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Contents

Recent Discoveries at Tayinat (Ancient Kunulua/ Calno) and Their Biblical Implications

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1   Introduction

Recent archaeological discoveries at the site of Tell Tayinat, located on the northern bend of the Orontes River, approximately 35 km east of modern Antakya (ancient Antioch) in southeastern Turkey, offer new and important insights into biblical history and interpretation. The University of Toronto's Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) has begun to uncover the remains of an extensive Iron Age settlement that was founded in the late thirteenth or early twelfth centuries B.C.E., and flourished until its abandonment in the late seventh century B.C.E. The emerging archaeological and epigraphic evidence point to the rise of a powerful regional kingdom during the Early Iron Age associated with 'the Land of Palistin', comprised of an intriguing amalgam of Aegean, Anatolian (Luwian) and Bronze Age West Syrian cultural traditions, which eventually coalesced as the royal city of Kunulua, capital of the Neo-Hittite Kingdom of Patina/Unqi, as attested in Neo-Assyrian sources in the early ninth century B.C.E. Tayinat, or Kunulua, was subsequently destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C.E. during his second western campaign, and then transformed into the Assyrian provincial capital of Kunalia.

As the capital of a succession of regional kingdoms and provincial districts, Tayinat preserves an important cultural and historical record. Situated at a strategic intersection linking highland Anatolia with the Levantine littoral and lowland Syro-Mesopotamian interior, it also serves as a sensitive bellwether of social and cultural change. The results of investigations at Tayinat therefore can be expected to provide broader insight regarding the cultural history of the region. This paper will review Tayinat's archaeological history, including the results of the ongoing Tayinat Archaeological Project's investigations, and the historical and biblical insights they have provided to date. The presentation will be grouped into three general time periods: the Early Iron Age, or Iron I (ca. 1200–900 B.C.E.), which coincides with the emergence of the Land of Palistin, the Iron II (ca. 900–738 B.C.E.), which witnessed the maturation of the Neo-Hittite Kingdom of Patina, and the Iron III (ca. 738–600 B.C.E.), the period of Neo-Assyrian hegemony, which saw Tayinat transformed into a provincial capital.

2 History of Exploration

Tell Tayinat forms a large low-lying mound approximately one kilometer north of the current course of the Orontes River, and some 700 m northwest of Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh), its Bronze Age sister settlement. Tayinat sits within the flood plain of the Orontes River, at the point where the river enters the Amuq Plain before working its way westward toward Antakya and the Mediterranean coast (*Fig. 1*). A topographic survey,[1] conducted as part of the Tayinat Archaeological Project, has revealed a settlement morphology comprised of an upper mound, or citadel (ca. 20 ha in size), and a sprawling lower mound, now hidden by the alluvium of the Orontes floodplain, which extends from the upper mound to the north, east and southeast. Satellite imagery and sherd density distributions indicate that this lower settlement extended north from the upper mound for approximately 200 m, and to the east for approximately 100 m, resulting in a composite settlement size of 500 × 700 m, or an area encompassing approximately 35–40 ha (*Fig. 2*).

2.1 *The Syrian-Hittite Expedition*

Large-scale excavations were conducted by the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute over the course of four field seasons between 1935 and 1938 as part of its Syrian-Hittite expedition.[2] These excavations focused primarily on the West Central Area of the upper mound, although excavation areas were also opened on the eastern and southern edges of the upper mound and in the lower settlement (*Fig. 2*). In all, the Chicago expedition achieved large horizontal exposures of five distinct architectural phases or Building Periods, which they assigned to the Iron II and III periods (Amuq Phase O, in their periodization, ca. 900–550 B.C.E.).[3] A series of isolated soundings below the earliest Phase O floors encountered remains that dated primarily to the third millennium B.C.E. (specifically Amuq Phases H, I and J),[4] suggesting a lengthy

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1 Stephen Batiuk, Timothy P. Harrison, and Lawrence Pavlish, "The Ta'yinat Survey, 1999–2002," in *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects: Vol. 1: Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002* (ed. K. Aslıhan Yener; OIP 131; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2005), 171–92.

2 For a summary of the Chicago excavations, see Robert C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II: The Structural Remains of the Later Phases: Chatal Hoyuk, Tell al-Judaidah, and Tell Ta'yinat* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 37–66.

3 Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 64–66.

4 Robert J. Braidwood and Linda S. Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I: The Earlier Assemblages Phases A-J* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 13–14.

period of abandonment between the final Early Bronze Age settlement and the first Iron Age settlement.[5]

2.2   *The Tayinat Archaeological Project Investigations*

The Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) was conceived within the framework of the Amuq Valley Regional Project (AVRP), which has been systematically documenting the archaeology of the Amuq Plain in southeastern Turkey since 1995. Within this broader regional research framework, TAP was initiated as a long-term field project, designed to fully and systematically document the archaeological record preserved at the site, clearly identified by the Syrian-Hittite expedition as one of the principal Bronze and Iron Age settlements in the plain. Following preliminary field seasons in 1999, 2001 and 2002 devoted to surveying and mapping the site,[6] targeted excavations were resumed at Tell Tayinat with a brief two-week exploratory season in 2004. These investigations were expanded to full-scale excavations in 2005, and have continued on an annual basis since.[7]

Given Tayinat's considerable size, complex geomorphology and lengthy settlement history, the TAP investigations have employed a field sampling strategy that combines geophysical prospection, an extensive coring regime, and targeted excavations. When combined with the results of the surface survey, these layered data (integrated in a GIS-formatted relational database) have greatly facilitated more focused investigations of those specific areas of the site, such as the West Central Area, which have indicated the greatest archaeological potential. To date, the TAP investigations have focused exclusively on the

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5   For more on this period of Tayinat's settlement history, see Lynn Welton, "The Amuq Plain and Tell Tayinat in the Third Millennium BCE: The Historical and Socio-Political Context," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 6 (2011): 15–27; Lynn Welton, Stephen Batiuk and Timothy Harrison, "Tell Tayinat in the Late Third Millennium: Recent Investigations of the Tayinat Archaeological Project, 2008–2010," *Anatolica* 37 (2011): 147–85.

6   See further in Batiuk et al., "The Ta'yinat Survey," 171–92.

7   For yearly reports, see Timothy P. Harrison, "2004 Yılı Tayinat Höyük Kazıları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27 (2006): 353–62; idem, "Tell Ta'yinat Excavations, 2005," *AJA* 111 (2007): 305–6; idem, "Tayinat Höyük Kazıları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 29/2 (2008): 85–98; Timothy P. Harrison, Stephen Batiuk, and Heather Snow, "Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2006–2007," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30/2 (2009): 503–20; Timothy P. Harrison and Stephen Batiuk, "Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2008," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31/3 (2010): 491–504; Timothy P. Harrison, Stephen Batiuk, and Elif Denel, "Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2009," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 32/3 (2011): 368–84; Timothy P. Harrison, Elif Denel, and Stephen Batiuk, "2010 Tayinat Kazıları ve Araştırmaları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 33/3 (2012): 173–90; idem, "2011 Tayinat Kazıları ve Araştırmaları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 34/2 (2013): 105–18; idem, "2012 Tayinat Kazıları ve Araştırmaları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 35/3 (2014): 19–35.

upper mound, or citadel area, and have sought to resolve long-standing questions about the stratigraphic sequence (or 'Building Periods') produced by the Syrian-Hittite expedition in the West Central Area. In recent years, excavations have also been opened in the western, northern and eastern sectors of the upper mound, including a step trench on the eastern slope aimed at linking the upper and lower settlements (*Fig. 2*).

3 Early Iron Age Tayinat

3.1 *Iron IA (ca. Twelfth to Eleventh Centuries B.C.E.)*

The largest exposure of the Early Iron Age settlement at Tayinat achieved thus far has been in Field 1, located in the center of the upper mound, adjacent to the West Central Area of the earlier Chicago excavations (*Fig. 2*).[8] The Field 1 excavations have revealed a four-phase stratified sequence of modest architectural structures (Field Phases 6–3) that date to the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C.E., or the Iron IA. The earliest phase, Field Phase (FP) 6, consisted of a series of large storage 'silos' and lay directly atop remains dating to the late third millennium B.C.E. (specifically Amuq Phase J). The subsequent field phases were comprised primarily of a succession of smaller pits and installations interspersed between fragmentary wall segments and surfaces. Several of the installations contained concentrations of non-perforated, cylindrical clay loom weights and other objects related to textile production. The associated surfaces and soil layers produced a wealth of faunal and botanical evidence, as well as substantial amounts of locally produced Late Helladic IIIC-style pottery, mixed with significant quantities of Hittite Monochrome Ware (HMW), a wheel-made plain ware that continued a Late Bronze Age potting tradition.

The Iron IA levels in Field 1 have also produced a wealth of small finds, including figurines and potters marks of possible Aegean derivation, and a faunal record that appears to reflect western culinary practices. Contrastingly, a clay bulla, originating from FP 6c, the earliest Iron I sub-phase in Field 1, preserved a circular stamp seal impression containing a number of Hieroglyphic Luwian signs.[9]

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8   For a more detailed description of the Iron IA remains in Field 1, see Timothy P. Harrison, "Tayinat in the Early Iron Age," in *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia* (ed. K. Aslıhan Yener; ANESSup 42; Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 61–87; Timothy P. Harrison et al., "Shifting Networks and Community Identity at Tell Tayinat in the Iron IA (ca. 12th–mid 11th Cent. BCE)," forthcoming.

