ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

CITIES AND CITADELS IN TURKEY: FROM THE IRON AGE TO THE SELJUKS

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LANDSCAPES OF POWER:
NEO-HITTITE CITADELS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

It is widely accepted that the collapse of the great territorial powers of the Bronze Age precipitated a disruptive historical and cultural interlude, or "Dark Age," throughout the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the second millennium BCE. However, it is also increasingly recognized that the cultures of the ensuing Iron Age preserved many of the traditions and institutions of the preceding era. The evidence of cultural continuity is particularly pronounced in Anatolia, where scholars have long acknowledged the Bronze Age Hittite influence on the architectural and sculptural traditions of the Iron Age Neo-Hittite states of Southeastern Anatolia and Northwest Syria. Recent epigraphic discoveries have now also begun to furnish textual evidence of political continuity, albeit of a fundamentally transformed political order.[1]

This growing documentary record suggests that, in the aftermath of the collapse of the imperial center at Hattuša, Hittite viceroys installed at Karkamiš were left holding a much reduced "rump" state that extended from Malatya southeast to the great bend of the Euphrates. In time, this entity appears to have fragmented further into the smaller kingdoms of Karkamiš, Melid and Kummuh, to the west Gurgum, and now

[1] For a survey of these recent discoveries and their broader historical context, see Hawkins 2002, 2009; and Harrison 2009a.

possibly also Palistin.[2] Interspersed between these reduced enclaves of Hittite influence, rival political centers — perhaps most importantly at Zincirli (ancient Sam'al) and Tell Rifa'at (ancient Arpad) — also began to materialize, reflecting their own newly emergent cultural and linguistic traditions. The result was a highly fragmented, or "balkanized," political landscape within which a diverse cultural and ethnic milieu was able to develop and flourish. This cultural and political ferment provided the stimulus that forged the small vibrant Neo-Hittite nation-states that would come to define Iron Age civilization in the region.

In contrast to the powerfully centralized states of the Late Bronze Age, these Neo-Hittite kingdoms were characterized by their ethno-linguistic diversity, distributed political culture, and fluctuating territorial influence. The construction of large royal cities anchored by heavily defended citadels and furnished with impressive palatial complexes, religious buildings and monumental sculptural works is a defining characteristic of these diminutive regional kingdoms. As "new foundations," these regal centers served to elevate the authority of local ruling dynasties within the fragmented political geography of the period, while their citadels represented visual manifestations of power, invoking legitimacy through their association with the venerable architectural and sculptural traditions of their Bronze Age Anatolian forebears. This article will examine these Neo-Hittite citadels in comparative perspective and explore their role as landscapes of power within the changing political geography of Bronze and Iron Age Anatolia.

NEO-HITTITE NEW FOUNDATIONS

Epigraphic and Iconographic Evidence

Indigenous textual sources hint at the launching of ambitious royal building programs in conjunction with the emergence of many of the Neo-Hittite states of the early first millennium BCE. In a prescient study, Mazzoni has drawn attention to these striking accounts, which record the creation of new foundations, by royal proclamation, as early as the twelfth century BCE.[3]

The best known example certainly is the Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician bilingual inscription at the border fortress of Azatiwataya, modern-day Karatepe (**Fig. 1**), built by Azatiwatas, ruler of the Kingdom of Adanawa, in the eighth century BCE.[4] His proclamation bears reading at length:

> I am Azatiwatas, the Sun-blessed (?) man, Tarhunzas' servant, (1-6)
>   Whom Awarikus the Adanawean king promoted. (7-11)

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[2] Hawkins 2002, p. 148; 2009; Harrison 2009a and b.
[3] Mazzoni 1994 and 1995.
[4] For a more extensive discussion of Azatiwataya, see Özyar's article in this volume.
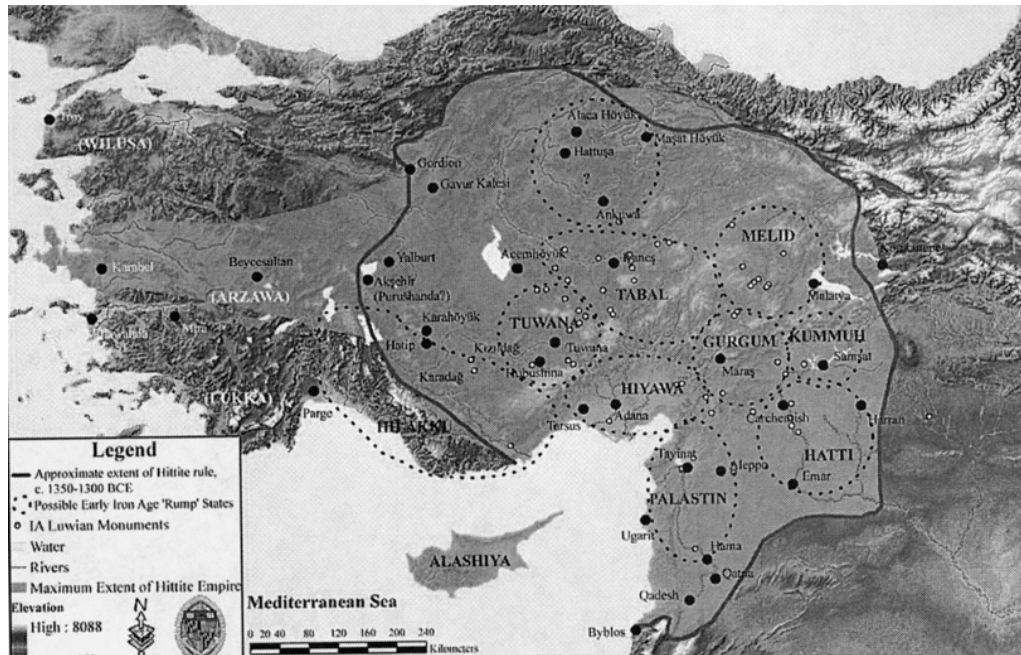
Fig. 1 Map of Southeastern Anatolia and Northwest Syria showing the principal Neo-Hittite settlements of the early first millennium BCE. Source: S. Batiuk.

