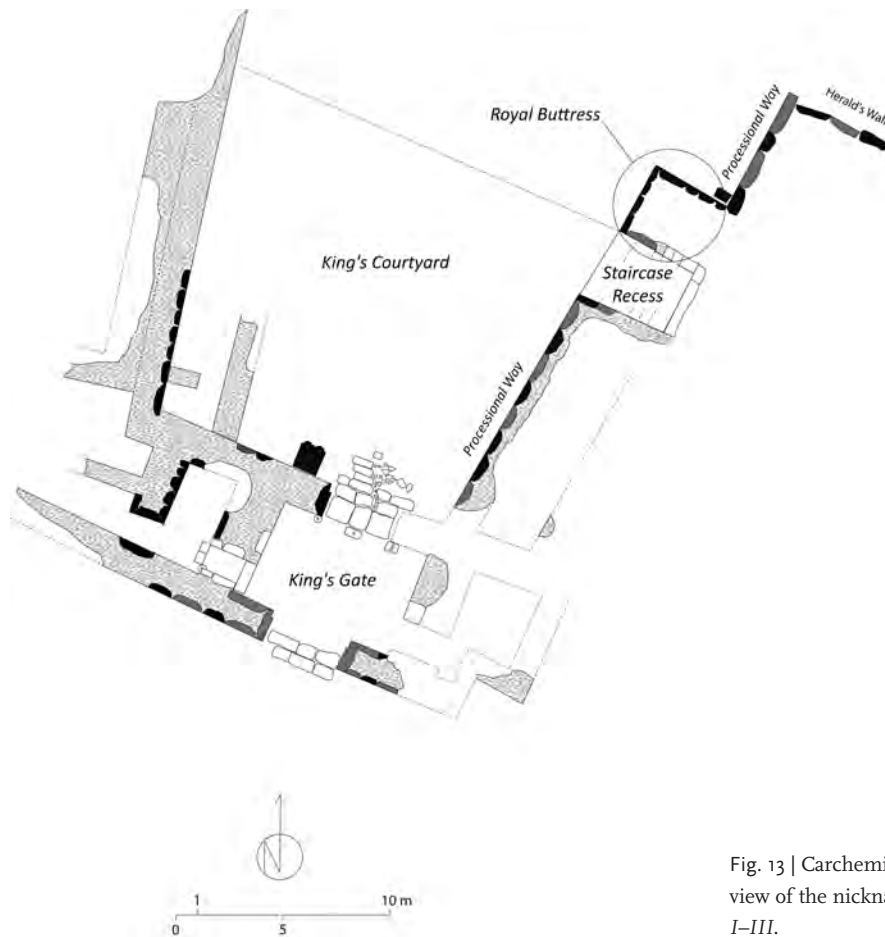


Fig. 13 | Carchemish, the King's Gate complex: overview of the nicknames used by Woolley in *Carchemish I–III*.

stairway. The decoration of the façade includes two sets of interconnected figurative cycles, nicknamed by Woolley the “Processional Way” and the “Royal Buttress.” The labels introduced by Woolley will be used here as well; the reader is referred to Fig. 13 for an overview.

The King's Gate complex is an architectonic ensemble with a long life-history. Over the centuries, a number of modifications altered both its layout and its overall visual impact (Table 10). The rich monumental and epigraphic evidence compensate, in part, for the poor architectural record and can be usefully combined to re-trace building phases and discuss the rationales behind them.

The corpus of monumental art located with certainty at the King's Gate complex amounts to 38 items (**Carchemish 52–89**; Fig. 14), including two important colossal statues (**Carchemish 63–64.84–85**).

The reliefs differs stylistically, and three distinct groups can be singled out.

The oldest group of reliefs consists of **Carchemish 52–61**, all of which located at the King's Gate proper. Of them, only **Carchemish 52–54.59** were found (almost) in situ; the rest were found nearby, re-employed in Roman foundations or simply scattered out of context (*Carchemish III*, 200–201). Fig. 15 shows the reliefs at the western front of the southern façade, all of which could be restored in place with reasonable certainty. Fig. 16 shows a possible counterpart at the eastern front, as restored arbitrarily by Woolley.

The style of these reliefs closely recalls the decoration of the Herald's Wall, and the orthostats should date to the early tenth century BCE (Orthmann 1971:33). The iconographic ensemble revolves around hunting scenes and tutelary/apotropaic imagery, with close parallels seen in the late tenth cen-

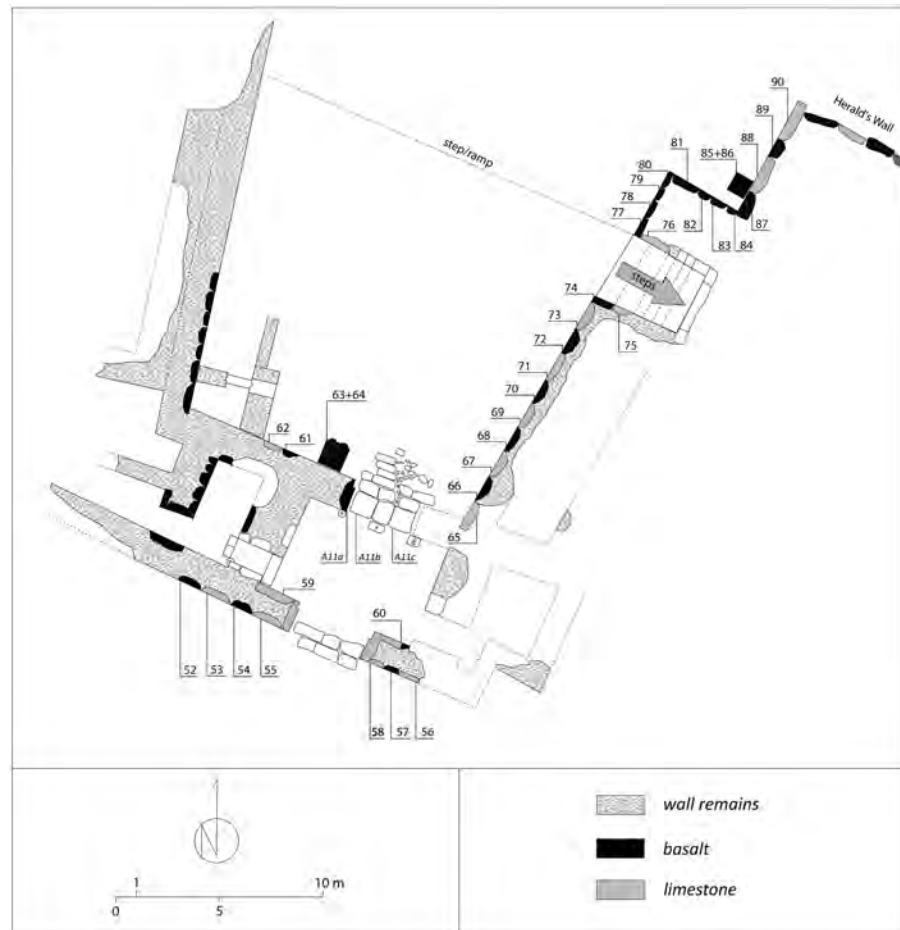


Fig. 14 | Carchemish, the King's Gate complex with monumental art (after *Carchemish III*, Fig. 79 and Pl. 43a-b)

ture BCE outer gate to the citadel at Zincirli.<sup>89</sup> The order of the slabs, however, gives a shuffled impression; the deer hunt scene **Carchemish 54–55**, in particular, is clearly inverted and shows that the reliefs were re-employed from an older structure, probably an older version of the same gate. The new order, as in the case of the Herald's Wall and the Long Wall of Sculpture, appears to privilege the chromatic alternation basalt/limestone over thematic consistency.<sup>90</sup>

The second stylistic group of reliefs was set up in the King's Courtyard (Fig. 17)<sup>91</sup> and belongs in its entirety to the "Suhis-Katuwas style" (Karkemis III – Späthethitisch II, according to Orthmann's standards). Three Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions (KARKAMIŠ A11a-c, A13d) date it to the reign of Katuwas, i.e., early ninth century BCE.

The group consists of the colossal statues **Carchemish 63–64.84–85** and of two rows of reliefs (**Carchemish 65–74.87–90**: the Processional Way) converging on a stairway, the "Stairway Recess." At the

89 For the deer hunt on **Carchemish 54–55**, cf. **Zincirli 8–10.17–20**; for the rampant griffins, **Carchemish 53**, cf. **Zincirli 6.21**; for the winged animal in profile, **Carchemish 57**, cf. **Zincirli 37–38**; for the lion-headed hunting god, **Carchemish 58**, cf. **Zincirli 24.41**; for the falcon-headed man in atlas position, **Carchemish 61**, cf. **Zincirli 3–4.28**; for the spear hunter, **Carchemish 56**, cf. **Zincirli 51**; for the specular lions, **Carchemish 59–60**, cf. **Zincirli 23.40**.

90 Compare with the situation at the Herald's Wall (see above) and with the "small orthostats" at the "Temple-Palace" of Tell Halaf.

91 For a three-dimensional reconstruction from a different viewpoint, see Pucci 2008, fig. 2.

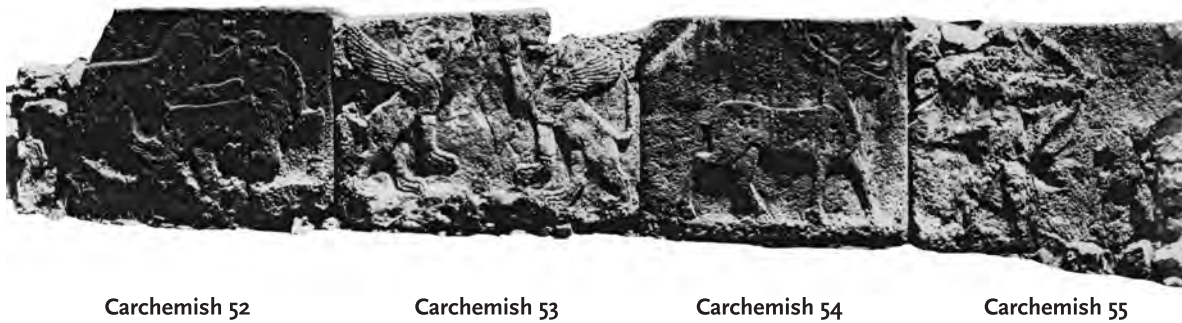


Fig. 15 | Carchemish, King's Gate: the reliefs at the western front of the southern façade (from *Carchemish III*, Pl. B. 57a).



Fig. 16 | Carchemish, King's Gate: the reliefs at the eastern front of the southern façade as restored by Woolley (photocollage after *Carchemish III*, Pl. B. 55b-56b).

northern side of the Stairway Recess, the Processional Way is intersected by the later addition of an abutting feature, the so-called Royal Buttress.<sup>92</sup>

The Processional Way owes its name to the iconography of the reliefs, representing a threefold bilateral procession of people: a twofold first party converging upon the stairway from the south, i.e., from the King's Gate, and a second party converging from the south, i.e., from the Lower Palace Area. The first, southern party consists of two group of male and a group of female figures (*Carchemish III*, Pl. B. 17a). The first four slabs of the southern row (**Carchemish 65–68**) depict, from south to north, a walking line of ram and calf bearers, altogether ten young men. The following half of the procession (**Carchemish 69–74**) depicts a row of sixteen women. Like the male animal bearers, the women are uniformly dressed and carry an array of attributes/offerings (Fig. 18).<sup>93</sup>

The head of the procession is occupied by a seated female figure (**Carchemish 74**), whose high-backed chair is placed on the back of a crouching lion (the other side of the corner slab depicts a group of

92 The addition of the Royal Buttress did not change the layout of the Processional Way significantly. The reliefs **Carchemish 87–90** and the colossal statue **Carchemish 85/86** are in their original position (*Carchemish III*, 193–194, 196–197); the reliefs **Carchemish 65–74** are in their original order, although they have probably been re-aligned in order to meet the line of the Royal Buttress once this was added, an older wall whose face is in line with **Carchemish 87–90** is recorded in *Carchemish III*, Pl. 43a). Finally, a shorter threshold was found re-used underneath the upper threshold of the stairway (*Carchemish III*, 196), indicating that the Processional Way originally converged upon a stairway much as in the latest phase of the building. Ussishkin believes that the Royal Buttress “blocked a monumental gateway that

formed part of the original building” (Ussishkin 1967b:189).

93 The objects carried by the women are also found in the iconography of the Syro-Hittite funerary stele (with the notable exception of the animal figurine and the skids of yarn, the latter to be alternatively identified with animal legs, as often depicted in Egyptian funerary banquets) – for a detailed examination and a discussion of parallels, see Bonatz 2000a:79–88, 90–92, 98. Interestingly, comparable processions of women are depicted together with banquet scenes on a number of Iron Age paterae from the Eastern Mediterranean region (so-called “Cypro-Phoenician”), always found in cultic context, and often in tombs (Markoe 1985, Karageorghis 1999).

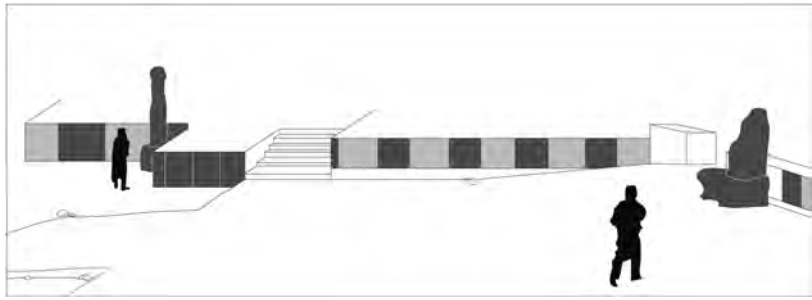


Fig. 17 | Carchemish, the Courtyard at the King's Gate (reconstruction by the author).

four male musicians with bass drum and horn). The seated female figure may be identified either with a goddess or with a queen.<sup>94</sup> The procession of women itself follows an ordered pattern, suggesting that this is the representation of a ceremony with clear prescriptions (contra Orthmann 1971:34): first, there come two isolated women carrying the figurine of a bovid and a decorated bowl; there follow a group carrying skids of yarn (or perhaps animal legs?), a group carrying folded cloths, and, finally, three women with none of these items.<sup>95</sup> The women also carry corn, mirrors, and pomegranate rods, seemingly distributed randomly among them.

The northern half of the Processional Way consists of four slabs (**Carchemish 87–90**) depicting a line of ten identical armed warriors, carved closely after the model of the nearby Long Wall of Sculpture. In front of the junction between **Carchemish 87** and **Carchemish 88** was placed the colossal statue of a ruler in the classical style of ancestral statues (**Carchemish 86**, with double-lion basis **Carchemish 85**). The base was found in situ but the heads of its lions and the statue itself had been smashed in pieces and lay scattered in the surroundings. The statue, poorly documented, was apparently identical to that at the outer wall of Building J at Zincirli (**Zincirli 63–64**, here §4.2.5), to the point that Woolley describes it as “a replica” (*Carchemish III*, 192). The surface of the reliefs adjacent to the back of the statue base was left in the rough, proving that the statue and the Processional Way are not only coeval, but part of a single planned whole.

The original cycle of reliefs is interrupted by the later addition of the Royal Buttress, which takes the place of the slabs closing the procession of warriors. Probably, a ruler figure stood originally at the head of the procession; as envisaged by Woolley (*Carchemish III*, 243), this may have been the inscribed basalt slab **Carchemish 91**, found out of context in the north-western corner of the King's Courtyard (*Carchemish III*, 203), representing a ruler in “exceptionally fine carving style” (Orthmann 1971:34) and constituting an appropriate counterpart to the seated female figure **Carchemish 74**. The inscription KARKAMIŠ A13d identifies the ruler as Katuwas (Hawkins 2000:115–116).

94 For the figure of a seated (possibly deceased) queen at the head of a processional party, cf. the image of queen BONUS-tis (**Carchemish 23**) on the Long Wall of Sculpture. For ancestral images set up upon lions, cf. the nearby statue **Carchemish 85–86**, the coeval statue **Zincirli 63–64**; the Darendé stele and the İspekçür stele, both dating to the early eleventh century BCE (Hawkins 2000:301–305); and the inscribed portal lion MARAŞ 1 (Maraş B/1 in Orthmann 1971) of Halparuntiyas III, king of Gurgum at the end of ninth century BCE (Hawkins 2000:262). See further the comparative discussion in Bonatz 2000a:105–106.

95 The procession of women at the Processional Way can be compared with the processional imagery on an Urar-

tian bronze belt of the Prähistorisches Staatssammlung in Munich (Kellner 1991, no. 282), which has been defined “the most remarkable image of spectacle from the extent corpus of Urartian art” (Smith 2006:120). On the belt, a procession of men and women converge on a seated female deity, to whom the participants carry wool and cloth in different stages of production. A loom and other weaving instruments are also integrated into the composition. The processional imagery is framed by two imposing buildings with fortifying walls and gates (palaces? cities?). The gates are pointedly represented open, and the processions evidently foresaw their formal transgression. The ceremony was accompanied by music, dance, and acrobatic spectacles.

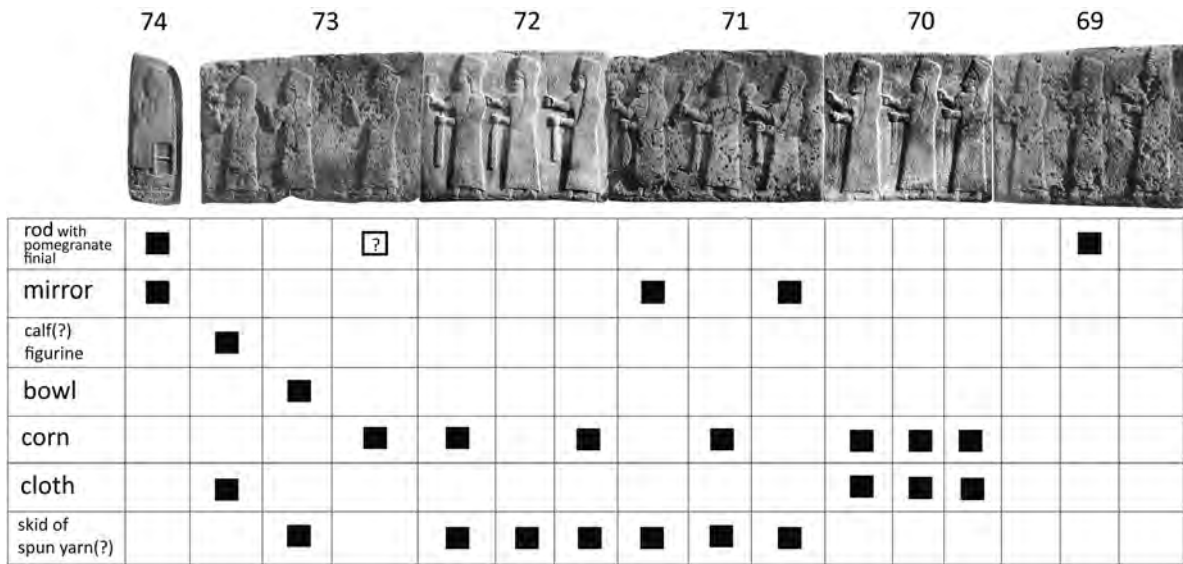


Fig. 18 | Carchemish, King's Gate Complex: the procession of women at the southern half of the Processional Way (Carchemish 69–74) with a table illustrating the distribution of attributes.

The southern end of the King's Courtyard was dominated by the extraordinary colossal statue **Carchemish 63–64**, representing a seated god or a deified ancestor on a double-lion basis.<sup>96</sup> The captivating character of the statue was reinforced by its massive proportions and by its central position at the end of the sloping approach to the gate (Fig. 19). The style of the statue conforms in detail to that of **Carchemish 85–86** (Orthmann 1971:41) but iconography and proportions are radically different. The figure is bearded and dressed in a long garment; it wears a horned helmet, holds a mace in the right hand, and an axe in the left hand. A Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription identifies it with “the god Atrisuhas” (§1); Hawkins proposes to analyze the name as *atri-suhas*, “(image) soul of Suhis,” and “to recognize the statue as representing the dead and deified father or great-grandfather of Katuwas” (Hawkins 2000:101). At the west jamb of the King's Gate was found in situ a rebated basalt slab with a lengthy inscription of Katuwas (KARKAMIŠ A11a). The inscription commemorates the suppression of a revolt (§5–7) and then reports: “These gates of my grandfathers passed down to me (§13) ... these gates I decorated with orthostats foremost in cost and I built them with wood (§16–17) ... and this god Atrisuhas I seated at these gates (§20).” Thus, the inscription provides a date for the King's Gate and the seated statue to the reign of Katuwas. Another inscription from the time of Katuwas, KARKAMIŠ A11b–c, was carved on two door jambs fragments found reused face downward as paving slabs at the King's Gate. This inscription provide additional evidence that the Processional Way belongs to the same building phase: it commemorates Katuwas' victorious fight against a usurper and his subsequent ascension to the throne (§2–14). In that first regnal year, according to the inscription, Katuwas held “Karhuhas and Kubabas' procession” (§16) and built a *haristani*-building for his wife Anas (§34).<sup>97</sup> We learn that the queen's quarter were built

96 The statue had been deliberately smashed to pieces. Sixty fragments were recovered in front of its base (*Carchemish III*, 199).

97 The term is attested three times with the determinative DOMUS.SUPER and Hawkins translates accordingly with “upper floors;” in this context, one could perhaps understand it as “raised building,” envisaging a direct

reference to the platform lined by the cycle of orthostats (Pucci 2008:221). The same “upper floors” or “raised quarters” are mentioned in KARKAMIŠ A11a as well, where they are called “*tawani*-quarters” and represented with the logogram DOMUS+SCALA, suggesting that they were some sort of women's quarters to be reached through a ladder (Hawkins 2000:99)



Fig. 19 | Carchemish, King's Gate Area: frontal view of the Royal Buttress (from Ussishkin 1967b, Pl. 15a)

of wood (§3) and decorated with orthostats (§23–24); that the orthostats were carved with images of gods (§19); and that the gods included Karhuhas, Kubaba, Sarkus, and further “male gods” and “female gods,” for all of whom regular offerings were prescribed. Woolley suggests that the original location of the inscribed door jambs was at the Stairway Recess and that they were displaced following the building of the Royal Buttress and the remodeling of the stairway (Carchemish III, 202). This is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription: it is plausible that the “male gods” and the “female gods” should be identified with the reliefs of the Processional Way. The inscription states that Karhuhas and Kubaba had been “seated on a podium,” and a god Sarkus is also mentioned (§16–17). Perhaps the seated woman **Carchemish 74** should be identified with Kubaba, though an identification with Katuwas’ wife Anas, mentioned as well, is equally possible. The fragmentary inscription KARKAMIŠ A25a (Hawkins 2000:121–122),<sup>98</sup> whose contents follow the pattern of A11b-c, reports that “in that year” Katuwas set up his own statue – this is probably to be identified with **Carchemish 85–86**.

A century after Katuwas, at the end of the ninth – beginning of the eighth century BCE, the regent Yariris added the Royal Buttress to the Processional Way.

The reliefs of the Royal Buttress (**Carchemish 77–84**) are carved on eight basalt slabs of different lengths, approximately 0.20m shorter than those of the adjacent procession of warriors.<sup>99</sup> The reliefs

98 Only four fragments have been found; they are recorded as coming “from the Lower Palace Area” (*Carchemish III*, 275).

99 **Carchemish 77/78** (and probably not only those) are older reliefs that have been trimmed down and recarved with new designs. Traces of the old images are still visible underneath the standing line of the new reliefs, (*Carchemish III*, 194): on **Carchemish 77**, there are traces of the hind legs of a lion/sphinx; on **Carchemish 78**, it is possible to recognize parts of a bearded figure, perhaps a god (visible in the high-quality photograph published in Matthiae 1997:213). The style of both reliefs is comparable to that of the Herald’s Wall, i.e., “Karkemis II,” early tenth century BCE (Bossert 1951, Orthmann 1971:33, n. 29). The slabs had been also reduced in size. In the construction of the Royal Buttress, the relief **Carchemish 76**, originally belonging to the Processional Way, was (re-)employed as well. In this case, the top of

the relief was trimmed down, and the rest was kept under the floor level: “on B. 17b [**Carchemish 76**] the line of erasure comes at 0.20 m. below the top edge of the stone and therefore corresponds exactly with the feet of B. 18b [**Carchemish 74**] as a datum for fixing the late floor-level between the slabs” (*Carchemish III*, 196). Woolley further envisages that **Carchemish 76** might have been found in primary position and continues: “it is tempting to assume that the whole of the King’s Gate as we have it is a late version of an earlier scheme of decoration of very similar character ... in the early period as in the later there was a procession and possibly even a ‘royal buttress’ whose sculpture had in after days to be replaced by portraits of a new king” (*ibid.*). Elsewhere, Woolley says of the Stairway Recess: “this would seem to have been originally a passage at ground level and was only transformed in a stairway when the new façade was built” (*Carchemish III*, 194).

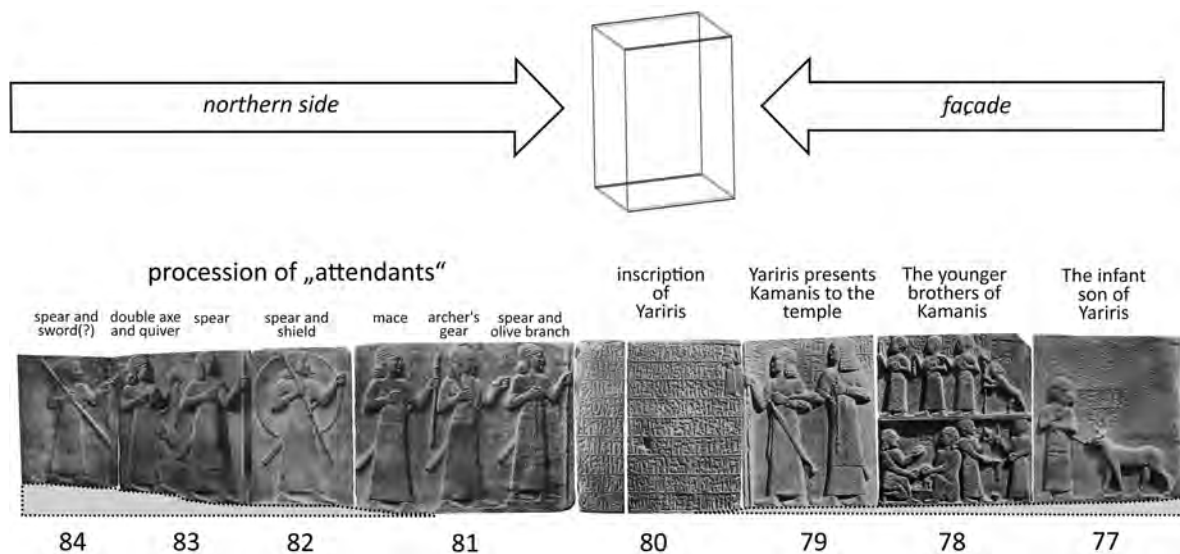


Fig. 20 | Graphic illustration of the sculptural cycle of the Royal Buttress (the slope of the terrain is shaded light gray).

(Fig. 20) are expression of a coherent figurative and epigraphic program; they are the earliest self-contained group of reliefs carved solely on basalt and probably the only sculptural cycle recovered intact and in its entirety.<sup>100</sup> Style and iconographic details are clearly distinct from those of other reliefs; Orthmann classifies the style as “Karkemis IV,” of the “Späthethitisch III” period (Orthmann 1971:35).

The reliefs depict movement from two directions converging on a monumental inscription at the northern corner of the installation (**Carchemish 80**: KARKAMIŠ A6). This is a lengthy account by Yariris (around 790 BCE), regent of Carchemish as well as tutor and guardian of the legitimate heir to the throne, Kamanis, eldest son of Astiruwas (Hawkins 1979:157–160). The inscription provides the key elements for the understanding of the figurative cycle: Yariris presents himself as “governor” (*tarwanis*) and “prince” (*CAPUT-tis*) of great reputation, devoted to raising Kamanis and his younger brothers. The royal children are depicted on the front façade of the buttress; the northern side, according to the inscription, depicts a row of “personal attendants” (*wasinasi*).<sup>101</sup>

Furthermore, the slabs **Carchemish 79–77** are provided with short epigraphs (KARKAMIŠ A7), identifying each figure by name. Thus, we learn that **Carchemish 79** represents Kamanis (in front) and Yariris: “Here I [Yariris] took him [Kamanis] (by) the hand, and established him over the temple” (§3–4); **Carchemish 78** represents the eight younger brothers of Kamanis at play; **Carchemish 77** represents an infant child carried by an attendant,<sup>102</sup> who also keeps a goat on the leash. The infant is identified as “the

<sup>100</sup> In order to reconstruct the full visual impact, it is necessary to consider that the top of the Stairway Recess was probably flanked by lions: “In front of the steps there were found two or three fragments of the jaw and claws of a basalt lion in good style, and a large ‘core’ of basalt that might represent a lion’s body hopelessly defaced. On the threshold at the top of the stairs were found a few more small fragments of basalt lion figures” (*Carchemish III*, 197).

<sup>101</sup> Literally, “(them) of the person;” Hawkins sees in the term the Luwian counterpart for the Akkadian *ša rēši* and translates therefore “eunuchs” (Hawkins 2000:128, 266). See also Denel 2007:195.

<sup>102</sup> This figure has been traditionally seen as a woman, on the grounds that whoever carries a child and lacks a beard is bound to be female in gender. The garment and the hairdo of the figure, however, indicate that the figure is male (Özgen 1989).

desired (one) of the ruler (IUDEX-*nis*), the prince (CAPUT-*tis*) proclaimed for preeminence” (§14), i.e., the son of Yariris. The goat indicates perhaps that the infant was fed on its milk.<sup>103</sup>

The composition follows a twofold hierarchical order of age and rank. From left to right and from upper to lower register, the children are represented in different stages of childhood: the infant baby nursed and carried around; the naked toddler learning to walk (apparently with shaved head except for locks growing from the back);<sup>104</sup> five playing children in middle childhood, with the hair kept short and a specific kind of garment; two playing youths in their early adolescence, with longer hair falling freely on their shoulder and a simple tunic; and, finally, the full adolescent Kamanis, with the coiffure and garment of adulthood, a sword, and the ruler’s staff.<sup>105</sup> The same figures, including Yariris, are also represented in hierarchical order: Kamanis at the head, followed by Yariris, followed by the royal children, and finally Yariris’s heir. A subtle subversion of this order is the small but finely detailed *amu*-pictogram of Yariris at the beginning of the corner inscription; thus, in fact, Kamanis appears surrounded by his guardian and looking at him from beneath. The eminent role of Yariris is further underlined by the fact that the heads of both his images are higher than that of Kamanis.

The northern side of the Royal Buttress represents a procession of “personal attendants” ceremoniously carrying diverse weapons. They are not in war attire: they are either carrying the arms as symbols of their own status or else investing the young Kamanis with the ruler’s panoply.<sup>106</sup> The standing line of the attendants’ row initially follows a gentle descent before turning into two shallow ascending steps.<sup>107</sup>

The cycle of the Royal Buttress was integrated with the older reliefs of the Processional Way, not only in terms of the standing line but also and foremost in terms of figurative coherence. It is apparent that the “assistant” on **Carchemish 82** is a direct reprise of the warriors’ theme, and the same may be argued for **Carchemish 84**. The very choice of a linear processional imagery is evidently dictated by a desire to comply with the impact of the older Processional Way. The Royal Buttress, however, exploits the existing figurative surrounding to its own ends, on its own terms. The Royal Buttress substitutes the apex of the warriors’ procession, redoubles the figurative surface, and dislocates the point of convergence of the imagery. The northern side of the buttress is designed as a *trait d’union* with the older reliefs and underlines the conscious embedment of new political programs in an environment shaped by a past dynasty; the façade of the buttress, on the other hand, is entirely innovative in iconography and composition. In order to reinforce the delicate political statement of Yariris, it employs a sophisticated blend of rhetoric registers, framing ceremonial imagery with unconstrained scenes of childhood and using multiple levels, directions, and written texts.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Goat’s milk is a traditional alternative and supplement to breast-feeding; in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean region, the infant suckled by a goat is a well-known literary and figurative topos (e.g., the infant Zeus suckled by the goat Amalthea on Mount Ida).

<sup>104</sup> Here, pictorial conventions concerning garment and hairstyle are used to indicate different stages of maturity (Canby 1986).

<sup>105</sup> This scene can be usefully compared with the bottom register of the side face of the left tower at Alaca Höyük, depicting a line of royal children of different ages (and corresponding hairstyle), including a naked toddler, together with the Hittite king (contra, Ünal 1999).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. **Zincirli 78** from the Hilani IV (here, §4.2.7).

<sup>107</sup> The descending angle of the standing line was devised in order to follow the actual slope of the terrain, with the

upper point of the standing line meeting the standing line of the Processional Way. The lower edge of the slabs of the Processional Way and the foot of the double-lion base were higher than the ground in front of the façade of the Royal Buttress (cf. Carchemish III, Pl. 42b). Probably, the basalt slabs had been cut at a given height and given a first rough polish at the quarry, then set in place, and finally carved; in this way, it would be only natural for the carvings to follow the sloping terrain. In fact, a slightly upward displacement of the standing line happens at the façade of the buttress as well, where the terrain sloped up again to a step (as reconstructed in Fig. 22). The steps on the slab Carchemish 81, on the other hand, were carved to be visible and are perhaps to be interpreted as a reference to the Stairway Recess.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Denel 2007:195–197.

Table 10 | Carchemish, King's Gate complex: overview of building phases involving monumental art.

Phase	Event	Ruler	Date BCE	Reliefs	Style (after Orthmann 1971)	Period (after Orthmann 1971)
I	Decoration of King's Gate	?	Early tenth century	52–61	Karkemis II	SpH I
II	Re-decoration of King's Gate Building of Processional Way Erection of two colossal statues Building of "upper floors"	Katuwas	Early ninth century	62–76.85–91	Karkemis III	SpH II
III	Addition of Royal Buttress	Yariris	End of ninth–beginning of eighth century	77–84	Karkemis IV	SpH III
IV	Addition of Guard-Room?	?	660–612	92	Assyrian	–

The so called Guard-Room at the west side of the King's Courtyard requires a final remark. This is clearly a feature added late in the history of the complex, and its function is unknown. It is a small raised chamber, apparently devoid of installations, with a stepped stone threshold and revealed jambs for a wooden door (*Carchemish III*, 200). Woolley arbitrarily designates it a guard-room because of its small size, unpaved inner surface, and relative position to the gate. The outer face of its eastern wall, which ended in a 2.50m long low bench, was prepared to take orthostats (*Carchemish III*, 199), but none were found in situ. In front of it, however, were found numerous fragments of the upper part of a relief depicting four men in a chariot (**Carchemish 92**). The style of the relief is distinctly Assyrian, and the iconography dates it to the second half of the seventh century BCE. Whether the orthostat originally belonged to the Guard-Room is unclear; the piece, however, is one of a few monumental items, all of which were found out of context, belonging to the post-Sargonid history of Carchemish (Mazzoni 1972).

### 3.2.6 The temple of Tarhunzas

Immediately east of the Great Staircase, just outside the fortification walls of the main mound, a large enclosed precinct was excavated (Fig. 21).

The *enceinte* had a rectangular layout and two means of access: a main entry in the south-western façade and a side door at the Great Staircase. The complex was organized around a large paved courtyard, dominated by a tower-like building in its northern corner. The building is identified as a temple of the Carcamishean storm god Tarhunzas by a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of king Katuwas located at the door-jambs (KARKAMIŠ A2-A3). The courtyard area in front of the temple was 30cm higher than its eastern counterpart; Woolley calls it "inner court".<sup>109</sup> At its centre, exactly in front of the entry to the

<sup>109</sup> Perhaps based on a supposed parallel with Solomon's temple at Jerusalem (1 Kings 6:36).

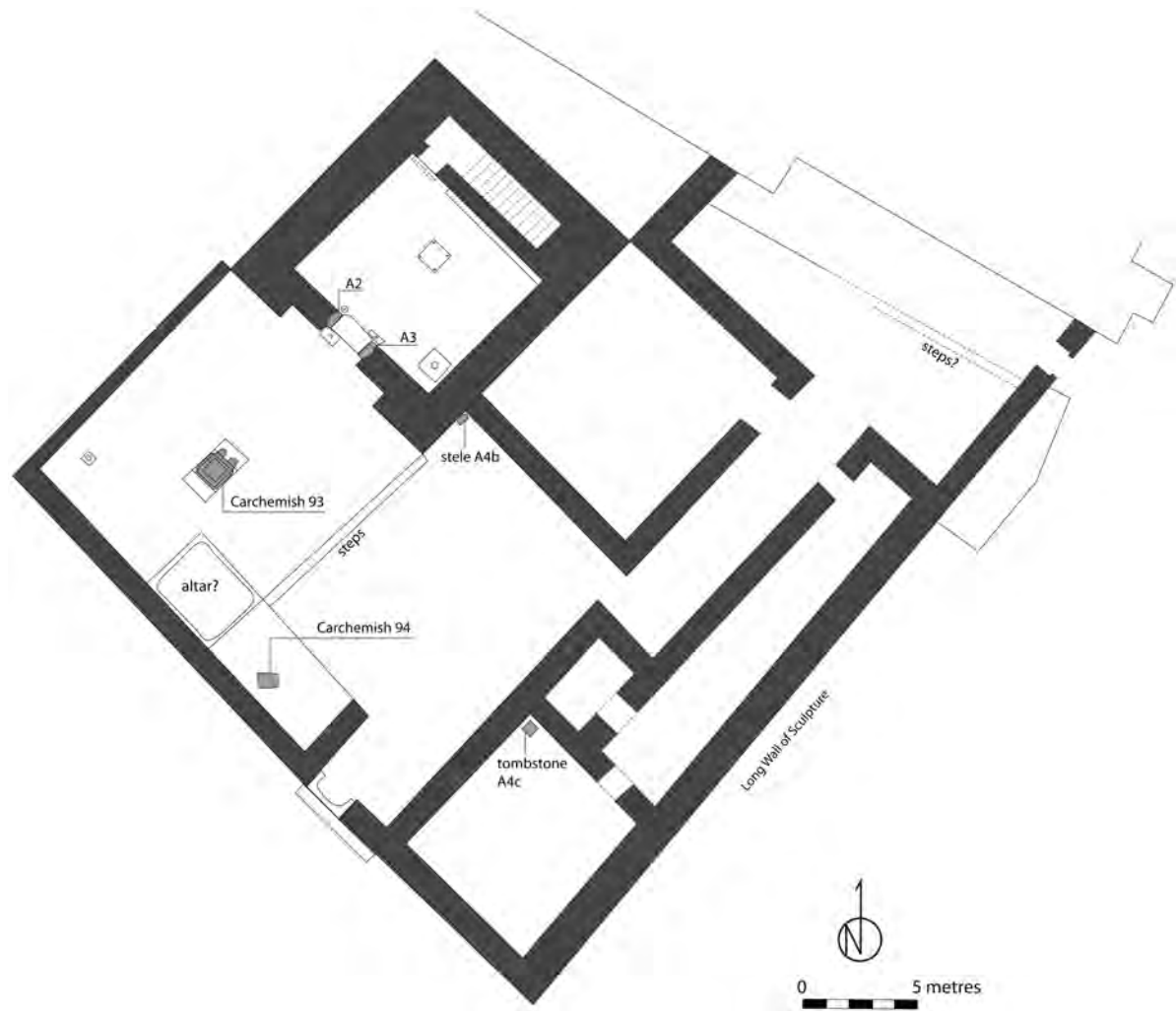


Fig. 21 | Carchemish, Temple of the Storm God Tarhunzas (after *Carchemish III*, Pl. 29, with corrections).

temple, a raised rectangular platform of limestone ashlar ( $2.70 \times 1.40\text{m}$ ) was excavated. The fragments of a basalt group of two bulls (**Carchemish 93**) were found scattered in the surroundings. As restored, the sculpture measures approximately  $2.40 \times 1.35 \times 1.10\text{m}$  in size; these unusual measurements perfectly fit those of the raised limestone platform, and Woolley is probably correct in assuming that the sculpture originally belonged there (*Carchemish III*, 168). **Carchemish 93** has the general appearance of the base for a statue (cf. **Carchemish 29.63.85**; **Zincirli 64.89**). The large square depression on its top, however, is unlike any other mortise-hole for statues found in Carchemish (Ussishkin 1975, fig. 15–19): it is markedly deep, with an unpolished bottom; its thick and raised edges, in contrast, are “rounded and smooth, in places even polished as if by constant friction” (*Carchemish III*, 168). As already envisaged by Woolley, it is likely that there was a basin let into the depression and that the sculpted block functioned

as a laver.<sup>110</sup> Stylistically, the bulls belong without doubts to the “Suhis-Katuwas/Karkemis III group” (Orthmann 1971:41).

At the southern corner of the “inner court” a raised platform of limestone and clay with signs of heavy burning was excavated; seven panels of ivory inlays, as well as bones of birds and small animals were found in front of it (*Carchemish III*, 167). Woolley interprets it as an altar, but the true nature of the installation is unclear. Adjacent to it there was a raised platform, in which the fragments of the basalt orthostat **Carchemish 94** were found. The orthostat is carved with a sphinx or perhaps a griffin in profile; as shown by the interrupted standing line, it was originally a corner slab. The style is archaic (“Karkemis I”) and dates to the eleventh century BCE (Orthmann 1971:31); the slab, which had been deliberately effaced, was probably reused in the masonry of the platform.

Compared to the conspicuously decorated Long Wall of Sculpture, as well as the general abundance of monumental art in the ceremonial open space, the temple precinct was strikingly poor in sculpted works. Apparently, the visual impact of the temple was achieved largely through decorative fine-art craft-works such as glazed bricks,<sup>111</sup> ivory furniture, and metalworks. This fact suggests that monumental art was directed in general to a different audience than the selected one of the temple precinct, where access was much restricted and space accurately secluded.

As excavated, the temple precinct was the result of numerous restorations, additions, and rebuilding, and the artefacts found within it indicate that it was in use over hundreds of years. At the re-entrant outer corner of the temple building, an archaic inscribed stele of a “son of Suhis” (KARKEMIŠ A4b), dating to the early tenth century BCE, was found. The stele was dedicated to the “Great King” Ura-Tarhunzas (MAGNUS.TONITRUS) and expressly invoked Tarhunzas (DEUS.TONITRUS), so that it is likely that the stele was originally set up in the temple of Tarhunzas. This might confirm the existence of the temple since the early-tenth century BCE. The enclosure wall is dated to Suhis II (late-tenth century BCE) by the monumental art and inscriptions of the Long Wall of Sculpture; the tower-like temple building is dated to Katuwas by the inscribed door-jambs (early-ninth century BCE). Finally, an inscribed tombstone (KARKEMIŠ A4c) was found at the northern corner of the southernmost room of the precinct (*Carchemish III*, Pl. 36a), proving that the temple was still in use in the eighth century BCE, the date of the stele (Hawkins 2000:186–187).

The Temple of Tarhunzas is not only one of the few complexes at Carchemish excavated in its entirety, but also a rare example of an Iron-Age temple building identified in the Syro-Anatolian region. Comparisons with the temple at 'Ain Dara and the so-called Building II at Tell Ta'yinat suggest that it was the Carcamishean version of a widespread typology and indicate that the nearby “Hilani,” which had a comparable layout, was probably a temple as well.

110 Comparable basins were installed outside the temple at 'Ain Dara, outside the megaroid Building II at Tell Ta'yinat, and near the megaroid *Bâtiment IV* at the citadel of Hama (Period E). The description of the Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem also famously include a “brazen sea” on the back of twelve bulls (1 Kings 7:23–26). For

Hittite precursors, see the colossal stone basins at the Temple I at Boğazköy. For Syrian precursors, cf. the sculpted basin in the temple of Rasap(?) at Ebla.

111 The outer upper facade of the temple was decorated with glazed bricks with a floral motif (*Carchemish III*, 196–170)

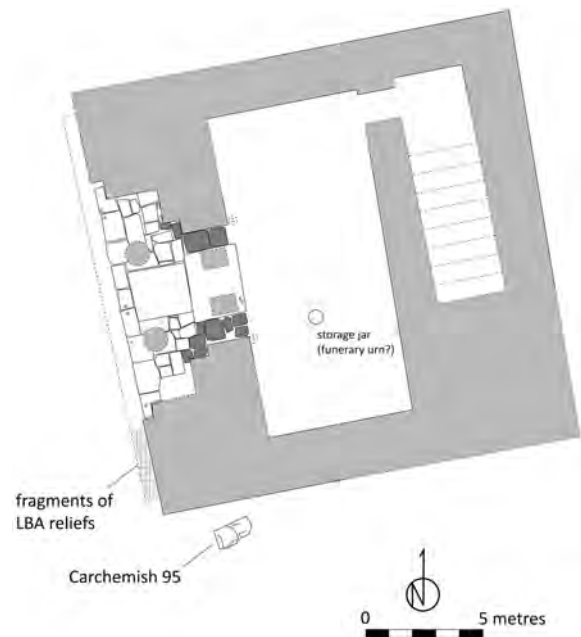


Fig. 22 | Carchemish, “Hilani”  
(after *Carchemish III*, Pl. 38, 41a).

### 3.2.7 The Hilani

The “Hilani” is a building with an almost exactly square ground plan, at least two stories, and a façade with columns *in antis* (Fig. 22).

It was built upon a raised, terraced platform south-east of the Lower Palace area. The platform was connected to the lower surroundings by a ramp or shallow flight of stairs (*Carchemish III*, 184). Since the façade of the Hilani roughly aligned with the Stairway Recess at the King’s Gate complex, a roadway between the two areas can be envisaged. Woolley, however, imagines a gate to the Hilani area through a narrow-pillared doorway excavated at the eastern end of the Herald’s Wall (*Carchemish III*, fig. 78). It is not impossible that both existed.