9   For a more thorough description of this material, see Harrison et al., "Shifting Networks," forthcoming.

Excavations in Field 4, along the west slope of the upper mound (*Fig. 2*), have also uncovered a metal workshop dating to the Iron IA period. Chemical analysis of the slag and accompanying debitage indicates that iron smithing, copper smelting and copper alloying all occurred in the workshop, and that both iron and bronze were being worked in the complex. The analysis completed to date permits a number of important observations. In particular, the analytical results point to the existence of a non-specialized metal workshop involved in the production of both iron and copper implements. Moreover, a wide range of activities were carried out in the workshop, with no evidence that discrete areas were segregated for specialized activities. It would thus appear that copper and iron metalworking had not yet become separate industries during this period, at least at Tayinat.

The Iron IA settlement at Tayinat also appears to have been extensive. Iron IA remains have been encountered in each excavation area on the upper mound where sufficient depth has been reached. These exposures suggest a settlement extent of at least 12 ha, and possibly as much as 20 ha, encompassing the entire upper mound, which would make Tayinat one of the largest Iron IA settlements in the entire eastern Mediterranean.

The four-phase Iron IA sequence delineated in Field 1 appears to correlate well with the Early Iron Age sequences uncovered at other sites in the region. In the Amuq Plain, for example, the Syrian-Hittite expedition's excavations at nearby Chatal Höyük identified four architectural phases dating to the Iron I (collectively, their Phase IV, or Amuq Phase N), while their excavations at Tell Judaidah identified three discrete phases (Levels 11–9, or collectively Phase V).[10] Elsewhere in the region, the Tell Afis excavations have also produced four Early Iron I levels,[11] though in contrast to the Tayinat sequence, the Early Iron I levels at Afis form part of a longer sequence that spans the Late Bronze II/Early Iron Age transition. Stratified sequences spanning the LB II/Early Iron I have also been excavated along the coast at Ras el-Bassit and Ras Ibn Hani,[12] and at Tell Kazel,[13] with the Early Iron I levels at the latter two sites also producing significant quantities of Late Helladic IIIC pottery.

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10   Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 2–5, 27–28.

11   Fabrizio Venturi, *La Siria nell'età delle trasformazioni (XIII–X secolo a.C.). Nuovi contributi dallo scavo di Tell Afis* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2007), 137–49, 301.

12   Lione du Piêd, "The Early Iron Age in the Northern Levant: Continuity and Change in the Pottery Assemblages from Ras el-Bassit and Ras Ibn Hani," *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28 (2008): 161–85.

13   Emmanuelle Capet, « Les peuples des céramiques 'Barbares' à Tell Kazel (Syrie), » *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28 (2008): 187–207.

3.2 *Late Iron I/Early Iron II (ca. Tenth to Early Ninth Centuries B.C.E.)*

The Syrian-Hittite expedition achieved limited exposures of two large structures, identified as Buildings XIII and XIV, beneath the floors and walls of buildings assigned to their Second Building Period in the West Central Area. They dated this later complex to the late ninth and eighth centuries (ca. 825–720 B.C.E.; see further below).[14] Buildings XIII and XIV appear to have formed part of a large complex oriented around a central courtyard. Although only the sub-floor structural foundations of Building XIII were found intact, its general outline was reasonably clear, betraying the unmistakable characteristics of a *bit hilani*. The building was roughly rectangular in shape, measuring approximately 28 × 35 m, and was entered from the south through what appears to have been a porticoed entrance, with a series of side rooms arranged around a long, rectangular central room, presumably the main reception hall.[15] The building's foundations were formed by deeply cut, vertically-faced trenches filled with unbaked brick, a distinctive construction technique also used in many of the other monumental buildings of the West Central Area.[16]

Building XIV, though only partially excavated, appears to have been considerably larger than Building XIII. As with Building XIII, very little of its superstructure was found intact, and the excavators therefore were unable to reconstruct a coherent plan of the complex, nor identify its function.[17] However, they did assemble a composite outline of the architectural remains they encountered that gives some indication of its enormous size,[18] which they estimate to have been at least 49 × 95 m. A number of isolated architectural finds also appear to belong to this First Building Period complex, including at least two enormous column bases, found out of context stratigraphically above Buildings XIII and XIV, and possibly as many as three lion-headed orthostats, found reused in the walls of buildings assigned to the Second Building Period.[19]

In 2005, excavations were initiated to the north of Field 1 in the vicinity of the Syrian-Hittite expedition's Building I (*Fig. 2*). Designated Field 2, these excavations proceeded to uncover a series of large mud brick walls that formed

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14   Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 66.

15   Ibid., 38–39.

16   Braidwood and Braidwood, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I*, 13.

17   Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 39–40.

18   Ibid., pl. 95.

19   For more detailed descriptions of this material, see Timothy P. Harrison, "Lifting the Veil on a 'Dark Age': Ta'yinat and the North Orontes Valley during the Early Iron Age," in *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager* (ed. J. David Schloen; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 171–84, esp. 177–78.

part of a single monumental structure. The building's walls averaged more than 3 m in width, and form a tight grid pattern of small rooms, none of which were equipped with entryways. Unfortunately, no internal surfaces or floors corresponding to the use-phase of this complex have been identified thus far. Clearly the foundations of an enormous structure, our excavations suggest that the Field 2 walls very probably formed part of the southeastern corner of Building XIV.

In 2007, excavations were initiated to the east of this structure in an effort to find surfaces that might have sealed against the eastern exterior of the building. These excavations revealed a stone pavement, which in turn sealed a densely packed sherd-strewn surface, comprised predominantly of Red Slipped Burnished Ware (or Iron II) pottery. Unfortunately, the Syrian-Hittite expedition had trenched along the exterior face of the wall, effectively obliterating any stratigraphic connections that might have existed between these surfaces and the wall. Despite this stratigraphic break, and the lack of internal surfaces, the pottery associated with this monumental structure suggests a Late Iron I/ Early Iron II date (ca. tenth to early ninth centuries B.C.E.) for the complex.

The TAP investigations have also begun to shed more light on the depositional history of the numerous Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments recovered during the course of the Syrian-Hittite expedition's excavations, in part due to the discovery of additional fragments with the resumption of excavations.[20] These fragments, and those of the Chicago expedition, cluster tightly around Building XIV. The extraordinary size of its walls, the monumental column bases and carved orthostats possibly associated with it, and the rich epigraphic record concentrated in its vicinity, unquestionably mark this structure as an important building. Moreover, although further excavations and analysis are needed, its apparent date and relative stratigraphic position within the Early Iron Age sequence at Tayinat also raises the prospect that Building XIV might have been constructed as part of the elite residential area of the rulers of the Land of Palistin.

3.3   *Early Iron Age Tayinat and the 'Land of Palistin'* [21]

The discovery of the Temple of the Storm God on the Aleppo citadel has transformed our understanding of the historical development of the Early Iron Age in the region.[22] During the restoration of the citadel's medieval monuments,

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20   For a more thorough description of this material, see Harrison, "Lifting the Veil," 179.

21   The following summarizes the more detailed presentation in Harrison, "Tayinat in the Early Iron Age," 61–64.

22   For preliminary reports, see Kay Kohlmeyer, *Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo* (Münster: Rhema, 2000); idem, "The Temple of the Storm-God in Aleppo during the Late

the German-Syrian expedition uncovered a line of twenty-six carved stone reliefs that formed the north wall of the building. When the excavations were extended to the east, they revealed a perpendicular wall of orthostats with a magnificently carved representation of the Storm God of Aleppo in the center facing a human figure, and both flanked by alternating false windows and bull-men. An intact 11-line Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription (ALEPPO 6) emerges from the human figure's mouth and continues up over his head across a doubly rebated stone slab behind him. In content, the inscription is a relatively conventional temple dedication; its unique importance is found in the name, titles and country of the human figure:

> I (am) King Taita, the Hero, the Ruler of [the land of] Palistin.
> For my lord the Halabean Storm-God I honoured the image . . .[23]

Further excavations have unearthed the south entrance of the building, revealing the relief figures of a fish-man and lion, and broken figures of a sphinx and a second lion, the latter two bearing parts of a second, fragmentary inscription (ALEPPO 7) that again mentions Taita, but also Karkamiš and Egypt.[24]

The Storm God Temple discoveries preserve virtually the entire historical record we have for Taita. Nevertheless his historical importance during the formative Early Iron Age period has become increasingly more evident. Hawkins has made a number of important observations, in particular regarding the prospect of an Early Iron Age polity associated with the 'Land of Palistin'. He has dated the inscriptions to ca. 1100–1000 B.C.E., based on their paleography and the iconography of the associated reliefs, and he has drawn attention to enigmatic references on three previously known Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions.[25] Two of these inscriptions were found on stelae discovered in the villages of Meharde and Sheizar northwest of Hama. The Meharde Stela has a female figure on its obverse, identified as the "Divine Queen of the Land", and the Sheizar Stela is a funerary monument for Kupapiya, the wife of Taita.[26] Both inscriptions refer to Taita as 'Hero, of the land of WaDAsatini',

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Bronze and Early Iron Ages," *NEA* 72 (2009): 190–202; and Julia Gonnella, Wahid Khayyata, and K. Kohlmeyer, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo und der Tempel des Wettergottes* (Münster: Rhema, 2005).