Tarhunzas made me mother and father to Adanawa, (12-17)
> And I caused Adanawa to prosper, (18-20)
> And I *extended* the Adanawa *plain*, both to the west and to the east, (21-29)
> And in my days, there were to Adanawa all good things, *plenty* and *luxury* […] (30-37)

[I erected mansions] for my lord's family, (69-73)
> I brought prosperity to my race, (74-80)
> [And I sat on the throne of my father] […] (81-84)

And I built strong fortresses […] on the frontiers […] (95-101)

And I built this [citadel], and to it I put the name Azatiwataya. (201-208)
> So Tarhunzas and Runzas were after me for this [citadel] to build [it], (209-216)
> [So that it might protect the Plain of Adana, and the House of Mopsos …]

And if [there is] a king among kings, or a prince among princes, [or a person of renown],
> [Who proclaims]: "I shall delete Azatiwatas' name from [this] gate[s], (338-45)
>> and I shall incise my name," (346-50)
> Or [if] he is *covetous* towards this [citadel], and blocks up [?] these gates, (351-59)
>> which Azatiwatas has made, (360-62)
> And proclaims thus: "I shall make the gates my own, (363-68)
>> and I shall incise my name for myself" […] (369-72)

[Then] may celestial Tarhunzas, the celestial Sun, Ea and all the gods
> delete that kingdom and that king and that man! (385-400)[5]

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[5] This translation represents a composite of the Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician inscriptions, as presented in Hawkins 2000, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 48–58; see also Çambel 1999.

Captured in this remarkable text is an explicit claim to the foundation of a new city and its citadel, as well as the political and religious justifications for this royal act. The sacred importance of the city gate is also made unambiguously clear.

However, the bilingual proclamation at Karatepe is only the latest in a tradition that can be traced back to the twelfth century BCE and the beginning of the Iron Age. One such twelfth-century account is preserved on the Elbistan Stele found near Karahöyük (**Fig. 1**), which records a dedication by Ir-Teshub to the Storm God, celebrating the restoration of cities and buildings in the area.[6] In another early example, on the eleventh-century Izgin Stele of Taras, the king of Malatya (ancient Melid) proclaims the foundation of a new city.[7] Other, later references to new foundations include the royal inscriptions of Suhi II and Katuwas at Karkamiš (*circa* 975–870 BCE), the inscriptions of Urhilina (*circa* 853–845 BCE) and his son Uratamis of Hamath, Panamuwa I of Sam'al (*circa* 790–770 BCE), and the Aramaean ruler Zakkur (*circa* 810–775 BCE), who claims to have built Hazrek (modern Tell Afis).[8]

As Mazzoni has noted,[9] the central motivation for these new foundations was the creation of a regal city, equipped with a citadel, as a means of legitimizing royal authority. More than simply transparent attempts at political legitimization, however, these regal cities symbolized and came to embody the hierarchical power structure and political order of Iron Age society. As such, they represented landscapes of power that projected the divinely sanctioned authority of the ruling dynasty. This vertical power structure was visually reinforced by the erection of heavily fortified citadels and the construction of ornately decorated monumental gateways and palatial complexes.

The existing iconographic evidence, although fraught with problems of dating, supports the view reflected in the epigraphic record. For example, the carved reliefs in the Lion Gate at Malatya, which probably date to the late twelfth or early eleventh century BCE,[10] currently provide the earliest evidence of a monumental sculptural tradition. In the vicinity of Zincirli, the unfinished sphinxes in the basalt quarries at Yesemek and Sıkızlar are likely eleventh century in date, while the similarly carved sphinxes at Zincirli are surely contemporary, if not from the same workshop.[11] The remarkable sculptured reliefs at Karkamiš and in the City Gate at Zincirli, although later in date (probably late eleventh or early tenth century BCE), clearly represent the maturation of this ideological program.

A thematic shift is evident between the reliefs of the twelfth/eleventh centuries and those of the later tenth and ninth centuries BCE. Late Bronze Age Hittite icono-

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[6] Hawkins 1993, pp. 273–279; 2000, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 288–295.

[7] Hawkins 2000, pp. 277–279.

[8] See the relevant historical summaries and translations in Hawkins 2000; Mazzoni 1994, pp. 319–320; 1995, pp. 181–182.

[9] Mazzoni 1994, pp. 319–321.

[10] Hawkins 1993, p. 276; 1995; Mazzoni 1995, p. 182; 1997, pp. 310–311.

[11] See Mazzoni 1995, p. 182, with further references in n. 7.

graphic traditions are still strong in the Malatya and Yesemek sculptures (for instance, the god depicted on the stag, and the mountain gods supporting the winged disk), while in the later reliefs they have been replaced by new themes and motifs.[12] Hittite iconography is also evident in the 'Ain Dara and Aleppo temple reliefs, supporting their twelfth-century-BCE dating by their excavators.[13]

Archaeological Evidence

Together, the textual and iconographic evidence points to the transformation of a region — essentially encompassing the area between the Taurus Mountains and the western edges of the Syrian steppe — that had once formed the Syrian holdings of the Hittite Empire (**Fig. 1**). The archaeological record mirrors this change, documenting an urbanization process marked by the emergence of dominant central settlements surrounded by an increasingly sedentarized rural hinterland.

