
Settlement Planning and Urban Symbolology in Syro-Anatolian Cities

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Few subjects have excited the imagination of archaeologists working in ancient complex societies as have monumentality and urban planning. Yet the two topics are rarely explicitly theorized in a sustained integrated investigation within a single study, despite the fact that monumental architecture is often considered a primary basis for identifying the presence of urban planning. This article makes the related methodological arguments that both phenomena benefit from a more full consideration of one another, and that the meaningful aspect of monumentality and urban symbolology needs to be considered in conjunction with the formal aspect of monuments and urban layouts. These positions are then implemented in a study of the Syro-Anatolian city-state system that existed in the ancient Near East during the early first millennium BC. The capital cities of these polities were characterized by a program of monumentality that brought royalty, city walls, gates and monumental sculpture into an unmistakable constellation of associations. The consistency of this pattern of monumentality and urban form suggests that at least a degree of urban planning existed.

Monumentality and the city

For the spectator who arrived, panting, upon that pinnacle, it was first a dazzling confusing view of roofs, chimneys, streets, bridges, places, spires, bell towers. Everything struck your eye at once: the carved gable, the pointed roof, the turrets suspended at the angles of the walls; the stone pyramids of the eleventh century, the slate obelisks of the fifteenth; the round, bare tower of the donjon keep; the square and fretted tower of the church; the great and the little, the massive and the aerial. The eye was, for a long time, wholly lost in this labyrinth, where there was nothing which did not possess its originality, its reason, its genius, its beauty ... But these are the principal masses which were then to be distinguished when the eye began to accustom itself to this tumult of edifices. (Victor Hugo, *Hunchback of Notre Dame*, Book 5, Chapter 2)

By placing the anonymous Parisian spectator atop Notre Dame's tower, Victor Hugo invites us to consider the city simultaneously from the perspective of the city dweller, who is immersed in its meaningful idiosyncrasies and familiar lived experiences, and the

aerial perspective of the remote analytical observer able to distinguish formal patterns in what at first seems to be a 'tumult of edifices'. A similar perspective can be applied to the study of ancient cities, in which inscriptional remains, iconographic symbolism, and contextual analysis of artefacts and buildings can be fruitfully coupled with formal analysis of city layouts to obtain a fuller appreciation of the nature and extent of urban planning.

This article performs such an undertaking in seeking to appreciate the degree of settlement planning that characterized urban centres belonging to the Syro-Anatolian culture of the ancient Near Eastern Iron Age (c. 1200–700 BC), especially by means of the symbolic values associated with monuments and their physical deployment across the city. After elaborating briefly on the proposition that scholars might benefit from an integrative strategy that combines formal and interpretive approaches to cities and monumentality, this study goes on to examine Syro-Anatolian urban forms and monumental constructions in detail, focusing particularly on the city-state capital located at Tell Tayinat, ancient Kunulua.

Formal and meaningful properties of monuments and cities Childe's famous study of ancient cities (1950), possibly the most-cited archaeological article on complex society (M.E. Smith 2009, 3), established the tenor of archaeological approaches to urbanism over the subsequent decades. Childe advocated a checklist approach to defining urban phenomena and use of the specific ten criteria he included, or variations of the list, continues to find currency (e.g. Marcus & Sabloff 2008, 13; M.L. Smith 2003, 9; Renfrew 2008, 46–9). In typical Marxian style, Childe listed monumental architecture as one of his distinguishing characteristics of cities: '(t)ruly monumental public buildings not only distinguish each known city from any village but also symbolize the concentration of the social surplus' (Childe 1950, 12). Similar materialist understandings of monumental constructions underlay many archaeological studies (e.g. Abrams & Bolland 1999; Kolb 1994; Pollock 1999, 175; Rosenswig & Burger 2012), especially Trigger's oft-cited thermodynamic definition of monumental architecture as buildings whose 'scale and elaboration exceed the requirements of any practical functions that a building is intended to perform' (1990, 119).

Under such an operating framework, it is a short intellectual step to conclude that the scale of monumental constructions can be correlated with varying degrees of social complexity (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996; Renfrew 1973; 1976; Sherratt 1990). Studies of urban planning in the modern world and in recent history likewise have little compunction in making this association. On the contrary, it is assumed — or occasionally argued outright (Ford 2008, 237–9) — that, for better or for worse, and to varying degrees of success, monumental forms in modern urban centres are the prerogative of powerful state actors; city plans possessing monumentality are a definitional component of the planned urban centre (Adams 2008; Agnew 1998; Hagen 2009; C.J. Smith 2008; Therborn 2002).

However, archaeologists today are more willing to acknowledge that urbanism is not an 'either-or' phenomenon: there are multiple features of a city — including, but not necessarily limited to, Childe's criteria — that will be present or absent in different proportions in every case (Cowgill 2004, 527; M.E. Smith 2007; M.L. Smith 2003, 9). In this view, a strict dichotomy between planned and unplanned cities is inherently problematic. Michael Smith has recently argued that archaeologists instead ought to be speaking in terms of *degrees* of urban planning, rather than its presence or absence, and has offered a two-fold approach to assessing the extent of city planning archaeologically. The first element is standardization among cities of the same culture and time period; the

second is coordination among buildings and spaces within the city (M.E. Smith 2007, 7–8). This article pursues both of these avenues below when examining formal characteristics of the urban layout of Kunulua and other Syro-Anatolian cities.

Although the formal characteristics of urban centres are critical issues for the researcher to address, they are not the only aspect of ancient city life that warrant investigation, nor are they the only aspects of settlements to inform us about processes of urban planning in antiquity. The past twenty years or so has seen greater archaeological attention paid to what might be considered the meaningful aspects of ancient urbanism, with monuments and monumental architecture again playing a prominent role in these discussions.

By virtue of the controversies inspired by the topic, perhaps the most familiar subject is whether cities were planned in accordance with ancient concepts of cosmology. Wheatley's (1971) seminal study of early Chinese cities has inspired similar interpretations in the Aztec world (Carrasco 2000, 15–48), classical Maya cities (Ashmore 1991; Ashmore & Sabloff 2002), cities of the Khmer civilization (Coe 2003), and South Asia (Fritz *et al.* 1984; Malville & Gujral 2000). In cases where ancient textual sources are plentiful and directly relevant to urban foundations and the cosmos, such reconstructions are reliable; otherwise, they are inevitably speculative and difficult either to accept or refute (Carl *et al.* 2000; M.E. Smith 2003; 2005). The textual sources from the Syro-Anatolian cultural sphere do not include such explicit discussions of urban centres being founded along cosmic principles, and this article does not attempt to see in Syro-Anatolian city plans a carefully and deliberately designed 'cosmogram'.

However, such studies all include monumental features such as aligned city walls and gates, features that had to have been executed by a centralized authority of some kind, as evidence supporting their interpretations, and thus remind us that monumental architecture has a meaningful experiential aspect to it, one that formal analyses can too easily disregard. City dwellers were involved in the actual creation of the monumental works that then surrounded them, whether as unwitting agents of their own eventual subjectivity (Pauketat 2000) or as participants in a consensual mode of decision making (M.L. Smith 2003, 7), and it was they who then encountered such monuments in their daily urban existence. Such considerations have led to studies of monumentality and urbanism not dissimilar from the phenomenological strain of landscape archaeology (e.g. McMahon 2013; Harmanşah 2011; 2013). Even if not cosmological in