23   For translation, see J. David Hawkins, "The Inscriptions of the Aleppo Temple," *AnSt* 61 (2011): 35–54; and for the broader historical context, idem, "Cilicia, the Amuq and Aleppo: New Light in a Dark Age," *NEA* 72 (2009): 169–72.

24   Hawkins, "The Inscriptions," 48–49.

25   Hawkins, "Cilicia," 169–70.

26   For translation, see J. David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 415–19.

which Hawkins maintains is a variant of the PaDAsatini/Palistin renderings on the Aleppo inscriptions. Most recently, he has proposed the possibility of two Taitas: the first identified on the Aleppo inscriptions, with their 'Palistin' renderings, and the second corresponding to the Meharde and Sheizar stelae, with their references to 'Walistin', with both rulers reigning during the eleventh to early tenth centuries B.C.E.[27]

The third reference is preserved on a fragmentary Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription recovered during the Syrian-Hittite expedition's excavations at Tell Tayinat, specifically Tell Tayinat Inscription 1 (fragments 3–5, 1.1).[28] The surviving hieroglyphic fragments unfortunately do not actually mention Taita, but instead refer to a certain Halparuntiyas, who also appears to have ruled 'the land of WaDAsatini'. Hawkins, following Gelb,[29] has noted the similarity to Qalparunda, and has raised the possibility that he may be the same Patinean ruler said to have paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 857 and 853 B.C.E. (see further below).[30]

Two additional Hieroglyphic Luwian stelae were recently discovered south of Iskenderun near the coastal resort town of Arsuz.[31] The Arsuz inscriptions preserve the autobiographical account of Suppilulimma, 'the Hero, ruler of WaDAsatini, and son of King Manana'. They also make reference to the city/land of Adana and to a campaign against the 'land of Hiyawa' (ancient Cilicia). Suppiluliuma and his father must predate Lubarnas, the earliest previously known Patinean king, who paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II in 870 B.C.E. (see further below), placing their rule in the early ninth or tenth century B.C.E., at the very latest, and the two possible Taitas, presumably, still earlier in the tenth, or the eleventh century, as Hawkins has proposed.

Mention should also be made of Steitler's recent suggestion that Toi, king of Hamath (2 Sam 8:9–10; 1 Chr 18:9–10), whose son, Joram, is said to have formed an alliance with the Israelite King David, was in fact Taita, based on the etymol-

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27   Hawkins, "The Inscriptions," 51.

28   Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian*, 365–67.

29   Ignace J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 39.

30   Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian*, 365–66.

31   Ali Dinçol, "Two New Inscribed Storm-God Stelae from Arsuz (Iskenderun) and the Base from Demirköprü (Jisr-el Hadid IV)," (paper presented at the symposium on *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia*, Koç University, May 31–June 1, 2010); see now also Mark Weeden, "After the Hittites: The Kingdoms of Karkamish and Palistin in Northern Syria," *BICS* 56/2 (2013): 12–13.

ogy of the two names.[32] Steitler further proposes that Taita, or Toi, installed his son as viceroy of Hamath, which he had annexed as a district within his larger Palistinian kingdom, a Luwian practice dating back to the Hittite Empire period. If Steitler's linguistic arguments are accepted, they would provide independent corroboration of an eleventh to early tenth century date for the reign of at least one of the Taitas.

Finally, and perhaps most provocatively, Hawkins has proposed that the 'Palistin' ethnicon shares an etymology with the *Peleset* mentioned in the Medinet Habu reliefs,[33] and thus presumably also shares an ethnic and historical affiliation. As others have noted, the *Peleset* are the only Sea Peoples group named in the Medinet Habu reliefs to receive a geographical designation, specifically 'the land of the Peleset'. This designation occurs in several of the accounts of Ramesses III's battles against the Sea Peoples, including his repulsion of their attempted invasion of Egypt in his eighth regnal year (ca. 1175 B.C.E.).[34]

Although questions remain about the chronology and broader historical implications of this growing Luwian epigraphic record, as Hawkins has observed,[35] it infers the existence of an Early Iron Age kingdom of considerable size and influence, apparently encompassing an area that extended east as far as Aleppo, west across the Amanus Mountains to the bay of Iskenderun, and south as far as the Ghab northwest of Hama. Perhaps significantly, this geographical expanse corresponds closely to the combined territories of the Late Bronze Age vassal kingdoms of Mukiš, Niya and Nuhašše, which were consolidated under the control of Aleppo during Suppiluliuma I's administrative reorganization of the region in the late fourteenth century.[36]

4   Tayinat in the Iron II (ca. 900–738 B.C.E.)

4.1   *The Building Period Two Complex*
The most extensive Iron II exposures at Tayinat were achieved during the Syrian-Hittite expedition's excavations in the West Central Area of the upper

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32   Charles Steitler, "The Biblical King Toi of Hamath and the Late Hittite State 'P/Walas(a) tin'," *BN* 146 (2010): 81–99.

33   Hawkins, "Cilicia," 171–72.

34   See summary in Daniel Kahn, "The Campaign of Ramesses III against Philistia," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3 (2011): 1–11.

35   Hawkins, "Cilicia," 169–71; idem, "The Inscriptions," 51–52.

36   See further in Harrison, "Lifting the Veil," 174.

mound, and were assigned by them to their Second Building Period. According to the Chicago excavators, Building I, the most famous of Tayinat's *bit hilani* palaces, and the adjacent temple *in antis* (Building II), with its beautifully carved double-lion column base, were constructed during this phase.[37] The Second Building Period also included Buildings IV (a second *bit hilani*) and VI, a northern annex to Building I. These buildings together formed part of a large complex arranged around a paved central courtyard (Courtyard VIII). A paved street linked this courtyard to a large gate (Gateway XII) that provided access to the upper citadel from the southwest. A second gate (Gateway VII) on the eastern edge of the upper mound, and two gates in the lower city (Gateways III and XI), were also assigned to this building phase.[38]

The Second Building Period complex was the most extensive and best preserved architectural phase uncovered by the Chicago expedition, the beginning of which they dated to the late ninth century B.C.E., based largely on the presence of Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments found on or below the floors of the central complex, most notably Buildings I and II.[39] Recent analysis of the pottery associated with the floors of this complex has confirmed its late ninth to eighth century B.C.E. date,[40] with the 738 Tiglath-pileser campaign as the most logical date for its destruction (see further below). The Second Building Period complex exhibits clear stratigraphic separation from the earlier, more fragmentary architectural remains of the First Building Period (specifically Buildings XIII and XIV), but less so in the transition to the subsequent Third Building Period, which mainly comprised renovations to the Second Building Period complex, and coincided with the period of Assyrian hegemony (ca. 738–600 B.C.E.).[41]

4.2   *The TAP Excavations*

The TAP excavations of the Iron II levels at Tayinat thus far have been limited. The broadest horizontal exposure has been achieved in Field 2 (*Fig. 2*), adjacent to the Syrian-Hittite expedition's more substantial excavations in the West Central Area. As noted earlier, in 2007, TAP opened a new trench to the east of Building XIV in the hopes of avoiding disturbances from the Syrian-

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37   For detailed descriptions of these two buildings, see Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 44–55.

38   Ibid., 64–65.

39   Ibid., 66.

40   James Osborne, "Spatial Analysis and Political Authority in the Iron Age Kingdom of Patina, Turkey," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2011), esp. ch. 2.

41   Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 65–66.

Hittite expedition's excavations in this area. In addition to the continuation of a cobblestone pavement to the east of Building I, excavations in 2008 and 2009 uncovered the burned remains of a small tripartite temple (*Fig. 3*). The terminal phase of this building dates to the Iron III, and will be described in more detail below.[42] However, analysis of the structural history of the building indicates that an earlier phase likely dates to the Iron II period.

Significantly, both the Syrian-Hittite and TAP expeditions have found numerous Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments scattered on the surface of the cobblestone courtyard in front of Building XVI. Moreover, some of the stones in the pavement directly in front of the building have been linked to a section of pavement uncovered by the Syrian-Hittite expedition in a probe they excavated at the end of their final season in 1938. The Chicago probe also uncovered a series of finely-dressed limestone orthostats arranged in a square, which appear to have served as the foundation for a free-standing monument.[43] The Syrian-Hittite expedition also reported finding Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments in the immediate vicinity of these orthostats, including parts of a block-shaped inscription, later identified as Tell Tayinat Inscription 2,[44] and it is very possible that this inscription formed part of a monumental stela that once stood on this platform.[45] Unfortunately, nothing of the original structure remains, having been removed, or destroyed, following the Chicago excavations.