Mazzoni has conveniently identified four discrete types of new foundations:[14]

(1) *Archaeologically and epigraphically documented new foundations*: Among these count Sam'al/Zincirli, the earliest foundation of which must date to the tenth century or earlier, with at least three building phases between the tenth and eighth centuries BCE to date;[15] and Azitawataya/Karatepe, a late-eighth-century construction which corresponds with the new foundation proclamation, with evidence of earlier architectural phases and the possibility of a transfer of settlement from nearby Domuztepe.[16]

(2) *Archaeologically documented new foundations*: Among these count Guzana/Tell Halaf, consisting of at least four Iron Age building phases to date, *circa* ninth and eighth centuries BCE, with the earliest Iron Age settlement built directly on top of the prehistoric settlement, following a settlement shift at the end of the Bronze Age from nearby Tell Fekhariyah;[17] Sakçagözü/Lutibu (?), eighth-century remains established directly on top of a Chalcolithic/Bronze Age settlement; and Kunulua/Tell Tayinat, with five building periods spanning the ninth to seventh centuries BCE, and architectural remains suggesting an eleventh/tenth century foundation, following a settlement shift from nearby Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh) at the end of the Late Bronze Age; see further below.[18]

(3) *Refoundations of pre-existing capitals/urban centers:* Among these count Karkamiš, with extensive remains from at least the tenth/ninth centuries and later; Hamath, with

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[12]   Mazzoni 1995, pp. 182–183.
[13]   Abu-Assaf 1990; Orthmann 1993; Gonnella *et al.* 2005; Kohlmeyer 2009.
[14]   Mazzoni 1994, pp. 321–323; 1995.
[15]   See Pucci 2008; and Schloen and Fink 2009, with further references.
[16]   Çambel and Özyar 2003; see also Harrison 2009c.
[17]   Naumann 1950; see also Pucci 2008.
[18]   Haines 1971, pp. 64–66; Harrison 2009b, with further references.

extensive remains from the ninth to eighth centuries, including a monumental gateway, a large administrative complex, and possible temple(s); and Musawari/Til Barsip/Tell Ahmar, the capital of Bit Adini.

(4) *Transformations of village settlements into capitals/urban centers*: Among these count Arpad/Tell Rifa'at, the construction of a well-dressed city gate and fortifications,[19] with Aleppo relegated to a second-tier settlement; and Hazrek/Tell Afis, with a continuous settlement sequence from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, and the construction of a monumental temple and other public structures and fortifications.[20]

These royal new foundations generally averaged 20–50 ha in size, were equipped with heavily fortified citadels accessed through monumental gateways, and surrounded by extensive lower settlements comprised of residential and industrial areas.

Mazzoni has grouped her four settlement types further into three distinct models of urban growth or transformation:[21] (1) *short-distance capital transfer* (for example, Domuztepe to Azitawataya/Karatepe, Alalakh/Tell Atchana to Kunulua/Tell Tayinat, Sikani/Tell Fekhariyah to Guzana/Tell Halaf, and Tilmen Höyük to Sam'al/Zincirli); (2) *short-distance secondary foundation/duplication* (for instance, Sam'al/Zincirli to Sakçagözü, and Musawari/Til Barsip to Khadatu/Arslantaş); and (3) *long-distance capital transfer* (for example, Hamath to Hazrek/Tell Afis, and Arne/Tell Aarane or Aleppo (?) to Arpad/Tell Rifa'at). Noteworthy are the role that rivers or bodies of water appear to have played in these settlement shifts, and the preponderance of secondary settlements founded specifically for defense, with Azitawataya/Karatepe perhaps the best example.

The textual evidence also hints at a more formalized differentiation of settlement types, with the Panamuwa inscription (*circa* mid-eighth century BCE) at Gerçin, near Zincirli, providing implicit reference to the existence of a three-tiered settlement hierarchy.[22] Neo-Assyrian sources similarly infer a functional differentiation in the settlements of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms they encountered, identifying at least three distinct settlement types: royal cities (*āl šarrūti*), fortified towns (*ālāni dannūti*), and regional towns (*ālāni ša limēti*).[23] In the course of his ninth campaign (*circa* 870 BCE), Ashurnasirpal II mentions all three settlement types while fighting against the Kingdom of Patina (see further below), identifying Kunulua (Tell Tayinat) as the royal capital, Aribua (probably modern Jisr esh-Shughur) as a fortified town, and Hazazu (probably Tell 'Azaz) as a regional town.[24]

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[19] Seton-Williams 1967, pp. 19–21.
[20] Mazzoni 1998; Soldi 2009.
[21] Soldi 2009, pp. 324–325.
[22] Specifically line 10 of the inscription; see Gibson 1975, p. 67. I thank J. Osborne for bringing this reference to my attention.
[23] Ikeda 1979, pp. 75–78; Liverani 1992, p. 125; Mazzoni 1994, p. 326.
[24] Grayson 1991, pp. 216–219, text A.0.101.1, col. iii, lines 55–92a.

Gateways as Symbolic Boundary Zones

The Lion Gate at Malatya, with its twelfth- to eleventh-century reliefs, represents the earliest example of an elaborately decorated Neo-Hittite gateway. The reliefs depict deer- and lion-hunting scenes, and libations being offered to the gods.[25] The iconography closely parallels the only slightly earlier thirteenth-century Hittite reliefs in the Sphinx Gate at Alaca Höyük,[26] and clearly invokes sacred rituals related to Hittite kingship. In so doing, they delineate the gateway as a sacred area, a boundary zone between the wild, chaotic natural order and the civilized world protected by the gods,[27] while the sacred rituals highlight the role of the king as the divinely appointed guardian, or "gate keeper," of the community.