Outside the southern wall of the Hilani was found a headless statue of a bearded figure seated on a stool and dressed in a long, cloak-like garment (**Carchemish 95**). On the lower front of the garment and on the back, there was a cuneiform inscription “which had been deliberately and effectively defaced; only a few characters remained and the text was quite illegible” (*Carchemish III*, 181). The iconography and composition of the statue are typical of Iron Age ancestral figures (Bonatz 2000a:28); the illegible inscription is the only known use of cuneiform on monumental art at Carchemish. The stylistic details of the statue have been damaged by erosion and intentional defacement. Therefore, a precise dating is impossible, although a provisional date to the early ninth century BCE has been proposed (Bonatz 2000a:15; Orthmann 1971:515). The statue had apparently been reused in the foundation of a Roman wall running parallel to the Hilani; it is likely that its original location or, perhaps, “burial pit,” would have been against the outer face of the Hilani wall. A basalt offering table with square compartments and a spout was found nearby and probably was a cultic implements related to the cult of the statue (*Carchemish III*, 181). A few fragments of carved slabs and portal lions were found reused in the foundation for a step to the portico of the Hilani (*Carchemish III*, fig. 70–73, Pl. B. 52a); they all belong to a

small lot of items dating to the earlier second millennium BCE (Mellink 1954; Orthmann 1971:38; Özyar 1991:13–17; Di Paolo 2006) and provide a terminus post quem for the Hilani.

With the exception of the elaborated paved entrance, only the foundations of the Hilani were recovered. The pavement of the large inner chamber had been pulled up in antiquity, much as in the case of the temple of Tarhunzas. Beneath the central part of the pavement, the excavators found a large storage jar containing “some animal bones and fragments of Iron Age pottery” (*Carchemish III*, 180). The jar, however, is of the type used as cinerary urn at the *extra muros* cemetery of Yunus, a site near Carchemish, and the means of deposition is also seen in a rich cremation burial excavated at the “North-West Fort,” the so-called “Gold Tomb” (*Carchemish II*, 68; *Carchemish III*, 250). This led Woolley to advance the hypothesis that the Hilani might have been a “funerary chapel” for the kings of Carchemish, involving cremation burials and the set-up of ancestral statues (*Carchemish III*, 184).<sup>112</sup> In any case, the building typology is comparable to that of the temple of Tarhunzas, and the edifice was almost certainly cultic in function. Its relatively elevated height and tower-like form made the structure to be visible from the lower-lying surrounding areas; its secluded location, however, suggests limited access and a cult of an exclusive nature.<sup>113</sup>

112 Woolley’s thesis reappears in Voos 1989:35. Cf. also Bonatz 2000a:154; Niehr 2006:131; Struble and Herrmann 2009:37.

113 The political and, we might say, spectacular implications of spatially secluded, self-contained, yet highly visible, tower-like temples are analyzed by Tanyeri-Erdemir for the Urartian temples of the late-ninth century BCE: “The

increased inaccessibility and seclusion of standard temples, coupled with their visual grandeur, could have been an effective way of marking the distinction of the king from the rest of the populace while, at the same time, dazzling the common folk living in the outer town with the glorious but unreachable, towering image of the temple” (Tanyeri-Erdemir 2007:218).

## 4 Zincirli

Zincirli lies in present-day Turkey, at the foot of the Amanus mountains (Nur Dağları), at the western fringe of the fertile plain of Karagöl, about 10 km north of the modern city of İslahiye. The site is located in the immediate vicinity of the modern trunk roads, passing the plain along the north-south and the east-west axis. The modern trunk roads follow ancient tracks, and Iron Age Zincirli was at an important crossroads for the traffic of goods and people, much as it is today.

### 4.1 Archaeological fieldwork

In the nineteenth century, carved orthostats were still visible on the mound of Zincirli. The site was first surveyed archaeologically in 1882 by Osman Hamdy, the director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople. In 1883, three German travellers visited the site in the course of an expedition in Northern Syria. They were: Carl Humann, railroad engineer and excavator of the Pergamon altar; Otto Puchstein, professor for Classical Archaeology in Freiburg i. Br.; and Felix von Luschan, medical doctor, ethnologist, and archaeologist (AiS 1, 6). The evidence they collected convinced them that the site was a promising one for excavation (photos taken during this first site recognition are published in Wartke 2005:9–10, Abb. 2–3).

In 1899, the newly founded German *Orient-Comité* and the Berlin Museums cooperated to sponsor the excavation of the site under the direction of Humann and von Luschan. Beginning that year, five campaigns took place:

- 1 1888, April – July
- 2 1890, January – June
- 3 1890/91, October – March
- 4 1894, March – June
- 5 1902, January – June

After that, plans were made to continue the excavations (Wartke 2005:12–16), but for various reasons, ultimately including the two World Wars, they were never fulfilled.

The bulk of the monumental stone reliefs from Zincirli are now divided between the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin and the Arkeoloji Müzesi in Istanbul. A carved orthostat and two sphinx protomes are in the Louvre. Some sculptures, originally judged less significant, are now on display in the museums of Adana and Gaziantep. Unfinished basalt blocks and sculpted fragments can still be observed at the site, reused in the masonry of the modern village.

In 2006, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago inaugurated a new excavation project at the site, under the direction of David Schloen. The project aims at making a large horizontal exposure of the Iron-Age “lower town” and as far as now four excavation seasons have been completed.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Chicago Oriental Institute, “The Neubauer expedition to Zincirli,” <http://ochre.lib.uchicago.edu/zincirli/index.htm>, accessed April 7, 2010

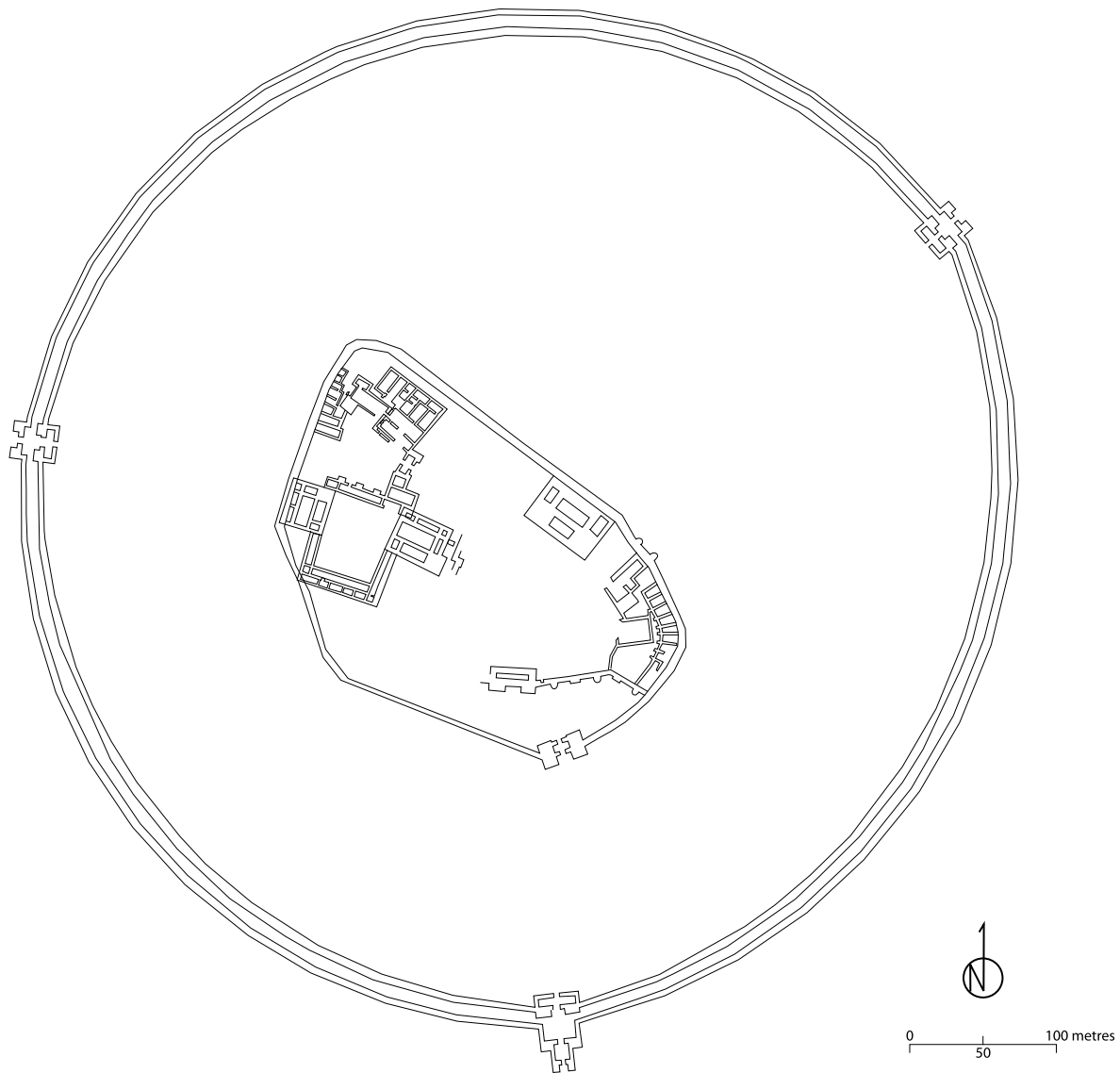


Fig. 23 | Zincirli, general plan

## 4.2 The monumental contexts

The German excavations at Zincirli exposed parts of two concentric fortification walls surrounding the town and, in particular, three double gates;<sup>116</sup> beyond that, they focused upon numerous architectural features on the citadel, a roughly elliptical fortified mound (Fig. 23). For a detailed map of the features

<sup>116</sup> Double fortification walls running parallel to one another are rare but not completely unknown in the Iron Age. At Carchemish, fortification walls are often double (*Carchemish II*, 51).

Excavated buildings as termed in AiS	As termed in the present work
Stadtmauer	City wall
Südliches Stadtthor	Southern city gate
Westliches Stadtthor	Western city gate
Nordöstliches Stadtthor	Northeastern city gate
Burgmauer	Citadel wall
Großes Burgthor / Burgthor (D)	Outer gate to the citadel
Quermauer	Quermauer
Thor der Quermauer (E)	Gate E
Löwengrube	Lion's Pit
Alte Bau unter dem Thore	Alte Bau
Casematten (F)	Casemates
Innere Burgmauer	Inner wall
Alte Hilani / Hilani I [HI]	Hilani I
Grabkammer	Cist grave
Oberer Palast (G)	Upper Palace
<b>Unterer Palast (H):</b>	Southwestern area:
Hilani II [HII]	Hilani II
Hilani III [HIII]	Hilani III
<b>Nördlicher Hallenbau [NHB]:</b>	Northern portico:
Westliche Halle / Nordwestlicher Hallenbau	Northwestern portico
Östliche Halle / Nordöstlicher Hallenbau / Hilani IV	Hilani IV
Gebäude P / Südlicher Hallenbau	Southern portico
Hof R	Southern courtyard
<b>Nordwestbezirk:</b>	Northwestern area:
Gebäude J / Kalamubau / Nördlicher Palast	Building J
Gebäude K	Building K
Gebäude L	Building L
Hof M	Northern courtyard
Torgebäude Q	Gate Q

Table 11 | Zincirli, excavated features: terminological overview. Umbrella terms are in bold letters, alphabetical labels in parentheses, further abbreviations in square brackets. Contexts with monumental art are shaded grey

excavated at the citadel, the reader is referred to Plate 2. Table 11 lists the excavated buildings in the original terminology.

As the evident superimpositions make immediately clear, the features exposed on the citadel belong to different building phases and could not have been in use all at the same time. Koldewey published an attempt to sequence them in *AiS II*, 172–178. Since then, construction date and life histories of the single buildings have been debated,<sup>117</sup> and as yet no general agreement has been reached. A general lack of information on archaeological deposits and their relationships to the architectural features makes it impossible to reconstruct with any certainty the stratigraphy of the excavated areas (Lehmann 1994:106; Naumann 1955:367). Thus, the building phases have to be re-created on the basis of architectural relations (Pucci 2008a:15; Brown 2008:476–477) and with the help of recorded heights and datable artefacts. Plate 3 illustrates the sequence proposed by Koldewey and two recent alternatives by Lehmann and Pucci. The disagreement is apparent and considerable; it goes beyond the scope of this book to analyse the question in detail. As concerns the monumental contexts, the styles of the reliefs can contribute to determining the construction dates for the relevant building, but they are of little help in determining the periods of abandonment. For the discussion of dating and stratigraphy of the monumental contexts, the reader is referred to the paragraphs devoted to the individual features.

#### 4.2.1 The Southern City Gate

The southern city gate (Fig. 24) is the most imposing of the three city gates at Zincirli and the only one decorated with monumental art (*AiS II*, 111). As with the others, it is a double structure, composed of an outer and an inner gate, with openings on the same axis. The two parts were in use at the same time they were probably also built simultaneously (Pucci 2008a:17–18). The outer gate has an elongated shape and a markedly defensive character (*AiS II*, 111–112)<sup>118</sup>.

The inner gate has less of a military character, and it is here that monumental art has been found.

Fragments of two enormous portal lions (**Zincirli 1–2**) were found in the immediate proximity of the inner gate (*AiS III*, 203) and certainly belonged to the mighty foundations flanking the entrance. Eight basalt orthostats carved with reliefs (**Zincirli 3–10**; Fig. 25) were found fallen in front of their bases along the outer wall of the eastern tower (*AiS II*, 112–113, fig. 24). Their relative positions were not recorded in the field and can no longer be determined (*AiS III*, 204). Internal iconographic evidence allows one to place with certainty **Zincirli 8–10** next to one another in the given order, following the canonical scheme for hunting scenes (Orthmann 1971:424–428). A missing piece, **Zincirli 11**, had been reused in a modern house and was said to have been used previously as a tombstone (*AiS III*, 203; Fig. 26).

117 Oelmann 1921, Wachsmuth 1923–24, Naumann 1955, Busink 1970, Lehmann 1994, Lehmann 2006; Pucci 2008:15–16, 38–41; Brown 2008:475–478.

118 Between the two gates, there is an open area, from which an approximately 8m-wide “street” running between the double walls is accessed (*AiS II*, 109, fig. 20). The southern city gate was discovered in a poor state of preservation. In particular, the western half of the inner gate was severely eroded, and the eastern half of the outer gate

completely washed away by gully activity (*AiS II*, 112; *AiS III*, 202–203). Therefore, it is difficult to say to what extent the gate complex was originally decorated with reliefs. Since none have been found at the best preserved walls of the outer gate, it seems probable that the artworks decorated only the inner gate. Here, in fact, more than was recovered almost certainly existed at some point: we can assume that at least the façades of both towers were symmetrically lined with carved orthostats.

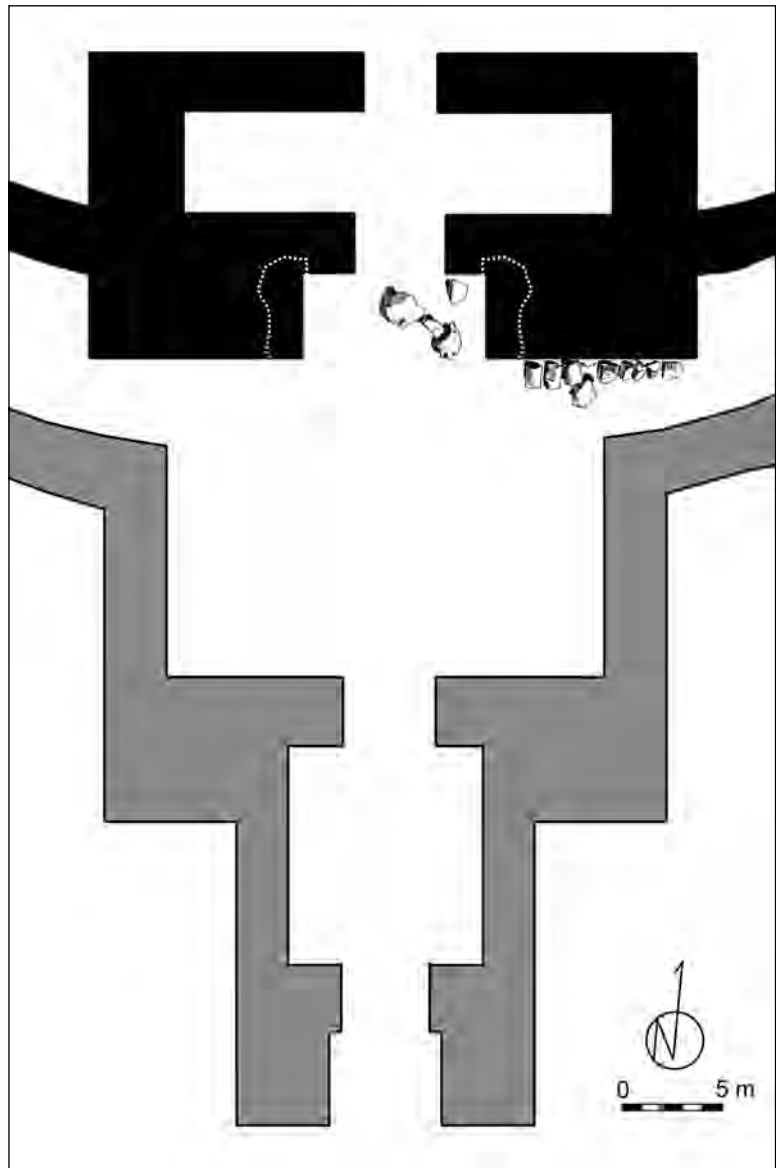


Fig. 24 | Zincirli, layout of the Southern city gate, with monuments as found by the excavators

The orthostats share similar measurements (approximately  $0.55\text{--}1.00 \times 1.30\text{m}$ ), the same material (a coarse-grained basalt), and the same style. As the stylistic analysis reveals, they are among the oldest figurative works in Zincirli. Orthmann labels them “Zincirli I” and places them in the “Späthetisch I/early II” phase (Orthmann 1971:135). As defined by Orthmann, this category indicates a date of around 950 BCE. The secular iconography of **Zincirli 5.11** has parallels in the late-tenth-century Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish, although stylistic details differ (Orthmann 1971:135). Furthermore, the dynastic genealogy reported in the Kulamuwa inscription KAI 24 (Table 6), if correct, suggests that the first king of Zincirli ruled at the end of the tenth century BCE, and was perhaps a contemporary of Suhis II of Carchemish. It does not seem far-fetched to assume that the earliest reliefs at Zincirli were carved by craftsmen independent of Carchemish (Winter 1983:180–181), who received the new artistic code but rendered it with a less innovative hand. In view of these considerations, an ab-



Zincirli 3



Zincirli 4



Zincirli 5



Zincirli 6



Zincirli 7



Zincirli 8



Zincirli 9



Zincirli 10

Fig. 25 | Zincirli 3–10 (from *AiS III*, Pl. 34)

solute date to the late tenth century BCE both for the reliefs and for the building to which they belong seems likely. The fortifications, the gate, and its reliefs thus probably date back to the very foundation of the city.

The poor architectural preservation makes it difficult to say much regarding the original position of the carved orthostats. Approaching the gate frontally, the ancient viewer would first and foremost be confronted with the imposing portal lions. Only at a second glance would attention be captured by the carved orthostats, which we should imagine at least partially plastered and painted (*AiS III*, 204). The recovered reliefs were originally placed upon a 63cm high limestone socle (*AiS II*, 113), so that the images would be easily visible. The eight recovered orthostats were originally set up adjacent to one another – they comprised a complete decorated façade, although their exact sequence is lost. It is interesting to note, though, that all images but **Zincirli 7** are oriented as if leaving the gate entrance. Mythological beings, a hunter chasing his prey, and a warrior riding a horse with an enemy's head in his hand: they all move out of the gate – but not exactly outside the city. In fact, the images move to the large “street” between the defense walls, indicating that this route was effectively used. The chosen imagery is reminiscent of the Long Wall of Sculpture in Carchemish and may mirror festivals involving the ritual enactment of hunts and war triumphs (see above, §3.2.3). At Zincirli, the choice of a city gate in association with a wide circular “street,” used perhaps as ceremonial arena, seems particularly significant and



Fig. 26 | Zincirli II.

echoes a Late Bronze Age Hittite festival praxis.<sup>119</sup> The choice to employ orthostats decorated with images of ritual spectacles at a gate dating back to the oldest period of the Iron Age city also suggests that the gate was conceived as a ceremonial public space from the beginning and that the orthostats commemorated ritual events that first took place in connection with the foundation of the city (Harmanşah 2005:258–260).<sup>120</sup>

#### 4.2.2 The Outer Citadel Gate

Access to the walled citadel of Zincirli was provided by a single gate, the “Outer Gate” (*Äusseres Burghor*). Located in the southern area of the citadel, it was a double gate with protruding towers (Fig. 27), a front court (Fig. 27, a), a lower passage (b) leading into an inner court (c), and an upper passage (d) leading to an open space (e).

Although no door posts were recovered, a kerbstone and two holes for a bolting device show that there was a double door opening inward at the northern end of the lower passage (*AiS* II, 126). Furthermore, rainwater drain holes at the northern end of the upper passage imply that the inner court was roofed (*ibid.*).

The walls of the Outer Gate had a socle of basalt orthostats. Forty orthostats were carved with reliefs (*Zincirli* 12–51); they were all found in situ except for *Zincirli* 12, whose original position is nonetheless obvious on iconographic grounds.

The basalt slabs line both sides of the entire gateway. There is only one gap (app. 1.70m) along the eastern wall of the front court, where two to three orthostats, presumably carved, are missing. The slabs of the inner court are aniconic, perhaps because the room was roofed and thus dimly lit, which would have provided a poor setting in which to view sculpture.

The orthostats are an intrinsic part of the gate architecture and serve a structural function, retaining the stone fill on which the building proper was erected (*AiS* II, 124–125). Furthermore, the dimensions and

<sup>119</sup> In the Hittite Empire, re-enactments of the hunt were parts of ritual performances for the goddess Tetešhap (De Martino 1995:2667; Haas 1994:438,686–687,734; De Martino 1989:68–71); the KILAM-festival, involving rituals at the gate, comprised a parade of metal standards representing wild animals and symbols of the hunt. The re-enactment of war as a dance spectacle was part of the (*h*)*isuwa*-festival and other public ritual “theatres” held in front of loud audiences (Görke 2008:51–57; De Martino 2002:120–121). The monumen-

tal reliefs at the gate at Alaca Höyük represents one such festival and show that in the Hittite Empire period the walls of the gate could function as surfaces for the depiction of ritual performances (Ünal 1994, 1999:756–757). On the role of the city gate in Hittite ritual performances, see also Del Monte 1973, Neve 1996:17–21.

<sup>120</sup> Hittite texts narrate that when king Anitta rebuilt the city of Neša, a royal hunt was held (Neu 1974, lines 60–63; Archi 1988:30–32, quoted and discussed in Mazzoni 1997a:315).

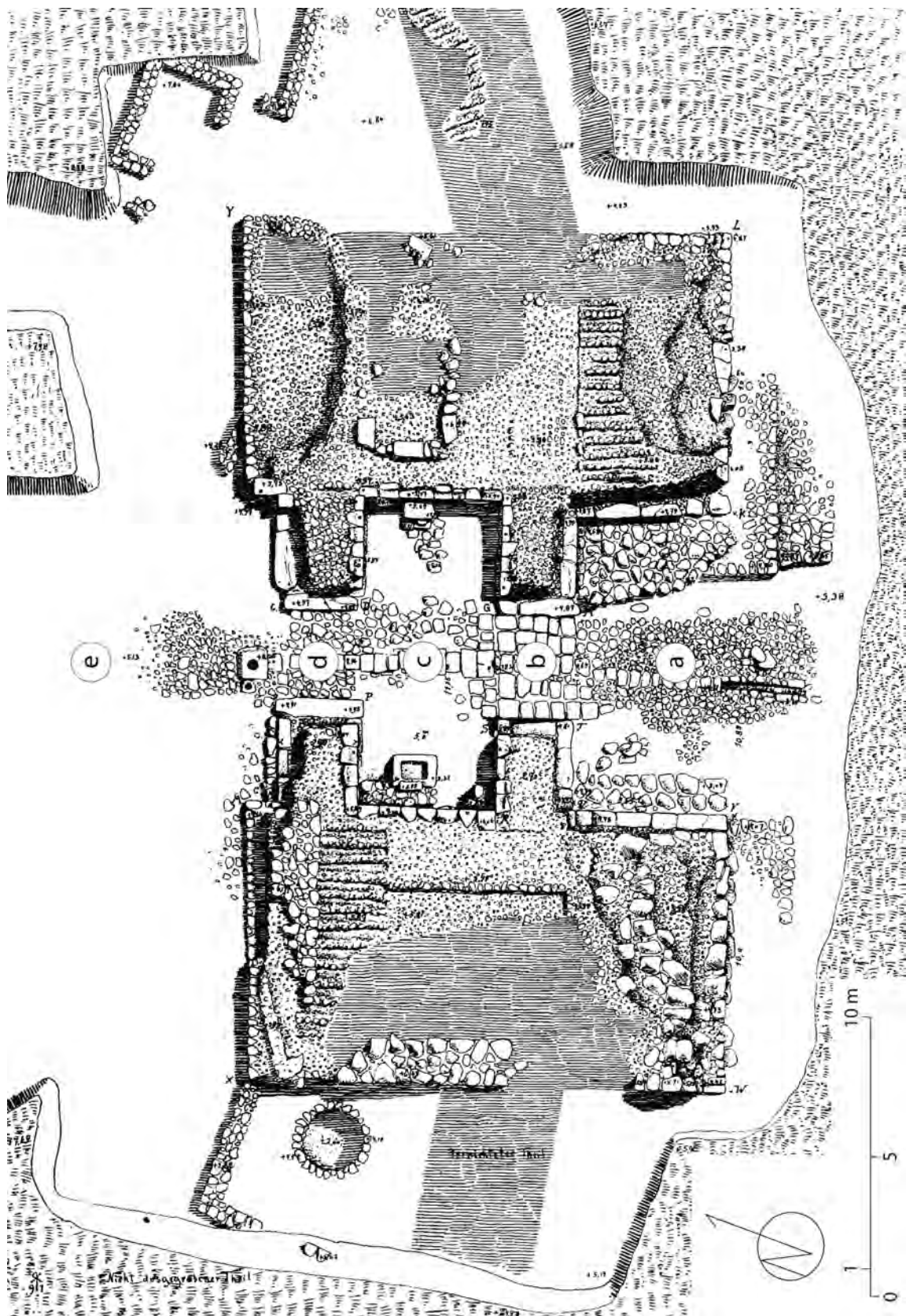


Fig. 27 | Zincirli, the outer citadel gate (after Ais II, Pl. 13).

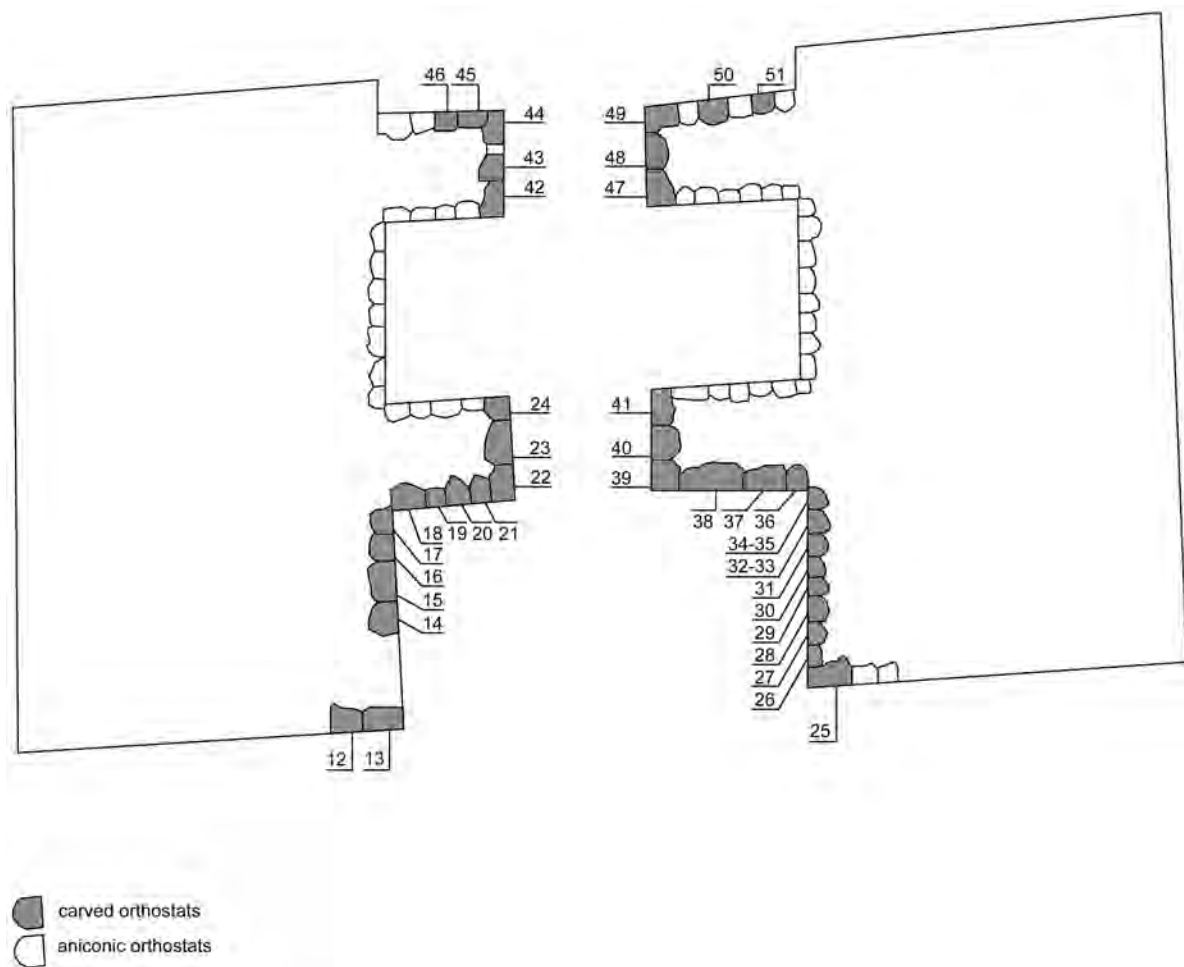


Fig. 28 | Zincirli, Outer Citadel Gate: position of the orthostats found in situ (numbers refer to the catalogue entries).

forms of the slabs are tailored to the layout of the gate, and the iconography of the carving is so consistent as to make it clear that the original layout of the Outer Gate and the reliefs date to the same period. Orthmann labels the style of the reliefs “Zincirli II” and places it in the phase “Späthetitisch II” (approximately 1000/950–850 BCE, Orthmann 1971:220–221). He also remarks that the “Zincirli II” style has strong parallels in Carchemish, sharing traits in common both with the “Karkemis II” style (approximately 1000–940 BCE) and with the “Karkemis III” style (approximately 940–870 BCE). Orthmann concludes that “Zincirli II” in part overlaps chronologically “Karkemis III” (Orthmann 1971:135), thus implying a date of 950–900 BCE for both the Outer Gate and its reliefs. As already discussed above, the reliefs at Zincirli were probably expression of a conservative artistic workshop and one should rather expect the “Zincirli II” to be fully contemporary with the “Karkemis III” style, dating to the late tenth – early ninth century BCE. This dovetails into the late tenth century BCE dating proposed above for the reliefs at the Southern city gate (“Zincirli I”), which are either contemporary (Akurgal 1966:100) or, perhaps more likely, one generation earlier than those at the Outer citadel gate (Orthmann 1971:65).

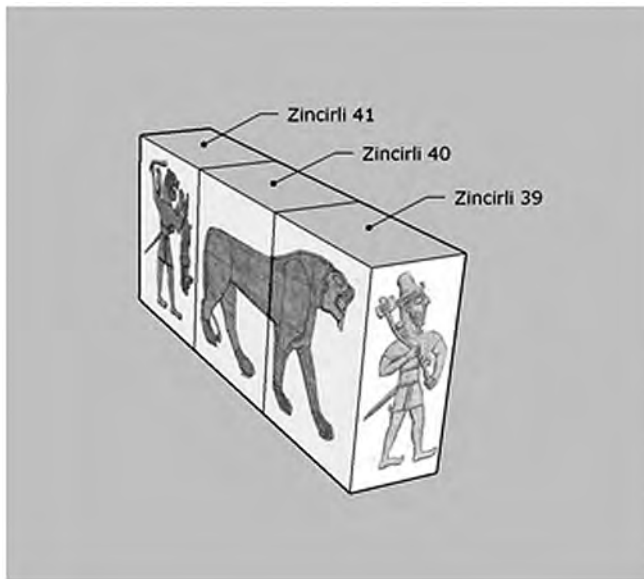


Fig. 29 | Zincirli, Outer Citadel Gate, lower passage, western flank: lion-headed demon with *lagobolon* and dead hare (Zincirli 41), lion (Zincirli 39–40), and god with sledge hammer (Zincirli 39).

In conclusion, the erection of the Outer Citadel Gate took place in the late tenth – early ninth century BCE. The excavation report notes that the gate was built upon older structures but does not say much about them (AiS II, 122). After its construction, the Outer Citadel Gate was in use over a long period and underwent multiple remodellings (AiS III, 208). The most important was the construction of new walls in front of the older ones, probably decrepit, ones, in order to better brace the lateral load; this work was carried out at the protruding towers, in the front court, and in the inner court (AiS II, 125, and Table XIII).<sup>121</sup> These new walls covered a great part of the carved orthostats and, therefore, contributed to their later survival. In 670–671 BCE, the Assyrian king Asarhaddon passed by Zincirli after his victorious siege of Memphis and had a “victory stele” be erected in the inner court of the Outer Citadel Gate. The stele was placed upon a massive socle; a worked stone seems to have been stuck upon the socle and into the containing wall behind the stele. If this is correct, the bracing walls date to Asarhaddon’s visit and the covering up of the archaic reliefs was coeval with the erection of the Assyrian stele.

As mentioned above, the orthostats at the Outer Citadel Gate were cut and carved according to the plan of the gate. Thus, not only their iconographies but also their relative positions were planned out in advance. The architects made use both of corner orthostats, carved with different images on two faces, and of “double orthostats,” with a single image stretching over two slabs (Fig. 29–30). These slabs were clearly carved *ad hoc* and, with the exception of the stag, occupied prominent positions.<sup>122</sup> The lions (or, rather, lionesses) and the bulls flanking the passageways are carved in a particularly high relief and take the place of the usual half-round portal sculptures. The symmetrical arrangement of the gateways decoration is even more evident, considering the lions together with the adjacent images, a triad replicated in detail on both flanks of the lower passage (Fig. 29).

<sup>121</sup> In fact, the excavation reports are unclear and partly contradictory about heights, extent, and function of these secondary features; for a discussion of the available documentation, see Pucci 2008:19.

<sup>122</sup> Brown suggests that these “double orthostats” might be evidence for reuse of older reliefs or stelae, whose original imagery was effaced, and in fact we have at least one instance, Zincirli 12, where this is the case (Brown 2008:484).

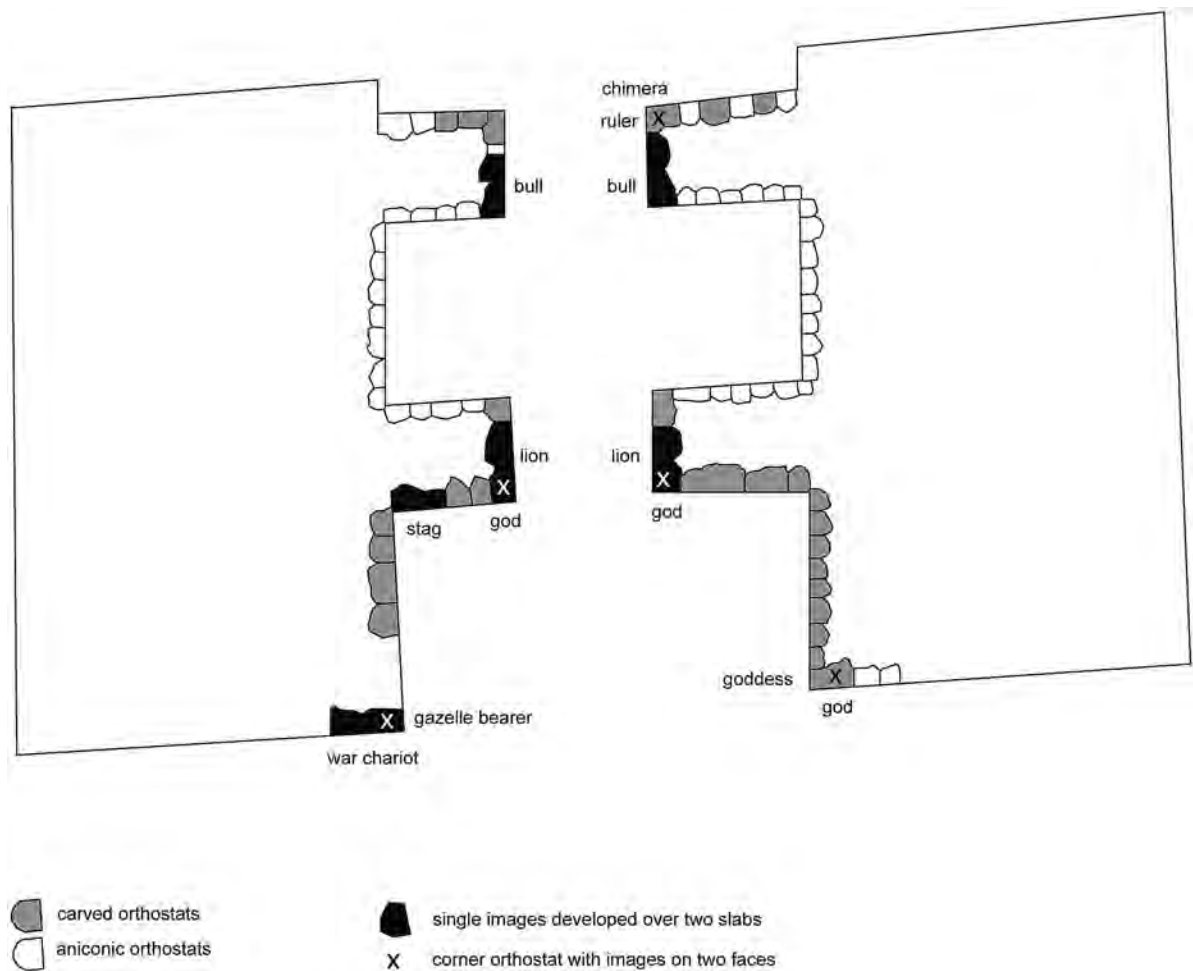


Fig. 30 | Zincirli, Outer Citadel Gate: location of corner orthostats and images depicted over two slabs.

On another level of iconographic planning, a number of scenes can be singled out, each taking up two to four slabs. These “vignettes” (Fig. 31) are independent of one another, although, there certainly are recurring themes and balances, in particular variations on the topic of hunting and wild game as well as a persistent display of weaponry: in fact, among the twenty-three figures identifiable as males (gods and demons included), only the two musicians on **Zincirli 31–32** do not carry weapons. Further, there are only three female figures (**Zincirli 14.25.27**). Most significant, perhaps, is the dichotomous pattern in the architectural disposition of the carved slabs: scenes connected with the world of the gods and demons on the western side of the gate versus scenes connected with worldly matters, such as war and hunting, on the eastern side. This is well illustrated by the distribution of images of rulers versus images of gods (Fig. 32).

The visual program of the gate prioritizes the decoration of the front court and the lower passage. First, this is the only area continuously lined with carved orthostats. Second, there are six reliefs of above-average quality (**Zincirli 12–13.16.26.38–39**; see Orthmann 1971:62) and they are all placed in this area. Finally, lower-quality orthostats – including several left unfinished (**Zincirli 34.36.51**), poor in detail (**Zincirli 49**), or incongruously placed (**Zincirli 45**, depicting a doe with an arrow stuck in her

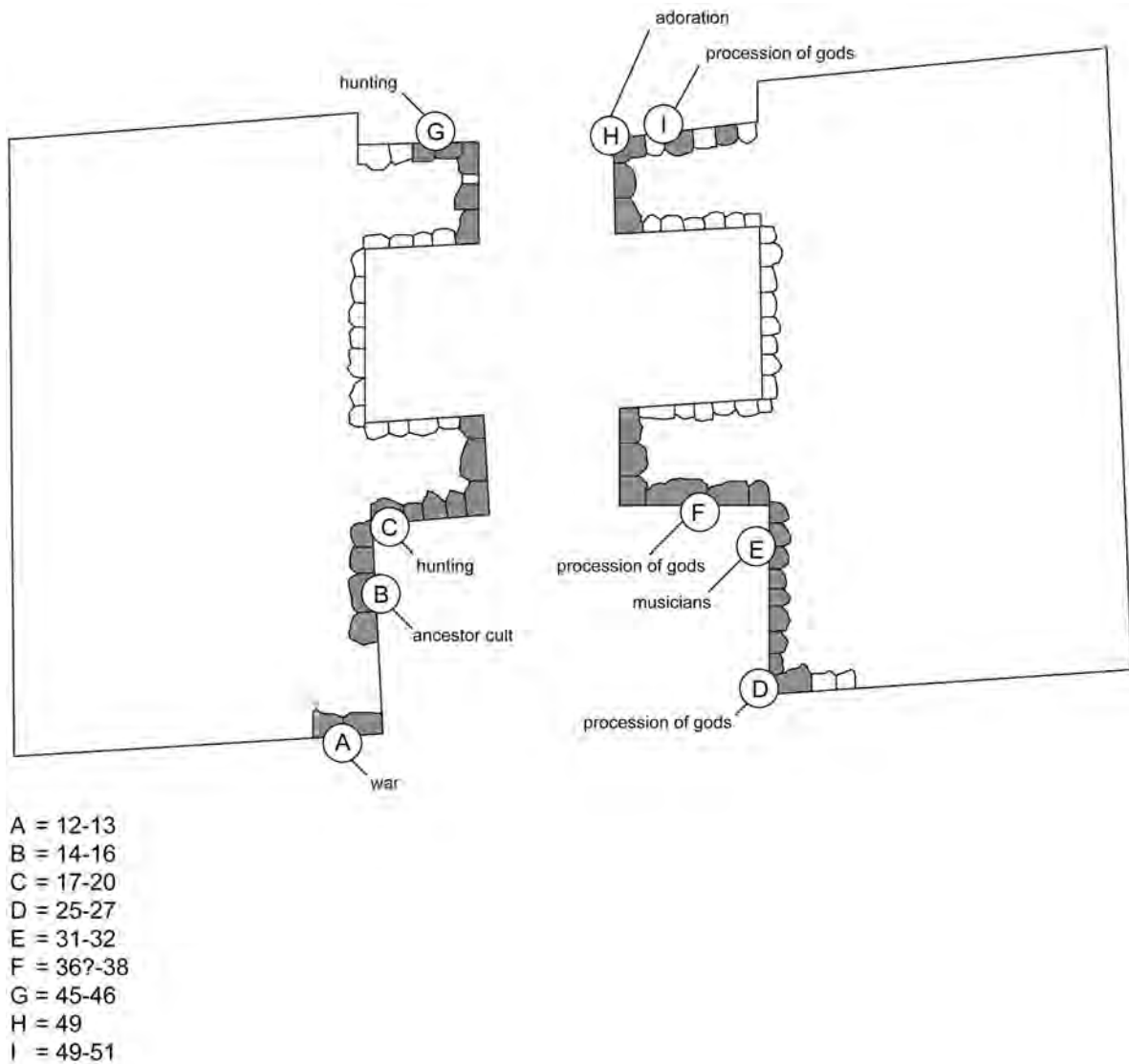


Fig. 31 | Zincirli, Outer Citadel Gate: scenes and vignettes.

neck, but with no accompanying hunter) – were installed elsewhere, primarily in the upper open space (Fig. 33).<sup>123</sup>

This evidence is consistent with the existence of a door at the upper end of the lower passage. We do not know whether the door was usually kept closed, but it certainly marked a boundary between a richly decorated lower part of the gate and a sparsely decorated upper part. This may imply that the front court was a stopping point in the intended movement patterns of the users. Furthermore, the decoration of the front court was not really designed to be visible from the lower city area. The gate was built 2.5m above the level of the lower city (*AiS II*, 126), and the decoration of the tower façades was limited to the corner orthostats. Overall, one gets the impression that the front court functioned both as a represen-

<sup>123</sup> Zincirli 34.36 are exceptions.