Excavations in 2011 and 2012, immediately to the south of Building XVI, most recently have uncovered the remains of a large gate complex that appears to have provided entrance to the upper citadel area. Thus far only the uppermost traces of the gate have been excavated, and therefore its plan remains unclear. Nevertheless, deep probes to the southwest of the gate area indicate a steep slope to the south in this part of the site, likely part of a trough or shoulder that helped to elevate and separate the northern part of the upper mound from the rest of the settlement, forming a citadel-like acropolis.

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42   For a detailed description of Building XVI, see Timothy P. Harrison, "West Syrian *Megaron* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*? The Shifting Form and Function of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* (*Kunulua*) Temples," in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant* (*2nd–1st Millennium BCE*) (ed. Jens Kamlah; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 3–21; Timothy P. Harrison and James Osborne, "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat," *JCS* 64 (2012): 125–43.

43   See Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 45, pls. 74B and 103.

44   See detailed description and commentary in Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian*, 367–68.

45   See Marina Pucci, *Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture* (BrAR 1738; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008), pl. 27, for a similar proposal.

Associated with the gate, but found discarded out of position, excavations revealed a magnificently carved stone lion figure (*Fig. 4*), measuring approximately 1.3 m in height and 1.6 m in length. The lion is poised in a seated position, with its ears back, claws extended, and mouth roaring. A second sculptural piece, found nearby, forms part of a large statue base, and depicts the master and animal motif, comprised of a human figure flanked by lions.

Adjacent to the seated lion, further excavations uncovered the upper torso and head of a colossal human figure (*Fig. 5*) and a carved column base, both made of basalt, and found buried in a paved stone surface that appears to have formed a passageway through the gate complex. The head and torso of the human figure is intact to just above its waist, and stands approximately 1.5 m in height, suggesting a total body length of 3.5 to 4.0 m. The figure's face is bearded, with beautifully preserved inlaid eyes made of white and black stone, and his hair has been coiffed in an elaborate series of curls aligned in linear rows. Both arms are extended forward from the elbow, each with two arm bracelets decorated with lion heads. The figure's right hand holds a spear, and in his left is a shaft of wheat. A crescent-shaped pectoral adorns his chest. A lengthy Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, carved in raised relief across the figure's back, records the campaigns and accomplishments of Suppiluliuma, likely the same Patinean king who faced the Neo-Assyrian onslaught of Shalmaneser III as part of a Syro-Hittite coalition in 858 B.C.E. (see further below).[46]

The carved column base, semi-circular in shape, is approximately 1 m in height and 90 cm in diameter, and was found completely intact lying on its side next to the human statue. The figure of a winged bull is carved on the front of the column, and it is flanked by a sphinx on its left. The right side of the column is flat and undecorated, indicating that it originally stood flush against a wall.

The Tayinat gate complex, with its array of monumental sculptures, is reminiscent of the great staircase at Carchemish.[47] More concretely, the newly discovered Tayinat sculptures argue strongly for the existence of a local, indigenous Neo-Hittite sculptural tradition, despite the longstanding view that similarly crafted monuments, including the double lion column base found in Building II, were inspired by Neo-Assyrian prototypes. Indeed, the presence of colossal human statues, often astride lions or sphinxes, in the citadel gate-

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46   J. David Hawkins and Mark Weeden have provided this preliminary reading; see further, in Weeden, "After the Hittites," 12, 15–16.

47   Leonard C. Woolley, *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on Behalf of the British Museum: Part III: The Excavations in the Inner Town* (London: British Museum Press, 1952), 157–64.

ways of the Neo-Hittite royal cities of Iron Age Syro-Anatolia should be seen as the continuation of a venerable Bronze Age Hittite tradition that accentuated their symbolic role as boundary zones, and the role of the king as the divinely appointed guardian, or 'gate keeper', of the community. By the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E., these elaborately decorated gateways, with their ornately carved reliefs, had come to serve as dynastic parades, legitimizing the power of the ruling elite. It is hoped that future field seasons will clarify the layout of this important area of the upper mound.

4.3 *Kunulua and the Neo-Hittite Kingdom of Patina/Unqi*

The historical references to Tayinat, specifically Kunulua and the Kingdom of Patina/Unqi, increase significantly during the Iron II period, coinciding with expanding Neo-Assyrian interest in the region, and there is a corresponding increase in the volume of indigenous inscriptions. The earliest Neo-Assyrian references date to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, who mentions Patina (kur*pa-ti-na-a-a*) twice in the Banquet Stele (ca. 879 B.C.E.).[48] Ashurnasirpal also reports receiving tribute from Lubarna, king of Patina, during a campaign to northwest Syria (ca. 870 B.C.E.), and names his royal city as Kunulua (uru*ku-nu-lu-a*).[49] The latter reference clearly places Patina in the Amuq Valley, and its capital Kunulua near the Orontes River, leaving Tell Tayinat as the only viable candidate. This identification has now been confirmed by epigraphic findings at the site itself (see further below).

Over the next century, Patina was an active participant in the anti-Assyrian coalitions that attempted to thwart their westward expansion. Shalmaneser III, in particular, mentions two Patinite rulers, both of whom must have ruled after Lubarna: Sapalulme (mentioned in the 858 B.C.E. campaign),[50] and Qalparunda (included in the tribute lists for both 857 and 853 B.C.E.).[51] Both of these rulers very likely commissioned inscriptions that have been discovered at Tell Tayinat. Qalparunda is likely the Halparuntiyas named in Tell Tayinat Inscription 1,[52] and Sapalulme, clearly the Akkadian rendering of Suppiluliuma,

48   A. Kirk Grayson, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods: Volume 2: Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), A.0.101.30, lines 35, 144.

49   Ibid., 216–19, text A.0.101.1, col. iii, lines 71–84.

50   A. Kirk Grayson, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods: Volume 3: Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858–745 BC)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), A.0.102.2, i 42–ii 12.

51   Ibid., A.0.102.2, ii 21–24a, and A.0.102.2, ii 84, resp.

52   Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian*, 366.

is probably the same individual named in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription on the back of the colossal royal statue discovered at Tayinat in 2012.[53]

Assyria also became embroiled in local conflicts. The most notable occurred in 829 B.C.E., and is recorded on the Black Obelisk. We are told that Lubarna (II?), king of Patina, was assassinated by "the people of the land" and a commoner inserted on the throne in his place, prompting Shalmaneser III to intercede and replace the usurper with his own ally.[54] Also, for reasons that remain unclear, the name of the kingdom shifted from Patina to Unqi in the mid-late ninth century (Akkadian ^{kur}un-qa-a-a, ^{kur}un-$qi;$ Aramaic ʿmq). Finally, in 738 B.C.E., Tiglath-pileser III conquered Kunulua and Unqi, ostensibly because its ruler, Tutammu, broke his loyalty oath with Assyria. Tiglath-pileser reports that he deported many of its citizens, replacing them with captives from elsewhere, and annexed the region into the empire as the Assyrian province of Kullani.[55] Assyrian sources indicate that Kullani, or alternatively Kunalia (see further below), remained under Assyrian control until at least the reign of Ashurbanipal.[56]

The newly discovered Tayinat gate complex appears to have been destroyed as a result of the Assyrian conquest of the site in 738 B.C.E. The area was paved over subsequently and converted into the central courtyard of an Assyrian sacred precinct (see further below). The smashed remains of the monumental sculptures, including many fragments of Hieroglyphic Luwian-inscribed stelae (in particular, Tell Tayinat Inscription 2) that likely stood in the forecourt of the twin temple complex, provide vivid evidence of the violence of this event. Biblical scholars have long speculated that the reference to Calno, identified as one of the "kingdoms of the idols" in Isaiah's polemic against Assyria (specifically, Isa 10:9–10), alludes to Tiglath-pileser III's devastation of Kunulua.[57] The destroyed Tayinat Luwian monuments therefore may be seen as both the prod-

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53   Weeden, "After the Hittites," 15–16.

54   Grayson, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods: Volume 3*, A.0.102.14 146b–156.

55   Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), Tiglath-pileser III 12 (=Ann. 25), lines 3–12.

56   J. David Hawkins, "The Neo-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia," *CAH 3/1* (1982): 425; idem, "Kullani(a)," *RlA* 6:305–6; Alan Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 BC* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1994), 51; Karen Radner, „Provinz: Assyrien," *RlA* 11/1–2:61.

57   See in particular, Ignace J. Gelb, "Calneh," *AJSL* 51 (1935): 189–91; see also Peter Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103/4 (1983): 719–37.

uct of this historic event, and a symbolic manifestation of the consequences of the apostasy condemned in the oracle.

5   Tayinat in the Iron III (ca. 738–600 B.C.E.)

5.1   *Neo-Assyrian Kunalia*

Both the Syrian-Hittite expedition and the TAP excavations have uncovered extensive remains on the upper mound at Tayinat dating to the Iron III (ca. 738–600 B.C.E.).[58] These remains document the transformation of the Neo-Hittite royal citadel into a Neo-Assyrian provincial administrative center. Historical sources attest that Tayinat was destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C.E., and then rebuilt as an Assyrian provincial capital, renamed Kunalia, and supplied with its own governor and provincial administration. Tayinat thus provides a valuable glimpse of the physical layout and organization of a provincial unit within the larger Neo-Assyrian imperial system.