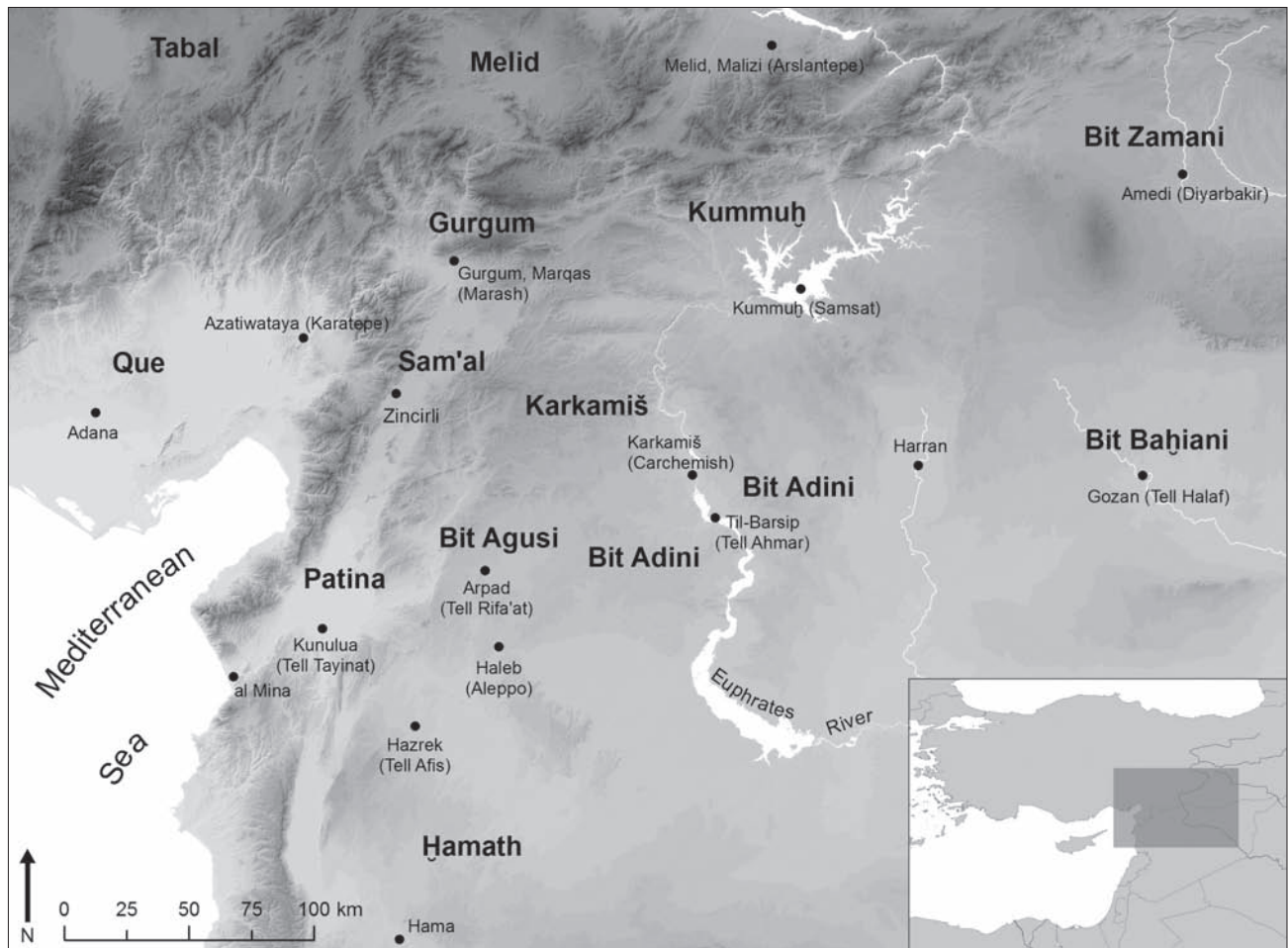


Figure 1. Major cities and city-states of the Syro-Anatolian culture during the early first millennium BC. City-state names are in bold.

nature *per se*, monuments and monumental architecture in their urban contexts can and do possess meanings and associations unique to their social context (A.T. Smith 2003, 184–231), and archaeologists working in textually and art-historically rich periods like the Iron Age of the ancient Near East are well suited to incorporate the meaningful aspect of monuments, monumental architecture, and cities into their formal considerations of urban planning.

Having discussed reasons why monumentality and urban planning can profitably be considered together, and why the formal and symbolic properties of both ought not to be examined at the expense of the other, this study now proceeds to an analysis of cities in the Syro-Anatolian culture. Not only were these cities at least partially planned in formal terms, their buildings, layouts, and sculptures were coordinated in such a way as to turn the city itself into a dense constellation of socially significant symbols.

The Syro-Anatolian city-states

During the first centuries of the first millennium BC the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea was surrounded by a collection of small kingdoms that stretched from southern Cappadocia to the northern Levant, and from Cilicia to northeastern Syria (Fig. 1). As a result of the discovery of inscriptions in the Indo-European language of Luwian (a close relation to Hittite), and the Semitic languages of Aramaic and Phoenician — often within a single city-state — these polities have a confusing array of terms used to describe them, including Luwian (Melchert 2003; Yakubovich 2011), Neo-Hittite (Ger. *Späthethitisch*), Aramaean, and Syro-Hittite. Here I use the term Syro-Anatolian in order to keep the term strictly geographical in nature (Osborne 2012, 29). The kingdoms were at their wealthiest and most powerful during the Iron Age II period, roughly 900–700 BC, after which they

were annexed piecemeal into the provincial apparatus of the larger and much more powerful Neo-Assyrian Empire based on the Tigris River to the east.

Owing to the numerous detailed textual descriptions of the Syro-Anatolian kingdoms that were composed by the Assyrians as their military campaigned through the area (Grayson 1991; 1996; Tadmor & Yamada 2011), as well as the smaller but still significant corpus of native inscriptions found within the Syro-Anatolian realm itself (Donner & Röllig 1966; Gibson 1975; 1982; Hallo & Younger 2003; Hawkins 2000), we have a relatively clear understanding of these city-states' political histories (Bryce 2012; Dion 1997; Lipiński 2000; Sader 1987). A century of excavation in the region has also revealed the salient archaeological features of the Syro-Anatolian culture, especially the sculptures decorated in bas-relief that lined the walls of their gates or that stood freestanding within them (Gilibert 2011; Orthmann 1971), a characteristic palace tradition of broad buildings with columned portico entrances (Frankfort 1952; Osborne 2012), and an urban layout of fortified lower settlements that surrounded walled acropolises containing the monumental sector of the city (Mazzoni 1994; 1995; Pucci 2008).

Inscriptions and settlement survey indicate a general pattern in which each kingdom possessed a few dozen agricultural villages that lay in the hinterland of three to five larger towns, all of which surrounded a single major urban centre (Ikeda 1979; Liverani 1992, 125; Mazzoni 1994, 326; Osborne 2013). Not surprisingly, archaeological effort has traditionally concentrated on the capital cities, which include a number of famous Near Eastern sites, Carchemish foremost among them. This scenario is slowly changing, and excavations at the village site of Tell Mastuma in western Syria have provided a welcome complement to our understanding of the capital (Iwasaki *et al.* 2009; Wakita *et al.* 2000).

Despite the familiar problems with the early large-scale excavations undertaken at these significant urban centres — especially lack of stratigraphic control and a preoccupation with public works like fortifications, temples and palaces — one legacy that remains beneficial today is the picture which these projects provided of Iron Age capitals as holistic entities. It is quite rare for modern archaeological excavations to work at a scale necessary to contribute to discussions of urban planning, and today remote sensing is the most productive method to acquire new relevant data (Casana & Herrmann 2010, 56), though it too is not without methodological problems, especially chronological uncertainty. Nevertheless, between city plans generated by early excavations, isolated architectural

findings of modern excavations, and remote-sensing campaigns, there is fertile ground for interpretation of the form and meaning of Syro-Anatolian monuments and urban centres.

Form and monument in the city

Architectural and spatial coordination within the city

One such Syro-Anatolian capital is the archaeological site of Tell Tayinat which, during the Iron Age, was the capital of the city-state of Patina¹ and was known by the Luwian name Kunulua.² In 738 BC, Kunulua was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, after which time it became the seat of an Assyrian province.

Our understanding of the layout of Kunulua during the early first millennium BC is derived from two primary sources. One is remote sensing, in this case consisting of declassified CORONA satellite imagery and a geomagnetic remote-sensing survey of the lower town surrounding the main tell. CORONA images reveal clearly the outline of the city not visible at ground level, especially the lower town that today lies below the current surface of the plain, having been buried by three millennia of annual flooding deposits from a nearby river. The city wall in particular is clearly visible extending northward from the northwest corner of the upper mound before coming to a sharp angle and turning southeast to encompass the eastern half of the city (Fig. 2). Two seasons of geophysical characterization have further improved our understanding of the lower town. Although the exclusive use of mudbrick as a building material at the site renders the magnetometry results slightly imprecise, it is clear that the lower settlement was occupied by small-scale architectural features, likely domestic houses (Batiuk *et al.* 2005, 175–6, figs. 7.8–7.11). A magnetic gradiometry survey at the site of Zincirli, a Syro-Anatolian capital 100 km north of Tayinat, has recently produced results of significantly higher resolution due to the use of basalt for wall foundations at that site (Casana & Herrmann 2010, see esp. fig. 4).

The second major source of urban data is the large-scale excavation campaigns that have been undertaken at the site, first in the 1930s by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition of the University of Chicago (Haines 1971), and more recently since 2004 by the Tayinat Archaeological Project of the University of Toronto (Harrison 2009; Harrison & Osborne 2012; Welton *et al.* 2011). Figure 3, a composite plan combining all of this information, reveals what we currently know of the layout of Kunulua during the ninth and eighth centuries BC, the stratum excavators refer to as the site's Second Building Period — only a fraction



Figure 2. De-classified CORONA satellite image of Tell Tayinat, ancient Kunulua. The excavation scar of the 1930s Syrian-Hittite Expedition is the light square area on the west side of the upper mound. The lower city, today under the surface of the valley, is visible as a shaded area to the north and east of the tell and bounded by the angular city wall.

of the city, to be sure, but nevertheless a reasonably robust sample size.