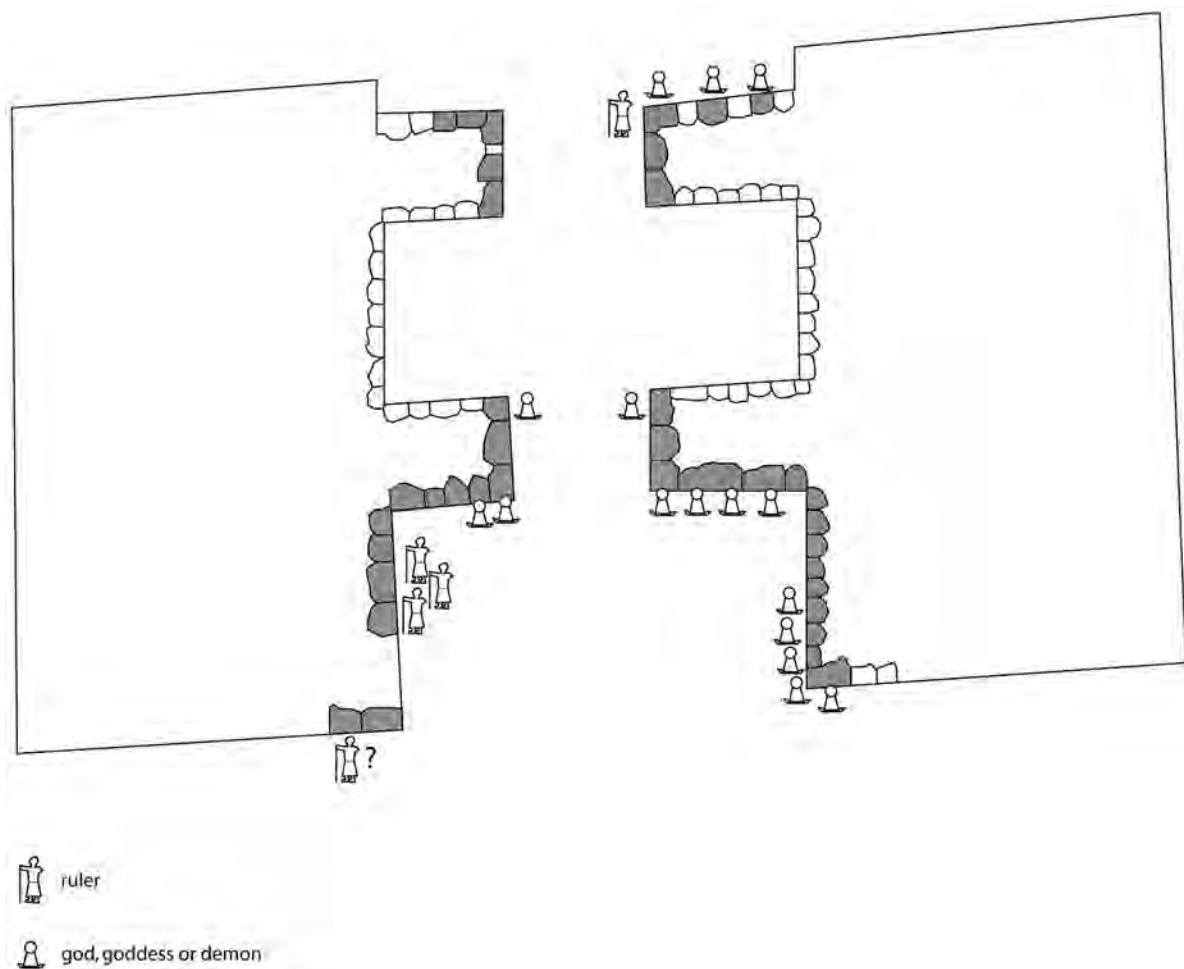


Fig. 32 | Zincirli, Outer Citadel Gate: distribution of royal and divine imagery.

tative gateway and as a small open space for gatherings, a liminal ceremonial space at least in part clearly public in nature and charged with “political” meaning, which Asarhaddon’s stela later played on for its own purposes. Although no specific installations have been found, the iconography of the reliefs (war, hunt, procession of gods, and ancestral cults<sup>124</sup>) recalls the situation at the southern city gate and clearly connects with the celebration of rituals (here, Chapter 5–6; Pucci 2008a:55–56).<sup>125</sup>

124 On representations of the royal ancestral cult at the gates of the city, as opposed to representations of mortuary rituals *stricto sensu* on funerary stelae (i.e., *Ahnenkult* vs. *Totenkult*), see Bonatz 2000a:158.

125 A hint in this respect is given perhaps by a child burial in a stone cist. The burial is documented neither by drawings nor photographs. A short description in AiS V, 139 informs the reader that the stone cist was found “in the

front court of the Outer Gate,” approximately 50 cm “beneath the surface.” The grave was apparently undisturbed; the only grave good, found next to the skeleton, was a narrow, long-stemmed bottle with a capped neck (inv. S 1131: AiS V, 153, Table 26c). Although the date of the grave is unclear, its existence indicates a use of the area for ceremonial and burial purposes, perhaps relating to ancestor worship.

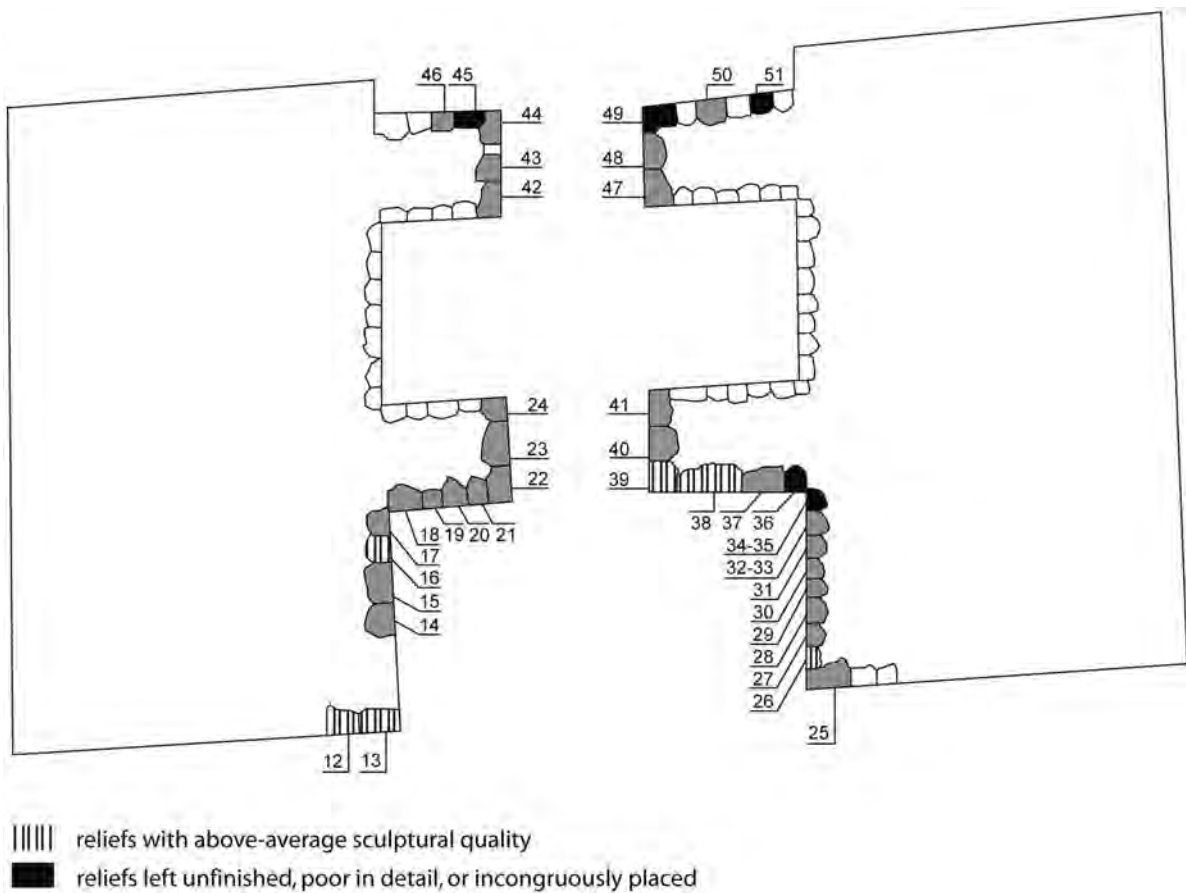


Fig. 33 | Zincirli, Outer Citadel Gate: distribution of reliefs according to their sculptural quality.

### 4.2.3 The Lions' Pit

The foundations of a second gate to the citadel, the so-called “Gate E,”<sup>126</sup> were exposed approximately 50m northeast of the Outer Citadel Gate (*AiS II*, 127–131). Gate E was set into a defensive wall articulated with round and rectangular buttresses (*Quermauer* in the reports). As reconstructed by the excavators, the *Quermauer* connected with the main citadel wall, thus enclosing a crescent-shaped open space of approximately 955 m<sup>2</sup> (Pucci 2008a:57). This area was only partially excavated, with a specific focus on the stretch where a street between the gates was expected. Here, the slope of the tell changes markedly; the difference in elevation between the threshold of the Outer Gate and the upper edge of the foundation of Gate E amounts to 3.80m (*AiS II*, 127). Yet, the inclination of the slope is not constant: it is almost non-existent in the 30m north of the Outer Gate (cf. the elevations marked in *AiS II*, Pl. 28), but it turns steeply uphill halfway through Gate E (as stated in *AiS II*, 127). In the area where the slope grade became steeper, five imposing basalt portal lions (**Zincirli 52–56**) were found buried, deposited over the area approximately 12–18m south of the eastern tower of Gate E. A close-up of *AiS II*, Plate 28 shows the position of the lions as they were found (Fig. 34).

<sup>126</sup> The reports address it variously as “Gate E,” “Inneres Burgthor,” and “Thor der Quermauer.”

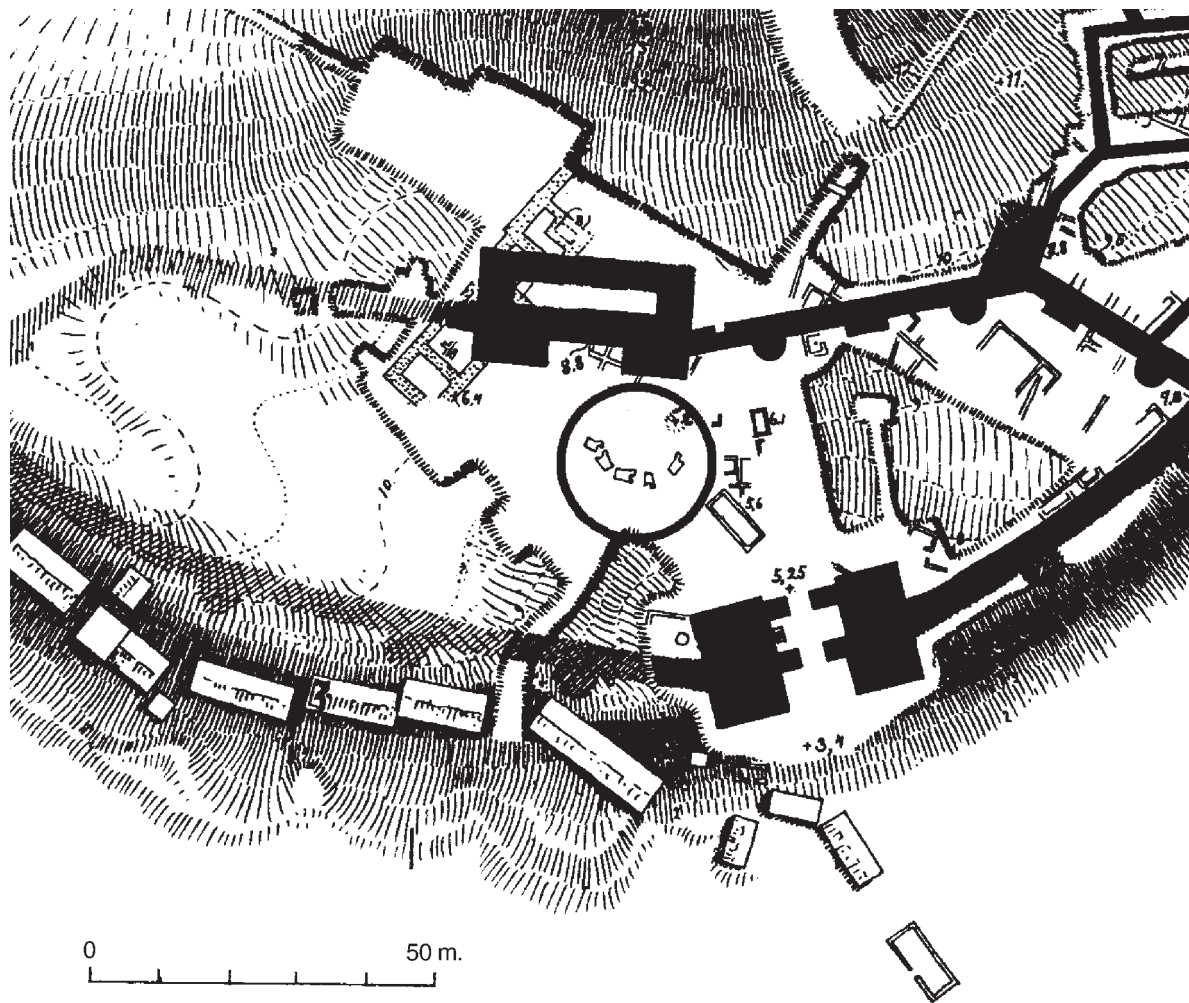


Fig. 34 | Zincirli, location of the Lion's Pit (from *AiS II*, Plate 28).

The lions were found lying on their sides, unconnected to any architectural feature (after *AiS III*, fig. 137; here, Fig. 35).

The lions lay in a pit “as deep as +4.20m over zero and reaching out into the clay soil mixed with pebbles of which the entire mound is composed” (*AiS II*, 130, author’s translation). The clay soil in which the bottom of the pit was dug is clearly visible in *AiS III*, Plate 48, where it appears as a compact whitish earth layer (Fig. 36).

As the inclination of **Zincirli 56** shows, the pit was not dug entirely into the whitish clay, but it also cut into the deposits above it. These are described as a “thick ash layer” (*AiS V*, 62), which ran underneath Gate E and extended over the whole area. Concerning dating and interpretation of this layer, the excavators were “in the dark” (*AiS V*, 62). There are sixty-eight ceramic items and small finds published for this area (Pucci 2008a, table 23) but a full scientific analysis has yet to be carried out. Some finds might date to the Middle Bronze Age. None of them was registered in the Lions’ Pit, nor together with Iron Age artefacts. Among the datable small finds, the Iron Age objects seem to come consistently from pits: the Lions’ Pit, a pit dug for a silver hoard “outside the *Quermauer*” (*AiS V*, 121), and, almost certainly, a pit dug for a deposit of bone spatulae (*AiS V*, 172–173). These facts indicate

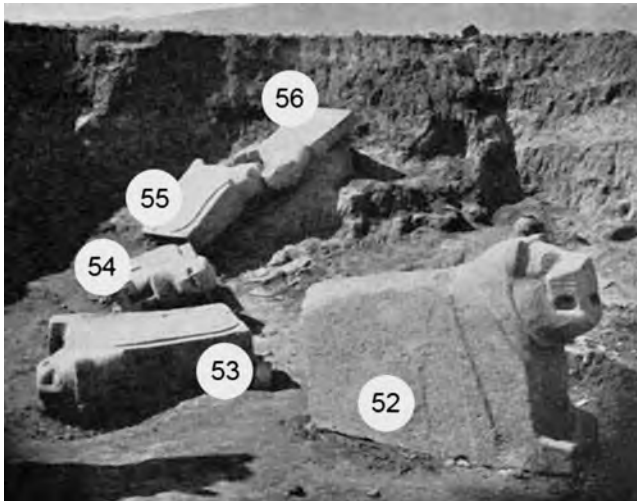


Fig. 35 | Zincirli, the Lions' Pit: the lions as found (Zincirli 52 has been "restored" in upright position by the excavators).

that the Lions' Pit cut an earlier (perhaps Middle Bronze Age) deposit characterized by the presence of ashes.

However, the excavators registered another layer of ash directly above the lions. This layer, as opposed to the generic "ash layer" registered over the whole area, is described in detail as "cindered reed" (*AiS II*, 130). It is also said that "the earth adjacent to this layer was reddish in colour" (*ibid.*), from which we infer that the limits of this deposit were clearly visible. Therefore, it seems necessary to distinguish between the cindered reed immediately above the lions and a (Middle Bronze Age?) generic "ash layer" into which the lion's pit was dug (but see Pucci 2008a:20–22 for a different interpretation).

As already suggested by the excavators and as discussed by Ussishkin (1970), not only were the lions dragged from their original position and put into the pit, they were also formally buried in it with a ceremony involving the burning of reed as though for a funeral pyre. Among the objects found in the pit, a well-preserved ceramic bottle found "at the lions" (*S 520: AiS V*, 150) and an intact dish placed "near the throat of a lion" (*S 67: AiS V*, 153) confirm the ceremonial character of the context by suggesting food offerings.

The lions are carved in two different styles. The style of **Zincirli 52–53.55** is archaic, and date to the very beginning of the sculptural tradition at Zincirli. These lions are best compared to **Zincirli 1–2** and to the reliefs of the Southern city gate. Orthmann files them under the "Zincirli I" style, which means in absolute terms late tenth century BCE (see discussion above). The style of **Zincirli 54.56**, on the other hand, is different and decidedly later. They have excellent parallels in **Zincirli 86.88** from the Southwestern complex (here, §4.2.7), which date between 711 and 670 BCE ("Zincirli IV" style)<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> **Zincirli 86** has been convincingly restored by the excavators at the entrance of Hilani III, and **Zincirli 88** was probably set up at Hilani II. Although the relative dating of the buildings is difficult to state with certainty (Naumann 1955:367), there is a general agreement on the absolute date of the destruction of Hilani III, to some time between 677 and 671/70 BCE in a large fire (Lehmann 1994; Pucci 2008a:39). This view, based on the analysis of the finds, of the stratigraphy, and of the architectural

techniques (*AiS II*, 172), dovetails with the stylistic classification of the monuments of the Hilani III façade, **Zincirli 86** included. Orthmann, who labels their style "Zincirli IV," interprets them as an elaboration of the "Zincirli III" style (Orthmann 1971:64–66, 70, 221). Since the "Zincirli III" style is firmly dated to king Barakib (732–711 BCE), it follows that the "Zincirli IV" style, to which **Zincirli 54.56** from the Lions' Pit belong, dates between 711 and 671/70 BCE.

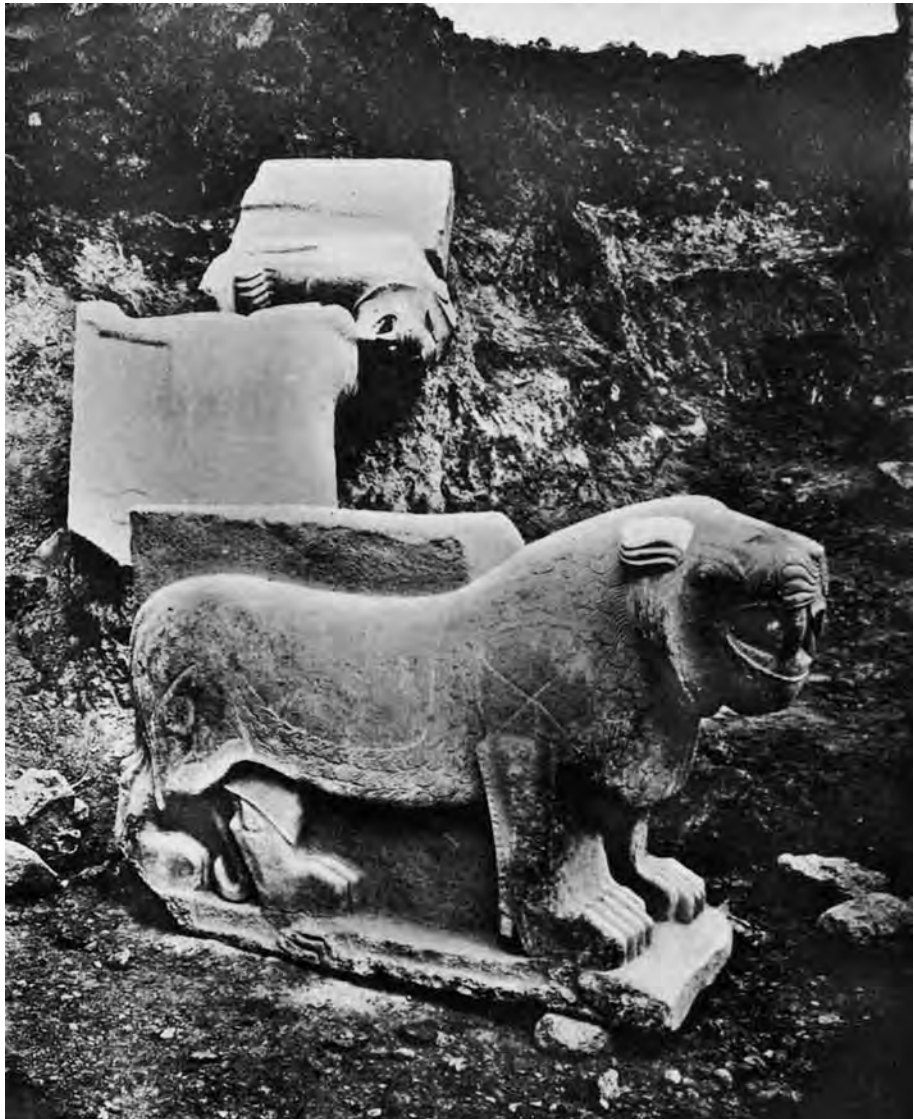


Fig. 36 | Zincirli, the Lions' Pit – note the whitish clay soil (*AiS III*, Plate 48). The lion in the foreground, **Zincirli 54**, has been set in upright position by the excavators (cf. Fig. 35).

This also gives a *terminus post quem* for the pit, whose precise date remain unsecure.

A further important aspect of **Zincirli 54.56**, as already noted by the excavators, is that they were carved over two older portal lions, traces of which were left in spaces probably destined to be covered up once they were installed. In particular, the remnant of the previous hind paws is clearly visible beneath the standing line (cf. **Zincirli 54** in Fig. 36). Compared with the hind paws of **Zincirli 52–53.55**, it is immediately apparent that the later lions were carved over portal lions identical to the older ones.

After the secondary carving, **Zincirli 52** ("Zincirli I" style) and **Zincirli 54** ("Zincirli IV" style) underwent a further re-elaboration and their lower back corners were slanted (*AiS III*, 232). This slight symmetrical

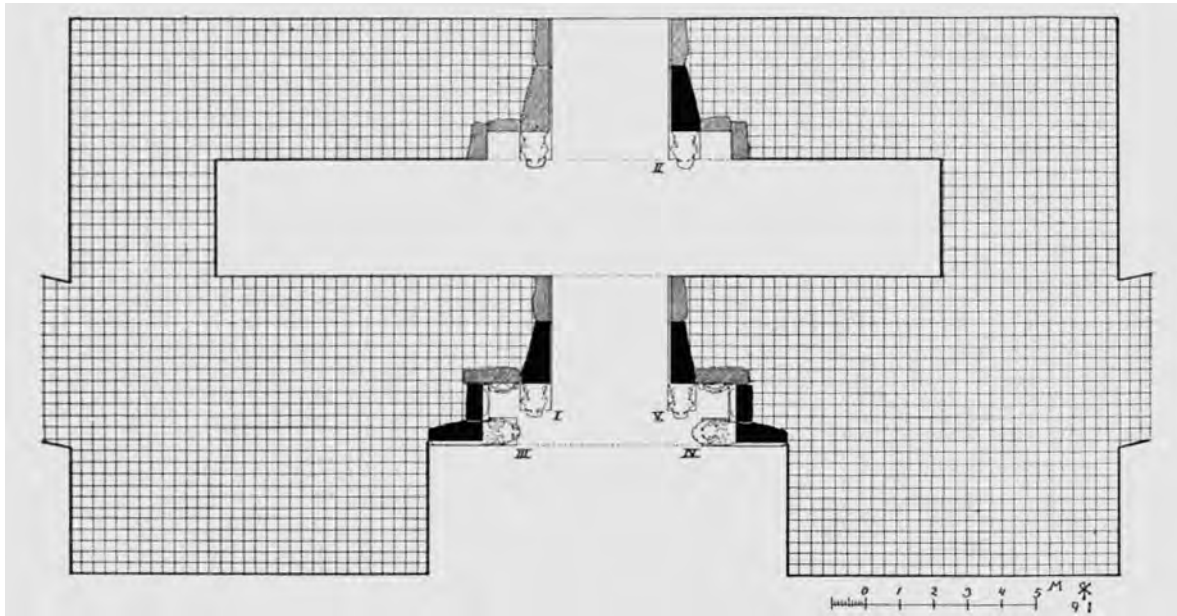


Fig. 37 | Zincirli, Gate E: Koldewey's reconstruction (*AiS II*, fig. 37).

modification of lions belonging to different styles, probably due to some architectural technicality, is crucial in order to prove that all the lions had been set up and stood together in the same context before their ritual burial.

In conclusion, the life-history of the lions in the pit can be resumed in three main steps:

- 1 At the end of the tenth century BCE, five basalt portal lions were set up in a passageway. (Since the portal lions always go by twos, we must assume the existence of a sixth lion that has not been found or that has been destroyed.)
- 2 At the end of the eighth – beginning of the seventh century BCE, the above-mentioned passageway (or what remained of it) was dismantled and the portal lions removed and reused in a new passageway. The layout of the new gate must have been similar to the older one in order to accommodate the lions. In the course of this building phase, two of the five (six) portal lions, presumably designed to occupy a prominent position, were re-carved in the style of the age.
- 3 Following the destruction or dismantlement of the second passageway, the five lions were ritually buried in the pit in front of Gate E.

The exact provenience of the lions can only be surmised. They belonged to a gate with at least six corners probably to the immediately adjacent Gate E, of which only the foundations were recovered. In a loose analogy to “Façade N” of Sargon’s royal palace in Khorsabad (cf. Botta and Flandin 1849–1850, Pl. 24), Koldewey proposed the reconstruction reprinted here in Fig. 37. The layout of the Southern city gate (Fig. 24), however, indicates that the portal lions could be set not only flanking a passage proper, but also at the side of the protruding gate towers. In analogy to this layout, it is proposed here to restore the lions at Gate E as in Fig. 38.

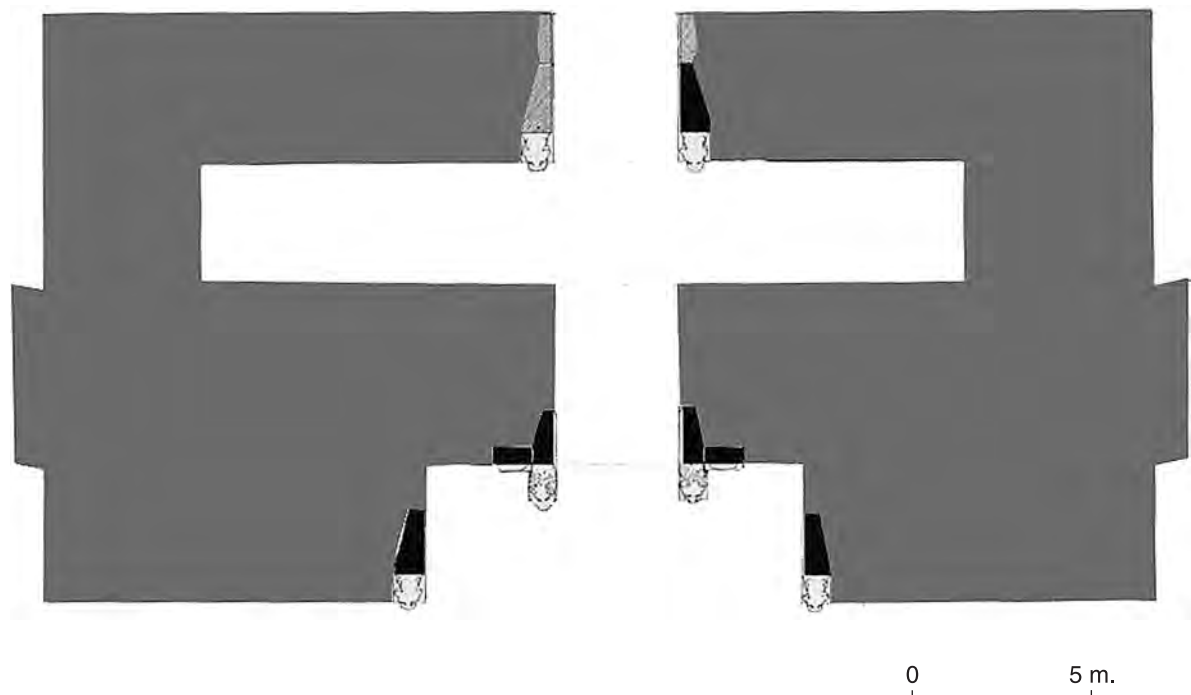


Fig. 38 | Zincirli, Gate E, reconstruction proposed by the author.

As the reader may have noted, Both Koldewey's reconstruction and the author's proposal restore two further basalt orthostats in high relief adjacent to **Zincirli 54.56**. These are the two unfinished sphinx protomes **Zincirli 57–58**, found in disturbed context (*AiS V*, 4) "in the immediate proximity" of Gate E (*AiS III*, 236). A third unfinished sphinx protome, of which no individual record is left, was found "at great depth" approximately 45m northeast of Gate E (*ibid.*). A fourth sphinx protome carved in detail was found out of context in a field outside the city (Orthmann 1971, Zincirli k/8). Finally, in 2007, the Chicago team documented a further unfinished basalt sculpture "that had been partially excavated by local villagers at the bottom of an undocumented German trench from the first season of excavation in 1888. The sculpture proved to be the schematically rendered head and front quarters of a large lion that stood one and a half meters tall" (Schloen 2009). The protomes have excellent parallels in the unfinished sphinxes from the nearby quarry site of Yesemek (Alkım 1974) and with the sphinx protomes of the temple at 'Ain Dara ('Abu Assaf 1990), probably dating to the 13th century BCE (Kohlmeyer 2008). Originally, the sphinx and lion protomes may have been planned for a never-completed Late Bronze Age building in the fashion of the 'Ain Dara temple. In the late tenth century BCE, at least two protomes were re-employed at a gate, together with the older lions from the pit. In fact, the flanks of **Zincirli 53–54** were prepared with "imprints" for adjoining orthostats that fit the measurements of the unfinished sphinx protomes found nearby (*AiS III*, fig. 140–141), while orthostats coeval with the re-carved lions, as those from Hilani III, are consistently of a much smaller scale.

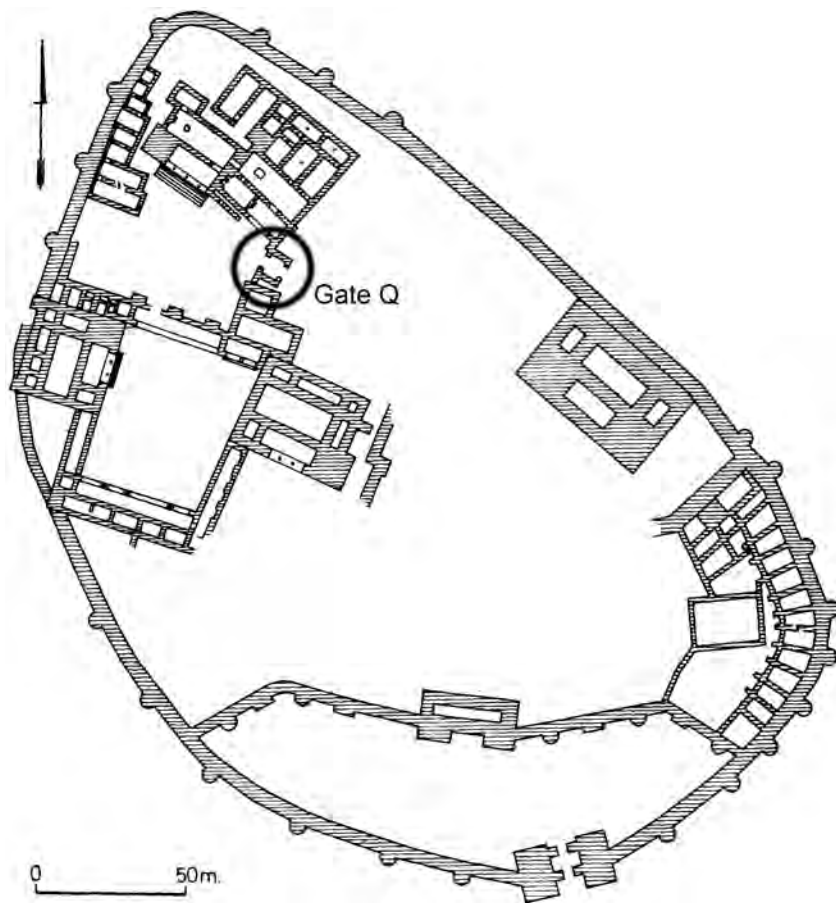


Fig. 39 | Zircirli, location of Gate Q.

If the reconstruction advanced here is correct, Gate E testify to a conscious desire to incorporate older reliefs – even unfinished ones – in a prominent position of a decidedly later architecture. The burial ceremony at the Lions’ Pit further indicates that the reliefs were believed to have lives, and presumably “powers,” of their own. It also charges the large open space between the Outer Citadel Gate and Gate E with ceremonial meaning, marking it as “a holy area where rituals were continuously carried out over a period of time” (Pucci 2008a:57).

#### 4.2.4 Gate Q

That the palatial complex that extended over the northwestern half of the citadel had only one point of access, the so-called “Gate Q,”<sup>128</sup> located to the east of the northern courtyard, (Fig. 39).

The remains of the gate were poorly preserved.<sup>129</sup> The following plan shows the recovered structures and a plausible reconstruction of the original layout. Following the scheme typical for the site, Gate Q was a double gate with an outer (eastern) and an inner (western) passage. The outer passage was flanked by two pairs of symmetrical portal lions, **Zincirli 59–62** (Fig. 40).<sup>130</sup>

Stylistically speaking, the lions are very similar and certainly contemporary with their counterparts from the nearby base **Zincirli 64** (see below). They also share stylistic traits with the lions flanking the lower passage of the Outer Citadel Gate (**Zincirli 22–23.39–40**): the forms of the ears, shoulders, flews, and claws are the same. Proportions, on the other hand, differ: the lions of Gate Q are more compact, the necks and legs are shorter, and they appear to be less angular. On these grounds, Orthmann files them together with the reliefs of the Outer Citadel Gate in the “Zincirli II” style (early ninth century BCE). Orthmann notes further that the lions are more proficiently executed than the reliefs at the Outer Citadel Gate and suggests that Gate Q may postdate them slightly (Orthmann 1971:68). However, as in the case of the nearby colossal statue **Zincirli 63–64**, the difference in execution may also be explained in terms of workshop difference. An early date for Gate Q is equally supported by the architectural context: although the gate was in use at the same time as Building K and Building J and underwent repairs and remodeling, it originally antedated both (Pucci 2008a:35).

The portal lions were the only figurative decoration of Gate Q. The gate was not defensive in nature (*AiS IV*, 271); its main function was not to block but to regulate passage. The gate was in use for at least two centuries, enough for the exposed basalt surfaces to acquire a shiny patina (*AiS IV*, 270). The patina was found by the excavators to be located particularly on the lion’s socles (*AiS IV*, 378), thus suggesting that people sat there on a regular basis and that Gate Q functioned as a place for assembly over a long time. Thus, the gate functioned as a liminal demarcation point, a meeting point, a powerful visual frame for the impressive stairs and the colonnade of Building K. Marked paths built into the pavement of the northern courtyard and leading from the gate to the main surrounding buildings enhance the impression of a place where behaviour was subject to a certain degree of self-imposed control and ritualization.

128 Pucci assumes the existence of a second access leading directly into the southern courtyard “R,” later overbuilt by “Hilani II” (Pucci 2008a:73); however, the existence of a point of access to R from the South “could not be proven” (*AiS IV*, 320).

129 For the architectural details, see *AiS IV*, 243; 270–272; 369–371.

130 The portal lions were each composed of two basalt blocks: a front block, with the body and lion’s head carved in three-quarters relief, and a smaller posterior slab with the hind leg. The single blocks were found “almost in situ” (*AiS IV*, 244) and then replaced upon their bases, which were still in their original positions and bore traces corresponding to the lions’ blocks. In fact, **Zincirli 60** was found still on its base, tilted to the south-

east (with the lion’s head found broken away); **Zincirli 59** was found in the immediate surroundings (*AiS IV*, 270); **Zincirli 62** was found lying to the south, approximately 1m beneath the level of its base; **Zincirli 61**, finally, was found reused within a later nearby wall (*AiS IV*, 271). Based on this evidence, it seems that Gate Q collapsed and was then used as a quarry for building materials (Pucci 2008:35). The find contexts of the lions are consistent with this. Although the reports do not elaborate on the point, **Zincirli 62** must have been found in a later pit. There is no indication of a ritual burial, although the deposition of the lion in the pit cannot be the result of natural processes. On the other hand, the head of **Zincirli 60** probably broke off accidentally and not as a result of a purposeful act.

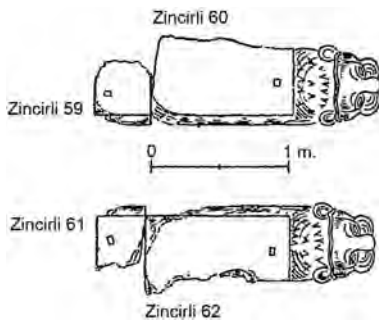


Fig. 40 | Zincirli, Gate Q: the portal lions Zincirli 59–62.

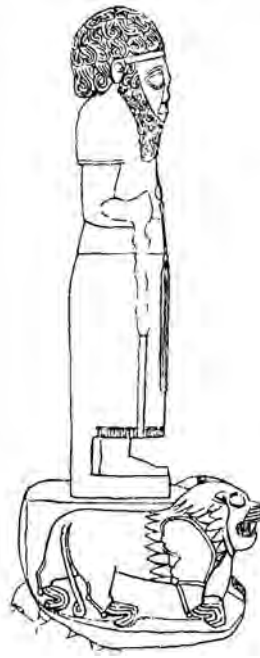


Fig. 41 | Zincirli, outside Building J: the colossal statue Zincirli 63 on its basis Zincirli 64 (AiS IV, fig. 261).

#### 4.2.5 The colossal statue at the outer wall of Building J

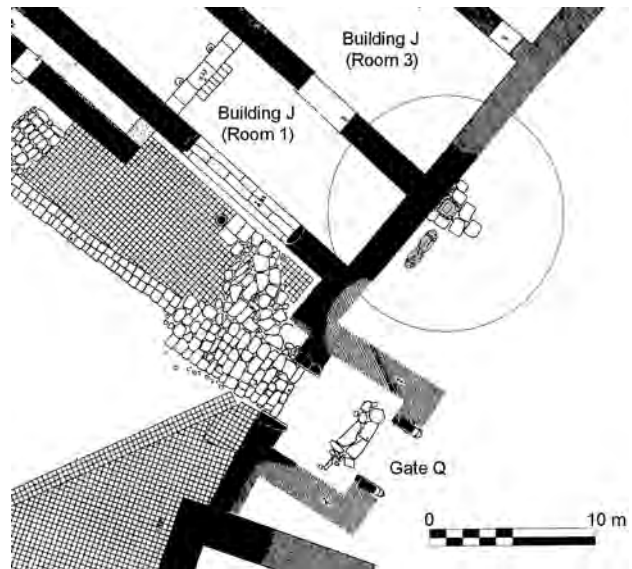
About 10m north-east of Gate Q, parallel to the outer wall of Building J, the colossal statue **Zincirli 63** was excavated, a basalt monolith carved in the round with the standing figure of a long-skirted bearded man (Fig. 41–42).

The statue was found lying on its back, head towards the gate, surrounded by “big stones” and covered with a loose dark earth different from the adjacent deposits (AiS IV, 289, 363). The statue was provided with a massive pivot to be inserted into the socket of a base. The base itself, **Zincirli 64**, was found approximately 1m farther to the northeast, still in situ on a stone pavement, its upper edge 50cm below the level of the statue. It is carved on three of its four faces with two lions held by a male figure dressed similarly to the statue itself (Frankfort 1954:181).

The excavation reports discuss the find context of both statue and base only briefly, with stratigraphic observations kept to a minimum, and no photographs of the original find context published. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the statue was buried on purpose, that the “big stones” were placed around it as though for a grave and that the whole context is testimony to ritual behaviour (Bonatz 2000a:154; Ussishkin 1970:127).

The inhumation of the statue took place in the immediate proximity of its original set-up location, which is marked by the base. The statue was found at an elevation of approximately 0.50m above the upper edge of the basis and approximately 1.30m above the original pavement. This indicates that, before the burial took place, the base and the lower part of the statue were below the contemporary surface but presumably still in their original set-up. We are not fully informed about the nature of the deposits that covered the base, but the reports mention in passing “the usual architectural debris” (AiS IV, 363). We also know that Building J, against whose walls the statue was erected, burned down in a fire 676–670 BCE (as discussed below). The collapse produced “enormous amounts of debris” (AiS IV, 250) that filled up the ground-floor of the building. As a result of this event, rubble must have accumulated

Fig. 42 | Zincirli, outside Building J: position of the colossal statue **Zincirli 63** and its base **Zincirli 64** as registered by the excavators (after *AiS IV*, Pl. 49–50).



along the outside perimeter as well, so that we can reasonably conclude that the “architectural debris” around and above the base dated to the collapse of Building J.

Both the statue and the base are damaged: the nose, the hands, part of a staff held by the right hand, and the tip of the feet of the statue are broken away; as for the base, the same happened to the face of a lion and, somewhat less disruptively, to the face of the man. The fact that both the statue and the base are damaged, the selective nature of the damage, and the find context of the statue do not support the idea that the statue just toppled over and broke (as first suggested by the excavators). Furthermore, the close observation of the surface of the missing staff shows that the staff was removed with a number of blows. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the statue was purposely damaged in antiquity (cf. also *AiS IV*, 365): nose and limbs were symbolically mutilated, the staff – symbol of authority – was erased, and the heads of the secondary figures were partially smashed. If we assume that these events happened at the same time, it follows that the statue was vandalized before the collapse of Building J.

The excavators interpreted the statue as the image of a god (*AiS IV*, 367) but the iconography – the staff and the belt-tassel combined with the absence of divine attributes – makes it clear that the statue represents a ruler (Bonatz 2000a:76–78; Frankfort 1954:180; Orthmann 1971:291). The lower half of a comparable statue was found out of context at Thatalı Pınarı, a site in the surroundings of Zincirli (*AiS I*, 48, 53–54). The Thatalı Pınarı statue bears an Aramaic funerary inscription dating to the reign of king Barrakib (732–711 BCE), in which it is explicitly stated that the statue represents his deceased father Panamuwa II. (KAI 225; Tropper 1993:98–131). A further inscribed example of a colossal ruler statue (mid-ninth century BCE) as well as a miniature version representing an “officer in chief” (approximately 800 BCE) has been found at Maraş, both bearing Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions of a funerary type (MARAŞ 4 and MARAŞ 14; Hawkins 2000:255–258, 265–267). This evidence suggests that the colossal statue outside Building J portrays a deceased ruler, like other uninscribed statues of this kind and in particular as the almost identical **Carchemish 86** (Bonatz 2000a:24–27; Niehr 1994:58; Voos 1989:19–30).

On the top of the heads of the lions and of the male figure on the base, there are circular depressions. Similar “cup-marks” are also carved on the bases **Carchemish 20.60.82** (Ussishkin 1975:95–100), and there can be little doubt that such installations were connected to ritual. **Zincirli 64** and the bases at Carchemish were designed to support royal ancestral statues, so that it is reasonable to assume that the

cup-marks were somehow connected with the cult of the dead. This is consistent with the evidence from the Late Bronze Age rock necropolis of Osman Kayasi, where similar cup-marks appear on a rock above the graves (Bittel et al. 1958:4).<sup>131</sup> The textual sources indicate that the royal ancestral cult included regular food and drink offerings to the statue of the deceased (Bonatz 2000a:92–96). It is possible that part of the offerings were placed on the base of the statue and that the cup-marks were used as containers for small (perhaps liquid) offerings (Ussishkin 1975:100–102) or as place-markers for cups or plates.

The analysis of style supports an early date for both statue and base. The lions of the base are virtually identical to those of Gate Q (**Zincirli 59–62**), which Orthmann considers related to the reliefs of the Outer Citadel Gate, i.e., Zincirli II (Orthmann 1971:68), dated to the early ninth century BCE. The same is suggested by the statue, whose hairdo and attire are related to those of the ruler images at the Outer Citadel Gate (Orthmann 1971:69). As already discussed above, slight differences in execution might suggest that the statue and the lions from Gate Q were carved by a different, more proficient hand than the reliefs at the Outer Citadel Gate.

The base of the statue was placed on a pavement of large, up to 40cm thick square basalt slabs. They supported the weight of the monument and at the same time marked off the space in front separating it from the surrounding areas, which (*Ais IV*, 364, Abb. 264), was paved with cobblestones. The basalt base slabs rested in part upon the outer wall of Building J, with their lower edges at the same elevation of the upper edge of the wall's foundation (*Ais IV*, 288). The situation indicates that the basalt pavement was added to the outer wall of Building J and not the other way round (see also *Ais IV*, fig. 162). Yet, as discussed below, Building J dates to approximately 810 BCE, while the statue is certainly older. In order to explain this incongruent evidence, it is necessary to postulate either a) that the statue was reused from an older context (Niehr 2004b:313) or b) that Building J annexed an older wall in its fabric. If we accept that Gate Q antedates Building J, we must assume that Gate Q was connected with a wall running where the outer wall of Building J ran. However although the outer wall of Building J has been removed to its foundation (*Ais IV*, 289), no trace of a previous wall has been found. This architectural situation, if correct, rather supports the second hypothesis.

In conclusion, the life-history of the colossal statue **Zincirli 63–64** can be traced as follows:

1. In the early ninth century BCE, the colossal statue was set up against a wall connected with Gate Q. Alternatively, The statue may also have originally belonged to a different context, presumably not too far away;
2. Around 810 BCE, Building J was erected, making use of a previous structure and annexing a previous perimeter wall. The statue is left untouched. Alternatively, the statue was re-positioned from its original context against the outer wall of Building J.
3. Around 676–670 BCE, in conjunction with a large fire at Building J, the colossal statue was vandalized; the structure collapsed and rubble fell upon the statue, sealing the base completely and covering the statue's lower half.
4. After the collapse of Building J, the statue was lifted out of its socket and buried in a rough cist-grave immediately underneath or above the contemporary surface. The grave was filled with earth sifted of architectural debris.

<sup>131</sup> Cup-marks and similar rock-cut ritual hollows, however, are not exclusively found in funerary contexts: see the evidence gathered by Ussishkin 1975.