As noted earlier, renovations to the buildings in the West Central Area accounted for most of the activity assigned to the Third Building Period, which the Syrian-Hittite expedition dated to the latter part of the eighth and early seventh centuries (ca. 720–680 B.C.E.), coinciding with the period of Neo-Assyrian occupation.[59] However, a number of new edifices were also built, most notably Platform XV, a large elevated rectangular structure that enclosed the east side of the West Central Area complex (*Fig. 2*).[60]

According to the excavators, the West Central Area *bit hilani* continued in use during the ensuing Fourth Building Period, but not the adjacent temple (Building II), which they concluded had been abandoned.[61] The Syrian-Hittite expedition also assigned the construction of a new complex, Building IX, to this phase. Situated on an elevated knoll in the southeast quadrant of the upper mound (*Fig. 2*), the architectural elements and layout of Building IX identify it as a proto-typical Neo-Assyrian governor's residence. The complex appears to have been built on an artificially raised platform, and was approached from the

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58   For a more detailed description of these Neo-Assyrian remains, see Timothy P. Harrison, "The Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence at Tell Ta'yinat," *Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 40 (2005): 23–33; and idem, "Temples, Tablets and the Neo-Assyrian Provincial Capital of Kinalia," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 6 (2011): 29–37.

59   Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 65–66.

60   Ibid., 43–44.

61   Ibid., 65.

east via a processional gateway (Gateway VII) flanked by limestone orthostats depicting Assyrian shock troops carved in an Assyrian provincial style.[62]

5.2   *Building XVI*

As noted above, the terminal occupational phase of Building XVI (*Fig. 3*) has been dated to the Iron III, and more specifically the late eighth to seventh centuries B.C.E., with its destruction occurring sometime after 672 B.C.E., most probably in the latter half of the seventh century B.C.E. In this final phase, the building measured 9 × 21 m, and was approached from the south by means of a wide limestone staircase.[63] These steps led to a brick-paved porch that supported an ornately carved basalt column base virtually identical in size, shape and design to the column bases found in the portico of the Second Building Period phase of the nearby Building I *bit hilani*. The porch led to a central room that was found covered with a thick deposit of burnt brick collapse. The room was largely devoid of pottery or organic remains, but did contain small, fragmentary remains of bronze metal, including riveted pieces, and several fragments of carved ivory inlay. Though heavily burned and damaged, these remains suggest the central room had been equipped with furniture or fixtures. The central room also produced fragments of gold and silver foil, and a piece of carved eye inlay.

A set of piers separated the central room from a small back room, the inner sanctum of the temple, which contained a rectangular platform, or podium, made of fired brick, similar in shape to the bricks that paved the building's entrance. The podium was mounted by steps set in each of its two southern corners, and a free-standing mud brick installation, possibly an altar, stood on its eastern side. The room had also been burned intensely by fire, preserving a wealth of cultic paraphernalia, including gold, bronze and iron implements, libation vessels, a large Assyrian Glazed Ware jar and other ornately decorated ritual objects (*Figs. 3 and 6*).[64] The assembled pottery included several oil lamps, a pot stand and a small jug, all dated comfortably to the seventh

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62   See Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II*, 61; Harrison, "The Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence," 26, fig. 1; also Calvin W. McEwan, "The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago," *AJA* 41 (1937): 8–16, fig. 10; and Iris Gerlach, "Tradition–Adaption–Innovation. Zur Reliefkunst Nordsyriens/Südostanatoliens in neuassyrischer Zeit," in *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (ed. Guy Bunnens; ANESSup 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 235–57, esp. Taf. 5.

63   For a more thorough description of Building XVI, see Harrison and Osborne, "Building XVI" (see n. 42), 130–33.

64   For further description of these finds, see Harrison and Osborne, "Building XVI," 134–37.

century B.C.E. A concentration of metal objects, including damaged pieces of bronze sheet metal similar to fragments found in the central room, large and small nails, bosses, and four cotter pins (displayed in *Fig. 6*) littered the surface of the podium immediately to the west of the altar-like installation, apparently part of wall fixtures or fittings for wooden furniture.

5.3 *The Cuneiform Tablet Assemblage*

The surface debris on the temple podium also included a fragmented assemblage of cuneiform tablets comprising at least eleven discrete texts, all but one preserving literary or historical documents. Eight of the documents were hemerological texts, seven of which belong to the Mesopotamian scholarly series known as *iqqur īpuš*. The assemblage also included a lexical text, a docket, and a lengthy oath tablet, or treaty, dating to the reign of Esarhaddon (T-1801; see further below). The Tayinat *iqqur īpuš* texts were formatted as tables, with the x-axis listing the months of the year, and the y-axis a series of activities and eventualities.[65]

The Building XVI discovery closely parallels evidence from religious contexts in the Neo-Assyrian heartland. The most notable parallel occurs in the Ezida, or Temple of Nabu complex, at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu). In addition to the well-known 'Vassal Treaties' of Esarhaddon, which were found in a throne room adjacent to the primary temple complex, a similar collection of tablets was discovered in a room directly opposite the entrance to the Nabu shrine itself.[66] Similarly, the Nabu Temple at Khorsabad (ancient Dur Sharrukin), located next to the Ziggurat Temple complex on the royal citadel, contained two rooms (Rooms 5 and 15) with pigeonholes very likely for storing texts; most appear to have been removed when the city was abandoned, but several tablet fragments were discovered in the debris of Room 5.[67] Tablets were also recovered in the vicinity of the Temple of Nabu at Nineveh.[68]

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65 Jacob Lauinger, "Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Tablet Collection in Building XVI from Tell Tayinat," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 6 (2011): 6–7.

66 J. Nicholas Postgate and Julian E. Reade, "Kalḫu," *RlA* 5:309, fig. 2; see also Donald J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958): 1–99.

67 Gordon Loud and Charles B. Altman, *Khorsabad, Part II: The Citadel and the Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 46, 60, 62, pls. 19C, 24D.

68 Jeanette C. Fincke, "The British Museum's Ashurbanipal Library Project," *Iraq* 66 (2004): 55; I wish to thank J. Lauinger for drawing these parallels to my attention.

5.4　　*The Esarhaddon Oath Tablet (T-1801) and Its Biblical Parallels*

T-1801 (*Fig. 7*), the most remarkable document in the Building XVI assemblage, records a loyalty oath (*adê*) imposed by Esarhaddon on the governor (*bēl pāḫiti*) of Kunalia in 672 B.C.E.,[69] binding him to Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's chosen successor, and providing a clear post-date for the destruction of the temple. The text of the Tayinat 'oath tablet' (*ṭuppi adê*) closely parallels the 674 lines of the so-called Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (VTE), as noted above, eight copies of which were found in the Temple of Nabu complex at Nimrud during the British excavations at the site in 1955.[70] The similarities extend to the size and shape of the tablet (40 × 28 cm), its general format (four columns on each side, proceeding from left to right), and the names and dates of the sealings with which it was sealed, which most notably included the 'Seal of Aššur'.[71] The sealing of the Tayinat oath tablet, moreover, appears to have coincided with important ceremonies that took place in Assyria in 672 B.C.E., at which the vassals, officials and representatives of "all over whom Esarhaddon exercises rule and dominion" were assembled and swore loyalty to the Assyrian king and his son Ashurbanipal.[72]

Despite the formulaic nature of the Tayinat oath tablet, and its close correspondence to the Nimrud *adê* texts, subtle but significant differences also occur. These include orthographic and linguistic variations, including the repetition of an entire section, although with different line breaks and some variant orthography, and occasionally diverging divisions within some sections.[73] However, the most striking departure concerns the identity of the oath taker. In contrast to the Nimrud exemplars, where a specific individual is named in each instance, the Tayinat text (lines T i 1–12) provides only the office of the oath taker, specifically the *bēl pāḫiti*, or governor, of Kunalia and an additional sixteen unnamed officials (or groups of officials), all part of the local provincial administration.[74] The Tayinat oath tablet also preserves two curses not present in the Nimrud versions. The first invokes the divine couple Adad and Šāla of Kurba'il (T vi 45), and the second the goddess Šarrat-Ekron (T vi 47), likely to

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69　　See Jacob Lauinger, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary," *JCS* 64 (2012): 87–123, for a complete transliteration of the text and commentary; see also his preliminary analysis in "Some Preliminary Thoughts," 8–12.

70　　Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties," 1–3.

71　　Lauinger, "Some Preliminary Thoughts," 8–9.

72　　Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties," 3–4; see now also Mario Fales, "After Ta'yinat: The New Status of Esarhaddon's *adê* for Assyrian Political History," *RA* 106 (2012): 133–58.