The presence of sphinxes or lions in the citadel gateways of many of the Neo-Hittite royal cities (such as Hama, Karatepe, Karkamiš, Malatya and Zincirli) clearly represents the continuation (or revival) of Bronze Age Hittite tradition,[28] and further accentuates their symbolic role as boundary zones that guarded access to the ruling elite. The erection of colossal statues within these gates (for instance, Karatepe, Karkamiš, Tayinat and Zincirli), usually depicted astride a figure flanked by lions — the classic "master and the animals" motif signifying the imposition of order over chaos, or of the civilized world over the natural — explicitly links the king to the gate area, while emphasizing the ceremonial rites and duties of kingship performed there.[29]

The later tenth-to-ninth-century elaboration of citadel gateways only served to further accentuate the ideological message of the gateway as a border zone that separated the divinely favored (and protected) ruling elite from those they ruled. Moreover, these elaborately decorated gateways, with their ornately carved reliefs, had come to serve as dynastic parades and by the eighth century had become a formal part of the royal propaganda, as exemplified in the declaration of Azatiwatas at Karatepe. The gate reliefs also formed linear narratives, leading their audience between the human and divine realms, with the king serving as the link between the two worlds.[30]

The porticoed entrances of the palaces that graced the summits of Neo-Hittite citadels also functioned, in a way, as protective and ceremonial gateways, or boundary zones. The reliefs that front the palace of Kapara at Tell Halaf, which date to the latter part of the ninth century BCE, are perhaps the best example of this. Not surprisingly, their repertoire comprised many of the same images found in the gate processions, including deer- and bull-hunting scenes, mythical combat, and protecting gods and monsters.[31]

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[25]   Delaporte 1940; see especially pl. XIXb, XXIV, XXXII.
[26]   Güterbock 1956.
[27]   Mazzoni 1997, pp. 310–315.
[28]   Mazzoni 1994, p. 331; 1997, pp. 316–318.
[29]   Ussishkin 1989; Mazzoni 1997, pp. 330–331.
[30]   Mazzoni, 1997, pp. 318–324.
[31]   Mazzoni 1997, p. 329.

TELL TAYINAT AND THE KINGDOM OF PALISTIN/PATINA AS A CASE STUDY

In the North Orontes Valley, the existing archaeological evidence supports the view of continuity and change, documenting the emergence of a powerful regional kingdom with historical ties to the period of the Hittite Empire, centered at the large Iron Age settlement of Tell Tayinat.

Survey data for the region indicate a relative decline in settlement during the Late Bronze Age, which mirrors a general decline throughout the ancient Near East during this period.[32] This trend was reversed during the Iron Age, when the number of sites in the region almost doubled. Closer examination of this survey data, however, elicits a number of more revealing patterns.[33] In particular, almost two-thirds of the identified Late Bronze Age sites were also occupied during the Early Iron Age (Amuq Phase N), suggesting significant settlement continuity between the two periods. However, these settlements only accounted for about one third of the total number of recorded Early Iron Age sites. Fully 74 per cent, or 30 of the 47 known Early Iron Age (or Iron I) sites, were new settlements. In contrast, the evidence for settlement continuity between the Iron I and the later Iron II periods (Amuq Phase O) is very strong. Thirty-five of the 47 known Amuq N sites, or a remarkable 75 per cent, were also occupied in Phase O.[34]

Site-size data clarify further the settlement intensification evident in the overall site totals. While aggregate settled area also increased, more revealing is the average size of the sites, which actually decreased from 4.76 ha in the Late Bronze Age (or Amuq Phase M) to 3.61 ha in Phase N and 3.63 ha in Phase O. As Casana and Wilkinson have noted,[35] the Amuq survey data document a decisive settlement shift or, more specifically, a dispersal of the population into small rural settlements during the Iron Age. While site-size distributions remained relatively stable throughout the latter half of the second millennium (Amuq Phases M and N), with approximately one third of the sites falling into the medium-size category (5–15 ha) and two thirds into the small-size category (<5 ha), in Phase O, more than 80 per cent of the sites (n=26) qualify as small settlements.

Paralleling these settlement trends is the emergence of Tell Tayinat as the dominant settlement in the region. By the Iron II period (or Phase O), at 35–40 ha, Tell Tayinat had grown to account for fully 30 per cent of the known settled area and was more than three times larger than Çatal Höyük (AS 167), the next-largest settlement in the regional site-size hierarchy. The dominance of Tell Tayinat is also reflected in the

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[32]   McClellan 1992; Yener *et al.* 2000, pp. 187–189.
[33]   For a more thorough treatment of this survey data, see Harrison 2001, pp. 122–124.
[34]   For a similar assessment of the settlement trends in the Amuq, although based on slightly different survey data, see Pruss 2002, pp. 162–164.
[35]   Casana and Wilkinson 2005, pp. 39–40.

spatial distribution of Phase O sites, which shows a heavy concentration of settlements in its vicinity along the southern edge of the plain (**Fig. 2**). Thus, while the survey data indicate significant settlement continuity during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age, equally revealing is the evidence that this Early Iron Age settlement network subsequently developed into an integrated, urbanized regional entity, with Tell Tayinat at its center.

The evidence for change is also clear, attested perhaps most revealingly in the shift of the primary settlement in the valley from Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh) to nearby Tell Tayinat. Whether the terminal Late Bronze Age settlement at Alalakh was destroyed or abandoned remains unclear, but the renewed excavations at Tayinat have now demonstrated conclusively that the site was resettled in the Early Iron I period (*circa* twelfth century BCE), after an eight-century hiatus corresponding to the period of Alalakh's ascendancy. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, the Early Iron I levels at Tayinat have also revealed a material cultural signature that betrays an intrusive Aegean influence, if not direct evidence for the presence of foreign settlers.