Kunulua possessed an outer city wall through which one entered the city via Gate XI, in the terminology of the excavations. Another entrance to the city, Gate III, was located along its southern edge. It is quite possible that another, still undetected, gate lies somewhere along the northern edge of the site. From Gate XI one entered the domestic quarter of the city and, moving westward, eventually came to the eastern edge of the acropolis, which could be entered via another gate (Gate VII). From here one continued west until reaching, through yet another gate (Gate V), the palatial compound where the king both lived and administered.

In terms of the formal properties described by Michael Smith (see above), was architecture in the city

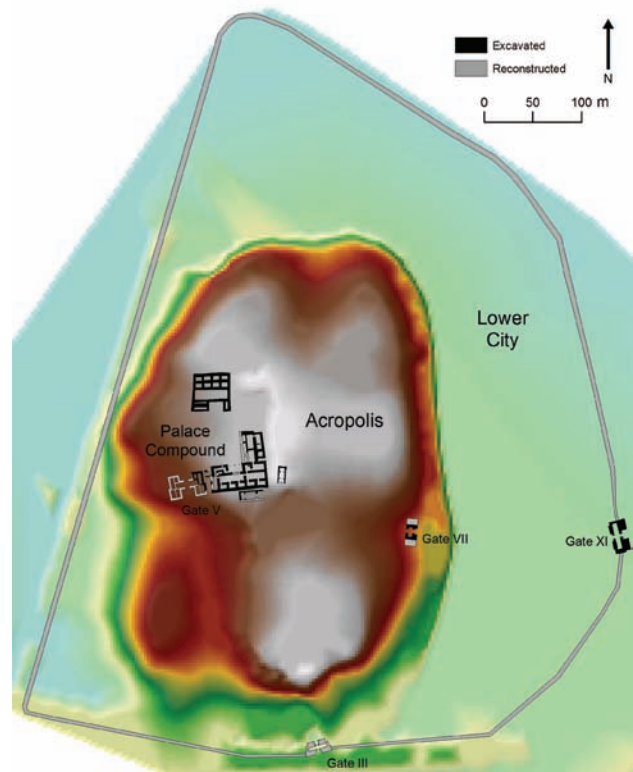


Figure 3. Plan of Tell Tayinat, ancient Kunulua, during the Second Building Period (c. 850–738 BC). (Map by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne.)

of Kunulua characterized by coordinated monumental construction that might indicate urban planning by a powerful political regime? In the acropolis, at least, the answer is clearly affirmative. Gate V and Buildings I, VI, and IV are all arranged in a large 'U' shape around the stone-paved Courtyard VIII (Fig. 4) (Haines 1971, 40–53). Through this courtyard ran a curved street paved with shaped stone blocks. Although this street was largely robbed out at a later date, extending its preserved trajectory in either direction connects it plausibly with the portico leading into Building I on the east and the passage through Gate V on the west. If correctly reconstructed, this integration of the gate and the palace via a paved street is itself enough to indicate planning in the acropolis. But in fact it is Courtyard VIII that is the most salient feature in this regard, linking, as it does, the entrances to all four buildings and providing a space from which a visitor would be visible from all directions. Furthermore, its extensive stone paving indicates that the courtyard was not a default architectural feature created simply by virtue of being the negative space between the palaces, but rather that it too was always intended to be an integral component of the acropolis (Haines 1971, pl. 99). Since the paving of the courtyard connects with all of the

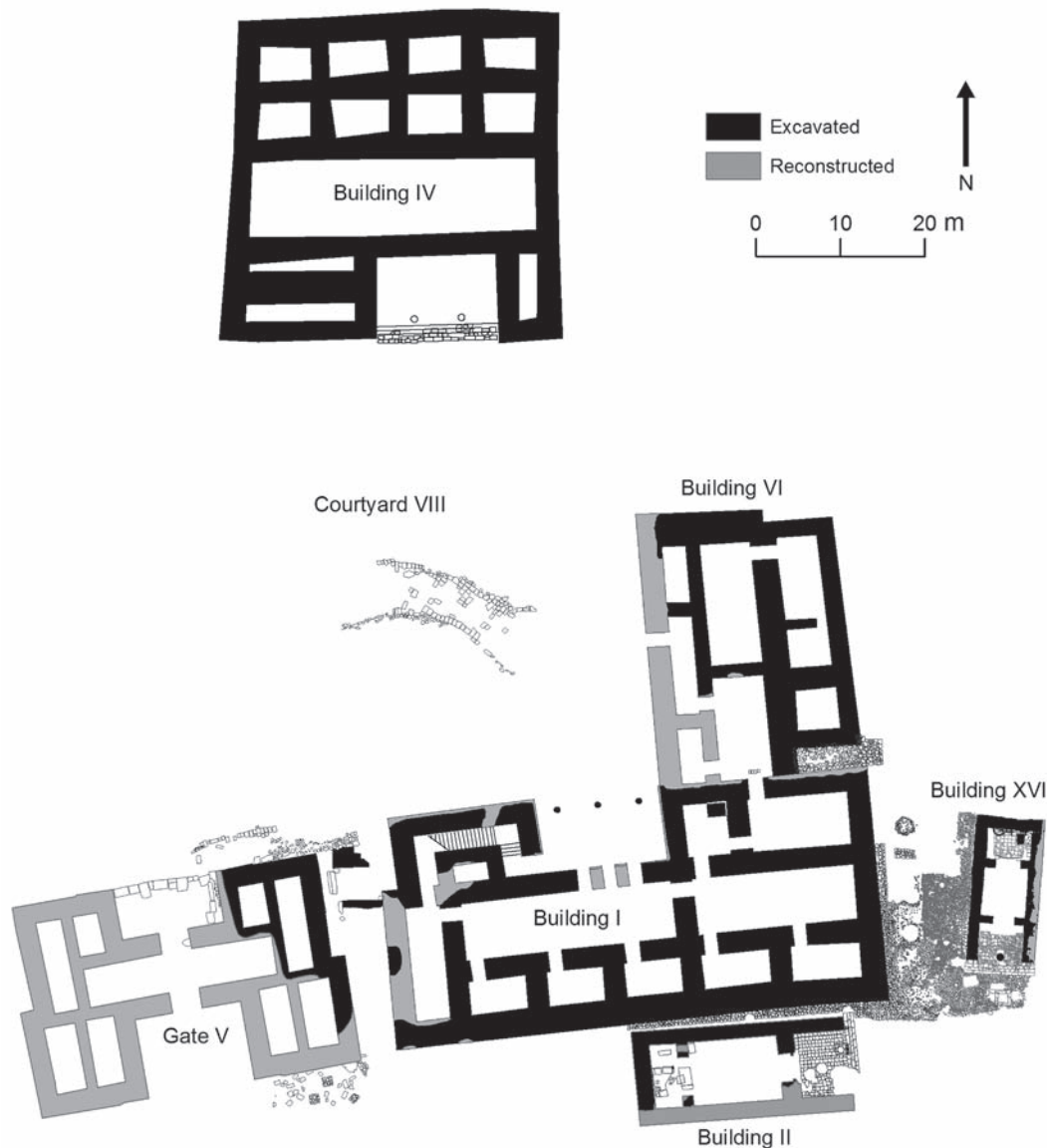


Figure 4. Plan of the palatial compound of Kunulua's acropolis, including buildings excavated by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition and the renewed Tayinat Archaeological Project. (Map by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne.)

surrounding buildings (except Gate V), linking them together stratigraphically, we have to conclude that all of these features were conceived and constructed together as a single unit, a conclusion that is apparent enough from the site plan alone.

The lower town, on the other hand, at least so far as we can tell from our current state of knowledge, does not appear to have had any of this monumental construction akin to the acropolis.

If we extend our approach to monuments from buildings alone to a consideration of the degree to which monumental constructions in Kunulua were integrated across the urban landscape, then additional

patterns emerge. By 'integrated' I mean several different monuments — buildings, stelae, statues, wall reliefs — being not merely isolated objects spread across the city, but rather components of a single construction effort whose connectedness can be identified both from their content (artistic image or textual record) and by their physical location (aligned along lines of sight, streets, and so on).