If this reconstruction is correct, the ancestral statue stood in its original position for over two centuries, during which, as the cup-marks indicate and as textual sources suggest, rites connected with the cult of royal ancestors were performed. Obviously, the statue was considered meaningful by the enemy which mutilated it. Furthermore, the burial indicates that the statue continued to be involved in ritual activities after the mutilations took place. Therefore, it is apparent that the colossal statue enjoyed a very special status, catalysing beliefs and ritual behaviour for generations of rulers.<sup>132</sup> Its position outside a palatial complex, in an open space of relatively easy access in times of peace, is that of a liminal context past the citadel gates but still clearly outside the residential quarters of the royal court. This position tends to imply that the rituals connected with the statue had a public or semi-public nature and that they were performed in front of a crowd of spectators.<sup>133</sup>

#### 4.2.6 The Kulamuwa orthostat at the entrance to Building J

The basalt orthostat **Zincirli 65** (Fig. 44), was found at the left side of the main entrance to Building J (Fig. 44).<sup>134</sup> The orthostat is carved with the relief figure of a ruler and with a 16-lines inscription of king Kulamuwa (approximately 840–810 BCE). The slab, the inscription, and Building J date to the last part of Kulamuwa's reign or, if the orthostat was a posthumous work, immediately thereafter.<sup>135</sup>

**Zincirli 65** was the only piece of monumental art recovered from Building J. None at all was recovered from the later annex, Building K, whose grand entrance nonetheless had a portico with three imposing column bases of basalt carved with decorative motifs. Two aniconic basalt orthostats had been found re-used face down on the left of the entrance to Building K; they may have served as socle for a piece parallel to **Zincirli 65**, which so far has not been found (*AiS IV*, 255).

The Kulamuwa orthostat is an artifact with a multi-layered nature. Text, image, form and architectural setting are deployed to create a single visual message that interweaves different cultural traditions in a self-conscious, sophisticated way (Brown 2008a: 235–250; Brown 2008b).

From the linguistic point of view, the inscription is carved in the Aramaic alphabet, but the language itself is North-Phoenician (Tropper 1993:27–46; Vance 1994:111; here, Fig. 43). The use of Phoenician is remarkable and unique for the region, where contemporary inscription were written either in Hieroglyphic Luwian or, more rarely, in Aramaic (Brown 2008a:237). At Zincirli, Phoenician was most likely not the primary spoken language nor was it the only one used in writing: Kulamuwa himself had a Luwian name, and objects have been found at Zincirli inscribed in Sam'alian, the local Aramaic dialect.

<sup>132</sup> On the way in which ancestral statues may have worked to construct a common Luwian-Aramaean identity, see Brown 2008:199–201.

<sup>133</sup> The situation can be usefully compared with the fragments of a colossal seated statue from Tell Ta'yinat: the statue stood on a square base inscribed with a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription and was originally located next to the gate to the "West Central" palatial complex, against the outside wall of Building I, in front of an open space for rituals (Pucci 2008:144, 159). Hawkins suggests a date to the mid-ninth century BCE, although this is "by no means certain" (Hawkins 2000:366).

<sup>134</sup> In the final publication, von Luschan reports that the orthostat was found "shattered in many big pieces and

countless small fragments" (*AiS IV*, 374). This report, however, is contradicted by two original archive photos published by Wartke, showing the orthostat deeply cleaved but still standing in situ, some fragments restored but otherwise largely intact (Wartke 2005, fig. 38–39).

<sup>135</sup> Facing the Kulamuwa slab, at the right side of the main entrance, was an aniconic basalt orthostat of similar dimensions. Both orthostats were placed upon squared foundation socles, and both had two mortises on their top to receive a tenon and joint into the mud-brick wall. These features indicate that the orthostats were planned and erected together with the entrance walls, and not added at a later time.



Fig. 43 | Zincirli, Building J: relief and inscription on the portal orthostat Zincirli 65 (Donner and Röllig 2002, pl. 27).

Thus, the use of Phoenician was the result of a cultural choice, involving a conscious avoidance of both Luwian and Aramaic (Brown 2008a: 241).

Turning to content, the text of the inscription falls into two roughly equal registers, divided by a rope-like decorative line. Both registers begin with the same affirmative introduction: *'nk klmw br īy*, “I am Kulamuwa, son of Hayya” (ll. 1, 9). In the first part, the first-person narrator (Kulamuwa) states that his deeds exceeded those of his progenitors (ll. 1–7). Following this is a succinct report on how Kulamuwa “hired” the military services of the Assyrian king to help contain the expansionary Danunian neighbour kingdom (ll. 7–8). The second part extols the prowess of Kulamuwa in matters of domestic policy, describing in particular his benevolence towards a discriminated part of his subjects, the *mškbm* (*muškabīm*, lit. “those who lie down”), and generally the redistribution of wealth to the poor (ll. 9–14). The inscription ends with protective curses in the third part (ll. 14–16). Here, a reference to the *muškabīm* reoccurs, stating that anyone defacing the inscription will see conflict arise between the *muškabīm* and the *b'rrm* (*ba'rīrīm*), a different social group probably coincident with a better-off section of the Zincirli social spectrum. The text is a short but highly structured piece of first-person “poetic prose” (Tropper 1993:28) on the political deeds of Kulamuwa. The negotiation of conflict and “social power” is the key topic, organized in a triadic pattern (Fig. 45).

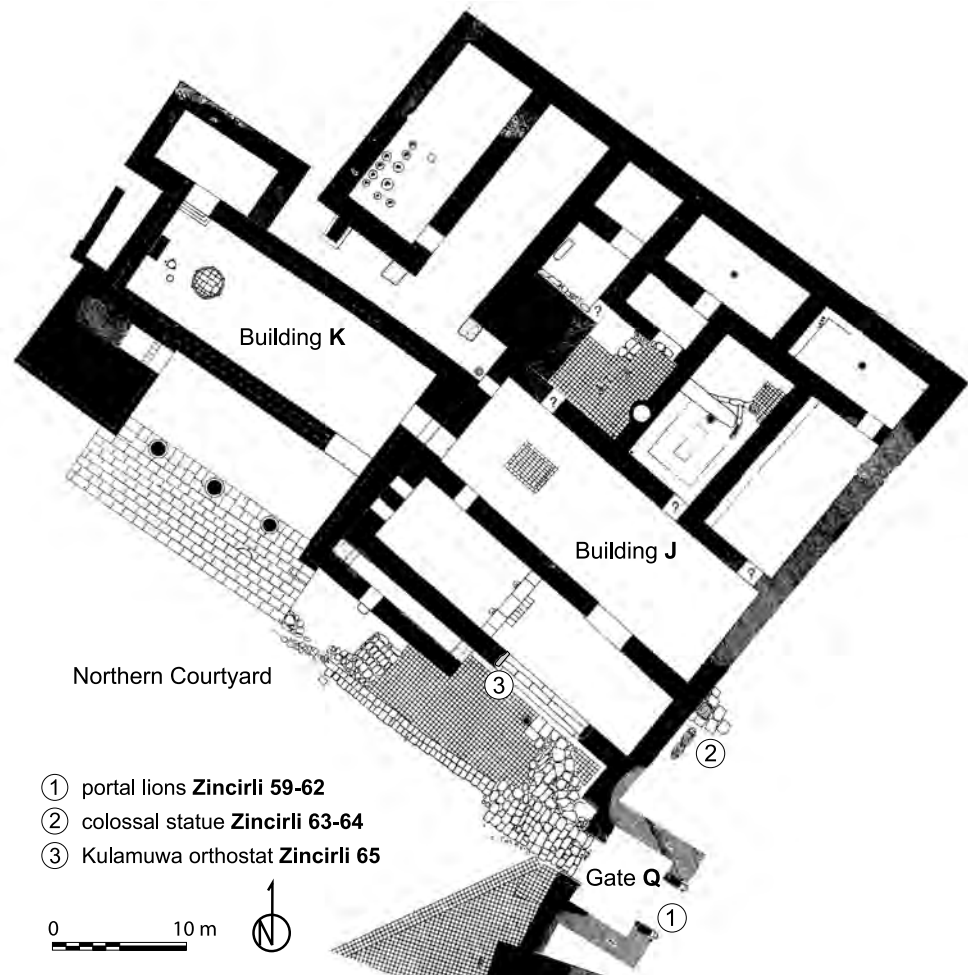


Fig. 44 | Zincirli: Buildings J and K. The position of the inscribed orthostat **Zincirli 65** is marked by a circle (after AiS V, Pl. 50).

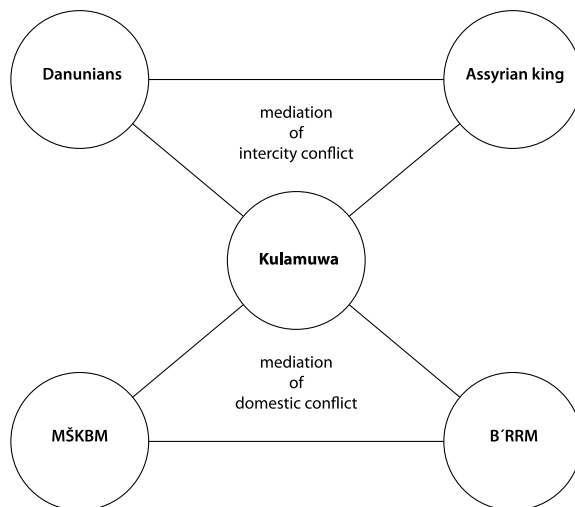




Fig. 45 | Kulamuwa's pattern of conflict negotiation as described in the inscription.

From the point of view of the text as a literary genre, the inscription again is positioned in between several cultural traditions. At the beginning, a long genealogy is given, which is unusual for Northwest Semitic inscriptions (Hamilton 1998, 223). Then, while some passages have biblical as well as Assyrian parallels (Dion 1997:107, n. 118; Hamilton 1998:224), the closest matches for the text in its entirety are found among Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, in particular in the coeval funerary inscriptions MARAŞ 1, MARAŞ 4, and MARAŞ 8 (Hawkins 2000:249 ff.).<sup>136</sup>

A debt to the Hieroglyphic Luwian epigraphic tradition is also apparent in the formal aspects of the inscription and in the way it relates to the figure of the ruler. The text is carved in raised relief, in the style of contemporary Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and in contrast with the dominance of incised lettering among Aramaic inscriptions (Hamilton 1998:222; Struble and Herrmann 2009:20). The figure of the ruler interacts with the text: the feet stand upon a text line, the head is at the level of the first line, his right hand raised in front of him, and the text-flow adapts to its silhouette. This composition is derived by Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions beginning with the logogram  (EGO), meaning *amu-*, “I (am).” In numerous inscriptions the logogram is represented in the extended version  (EGO<sub>2</sub>) and assumes the traits of a detailed figurative representation (e.g., **Carchemish 80.91**), much as the illuminated capital letters of Medieval manuscripts.

Stylistically, the image of the ruler retains traits already present in the reliefs at the Outer Citadel Gate, confirming the general impression that the orthostat was the product of a local workshop (Orthmann 1971:66–67). From the point of view of iconography, however, the image of the ruler in **Zincirli 65** is markedly influenced by the Assyrian tradition. He is represented in adoration of four divine symbols “floating” in front of him; Orthmann judges the iconography “more than assyrianizing: it is the rather faithful imitation of an Assyrian relief, probably a stele” (Orthmann 1971:66, author’s translation). Pose, beard, and musculature of the king are Assyrian and the same is true for status-markers such as the crown and the *ayyaru*-rosette bracelet at the left wrist (Hamilton 1998:222). The royal attire directly recalls the portraits of Assurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (Hawkins 1982:398; Brown 2008:239). The Assyrian visual influence is consciously displayed, much as the Assyrian military intervention is an important claim of the text.

A central iconographic detail of the royal figure, however, is independent from the Assyrian influence: the king holds in his left hand a drooping lotus flower. In the Levantine culture of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, this is an emblematic way to signify that the person holding the flower is deceased (Bonatz 2000a:102; Loon 1986:246–247). This interpretation is confirmed by the funerary stele **Zincirli 90** (Bonatz 2000a:45), carved in identical style and iconography. Thus, the portal orthostat **Zincirli 65** bears the image of the deceased Kulamuwa communicating with the gods; the commemorative narration of Kulamuwa’s exceptionality and deeds, particularly seen in the light of Hieroglyphic Luwian parallels, is consistent with a general funerary undertone. Whether the inscription was carved “for future memory,” when the king was still alive, is unclear.

Finally, the choice of the architectural setting for the orthostat also echoes different cultural practices. On the one hand, it fits into the Hieroglyphic Luwian epigraphic tradition of monumental inscriptions on portal orthostats. In contrast to this genre, however, it does not mention building activities and it is not placed at a very exposed gateway. On the contrary, its placement at the entrance of a royal palace rather reminds one of Assyrian monumental praxis (Brown 2008a:240).

<sup>136</sup> MARAŞ 1 is perhaps the best parallel: dating to the end of ninth century BCE, it is a portal lion inscribed with a

commemorative inscription introduced by the *amu*-figure of a deceased ruler.

In short, there is not a single aspect of the Kulamuwa orthostat that does not mingle traditions, and thus it is impossible not to see in it a conscious attempt to shape an innovative political discourse. However, in order to “crack the code” of this intriguing object, most scholars focus exclusively on the text and fail to account for its many visual layers. Fales stresses the propagandistic motif and called Kulamuwa “a shrewd storyteller” (Fales 1979:16). Ishida sees in the text a “Succession Narrative,” a royal historiography of apologetic nature (Ishida 1985); the aim of the monumental inscription would be then to commemorate a legitimate kingship. Parker, who describes the contents of the inscription as “a series of parallel minimal narratives” (Parker 1997:79), moves on to the question of the audience and believes that the text addressed a mostly illiterate public and had a ceremonial function as “a symbolic representation of oral propaganda” (Parker 1996:216). In order to understand exactly what kind of message the orthostat may have conveyed to an illiterate public, we can turn to more holistic approach recently proposed by Brown. Brown elaborates on how “various styles and iconographies associated with certain group identities were harnessed to the service of local and international politics” (Brown 2008a:244). According to him, Kulamuwa was presenting himself as a *super partes* leader, and the orthostat materializes the attempt to create a new discourse for both the Aramaean elite and the Luwian social substratum through the use of “ethnically neutral” elements such as the Phoenician languages and the emulation of an Assyrian style:

“Kilamuwa’s close imitation of the royal Assyrian style served to inaugurate the beginning of a new royal Sam’alian style, one that broke with the Karkemish tradition and that drew upon, but was also easily distinguished from, Assyrian art ... This kind of depiction was an upper class view of regional processes of definition, redefinition, and development of new social identities, including ethnic ones” (Brown 2008a:248)

Whether or not Kulamuwa’s orthostat reflected changing identities or rather processes of political redefinition, Brown’s approach highlights the main point concerning its appearance: the orthostat represented a clear break with the previous monumental tradition at the site. This fact is best apparent by the contrast between Kulamuwa’s orthostat and the colossal statue **Zincirli 63**. The statue and the orthostat are located only few meters away from each other and they share the orientation, a general association with a passageway and, above all, the funerary character. The contextual ties as well as the marked differences between the colossal statue and the inscribed orthostat cannot be but the result of a conscious display choice. In fact, and particularly considering that the statue may have been repositioned from a different context when Building J was erected, they can be considered part of a single monumental strategy. In this strategy, the two monuments played different but complementary roles. The statue was the colossal embodiment of a royal ancestor whose identity was left unspecified. It towered over the beholder at a highly visible, probably relatively accessible location outside the royal compound, and struck the viewer with a simple, imposing iconography. Its location, its rhetorics and its age (at the end of the ninth century BCE, the statue had been “in use” for already at least two generations) suggest that the rituals it involved addressed a large, non-elite public familiar with the local monumental tradition and its ritual embedment. Kulamuwa’s orthostat, on the other hand, reduced the image of the standing ruler, identified by name, to a refined miniature, transforming it into a sign thick with meaning, embedding it into a written narrative, and creating a complex “imagetext” (Mitchell 1994). The Kulamuwa’s orthostat addresses viewers with a high level of visual literacy and with a chance to linger in close proximity to it. In fact, although prominently displayed at the entrance of Building J, Kulamuwa’s orthostat was neither visible from outside Gate Q nor located in a way that made it a visual focus of the royal courtyard. Rather,

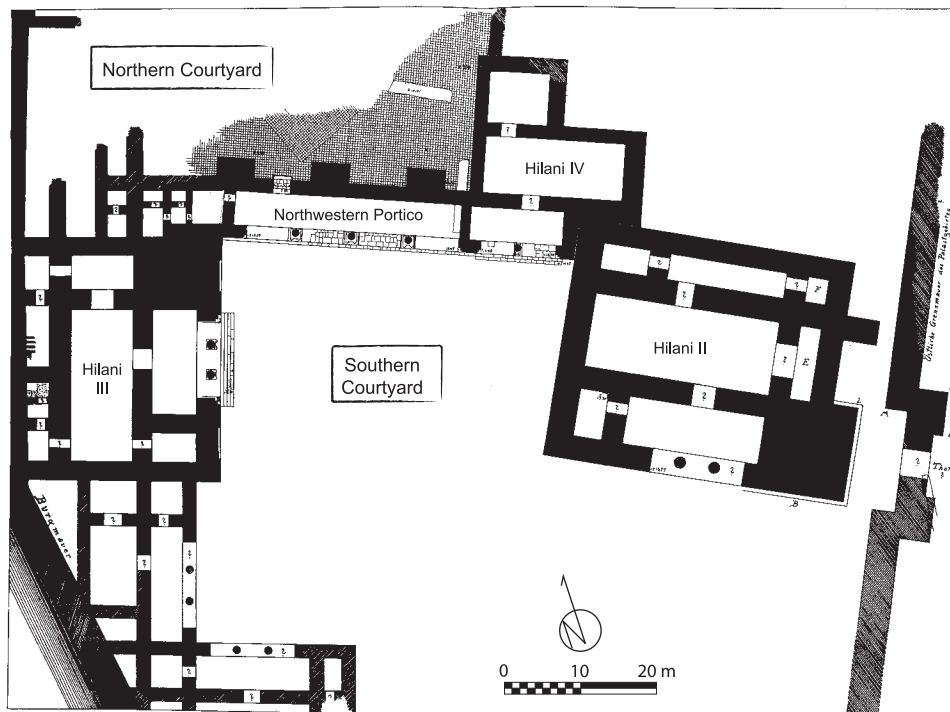


Fig. 46 | Zincirli: the Southwestern Complex as reconstructed in *AiS II*, Pl. 26–27.

it addressed visitors either directed to the large reception room to the north or lingering and gazing through the wooden doors leading into the smaller side room to the west, where insignia of power and wealth were held and partially exposed (Pucci 2008a:61). All in all, the orthostat was a work created by and for the courtly elite, for a handful of connoisseurs who frequented the palace. Thus, in Kulamuwa's time, the image of the dead king was used to pursue a double discourse. For those whose place was outside the palace compound, the royal ancestor was a powerful, archaic icon which, evoked in rituals of offerings, worked as an inclusive symbol of belonging. Inside the royal compound, for the eyes of the few, the royal figure was given a name and became a multi-layered political locus, a testimony to a newly developed elite identity that developed further in the century to follow (see below, §4.2.II, §4.2.I2, §6.3).

#### 4.2.7 Inside the Southwestern complex

Gate Q, Building J, and Building K are the oldest nucleus of a large architectural complex that developed over the centuries around open areas on the citadel and went through an intricate history of changes and additions. Eventually, the different building units were organized in two clearly distinguishable sections: a Northwestern complex, grouped around the Northern courtyard, and a Southwestern complex, grouped around the Southern courtyard (Fig. 46). The separation of the two sections is to be dated to the reign of Barrakib (733/32–713/II BCE), when an elongated structure – the “Northern portico” – was erected between the two courtyards (Fig. 47). The Northern portico itself consisted of two architectural

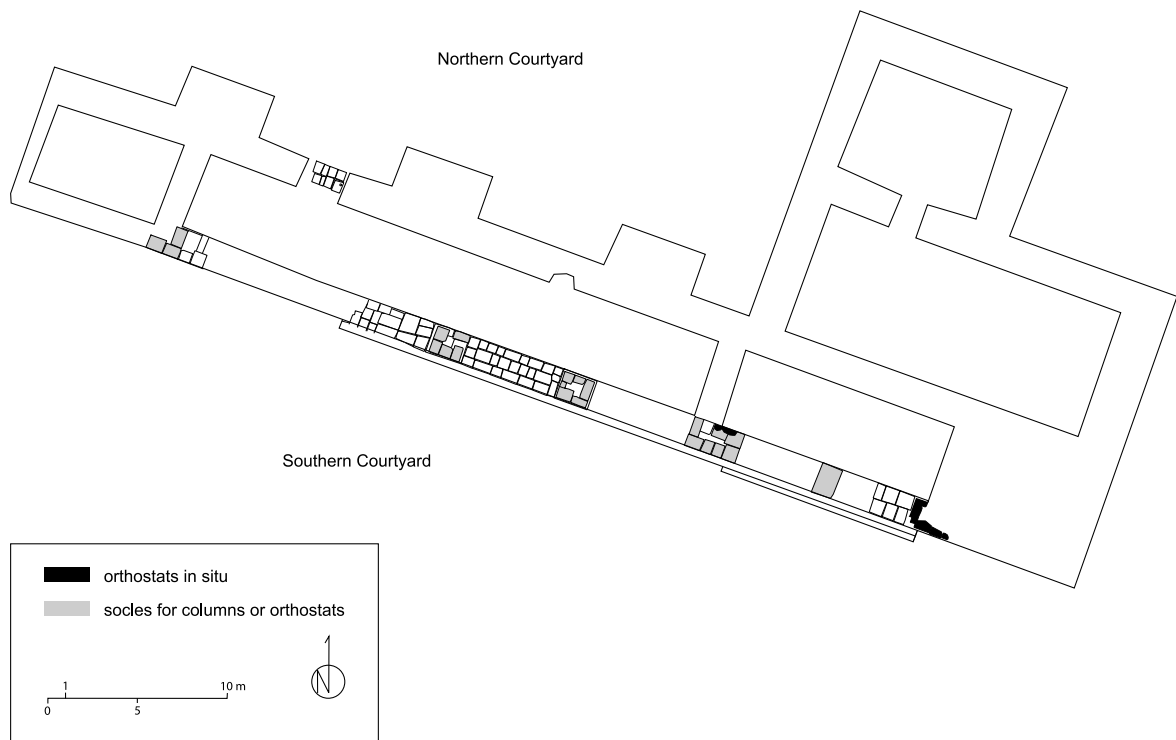


Fig. 47 | Zincirli, Northwestern portico and Hilani IV in their original layout (after *AiS II*, Pl. 24–25).

units: to the east, there was an independent building with a monumental façade, the Hilani IV (usually termed the *Nordöstliche Hallenbau* in the reports), while to the West, there was an approximately 30-m-long roofed space, the “Northwestern portico,” which functioned as a built boundary between the Southern and the Northern courtyards (Pucci 2008a:68).

The Northwestern portico had two façades: a “closed” one with three massive buttresses facing the Northern courtyard, and an “open” one with an airy colonnade facing the Southern courtyard. An approximately 2m wide door (*AiS II*, 170) enabled the communication between the two courtyards. As opposed to the elaborately decorated Hilani IV, no monumental art was recovered in situ in the Northwestern portico. Nonetheless, the low stone socles for the columns bear traces of a heavy, constant load and are worked with peg-holes (*AiS II*, 167), so that it is reasonable to expect here a monumental basis. Traces of orthostats on the stone socles have also been observed at the westernmost corner wall of the portico, but among the many slabs recovered out of context, none could be restored here with certainty.

#### 4.2.8 Hilani IV

The façade of Hilani IV had basalt orthostats on both sides of the entrance (Fig. 48). Five slabs were recovered in situ at the eastern corner of the entrance. Of these, only **Zincirli 66** bore a relief, representing the enthroned Barrakib (733/32–713/II BCE) receiving a man carrying writing implements, probably

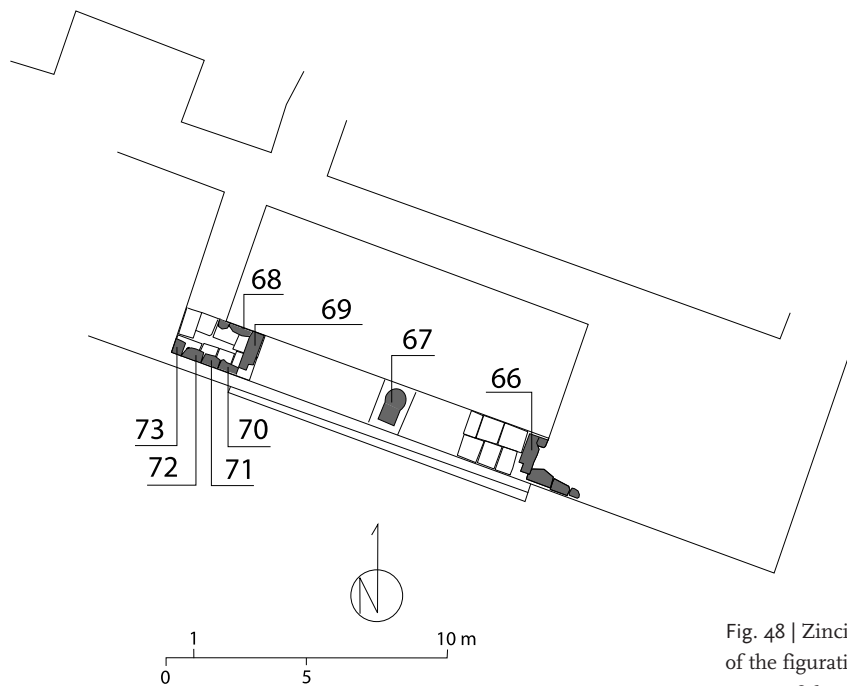


Fig. 48 | Zincirli, the Hilani IV: reconstruction of the figurative decoration of the façade (after Voos 1986).

Barrakib's "state secretary." Above the two figures, a line in Aramaic reads: "My lord (is) Baal-Harran; I am Barrakib, son of Panamuwa" (Tropper 1993:146).

The western corner was heavily disturbed by later stone pillaging and only two orthostats were found still in situ, one of which (**Zincirli 68**) was carved with a relief representing courtiers carrying a jug and archery gear. Three carved orthostats found nearby (**Zincirli 71–73**)<sup>137</sup> form a single composition, representing five musicians and a courtier, and fit perfectly the southern front of the western side of the entrance, where they should be restored (*AiS IV*, 357). The heavily fragmented orthostat **Zincirli 69** is not dealt with in the reports and remained long unpublished until Voos proposed a convincing reconstruction (Voos 1985:71–86). The orthostat represent the enthroned Barrakib banqueting and, as already tentatively put forward by Orthmann (Orthmann 1971:369, 373, 462), is to be placed at the western jamb. This is suggested not only by its size but also by the fact that the scene mirrors **Zincirli 66**. In both, Barrakib sits on a throne, holding a blossoming stem in his left hand.<sup>138</sup> In both, he faces a standing courtier, and is backed by another one, who swings a feather-fan. In **Zincirli 66**, the king is shown engaged in administrative matters; in **Zincirli 69**, in contrast, the king is shown banqueting. Barrakib wears the same attire in both scenes but the implements involved differ. In particular, **Zincirli 66** shows the king sitting on an Assyrian-style throne, while in **Zincirli 69**, Barrakib sits on a more elaborated

<sup>137</sup> **Zincirli 71–72** were found in the building debris in front of the façade (*AiS IV*, 355). The corner orthostat **Zincirli 73** was found broken in fragments and had been reused in a later wall nearby (*AiS IV*, 356). **Zincirli 73** was put together out of "two dozen fragments of different size, which were found over several campaigns either in later walls, afar as well as nearby, or loose in the building collapse" (*AiS IV*, 353). Von Luschan proposed to restore

it at the inner western corner of the entrance; Voos, however, argued that it must be placed at the outer western corner of the façade (Voos 1985:71–86).

<sup>138</sup> As opposed to the bent flower held by king Kulamuwa on his orthostat. The blossoming flower is not a symbol of death but it rather underlines the living status of the king.

throne of Western Syrian manufacture. These are conspicuous details, conveying a subtext about Barrakib's royalty that for the contemporary beholder would resonate with meaning, although today the full range of connotations of this visual discourse are lost.

Seen as a whole, the orthostats from the Hilani IV belong to a single sculptural programme, distinctively cut in a refined style, which Orthmann labels "Zincirli III" (Orthmann 1971:63–64). The composition follows the surface of the wall and not that of the slabs (Orthmann 1971:63). The overall program is marked by balance: musicians consistently at the fronts, specular images of the king at the jambs, additional courtiers "behind." Originally, the cycle was painted in strong colours<sup>139</sup> and embedded into a greater decorative program: the inner rooms of the Hilani had frescoes and bronze appliqués, and the lintel of the entrance was supported by a column, whose basis was a basalt monolith carved in the shape of a sphinx (Zincirli 67).<sup>140</sup>

Hilani IV was a lavishly decorated building, with an open façade where carved orthostats framed the wide entrance like backdrops of a theatre stage. Weights and knucklebones found inside suggest that the building functioned as administrative complex (the knucklebones were probably used as some sort of accounting device; see Pucci 2008a:69). The reliefs suggest that the king was at the centre of the activities taking place in the building and that these activities had an official character that was governed by court protocol. In fact, the scenes depicted on the orthostats may very well be a concrete representation of what occurred in the portico of Hilani IV, where the enthroned king may have dealt with royal affairs and staged ceremonial banquets.

Two inscribed orthostats (Zincirli 74–75), belonging to the same period but found out of context, are connected to the Northern portico both in terms of epigraphic content and figurative composition, and support its identification as the official wing of a royal palace. They are carved in the same style as the orthostats of Hilani IV; slight differences in details are best explained in terms of different hands rather than in terms of a substantial chronological gap (Orthmann 1971:68). Zincirli 74 was found in front of the Hilani IV (AiS IV, 377) and represents the standing king facing right, a series of divine symbols in front of him, and an adjutant at his back. A 20-line Aramaic inscription (KAI 216) is carved next to the king, underneath his outstretched arms. Zincirli 75, on the other hand, represents the king facing left, with a drinking vessel in his hand.<sup>141</sup> Divine symbols and the first, broken nine lines of an Aramaic inscription (KAI 217) are carved before his figure, following the king's silhouette. The complete slab is likely to have represented a banquet scene (Donner 1955). The inscriptions both begin with elaborated declarations of loyalty to the Assyrian overlord, Tiglath-Pileser (KAI 216, ll. 1–11; KAI 217, ll. 1–9). KAI 217 breaks in the middle of this topic; KAI 216, on the other hand, can be read completely and in the second half reveals itself to be a building inscription for a new palace of Barrakib, built as an addition to the old palace of Kulamuwa (ll. 12–20). The last line reads emphatically, "but I built this palace," and it is apparent that "this palace" was also the original set-up of the slab. The "palace of Kulamuwa" is to be identified with Building J-K (Lidzbarski 1915:218–219; Pucci 2008a:78); the new palace of Barrakib must be the Northern portico (i.e., the Northwestern portico and Hilani IV), in front of which the slab was found (Tropper 1993:133). Zincirli 75 is in orientation, composition, and contents a

139 At the time of their discovery, Zincirli 71–73 bore traces of blue and red paint on the musicians' dresses, thus suggesting that paint was generally applied to the other orthostats as well.

140 Only part of the sphinx was found in situ; most of the front, including the head, was found re-used in later buildings (AiS IV, 349).

141 The orthostat is represented only by a single fragment, and nothing is known as to its find-spot.

sort of twin orthostat for **Zincirli 74**: it is likely that both were portal orthostats set up at door jambs or at the sides of columns, facing or opposing one another in a specular way similar to the contemporary **Zincirli 66.69**.

It is interesting to note that the southern façade and entrance of the “palace of Barrakib” is a conscious architectural replica of the “palace of Kulamuwa,” with a larger, three-columns-portico at the west side and a smaller, single-column portico at the east side, each leading into separate functional units. In this perspective, the rich decoration of Hilani IV and the inscribed orthostats **Zincirli 74–75** may be considered an enlarged, inflated version of Kulamuwa’s orthostat which, of course, was still standing at Barrakib’s time. In fact, the explicit mention of Kulamuwa and its palace in Barrakib’s inscriptions as well as the reprise of the literary topos on the king’s amity with Assyria testify to a conscious reception and a will to elaborate on Kulamuwa’s heritage. The sculptural program at Hilani IV also shows how the elite figurative discourse that had just begun to be developed in Kulamuwa’s time is seen in Barrakib’s time, one hundred years later, in its full-blown form, with a cycle of orthostats giving a detailed representation of a courtly environment at the heart of the political institutions.

#### 4.2.9 Hilani III

The self-contained building known as “Hilani III” (Fig. 49) was excavated in 1894 and found to be relatively well-preserved, with the foundations largely intact (*AiS II*, 154). The building had an 11m-wide porticoed entrance, accessed by a grand stairway. The entrance had two column bases nearly in situ, each carved with a pair of sphinxes (**Zincirli 76–77**).<sup>142</sup>

The entrance of Hilani III was flanked by two rows of orthostats, which were built in the façade at the height of the threshold to the entrance hall, approximately 1m above the courtyard. Of these orthostats, only few were found still standing in situ, atop a stone socle.<sup>143</sup> They were made of fine-grained basalt, had standardized square dowel-holes, a standard height of 0.77–80m, and, above all, a standard iconography: all of them were carved with courtiers walking towards the entrance (*AiS II*, 155–156). Thanks to this overall uniformity, a number of further orthostats or fragments of orthostats found out of context could also be assigned to the façade of the Hilani.<sup>144</sup> In all, twenty-three orthostats in different states of fragmentation were recovered. Of them, “seven or eight” were transported to Istanbul and three to Berlin. The rest were stored at the site, and subsequently lost (*AiS IV*, 345). Koldewey’s evaluation of the carvings was that they were “of little significance” (*AiS II*, 86); von Luschan judged them “pretty much unattractive” and in some details “remarkably poorly executed” (*AiS IV*, 343). It is probably for this reason that, so far, only eight of the original twenty-three orthostats have been published, i.e., the three transported to Berlin (**Zincirli 82.84–85**), the four that ended up in Istanbul (**Zincirli 79–81.83**), and one

<sup>142</sup> **Zincirli 76** is badly preserved, but **Zincirli 77** is fairly intact – the noses of its sphinxes, however, had been defaced in antiquity.

<sup>143</sup> The reports are vague, but one may infer that all of them came from the northeastern half of the façade (*AiS II*, 154; *AiS IV*, 343). This reconstruction is confirmed by a close-up of the only existing detailed plan (*AiS II*, Pl. 24–25), in which it is possible to distinguish the foun-

dation walls, the rests of the stairway, the socle for the orthostats, the column bases and four orthostats in the northeastern corner (drawn with shading, indicating that they were standing).

<sup>144</sup> Some fragments were found in the immediate proximity; the great number, though, was found reused – and sometimes reworked – in later buildings all over the site (*AiS IV*, 343).

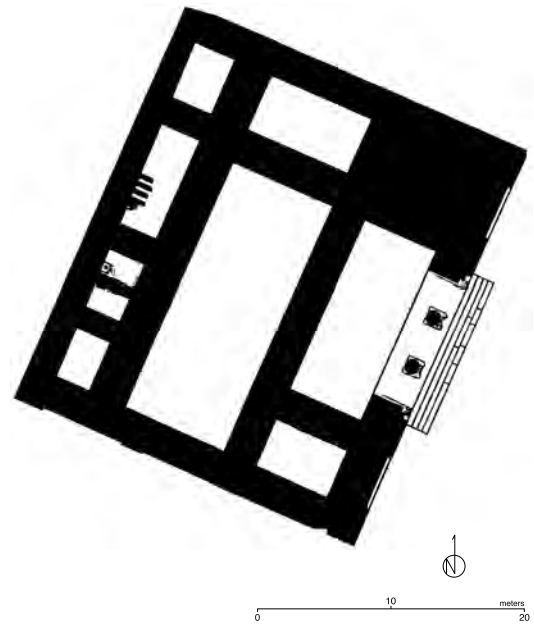


Fig. 49 | Zincirli, layout of the Hilani III (after *AiS II*, Pl. 26–27).

whose present location is unknown (**Zincirli 78**). In spite of the general lack of documentation, however, we are informed that fourteen orthostats showed men walking to the right, and nine showed men walking to the left. This led to the reasonable proposal of two symmetrical rows of courtiers walking towards the entrance, as can be surmised from Fig. 50.

Interestingly, slab **Zincirli 80** has three prominent round holes on its surface. These were congenital to the raw block and were mended by the carvers, who filled them with basalt fragments. From the roughness of this mending, it is possible to infer that the orthostats of Hilani III were coated with a roughcast or a plastering of some kind (*AiS IV*, 345). Thus, here too it is likely that at least parts of the carving were originally painted and enriched with further details.

In the courtyard in front of the Hilani III, 15m southeast of the southern corner of the building façade, a right-jamb portal lion (**Zincirli 86**) was found (*AiS II*, 156; *AiS IV*, 341). The style in which the lion is cut matches with that of the orthostats and the lion, presumably together with a left-jamb counterpart, is likely to have belonged to the building.

The orthostats, the column base, and the portal lion are all carved in a style similar to that of the Northern portico (“Zincirli III” style), but show a greater tendency to three-dimensional shaping of the reliefs. Furthermore, the carvings at Hilani IV have a flat background, and the scenes are surrounded by a frame. In the reliefs of the Hilani III, in contrast, the background has not been worked uniformly flat, and the frame is absent. Weighing these observations, Orthmann concludes that the two sets of orthostats represent two subsequent chronological phases of the same artistic school. Orthmann labels the style of Hilani III “Zincirli IV,” and suggests that they are a development of the “Zincirli III” style (Orthmann 1971:64–66). Both styles date the buildings they belonged to and both predate the great fire that destroyed them and the entire complex between 676 and 671/70 BCE (Lehmann 1994). Hilani IV, including the associated Northwestern portico, dates to the reign of Barrakib (app. 732–711 BCE). If the succession “Zincirli III” to “Zincirli IV” proposed by Orthmann on stylistic grounds is cor-

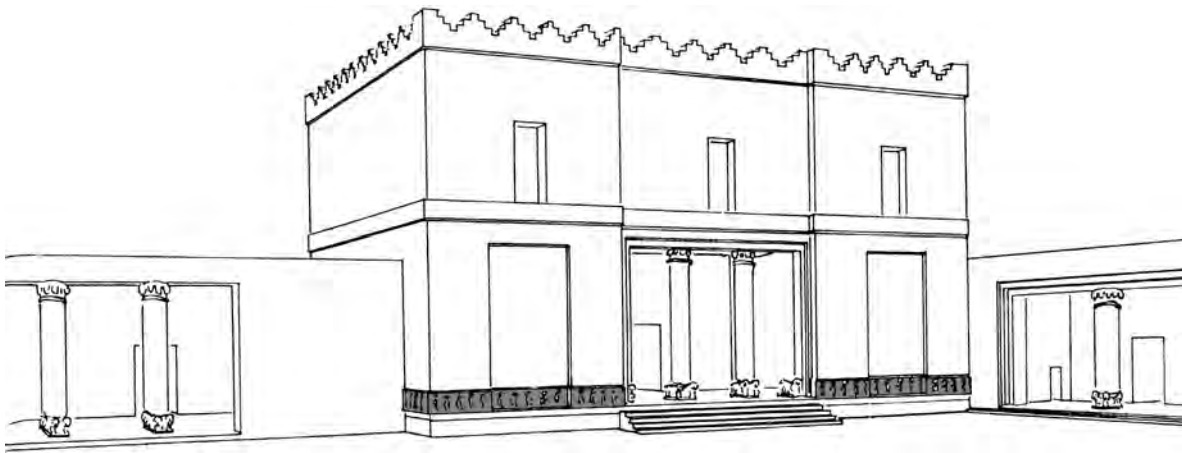


Fig. 50 | Zincirli: Hilani III after the reconstruction of Schirmer (after Orthmann 1975, Fig. 134).

rect, Hilani III is to be dated after Hilani IV, to the second half of the reign of Barrakib or some point thereafter.<sup>145</sup>

The functional analysis of the rooms and of the small finds within (Pucci 2008a:71–73) indicates that Hilani III was an official building connected in particular to social banqueting. The center of the ground floor was a vast main hall decorated with bronze and glazed wall rings. At its rear, there was a kitchen (*AiS II*, Pl. 24–25, room G) and two smaller rooms, where large sets of small bowls were stored (S 2793 – S 2830, 55 items; S 782, 70–75 items; *AiS V*, 53–54). A fragment of a basalt throne (*AiS V*, T 62a), probably serving as base for a statue, as well as a hoard of votive spoons found nearby (Pucci 2008a:72) suggest that the activities taking place in the building could have had a ritual background.

The figurative cycle on the façade represents unequivocally the users and addressee of Hilani III: male royal courtiers. As opposed to the almost-contemporary orthostats of Hilani IV, the double row of orthostats of the Hilani III is consciously repetitive and markedly ornamental. Their iconography and composition neither narrates nor symbolizes; rather, it creates directional order, underlining at the same time the peaceful and uniform social affiliation of this elite. The general effect is different in nature and message from the royal tableaux of Hilani IV. Hilani III seems to have been designed for specific group activities of the elite, banqueting in particular, performed under the ægis and perhaps also the presence of the king but kept separate from the royal dwelling proper.

<sup>145</sup> The examination of the architecture indicates that Hilani III and the Northern portico were in use at least partly at the same time, since some rooms secondarily added to the Northern portico leaned on Hilani III (*AiS*

*II*, Pl. 24–25, rooms 8–11). However, the architectural data are inconclusive as to a more specific relative dating of the two buildings (cf. Naumann 1955:368 vs. Pucci 2008a:33).

#### 4.2.10 Monuments at and around Hilani II

Hilani II is a slightly bigger and differently oriented replica of Hilani III, located on the opposite side of the Southern courtyard and built after the destruction by fire of the Southwestern complex (Fig. 51).<sup>146</sup> Hilani II is known primarily from its foundations, discovered in relatively good state of preservation; however, only sporadic traces of the original stone socle were still in situ. These are approximately 2.50m above the level of the surrounding surface as estimated for this building period, so that, much as in the case of Hilani III, the existence of a stairway should be posited (Pucci 2008a:49).

In the proximity of the left entrance jamb (socle still in situ) was found the orthostat **Zincirli 87**. The orthostat is carved in *alto rilievo* and represents a sphinx with a human head and a tail ending in a bird's head. Both heads had been deliberately smashed in antiquity and were found scattered elsewhere (AiS IV, 331).<sup>147</sup>

Approximately 8m south of the southwestern corner of Hilani II was found the portal lion **Zincirli 88**, embedded in what probably was the upper edge of an eroded mud-brick wall (AiS IV, 310). The lion had obviously been dragged out of its original context but it is impossible to locate its original position anywhere in the Southern portico, above whose ruins it was found. The style of the portal lion is the same as that of the sphinx **Zincirli 87** (Orthmann 1971:72) and the measurements (1.00 × 1.30 × 0.46m) are compatible with an original location in front of the sphinx at the entrance jamb of Hilani II. This postulated ensemble has an exact iconographical parallel at the entrance of the small Hilani excavated at the site of Coba Höyük (Sakçegözü), about 20km southeast of Zincirli (Garstang 1908, 1913, 1937). The Coba Höyük Hilani, whose general layout has further affinities with Hilani II, dates to the end of the eighth century BCE (Güterbock 1961; Landsberger 1948:76–79; Naumann 1955:374; Ussishkin 1966). The style of **Zincirli 87–88** shows similar traits (Akurgal 1966:55; Genge 1979:151), and they shouldn't be too far away in date. Orthmann interprets both items as belonging to a subgroup of his “Zincirli IV” style, remarking that “they certainly are among the latest works at Zincirli” (Orthmann 1971:72–73). The stylistic analysis dovetails with the stratigraphic observation that Hilani II was built after Hilani III, but it also suggests that the time gap between the destruction of the latter and the erection of the former must have been relatively small. This is also confirmed by the close similarity in layout of both buildings, which may even suggest that the same generation of builders had been at work in both.

At the northeastern wall of Hilani II the back half of a colossal base (**Zincirli 89**) was found, together with the unpublished remains of a statue representing a standing figure (AiS II, 153; AiS IV, 335). **Zincirli 89** has never been properly published and was left at the site upon the departure of the excavators.<sup>148</sup> The item is documented by two photos (AiS IV, fig. 243–244), but no exact measures exist. Von Luschan describes it as being “of enormous size and most accurate execution, simply exceptional”

<sup>146</sup> Its northern foundations are partly built on those of Hilani IV, while the southern ones cut into the ruins of the Southern portico. The threshold to room 1 of the Southern portico is 3.40m deeper than the upper edge of the Hilani II foundations (AiS IV, 312) and the portico certainly predates Hilani II. The eastern wing of the Southern portico, however, was repaired and changed after the destruction by fire and continued to be used at the time of the Hilani II (AiS IV, 313; Pucci 2008a:39).

<sup>147</sup> The left entrance jamb of the Hilani bears traces of orthostats (AiS II, Pl. 23), and the sphinx evidently belongs

there. The jamb itself is about 1.75m wide; the sphinx measures 1.20m in length, and its left side is roughly worked and was originally adjacent to another stone. Thus, the existence of at least another portal orthostat in front of it can be assumed.

<sup>148</sup> The base was first located in 1883 but was moved by locals at least once before its proper excavation, so that its exact set-up location cannot be identified with certainty (AiS IV, 333). The find-spot is registered in AiS II, Pl. 9 at 10.40m above the surrounding terrain.