73　　Lauinger, "Some Preliminary Thoughts," 9.

74　　Lauinger, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty," 113.

be identified with *Ptgyh*, the Lady of Ekron named in the temple inscription found at Tel Miqne (ancient Ekron) in Israel.[75]

Ever since their discovery, the Nimrud Vassal Treaties have drawn parallels to the covenant texts in the Hebrew Bible. In his publication of the Vassal Treaties, Wiseman drew particular attention to the close similarities between the lengthy list of curses and the blessings and curses in Deuteronomy 28.[76] Some scholars have since argued for direct literary dependence. Moshe Weinfeld, for example, maintained that the close correspondence between the sequence of curses in Deut 28:27–35 and the order preserved in VTE §§ 39–42 (lines 419–24) was evidence the former had been derived directly from the latter.[77] He noted further similarities with the apostasy laws in Deuteronomy 13 (specifically between VTE § 10 and Deut 13:2–12).[78] More recently, Hans Steymans has documented the virtually identical sequence of topics and motifs that occur in both sets of curses (specifically VTE § 56 [lines 472–93] and Deut 28:20–44) and, perhaps even more significantly, their strikingly similar syntactic structure.[79] The extent of these parallels has prompted some to argue that the entire book of Deuteronomy was conceived as a loyalty oath to Yʜwʜ, and adapted directly from the Neo-Assyrian form.[80]

These similarities, in turn, have contributed to the debate about the compositional history of Deuteronomy. While the issues are complex and well beyond the scope of this paper, the Tayinat oath tablet clearly favors the argument, at minimum, that significant portions of Deuteronomy were formulated during

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75   Ibid., 90–91, 113, 119; see also Seymour Gitin, Trude Dothan, and Joseph Naveh, "A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 1–16; Michael D. Press, "(Pytho)Gaia in Myth and Legend: The Goddess of the Ekron Inscription Revisited," *BASOR* 365 (2012): 1–25.

76   Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties," 26.

77   Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 116–23.

78   Ibid., 97–99.

79   Presented first in Hans U. Steymans, *Deuteronomium 28 und die* adê *zur Thronfolge-regelung Asarhaddons. Segen und Fluch im Alten Orient und in Israel* (OBO 145; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1995); but see also idem, „Die neuassyrische Vertragsrhetorik der 'Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon' und das Deuteronomium," in *Das Deuteronomium* (ed. Georg Braulik; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 89–152; idem, „Die literarische und historische Bedeutung der Thronfolgevereidigung Asarhaddons," in *Die deuterono-mistischen Geschichtswerke. Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur 'Deuteronomismus'-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten* (ed. Markus Witte et al.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 331–49; idem, "Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34/2 (2013): 1–13.

80   Eckart Otto has argued this view extensively, by way of example, see *Das Deuteronomium. Politische Theologie und Rechtsreform in Juda und Assyrien* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 68.

the seventh century. As Radner pointed out even before the Tayinat discovery, similar oath tablets were very likely distributed throughout the provincial capitals and subjugated principalities of the empire following the 672 B.C.E. oath-taking ceremony, including Jerusalem, then ruled by Manasseh, an Assyrian vassal who very probably took direct part in that event.[81]

In light of this historical context, Bernard Levinson's recent analysis of the 'canon formula' in Deut 13:1 (LXX 12:32) is particularly insightful.[82] Rather than simply copying the Neo-Assyrian oath formula in VTE § 4, Levinson argues that the authors of Deuteronomy selectively adapted and molded the formula to their own purposes. More specifically, their use of the Neo-Assyrian formulation of the standard ancient Near Eastern oath can be seen as a conscious effort to challenge, indeed subvert, Neo-Assyrian imperial authority by transferring the exclusive loyalty that was demanded for "the word of Esarhaddon" (line 57) to "the word of YHWH" (inferred in Deut 13:1). Moreover, although the Hebrew formulation preserves the same structure as the Akkadian, it does so in inverted order, a common ancient Near Eastern scribal convention employed to mark textual reuse.[83] The chiastic structure of Deuteronomy's reverse citation of Esarhaddon's oath, in other words, signals a conscious effort to creatively rework this carefully chosen source. This analogy is made all the more striking by the ensuing apostasy laws in Deut 13:2–12, which parallel the loyalty stipulations in VTE § 10, although again in reverse order, while shifting exclusive fidelity to YHWH.[84]

81 Karen Radner, „Assyrische *ṭuppi adê* als Vorbild für Deuteronomium 28,20-44?" in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke. Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur 'Deuteronomismus'-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten* (ed. Markus Witte et al.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 352–78, esp. 374–75.

82 Bernard M. Levinson, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty as the Source for the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1," *JAOS* 130/3 (2010): 337–47; see also idem, "The Neo-Assyrian Origins of the Canon Formula in Deuteronomy 13:1," in *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination: Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane* (ed. Deborah A. Green and Laura Lieber; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 25–45; updated in idem, „Die neuassyrischen Ursprünge der Kanonformel in Deuteronomium 13,1," in *Viele Wege zu dem Einen. Historische Bibelkritik – Die Vitalität der Glaubensüberlieferung in der Moderne* (ed. Stefan Beyerle et al.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2012), 23–59; Bernard M. Levinson and Jeffrey Stackert, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 3 (2012): 123–40.

83 Idem, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty," 342–44.

84 Ibid., 344–45.

5.5   *The Tayinat Temple Precinct and Covenant Renewal*

The discovery of the Esarhaddon oath tablets (*ṭuppi adê*) in temple contexts is also important for understanding their broader social and cultural significance, emphasizing the decidedly religious character of these legal and political documents. Steymans was the first to suggest the intriguing possibility that they were intentionally kept in places their oath-takers were expected to visit on a regular basis.[85] As noted above, the Tayinat tablets, including the oath tablet, were found distributed atop an elevated podium and adjacent to an altar-like installation within the inner sanctum of Building XVI. Furthermore, as Lauinger has observed, two tablets (T-1923 and T-1927) preserve markings indicative of a class of amulet-shaped votive tablets, and had perforations that suggest they might have been suspended or mounted.[86] The Tayinat tablets, in other words, were designed intentionally for display within a religious setting.

Building XVI was surrounded on its west and south sides by a cobblestone pavement, part of an expansive open courtyard that it shared with the perpendicularly oriented Building II temple to the southwest, forming a larger religious complex, or sacred precinct. As part of the Neo-Hittite royal citadel, these twin temples continued a venerable West Syrian double temple architectural tradition best exemplified at Late Bronze Age (thirteenth century) Emar,[87] but most significantly also at neighboring Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh).[88] The twin temples at Emar appear to have been dedicated to Baal (or the Storm God Hadad) and Aštarte (or Ištar?), and there is good reason to believe that the same was true of the complex at Alalakh, as inferred by Idrimi, or alternatively their Hittite counterparts, the Storm God Tešub and his female partner

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85   Hans U. Steymans, „Asarhaddon und die Fürsten im Osten. Der gesellschaftspolitische Hintergrund seiner Thronfolgeregelung,“ in *Zwischen Euphrat und Tigris. Österreichische Forschungen zum Alten Orient* (ed. Friedrich Schipper; Wien: LIT, 2004), 61–85; idem, „Die literarische und historische Bedeutung,“ 331–49.

86   Lauinger, "Some Preliminary Thoughts," 10–11.

87   Jean-Claude Margueron, « La ville, » in *Meskéné-Emar. Dix ans de travaux 1972–1982* (ed. Dominique Beyer; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982), 29–31; Wayne Pitard, "The Archaeology of Emar," in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age* (ed. Mark W. Chavalas; Bethesda, Md: CDL Press, 1996), 17–18; but see also the renewed excavations, Uwe Finkbeiner et al., „Emar 2001—Bericht über die 4. Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen,“ *BaghM* 33 (2002): 110–15.

88   K. Aslıhan Yener, "Alalakh Spatial Organization," in *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects: Vol. 1: Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002* (ed. idem; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2005), 110–12.

Hebat.[89] It thus seems reasonable to posit a similar syncretistic alignment for the double temple complex at Tayinat, a connection that is made all the more tempting by the reference to Adad and Šāla of Kurba'il in the curses section (specifically § 54A; line T vi 45; see also the mention of Adad in § 47, lines 440–42) of the oath tablet, an apparent attempt to tailor the religious focus of the document to its West Syrian audience.[90]

In any event, there are important hints that the rituals performed in the Tayinat temple precinct were linked specifically to covenant renewal ceremonies. The presence of inscribed stelae in the courtyard during the Neo-Hittite use-phase suggests that this sacred precinct held an important commemorative, if not memorializing, function during this period, and that the rituals enacted were couched in the familial language of kinship. Although heavily broken and incomplete, Tell Tayinat Inscription 2 appears to have been part of such a commemorative monument. The highly fragmentary text includes tantalizing references not only to various gods, but also to the king, to (his?) children, and to grain (or bread?) and wine offerings.[91] Moreover, the cultic paraphernalia found *in situ* within the inner sanctum of Building XVI, while part of the subsequent Neo-Assyrian use-phase of the temple, not only included a variety of serving vessels, but also a cylindrical stone box, or pyxis, typically identified as Syro-Hittite,[92] and more immediately, frequently portrayed as part of the tableware on Syro-Hittite funerary stelae, including the recently discovered Zincirli *KTMW* stela.[93] The Tayinat pyxis, furthermore, was decorated with an intricate carving of the common Syro-Hittite ancestral feasting scene memorializing the eternal quest to secure the *pater familias*.