The first item to be mentioned is the lengthy Luwian inscription that epigraphers refer to as Tell Tayinat 2 (Hawkins 2000, 367–75), which, unfortunately, was only partially recovered scattered in several dozen fragments. Reconstruction of the frag-

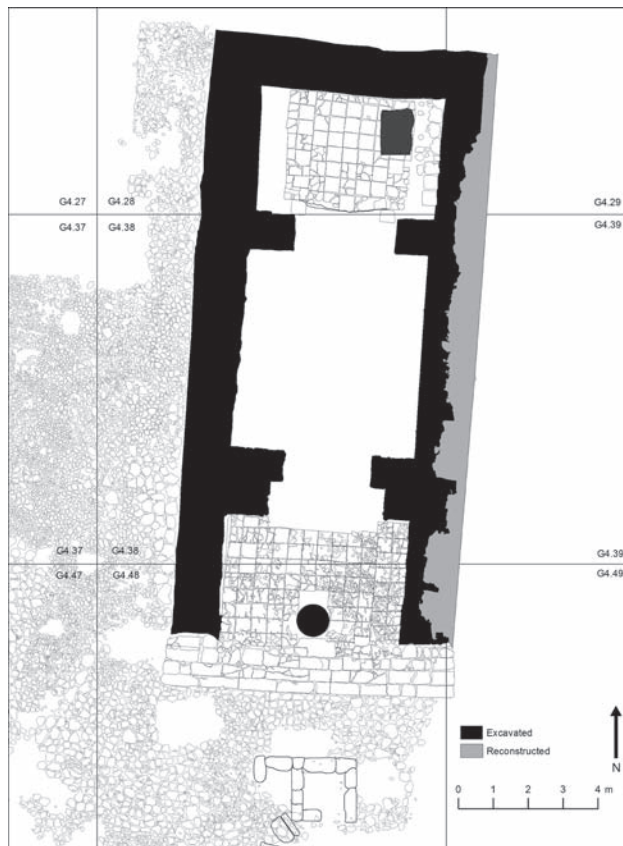


Figure 5. Building XVI, excavated in 2008–2009, and the stone feature in front of it, discovered in the 1930s, likely a base for a monumental statue and inscription. (Map by S. Batiuk and J. Osborne.)

ments' original find-spots has shown that nearly all pieces discovered in the 1930s were found on the stone surface at the southeast corner of palace Building I and in the vicinity of the entrance to temple Building II (Harrison 2009, 179, fig. 4). Further inscription fragments were found by the renewed excavations in the same area, specifically, on the stone surface between Building I and the newly discovered temple Building XVI (Figs. 4, 5). Gauging from their appearance and provenience, the new pieces almost certainly derive from the same monument (Harrison & Osborne 2012, fig. 8).

A square arrangement of stone blocks that the original excavators were at a loss to explain (Haines 1971, 45, pl. 74B) has now been demonstrated by the renewed excavation to have been located immediately in front of temples Building II and the newly discovered Building XVI (Harrison & Osborne 2012). Given the location of Building XVI behind this curious feature (Fig. 5), it now seems plausible to suggest that this stone structure was the foundation of the monument from which the inscription Tell Tayinat 2

derives (Harrison 2009, 186; Pucci 2008, pl. 27). The inscription itself appears to be 'the continuation of a text from above' (Hawkins 2000, 369), suggesting that Tell Tayinat 2 is a base for another monument, likely a statue given the reference to 'this statue' found on fragment 11 (2000, 370, 374). In the 2011 and 2012 excavations, two enormous basalt statues were indeed found buried in this very area, one of a lion and the other a royal figure with a Luwian inscription across his upper back. (Because they have not yet been published, and their full context is still only partially understood, I do not describe them in further detail here.) We are thus left with an understanding of this monumental inscription that places it on top of a stone base feature and supporting another monument, possibly the newly discovered royal statue, directly in front of two temples. In addition, the geometric centre, or 'centroid', of Kunulua's acropolis, calculated mathematically in ESRI's ArcGIS version 10.1 from several dozen vertices around the modern edge of the acropolis — not identical to, but nevertheless a close approximation of, the ancient acropolis border — is just twelve metres south of the stone feature that likely served as the base for the Tell Tayinat 2 inscription and statue.

It thus seems likely that the sacred precinct was placed here specifically to take advantage of the position in such a way as to maximize the accessibility of the monument to all parts of the acropolis. If that were the case, then this auspicious location might shed some light on the content of the inscription. It is unfortunate that the text is not better preserved. However, it is clear from the reconstruction efforts of R. Dornemann and subsequent translation by David Hawkins (2000, 367–75) that it is a royal text written by a king who wanted his many accomplishments put on display. Among other snippets, we read '... I expelled ... s from the land ...', '... I built ...', 'and the latter wi[dened?] the roads ...', 'I myself found them', 'this statue ...', and so on. Although the evidence is exiguous, this appears to be the primary monument in Kunulua extolling the power of royal authority, a monument category that we know to have existed in many Syro-Anatolian capital cities. Its location at the centre of the site thus begins to look less like an arbitrary coincidence and more like part of a calculated plan to incorporate the monument in a deliberate strategy of urban formation.

In this light, consider again the location of the two known gates into the acropolis, Gate III in the south and Gate VII in the east. Both are oriented such that they are pointing in the direction of the monument and temple. It would thus seem to be the case that the upper city gates were themselves integrated

into the monumental strategy just described. Likewise, a feature of the lower city that often goes unnoticed is the excavators' brief mention of a stone-paved street that, in their estimation, connected Gate VII with the entrance into the lower city 200 m further east, Gate XI (Haines 1971, 60, pl. 93). Unfortunately, there are no illustrations or plans of this feature provided, and Haines's excavation results are admittedly tentative, but if indeed there were a stone-paved street connecting these two gate structures, then it is possible that this urban-planning strategy of integrated monuments included the lower city fortifications as well.

Syro-Anatolian urban standardization

Having determined, based on the layout of buildings and space in the city plan, that there is, in fact, a high probability that at least some aspects of the city of Kunulua during the Second Building Period were planned by a centralized authority, we may determine the extent of standardization among the other Syro-Anatolian capital cities illustrated in Figure 1, especially with regards to architectural inventory and use of space (Harrison 2013). Such a comparison would be helpful because '[t]he presence of similar buildings, layouts, and other urban features in a series of related cities suggests adherence to a common plan or idea of city planning' (M.E. Smith 2007, 25).

The so-called *bīt-ḫilāni* palace, a freestanding structure with columned porticos, is perhaps the Syro-Anatolian culture's most recognizable architectural feature. Though often discussed as an architectural entity (Frankfort 1952; Osborne 2012; Weidhaas 1939), the *bīt-ḫilāni* has not been considered as an urban phenomenon. Given that one cannot imitate precise architectural forms from neighbours accidentally, this palace form found at Tell Tayinat, Zincirli, and Tell Halaf is strong evidence of a standardized architectural inventory from which Syro-Anatolian rulers were consciously drawing, at least in parts of the city.

Zincirli and Tell Halaf have the most similarities with Tayinat in terms of urban layout insofar as both have a lower town city wall, a lower town, a walled acropolis, and a gated palatial compound, resulting in all of these sites being characterized by the same degree of depth (von Luschan *et al.* 1898; Naumann 1950; Schloen & Fink 2009). Given Tell Rifa'at's apparently vast lower town (see Casana & Herrmann 2010, fig. 10.F), to date completely unexplored, Arpad was likely similar, but not enough is known even regarding the architecture on the acropolis of the city (Seton-Williams 1961; 1967). With its extensive Aramaean palace and lower town, Tell Ahmar is likewise almost certain to be characterized by the same arrangement of space, but the excavations that have taken place

in the lower town have to date only exposed Neo-Assyrian remains (Jamieson 2012; Thureau-Dangin & Dunand 1936). Despite being covered by the modern city of Hama, scattered epigraphic finds across the city confirm that ancient Hamath also had an extensive settlement below the upper mound (Fugmann 1958). Carchemish, the largest Syro-Anatolian city of all, is similar, though it has an added outer town (Woolley 1921; 1952) (Fig. 6).

Consider also the different physical elevations at which each of the three sectors of these cities was situated. At Tell Tayinat, the absolute elevation of the lower city floor level in the area of Gate XI was roughly 84.50 m above sea level, and given the perfectly flat level of the plain today, this elevation must have been fairly uniform across the lower settlement. At Gate VII into the acropolis the floor level was roughly 88.50 m above sea level (Pucci 2008, pl. 29). This difference in elevation means that Gate VII, the transition from lower to upper city, and replete with royal statuary (see below), towered over the lower city. The elevation at the floor level of the gate into the palace compound, Gate V, was approximately 94 m above sea level, and the floor level of the palace Building I to which the paved roadway led was just shy of 98 m above sea level (Pucci 2008, pl. 32). The city's three major spatial units of accessibility correspond to three distinct elevations, rising in each case as one approaches the palaces. The impression left on the pedestrian would have been unmistakable and the consistency of this urban topography across Syro-Anatolian cities suggests it was a purposeful, planned phenomenon. We are thus led to the conclusion that, both horizontally and vertically, the city was consciously constructed to modify and exploit existing topography in such a way as to encourage the impression of a strong royal authority among its citizenry.

As Mazzoni summarizes, Syro-Anatolian cities all had 'their public buildings strictly contained within the fortified citadel, often perched on high natural spurs, and surrounded by dense domestic units' (1995, 184). It was no coincidence that Syro-Anatolian rulers placed their palace compounds atop tells that had been occupied for centuries or millennia long before the Iron Age; by doing so they provided themselves with propitious topography to facilitate their urban objectives (Harmanşah 2013, 108–10).