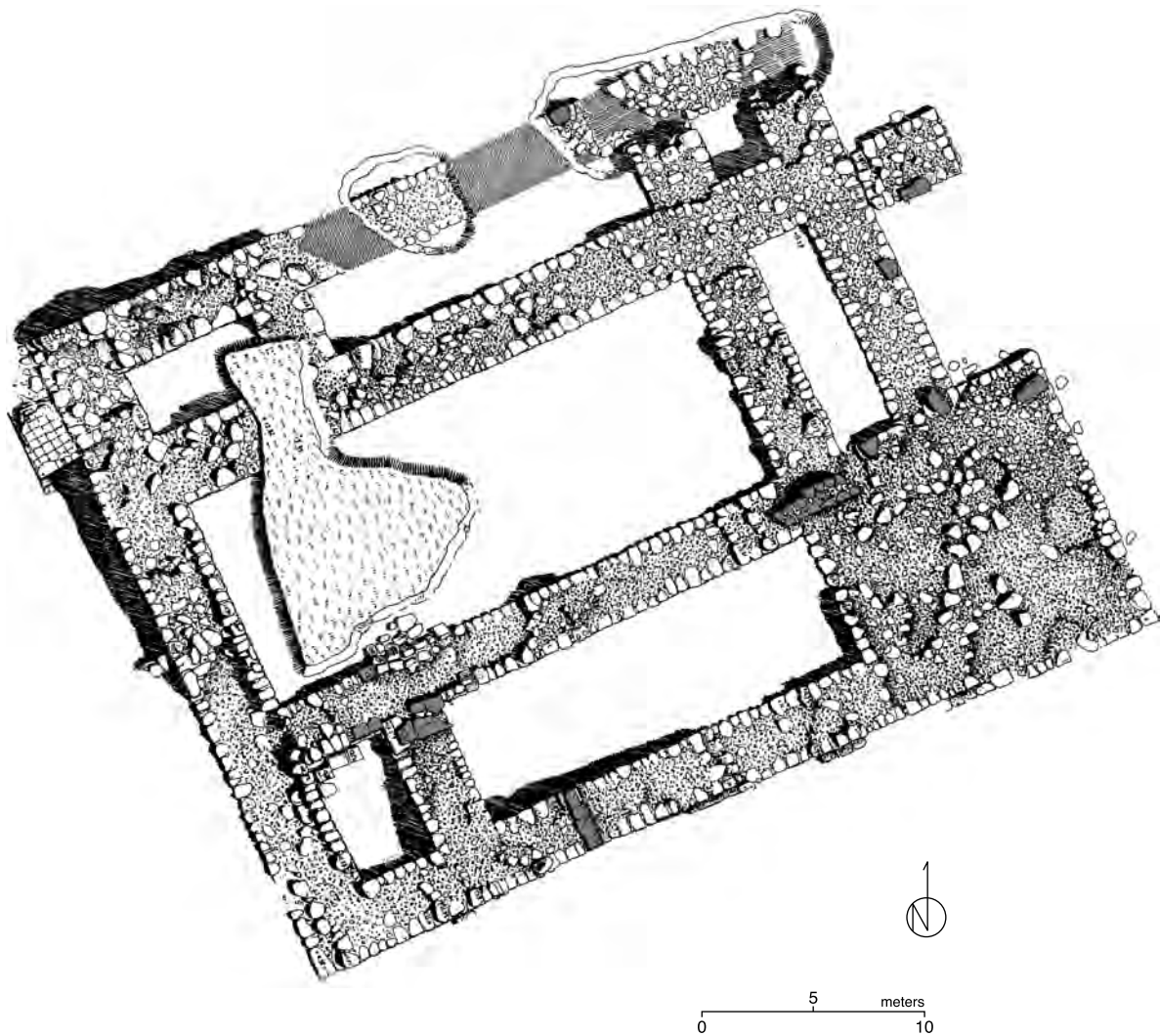


Fig. 51 | Zincirli, detailed plan of Hilani II (after *AiS II*, Pl. 23).

(*AiS IV*, 333). The basis represents the back of a pair of walking horses, but the extant data do not allow a precise stylistic analysis. As far as it is possible to infer, however, nothing speaks against a date concomitant with Hilani II. The most likely set-up location, in fact, is along the eastern outer wall of this building, where massive square foundations were found. This solution, already proposed by von Luschan (*AiS IV*, 334–335), offers a good explanation for those foundations and would provide a close parallel with the colossal statue at the outer wall of Building J (above, §4.2.5). If we assume that Hilani II was built immediately or shortly after the destruction of the earlier palace complex, including the collapse of Building J, it is tempting to consider the erection of a new colossal statue at the side of the new Hilani in connection with the burial of the older colossal statue in the ruins of the older palace.

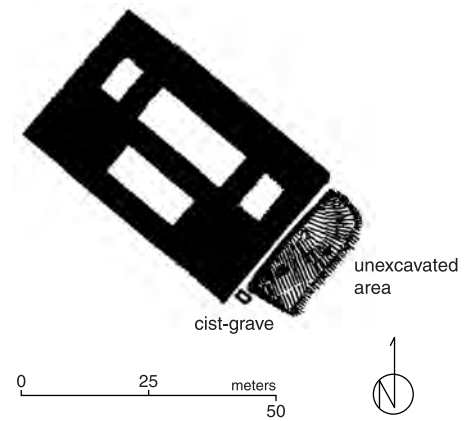


Fig. 52 | Zincirli: Hilani I (after *AiS II*, Pl. 28).

#### 4.2.11 The funerary context beside Hilani I

At the top of the citadel, on its northwestern side, the rests of the massive “Hilani I” were partially excavated (Fig. 52). Along its southwestern outer wall, at the height of the upper corner of its foundation (about 13.50m above the flood plain), an empty cist-grave in accurate basalt masonry was found (Fig. 53).

The grave is exactly perpendicular to Hilani I, meaning that its position was adapted to the already existing foundations of the building.

Immediately next to the cist grave (*AiS II*, 140), adjacent to Hilani I (*AiS IV*, 325), the stele **Zincirli 90** was found, topped over face-down but otherwise intact. The stele represents a richly adorned woman banqueting; the funerary character of its iconography cannot be doubted (Bonatz 2000a:39; see also the discussion below, §4.2.12). A direct relationship between the cist grave and the stele is apparent.<sup>149</sup> This is in fact a rare case – and the only one in Zincirli – where Syro-Anatolian monumental art of a funerary character is actually found in direct relation to a burial (Struble and Herrmann 2009:40, n.45; Bonatz 2000a:151). The area extending northeast of the cist-grave has not been excavated, and further burials are to be expected (Bonatz 2000a:156; Strommenger 1954: 181, 192).

Orthmann classifies the style of **Zincirli 90** as “Zincirli IV” (Orthmann 1971:65), i.e., late eighth-early seventh century BCE. This assignation is supported by Pedde, who dates a fibula at the woman’s breast to the seventh century BCE (Pedde 2000:88).

Thus, around the early seventh century BCE, a prominent open area atop the main mound, next to Hilani I (or its ruins: Pucci 2008a:27–29), was used as burial ground for at least one very important woman. Whether this burial ground on the citadel was the prerogative of the royal elite is not clear. The analysis of the topographical distribution of similar funerary stele at other sites indicates that the closer to the royal palace, the higher the chance that the buried individual belonged to the royal family (Struble and Herrmann 2009:40–41). However, since the existence of a royal necropolis *extra muros* at Gerçin is known, and the woman on the stele does not show any unambiguous royal attribute,<sup>150</sup> the question remains open.

<sup>149</sup> **Zincirli 90** is provided with a pivot that may have been inserted into a base (which was not found) but may also have been simply stuck directly into the ground, as in the case of **Zincirli 91** (see below).

<sup>150</sup> For the meaning of the winged disc on funerary stelae, see Bonatz 2000a:102–103.

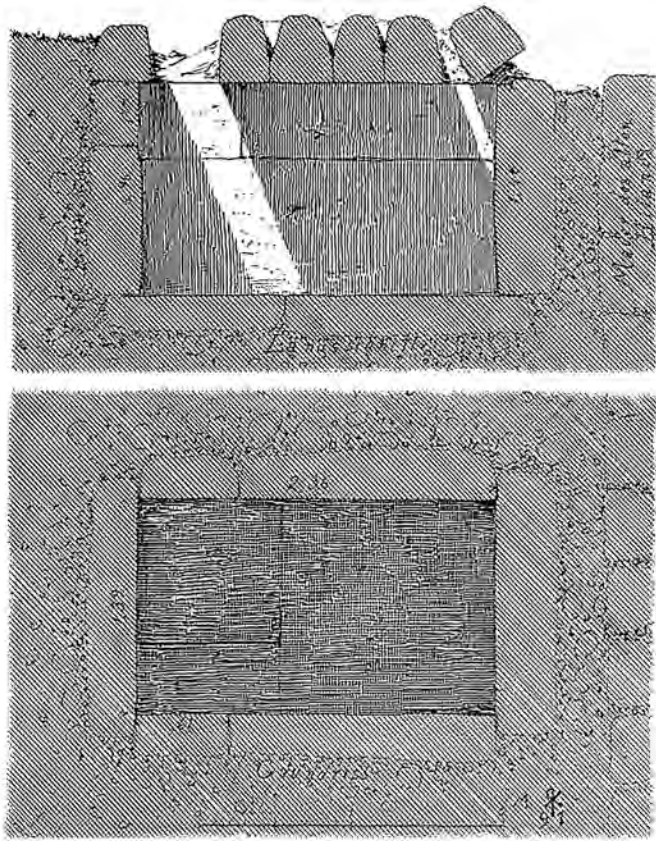


Fig. 53 | Zincirli: section and plan of the cist-grave at Hilani I (AiS II, fig. 44)

Funerary steles of the kind of **Zincirli 90** were not always and not only simple grave markers. They were seen as the locus where the soul of the deceased resided: they were erected either by the represented person while still living or by his or her descendants in order to ensure a durable abode for the soul of the deceased, to which the necessary regular offerings of food and drink could be made (Gilibert 2009; Bonatz 2000; Niehr 1994). Thus, the presence of **Zincirli 90** at the burial ground indicates that the place was regularly used for ritual performances. Contrary to the earlier but very similar stele **Zincirli 91** (see below, §4.2.12), however, **Zincirli 90** was not erected in a closed, roofed space but out in the open. In this respect (and also in orientation and relative position), the setting of the stele mirrors the setting of the colossal statue **Zincirli 63** at the outer wall of Building J, at that time still standing and equally embedded into ancestral cults. It is also likely that the funerary stele was topped over, the grave emptied, and the colossal statue buried concurrently, at some point shortly after the destruction and plundering of the citadel that took place between 676 and 671/70 BCE, events that were followed by the construction of an Assyrian palace on the ruins of Hilani I.<sup>151</sup> So it seems that, until the great catastrophe of the early seventh century BCE, a large open area around the main buildings at the highest point of the citadel mound was kept in use as “performative ground” for rituals connected with ancestral cults and held out in the open.

<sup>151</sup> A chronological resume is found in Pucci 2008:79–80, with further literature.

#### 4.2.12 The funerary stele in the north lower town

In 2008, the Oriental Institute team at Zincirli excavated a freestanding funerary stele with a 13-line Aramaic inscription and a banquet relief (here **Zincirli 91**; Pardee 2009; Schloen and Fink 2009; Struble and Herrmann 2009). Similar funerary monuments have been found both at the site (**Zincirli 90**; cf. also Orthmann 1971, Zincirli J/2<sup>152</sup>) and elsewhere (see the collection in Bonatz 2000). **Zincirli 91** stands out for its excellent state of preservation, detailed carving, lengthy inscription, and, above all, because it is the only Syro-Hittite funerary stele found in a well-documented archaeological context. The combined analysis of its image, text, and archaeological context makes it possible to gain significant insights into its meaning and function (Struble and Herrmann 2009:15).

The image represents a bearded man sitting in front of a table laden with food (Struble and Herrmann 2009, fig. 3–4). The man wears a hat with earflaps, a pointed tip and a hanging tassel that characterizes him as a member of the elite (Struble and Herrmann 2009:20–21). Sumptuary objects such as the gadrooned bronze cup that the man raises in his left hand, the carved table, the pyxis and the footed vessel on the table are further antiquarian details indicating a refined social environment. The tall chair with the footstool, the pine cone that the man holds in his right hand, and the ritualized gesticulation in general show that the depicted meal is a festive, ceremonial one (Struble and Herrmann 2009:23–26). The iconography of the scene, which has a close parallel in **Zincirli 90**, is that of a funerary banquet in which the dead could partake thanks to the regular offerings of the surviving heirs (Gilibert 2009; Struble and Herrmann 2009:29–33; Niehr 2001; Bonatz 2000:92–96, 156–158). The style of the relief is, within the site’s sculptural tradition, closest to that of Barrakib’s reliefs at Hilani IV (Orthmann’s “Zincirli III” style).

The inscription identifies the bearded man as “*ktmw*, servant of Panamuwa” (Pardee 2009, l.1), with “servant” to be understood as meaning “high official.” Considering the style of the relief, the Panamuwa in question must be king Panamuwa II (app. 743–733 BC), father of Barrakib, and the stele is to be dated to his reign or immediately thereafter. Keeping with the classification system defined by Orthmann, the style of the stele is to be filed as “Zincirli III,” belonging to the “Späthethitisch IIIb” period.

The inscription informs us that *ktmw*, perhaps to be vocalized Kuttamuwa, commissioned the stele and supervised its setup in a “mortuary chamber” while still living (Pardee 2009, l. 2). He also prescribed that, after his death, a feast should be held in the mortuary chamber on a yearly basis and involve, among other things, an offering of a bull to Hadad and rams to other gods, including one for the “soul” of *ktmw*, that was thought to reside in the stele after his death (Pardee 2009, l. 2–5; cf.).<sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Orthmann’s Zincirli J/2 is a 0.57m high funerary stele found broken in two pieces near Hilani II, in the ruins of the so-called “Hallenbau P” (AiS IV, 166, 373–374; Bonatz 2000, C72). The stele is carved with the standing images of a ruler holding a drooping lotus (indicating that he is dead) and his designated successor, who is holding an erect lotus (presumably the sponsor of the stele). Many antiquarian details are related to the Kulamuwa orthostat **Zincirli 65**; details of the coiffures and the style of execution, however, are different and are more closely related to the style of the colossal statue of the god Hadad found in Gerçin, dating to the reign of Panamuwa I (app. 790–750 BC) and also connected to the cult of the royal ancestors. Orthmann interprets the style of both Zincirli J/2 and the Gerçin statue as being later than the Kulamuwa orthostat (Orthmann’s “Späthethi-

tisch II” period, i.e. late ninth century BC) but still “intermediate” between “Zincirli II” and “Zincirli III” style (Orthmann 1971:67–68, 75–76). Thus, Zincirli J/2 is to be dated approximately to the early eighth century BC (Orthmann’s “Späthethitisch IIIa” period).

<sup>153</sup> The inscription follows closely, if in abbreviated form, the contents of the inscription on the Hadad statue at Gerçin by Panamuwa I (c. 790–750 BC), in which the king describes how he set up an image of himself in a mortuary chapel and established a feast to be held after his death, in order for his “soul” to be able to eat and drink with the gods (KAI 214; Niehr 2001; Tropper 1993:154–158). For similar beliefs in Luwian Hieroglyphic inscription, see the colossal statue **Carchemish 64**, representing *atri-suhas*, the “soul of Suhis.”

The stele was found in the northern part of the lower town, in situ, set in the ground of a relatively small corner room of “Building A/II,” which has to be identified with the “mortuary chapel” mentioned in the inscription. The room had a beaten-earth floor, but in front of the stele there was a patch of flagstone pavement. A low basalt bench and a basalt “table” were built next to the stele, and clearly served as “the immediate setting for cultic activities performed in its [the stele’s] presence” (Struble and Herrmann 2009:33). So far no traces of a burial have been detected.

The excavation of Building A/II and the surrounding structures, termed “Complex A” by the excavators, is still taking place, and the functional analysis of both is still open. Struble and Herrmann stress the residential nature of the neighborhood, compare the architectural setting of Complex A with the “mortuary chapel” at Tell Halaf, and proposes that such settings were were areas “in which the deceased and his or her descendants resided or had a good deal of influence, where the cult place would be accessible to descendants and dependents” (Struble and Herrmann 2009:42). In fact, the funerary stele of *ktmw* is the only example of monumental art found at Zincirli that explicitly belongs to the milieu of the non-royal elite. This is full in line with the general 8<sup>th</sup>-century tendency of the upper class to assert itself by appropriating and emulating forms and monumental practices that had previously been a privilege of the royal family (Struble and Herrmann 2009:40–42; see here the discussion in Chapter Six).

## 5 The embedment of monumental art in ritual performance

The production and erection of monumental art provides evidence for the ability of the Syro-Anatolian rulers to control labour and mobilize resources for monumental building projects requiring large expenditures of energy.<sup>154</sup> But why were inputs of labour and materiel directed toward the prominent display of monumental art on such a grand scale?

Monumental art was not simply employed as a lavish decoration device or as a marker of the prestige of selected buildings. The visual impact of monumental art certainly impressed the beholder as “power petrified” (Wilson 1988:134–135), but the iconographic richness of the images and the way they interacted with their surroundings invite further investigation of the visual repertoire’s function beyond the generic purpose of materializing wealth. An important aspect of the reliefs, portal sculptures and statues is that they were all part of a greater architectural strategy. In fact, they *were* architectural features and shared with many fundamental sensory components with other architectonic elements: the iconic silhouette, materiality, texture, solidity, void, shadow, luminance, luster, ... If we see architecture as a way to “set the stage for social practices by manipulating space” (Brown 2008:120), then we may ask how monumental art contributed to construct space, to attach meaning to it, in short to conjure up *place*.<sup>155</sup> A first significant fact is that, at Carchemish and Zincirli, monumental art was employed on the exterior of buildings. Thus, the space manipulated by monumental art was not the interior of buildings, largely incommensurable for those experiencing the monuments, but the space outside:<sup>156</sup> monumental art contributed to create what Jöchner calls a *gestaltete Außenraum*, a “built exterior,” a place within the built environment<sup>157</sup> where meaning was actively produced and specific activities took place, as opposed to a perception of urban outside space as a neutral void (Jöchner 2008). At Carchemish and Zincirli, the space outside the edifices, lined with monuments, was an architectural artifact saturated with meaning and intimately bound with monumental art. Monumental art and its surroundings reinforced one another and contributed together to the creation of a specific sense of place. In his study of urbanism, art, and power in early modern Florence, Trachtenberg describes exactly this interaction between monumental art and urban space:

“The monument produced a radiant symbolic energy that transformed its setting in a manner difficult for the late twentieth century with its alienation from public works to comprehend. Conversely, the iconic radiance of the monument was dependent on the piazza as a spatiovisual frame. This frame, indeed, may be said to have produced the intense iconicity of the monument, in the sense of having actualized its status as a civic icon deeply embedded in and aligned

154 For the analysis of ancient monumental architecture in terms of the labor investment it required, see in particular Kaplan 1963, Erasmus 1965, Abrams 1989, and Trigger 1990.

155 “Space is what place becomes when the unique gathering of things, meanings, and values are sucked out. Put positively, place is space filled up by people, practices, objects, and representations” (Gieryn 2000:465).

156 For the incommensurability between interior and exterior spaces of buildings, see Brown 2008:125–126.

157 The term *built environment* is used in reference to Environment-Behavior Studies, and, in particular, to the

works of Rapoport (Rapoport 2006, Wapner, Demick, Yamamoto and Minami 2000). Rapoport defines the built environment as a system of settings in which systems of activities take place (Rapoport 1990b); according to him, “the environment can be said to act as a mnemonic reminding people of the behavior expected of them, the linkages and separations in space and time – who does what, where, when, and with whom” (Rapoport 1990a:81). For a discussion on *Architecture and the built environment* with case studies from the Near-Eastern Iron Age, see McCormick 2002:5–45.

with the field of sociopolitical space and experience ... The piazza, in other words, was the means by which the Trecento monument was effectively realized as representational form.” (Trachtenberg 1997:18–19)

The close reading of the archaeological context conducted in the previous chapters has shown that monumental art had specific performative functions (Bolt 2004:149–153). It is argued here that most monumental items were key elements of a built environment devised for open-air ceremonial events.<sup>158</sup> The nature of the “built exterior” conjured up by monumental art and the silhouette of the edifices lining the place suggests further that most of these extraordinary ritual performances were experienced by large numbers of people at the same time and that these audiences profited from a theatrical setting to reinforce the messages of the events. From an anthropological point of view, ritual performances of this kind can be classed as “public events” (Handelman 1990:3–22) or “spectacles” (MacAloon 1984:243–246). Within this frame, monumental art played a threefold role.

First, it marked and defined the ceremonial space, underlining its special status as a ritual locus. Monumental art also helped locate and organize formalized spatial behaviour in space through a system of oriented compositions: friezes with images of univocal progressions converging on passageways combined with (rarer) en face images, which invited the beholder to stop.

Second, selected items of monumental art were cult images in themselves, the focus of ritual behavior, and recipients of ritual actions. This was particularly the case for the images of rulers, and specifically for a number of colossal statues of royal ancestors.

Third, among monumental art displayed in these open-air arenas images of ceremonies and ritualized behaviour predominate. Some images, for example, depict ritual choreographies for open-air ceremonies, such as processions and cavalcades. The objects themselves are silent as to the spatial setting of the events, and the images might have only served as evocation of events that took place elsewhere. However, the general setting allows for, invites even a correlation between the location of monumental art and the location of the acts depicted on it. Monumental art was used to commemorate public ceremonies. Ritual performances have a transitory nature and their effects, whatever they may be, begin to fade as soon as they have ended (DeMarrais et al. 1996:17; Kilson 1974:55; Leach 1954:14–16). Monumental art prompts the viewers to remember, re-experience, and re-imagine the depicted acts, particularly when the spatial settings were the same as or comparable to those of the original events (Inomata 2006a). At Carchemish and Zincirli monumental art was a key component for various types of ceremonial events and that this is the reason why much expenditure of energy and labour was put into its set up: ceremonial events and monumental art interacted as a top-down device to legitimize and reinforce the dominance of a ruling elite.

In order to assess this view, three classes of evidence are of importance: (1) the urban and architectural evidence, in particular the evidence pertaining the existence of ceremonial open spaces with specific installations for ritual acts; (2) iconographic evidence from monumental art depicting ceremonies; and (3), written evidence from monumental inscriptions describing ceremonies and/or prescribing rituals.

158 Following a similar strand of argument, Denel addresses the corpus of monumental art and inscriptions at Carchemish as “monumental infrastructure” for what she calls “ceremonies of kingship” (Denel 2007:179); Harmanşah speaks of “ceremonial production of urban space” (Harmanşah 2005:252–263) and addresses the

monumental reliefs of Carchemish as “surfaces of performativity” (Harmanşah 2007:83); in one of her many influential articles on Syro-Hittite art, Mazzoni stresses the “ritual and celebrative goal” of the Carchemish reliefs (Mazzoni 1997a:325).

## 5.1 Urban setting

A basic step towards the contextualization of monumental art within a set of social practices is to consider the location of monumental art in relation to the general layout of the city. The urban layout of Carchemish and, to a paradigmatic extent, Zincirli followed a model common to most Syro-Hittite cities of the same period, generally based on a concentric spatial organization regulated by a system of walls and gates (Gilibert, forthcoming). Both cities had a fortified outer sector with a residential character (at Carchemish, this sector was reduplicated into an “outer city” and an “inner city”). The residential part of the city was built around a walled “city center,” where the religious and administrative buildings stood. Within the city center, a system of inner walls and gates further divided the space into two main sectors (Pucci 2008a:172, 174). A more accessible “ceremonial quarter” was organized around open spaces visually dominated by one imposing building: the Storm God Temple at Carchemish, the Hilani I at Zincirli. From this ceremonial quarter, passing a further system of walls and gates, the visitor had access to the royal precincts, where palaces and further official buildings stood. Monumental art was set up at the main city gates, at the gates to the city centers, and around the open spaces of the ceremonial quarters. In short, monumental art was employed to mark important thresholds along the main avenues of access from outside the city to inside the city center, reaching an acme at the open spaces of the ceremonial quarters. At 8<sup>th</sup> century Zincirli, monumental art was also consistently employed at monumental entrances within the royal precinct. Both the city gates, the open spaces at the city center, and, in the case of 8<sup>th</sup> century Zincirli, the porticoes of the palaces were central nodes with a distinct liminal nature. The open spaces at the city centers, in particular, seem to have functioned as the organizing pivot of a ceremonial topology, the point of convergence of important routes along which gates functioned less in terms of defensive logic than of processional stations.<sup>159</sup>

Let us review closer the case of Carchemish. The archaeological investigations showed that a large space at the foot of the main mound, the “Lower Palace Area,” was left open and was not built over: the dense concentration of monumental art and inscriptions at the outer walls of the building delimiting this area, as well as its central position within the urban topography, suffice to mark it as a symbolic space and points to its ceremonial character. The open space is asymmetrical and irregular; its final form was the result of a complex process of growth and changes over the first centuries of the Iron Age. In such a way, the open-space was a “work in progress” built through the sustained input of labour over time. For now, however, let us set aside diachronic complexities in order to evaluate the ceremonial character in its enduring aspects.<sup>160</sup> The excavations did not expose enough to allow a precise definition of the entire extent of the ceremonial open-space; nonetheless, it is still possible to define its minimum extent with reasonable certainty (Fig. 54): as delineated here, the ceremonial open space at the city-centre of Carchemish comprised a space of approximately 3000 m<sup>2</sup>.

A number of installations in situ indicate that this large area was used for the performance of rituals. In front of the “Great Lion Slab” (**Carchemish 28**), “a square projection with a flat top at the centre undoubtedly served as an offering table” (Ussishkin 1975:101), while beside the great slab, a basalt block with a large square depression and a small round depression is also to be interpreted as having been as-

159 Pucci calls the avenue of access to the open space “a long marked course towards the mound” (Pucci 2008:172).

160 For a stimulating discussion of paradigmatically different designs for monumental open spaces within the

urban fabric, see Broadbent 1990:49–59, who compares the Piazza San Marco in Venice, grown over thirty building phases, with the Place Stanislas in Nancy, planned all in one piece by the same architect.

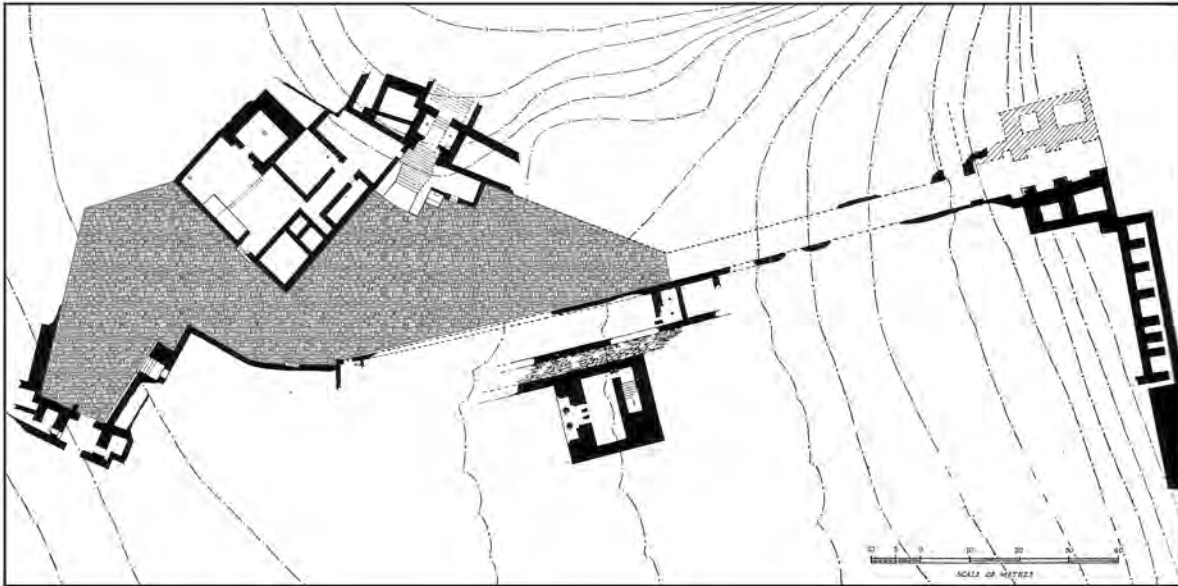


Fig. 54 | Minimum extent of non-built space at the ceremonial open-area of Carchemish.

sociated with offerings (Ussishkin 1975:102, fig. 20).<sup>162</sup> On the statue base **Carchemish 29**, which was found on the platform behind the great slab and which probably was the base for an ancestral image (see §3.2.3), two circular hollows – “cup-marks” – are cut, clear indicators for ritual performances (Ussishkin 1975:95–96, fig. 16). Similar “cup-marks” can be observed on the statue basis **Carchemish 63.85**, thus marking further foci of ritual performance. Cup-marks and offering tables for cult images are consistently found around or on raised platforms, thus further supporting the idea that the two types of installations were used for the same or similar rituals (Fig. 55).

In fact, stage-like raised platforms provided focal points of enhanced visibility.<sup>162</sup> Together with the monumental orthostats dominating the fronts of edifices, the platforms conferred a scenographic character to the place and created a sort of theatre scenery, a powerful backdrop for ritual performances. The platforms were consistently built beside the first flight of large paved stairways leading into more secluded sections or precincts (Fig. 56).

Considered in the light of ritual dynamics, these features seem to construct a specific ritual place and might have worked as “stations” of complex spectacles, including acts performed on these “stages” in front of a crowd and further rituals performed within areas of more selected access in front of a li-

<sup>161</sup> Other similar “offering tables,” some of which may have served as bases for steles or statues as well, have been found at Carchemish, mostly re-used or out of primary context. Many more come from the *extra muros* Iron Age cemeteries (*Carchemish II*, 80–81, 93–94, fig. 27; Woolley 1939:14). Approximately forty such artefacts are still visible today, re-used in a modern cemetery north of the site (Comfort, Abadie-Reynal, and Erguc 2000: 120, fig. 20). Identical artefacts were also found out of context in Zincirli.

<sup>162</sup> *Visibility* refers both to the area that can be seen from a given point (*outward viewshed*) and the areas from which a given point can be seen (*inward viewshed*). “Research at a number of early cities suggest that inward viewshed, or visibility, influenced the design of buildings and spaces as well as the locations of key ceremonial and political activities” (Smith 2007:25, referring to studies on ancient Egypt, the ancient Andes, the Mycenaean palace courts, and the Classic Mayan palaces). For an assessment of vision and visibility studies in archaeology, see Wheatley and Gillings 2000.

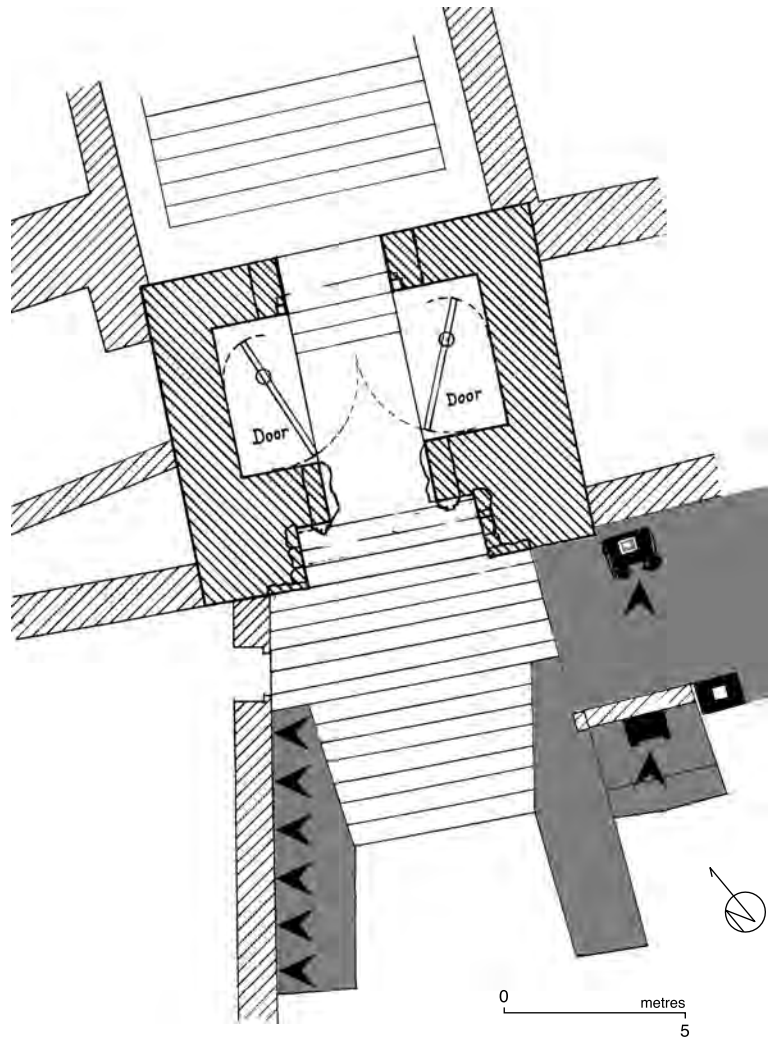


Fig. 55 | Carchemish, the Great Staircase area: raised platforms are marked grey; artifacts with spaces marked for ritual offerings are in black; arrows mark location of divine or ancestral images correlating to platforms.

mitted audience.<sup>163</sup> This is especially apparent in the case of the “Great Staircase,” where the logic of space was organized by different levels of enhanced visibility: towering atop the first flight of stairs there was a massive gateway with a wooden double door of enormous dimensions (each panel measured 3.75m wide: *Carchemish III*, 160), and just before it, a relatively narrow passageway to the precinct of the Storm God functioned to provide a kind of “backstage access.”

Thus, the architectural evidence at the open space makes it evident that “the manipulation of the monumental urban infrastructure at Carchemish [...] constituted an integral part of elaborate rituals” (Denel 2007:179). The fact that access to the open space was regulated by gates – the Water Gate and the King’s Gate – has been taken to indicate that participation was restricted to the members of the ruling class (Denel 2007:186–187). However, four aspects of the urban setting speak against this view. First, the employment of specific architectural and scenographic strategies to enhance the visibility of the ritual

<sup>163</sup> Cf. the concept of “theatre state” introduced by Geertz for nineteenth-century Bali. Geertz describes the royal palace as “a collection of larger and smaller stages,” with

exuberant figurative art, a locus for “mass festivals on major occasions in and around the palace” (Geertz 1980:113).

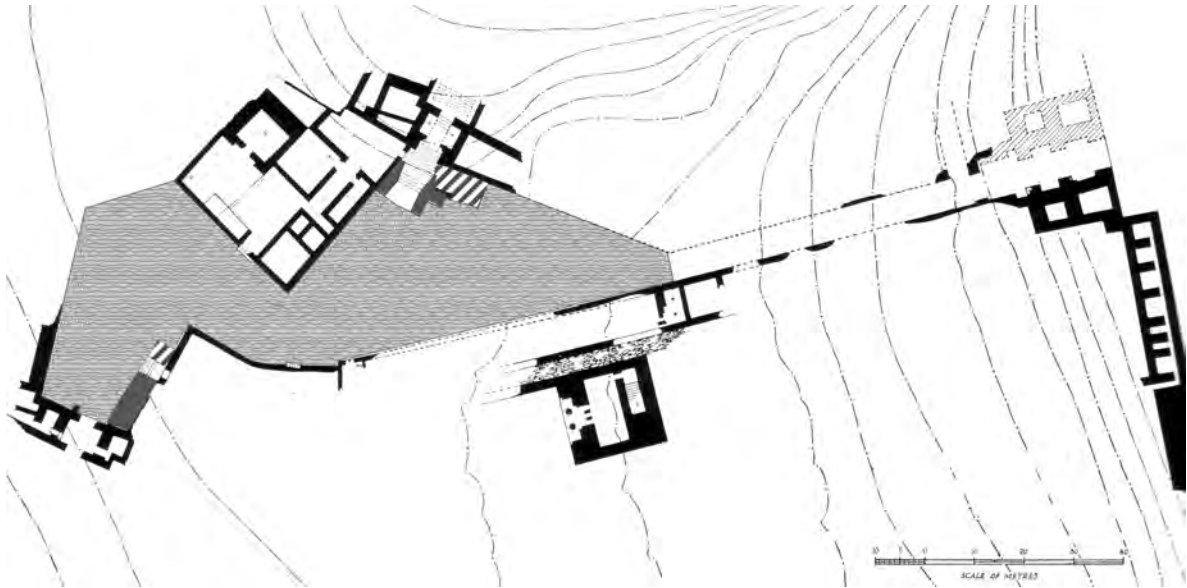


Fig. 56 | Location of raised platforms at the ceremonial open-area of Carchemish; doubtful features are shaded in stripes.

performances suggest that the rituals took place in front of a large audience. Second, the gates that regulated access to the area were ceremonial gates; although they could be closed,<sup>164</sup> the question whether this would be the norm or not, or whether perhaps they were opened upon special occasion cannot be decided.<sup>165</sup> In terms of spatial analysis, it is important to assess the “permeability” of the open space, i.e., its degree of accessibility.<sup>166</sup> In fact, both the Water Gate and the King’s Gate were apparently designed to guarantee easy access for a large number of visitors. The Water Gate was, at its narrowest, about six meters wide. It had a flight of stone steps in front of the outer buttress (*Carchemish II*, 104) and a marked difference in height between the lower gate chamber and the second buttress, which then led to a broad, straight, paved street with a gentle slope upwards. The steps and the overall steepness characterize the Water Gate as a large gate for pedestrians; the broad avenue, oversized in relation to a thoroughfare for the selected few, conferred on the whole a grand character. The King’s Gate, four meters wide, was narrower, but still a large enough chokepoint to guarantee, if open, a relatively high degree of accessibility, and its features are consistent with the idea that vehicles had occasional access to the area.<sup>167</sup>

164 Both gates had wooden doors. In its latest phase, the Water Gate had a double door at the central buttress (Naumann 1955:268) while the King’s Gate had a double door at its northern entrance (*Carchemish II*, 192, 198).

165 In a cross-cultural perspective, the role of gates in regulating access during ceremonial events is well illustrated by a number of study-cases, for example the royal palaces in nineteenth century Bali and the Yoruba palaces of West Africa: “in both cases, the palace compounds contained spaces of increasingly limited access, starting in large open areas in which the urban population gathered on key ritual and administrative occasions, followed by more restricted areas for elites and priests, and leading finally to the innermost controlled spaces where the royal family lived” (Smith 2007:24)

166 Hillier and Hanson define permeability as “how the arrangement of cells (i.e. interior spaces), and entrances controls access and movement” (Hillier and Hanson 1984:14). For a recent reappraisal of “space syntax analysis” as originally developed by the two authors, see Milek 2001:274.

167 The threshold slabs, sloping down to the open-space, were grooved – a practice adopted mostly to prevent the skidding of wheels. Moreover, “marks on the stones were not decisive but did suggest wheeled traffic” (*Carchemish II*, 199). Woolley also observed “a half-ovoid block” which apparently protected the outer corner of the Long Wall of Sculpture from damage (*Carchemish II*, 167).

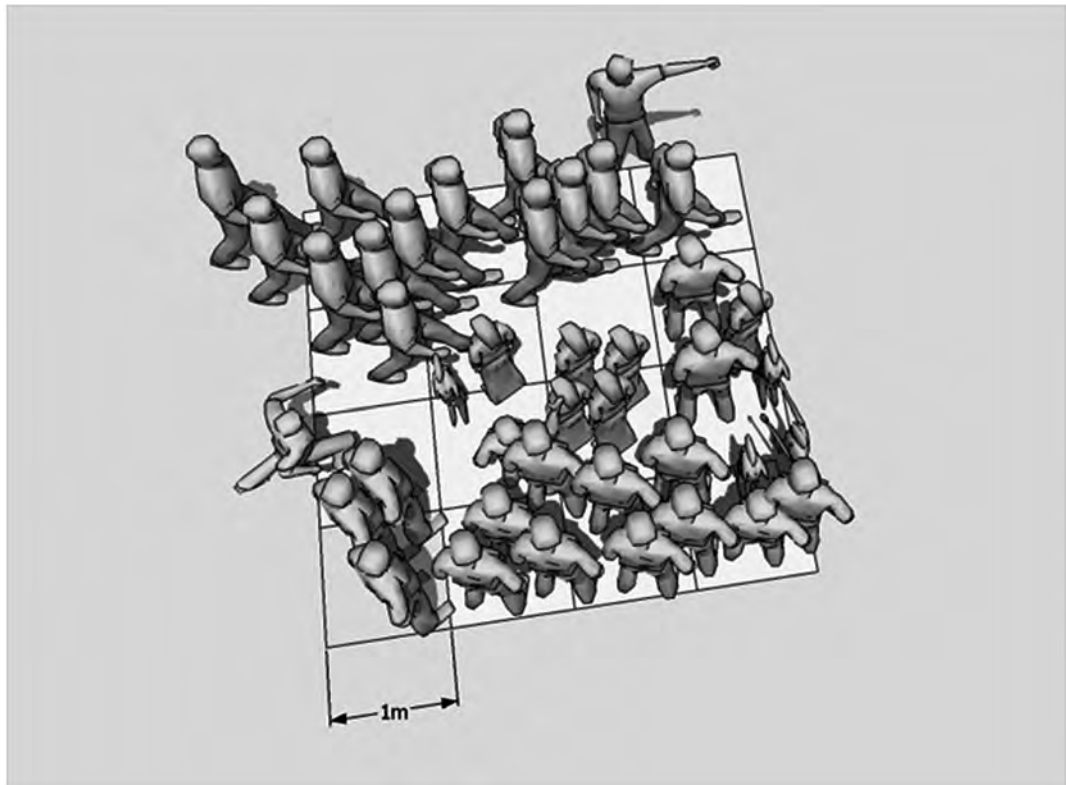


Fig. 57 | Visualization of 2.5 people/m<sup>2</sup>

Finally, the sheer size of the open area may be taken as an index of the number of visitors expected, at least upon special occasions. Let us consider the minimum extent of 3000 m<sup>2</sup> in terms of crowd capacity for a place of assembly. A crowd of medium size is usually calculated at 2.5 people per square meter (Fruin 1971; Still 2000; Fig. 57). This coefficient allows for an uneven distribution of the individuals over the defined area, e. g., for ample corridors where movement and speed is unrestricted.<sup>168</sup>

According to these parameters, the ceremonial open space at Carchemish, at its minimum estimated extent, could contain a crowd of around 7500 individuals. This is a very significant number for an Iron Age city-state.<sup>169</sup> Assuming that not more than half of the total population of the city would be able and willing to join a public ceremony (we might call this postulated fraction the “active citizens”),<sup>170</sup> the size of the ceremonial open space can be seen to be well tailored to perform its task as a public arena for extraordinary events.

<sup>168</sup> A severe crowd, such as in a crowded elevator or as in certain congregation areas of modern Mecca, is calculated at 8.4–10 people/m<sup>2</sup>: Hines 2000:149; Al-Bayouk, Seraj, Al-Yamani and Al-Gufaidi 1999.

<sup>169</sup> Given the extant data, it is impossible to estimate with precision how many inhabitants Iron-Age Carchemish might have had. An educated guess for a walled city-state commanding a fertile river valley may reasonably employ a flat density coefficient of 200 persons per hectare

(Zorn 1994, with further literature). In the case of Carchemish (91 ha), this estimation would incideate around 18,200 inhabitants.

<sup>170</sup> In fact, the percent of participants in a public ceremony over the total of the population would probably be much lower. Studies on the age structure of premodern populations consistently show that around 50 percent of the total population was either under the age of 12 or over the age of 69: cf. the detailed discussion in Scheidel 2001.

The ceremonial open space at Carchemish has a strong parallel at Tell Halaf, the ancient Guzana, where large open spaces were partially excavated around the so-called “Temple-Palace”.<sup>171</sup> As in the case of Carchemish, a monumental gate decorated with reliefs regulated access to open spaces within the walled city center. A central open space of at least 2500 m<sup>2</sup> was dominated by the north façade of the “Temple-Palace,” in front of which there was a raised platform with ritual installations. A monumental stairway connected the open space with the platform, and from the platform a decorated porch led into more secluded areas within the “Temple-Palace.”<sup>172</sup> On the façade of the “Temple-Palace,” monumental art was used on a massive scale to create a theatrical backdrop for the activities that took place on the raised platform. As with the case of the Storm God Temple at Carchemish, the “Temple-Palace” was an official building with a strong religious character that dominated a large sector of the city center, clearly separated by the royal palace complex (Pucci 2008a:108, 126). A similar setting is also found at Zincirli around the “Hilani I,” pointing to the existence of common performative practices throughout the Northern Syrian region.

At Tell Halaf, the open space in front of the “Temple-Palace” is doubled by an equally wide open space at the back façade, the one facing the city. From the outer city, only the back upper storey(s) of the “Temple-Palace,” probably with windows or narrow balustrades, would have been visible. A visitor progressing from the outer city to the “Temple-Palace” would first come to a paved square in front of the main gate to the ceremonial center, the “Burgtor.” Here, still outside the ceremonial city center, a complex of elite mortuary chapels with installations for offerings were found. Once past the “Burgtor,” the visitor would have found himself in a wide open space dominated by the back of the “Temple-Palace,” whose wall socle was entirely lined with small relief orthostats representing a great variety of festive topics in a rather informal, at times even ironic, style. From this “lower square,” the visitor would have passed through a ceremonial gate decorated with portal sculptures, the impressive “Skorpionentor,” and finally entered with a scenographic turn the “upper square,” dominated by the main façade of the “Temple-Palace” with the great ceremonial terrace and its hieratic sculptural program. Seen from the point of view of the possible festive, ritual and ceremonial activities that took place in and around the ceremonial city center, the organization of space clearly indicates a ceremonial route with three “performative stations:” the small paved square outside the “Burgtor,” where rituals connected with the mortuary chapels are likely to have taken place; the “lower square” at the back of the “Temple Palace,” a space fit for loose gatherings and informal spectacles (e.g., ability contests, mock battles, mythological theaters); and, finally, as the acme of the route, the “upper square,” where formal ceremonies involving offerings and libations took place. As in the case of Carchemish, the size of the square, the elevated platform, and the stage-like effect in general indicate that large crowds of spectators were involved.

171 A detailed analysis of the Temple-Palace complex at Tell Halaf with specific regard as to its ceremonial embedment is in preparation by the author under the provisional title “Death, amusement and the city. Civic spectacles and the theatre palace of Kapara, king of Guzana.”