To better appreciate the sacramental role of the Tayinat oath tablet itself, we must return to one of the distinguishing features that defined these tablets as *ṭuppi adê*, namely the presence of the Seal of Aššur, also known as the 'Seal

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89   Yener, "Alalakh Spatial Organization," 109; see also Karel van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 174–75.

90   Steymans, "Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat," 4.

91   See Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian*, 370–71.

92   Stefania Mazzoni, "Syro-Hittite Pyxides: Between Major and Minor Art," in *Beiträge zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Winfried Orthmann gewidmet* (ed. Jan-W. Meyer et al.; Frankfurt a. Main: Archäologisches Institut der Goethe-Universität, 2001), 292–309.

93   Eudora J. Struble and Virginia Herrmann, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context," *BASOR* 356 (2009): 26–28.

of Destinies'.[94] When applied to a tablet, this seal transformed the document into a 'Tablet of Destinies', ratifying it as a direct communication of the divine will of Aššur, and thus not to be altered at risk of death and total annihilation.[95] Since the decreeing of destinies was an integral part of the *akītu* ceremonies, there is reason to believe these ceremonies included the formal swearing of an *adê*, or oath.[96] As we have seen, the Nimrud oath tablets were found in a throne room adjacent to the Nabu temple, in a complex of rooms known as the *bīt akītu*, where the annual *akītu* ceremony of Nabu and his partner Tašmetu was performed.[97] Significantly, this ceremony occurred during the same month to which all the extant colophons of the Esarhaddon oath tablets are dated,[98] while later Babylonian evidence indicates the throne room was the actual location of Ashurbanipal's investiture.[99]

The so-called Covenant of Aššur (SAA 9 3), a loose assortment of oracles, instructions and description of ritual events possibly connected to Esarhaddon's coronation, offers further insight into the oath-taking ceremony. The *ṭuppi adê* was brought before the king, aromatic oils were aired, sacrifices were performed, incense was burned, and the tablet was read aloud, essentially activating the *adê* in the process.[100] Since the *akītu* ceremonies were typically performed annually, it is reasonable to suggest that the inner sanctum of Building XVI, with its displayed *ṭuppi adê*, became the ritual setting for the annual renewal of the local ruling elite's—and by extension the community's—covenanted loyalty to the Assyrian king. The presence of oil lamps, libation vessels, a sacrificial altar and a pyxis (which likely contained incense or aromatic powders) on the podium in the inner sanctum of Building XVI (see *Fig. 6*) furnishes remarkable corroborating detail of the rituals involved in these covenant renewal ceremonies, and leaves little doubt that the double temple complex at Tayinat had been transformed into the *bīt akītu* of Nabu and Tašmetu.

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94   I am grateful to J. Lauinger for providing the following on the Neo-Assyrian *adê*; see also J. Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian *adê*: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?" *ZAR* 19 (2013): 99–115.

95   Andrew R. George, "Sennacherib and the Tablet of Destinies," *Iraq* 48 (1986): 139–41.

96   Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian *adê*," 110–11.

97   J. Nicholas Postgate, "The *bit akitu* in Assyrian Nabu Temples," *Sumer* 30 (1974): 60–61.

98   Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian *adê*," 111–12.

99   Beate Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina šulmi īrub. Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (BaghF 16; Mainz: Zabern, 1994), 103–4.

100 Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian *adê*," 112–13.

6   Summary Observations

The broader sacramental importance of the Tayinat sacred precinct, when considered in the context of the covenant language of the Esarhaddon oath tablet, is also reminiscent of the covenant renewal ceremony between Yᴀʜᴡʜ and the tribes of Israel at Shechem described in Joshua 24. We are told that Joshua recorded the covenant on "a great stone" (אבן גדולה) which was then erected in the "sanctuary (מקדש) of Yᴀʜᴡʜ" (Josh 24:26), a structure that has been convincingly identified with the so-called Fortress-Temple, or "Temple of El, Lord of the Covenant" (בית אל/בעל ברית; see Judg 9:4, 46), excavated at Tell Balatah (ancient Shechem).[101] These two examples, despite their different geographical and historical contexts, illustrate the deeply rooted importance of covenant in ancient Near Eastern society, and the unifying role it played in forging the corporate identity of their communities. They also highlight the integrated nature of the religious, political and cultural lives of these communities, and serve as a precaution against the tendency to compartmentalize their institutions in our modern scholarly conceptualizations of them.

The Tayinat archaeological investigations continue, and the results presented here therefore must necessarily be understood as preliminary. They nevertheless emphasize the many close cultural and historical connections Tayinat and the northern Levant shared with the biblical world of ancient Israel, and accentuate the common cultural sphere in which they both lived.

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101   Lawrence E. Stager, "The Fortress-Temple at Shechem and the 'House of El, Lord of the Covenant'," in *Realia Dei: Essays in Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation in Honor of Edward F. Campbell, Jr.* (ed. Prescott H. Williams and Theodor Hiebert; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 228–49.
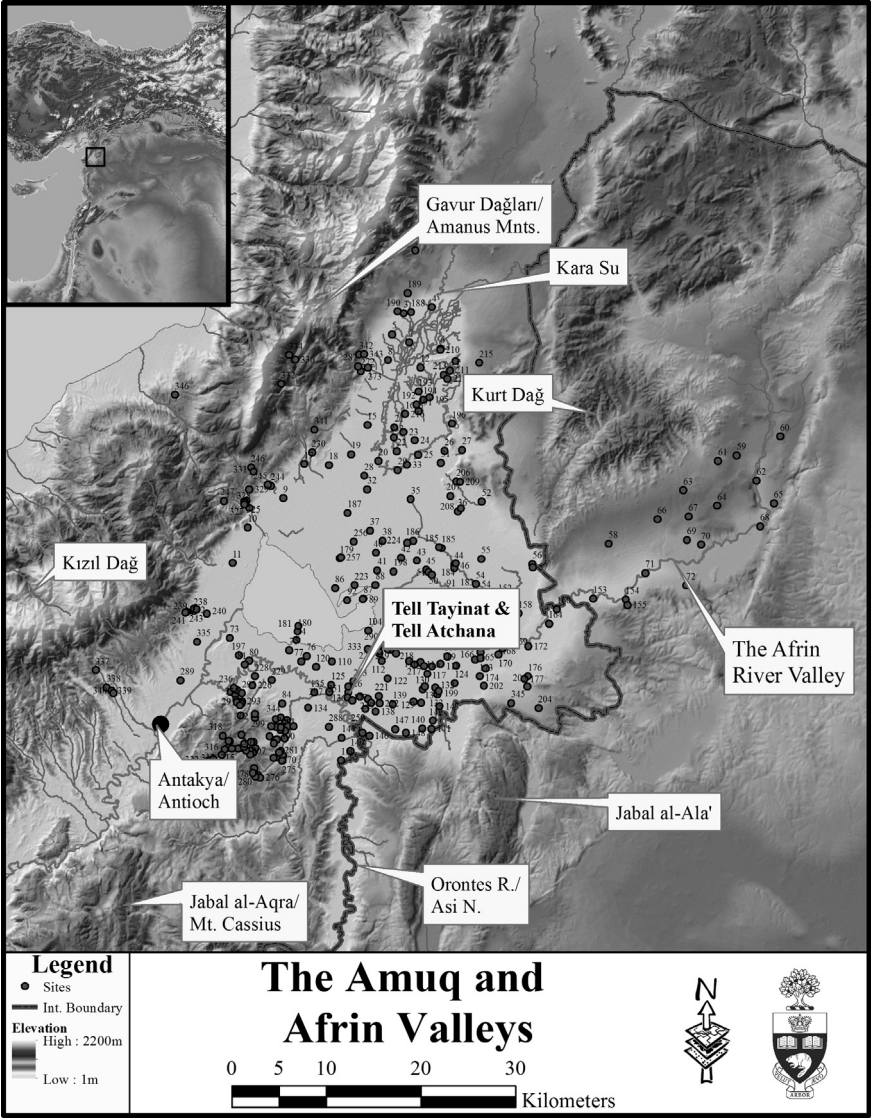
FIGURE 1   *Regional map showing the North Orontes Valley and the location of Tell Tayinat
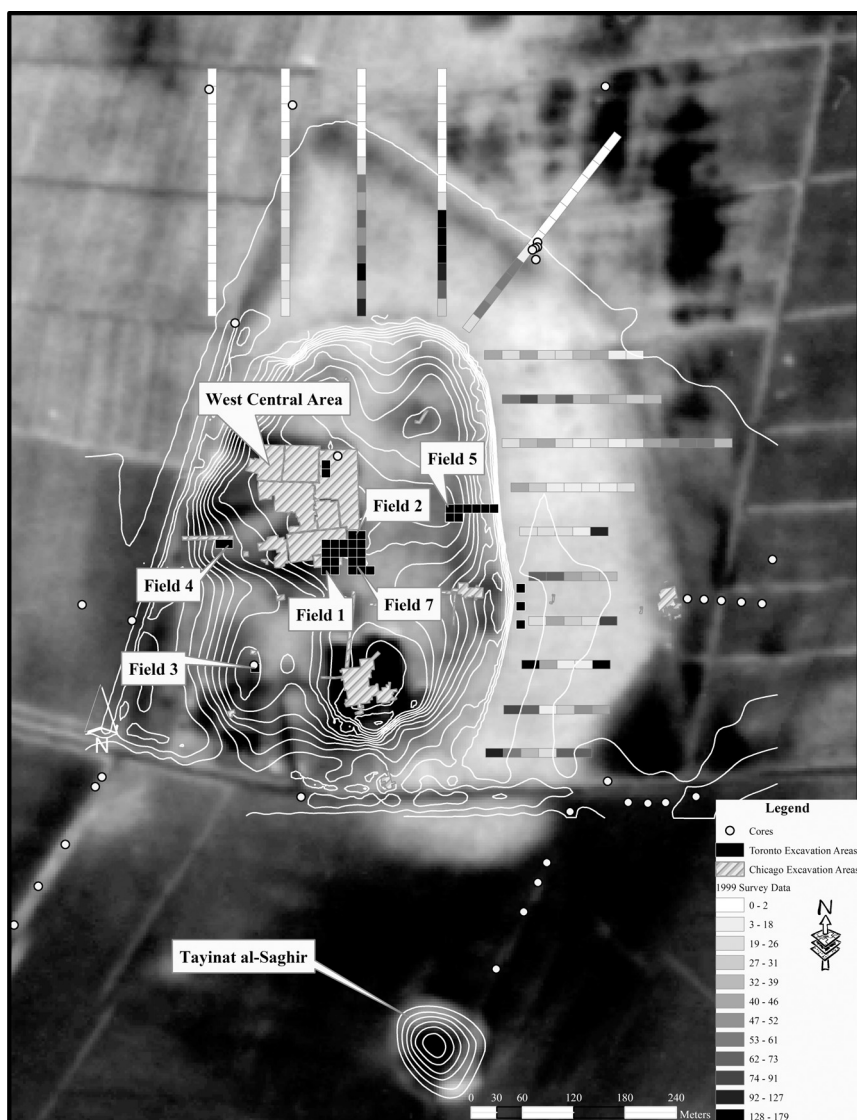(created by S. Batiuk).*