Only a handful of sites have their acropolis as fully excavated as Tayinat, but those that do, including Zincirli, Hamath, and Tell Halaf, show remarkable similarities in their layouts. At Tell Halaf, for example, two large palaces, one a columned structure known as a *bīt-ḫilāni* (Frankfort 1952; Osborne 2012), stood facing each other across a large open courtyard as described

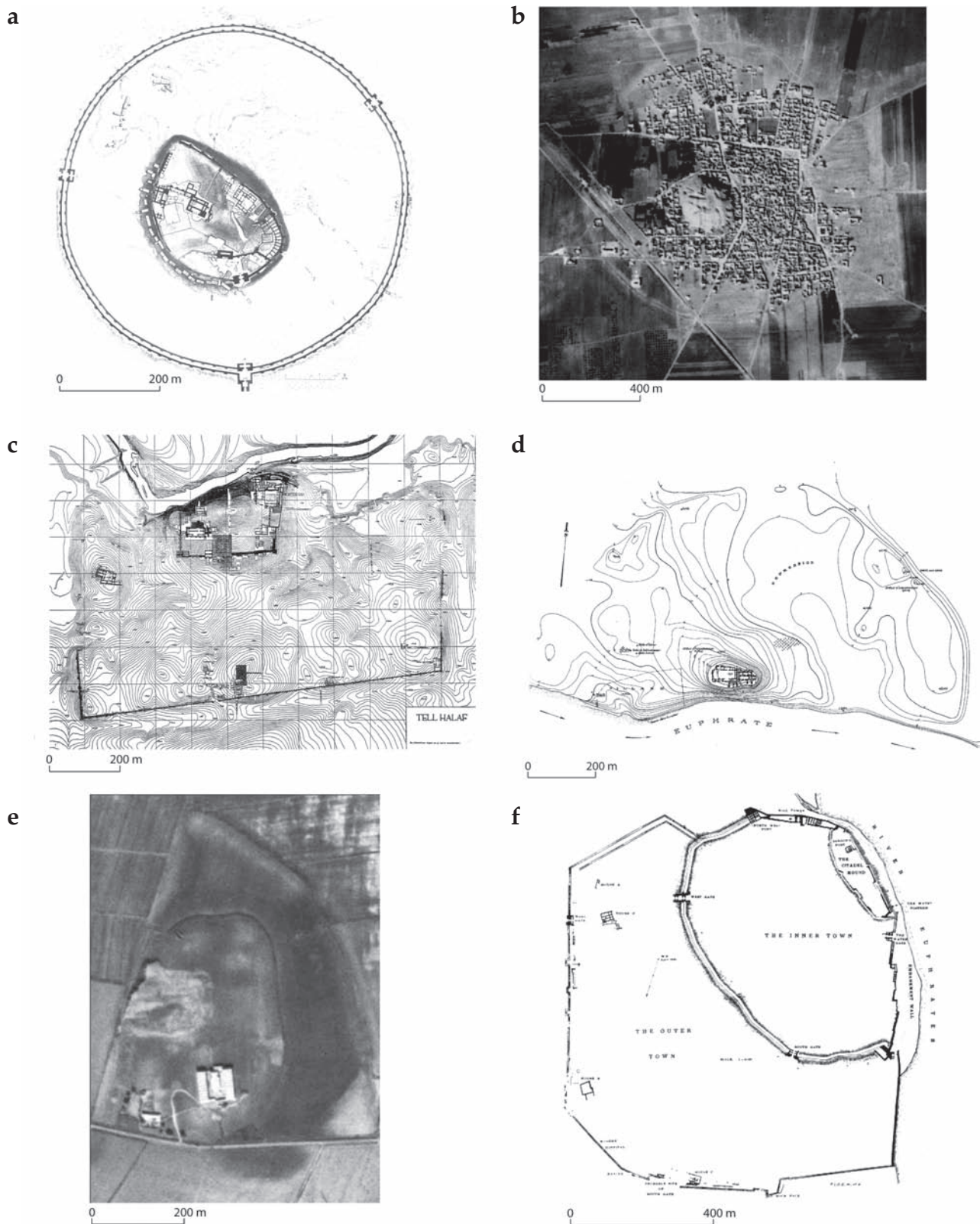


Figure 6. Plans of the major Syro-Anatolian capitals: a) Zincirli; b) Tell Rifa'at (Arpad); c) Tell Halaf (Gozan); d) Tell Ahmar (Til-Barsip); e) Tell Tayinat (Kunulua); f) Carchemish. Note the different scale used for the large sites of Tell Rifa'at and Carchemish.



Figure 7. Male caryatid figure from the portico of the *bit-hilani* palace at Tell Halaf, approximate height 9 ft.

above for Tayinat. At sites with extensive decorated orthostat reliefs like Zincirli and Carchemish, such courtyards have been plausibly interpreted as gathering spaces for public festivals that used ritual ceremonies to advance the ideological goals of elites (Gilbert 2011). The huge caryatid figures in the portico of the *bit-hilani* palace at Tell Halaf can also be interpreted in this manner. Having passed through the lower town gate, the gate into the upper city, and the so-called Scorpion Gate into the palatial compound, the pedestrian turned 180° — as at Tayinat — to face the portico's three massive figures, two males and one female, standing atop two lions and one bull (Fig. 7).³ The statues were interpreted as divine by the excavators (Opitz & Moortgat 1955, 114–17, taf. 130-5), but there are none of the typical Near Eastern horns or other attributes of divinity preserved. Some scholars now argue for a secular interpretation in which the figure can more likely be characterized as a king, not a god (Frankfort 1996, 291). If that interpretation is correct, then the pedestrian's journey toward the palace at Tell Halaf climaxed in one of the grandest displays of

royal authority in the Syro-Anatolian realm, an excellent example of political power being displayed in a conscious and deliberate strategy of monumentality.

There are significant differences among many of these cities, and several require a lot more archaeological investigation before we have a full comprehension of their layout. Nevertheless, one does get the impression that these cities were at least partially formally conceived along similar principles of spatial patterning, albeit principles that could be flexibly applied. This strengthens the interpretation that, although one cannot say that the built environment of Tayinat during the Second Building Period was entirely laid-out by a centralized agent, planners were able to impose their will on several aspects of the city's built form. This imposition resulted in a cityscape that we might refer to as semi-planned, even if this effort was only one part of a heterarchical power structure that cumulatively led to the final urban layout (Casana & Herrmann 2010, 70–74).

Meaning and monumentality in the city

Analysis of monuments' formal properties leads to productive results, even if it tells only part of the story. What of the 'meaning' side of the dialectic discussed earlier? Can we move from analysing monuments in Syro-Anatolian cities to understanding Syro-Anatolian urban monumentality? Royal inscriptions from the Syro-Anatolian city-states are some of our most informative documents regarding the machinations of politics in these polities, including the expression of political authority in space.

At the most basic level, local inscriptions provide references to the physical structures of the city that the authors themselves saw as significant. Throughout the texts, the most common identified feature is the fortification system of the city. We read, for example, of Zakkur's pride in the defensive structures he implemented at the city of Hazrek in the city-state of Hama. Zakkur boasts of the difficulties encountered by the opposing army when it reached Hazrek's city wall and moat (Gibson 1975, 9). The numerous Luwian inscriptions referring to the fortifications of Hamath that have been found throughout the modern city of Hama can likewise be placed in this category (Hawkins 2000, 413).

Fortifications, especially gates and city walls, are also the most conspicuous features of Syro-Anatolian cities in the art of their contemporaries and neighbours, including the numerous relief programs of the Assyrian palaces as well as the bronze bands decorated in the *repoussé* technique that lined the famous Balawat Gates. The bronze band depicting Patina, for example,

includes two cities whose most prominent features are their walls, gates, and moats (Fig. 8) (e.g. King 1915, 25, pl. XXVff.). It is likely that these are representing Kunulua (Batiuk 2005), or perhaps another fortified settlement in Patina, like the site of Tell Hasaunsağı (Wilkinson 1997), or both (Osborne 2013, 4). Both from the Syro-Anatolian preoccupation with the building of fortresses, walls and moats in their texts, and from artistic renderings of their cities from the neighbouring Assyrian empire, we are given the distinct impression that strong fortifications were closely related to the ancient understanding of the city in the Syro-Anatolian cultural sphere.