172 Some of these features (vast open space, ritual installations, monumental stairways, and different levels of accessibility) are also found at the Iron-Age citadel of Hama, Period E (De Maigret 1979, Ingholt 1940, Ingholt 1942) and at Tell Taynat (Pucci 2008a). Further monumental art from Zincirli was probably placed in similar contexts. This can be hypothesized for the remnants of a colossal statue next to Hilani II (see

above, §4.2.10) – the statue seems to have been located along the outside wall of a symbolic building, upon a substantial foundation socle, and in front of an open space. Another example is the funerary stele Zincirli 90, which was found near a cist grave at the outer eastern side of Hilani I (see above, §4.2.11). Here, again, an item of monumental art that, at least for a certain period, was certainly the object of rituals, was set up against the outer wall of an important building and in front of a space that was probably left open. Further, a number of “offering tables” that might have belonged to similar contexts have been found out of context on the surface of the tell (AiS IV, fig. 230 and 235).

At Zincirli, neither the extent of excavation nor the architectural finds in the lower city and on the citadel allow an analysis of open spaces comparable to that possible in the case of Carchemish and Tell Halaf. Nonetheless, there are a number of pertinent clues pointing to a similar organization of space and to a direct relationship between monumental art and ceremonial events. As at Tell Halaf, the open space within the citadel here was doubled into a “lower square” between the outer citadel gate and Gate E, and an “upper square” around the Hilani I and in front of Gate Q. Ritual performances were clearly carried out in front of the colossal ancestral statue **Zincirli 63–64**. The monumental basis of the statue bore cup-marks for offerings; the basis itself was placed on a socle of basalt slabs that marked off the area immediately around the statue from the cobblestone paving of the surroundings. As far as the excavations could document, the larger area in front of the statue was a flat expanse of unbuilt terrain (cf. *AiS IV*, Pl. 50), although it is difficult to estimate even its approximate size. Stylistically speaking, the statue is almost identical to **Carchemish 85–86** and its position beside Gate Q recalls the position of the latter next to the Royal Buttress. The statue is located at a liminal open space: within the citadel walls, yet outside the precinct with the royal palaces.<sup>173</sup> This arrangement mirrors, but on a decidedly less monumental scale, the context of the colossal statues at Carchemish, thus suggesting that comparable ceremonies with substantial audience took place here, too.

The architectural evidence at Zincirli shows more than elsewhere a consistent and carefully planned employment of monumental art at urban gates, both to the city and to the citadel. The relief cycles included celebrative themes such as processions, ritual banquets, adoration scenes, scenes of musical performance, and military cavalcades. Iconography and style are linked to the reliefs at the ceremonial center of Carchemish; at the gates of Zincirli, however, the same themes that at Carchemish are elaborated as extended visual cycles are shrunk into single slabs: “Es scheint nicht völlig ausgeschlossen, daß man darin eine bewusste Nachahmung und Abkürzung von Vorbildern sehen darf, wie sie in der Kunst von Karkemis gegeben waren” (Orthmann 1971:465–466, n.1). The erection of monumental art at urban gates is in line with a tradition that dates back at least to the Late Bronze Age (Harmanşah 2007; 2005) and that re-occurs without great changes at sites like Carchemish and Malatya in the earliest centuries of the Iron Age. The choice of the urban gate as a setting for monumental art is connected to religious rituals performed there, a widespread practice both in Hittite Anatolia and in the Levant (Görke 2008; Burnett et al. 1998; Blomquist 1999; Del Monte 1973; Ussishkin 1989; Voos 1983).<sup>174</sup> At Carchemish, this tradition is abruptly interrupted in the late tenth century BCE by the large decorative cycles at the open ceremonial area, newly conceived as great performative arenas. At Zincirli, the new spatial logic introduced at nearby Carchemish and found also at Tell Halaf was emulated: open spaces with a ritual and performative focus were integrated into the urban logic, and monumental art was executed according to the newly developed iconographies and style. However, the set up favored for monumental art remained the traditional one, at the urban gate. Thus, the gate “was converted into a place for performing rituals, processions, parades” (Mazzoni 1997a:332) in connection to the open spaces in front and behind it.<sup>175</sup>

173 The excavations of the Chicago Oriental Institute at Tell Ta'yinat exposed an Iron Age citadel – the West Central palatial complex, very much comparable to that at Zincirli. There, as well, ritual open spaces in liminal contexts are recorded: at the colossal ancestral statue outside the gate to the citadel and at the open space in front of the so-called Building II, a megaron-like temple outside the citadel walls (Haines 1971:40–70).

174 A royal ritual banquet held at a gate is represented on Side D, Register 7 of the so-called White Obelisk, found at Nineveh and probably to be dated to the reign of Assurnasirpal II.

175 Gates may have been favoured places for the erection of images because, as areas of passage and as “stations” along a ceremonial route, they guaranteed high visibility (Denel 2007:184).

The excavations at Zincirli also exposed two larger open spaces within the Southwest Complex, termed the Northern and the Southern courtyards. While the Northern courtyard, the older of the two, was apparently not decorated in an overly impressive way, the use of monumental art on the façade of the Southern courtyard was conspicuous and commanding. Beyond numerous fragments of sculpture found out of context, two nearly complete cycles of figurative reliefs on basalt slabs were recovered. The first decorated the façade and the porch of Hilani IV and dated to the reign of Barrakib (approximately 732–711 BCE), while the second covered the 32m long façade of Hilani III, probably dating between 711 and 670 (see above, §4.2.8). The courtyard itself covered c. 240 m<sup>2</sup> and was most likely not easily accessible to the general public, but was rather a working and gathering place for adjutants and members of the elite and the royal court. The Southern courtyard was the direct way of access to the royal Hilanis, and the lavish use of monumental art underlined its special status. The iconography and composition of the reliefs envisage the Southern courtyard as a locus for “diacritical” ceremonies of the elite, that is, exclusionary events that were used to naturalize and reify ranked differences in social status.<sup>176</sup> The slabs consistently depict scenes of royal court ceremonials, a rare occurrence in Syro-Hittite monumental art (Orthmann 1971:364–365). At Hilani IV, the reliefs represent the king surrounded by his entourage; they stress the dominant position of the ruler amidst the nobility, visualizing protocol and rank;<sup>177</sup> they set the scene for a *theatrum precedentiae* (Kunisch 2001:274) within the royal court. At Hilani III, the reliefs depict two lines of noblemen in full attire entering the building. The small differences in the depiction of hair and clothes enliven and only underline the “corporate identity” of the represented subjects. The reliefs addressed the same individuals they depicted – the courtiers – reinforcing the ideological framework of the elite.

Thus, the Southern courtyard at Zincirli bears witness to a further dimension of ceremonial embedment of monumental art, one connected with the diacritic ceremonies rather than with inclusive public ceremonies. In the eighth century BCE, as we shall see in Chapter 6, the practice of public ceremonies at Zincirli that was recorded in the monumental art corresponded to an increasing array of actual court ceremonies of exclusive nature that were developed in parallel with the increase of Assyrian influence (cf. also Orthmann 1971:466).

## 5.2 Iconographic evidence

The discussion above has already repeatedly referred to iconographic evidence, showing that images of ceremonies not only constitute a large proportion of the Syro-Hittite iconographic spectrum but also very often correlate to ceremonial spaces. In the following, this argument shall be followed further and particular attention shall be paid to images of processions.

In general, Syro-Hittite monumental art can be said to have a rather restricted iconographic repertoire. Leaving aside a number of idiosyncratic themes from Tell Halaf, Orthmann listed seventeen “scenes” or compositions (Orthmann 1971:351–458). Applying minor changes to his list and eliminating iconographies that do not occur more than once, the number can be further reduced to fourteen (Table 12).

<sup>176</sup> “Diacritical” are those ceremonies and rituals in which access and participation function as a sign of status distinction. For the term, see Sahlins 1999:414 with further literature. For the concept of “diacritical feast,” see van der Veen 2003; LeCount 2001; Dietler 1996.

<sup>177</sup> On the importance of visualization of social ranks and rulership symbolism in court ceremonial, see Mörke 2003. On courtly rituals in cross-cultural perspective, see Vale 2001:200–247.

Table 12 | The Syro-Hittite iconographic spectrum: an overview.

	The Syro-Hittite iconographic spectrum: “scenes”
I	Adoration scenes
II	Libation scenes
III	Banquet scenes
IV	Processions of foot soldiers
V	Processions of charioteers and riders (military cavalcades)
VI	Processions of offering bearers
VII	Processions of courtiers
VIII	Processions of gods
IX	Scenes of music and dance performances
X	Hunt scenes
XI	Single images of gods or ancestors
XII	Single images of apothropaic or tutelary creatures
XIII	Scenes of men or gods overmastering wild animals
XIV	Antithetical scenes of animals or divine creatures

At both Carchemish and Zincirli, this iconographic spectrum is well represented, with a particular emphasis placed on processional imagery. This fact supports the thesis that at both sites performative events with a large audience were organized, since processions involve by definition substantial groups of people and a crowd of spectators.<sup>178</sup> The images of processions at Carchemish and Zincirli can be arranged as indicated in Table 13.

The scenes of processions are neither complex nor narrative; they are formal sequences of figures using an easy rhetoric of repetition to signify a sense of unidirectional progression and purpose. At Carchemish and Zincirli the images of processions converge on ceremonial gateways and, except for the procession of courtiers of Hilani III at Zincirli, the iconography is also directly linked to important avenues, which we might identify as processional ways. The processional imagery links meaningfully to its set-up location, marking the open spaces with directional paths. In the case of the procession of courtiers at the King’s Gate, the individuals are represented stepping on a stairway, which might be interpreted as a direct reference to the stairway in the recess nearby. Thus, it appears likely that the processions represented on stone mirrored and at the same time inspired processional events that occasionally took place nearby.

As defined by ritual anthropology, a procession is a linearly ordered, solemn movement of a group through chartered space to a known destination to give witness, bear an esteemed object, perform a rite, fulfil a vow, gain merit, or visit a shrine (Grimes 2003). The chartered nature of a procession is often emphasized by the use of “stations” where the procession stops and rituals are performed. “Defined in terms of function, processions build meaning. Externally they validate social institutions and practices,

<sup>178</sup> This is exactly the point made by Alice at the grand processions of the Queen of Hearts: “what would be the use of a procession” she asked herself, “if people had to lie

down on their faces, so that they couldn’t see it?” (from *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, The Queen’s Croquet-Ground).

Table 13 | Processional imagery at Carchemish and Zincirli

Carchemish			Zincirli	
Ceremonial open-area	Lower Palace area	<b>Procession of armed warriors</b> (Carchemish 13–16); <b>triumphal cavalcade</b> (Carchemish 17–22); <b>procession of gods</b> (Carchemish 23–26)	Southern city gate	<b>Triumphal cavalcade</b> (Zincirli 5.11); In association with scenes of secular <b>libation</b> (Zincirli 7), <b>deer hunt</b> (Zincirli 8–10) and images of <b>divine creatures</b> (Zincirli 3–4.6)
	King's Gate	<b>Procession of armed warriors</b> (Carchemish 87–90); <b>procession of courtiers</b> (Carchemish 81–84); procession of male and female <b>offering bearers</b> (Carchemish 65–73). Together with scenes of <b>music performances</b> (Carchemish 74.76), the image of a goddess/queen (Carchemish 74), and a scene of a <b>royal appointment</b> (Carchemish 77–80)	Outer gate to the citadel	<b>Procession of gods</b> (Zincirli 25–27.36–38.49–51); In association with <b>adoration scene</b> (Zincirli 49), scene of <b>music performance</b> (Zincirli 31–32), <b>triumphal cavalcade</b> of the king (Zincirli 12–13), <b>royal funerary banquet</b> (Zincirli 14–16), and <b>hunt</b> (Zincirli 17–20.45–46)
			Hilani III	<b>Procession of courtiers</b> (Zincirli 78–85)

while also instilling in individual actors' minds beliefs about meaning, coherence, and values" (Flanigan 2001:35). Flanigan identifies three defining characteristics of processions: a) they enhance solidarity among the participants; b) they give the participants a feeling of necessity, that the ritual must unavoidably take place and do so in a prescribed way; and, c) they are re-enactments of events that had already taken place in the past ("archetypical events"), i.e., processions have a commemorative character (Flanigan 2001:39–40). The presence of monumental reliefs with processional imagery works as a re-enforcing tool for each of the three aspects, enchainning the ephemeral event to a durable communicative medium.

The occasions upon which processions were held (military, religious, or secular: see the discussion below, §5.3) were of broad nature, apt to emphasize collective identity in a large audience. At the same time, their rhetoric was explicitly political, legitimating the ruler, and sometimes the royal court, as the main mediators in rituals of societal renewal. The case of the Royal Buttress is particularly significant: in the middle of the eighth century BCE, Yariris, regent of Carchemish, sponsored the important re-design of the older processional frieze at the King's Gate. He commissioned the addition of the Royal Buttress in a prominent position: exploiting the existing iconographies to his own ends, he retained most of the processional reliefs but substituted some older ones with new ones prominently featuring the young ruler Kamanis (once) and himself (twice). Further, he used the surface of the monument (whose area had been doubled by the addition of the Royal Buttress) to squeeze in a procession of royal attendants. In short, he manipulated the commemorative images of previous ceremonies and updated them to support his own political agenda (Denel 2007:196–197). This evidence indicates that processions, and their crystallization in stone, were important loci for the negotiation of political power, for the definition of identity, and for the maintenance or rejection of previous images of the past (Brown 2008).

### 5.3 Written evidence

The prominent display of inscriptions, either alone or associated with monumental art, is a characteristic feature of the Syro-Hittite built environment. This is particularly true in the case of ceremonial open spaces and passageways. In the Syro-Anatolian early Iron Age, the integration of the written word in public architecture is pursued with a consistency previously unknown to any near-Eastern monumental tradition apart from Egypt (Gilibert 2004:379–380); inscriptions carved in high-visibility locations and monumental images became so dialectically interwoven that it would be misleading not to see them as a single mixed communicative medium.<sup>181</sup> One of the possible interactions between texts and representation are references in texts to specific items of monumental art, not infrequently the very same items on which the text was carved.<sup>182</sup> These references are in fact “meta-discourses” on the monumental contexts and can help the modern scholar contextualize monumental art within its original *Sitz im Leben*.<sup>183</sup> Of relevance here are those passages that explicitly concern the employment of monumental art in connection with public ceremonies.

In this respect, the relatively small corpus of inscriptions from Zincirli provides a single, indirectly relevant passage, whereas the corpus of inscriptions from Carchemish counts at least nine directly relevant textual loci.

The textual reference from the Zincirli corpus occurs in the so-called “Panamuwa inscription” (KAI 215). The Aramaic inscription is carved on the torso of a colossal statue representing the dead king Panamuwa II, dedicated to him by his successor Barrakib (732–711 BCE). The torso was found at Tahtalı Pınarı and dates around 733–731 BCE (Tropper 1993:98). The relevant passage (ll. 16–19) reports on the funerary rituals following the death of Panamuwa during a military campaign at the side of the Assyrian king Tiglatpileser III. A collective formal lamentation was held, and a substantial crowd took part: the text mentions the Assyrian king, further allied kings, and “the army in its entirety” (l. 17). During the ceremonial event, the Assyrian king presented the dead Panamuwa with food offerings and libations and erected a funerary monument of Panamuwa “on the road” (l. 18). The ceremony was sponsored by the Assyrian king and may document an Assyrian ritual in part. At the same time, however, it clearly reflects the Syro-Anatolian practice of funerary offerings<sup>176</sup> in front of monumental images, as described on the funerary stele **Zincirli 91** (here, §4.2.12). This is known to have been an important royal ritual in Zincirli, described or, better, prescribed in the funerary inscription of Panamuwa I (KAI 214, ll. 14–22) and probably related to a coronation ceremony (Schmidt 1994:134, n. 9). Important for the matter at hand is that the passage in question shows that this practice could take the form of a public ceremony with a substantial audience.<sup>177</sup>

In the corpus of inscriptions from Carchemish, references either to ritual acts or to monumental art, or to both, are relatively common. Seven of the nine passages pointing to a connection between the

179 Communicative media making a complex, integrated use of verbal and visual signs have been analyzed as “image-texts” (Mitchell 1994) or “iconotexts” (Wagner 1995); sophisticated case studies, also with relevance to the study of ancient media literacy, concern in particular modern “picturebooks” (Nikolajeva and Scott 2000).

180 Inscriptions may also comprise references to the specific location in which their material bearers were set up. When this is the case for Syro-Hittite funerary inscriptions, Bonatz recognizes a recurring literary formula, which he calls a “topographical code” (Bonatz 2000a:73).

181 Cf. Mihelic 1951, Wagner 1996, and Leibinger 2000, particularly Ch. 1 and 3.

182 For the Syro-Anatolian version of the *kispum*-ritual, cf. Porter 2002:168–169 and in particular Bonatz 2000a:92–96. On the *kispum*-ritual in general, see Toorn 1996:153–180, Jonker 1995:223–230, Tsukimoto 1985.

183 Similar memorial feasts and public lamentations are also recorded in the Hebrew Bible – see Greenfield, Paul, Stone and Pinnick 2001:70–71.

Table 14 | Carchemish: overview of the written evidence on ceremonial performances

Inscription	Description	Context	Relevant passage(s)	Date BCE
KARKAMIŠ Ara (on Carchemish 17)	6-line monumental inscription of Suhis II, truncated.	Long Wall of Sculpture	§7, §10: Extraordinary royal offering of <b>war trophies</b> to the gods depicted on the monumental wall reliefs; the trophies – (SCALPRUM.CA-PERE <sub>2</sub> ) <i>u-pa-ni-na</i> – may have been stone carvings, as suggested by the determinative, or else the severed heads of the enemy depicted on the slab itself and on the reliefs preceding it, representing a <b>triumphal cavalcade</b> ; §19–20: regular <b>worship</b> of the king “at the podium” of the gods depicted on the reliefs nearby, whose reliefs were erected upon this occasion; §29–35: offering prescriptions for “a banquet feast” (PANIS.PITHOS) to be held regularly after the death of the king, involving commoners offering bread and sheep to a statue of Suhis.	Reign of <b>Suhis (II)</b> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 10 <sup>th</sup> century
KARKAMIŠ Aria	7-line monumental inscription of Katuwas, fragmentary.	Western door-jamb of the <b>King’s Gate</b>	§12–21: Commemorative description of an <b>inauguration ceremony</b> for the temple of the god Tarhunzas, sponsored by the king. The ceremony involved the establishment of <b>seasonal bread offerings</b> for Tarhunzas, as well as the <b>erection of orthostats</b> and the “seating” of statue Carchemish 63.64 at the King’s Gate.	Reign of <b>Katuwas</b> , early ninth century, later than KARKAMIŠ A11b+c
KARKAMIŠ A4d (on Carchemish 64)	1-line monumental inscription for the statue of Atri-Suhas (prob. to be translated as “image of Suhis”), fragmentary.	Statue of a deified ancestor at the <b>King’s Gate</b> . The inscription was carved on the hem of the statue’s skirt.	Prescription of <b>annual offerings to the statue</b> (bread, an ox and two sheep). The brief inscription seems to imply that a substantial number of people had to contribute said offerings on a regular basis.	Reign of <b>Katuwas</b> , early ninth century, later than KARKAMIŠ A11b+c
KARKAMIŠ A11b+c	12-line monumental inscription.	Pair of portal orthostats, re-used face downward as paving slabs at the threshold of the <b>King’s Gate</b> .	§7: Commemorative mention of a <b>triumphal parade</b> of enemy’s chariotry; §13: Offering of <b>war trophies</b> ; §16–17: commemorative mention of a <b>procession</b> sponsored by the king in honour of the gods Karhuhas and Kubaba as well as of the <b>erection of statues</b> for both in the proximity of the King’s Gate; §18: prescriptions of <b>offerings for the images/statues</b> of Karhuhas, Sarkus and unspecified “male and female gods,” probably to be identified with the images of offering bearers of the nearby Processional Way.	Reign of <b>Katuwas</b> , early ninth century, prior to KARKAMIŠ A11a and Carchemish 64.

Inscription	Description	Context	Relevant passage(s)	Date BCE
KARKAMIŠ A6 (on Carchemish 80)	9-line monumental inscription.	Royal Buttress	§19–22: Description of an <b>oath ceremony</b> involving young prince Kamanis and other royal offsprings, to be held “in front of Tarhunzas, Kubaba, and every god.”	Reign of the regent <b>Yariris</b> , early eighth century
KARKAMIŠ A7 (on Carchemish 79)	Short monumental epigraphs connected with the carvings.	Royal Buttress	§3–4: Commemoration of the <b>ceremonial appointment</b> of young prince Kamanis “over the temple” – the ceremony involved a <b>procession</b> of eunuchs, music and dance <b>performances</b> , as well as the <b>erection of the commemorative orthostats</b> themselves.	Reign of the regent <b>Yariris</b> , early eighth century
KARKAMIŠ A31+	Last 5 lines of a monumental inscription on the reverse of a stele depicting the goddess Kubaba.	“High up” on the north-west slope of the <b>citadel</b> mound (Hawkins 2000:140)	§3–4: Commemoration of the construction of Kubaba’s temple; the king set up a statue of himself in front of it; §8: description of an <b>exclusive ceremony</b> involving “kings and lords” entering Kubaba’s “honoured precinct” to perform rituals.	Reign of <b>Kamanis</b> , mid-8 <sup>th</sup> century
CEKKE	12-line inscription on the reverse of a stele depicting the god Tarhunzas on the back of a bull.	Found <i>in situ</i> in an unexcavated gate structure (?) in a field near the village of <b>Djekke</b> , Northern Syria	This is an inscription of DOMINUS-tiwaras, “servant” of Sasturas, vizier of Kamanis. The inscription commemorates the royal “purchase” of a city. Upon this occasion a <b>banquet feast</b> was made “in every [bordering(?)] city before Ahalis the River Lord” (§10). The feasts (§11–16) were attended by “the mayor and the great ones” [of the purchased city(?)] and involved (a) <b>animal offerings</b> ; (b) the payment of silver; (c) a ceremonial banquet, and (d) the <b>engraving of “frontier stele”</b> defining the territorial boundaries of the newly purchased city.	Reign of <b>Kamanis</b> , mid-8 <sup>th</sup> century
KARKAMIŠ A26f	4 lines of a fragmentary monumental inscription	Great Staircase	§2–3 envisage an <b>appointment ceremony</b> of a unidentified ruler upon his ascension to the throne involving a ritual act performed by “ <b>looking upon the images/statues.</b> ”	Between Kamanis and Pisiri, ca. 750–740.

monuments and ritual performances involving audiences directly concern the ceremonial open space at the city centre. Furthermore, an inscription from Djekke (CEKKE) provides some circumstantial evidence, while the inscription KARKAMIŠ A3I+ describes a ritual ceremony of exclusive nature in an area of low accessibility.

Table 14 presents the evidence in chronological order.

With the exception of the aforementioned inscriptions CEKKE and KARKAMIŠ A3I+, the passages listed above support the thesis that the ceremonial centre of Carchemish was used as arena for ritual spectacles at least from the second half of the tenth century onward. In accordance with the texts, we can identify three different formal events of ceremonial nature:

1. **The military triumph** (KARKAMIŠ A1a, KARKAMIŠ A1Ib+c), involving (a) parades and cavalcades of military officers; (b) offerings of war trophies, such as the severed heads of the enemy, (c) erection of commemorative orthostats and of monumental cult images and (d) establishment of worship for said images, including processions and public offerings.
2. **The appointment ceremony** for ascension to the throne (KARKAMIŠ A6, KARKAMIŠ A7, KARKAMIŠ A26f), involving a formal gathering in front of cult images, musical performances, and the erection of commemorative orthostats.
3. **The temple inauguration ceremony** (KARKAMIŠ A1IIa), involving the establishment of offerings and the erection of orthostats at the King's Gate.

Significantly, upon each of the listed occasions, the ritual event could include the **erection of an ancestral statue** and the establishment of offerings to it.

The CEKKE inscription provides further evidence for the practice of public feasts within the territory of Carchemish, and for the role of monumental art as public *memento* of the rituals that sealed the events.

The inscription KARKAMIŠ A3I+ is mentioned here because it points to the fact that, in Carchemish, extraordinary ceremonies in secluded places with a highly selected audience took place as well – we may call them “diacritical ceremonies” as opposed to inclusive events such as public ceremonies.<sup>184</sup>

## 5.4 Monumental art and ceremonial events

Architectural, iconographic, and written evidence shows that at Carchemish and Zincirli monumental art and inscriptions and their architectural context were used together to mark out ceremonial open spaces for ritual performances. The performances, which in many cases involved a substantial audience, revolved around the commemoration of the past (notably cult of royal ancestors),<sup>185</sup> the legitimization of the ruling class (appointment ceremonies, erection of monuments, and buildings), and the reinforcement of the collective identity (offering ceremonies, military triumphs). That is, at Carchemish and Zincirli we observe the development of a specific “rhetoric of spatial practices” (Bender 2006:305) deeply implicated in issues of political power. DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle argues that ceremonial events, public monuments, and monumental inscriptions are typical means of materialization of ideology, i.e. “the transformation of ideas, values, stories, and the like, into a physical reality” (DeMarrais et al.

<sup>184</sup> For the concept of “diacritical ceremony,” see above, n. 170.

<sup>185</sup> See Cohen 2005 for a study of death rituals as an “arena in which individuals attempt to establish, maintain, and contest social positions by materializing ideology” (p. 26).

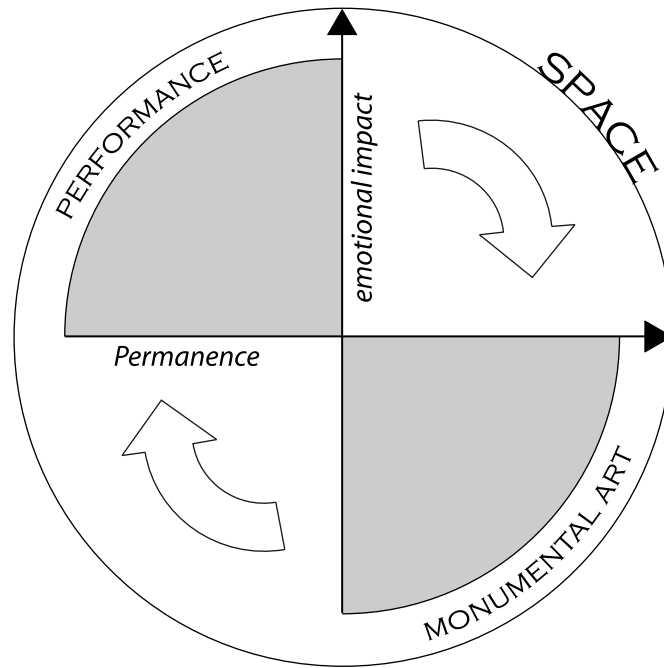


Fig. 58 | Monumental art and performance: graphical model of a positive-feedback loop

1996:16). The three authors focus on ideology as a source of social power and posit that, in order to become an effective source of power, ideology must materialize in concrete forms: only then can it “achieve the status of shared values and beliefs” (ibid.).<sup>186</sup> At the same time, they view “the process of materialization as an ongoing arena for competition, control of meaning, and the negotiation of power relationships” (ibid.). The selection of ceremonies and monumental architecture as concerted forms of materialization is an attempt to “integrate and define large groups” and to communicate “on a grand scale” (DeMarrais et al. 1996:17).<sup>187</sup> In this sense, ceremonial performances and monumental art are

<sup>186</sup> This is similar to Lefebvre’s views on monumentality as eminently political issue in *The production of space*: “Monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to expose the collective will and collective thought” (Lefebvre 1991:143).

<sup>187</sup> In a cross-cultural perspective, we may refer here also to Mesoamerican archaeology. In Classic Mayan society, mass spectacles in open-air theatrical spaces decorated with monumental art were a key social technology for the cohesion and negotiation of power (Inomata 2006a, 2006b). At the end of the Classic Mayan period, a colossal stele set up at the Great Plaza of Quirigua functioned as a communicative medium through which public performances of the rulers (in particular ritual dances) were committed to collective memory: “The making of art was not only the creation of reality through ritual but a fulfillment of the ceremonial obligation of the elite. Texts and representational art actualized the rituals that the elites were required to perform [...]. The value of monumental art, and in turn the spiritual power of the elite, lay in its capacity to incarnate memory and to stimulate reflection and emotion in a diverse and yet interrelated audience” (Looper 2003:23). Andean monumental sculpture also

appears deeply embedded in a larger scale festive and ceremonial context (Coben 2006; Lau 2002; Van de Guchte 1990). At Monte Albán, in the Mexican Valley of Oaxaca, approximately 360 carved stones decorated the Pre-Hispanic Main Plaza, depicting iconographies connected with the large-scale sacrificial ceremonies held on the spot (Joyce and Winter 1996). Interesting cross-cultural parallels are also found in ancient Southeastern Asia: Lopez y Royo engaged in research at the temple complex of Prambanan (Central Java, ninth century CE), whose outer balustrade is decorated with 62 stone reliefs of dancers: she has shown that the open space around the temple was a performance locus and that the reliefs were a sort of monumental choreography. “At Prambanan dance is contained, architecturally, in the inherent dynamism of the temple structure and is projected on the surface of the main temple structure through the dance reliefs, themselves an architectural device” (Lopez y Royo 2005:41). Another prominent example of a connection between larger-scale performances involving music and dance re-enactments of archetypical events and the conspicuous use of monumental art in ceremonial open-space are the main temple courts of ancient Angkor, Cambodia (Cravath 1986).

complementary strategies. Due to their immediacy and pathos, large-scale ceremonies and ritual spectacles are especially powerful means for the negotiation of power and ideology; on the other hand, their nature is ephemeral and their effects prone to fading. Conversely, monumental art is by definition enduring, built to outlive (Assmann 1991:13–14) and generally difficult to dispose of (Bradley 1993:5). A paradoxical property of monumental art and monuments in general, however, is that their signifying power, if left untouched, tend constantly to decrease: eventually, monuments lose their aura and become invisible, particularly if their numbers increase (Lütticken 1999:308; Wells 2007:139).<sup>188</sup> The combination of ceremonial events with monumental art decreases the fade-away effect and increases the efficacy of both as media of communication. Monumental art anchors the ceremonies in space and time, gives them an “aura of permanence” (DeMarrais et al. 1996:19) and crystallizes in them retrospective as well as prospective collective memories.<sup>189</sup> Ceremonial events and extraordinary ritual performances, on their part, enliven the monumental art and somehow makes it “real” again and again, using it as a ritual implement and embedding it in ritual behaviour.

188 In the words of Robert Musil, “das Auffallendste an Denkmälern ist nämlich, dass man sie nicht bemerkt. Es gibt nichts auf der Welt, was so unsichtbar wäre wie Denkmäler. Sie werden doch zweifellos aufgestellt, um gesehen zu werden, ja geradezu, um die Aufmerksamkeit zu erregen; aber gleichzeitig sind sie durch irgendetwas gegen Aufmerksamkeit imprägniert, und diese rinnt Wassertropfen-auf-Ölbezug-artig an ihnen ab,

ohne auch nur einen Augenblick stehen zu bleiben” (Robert Musil, “Denkmale”. In *Gesammelte Werke 7. Kleine Prosa, Aphorismen, Autobiographisches*. Rheinbeck: Rowohlt 1978)

189 An artefact evoking prospective memories is an artifact intended to promote specific memories onto subsequent generations, i.e., a “memory-making artifact” (Williams 2006:172).

## 6 Art and ritual performance in diachronic perspective

In the previous chapter, the evidence for the embedding of monumental art in ritual performances was reviewed with little attention paid to its diachronic development. Over the course of five hundred years, however, both monumental art and the nature of the rituals connected to it changed considerably. This chapter focuses on the development of monumental art and its contexts through time in order to relate the changes in art to changes in ceremonial behaviour, in power structures and models of rulership.

### 6.1 The archaic transitional period (twelfth to mid-tenth century BCE)

The two centuries following the collapse of the Hittite Empire around 1200 BCE are, in every respect, the least known of the Syro-Anatolian Iron Age. Nothing, for example, is known about the urban settlement at Zincirli. Our best information comes from Carchemish. In this period, Carchemish continued to be the wealthy and powerful seat of royalty it had been in the Late Bronze Age. The rulers of Carchemish took over the titular and imperial pretensions of the Hittite kings, as well as a relatively vast territory. Under Kuzi-Tešub (ca. 1180–1150 BCE), political control probably extended as far north as Malatya; under subsequent rulers, a process of peaceful fragmentation began, and Malatya became an independent kingdom ruled by a collateral dynastic line (Hawkins 1988; Hawkins 1995a). Malatya was probably not the only case of territorial loss; however, the Hieroglyphic Luwian stele KARKAMIŠ A4b demonstrates that, at the turn of the eleventh century BCE, the rulers of Carchemish still followed the Hittite Empire tradition of calling themselves “Great Kings” (MAGNUS.REX), described Carchemish as a “region” (REGIO), and wrote the polity’s name in the stem form *Karkamis(a)*, as on the Empire-period seals (Hawkins 2000:81).

Few items of monumental art from this period survive. Among them, only the orthostats at the Water Gate were found in context. The oldest reliefs consist almost entirely of animal imagery with symbolic values: bulls (**Carchemish 3.11**), a bull-man (**Carchemish 5**), lions (naturalistic and winged: **Carchemish 3–4**), and a sphinx (**Carchemish 8**). Also during this period, but somewhat later, two slabs representing a libation of the king in front of the Storm-God (**Carchemish 6**) and a ritual banquet of the king (**Carchemish 7**) were added to the gate. Style, iconography, and, as far as can be surmised, composition of the Water Gate reliefs directly recall the sculpture friezes at the temples of ‘Ain Dara (twelfth/eleventh century BCE) and Aleppo (around 1100 BCE). On the libation slab **Carchemish 6**, the Storm God is depicted stepping on his bull-driven chariot; similar scenes are carved on an orthostat from the temple of Aleppo (Gonnella, Khayyata, and Kohlmeyer 2005:99, fig. 138) and on Relief K from the Lion Gate at Malatya, dating to the late eleventh century BCE (Hawkins 2000:288; Fig. 59).

The imagery and design of the archaic reliefs at Carchemish, ‘Ain Dara, Malatya and, to a lesser extent, Aleppo owe a large debt to the art of the late Hittite Empire period.<sup>190</sup> Not surprisingly, the iconographic repertoire follows in particular a specific Syro-Anatolian “Hurro-Hittite tradition” of the thirteenth century BCE, which had Late Bronze Age Carchemish as its epicentre (Alexander 1991; Mazzoni 1977).

190 On late Hittite Empire monumental art in general, see Alexander 1986, Ehringhaus 2005, Kohlmeyer 1983. On the motif of the Storm God on a chariot in the second

millennium BCE, see Güterbock 1994; for the sphinx in Anatolia, see Gilibert 2011

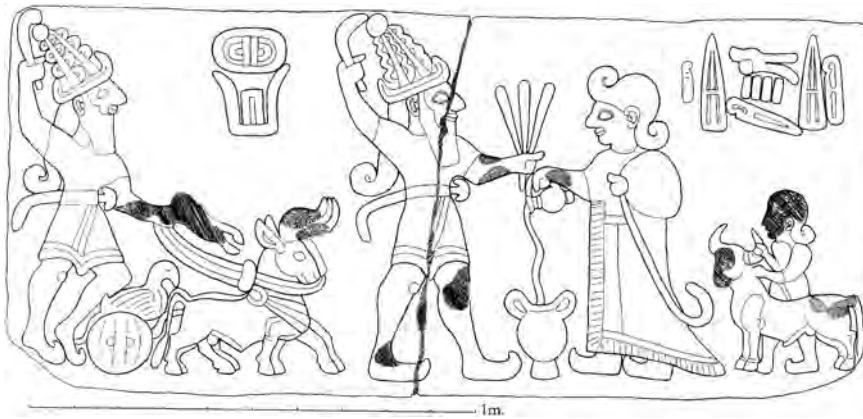


Fig. 59 | Malatya, Lion Gate, Relief K (from Hawkins 2000, Pl. 149).

At Aleppo and 'Ain Dara it is possible to observe a specific and innovative development of this tradition: the conspicuous monumental decoration of temple buildings on high places within the city.<sup>191</sup> At Carchemish, the decoration of the Water Gate, much as that of the Lion Gate at Malatya, appears to maintain continuity from the Hittite Empire tradition, from which both the essentials of the imagery and the practice of decorating gates with carved orthostats are derived. The fact that two outstanding orthostats here represent cult scenes (**Carchemish 6**: a libation in front of the Storm God; **Carchemish 7**: royal ceremonial banquet accompanied by music) may indicate that the depicted performances either took place at the gate or were somehow connected with it. The orthostats were designed as a pair and it is reasonable to assume that they represented either two aspects of the same ceremony or two related rituals. The performance of rituals at the city gates is a widespread phenomenon and a feature known from the Syro-Hittite Middle Bronze Age onwards, and the best sources for understanding the two orthostats are found in the Hittite Empire tradition.<sup>192</sup> A band of relief modelled on the wrist of a fist-shaped Hittite silver cup<sup>193</sup> represents a ceremony involving the Hittite king pouring a libation in front of the Storm God, who is holding a bull's reins (Fig. 60).

Flowering plant motifs and the presence of a “vegetation deity” indicate that the ceremony takes place in the open, probably in springtime. A masonry structure functioning as a partition element of the circular frieze is interpreted by Kendall as a city tower with a man rising above the wall, a visual synecdoche for the capital city and a folk audience (Güterbock and Kendall 1995:54). If this is correct, one might imagine that the ceremony took place in front of a city gate, with the audience gazing from the fortification walls. The cup frieze has several points of contact not only with the libation scene but also with the royal banquet scene. A banquet table loaded with a round loaf of bread, a napkin, and three stacked objects is set between the king and the Storm God. Behind the king, standing courtiers attend to

191 Both the Aleppo and the 'Ain Dara temples were located on top of steep mounds overlooking the surrounding settlement. Thus, they were at the same time highly visible and scarcely accessible. As pointed out by Mazzoni, at 'Ain Dara the rear of the temple “retained a special position and was certainly enjoyable from a great distance ... there was certainly no place here for a wall enclosing the temple; its back was then free, overlooking the lower city and acting as a façade; and because of its position charged with symbolic effects it was, in fact, decorated

on its higher part with two stelae with the images of the enthroned gods” (1994:332). Monumental landscaping of this kind may be usefully compared with the Hittite cyclopean cultic building at Gavurkale (or Gavur Kalesi) – see Lumsden 2002, Kühne 2001.

192 For a discussion of the relationship between ritual texts and visual representations of rituals in the Late Hittite Empire, see Poli 2002.

193 Boston Museum of Fine Arts, RL 1977.144. Published by Güterbock and Kendall 1995.

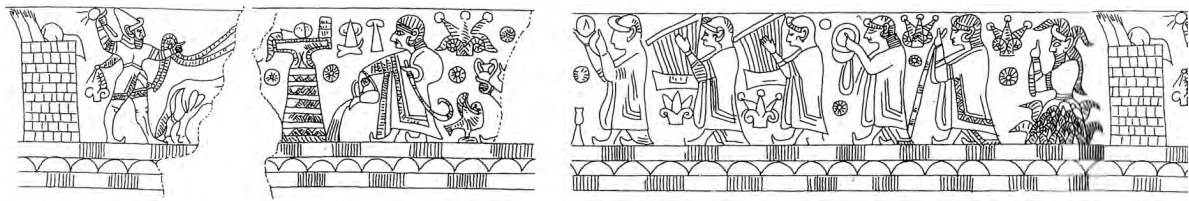


Fig. 60 | The relief scene on the fist-shaped silver cup on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (RL 1977.144). Drawing by T. Kendall (from Güterbock and Kendall 1995).

banquet implements: an amphora, a cup, a loaf of bread; the scene is accompanied by string and percussion music. Güterbock and Kendall date the cup to ca. 1350 BCE and point out that the scene “closely corresponds to textual descriptions of the offering ceremonies that form the most important part of the rituals performed by the kings during cult festivals” (Güterbock and Kendall 1995:51). These involved not only the king offering libations and ritual meals to the gods, but also the king eating and drinking alone, surrounded by attendants, prior to the performance of further rituals. Thus, images of ritual performances at the Water Gate are steeped in the Hittite Empire tradition not only from a formal point of view but also from the point of view of the ritual background.

At the beginning of the tenth century BCE, a dynastic change took place, and Carchemish, perhaps by usurpation, fell under the rule of the “House of Suhis.” In their monumental inscriptions, the kings of the House of Suhis, beginning with Suhis I himself, abandoned the title of “Great King” and styled themselves as “Country Lords.” When referring to Carchemish as a polity, they consistently used the term “city” (URBS) as opposed to “region” (REGIO). The shift in vocabulary correspond to the conscious abandonment of imperial pretensions in favour of a new political self-definition as city-state. One might expect to detect reflections of this important political evolution in the figurative art; yet, the monumental art continue to comply to traditional standards throughout the rule of Suhis I (early tenth century BCE) and his son Astuwatamanzas (mid-tenth century BCE). To this period date the thirteen reliefs of the Herald’s Wall (**Carchemish 39–51**) and nine reliefs from the King’s Gate (**Carchemish 52–61**).

The reliefs of the Herald’s Wall resume the animal imagery of the Water Gate, with a particular emphasis on heraldic vignettes.<sup>194</sup> Symmetrical, self-contained arrangements of mythical beasts, heroes, and gods “frozen” in aesthetically-depicted combat scenes dominate the images. Mazzoni demonstrates that composition and iconography are derived from the artistic tradition developed in Carchemish during the Late Bronze Age, known to us through seal impressions and metalwork (1977:13–21). At Carchemish, the Late Bronze Age artistic idiom was characteristically hybrid, combining the Hittite Empire iconographic repertoire with the Hurro-Mittanian and “international style” traditions of the Levant and Northern Mesopotamia. The survival of this Late Bronze Age “Hurro-Hittite” repertoire is also easily de-

194 The shift from directional to antithetical compositions may be due to the fact that the reliefs were probably not designed for a passageway. However, since the reliefs were later re-used and re-arranged at the Herald’s Wall,

it is difficult to formulate hypothesis of their original context(s) and possible ritual significance. The collection of reliefs is thus the result of selection *a posteriori*.

tectable in the reliefs of the Storm God temple at Aleppo, with which the Herald's Wall reliefs share a common iconographic background that is both generically Hittite (as in the depiction of the smiting god) and specifically Northern Mesopotamian (antithetic bulls, bull-men, bird-men, lion-men). Mazzoni argues that the "frozen compositions" of the Herald's Wall indicate that this kind of imagery was losing topicality and drifting into mere decoration. At the same time, three limestone reliefs show that there was experimentation with innovative narrative scenes with a secular content. **Carchemish 39.48.50** seem to have been originally part of a lion hunt frieze including an archer riding a dromedary and a sort of horse-drawn "caged chariot," apparently devised for protection from the lion during the hunt. While the caged chariot is unparalleled, the dromedary rider represents, together with a "small orthostat" from Tell Halaf, the earliest North Syrian depiction of this animal (and transportation on it) – the one-humped camel being bred in the Arabian peninsula and introduced in Northern Syria by Arab tribes at just this period (Byrne 2003; Köhler-Rollefson 1996).

Nine contemporary reliefs from the King's Gate (**Carchemish 52–61**) display tutelary/apothropaic animal imagery with heraldic vignettes of animal combat and scenes of the hunt. The hunt theme is deployed with Hittite Empire iconography. **Carchemish 56.58** represent tutelary deities of the countryside and the hunt, of the Hittite <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-type (Güterbock 1989; McMahon 1991); **Carchemish 54–55** represent an archer shooting at a stag. In the Hittite empire, hunting – and explicitly the stag hunt<sup>195</sup> – is often represented as a ritual activity charged with religious meaning.<sup>196</sup> The decoration of a gate with monumental hunting scenes has an important antecedent in the upper register of the Sphinx Gate's western tower at Alaca Höyük (thirteenth century BCE) and a parallel in the *Relief L* and *Relief M* at the Lion Gate at Malatya (early tenth century BCE), the latter specifically representing the lion and stag hunt as a practice of the ruling elite: the Hittite Empire relationship between gate structures, hunting imagery, and ritual spectacles continued to be drawn upon in the Iron Age (Mazzoni 1997a).

In Hittite Anatolia, the gate was a prominent locus of ritual performance, and hunting was at the centre of a number of periodic festivals involving processions with stations at the gate (Görke 2008). During the KI.LAM-festival, standards with figures of game (prominently stags) and symbols of the hunt were paraded to the upper gate of the city (Haas 1994:756–757); during festivities in honour of the goddess Tetešhap, masked dancers re-enacted hunting scenes in front of a large audience (De Martino 1989–71, 1995:2667; Haas 1994:438, 686–687, 734). During the AN.TAH.ŠUM-festival, which took place in springtime and lasted thirty-eight days, the Hittite king performed libations at the gate (*hilar-mar*) of a mountain temple precinct. There, a sacred herd of tamed deer was held; a dancer performed in front of the herd and afterwards the king fed the deer from a golden bowl (Haas 1982:58). Game enclosures were also set up for royal hunting hecatombs, as depicted in Alaca Höyük and on a thirteenth century BCE bronze bowl found in Kastamonu, property of Taprammi, a royal functionary influential in Northern Syria (Emre and Çinaroğlu 1989). The Old Hittite Anitta text mentions an *intra muros* royal game park set up by Anitta, king of Neša, after the building of fortifying walls and important temples (Neu 1974, lines 60–63; Archi 1988:30–32). The venary imagery at the King's Gate is to be contextualized within a similar cultural background, and the reliefs probably reflected and reinforced ritual performances similar to those known to have been staged by the elite of the Hittite Empire (Görke 2008; Hutter 2008).

195 For the iconography of the stag in Hittite Anatolia, see Crepon 1981, Damblon-Willemaers 1983; for ritual aspects of Hittite hunting practices, see recently Brown 2004, Canby 2002.

196 For a recent comprehensive analysis of the hunt as part of the official self-representation of Tudhaliya IV, see Hawkins 2006.