Superimposed over these distinctive Early Iron Age remains, in turn, were the monumental structures of the First Building Period, most notably Building XIII (28 × 35 m) and the poorly preserved, but truly enormous, Building XIV, which the excavators estimated to have measured at least 49 × 95 m in size. The two buildings appear to have been arranged around a central courtyard.[36] A number of isolated architectural finds appear also to have originated from the First Building Period and add to the sense of scale and grandeur of this early phase.[37] In particular, two similarly-carved basalt column bases, ranging between 1.3 and 1.4 m in diameter, were recovered from contexts that suggest they originally came from either Building XIII or XIV. Several other column bases, as well as two carved lion-headed orthostats,[38] were found in secondary or tertiary contexts that suggest they too might have been part of the First Building Period complex.

The First Building Period complex was replaced, in turn, by the late ninth-to-eighth-century palatial complex of the Second Building Period, most famously associated with the grandly porticoed Building I, and the adjacent *megaron*-style temple, Building II, with its gracefully carved double-lion column base (**Fig. 3**).[39] In 2008, the Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) excavations unearthed the remains of a second temple (Building XVI), which together with the earlier excavated structure faced onto a paved central courtyard.[40] Smashed, shard-like fragments of Hieroglyphic Luwian

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[36]   Haines 1971, pp. 38–40.
[37]   For a more thorough treatment of this material, see Harrison 2009a, pp. 177–178.
[38]   Mazzoni has used one of these lion figures (T-3270) to argue for an eleventh- to tenth-century-BCE date for the foundation of the Iron Age city; Mazzoni 1994, p. 322, n. 20; 1995, p. 188, n. 45.
[39]   For a more thorough description of these remains, see Haines 1971, pp. 44–58.
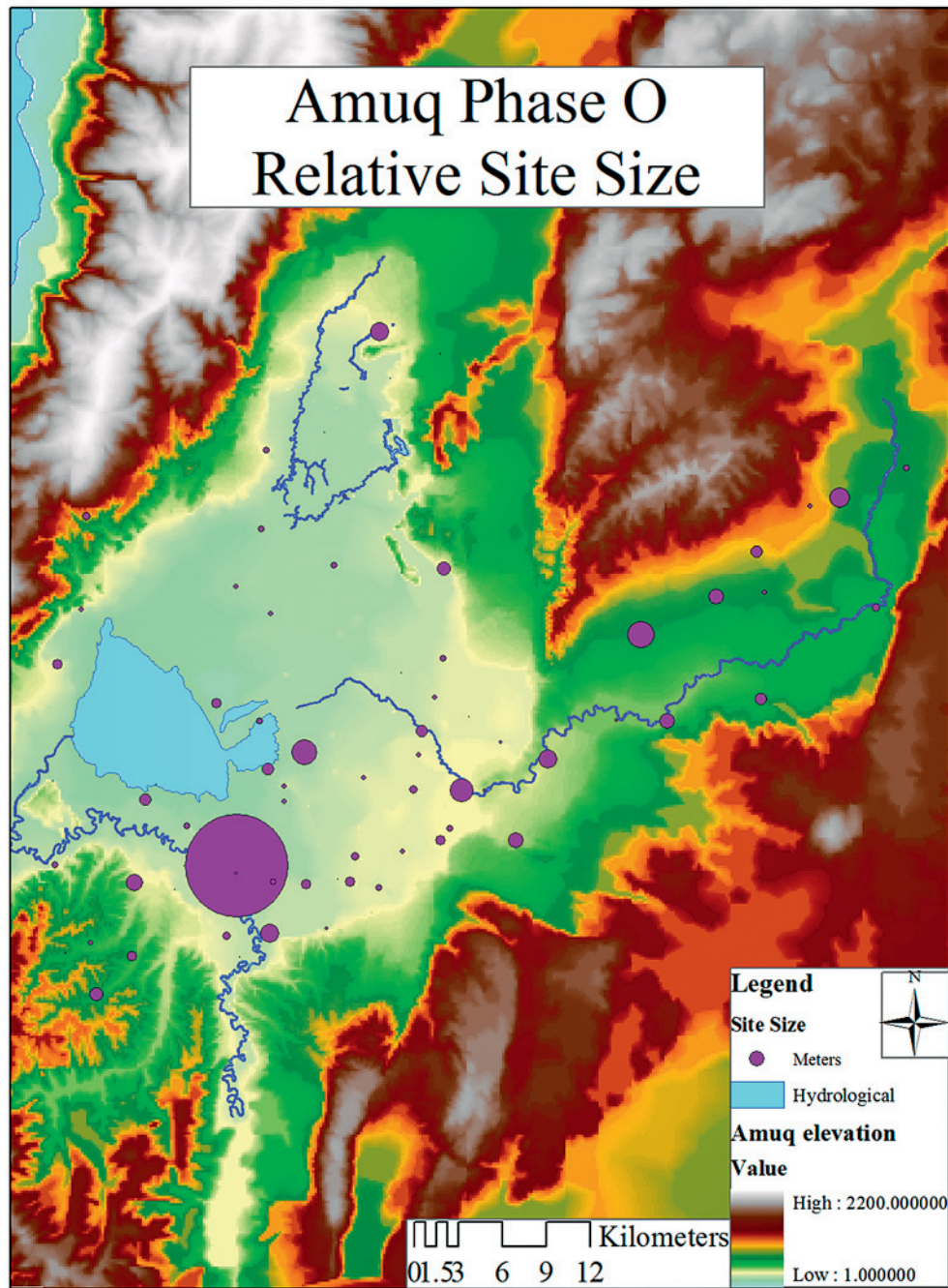[40]   See Harrison 2009b, pp. 183–187.