The king invariably credits himself with all of these construction accomplishments. For instance, in the Hines, Restan and Qal'at el-Mudiq stelae belonging to the kingdom of Hamath, Urhilina son of Paritas specifies, 'This city I built' (Hawkins 2000, 407–9). His son and heir Uratamis likewise declares, 'I myself built this fortress' in all of the inscriptions found scattered throughout Hamath's lower city (2000, 411–13). In a stele of unknown provenance from the vicinity of Til-Barsip, the tenth-century ruler Hamiyatas states, 'This city Haruha by [the god] Tarhunza's authority I built' (Hawkins 2000, 231). Of course, the association of royalty with fortifications was already an ancient tradition by the Iron Age, perhaps best exemplified by Gilgamesh's boasts regarding the city walls of Uruk (A.T. Smith 2003, 20). But it does seem to be the case that Syro-Anatolian royal proclamations constitute a unique corpus of texts, whose consistent goal was to portray the ruler as implementing a planned process of urbanization (Mazzoni 1994; 1995). Either way, the high degree of correlation between textual and artistic associations of city and fortification in Syro-Anatolian polities, a conceptual nexus of city/defensive structures/royal authority, provides a useful entry point into their own conceptions of the city.

One particular feature of the city's defensive system that receives a disproportionately high amount of attention in the textual sources is the city gate. The Syro-Anatolian gate has been analysed before from a religious perspective by Mazzoni (1997). While ritual is certainly an important aspect of these structures, especially their decorated wall reliefs, here I would like to focus on their political significance. These buildings can be understood as monuments that integrated all of visual, epigraphic and architectural elements into a cohesive unit that communicated very specific meanings of political authority.

The city gate was used as a venue for royal inscriptions in several Syro-Anatolian capital cities. The gate is a logical place for such inscriptions, as the



Figure 8. Detail of Band V from Shalmaneser III's (r. 859–824 BC) gates at Balawat, showing a moated and fortified city of Patina in the top panel, including gate.

traffic in and out of the structure guarantees exposure to the largest possible audience. Taking advantage of the venue's unique communicative properties, the two archaeological sites in the Syro-Anatolian cultural sphere that have furnished us with the most lengthy and elaborate inscriptions are Karatepe and Carchemish.

At Carchemish, the so-called King's Gate marks the access point between the Lower Town and the monumental open space that stood before the acropolis (Woolley 1952), not dissimilar from Kunulua's Gate VII. Inscription A11a was located *in situ* as a jamb on the western side of the gate (Woolley 1952, 193, 198ff.), and was authored by Katuwas, the last ruler of the so-called 'house of Suhis', who likely ruled in the late tenth or early ninth centuries BC. As expected, the inscription contains the conventional boasts of royal construction and being favoured by the gods. But, in a casual aside between construction feats, the king mentions 'And these gates (of) my grandfathers passed down to me' (Hawkins 2000, 95). This brief comment suggests that city gates could apparently be treated as the inalienable property of the king. The inscription closes with a warning against anyone who might erase the king's name from the gate or overturn the statue he installed in it.

A similar admonition occurs toward the end of the lengthy text that appears five times in the bilingual inscription from Karatepe (three in Phoenician, two in Luwian). In the Phoenician inscription of the north gate the local ruler Azatiwada proclaims that if anyone:

effaces the name of Azatiwada from this gate and puts up his (own) name, or more than that, covets this city and pulls down this gate which Azatiwada made, and makes another gate for it and puts his (own) name on it, whether it is out of covetousness or whether it is out of hatred and malice that he pulls down this gate, - then let Ba'al-Shamem and El-Creator-of-Earth and Shamash-'olam and the whole generation of the sons of the god efface that kingdom and that king. (Röllig 1999, 54–5)

The same sentiments are expressed at Karatepe as at the King's Gate of Carchemish, but in this case the direct association between the gate and the king is even more explicit: an affront to the gate is simultaneously an affront to the king and his authority. And, as the king and the gate are connected, so it would appear that the city and gate are likewise related in a conceptual bundle. If one sought to take possession of a city, then destroying its gate to replace it with one's own not only eradicated the former ruler but also served as a symbolic transfer of the city to its new suzerainty. These two texts, and Karatepe's in particular, are quite revealing of the expression of political authority in the urban context: royal power was closely associated with the city gate, which served as a synecdoche for the city, representing it *pars pro toto* (Mazzoni 1997, 332; Wright 2003).

As if the association of royalty and city gate were not sufficiently evident in royal inscriptions, several Syro-Anatolian sites possessed huge royal statues that stood within these structures. Statues of a god or king, in a remarkably homogeneous appearance (Orthmann 1971), have been found at Arslantepe (Delaporte 1940, 35–8, pls. XIV, XXVI–XXXI), Carchemish (Hogarth 1914, 28. pl. A4d; Woolley 1921, 92–3, pl. 12, B.25–7; 1952, 192–9, pl. B.53–4), Çineköy (Hawkins 2009, 165–6), Karatepe (Çambel 1999), Marash (Messerschmidt 1906, 12–15), Tell Tayinat (Gelb 1939, 39, pl. LXXIX), and Zincirli (von Luschan & Jacoby 1911, 288–9, 362–8) (see Ussishkin 1989 for additional second-millennium examples). Of these, the examples from Carchemish, Arslantepe, Karatepe, Tell Tayinat, and Zincirli were all found in gate complexes, while the two others, Marash and Çineköy, are from *ex situ* secondary contexts. The statues vary significantly in size, but all share a number of features: a tall, robed figure standing erect, with a curly beard and disproportionately large head, holding his two fists before him, stands or sits atop a statue base comprised of a pair of lions or bulls.

Carchemish is, as in so many respects of Syro-Anatolian sculpture, the appropriate point of entry into the phenomenon of royal statuary. In the South Gate at Carchemish Woolley found fragments of a large limestone statue in the northeastern chamber of

the gate that had fallen, or had been pushed, from a pedestal against the wall of the chamber. The largest piece discovered was the head; the rest were small fragments. One of the most interesting aspects of this statue is that although a few pieces were found embedded in the floor of the gate, 'for the most part they were found *under* the floor of beaten earth' (Woolley 1921, 92, emphasis added). The statue must have been destroyed in an unknown conflict, and the fact that most pieces were subsequently buried suggests a curation for the object and an awareness that it was not something that could be discarded without reverential treatment. We do not know precisely whom the statue represented because the inscription at its base is too fragmentary, but we know it to have been inscribed by a king, perhaps Pisisir (Ussishkin 1989, 487) or Kamanis (Hawkins 2000, 168), because it is authored by '[...]'s son, [...]'s grandson', the familiar trope of royal patrilineal descent (Hawkins 2000, 168). It thus seems quite likely that the South Gate at Carchemish possessed a statue of the king himself greeting pedestrians on their way towards the acropolis.

A similar pattern is seen at Carchemish's King's Gate, which marked the entrance from the Inner Town to the complex of monumental public structures at the foot of the acropolis (Harmanşah 2013, 134–52). Near this gate's inscribed western jamb, described above, was the famous statue of a seated figure resting atop a double-lion base (see Woolley 1921, pl. B.25). The brief Luwian inscription on the skirt of the statue itself labels the figure as 'this god Atrisuhas' (Hawkins 2000, 101), whose name translates to '(image) soul of Suhis', meaning that we ought to see this statue as the deified version of this historically-attested Carchemishian ruler (2000, 96, 101). The fact that Carchemish possessed a statue of the king in the South Gate, plus a statue of a deified king in the King's Gate, indicates an extremely close association between those structures and royal authority, as we have already seen in the textual record. It is also significant that the two statues ended their use-life in two different contexts: one was apparently buried, and the other was destroyed. These are patterns that are repeated in almost every instance.

The most striking case of the burial of a royal statue is that of the Lion's Gate at Arslantepe, excavated by the French under Louis Delaporte during the 1930s. This immense object was found lying on its back before the two portal lions that stood in the door jambs of one of the gate chambers. It had apparently fallen forward off its square pedestal, breaking its nose and hands in the process, but was then turned over onto its back and entombed in a construction of stones placed around it (Delaporte 1940, 35–8). The published photographs leave no room for doubt: this