In conclusion, the monumental art at Carchemish from the twelfth to the mid-tenth century BCE is that of a period of slow transition. Few novelties can be detected; the general impression is of an artistic school in line with the formal language and ritual practices of Carchemish in the age of Hittite viceroyalty.<sup>190</sup> This, of course, must reflect an interest of the ruling dynasty in keeping up the cultural identity of the Hittite Empire. Interestingly, this continues to be the case even when the “House of Suhis” took over and the ruling elite adopted a political identity in line with a city-state model.

## 6.2 The age of civic ritual (late tenth to early ninth century BCE)

In the late tenth – early ninth century BCE, Syro-Hittite monumental art evolved into something radically new. Change can be detected in the entire greater region, but important innovations are most significant and consistent at Carchemish, which exerted a strong influence on its neighbours (Winter 1983). To this period dates also the earliest monumental art from Zincirli, which reflects the example of Carchemish yet retains a more conservative approach.

At Carchemish, Suhis II (late tenth century BCE) and his son Katuwas (early ninth century BCE) sponsored a series of monumental building projects that transformed the extensive open-space at the foot of the main mound into a lavishly decorated ceremonial plaza adjacent to palace and temple compounds.<sup>198</sup> The two rulers additionally initiated a series of grand figurative cycles of reliefs along the frontage of the open-space, in particular the Long Wall of Sculpture (Suhis II) and the Processional Way (Katuwas). Their re-planning activities also included the re-arrangement of older monumental reliefs at the King’s Gate, probably at the Herald’s Wall, and perhaps at the Water Gate.

Although the artistic style is close to that of the previous period, iconography and composition of the monuments are decidedly different (Orthmann 1971:37, 460). Suhis II and Katuwas introduced long, continuous series of carved orthostats with dramatic and scenic coherence. The new format is used to represent what we may class as public spectacles, in particular triumphal military entries and religious processions in paratactic ensembles. Hunt scenes, in particular, are linked to military processions; libation scenes are no longer represented; emblematic vignettes and mythical animal imagery also disappear from the monumental repertoire. The composition of the figurative cycles is strongly directional and consists essentially of progressions of characters. The gods appear in their anthropomorphic form and are integrated into the processional rhetoric. The image of the king and the queen are placed at the head of the secular processions and link the latter to processions of gods in what Mazzoni speaks of as “chiastic effect” (1977:27). The introduction of the new iconographic repertoire is clearly linked with its location at the open-space: inside the precinct of the nearby temple of Tarhunzas, the contemporary employment of monumental art is restricted to a single carved laver (**Carchemish 93**). In the realm of movable craft products such as ivory inlays or carved steatite vessels, traditional figurative mo-

197 Coming to similar conclusions, Bonatz proposes to address the period in question as “Post-Empire,” as opposed to the “classical period of Luwian and Aramaean kingdoms” (Bonatz, 2007, 27 February, *Anatolia/North Syria: The Iconography of Religion in the Hittite, Luwian, and Aramaean Kingdoms*, 10/29, in: Egger J./Uehlinger Ch., eds., *Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East*, [http://www.religionswissenschaft.unizh.ch/idd/prepublications/e\\_idd\\_anatolia\\_north\\_syria.pdf](http://www.religionswissenschaft.unizh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_anatolia_north_syria.pdf) (date of access: 29-02-2008).

198 The two known ways of access to the open space, the Water Gate and the King’s Gate, antedate the re-planning events of Suhis II and Katuwas (the layout of the Water Gate goes back at least to the Late Bronze Age). Furthermore, they were both already loci of display of monumental art. This suggests that the ceremonial open-space at the foot of the main mound was not a totally new development at the turn of the tenth century BCE but had existed before, although the earliest form and function are unknown.

tifs of symbolic and mythological nature continued to be *en vogue* well throughout the ninth century BCE (Winter 1983:183–184, Mazzoni 2001b): fragments of three steatite pyxides found at Carchemish, whose antiquarian details date to the Suhis II-Katuwas period (or later), are carved with emblematic combat and hunting scenes; a contemporary pyxis from Niniveh, a product of the Carchemish workshop, is carved with a hunting scene combined with bull-men and a scorpion-man. Thus, since traditional archaic iconographies were still appreciated in the minor arts and luxury goods, radical changes in the visual repertoire at the public centre of the city are unlikely to reflect a simple change in taste, but rather correlate to a new use of the ceremonial open space.

A further novelty was the prominent addition of Hieroglyphic Luwian monumental inscriptions into the figurative cycles, the first occurrence of a specific “epigraphic habit” that would see widespread developments.<sup>199</sup> For the first time, the visual power of the Hieroglyphic script was quite self-consciously employed, and it may be ventured that the written word was set up as an image of itself. Assuming limited literacy among potential viewers, the monumental inscriptions may have added to the figures a supplementary aura of wisdom and power. To those able to decipher them, the inscriptions provided a description of and comment on the relief cycles, and put the entire visual display in a commemorative and prescriptive frame.

Finally, one last important innovation concerns the public staging of the royal ancestor cult. Colossal statues of deceased rulers began to be erected in prominent locations and in close proximity to the processional imagery, their gaze hovering gravely over the open space. Ritual hollows at the bases indicate that the statues received regular offerings and libations. Royal ancestor statues are known in Syro-Anatolia at least since the second millennium BCE (Bonatz 2000a:48–49, Morandi Bonacossi 2006) and the royal ancestral cult played an important role both in Bronze Age Syria and in Hittite Anatolia (Torri 2008; Archi 2007). Until the late tenth century BCE, however, the ancestral cult usually took place in relatively or absolutely secluded locations, such as at Chamber B at Yazılıkaya (Neve 1989), the hypogeum of Qatna (Morandi Bonacossi, et al. 2006), or Temple I at Alalakh (Bonatz 2000a:132–133).<sup>200</sup> During the late tenth century BCE the situation changed radically, with the ancestral cult moving from concealment to exhibition. Although segregated mortuary rituals likely continued to take place, colossal statues of dead rulers suddenly studded the refurbished ceremonial open spaces of the city centres. The colossal ruler statues, writes Bonatz, became “integrative Leitbilder der neuen Staatsformationen” (Bonatz 2000a:179).

The ancestral statues, monumental inscriptions and conspicuous processional imagery were cardinal elements of the transformation of the central open space at Carchemish into a grand stage for public performances. The size of the open-space, the scenic devices used to increase visibility (monumental stairways and elevated platforms), and the ritual installations (offering tables and hollow cups) indicate that the entire complex was designed for celebrations carried out before large crowds. Images and in-

199 MacMullen introduces the concept of “epigraphic habit” to describe the culturally specific disposition to inscribe monuments; he also explicitly defines monumental inscriptions as “public writing” and maintain that they naturally elicit a “sense of audience” in the beholder, meaning a sense of proud belonging to a special civilization (MacMullen 1982).

Woolf, in an article on monumental writing in the Early Roman Empire, advances a hypothesis as to why monumental writing started being used next to pictures: “Writing contributed to the monument through its ca-

capacity to communicate things that could not be portrayed [...]. It contributed a name. [...] With the expansion and complexification of Roman society, the need to define identities precisely became increasingly important” (Woolf 1996:28–29).

200 To a lesser extent, rituals connected with royal ancestor statues also took place at the city gate (ibid., 153–154). For an overview on *The monumental use and non-use of writing in the Ancient Near East*, see Kitchen 2005. See also above, §5.3.

scriptions describe the occasions and forms of performance, which apparently revolved primarily around processional spectacles held on the occasion of military deeds and the inauguration of buildings, and regular annual offerings to the images of gods and royal ancestors.<sup>201</sup> The spectacular processions at the Long Wall of Sculpture and at the Processional Way achieved their overall effect on the accentuated repetition of nearly identical figures. Foot warriors, charioteers, male and female bearers of offerings are represented as non-hierarchical, compact groups performing prescribed actions. Only the king, queen, and gods are singled out with specific attributes; the rest (both sexes represented) are differentiated only by the nature of the offerings they carry. Performances are depicted as rituals of integration and inclusiveness in which participants ideologically contribute equally according to their role, allowing onlookers to identify themselves with participants. The prescription formulated by Suhis II concerning future offerings to his own monumental image underlines the inclusive character of the performances: “(He) who (is a man) of sheep, let him offer a sheep to this statue. But (he) who (is a man) of bread, let him ... bread and libation to it” (KARKAMIŠ A1a, §30–33, translation of Hawkins 2000:89).

Ceremonies and spectacles bring members of a group together and provide an occasion for shaping and reinforcing the group identity and its structure. The evidence suggests that, in recognition of this idea and in order to stabilize consensus, the last kings of the House of Suhis initiated a new practice of public ceremonies, for which they set up a permanent open-air stage at the centre of the city. It is suggested here that the ceremonies were public, large, and inclusive; furthermore, the ruling dynasty is known to have cultivated a new type of political identity taking into account Carchemish's more modest territories. On these grounds, it seems fitting to speak of “civic rituals.” Civic rituals served to bind a broad slice of inhabitants in loyalty to the city and to cement the power of the House of Suhis, which we know from the written record was challenged both by neighbouring polities (KARKAMIŠ A1a) and by competing kinsmen (KARKAMIŠ A11a-b). In times of political stress, large attendances at these ceremonies were crucial: “while political support is not a necessary corollary of attendance, the very presence of an observer, nonetheless, functions as a demonstration of political consensus in the eyes of others” (Woodward 1997:12). As an adage of political theory goes: “If a fight starts, watch the crowd, because the crowd plays the decisive role” (Schattschneider 1960:2). Civic rituals were an attempt to neutralize dissent and conjure consensus by calling up a large audience and affecting its feelings.

If the core thesis of the present chapter is correct, the civic ritual arose together with great investments of resources in monumental art. Both, it seems, were the response to perceived insecurity and threats to the *status quo*; both attempted to increase the degree to which elites and commoners were bound together by a common ideology of rulership (Kolb, et al. 1994:521). In reference to the studies of Hobsbawm, Woolf notes: “The uses of monuments might be compared to the uses of tradition, also most commonly elaborated, developed, and reworked in times of perceived change” (Woolf 1996:31). In fact, the preoccupation with legitimizing the Suhis-Katuwas generation involved a measure of mythmaking, as particularly apparent in the public staging of the royal ancestor cult. An inscribed archaic stele kept within the precinct of the temple of Tarhunzas (KARKAMIŠ A4b) indicates that historical awareness reached back to when the House of Suhis was not the ruling dynasty. However, the monuments of Suhis II and Katuwas entailed no genealogical references beyond Astuwatamanzas, the father of Suhis II.

The monumental record suggests that the dynamics observed at Carchemish were at work at other sites as well. At Tell Ahmar, twenty kilometres downstream from Carchemish, a figurative cycle was erected that, judging from the extant remains, was identical to that at the Long Wall of Sculpture and

201 On the absence of military triumphs in the Hittite Empire, see Gilan 2008.

executed by the same artistic workshop (Bunnens 2006:46–47; Winter 1983; Ussishkin 1967b:190–192). As in Carchemish, at Tell Ahmar, then capital city of the land of Masuwari, dynastic conflicts and political turmoil were a hallmark of the age (Bunnens 2006:85–87). A stele with a warrior and a double bull base found at Arslan Taş (ancient Hadatu), forty kilometres northeast of Tell Ahmar, are strongly reminiscent of the Carchemish school (Albenda 1988:5). At Srin, a site nearby, an ancestral statue of a ruler of the type known from Carchemish and Zincirli has been found (Bonatz 2000a, A1) and similar statues have also been found at Malatya (ibid., A4, Orthmann 1971, Malatya C/4.5). An inscribed stele found at Maraş (MARAŞ 8), dating to the reign of Lamarnas of Gurgum (1000–950 BCE) combines the image of the king with a relatively lengthy inscription on the reestablishment of the city after a devastation. The stele, which was apparently set at a gate (see inscription, §11), may be taken as an important precursor of the Carchemish tradition and an indication that, from the very beginning of the period, Carchemish was not the only artistic epicentre of the region.

Zincirli is one of the rare cases besides Carchemish where monumental art from this period was recorded in relatively well-documented urban contexts. Zincirli was founded in the late tenth century BCE, as one of many Early Iron Age *villes neuves* borne out of the need of new political elites to seek distance from older vested interests. Although contemporary indigenous epigraphic sources are lacking, the late ninth century BCE monumental inscription of Kulamuwa (KAI 24, on **Zincirli 65**) reports a list of four kings before himself. Assuming the reliability of this information and accounting for a short-lived reign of Kulamuwa's brother Sha'il, the approximate generation count will locate the first two recorded rulers of Sam'al – Gabbar and Banihu – at the end of the tenth century BCE and the beginning of the ninth century BCE, respectively.<sup>202</sup> To this period date the earliest monumental reliefs at Zincirli, which, on stylistic grounds, may be divided into two groups. The first group comprises the reliefs at the Southern City Gate and the portal lions from the Lions' Pit. The second group is made up of the reliefs from the Outer Citadel Gate, the portal lions from Gate Q, and the colossal ancestral statue outside Building J. Although contemporaneity cannot be ruled out, differences in the execution of details make it very likely that the first group antedated the second by a short amount of time (Orthmann 1971:65). In fact, we could imagine that the first group was initiated by the ruler who presided over the foundation of the city, while the second group followed a generation later.

The reliefs of the first group were located at the main city gate (the Southern City Gate) and at the oldest presumed citadel gate (the later dismantled Gate E). They date to the earliest building phase and were clearly an intrinsic part of the *ex novo* urban plan, consisting first and foremost of the peculiar concentric defence system of the outer city walls and the citadel. The reliefs are mostly of a traditional kind: portal lions at the gate jambs, a lion and stag hunt, composite mythical animals in passing, and griffin-men in "atlas posture." However, at the Southern City Gate was also set up a shorter version of the military cavalcade at the Long Wall of Sculpture (cf. **Zincirli 5.11**). Further, a rather unique scene of two rulers facing one another and raising drinking cups (**Zincirli 7**, an image of pacification?) confirms that secular iconographies of the kind developed at Carchemish made a breakthrough at Zincirli as well. The artistic workshop behind these early carvings was autochthonous and distinctive, but also aware and receptive, if not directly of the Carchemish school, then at least indirectly of the common cultural environment of the late tenth century BCE (Winter 1983:180–181). The use of reliefs at the gates, the prevailing iconography, and archaic style point to a conservative tradition – perhaps not surprisingly, considering that in this

202 However, cf. Brown 2008:492–494 for the possibility that Gabbar was not the founder king of Zincirli.

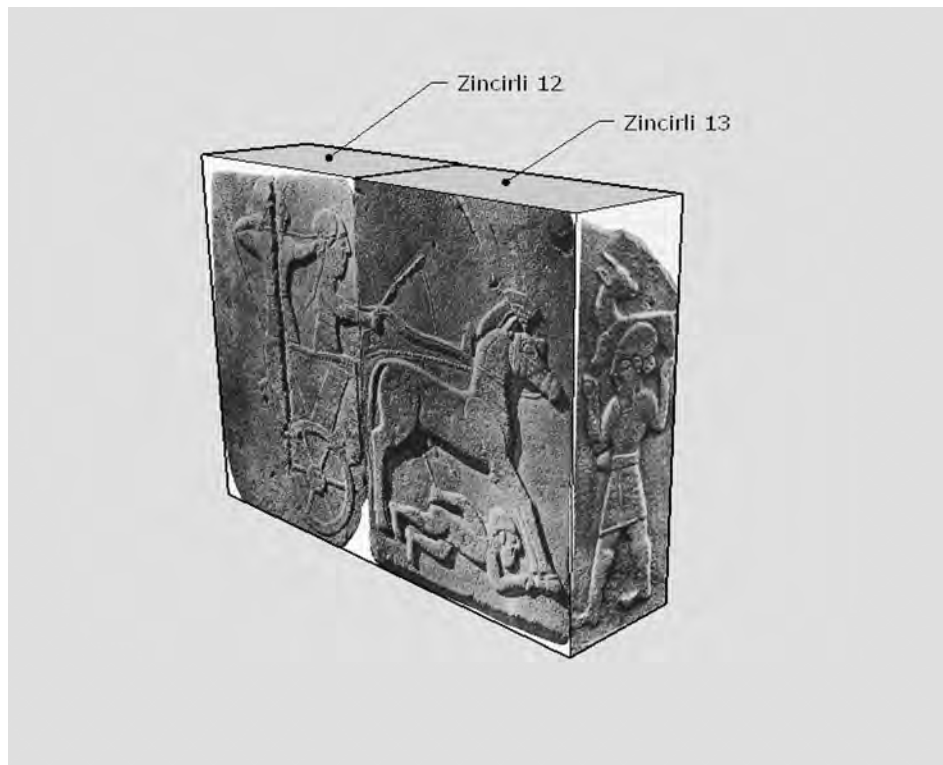


Fig. 61 | Zincirli, Outer Citadel Gate: sketch of the corner orthostat at the west façade as example for the conflation of longer figurative cycles as known from Carchemish into short vignettes.

period the plain of Karagöl might be regarded as a political backwater. The ritual embedding of the reliefs, if extant, must have been of the kind typical of older periods. Nonetheless, the sporadic adoption of innovative iconographies precluded new developments, as can be observed in the reliefs of the second group.

These reliefs express an advanced decorative and building programme revolving around the citadel. This included reinforcement of the existing fortifications through the erection of a new outer gate. The new gate – and above all its front court – was decorated with a carefully planned figurative cycle composed of forty orthostats. As already illustrated in detail (§4.2.2), the organizing principle of the composition was that of a succession of independent scenes, most extending beyond the surface of a single orthostat. Archaic iconographies, in particular hunting scenes and composite mythical animals, do reoccur.<sup>203</sup> However, they are accompanied by iconographies immediately reminiscent of the contemporary Carchemish milieu: the military triumph on chariot, the *kriophoros*, the group of musicians, the procession of anthropomorphic gods. The grand figurative cycles of reliefs at Carchemish were reproduced here in compressed form, conflated within a limited surface.

The employment of the Carchemish repertoire is neither sporadic nor experimental, but rather consciously emulative. It is a political statement, the result of an attentively balanced reception. Ritual installations were not recorded in situ. However, the Outer Citadel Gate at Zincirli, with its height advantage over its surroundings and its relatively large front-court, does not lack scenographic qualities and

203 For iconographic parallels in the “Karkemis II” style, see above, n. 89.

the figurative insistence on processional imagery suggest that the gate was used as a station and a stage during ceremonial spectacles.

The emulation in the fine arts was probably linked to the adoption and adaptation of civic ritual habits introduced at Carchemish a generation before and continued under Katuwas. As in Carchemish, at Zincirli there was an open space in front of the entrance to the royal palace compound. A colossal ruler statue (**Zincirli 63–64**) stood next to this entrance, exactly as the contemporary colossal statues at Carchemish had been set up near the Staircase Recess and the King's Gate. Furthermore, the statue at Zincirli is almost a replica of Carchemish 85–86. The statue is carved in a style different and more refined than the reliefs at the Outer Gate; the same hand(s) also carved the pair of portal lions which flanked the nearby gate to the palace. It is therefore possible that, while an autochthonous workshop was assigned to the Outer Citadel Gate, the colossal ancestral statue and the gateway to the palace were commissioned executed by a learned sculptor from Carchemish.

The site of Tell Halaf, the ancient Guzana, located approximately 170 km east of Carchemish, provides a compelling parallel to contemporary Carchemish and Zincirli. Guzana was founded *ex novo* in the late tenth century BCE.<sup>204</sup> To its earliest building history belong 178 “Small Orthostats” with a remarkably rich iconographic repertoire (Oppenheim, Opitz and Moortgat 1955; Orthmann 2002), an imaginative *panopticum* ranging from hunting scenes to animal contests, from mythical animals to scenes of war, ritual, fishing, seafaring, and even, in one case at least, of carnivalesque parody (Oppenheim, Opitz and Moortgat 1955, no. 57). Short inscriptions reveal that the Small Orthostats were originally set up at the “temple of the Storm God.” At the beginning of the ninth century BCE, the Small Orthostats were re-employed at the rear façade of the *Tempelpalast* of king Kapara.<sup>205</sup> The *Tempelpalast* was a lavishly decorated *Hilani*<sup>206</sup> with strong religious connotations. The erection of the *Tempelpalast* happened together with a large scale re-planning of the western area of the citadel and its transformation into a grand open air stage for ritual performances. The ceremonial monumentalization of this area envisaged a first open space at the rear facade of the *Tempelpalast* and in front of the monumental gateway (the *Skorpionentor*), sculptures at the jambs of the gate itself, and a paved way leading up to the great open plaza in front of the *Tempelpalast*, featuring a large elevated platform with a stairway and various ritual installations (see above, §5.1). Vaulted funerary crypts with royal burials suggest that ritual performances included the royal ancestor cult. The spectacular character of the ensemble was crowned by the presence of three colossal statues that, in the fashion of caryatids, supported the porticoed entrance to the palace and that probably represented three deified royal ancestors.

204 The absolute dating of the building phases and the rulers at Tell Halaf has been much discussed and a general consensus is still lacking (see also the discussion in Keller 1997). At Tell Halaf there are two local epigraphic sources: (a) short cuneiform inscriptions of king Kapara, son of Hadianu, from the *Tempelpalast*; (b) an Aramaic-Assyrian bilingual on a statue of the ruler-governor Hadad-yi'si, son of Šamaš-nuri. The lack of cross-references and the idiosyncratic nature of the associated art styles make it difficult to associate individual rulers to both relative and absolute dating (Orthmann 2002: 19–20). Most scholars agree on stylistic and palaeographic grounds with placing Hadad-yi'si and his father after Kapara (Kaufman 1984; Winter 1989:140). Thus, the central problem is the dating of Kapara, who remains the “grande inconnue” of Guzana (Dion 1997:41). Kapara coherently calls himself “king,” he had the ability

to mobilize resources for a grandiose re-planning of the ceremonial mound, and the art of his reign does not show Assyrian influence (as already discussed in Albright 1956). These facts have led most scholars to date him to the late tenth – early ninth century BCE, when Guzana was not yet under strictest Assyrian control. For arguments in support of a later date, see Sader 1987:26 and Pucci 2008:125–126.

205 As in the case of the Herald's Wall at Carchemish, iconographic consistency was sacrificed at least in part for the creation of a dark-and-light staccato of alternating basalt and limestone slabs. The bichrome effect was enhanced by painting the limestone slabs red (following the secondary set-up: Orthmann 2002:75, n. 33).

206 On the architectural definition of *Hilani* with explicit reference to Tell Halaf, see the recent discussion of Novák 2004b:344–346.

The style and iconography of the reliefs at Tell Halaf are idiosyncratic when compared to contemporary Carchemish and Zincirli. However, the consistent and massive use of monumental art in a grand open air ceremonial context is, in fact, very close to the urban re-planning activities observable in the core area of the Syro-Anatolian region, suggesting similar sociopolitical dynamics under way at Guzana, at the outer edge of the Syro-Hittite network of city-states and in close proximity to the Assyrian mainland.

### 6.3 The mature transitional period (870–790 BCE)

The rise of the civic ritual and the great developments in monumental art that took place in the late tenth – early ninth century BCE were followed by a period of relative quiescence

At Carchemish there is no archaeological or artistic evidence for substantial monumental art projects until the regency of Yariris (around 790 BCE), although indications are that the practice of erecting royal ancestral statues continued (**Carchemish 29** might be the base for a statue of king Sangara; the fragment KARKAMIŠ A27mm2 contains a reference to the statue of king Astiruwas: Hawkins 2000:213). Colossal ruler figures from the main mound of Maraş (MARAŞ 4) and from the “Eastern Citadel Gate” at Tell Ta’yinat (TELL TAYINAT 1), both dating to the mid-ninth century BCE, confirm that, in the absence of greater figurative cycles, ancestral statues continued to be a feature of the ceremonial urban centres not only of Carchemish, but of other Syro-Anatolian cities as well.

At Zincirli the gap in urban monumentalization stretches over most of the eighth century BCE. Until king Panamuwa II. (ca. 743–733 BCE) and, most significantly, until his successor king Barrakib (ca. 732–711 BCE), the only items of monumental art recorded in situ within the city are the inscribed orthostat of Kulamuwa **Zincirli 65**, set up at the entrance of Building J at the end of the ninth century BCE and the funerary stele of Kimw (**Zincirli 91**). Around 760 BCE, however, Panamuwa I (ca. 790–750 BCE) built a royal necropolis at Gerçin, a site approximately seven kilometres north-east of Zincirli, where he set up a four-metres-high basalt statue of the god Hadad. According to the inscription on its torso, the monument was erected “near the [royal ancestral] statue in the funerary crypt,” suggesting that Panamuwa initiated the building of a complex monumental environment exclusively devoted to the royal ancestor cult (KAI 214, lines 13–15). The monumental necropolis at Gerçin should be viewed as complementary rather than substitutive to the royal ancestor cult *intra muros*. In fact, the colossal ancestral statue near Gate Q continued to be “in use” until 676–670 BCE (§4.2.5), the Kulamuwa orthostat introduced a new dimension of the royal ancestor cult (§4.2.6) and since the installation of statues as well as of royal burials is recorded within the citadel walls until the early seventh century BCE (cf. Zincirli 89–91, §4.2.10, 4.2.11).

In view of the drop in monumentalization, it is important to stress that the ceremonial areas of Carchemish and Zincirli continued to mark and shape the urban landscape. Further, there is no indication of dilapidation. On the contrary, the general impression is one of increased urbanization and a flourishing economy (Mazzoni 1995, Sherratt and Sherratt 1993). As Woolfs puts it, “variation in the tempo and nature of monument building correspond not so much with variation in the capacity of people to monumentalize, as with variation with their desire or perceived need to do so” (Woolf 1996:31). The old monuments were still in place, and nothing suggests that the ceremonial habits in which they had been originally embedded were consciously abandoned or reformed. Over time, perhaps, the ceremonial apparatus grew obsolete, and the rulers felt no need to make important investments of resources in this field.

Significantly, the dramatic drop in commissions for greater monumental cycles corresponds to the rapid increase in production of other classes of figurative artefacts.

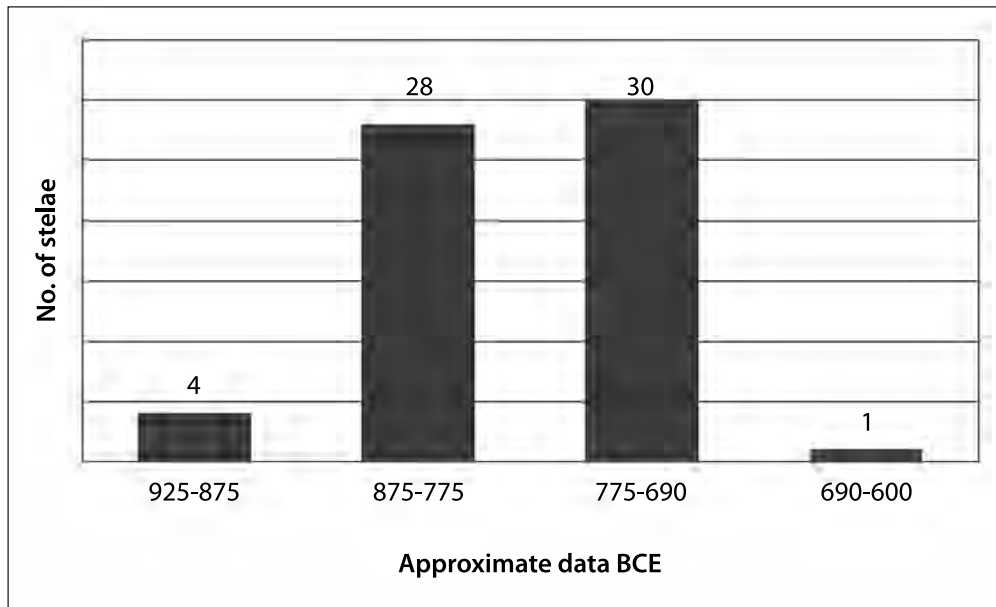


Fig. 62 | Chronological distribution of Syro-Anatolian non-royal funerary stele. In detail: C27.32–33.64 date to c. 925–875; C7–10.12–13.17–18.21–23.26.29.34.44.49–50.52.53–58.62.68.70–71 date to c. 875–775; C14–16.19–20.24–25.28.30–31.35–43.45.47–48.51.59–61.63.65.67 date to c. 775–690; and C11 date c. 690–600. The numbering system refers to Bonatz 2000a.

A specific phenomenon of this period is the proliferation of non-royal funerary stelae, which, if extant evidence can be taken as representative, became an important element in the self-presentation of non-royal elites.<sup>207</sup> Non-royal funerary stelae are stone monoliths, mostly basalt, rarely surpassing a metre in height. The corpus of funerary monuments from the Syro-Anatolian region has been collated by Bonatz (2000a); the total number of known non-royal funerary stelae amounts to sixty-three, dating from the late tenth century BCE to the seventh century BCE. Although fine dating the stelae is problematic, their chronological distribution follows a significant general pattern.

As Fig. 62 shows, the number of stelae increases strikingly between the early/mid ninth century BCE and the early eighth century BCE, is kept at a maximum throughout the eighth century BCE, and finally ceases almost entirely in the seventh century BCE.

The proveniences of most stelae are either vague or unknown. However, circumstantial evidence suggests that this class of artefacts was set up in elite burial grounds *intra muros* (Bonatz 2000a:156), as was the case with **Zincirli 91**. The stelae are carved with full-body images of the dead, represented mostly sitting on a stool and enjoying the funerary banquet; more often than not, family members are involved in the scene, in particular the spouse and/or the (oldest?) son of the deceased. These “family portraits” were enriched with meaning by the inclusion of numerous attributes, objects, animals. Each of these signs fit into a funerary choreography and most bear mortuary overtones (Bonatz 2000a:76–107). In some cases, the symbolic connotation is overt: women are often represented holding mirror and spindle, men may hold an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes. However, other objects combine funerary

<sup>207</sup> For similar arguments, see now Struble and Herrmann 2009.



Fig. 63 | Funerary stela with short Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, probably from Maraş. Drawing after Hawkins 2000, Pl. 125.

connotations with a faculty to materialize status. Thus, the boy on Fig. 63 is represented with a stylus and a writing board, signifying literacy; he holds a raptor on the leash, falconry being a typical expensive pastime of the leisure class (Canby 2002); a pair of what appear to be astragali (knucklebones) suggest fortune-telling, or perhaps leisure (Bar-Oz 2001).<sup>208</sup> Sophisticated antiquarian details such as the carefully rendered hairdo, heavy earrings, necklace, and bracelets, embroidered robe, and elaborate shoes inevitably signify wealth and elegance.

Similarly, other funerary stelae display luxury furniture, musical instruments, rich banquets, specialized tableware, horses, and weapons. The variation is remarkable, and one recognizes in the funerary images the self-portrait of emerging elites who start to act as artistic patrons, to commission their own monuments and carve them with diacritic signs signifying rank, education, and a refined lifestyle. (A corollary of these observations is that the Syro-Anatolian artistic workshops of this period were not “state-controlled” but worked on commission.)

In short, the proliferation of funerary stelae reflects the progressive rise to political and economic power of an aristocracy that, until then, was either silent or nonexistent (Mazzoni 2001a).

A parallel to the proliferation of aristocratic funerary stelae was the momentous increase in production and circulation of ornate inlaid furniture and portable luxury goods (Mazzoni 1997b:308–309). The sumptuary production included bejewelled banqueting stools and reclining couches; *repoussé* metal ware (bowls, cups, goblets, spoons, tripods, cauldrons, wheeled stands); earrings and bracelets; diorite pyxides and ivory boxes; fans and mirrors with carved handles; ceremonial horse-trappings, blinkers, and frontals; as well as ceremonial mace-heads and shields. Analysis of the ivory and bone carvings in this period has shown numerous North Syrian workshops, developing distinctive artistic styles (Herrmann 2000, with further literature) and increasingly combining high skills with high standardization. The workshops served both local and external markets, with North Syrian portable luxury goods having been found in the greater Eastern Mediterranean world (Braun-Holzinger and Rehm 2005) as well as in the Assyrian

<sup>208</sup> The use of knucklebones, or astragali, for games of ability and chance is ubiquitous; at Zincirli, astragali were also apparently used as administrative device (a large number was found at the Northwestern Portico). Here, it

is probably a *double entendre*, since the astragali had a meaning in the funerary cult as well (Bar-Oz 2001:216, with further literature).

capitals (most recently, Herrmann, Coffey, and Laidlaw 2004). Although *large* quantities of portable luxury goods have been found only in royal palaces, these items were aimed at and used by the non-royal elite as well (Herrmann and Millard 2003; Bonatz 2004; Thomason 2005:122–123). They display status and reflect distinctive patterns of consumption of the elite: not only ritual practices, but also exclusive practices of commensality, elaborate *techniques du corps*, taste, fashion, etiquette. That is to say, these sumptuary objects materialize a lifestyle (Gilibert 2004:377). The rapid increase in their production, much as in the case of the non-royal funerary stelae, correlates directly to the rapid increase of power and wealth of non-royal elites.

The self-stylization of the non-royal elites did not challenge the royal ideology embodied in the monumental art of the previous period. Rather, it attempted to emulate it, claiming it as much as possible: acquiring luxury goods and erecting funerary monuments were evidently great empowerments in this sense.

Two items of monumental art dating respectively to the end of the ninth century BCE and the beginning of the eighth century BCE may be taken as epitomes of the period.

The inscribed stele KÖRKÜN 1 found near the modern village of Körkün in the ancient territory of Carchemish represents a smiting Tarhunzas associated with a winged sun-disc. The style is transitional (Orthmann 1971:147) and the iconography well-established from the previous period (cf. Carchemish 26, Zincirli 26). Furthermore, similar stelae already existed in late tenth – early ninth century BCE (Bunnens 2006, catalogue nos. 1, 3–4, 6, 9). However, the epigraphic evidence invariably ascribes the latter group to the royal family (TELL AHMAR 1–2, BOROWSKI 3, ALEPPO 2, BABYLON 1). The Körkün stele is the first item among this specific artefact class commissioned by a member of the non-royal elite, Kazupis. Kazupis defines himself “the trusty person, the preferred of the ruler” (§3) and states: “When king Astiru[wa]s built himself craft-houses, I seated there this Halabean Tarhunzas” (§4–5).

The Körkün stela can be usefully compared with the inscribed statue funerary statue MARAŞ 14. As already mentioned, on the citadel of Maraş a colossal funerary statue of king Halparuntiyas of Gurgum (MARAŞ 4) has been found, dating to the mid-ninth century BCE. MARAŞ 14, found at the foot of the citadel (Hawkins 2000:265), is a miniature of MARAŞ 4, down to significant details such as belt-tassel, sword-scabbard, and staff. However, the statue represents not a king but Astiwasus, “chief attendant” of the king: “to me my lord gave this precinct, and I myself built these craft-houses, and I set up my stele. [...] To this statue of Astiwasus let there be this performance: ...” (§2–4, 7).<sup>209</sup>

The Körkün stela and the miniature statue from Maraş demonstrate that at the end of what may be termed a “mature transitional period,” non-royal elites had worked up to the highest political offices and progressively appropriated the monumental language that had previously been the exclusive prerogative of the royalty.

## 6.4 The age of court ceremony (790–690 BCE)

In the eighth century BCE, monumental art at Carchemish and Zincirli experienced a renaissance. At Carchemish, the new wave began around 790 BCE, under the regency of Yariris, and ended with the deposition of king Pisiri in 717 BCE. The Royal Buttress, the gatehouse at the Great Staircase, and the royal

<sup>209</sup> The repeated mention of “craft-houses” is intriguing – perhaps it is an index that the “new elite” controlled artisan workshops?

statue at the South Gate date to this period. At Zincirli, important monumental cycles were commissioned by king Barrakib (approximately 732–711 BCE) and by the last, unknown independent king who succeeded him at the end of the eighth century BCE.

At Carchemish, the sculptural works of the Suhis-Katuwas period had marked the ceremonial centre of the city for over two hundred years, undisturbed and without any new major work. Then, around or shortly after 790 BCE, the regent Yariris began building works at the façade flanking the approach to the King's Gate, devising a sophisticated figurative addition to Katuwas' Processional Way, the Royal Buttress. This installation was a square elevated platform of approximately sixteen square meters at the northern jamb of the Staircase Recess, a gateway to a more secluded precinct (Fig. 13). Carved basalt orthostat lined its northern and frontal socle (Fig. 20), substituting the culmination of Katuwas' procession of warriors. As analyzed in §3.2.5, the orthostats of the Royal Buttress form a complete and self-contained sculptural cycle. A Hieroglyphic Luwian monumental inscription at the northern corner of the Royal Buttress (**Carchemish 80**: KARKAMIŠ A6) is the point of convergence of the composition. Its contents, together with shorter *legendae* on the adjoining reliefs, explicitly identify the depicted scene with a presentation ceremony, specifically, regent Yariris establishing the legitimate heir to the throne, Kamanis, “over the temple” (KARKAMIŠ A7, §4).

The reliefs of the Royal Buttress are inserted into the older Processional Way in a non-disruptive fashion: just after the colossal royal statue **Carchemish 85–86** (left untouched), the old procession of warriors morphs into a procession of royal attendants carrying arms, devised with the clear intent of eliciting in the beholder a sense of continuity (Mazzoni 1972:194). Beyond this intention, however, the new figurative cycle is decidedly different. The Processional Way, and in general the monumental cycles of the Suhis-Katuwas era, convey immediacy and a sense of inclusiveness through the potentially endless repetition of nearly identical figures; momentous communal events such as religious processions and war triumphs dominate the agenda; in the mundane as well as the divine sphere, both sexes are represented; and finally, the processional imagery often culminates in anthropomorphic representations of gods, who are, at least visually, the ultimate patrons of the depicted events. The Royal Buttress, on the other hand, is concerned above all with rank, status, and court ceremony; the divine sphere is called upon only textually; the imagery is all-male and completely mundane; and finally, the actors involved belong exclusively to the courtly elite. In fact, the entire image can be described as the ceremonial encounter of the royal elite (Kamanis and his brothers) with selected non-royal courtiers, the corps of “body attendants” (perhaps a corps of eunuchs: see above, n. 101 and Denel 2007:195–196). The encounter takes place under the orchestration of Yariris, who is initiator of the monumental cycle and, clearly, its central figure. Yariris and young Kamanis, with interlocked arms, function as a visual *trait d'union* and elegant chiasm between the two groups. Differences in age, rank and social standing are consciously stressed by the pointed use of various status markers, both artistic and antiquarian: relative position, size, body language, garments, hairdos, attributes. A refined, leisure-oriented courtly setting is distinctly evoked by images of the royal children at play. The effortless blend of script and figurative rhetoric is suggestive of sophisticated literacy. The high status of education is confirmed by Yariris's claim to proficiency in twelve languages and various scripts, as well as by his role as tutor and guardian of the royal children (KARKAMIŠ A15b; Starke 1997). In his monumental inscriptions, Yariris also insists on his wide international reputation, revealing a hitherto unknown appreciation of mundane fame based on wisdom and erudition.

The Royal Buttress is a political statement of the regent Yariris, who, as a “temporary king” of non-royal descent, was eager to legitimate his position and that of his non-royal associates. The setup of a

monumental cycle with ceremonial imagery within the Processional Way of Katuwas indicates that, in the first decades of the eighth century BCE, the ceremonial centre of Carchemish was still an important ritual stage, with both ritual performances and monumental art continued loci for the negotiation of power. At the same time, the Royal Buttress was the materialization in stone of new power structures. In particular, it shows that in this period the role of court, courtiers, court ceremony, and court culture became of paramount importance, a trend in line with the political ascent of the non-royal elite begun in the ninth century BCE.

Monumental art continues to be employed at Carchemish until the loss of sovereignty to Assyria and beyond (Mazzoni 1977, Gerlach 2000). The last important cycle of reliefs documented in the archaeological record is the decoration of the gatehouse at the Great Staircase (here, §3.2.3.3), dating perhaps to Pisiri (at least 738–717 BCE). The reliefs, carved in a surprising *alto rilievo*, are testimony to the virtuosity reached by the Carchemish workshops;<sup>203</sup> the inscriptions play with archaisms, indicating a self-reflecting consciousness for the artistic-historical development of the genre and a distinct taste for the antique. The iconography, however, is strongly (and suddenly) influenced by Assyrian models, and repeats them in a decorative manner suggestive more of fashion than of meaning.

As in the case of Carchemish, the monumental urban landscape at Zincirli during the eighth century BCE still exhibited the full decoration of the Southern City Gate and Outer Citadel Gate, as well as the monuments at the ceremonial area outside the northwestern palatial complex, all of which date back to the late tenth – early ninth century BCE. The special attention employed in the burial of the colossal statue **Zincirli 63** after the collapse of Building J in the first half of the seventh century BCE shows that the old monuments retained their ritual meaning throughout Zincirli's late history. Further, the existence of a funerary and ritual context outside the Hilani I dating to the early seventh century BCE (here, §4.2.11) confirms that the open space at the top of the citadel mound continued to be used for ritual performances. However, at the end of the eighth century BCE a new (and final) dimension in monumental art was introduced. This change is first evident in the decoration of the entrance of Hilani IV (here, §4.2.8), dating to the reign of king Barrakib (ca. 732–711 BCE). Here, the processional, divine, and ancestral imagery observed in older works was abandoned in favour of a mundane iconography of courtly rituals. The cycle of reliefs at Hilani IV represent the king giving audience to his “vizier” and, on the other jamb of the porticoed entrance, the king at banquet. In both cases, the ruler is surrounded by his courtiers, whose varying relative position, size, dress, and attributes are indicative of status, role, and hierarchy within a well-defined court ceremonial.

The presence of a musical ensemble (string, woodwind, and percussion), the ostentation of elaborate luxury furniture, and the display of an archer's gear adds to the visual construction of a courtly environment. The reliefs are ceremonial in content; however, unlike earlier works, they depict ritual performances of exclusive and diacritic nature: agents as well as spectators of the ceremonial party belong to the upper echelon of society. The same can be said of the implied beholder of the monumental images. The façade of Hilani IV opened onto the Southern courtyard, an area of restricted access. Even if we accept that there may have existed a further way of access to the outer citadel beyond Gate Q (Pucci 2008a:30), the Southern courtyard remains a cloister-like enclosed space deliberately fenced off from the outside. The monumental decoration of Hilani IV was elite art, designed to elicit and strengthen feelings of belonging in an exclusive courtly environment. Although the king is the point of convergence

203 Carchemish was probably not alone in this development, as already discussed by Mazzoni (1972:195–196):

e.g., see the *alto rilievo* of the contemporary reliefs at Coba Höyük (Sakçe Gözü).

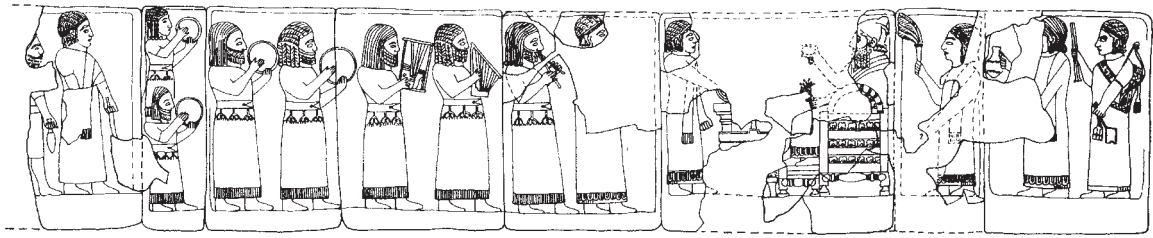


Fig. 64 | Zincirli, Hilani IV: relief decoration of the western flank of the entrance (from Voos 1985:85, Abb. 15).

of the compositions, it is interesting to note once again the enhanced role played by non-royal officers, and in particular the prominent figure of Barrakib's "vizier," who holds scribal implements as insignia of power – a figurative role mirroring the political ascension of the non-royal elite already argued above.

The decoration of Hilani III (here, §4.2.9), probably dating to the last years of the eighth century BCE, epitomizes the transformation of monumental art from a civic to a courtly instrument by which to create and represent consent. The façade of Hilani III is decorated by two repetitive rows of courtiers converging on the porticoed entrance, leading to a room equipped for social banqueting. The Hilani seems to be a specialized building within the royal compound reserved for non-royal affiliates of the court, who were the main addressees of the monumental discourse. Further, it can be envisaged that the processions represented on the façade actually took place upon specific occasions, involving only those who had access to the royal compound. While civic ceremonies addressing the larger populace of Zincirli probably continued to be staged, the rise of the court ceremony in monumental art suggests that, on the eve of Assyrian dominance, political power was increasingly negotiated behind closed doors. Thus, it can be proposed that the distribution and kind of monumental art at Zincirli at the end of the eighth century BCE reflects the manipulation of space and labour by powerful non-royal elites who sought to establish and reinforce their control of resources in all possible ways, one being the appropriation of the royal monumental discourse. It was the culmination of a two-hundred-year trend towards greater social differentiation and political complexity, destined to fade away under Assyrian domination and finally collapse dramatically in the sixth century BCE, when all of Northern Mesopotamia suffered from strong economic recession.



## 7 Conclusions

The set up of monumental art and monumental inscriptions at prominent buildings and central open areas is a distinctive feature of the earlier Syro-Anatolian Iron Age, that is, during the five hundred years from the dissolution of the Hittite Empire around 1200 BCE to the definitive Assyrian hegemony established around 700 BCE. Modes and evolution of monument production can be best observed at the important sites of Carchemish and Zincirli, the Iron Age remains of which have been exposed to a considerable extent, allowing a contextual approach unavailable at most other sites of the same age and region. Analysis of the archaeological record reveals that monumental artworks consistently shaped the urban landscape for generations, with complex life-histories stretching over hundreds of years. Repeated additions and modifications resulted in city centres dense with monuments, sometimes in their original context, sometimes re-used as spolia.