Fig. 2 Amuq Phase O settlement patterns, with sites displayed relative to their site size. Source: S. Batiuk.
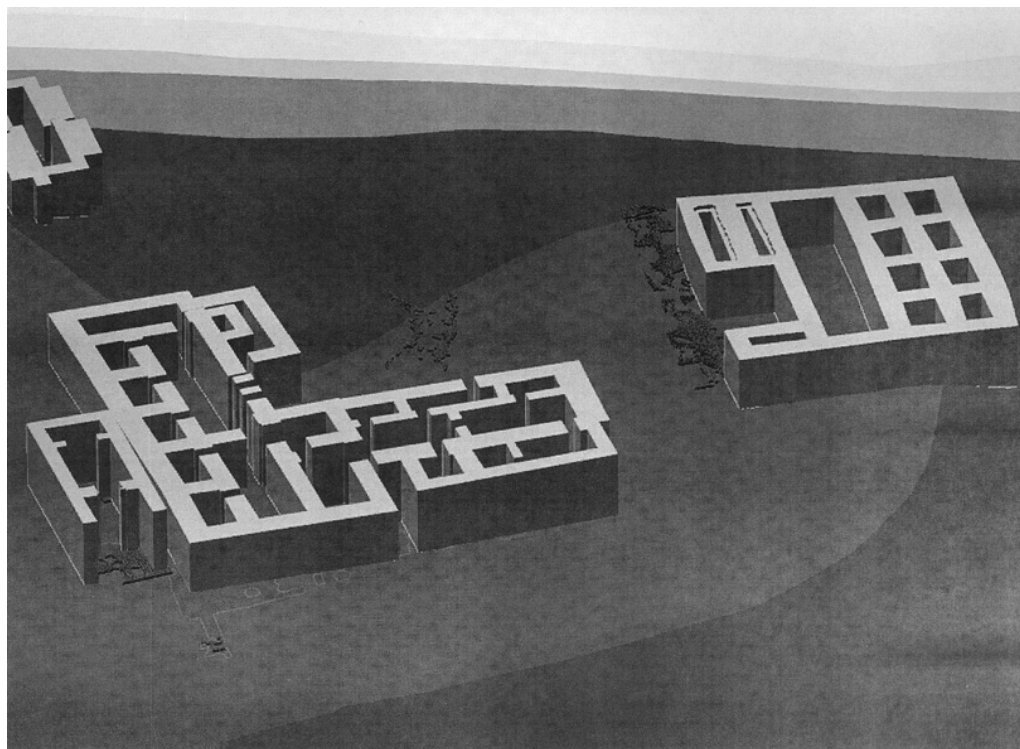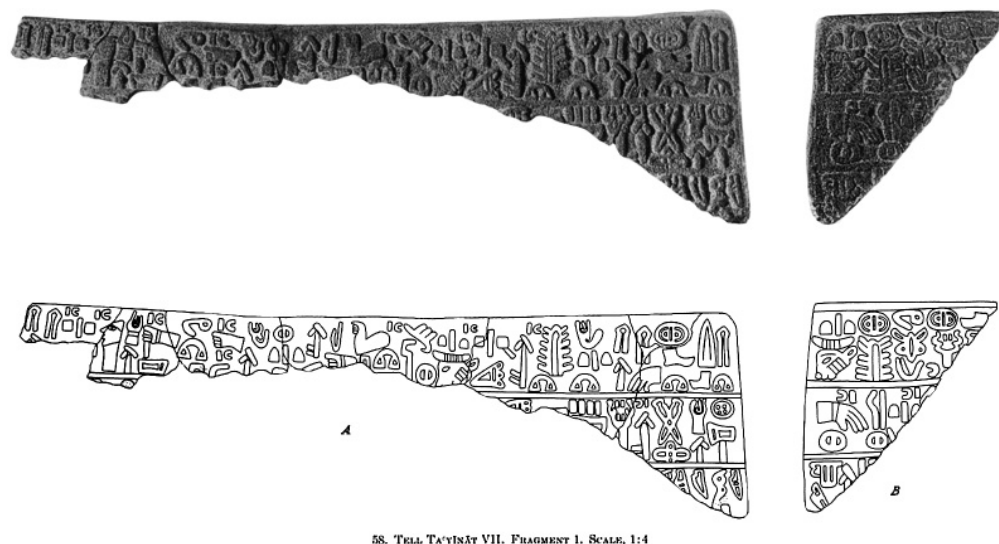
Fig. 3 Plan of the Second Building Period complex.
Source: S. Batiuk.

58. TELL TA'YINĀT VII. FRAGMENT 1. SCALE, 1:4

Fig. 4 A Fragment of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Tell Tayinat Inscription 2.
Source: After Gelb 1939.

inscriptions (**Fig. 4**), part of standing monuments or stelae, which once must have stood in the courtyard, were found scattered across the pavement. With their monumental stepped approach and porticoed entrances, the two buildings preserve the classic plan of Neo-Hittite temples and clearly formed part of a sacred precinct (**Fig. 5**). The newly excavated temple's inner sanctuary, or "holy of holies," contained a wealth of cultic paraphernalia, including gold, bronze and iron implements, libation vessels and ornately decorated ritual objects, and a cache of cuneiform tablets, apparently the remnants of a Neo-Assyrian renovation of the older Neo-Hittite temple complex.

To the northwest of the sacred precinct, Building I, along with a northern annex (Building VI) and a second palace (Building IV), faced onto a second paved courtyard (Courtyard VIII; **Fig. 3**). During the Second Building Period,[41] this central courtyard was approached from the southwest by a paved street that led from a large gate (Gateway XII) providing access to the upper city, or citadel, from the south. A second gate (Gateway VII), located on the far eastern edge of the upper mound, provided access between the lower and upper settlements, while two gates in the outer walls of the lower settlement (Gateways III and XI) provided entrance to the city. Each of these gates was lined with finely dressed basalt orthostats, although none were carved in relief, unlike at Karkamiš, Karatepe, Zincirli and elsewhere. However, the fragmented remains of a large human head made of basalt was found in the vicinity of Gateway VII (**Fig. 6**), suggesting that a colossal figure once guarded the entrance to the upper city and citadel at Tayinat, not unlike at Karkamiš, Karatepe and Zincirli. A magnetometry survey of the lower mound has confirmed the presence of an extensive lower settlement (**Fig. 7**).[42]