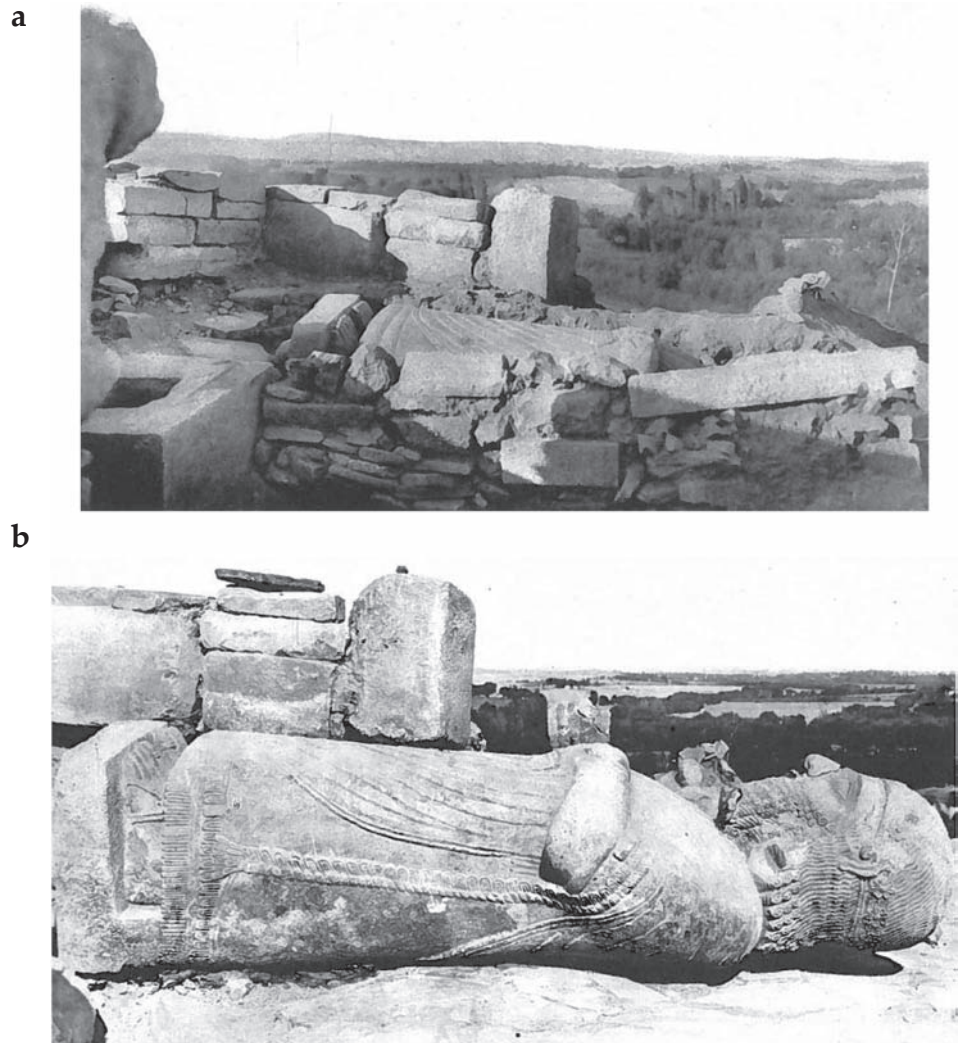


Figure 9. *Burial of a royal statue at the Lion's Gate of Arslantepe (Melid): a) the statue still ensconced in his above-ground tomb. The structure's eponymous portal lion is visible at the left; b) the statue after the tomb had been removed (and nose replaced by the excavators).*

statue was buried in an above-ground tomb (1940, pl. XIV, XXV–XXVIII) (Fig. 9). That it was rolled onto its back before burial suggests a human-like treatment of the statue, burying it as one does a deceased person (Ussishkin 1970, 127). This, too, might be taken as evidence of the animate status of the royal statue. The precise motive for the burial is not known, but possibly it had something to do with the Assyrian conquest of the city in 708 BC (Landsberger 1948, 76–9).

A similar burial of a royal statue was reported at Zincirli by von Luschan, who associated the statue with a gate, Tor Q, 10 m away (see von Luschan & Jacoby 1911, taf. L). The 2.5 m statue was buried in a scenario almost identical with that from Arslantepe: lying on its back, the statue was deliberately encased in stones and earth (1911, 363). Because the statue lacks an inscription, the excavators interpreted it as the storm god Hadad based on the generally similar divine example they had excavated at Gerçin (1911, 365), but, like the statue from Arslantepe, Zincirli's

figure lacks horns or any other divine attributes (1911, abb. 265–7). For this reason it too is more plausibly understood as a royal figure (Frankfort 1996, 300; Orthmann 1971, 289, 545). Thus at Zincirli's Tor Q we have another example of a buried royal statue in a gate area, even though the motive behind the burial event is likewise unknown.

But specific motive notwithstanding, the burial reflects an understanding of royal statuary in which these statues were not merely depictions of kings but were themselves objects that demanded reverence (Denel 2007). The presence of a royal statue in the gate was not dissimilar from the presence of the king himself, and we are again left with the distinct impression that the gate was a critical space in Syro-Anatolian political discourse, emphasizing the breadth of royal authority in one of the urban centre's most visible locations.

A closely related event also took place at the city of Zincirli, and that is the burial of five massive



Figure 10. The North Gate portal lion and inscription at Karatepe (Azatiwataya), with the Phoenician version of the bilingual inscription moving from right to left across several orthostats and ending on the portal lion. The king's name, *Azatiwada*, is boxed.

basalt portal lions in front of the Inneres Burgthor, also known as the Thor der Quermauer (von Luschan *et al.* 1898, 127–31). Their original locations are not known (cf. reconstructions by Gilibert 2011, fig. 38; von Luschan *et al.* 1898, fig. 37), but these lions had been dragged to this spot and buried there in a large pit; and, gauging from the large layer of burned reeds discovered above it, the burial event was concluded with a burning ceremony that took place over the pit after the burial was complete (1898, 130). The enormous scale of these lions is considerable (see 1898, abb. 35–6), obliging us to recognize in this event a very substantial undertaking.

Thus we have two linked phenomena that are both associated with the gate: the presence of royal statues in these buildings, and the burial of monuments in or beside them. In a brief article on the topic, David Ussishkin proposes that the burial of the portal lions means that they were considered to possess ‘godly, demonic, or punitive powers’. The burial of the royal statues likewise indicates their religious significance (1970, 127–8). We can go a step further by suggesting that both categories of objects — royal statues and portal lions — were stones that may have been understood as possessing an animate, living force, as has been proposed in other Near Eastern contexts where the distinction between artistic representation and genuine reality is blurred or nonexistent (Bahrani 2003, 121–48), such as the famous Gudea statues from the late third-millennium Sumerian city of Lagash (Winter 1992).

One feature of Syro-Anatolian statuary that has been little discussed is the frequency with which

kings had their names inscribed in the section of an inscription that is placed directly onto the portal lions of the same gates where the royal statues are found. In the case of the Karatepe inscription, the Phoenician signing of the portal lion in the North Gate (monument Phu/A IV) takes place at the conclusion of Azatiwada’s lengthy text (Fig. 10). The portion of the inscription actually written directly on the portal lion itself — and the only portion thus visually and physically separated from the bulk of the inscription located on flat orthostats behind the lion — reads ‘The name of Azatiwada only may last forever like the name of the sun and the moon!’ (Röllig 1999, 53), a combined literary and visual enjambment that emphasized the all-seeing power of the king.⁴

Besides Karatepe, there are royally signed portal lions at Arslan Tash (a rare Akkadian-Aramaic-Luwian trilingual: Galter 2004; Hawkins 2000, 246–8; Tadmor & Yamada 2011, 161–3), Carchemish, Marash (Hawkins 2000, 262) and Malatya (2000, 321). In his poorly-understood excavations at Carchemish between 1878–1881, J. Henderson found two monumental portal lions apparently in the vicinity of the Great Staircase (see Hogarth 1914, 10–12).⁵ Both lions are inscribed, and are a unique example of lions with text from both a father and son. Portal lion A14a begins ‘I (am) Suhis, Karkamiše[an...] I [...]ed, he/they gave me my paternal succession, and he/they gave me ... authority’ (Hawkins 2000, 85–6). Here we see that the portal lion ‘is’ the king Suhis himself, and that part of the reason of the monument’s existence was to proclaim his divinely sanctioned political power. His son’s text is on the neighbouring portal lion, A14b: ‘I

(am) Astuwatamanzas [...] Karkamišean Country-Lord, the ruler Sui's son. These gates [...] I made/built.] (He) who shall [de]face (them) for me, against him may Karhuhas [and] Kubaba litigate!' (Hawkins 2000, 85). Again we see the explicit identification of the portal lion with the ruler, and the direct association of king and gate, binding the three entities — king, gate, lion — into a single object that carried all three concepts simultaneously, much like the more lengthy Karatepe inscription.⁶

The presence of similar patterns at different Syro-Anatolian cities is too consistent to be accidental. It seems much more likely that the portal lions were not (or not merely) objects that possessed 'godly, demonical, or punitive powers' (Ussishkin 1970, 127–8), but rather were symbols of the king that were specifically designed to express his authority visually. By inscribing his name directly onto the portal lions the king was not only signing these statues in the sense of placing his name on them as one might sign a document; he was also *ensigning* them in the sense of imbuing in these statues the ability to symbolize his own power, that is, rendering the statues signs themselves. Such an intimate and intertwined relationship between language and pictorial imagery has been argued to characterize much of ancient Near Eastern art (Bahrani 2003, 96–120).