FIGURE 2   *Topographic map of Tell Tayinat overlaid on a* CORONA *satellite image of the site,
showing the upper mound and principal excavation areas, and a density distribution
of surface pottery in the lower settlement* (*created by S. Batiuk*).

Object Materials

- ● bronze
- ■ iron
- ▲ faience
- ✕ clay (tablet)
- ★ gold
- ◆ silver
- ⬟ basalt

Tablet T-1801

G4.27 G4.28 G4.29
G4.37 G4.38 G4.39
G4.37 G4.38 G4.39
G4.47 G4.48 G4.49
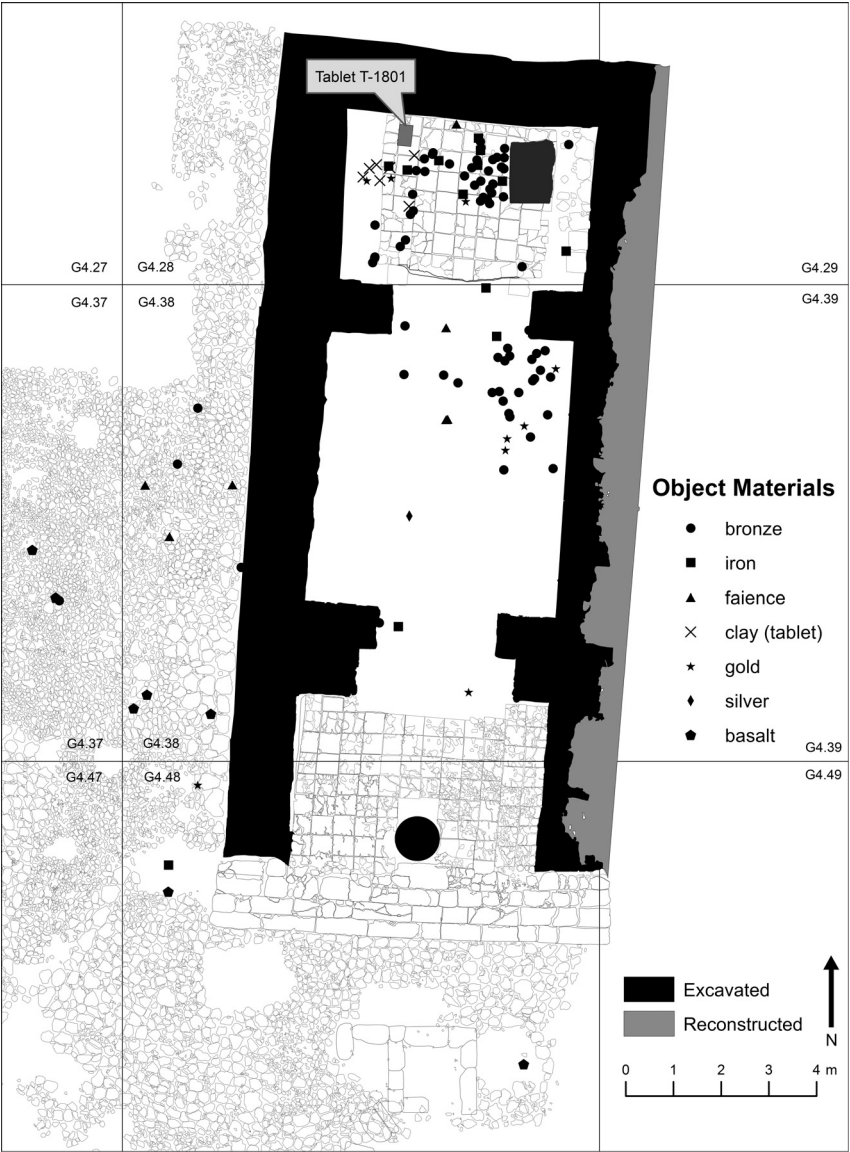
■ Excavated
▰ Reconstructed

N

0 1 2 3 4 m

FIGURE 3   *Detailed architectural plan of Building XVI showing the find spots of the Esarhaddon oath tablet (T-1801) and associated cult objects (created by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne).*

FIGURE 4   *Photograph of the seated lion (photograph by J. Jackson).*
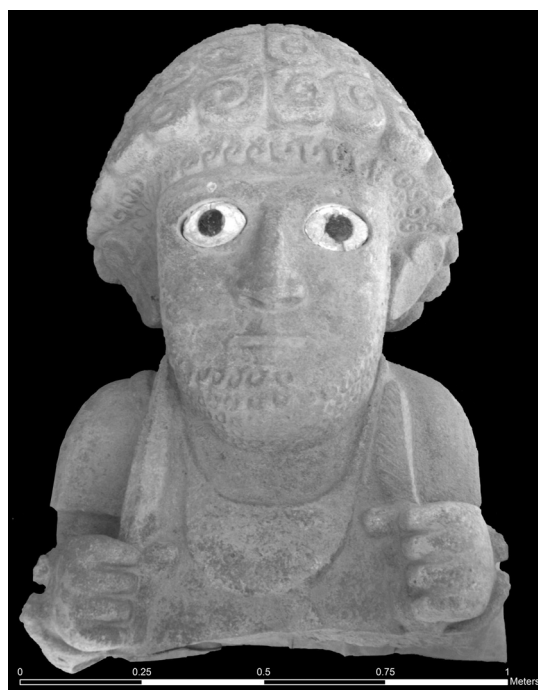

FIGURE 5   *Photograph of the Suppiluliuma statue (photograph by J. Jackson).*

FIGURE 6　*Photograph of the assembled cultic objects found on the podium in Building XVI (photograph by J. Jackson).*
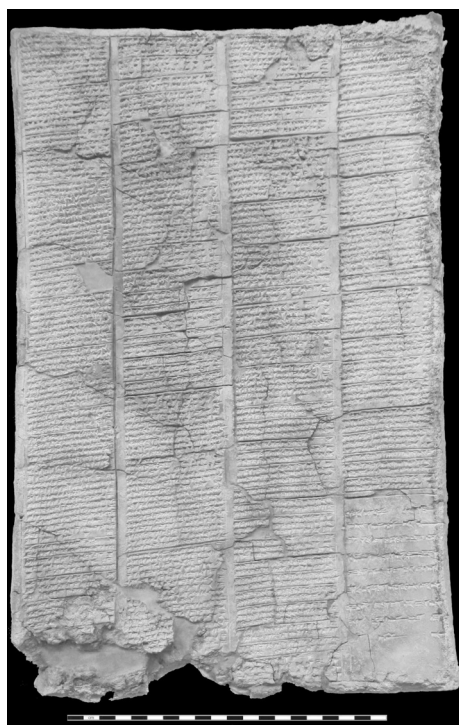

FIGURE 7　*Photograph of the restored Esarhaddon oath tablet (T-1801) (photograph by J. Unruh).*