In sum, the archaeological remains preserved at Tell Tayinat highlight the salient features of a typical Neo-Hittite citadel. Meanwhile, accumulating textual evidence has begun to outline the rise of a powerful regional kingdom associated with the "Land of Palistin," which emerged during the Early Iron Age in the aftermath of the Hittite Empire's collapse.[43] This polity, in turn, came to be known as the Kingdom of Patina (or alternatively Unqi) in Neo-Assyrian sources of the ninth and eighth centuries BCE.[44] While the specific historical circumstances remain elusive, the cultural signature, and wealth, of this Neo-Hittite state are reflected in the impressive buildings and standing monuments that once crowned the upper mound at Tayinat, forming its ancient citadel.

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[41]   Haines 1971, pp. 64–65.
[42]   Batiuk *et al.* 2005, pp. 175–76.
[43]   See Hawkins 2009; Harrison 2009a and b.
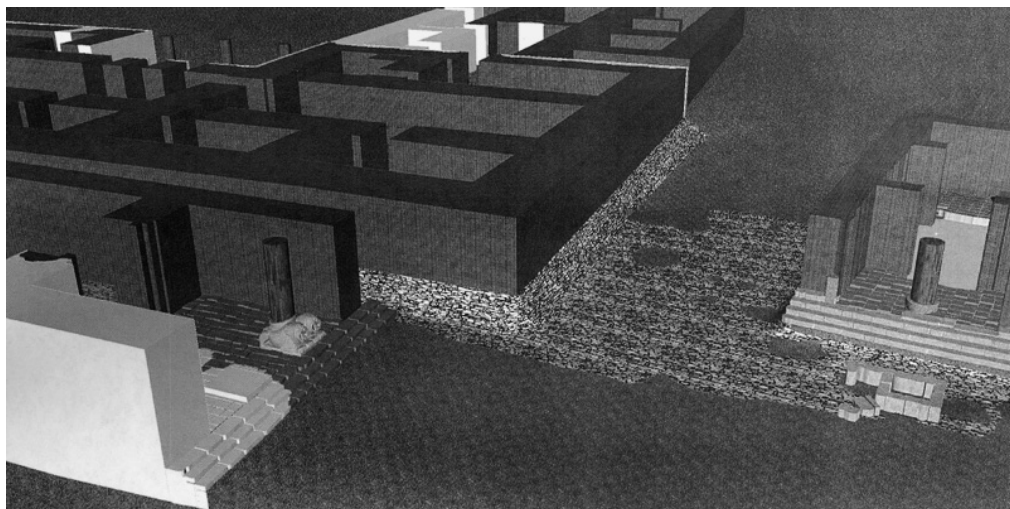[44]   For a review of this later history, see Harrison 2001.

Fig. 5 Isometric reconstruction of the "Sacred Precinct."
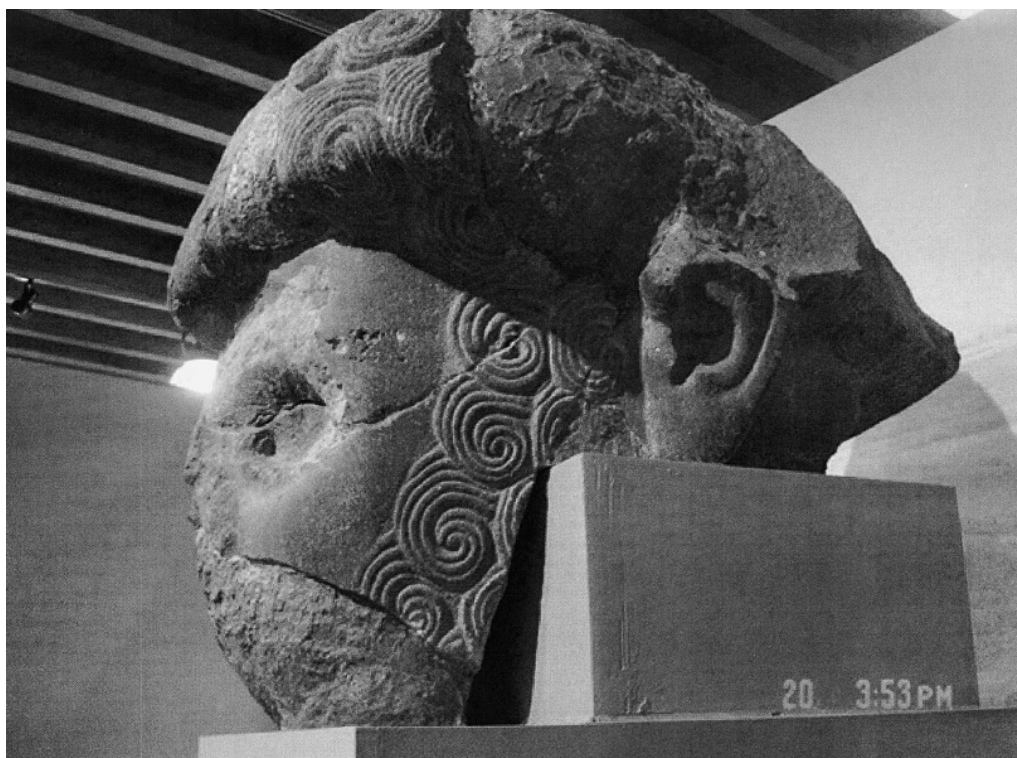Source: S. Batiuk.