With this interpretation of the Syro-Anatolian portal lion, we have an explanation for why both categories of statuary, lions and royal statues, were buried. The burial of these objects bore the same meaning in both cases, for both were symbols of the king, indeed possibly the king himself. The precise motivation for each of these burial events is still unclear, but perhaps it had to do with imminent conquering and destruction of cities and the need to preserve these important figures before calamity arrived (von Luschan & Jacoby 1911, 363). Alternatively, the lions and royal statues may have been ritually buried after conquests had already occurred by the cities' original occupants who wanted to pay homage to their defeated — and therefore 'dead' — rulers (Ussishkin 1970, 128). In any case, although some questions remain, the treatment and burial of royal statuary as if they had been living beings points towards their efficacy as active agents promoting the political authority of the ruler.

The royal statuary from Tell Tayinat, ancient Kunulua, is more fragmentary. However, there was a royal statue found at Tell Tayinat in the 1930s. It is incomplete; indeed, only a part of its enormous head survives. However, this head is sufficiently well preserved to show that this statue was also a royal, and not divine, figure (Gelb 1939, pl. LXXIX). The statue head, which was found in Gate VII, suggests that Tay-

inat possessed a colossal royal statue in that gate, the access point to the acropolis from the lower city. This is, in fact, an almost identical situation as that of the South Gate at Carchemish that was discussed above. It is even possible that more fragments of the Tayinat statue have not been found because it was partially buried, like the South Gate statue, and thus still lies largely underground. As for lion statuary, here too Tayinat has fragmentary evidence similar to what we have seen in other cases. Two lion-headed blocks, or portal lions, were found by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition reused in later phases of the site but originally deriving from ninth to eighth century levels (Harrison 2009, 177). More significantly, as described above, the Tayinat Archaeological Project has recently discovered extremely well-preserved examples of both a lion and a royal statue in close proximity to one another in the acropolis' sacred precinct. A full discussion of their significance to the arguments presented here will have to await their publication and a fuller understanding of their archaeological context. However, their very existence is a strong supporting example of the symbolic associations between lion, king and city that are being made here.

These pieces of statuary indicate at least that the city of Kunulua participated in the Syro-Anatolian political discourse that emphasized the urban feature of the city gate, that connected these gates with the ruler, and that linked the person of the ruler with the royal statues and monumental portal lions that guarded these locations. These findings demonstrate that these features of the urban centre were important components of the production and experience of political authority in the urban centre, both at Kunulua and elsewhere in the Syro-Anatolian realm.

Discussion and conclusion

This article has attempted to make two related methodological proposals: the first is that archaeologists would do well to incorporate monumentality and urban planning explicitly into systematically sustained investigations of particular cases; the second is that monuments and cities both have (or can have) symbolic, meaningful properties that have the capacity to illuminate greatly studies of their formal properties alone. With respect to the first point, of course it is the case that monumental architecture is often considered in concert with city planning. Indeed, given archaeologists' penchant for excavating the elite quarters of ancient cities in both the Old and New Worlds, the situation could hardly be otherwise. The difficulty is that monumentality is too frequently treated simply as one of several features that might identify whether

city planning existed, rather than as an independent phenomenon in its own right. The second point, that the form and meaning of cities are inextricably linked and thus equally valuable, is intended to continue bridging the divide between archaeologists who see economic and political institutions in city plans, and those who see earthly manifestations of the cosmos. The same applies for monuments and monumental architecture: not simply indexes of labour and energy, and thus of power — though they may be that too — monuments and public buildings can also be material objects that are inseparable from the individuals responsible for their creation, and hence the physical creation of the city.

Of course, for such proposals to be implemented one's case study needs to be not only rich, but also able to provide the appropriate bodies of evidence. In the case of the Syro-Anatolian cities discussed here, inscriptional remains indicate that gates were understood as a synecdoche of the city and its ruler, and further that they were associated directly with political authority by virtue of their consistent affiliation in the texts. Furthermore, the practice of royal statuary burial indicates a reverence for these monuments — always associated with gates — that treated them as animate beings. Most significantly, the meaningful properties of these buildings and sculptures were formally coordinated to achieve full symbolic effect. In Kunulua this would mean, for example, that passing from the lower city up into the acropolis from the east, one passed through Gate VII and, while moving through that structure that itself conjured associations of both city and king, one likewise encountered a monumental statue that may have not just represented, but embodied the king himself. From there one continued west until reaching the sacred precinct at temples Building II and XVI, where one faced another royal monument, this time an inscription proclaiming the king's accomplishments at length and presumably acting as a support for yet another statue, possibly the royal figure recently discovered; also present was a large lion statue, likewise associated with royalty. Only after these two symbolically-rich locations did one continue on one's way toward Gate V and up into the palatial compound. In this way the assemblage of meanings that was associated with Kunulua's monuments were continuously and inevitably reinforced by the relationship between city and pedestrian that the urban form imposed on its occupants. Similar patterns are found consistently in other capital cities in the region.

By stringing together these various lines of evidence into a common thread, it appears that not just monumental things, but a meaning-rich strategy of spatially coordinated urban symbology

existed throughout the city of Kunulua and other Syro-Anatolian capitals, particularly in the acropolis. These cities were not laid out as cosmograms — to the extent of our current knowledge, anyway — but they were partially planned to achieve particular goals. The nature of the monuments and buildings that are associated with this strategy were specifically chosen to emphasize the might of political authority, in places coopting ritual activity and iconography to achieve that end (Denel 2007; Gilibert 2011). The deliberate promotion of royal power in Kunulua would have had quite an effect on visitors and on its own citizens since the city was not just built, at least partially (Casana & Herrmann 2010, 70–74), on the king's command, it was also a major vehicle with which that command was communicated, and perhaps was even itself a symbol associated directly with the king and kingship.

In expanding our scope beyond Tell Tayinat, ancient Kunulua, to its neighbouring Syro-Anatolian urban contemporaries, this study has necessarily telescoped a certain degree of regional and chronological variation that existed during the late second millennium BC and the early centuries of the first millennium BC. Nevertheless, the patterns identified here can be considered to constitute the basic structure of Iron Age urban symbology in Syro-Anatolia, a structure that could be modified and manipulated as it was materialized in particular social and political contexts, and one that was constantly being renegotiated by its encounters with the actions of everyday citizens in their urban lives (Harmanşah 2011; 2013, 5–14). The role of common city dwellers and the degree of their participation in this symbolic urban structure is perhaps the most pressing immediate concern as Syro-Anatolian research moves forward.

In the case of the Syro-Anatolian city-states, a certain degree of urban planning did take place, and their urban centres, at first glance a 'tumult of edifices' much like Hugo's Paris, were consciously built as cumulative symbols of royal authority by tightly coordinating — in space and in meaning — city walls, gates, animal and human statuary, and inscriptions into a constellation of mutually reinforcing entities. Methodologically, this urban symbology only became apparent by considering monumentality and urbanism in a concerted fashion, instead of simply taking the former to be one aspect of the latter, and by examining both the formal and the meaningful properties of monuments and cities to evaluate urban planning.

Notes

1. The kingdom's name appears to have been changed to Unqi sometime in the mid-late ninth century BC.

2. This name was spelled in many different ways in various inscriptions, including Kinalua and Kunalua (Grayson 1996, 69), Kinalia (Tadmor & Yimada 2011, 40), and Kunalia (Lauinger 2012, 91).
3. The statues bore the same cuneiform inscription, on the left shoulder in the case of the men and on the skirt of the woman. It reads 'Palace of Kapara, son of Khadianu. What my father and my grandfather, of blessed memory [lit. the deified], did not accomplish, I did achieve. Whosoever shall delete my name to put here his own, his sons shall be burned before the weather-god, his daughters shall be become temple prostitutes of Ishtar. It is Abdi-ilu who has written the name of the king' (Frankfort 1996, 402, n. 44).
4. The South Gate's parallel inscription similarly begins on a portal lion. Though this monument (Pho/B I) is broken at the opening of the text, it presumably also began with 'I am Azatiwada', making it another example at the site of a portal lion being signed with the king's name (Röllig 1999, 55).
5. Henderson dragged them to the Water Gate in hopes of transporting them home but gave up on the idea, and they were left to be re-discovered on the river bank by Woolley, by which time they had been smashed. Woolley plausibly suggested that they came from the Gatehouse at the end of the Great Staircase, noting also that their size would have fit this location nicely (1952, pl. 30).
6. Two further examples come from Tell Ahmar, ancient Masuwari/Til Barsip (Grayson 1996, 231–3). However, these were inscribed by the local Assyrian administrator after that city had been conquered and turned into Kar-Shalmaneser, named after the Assyrian ruler Shalmaneser III. Though the lengthy inscription does specifically describe installing lions in the gate of the city, it does not explicitly associate the ruler with the lion directly, as per the other Luwian-language portal lion inscriptions. The trilingual example from Arslan Tash possibly has this distinction represented in the different languages on the lion. Together, these two sites point toward an interesting case of cultural interaction between the Syro-Anatolian city-states and their Assyrian conquerors.

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