At Carchemish and Zincirli, monumental art was set up mostly on royal commission. Investment of labour and materiel into the production of figurative monuments for public display – for this is in general its purpose – can be discussed in terms of different factors, including dynamics of conspicuous consumption and competitive emulation. It has been the object of the present work to point out in particular the embedding of monumental art in ceremonies and spectacles involving a substantial audience, such as solemn processions, military triumphs, and royal entries. This view is supported by the location of monumental art at ceremonial spaces, by the presence of installations for ritual performances next to or directly in front of the artwork, and by the images on the reliefs, in which diverse ritual performances feature prominently. Finally, a number of inscriptions on or next to monumental art elaborate on ceremonial topics.

Ritual performances and monumental art are two facets of a complementary communication strategy. Ritual spectacles are powerful means by which to negotiate and reinforce power, but their pathos and effect tend to fade rapidly once the event is over: monumental art, surrounded by an aura of permanence, counteracts the ephemeral nature of ritual performances, anchoring them in space and time. At the same time, ritual performances can recharge monuments with meaning, particularly considering that monuments, if left to themselves, tend to lose significance for the contemporary viewer, becoming dull and matter-of-fact.

Over the course of half a millennium, the role of monumental art in a performative and ceremonial context underwent significative shifts in nature and meaning, mirroring contemporary sociopolitical developments. It is possible to identify four phases.

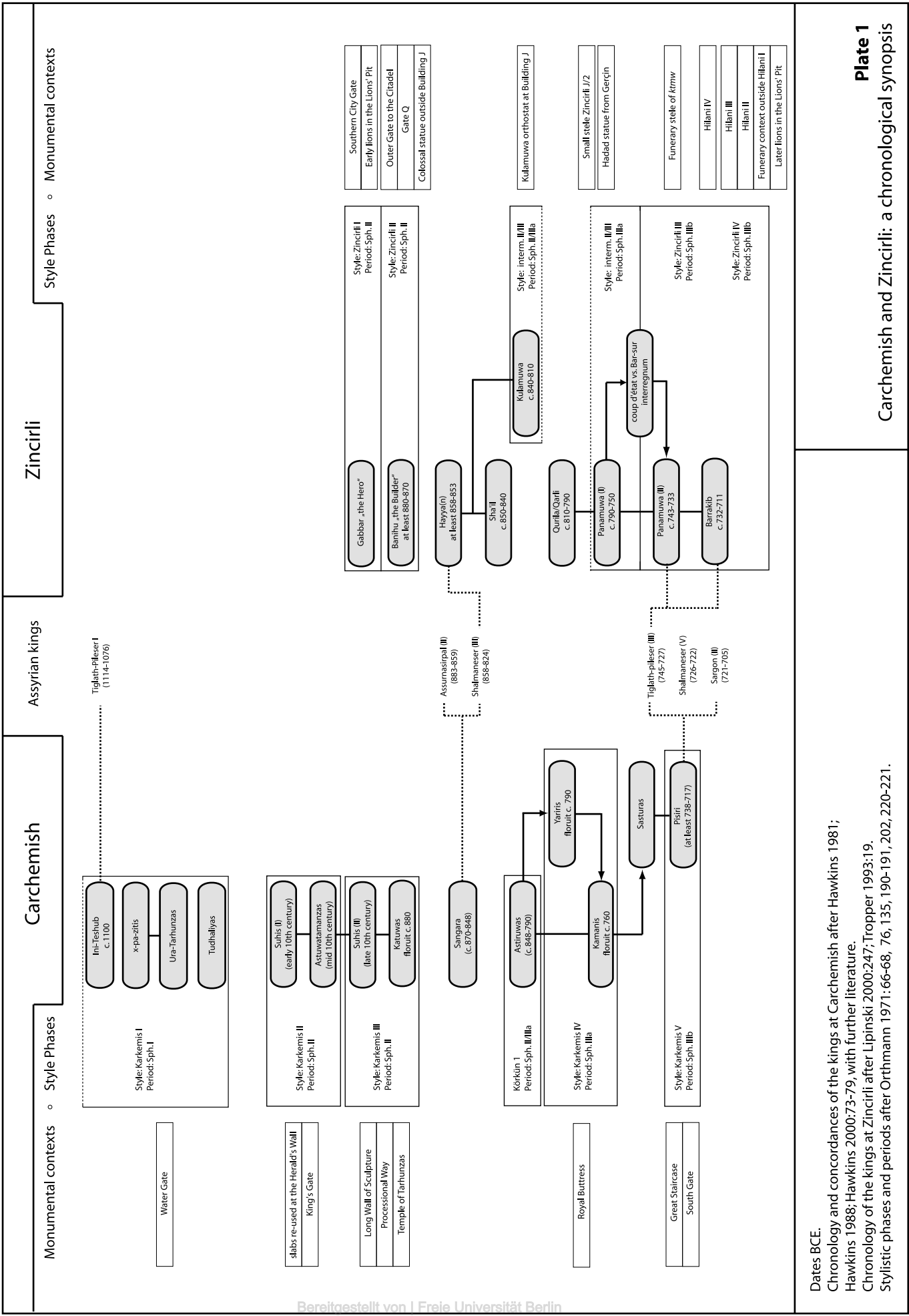
The first phase, which may be called “archaic transitional period,” took place from the early twelfth to the mid-tenth century BCE. This period is characterized by monumental art decidedly in line with the Hittite Empire tradition, reflecting the attempt of the earliest post-Empire rulers of Carchemish to style themselves as the rightful heirs of the Hittite Royal House (Zincirli not yet having come into existence).

The second phase, the “age of civic ritual,” takes place in the late tenth – early ninth century BCE. In this period monumental art was employed on a large scale to decorate ceremonial open spaces at the city centres. Furthermore, new iconographies related to the ritual performances taking place on the spot were introduced. It is argued here that the boom in monumentality reflects the establishment of new, inclusive civic rituals, devised to reinforce the ties of the ruling class to the identity of the city-state in times of political stress.

The third phase, the “mature transitional period,” took place about 870–790 BCE. This was a period of relative quiescence in commissions of greater monumental cycles, although older structures continue to be prominently visible. In this period, a dramatic increase in the production of non-royal funerary stelae and of portable luxury goods correlated to the establishment of non-royal elites and their rapid rise to great wealth and political power.

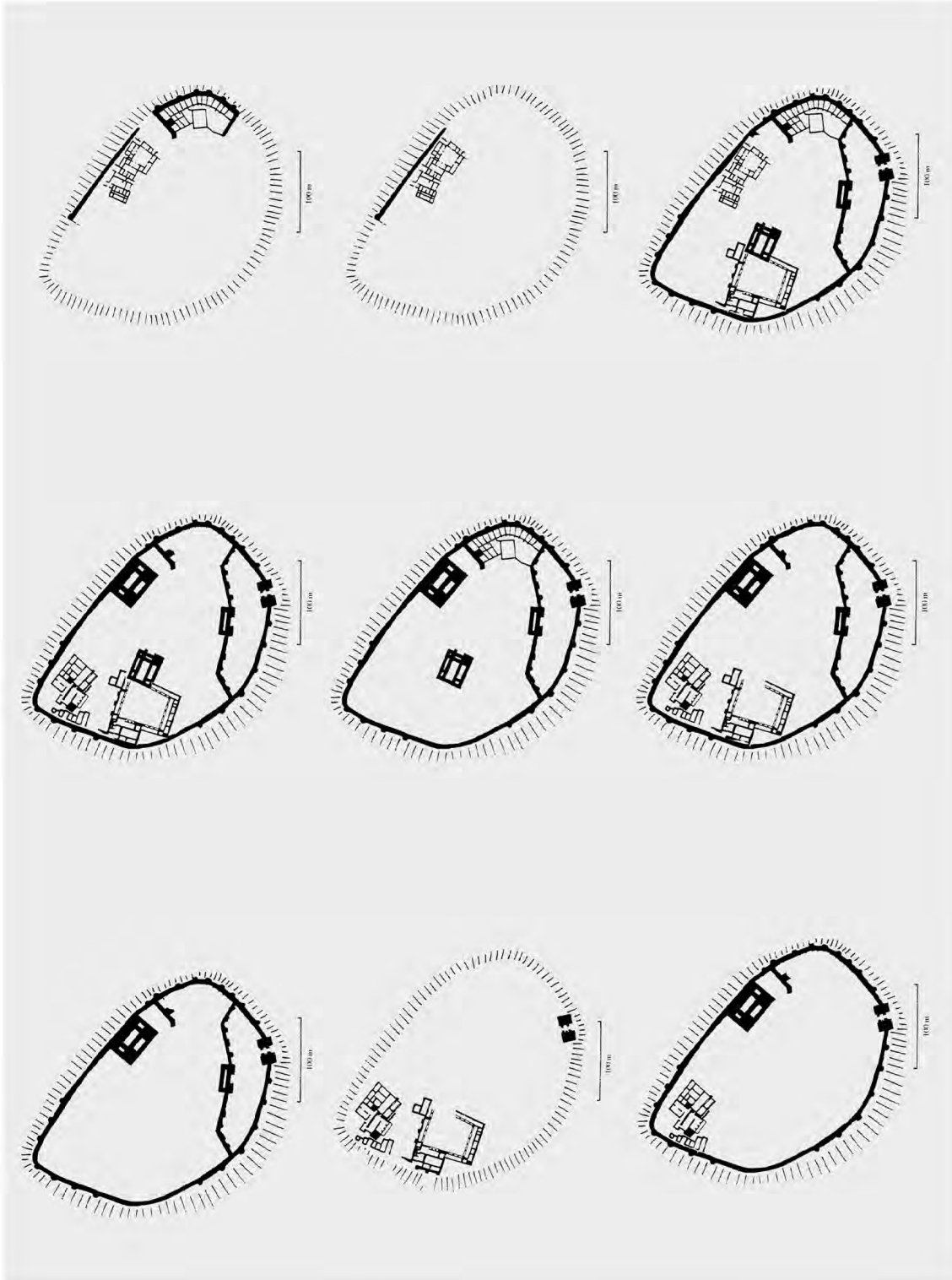
The consequences of this trend can be observed in the fourth and final phase, the “age of court ceremony” (790–690 BCE). In this period before the final Assyrian take over, monumental art experienced a renaissance, redefined as a mirror of the exclusive and refined courtly environment. The king, previously represented as the *trait d’union* between the gods and the people, became the catalyst for a hierarchy of non-royal officers and attendants. This new diacritic dimension of monuments is particularly clear at Zincirli, where important monumental cycles are erected at places where access was limited to members of the court.

The Assyrian conquest at the turn of the eighth century BCE put an end to the artistic development of the local Syro-Anatolian workshops: the scope of this work does not extend beyond this event. Yet, it should be considered that the Syro-Anatolian sculptural tradition did live on, if subtly, influencing the local Assyrian style and eliciting the interest of later viewers.





A/S II  
Phase 2, 3, and 4



Lehmann 1994  
Phase 2, 3, and 4

Pucci 2001  
Phase 1, 2a-b, and 3



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## Catalogue of monumental items



male head and bust

### Carchemish 1 South Gate

statue

Material: limestone

Height: 0,80–0,85 m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: 750–717 BCE

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 27a

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri

Müzesi (inv. 10109)

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis J/1



portal lion

### Carchemish 2 South Gate

protome

Material: limestone

Height: 1,50 m

Width: unknown

Depth: 2,20

Date: 750–717 BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri

Müzesi (inv. 10960)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 27b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis J/2



bull raising hoof over lion

### Carchemish 3 Water Gate

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,10 m

Width: 2,15

Depth: c. 0,45

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri

Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 29a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Aa/1



winged lion

#### **Carchemish 4 Water Gate**

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,36 m

Width: 1,67

Depth: 0,45

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9656)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 29b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Aa/2



bull-man holding plant/spear

#### **Carchemish 5 Water Gate**

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,35 m

Width: 0,90

Depth: c. 0,65–70

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 31a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Aa/3



libation scene

#### **Carchemish 6 Water Gate**

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,35 m

Width: 2,30

Depth: c. 0,75–0,80

Date: 11th or early 10th century BCE

Current location: unknown, perhaps Carchemish

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 30a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Aa/4



banquet scene

### Carchemish 7 Water Gate

orthostat  
Material: limestone

Height: 1,35 m  
Width: 2,30  
Depth: c. 1,00

Date: 11th or early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 123)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 30b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ab/4



corner block: walking persons holding pole / sphinx

### Carchemish 8 Water Gate

orthostat  
Material: limestone

Height: 1,10 m  
Width: 1,50  
Depth: 0,95

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9660)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. 28  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ab/1



hind leg of portal lion

### Carchemish 9 Water Gate

protome  
Material: basalt

Height: c. 0,95 m  
Width: 0,65  
Depth: unknown

Date: mid-10th century BCE

Current location: unbekannt

Source of picture: Carchemish II, A. 14b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis K/21



fore part of portal lion

### **Carchemish 10 Water Gate**

protome

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish II, fig. 32

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis K/22



bull

### **Carchemish 11 Water Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: 1,60

Depth: unknown

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish II, B. 31b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ab/2



winged lion/sphinx

### **Carchemish 12 Water Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,69 m

Width: 1,15

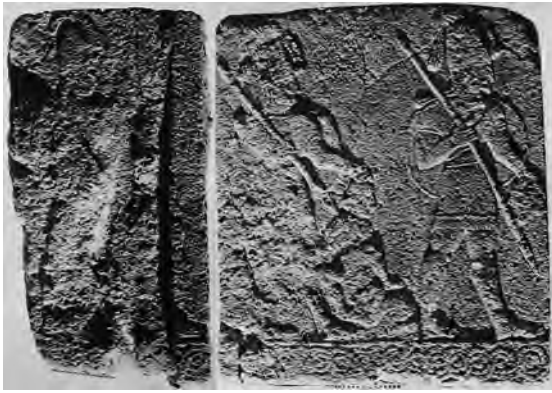
Depth: unknown

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: Carchemish II, fig. 33

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ab/3



corner block: warriors

### Carchemish 13 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,69 m

Width: 1,43

Depth: 0,44

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 118)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 46

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/14



warriors

### Carchemish 14 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,54 m

Width: 1,87

Depth: 0,44

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 10065)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 45a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/12



warriors

### Carchemish 15 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,61 m

Width: 1,18

Depth: 0,23

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 44b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/11



warrior (fragment)

### Carchemish 16 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: unknknwn m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 44a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/10



"Great Limestone Inscription"

### Carchemish 17 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,51 m

Width: 2.67

Depth: 0,27

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 40

Orthmann, USK:



war chariots

### Carchemish 18 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: 0,52

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 75)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 43 a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/9



war chariot

### Carchemish 19 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,58 m

Width: 1,42

Depth: 0,33

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 10074)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 42b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/8



war chariot

### Carchemish 20 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,75 m

Width: 1,50

Depth: 0,28

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 94)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, B. 42a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/7



war chariot

### Carchemish 21 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,59 m

Width: 1,60

Depth: 0,35

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 10070)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 41b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/6



war chariot

### Carchemish 22 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,71 m

Width: 1,44

Depth: 0,32

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 10068)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 41a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/5



queen BONUS-tis and naked goddess

### Carchemish 23 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,85 m

Width: 2,50

Depth: 0,60

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 10075)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 40  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/4



goddess

### Carchemish 24 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,83 m

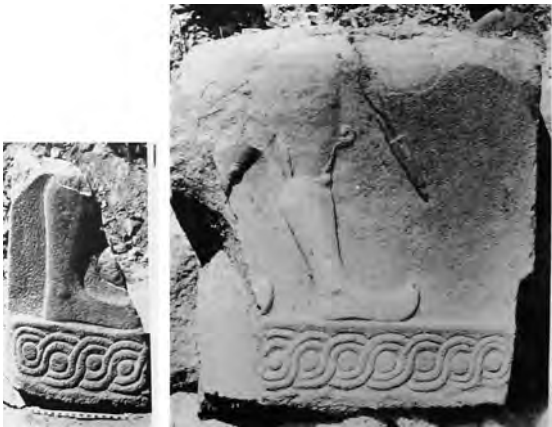
Width: 0,75

Depth: 0,42

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 103)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 39a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/3



god

### Carchemish 25 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,63 m

Width: 0,37

Depth: 0,52

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri  
Müzesi (Inv. 147)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 39b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/2



Storm God and goddess

### Carchemish 26 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,27 m

Width: 2,24

Depth: 0,66

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri  
Müzesi (Inv. 104)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 38a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/1



fragments of foot soldiers

### Carchemish 27 Long Wall of Sculpture

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 45b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis C/13



Sun-god and Moon-god on crouching lion

### Carchemish 28 Great Lion Slab

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 2,50 m

Width: 3,00

Depth: c. 0,60

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 10079)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 33

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Bb/1



bulls

### Carchemish 29 Surroundings of Great Lion Slab

base of statue

Material: basalt

Height: unbekannt m

Width: 1,20

Depth: 1,40

Date: end of 10th – early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 124)

Source of picture: Carchemish, Pl. B. 34

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Bb/2



head of statue/sphinx

### Carchemish 30 Surroundings of the Great Lion Slab

statue

Material: basalt

Height: unbekannt m

Width: unbekannt

Depth: unbekannt

Date: 11th century BCE?

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 67a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis K/10



god with cloth, bucket, and sprinkling cone

### Carchemish 31 Great Staircase

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: end of 8th century BCE, Pisiri?

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 57+147)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 36 a-b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ba/6



god with cloth, bucket, and sprinkling cone

### Carchemish 32 Great Staircase

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,58 m

Width: 0,46

Depth: unknown

Date: end of 8th century BCE, Pisiri?

Current location: London, British Museum (BM 125010)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 35d  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ba/5



standing figure (ruler?) with outstretched right arm

### Carchemish 33 Great Staircase

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: end of 8th century BCE, Pisiri?

Current location: London, British Museum (BM 125011)

Source of picture: "Carch. III, Pl. A.22 c; B.35b"  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ba/4



four-winged genius holding siren-handled bucket and sprinkling cone

### Carchemish 34 Great Staircase

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: end of 8th century BCE, Pisiri?

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: Carchemish III, B. 35 c

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ba/3



four-winged genius holding siren-handled bucket and sprinkling cone

### Carchemish 35 Great Staircase

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,75 m

Width: 0,82

Depth:

Date: end of 8th century BCE, Pisiri?

Current location: London, British Museum (BM 125009)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. A. 21 a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ba/2



ruler holding double rod

### Carchemish 36 Great Staircase

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,17 m

Width: 0,64

Depth: unknown

Date: end of 8th century BCE, Pisiri?

Current location: London, British Museum (BM 125003)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. A. 21 b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ba/1



corner block with standing ruler and Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription

### Carchemish 37 Great Staircase

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,44 m

Width: 0,62

Depth: unknown

Date: end of 8th century BCE, Pisiri?

Current location: London, British Museum (BM 125005)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. A 26 f  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis Ba/7



portal lion

### Carchemish 38 Great Staircase

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,30 m

Width: 1,40

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE (Suhis II)

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: "Carchemish III, Pl. A. 14 a; B. 31 c"  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis K/19



camel rider

### Carchemish 39 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,25 m

Width: 1,53

Depth: 0,40

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 76)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 16b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/13



scorpion-god and smiting god killing winged bull

### Carchemish 40 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,32 m

Width: 1,45

Depth: 0,30

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9670)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, B. 16a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/12



execution scene

### Carchemish 41 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,24 m

Width: 1,45

Depth: unknown

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 77)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 15b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/11



two sphinxes attacking winged horse(?)

### Carchemish 42 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,30 m

Width: 1,56

Depth: 0,30-0,40

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 72+)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, B. 15a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/10



antithetic bull-men and lion-men

### Carchemish 43 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,29 m

Width: 2,06

Depth: 0,42

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9669)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 14b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/9



sphinx

### Carchemish 44 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,33 m

Width: 1,12

Depth: 0,37

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 95)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, B. 14a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/8



antithetic bulls

### Carchemish 45 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,26 m

Width: 1,86

Depth: 0,50

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 125)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 13b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/7



lion attacking bull and smaller hoofed animal (deer?)

### Carchemish 46 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,22 m

Width: 1,93

Depth: 0,40

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri  
Müzesi (Inv. 9668)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 13a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/6



beard-headed winged men

### Carchemish 47 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,22 m

Width: 1,35

Depth: 0,40

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri  
Müzesi (Inv. 96)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 12  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/5



antropomorphic figure fighting rampant lion

### Carchemish 48 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,13 m

Width: 1,05

Depth: 0,35

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri  
Müzesi (Inv. 9667)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 11b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/4



smiting god and hero slaughtering lion

### Carchemish 49 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,11 m

Width: 1,41

Depth: 0,34

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9666+)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 11a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/3



lion attacking chariot

### Carchemish 50 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,07 m

Width: 1,52

Depth: 0,34

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 1340+)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 10b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/2



“bearded hero represented as ‘master of animals’”

### Carchemish 51 Herald's Wall

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,26 m

Width: 1,77

Depth: 0,29

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9665)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 10a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis E/1



lioness attacking bull

### **Carchemish 52 King's Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 1,40

Depth: unknown

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9654)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, B. 57 b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/9



antithetic rampant griffins

### **Carchemish 53 King's Gate**

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 0,99 m

Width: 1,38

Depth: 0,19

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9653)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 58a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/8



stag

### **Carchemish 54 King's Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,05 m

Width: 1,42

Depth: 0,48

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 97)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 58b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/7



archer hunting stag

### Carchemish 55 King's Gate

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: c. 1,00 m

Width: c. 1,75

Depth: unknown

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 59

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/6



hunter holding caprid

### Carchemish 56 King's Gate

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri  
Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 56b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/5



winged lion/sphinx(?)

### Carchemish 57 King's Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,06 m

Width: 1,28

Depth: 0,52

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri  
Müzesi (Inv. 61)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 56a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/4



lion-headed man with club, holding gazelle

### **Carchemish 58 King's Gate**

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 0,72 m

Width: 0,56

Depth: 0,37

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 156)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 55b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/3

### **Carchemish 59 King's Gate**

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 0,95 m

Width: 2,00

Depth: 0,45

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 108)

no picture available

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/10



crouching lion

### **Carchemish 60 King's Gate**

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,13 m

Width: 1,21

Depth: 0,39

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9661)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 55a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/2



griffin-man in atlas position

### Carchemish 61 King's Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,90 m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: early 10th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9652)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 26b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/1



warriors

### Carchemish 62 King's Gate

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 0,90 m

Width: 1,14

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9651)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 26c

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/12



double-lion base

### Carchemish 63 King's Gate

base of statue

Material: basalt

Height: 0,95 m

Width: 1,45

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 92+)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 26a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/11



seated statue of Atrisuhas

### Carchemish 64 King's Gate

statue

Material: basalt

Height: c. 1,60 m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: lost

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 25

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis H/11



male figures carrying calf and ram

### Carchemish 65 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 1,30

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: London, British Museum (BM 117914)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, B. 24a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/16



male figures carrying rams and calf

### Carchemish 66 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,03 m

Width: 1,28

Depth: 0,47

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 78)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 23b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/15



male figures carrying calves

### Carchemish 67 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,07 m

Width: 1,52

Depth: 0,37

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 79)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 23a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/14



male figures carrying calf and ram

### Carchemish 68 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,11 m

Width: 1,20

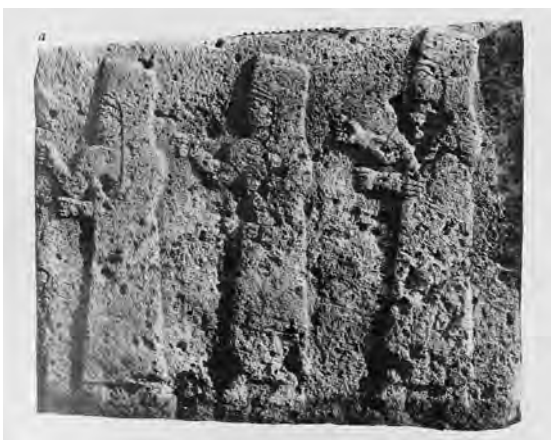
Depth: 0,32

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9655)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 22b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/13



three female figures, second from left carrying rod with pomegranate finial

### Carchemish 69 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,14 m

Width: 1,35

Depth: 0,40

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 122)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 22a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/12



female figures carrying corn and folded cloths

### Carchemish 70 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,10 m

Width: 1,22

Depth: 0,32

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 121)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, B. 21b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/11



female figures carrying mirrors, corn, and skids of yarn(?)

### Carchemish 71 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,07 m

Width: 1,46

Depth: 0,33

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 120)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 20b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/10



female figures carrying corn and skids of yarn(?)

### Carchemish 72 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,09 m

Width: 1,30

Depth: 0,32

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9656)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 20a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/9



female figures carrying calf figurine, bowl, animal leg(?), and corn(?)

### Carchemish 73 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 1,52

Depth: 0,47

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9657)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 19b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/8



“corner block: four musician playing shofar and bass drum; on the return side, seated female figure”

### Carchemish 74 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,93 m

Width: 1,31

Depth: 0,52

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 141+)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 18b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/7



sphinx

### Carchemish 75 Processional Entry

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 0,73 m

Width: 1,30

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 18a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/6



three musicians playing guitar, double-flute, and maracas; bearded man with tambourine/ball(?)

### Carchemish 76 Royal Buttress

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,21 m

Width: 1,48

Depth: 0,28

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 119)

Source of picture: Carchemish II, Pl. B. 17b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/5



man with infant and goat at a leash

### Carchemish 77 Royal Buttress

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,17 m

Width: 0,99

Depth: 0,34

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 93)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 8a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/7



royal children at play

### Carchemish 78 Royal Buttress

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,19 m

Width: 0,99

Depth: 0,40

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 97)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 7b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/6



ruler Kamanis led by regent Yariris

### Carchemish 79 Royal Buttress

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,14 m

Width: 0,84

Depth: 0,25

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 91)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 7a

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/5



Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of regent Yariris

### Carchemish 80 Royal Buttress

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,10 m

Width: 0,70

Depth: 0,30–0,39

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 90+)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 6

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/8



three attendants carrying mace, archery gear, olive branch, and spear

### Carchemish 81 Royal Buttress

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,13 m

Width: 1,37

Depth: 0,29

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9663)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 5b

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/4



attendant carrying shield and spear

### **Carchemish 82 Royal Buttress**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,10 m

Width: 0,65

Depth: 0,16

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 87)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 5a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/3



two attendants carrying quiver, double axe, and spear

### **Carchemish 83 Royal Buttress**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: 0,89

Depth: 0,51

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. III)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 4b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/2



attendant carrying spear and mace

### **Carchemish 84 Royal Buttress**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: 0,66

Depth: 0,20

Date: early 8th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 86)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 4a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis G/1



double-lion base

### Carchemish 85 Processional Way

base of statue

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: 1,20

Depth: 1,00

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 125)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 53a-b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/17



fragments of colossal ruler statue

### Carchemish 86 Processional Way

statue

Material: basalt

Height: 0,42 m

Width: 0,41

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Head: Paris, Louvre (AO 10828)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 54a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/17



warriors

### Carchemish 87 Processional Way

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,32 m

Width: 1,17

Depth: 0,32

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 9664)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 3b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/4



warriors

### Carchemish 88 Processional Way

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,26 m

Width: 2,04

Depth: 0,44

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 117)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 3a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/3



warriors

### Carchemish 89 Processional Way

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,35 m

Width: 1,12

Depth: 0,33

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 116)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 2b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/2



warriors

### Carchemish 90 Processional Way

orthostat

Material: limestone

Height: 1,33 m

Width: 2,03

Depth: 0,47

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 115)

Source of picture: Carchemish I, Pl. B. 2a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis F/1



inscription of Katuwas with full-length introductory amu-figure

### Carchemish 91 King's Gate area

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,05 m

Width: 0,70

Depth: 0,60

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 89)

Source of picture: T. Bilgin, private archive

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis K/28



fragment of chariot scene

### Carchemish 92 King's Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: 7th century BCE

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 61a

Orthmann, USK:



double-bull laver

### Carchemish 93 Storm God Temple

base of statue

Material: basalt

Height: 1,20 m

Width: 2,40

Depth: c. 1,35

Date: late 10th-early 9th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 10103)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 47

Orthmann, USK: Karkemis D/1



sphinx or griffin

### **Carchemish 94 Storm God Temple**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,81 m

Width: 1,42

Depth: unknown

Date: 11th century BCE

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi (Inv. 98)

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 48a  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis D/2



seated bearded figure (ancestral statue of ruler)

### **Carchemish 95 Hilani**

statue

Material: basalt

Height: 0,80 m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: 9th century BCE?

Current location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi

Source of picture: Carchemish III, Pl. B. 48 b  
Orthmann, USK: Karkemis K/23



lion's head, fragment of portal lion

### Zincirli 1 Southern city gate

protome

Material: basalt

Height: c. 2 m

Width: c. 3

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Paris, Louvre (AO 8188)

Source of picture: AiS III, Abb. 93

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/1

### Zincirli 2 Southern city gate

protome

Material: basalt

Height: c. 2 m

Width: c. 3

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: unknown

no picture available

Orthmann, USK:



Winged griffin-man in  
'atlas-position'

### Zincirli 3 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,30 m

Width: 0,85

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2926)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 36

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/2



“Winged griffin-man  
in ‘atlas-position’”

#### Zincirli 4 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,34 m

Width: 0,55

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Archaeol. Museum (Inv. 7722)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34b

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/4



horse rider holding enemy's  
severed head

#### Zincirli 5 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,30 m

Width: 0,90

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2993)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 35

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/3



winged griffin and winged  
sphinx

#### Zincirli 6 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,34 m

Width: 0,95

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location:

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34e

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/5



two men standing and drinking from cups

### Zincirli 7 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,24 m

Width: 1,27

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Archaeol. Museum (Inv. 7726)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34f

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/6



“hunter with bow and arrow; hare”

### Zincirli 8 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,34 m

Width: 1,02

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Archaeol. Museum (Inv. 7716)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34g

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/7



dog chasing a wounded stag

### Zincirli 9 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,34 m

Width: 1,02

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Archeol. Museum (Inv. 7718)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34h

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/8



stag with ten antlers and lion

### Zincirli 10 Southern city gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,29 m

Width: 0,98

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Archaeol. Museum (Inv. 7710)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34i

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli A/9



horse rider

### Zincirli 11 Southern city gate (?)

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,30 m

Width: ?

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34d

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli K/4



war chariot scene, left half

### Zincirli 12 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,40 m

Width: c. 0,92

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7725)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/1



corner block: war chariot scene, right half /  
man carrying antelope

### Zincirli 13 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,40 m

Width: c. 0,92

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7725)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37b, 39

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/1-2



banquet scene

### Zincirli 14 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,15 m

Width: 0,96

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7718)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 34c

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/3



two men with right hand  
raised in adoration gesture

### Zincirli 15 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,19 m

Width: 1,00

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7719)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37c

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/4



ruler

### Zincirli 16 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,17 m

Width: 0,71

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7717)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37c

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/5



hunter with bow  
and arrow

### Zincirli 17 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,94 m

Width: 0,88

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7707)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37c

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/6



stag, left half

### Zincirli 18 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: c. 0,77

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7728)

Source of picture: AiS II, Taf. 37d

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/7

Zincirli 18

Zincirli 19



stag, right half



doe



rampant winged lion

### Zincirli 19 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: c. 0,77

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7728)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37d

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/7

### Zincirli 20 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,15 m

Width: 0,58

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7712)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37d

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/8

### Zincirli 21 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,15 m

Width: 0,60

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7706)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37d

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/9



corner block: bearded god (?) with sword and sledge hammer / lioness, left half



## Zincirli 22 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,33 m

Width: 0,60

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7727)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37d

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/10



lioness, right half

## Zincirli 23 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,33 m

Width: c. 1,00

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7727)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 44

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/11



lion-headed demon with sword, hare thrower(?), hunting falcons, and dead hare(?)

## Zincirli 24 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,23 m

Width: 0,65

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7724)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 44

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/12



corner block: bearded god with sword, spear, and shield(?) / goddess with mirror

### Zincirli 25 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,37 m

Width: 1,12

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2647)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 40-41

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/13



Storm God

### Zincirli 26 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,32 m

Width: 0,65

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2648)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 41

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/14



seated goddess

### Zincirli 27 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,25 m

Width: 0,80

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2649)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38a

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/15



falcon-headed winged  
demon

### **Zincirli 28** **Outer Citadel Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,18 m

Width: c. 0,60

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2650)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 42

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/16



goat browsing

### **Zincirli 29** **Outer Citadel Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: c. 0,57

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2651)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38a

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/17



goat browsing

### **Zincirli 30** **Outer Citadel Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: c. 0,57

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2651)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38a

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/17



singer

### Zincirli 31 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: c. 0,55

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2652)

Source of picture: AiS III, Abb. 119

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/18



musician playing a stringed instrument

### Zincirli 32 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,12 m

Width: c. 0,55

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2652)

Source of picture: AiS III, Abb. 119

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/18



bird of prey

### Zincirli 33 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum

Source of picture: AiS III, Abb. 119

Orthmann, USK:



Zincirli 35

Zincirli 34

standing quadruped mammal,  
unfinished

### Zincirli 34 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,90 m

Width: 0,64

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (VA 2653)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38a

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/19



Zincirli 35

Zincirli 34

hare(?)

### Zincirli 35 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

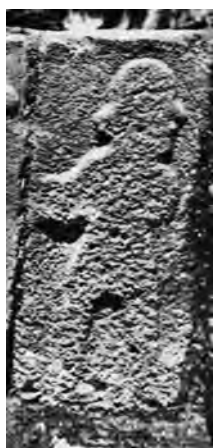
Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38a

Orthmann, USK:



bearded male figure,  
unfinished

### Zincirli 36 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,22 m

Width: 0,45

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2709)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38c

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/20



griffin

### Zincirli 37 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 1,00

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2710)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 43

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/21



“god with spear and shield(?); sphinx”

### Zincirli 38 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,00 m

Width: unknown

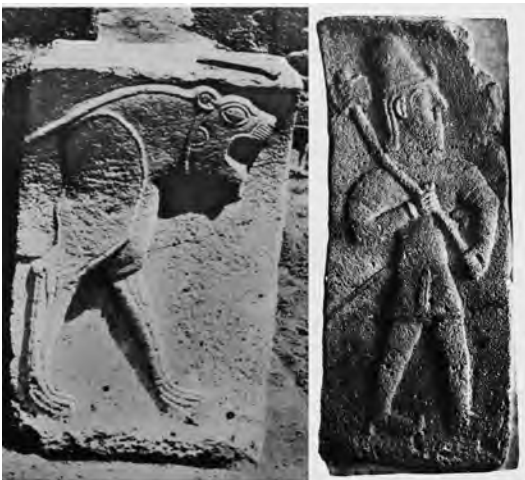
Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2711)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38c

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/22



corner block: bearded god with sword and sledge hammer / lioness, right half

### Zincirli 39 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,25 m

Width: 0,95

Depth: 0,54

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2654)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 42

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/23–24



passing lioness, left half

### Zincirli 40 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,25 m

Width: c. 0,95

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2654)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 45

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/24



lion-headed demon with sword,  
hare thrower(?), hunting falcons,  
and dead hare(?)

### Zincirli 41 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,20 m

Width: 0,96

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location:

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 45

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/25



bull, left half

### Zincirli 42 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,18 m

Width: c. 0,90

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7709)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 44

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/26



bull, right half

### Zincirli 43 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,18 m

Width: c. 0,90

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7709)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 44

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/26



warrior rider with shield and quiver

### Zincirli 44 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,16 m

Width: 0,94

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7708)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 44

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/27



wounded caprid (wild goat?)  
or cervid (doe? fawn?), perhaps  
unfinished

### Zincirli 45 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,75 m

Width: 1,00

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7713)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37a

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/28



caprid (wild goat?) or cervid  
(doe? fawn?)

#### **Zincirli 46** **Outer Citadel Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,94 m

Width: 0,69

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Istanbul, Arch. Museum (7714)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 37a

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/29



bull, right half

#### **Zincirli 47** **Outer Citadel Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,16 m

Width: 1,00

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2656)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 45

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/30



bull, left half

#### **Zincirli 48** **Outer Citadel Gate**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,16 m

Width: 1,00

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2656)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 45

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/30



corner block: ruler holding grapes and corn vs. sphinx

### Zincirli 49 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,95 m

Width: 0,84

Depth: 0,72

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2657)

Source of picture: "AiS III, Taf. 45; 38b"

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/31



male figure with spear and shield

### Zincirli 50 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,90 m

Width: 0,70

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2713)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38b

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/32



male figure with spear and dead hare(?), unfinished

### Zincirli 51 Outer Citadel Gate

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,90 m

Width: 0,74

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Berlin, Vorderas. Museum (2712)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 38b

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli B/33



portal lion

### Zircirli 52 Lion's Pit

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,79 m

Width: 2,62

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA 3001)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 46

Orthmann, USK: Zircirli C/2



portal lion

### Zircirli 53 Lion's Pit

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,70 m

Width: 2,75

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7700)

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 46

Orthmann, USK: Zircirli C/1



portal lion

### Zircirli 54 Lion's Pit

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,77 m

Width: 2,64

Depth: unknown

Date: 711-671/70 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

Source of picture: AiS III, Taf. 47

Orthmann, USK: Zircirli C/4



portal lion

### Zincirli 55 Lion's Pit

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,70 m

Width: 2,63

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7701)

Source of picture: Wartke 2005, Abb. 53

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli C/3



portal lion

### Zincirli 56 Lion's Pit

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,63 m

Width: 2,58

Depth: unknown

Date: 711–671/70 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

Source of picture: Ais III, Taf. 47b

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli C/5



sphinx, unfinished

### Zincirli 57

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,67 m

Width: 0,93

Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Louvre, Paris (AO 8190)

Source of picture: AiS III, Abb. 145

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli C/6



sphinx, unfinished

## Zincirli 58

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,70 m

Width: 1,00

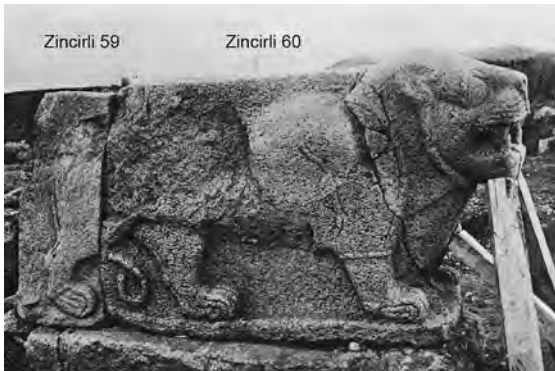
Depth: unknown

Date: late 10th century BCE

Current location: Louvre, Paris (AO 8189)

Source of picture: AiS III, Abb. 144

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli C/7



hind leg of portal lion

## Zincirli 59 Gate Q

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,05 m

Width: 2,09

Depth: 0,48

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 65

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli D/1



portal lion

## Zincirli 60 Gate Q

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,05 m

Width: 2,09

Depth: 0,48

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 65

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli D/1



hind leg of portal lion

### Zincirli 61 Gate Q

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 2,05

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 65

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli D/2



portal lion

### Zincirli 62 Gate Q

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 2,05

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 65

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli D/2



ancestral image of  
a king

### Zincirli 63 Outside Building J

statue

Material: basalt

Height: c. 2,50 m

Width: c. 0,70

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7768)

Source of picture: Bonatz 2000, Taf. II

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli E/I



double lion base for Zincirli 63

### Zincirli 64 Outside Building J

base of statue

Material: basalt

Height: 0,72 m

Width: 1,00

Depth: unknown

Date: early 9th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7768)

Source of picture: Ussishkin 1975, fig. 14

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli E/1



orthostat inscribed with  
Phoenician inscription of king  
Kulamuwa

### Zincirli 65 Building J

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,56 m

Width: 1,30

Depth: unknown

Date: late 9th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA S 6579)

Source of picture: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki>

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli E/2



corner block: audience scene

### Zincirli 66 Hilani IV

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,13 m

Width: 1,15

Depth: unknown

Date: Barrakib, 733/32-713/11 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA 2817)

Source of picture: Wartke 2005, Abb. 68

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/1



sphinx base

### Zincirli 67 Hilani IV

column base

Material: basalt

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 0,75

Depth: 1,44

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA 3017)

Source of picture: AiS II, Abb. 74

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/2



courtiers bearing jug and archery gear (bow, quiver, arrows, bracer, and shooting glove)

### Zincirli 68 Hilani IV

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: 0,80

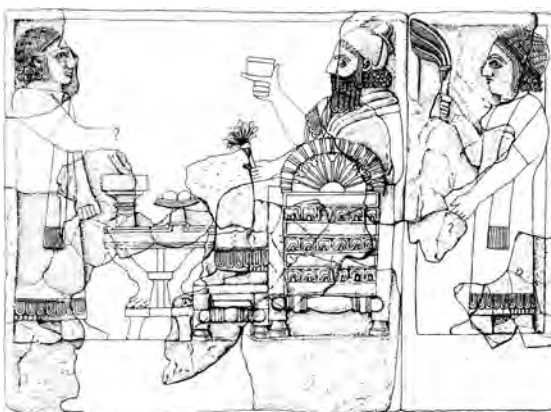
Depth: unknown

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 61

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/3



corner block: banquet scene

### Zincirli 69 Hilani IV

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,14 m

Width: 1,15

Depth: 0,42

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA S 6587+)

Source of picture: Voos 1985, Abb. 14

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/4



flautist and courtier

### Zincirli 70 Hilani IV

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,14 m

Width: 0,70

Depth: unknown

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA 2999+974)

Source of picture: Voos 1985, Abb. 15

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/5



harpists

### Zincirli 71 Hilani IV

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,14 m

Width: c. 0,80

Depth: unknown

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7723)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 62

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/6



drummers

### Zincirli 72 Hilani IV

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,14 m

Width: c. 70

Depth: unknown

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7723)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 62

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/7



corner block: courtiers bearing banquet implements / tambourine players

### Zincirli 73 Hilani IV

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,14 m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (S 6584)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Abb. 259b

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli F/8



“king Barrakib with hands raised in adoration; behind him, fan-bearer.”

### Zincirli 74 Northern portico

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 1,31 m

Width: 0,62

Depth: unknown

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7697)

Source of picture: Wartke 2005, Abb. 98

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli K/1



fragment of banquet scene with king Barrakib libating

### Zincirli 75 Northern portico

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,45 m

Width: 0,45

Depth: 0,11

Date: Barrakib, 733/32–713/11 BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (S 6581)

Source of picture: Wartke 2005, Abb. 97

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli K/11



sphinx pair, identical to Zincirli 77

### Zincirli 76 Hilani III

column base

Material: basalt

Height: 1,03 m

Width: c. 1,25

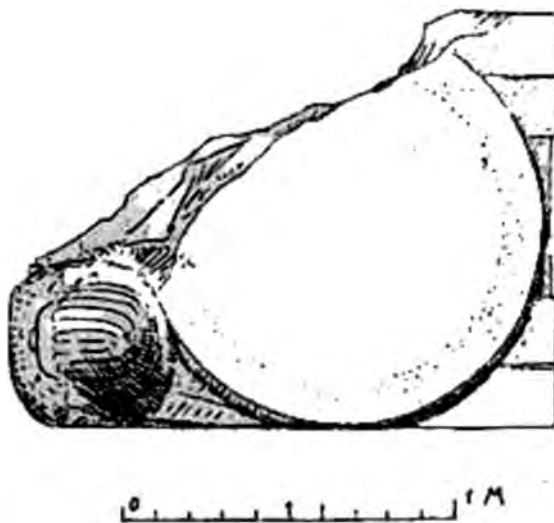
Depth: c. 1,50

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7731)

Source of picture: AiS II, Abb. 66a

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/1



sphinx pair

### Zincirli 77 Hilani III

column base

Material: basalt

Height: 0,96 m

Width: 1,24

Depth: 1,55

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA 3018)

Source of picture: AiS II, Abb. 66b

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/2



“three courtiers, two of them ‘erased’”

### Zincirli 78 Hilani III

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,80 m

Width: 1,60

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: AiS IV, Abb. 150

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/4



courtiers

### **Zincirli 79 Hilani III**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,79 m

Width: 0,73

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7730)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 59

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/5



courtier

### **Zincirli 80 Hilani III**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,79 m

Width: 0,58

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7738)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 59

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/6



courtier

### **Zincirli 81 Hilani III**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,79 m

Width: 0,39

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7740)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Abb. 254

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/7



courtiers

**Zincirli 82**  
**Hilani III**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,77 m

Width: 1,10

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA 2997)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 58

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/8

**Zincirli 83**  
**Hilani III**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: 0,80 m

Width: 0,71

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7737)

no picture available

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/9

**Zincirli 84**  
**Hilani III**

orthostat

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin

no picture available

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/10

**Zincirli 85**  
**Hilani III**

orthostat  
Material: basalt

Height: unknown m  
Width: unknown  
Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin  
no picture available  
Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/11



portal lion

**Zincirli 86**  
**Hilani III**

orthostat  
Material: basalt

Height: 1,54 m  
Width: 0,65  
Depth: 2,50

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7703)  
Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 57b  
Orthmann, USK: Zincirli H/3



sphinx

**Zincirli 87**  
**Hilani II**

portal figure  
Material: basalt

Height: 0,90 m  
Width: 1,20  
Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7736)  
Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 55  
Orthmann, USK: Zincirli G/1



portal lion

### Zincirli 88 Hilani II

protome

Material: basalt

Height: 1,00 m

Width: 0,46

Depth: 1,30

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: Arch. Museum, Istanbul (Inv. 7777)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 57

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli J/1



back half of a base for a statue: pair of horses

### Zincirli 89 Hilani II

base of statue

Material: basalt

Height: unknown m

Width: unknown

Depth: unknown

Date: late 8th – early 7th century BCE

Current location: unknown

Source of picture: AiS IV, Abb. 243–249

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli K/3



funerary banquet

### Zincirli 90 Outer wall of Hilani I

stele

Material: basalt

Height: 1,52 m

Width: 1,20

Depth: 0,13

Date: early 7th century BCE

Current location: Vorderas. Museum, Berlin (VA 2995)

Source of picture: AiS IV, Taf. 54

Orthmann, USK: Zincirli K/2

**Zincirli 91**  
**northern lower town**

stele

Material: basalt

Height: 0,99 m

Width: 0,72

Depth: 0,25

Date: late 8th century BCE

Current location: site of Zincirli?

no picture available

Orthmann, USK: -



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