Fig. 6 Head of the colossal figure found in the vicinity of Gateway VII.
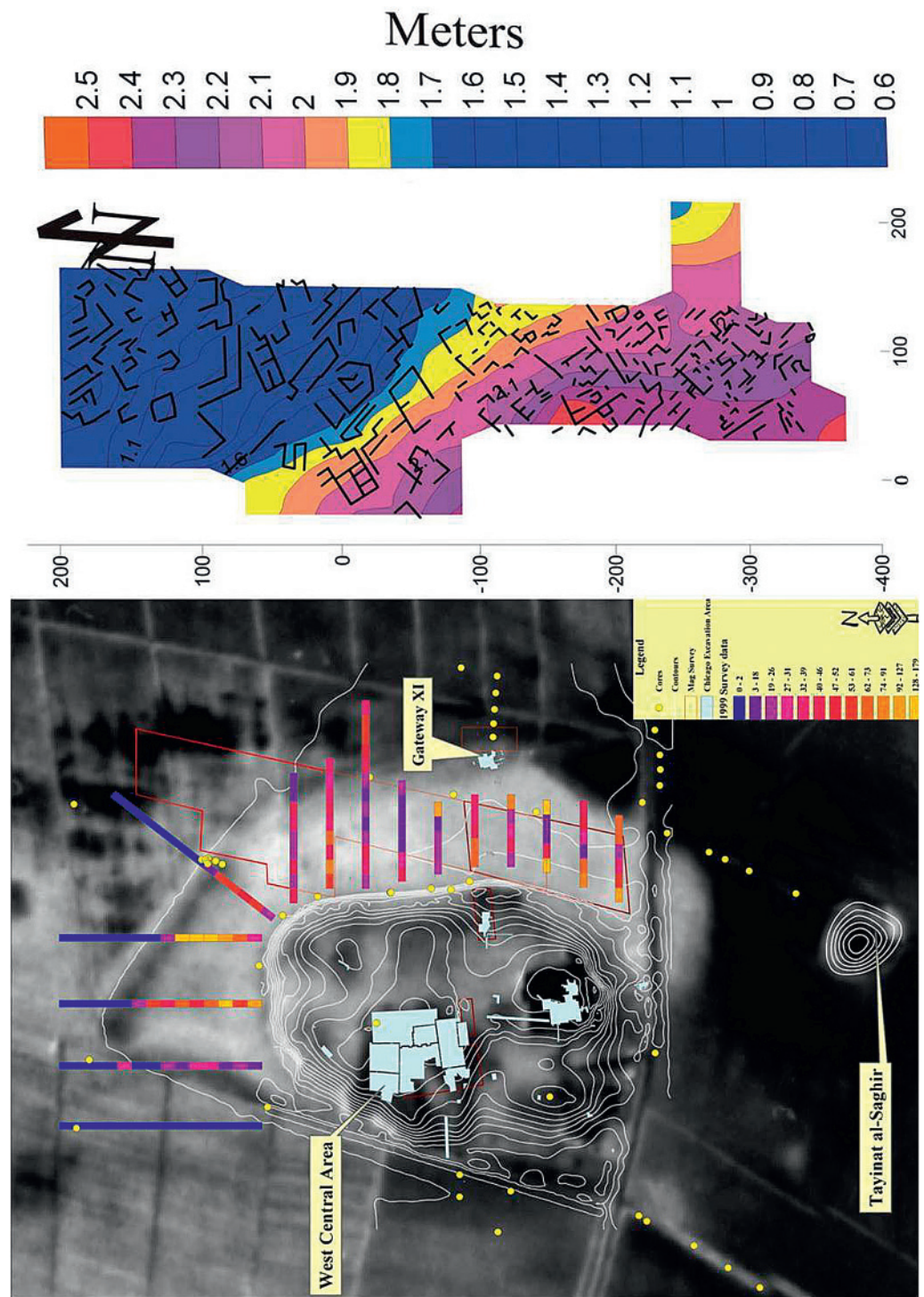Source: Photograph by B. Janeway

Fig. 7 Plan of Tell Tayinat showing the results of the geomagnetic survey.
Source: S. Batiuk.

CONCLUSION

I would like to conclude with a number of summary observations. As we have seen, the foundation of Neo-Hittite royal cities are attested as early as the twelfth century BCE and mirror broader Iron Age settlement trends, reflecting an urbanization process that resulted in the small territorial nation-states that emerged along the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard during the early first millennium BCE. These kingdoms were characterized by their unstable, yet highly competitive, political culture, a distributed, *heterarchical* power structure, and constantly fluctuating territorial boundaries.

Economically, they witnessed the development of extensive inter- and intra-regional commercial networks and highly localized craft industries, as reflected in the emergence of distinctive regional craft industries in ivory, stone vessels, pottery and textile production. Demographically, the populations of these Neo-Hittite states appear to have been multi-ethnic in character, with no single ethnic group dominant over the entire region, resulting in a dynamic social landscape resembling a poly-ethnic mosaic.

Somewhat paradoxically, these diminutive polities were dominated by their royal cities, both in their impressive size and visual grandeur. These new foundations appear to have been planned settlements and constructed according to a rigid geometric plan, either circular (for example, Arslantaş, Tell Ahmar, Tell Rifaʻat and Zincirli), or rectangular (for instance, Halaf and Sakçagözü). Heavily fortified citadels, physically and visually set apart from the surrounding urban settlement, were perhaps the defining feature of these royal cities. These citadels were approached through monumental gateways that restricted access and functioned as symbolic boundary zones, emphasizing the divinely sanctioned authority of the king, his vital role as protector of his subjects from the chaotic forces of the natural order, and as bridge to the civilized world of the gods. As new foundations, these Neo-Hittite regal centers served to elevate the authority of local ruling dynasties within the fragmented political geography of the early first millennium BCE, while their citadels represented visual manifestations of power, invoking legitimacy through their association with the venerable architectural and sculptural traditions of their Bronze Age Anatolian forebears.

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